

MOKAUEA ISLAND  
A HISTORICAL STUDY

BY

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## Statement of Significance

Fishing and agriculture were the primary occupations in pre-contact Hawaii and all life depended on them. The fishing community life style is nearly extinct today with the exception of Mokauea Island off Oahu and Milolii on the island of Hawaii. There has been recorded continuity of a fishing community within the Mokauea fishery for at least a century and a half. Because of the importance of fishing to Hawaiians, and due to the paucity of existing fishing communities, Mokauea Island is an area of important historic concern.

## The Determination of the Historical Significance of Mokauea Island

### Defining the Area of Concern

All the islands within the Keehi basin have undergone drastic geographical changes in the last century and a half. Prior to any dredging or land filling three islands existed on the west side of Kalihi Channel. These islands were called, Moku'eo also called Damon Island (sometimes spelled Mokuoe'o), Mokupilo also called Mokuoniki or Onini Island, and Mokumoa Island. These islands were considered part of the Moanalua land division. On the east side of the channel within the Mokauea Fishery boundaries (see Mokauea Fishery land ownership in Appendix) was Kahaka'aulana (informants pronounce the name Kāka'aulana probably a condensation of the initial form). This island was excluded from the Mokauea Fishery grant and was a separate mahele grant to Puhene. Within the Mokauea Fishery

there were two tidal islands (see map bibliography #13). These are the Mokauea Islands. For clarification purposes I will refer to these two islands as Mokauea North and Mokauea South. Mokauea North was a tidal island dredged out in 1941 along with Kahaka'aulana. Mokauea South enlarged by channel dredging spoils is what remains today in the Mokauea Fishery. This is modern day Mokauea Island. For a clear illustration of land changes within the Keehi Basin see Map #11 and #16. Map #11 shows the area as it was in 1922. Map #16 shows the area as it was in 1969. Few changes have occurred to this area since 1969.

A complete land title survey has been done of the Mokauea Fishery by the State Department of Transportation, Abstract Division.

#### Approach

Mokauea Island was surveyed by the State archaeologists Robert Hommon and Farley Watanabe on June 5, 1976. Although the islands lacked archaeological sites, it was concluded that, "the cultural value of Mokauea lies not in tangible structures but in its existence as a more or less traditional fishing community. The eligibility of Mokauea for the National Register of Historic Places cannot be determined on the basis of information now available. It will be necessary to conduct further historical research to determine the nature of the Mokauea fishing community, the time depth of its traditions, and its

cultural value to the people of Hawaii."<sup>1</sup> This report is a continuation into the inquiry on the historical significance of the area. Based upon preliminary research recommendations the paper will focus on the historical significance of the Mokauea Fishery as a fishing community.

#### Methods of Research

Two methods of research were employed for the collection of information. Written records were first consulted, and because of the lack of this type of information and also because of the ethnographic nature of the inquiry, it was determined that informant interviews would be an important avenue to data collection. Interviews were conducted with twelve informants. Information from these interviews as well as informant data (i.e. personal history, age, sex, geneology) appear in the appendix of this report.

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<sup>1</sup>Report on a Preliminary Survey of Mokauea Island...for the Office of Historic Preservation, Department of Land and Natural Resources by Dr. Robert J. Hommon.

### Historical Background

Two prehistoric accounts exist concerning the peopling of Moanalua-Kalihi area. According to Dorothy Barrere<sup>2</sup> "Moanalua was quite possibly settled sometime during the time span of A. D. 766-1126." A local tradition supplied by Namakahelu in chant form and found in the Gertrude Damon Notebooks (Volume 4 page 9) says that the ancestors of Moanalua were Kamawaelualani, a male and Kahikilaulani, a female. The other account is deduced from historical tradition<sup>3</sup> starting with a settler by the name of Newalani. The local tradition is significant to this report in that it mentions Kahaka'aulana Island. These chants were collected in the early 1900s and appear in the appendix of this paper. The Kahikilaulani chant or the Chant of the Wind mentions many pertinent geographical landmarks. Moku Onini is mentioned, an island that existed until the 20th century where Keehi Lagoon park is now. Moku-o-eo is also mentioned lying out to sea. This is Damon island. A small section still remains of this island today. The chant to Makalii, the Guardian Shark of Moanalua is the chant that makes direct reference to Kahaka'aulana Island. Makalii the shark guardian will be discussed in depth later in this paper. A biographical sketch of the chantress Namakahelu, is done by

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<sup>2</sup>Barrere, Dorothy B., A Survey of Moanalua History, Appendix A of Archaeological Survey and Excavations Kaman-nui Valley, Moanalua Ahupua'a, South Halawa Valley, Halawa Ahupua'a, by William S. Ayres, Bishop Museum Report 70-8, 1970.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., page 51.

Hawaiian scholar Charles W. Kenn and appears in the State of Hawaii's "Analysis of the Moanalua Historic Landmark Application Significance Statement" page 63, 1973.

A general reference to the Keehi area as being noted for its mullet fishing is found in the History of Kualii<sup>4</sup>. In a description of Keehi, the chant says "*He kai ka'anae ko Keehi*" or Keehi's seas were populated by the anae (mullet) fish. Fornander says this chant is from the 1750s.<sup>5</sup> If so, this area must have had early fishing importance in that the anae fish was a popular source of sustenance. Earliest documentation supports the premise that Keehi was an important fishing area. Kamehameha III in his written Constitution and code of laws issued in 1839, assigned Keehi to be royal fishing grounds placed under taboo by the tax officers of the crown. In 1845, the King set the tax on fish to be equal division of fish between the fishermen and the King in the areas deemed taboo.<sup>6</sup>

Map #2 in this paper's Map Bibliography shows Kahaka'aulana as having 5 residences on it. This is the earliest documentation we have of residency within the Mokauea Fishery. When Kamehameha III asked for land claims during the Mahele, Puhene made a claim for Kahaka'aulana Island. The claimant paid for a survey and registration fee of \$2.00. His award was made on December 21, 1853. The L. C. A. 10611 appears in the index. The surveyor's

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<sup>4</sup>Fornander, Abraham. Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore, Honolulu, Volume IV, Part III, page 378-379, 1917.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., page 364.

<sup>6</sup>Jordan, David Storm, Investigation of the Fish and Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands, House of Representatives Document #249, F. C. 1901-23, page 364.

sketch shows the existence of five major house sites.

Another reference to habitation within the Mokauea Fishery on Kahaka'aulana Island is found during the smallpox epidemic of 1853. "The sick man was brought to Honolulu, but there was no place to bring him. He was lodged at last in a grass house on a reef island surrounded by water at high tide--quarters offered by Prince Lot Kamehameha. This islet was called Kahaka'aulana."<sup>7</sup> Informants were in agreement that there were Hawaiians living on the Mokauea sand flats in houses built on stilts. Older informants Clara Hart and Birdie Reist referred to habitation of Mokauea around 1900. Robert Rothwell in an Advertiser article<sup>8</sup> states that his father Guy N. Rothwell went to Mokauea in 1907 to consult with an old canoe maker who lived there. "This old man was an authority on outrigger sailing canoes. There were many fishing families there at the time and his impressions were that their ancestors had lived there for many generations."<sup>9</sup>

Although Kahaka'aulana was dredged out during WWII, information pertaining to this island is pertinent. It illustrates that people lived within the Mokauea Fishery definitely from 1853, and probably earlier, continuously until the land was confiscated in 1941. Immediately following the war, settlements resumed on the remaining tidal islands.

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<sup>7</sup>Greer, Richard, Hawaii Historical Review Selected Readings, Honolulu, 1969, page 39.

<sup>8</sup>Honolulu Advertiser, July 16, 1975.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1975.

This fact is documented by the Kekino informants, Kaliko Pu'u and Ethel Dickens as well as by Star-Bulletin articles appearing on February 10, 1956 and August 19, 1959. Many of the post WWII settlers were not on the islands prior to WWII. Among those people who came back to Mokauea who had associations with it prior to the war were Kaliko Pu'u and Joe Kuhi'iki. Kaliko Pu'u's children and Kaliko as well as Joe Kuhi'iki have lived on Mokauea continuously up until a year or so ago.

It can be concluded from the above information that:

1) Since at least 1853 there have been permanent dwellings within the Mokauea Fishery, and that people have lived there continuously from that time up until WWII when the area was confiscated and dredged by the Federal Government. People resumed occupancy in 1946 immediately after WWII and lived there up until a year or so ago.

#### The Fishing Community

To determine the nature of the community that existed on the islands within the Mokauea Fishery, traditional sources were consulted and informant interviews were conducted. Some of the informants interviewed came from nearby Mokuo'eo Island. Because of that island's proximity it was assumed that fishing techniques and general ethnographic information is pertinent. For a complete listing of informants and a brief write-up of their interviews consult the appendix of this report.



None of the informants could give an interpretation of the name Mokauea. A newspaper article using George Miranda as an informant<sup>10</sup> supplied three interpretations of Mokauea. The first meaning is to alight (*kau*) at the beginning of a path covered with dust (*e'a*). The City and County Library provided the definition of broken turtle, and another variation was: *Mo*, a hot wind such as that which follows the heat of a blast, *kau*, floating, *E'a*, hair such a Pele's hair from a volcano. The work would mean "hair floating in the hot wind." Kahaka'aulana was translated by Hawaiian authority Alice Namakelua who made many trips to this area in the first decade of the twentieth century,<sup>11</sup> as meaning, the roosting place or home of "*Aulana*" or the home (*kaha*) of *Ka'aulana*. She said this is only an impression she got from the words. Muriel Lupenui, a long time resident of Kahaka'aulana Island, didn't know any translation of the name.

Early accounts of Konohikis exist only for the western side of the Keehi basin. These were Kaleiluhi'ole<sup>12</sup> and later Kameeiamoku and Kukupuohi. The last two names were assigned konohiki rights by Kamehameha III for Moanalua in general.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Miranda, George, "Honolulu Street Names--56", Tales About Hawaii, Honolulu Star Bulletin, March 21, 1956.

<sup>11</sup>During conversation with Alice Namakelua, 12/1/76.

<sup>12</sup>See appendix, Damon Notebook Selections, Volume I, Book 1, Page 1.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

They reserved the flounder, mullet and squid as konohiki fish. These konohiki were headmen or overseers for a designated land division (usually an *ahupua'a*, or land division running from the mountains to the sea). After Moanalua *ahupua'a* became Damon property in 1884, Kurimoto<sup>14</sup> became possessor of konohiki rights to the fish. Mullet, flounder and squid remained the konohiki fish. This meant that other fish could be caught by tenants but restrictions were placed on konohiki fish. The konohiki system was a remnant of pre-contact Hawaii that existed into the twentieth century.

Fishermen were permitted to fish within these konohiki grounds and were permitted to take all fish not kapu for the konohiki. Keehi fishing grounds were very fertile<sup>15</sup> and many small fishing communities existed. At first fishermen bartered with the upland and later they sold their fish to various markets in Honolulu.<sup>16</sup> Mokauea and Kahaka'aulana proved to be a source for luau food even after WWII.<sup>17</sup> Crab, limu and fish were supplied from the Mokauea area, often bartered, in return for groceries and supplies.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>See appendix, Muriel Lupenui interview 9/2/76, Tape #1, Side B, also Ward Lemn interview 11/30/76.

<sup>15</sup>Cobb, John N., 1901 Report states that 155,158 lbs. of fish was obtained from the Kona coast of O'ahu. The Keehi area had fishponds with a total acreage of 885 acres, page 429.

<sup>16</sup>See appendix, Muriel Lupenui interview, 9/2/76.

<sup>17</sup>Jackie Roxburgh interview, 10/14/76 and Kaliko Pu'u interview, 9/12/76.

<sup>18</sup>For an in-depth study of exchange between fishing and farming communities see Handy, E. S. Craighill and M. K. Pukui, The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii, Wellington, 1958.

Every island comprised a separate fishing community. On each island there were several extended family groups called 'ohana. The family would also own property upland from the sea but any member of the family would use their house on the island when they were fishing. In the case of the Mokumai'a family, they owned land in Moanalua where the members of the 'ohana lived. They also owned a house on Mokuo'eo Island where Solomon Mokumai'a lived permanently. This method of existence was practiced in prior generations within this family.<sup>19</sup>

On Kahaka'aulana Island this was also the case with Muriel Lupenui whose family lived on nearby Pu'uhale and Waiakamilo, but who, herself, lived as a permanent resident on Kahaka'aulana Island. This was also the case with Joe Kuhi'iki who went to Mokauea Island (South) prior to WWII and would spend weekends within an'ohana house. He learned his fishing techniques from these experiences.<sup>20</sup> He established permanent residency there after WWII.

The island communities in the Keehi Basin depended on the collection of seafood, primarily fish, for their livelihood. Kamakau (1976:59) expressed how important the fisherman was to the pre-contact Hawaiian community:

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<sup>19</sup>Mokumaia, J. K. Moanalua Past and Present, Series of articles in Ka Napepa Kuokoa (in Hawaiian) 1922.

<sup>20</sup>See appendix, Joe Kuhi'iki interview 9/2/76, Tape #1, Side B.

The Hawaiian people were a race of expert fishermen. The art had been handed down from their ancestors. Agriculture and fishing were the two main professions always passed on from the grandparents to the boys...

The fishermen of Keehi would usually fish with their *'ohana* group. When fish were brought back to the island it would be shared with one's own *'ohana* first then with neighbors and finally the remaining fish were either sold or bartered. No one would go hungry because everyone watched out for their neighbor's welfare. This practice is still observed today.<sup>21</sup>

Through informants the following list was compiled showing the types of fish and seafood from the Keehi region.

#### Fish

manini - (*Acanthurus sandvicensis*)

'upāpalu - (*Aporgonidae*)

'anae or mullet - (*Mugil cephalus*)

āhole hole - (*Kuhlia sandvicensis*) Young stage of āhole fish

hīnālea or wrass - (*Labridae*)

'ō'io - (*Albula vulpes*)

papi'o or young ulua fish (crevalle or jack fish)

'oama or young weke - (*Mullidae*)

'ala'ihi or squeriel fish - (*Holocentrus*)

paki'i or flounder - (*Bothus pantherinus*)

mempachi -

kūmū or goat fish - (*Upeneus porphyreus*)

ulupapa -

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<sup>21</sup>For in-depth discussion of the *'ohana* as well as the relationship of the sea to the land, see Pukui, Kawena, The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, 1958.

awa - (Chanos chanos)

awa awa -

'ōpelu or mackerel - (Decapterus pinnulatus)

akule - (Trachurops crumenophthalmus)

#### Eel

Pūhi paka

brown eel

white eel

#### Limu

Manauea - (Grocilaria Coronopifalia)

'o'olu - (Chondria tenuissima)

'ele'e'e - (Enteromophora prolifera)

lipēpe'e - (Laurencia Parvipapillata)

kala - (Sargassum echinocarpum)

wawae 'iole - (Codim edule)

#### Shellfish

lobster

'ōpae or shrimp

alamihi or black crab - (Metopograpsus messor)

red crab

white crab

The fishing techniques varied according to the amounts of fish to be caught. The most extensive account of fishing methods practiced in this region was supplied by Ward Lemn<sup>22</sup> who learned fishing techniques from his uncle Solomon Mokumai'a,

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<sup>22</sup>See appendix, Ward Lemn interview, 11/30/76.

who as mentioned earlier was a permanent resident of Moku-o-oo.<sup>23</sup> Some of the more repeated accounts dealt with the *imu* or man-made rock piles that abounded in this sandy tidal region.<sup>24</sup> These piles were built so fish would be kept in them still alive. These fish could not escape and when fish was needed, these fish enclosures would be tapped. Mokauea region was probably most noted for its paki'i, squid and mullet, the konohiki fish. The paki'i is the flounder. It was caught in the sand by sticking it with a piece of metal wire. Alex Smith who lived on Mokauea Island (South) caught this type of fish and dried it for Prince Kuhio.<sup>25</sup> Squid was also caught in Mokauea tradition right from the canoe. A spear or stick with a wire ended barb attached to it was used to stick the squid. Prior to metal a wooden spear was used. In-depth explanations of squid catching are supplied by Muriel Lupenui and Ward Lemn in the appendix of this report. Most important of all fish was the mullet ('anae). The legend of the 'anae holo or migrating mullet supplied by informant Muriel Lupenui is substantiated by William Madden, a biologist at the Oceanic Institute doing research on the mullet.<sup>26</sup> The Mapunapuna pond was the major fishpond stocked with mullet, although other ponds of the area were stocked as well.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>For more information of Solomon Mokumaia see appendix, Damon Notebook, Volume III, Book XVI.

<sup>24</sup>See appendix discussion by Lupenui, Ward Lemn and Mrs. Parker.

<sup>25</sup>See appendix, Muriel Lupenui interview, Tape #1, Side A, 9/2/76.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Mokumaia, J. K., "Moanalua Past and Present", from Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 31, 1922.

Fishermen informants Ward Lemn, Muriel Lupenui, Joe Kuhi'iki and Birdie Riest stressed the importance of *ko'a* or fish breeding grounds. Each of these informants described the familiarity a fisherman has with his area. The *ko'a* or fishing grounds were marked by lining up the ocean with land markings. These *ko'a* were never violated only the amount needed was taken.

The most common method of fishing was carried out by laying nets on or near the reefs. Deep sea fishing was rarely practiced by the fishermen of Mokauea.

Traditional beliefs regarding fishing were discussed by Muriel Lupenui (9/2/76) and Joe Kuhi'iki (9/2/76). Joe observed as a small boy the *kuula* offerings on Mokauea Island.<sup>28</sup> The *kuula* was the fishermen's shrine<sup>29</sup> or god where offerings were made before and after fishing. Muriel Lupenui's *Kuula* stone god is shown in photograph # 6 in this report. On Kahaka'aulana Island they had a personal *kuula* god stone. This stone belonging to Muriel Lupenui was kept in a special house. This house was visited and described by Gertrude Damon and appears in her notebooks in the appendix of this paper (Book I, page 60). It is remarkable that this practice existed up until the confiscation of the area in 1941.

Beliefs regarding burial were given by Joe Kuhi'iki and were substantiated by published sources and appear in the

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<sup>28</sup>See appendix, Joe Kuhi'iki interview, 9/2/76, Tape 1, Side B.

<sup>29</sup>Malo, David, Hawaiian Antiquities, Honolulu, 1951, page 208.

appendix (see Joe Kuhi'iki, 9/2/76, Tape #1, Side B).

The stories of the shark Makalii were collected from many sources. Makalii is the shark guardian of this area. His dwelling place was on the sand dune on the side of Kahaka'aulana Island. Namakahelu, one of the informants for the Damon Notebooks (see appendix), includes a chant to Makalii in Book XIV (1) 5 and (1) 6. Kahikilaulani, the first human settler in this particular account, chants to Makalii so that the new settlers may be welcomed. Another reference to Makalii is found in the song Moku'oeo composed by Philomena Makaena the niece of Namakahelu (see appendix under Song: Mokuoeo).

When Makalii was living on the sand dune at Kahaka'aulana, according to Muriel Lupenui, (Tape #1, Side B), the sand would pile up on the channel side above his cave. According to Ward Lemn, when Makalii was at Kahaka'aulana Island the akule fishing was good.

On the Kalihi Valley ridge is a cave called Ke Ana Ka Mano (The Cave of the Shark). This cave is mentioned by Muriel Lupenui, the Damon Notebooks, and a Clarice Taylor article. "On the Kamaniki side of Kalihi Valley there was once a shallow cave; in olden times whoever occupied this cave controlled O'ahu. One branch of the cave led around and under the mountains of Pearl Harbor. Another branch led to the center of the island where there was a sacred swimming pool. An earthquake around 1900 closed up the caves and no one has been known to travel them."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Taylor, Clarice, Tale About Hawaii, Honolulu Star Bulletin, August 19, 1954.



Near the mouth of the cave lived a man whose descendants into modern time were the Kimona family.<sup>31</sup>

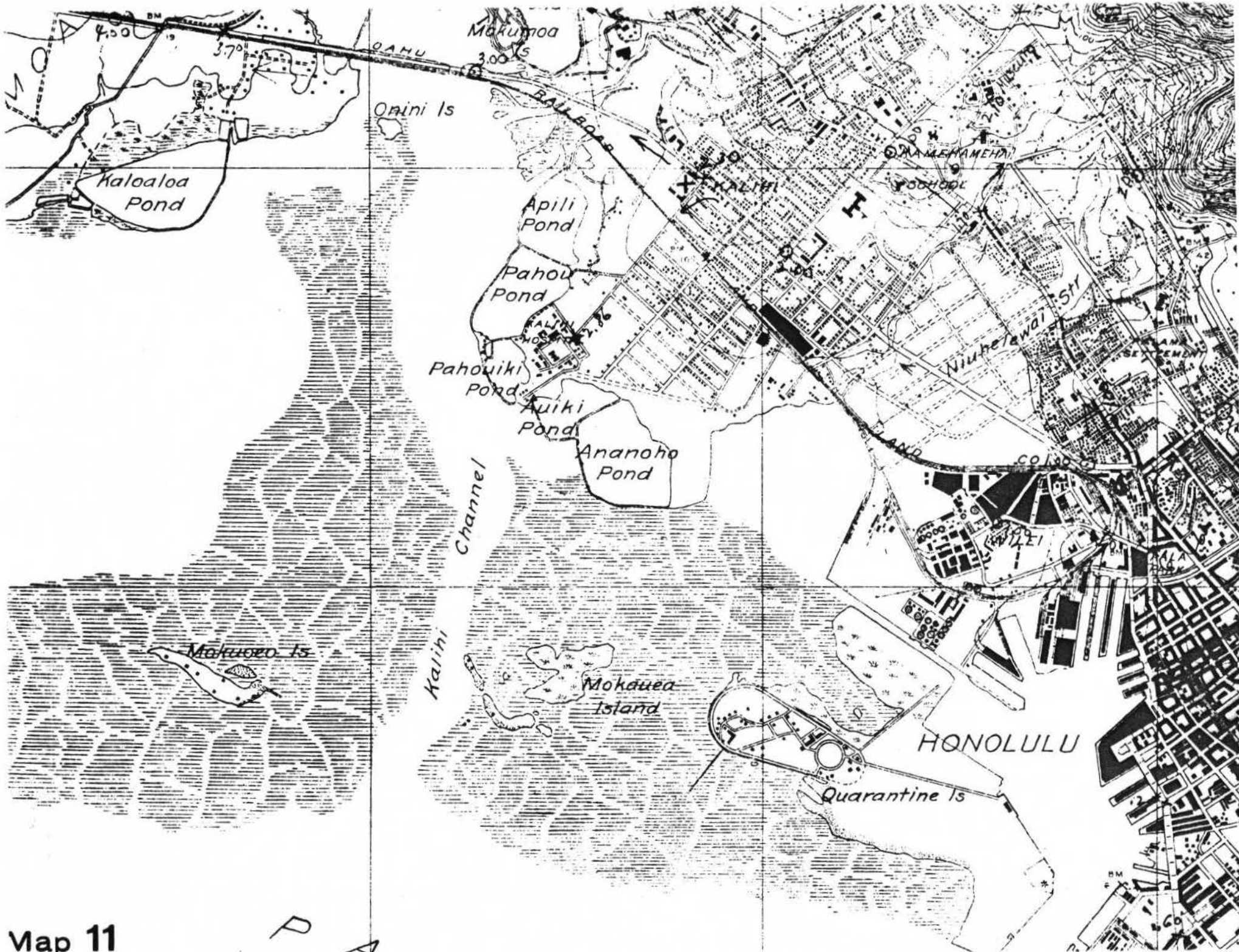
Canoes were the primary means of transportation prior to WWII. Children would go to school in small 10 foot koa canoes and water would be gotten in larger canoes. Sometimes they measured 20 feet or more. Since there was no water on the islands nearby Puuhale was the source for hand carried water. This is still the practice today. Prior to the advent of motors, people either paddled, sailed or poled (since most of the area was shallow, poling was the most common). During a June 6, 1975 cleanup of Mokauea Island a koa canoe was found measuring about 22 feet long. An in-depth description of events surrounding this canoe may be found in the Mokauea Fisherman's Association statement to Governor Ariyoshi on April 26, 1976, p. 1-6. This was probably an unfinished canoe of the type used for inshore fishing and water hauling.

Fishing practices were quickly adopted by immigrants. Informant Muriel Lupenui reported that the fleet of Japanese fishermen who docked their sampans at Puuhale, used her fishing kuula (stone god). They made offerings to the god and many of them spoke fluent Hawaiian. They would also leave fish at her house if they had a successful day. On Kahaka'aulana was a house that the Linking family used as fishing quarters. They

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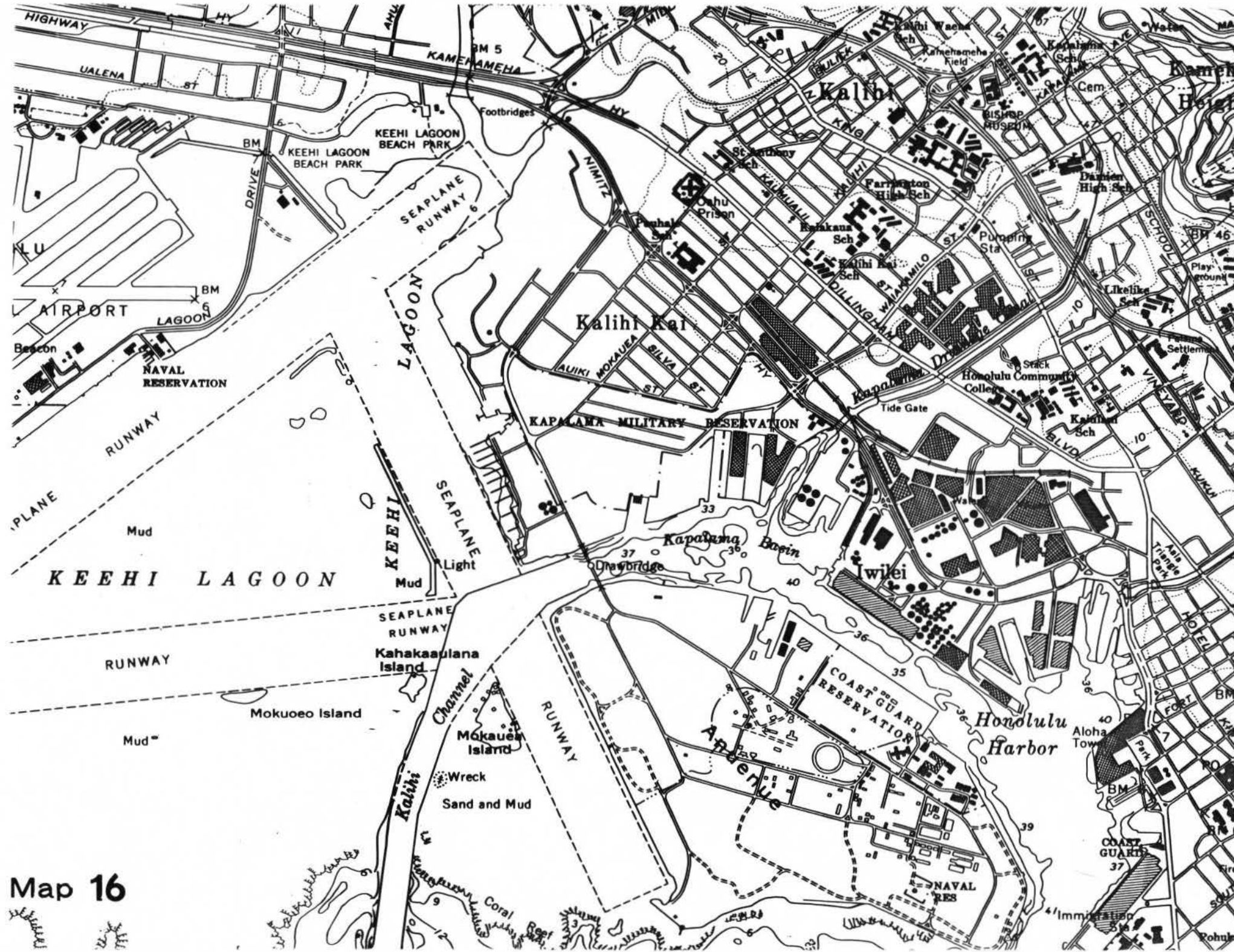
<sup>31</sup> See appendix, Damon Notebooks, Book II, page 49, Book VI, page 28-29, Book XIX, pages (5)1-4.

were Chinese restaurant owners who caught most of their fish in the Keehi Basin. After WWII the occupants of the Mokauea Fishery were multiracial. This is reflected in the community that exists on Mokauea today. Occupants use adopted Hawaiian fishing techniques and Hawaiian netting styles although a mixture of races now occupy the islands.



Map 11

D A



Map 16



PHOTOGRAPH #1



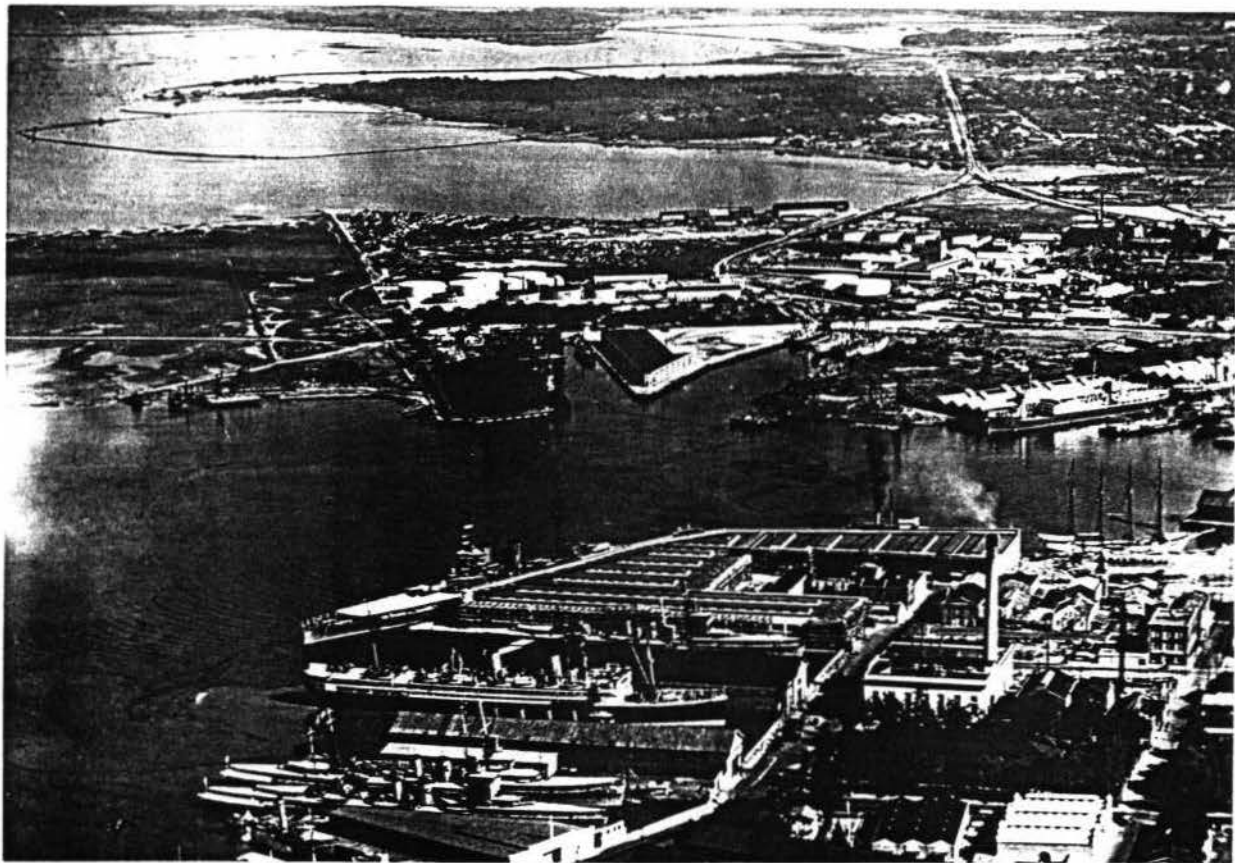
Fishponds at Honoruru, Oahu. 1826. An engraving by Bob Dampier. Shows the fishponds of the area in the foreground. Photograph courtesy of the State Archives.

PHOTOGRAPH #2



Mokauea Fishery circa 1901. Photo enlargement of a glass negative found in the State Archives.  
Brother Bertram Collection.

PHOTOGRAPH # 3



Keehi Lagoon in background and Honolulu Harbor in the foreground. Photograph # 764 by Ray Jerome Baker, June 11, 1924. Shows the extensive network of fishponds.

PHOTOGRAPH #4



Mapunapuna fishpond. taken in 1911. Mapunapuna industrial area occupies this site today. Fourteen major fishponds were adjacent to the Mokauea Fishery prior to the area's development. Photograph taken by Stokes and courtesy of the Bishop Museum #3733.



PHOTOGRAPH #5



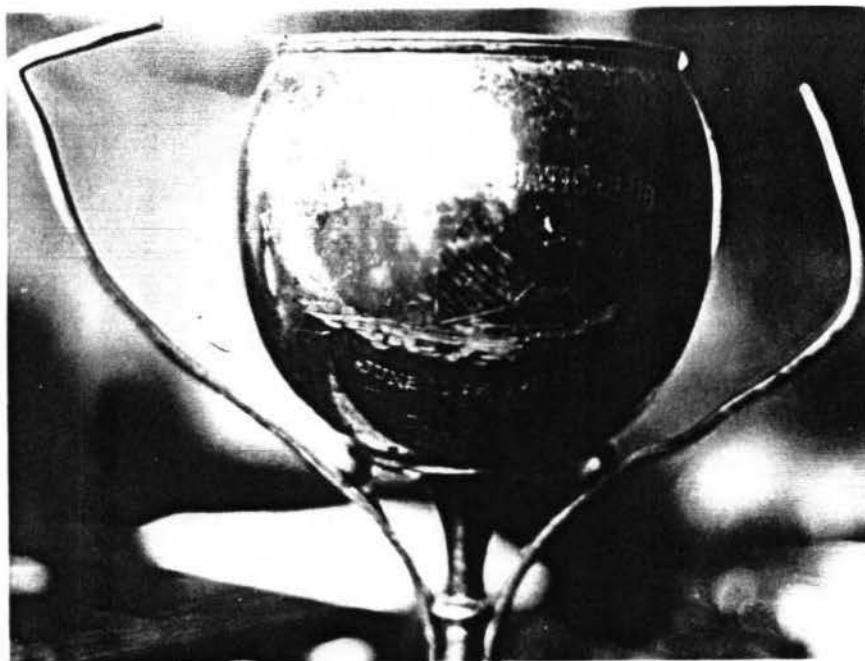
A one-man schooner, outrigger with with sail. This picture was taken in 1922 off Waikiki by Charles Furneaux. This is the type of canoe most used within the Keehi Basin. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

PHOTOGRAPH #6



Ku'ula (fish god) stone of Kahaka'aulana Island. Kept by Muriel Lupenui. The cloth is red, a sacred color to the ku'ula. Photograph courtesy of Nathan Oppenheimer.

PHOTOGRAPH #7



The Kamehameha Aquatic Cup Award presented to Muriel Lupenui's uncle on June 11, 1912, for outstanding participation in the Regatta Day celebration. Long distance races as well as squidding contests used the Keehi area. Photograph courtesy of Nathan Oppenheimer.

PHOTOGRAPH # 8



Informant, Muriel Lupenui, resident of Kaha-  
ka'aulana Island from 1912-1941. Photo court-  
esy of Nathan Oppenheimer.

PHOTOGRAPH # 9

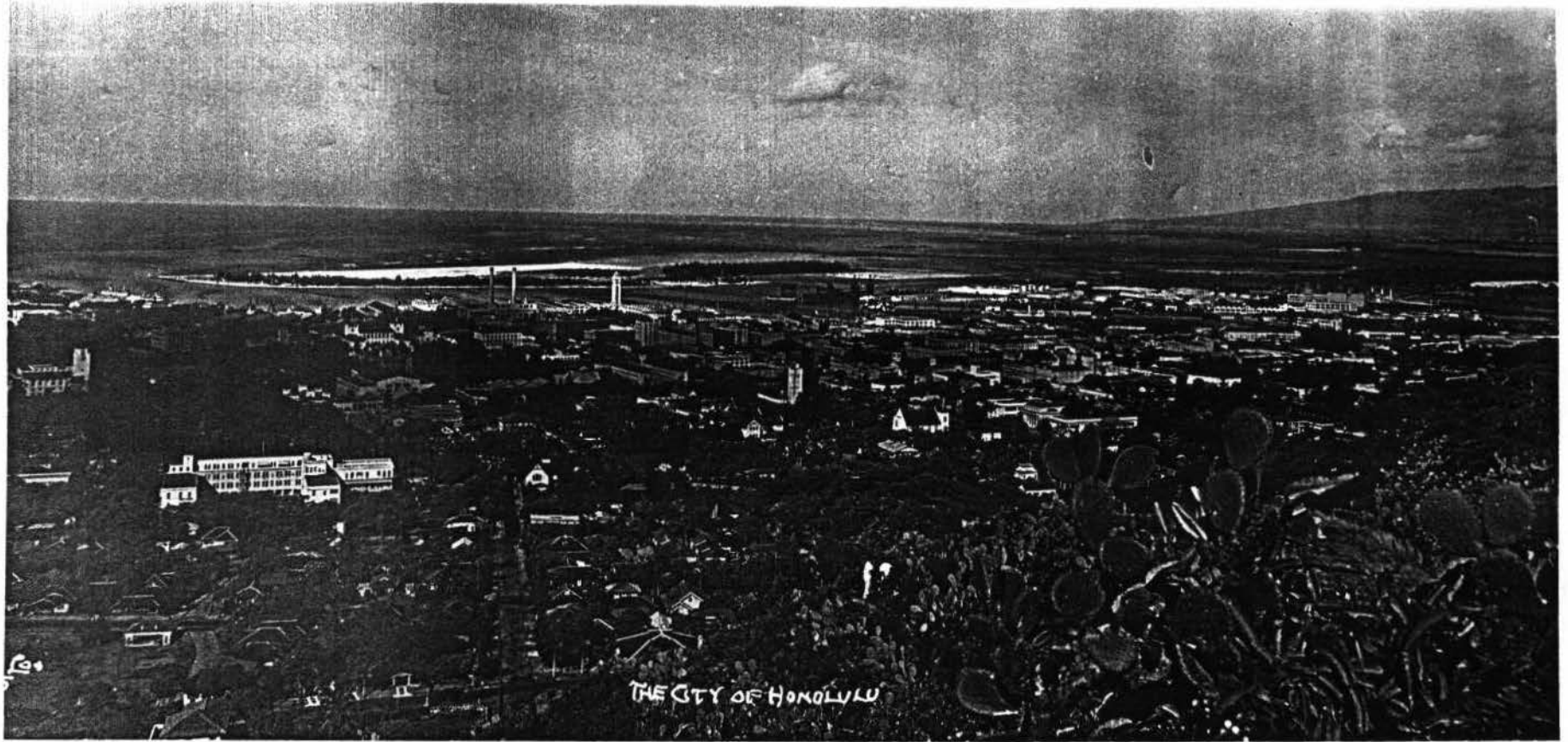


Muriel Lupenui's house on Kahaka'aulana Island, taken in 1941. This house was razed when a seaplane runway was dredged for WWII. Photograph courtesy of Muriel Lupenui from personal collection.



Honolulu Harbor, December 5, 1927. Shows the islands of the Mokauea Fishery with residences on Mokauea South Island and Kahakaaulana Island.

PHOTOGRAPH #11



The City of Honolulu, 1935. If enlarged the photograph clearly shows the islands of the Mokauea Fishery. There are many residences on Mokauea Island South and Kahaka'aulana Island. Tai Sing Loo took the picture. Photograph courtesy of the Honolulu Star Bulletin Collection.

PHOTOGRAPH #12



Honolulu on August 8, 1931. U.S. Air Force, Army Corp of Engineers. Shows the Keehi region prior to dredging. Photograph courtesy of the State Archives.



PHOTOGRAPH #13



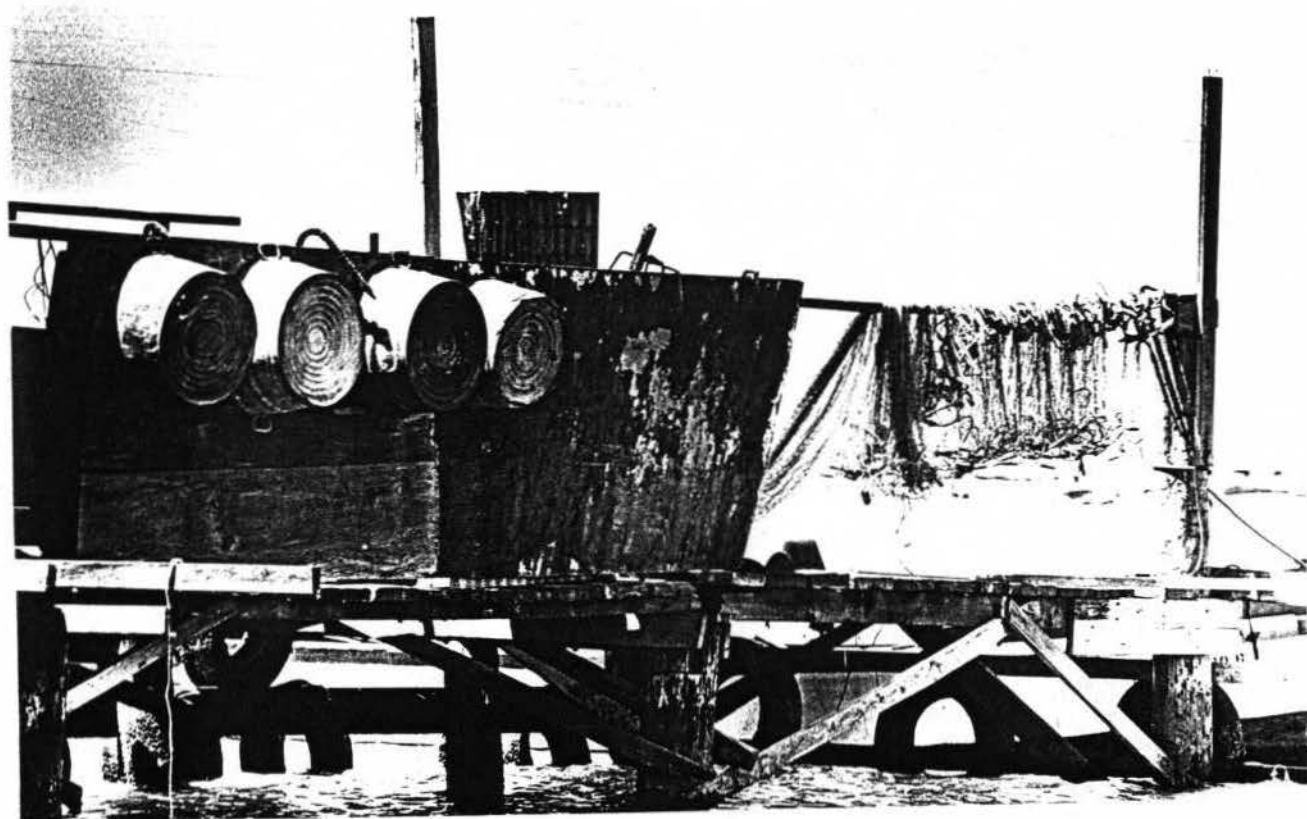
Dredging of Honolulu, 2nd Entrance Channel by Hawaiian Dredging & Co. January 1960. Shows residences on Mokauea Island as well as Harris which was formed by dredging spoils. USCE photograph #687.

PHOTOGRAPH #14



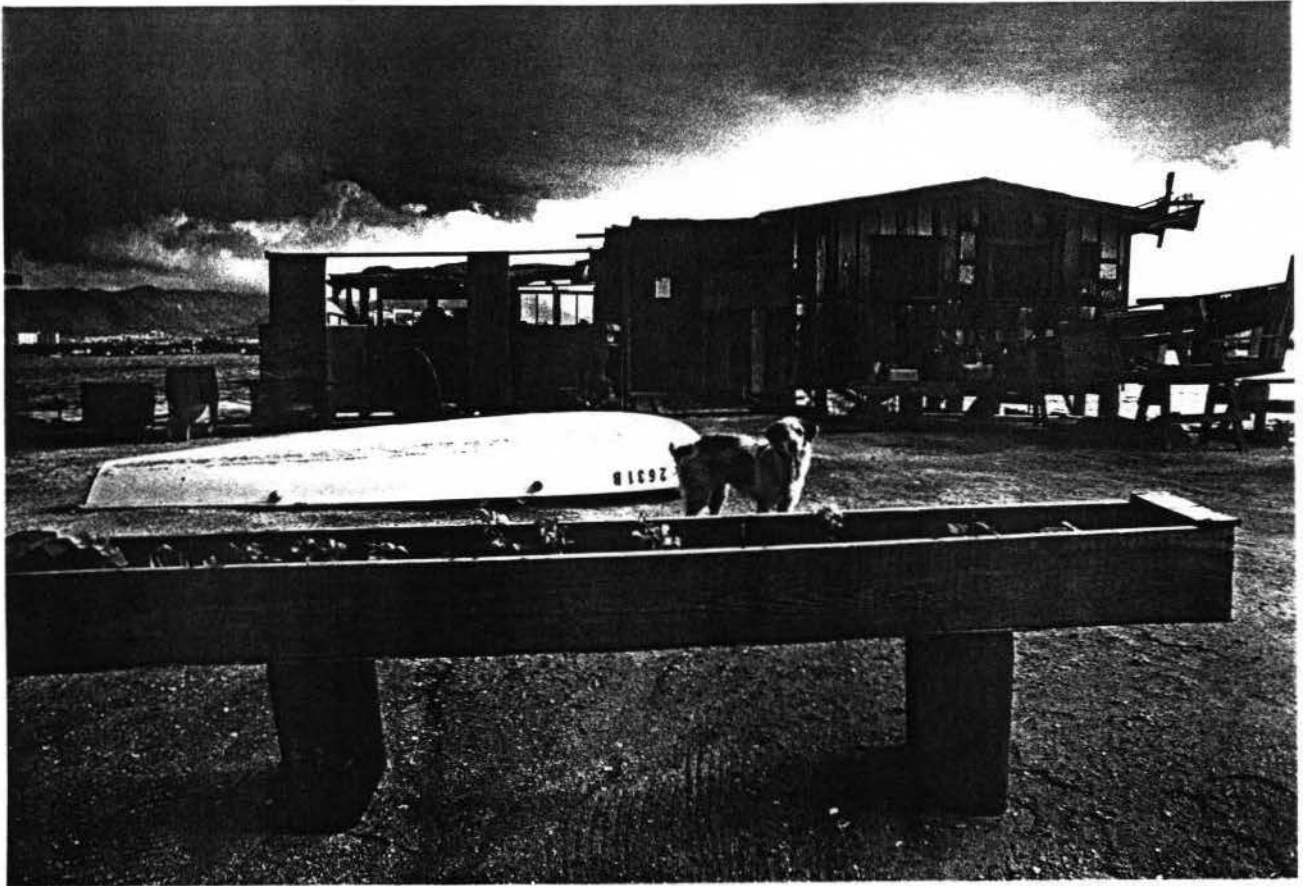
An aerial view of Mokauea Island today taken by R. M. Towill Co. on August 5, 1975. Shows residences and foliage.

PHOTOGRAPH #15



Mokauea Island Dock, 1975. Shows the fishing equipment used by modern Mokauea fisherman. Photograph courtesy of Ed Greevy.

PHOTOGRAPH #16



Residence of Ethel Dickens, daughter of Kaliko Puu, on Mokauea Island. During high tide the house stands partially in water. Photograph courtesy of Ed Greevy.

PHOTOGRAPH #17



The Mokauea canoe, July 1975. Shortly after discovery, the unfinished solid koa canoe is being examined by Dr. Kenneth Emory (at the far left), a leading senior anthropologist at the Bishop Museum. The canoe was evaluated as being genuine and unique in that its unfinished state reveals traditional techniques of the Hawaiian craftsman. Joe Kuhiiki a fisherman informant is shown on the far right.

Appendix A

Informants (Primary Information)

1. Interview between Joe Kuhi'iki, Muriel Lupenui and Nathan Oppenheimer, 9/2/76 (2 hours on tape).
2. Muriel Lupenui, telephone interviews, 9/7/76, 9/13/76 and 9/30/76.
3. Joe Kuhi'iki interview while touring Mokauea Island, 9/9/76.
4. Kaliko Pu'u interview, 9/12/76.
5. Henry Roxburgh interview, 10/14/76.
6. Jackie Roxburgh interview, 10/14/76.
7. Howard Kamau'u interview, 10/-/76.
8. Birdie Reist interview, 10/15/76.
9. Clara Hart interivew, 9/10/76
10. Mrs. Paul Parker interviews, 11/15/76 and 11/29/76.
11. Mrs. Clara Stone interview, 11/29/76.
12. Mr. Ward Lemn Sr. interview, 11/30/76.
13. Mr. Dan Kipi interview, 11/15/76.

Interview between Joe Kuhi'iki, Muriel Lupenui and Nathan Oppenheimer, 9/2/76 (2 hours on tape)

The following interviews were taped (2 hours). It was done on September 2, 1976 with informants Muriel Lupenui (74 years) and Joe Kuhi'iki (62 years) concerning their experiences with the Mokauea Fishery. The interview was conducted at the former's house. Muriel Lupenui lived on Kahaka'aulana Island from 1912-1941. The speaker code in the transcription is M=Muriel Lupenui, N=Nathan Oppenheimer, and J=Joe Kahi'iki.

Tape #1

Side A

- M: During the old time "hana 'ia" (was called) that place called...konohiki, all konohiki inside there, ah...the konohiki was under Kame'eaumoku, Kame'e'aimoku these two chiefs were selected from the Moanalua konohiki, see that was all under the Moanalua,
- J: Yeah, it was all under Moanalua,
- N: So Damon
- M: No, it wasn't under Damon, that's the time of the "po'e ali'i" (chiefs) were there, yeah no more alii kela wahi, ka manawa Damon (yeah, no more chiefs that place, at Damon's time).
- J: Yeah, po'e ali'i (Yeah, chiefs).
- M: That's why Queen Emma ma, when they go around eh, and Lili'u ma when they go mokupuni then they come right over there, they hold their "halau hula" (hula school) over there...in Moanalua... SKIP (section talks on the upper valley)....



M: All hula contests all inside there, and then when you came down Hikipua, well you see Hikipua that road, that's the road that goes over to that new Moanalua division. You know where they have the cottages now.

N: Where the graveyard?

M: No, the graveyard is on top, that's where Damon ma used to have their dairy, that's where the fish lady used to be, inside there the big rocks, "Māka i'a" (fish marker). That's the one that send em go get the fish,

N: That was a lookout?

M: Yeah,....Omit (Catholic Church, Mapunapuna fishponds, Old railroad station). Then the ahupua'a came down to pier 40, you know where pier 40, that used to be where Laie Park over there and the people used to work laundry, built piano box houses, you can inside, squatters and when you go down Sand Island way, that's where Kupihea ma used to stay and that's where all the fishponds were...

N: Before Sand Island,...was it that big?

M: No, no it's all filled in, filled in, yeah, that's where Dillingham came in to lay all that coral,

N: and Kaka'aulana...

M: Was an island by itself, about 300 feet I would think, Kaka'aulana and Mokauea yeah keia manawa 'o Mokauea (yeah, now it's Mokauea).

N: Heaha ka mana'o o Mokauea (What is the meaning of Mokauea)?

M: E, I don't know why they called it Mokauea, nobody ever thought of that.

N: Why Kaka'aulana?

M: I don't know, e, ali'i aia malalo o Mokauea island, that's where the channel going out, oh Kaliawa is up here by the airport side, when you go down to Pu'uhale where the squatters are, right there is Kaliawa, you know why they call it Kaliawa, because of the spring in the sea fresh water,

J: fresh water

N: in the ocean

M: yeah, this is Quarantine Island it was Sand Island before, Mamala is coming into the Harbor, it's just the mouth of the Harbor that's Mamala

N: Inside the Harbor is Kou

M: yeah, ka nuku a'o Mamala (yeah, the point of Honolulu Harbor). OMIT (talks about Honolulu Harbor)... and Mokauea was only a strip of land, that's where my cousin used to live for lawai'a (fish) for Kuhio ma, Alex Smith but that's not their house, its just when they come from Pu'uhale and they go down for fish, and if Kuhio he loves the paki'i (flounder), you know the 2-eyed fish, and you dry it and you make it kind of mae (dry) and he use it for gum, when he go campaign that what he ~~chews~~...our island ran like this and the stream was like this and right here was the squatters...it was more of a fishing village...I moved out October 1941 because the Governor told me to get out. There was me the filipino guy that used to take care Kalākaua's house, was right at the

entrance of the channel, then had more vacancy no body stay there and the rest was all island, so if anybody wants to use the island we allow that..so when they would go to Watertown (Hickam) they would come to the place, more so because I have this Ku'ula (fish god stone) all the sampans used to come to the place before they go and if they come home with the fish then you see fish in the house, mohai (offer), yeah mohai...

J: Yeah, because maybe next time you might not get anything...

M: At about five o'clock in the evening we would hang the lantern up so that when the sampans comes back they know that's the edge of the channel and they come right in or else they land on the reef, we had the call of the fisherman and took care of the light, Kali'u was the one to take care of the light from Lanakila now...

N: Who was on Moku'eo?

M: Kali'u I said and Keawe and old man Two Gun Mokumai'a, the old Oopa Mokumai'a. They were on Moku'eo they cut the island, 'oki (cut), only a part of left Moku'eo is the Damon Island.

N: What is Moku'eo?

M: I don't know maybe the land of oyster paha (perhaps)...

J: e'o, fish maybe or shell...

N: What is the type of fish that they used to keep over there?

M: Anything, but the konohiki fish is he'e (squid) or mullet, that the i'a o ke alii, kela mea (that the fish of royalty those mullet).

(At this point an excerpt from the Kualii chant from Fornander was read concerning itself with the waters of Mamala, Muriel replied by giving this legend)

Mo'ōlelo kēlā manawa, hele no keia pūkaua, hele no 'oia,  
this mea, warrior, of the fish whatever, alualu no keia  
po'e i'a, keia 'anae, mai Puuloa mai, a hele a kona wahi  
e moe no, moe like keia po'e i'a, maila, ne'e no 'oia a  
keia wahi 'ana e moe ai, a laha malaila keia 'ama'ama,  
a kona puka loa ana i Koko Head, a malaila pau, pau ka  
'ama'ama a loli, 'ouwo 'oia keia 'ano i'a. (A story from  
that time, this warrior travelled, he went, this person,  
warrior of the fish, whatever, and all the fish followed, the  
'anae fish, from Pearl Harbor (Puuloa) until he reached his  
place for sleeping, the fishes that were propagated, he  
continued until he emerged at Koko Head and then he was  
through, then the baby mullets were no longer being born,  
these babies changed they became immature young fish)...

At this point the tape ended but the story continued explaining how the mullet originally populated the shores on the kona side of Oahu; according to William Madden a biologist at Oceanic Institute (telephone conversation 11/30/76), the migratory characteristics of mullet is a proven fact the world over, this usually occurs before the reproductive period, as a response to temperature changes. Pearl Harbor is a primary site for the

migration of mullet on the kona side of Oahu. Because of dramatic changes in coastal environments the migration is not as evident today as it was prior to major dredging in these areas.

Tape #1

Side B

M: My uncle Punohu lived on Colburn Street and all the people there would go down. He stays down the island and we go down the island from when I was 12 years old and we come from Waialua...Makekaus were on Moku'eo...plenty aholehole.

J: always fish at Moku'eo, fish like weke, mullet, everytime them stay in there, that's they grounds that (Moku'eo), and they stay there, they only take enough to eat,

M: During the olden times they only come to eat.

J: They only come to eat, they not going to catch the rest, they leave it go take what they can, leave the rest they don't bother.

N: When you went down there in old times were you going to Mokauea or Kaka'aulana?

J: No Mokauea, Mokauea before you could walk across to, low tide, but not now, they dredged it for that seaplane runway, now cannot walk.

N: When d i d you start going to Mokauea Island?

J: I went when I was fifteen years old. I was born in 1912. My father and mother used to go first. Everytime I wanted to go he said no you stay home you're too small you no can swim, me, ...when my old man go fishing he no like one in the family

humbug, you know what you going to get you going to get lickin. Like use we don't know the old folks they don't like when they go fishing for anybody at home for fight. They know, when my father go fishing he not go tell nothing he only going to tell my old lady. I going work and these kids make sure they don't fight because if they fight and I don't catch, I know, somebody in the house is fighting.

N: That means fishing is bad?

J: Yeah, they come home and they don't catch nothing, when they come home we all get bust up. (The belief that domestic problems affect fishing is an old belief of Hawaiian fishermen substantiated in the book "Ancient Hawaiian Civilization", Handy, E. S. Craighill, Japan, 1965, p. 106.)

N: Your father is from the island?

J: No, from Ke'ānae, he came down here to work for Rapid Transit... he was a tract man he made road repairs with tar...

N: When did he come from Ke'ānae?

J: I think he came in 1913, I think when my old lady gave birth... she died... so I was the last one. When she died my grandparents hanai'd (adopted) me... I went to see my real father... when I came down for those two weeks, eh, and you know the old washing tub

N: yeah, the pakini (bucket)

J: We put the clothes and the blanket inside one, wrap up in the raincoat, in one tub, the other tub get can goods, cracker and sugar, coffee, two bottles whiskey, and my old man he no

drink whiskey, but I didn't know what the hell he taking two bottles whiskey, I thought oh maybe its for somebody so I don't ask questions. By by he lick me. I didn't come from Maui to get bust up becuae the lousy bottle....so we go across, low tide I can walk kind of deep little bit when deep like that we kind of back up and look for a high spot, and go over there. My old man and old lady they push the tubs, they come

N: They all swim out?

J: No them two they walk, the water comes to their neck, they walk, and when they go deep they back up to where its shallow... some places I could touch, so I swam, I hang on to the tub and old man, he push it, the tub, till hit close the island of Mokauea and he kind of come up, then I get up from the tub and push it inside. Then I look and see the old man and I saw oh the two bottles of whiskey for the old man. (This old man is another one, not his father, this one lived on Mokauea island and was very old when Joe went there as a boy) but you see later on I went find out, you know everytime that old man went fishing, he take the one bottle whiskey and he stick it inside the cool house, he get...I don't pay too much attention, I see my old man when he go fishing he take his two bottles whiskey, walk to the old man, I pretend I'm playing around but I see this old man grab one bottle, he take em in the cool house, he take em in there and mumble

he no drink the whiskey, and all I remember he said "Nau  
he omole, man holoholo" (for you a bottle-whiskey man, go).

N: So he was mohai (offering) in there?

This is the description of the fisherman's ku'ula or god.  
The whiskey is an offering made before the fishing trip.  
Whiskey is an obvious replacement for 'awa and other more  
traditional offerings. The Ku'ula ceremony is documented in  
Hawaiian Antiquities, Malo, David; 1951, Honolulu, pp.208-213.  
The mumbling in the cool house that Joe heard was obviously  
the offeratory chant.

J: Yeah, so whenever I go sleep and when I look in the morning  
wow!!! The fish I don't know how the hell they catch all the  
fish, I don't see the old many maybe he someplace, I don't  
go all over the place because I going get scoldings. All  
the fish, them two they come hom, some go for food some  
around the balance they take to Pake store by Waiakamilo  
and they go sell um, the fish, and when they come back they  
get good stuffs, they bought candy for me then...1935  
I went in the Coast Guard Camp....1937 I joined the National  
Guard, we were here at Schofield for manneuvres, the third  
time I came back the lands were still here, ...in 1940 I  
was with the army...(interruptions)...(talks about WWII)...

M: I had left already that time;

J: I went back to look later Army took over and had pill boxes  
and army...



N: When you went with your father how many were there at the island?

J: Oh had plenty people real plenty, the houses were high,

M: And built them inside the water,

J: Around thirty families

M: Yeah, about that...They built all the houses down there so they could come from the mountains and go down there and they would have their canoe and whoever stayed there would stay.

J: They all had their own houses, sleep in their own house

M: The water was under the house, on stilts and when you lay down at night the water rippling.

J: Sometimes you lay down at night and you listen to the water and you fall asleep.

M: Over there because of the Ku'ula, in olden times we always ho'āu (offer), ho'āu this ku'ula the fish was so close, you no need to dive, you build your own rocks "kāheka" (pool especially a rock basin where the sea washes in through an opening. Definition from Pukui-Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary) we call it, and you make your rocks in the center, you just push around under the reef and then all the fish that go in the center, they call it "Imu", "imu" (a rock and coral fish trap, from Pukui-Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary).

J: Yeah; one pile rock like that...

M: Yeah, and you know after you just chase whatever fish is under there and whatever fish goes in the imu is yours, so all you for eat then on Sunday you go break whatever you want and take home the rest, the fish over there come to you not you go chase, in the evening the crabs

J: Yeah

M: We had only three houses on Kaka'aulana Island but we had many tents all over.

The tape was being changed during this part of the interview, Muriel talked about the sampans. These sampans were manned by the Japanese fishermen who made offerings at he Ku'ula (fish shrine). They stopped on their way to Watertown and on their way back they also brought fish to be offered. She had this stone god at her house now.

Tape #2

Side A

M: Mokauea have their own, (talking about the fish shrine).

J: If you know the person then you go to that Ku'ula, if you don't then you know somebody else.

M: We ho'āu too outside we too (there was another ku'ula that Muriel gave to the Bishop Museum and now is lost. The only remaining ku'ula is with Muriel). Linking, they were the restaurant people, they built a house to supply their restaurant...We had many things there from Kuhi'o house Kawewehi (Waikiki) it is from the Kuhiō Beach area, Kahanu

was his wife, Nakai was Alex Smith's wife, she came from Moloka'i, they fished for Kuhi'o on Mokauea.

O Mele Li'i kukulu 'oia i papa'i hale nona, mawaho o ka reef, one little rock over there, when malo'o she used to ka'i over there, Joe Li'is mama, the lady, the lady Anzai says it's a graveyard but it's not .... (Mele Li'i built herself a raised house, outside of the reef, one little rock over there, and when it was dry (low tide) she would go over to there). Malaila keia po'e i noho ai ilaila kēlā manawa 'o Kuhiō ma waiho ia keia wahi he wahi heihei, regatta, regatta lākou i Kalihi i Pu'uhale, ho'omaka, ho'omaka, malaila a puka i waho iā Mamala a ho'i mai, and then I have a cup here from the race, he won it for a canoe race, the regatta, was on Kaka'aulana, all the islands got together Kuhio's time. (Then these people that lived there at that time, of Kuhio folks, set aside this place as a place for having a regatta, they had a regatta at Kalihi and Puuhale, and they began there, and went until Mamala-Honolulu Harbor entrance, then they returned) Before that time was Kalākaua ma because he likes sports, so hei lākou one man schooner, 'oia keia hana ia keia wa'apa a waiho ia no eke mea 'one ke'oke'o, a ka eke 'one waiho ia he balance. Noho keia kanaka mahope, me keia makani, lawe nana e huki no'oia keia sand bag a balance, hiki keia makani a lawe lākou pae a Mamala a ho'i mai... kēlā manawa they have a squid contest; 'ō 'oe ka he'e iluna

o ka wa'apa, 'a'ole 'oe a hele au ike wau keia po'e, nau,  
ka mea, niu malo'o a kuhā, you known, spread out and you  
can see plain underneath and then they have contests.

(Before that time it was Kalākaua folks, because he likes  
sports, so they would race from Moku'eo and Kaka'aulana, they  
would begin you know make up a group, they would race with  
one man schooners. It went like this, they would run these  
schooners, placing white sand bags outside of the canoe. And  
the sand bags it acted as a balance. The person was situated  
in the back, with the wind, he was carried and he pulled on  
the sand bags outside of the canoe. And the sand bags it  
acted as a balance. The person was situated in the back,  
with the wind, he was carried and he pulled on the sand bag,  
a balance, the wind came and they were carried until Mamala  
and they returned...during those times they had a squid contest.  
They would spear the squid from on the canoe you wouldn't go  
probably meaning that the squidder never left the canoe, this  
being a peculiar method of catching squid common to the  
Mokauea region, and I saw these people chewing, dried  
coconut and spitting it, you know spread out and you can  
see plain underneath and then they have contests.) So if  
you're smart eh...pa'ipa'i ia ka waapa me ka 'ao'ao  
a ho'i no ka he'e ina hele lālau i ka he'e a ho'i no. Po'e  
kama'āina 'ike lākou ka lua a keia ho'i 'ana i keia lua mea  
ka pohaku fresh fresh... not the old one, just like somebody

went in and you pulled all this stones inside, hide...'Oia ka noho ana kēlā, 'ai au kou 'ai aia no 'oe i ka'u ka noho ana, ka noho ana. (So if you're smart eh...you would slap the canoe side, the squid would return home, you could then get them and return home. For people familiar with the ways of squid they knew where the squids hole-home was, when he returned home the hole was fresh, fresh...not the old one, just like somebody went in and you pulled all this stones inside, hide...that was the life those days, my food was your food, what was mine was yours, that was the life.)

The old timers still living there are the po'e mo'opuna ka po'e kahiko malaila i keia manawa, Kekino's descendants. Oh, Makalei was the name of Ku'ula and it was at the Museum but it is lost...Keia manawa not so, i ka manawa kahiko hoi no ka'ama'ama hele a 'ele'ele ke kai, 'ele'ele ka i'a, ka mākou noho ana, ina ho'i mai keia Hīhīmanu ho'omaka 'oia, ko mākou noho ana malaila, kauka'i no mākou i keia po'e, i po'e ho'ono'o i'a. Inā ho'i mai 'o Makali'i mai Kalihi uka, 'oia keia hele keia papa pi'i ke 'one a me keia, ma'ane'i nei here channel, keia 'one hele there, inā ho'i 'oia palaha keia 'oia ka mākou. (Now days it is not so, in the olden days the amaama fish came until the water turned black with them, black was the fish that was our life. If the sting rays came then you started, our way of life there, we depended on people who knew about fish. If Makalii returned

from the uplands of Kalihi, he (Makalii) was this shark god, if he returned to the island, to our island, you would see this surface, the surface was extended, the sand was stacked like this, right here and here the channel, the sand was moved and stacked on top it never collapsed in, and the ancestors have returned, and that is good; We stay down there. If he returned the mound of sand would flatten. That's how it was.)

So if you ha'alele this 'āina, they call Mokauea, well ko mākou nānā ana iluna Ke 'Ana Ka Manō, that's the 'ana on top of kilohana ma, nānā mākou, we don't go with the oar, hele mākou me ka la'au, so because the channel like this...we go with pole instead of the hoe. (So if you come to this land they call Mokauea, well if you look upward toward the mountain there was Ke 'Ana Ka Manō-The cave of the shark, that's the cave on top of the lookout point. We looked up. We didn't travel with the oar, we went with the stick-pole).

The tape continued other pertinent material mentioned was: Kaliawa, was a place where there was fresh water springs in Keehi Lagoon. This was the place where everyone went to collect limu elele, this type of limu thrives in brackish water. The fishermen of this region went as far as Watertown (Hickam) to get their fish. These fish were sold at the Kekaulike fish market.

Tape #2

Side B

I will paraphrase the pertinent facts mentioned on B side of the second taped interview.

Muriel made many trips to Watertown. She used a skiff as well as two small canoes. When asked, "How far back does your family go on Kaka'aulana she provided me with the following geneology. This chart is a compilation from all interviews held with Muriel: it starts with the original mahele grant LCA 10611, Royal Patent 2335 to Puhene. The original boundaries did not include the entire island, but grants for the remaining portion of the island were never made--

Puhene died on 7-10-1853 unwed and the sole heir of Kaka'aulana Island was his brother, Haupu (Probate 1170 S. C.). Haupu died on 8-30-1853 he had a child Halila the mother of Halila is unknown. Halila was the sole heir to Kaka'aulana Island. Halila married Nalei and had four children from oldest to youngest; Pale (female) also called Palea, Hookano (female), Kalehua (male), and Luka (female). Hookano was given the deed to Kaka'aulana Island. Hookano had 2 children. One with Charles H. Brickwood (who died 11-28-1888), the child was Pinaiu Brickwood (female), (Probate 10150) who died 9-27-1936. The other child was had with Jack Kahalekauila (who died 11-23-1910), the child was Muriel Kahalekauila also called Elizabeth. Jack Kahalekauila was related to Muriel Lupenui through the Ku'uku family of Moanalua, Hookano (female) was related to Muriel through Moses

Punohu her uncle. Moses lived with Muriel. Hookano died on 10-8-1928 at this time the deed was given to Muriel Kahalekauila. Muriel Lupenui continued living on the island. Muriel Kahalekauila was the cousin of Muriel Lupenui. Muriel Kahalekauila offered the deed to Muriel Lupenui but she refused it. In 1941 when the island was confiscated M. Lupenui left the island. She was again offered the deed by M. Kahalekauila, she refused it again. This was the last association Muriel Lupenui had with the island.

People stayed out on these islands for varying lengths of time, they usually kept dual residences. One family residence on the island and one house of a more permanent nature on the mainland.

This is a list of "old timers" on Mokauea and Kaka'aulana:

1. Kalili
2. Kae'a or Ka'ai'ai (They had 8 children)
3. Kala'au kupu (had a house on high stilts)
4. Palekapu
5. Kekino (Kaliko Pu'u, and Ethel Dickens are direct descendents of )
6. Moses Punohu (Muriel's uncle who lived with her)
7. Two Gun (J. K.) Mokumai'a, O'opa (Solomon) Mokumai'a, Antone Keawe, Green, (All of these people lived on Damon or Mokue'o Island).



These island people raised pigs, chickens, these cages were built up on stilts so at high tide the animals remained dry. The pigs wandered the sand flats at low tide. They knew how to catch paki'i fish as well as alamihi crabs. Residents made many large luaus on Kaka'aulana. They had an imu there. They also had a still for liquor production. Many Japanese fishermen came and learned Hawaiian fishing techniques from these islands. These Japanese spoke beautiful Hawaiian. They observed the rituals of the Hawaiian fishermen and made offerings at the ku'ula stone god. Fish were taken to the markets and the money made from this fish was used to buy supplies from Ah Leong's store. The children attended Kalihi Waena, Moanalua School (Clara Mokumai'a was the teacher there) and Kaliulani School. They went to school on little 8 foot canoes. Muriel's canoes were both named.

Howard Kamau'u interview, 10/-/76

Mr. Kamau'u is the navigator for the U. S. Research Ship the Thomson Cromwell. He remembered the mullet fish ponds at Ke'ehi Lagoon. He used to fish this area with his grandfather in a koa outrigger canoe. He said that Kalihi Channel was navigable all the way up to Moanalua Gardens. He said that all the islands had houses on them and Hawaiian fishermen spent time on these islands. Mr. Kamau'u was more familiar with Kewalo than Keehi however. Time was at minimum and I didn't conduct a real interview with him but the few facts he supplied were pertinent.

Birdie Reist interview, telephone conversation 10/15/76

Mrs. Reist's memory was very clear and she supplied me with information on Kou (Honolulu Harbor). Dr. Trousseau's boat house was purchased by her father and she lived in Honolulu Harbor during her youth. She lived only a few houses away from the Myrtle boat house. She remembers Muriel Lupenui as being a good squid catcher. She was celebrating her 88th birthday on September 16, 1976. She was born in 1888. Her early memories go back to when she was six years old in 1894. She went out fishing with Ke'oho'iki who was a mason as well as a fisherman. Keohiki was responsible for building the gates at Kawaiaha'o Church. He paddled out of Honolulu Harbor. He knew where every ko'a or fish house was. He made a pu'olo 'ōpae ( a bundle with shrimp inside of it), in order to catch a fish. He would let this bundle down, and by jerking the rope would free the shrimp that was tied up. In this way he cultivated fishing areas. He only took the fish that was needed never more. Fish were plentiful in those days. Whenever, Keohoiki came back from fishing he would first give fish to his family, then to his friends and the rest would be sold to the market. She remembers paki'i (flounder) fishing on Mokauea Island and she also remembers Hawaiian people living on the sand flats in Ke'ehi Lagoon.

Clara Hart interview at Lunalilo Home, 9/10/76

She said that she is 97 years old and this was confirmed by the attendents. She was born and raised in Honolulu. She had family in Puuhale and spent time walking in the Keehi area. She said they went paki'i (flounder) fishing in the Mokauea Island area. They dried the fish and ate it. Puuhale was a place where many corpses were burned. She said in her teens there were many Hawaiians living in the Mokauea area all on stilt houses. She said on a separate island there were permanent houses. She said the fishponds were really full with fish. She spoke of Kaka'aulana Island. (All informants pronounced it "Kaka'aulana Island" instead of Kahaka'aulana Island which is the way published sources spell it.)

Parker, Stone, Lemn, Kipi interviews

One of the few native accounts of Moanalua tradition written by a resident Hawaiian is a series of articles published in Ka Nupepa Kuoko'a, February 17-August 31, 1922, called Moanalua i kēlā au a o Moanalua i keia au (Moanalua Past and Present). The writer was John Kuli Mokumai'a (called Two Gun Mokumai'a). He was a politician, writer and fisherman, as well as an expert kahili maker. His brother Solomon Mokumaia was a long time resident of Moku'eo Island. Although neither of these men had any children their sister Hattie Mokumai'a Lemn had three children. These children provided me with family information as well as descriptions of life in the Keehi channel. All articles by J. K. Mokumai'a are translated at the Bishop Museum, listed in their Hawaiian Ethnographic notes. I have included one installment that was not translated as well as a condensation of other pertinent articles dealing with the family communities of this area.

Hattie Mokumai'a Lemn's three children are Mrs. Paul Parker, Ward Lemn, Sr., and Mrs. Clara Stone. Solomon Mokumai'a hanai'd a Japanese boy Dan Kipi. He was also interviewed since he was born on and spent some of his life on Moku'eo Island.

Mrs. Paul Parker telephone interviews, 11/15/76 and 11/29/76

Mrs. Parker was the daughter of Hattie Mokumai'a Lemn born in 1906. She spent summers on Moku'eo Island and remembers her time spent there well. She keeps the family geneology. In the early 1920s she started going there. She learned how to patch nets from her uncle Solomon. The men would lay nets on the reef. They caught akule, mo'i, weke, mullet. They always had a lot of fish. They travelled by canoe. There were many Hawaiians on Kaka'aulana Island. It was a long strip of land. She would pick limu, catch crabs or go fishing. They would go squidding by attaching a piece of wire on the end of a stick. They would poke the squid and put it in the boat. They had a canoe with large pots in it. They went to Kalihi Kai, Pu'uhale, for water. They also did this to get their food supply. They would also connect hat pins to sticks and walk the sandy tidal islands looking for paki'i fish. The Mokumai'as had one house for the entire family. It was a very large house and the entire family would stay there. They made their money by taking the fish to market and with the money made from selling the fish they would in turn buy supplies. It was a wooden house with a corrugated iron roof. They would build coral mounds called imu where fish could live. They would go to these imu only when they had to, especially during bad weather. They would take only the amount of fish that was needed. They did this by collasping the stones and netting the fish. After they got the fish they rebuilt the imu pele.

She gathered limu of all types, mainly limu manauea (Grocilaria Coronopifalia), limu lipēpe'e (Laurencia Parvipapillata), limu kala (Sargassum echinocarpum), limu wawae 'iole (Codium edule), and limu 'ele'ele (Enteromophora prolifera). Women never went out in the canoe fishing, it was considered bad luck.

She said her uncle became sick and went eventually to the family residences near Moanalua Gardens. This substantiates the same incident found in the Damon Notebooks, Volume III (6) 1 January 9. Mrs. Parker also mentioned Mary Ann Estes who lived on Moku'eo Island. Time didn't allow me to contact her.

Mrs. Clara Stone telephone conversation interview, 11/29/76

The fishes caught there were manini, upapalu, alaihi, aholehole, paki'i, oama (small weke), big weke, hinalea, mullet, oio, crabs (alamihi, red, white). They did this all by canoe. She collected limu lipoa and manauea. The konohiki fish was mullet. The ōpae was plentiful and was collected in large gunny sacks. Her mother was Hattie Mokumai'a who was born and raised in Moanalua. Her mother's brother Solomon was the member of the family who lived permanently on Moku'eo. Solomon was also called O'opa. He was born and raised in Moanalua on Moku'eo. He was a fisherman all his life. Mrs. Stone was born in 1911 in Moanalua. She said it would make more sense for me to talk to her brother Ward Lemn so I got his number and ended our conversation.



Mr. Ward Lemn, Sr., interview at his home in Kualoa, Oahu  
11/30/76

Ward Lemn was born on December 23, 1912. He was the oldest and the only member of his family who lived on a permanent basis (4 years) with his uncle Solomon Mokumai'a on Moku'eo. The first topic that he wanted to talk about was the canoe that he heard was found on Mokauea. He said that he know his uncle Solomon went to Mokauea in the late 1930s prior to WWII to help an old Hawaiian fisherman who lived on Mokauea work on a canoe. The man's name on Mokauea was Kalili. Solomon and Mr. Green of Moku'eo both went to work on the canoe. It was to be made for Douglas Damon. The canoe was never finished. He thought that maybe this canoe could have been the one that they found. Everything was left on the island when the land was confiscated. His uncle left two large 22 feet koa canoes and 4 canoes between 10-12 ft. on Moku'eo. When they came back they were no longer there.

Ward Lemn learned fishing techniques from his uncle Solomon. He knew all the ko'as or living places of the fish. He is a fisherman today and keeps an extensive collection of nets in his net house as well as 2 boats. One boat is temporarily out of commission. When asked about the traditional Hawaiian aspects of fishing, Lemn said his uncle was a quiet man. Solomon didn't talk much about Ku'ula stones or any other such items. One peculiar thing that his uncle always did was to go sleep before departing for fishing. When he came back out from his room

sometimes he would tell them to change the nets. They would do this without asking any questions. They would go off and catch a lot of fish. Sometimes they waited hours in the canoe. When they asked their Aunt what Uncle Solomon was doing she would say nothing or he's sleeping. Ward said he didn't know if Solomon kept a ku'ula in there or not.

They caught squid from in the canoe. They used the small canoes for squidding, that is the 10 ft. or 12 ft. canoes. They built a small wooden box and they tied the box to the canoes and weighted it down with rocks so it was completely submerged. They did not kill the squid when they caught it, they kept it alive and fresh until they wanted to eat it.

They torch fished at night with a kerosene torch and scoop net. They would walk the shallows when a fish was seen they would approach it. The torch light blinded the fish so they just scooped it up into the net. They caught kumu fish this way.

They had a large net they called a manini net. About 100 feet square with a bag in the middle. They would lay the net and trap fish in the center by picking up the net. They layed the net in all the shallows of Ke'ehi not only on the outside reef. Ward supplied me with the most extensive list of fish. He said they were not deep sea fishermen. They caught: o'io, papi'o, weke, manini, kumu, mempachi, holehole, upapalu and akule, lobster, squid, eel, ulupapa, awa, 'awa'awa, opelu, hinalea.

Ward said he fished using "palu". This was a bag filled with food that was dropped to attract the fish. When the bag was dropped it gave the smell of food drawing fish. This method was especially good for opelu. It drew fish then the fish were hooked. They also had "imu". These were hand made coral rock piles where fishes lived. It was in the shallows usually three to four feet. They kept manini, holehole, hinalea and upapalu in these imu. Everybody had an imu and no one disturbed the other persons imu. In modern times however no one respects imu ownership.

He caught white eel, puhi paka and brown eel. They were caught with a stick and wire and bait. The eels head was trapped with the wire and he was pulled from his berth. There never were sand eels in Ke'ehi during Ward's time but he said they have sand eels now.

On rough days the fishermen would take old coconuts with them. They would chew on the coconut and spit the oil on the water surface. This would let you see the bottom clearly. By seeing the rocks lying on the bottom they could pick out squid berths. By seeing whether the rocks were disturbed or whether the rocks were neatly placed back in position they would determine whether there was a squid in the hole. He said there were white and red crabs as well as the Samoan crabs.

He said the 'anae holo (travelling mullet) is a true thing. In the winter time, right during the time I visited him he said the mullet leave Pearl Harbor. One bunch goes Ewa and one bunch goes Diamond Head. He said the bunch that went Ewa he didn't know about but the other bunch he did. This other bunch made four major stops on the Kona side of Oahu, first at Ke'ehi Channel, second at Honolulu Harbor, third at Kewalo Channel (Ala Moana area) and fourth at Lukela which is past Diamond Head.

Ward's family lived on Pineapple Place on a five acre kuleana. All the Mokumai'as lived here except for Solomon. His uncle Solomon had a large house. He collected water from the roof and also had 2 large 22 ft. canoes that had metal drums in them. They would go to Puuhale to get water with these canoes. They would either pole or sail the water was usually too shallow to paddle. When the government took the land in 1941 his uncle Solomon gave all his nets away and left his canoes on the island. They were to remain with the island.

There was a large fishpond where the airport is which was leased to Akana. Mullet was stocked and sold. It was very lucrative business. These all were initially ali'i fishponds. Kurimoto had the konohiki rights to mullet in this area. He bought these rights from the Damon family. Salt Lake was also a stocked pond at the time. After Ward left the island he eventually went back in 1951 to fish. He said nothing was the same because of the new seaplane runway. He fished with Louis Akau an old

Moanalua family. There were many fishermen on the Mokauea side of the channel. He now lives in Kualoa, Oahu and still spends most of his time fishing.

Mr. Dan Kipi telephone interview, 11/15/76

Dan Kipi was reluctant at first to talk this was a second attempt at talking to him. He is a pure Japanese man who was hanai'd (adopted) by Solomon Mokumai'a. He left Moku'e'o at the age of 13 years. He moved and lived in Moanalua after this. He was born in 1910 his father was caretaker of Moku'e'o (Damon) Island. He said he had very little contact with the people on the other side of the island. They made great amounts of salt from Salt Lake (Alia pa'akai). There was a lot of lime ele'ele in Mapunapuna area. He was only familiar with the Moku'e'o side of Ke'ehi. He said that mullet was always plentiful but it was the konohiki fish so they weren't supposed to take it. Mr. Kipi wan't feeling well so we ended the conversation. He said when he feels better he could talk more.

Muriel Lupenui, telephone interview, 9/7/76, 9/13/76 and 9/30/76

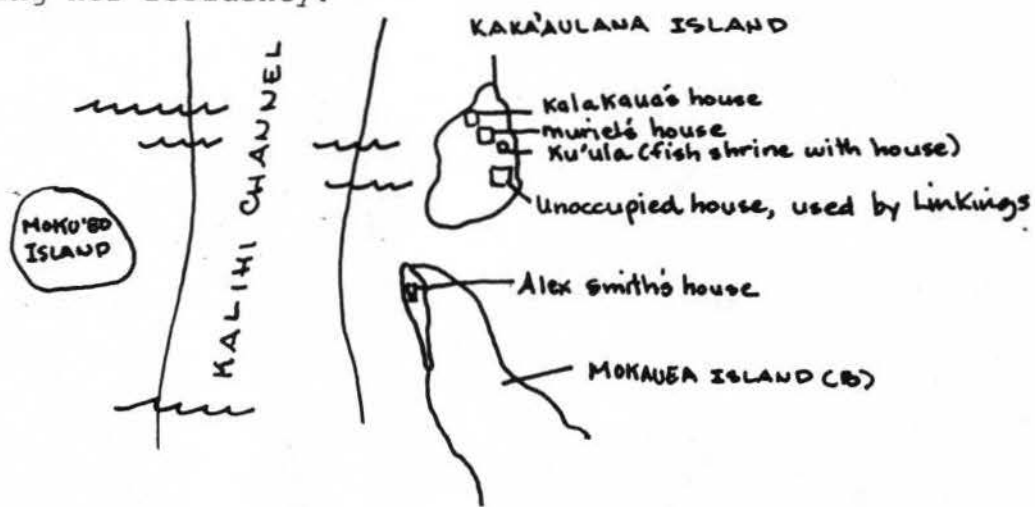
1. Telephone conversation, 9/7/76

- a. Isenberg and John Wise were companions of Kūhiō. They visited with him often. These three men came to Kaka'aulana Island. Two or three times during Muriel's residency there.
- b. Muriel's two canoes were named alamihi (smaller of the two canoes) and 'ahu'ula. When she left the island she gave 'ahu'ula away and kept alamihi. These were small 10-12 feet koa canoes. She put alamihi in her yard and Doctor Green of Pearl Harbor asked her for the canoe. She was reluctant but eventually gave it to him. She still has her hoes (paddles) used with these canoes. She also took liquor bottles, some with liquid still inside them. These bottles were offerings made to the ku'ula stone god. She has these articles under her house in Aiea.
- c. Moses Punohu, her uncle died in 1945. He worked at the coal docks at Iwilei. He lived with Muriel on the island.
- d. Muriel was married to Michael Ianua at first he died in 18<sup>9</sup>38 she remarried in 1940 to George Lupenui who died on December 31, 1961.

2. 9/13/76 conversation at Kawaiaha'o Church after a Ka'ahumanu Society Meeting

Muriel is the president of the Ka'ahumanu Hawaiian Society.

- a. The way you can tell Moku'eo fish from Mokauea fish is that Moku'eo fish curls when fried and Mokauea fish is soft and doesn't curl when it is fried. This is probably due to the fact that Moku'eo is on the west side of the Kalihi Channel where currents are strong and Mokauea is on the east side of the Channel where currents are milder.
- b. Muriel's traditional upbringing was from her grandfather, who was 110 when she was 5 years old, she carried around his ipu kuha (spittoon).
- c. Moku'eo Island across the channel was a lighthouse for sampans returning from fishing it marked the western side of the Kalihi Channel, they hung a light there to guide the fishermen.
- d. Muriel drew this drawing of how the houses were on her island during her residency.





3. 9/30/76 telephone conversation with Muriel Lupenui

- a. Ko'a-is fishing place where fishes are kept and cared for, they will be there and you can go there and catch them.
- b. palu-she would boil pumpkin and sweet potato to take to the ko'a and feed the fish, this food was called palu, she used the mountains as a gauge for marking points where ko'a existed in the water, they would know where they were by familiar mountain shapes.

Joe Kuhi'iki interview while touring Mokauea Island, 9/9/76

Notes from a conversation with Joe Kuhi'iki during a tour of Mokauea Island.

1. Joe spoke of fishermen's burials. There was an old man on the island when Joe first came out here. This man taught Joe about the fishing Ku'ula. He also taught Joe about the tradition of burying. This old man said if a couple were married and if the man went first, the canoe was cut in half and his body was placed in the front of the canoe. Usually this was hid in a cave. If this were a dry cave, glass would be broken so anyone attempting to come in would cut their feet. Upon the death of his wife, the rest of the canoe would be put in with the wife's corpse in the remaining half. Then the cave would be sealed. This was usually done by piling rocks at the entrance. Joe said many burials were made in sea caves in the Ke'ehi region. (This method of burial is substantiated in Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, Te Rangi Hiroa; Volume VIII, Death and Burial, Bishop Museum Press #45, p. 569, 1964.

2. He also talked of the old man's son who would go diving for eel outside of the reef. He would go with his underwear on and he would take a rope. The white from his underwear would disappear as he dove way down deep. The he quickly surfaced and jumped in the boat. He would tell you to paddle hard. At first you would feel a tug on the canoe; as he pulled in the rope you would see an eel about the diameter of a grown man's thigh. This boy is famous for catching eel.

Kaliko Pu'u interview, telephone conversation, 9/12/76

Geneology

She is Jared Pu'u's wife

Joe Kuhi'iki is Jared Pu'u's granduncle

She has 10 children, 46 years old (maiden name is Rogers)

She is the granddaughter of the Kekino's, who fished at Mokauea

They lived behind Kalihi Hospital

Her mother is pure Hawaiian and was called Kekino

Muriel knows them

Her father was George Rogers who was hanai'd by Chinese from Maui

Her father died at her birth and mother remarried a man named

Whitesell

Whitesell was guard at Oahu prison, he would lay lobster nets

before going to the night watch and would return home and

harvest the catch-

The lobsters would be sold at Kekauliko Market

Kaliko's children

1. Elizabeth Crawford was taken and raised on the island from when she was born from hospital to island, house was burned in 1975

2. Son eldest, dives for ogo limu and sold it to pay for school supplies, clothing, etc., she was on welfare and it wasn't enough, limu supplemented income (see article on Keehi lagoon)

They had an agreement with Hawaiian families for luaus:

They provide crabs (white and a'ama), fishes, limu, etc., and in return the people would supply them with groceries, etc., it was an exchange.

They still do this occasionally.

#### Types of fish caught today-and post World War II

1. Squidding done with "O" Sand island technique is don't go in the water, you pull it from canoe, most others wade in the water
2. Losters-lay nets, plentiful in season
3. Crabs-white crab, a'ama (Uncle Joe gets blue pincher crabs)
4. limu-pēpē, lipoa, little limu kohu, manauea, ogo
5. fish-
  - a. mullet-still plentiful in season, anae (big mullet)  
'ama'ama (small)
  - b. manini fish
  - c. weke: they dry it on the island
  - d. papi'o-trolled for in the evening, just outside of reef
  - e. akule and opelu just outside of reef
  - f. main fish are oio, awa, lay nets for
  - g. enenio-is plentiful
  - h. kala, mempachi, paki'i
  - i. used to be plentiful with clams but since HC&D clams have been dying out.

Henry Roxburgh interview, 10/14/76

I visited Henry Roxburgh in his house at Waiahole Valley. He was born in Moanalua at a place called Honomanu on July 15, 1916. The spot of his birth is marked by a blue stone. It is one mile up the valley from the highway. At sixteen his family moved to Moanalua Dairy. His father, he and his brother, Jackie all worked for the Damon family. His father took care of Moanalua Gardens. He fished in the Ke'ehi region at Moku'eo Island. This island was owned by Damon's. He would go there mainly on weekends to fish. Henry was a chaffeur for Sam Damon and his wife. They had two children. Most of his trips to Moku'eo were made in the late 1920s and 1930s. They would only go for certain type of fish. If this were the case they would catch nothing else. They would pole their way to the island. They had no motors on their boats. Prior to dredging in 1941 they could walk out to Damon Island. After the sea plane channel was put in they couldn't do it anymore.

They caught all kinds of fish there but Henry like to catch crabs. Both red and white crabs were found in the mud flats. They were caught by hand. You would put both hands in the hole and lift straight out. The pinchers could not pinch you this way.

They would get mullet out of fishponds the easy way. Since the mullet would move toward the fresh water. When the tide was ebbing the inside sluice gates to the fishpond would be opened, the mullet moving toward fresh water would be trapped between

the gate and were scooped out. This process was continued until the right amount of fish was caught.

Jackie Roxburgh lived where 20th Century Furniture is today. There were plenty of crabs near there in early times. Most of the fishponds were filled in however.

On Moku'eo Island the Mokumai'as lived. Two Gun Mokumai'a lived. He was called that because two prisoners escaped from Oahu prison and ended up on his island at his house. He kept both of them in place by pointing a gun at each of them. Thus he got the name of Two Gun Mokumai'a; his brother was O'opa Mokumai'a.

Jackie Roxburgh interview, 10/14/76

Jackie Roxburgh is the brother of Henry Roxburgh. He is 68 years old at the time of the interview. He has worked with the Damon family for 50 years. His memory was clear and sharp. He remembered four Hawaiian families living on Moku'eo or Damon Island. Mokumai'as, Greens, Antone Keawe; couldn't remember the other name. He was a handy man for the Damons. He patrolled their property as well as assisting them in various jobs. He started working for the Damons in 1932.

In 1938, there were two Damon houses on the island from John Rodgers Airport he set a water pipe to the island. It was 1/2 inch pipe. It was 2 and 1/2 miles long and was grease papered and tarred and was installed at low tide. Solomon Mokumai'a's house was converted for Sam Damon. Douglas Damon also had a house there. Kurimoto was the Konohiki he had the lease from the Damons. Kaloloa was a large fishpond so was Mapunapuna and Lelepaua. Salt Lake was stocked with mullet. The Hawaiians got water from Pu'uhale in canoes. They also collected water from rain barrels attached to the roofs.

Fish caught were mullet, awa, aholehole, paki'i was also caught by using a prong spear attached to a bamboo rod. Solomon Mokumaia was especially noted for his catching of o'io. The 'opae were found in the shallows up across the stream from where Mid Pac Lumber is today. Jackie said he patrolled the Keehi area to make sure that the konohiki fish (mullet) was not being

caught. He remembers the Mokauea fishermen as far back as his association with the area goes. They came up the Moanalua stream on their stomachs getting the opae in large gunny sacks. Also the 'o'opu nawao variety was plentiful. These fishermen supplied the Moanalua people with all their luaus. Jackie's sons 1st year birthday luau was supplied by the Mokauea fishermen. Mrs. Roxburgh said limu 'o'olu was a variety of limu that the Mokauea fishermen always had. It was reddish brown purplish grey when prepared and was soft and jelly like, it was delicious. (In the Pukui-Elbert Hawaiian Dictionary it says "o'olu is two edible, fragile, red seaweeds-Champia and Chondria tenuissima. They melt in fresh water and hence must be cleaned in salt water.")

Solomon Mokumai'a's family lived in Moan<sup>3</sup>lua Valley but Solomon liked the island. He hanai'd many children and had none of his own. Dan Kipi (still alive) was one of his hanai'd children. Solomon Waine'e who is deceased also was hanai'd by Solomon.



## Appendix B

### Excerpts from the Gertrude M. Damon Notebooks

For an in depth discussion on the use of the Damon Notebooks as resource material see Weissich, Paul R. (March 15, 1970), Newman, Stell T. (September 18, 1973), and Luomala, Katherine (May 31, 1973).

Notes on Moanalua (Mrs. Pukui at the Bishop Museum)

Ke elele July 1, 1847

Fish Elua konohiki i koho lehulehu

It is well to the chiefs of the land, those who make the laws for the land, those who make the laws for the Kingdom, of the Konohikis who have reserved too much fish at Moanalua--Kameeiamoku and Kukupuohi of Moanalua.

Lota (Kamehameha III) had appointed them Konohikis. This ahupuaa of Moanalua has not been properly governed from ancient times to the present. Kamee-i-a-moku is the Konohiki of the Ahupuaa and these are the sea foods literally fish, that he has reserved at Moanalua, the mullet, squid and flounder (pakii). These he chose. Kekupuohi is the konohiki of the pupono land division and these are the sea foods she has reserved, the mullet, the squid and the flounder.

Both Konohikis have chosen the same thing one not more than the other. Where are you, O Lota?

I have a question to ask -- Did you yourself tell Kamee --- and Kepu --- to reserve these three kinds of fish.

The mullet the most abundant and important food-fish of Hawaii. The fry or the very young of this species is known as pua amaama; the next in size from one to six inches, is called Kahaha; from six to twelve inches, ama-ama; over twelve inches, anae.

Awalau the channel waters of Moanalua

## Sharks stories of Moanalua

The guardian shark of the Moanalua channel is known by the name of Makalii. His resting place is in a cave under the sand spit on the east side of the channel pretty far out.

## A Kuula House

Kakaulana on the sand spit are two fishermen's huts built on stilts.

Between the huts is a square wooden box like cage on four legs. It has a roof and a locked door. The old man Ponohu is the guardian of this Kuula and his son unlocked the door at my request. Inside runs a shelf on the back wall supporting in one corner a large smooth flat stone. Above on a cross rafter were four pieces of red cloth, one of which had something wrapped in it. In front of the stone two blackened bananas on one stem, flanked by a glass of oke which must have been there for a long time, the sides of the glass showing circles where the liquid had evaporated. On either side of pieces of dried awa lay. An old pipe bowl with a bag of tobacco on a piece of two by four that ran along one wall. A conch shell hokeokeo and some more awa completed the house for the Kaula (Kuula), the amakua for this family.

I asked in what way this spirit speaks.

After the supplicant has prayed for guidance and receiving confirmation of his manao, he gives the direction and the canoes are headed for the (fishing hole) grounds.

A Kaula House cont.  
(Kuula kaula ?)

The first strike is unhooked, the canoe is hurriedly borne back to the Kaula house without a word and laid before the God. After this the catch is for the fisherman.

Deep sea squidding aku and kawa kawa were the catches of those days. The kilu watched for sails, the canoes ventured out of sight, of land. He determined how many boat loads of fish and how many helpers were needed to pack the catch for the market. If the tides were low the fish were transferred to canoes drawing little water.

Reddish things were sacred to Kuula, anything with a red dye, a colour peculiarly to his liking.

#### Don'ts for fisherman

Don't tell when you are going fishing, don't talk of what you expect to get. It is a matter between you and your fish God. Don't walk on pebbles when casting nets, fish can hear or feel the vibrations. Don't hold your hands behind your back, the fish know you are weary and will not burden you further.

Fish are timid and do not care to be ai-ai-ed. Look there it is when the fish is about to enter the net, they will turn and rush out.

Book I

63.

Na-maka-helu give me this information on places in Moanalua

Ka-haka-au-lana the coral on the east side of the Moanalua channel where the surf breaks.

Ke-ana-ka-mano at the junction of the two main streams some miles up Moanalua valley near the head waters.

Book I

70.

Talks with David Malo Kapehi at this home in Kalihi - Feb. 7, 1940

Went to Punahou on a Bishop scholarship given him by Mr. S. M. Damon, sat next to May Damon in class. Remembers Ned Damon well. Has often sailed with him out the Keehi channel.

On one occasion went to Mokuofo with Kalakāua, was then a boy about 12. Thinks it was the opening of the King's house there.

Speaking of the antiquity of Moanalua, says that the present name is not in any way significant of the ancient history of the place.

## Interview with David Malo Kupehi

From Heu his father had charge of all the fisheries in Moanalua.

The two fishponds S. M. Damon bought from the Kapiolani estate are called Pa-ho and Pa-ho-iki.

Maile-ke Kahi the most exalted place in Moanalua

David Kupehi tells me that Moku-o-eo had a Pa-iwi the enclosure of bones.

Kahekili of Maui used to send his warriors in canoes to raid Moanalua renowned for its wealth of bananas sugar canes and taros. Known as the wealthiest valley on Oahu. The Moanalua men would lie in wait by the channel inside the reef and club the raiders to death, after which they stript the flesh from thier bones to make a fence around the island. These men were known as tough fighters.

Ke-ehi channel Hawaii-loa came in by the light of the Makalii stars Castor and Pollux. This was his first step from the double canoe on to the flat coral which ringed the channel. It is known to this day as the first stepping place. The channel was close in olden days and much skill was required to make the turn and excape the crossing surf ke auou

Kahena-wai the deep waters of the bay.

Ka-hola a reef. a dry place in the reef away from land.

Wai-o-loli the kane waters waikiki side of Ka-ua-kau-lani

Wai-o-lola the wahine waters.--the narrow and large streams of life the union of the waters.

Eheu - passing swiftly, winged

Neau-nunu a sea breeze at Puuloa.

Kaauwai - chief steward of Kalakaua always carried the king's gods, wrapped in red cloth and buttoned under his coat.

## Notes on Moanalua Jan. 1937

Maka Puahi born in Moanalua 70 years old.

Kilinahe his grandfather was the tax collector of Moanalua I remember him when I first came to the island. Used to ride to and fro from Moanalua to Waikiki with a small white and brown dog that stood up behind his saddle sideways. It was his duty to pay the taro planters and other workers of the alii and see that his alii got the income. Owned Halehuki where Ah Kop lived about 17 acres. Maka's father never told him how much "rotten of him-"

As a boy Maka went fishing with Kimona the shark man. Remembers more than once this happening - After an arduous days aku fishing several miles from shore between Moanalua and Pearl H. the canoes heavily laden turned homeward. Then Kimona would dive overboard. The paddlers try as they might huki with all their strength, never caught sign again of Kimona. On reaching the house they would find Kimona asleep under the net, only his bare back visible. There it was the mano. No one dared question one, nor had any of them seen the Makalii which must have brought him ashore. He was a superior a mysterious man whose doings were beyond the understanding of a simple kuaanina country man.

The Makalii who lived in a cave in the Keehi Channel was the guardian shark of the waters from Diamond Head to Waianae.

Kimona came from Puuloa a part of Moanalua this side of P. H. He could ride them and often told of his experiences with these great sea brutes.

One time a jealous rival invited him to come and fish off Kahala where he would show him a fine koa which had plenty of fish for a daring diver. K. went down to find the Niuhi, the man eating tiger shark. Coming to the surface he said, "There are plenty of fish there, go down and see for yourself." With that he pushed his rival overboard and held him there until the blood spurted from his nose and ears. Then he pulled him half dead into the canoe.

After time Maka watched him at a home where a child of 4 had died after a short sickness. When everyone was heavy with awa, he picked up the body of the child and paddled with it on his canoe to the home of the Makalii where he dove down and laid the body on a shelf in the cave. It was not uncommon for mothers to give those blue babies after death to the mano, their ancestor. Sometimes declaring that a baby shark would approach a mother in shallow water and acted like a child at the mother's breast.

One sickly child of Pili's which was called a shark child from its depressed nose and large mouth was cured by Kimona.

3d boy. Keana-a ka mano.  
He had the face of a man  
but the mouth of a shark  
on his back. All born up  
the valley--

And this half mano only  
cultivated awa and the  
food he fed on was uni  
(plantain bulbs). When  
he craved for fish, he  
would drag his mothers canoe  
out of the cave and go down  
to Kahenawai, (the completion  
of the water/between  
Moku-o-nini and Keauau  
the waters were very deep  
there then, schooners come in  
to pack the salt.

---

Cont. story

when he had plenty of fish  
he returned, the first  
ancestors of my grandfather  
five generations before my  
father. Now I am going  
to tell you something that  
is embarrassing, and in  
those days our parents  
forbade us to talk, it  
was concealed, because of the power  
of the alii. We were not  
allowed to speak.

It & was not the custom to marry  
ourside of the Moanlua clan.

Kahiki was the only stranger

lest our Gods were challenged

Remember there were 3 children sons  
and the brother K - was married  
to the sister, the half  
mano did not like women  
their children

1st. Waiiola (girl), adopted by  
Kahale la  
2d. son Kahalepea o ka lani  
the tabu period. place  
3d. - Kahalekahi a ka lani  
a girl - rubbing or lomi lomi house.  
Kahalepea was taken  
by the high priest  
Kahukomo who raised  
this girl whose name was  
Kahalekahi. ?

Book XIV

(1) 5.

Let the wave spread out at Hawaii, island of Keawe.  
Stand, harken, listen,  
Listen thou, O ko-nihinihi and Ko-nahenahe.  
(Note: Konihinihi and Ko-nahenahe were the canoe paddlers  
of Kahikilaulani. The name of her canoe was Opuua  
called after the sharp pointed pillar clouds).  
Ko-nihinihi (dainty-drawing)  
Konahenahe (gentle-drawing like the breeze).

Chant of the wind. (Hula style).

Kahiki...lau, comes hither  
With the wind that blows, that blows  
The cloudlets are on high,  
As she travels the sea, the sea.  
The moist lehua fully developed,  
The food of the bird above, the food of the bird above.  
The hinalo full of fragrance, let me wear, let me wear.

Note: Namakahelu tells me that the bird was the little  
'Oo' a small bird webbed footed, lives in the mountains  
in the daytime and flies to the sea at night.

Kahikilaulani first landed at Kauai. She looked around  
and found it was not to her liking, therefore she left  
Kauai and sailed away. She landed outside of Kahaka-aulana,  
(by the Keehi channel). There she began to call to Makalii.



"O Makalii, awake,"

(1) 6.

Kahikilaulani chants to Makalii,  
the guardian shark of Moanalua

O Makalii, awake,  
Receive the strangers to dwell within  
O Kahakaaulana, O Molokahana (On the Puuloa side)  
Take the Parcels unto yourselves.  
O Kaoki, awake take a parcel for you,  
O keahialoa, let the sea lie quietly before you,  
Let my canoe paddlers go directly to the shore of  
Kamawaelualani.  
O Moaeku (trade wind) as I am a native of this land  
So let you also be a native of this land.  
I travel hither together with my fish, the amaama and  
the aholehole.

Book XIV

(1) 6.  
cont'd.

In giving this chant of the arrival of Kahikilaulani,  
Nanakahelu says she has forgotten three of the verses which  
tell of her arrival.

Note: When I, G. M. D. became a member of the Sons and  
Daughters of Hawaiian Warriors, (the kahiki-ku branch)  
Nanakahelu chanted this for me and later told her niece Malia  
Kau that I was their Kahikilaulani. A very great honour indeed.

## THE FISHERMAN

I had intended to rewrite those pencilled notes, which I stuffed into an envelope, and stupidly posted next morning. I did not finish the story of Solomon whom we brought up from the Islands, probably saved his life.

A great change came over his life, some time later. He came to me haggard and thin, in an intense emotional state. He had been walking around the island proclaiming the answers to his riddle, the certainty of the grace of God in his heart. He came to me, seeking confirmation of the changes in his life.

Many were the boys, delicate or orphaned, who were taken in to his fisherman's hut, taught all the acts of the sea, sent to school and started off on his own. When he grew older and the hardships of his life proved too much, he came into the valley. The last time I visited him he was surrounded by his moopunas - grandchildren - striving to give them a new way of life.

In to the channels that Kahikilaulani first sailed into, he cast the ancient stone, the native offerings of a (?) art, the family gods.

Canoes

One day when I was talking with Solomon, the last of our fishermen on the Island of Echoes, of the types of canoes that they used for deep sea fishing and for the shallows. He said we used to bring all our drinking water from Honolulu in big barrels, in canoes, they were like barges. Very often the weather would be so rough in the channel that we would lose all our fresh water. Of course, we had barrels to get the water off the roofs.

I had asked him to write out some of the things that he remembered but he pleaded some indisposition and suggested that I talk with his wife Kala who you know came from Kohala with Kamehameha I to Oahu. Solomon is reluctant to talk.

But Namakahelu never ceased her chanting. Sitting there her body and mine as one carried back to the most primitive time of her race spoke on, oblivious of us. "Kamawae lua lani," she said, "was the son of Papa and Wakea. From the sea there came Kahiki lau lani riding in her white canoe, pointed like the pillar clouds. This Princess of many heavens brought with her for the Lord Kamawae lua lani, the earth planted with a lehua tree and in its branches perched the web-footed o'o bird.

Across the gently rolling seas came the white cloud pointed canoes bearing Kahikilaulani, and the lehua tree and the o'o bird and around her neck was draped hinano blossoms.

She called to Ko-nihi nihi, the dainty drawing wind and to Ko-nahi nahi, the dizzy breeze. Let the wave come in from Kahiki, the budding wave, the spreading wave; let the waves spread out at Hawaii, island of Keawe. Now the name of her canoe was Opu'a, called after the sharp pointed pillar cloud, and with Ko-nihi nihi and Ko-nahi nahi as her paddlers it bore her through the

Keehi channel passed the break in the reef at the place called the first footing and up the big river in the valley, far up to the abode of Mawae lua lani and there was planted the lehua tree and the o'o bird tarried there, and went to the sea at night."

This, of course, much longer because Manakahelu chanted for hours, is the creation chant of the Hawaiians, particularly as it is given by the old chanters in Moanalua Valley.

Long afterwards when I chanced to be on the king's island, close by the channel, I noticed the churning of the surf on either side of the channel. "What causes that," I asked an old fisherman?

"Oh that," one is Ko-nahi nahi and the other is Ko-nihi nihi, Kahiki lau lani did not need them when she sailed into the quieter water; so they wait here.

Book XVIII

(11) 2.  
cont'd.

here was nothing prepossessing about the Kuula, or fish god, stone. I was shown the stone by a fisherman and trusted by his fellows with its care. As stones go, this one fared very well. It resided on a sand spit projecting into the channel through which men of the valley put to sea. It had a house all its own complete with thatched roof, and a note of elegance in a door secured with an imported lock. When the door was opened for me I beheld an ordinary stone less than two feet high resting on a platform and about its base had been placed bananas, awa root, dried fish, and a real luxury, a cup of awa, the alcoholic beverage of the island, for its sustenance.

Fish god stones generally fared rather well. When a Hawaiian fisherman prepared to go to sea inevitably visited it. He did this after preparing his nets and taking leave of his home, in which quarelling was strictly taboo during his absence, and upon his return he went first to the fish god and presented it with the first fruit of his catch. Yes, fish god stones fared well.

The fourth stone was about the size of a man's foot. Indeed, it was called by the Hawaiians, "the Boot." Antone Keawe, a fisherman on the Island of Echoes, a historic nob of land that once rose above the surface of the sea near the Keehi channel leading from Moanalua Valley found the stone on a coral

Book XVIII

(11) 2.  
cont'd

reef at low tide and became its proud possessor.

According to Antone and a retinue of supporters he immediately acquired a talking stone. They all said it talked. Personally I never heard a syllable from this or any other stone, but I must admit that while he had this stone his affairs prospered. He acquired an outboard motor for his fishing boat. But so intent did he become in listening to his stone that he failed to heed the jealous mutterings about him. He failed even to become aware of a well organized clique opposing him upon the little island. For a time it looked like a clash of arms was inevitable. But meanwhile his jealous enemies had allied with themselves certain kahunas. Now whatever power these kahunas may not have, even Americans who scoff at them must admit that they are accomplished psychologists. One day the kahuna complimented Antone on his loss of excess weight. Soon the kahuna and Antone's enemies were quaking with fear every time Antone appeared before them, for his health as they anxiously inquired how any man could become so thin and run down and still live. Finally Antone determined that no one should get the stone from him dragged himself to his canoe and feebly paddled to the deepest part of the channel and there with his last remaining strength dropped it over the side.

People to this day occasionally find similarly shaped stones in the valley. "Ah, Antone talking stone," they say.

#### Kimona and the Makalii

Kimona had quite a reputation in the valley. He was quite friendly with sharks. One particular shark was his friend, he was known as the Makalii and lived in a cave in the channel waters of Moanalua. He too had quite a reputation. He fought off marauding and hungry sharks who attempted to come through the reef into the quieter waters where the fish were much more abundant.

The two were on good terms with one another, the man and the shark. Many strange stories went the rounds of the valley where Kimona was acknowledged as a kahuna and power among the Hawaiians. He bore a strange fin like mark on his back which stamped him to all who saw it as a shark man. This was of great significance to those who belonged to the shark family of deities and came under the protection of those great monsters.

In many ways it was Kimona with his fiery red eyes and powerful build who interpreted this power to the people around him, they were not only impressed with his words. They were awed and amazed. This man was more than human, he rode sharks and fed them as one would a God, laying the offering in the under water cave where the brute lived. The domain of the shaft extended from Koko Head to Barber's point. Fishermen out of sight of land took good care not to offend him in any way. The Makalii held the power of life and death.

(Written in margin: GM Damon before 1906)

Shortly after the Scotch girl came to Moanalua she accompanied her husband S. E. Damon and two very old men up the valley of the Great Power to get the names and data of the place from Komona who was one of the two well over 80 years at the time.

(Written in margin: explain awa--)

The two old men enjoyed the ride in a two wheeled gig, they stopped to give the names of every pocket and side valley but of the legends they had not a

Book XIX

(5) 1.  
cont'd

word. How were they to explain about the shark cave at the dividing of the waters near the head of the valley. Here at the time of Po--or night dwelt the half man half shark offspring of the primeaval Gods of the region. This strange being whose skin was scaly and rough cultivated awa, (the root was scraped and mixed with water and served as a drink--sometimes fermented) and the

(5) 2.  
Page 2

patch is still to be found there today. This demi-God had no love for women, his passion was the sea, and he would take the white canoe of his mother and paddle down the long lake and river which filled the lower part of the valley in olden time. He longed for fish to eat. No, it was better not to speak before the "strange woman" and have their great ones mocked at. The power still held in the valley where the temples of ancient culture had been destroyed before the conquest of the islands by Kamehameha I. It was at the head waters of this valley that their ancestors found a footing in the steep slopes of this water-drenched land.

So the old men mumbled and argued--nothing was gained but the list of names without any interpretation. Old Kimona and his still older friend returned home to spend the night in recounting the stories of those by gone days and the beginnings of life in their beloved land.

In later years Puahi, an eel man, told the strange women of Kimona's skill as a fisherman. He knew the great holes where fish was abundant. He told how returning with several canoes heavily laden towards sunset, they paddled toward the reef. A dark object came swiftly alongside of one of the canoes a fin shot up, and as the white gleam from the breaker showed, a huge mouth opened and the dreaded teeth shut tight. Kimona's quick eye saw the form and he dove overboard and the two were lost to sight. When the weary fisherman reached

Book XIX

(5) 2.  
cont'd.

the shore they hastened to the old man's hut. There he lay on his mats fast asleep, his bare naked back showing the fin like mark on his body. The two had sped ashore and the rider got off. No one dared to ask how it was done. Kimona truly was a shark man and a great one at that.

(5) 3.  
Page 3

#### Kimona and the Makalii

Families had their own titular or household Gods in Hawaii known as "Amakuas" - some held to Pele the Goddess of volcanoes, others looked to the shark, believing that their grandparents or children returned to them in this form to protect them on the high seas. The belief in this "Amakua" - the shark was very strong and still is in Moanalua. Their protective power at sea was noted by all the fishermen. The Pagan worship or affinity to the sea still lingered at the beginning of the 20th Century.

Few knew the hours Kimona spent in the shark pens inside the mouth of Pearl Harbor, where the walls of these great water enclosures were well known to the Hawaiians before the Navy began to change the face of the land and water to make possible the great sea base we know today.

After scanning the beasts in the pens Kimona would pick the one he thought suitable and slipping into the water would seize and straddle one of them guiding him by pressure on the eye ball sometimes to the right or to the left as he desired. Onlookers were amazed at his daring and would wager among themselves whether he took his okolehao before or after this display of courage. The Wahine Haole first head of this sport from her husband who had been an eyewitness of the strange antics of the two as they flashed past him from one side of the pen to the other.

There were other stories of Kimona--one that was more than rumour--and still whispered behind closed

Book XIX

(5) 3.  
cont'd

doors of the disappearance of a dead child at a wake, while the sorrowing relatives heavy with sleep or liquor were unconscious of the happenings around them. Only Kimona knew that the Makalii had not been satisfied with the catch of fish placed in his bed lately. Fish were getting scarce--a sacrifice had to be made if the Gods were to be appeased. It was of such a serious nature, this appeasement, Kimona kept silent even among his own people who understood the strange relationship between dwellers in the sea and on the land--it was best not to speak--they would understand after it was all over and they had awakened from their deep sleep. The struggle between the humanities of Christ and those of pagan worship persisted for a long time in this Hawaiian community so close to

(5) 4  
Page 4

Honolulu

#### Kimona and the Makalii

Honolulu. These were beliefs the Haole would and could not understand--this close affinity to the sea. Kamehameha had the ashes of his first born scattered in the sea off the port of Honolulu after a magnificent death wake. He too sensed the closeness of the sea, whose waves would carry to its assigned resting place.

Kimona in this particular instance was not permitted to carry out his purpose. The cry of one of the children awoke the father who wrested the dead child from the hands of this strange messenger who would carry him off.

Such was Kimona the last of the sharkmen. With him died the secret of taming these monsters of the deep.



Great as was the skill and cunning of this man, he died in his bed of old age in the first decade of this century.

Book XIX

(7) 3.  
cont'd

A chance meeting with John Kulia Mokumaia, whose wife was the teacher of the little public school on the estate that changed the current of her life and broadened its outlook.

Book XIX

(7) 4.  
cont'd

Kulia known as TWO GUN MOKUMAIA was on the Police force under Sheriff Curtis Iaukea. He was given the task of seeing that all the couples in Moanalua had marriage certificates. With some of the younger ones this was easy they were becoming familiar with American ways. But with Tutu Kamaka, Kulia's mother it was a different story. He trembled at the thought of facing her with this new law. His own father had been dead for some time, and following the custom of old, Kamaka had taken Makeu as her handy man to comfort her and share her bed. He tied his horse to a tree, then walked on stepping stones across the stream he walked up the path to her little cottage.

APPENDIX C  
Song: Mokuo-eo

This song comes from Muriel Lupenui's song collection.  
Namakahelu's niece Philomena Makaena is the song's composer.

Moku'oeo

1. Maika'i ka makani o ka 'aina  
He 'aina'ia, noho i ka la'i  
Ua 'olu ka mana'o i ko hiki ana mai  
E'ike i ka nani o Moku-o-eo.

Fine is the wind of the land  
A land that is set in peacefulness  
The thoughts are comforted with you coming near  
See the beauty of Moku-o-eo.

Chorus

'Ike hou ana ia Moku-o-eo,  
He ailana ia i puni i ke kai,  
O ke kai nehe, i ka 'ili'ili  
Kai hoehoene i ka 'ae-one

Look again at Mokuoeo,  
It is an island surrounded by the ocean,  
The sea that rustles with the pebbles,  
The soft sweet sounding ocean by the fine sand.

2. Kaulana Makali'i, noho i ke kapu  
A he kama'aina no ka moana  
He kupa ia no ka pu'e-one  
O ke kai hanupanupa

Famous is Makali'i,<sup>1</sup> dwelling in sacredness  
One well acquainted with the ocean,  
One long attached to the sand bar<sup>2</sup>  
And the surging sea.

<sup>1</sup>Makali'i is the shark god who lived on the sand bar on the side Kahakaaulana Island, next to Muriel Lupenui's house. Makali'i is discussed in this paper by Gertrude Damon in the Damon Notebook selections as well as by Muriel Lupenui.

<sup>2</sup>Makali'i's sand bar was his home. If the sand was piled up it was a sign that Makali'i the shark god was home. This was a sign that akule fishing would be good.

APPENDIX D  
L. C. A. 10611-Puhene

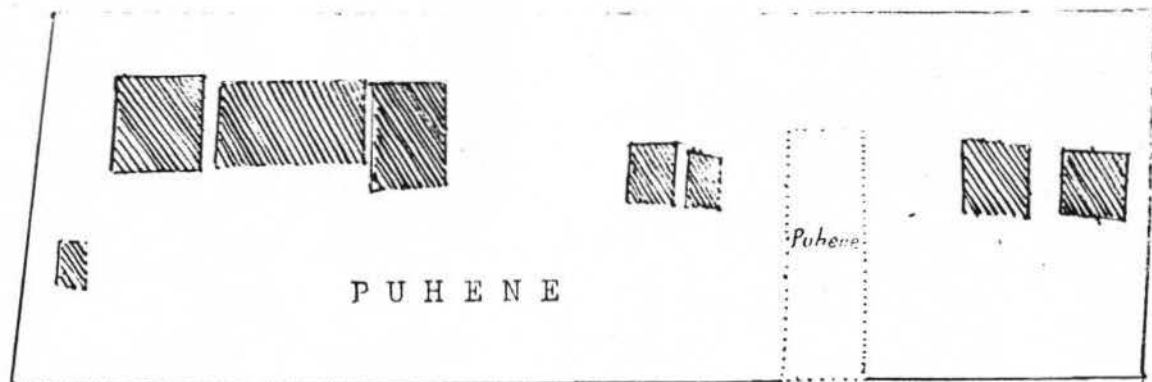
R. P. 2335. L. C. A. Helu 10611 PUHENE. KAHAKAAULANA, MOKAUEA, KALIHI.  
Oahu.

.....0.....

Pahale ma Kahakaaulana, Mokauea, Kalihi, Kona, Oahu.

"Ka Mokuone Kahakaaulana" E hoomaka ana ma ke kihi Komohana o keia Moku ma ka lihi kai maloo, a e holo Hema 39' 15' Hikina 3 97/100 Kaulahao a ku i ka pohaku ma ke kihi Hema, Alaila Akau 53' 45' Hikina 1. 30/100 Kaulahaoa ku i ka pahu Omole ma ke kihi Hikina, Alaila Akau 39 15 Kom 3.89/100 Kaulahao a ku i ka pahu Omole ma ke kihi Akau, Alaila Hema 57 Kom 1.30/100 Kaulahao e puni ana i ke kai o ke Konohiki a hiki i ka hoomaka ana. Eia ka Ili 51/100 Eka.

S. P. Kalama, Ana Aina.



Uku pau loa

\$2.00

W. L. Lee  
G. M. Robertson  
J. Kekaulahao  
J. H. Smith

Honolulu December 21, 1853

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Appendix E

History of Ownership of the Mokauea Fishery

History of Ownership of the Mokauea Fishery

1. Mahele grant L C AW 6450 to Kaunuohua for Moehonua
2. p. 25 Kaunuohua dies 1849 and WL Moehonua only heir
3. March 7, 1883, after his death Moehonua's estate sold to Kalakaua for \$3,600 (Jan. 12, 1883 approved)
  - a. Let Curtis P. Iaukea deed of Trust March 25, 1887 for \$1.00 and Charles Judd also gives Iaukea land March 25, 1887 for \$1.00.
4. Kalakaua's will February 12, 1891, leaves to Kapiolani the Mokauea Fishery (#87)
5. Kapiolani gives David Kawananakoa and Jonah Kalaniana'ole her lands (#133) February 10, 1898
6. Kapiolani dies on June 24, 1899 and land passes to Kuhio and Kawananakoa (#142)
7. Kapiolani Estate formed August 7, 1899 for 50 year term, #577, capital stock 100,300.00, take charge of Mokauea Fishery  
members: David Kawananakoa (President)  
Jonah K. Kalaniana'ole  
John F. Colburn (Treasurer)  
Morris Keohokalole (Secretary)  
William A. Kinney
8. August 7, 1899 Kuhio to David convey their lands to the estate (above..Kapiolani)
9. Abigail Campbell and later as she married Samuel Parker leases the fishing grounds (ends lease in May 31, 1902)
10. They lease to Campbell estate for 5 years starting 1909 (#174)
11. 1912 land goes to Macomber
12. March 31, 1920 sold to Hawaiian Dredging Company Ltd., for \$20,000
  - a. W. F. Dillingham is President
  - b. H. P. Benson is Treasurer
13. April 5, 1920 for \$1.00, Hawaiian Dredging sells Mokauea Fishery to J. K. Kalaniana'ole

14. Kuhio dies on January 7, 1922 and leaves Mokauea Fishery to wife Elizabeth K. Kalaniana'ole (Kahanu K. Koauwai is her maiden name)
15. Elizabeth Woods wife of James F. Woods, widow of Kuhio sells land back to Hawaiian Dredging Co., Ltd., for \$60,000.00 in September 30, 1925 (#220)
16. Hawaiian Dredging Co. sells to Albert N. Campbell for \$14,400.00 then turns around and leases from him said property for \$14,400.00 November 23, 1925
17. February 15, 1930 Campbell sells back to Hawaiian Dredging Co.
18. October 27, 1941 Government takes land from Hawaiian Dredging Co. for proposed dredging of a seaplane runway.

Ownership of Kahakau'lana Island is found in the interview with Muriel Lupenui, Tape 2 Side B.

Appendix F  
Map Bibliography

## Map Bibliography

These maps are arranged chronologically.

1. 1817 - "Portage chart of the southern part of the coast of Island Oahu from the small place of Waikiki to Pearl River - year 1817". Found at the Bishop Museum. Found in Kotzebue, Otto von. A Voyage of Discovery, ...in the Years 1815-1818,... in the Ship Rurik...London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1821. 3V.
2. 1825 - "A Plan of the Harbour of Honoruru in the Island of Oahu". By Lt. C. R. Malden, R. N. This map was found in the State of Hawaii Archives. It shows two islands one island is probably Kamae Island and the other island is probably Kaka'aulana Island. Kaka'aulana Island is shown as having five residences on it.
3. 1875 - "Kalihi Coast Survey of June 1875 by Curtis J. Lyons". This map was found in the State Survey office; Register Map 750, Department of Survey. It shows the survey plots of C. J. Lyons. It is a rough map that probably was his research for his 1881 map. It shows all rough sketches and reference points. It shows Kamae, Moku'eo, two Mokauea sand islands, as well as Kahakaulana (this island doesn't appear named in the 1881 map).
4. 1881 - "Hawaiian Government Survey, Oahu, map by C. J. Lyons, W. D. Alexander, Surveyor General". This map was found in the Hawaii State Archives. This map shows both Mokauea Islands and calls the general area Mokauea. It does not name any specific island. It does not mention Kaka'aulana which was surveyed and named earlier by C. J. Lyons in 1875. It cites Moku'eo and Onini (Mokupilo) Islands.
5. 1897 - "Honolulu, Hawaiian Island, M. D. Monsarrat Surveyor, 1897". Map found in the State of Hawaii Archives. This map shows the same island layout as in the 1881 map. M. D. Monsarrat was listed as providing part of the survey for the 1881 map, so probably a lot of the information was duplicated. This map names only Kahaka'aulana Island. It shows the islands of the Mokauea Fishery but does not name them.
6. 1902 - "Hawaii Territory Survey of Oahu, by Walter E. Wall, surveyor, 1902". This survey says that all available data was used as well as private surveys by John M. Donn. This map shows Mokauea Island as being the northernmost of the Mokauea Fishery Sand bars. It does not name Kahaka'aulana. Moku'eo, Onini, Mokumoa as well as Quarantine (Sand Island) are listed. This map was found in the State Archives.



7. 1904 - "The Coast of Oahu from Mokapu Point to Barbers Point Including Honolulu Harbor and Pearl Harbor". Department of the Navy Survey. Map found in the State of Hawaii Archives. This map shows both Mokauea Sand Islands but does not have Kahaka'aulana Island on it. It calls Moku'eo (Damon) Island Mokulo Island. Primary concern of the map is ocean depths.
8. 1922 - "Fire Control Map, Sheet 12, Island of Oahu, 1922". This map was found in the State Survey Department. It shows a Mokauea Island as being one whole island with Kahaka'aulana Island (unnamed). It shows Makuoeo (this must be a misspelling of Moku'eo Island). Onini Island is also plotted.
9. 1924 - "Map of the City of Honolulu from the office of the City and County Engineer". Compiled from S. L. White survey of 1924. This map shows the Mokauea Fishery as having 3 distinct islands. The first Kahaka'aulana shows five residences. The second Mokauea (south) island shows one residence. The third island Mokauea (north) is shown as being a tidal island with no marked residences. This map was obtained from the State Survey Office.
10. 1926 - "Portions of the Ahupuaa of Moanalua and the Sea Fishery of Moanalua, Honolulu, Oahu 1926". Condemnation Territory of Hawaii vs. S. M. Damon. Map compiled by H. E. Newton, Asst. Gov. Surveyor. C. S. F. 4351. Map found in State survey office. Shows mainly the west side of the Kalihi channel.
11. 1928 - "U. S. Geological Survey, Hi, Territory Survey, Honolulu Quad, surveyed in 1927-1928". Map found in the State Survey Office. This map shows Mokauea Island as being Mokauea (north) tidal island. It also plots but does not name Mokauea (south) and Kahaka'aulana showing residences on both of these islands. It shows Mokuoeo Island as being Damon Island (misspelled; it should be Moku'eo). This map is included in this report.
12. 1939 - "Keehi Lagoon, Oahu, T. H. from the U. S. Engineer Office, March 31, 1939". This map was submitted as part of House of Representatives Document #329 on a Preliminary Examination and Survey of Keehi Lagoon, Honolulu, for a Seaplane Harbor, authorized by the River and Harbor Act, Approved August 26, 1937. - It shows the areas proposed to be dredged for the making of a seaplane runway.
13. 1940 - "Hawaiian Dredging Company, Islands in the Mokauea Fishery". This survey was done by Wright, Harvey and Wright. It was done prior to a major dredging project conducted by Hawaiian Dredging Company. This map was found in the State Department of Transportation, Abstract Division in the Mokauea file. It is the most comprehensive survey done of the Mokauea Islands as well as Kahaka'aulana prior to the dredging of 1941. It shows three pill boxes (still on island today) and two residences on Mokauea (south) Island. The

estimated area of Mokauea south Island is 4.55 acres. Mokauea north Island is shown as measuring 16.6 acres with no residences on it. Kahaka'aulalana island is .94 acres, it shows three residences and delineates the boundaries of the original mahele grant to Puhene. (L C AW 10611 to Puhene)

14. 1941 - "Mokauea Map 1941, Territory of Hawaii - Department of Public Works, Division of Survey and Right-of-Way". F B 75, Calc Folder 73-A & B. Mokauea Fishery, July 24, 1941. Both Mokauea Island appear on this map but are not named. Kahaka'aulana Island appears with mahele boundaries. This map also incorporates Hawaiian place names that are accurate as checked by Muriel Lupenui.
15. 1941 - "Keehi Lagoon, Oahu T. H., Seaplane Harbor, Plant of Improvement, U. S. Engineer Office, July 1941". House of Representative Document #379. A letter from the Secretary of War transmitting letter from the Chief of Engineers, United State Army, Dated August 23, 1941 submitting a Report with accompanying Papers and Illustrations, on Reexamination of Keehi Lagoon, Oahu, T. H. The map shows revisions and charts the Keehi Dredging.
16. 1969 - "U. S. Geological Survey 1969". Found at State Survey Office. Map included in this report. Shows dredging changes.
17. 1972 - "Honolulu Harbor, Condition Survey, April 1972" U. S. Army Engineer Division LOC Code RH-9/85.4. Shows present day Mokauea and newly formed Harris Island after major dredging.

A detailed surveyor's drawing was done by J. F. Brown called "Honolulu Detail" pages 29-30 and was found in the State Survey Office, Register No. 273. This was a plot plan of Moku'eo Island done in 1881.

Appendix G  
Bibliography

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