

NĀ KI'I LĀ'AU, THE GODS AND GUARDIANS AT
PU'UHONUA O HŌNAUNAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, SOUTH KONA,
HAWAI'I

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT HILO IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

MAY 2017

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this MA thesis to the lineal descendants of Hōnaunau, Ki‘īlae and Kēōkea, South Kona, Hawai‘i who contributed to this endeavor through sharing their vibrant stories in perpetuation of our ‘Ōiwi culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not be possible without the dedication and perseverance of Dr. Peter R. Mills, the pathfinder, for the Heritage Management MA program at University of Hawai‘i, Hilo. This collaborative endeavor was also made possible by Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Hawai‘i-Pacific Islands Cooperative Ecosystem Studies, and U.H. Hilo. I would like to express deep gratitude to my primary committee advisor, Dr. Joseph Genz, who offered continued guidance and patience throughout this process while imparting his expertise and resources in oral history methodology. Dr. Kathy Kawelu for starting us off on the ethics of heritage management and setting my navigational course for this journey. Dr. H. David Tuggle, you are my life long mentor and I feel honored to have had your wisdom and company during this academic pursuit. Kahaka‘io Ravenscraft, mahalo for your participation on my advisory committee and amazing contribution to the Oral History Project. You set the tone for this entire thesis based on your spiritual focus in ‘Ōiwi culture and willing-open heart in sharing your mana‘o and ‘ike.

I am grateful to the Magnificent Seven: Lokelani Brandt, Makio Clark, Tamara Halliwell, Nicole Mello, Kalā Mossman and Kamuela Plunkett (The Hiapo Class of 2017, Heritage Management, U.H. Hilo). My strength and endurance was truly supported by my family, Ben, Kala‘iakea and Kaikea. You inspire me to go forward and never look back. Bobby Camara for your lending library and research guidance. Adam Johnson and Maryanne Maignet for your commitment and assistance to this OHP which opened the doors for me with the community. Finally, my deepest gratitude goes out to the lineal descendants of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, Ki‘ilae ahupua‘a who gave their time, commitment and hospitality to me and this oral history project. I

am in awe of the rich stories, aloha and legacy you leave for future generations and the National Park. Mahalo nui loa, mahalo piha!

ABSTRACT

The ki'i lā'au (wooden images) stationed at Hale o Keawe on the grounds of Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park represent various meanings and significance to community members in South Kona, Hawai'i and malihini (visitors) who venture to this destination from abroad. This research endeavored to understand the contemporary cultural meanings and significance of the ki'i lā'au through the lens of 'Ōiwi (Native people). Through collaborative community engagement utilizing oral history methods and archival research, stories were gathered, analyzed, and interpreted. In this MA thesis, I argue that the contemporary significance and meaning of the ki'i lā'au to cultural and lineal descendants of Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau is the maintenance of a profound spiritual and sacred connection to the pu'uhonua through ritual ceremony and revitalization of cultural practices. In my capacity as both scribe of 'Ōiwi voices and 'Ōiwi anthropologist, I contend that the ki'i lā'au represent a foundational platform of symbolism for 'Ōiwi and descendants of Hōnaunau, Ki'ilae, and Kēōkea who express generational pride in the legacy left by the carvers of the 1960s by organizing their understanding of the world through ritualized spiritual maintenance and continued knowledge exchange in order to perpetuate their heritage.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Nearly 30 years ago, my journey and connection to “place” began with a visit to Hawai‘i Island, my ancestral homeland. Surrounded by a black lava landscape and with a youthful heart, I helped my husband gather our belongings and we proceeded down the highway with no itinerary. At twilight, our first sojourn brought us to a historic park called City of Refuge.¹ The park had closed for the day but was accessible to pedestrians. The area exuded majestic beauty and calm as we meandered onto the sand trail leading to the Royal Grounds. An overwhelming sense of ancestral familiarity poured through me; this was a profoundly familiar environment, though this was my first visit to Hawai‘i Island. I felt a *déjà vu* moment, a metaphysical experience suggesting I had been to this sacred place in another lifetime.

A decade passed and our family relocated to Hawai‘i Island where I continued my studies in anthropology at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. By then City of Refuge had been given its appropriate name of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau (sanctuary, refuge) and at the same time during coursework and genealogical research, my ancestral connection to this place became apparent. I trace my lineage to the names of sites and people of this area. Later, my work with the National Park Service would lead me back to this wahi kapu (sacred place) to conduct archaeological surveys and condition assessments on sites within (Blakemore and Burrell 2007, 2008).² The restoration of the former royal mausoleum and temple, Hale o Keawe, provides a backdrop for this current research that is centered on the *ki‘i lā‘au* (carved wooden images) stationed around

¹City of Refuge National Historical Park was formerly established in 1955 by the National Park Service, the name was changed to Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park in 1978.

² In perpetuation of the Hawaiian language this paper will use Hawaiian words to describe or identify specific subjects that are commonly used in ‘Ōiwi (Indigenous, Native) culture, a glossary is in Appendix A.

the temple and on the carvers who recreated them in the 1960s. The foundation of this thesis has been inspired and guided through ancestral familiarity and connection to the wahi kapu of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau.

Statement of Research Topic

Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park’s (PUHO) prominent features are Hale o Keawe, which functioned pre-contact and postcontact as a Hale Poki (mausoleum) for iwi (bones) of the highest ali‘i (chief) on Hawai‘i Island. This pu‘uhonua complex also would provide sanctuary for those seeking refuge from war or violence (Pukui et al. 1974). The sacredness of this site is pronounced by twenty majestically carved ki‘i lā‘au represented in varying degrees of divine hierarchy and positioned within the royal grounds and Hale o Keawe platform. Representing the god Lono in elaborate design and distinct motifs are the seven primary ki‘i akua (specialized wooden images assigned to one deity) positioned in a semicircle on the Hale o Keawe platform. Images located outside the palisades of the temple represent the gods of Kāne, Kū and Kanaloa. These deities embody explicit physical traits that contain metaphysical meaning in relation to human conditions that affect the spiritual and physical environment of ‘Ōiwi. In the prehistoric past, these images were carved by ‘Ōiwi known as kālai ki‘i (master carvers of images). The kālai ki‘i gained their knowledge and skills through genealogical connections that transferred specialized cultural practices and traditions. Reviewing the documentation on the ki‘i lā‘au at the pu‘uhonua complex and those who practice their culture as carvers raises a question that this MA thesis seeks to explore: What is the historical significance and contemporary cultural meanings of these ki‘i lā‘au?

Through oral historical data collection from lineal descendants of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea and Ki‘īlae Ahupua‘a and former employees of PUHO, this thesis uncovers the contemporary meaning and significance of the ki‘i lā‘au and discusses the carvers who created the first generation of replicated ki‘i lā‘au when the historic site was being restored in the 1960s. One individual cultural practitioner is the primary contributor for information on the various gods being represented and their significance and meaning to ‘Ōiwi. In addition, interviews share information on how knowledge of carving has been transferred to the next generation of carvers and on the contemporary protocols that cultural practitioners seek to establish. Issues of education on cultural sensitivity to the sacredness of the pu‘uhonua complex, and treatment for decommissioning ki‘i lā‘au when physical deterioration requires their replacement is also examined. In this MA thesis, I argue ‘Ōiwi contemporary cultural practitioners and lineal descendants of the pu‘uhonua maintain a profound spiritual and sacred connection to the complex and ki‘i lā‘au through ritual ceremony and revitalization of cultural practices.

Chapter Two provides cultural historical background on the area and discusses precontact history, development and function of Hale o Keawe and the pu‘uhonua. The chapter summarizes the period of Western contact during which the pu‘uhonua was documented through artist renditions and journal entries of officers and crew members on the HMS *Blonde* who appropriated objects of cultural patrimony. Abbreviated discourse is included on the potential effects of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA 1990) and how it pertains to these stolen objects from Hale o Keawe. Previous oral history and archaeological research is reviewed as a platform to launch further investigations that were not previously explored. Lastly, the collaborative endeavors for this research involving various

agencies and community members that forged the research questions for this thesis are provided (Kawelu and Pakele 2014; Kawelu 2015).

Chapter Three outlines methodology providing the collaborative approach to research design and the steps taken to build community engagement for the Oral History Project (OHP). I discuss indigenous methodologies and grounded theory as the appropriate framework utilized for interpretation of my research. Archival literature review and an overview of oral history methods implemented in selection of participants, interview questions, settings, transcription and standard protocols are included.

Chapter Four provides results of interviews presented through thematic coding. Four major gods are identified and described in detail as to their metaphoric representation, their physical characteristics within the image and their relationship and the connection to spiritual and ritual values with ‘Ōiwi. The ki‘i lā‘au carvers from the 1960s are recognized and details of their association to the art of creating canoe and/or ki‘i lā‘au are presented through genealogical connections and mentorship. Another theme identified is knowledge exchange and contemporary cultural practices that examine ki‘i protocols and revival of traditional practice in contemporary context. Finally, the last theme discussed is the decommissioning of ki‘i lā‘au that need replacement and what would be culturally appropriate treatment for the future ki‘i requiring removal.

Chapter Five provides a conclusion of the study as well as reflections on the relevance of community collaboration and engagement. Recommendations are made for future research that would endeavor to enrich this study and provide continued community partnerships with the ‘Ōiwi community. In this MA thesis, I argue that the contemporary significance and meaning of the ki‘i lā‘au to cultural and lineal descendants of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau is the maintenance of a

profound spiritual and sacred connection to the pu‘uhonua through ritual ceremony and revitalization of cultural practices.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PU‘UHONUA O HŌNAUNAU

The cultural historic background of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau is provided through Barrère’s (1957, 1986) research of ruling chief Keawe’s genealogy during the 13th to early 19th centuries and the transformation of the complex to a pu‘uhonua. During the late 18th to early 19th centuries the ki‘i were documented in journals and etchings by European explorers, missionaries, and artists as well as by ‘Ōiwi historians (Ellis 2004 [1825]; Byron 1826; Malo 1992 [1903] Bloxam 1924; Judd 1929; Ii 1995 [1959];). I examine implications of NAGPRA on the sacred cultural items stolen by officers of the HMS *Blonde* in 1825. These early depictions are an invaluable source of knowledge, for without these descriptions and illustrations, the contemporary meaning and significance of these images would be lost today. What factors prompted political and religious change at Hale o Keawe (Figure 1) and the pu‘uhonua complex?



Figure 1. Hale o Keawe at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park.
(Photo by Kalena K. Blakemore, 2016)

Following the death of Kamehameha I, in 1819, a monumental shift in political power shaped the collapse and loss of traditional cultural practice. Ruling ali'i, coupled with foreign influences, altered the Hawaiian Kingdom through forceful impact and change in shipping, export and importation of resources, devastating disease, and the introduction of Western religion in 1820, agricultural industries and land tenure. Immediately following the death of Kamehameha I, his wife, Queen Ka'ahumanu, the Kuhina Nui (premier regent), took advantage during this vulnerable political period to seize control and power through dismantling the ancient religion and kapu system that had been in practice for centuries (Ii 1995:157 [1959]). The historic journals and etchings that document this time period provide vivid descriptions of the ki'i stationed throughout the temple grounds and their function as gods and guardians of Hale o Keawe at the pu'u honua. Early historic journals of foreign accounts prior to missionization reflect their cultural biases in making observations about 'O'iwi culture. Nonetheless, these observations provide a window into the pre-missionary Hawaiian worldview.

From the early 1900s to present day, a prolific volume of vital research has been documented on the area known as Pu'u honua o Hōnaunau. The Bishop Museum has been the primary repository for these investigations contributed to by staff scientists, historians and private contractors. Three ki'i of particular interest are thought to be originals from Hale o Keawe that are stored in the British Museum in London, the Peabody Museum in Massachusetts, and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu (Wingert et al. 1946:66; Kaeppler 1978). These ki'i display the "Kona style" carving that was developed during Kamehameha I's time period and is unique to Hawai'i Island (Cox and Davenport 1988:77). Some distinct characteristics of the Kona style carving exhibit flared nose, figure eight mouth, three-dimensional, squatted position, large eyes and elaborate head pieces. In the 1960s, the National Park Service (NPS) had the first generation

of modern replicated ki'i lā'au created by 'Ōiwi local carvers who were employed by the park. The Bishop Museum archival documents provided background assistance for the project that was supervised by visiting historian Jacob Lindberg-Hansen from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Through natural impacts from exposure to sun, ocean tide activity and expected aging the integrity of these images become compromised and required replacement. These images displayed now are the third generation of reproductions. As new ki'i are being carved and are replacing the older images the question arises as to what should be done with those older ki'i that are being replaced? From a contemporary 'Ōiwi point of view, what are culturally appropriate treatments for retiring or decommissioning these images that are being created and used in ceremony today? Through this thesis, the National Park Service is seeking information on the carvers from the 1960s that created these images when the park first opened, and to further explore what deities are represented in the images. This information will complement the current historical files the park maintains, and these examinations will enhance the stewardship of the National Historical Park by generating input and community collaboration with lineal descendants of the area. My purpose in this thesis is to gain insights on the historical significance and contemporary cultural meaning of the ki'i lā'au at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, as I have done research in collaboration with National Park Service and have been guided by the questions above.

Cultural Historic Background

Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park is rich with history and archaeological sites that span human occupation for over 400 years. The area is unique in that it is a pu‘uhonua, a place of refuge or sanctuary where one could seek asylum from war and violent conflict during ancient times of Hawai‘i. Located in the ahupua‘a of Hōnaunau, Ki‘ilae and Kēōkea, the historic park comprises 420 acres of coastal landscape that has been administered under NPS since 1961. The park is divided into two parcels, the Upper Garden Unit and the lower coastal Main Unit. The Main Unit situated along the coastline occupies 181 acres that comprise the majority of distinct monumental archaeological sites (Figure 2) (Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle 2004).

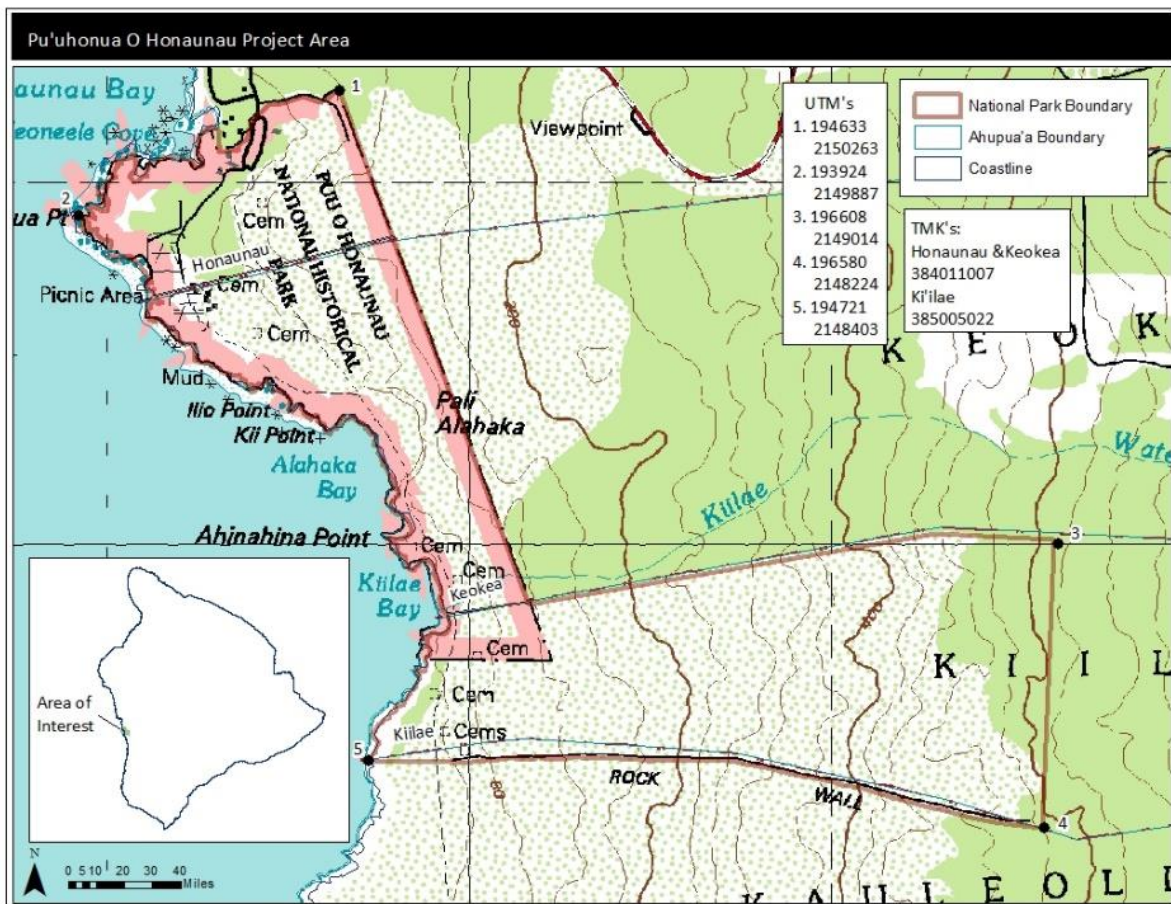


Figure 4. Boundary Map of PUHO, Project Area

Reports and journals written by explorers, missionaries and Hawaiian historians from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries provide the backdrop of cultural history with ongoing archaeology that continues to enhance our understanding and knowledge of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau (Ellis 2004 [1825]; Byron 1826; Malo 1992 [1903]; Bloxam 1924; Ii 1995 [1959]; Bryan and Emory 1986; Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle 2004).

Recent radiocarbon dating analysis suggest Polynesian colonization of Hawai‘i about A.D. 1220 (Kirch 2010; Rieth et al. 2011), which is later than previously concluded and remains a controversial subject. The first Polynesian voyagers transported specific plants for their journey to cultivate when they arrived at their destination. Plants such as taro, ulu (breadfruit), banana, kō (sugar), and ‘uala (sweet potato) are just a few of the food, medicinal and utilitarian plants that were included on these voyages (Abbott 1992; Handy and Handy 1991). Early settlers found environmental conditions in the area of Hōnaunau to be exceptionally abundant with marine resources, and a rich terrestrial land base for agriculture that allowed the population to flourish (Bryan and Emory 1986).

The human occupational history and use of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau spans several centuries. During the 17th century, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau functioned as the political capital for high chiefs of the Keawe lineage. Keawe-nui-a-‘Umi was the son of ‘Umi-a-Liloa who ruled after the death of his father (Fornander 1996; Cordy 2000). He was known as a kind ruler who cared for the chiefs and commoners and is credited with populating Moku o Keawe (Hawai‘i Island). As recorded by Kamakau (1992:34), “He took many women for wives from among the daughters of ‘Umi-a-Liloa and the descendants of other chiefs. Many sons and daughters were born to him, and these became the ancestors of chiefs and commoners.” My connection to Keawe is through my father’s lineage, members of which have held the Keawe name for several

generations. Moku o Keawe is the name of Hawai‘i Island, Hale o Keawe is the temple at Hōnaunau and Keawe the chief founded the area as a political capital. What sanctified this pu‘uhonua or place of refuge was the temple, Hale o Keawe, the royal mausoleum that held the bones of deified chiefs bound in pa‘a i ke kai (sennit basket for iwi) (Kamakau 1991:18). Accounts differ on the number of pu‘uhonua on Hawai‘i Island. According to Alexander (1891:45), there were three, Hōnaunau, Waipio, and Moku Ola in Hilo Bay, while Kelly (1986:151-154) identifies ten, drawing on the research of postcontact records by Reinecke (Ms.), Stokes (Ms.b) and Thrum (1908). The concept of pu‘uhonua was also extended to those of chiefly rank. Ka‘ahumanu was given the power of pu‘uhonua by Kamehameha I, “which in effect conveyed upon her person the sanctity of the heiau” (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:72).

The primary function of Hale o Keawe, the royal mausoleum, was to deify the bones of the chiefs. This act consecrated the sacredness of the pu‘uhonua, placing the area under untouchable protection and physical shelter that was enhanced through designed enclosures and kahu (honored attendant). At the time of European contact Hale o Keawe was one of the last actively used and maintained pu‘uhonua. Through genealogical research Barrère (1957, 1986:117) describes the founding of this pu‘uhonua by Chief Ehu-Kai-Malino around A.D. 1475. Hale o Keawe’s final stage of construction was concluded a few generations later by Chief Keawe-ku‘i-ke-ka‘ai who descended from the established line of ‘Umi (Barrère 1986:118; Kamakau 1991:18). Barrère describes the pu‘uhonua to have functioned for generations in varying degrees, estimating active use for 300 years, with the last chiefly internment in 1818 of Ka‘ōleiokū, a son of Kamehameha I (1986:119, 134).

Western Contact and the Kapu System

The arrival of Captain Cook in 1778 provides a demarcation in time for far-reaching change in Hawai‘i. Political power shifts that unified the archipelago under one chiefdom, coupled with harbors for replenishing ships, exports of sandalwood, introduction of European diseases, and the arrival of missionaries were many contributing factors to social and cultural transformation in Hawai‘i. Natural resource depletions, famine, and land tenure shifts to private owned agriculture economies were an end result. These conditions hosted dramatic change for Hawai‘i but the tipping point, Kame‘eleihiwa (1992:75) concludes, was the overthrow of the kapu system. After the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, control of the Kingdom was assumed by his son Liholiho and Kuhina Nui Kaahumanu, Kamehameha’s favored wife. Six months following his death, Ka‘ahumanu initiated the breaking of the ‘aikapu (to observe eating taboos). The ‘aikapu forbade men and women to eat together and prohibited certain types of food for women (Malo 1992:27 [1903]; Kalākaua 1972:437; Kame‘eleihiwa 1992). Following the ending of ‘aikapu, Ka‘ahumanu would soon denounce the ancient religion, leaving Hawai‘i in a spiritual/religious vacuum ripe for replacement by the new arrival of Christian missionaries (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:67-68). This historical event set the stage for shifting power among the reigning ali‘i and dismantling of the ancient religion. Cultural and traditional change for ‘Ōiwi would manifest in Western concepts of land ownership, a newly introduced religion and economic change that would alter the course of ancient life in Hawai‘i (McGregor and MacKenzie 2014:173).

Hale o Keawe was temporarily spared from desecration due to the sanctity of the temple and the deified ali‘i resting within. When observed by missionary William Ellis (2004:152-155

[1825]) in 1823, the temple was intact; his vivid descriptions bore witness to intriguing details of the architecture, wooden images, red feathered images, woven sennit baskets, bundles of wrapped iwi and an array of royal artifacts belonging to the former chiefs. The account left by Ellis is critically important in reviewing the historic remnants that were still intact in 1823. His description is useful in comparing the condition of the site with that observed by the visitors of HMS *Blonde* in 1825, who were sanctioned by Keōpūolani, highest ranking chiefess, and wife of Kamehameha I (Desha 2000:138-139) to destroy the idols of a religious system that no longer served the aliʻi (Byron 1826:45). Reverend Rowland Bloxam was a member of the HMS *Blonde* party and describes the 1825 visit to Hale o Keawe (Bloxam 1924:79-80):

On one side were arranged several feathered deities protruding their misshapen heads through numberless folds of decayed tapa. Under these folds were deposited the bones of the mighty kings and potent warriors who had hailed these idols as their penates...after the party had viewed this holy place for some time, our rapacious inclinations began to manifest themselves and after our lordship had taken what he thought proper, the rest began to take ample sanctuary regardless of the punishment attending such shameless sacrilege. Two immense though beautifully carved gods that stood on each side of the stone altar were immediately plucked up and sent down to the boats. I succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreahoo (Kaleiopuu), a beautiful spear and a few other articles within my reach. All the other visitants were equally piously inclined. Having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to the ship laden with the spoils of this heathen temple.

The following day, botanist James Macrae also from the HMS *Blonde* arrived to procure artifacts of potential value or curiosity (Macrae 1922:71-72):

We went to see the morai [*marae*]³ on the other side of the island. On our way met the old priest in his canoe coming on board. He alone is entrusted to enter the morai, and we accordingly took him back with us. We found the morai was on the east point of a small bay surrounded by huts standing under a thinly scattered grove of coconut trees, but with no signs of cultivation about. As we were about

³ A *marae* is an East Polynesian temple, similar in function to a heiau in Hawaiʻi.

to enter the morai the old priest, who had a straw hat and cotton shirt, took both of them off, and only left his maro [malo] on. On entering we only found an empty filthy hut with quantities of human bones in heaps under mats at each end of the hut, many of the bones not yet dry and disgusting to the sight. In the middle were several effigies of the deceased chiefs, tied to a bundle of tapa cloth containing the bones of each person whom the effigies represented. Most of the effigies were made of wood, but the one representing the late Tamahamaha [Kamehameha] was substituted by a mask of European manufacture and was more finely dressed than the others. The party with Lord Byron that had visited here the day before, had taken away any memorials of the morai that could be taken, so we asked the old priest to be allowed to take some of the ancient weather beaten carved images outside.

In January 1829, at Hale o Keawe, Kaahumanu removed the bones of twenty-four chiefs, placed them in two caskets where they were relocated to an undisclosed cave at Ka‘awaloa and the remaining bones were burned (Kamakau 1992:285, 322). She ordered Hale o Keawe to be dismantled, offered up the wood to the missionaries for souvenirs, and had the kauila (*Alphitonia ponderosa*) rafters recycled in the construction of Hale Kauila, the government building on O‘ahu (Alexander 1891:204). The gods represented in the ki‘i lā‘au stationed within the pu‘uhonua complex and Hale o Keawe during this period in history were associated with Lono, Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa.

The quotes above offer insight into the mindset of the officers of the *Blonde* and the current political position of the ali‘i in power during that period in history. These detailed descriptions are a valuable resource tool for determining the location of these cultural items of patrimony and where they may be housed. Lord Byron’s looting of sacred idols and feathered baskets at Hale o Keawe ironically contributed to the preservation of these moepū (artifacts placed with the dead) and ki‘i images. Had they not been misappropriated outside the Hawaiian Archipelago they most likely would have been destroyed.

Items of Cultural Patrimony and Missing Collections

What became of these Hawaiian idols and objects of cultural patrimony after their removal by Byron and the men of HMS *Blonde*? Several idols and artifacts taken from Hale o Keawe are documented in early descriptions and drawings published in London (Bloxam 1826b:210-217). Emory describes a large wooden image, red feathered idol, and a bird stick image that was found in the Bloxam Collection. Portions of this collection have been sold and accessioned to various institutions: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Peabody Museum in Massachusetts, the British Museum in London, and some pieces are still held in private collections (Bryan and Emory 1986:100-105; Buck 2003:493). These images and artifacts are directly associated with burials from Hale o Keawe therefore they could be categorized as moepū.

It remains unclear what impacts NAGPRA could have on these objects that could be classified within all four categories of the written law: associated funerary objects; unassociated funerary objects; sacred objects; and items of cultural patrimony. As defined by NAGPRA, [25 USC 3001 (3)(D)], Cultural Patrimony is an “An object having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American, and which, therefore, cannot be alienated, appropriated, or conveyed by any individual regardless of whether or not the individual is a member of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and such object shall have been considered inalienable by such Native American group at the time the object was separated from such group.” These items were associated with a temple that housed the remains of deified chiefs. Many of these cultural objects are held within the United States and therefore subject to NAGPRA. However, until federal recognition of a ‘Ōiwi “tribe” can be determined, the cultural

items will remain in stasis at their current locations. The London British Museum may have possession and ownership of one Kū ki‘i from Hale o Keawe; however, they are under no legal obligation to return these sacred cultural items until new international laws can be established to protect and repatriate burial goods and cultural patrimony to their native origins.

NAGPRA’s history in Hawai‘i has opened a door to aggressive litigation for Native Hawaiian Organizations vying for ownership over collections that remain unresolved today. “...the act is very unclear about exactly what parts of a collection may be covered and how ‘ownership’ is to be determined, museums and tribes largely have been left to their own devices to work out their respective roles and rights” (Hass 1996:04). Greer (2012:48) provides an example of repatriation litigation involving the Forbe’s Cave Collection from Kawaihae (North Kona, Hawai‘i) in which the Bishop Museum loaned the collection to a Native Hawaiian Organization Hui Mālama, who promptly reinterred numerous human remains and 83 cultural items without the consent of other Hawaiian claimants. Litigation is still ongoing in NAGPRA case, *Na Lei Alii Kawanānakoā v. Bishop Museum*, that involves the Forbe’s Cave Collection. Five cultural items of patrimony or funerary objects were eventually returned to the Bishop Museum and are currently being held in a federal repository pending determination of who the rightful owner is among 15 ‘Ōiwi organizations and/or plaintiffs. The history of NAGPRA in Hawai‘i has revealed the complicated issues of identifying Native title/possession and the challenges of repatriation.

In the case of the ki‘i collected from Hale o Keawe, what NHO could be recognized for repatriation? Many questions remain unresolved in the U.S. courts regarding recognition and definition of Hawaiian “tribes”/organizations. Could all the NHO’s arrive at consensus for final treatment of images? Where would they reinter them, Hale o Keawe? Would they simply remain

in a U.S. museum? Is there an authorized institution in Hawai‘i equipped as a repository to house the returned ki‘i? In the words of Reverend Bloxam (1925:79-80), without their “rapacious inclinations” to gather and collect sacred items from a sovereign kingdom in severe cultural and traditional decline, the world would not have these images today. However, a degree of consensus amongst NHO is mandatory regarding culturally appropriate handling and stewardship of these idols before repatriation can occur within the U.S.

On a worldwide level, the next challenge in resolving items of cultural patrimony issues will be establishing international laws requiring repatriation to the country of origin. International moral obligations are setting new standards outside national regulations that aim to establish global consensus on repatriation. In 1978, UNESCO established the Inter-Governmental Committee to encourage “the return of cultural property to its countries of origin or its restitution in case of illicit appropriation” (Gathercole 1981:2). Roehrenbeck (2010:199) provides several examples of international repatriation either voluntarily or through litigation, and the intricacy of laws still being developed. Gathercole also describes Zuni priests’ 1979 receipt of a war god from the Denver Art Museum; in following their tradition they laid it out to be untouched and rot on its former shrine. If and when these ki‘i are repatriated back to their country of origin, NHOs will also have to reconcile conflicts about how these sacred objects will be received and managed.

Previous Oral History Research

Since the early 1900s, oral history has been conducted and collected by researchers from those living in the Park boundary area of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Ki'ilae and archaeological research has been conducted in the same region. For decades, South Kona and the pu'uhonua have been of great interest to the academic community; ongoing ethnohistorical studies are being conducted to preserve and deepen our understanding of the cultural history. In 1906, Stokes surveyed and documented heiau on Hawai'i Island requiring his translator, Meinecke, to assist with interviews of 'Ōiwi. When the National Park Service took over administration of Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, several reconstruction and stabilization projects required data collection from oral history accounts that would enhance the archaeological data. In the 1960s, superintendent Russell Apple (1954) and historian Fran Jackson conducted several oral history interviews to enrich the understanding and preservation of NPS and its community (Jackson 1966). This vital oral historical research has augmented information needed during reconstruction projects of archeological sites, and provides ethnographic data critical to preservation, conservation and interpretation in the stewardship of the park. The collection of oral history often coincided with land tenure transfers and project development periods. The compilation below in Table 1 outlines previous oral history research assembled from Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2004) and Rechtman (2001).

Table 1. Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park: Bibliography of Oral Histories

Interviewee	Date of Interview	Reference	Place Affiliation
Desha, Rev. Stephen L.	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Henriques, Edgar	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Kaapuni	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Kaloko	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Brigham, Dr. W.	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Gaspar, John	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Kamaka, Louis	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Kapunawai	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Lazaro	1919	Stokes ms	Kealakekua
Loe (Mainui’s wife)	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Mainui (Loe’s husband)	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Nahau	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Napunawai, or W.P. Kunikaia	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Paris, Ella H.	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Wall, Walter A.	1919	Stokes ms	Restoration of Pu‘uhonua in 1902, “under the guidance of three Hawaiians” Kaeo, Mrs. Wright, and Mainui
Wright, William E.	1919	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Webb, Lahilahi	1920	Stokes ms	Hōnaunau
Panui, Louis	1950	KAHO Green files-“Oral History”	Description of the Battle of Mokuohai
Alporque, Mabel	1963	Jackson 1966	Ki‘ilae Village
Kane, Abbie	1964	Jackson 1966	Ki‘ilae Village
Paris, William J.	1964	Jackson 1966	Ki‘ilae Village
Thompson, William	1964	KAHO Green files-“Oral History”	PUHO
Garso, Maggie Kahikina	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki‘ilae Village
Grace, Antone Jr.	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki‘ilae Village

Grace, Mrs. Antone Sr.	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Kahikina, John	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Kahumoku, Lottie	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Kaleikini, Becky	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Kalele, Moses	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Miyamoto, Yuji	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie
Mokuohai, Mrs.	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie
Thompson, William	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Weeks, Annie	1965	Jackson 1966	Ki'ilaie Village
Barrett, Victoria K.	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Gaspar, Charles	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Gaspar, Mary K.	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Kahale, Edward	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Ka'ihikapupua Onalani, Lucy Perkins	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Kalaiwa'a, Katherine	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Keohohou, Annie	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Kihe, Emily K.	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Leslie, Henry Jr.	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Leslie, Mary	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Paris, William J.	1977	SHPD 1977	Kealakekua
Homer, Hayes, Roy David, Lukela Evalani, Moses Kaipo	1980	Transcript No.494 Hōnaunau/City of Refuge No.2	PUHO
Apple, Russel A.	1989	Green files	NPS
Barrère, Dorothy B.	1989	Kona Historical Society	NPS

Paris, William Johnson Jr.	1996	Rechtman 2001	large stones used in wall at Hale o Keawe
Craver, Malia	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Fujihara-Leslie, Madeline, Hanami & Robert Leslie Sr.	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Fujimori, Taro & I'ana Fujimori-Godden	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Higashi, Kaneyo & Gloria Higashi-Okimura	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Hose-Watson, Juliana	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Hua, Charles Kalahua Pelio & Weston Leslie	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Keli'ipa'akaua, Joseph K. Jr.	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Kiwaha, Hannah Min	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Loando, August	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Marks-Lindsay, Noenoe	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Maunu-Ah Nee, Mary	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Maunu-Keākealani, Margaret Keanu & Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli
Medeiros, Alfred & Mary	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki'ilaē - Kauleoli

Medeiros, Clarence A. Jr	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki‘ilae – Kauleoli
Paris, William “Billy” Johnson Jr.	2001	Rechtman 2001	Kauleoli
Paris-Schautauer, Margaret	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki‘ilae – Kauleoli
Spencer, Emil	2001	Rechtman 2001	Ki‘ilae – Kauleoli

Oral history data collection has been an ongoing process in South Kona with the endeavor to understand the cultural history of the area and enhance preservation within the archeological sites. The early work of Stokes (1991) provides a legacy of information to understand the design and function of temples and augment the cultural history through the interviews of kūpuna (elders) and his archeological documentation of heiau. Henriques (1926) provides a detailed description. He was privileged to witness a kālai wa‘a (canoe carving master) and the canoe making process, from the beginning of wood procurement to the launching of the vessel. These are incremental periods of oral history collection that provides a legacy of heritage management.

Later, in the 1960s, Jackson (1966) would continue these efforts as National Park Service began to rebuild and restore Hale o Keawe and various heiau within the newly established park. Many of those interviewed were born in the late 1800s and they provided comprehensive details of life in Ki‘ilae. Place names, and population estimation of 100 people were recorded. Housing consisted primarily of grass shacks with the exception to one home on the point made with lumber. Their clothing consisted of malo (loin cloth) and pā‘ū (skirt) but on Sundays most had hand sewn dresses from denim they would wear for church services. In general, these rich

interviews described salt making practices, fishing, weaving, gardening, animal use, water gathering, burial locations and treatments, and medicinal healing arts that included recipes.

In the 1990s and early 2000s studies would continue under cultural resource management contracts (Rechtman 2001) to meet compliance efforts as lands transferred ownership for commercial development. Kepā Maly conducted these interviews that describe genealogical connections, grave locations, marine resources that were gathered, occupational fishing and techniques for launching canoes, and ranching. These interviews shared similar oral histories of those from the 1960s. Interestingly, many of those interviewed during these various time periods are related descendants. Overall, these collected oral history interviews were usually initiated for seeking information that will enhance preservation during periods of restoration as seen in Stokes interviews in documenting heiau or salvage preservation prior to commercial land developments. The early park days required collecting oral history from those still living who could provide information to enhance restoration projects and maintain the heritage of the descendants of the area. These resources are invaluable for understanding traditional processes and cultural values from the past that support how contemporary cultural practices are implemented today.

The previous data collection provides a baseline of information that guides this thesis to further gather contemporary stories and cultural history from ‘Ōiwi for future generations and for preservation endeavors at PUHO. The previous oral history interviews except for Henriques (1926) provide no information on ki‘i lā‘au or carving. The questions in this thesis vary from previous oral history projects for I seek explicit information on understanding the historical meaning and contemporary significance of the ki‘i lā‘au, the carvers from the 1960s, and continued cultural practices and uses of the park land by its lineal descendants.

Previous Archaeological Research

The vast amount of archaeological work conducted at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau has left a wealth of rich information that has enhanced restoration and stabilization projects. There were varying time periods in which work was being completed for the park to prepare for its opening in the 1960s. Once the park was acquired from the County of Hawai‘i the park grounds were restored through vegetation removal, replanting coconut trees, carving of the ki‘i lā‘au, and grand scale restoration of Hale o Keawe, the Great Wall, Alahaka Ramp, Trails, and Ale‘ale‘a Heiau to name just a few projects completed during this period.

The compilation of previous archeology and oral history studies provides over 100 years of data collection and information from the land boundaries of the National Park and members of this South Kona community. Several archaeological projects were centered on reconstruction, restoration, scientific data collection in salvage excavations, and Section 106 compliance activities at major sites within the Main Unit of PUHO. Additional projects and surveys were conducted by private cultural resource management firms in compliance with Federal and State laws before project developments and land transfers could occur.

Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle’s (2004: A-37) archaeological assessment totals over 1,500 archaeology sites at PUHO (Table 2). The previous archaeological surveys and excavations revealed various construction phases at numerous heiau within the pu‘uhonua complex and Hale o Keawe spanning from the 15th century. The distinct pao construction was discovered at particular temples during stabilization projects. According to Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2004: A-76), “Unique to Hōnaunau monumental architecture is the use of an open-work stone construction method called *pao* (caverned). The interior of massive structures are built up by a

system of upright and horizontal slabs forming hollows that save on labor and material.” Early mapping, surveys by Bishop Museum, restoration, stabilization projects, and salvage archaeology revealed an expanse of varied sites including large monumental structures, temples, chiefly residential complex, cave shelters, refuge cave, trails, three hōlua (ancient slide) slides, fish ponds, agricultural sites, canoe landing, 122 petroglyphs, and many “cup marks” thought to be used for supporting images or kapu sticks. Numerous burials were identified during stabilization, restoration and construction projects. The burial sites varied from interment to cists, caves, platforms, crypts, tombs and post-contact coffins. Burials continue to be exposed due to impacts from high surf and erosion. A permanent burial cave has been established at PUHO for reinterment of inadvertent discoveries and burials from previous archaeology projects. Post-contact 19th century ranching sites consist of walls, enclosures and cattle traps. World War II fox holes were discovered by Ladd (1987:77) during restoration of the Ancient Heiau.

Table 2. Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historic Park: Summary of Major Archaeological and Historical Projects compiled from Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2004)

Year	Subject of Work	Type of Work	Carried Out By	Reference
1902	Great Wall ‘Āle‘ale‘a Heiau Hale-o-Keawe Hale-o-Papa	Reconstruction and restoration of these four sites. Work sponsored by S.M. Damon	W.A. Wall (director) W. Wright (foreman)	Stokes n.d. Stokes 1986a
1919	Great Wall Hale-o-Keawe Ancient Heiau (A-27) Goat Pen in Pu‘uhonua	Oral history, mapping, and excavation	Bishop Museum	Stokes n.d. Stokes 1986a
1930	Kona coast, including Hōnaunau	Survey	Bishop Museum	Reinecke 1930
1949	Hōnaunau	Historical research	NPS	Neasham 1949

1952	Hōnaunau Ki'īlae	Historical research, mapping, oral history	Independent	Kekahuna 1952, 1956a, 1956b Kekahuna/Kelsey 1954
1956- 57	Hōnaunau Kēōkea Ki'īlae	Oral history, historical research, mapping, publication of Stokes 1919 work	Bishop Museum for NPS	Bryan/Emory 1986
1957	Keanae'e Cliff	Survey of caves	Bishop Museum	Bowen 1957
1962	Site H47 Site H48	Salvage excavation	Bishop Museum	Soehren 1987
1963	Site H47	Testing (81 test excavations)	NPS	Tuohy 1987
1963	Inland road corridor	Salvage excavation	Bishop Museum	Tuohy 1987
1963	Alahaka Ramp	Excavation, stabilization	NPS	Ladd 1969d
1963	Great Wall	Excavation, stabilization	NPS	Ladd 1969b
1963	Āle'ale'a Heiau	Excavation, stabilization	NPS	Ladd 1969a
1963	Site C-58	Salvage excavation, cave to be used for burials	NPS	Ladd 1969e
1964- 83	Main Unit	Mapping, site survey	NPS	Young 1964-1983
1965	Ki'īlae Village	Mapping, test excavation	NPS	Ladd 1986b
1965	Ki'īlae Village	Oral history	NPS	Jackson 1966
1966- 67	Hale-o-Keawe Heiau	Mapping, excavation	NPS	Ladd 1985
1968	Sites B-105, B- 107, B-108	Mapping, test excavation	NPS	Ladd 1986a
1979- 80	A-27 Ancient Heiau	Mapping, excavation	NPS	Ladd 1987
1984	Submerged cultural resources	Survey	NPS	Lenihan 1984
1985	Alahaka Heiau 'Oma'oma'o Heiau	Mapping, stabilization	NPS	Somers 1986
1999	Upper Garden Unit	Inventory survey	NPS	Nelson 1999a
1999	Main Unit	Survey of proposed sewage treatment plant area	NPS	Nelson 1999b
2000	Three areas of Main Unit	Section 106 review	NPS	Nelson 2000
2000	Ki'īlae, Kaule'oli	Reconnaissance survey	SCS	Wolforth 2000

2002	Ki'īlae, Kaule'oli	Inventory survey	Rechtman Consulting for Ki'īlae Estates, LLC	Rechtman et al. 2002a, 2002b
2002	Ki'īlae Village	Oral history	Rechtman Consulting for Ki'īlae Estates, LLC	Rechtman et al. 2002a, 2002b
2003	Ki'īlae Village	Reconnaissance survey, limited mapping	IARII for NPS	Carson et al. 2004

Review of previous archaeology expanded my base information during the early development period of the park. Areas set for development requiring archaeological inventory surveys surrounding PUHO add richness to the oral history data bank. Despite a lack of direct focus on the ki'i, the richly detailed archaeological record of PUHO provides information about ancestral sites and how those sites have changed through time. This information complements the shared stories documented through oral history research, contributing to the framing of research questions. Many lineal descendants who participated in my study were second or third generation family members of those interviewed in the 1960s through 1990s and 2003. There is value in reviewing the previous cultural narratives and archaeological research that provided a foundation of knowledge to build upon before approaching my research.

Research Questions

This MA thesis focuses on a subset of questions that is part of a larger oral history project conducted in collaboration with the Heritage Management Program at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, the National Park Service, and Hawai'i-Pacific Islands Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit. Grant funding to PUHO provides for research in collecting oral histories from lineal descendants and former park employees that address broad generalized questions for a final

comprehensive report expected in 2018. The final report will serve as a conduit for ‘Ōiwi community engagement of lineal descendants with ancestral ties to Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Ki‘ilae Ahupua‘a. One component of the project Task Agreement seeks to gather personal stories and memories of the area and, in addition, contribute and incorporate ‘Ōiwi viewpoints to park management programs. This MA thesis draws selectively from the larger project by focusing on the ethnographic research questions related to the ki‘i lā‘au.

The chronological history of Hale o Keawe and function of the temple is outlined by Barrère (1957, 1986). Dramatic political change was marked by the death of Kamehameha I in 1819 followed by the ending of the ‘ai kapu and the desecration of Hale o Keawe by visiting HMS *Blonde* officers. Shortly after, the demolition of the temple would be sanctioned by Kamehameha’s wives, Ka‘ahumanu and Keōpūolani. Despite numerous oral histories that span four generations of descendants, the remembered stories say very little about the carvers themselves. One of the aims of this MA thesis is to uncover the lives of these pioneering carvers. Specifically, what is known about the contemporary carvers?

The overarching research topic the MA thesis addresses is the historical significance and contemporary cultural meaning of the ki‘i lā‘au at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau. In collaboration with NPS, this MA thesis investigates three specific questions: 1) What deities do the ki‘i lā‘au at the pu‘uhonua represent? 2) What is known about the contemporary carvers who created the first generation of ki‘i lā‘au? 3) What culturally appropriate practices could be considered for decommissioning the ki‘i when they require replacement? This research endeavors to gather additional information for NPS to integrate community collaboration by providing ‘Ōiwi points of view that will enrich the interpretation programs and enhance culturally appropriate practices for future treatment of the ki‘i lā‘au.

CHAPTER THREE: ORAL HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA COLLECTION

Collaborative Approach to Research Design

The University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s Heritage Management MA program encompasses and promotes the concept that community engagement and collaboration be integral to each graduate student’s research (Mills and Kawelu 2013). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2004:6) state, “Throughout the 1980s and 1990s archaeologists were forced to confront the ethics of their research, the overt and veiled politics of their discipline and the institutional (and historical) erasure of Native American voices.” Community engagement and collaboration seeks to provide an environment for the research to incorporate participants in the design of the project and share in the outcome of the study. In general, academic research has been created by and presented to only those within their academic field, being published in scientific journals and conference presentations, excluding those who were the focus of the research. When considering a study, the ethical question should be asked, who does this research benefit and how can we expand a holistic reach to all those who participate? Atalay (2010:419) affirms, “the theoretical underpinnings of community based participatory research (CBPR) assume that research should benefit society, and it provides a methodology for democratizing research to ensure that people are involved in the process of knowledge production while simultaneously building capacity within their communities.”

This oral history project incorporated the philosophy and action of community collaboration from the beginning of the study. The UH Hilo Heritage Management program recommends a community member seat on the graduate student’s advisory committee.. My advising community member also became my primary interviewee in this study. Kahaka‘io

Ravenscraft shaped the foundation and direction of my thesis by setting the spiritual tones for understanding the meaning and significance of the pu‘uhonua and the ki‘i lā‘au. Through the action and incorporation of community engagement I experienced a deepened richness in understanding my research questions. This community has expressed a sense of personal fulfillment in leaving a legacy of mo‘olelo (stories) for future ‘Ōiwi and the public. The community relationships that were developed for the OHP expanded my awareness to the importance of conveying their voice through my writing. As Lassiter (2005:84) states, “Collaborative research involves the side-by-side work of all parties in a mutually beneficial research program. All parties are equal partners in the enterprise, participating in the research design and in other major aspects of the program as well, working together toward a common goal.”

In summer 2015, Park Service project managers, principle investigators, and I designed a research calendar for community meetings to engage lineal descendants of the area and employees of the park to participate in the OHP. The first formal community meeting held at the park in January 2016 included the Park Service superintendent, chief supervisors of cultural resources and interpretation, ‘Ōiwi lineal descendants, UH HiloHeritage Management program director and committee advisors. The small gathering numbered fewer than twenty community members. All those present introduced themselves and provided background information on their relationships to the park. The OHP outline and goals were shared among the community for input and questions. Discussion focused on interest in interviewing lineal descendants who had ties to Hōnaunau, Kēōkea and Ki‘ilae but was also open to former and current park employees who may have stories to share regarding the local carvers and general maintenance of the ki‘i.

Community members were interested in how the data would be used and archived, who would have access to the information, and what would be the final expectations of the project.

The community expressed the importance of contributing their oral history stories that would be added to the previous work done by early researchers (Stokes 1919; Apple 1966; Jackson 1966; Rechtman 2002; Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle 2003). The first community gathering introduced the OHP to establish trust and develop rapport with the participants for the future study. The community determined at this initial meeting that further outreach to descendants off island or those living in the mainland U.S. should be made. There was concern that more descendants may want to participate in the project but were unaware; therefore, it was suggested that another larger meeting should be offered to extend the project to those community members who were not represented.

In April 2016, a two-day gathering titled, *Lā Ho‘iho‘i I Ka Piko* (a day to return to the source), was organized and hosted by the park and key lineal descendants. The gathering was partially funded by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, that provided food and refreshments over the weekend. The meeting was held in the park’s outdoor amphitheater at sunset with one lineal descendant who took the lead as Master of Ceremonies for the weekend. A table was stationed with a sign-in sheet and photo albums of early park pictures featuring many family members working when the park first opened. Most featured in the photographs were park employees and family members who had since passed, and there were memorable reflections expressed by those present. The event opened with entertainment of Hawaiian music performed by a lineal descendant followed by introductions from Park Service and the MC, after that I introduced myself and the OHP. The evening ended with a slide show of early park projects depicting archaeological restorations and cultural traditional practices from the late 1800s through the

1960s. The leadership from our MC and gathering of lineal descendants provided a positive environment to share cultural exchange in music, food, and overall hospitality to kick-off the study. This two-day event allowed time for interested participants, myself included, to ask and answer questions regarding the project and continue to develop community connections.

Lā Ho‘iho‘i I Ka Piko continued the following morning with community members and Park Service employees gathered in the maintenance picnic area of the park along the ocean front of the former Chief Residential Complex (Site B-108). The MC set the theme for the day by asking descendants to “arrive with a story to tell.” This established the research project platform that introduced the concept of oral history gathering and shared memories. A formal stage with microphone and video recorder was set-up for descendants to share personal stories, maps and photographs of their ancestral landscape (Figure 3). Many kūpuna took this impromptu opportunity to record, on the open mike, childhood memories of growing up around the pu‘uhonua, sharing historic events such as electricity being introduced to Hōnaunau, the first elementary school and epic lava flows that left an imprint on the community. The informal gathering allowed the descendants to discuss varying methods of interviewing family members who lived on the mainland or outer islands. This shaped the format of approaches that would be implemented in the research and continued community engagement and mutual rapport.



Figure 5. Lā Ho‘iho‘i I Ka Piko, April 2, 2016, (Left to right) Akoni Nelsen, Midge Casuga and Clarence Medeiros, Sr. (Photo by Kalena K. Blakemore, 2016.)

The next community interaction was open to the general public and took place at the Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park’s, 55th Annual Cultural Festival in June. I was invited by the coordinator of the event, who was a lineal descendant to set up an informational table about the OHP. He suggested this would be an excellent venue to reach out to more participants and secure appointments for interviews. The annual festival consists of cultural practitioners who demonstrate traditional weaving, kapa making, fishing techniques, wood carving, foods, canoe paddling, music, and hula all within the royal grounds of the pu‘uhonua. The day ended with a few hundred people engaged in a hukilau (specialized fishing technique) in Hōnaunau Bay. Several hundred in attendance held hands and ended the festival with the song “Hawai‘i Aloha” followed by the fish being released from the hukilau net. The experience was

profoundly moving; it was a privilege to be included and welcomed into this community. This festival provided a unique window into the life of lineal descendants, many of whom are employed at the park and who openly share their traditional cultural practices to visitors from around the world. This culturally rich community event was instrumental in allowing me to meet and connect with community members who could acquaint themselves with the project and who agreed to set an interview appointment for the summer research.

Indigenous Theoretical Approach

The research questions seek to understand the historical significance and contemporary cultural meaning of the ki'i lā'au and the history and knowledge of carvers who created them. This was achieved through the guidance of indigenous Pacific Islander scholars Smith (2001) and Aluli-Meyer (2006). The park initiated the oral history project and proposed a series of research questions, the relevance of which unfolded for me as the background literature review illuminated some gaps in knowledge about the ki'i lā'au and their carvers. Leading up to the fieldwork in Summer 2016, I was approached by a descendant who expressed anguish and dismay over the culturally improper disposal of previous ki'i lā'au that were on display at Hale o Keawe. This vocalized concern offered me opportunity to work together with descendants to include a question on what culturally appropriate treatments could be implemented for decommissioning of the ki'i lā'au. I was made aware through many descendants prior to and during the fieldwork that they perceived that the OHP would benefit the community through facilitating cultural exchange and possible implementation of policy changes with the park and that I would be the conduit for this action. This expectation placed me in a position to ensure that

the community voice and concerns be articulated through their mo‘olelo and ‘ike (seeing, understanding) in the OHP. During interviews, I gathered further interest and concerns on contemporary cultural practices that would be presented later in my findings. The OHP methods and questions were fluid and flexible in order to accommodate individuals in what they felt was important to share during their interview.

A challenge for indigenous researchers may arise when their method is filtered through a format of scientific approaches and presentation that may not be applicable to data that is collected from within an indigenous group. The research collected through interviews and archival data seek information, that describes metaphorical attributes and meaningful significance of the ki‘i lā‘au from an indigenous point of view requiring a qualitative approach to analysis. The search for alternative indigenous epistemologies and methodologies led me to Smith (2001), Aluli-Meyer (2006) and Kovach (2009).

Aluli-Meyer’s indigenous epistemology embodies a holistic approach that allows for varying expressions in understanding and interpretation of research. Using the metaphor of triangulating our way to meaning through understanding, Aluli-Meyer (2006:265) argues, “Body, mind and spirit, as a template to organize meaningful research asks us to extend through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind), and, finally, through recognition of and engagement with deeper realities (spirit).” The *body* of this framework consists of empirical evidence, hard science and knowledge, the *mind* is that which is subjective: thought, epistemology and knowing, whereas, *spirit* is the whole, to contemplate, intuitiveness, metaphor, and liberation. The framework of triangulation can be applied to this research for it addresses the indigenous facets of the data. In application to this research the triangulation framework can be viewed in this way: the *body* is

the actual ki‘i lā‘au (size, image, technical structure), the *mind* is what we know of the actual gods being represented (what has been passed down through oral historical descriptions) and the *spirit* captures the intuitive metaphor found within the images. Aluli-Meyer’s epistemology in triangulation resonates in this study for the ki‘i lā‘au and those who have a relationship with these images can be interpreted together from a holistic point of view that encompass these three components of mind, body and spirit. The epistemology of triangulating meaning and grounded theory provides the framework for this research.

Although there are several procedures that have been employed for this study, the first indigenous practice that sets the framework for this project required ritual communication with Akua, nā ‘aumakua, nā kūpuna, me nā makua i ka lani (God, family guardians, elders, and parental figures in heaven). Although, this is not a recognized scientific Western approach to methodology it is foundational within ‘Ōiwi culture of which I am and embrace. Worshipping akua and nā ‘aumakua is a cultural practice by ‘Ōiwi of the past and continues today (; Malo 1992 [1903]; Ii 1995 [1959; Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972]). Kovach (2009:58) illuminates in one of her case studies, “Indigenous researchers are grappling with ways to explain how holistic epistemologies inform their research design in ways understood by Western academic minds.” This project is being conducted by an ‘Ōiwi researcher, involving ‘Ōiwi people, culturally sacred images and oral histories that contain sensitive topics. For these reasons alone, it requires communication and guidance from ancestral resources to set the stage for research and community engagement from a cultural point of view. The following pule was a daily cultural practice for this study. The pule is adapted from Malo (1992:11 [1903]) and is often used to open ‘Ōiwi ceremonies.

Na 'Aumakua
Adapted from *Hawaiian Antiquities* by David Malo

Na 'Aumakua mai ka la hiki a ka la kau!
Mai ka ho'oku'i a ka halawai
Na 'Aumakua ia Kahinakua, ia Kahina'alo
Ia ka'a 'akau i ka lani
'O kiha i ka lani
'Owe i ka lani
Nunulu i ka lani
Kaholo i ka lani
Eia na pulapula a 'oukou 'o ka po'e Hawai'i
E malama 'oukou ia makou
E ulu i ka lani
E ulu i ka honua
E ulu i ka pae'aina o Hawai'i

E ho mai i ka 'ike
E ho mai i ka ikaika
E ho mai i ke akamai
E ho mai i ka maopopo pono
E ho mai i ka 'ike papalua
E ho mai i ka mana.
'Amama ua noa.

*Ancestors from the rising to the setting sun
From the zenith to the horizon
Ancestors who stand at our back and front
You who stand at our right hand
A breathing in the heavens
An utterance in the heavens
A clear, ringing voice in the heavens
A voice reverberating in the heavens
Here are your descendants, the Hawaiians*

*Safeguard us
That we may flourish in the heavens
That we may flourish on earth
That we may flourish in the Hawaiian Islands
Grant us knowledge
Grant us strength
Grant us intelligence
Grant us understanding
Grant us insight
Grant us power
The prayer is lifted, it is free.*

The cultural sensitivity of engaging indigenous and non-indigenous community members for the oral history component of this project required seeking divine supervision outside myself. The goal of this mindful practice is to access spiritual guidance from my ancestors throughout the research design, development and conclusion of the study, along with the intention to perpetuate ‘Ōiwi culture and to foster continued respect in relationships with all participants in the project. The interviews required the sharing of personal life histories and sensitive information on cultural values, and thus trust between researcher and participant was essential. As an ‘Ōiwi researcher, I will note that this study is built on a spiritual platform that also incorporates indigenous methods in oral history approaches.

Archival Research

Chapter Two compiles previous ethnographic and archaeological research conducted in the study area. Archival research utilized publications from early European first contact journals and ‘Ōiwi historian authors, archeological reports prepared for PUHO, and/or previously surveyed work of the area by Bishop Museum scientists. Resource locations include University of Hawai‘i and state libraries, State Historic Preservation Department, Bishop Museum, Park archives, private archaeology firms, and online research of historic newspapers. The background research objective identified baseline information regarding ki‘i that was documented at first European contact and the location of precontact ki‘i that were removed from Hale o Keawe in 1825. In addition, a literature review of information about the deities known to be represented in the ki‘i was conducted. And a review of previously recorded oral histories with the occupants of the area was completed.

Early European descriptions contributed invaluable details of the cultural material left at Hale o Keawe. ‘Ōiwi authors enhanced this information through illuminating the traditional importance and function of the temple, heiau and pu‘uhonua. Some of these written accounts provide vivid descriptions of images pillaged from Hale o Keawe and taken to England. Through excellent record keeping, several misappropriated images and sacred ceremonial items are relocated in various museums and private collections that provide valuable information as to the type of cultural material existing at Hale o Keawe. Archival research contributed to identifying the various images currently situated at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau and the types of gods they represent. All four major deities, Lono, Kanaloa, Kāne and Kū, are represented at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau. The previous oral histories collected from the early and late 1900s contain information on the archaeological sites for restoration, stabilization and documentation of village life from those few remaining descendants living.

In 1961, when the park opened, the detailed records of the first generation of replicated ki‘i lā‘au are insufficient on the carvers, the process of creating the images or treatment of ki‘i lā‘au that would be replaced. This research seeks information on the ki‘i lā‘au Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau and data on the carvers who created the first generation of contemporary images. The previous oral history interviews conducted in the past did not address this information. Through oral history techniques, the OHP gathered broad generalized information from participant’s relationship and history to the park lands for the larger PUHO (projected completion in 2018). Questions focused on the ki‘i lā‘au, the carvers, and the care and treatment of ki‘i when decommissioned will be used to answer the thesis research questions. These latter questions regarding the ki‘i are the focus for information and analysis in the interview text.

Interviews

The narratives in this study represent a small select demographic of descendants and former Park Service employees of PUHO. I am cognizant of variations and individual interpretations of events and how memory can be varied or shaped according to the individual and their recollection of the past (Yow 2015). It is possible that these narratives may be influenced through historical renditions explaining particulars in carving images and the process of resource procurement (Henriques 1926; Malo 1992). However, there is consistency among the consultants who shared nearly identical explanations regarding selection of wood in the forest, although in some instances they would combine interpretations of the *kālai wa‘a* and *kālai ki‘i*. This is understandable as two of the carvers are genealogical descendants from *kālai wa‘a* and their family members would likely corroborate the events of resource procurement and details in the carving process.

Seventeen interviews were conducted for the OHP; of these interviews, 13 were approved for this thesis of which only one interview provided in-depth details of data on the *ki‘i lā‘au*, their meaning, and significance. This interviewee was identified by members of his community as the next generation *kālai ki‘i*. This key individual will be the primary contributor for interpretation on OHP data collected for *ki‘i lā‘au*. A few consultants shared collective memory of how the *ki‘i* were designed and the visionary process that the carvers accessed to create their personal carving of select *ki‘i*. The interviews targeted a small community of lineal descendants of whom many were children of one carver and the spouse of another carver. Two interviewees were former employees and non-descendant contributors yet they too commented on the visionary process required before embarking on the actual work of carving. There was little discrepancy in these collective memories. In addition, several interviews shared childhood

memories of fishing, gathering marine resources and recreational activities along the coast that were rich in detail and consistent with their small community that contributed to the overall OHP for PUHO. These collectively shared memories were consistent with each other and validate the overall data collected (Yow 2015).

The OHP project is funded through the PUHO Task Agreement that seeks a broad set of data which facilitated research questions designed for this thesis. Using archival research and oral history methods PUHO recommended several research questions to address within the Task Agreement. This set of guidelines provided a platform to generate my research questions. The first set of inquiry through ethnographic technique seeks information on the history of families and community use of the region and park lands. The second set of data essential for this thesis entails attaining information on the traditional 'Ōiwi carving of ki'i and the carvers from the 1960s. The goal for the OHP is to gather these two sets of data, but in practice, the first data set consumed 45-50 minutes of the interview leaving an abbreviated segment of time for questions on the ki'i lā'au's meaning or significance. Specific interview questions for this thesis focused on the ki'i la'au (carved wooden images) include but were not limited to: Can you share memories or stories of the ki'i lā'au at Hale o Keawe? What can you share of the carvers from the 1960s and their process of production? What cultural protocols in treatment of the ki'i lā'au and recommendations for strategy regarding which ki'i go into permanent collection in the future and why? Should any of the not-accessioned ki'i currently in storage be removed? What do the ki'i mean to you? What is significant about the ki'i to you (family/community)? Follow-up interviews would have allowed for a more comprehensive collection of oral histories of the ki'i lā'au. Unfortunately, time restraints for this MA thesis prohibited further discussion and collection of 'Ōiwi 'ike (knowledge, understanding).

Community meetings held in January and April, 2016, along with the Cultural Festival in June, 2016, provided support for this project in establishing rapport with the descendants of the park. These meetings afforded time to meet potential participants, answer questions, gather contact information and secure interview appointments. With collaboration from Park Service and a few key lineal descendants this project moved forward. During these preliminary meetings, lineal descendants questioned what information the project would seek to discover. At these preliminary meetings, I became acutely aware of the diverse community members coming from various walks of life and points of view, and so the study would require sculpting the interview around their values and experiences. These inquiring moments were utilized to share an overview of questions that would be asked during the interviews. This offered the participants time for mindful preparation prior to their interview appointment.

Selection of Participants

Participants for this study were selected by the Park Service through a list kept on file of lineal descendants that also includes former and present employees of the park. The project design included not just descendants but other park employees who may have a historic contribution to enrich the research with additional information. Although the project was relatively open to participant selection it was confined to a certain geographic area or focal point. Therefore, only those meeting the criteria were invited to join the study. After several community meetings and public outreach, a formal list generated potential interested interviewees. From this list, personal contact made through the U.S. Postal Service, email, and telephone calls invited and scheduled interview appointments.

Securing interview appointments proved difficult due to conflicts with work and vacation schedules, and many descendants felt they did not have a story to contribute. In addition, health issues, introversion, and inability to contact participants due to rural settings lacking telephone service and internet restricted a few individuals from participation. Approximately 30 individuals signed up at the community gatherings of that 17 interviews would be conducted for the OHP and eventually thirteen participants provided approval for their transcripts to be incorporated into this thesis. The primary interviewees are lineal descendants except for three participants. These three subjects fall in the category of former employees of the park from the 1960s, the early park development period. Of all the interviews conducted and approved for use, one interview provides extraordinary information and understanding of the ki'i lā'au, and it is analyzed as the primary source of data to review for interpreting the ki'i lā'au.

Setting

Due to the physical location of participants, many variables for the interview setting required accommodating those living locally in South Kona and Hilo on Hawai'i Island, and others on Maui Island and the continental U.S., New Mexico. The participants selected the time and location convenient for their interview. There were numerous sites utilized for consultations within the park boundary. These settings include the park maintenance area, beach picnic area, amphitheater, headquarters, and the dormitory at the Upper Garden Unit. The Kamehameha Preschool adjacent to the park provided a location for one participant. In addition, private homes, a popular hotel lobby in Kailua-Kona and the University of Hawai'i Hilo offered locations for interviews. Travel off island to Maui was also necessary to interview the last surviving carver from the 1960s who consented to the interview but is unable to return the use and approval of his

transcript. Only one interview would be conducted via telephone from Volcano, Hawai'i to Silver City, New Mexico, with a retired branch chief of numerous divisions in the National Park Service.

The environmental settings varied in quality for conducting oral history interviews requiring at some moments immediate reassessment to secure a more appropriate area conducive to privacy. Difficulties in environmental settings ranged from amplified ocean and bird background sounds, touring visitors at the amphitheater and interruptions from tourists who eavesdropped and intruded with their own questions during an interview. The most productive location for interviews was the park dormitory in the Upper Garden Unit. Interviews at the dormitory took place on the lanai in a natural outdoor setting, the environment provided quiet privacy and is familiar to all the participants who live and work in the area.

Protocols

The research methodology was guided by institutional and cultural protocols. In August 2015, a formal application was submitted to the University of Hawai'i Human Studies Program for review and approval of the, "Oral History Overview and Assessment for Pu'uhoonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park." In addition, The Human Subjects Protection Training provided by the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program) completed the human studies requirement necessary to begin the research project. Following the Internal Review Board's approval permission was granted by the park to begin the OHP.

The interview process began with offering the descendant a small makana (gift) for their time consisting of baked breads, jellies, 'ōpelu (type of fish) fish and poi (type of food made from taro). A formal review of the project identified possible outcomes or risks that could arise while sharing their family history and a consent form provided permission to record the interview (Appendix B). Utilizing two Olympus WS-853 digital audio recorders during interviews insured the data would be backed up in case of any technical malfunctions. The duration of the interviews ranged from 60 to 90 minutes dependent on the participant and how much they felt comfortable sharing. Appendix C provides the interview guide of questions that were designed for the OHP. Through the assistance of an undergraduate student, all 17 interviews were transcribed with transcriptions delivered to the participants in-person, or by U.S. Postal Service, and email for their edit-review and approval. A form to release the approved transcript and a self-addressed-stamped-envelope were included in their transcription packets (Appendix D). Prior to the mail-out contact was made with the participants to inform them of their transcripts arriving that would require their editing and approval for release. The process of retrieving approved transcripts would pose the most challenges. Several weeks to months transpired prior to the 13 interviews being returned with approval for use in this study. Geographical distance hindered communication and hectic seasonal holidays contributed to the delayed return of transcripts. Portions of transcripts pertinent to this thesis are included in Appendix E. The full scope of transcripts conducted for the OHP will be archived with PUHO in March 2018.

Interview Questions

A baseline of interview questions previously set forth in the PUHO Task Agreement for the OHP contributed parameters for exploration. This study used the Task Agreement suggested questions as a guideline to formulate broad generalized inquiries from participants that reflect their memories of the park's early days of development, information on the carvers of the first generation of ki'i, deities that are represented in the ki'i, and culturally appropriate treatment surrounding ki'i. At the closing of the interview, the last question of the participant would be to share any additional feelings they might have on culturally relative views about interpretation programs or park management.

As the consultation process began, my interview guide developed from the original objective of park-suggested questions to allow and accommodate full data collection from the participant's viewpoint with semi-structured guidance. The semi-structured, open-ended interview questions functioned as a reference point but not mandatory for seeking explicit information; the process is meant to allow the participant to share what they feel is important in revealing their personal story. Inquiries about how they came to know the area the National Park occupies or other family members who were connected to the 'āina and if so to share their relationship to that place. The interview opened with semi-structured inquiries for background information on their family and locational history. The questions were broad and open-ended allowing for free association while sharing history they felt would be relevant to their ancestral connection to the park land. For example, inquiries and connection to Hōnaunau and familial ties requested: "Can you tell us about how you came to know this area the National Park occupies?" and "Do you have other family members who were connected to this 'āina and if so can you share their relationship to this place?"

Analysis

Exploration of ki'i lā'au through semi-structured, open-ended interview questions was based in grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2000). This oral history project lends itself to the application of grounded theory for several reasons. The research seeks to collect information that resists a preconceived hypothesis (LaRossa 2005; Bernard 2011;; Yow 2015). Hussein (2014) points to grounded theory as providing intuitive appeal, fostering creativity, having potential to conceptualize, and offering a systematic approach to data analysis with data depth and richness. These queries invited the participant to share broad experiences of their lifetime from childhood through adulthood. Guidance and redirection would be in place if the interview strayed off course but in general the flow of information would be determined by the contributor (see Appendix C for Interview Guide). This method provided rich detailed narratives from participants that vary across a wide range of topics: gathering limu (sea weed), fishing, mo'olelo of 'aumakua, ali'i, military service and 'Ōiwi activism. For a full study of the ki'i lā'au a second interview would enhance this study unfortunately time limitations are prohibitive. The disadvantage to grounded theory is the exhaustive process involved with data collection and analysis; however, the research questions for this study are focused on specific information the study seeks to reveal.

Although 13 interviews were approved for use in this thesis, the data collected in these interviews did not provide a full scope of information to fully answer the research questions. Two of the 17 interviews were key consultants, the last living carver from the original 1960s and one lineal descendant of the primary carver, Ako Grace. Unfortunately, these two participants were unable to return their transcripts for edits and approval; therefore, their data is not included in this thesis. One cultural practitioner identified as the next kālai ki'i at PUHO provides the

primary interpretation and meaning of the ki'i lā'au for thematic coding and analysis. The validity and usefulness of the individual focus when considered by the broader community is seen in numerous studies and publications. Genz's PhD dissertation (2008) and subsequent book (In Press) on the cultural revitalization of voyaging in the Marshall Islands focuses primarily on the life story of one individual, a navigator named Captain Korent Joel. Genz' precedent for the focus on a single cultural expert came from previous navigation studies (Gladwin 1970; Thomas 1987), genres of life history, biography, and memoir practiced throughout Oceania (Mara 1997; Wood-Ellem 1999; Hixon 2000; Olopai 2005; Hanlon 2014), and the foundations of American anthropology as practiced by Franz Boas in his collaboration with George Hunt (1895) as well as Paul Radin's (1920) advocacy for the life history approach.

However, the overall OHP captured rich stories and histories of the lineal descendants from Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, that meets the first criterion and goal of the OHP. During the project a cultural practitioner questioned whether the agenda for this research would offer an authoritative end-result. They expressed concern surrounding the past use of information collected by non-indigenous academic authorities who in turn would publish their results and not credit the source of their information. This included academic authority expressed through writing on subjects in which the past is recorded from lost notes and lost art suggesting we can only report on what is in the present tense. If the results are made with assumptions and conviction it may lead to an incorrect thesis. The participants in this study varied in their skills and knowledge of the traditional cultural practice in carving ki'i lā'au and their metaphoric meaning. Recognizing this fact, I approach this subject with sensitivity to those who have contributed to the research through their interviews and endeavor to represent their findings through my voice. This thesis reflects the transcriptions of the interviews and discusses the

results through analysis and interpretation. The research data gathered through ethnographic forums, archives, and archaeological interpretations is reviewed through inductive reasoning. I am the scribe and the author whose approach will humbly incorporate and provide the shared collective voice of those participating in the study. This query brought attention to the lines drawn between the researcher and those being researched, the emic and etic, academia gathering data and owning the final product as an authority (Smith 2001:119; Lassiter 2005; La Salle 2010;). The challenge of balancing insider and outsider perspectives exists for a student researcher who also happens to be ‘Ōiwi.

In grounded theory, inductive or open coding techniques are applied to the interview transcriptions, the stories analyzed into themes centered on the ki‘i carvers, ki‘i significance or meaning, ki‘i style and type, decommissioning and treatment of ki‘i and park management (Bernard 2011:430-431; Yow 2015). After general themes are isolated they are further organized through sorting into subthemes to determine additional nuances embedded within the interview. Using this method for organizing the data allow for inductive analysis in response to questions sought after for the study.

Kovach (2012:97) expands further, “...Indigenous researchers ought to know of the deep responsibility of requesting an oral history – i.e., an individual accounting of a particular happening. A researcher assumes that the story shared will be treated with the respect it deserves in acknowledgement of the relationship from which it emerges.” As an indigenous researcher, I understand that the academic ideology of framing this oral history study requires a mosaic approach in analysis using grounded theory and indigenous epistemologies. This application serves to provide insight from multi-varied interviewees and archival resources to interpret and analyze results.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SEARCH FOR MEANING

Based on 13 interviews, I identified and analyzed four major themes. In my search for the meaning of the ki'i, I present in this chapter the results of my application of grounded theory to the shared stories. The first theme includes the type, style, meaning and significance of the ki'i that are combined as one theme due to the cross-over of interpretation and the inclusiveness of the subject. One primary interviewee, Ravenscraft, identified four major gods at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau: Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa and Kū and one minor type, Kiei. His scope of knowledge provides a wealth of rich details regarding the ki'i lā'au's significance and their meanings. The second theme includes the category of carvers from the 1960s that number five individuals. The third theme centers on the ki'i and canoe carving process, and knowledge exchange that isolated three subthemes consisting of 1) contemporary knowledge, 2) traditional knowledge and, 3) ki'i protocols, placement, clothing, and consecration. The fourth theme addresses the decommissioning recommendations for ki'i lā'au requiring replacement.

Type, Style, Significance and Meaning of the Ki'i Lā'au

What deities do these ki'i lā'au at the pu'uhonua represent? One participant out of thirteen interviews provide primary details and interpretation used for discussion on the images present. A few participants acknowledged there is meaning to each ki'i lā'au and their placement but were unable to recall details from their childhood. Ravenscraft, a cultural practitioner and demonstrator at PUHO is acknowledged and recognized by his community to be this next generations kālai ki'i at the pu'uhonua complex and the information he provides reveals an

extraordinary depth of understanding regarding the ki‘i lā‘au typology, style, significance, and meaning.

Four major gods at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau surround Hale o Keawe and throughout the park complex: Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa and Kū. Hale o Keawe is considered a Hale Poki (Malo 1992:106 [1903]; Ii 1995:13 [1959]; Rose 1980:162; Valeri 1985:183), and a Lono Temple. This evidence is characterized by the Lono ki‘i akua or primary ki‘i lā‘au central within the temple platform. There are various temple heiau and the collection of ki‘i akua within the platform is determined by the specific function and purpose of the heiau. One example is Pu‘ukoholā, a luakini heiau, constructed by Kamehameha I for his war god Kūkā‘ilimoku (Pukui et al. 1974; Valeri 1985:186), the primary ki‘i akua are represented by Kū within the temple complex. Hale o Keawe displays a semi-circle of Lono gods yet outside the palisades Kāne, Kanaloa and Kū are represented surrounding the complex. Valeri (1985:186) describes, “...the same function can be connected with different gods...medical temples connected with Lono (Lonopuhā) or Kū (coupled with Hina) exist...Kāne and even Kū can be relevant to agriculture.” Malo (1992:96 [1903]) also references in his notes, “Kane and Lono were the deities most commonly addressed by those who offered prayers for the restoration of any one to health.” Interestingly, all four gods are represented within the complex as they serve to collectively support each other. Figure 4 maps numerical location of individual ki‘i lā‘au discussed in the following section. The description of ki‘i lā‘au is organized by the genesis of gods being represented, hence, Lono followed by Kāne and Kanaloa, concluding with Kū. The translator for names of these ki‘i lā‘au is unknown; they are provided on the NPS PUHO map but do not credit the source of information.

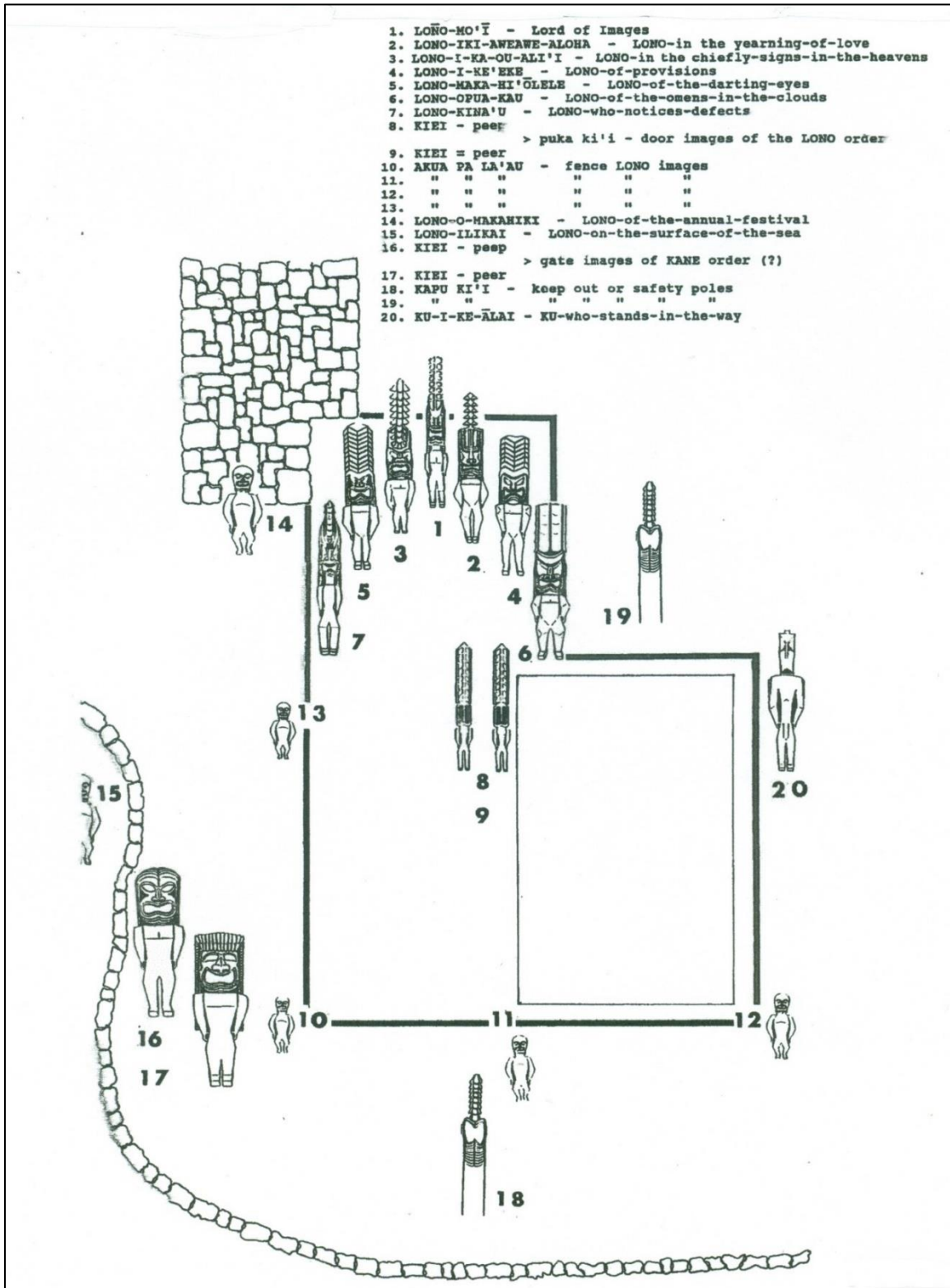


Figure 6. Ki'i Locational Map at Hale o Keawe,
 (Courtesy National Park Service, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park)

Lono

The temple of Lono is represented by seven major ki‘i akua displayed in a semi-circle on the platform of Hale o Keawe. Lono is associated with agriculture, plants, reproduction, fertility, rain, health, healing, peace, and pigs (Malo 1992 [1903]; Valeri 1985; Kaeppler et al. 2008). Attributes ascribed to these Lono images vary with specific meanings and significance assigned to each individual image. Ravenscraft describes,

Lono is always imagined as this ...kind of dreamy, wispy eyes, blinking a lot, darting around. And if you notice on the ki‘i, the eyes are kind of long, very pronounced and almost like telescopic the way they’re carved. And that’s an important symbology and it’s another common theme you’ll see in Lono images and even Kū. By putting those big eyes on the ki‘i it’s reflecting the amount of knowledge or experience or wisdom that it has like an elder does or kupuna, they have all this wisdom because of all the things they’ve seen...their eyes are big and droopy and tired but that also reflects the amount of knowledge they’ve taken in. Because our eyes are...like our window to knowledge.

Lono is the god of growth, reproduction, wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment, fertility, agriculture, clouds and higher consciousness (Valeri 1985). With exception to Kanaloa, “Hawaiians attached dozens of descriptive phrases to signify the gods varied aspects or his subordinate gods (Luomala 1987:3).”

The Lono Mo‘ī, No.1, (centered between the six images) is the dominant ki‘i lā‘au in the group and considered the utmost important image in the temple. The craftsmanship displays

intricate details in the hair and an elaborate stacked headdress representing the higher levels of consciousness and enlightenment. According to Ravenscraft,

...the most richly carved, big eyes, prevalent details around the face, you can see he's got the grooves there for his tattoo marks and his headdress, his ponytails are really long and kind of ridged to show the texture in his hair all the way down...that image represents the full potential or capacity of all of the Lono images...channeled through one central image which is why he is located where he is in the temple directly in front of the stone altar which is the highest altar...he would be at some key point in the blueprint or the architecture of the heiau...the central image would always be torn down after a ritual and burned and if the temple was going to be used again a whole new image would be recarved.

Lono-iki-aweawe-aloha, No.2, located on the right side of the mo'ī attributes his name to Lono-in the yearning-of-love. During our interview, no explicit descriptions were attributed to this image, but the general discussion on the Lono images include association with gathering knowledge, experience and harboring wisdom. Through its name this image may be associated with the outreach of compassion and empathy. The qualities embraced in the concept of aloha are multifaceted and rich for interpretation.

Lono'ouali'i, No.3, (Lono-i-ka-ou-ali'i), situated to the left of the mo'ī, is associated with clouds and the atmosphere. Ravenscraft eloquently describes,

...the name refers to Lono of the chiefly supremacy or sometimes of chiefly divination...it has some prophetic connotations, looking at the clouds and the

weather for different signs of what's going to happen on land or amongst the chiefdom. This Lono also has a lot to do with the physical signs or symbols of the ali'i, such as the kahili and pūlo'ulo'u- the royal standards, and the feather regalia of the chiefs. So very important Lono.

Lono-i-ke-eke, No.4, Lono-of-provisions, stands adjacent to Lono-iki-aweawe-aloha. This image can be acknowledged as the gathering of resources, preparation, the carrier of supplies, and abundance. Ke'eke'eke, the bag or purse (Pukui and Elbert 1986) could be interpreted as the carrier of the harvest, the food, kalo, fish and exchange of resources.

Lono-maka-hi'ōlele, No.5, known as Lono-of-the-darting eyes, stands opposite of Lono-i-ke-eke. The symbolism in this image is central to the eyes, darting eyes, flashing eyes, telescopic, large and weary eyed, or Lono of the flashing eyes. The attributes of this image could be preparedness, assertive watchfulness, vigilance, agility and prowess. Ravenscraft elaborates further,

I know that that name is often invoked by boxers, and some of the chants about the spear throwers. Lonomakahiōlele is one of the spear throwing deities...kind of an interesting thing about that Lono, enlightenment the higher consciousness the identifying, you know building knowledge.

Lono-opua-kau, No.6, Lono-of-the-omens-in-the clouds, is opposite of Lono-kina'u. This name refers to supernatural predictions displayed in the clouds. It may also pertain to weather forecasting for navigation, agriculture, and a connection to the spiritual realm or higher

consciousness distant from the physical lower realm of the honua. Perhaps this image also encourages divine communication or implies a conduit between the earthly and the heavenly realm. Pukui and Elbert (1986) define, “‘Ōpua, puffy clouds, as banked up near the horizon, often interpreted as omens; cumulus or billowy cloud, cloud bank.”

Lono-kina‘u, No.7, Lono-who-notices-defects, stands adjacent to Lonomakahiōlele. At the time of interview this image was not interpreted. The name would indicate a relationship to defects within the environment or physical body that could produce information toward the process of healing or correcting an imbalance. Knowledge, wisdom and enlightenment would depict the attributes of understanding imperfections and applying that knowledge in response to healing. This image can be associated with knowledge in the healing arts and medicine.

Kiei, No.8 and No.9, two elaborate images stationed at the entrance of Hale o Keawe’s low doorway. Ravenscraft describes these two as,

...kind of twin images there (standing to the left of the doorway) with the tall headpieces and the big, kind of gaping mouths...those images are called the Kiei...is a general term for the type of image...they were sometimes referred to as offering posts. They say that in the old days, food offerings actually got put in their mouths or hung around...sometimes you would hang a gourd around its neck with the offerings inside...these are associated with Lono type images or Lono places...these are right outside the Hale Poki, which is the actual house, the mausoleum house on the temple...I believe the offerings for the temple could be placed on them...they also have those staggered headpieces which is how we identify again with Lono. Anything with that kind of staggered...stacked headdress you can associate with Lono...the idea of enlightenment...

Malo describes the Ipu o Lono as an image that suspends a gourd from its neck providing a receptacle for receiving offerings (Malo 1992:88 [1903]).

Akua Pā Lā‘au, No.10, No.11, No.12, and No.13, consist of four Lono fence images located along the palisades that enclose the platform and Hale o Keawe. These images are kapu markers carved with a round gourd-like shaped heads, lacking the elaborate headdresses found within the ki‘i akua group but nonetheless are affiliated with Lono.

Lono-o-makahiki, No.14, Lono-of-the-annual-festival, stands outside the platform against the Great Wall. Designed with an oblong rounded head and simplistic large round eyes and figure-eight mouth. This image too varies from the ki‘i akua found inside the palisades however, this image is associated with the Lono class.

Lono-Ilikai, No.15, Lono-on-the-surface-of-the-sea is referred to as Lonomaka‘o-u by Ravenscraft; this image is stationed in the water just below the rock wall enclosure. He further details a rich description,

Lonomaka‘ou is another watcher, and he is at a very interesting position, below the heiau kind of watching the water and I think his placement is extremely significant in that, with the full intentions to him, I’m still not sure of...he kind of watches over the water and... the zone he’s in is very much associated with Lono. The area where the surf kind of hits the rocks, hits the land...all those sounds of the surf breaking and the white water, those are all kino lau of Lono...his placement, I think feels very significant and has some sort of tie in with this sort of elemental thing going on here with the water hitting the rocks. You know,

where the ocean meets the island, is water into land, very significant in philosophy and theology there, so I know he kind of ties into that.

Kapu Ki'i, No.18 and No.19, consist of two tall post images on the outside of the palisades (No.18 is currently missing).

Slightly implied face and the ridges for those headdresses...a long spear looking post. It's just a tall stump like this carved with kind of that headpiece design...it's a post style ki'i so there is not a whole lot of detail...the presence of those meant that this place is under heavy kapu...if you're approaching you probably shouldn't pass that unless you know the protocol or you're somehow involved with what's going on there...I don't want to say like a warning marker but just an indicator of what the place was...a sign... to show the sacredness of the area.

Lono ki'i lā'au are the dominant images represented at the pu'uhonua complex that encompass multifaceted attributes ranging from agriculture, growth, healing, abundance, reproductivity and sacredness (Pukui et al. 1972).

The presence of primary Lono ki'i akua (Figure 5) determines the site of Hale o Keawe, the Hale Poki, as dedicated to the specific deity Lono and all that he embodies. The prevalent spiritual qualities and characteristics center on wisdom, knowledge, agriculture, health, love, abundance, and productivity. Malo, (1992:83 [1903]), states, "The only gods the people ever saw with their eyes were the images of wood and of stone which they had carved with their own hands after the fashion of what they conceived the gods of heaven to be. If their gods were

celestial beings, their idols should have been made to resemble the heavenly.” Malo speaks directly to the manifestations represented in the diverse meanings and significance of the individual ki‘i la‘au present at Hale o Keawe and throughout the pu‘uhonua complex. Beckwith (1970:4) shares, “They are recognized by the appearance of whatever natural phenomenon have been associated with their worship by traditional or ritual custom, as color, scent, cloud or rainbow forms, storm signs, and the notes of birds.”



Figure 7. Lono Ki‘i Akua at Hale o Keawe,
(Photo by Kalena K. Blakemore, 2016)

The distinct headdress on the ki'i lā'au and their identity express the variations and metaphors that exist in the daily lives of 'Ōiwi from the past and continue today among contemporary cultural practitioners. The decorative headdresses are attributed to thunder, lightning, earthquakes, clouds, storms, Kamapua'a (the pig god), the eight foreheads of Lono (Cox and Davenport 1974:39; Beckwith 1976:31). There is some suggestion the vertical towers symbolize the connection to the realm of heaven, the head or po'o considered sacred or the symbolism of feathers and the royal standards used by high ranking ali'i. Whether we understand the precise meaning of these designs, the images within the temple and throughout the complex exhibit these features. Cultural practitioners engage with the ki'i lā'au at Hale o Keawe and the Royal Grounds through ritual and worship during festival events and through individual ceremonial reverence.

Kāne and Kanaloa

Kāne, No.16, and Kanaloa, No.17, were the first gods to be born followed by Lono and Kū. Kāne was associated with the upper atmosphere while Kanaloa in paired opposition was associated with the sea and its creatures (Valeri 1994; Kaeppler et al. 2008). Malo (1992:111 [1903]) and Thrum (1998:52) tell a story of the origins of Lono's healing powers which were granted through Kāne. Lono was working in his garden when he injured himself with his 'ō'ō (digging stick) and it was Kāne who instructed him to use the leaves of the pōpolo to heal his foot. It was through this initial introduction to the healing arts that Lono would become known as the kahuna lapa'au (medical doctor) (Figure 6).



Figure 8. Kanaloa and Kāne, Kona Style Carving.
(Photo by Kalena K. Blakemore, 2016)

These two ki‘i lā‘au are located on the northwest point of the beach, west side of Hale o Keawe. These are probably the most famous and photographed ki‘i lā‘au concerning the park.

Interpretations vary but this was shared by Ravenscraft,

...we have a Kāne and a Kanaloa...much older deities than Kū and Lono...the generation so to speak before Kū and Lono, in fact they say Kū was created from Kāne or by Kāne. Kāne and Kanaloa are very significant in establishing...the sacredness of the place...the presence of akua, the presence...of divine energy, the presence of deities and sacredness in general. Kāne is very significant in our spirituality and philosophy as the creator. The Kāne image is located on the makai side of the two, his features exhibit a square flat head with curly ridges in his hair. He is associated with all things that produce life...the sun light, the fresh water are Kāne, you know how they say Kāne i ka wai...very significant, he is what brought life.

Beckwith (1970:74) and Westervelt (2005:186-191) describes Kane “the water of life” as a beautiful spring with three outlets, one for Kū, Kāne and Lono, the spring was unique and noted for bringing life back to the dead through sprinkling of its water on the deceased.

Ravenscraft describes,

Kanaloa is associated with the ocean but more specifically the deep ocean, the depths, the darkness of the salt waters, Kanaloa, kai-a-kanaloa. And Kanaloa is also associated with life in that everything that Kāne creates Kanaloa will put forth a challenge and that took a negative connotation in the late 1800s when the missionaries came and they turned Kanaloa into this sort of devil, Lucifer kind of a figure but the purpose of the challenge wasn’t malicious.

Kamakau (1991:126) describes three gods associated with heaven and earth, Kāne, Kū and Lono, while Kanaloa is referred to as an ‘enemi (enemy), among them. He alludes to darkness and void which is replaced by Kāne, “...the god who excelled in mana (supernatural, divine power) and knowledge, and all of them carried out his orders, assisted by the mana of Kū and Lono, whose mana was less than Kāne’s.” This notion of three gods would fit with a Christian motif of the holy trinity necessitating the outcast of Kanaloa who is associated with deep sea, and the depths of darkness, a metaphor of the underworld (Beckwith 1970; Kamakau 1991; Kepelino 2007; Luomala 1987:3). Ravenscraft comments on Kanaloa,

...challenged for the sake of growth, to cause life to get better. You know he wasn’t against human life he was about creating steps to make us better. It’s that necessary challenge. So Kāne and Kanaloa often go hand in hand as gods of life, knowledge... Kanaloa had actually a leaner physique and was a little taller and had straight hair and was of a fair complexion. Sometimes he’s even described as Caucasian...his nose is actually more narrow...he doesn’t have the face tattoos like Kāne does but at the same time they are described in legends as twins...it’s kind of interesting, they’re twins but not identical. Not twins in appearance necessarily.

Legends express the story behind their features. Kāne is very dark complexioned, stalky with a muscular physique and curly hair, flared nostrils, and tattoos on his face are represented by the deep grooves in the image. Described by Ravenscraft as the twins, these two are older

than Kū and Lono. There is little information of Kanaloa separate from Kāne in writings. Kanaloa is described as being the one who challenges Kāne in the things he puts forth. There are four major gods in the ‘Ōiwi pantheon (Cox and Davenport 1974; Beckwith 1976; Valeri 1987), but, descriptions of Kanaloa vary, with Kanaloa being cast out as a lesser god (Beckwith 1970:60-61). The Kumulipo refers to Kanaloa’s name as Ka-he‘e-hauna-wela (The evil-smelling squid). Fisherman would seek his protection but in general he was looked upon as something dark, outcast and not an ‘aumakua. Kanaloa has been associated with healing medicine caused by sorcery and the underworld. Kāne is described as the god of procreation and was deified as progenitor of the chiefs and maka‘āinana (commoner). In line 610 and 615 of the Kumulipo,

“Calm like the time when men came from afar

It was called Calmness [La‘ila‘i] then

Born was Ki‘i a man

Born was Kane a god

Born was Kanaloa the hot-striking octopus

It was day

The wombs gave birth

Ocean-edge

The damp-forest, latter of the two

The first chief of the dim past dwelling in cold uplands, their younger (Beckwith 1981:98 [1951]).”

Insight from Valeri connects the existence of distinct gods and man. He describes, “The god Kāne bears the name of his worshiper, the human male (kāne); the man is called Ki‘i (“image”), the generic name attributed to the anthropomorphic images of the gods used in

worship” (1985:6-7). Beckwith (1976:61 [1940]) reveals Kanaloa as, “the great white albatross of Kāne is the name given to him as responsible for driving the first man and first woman out of the garden spot the gods have provided for them” (Valeri 1985:6-7). The god Kāne and the first man (kāne) named Ki‘i both need the woman (La‘ila‘i) to reproduce themselves. The relationship of man to the gods becomes entangled when procreation occurs with Ki‘i and La‘ila‘i before Kāne can have access to her first. This dynamic solicited anger and jealousy from Kāne who views the lineage of Ki‘i and La‘ila‘i as the elder relationship in terms of divine lineage. This passage suggests contradictory elements as to man being supreme to god yet without this god humanity would not exist in the story. Does man control god or is god supreme over man? Interestingly the first man is named Ki‘i, image and the ki‘i are the image and embodiments of spiritual and natural environmental elements characterized in the carving of the ki‘i lā‘au which are still used in ceremony today.

Kāne, associated with plants and animal life, introduced cultivated food plants, coconuts, ulu, pua‘a (pig), ‘awa, and wauke (paper mulberry) (Abbott 1992; Handy and Handy 2004). He and Kanaloa are often joined together for they enhance each other’s significance. Kāne is associated with canoes and Kanaloa with sailing. They are both associated with cultivation, ‘awa drinking, water finding, fishponds and, with their origins from Kahiki (Beckwith 1976:62 [1940]). Kanaloa is described as tall and fair skinned while Kāne is dark with wavy hair and full lips. Both these images at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau are located together next to the ocean and on land, signifying their continued relationship in legend and in contemporary perspectives. They continue to represent all that is of the deep sea, underworld and the many terrestrial associations of plants, food, and fresh water springs.

Kāne and Kanaloa maintain a prominent location at the pu‘uhonua complex, combining their significance and sacredness as dual entities. They epitomize a time before Lono and Kū and provide a holistic assembly of attributes that represent the beginning of gods and humankind coming into existence. Their story embodies a complex relationship between godly realms and those of humanity that support an all-inclusive foundation for overlapping gods at this central and sacred location.

Kū

The image of Kū-i-ke-ālai, or Kū-who-stands-in-the-way, is attributed to standing in the path or blocking the path. My primary interviewee remarked that this ki‘i lā‘au is considered the most important in the overall pu‘uhonua complex compared to the Lono Mo‘i, that is considered the most important within Hale o Keawe. This image is unique in shape and style from the other Kona style ki‘i lā‘au found at the temple. Ravenscraft elaborates details on this ki‘i,

This image shows a much older style of carving that you would find on Kauai or O‘ahu. It has more of an ancient feel to it. The Kona style of carving...developed on this island a lot latter and it had to do with the artisans, the temple builders on this island being a little more liberal and progressive in their stylization whereas Kauai, O‘ahu, they tend to be more conservative in a deeper rooted Polynesian style. The head shape and curve of the hair is reminiscent of the lei niho palaoa. ...that was a way of actually carving the heads to denote that kind of chiefly lineage, that high genealogy...we know this is a very important figure...this is the only one with any resemblance of its genitals intact. Which is something all the

images back in the old days often were carved with. [This image is associated with masculine energy, the guardian protector who blocks the path] ...his intention isn't actually protecting the heiau itself, it's kind of protecting the outside world from the heiau...there was a Kū-i-ke-ālai present at a lot of temples associated directly with the Hale Mana or in this case the Hale Poki, the central house on the temple...that's his association with the area.

Kū-i-ke-ālai is described as harnessing the energy of the temple and his location is important to the temple layout. He is positioned west of the temple overlooking the ocean, indicating protection, safeguarding or blocking the pathway also signifying the sacredness and extreme kapu of the area.

The ki'i la'au image that stands out from all the others at Pu'u honua o Hōnaunau is Kūikeālai, that exhibits an older style of carving seen in the shape of his head and, is the only image at the complex with genitalia also indicative of a previous carving style not as prevalent today. The head shape is similar to that of the lei niho palaoa of which Cox and Davenport (1974:41) discuss the numerous meanings relevant to this symbol in relation to its use with high ranking ali'i. His position and station at the complex would indicate close proximity to/or the backbone of the Hale Poki and a critical safeguard point to view the bay and demonstrate the sacredness and immense mana present to those who seek sanctuary or access. Ravenscraft conferred the supreme importance of this ki'i la'au at the complex due to his location to the Hale Poki and the meaning of his presence that marked the temple complex as being under a "heavy, heavy kapu." Kūikeālai's vantage point faces out towards the west varying sharply from the other central ki'i la'au, his physical attributes express an older style of carving through the shape

of his head and presence of genitalia nonetheless, it is the collective group of gods, Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa and Kū that provide the full spectrum to the temple complex that express the acute sacredness of Hale o Keawe and the pu‘uhonua (Figure 7). During editorial thesis committee advising Ravenscraft clarified, “Genitals where crucial to the function of ki‘i, especially Kona Style; lack of genitals in current images is due to conservative nature of American/Christian ideology; lack of genitals in certain museum pieces was due to collectors defacing the images.”

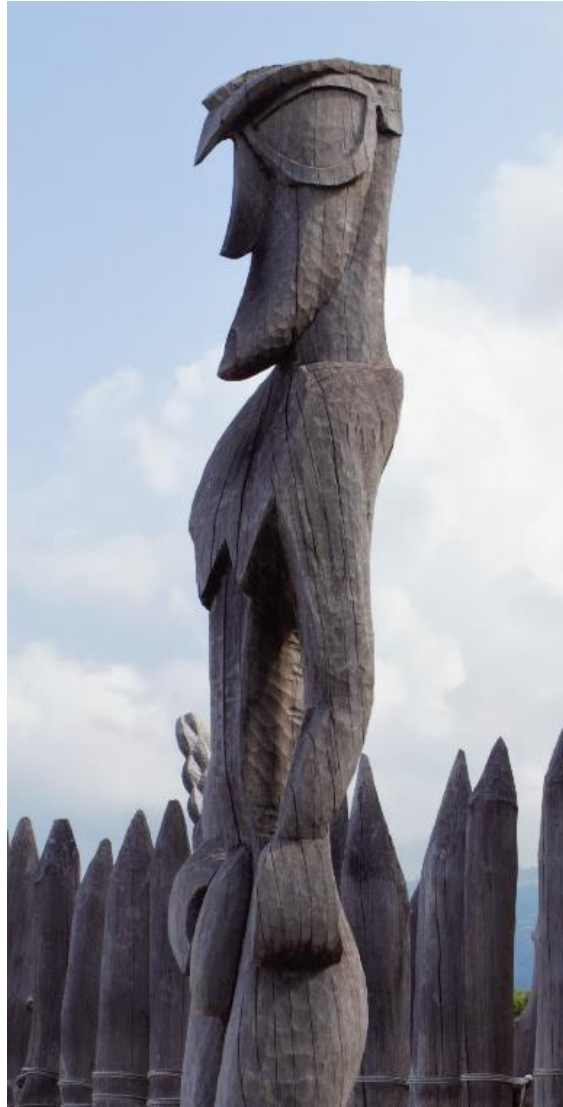


Figure 9. Kūikeālai.
Photo by Kalena K. Blakemore (2016)

Ki'i Lā'au Summary

Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa and Kū represent the four principal deities found within Hale o Keawe and throughout the complex. The temple is dedicated to Lono and therefore he represents the foremost ki'i akua collection on the platform. However, all these gods share similar attributes and can be implicated in varying activities that can be reduced to any one god (Valeri 1985). For example, Lono is associated with abundance, wealth, growth and medicine; Kū and Hina are also

connected to medicine. Lono's association is to non-irrigated agriculture as the god of rain, whereas Kāne's connection to irrigated agriculture is through springs and the similar is true for Kanaloa. There is Kū and his digging stick needed to break the soil and prepare for planting, the god of all that is straight, masculine and penetrating. These deities have shared characteristics and attributes providing a full repertoire of their elemental components that are sought after and addressed in ceremony by cultural practitioners. The cultural, moral, spiritual, and environmental elements represented within these ki'i la'au are wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment, abundance, healing, love, defects, natural resources, sun, rain, water, clouds, guardian protectors, and the sacred. These elemental attributes embody the human conditions and resources necessary for human survival. The significance and meaning of the ki'i is that they represent a foundational platform of symbolism for 'Ōiwi to organize their understanding of the world. The association and metaphors embedded within the individual ki'i la'au is the spiritual and ritual connection 'Ōiwi are making within the pu'uhonua complex and Hale o Keawe. Aluli-Meyer's (2006) triangulation of meaning speaks directly to this framework, of the mind, body, and spirit working together in shaping a holistic view for humans to organize meaning, guidance, worship, and ceremony into their lives.

Through archival research Lono images were created and represent the major ki'i akua located in a semicircle on the platform at Hale o Keawe. Kāne and Kanaloa have stations within the complex of the pu'uhonua while Kūikeālai, of the Kū classification maintains a position overlooking the ocean and bay entrance. Lesser gods or images of the Lono classification are present on the beach waterline and as fence images surrounding the temple. Kaeppler et al. (2008:69-70) explains, "Hawaiian religion was concerned with social relationships among people, the gods and the environment. Hawaiian sculptures rendered some of these concepts into

visual form. As social metaphors, sculptures transformed underlying principles into surface manifestations.” I agree with Kaeppler that ki‘i lā‘au at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau symbolize the spiritual meaning and significance for ‘Ōiwi, but I show this demonstrably through the stories of Ravenscraft who describes the contemporary practice in action today. Ravenscraft explains,

That’s why there’s all these different aspects of Lono in that temple because you are creating a physical representation so that you can have a relationship you know with successful crops, healthy children, you know all the things that ki‘i represent. You create sort of a tangible relationship that you can manifest that idea. And you start that process in the forest when you select the tree, and you find that ‘ōhia tree growing and you go wow, yes, this tree can represent the abundance of good healthy rains that produced water to make that tree grow. You know the trees got all these little root suckers and keiki growing so you know wow that tree provided nutrients for its healthy children. You know that tree was fed by the mist from those clouds that moved in, you know it takes in, that tree has all these characteristics of what you are looking for in the deity, so you definitely build that. When you meet the tree and you find it and you see it and you establish that, yes tree, I’m going to cut you down and I’m going to transform you into something else but we’re really drawing all those different intentions of what that tree was growing, so yea a heavy process in selecting the tree and cutting down the tree, you know removing the bark, often that’s, we try to do that as much as possible today, is to do those things at the site of where you cut it down so the bark is removed and that way the bark continues to turn into mulch and feed the forest.

The evidence of all four deities represented is symbolic of the holistic approach and relationship ‘Ōiwi have with the spiritual and natural realms in their environment. Luomala (1987:3) shares, “...all four gods overlapping fostering rain, health, abundance, and fertility” is not uncommon. The images are anthropomorphized to embody and present those elements necessary to draw upon in daily life and cosmology. The designs are distinctive in their carving and are indicative of the Kona style carving in the late 1700s and early 1800s after Kamehameha I’s reign dominated the political setting. Cox and Davenport (1974) describes Kamehameha I building luakini heiau to support his personal god, Ku-ka-ili-moku. The natural progression of specialized carvers would in turn cultivate and foster the distinct Kona style carving in their images. Cox and Davenport (1974:78) describe, “The main features of the Kona style are an increased head size and hair elaboration, faces dominated by snarling mouths and extended nostrils (there are no underlying bone structures, cheeks, foreheads, or chins), parallel grooves represent beards, and eyes dislocated into the volume of the hair.” While the Kona style carving is outstanding, the older-style carving of Kūikeālai and the post images represent a complementary diverse assembly of carved images at the pu‘uhonua complex.

Contemporary Carvers

Who were the contemporary carvers that created the first generation of replicated ki‘i lā‘au in the 1960s? This question was included in OHP to seek more information on the carvers who created the original replicas. As the interviews unfolded, I generated more specific research questions to uncover, such as: How did they develop the designs? What were their carving techniques? And how were they connected to carving through genealogies?

Through archival research (Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, D6215 [File 137]) and Kay’s dissertation (1990:287) I identified the following seven carvers who created the first generation of ki‘i lā‘au in the 1960s: Jacob Lynberg Hanson, Professor Emeritus; Sam Ka‘ai; Virginia Bickerdike, a recognized carver from California; Ako (Anthony) Grace; Clarence Medeiros; Jimmy (Kimo) Simmons; and Bill Pu‘ou. Kay’s dissertation acknowledges (1990:287) John Roberts, an ivory carver, and Paul Rockwood, an artist within the National Park Service as park employed carvers during the same period. To maintain consistency with the OHP, this MA thesis focuses on the five ‘Ōiwi and lineal descendants of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau who were employed to carve the first generation of ki‘i lā‘au.

Throughout most of the interviews Ako Grace was identified as being the lead carver for the project. One descendant and current park ranger shared his understanding of the expertise of Ako,

The only carvers that I know who were out here are like Ako Grace, Ako Grace I think was the first carver...the second one I know was Pu‘ou, Mac Pu‘ou, he married my classmate, he was a cool guy too. I think so far we had three sets made of the ki‘i for Hale o Keawe. The first set was by Ako Grace, the second set by Mac Pu‘ou. And the last set was made by I think, Tava Taupu.

Larry Kimura remembers,

Antone...I was told he’s the main carver of all the images, and he had people who were...apprentices under him... the way I heard, his father or grandfather, all of

them, his male line of grandfather and father, they were canoe carvers...his main apprentice was Pu'ou [Bill/Mac]...but that family, was very well known then as a, you know, canoe carving. I believe it is the Mokuohai Family in which Ako Grace is descended.

In a show of gratitude and appreciation, Ako Grace and Bill Pu'ou had given small carved images to two of my interviewees as a token of appreciation for their work at PUHO in the 1960s. Following his telephone interview with me, Tom Vaughan, retired NPS affiliate, gifted his personal collection of two decorative Lono images to PUHO for their park archive collection. Given that Ako Grace was the primary carver of the first generation of ki'i he felt these images would be better served in Hawai'i in the park collection for the community to enjoy. As a descendant from k̄alai wa'a, Ako Grace would be selected to be the lead k̄alai ki'i in the restoration of the first generation ki'i at Hale o Keawe and the pu'uhonua complex.

The Ki'i Restoration Project

During the 1960s, in the early years of park development, the restoration of Hale o Keawe and the ki'i were principal to establishing the National Historical Park known then as City of Refuge. The Ki'i Restoration Project was directed by Jacob Lynberg Hanson (a.k.a. Jacob Christian Lindberg-Hansen), an academic from University of California, Santa Barbara, who was trained in wood sculpture at the Royal Academy in Paris. Virginia Bickerdike also contributed one image to the project, as carver and an academic from continental United States. Sam Ka'ai was selected from Maui to join the project. The remaining carvers were lineal

descendants from the area of Hōnaunau employed by the park as maintenance staff but would also provide their carving expertise for the Ki‘i Restoration Project (PUHO ACC 81 CAT 4915-1006 [File 002]).

The process of selecting the 1960 carvers can be traced through genealogical connections to kālai wa‘a while others expressed their abilities through mastery of their carving tools. Kay (1990:287) describes the hiring process for carvers in that the many applicants arrived and were asked to demonstrate with a chisel and mallet their carving skills. The beveled edge they struck would determine if they were hired for the project. Special adzes were modified from G.I. picks to provide modern tools for the carvers. Only a small group were hired and tasked as the first generation of carvers for the restoration of the ki‘i lā‘au, they were also employed as the maintenance workforce. Ako Grace was selected for his knowledge and expertise as a kālai wa‘a and these skills would be transferred to creating the ki‘i lā‘au for PUHO. He would in turn mentor others and future carvers for the following generation of images. Table 3 provides details on the map number location, the name of the ki‘i lā‘au and the carver who created the specific image.

Table 3. The 1960 Ki'i Restoration Project, Map Locational Number (see Figure 3), Ki'i Lā'au Name, Name of Carver. (PUHO ACC 81 CAT 4915-1006 [File 002]).

Map Number Location	Name of Ki'i Lā'au	Carver
1	Lono Mo'i	Ako Grace
2	Lono-iki-awaawa'a	Ako Grace
3	Lono-i-ka-ou-ali'i	Ako Grace
4	Lono-i-ki-eke	Sam Ka'ai
5	Lono-maka-hi'olelo	Ako Grace
6	Lono-opua-kau	Ako Grace
7	Lono-kina'u	Bill Puou
8	Kiei	Jimmy Simmons
9	Halo	Jimmy Simmons
10	Akua Pā lā'au	Clarence Medeiros, Sr.
11	Akua Pā lā'au	Ako Grace
12	Akua Pā lā'au	Lynberg Hanson
13	Akua Pā lā'au	Lynberg Hanson
14	Lono-o-makahiki	Ako Grace
15	Lono Ilikai	Clarence Medeiros, Sr.
16	Kiei	Virginia Bickerdike
17	Halo	Ako Grace
18	Kapu Ki'i	Ako Grace
19	Kapu Ki'i	Ako Grace
20	Kū-i-ke-alai	Ako Grace

Through archival research at Bishop Museum, engravings from William Ellis and Robert Dampier, an 1825 surgeon and artist from the HMS *Blonde* were utilized for information on placement of the ki'i lā'au. This archival research was applied to the artistic design and characteristics that would be expressed on each individual image. In 1902, Sam Damon, a trustee for the Bishop Estate, contracted Walter A. Wall to restore the Hale o Keawe platform. His foreman's grandmother remembered the site as a young girl and through her interviews and site visit they had the remarkable good fortune of discovering the original preserved post holes (Kay 1990:284). This discovery was later used to determine the locational placement for the first restoration set of ki'i lā'au.

The interviews also confirmed that background research by the carvers took place at Bishop Museum. The daughter of Jimmy Simmons shared,

I remember once daddy telling us when they were coming up with the plans for Hale o Keawe to redo all of the statues and things like that they took several trips to Bishop Museum on O‘ahu... There were three of them or four of them that got access and they had to take a book with them and a pencil so that they can make drawings and write because that was the only thing allowed in, so that they can go in and see what they had on display so that they can recreate for the park.

Kay (1990:284) describes archaeological survey by Edmund J. Ladd and reconstruction of the platform earlier by Walter A. Wall in 1902 that revealed the original post holes of the ki‘i from the 1800s. Through these archival resources of sketches, etchings, journal descriptions, and original ki‘i lā‘au still housed in museums the images would be replicated.

In addition to research for restoration design, an interesting pattern was disclosed in the interviews describing visionary inspiration through dreams while sleeping that contributed to the personal signature and design by individual carvers that would be pronounced in their images.

This was discovered throughout numerous interviews, as Christina Garso-Ramos shared,

...my brother [William Garso] said he [Ako Grace] would have visions about what he sees and he would carve it... They had pictures brought in, I guess from the Bishop Museum, but then they would carve it according to how they felt and my brother believed that it was the vision that they see in their dreams...”

[Another interview reflected on Ako Grace], “that in his sleep, he would have

images. He would get the image of a figure in a piece of wood...and then, execute it when he was awake. The thing that struck me was, this was the kind of vision, visioning, uh visualizing, that I've heard from artists and it wasn't presented in a particularly religious context." [The daughter of Clarence Medeiros had this to say], "he'd dream about it. And the very next day he is carving away..."

Although the first contemporary carvers accessed standard archival data and remaining ki'i to model the replicas they also relied on spiritual guidance through visions and dreams to infuse their work with mana. Beckwith (1976:5 [1940]) describes, "The particular form such a god took depended upon some dream or incident which suggested that a god had thus manifested himself to them."

Ako (Anthony) Grace

Ako (Anthony) Grace was the principle carver of the 1960s ki'i lā'au and he traced his genealogy from a line of Kālai Wa'a or master canoe carving family (Figure 8). His knowledge was acquired from his father, Antone Grace who carved with Charles Mokuohai. Antone Grace also gathered skills from his father-in-law Kealakahi Kupa. In 1912, a vivid eye witness account of Kealakahi, a Kālai Wa'a, is written by Henriques (1926) who had the privilege of attending the ceremonies involved in the making of a canoe. He describes events from the beginning rituals in the ahupua'a of Ki'ilae, harvesting the koa (*Acacia koa*), to the first launching at Nāpō'opo'o and concluding with a ceremonial meal in celebration of the process that was deemed highly successful by the witness of positive omens at each juncture during production. It is Kealakahi

that Ako Grace draws his genealogy from although he is known as an especially gifted carver of ki'i lā'au, and he would come to mentor and train the other carvers on this crew. He was a prolific carver as demonstrated by the number of ki'i lā'au he created for the original works displayed at PUHO. During this time period, he constructed the Na'opio, a koa wood canoe which is still on display in the halau wa'a at PUHO.



Figure 10. Restoration “Wooding Carving” Done by Ako Grace.
(Photograph by Russell Apple, 1965; Negative No. 1498. Courtesy of
National Park Service, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park;
Collection Number; PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

Clarence Medeiros, Sr.

Clarence Medeiros (Figure 9) also traces his genealogical lines to Mokuohai. His son, Lolana Medeiros shares,

It was in his blood because my Great-Great Grandpa was a canoe builder and his name was John Mokuohai Puhalahua and my grand uncle, Uncle Charles Mokuohai was still doing that work when I was young, building canoes. He was the mentor for my dad. The original set of tikis, he was a member as one of the carvers there [this may be reference to Ako Grace]. He continued carving for the rest of his life [C. Medeiros, Sr.]... He even made some ki'i that he called the twins Kamana'iola and Ke'eaumoku...he also made Kamapua'a...I love being with him when he worked on the ki'i, he was in his magic zone. He made the log come alive.



Figure 11. Restoration Hale o Keawe, Clarence Medeiros, Sr. (Photograph by Russell Apple, 1966; Negative No. 1795. Courtesy of National Park Service, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; Collection Number; PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

During the 1960s project while harvesting ‘ōhia (*Metrosiderous polymorpha*) for carving, Clarence Medeiros, Sr. was injured from the weight of the tree and later forced to retire from the Park Service. Clarence Medeiros, Jr. shared that his father continued his carving career through contributing ki‘i lā‘au images for Ahuena Heiau at Kamakahonu, in Kailua-Kona. He was commissioned by Hokuli‘a (also known as commercial development “Oceanside 1250”) to carve

ki'i for their commercial land development, and he had numerous projects for Kamehameha Schools, Keauhou Beach Hotel and Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center, halau construction. His daughter Violet Leihulu Mamac, shared fond memories of her father's love for and connection to carving,

He would always be carving every day, every time we go visit him, when we think we can come or when he tells us to come. We'd watch him and he'd be carving...he'd dream about it...and the very next day he is carving away...what he had was like wow, this looks Hawaiian because you see, a lot of people, their stuff is not Hawaiian, doesn't even look Hawaiian.

James Simmons

James Simmons' wife Charlotte Simmons and daughter Maile Piko contributed their family history for the OHP and shared,

James Kepakailiula Simmons Sr...they all called him Kimo...he was born on Ali'i Drive in Kailua in a grass house...by the Kona Tiki Hotel...he was adopted by Simmons, he was born Makuakane...He worked on Hale o Keawe and he did one of the tiki's that was there. [Charlotte Simmons shared], ...all of that was done before I came ...they would be working on [different] things, he became a ranger after a while instead of maintenance, or maybe he started as a ranger and became maintenance after before we left. Long time ago to remember [laughing]. [Piko], I remember Uncle Tony, we always called him Uncle Tony...And she [Charlotte] came to live with her Aunt Mable who is married to Ako...and she

went down to the park to visit Ako with Aunt Mable and that's how she met my dad at the park...before they used to wear their malos, greet the tourist with their leis as they came in to the park and so all the guys had to wear their malos and give their leis out to all the tourists and give them a hug and a kiss.

Retired NPS affiliate, Tom Vaughan reminisced,

...the images were being carved while we were there...and it was clear that we were not to intrude on the carving...we may have 9 tours a day going through the palace grounds there, over to the side of the Hale o Keawe. But we didn't intrude on the carving. The carvers were both maintenance men and carvers...they were picking up trash and emptying garbage cans as well as doing the carving...at times they would be there in malos doing the carving, but for the most part, as I recall, they were in work clothes.

Simmon's adopted father was a carver and he may have acquired his carving skills from him in addition to receiving training from Ako Grace. Jimmy Simmons and Charlotte were soon to be married and count their marriage ceremony at the park as the first to have taken place during the early years of the NPS stewardship. They later moved to O'ahu, where he began a career in construction that brought closure to his work in carving.



Figure 12. . Restoration: (Left to right) James Simmons and Clarence Medeiros, Sr. shaping palings to surround Hale o Keawe. (Photograph by Russell Apple, 1966; Negative No. 1797. Courtesy of National Park Service, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; Collection Number; PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

William (Mac) Pu‘ou

William (a.k.a. Bill or Mac) Pu‘ou apprenticed under Ako Grace and was later the principle carver for the second generation of ki‘i lā‘au at PUHO (Figure 11). Charles Hua, park ranger and lineal descendant describes Mac Pu‘ou as creating the second set of ki‘i lā‘au. PUHO archival records detail the specific images he carved: Lono Mo‘i, Lono-iki-awaawa-aloha, Lono-i-ka-ou-ali‘i, Lono-i-ke-eke, Lono-opua-kau, Kapu ki‘i and Ku-i-ke-ālai. The other carvers who

assisted with the second generation of ki'i are: Tom DeAguiar, Tony Gaspar and Tom Barboza (PUHO D625 [File 137]. Very little information was shared on Bill Pu'ou excepting the fact that he was "a good guy." There were no lineal descendants who came forward to participate in the OHP who could contribute to any of his personal life story.

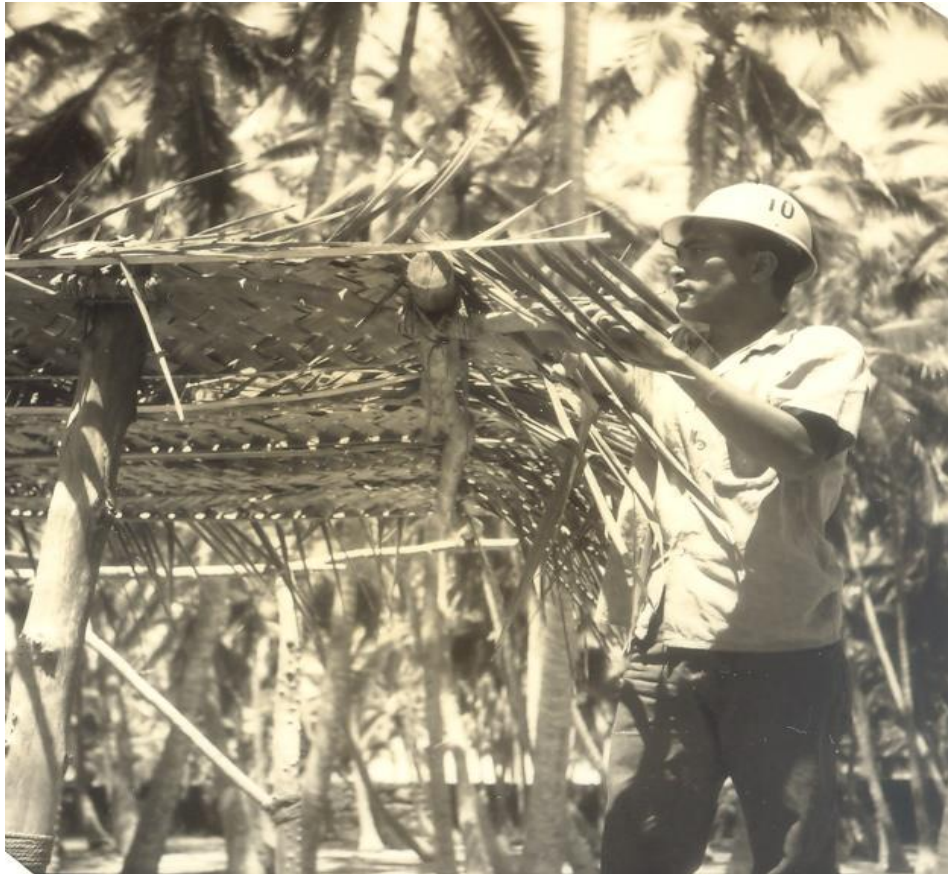


Figure 15. Restoration: William (Mac) Pu'ou fixing the shed for the canoe. (Photograph by G. Tanaka, 1965; Negative No. 1465. Courtesy of National Park Service, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; Collection Number; PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

Sam Ka'ai

Sam Ka'ai a traditional carver from Maui island, was invited by Jacob Lynberg Hanson to join the project and share his carving expertise (Figures 12). He is the last surviving carver of the original set of ki'i lā'au for PUHO. An interview was conducted on Maui, transcribed and returned to him for approval and edits. Unfortunately, he was unable to return his transcripts for approval and use in this thesis. He remains active in his cultural practice conducting carving workshops throughout the islands. My primary interviewee, Ravenscraft, regards Sam Ka'ai as an excellent mentor who is invaluable in transferring knowledge to perpetuate the art and cultural practice of carving.



Figure 16. Restoration: “Wood Carving,” Sam Ka'ai. (Photograph by Russell Apple, 1965; Negative No. 1500. Courtesy of National Park Service, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; Collection Number; PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

Summary of Carvers

The carvers of the 1960s were ‘Ōiwi with the exceptions of Bickerdike and Hanson. As the principle carver, Ako Grace created 11 of the 20 original ki‘i lā‘au. He and Clarence Medeiros Sr. trace their lineage to Kālai Wa‘a, Mokuohai. Ako Grace was the mentor and teacher for the other carvers in training. Their children or descendants today continue to practice their culture through carving canoe, some ki‘i and other wood products. Ako Grace and Bill Pu‘ou were generous in gifting small sculptures to various employees as farewell makana. Two of these small Lono images have been returned to PUHO by interviewee, Tom Vaughan. Larry Kimura also mentioned he has an image given to him by Mac Pu‘ou. Sam Ka‘ai continues today to share his knowledge to perpetuate the traditional practice of carving. Some of these individuals endeavored to carve throughout their lifetime while others spent an abbreviated moment engaged in the occupation of carving. There was a pronounced sense of cultural pride in the work they did for the park. It was mentioned in many interviews that along with carving they worked on the Great Wall or Hale o Keawe structure with park archeologist, Edmund J. Ladd. There was a profound sense of honor and pride as ‘Ōiwi artisans and maintenance crew to participate with the park’s restoration projects and mission to return the site to its original precontact period. The environment supported enduring camaraderie among the employees at the time who are also genealogically connected to each other and the land of Hōnaunau, Ki‘ilae and Kēōkea (Figure 13). The community members who interviewed for the OHP continue to maintain this generational pride of the legacy left by the first carvers from the 1960s.



Figure 13. Personnel: “A community get together” (Left to right) Mrs. Grace, Halley Cox, Ako Grace and Russ Apple. (Photograph by Ed Ladd, 1966; Negative No. 1758. Courtesy of National Park Service, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; Collection Number, PUHO 5461 series IV; Images; Boxes 50-54)

Knowledge Exchange and Processes

The Next Generation

Traditional cultural knowledge and contemporary cultural practices set forth through the next generation of carvers seek to maintain spiritual, ritual, ceremonial protocols and technical exchange of skills in creating ki‘i lā‘au. Henriques’s eye witness (1926) account of the canoe process revealed strict protocols continued throughout the early 20th century that governed the

rituals and ceremony in making canoes. Today the desire to reignite and maintain spiritual practice in the next generation of ki‘i is well defined by Ravenscraft,

...it’s the spiritual or ceremonial protocol, the process of creating these images...this revival...it gives ourselves a chance to not only revive our practices, our traditions but also to adapt... revive our ceremonial practice of carving ki‘i, recreated to make these giant images relevant in the 21st century, a very different world then what the ancient Hawaiians you know my ancestors lived in.

The next generation view the practice of recreating something ancient and rebirthing the ki‘i within a modern framework all the while maintaining the spiritual and ritual process for these carved images and repositories of spiritual divine energy.

Ceremony, Ritual and Practicalities

The ritual meaning and significance from the 1960s generation of ki‘i protocols are limited in the archival material at PUHO; however, narratives revealed the importance of ceremony, proper dedications and sensitivity to community requests. The carvers themselves are remembered through their families and their story is kept alive. Blessing protocols were put forth in Vaughan’s interview, he shares that there had been a death at Hilton,

...because not (enough) adequate prayers had been done...We made sure at the topping off ceremony at Hale o Keawe that we did have a blessing...there was a congregational minister I believe, and I think a catholic priest, and then Daddy

Bray was the Kahuna that was there... a very well-known Kahuna in the Kona area who was usually officiating all the different ceremonies.

Throughout the duration of the OHP I am aware of the sacredness and spiritual reverence that surrounds the park complex and the ki'i lā'au. The foundation is supported by cultural practitioners who recognize this sacredness and respond through ceremonial ritual and spiritual worship. It was significant in the 1960s to practice protocols that included proper blessings and address community concerns specific to locational placement of ki'i. Ki'i placement in the 1960s prompted some reaction from the community village adjacent to the park requiring adjustments to the ki'i's location. Regarding these two images, Ki'ei (to peer quickly / glance) and Hālō (to peer intently), Kimura shared,

I heard from the workers that when these two images were erected outside of the Hale O Keawe fence, on the elevated shore approximately between 'Akahipapa and Hale O Keawe, they stood facing directly into some homes of the nearby village so that members of these village homes objected having these two images looking directly into their place. I was told by the workers that the direction these two images faced was changed so as not to be so intrusive, but I cannot verify this. [Like Vaughan's story, Kimura also shared], ...when they had the dedication, it was at the time that Mr. Apple, [Russell Apple, Park Superintendent] I think it was his older son, got into some kind of accident, or something, he died, and that's how come they brought his ashes back to, I don't know where, but outside of the City of Refuge maybe, they scattered his ashes. You know, and that belief, this is a pure Haole now, thinking that there must still

be a human sacrifice to be offered, and when you restore and rededicate a new site such as that... yeah, he was so dedicated, so much to his work, that's how he interpreted that. But I don't know too much about the details.

Knowledge Transference

Carvers shared their knowledge and skills with their children. C. Medeiros, Jr. and brother Lolana Medeiros both worked with their father who imparted his knowledge of tree harvesting and his carving skills. L. Medeiros shares memories of carving with his father,

...you know it's so big [the log], "can you clean this up over here?" you know "Take this down over here." You make the major cuts on the ki'i where it's fast to go, you know he wouldn't start blindly, he would always have a chalk and his drawing, this over here, this over there. And even when he was making papa ku'i 'ai [poi pounding board] or papa pua'a [larger board for meats], you know, his chalk was his main [drawing tool], his white chalk, black board chalk. He draws that and then he worked on it. He had a good hand, he makes it look easy. One whack with the mallet and a big chunk came off you know. Technique was easy for him and I admired that a lot. All by eye and hands. His talents came from his mind and koko (blood).

Process of academic knowledge exchange was directed by Jacob Lynberg Hanson, Halley Cox, and the park archaeologist Edmund J. Ladd. Narratives describe in detail that a few select men were taken to Bishop Museum to sketch and study the ki'i to formulate a template to work

from. L. Medeiros recalls, “They used references, Ellis, back in 1823 when he first came here, he had drawings of Hale o Keawe. And the Bishop Museum. I’m sure they followed the research as to exactly how they wanted to do the ki’i and follow the protocols. They also asked the kupuna’s.” Kay (1990:287) mentions, “Hansen had assumed responsibility to write a report on the aspects of the image carving, he left the project abruptly after a dispute regarding wages. The carving project remains undocumented.” It is unfortunate this report never came to fruition, the information would offer insight into the process they navigated to design and create the first replicated ki’i lā’au.

Genealogical Connections

Genealogical roots would account for knowledge transference from canoe to ki’i lā’au carving. Ako Grace and Clarence Medeiros, Sr. share a common genealogical ancestor who specialized in canoe carving yet their work was also manifested in the creation of ki’i lā’au. Ako Grace would continue to share knowledge and mentor the carving crew at PUHO. Clarence Medeiros, Sr. was a prolific carver who shared this passion with his children. As his son mentioned, it is in his blood to be a carver. Ravenscraft, the most current carver assigned as the next kālai ki’i revealed his background as descending from a family line associated with a warrior culture that was abandoned after the “Battle of Kuamo’o.” His great-great-grandfather became a carpenter, building houses, churches and structures in Kalawao, Moloka’i. Ravenscraft mentored under Charlie Grace before his passing and continues his studies under the guidance of Sam Ka’ai and Matua Lionel.

Harvesting Wood and the 'Elepaio

The interviews did reveal explicit details on how trees would be harvested for canoe building. A repeated theme with slight variations of how koa trees were selected for canoe building centered on the 'elepaio. The presence of this little bird was the determining factor on what tree would be harvested. This similar description has been noted in many written resources (Malo 1992:20 [1903]; Fornander 1916-1919; Beckwith 1976; Buck 2003;). At least four interviews described the same story of camping in the forest for several days until the right tree was selected. If the 'elepaio bird stopped at the tree it was determined to be rotten and unsuitable material for a canoe. V. Mamac, reflecting on the stories her father shared,

The thing is, there might be three to ten trees down, you know, even in the distance of walking, they don't just take the tree they see first or anything... we asked them, why is that? He says, they watch the birds... "Why do you watch the birds to get a tree?" Because if the birds are on a log and they ping and they ping, and they ping at it, there's a lot of bugs...they have to watch for a long time, maybe days, maybe weeks...the one that doesn't have any birds picking on them, that's the one, the canoe. [Some descriptions of this pattern varied slightly, L. Medeiros], They would notice where this bird, the 'elepaio bird would go. If it stopped and pecked on a tree it would kind of let them know the tree wasn't good, or popopo (rotten). Rotten a little bit, they would choose the right log before they fell the tree. They did a lot of praying, my dad used to say that, to make sure everything was pono.

In the second example the tree was selected to cut if the ‘elepaio bird did not peck the wood. Whereas the first example describes the trees were fallen and later determined unusable if the ‘elepaio pecked it while on the ground. These narratives provide reasonable evidence that trees were being harvested in the 1960s in traditional fashion using the ‘elepaio bird to identify quality wood resources. They processed the bulk of wood off the tree while still in the forest before transporting and utilized portions of the rotten tree that were salvageable. The various woods identified in the narratives for carving ki‘i lā‘au are ‘ōhi‘a (*Metrosiderous polymorpha*), ‘ulu (*Artocarpus altilis*), kāne hāpu‘u (*Cibotium menziesii*), koa (*Acacia koa*) and hau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). Although koa is primarily used for canoe building it has been utilized in creating contemporary ki‘i. Hau would be carved for smaller images utilized for house decorations. Location of wood gathering would traditionally take place within the moku or district where the image was being carved and displayed.

Ki‘i Protocols

What cultural protocols need consideration regarding the ki‘i lā‘au? The life span of the ki‘i lā‘au ranges from 20-30 years before requiring replacement. The park currently displays the third generation of ki‘i lā‘au. What are the contemporary issues or concerns that will arise in carving the next set? Can traditional practices be applied to contemporary cultural uses? A dialogue with participants on these questions revealed that contemporary approaches to ki‘i lā‘au range from replacement sequences, adornment of the ki‘i lā‘au for ritual ceremony, environmental degradation in resource procurement, the act of cultural practice and lack of sensitivity awareness in the sacredness of the pu‘uhonua complex by visiting tourists.

Ravenscraft shares these thoughts,

...ki'i are extremely important to the cultural practice of this area... when you get to the temple there was definitely a process for setting up images, you have the order in which they're placed. Usually the outer images on that circle of chiefs or that circle of ki'i akua will go first, the last image to be brought in is the Mo'i, as he was the most important and that image gets put in place.

Malo (1992:166 [1903]) is a critical early historical source for the description of the sequence and placement of posts and the mo'i image. These cultural standards may not be easily applied due to the nature of current policies and compliance issues that govern the process of new images being created. Project funding is one determining factor in the order of ki'i replacement and may influence the traditional cultural practices. Federal and State laws will also effect the ability to acquire natural resources for replacing future ki'i lā'au.

A relatively new concern for ki'i lā'au replacement is adequate access to wood resources necessary to reproduce the images. A devastating fungal outbreak, *Ceratocystis fimbriata*, Rapid 'Ōhi'a Death (ROD) has recently killed over 100,000 trees on Hawai'i Island throughout 55,000 acres. The State Department of Agriculture has placed a quarantine on removing any 'ōhi'a from Hawai'i Island forests to prevent and monitor the spread of ROD to other islands (Tenbruggencate 2017). ROD has dramatically impacted the traditional cultural practice of hula, kālai wa'a and kālai ki'i practitioners and other industries requiring forest products. These ecological environmental issues will require flexibility and contemporary approaches to gathering resources, probably modifying the cultural practices of future carving projects. Until

biological controls are in place for ROD, contemporary cultural practices that embrace the traditional will require collaborative efforts with State and Federal agencies.

The OHP revealed another ceremonial practice the ‘Ōiwi community would like to reintroduce from the traditional past. Ravenscraft shares that,

We have, kind of an exciting opportunity to revive...we are hoping to get access to do full ceremony where we actually dress the ki‘i in malo, with white cloth...keep them dressed at least for the ceremonial period...they didn’t actually stay dressed all the time but when we do perform ceremonies we want to be able to do the full extent, so we are really hoping to bring that in this year. It would be the most complete ceremony we’ve done so far, so it’s kind of exciting.

Malo’s (1992:173-174 [1903]) historical description provides a foundation for contemporary cultural practices, “At the conclusion of the prayer, they arrayed the idol in a malo and a new name was given to it, Mo‘i, lord of all the idols. After that all the idols were clothed with malo, and each one was given a name according to the place in which he stood.” Clothing the ki‘i lā‘au was discussed by another interviewee who recalled seeing the exhibit in 2010 at Bishop Museum, *E Ku Ana Ka Paia: Unification, Responsibility and the Ku Images*, in which the Kū images were dressed in kapa. This exhibit presented three Kū images that are thought to be originally taken from Hale o Keawe by the officers of HMS *Blonde* in 1825. He agreed that dressing the ki‘i lā‘au at the park would be culturally appropriate for ceremonial purposes. Ceremony and rituals are in the forefront of topics concerning contemporary cultural practice. Access to implementing the cultural practice of adorning ki‘i lā‘au with cloth is dependent on the

interpretation of rules and regulations that govern the National Park Service and their flexibility in collaborating with ‘Ōiwi community.

The OHP revealed the community of lineal descendants maintain an ongoing sacred connection to place at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau. Narratives expressed concerns regarding ceremonial rituals and practice while tourists perceive the activities as an entertainment show. Ravenscraft states,

It’s a double-bladed situation because we do want people to have the respect and to know that we use that place for ceremony. We use it for rituals but at the same time we want the privacy to do those things because there is also that mentality that Hawaiian culture is this entertainment culture. That everything is a show...that’s something I get asked almost daily even when I’m just down here, because I wear the malo, the traditional clothes and I do practices.

There is an enduring cultural pride to share this sacred complex with others while still maintaining an equilibrium of respect.

The topic of cultural diversity was discussed in a few interviews and viewed generally as a positive condition. Diversity is celebrated, and welcomed by many with the hope to encourage sharing the Hawaiian culture with other ethnic groups. Ravenscraft so eloquently states,

Just because this is a Lono temple doesn’t mean you can only bring Lono things there. There’s always room for other philosophies and practices. I have seen Buddhist monks come down here and go in front of the temple and do some prayers and things like that. American-Indians from several different tribes I’ve gotten to meet and say, yeah, go out there, do your practice...You bring your

intentions and your experiences. So, it is definitely a living spiritual place even today for people all over the world.

C. Hua shared his experiences,

One of the queens from New Zealand came down, she came in over here, took off her shoes and started walking in, she asked me if I could give some, I think it was salt...she realized, they all know, this is a men's heiau so she asked me to give the salt. It was kind of nice, it's okay, she respected that, I was surprised. There was another one, like a priestess from Japan. She brought some water from Mount Fuji. Same thing, they come over here, she asked me to take her water on the site, I said good. [Ravenscraft states], That tradition of being very open to diversity and many different cultures I think is important in this place. Cultures need to protect each other and celebrate each other. I think that's how we keep them alive and growing.

Contemporary cultural practices today seek to balance the rights of 'Ōiwi to practice their rituals and ceremonies with respect to their privacy. Cultural pride exists in sharing the sacredness of pu'uhonua and the temple complex if visitors respect the cultural rules and protocols assigned to the temple complex. The celebration of ethnic diversity that embraces an array of religions and various worship is openly accepted by some who were interviewed.

The subtheme of sensitivity and awareness to the sacred environment and use at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau was felt by many who were interviewed. Ravenscraft eloquently summarizes this shared concept,

We still use the site in a ceremonial or ritual way, what I actually like to advocate is, that this isn't a replica temple, It's a living temple. Even though it was built in 1968 that doesn't mean it's not a real temple. It just got a new paint job, it got restored..., because a lot of people don't get that and I see it every day when I'm out here...what we advocate is...It didn't use to be a sacred temple, it is a sacred temple... people come with the idea that, oh, this is a replica, you know, just to look like what the Hawaiians had. Because a lot of our culture gets used with that past tense marker when you talk about it. Oh, they were great fisherman. Oh, they used to be navigators.

‘Ōiwi today continue to be great fisherman, they are excellent navigators, they are practitioners in hula, medicine, carving, weaving and feather work.

Sensitivity and awareness of the sacred environment at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau was addressed by Hua, who shared his experience of people lacking these attributes, they were found sleeping in the Hale o Keawe with their dog, and another individual found jumping the palisade fence to photograph the inside of the temple. These people felt they had done nothing out of the ordinary and were entitled to go where they please. Incidents such as these are cause for frustration and anger persists when visitors openly disrespect the cultural protocols and rules

treating the complex like an entertainment facility, comparing it to Polynesian Cultural Center on O‘ahu.

In another example that varies from above surrounds cultural practitioners who come to the park to experience the sacredness, to pay their respects and to gather medicinal herbs. One man, named Lono, has made an annual visit for many decades to the temple where he pays homage in traditional clothing applying appropriate protocols, mindful of the sacredness and sensitivity of the complex. Dumaguin described a story,

...a real Hawaiian practitioner, he’s humble at what he does. He came before the sun even came up and he was dressed in full regalia. He had his feather cloak on and palaoa and he was going out there with his offering and he did that...he told me straight up before he went out there “I come early, I only do this once in a while, but I gotta pay my respect to my ancestors here, can I?” And I said “Yes, by all means” this is what I believe the park should recognize, is people who perpetuate the culture and doing it in the right state of mind.” This same individual after his protocols asked for permission to gather uhaloa to make tea. He was confronted by a different park employee and told he could not gather.

This example contrasts those visitors who come and lack respect for the sacred environment and those who wish to practice their culture because of the sacredness and mana of the complex. The dynamics of these issues are interesting and provide an excellent opportunity for growth and improvement.

Summary of Knowledge Exchange and Processes

The next generation of carvers is being trained by kūpuna and cultural practitioners who are well respected in their community for the knowledge and skills in perpetuating traditional culture. Ceremony and rituals are held in high esteem by those who were interviewed and form their foundation of thinking, behavior and belief systems. Aluli-Meyer's (2006:270) concept of triangulation of meaning through a 'Ōiwi lens would organize the *mind, body* and *spirit* collection as 'ike (to see), 'ike (to know) and 'ike (revelations). These may appear to be the same word but note the difference in meaning as it applies to Aluli-Meyer's construct of triangulation of meaning. The next generation of carvers embraces this holistic approach to practicing and perpetuating their culture. They are steeped in respect for the spiritual, ritual, and ceremony, backed by divine elemental wisdom and knowledge from history and the gods represented at the temple complex.

Knowledge transference occurred through genealogical connections to Kālai Wa'a Mokuohai and Kealakahi. Two individuals from the 1960s traced their lineage to these master canoe carvers. Ako Grace and Clarence Medeiros Sr.'s training in canoe carving was not exclusive to canoes, they were prolific and masterful in creating ki'i lā'au. They shared their passion, skills and knowledge for carving with members of the community and within their family. Their legacy lives on today through their lineal descendants who continue carving and creating ki'i lā'au and wood crafted art forms. Descriptions from three different interviews produced a shared memory of the symbiotic relationship of the 'elepaio bird and the kālai'wa'a. Although these memories bare details of harvesting koa for the making of a wa'a it was not a confirmed technique for harvesting 'ōhi'a or other types of wood for ki'i lā'au. There are many

descriptions of ceremonial harvesting techniques for wood used in creating ki'i lā'au. In ancient times and postcontact most descriptions depict the sacrifice of a pig, human being or both at the time of harvesting a tree (Malo 1992 [1903]; Valeri 1985; Kamakau 1991). The ki'i lā'au displayed at Hale o Keawe are dedicated to Lono, god of horticulture, growth, peace, abundance, wisdom, knowledge and healing. A component of this MA thesis is to gather information on the contemporary carvers from the 1960s and there is no mention of animal or human sacrifice while procuring wood for the restoration of ki'i lā'au at Hale o Keawe. The park administrators in the 1960s held a celebration and ceremony to dedicate the images and Hale o Keawe after completion that probably included a pa'ina that served traditional foods of 'awa, taro and kalua pig. Many contemporary ceremonial gatherings represent traditional foods that are symbolic of ancient times, which express continuity, respect, and perpetuation of 'Ōiwi culture.

The OHP revealed topics of ki'i protocols and concerns surrounding the sequence of images being created, ecological restraints, the practice of adorning the ki'i lā'au for ceremonial events, contemporary cultural practices, and the need to cultivate sensitivity and awareness of the sacred at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. The lineal descendants, many of whom are currently employed at the National Historical Park, have invaluable generational memory as descendants of the area whose family members were some of the first employees of the parks early days and its restoration. They have first-hand experience of service at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau spanning decades, which contributes to understanding impacts on cultural practices, stewardship and preservation.

Two cultural protocols discussed center on the sequence of replacing the images at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau and adorning the ki'i lā'au for ceremonial events. Ravenscraft described a traditional scheme of replacing the images that is described in Valerie (1985;289) but is

cognizant of the conditions necessary to accommodate the actual funding, and labor involved in carving several ki‘i lā‘au at once, making this endeavor difficult to achieve. Environmental impacts to the forest health has posed new issues for procuring suitable trees for carving projects. Further information and control of the fungal outbreak, *Ceratocystis fimbriata*, ROD will require cultural innovation and flexibility in resource procurement and collection of suitable trees for the next generation of ki‘i lā‘au.

Adorning the ki‘i lā‘au with kapa is a traditional cultural practice descendants are looking to revive during ceremonial events in the pu‘uhonua complex. Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park is classified on the National Register of Historic Places as having significance in: Hawaiiana Socio-Political Religious Systems, Land use and land use patterns and Polynesian arts (U.S.DOI 1974). Present day cultural practitioners seek to revive these traditions for they endeavor to perpetuate the sacred contemporary significance and meaning of the ki‘i lā‘au and the temple complex through reviving traditional authentic ceremonies. Through descendant interviews the OHP discovered ‘Ōiwi view themselves as a living culture that is evolving to embrace older traditions within a contemporary setting to maintain, perpetuate and preserve ‘Ōiwi values.

Thematic coding identified a subtheme surrounding contemporary cultural practices. Descendants realize the value and need to educate visitors on the sacredness of the pu‘uhonua complex and emphasize the understanding that Hale o Keawe is not a replica of a temple. It is a living temple activated and sanctified by practitioners who conduct ceremonies thereby reviving traditions and maintaining their connection to Lono. The foundation of all that is associated with Lono, agriculture, health, rain, clouds, reproduction, abundance, and growth provide a traditional framework for contemporary revival of culture. Descendants recognize the importance and desire

to share their culture within balanced equilibrium regarding public interest, tourism and respect for ‘Ōiwi culture.

Simultaneously, the concept of celebrating diversity and other cultures, ethnic groups, and their religion was acknowledged and welcomed. There is a prevailing sense of cultural pride and desire to share the temple complex when mutual respect among visitors from various religious backgrounds or gender approach with respect and reverence to ‘Ōiwi cultural rules and protocols. Subthemes overlapped between contemporary cultural practice and sensitivity and awareness of the sacred. Those interviewed who work the frontlines as cultural practitioners or interpretation rangers shared a common concern regarding some visitors lack of respect to the culture and protocols still practiced today. Access to gathering rights and cultural practice were expressed by some interviewees who described inconsistencies in treatment of practitioners who visit the park annually for religious ceremony, paying homage to Lono and gathering of ‘Ōiwi medicinal herbs. This issue is not isolated at PUHO: similar challenges exist for many indigenous cultures throughout Federal and State managed lands.

Decommissioning Ki‘i

“What ideas or comments can you share on culturally appropriate customs for decommissioning ki‘i lā‘au that need replacing?” was the final interview question posed to the participants, and their responses form the basis for understanding issues related to decommissioning of the ki‘i. This subject is important as the third set or generation of ki‘i lā‘au are now in place at PUHO. The first set of ki‘i lā‘au created by the carvers from the 1960s has been archived in collections at PUHO, but the question remains of how the following generations

of ki‘i lā‘au can be cared for in respect to the cultural spirit in which they were created and used in ceremony. This MA thesis cannot speak to the spiritual intentions or artistic approach the following carvers instilled in the images following the first generation of ki‘i lā‘au. Not all images contain equal symbolic and significant meaning. The Lono Mo‘i and other ki‘i akua are intricately carved to represent the primary attributes associated with Lono. Many ‘Ōiwi recognize these images have been consecrated and used in ceremony, perhaps for decades, imbuing them with extraordinary mana. Those who share this view understand the kuleana or responsibility required in caring for objects that bridge ‘Ōiwi with ceremonial activities of spiritual worship, in seeking knowledge and wisdom from the elemental embodiments that are attributed to Lono. Response to the question of how best to decommission images varied from burning and spreading ashes, returning them to the family who carved the image, archival preservation, museum or educational exhibits. A few participants were reluctant to provide a firm opinion but shared thoughts. One participant shared,

The most appropriate thing to do is to hold a ceremony as the ki‘i are being removed...they should be given a proper burial...even though they were wooden images that represented gods, as a physical body our ancestors had the understanding that anything with a physical body is temporary. Every physical body will die and decompose at one time, whether it’s a human body or the wooden body of a god...they definitely need something to represent the end of its life as a physical entity too. I think that understanding was very important. [A former park employee shared], I don’t know what happens, because yes certainly this happened, I think was the common occurrence back in the old day so, what would they do with them? I don’t know, I don’t think you could recycle them for

some other purpose. I don't think you would do that. I think you might just find a nice place to have them rot away, you know, some place, like a person's body just... I wouldn't burn them.

One interviewee expressed concern over them laying on the ground rotting when they had been built to stand upright,

I don't like seeing them back to the ground because they are more, has a lot of mana in them, and it's like disregarding them, it's like your family member...they are representing and linked to the Akua and they should be kept like the first set, preserved. Any future sets, they are really so valuable. They are being replaced because they are getting old and because they want to keep newer ones up. The older ones keep gaining more ho'okupu [gather tribute] and much pule [prayer] were offered to them they got so much in them, they need to be preserved...the way to preserve them is to not keep them in the wet...put them in safe dry places. They live their life upright. It's pono.

Another interviewee shared,

I don't know enough about it but to show the respect it deserves. Ask...someone with more knowledge on the proper ways of dealing with the ki'i. We can't just expect to properly remove and replace without the right ceremonies and pule needed to do it correctly. Park Service needs to be aware of Hawaiian practices dealing with things Native.

Returning the image back to the family who carved it was a suggestion from one lineal descendant. Her father had just passed away and a call was received wanting to return the ki'i he had made for them,

...when the owner or keeper passes that they [ki'i] usually come home... It came home that day. It was amazing. Cannot ever forget that... The mana, it wanted to come home. [Thoughts were varied from the same family, a brother shared], I think everyone going get the idea that they should store um, but I would burn um.

He burned most of the images he [personally] had made or suggested giving them away, preferably to malihini (foreigner).

The daughter of one carver suggested a possible museum setting,

If they were safe to be stored and used for something else...you know, Bishop Museum or put them in a case. Hōnaunau they have that one push button [display] You walk through the park which is kind of its own museum but it would be nice to have some kind of a building...where they could take the tikis out, these were the ones we had last year or photos of them building the park or you know different kinds of things. [Another descendant said], I would say put the old ones in a safe area, recreating what is out there right now, for decommissioning it, I really want those to be put away locally here in a museum, not sent to the mainland like the majority of them. There are some on the mainland that needs to

come back home [Kū images at the Peabody Essex Museum, and British Museum, London].

Two of the thirteen interviews felt using the images to continue sharing culture within an educational museum environment would be their choice for decommissioning.

The one suggestion that took precedent for culturally appropriate treatments in decommissioning the ki'i lā'au would be to burn them. One individual suggested not to burn all the ki'i lā'au but the ones that were central to the temple, "...the mo'i image, I think it would be most appropriate to actually burn it...totally put it to rest and let it become something else. Some of the other images maybe don't necessarily need to be burned but they should definitely be given some sort of a burial." Two other descendants shared, "I would like to have them burned and the ashes scattered." "Well, you know I think they should either burn it or put it in the ocean or something. I would burn it and put the ashes somewhere." Burning the ki'i was most suggested as a respectful treatment for proper disposal when they are being removed and replaced with new images.

The question of decommissioning the ki'i lā'au at PUHO is a valid concern as they are in their third generation of production. The ki'i lā'au are a major cultural component of PUHO, cultural practitioners engage in ritual ceremony that imbue mana into the ki'i. Because these images are created every 20-30 years an established cultural protocol for disposal or decommissioning the ki'i lā'au would benefit the park and the 'Ōiwi community. In the mid-1980s the original ki'i lā'au were temporarily warehoused until a determination could be made to expand a storage facility to accommodate their size. Correspondence between PUHO and the

Regional Curator for NPS in Washington D.C. began in the 1990s with questions regarding the ki'i in deciding whether they are museum objects and if so, should be stored accordingly (PUHO D 6215 [File 137]). The park expressed the need for establishing a basis for determining what ki'i would be preserved intact and which ones be allowed to deteriorate, and which deteriorated images would be retained in the museum collection. The storage facility was later expanded to house 14 images that are held in the park collection. Ki'i lā'au that are currently displayed and those from previous reproductions are not curated and are presently disposed of without ceremony or cultural protocols.

The OHP included the question of decommissioning the ki'i lā'au to gather community and lineal descendant views on the subject. The consensus from interviews produced a pattern suggesting the ki'i lā'au hold cultural, artistic, and spiritual value and should be handled with respect and ceremony when the time comes for their replacement. Those interviewed who were unsure of precise action suggested seeking direction from knowledgeable community members who could provide culturally appropriate treatments in respect to the images and 'Ōiwi traditions. There were mixed opinions on burial in the earth, comparing the ki'i images to human burials. Others were adamantly opposed to have them lay on the ground to rot as they were created as standing figures and this is morally degrading to the ki'i and the culture. One individual believed they should be returned to the family who carved the image. The prevailing suggestion was to burn the ki'i when they are being decommissioned. Not all images would require burning but primary images such as the Lono Mo'i should be ceremoniously burned. Many suggested burning and the spreading of their ashes in the ocean. Lastly, some descendants recommended the images be used in a museum or educational environment and continue being on display.

The interview question provided varied ideas and treatments to consider that offers an opportunity for continued community participation and collaboration on culturally appropriate means for dealing with the issue of disposal and replacement of new ki'i lā'au at Hale o Keawe and the surrounding complex. The information I gathered for the OHP endeavors to support future discussions that encourage kūpuna and cultural advisors to enrich the conversation and contribute to the process of creating protocols for decommissioning these sacred sculptures that for 'Ōiwi embody the elements of Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Kū.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

At the time of European contact, Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau was considered a sacred wahi kapu to ali‘i nui and maka‘āinana on Hawai‘i Island. In 1961 this place came under the stewardship of the Department of Interior, National Park Service, and every park’s mission is described in the Organic Act of 1916: “...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” Hale o Keawe provides the backdrop and platform for the ki‘i akua images and ki‘i lā‘au that surround the complex. My interest in the ki‘i la‘au at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau is motivated by the absence of explicit information available to the public and the ‘Ōiwi community regarding what gods are being represented at Hale o Keawe, their meaning, function and significance to contemporary ‘Ōiwi cultural practitioners and lineal descendants who remain within this landscape.

Written historic and academic accounts on this site and its function have provided a wealth of archival documentation; however, contemporary ‘Ōiwi viewpoints on meaning and significance have remained silent. Through the voice of lineal descendants who participated in the OHP contemporary evidence was articulated by them that detail the relationship and significance to the pu‘uhonua complex and ki‘i lā‘au found within. Comprehensive illuminations on the various gods represented and their meanings were delivered through one primary interviewee who is well regarded by the ‘Ōiwi community to be tasked as the next kālai ki‘i at PUHO. The next generation of carvers and cultural practitioners is actively engaged in deepening their roots in various arts and rituals to further continue and perpetuate ‘Ōiwi culture and values. An acute innate desire exists to revitalize cultural practices, and the necessity to provide education and enlightenment to visitors to engage their understanding and awareness to the

sacred at the pu‘uhonua complex. The OHP addressed the question of culturally appropriate disposal and decommissioning of the ki‘i lā‘au, that only briefly opened the subject up for communication and ideas from descendant community members. This is an encouraging step for future discussion and planning in the treatment of ki‘i la‘au from the lens of ‘Ōiwi.

As part of the broader OHP, this MA thesis has developed a comprehensive understanding of the historical significance and contemporary meanings of the ki‘i lā‘au at Hale o Keawe. The value of the OHP interviews is the displays of descendant voices today and their enduring generational connection to the pu‘uhonua complex. It provides a platform for ‘Ōiwi community collaboration with the National Park in determining cultural practices and modifications for revival of traditional ceremony in a contemporary framework. Benefits of this study are revealed as all those interviewed expressed the value of the pu‘uhonua complex as supremely sacred. There is a desire to share culture and embrace spiritual diversity with respect and equilibrium to ‘Ōiwi culture. In my capacity as both scribe of ‘Ōiwi voices and ‘Ōiwi anthropologist, I contend that the ki‘i lā‘au represent a foundational platform of symbolism for ‘Ōiwi and descendants of Hōnaunau, Ki‘ilae, and Kēōkea who express generational pride in the legacy left by the carvers of the 1960s by organizing their understanding of the world through ritualized spiritual maintenance and continued knowledge exchange in order to perpetuate their heritage.

Community Collaboration

The OHP was initiated and funded through the National Park Service and Hawai‘i-Pacific Islands Ecosystem Studies Unit in conjunction and collaboration with the University of Hawai‘i

at Hilo. The project goal is to collect oral history interviews of lineal descendants from the lands the park encompasses and from former employees of PUHO. The interviews seek to reveal information on family history activities and mo‘olelo connected to PUHO. In addition to obtaining generalized information, the OHP set to target specific data on the carvers from the 1960s, treatment of decommissioning of ki‘i lā‘au and input on education and interpretation programs within the park. The mission was to capture contemporary histories to enrich the collection of previous generations who contributed their oral history. Many of these contributors are second and third generation participants who trace their genealogical roots to Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau.

Community engagement began at the start of the project with introductory meetings to support and build capacity for the OHP. There was an overall positive response and interest in sharing and participating. Many participants expressed a desire to have a compilation of their stories published in order to document their cultural heritage for future generations. The OHP provided an opportunity for lineal descendants and park employees to express their interests in reviving traditional cultural practices that will require modifications to NPS policies. These activities centered on performing ceremonial rituals with the ki‘i la‘au (adornment for cultural events) from traditional past to be reconceived and revived in a contemporary setting. The OHP produced concerns regarding the sacredness of the pu‘uhonua complex and the need to reinforce this understanding and respect with visitors who may view PUHO as a replica of the past diminishing the contemporary cultural practitioners use of the complex today. Many of these activities and concerns are relevant to the empowerment of individual ‘Ōiwi who trace their ancestry to this site and want to maintain use for generations to come.

Oral history based projects such as this one endeavor to model community-engagement, and collaborative heritage management developments. There is much work ahead in varying approaches to communication and actions between researchers and communities in building trust within a group that they may become empowered in discovering what is valued and critical to their heritage maintenance and preservation. There is no denying the fine line between research agendas, the funding of a project, and where the focus lies. Fortunately for me, they are not mutually exclusive. However, this has been a prevalent concern throughout my research and requires careful balance and equilibrium in maintaining respect and rapport with participants, collecting data, and keeping my personal biases in check while facilitating and producing meaningful, valuable oral history heritage (Sommer and Quinlan 2009; Seidman 2013; Yow 2015). As we continue to engage community-based projects in the future we can apply past experiences to fine tune our methods and enhance the practice of collaborative heritage management.

A recommendation the OHP could propose in order to further the endeavors of this study would be to create a group of kūpuna and cultural practitioners that gather quarterly for consultation on creating policy on decommissioning of the ki'i lā'au and for addressing cultural use patterns that represent the needs of contemporary practices at PUHO. This would promote community engagement and forge relationships with cultural practitioners and NPS. In addition, if time permitted in the OHP, a secondary interview program would be appropriate to generate further discussion on topics surrounding interpretation and education to enhance the existing programs and endeavor to include community collaborative ownership in park planning.

Being selected to implement the OHP has been a personal honor and privilege in meeting, working with and sharing history with the descendants of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and

Ki‘ilae. The project required rigorous coordination in schedules, review, edits, and approval of transcripts, ongoing communication, and continuing flexibility amongst the descendants and NPS staff. It also required trust from the descendant participants, of which I am eternally grateful. I hope to continue with a compilation of their stories and contribute to the heritage and legacy of this ‘Ōiwi community who openly shared their mo‘olelo and contributions to this project.

APPENDICIES

Appendix A. Glossary of Hawaiian Words

(Pukui and Elbert 1986; Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo 2003)

‘aikapu	to observe eating taboos
akua	god
ali‘i	chief
‘enemi	enemy
Hale o Keawe	Temple at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau, South Kona, Hawai‘i Island
Hale Poki	Mausoleum
hōlua	sled, ancient sled course
hukilau	fishing technique requiring community participants
‘ike	knowledge, understanding
iwi	bone, bones of the dead
i ka lani	in the heavenly realm
kahu	honored attendant, guardian
kahuna lapa‘au	medical doctor
kālai ki‘i	specialist in carving images
kālai wa‘a	specialist in carving canoe
ki‘i akua	specialized group of images focused on a deity
ki‘i lā‘au	carved wooden images
kō	sugarcane
koko	blood
kuhina nui	premier regent
kūpuna	elders
limu	seaweed
maka‘āinana	commoner
makana	gift

makua	parent
malihini	foreigner
malo	loincloth
mana	supernatural, divine power
moepū	artifacts placed with the dead
Moku o Keawe	Hawai‘i Island
mo‘olelo	story
nā kūpuna	elders, ancestors
nā ‘aumakua	family gods,
nā mākua	parents, ancestors
‘Ōiwi	Indigenous, Native
‘ō‘ō	digging stick
‘ōpelu	type of mackerel fish
pa‘a i ke kai	sennit basket for iwi
pā‘ū	skirt
pao	type of rock architecture
poi	type of food made from kalo
popopo	rotten
pua‘a	pig
pu‘uhonua	sanctuary, refuge
‘uala	sweet potato
‘uhaloa	herbal medicine plant
ulu	breadfruit
wahi kapu	sacred, holy place
wauke	paper mulberry, (<i>Broussonetia papyrifera</i>) a plant used for making cloth

Appendix B. Consent to Participate Release Form

Oral History Overview and Assessment **for Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park** *Oral History Research Project*

Aloha mai,

I am a graduate student in the Heritage Management Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo (UH Hilo), Anthropology Department. I humbly ask you, as a long-standing member of this community to consider participating in a research project on the history and traditional uses of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau, South Kona, Hawai‘i.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you agree to participate, we will interview you once or twice at a time and place convenient to you. The interview(s) will last between 60-90 minutes each. We will record the interviews using a digital audio-video recorder. The interviews will be semi-structured and conversational. We are interested in learning about your personal recollections of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau.

After the interviews, we will type a written record of the interviews. We will then check and edit the transcript for accuracy. You will be provided with a transcript (hardcopy or electronic copy) so you can make any changes that you would like. We estimate that it will take you from 1 to 5 hours to do this, depending on how many changes you make. We will then incorporate your revisions into the transcript. The final transcript will be typed later for publication.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may withdraw from participation at any time, until the completion date of this project. During the interviews, you can choose to not answer any question(s) at any time for any reason. If you disapprove of, wish to change, add to, delete, or otherwise change the transcripts or the audio file of the interviews, you may do so at any time up to the completion of this project. If you decide that the transcripts and/or audio files should not be archived, we will comply with your request.

Benefits and Risks: There is no direct benefit to you in participating in this research project. Your participation will contribute to the historical record of the Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau area. We want to create an authentic record and make it available to scholars and the general public as a reliable historical document. To do that, it is important that your actual name appear as the interviewee on the transcript, however you reserve the right to remain confidential. If you agree to include your actual name, the transcripts and audio files of the interviews will include your name and personal recollections. Thus, one potential risk to you is a loss of privacy. Another possible risk is that some topics you discuss during the interviews might bring back painful or unpleasant memories. In such cases, we can take a break, skip that topic, and/or you may choose to stop participating altogether.

Privacy and Confidentiality: In order to accurately document this historic event, it is important that your name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. However, you retain the right to change, delete, or add information in the transcripts and audio-video files. You also have the option to replace your name with a pseudonym. You reserve the right to remain confidential.

Questions: Please contact Kalena K. Blakemore, at (808) 985-9029 or Dr. Joe Genz, (808) 271-7150, if you have any questions regarding this project. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the UH Committee on Human Studies at (808) 956-5007 or via email at, uhirb@hawaii.edu

Agreement to Participate in

Oral History Research Project

“I certify that I have read and that I understand the information in this consent form, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions concerning the project, and that I have been told that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without any negative consequences to me.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights.”

My check below indicates whether I agree to be audio-recorded and/or video-recorded:

Audio-recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
Video-recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this research project

Printed Name of Interviewee

Signature of Interviewee

Date

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Mahalo!

Appendix C. Interview Guide

Oral History Overview and Assessment of Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau Historical National Park

Interview Guide

Background – Date, time, location, who is _____ interviewed?

Q: Could you share a little background on your family history, your name and where you were born and raised?

Parents:

Birthplace:

Year:

Connection to Hōnaunau/Familial Ties-

Q: Can you tell us about how you came to know this area the national park occupies?

Q: Do you have other family members who were connected to this ‘āina and if so can you share their relationship to this place?

Childhood-

Q: Can you share some childhood memories with us about your time growing up here? For example, what do you remember about _____? Fishing/Gathering - Beach time - Types of food your family shared - Playing/Games – School

Adulthood-

Q: Can share a little about your life when you were in your 20’s – 30’s?

Q: Can you share any memories of the park lands during that time or it’s development?

Q: Were you or any family members affiliated with the park and if so in what capacity?

Ki‘i –

Q: Can you share any memories or stories about the ki‘i images that are at Hale o Keawe?

For example, _____? The types of images and what do they signify? (Lono, Kū, Kanaloa)

Q: Do you know who any of the carvers that created the ki‘i?

Can you share any memories of their carving the ki‘i?

Q: Do you know of any cultural protocols and practices that should be considered when the ki‘i need to be maintained or cared for?

Q: What do you think the best way to replace and/or repose the ki‘i would be?

Q: What do the ki‘i mean to you? What is significant about the ki‘i to you (or family / community)?

Management –

Q: How do you see the management and cultural practices today at Pu‘uhonua o Honaunau?

Q: Do you have any thoughts on the interpretative programs or contemporary activities at the park?

Q: Would like to share any additional thoughts that would benefit the park in understanding native practices here?

Q: Referrals, Who would you recommend I talk to?

Appendix D. Consent to Release Transcript

Oral History Overview and Assessment for Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park

Transcript Release From

Your interview has been represented as a written transcript. Please review the transcript for accuracy. You can edit or remove any of the information.

Regarding the possible inclusion of your name, you can choose to not have your name associated with your story. In this case, a fake name (pseudonym) may be used. You can also choose to have either your full name, first name only, or initials be associated with your story.

You can also opt out of the study, and your transcript will be destroyed.

Signature for Release:

My signature below indicates that I agree with the transcript representation of my interview and I give my consent to use my full name, first name, initials, or a pseudonym. I understand that after signing this release, there is no way to revoke consent in the future.

My check below indicates how I would like my name to appear

Full name

First name

Initials

My check below indicates that I do not want my name associated with the story, and that a pseudonym may be used

Pseudonym

My check below indicates that I give my consent to include the transcript of my interview as an appendix in Kalena Blakemore’s MA thesis, which will become a publicly accessible document, and that portions of the interview transcript may be used in the text of the thesis as quotes.

Consent for use of transcript

Printed name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this release form for your records.

Appendix E. Transcriptions

The following are excerpts from 11 interviews conducted for the Oral History Overview Assessment at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, in partnership with the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo's, Heritage Management Program, the National Park Service and Hawai‘i-Pacific Islands Cooperative Ecosystems Studies Unit (HPI CESU) Task Agreement NO.: P15AC01543. Fieldwork for this project began in March 2016 through October 2016. Interviews were transcribed in full by UH Hilo undergraduate student, Ka‘oi Kualī‘i, and myself. Only selections of these interviews are presented that were utilized for this thesis. Complete (full) transcriptions of 13 contributors to the Oral History Project will be archived at PUHO in March 2018.

I would like to send a special mahalo to Kahaka‘io Ravenscraft, Christina Garso-Ramos, Mark Dumaguin, Lolana Medeiros, Clarence Medeiros, Jr., Violet L. Mamac, Charlotte Simmons, Maile Piko, Ben Kelepolo, Charles Hua, Monico Gallieto, Brenda Machado-Lee, Larry Kimura, and Tom Vaughan for sharing their time to meet for these interviews and their rich contribution to the Oral History Overview Assessment at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau project and this thesis.

Kahaka ‘ioikamālie Ravenscraft

EXCERPT OF INTERVIEW

Interviewee: Kahaka‘io Ravenscraft (KR) Date of Interview: 8/28/2016, 9:30 am

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Video: Ben Blakemore (BB)

Transcribed by: Kalena Blakemore

Date of Transcription: 9/01/2016

Location: Hale o Keawe, walking around looking at ki‘i images. (Describing ki‘i akua starting from Lono Kina‘u)

KR: Yeah, so this guy is another Lono that’s in a lot of chants and is one of the most common ways to identify Lono and its Lono-maka-hi‘ōlele. And that’s Lono of, they call him wearied eyed Lono or Lono of the flashing eyes.

KR: Lono-maka-hi‘ōlele

KB: Flashing eyes, okay

KR: Yeah, that's kind of how Lono is always imagined as this kind of, with these kind of dreamy, wispy eyes, blinking a lot, darting around. And if you notice on the ki'i, the eyes are kind of long, very pronounced and almost like telescopic the way their carved. And that's an important symbology and it's another common theme you'll see in Lono images and even Kū. By putting those big eyes on the ki'i it's reflecting the amount of knowledge or experience or wisdom that it has like an elder does or kupuna they have all this wisdom because of all the things they've seen. So their eyes are big and droopy and tired but that also reflects the amount of knowledge they've taken in. Because our eyes are kind of like our window to knowledge. They are our window to enlightenment. What we see, we can identify and understand things. So that's a very important part of that Lono is the gathering of knowledge, wisdom, harboring of wisdom. I also know that that the name comes up in a lot of chants used by boxers.

KB: By boxers?

KR: Yeah, which is interesting, something I need to research further but I know that that name is often invoked by boxers, and some of the chants about the spear throwers. Lonomakahiōlele is one of the spear throwing deities as is Lonomakaihei which we don't have here but yeah, kind of an interesting thing about that Lono. So again, the enlightenment the higher consciousness the identifying, you know building knowledge. Real interesting character. And as we go in, one more in, that next guy is actually my personal favorite one. And it's one I identify a lot with, but that one is called Lono-ou-ali'i or Lono-i-ka-ou-ali'i.

Lono'ouali'i, so 'ouali'i also has to do with clouds and the atmosphere. And the name refers to Lono of the chiefly supremacy or sometimes of chiefly divination. Because it has some prophetic connotations and looking at the clouds and the weather for different signs of what's going to happen on land or amongst the chiefdom. This Lono also has a lot to do with the physical signs or symbols of the ali'i, such as the kahili and pūlo'ulo'u- the royal standards, and the feather regalia of the chiefs. So very important Lono. I happened to be a descendant of the man who brought that particular aspect of Lono to the Hawaiian Islands sometime back. His name was Laamaikahiki, who was a famous chief in Tahiti.

Laamaikahiki, he was brought up from Tahiti, it's where he was living, so he came up here. And when he came he brought this particular deity and I'm guessing his image and he also brought the shark skin pahu drum that we use here in Hawai'i in a lot of our ceremonies. That was the personal god of that chief he brought here, it found a very important role here in a lot of the heiau, a major temple deity, the Lonoika'ouali'i.

KB: The shape is different too, yeah?

KR: Yeah, interesting too.

KB: The head pieces are round and oval shaped instead of straight.

KR: Yeah, It's a very intricate head piece and then has those kind of tiers going up again.

KB: Yeah and then it branches up out, like this, you know small from the bottom and larger at the top.

KR: Yeah, yeah, a really interesting shape there. And the last image is the most important image in the temple. And that image is just called the Mo‘i, or you can call it Lono Mo‘i, if you want to specify that. It’s a Lono Temple, in a temple like out at Ahu‘ena they’ll have their circle of deities and each one will be different, kind of like this. The mo‘i would be Kū Mo‘i if it was temple dedicated to Kū or if it was a Kāne temple the mo‘i would be Kāne, a Kāne Mo‘i. The Mo‘i is the central image. And all the other images can actually in the process of rituals back in the old days they can actually be recycled and reused and even, it’s been suggested they could even be renamed. They didn’t specifically have to carry that identity all the time. But the central image would always be torn down after a ritual and burned and if the temple was going to be used again a whole new image would be recarved.

Recarved every time the temple was going to be used and through ceremony it would be put in place. That image represents the full potential or capacity of all of the Lono images. It’s kind of channeled through one central image which is why he is located where he is in the temple directly in front of the stone altar which is the highest altar, or he would be at some key point in the blueprint or the architecture of the heiau. So your mo‘i is always going to be the most detailed, the most richly carved. You’ll see he definitely has a lot more detail in the hair. The hair piece is more intricate, the way his levels of consciousness are stacked up, it’s in a very unique form. It really reminds me of the leaves on the ‘ōhia trees. The young twigs that go out, how the leaves are kind of stacked.

KB: Oh yeah, to catch water.

KR: To catch water yeah, that really is something I visualize when I see the way the mo‘i’s headdress is kind of stacked there. But he’s got those bulging, those big eyes, prevalent details around the face, you can see he’s got the grooves there for his tattoo marks and his headdress, his ponytails are really long and kind of ridged to show the texture in his hair all the way down. So a lot of attention, the highest craftsmanship would go into this image. A really important guy, central image, and collectively these are the Ki‘i Akua.

KB: Oh, as a group?

KR: As a group, yeah

KB: Ki‘i Akua?

KR: Ki‘i Akua

KB: And they are all on platforms?

KR: And they’re all on platforms.

KB: And that’s traditional

KR: Yeah, and that’s also what locks the base of the image in place, It’s locked in there.

KR: I guess we'll finish these guys out here and the one in the water, then we'll go around the corner to get Kū that's back there.

KB: Okay. So all Lono so far?

KB: And even these are Lono also (pointing to the two images most photographed in the park)?

KR: These two are different, yeah. This is a Lono down in the water.

KR: So this is, this is one we really should ask Uncle Sam about.

KR: Anyway, I know I understand it as Lonomaka'ou (map lists it as Lono-ilikai).

KR: Lonomaka'o-u. So Lonomaka'ou is another watcher, and he is at a very interesting position, below the heiau kind of watching the water and I think his placement is extremely significant in that, with the full intentions to him, I'm still not sure of. But I know he kind of watches over the water and I also know that the zone he's in is very much associated with Lono. The area where the surf kind of hits the rocks, hits the land. Because all those sounds of the surf breaking and the white water, those are all kino lau of Lono. So his placement, I think feels very significant and has some sort of tie in with this sort of elemental thing going on here with the water hitting the rocks. You know, where the ocean meets the island, is water into land, very significant in philosophy and theology there so I know he kind of ties into that. A kind of interesting guy and this is actually a good angle to look at. These two guys on the point, which I think are some of the most famous ones, imagery wise as far as the park is concerned and the location. I see their images in photographs and paintings all over the place (laugh). These are, and there's different interpretations of them, this is just my understanding is that we have a Kāne and a Kanaloa. Who were deities, much older deities than Kū and Lono, they were kind of the generation so to speak before Kū and Lono, in fact they say Kū was created from Kāne or by Kāne. Kāne and Kanaloa are very significant in establishing I think the sacredness of the place. Establishing the presence of akua, you know the presence of that sort of divine energy, the presence of deities and sacredness in general. Kāne is very significant in our spirituality and philosophy as the creator. So Kāne is represented and Kāne is the one on the outside. He's got kind of more square features, more of a flat head and he's got this curly hair. You can see the ridges in his hair. Kāne is associated with all things that produce life. So the sun light, the fresh water are Kāne, you know how they say Kāne i ka wai. So very, very significant, he is what brought life. Kanaloa is associated with the ocean but more specifically the deep ocean, the depths, the darkness of the salt waters, Kanaloa, kai-a-kanaloa. And Kanaloa is also associated with life in that everything that Kāne creates Kanaloa will put forth a challenge and that took a negative connotation in the late 1800s when the missionaries came and they turned Kanaloa into this sort of devil, Lucifer kind of a figure but the purpose of the challenge wasn't malicious. It was challenged for the sake of growth, to cause life to get better. You know he wasn't against human life he was about creating steps to make us better. It's that necessary challenge. So Kāne and Kanaloa often go hand in hand as gods of life, knowledge. And these two gods our legends tell about a lot of their features. We know Kāne was very, sort of had this stalker dark complexion, stalker physique, real

muscular, the curly hair, you can see the grooves on his face. Which again are representative of his tattoos. Those flared nostrils, real wide. Kanaloa had actually a leaner physique and was a little taller and had straight hair and was of a fair complexion. Sometimes he's even described as Caucasian. And you'll see his nose is actually more narrow even in this ki'i here. And he doesn't have the face tattoos like Kāne does but of the same time they are described in legends as twins. (laugh) So It's kind of interesting, they're twins but not identical. Not twins in appearance necessarily. But very interesting pair and their traditions are incredibly, incredibly ancient. Kind of some cool guys but yeah (laugh).

KR: The fence images are Lono, yeah, the individual carver would know if he made it into a specific chief or something.

KB: Right

KR: But for us It's just Lono.

KB: Lonomakahi'ōlele

KR: Lonomakahi'ōlele

KR: Lonoikaouali'i

KB: And the Lono Mo'i is in the center.

KR: Center, yeah

KB: And Lono'eke'eke is the one on the south side.

KR: Yeah, the one on the outside.

KB: Oh no, on the outside and the right.

KR: Outside right, yeah.

BB: How about those small ones?

KR: Oh we can talk about the two small ones. Yeah,

KB: This is the entrance where they would put the iwi in? (looking at small door on Hale o Keawe)

KR: Yeah, the little door there.

KR: Actually I'll talk about the doorway too.

KR: Okay, so the last two images inside the temple are these kind of twin images there (standing to the left of the doorway) with the tall headpieces and the big, kind of gaping mouths. I know those images are called the Kiei. Which I think is a general term for the type of image. And that they were sometimes referred to as like offering, offering posts. They say that in the old days, food offerings actually get put in their mouths or hung around. I know sometimes you would hang a gourd around its neck with the offerings inside. And so I believe these are associated with

Lono type images or Lono places. So these are right outside the Hale Poki, which is the actual house, the mausoleum house on the temple. So I believe the offerings for the temple could be placed on them. Kind of interesting concepts there and they've also got those staggered headpieces which is how we identify again with Lono. Anything with that kind of staggered, you know that stacked headdress you can associate with Lono. Just that again the idea of enlightenment, two kind of interesting guys there. Another real significant thing about this scene is the, we have the opening to the hale there. So this is, in most temples you have a Hale Mana which is the ritual house, the "sanctum sanctorum" of the temple, that's where the feather images would go, where the highest ritual would take place and only the chiefs or high priests would go in there. But our house on this temple is a Hale Poki, so specifically the items that went in there were, there were ki'i inside, but that's where the actual caskets of the bones were carried in and they would go through this small little doorway. Which what we've captured here is the traditional style of building a real small low door. So you actually had to crawl on your hands and knees when you entered the house and when you came out. Which is very...

KB: Humbling

KR: Humbling, yeah, very theological and philosophical thing going on with that so. It kind of forced you yeah, to take that position. And inside there was actually a layout in the house where different branches of the chiefly dynasty would have their bodies in their caskets set up. So there was an arrangement of the people interred and what they called the moepū artifacts that get placed in there with them, whether it's ki'i or tapa clothe, you know, weapons or tools, personal tools that were very important to the person might get buried in there with them. So, there was actually a good collection of things inside this temple at one time.

KB: Thank you

KR: Yeah

KB: Fascinating

KR: Yeah kind of cool stuff. Now we are missing a ki'i right here (points to an area adjacent to the rock wall and ocean).

KB: Oh yeah

KR: One went down and we are missing a second ki'i on that kind of rocky ledge in the reef there. Those ki'i were just kind of like kapu markers. Also referred to as Kiei but that something we are working on to replace right now.

BB: What do they look like?

KR: It's just a tall stump like this carved with kind of that headpiece design. But there was really a very lightly implied face. You know it's a post style ki'i so there is not a whole lot of detail. Slightly implied face and the ridges for those headdresses. So it was kind of a long spear looking post.

KB: Two are missing or three?

KR: Two are actually missing, yeah. From here and one on the reef, so those kind of, the presence of those meant that this place is under heavy kapu. If you're approaching you probably shouldn't pass that unless you know the protocol or you're somehow involved with what's going on there. It was just kind of ah, I don't want to say like a warning marker but just an indicator of what the place was, kind of like a sign (laugh).

KB: Were they damaged in the tidal wave?

KR: No, one was in the water so it gets damaged faster. The other one was just, the base was unstable and it fell down. I think just damage over time. And it kind of looked like this one behind the temple.

KB: Oh, I've seen them in old pictures I think.

KR: Yeah, yeah, so that's again just to show the sacredness of the area.

KR: Okay, so this image is possibly one of the most important images in the whole temple complex. This guy is a Kū image, and this is Kū-i-ke-ālai, and what that basically means is Kū or stands, standing in the path or blocks the path. The shape of this image is really kind of unique, very different from what we see inside the temple. Which shows a lot of evidence of the Kona style, the particular artistic style of the Kona District carvers on this island. This image shows a much older style of carving that you would find on Kauai or O'ahu. It has more of an ancient feel to it. The Kona style of carving which we can probably talk about later too developed on this island a lot later and it had to do with the artisans, the temple builders on this island being a little more liberal and progressive in their stylization whereas Kauai, O'ahu they tend to be more conservative in a deeper rooted Polynesian style. So this is kind of more ancient style with that face that goes down like that, it's still got big eyes and the curve of the hair coming down. Very representative of the lei niho palaoa, which is the whale tooth emblem.

KB: Right

KR: That was a way of actually carving the heads to denote that kind of chiefly lineage, that high genealogy. We know this is a very important figure. And it's a Kū, this is the only one with any resemblance of its genitals intact. Which is something all the images back in the old days often were carved with. Not to say that it's male but just to say that it's a more masculine energy, just to identify with it. That was one tradition that didn't quite carry on to today but this guy has his intact. This image is really important because he's sort of a guardian, a protector, he's blocking the path. Something I was brought to understand was that his intention isn't actually protecting the heiau itself, it's kind of protecting the outside world from the heiau. Because of the amount of energy and work that goes into it, I view it like a battery. The battery is the source of energy but you don't want it to leak and spill battery acid anywhere, you know. It's a silly comparison but that's how I see it, like oh yeah, he's containing so you can harness the energy or whatever's going on in the heiau but you don't want it to just overtake everything too. Kind of an interesting guy, real significant in the layout of temple. In the research I've done, I have seen evidence that there was a Kū-i-ke-ālai present at a lot of temples associated directly with the Hale Mana or in

this case the Hale Poki so the central house on the temple. So that's kind of his association with the area. Yeah.

KB: Okay, and so this last one that's over here?

KR: This is another one of the kiei, or another one of the post images (kapu markers). This is what those missing from the front of the temple will look like. That kind of tall post style image a little bit of a mouth or a face implied on the top and then the staggered headpiece again to show the enlightenment and that higher consciousness. So again this is kind of a boundary marker. As a sign to establish that this place is under a heavy, heavy kapu, a really important area. And the area this one overlooks, where these stones are laid out here was the location of a kauhale or a house site, the residential site for the priest of this temple that actually lived just adjacent to it in this field where these coconut trees are now. It's possible to speculate the stones scattered in here were part of the house platforms, house boundaries for the hale that were in this little area where he lived. So the caretakers lived very close to their temples. Yeah. And there was also a Hale Mana established here, near the priest's house site.

KB: Fantastic, thank you

KR: Yeah, thank you (we head back to the Hale Wa'a to continue our interview).

KR: Yeah, the mornings are usually kind of mellow.

KB: Since we got that recording, we should start.

KR: Oh sure

KB: Go ahead and tell me your background, your full name and where you were born and how you came to being here.

KR: Okay, my full name is Conall Kahaka'ioikamālie Ravenscraft, I am Irish and Hawaiian in descent. Actually from the Hawaiian side of my family I come from a couple big clans that were connected with this area, yeah. My mom's family, she comes from the Mahi and the 'I lines and both significant on this island. Hugely significant on this island, especially in this district here at least the Mahi family were. Because they come from one of the chiefly lines. So I have a lineal connection to the area here as a descendant of the place and part of that is how I've been discovering this kuleana that I've taken on but anyway grew up on the island, Kealakekua. Went to school on O'ahu for high school. And then went to college at Hilo, went to the mainland, never did finish a degree or anything like that but just kind of kept learning and going from there. Still learning, but was brought into the National Park Service a couple years ago when I took an emergency hire position down at Kaloko-Honokōhau and worked as a ranger there as sort of a temporary term and when that term ended I lost my position and got bumped out because of the whole veteran status, the way the hiring works. So that kind of bumped me out then I was able to get brought to this park through the nonprofit Hawai'i Pacific Parks Association as an apprentice to Charlie Grace who was the old cultural practitioner, kanaka lawai'a who was working down here doing the cultural demonstrations and that's kind of what really brought me into the area. Yeah, and set me on this path of learning from him and shortly after I was able to begin studying

under some carvers. Uncle Sam Ka'ai was brought in from Maui about a year ago and we started up a sort of a workshop series. Just kind of got set on our way after that, just been learning and growing experience since then.

(sitting in the Hale Wa'a, filled water bottles and roped off the entrance)

KB: Yea, that sounds like a good idea, I'll take my slippers off.

So, we can go back to how you got here, and how two years ago you were at Kaloko and the job ended, you came here and were studying with Uncle Charlie Grace.

KR: Yeah, yeah, Uncle Charlie Grace.

KB: And then some workshops were taking place where you got to learn...

KR: Yeah, once I came with Uncle Charlie, it was right about the time he got really sick. His health was declining and then he did actually pass away, It's been several months now, earlier this year. But anyway, he actually wasn't able to do a lot of physical hands on work. We would talk on the phone, and I would visit him and you know, kind of learn from him that way. But a lot of it I kind of had to do a lot of the work on my own and just figure things out through trial and error as I was trying to become this cultural demonstrator down here (laugh). So that was kind of an interesting time but just from those connections I was able to get brought in with different workshops and just learning from just all different sources, whether they were other colleagues, some of my friends from Hawaiian Studies up at Mānoa. I made really good friends with this guy and actually learned a lot from him.

KB: Who was that?

KR: His name is Jesse Koonei, who is also a descendant from here. Yeah, just working with him and then through Akoni, his connections brought us with Uncle Sam Ka'ai and at one point Uncle Matua Lionel who is a Maori carver from Aotearoa. We kind of had all these different plug-ins that we were learning from. All different sources of information and then plus my passion for you know the culture our traditions and the spirituality was something heavily that I was brought into. So, all those things toppled with my lineage in this time kind of discovering has kind of pushed me towards where I am now and continuing to learn and become more of a caretaker of the place, taking on the responsibilities and understandings of that role. It's been, it's still is kind of a learning journey (laugh) that I'm on, yeah. Kind of cool stuff.

KB: Let's see, we started at 9:30, we've already been going for a while. Hum, I have a different set of questions for you. That are, you've already been speaking as you walked us out to Hale o Keawe but just generally can you just... Some of the questions are can you describe the cultural significance of the ki'i. Which you have been, but maybe, just now that we are sitting in a cool shady spot, for this particular area.

KR: Hum, yeah, I think ki'i are extremely important to the cultural practice of this area. In our life time, the ki'i tradition of Hōnaunau definitely started in the late 60s with the reconstruction of Hale o Keawe under Uncle Ako Grace and that kind of redefined the ki'i in the area and brought back that practice and kind of awesomeness of the sculptures that are out there. What we

see today is the second generation of the ki'i since the temple was restored in the 60s but of course the ki'i tradition, that was a revival tradition that goes back hundreds of years. The Kona district on Hawai'i Island was historically very famous for the construction of ki'i and for the volume they were. Kona was famous for these really large sculptural items, which from a Neolithic standpoint, your adzes are made out of basalt stone and bone and even wood adzes; so just the amount of work and attention that had to go into creating these pieces was outstanding, you know, incredible. And the different, the complexity of the shapes and the details of the Kona style of carvings was really what made it stand out. And a lot of it had to do with how progressive, and I use the term liberal, the artisans, the k̄alai ki'i of this district where in comparison to a lot of the outer islands that really stuck to the more traditional more rigid shapes of Polynesian artistry, so it was just kind of an interesting thing that happened here and I think that the biggest example of these ki'i come from, or at least that we have evidence of, comes from the late 16 to the 1700s. Late 1700s when of course Captain Cook was here we have the first Western evidence of these images. It's when one of Captain Cooks, because he had a commissioned artist on board, James Webber, was one of these guys. He was actually a really young guy, he was in his 20s when joined the crew of the Resolution and the Discovery. So he was painting and etching these scenes for Cook and one of the scenes he captured was at Kealakekua Bay. It was when the chief Kalaniopuu was out there greeting Captain Cook inside Kealakekua Bay and what the image depicts is Cook's ship and hundreds, I mean thousands really of these Hawaiian canoes and paddlers. We've all heard different versions of the stories, tens of thousands of the people down there greeting him. Well, in Webber's pictures there's a couple sailing vessels, double-hulled canoes and on the platform they actually got laying down these giant ki'i that certain clan warrior groups, regiments of the warriors that protected Kalaniopuu would actually carry these ki'i and one of my families traditions, the Mahi'oli'oli line would actually carry these images almost everywhere they went for ceremony, in to battle so that this painting is the first evidence of, wow, these images existed before Western contact. They were making these huge, huge images (laugh) so It's kind of cool to see it on the sketch there but yea that idea of the ki'i and how they were a very valued part of the culture, that that much time and energy was spent creating them to do these ceremonies, It's kind of a testament of the importance of the heiau. The importance of spirituality, that they would put all this work into something that, you know the results aren't always tangible when you're dealing with spirituality and theology. You know so, it's just kind of a testament to that sort of view culturally.

KB: Thank you

KR: Yeah

KB: Did you come from a line of carvers yourself, your family?

KR: I had some woodworkers but we weren't known as k̄alai ki'i per say. The Mahi line was more directly associated with warriors but of course the warrior culture at least in the traditional sense of people who made weapons, practice martial arts and fought wars to defend their chiefs, you know that culture kind of ended after the Battle of Kuamoo at Lekeleke when the kapu was overthrown. Because the kapu was the driving force of the authority of the chief that's why they were able to amass these warriors and go to war with each other, but when that was kind of

abandoned that culture, that changed the whole warrior culture. Then you had the influx of Christianity, missionaries came by and the martial arts were actually outlawed for a time. So a lot of things changed. But the Mahi family that I came from they left the warrior culture and what I know of my great-great grandfather who lived over in Palemano which is in Ke‘ei. I know that he was a carpenter but not carving, not even traditional Hawaiian carpentry but more Western carpentry. I know he built houses, he built churches. He actually left Ke‘ei in the late 1800s to go to Kalawao on Molokai and he was working in the leper colony there, he built a church down there and took care of the lighthouse, even helped construct it. So he had sort of a carpentry background.

KB: That’s awesome.

KR: But the actual woodworking kind of, yea that wasn’t a major part of what my family did (laugh) just by chance I got brought into that. I didn’t even consider myself you know a carver before I worked with Uncle Sam. The last thing I’d carved in my life was a little soap carving of a seal that I did as a boy in the boy scouts. (laughing) So that was my kālai experience. I just got kind of adopted into the world of kālai, through my time here and certain channels, yeah kind of interesting.

KB: Can you relate the carving process of the ki‘i?

KR: Yeah, one of the coolest things about learning about carving the ki‘i, one of the most exciting things isn’t even the carving itself but it’s the spiritual or ceremonial protocol or process of creating these images and one of the neat things of today with this revival is that it gives ourselves a chance to not only revive our practices, our traditions but also to adapt them, you know, to turn them into something that’s not, you know we are recreating an ancient thing but we’re rebirthing it as a modern thing. It doesn’t have to be ancient, it something that is a continuation. One of the things we’re getting to do is revive our ceremonial practice of carving ki‘i, recreated to make these giant images relevant in the 21st century, a very different world than what the ancient Hawaiians you know my ancestors lived in. So the exciting part of it was, is yeah, kind of going through that process. Traditionally when an image, when the temples were built; I mean just about every aspect of the ancient society was incredibly ritualistic. There was a ritual for almost every action of your day even for the farmer, had a very ritualized practice, you know the fisherman are very ritualized, every day the things he does to go out and catch fish. So when it comes to building a temple with these carved representations and repositories for this spiritual divine energy that’s an incredibly ritualistic process. Heavy emphasis is placed on selecting the tree, cause It’s all about creating relationships with the different deities. That’s why there’s all these different aspects of Lono in that temple because you are creating a physical representation so that you can have a relationship you know with successful crops, healthy children, you know all the things that ki‘i represent. You create sort of a tangible relationship that you can manifest that idea. And you start that process in the forest when you select the tree, and you find that ‘ōhia tree growing and you go wow, yes, this tree can represent the abundance of good healthy rains that produced water to make that tree grow. You know the trees got all these little root suckers and keiki growing so you know wow that tree provided nutrients for it’s healthy children. You know that tree was fed by the mist from those clouds that moved in, you

know it takes in, that tree has all these characteristics of what you are looking for in the deity, so you definitely build that. When you meet the tree and you find it and you see it and you establish that, yes tree, I'm going to cut you down and I'm going to transform you into something else but we're really drawing all those different intentions of what that tree was growing, so yea a heavy process in selecting the tree and cutting down the tree, you know removing the bark, often that's, we try to do that as much as possible today, is to do those things at the site of where you cut it down so the bark is removed and that way the bark continues to turn into mulch and feed the forest. You kind of prepare the log and then you transport it to the place you are going to carve. Today we use the park grounds as a place for carving and we really prefer selecting materials from the area. If I'm going to carve a temple in Kona, I want to go up to the forest here and find an 'ōhia or kauila or whatever the medium is for doing your thing and you do it all there rather than driving over to Hāmākua and bringing a log back here. Traditionally you stayed within your district and that way you capture the essence of, that this is really a Kona temple because everything came from this area and traditionally when the image was carved and it might just be for lack of information but traditionally the carving was done kind of in secrecy. It wasn't done in a public place where people could walk in and oh, see what's going on. You did the whole process in secrecy. You moved the images to the temple late at night and there is a process, you know, a procession for taking the image to the site, setting the image up. There is definitely a process. Today we'll be doing, you know as we prepare to carve the next generation of images out there, you know a lot of the carvings will probably take place in this house where we are sitting now, this halau or the one next door. Somewhere in the grounds but we still kind of, even though it's in a more public setting, we still take steps to create that this is an atmosphere of kapu. This is a sacred thing we are doing, it's just been adapted to fit how we have to work in the modern times. Which isn't a bad thing (laughing) it means that the culture is still alive, it's changing, it's growing, it's moving forward, it's not museum culture something you can only find preserved, you know it's still alive, so it's a good thing. Yeah, and then when you get to the temple there was definitely a process for setting up images, you have the order in which they're placed. Usually the outer images on that circle of chiefs or that circle of ki'i akua will go first, the last image to be brought in is the Mo'i, as he was the most important and that image gets put in place. Yeah,

KB: So the exterior guards/guardians would be placed at the very end?

KR: Those would be placed, I believe and this is just base on my own research so someone else might have a different answer but I believe that those would go first. That you would establish your outside...

KB: and work in...

KR: Yeah, so the images would probably go after the house was finished and fully thatched.

KB: Oh, after the house was finished?

KR: Yeah, once that was done then you would get the images set up and then all the ones on the inside would go last and the Mo'i would be the very last image to be placed. And what we have, kind of an exciting opportunity to revive that we are going to do this year, hopefully this year,

It's still kind of tentative but we are hoping to get access to do full ceremony where we actually dress the ki'i in malo, with white clothe.

KB: Keep them dressed?

KR: Keep them dressed at least for the ceremonial period. Because they didn't actually stay dressed all the time but when we do perform ceremonies we want to be able to do the full extent, so we are really hoping to bring that in this year. It would be the most complete ceremony we've done so far, so it's kind of exciting.

KB: That was one of my questions. How are the ki'i used or interpreted today?

KR: Yeah, so a lot of people view the ki'i very differently that from what I do and the sort of tight group that we have that still use the site in a ceremonial or ritual way, and so part of what I actually like to advocate is, is just that this isn't a replica temple, It's a living temple. Even though it was built in 1968 that doesn't mean it's not a real temple. It just got a new paint job, it got restored. So that's a big thing, that I..., because a lot of people don't get that and I see it every day when I'm out here. People go up to the temple and they're taking their selfies with the ki'i and doing all kinds of crazy things (laugh) and just because people don't..., you know there's not that knowledge out there. That this is a living practicing temple. A lot of people come with the idea that, oh, this is a replica, you know, just to look like what the Hawaiians had. Because a lot of our culture gets used with that past tense marker when you talk about it. Oh, they were great fisherman. Oh they used to be navigators. They used to do all these things. And so what we advocate is no, we still do all those things (laugh) this temple is. It didn't use to be a sacred temple, it is a sacred temple. On our side...,it's kind of like a double-bladed situation there because at one time, we do want people to know that, we want them to have the respect and to know that we use that place for ceremony. We use it for rituals but at the same time we want the privacy to do those things because there is also that mentality that Hawaiian culture is this entertainment culture. That everything is a show. And that's something I get asked almost daily even when I'm just down here, cause I wear the malo, the traditional clothes and I do practices. A lot times the first thing people say when they see me is, when is the show? And It's just because of that mentality, a person cannot be wearing a malo and not be in a show. And No, I'm just practicing the culture. So it's just a process of advocating it as a living lifestyle not a performance. So that's kind of the duel edged blade we deal with. Having people know that we use the temple and that it is a very sacred place and that things do happen but at the same time not there for a performance. The rituals are very real and very important to us. So just that, yeah that kind of balance that we try to find for today. It's kind of interesting thing about being close to this place. I see on the other hand, I see a lot of people from all over the world that come with the intent of connecting to the place spiritually and they might not know

Lono-i-ka-ou-ali'i. You know they aren't coming here to say, I really want to connect with Lonoouali'i, they might not know that but they do seek some sort of spiritual, philosophical connection. And a lot of times they connect to the place in their own way. And that is something I also really like to advocate too, is diversity of culture. Just because this is a Lono temple doesn't mean you can only bring Lono things there. There's always room for other philosophies

and practices. I have seen Buddhist monks come down here and go in front of the temple and do some prayers and things like that. American-Indians from several different tribes I've gotten to meet and say, yeah, go out there, do your practice. Things like that. Ranger Charles has a story about a Scotsman who plays his bagpipes to the temple (laugh). He just found the place and just knew that he wanted to bring something and so he brought what he knew. Which is absolutely appropriate, you bring what you know. You bring your intentions and your experiences. So, it is definitely a living spiritual place even today for people all over the world. And that tradition of bringing other cultures in here is a very old tradition because I know in Captain Cooks time one of our heiau, Hikiau over in Kealakekua Bay was opened up for a Christian ceremony. Inside, It's a very important temple associated with several major gods and yet there was no issue in saying, sure you can bring your Christian god in here too. There's no question, you just let him do it. That tradition of being very open to diversity and many different cultures I think is important in this place. Cultures need to protect each other and celebrate each other. I think that's how we keep them alive and growing. Yeah (laugh).

KB: One question I've been trying to ask everybody that I interview is when it's time to replace the ki'i and decommission them what to you personally feel would be an appropriate way to approach that?

KR: Based on just my own traditional studies and from what I know, I think the most appropriate thing to do is to hold a ceremony as the ki'i are being removed and that really they should be given a proper burial. The ki'i, even though they were wooden images that represented gods, as a physical body our ancestors had the understanding that anything with a physical body is temporary. Every physical body will die and decompose at one time, whether it's a human body or the wooden body of a god. So the ki'i were totally pulled down afterwards. At least for the mo'i image, I think it would be most appropriate to actually burn it. To get, totally put it to rest and let it become something else. Some of the other images maybe don't necessarily need to be burned but they should definitely be given some sort of a burial. Not reused or put in someone's driveway, that's me personally (laugh). Unless you're going to build Hale Mua or a Hale Mana and have it outside maybe it's okay but we're getting complicated there. But yeah, they definitely need something to represent the end of its life as a physical entity too. I think that understanding was very important. But of course some of these practices need to be adapted because again we are in the 21st century and we have all types of new things to deal with, compliance and all these modern terms we gotta deal with. I think it's one of the traditions that we'll be able to set with the decommissioning of these images when it comes time to replace them.

KB: This is the third set?

KR: This is the second generation right now. So the next images that go in will be the third.

KB: And will they be cycled all at once or will they be one image at a time sort of created...?

KR: I think we need some big conversations about that with the park right now but preferably or at least what I would like to see is, maybe probably going in stages, you know because this is really big work, yeah, absolutely. Physically the work, the monetary, the investment, the

budgeting that needs to go in is huge and also the spiritual, mental, the spiritual capacity of what we are creating is huge. I'd like to see it go in stages and I like the stages of replace the outside images first. Then maybe doing the fence images and then last of course that will be the biggest stage is the ki'i akua inside, doing all seven of those kind of at once and at least saving the mo'i for last. And the mo'i would definitely take the most attention and time to get that one set up. Then having them go through the full ceremony of placing them in the right order. It should be a pretty big thing. Yeah, definitely a process there. For me I like to include as much theology and protocol as possible. Whatever can be relevant today, I think should be.

KB: This is a last question, thought, overview if you could introduce or change anything in the interpretation programs that they have here in the park, to enrich it, make it more culturally appropriate what kind of ideas do you have?

KR: Yeah, Oh man, I'm always thinking of things when I'm out here, and you're getting irritated that someone is doing something (laughing). I think that I would definitely like to draw more attention to our ceremonial process. I shouldn't say draw attention, but draw awareness. If we could kind of raise awareness, that, things that are sacred, just the meaning of the word sacred, you know cause I think 21st century society, at a very general sense don't have a full grasp of what sacred means. And I hear it when people come down and they say, "Oh this place is considered sacred", and then kind of immediately they say, "What's so sacred about it?" So I think raising the awareness, what is sacred? What sacredness means and the importance that sacred things hold to people that view them as sacred. Building up that sense of respecting these things, drawing awareness to the cultural use of the place that's not a performance or a festival event. Just so people kind of know that wow, practitioners or people do come here to use this place for something very spiritual and very real to them. I think that's kind of important. Yeah, just getting rid of that past tense thing about Hawaiians (laugh). I see that even in our park brochures almost everything in there is past tense. And of course it's a historical park that has that past kind of connotation to it anyway which can't be helped. But yeah, if there was any way to advocate or raise awareness to that this history is a living history, not a dead history. I'd really like to see the park kind of jump on board, kind of help advocate more of that. To take some of the ceremonial things we do a little more seriously. Sometimes you can get the feeling that when we do our ceremonies it's like, "oh gosh" you know, impatience is there. The ceremonies are kind of hindering the park business (laugh) So sometimes we do but I just think sometimes it can't be helped. We get that kind of feeling like, oh man we gotta hurry this up, too much protocol but I think if the park had kind of a, just a respect and understanding to know that we take these very seriously, you know, that that would be good. Yeah, yeah.

KB: Those are great ideas. Very good additions to the collective pool of...

KR: Yeah,

KB: Thank you, this was a really good informative interview, yeah pretty thoughtful and very deep.

KR: Oh, thank you

Clarence Medeiros, Jr.

Excerpt of Interview

Interviewee: Clarence Medeiros (CM)

Date of Interview: 7/6//2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kualii

Date of Transcription: 8/8/16

CM: ...my father applied National Park and worked down there cutting down all the Kiawe.

He started to work at the National Park. They went do all the cuttings of the trees. The Kiawe was thick, couldn't walk through there. The whole thing was pa'a.

CM: Yeah, they went cut um all, and used to cut um and burn um at night, so certain guys gotta stay at night and burn while the wind pattern blows from mauka to makai at night. During the day, the wind pattern blows from makai to mauka. So I used to go with him at night and they burn um. Just burn the fires and stuffs.

KB: That was probably fun, yeah?

CM: Yeah. And then when one project finished, as they cut one whole section, since we had pigs, he would donate one pig, one party, one topping off party kine. Kalua pig, I used to help him kalua the pig and everything. Everybody, many families eat up and start the next phase, whatever the phase was. And that time was Russell Apple was the superintendent and Ed Ladd, He was the Archaeologist for the park. And then later on Bill Garso came on, I guess he was a ranger or something. Bill Garso, he was my mom's relative. On my mom's side, Garso. What else we did down there.... I guess when they went finish cutting then he used to make stone wall for the ranches like that when he work ranch. When he work ranch he gotta do everything. Yeah, so he was good with that. And then he had to go rebuild the Great Wall, so he was the foreman for that. The carving went start after that, That's when he got hurt. He was disabled for a long time, from '64 or '65 I think.

KB: From the building of the rock walls he got hurt?

CM: No, no he was okay. When that was done, they went start carving the tiki's, so they had to go mountain to cut the 'Ōhia log yeah. So they do pretty much, they was getting close to the end of the carving. He said, he had to go up and had to go lift some real big ones and that's when he got the hernia. He end up in the hospital doing the surgery. The doctor left the, you know the hook thing when you sew? That and the gauze was in when they went sew him up and he was getting infections, infections, and he was taking plenty pain pills and it went enlarge his heart. So they went back in but cannot go back in because he's infected yeah. They gotta wait till they get

the thing down. Overtime they ready to go in the temperature came up. Cannot go in cause the infection, so they had to wait, finally they went in there and found um. They found- what you call that? the needle? Was there with the gauze, puss and everything. So he was in the hospital months and I think dad was '64 you know, if I'm not mistaken.

KB: He got sick in '64?

CM: Yeah, '64 maybe the end and I would be maybe like, '64, 12 years old. Luckily I knew how to drive.

KB: Cause you could drive him?

CM: No, I gotta go take care the cattle down Ho'okena and Kealia. Make sure they get water- and if somebody like buy I gotta meet um down there and take the ones they like and put it in the pen ladat (like that). Young kid.

KB: 12?

CM: 12. Then I gotta drive my maddah to the hospital or my aunty them come pick her up, but sometimes they scared bumbai the cop come stop me, (laughing) but I put plenty pillows ladat and going.

KB: (laughing)

CM: And I see all the policemen and they know us, so my faddah was good friends with some of them. They know I no more license, but they no bother. So every once in a while my maddah and faddah call, "eh, bring mama up," "Ok"- Going. So I take her up, if not I go spend the whole day with dad, I spent the whole day up there with him during the weekend or something, then come home. So...

KB: So how did he finally heal up and get back to work after the infection?

CM: Yeah, but that went make him walk with one limp yeah. Sometimes it was tender if you bang um or something, flares up again. So he was on pain medicine a lot. Then no he never go back to the park. They never um- I don't think they wanted to hire him back, so he was pissed off. I remember him on the phone yelling at them- he like that job back but I guess they rate him at one certain level of disability, so cannot go back. And then he ended up working for um, Taniguchi, now called KTA? He was taking care the yard. "Eh, you know we give you one light job and take care of our yard."- Was up in Honokohau area. So was up by um Palani Road. Coming in Honokohau in that ahupua'a- for maybe couple months, and then they find out "Oh you use to raise cattle?" "Yeah" "Pigs?" "oh, maybe we can buy your animals and sell um in the store." "You know how to cut meat?" "little bit." They said "you know what, one boy got activated to go in the military," yeah, he was in the National Guard but he got activated, I think was '67 or '68. So they all had to go training for go to Vietnam and then there was another one, a butcher, but they had one two-month period where they was going...[training] So, they asked my father, "You think you like go cut meat?" he said, "Oh yeah can, as long as get somebody that can help me carry the quarters because I goin get hard time." "Oh, no worry we get somebody for that." He ended up cutting meat and within the week he was making nice steaks and

everything. His braddah was a butcher at Sure Save and stuff. From young time they got up and knew how to cut meat, but now is with the saw yeah. So that's where he ended up working at KTA for kind of long...So we used to sell some of our cattle, we take um to the market and gotta get that stamp yeah, and then they bring the quarters down and he cut um up, but that was our own cattle. And then our own pigs was going to Kona meat and then Kulana Foods in Hilo used to buy plenty, da kine 120 lbs kine. So we gotta separate all the pigs, certain size, the maddahs, the keiki, all that kine and then they buy 21 or 25 one time. And then the next batch ready in two weeks and get um already yeah. Plenty work, we work dark to dark. [On his siblings]...And then the youngest is 14 years younger than me, so when I left for the military they were small little babies. Young, Jimmy was young, David was four or five. And so my father sold the ranch after I left cause no one went take care yeah. It's not easy. The cattle got kinda wild yeah. If you don't tend to um all the time they get sassy (laughing). They broke the fences, you gotta go chase um and bring um back. When I came back I wanted to go back down there and hunt and go do stuff. And he said "Oh, no I sold um."

[On living in Honokua] My grandmother's place was here..., my father own that, my Uncle owned this. All my other uncles and auntie's sold um, their share to my uncle yeah. But was all family over here in this ahupua'a, mostly family.

KB: Coffee, cattle?

CM: Coffee, cattle, mac nuts, avocado like that. But in the early days was taro and awa root, the main things. Yeah, taro and then cattle.

CM: [On carving ki'i] Had him and Ako right? I don't know if had somebody else too but they were the two main ones that I remember. My Uncle Mac I think went start PUHO and think he did that after or same time. When I was down there- sometime I used to go help him, I remember him and Ako was the one carving. Some of the other ones used to bark the post and hemo the skin like that. And then clean up. They the ones was doing the major stuff.

KB: Did your dad ever talk about the carving and where the designs came from and what made them carve certain ones a certain way?

CM: All came from the archives. Ed Ladd them went go do their research. They probably had um all already from Bishop Museum yeah or Reinecke's stuff, you know somebody, archaeologist long time ago. Had drawing with the hand kind drawing. So, like I know the ones that we did for Ahuena had this picture.

KB: Your dad carved the Ahuena ones too?

CM: Four of um.

CM: I made one of them.

KB: You made one also?

CM: Every day after work, I come home- see they went use some of the drawings here, whatever sketches had yeah. So they went followed kind of how was. And this was the best, never have

camera, so they went use some of this kind drawings. Now, Hōnaunau I think. The same, they had pictures or some drawings from some ship that came or whatever there was. But if you asking me what they mean, I think my father would tell you the same thing. Would be that only the guys who went carve um or the chief that wanted it carved, would know the meaning for um. I never did find out. Even him, could be anything. Most likely would be this.

KB: Certain gods?

CM: Yeah but that would be an assumption.

CM: The person that made um for whoever he made um for was the person that knew.

KB: Did they do anything when they were cutting the trees? Any kind of like ceremony? Or like before- like in the old days they would cut a tree before making canoe or something, they would have ceremony. When they were making the ki'i in the sixties and they went to the forest to cut the tree, did they...

CM: When they were carving for Hōnaunau Pu'uhonua, at the same time my dad was carving at home, practicing. And then when he made um and he stand um in front the yard and the cars would pass, plenty tourist like buy um and ship um back to where ever. Some local people put um in their yard. So, when we went go cut for ourselves, we never do nothing. We just went up and cut um. We look the best kine, the size. Sometime, whoever went with us, "I like one tiki about this size" My father, "Oh, that wood no good" "Why?" "By the time we pau cut all this, going be skinny the head, gotta be one big wood." Start off real big cause by the time you carve um down going still be kind of skinny cause you gotta take all that outside part off. You like the neck be kind of full yeah. You never understand till you show um, "try look" When we pau, how the neck going look so skinny. So you gotta get one bigger wood so that everything can match in the end.

KB: Um, when they decommissioned them after they were done, what do you think would be a good way to, you know, there going to make new ki'i and put um up, what do you think they should do with the old ones?

CM: I think everyone going get the idea that they should store um, but I would burn um. No good stuff you know this. I remember making tiki. I had one in my yard there and one over here. The minute I put um in the ground, I went get so damn sick, I mean sick. I didn't know what the hell was wrong.

KB: You put um in the ground? What do you mean?

CM: I went put um, kanu um.

KB: Put it in the ground? Oh, I know what you mean.

CM: I had um over there.

KB: Stood um up?

CM: Yeah.

KB: But you got...

CM: Sick. I went to the doctor, nothing wrong. I go to everybody, all the doctors, nothing wrong, Nothing wrong, everything good, healthy! Cleaner than hell. What the hell is going on? Was going on for a while and then I went go see this guy from Waimea, one guy told me, in fact my son's wife's father, told me he was sick too because he push bulldozer yeah. Sometime he hit the grave, he never know. He hit the grave you know, by the time is too late, nobody stay watching, whoever own the land they no give a damn. They push my land. He said "hou I get sick like one dog and I don't know why." So he went go see this guy in Waimea. His last name was Solomon. He told me go see this guy and he gave me the number. So I went. The guy told me "something bothering you?" I said "Man, I don't know what the hell, I stay you know- everything good, everything physical, mental, but man everything stay sore just like I sick like a dog." He said "what you do?" "I do this, I do that, I drive truck, now I work hospital." "What else you do?" "I like hunt, fool around with my horse." "No, no that's not what I like know, what else you do?" I said "Oh, I was making tiki with my father." "Oh, okay, what kine? or how look like?" He said "How the face? Kind of mean looking?" "Yeah." One side came a little bit- the hair, I went make um cause the wood was jam up, crooked yeah. On the right side. Had a bigger one, right were the palm tree stay, I had um standing up right over there. He said "take that damn thing and burn um, no good or give um to somebody, no give um to another Hawaiian person, go give um to one outsider, one *malihini*. As soon as I came home, I pull um out and gave um to this guy named, what his name? Jim Reynolds, he used to live across the road down there, good neighbor, good friends with my sister them, the wife. So we used to all get together once in a while. Haole guy. So he took um and build one house and put um down by his place by white sands. Not too long after that he found out that he had hepatitis C, the worse one, he said you going die. He never know until he got the tiki. So I told him, throw that damn thing away, no throw um, burn um. He never like, he ended up dying. But I don't know if that was the cause. But man for me I never like that stuff. To me, no good this kine. So the other one, I don't know what the hell I did with um, I went pull um out and burn um I think. The small one, had one small one right in the corner over there right where you turn in. I went burn um.

KB: What kind of wood did you use?

CM: 'Ōhi'a

CM: Yeah. But you know that was a coincidence, I went come good after. So, I don't know if that has anything to do with it, but I no like do um again. [On carving today] No, canoe, yeah... Yeah, but was after that, I did the small ones. The big ones for Ahuena, we did um in '77 I think we started carving that one and then I come home from work, big kine logs. He was carving one, in fact, I don't know, I had pictures someplace. Had one with the bird on top the head. Right, the next one on the side is the other one. Anyway, um had the two big ones, if you go down there get one with the crooked hair, that's the one I made. [Looking at a photo] Get two big ones. Yeah that's the one.

KB: Did you make the crooked hair because there was crooked hair in the picture or did you make crooked hair cause there was a knot...?

CM: The wood had one knot. I went jam up this one and he said “No, just go around um.” So I went around um, but every day, I used to work Kona hospital yeah and then when I come home I stop at my father’s house and work till dark and then come back home, lift weights, whatever. Everyday same thing, till went pau. And then I got one picture of me when I went load um in my truck to take down to Ahuena. So Herb Kane them was going to put um in.



Photograph courtesy of Clarence Medeiros (circa 1975)

CM: Had other guys carving from someplace else, Maui like that, but we only did the three.

KB: So, you think when it’s time to take the old ones down, like the ones they have here, and put the new ones, they should burn um? That’s your idea? I know- I just want to ask everybody and get an idea.

CM: I would get rid of um. You know and another thing too, my father made one tiki yeah for the Hokuli’a project, cause... they asked him to make one. They wanted one tiki to put down Halekii. Halekii is the ahupua’a. Oh they figure, oh okay, they get one club house over there with the tiki, so my father went make um. I got one picture...this one. He made um for them, they went put um up and went get crazy over there. Me and my father was working with them before the project when had the consultation stuff, everything was going good they had inadvertent stuff but nobody would know until you hit um cause no body old enough back to know 200 years if something was there. But on the known stuff, but my wife’s father worked there 50 years, started in 1929 for Greenwell Ranch, he know that whole place. He never retire till ‘86, so I used to go down with him go fishing, go through the pasture. [On the ki’i Clarence Sr. made] I don’t know

what they did, Hokuli‘a never like um after that. They went ask me what I should do with um, get rid of um, but I think Jimmy went take um I think. [Looking at a photo] This log, I was making a canoe, I was going hang um in here but I get um up my shed, my work shed up there. Stay crack, I got put one bolt and put um together. But I no like do um yet because the thing splitting a little bit yeah, bumbai the whole thing crack right down yeah. So, stay kind of cured, can put one pin inside and bring it together. [Looking at a photo of Ahuena in Kailua-Kona] Oh yeah, yeah this is one of them, yeah. This other one, with the bird on its head, the last one looks like, stay right on the other side. This one here somebody else make, I don’t know who made those, Waimea or some place. Oh, this one almost look like this one without the stuff on its hair.

KB: So you were one of the other carvers too then?

CM: Yeah, yeah I made the whole thing, one of the big ones, the one with the crooked.

KB: Still up?

CM: Still up.

KB: I’ll go check it out sometime.

CM: Yeah, if you go up you going see um.

KB: Who is this?

CM: This my father at the poi factory. Had all taro up here, 8 acres of dryland taro, so had one poi factory. The newspaper did one article on um and then and some of the taro patches was having hard time, so the taro was all going down. Senator Akaka at that time was a congressman.

KB: Oh wow he came to visit?

CM: Yeah him and father was in the Army together. Good friends. Tight. He took Sparky Matsunaga’s place, when Sparky died. He ran for office and he won.

[Looking at photo] This is my grandma Annie Weeks...we had, in Kona we was kind of like the people for taro. Um, some other families too, but our family was kind of famous for this. Dryland taro and poi and all that kind stuff...Yeah, but hard work man. See my father them made halaus’ too yeah. This is making wood for halau. They build halau...This one was for Kamehameha Schools, they made for Keauhou Beach Hotel and um Lili‘uokalani. If you go down to Lili‘uokalani they get that halau down there. He built that.

KB: When did your dad pass away?

CM: 2000 [And your mom?] My father was 72, my mother went die 2010 at 80. [On going into the park]...When my father them was fixing Alahaka, the trail, that ramp. Or you know or they was cutting trees way inside. Summer time I would go work with him. I spend the whole time swimming in the bay and watch them go meeting by Alahaka. Him and all his workers get fishing line yeah, so I gotta go take the bait to him and then we go catch humuhumu like that. When pau, I gotta go clean um, so I stay by the pond cleaning Humuhumu and then everybody take home after work. I used to hate that. Hard job pull the skin off. You know what is

Humuhumu? That's the black fish um Humuhumunukunuku

KB: It's hard to pull the skin off?

CM: Oh man, yeah you gotta get one plier. Those days' no one give you plier, you get one knife and pull um. So, hou, bust your butt yanking um. Hand all bust up cause the scale, not sticking out but that little bit...

KB: There's one at the top yeah. Isn't there also a spike on it?

CM: Yeah but that one not sharp.

CM: It's like sand paper the skin. So you keep rubbing, rubbing, rubbing, it eat your skin up like sand paper because if you gotta clean 30 you know you pull and take couple of times to pull um. Hemo the guts and stuff and then get um already then after work, maybe four or five guys stay working there, everybody take um...

KB: Thank you, so much you shared a lot of interesting stories.

CM: There's one other thing I wanted to tell you. When we went to go cut Koa or something different, for canoe.

KB: Koa for canoe?

CM: We made Koa poi boards and stuff like that. Some things made out of Koa, the small kine. If the wood wasn't real big like this. It was either to make tables or whatever, But the Koa, the one we make canoe, there's one time we went up, the first time anyway, maybe '66 or...around there, my dad can go carry nothing, he only can give orders yeah. I had to corral all my young friends. Not young but some maybe like 2 years older than me. I was in 11th grade like that and the others was senior. So one of the families that was working down there was the Simmon's family. Anyway his brother was kind of our gang and he was Kent Simmons, they had one long flatbed truck, 4-wheel drive, so could go mountain. We had one flat bed but not as big as that. So we cut small kine for our truck and he's the one get the long canoe one. So, we maybe get 8 of us go up, all the kine young, tough kine guys. Cut um, till um down and then load um up. But before that when we got up there around maybe 8:30 like that, my father said "lets go hunting" like that. We go look around "Why we go cut the tree" "we no like stay up here all day" he said, "No, no, no, you wait I'll go tell you why." So the day come around 11, then this little bird come flying over, that's when we cut um. The elepaio, cut the tree, the tree fall down and wait over there. You see the bird fly around. He come, he land, and he go. But if the bird come down and he start pecking, ah, this tree no good, gotta cut one more. If he peck all over, *popopo* inside. All rotten "you sure dad?" "I'm sure" "gotta cut one more," so, cut one more. Wait till the bird go over there. "Peck, peck, peck" on the top part where the water goes inside, little bit *popopo*, he no peck under there. "Cut right there, put a mark right there, cut this buggah here." Maybe we get 25, 30 feet long, good piece. Cut um. Then all the boys with their power saws going at it, chain um up and each side, make blocks, kalae that buggah make um light. Load um on the truck, tie um up coming down. And the *popopo* one, we only take the good part to make other stuff yeah.

KB: Oh, so you would square it up there in the mountains and then carry it down?

CM: You mean for the canoe?

KB: Yeah, I mean you were taking the round edges off?

CM: Yeah we make the point, take out the inside as much as can...

KB: While it was up there?

CM: While up there, so not heavy on the truck. Heavy logs! Eight of us young kids, we no like get hernia, so everybody gotta lift- sometimes we carry um like, whoa maybe 100 yards, 50 yards from the road. Try pick the close one, we gotta make one loop inside the front with the manu, and then put the rope and pull um out, and everybody pushing, put the log underneath and roll um, push. Lucky everybody young yeah? Then we put one ramp and park um, and back the truck up to kind of one hump place and we roll um on top.

KB: So when you guys made for canoe, you always use Koa, not 'Ōhi'a?

CM: Oh no only Koa.

KB: But the ki'i you use only 'Ōhi'a?

CM: Nope, we had plenty different ones. Some people use ulu, some people made it out of the kāne hapu'u you know certain houses? The haole rich kine? and they like put um by their gate?

CM: They made hapu'u kine, but two kine hapu'u yeah? One kāne hapu'u, but the kāne one big and no more one center. The center part where get some meat inside and the animals go eat um. This one is all...

KB: Solid?

CM: Solid, so you can carve um nice and no...Big kine, heavy buggah too. And then when they cut um and stuff, they put um in the ground. They last long time, he no rotten. Yeah, only the underneath might come soft.

KB: The ulu, 'ōhi'a, hapu'u...

CM: Koa and hau...Small kine, you know house kine...Make um out of hau for decoration.

CM: That's what I remember. But yeah, I used to hate that because sometimes the elepaio no come and we gotta wait. Hou man, lunch time, we gotta hustle man. Everybody hot and working hard, by the time we come down, dark. We gotta walk behind the truck, too heavy. And we go, he scrapes so he gotta go slow, or gotta pick um up, so the truck no stuck again. Especially if get dips like that. The water wash the road yeah?

KB: Yeah.

CM: It's like 7 miles out, so coming down, we walk all the way down. And then the smaller truck with all the ones we cut, *popopo* one, we only take the good spots yeah, the light kine. You can use um for something. So yeah, that's how was.

KB: Yeah thank you.

CM: So you no see tiki's in my yard.

KB: Interesting, I always loved them, I always wanted one but I don't really know anybody and I don't wanna carve because my hands hurt too much. I don't know how you know.

CM: Well be careful though, you don't know if the thing is something, if get mana inside.

KB: Yeah.

CM: Only us Portagee's no good for that kine (laughing) Maybe some other kine Hawaiian.

KB: Well your Hawaiian too right?

CM: Yeah, but my grandfather, he no more superstition kine you know him. Someone tell him something and he no believe (laughing).

KB: What did your dad think about when you told him that you were getting sick and getting rid of the ki'i.

CM: Oh, he know, that's how we hurt for a long time.

KB: Oh, that one, the hernia?

CM: Yeah, but no more explanation now.

KB: I know.

CM: This just could be one coincidence.

KB: I know, I know.

CM: But he went learn his lesson. Maybe he not supposed to be doing that, yeah?

KB: Yeah.

CM: Somebody else, get certain kine people that can do this you know.

KB: Yeah. Thank you. I wanted to ask, did he do lot of the restoration of the heiau like Āle'ale'a and the Great Wall and all that?

CM: Yeah was all kind of fall down some places yeah? So yeah, I remember them working over there. Him, my Uncle Herbert Elderts, plenty guys, but I forget their names already. Some Japanese, Matsumoto, had two Matsumoto's, Alapai, Hayama, Sasaki.

KB: Plenty Japanese then?

CM: Some Hawaiians, Kekuewa them, like that. But you know after he went get hurt, he never go back. So whatever projects was going on or you know. Yeah, he was done already.

I remember him on the phone yelling at em. Once in a while he like go back work yeah? And then they tell him no can. So, he stay pissed off. Of course going be the secretary not his friends,

Apple guys. They was all good with him, they understand. Once they rate you disabled they cannot have you on the job. Even that kine work, he just wanted something.

CM: But those days, no more that kine. Light duty, you work or you no work (Laughing).

KB: It's hard work down there. Yeah. Okay let me see, I took a lot of your time, yeah, almost an hour and a half.

CM: That's alright.

KB: That's alright? Okay.

CM: You got what you needed?

KB: Yeah, yeah it was interesting. Thank You!

Lolana Medeiros

Excerpt of Interview

Interviewee: Lolana Medeiros (LM)

Date of Interview: 7/11//2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kualii

Date of Transcription: 10/8/16

KB: Aloha

LM: Aloha

KB: Today is July 11, 2016. I am at the home of Lolana Medeiros, conducting an oral history interview for Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. And what is this district we are in?

LM: Honokua

LM: Aloha my name is Lolana, my middle name is Kahunaaina Medeiros. Lolana is Hawaiian for Roland. I live in Honokua, South Kona. Was raised here in Honokua. I live next door to where my parents' home is. I was born October 20, 1953 here in Kealakekua, Kona Hospital. I attended my first elementary school in the district of Alae, which is two ahupua'a south of Honokua.

KB: Can you share a little story about your dad and your childhood? What you know of his work in the park?

LM: My dad started working in the park at the beginning when they first opened. Because he was a veteran himself, Army, and he knows a lot about Hawaiian culture...He started working there. All the family members worked there, Uncle's Henry Hua, Herbert Elderts, Moses Kekuewa, William Pu'ou, Antone Grace. A lot of family members who were veteran men were working there and I was really happy that he worked there because it was something he liked doing. And he would come home and share what they were doing, what they were doing on the Great Wall, restabilizing the wall or clearing the land and doing excavations. He was pretty much involved doing the excavations with Russell Apple, the superintendent, and Bill Garso, and Ed Ladd. Because of his knowledge of Hawaiian culture, they ask him a lot of stuff. Men who worked there, they were all Hawaiian men too, so they knew a lot about the place and the Hawaiian culture. He was involved in a lot of that and then after they started, they cleaned the park and saw what the features were, the sites, restored the wall, they started to put back Hale o Keawe, do halau work, and started carving tiki's after that. He loved to work with wood and stone, he knew a lot about the forest so, he would continue that stuff at home. Building our stone walls and started to do carving at home. It was in his blood because my Great, Great Grandpa was a canoe builder and his name was John Mokuohai Puhalahua and my Grand Uncle, Uncle Charles Mokuohai was still doing that work when I was young, building canoes. He was the mentor for my dad. The original set of tiki's, he was a member of one of the carvers there. He continued carving for the rest of his life.

KB: Were there protocols that he had to practice when he gathered the wood? Can you share how they would get the wood and if they did any ceremonies? When they were carving it, how they would get their ideas for the designs they were going to do?

LM: I wasn't there with them when they went and gathered the wood for the park, the logs that they carved for the ki'i at the park. I'm sure they followed protocols and a lot that they done, meaning that it was a federal park, they had to follow the procedures and compliances. They used references, Ellis, back in 1823 when he first came here, he had drawings of Hale o Keawe. And the Bishop Museum. I'm sure they followed the research as to exactly how they wanted to do the ki'i and follow the protocols. They also asked the Kupuna's.

My dad used to talk about when he went with my Great, Great Grandfather up to the mountain. He got logs for the canoe up here in Honokua and would take maybe a month to do that. They would go up a week at a time. And do the protocol the prayers and pule, and drop the log and stay up there and hollow it out, not completely, just rough it out until it could be moved down the hill where a lot of the men went up and helped. And they brought it down to this lower elevation to complete. It was exciting times with my Great, Great Grandpa. He would ride the canoe down. He was like the captain of the canoe where he had men on both sides in the back and both sides in the front with kaula, rope. And they would put logs underneath and he directed them as how to pull, how to huki the logs, to safely bring it down. That was pretty exciting.

KB: What kind of wood would they select for the canoes and for the ki'i?

LM: My Great, Great Grandfather was...nobody was doing ki'i, but I cannot say that for sure. But canoe for sure, it would be koa of course. They would notice where this bird, the elepaio bird

would go. If it stopped and pecked on a tree it would kind of let them know the tree wasn't good, or popopo. Rotten a little bit, they would choose the right log before they fell the tree. They did a lot of praying, my dad used to say that, to make sure everything was pono.

KB: For the ki'i what kind of wood would they select?

LM: Ki'i was 'Ōhi'a. Yes, big 'Ōhi'a, large size, depends on the size of the ki'i but as you can see its big logs, and maybe their diameter could be as big as three feet diameter, or 20 feet long, or 30 feet long and its very, very heavy.

KB: Do they get it from all over the island or just one place?

LM: It all came from Kona. Yeah. Anywhere here in the South Kona, maybe at an elevation two or 3,000 or higher, they would get access to the land, the owner. And in this modern times they would still have protocol asking the Akua for permission for safety, for a good log, for everything. But back then the equipment wasn't as strong as now, but they got the log down, it was a big operation.

KB: What did they do with the first ki'i that was made by your dad in the 60's?

LM: Those were saved by the park, its wrapped in loin cloth and in a dry aerated building.

KB: And how often do they have to be replaced?

LM: Over here, they crack but they last pretty long, so you know it's like 20 years. They don't have to be but I think it's the national park or speaking with my dad guys, the old timers, they came up with a time where it should be replaced after so many years. Maybe like 20 years.

KB: And the ones that are there now, when did they get made?

LM: I'm not sure but I been with the park for eight years and I think they were made in the early 2000 or the late 1990's

KB: Getting back to the ki'i, do you have any ideas on what we would be the best way to, most appropriate, culturally appropriate way to deal with old ki'i when they are taking it down to put up new ones, what should they do with the old ones?

LM: For sure, I don't like seeing them back to the ground because they are more, has a lot of mana in them, and it's like disregarding them, it like your family member more than because they are representing and linked to the Akua and they should be kept like the first set, preserved. Any future sets, they are really so valuable. They are being replaced because they are getting old and because they want to keep newer ones up. The older ones keep gaining more ho'okupu and much pule were offered to them they got so much in them, they need to be preserved. And the way to preserve them is to not keep them in the wet. If we can put them in safe dry places

KB: Would they be laying down or upright?

LM: They live there life upright. It's pono. They have significance upright for our culture, you know, they need to be preserved and not be put back to the ground.

KB: I didn't know that's what they do with them. Is that an NPS idea to do that or is that someone in maintenance that said that "Oh go put them up there?"

LM: Everything comes out of NPS, approval, disapproval.

KB: Do you know any information about the different kinds of gods because I know they're shaped differently and what they represent and the meaning behind...

LM: There is meaning behind, I can't remember at this moment, I've seen writings about what they represent, each figure, and what they represent and it means something, it's not random designs.

KB: Right, I need to learn more about that, the Lono and the Kū. And there's one on the outside facing the ocean that has a really sharp nose.

LM: Yeah, there is a bunch of them.

KB: That one looks really different from the rounded Lono and the Kū.

LM: And you know that there is Kane and Kanaloa and there's other...

KB: Are they all represented there, all four?

LM: Yeah, I believe they are all represented there. There is two on the outside that everybody, they're the photogenic ones. It's just everybody's photogenic. And that's Kū and Kane, but there is Lono. There is a whole bunch of lesser gods too yeah. There's other gods, not just four and just not for that Heiau, there's different areas that might have a different.

KB: When you were growing up did your father ever talk about the ki'i or have any mo'olelo that went with them while they were carving. Any kapu came up that you know, the stories that your parents speak about and you listen and you're oh, that's interesting. Because he was working on them...

LM: He even made some ki'i that he called the twins Kamana'iola and Ke'eaumoku. He has them down at his house and my brother Jimmy sons living right next door. He come about those designs, it something that comes out of him for those ki'i. And he also made Kamapua'a and I don't know if my brother guys keeping up with um, but I think Kamapua'a, the weather got to um. I wish I had um, I love being with him when he worked on the ki'i, he was in his magic zone. He made the log come alive...I would always be with him when he carved at home they would drop these huge logs there and some project wanted them and he would work on um at home, until it was just about complete and so just being around him he like to work in the afternoons, maybe 4:00 pm when it's cool and then after he did his days' work, from day break, whatever it was, then he would go down there and work on it

KB: I was just going to ask; did you learn or did you carve too?

LM: Yeah, but you know it's so big, "can you clean this up over here?" you know "Take this down over here." You make the major cuts on the ki'i where it's fast to go, you know he wouldn't start blindly, he would always have a chalk and drawing his drawing, this over here,

this over there. And even when he was making papa ku'i 'ai or papa pua'a, you know, his chalk was his main, his white chalk, black board chalk. He draws that and then he worked on it. He had a good hand, he makes it look easy. One whack with the mallet and a big chunk came off you know. Technique was easy for him and I admired that a lot. All by eye and hands. His talents came from his mind and koko.

LM: So you know at first, a lot of the early ki'i never had the male part, it was without showing and then later on he made tiki, it pretty much showed the penis, and it was kind of important for the ki'i to have.

KB: You think it's okay for people to take pictures of them and stuff, or take their picture with them?

LM: You cannot stop that.

KB: Yeah

LM: I mean you know you can try.

KB: I know sometimes people are disrespectful though on the ki'i that you know have the genitals.

LM: In the Greek or Rome, they have their sculptures that have the male part too yeah. People sometimes can be disrespectful and immature...that's not going to change, so they gotta get used to what our culture is and its nothing to do with the modern man way of thinking, it has more about the ancient Hawaiian and the way they look at the world.

KB: Yeah

LM: Their Universe

KB: Some of the...can you think of any ways to improve the way the park does their programs or their interpretation programs? Do you have any ideas or additions or recommendations?

LM: Because I work there you know, I can see that it is empty, it's like hollow, a skeleton, the cultural part. There's the Hale o Keawe, there's the physical landscape, there, we got some halau, The Great Wall, but there's no Hawaiian. We had Charlie Grace for a while in the halau, but he's only one person. It be nice to go to a park, like there's a continual festival.

KB: Practicing and demonstrating?

LM: Yeah, demonstrating. The people enjoyed it. Because mainly the demonstrators, the practitioners and all kind of Hawaiian things. I like to see our park, people come a long way to see that. Not to just see the physical features.

KB: But to see it in action culture and practicing?

LM: Everybody enjoys that, to see how to weave, do whatever it is, they enjoy that, they get involved, they sit down and they want to learn how to ulana or something. Rotate them, I like to

see more of that. Yeah, you know have four or five different stations and then rotate it with a different feature or a different craft.

LM: I'd like to see that happen at this park, being that's what it is, you can't stop the flow of people. They come to see the Hawaiian culture not just to hear one voice recording as you walk to the visitor center. There might be a small talk, an interpreter but real Hawaiian way of teaching is hands on experience, that's how they taught and that's how people learned. You can listen to all the tapes, but you can't really imagine it so much until you touch it and do it. So I think more of that and I'd like to see things come back like the royal court for the festival which was a nice thing to share and to see.

KB: Who was the royal court? It's not the same one with the Aloha festivals, right?

LM: No we make our own for our festival. Local community members and staff. And maybe it originated like that but we just grab people from the community and I think, it sounds easy to me, but might not be easy to someone who is in charge, but we always had it but now we don't. I want that to come back if I could. It's a nice joy, you see hula at the festival, Hawaiian style. Whatever is Hawaiian, people come here, visitors, even the locals never get tired of it. You never get tired of hula. The more the merrier. Maybe the royal court can be during the festival time? Or even if we can have a court that can be there so many days and people can learn about the protocols of the Hawaiian Ali'i and take a picture with them. Or they can talk about the different kind of roles that they have...like the Royal Order of Kamehameha, they have all kinds of positions and everybody has that certain name for that position and a role. Well, maybe in the old times. And maybe it's the same kind of positions with roles, what's the job of this, like Kalaimoku. You know people would be interested to know, education...Rotate them around and volunteers I guess; I don't know how that would work...Role play, you learn your position just be photogenic or Kodak moment thing.

KB: Living History

LM: They do that at parks in the mainland. They have the civil war reenactment; they play their roles. Back in the earlier revolutionary war, they have parks that actors are real full time...That draws people and they want to learn history, people want to learn history and they respect it more once they learned it. Yeah, there's not enough posters about...as you are walking on this trail and it tells you what you looking at, what kind of tree, what kind of plants, such and such you know.

KB: They have those little markers that go with the pamphlet.

LM: Yes, if you carry that pamphlet and if there's an audio thing. Pictures with descriptions and information...You can call a number and listen to the audio.

KB: Maybe there doing it like that so it doesn't look too distracting on the landscape and keep it small, you know what I mean?

LM: Personally, I haven't used it and I'm more like a visual guy and maybe that's where we need more people out there interpreting. Its low budget I guess; we hardly get rangers walking around at our park...there's only two on the staff and one working at the store.

KB: How did the rest of the park, there's so much more not just right there at the Pu'uhonua.

LM: Yeah, that's why they bought that property right? Because every acre has something to offer.

KB: Are there tours that go out there and show all the features and sights?

LM: There's no tours, there's the 1871 trail which is the Ala Kahakai trail that goes through the property that goes all the way and continues on to outside the ahupua'a and around the island. That we maintain that and there are heiau along the way and house sites and beautiful landscape areas and basically the only guys who utilize it is guys who walking their dog every day, which I'm not in favor of myself.

*The full interview with Lolana Medeiros reveals rich details of his life in Kona, burial practice, family burial sites, the 1950 lava flow, life before electricity in Hōnaunau, farming taro and coffee, the family poi business, hunting, fishing and his military service.

Violet Leihulu Mamac

Excerpt of Interview

Interviewee: Violet Leihulu Mamac (VLM)

Date of Interview: 8/1/2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 10/28/16

KB: Aloha mai for meeting with me.

VLM: Aloha Mai

KB: It's August 1st and we are at the King Kamehameha Hotel in Kona, Kailua-Kona and I am with Leihulu. And I'll have you introduce your full name and if you can share some background on where you were born, your parents, and such. Mahalo!

VLM: Aloha, I am Violet Leihulu Medeiros Mamac. Um, my name should have been Leihulu and then Violet but then somehow it's Violet Leihulu on the birth certificate. I carry my grandma's name, name sake on my daddy's side. My dad's name is Clarence A. Medeiros Sr. M-e-d-e-i-r-o-s. My mom's name is Pansy Wiwoole Hua and there name before the split up of the names was Kalalahua. My mom born February 24th 1930. My dad January 28, 1928. Both born in South Kona. Okay, as we were growing up, mom and dad would talk about people, places, things and one of the subjects were Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, City of Refuge, because my mom

and her entire family was born and raised in the lot across the boat ramp there. Yeah? In the Catholic Church yard where the church once stood. There was a catholic church there.

KB: It's not there anymore?

VLM: No, but there is a stone remnant. They were born and raised there. Her parents, her dad, Kale Hua SR., he was a fisherman and so was her mama but mama had so many kids. Grandma had so many kids (Laughing). So she tended to the children mostly. And as a family and community villagers, they would go in back of the park, way in the back there is a ramp and plant their vegetables those that grew on vines...my Dad too, he worked at um, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, City of Refuge.

KB: Right. He was a carver?

VLM: Yes, he was and he also helped to reconstruct The Great Wall.

KB: Could you share any stories you could remember from him, when he'd come home or took you out there?

VLM: Yeah, he would always be carving every day, every time we go visit him, when we think we can come or when he tells us to come. We'd watch him and he'd be carving. And he says, he looked at something and even when he'd be at home, carving at home, he had many things. He had, what is that, he'd dream about it. And the very next day he is carving away and, but what he had was like wow, this looks Hawaiian because you see, a lot of people, there stuff is not Hawaiian, don't even look Hawaiian.

KB: The carvings you mean?

VLM: Yes, but he has um from his dreams and he carves all that. And he does poi stones and poi boards. All kinds of stuff, canoes. He did so much and it was handed down to him also from his kupunas and Moku'ohai Puahalahuas, they were genealogists and carvers, weavers and canoe makers...

KB: Your father learned from them?

VLM: Yeah, everything. Everything was verbal yeah, genealogy, so he did that too. And then the carving came from them. He used to tell us stories...Above us, way above in the mountain where the koa trees grow, every so many years they could get another koa. Those that fall, not the living ones. They go up and they stay up in the forest, a whole bunch of them. Grandpas and uncles and cousins, and nephews, all the whole clan, the guys. They go up and stay up there for a month...Because it takes a while to get up there and they find their food, they hunt I guess to find their food and stuff. And the thing is there might be three to ten trees down, you know, even in the distance of walking, they don't just take the tree they see first or anything. And so we asked them, why is that? He says, they watch the birds. And we asked "Why do you watch the birds to get a tree?" Because if the birds are on a log and they ping and they ping, and they ping at it, there's a lot of bugs...So they have to watch for a long time, maybe days, maybe weeks. And the one that don't have any birds picking on them, that's the one, the canoe. So smart yeah?

KB: Yeah, yeah. I didn't realize it took that long.

VLM: Oh yeah long time. And it gets scary because once they get the log, they clean off the branches you know that protrude out. They don't take the back necessarily yet because they are going to have to take it down. And how they did that was really amazing. He said that they tied the ropes to the end of the log, long! Both sides, this is where the people is going to hold on to this thing, in the middle, at the top, and at the end, in the middle of that. All this rope, because everyone going hold this log going down. Down is down.

KB: Steep

VLM: It will slide real fast, so it was very dangerous. Not in their group but another group where one or two died because it smashed the ones at the end, they got crushed by the log. Like oh my god, that is spooky. They gotta go for days and if they can stop, they stop and rest for the next day. Check the terrain below, check the ropes if they can hold, how are the men? Are they okay? Because their hands they get all...raw...Yeah, so it takes a while to get down there, but it sounded very dangerous, but when they did get down, first thing they do is take off the bark. The bark to preserve the log longer and then they do the rough carving and then they do all the carving and it takes a while to do a canoe. But they did it and we were so amazed. The stories my dad had and the things they do. And he'd talk about the ala loa they see and they use up above in the lava...The Kings Trail... So they'd see the trail and they use to use it partial, look where they are going. I was like wow, it's amazing. Yup, beautiful land, beautiful everything. And the abundance, there was watercress in the water ponds and the water holes. Watercress. You know what that is?

KB: Yeah, it tastes so good.

VLM: And of course the pork, to catch, there's turkeys, wild cows. Food! Abundance! Fruits, a lot of fruits. There is this one called poka. You know what poka is? It looks like a big liliko'i? But its yellow and it looks more like an oblong round?

KB: Yeah banana poka.

VLM: Oh, so good! Probably not from Hawai'i but that is so good. I loved it, the kids loved it! We did (laughing) everybody else didn't know about it. What else did Dad do? Dad was um, jack of all trades. He did any kine stuff. He was the first guy to have a car. I believe in 1950 flow, up there and the TV. Cause I remember a lot of people would come over on Saturday or Sunday nights, especially when there's football, boxing and this show called Lucky Larger, all Hawaiian show. All the aunties, grand aunties, grand uncles, cousins used to come over our house to watch, from distance because we were one of the first to have car and a TV so they'd come. Others had car but no more TV. So they come watch but during that time when the adults were in the house and watching TV or eating or having beer here, we were not allowed in those areas. Oh no, no, no we were fed first, bathe, fed, and get in your room, do homework or visit with the cousins...We were not supposed to be heard but within eye sight. You were to be seen but not heard, those were the famous words...You were not to be seen causing any kind of

ruckus and not heard and never walk to the adults table and grab something to eat, never do that cause those days that was a no, no. Don't ever do that. So we had a lot of um, restrictions I think, you may say. And we didn't have for instance, when they speak in Hawaiian, they just speak amongst themselves, the adults...My parents talk to us when we are alone at home, daily chores, the daily thing, but anything else, the adults was more like hush hush, you know. So we used to ask um what do you guys hush hush? Because people infiltrate, well actually not that word, but those people listen for our names and for who we are, the family names and they steal information of who we are and especially if you had royal blood and/or land...So that's why name breaking up, get more than one meaning why they break up. One was to keep outsiders from knowing a full name. Once the name was what you call it, the royal lines would break their names so nobody could know the full name at the time. Because they would take the name and marry into the families. And the other part of breaking the name up was either gotta be the kane mostly, brothers fight, or the fathers and sons fight and they break away, they ohi, means cut away from the family and take part of the name only. There's reasons why they do things yeah. And what else I know they talk about a lot. Oh, my dad and my uncles always walked to the top of Mauna Loa. They went to get sheep and goats and beef. And they'd stay for a week or so and they'd come down and have all this. They'd backpack everything, a lot of um. And all the hides they would stretch the hides, you know it's pretty cool. The cattle, the sheep, the goats. They would stretch um all. Wow. Dry um all, stretch um out.

KB: Did they sell um? What did they do with um?

VLM: I'm trying to think what they did with it. I didn't see it around to be used. But maybe it was for sale. Yeah because they go once a month, all of them and they had quite a bit every time. So probably did sell. Maybe for living, for livelihood. Because you had to find stuff to do and make money. My mom was a weaver and she weaved for the store called "Machado Store." She was one of the weavers there. And so was my grandma Leihulu before. They were weavers. Um, what else, okay the 1950 flow. Our house was like right there by the 1950 flow.

KB: So did you have any more memories of your Dad when he was carving the ki'i? or you said he would dream about it?

VLM: Yeah, and the ones at the park, I guess he had to do certain ones, but he dreamed of how to do it and he would do it. So, he was um, he was really excited and loving what he was doing, you know, my dad. He was really into wood, la'au. The wood, he would always touch the woods, everywhere and rub his hand on the log and he feel that he going to take that home, even it was a small piece, he takes it home. He brought home one when he was in the mountains. We were really young, this one that looked you know like a kolahala, the bird? The pheasant? It's called Kolahala. Anyway he found this, and it looked like a kolahala. It was golden wood, golden colored wood, and it looked like this bird. So he brought it home and every evening he rub his hand on it and it get nicer and nicer. And then he had a Kauila stick, really, really dark black, it was like a wiliwili stick, just amazing what Dad saw in the woods. Like wow, he would always rub them in the evening, after dinner, he would rub his wood. He was really into wood, so we noticed that. Everywhere he went, in the forest, he looked at the wood, rub it. And then next thing you know he brought it home...And everywhere my Dad went, this is very significant in a

lot of videos people made of him, um, documentaries whatever, is the 'i'o. Everywhere my Dad went there was 'i'o. Always. It would fly above and they'd come. If he has been interviewed or talking story with someone they'd come close on a branch or tree, very close and they'd be there all that while. The 'i'o was his 'aumakua. Strong 'aumakua. Even when he passed it was so sad. At our home there was three of them that landed on the wires right there by the house and they just sat there, so sad.

KB: Saying goodbye

VLM: Yeah, and the day of the burial, from our momma's birthday, he died on Valentine's day, February 14, 2000 and his burial and services was not till February 24, my Mom's birthday cause there was others that died in between and had already scheduled the church hall and mass by the priest. So that's when we could go to the Catholic Church and have the services and my mom was happy with that. So on that day as the services was being said, lot of people. My dad funeral. And everybody said look the i'os are here. Three of them circling round and round and didn't go nowhere till we went up to the burial area by the church, we walked up a little bit to kanu to put my dad down. They stayed all that while in circles, round and round. And then they covered him, they went and landed on a tree. So, wow significant stuff. The mana yeah... 'Aumakua. My Dad's 'aumakua is the 'i'o and the red puhi... The one that comes up on land and chase you (laughing) that's his 'aumakuas. So 'aumakua had a lot to do with our families, still do. So and, my 'aumakua is the owl, pueo. Me and my daughters have that... 'i'o

KB: And manō too

KB: I was, kind of curious because part of my thesis is on the ki'i, and your father is a carver, ...what's your mana'o, when it's time for the ki'i to be decommissioned and replaced by new ones, what do you think would be a great way, good way culturally appropriate way to deal with the ki'i that they're going to take out?

VLM: They usually give it back. In the past they give it back to the person or the family. Let me tell you this story, true story, strong awesome story that I was growing up, we were told, those things come back to the owner or the person who made um. I'm not thinking about it would come back, I'm just thinking the family would give it back. Well that's what most of us thought. The day our dad died we went home from the hospital in the morning the phone rang and no one wanted to answer the phone. So I picked it up and it was this lady who my dad and mom was so close with these people and I answered them, I knew who it was and just out of the blue sky, she says I want to talk to dad, Clarence? I said "I'm so sorry my dad's not here" "you know, Can I talk to your momma" but momma didn't wanna talk was not...capable to speak at the time... "I'm sorry but can I take a message? What can I do for you?" and she says she's giving back the large ki'i that my dad made for her and her husband. Like oh my god, and you know, Kakala. Of all days and time and I started crying and my brothers turn around and I told them and I try to tell them and she said "what?!" she said she's calling and want you folks to get, she's giving dads ki'i. They said oh my god, what is going on? Its Karma. Yeah he's coming home. Crying. That afternoon they went to Oceanview to their house and picked it up and it came home. And then she called again, she was in shock my dad had died. And called again to ask if it

was real. I forgot who answered that call, they told her that when the owner or keeper passes that they usually come home [ki'i].

VLM: It came home that day. It was amazing. Cannot ever forget that...the mana.

KB: ...any thoughts on the management and cultural practices today at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau...of the interpretation programs, if you had a way of changing anything or making it different or better. If you have any ideas or thoughts how you would do that?

VLM: I think they would invite all the family members of the ancestors there and even have a living in the park, a cultural, like the families now, those who want to live in the park and do the cultural thing that was done before. That kind of thing, I think that would be good. Um, of course we have to use kukuilepo (lanterns or torches we carry).

KB: Yeah, yeah

VLM: You know lanterns. No electricity maybe or stuff like that but I'm sure there is some now, the young ones are really in to it you know. They really want to do their culture from scratch, yeah?...I'm sure there are some of us who will want to do that and the opportunity to do that is great, you know. You know you go and get your fish with a throw net and bring your fish and clean it and share with your family. Those kind of things. Use that ramp area where you planted all those vines and do it again...All those things were happening

KB: So a living culture?

VLM: A living culture, yeah

KB: Mmm that would be really nice

VLM: Yeah I think that would be really good, we wanted to cause, we suggested it when Geraldine Bell was superintendent and she loved it and do something about it and get it going before she was out, but next thing you know she was out...I think that would be a good thing and do the huts instead of houses, like the old days and old ways. Do the huts and then have an overseer by the park but not controlled by the park. Too much control, too much outside Western rules are there, which is, I don't think is cool, I don't think is cool at all. Any Hawaiian person coming in that gate should not be paying for anything, you know, and when we come in and we say we are cultural practitioners, that means we can go pray, we can catch fish, we can do this, we can do that, but we're restricted. We can't even sit on a park table, when we say we're cultural practitioners. We're off limits to all that and I think that is so rude, because we are the host cultural people here, you know. We are the host people, so why restrict us? I don't know that's my mana'o and that's how I feel. Why cater to all the foreigners and shun the host people? Why is that?...I'm glad they're there [Lolana and Charles Hua] yeah, so awesome and what I see as far as educational, they are doing some great things by sending them to school and learning their culture and history. That part I love. That part. I really like that. Um, because we are endangered (laughing) and us being endangered our culture "Question mark" living culture would be ideal.

*Violet Leihulu Mamac's full interview reveals rich childhood memories of community gatherings at their home, Hawaiian language usage, family burials that were desecrated, and family 'aumakua.

Christina Garso-Ramos

Excerpts from Interview

Interviewee: Christina Garso-Ramos (CR)

Date of Interview: 7/6//2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 11/17/16

CR: My name is Christina Garso Ramos. My mother is Maggie Honolulu Garso and her maiden name is Kahikina. My mother was born and raised in Ki'ilae and my father is Gregorio Flores Garso. He's Filipino, he's from Cebu in the Philippines. He came over on the first ship from the Philippines to work in the sugarcane fields and he didn't like that, so gradually he came to Kona and became a cowboy for the Jack Greenwell Ranch and he still didn't like ranching and it was still hard for him and so this coffee farm was available, so he and mom moved to the coffee farm and became coffee farmers. But every weekend my mom and dad would take most all of us kids when we were younger, we would come down for the weekend and we would go over to Ki'ilae and we would stay overnight and do our night fishing, our day fishing and gathering. I would be the one that would swat the flies away from drying the fish because we always had to dry the fish to take home for the week. But my mom and dad taught us especially my mom, she taught us how to gather limu, how to gather opihi, and what fish was available. She knew the seasonal time for the different types of fish. She taught mostly my older brother William Garso how to do the fishing properly. He would go with my mom, first of all he would get the octopus, he would go spearing, he and my brother, the second brother, Bernaldo. They would go octopus fishing and they would get the ink bag, we call "ala ala" and they would get that and they would dry it. So that my mother could make the alaala bait to catch fish and so that's how we lived and gathered during the weekends. And then during the week days of course we would go to school or if it was summer time we would take care of the coffee farm. But I remember all of us would gather, so many of us would gather the limu, others maybe, depends on the season, Wana or Haukeuke and the boys would go diving, both my brothers. They always had to get so many octopus because my mother wanted the ink bags for bait. And my dad of course would get the small little baby fish and use it as bait. And there was also further in at Ki'ilae, there was a fresh water pond where they would gather the red shrimp and my dad would gather that and he would use that to fish at night and he did night fishing and he would catch Menpachi or Aweoweo, or Upapalu,

which was my mother favorite and Upapalu was easy to catch. And because they were so plentiful we never thought about not having fish whenever we came down here, but my job here...excuse me, after they caught the fish, we would clean them all first light in the morning and then we would simply dry the fish on the rocks and my job was to shoo the flies. My dad said "not one fly must touch the fish" So I had to stay in the hot sun and shoo the fly with some coconut fronds that my dad would make like a swatting thing to shoo the flies away. But I would do that all day long and I hated it but since I was the youngest that was the only thing I really could do. As we grew up my brothers graduated, they went away to college on O'ahu, they went to the University of Hawai'i and then my sister...they would get tired of coming to the beach, they were young ladies they didn't want to get dark or sun burnt, so I being the youngest I was the only one who would come with my dad and my mom and we would continue the same tradition. We would gather fish, I would shoo the flies away, and I would go night fishing with my mom and then day time, when necessary...My mom would also fish, not fish, but she would catch the 'a'ama crab with this pole, the bamboo pole and she would make it like, I don't know how to explain it but at their end of the pole she would have the coconut frond in to a "v" shape thing, and she would put the tsuji tied it across the points of the "v" shaped tsuji and that's how she would catch the 'a'ama crab. She had the technique where she would just catch them by the eyes and I would be the one to take it off the bamboo and put it in a bag. But that's how my mom would gather the 'a'ama crab. And then I would gather some limu, I would also go and pound opihi and my dad would do most of the fishing. And again I would gather the salt from the different salt ponds, little salt ponds over at Ki'ilae and we would use that salt to salt the fish, because then it wouldn't be too salty. We did that every weekend. And then when I graduated myself, I went away to college, I went to Boise State and my brother when I graduated, my eldest brother came to Kona with his family and that's when Pu'u honua called the City of Refuge was being bought by the federal government to become a National Park, I figure was '61, but anyway that's when I graduated. My brother was going through this change in the City of Refuge because it was being bought by the government. I left to go to college in Boise, my brother became one of the first hire for the park.

KB: What was his name?

CR: His name was William Garso and he worked with Russell Apple and my brother to me, he was instrumental in getting the local people to accept the park because a lot of people were against it because they felt the City of Refuge was being taken away from them, they didn't quite understand what was happening but my brother from what I understand, what he told me made them understand that this was a good thing because the park, the City of Refuge would be preserved and they accepted it and a lot of the local people in Hōnaunau, they became park members and my brother would get a lot of people from the hillside, topside and would have them come down to City of Refuge to work also and that's how they got a lot of the rangers and my brother would help Russell Apple...I don't know my brothers title but he helped supervise them and he got the carvers to come and work and clear the area. And him and his family lived in the house by the picnic area, so his children were the last, the last three of his children were born and raised in that house and they were here, I forgot how many years, but every afternoon after work before sun down, my brother would go spearing and his older children would follow

him along the shoreline and my brother would spear the fish, throw it across to them on the rocks and my nieces and nephews would gather them. And they would count, there were seven in the family so my brother would only catch what they could eat, and need to eat. So would count up to 14 fish and as soon as they got 14 fish, then they would tell my brother “dad, 14 fish, it’s time to go home” he said “ok.” They would go to the park in the little pond near their home, they would clean the fish and then take the fish home and they would cook it. And the other younger daughters would have rice ready for them or poi, which ever, they were going to have for the evening. Usually it’s both because some of the boys didn’t like poi that much. So they ate both poi and rice and fish. And they would also have gathered other things from the sea, like the limu or opihi. And they also like to pick up the Pipipi, the larger ones and they would boil it for their soup because being Filipino we also had soup with rice, I don’t know we always had some kind of soup. So they would have Pipipi soup, sometime they would have Hā’uke’uke soup or some time they would have opihi soup. What they do they just would boil the water, throw tomato and onions, season it, and put the Pipipi, hā’ukei’uke, or the opihi and they would already be flavorful. But that’s how they lived when they lived here at the park. My brother didn’t really want to go shop like other people, he always taught his children to gather from the ocean or the shoreline and that’s how you lived. And then he would get breadfruit and kalo from the other workers who had them on the farms, topside who knew my brother lived on the park area, down here at the park, and they would bring breadfruit, kalo, and other fruits from their farm and they lived that way till my brother Bill transferred to work on Maui at Haleakala. And so, when I came back from college, so much had changed here at the park, but I would still come down here periodically because this is home to me and my mom passed away in 1966, and before she passed we came down here and we would help my mom walk over to Ki’ilae and she would reminisce about her life here at Ki’ilae Village and only then, just before her passing, did she tell me at the time, she and her dad were the last descendants to live at Ki’ilae Village and I said “what!” and she said nobody else. She said no, I was...I think she said “I was about 15 or 16 years old” Her dad, my grandfather had taken ill, and his brother who lived on the island of Moloka’i came and told my mom that he was going to take my grandpa to Moloka’i and he would take care of him. And my mother chose not to go because she wouldn’t leave the island. So my mom, she gathered all their belongings and then I guess she lived with an aunt of hers, my aunt was...oh, forgot her name, her last name was Kane, Annie Kane

CR: Yeah, Kane. And then lived up in Ho’okena. And my grandpa was taken to Moloka’i where he passed couple years after that, but I questioned my mom, “you mean, you and grandpa were the only ones to live here?” and she said “yes, because grandpa never wanted to leave like the other descendants.” People kept leaving, the family kept leaving Ki’ilae, but he said “I’m going to live and am going to die at Ki’ilae” and of course he didn’t die at Ki’ilae but being the last descendant my mother was really sad to leave Ki’ilae. She would come periodically to go to their old home where they were living at and then she would gather and walk back up to Ho’okena. Back then they never had cars back then. But she told me she would walk all the way down from Ho’okena do her gathering at Ki’ilae and go back topside. I did that walk once and it was like forever and I don’t see how my mother could have done that. And my mother and her siblings had done that growing up. They lived in Ki’ilae, my grandfather would have gone night fishing for opelu or menpachi and then in the morning my aunt and my mom had to take the fish up to

Ho'okena and they had to go sell the fish. My mom had such a hard life, my mom and my aunt had to sell all the fish before they could go to school. At the time, the first time they went to school, they were at Ala E School, that's where they first went to school and then later on they grew older, they went to Ho'okena School. But my mom would say that her mother, my grandmother had taught them how to weave from the lauhala and coconut fronds, how to weave slippers to protect their feet, because every day they would have to go mauka to go school and to sell the fish. And they couldn't come home or go to school unless they sold all the fish and luckily they always did sell all of their fish. People were familiar with them. And also my grandmother would hand sew mu'umu'u and she would sell them at the store in Ho'okena, but I forgot the name of the store. My mom, I don't think she really mentioned the name of the store, but my grandmother was also a weaver, they would weave and she would sell hats and slippers, and fans and the little mu'umu'u, hand sewn and the store would buy them. And that's how they lived, that's how they earned their money. My grandfather only wanted to live being a fisherman, and they lived there till everyone else left. All the family left and I was told they left Ki'ilae for a better life because they didn't like that hard life of packing water to their houses, they didn't like the harsh life fishing and going topside to farm land to sustain their livelihood. So they all moved to Kailua because American Factors had built some kind of a lumber yard or some kind of business there where they needed workers and a lot of my family members from Ki'ilae moved to Kailua to become workers at American Factors and eventually everybody left because they said they can make better money, it was an easier life. But my grandfather never went but his brothers left for the better life and my one uncle went to Moloka'i because they opened up the Hawaiian Homes in Moloka'i. So he took my mother's sisters to Moloka'i because they didn't like Ki'ilae, the harsh life of Ki'ilae. And my mom wouldn't leave her dad. So she lived in Ki'ilae with my grandfather, my grandmother couldn't handle the harsh life so she divorced my grandfather and she moved back to O'ahu where she had family. But my mother and grandfather, she said they lived all alone for about three, four years, everybody else had left and then he got ill and then my grand uncle came to get him, so he left and that's how my mother left Ki'ilae, so I understand they were the last descendants to leave the village.

KB: What was your moms and grandfathers last names?

CR: My grandfather was William Samuel Kahikina and my mother was... Her real name, originally was Honolulu Kahikina, but somehow as she grew older she was told she should have an English name and so somehow she picked up a name of Maggie, so she became Maggie Honolulu Kahikina. But when I was doing my genealogy that's when I noticed at the beginning whenever they had a census at Ki'ilae, they would have listed the granddaughter, there was no Maggie, but there was Honolulu. And so I realized my mother was originally Honolulu because they listed her and her other cousins, all the other Kahikina's lived in the area. And then I told my mom "You mean Maggie is not your real name?" "Oh, it's real because they gave it to me in the paper work" I said "Oh, okay" but she said "if you can try to preserve my name, there aren't many Honolulu" but my great grandmother was the first Honolulu and she was the second Honolulu and she would like to have the name preserved within our family. And luckily my brother's granddaughter had a baby two years ago and she named her daughter Honolulu and she kept and corresponded with me that she will keep the name going. I said good because originally

my son and my daughter knew the story and my son had boys, so there is no Honolulu, and my daughter when she had her little girl, the girl was so premature that the one that gave her Hawaiian name because she thought her daughter was dying, she didn't give my granddaughter Honolulu. But I'm glad that my grandniece, her daughter is Honolulu and they call her Lulu for short. But she knows the story so she tells the story and people ask "Why did you name your daughter the capital of Hawai'i?" And she says there's more to it "It's my many great great grandmothers, that's her name." and they say "Oh that's interesting" and she would tell them the story, that she's trying to preserve her great-great grandmother's name, Honolulu. So that's the story about my mom's name.

KB: Can you remember what year when they moved from Ki'ilae?

CR: It was in the 30's...I can't remember the exact date. The last house they lived in was the Ahu House, and there's the foundation, that's where I take my nieces and nephews and grandniece and grandnephews now when they come over. I take them over, I always take them for a walk and I used to bring plenty of water and fruit. And they said ok. We would hike in and I take them first to the last hale where they lived and I showed them the foundation. I said "this is as big as it was" it's not very big, maybe 14 by 16, or 12 by 16, that was the entire living area. And I tell them that's how they lived. And there's a cistern, her mom and her siblings would go and gather water and put it in the cistern and I said "after we have our lunch we're going to go over to the site where my mother lived." So, after we have lunch we hiked further over by the, there's another heiau. I don't know what they call it now, but we used to call it a fishing heiau, that's what my mom called it. I don't know. The park has more information on that. Maybe it's not a fishing heiau but my mom said it was a fishing heiau. But just south of that there's this big tamarin tree and a house foundation and that's where my grandmother first lived and there was a small grave site, I tried to find it, but they cleaned it so much that all the stone formation that was there is no longer there. And so I didn't want to tell the park to dig around for the bones so I just let it be, but there were several graves there of my mother's family. I guess they just buried them there. And so I would take whatever family I take them over there. I take my grandsons, both my grandsons over, and my son over several time, so they are very knowledgeable as much as I know, they know also because I try to pass that knowledge down to them. My daughter and my son went to Kamehameha School so during the summer they work for the park as student workers and what they did was mostly clearing of the land and my daughter learned a little bit more from the rangers of the area and stuff. She would call this point such and such and I said really? Is that the name? We were given names of maybe fish or whatever by our mother but not the real actual name that it was supposed to be called. But we used to call Kahikina Point, that's called something else, we called it Kahikina Point because the Kahikina house was on the top side and you could see the point where my mom used to go fishing and there's a little like cave to the north of the hale foundation and we used to call that Kahikina Cave but it got a different name so I always smile when I go with the rangers because they called it something else "Yeah that's my mom's Kahikina Cave, Kahikina Point" everything was Kahikina. It's really funny, but through the years my son and my daughter, my daughter lives in Oregon cause she married and that's where she lives. Whenever she comes over my son would also come over for the weekend and we would hike over to Ki'ilae because they had this feeling of connection to Ki'ilae and

Pu‘uhonua. We would go through the park and the rangers, usually we knew the rangers here, but now the rangers are much younger and different, but I think some of them are familiar with me, but we would come down and we would take them here to the park and then I would tell them that when I grew up there was no temple area, it was just barren, and then when my brother worked here for the park that’s when they started to carve all the ki‘i and all that and make the temple. and I told them how beautiful it is now, but I didn’t grow up with this, it was all barren, but we would walk through the entire park and then we would walk over to the picnic area and then eventually we would all find our way through to Ki‘ilae where my mother’s home was and my grandson would dive in to the water, “Oh grandma, it is so blue and beautiful and so clear, I can see all the fish, can we jump in?” and I said “well make sure the shark doesn’t come and eat you up” “but there’s no shark” and then my older grandson would say “no that’s our aumakua, they’re not going to bother us, this is our great grandma, the manō is not going to bother us.” They would jump, they would physically jump right off the cliff side and then just swim and be happy, but until the last time they were here before Christmas, we went over, they would just jump off the cliff, so did my son and daughter in law, but they just love it here and I hope that when I am gone, they will remember the stories I tell them and pass it to their children. I know my grandson will remember all these stories. Another bit of it was when my son was at Kamehameha School, for his term paper, his sophomore year he had to choose something about his family history that he’d like to share with the class, so he wrote about Ki‘ilae and his term paper was “Last to Leave.” And he wrote about my mom and grandpa being the last descendants to leave Ki‘ilae. And he went to the Bishop Museum, he looked up other information in the archives and learning center at Kamehameha Schools and he wrote this beautiful paper and he shared it with me. His teacher was so pleased and she really loved his paper. He gave him an A++. And I told him “you know, you need to preserve this paper because this is history and your family” “Oh yes mom, I will do that.” Well couple years ago my grandson was a sophomore at Kamehameha School and he chose to write about Ki‘ilae and he came over one weekend and he walked over and he’s more modern, he did videotaping and recording and all that. And I would talk about the area and we would hike and he would video everything, to the house site, he would video tape that and the Kahikina Cave, came up, and Kahikina Point came up, but anyway he videotaped everything. And he did his little term paper, written up as well, but he didn’t get A++, they said it was good, but he got a simple A, and she said “oh, grandma I didn’t do as well as dad” “It’s because you took too many videotaping, you need to do more writing.” But anyway I’m glad he wrote it, first my son and now my grandson. So my grandson said, when and if I do have a child, when they become sophomores at Kamehameha Schools, I’m going to tell them to write another paper on Ki‘ilae, I said “oh, I don’t think I’ll be alive to see that but you go ahead and do that.” So, that’s the story about my family and my children and what I try to tell them about the area here at Pu‘uhonua and Ki‘ilae Village. I really try to get my niece and nephew to come over this weekend to talk to you about their living here but they’re all working, but they can’t make it but they said “Aunty Cris you’re doing a good job, tell them about our little stories about gathering and following dad on across the rocks as he would throw the fish that he would spear” I said “Yeah, I will, I will.” But um, my family had really enjoyed living here, the picnic area and we are having a family reunion in 2018 here in Kona and all of my niece and nephews are gonna start saving from now and hopefully they will be able to come over here in 2018. But

we going to have a family reunion and I'm going to ask the park if we can bring our family here and have a lunch at the picnic area because we are going to hike over to Ki'ilae. I always tell them you must go through the park and experience this beautiful park, it's been preserved, it's the best the park can do. It's been damaged a lot of times because of the different tsunamis or storms that we've had. A lot of the areas have been destroyed and I just pray and hope nothing in my life time, I will see more of it destroyed. It's such a beautiful area and Ki'ilae, I am glad the park was able to buy more land, so that's great, and instrumentally, I forgot what year it was, our Hawaiian Civic Club, we made a resolution to have our senators fight to pay for the land, the extended land at Ki'ilae and then we managed to pass the resolution at our convention. We took the resolution to the House of Representatives and then they gave it to the senate and it was passed. And then we had Senator Inouye and Senator Akaka come to help us fight for it through the Department of Interior. And luckily at the time Senator Inouye was a part of that branch of government...he was instrumental in getting the funds so that the federal government could purchase additional lands and acquire Ki'ilae Village and for that I was proud of our Hawaiian Civic Club. I really pushed for it because it was my ancestor's area and I was told to, I had a lot of...I had to give depositions to tell them about the area and why it was important for the park to acquire it. There was a lot of opposition, "They just take away, take away" I said that's not the point, my brother made us understand that in order to preserve we must have some form of, or a group preserve it and we felt that it was important to acquire Ki'ilae Village because they would preserve it and they would never sell the land, which so far has been great and I don't think they ever will and now they have acquired the Pace property so it has been extended even more further south. So, I am very happy about that. I am very happy that my brother could see that and was able to convince the people living in the area, how important it was for the federal government to take over this area from the county so that it can be preserved and it has been preserved and for that I am very thankful. There's a lot of my nieces and nephews who don't live here, they live in O'ahu mostly and Moloka'i, but they used to say "But Auntie Cris that's our land, that's where all the Kahikina's came from" I said "you know, in those days it was really not a possession, they just lived on the land, because that's how the chiefs and the kings, they just let the people live on the land, it's really not our land, but it was an area they were allowed to live." But they don't understand that and they can't see why that my family is thankful for the federal government for keeping the area, but you know, if they don't want to know the truth or really live the life here, they don't fully understand how our area has been preserved and I keep telling my grandson, not in my life time it has been predicted that within the next 50 years all this beautiful park will be underwater, slowly sinking...[climate change] I said the ocean is getting higher and higher and you must preserve and come visit as much as you can because eventually this will all be under water.

KB: When your brother started working here at the park did he ever talk about the carvers or how come they made one this way and another one another way. The different styles?

CR: My brother,...he believes in the spirits, my brother did. He believed in the carvers having vision about what it should look like and they would share, but my brother used to tell me that this one carver, I guess his name was Antone Grace? Anyway, he was one of the first master carvers, but my brother said he would have visions about what he sees and he would carve it.

And my brother would say really, really like this? They had pictures that was brought in, I guess from the Bishop Museum, but then they would carve it according to how they felt and my brother believed that it was the vision that they see in their dreams, and my brother said that they would share, that Antone Grace...actually the family, was my mother's family also, but he would have vision and he would carve according to that. He would look at pictures also, but lot of it came from within himself, how he felt, but I guess what my brother said, vision. But that's all he would say, but my brother used to come here alone, he would see things that we never saw and he would share sometimes with us, but my brother usually just shared with me. He felt he had that connection with him, but my others brothers and sisters, I think they were more modern or didn't really believe in the past, like my brother and I did, so we did a lot of research together and he would share with me. But that's what he believed in, that "vision" made them carve the way they carved, but that's all he said.

KB: Did they do anything special when they collected the logs?

CR: Well he said they had to be taken from a specific area and it had to be a specific log, that they felt a connection too, which I really don't know what it is or he never elaborated on that but it had to be a certain log from a certain area... I know it had to be from this island. But their vision is what was most important, how they envisioned the ki'i and what it looked like, but when they first put it up I wasn't here.

KB: Do you know if they consecrated or blessed them once they put the hale up and put the ki'i up? Another question we have, when it's time to make new ki'i and having to decommission the older ones, would your family have any thoughts or ideas on what you would do with the old ones?

CR: I don't know, my brother had already left the park and there were new superintendents so I don't know what they did.

KB: In your heart if you had a thought or an opinion, like today if they were going to take them and put new ones up, how would you best see the park managing caring for them after they are no longer up or used over there?

CR: I would like to have them burned...And the ashes scattered, that's how I would like to see it.

KB: ...[any] thoughts on the way the park does their operations or any thoughts or ideas that would enhance the way they do their programs or interpretation programs...culturally based, something from the point of view of the culture and the Hawaiians, or any thoughts on the programs that we have here now?

CR: I think it's very good that they have a lot of the lineal descendant children working for the park, I would think that would be the best way to preserve the park. How the culture was and how the people who lived here had lived and I noticed some of the rangers and their family is from this general area. Even her parents next door, the Freitas, I mean the Kekuawas. Kehau, her family lived next door, the Kekuwa Hale, everybody knows the family because they were forever here. The Carters and I notice another ranger was Galieto, he's from the family Kelepolo. But it's so nice and I am very thankful personally that our federal government has hired those

who are from this general area and I hope they continue to hire local women and men who know the area, that to me is the only way to preserve it and to keep it real because I have come to a lot of functions here and many times when they talk about the area I can tell it was only from what they read, I don't know doesn't seem like its coming from the heart. But when you get people, those who are from the 'aina or around here, you can feel what they are feeling and the love that they have for the area. I feel that way because that's how I felt too and whenever I share my stories with my family and friends, I know they know its coming from the heart, and it's not something I read somewhere. So, for that I am very thankful to the federal government and to the superintendents here who do the hiring. I am thankful to them who see the importance in hiring the people from the area cause that's the only way to keep things real. That's all my thoughts are.

My mom talked a little about [pu'uhonua] but everything was kapu when we walked through here. I remember taking pictures of the canoe right in front of the park in the center, the information center, there was this real old canoe, my mom would always use to sit there and look out in to the ocean and say "you know I swim out here all the time" and she tell me about the heiau and how it must have been like but she said that everything was kapu. They didn't really talk about it. They didn't really question, it was to be, and they were to be quiet about asking questions because that was not the proper thing to do. You don't question, you just accept what the elders tell you and that's how it was, but she used to tell me the heiau, that's where a lot of the piko are at. She knew that, she just said that to me and we would walk over to the general area where the bed, supposedly the bed or the sitting stone or I forgot what she called it [Keoua Stone]. She said "Oh the queen would hide under it" I said "How can the queen get under there, it is so low" She said "Oh no baby, before it was up" "Oh, okay" She said there were more stones and kept high. I said "Oh" She said "the king is a big man, cannot be low." I was like "if that's what you say" (laughing) But that's all she used to talk about was about the piko put into a rock over there by the heiau and about the big stone would hide from the king. But she used to also say some of her family were warriors for the king and when they did away with the royalty, a lot of those warriors had to find something else to do, could they were no longer warriors to protect the area and a lot of them were my mother's family and so technically they were displaced. Warriors weren't needed anymore, but she told me that her mother said "that's why" this is just my mom, maybe it's true but I don't know, but I'll just share my mom said "you know that's your family, a lot of Kahikina, our men die young" I said "why?" "Because they were not happy being fishermen because they were warriors" I said "Oh, so they..." She said "They inu too much wine and they die because they get sick" That's what my mom said, but you know thinking about it, I think that's right cause as I look when I was doing genealogy my mother's uncles, cousins, my grandfather's brothers, and children, and uncles, they all died young, they were all like in there 30's, not very much of them reached there 40's, but they died because they drank a lot of wine and so I told my brother that what my mom told me, and my brother was living at the time, and he told me "you know that might be true, that might be true..."

KB: When you have a purpose and you are trained to do something and then suddenly you are not going to do that anymore, but you have that mana for that and then what are you going to do?

CR: Nothing. Nowhere to go, yeah. So anyway, I thought I'd share that too.

*Christina Garso-Ramos's full interview also contains memories of a family burial cave.

Simmons 'Ohana

Excerpts of Interview

Interviewee: Charlotte Simmons (CS) Maile Piko (MP)

(Mother and Daughter, Charlotte Simmons is the wife of James Simmons)

Date of Interview: 7/6//2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 11/23/16

Interview was conducted at the Upper Garden Unit of the park on the deck of the dormitory.

CS: We lived over there when we got married, he was working at City of Refuge... We got married in '68 and he was working there when I met him in 1967, James Kepakailiula Simmons Sr...and they all called him Kimo, that's what people called him then, earlier years, later on they called him Jim...we fixed a little hut, was behind, we made our home back there.

MP: Right over there

CS: Back there. And we lived there for a couple years and then he left the City of Refuge. Russ Apple helped him get a job at Sea Life Park with the maintenance department and so we moved to O'ahu in '69 because she was born on O'ahu in Waikiki [Maile]...I'm from New York State. Yes, but he [James Simmons] lived there [Kona], I don't know how many years they lived there, but he was born on Ali'i drive in Kailua in a grass house.

MP: Grass shack, by the Kona Tiki Hotel.

CS: But it wasn't the Kona Tiki, nothing was there when he was born, it was the ocean right up to their house then they put in the highway.

MP: And then Kona Tiki Hotel

CS: And he lived all around different places all over the island during the years cause his father. He was adopted by Simmons, he was born Makuakane.

KB: Can you share any stories from the '60s at that time when you said he was one of the carvers..

CS: Yes, he was, he worked on Hale o Keawe and he did one of the tiki's that was there. All of that was done before I came...I remember Uncle Tony, we always called him Uncle Tony, Ako, him carving the things. And my husband told about when they went in the mountains to get the

big trees to make the canoes with and all of those and he did do some of that. Well before we got married because he'd bring me back some Maile or flowers and things from the mountain to share with me.

KB: Did he ever share protocols that they did before they went up to the mountain or how they selected the woods?

CS: He may have but I don't remember. I'm finding that my memory only brings back things that were very important to me and other things they're there, if somebody keeps talking about it, sometimes I remember it but that wasn't really something that was important at the time. I just came here on vacation and after I met him, eight months later we got married and so it was a big adjustment, living on a farm in New York and coming to an island in the Pacific, so.

MP: And she came to live with her aunt Mable who is married to Ako.

CS: That's why I came here

MP: And she went down to the park to visit Ako with Aunt Mable and that's how she met my dad at the park.

CS: Yes, we brought his lunch.

MP: And before they used to wear their malos, greet the tourist with their leis as they came in to the park and so all the guys had to wear their malos and give their leis out to all the tourists and give them a hug and a kiss.

CS: Tomorrow or Tuesday, it will be 49 years ago and I came and went down to the City of Refuge...Cause today's the day I arrived in Honolulu. 49 years ago.

MP: Yup

CS: To all the ginger smell, so you walk down the planes steps and you went up to this wooden fence and went through the gate and you saw all these people with these ginger leis.

KB: In Kona

CS: No, in Honolulu. They didn't have what they had now over there, no. It still was walking down the steps of the airplane and you didn't have the thing. And over here was all open, everything, the old Kona airport.

MP: Yeah that was the old airport not even the new airport, yet.

CS: Not when I first came. But that's the first thing I remember, the smell of the white ginger.

KB: Mmm. So your husband wooed you with leis and maile and married you. It's a nice story. Did he study wood carving? Was he born to that in his family or did that come.

CS: Uh, his father did some, the one that adopted him, he did some of that and sold them, to make money for their family and so forth. Because they adopted 6 children, this was his second

wife, his father's second wife. With the first wife he had other siblings. So, uh, we had our wedding reception at the City of Refuge.

KB: Can you share that story?

CS: ...all the people in the maintenance...

MP: All the Park employees

CS: Everyone went fishing and they caught fish and whatever else and they helped to make the food.

MP: Did they make an imu?

CS: Uh, yes, they did the imu and that was part of the food for our reception plus people brought. We had it under that first big tree when you go in the back [the first picnic table]. That's where it was, and so everyone helped to do that, make it – it was a nice place to have a reception for a wedding. And everyone was always helpful, and they all, whenever they had parties, they always went fishing, they always got stuff together. And I went to some before that, before we got married, and they were in the front part where they have the little grass shacks and everything, when Russ Apple was still here, we went to different parties and stuff.

MP: Yeah they used to have a lot of functions over there, right where the stonewall is? By the boat landing area...and they'd have tables set up, or whatever's, but they don't use that section as much, mostly for hula shows and things like that.

CS: I know they always had a lot of fun, all the workers always had a good time. They always got along good together. My husband was always happy with all the other people when he worked there.

KB: It's a bit of a transition to move to O'ahu, from here.

CS: Oh yes, we lived in Kahalu'u

MP: Daddy had lived there before though, when he was younger, and when he was in the Navy. But when he was a little kid he was there for a short, about a year or so.

CS: We were only there about 2 years and then his parents moved back because they were working at PCC, Polynesian Cultural Center, and that's one reason we moved over there too after he got the job because he went so he can help his parents. And then when they moved back, we moved back too, but this time we didn't come to live over here, only for a short time

KB: Oh, okay. And did your husband come back and work here at the Park?

CS: No, then he went into construction.

KB: Okay. Did you guys come down here and recreate?

MP: Oh yes, every holiday or excuse grandpa had, until he passed.

CS: We did a lot...we always got together before Thanksgiving...and we'd all come down here.

KB: Did he work in the park too [grandfather, Edward Simmons]?

MP: They did demonstrations sometimes, lauhala and things like that when they had the makahiki and things like tourist things...(laughing)...apparently that was grandpa's tree. There are a few coconut trees down there that has daddy's name on it, because he planted them. ...Because they had to replant all the coconut trees, many of them were diseased and stuff when they were redoing the park, so the park rangers had to go and plant all the trees. They bought in trees and they planted them. Some of those coconut trees have been there for forty-something, fifty years because they planted them just after the park reopened.

CS: I don't know when he started there, I know he was there when I came to Hawaii, but I'm not sure how long before that he started working there.

MP: It was sometime between '66 and '67...He may just have been getting out of the Navy.

CS: No, he went in the Navy, he was out by '60 pretty sure cause he had to come home and help work...to raise the other kids so that they could go to school.

MP: So grandma and grandpa was getting too difficult for them and the little ones were only a couple years older than me, Moke and Jerry. I think Jerry was like only six years older than I was. He's the youngest so they were so still really little...But I don't remember him talking about it. I know he drove tractors for a while, but that was before the Navy too.

MP: [on fishing] Some of the other cousins who were more proficient at fishing would go fishing, do those kinds of things but it's not as easy to go fishing because of the coastline along there, it's so rocky, unless you were proficient at fishing.

CS: We used to go back through the caves and some of them used to jump off, but now you can't do that.

MP: They have them all gated

CS: We used to have Girl Scouts, we used to take the troop down and walk in to the caves and look out.

MP: Before you could even go through the cave you could jump. Daddy used to always scold us because it's the Shark Cave, we shouldn't be jumping off.

MP: Actually it's, he said when they were that it was the Shark God Cave and cause when you came out of the lava tube where you jump off, it goes back underneath and the cave goes back, and way in the back there used to be a statue for the shark god and they used to give offerings because the shark god lived there, people used to jump off all the time. Daddy said that sharks used to swim from the point where the bay comes around from that point, to the point across where the cave came out, just a little further the point there, they used to swim back and forth. You could see them they said. And the sharks would swim back and forth and back...and that was there section and you could see them all the time and now you can't see them, I never heard of someone say there is a shark in the area for years...

MP: [on the shark statue] No that was just a story daddy told, that they had seen, or daddy had seen the statue, maybe when they were doing the, part of the park but he said that that's what it was and the caves were on top of each other like this and you would come down and you would have to dive down and swim back inside and there was a cave in the back where they had the statue in the back...And it was a shark god temple thingy. I don't know that was just daddy's stories.

MP: He used to tell a lot of stories about Keauhou and all through there. One of his stories he used to tell us that all along the Kona coast there is a cave system, its over here in Hōnaunau, all the way through Kealakekua in to Keauhou and all the way down to Kawaihae, there's a series of cave systems that all connect and they use to use them as transportation and they would hide all of the idols and the canoes and that when they took and banned all of that here in Hawai'i and they took everything under ground. And these cave systems were all connected all the way from Ho'okena, Hōnaunau, all the way to Kawaihae and they could interconnect what they would do is bring the canoes in to shore and then they had all these big rocks that were buoyed in to the water and they would pull them up and put them in the canoes and float them in to the caves and then take them out and then they would pop up and then they would store them. So they also had all the idols and so they couldn't worship on top of the heiau, they took um all underground in all these different places, all the way across. And there was a couple that actually linked to Maui that you could walk through the cave system underneath the water all the way across and come up by Maui.

CS: I remember him telling me that

MP: And that's what they did, they took all these things and they put them all there and the guardians of the cave knew where all the caves were because that was there job to make sure that the things that were in the caves were kept safe and secure, so not everybody knew that they were there. And a lot of the places weren't accessible accept by canoe, by sinking of canoe and sticking it in to, or swimming in. And some of them you could access from the land, like in Keauhou there were a couple of caves you could get in to and that came on the topside and you came down in...

CS: We lived over here at different times when I was home by myself my father-in-law told my husband Jim that he would hear people talking and walking past and babies crying, but there was nobody there. I had no children so this was an area where they would take and go for the ancient people, this was one of their places that they used to go up and down from the ocean [along the trails]...

MP: I remember once daddy telling us when they were coming up with the plans for Hale o Keawe to redo all of the statues and things like that they took several trips to Bishop Museum on O'ahu to the dark room, that's where they preserved all of the ancient stuff that needs to be controlled atmosphere kind of stuff...There were three of them or four of them that they got access and they had to take a book with them and a pencil so that they can make drawings and write because that was the only thing allowed in, so that they can go in and see what they had on display so that they can recreate for the park.

CS: I know he talked a lot about the professor Kimo Hansen and him doing a lot of the actual archaeological study and things of that sort and they worked with him doing a lot of things

MP: That's probably how they got in to the Bishop Museum, through him. Professor Hansen, but he said it was interesting seeing all the different things, and I don't remember him telling me about the things in there, just mentioning the things and they were interesting. They probably had a lot of different artifacts from tools to bowls and platters and tiki too probably feathers, hats, and cloaks, and whatever else that they did, that they probably acquired over the years...[sketchings] So that they can make copies to put back for Hale o Keawe and I think they built the canoe shed first didn't they? So maybe they could work in there maybe, it was kind of their practice run. They built the canoe shed and they used it to take in work while they were building Hale o Keawe and put the tiki's in. And they made a bunch of canoes that were in the canoe shed too...Uncle Tony died when I was like 6 or 7...I remember Uncle Tony dying. He went to the hospital and he didn't come home. Couldn't figure it out back then. Couldn't figure out why Uncle Tony went and didn't come home. And we used to go visit all the time...But um he would still be working at the park when he died...I remember we would go visit them not only at the house but we would go down the park.

CS: My father's youngest sister [Aunt Mable]...Yes, and that was the only family I had here, it was lonesome (laughing).

MP: Well, she married quite a few (laughing) yes and I remember Uncle Tony did quite a bit of it [sculptures] because at Aunt Mable's house they had all these display cases of stuff that he had carved and had them all on display. We weren't allowed to touch the glass...Because every time went over we did this [finger prints]. "Don't touch the" we'd look...(laughing) "your nose print is on the glass again" (laughing) I gotta look at the glass again but we go and see some of them were made out of rock and some of them were made out of wood. They had the poi pounders and all the different things. I remember seeing all of them. I don't know what happened to them.

KB: Did he pass that knowledge down to any of your siblings? The carving? You guys are too little still?

CS: After he left he never did carving anymore, well, Jim didn't once he went to Sea Life Park and then he got in to construction.

MP: He did do restoration work though

CS: Yes

MP: He redid heiau and things like Hale o Keawe. He redid the one in front of King Kam [Ahuena]

MP: We remember doing as a kid, we had to go collect tī leaf and all of that and we'd be scampering up the thing and tying stuff and people yelling you're going to fall "what we're going to fall?" (laughing) For the roof and we have to make all the bundles and the one for King Kam, we had to do that for the Girl Scout troop. Because the one daddy guys did for down at the park, by the time we were about ten or eleven they were doing it again. And because they called

daddy to come help do the restoration down there at the park...Yup and a couple of years about ten years back when the big huge storms we had, they hired or DLNR hired daddy to redo the heiau in Napo'opo'o...Right there in Napo'opo'o Bay where they have the park, they have the heiau right there on the corner and they hired daddy to redo all the wall systems.

CS: So it's been over 20 years since we fixed that heiau, the wall and everything at Napo'opo'o.

MP: and they called them the consult for the Kawaihae too, I think he said no. The Heiau down there above Kawaihae [Pu'u Koholā].

CS: Mauna Roy is the one that held...We have, he did some kind of book he wrote and he gave us a copy and all that they did.

MP: Quoted daddy in his book or something...He was a friend of my dad's. They worked together on historical stuff. He was always calling daddy to ask him questions about things...When he was younger.

CS: We are not talking about City of Refuge, I don't remember that much anymore, just that we used to go down there a lot. We'd go down in the evening before we got married and we'd go in the back and sit and eat dinner or something until it got late and we'd go back home or even after we got married we used to go there a lot.

KB: How did he feel about the restoration and having the park kind of go back to how it was originally?

CS: I think he was happy that it was that way, that he enjoyed doing that type of thing. He liked a lot of the history of the Hawaiian and how they used to be, to have it preserved so others would see it too. And he always enjoyed telling if we had visitors from the mainland telling them the stories as he took them through the park to show them what this was about, and tell the stories of the different things, why this rock was there or all of that type of thing, and how the canoes were in the ponds and what they were used for.

KB: Did he ever mention the different types of ki'i and gods and what they represented or who they were?

CS: Yes, he did but I don't remember any of that. He did tell which ones and why.

MP: I only remember that depending on where they stood, they did different things...And what they represented and that's all I remember.

CS: Yes, I know the ones that were in the water were different than those right by the heiau.

MP: And the class of god depending on lower or higher they were and the shape of Hale o Keawe was significant depending on...but I can't remember all that either.

CS: Women weren't allowed to go up past the fence places. Because it was not good for women to be there or that was the law or something like that, but now everybody goes just to look, the tourist and everything.

MP: And I know daddy worked on rebuilding the wall too...Hale o Keawe because some of it had to be put back up...He never said what they found in the wall but they said it was interesting what they found in the wall, but he never said.

CS: There was a lot of stuff that was not able to mention to other people, I'm sure as they were doing it and they studied and because it was a sacred place...It wasn't for everybody to know what was there.

MP: Daddy told stories but he didn't tell things that he wasn't supposed to, so it frustrated you sometimes because he didn't tell me the whole thing (laughing).

CS: I used to go down there a lot when Jim would be working and just sit and enjoy the peace and serenity of the place. And I did a lot of sketching before when I have gotten out of college. So I'd just take my book and sketch a little bit and just lay on the shore and enjoy being there. It was always so peaceful...And there was, I know it was a place of refuge because of all this other stuff but to me maybe that's why they went there. It was very peaceful and a place that was calm and you always felt comfortable. You didn't feel like you had to rush or if there was anything that was going to bother you.

MP: Time stood still...

KB: What are your thoughts on decommissioning the old ki'i?

MP: As long as they dispose of them properly where they need to. I can understand when you have to put new ones up because they only last so long and water damage will definitely will do that to the ones in the water. You know back when the Hawaiians were around and then this was their place they took and did the same thing. When something got a little bit too old and it wasn't of use, they made another one and put it up. So, you know I don't see why not.

KB: What would you do with the old ones? What do you think a good way would be to handle?

MP: If they were safe to be stored and used for something else. Use them for something else you know, Bishop Museum or you know put them in a case. That was something I always thought missing in the park system. Actually, here in Kona, they don't really have a museum and that's something they should have. I thought maybe when they built Honokohau Park they were going to put up more of a museum type of thing down there cause its only lava rock down there. I mean there's not a whole lot to see, but that's something they don't have and it would be a really great place, an idea to take and put up some kind of a museum and kids can come to see these kinds of things. In Volcano they have a nice museum center where you can walk through and see different displays and it tells all about the different things. Hōnaunau they have that one push button thing a that's it. You walk through the park which is kind of its own museum but it would be nice to have some kind of a building type of a thing where they could take the tikis out and stick to them, these were the ones we had last year or you know photos of them building the park or you know different kinds of things. I think they would draw up more tourist and the kids might find it more interesting if they had to go down there for activities for school. They would be able to walk to and see "oh look I know that one, that's my uncle or that's my mom or dad" you know, it be much nicer of they had some kind of a museum, type of set up.

CS: Oh down here. But as Maile said it would have been nice to have something that's on this island, not just send everything to Bishop Museum. Cause what if something happens to Bishop Museum, there's nothing to preserve some of the other things.

MP: And it would be part of the Park System so it would be up kept by the park system, so not that it was private.

KB: So that was my next question I was gonna ask is what do you think of their interpretation programs and how would you change it and what would you add or subtract?

MP: Yeah I don't think there is any change but I think it would be nice if they have some kind of museum system. I mean they take a lot of photos and they collect a lot of things... I think people would really find it interesting if they had some kind of display or building where they could walk through to see the display...Cause often, you know you have to get special permission to even get to see the photos they got and I know they're there because I spent part of one summer sorting through what you call, all of the little thingy's? (negative)... I think the kids would really enjoy it and connect more with you know their families and their identities of the people that they know. Some of these people they only heard stories and saw pictures. They actually could see the things that they did. It would be really nice. [On the April 1-2 community gathering] Some of those photos we hadn't seen in years and it was nice to be able to come...it was nice to come and sit down and look at all the people and "oh I remember that! Oh I know who that is" and see how the park was you know created and what it looked like. That was interesting. If they had some kind of museum set up well they could do that. Or run a slide show or have a walking tour where you could walk through and see the photos on how the park started to the park is present and have things that they kept like the tikis or you know a poi pounder or board or whatever those kinds of things that be really nice. The kids from the school system, they would come and to see those things more often. Even if it might be only a certain grade you got to go do it because you can't do it every year, I understand that, but it would give them something to see...More thought, you know right now people only come and walk through the park and they see and they go and you pick up a lot of information and the brochures are great but if there was a little bit more I think people would come more often and would spend more time and I think they would enjoy some kind of a museum type of set up.

KB: You go down there and use it much for yourself and your family?

MP: Not as often now that you have to pay to get in to the park.

CS: These later years we used to go down a lot.

MP: And they made you start paying.

CS: Now that I have my senior pass, they are all in the same car with me, we all can go in, and we don't have to pay.

MP: But when they first put up the gate and started making people pay it was really strange.

CS: All the local people had a hard time.

MP: Daddy used to go down and stop him at the gate “well you have to pay to get in” “excuse me?” “I built this park why would I have to pay to come in here” and it would always be somebody that didn’t know daddy working at the gate that day and we would all be sitting in the car doing this [cringing].

MP: Because daddy is cringing is dealing with the park ranger and then finally he’d give up his five bucks.

CS: [looking at photos from the 1960s] When I first came they were doing it here and then after we came back from O‘ahu I noticed that they had the hut up with the canoes so they did Hale o Keawe, I think they did the canoe shed because that was after. Jim had already finished on Hale o Keawe. I can’t remember which one of these your father did.

MP: I know it wasn’t the one in the water, because I know Uncle Tony did the ones in the water because I remember daddy saying the ones in the water is the ones Uncle Tony did. Daddy did one that was up on the land.

CS: Clarence Medeiros too, that was another one of his old buddies.

KB: Mmm. So they carved all the statues before you met your husband?

MP: Most of um

CS: And he was carving on some after but they had carved all of that before I met him. Oh that’s who that is. That’s Kimo Hansen. He was gone before I came I think. I don’t remember, it’s kind of vague that part. He may have been here... Yes, probably he was because I remember him talking about Halley Cox.

MP: Because they had to use some kind of template to make everything authentic and so they went down to the Bishop Museum to go and see what they had in storage so they can make drawings and stuff.

CS: Now I think they had all the tikis already made but they were working on the building when I came because it was ‘67, the platform was there but he told me I couldn’t go up on it because women weren’t supposed to go up there.

*The full interview of the Simmons ‘Ohana incorporates memories of family lineage and history, traditional clothing (malo), caves and the shark god, pa‘ina festivities with park employees, Maile and her sister’s summer employment at the park, participation in the PBS Ken Burns filming of NPS special, and cultural demonstrations for the park.

Charles Hua

Excerpt of Interview

Interviewee: Charles Hua (CH)

Date of Interview: 8/28/16

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 10/30/16

Interview conducted in the amphitheater at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau.

CH: Aloha awakea, my name is Kale Hua, I work at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park. I have been here at this park over 30 years. I like it. I have seen a lot of changes that came into the park, different superintendents, different chiefs with different ideas and different workers from all over. All different...I kind of miss the old guys because they had a lot of things to offer but in the beginning, I didn't really pay attention, so I forgot a lot of things they shared with me. But I remember some of it and I am just going to share with you.

KB: Will you first tell me where you were born and raised and how you are connected to this area?

CH: Sure. I was born in Honolulu, 5 days later I came home, just happened to be born there. I am connected to this area because I am a lineal descendant. My father was born in the back part of the park, Kēōkea area. My tutu lived out at Ki'ilae for a while, they were one of the few families that lived out there. They later moved over towards the Hōnaunau Bay area. I never met my grandfather, he died before I was born.

KB: What was his name?

CH: His name was Charles Hua, but his...the original name was Kalalahua Pelio and they had three brothers, he took the name Hua, the other one went Kalala and the other Pelio, so now if you going to do a check on that kind of stuff, really hard because I haven't found anyone with the name Pelio yet. I found the site where my dad was born and at the same site where he was born also to Lolana Medeiro's, his mother of his dad's brother, they were all born in this area here. My Uncle Henry Hua was also born out here too. So...

KB: You guys are all family?

CH: All family, all brothers and sisters, my dad was the oldest one. They had nine kids, I believe nine kids, or ten. One died. But he was the oldest one. When his father died he was still a young person yet and because he was the oldest, he went to the fourth grade and he quit school because he had to take care of the family.

CH: My father. He told me a lot of things about the area, the Hōnaunau area, but I never listened.

KB: Was your dad's name Charles also?

CH: Yeah

KB: He worked here in the park too?

CH: No

CH: My father used to tell me a lot of things, every little cove (pause) every pond, every rock, they all had a name; but I don't remember their names because I didn't listen... And I don't remember, so it's sad, so I think it's very important to kind of listen to what parents and grandparents have to say because it's all lost and I can't get it back, anyway... Once in a while it will hit me really hard, just one of those things.

KB: You have some stories to share, someday 50 years from now, these stories will be written and shared.

CH: Yeah, well I do, you know I get to my kids, "ah, dad you too old" (laughing) they don't want to listen to me. Not going to force them to do anything and stuff. If they want to listen, fine. If it's recorded that's great too. Lot of things there like I said, I didn't have a recorder then, I didn't pay attention, figure my father, he will be around forever (laughing) so, anyway. But during the course that I worked here and being with him, I ran across a lot of those stories that I want to share with you guys. Um, it might be real short ones that I heard but kind of cool to remember things like that, yeah, some things just doesn't make sense but maybe it might to somebody else later on... I remember one evening, recently, when I was working at the Park Service which I remember... I started out working at home on the farm, picking coffee; later I worked in construction; then as a commercial fisherman for about 10 years. I used to fish with my mother and father. They liked to fish. We used to go out fishing and out here fishing, just our family, the Hua family, Uncle Henry, my Uncle George, and cousins, and Leslie family from the other side. And one of the two Japanese guys who gone fishing. So we knew everybody. And fishing was good, uh to catch a 200-pound ahi was normal, no big deal... At 5 am, we would launch our skiff out at Kapuwai Cove, there was no boat ramp at the time. We had small boats, 19 footers, 20 footers. Sometimes, at low tide you had to drive your truck into the water to launch your boat. At about 9 am, we would come in and sell our fish. We would regularly catch at least 2 big ahi (the box was always full). It was fun. We didn't have any problems because the guys from Hilo, Suisan would come by and they picked up our fish, pay us right there, gave us ice, and gave us bait. Plus, price of gas was really good too. Then later on it became a job. With more and more construction workers getting laid off and collecting unemployment and compensation, they started buying boats, and they became fishermen. It was a mess out there because they didn't know how to fish. You would get guys crossing your lines and stuff like that and they would "step on you" on the radios. We started creating different location codes like: "YOU WANT PEPSI 2; AKA HOUSE 3." It was fun watching the other fisherman trying to find us or where the fish were biting. So much fisherman out there, the price of fish went down and later on they start bringing the fish aggregation devices out here about 4, 5 miles out. It attracted a lot of fish, yeah, all the small fish... It's called fish aggregation, aggregation device. It's like a buoy, with its net down and all the fish would come around and catch it all. But thing about it,

catching all the small ones, never have time to catch the big ones. But like I said 200-pound fish was normal. Now, 200 pound, once in a while you catch um, but it was normal for us. It's like a buoy with a large net below and all the small fish would come around and of course, attract the larger fish...GPS, fish finding things. Which is okay I guess, but back then it was a little different. So when those devices (Fish Aggregation Devices) came, everybody went out to the buoys and fished there, easy to find; lots of little fish, easy money. We never had the buoys when we fished. We had our own markers we used. If we were going out fishing at night and we knew where Hōnaunau Bay was, we would use a particular light on the highway, like the overhead light on the post, line it up with another light, and did the same thing in the opposite direction and you found the spot you were going to fish. Same thing during the day, we look up to the land, find a hill or a house, line it up with another hill and you would always find your fishing spot. Real easy.

When we went out fishing we always caught something; if we caught nothing trolling, we went bottom fishing. We always had fish to go home for "kaukau" always.

And we saw big marlin, eh, pull the line in, let's get out of here. Because we didn't want to catch marlin, it's not worth it. Price is way down and a lot of wear and tear on your gear... We don't want to be around the marlin, too much work. There are several different kinds of fish to fish for, especially in the Hōnaunau area. Some guys like Ben Kekuewa, Abraham Kalili, my father, the old Japanese man, Morikawa, they lived here in Hōnaunau. They would go out during the day or night and catch opelu and akule and then the ahi fishermen would get the fish from them and used them as bait, easy. If you had an area you were fishing, we would never go next to the guy park and fish out there too because that was his spot. Some guys, while we were fishing for the opelu, would purposely come and park down current from us, the bait floated down and they would try to catch our fish and stuff like that. They had no respect on what was going on, they think fish is fish, the ocean is the ocean, and this is for everybody, no respect. We went out there not to fish but to feed the fish, just to make sure they're there, they get fed, and maybe we had like pumpkin, stuff like that, taro, throw um in the water, and he go down, boom, okay, they okay, they all hanging out there, and we left. We knew that they would always be there, but now the guys they don't feed the fish, they just go get um. But anyway...

KB: Fishing must have not been as productive, so that's when you transitioned to come here?

CH: Oh, by that time you know, I was, I came to the park to see my Uncle Henry, he was working at the park. He was like "eh, you like work at the park?" I was like "Uh, okay" so he said go apply and there was a position open for the fee collection. So myself and three other guys, five guys applied for it. I got in and this other Navy guy, Navy veteran guy got in and we got be the fee collection thing. Fee collection had just started as a thing at the park, they never had fees before. It was all go in, free, it's okay. So when they started collecting for the Park Service, people started to complain because "I come here all the time, why I gotta pay for?" At the time is was a \$1.00 per person and \$3.00 a vehicle and people complained all the time and you know "eh, you know I'm just doing my job man, my dad has to pay too." Didn't have golden age till later on. But we all paid and things there and they always complained. Always... The guys who complained a lot was the young guys, I don't know why, they always complain. Older

guys never complained, they paid their money and came in, they knew what the rules were. The guy out here Russell Apple was a superintendent at the time, I don't know if he was the first one or what but he was here a long time ago and he had a good relationship with the community. Everybody knew him. His kids went to the schools here, Hōnaunau School, Konawaena School, so we all knew him. At the time, it wasn't really being established cause there were still things that needed to be cleared up. There's still a lot of cars in here still yet. A lot places, especially the back had to be cleaned all out because there were areas that um...He was like the trail blazer, he was trying to find out where things were, why things were here. He would always ask, on Sundays we would have big, not really luaus but get together out here at the church. He would always come down, bring something with his family. They would always sit down and talk story. And I'm pretty sure he got a lot of information from that too. The people he came all the time were like the Carter family. Eli Carter lived in a house with his family on the Royal Grounds. He was a county worker and today some of the younger members of the family say, "My grandma owned the place." He did not own the place, he was a caretaker for the county, but he was a really cool guy. Um, over here there used to be a family called the Kama'i family, lived right over here and a quonset hut. They were always here and they tell me "eh, uh, you know the place in the park, we going have a get together." "okay, okay uncle." So they all go over there, put all the stuff there and reserve the area." Out here, this was all before this became a national park, they had a lot of people who camped out here, six, eight months...They left their tents up there, nobody bothered with it and stuff. They had a large wooden building with showers and toilets out there on the Royal Grounds (laughing), the County established that. When I went, this area here, a lot of things in the wall, a lot of vegetation, trees, and things. I mean, Hale o Keawe was just nothing, not even a platform, just a mound. But the wall was still there but all this vegetation, so later on when it became a park, they had to take a part the wall to take out all these trees and stuff like that. Um, when I walked through the area, I was real small, my mother said "Don't look in there." Okay, I never look. I would walk around, Ale'ale'a, kind of there, but I never look inside, because mom told me no look inside, I never look! (laughing). Yes, I forgot what my mother said exactly, but she mentioned that it was a special area, a religious site that I was not supposed to look at. So when my father and I went fishing all along the shoreline in front of Pu'uhonua I never looked inside there, that's just the way it was (laughing). So they put that on us. It's not that I wasn't curious, it's just that I never did, I just respected it, yeah somethings gonna happen, yeah okay. I was kind of caught in between, I don't know about you, but when I was 4 or 5 years old, I always got hurt...my mother always made a kahea, a kind of pule (prayer) in Hawaiian. And for some reason it always helped. Maybe it was my mother's touch, I don't know. Sometimes my parents would go to the regular doctor but other times, we had our own healer, people in the community who were not licensed doctors. And it was usually done at night, sometimes in the day but usually at night. They didn't recommend, they didn't say "Okay take 4 aspirins or whatever else, it's more like pule kind of stuff. And some guys were kind of scary I thought at the time. Cause you know at night, but during the day, "what's going on over here." He'd pray...you were young you get overwhelmed with all these things that happen to you. You know like "why are they all looking at me" you know and they touching me, stuff like that (laughing).

KB: Were you a sickly child? So you had to go?

CH: No, just when I was sick it was like that. I kind of remember this one here, okay. It was an old Filipino man Tazan. He was married to an old Hawaiian lady that lived by the pasture someplace. He helped a lot of local people with their problems, whether it was spiritual or physical. I remember my mother was sick for a couple of weeks and the doctors could not figure out what was wrong with her. Although my parents were Catholics they went to go see Tazan one evening. He looked at her and prayed a little bit and said that someone was saying something bad about her and that my dad's sister was a culprit. So we went to Hilo the next day and my father confronted my aunty. She didn't mean to but she spread a rumor. My aunt apologized to my mother. They hug each other, kiss each other and accepted it from each other and she got well after that. (laughing) stuff like that. I heard another story about the guy Tazan. This guy working at the park. He was working down the beach clearing the banyan side, the other side of Kēōkea with an archaeologist. And the sun was going down real fast and was in a hurry and wanted to get the cleaning, clearing done that day. So he kicked a water worn rock that was lying on the platform in the water. Then he went home. Next day he got up, his leg was all pehu. He couldn't go to work, couldn't walk for the next couple of days. He couldn't even stand up. After seeing a doctor his wife insisted "we go see Tazan." So they went, Tazan prayed and asked what he did before the injury. He told Tazan that he was clearing out an old archaeology site at the beach and that he kicked a flat rock of the platform in to the water. Tazan said go back down to the beach find that rock and return it where you found it. The guy went back to the beach, put the rock back on the platform, and went home. Next morning, he woke up, his leg was okay, and he went back to work.

[Reflecting on Melody Thompson at the Lā Ho'ihō'i ho'i I Ka Piko describes a community member, Sam Lono] Okay, in the early 70's I was back by that park, no that's not the one, oh no this is another part but this is the same guy. This is my dad and this is early in the morning. And an older gentleman appeared next to us along the coast line, an older Hawaiian man maybe in his late 70's. He was wearing an old ahina pants covered with lava lava, plain long sleeve shirt, old shoes, and a kihe he wore over his neck and shoulders. He had a tī leaf lei po'ō. As we passed the old man he looked up and nodded to my father and to me. And my father nodded back and continued on our separate ways, no words were spoken. I asked my father "who was that?" He said, "That's Lono" and I left it at that. Five years later I was fishing with some friends in the back country, in the evening and we ran in to the same Hawaiian man. He was walking along the coast line, he didn't even look up, didn't say anything. And in the late 80's I saw the same person at Alahaka one morning. I did not make any contact with him, just observed him from a distance, he walked up the ramp and I lost sight of him I don't know where he went, he just disappeared. And that was the last time I saw him. So, I came back and made contact with my chief, Gilbert Tanaka and I told him about the incident and I asked Gilbert if he knew who that was? He said "that was Sam Lono" He was a long time Lono practitioner and has been coming to the park over 20 years and this was a while back now. And he said he's from O'ahu but he comes here during the early parts of the time of makahiki and pays respects to Lono. He stays here for about a week, very vigilant and never sleeps while he's here. He's in this trance just like, he's just there. But that was about the Lono guy.

Like I said, my dad was telling me about the place names in the area, but I didn't listen too well. He once told about the name Ki'ilae, this place was not called Ki'ilae in the beginning. I don't know what it was called but it was called something else. I forgot the name. Anyway he said that the area was noted for the Uhu, the parrot fish. If he wanted Uhu that someone from that village, they would catch and trade all the uhu you needed. Now there was a couple times where fishermen from other villages would come down and come by to try to fish in the area, trying to steal our stuff. Stones were thrown at them, canoes were rammed and sunken. And sometimes fisherman were actually killed. The people living there were protective of that resource and the village did not want to spend all that time standing guard over their fishing grounds. The one day the villagers came up with a plan, they decided to make some ki'i and place them all along the shorelines to make it look like someone was on guard all the time. It worked because all the fisherman coming on the canoes in the day time would see the images from a far and thought it was men guarding the fishing grounds. They never came in to the bay. Then they started sneaking in at night. And the villagers started placing torches next to the ki'i. And the area was watched over night and the uhu grounds were once again protected. And that's how the village name became Ki'ilae. (laughing)

I told you about the one, two step? Two step is the area over here next door. People would always use two step. I never knew it was called two step till later on.

Well, because of the lava shelves, people started calling it two step. My father used to call the area Lae kole. A long time ago- a lot of fish, but now it's all fished out and that's why it was called Laekole.

...I'm towards the end of my career, and things are starting to change, and I have a hard time sometimes with change. People say change is good, yeah, but maybe I'm old fashion, I'm just having a hard time. They all want to be, they want all the Parks to be like one in the same. Our Park was special, you know, like was the jewel of the Pacific, and everybody talks about how proud they are to come here but now they want to make it like, like if you going to the Grand Canyon or something, you know. It's different, and you know, I guess, I have to change for what the upper management wants. What do they want, and I was always taught if it's not broken, don't fix it? Well they wanna fix it, they wanna change it and, I sometimes I'm not rebelling against, I'm just telling how I feel about certain things and they don't like it. But thing about it is, if they ask me I'm going to tellum. You know I'm not just gonna, you ask me I give my opinion, if you don't like it too bad, because you asked, (laughing).

KB: ...can you share any stories about the ki'i that are here or the carvers that made them in the 60s?

CH: The only carvers that I know who were out here are like Ako Grace, Ako Grace I think was the first carver. I never really got to work with him, when I came here I think he died when I came on. So, the second one I know was Pu'ou, Mac Pu'ou, he married my classmate, he was a cool guy too. I think so far we had three sets made of the ki'i made for Hale o Keawe. The first set was by Ako Grace, the second set by Max Pu'ou. And the last set was made by I think, Tava Taupu. Teikihepo Taupu but we all called him Tava.

[On the decommissioned ki'i]...we have kept all the stuff there but you know they are just sitting out in the back, up at the dorm up there. And we tried to, I know they tried to give it back to the family but I don't think the family wanted it. Because these things here, the ki'i and stuff they're kind of like okay, but you don't want to just put them in your back yard and stuff, it's not for that you know. So, I don't know if they're gonna burn it or whatever they're gonna do with it but they gotta do something with it anyway.

KB: What do you think as a Hawaiian, what's your perspective on how they should decommission the old ki'i from a cultural perspective or point of view and when they bring in the new ones and such?

CH: Well, you know I think they should either burn it or put it in the ocean or something. I would burn it and put the ashes somewhere...But the new ki'i, I think they are doing a pretty good job with protocol and proper care for them. They are special, they should be treated with respect.

The wood [treatment of the first set] and it wasn't kosher, it wasn't right so something happened but I don't know exactly what happened but I know because these guys did do something to the ki'i to make them look old. So now when they are making it and stuff they don't, they put in the pond six months and then they start carving but they don't try to make it old, it's gonna get old by itself whether you like it or not. It's just different how people, at the time they were trying to, cause the guys who made all these carvings in the beginning, they don't know how it was done. They saw pictures, yea okay, they get photographs they go out and take a look at it, and they create it and what's going into this, because each carver has their own personality, each ki'i reflects all the guy's personality. So we gotta take that into consideration but pretty much I gotta admit, I see some of the old ones other different guys, they pretty much in line to what's out there.

KB: How do you see the ki'i being interpreted today here in the park?

CH: Well, when I go out there I know that the ki'i, this particular site is dedicated to the god Lono and I know each one of them represent different aspects of Lono, Lono god of agriculture, farming, god of the wind, god of health, god of peace, god of sports, god of life. And each one, if you look at it real close the mouths are all open. Why are all the mouths open, they look fierce? Well, because that's where they place the offerings, in the mouth. But now we use the lele, the lele is supposed to have three tiers right, the tier for the gods, second tier went for the people I think, the last tier is for the other side, the land. So it also has all these different things like who you pay homage and respect to, it reflects how you gonna give the offerings and stuff. Like the ones I saw, I don't know were you there when they brought in all the Kū ones?

I got to go, I went there to see it, I was like...I mean these, they had the three of them all from this island. You look at them, I'm glad, I'm sad that they took them but glad that they took it away because they preserved it and they protected it and it's really impressive and they all had, like these don't have but they all had like a loin cloth.

KB: They were dressed?

CH: They were dressed. But these are not dressed (referring to the present ki'i at PUHO) but it's supposed to be that way. But you cannot do kapa, kapa wouldn't last that long out here, all the exposure, it wouldn't last, just fall apart, it be just a waste of time, it would look terrible. Maybe they had other features that they had carved, I don't know, I didn't see under the stuff.

KB: If you could add any thoughts on some of the programs here in the park, interpretation programs that would improve the visitor experience from a cultural native Hawaiian point of view, have you ever given that much thought?

CH: Well, you know people think they have this thing here okay, like a park yeah, it's like they have this, "how come it's not like the Polynesian Culture Center?" They could do all these different things. It's not, this is for real, it's not that kind show kind stuff. I'm trying to tell them this is here, okay, all we ask is you respect the area. You know, people say, "can we go in and take a picture?" No!

Yeah, they want to go in there [Hale o Keawe] and take pictures and before we used to have a lot of the...advertisement kind of guys, they want to put models, dress them up. No, you cannot do that! We don't go in your church in front of the altar and start dressing up Jesus. Same thing over here, you gotta respect that, then they finally got the idea what this is all about. However, there are some Hawaiian people out here who have no regard, they figure okay if this is Hawaiian, if I say this can happen, this can happen.

If you think you can do whatever you want because it's a park, Yeah it's a park but it's a very important religious site for the Hawaiian people. And not necessarily the Hawaiian people, believe it or not one of the queens from New Zealand came down, she came in over here, took off her shoes and started walking in, she asked me if I could give some, I think it was salt. And she realized, they all know this is a mens heiau so she asked me to give the salt. It was kind of nice, it's okay, she respected that, I was surprised. There was another one, like a priestess from Japan. She brought some water from Mount Fuji. Same thing, they come over here, she asked me to her water on the site, I said good...it's not just... a National Park but I think in the religious community or the other side they know they can feel, they know they can understand what's out here, you know. I think most of the people do understand or can feel what's out here. I see people come out here crying. Why you crying? I don't know, I just felt so good out there, it's like déjà vu out there for me and I never knew but I was drawn to this area. So they know something, they can feel something. And it's good, it's all good! You know, I'm glad we have sites like this. In fact it's the only one (laugh).

KB: So in your opinion that maybe they need more cultural sensitivity?

CH: Cultural sensitivity and being more, making visitors more aware, because they have this, all they see is what's in the magazines, ohhh come see, of course they put like City of Refuge all kinds of stuff like that.

...we had more people, now we're really short staffed. I'm not trying to make an excuse but we really don't have enough people. We usually have people on the grounds who are watching at the same time and interpreting, telling people about the area, maybe 4-5 people. It's different,

Kahaka‘io is kind of new to the area but he’s bringing a lot of emphasis, he’s trying to study about different things here and learning about it. And, he’s doing a good job by the way. He takes the time, Charlie Grace was another one too, that he really you know, I swear that guy, man sometimes he was pain in the butt. But, he was right on the money, he dreamed this kind and lived this kind of stuff...we had some other good people working out here but they all passed on already...One of the new superintendents Mr. Jerry Shimoto was I don’t how long he’d been here, he’d been here forever I think, and he was instrumental this thing with the community based stuff. He went out to the community, he talked to everybody in the community, all these different meetings, cause his kids were all raised up here at the schools and he was involved in everything, you know, Lions Club kind of stuff, Rotary Club all different things there. He knew all the ranchers and because he has a way of getting involved and being a part of it. They gave us a lot of the wood for our ki‘i and the canoes, they gave us the stuff! Then now these guys, they make it all like, you guys cannot do that, you gotta do this and we have to charge for this one here. They make it so hard these guys here, they don’t want to help us out. So, now we gotta buy the stuff but maybe the government has money, I don’t know? I don’t think they have money, but they buy the stuff. But they were willing to give us all these things all you gotta do is go get it. Lotta of things that we use to do before we cannot do because the government said we cannot do. Like for our festivals and stuff, we used to go out there get all the wana, get the opihi, get the fish, bring um in clean um up. Now we gotta go buy it because it has to be healthy. You know the health department says it has to be, if you get it from somebody you have to prove that okay it was bought...

All the guys in Hōnaunau used to come down, be happy to volunteer their services, they don’t ask for anything but we were nice. We gave them lunch, get lunch, you happy but your opu full, you happy. Then other people come in, okay we’re gonna do a, not commission but, you know like gonna give you this because you participated, which is okay. Then all those guys expected stuff [honorarium]. Also all these guys used to come, older guys, Carla Freitas, Kathrine Domingo... Used to make all the stuff here, they make it and no problem. Now because you know they, okay, you coming here you cannot wear rings, you cannot wear glasses, you gotta wear a pa‘u, you cannot wear stuff like that out there. Some of these old people have a hard time sitting on the ground...And it makes it so hard they don’t even want to come now. And then they get all these guys now believe it or not, all these guys they had taught so many people how to do all these different kind of crafts. Which is good, that’s what we was supposed to try and do...I think it’s coming along well, I think that we are getting, although I said maybe the new guys coming in, Kahaka‘io and those other guys coming in, they bring in their mana‘o about how things should be. But I’m glad also too that they still, his mother honors this area, you don’t any kind, you gotta respect it, the area which is good.

The thing about it is, all these guys, okay they have all these thoughts, all these stories but we got nobody to talk about it to or share it with someone. I do sometimes, I write it down but other guys if you don’t watch it really well, it will be lost.

KB: Well, I’m glad you wrote them down and that you could share them. Those were some really good stories. Thank You Charles!

*Charles Hua's full interview includes: stories of various nontraditional healers, Robert Bowen and Kenneth Emory's cave exploration, 'uhane night fishing by torch light, Resource Manager Peggy Nelsen, night marchers, pueo 'aumakua, unexpected park visitors (Gladys Knight backup singer) relationships with coworkers and challenges with park policy, desecration of Hale o Keawe by visitors, past and current cultural practitioners.

Mark Dumaguin

Excerpts from Interview

Interviewee: Mark Dumaguin (MD)

Date of Interview: 7/7//2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kualii

Date of Transcription: 11/18/16

This interview was conducted in the Upper Garden Unit of PUHO on the deck of the dormitory.

MD: My name is Mark D. Domingo- Dumaguin born in 1967, May of 1967. My parents, Leonarda Dumaguin and Celestino Dumaguin. My mother is actually from the Philippines and my father born and raised here in Hōnaunau. Their family actually moved around a lot back in the day, plantation days. My grandparents on my dad's side, Domingo Dumaguin and Harriet Kihe Dumaguin. Grandmother's side is where I get my Hawaiian lineage, Grandfather also from the Philippines came over back in the day and was a plantation worker. So, grew up in Hōnaunau, basically lived, Old Bishop Road area in Hōnaunau, went to Hōnaunau Elementary, grew up there. That was my place where I went to Elementary all the way up to 8th grade. We were probably one of the few 8th grade classes graduated from Hōnaunau Elementary. So yeah were in that one era, I guess you can say 60s, 70s is my era. So, grew up in coffee farm, we actually had a coffee farm. My grandmother actually used to grind coffee and she had acreage stretching across in that area right next to, where they would have considered Eggs Store. There's that one stretch from Eggs Store to where the um, Moramoto Farm was. My grandmother's farm would stretch around and almost touch our farm, which was at Wailapa Farms now.

KB: Where you have your farm now?

MD: Um, no, not where I had my farm now (my farm now above McCoy Plantation). Its- Wailapa Farm about a mile from my grandmother's house (farm where I grew up on). Her house is still there. My aunty and uncle still live in it. But that area there is where I grew up was my upbringing- They nicked name that place "Rabbit Hill" because of the face of the rabbit that sits

on the side of the mountain side there. Its Old Bishop Road, used to be a logging Koa road that went across the very top. It's all over grown now, but a mile from my grandmother's house is where I used to live. Um, as a little kid, we picked coffee, grew up on the farm, Ke'ei beach, Hōnaunau beach, once in a while Hōnaunau. Those were the areas that I frequent when I was growing up. My dad actually was the oldest of his family, um...

MD: My dad was actually the oldest, so he was hanai to his grandparents in Hookena. Um, but his parents' house, the old house from what I understood was at Ke'ei Beach, so between Ke'ei Beach and Hōnaunau area between was all where we grew up. We used that- I always say that's our ice box. We'd fish, we gather, you know the shoreline meant a lot to us because that was part of our subsistence. We do a lot of fishing, we do a lot of diving, crossing our nets. Our grandmother actually um, was the keeper of the lau, Huki lau

And we had a huki lau that would stretch from- you can say from Ke'ei, if you went to Ke'ei beach, from the canoe landing all the way out to the surf point which is at least looks about little over a quarter mile. Yeah...

MD: The one that you see at Hōnaunau, here at the park, the Park Service. Well ours was about maybe 6 or 7 lengths of that (laughing) at least. Cause it stretched pretty far. We were able to cross that, we were able to cross from the- if you went to Nāpo'opo'o, from the pier and it went all the way to the other point, Manini Beach, the far southern point, that's how far we could stretch our lau. So we did it several times, when I was growing up actually. I was growing up and we did huki lau, but huki lau meant gathering of a whole bunch of people to do it. So grandma was a real instigator when I came to, doing the lau. She would have all the family from Nāpo'opo'o, Hōnaunau, Hoboken, Miloli'i, who ever she knew.

It was a fishing village kind of a thing and families and friends would come from everywhere. Because we are a part of the Mormon Church too, and everyone would come together, the community practically, to help pull on the lau. We made a big feast out of it. And the one we did Ke'ei, we actually had a big lū'au going with several kalua pig in the ground at the back of Maluhia, which is the camp grounds in the back of Ke'ei beach. So it was a really nice way of growing up and learning...

And then just the mana'o my grandmother had as far as when to gather, how to gather, it was a part of the way I was brought up, you know, just doing that kinds of stuff. And she says "How you going learn, unless you get your hands dirty." You must actually tangibly do it, to learn it. So we did it several times, we even did it at Kīholo near the lagoon.

Back in the day too, it was during a time of change, DLNR, would give you the eye, but what can you do with all the local community doing it. And its things they've done for years. How do you stop a culture from doing what they've practiced for years? And working for the Park Service now, it kind of, I'm kind of torn in between both because there's rules that need to be followed, but then there's also cultural practitioners that need to practice their culture. Because without them doing their culture, their never um- it would be a lost culture right? Then all you'll hear is whatever you hear in books, or whatever you read in books, or whatever you hear by talk story. Culture is going to stay alive if we practice our culture, no matter what you do even if you

do a little bit. So that was my upbringing doing that kind of stuff, we gathered, especially from the ocean and the mountain also. But from the ocean first, we can go by saying we did- cross our nets, we caught all types of fish. Everything that was caught was eaten or shared, it was never wasted. We did it as family also, even like simple weekend gatherings as family, we'd have the family, kids, husbands, wives, cousins, everyone participating in how to cross the net, knowing which lanes the fish ran at, knowing where to cross.

KB: Can you explain that more "Cross the nets?"

MD: Well it's basically big mesh of net that we used and we'd mainly cross a channel. And the nets be maybe about 2 to 300 feet. And we crossed in to a channel where you knew the fish ran all the time. And you have to know exactly which way they run and then you have to pae pae, which means to chase. We'd pae pae the fish and we'd have to have people staging on the outside, some on the shoreline. We'd actually chased them in the lane and you have to do it in succession. In other words, you cannot be all, kapakahi or everyone has to be in certain order in order to get the fish to run in a certain way. So we chased them down the lane and sure enough, you know if you did it right, you'd catch a whole bunch of fish and also knowing the tides. You can only cross and be bountiful, if you cross mainly on a higher tide because on a lower tide, a lot of the bigger schools are outside. They haven't come in to feed yet. So yeah that was one of the things we did growing up. Um, uncles, aunties, grandma. Grandma would be the, you could say, she would be the, what do you call that? The orchestra...

MD: Conductor. She'd be pointing out and yelling directions

KB: I was just going to ask you if there was a leader because it sounds like communication...

MD: Yes, definitely... So you need someone who's on shore pointing out, oh "who's first" "Ok, you first" "Ok, group outside there, you guys start coming now" "Now, start throwing rocks." Everyone participated.

KB: And that's the pae pae?

MD: Even if they couldn't swim they would actually grab rocks and throw it in the water and we chased the fish in to the net. So it was fun because everyone is participating and no one is just standing around watching because everyone needed to participate in order to get it to work. And just knowing exactly which way they ran, actually, was really neat too because if you put it in the wrong spot, the fish would go around and you'd miss everything. So you know, just knowing these things and growing up and doing it was fun. Um, you know that's one of the things that we did. My uncles always, they love spear fishing, so we caught a lot of fish when we went spear fishing. My grandmother had a canoe that launched out of Ke'ei. Um, that was another way we'd catch fish. We'd actually take the canoe and cross Nāpo'opo'o, on the other side where Captain Cook Monument is.

That was like, like I said, was our place where we went to catch fish. We'd go across and pick the lanes over there and catch the fish. Um, Hōnaunau we've done several crosses at Hōnaunau inside of the- what we would call Kala Pond. That's the one next to the 'Āle'ale'a platform in the back. The very big pond, back in the day had a lot of umauma lei kala. That's the big fish with

the orange tail and had really tough skin. Really good eating fish though. Great for on the fire (Laughing). But schools of that would come in on a high tide and we crossed Kala pond. Manini schools was very large too back in the day in Hōnaunau. Um, Ohua, have you ever heard of Uhu? That's Manini

KB: Oh, yeah

MD: So, the baby Manini, the way we catch baby Manini, and knowing the season was usually during whale season. They say that they would blow out from the whale's spout. Certain times of the year, when you see the whales, you see the Ohua and that's when you go down. We would actually, my grandmother would bring her window curtain, net and we basically catch schools of that and while she caught that in the morning, because that only happens first thing in the morning on a certain tide. And she'd lay it out on a large sheet to dry. She's actually spread it out and let it dry during the day, while we were little kids, we were swimming and having fun, she would sit there and weave her lauhala while she was waiting for the fish to dry during the day. Cause you not only had to let it dry but you had to huli.

You had to get it to dry evenly. You had to huli the batch every once in a while. So yeah there was stuff that we done, you know, gathering wana, also, was a big thing. Um, whether it was from Ke'ei or Hōnaunau. We went to go pick wana, and wana also, only seasonal.

The lauhala tree, fruit of the lauhala tree ripens is about the right time to pick the wana.

So knowing and learning these things while growing up was really interesting. Um, funny incident while picking wana with grandma at Ke'ei. Um, she used to drag the basket from the cliff side with the rope while we would throw everything in to the basket. Well me, I used to have two hooks when I went wana diving. I was trying to balance two of the wana and looking around, coming up with it. Couldn't find where the basket was and ended up swimming right underneath the basket.

KB: (Laughing)

MD: Having a head full of wana, I survived

KB: Oh man

MD: I heard a crunch and I knew already. I was like "Ohhhh!"

KB: Right on your face?

MD: On the top of my head (Laughing) So you know you would think back in the day, you know, doctors were doctors, home remedies were home remedies. So home remedy grandma says "Come, come" Had to go pee in a cup and pour it on my head (Laughing)

KB: Oh, so that's the cure

MD: That's the remedy, it melts the wana. Anytime you step on wana or get poke by wana, you know they say, you gotta put pee on it. They discourage it, they say its unsanitary, this and that. Whatever! Put it this way, um, it's how they did things back in the olden days. There were no

real doctors that you could run to or you know, wasn't that they never thought about it that way that hard because if they've been doing that for years and it's been working, why wouldn't it work right?

KB: Did it work?

MD: Oh yeah. It hurt for the first hour or two, but after that I was fine. I felt kind of weird all day, my head was throbbing because of all the wana pokes. And you couldn't pull it out cause wana is like that, when you pull it out it cracks and it breaks.

KB: So those little spikes?

MD: So yeah, I could rub my finger at the top and I could feel the little things sticking out of my head. After, I think a couple of days, it all disappeared. But as soon as I came out of the water, my grandmother was laughing. "Grandma, it's not funny!" (Laughing) I was like paranoid and screaming "Grandma, what I going do, what I going do, come, come, come." She was laughing, she goes "Howcum, what you couldn't see the basket?" (Laughing) But you know it happens, it happens, accidents happen.

KB: That's funny

MD: Yeah it was. Now that I think about it, I had several incidents with grandma like that, you know.

KB: Now this grandma is not Leonarda, this is a different grandma?

MD: Leonarda is my mom. I'm talking about Harriet. Grandma Harriet. Yeah, her actual Hawaiian name, Nako'olani Kihe. So she had a pretty large family, you know and (laughing) but grandma, tough, very tough. Everyone always tell me "Oh you know your grandmother, somebody you don't fool around with because for an old lady or Hawaiian lady, very lady like but very very stern. When she calls you, you come, you don't back talk, you listen out of respect. She would actually go to my auntie's house and I used to think my grandmother was the mayor of Hōnaunau or something because people would. As soon as they see her they would walk right up to her "how are you doing?" Respectfully. And then had this one time we pulled up to one of my aunties house and I told her "Oh grandma you not going outside?" "No, they going come over here." You know, like I said, she knew that she earned her respect for who she was. Everyone knew grandma, we did a lot for the community back in the day. Um, Kūlolo was our thing. Grandma had a kūlolo recipe that everybody wanted. Um, we mixed batches of that kūlolo, basically 40 cans at a time. For 50 cans. And were not talking little sausage cans, we are talking Wesson oil 5 gallon cans. And we would hand mix, hand scrape the taro. It was done at my grandma's house. It was a seasonal thing. Every year we would at least make two batches of kūlolo.

KB: How many cans did you do?

MD: 40, 50 cans. The imu you would fit two cows in um. That's how big the imu was. It was extremely large imu. When we had to make imu, the imu could fit two cows in there.

KB: What would you do with that much kūlolo?

MD: We'd make for parties. People would order, pre-order. Cans would go. Uncle, aunty, family, friends. And they knew that grandma would make it every year. So she'd get her taro most times from Waipi'o. What we grew was what we grew but to make that much kūlolo or even poi she had friends from Waipi'o that actually, I think was the Loo family from Waipi'o that she bought a lot of her taro from. But yeah every year it was expected to make x amount of kūlolo (laughing. Christmas time especially right before Christmas time, couple months before me and my brother already knew we would have to work because we would have to make the imu, set the imu. We'd have to gather coconuts. And when we talk about gathering coconuts, 200 coconuts, dried coconuts with water in um. Everyone had to have water in um. And we'd have to gather that much coconuts to make the batch of kūlolo. And you know you gotta open um, you gotta scrape um. So, my grandfather actually had a machine that would actually scrape the coconut. It was mounted on a big electric motor with a little cone that would scrap the coconut but you could not scrape it too deep because it would actually turn the coconut milk brown. So you would have to only scrap enough to get the whites out of the coconut. So it was something that not anybody could do. You know, and then me and my brother, and uncle would always race, who could open the coconut the fastest. So we would line up like ten coconuts and see who could open all ten the fastest. And that was the thing, every year we would look forward to that cause you open coconut and you drink a lot of coconut water. Um sometimes you would have the sweet coconut center which is almost like spongy cake on the inside when it's almost mature. So yeah, what we did we'd scrape coconut, um and you'd actually have to mix the coconut with hot water and put it through a cheese cloth and squeeze the milk out of it. So all the milk was made and we'd keep the shavings. All the waste product from all of that. That would go as a little protection underneath the can, the kūlolo can to keep the kūlolo from burning.

KB: So you would put it underneath the can? On the outside?

MD: No on the inside

KB: Okay

MD: Because we basically put the coconut shavings inside the can. We'd layer the can with tī leaves and our mixture of kūlolo would go in to the can and we would fold the leaves over and stack the cans in the imu like that, so yeah it was a big process. Hand scraping every taro. My grandfather had these grates made with sheet metal with certain like holes in um, like a cheese grater.

KB: Wow so you could do it big and fast?

MD: And it was about a size of a wash board. And we'd scrape the taro by hand, every taro.

KB: So you scrape after its steamed? Or before?

MD: Its fresh. So, people who can't handle it gets itchy. So you know, I don't know we built up an immune system or our family...Or we've done it for years, all fresh taro not cooked. Itchy if you're not used to it. I'm immune, must have a tolerance for it. You basically cut the skin off and

you hand scrape everything and it's mixed with all the secret ingredients (laughing). Very high sugar content though.

KB: Was it mostly men that did that or were the ladies involved too?

MD: Everyone had to participate because it was a very big job. There was some of my cousins that would skate around it and tried to hide during kūlolo time. And I had a few uncles that would come to open the imu, they wouldn't come when it came to putting it together. You know, they would open the imu and collect their cans.

KB: Aww (laughing)

MD: "Where were you, you never bring your daughter or your son to help us put it together" You know lie I said it was enjoyable, a lot of work but enjoyable, um we were generational coffee farmers, so we were farmers. Grandma would grind the coffee and she had a dry deck and she would make parchment. And people, other farmers too once in while would drop off coffee for grandma to parch.

KB: So what was Harriet's husband's name?

MD: Domingo Dumaguin

We had an aunty, I'll give you a nice story. We had an aunty that lived in Puakō, Puakō beach, back in the day at the end, there used to be large fish ponds. I think the hotel kinda ran over part of it. They kept part of it but they destroyed it basically I think. Um, but we'd have to come down from the mountain side, there was only a jeep road that got you from Makalei down to I think towards Kona village then across to Puakō. So it was a trek, it wasn't easy to get to but we do it and we'd stay down for about several days to a week down at aunties place and this was summer time. When we were growing up. So I remember riding in my grandfather's Toyota truck and we'd take the Willies Jeep, trucks that could make it down because it was like a gravel road. And I don't know how long it took but it seemed like forever to get there (laughing). But we'd go down to Puakō and camp and I met my aunty, my grandmother's cousin and we camped there at Puakō and my uncle folks would go out. I was really young at that time too. I remember going there and one neat story that I remember was we used to cross our nets and pull the nets out and we would cross the nets inside of the pond. Because inside of the fish pond was an all sorts of fish that would, you know the old style of growing fish inside fish ponds. So we had mullet, Annae we had āholehole, all the different types of fish that would come from the fish ponds. Even some manini or whatever type of ocean fish that was in there, there was no tilapia (laughing). It was clean, the water was a little swampy but it was never dirty, it was crystal clear. I remember being able to look through and you could almost see the bottom and could see the schools swimming. Big mullet, big awa, the barracuda, the papio, you name it, it was all in there. So we would cross our nets inside the pond, but before we would do that, aunty would walk to the edge of the pond, and I'm not telling a lie here, she would actually go to the edge of the pond and talk to the fish and talk about chicken skin moment, she'd start talking to the fish and calling to the fish and then you would see the ripples come from far away, and basically see her standing at the edge and see ripples of fish coming towards her. Till it just balled in front of her, like a

huge ball of fish. And she would just call the fish and once she got the fish in front of her, then we'd take the nets and put it in the back. And then we'd catch a whole bunch of fish (laughing). But you know that was so interesting to see, that the fish recognized her voice.

KB: Did she talk in Hawaiian or...

MD: Yes! "E komo mai, kau kau time" she'd talk in Hawaiian. Because she feeds the fish every day.

That's her place where she lived. The fish recognized her. So when she come to the edge they'd actually come swim towards her. So she says "Come, mai, mai, mai, mai" you know, and you'd see the ripples coming and the school just ball in front of her. It was something to see. So after we catch the fish and pull the nets out, later on, the next I'd go to the edge and try call the fish (laughing). Auntie would be laughing "what you think you doing?" You know, "You think the fish know you? (laughing)

KB: Wow

MD: Yeah, that was something to see. To see that fish can even recognize its owner. You know, it was just really something to see. Also my dad folks would do a lot of spear fishing down Puakō and we dry a lot of the fish because there is only so much ice you can carry before all the ice melts. So a lot of it was salted and dried. Um, we actually ate turtle. There's several turtle shells in my grandmother's house. Turtle was something that we would not eat all the time, but we knew that we would take it when we would go down to Puakō. My uncle or my dad would shoot one or two turtles.

KB: Can you describe that and what the taste is and how you would process it because nobody does that anymore. I know because they became endangered.

MD: Yes. I mean people say "taste like chicken, taste like chicken" Well like really sweet chicken or more like a cross of chicken and lobster. Very tasty.

KB: And you would spear it?

MD: Basically my dad folks back in the day, they, my uncle had what they call a Tahitian spear gun, that was the first spear gun actually that I saw cause back in the day everyone used to use what they called a "Hawaiian sling" just, a steal rod with a piece of rubber that you would put on the back end like a sling shot and let it go. And the rod had a barb at the end and you'd have to chase after your spear after you shot it. You know that's what they called Hawaiian sling, just basically a sling a big long rod. They'd spear the fish with that, you know and the turtle of course is very large, you know the ones that they would harvest. I think the one at my grandmother's house could be close to 300 pounds' plus

KB: Wow. So you guys still have the shell?

MD: Yeah, it's in my grandma's house, it's a big huge shell. Um, grandfather made a turtle shell goggles, that's his googles he used to dive and he'd go down about 30 feet, but he would never

use the modernized swim stuff, he would only have his black tabbies on and these turtle shell bamboo goggles (laughing)

KB: Wow

MD: He made it himself and that's all he would use. You would try to give him a regular diving mask, "No, no, no, no can." But he goes down 30 feet. No problem, with these implements that he made, you know and I'm pretty sure that's how they did it back in the day. My generation is like the newer generation. So I can imagine what it was like back in their day, you know, when they couldn't go to the store to buy these stuff. They made a lot of their tools and the things they used, there fishing... even the needles that he used to sew the nets were all handmade. You know it wasn't something that you buy from the store. Basically it's like a big bamboo, with like, he would cut it a certain way so that you could string the... Yeah, and then that was his way stringing the line through the nets and then he had various tools to measure the size on how big you want the eyes to be on the net

KB: And it was always uniformed?

MD: Yeah, you had to tie it a certain ways, do loops, on loops, on loops. The loops are uniformed because he had one measuring size for whatever net he was trying to make. Yeah, so you know a lot of the stuff he made were all handmade. But a lot of the tools also was hand made. But yeah, I had to say, we still have grandpas turtle shell glasses. It's in my uncle's glass case as an heirloom now.

KB: What do they look like? So you said it was made out of bamboo and tortoise shell? So...

MD: The lenses were polished... So thin that you could look through it like a piece of glass... I just remember seeing grandpa using it all the time and no one would touch it. It was off limits to touch grandpa's goggles

KB: And you said it was bamboo too?

MD: The eyes where it fits over your eyes like a rectangle, um I don't know what you call it, but like glasses

MD: Two sockets

KB: So that was the bamboo part?

MD: The bamboo part would fit around his eyes like this and he's smooth um out and somehow he, I'm pretty sure it would have probably have been some kind of sap from whatever tree it was to seal it. Like I said it was made back in the day, and it was a really tight fit.

KB: What did he use for the straps to keep it on?

MD: The tire tube, I remember

KB: Oh okay, just recycle, reuse

MD: So the strap that he would use to tie it behind his head was tire tube...It's an heirloom now and the older generation, I mean the younger generation now have no clue what it was like, but grandpa, to see him down there at 30 feet with just that on was something to see. And you know that big pocket net? He would be the one to go to spread everything out...With his little tabbies and goggles (Laughing).

MD: Yeah I think, you know, I guess some families had their own maybe, but he, I think as far as I know, wasn't something always used, see. We only did that three times in my life time, well four times in my life time, the huki lau. But yeah like I said, life time things I cherish now that I am older, because you don't see stuff like that being done. Grandparents, my grandmother especially, you know, she knew a lot of things as far as the old Hawaiian tradition.

Yeah so, but yeah its stuff that we cherish you know growing up. I gotta say we gotta hold on to that and we gotta teach our young and practice it because the more you practice the better you get. And teach it to your young, because when your gone, they're going to have to carry on and teach their young. You know (Laughing)...because before you know it your old and gray, or that's the way, I never thought that my grandparents or whatever, passing away and not being able to do stuff that we used to do. Ever since my grandparents passed away, the nets, in fact all the nets been sitting at my grandma's house and doesn't get used. DLNR or whoever passed this new law about fishing nets and how they... always had sizes, but they did away with what they called "the pocket" That's the inner net. So once the fish hit the net...They can turn around and go back out if they don't get stuck in the net. And back in the day that I know had a net with that inner pocket. So when they hit the net, they get stuck in that one pocket.

MD: So it's really difficult, they made things a lot more difficult as far as harvesting fish with a net. And then you know you gotta get it registered. So you know it's sad that they pulling all of these new rules to things and how is the Hawaiian people, I mean how are the Hawaiian people supposed to practice what they used to do, if they not even using what they used to do?

KB: Exactly

MD: And it's always about self-preservation also. When to harvest, how much to harvest, when is enough, enough? I take my son diving and we hit this one school of Opelu Kala, big good tasting fish, we start taking a few out, because it's easy, I think they were actually breeding because you could tell two fish would come down and start to flutter next to each other. So we took a few out and then, I stopped my son. Okay, we got enough. When is enough right? "Oh but dad, it's easy" "Yeah, but we have enough, that's enough."

Yeah, it was a huge school, a big school of fish just swimming around the area, but for some reason they wanted to get down to that one rock (laughing) So we were at the right spot at the right time, you know, right spot. And they would stay down there right up on it before they actually swim away. So we took out about eight or nine of um. In the back of my mind we got enough. Stop what you doing, let them be, and move on. And that's called self-preservation. Knowing when is enough, enough. You don't just, because it's easy. You're going to keep harvesting it right? Save it for the next person or the next time. Because when you come back the next time it will be there. My grandma always told me that. You only take enough what you can

use and need. Nothing more because when you do it that way, you always saving for the next person or the next time. They even say...I'll give you an example, limu, when you pick limu, you don't scrape it to the bottom. You make sure it gets long enough and you only take the top off. So it keeps regenerating. So if you go down and you try to get every little piece out of it, you're going to destroy the root and it will never come back, and it happened at Hōnaunau. Um, there used to be waiwai'ole, which is what you call the rat feet. Right in the back of Hale o Keawe, that one little inlet in there and all the way to that one corner was all waiwai'ole. You go over there today and there is nothing there. My grandma showed us that. My mother-in-law showed us that, everyone knew it was there and everyone harvested from there, but somehow its gone now, it's not there. I've been waiting or years. It's been about 5 or 6 years that I haven't seen it come back. You know, and it's sad, stuff like that is disappearing, you know. You just, like I said, you were taught the right way to do things, stuff like that would not happen.

You know, the culture its self is slowly getting buried, you know, you can read it in the books, but unless you practice your culture and do it, and teach it to your young, it will be lost. And you know I am all for letting us do what we do. If you wanna be like the Park Service itself, you wanna perpetuate and show the people the culture, let them practice their culture. People who want to use Hale o Keawe and go out there and do their blessings and ho'okupu, let them do it because that's what it's there for. You know, they making kolohe? Out but if you doing what you supposed to be doing and you mālama, you taking care of it and having the right mind set while you're doing, let them do it. You know even the harvesting thing of certain things in the park, 'uhaloa (herbal medicine)? ... Yeah they make it for sore throat medicine, they make tea out of it, it's been growing wild all over the park, but they don't allow anyone to pick it.

Just like the noni, they let people pick the noni, why can't the people pick the 'uhaloa? What's the difference? Let, it's not like they go and sell it. If they wanna use it for personal use, um let um do it. I was kind of torn when I first started I met this old man that comes one or two months out of the year. I only see him like certain times of the year. He'd come back and do his ho'okupu at the Hale o Keawe and then that one year he came he asked "Oh can I go pick 'uhaloa?" I said "yes" "I just need a little bit to make my tea." And then when he was picking it, I guess one of the workers stopped him and he felt all offended and I felt bad because I told him he could. But I told myself this is the real Hawaiian practitioner; he's humble at what he does. He came before the sun even came up and he was dressed in full regatta. He had his feather cloak on and palaoa and he was going out there with his offering and he did that. And you know like I said, and he told me straight up before he went out there "I come early, I only do this once in a while, but I gotta pay my respect to my ancestors, here can I?" And I said "Yes, by all means" this is what I believe the park should recognize, is people who perpetuate the culture and doing it in the right state of mind. And when he asked about the 'uhaloa, I said "yes you are a practitioner of the faith, why not?" you not doing this to make a profit or anything. You just want a little bit to take home because that's medicine to you. I ran in to him like the following day and I felt so bad, you know. And he's like "No. no, no, I understand some people and workers don't understand how you feel." He said "Don't worry about it, I'm not offended."

KB: But it still hurts your heart

MD: Yes, it does because it us, it's our people wanting to practice what they've always done and for us to stop them from doing that, you know, there's that fine line that's the Park Service needs to recognize, and it's the same thing with what they've done with the Indians, they let them do what they've always done. They slowly letting them practice what they've done as far as culture goes. I think we need to do that as keepers of Hōnaunau that we need to recognize that, what is pono and what is not

KB: Yeah

MD: We not supposed to be making up our own rules, I'm sorry, but that's my personal feeling on this (laughing)

KB: That the park is not supposed to be making up their own rules, or people that work in the park?

MD: Like us workers, we cannot be making up our own rules, I'm wrong for that, but also I'd like to say to everyone, although I am a national park worker, I am Hawaiian, and the Hawaiian pulls more than the park ranger sometimes because of my upbringing and the way I was taught. It hurts me to feel torn about certain things. But I enjoy working at the Park Service because its home and treat that place as home. We always treat it as home. Even though, or even when I wasn't working the park, I treated as my home. You know.

...But I think with the Park Service I can make it more of a long term kind of a deal and perpetuate and preserve our culture is what I'm thinking about, and sharing my mana'o with whoever comes by. You know, I think they enjoy it, when you actually talk to some of these tourists and they, they are so intrigued with what we used to do, so interested, they wanna know. What they get off on that one brochure is not enough. We need to talk to them, when they ask the questions, tell them, you know just tell them stories and they will enjoy it. They really do enjoy it, just hearing stuff. Stuff that aren't written, will never be written probably. But Kalena is doing it right now which is good.

KB: Yeah it be storied for your family too, to go wow that was my great grandfather taught my grandfather how to fish and harvest and gather.

MD: Yup, Well the thing is for me my grandmother really stressed her Hawaiian ways as far as when we were growing up, you know, and respect was always the key. Respecting your elders, respecting what you do and how you do it. Being thankful for being able to do it. You don't just go in there and start taking everything. You have to what you call?, thank the plants, the ocean, for letting you harvest and doing these things, you know plants have feelings too, right? (Laughing) The fish, they understand you, so they can feel you, so, I always tell my boy when we are diving, just mālama, take care of it, you know, you gonna shoot something makes sure you hit it, you not gonna shoot then injure it, and you lose it. So if you're going to take something make sure you take it. And with intent to take it. You not trying to go in there and tearing up the place, you have to be careful what you do, because what you do affects everything else, you know.

KB: Yeah. Thank you!

One last question I forgot to ask...Do you have thoughts you could share on the ki'i in the park and how they should be taken care of when they are being replaced by new ki'i?

MD: I don't know enough about it but to show the respect it deserves. Ask Akoni or someone with more knowledge on the proper ways of dealing with the ki'i. We can't just expect to properly remove and replace without the right ceremonies and pule needed to do it correctly. Park Service needs to be aware of Hawaiian practices dealing with things of Native.

*Mark Dumaguin's full interview shares rich details of his family in relation to: coffee grinding, farming, large family gatherings to share in the work of harvesting coffee, discipline, grandfather's ingenuity in woven bamboo coffee baskets, fish nets, and general tool making, fishing, cock fighting, seasonal gathering, and the famous Safety Rock at Laekole.

Monico Gallieto

Excerpt of Interview

Interviewee: Monico Galiato (MG)

Date of Interview: 8/1/2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 11/20/16

Interview conducted at the home of Monico Galiato in Kailua-Kona, HI.

MG: Aloha kakahiaka kākou. My name is Monico Ke'ala Galiato. I was born in Kealakekua. Raised in Hōnaunau-Captain Cook. My mom is Lillian Leinani Kelepolo. My dad is Felipe Galiato Sr. Prior to my mom's marriage to my dad, she was married to a Kahele. John Kahele from Miloli'i and he was a fisherman and my mom actually became a cowboy for Heehop Ranch. And way back when...

KB: What ranch?

MG: Heehop. It's before Miloli'i junction. And towards the mountain. And she worked there for seventeen years as a cowboy. She loved it. She enjoyed every moment of it. Found time to go to Miloli'i, raising her first four children. John Kahele (my dad adopted him) and Bowen Kahele, Jeffery Kahele, and there was a Wilfred who passed on. Their life was a challenge. Way back then. So...

This was, I would say, around the early 50s. I can't remember, recall the year but my mom always talked about how they would bring the cattle from Heehop Ranch and walk 'um all the way cross the ridge line Hualalai come down, come down to here. And it took them a month to

do that. But you know her genealogical line starts off from actually Hōnaunau. Come from a huge family on my mom's side. Seventeen children my grandparents have.

Everybody always questions me. One wife? Yes, one wife. That's all my grandparents had.

My grandparents were William Keli'ika'aloa Kelepolo Sr. and Betsie Alui, and she was Hawaiian-Chinese and my grandfather was pure Hawaiian. Basically as a kid, back then, he was one of the first canoe clubs of Hōnaunau known as Keōua Canoe Club. I think uncle Zede folks touched-based on that before. Big Keōua Canoe Club, when they went out on a race and came back then they forgot that they had to continue on. Remember? They thought they, they thought they won the race but they never actually won it yet. But, anyway, that was funny story though. My grandfather was a fisherman of Hōnaunau Bay area. Raising his seventeen kids in the park was a challenge for him and these are just, from what I've heard from my brother and my mom before their passing, they speak about where the house was located in the park. That is taken down and then floated over to where Hōnaunau Bay is, across the National Park and the family has their own plot or lot across the bay there and the platform is still there yet but the house is gone. So, when they moved from the park over that way that's when raising their kids was more of a challenge for them. My grandfather, like I said, he was a fisherman of Hōnaunau Bay. Very well-known and Uncle Abraham Moses that some other people, they talk about, and they all got along as one big 'ohana at Hōnaunau. The Kekuewas, the Kelepolos, the Nahakus, Shins, the Kelekolios, you know, Lahapas, all one family at Hōnaunau. And just being, and seeing and just to see everybody grow-up and hear the stories about them actually. You know, I wish we could go back to those days. To just, reenact what and how they were and well, watching and going down to the beach and I'm looking back and thinking back like in the mid-70s or early 80s, we gonna go down to the beach and we always see these mean looking Hawaiians, not knowing that they were family because they don't say nothing to you. You know? They just look at you like, they just stare at you. You know and we know that they want something from you because, they want you to go out in the ocean and just to learn, to fish, to mālama the 'āina wherever it is and you know, everything that they did back then, when I hear about it from my mom and my brother, it was sad. Were they disappointed in those times? Never disappointment. There was none that I know of cause the stories either made me cry or made me laugh. [Stories shared from brother Bowen Kahele (Bo)]...They would talk about how grandma and my brother, my brother was a spoiled brat. Grandma would always, always would take him and like, "Come here boy, you can have the first pancake that I make."...And they would be looking around. And all of the kids are looking around say, "But we're your children." No. "You wait. You kids wait. This boy comes first."

[Bowen] Yah, yah and you know he was always being spoiled and be allowed to eat first, whatever grandma makes. If not, they would get dirty lickers. It was very very strict. Grandma had her own policies she made and she created right there and then, you know and her kids all knew what came next. It wasn't like looking and waiting for that you know pull them out, to come out, yah? And start whacking their own kids because, back then they were hard-headed. You know, my braddah Bo he talk about that and my mom said "that's why I moved away." Because grandpa was mean, he was a mean person. Grandma was ok. You know? But, grandpa

he meant well, he lived a good life. I wished that I knew him more. You know, just thinking back the very first time I met my grandfather, I lost fifteen years of my life not knowing this man because of the moving of grandpa away from the beach, you know to somewhere else, and he moved to Kainaliu, which I never knew. Never knew him back then but only found out 'bout him when he moved away.

MG: You know, I never knew grandma because she got in a car accident with her number, I think number 9th or number 10th child. He bought a brand new car and wanted to go riding to Hilo and it was old Mamalahoa Highway up south by Kahuku and if you look on the mauka side, the main highway you going see one old road on the mauka side... Yah. The first or the second lehua tree, that's like a memorial. It was naturally planted, it just grown that way. But that's where grandma died. I never seen her. Never had a chance to get to know this lady.

Pictures of her was just amazing how this lady gave birth to seventeen kids. You know, and just a car ride, she's gone. Grandpa, on the other hand, when he moved away from Hōnaunau and moved up to Kainaliu, everybody started separating themselves from Hōnaunau. Was it because they were ashamed of the lifestyle? Maybe? Were they, they wanted to better themselves? Could be. Lot of them, they moved away, never did come back and if they did, it was because of their spouse being in the military. That's the only way they get to move around. You know and just trying to go back to the park itself and sort of better understand and have our big family reunion, it's a huge, a huge undertaking actually. And when we do have that big family reunion you know, we went there starting back in 1989 and that was my mom's first family reunion with the other fourteen, thirteen or fourteen branches that were there. You know and ¾ of my mom's siblings were there. You know, at the reunion. The other ones couldn't because they just cannot handle being away from their light. You know, they need street lights, they need all this kind thing accommodate them. So they don't come. It's like why? The time we come and share, talk-story, we meet. Everybody's growing up. But people they don't want to, they don't want to talk about the history. My family, they don't want talk about the history. So I hear a lot of things and it's sad because I want to know, you know and if I don't know then I can't pass anything down to anybody and try to do the genealogy, it's not a big help. I'm stuck right now.

KB: Are you the genealogist in the family?

MG: Yah. I'm stuck. You know? I wish I could find my cousins three binders, three three-inch binders have all this information in there and he made a scroll. I wish I could find that but I don't know where his other half is. So, I'm still stuck. I want to continue to do it. I want to continue to educate the family but I don't know how to do it. The challenge that I have is still trying to understand who my grandfather was actually. Cause I only knew him for one year. Working high school time during the summer for the County Road Department here in Kona. Every morning we working Kainaliu town, there's always this old man walking, every morning, going to the store and he always sees us cutting trees, cutting bush everything like that. "Hey boys, what you guys want? I going to the store." "No need anything papa, no need nothing." "You sure?" He still come back with ice cream and soda and sandwich.

[Grandpa] Some people knew him. That was working there. That knew this man but I never knew that this was my real grandfather.

KB: He must have known you guys were his kids then, yah?

MG: He never know us kids.

MG: I sure hope so. But this is where the separations, families came together and then they grew-up on the outside and they split-out and they never like see each other, like and there it goes, the oral history, there goes the weaving history, there goes the carving history. Out the door because everybody disappeared and went on their own and finding out the hard way about this old man, that every morning I called papa. After the job was done, we went down there to the church because my mom said, “we going down see dad, k?” Alright. So, we got into the car, we all went to this church and open up the door and we see this old man and I go “Hey, papa how you?” My mom looks at me like, you know who that? Every morning he buy us ice cream and soda. Yah, that’s your grandfather. You know talk about hard life. That to me was one of the saddest days of my life because this man was somebody important to me. Then when he got sick, he lived with us little bit and I knew this man for about a year, maybe year and a half, taught my other brother Felipe how to make a throw net so at least he learned and got to share that about my grandfather, he was a fisherman of Hōnaunau. He fed the community. He goes out there, out to the ocean right there in the bay and actually opelu fishing with a big net, one person. Back then, paddled the canoe outside and he when go to one spot and he feeds it, he feeds it. Puts his net down. One man and fish all go into the net. He hits his canoe with his paddle. That means, all you kids run down with the bowls, run down with the buckets, the community comes together with their buckets and they all when meet my grandfather down there at the ramp. Everybody go home with fish. My Uncle Ben always says, “Yup, that’s why were called the black sheep. Because why? We always help everybody.” I always wondered why what he meant bout black sheep. Cause my grandfather started that. He was one that took care of the community, as long as you give him bottle wine. He would take care of you. He was the only one with the most kids to begin with, seventeen.

KB: Is Ben one of his children?

MG: Yes, Uncle Ben... Yes. Yah, he’s one of them and he knows a lot of stories. My other Uncle, James Kelepolo which we always known him as Sonny Kelepolo. You know and he always when sing this one song, every day and it was like, ok. Drunk and singing um, all falsetto. Yah and the song was I Kona. Not knowing, not knowing that I Kona was actually written by Uncle James Kelepolo.

KB: Wow. That’s a beautiful song. Famous song.

MG: [The family home] It was moved. From my understanding, from talking to my brother Bowen and my mom, the house was behind the park close to the Keawe House Site and I’m not sure if that was true or not because when you hear a lot of stories from a lot of people they talk about other families that had their house back there. Ok? Why the Kelepolo name never come up? I don’t know. I don’t know. I wish I knew but talking to my cousin in Hilo, she had dreams

about where the genealogy had started from. You know, our family. And she shared it with me and nobody else. She never like tell me anything but all of a sudden, we go, she calls me up (I was living on the mainland), she goes “You know cuz, I got something to tell you.” I go, “Genealogy, right? It’s about time you going talk to me.” So she was asking me about this one place and this old man’s old lady that, that came out of the water. I go, “You talking about Maui? You talking about Hana area?” Just remember now, Grandpa Kelepolo, William Keli’ika’aloha, ok, Ka’aloha, there’s a town in Hana that’s named. Think about that. The genealogy is very strong down there in Hana, Maui. She goes “What you mean?” Whatever your dream was, you found that piece that I, small piece that I’m missing and I don’t know the names of these people. She goes “Yah. There was this old man. I was playing in the beach area. I go “ok. There was this house on the side of you and this wall, right?” She goes “Yah. Did you have the same dream at night?” “No. Talk about it with me because I coming up with all of these and then you’re agreeing with me because you remember and you never like anybody else to know.” That’s how strong the connection became between me and my cousin living 3000 miles away. I could still read her mind. She found this rock and it was something slimy growing on it. And I go “And what did these people or this old man want?” “All he wanted was the rock and this old lady was in back, real mean looking giving me all this eyes like” “Yah, because that’s probably be our great grand-tutu I think. Like for real, old man with real long hair too?” She goes “Yah, how you know was like I’m seeing him right now as you’re talking to me. I’m seeing the location.” So, being that, our genealogy actually started from Hana, Maui and the cross over the path basically is, we have the Ka’aanana’s and Kanana’s they all one name, it’s just that the letters were all dropped. And then she goes, “I don’t want to know about that family, I just want to know about our side.” “Ok, so you found out tutu man and tutu wahine way back then. Ok? And when you found them but what we need to focus on is our grandfather, our grandmother that we all never knew too much of. She knew some stuff because grandpa would go to Hilo and all he wanted to go to Hilo for was to go drink over his daughter’s house. Then they could drink to two three o’clock in the morning and then drive to Kona come up to our mauka house. Wake up everybody at three-four o’clock in the morning with you know and they have all the kids with them. But that was part of that segment of life but my grandfather always took care everybody at Hōnaunau. He knew for himself who he was without grandma being around. He knew that the life that he had, had to be kept and only a few of their, his sons actually followed along. Uncle Ben was one of them.

[Fishermen] Yah. Uncle Jacob was one. Uncle Clifford. Uncle Ami who called Uncle Lolo because he couldn’t hear. He could talk before but something happened. Was growing up, he fell over the railing or something like that and he lost his hearing a little bit. All them were actually very good fishermen and they knew how to malama the land, the ocean, how much you take. I know Uncle Ben was one. He still is. If he had the time and he was healthy he probably goes out in the ocean, go, still go troll for ‘ono or go catch that ‘opelu right there. I like see them do things like that but they all gone. They all left for the Mainland or to Honolulu. Uncle Ben is the only one here in Kona. Aunty Hazel, she lives down here in Kailua. Aunty Loreleen lives in Hilo. But, a lot of them don’t want to share. Shame of how they lifestyle was.

...The growing-up time. You take a picture of them. They get mad at you. This is for history. What for? They look at me, look at me now but no take my picture. That's the way one of them came up and told me about it. Ok, fine then. Then there will be nothing about you that we can talk about you in the future. And that's the sad thing about it. A lot of them never like but they could be very kolohe in the park. As they were growing up their playground, my mom guy's playground, my uncle guy's playground was all in the National Park.

KB: Do you have any stories that your mom shared with you about what she did in the park?

MG: Oh yeah! Japanese tourist. When they would come in to the park, they would come outside of the park and there's this...you go into the water, there's this brackish waterhole. These Japanese, they like put their sodas in there...Keep it cold. And of course my uncle folks looking. They see it. K, going be in there. Going be cold, ok? Then they run over there, they drink 'um all. They put water, they put 'um back. ...Before it was a National Park?...I think it was under County...And it was funny because just hearing about that and then they would, my uncle guys, my mom never did it I think. She said she didn't but I think she did. There's this one house right outside of the park, Akana's and they use to be the grocery store before. My uncle folks use to go over there, use to go steal pork-n-beans, spam, corn beef because they hungry. You know, parents eat from the land. We cannot afford that kind stuff. If we can, we can, if we cannot then you know we cannot. My mom folks would always challenge the Kekuwas or the Kelekolios. See a trash can inside, in the park. All these trash cans all over the place. You know, before it became a National Park. Use to like kapu those trash cans because the tourist they like throw their sandwich away right?...Of course everybody hungry back then. Right? They cannot eat the coconut. You know, too much coconut. They rather have sandwiches. So they see, just drop all their leftovers in the container and they throw 'um away in the trash can. They all run to the trash can, they, they kapu the container and they would fight for the food. Who getting what. Soda, water. They would go to the brackish water area. Take 'um all out and drink them all and they would put 'um back. Yah. Yah and I'm like, for real? You guys did all that kind stuff back then? Yah. Wow. Today if we did that we get put in jail. Back then, what you guys got? As long as they no catch us. If we got caught pull them in the room. Here comes the coconut broom, whacking you. And it's not the soft part...Yah and they would all get dirty lickens. My mom would say "yah, we always would have lickens. We always go pick the coconut leaves and give them to mom so she could go make some more brooms." Oh, so you guys was giving her the weapons to hurt you guys then? She was like, "Hmm, yah, pretty much you know? Pretty much. We would just be making the weapons for them to whack us with afterwards.

KB: Did your mom share any stories about the City of Refuge or the Pu'uhonua? You know, any special stories about what they felt there or any kapus that were there.

MG: You know. Being that, back then the educational level for a lot of these, a lot of my uncles and aunties is very very small. If they did go to school, they never learn about areas of the park that was bad or was good. While they were growing up down there, they never had that temple out there before. It was just a flat...[Hale o Keawe was not restored yet] So, they were growing up with that in their mind. So, as I was growing up, that structure was already there. So, when was it put up? I really don't know...

KB: So, did you have any family members that were carvers? Of the ki'i that restored the temple?

MG: No. None of my family that I knew of that they did any carving.

KB: So, your brother Felipe doesn't carve too?

MG: No, I not sure if he's going to be part of that or what. But know he belongs with Nā Koa 'o Pu'ukohola, which is the forty warriors for King Kamehameha.

...as far as my mom's has a lot of stories down there, they use to play a lot in the park. They use to run around all over. They use to climb the coconut trees that goes over Keone'ele cove. There were always all these coconut trees that went out to the cove and they all would run and jump right off that coconut tree into the water. Well I remember that tree because I use to jump off that tree before...Yah. But the National Park already took over so we had to be very careful that we don't get caught by the park rangers. You know, they all knew the park rangers back then all knew who the Kelepolos was, they knew who was the Kekuewas, they knew who was the Kelekolios. They knew all the family that when grow up Hōnaunau. They all knew that. But my mom, she learned her lauhala weaving from her aunty. Her mom's, my grand aunty actually, my grandfather's sister and she taught her how to weave lauhala hats. And I do have some of hers up on the wall.

[Learning to weave] She actually never taught me how to weave. My generation time, it's like, why, why should I? It's hard work. It's like no, I rather go play. Alright? Today, a child you give them a phone they be like oh, happy. They forget about the culture. Ok? And, that's why we try to avoid that with having kids and giving them a phone and back then, never had that. Back then you learn something and you know, in Kona for the weaving for my mom, she learned the Kona style weaving from her aunty. The aunty that actually hanai'ed her. My mom actually grew up with the name Josephina...it was Josephina Leinani Kelepolo. When her aunty Lillian hanai'ed her. Hanai back then, you become legal. So, I got confused because I look at her birth record and I'm like, ma do you have anything about your new birth records? Like you were given Lillian and I don't see any documents about Lillian but that's your legal name and that's what you're using now? She was like, "Yah, I sign everything Lillian." But is it legal? "The bank says yes." Ok. The bank says yes, must be good then. But my great grand aunty taught her how to weave lauhala hats, she was very very very patient with her and took it one step at a time and learning the style of piko that Kona only has. Making hats back then, for my mom was not about counting how many strips she had, it's looking at how much time but there's no value on that because if you start counting your strips that you put on there, then you'll count each strip as a dollar sign today. Back then 'a'ole for that. Back then my mom use to take a lauhala hats, trade 'um for food...[The Machado Store] Yah and trading it for food was like before we come home from school we would have to get off the bus at the store, which is about a mile away from our house and she would let aunty Margaret Machado know that we were coming down after school to come get the bag or the box of food that my mom traded for food. My mom, she was really tricky her, we never had a car back then but she was always tricky. She knew how to get around without it. You know? Call up her hanai sister, Eleanor Makida. She would come over the house,

pick her up and take her to the store. But no bring home the groceries. Leave them all over there for us to bring them home. Like, you had a car mom, why you didn't bring them home?...So it was like, she had tricks. But she rather go riding with her hanai sister. It was all can goods, there was no perishables but she never like, she would rather have us bring them home...Good exercise. Spending six hours in school then have to walk all the way home for one mile and when we did that and my mom bartered her papale and that's one thing about back then she always talks about, why charge so much? If they like, trade them. Because if you trade them, they going appreciate more. But if you don't trade and they buy it from you they going forget about you already. They don't know who you are and that's how I grew up. Just listening to my mom and my mom was never a person that had a lot of words to say because she always says "Nana I ka maka" just look. Ho'olohe, ok those words. I wish that I had kept all those words in my mind until like three years ago I remembered because I had to go teach a class. Ok, crash course. [‘ōlelo Hawai‘i] Yah, mmm, never ever ever again, never I don't want to do that. Too rough, too hard, everybody got their own meaning for one word because of the text. The dialect was so old, it wasn't a written Hawaiian word, it was said the way it was said and they argued what it was meant. But today you take that word, they gonna mix it all together and come up...Ohh what we actually meant? And I see that happen. My mom always hung around with Auntie Eleanor Makida and always would talk on the phone for 45 minutes, we cannot bother her. We enter the room, she on the phone with her, when we get called in to our room, we going get lickers. You cannot disturb her when she talking for 45 minutes and it was all old dialect.

A lot of hidden types of life that they had and that's what I miss because sometimes I wish my mom would allow us but it was their own secret within themselves, what they talk about and it was a life that they have not like today. We get everything that we want, it's about a want, want, want, I need this and I need that, it's not like, Do I really need it? Do I really want it? Back then you had no choice, like "no thank you, I don't want it" it was too much, today it was like, of course I have money in the bank, I can do it. Back then it was like "Mmm, I need to weave one papale to get six cans of sausages. My mom would weave a papale and get two head round cabbage.

KB: No way! Wow

MG: Yeah, and that was my mom's way, it's like, that's the way her aunty would teach her at Hōnaunau is "No ask, just give" and watch what going come back to you. So my mom never believes in selling her hats because my great grand aunt, they would believe in that, it was all about the bartering system...You give, you get, you give, you get. And the return you get back is not monetary, it is the respect, you got to take and that's what I try to instill in a lot of my students. If you take that kuleana, that responsibility and you go out there and you spread um all, I am not here to tell you that you cannot do it. If you like go out there and take somebody and my weaving go right ahead, it's not mine, it's ours. You know we need to start sharing that aloha back to the people. There's too much bitterness going around.

[Life as a young adult] Before I actually moved away, I worked at the National Park as a park ranger for four years, but prior to that I actually had almost 12, 13 years of volunteering and working for Hawai‘i Pacific, which was Hawai‘i Natural History Association. This was at

PUHO, only at PUHO and I was one of their cultural demonstrators and I took on the task to maintain the lauhala trees way back then, and started to use what we had at the park, but there was nobody there to support me, or to give me that extra boost, only one lady actually did which was aunty Carla Freitas. Kehau's mom, she's my kumu...she taught me my first bracelet. Do I have it today? No I don't because I gave it away, but she taught me my first lauhala bracelet. And she always told me, this is the story, we go to her house, she goes "Kay, go get the trash bag over there, open um up, and look for your lauhala that you going need to make your bracelet." I open um up, I complain to her, "but aunty only get rubbish lauhala" "Look for some good pieces" "but aunty there is only rubbish" "You look?" "No" "Look some more" So I digging, I looking, I find the nice leaves. And she goes "Cut your own" "With what?" She goes, "Oh, here come get this" So I look down "what is this, this blade looking thing?" You know, she goes "Nails, put into the wood" and that was to cut the lau, so I go "How you use this?" I mean she made me do everything, "But aunty you get ugly junk leaf" "wasn't ugly before, I made a lot of stuff with those leaves" We always had this argument about that. And then finally went get the pot that I needed, I go "How you do this?" "You take your leaves, you poke um in, and you pull" "Oh, just like that" You poke it and you pull. "But you, you do it slowly...Make sure straight line when you cut, no move this hand, no move your right hand, keep it there and pull with your left...keep that nail inside of the leaf." So I did that and I still complain to her "Aunty you no more good kine leaf?" "Who said got to be about nice, got nothing to be nice about it, the leaves is all natural" She never share too much about the structure of the leaf, actually as time went by I did my own research on it and today we still doing research yet, and we are going to get there sometime, hopefully my wife can come up with a thesis soon about it, but just the learning phase, being a part of the National Park Service and learning from my aunty, like several years, not only with the lauhala, but making pala'ie, the ball and loop game with coconut niu, doing it the way she learned how for make it and learning the chant, the little mele that goes a long with it. I can't do it (laughing) but my aunty would be like "you come up to my house every day and I teach you something." My mom would always be worried, "where the heck this boy, should be pau work already." I come home 11 o'clock at night and got to go back work next morning 7 o'clock. I pau eat already, but the next day comes then I learn something different. Then as time went by I became a park ranger, I moved away for about a year to Las Vegas, then I came back home, got the job in 1998 and I worked for four years as a park ranger at the Entrance Station as you are driving in, so the collector and the demonstrator. And it was a challenge cause now that I am a park ranger, everything changes for me. Working with the Natural History, working as a volunteer, totally changes, cause now I am Federal now. This is where I kind of lost it because now I am confused, why I cannot do that? I have done it before, why I cannot just support you and help you go pick the leaves? Because now you're Federal employee. Now there are strict rules and guidelines you got to follow. You can be cultural demonstrator, but your job is not that now. So when can I teach how to weave? During our cultural festival, that's when you be free from the booth and now you become a cultural demonstrator. So Friday, Saturday, Sunday, those are my three days that I actually find myself to be real pono with the park. When I am practicing my culture.

[As a Federal employee] No, no. So, it actually changed my whole life around and go to training on the mainland for the Park Service, coming back home and trying to implement this one law

that would allow me to do it. They tell me you cannot. So my head starts going around in circles, I go to training for nothing, and I come back home and they tell me I cannot do it. Then why send me to training? We said Federal funds, it's going to go somewhere else. You know so, I did what I did as a park ranger and didn't like it. Was the pay good? Yeah, the benefits were good, but kind of lost my culture a little bit and losing that little bit culture really through me off completely and I could only do my practices at home now, so it was hard, and also it was from 1998 to 2002, it was hard the four years, kind of like putting a hold on my life, you know? Now there's strict rules and guidelines and I don't know how some employees can continue to do that but I guess it's their choice of understanding why, because of the benefits? Maybe, retirement? Yes, but I look at it as the culture, we need to continue this. They never offered me to stay, but they kept the other two people, so I decided after my term expires in July of 2002, I made a big big decision, I couldn't invest in the park no more with our stocks, so I pulled all my money out and I told my niece I am moving to Vegas.

KB: ...When the ki'i are done and it's time to replace them, how do you see best to decommission them, like when the new ones are being created and the old ones are being taken down, what's your mana'o?

MG: I would say put the old ones in a safe area, recreating what is out there right now, can anyone recreate it? That's the question. Is there a carver that can recreate it because the one, majority out there was Tava Taupu, you know coming from not Hawaiian ancestry, he using his own mana'o, his own thoughts, the creativity, so the question that I have, always had was the understanding of what our ki'i represent? That's my question. It would never be answered, it would never be answered because when you have someone different who never actually seen the originals, to recreate something the facial expressions, the amount of levels that is built on top of the head, should it be pointed? Or should it be rounded? Those make a lot of..., makes a difference because if 30 years ago I took a picture of the ki'i, and they redid that 20 years later, I wanna see a duplication.

KB: Like to be the same, from the 60s perhaps right?

MG: Right. If the thing had one sharp eyes that had a lids that are actually bigger then the eyeballs. That be fine. I don't want the lids to be shut tight like you know, that means you making the person blind, you not moving the person forward. You know for decommission it I really want those to be put away locally here in museum, not sent to the mainland like the majority of them is. There is some on the mainland that needs to come back home.

MG: You know, one of our park rangers Aunty Carla she went to the mainland and came back home "Monico, I need to talk to you" "Don't, don't" "It's about the ki'i" "Don't talk to me about the ki'i, I don't want to know about them" "but I seen the originals, good I'm glad you did, did you tell them to come home? Did you talk to them for them to come home? We need them home here? We need the knowledge? Cause we need to make them look like that? Back home here in Hawai'i? Right now it doesn't look like that I bet? Because of the carver, the carver makes a big difference. I'm not a carver. I'm a lauhala weaver. If you tell me to make the sails for the canoe.

KB: You can make the sail

MG: I'm going to be looking at um, like you know what? You try it, and I'll weave it, you want it single weave or double weave? What do you want, you tell me and I'll do lauhala but if you tell me to grab that adze and pound it and whack it, I going cut the canoe in half, I going take the ki'i out and crack the ki'i in half, you know give me a chain saw, I can probably cut it out that way faster and chisel later? It's not going to be the same because to me, the spirit the mana from within you goes in to the product and that, everybody talk about the hā, the breath of life, every time you swing the adze or you chipping away, you breathing on that. Your hā is going on to it every time you talk.

*Monico Galieto's full interview shares vibrant details of: kumu hula using family musical compositions [I Kona], life in Las Vegas with his sister and sharing culture with her hula halau, his return home to support his brother Bo, and meeting his wife Joellen at the cultural festival while sharing his culture in lei making.

Larry Kimura

Excerpts from Interview

Interviewee: Larry Kimura (LK)

Date of Interview: 8/3/2016

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka'oi Kuali'i

Date of Transcription: 11/18/2016

Interview with Larry Kimura was conducted at Ka Haka 'Ula o Ke'elikōlani, Hale 'Ōlelo Building, University of Hawai'i, Hilo.

KB: Mahalo for interviewing for the oral history project at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau.

LK: Yeah, the two summers that I worked there as a student, well I was still a student at the University of Hawai'i, well one campus at Hilo, and then when I moved over, those days Hilo was just a two-year campus so I continued over in Mānoa to finish the degree. So in 60, did I say 67, 68? It was 66, 67? No, yeah it would be that year '66 and then '67 of going school-year.

[Name] Larry Kimura, and the name of my father is Hisao Kimura and the name of my mother is Elizabeth Kimura – my mother was Elizabeth Lindsey, and then married my father, so she became Mrs. Kimura of course. And um, I was technically I guess actually born in a hospital, which the only hospital we had was in Honoka'a, and then raised of course in Waimea, South Kohala.

[Work at the City of Refuge] The reason I got to work there is cause I got tired of working on summer jobs on the Parker Ranch!

KB: (Laughing) Cowboy work?

LK: Yeah, because I was more interested in something to do with Hawaiian culture, you know, on this island. So I looked up something that I could do for the summer that would deal with Hawaiian culture. And that was in the news, so I knew about the City of Refuge at Hōnaunau. And it was you know a Hawaiian cultural place, and the emphasis was on the Hawaiian culture interpretation, and I thought “Ah, I should try and apply”, and when I did, I can’t recall if I called or I sent a letter in, but anyway, Mr. Russell Apple was the superintendent, and because the reason I think I got interested is because there was no position except to work with the maintenance crew, the janitors crew, basically cleaning up and, you know, the grounds and all that, the restrooms. So, he said “The only thing I have is, you know, something like that,” then “would you be interested in working that way?” I said, “Sure! You know, I’d take that job.” Then he said, “By the way, I see you’ve mentioned that you speak Hawaiian, or you know Hawaiian language.” I said “Yeah, I am still a student of Hawaiian.” “But I want you to consider teaching a class for the employees while you also work during the summer, maybe during their lunch hour.” So, that’s how I really, I think, I got his attention to hire me, because of my Hawaiian language interest, or as a student of Hawaiian language.

[On fluency of Hawaiian language] No, I heard it very, you know, commonly, everyday almost, so it wasn’t um- I didn’t speak it, but it wasn’t something that we were told to learn, of course. And we lived in my father’s mother’s home, my grandmother, Japanese grandmother’s home. She was still alive too of course when we grew up, and she only spoke Japanese, so with my father, that’s his first language. With my mother it is Hawaiian with her mother, as their first language. So that is how I got to hear both languages, but I was more interested in Hawaiian, and as time went on, of course, I had thought I better learn more about it. Learn to speak it at least. I knew phrases and words but... I went to high school at Kamehameha, and that was just the one main campus they had, right? Kapālama, and was a boarder there. So, just lucky and I see this is Harold Kent, I see, Colonel Kent, who was the president of the Boys School, in this pic, photo, of 1962 – [Reading, looking at a photograph] “Bishop Estate and NPS dignitaries at the land dedication.” And he was our president of the Kamehameha School for boys back then... Yeah, it was always separated [boys from the girls], that’s according to the Princess’s will, so somehow, they broke her will and combined it, and so, ’62 I was in my second year of Hawaiian class, ’61 I started in my sophomore year, with a teacher he hired. I didn’t know this till later you know, because all I knew is I had a home period, free period, and they said “Oh! We are going to have a new class, a Hawaiian language class.” And I went (Whispering) “Whoa! Exactly what I wanted and I am gonna take it now!” [The teacher] Mrs. Dorothy Kahananui, who was a teacher of Hawaiian music all her life, and she had just retired from the University of Hawai‘i, teaching music, Hawaiian music, but she knew music in general, because she also taught in, the many Hawai‘i Territorial teachers her as their music teacher, in the Territorial, Normal School, as it was called, because all teachers had to graduate from that school. And one subject, which was still taught then, was music... She focused just on the language, but she did tell me, she asked me if I knew how to play the ‘ukulele, I said no. I mean I could strum a few chords because we had to pick that up at Kamehameha, because, you know, when we grew up, on the Hawaiian side, that was considered to be a lazy man’s job, activity, to get involved with. [On music] You’re not

working. There's too many other things to be done and why you just singing and strumming away on a, you know, instrument? So we never picked it, I never did, growing up. So she wanted to teach me after class, she said, "Oh, why don't you come by, I'll teach you some chords, and we'll learn a few songs." That was outside of class. So she was only hired, well she was hired by him, Colonel Kent, to, actually, he wanted her to teach the class but he wanted her to compose a book, a textbook for high school. Which she did, which is that book over there I have on my shelf, which is "E Kama'ilio Hawai'i Kākou". And she did, only for those three years I happened to be there, I graduated in '64 and she left in '64, so she was there from '61, '62, '63, '64. And then she wasn't there, she never taught again, well at the high school. But she wrote a second text, cause she wanted to polish her, another publication on Hawaiian language textbook, by going to the University of Hawai'i, kinda sitting in, I don't know if she really enrolled in some language teaching classes, and that kind of activity, so by the time I got out of my two years at Hilo campus, and moved over to Mānoa to finish up, she was there. So she told me, "There is no need for you to take all these elementary classes, you just go into third-year because you'll be wasting your time taking first and second-year. Cause she knew me from high school.

KB: Right, wow, so you were the beneficiary, of like, one of the first 'ōlelo teachers...

LK: Well, Kamehameha sporadically, this is going by when Mrs. Pūku'i said she was taught, uh hired to teach part-time, maybe some few lessons. You know, it was taught very tritely I guess.

[Mrs. Kahananui]... one of her major, another student, my classmate, became the first, how do you say, Kamehameha's first serious attempt to offer language, Hawaiian language, on a regular basis. And that was about, in the early-mid sixties, '65, '66 maybe, where my classmate Sarah Quick, at the time her name was Sarah Ayat, and then became Quick, she married a Quick... was that teacher to launch that, what now is a full-fledged Hawaiian language, levels 1 through 6, or however many levels they have, all in language.

I graduated in '64 I was still working, you know, part-time at this Ranch job that we had. My father was, of course, employee there, and so he wanted us to, uh well, what he was involved with, which was pasture work to get rid of you know, invasive plants like guavas were taking over, or even try to battle the uh, what we call the pampīs or what they call now the fountain grass. Yeah, and things like that, and even planting grass. They would plow up fields or pastures and we would come and plant the grass by slips...

[Home for the summer and work at Hōnaunau]...I started to work with the maintenance crew, picking up rubbish, cleaning out the restrooms. And, then when it was lunch time, well, we met in the canoe house with, even Mr. Apple, Russ Apple came to sit in, so all the employees had to be there. I felt bad for some of them because they were speakers, some of them, semi, you know. They were speakers already of Hawaiian. Here this young kid over there, trying to teach them Hawaiian, more Hawaiian. Which was alright, because they accepted me because we had fun cleaning up the park just during regular hours, then I became their teacher during lunch hours! (laughing)

[Lunch time papa 'ōlelo]...In the canoe house, yeah, it was also used to carve, hālau wa'a. So it was all chips all over the place, and I always sat on these logs and I think a black board, we didn't have whiteboards.

KB: And Russ Apple took classes too?

LK: Oh yes! Yes, and he even continued after my employment there, while I was, you know, finishing up my last year of college at Mānoa. He used to come over, I don't know what he was there in Honolulu, and he would be there and say "I'm coming in. So can you have a class?" So I would say okay, and I was working part-time at, my part-time student work at the Bishop Museum, so the classes were over there, in one of the rooms that we had there, the recording room. I can't remember this, there was only him and another guy that was in charge of the Queen Emma lands down at Kawaihae, and that's with this, the National Park you know, where Pu'u Koholā is of course...Haole guy from the mainland I believe. Came in to coordinate some of the plans, development plans, in some way. And so he said, "No, I have to know some Hawaiian. I'd love to." Luckily, they were, well I was there in Mānoa, I wasn't anywhere else, so I couldn't be in Kona or Kawaihae or wherever. So, somehow they had this regular time that I could meet with them and, you know, we'd have a couple hours, I don't know if it were maybe every other week or something like that...Yeah, when I was working part-time as, I was a student at Mānoa but working at, part-time at the Museum...Yeah, so they were still interested [Hawaiian language]. Russ Apple has always been interested in Hawaiian culture, well not always, as far as I knew him. Then later on, even after I left the summer employment, I mean, he just continued studying and writing, I don't know if he wrote some books or definitely more articles and things, you know.

KB: Do you have any memories you can share of when you were working where you might have seen the carvers working, or heard them?

LK: Oh yeah, they were always, there was Ako Grace, you know, his name is Akoni I guess, or Anthony I guess Akoni is Anthony. Antone, yeah, that's who was the main carver. I was told he's the main carver of all the images, and he had people who were kind of, you know, apprentices under him. I believe he was, the way I heard, because his father or grandfather, all of them, his male line of grandfather and father, they were canoe carvers, so I guess Russ, I believe Russ Apple, it could have been Ed Ladd, because Ed Ladd was also the archaeologist, the main archaeologist. But before, I met him only a few times when I was you know, at his summit. (Ed Ladd) But he had already completed his project by '67, '68, so he was probably just coming for visits or something, and that's how I got to meet him. But I heard a lot about him and his work in restoring, you know, the archaeology of that area for the Park, I mean the main Park. [Hale o Keawe] ...And all of that, and um, Alealea, the platform inside. Yeah.

KB: Do you have any memories of walking passed or racking, or where you were intrigued or stopped? (Laughing) How they looked, or the process...

LK: (Laughing) No not really. Well you know I understand that Russ Apple used to have a nickname because he used to be a wrestler, right? He was called the Big Apple or something, but that's the name of New York isn't it? Something like that, Big Apple whatever it was, I didn't

know he was a wrestler you know. (Laughing)... Well you know, he was kind of a plump guy, husky guy... he could have been. Anyways but uh, always, always was very congenial, jovial, with employees and everybody loved him. I never got to meet his family, I knew he had a couple sons I believe, and a wife... and I think I met his, maybe this is his second marriage. He used to live in Volcano, right? The, uh, golf course. Yeah they were there a long time after his retirement. And she was into Architecture, so that might have been his second wife. But I never got to meet his first wife, I guess, nor his sons. I had kind of heard though he had couple sons who were in college. And then, Ed Ladd was very, in-passing, he seemed to be a very, um, focused person. And getting the job done kind of person. Archaeologist. But all the workers I worked with, like Larry Sasaki and... (looking at photographs) Yeah, and Charley Hua. Charles Hua... That must be a descendant, son or something. Cause this guys, he would have been, oh - and of course Moke Kekuewa, he's passed away too. And, uh, Simmons, I'm trying to remember his first name. James, yeah Kimo Simmons. And of course, Pu'ou. Was it Bill Pu'ou? These are the guys who were working in the maintenance section. [Larry Sasaki] Yeah, how are these guys, are they still around? There's Moke. Yeah, oh, they are building Hale o Keawe. The house was nearly complete when I got there. But I learned how to do the ti-leaf thatching because I had to demonstrate how they thatched the Hale o Keawe with ti-leaf [to visitors].

KB: How did they determine where they were going to put their different ki'i's?

LK: Oh, they had all that research done, you know, with the, what, *Blonde*? Was it the, not *Blonde*, what ship was it that returned the body of Liholiho in?

[H.M.S. *Blonde*] There's Russ. Huh! Yeah, they use these, that pond, to soak the 'ōhi'a logs. Yeah, because it was too abrupt just to haul them right down from the forest, up mauka, and you know, it would crack, so they put it in this, uh... I forgot the name of this pond, I don't know if there was a name, I don't think there was... It's a big pond. Deeper pond, not shallow ones like they have them, smattering of ponds, inside the Place of Refuge.

Yeah, and I didn't see the process of, I saw logs being soaked, but I didn't see the process where they, of course, when they cut them and brought them down. And also when they took them out of this soaking pond and dried them up enough to work on it. But I saw, I don't know, what image it was because they already had the images up. It was mainly for demonstration, you know, a park interpretation to the visitors. And of course Ako was still working as a carver, and his main apprentice was Pu'ou. Oh, I used to work when he was there, Tom Vaughn.

KB: I interviewed Tom Vaughn. Maybe he's the one that told me I should interview you.

LK: Ooh, where is he?

KB: I should've brought the ki'i. He sent two baby Lono but I wasn't sure...

LK: What?

KB: He sent home, I call them "baby Lono"-

LK: Oh he sent home. What do you mean by he sent-?

KB: I don't know if Ako... Ako Grace had made him three ki'i, little ones.

LK: I have two.

KB: Do you?

LK: Because, just because in appreciation for working during the summer.

KB: They gave it to you?

LK: Well Ako made, only the head of Lono.

KB: Yeah, that's what he made these two Lono.

LK: And the other one was made by Pu'ou, which was the whole, only small little ones, a token of their appreciation.

[On Tom Vaughan] he was my main superintendent in the second year I believe, the second summer. Because, then the second summer I got to be a, you know, one of those Yogi Bear, I mean with the uniform and everything. Smokey bear, not Yogi, sorry. (laughing)... Yeah, so I was under his supervision. I'm sure he remembers me... Yeah, I got him a little ticked off once I remember, and I thought I was doing it very innocent. I was still teaching Hawaiian language during the summer, but I sent in my whole report, you know, at the end of the day, in Hawaiian! Maybe it was a bad day for him. (laughing) Just numbers, you know, mostly. Amount of visitors, and all of that, different tour companies... I said my god, to myself, this is supposed to be your lesson! (Laughing) but I'm not supposed to, well anyway, he's a nice guy. Tom was a great guy.

KB: That's funny, oh that's funny! (Laughing)

LK: And I always remember, and we can talk about these place names later maybe, because I see that they have some, I call them misspellings, I like to call it misspellings rather than mistakes. I think sometimes, well, I don't know yet, but anyway... what is this here... Oh, yeah. This is much, is this Charles? Charley Hua? That's the Hua I know... Its Henry.

Gill, yeah Gill Tanaka. I know him too. He was always a Ranger though, but Sasaki, Larry Sasaki, they were all maintenance like this. '69, and who is this... And yeah, because we were the demonstrators, we didn't have the, that, what they call, what is the day that they hold there. Culture day, and all that. We didn't have that. And the next, not neighbor, but they used to live in the bay there, Kahili, Mr. and Mrs. Kahili. And their daughter, became well now, I saw in the newspaper, she was a, she's a Freitas, and she used to participate in the... Carla, that's her name, there she is. She's from down there.

KB: Yeah her daughter now, Kēhau works at the National Park.

LK: Okay, so I knew her parents. And her husband. I think he died... And they had a storage, and that's where I boarded. I could use their little kitchen, and then there was the little bunk back there... Yeah, with all the bones and everything that they found. Never bothered me.

KB: That parking lot when Ed Ladd was doing his excavations?

LK: Yeah, they stored all those things back there. And the headquarters was there. And there was just a little, I don't know, a little hut out in the front, for when the visitor came down the trail to get into the park. Where the rangers were to greet them... Yeah, and the first year I was there by myself. The second summer, there was an, and I can't remember, this guy was majoring in, a college student from Monterey, I believe, California. Into marine science. So, he and I got along fine, stayed in that little shed place.

[No electricity] It had a generator, and the reason we got the generator, cause next to us was oh, the name was right here in my mind, he and his family. Cause he was working in the office, they all wore uniforms, Rose Fujimori, Gilbert, not Gill, um, Filipino-Hawai'i, but Filipino I believe his last name. How can I forget his name [Garso]? And his wife, and, cause we shared the outdoor bath, we had an outside toilet, right?

...Oh yeah, on Friday afternoons we all have a big party always, just, not a party, but, end of the week kind of thing.

...[Looking at photographs] Some are familiar faces, of course. This is when they started having those what do you call them, cultural festivals. Yeah.

KB: So did you see some of that when you were working in the summers working there?

LK: Yeah, yeah, they had these logs and as I said and they were carving, and I don't know what they did with them, and they were carving images, because we already had the images up. That semi-circle of image, and all along, here and there...Ki'ei and Hālō and, they told you, the Ki'ei and Hālō those two images, and then there was Kaulelewalewa, that image in the ocean when the tide comes up.

“Now regarding what I was saying to you over the phone regarding the two images, Ki'ei (to peer quickly / glance usually with focus on something) and Hālō (to peer intently), I heard from the workers that when these two images were erected outside of the Hale O Keawe fence, on the elevated shore approximately between 'Akahipapa and Hale O Keawe, they stood facing directly into some homes of the nearby village so that members of these village homes objected having these two images looking directly into their place. I was told by the workers that the direction these two images faced was changed so as not to be so intrusive, but I cannot verify this (personal communication, via email, December 1, 2016 added to transcript)”

...[Family that stayed on the property] This house is the house...Bill Garso, yeah. And we shared the outside toilet in the back there. He had like, maybe four or five kids, small little ones. ...Oh my goodness, yeah, these are, this is my time kind of pictures. There we are, I mean that's not me but, that's the kind of work we had to do...Yeah there was always rubbish, you know, leaves, whatever. This must've been at a certain, a special ceremony, this is Ed Ladd. I mean the reason he's there, it seems like they all dressed up for something, and looks kinda like dark...And he was very interested of course, he helped get funds must be.

So this is Kaulelewalewa, this one. That's the name of this this outcropping. And then these two are Ki'ei and Hālō. And all the images are not up yet here, but they are beginning to put them in

place. [On Hale o Keawe] I don't know the sequence of all that, I wasn't there, but as I said it was already done when I got there. Just finished, just dedicated.

Clarence, I don't remember him either. But I know the name... Oh he was part of it too. Hmm, cause I know Russ Apple would take them, him, well this is what I heard, and maybe, even while I was there, they may have done a couple trips to the Bishop Museum, because they wanted to see, look at carvings and learn more about carvings, and also adzes, you know. Yeah, and I forget the names of all of these images. They have some names, I mean, not names so much as what they represented, which gods...Lono was the main one.

[Photographs] Oh, Hanson, Kimo Hanson, I kinda heard that name. Oh, Haley Cox, he was my teacher, art teacher at Mānoa...Yeah. I showed him, he was interested in petroglyphs, because he did a book on petroglyphs...Yeah, so I showed him some petroglyphs he never saw before. Well, there is so many, I mean not so much the actual image so much like a petroglyph, but the area where the petroglyphs are...Oh, nice to see some of their faces.

KB: I thought you'd enjoy this, looking at some old pictures.

LK: Yeah, he was very good at carving, of course, Ako. I wanna say Mokuohali'i [Mokuohai], but I don't think that's the name, but that family, was very well known then as a, you know, canoe carving. So I am sure that's how these people, like I don't know, Russ Apple was there before whoever was there to get the employees, you know. They wanted to get employees from that place. Oh, and of course who knew about things like carving, using the adze...they used a steel adze, but they were adzes...And of course they had chisels too. Hammer and chisel.

KB: Were they working too, at the same time when you would be working? So when the people were coming by, the visitors, they got to watch them?

LK: Yeah, that's basically what they did. And answer questions and things. Yeah. And just for lunch time, we get together, and of course on Friday afternoons, something like that...Pau hana, gathering. They loved to play music too, so...[Going home for the weekends] Well some Fridays I didn't, because of that. I stayed over. (Laughing) But then I would go home, of course, most of the weekends. We didn't have Fridays every Friday, though it almost seemed like every Friday.

Yeah, and I also wanted to tell you that I interviewed, cause I got to know, um, she was married to um, and I didn't see his picture yet here. He was kind of a part-time hire. Filipino, short Filipino man, Leon Fuentesvilla. Yeah, and his wife, Hawaiian, her name is Martina Kekuewa, as well. But it was her grandparents who adopted her, who were the main informants for Stokes...So if you know about the, I have to get to the Warren Nishimoto, they had a Mānoa oral history program. Did you get the interview there?

KB: No, I haven't yet. I've been too busy, I've been doing all kinds of scheduling, interviewing, but I love Warren...

LK: Yeah, well I have the recordings, but I only did the...[Warren N.] He did Kona interviews. And his are of interest was, you know the one I participated in, it was in the coffee industry. But there were other type of agricultural industries like tobacco and cotton and others...Yeah, he has

a whole batch. And they are all transcribed or, I only participated because I said to Warren, “You can always find somebody to do your English interviews, but if you wanted to interview Hawaiian speakers, I will do them.”

KB: And you did them, and then transcribed them.

LK: I did only a few, you know, about 4 or 5, but among them was Martina. And so I believe...[Martina Kekuewa] Well she goes by Fuentevilla. F-U-E-N-T-A? or T-E? Villa, of course is V-I-L-L-A. That’s her, Filipino last name, that she married...The Bishop Museum might have, you know, other interviews too, of people from (Kona), about maybe this topic or this area, I’m not too sure though.

KB: Yeah and he, it was just a compilation of like some of his favorite interviews I think and then they rewrote it in a narrative format, and he had interviewed someone who was raised at Hōnaunau, in like a grass-

LK: They were about the last grass house that was standing. Her grandparents...Ma‘inui and Lo‘e, I think Lo‘e was her grandmother. [On those early interviews] Well the Bishop Museum should have all of Stokes material, because that’s where Russ Apple folks and Ed Ladd used to go there a lot, to the Museum, and gather as much as they could from the work that was done earlier, such as by Kekahuna. And, what was Mr. Stokes first name, anyway Stokes, and whatever they had, you know.

So this is where when I got to know Martina, she wasn’t an employee, but I just somehow I met her at a, she was down at the park or something, and I know she was a speaker of the language and all that. And that’s how we got to know each other. Well, actually I’m sorry I got to know her way before I got hired at Hōnaunau Park, and this is probably how I knew about the Park more, I have to remember all of these things. I was, I became, how do you say, almost like an adopted son to this family who lived in Waimea, they worked for the Ranch but they are from Kona, and they used to go back to Kona on weekends. And they come from Nāpo‘opo‘o and there is a little place next to Nāpo‘opo‘o called Kahauloa, between Ke‘ei and Nāpo‘opo‘o. And she, the wife, is from there. And then they also are related to people from Hōnaunau, and so we would go visit and stay at Hōnaunau, which was up the road from, you know-[the bay]... They still have that old road. When the old road, there is only one way to get there was you come down from Nāpo‘opo‘o first, and you go straight across this little skinny old road that goes straight, like a straight drive all the way through to Hōnaunau. Then you have to come back the same way... So when I was working the first summer, that’s how I had to get there cause the road had, was it completed then? The Hale o Keawe road... which is a nice, you know, National Park road. I don’t believe it was, well maybe I’m getting confused with when I used to go with the Kīhei family, and we’d stay down. And then they introduced me to Martina, so I already knew Martina before I even got to... that’s how come I was interested more so while working the Park cause I’d check with her, especially about names, you know, the names that were... [place names]... like I was saying, Ālealea. I think they pronounce, or they spell it like Ale‘ale‘a, or something... But I never heard her pronounce it that way. It was always, Ālealea... maybe the first A had a marker on Ālealea. And then also, of course, there’s a little sand bay there.

KB: Keone‘ele‘ele cove?

LK: Yeah, it’s supposed to be Keone‘eli... here, yeah...this is the bay right here...No, not ‘ele, but ‘eli. So, K-E-O-N-E-glottal-E-L-I. Keone‘eli.

KB: Ah, and that’s how Martina pronounced it?

I’m just telling you the ones I noticed that were, well to me they were misspelled, cause they are not, Hawaiian is spelled pronunciation, it’s phonetic...And this one, oh you don’t have the picture of the canoe, this is not in the Park, outside of the Park. Kapua‘i [Kapuawai]...No, Kapua‘i...I don’t know what they call it...K-A-P-U-A-glottal-I, that’s all.

KB: Ah, this is all good to know. (laughing) Because, you know, it’ll be written down, and then its, people go oh look so and so...

LK: Well that’s the name of the, the real, those are the names, that I am getting from the horse’s mouth, so to speak. She was raised by her grandparents, you know, as the Lo‘e and Ma‘inui, and they were Stokes main informants about the stories that he got, you know, Pōhaku o Ka‘ahumanu and Pōhaku o Keoua, and all of those things they have now, that the Park interprets. They wouldn’t have interpretation if they didn’t have this kind of information, they would have archaeological things, which is also interesting. But also the local stories.

KB: ...I was looking for some mana‘o on when the ki‘i are decommissioned, that have been created, and displayed for usually I think about 20-30 years, and it’s time for them to be replaced, do you have any ideas of what would be a culturally appropriate way to decommission them, and where to put them?

LK: No, but I wouldn’t burn them.

LK: I don’t know what happens, because yes certainly this happened, I think was the common occurrence back in the old day so, what would they do with them? I don’t know, I don’t think you could recycle them for some other purpose. I don’t think you would do that. I think you might just find a nice place to have them rot away, you know, some place, like a person’s body just-

KB: Goes back to the earth?

LK: Yeah, turn into ashes, yeah.

KB: ...Do you have any thoughts or ideas on how you could see changes, or how they might improve the interpretation program or cultural programs, to make it more appropriate to the Hawaiian culture?

LK: Um, well I haven’t participated in interpretation, so... and of course during my summer jobs, I think we were just starting, you know, to kind of, not when I started, but you know it was early in interpreting it to visitors. So it was mostly about the meaning, you know, the Pu‘uhonua, in its broader sense. I think that’s a kind of a theme, I don’t know if they are doing that in the connection to the Pu‘uhonua in its, not as a Place of Refuge specifically cause of course that’s one of the major interpretations you do. But what I mean in its connection to bigger cultural, um,

of Hawai‘i, and that of course would be dependent a lot on the documentation and whatever is available, and that period of course, there would be the documentation revolving around Kamehameha, Kalani‘ōpu‘u, and, you know, that kind of a time period. The overthrow of the Kapu... Yeah I don’t know how that can come into play with the bigger connections, of course then you see more connections between Pu‘u Koholā and, like Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau, because of the Keawe, Hale o Keawe, and the how do you say Mausoleum, protecting, keep, maintaining, maintenance of the bones there.

Well, you know, you could connect Kamehameha to some, just say picking on that theme, cause that’s a bit more documented. Even though it’s not that much, but at least it’s more than what you could probably find for Līloa or somebody, or even ‘Umi. And then it’s his connection of course to Pu‘u Koholā and Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau, Ālealea... was mainly to connection to that battlefield there, of course, of Moku‘ōhai, and what that represented.

[On the Park dedication] Yeah, I remember somebody had, maybe it was Martina who told me, she said, or was it the workers, when they had the dedication, it was at the time that Mr. Apple, I think it was his older son, got into some kind of accident, or something, he died, and that’s how come they brought his ashes back to, I don’t know where, but outside of the City of Refuge maybe, they scattered his ashes. You know, and that belief, this is a pure Haole now, thinking that there must still be a human sacrifice to be offered, and when you restore and rededicate a new site such as that... Yeah, that’s how he, and as I said he’s pure Haole, but he was so dedicated, so much to his work, that’s how he interpreted that. But I don’t know too much about the details... I don’t know if he was going to school or something, and then they brought his, I think it was his ashes, to be scattered. And I don’t know where, the ocean or on land, or wherever.

[On Rose Fujimori] Ooh, she used to be so nice to me, or us, when the second summer we had the, I can’t remember his name, and she would say, “Oh, you guys have to cook for yourself. Why don’t you come over for dinner?” So we’d go up to her house, and her kids were just small yet. Oh yeah, I just enjoyed those days down in Hōnaunau, that was such a nice, not the job, the place, but just the people, the workers, all of them. So nice. Yeah.

*Larry Kimura’s full interview includes additional information on: ranching, educational history, and archive resources at Bishop Museum and the U.H. Center for Oral History.

Tom Vaughan

Excerpt from Interview

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW

Interviewee: Tom Vaughan (TV)

Date of Interview: 6/29/2016

Telephone Interview from Volcano, Hawai‘i to Silver Lake, New Mexico

Interviewer: Kalena Blakemore (KB)

Transcribed by: Ka‘oi Kuali‘i

Date of Transcription: July 15, 2016

TV: Good morning...I’m Tom Vaughan and you know the only thing that I am prideful and fussy about is the spelling of my last name...make sure that you get it, V-a-u-g-h-a-n.

KB: Okay

TV: My son and I are the last in our line that retain that name. I was born December 4, 1940 in Merrill, Wisconsin. M-e-r-r-i-l-l, which is up in the north woods of Wisconsin, in North Central Wisconsin...My parents, had no Hawaiian relationship or even Native American relationship in my ancestry. My parents were George and Alicia Curtis Vaughan and um, my great grandfather came to Wisconsin through Ellis Island from England in 1886, I think, on my dad's side. My mother's side, uhh 1600's in Massachusetts.

KB: Oh wow! Way back...Yeah, Founders. Um, okay, thank you.

TV: “Founders” or “takers” (we laugh)...[Connection to Hōnaunau] Yes, long ago and far away, I wanted to be an archaeologist - And that led me to graduate school after I got my undergraduate degree in sociology from Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma Washington; Parkland, Washington actually. Um, I went to Southern Illinois University for graduate school in Anthropology (pause) and later became a refugee from that, but in between my two years of graduate school, I got the opportunity to work for the Bishop Museum on an archaeological field crew during the summer, part of the time in the museum in Honolulu. Um, we did spend quite a lot of time on the Big Island doing site survey, and so I did get to Kona at least during this time. We did most of our work down south of Napopo [Nāpo‘opo‘o] and Hōnaunau at Alike Bay, and in Hawai‘i Volcanos, at Halapē...So then I left graduate school and got on as a seasonal ranger in Mesa Verde National Park in 1966. So, 50 years ago this summer I was taking tours of Cliff Palace and Balcony House at Mesa Verde, and the idea was so that I would try to get into the Park Service. Well, as always it is difficult to figure out how to get into the Park Service. And at

that time, there was a test that you took called the FSEE - Federal Service Employment Examination I think it was. And I took that over in Durango, um,? along with a couple other younger men, well about the same age. And my appointment at Mesa Verde came to an end. I was the last dog hung. But on my birthday in 1966, it was my last day and now I ran a little community museum in basement of Cortez City Hall for a couple months trying to get into the Park Service. Finally, it turned out that another guy that took the test with me, his dad was the chief ranger at Mesa Verde, Jack Wade. This was Bill Wade, and Jack wanted to know what had happened so he made some inquiries and found out that our test exams had been sent over to the Census Bureau. (laughs) So, we got back on track and we actually got pulled into the session of National Park Operations at Grand Canyon, the Albright Training Center. That began in early 1967, and in fact Bill Wade and I had adjacent departments in the training center there. At the completion of that time -which was a big deal for all us in-take trainees who hadn't come there from a park where we were currently assigned - they sent us all out of the room and they put sealed envelopes on our desk and they let us all back in and we heard cries of delight and moans of desperation and so on to find out where we were going to be. I was pretty happy because I was going to be at City of Refuge National Historical Park...Yeah (laughs) And so that's how I wound up getting there.

KB: Okay! So that was in '67 then, you started at, well they called it City of Refuge, now today it's PUHO or Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. Okay so maybe you can share some of the stories when you got there. I know you were talking about Rose Fujimori, and um, she's since passed away but her daughter Rae is the chief of interpretation now.

TV: One of the things that I learned in Hawai'i is, well, two things, one of which I learned from Henry Hua, who was chief of maintenance of that time, which was um, never to ask a direct question of a person. Um, not "Henry what do I do about this?" - but to ask "if somebody were going to solve that problem, what would they do?"...and the other thing - was to give some history. And so um, I'm going to give some history. I grew up in Northern Wisconsin. In the Wisconsin, of Joe McCarthy.

And I grew up in all-white community, and the people of color were the Italians, and um, I joke sometimes, but it's only partly joking - that my introduction to race relations was the jokes that the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes told on each other. And so although I had been in the Army and had been in mixed settings, and had been in Virginia and places like that. At this point you know I still basically was a country boy, growing up in an all-white community, also one that was very set in its ways, very much related to what other people think, and then there was the specter of McCarthyism hanging over, inciting fear and angst and suspicion in everybody. And so, getting to Hawai'i was a very different experience...the first of that came on an archeological field crew. I was called a haole even though I was a mainland haole, and the other guys on the crew had a lot of fun trying new foods on me and so on, which they found out for the most part I liked...And so you know getting to Hawai'i took some getting used to and thank god, you know, Rose is like my big sister. She took me under her wing so to speak, although she is a lot shorter than me, and it helped me through all the little things. Let me just give you one example. She grew up in a Chinese-Hawaiian household, and when we went somewhere to somebody's family to visit, I had grown up with my mother taking the last of every dish that was on the table and telling me I had to eat it because there were starving children in China, and so on.

And you never, you always cleaned your plate, “clean your plate,” she said, over and over and over again. And Rose pointed out to me that if I clean my plate, the host might think that I might not have had enough to eat and was too polite to ask for more. So learning to leave something on the plate was totally against everything that I have been brought up on (giggling). And you know that sort of thing was to help to not create ripples in someone; that was good. We lived in, I think Henry Leslie's house in Nāpo‘opo‘o...I see- think it's still there. It's about two yards going down to the state park on the right hand side and it looks like there's a newer house is built right on the front there, but it's set back quite a ways. And there was my first wife, uh we got divorced while in Hawai‘i, and um and my daughter who is now hmm, 52 I think something. My wife Donna and my daughter Beth. And that's where we lived... I was Chief of Visitor Services.

KB: Chief of Visitors Services? Okay. Um, yeah I just wonder how many people were coming in? And what were the ethnicity of the visitors? Were there Hawaiians coming in? Or just tourist from the mainland? And how did you go about setting up your programs to do your public sharing and outreach? Rose must have been a big part of that I'm sure.

TV: Okay, um, you know, hmm (pause). To, be honest with you, I absolutely cannot recall if there was somebody in that position before me... That I replaced... I don't remember. It seems logical there might of been that this program was kind of established... At that point, when I got there, Russ Apple, was the superintendent. And his background was as a historian. He'd also been a Boy Scout executive in Alaska and he used to wrestle professionally as “the Big Apple”. And um, Bill Garso, was the administrative assistant. And my chief co-workers were Gilbert Tanaka and Rose Fujimori. And there was a ramshackle building in the back that served as the administrative offices. My wife and I are photographers now, but my first photographic assignment that I ever had was to take pictures of that green looking screen and metal roof building and make it look as bad as possible.

KB: Why? So.. (both giggling) you could get more money?

TV: Get funds to fix it up (Laughing)... And Ed Ladd was the archaeologist.

*In the summer that I worked we became good friends and Ladd was a Zuni Indian of all things to find in Hawai‘i. Sounds like typical government placement. And actually I am getting the answer to the question you originally asked because Ed used to characterize our winter visitors as “the newlyweds and the nearly-dead”

(*Doesn't make sense, I first met Ed during my summer with the Bishop Museum but didn't really get to know him till I was assigned there. Notes from T.V. edits)

And you know, it's funny, because time after time there would be people coming in during that period of time. I often wondered if they caught pneumonia and died when they got back to Pittsburgh or Milwaukee or wherever. But, they would say two sentences and I would know them from the upper Midwest. We did have quite a few Hawaiian visitors during the summer, and the schools brought groups down. Um, you know, my daughter when she was in kindergarten at Konawaena, brought a permission slip home to let them go down to Kailua and then go to the King Kam hotel. And one of the purposes of doing that was so that they could ride the, um, I think it was the elevator. Because the kids would be taking standardized test. And other kids in America knew what elevators were.

KB: Ohh, and they didn't know what an elevator was?

TV: That was the only one in the area. To be honest I can't remember if it was an elevator or an escalator. But that was the only one in the area. So this was the "cultural experience", the experiential thing that they needed to know. That's how remote we were in the late 60's. A lot of our people were on tours, and so we worked with them and we tried to stay on good relations with the tour drivers and tour companies. But we also began to pick up the fact that they told the biggest lies and bullshit that you can possibly imagine, pardon the language. Um, and made sure that they stopped at their cousin's place to buy dresses and that sort of thing. And we were concerned about the quality of interpretation that was being offered. And we knew that there was a wider interest in that. So, I think it was in January of... probably '69, we organized and hosted a Big Island Interpretive Conference and we invited representatives of the tour companies and hotels and so on, to all get together and talk about what we could do to improve the level of interpretation and information going to the visitors and their various services.

And one of the reasons I mention this, is because I can still remember so clearly, um, oh lordy, I have to admit that sometimes things are escaping me at 75...And at the Rockefeller Hotel up in Waimea? It was down at the beach, um, I wanna say..um, Well..., several had just gone in in Kona.

KB: OK, Royal Kona Resort, like it was, yeah, I know which one you are talking about now. The architecture was unusual.

TV: Yeah, Yeah it is, yeah. And it was the pricey one.

In fact, we used to joke, that you can tell the Hilton people because they're always the ones staying at the Hilton because they let you know that they were staying at the Hilton. But the ones who were at the Rockefeller hotel they just had a car and they came in and did their thing and went back. Bob Butterfield was the manager of that Rockefeller hotel. And when you send out the questionnaire to all these people of interpreters they had on staff, they had come back with the figure and assessment of 300.

And I asked him about that, and he said, "everybody who stays here spends the equivalent of buying a new Cadillac." And he figures it's the job of every person here to make sure that they have a Cadillac experience.

KB: Oh Wow. So all the employees are interpreters and every encounter the visitors have will be with someone sharing culture?

TV: Right. And, you know, to bring that down to home. When I got there, we didn't have the Visitor Center - it was built while I was there. What we had was a brackish water, might of been a County Park I think before then, and so there was a brackish water little concrete building museum, with a "his" and "hers" in there. And I remember telling Henry Hua one day, that um, that a visitor had reported that the toilet was overflowing. Henry got me this wooden implement with a rubber bell-shaped stopper on the other end, and um, I used it, and remember that- you know if the first thing the visitor sees is an overflowing toilet, they are going to have a crappy experience.

KB: Literally (Laughing), no pun intended

TV: No pun intended, literally - and in that, really, it was wonderful for me because it reinforced the idea that it was everybody's job to make that experience good.

Our contact station, we actually had, maybe it's in the collection somewhere, we actually had one of those wooden, hanging on the post, wind-up phones to talk to the office in back, we didn't have a phone to reach outside. And the contact station was just off in the back from the little cove there, separated from it by quite a bit of sand, although sometimes at high tide we still had water there...back against some rocks. And it was a little building of gypsum board and there was an open area in the front that was covered by bamboo bars and then we had plastic sheeting that we could pull down over that open area when the gales came in. And that was our contact station...And that's uh, Rose... Rose was mostly in back in that time, I think. But Gil and I worked there, and Jimmy (pause), Jimmy Simmons...and Dick Tripp, It finally came to me, I was trying to think - um, one of the seasonals who worked with us. I think it was Jimmy Simmons and Dick Tripp...And you know, we kinda took it as they came in and uh, that was the way it operated until the visitor center was built, and then we had you know a little bit better facilities.

KB: ...I am interested in the ki'i and I know you said that you're not sure how helpful you can be on that but I am sure that you must know a little bit about who is doing the carvings because you have some examples of the carvings from Ako Grace, just curious about when you were giving tours did they talk to you about the different gods that the ki'i represent, like you know, like Lono, Kū, um, Kanaloa - just any- why must some be stationed on the outside or if some or clustered on the inside and some are at different corners - just um information or thoughts on that?

TV: Do you have the date that Hale o Keawe was dedicated?...Um, yeah I remember very distinctively because we've had um- by that time, Cloyd Kump, the superintendent - and there was a new school that had been built up on, um, Kohala-side of Kona
And there had been a death there and been some other things there, something that happened at the Hilton because not adequate prayers had been done, not the blessings that should be done? We made sure at the topping off ceremony at Hale o Keawe that we did have a blessing. And there was a congregational minister I believe, and I think a catholic priest, and then Daddy Bray was the Kahuna that was there. Does his name come up?

KB: No, I have never heard of that name come up yet. Bray?

TV: Bray, B-r-a-y, He was a very well-known Kahuna in the Kona area who was usually officiating all the different ceremonies. And so we did that and as far as I know everything went well after that.

The images were being carved while we were there and (huh) - we didn't have much to do with that and it was clear that we were not to intrude on the carving. So we may have 9 tours a day going through the palace grounds there, over to the side of the Hale o Keawe. But we didn't intrude on the carving. The carvers were both maintenance men and carvers. So, they were picking up trash and emptying garbage cans as well as doing the carving. Now, at times they would be there in malos doing the carving, but for the most part, as I recall, they were in work

clothes. And uh, the ki'i were kept wrapped in wet burlap? Or they were floating in the fish pond.

KB: Was that to keep them from cracking?

TV: Yeah. That was to keep them so that they can be worked.

So I think there were, before my time, there were two haole people who supposedly did the research and worked on getting the project started, and I don't think I've ever met them and I think they were gone before I got there. And I don't remember their names and I don't know much about the, um, the input that they had. I got the impression that, you know they were brought on, hired probably to organize and plan the project but then - as far as I know - it was pretty much being carried on by park staff and I would have to say that the direction probably came from Ed Ladd as far as the archaeology part. And we didn't have a historian on-staff and there was really nobody uh - Russ Apple was probably doing some of that. He left, which was one of those up and outs. Um, he left and Cloyd Kump came in. Russ was not a manager, he was a showman and he was certainly a historian but he was not a manager. And Cloyd Kump was brought in there to stabilize the place a little bit. And, so I don't know who was directing the carving beyond that. The principle carver was Ako - Ako was the one who was doing most of it. Bill Puou was working with him. Moke Kekuewa sometimes. Uh, sometimes Moke also would work as a cultural demonstrator, playing kōnane with people and um catching crab with the um, what's the split-palm frond? There is a device with a split palm frond and a strip across the end and drop it over the crab's eye socket and pulls eye socket down and captures himself on the thread. Yeah, they had been demonstrating that. And we had, we had a canoe there with a rotted bottom because it was made out of an Australian wood and carpenter bees got to it.

So there was an outrigger canoe sitting there in the sand by the cove. When I got there, I am trying to remember how many, you know, I can't even bring up memories of the big ki'i even being put up! I am sorry, um I remember that the one that stands out in the cove was already there, and I remember that it was named Lonoka'ulelewalewa. And I know that the Kū image on the far-side with the erection was there. Because that's where we ended our tours and lost at least half of every group to distraction. And I also remember there were several replacement erections that were required because people kept, um, cutting it off...most of the images were really already in place I guess, by the time I was there and I know the two that stand, uh, with the head dresses that stand together - (laughs) Those were already in place, um I think most of them were in place, maybe the final ones they were working on were the ones that were inside the courtyard inside there.

There's one thing that I can share - I was talking with Ako one time. Ako married to a haole lady, Mable I think? Lived maybe a mile up the road to "Captain Cook" from me and drove a little old, open, two-seat Jeep and uh, we got to be somewhat friends. (Ako) He was telling me one time - I asked him this ki'i I can't get a picture of, um, I'm going to try go through my daughter to get it, That I really would like to be able to share it with you, is a foot tall standing image of Kū, with hands open on a wooden base and milo wood - has a dark heart with it, striking contrast with a outer light wood - And he just worked that out of the image so beautifully, and I asked him, how did he manage to do that? And he said, that in his sleep, he would have images. He would get the image of a figure in a piece of wood - And then, execute it

when he was awake. (Laughing) That's probably the only useful piece of information I'll be able to give you.

KB: No, That's fascinating, and I am sure that people would be interested in hearing that, especially his nephew who is working at the park and does a lot of carving now too.

TV: Oh he does? Okay... The thing that struck me was that this was, this was the kind of vision, visioning, uh visualizing, that I've heard from artists and it wasn't presented in a particularly religious context. It was the artistic expression in the image in the wood rather than a "God told me to do it this way" kind of thing.

KB: Yeah, exactly, I know what you mean. I've heard a lot of hula dancers, when they go, when they are introduced to a dance, that it comes to them at night while they are sleeping. You know it is something that comes to them in a different realm and then they get up- or a chant, you know, when you're trying to learn something, and that while you're sleeping, is when it comes to you. So, and that's very artistic too. Dance and oli and carving. So Yeah, I know what you mean, I understand.

TV: That is so 'Iolani Luahine. Who lived in Napopo (Nāpo'opo'o) when I lived there.

KB: Yeah, so you don't know anything about the gods and the ki'i. I know the Lono, you can really see distinctively which ones are Lono and Kū.

TV: Mhmm, and Kū with the open hands received human sacrifices, which was the way Ako explained it.

KB: Ahh, Kū with the open hands...so did he ever mention different types of textures that were applied on different ki'i and the meanings behind them? You know how some of them, the braided hairdress, and some are smooth, um...

TV: No

KB: Okay, when you were there have they talked about what they would do when it was time to replace the ki'i? One of the questions right now that the park is interested in trying to find us an answer to, is how to curate them and reposit them in a culturally, appropriate, respectful way and so, um, that's sort of one of the questions I'm going to be asking some of the people as you know, how do you best see them cared for - because we can't, you know - we don't have a lot of museums to store them but yet, they have to be replaced in 30, 50 years. And what do we do with the older ones? Had that kind of question come up while you were their working?

TV: As is so often the case: when you are building something you don't think about it then. And I don't remember any discussion of that; after all, this was built out of huge logs and they will last forever.

KB: Right, was there a particular way they cared for them? So that they could last longer or once they were carved, were they just left to be?

TV: I don't know that any treatment or preservative was applied to it. I think they were just carved and stood up.

[On Larry Kimura] Yeah, he was a college student at the time and he was working with - um, it was about the time cousin Palani came out with um, some of the first "Sunday Manoa" records. Larry of course, was quite a Hawaiian language specialist, he's not really my cousin, of course. Um, he helped Palani with some of the phrasing.

...Interesting. You know, something occurred to me, I have absolutely no idea, how and where the logs were acquired for the ki'i...they were all there, they were all sitting in the pond, you know, being worked on or either waiting to be worked on...So, that might be a thing that would be worth, uh, exploring...And, what, if any, thoughts, ceremonies or whatever, was associated with finding them and cutting them...Cause they were all there.

KB: There's only one fellow left alive of the carvers and I'm hoping to get to interview him, Sam Ka'ai? Um...

TV: I've heard that name, but I don't remember having seen or met him, but I have heard that name.

KB: ...So, um, now that you have three ki'i of Ako Grace's, your daughter knows the precious value of them right?

TV: Probably not.

KB: I was so worried they would end up at a garage sale or something, ohhhh, I hope you send them back to Hawai'i, you know um -

TV: You got me thinking. You know, my two that I showed you pictures of that are in my possession...Um, maybe they are sitting on a mantle along with other things that you don't look at, not a mantle, but a book case kind of thing...And um (pause) so, are they going to be of interest to the collection at PUHO?

KB: I'm sure it would be. I'm sure it would be fantastic. I mean just when I looked at the photos and my husband, we were just like (gasp of air), kinda took our breath away cause, well you took good care of them, they were really in good condition, and I would imagine there probably were really valuable because that person is no longer alive and um, he was a really fine carver...But yeah, something to think about definitely, to maybe to bequeath them, um back to the park.

TV: Um, yeah you know (laughs), things are of little value to me and memories are the things that are important...I am not a big country music fan, but Willie Nelson and Loretta Lynn came out not too long ago and spoke to my conditions. There's a line in there, "I'll be at peace when they lay me down?"

KB: I'll be at peace when they let me down?

TV: When they lay me down (giggles)...And I've reached that point, um, and you know and I'm not ready to go and I'm having fun and just enjoying life, but the storms have passed and um, the desperate times, the angry times have passed...And in spare times, and so I am more at peace with letting go of things that otherwise I would have been more inclined to keep...But you know I'll think about it and send um over.

KB: That would be awesome...So those are really precious and valuable to all of us - and I appreciate that you had enough time to share [interview] today with me.

TV: Okay, please feel free to keep the loop open, um as you probably already have become aware, put a nickel in me and you get a quarter worth of volume back, maybe quarter maybe twelve cents, but um, I do like to share memories because um, because some of it is a quarter...we were hoping to do a trip to Hawai'i...I don't know what will happen now, we talked about it [wife Sandy], about time to get there...

KB: Yeah, well, if you do come out please call me and I'd be happy to show you and take you around too.

TV: Okay...That's great and holler if you have any after-thoughts.

KB: I will.

TV: And I won't promise that I won't send you other things that come to mind.

KB: That's good, thank you! (giggles) Alright Tom, thank you, have a good day.

TV: Buh-bye.

*Tom Vaughan's full interview includes rich and vibrant details of: photography he contributed to the PUHO collection, Archival research resources, modernization with electricity at CIRE, employment at HAVO, and his NPS appointments on the continental U.S.

Appendix F. Glossary of Acronyms

CBPR	Community Based Participatory Research
IARII	International Archaeological Research Institute Inc.
KAHO	Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park
MA	Master of Arts
MC	Master of Ceremonies
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990)
NHO	Native Hawaiian Organization
NPS	National Park Service
OHA	Office of Hawaiian Affairs
OHP	Oral History Project
PUHO	Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park
ROD	Rapid ‘Ō‘hia Death
UHH	University of Hawai‘i at Hilo
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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