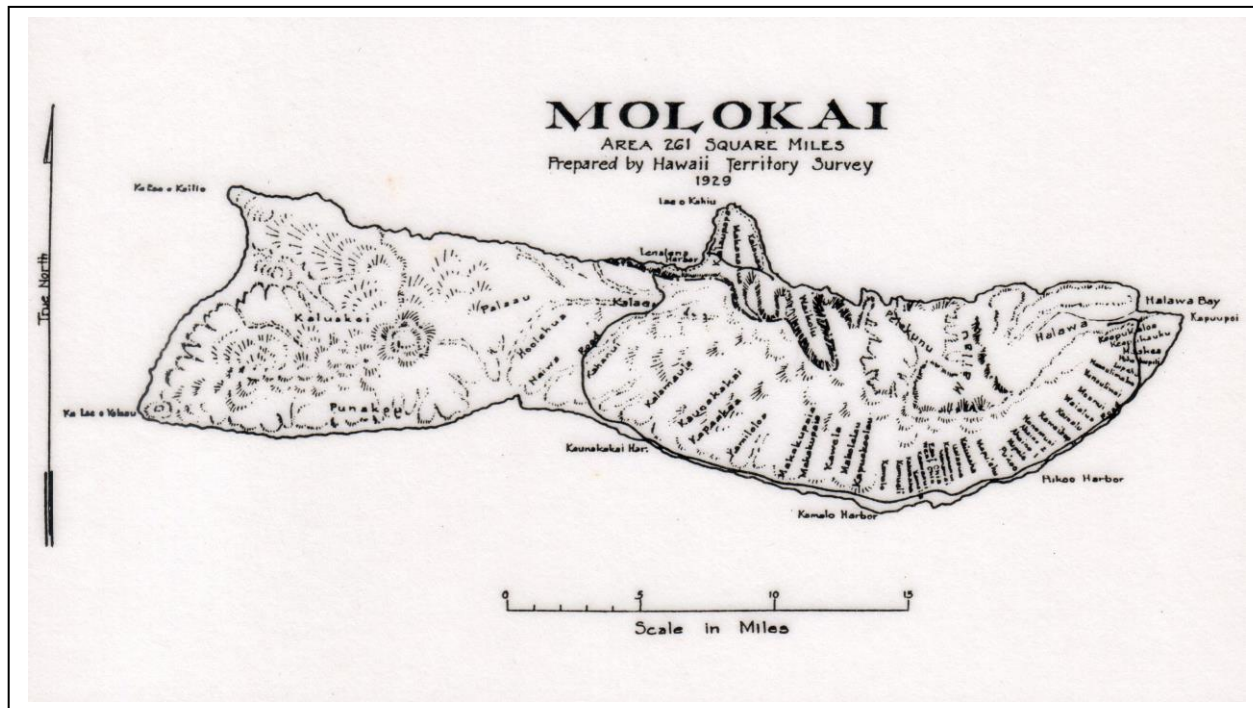


CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT OF U.S. MARINE CORPS TRAINING:

AHUPUA‘A OF KALUAKO‘I, WEST MOLOKA‘I (Moloka‘i Overview TMK:5-1-02)



Kumu Pono Associates

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Partnerships in
Cultural Resources Management · Developing Preservation Plans and Interpretive
Programs

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Kepā Maly, Consultant

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Partnerships in
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Belt Collins Hawaii (BCH), Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a cultural and historical assessment study in conjunction with the preparation of an Environmental Assessment (EA) for proposed Marine Corps training operations. The study focuses on a 9,000-acre parcel of privately-owned land in the district of Kaluako'i, West Moloka'i (Moloka'i Overview TMK:5-1-02). The specific objectives of the study were: (1) Conduct archival research to provide a background overview of Kaluako'i pre and post contact history; (2) Gather information from Moloka'i residents regarding traditional Hawaiian lore and practices, cultural sites, traditional use of the land and natural resources, and current subsistence practices and access to the study area; and (3) Solicit community feedback on social and environmental concerns regarding proposed use of the study area for military training.

Archival research and resident interviews were conducted between August 22-December 10, 1996. The combined studies determined that much of the cultural and natural landscape of Kaluako'i has been significantly altered by more than 100 years of ranch and plantation operations. While in many areas, physical evidence of traditional Hawaiian occupations and land use has been erased, knowledge of remaining cultural sites was recorded during informant interviews. The interviews demonstrate that there is a continuity and time depth in knowledge of Kaluako'i's traditional cultural value as handed down over the generations, and that there is contemporary significance through continued use of traditional resources in and adjacent to the study area.

It is also noted here, that nearly all of the interviews record a distrust (based on past experiences) of the military's ability to keep its word and to leave the land in a condition at least no worse than its present condition. All of the interviewees would prefer to see that Marine Corps find another location, off of Moloka'i, for its training operations. But, if training is to occur, all individuals spoken with recommend that the Marine Corps work with the community and share in stewardship and caring for the land. A number of the interviewees also asked that representatives of the Marine Corps command come to Moloka'i to meet with community members to develop a plan for future use and stewardship of the land.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is a Hawaiian saying “**A’ohe hana nui ke alu ‘ia**” (No task is too big, when done together by all) (Pukui 1981:18). Thus, it is acknowledged here, that many individuals have contributed to the preparation of this study. To all of you — Scott Ka’uhanehonokawailani and Sylvia Mililani Adams, Matthew Adolfo, Billy Akutagawa, Bobby Alcain, Nathaniel Burrows, Dorothe Curtis, Dr. Diane Drigot, Gregory Helms, Joey Joao, Lawrence Joao Sr., William Kalipi, Daniel A. and Luika Kekahuna, Charles and Noe Keli’ikipi, Wayde Lee, Kamakaonaona Pomroy-Maly, Walter and Kathleen Mendes, Ed Misaki, Masashi Harry “Cowboy” Otsuka, Mac (Kelson) Poepoe, Kahu Tyrone Reinhardt, Walter Ritte, David Stefansson, and David and Myra (Tomonari) Tuggle — Mahalo nui nō, a ke aloha pū me ‘oukou a pau.

Also, while reading through this collection of histories, comments, and recommendations, I would ask you to think of another ancient Hawaiian saying —

“A’ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho’okāhi”
(Not all knowledge is taught in one school)

The above saying has been used for generations, to gently remind people that there are many schools of thought, and based on training or perceptions, there are many ways of interpreting a situation. While we may not all perceive things in the same way, we can find ways to achieve common goals. With this saying, I wish to share with readers that I can only speak from the door of my school, and do not profess to have recorded all that could be said about the land and traditions of Kaluako’i, Moloka’i, or the study matter. But an effort has been made to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of Kaluako’i, Moloka’i, and to accurately relay the thoughts and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

me ka ha’aha’a — Kepā Maly

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

At the request of Belt Collins Hawaii (BCH), Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a cultural and historical assessment study in conjunction with the preparation of an Environmental Assessment (BCH Project No. 642-0101) for proposed Marine Corps training operations on privately owned land on Molokaʻi. The study area is an approximately 9,000 acre parcel on the north and northwestern side of the ahupuaʻa (traditional land division) of Kaluakoʻi (Molokaʻi Overview TMK:5-1-02) (Figure 1.). The United States Marine Corps (USMC) has proposed moving its training activities, which were conducted on Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) property, to the land owned by Molokaʻi Ranch. The move was proposed following meetings in 1995-1996, with DHHL homesteaders and area residents, DHHL staff, and representatives of Molokai Ranch.

The proposed training activities would be similar to those that occurred on DHHL land (Puʻu Luahine and vicinity, to the east of Kaluakoʻi). Activities would be primarily ground training maneuvers on foot, with only limited vehicle support, primarily for troop transportation to/from training area, and movement of food, water and medical supplies. No digging would occur except for latrines. Live ammunition would be prohibited (blank firing will be allowed), and except for emergency purposes, pyrotechnics and explosive devices would be prohibited. Tracked vehicles, and refueling vehicles are prohibited as well. The proposed activities would take place throughout the year by groups of about 150 personnel, and about twice a year by groups as large as 800. Because one of the primary goals of the training is to practice maneuvers without being seen, most of the activity would be non-intrusive. As is presently occurring, helicopter activity would primarily involve daylight hours use only, though occasionally, activity may extend to 10:00 p.m. (2200 hours). At the time of writing, the possible limited use of Hale-o-Lono harbor for supply support activities is being investigated. It is anticipated that this could occur two or three times annually in conjunction with the larger maneuvers.

Historical-Archival Research

This study included a review of literature from a wide variety of sources. Among the manuscript resources reviewed, were: several published and manuscript legendary accounts (both in Hawaiian and English); a review of land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the Māhele (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi; and a limited review of previous archaeological studies (cited in text). Primary Hawaiian literature resources included, but were not limited to:

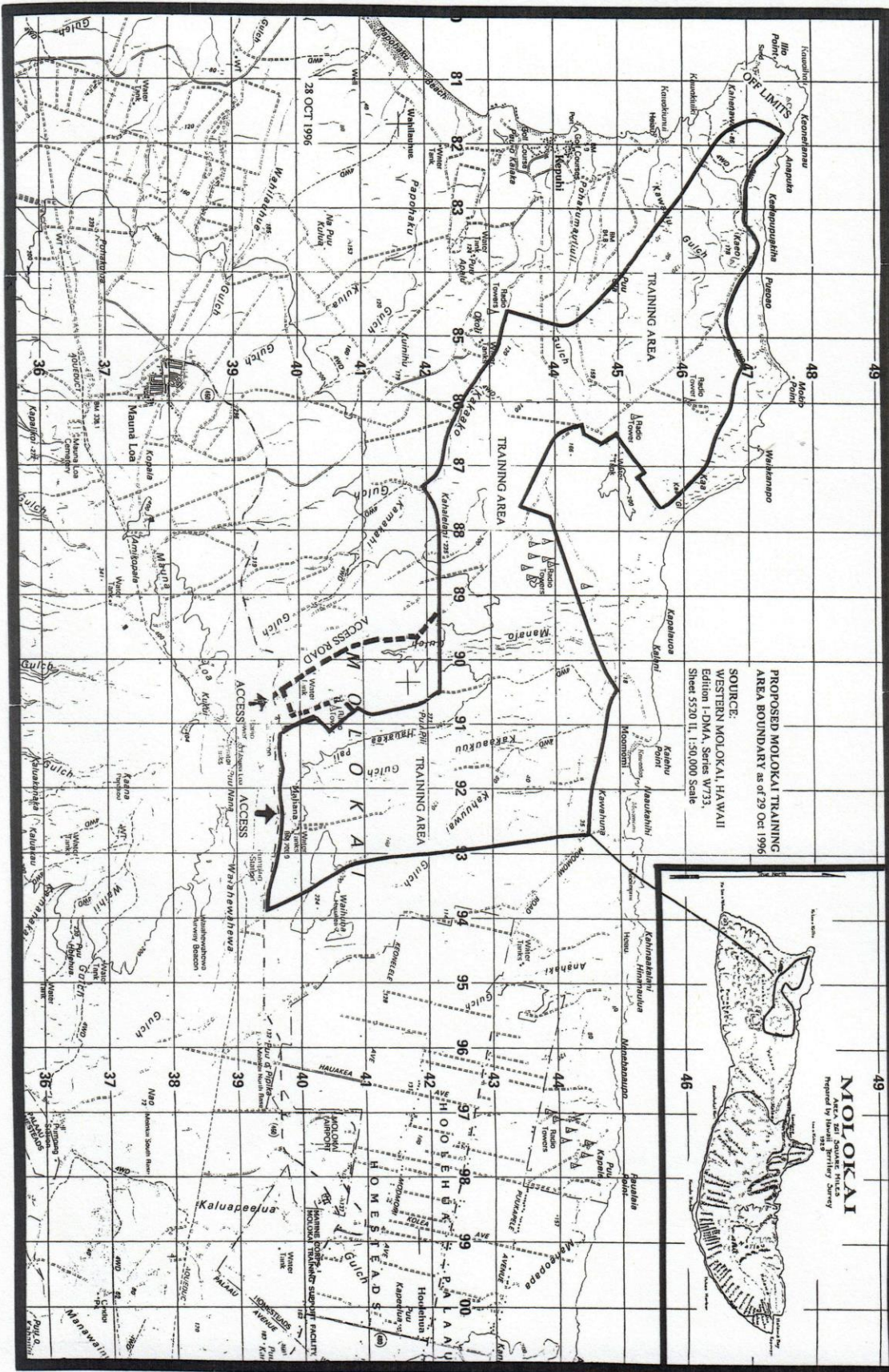


Figure 1. Island of Molokai Showing Proposed Training Area

D. Malo (1951), S. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991), Wm. Ellis (1963), A. Fornander (1917-1919 and 1973), T. Thrum (1909), L. Henke (1929), J.W. Coulter (1931), G. Cooke (1949), Wm. Bonk (1954), M. Beckwith (1970), Summers (1971), and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Resources were viewed in the collections of the State Survey Division, Archives of the State of Hawai'i, Library Archives of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, the University of Hawai'i-Hilo, Mo'okini Library (microfilm collections), or in the collection of the author.

Moloka'i Interviews—Resident Documentation

An important component of this study included several days of field visits during which the author met with native Hawaiian families (members of families with genealogical ties to land in the study area and/or representatives of various groups) and interested residents of Moloka'i. The purpose of these visits was: (1) gather information on traditional lore and practices, traditional sites, traditional use of the land and natural resources, current access and subsistence practices; and (2) to get feedback from the Moloka'i residents regarding the proposed use of the study area for military training exercises.

The Moloka'i site visit occurred between November 20-22, 1996, during which time, sixteen people were contacted. Two additional contacts were made before and after the site visit. Prior to visiting Moloka'i, a list of questions was formulated (Appendix A.), to focus discussions on residents' concerns, and to solicit their recommendations regarding the proposed training activities. This study revealed that legends associated with the study area are documented in historic records; some form of the legends are still retained in the memories of resident families; the ahupua'a contains a variety of traditional Hawaiian sites, residences, agricultural complexes, burials; natural resources (including native ecosystems) that have traditional and contemporary significance to the Hawaiian people and the community at large; and members of the community share common concerns about the long-term effects of military training activities on the natural and cultural landscapes. Nearly all community members contacted voiced deep concerns about military use of the Kaluako'i, citing problems arising from past military activities on the island (c. 1941 to the present). However, the interviewees suggest that a balance could be achieved that would permit military training provided that the military (Marines) work to maintain site (natural and cultural) integrity, and maintain customary and traditional access to the area for subsistence practices (see specific comments in the Section titled "Moloka'i Interviewee Comments and Recommendations").

Study Presentation

Because this study addresses two areas of research (literature and informant), it is divided into two primary sections, one section for each area of research. Another component of work completed by David Tuggle and Myra Tomonari-Tuggle (January 1997), in conjunction with the archaeological field survey work, provides readers with a detailed record of previous archaeology.

MOLOKA'I: A CULTURAL HISTORIC OVERVIEW

The island of Moloka'i is approximately 38 miles long and 10 miles wide, it is the fifth largest of the eight main Hawaiian Islands (Pukui et al. 1974:156). As can be found for all of the Hawaiian Islands, native tradition tells us that Moloka'i was born to creative forces of nature (cf. Malo 1951, Kamakau 1991, and Beckwith 1970). In the Hawaiian legend "Ka'ao Ho'onuia Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (the Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) published between 1914-1917, in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i (translated by the author), native writers recorded that the gods Wākea and Hina (Sky and Earth-mother) were the parents of Moloka'i. A mele (chant) records:

...Ho'i hou a'e Ākea loa'a Hina
 Loa'a Hina he wahine moe na Wākea
 He moku Moloka'i a Hina
 Ha'ina e ke kōlea a Lanikāula
 Ua moe o Wākea i ka wahine
 'Ena ka lani ku ka ha'ulili o Papa...

...Ākea returned and took Hina
 Hina was taken as a sleeping
 companion of Wākea
 The island of Moloka'i was born to Hina
 The golden plover of Lanikāula told
 That Wākea had slept with this woman
 The heavens raged and Papa shook...
 (in Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, May 28, 1914;
 translated by Kepā Maly)

It is for this reason that the po'e kahiko, or ancient people fondly referred to Moloka'i as "Moloka'i nui a Hina" (Great Moloka'i, [child] of Hina) (Pukui et al. 1974:156; also see Kamakau 1991:129).

Moloka'i is situated roughly in the middle of the large Hawaiian islands, between Hawai'i to the south and Kaua'i to the north. Of greater significance to its history, Moloka'i is situated approximately 8 miles away from Maui, and roughly 25 miles away from O'ahu. Its geographic position has been an important factor in its political history, as the island has often found itself under the control of the kings of Maui or O'ahu (Kamakau 1961 and Fornander 1973). At times in Hawaiian history, prior to, and shortly after western contact (1778), Moloka'i has even found itself under the influence of the chiefs or king of the island of Hawai'i (ibid.).

Kaluako‘i and Environs: Native Traditions of the Land

Although Moloka‘i was subject to ruling chiefs of other islands, its early history gives the island a notable distinction in the over-all history of Hawai‘i. Moloka‘i is perhaps most famous as the traditional home of masters of hula (dance) and mele (chant) (Barrère, Pukui, and Kelly 1980), and as an island of powerful kahuna (priests and sorcerers) (Cooke 1949). Of particular importance to the study area, is the gentle sloping mountain called Mauna Loa. This mountain, completely encompassed by the land of Kaluako‘i, is the site of important traditions that influenced the political and religious history of Moloka‘i and the entire Hawaiian Island as well.

Mauna Loa was home to the goddess Kapo—Laka, who resided at Kā‘ana, on the southeastern slopes, and taught hula amongst the famous ‘ōhi‘a lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) groves. The opening lines of one of the many chant describing this area and Moloka‘i’s association with the deity of the hālau hula (schools of chant and dance) observes:

...Noho ana Laka i ka ulu wehi-wehi
Ku ana iluna i Moo-helaia
Ohi‘a ku iluna o Mauna-loa...

Laka dwells in the verdant growth,
Standing at the heights of Moo-helaia,
The ohi‘a that stands atop Maunaloa...
(cf. Emerson 1965, and Handy and Pukui 1972)

The Mo‘ohelaia referenced in the chant is a legendary place on Mauna Loa, that was named for a female deity, ‘aumakua of hula dancers (ibid.)

In another form (kino lau), the goddess Kapo was patroness of sorcerers. As Kapo-‘ula-kīna‘u, her spirit entered into a grove of trees on Mauna Loa and caused them to be so poisonous, that if only a fragment of the wood touched a person, that individual would die (Kamakau 1964:128). Indeed, it is recorded that a part of one of the trees was left on the ground by the spring at Ka‘akeke, and all the people and animals that drank from the spring were killed (ibid.:130). As a sorcery goddess, Kapo was identified as Kālai-pāhoa; Pukui and Elbert (1975) report that Kālai-pāhoa was a:

Sorcery god represented by images made of the wood of three trees at Mauna-loa, Molokai. The trees, believed poisonous, were the nīoi, entered by the god Kāne-i-kaulana-‘ula (Kāne at red resting place); the a‘e, entered by the god Ka-huila-o-ka-lani (the lightning of the heavens), believed by some to be a brother of Pele; and the ‘ohe tree, entered by the goddess Kapo. The first image of nīoi wood was carved by a Molokai man... (Pukui and Elbert 1975:386; also see I‘i 1959:47).

Citing one relationship between these “death-dealing tree gods” and the land of Kaluako‘i, Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau tells us of various traditional sites and resources of the region, and how the poison gods of the forest came to be known:

These trees were called Kalaipahoa because they were cut down and hacked with stone axes (ke ko‘i o ka pohaku), the pahoa axes of Kaluako‘i, Moloka‘i... (Kamakau 1964:128).

A certain man of Kalaupapa, name Kaneiakama, some of whose descendants are still living, went to play puhenehene at Haleolono in Kaluako‘i. He bet successfully, and he and his people were going home laden with his winnings, when they reached Kapohako‘i on the windward (na‘e) side of Maunaloa. Here there was a maika playing ground just above Kaluako‘i, to which all the players of Moloka‘i, chiefs and people from Waikolu, Kalaupapa, Kala‘e, and all the other places, resorted to roll maika stones, slide pahe‘e sticks, and play all kinds of sports. In a sliding contest (koi) of Kaneiakama and one of the chiefs, Kaneiakama lost all his winnings to the chief, and then offered the household property belonging to his wife and children. For three nights he had stayed at the playing site and played, until his body was the only thing he had left, and this he was afraid to bet lest he be killed. He stayed another night at the playing ground, and, while dozing (hihi‘o), someone spoke to him and said, “Beaten, eh?” (Make ea?) “Yes, beaten,” he answered. The other said, “Not beaten yet. These are his days to win; yours are to come. You will win back what you have lost, and all of his possessions, and will sneak away from you.” “I have nothing left to put up,” said Kaneiakama. “Bet your own body, and fear nothing,” said the man.

When Kaneiakama awoke from his dream (moe ‘uhane), he began by staking his body to be put to death against a very great counter wager (kumuku‘ai). They played, and he won the wealth; they played wealth against wealth, and luck was with him all that day. Kaneiakama therefore resolved to take the man whom he had seen that night to be his god, and to worship him, and to offer the pig he had won as a sacrifice to this god.

That night as he slept the man spoke with him again, and revealed his name—Kaneikaulana‘ula—and told him about himself and his companions and of their nature as gods. He said they would reveal their nature as gods (‘ano akua) by coming with a grove of trees that would appear below the head of the maika playing ground of Maunaloa. On the appointed night...The soul of Kaneiakama watched as a great number of spirits (akua) approaching with the trees until

they reached Maunaloa. Kaneikaulana‘ula was their leader, and it was he who had the mana. The first god commanded by him to enter a tree was Kahuilakalani, who, although himself was a god of great mana, obeyed and entered the red tree called a‘e. The goddess Kapo, who led the female spirits, went into the ‘ohe with her mana, and Kaneikaulana‘ula himself entered the nioi tree. The next day this grove of trees was seen standing at the head of the maika site of Maunaloa¹], and so strange a thing was it for these tall trees to be standing there that everyone, from chiefs to commoners, came from all about to see the sight... (ibid.:128-129).

The presence of this forest and its poison gods on Moloka‘i, gave the island another distinction in Hawaiian history as well. In his book “Moolelo o Molokai” (1949), long-time Moloka‘i resident, George Cooke record observed:

Because the inhabitants of the island of Molokai were not numerous and the country sparsely settled, they were unable to compete in battle with warriors of the other islands. As a means of protection from attack by outsiders, they boasted that their kahunas (priests) were more powerful than those of any other islands... It was commonly conceded by early visitors that the priests of Molokai were considered to be the most powerful kahunas of any throughout the group of islands. Hence came this poetical name of Molokai, Pule-ò-o, effective prayer... (Cooke 1949:124).

Cooke also reports that the ali‘i (chief and chiefesses) of Moloka‘i were “instructed in the art of Lua” (ibid.:125), a native form of martial arts:

The Lua required the complete knowledge of muscles, bones and nerves. It is said the a chief or chiefess could overcome or kill an assailant with bare hands (ibid.).

In the legend, “Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki” (The Heart Stirring story of Ka-Miki), published in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i (translated by the author), tells readers that the chief Ka-lae-o-ka-‘īlio (literally translated as: The point of the dog), was one of the great ‘ōlohe, or master fighters of Moloka‘i. In this legend, it is recorded that Ka-lae-o-ka-‘īlio (also the name of the northwestern point of Moloka‘i, in the land of Kaluako‘i) was known throughout the Hawaiian Islands for his fighting skills. Students wishing to learn wrestling, lua, bone breaking, war club fighting, and various ‘ōlohe techniques sought him out as their teacher (IN Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i May 31, 1917).

1 In the pineapple fields (1963) north of the road on the northeast side of Kaka‘ako Gulch (on the southern slope of Mauna Loa, between the hills of Kopala and Amikopala), at an elevation of about 1,300 feet (Kamakau 1964:140–footnote No. 5, and Cooke 1949:109).

Also recorded in this legendary account, is a chant that describes portions of the land of Kaluako‘i, and documents the use of the woods of the Kālaipāhoa gods for war clubs. The war club of Ka-Miki, the hero in this legendary account was named ‘Ōlapa-ka-huila-o-ka-lani, for one of the gods referenced above by Samuel Kamakau:

He ‘āina, he moku Moloka‘i-nui-a-Hina
 He pūnana na ka makani i ho‘okahua...
 ...‘Elua makani kele wa‘a o Kona,
 O Ko‘olau no a me Kaluako‘i
 He makani ko uka, he i‘a ko kai
 Ilaila i kūkulu ai o Ka-huila-o-ka-lani
 Iā ‘Ōlapa-lalapa ka maka o ke akua
 I nā kino lehulehu o Kālaipāhoa la
 E mana iā ‘Ōlapa-ka-huila-o-ka-lani
 Iā Ka-Miki iā Maka-‘iole la e

A land, an island is Moloka‘i-nui-a-Hina
 A nest [or perch] from which the wind is born...
 ...There are two winds in the Kona district of Moloka‘i
 by which canoes are navigated,
 They are the Ko‘olau and the Kaluako‘i,
 The winds are of the uplands, the fish are of the sea
 It was there (at Moloka‘i) that Kahuila-o-ka-lani was founded
 In the flashing eyes of the god
 The many bodies of Kālaipāhoa
 Give power to ‘Ōlapa-ka-huila-o-ka-lani
 (The war club of) Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole...
 (in Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i, May 28, 1917;
 translated by Kepā Maly)

Several native accounts have been recorded, that tell us about the activities of the residents of this land. Perhaps one of the earliest datable references to land in the Kaluako‘i region, comes from the period of migrations (the c. 11th century) between Hawai‘i and Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian people). Kamakau (1991) makes a brief reference to Haleolono as a canoe landing visited by the navigator-chief Wahanui, of O‘ahu, as he prepared for his journey to Kahiki (Kamakau 1991:104). In another account, from around the same period, Kamakau tells readers of the navigator-chief, Mo‘ikeha, adding a little more detail to the setting of the lands of western Moloka‘i. Kamakau tells readers that while sailing along the Hawaiian Islands, various members of Mo‘ikeha’s crew stayed on the islands they passed:

La‘a-maomao remained on Moloka‘i at Haleolono in Kaluako‘i—in
 Kaluako‘i of the tiny fish of Haleki‘i, the black sea cucumbers of
 Pālā‘au, the Ikioe wind of Ho‘olehua; the sweet waters of Waiakāne,

and the stratified limestone ('unu'unu pa'akea) of Haleolono. There lived La'a-maomao (Kamakau 1991:106).

Inland from Ka-lae-o-ka-Lā'au, on the southwestern shore of Kaluako'i, is a prominent pu'u (hill) called Kiha-a-Pi'ilani. This name is also the name of one of the great ali'i, who unified the islands of Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i under his rule in the c. 16th century. Kiha-a-Pi'ilani was the son of Maui's king, Pi'ilani and his sacred wife Lā'ie-lohelohe-i-ka-wai, a chiefess of O'ahu. Because of his mother's connection with the ruling lines of O'ahu, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani was raised on O'ahu until he matured. Kamakau records that when it was time for Kiha-a-Pi'ilani to return to Maui to take up the rule of the kingdom, he stopped at Ka-lae-o-ka-lā'au, Moloka'i. It was while at this place, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani learned of his father's death in Lāhainā (Kamakau 1991:50). Cooke (1949) also records that at "...the hill Kihaapiilani, there was a spring from which barren women drank and were then able to conceive (Cooke 1949:108).

One of the most famous accounts comes from the time of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi (c. 1550, 16th century), when he resided for a short while on Moloka'i. Paraphrasing an account from Fornander's Collections of Hawaiian Antiquities, Handy and Handy describe the extensive agricultural fields that were situated on the southern slopes of Mauna Loa:

The sweet-potato plantation of Paka'a and his son Ku-a-Paka'a on Molokai are said to have been created during the reign of Keawe-nui-a-Umi on Hawaii. According to the story, Paka'a having fallen into disfavor with his master, the High Chief Keawe, had gone into voluntary exile on Molokai. Keawe discerned in a dream where Paka'a was, and accompanied by the chiefs of the six districts of Hawaii set out from the island in search of Paka'a. At this time Paka'a's journeying spirit learned of this and informed the sleeping Paka'a that Keawe was setting out in search of him. On waking, Paka'a said to his son, Ku-a-Paka'a: "Let us go to the uplands and plant." Knowing that Keawe had set out with the chiefs of the six districts of Hawaii, Paka'a and his son planted six fields (mala) of sweet potatoes, each field being shaped like one of the districts of Hawai'i (Fornander, 1918-1919, Vol. 5, p. 74).

Arriving at Molokai, Keawe found Paka'a and his son. Storms created by magical means by Paka'a, detained Keawe and his chiefs until their food was exhausted. Then it was revealed that in the uplands there had been planted six great patches, one for each of the chiefs of Hawaii (Fornander, 1918-1919, Vol. 5, p. 114) (Handy and Handy 1972:514).

Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau reports that the great field planted by Paka'a was approximately one mile long and half a mile wide, and that the Moloka'i

residence of the chief Keawe-nui-a-'Umi extended from Hale-o-Lono to Hikauhi, on the southern shore of the island (Kamakau 1961:42, 45).

It appears that between the time of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi and when Kiha-a-Pi'ilani secured peace over the kingdom of Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe, that only a few legendary references were recorded for Moloka'i. With only a few references to the land, or practices in and around Kaluako'i. Interestingly, the place name Ka-lua-ko'i, may be literally translated as "The adze pit" or "adze quarry" (cf. Malo 1959:52-3). Samuel Kamakau (1961 and 1976) records that the best stone for ko'i (adzes) was the ho'okele, or 'alā makahinu (blue lava rock). Kaluako'i was an important source for this stone (Kamakau 1961:240). Kamakau also notes that "Lae-o-Kala'au on Molokai was one of the places where the stone workers made adzes" (Kamakau 1976:122).

Another one of the many place names of interest in this study is "Hale-o-Lono," which may be literally translated as the "House [temple] of Lono." This place name is shared with many localities throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Interestingly, Haleolono on Moloka'i is situated so that it faces across the Kalohi Channel, in line with the Haleolono of Lāna'i.² Hawaiian historian David Malo tells us:

119. ...of the kind known as hoouluulu (hoouluulu ai, to make food grow) and were to bring rain from heaven and make the crops abundant, bringing wealth to the people, blessing to the government, prosperity to the land (Malo 1951:176).

I'i (1959) adds:

Houses of this kind were all thatched with ti leaves, and all the posts and beams were of lama wood. The Hale o Lono was like a heiau (I'i 1959:58).

It is generally assumed that the places which bear this name were associated with a heiau (temple or shrine), or dedicated planting fields where the god Lono was called upon to ensure crop success and adequate rains. Both Cooke (1949) and Summers (1971) record the presence of ceremonial sites at Hale-o-Lono, Moloka'i.

Moloka'i: Conflicts in Autonomy

We find that by the 1730s, Kekaulike, the King of the Maui island group and his brother-in-law Alapa'i-nui, king of Hawai'i, began challenging one another, with battles fought on Hawai'i and Maui. When Kekaulike died from an illness in 1736, his son Kamehameha-nui (older brother of Kahekili), took the rule of the Maui kingdom. Because Kamehameha-nui was the nephew of Alapa'i-nui, peace was

² Presence of a specific *heiau* called "Haleolono," situated near the shore of the land also called "Haleolono," was recorded during Alexander's boundary surveys of Lāna'i (ms. Alexander 1875-76:18)

called between the kingdoms (Kamakau 1961:69-70). It is around this time that the island of Moloka'i is found in the historic record once again. Kamakau reports that Ka-pi'i-o-ho-o-ka-lani, king of O'ahu, had attacked Moloka'i:

Most of the chiefs of Molokai who were being thus ravaged by the ruling chief of Oahu were of Hawaii, children and grandchildren of Keawe. They had fled to the hills, and the ruling chief of O'ahu had broken down the sea walls and destroyed their fishponds... (ibid.)

Kamakau also reports that the people of Moloka'i and Hawai'i joined together and that a great battle ensued. The outcome of which was the death of Ka-pi'i-o-ho-o-ka-lani at Kawela, below Kamiloloa. Alapa'i then took the battle to O'ahu, which was settled by a truce between Pele-io-holani of O'ahu and Alapa'i (ibid.:71-72). Upon returning to Moloka'i, Alapa'i-nui set "matters between the chiefs and the country people" right, and they were able to "live at peace with the chiefs of Maui and Lanai" (ibid.:72). The records of this period show that for Moloka'i, the peace was short live. In the years between c. 1750 to c. 1795, the population and resources of Moloka'i were caught in the middle of battles between the kings of O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i. A brief summary of several events in this period of Moloka'i's history, indeed the history of the islands between Hawai'i to O'ahu, is presented here:

Around 1750, Peleioholani and his forces from O'ahu attacked and ravaged the people of Moloka'i in revenge for the murder of his daughter. Kamakau reports: "...at the battle of Kapuunoni, he slaughtered the chiefs and roasted them in an oven...and he attacked the commoners, inhumanly..." (Kamakau 1961:232). Thus, Moloka'i, for a time, fell under the control of O'ahu.

Following the death of Alapa'i in 1754, his son Keawe'opala assumed the rule of Hawai'i, and lost it to Kalani'opu'u the same year. Kalani'opu'u and Kamehameha-nui began fighting with one another for control over their kingdoms. The chiefs of Moloka'i and Lāna'i aligned themselves with Kamehameha-nui against Kalani'opu'u in a battle at Hāna, Maui. After much fighting, the forces of Kamehameha-nui withdrew, leaving Hāna under the control of Kalani'opu'u. In 1766, Kamehameha-nui died and his brother Kahekili-nui-'ahu-manu became the king. Over the next twenty years, battles were continued between the chiefs from O'ahu to Hawai'i, with Moloka'i and Lāna'i caught in the middle (Kamakau 1961).

For a time, Kahekili's nephew, Kahahana had inherited the control of O'ahu and Moloka'i, which Kahekili took from Kahahana in c. 1782 (ibid.:133). Thus, Moloka'i fell under the control of Maui once again. Also, in 1782, Kalani'opu'u, chief of Hawai'i died, and shortly thereafter, Kamehameha began his efforts at consolidating the

kingdom of Hawai'i under his rule. Around 1790, while the aging Kahekili was residing on O'ahu, Kamehameha invaded Maui, securing Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe under his rule. At this time, Kamehameha traveled to Kaunakakai and Kalama'ula, Moloka'i where the sacred chiefess Ka-lola, her daughters and granddaughter, Keōpūolani were. Ka-lola was very ill, and died at Kalama'ula, she was buried in the cave of Kona-hale (in Kalama'ula). This was how Kamehameha came to take Keōpūolani as his sacred wife (ibid.:149). Because of civil war, on Hawai'i, Kamehameha was forced to return to Hawai'i, and in 1793, Kahekili regained control of the islands Kamehameha had taken (ibid.:159).

In 1794, Kahekili died on O'ahu, and by early 1795, Kamehameha had retaken Maui, Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i. On Moloka'i, we learn that all of the shore line, from Kawela to Kalama'ula was covered by the canoes of Kamehameha's fleet (ibid.:171). It is worthy to note here, that while Kamehameha resided on Moloka'i at Kauluwai (Cooke 1949:112), and cultivated fields at Honomuni (ibid.), and made his final preparations for the conquest of O'ahu (Kamakau 1961:172). Indeed, Moloka'i remained a favorite spot of the Kamehamehas, with Kauikeaouli dividing it between himself and his favorites by c. 1837 (ibid.:342). Kaluako'i and Pālā'au were among the favored lands of the King.

Transitions in Residency and Land Tenure

The 19th century brought with it radical change in the newly founded kingdom of the Kamehamehas. The numbers of foreign visitors increased, and from among those visitors, new residents were found. As the foreign population grew, so too did their quest for land and economic opportunity. Three primary business ventures were embarked upon fairly early in the historic period, they were: ⁽¹⁾ supplying ships with fire wood, vegetable food stocks, and native meat sources; ⁽²⁾ exportation of native 'ili-ahi (sandalwood logs), and ⁽³⁾ by the 1820s the hides, meat, and tallow of the wild cattle—descendants of the stock left by Captain Vancouver in 1793—were growing in commercial value. The latter development was evolving as the result of the growing numbers of whaling ships that had begun regularly making their way to Kealakekua, Lāhainā, Honolulu, and other island harbors. Each of the ships needed to be stocked with provisions, including fresh and salted beef (cf. Morgan 1948:76 and Kuykendall 1968:313, 317). Thus, by the 1830s, the growing cattle ranching activities and provisioning of whaling ships were becoming the leading businesses in the kingdom.

Growing businesses and foreign populations urged the King to institute a western-style land ownership system, and in 1848, the Māhele (a division of land between the crown, government, lesser chief's or konohiki, and native tenants of the land), took place. The Māhele represented a radical restructuring of the Hawaiian land management system. It defined the land interests of the Mō'i (sovereign)

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), the high-ranking chiefs, and the konohiki (overseers), who were originally those in charge of tracts of land on behalf of the king or a chief (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13).

Preceding this “division,” all land and natural resources in the Hawaiian Islands were held in trust by the high chiefs, and their use was given at the prerogative of the high chiefs (ali’i ‘ai ahupua‘a or ali’i ‘ai moku) and their representatives or land agents (konohiki), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. The maka‘āinana, or commoners resided upon the land with basic tenants’ rights, including access to resources from the mountains to the sea, and the right to plots of land which they cultivated and dwelt upon. In return they provided services, foods, and material resources to the ali’i.

The Māhele did not convey title to any land, instead, the chiefs and konohiki were required to present their claims to the Land Commission to receive awards for land quiet claimed to them by Kamehameha III. They were also required to pay commutations to the government in order to receive royal patents on their awards. Until an award was issued, title remained with the government. The land awarded to the lesser chiefs and konohiki became known as Konohiki Lands. Because there were few surveyors in Hawai’i at the time of the Māhele, the lands were identified by name only, with the understanding that the ancient boundaries would prevail until the land could be surveyed. This expedited the work of the Land Commission and speeded the transfers (Chinen 1961:13).

During the Māhele, all land was placed in one of three categories: Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne), Government Lands, and Konohiki Lands. The right to ownership within these categories were all “subject to the rights of the native tenants” (Laws of Hawaii 1848:22). The hoa‘āina or native tenants were the common Hawaiian people who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs.

Before receiving their awards from the Land Commission, the native tenants were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire wastelands or land which they cultivated “with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots.” Once a claim was confirmed, a survey was required before the Land Commission was authorized to issue any award. The lands of the native tenants became known as “Kuleana Lands.” For the commoners, this “requirement of proof” produced a series of volumes of registry and testimony—the “Buke Māhele.”

Today, volumes of the Buke Māhele often help researchers understand, residency, land use practices, crop production, resource harvesting, and architectural site occurrences of the time. By the time of its dissolution on March 31, 1855, the Land Commission issued only 8,421 kuleana claims (Land Commission Awards or LCA), equaling only 28,658 acres of land to the native tenants (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:295). Though the commoners were required to provide proof of land use and habitation,

royal claims rarely included any documentation. Thus, documentation of use and customs associated with large tracts of Crown and Government lands is often lacking. On Moloka'i, Kamehameha III gave up his right of claim to the land division of Kaluako'i, turning it over to the Government (Indices of Awards 1929:40). The Indices of Awards also show no record of any claims or awards being made by native tenants for any kuleana in Kaluako'i.

This lack of native claims for kuleana (land rights) in Kaluako'i, may be explained by several factors. As noted by Kamakau, wars between island chiefs greatly impacted communities and their resources (Kamakau 1961:70, 171). In 1792, during his visit to the waters off southwestern Moloka'i, Archibald Menzies, traveling with Captain George Vancouver observed:

We were visited by no natives or canoes of this end of Molokai. The people we had on board told us that Kamehameha's descent upon it had desolated the country, and that it had not yet recovered its former state of population (Menzies 1920:118)

Thus, the effects of wars, coupled with western introduced diseases that raged through the native population, would have been enough to slow down repopulation. But other factors were at play as well. By the beginning of the 19th century, entire communities were conscripted to supply labor for the collection of 'ili-ahi or lā'au 'a'ala (sandalwood), and to work fields of trade crops for foreign ships. These activities had multiple effects, the already weakened native population was further displaced, the local mahina 'ai (agricultural fields) lay fallow, and as vast tracts of land were cleared for sandalwood harvesting or commercial agriculture, the native forests receded further (Kamakau 1961:204, Cooke 1949:61). The slow, but steady deforestation could ultimately have made the already arid land of Kaluako'i too dry for anything but seasonal (fishing) residency.

In a discussion of the records of the Māhele and the matter of residency in regions with environmental qualities like that of Kaluako'i, Moffat and Fitzpatrick (1995) observe:

...Hawaiians farmed dry as well as wet areas, and they made extensive use of the resources of the sea. Most of the seventy-one thousand Hawaiians in 1853 lived in areas of moderate rainfall—it was simply not pleasant or healthy to live permanently in the wettest regions. A significant number of people were also found in some areas of low rainfall. Where they had access to streams, springs, or wells (Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995:17).

Moffat and Fitzpatrick observe that land use as recorded at the time of the Māhele, while it reflected the "foundation of land tenure," it was not a complete picture (ibid.). One can responsibly posit that while no kuleana claims appear to have been

recorded for the Kaluako'i region, the absence of claims does not imply that residency and use did not occur (cf. Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995).

Boundary Commission and Government Survey Records

Following the Māhele, the need for recording land divisions and holdings in a western surveying system became critical, particularly for the King, Government, Konohiki, and large foreign land owners. Surveys began to be taken on a large scale, and the Boundary Commission was established to verify the boundaries of various Government and Crown lands. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the land, many of whom had also been claimants for kuleana during the Māhele. Many of the testimonies collected were given in Hawaiian and transcribed in English as they occurred. As a result, many of the testimonies collected primarily between the 1870s-1890s are like oral histories, and often provide detailed information about cultural sites and practices.

In the 1880s, several government and private surveyors, did work on Moloka'i, among them were W.D. Alexander (1883) and M.D. Monsarrat (1885-1886). Monsarrat's 1886 map (Figure 2., at the end of this study) of Middle and West Moloka'i (Register Map 1288) records many old place names and depicts some constructed features as well. As a part of this study, the author reviewed the original Field Note Books of W.D. Alexander (Reg. No. 355) and M.D. Monsarrat (Reg. No. 358 and 359), to determine if any sites or historical notes had been recorded, that were not reflected on existing maps.

Of interest, On February 7, 1883, while Alexander was working from Round Hill, he made the following observation, "Name of Round Hill & its mate = Na puu Kulua" at which he notes the presence of a "heiau" (Alexander 1883, Reg. No. 355; in the collection of the State Survey Division). Unfortunately, Alexander he gives no name to the heiau, or indication of its size or function. Monsarrat's survey books (Reg. No. 358 and 359; in the collection of the State Survey Division) are filled with detailed drawings and comments of features along the entire shore line of Kaluako'i. While he also records inland topographic features, he does not identify any Hawaiian sites or include historic notes.

In the review of many of the West Moloka'i Field Note Books, available in the collection of the State Survey Division, one other book of importance was located. In 1915, Territorial Surveyor, T. Evans copied files from Alexander and Monsarrat that had been housed in Washington D.C (Reg. No. 403 T). Evans reports that while in the field, nearly all of the points marked during the original surveys, were relocated (Evans 1915:3). The notes, including sites extending from "Kalanikaula" (Hālawa) in the east, to "Puu o Kaiaka" in the west (Kaluako'i). A more detailed description of Nāpu'ukūlua is found in this book (page not numbered):

Napuukulua — Elevation 545 ft.

Following copied from Terr. Survey data in Wash. Archives. Stations on the lower northwestern one of two hills of the same name (The two hills standing together) in the center of a small heiau (temple) about 2900 m. from the west coast of Molokai.

Mark-post with [?] reference marks and cairn.

These two hills show up prominently against sky from vicinity of the great sand beach, which is three miles S. of Ilio Pt. And are E. of it. Excellent object, the "heiau" can be distinguished from the shore (Evans 1915, Reg. No. 403 T; in the collection of the State Survey Division).

In the matter of the Boundary Commission testimonies, since Kaluako'i (West Moloka'i) is bounded on three sides by the ocean, with only the eastern side being bounded by Pālā'au, Ho'olehua, and Nā'iwa, only minimal information was recorded in the 1891 proceedings. Thus, in this case the testimonies offer us little documentation of features at inland Kaluako'i. Rudolf W. Meyer (representing chiefess Pauahi Bishop and her husband Charles R. Bishop), and M.D. Monsarrat (representing the Hawaiian Government), provided the details they had recorded regarding the eastern boundaries of Kaluako'i and its neighboring ahupua'a.

In volume two of the Maui-Moloka'i-Lāna'i Boundary Commission Testimonies, there are a few interesting comments on features of the Eastern boundary of Kaluako'i. Though not in the study area, we are told of one heiau inland of the southern shore. The description of 'Āpana (Portion) 2 Pālā'au-Kaluako'i, starts on the shore of Mo'omomi, following the boundary southward, place names are cited to the Ho'olehua portion of the boundary. Upon crossing the Ho'olehua portion of the boundary, the description notes that the boundary passes "near an old heiau called Lepekaheo" (Volume 2:29). No further cultural site information was located as a result of the review of historic survey records.

Moloka'i Ranch

In his 1929 study "A Survey of Livestock in Hawai'i," L. Henke reports that there were 200 head of cattle in 1851 (Henke 1929:22). At the time of the Māhele, the cattle, or pipi were primarily the property of the King and the government. Following the Māhele, foreigners were also able to acquire large tracts of land and they began running private ranches gathering stock from the wild herds that roamed the islands. Interior Department files of 1859, record that "...under the law, unbranded cattle or horses of a certain age were considered to be property of the Government..." (Interior Department Book 7:203; April 27, 1859, Hawai'i State Archives). Cooke (1949) reports that by the 1860s on Moloka'i, Lot Kapuāiwa, King Kamehameha V, operated a cattle ranch on the lands that later became Moloka'i Ranch (Cooke 1949:1). Cooke comments that because the cattle were kapu, they roamed the island without being disturbed. As the herd size increased, they became a menace

to the native population. At the order of the King, stone walls were made to keep the cattle out of the cultivated fields in the lowlands (Cooke 1949:45).

Cooke (1949) reports that at Pālā'au:

The main pens for holding cattle were stone walls, some of which are still standing near the former village of Palaau. The cattle obtained most of their water from the brackish springs at Palaau. The same springs supplied the lo'i (taro patches) for certain varieties of taro grown by the former villagers... (ibid.).

Cooke also reports on how the village of Pālā'au came to be abandoned. He learned from Reverend Gulick, that in c. 1880, it was discovered that the herd size had dropped significantly. Upon investigation, it was learned that nearly every man of Pālā'au had participated in a "wholesale cattle stealing program" (ibid.:46). Following their arrest, the men were tried and sentenced to three to five years of labor on O'ahu. The women and children accompanied the men, and after the terms were served, few of the families returned to Moloka'i. "In this way the village of Palaau became depopulated and was abandoned" (ibid.).

In 1875, Charles Bishop, husband of chiefess Pauahi Bishop, purchased the entire district of Kaluako'i from the Hawaiian Government. Pauahi Bishop hired Rudolf Meyer, who was married to chiefess Kalama, to manage the leasing and grazing rights of the Kaluako'i land holding. In 1897, Moloka'i Ranch was formed by Judge A.S. Hartwell, A. W. Carter, and A.D. McClellan, the partners had purchased some 70,000 acres in fee from the Bishop Estate (Cooke 1949:2). The lands included Kaluako'i; Manowainui and Kīpū; portions of Nā'iwa, Kahanui I & II, and Kawela; Kaunakakai; and Makakupaia (ibid.:145).

In describing transitions in land use, Cooke reports that in 1898, the American Sugar Company Limited was incorporated by Judge A.S. Hartwell, A. W. Carter, Charles Cooke (father of George Cooke), G. Robertson, and G. Carter. Cooke adds, that the Moloka'i Ranch stockholders exchanged their shares for those of the American Sugar Company (ibid.:2):

Development of this property failed for the reason that the pumps, which had been installed in surface wells to irrigate the cane fields, were of such large capacity that they soon exhausted the sweet water, and pumped water with such a high salt content that it could not be used for cane culture. Thus, ACSO's sugar plantation had to be abandoned [c. 1900] (ibid.).

In 1908, Charles Cooke bought out the partner's interests in the Moloka'i Ranch holdings. Together, Charles and George Cooke formulated plans to "increase the revenue of Molokai Ranch and to improve its value" (ibid.:2-3). By 1923, a lease was

arranged between Moloka'i Ranch and Libby, McNeill and Libby, to prepare 1,000 acres of land, situated above the 500-foot elevation, for cultivation of pineapple.

By 1929, Henke reported that 10,000 acres of land were leased for the cultivation of pineapple, 8,000 acres were set aside as forest reserve, and the remaining 50,000 acres, were available for ranching. Henke noted that at one time the ranch had about 6,000 head of cattle, but as lands were cut from grazing for other uses, the number by 1929, was about 4,500 (Henke 1929:52-53). Henke also recorded that another of the products of the ranch was kiawe honey. In 1928, 350 tons of honey were produced, with most of it being shipped to Germany (ibid.:53).

Over most of the years since Cooke's writing, ranching and pineapple plantation activities continued to be the primary forms of land use and employment in the Kaluako'i region, although in the 1970s, the Kaluako'i resort property was developed along the shores of Kepuhi Bay. In the 1980s, the pineapple plantations were phased out, and subsequent development of housing occurred on the western slopes of Mauna Loa. Much of the land on which the proposed military training maneuvers would occur, remains undeveloped, in pasturage, and only accessible with four-wheel drive vehicles.

HISTORIC OBSERVATIONS

In general, this section of the study provides readers with an overview of historic observations for the district of Kaluako'i. Some of the references describe lands, sites, or customs associated with the area of immediate concern to the present study. Other references in this section describe resources of the greater Kaluako'i, Pālā'au area. The latter references are important to this study, as they provide us with: ⁽¹⁾ a larger cultural context for use of resources in similar environments; ⁽²⁾ demonstrate inter-regional use and collection of resources; and ⁽³⁾ help us anticipate the nature of cultural sites and resources that may be present in the study area.

Though today, the western region of Moloka'i is arid and relatively barren in many places, and does not look hospitable, there is ample documentation that demonstrates how regions like this throughout the Hawaiian islands supported native populations (cf. this study, section titled "Transitions in Residency and Land Tenure"). The rich fisheries of West Moloka'i were enough to draw hardy individuals to settle the district. Abraham Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities record—in the account of Kūali'i, the famous long-lived chief of O'ahu—that the region between Kawela to Mo'omomi was called Kekaha. And like the Kekaha of Kona and Kaua'i, the Kekaha region of Moloka'i hosted a highly desirable fishing ground. On this account, conflicts arose at times between the people of various regions of Moloka'i. Fornander records: "...the chiefs of Kekaha, knowing the values of these fishing grounds, were determined to hold them, so this...caused a general internal conflict..." (Fornander 1917 Vol 4:416).

At this point, it is worthy to note that the occurrence of place names is an important indicator that the locations were significant in past times (cf. place names recorded by Monsarrat in 1886; Figure 2.). Even in an arid region, the localities may have served as triangulation points such as ko'a (markers for fishing grounds); residences; areas of planting; water sources; trail side resting places (o'io'ina), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot; a heiau; may have been the source of a particular natural resource; or any number of other features. Handy and Handy note that "Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography" (Handy and Handy 1972:412).

One of the earliest surveys of Hawaiian ceremonial sites on Moloka'i, was reported on in 1909. Interestingly Thomas Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for 1909 lists 23 heiau on Moloka'i, none of them are situated in the study area. The identified heiau are all situated in the area ranging from middle to eastern Moloka'i (Thrum 1909:40-41). Of course, as noted above, by the beginning of the 20th century, westernization of the Hawaiian land management, residency, and economic systems, had greatly altered the cultural and natural landscapes of the island. As also cited above, the survey records of the Kaluako'i region identify at least two heiau.

While conducting a review of records in the collections of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM), a 1922 article from the Hawaiian newspaper Kū 'Okō'a was located in the Hawaiian Ethnological Notes. Excerpts of that article are presented

here, as they share with us observations of the land in and around Kaluako'i as seen from the ocean. The Hawaiian writer describes some of the various practices and customs associated with fishing and agriculture in the area. And the account also documents the presence of a trail used by native residents while traveling over Mauna Loa, between the communities of Hale-o-Lono-Punakou (an 'ili in Kaluako'i) on the southern shore, to those at Kawahuna-Na'aukahihi on the northern shore.

“Ike Hou Ia Molokai-Nui-a-Hina”

(Seeing Molokai-Great-land-of-Hina Again)

The passengers were delighted with Molokai last Sunday, when they sailed there on the steamer Kilauea...

...At Kawaihoa, the ship turned toward Lae-o-ka-laau. As we went on the Kualau breeze of Kaiwi blew wildly, and many people were bent over with sea-sickness... It was almost eleven o'clock when Kilauea sailed close to land, as she had reached the sheltered calm of Lae-o-ka-Laau. The puhikii fish and the malolo (flying fish) flew by and the natives exclaimed, “Here is Ka-lae-o-ka-Laau. Let's bestir ourselves!” From this point one could see Kaluakoi in full view. The cove of Kawakiu-nui was visible just below Ka-lae-o-ka-ilio. The sandy beach of Papohaku easily seen, that place where Samuel Hookano of Ewa went about as a child. So was Kapuhi-Kani, with the quiet sea on the lower side of Kaupoa. It was unrippled calm from the sea of Kahaiawa, to the sands of Kamakaipo, on up to Ka-lae-o-ka-Laau. Above that stood the famous hill of Kihaapiilani. From this place on the cheerful voices of the kahuli land shells could be heard as though it were the dawn. From this place the writer began his work of pointing out and telling the stories of the various places on this island.

As I pointed to the land, great affection welled up in me for the people of old when they inhabited the places from the high land to the low. There were seas that were swum in, from the sea of Kahalepohaku, Kapuku-wahine, Kanalukaha and to Hale-o-Lono, directly below Waieli. Wai-eli was well known to the seafarers of old, as it stood on the upland to guard over the peace of wonderful Hale-o-Lono, Kaumanamana, Hikauhi and Wai-a-Kane. In these seas mentioned, if a stranger went there with an idea of showing off his skill in fishing, he would see the sea full of big kumu fish. Strangely though, when a net surrounded the schools of kumu fish and the net drawn up, all he would find would be the sea anemone and the gobe fish (oopuhue). The fish that he had seen had mysteriously disappeared. There was only one way to catch fish here and that was by performing a ceremony for the gods of these seas and when it was done, the canoe was filled. So, the natives said.

As we passed directly below Punakou, I pointed out Maunaloa, where the men of the windward side of Palaau (on the north) were turned into kauila trees. The story as told by some of the old timers are as follows: In the long ago, a youth who was skilled in boxing (mokomoko) lived at Kawailoa, above the hill Iloili. The game that he played best was the ulu-maika. This youth was named Umi-a-Maka. He lived with his wife; whose nature was similar to his. She was beautiful, with soft, expressive eyes which held the affection of the handsome athlete, whose charms were unsurpassed...

At that time, too, there lived a splendid youth who was just as skillful in mokomoko boxing and other sports as Umi-a-Maka was, on the windward side of Palaau, close to the cove of Naaukahihi, at the flying sands (one-lele) of Kawahuna. This youth was much stronger than Umi-a-Maka. He was not as strong as this fellow. Very few people of Umi-a-Maka's place knew anything about this, so when Umiamaka's skill in mokomoko boxing was noised abroad, a messenger came to tell that the terror of the other side would like to challenge him and for him to select the game for the contest. He chose the ulu-maika game and the time was set for the contest.

Then the two strong men practiced and as the custom was among those of old to depend on their gods and to trust absolutely on their mana, so did these youths who consulted their kahunas. Umi-a-Maka's kahuna instructed him to follow his teachings closely because his god had revealed to him that Umi-a-Maka was not as strong as his opponent. If he heeded every instruction, the victory would be his. At the same time his opponent's kahuna told him that he was stronger than Umi-a-Maka and had nothing to fear. It was a waste of time to put forth any effort to practice the mokomoko and other sports, so he neglected to do anything but take his ease.

As for Umi-a-Maka, he listened to his kahuna and sought a small, black pig. When it was almost time for the contest to come, he went up to the head of a gulch below Kukui hill, near the summit of Maunaloa and there he hid himself. Just above this gulch was the trail to ascend to that side or to descend to this. Umi-a-Maka waited patiently till half the night was gone, when it was pitch dark, then he left his hiding place. He heard the shouting of people in the distance. These were his opponent's people. The kapu of the trip was turned to naught as they danced and shouted their boasts of what they would do. As they drew near, he prayed patiently to his gods as he held fast to his pig. As he saw his opponent, he pinched the pig, making it squeal. The gods of his opponent deserted him at once and the people were turned into kauila trees. Then he turned and went home without any of his people seeing him, except the kahuna. Next day, the multitude waited for the

other contestants to arrive, but the time went by and the people shouted that he was the winner.

There are many stories of Maunaloa and the kauila groves. Those of old who learned the art of healing knew them all by heart.

After that was done, I pointed out the hill of Kaana, famed in chants for the lehua blossoms of Kaana. This was the site of the original school where the ancients learned hula dancing of every kind. Above this place Ku-a-Pakaa lived and taught the men and women to farm, to beat out tapa cloths, to build houses, to twist fiber fish lines and every other work in order to secure vegetable food, fish and comfortable living. It was he who taught the people how to fish in the kapu seas previously mentioned (BPBM Hawaiian Ethnological Notes; Nupepa Kuokoa, September 14, 1922).

One of the richest written accounts of historic observations of Moloka'i, was compiled and written by Moloka'i rancher and resident, George Cooke. Born in 1899, and having resided on the island nearly all of his life, Cooke, as he reported (1949), had recorded observations he had made, and kept information he'd collected from his parents, ranch hands, and other Hawaiian residents, "concerning ancient life...on the western end of Molokai" (Cooke 1949:117). Because he relied on the knowledge of older Hawaiian residents, his record proves to be invaluable, in understanding the nature of the history, customs, sites and practices associated with Kaluako'i.

In introducing his section on "Ancient Hawaiian life on Western Molokai," Cook comments that his uncle, noted historian, William Hyde Rice, "was surprised to find that many of the legends connected with Molokai are located on the western end, Kaluakoi, instead of the eastern end" (ibid.). Pertinent excerpts of Cooke's work, that may help us to understand the natural and cultural landscape of the study area, are presented below (for references to many of the place names cited, see Figure 2.; "Molokai, Middle and West Section, Map and Survey by M.D. Monsarrat 1886," at the end of this study).

Life in ancient days on the west end was quite different from that on the eastern end of the island...the indications are that the east end supported the greater part of the inhabitants of the island.

However, the extreme western portion, named Kaluakoi (adze quarry), must have been confined to the cultivation of the uala (sweet potato), and offshore and deep seas fishing. Life was devoted to providing food and shelter and to the construction of heiau (temples). There are many inland sites of heiau for worshippers, as well as numerous fishermen's koa (shrines).

The Hawaiians took time for amusements, as is evidenced by signs of holua (sled slides), hua maika (bowling places) and a quarry for konani [sic] (checkers). From all indications, the permanent homes of the people were on the shores, with trails paved with smooth stones leading to the sweet potato patches on the uplands (ibid.:117).

The legend of Paakaa [sic] and Kuapaakaa [sic] locates their homes near Kolo, which is one-half mile east of the present wharf used by Libby for shipping their pines [situated in the cove of Kaumanamana]... ..we located the paved trail leading to Paakaa's sweet potato patches below the hill Kopala... Paakaa's trail is continuous for nearly one mile from the shore. At regular intervals of twenty feet or so, sandstone or a large piece of coral was set on the side of the trail to show its location at dusk or early dawn.

The hill above Papohaku beach, named Puukulua, still shows three holuas. Two of these slides bear in a westerly direction towards the shore and one in an easterly direction [inland]. The eastward one has a well-paved platform approximately ten feet square, at the head of the slide, which was probably the "take-off. Near this paved platform are the remains of a walled enclosure twelve or fifteen feet square where, it is presumed, participants placed their bets before the contest (ibid.:119).

Just east of the hill, Amikopala, on Mauna Loa was a long hua maika. Unfortunately, this has now been plowed out as it is in a pineapple field. When we first came to Molokai, we found maika stones near this place. On a nearby hill and overlooking the heiau Kahualewa, there is a large quarry site where adzes were chipped out. Near this heiau are several low, stone walls which may have kept the common people from approaching the heiau itself, or behind which they sat during the ceremonies.

The konani were made at Puuhakina... Along the shores near the valleys on the leeward side of the western coast, there are indications of house lots and koa [fishing shrines]. At Puuhakina there is a well-defined canoe shed. There are also shed enclosures at Kaupoa, Kaunala, Puukoa'i and Kawakiu. At many places, lehu [sic] stones (a lure for squid), sinkers for nets, and fish hooks have been found, indicating that the inhabitants subsisted largely on fish (ibid.:120).

Lehu stones have been found also quite a distance inland. Under a large rock at Moku, I found five of these lehu stones, each a different type of rock... From the top of Mauna Loa to Moomomi, many Hawaiian curios have been found in windswept and eroded areas, among these, adzes, mirrors, lehu stones and sling stones (ibid.:121).

As reported earlier in this study, the slopes of Mauna Loa were once covered with forests of native trees. Among which were the 'ōhi'a lehua, a'e, 'ohe, kauila, and nīoi. To this list, Cooke, added the following observations, and he confirms that the impacts of grazing animals on the forests in turn led to a drying and depopulation of the region:

In 1914, on a trip to Kaluakoi with my uncle W.H. Rice and Henry Meyer, Mr. Meyer who was more than sixty years old at that time, told us that when he was a boy, he remembered there was a forest in the gulches and on the summit of Mauna Loa. Isolated clumps of Kukui, Puhala and Hau are still evident, and deadwood of the Naio (Bastard Sandalwood), Pua and Aalii are to be found. There are indications of old taro patches at the head of Waihii gulch, proving that the forest had helped with the conservation of moisture. It is to be regretted that when the springs dried up there was a consequent depopulation of this section, so that much of the construction work there of the ancient Hawaiians had been lost. The overstocking of Molokai with cattle, sheep, goats, and deer has increased erosion and killed off some of the old forest covering

Old-timers, among them Rex Hitchcock, have told me that the cloud line which forms in the late afternoon in the trade wind weather is now at a thousand-foot higher level than in the early days. This was caused by the denuding of the forest covering the palis (cliffs) by the grazing of livestock and by the need for more fuel to supply the increasing population of Kalaupapa (Cooke 1949:63-64).

Reporting on the archaeology of Moloka'i in 1937, Southwick Phelps went into some detail on the presence of native sites on the southern shore of Kaluako'i-Punakou, though in the same statement he nearly dismisses the probability that people resided on the northern side of Mauna Loa:

For Pala'au (Apana 2), Kaluakoi, and Punakou, Ho'olehua, and Naiwa, planting areas for yams and sweet potatoes cannot be delimited but it is known that these were grown in that general area and were, with fish, the staples of the inhabitants. In northwest Kaluakoi, in an area roughly bound by the sea on the north from Ka Ilio to Mo'omomi, on the west by the sea from Ka Ilio to Kawakiuiki, on the south by a line running from Kawakiuiki to Pu'u Pili (perhaps even to Mauna Loa), thence to Mo'omomi on the east, I doubt if there were either plantings of any kind or inhabitants (Phelps Ms. 1941 IN Handy and Handy 1972:518).

As observed in the section of this study titled "Transitions in Residency and Land Tenure," the reality is that the apparent dearth of population (reported by Phelps and

others) may in fact be the product of more recent proto-historic and historic events—ranging from wars to overgrazing. Contrary to Phelps assumption that the northern coast and slopes of Kaluako'i were minimally used, Cooke (1949) records several interesting accounts of native sites, use of resources, and historic events. In one account, we are told how in the late 1800s, families from the wetter ko'olau (windward) portion of Moloka'i, made seasonal journeys to the rich fishing grounds of West Moloka'i.

Near Moomomi on the leeward side of the gullies are several rock enclosures. In some of these I found la-i (ti leaf) still growing. The walls had protected these plants from livestock. I could not understand the purpose of these enclosures nor why the ti grew at that low elevation on the windward side near the sea. Mrs. Jennie Wilson, wife of J.H. Wilson, present Mayor of Honolulu, was born in Pelekunu valley. She told me that the inhabitants of Pelekunu would leave the valley at certain seasons of the year when schools of fish came to Mo'omomi. They would paddle by canoe to Kalawao and carry their paiai (semi-hard poi) and other belongings up the pali and overland down the long western slope of Moomomi. Here they caught and dried fish to be carried back to their valley homes at Pelekunu. The name given to the district through which they traveled overland to Moomomi was called Kaiolohia (big ocean swells)... Ti leaf was important in their cooking, for bundling preserved fish and for the hukilau (community fishing) (Cooke 1949:106).

This practice of cross-island travel to collect resources from other regions may have evolved as the native families were forced to abandon the arid region, leaving the rich fisheries behind, in search of more hospitable land on which to live.

Other features in this region recorded by Cooke include the foot prints of "Ka Laina Wawae," on a ridge to the west of Mo'omomi. Cooke reports that "These are foot prints...preserved in the sand before it hardened into sand stone." Because they were being damaged by livestock, a low retaining wall was built around them (Cooke 1949:106). Additionally, on nearby ridges, are walled up caves, some of which contain numerous burials, and in another cave, were found lauhala baskets full of salt (ibid.) Cooke comments:

Supposedly this salt was stored there to be used with grass for preserving bodies, as was the custom. It may also have been used to preserve dried fish... (ibid.)

To the north and below Pu'u Okoli, on the slope of Maunaloa, is the sandy desert strip of Keonelele, that extends to the sea at Kalani cove. Cooke notes that:

In the middle of what is now Keonelele pasture, there are many skeletons buried in a sand hill about a quarter of a mile from where the

road to Ka Lae o ka Ilio crosses the drifting sands. These are the remains of Chinese coolies who were being transported by sailing vessel from China to the west coast of South America. Their ship was wrecked near Kamakaipo. Those who escaped inland died of hunger and thirst. Their bodies were collected by the Hawaiians and buried in the sand hills. This was told to me by John Puaa, a former luna (foreman) of our ranch (Cooke 1949:107).

Since the time of Cooke's writing, a number of archaeological studies have been conducted in the Kaluako'i region. The studies record the presence of many cultural sites in the region, with a concentration of sites along the coast line at various sheltered coves and bays that afforded residents access to rich fisheries. Numerous sites such as those described in various sections of this ethnographic study, are recorded for the inland as well (e.g., Bonk 1954, Summers 1971, and Weisler 1987).

Summers "Molokai: a Site Survey" (1971) was the first comprehensive study of Moloka'i, including both a detailed literature research, and a reporting of archaeological features. Her study also includes a list and description of numbered archaeological sites and map of those sites (Figure 3). Table 1. Below, identifies cultural sites in the northern and western portions of Kaluako'i (Sites 19-43), as reported in Summers study of Moloka'i. Additionally, sites in the vicinity of Hale-o-Lono (Sites 69-72) are included in the table. A separate archaeological study, being conducted as a part of the larger Environmental Assessment Study of which this report is one component, provides readers with an overview of previous archaeology in the Kaluako'i district (Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle, January 1997). Additionally, the following section of this study provides readers with an overview of information collected from Moloka'i residents regarding traditions of sites, resources, and land use in the study area.

Table 1. Selected Sites Reported by Summers (1971)

Site	Feature
19.	Kawa'aloa Excavation Site
20.	Kawahuna Excavation Site
21.	Mo'omomi Excavation Site
22.	Kaiehu Burial Site
23.	Heiau on shore between Kaiehu and Kalani
24.	Windmill Excavation Site
25.	Kalaina Wāwae Petroglyphs
26.	Excavation site between Kalani and Kapalauoa
27.	Kapalauoa Adze Quarry
28.	Excavation Site (inland of Kapalauoa)

Table 1. Selected Sites Reported by Summers (1971); continued

Site	Feature
29.	Adze Quarry (at 300-foot elevation, inland of Kapalauoa)
30.	Multiple Hawaiian Burials at Keonelele (Cooke 1949, also reports that a group of Chinese had been in the vicinity)
31.	Heiau at Ka'eo
32.	Adze Quarry at Ka'eo
33.	Ko'a at Ka-lae-o-ka-'ilio
34.	Excavation Site at Ka-lae-o-ka-'ilio
35.	Ko'a at Kawakiu-iki
36.	Ko'a at Kawakiu-nui
37.	Ko'a at Kawakiu-nui
38.	Heiau at Kawakiu-nui
39.	Heiau at inland Kawakiu-nui (elevation of approx. 200 ft.)
40.	Ko'a at Kepuhi Bay
41.	Heiau at top of Pu'u o Kaiaka
42.	Pā Pōhaku Complex
43.	Hōlua slides at Nā Pu'u Kūlua... (Summers 1971:41-51)
Hale o Lono, Kaluako'i	
	Hale o Lono was described as "...a fishing station [ko'a] formerly quite a village below Maunaloa..." (Saturday Press, 1883)
69.	Ko'a at Hale o Lono
70.	Ko'a on eastern side of Hale o Lono
71.	Ko'a at Makakilo'i'a
72.	Burial Cave (see Cooke 1949, cited above) (Summers 1971:60)

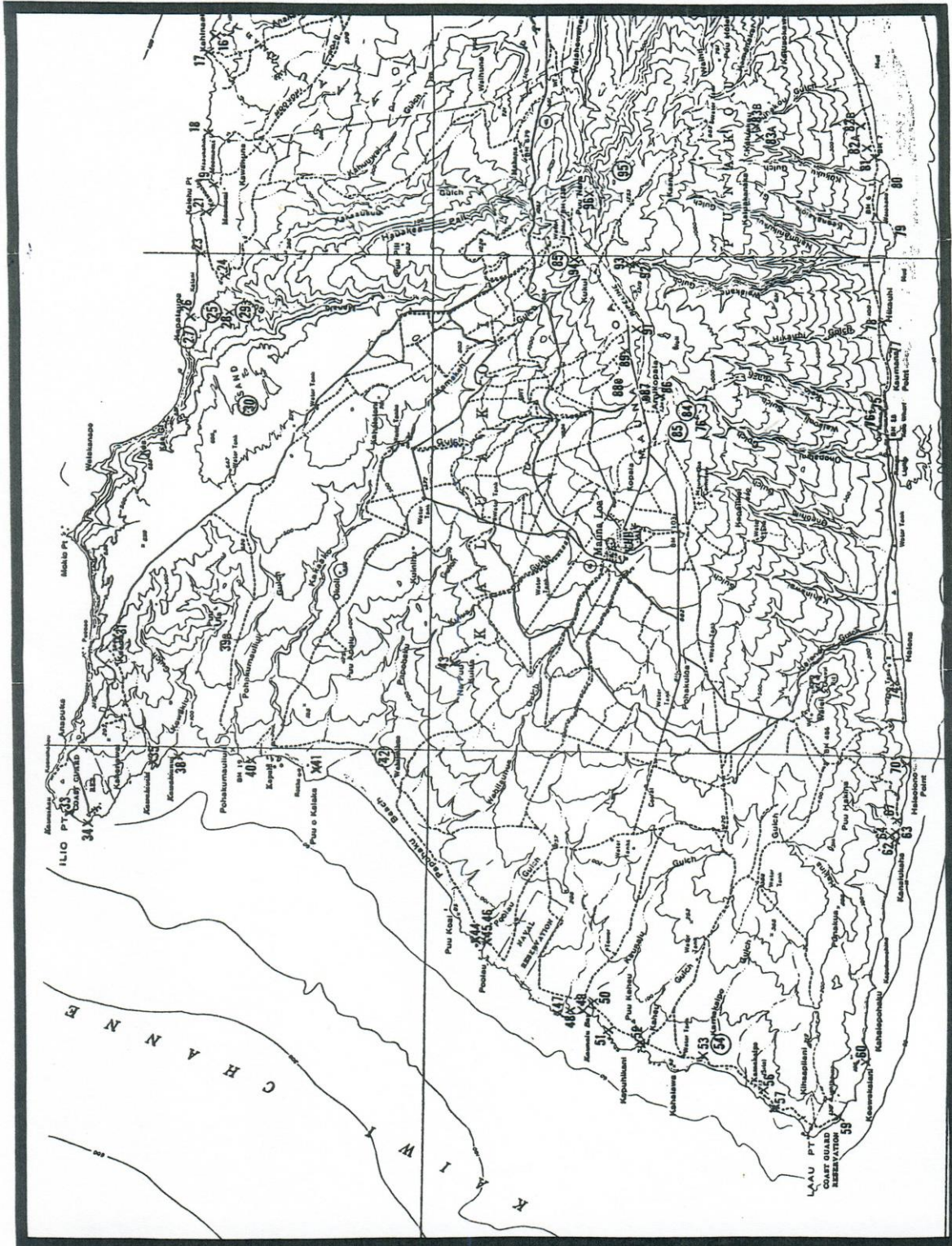


Figure 3. Portion of Map of Molokai Sites Prepared by Catherine Summers (1971)

RESIDENT DOCUMENTATION: OVERVIEW OF INFORMATION GATHERED AS A RESULT OF INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS (NOVEMBER 1996)

In late 1995 - early 1996, a small group of Moloka'i residents participated in a few meetings with representatives of the Marine Corps Command. The meetings were arranged through the personal contacts of Kahu Tyrone Keli'i'aimoku Reinhardt (who has worked with MCBH personnel in the past), and Mr. Charlie Keli'ikipi, a Moloka'i resident (and personal friend of Kahu Reinhardt's). As a result of the meetings, Marine Corps representatives learned that Hawaiian Homesteaders were seeking to have the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) training area returned to homestead use. Also, during this process, the suggestion of moving Marine Corps training operations to Molokai Ranch land in Kaluako'i was raised, and this study was proposed for inclusion in the EA (pers. comm., Kahu Tyrone Reinhardt and Dr. Diane Drigot, Head, MCBH Environmental Affairs Division).

Unfortunately, in the period between November 18-December 10, 1996 (when interviews were being conducted, or releases were being obtained for this study), Mr. Keli'ikipi was unavailable to participate in an interview. Mr. Gregory Helm, DHHL Moloka'i District Manager, who also participated in some meeting with homesteaders and military representatives, did participate in an interview, and his overview of the process and comments are included in this study.

Interview Methodology

The informal "talk story" interview component of this study was conducted in an effort to gather legendary and historical narratives from knowledgeable individuals, familiar with the land, cultural resources, subsistence practices, and families of the district of Kaluako'i, West Moloka'i. The goal being to ensure that culturally responsible consideration—as to the potential effect on cultural properties, practices, and values—be given to the proposed use of portions of the land for military training maneuvers. As a result of conducting this study, eighteen individuals participated in nineteen interviews.

While the findings recorded as a result of conducting three (3) recorded interviews and fifteen (15) informal interviews provide us with otherwise unavailable information, it is noted here that this study does not meet the standards of a formal recorded oral history program. Never-the-less, sufficient details were collected to help identify areas of sensitivity (see the specific comments and recommendations cited in each paraphrased interview). The fifteen informal "talk story" interviews—for which hand-written notes were taken—and three recorded interviews were conducted between November 18 to December 2, 1996. Additionally, in preparation for the interviews, archival and historical documentary research was conducted between August-October 1996.

In between the period of September-October 1996, several individuals were contacted in an effort identify potential contacts for this study. Kahu Tyrone

Keali'i'aimoku Reinhardt, representatives of the Environmental Division of MCBH, Scott and Sylvia Mililani Adams of Moloka'i (the author's family), and other personal contacts of the author, made suggestions and introductions to various individuals who might be contacted. The list of interviewees was formed on the basis of several qualifications, including, but not limited to:

- a. The potential interviewee's genealogical ties to land of the study area (i.e., descent from families awarded land in the Māhele of 1848, or descended from recipients of Land Grants from the Kingdom or Territory of Hawai'i);
- b. Age—the older the informant, the more likely the individual is to have had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians; and
- c. An individual's identity in the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the land, families, practices, and land use activities in the study area.

The primary focus of the interviews was to elicit traditional information (i.e. knowledge handed down in families from generation to generation), and to document traditional values and practices that are still retained in the lives of Hawaiian families associated with the land of the study area. The interviews were also to seek out information on other sites or features identified by the interviewees as being associated with families and cultural practices, and to collect information so as to form an overview of community opinion regarding the proposed use of portions of Kaluako'i for military training ground maneuvers.

Based on the previous experiences of the author, a list of basic questions was developed (Appendix A.). As various potential interviewees were contacted, they were told about the nature of the study, and asked if they had knowledge of traditional sites or practices associated with the study area, and if they would be willing to share some of their knowledge.

Moloka'i Interviews

Each of the individuals who participated in the "talk story" interviews were given the typed, paraphrased summary transcripts and asked to review them and comment on their accuracy and content. During the interviews, as specific sites were discussed, one or several maps as appropriate, were referred to. When possible, site locations were indicated on the interview map(s). A compilation of those locations is presented on Figure 4. Following the review and incorporation of any corrections, additions, or modifications that were made, the individuals gave their permission for use of the summary transcripts in this study. Additionally, each participant has been provided with a copy of this study.

The following discussion summaries and notes highlight key points of interest and concern shared by the individuals contacted. The names of the interviewees, a brief background sketch, the date of contacts, and date of the release of the information are included with each interview.

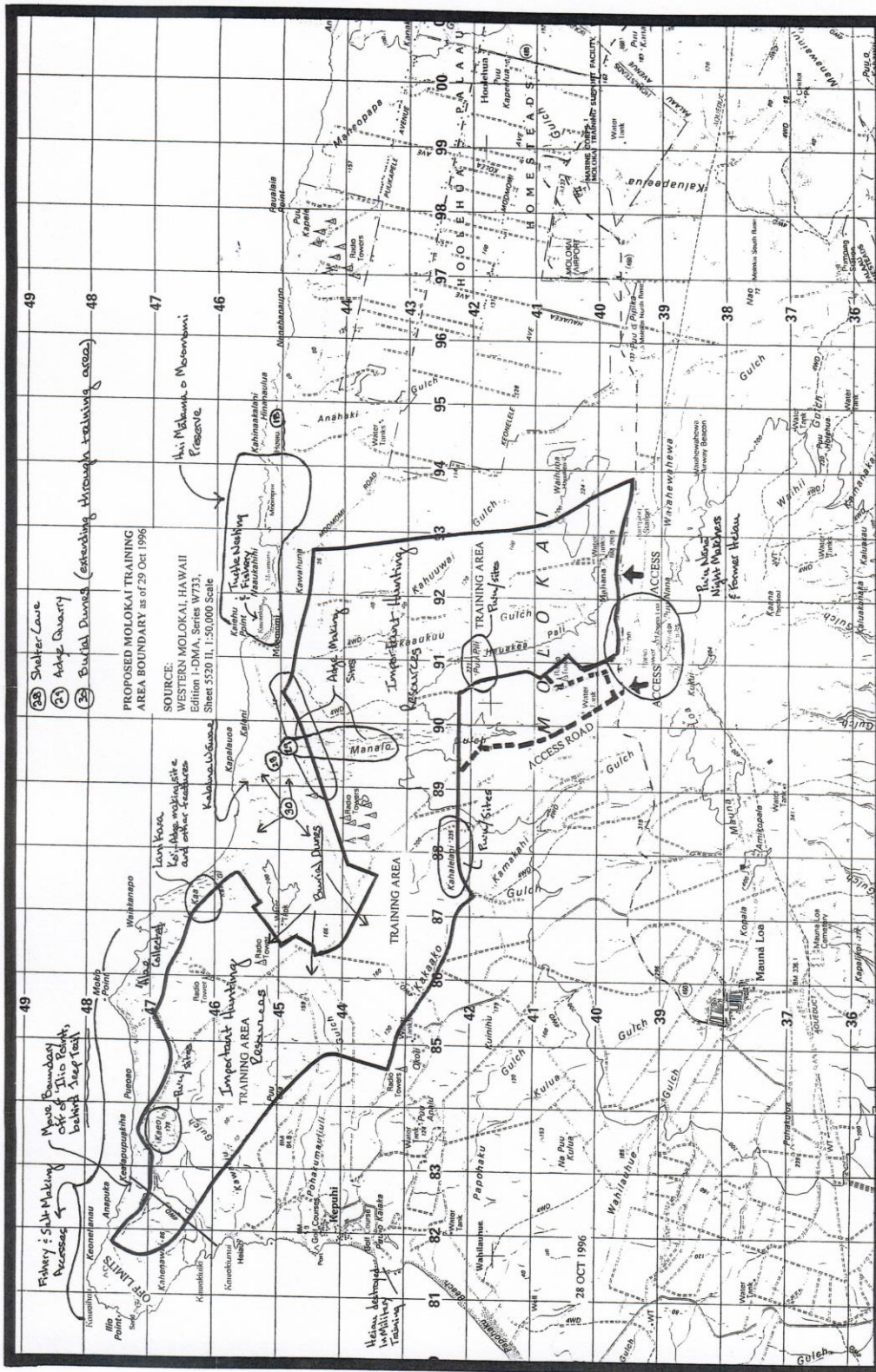


Figure 4. Annotated Map of Proposed Molokai Training Area Boundary (as of Oct. 29, 1996); Showing Areas and/or Recommendations Discussed during Interviews.

MOLOKA'I INTERVIEWEE COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Nearly all of the interviews record a distrust (based on past experiences) of the military's ability to keep its word and to leave the land in a condition at least no worse than its present condition. All of the interviewees would prefer to see that Marine Corps find another location, off of Moloka'i, for its training operations. But, if training is to occur, all individuals spoken with recommend that the Marine Corps work with the community and share in stewardship and caring for the land (e.g., participating in erosion control projects, restoring of native ecosystems, ensuring that restricted and sensitive areas are respected, and protecting traditional and subsistence access rights[§]). A number of the interviewees also asked that representatives of the Marine Corps command come to Moloka'i to meet with community members to develop a plan for future use and stewardship of the land.

The following Table (Table 2.) provides readers with an overview of several key points made during the interviews. The paraphrased interview summaries record in greater detail, the context of the comments and recommendations.

Table 2. Overview of Key Comments and Recommendations

Interviewee	Supports end of DHHL Lease to USMC	Supports Continued USMC Training on Moloka'i	Possesses Knowledge of Traditional Sites and/or Subsistence Practices	§ Recommends: (a) Discussion with USMC, and (b) Community Benefits
Scott K. Adams	YES	§ with reservations	yes	yes
Sylvia M. Adams	YES	no	yes	yes
Matthew Adolfo,	YES	no	n/a	n/a
Billy Akutagawa	YES	no	yes	n/a
Bobby Alcain	YES	no	n/a	n/a
Nathaniel Burrows	yes	n/a	yes	n/a
Dorothe Curtis	yes	with reservations	yes	yes
Gregory Helm	YES	n/a	yes	yes
Joey Joao	YES	yes	yes	yes
Lawrence Joao Sr.	YES	with reservations	YES	yes
William Kalipi	YES	n/a	n/a	n/a
Daniel Kekahuna	YES	with reservations	YES	yes
Wayde Lee	YES	with reservations	yes	YES

YES = Strongly agrees, or highly knowledgeable;

n/a = Not asked;

with reservations = Would prefer that no further training activities take place on Moloka'i, but willing to talk about how the USMC can assist community with management and stewardship concerns.

Table 2. Overview of Key Comments and Recommendations (continued)

Interviewee	Supports end of DHHL Lease to USMC	Supports Continued USMC Training on Moloka'i	Possesses Knowledge of Traditional Sites and/or Subsistence Practices	Recommends: (a) Discussion with USMC, and (b) Community Benefits
Walter Mendes	YES	with reservations	YES	YES
Ed Misaki	yes	with reservations	YES	yes
"Cowboy" Otsuka	YES	with reservations	YES	yes
Mac Poepoe	YES	with reservations	YES	YES
Walter Ritte	YES	with reservations	YES	YES

Ed Misaki**November 18 and 26, 1996****(telephone conversations with Kepā Maly)**

Mr. Ed Misaki (Ed) is the Director of Programs, with The Nature Conservancy (Moloka'i). Ed was born and raised on Moloka'i, and his family has lived on the island for at least three generations. Mrs. Sylvia Adams (the author's aunt), forwarded an overview of the training proposal, and a map (Figure 4., Proposed Moloka'i Training Map, Oct. 29, 1996) delineating the area of consideration to Ed. Because Ed was going to be on the mainland during the time of the Moloka'i interview visits (Nov. 20-22, 1996), he reviewed the information and then called me, to offer several comments and recommendation regarding the proposal.

The following notes, are a paraphrased summary of two conversations on November 18th, with Ed. The summary notes were forwarded to Ed for his review and comment on November 19, 1996, and released for inclusion in the public record on November 26, 1996.

(see reference points on Figure 4.)

- 1 - The 'Īlio Point portion of the proposed training area is extremely sensitive, both culturally and biologically. Recently an endangered species, the *Marsilea villosa* (a "water fern") was located at 'Īlio Point (having never before been recorded in the vicinity); State Forester, Bob Hobdy knows the details of the location the *Marsilea*. Additionally, there is a very rich biological dune strand environment, with a number of unique Hawaiian species along the makai (shoreward) boundaries of the proposed training area (i.e., the area extending from 'Īlio Point east towards Mo'omomi). Ed suggests that Winona Char (who has been contracted to conduct a biological survey for the EA), contact Joan Yoshioka, a Nature Conservancy field biologist, who can provide Winona with Moloka'i sites and occurrence documentation.

- 2 - It is recommended that the 'Īlio Point training boundary be set further inland. Specifically, that the boundary not extend west, or shoreward of the existing 4WD trail indicated on the map (Figure 4). This would move all training activities off of the point, and offer greater protection to the sensitive cultural and natural resources of the area.
- 3 - Ed observed that over the years, The Nature Conservancy and the Moloka'i Island Burial Council have worked closely together on reinternment of Hawaiian burial remains in the Keonelele vicinity. Ed notes that the exact locations of the iwi have been kept hūnā (hidden), but this is an important consideration in any use of dune and coastal areas.
- 4 - Ed commented that he tries to take a positive approach to any project that may potentially affect natural areas, and notes that most of the area in the proposed training ground, has been in pineapple and/or cattle grazing use, and has undergone extensive modification. He observes that generally, the proposed use should be okay, as long as areas of sensitive cultural and biological resources are treated with the proper respect.
- 5 - In regard to speaking with individuals knowledgeable about traditional sites and land use, Ed recommends speaking with: (a) Daniel Kekahuna, a native Hawaiian homesteader, and former Moloka'i Ranch employee, and (b) "Cowboy" Otsuka, an older Japanese gentleman who speaks Hawaiian, and has worked the land for many years. (Ed Misaki; pers. comm. November 18 and 26, 1996)

(Transcript Released November 26, 1996)

**William "Billy" Akutagawa
November 20 and 27, 1996**

**(meeting and telephone conversation with
Kepā Maly at Kaunakakai, Moloka'i)**

Mr. Akutagawa (Billy) is the director of Nā Pu'uwai, a Native Hawaiian Health Care provider on Moloka'i, and life-long Moloka'i resident. He was recommended as a contact by Kepā Maly's aunt, Sylvia Mililani Adams, because he has a close relation with native Hawaiian families throughout Moloka'i.

Billy noted that many of the older kūpuna had passed away, some within just the past year, though his wife's uncle, Lawrence Joao, was quite familiar with the west end, as he had worked the ranch land with his father and older family member. Billy recommended meeting with Lawrence Joao, members of Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi (Hui Mālama), and also mentioned a Hawaiian homesteader by the name of Kili Māwae, as being familiar with sites and resources in Kaluako'i. Not too long ago, when in need of 'alaea ('alae), or soft ocherous stone for medicinal purposes, Kili Māwae told Billy about an important source of 'alaea in the land of Kaluako'i. This

stone is gathered from a place along the inland cliffs between Mo'omomi and 'Ilio Point (see reference points on Figure 4.). The 'alaea is still considered to be an important medicine, and access to this resource is important to families of the west side.

Billy Akutagawa also shared the following comments, noting that he had also spoken with Kili Māwae who expressed great concern about military use of the land:

- 1 - The 'alaea is a resource, important to traditional and customary collection practices and of medicinal importance.
- 2 - Past military actions, up to the present have had a significant impact on the land and community. The land has been left in poor condition (rubbish—spent ammo casings, ammo cans, and miscellaneous debris pollute that land; helicopter noise pollutes the air; and all-terrain vehicles further aggravate the erosion problems).
- 3 - The proposed military use of the Kaluako'i land is not acceptable.
- 4 - Though Molokai Ranch limits non-employee access for hunting and shore line collection practices, the available hunting and marine collection access (of the proposed training area) do provide local families with critical subsistence resources.
- 5 - Local access to the area of proposed training activities is very important to the people of Moloka'i. Kili Māwae and Billy question: "Since the ranch denies access in Kaluako'i to the local families, why should people from away be permitted access that seriously damages the land?" (Billy Akutagawa, pers. comm. November 20 and 27, 1996).

(Transcript Released November 27, 1996).

Walter Mendes

with Matthew Adolfo, Bobby Alcain, and William Kalipi

November 20, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Kaunakakai, Moloka'i)

Mr. Walter Mendes is a native Hawaiian Homesteader, residing in the Ho'olehua Homestead. He is also a board member of the Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi (Hui Mālama), a group dedicated to the preservation of native Hawaiian cultural and natural resources, Hawaiian land and ocean use practices, and public education and awareness. On Wednesday November 20th, Kepā Maly met briefly with Walter Mendes, Mr. Adolfo, Mr. Alcain, and Mr. Kalipi, during a break in a native Hawaiian lā'au lapa'au (Hawaiian medicinal herb healing seminar), being instructed by Papa Henry Auwae. While looking at a map, and discussing the process that had led to the proposed relocation of Marine Corps training activities to Kaluako'i, all of the gentlemen expressed concern for the care and use of the land.

During our brief discussion, the following group comments were made:

- 1 - The Mo'omomi-Keonelele dunes are very sensitive and no military activity would be acceptable.
- 2 - The Keonelele sand dunes extend into the training area and across the plain, down into the Kawākiu-Kepuhi area.
- 3 - This kind of training activity was inappropriate at Pu'u Luahine (Red Hill, on the DHHL land), and is just as inappropriate at Kaluako'i. (per. comm. November 20, 1996.)

Prior to their returning to the lā'au lapa'au workshop, arrangements were made to sit down with Walter Mendes, to gather further comments and recommendations (see also the recordation of the meeting with Walter Mendes, dated November 22, 1996). All of the gentlemen agreed that Walter was an ideal contact, and that he was very knowledgeable about the plans and concerns of Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi.

(Transcript Released December 10, 1996, with transcript of November 22, 1996)

**Scott Ka'uhanehonokawailani and Sylvia Mililani Adams
November 20-22, 1996**

(conversations with Kepā Maly at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i)

Scott and Sylvia Mililani Adams (Uncle Scott and Aunt Sylvia³) were both raised on Moloka'i, and are descended from families with generations of residency on the island. They are now residing in the Ho'olehua Hawaiian Homestead. Both Aunt and Uncle were raised in Kaunakakai. Uncle Scott spent a great deal of time in the Kaluako'i region, hunting, fishing, and camping with his father "Spike" Adams, and other family members and friends.

Uncle Scott recalls that it was common knowledge that many burials were situated in the Keonelele-Mo'omomi dunes. His uncle Ah Fat Apaka, a 1920-30s Hawaiian homesteader told him a story about some of the burials being those of Chinese coolies. Uncle Scott remembers that the burials could be seen laid out in a line, in single file. He was also told that some of the Chinese had been killed and buried there. He also commented that generally, access to the west side was tightly controlled, not just anyone could go in. Uncle observes that in some ways the controlled access was beneficial to the preservation of the resources, and that some form of controlled use would help the long-term management of the Kaluako'i area. Additionally, over the years, as a staff member of the Department of Land and Natural Resource-State Parks Division (Enforcement Division) on Moloka'i, Uncle Scott exercised a stewardship role for the long-term care and protection of Moloka'i's resources.

Aunt Sylvia recalls that Uncle Otto Joao (who was of Hawaiian-Portuguese ancestry, and was raised in Kaluako'i) always instilled in them, a sense of "respect" that one must have "for the land and ocean resources." Whenever the family would go camping in Kaluako'i (at places like Kawākiu and Kepuhi), Uncle Otto would

³ The Adams are the author's Aunt and Uncle (Uncle Scott's older sister is the author's mother-in-law).

inquire if any of the women had their ma'i (menstrual cycle). If so, they were not permitted into the water, this was kapu. On these trips, no one was allowed to wear red as well, because it was a sacred color of Kū. Additionally, Uncle Otto instructed the children that they were not to go into the ocean until the fisherman returned from their first fishing trip of the stay. Uncle told them that the fish could smell when people entered that water, and that they would run away, thus leaving the family without food. The family used to gather salt down in the Kawākiu area, but development has caused the water and pa'akai (salt) to become haumia (dirty) and the family can no longer, safely gather the pa'akai.

The following comments, observations, and recommendations were made by Uncle Scott and Aunt Sylvia over the course of several discussions, and in meetings (interviews) with other individuals:

- 1 - On Moloka'i, we have had past difficulty with military operations. Starting in World War II, the military began using 'Īlio Point and the area around Pāpōhaku-Kaupoa for target practice. Till today, there is still unexploded ordinance at 'Īlio Point. The State has been after the military for years to get them to clean up after themselves, with no luck.
- 2 - As a result of training operations at Pu'u Luahine and other DHHL lands, rubbish has been left behind. If this proposed training operation is to occur, the Marines must be responsible for their messes after each use, and not let it pile up for years.
- 3 - While we have heard little about the proposal to move the training activities from DHHL land to the Kaluako'i area, we know how aggravating the use of helicopters has been in the vicinity of homestead residences. They need to establish and adhere to non-intrusive flight patterns.
- 4 - It is clear that Ranching and plantation practices have significantly impacted land in and around the proposed training area. It is important that if the Marines should use the area, they must respect the land, and minimize impacts to cultural and natural resources of the Kaluako'i region.
- 5 - Uncle Scott has heard that many of the younger generation homesteaders would prefer to have the military off of Moloka'i, and that they want the land to be dedicated to agricultural uses, with no more destructive uses.

Aunt Sylvia agrees with this philosophy, and personally feels that military use of the land is not a good use of the land.

- 6 - It is good to move the training activities off of the DHHL land, so that homesteaders can have access to the land for homestead uses.

- 7 - Uncle Scott noted that as far as he was concerned, it would be okay for the training program in Kaluako'i, as long as the don't mess up the land. (pers. comm. November 20-22, 1996.)

(Transcript Released December 2, 1996.)

Joey Joao

November 20, 1996

(telephone conversation with Kepā Maly)

Having inquired of Scott Adams, who would be a good contact to discuss hunting access on Molokai Ranch land—Kaluako'i, I contacted Mr. Joey Joao (Joey) at Molokai Ranch. Joey was born and raised on Moloka'i, is of Hawaiian ancestry, and is named for his grandfather Joseph Joao Sr., a noted historian and former employee of Molokai Ranch (see interviews with Daniel A. Kekahuna and Lawrence Joao). Presently, Joey manages the Molokai Ranch hunting and is familiar with the Hale-o-Lono access programs.

I spoke with Joey, providing him with a background of the proposed relocation of the Marine Corps training maneuvers from DHHL land to the 9,000-acre parcel on Molokai Ranch in Kaluako'i. Joey was familiar with the proposal, and when asked about existing access policies, he shared the following information.

- 1 - The lands of Mo'omomi-Keonelele-Īlio, as outlined in the proposed training area, make up the primary public hunting district. The Ranch needs to coordinate Marine training maneuver access with the public hunting access. It is important that the Marine Corps communicate its training needs with the Ranch, so that it can time its public announcements and hunting access seasons.

Hunting Seasons:

- 2 - Bird hunting takes place from November through January each year. All hunting is done on foot with no cross-country vehicle (except for on designated jeep trails) or pack animal use permitted. Dogs are permitted for bird hunting use.
- 3 - Axis deer hunting takes place from May through September each year. All hunting is done on foot with no cross-country vehicle (except for on designated jeep trails) or pack animal use permitted, and dogs are not permitted for hunting use.
- 4 - For both bird and axis deer hunting, access is permitted only on weekends, from sunrise Saturday, to sunset on Sunday. There is presently no additional holiday hunting allowed.
- 5 - Hunting is opened to Moloka'i residents only, though Molokai Ranch employees may bring guests in.

The hunting permits are generally controlled through a drawing system. Approximately one month prior to opening hunting seasons, the Ranch puts out an announcement (in local newspapers) that applications for

hunting will be accepted, and people then apply for weekend use. Joey usually receives more than 300 applications annually. It is the policy of Molokai Ranch to try and honor all requests.

Hale-o-Lono Access:

- 6 - Presently, Hale-o-Lono is open two weekends each month for public access—recreational activities.
- 7 - The plan is to have full time access to Hale-o-Lono by March 1997. Initially, the Ranch was looking at managing the access, but a vocal group spoke out against any such controls. Joey notes that the Ranch fears that within a short time, the rich south shore fisheries will be depleted as a result of unmanaged access, but it will comply with the request.

Speaking as a community member, Joey noted that:

- 1 - Returning the DHHL land to homestead use is a good policy. It is better to have the Marine Corps training on private lands.
- 2 - Marine Corps access to the Kaluako'i land should be all right, but the Marines need to use the land with respect, and take care of the cultural resources. He noted that the cultural resources were of great importance to Molokai Ranch. (pers. comm. November 20, 1996.)
- 3 - Another important point is that the Marines take out all of their trash. It's no good for them to leave it, or even to bury it. Over time, the animals dig it up and it just gets scattered all over the place (pers. comm. December 5, 1996).

(Transcript Released December 5, 1996.)

**Nathaniel Burrows
November 20, 1996**

(telephone conversation with Kepā Maly)

Mr. Burrows was recommended as a possible contact by Daniel A. Kekahuna. The Burrows family had lived at Ka-lae-o-ka-lā'au (Lā'au Point) since the mid-1800s, and Mr. Burrows grandfather and father were born at Lā'au Point. The Hawaiian side of the family is descended from the Koa family, who resided in the Pāpōhaku-Kawākiu area of Kaluako'i for several generations. Upon calling Mr. Burrows, he commented that he really did not know too much about the northern portion of Kaluako'i. By his time (Mr. Burrows is 70 years old), the family had pretty much limited it's travels along the southern shores. He related his recollections that in general, access in Kaluako'i was restricted, once Charles Bishop acquired the land in 1875. Subsequently, in the 1890s, the American Sugar Company, and Cooke family kept the land closed with access allowed only by permit.

Based on his familial relationship to the land of Kaluako'i, it would be of value to the community, to conduct a formal oral history interview with Mr. Burrows. He indicated that he would consider participating in an interview.

Mr. Burrows noted that like many of the younger people today, he had read about some of the traditional place of northern Kaluako'i, but was not personally familiar with sites other than Kalainawāwae and Keonelele. He noted that his aunt, who passed away a few years ago would have been an ideal contact, but now most of the old people who would have known anything, are gone (pers. comm. November 20, 1996). Mr. Burrows noted that based on the limited information he had regarding the proposed move of Marine Corps training operations from DHHL land to Kaluako'i, he did not have any further comments or recommendations at the time (pers. comm. December 5, 1996).

(Transcript Released December 5, 1996)

Daniel A. Kekahuna

November 21, 1996

at Hō'olehua, Moloka'i

**(notes from a formal recorded oral history interview
with Kepā Maly and Scott Adams)**

Daniel Alapa'inui Kekahuna (Uncle Daniel) and his wife Louisa Helelā-Kekahuna (Aunty Luika) are native Hawaiian Homesteaders in Hō'ole-hua (written as pronounced). Aunty Luika is a noted lau hala weaver, and Uncle has retired from Molokai Ranch, after 17 years of service), he also worked on the DHHL water line. Uncle was born at Ke'anae, Maui in 1925, and moved to Moloka'i in 1943. At the suggestion of Ed Misaki and Aunty Sylvia Mililani Adams, I called Uncle Daniel, and told him about the present project, and asked him to consider participating in a formal recorded oral history interview. Uncle agreed to do an interview, if it was thought that the information he had would be of importance.

Uncle Scott Adams took me to meet Uncle Daniel, and following a brief discussion about the proposed relocation of the Marine Corps training activities from Hawaiian Home Lands to the Kaluako'i area, Uncle Daniel began sharing a variety of stories that he had learned from old timers shortly after he moved to Moloka'i. The accounts he shared, proved to include rich legendary accounts, site descriptions, and accounts of late historic period ranching practices, and the interview was recorded. Uncle notes that one of the primary sources of legendary and early historic information that he shared, was Joseph Joao Sr., with whom he worked during the elder Joao's last years on the ranch.

Specific comments and recommendations regarding the proposed Marine Corps training operations, made by Uncle Daniel during the formal interview, included:

- 1 - It is important that the Marines take care of our Hawaiian places. It's our history, and once the sites are broken up, they are lost forever.
- 2 - Pu'u Ka'eo, Kahenawai Gulch, and 'Īlio Point have Hawaiian sites.
- 3 - There are also sites at Keonelele, Mo'omomi, Hauakea, and Pu'u Pili.

- 4 - Maintaining access to the shoreline fisheries and salt making areas between Mo'omomi to 'Īlio Point is important to the Hawaiian families. (see the interview excerpts for further details)

Because the recording of oral historical accounts was not included as a part of the present scope of work, the formal interview transcript is not included in this study, instead, excerpts are cited below (place names of sites associated with, or near by the proposed training area are underlined). Uncle reviewed the following paraphrased highlights, and gave his permission for their use in this document (pertinent comments and recommendations are included below, with the tape counter number indicated in the column on the left):

000-103 While telling the legendary account of Pāka'a and his residence on Moloka'i (in c. 1525), Uncle observed that in ancient times, there was a close relationship shared between the people and resources of Hō'olehua and Kaluako'i. The families were closely related and the people were always interacting with one another (e.g., in marriage, and use and exchange of resources etc.).

As Uncle recited the narratives of Pāka'a, Kū-a-Pāka'a, the ipu makani (wind gourd) of La'a-ma'oma'o, and how the chief Keawe-nui-a-'Umi came to Kaluako'i, Moloka'i in the 1500s, he observed:

064-074 The entire region from Kolo and Halena⁴ to Hale-o-Lono was populated, there were hundreds of house sites, ceremonial sites, fishponds, trails, burials, and agricultural field systems. Many of these sites and features can still be seen to this day. An important ala hele (trail) also runs from the shore near Kolo, up to the great agricultural field of Amiko-pala. The ala hele was made by Pāka'a and his son Kū-a-Pāka'a, and was lined with white coral so that even on the moonlit night, the path could be followed. The māla (agricultural field) was planted in 'uala and kō (sweet potatoes and sugar cane) by Pāka'a and his son. Though some portions of the Kolo Trail have been destroyed by the Ranch, sections can still be seen to this day. During his telling of the story of Pāka'a, Uncle also tells us that Hō'olehua and 'Īloli were the parents of Hikauhi ^(w) and Kaumanamana ^(k).

104-125 Uncle noted that the old places were very important, and that the ancient Hawaiians had mana (spiritual power), when they built their old places, there were kauoha (commands, or rules to follow) when traveling or working in their ancient places. Failure to respect the old places often brings about misfortune.

252-276 In describing places that he had heard of, that were situated within the boundaries of the proposed Marine Corps training area, Uncle observed

⁴ Uncle notes that Halena was formerly called Kohepū'olo, and in the interview, he shares an account of how the name Kohe-pū'olo came about.

that ʻĪlio Point was a very important place, with many sites. Also, Puʻu Kaʻeo has a hōlua (sledding) track, and adze quarry. Kahenawai Gulch, which runs from the proposed training area into ʻĪlio Point, was once a water source used by the ancient Hawaiians.

- 277 Uncle comments that, “Yes, I would say it is important to take care of the Hawaiian places.”
- 278-288 There are also sites in the ʻĪlio-Keonelele fields, Hauakea Gulch and Puʻu Pili areas (in proposed training area).
- 290 Kākāʻaukuʻu was named because in early times, the endemic ʻaukuʻu (Hawaiian herons) nested on those flats (in the proposed training area).
- 305 Mahana sheep station was active up to around the early 1940s (pre-WW II). Uncle Scott recalls that when he was a child at Kaunakakai school, you could always tell when they were driving the sheep, because a cloud of red dirt followed behind them in the sky.
- 312 The Keonelele dune is an important burial place, with skeletons all inside the dune under the kiawe. Uncle learned from Joseph Joao Sr., that a ship wrecked near the Kepuhi area, and that Chinese coolies had died and also been buried in the dunes.
- 327... Kalaina-wāwae was named for a woman who lived in the Moʻomomi area in the
- 463-480 c. 1700s. She was a prophetess, who made the food prints foretelling of the coming of foreigners from across the ocean to walk upon the land of Molokaʻi, “Hele mai ka poʻe mai ka ʻāina e, mai kāhi ʻokoʻa, a hiki mai nei. Na lākou hana aku kēia...” Uncle notes that what Kalaina predicted, came true...
- 387 Puʻukalani, on the western edge of Keonelele also has a hōlua on it.
- 427 Puʻunānā, the highest point on West Molokaʻi, was a place of importance, it was an ancient look out point, where people could look across the entire region.
- 442-456 Kaluakoʻi was named because there were many adze making places in the land. One of the important places on the mountain was the ancient forest of Kālaipāhoa (the poison goddess), who took her form in the nīoi tree. Only the koʻi pāhoa (stone axe) could be used to hew trees from the forest.
- 481-488 At one time, there were many people who lived along the northern shores, and later, people from the Waikolu side came to Kaluakoʻi to fish and gather salt.
- 489-503 Paʻakai (salt) was made all along the shore, from Moʻomomi, Kalani, Kapalauoa, and out to ʻĪlio. The salt would form in the natural kaheka (shallow pools formed in the shoreline rocks). Aunt Luika used to gather

- salt at 'Īlio until a few years ago. But now, it is too kāpulu, people go around and mess up the place, leaving rubbish that goes into the salt.
- 504 Both uncles Daniel and Scott remember that Kawākiu was also a good salt gathering area before the development occurred.
- 508... When asked about ko'a (shore-based fishing stations and shrines, Uncle recalled that from Anahaki to 'Īlio there were ko'a, but he did not know them well enough to point them out on the map.
- 578-600 When asked if it would be better to move the Marine training off of DHHL land, both uncles Daniel and Scott agreed, "Oh yes." Uncle Daniel said that it would be really good if they would keep the helicopters away from us. They are so loud, we no can hear one another talk in our own house, and the chicken's egg laying cycle gets all messed up because the chickens get so scared.
- 601-618 Uncle Daniel commented that they could use the place (Kaluako'i) if they wanted, but there are historical places that they have to be careful of. All down from the radio tower in Keonelele to 'Īlio, and right next to Pu'u Ka'a. Uncle noted that he was sure that at one time everywhere on this whole island had sites, but the ranch used plenty land and things have changed.
- 650-657 When asked if he was familiar with ancient trails that may have crossed over Mauna Loa, Uncle said that he had heard that there were other trails, but by his time, he didn't see them. He also had been told that in the time of Kiha-a-Pi'ilani (c. 16th century), work was begun on a trail from the Kolo area all the way to Mo'omomi, along the shore. But for some reason the trail wasn't completed.
- 698 While discussing other cultural sites and histories of Kaluako'i, Uncle repeated his comment that "It is important to mālama (take care of) places."
- 703-707 In speaking of the proposed Marine Corps use of land in Kaluako'i, Uncle said:
- I no can say stop them, and I no can say allow them to go, but I can say, "If they going use the place, if they are allowed to use it...as long as they take care. Take care, because all this old historical sites, once you break 'um up, pau! It's gone forever..."
- 940 By the 1940s, there weren't a lot of people left already, that knew too much about the traditional sites and families of the Kaluako'i area.
- 942-956 Anahaki used to have house sites, had ti leaf growing inside the pā pōhaku (stone wall enclosures). All over this west side, guys used to come from Wailau and Pelekunu side to fish. In the summer months, down here get good fishing, and the people all made salt. My wife still gathered salt till not too long ago, at Kawaihau, 'Īlio Point, but now the people make all kāpulu. And the kind of salt you buy in the store is not good like Hawaiian salt.

- 957 Uncle Scott noted that the foreign salt was “Unfit for human consumption.”
- 1105 Speaking of problems with people (both residents and the military) who don’t take care of the land, and people who took more from the land and ocean than they needed, Uncle Daniel noted that “when people ‘ānunu, make the ‘āina” (when people are greedy, the land dies). (pers. comm. November 21, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 2, 1996)

Uncle Daniel has expressed interest in participating in additional, formal recorded oral history interviews to help preserve Moloka‘i’s history.

Wayde Lee

November 21, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Ho‘olehua, Moloka‘i)

Wayde Lee is a native Hawaiian homesteader, member of the board of Hui Mālama o Mo‘omomi (Hui Mālama), and a worker with Alu Like. He has spent much of his adult life working to nurture Hawaiian youth, and fostering an awareness of Hawaiian cultural practices and natural resources. As a member of Hui Mālama o Mo‘omomi, Wayde has worked to ensure the preservation of the varied resources of the Mo‘omomi area of Kaluako‘i, and to protect traditional access and fisheries, and educate individuals about traditional and customary practices. Presently, Hui Mālama leases approximately 385 acres from DHHL, on the coast between Anahaki and Na‘aukahihi, and manages an experimental fishery in Mo‘omomi and Kawa‘aloha bays, between Na‘aukahihi and Kaiehu points. Wayde noted that a long-term goal of Hui Mālama is to establish a native Hawaiian fisheries preserve, that fronts some ten (10) miles of shore line between ‘Īlio Point and Kalaupapa, and extends out some two (2) miles to the deep-sea fisheries (See also interviews with Mac Poepoe and Walter Mendes).

Over the last several years, Hui Mālama has been very active in the legislature, and has worked with the Moloka‘i community on development of the Governor’s Moloka‘i Subsistence Task Force (Final Report June 1994). Wayde noted that the report identifies the practices, needs, and concerns of Moloka‘i’s residents for maintaining the island’s rural lifestyle (see also the discussion notes with Walter Ritte). Wayde noted that many of the Ho‘olehua homesteaders came from Maui in the 1930s. The Hawaiian Homestead program was in trouble, and families were needed to work on the land and care for the resources. Thus, many of our Ho‘olehua families have a tradition of caring for this place, and a commitment to keeping it pono (right). This is why Mo‘omomi, Keonelele, and the entire Kaluako‘i area mean so much to us.

Wayde noted, that he was very encouraged to learn that this type of work (having an individual go into the community to collect mana‘o for the record), was occurring. He feels that it is very timely. As a result of the discussion with Wayde, the following additional comments and recommendations were recorded:

(see reference points on Figure 4.)

- 1 - Our first preference would be that no further Marine Corps training activities occur on Moloka'i.
- 2 - The helicopters have been a real problem for our families, they fly so low over our homes, that the walls shake (many houses are single wall construction). We want them to fly high and stay away from our homes.
- 3 - The map (Figure 4.) shows the Marines entering/exiting the training area from the Mahana side. What happens in times when the terrain is flooded like last week (week of November 11-17, 1996), will the Marines come into Ho'olehua and mess up the Mo'omomi access road? We would like to make sure that no training access takes place on homestead roads. We already have a problem with Molokai Ranch, they use our roads, to get onto their roads, and then when they fix their side of the road, they just leave ours in a mess.
- 4 - If the Marines enter into the lease with Molokai Ranch, we expect them to treat the land with respect, they need to take responsibility for their actions.
- 5 - It is a Hawaiian custom that before you enter an area, or use something, that you give something back, you help to take care of the land. What will the Marines do to help the people of Moloka'i.

One area of concern that we have, and one that threatens our preserve at Mo'omomi, is erosion caused by years of overgrazing. Marine Corps training activities will only compound the problem. Presently, the cove of Kawa'aloa, which makes up a part of the experimental fisheries preserve that we manage, is being damaged by the runoff from mauka, which carries silt off the slopes and into the bay. Kawa'aloa is a feeding and nesting area for the native honu (sea turtles). The growing siltation problem is killing the reef, leading to a diminishing food source, polluting the honu nesting area.

If the Marines were to come in, we would like to have a commitment from them that they will work with us to help mitigate the erosion problems. Perhaps we could work on a planting project to help restore some aspect of the native plant ground cover. Projects like this could foster a good working community relationship.

- 6 - We would like to keep the Marines from going down to the Mo'omomi area and swimming while they are on training. We are working at trying to reestablish native subsistence fisheries. We have been taught by our kūpuna (elders) that spawning fish are very sensitive to water conditions. If a group of people were to go swim when the moi or other fish were preparing to spawn, the odor might drive the fish

away. This would in turn impact the subsistence fishing practices of our families.

- 7 - Before the Marines begin their training maneuvers, we would recommend that they participate in awareness classes that would prepare them for what to expect on Moloka'i. If they know what kinds of activities are acceptable, and the value of our cultural or natural resources, they can take responsibility for helping us care for them. Examples of the kinds of things they need to know include that they are not to dig in sand dune areas, and that they should not dismantle any sites with set stone.
- 8 - It is critical that the Marines clean up after themselves after each use. Don't leave ammo casings, sea ration packets, and other rubbish all over. If they dig holes, fill them. Ten years ago, I told the military about some ordinance at 'Īlio Point, and they still haven't been cleaned up. The Marines have to clean up after themselves.
- 9 - Regarding Hale-o-Lono, we would recommend that they wait on making a decision about Hale-o-Lono until the access issues between Moloka'i's people and the Ranch are settled.
- 10 - Finally, if the Marines do come to an agreement and move training operations to the Kaluako'i lands, they need to remember that they are the guests on Moloka'i. Our families have important hunting and fisheries access in the area that are integral to our well-being. The coastal trails are very important to us, and we do not want to be told that we can no longer have these forms of access when the Marines come in. (pers. comm. November 21, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 3, 1996)

In a follow up conversation, Wayne noted that Hui Mālama felt that the recorded information, reflected the content of the discussion, and that the job had been well done (pers. comm. Wayne Lee; December 3, 1996).

Mac (Kelson) Poepoe

November 21, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i)

Mac Poepoe is a native Hawaiian homesteader and native practitioner of subsistence fishing and resource stewardship. He is also a member of the board of Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi (Hui Mālama), committed to the protection and perpetuation of Hawaiian subsistence practices and traditional and customary practices associated with the lands and families of west Moloka'i (see also summaries of meeting notes with Wayne Lee, Walter Mendes, and Walter Ritte).

Mac is known to be knowledgeable about the land and resources of Kaluako'i, and was a co-chair of the Governor's Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force (Final Report, June 1994). Mac has a strong sense of commitment to care of the land and ocean, and believes that all who use the land share that responsibility. Mac formerly served in the Army, and he also understands the training needs of the troops, though he

wonders at the appropriateness of training on Moloka'i. As a result of the discussion with Mac, the following comments and recommendations were recorded:

(see reference points on Figure 4.)

- 1 - The first preference would be that the Marine Corps not only leave Pu'u Luahine, but that they also leave Moloka'i. We would like them just stay out of Kaluako'i. We live on a small island, and no place is completely isolated.

Mac also observed with remorse, that they (the Marines) will probably ignore us, they usually do.

- 2 - As the Marine Corps investigates the options of entering into a lease agreement with Molokai Ranch, Mac notes that he would like to have the Marine Corps and Molokai Ranch decision makers come to Moloka'i and have a face to face meeting with the people. This way we can talk things out, and come to an understanding, about the needs and concerns of the community.
- 3 - Cleanup is a critical issue. At Pu'u Luahine and vicinity, they say they've cleaned up, but you go up there, and there's still all kinds of rubbish, blanks, empty shells, and pukas (holes) in the ground. These things are dangerous. The Marines must take care of the land as they use it.
- 4 - In Kaluako'i we have a significant erosion problem, caused by years of Molokai Ranch's over grazing. The runoff is a significant impact on our coastal fisheries, and the fisheries, are important to our well-being. Many of our families rely upon the health of the fisheries to maintain the health of their families.
- 5 - If the Marine Corps are going to continue using Moloka'i as a training base, they must explore ways to give something back to our island and community. We are particularly concerned about the impacts of the proposed training activities on the makai (shoreward) preservation areas.

Mac suggests that one good project for the Marines to work on with Molokai Ranch and the community would be erosion control. Projects might include soil stabilization, replanting, or some similar action. Whatever occurs, the land must be taken care of.

- 6 - Pu'u Ka'eo and Ka'a have cultural features that extend into the training area (Figure 4.). The marines must be instructed, from the top down, about a protocol in respecting Hawaiian cultural resources. (pers. comm. November 21, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 9, 1996)

**Lawrence Joao Sr.
November 21, 1996
at Kaunakakai, Moloka'i
(notes from a formal recorded oral history interview
with Kepā Maly)**

Lawrence Joao (Uncle Lawrence) was born at Ma'alehua, Moloka'i in 1930, he is of Hawaiian-Portuguese ancestry, and his family has worked on Molokai Ranch lands for four generations. At the suggestion of Billy Akutagawa, and Aunty Sylvia and Uncle Scott Adams, I called Uncle Lawrence, telling him about the proposed relocation of Marine Corps training activities from DHHL lands to Kaluako'i. Because of his family's connection with the Kaluako'i region, I also asked him to consider participating in a formal recorded oral history interview. Uncle was very clear, that he was in no way an expert or historian, and that he could only speak from his personal experience. He agreed that he would be very happy to share what little he knew, if it could be of help in the long-term planning processes to care for Moloka'i.

Uncle observes, Moloka'i is the best place on earth to live, and that he believes we must take care of the land. He suggests that should the Marine Corps use Kaluako'i, that they be educated in what is appropriate or inappropriate in use of the land. He observes, that "If they know what's right, they can take responsibility for their actions."

Specific comments and recommendations regarding the proposed Marine Corps training operations, made by Uncle Lawrence during the formal interview, included:

- 1 - If it were up to me, I would not allow the military to do training on Moloka'i. They should go to a remote area like the desert (Arizona, Sahara).
- 2 - If they are going to come and do the training, they need to have some training so that they can know how to take care of the land, so that they don't desecrate Hawaiian sites.
- 3 - The military has really busted up special Hawaiian places here on Moloka'i in the past, hopefully now they will be more aware, help take care of the land.
- 4 - There are many special places on the pu'u (hills), and along the coastal area. They have to respect these places.

The area from Pu'unānā down towards Kā'ana and on makai, was frequented by the huaka'i pō (processions of night {spirit} marchers).

- 5 - Maintaining community access to fishing grounds is very important.
- 6 - The Hale-o-Lono and Kanalukaha area is very significant, they need to take care not to further impact the Hawaiian sites on the lee-side shore.
- 7 - Even though the military has said it isn't going to do certain training activities, in the past we have had an agreement, and then they just

change it once the paper is signed. When they give us their word, they have to mean it.

(see the interview excerpts for further details)

Uncle notes that the primary sources of legendary and early historic information that he shared, were his uncle, Joseph Joao Sr., his father Raymond Francis Joao, and other elder members of the extended family (all of whom have since passed away). Because the recording of oral historical accounts was not included as a part of the present scope of work, the formal interview transcript is not included in this study, instead, excerpts are cited below. Place name referencing sites of specific importance to the study area, are underlined.

Uncle reviewed the following paraphrased highlights, and gave his permission for their use in this document (pertinent comments and recommendations are included below, with the tape counter number noted in the column on the left):

- 000-072 Explains family background, and his birth on Moloka'i
- 073-080 Uncle notes that he never liked when the military was using DHHL land for training maneuvers. Because they are just like the cows, when they go over the land, they trample over everything. You get bulldozer, you knock down the stones. They thought it was a pile of stones (like at Pu'u o Kaiaka, Kaluako'i), that was a heiau (temple), or you get a honua (sanctuary) over there, you get ko'as (fishing shrines) over there. You don't blame them in a way, you got to blame the people who brought them over there. They desecrate everything... Men on foot, no can do too much damage, but the tanks and bulldozers can.
- 081-087 And the helicopters, even the Cookes was complaining in the early 1970s... Even down here (his home on the shore of Kaunakakai), we can hear the helicopter, and that, I couldn't sleep myself. Not because too much noise, but look at that, they through 'um out of Kaho'olawe, and here they are right in front of our face again.
- 099-105 I am familiar with the Kaluako'i area because I worked with my uncle, Joseph Joao from about 1953. I worked with him and he showed me a lot of things. I had it first hand from my uncle, not from somebody else...
- 109-119 At Mahana had a lot of sacred stuff, and that's where the construction camp was. You know where the macadamia nut orchard, that's where my grandfather, his last days were there. There was haole stuff, the houses and stuff like that. But there is a lot of old Hawaiian stuff around there... The Hawaiians liked to build their houses near the pali side where they can get some water. Waihi'i was the water source near Mahana, there was running water all the time. And who knows, maybe Mahana had water too.
- 120-126 My Uncle told me, and my father told me about the forest that used to be up Pu'unānā and Mauna Loa side. Had lau hala trees and had 'ōhi'a

growing before... They had the grass we used to call akonakona too. Nobody see that grass now.

Discusses how the land has changed over the years, and how the introduced eucalyptus and kiawe have led to the killing of native plants and drying of the land...

- 137-143 Mahana is where the ranch used to sheer the sheep. Had a big sheep house, a big pen, right in the hollow. When you come from the main road, there's a big gate, and as soon as you come to what they call the hālua (hollow), and get one rubber tree, planted by Mrs. Cooke. That's where the big shearing house was.
- 144-159 When I was young, the sheep operation was pau, but had all wild sheep from Mahana all the way to Ka-lae-o-ka-'Īlio. (discusses distribution of sheep in area) Sheep ranching was pau before WW II broke out...
- 160-163 (discusses Ranch's honey business) Honey was collected all along the lee shore.
- 166-184 Mahana had old Hawaiian places before, but you could hardly see that by my time because how many years, cattle had been on that land. Everything desecrated, all smashed down. The closer you go down to the beach, now you go down to Mo'omomi side, those places over grown with kiawe, you can't see nothing...Ohhh! Get the heads with the round hole inside the skull, and with the lead...Hawaiians no more lead before, somebody must of slaughter them eh. But you never hear my father them say that somebody went murder these people... My brother them used bring home...we used to call 'um kini, the lead. They used to bring home that thing, and my mother used make them take that back, "It killed a lot of people."
- 185-189 Mo'omomi and Keonelele were known burial areas, it was all sacred, those places get the foot prints, Kalaina-wāwae imbedded in the sand, going up the trail. It's an important place, that's history.
- 190-197 My Uncle Joseph used to tell me all kinds of stories, and he had first hand news, all from the Hawaiians. He never had the news from somebody else. Uncle stayed up Kā'ana, he went all over the place...then he went down and lived at Hālena, then up Kā'ana, then Kepuhi... He was the care taker of the ranch.
- 198-204 You can't do nothing, this area (Kaluako'i) was closed off, and the eyes for the ranch was my Uncle Joseph. Before, if someone went out there without permission, they would haul you in. Nobody even try to go, because everybody was afraid of the Cookes...

(In response to a question about his feelings on moving the training to Kaluako'i:)

- 212-221 You know where they should keep the training... Take 'um Arizona, in the desert. Around here, get too much stuff. There's no more one place...you talk about Mahana, you talk about Keonelele, and Ka-lae-o-ka-'Īlio, there's

no more place... If you going train, the military need big place for train, you no can go small places. If you asking me, if you have to designate, there's a very small portion out of that, and then where they can go is inaccessible, near the pali...

223-232 Tell the Marines to stick to the up side, above the cliff, don't go down Mo'omomi. Pu'u Ka'eo get a lot of stuff over there.... But there was no one for a long time who was knowledgeable about the area, they went run all the people off.

234-239 We seen the heiau, or places, and we no touch, we know from our parents that you don't touch those kind of stuff. So, we look, we know, we see, but only my Uncle Joseph was the one who tell us...

242-257 By Īlio point, had Kealapūpūkea (Ke-ala-pūpū-a-Kiha) situated between Anapuka and Pueoao... How we knew about this place, was because it's near where we used to go gather 'ōpihi, on the pali. Another place is Mokio, that's a place where we go to gather 'ōpihi and fish. You walk the trail down, and can go both direction on the shore, then you go up the pali and go on the other route and go down. If you no scared shark or barracuda, you can swim, but around the point, get strong current. This is an important access for fishing, moi ground, and āholehole.

258-264 ...Ke-ala-pūpū-kea—ala is “road or trail,” ke ala is “the road.” The pūpū is “shell,” Ke-ala-pūpū-kea, the pūpū come white eh, when bleached in the sun. Kea means “white”. So, the old shells set on the side, the sun bleached them out, making them white. They line them up so you can see, even if in the night, when you going on the trail.

(KM) So Kealapūpūkea was a lined trail?

Yeah, because on both sides, you see, they put the pūpū, you know, and when the sun hit it, and the thing get old, the shell come white. It was one of the old trails of this area.

265-277 Another place, right on the point over here... at Kawaihau Bay, it's a good fishing ground, we spear inside there. But on the point over here, we call this “Sharp Stone.” The sand stone is all 'a'ā like, sharp stone, below, get the cross wave from Kalaupapa and from O'ahu side, there's a moi hole down there, but you've got to be fast. You throw for the moi, and if you're too late, either you and your net going, because get one papa (flat reef), and the moi are big kind. That's the ground over there...

280-291 Salt gathered from the Kawākiu-li'ili'i area. That's the salt ground we picked from. It's one of the most important salt grounds, right there... They usually go to gather the salt in July, August. Maybe had some places along the northern shore, but I didn't know about them.

292-305 From behind Ka'a-Mokio area in the cliffs we used to get 'alae (ocherous earth). They no tell anybody, because the 'alae was a sacred thing. They made a lot of medicines and they also color the salt with the 'alae. Like when the lady get hemorrhage, no can stop, they use the 'alae, and the

thing stop 'um right away. So, when you go pick up the 'alae, they no show anybody, because the Hawaiians say some people hewa (don't do right). So, when they go, it's very...you know Hawaiians, they not stupid people, they lived close to the earth.

306-347 There is a trail at Mokio, and certain places, like from Kalaeoka'ilio, there is a fence that goes straight out to the north... (looking at Monsarrat's 1886 map of Moloka'i)

(pointing out sites on the map) Pu'u Ka'eo, Mokio, Kapalauoa, and Kalani, Kaiehu, Kawa'aloa, Mo'omomi... When you get up on top here, get one ranch pen (paddock), get one pu'u up side here, that pu'u, you get one heiau down here, close to the pali. By Kapalauoa, get one heiau, and big kind 'opihi shells, so people used to live down here...

356-367 On top all these pu'u, all, they get like worship place, you know. Some part is just like cinder cone, some parts no more nothing, but most times, the most significant kind, you watch, near the ocean, or look a little bit different. Not everyone, I guess, but some are like land marks too (for fishing ko'a). But we never learn from nobody, at that time, because they were all gone. Maybe my uncle knew, but maybe he figure "no sense telling us..."

369-375 But this place (pointing to the shore line fronting the training area), there's a lot of places on the edge like. You've got a lot of places like this. Inland, mostly, open ground already, the cattle went inside and desecrate the place by their hooves, and when the rain wash out, oh, terrible.

375-281 I don't know, that's their land, and if they going give these people the land for use. That's not our land, but because we get some kind of...we get Hawaiian blood, and inside, you just kind of like crying when you know what they're doing to the land eh.

382-400 The older Joao them, their mother's name was Koa, and the place next to Sheraton Hotel, down there at Pu'u o Kaiaka, where Libby came and made their wharf. This place belonged to the Koa family. Joesph Joao married a Koa. And has heiau down here, and fishing ko'a, and my uncle told me, this belonged to the Koa family. How many more families not here today eh?

410-427 Pu'u Apalu is a famous place too, had a lot of stone ko'a and things over there. Get a lot of flat land in between, but like on the pu'u, usually if they go on the pu'u, and they get something on the pu'u, then around the pu'u on the flat lee side, away from the wind, they had their stuff, see. So, you can't just go and throw stones around, sometimes that's a Hawaiian place. Kaiaka was one of the places that they kilo (spot) 'o'io fish from. So those kinds of places were something that was so important

428-459 (Uncle describes his personal observation of the 1960s military landing on the Pāpōhaku beach, and destruction of the heiau at Pu'u o Kaiaka; and the HC&D sand mining operation.)

- 460-467 When they did the landing, the Marines wrecked the family heiau, and went with the tanks up and over the top, through the paddock, past Kahalelani, down Keonelele and Mo'omomi dunes. They crossed Mahana, went down into the DHHL land, and they went end up by Manawainui, crossing going over by the grave yard (Homelani), and they end up at Pu'u Luahine. The places were so damn wrecked after that...
- 485-503 The tracks from the tanks, they had holes three feet deep, and when the rains came, that all went into the ocean. But that's how they do business. That's their land, Molokai Ranch own the land.
- (KM notes that tracked vehicles will not be used) ... Well, that's what they say first time, but once they get the thing down in black and white, they say, "Don't tell me what to do, I'll tell you what to do..."
- 509-519 Pu'unānā and those places were all sacred before. When I was young, you tell me to go up there and sleep, I no can sleep. Pu'unānā had huaka'i pō (processions of night marchers), and Kā'ana side.
- 522-527 Waihi'i also had plenty stone walls, before days they grew taro. Till today, you go on one trail, you can see where the Hawaiians had their houses, the stone wall all go up inside there.
- 535 (KM: What do you feel about the proposed use of this land for Marine Corps Training?)
- 541-558 If they going use the land, make them see that they have to be responsible to take care. At Pu'u Luahine they trying to clean up. Now, it's not too bad, because they're aware of the environmental stuff now. But before...I get one homestead lot up by the airport, where they get one barracks. They have one boiler, where they cooked tar for lay down the road, and they still get the tar inside there, and they no clean up, because nobody made them aware of that. I told the supervisor from the DHHL, but nothing happen...
- 595-615 Maybe now is better with the military, because the military is aware now, what they going touch, they got to clean... If you tell them from the up guy down, it's okay. When the say from the top down, the guys below going listen... (626) start side two)
- 627-666 (describes his experiences in construction of Hale-o-Lono Harbor in 1958 and sand mining operations)
- 667-679 Hale-o-Lono harbor was dredged 21 feet deep. They ransacked the hills for the stone. Kanalukaha, is one famous place too. They get the shack (hālau) where they put the fishing boats, but they took every bit of stone they can get. Some of the boulder were 40 tones. They asked for 40 tons down to 5 tons. Had Hawaiian sites all down here, this side was more sacred, because the lee shore side was more calm water, and good fishing ground... (describes shoreline sites and ranch use of the land)

- 708-716 When I was young, at Kamakaipo, I would still see native Hawaiian kō (sugar cane), planted by the stones. I asked my Uncle, and he told me that they planted by the stone, because when get rain, that water fall from the stone, and the stone held moisture underneath...
- 717-724 At Amikopala, still get the stone wall around the field where they used to plant sweet potatoes. And had the sacred road from Kolo that go up to that place...
(describes how portions of the old trail were destroyed by the Ranch. And further description of the sand mining operations.)
- 816-818 Pineapple was planted all on the high side of Mauna Loa, I think they had about 3,000 acres.
- 839-861 (in regards to military use of the Kaluako'i and Hale-o-Lono area) To me if anybody use somebody's place, so long as you respect, and you clean your rubbish, and you educate them about that place... Because there's nothing the poor man can do but talk, see... But if you go somebody's place, you take care. They can train all what they like, but just take care, be aware. Educate them, send people knowledgeable about the heiau, about the ko'a, about the honua, and then designate those places, put a flag. Put a pin there, mark it, so they know where they've got to stay away from. In the military get a chain of command, and if they tell you "No touch the mountain," nobody going touch the mountain, you just go over here. The military, they get strict rules, discipline, so if you educate them... These poor guys, they don't know nothing too, so the shortest cut they can take, they go over there. So, you only can educate them, and the educated person, is not too dangerous...
- 864-939 Me, for me, if I had my way, I would say no. Go in the desert or something, the Sahara, one big place. Go rent 'um from the Arabs or something. I went on Kaho'olawe in 1979, and they left it a wreck... That island is littered with rubbish, but that's nothing new, I seen it on Moloka'i. The Ka 'Īlio area and Pāpōhaku-Pu'u Koai, was a heavy bombing area. The B-24s used to come from the mainland and drop big heavy bombs over there. And usually they no drop during the day, they drop night time. But sometimes, they drop in the day. And at Keonelele-Mo'omomi, they shoot 75mm at the target, a Mitchell bomber... (describes target practice firing he witnessed as a child during WW II)
- 940-1015 (describes ranch pastures and rotation from Pu'u Koai, Pu'u-kō-lā...)
- 1155- So if you asking me about the military, and if they going come, educate them.
- 1178 Educate them. Make it strict so that they know about this stuff. You educate them... 'cause military, they are very disciplined people, and they get rank. And the note got to be, the man up there... If he just like Texaco now, when you see Texaco in the back of the stuff, they making fun or

something, somebody going get the flack later on. You know, when the guy up there no care, all the way down, some body going get it. You got to care for everything... We got to try and take care of what we get, and no waste ourselves...

1189- You know that place down by Hale-o-Lono, Kanalukaha, you designate
that
1248 place, because that place is a special place. That place, the Burrows, get one road come down to there from Lā'au Point. Had a lot of kahua hale (house sites) down here and a path way... The old Burrows couple, the French man who married the Hawaiian woman Koa, the first light house keeper, they are buried right out there at Lā'au also. (pers. comm. November 21, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 2, 1996)

Dorothe Curtis

November 21, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Kamalō, Moloka'i)

Dorothe Curtis moved to Moloka'i in 1971, and has spent the last twenty-five years researching the history of the island. Over the years, she has accumulated an extensive cartographic, archival literature, and oral recording collection. In her audio collection, she has preserved the voices and histories of a number of Moloka'i's elder Hawaiian kūpuna in audio recordings (the collection still needs to be transcribed). Prior to moving to Moloka'i, Dorothe had worked as a volunteer with the late Kenneth Emory at the Bishop Museum. Upon moving to Moloka'i, she often found herself host to Kenneth Emory and a large number of archaeologists and researchers who were visiting Moloka'i. I contacted Dorothe at the suggestion of Aunty Sylvia Mililani Adams, and she took the time to share some of her thoughts regarding possible areas of sensitivity in the proposed Kaluako'i training area.

Among Dorothe's first comments was, her happiness that someone was purposefully going out to speak with members of Moloka'i's community, and to discuss the proposed Marine Corps training action. She commends the Marine Corps for initiating a much-needed process of community outreach. Dorothe had hoped that Molokai Ranch had taken the initiative in such a process, as it would be a positive step towards helping facilitate better community relations, and the collection of important historical information. Dorothe was also happy to hear that David Tuggle was conducting the archaeological field work, as she feels that he has the necessary sensitivity and insight to do the job right.

Dorothe generally feels that most of the proposed training area has been heavily impacted by ranching activities. Dorothe shares a concern that the dune areas along portions of the makai training area boundary are culturally sensitive. In her site-specific comments and recommendations, Dorothe noted:

1 - Moloka'i is a small island, and the resources are particularly sensitive to the kinds of activities undertaken in the troop training operations. Based on this sensitivity and sentiments of West side families who have been impacted by previous training activities, she would prefer to see no new military action on the island.

But, should activities be resumed, she observes:

- 2 - 'Īlio Point is a particularly sensitive area. Dorothe concurs with the recommendation of Ed Misaki (with the Nature Conservancy), that moving training activities completely off of the point is a good idea. Setting the training boundary behind (inland of) the four-wheel drive road should be adequate.
- 3 - The adze quarry above Kapalauoa (Site 29) is the source of an extremely dense basalt, evidence of the quarry is clearly visible on both sides of the jeep road near the lower boundary of the training area, and archaeological remains may be present in the boundaries as well.
- 4 - The Kapalauoa shelter cave (Site 28) is situated near Site 29 as well, and indicates that the area was used. Thus, care should be taken in case any further remains become exposed as a result of shifting dunes.
- 5 - Because the Kapalauoa-Keonelele dune area is known to be a burial ground (Site 30), and because of the natural tendency of dunes to shift, covering and uncovering resources, it is likely that subsurface sites extend into the proposed training area. Site 23, a heiau, is an example of a significant site coming into view, and then being covered and lost periodically.
- 6 - The present boundary of the proposed training area crosses over the burial dunes (Site 30) near the Keonelele radio towers. Care must be taken in these areas.
- 7 - Use of the Hale-o-Lono harbor and road way for limited supply transfers should not pose a threat to cultural resources. To ensure minimal impacts, vehicles should stay on the designated road.
- 8 - If the Marine Corps is to use the land, it is also appropriate for them to help in a stewardship role, to be responsible for the land. (pers. comm. November 21, 1996)

(Transcript Released November 27, 1996)

Dorothe has spent quite a bit of time out in Kaluako'i with numerous archaeologists. While I was on Moloka'i, I shared her comments with David Tuggle, and he was going to try and speak with her during his field work, to make sure that all areas had been covered.

Masashi Harry “Cowboy” Otsuka**November 22, 1996****at Kamiloloa, Moloka‘i****(notes from a formal recorded oral history interview
with Kepā Maly and Scott Adams)**

In the process of preparing to conduct the Moloka‘i interviews for this study, Masashi Harry Otsuka was recommended as being a very knowledgeable contact. It was also suggested, that if it was at all possible, a formal oral history interview should be recorded as well.

“Cowboy Otsuka,” as he is affectionately called, was born in the ahupua‘a of Kawela, Moloka‘i, in 1924. He is a third-generation resident of Moloka‘i, and was raised in Kawela, Kualapu‘u, and Malehua. His father was a blacksmith with Molokai Ranch, and also worked with the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association experimental station at Kawela, Kānoa, and Mapūlehu. As a youth, Cowboy Otsuka found himself surrounded by the Hawaiian families of Moloka‘i, and he developed a life-long love for things Hawaiian. In 1948, Cowboy Otsuka married Martha Ho‘olehua Niho, who was the first wahine (girl) child born on the Ho‘olehua homestead shortly after it was opened. Over the years, working with Moloka‘i Ranch, the pineapple plantation, and a number of other jobs, Cowboy Otsuka lived with, and worked with old-timer Hawaiians of Moloka‘i. To this day, he still makes pōhaku ku‘i ‘ai (stone poi pounders) as he was taught by Kamahale Pond; works lo‘i (taro pond fields), growing a variety of kalo; weaves lau hala; makes noho lio (saddles); and practices Hawaiian lā‘au lapa‘au (medicinal healing).

Cowboy Otsuka has traveled the whole island of Moloka‘i from one end to the other end, always looking at Hawaiian places, and recording their locations. He has a deep love for the land, and was taught by his old Hawaiian mentors, that it is very important to mālama (care for) the land and old Hawaiian places. It is because of his devotion to the history and people of Moloka‘i, that Cowboy Otsuka shares freely of his knowledge of Moloka‘i. Specific comments and recommendations regarding the proposed Marine Corps training operations, made by “Cowboy,” during the formal interview, included:

- 1 - Mahana, Pu‘unānā, Mānalo Gulch, Kapalauoa, and Kalani areas have many historical sites.
- 2 - The dunes have many burials, and a portion of the dune extends through the proposed training area, down to Kepuhi.
- 3 - Access to the fisheries and salt making areas all along the coast line in this section of Kaluako‘i is important to the island families.
- 4 - In looking at the remains of Hawaiian sites, training activity in the proposed area, should be okay as long as they:
 - (a) don’t dig holes,
 - (b) don’t use explosives, and
 - (c) don’t use vehicles in bushy areas.

If they do these things, they will have problems.

- 5 - If they are going to use the place, they have to clean up after themselves, and not leave their rubbish behind. If they no mālama (care for) Kaluako'i, no sense they go inside, because they only going kāpulu (mess up) the place.
- 6 - If the Marines find something, when they're out in the field, and they think it may be some kind of Hawaiian place, or stones, they should just leave it alone. That way they won't get into any kind of trouble.

Cowboy acknowledges Joseph Joao as one of the people who shared some of the history of Kaluako'i with him, and he also had the benefit of meeting and working with other older Hawaiians during his youth. Because the recording of oral historical accounts was not included as a part of the present scope of work, the formal interview transcript is not included in this study, instead, excerpts are cited below. Place name referencing sites of specific importance to the study area are underlined. Cowboy reviewed the following paraphrased highlights (with Auntie Sylvia Mililani Adams), and gave his permission for their use in this document (pertinent comments and recommendations are included below, with the tape counter number noted in the column on the left):

- 000-328 (family background, upbringing, and general Moloka'i history—agriculture and Hawaiian Homesteads—in 1920s-1930s)
- 329-331 After returned to Moloka'i in 1947 after WW II, and went to work for the ranch as an all-around cowboy...
- 417-420 Worked the whole west end, Kaluako'i, Kaunakakai Town, and up on the hill, and I was also working at Kawela...
- 438-441 I Also worked hauling pineapple for Libby McNeil, on Ho'olehua and Mauna Loa, they had two sections there.
- 442-485 (KM: looking at the Proposed Molokai Training Area Boundaries map, Oct. 29, 1996)
- Libby anchored long cable on Pu'u o Kaiaka and they slide the pineapple crates in and out there. Heard that there was some kind of Hawaiian site on Kaiaka, but notes, "We were not trained for that, only what the old Hawaiian people tell us."
- Joseph Joao was one of the old people that I worked with. He lived right down by where the Sheraton kitchen and dining room is now at Kepuhi. I also knew Joe's father, Manuel Joao, who used to live at Mahana... Joe and his brother Raymond, worked the ranch all their lives.
- 492-550 Pineapple was grown on the flats situated above the Pu'u Kūlua area, and on up towards Pu'u Nānā. Makai from the Mauna Loa Road, it was all open pasture land. The land was more bare, because the ranch, after they gave up the sheep, they through 'um all down Mahana section. So, the land got all bare, because the sheep, they just eat all the way down to the red dirt. Even the Hawaiian Homes side, because the Hawaiian

Homes side hadn't come out yet, and the sheep were running out that way. The sheep were started when I was already living up at Kualapu'u (c. 1926), because the sheep, they put it in front of the Kualapu'u store, by the reservoir... So, the sheep didn't run that long... At Mahana Camp, the last house on this (Kaunakakai) side still get one coconut tree, and the old man Manuel stayed in the big house, with the old man Sakai and the old lady. Then had a couple more houses over there. And Moke Burrows was there too, but no more no nothing all ready, they took 'um all out.

And Joe Joao was living up on top Pu'u Nānā...

550-590 (KM: Did you hear if had heiau or something up there?)

Heiau, the word heiau, at that time, they don't talk, but had all the pōhaku pile up, and they get the kind where they make stone axe, ko'i eh. So, on that portion, coming down from Pu'u Nānā, coming down before you hit the highway, inside that grassy area where they planted the trees and the reservoir, inside there had plenty stone pile where they used to make the stone adze... This section here, get all that Hawaiian stuff (pointing to the Mahana area on the map), and around Pu'u Nānā, this portion here, and then down on this Mahana section. So, on top Pu'u Nānā where all the eucalyptus trees stay, get a lot of historic sites inside there.

591-629 Also in this section, Mānalo Gulch, and down below over here, get a burial cave. So, this portion over here (above Kapalauoa and Kalani), is all burial ground, in the sand dune. Not all the sand dune is a burial ground, just certain portions. Then up on this portion, get the foot print, Kalaina-wāwae, inside the Nature Conservancy area. Then on the top, over there, there's a fence line that's running down this way (makai), towards Mo'omomi. There's a big burial ground, the bones are all exposed in the sand because the wind take all the sand out, and all the bones are opened (pointing to the radio tower vicinity in around the sections numbered 45-46). Get one corral some place below there, a ranch corral. There's and fence line running down. Before, the pasture used to be big (629 - end side A)...

630-655 Keonelele puka across this area (pointing to the inset training area boundary) and go down to Kepuhi eh. So had some burial areas here. You can see, was either Joe, or somebody, that's before Joe's time anyway, but Joe said he heard from somebody else, that when the Chinese schooner was passing Kalaupapa, going up to California, taking the Chinese to work up in California... Now they're down in the hatch of the boat, and the boat got into trouble, and the thing sunk, down. And the Chinese drowned inside, because they were locked in the hatch. So, after the boat went down, they drowned, and when the wood hatch floated up, the bodies bloated up already, and floated on the water. The current bring them down from Kalaupapa and all the way down to the ranch, Mo'omomi, this portion here, Keonelele. I heard this from Joe, but Joe said that this thing came from the older kūpuna than him eh. So then that thing got to

be way back time, and that's all he know. The bodies were all on the beach over there. And because the Hawaiians used that portion for fishing and everything, so they took the bodies up, and a lot of them is buried in the sand over there. Some were deteriorated, so they were buried close to the shore, but the rest, they put up on the hill. There's a big pile of bones.

656-669 But the Hawaiians fish all this side here, all down this area. Along this beach area here, the pali, Waikanapō, Mokio, and all this portion down here get all Hawaiian sites, home sites. And down here some place, get one cave, I don't know exactly where, but if you fly with the helicopter close, get one place where get one long stone wall, which they call that Long Stone Wall. That cave comes out somewhere Mokio, I think. And get house site along this shore, especially when you get to 'Īlio Point area. 'Īlio through Kawākiu side get plenty sites.

670-699 (pointing to the proposed training area) So, inside this area, so long as you aren't diggin holes, there shouldn't be no problem, and if they're only going to maneuver on foot. So, as long as they don't dig and no explosives, should be okay. If the just maneuvering wāwae (foot), hele around. But if they going dig and the vehicle go inside the bush, then they going have problems. Outside of this, up on this area, the upper plateau, below Kahalelani...the area is more open, with just lantana. If you walk this area, you going find that there are some house sites, you can see the stone walls like that, and get a little bit 'ili'ili (water worn pebbles) around. As long as you find some small stones around, and if you look and find kapuahi (fire place), or you find pūpū shells, then you automatically going to know that that's a house site. And I seen this up on this area (pointing to the vicinity sections numbered 45-46).

On the side of the pali, so they get a lot of house sites and things on the side. Probably heiau, but they didn't talk too much about that when I was young. They tell you where get some house site, or maybe get something special. Like the cave, the one down here, and the sand dunes are burial grounds. But where the Hawaiians buried, they not buried way down kahakai (shore side), they buried on the cliff and top section. See the Chinese, the ones that died and came down here, that where the Hawaiians went bury them, down. The rest, they take up over here, so no kāpulu the beach.

700-704 Like me, if I go, I walk that area, that's why I tell my boy Lyle, if he like, I'll help, but they got to give me a permanent pass and a key to go inside. But they get all their rangers go around, and they get all kind of pilikia with other people...

705 (KM: Maybe sometime, if it's appropriate, we can go with you, out into the field to record your knowledge of sites.)

713-732 There were area where the Hawaiian would pick up salt in the summer months along the sea cliffs, Keonelele to 'Īlio Point. They also had areas from Kawākiu down this portion at Pāpōhaku and down to the lighthouse

at Lā'au. They pick that one up from the rocks on the summer months. Rough time in the summer months, the water push up and the hot sun dry up the water. They pick up that way, even down on the DHHL side, by Na'aukahihī. That's the same thing they do down at Kalaupapa. They pick up that way too. We had a regular salt works, salt making ponds (loko pa'akai) here in Kaunakakai, next to the Meyers Apartment, where the Coast Guard light is. It was from there, running all the way back to Gussie Joao's place (the home of Lawrence Joao). The last area was on the side by where the sewage treatment plant stay now. No can make salt now, the area all contaminated. So, the best bet is, you go down on the shore and look inside the puka...

- 733-740 Out in the field in this area (proposed Kaluako'i training area), I would sometimes see old artifacts. You see, when you get pipi (cattle), the pipi eat everything down. When you put the pipi inside, you no can see nothing because the grass is long. When after a couple of months, you take out the pipi, everything is all dry eh, and you can see all the sites. You find stone, maika, the adze, and stuff...
- 740-816 (Explains how he learned to make pōhaku ku'i 'ai, or poi pounders)
- 822-833 ...Well, I guess that's all I can tell you, unless I hele wāwae inside that place, then I can tell you more or less, where the sites are. But, if they don't dig in and stuff, there should be no pilikia. But, if they digging in, these guys going find bone and what not. Me I don't like the type, what they doing, they dig, they dig, they dig, find whatever, and then they leave the place kāpulu. All the puka (holes) and everything that they threw, they never put 'um back.
- 834-845 If they going use the place, they no can leave their 'ōpala, brass and ammo cans and all that stuff. That's the only thing, if they no mālama that place, no sense they go inside, because they only going kāpulu the place. And if you digging, or you getting your trucks run inside there, tanks or what, you know how much damage they going do. If only the infantry goes in, not tanks, no dig puka, they just learn how to defend themselves, then it will be all right.
- 845-860 You know on the Hawaiian Homes cattle before, when I worked for the Hawaiian Homes; we found that the pipi step inside the ammo can eh. And the hoof stuck inside the ammo can, so he walking with the ammo can. Even the pipe, that's the part, once they get inside, they no can take 'um off. So, we had to go cut 'um eh, with the hack saw. That's the kind of stuff that the military doesn't think about, because they only just go, and pau. So now, the people are a little bit more smart, and the people are just trying to push them off, so they don't come at all...
- 894-910 (describes how they blew up the cliff walls when making Hale-o-Lono Harbor) And whatever historic hose site and heiau, they had taken everything out. But inside the cliff wall, you can still see inside the cracks, that there's a lot of iwi po'o (skulls) inside there. Before, the old people

used to just leave these kinds of things alone. They tell you “a’ole kolohe” (don’t mess around)...

911-1215 (general discussions of sites and activities around western to middle Moloka’i)

1216-1259 (discussion about Burrows family of Lā’au Point, and light house duties)...

[end tape one, begin tape two]

000-009 (an account of a burial cave in Kamalō)

010-082 (an account of a lava tube the passes through Moloka’i, and underground lava tubes and water sources)

083-089 The biggest problem the land owner get today is the bulldozer, when they clean the land. But if you hand clean, cut the trees and leave the stones, then after you clean the place, you get more idea of what it’s about. But if you push ‘um with a bulldozer, you get nothing...

140-147 If the Military boys get some kind of idea, “Say, this must be a Hawaiian site.” Well, just leave it alone. Just leave it alone, then that thing will be there without them altering that thing, then it will be okay. I don’t think that they’ll get problem then... (pers. comm. November 22, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 2, 1996)

Walter Mendes

November 22, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Ho’olehua)

During the follow-up meeting with Walter Mendes (Walter), we referred to two maps, one map depicted the “Proposed Molokai Training Area” (Figure 4.), and the other map was Monsarrat’s map of 1886 (“Middle and Western Molokai” Figure 2.). Walter noted that in the 1980s, he had worked as an archaeological field assistant with Marshall Weisler, and also worked in the field on Kaho’olawe. He is familiar with the nature and variety of sites of the Kaluako’i region. Also, as a member of Hui Mālama o Mo’omomi (Hui Mālama), Walter has been working with Moloka’i residents, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), and various State Agencies to establish an area dedicated as a Hawaiian fishery and land-based subsistence zone. Presently, Hui Mālama has approximately 385 acres leased on the coast between Anahaki and Na’aukahihi, and manages an experimental fishery in Mo’omomi and Kawa’aloha bays, between Na’aukahihi and Kaiehu points. It is the long-term goal of Hui Mālama to establish a native Hawaiian fisheries preserve, that fronts some ten (10) miles of shore line between ‘Īlio Point and Kalaupapa, and extends out some two (2) miles to the deep-sea fisheries.

Following a review of the proposed training activities and planned restraints, Walter shared the following recommendations and comments:

(see reference points on Figure 4.)

- 1 - The first recommendation of Walter (also shared by his wife Kathleen when she joined us), is that the Marine Corps leave not only the DHHL lands, but that they also cease training on Moloka'i.

- 2 - Among the primary complaints are:
 - (a) the helicopter flights are terribly noisy and disruptive. The flights have been too low, and run at all times of the day and night;
 - (b) even the troop transport flights in and out of the airport are flown too low, with aircraft cutting the approved route short, and flying immediately over homesteader's homes; and
 - (c) as a result of the training activities, rubbish from spent ammunition, sea rations, and other debris have been simply left behind, and the holes that the troops dig, are left open and are hazards to both humans and animals.
- 3 - In the proposed training area, Mānalo Gulch is the site of identifiable ruins, including an adze quarry.
- 4 - Ka'a (Lani-ka'a), on the edge of the proposed training area, is also an ancient adze quarry site.
- 5 - The Keonelele sand dunes (a known burial site with other cultural components) extend throughout the proposed training area over the rise and on down to Kepuhi. The sands can be seen while driving along the road down to the Kaluako'i resort area.
- 6 - A significant portion of the outlined training area is an important hunting region for Moloka'i residents.
- 7 - The shore line between Mo'omomi and 'Īlio Point are an important coastal fishing zone for local residents. Activities include, but are not limited to fishing, and gathering limu, 'ōpihi, and salt.
- 8 - If the Marine Corps is serious in trying to work out a neighborly policy of operating training in our community. Walter suggests:
 - (a) That the decision makers, come to Moloka'i meet with community members, and explore options for working out difficulties.
 - (b) Training activities should not impact resident access needs to the fisheries and hunting resources;
 - (c) Set out a plan that will have the Marine Corps providing some benefits to our community. What will be given back to us for the use of our land? This is a very important Hawaiian value, one doesn't just take from the land, you must also give something back.

Jointly, members of Hui Mālama have suggested one program that could be undertaken to benefit the people and resources of Moloka'i (see notes from discussions with Wayde Lee, Mac Poepoe, and Walter Ritte). Erosion has become a critical problem in Kaluako'i, primarily, that result of has been caused by more than 100 years of ranching in the region. Hawaiian honu (turtles) nesting down at

Kawa'aloa are threatened by the resultant siltation. The use of vehicles and training maneuvers will further impact the uplands. Hui Mālama would like to see the Marine Corps embark on a program to help restore the native plant cover to exposed areas.

- 9 - As long as only limited use of Hale-o-Lono harbor occurs, and local access (which is being worked for), is not impacted, and wheeled vehicles stay on the designated roadway, there should not be a problem with shared use at Hale-o-Lono.
- 10 - Walter commends the Marine Corps for initiating the process of having someone come to the community to elicit comments and recommendations. (pers. comm. November 22, 1996; see also notes from discussion of November 20, 1996))

(Transcript Released December 10, 1996;

Walter Ritte

November 22, 1996

(meeting with Kepā Maly at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i)

Walter Ritte is a native Hawaiian Homesteader at Ho'olehua. Raised on Moloka'i, he has spent most of his life working for preservation and perpetuation of the natural and cultural resources that give life to the traditional and customary Hawaiian practices. Walter is well known for his work in Hawaiian matters, his efforts have extended from the local community, to the national and international arena as well.

Walter is an advisor to Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi, and participated in the Governor's Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force. Following a review of the proposed relocation of Marine Corps training activities from the DHHL lands to the Kaluako'i area, Walter shared several comments and observations with the author (Kepā Maly). He also gave me a copy of the Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force Final Report (June 1994), asking that it be provided to the Marine Corps⁵. Walter stated that the task force report further validates information collected during this study, and can help the Marines understand the value of the land, access, and subsistence practices to the families of Moloka'i. Members of the Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force (MSTF) were appointed in February 1993, by Governor John Waihe'e (MSTF, June 1994:4). The task force adopted the following statement to define subsistence:

On Moloka'i, subsistence is the customary and traditional uses by Moloka'i residents of wild an[d] cultivated renewable resources for direct personal or family consumption as food, shelter, fuel, clothing, tools, transportation, culture, religion, and medicine; for barter, or sharing, for personal or family consumption and for customary trade.

⁵ The Final Report, "Governor's Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force" (June 1994) was forwarded to David Stefansson of Belt Collins Hawaii on December 16, 1996 for distribution to the Marine Corps with the pre-final draft of this study.

(Governor's Task Force On Moloka'i Fishpond Restoration, 1993 [IN MSTF, June 1994:2].)

The subsistence task force worked on Moloka'i documenting:

"...how important subsistence is to Moloka'i families and how much of the families' food comes from subsistence. The task force was also asked to determine the problems which were making it harder to do subsistence fishing, hunting, and gathering on Moloka'i...

Many families on Moloka'i, particularly Hawaiian families, continue to rely upon subsistence fishing, hunting, gathering, or cultivation for a significant portion of their food. Availability of the natural resources needed for subsistence is essential to Moloka'i households where the unemployment rate is consistently high here than on other islands...

Subsistence has also been critical to the persistence of traditional Hawaiian cultural values, customs, and practices. Cultural knowledge, such as about place names; fishing ko'a; methods of fishing and gathering; or the reproductive cycles of marine and land resource have been passed down from one generation to the next through training in subsistence skills. The sharing of foods gathered through subsistence activities has continued to reinforce good relations among members of extended families and with neighbors (ibid.:4-5)

In conjunction with the task force's work, a map of Moloka'i subsistence sites was compiled using information collected through community meetings. At Walter's request, the Subsistence Sites map is included with this summary of his comments (Figure 5; MSTF 1994:3). The keyed map provides reviewers with a record of the extent of subsistence practices on Moloka'i, with particular reference in this study, to the Kaluako'i area.

The following additional personal comments and recommendations were offered by Walter:

(see reference points on Figure 4.)

- 1 - Kaluako'i is the wrong place for the Marine Corps to relocate its training operations. Such training usually occurs in remote area, far away from population centers. The proposed training area boundaries are situated between the island's only airport and Moloka'i's largest resort development. Such an action just doesn't make sense.
- 2 - One of the major concerns that comes to mind, is the hunting access. The proposed training area is situated in the primary hunting area used by Moloka'i residents. Hunting is a significant subsistence

practice for many of the Hawaiian families and others, who reside on Moloka'i.

- 3 - Additionally, access to ocean side trails used for collection of shore line resources and access to fisheries needs to be protected, as these resources are important to our family's well-being.

If this training proposal means that the people of Moloka'i would lose access to the land and subsistence resources, this action would be completely unacceptable.

- 4 - The helicopter and airport flight patterns have been a significant impact on our community. The helicopters and troop transport flights are extremely noisy. The helicopters often fly too low, and night time flight maneuvers keep our families awake.
- 5 - Past experience with the military, has taught us that they are not careful in how they use our land. They leave rubbish (spent ammunition, sea rations, pit toilets, fox holes, wire, and cans etc.) all over. These things pollute the land, and the holes are a hazard to both animals and hunters. If the Marines are going to move to another area, they have to be better stewards of the land, they can leave their messes behind.
- 6 - The Marines need to become good neighbors if they want to use our land. Good neighbors are respectful of one another, and provide help to one another. If the Marine Corps wants to use Kaluako'i, we would like them to come and talk story with us. If they are honest about their needs and intended uses, many potential problems can be eliminated.
- 7 - If they do participate in further maneuvers on Moloka'i, the Marines should communicate with the community:
 - (a) Announce specific dates of when they are coming, and how long they will be here;
 - (b) Apologize for the inconveniences (e.g., sorry for keeping you up at night, or sorry for the congestion on the roads or at the airport...); and
 - (c) Don't leave your rubbish behind, clean up after each training use.
- 8 - Leave the land in better condition than when you arrived. This is an important traditional Hawaiian land management custom, and one that could share your sense of commitment to being a good neighbor.
- 9 - Explore programs that could benefit the land and people of Moloka'i (see examples of programs discussed by members of Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi).

- 10 - In the vicinity of Keonelele at the makai boundary of the proposed training area, the dune extends through the training area (see Figure 4.). The dunes are extremely sensitive and need to be off-limits.
- 11 - If the Marines act responsibly, as good neighbors, limited access to Hale-o-Lono could be acceptable.
- 12- The process of going into a community to gather information prior to finalizing plans, is a good one. Gathering information from community members prior to taking action can save a great deal of stress and help eliminate confrontation. This is a process that the State should also participate in. It is better to gather information before hand, rather than after the fact.

Walter also commented that he wished Molokai Ranch would begin a similar process. The Ranch needs to work on becoming a good neighbor in its own community. (pers. comm. November 22, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 9, 1996)

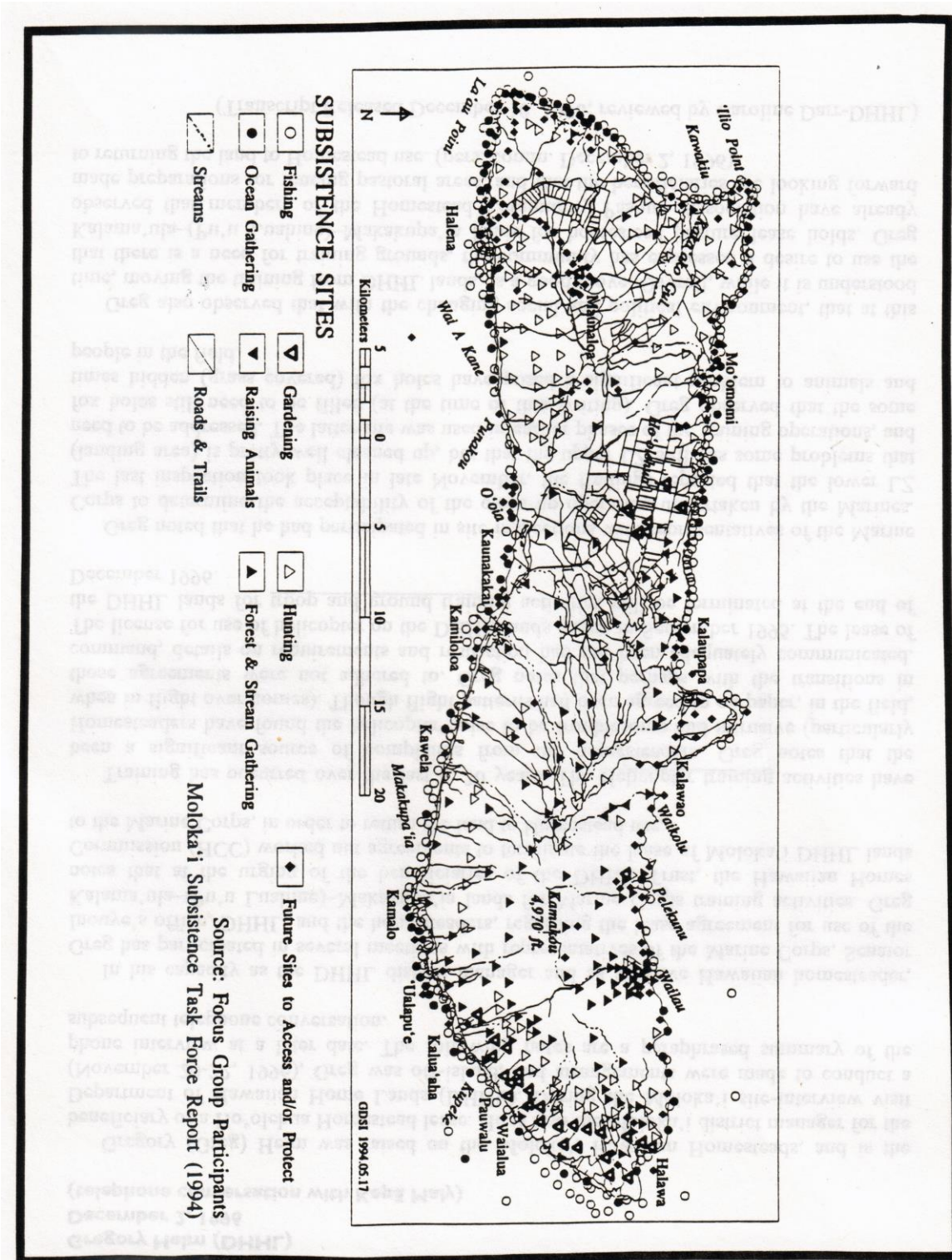


Figure 5. Moloka'i Subsistence Sites
 (Source: Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force, June 1994:3)

Gregory Helm (DHHL)**December 2, 1996****(telephone conversation with Kepā Maly)**

Gregory (Greg) Helm was raised on the Moloka'i Hawaiian Homesteads, and is the beneficiary of a Ho'olehua Homestead lease. He is also the Moloka'i district manager for the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL). During the Moloka'i site-interview visit (November 20-22, 1996), Greg was off-island, and arrangements were made to conduct a phone interview at a later date. The following notes are a paraphrased summary of the subsequent telephone conversation.

In his capacity as the DHHL district manager and as a native Hawaiian homesteader, Greg has participated in several meetings with representatives of the Marine Corps, Senator Inouye's office, DHHL, and the homesteaders, regarding the lease agreement for use of the Kalama'ula-(Pu'u Luahine)-Makakupa'ia lands for Marine Corps training activities. Greg notes that at the urging of the beneficiaries of the DHHL Trust, the Hawaiian Homes Commission (HCC) worked out agreements to terminate the lease of Moloka'i DHHL lands to the Marine Corps, in order to return the land to Homestead use.

Training has occurred over the last c. 30 years. The Helicopter training activities have been a significant source of complaints from the homesteaders. Greg notes that the Homesteaders have found the helicopter noise to be troublesome and intrusive (particularly when in flight over homes). Though flight patterns had been agreed to on paper, in the field, those agreements were not adhered to. Greg notes that perhaps with the transitions in command, details on requirements and restriction had not been adequately communicated. The license for use of helicopter on the DHHL lands ended in September 1995. The lease of the DHHL lands for troop and ground training activities will be terminated at the end of December 1996.

Greg noted that he had participated in site inspections with representatives of the Marine Corps to determine the acceptability of the clean-up operation undertaken by the Marines. The last inspection took place in late November, the findings reported that the lower LZ (landing area) is pretty well cleaned up, but that the upper LZ still has some problems that need to be addressed. The latter site was used in earlier phases of the training operations, and fox holes still need to be filled (at the time of this writing). Greg observed that the sometimes hidden (grass covered) fox holes have posed a significant problem to animals and people in the field.

Greg also observed that with the changing social and political environment, that at this time, moving the training from DHHL lands, is a good move. Overall, while it is understood that there is a need for training grounds, the community has expressed a desire to use the Kalama'ula-(Pu'u Luahine)-Makakupa'ia lands for homestead pasture lease holds. Greg observed that members of the Homestead Community Pasture Association have already made preparations for fencing pastoral areas, and that the beneficiaries are looking forward to returning the land to Homestead use. (pers. comm. December 2, 1996)

(Transcript Released December 10, 1996; reviewed by Caroline Darr-DHHL)

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APPENDIX A: MOLOKA'I—KALUAKO'I: OVERVIEW/QUESTIONNAIRE

General Information:

Name: _____ Phone #: _____

Address: _____

Interview Date: _____ Time: _____ to _____ Location: _____ Interviewer: _____

The United States Marine Corps (USMC) has proposed moving its training activities, presently being conducted on Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) property, to a 9,000-acre parcel owned by Moloka'i Ranch, in the land of Kaluako'i, Moloka'i (Figure Q-1: Moloka'i, Oct. 29, 1996). The proposed activities will be similar to those presently occurring, and will take place a few times a year. It is estimated that at any one time, there will be 150 to 800 personnel involved. One of the primary goals of the training is to practice maneuvers without being seen, thus, most of the activity would be non-intrusive. Proposed activities include:

- Most ground training activity will be on foot with limited vehicle support, primarily for troop transportation to/from training area, and movement of food, water and medical supplies.
- No digging will occur except for latrines. Live ammunition is prohibited (blank firing will be allowed).
- Except for emergency purposes, pyrotechnics and explosive devices are prohibited.
- Tracked vehicles are prohibited, and refueling vehicles are prohibited as well.
- Helicopter use will occur primarily during daylight hours, with some night operations to no later than 10:00 p.m. (2200), except for in case of emergency
- One additional activity is also being investigated; it is the possible limited use of Hale-o-Lono harbor for supply support activities. It is anticipated that this would occur two or three times annually in conjunction with the larger maneuvers.

Information is being sought regarding the proposed use of land in Kaluako'i. Pertinent information that is discussed (information and comments the interviewee wants to share), will be typed in a paraphrased format and sent back to the interviewee(s) for review and clarification. After the paraphrased statement is approved, it will be included with a historical/archival report being prepared as a part of the Environmental Assessment for the proposed training activities. Topics and issues of consideration include:

A - Traditional Hawaiian lore and practices,

The presence of traditional sites,

Traditional and Customary Land Use & Practices (collection and use of resources, source/basis of use) (site specific references, refer to Figure Q-2; Monsarrat 1886/RPTO 7/1926);

B - Current Public Use Requirements
Hunting Seasons and Access points (activities and protocol—how access managed);

C - Considerations with present training use on DHHL lands being continued;

D - Considerations for relocation of training operations to Kaluako'i;

Marine Tactical Support Facility across road from Moloka'i Airport (foot movement along road to training grounds).

E - Military use of Hale-o-Lono (cultural resources, access, and fishing practices, and access concerns);

F - Recommendations regarding social and/or environmental concerns about the proposed use of the study area for limited military training operations; and

H - Other comments or considerations.

Written comments may be sent to:
Pacific Division Naval Facilities Engineering Command
Attn: John Bigay (Code 231JB)
Pearl Harbor, HI 96860-7300
Ref.: Moloka'i Training

Kepā Maly —Kumu Pono Associates
(cf. ML03qa.doc – Nov. 18, 1996-DS)