KAHO'OLAWE ISLAND, HAWAII CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OVERVIEW

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Ohana Comment / Appendix

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## Executive Summary

This report briefly outlines certain aspects of what is known of Hawaiian culture prior to European contact, some of the changes which have taken place in the following two centuries, and some research on modern Hawaiian culture. This outline is intended to provide some context for a discussion of the cultural significance and values associated with Kaho'olawe Island. Culture includes the beliefs and assumptions used to interpret experience and to generate social behavior. Values are generalized goals with a normative component (i.e., those things which ought to be) and some emotional commitment on the part of those holding the values.

### Ecology

Kaho'olawe is the smallest, windiest, and driest of the eight major Hawaiian islands. Centuries prior to European contact parts of the island were covered with dryland forest which had been replaced by native grasses by the time of contact. Crops such as sweet potato and sugar cane were grown there but not the economically and symbolically important taro.

Terrestrial resources also include basalt and volcanic glass used for tools. . . .

The waters surrounding Kaho'olawe have been known to be rich in fish from pre-contact times down to the present. Oral literature, archaeological remains, and interviews provide evidence of the continuing value of Kaho'olawe's marine resources.

The introduction of herbivores (especially goats) and the use of the island as a ranch beginning in 1858 has resulted in the loss of grass and topsoil so that the upper part of the island is now eroded hardpan and the lowlands and gullies are dominated by the introduced algaroba tree.

### History

The size and permanence of the pre-contact population of Kaho'olawe has not been firmly established. It was used for a time in the 19th century as penal colony prior to the issuance of the first ranching lease.

The island was taken from the last rancher after the attack on Pearl Harbor. It was an important training area in World War II. During the course of the war, the ranch buildings and water storage facilities were destroyed. The goat population, which ranchers had tried to control, was also allowed to expand.

The ranch lease was never renewed, and the military has continued to use the island for target practice until the present. In the late 1960's objections were raised to the bombing of Kaho'olawe. These objection were primarily from residents of nearby Maui who regarded the bombing as a nuisance and as a possible obstacle to the commercial development of parts of Maui.

In 1976 Hawaiians and others began a series of illegal landings on Kaho'olawe. These took place in the context of a social movement known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. Those who landed asserted their right of access as Hawaiians and questioned the Navy's right to use Kaho'olawe. Some of the landing participants were tried for trespass and jailed, fined, or both.

The landings were followed by greater public interest in the island. A survey begun a short time after the first landing revealed the archaeological resources of the island to be greater than had previously been supposed.

Some individuals and organizations continue to question the Navy's right to Kaho'olawe. Salient among these is the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO). The guiding philosophy of this organization is "aloha 'aina," literally "love [for the] land." In addition to care for natural resources, this philosophy includes concern for native Hawaiian land and political rights.

A leader of the PKO and others brought suit against the Secretary of Defense and others (Aluli et al v Brown et al) in 1977. In the same year a federal court ruled against the defendants for violation of conservation and historic preservation laws. The island was subsequently placed on the National Resister of Historic Places. The lawsuit led to a consent decree between the parties which provided, among other things, for ordnance clearance from a large part of the island and regular access for scientific, cultural, and religious purposes.

Cultural Significance

The island was found to have some 2,000 archaeological features. These include shrines, temples, worksites (quarries and a fishhook manufactory among them), petroglyphs, habitation sites, and burials. Some locales are valued for reasons beyond the presence of archaeological remains.

Oral literary sources state that the island has been visited or lived on by Hawaiian deities and spirits. Historical figures have also visited or briefly resided on Kaho'olawe. Oral literature associates the island's past with the concept of kapu, indicating restriction and possibly sanctity. These and other positive associations are not unique; land and sea, and the forces believed to animate them, are generally revered in Hawaiian culture.

Interviews indicate that the entire island is regarded by some as a pu'uhonua. By this is meant a place for spiritual comfort and the unburdening of troubles. The relatively pristine state of the island as a whole, and some of its locales in particular, lend to its value as a pu'uhonua in this aforementioned sense. No evidence has been found to indicate that Kaho'olawe was a pu'uhonua in the sense of a sanctuary sanctioned by a ruling chief.

Kaho'olawe has been visited by high ranking members of the

nobility, including one monarch. It is not, however, known to have a lengthy or close connection with any ruling chief. Many of those who value the island today do so on the basis of its association with the ordinary Hawaiians who worked and worshiped there. Thus the island's significance is not dependent on extensive associations with the chiefly class.

The disappearance of two Hawaiians in the waters off Kaho'olawe in 1977 contributes significance to the island for many. One of those lost was a charismatic spiritual and political leader, and his disappearance amounts to martyrdom.

Kaho'olawe has been since the late 1970's a forum for the expression of economic and political ideas centering around the concept of aloha 'aina. In addition to Hawaiian religious practice and belief at the individual or family level, which has been argued never to have been entirely discontinued, Kaho'olawe has been the scene of revival of state level rites propitiating the major deities.

Modern lore also personifies the island as a woman or infant. This personification associates the island with birth and by extention rebirth or renaissance and the Hawaiian Renaissance.

Many, though not all, Hawaiians and residents of Hawaii regard as significant: the political, economic, and religious concepts espoused on Kaho'olawe, especially aloha 'aina; the island's association with valued aspects of the Hawaiian past (especially the long-distance voyaging tradition); the loss of those who disappeared in the waters surrounding Kaho'olawe; and the personification of the island as a woman and child, the embodiment of the Hawaiian Renaissance. For these people, bombing of any part of the island is distressing, though there is special concern for the specific locales and archaeological sites described in the report.

## Editorial Conventions

### Abbreviations

A Honolulu Advertiser.

CHRON Silva, C. Kaho'olawe Historical Documentation 1778-1970. Honolulu:EISC, 1983.

EIS Environmental Impact Statement.

MRN Multiple Resources Nomination for Kaho'olawe Archaeological Sites. National Resister of Historic Places. 1980. (Hommon, Robert J.)

PE Pukui, M.K. & S. Elbert Hawaiian Dictionary. University Press of Hawaii:Honolulu, 1971.

PKF Protect Kaho'olawe Fund.

PKO Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana.

PNH Pukui, M., S. Elbert, & E. Mookini Place Names of Hawaii. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974.

SB Honolulu Star Bulletin.

### Orthography

In current Hawaiian orthography the glottal stop is represented by a hamzah. In this report the apostrophe is used. [This is sometimes omitted in certain well known place names; hence "Hawaii" is used rather than "Hawai'i."]

Stressed vowels are normally indicated by the macron. In this report bold print is used (e.g., "maka'ainana" rather than the usual "maka'ainana.").

### Brackets

Due to the limitations of the word processing program used in the production of this report, much of the material which might otherwise have been put in footnotes is presented between brackets.

Contents

# Introduction

## Purpose

The purpose of this report is to describe succinctly the past and present cultural values of Kaho'olawe as a whole and of that island's historic places and locales in the context of Hawaiian culture in general and the history of Kaho'olawe in particular. This information is intended to contribute to the management of the cultural and historic resources of Kaho'olawe.

The project is sponsored by the Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Contract N62742-84-C-0076. The Contractor, and sole researcher, is Dennis T.P. Keene, Ph.D. The investigation began in August, 1984 and concluded in August, 1985.

## Project History

The project grows out of concern for the cultural and historic resources of Kaho'olawe and draws upon previous research. An archaeolgical survey of the entire island was initated in January 1976 and completed in April, 1980. This was done by personnel of the Hawaii state Department of Land and Natural Resources and Hawaii Marine Research, a private sub-contractor. In may 1978 that firm was contracted directly by the US Navy to complete the survey.

In 1977 a lawsuit (Aluli et al v Brown et al) was filed bringing claims against the Navy for violation of historic preservation and environmental laws. In 1977 the Navy was ordered in a ruling under that suit to submit historic sites identified by that time to the National Register of Historic Places. The suit was terminated in 1980 by an agreement between the parties, providing, among other things, for the clearing of ordnance and regular access to the island for cultural, religious, and scientific access.

The Navy and the State of Hawaii entered into a Memorandum of Understanding in August, 1979 expressing mutual interest in conserving the environmental and historic resources of Kaho'olawe. this included "a program of continued cooperation between the Navy and the State in inventorying archaeological sites on Kaho'olawe which are eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places," as well as efforts by the Navy to "avoid hazarding such sites." The State recognized the Navy's position of continuing need for the island.

Also in 1979 an Environmental Impact Statement was completed by the Environment Impact Study Corporation of Honolulu. Subsequently the Navy contracted the same firm to produce the Kahoolawe Cultural Study. This appeared in two parts in 1983: Part 1, "The Mythical Past" and "Historical Documentation," by Carol Silva; Part 2 "Ethnography and Cultural Values," by Dennis "Tom" Keene. These studies were reviewed under contract by Leialoha Perkins (1983). That and other reviews suggested the need for a study which would bring existing research materials together with some newly collected data in such a way as to accomplish the purposes outlined above.

Some errors of interpretation in "Ethnography and Cultural Values" are corrected here. Otherwise that report is endorsed by the researcher who recommends that it be read in conjunction with the present report.

The appended scope of work for the present report calls for discussion and use of the term "ethnic significance." This was provided in the 1985 draft but has been dropped from the final report in deference to strident objections made by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (1985:1,2). Any use of the now-tabooed term here is inadvertent rather than deliberate.

Organization

This report includes three major sections: First, a brief outline of Hawaiian culture, as it is believed to have been prior to initial contact with Europeans in 1778, is followed by summary accounts of certain aspects of the change which took place in the following two centuries and contemporary Hawaiian culture as described by modern scholars. Second, a summary of Kaho'olawe's prehistory and history is provided. Third, the cultural and ethnic significance of the island as a whole and certain of its sites and locales is discussed, primarily in the context of Hawaiian culture. Maps, a bibliography, a glossary of Hawaiian terms, and a list of documentary sources regarding Kaho'olawe are appended.

This organizational format is not followed rigidly. On occasion it seemed necessary or appropriate to follow a topic outside of the time frame under discussion. The reader may thus expect to find material regarding certain aspects of contemporary Hawaiian culture included in sections on the past, and so forth.

## Theory and Method

### Theoretical Assumptions

Among the assumptions underlying the present research are several regarding the nature of culture. Culture is adaptive, shared, and learned. It functions to adapt a society, and its individual members, to the environment, which environment may include, or come to include, other human groups. Culture is variable but shared; unique or idiosyncratic belief and behavior may be affected by culture but are not regarded as cultural for the purposes of this report. Culture is learned, not biologically inherited. Although legal or moral rights may be biologically inherited, it is assumed here that culture is communicated through such media as words and gestures (though the belief that values or information can be biologically inherited may be part of the content of some cultures).

Since culture is a means of adaptation to the environment, it can be expected to change as that environment changes. Customs and institutions may alter, disappear, be replaced, or they may come to serve different functions. [A large voyaging canoe might in one context function primarily to transport chiefs and their retainers; in another context such a canoe might function as a symbol of ethnic pride and

cultural renewal.] Change is not always smooth and benign; much that is of value may be lost, especially in situations of contact with alien, intrusive cultures.

One approach to the study of culture is to describe it in terms of universal categories to facilitate cross cultural comparison. Another is to try to understand each culture in its own terms, stressing unique elements and patterns. Both of these approaches are likely to be used in a single study, but one or the other may be emphasized. The previous phase of research, "Kaho'olawe Ethnography and Cultural Values," was organized along the lines of the former approach; the present study inclines toward the latter.

Participant Observation

This is the primary research method for contemporary cultural and social phenomena. The researcher associates with members of the culture, observes their activities, and, though he is recognized to be an outside observer, takes part in the activities to the extent feasible and appropriate. Participation is believed to lead to a deeper understanding of the activities, sharper observation, and the formulation of useful questions. Data are recorded with notebook, tape recorder, and camera. The researcher must try to guage the effects of his own presence and activities on the phenomena under observation (e.g., whether the methods of recording data are offensive or otherwise disruptive).

The present report draws on the results of an earlier period (1982-83) of participant observation which included eight visits to Kaho'olawe with a variety of individuals and groups in cultural and religous "accesses" presided over by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (the group which has shown the most sustained interest in the island, hereafter abbreviated as the PKO). Meetings of the Oahu PKO, political protests and demonstrations, a Hawaii State Senate committee hearing, and social gatherings were also attended. Members and supporters of the PKO were prominent at these events, though, again, other groups and individuals with an interest in Kaho'olawe were represented. Some additional participant observation took place in the 1984-85 period, but most of the data acquired in the latter period has been from interviews and documentary sources.

Interviewing

Interviews were conducted with individuals knowledgable in relevant aspects of Hawaiian culture, those with information regarding the history of Kaho'olawe, and those who could issue official statements on behalf of Hawaiian organizations. Respondents included individuals who acquired their knowledge by personal involvement and others who learned by formal training or scholarly research. Some met several of these criteria. Candor and the willingness to communicate one's knowledge are also desirable qualities for an informant. [It should also be noted that in the course of research brief conversational exchanges take place which are neither formal interviews nor participant observation, but which may yield useful data.] Notes were taken during all interviews, and a tape recorder was used when it seemed appropriate.

Documentary Research

The primary documentary source for written materials concerning Kaho'olawe is Carol Silva's comprehensive compilation (1983), which employs usual historical research methods. This includes materials from the first written reference through 1970, arranged in chronological order, and is cited as "CHRON" throughout this report. Silva brief bibliography of "miscellaneous references past 1970" (1983:350-55) was also used. The Hawaii Newspaper Index was used to locate several hundred articles, letters, and editorials relating to Kaho'olawe published by Honolulu's two daily newspapers, the Advertiser and the Star Bulletin. All were read and are cited in the Documentary Sources Appendix, with brief indications of content. Other indexes used are that of the Hawaii Observer, the Newpaper Index, Magazine Index, and Reader's Guide. An online computer search was also made, using DIALOG databases for the Science, Social Science, Public Affairs, and Environment citation indexes. Individual resources, such as Myra Tomanari-Tuggle's files on the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, were consulted. Relevant documents were located in the files of government offices.

all the books (perhaps)
& the cultural insight of a Hawaiian
— and humility (?)

## Pre-Contact Hawaiian Culture

### Polynesian Origins

Three theories to explain the origins of the inhabitants of Polynesia (roughly, the islands bounded by a triangle with Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island at the points) had been proposed by the beginning of the last century: arrival from islands to the west (and ultimately Asia); arrival from the east (the Americas); autochthonous origins (evolving or being created in the islands of Polynesia, remaining on the above surface portions of a sunken continent, and so forth). Linguistic, archaeological, and botanical evidence support the theory that Polynesia was settled from islands to the west (Bellwood 1979).

On the basis of these data, the ancestors of modern Polynesians (Bellwood:1979) are believed to have arrived in Western Polynesia before the time of Christ. Polynesians dispersed from there and later from the Marquesas and Society Islands, sailing in large, double hulled canoes. Linguistic and archaeological affinities as well as genealogies and other oral traditions indicate that Hawaii was settled from the Marquesas and later the Society Islands (Emory 1980) possibly as early as the time of Christ (Kirch 1985:68).

### Chronology

Archaeological evidence indicates that four of the Hawaiian islands were settled by AD 300-500, and settlement may have taken place by AD 0 (Kirch 1985:68; SB 8/14/85). Sites on Molokai and Oahu indicate the early settlers fished, gathered shellfish, and kept pigs and dogs. The presence of domestic pigs indicates agriculture as well as "the purposive nature of initial colonization" (Kirch 1984:245). Virtually all of the Hawaiian food plants were introduced by settlers. Even coconut trees which predate man on some Pacific islands are thought to have been introduced in Hawaii. Kirch (1984:245) takes personal ornaments (pendant, anklet, and "red coloration") buried with a young girl as indicative of rank in the social structure.

Most of the early sites are located in fertile, well-watered, valleys on on the windward sides of islands. As populations grew in these areas, desirable leeward locations were settled with permanent occupation by AD 900-1100. By AD 1400-1500 settlement began to expand into inland areas, and by aboput 1650 the most marginal areas (from a subsistence standpoint) were occupied. Although the population of the entire archipelago probably continued to grow until the time of European contact, population stabilized in some areas.

Although irrigation was probably practiced by the earliest settlers in the Hawaiian sequence, the most elaborate taro irrigation comes later, possibly after alluvial flats had been created by erosion from gardens on valley walls. Expansion into drier areas depended on slash and burn horticulture of "dryland" taro and, for the dryest areas, sweet potato. Clearing of forest for horticulture resulted in the destruction of habitats of endemic species; in particular the loss of

large sections of dry lowland forest "resulted in the extinction of no less than forty species of birds" (Kirch 1984:148).

Leaving on one side the issue of causal relationships, the prehistory of Hawaii is marked by population growth, agricultural intensification (with dramatic alterations in the landscape and endemic species), and the development of the hierarchical society encountered by the first European visitors. A brief summary of what is known of some aspects of that society follows.

Economic System

Hawaiians practiced root and tree crop horticulture. Pigs, dogs, and chickens were kept. Pelagic and lagoon fishing supplied most of the protein. Aquiculture was also practiced. Useful marine and terrestrial resources were collected. The Hawaiian horticultural complex included the following plants:

taro (Colocasia esculenta)
sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas)
yam (Dioscorea alata)
breadfruit (Artocarpus incisus)
coconut (Cocus nucifera)
banana (Musa paradisiaca)
paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera)
olona (Tonchardia latifolia, a shrub used for fiber)
'awa (Piper methysticum, a mild narcotic used for medicinal, spiritual, and recreational purposes)
gourd (Lagenaria siceraria)
ti (Cordyline terminalis)
arrowroot (Tacca leontopetraloides)
turmeric (Curcuma domestica)
bamboo (Joinvillea gaudichaudiana)

All but olona were introduced by the ancestors of the Hawaiians.

'Ai was the generic term for vegetable foods, though this word was also used for the most important food, the root crop, taro. Wet taro was grown in irrigated pond fields which require a continuous flow of water. Subsidiary crops such as sugarcane and arrowroot were grown on the banks. Edible fish lived in the ponds. "Dryland" taro was grown by slash and burn agriculture but still requires fairly damp conditions. Taro is cultivated by cuttings; it reaches a state of suspended growth after maturing and can be left in the ground for several months to be harvested as needed. Sweet potato was grown, also by the slash and burn method, in drier areas. Breadfruit trees grew in sheltered groves and produced a seasonal crop. Taro corms, sweet potato, and breadfruit were baked and, particularly in the case of taro, pounded into a paste or pudding known as poi. Bananas were usually cooked, though some varieties could be eaten raw. Coconut was a significant item in the diet. Yam (uhi) was also cultivated, though it was less important than taro and sweet potato. Malo (1951:206) describes Kaho'olawe as having beed entirely composed of kula land [defined by Emerson (Malo 1951:207) as "dry and inaccessible to water"] and states that sweet potato, yams, and sugar cane were grown there but no taro.

Water is necessary for growing taro, and both had symbolic value beyond the merely utilitarian. The word for wealth, waiwai, duplicates the word for water wai, which has a "connotation of wealth and life, hence wai and ua, rain, are frequently mentioned in poetry" (PE p 349). Fresh water was regarded as sacred (Handy & Handy 1972:61), and great care was taken not to pollute streams. It is not clear whether the converse is true, and dry areas are more secular or profane, but modern Hawaiians use dryness as the basis for criticism of the homelands of others in friendly badinage.

Fish are called i'a, and all food from the sea, including seaweed and salt, was subsumed under that term. Everyone knew how to obtain i'a, though there was some specialization. Women collected shellfish and seaweed from the reef and fish and shellfish from streams and pools. Much ocean fishing was done by specialists, lawai'a or po'o lawai'a, who might be of the aristocratic or commoner class; they knew movements and habitats of fish, weather, how to interpret omens, the behavior of birds as indicative of the presence of fish, as well as the use of a sophisticated variety of gear and methods. In addition to its utilitarian purpose, fishing was a sport of chiefs, including some women. Fish were generally cooked though other forms of i'a were usually eaten raw. Seafood provided most of the protein eaten by Hawaiians. Kaho'olawe appears to have been important for fishing for a long time.

There were some 400 major fishponds in pre-contact Hawaii. Of the four types, the loko kuapa was the most impressive. Its permeable stone walls impounded stream mouths, mixing stream and sea to make brackish water for mullet and other fish. Additional nutrients came with detritus from agricultural terraces. Hawaii's fishponds are unique in Oceania, augmenting a somewhat limited reef system and providing fish, shellfish, and seaweed. The ponds were owned and harvested by aristocrats, and are thought to have helped in supporting the traveling chiefly court, lessening the burden on local resources. The ponds provided significant amounts of protein, though beliefs regarding defilement and pollution prevented fertilization that might have led to greater productivity (Kikuchi 1976). Kaho'olawe had no fishponds.

Uncultivated areas from the lowlands to the mountains provided such raw materials as timber and thatch, as well as materials for medicinal, ceremonial, and other purposes The endemic tree fern (hapu'u), the wild sweet potato, kupala or koali 'uala (Ipomoea cairica) is an example of famine food. Kupala, was especially associated with the island of Kaho'olawe (PE p 170), the phrase "Kaho'olawe 'ai kupala" being the 'alina [blason populaire or standardized insult (Ono 1983:4)] presumably implying that Kaho'olawe was only a marginally productive land. Koali 'uala was used as pig feed as well as famine food; a large specimin has been seen growing on Kaho'olawe (Handy & Handy 1972:127). Mountain and sea birds were caught for plumage and/or food. Since their introduction, goats have been hunted by Hawaiians; wild pigs are also hunted. [Sources: Titcomb (1972:3-6); Handy & Handy (1972); Kikuchi (1976); Barrere (1962:36-39).]

Arts and Crafts

Wood, bone, stone, shell, and fiber are among the materials used in Hawaiian arts and crafts. Classification as art or craft depends on the ratio of aesthetic to utilitarian value, any given item having some measure of each. There is wide variation in degree of decoration and fineness of finish. The finest items seem to have been used by the chiefly class.

Implements for the preparation of food included scrapers, shredders, and pounders (used to mash cooked root and tree crops into a paste called poi). Gourds, sometimes artifically shaped and sometimes in natural form, were used as water containers. Platters and bowls, some supported by carved, stylized, anthropomorphic figures, were made from wood.

Houses were thatched of grass or leaves. Te Rangi Hiroa (1957:78) believed the simplest form of house, consisting of a roof resting directly on the ground, was used by the common people. Some houses had stone walls; others were entirely pole and thatch.

Mats and baskets were plaited by women from pandanus leaves and from a sedge called makaloa (Cyperus laevigatus). Makaloa sleeping mats were made with particular skill and certain features unique to Hawaii. Coconut palm fronds seem not to have been used for the coarse baskets and platters seen elsewhere in Polynesia.

Clothing was made from leaves and fibrous materials and from bark cloth. Men wore loin cloths and women wore skirts; cloaks and capes were also sometimes worn. The use of feather garments was restricted to high ranking chiefs. The inner bark of certain trees, most notably the paper mulberry, was soaked and beaten by women. Carved, hardwood beaters left a kind of watermark pattern in the resulting product. Vegetable dies were applied with liners and stamps carved from bamboo and other woods. Small, repeated design motifs produced multicolored bands and borders. The entire piece was thus an integrated unit, different from the zoned or sectioned effect produced by the tapa boards still used in Samoa. Feather garments were made elsewhere in Polynesia, but the red and yellow cloaks and capes of Hawaii were unique. The few yellow feathers to be found on the the 'o'o and mamo were plucked and the birds released; plucking the many red feathers of the 'i'iwi and 'apapane, however, killed the birds, which were eaten. Helmets, leis, and (in historic times) large standards also marked chiefly or royal status, as did feather images of deities. Featherwork has gone into decline, in part due to the extinction of some of the birds in the post-contact period.

Canoes were built by craftsmen. Hulls were hollowed from single logs and sometimes built up with plank wash-strakes. Unlike the canoes used in some Pacific islands, Hawaiian canoes had fixed bow and stern. Single hull canoes have an outrigger float attached by curving booms. These were used for fishing and transportation of small groups. Double hull canoes were used for voyaging and warfare. Builders shaped hull and rigger with stone adzes, chisels and hammers. Hulls were made from koa (Acacia koa) and other woods; outriggers were made of lighter woods

such as wiliwili (Erythrina sandwichensis) or hau (Hibiscus tiliaceus). Canoes of traditional design are still used for racing; these accomodate six paddlers, weigh about 400 pounds, and are approximately 40 feet in length. Plank outrigger canoes with outboard motors are used for fishing, but most fishing is now done with Western style boats.

Fishing required a sophisticated variety of methods. Implements included nets, floats, traps, hooks, sinkers, spears, and lures. Knowledge of fishing grounds and of techniques was passed to a man's descendants. Fishermen made much of their own gear, but there were also expert hook makers. Fish were part of the gift/exchange pattern of reciprocity, with those residing farther inland supplying large trees for canoes, fiber for nets, and so on.

Some recreations utilized paraphernalia made for other pursuits (e.g., cordage used in string figures); others had their own special apparatus. Games bearing some resemblansce to darts, checkers, and lawn bowling were played; the bowls game used polished pitching disks not unlike one form of hammerstone. Certain games were restricted to aristocrats. Bow and arrow were used to shoot rats, a sporting but utilitarian activity said to be favored by chiefs. Sliding down hills was practiced elsewhere in Polynesia; in Hawaii, smooth runways were covered with grass, and aristocrats rode down them on sleds. Wooden surfboards were used in other parts of Polynesia, but only in Hawaii were the design and size such that the wave rider could kneel or stand.

Wind, and percussion musical instruments were used as well as solid instruments and rattles. The musical bow was found in the Marquesas as well as Hawaii, where it had a cognate name. (The 'ukulele and steel guitar are 19th century Hawaiian modifications of European instruments.) Nose flutes were made of bamboo, whistles of gourd and ti leaf, and the bull roarer (said to be a child's toy in Hawaii) of coconut shell. Trumpets were made of conch or triton shell; their use is largely limited now to initiating Mayday festivities and summoning tourists. Sharkskin headed drums were made of the hollowed trunks of coconut and other trees. Hula drums were short and temple drums taller. The lower part was carved open-work, sometimes with human figures supporting the drum. Hula instruments were made of bamboo, wood, gourd, and stone.

Weapons included short and long spears, a variety of daggers, slings, clubs, tripping devices, and strangling cords. Wood, bone, stone, fiber, swordfish blade, and sharktooth were among the materials used. Iron rapidly replaced wood after contact in the manufacture of daggers.

Hawaiians made a greater variety of personal adornments than any of the other Polynesians. Temporary personal decorations were made of leaves and flowers. Feathers, shells, seeds, ivory, and animal teeth were also used. The lei palaoa, a stylized hook pendant was made of whale ivory and, sometimes, wood, shell, or stone. It hung from braided human hair. Anklets, bracelets, necklaces, and head leis were also worn. [Sources: Te Rangi Hiroa (1957); Barrere (1962).]

Social Organization

Hawaiian society was stratified. There was a class of hereditary aristocrats, ali'i, and a class of "affluent subsistence farmers" (Ralston 1984:22,31), the maka'ainana. The maka'ainana constituted the great majority of the population. They were also the artisans and subsistence producers on whom the society depended. Distant relatives of the ali'i formed a "middle class" (Barrere 1962:18). There also appears to have been a small pariah class, kauwa.

Rank for ali'i derived from directness of genealogical connection to illustrious ancesors and gods. Genealogies of ali'i were at least ten generations deep. Although men were preferred as chiefs and family heads, primogeniture was a more important consideration than sex of ancestors in tracing one's pedigree. Rank was also affected by factors other than genealogy (Goldman 1970:214). Ali'i born at Kukaniloko, Oahu, for example, were higher in rank than they would have been if born elsewhere. Offspring of "chiefs who themselves had one or both grandparents in common" were known as ni'aupi'o and were further exalted in rank (Barrere 1962). Such marriages seem to have had a synergistic effect beyond the pedigrees of the parents. Rank and position could also be enhanced by achievement. Acquisition of chiefly title through warfare goes back at least as far as 'Umi's usurpation of of his brother's title c AD 1550.

The principle of seniority within families is reflected in the Hawaiian language. There are terms for elder and younger siblings (of the same sex) and for the first and last born.

The ali'i were endogamous as a class, but not by region, marriage between individuals from differnet polities being frequent (Hommon 1983:3,4). The ali'i resided patrilocally (Goldman 1970:216). Although succession to chieftainship and other rights depended on pedigree, chiefly descent lines seem not to have been corporate groups (Goldman 1970:234).

The maka'ainana also appear not to have been organized into corporate groups. The 'ohana or "family" is an aggregate of kin variously described as a kindred, a cognatic "stock" with little genealogical depth [ordinary people were forbidden to keep genealogies (Kamakau 1961:242)], as a network (Goldman 1970:235,6), and as "relatives (with) overlapping kindred connections" (Sahlins 1974:14).

Political Organization

When Europeans first arrived in Hawaii, there were four large chiefdoms: Hawaii, Maui with Lana'i and Kaho'olawe, Oahu with Molokai, and Kaua'i with Ni'ihau. Each was ruled by a paramount chief, ali'i nui, with the help of a counselor (kalaimoku), general or chief of staff (pukaua), high priest (kahuna nui), executive officer (ilamuku), and high ranking advisors. All were members of the aristocratic class. Most aristocrats and some commoners served as soldiers. The court was supported by tax/tribute paid by each commoner household to an overseer who passed it on up through the chiefly hierarchy. Levies were also exacted from the common people for public works projects such as

temples. The state has been described as a body with the paramount chief as the head, aristocrats the chest and shoulders, the high priest the right hand, the senior counselor the left hand, the soldiery the right foot and the farmers and fishermen the left (Malo 1951:187).

Paramount chiefs usually designated their successors, the eldest son of the highest ranking wife being the ideal choice. Other chiefs and, especially, the priests might influence succession. The voice of the people was also sometimes heard, for they might rebel or desert an unpopular ruler. Perhaps the best known legendary example is that of the chief Liloa: Hakau was his oldest son born of the highest ranking wife, but he was an unpopular ruler, and he offended the priests; 'Umi, younger and born of a less distinguished mother, had the support of the priests as well as custody of the state god; 'Umi's men killed Hakau, and 'Umi assumed the chieftainship. 'Umi succeeded on the basis of the support of the priests and the state god, popular support, cleverness, and other personal qualities, despite Hakau's genealogical seniority.

The paramount chief had the right to allocate resources, thus the control of certain lands might pass to a new intermediate chief upon the succession of a new ruler or when political control of areas changed hands through warfare. Subsistence producers could also be removed from their lands, but this was rare (Barrere p 15).
[Sources: Davenport (1969); Barrere (1962:14-16,20-22); Malo (1951:chap 38).]

Unwritten Literature: Mythology, Traditional History, and Genealogies

Prior to contact with the Western world all Hawaiian literature was transmitted orally. After contact much was lost. A few Hawaiians and outsiders did collect oral literature, parts of which are now preserved in manuscripts, publications, and (to an unknown extent) in the minds of living persons. The Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and folklore is one of the best known published collections. Hawaiians were hired in the 1860's and 1870's to record accurately the narratives of knowledgeable people. These were eventually published (Fornander:1916-20) in bilingual form with various translators.

European folklorists have classified orally-transmitted narratives as myths, legends, and tales or marchen. Myths are sacred narratives which account for the origin and structure of the cosmos. Legends are usually not sacred, but like myths they are believed, and they are customarily told in a conversational context. Tales are neither sacred nor believed, and they are often told as entertainment. Attempts to apply this classificatory scheme to Polynesian oral literature have not been very successful (Firth 1961:chaps 1&2). Neither does Hawaiian terminology correspond neatly to this trichotomy.

Mo'olelo is a generic term for most all forms of narrative: "story, tale, history, tradition, legend," (PE), and according to the compilers of the English-Hawaiian dictionary, "myth". Ka'ao is defined as (PE) "legend, tale, usually fanciful; fiction; to tell a fanciful tale." In contrast to ka'ao, the term mo'olelo suggests a narrative which is to be believed and perhaps also that it is traditional rather than of recent

composition. The translators of Fornander's Collection gloss ka'ao in various places as "legend," "tradition," and "mythical tale"; mo'olelo is glossed as "legend" and "story." Thus Hawaiian terms are open to more than one interpretation.

Other categories of traditional verbal lore include: the mele [(chant, poem, song); hula (danced); 'oli (not danced)]; the nane or riddle (also puzzle, parable, allegory); the 'olelo no'eau, proverb or words of wisdom; the 'olelo pa'ani, joke; the 'olelo ho'ino, curse; and the 'olelo ho'ohiki, oath or vow.

Genealogical chants list ancestors, tell an aristocratic family's origins (all once went back to Wakea & Papa & beyond to cosmic origins), and recount illustrious deeds of ancestors. The Kumulipo, composed c. 1700, traces the genealogy of a Hawaii Island chief "back to the creation of the world from chaos (Barrere 1962)." It is the only complete Hawaiian genealogical chant known to exist.

The meaning and function of stories may also be divined from the context in which they are told. Frequently, however, only the text has come down to the present. Elbert (1959) points out that in the Fornander Collection the narrator, his attitude toward the narrative (reverence, belief/disbelief, amusement, etc), where he heard the story, the circumstances of narration, and sometimes even the collector are not recorded.

Another source of ambiguity is Christian and other introduced elements. Barrere (1969) shows that certain purportedly traditional Hawaiian narratives, collected in the Nineteenth Century, appear to have been influenced by biblical traditions.

Even with regard to the unequivocally traditional, alterations are to be expected over time. Beckwith (1951:149) points out that names in genealogies may "become interchangeable" and that deeds may be transferred from one person or time period to another: "Historical accuracy just does not exist as we understand the term ...." Genealogies have been used in efforts to establish traditional history, but there have been problems. It may be difficult to determine when a list of names is a pedigree (a single line of ancestors through the generations) and when it consists of genealogical branches overlapping in time. Efforts to date events by genealogy have been rendered somewhat problematic by the question of how many years to assign to a generation.

This is not to say that genealogies were made up of whole cloth, that there were no safeguards to prevent tampering with oral literature, or that there was no distinction between fact and fancy. It is to say, rather, that oral narratives are most revealing and reliable when they are set in their social and cultural context; and even then caution must be exercised in their interpretation.

Ask Pualani to review draft & contribute to 'chant commentary
- revise
- write section on Kanaloa.

Religion

Hawaiian deities are numerous; many were symbolized by images and other material objects. Separate deities existed for aristocrats and commoners, for craftsmen, for families, for men and women. A great number of deities and spirits were associated with particular places. The four major gods were Ku, Kane, Lono, and Kanaloa; they were worshiped by commoners as well as aristocrats. Some women worshipped ancestresses, others Pele and other goddesses; some chiefly women worshipped mo'o or lizard deities; "the majority of women, however, had no deity and just worshipped nothing" (Malo 1951:82). Commoners might be be represented by religious specialists or might recite their own prayers. Priests represented high ranking chiefs to the gods. Offerings were placed before their images and prayers made.

'Aumakua were deified ancestors which guided and protected the family; these might take the form of natural phenomena, including species such as the shark. Such totems were not eaten by those under their protection.

Spirit familiars, 'unihipili, could be cultivated by certain individuals and then called upon for help in divination and other deeds good or bad.

Craft deities were often forms of Ku. Ku'ula, for example was a primary deity of fishermen; the visible form of Ku'ula was usually an uncarved stone. Ku had many forms and functions, but "is best known as a god of war" (PE p 389).

Kane, associated with creation as an ancestor of all Hawaiians, was a god of fresh water, forests, and other places and phenomena.

Kanaloa was a companion of Kane; both were associated with finding water and drinking kava. "Some considered him a god of the sea" (PE p 387).

Some 50 forms of Lono were worshiped (PE p392). He was associated with agriculture and fertility among other things. Malo (1951:82) mentions Lonomakaihe (spear point Lono) as a god of warriors, though Lonoikamakahiki presided over the Makahiki harvest observances (PE 393), a time of peace.

Rituals

Rituals were performed to assure the growth and perpetuation of natural and domesticated species, for peace or success in war, to ensure health and human fertility, to divine the future. The highest of the state-level rites were associated with Ku, taking place at temples (heiau) of the luakini type. (State level rites were also held for the god Lono, discussed under the heading of the Makahiki.) Only the ali'i nui, ruling chief, of a major polity could establish such a temple. Consecration rites included offerings of pigs and other items, human sacrifice, sacrificial meals (of pork) consumed by priests (kahuna), cleansing/purification rituals, observance of taboos, chants, and the interpretation of natural signs such as storms or clouds. Less demanding, but still rigorous, were the rituals held four times each

lunar month.

Observances to 'aumakua were made daily by men in the men's house. Individual worship also took place. 'Aumakua and other spiritual entities were invoked at life crises and other times of need.

In addition to the propitiation of deities, the manipulation of spiritual forces, magic, also took place. This took such forms as divination, sorcery, and magical components of curing. Certain individuals specialized to varying degrees in these activities.

Belief

Religion pervaded all spheres of activity, and in some cases correct ritual behavior, and observance of taboo in particular, was required on pain of death. Belief in the existence of gods, spirits, the force or power called mana, and in the efficacy of propitiation and/or manipulation of these entities seems implicit. It is of interest to note, however, that "godless, i.e., irreligious or skeptical" (Malo 1971:210) individuals existed (the quote refers to fishermen who eschewed the customary rites before and after fishing, an activity for which a great variety of rituals and beliefs had evolved).

Structures

Religious structures were characterized by great variation, a fact attributed in part to a class of temple architects. Temples were usually rectangular in shape, often terraced; the great temples were walled, with stands for offerings (lele), tall structures called "oracle towers" by Te Rangi Hiroa (1957:518), four houses used for ritual and for storage of ritual items, and religious images (akua ki'i). A house called Hale o Papa (house of Papa, ancestress of Hawaiians) was located outside the temple (PE p 50) and used by high ranking women for worship. [Te Rangi Hiroa (p 521) describes this place of worship as an adjunct to a major temple, though Kamakau 1961:201) includes it in a list of independant shrines and temples.]

Specialized temples existed for maintenance of plant and animal species, for training in and practice of medicine, and other purposes. Also numerous were shrines, especially for fishing, and also for deities and spirits of nature and place.

Shrines were smaller than temples; they included household, occupational, and those for a spirit of a particular place. The most numerous were fishing shrines (ko'a). Usually located at the end of a point or beach, these ranged in complexity from a flat rock for offerings to cairns or platforms about 25 square feet in size (Te Rangi Hiroa p 528). [Sources: Handy & Pukui (1972); Te Rangi Hiroa (1957); Barrere (1962). Also see Valeri (1985) for a recent, sophisticated treatment of temple worship.]

## Philosophy: Values and Concepts

### Values

Values are generalized goals which include a normative component and some degree of emotional commitment. The most ambitious attempt to describe values (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck 1961) employs categories or "value orientation areas" pertaining to social relations, time, environment, activity, and human nature. Each of these is divided into alternatives, e.g., for "time" the dominant orientation may be past, present, or future; in any given society, each alternative will be represented in the value system; the aim of values research is to determine which alternatives are salient. [It should be noted that this descriptive scheme is what is known as "etic"; i.e., a set of universal categories is established, and societies are described in terms of these categories with the ultimate purpose of comparison to other societies described by means of the same set of universal categories. Another approach, the "emic," attempts description by using the subject society's own concepts.] The first three value orientation areas are relevant to the present study.

### Social Relations

Seniority (lineality) was a dominant value in social relations. Among kin there was respect for elders and veneration of ancestors; distinct terms for elder and junior siblings (of same sex) and for first and last born imply precedence even within the same generation. The social system was hierarchical to a marked degree; ranking persons were believed to be imbued with supernatural as well as political power. The lowest class was despised. The respect held for chiefs was affected, however, by the degree to which their behavior was consistent with other values, especially those of generosity and hospitality (Handy & Pukui 1972: chap IV). Individualism in the form of isolation or autonomy was contrary to Hawaiian social values (Handy & Pukui 1972:75). Hawaiian culture does, however, make more provision for privacy and individual variability in belief and attitude than some other Polynesian societies; Charlot (1983:32,35) cites a proverb in support of this position:

> 'A'ole i pau ka 'ike i kau halau.
> Knowledge is not exhausted in your hall of learning.

Research in a modern Hawaiian community (Gallimore et al 1974:167,8) indicates that hierarchy/seniority/lineality continues to be the dominant mode within the Hawaiian family. At the same time, loosely structured, egalitarian/collateral relations prevail among the adolescent peer group, and generally outside the family. In contrast to these highly valued modes of association, individuality and solitude are rarely regarded as meaningful, desirable, or important experiences.

### Time

Two modern historians characterize Hawaiians as past-oriented. One (Daws 1969:69) described the celebration, during the 1820's, of the anniversary of Kamehameha the Great's death as an expression "of yearning for the lost past." The other (Fuchs 1961:42) states the dominant goal of each of Hawaii's major ethnic groups from 1900 onward: "for Hawaiians (the goal was) to recapture the past." The phrase "i ka

wa kahiko hanohano," ("in the glorious past") from a frequently heard song about events of the 18th century is another contemporary example. Elders are valued in part as links to the past and as repositories of knowledge about it. The Hawaiian leader, George Helm, spoke of "the sacredness of history" (quoted in Morales 1984) in reference to the archaeological sites of Kaho'olawe. The "Hawaiian radio station" of Honolulu sponsors a "Heritage Series" in which elderly Hawaiian musicians are interviewed about the past. The station gives frequent historical presentations stressing the independence, viability, and glories of the Hawaiian monarchy (including such antiquarian details as the size of a king's tableware). This same station has a popular program called "Territorial Airwaves" featuring pre-statehood Hawaiian music. Hula kahiko, an attempt to recreate ancient forms of Hawaiian dance, is popular, respected, and carefully distinguished from modern hula. It might be argued that a focus on the past is to be expected by a people who regard themselves as dispossessed. Indeed the use of antiquity as validation is probably a cultural universal. The importance of genealogies as a source of political and spiritual power suggests, however, that antiquity has always been prominent, rather than merely present, as a means of cultural validation for Hawaiians.

Man and Nature

The dominant environmental value seems to be harmony between man and nature. Kamakau, writing over a century ago (1961:376), refers to "the inherent love of the land of one's birth, inherited from one's ancestors, so that men do not [willingly] wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors." Handy & Pukui (1972:200) quote a proverb expressing affection for and close association with one's homeland. Charlot (1983:55 ff) echoes this sentiment, adding that this linkage with the homeland was accompanied by intimate knowledge and aesthetic appreciation of it. Charlot supports his view that Hawaiians valued harmony with nature by reference to a conservation ethic "emphasized in stories and practice" (p 38), contrasting the Hawaiian snaring and release of 'o'o birds after removing a few yellow feathers with the apparently gratuitous killing of birds by outsiders as deplored in the Hawaiian proverb, Haole ki kolea ("The Westerner shoots the plover"). Among the evidence cited for an aesthetic of harmony between man and nature is the unobtrusive placement of petroglyphs (p 76). Such literary devices as onomatopoeia, symbolism, and the exploitation of ambiguity (e.g., through the use of homonyms) express the "merging of the person into the environment" (p 71). Other scholars familiar with Hawaiian oral literature (e.g. Elbert 1962) see harmony and affection for the environment reflected in that literature: Elbert refers to Hawaiians as a "nature loving" people in a discussion of their song and poetry (1962) and finds in their their proverbs a love of place and environment not found to the same degree in Western lore. Similarly Beckwith's study of Hawaiian oral literature led her to the belief (1940:1) that they were a "nature-worshiping people."

No systematic, objective, quantified study of values has been done for ancient Hawaii. Among the problems associated with the study of values are: their relation to behavior; their priority or relative strength; variability in value attitudes generally and by such categories as age, sex, and class. Also, the usual problem of having to

view ancient Hawaiian culture through the eyes of non-Hawaiians or Christianized Hawaiians is particularly prominent in the field of values.

Do conservation values, as expressed in oral literature and art, mean that symbiotic harmonious relations always existed between the Hawaiians of old and their physical environment? Archaeologists cite "avifaunal extinctions" from predation and from destruction of lowland habitats (Kirch 1982). There are also indications that "human induced environmental change reduced agricultural productivity in ancient Hawaii" (Hommon 1983:17). It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that a conservation ethic/aesthetic existed but did not preclude environmental alterations which were necessary to support a growing human population.

There is also the issue of variation in values in different segments of the society. Perkins (1983) argues that love of the land is a sentiment of the ordinary people (maka'ainana) who lacked mana (spiritual power manifested in practical power) and observed environmental and social taboos. This is in contrast to the aristocrats (ali'i) who had mana, established the taboos, and regarded the environment as a resource to be used for their own purposes. On the other hand, much of the literature which celebrates the beauty of nature and place was produced by aristocrats.

Finally, there is the question of whether the environment in general was regarded with respect. One's homeland and certain storied or sacred places (wahi pana; wahi kapu) would be held in special regard, but what of someone else's homeland, say an enemy's in time of war? An argument can be made that all places were held in some respect, as the homes of spiritual beings and as subsistence resources; the strength of such sentiment is as difficult to assay as its effect on behavior.

Aloha

This concept is defined (PE p 78,9) as "love, affection, compassion, mercy, pity, kindness, charity; greeting, regards; sweetheart, loved one; beloved, loving; (and as a verb to do or show any of the forgoing)." The definition goes on to give examples of aloha used as a greeting with inclusive pronouns expressing a bond of affection or love among the greeter and greeted. Some examples of the expression of aloha (Handy & Pukui 1972) are gifts to a child at the celebration of his first birthday (p 83), performance of favorite songs and dances of the deceased (p 156), and hospitality (p 170).

A presentation by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs at the University of Hawaii in 1983 noted the commercial exploitation of the concept of aloha. The current Honolulu telephone directory lists, for example, 187 business establishments whose names begin with this term - including Aloha Bail Bond and Aloha Lei Greeters. There is also "Aloha Week" which was established with the dual purpose of perpetuating Hawaiian culture and attracting tourists in the "valley months" between the summer and winter vacation seasons.

Scholars have also pressed the concept of aloha into service. Two

social scientists who worked in a rural Oahu community evoke the feeling of aloha, being made to feel welcome, comfortable, and relaxed in the enjoyment of undemanding hospitality. They then suggest (Gallimore & Howard 1968:11) in the context of this concept that Hawaiians "minimize personal gain, maximize interpersonal harmony," i.e., that confrontation is avoided even at the cost of considerable economic expense.

Another researcher who has addressed the issue of aloha notes that in the rural community where he worked the term was used in reference to cooperation, good fellowship, and sharing. These frequently observed behaviors generally involved some expectation of reciprocity. Altruistic (non-reciprocable) aloha was largely limited to kin, particularly the nuclear family, and to major crises at the community level. While the community is integrated by aloha in the form of sharing and cooperation, the expectation of reciprocity is fraught with "potential for social conflict" (Newton 1978:88-92) if the expectation is not satisfied. Reporting 118 episodes of public hostility, he rejected a conception of aloha stressing the avoidance of conflict confrontations [as put forward by Howard (1974)] as oversimplifying a complex sentiment and accompanying set of social relations (Newton 1978:332-334).

## Concepts

### Mana

Mana has been defined (PE p 217) as "supernatural or divine power, miraculous power; a powerful nation, authority ... ; to have power, authority, authorization, privilege ...." Illustrative examples of those with mana include chiefs, landlords, and parents. Mana may be imparted to an object or person by one having it (Handy & Pukui 1972:142), it may enhanced by prayer (p 150), prayers themselves have varying degrees of mana ("effectiveness" p 141) dependent in part on "the words and names used" (p 141); mana could also be enhanced by training, by observance of kapu and by long nurturance of a relationship with one's 'aumakua (p 150). The definition and philosophical use of the concept of mana by anthropologists has been criticized for being unduly abstract, incomplete, and removed from the native conception (Firth 1967:192). On the basis of observed usage and attempts at semantic discussion with native speakers in another Polynesian society (Firth pp 192,3), mana was found to have the following characteristics: manifestation in material events such as crops, fish, and curing (all of which suggest efficacy or success); presence as a personal attribute of chiefs; association with spirit beings who may grant or withhold mana from the chiefs; a positive value and connotations. This set of characteristics is consistent with what is known of the Hawaiian conception.

### Kapu

Kapus are restrictions on behavior. Violation was thought to be supernaturally dangerous to the violator and to the land; punishment for breaking kapus was severe, and the death penalty was regularly imposed. This applied to inadvertent as well as deliberate violation. Probably the most fundamental kapus were those affecting relations between the sexes. Men and women ate separately, and many foods were denied to women (pork, bananas, numerous species of fish, etc). Women were

excluded from many forms of worship, and they were isolated during their menstrual period, a time of defilement. Other kapus required deference to high ranking persons. The most extreme of these was the kapu moe or prostration kapu. All, excepting a special few, had to prostrate themselves in the presence of one who had inherited this kapu. A third category of kapu consists of government edicts, sometimes imposed to conserve resources, e.g., certain fish might be declared kapu during their spawning season. A fourth type of kapu concerned family totems ('aumakua); in particular, edible forms of one's totem must not be consumed.

Kapu thus applied differently to persons according to sex, rank, and kinship. Certain kapus applied only during certain days of the lunar month or in certain seasons. Some usual kapus might be temporarily lifted at a chief's decision. kapus were transgressed with impunity for several days following the death of a paramount chief. The successor left the place of death and kapu violation to avoid spiritual pollution, reestablishing the kapus after his return and assumption of rule (Davenport 1969:71).

Malo (1971:28) refers to a tradition associating the eating kapu with the earliest ancestors, but ventures the opinion that the kapus of deference to high chiefs were of more recent origin (p 56). He expresses disapproval of the kapus separating men and women. Also writing in the 19th Century after the abolition of the kapu system, I'i (1963:51,52) notes that chiefs with the prostrating kapu rarely appeared during the daytime and that this kapu was "troublesome and unrealistic."

Pu'uhonua

The word "pu'uhonua" is defined (PE 331) as a "place of refuge, asylum, place of peace and safety" and as "a sacred refuge established by a ruling chief" (Emory et al 1957:9). Such places are a recognized feature of Hawaiian culture (Ellis 1969:164-70; I'i 1963:13,137-9; Kamakau 1961:180,312-3; 1964:17-19; Malo 1971). Similar institutions are mentioned in the bible (Numbers 35.11) and known to have existed elsewhere in Polynesia (Gifford 1929:324-5).

Pu'uhonua provided sanctuary to wrongdoers, to non-combatants in warfare, and, in some instances at least, to the vanquished. Thieves, murderers, and kapu breakers, are mentioned specifically in the sources cited above, Kamakau (1961) saying further that "any violator of any law whatsoever" would would be safe if he reached a pu'uhonua before his pursuers. Non-combatants and defeated soldiers were free to leave a few days after the cessation of hostilities and return to their homes. It is not entirely clear whether wrongdoers could also leave quickly with impunity.

Pu'uhonua were numerous and varied in form. Fortifications, entire ahupua'a, e.g. Kualoa on Oahu, temples, and enclosures with one or more temples, such as Honaunau, Hawaii are given as examples of pu'uhonua. Very high ranking persons such as King Kamehameha and his wife Kaahumanu could also be pu'uhonua. The ability to act as a refuge depended upon "inherited sacred power, or mana, and from the political power or authority [a ruling chief] is able to command." (Kelly 1957a:111)

The institution is said to be an ancient one. Kamehameha abolished many of the old refuges and established new ones, some of these on Kaahumanu's lands. Only the pu'uhonua of the island of Kaua'i and Honaunau remained after the redistribution of lands whcih took place after the Kamehameha wars (Kamakau 1964:17,18). Historically known Pu'uhonua are listed in Kelly (1957b); Kaho'olawe does not appear in the listing. The word pu'uhonua is also used in a sense different from that given in archival sources. This second usage is discussed later in this report.

Dualism

Scholars of Hawaiian culture and especially of the creation chant and genealogy known as the "Kumulipo" note that the "pairing of opposites" is a fundamental philosophical concept and that this dualism is resolveable to the opposition of male and female (Beckwith 1940:3; Johnson 1981:27-29). While dualism is a universal theme (Johnson 1981: 30-32), it may be said to be especially prominent in Hawaiian thought.

Epistemology

There are several valid sources of knowledge in Hawaiian culture. Important among these were a person's elders, and special lore might be passed from grandparent to grandchild. It was also possible to gain knowledge through dreams and visions. Dreams are "taken seriously" (Handy & Pukui 1972:126-31). Signs from dreams may be understood though standardized sets of meanings, though these allow for variation in interpretation, and the interpreted signs may then be used in dealing with specific problems of contemporary life. Relevant to issues which arise later in this report is the possibility of learning through inspiration of specific cultural items, such as dances or songs from the past, which have been forgotten or lost. This seems to be a possibility for anyone, although there were those who specialized in the acquisition of power from sources unseen by others (pp 130,131). This is not to suggest general credulity, however. While visionary experience is a recognized avenue to knowledge, including knowledge of the past, an individual experience or its interpretation may be regarded with skepticism.

Lehua?

Uncle Harry's is memory - not visionary experience

## Persisitence and Change since 1778

Captain James Cook's arrival in Hawaii in 1778 began a series of changes that affected all aspects of Hawaiian culture. These are briefly touched upon here under the topics of monarchy, population, land, religion, language, and cultural renewal or renaissance.

### The Hawaiian Monarchy

Prior to his death in 1782 the ruling chief of Hawaii Island designated his son as political heir and his brother's son, Kamehameha, as keeper of the war god. After the ruling chief's death, Kamehameha took the rule by force from his classificatory sibling. A series of wars followed in which Western technology and methods played a part. Kamehameha united the polities of Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu through war by 1795, and brought the fourth polity, Kauai, under his control subsequently through diplomatic means. His rule has generally been regarded as benevolent by Hawaiian historians.

After his death in 1819, the most fundamental of the kapus, separate dining by males and females, was broken by his son Liholiho and two of his widows. Although the kapus had already been broken by foreigners and by some Hawaiians, they were still a central feature of Hawaiian religious and political life. Numerous theories have been put forward to explain this event; suffice it to say here that it meant the end of the state level religion, although traditional religion, including some of the kapus, continued to be practiced at the family level. Several months later Christian missionaries arrived; their work is discussed below.

Liholiho was succeeded by five monarchs, all ali'i. There was some competition for power between the monarchs and high ranking chiefs, and later between Caucasian, mostly American, businessmen and the chiefs. Toward the end of the 19th Century these residents of foreign origin came to oppose the monarchy.

Throughout the 19th century foreign warships helped their nationals collect debts and assert themselves in various other ways in the Kingdom of Hawaii. In 1893 the monarchy was overthrown by a group on non-Hawaiians with American Naval support, and a provisional government was established. In 1898 the former kingdom was annexed to the United States (Daws 1969; Kuykendall & Day 1961).

The loss of Hawaiian sovereignty is an example of the American political doctine of "manifest destiny," a belief in the superiority of American social and political institutions and the inevitability of the nation's westward expansion (Pratt 1976). The legal implication of these events are still in question (Native Hawaiian Study Commission 1983). It is clear, however, that Hawaiians did not relinquish their sovereignty willingly.

### Population Change

At the point of contact, 1778-79, Hawaiian population is estimated to have been about 300,000. In less than fifty years the population had

dropped to one-half, and by 1850 to around one-quarter, of its original size. Introduced diseases, sterility, wars, and infanticide are offered in explanation of this rapid decline in numbers (Schmitt 1968:4). Venereal disease was introduced by Cook's crew in 1778, affecting fertility as well as mortality. Other diseases include an epidemic thought to have been cholera or bubonic plague, influenza, measles, whooping cough, diarrhea, smallpox, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, yellow fever, meningitis, and Hanson's disease; some of these involved recurring epidemics. These diseases generally had a greater impact on this previously isolated population than elsewhere. Sometimes the majority of a community would be incapacitated at the same time, disrupting subsistnece and other vital activities. The effects of abortion and infanticide are difficult to measure (Schmitt 1968:37); it also seems likely that warfare's impact on population was indirect rather than through battle casualties. Also associated with depopulation in this period are the combined results of the introduction of alcohol, erosion of traditional organizing principles such as the kapu system, and a shift from local subsistence to market production to support increasing "conspicuous consumption among the elite" (Taeuber 1962, quoted in Schmitt).

In 1852 the first immigrant laborers were brought to Hawaii. Many followed, mostly young men from China, Portugal, and, especially, Japan. At the same time the number of Hawaiians continued to drop (from 70,036 Hawaiians & 983 part-Hawaiians in 1853 to 31,019 Hawaiians & 8,485 part-Hawaiians in 1896). By 1896 Hawaiians and part-Hawns comprised 36.3% of the population, over half of which was foreign born. There were approximately twice as many males as females. Immigration from many places continued in the 20th century. The absolute numbers of full native Hawaiians continued to drop to 12,245 in 1950 while part-Hawns had increased to 73,845, the combined total amounting to 17.3 percent of the population. A 1980 (Kanahele 1982b:1) survey sets the Hawaiian population at 9,366 and the part-Hawaiian population at 175,453, the total amounting to 19% of the population. (The US Census sets a lower total; see Kanahele for a discussion of the discrepancy.)

Land Tenure

During the precontact period all land was controlled by the ali'i class. Commoners worked the land and payed taxes/tribute in produce and personal service. Chiefly control changed hands according to the political and military machinations of the aristocracy, but tenure was relatively stable "at the lower levels of titular chains" (Sahlins 1974:13). That is to say, administering chiefs were more likely to be replaced than those who actually worked the land.

Significant units of land were the ahupua'a, "a land division usually extending from the sea to the mountains (and) allocated to a senior chief" and the 'ili, "generally a subdivision of the ahupua'a given to lesser or junior chiefs" (Kelly 1980:71). Usufruct rights to 'ili were held by commoners organized as "non-exclusive aggregates," i.e., kindreds or partial kindreds rather than by corporate descent groups with long genealogies to justify their claims. An aggregate of kin would have use rights in a number of production zones, but not in all; this situation was accompanied by gift/exchange of products from

different zones, e.g. fish for taro (Sahlins 1974:39). There was also access to such resources of unoccupied interior lands as firewood.

The process by which this communal system of land use changed to individual ownership is traced by Kelly (1980). Foreign traders dealt with chiefs for the produce of commoners. As the consumption of foreign goods by chiefs increased, they required a larger share of that produce. In particular, the trade of Hawaiian sandalwood for foreign goods led to increased demands on the commoners and to debts on the part of the chiefs. Kelly (p 58) cites examples of traders plying chiefs with liquor (a drug which was not present in precontact Hawaii) and of supplying them with shoddy goods. Foreign warships arrived from the 1820's on to collect debts and to impose favorable economic and political arrangements.

The government turned to the missionaries for help, especially with foreign relations. The first entered government service in 1838. There was at the same time increasing pressure from resident non-Hawaiian merchants for fee simple land for safe development and investment, particularly of sugar plantations (pp 58, 60). Some foreigners had already received land, but this appears to have still been under control of higher chiefs and not to have been the alienable land desired by the merchants.

A series of legislative acts beginning in the mid-1840's effected major changes in land tenure. These acts are sometimes referred to collectively as the Great Mahele (mahele = division). Kelly (pp 61, 62) cites three of these as of special importance. The first established a board of commissioners to adjust land claims. The second divided land among the crown, the government, and 245 chiefs. The third awarded small parcels of land to commoners for subsistence use. Kelly (p 63) quotes one commissioner's assertion that the award of land along Eoropean principles of ownership would be a "wonderful transition," a boon to the common people. The idea seems to have been that the people would no longer be subject to excessive demands of work and produce from their chiefly landlords, and that they would be secure in their tenure. Somewhat inconsistently, this commissioner is quoted as optimistic that these same chiefs would cooperate in commoners' registration of claims to end the exploitation. Kelly concludes (p 64) that whether the commissioners were naive or cynical, the effect of the laws and their administration was to place fee simple title to the land in the hands of chiefs and foreigners, thus leaving tenants with decidedly less security in the occupation and use of the lands than they had customarily held under the original system.

In the division of 1848, chiefs received 39% of the land of Hawaii, the king received 24%, and the government received 36%. Less than 1% was left to distribute to the remaining 99% of the population. Kelly (pp. 63, 64) notes the brief period of time allowed for commoners to register claims, the obstacles to communication with those dwelling in rural areas, and deliberate interference on the part of chiefs with claim registration. The Hawaiian scholar Kamakau (1961:403-410), writing in the 19th century, cites ignorance of registration procedures, the expense of application and appeal, a wish to live under the chiefs

under the old system, "favoritism, or interference by chiefs or land agents," dishonesty, and sharp practice among the reasons why so few made successful claims. Kamakau (p 377) commends the honesty and diligence of some of the foreigners, but said of others: "Perhaps they foresaw the passing to them of the land under the constitution and its laws, and the benefits which the government and the chiefs would share with them, leaving the old natives of the land a slavish people whose voice was scarcely heard and whose petitioning was but a useless journey for all the attention they got."

Kelly notes that some government land was sold to commoners (pp 66, 67), and discusses the problems of obtaining quantitative data on how much land went to customary tenants. She presents qualitative data (pp 67-9), however, in the form of letters to government officials. These letters complain of the eviction of customary occupants from land sold to strangers, destruction of crops by new owners, children eating raw potatoes for lack of firewood. Sahlins (1974:24) reports a "flood of petitions" in the 1840's and 50's over the denial of firewood and other resources to commoners by foreigners owning or holding leases to the uplands which had acquired new value as ranches or plantations. The picture which emerges from these letters is one of privation and suffering.

Land tax statistics indicate that the proportion of land held by Hawaiians has continued to decline in the twentieth century. A study conducted in 1967 showed that the federal and state governments along with 72 private owners held 95.36% of the land in Hawaii (Kelly 1980:69, 70). As Spriggs (1985:3) points out, some benefit does accrue to some Hawaiians from some of these estates (Kanahele 1982b:4,5).

Religion

The first contingent of Christian missionaries, New England Protestants, arrived in Hawaii in 1820, after the overthrow of the kapu system that underlay the indigenous religion. They were, by and large, well received and supported by the chiefs. Schools were established by the missionaries and the teaching of Christian doctrine went hand in hand with the learning, particularly reading and writing, that was desired by many Hawaiians. The work of medical missionaries also had a part in the conversion of important chiefs. Admission to church membership was granted slowly in the first years of the mission, but from 1838 large numbers of Hawaiians were taken into the church in revival meetings characterized by ecstatic conversion. The constitution of 1840 declared that no laws would be enacted which were inconsistent with "the word of the Lord Jehova."

Catholic missionaries first arrived in 1827, and encountered some resistance though they did receive some support from one faction. They experienced some harassment over the years, the first contingent being deported in 1831. The Catholic mission was able to reassert itself in due course, supported by the French Navy. A seminary was founded on Oahu in 1846. The Mormon mission arrived in 1850, soon began to appoint Hawaiians to church offices, and spread throughout the kingdom. They acquired land and established successful commercial enterprises. Meanwhile the original Protestant mission moved toward independence;

native Hawaiian clergymen were included in the membership of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in 1863.

On the positive side, Christian belief, and the missionaries who brought it, helped to mobilize resistence to such destructive introductions as disease, alcohol, tobacco, prostitution, and the excessive behavior of the adventurers who washed up on the beaches of Hawaii. Calvinist Protestantism with its many proscriptions and strict Sabbath was perhaps not unlike the kapu system it replaced. Despite their egalitarian principles, the missionaries depended on chiefly support and seem to have done little to mitigate the exploitation of commoners by their chiefs which historians (e.g., Ralston 1984; Daws 1968) see as a concomitant of the shift from subsistence to a commercial, market economy.

The introduction of Christianity and its acceptance as a state religion also precluded worship of the old high gods and efforts at resumption of the traditional kapus. The carriers of the new religion expressed strenuous disapproval of traditional recreations and arts such as the hula, of such chiefly prerogatives as polygamy and matings with close relatives, and of much that was important in the old culture. These views were accepted by many Hawaiians along with the new religion (e.g., Malo 1951:chap 11), and some diminution of individual and collective self-esteem may have accompanied this change in attitude.

Not all that was disapproved disappeared, however. Belief in totemic, tutelary deities and certain other spirits persisted to some degree, as did the practice of magico-religious curing and sorcery. It may be (as Davenport (1969:18) asserts) that these were the most important aspects of religion for ordinary Hawaiians all along. It may also be that sorcery was originally a "minor factor" in Hawaiian religion and increased after the dislocations and disruptions associated with the abandonment of the kapu system (Charlot 1983:29) and in response to increasing conflict and tensions for which there was no satisfactory resolution (Korn 1976:xxii).

Religious syncretism or "synthesis" was a factor in 19th century religious change. Hawaiian myths were changed or invented to effect a correspondence with Biblical myth (Barrere 1969). The four major Hawaiian gods [four is a sacred number in Hawaiian culture (Elbert nd:6)] also underwent a syncretic transformation. The divine tetrad was recast into the Christian trinity (Ku, Kane, Lono) plus Satan (Kanaloa) in the 19th century (Beckwith 1940; Barrere 1969). [A not dissimilar transformation seems to have taken place in Zoroastrianism when daeva, meaning devil or evil spirit, emerged from deva, meaning a god. In the change from polytheism to monotheism, newly superfluous deities, which may not be denied or ignored, may be rendered into devils or demons (Pettazzoni 1965:37).] The association of Christian and Hawaiian deities is current in the beliefs of some Hawaiians at the present time (Holokai 1985). [Kuykendall & Day 1961]

Language

Hawaiian was not a written language in pre-contact times. The language was reduced to writing, the first alphabet being published in

1822, two years after the arrival of the missionaries. Adults as well as children became literate in Hawaiian. The Bible and other works were translated from English; some Hawaiian oral literature was written and published in Hawaiian language newspapers and books, as were historic and ethnographic accounts, current events, and original fiction. In addition to its euphony and other aesthetic qualities, the Hawaiian language is uniquely adapted to the accurate description of Hawaiian natural phenomena (see Kimura n.d. for examples).

English, however, became the language of business and commerce. By mid-19th century, most Hawaiians were literate in their own language, but instruction in English was desired by many parents. Missionaries opposed the substitution of English for Hawaiian, but were criticised by some for not having taught English to Hawaiians from the outset. The Hawaiian president of the board of education argued in 1864 that the substitution of English for Hawaiian in the schools would be "dangerous to Hawaiian nationality" and that English should only be taught as one of several subjects (Kuykendahl 1953:111-13). After the overthrow of the monarchy, English was required as the medium of instruction in all public schools.

The schools have been the primary means of suppression of the Hawaiian language. Mr Iosepa Makaai (personal comm, 1983) remembers having to write on the school blackboard: "I will not speak Hawaiian." In addition to raw, cultural imperialism, there was the notion that Hawaiian was maladaptive in a modern world, that facility in English is the practical skill. Similar attitudes are regularly expressed toward pidgin English in letters to the editors of Honolulu's daily newspapers.

[Pidgin is a creole language with mostly English vocabulary, many Hawaiian grammatical forms, and some features from the languages of immigrant groups. It has changed over time and also varies with location and ethnicity. Pidgin is thought by some to interfere with formal education and to be a social and economic liability. It is, however, the language of conviviality in Hawaii, as well as of "local" solidarity. Some speakers of pidgin use standard English when it seems appropriate; others speak only pidgin.]

It appears that many Hawaiians themselves saw the language as maladaptive and stressed competence in English. One part-Hawaiian remembers (in an interview summarized by Seagrest 1977) that his parents spoke Hawaiian to the elderly, in church, when they wanted to be secretive, or when they were angry. Many parents urged their children to speak English and would not teach them Hawaiian.

Only a small percentage of Hawaiians, mostly elderly, now speak the Hawaiian language. Around 30 children are learning Hawaiian as a first language on Niihau Island. There are isolated instances of children learning Hawaiian as a first language, sometimes from parents who speak it as a second language, but Niihau is the only community where Hawaiian is a first language for all generations.

Some modern Hawaiians regret their inablility to speak the language. Efforts have been made at the University of Hawaii and

elsewhere to perpetuate Hawaiian as a second language. George Kanahele (SB 4/17/1977) cites renewed interest in Hawaiian language as evidence for the existence of a cultural renaissance.

Hawaiian Renaissance

The term "Hawaiian Renaissance" has been current from the early 1970's. As the term implies, it involves cultural renewal, and interest in the past, artistic and scholarly achievement, as well as economic, political, and social change. The existence of the phenomenon has been documented, causes for it suggested, and its meanings discussed (Kanahele 1982).

Among the causes suggested for this movement are the ethnic awareness and pride which emerged in the 1960's and the political activism of that decade. It has also been suggested that massive tourism provides a "challenge" to Hawaiians, presumably to demonstrate the existence of a distinctive culture.

The political and economic antecedents have been traced back to the turn of the century (McGregor-Alegado 1980). Several "grassroots Hawaiian political organizations" were in existence from the annexation of Hawaii as an American territory to the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1920. They tried to limit the power of the American Caucasian business elite and to return Hawaiians living in unwholesome urban settings to a traditional, rural, subsistence life. At the same time certain aristocratic or royal Hawaiians allied themselves with the Caucasian elite, some holding political office as members of the Republican Party, supported by a Hawaiian electoral majority. The business elite also sought rural lands for commercial agriculture and ranching. The Hawaiian Homes Act provided that first and second class lands would be reserved for industrial agriculture and that third and fourth class lands would be leased to persons of 50% or more Hawaiian ancestry for a nominal fee.

Hawaiian political activism declined in the following decades as "political and commercial patronage" supported an alliance between the commercial elite and Hawaiian voters. Mcgregor-Allegado (1980) offers fear of jeopardizing applications for Hawaiian Homes lands as well as the hope of appointment to private and public jobs in explanation of the relative lack of grassroots activism. She also cites (p 33) "cultural domination" including restrictions on using the Hawaiian language in school [begun immediately after the overthrow of the monarchy (Napoka 1985)]: "Hawaiians were taught to be ashamed of their cultural heritage and to feel inferior...."

Following statehood in 1959 the Caucasian commercial elite/Hawaiian voter/Republican Party alliance was replaced by the Democratic Party supported by a plurality of Japanese voters. The loss of political influence was accompanied by the loss of patronage as jobs and other benefits now accrued to Japanese rather than Hawaiians. Resort and residential development began to intensify, threatening both commercial agriculture and rural subsistence or quasi-subsistence life; this trend continues to the present.

Aware of radical political and social movements, particularly those of American Indians, and their own relative economic deprivation, several activist groups arose in Hawaii. The economic, spiritual, and political value of land has been central to the beliefs of these groups, and efforts to assert land rights have been a central focus of their activites. Their aims include monitoring the apparent misuse of Hawaiian Homes lands, provision of better community services for Hawaiians, limiting the expansion of resort and residential developments, and securing or guaranteeing traditional rights of access to environmental resources. Hui Ala Loa is one of the few Hawaiian groups to attract members from the elderly as well as the middle-aged and young. It opposed certain commercial land developments on Molokai and asserted traditional Hawaiian access rights through demonstrations and court cases. The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO) was formed in 1976, growing out of Hui Ala Loa and (McGregor-Alagado p 48) ALOHA, a militant organization seeking reparations for the usurpation of Hawaiian sovereignty and misappropriation of lands.

This period of cultural renewal has also been marked by a resurgence of interest in expressive culture, especially the performing arts. Hawaiian music (with varying degrees of traditional content) is composed and performed with much greater frequency, and it is supported by local rather than tourist audiences more than in the past; more hula schools exist, and are supported by local audiences; there is an increased emphasis on forms believed to be ancient; similarly there are more traditional chanters than in recent decades. More visual art is seen; this includes such introduced forms as painting on canvas (frequently depicting or evoking the past) and traditional ones such as featherwork (now altered in certain respects, e.g., the use of duck or chicken feathers to replace those of birds extinguished in the post-contact era).

There has been a greater interest in Hawaiian sports, notably outrigger canoe racing (using canoes which are authentic in shape and size, and sometimes constructed of traditional native woods). The Hokule'a, a large Polynesian double hulled sailing canoe (authentic in form and sailing characteristics though not in materials), has made round trip voyages to Tahiti, validating the possiblity of such voyages as described in Hawaiian narratives; it is one of the "proudest symbols of the Hawaiian Renaissance" (Kanahele 1982a:iii).

Increased interest in the Hawaiian language is another manifestation of the Hawaiian Renaissance. Although there are probably fewer speakers of Hawaiian now than ever, new efforts are being made to support language learning. More Hawaiian language courses are being offered at the University of Hawaii, where teaching materials and methods have become more sophisticated. High schools are now offering Hawaiian, and pre-schools are being established to pass the language from elderly native speakers to very young children, bypassing a mostly non-Hawaiian-speaking parental generation. While the Hawaiian language of the future will be a second language for almost all of those who learn it, there is an undeniable increase in interest in it, manifested by literary composition, translation, and related efforts.

Hawaiian scholarship has shown a marked increase in recent years. Hawaiian materials in local research libraries are in much greater demand. The number of theses and scholarly publications has risen (though many of these are produced by non-Hawaiians). There has been a decided increase in the number of Hawaiians taking graduate and professional degrees.

There is a greater "economic consciousness," with concern about such facts as Hawaiians having the "lowest median family income" of the major ethnic groups in the state (Kanahele 1982a:30,31). Efforts have been made to stimulate entreprenurial activity, though some believe the accumulation of capital is in conflict with traditional values of generosity and sharing. (Writing over a century ago, Kamakau (1961:201) characterized Hawaiians of old as "a people ashamed to trade.")

"The politicization of the Hawaiian people is the logical and inevitable outcome of the cultural renaissance" (Kanahele 1982a:33). This process is manifested in protests, litigation, lobbying, and efforts to increase awareness of the historical bases for claims. These claims include rights to land and water and reparations for political and economic usurpation. The 1978 Constitutional Convention produced the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, provisions regarding the Hawaiian Home Lands, and other provisions regarding the rights and welfare of Hawaiians. Cooperative ties have been established with cultural and political organizations on other Pacific islands.

Hawaiian organizations range from aggressively activist to those who seek gradual and careful change. There has been disagreement on policy both within and among these organizations. It is believed by some (e.g., Kanahele 1982a) that the intensification of political activity associated with the Hawaiian Renaissance has been accompanied by political unification as mutual respect leads to accomodation of conflicting views. He asserts (p 33) that as the PKO has gained support it has become less radical: "... its once militant image has taken on mystical and spiritual overtones...."

ALWAYS!

The Hawaiian Renaissance has contributed to an enhanced self image for many Hawaiians, greater pride in the culture, and replacement of some negative or condescending stereotypes with greater respect for Hawaiians and their culture on the part of non-Hawaiians. A concomitant for some has been "beligerancy or militancy" as well as suspicion of non-Hawaiians (Kanahele 1982a:7,9,26). Some have been heard to speak of the Hawaiian Renaissance as if it were over. Whether or not this is true, there can be no question of the impact of this social and cultural movement.

## Hawaiian Culture Today

### Hawaiians of Keanae

A recent ethnographic study (Linnekin 1980) describes the residents of Keanae, Maui, a relatively isolated community which is regarded as a very Hawaiian place. Residents support themselves through connections with the larger economy (wage work, retirement benefits); taro pond fields are a prominent feature of the landscape, and their produce is sold and used to supplement a diet which consists primarily of store bought food. Traditional or quasi-traditional patterns of gift-exchange are practiced within the community.

Island dialect (usually called "pidgin") is the primary language. Elderly people can speak Hawaiian, but fluency and the ablility to understand decrease (with some exceptions) in direct relation to the youth of the speaker. For many, the Hawaiian vocabulary has contracted, with fewer words taking on more meanings. Regret is expressed at the loss of language (pp 43-45).

In contrast with another Hawaiian community known to social scientists ["'Aina Pumehana," see below], Keanae has a history of continuous occupancy and agricultural use by the ancestors of the present residents.

Egalitarian values are expressed, and "acting high" is disapproved. Ostentatious displays of wealth are in conflict with this value and may lead to ostracism. Sensitivity and nice judgment must be used in exchange, for inappropriate gifts or "gratuitous favors" are seen as efforts to rise above the recipient. [Failure to reciprocate (especially among non-kin) is also resented, though overt expectation of return must not be expressed (chap IV).] Leaders are closer to Melanesian "big men" than to Polynesian chiefs in that they have influence rather than power to command, acquiring followers through marriage and the establishment of obligations. The latter must be done with tact, with repayment of obligations seeming to be voluntary (chap VI). Linnekin explains this egalitarianism in historical terms (e.g., p 362): "Commoner egalitariansim was the complement to chiefly rank." And "the threat of (chiefly) expropriation deterred commoners from appearing prosperous or accumulating material goods."

Egalitarian values and the absence of clearly recognized leaders with the "power to command" (the social position formerly occupied by the chiefs) inhibits cooperative, communal ventures beyond the family (Linnekin p 197; 1983:184,5; Handy & Pukui 1958:17). There is, however, a sense of internal community when facing the outside world. Keanae is referred to as "inside" in contrast to the "outside" where money is made. Inside refers to social relatedness, common ethnicity, a Hawaiian lifestyle, home. This sense of community is in contrast to an "outside" dominated by whites and Japanese (pp 15-17, 197).

The churches appear not to be central to the life of the community, only one-quarter of the adult population regularly attending services (pp 46,47). There is "considerable respect for the power of

unseen forces": beliefs expressed by Hawaiians elsewhere (danger of transporting pork past certain points, adverse effect of bananas on fishing) are cited, as is the sanctity of certain places (a heiau, a water source, a place visited by the dead). Observances of rituals for tutelary spirits (e.g., offering of fish to shark totem) are made. It is generally said that no truly qualified practitioners (kahuna) of ancient Hawaiian religion remain in Keanae, although illnesses which resist medical treatment or are regarded as "'Hawaiian sicknesses'" (upsetting dreams, trance states, and spirit-possession) may be taken for treatment involving a spiritual component. Some individuals elsewhere claim to be kahunas, but the legitimacy of these claims is a matter of disagreement among Hawaiians (pp 46-52).

"... Keanae is (thus) no pristine survivor of a pre-Western society" (p 52). The "meaning of 'Hawaiian' within this most acculturated society in Polynesia" (p 52) is defined by relatedness, ideally based on kinship and associated with obligitory giving and receiving (p 53). Belief in the "unseen forces" mentioned above might be added to kinship and exchange as a defining criterion of "Hawaiian" (see, e.g. Keene 1970:61,62). In an effort to characterize the "'spirit' of Hawaiian religion," the PKO (1985:1) stresses "the informal, unorganized, and individual practice of traditional religion" which is continuous, customary, and ongoing today" as opposed to the "'state' religion which was officially abolished some 165 years ago."

"'Aina Pumehana"

- This Oahu Island community is composed of families from various areas who have successfully applied for Hawaiian Homeland leases. A team of social scientists (Gallimore et al 1974) found there "a coherent cultural system that may reasonably considered as Hawaiian or Hawaiian-American." Recognizing that much had changed during two centuries of intrusive and disruptive contact, the social scientists still found many of the assumptions underlying ancient Hawaiian proverbs, for example, to be "startlingly familiar" (p 55) among these people of the most urbanized Hawaiian island.

They noted hierarchy within the family, egalitarianism in extra-familial groups (especially of adolescent peers). The middle class, mainland researchers were particularly struck by the enthusiasm for and indulgence of babies (chap 6). Respondents stressed the helplessness and passivity of babies in trying to explain what makes infants so lovable and capable of uniting a family in that love.

Variability

Hawaiians generally share the underlying cultural assumptions outlined here, but there is also a good deal of variablity in attitude, by social category, community (Gallimore et al 1974:56) and individually. The theologist Charlot observes (1983:115): "Hawaiian culture, for all the family resemblances of its individual elements, seems bewilderingly various. Yet Hawaiians can be definite, even dogmatic, about what or who is truly Hawaiian."

Non-Hawaiian scholars have commented on variability among Hawaiian informants. Emerson, working at the end of the 19th century, had this

experience in trying to translate the word "mu" (Malo:1951:179): "In consulting Hawaiian scholars as to the meaning of this word I found that they either had no opinion about it or that no two of them agreed. I have also found that the same person held a different opinion at different times." Beckwith, studying the Kumulipo chant in the first half of this century (1951:39), found its meaning to be "a subject for argument ... even among the Hawaiians themselves who are familiar to some extent with the requirements of old poetic style." Variation is of course to be expected in modern interpretations of cultural elements surviving from the past. It is, moreover, not uncommon for an outsider to expect a homogeneity from members of another culture despite the absence of such homogeneity in his own culture.

Social, Economic, and Political Status

Modern Hawaiian researchers (Mcgregor-Allegado 1980; Kanahele 1982b ;PKO 1980) have pointed to employment, income, welfare, incarceration, and other statistics as indicators of socio-economic deprivation on the part of Hawaiians relative to other ethnic groups in Hawaii. It seems safe to say that Hawaiians are aware of this situation and of many of the events leading to it. Opinions (discussed above under the heading of the Hawaiian Renaissance) vary as to appropriate solutions. There are those who favor complete political independence (reestablishment of Hawaiian sovereignty) or some form of political autonomy within the state. Others seek reparations in the form of land or cash. Still others believe Hawaiians should work within the political and economic system on a collective and individual basis. Some (but by no means all) of these strategies are incompatible, constituting an expression as well as a source of cultural variability within Hawaiian society. This aspect of variability, including the ali'i-maka'ainana (aristocrat-commoner) distinction, is discussed further in reference to the cultural significance of Kaho'olawe.

## Kaho'olawe: A Brief Summary

### Environmental Setting

#### Size and Location

Kaho'olawe is located about seven miles southwest of Maui (20 degrees 35 minutes N. Latitude and 156 degrees. 35 min. W. Longitude. It is the smallest of the eight main island of the state of Hawaii, and comprises about 0.7% of the land mass of the archipelago. It is approximately eleven miles long and six miles wide and approximately 45 square miles in area (28,000 acres) with 36 miles of shoreline. The highest point, Lua Makika, is 1,477 feet above sea level.

#### Geology

Kaho'olawe is a single shield volcano with a caldera about 3 miles in diameter buried by later volcanic action. The eastern portion of the caldera now forms Kanapou Bay. The island has three rift zones, west, North, and East. The north and west sides of the island slope gently to the sea. This slope terminates in sea cliffs on the east and south sides of the island. The age of the island is estimated at about 1.5 million years.

#### Soils and Erosion

Soils are of the following Hawaii types: Keahua, Blown-Out (eroded, not exploded), Jaucus, and Lualualei (EIS 1979:2-3 ff). Dust blown from Kaho'olawe has created red clouds visible from Maui; most of the dust is dropped in the ocean where it contributes to marine sediments surrounding the island. The beaches on the north and east sides of the island are composed of red alluvial deposits as well as sand, and the silt is visible in the inshore waters.

#### Climate

Kaho'olawe is the windiest and driest of the Hawaiian Islands. Northeast tradewinds accelerate around Haleakala (a large volcanic mountain on Maui), producing winds across Kaho'olawe of 18 to 21 mph from May to September over 50% of the time; in winter winds of these speeds occur about 40% of the time. Storms may produce gusts of over 60 mph. The tradewinds leave much of their moisture on Maui, and Kaho'olawe is not high enough to remove further moisture from them. The maximum annual rainfall since 1919 (not all years measured) was 27.5 inches, the lowest 18.75. Most of the rain falls in Kona (south wind) storms in the winter months. The climate is sub-tropical and arid. [EIS 1979:2-8ff]

comparable to climate in Lanai section & all islands.

#### Flora and Fauna

Plant species (Lamoureux, cited in Hommon 1980a:7,8) total 88, including 27 indigenous, 56 exotic, and 5 endemic. The kiawe (algaroba tree) is the dominant plant species in the uneroded areas. The range of plant species present in pre-contact times is not known at present. A few wiliwili trees may still be seen; presumably more existed on the island prior to the introduction of exotic species. Pili grass (used for thatch) was also probably more plentiful in the past.

Archaeological findings suggest that dogs and pigs (two of the

three ancient Hawaiian domestic animals) were present on the island in pre-contact times. Goats and sheep had been introduced by 1858, and cattle were kept there until 1941. Six animal species are still found on the island: goat, domestic cat, roof rat, house mouse, and the Polynesian rat, the last being the only mammal now on the island that was introduced by ancient Hawaiians (Hommon 1980a). Surveys conducted in 1978 (EIS 2-65 - 2-67) sighted 17 bird species. Only 8 native species, all shore or sea birds, were seen. Not sighted but believed to be present is the Hawaiian owl or pueo.

Types of fish in the waters immediately surrounding Kaho'olawe are listed in EIS, Appendix B. A lack of kumu (goatfish) was evident around the island at the time of the EIS survey. The lowest fish count was along the silty northwest coast (B-24).

## Archaeology

It should be noted that archaeological conclusions, and especially dates, are tentative and based on methods which are neither as precise nor as reliable as could be desired. Carbon 14 dating is less suspect than dates obtained from volcanic glass.

A provisional model of the pre-contact history of Kaho'olawe has been provided (Hommon 1980a) and modified to incorporate additional data and interpretations (Hommon 1983b; personal communication); this process will continue with the acquisition and analysis of new data.

The model postulates four phases (Hommon 1980:55-67). Phase I (1000-1400) begins with the initial settlement of Kaho'olawe by c AD 1000. The uncliffed coast was sparsely populated by 1200. Phase II (1400-1550) is marked by population growth and inland expansion.

The apparent population growth and inward expansion may be associated with the development of horticulture. The inland area with the greatest density of archaeological sites (the uplands north and west of Lua Makika) had conditions suitable for the cultivation of sweet potato (gradual slope, few stones, the most rainfall on the island). All other inland Hawaiian complexes include evidence of agriculture, and Kaho'olawe is probably not an exception. The gentle slope and lack of stones may explain the absence of agricultural structures such as terraces, field boundaries, and stone mounds.

Another inland activity is the working of basalt. Many of the inland sites include evidence of flaking of both basalt and volcanic glass. The initial stages of the manufacture of basalt adzes took place at workshops clustered around Pu'u Moiwi. Lithic tool manufacture would not account for the large number of inland features or their location well away from the adze quarry.

During phase III (1550-1650), a nucleated settlement apparently developed at Hakioawa on the northeast coast. The settlement at Hakioawa may be explained in part by its proximity to Honua'ula, Maui. Other economic and ecological hypotheses (e.g., the presence of unusual

resources, location in an exchange network) await further research. Archaeological evidence from pre-contact hearths on Kaho'olawe indicates that the presence of dryland forest there at one time (Hommon 1983a:95-98, 150-51). The numerous upland hearths suggest that deforestation resulted from cutting firewood as well as from agricultural clearing (Hommon 1983b:17).

The nature and extent of environmental change in this period are not yet clear. The earliest European explorers (all writing in 1779), describe Kaho'olawe as "barren," (Clerke; Law; Edgar) "unfertile" (Clerke and Gore), and devoid of trees (King; Burney; Samwell; Clerk and Gore). [Historic references in Silva 1983c (CHRON) cited by year]. Documentary and archaeological evidence initially seemed to suggest that the major erosion now evident on the island had begun before Western Contact (1779) (EIS:2-15); Hommon 1980a60-65). However, recent research indicates that this erosional process began during the 19th Century. This interpretation (Spriggs 1985) assumes that "barren" only means devoid of trees and that the island was covered with native grasses at the time of European contact. Consistent with this interpretation is the absence of any mention in the early accounts of red clouds of dust or visible sediment in the surrounding waters.

During phase IV (1650-1779) the cultivation of the inland zone probably expanded to its maximum extent.

## Myths and Traditional History

The oral literature of Kaho'olawe (as collected and preserved in written form, mostly during the 19th century) has been compiled by Silva (1983a). This includes chants, tales, and parts of longer narrative cycles. Some of this material has been interpreted from the standpoint of Kaho'olawe's significance (Silva 1983a; Keene 1983; Hommon 1980b; Tuggle n.d.; Barere 1983; PKO 1980; Hawaii Historic Places Review Board 1980). Other interpretations are in service of different issues, e.g., Polynesian migrations (Fornander 1979). Interpretations also come in the form of translation from Hawaiian to English and of editorial comment based on a variety of assumptions [e.g., Emerson (Malo:1951)].

There are a number of problems associated with efforts to reconstruct history from oral literature. One approach is to reject historical reconstruction, using oral literature only as an aid to understanding the behavior of those among whom it is current. Data are often fragmentary with little in the way of contextual material. Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore (1916-20) is a case in point. These materials were collected and set down in Hawaiian in the 1860's and 1870's, efforts being made to avoid tampering with the originals. But little is told of the contexts in which the narratives were related or of the narrators themselves. The meaning of the texts is often difficult to interpret without knowing the narrators' attitudes toward the material. (Was it, for example, regarded with awe, thought to be humorous, believed to be true, or perhaps only partially understood as a remnant of a way of life which had already undergone much change?) The age, sex, social class, and other attributes of the

narrators which would be useful in interpreting the tales are also often not known (Elbert 1959:1,2).

Scholars may disagree (e.g., Elbert n.d.) as to whether a narrative should be classified as a Ka'ao (fictional account) or a mo'olelo (legend or tradition); there is also some disagreement as to the meaning of these Hawaiian terms. Some of the narratives may be contemporary fiction employing oral literary allusions and fragments, rather than items collected by folklorists from 'bearers of tradition.' Another problem is whether interpretation should be literal or symbolic (Padraic Colum, who wrote a book of Hawaiian tales, believed that every Hawaiian story had four levels of meaning; an extreme position, but one which correctly recognizes that Hawaiian narratives frequently have significance beyond their readily apparent meaning). Dating is another problem. Narratives may be set in an unidentified, timeless period. Others may be dated by locating figures in the narrative in genealogies, assigning a number of years to each generation (e.g., 20), and counting back from known, historical individuals. This procedure yields approximate dates, if the genealogy is accurate. Genealogies and other traditions have, however, been altered for political (Fornander 1969:24) and religious (Barrere 1969) reasons. It is not unusual, moreover, for narrative materials from different times to be combined and recombined. With these considerations in mind the oral literary history of Kaho'olawe is summarized here.

Harry Kunihi Mitchell, of Keanae, Maui, has provided two chants regarding Kaho'olawe (reproduced in Hawaiian with English translation in Keene 1983:60-65): "Deep Chant of Kaho'olawe" and "The Spring Waters of Kaho'olawe." Mr Mitchell (1983) indicated that he heard these chants (and a third concerning Halona, Kaho'olawe) in his youth (perhaps around 1930) and again as a young man (c 1940's) from his Grandmother's cousin, Kealoha Kuike, and that he understands them to be ancient. In recent years he has become convinced of their importance and has been writing his recollections of them and trying to divine their meaning. PKO member Keoni Fairbanks (1983) has this to say regarding the chants: "This is authentic Hawaiian tradition because most of the words are ones that he (Mitchell) actually heard from Kuike's lips. Also the spirit with which he is reaching back into his memory to reveal the mysteries of the past is precisely that of a keeper of oral tradition. These chants, though they reveal only a glimmer of the past, are probably our most ancient and most revealing record of Kaho'olawe's ancient past."

Creation

Two origin myths (Silva 1983a:1,2) depict Papa and Wakea, progenitors of mankind, as parents of Kaho'olawe and other islands. Another (Silva p 4) has the goddess Hina as Kaho'olawe's mother, all the other islands being offspring of Papa and Wakea. Another has Kaho'olawe the last of the islands, the others born from anthropomorphic beings, Kaho'olawe not said to be born, just stated to exist (Silva pp 2,3). Another chant has Kaho'olawe the offspring of Keaukanai and Walinuu from Holani, who may be human settlers or deities.

Silva (1983a:1-4) cites creation chants to which she assigns the numbers 1-7. In numbers 1 and 2, attributed to members of Kamehameha's

court, the islands are born to the mythic figures Papa (female principle/earth), Wakea (male principle/sky), and others. The order of birth is geographical beginning with Hawaii in the southeast and ending with Kaula in the northwest, so Kaho'olawe is neither first nor last (important positions among Hawaiian siblings). In both versions Kaho'olawe is called Kanaloa; it is described as a fledgling bird (Punua) and as a porpoise (nai'a). These are interpreted as as positive characterizations.

A less positive epithet is contained in another account of the creation of the islands (Silva 1983a:#6), a name chant composed in honor of Kamehameha the Great); here Kaho'olawe's epithet is "he lopa" ("shiftless; poor tenant farmer" PE). This account of Kaho'olawe's creation is ambiguous for several reasons. First, the source cited (Fornander 1916-19:IV:2-9) contains two versions:

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 Na Keaukanai i moe aku, | It was Keaukanai who had married, |
| Moe ia Walinuu o Holani, | Had married with Walinuu from Holani, |
| He kekea kapu no Uluhina, | The sacred albino from Uluhina. |
| Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa. | Kahoolawe was born, a foundling. |
| | |
| 5 Na Keaukalani i moe aku, | Keaukanai is the one who married, |
| Moe ia Walinuu o Holani, | Married with Walinuu from Holani, |
| He keakea kapu no Uluhina, | The sacred semen of Uluhina. |
| Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa. | Kahoolawe was born a foundling. |

Each version has its explanatory footnote from the editor: "Sacred albino, Kekea kâpu of the original, if not an error, would refer to the traditional arrival of the 'poe ohana kekea,'...." These are 13th century (15th century, if generations are reckoned at 20 years) castaways on Maui, one of whom is said to have married a ruling chief there and become progenitor of the "white people with bright eyes; the sacred Albino of ancient time (Fornander p4 n1)." In the second note (p8 n1), "The Kekea, or Albino, in third line of section 5, is shown here to be keakea, semen, which, by the narration following, indicates it as an emanation from a person of sacredness, having special functions, whose every act partook of a sacred character, bearing out the idea which prevailed that certain chiefs were of such high and sacred rank that their sanctity pervaded their premises, and applied to all that they had , or did, or desired." These assertions of sanctity (the meaning assigned by the translators and endorsed by the editor of Fornander's Collection for the word kapu) are associated with Kaho'olawe, but how directly it is difficult to say; i.e., Uluhina is sacred (kapu), but what is his relationship to Kaho'olawe? [The "sacred Albinos" (Fornander p4, n1) are related to a Maui chief; Maui is the closest inhabited island to Kaho'olawe, and the two islands have historic connections.] Uluhina then cuts the navel string of the newly born island with some confusion, due to the Fornander translation (pp 4,5), as to whether the neighboring uninhabited island of Molokini is the navel string or placenta of Kaho'olawe [resolved by Silva (p 4) and sanctioned by the Hawaii Historic Places Review Board (1980:17) as "afterbirth," The Board also noting that this term is used figuratively by Hawaiians to indicate blood relationship].

Having clarified one aspect of this account of the creation of Kaho'olawe, we may turn to the epithet given to the island. "He lopa" is translated as "a foundling" in the text (Fornander p 4) with this footnote, "The word lopa, here given as foundling, was the term generally applied to a person of low class, an under farmer." In another publication (1969:II:12), Fornander gives lopa as "farmer." The dictionary definition of lopa (PE p 195,6) is "shiftless; poor tenant farmer," with examples indicating that the word connotes dependence on others; a second definition refers somewhat uncertainly to distance of relationship. The "foundling" interpretation seems insupportable in view of these definitions. It may be that the translator was influenced by the immediately preceding account of the the origins of Lanai in which that island is described (Fornander 1916-20:IV:2,3) as "an adopted child," "he keiki ho'okama." Barrere (1983:3) interprets "lopa" as a "metaphor, explained within the context of known Hawaiian land tenure terms. A lopa was a farmer without a claim to land but who cultivated under or for a tenant landholder. Metaphorically, the island of Kahoolawe had no claim as an independent land but was traditionally an appendage of Maui."

Fornander [1969:II:11 (first published 1879)] also interprets a portion of this passage metaphorically: "some of the chief families from Nuumea, Holani, Tahiti, and Polapola [who settled on some of the Hawaiian islands] are thus poetically said to have given birth to them." Among examples given is Kaho'olawe "the child of Keaukanai, the man, and Walinuu, the wife, from Holani . . . ." A recent interpretation (PKO 1980:17) has Walinu'u "a major goddess." "Wali-nu'u" is listed by Kamakau [1961:166, (first published 1867)] as one of a number of female deities of the 18th century chief Kahekili. "These gods were deities whose heiaus were tabu and in which human sacrifices were offered." Later (p 179) Kamakau identifies Walin'u as one of a number of female deities of Kamehameha to be worshiped in a temple known as Papa.

Three other accounts of Kaho'olawe's creation are cited by Silva (1983a:2,3). The prose introduction (Fornander 1916-20.IV:2,3) to the chants discussed above, as numbers 1 and 2, has Kaho'olawe unique among the islands of Hawaii: A "tradition or legend of Haumea" is referred to in which the other islands are the offspring of Papa and Wakea, but Hina is said to have given birth to Kaho'olawe. Hina is (PE pp 383,4) associated with the moon, among other things. This has been used (PKO 1980:15) to associate Kaho'olawe with the lunar calendar, with the cycles of planting, fishing, and ritual regulated by that calendar, and with motherhood as well. A footnote to the original reference (Fornander 1916-20:IV:2) takes Hina's alleged parentage less seriously, noting that "Hina appears to have been a name easily conjured with," figuring "more frequently than any other" in Hawaii. Another footnoted reference to Kaho'olawe's origins is given by Emerson, translator and editor of Malo [1951:243 (first published 1898)]. Here Kaho'olawe is last mentioned; the other islands are born either to Papa and Wakea or to Ho'ohokukalani (daughter of Papa and Wakea) and Wakea. Kaho'olawe is not said to be born, but just stated to exist: "He ula a o Kaho'olawe," which Emerson gives as "A red rock was Kaho'olawe." Silva (p 2) offers this translation: "A red one/a firey burning redness is or has Kaho'olawe." She goes on to suggest that this association of Kaho'olawe

with redness may have implications of sacredness (red being associated with sanctity and the aristocracy), but also admits of the possibility [called "obvious" by the Hawaii Historic Places Review Board (1980:17)] that redness refers only to the physical appearance of the island. Finally, Silva (1983a:3) quotes a six line fragment of a name chant [provided by Emerson (Malo 1951:140)] which mentions Kanaloa. This name, suggestive of some sort of connection with the deity of the same name, denotes Kaho'olawe in the similar chants cited by Silva as numbers 1 and 2 (pp 1,2). Silva raises the possibility that Emerson's fragment refers to Kanaloa, the island. The Hawaii Historic Places Review Board (1980:17) supports Emerson's translation of Kanaloa as the god and not the island.

Voyaging

The most substantial account of the voyaging period of Hawaii is contained in "The History of Moikeha" (Fornander 1916-20:IV:112-159). Moikeha, who lives in Moaulanuiakea, Tahiti, is traduced by a rival to his lover Luukia, who has herself lashed into a rope chastity belt. (This accounts for the name, "pau o Luukia," given to a kind of canoe lashing.) Heartsick, Moikeha sails for Hawaii (his knowledge of Hawaii's existence apparent but unexplained), with sisters, brothers, a priest, and a foster son. His wife and his son, Laamaikahiki (literally, 'sacred from Tahiti') are left behind. Moikeha leaves his fellow travellers to live in various places in Hawaii, stopping at Kauai himself where he marries the daughters of the king, fathers five children, and inherits the kingdom at the death of his father-in-law. Later he wants to see Laamaikahiki; since all of the sons want to go on the trip to fetch their half brother, selection is made by a contest which Kila, the youngest, wins.

Kila sails to Tahiti by way of Oahu, Molokai, and Hawaii, and with the help of an elderly sorceress/priestess finds Laamaikahiki, who returns with him bringing the first "idols" to Hawaii. Laamaikahiki stays on Kauai for a while, moves to Maui, where Kahikinui is named for him. Finding this spot too windy, he goes to the west side of Kaho'olawe where he lives until "his priests become dissatisfied with the place" ("pono ole o ka manao o na kahuna"), and he leaves for Tahiti. His stay on Kaho'olawe and departure from there for Tahiti are given as the reason (pp 128,9) why the ocean to the west of Kaho'olawe is called Kealaikahiki (the road to Tahiti).

Moikeha dies, and Kila's jealous brothers strand him at Waipio, Hawaii, telling his mother he was eaten by a shark and Moikeha's bones were lost at sea. Eventually Kila saves the brothers from the consequences of their misdeeds. Meanwhile Laamaikahiki learns (from Hawena) of Moikeha's death and returns to Hawaii for his bones; he is entertained at Ka'u and Kona, where he introduces dancing to drum music. He meets his younger half-brother Kila, who is now back on Kauai, and, after Laamaikahiki visits all the other islands to teach dancing, they return to Tahiti with Moikeha's bones, never returning to Hawaii.

The story then turns to Luukia, Moikeha's lover in Tahiti, and her husband Olopana. The narrator mentions the existence of more than one Olopana and some variants to his story but goes on to say that he and

Luukia ruled Waipio, Hawaii before being swept into the ocean by a flood and swimming to Tahiti. Some people of old are reported to have believed the couple went to Tahiti in a canoe. In any event, their presence in Tahiti may account for Moikeha's initial knowledge of the existence of Hawaii. Later they return to Hawaii where they introduce tattooing, the enforced isolation of women during their menstrual period, and the "tabu system" to Hawaii.

This legend is presented in a variant, abbreviated form by Malo (1971:7). Only one round trip to Tahiti takes place; Kila, not Laamaikahiki, departs from Kaho'olawe; and it is the cape rather than the ocean or channel, which is thus named Kealaikahiki. The introduction of the drum and the canoe lashing are mentioned briefly, the origin of the latter contained only in an editor's footnote. The reference to Kaho'olawe is brief, but it is more conspicuous, since the surrounding narrative is given in three paragraphs rather than over 20 pages.

Another reference to Kealaikahiki (Fornander 1916-19:VI:281) has it as a point of arrival as well as departure. This is part of the Hawaii Loa saga, which appears to be largely a creation of the 19th century (Barrere:1969). The reference is a historic one, reflective of Hawaiian beliefs of over a century ago, but its value as an historical record of the activities of previous centuries is uncertain. Similarly, the voyage of Waha-nui (big-mouth) to Kahiki-kapa-kapaua o Kane by way of Kealaikahiki is classed as a "fictional narrative" by Beckwith. With the exception of two narratives containing references to genealogically known persons, other traditional materials pertaining to Kaho'olawe [cited by Silva (1983a)] are of interest from the standpoint of cultural and ethnic significance (rather than history) and are discussed in that context.

Hommon (1980b:14) uses genealogical data (generations estimated at 20 years) to date the two way voyaging of the Moikeha/Laamaikahiki era at approximately 1400 A.D. He then raises the possibility that the voyagers introduced sweet potato cultivation to Hawaii, allowing the expanded agricultural use of Kaho'olawe and other dry areas which archaeological evidence indicates took place at that time.

Hommon's (1976) organization of genealogical material may also be used to date the events, though not the composition, of two other narratives in Silva's (1983a12,13) compilation. The first of these involves the escape of a homicidal, anthropophagous spirit from Lanai to Kaho'olawe. Kaululaau's father, Kakaalaneo, a Maui chief, exiles him to Lanai for youthful misdeeds of fantastic proportions [youthful mischief of a future chief is a frequent motif of Hawaiian narratives indicative of exemption from the rules controlling ordinary people (Elbert nd)]. At that time, "Lanai was an island of spirits. No people could live on Lanai because the spirits killed and eat (sic) everyone who came there." ["He moku akua o Lanai, aohe kanaka koe ke hiki ilaila, pau i ka ai ia e ke akua."] Kaululaau is helped by his "god" ('aumakua) and kills the spirits by deception with the exception of a lone survivor that escapes to Kaho'olawe. (Lone survivor and fatal deception are both common motifs.) Kaululaau and his father date to the first half of the 16th

century (Hommon 1976:124,308,310). Thus the arrival of the spirit on Kaho'olawe can be dated to about AD 1550.

Kalaepuni, a great strongman (and, like Kaululaau, an uprooter of trees) figures in another tale of fatal deception (Fornander 1916-19:V:198-204). Keawenuiaumi, a ruling chief of Hawaii Island, fears death at the hands of this killer of chiefs and usurper of chiefdoms. With the aid of his priest he sets a trap on Kaho'olawe in the form of a salt water well and pile of rocks, looked after by an elderly fisherman and his wife. The giant arrives after three days at sea and asks for 'ai (staple carbohydrate, ideally taro) and is told there is no 'ai on the island, that food comes from Honuaula, Maui from time to time. There is only the famine food kupala. There is, however, plenty of salt fish, which Kalaepuni consumes. Thirsty, he asks for water, but there is no fresh water either, only the salt water well, which he enters, to be killed with the rocks [folklore motif number K959.7, "People tricked into a position so that they can be crushed by a heavy, deliberately-dropped object," which is found in other Hawaiian narratives (Kirtley 1971;397)]. Again, the events, though not the composition of the narrative, may be dated by the the chief, Keawenuiaumi, whose genealogical placement (Hommon 1976:124,311) and advanced age would set the story at about AD 1650. This narrative, depicting Kaho'olawe as a place without a permanent source of fresh water, incapable of producing vegetable crops (and thus dependent on nearby parts of Maui), but rich in fish is thus set by the presence of a known figure. The narrative was collected around 1860 or 1870, however, so the conditions described may reflect the state of the island at that time, retrojected some two centuries into the past. Moreover, the narrative is designated a ka'ao in the original Hawaiian, suggesting a contemporary, fictional creation, but the later English translation renders ka'ao as "legend," thus suggesting a degree of historicity. This raises questions as to how literally the narrative was intended to be taken.

For another aspect of Kaho'olawe's past see the narrative concerning the origin of Molokini Island (Fornander 1916-20:V:514-120) which is located between Maui and Kaho'olawe. This is discussed below under the heading "Kapu" in the section "The Island as a Whole."

Also relevant to the pre-contact history of Kaho'olawe is an undated list entitled "Na moi o Kahoolawe," found in the Liliuokalani collection of the Hawaii State archives (Silva 1983c:1). The word "mo'i" is defined as "king, sovereign, ruler, queen" (PE 231), and said to be of relatively recent origin (Stokes, cited in PE). This list of 23 men and three women has been interpreted as a "sequence of ruling chiefs," implying Kaho'olawe's status as a "separate political, socio-economic entity" (Silva:1983b:1). The second of the 24 names is Laamaikahiki. None of the others on the list are mentioned in government correspondence concerning Kaho'olawe, nor have they been found in other historical documents. If the list were a genealogy, and 20 years is assigned to each generation, this would place the Laamaikahiki on the list at roughly the same time period as the voyaging period (as dated by known genealogies).

If the names constituted a sequence of ruling chiefs, however, they

would appear as ruling chiefs in traditions; "None does." (Barrere 1983:1). Neither do the names appear in the genealogies of the Bishop Museum or State Archives (Barrere p 1). Barrere accounts for the appearance of the name Laamaikahiki on the list by pointing out that this name appears "more than once" in 19th century land awards. Barrere (p 1) states the need for biographical searches of the listed names prior to accepting it as evidence of autonomy for Kaho'olawe. On the basis of the data now available she concludes: "Rather than 'ruling chiefs,' this list is quite likely that of lesser chiefs who at various times were konohiki or land managers for superior Maui chiefs whose dominions included Kahoolawe. Such konohiki were called 'headmen' or 'governors' in early missionary accounts." A further search of Maui genealogies (Malcolm Chun, personal communication, 1985) supports this interpretation. A few of the names on the list appear as "sub-names" on those genealogies, suggesting that the list is of haku-'aina (a person in charge of land) or konohiki. Mr Chun thus believes it unlikely that the names on the list are chiefs or that the list implies political autonomy for Kaho'olawe.

so what? why is autonomy important

Finally, several proverbs referring to Kaho'olawe should be set out here, since they are not included in any of the writings specifically concerning the island.

"He hi'u o Kahoolawe, he pewa no ka i'a." Judd (1930:11) translates this as "Kaho'olawe is the tail, the hindmost part of the fish," and interprets it as "You are always late."

"He uku maoli ia, he uku no Kahoolawe." Judd's translation (1930:13) is, "It is real pay, it is like payment from Kaho'olawe," and his interpretation is, "Unexpected payment of a debt."

Closely related is "He uku maoli ia, he i'a no Kaho'olawe." Pukui (1983:102) renders this as, "He is a rebel." She attributes it to a widow of Kamehameha I, who said it in reference to Kekuaokalani who opposed the abolition of the kapu (1819) by Kamehameha's successor and rebelled against him.

?

Also similar is "He i'a ia no Kaho'olawe, he uku." Pukui (1983:69) gives this as, "He shall be made to pay," and points out that it is a play on the word "uku," which may mean "reward or recompence" and is also the name of a fish.

"Kaho'olawe 'ai kupala," "Kaho'olawe eater of kupala," (Pukui 1983:144) refers to this tuber, eaten in time of famine, which grew on Kaho'olawe.

"Pa ka makani o ka moa'e, hele ka lepo o Kaho'olawe i Ma'alaea," is translated by Pukui (1983:284) as, "When the Moa'e wind blows, the dust of Kaho'olawe goes toward Ma'alaea." She comments that this refers to Ma'alaea, Maui. This is somewhat puzzling, for the Moa'e is the Northeast tradewind, which given the relative location of Maui and Kaho'olawe, would blow the dust of Kaho'olawe away from Ma'alaea.

The brevity of proverbs and their multiple meanings render them

ambiguous when taken out of context. Only the fifth proverb, with it's reference to famine food, seems to be a direct comment on the island itself. Others draw on assumptions or beliefs about the nature and significance of Kaho'olawe, but not in a way that is clear and unambiguous to a modern reader. Only the third of the proverbs quoted above is explicitly dated. The last may be no older than the late 19th century when massive erosion caused Kaho'olawe to be associated with the dust mentioned in the proverb. Comment beyond the collectors' interpretations is thus limited and tentative.

The first four proverbs all include references to fish, confirming the island's association with fishing. The reference to kupala is suggestive of a contrasting poverty of agricultural resources.

## Post-contact History to 1941

The ecological and demographic state of the island, its political and economic relations with the rest of the archipelago, its place in the belief systems of Hawaii's residents, and its appeal to the imagination are themes of interest in Kaho'olawe's history. The following summary depends almost entirely on Silva's (1983c) chronology, cited here as "CHRON."

### Terrestrial Ecology

Early accounts (cited above and in CHRON) indicate that the island was "barren" at the time of European contact. As noted previously, this means that it was largely devoid of trees representing a human-induced change from an earlier time when it had a covering of dryland forest.

Early provisioning of troops is cited as one source of environmental deterioration. The Hawaii Island chief Kalaniopuu made a "descent on the island of Kaho'olawe" (CHRON p 2) as part of his depradations on the holdings of the Maui chief Kahekili. Captain Vancouver wrote in 1793 (CHRON p 11) that the Kamehameha wars caused Lanai and Kaho'olawe to change from "fruitful and populous islands" to weedy and depopulated places. The Hawaiian historian Kamakau (1961:188) also mentions Kaho'olawe (cited in CHRON p 13) as one of the Maui dominions used to provision Kamehameha's Hawaii Island army in the mid-1790's.

Historical sources are not entirely consistent, but the island is generally depicted as not having much value for agriculture. Although Kaho'olawe is said to have produced large and fine vegetables (CHRON p 26), according to Kamakau (CHRON p 29), some of the convicts exiled there starved. Other accounts (CHRON P 32, 1841 & 1840-43) indicate "meager patches of yam and pigweed" (kupala), a famine food which causes diarreah if eaten regularly. By the middle of the 19th century, the soil is described as reddish and sterile, and the island as lacking in fresh water. The presence of goats is noted at this time (CHRON p 42).

An 1857 report (CHRON pp 49-51) to Lot Kamehameha describes Kaho'olawe as having "about 3,000 acres of good land" and no fresh water but three sources of brackish water (Kanapou, Waikahalulu, and Ahupu).

There were no large trees inland at that time, but small trees, shrubs, and native grasses are named. The report concludes that goats would be the most suitable animals to raise on Kaho'olawe, sheep also being a possibility, but the raising of cattle not being feasible due to the lack of water. Similarly in 1858 (CHRON pp 53-55, 186,9) the island is described in favorable terms for grazing, and sheep ranching had begun by 1859.

Native Hawaiian plants are vulnerable to herbivores due to their lack of such protective features as poisons, thorns, and harsh odors (Carlquist 1980:173-5). Goats (introduced to Hawaii by Captain Cook in 1778) appeared on Kaho'olawe prior to 1850 (CHRON p 42). [A 1912 newspaper article asserts (CHRON p 87) that goats were put on Kaho'olawe by a Maui chief some time after receiving them from Vancouver.] The first sheep were brought to Kaho'olawe in 1859, cattle in 1881. These herbivores removed the remaining vegetation from most of the island, exposing it to erosion by wind and water, concern about wind erosion being expressed as early as 1881 (CHRON). By 1909 the situation had worsened considerably and a forest reserve was established the next year.

The herbivores were recognized as the primary cause of erosion, and episodic efforts were made to remove them. In 1916, for example, machine guns were used for this purpose (CHRON p 97). With the meat shortages of 1918, use of Kaho'olawe's goats for food became an issue. At the same time, there was dissatisfaction with the progress of reclamation as a forest reserve (CHRON pp 103,4). The island was thus leased to the rancher Angus MacPhee with stipulations that the goats be exterminated, stock be limited in numbers, and that water catchment and storage facilities be developed (CHRON 105,6). Considerable progress toward meeting these conditions was made in the ensuing years, and it was believed in 1929, '30, and '37 that the goats had become "a thing of the past" (CHRON pp 146,157,173,177), though "one small band" was known to remain in 1932 (CHRON p 161).

The most serious erosion seems to have occured during the period beginning sometime after 1859. The lack of water is a leitmotif in the history of efforts to develop Kaho'olawe for agricultural or pastoral purposes (CHRON passim).

Fishing

Archaeological materials indicate that fishing was an important activity on Kaho'olawe prior to European contact (Hommon 1980; McAallister 1933). Fishing seems to have been the most important subsistence activity throughout the 19th century (CHRON 1825, '35, '41, '57, '58). The last reference indicates that the fishermen got much of their vegetable food from Maui. The island is similarly depicted as rich in marine resources though lacking in fresh water and subsistence crops, thus rendering its few fisherfolk residents dependent on Maui for food, in the Kalaepuni tale. Although this narrative is set some two centuries earlier, it was collected some time between 1860 and 1880 and is consistent with other descriptions of Kaho'olawe at that time.

The best known source for fishing around Kaho'olawe is the lawyer

A.D. Kahaulelio, who wrote a series of articles in the Hawaiin language newspaper Ka Nupepa Kuokoa in 1902. These articles have been translated by Mary Pukui, and the following references are to a typescript of that translation. Mr Kahaulelio was an experienced fishermen, most of that experience being in the waters bounded by Maui, Lanai, and Kaho'olawe. He states (p 27) that he fished all around Kaho'olawe and that "on the three Ku nights (of the lunar calendar) the fish ate greedily." In particular he fished the north coast of Kaho'olawe from Kukui to Kealaikahiki (p 14). He practiced a type of fishing (which involves casting a net) called lau 'apo'apo from Kanapou to Kealaikahiki (pp 5,6). Malolo (flying fish) were numerous around Kaho'olawe; they were caught with a net and sold in Lahaina (p 30). Weke (surmullet or goatfish) fishing was done on the Lanai side of Kaho'olawe (p 58). He fished for uhu (parrotfish) on the beaches of Kaho'olawe with pole and line (p 60). He cites a variant of the Kalaepuni legend (Silva 1983a:13) in explanation for Kanapou Bay having the largest makaiauli 'opihi in Hawaii (pp 84-86). ['Opihi are limpet, a highly valued food among Hawaiians; makaiauli are a purplish variety.]

Kaho'olawe was part of a landmark system (along with Maui and Lanai) for locating deep sea fishing grounds (p 14). Kahaulelio names many of the grounds (p 22) but does not state their location. He does cite (pp 24,5) "a fishing ground called Laepaki (Kealalaikahiki)," which appears from the description to be three miles west of Kaho'olawe, as "one of the most productive of the three fishing grounds of Kaho'olawe."

Population

Population figures for Kaho'olawe are generally "suspect" (Schmitt & Silva 1984:43), based on hearsay or contradicted by contemporaneous estimates. Most also lack such details as age, sex, and race. Residents are "often described as 'semi-permanent,'" but there seems to have been a "relatively continuous human presence from pre-contact times to the onset of World War II" (Schmitt & Silva p 44).

Three of those who came with Cook gave population estimates of Kaho'olawe; all believed the island to be uninhabited at that time (Schmitt & Silva p 40); Kenneth Emory has concurred (Schmitt 1968:42). Spriggs (1985) argues that these early visitors only passed the steep southern side of Kaho'olawe and thus would not have seen the areas which would have been most likely to be inhabited (except for Kamohio). Some later 18th century visitors saw fires, and others believed the island to have been depopulated by the Kamehameha wars. Early 19th century visitors' estimates ranged from "well-populated" to uninhabited.

In 1828 the missionary Richards reported a school with 28 scholars [which Schmitt and Silva (p 41) note probably included many of the island's adults]. Around 1830 the government banishment of various offenders to Kaho'olawe increased the population, those already on the island being reluctant to leave. The 1832 and 1836 censuses reported 80 residents, which seems to be the high point for the island's population in historic times. In 1841 the Wilkes expedition found about 15 fisherman and/or convicts and a few old women, who received their (vegetable apparently) food from Maui. In 1858 there were about 50 residents living on Kaho'olawe for most of the year. In 1866 18 persons

lived on Kaho'olawe, 7 of whom had been born there. These included shepherds, manual laborers, housewives and children. Smaller numbers are reported for the cattle ranching period which followed. For much of the 20th century there was only one permanent resident sometimes with wife and/or children; additional cowboys came from time to time to help with the stock, and others visited for recreation. There has been no permanent resident population on Kaho'olawe since military use began in 1941.

Political and Economic Relations

An undated map (Hawaii State Survey Office Document 1126), perhaps from around 1900, indicates that the entire island was an ahupua'a (land division) divided into 'ili (smaller sections). If names on the list (CHRON p 1) discussed in the preceding section on prehistory are konohiki (overseers) rather than ruling chiefs, (an interpretation endorsed by Barrere and Chun, above), a political and economic status equivalent to an ahupua'a (land division) is implied. That is, the island was not an autonomous political unit; it was, rather, an economic unit overseen by a manager who reported to a chief who had control of several such units. Kaho'olawe would thus have been part of the lands of the Maui ruling chief Kahekili at the time of European contact.

Kaho'olawe is included among the lands of Kamehameha III (CHRON p 32). The Mahele Book of 1848 (CHRON p 38), excludes the island from the lands of Kamehameha III and states that it belongs to the government. The first lease for ranching was granted by the government in 1858 (CHRON pp 8-11). A series of leases followed until 1910 when concern over erosion led to establishment of a forest reserve. Efforts at reclamation were believed to be unsuccessful due to the lack of resources of the government, so the island was again leased as a ranch; the governor's stated intention (CHRON p 106) being to "develop the island rather than to exact an extreme rental that would tend to enforce exploitation." Kaho'olawe was leased to MacPhee (later to be joined in partnership by Baldwin) in 1918. With various re-negotiations the cattle ranch and reclamation effort continued until America entered World War II.

Exile and Confinement

The first known record of Kaho'olawe's use as a penal colony is in 1826; a law repealing penal use of the island was enacted in 1853. Silva's (1983b:7,8) summary of this period indicates that both chiefs and commoners were sent there for offenses including theft, burglary, adultery, and murder. The convicts were supervised by an exiled chief, and they lived at Kaulana Bay (CHRON p 35). Due to a lack of food on Kaho'olawe, some of the convicts are said to have swum the channel to Maui in 1841.

According to a Maui informant consulted years after the event (CHRON p 36), they used a wiliwili (a light Hawaiian wood) log to judge the current between Maui and Kaho'olawe. They then worshiped at an altar called Aikupau. No other historical reference to this place is known, but it seems likely that it was not located at Kaulana but at some spot on Kaho'olawe which was closer to Maui. In any event, they

then swam to Maui, obtained food and canoes, and paddled to Lanai Island from whence they brought women prisoners back to Kaho'olawe. This story has gone through a number of forms since it was published in 1902; one version has the log as the vessel for the entire trip; having rendered the tale less plausible, the author (CHRON p 148) then treats it with amused skepticism.

Suggestions that the island be used again as a penal colony have been made from time to time in this century: in 1918 for internment of aliens; in 1929 as a site for Oahu Prison; in 1930 for conservation work by prisoners (the island and the men rehabilitating each other?); in 1948 as a camp for juvenile delinquents. In 1949 and again in 1964 legislators urged that the island be used as a prison (CHRON pp 107,142,151,221,225,264). In 1949 Theodore Kelsey, a noted scholar of Hawaiian culture objected to such proposals as further "desecration" of the island (CHRON p 226), though other considerations have probably weighed more heavily in decisions not to use Kaho'olawe as a prison.

## Beliefs and Attitudes

### Religion

The historical record yields little regarding the religious significance of Kaho'olawe. There is the "altar called Aikupau" at which the convicts worshipped in 1841 (CHRON pp 32,36). King Kalakaua's visit to the island in 1875 is said to have had spiritual purposes, apparently freeing him of defilement associated with King Lunalilo's death. According to Kalakaua's political rival, Queen Emma, he was ordered to do so by a kahuna (priest, diviner, and/or sorcerer) (Korn 1976:288, 290 n). It is not possible to say with certainty why Kaho'olawe was selected and whether this indicates that the island was believed to have special spiritual significance. Historian Nathan Napoka (personal comm) points out that the King's trip to Kaho'olawe was in the context of a royal survey of the realm.

Additional material regarding Kaho'olawe's religious significance came to light after 1975. This will be discussed in due course.

### Attachment to the Land

In 1841 the American Naval Captain and explorer Wilkes (CHRON pp 34,5) cited Kaho'olawe as an example of Hawaiians' "pride in their respective islands." When the government tried to get the residents to leave Kaho'olawe to clear the island for use as a penal colony, they refused to go, the young women refusing to marry unless they be allowed to stay. According to a Maui informant (CHRON p 35), however, most of the former residents left Kaho'olawe after the establishment of the penal colony to return to Honuaula, Maui, the place from which they had come. Also possibly suggestive of attachment to the island is the offer in 1857 by fishermen to buy parcels of land on the coast of Kaho'olawe (CHRON p 51).

### Death and Destruction

Beginning around the turn of the century concern was expressed (CHRON passim) over the erosion caused by several decades of overgrazing. Also in the early years of the 20th century it was

believed that Kaho'olawe was "an island of death with a curse on it" (Ashdown 1979:x). Whatever traditional beliefs existed to that effect were perhaps supported by the death of the Hawaiian captain of the sampan Heeia Maru at Kuhe'eia Bay, headquarters of the MacPhee ranch. It may also be that the destruction of plant life, topsoil, subsoil, and the attempts to erradicate the goats which caused the damage were significantly connected with the belief that the island was associated with death. Both of those who report this belief have written with feeling on the destruction of the island, largely due to feral sheep and goats, and the attempts to destroy the goats. Armine von Tempski (writing in 1919 CHRON p 113) saw the dust blowing from the island as "the blood of Kaho'olawe streaming against the sky." She also writes of the odor of death and decay resulting from killing the goats so the island could live (CHRON p 115). Death — of the island, of animals, and of humans — is also a prominent theme of her novel of Kaho'olawe, Dust.

Adventure

Romance and adventure are also salient in the novel, and are recurring sentiments in the history of the island. The name "Smuggler's Cove" and the island's associations with opium smuggling (e.g., von Tempski 1928:25; Ashdown 1979:38-40; CHRON pp 70, 136-40, 144, & 244) evoke a sense of adventure, and buried treasure was actively sought on Kahoolawe early in this century (Low 1983). One rancher who had held the Kaho'olawe lease said to the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry (minutes of meeting 12/2/1915): "...the only reason in the world I want the Island is for a place to go. There is something in my wild nature that it seems to satisfy. I can go there and it is wild, and when I want to roam around in the wild that is the place for me to go."

## Military History

American military interest in Kaho'olawe extends back to at least the 1920's (Keene 1983). In May of 1941 (CHRON p 197), negotiations for a lease to use part or all of the island as a target range were reported in a Honolulu newspaper. Immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Kaho'olawe Ranch leased bombing rights to Kaho'olawe to the Army for $1 a year (CHRON p 200), the boat used to transfer cattle and supplies to and from the island was comandeered, and the holders of the ranch lease were "banished" (Ashdown 1979:65). Many cattle were removed in 1941, some due to a drought and the rest in anticipation of military use (CHRON p 200).

Kaho'olawe became "the most shot at island in the Pacific" (CHRON p 197) and was an important factor in American military successes in World War II. Over 800 ships practiced naval gunfire on Kaho'olawe until they passed "rigid qualifying tests" prior to providing supporting fire for forces "in almost every major invasion in the Pacific war," including Iwo Jima (CHRON 205-7). Kaho'olawe (generally similar in size and terrain to Saipan) was used by the Marines for a rehearsal of the Mariana campaign in 1944 (CHRON p 204). The island was also used by submarines for test firings of torpedoes.

As early as 1943 (CHRON p 201) concern was expressed by the Hawaii Board of Agriculture and Forestry over the growing numbers of sheep on the island as a cause of further erosion. In 1944 Maui Forester Walter Holt reported (CHRON p 203) the Army's position that removal of sheep and goats must be deferred for the duration of the war due to the danger of unexploded ordnance. In 1945 Inez Ashdown, daughter of the last Kaho'olawe rancher, Angus McPhee, found that the houses, tanks, and cisterns had been reduced to "rubble." According to Ashdown (1979:66; CHRON p 289), the initial agreement with the military had been to limit target practice to the southwest tip of the island. The water development improvements and herbivore control program had been carried out at considerable expense in work and money by the Kaho'olawe Ranch, and substantial progress seems to have been made (CHRON 199-200, 216-18, 229-30). Whether these improvements could have been maintained without hindering the war effort is an unresolved issue.

After the war, the Army wished to continue military use for an indefinite period (CHRON p 212). In 1952 a "special land committee" recommended to the governor that Kaho'olawe be turned over to the Department of Defense, and it was ceded by the Territory of Hawaii to the Federal government; in the same year the lease of the Kaho'olawe Ranch Co was cancelled (CHRON 232,253). In 1953 President Eisenhower by executive order returned Kaho'olawe to the Territory of Hawaii but placed the island under the jurisdiction of the Navy (CHRON 233). Mrs Ashdown made efforts to return the island to ranching and to receive compensation (1979:65-70; CHRON passim), but these have been unsuccessful.

Military use has varied according to perceived needs to the present. In addition to general trends, a few episodes are of interest. In 1950 the Strategic Air Command denied that Kaho'olawe was used as a target for high-level bombing by Texas-based bombers (CHRON p 227). In 1965 500 tons of TNT was exploded at the west end of the island south of Smuggler's Cove in a project known as "Sailor's Hat." The purpose of the project was to test the effects of a nuclear-strength airblast on nearby ships (without using nuclear weapons), and it was considered a success (CHRON 263-4, 266-7). The resulting salt water-filled crater is still known as "Sailor's Hat."

Around 1964 military interest in Kaho'olawe became stronger due to "increased activity in Southeast Asia." The island was used by Marine surface and aviation units as well as Navy aircraft carriers and was said to be "'absolutely essential' to national security" (CHRON pp 252-3). As the war intensified in 1967, increasingly heavy use of the island was made by the military (e.g. CHRON 271). In 1968 Rear Admiral Fred E. Bakutis said (CHRON p 273), "There will always be a need for this range so long as we have to keep people ready for combat."

Civilian concerns and complaints about the use of the island began to be heard about this time. In 1967 and again in 1969 the Maui Humane Society expressed concern over the goat population having been allowed to increase to the point of periodic starvation (CHRON 269-70, 293). On January 8, 1969 intense use of the target range combined with

atmospheric conditions to rattle the windows and homes of large sections of Maui, resulting in numerous complaints (CHRON pp 278-9). In the same month a civilian pilot complained angrily to the FAA of a near miss with a Navy plane when the airspace around the island was supposed to be clear (CHRON pp 278-9, 282). Also in 1969 the Maui County Council protested Navy bombing of Kaho'olawe, anticipating a negative impact on major resort and residential developments planned for West Maui.

The year 1969 continued to be a bad one for Navy-civilian relations over Kaho'olawe. The state legislature passed resolutions against bombing the island (CHRON p 253). Maui Mayor Elmer Cravalho emerged as a leader of a movement to stop the bombing and return the island to the county and state and began to question whether the Navy was in compliance with provisions of the 1953 executive order (e.g., CHRON pp 297-300). In September 1969 a live 500-pound bomb was found in a Maui pasture belonging to this same Mayor Cravalho (CHRON 299,300)! The following week U.S. Representative Matsunaga asked the Secretary of Defense to halt all bombing on Kaho'olawe to avert "a major disaster." Later the Navy explained that the bomb must have fallen from the wing rack of a plane overflying Maui; in other words, this was not a case of aiming a bomb at Kaho'olawe and having it land eight miles away on Maui (CHRON pp 307-8). This episode nevertheless continues to be a source of embarrassment to the Navy. Some fifteen years later a member of the Protect Kaho'olave 'Ohana mentioned it in a presentation to the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology, implying that culturally important sites on Kaho'olawe were endangered by inaccurate ordnance delivery.

Finally, 1969 is the year in which the issue of Kaho'olawe's sanctity first appeared in public print. Mrs Ashdown was quoted by a Honolulu newspaper (A 4/4/69 cited in CHRON p 289): the Navy was bombing "kapu areas, sacred to the Hawaiian people." Also mentioned was a well known incident at Pearl Harbor where violation of a Hawaiian taboo is thought by some to have resulted in the collapse of a large construction project. The article ended on an apparently jocular note, inquiring whether the commanding admiral had a kahuna (Hawaiian religious practitioner) on his staff.

## Kaho'olawe Since 1976

By 1976 the Hawaiian Renaissance, discussed earlier, had begun. This involved a resurgence of ethnic pride and identity, concern over conservation of natural resources, and and assertion of Hawaiian economic and political rights (Lueras in B&A 1/4/76).

The phrase "aloha 'aina," literally love of land, means patriotism [as used historically at the time of the loss of Hawaiian sovereignty (McKinzie 1985)] as well as attachment to and concern for natural resources. This term, discussed further in later sections of this report, was soon to be heard, and the related set of sentiments it expresses constitute important contextual elements for the events discussed below.

These events include: a series of illegal landings on Kaho'olawe by native Hawaiians and others; the associated disappearance of two young Hawaiians in the waters off the island; prosecutions for trespassing; listing of the entire island in the National Register of Historic Places; a civil suit filed by native Hawaiians against the Secretary of Defense and certain naval officers regarding environment, cultural preservation, and cultural/religious access; agreement to joint military - civilian use of Kaho'olawe; and the establishment of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and its claim to the role of steward of the island.

### Landings

In January, 1976 a "symbolic occupation" of Kaho'olawe was heralded in a combined Sunday edition of the Honolulu Star Bulletin and Advertiser (1/4/76). (These daily newspapers are cited as "SB" and "A," respectively.) The article said the planned event was "designed as a Hawaiian version of the American Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay a few years ago." Subsequently nine persons landed on the island. The penalty for knowing trespass was then reported to be a $5000 fine and up to one year in prison. Charles Maxwell was quoted as saying the island belongs to the Hawaiian people and that it was "high time something was done to get it back from the military" (SB 1/5/76).

Two of the nine who landed, Walter Ritte and Emmett Aluli, remained on the island after the other seven were removed by Coast Guard helicopter. Lacking provisions, they signaled another helicopter and were taken away two days later (SB 1/6/76). The two, cited for trespass, urged the end of bombing on Kaho'olawe, asserted the rights of native Hawaiians on ancestral soil, and were said to be "torn by emotion"; both spoke of the island's beauty; Ritte wept and said "We saw huge boulders - you know Hawaiians worship boulders - split by the bombing ... if my grandparents had seen this they would cry." [See, e.g., Malo (1971) for the spiritual (p 83) as well as technological (pp 19,20) value of stones in Hawaiian culture.] Aluli claimed heiaus (Hawaiian temples) had been used as targets by the Navy. The two were also said to be sustained by an attachment to "the (rain) goddess Hine." (SB 1/7/76; A 1/7/76, 1/8/76).

A telegram was sent to President Ford protesting "desecration (of the land) and downgrading of native Hawaiians." The telegram's

signature, the "Kaho'olawe Nine," echoed earlier social protests on the mainland United States. One of the nine was an American Indian who had spent several months on Alcatraz during the Indian occupation of that island. Alongside this mainland influence was a consciously recognized history of Hawaiian opposition to American control. George Helm, also among those who landed on the island, sang the song "Kaulana na Pua," written in 1893 in opposition to the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; this still-popular, Hawaiian language song refers "To the paper of the enemy/ With its sin of annexation/ and sale of native civil rights" (SB 1/8/76).

Shortly thereafter, Ritte, his wife, his sister, and Aluli returned to Kaho'olawe "to carry out an ultimatum that was cabled to President Ford...," according to Charles Maxwell, who said he had been "flooded with calls from old and young Hawaiians...." He went on to say that this "could very well develop into another Alcatraz with people going in armed and willing to sacrifice their lives" (SB 1/13/76).

"Those Hawaiians are crazy," said Henry Madeiros, a 53 year old cowboy who had worked for a few weeks each year from 1937 through '41 on Kaho'olawe. He had called the Honolulu Star Bulletin to object to activist reports of the island's beauty: "Hardly anything grows there because there's no water." He indicated that rainfall came in annual cloudbursts which left the barren slopes slippery as glaciers (SB 1/13/76). Also during this period (see Documentary Sources Appendix) an environmentalist asserted Kaho'olawe's ecological potential (if the goats were removed); politicians (county, state, and federal) and newspaper editorials expressed sympathy for the return of Kaho'olawe to the state; the issues of the island's archaeological and historical significance were raised; and columnist Sammy Amalu (SB 1/6/76) saw the island as "symbolic" of the relationship of people to an intractable government and as a reminder of "the host of indignities and wrongs that have been visited upon the native and aboriginal people of these islands."

Back on Kaho'olawe the Navy "curtailed bombing" and asked the Coast Guard to find the second group (SB 1/14/76). Aluli, a physician, was the first to leave; unable to flag down a search plane, he was found by a Honolulu television station's helicopter (SB 1/15/76). When the others returned on a Coast Guard helicopter, Ritte was arrested by the FBI. He was charged with "trespassing on a military reservation where he had once been arrested and had been warned he could not go." The US attorney requested that he be restricted to the islands of Oahu and Molokai, but Federal Judge Young ruled that Ritte could travel "anywhere in the world - except to Kaho'olawe." Over a dozen supporters arrived for the arraignment; Dr Aluli gave him a hinahina lei. [Hinahina is a silvery, native Hawaiian beach plant; it is the "flower of Kaho'olawe." Each island has its representative flower and color; Kaho'olawe's color is gray). Some of these representations appear to have been part of aboriginal culture; others are more recent; the origins of Kaho'olawe's flower and color are unknown.] Walter Ritte was freed on $500 bail.

Permission for a third landing for religious purposes was denied by the Navy (A 1/22/76, 1/23/76) on the grounds that unexploded ordnance

would create a safety hazard. Ritte stressed the religious aspect of a Hawaiian renaissance: Older Hawaiians "that were brought up as Christians used to back away from discussion of the ancient Hawaiian beliefs. But now they have seen what we felt on that island and are beginning to tell us about the old beliefs" (A 1/24/76). Later the Navy granted permission for the ceremonies (A 2/11/76). Religious rites invoking the ancient gods to return to the island were performed on Kaho'olawe by native Hawaiian religious practitioners Sam Lono and Emma DeFries. These involved presentation of offerings, chanting of Hawaiian prayers, and ritual preparation of 'awa root beverage. According to Ritte the "ceremony was intended to sanctify and enhance efforts to end military use of Kaho'olawe" (SB 2/14/76).

Ritte and Aluli, both under court order to stay off of Kaho'olawe, were seen there during the ritual. Ritte said he went to Maui to see the worshipers off, not intending to go on the trip. At that time the kahuna (priest or religious specialist) Sam Lono convinced him to go (A 2/28/76): "We're only going for a religious ceremony, a Hawaiian religious ceremony. Every Hawaiian has a right to go. As a kahuna I'm telling you you have a right to attend these ceremonies." Ritte remembers: "Sam said some people don't believe Hawaiians have a religion. What do you believe? And I said the Hawaiians have a religion." Ritte also said that some Hawaiians thought he went to Kaho'olawe for purposes of self-aggrandizement but denied this (A 2/28/76). Later Ritte was found to have forfeited bail restrictions and to be in contempt of court. Both kahunas (DeFries and Lono) testified that they told Ritte to attend the Kaho'olawe ceremonies. He forfeited the $500 bail, and a new bail of of $1000 was set. US Magistrate Thomas Young, recognizing "unique circumstances," imposed no sanction for contempt of court and left the forfeiture in abeyance pending appeal (A 3/11/76). In a later interview Ritte stated the relationship among land, elders, and Hawaiian culture. He seemed imply that not all Hawaiians supported stopping the bombing of Kaho'olawe but that all would understand the right to access. He "made a promise to the island" that he would show how it was being abused (A 6/22/76).

The Civil Suit

Emmett Aluli, Walter Ritte, Loretta Ritte, George Helm, and Charles Maxwell, sued Secretary of Defense Brown and various naval officers. [The case in the US District Court (civil no 76-0380) is hereafter referred to as Aluli v Brown.] Thirteen claims were brought for violation of laws and executive orders relating to historic preservation and environmental protection. It was also claimed that First Amendment religious right were violated by orders barring Aluli and Ritte from participating in rites held on Kaho'olawe (SB 10/13/76). Results of the suit are discussed below, primarily under the heading, "The Consent Decree."

George Helm

At this time George Helm, another of the young Molokai Island Hawaiians who had landed on Kaho'olawe, emerged as a spiritual and political leader of widely recognized charismatic power. He was recognized as head of the organization which came to be known as the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana ('ohana means family in this context; this

group is referred to as the PKO here). He worked as a musician, and his music as well as the force of his ideas and personality helped in his efforts to unify diverse segments of the Hawaiian community (Morales 1984); he was able to attract kupuna (respected elders) who were reluctant to support other activists.

In late January, 1977, Helm returned to Kaho'olawe with four others (Morales p 23). Two of these, Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer, stayed on for a total of 35 days (Ritte and Sawyer 1978). Helm was intensely active during this period. He announced that if the politicians didn't act, "Hawaii will see another wounded Knee happening here" (SB 2/10/77). He spoke to the Hawaii State House of Representatives in an unprecedented citizen presentation. His speech was described as "emotionally charged" in article titled "House Backed Into Support of Kahoolawe" (SB 2/11/77). Helm was reported to have criticized the representatives for nor taking up the Kaho'olawe issue earlier and to have said a resolution favoring peaceful use of Kaho'olawe would "help to bridge the gap between the politicians and the people who elected them." He also reportedly said, "I came here today to ask you to save some people's lives." The article seems to interpret this as a reference to earlier statements in which Wounded Knee was mentioned: "Helm has vowed to turn the Kahoolawe controversy into another Wounded Knee ... bloody ... violent if Hawaii's politicians fail to take his stand seriously." The text of the speech (as reported in Morales 1984:69,70) seems to indicate that the reference to saving lives refers to the presence at that time of Ritte and Sawyer on Kaho'olawe while bombing of the island continued; efforts were being made at the same time to obtain a court order temporarily restricting bombing while the protestors were on the island (SB 2/10/77, 2/11/77). Subsequent events leave no doubt that this was a matter of grave concern to Helm.

Three days later George Helm and Francis Ka'uhane went to Washington to see President Carter and the Hawaii congesssional delegation. In a story entitled "Reply to Ohana in Washington: KaWHOlawe" (A 2/19/77), they were reported to have received a cold reception. Three of Hawaii's congressmen were in Hawaii for Navy briefing on Kaho'olawe, and President Carter was on vacation (Morales 1984:25). The PKO contingent encountered "indifference and ignorance": "The people don't know what a native Hawaiian is." They were disappointed in the lack of support from the congressmen; Representative Akaka (the only native Hawaiian in the Hawaii delegation) was the only one who helped; both Helm and Ka'uhane singled out the senior delegate, Senator Inouye, as powerful enough to help but unwilling to do so (A 2/19/77). In a letter to the President the two expressed concern for the future of the Hawaiian people, erosion on Kaho'olawe due to neglect, those on the island while the bombing continued, and their hope to prevent a Hawaiian version of Wounded Knee. They also (Morales pp 65,66) said they had been arrested for visiting an island "which was considered to be very sacred to Hawaiians."

Concern for the two on the island accompanied by portentous dreams and signs (Morales pp 28,29) prompted another trip to Kaho'olawe in early March, 1977. George Helm and Kimo Mitchell went by boat to the island in search of Ritte and Sawyer, who had already left. Helm and

Mitchell entered the water near Kaho'olawe with a third man, Billy Mitchell (no relation to Kimo); they had two surfboards among their equipment. Two days later Helm and Kimo Mitchell were reported missing at sea. Billy Mitchell, the lone survivor, said they had tried to paddle back to Maui (Billy Mitchell on the larger surfboard, George and Kimo sharing the smaller one), that the other two were in trouble in heavy seas near Molkini Island between Maui and Kaho'olawe, and that he had gone back to Kaho'olawe for help. Rescue attempts resulted in recovery of the other surfboard, but neither of the missing men was ever seen again.

Accounts of these events (Morales pp 30-32,82,83; A 3/9/77, 3/10/77, 6/4/77, 6/24/77; and especially the now defunct Maui newspaper, The Valley Isle 6/15-6/28/77) raise questions which remain unanswered: What happened to the boat that was to have picked them up? Maui police are reported to have said the boat sank of "natural causes"; other indications are that it was scuttled by unscrewing plugs. Why would the three, two of whom were experienced watermen, leave Kaho'olawe in heavy seas on two surfboards? Kimo's father said he thought it unlikely that his son would take that chance. What would be the motive for foul play? Helm was reported to have stated publicly that he was about to reveal corruption in high places regarding land and water issues. [Hawaii's leading contemporary historian (Hawaii Observer 5/28/74) sees land and water as the key issues in the archipelago's history. As earlier sections of this report show, a central feature of Hawaiian economic history is separation of native Hawaiians from land and water.] George Helm is reported (e.g., A 6/24/77) to have publicly named a well known individual as a the head of organized crime in the state; he is also reported to have said this man had already threatened his life. Little more was said about this after one of Hawaii's most successful criminal lawyers sued the Valley Isle and other newspapers and television stations which carried the story (A 6/24/77). The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana officially disavowed the 'foul play' theory (A 6/23/77), although some individuals continue to be unsatisfied.

Several of those charged with trespassing on Kaho'olawe were sentenced (A 7/27/77; SB 7/27/77). Judge King imposed sentences which included probation, fines, and one two month jail term. Ritte and Sawyer, who had spent the longest time on the island, requested another judge, prior to sentencing. Prosecution and defense agreed their actions were nonviolent, and visiting Federal Judge Gordon Thompson called military bombing of the island "deplorable." He then sentenced the two on July 26, 1977 to the maximum penalty, six months imprisonment and a fine of $500.

Ritte said they were not against the law or court but were only trying to save the island. Sawyer spoke of the deaths of Helm and Mitchell. The government prosecutor, a Navy lieutenant, mentioned the example set by trespassing and the danger to searchers.

Some sixty supporters, including Emma DeFrieze, turned out for the sentencing. The two defendants were pictured shirtless, in malos (loincloths, standard apparel for Hawaiian men of old but seldom seen in the Twentieth Century), with hinahina leis. A ti leaf (a plant

associated with health and spiritual well being in Hawaii and elsewhere in the Pacific) was tied to the antenna of their car.

In September, 1977 Federal Judge Dick Yin Wong found in the civil case mentioned earlier, Aluli v Brown, that the Navy had broken environmental and historic preservation laws but that the use of the island as a bombing target would not be stopped (SB 9/15/77). The Navy was found to be in violation of two parts of the 1953 Executive Order (No 10436) reserving Kaho'olawe for use by the Navy and of parts of the National Environmental Policy Act. Wong ordered (A 9/16/77) the Navy to submit nominations of archaeological sites already identified to the National Register of Historic Places rather than waiting some eighteen months until the archaeological survey was completed. He further ordered the Navy to "comply forthwith" with the executive order and to act for the "protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment." [Point no 2 of the Executive Order requires that the number of herbivores on Kaho'olawe "shall not exceed 200." Since their introduction in the 19th century, the animals have done more to degrade the environment than any other factor. One historian (MacDonald 1972:86,87) suggested that the Navy and the goats had a symbiotic relationship, the animals' continuing devegetation of the island weakening arguments that Kaho'olawe had value for purposes other than target practice.] Judge Wong held at the same time that an injunction against bombing would be a hardship against the defendants in the form of loss of military readiness. Emmett Aluli (A 9/19/77) saw inconsistency in failure to punish the Navy for breaking the law in view of the penalties exacted from Ritte and Sawyer in previous criminal proceedings; he nevertheless called the rulings, "A victory of the Hawaiian People."

Archaeology and Historic Places

It is necessary for purposes of clarity to isolate one theme, the issue of historic places, before returning to the general, chronologically ordered review. "As a result of Wong's ruling, the Navy has been conducting a survey of the island for possible historic sites." Thus the Honolulu Advertiser (5/18/79) concluded that the suit filed by Aluli et al (in effect the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana) caused the Navy to commission archaeological research. Later (A 8/19/80) the Navy determined 171 (of over 500) sites were worthy of being preserved. The PKO called this a "token effort" toward identification of historically important resources on the island. States archaeolgist Earl Neller said everything on the list was important. Archaeologist Robert Hommon (then employed by Hawaii Marine Research, which had done the archaeological survey) said all of the over 500 sites should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (A&B 11/9/80). "The Hawaii State Board of Land and Natural Resources recommended the entire island of Kaho'olawe" be registered as an archaeological district with the National Register of Historic Places" (A 11/22/80). At the same time Board Chairman Susumo Ono was reported to say the recommendation would not have a significant effect on the Navy's military operations even if accepted. An editorial in the Advertiser (11/28/80) commended the board's decision, also pointing out that it would not preclude military use. It went on to express hope for reduced tension between the Navy and PKO and for eventual return of the island to the state.

On January 28, 1981 the island of Kaho'olawe was designated a historic place (SB 1/28/81). An editorial in the Honolulu Star Bulletin (2/2/81) recognized the inclusion of all sites as a victory for the PKO, while still taking the position that shared use with the Navy was necessary.

In August, 1981 a draft of a Cultural Resource Management Plan was prepared (Ahlo 1981). Two months later this report was interpreted in a newspaper article (SB & A 10/4/81) as dismissing many of the archaeological sites of Kaho'olawe as redundant from an informational standpoint and stating that it was not feasible to preserve all sites if military training is to continue on Kaho'olawe. The article (SB & A 10/4/81) quoted PKO spokesperson Puanani Burgess as saying the report was a "sham" which ignored the importance of looking at Kaho'olawe "as a whole" rather than at individual sites. The draft plan (p13) does, however, quote an earlier (Hommon 1980a) report's reference to the "usefulness of (Kaho'olawe archaeological) information ... within the pattern as a whole." Leaving the fairness of this characterization of the report on one side, the article does reflect a continuing resolve on the part of the PKO to monitor treatment of the island's cultural and other resources. The danger of damage to archaeological sites was offered in support of unsuccessful legal efforts to halt joint US foreign bombing of Kaho'olawe in the biannual RIMPAC exercises in April 1982 (A 4/14/82). The following month (SB 5/17/82) the PKO reported "some major damage"to the sites it had visited after the exercises. [The researcher was present at the PKO base camp on Kaho'olawe when hikers reported that a site had apparently been damaged by bombing or strafing. The mood was one of jubilance, presumably due to a belief that the Navy had been caught in wrongdoing.]

In May, 1982 the film "Hawaii's Endangered Past - a Matter of Time," premiered at the Bishop Museum. The film, produced by the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology, showed in a positive light the archaeological survey of Kaho'olawe, the largest ever conducted in Hawaii. Nothing was said of the PKO. Bo Kahui, described (SB 5/27/82) as "Oahu leader of the PKO," said "If it weren't for the 'Ohana archaeologists would never have gone to Kaho'olawe .... As a result of the 'Ohana's effort, we got the whole island nominated for the National Register of Historic Sites." Haunani-Kay Trask is quoted as invoking the spirit of George Helm: "People died to force the Navy to save the island." The preceding outline of events supports Kahui's assessment of the PKO's role in causing recent archaeological research to be done on Kaho'olawe. The archaeological survey was initiated a few weeks after the first landing in 1976 (A 1/24/76), and the most intensive phases of the survey were carried out in the contest of the lawsuit. To the extent that the film implied that the Navy's support for archaeological research on Kaho'olawe was spontaneous and self-motivated, it appears to have been misleading. [Trish Patten, who made the film, pointed out that a copy of the script was sent to the PKO for review, but that there had been no response (SB 5/27/82), so the sound track was produced. Subsequently the film was edited to make it more palatable to the PKO, and to a local bottle museum, whose managers also felt they had been misrepresented.]

The Consent Decree

Returning to the PKO suit against the Navy, Aluli v Brown, visiting Federal Judge William Schwartzer in May, 1979 "strongly suggested that the Navy and PKO should negotiate a settlement in the two year old lawsuit" (A 5/18/79). He reminded the Navy that the law required protection of historic sites and told PKO attorneys that they must be realistic and must not expect the island to be "handed back to them on a silver platter." On December 1, 1980 a consent decree and order was signed in the case of Aluli v Brown. The decree recognizes that the PKO "seeks to act as stewards" of the island; precludes, with some exceptions, further litigation in the case; and provides for land management, ocean management, military operations controls, an archaeology plan, and access to the island. Land management includes soil conservation, goat control, and clearance of surface ordnance from 10,000 acres. Ocean management precludes ordnace delivery in Kaho'olawe's waters except in emergencies. Military operations controls limit use of live ordnance (with records to be kept), prohibit biological or chemical weapons, require standard operating procedures to prevent damage to archaeological sites on the National Register, and prohibit indiscriminatnt bombing of targets of opportunity. The archaeological provision requires the Navy to finish the archaeology survey, forward a Multiple Resources Nomination Overview to the Keeper of the National Register, and submit a comprehensive management plan. The interim plan requires that sites be clearly marked in areas to be used by ground troops, targets to be well away from sites (300 meters for aircraft, 500 m for naval gunfire targets), erosion control for endangered sites, consultation with plaintiffs in the case of exposure of burials, and placement of any removed artifacts in the Maui Museum. Provision is made for access for religious, cultural, scientific, and environmental purposes during ten months of each year and for semiannual negotiation. The decree also provides numerous specific requirements and arrangements for monitoring not included in the preceding summary.

Judge Schwartzer congratulated the attorneys and reminded the parties they are neighbors (A12/2/80). Although the decree stabilized the situation to some degree, it is clear that the fundamental goals and assumptions of the contending parties remain different. The access has become institutionalized [see Keene (1983:25-45) and Whitten (A 7/2/82) for accounts of accesses]. Negotiations continue in accordance with the decree. The PKO continues in political, cultural, and religious activities which focus on Kaho'olawe and other areas believed to be threatened. Public interest in Kaho'olawe, as indicated by the number of articles in local newspapers (see documentary Sources Appendix), waxes and wanes, especially as the PKO mobilizes to protest the biannual RIMPAC multinational naval exercises which involve bombing Kaho'olawe.

Specific events and some of their implications have been discussed in this brief review. More will be said of the PKO and other Hawaiian organizations and views in subsequent sections of this report. Some of these other views are presaged in part here beginning with economic considerations.

Economics

Kaho'olawe's economic significance is an issue that has been raised

from time to time over the years. The following references are representative of the range of opinion. In a letter to the Honolulu Advertiser (1/17/76) a member of the Navy League states that the Navy needs Kaho'olawe for training; that the island has no other economic use; and that loss of revenue, even partial, from reduction in military forces would have a strong negative effect on the state's economy. An article citing a Marine general (S 2/21/76) spells this out further: the Marines have to train; there are no other suitable training sites in the state (reference to Environmental Impact Statement); a large number of Marines might have to pull out if Kaho'olawe were denied to them for training.

Those who take this possibility at face value (see the Pearl Harbor Association's "Which Shall it Be?") point out that the economic effects of a military pullout would be catastrophic. Other reactions include: the assertion that Kaho'olawe does have economic value and the statement that the state should not be so dependant economically on the military (A 1/23/76); expressions of resentment that the military is in effect blackmailing the state with threats to leave Hawaii [attributed to Hawaii Legislator Neil Abercrombie (SB 2/19/76)]; expressions of doubt: Maui mayor Elmer Cravalho is said (SB 2/24/76) to regard military threats to leave Hawaii in large numbers, if denied the use of Kaho'olawe, as "pure bunk" and "scare tactics." Finally, there is the assertion of Hawaiian rights irrespective of economic considerations (A 1/23/76). In an article which repeatedly mentions the potential adverse economic impact of military withdrawal, Emmett Aluli is described (A&SB 2/15/76) as reacting "calmly" to the idea that the military might leave Hawaii. He is also reported to have observed that visitors to Kaho'olawe are inspired by the experience to oppose commercial development on other Hawaiian islands.

## Cultural Significance of Kaho'olawe

### Cultural Values

The draft cultural resource management plan for Kaho'olawe (Ahlo 1981:19,53) recommends that "cultural values" and "cultural significance" should be taken into account in management of the island's resources. The plan explicitly reserves formal definition or extensive discussion (pp 18,19) of these concepts for future scholarship, but it does give some indication of what is meant: "The concept of cultural significance is an intensely emotional one, defined ... by feelings and associations [rather than, e.g., quantitative archaeological data]." The plan (p 19) cites the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Handbook which recognizes the importance of "cultural values" and that properties may represent cultural values or be "valuable to a local community for for cultural reasons" other than or in addition to historical or archaeological value.

Emotions, feelings, and associations are said to help define cultural significance. And cultural values apparently can be contemporaneous, for they may be distinct from archaeological and historical values. Value is used here in the everyday sense of importance or worth, so that a culturally valued property would be one regarded by people sharing a common culture as useful, important or having worth. Cultural significance and cultural values may also be related to "values" as this concept is usually understood by social scientists - i.e., generalized goals or guides to behavior which are regarded as normatively right and to which an emotional commitment is made. Properties might thus be reflective or symbolic of such attitudinal values.

Culture like the other concepts under discussion has been given many definitions (see, e.g., Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952); but the following is representative: "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior" (Spradley 1975:380). "Cultural significance," is used here in accordance with this definition. [Even an inclusive conception of culture may, however, have a residue of the commonly held assumption that the arts, e.g., European grand opera, are especially "cultural" (Wagner 1978).] "A culture" is another frequent usage; in this case the term is used to designate a people who share the acquired knowledge referred to in the previous definition. When the term is used in this way, the people denoted are assumed to be distinct from other cultures, and each is considered largely as an isolated unit, with little attention given to the achievement and maintenance of cultural distinction. Such an approach is perhaps becoming more and more a fiction as peoples come in closer and more frequent contact with each other.

The aim of the present study is to identify places of cultural significance, and this requires a set of criteria. One source of such criteria is a report prepared for the US Forest Service (Theodoratus 1979). The report is relevant in that it seeks (p 3) to "identify cultural properties and evaluate their significance to Native Americans"

and to assess the impact of proposed federal use of the region. The report specifies six concerns, four of which involve indigenous religious belief or practice: 1) location of "cultural properties"; 2) assessment of the "religious significance" of the general region; 3) verification of the "presence of an ongoing, shared religious system in the area" and determination of whether the contemporary system is "traditional" or "idiosyncratic"; 4) the nature and extent of contemporary religious use; 5) the effect of federal use on traditional and/or contemporary use; and 6) other "traditionally derived, culturally significant practices" which would be adversely affected by federal use.

The following criteria (pp 3,10) are either explicitly stated or implied by this model report: Authenticity of contemporary beliefs and practices depends in part on their being traditional or "traditionally derived" and shared rather than "idiosyncratic." Religion is especially important (e.g. pp 415-17). The ethnography section of the report employs these criteria, showing that the general area under study was used by nearby Indians in the past for hunting, foraging for food, gathering craft materials, and for spiritual and medical activities including training of practitioners, meditation, and rituals. Care was taken to show (esp pp 69-71) that these activities are traditional in the sense that they were practiced in the past, that they are ongoing, and that they have "continuity through time." Also, although a relatively small proportion of the Indians used the area in question, the activities which take place there are supported by the larger community which in turn is thought to benefit spiritually and medically (p 61).

The same study also indicates (Theodoratus 1979:10) that sites may not be precisely measurable, e.g. in terms of square feet, that sites are defined qualitatively rather than quantitatively, in part by their "psychological" and "sensory aspects." One implication of such a definition is that the cultural value of a site may be destroyed or degraded without direct disturbance of its physical features, for example by interfering with privacy (p 63), by making noise, or by blighting the surrounding landscape [for a pristine vista may be part of a site (pp 75,83)]. Moreover, examples indicate that places may be imbued with spiritual power or cultural value without any sort of structure or monument; a waterfall and pool or natural rock formation and vista could be an important site. Finally, the region (pp 59,420) and some of its sites appear to be unique; valued activities cannot be carried out elsewhere.

Hawaiian Sites

Specifically Hawaiian criteria for for cultural significance may be abstracted from accounts of places which are of undoubted historical and cultural significance to the Hawaiian people. Descriptions of four such places and a list of their distinguishing characteristics follow.

Kamakahonu

This section of land is located at Kailua, Kona, Hawaii Island. Kamehameha the Great lived there during the last years of his reign (1813-19). He died there, and his remains were kept there for a short

time. Shortly after his death, the taboo system which was a fundamental feature of Hawaiian culture and society was brought to an end by Kamehameha's successor and widows at Kamakahonu. Later the first Christian missionaries landed at this spot to request permission to carry on their work.

Kamakahonu had been a chiefly residence before Kamehameha acquired it. An ancient temple was located there; restored by Kamehameha, it was used for the worship of the god Lono and other deities and spirits for the benefit of king and kingdom. After the abolition of the kapu system, some of the large religious images ("idols") were allowed to escape desecration for a time, though the last of these had disappeared by 1845. (Barrere 1975)

Honaunau

Honaunau in South Kona, Hawaii is a particularly famous pu'uhonua, or sanctuary. It is a large structure. Emory regards the large wall at Honaunau as "the most impressive monument of ancient Hawaii."(Emory et al 1957:2) The missionary Ellis (1969:168-9) found it to measure 715 feet by 404 feet. Ellis reports three large temples there. Keawe, high chief of the Island of Hawaii, established the refuge some centuries before the arrival of Captain Cook. His "deified bones" and those of "other high chiefs" were kept there in woven caskets.

According to Barrere, (Emory et al 1957:52) human sacrifices were offered though "not required" on the temple at Honaunau known as Hale o Keawe. Hale o Keawe survived the desecration of temples in 1819 (Emory et al p 12) "because it was a royal mausoleum." Ellis (quoted in Emory et al p 13) found a large village (147 houses) at Honaunau and noted that the surrounding region was populous.

Kukaniloko

Kukaniloko is a group of large, smooth stones embedded in the red soil near Wahiawa, Oahu. Formerly a temple was also located there. It is famous as one of two birthplaces of Hawaiian aristocrats (Sterling & Summers 1978:12,139-41). Only those of high rank could give birth there and the rank of the child was further enhanced [in the form of special "distinction, privileges, and tabus" (Fornander 1975 II:20,1)] by birth at this sacred spot. Royal birth at Kukaniloko was accompanied by rites involving 48 high chiefs, beating of two named, sacred drums, ritual cutting of the navel cord, and the presence of a multitude of commoners (at a respectful distance). It is a place of great antiquity (Sterling & Summers p 139). Kukaniloko was a sanctuary (Ii 1959:138). It was the birthplace of ruling chiefs of Oahu, and Kamehameha the Great made an unsuccessful effort for his successor to be born there. Kukaniloko was among the first sites to be preserved by the Daughters of Hawaii, the event being marked by meles sung by Hawaiians of the region and by ho'okupus (gifts of fish, leis, and ('awa?) roots) placed in pockets in the rocks. One Hawaiian scholar (Kenn 1937:50, based on recollections of an informant) translates the name Kukaniloko as "an inland area from which great events are heralded." He sees a "beautiful pregnant woman" in the profile of the Waianae Mountain Range which forms the backdrop of this site (thus the vista is incorporated into the site both

aesthetically and in its associations with childbirth). During a visit to Kukaniloko this year, two small stone circles (c one foot in diameter) were seen there; inside one was a ti leaf wreath; the other surrounded a dying aloe plant (aloe is wrongly believed by many to be a native Hawaiian plant).

Kualoa

This Oahu land division is famous, sacred, ancient, associated with aristocrats, storied, and rich in natural and created resources (Sterling & Summers 1978:177-184; PNH p 119; Kamakau 1961:129). A sacred hill and ridge are located there. It was suitable for the offering of sacrifices. At least one temple was located there, and sacred ritual drums belonged to Kualoa. As a sanctuary (pu'uhonua), Kualoa was associated with a ruling chief.

Whale ivory, used to make the stylized hook-pendants worn by those of high rank, washed ashore at Kualoa. High chiefs, including Kuali'i, were raised there. Passing canoes lowered their masts in respect for Kualoa and its chiefs (the place itself having a taboo not unlike those held by chiefs of the highest rank). Kualoa was desired by the paramount chief of Maui, but it was believed that to relinquish it would have been to lose the sovereignty and independence of Oahu.

Legendary events involving ancestors of humanity (Papa, Haumea, Wakea), goddesses (Hiiaka, Pele), and the demigod Kamapuaa took place at Kualoa. It is also associated with the origin of the custom of circumcision and the introduction of breadfruit, an important food.

Cultural and economic resources include a spring and watercourses belonging to past chiefs, a fishpond of unique and impressive dimensions, and wauke (paper mulberry) used to make the famous pink bark cloth of Kualoa. The whale ivory already mentioned was associated with the right of the ruling chiefs to offer sacrifices and with the sovereignty and independence of Oahu (Kamakau 1961:129).

Significance in Hawaiian Culture

All of these sites are associated with ruling chiefs of one of the four pre-contact Hawaiian polities. At least three have associations with post-contact Hawaiian royalty, ruling over the entire archipelago. These associations include rule, residence, and birth of high chiefs, and the interrment of deified remains.

Closely related to royalty is the sanctity of these sites. All had temples, and some were used for human sacrifice (sign of the right to rule). Also closely associated with sanctity and rule are the sanctuariesat three of these places. The sites are said to be sacred; and within them, geographical features as well as man made monuments are so identified.

All are sites of major events, some legendary and some historic. Some are richly endowed with and none are lacking in economic resources. Each has unusually if not uniquely important associations with ruling chiefs. All are ancient and famous.

Other aspects of Hawaiian culture which might lend significance to a place are discussed above in this report (especially under the heading of "Philosophy"). Some attention is given to the concept of aloha 'aina in this and an earlier report (Keene 1983:10.11,46,49,43).Since the concept of aloha 'aina is fraught with cultural significance and is central to the discussions to follow, some further discussion is necessary.

Aloha 'Aina

The literal meaning of aloha 'aina is love of land, but it "encompasses ... many values and 'symbolic meanings'" (Aluli et al 1983:21). It means harmonious relations with the environment attributed to Hawaiians of old (Elbert 1962) and continuing to the present day (Gard Kealoha cited by PKO 1980:11). The relationship between man and environment is a reciprocally supportive one: "... man maintains land, air and ocean, it maintains man. Therefore aina is sacred ...." These words of George Helm (Morales 1984:54) are far from idiosyncratic; many Hawaiians of today, both young and old, subscribe to this view. This set of values is frequently contrasted with White practices of environmental exploitation and destructiveness (Aluli et al 1983:21; Tuggle 1982:chap 4; PKO 1980:1; etc).

The PKO, newpaper "Aloha'Aina," (winter 1981:2) says: "Aloha 'aina is our expression of the basic spiritual and life-sustaining relationship that the native Hawaiian has for the land. In history, aloha 'aina has become an expression for many things Hawaiian." The newspaper goes on to say that these things included daily experience for the maka'ainana (ordinary people, as opposed to the aristocratic ali'i), "sharing and cooperation," "conservation practices (insuring) that exploitative relationships would never develop," "man, gods, and nature in harmony." The same editorial points out that Aloha 'Aina was a slogan used by political activists who tried to regain Hawaiian sovereignty shortly after it had been lost. It was also the name of a newspaper advocating Hawaiian independence around the turn of the century.

George Helm used the term in reference to Kaho'olawe and as a "catch phrase" (Morales 1984:19,20) to express concern about misuse of the environment, alienation of Hawaiians from the land, and various poitical and economic abuses such as failure to administer Hawaiian homestead land for the benefit of Hawaiians. The phrase "aloha 'aina" occurred spontaneously to Helm and others (Morales pp 19,20), and they only later learned of its earlier political use.

Now the term denotes (Aloha 'Aina p 2) "a movement focusing on land recovery, traditional land use, and education"; this includes taro growing projects, "anti-development struggles," "awareness of the natural world," and the PKO's "responsibility as stewards of Kaho'olawe."

Tuggle (1982:chap 4) sees aloha 'aina as "a conceptual framework to define and defend the movement's actions and to attack the Navy's position":

The premise was simple: Kaho'olawe was a symbol of what had gone

wrong in Hawaii. The land was out of the control of the Hawaiian people, it was being destroyed. The Navy had no right to use it, and didn't really need it. In a larger context, urbanization was rampant on Oahu and threatening on the other islands. There was no real recognition of a native Hawaiian heritage.(Tuggle 1982:chap4)

Aloha 'aina has a basis in the ideology (see "Nature" under the heading of "Philosophy" above) of ancient Hawaii. Historically, it has meant patriotism and opposition to outside domination. It has also meant care for the environment by Hawaiians in contrast to abuses by non-Hawaiians. It has spiritual, economic, and political components. It depicts Hawaiian belief and behavior in a positive light and connotes negative behavior on the part of others. It is similar to the word "sacred," which is used to convey (Aluli et al 1983:17) a "broad spectrum of Hawaiian concepts and sentiments." This spectrum is sufficiently broad that it is unlikely that it can be adequately expressed in words. The PKO (1980:26) has alliteratively characterized aloha 'aina as "interrelated with the views of place, people, past, pride and prospect," going on (p 27) to assert the ineffable nature of this concept, especially for non-Hawaiians:

> It is difficult to understand the quality of "aloha 'aina" unless you are of the land. A Hawaiian, because his blood is of the land, understands the meaning of aloha 'aina. It cannot be defined in the English sense of definition. Its meaning is not in the breaking down but in the coming together—the togetherness, the wholeness, the unity, the oneness, the harmony."

The PKO strongly urges (Aluli et al 1983:21) that this concept be used as a framework of analysis for Kaho'olawe.

## Continuity and Change

The transitions through which the concept of aloha 'aina have passed raise the issues of continuity, change, and tradition. A recent study (Linnekin 1983) shows that tradition is more than a given set of static facts. Although, "For Hawaii, 'traditional' properly refers to the precontact era, before Cook's arrival in 1778," much that is believed about that era involves interpretation by members of subsequent generations. "Tradition is fluid; its content is redefined by each generation and its timelessness may be situationally constructed." The example is given of a "traditional" food, lomilomi (kneaded, squeezed) salmon. This food is an important part of a Hawaiian feast, but only the last of its ingredients (salmon, onion, tomato, ice, salt) was present in precontact Hawaii. The red color of this food is reminiscent of ["substantive for," according to Linekin (1985:3)] ritually important red fish such as the native kumu; lomilomi as a word and as a method of food preparation also dates to pre-contact times. Few in Hawaii today would question that this is an ethnically significant, traditional food despite its being a syncretic combination of the aboriginal and the introduced. Linnekin gives other examples of changed practices which nevertheless have some continuity with the past and are widely regarded by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians as traditional.

The essay (Linnekin 1983) develops this point by discussing the redefinition undergone by two important contemporary symbols, the voyaging canoe and the island of Kaho'olawe. The double-hulled sailing canoe has become a "'central artifact'" of contemporary Hawaiian culture, but there is little to indicate that it was important in anything like the same way in ancient Hawaii. Similarly, "Hawaiian nationalists claim that [Kaho'olawe] is sacred ground ...." "Kaho'olawe is an effective rallying point for the Hawaiian protest movement, but not because it was traditionally more sacred than any other ancient settlement area ...." Kaho'olawe is associated with birth based in part on an interpretation of a legendary name [Kohemalamalama discussed elsewhere in this and earlier studies (see Keene 1983; Tuggle 1982; and the discussion of Kapu under "The Island as a Whole," below)] as meaning "vagina" or "light of knowledge" (Linnekin p 246). Both of these meanings render Kaho'olawe an appropriate symbol for the "Hawaiian rennaisance" or political and ethnic rebirth.

The argument continues that tradition is used to construct ethnic identity, that it is continuously being "invented." This is not to say that tradition is necessarily made up out of whole cloth. Other scholars (e.g., Wagner 1975) are cited by Linnekin to show that invention/redefinition is a usual cultural process. The essay seems to indicate that such invention is especially to be expected as part of cultural revitalization or rennaisance, a period in which a need is felt to assert ethnic distinctiveness and worth. Another anthropologist is cited (Colson 1968:202) in support of the point that "cultural nationalists often invoke a mythic past to legitimize and promote solidarity in the present" (Linnekin 1983:247).

"The invention of tradition," is the subtitle of the last section of Linnekin's essay and the title of a book published later (1983) by the historians Hobsbawm and Ranger. Scholars, like ordinary citizens, disagree as to the implications of "invention" for authenticity. Some, such as Trevor-Roper writing of the Highland Scottish tradition, seem to regard the invention of tradition as a matter of fakery - deception and self-deception. Others stress the real continuities with the past which are to be found while recognizing that normal cultural processes of redefinition and changing of emphases is sometimes more intense and rapid than at others. The impetus for reinterpretations would presumably be greatest in times of individual and collective need.

The anthropologist Kenneth Emory, whose research in Hawaii began in 1920 takes a view which is not far from Trevor-Roper's. He believes (1985, personal communication) that claims for Kaho'olawe's sacredness or unique importance in Hawaiian culture are retrojections of present beliefs onto the past, and that this amounts to fakery. He reports hearing nothing of the kind during his researches on Lanai and Maui earlier in this century and believes that if the island were especially significant he would have heard about it. Similarly, the archaeologist McAllister (1985) believes that knowledgeable Hawaiian friends who knew of his research (1933) would have told him if Kaho'olawe were especially

significant.

The reader will remember that Hawaiian culture makes provision for the acquisition of knowledge, including forgotten or little known items, through dreams, visions, and inspiration. There is, of course, some latitude here for retrojection of modern beliefs or assumptions upon the past. Antiquity might thus be claimed for a dance or other cultural expression which would otherwise be thought to be of recent composition. Although the process is a recognized part of Hawaiian culture, specific claims may meet with varying degrees of as acceptance. These issues provide part of the context for the following sections.

## Groups and Individuals for Which Kaho'olawe is Culturally Significant

### The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana

#### History

Three issues set the scene for the origin and development of the PKO: social unrest and rising ethnic awareness in the continental United States; land ownership and use in Hawaii; bombing and other military training on Kaho'olawe by the US Navy. [Many of the publicly known events involving the PKO are presented in more detail in an earlier section of this report, "Kaho'olawe Since 1976," which in turn draws primarily from material cited in the "Documentary Sources Appendix." This present section recapitulates these events briefly and summarizes material on the social and cultural dynamics of the organization, as described in Tuggle's (1982) study of the PKO. Only additional sources are cited.]

Ethnic movements in America have changed the public and self images of minorities. They have been a means of asserting social, political, and economic rights. There has been some tendency for these movements to be united by opposition to white control of many American institutions. There has also been a tendency toward a Rousseauian glorification of the ethnic past. More or less contemporary with these developments on the mainland US, has been the Hawaiian Renaissance discussed above.

The history of land tenure in Hawaii is outlined in an earlier section of this report. This may be summarized by the following statistic: At the point of European contact, 100% of what is now the State of Hawaii was under the control of Hawaiians; two centuries later, less than 4% remains under the control of Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians (Kelly 1980:69,70; also see p 24, above). Most of the land came into the hands of the state and federal governments and a few large owners. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was ostensibly an effort to rehabilitate Hawaiians by returning them to a life of rural agriculture. The lands made available, however, were unsuitable for small scale agriculture, and they came to be used primarily for residential and other purposes, including leases to non-Hawaiians. Since statehood (1959), land use has shifted from plantation toward tourist and residential development, and land costs have made home ownership impossible for many. During the same period, an influx of mainland Americans substantially increased the proportion of Caucasians in the resident population (Lind 1980:13). There was a sense that land was becoming more scarce and that it was being put to undesirable uses, by outsiders.

The US military controls large tracts of land in Hawaii. Pearl Harbor, once the site of a complex of fishponds, was the first to be acquired for military purposes. Kaho'olawe was one of the last. The military generally, and the Navy in particular, are associated in the minds of many in Hawaii with a Caucasian landowning and business elite. Historically, an American naval ship and a troop of marines were influential, if not crucial, in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy

in 1893 leading to annexation and permanent loss of sovereignty for Hawaiians. [Also important (Daws 1968; Kuykendall & Day 1961) in the history of Navy-Hawaiian relations (though not a land issue) is the notorious Massie case of 1931. An American socialite was assaulted in Honolulu under circumstances which remain unclear; she accused a group of local men of rape, but a jury refused to convict; her husband, a naval officer, used a Navy revolver to murder one of the men; he was convicted, but the governor, under intense pressure, commuted his sentence to one hour.]

In 1976, the American bicentennial year, these issues came together in the landings on Kaho'olawe described earlier. The occupation of Alcatraz Island by American Indians was a model, and the landing included an Indian. Members of the ALOHA organization used the landings to focus attention on their claims for reparations for the part the US played in the overthrow of the monarchy. Members of Hui Alaloa, a group which had demonstrated against large landowners on Molokai the previous year for Hawaiian access rights to marine and other resources, were among those who landed. These issues, encapsulated in the slogan "aloha 'aina (love of land, patriotism), and the landings led to the formation of the organization that came to be known as the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana.

Other strategies were employed by the nascent organization in addition to this militant but non-violent disobedience. Politicians, many of whom were at least nominally sympathetic, were approached (Tuggle 1982:46,99,100). The Protect Kaho'olawe Fund, a non-profit organization intended to increase public awareness of the historical, cultural, social, and religious significance of the island was incorporated in 1976. And a civil suit, Aluli et al v Brown et al, was filed. George Helm, a part-Hawaiian from Molokai, emerged as the charismatic leader of the nascent movement.

The longest illegal occupation took place early in 1977. This was intended to stop the bombing of the island as well as to protest it. After a search revealed no occupants, however, the Navy resumed bombing. Political efforts at this time received attention but did not put a stop to the bombing. George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, another part-Hawaiian, disappeared in the waters off Kaho'olawe during an attempt to come to the aid of those who had occupied the island.

Later in 1977 Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer, part-Hawaiians from Molokai, were tried for trespass. They and some of their supporters appeared in court dressed approximately in the manner of Hawaiians of old. They were sentenced to the maximum of six months in jail. Others charged with trespassing received lesser sentences, and some charges were dismissed on technicalities. The Navy declined to press charges on participants in a later landing precluding the "opportunity for a . . . public forum. . . ." (Tuggle 1982:51)

Tuggle (1982:chap 3) goes on to describe (on the basis of the newsletter, Aloha 'Aina, and interviews with participants) a series of "Ho'o'ulu'ulu Lahui" ("gathering(s) of a nation"), as the movement's statewide meetings are called. A lahui held early in 1978 at Keanae,

Maui was the scene of factional disagreement. A memorandum of understanding signed by the Navy and the state provided for joint use by civilians and the military; endorsement of this memorandum by the PKO would entail acceptance of the bombing. One faction called for endorsement of joint use; another for continued political action; and a third for violent action. A collegiate-Marxist element, taking what appeared to be an extreme position, ultimately withdrew leaving the field to relative moderates, led by Walter Ritte (Tuggle 1982:52).

This was followed by energetic organization of testimony which led to revision of the Navy's Environmental Impact Statement (Trask 1978:17 cited in Tuggle 1982:53). Attention of the news media was drawn to the large number of people opposed to bombing and the PKO's ability to mobilize them.

Later the same year another lahui took place, this one on the island of Molokai. Again there was a division between those who would accept joint military-civilian use and those who would not. Perhaps more important was a difference over the decision making process within the organization. Ritte was willing to discuss joint use with the State and Navy. He had, moreover, made press statement on behalf of the PKO without prior consultation of the membership, and he suggested private meetings with Senator Inouye with only select PKO representatives present. This approach was inconsistent with the PKO's consensus style of decision making, and the result of the lahui was Ritte's departure from the organization with a "sizable faction."

Tuggle (1982:chap 3) sees these meetings as the point marking a transition from a predominantly spiritual to a political orientation. Of at least passing interest is Kanahele's (1982:33) impression that the movement of the PKO has been from "militant" to "mystical and spiritual." These conflicting views may result from which PKO members are interviewed and which events are observed; some individuals are predominantly spiritual in their orientation, others political; similarly, demonstrations and meetings tend to show the political face of the organization, while visits to the island have a more spiritual cast.

A third lahui was held on Molokai in December,1981 to discuss approval of the consent decree. The decree, which would settle the PKO suit against the Navy, provided: 1) The Navy would clear surface ordnance from 10,000 acres, about one-third of Kaho'olawe. 2) The Navy would institute conservation programs on the island. 3) The Navy would protect archaeological sites. 4) The Navy would grant access to the island four days a month, ten months a year. 5) The PKO would not continue legal action using the laws cited in this suit, Aluli et al v Brown et al, with the exception of the first amendment and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act; if unable to agree in semiannual access negotiations, the parties could ask the court to determine rights and obligations.

Many were disappointed that acceptance of the decree meant continued bombing. Some argued that the Navy should not control (Tuggle 1982:chap 3) "when and where a Hawaiian could practice his religion and

that the bombing was a continuing sacrilege against a sacred place." Others, pointing to the laws invoked in the suit and the institutional ties between the judiciary and the military, argued that no better outcome could be expected from the suit.

The meeting also discussed the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Those who wished to express support of OHA argued that it was a start toward Hawaiians collectively having some control over their own welfare. Others believed OHA would be subject to the political machine which controlled the state government. They also objected to OHA's definition of a Hawaiian, i.e., anyone with Hawaiian blood (in contrast to the Hawaiian Homes Commission definition of 50%).

Voting was restricted to a total of ten members who were to "respect the wishes of their island groups." Any member present could express his opinion, and discussion was lengthy and virorous. The vote, taken after many members had left, was for acceptance of the consent decree and public opposition to OHA, by a margin if six to four in both cases. Tuggle (1982:chap 3) reports this as a compromise which disappointed many members who were not present when the vote was finally taken.

The consent decree was signed and in the same period Kaho'olawe was placed on the National Register of Historic Places as a historical district. These events demonstrated the PKO's ability to work within the system to achieve major goals (such as access) and to achieve recognition of the island's cultural and historic importance. Confrontation, though not abandoned, was superceded by negotiation as a primary strategy. (Tuggle 1982:61,105)

The PKO has continued to exercise its access rights to Kaho'olawe most months of the year. It has opposed some of the resort and government developments elsewhere which many regard as a blight on the Hawaiian landscape. And it has been most noticeably active to the general public as it mobilizes to oppose the biannual RIMPAC exercises in which allied Pacific naval forces participate in joint exercises which include the use of Kaho'olawe for target practice. Among the results of this last mentioned effort has been a decision not to bomb the island by some of these foreign navies (e.g., SB 7/2/82).

Organization

The basic structural feature of the PKO (Tuggle 1982:chap 4) is a small group who make decisions and do much of the work. This core group [sometimes called kua, Hawaiian "back," a term suggesting their structural importance and also connoting work (Keene 1983)] draws support from a larger group which is less actively involved. The term "resource person" seems to apply to individuals who are sympathetic and have a skill, specialized knowledge, or other resource which might be used occasionally or on a one-time basis.

The Protect Kaho'olawe Fund (PKF) and the island or regional 'ohana, literally "family," organizations are basic to the formal structure. The Protect Kaho'olawe Fund (Tuggle chap 4) is "the educational and administrative arm of the movement." An idea of George

Helm's, the PKF was organized in 1976. It administers grant money to sponsor workshops, community meetings, and other activities centering around the concept of aloha 'aina (love and respect for land and other natural resources). The PKF publishes the newsletter Aloha 'Aina, and it organizes the statewide meetings (lahui) of the PKO. The island 'ohana are each represented on the PKF Board of Directors.

The 'ohana are semi-autonomous, regional groups, one or more being located on each island. They work to support the aims of the PKO at the regional level and "apply the concept of aloha 'aina to local issues." (Tuggle chap 4)

In addition to the statewide and regional organizations committees have been formed to deal with specific activities. Some of these functional activities are finance and funds, action and projects, political action, education and research, and information and communication.

Leadership requires the expenditure of large amounts of time and effort. This may commitment of time and effort may well entail considerable personal and professional sacrifice. Longevity also counts. The three original leaders (Tuggle chap 4) were Walter Ritte, George Helm, and Emmett aluli. All participated in the original landing and contributed in a variety of ways, but each is associated with certain activities and strategies. Aluli pursued legal action through the lawsuit discussed earlier. Ritte worked for legislative support and engaged in direct action such as landings. George Helm founded the PKF and provided the charismatic energy which attracted a following. Helm continued to be a source of inspiration after his disappearance. He was succeeded by Ritte, who left the PKO in part due to a disagreement over personal leadership versus decision by consensus. Aluli succeeded as "Ohana spokesperson" (Tuggle chap 4) on the basis of public recognition and lengthy and continuous service, among other things. It has been said that George Helm is still the President of the PKO; this might explain why successors are referred to as "leader" or "spokesperson"; the terms may also be reflect the importance of securing consent before taking action.

Purposes and Activities

"The stated purposes of the PKO are to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe and to have the island returned to the people of Hawaii." Tuggle (1982:chap 4) goes on to say that these goals grow out of the philosophy of aloha 'aina and aloha ka po'e (literally, "love of land" and "love of people,") "interpreted from Hawaiian values and customs codified in the 19th century (i.e., after Western contact) and reformulated into a modern context." The philosophy holds that all land, water, and air are sacred and that the land holds ancestors, spirits, cultural and personal identity. Much of this philosophy is expressed in George Helm's "Personal Statement - Reasons for the Fourth Occupation of Kaho'olawe" (1/30/77 in Morales 1984:54-5). "Man is merely the caretaker of the land ...." Helm's words also seem to support the idea that the sanctity of land grows out of a life-supporting relationship of reciprocity with mankind: "... man maintains land, air, and ocean, it maintains man. Therefore aina is sacred ...." This is by

no means an idiosyncratic notion to Helm or the PKO. (See, e.g., Keene 1983:48 for a discussion of a similar sentiment expressed by an elderly Hawaiian unconnected to the PKO.)

Kaho'olawe is said to be "especially sacred" due to its associations with birth. The island is said to resemble a fetus (as seen from above or on a map, neither of which was possible in pre-contact Hawaii). (Seeing meaningful forms in rocks, mountains, and other natural objects is not unusual among Hawaiians.) A old name for Kaho'olawe which may be translated "shining vagina" can also be interpreted as connecting the island to the concept of childbirth: Helm (quoted in Smith 1976:18): Kaho'olawe is "the point of entry into Hawai'i's womb of plenty, the end of the hazardous journey from the old life and the threshold of the new." Tuggle (chap 4) also sees voyaging as associated with childbirth, and Kaho'olawe is closely associated with the long distance voyaging which is a source of pride for Hawaiians.

The island is associated with rebirth, rennaisance, as well as birth. Kaho'olawe is a dramatic component (Kanahele 1982:2,31-33) of the Hawaiian Renaissance. For Tuggle (chap 4) Kaho'olawe encompasses the Hawaiian pride and the value of aloha 'aina in contradistinction to perceived western values of destruction and exploitation of land and resources (of which Kaho'olawe is a sign). The PKO is attempting a redefinition (in the face of previous negative or condescending stereotypes) of Hawaiianness.

Activities

Many of the activities of the PKO have already been mentioned in this report. These might be grouped according to such categories as political, economic, religious, or even by place of occurrence (on or off Kaho'olawe). It may be best, however, to begin with a list which, it is hoped, will be representative, if not exhaustive. All have, as an underlying theme, the concept of aloha 'aina, of which much has been said and more is to come.

Workshops, handouts, testimony, demonstrations, news releases, publication of a newsletter, fundraising, legal work, and "accesses" to Kaho'olawe are among the activities of the PKO. All of these require "planning, coordination, and preparation" (Aluli et al 1983:18). Many hours of work are necessary for any of these activities. The logistical problems of mounting an access are, perhaps, the best example.

Accesses involve negotiation with the Navy over numerous issues (time, place, number of participants, whether children may be brought, etc). Transportation must be arranged and this too may require negotiation (economic and logistical) with boat captains for the trip from Maui to Kaho'olawe. Visitors must be prepared. Liability waivers must be signed, safety procedures discussed (there is no wharf at Kaho'olawe, and movement from boat to shore requires swimming for some and the operation of a rubber Zodiak boat, often in heavy surf), proper behavior (especially with regard to cultural resources) explained, and money must be collected. These and other activities take place during orientation meetings at the visitor's island of origin. Visitors from other islands must be met at the Maui airport and taken to the boat

harbor. Food must be bought and prepared both on and off the island, sometimes for groups of over 100 people.

Activities on the island include: carving petroglyphs; building a halau (a structure of traditional Hawaiian appearance), a hula platform, neo-traditional shrines, altars and other neo-traditional additions to ancient structures); work on a garden located around a brackish, post-contact well, and a variety of other development projects; monitoring of erosion control and other Navy responsibilities and checking specific cultural resources for damage and deterioration; hikes to places of interest (archaeological sites, promontories, etc); informal discussion; formal presentation of PKO and related (e.g., American Indian, Nuclear Free Pacific, Greenpeace) concerns, and worship.

These on-island activities are described in an earlier report (Keene 1983:passim, especially pp 25-45). A group speaking for the PKO (Aluli et al 1983:esp 14-18) has expressed a number of concerns with that report. Prominent among these is that the report fails to give proper weight to "off-island activities" and that it artificially separates sacred and secular and exaggerates the former, giving the impression that the organization is a "'Kaho'olawe Cult' rather than a widespread grassroots movement whose underlying valuebase is Aloha 'Aina with Kaho'olawe as one major focus." Readers of the earlier report should thus be mindful that the PKO and its members engage in considerable "off-island activities" and that many of these would be more accurately described under "political," "economic," or some other such heading, rather than "religious." [It is a truism that social movements have a religious as well as a political/economic aspect, however. Even the term "cult" (not used in the earlier report) is not inappropriate in its early sense of "to attend to, cultivate, respect" and even, perhaps, "worship" (Oxford English Dictionary) rather than the current usage of excessive and "faddish devotion" (Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary).] To the extent that the earlier report implies that the PKO and its membership is exclusively religious in orientation, the report is misleading.

Quantitative data on the amount of off-island activity involved in preparation of accesses are not available. Much is done with attendant sacrifice of personal goals. Aluli et al (p 18) thus correctly point to "sacrifices" involving great amounts of work and time in the face of "potential community and professional disapproval." This is explicitly recognized by objective researchers (e.g., Tuggle 1982:chap 4) as well as those more intimately involved. One access coordinator, for example, told the researcher of losing a job held for many years as a result of the time devoted to the PKO. [Similar sacrifices are not unknown for other identity-enhancing activities, such as Hawaiian canoe paddling.] Other examples might be given, and, if available, person-hour contributions would be impressive, in the view of the present researcher. And, as stated above, preparation and execution of accesses is only one of a number of PKO activities. For example the PKO has been involved in other works, such as the Hilo airport demonstration, which are related to Kaho'olawe only in that they concern land use which is regarded as inappropriate.

The part-Hawaiian journalist Pierre Bowman in an early account of

the PKO (SB 8/30/79) pointed out that membership waxes and wanes "as issues heat and cool." The same appears to be true of the general level of activity. For a time following an internal factional dispute, it was reported (Tuggle 1982:chap 3) that "the movement was virtually dormant." In 1979 it was apparently necessary (SB 1/25/79) for Emmett Aluli "a co-founder of the PKO," to deny "reports that the organization is dead." "Not make" (dead) said he, despite Governor Arioshi's efforts to "fragment" the organization. Vigorous subsequent activity, described here and elsewhere, seems to confirm a fair amount of variation in the quantity and character of PKO enterprise, the organization having demonstrated the ability to rise Phoenix-like from apparent dormancy. While the amount of media coverage given to the PKO is no doubt related to a number of factors (the degree to which attention is sought, the use of confrontational tactics, etc.), news coverage may also give some sense of total activity. If so, there has been great variation over the years - 324 articles on Kaho'olawe and the PKO are reported for 1976 and 1977 in the Honolulu Newspaper Index (Tuggle chap 4) as opposed to one article in 1983. Again, the precise meaning of these figures cannot be specified here, but it seems reasonable to associate them with the nature and the quantity of activity focusing on Kaho'olawe.

Linnekin (1985:4,5) suggests that the recent "period of relative calm" is associated with PKO "victories" and a more cooperative ... relationship between the Navy and the 'Ohana. . . ." The plausibility of this partial explanation is supported somewhat by informal conversations in 1985 between the researcher and PKO members and supporters who seemed to believe that the Navy was pursuing a policy of placation.

## Other Groups and Individuals

### Office of Hawaiian Affairs

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs, OHA, is an agency of the State of Hawaii (Chaps 10, 226 Hawaii Revised Statutes) with a Board of Trustees elected by voters who state they have some Hawaiian ancestry. OHA's first offical act (2/13/81) is a resolution regarding Kaho'olawe. The resolution is summarized in an OHA press release (4/19/82): "the bombing of Kaho'olawe must cease immediately; all governmental agencies are encouraged to "give priority to conservation programs and archaeological data gathering and recording on Kaho'olawe"; and a plan of controlled access should be drafted.

The press release goes on to state the inappropriteness of continued bombing of Kaho'olawe after the inclusion of the island in the National Register of Historic Places. It refers to "'economic blackmail' (on the part of the Navy) to keep our state leaders quiet by threatening to undermine Hawaii's economy through a reduction of its forces and facilities in the state." These statements were made in the context of the biannual RIMPAC military exercises involving foreign navies in the use of Kaho'olawe as a target. OHA requested the four countries not to use Kaho'olawe in this way. The release further requested the US Department of Defense to guarantee the safety of any "Hawaiian citizen" who might be on the island or its surrounding waters

during the military exercises. This last request is in evident reference to the possibility of illegal landings such as those which were made previously to stop the bombing. Such a landing is said to have been made during the 1982 RIMPAC exercises. [A Honolulu newspaper stated that two members of the Greenpeace organization had reportedly gone to Kaho'olawe (SB 4/22/82) during the 1982 RIMPAC. On July 10, 1982 the researcher arrived with a group of hikers at an isolated bay on the north coast of Kaho'olawe where the words "ALOHA AINA" had been spelled out on the beach. Dexter Cate, one of the two men mentioned in the newspaper article, then said he and another civilian had left the sign so that the Navy would know that they had been there during RIMPAC. Cate also said at that time (and confirmed in a telephone interview 6/23/86) that the Navy shelled the island while he and the other man were on it.] Use of the term "Hawaiian citizen" may also suggest the issue of modern Hawaiian political autonomy and the historical propriety of the archipelago's annexation by the USA.

Two other documents, OHA Culture Plan/Draft One and a letter (12/1/81) from the OHA Administrator to the Maui County Planning Director, indicate OHA's position regarding Kaho'olawe and its cultural resources. The letter constitutes testimony on the part of OHA's Board of Trustees on Maui County's Kaho'olawe Community Plan. The review calls for a clear definition of "cultural use," for which the Maui Kaho'olawe plan designated specific areas; OHA referred to its own culture plan which specifies categories of cultural use all of which are traditional or neo-traditional. Such use, the letter states, should be limited to groups intending to improve the island. Standards should be established by archaeologists to protect historic sites from damage and artifacts from theft. Erosion and fire control should be implemented, the latter precluding the use of incendiary explosives and flares. Construction of permanent structures should be "strictly limited, leaving the island in a "natural state." "Cultural areas" should include the entire coastline.

Thus OHA takes a firm position, discouraging use that would be damaging to the cultural or physical environment. Moreover, joint military civilian use is opposed, suggesting that even if specifically identifiable sites are not damaged, bombing of the land itself is objectionable. Also "cultural use" is apparently not to mean activities which are primarily commercial and unconnected to traditional Hawaiian culture. Then acting OHA Assistant Administrator Ben Henderson confirmed in 1985 that the position presented in the resolution and other documents remained the official OHA position.

Hawaiian Civic Clubs

In 1977 the statewide convention of Hawaiian Civic Clubs, representing 42 clubs and some 6,000 members, (B&A 2/5/77, B 2/8/77) unanimously approved a resolution urging determination of which Kaho'olawe sites should be on the National Register of Historic Places and to invoke compliance with procedures of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 for qualifying sites. A resolution asking for "acceptable and amicable return" of the island was amended by inserting language from a previous resolution recognizing a current need for Kaho'olawe for national defense.

Mrs Benson Lee, Corresponding Secretary for the statewide organization of Hawaiian Civic Clubs, confirmed in an interview (7/10/85) that the organization's position remains unchanged. Members of the organization's board of directors have been flown to the island for inspection and briefing from time to time by the Navy Third Fleet. Both Mr and Mrs Lee are employed by the Navy, and this has facilitated coordination of such trips; Mr Lee is President of the clubs' statewide organization. Mrs Lee indicated that eventual return of the island to civilian use is regarded as desirable, but that military use takes precedence so long as that is necessary for national defense. The official position thus stresses the preservation of archaeolgical sites rather than the cessation of bombing per se. Mrs Lee expressed the personal opinion that military use does not necessarily amount to "desecrating the earth."

Individual clubs have also visited Kaho'olawe with the PKO. Individual feelings and opinions of course vary, but the clubs do not take an official position regarding Kaho'olawe, other than that outlined above.

Daughters of Hawaii

This organization is responsible for Kamehameha's birthplace, Huli He'e Palace at Kailua, Kona, Queen Emma's Summer Palace on Oahu, and, until stewardship was turned over to the Wahiawa Hawaiian Civic Club, Kukaniloko. Membership in the society, founded in 1903 by "missionary ladies" or their descendants, is limited to persons whose ancestors were resident in Hawaii prior to 1880. Many of its members are Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian. The organization has a history of heritage preservation, and its current work centers around perpetuating the Hawaiian language and maintaining the two palaces. In response to a question regarding the society's position on Kaho'olawe, the following statement was agreed to by its Board of Directors (7/11/85): "It is the purpose of the society to perpetuate the memory and spirit of old Hawaii and of historical events, to preserve historical sites and to preserve the nomenclature and correct pronunciation of the Hawaiian language." Thus the society favors preservation of historic sites on Kaho'olawe, but that island and its sites are not singled out for unique or special attention.

Alu Like

This organization has been active in promoting the interests of native Hawaiians on a number of fronts. Although some of its employees have visited the island or worked on behalf of the PKO, Alu Like has not taken an offical stance regarding Kaho'olawe.

Individuals

On June 11, 1978, a holiday commemorating Kamehameha the Great, a full page advertisement appeared in the Sunday Star Bulletin & Advertiser. It depicted Hawaii's first king attired in traditional clothing including feather cloak and helmet and carrying a spear. Above him were the red and white stripes of the American flag; below were the symbols of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, depicted in blue. The copy was entitled, "A Salute to Hawaii's Warriors." Readers

were reminded that Kamehameha conquered the islands of Hawaii by force of arms, and his warriors were likened to the American military forces of today. Kaho'olawe was said to be needed for national defense, and trust was expressed that the island would be returned when no longer needed. Love for the land must defer to the needs of defense, it indicated. Similarly, though "Hawaiian ethnic awareness" is applauded, "national defense must take priority over any ethnic considerations."

Finally it was said that the page was not sponsored by any formal organization, but rather that it was paid for by a "silent majority" of islanders (no active military personnel or politicians) "proud of their American-Hawaiian heritage." It was signed by Anne Nanikeakaokalani Kauaihilo. Mrs Kauaihilo's views on the significance of Kaho'olawe are discussed here based on her testimony before a Hawaii State Senate committee hearing in 1982 and two interviews in September ,1984. While it is not possible to state with quantitative precision how representative her opinions are, it can be said that she is by no means alone. A summary of these views and some indications of who shares them is presented here.

Mrs Kauaihilo said in 1984 that it was rare to hear anything of Kaho'olawe until recently; nothing was said to indicate that it was sacred or significant - only that it was a good place to fish. As a retired teacher of history at Kamehameha Schools, she was aware of the place name Kealaikahiki and regards it as probable that Kaho'olawe was a point of departure in long distance voyaging, but she dismisses the significance of this, comparing it to the airport now used as a point of departure. When asked about the significance of land to her as a Hawaiian and about possible differences in attitudes towrd land by aristocrats and ordinary Hawaiians, she repied that land is for human use, that people must take precedence over land; the military needs Kaho'olawe and uses it. Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor) is for her the most sacred place on Oahu, because of those who sacrificed their lives in the Japanese sneak attack. Land may have Hawaiian historical significance on the basis of royal or high aristocratic origins, residence, or burial and as the place of major battles.

Mrs Kauaihilo believes that the future of Hawaiians is inextricably bound up with that of America. She regards with approval the opinion of newspaper columnist Samuel Amalu ("Preserve only the best (of ancient Hawaiian culture.") that Hawaiians should learn to excel in the Western economy and society, in busines, the professions, and so on. She spoke of the economic chaos which would result from a reduction in military spending in Hawaii.

Placing the advertisement is a most dramatic act on the part of a Hawaiian in support of the military use of Kaho'olawe. A few words about the antecedents of the act and about those who supported it may be instructive. Mrs Kauaihilo believes that in addition to pride in the past and love of land, Kaho'olawe now symbolizes racism toward whites, pointing out that the Navy is closely associated in many people's minds with the Caucasian economic and landowning elite. One of those actively opposed to the bombing of Kaho'olawe made a lei of goat droppings collected there and presented it to a congressman. Distress at the use

of this symbol of aloha for the expression of hatred was the immediate motivation to mobilize the resources of her friends to place the advertisement. [Coincidentally, Sahlins (1974) reports the presentation of goat feces (mixed with poi) to a resented authority figure early in the 19th century.]

According to Mrs Kauaihilo, donations were requested and made on the part of upwards of 250 people of whom approximately 40% are Hawaiian. Supporters were characterized as "educated, articulate, homeowners ... with their own 'aina (land)," though not all were well to do, and some donations were anonymous. Mrs Kauaihilo is herself one-quarter Hawaiian with a genealogy which includes a military advisor of Kamehameha. Contributions ranged from $2 to $300 with most being from $5 to $10. The necessary $3000 was raised in five days. The great majority of those who called after publication were in support. [Mrs Kauaihilo would like to acknowledge the help of her friend Nina Bowman Read throughout the project.]

Judge Samuel King

The part-Hawaiian federal judge who tried many of those who landed illegally on Kaho'olawe is now on record as favoring return of the island. Regarded as a strict wielder of authority at the time, he now says (Midweek 3/13/85) the Kaho'olawe Island protesters were among the toughest cases he tried: "Everybody's for peace, and the military probably should give us back Kahoolawe."

Surveys

Individual sentiments may be measured by surveys, though all research procedures have limits. Open-ended interviews may leave unanswered the question of how representative a given individual's opinions are, i.e., by whom they are shared. Surveys are necessarily structured, however, so one may know what categories of people express a particular opinion, but not, depending on how the research instrument is designed, such other useful information as why people say what they do. With these provisos in mind, results of three telephone surveys regarding the use of Kaho'olawe, conducted by a professional research firm for the Honolulu Advertiser (A 5/27/80, 9/7/82), are summarized here. The first poll was of 400 adults, the other two of 600 voters, the margin of error being about 4%. [The question was prefaced (A 9/7/82) with these sentences: "Some groups have been trying to get the Navy to stop bombing Kahoolawe Island and return the island to the state. However, some other people in Hawaii say the bombing is necessary to keep our military trained and they don't mind the bombing." The question (A 5/27/80, 9/7/82) was then posed: "Are you in favor of returning Kahoolawe to the state or keeping it for military use?"] Overall results were:

| | Return to state | Keep for military use |
|---|---|---|
| 1978 | 45.5% | 44.5% |
| 1980 | 47% | 41% |
| 1982 | 41% | 49% |

In 1980, the high point of support for return of the island to the state, Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians were the ethnic category which most strongly favored return to the state. In the 1982 poll Hawaiians favored continued military control of Kaho'olawe by a margin of 48% to 46%. In the same year Caucasians favored return of Kaho'olawe to the state 45% to 42%. Younger voters were the category which most strongly favored return to the state in all polls. Republicans and the elderly favored continuing military control.

The preceding indicates a range of opinion regarding the nature and extent of Kaho'olawe's significance. Mrs Emma DeFries, a Hawaiian regarded as knowledgeable in the traditional culture, has stated under oath her belief that Kaho'olawe is sacred. Mr Charles Kenn, also expert in Hawaiian traditions, has stated under similar circumstances that the island is not sacred (Keene 1983:9,11). Others (Aluli et al 1983) argue that "sacredness" is not the central issue, or that it must be understood to encompass a complex of subtleties not properly expressed by the English term. It seems unseemly to pit expert against expert or to make invidious comparisons. On the contrary, it is necessary to recognize that there is room for differences of opinion regarding aspects of Hawaiian culture even among respected native scholars. Once said, this seems a truism, but it is a point which is easy to lose sight of. Some differences may be more apparent than real, such, perhaps, as a different set of assumptions as to what constitutes sacredness in the view of the persons just cited. There can be no doubt, however, that some real differences do exist, even among those well schooled in Hawaiian traditions.

The researcher's impression is that many of those who regard Kaho'olawe as sacred or especially significant also view the prospect of a reduced military presence in Hawaii calmly if not with enthusiasm; conversely, many of those who minimize the significance of the island stress the importance of economic and political ties between America and Hawaii. The issues of the importance of the military to Hawaii's economy and of the importance of Kaho'olawe to national defense may seem at first to be distinct from the island's cultural significance (Keene 1983:55). Following this line of thinking, the well off, who have more to lose, would be inclined to dismiss the importance of Kaho'olawe, while those who feel they have less too lose would be more inclined to see Kaho'olawe as important. A fundamental disagreement as to what is best for the Hawaiian people, collectively and individually, underlies this difference. Many assume that Hawaiians ought to work and prosper within the American political and economic system (see, e.g., Kanahele 1982:30,31). Cultural identity and continuity would be maintained through the practice of traditional arts, crafts, sports, scholarship, and so on. Others, with varying degrees of optimism as to the feasibility of such a goal, would like to see a return to the traditional subsistence economy and political independence, a re-creation of the positive aspects of the ancient society.

It has also been suggested (Perkins 1983) that the descendents of the Hawaiian aristocracy (ali'i) are more likely to see land as a resource to be used than from the standpoint of harmonious man-land relations. Hawaiian social distinctions are more subtle than in the

past, and it was not possible to document firmly a modern association between social category and cultural attitude in the course of the present research (although this issue was raised in several interviews). For one thing, property owning, monied people tend to be economically and politically conservative (as opposed to conservation-minded), whether they are Hawaiian or not. The descendents of ali'i are, on the whole, more likely to be economically well off than the descendents of ordinary Hawaiians, so one is left to wonder whether apparent attitudes grow out of the modern or the ancient status. Moreover, a prominent member of the PKO is said to be descended from ali'i (Perkins 1983), and many ordinary Hawaiians oppose activism, which they see as in conflict with a value on being humble (ha'aha'a).

## Kaho'olawe

The cultural significance of Kaho'olawe as a whole "in terms of a putative continuing pattern of traditional uses and values" (see appended scope of work) is discussed here. Emphasis is placed on Hawaiian cultural concepts as presented above. Aspects of significance are associated with time periods to the extent possible. Three broad periods may be discerned: the pre-contact, known primarily from archaeology and oral literature; the historical, known from contemporaneous documents and to a lesser extent from interviews; and the recent (from 1976 onward), known from documents, interviews, and participant observation. A few aspects of significance are continuous from the distant past to the present. Most can be poaced within one of the three broad time periods, and some can be dated more precisely.

### Ruling Chiefs and Aristocracy

Kaho'olawe is known to have been visited by two ruling chiefs and one monarch, and there are three additional aristocratic associations. The Hawaii Island chief Kalaniopuu went to Kaho'olawe in 1778-1779 (Kamakau 1961:89 and Fornander 1973:II:165 quoted in CHRON p 2). The visit appears to have been part of a series of military raids on the lands of another chief. Another Hawaii chief, Keeaumoku, went there in 1781-82 to escape the Maui chief Kahekili (CHRON p 8). The implications of Keeaumoku's seeking refuge on Kaho'olawe have been considered (Keene 1983:9), and there is no firm evidence to indicate that Kaho'olawe was used by Keeaumoku as a pu'uhonua (a sanctuary sanctioned by a ruling chief); i.e., it is at least equally likely that Kaho'olawe was used as a place of concealment due to its isolation.

King Kalakaua visited Kaho'olawe in 1875. This trip is characterized by Napoka (personal comm) as part of a regular tour of the realm. There is also some apparent spiritual significance to the trip (CHRON p 62; Keene 1983:7,8; PKO 1980), and this is discussed below. There is nothing to suggest, however, that Kala kaua himself had any special or traditional relationship with Kaho'olawe.

The events described above seem not to figure importantly in Hawaiian history. Kaho'olawe is nowhere described as a residence of ruling chiefs (ali'i nui) or as a seat of high chiefly power.

Laamaikahiki, who was a high ranking chief and a progenitor of ruling chiefs, but not himself a ruling chief of a Hawaiian polity (Hommon 1976), resided on Kaho'olawe among other places. He left Kaho'olawe because "his priests became dissatisfied with the place" (Fornander 1916-20:IV:128); the significance of this is thus discussed under voyaging below (and in "Myths and Traditional History," above). A list of names found in the Hawaii state archives has been proposed and rejected (see Mythic History) as a genealogy of ruling chiefs. Available evidence suggests, rather, that it is a list of overseers (konohiki).

Brigham (1906:174) has this to say regarding chiefly goods hidden on Kaho'olawe:

> "At another time he [Kalakaua] persuaded a very old man, the kahu [keeper] of a puoa on Kahoolawe, to show him the entrance. The old man knew that he should die as soon as he parted with the secret, but he was old and weary of life and proud to die for his king. Kalakaua was very eager, but the kahu told him that the man who opened it would die too. Not being weary of life, the king came to me and begged me to go and open the puoa for him. I asked if he was anxious to kill me: and he answered (in the general belief of his people) that the predicted fate had power only over Hawaiians. We went so far as to make an agreement as to the partition of the things that might be found, but the king's departure for the coast of California, where he died [January 1891], put an end to the adventure, and the old kahu soon after died also."

"Puoa" (pu'o'a) is defined by the standard Hawaiian dictionary (PE) as a "house for depositing a corpse." Brigham (1906:172) makes it clear, however, that he does not have a burial or corpse house in mind; he uses the term "puoa" to refer to a "cache of especial property of a departed chief" hidden in a cave and "not by any means with his remains."

An ali'i burial is also reported for Kaho'olawe (Ashdown 1979:37-40), complete with canoe and feather cloak. Charles Aina, son of the Kaho'olawe cowboy Jack Aina, confirms that his father was aware of such a burial. Despite numerous searches, the burial has not been located by others, though Professor Kalani Meineke (Keene 1983:9) reports hearing of of a cave burial with cape and canoe on Kaho'olawe. The grave goods would indicate a person of high rank, but no additional information has come to light which would clarify the meaning of the reported burial. That is, the remains of ruling chiefs may be deified and generally known to exist in a sacred place, after the fashion of Honaunau, or they may be hidden in place of obscurity to prevent desecration. There is nothing to indicate that the former is true of Kaho'olawe. Finally, there is Mrs Kauaihilo's comment (pers comm): "One ali'i burial does not make a whole island sacred."

Economic Resources

The term "he lopa" is used as an epithet for Kaho'olawe in one creation chant (Silva 1983a:4). This has been translated as "a foundling" and as "shiftless" or "poor tenant farmer." This has been interpreted (Barere 1983) as an indication of Kaho'olawe's political/land tenure status; i.e., Kaho'olawe was not a separate polity but rather a dependant unit of land under the ultimate control of a ruling chief residing elsewhere. The term is also suggestive of low agricultural productivity. Also in the realm of oral literature (PE p 170) is the epithet "Kaho'olawe 'ai kupala," Kaho'olawe eater of Kupala, with the explanatory note that "Kupala was eaten (on Kaho'olawe) for lack of other food." The tale of Kalaepuni (Fornander 1916-20:V:198-204; Silva 1983a), discussed earlier in this report, also depicts Kaho'olawe as lacking in agricultural productivity and as

lacking fresh water, but as rich in fish. The events of the Kalaepuni story may be dated to c 1650, though the ecological depiction may be a retrojection of the situation obtaining in the latter 19th century when the narrative was put into writing. The epithets presumably refer to a time prior to European contact.

Legendary sources, like the historical and archaeological sources discussed earlier in this report, generally depict Kaho'olawe as agriculturally poor and dry at the time of contact and possibly for some centuries prior to that. [Kaho'olawe was a source of volcanic glass for adzes and other tools; this resource presumably contributed to the pre-contact economic value of the island, but there are no historical or oral literary references to augment the archaeological data.] Herbivores, especially during the early ranching period (1858 to around the turn of the century) further reduced the economic and agricultural value of the land by denuding it of grasses and consequently of topsoil. Whatever cultural value is associated with agricultural richness would be lacking for Kaho'olawe, extending back into pre-contact times. Ecological degradation of the island - at least that associated with non-Hawaiian animals (herbivores) and non-Hawaiian land use (grazing/overgrazing) - is relevant to the concept of aloha 'aina and is discussed under that heading below.

In contrast to the poverty of the land, the waters surrounding Kaho'olawe are rich in marine resources. The Kalaepuni legend depicts Kaho'olawe as a place where fish were abundant. Kahaulelio (1902) mentions Kaho'olawe repeatedly in has account of shore and deep sea fishing and also as a place for other marine products (e.g., the bigest opihi in Hawaii at Kanapou, Kaho'olawe). Contemporary informants indicate that Kaho'olawe is still rich in marine resources (Keene 1983:14,15). This is widely known among Hawaiians and appears to be part of a tradition of knowledge and use dating from the present well into pre-contact times. No fewer than 69 ko'a, fishing shrines, are located around the coast. A more imposing altar to Ku'ula, the fishing deity, is said by legend (Silva 1983a:11) to exist at Hakioawa, Kaho'olawe, and archaeological site reports describe a structure which fits the description of the legendary altar (see Hakioawa, below). A fishook manufactory, shrine, and numerous bundle offerings at Kamohio, Kaho'olawe (McAllister 1933) are further indication of the importance of fishing at Kaho'olawe and the importance of fishing for Hawaiian religion and culture.

Voyaging

Kaho'olawe is associated with voyaging between Tahiti and Hawaii in narratives dating (genalogically) to the 14th century AD (Silva 1983a:4-7; Keene 1983:11,12). Oral tradition put into writing in the 19th century firmly associates Kealaikahiki (cape and channel west Kaho'olawe , literally "the way to foreign lands") with the voyaging tradition, and Moa'ula (hill Kaho'olawe) may be so associated by inference. According to this same tradition, the culture hero Laamaikahiki resided on Kaho'olawe for a time and left because his priests became "dissatisfied with the place." Laamaikahiki is an important figure in the oral literary history of Hawaii, having introduced religious images and drums among other things to Hawaii. His residence on Kaho'olawe appears not

to have been a lengthy one, however; Kaho'olawe is only one of a number of places he stayed in Hawaii; and his priests' dissatisfaction with Kaho'olawe does not suggest a positive significance.

Published accounts from the 19th century indicate that Kaho'olawe was well known then for its connection with ancient voyaging. Kealaikahiki is called famous (CHRON p 61) in a Hawaiian language newpaper account of King Kalakaua's trip there in 1875, and fame or renoun is one of the characteristics of Hawaiian cultural significance. More will be said of Kaho'olawe's fame in due course. Although long distance voyaging ceased prior to contact with Europeans, there has been a continuing awareness of it and Kaho'olawe's associations with it down to the present.

It remains to discuss the cultural significance of voyaging. It seems reasonable to conclude that this has always been a valued tradition, for it records a major accomplishment of human history. In the 1970's the assertion was made [by the part-Hawaiian, Herb Kane, quoted by Finney (1979:29) cited by Linnekin (1983:245)] that the voyaging canoe was the "central artifact of Polynesian culture." Linnekin (1983:245) sees this assertion as an example of a process of cultural revival: "Isolated facts have been transformed into symbols of Hawaiianness and accorded a significance without precedent in aboriginal culture." Long distance voyaging was known and regarded in a positive light, apparently continuously for several centuries. It came to symbolize Hawaiian pride and distinctiveness some time after European contact, and for most Hawaiians probably not until the 1970's when a replica of the double-hulled Polynesian voyaging canoe simulated the instrumentless navigation of old in a round trip from Hawaii to Tahiti. Voyaging is now widely regarded as of the utmost Hawaiian cultural significance. Prior to the "Hawaiian Renaissance," interest was less widespread and less intense.

must have sig. France to have survived — not imbued w/ sig.

— same as Kaho'olawe etc.

Aloha 'Aina

Creation chants (Silva 1983a:1,2), expressing pre-contact sentiment, describe Kaho'olawe as "beautiful" like porpoises and fledgeling birds. This indicates aesthetic appreciation and affection, both aspects of aloha 'aina, for Kaho'olawe. On the other hand, something like contempt seems to be conveyed by the epithet, he lopa (PE "shiftless" "poor tenant farmer"). The phrase is used in a name chant for Kamehameha the Great (Silva 1983a:4; fornander 1916-20:IV:4). An earlier report (Keene 1983:5,6) explores the notion that "he lopa" is a blason populaire, an example of the derisive (but not necessarily mean-spirited) regional taunts which are characteristic of Hawaii. This tentative speculation is rejected by Barere (1983:2) who sees the term as a metaphorical expression of Kaho'olawe's land tenure status: "A lopa was a farmer without a claim to land but who clutivated under or for a tenant landholder. Metaphorically, the island of Kaho'olawe had no claims as an independent land but was traditionally an appendage of Maui." In any event, the use of this term fails to support the belief that Kaho'olawe was the object of special affection or appreciation.

Spiritualism is one aspect of aloha 'aina, and the presence of supernatural entities is one aspect of spiritualism. Legends

attributable to the pre-contact period depict Kaho'olawe as a place visited and sometimes inhabited by various spirit beings (Silva 1983a). Some of these, such as Pele (the volcano goddess) and Kamohoali'i (the shark deity) were widely known and worshipped. [Kaho'olawe is said by the PKO (1980:24) to be "the home of Kamohoalii," but this is "an overstatement," according to Hawaii Historic places Review Board (1980:16) which states that the shark god had homes on all the islands.] Pele's visits to Kaho'olawe imply no permanence of association (Silva 1983a:7,8).] The spirit (akua) Pahulu killed and ate humans on the island of Lanai until he escaped to Kaho'olawe [around 1550 AD according to genealogical dating of his human pursuer (Fornander 1916-20:IV:486-9)]. This figure would seem to add little in the way of aloha 'aina to the Kaho'olawe of old. The giant Kalaepuni (whose story is told above) is another legendary evil visitor to Kaho'olawe. He was a killer of kings and was himself killed at Kanapou, Kaho'olawe (in a story datable genealogically through a chiefly enemy of Kalaepuni to c 1650 AD). The Kaho'olawe hill, Moa'ula, is depicted as animate and sympathetic to a human in trouble in a variant of the Kalaepuni tale recounted by Kahaulelio (1902).

The island was thus recognized as a place that would not be shunned by spirit beings. Some of these are positive; others are not.

Archaelogical findings, discussed earlier, suggest that Kaho'olawe was transformed from forest to grassland during pre-contact times. This does not necessarily indicate negligence or disregard of the environment; neither does it support a conclusion that the land was very well cared for (except in contrast to the severe environmental degradation which was to come).

The temples and especially the many fishing shrines indicate that pre-contact Hawaiians of Kaho'olawe appreciated that which they received from land and sea and that they wished to maintain harmonious relations with the environment and the forces and entities which they believed animated it. Contents of the offerings left at Kamohio, Kaho'olawe suggest (Mcallister 1933) that this shrine was not much used after contact with the West. There is one account of worship by convicts on Kaho'olawe in 1841 (CHRON 32,36) which may indicate sentiments of aloha 'aina. The anthropologist Emory (pers comm) reports seeing offerings at fishing shrines "on all the islands" throughout most of the 20th century. This suggests some historical continuity for the spiritual/appreciative/harmonious aspects of aloha 'aina on Kaho'olawe as elsewhere in Hawaii from recent times into the distant past. [It should at the same time be recognized that foreign religion, technology, diseases, economic and political institutions, and immigrants had a powerful impact on aboriginal philosophy as well as the nature and frequency of ritual activities.]

Aloha 'aina, in the sense of attachment to homeland, was demonstrated by the residents of Kaho'olawe who refused when the government asked them to vacate so a prison colony could be established on the island. The young women were said to have refused to marry if it meant leaving Kaho'olawe (CHRON pp 34,35). The establishment of the prison colony (c 1826-1853) by Kamehameha's politically powerful widow,

Kaahumanu, suggests that Kaho'olawe was not an object of special affection, esteem, aesthetic appreciation, or spiritual value to her. The Hawaiian monarch, advisors, and chiefs of that time are not known to have opposed this use of the island.

Kaho'olawe was, however, regarded as spiritually valuable by Mrs Emma DeFries, who testified (Keene 1983:9,10) that she and other kahunas (priests, religious practitioners) meditated on the island and went there to draw upon its "great energy." Mrs DeFries's testimony seems to indicate more than one trip to Kaho'olawe, but does not suggest the permanence of association implied by the phrase "schooled on Kaho'olawe" (PKO 1980:15). Mrs Alice Holokai (1985), who is widely regarded as knowledgeable in Hawaiian culture, reports that her great uncle was sent to Kaho'olawe by his pastor in 1911 to fast after receiving good news about his health. She said Kaho'olawe was a good place for that purpose because it is open and undisturbed.

This is reminiscent of King Kalakaua's visit to Kaho'olawe in 1875 in that he is said by a political rival to have been ordered by his kahunas (spiritual advisors) to go to Kaho'olawe to free himself from spiritual contamination from the death of the former king (Korn 1976:288,290). The PKO (1980:32) concludes, "Apparently, he could not cleanse himself at any other place but Kaho'olawe." It is apparent that Kaho'olawe was seen by some at that time as a suitable place for purification, but it is far from apparent on the basis of available historical evidence that Kaho'olawe was regarded as uniquely suitable for purification by the Hawaiians of 1875. These isolated episodes suggest some continuity for the spiritual use, and presumably value, of Kaho'olawe. Two further points may be made regarding Kalakaua's visit. It was then almost a century since European contact, and much disruption of the ancient culture had already occurred, especially in the realm of religion, due in large part to Christian missionaries. For this reason the Hawaiian scholar Charles Kenn (Keene 1983:8) discounts the significance of Kalakaua's spiritual advisors: He believes that Hawaiian religion was already adulterated with Christian elements at that time, and that the priests had not been trained adequately in the ancient lore. Thus, he reasons, even if they accorded some special importance to Kaho'olawe, their beliefs were not validated by sufficient knowledge and training in aboriginal culture. It is also of interest that Kalakaua's visit to Kaho'olawe took place during one of several "cyclical periods of intense longings for the revival of [Hawaiians'] traditional cultural past" (Napoka 1985:5).

The 1970's was another such period, discussed above under the heading of the "Hawaiian Renaissance." During this period, Kaho'olawe became a focus of aloha 'aina in a number of ways. Affection for the island was expressed in word and deed (Ritte & Sawyer) 1978; PKO 1980; "Kaho'olawe Since 1976," above; etc). The desire to nurture and protect it from harm was expressed and acted upon. Attempts to stop the bombing included: a law suit; political lobbying and demonstrations; civil disobedience; personal sacrifice even to the point of martyrdom; worship; educational presentations about Kaho'olawe's past (ecological use by Hawaiians and abuse by others, assertions of sacredness). The island was characterized as a woman (discussed by Linnekin 1983:247) and

as a fetus [Smith (1976:18) attributes this now common though not universal view to Emma Defrieze], these images suggesting life and vulnerability. Its ecologically degraded state was presented as a dramatic example of the abuse of the Hawaiian environment by non-Hawaiians, ranchers and the military, in contrast with stated Hawaiian values of harmony with the environment and care for it. Its archaeological sites symbolized the historical and moral rights of Hawaiians as the first occupants of the land. Appreciation for Kaho'olawe's beauty was expressed. Oral literary references, mostly recorded in the 19th century, were cited to validate much that was said and done. Indeed almost all the activities of the PKO fit under the encompassing definition of aloha 'aina put forward at that time. Newspaper surveys and the statements of other Hawaiians show that many subscribe to these sentiments, though there is more support for the sentiments and goals than for the confrontational methods sometimes employed. Finally, the island was said to be sacred (e.g., PKO 1980), though it was later said (Aluli et al 1983) that the word sacred was not to be taken in the usual English sense.

Pu'uhonua

This concept is defined in two not unrelated ways above ("Philosophy"): 1) a place of refuge, established by a ruling chief, for breakers of taboo and non-combatants (and perhaps the vanquished) in warfare; 2) a place where those who suffer from illness and/or their sins can find refuge and unburden themselves. The existence of pu'uhonua, under the first definition, is firmly established as a pre-contact and probably ancient institution, extending into the early post-contact period. On the basis of existing evidence (Emory et al 1957; Silva 1983a:9) it is not possible to conclude that Kaho'olawe was a locus of such an institution. Some references are suggestive of the possibility (Keene 1983:8,9), but these references could, with at least equal plausibility, be interpreted as meaning that Kaho'olawe was simply a good place to hide rather than a politically and religiously sanctioned place of refuge. [Pu'uhona in the first sense ceased functioning as sanctuaries around the time when the system of taboos was formally abolished in 1819 after the death of Kamehameha the Great. Samuel Kealoha Jr is reported to have gone to the pu'uhonua at Honaunau, Hawaii (now a national park) rather than appear in court to answer a charge of trespass on Kaho'olawe (A 5/3/77), though he was arrested elsewhere later.]

The antiquity of the second conception is uncertain, though contemporary statements by elderly Hawaiians raise the possibility that the term may have been used in this way in the 19th century, perhaps evolving from the earlier usage. Mrs Harriet Ne of Molokai (Keene 1983:8) tells of hearing as a child that people went to Kaho'olawe to "unload their burdens, their feelings, and their illnesses," and she affirms that the island was a pu'uhonua. Mrs Alice Holokai (1985) reports that the people of Kohala, Hawaii believed Kaho'olawe to be a pu'uhonua, and that people who go there are unburdened. Several unnamed, elderly Hawaiians told a committee of the Hawaii State Legislative Reference Bureau (1977:88) that "Kaho'olawe may have been used as a pu'uhonua, an area of peace and safety away from other troubled islands."

George Helm thought (Shimabukuro 1977:9) Kaho'olawe should be used as "a 'spiritual haven,' a place where the Hawaiians can 'discover themselves,' to 'experience the ocean, and the aina,' to 'spread our thoughts out, see and experience ourselves as Hawaiians.'" This idea has been quoted and summarized as "a Pu'uhonua" (PKO 1980:32).

Kapu

The word "kapu" is usually translated into English as "forbidden" or "sacred." Single word translations are inadequate to convey complex concepts from one culture to another, but these two english words do give some sense of the various clusters of meaning associated with kapu. As indicated by earlier discussion ("Philosophy," above), something may be kapu because it has mana (spiritual power) or because it was imposed by an entity (a chief or god) which has mana. Thus an activity or object might be kapu in both in the sense that it is forbidden/dangerous and in the sense that it has intrinsic spiritual power, the power itself requiring that it be kept separate from most or all people. [The notion of separateness inherent in the term may be inferred from two presumably historical lexemes: "kapuahi," and "kapuwai" ("stove" and "washtub"): i.e., something that encloses or separates (kapu) fire (ahi) or water (wai) from its surroundings.]

The word "kapu" is used in reference to Kaho'olawe in creation chants (Silva 1983a:4); this is discussed above ("Myths and Traditional History"). As the discussion indicates, two versions of the chant reference to Kaho'olawe are given, with their respective translations of "sacred semen" and "sacred albino." The chant, reflecting pre-contact attitudes of uncertain antiquity, indicates that the island's creation (characterized as childbirth) was associated with being forbidden, being sacred, or both. Associations of sanctity and high rank at an islands birth (creation) are not unique to Kaho'olawe (see Fornander 1916-20:IV: 4).

A second reference from oral literature recorded in the 19th century (Fornander 1916-20:V:514) also uses the word "kapu." The narrative (Fornander 1916-20:V:514-520) was set down by Jos. K. Kahele Jr, a student of Lahainaluna School, apparently (Fornander 1916-20:V: 507) around 1860. [The events of the tale may be dated genealogically by the presence of the Maui chief Hua, identified by Fornander (1969:II:41) as Hua-a-Kapuaimanaku; Fornander places this chief three generations after (1969:II:41) rather than three generations before (I:191) Paumakua of Maui. Using 20 years per generation, this would date Hua, and thus the narrative in which he appears at at some time prior to 1260 AD. For this to be accepted, the genealogy, Fornander's interpretation of it, and the method of calculation (assignment of 20 years to each generation) must all be accepted; in any events, the dates yielded by this procedure are approximations, becoming more approximate as one moves farther into the past.] The narrative is entitled "He Mo'olelo no Molokini" and translated as "Myth Concerning Molokini." It tells of the origin of molokini islet beween Maui and Kaho'olawe. Puuoinaina was a Lizard (mo'o) girl born of parents who were hills and lizards themselves. This daughter was placed on Kaho'olawe: "the name of Kaho'olawe at that time, however was Kohemalamalama; it was a very sacred land at that time, no chiefs or commoners went there." (Fornander

1916-20:V:514) Later Pu'uonianina becomes romantically involved with Lohiau, dream lover of the volcano goddess, Pele, and Pele cuts Puuoniaina in two, the lizard's tail forming Molokini Islet. But it is the description of Kaho'olawe which is relevant here.

The original Hawaiian for the clauses above is: "o ka inoa nae o Kahoolawe ia manawa, o Kohemalalama, he kapu loa no hoi kela aina kela aina ia wa, aohe alii, aohe makaainana e hele malaila." Thus "kapu" has been translated as "sacred." An earlier report (Keene 1983:3,4) assumes that this is the closest single word translation to the meaning intended by the Hawaiian. [This interpretation was based primarily on the assumption that the original translator was competent and closer (in time if nothing else) to the original composition than are modern scholars; also, "sacred" is prominent among the meanings given for "kapu" by the standard Hawaiian dictionary (PE), and is often given as the gloss for kapu [e.g., the Hawaii Historic Places Review Board (1980:16)]. The words following kapu in the text, loa no ho'i, are frequently used intensifiers, and this was taken to mean that the island was "very sacred indeed" at the time in which the myth is set.] A scholar of Hawaiian culture (Barrere 1983:2,3) interprets kapu as meaning "forbidden or prohibited" in this context. She points to the chiefly custom of isolating daughters and placing them under taboo. The name of the chiefly lizard girl and island, Kohemalamalama, would in the context of the myth and the custom mean vagina (kohe) that is guarded or watched over (malamalama). Hence "no chiefs or common people went there." This is the most convincing interpretation put forward so far, and the word kapu in the referece should be taken to mean "forbidden or prohibited" rather than sacred. Other claims for the ancient sacredness of Kaho'olawe based on this narrative (e.g., PKO 1980:31) are also rendered doubtful by Barrere's analysis. It seems reasonable to assume further that the taboo state of the island terminated at the departure of the "Vagina-well-guarded."

Kaho'olawe has also been said to have been kapu in the sense of "forbidden" around the turn of this century by Ashdown (1979:4) and von Tempski (1928). These daughters of former Kaho'olawe ranchers tell of a belief then current among Hawaiians that the island was cursed and that its use would require the loss of a human life. Such deaths are mentioned in the works of these two authors. Use of the shoreline was was apparently not taboo at that time, for Kahaulelio reports shorefishing on Kaho'olawe (1902). Residents of nearby sections of Maui told the author of this report in 1982 and 1983 that they were unaware of a taboo or curse of the kind just described.

A kapu was reported (Keene 1983:18) for Kaho'olawe: lobster and the fish kumu and moano may be consumed on or near Kaho'olawe if caught in its waters but not taken away. No explanation for this was given by informants. Again the operative definition seems much closer to restriction than sanctity. It may be that the "kapu on [red fish] may suggest a link to the ancient religion" according to Linnekin (1985:4) for Hawaiians used such fish as religious offerings (Malo 1951; Kamakau 1964). An earlier argument that this kapu may imply sanctity (Keene 1983) is rejected as "far fetched" by the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office (Ono 1983:4) in favor of a theory of economic

restriction. It may thus also be that this set of kapus has its origins in the conservation of resources, a use to which the custom is known to have been put.

Names

Place names constitute a resource in themselves, and they can help in understanding the significance of the places named. If variants are discounted, Kaho'olawe has just under 100 known place names (Motteler 1983). The island of Niihau, less than twice as large as Kaho'olawe, has over 4,000 known place names (Motteler 1985). Niihau has been occupied by a Hawaiian speaking population from ancient times to the present. Kaho'olawe's occupation has been discontinuous. In 1875 King Kalakaua's party was unable to find a local resident who could point out the famous places of the island (CHRON p 62). As part of his research on Kaho'olawe in 1913, the anthropologist Stokes sought an informant familiar with the island at nearby Makena, Maui. He was unsuccessful, the last Kaho'olawe man having died two weeks earlier (Stokes field notes). When further research was done in Makena seven decades later (Keene 1983), there was a similar sense that it was just too late. Informants knew some names and their meanings, but the significance of most names was not known. Thus speculation on variant names from maps was usually informed by general knowledge of Hawaiian language and culture rather than traditional knowledge of the specific places. Many of these variants are appended to an earlier report (Keene 1983) along with informant theories of their significance.

undocumented sources still exist

The historian, Napoka, has compiled and annotated a list a Kaho'olawe place names (CHRON Appendix C). This list is the result of linguistic as well as historical scholarship, and it includes archival sources for names and their variants. It was used by the researcher and should be consulted by anyone interested in Kaho'olawe place names.

The lack of traditional, firsthand knowledge and the desirability of deference to "preferred local usage" has led the geographer Motteler (1983) to consult PKO members as the closest approximation of a resident community. The resulting map (Figure 1) is appended to this report; some additional variants may be found in Keene (1983).

Three names are known to have been used for the island as a whole in pre-contact times. "Kohemalamalama" appears in a single narrative, that of the origin of Molokini Island (Fornander 1916-20:V:514-19). The most Plausible meaning in the context of the narrative (Barrere 1983) is "Vagina-well-guarded," as discussed above. This name, and the shape of the island (as seen on a map) has led to an association with femininity generally and a conception of the island as a fetus or newborn baby (see especially Ritte & Sawyer 1978:100), and this personalization is now widely (but by no means universally) accepted. The association is culturally meaningful in view of the special attraction which helpless infants have in Hawaiian culture. Birth, and by extention, rebirth, is also an appropriate symbol of renaissance and the Hawaiian Renaissance. This is a highly significant, recent interpretation.

Two other pre-contact names for the island are Kanaloa and Kaho'olawe. The former is one of the four great deities of ancient

Hawaiian culture, and the sea is one of Kanaloa's special domains. The name Kaho'olawe has been the most used in post-contact times and probably prior to contact as well. Its meaning (PNH), "carrying away (by currents)," also signifies an association with the sea.

## Kaho'olawe Sites and Locales

The cultural significance of eight places is discussed below. These, the inland religious structures, and especially the sixty-nine coastal fishing shrines which link the island to the surrounding sea are the most notable locations of Kaho'olawe on the basis of data available at present. All contain archaeological remains (and are thus "sites"), but these remains are not the primary source of significance for some locales.

### Kealaikahiki and West Kaho'olawe

The name for the the westernmost point of Kaho'olawe and the channel off this point means "the way to foreign lands." A body of legend (summarized in "myths & Traditional History," above) collected in the 19th century, but dating genealogically to c AD 1400, states that the chiefly figure and culture hero, Laamaikahiki (Fornander 1916-20:IV:128): "sailed for the west coast of the island of Kaho'olawe, where he lived until he finally left for Tahiti. It is said that because Laamaikahiki lived on Kaho'olawe, and set sail from that island, was the reason why the ocean to the west of Kaho'olawe is called 'the road to Tahiti'." [Subsequent sentences make the seemingly contradictory statement that he went to Kauai before returning to Tahiti.] This point and channel are thus associated with the voyaging tradition and with a famous chief.

Popular and scholarly writers (Silva 1983a:4-7) have continued to associate this point and channel with long distance voyaging. Mrs Harriet Ne, an elderly Hawaiian resident of Molokai, says, "To me the most important site [on Kaho'olawe] is Kealaikahiki...." There has been, for some Hawaiians, a continuous knowledge of Kealaikahiki's association with voyaging for some five centuries. Association with this achievement, and with a famous chief, lends significance to the place, especially in view of the intense interest in voyaging as a focus of cultural pride, since the mid 1970's.

Archaeolgical remains include religious and habitation features (McAllister 1933; MRN 1980). Some modern Hawaiians believe (SB 1/15/79; PKO 1980) that four boulders near Kealaikahiki constitute a (PKO 1980:30) "navigational ko'a" (the usual meaning of ko'a is "fishing shrine"): "When a magnetic compass is held dead center of the four 'natural' boulders, a perfect north-south and east-west course can be plotted navigationally." It is unclear whether this feature is natural or man-made; beyond that, available data do not warrant a conclusion regarding its use, navigational or otherwise. No archaeological site or feature designation has been assigned.

Several names have been given to the bay a little over a mile to the southeast [Hanakanai'a, Honkanai'a, Smuggler's Cove, etc (Keene 1983:69)]. The geographer Motteler (1983) has chosen Honokanai'a partly on the basis of PKO endorsement (since the island lacks residents, this group was selected as representing those with the most sustained interest in the island and its culture). "Hono" is used rather than "hana," (both meaning "bay") as the most common form in this part of the archipelago. The preference for Hawaiian names, whether traditional or

neo-traditional, explains why "Smuggler's Cove" is not used, even though this is the name usually heard in contemporary speech.

This last name reflects this bay's best known historical association. Around the turn of the century,.the island was used as a transshipment point in the opium trade (CHRON; Ashdown 1983; Low 1983). One smuggler's money was thought to have been buried on the island, which was searched thoroughly in the early years of this century. It is doubtful whether the treasure ever existed, especially in view of the searches which have taken place, but the aura of romance and adventure have been kept alive in popular articles (CHRON), fiction (VonTempski 1928), and through oral lore.

The bay area contains ancient and historical archaelolgical remains. Some of these have been damaged by military construction. Hawaii State Archaeologist Earl Neller (pers comm, 1985) believes that more archaeological damage has been done by the small amount of construction on the island than by ordnance delivery. Professor Matthew Spriggs of the University of Hawaii contends, however, that there is no way to know how much damage may have been done to archaeological sites by military ordnance (Spriggs 1985:3): "It is quite possible that lagged scatters of artifacts representing destroyed sites could mark sites destroyed by bombing where the soil matrix of the site was subsequently eroded away. In such a case we can't know the exact cause of the erosion of a site which is no longer there."

The bay has been in at least intermittent use for fishing throughout the historical period and during pre-contact times (Keene 1983). It has also been a secondary location for ranching operations (Tomonari-Tuggle & Carter 1984). In recent times, the area has been a headquarters for military use. Cultural and religious use has also been made of the area in recent years. its recent significance derives primarily from its propinquity to Kealaikahiki (and thus associations with ancient voyaging). It also appeals to the aesthetic sense with its clean beach and clear water (unpolluted by the reddish sediment found in the waters and sands of Hakioawa, the primary access site). Also nearby is a geographical feature known as "Sailor's Hat," created by an explosion simulating a nuclear blast to test Navy ships in 1965.

## Moa'ula

At an elevation of 1444 feet, this hill is only 33 feet lower than the island's summit, and it is the best vantage point. Winds, currents, other islands, and most of the north shore of Kaho'olawe can be observed here.

### Legends

Moa'ula appears as a character in a tale heard by a Hawaiian fisherman and lawyer around the middle of the 19th century (Kahaulelio 1902:85): "The prophet Moaula, the little hill standing on Kaho'olawe," feels "sorry" for Puuiaiki, the protagonist of the tale, who has been swamped at sea. Moa'ula rescues Puuiaiki; later puuiaiki is stoned by fishermen (this tale is discussed below, under the heading "Kanapou")

and Moa'ula takes him to live with him. [The literal meaning of "Pu'u-i'a-iki" is "little fish hill" suggesting an otherwise unknown place name in the vicinity of Moaula.] Moaula is thus presented as a sympathetic figure with spiritual power as well as a place.

Published accounts of oral literature (Silva 1983a) contain only one other possible reference to this place. The voyager Moikeha was "from Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa" (Fornander 1916-20:IV:20). Kaho'olawe's voyaging associations, and its ancient name of Kanaloa render the passage suggestive of the hill in question (Silva 1983a:6), but scholarship has yielded no conclusive connection (Johnson 1979), and, it should be noted, Moa'ula may refer to at least five other places on three other Hawaiian islands (PNH p 153); also Kanaloa may refer to Kaho'olawe or to the Polynesian god of the same name.

A final oral literary reference to this landmark appears in a chant heard by Mr Harry Mitchell c 1930 and again c 1950 (discussed in "Myths & Traditional History," above). "Deep Chant of Kaho'olawe" ("Oli Kuhohonu o Kaho'olawe Mai Na Kupuna Mai") (complete text along with somewhat free Mitchell translation in Keene 1983:60-63) tells of sighting land and naming it for the god Kanaloa. Line 5 of the chant, "'Ailani Kohemalamalama," is given as "To your left it is like heaven all lit up." This supports one translation of a name, "Kohemalamalama," for Kaho'olawe which is usually given as "shining vagina," or as plausibly argued by Barrere (1983), "virginity/vagina well-guarded." The next line and its translation "Ho'ohiki keia moku ia Kanaloa" ("We dedicate this island to Kanaloa") connects one ancient name for Kaho'olawe, Kanaloa, with another, Kohemalmalama. Both are associated with voyaging and discovery, as is Moa'ula.

Lines 13 and 14 refer directly to Moa'ula: "Puehu ka lepo o Moa'ula/ Pu'uhonua mo'okahuna kilo pae honua" ("Dust is spreading over Mount Moa'ula/ gathering place of the kahuna classes to study astronomy"). As mentioned earlier, it is Mr Mitchell's belief that this is one of several traditional chants passed to him by one of his elders (Kealoha Kuiki) during his youth and that they have great antiquity. Analysis by a specialist in Hawaiian language and literature would be desirable as a necessary prerequisite to placing this oral literary material in its cultural context and thus to meaningful interpretation. [The reference to dust may be helpful in placing the chant (or at least line 13) in a chronological context in that dust-producing erosion seems not to have taken place prior to the advent of the ranching period, starting in 1858, and written references to the clouds of dust for which Kaho'olawe became famous do not appear much before the turn of the 20th century, at which time they became frequent.]

Archaeology

The archaeological survey form for the site at the summit of Moa'ula (Site Form 202 prepared by Hallet H. Hammatt with additional material by Robert J. Hommon) describes two archaeologcial features on a rock outcrop, a rock shelter and a structure which "may have been a shrine." The form als states that these features are "badly disturbed by military activity and temporary construction [never completed] on Moaula peak." These structures indicate ancient use of the place. The

commanding view and the presence of branch coral are often characteristic of shrines and sacred sites. A later site visit (Neller 1982) notes the presence of a C-shape structure and cairn(s). It is unclear at the present time whether the additional structures were unnoticed in the original survey or constructed in the intervening period.

Nothing of special significance regarding Moa'ula appears in the written historical record (CHRON). Kaho'olawe cowboys and Makena residents recall the hill's use for communication during the recent ranching period. In case of emergency, the island's resident would set a signal fire there and help would be sent from Maui.

More recently, "The spot has become a contemporary shrine of sorts and is beginning to develop its own mythology" (Neller 1982:1). Hikers on accesses have been told that Moa'ula is a sacred place (Keene 1983:34). It is one of the ritual locations for the Makahiki rites which have been celebrated on Kaho'olawe during the last five winters. It has also been a site of intense group and individual experiences involving signs, visions, and glossolalia (Keene 1983:21-23).

"Red chicken" is the literal meaning of Moa'ula. The significance of this is uncertain (PNH); another location of the same name on Hawaii was originally Mo'a'ula, or "cooked red" (by the volcano). The absence of glottal stops on most maps adds to the uncertainty, which is further compounded by a lack of continuity in the passing of oral kmowledge of most Kaho'olawe place names. Most elderly (Hawaiian speaking) informants speculated that the name of this Kaho'olawe hill concerned a red fowl (no support was forthcoming for the "cooked red" pronunciation and attendant meaning); none claimed knowledge through a chain of verbal trnsmission extending into the past.

The name does, however, echo that of Moikeha's Tahitian homeland, and some of the other Hawaiian places named Moa'ula are sites of temples. Moa'ula's location and archaeological features support an interpretation of ancient cultural significance as a sacred site. If the chant which has recently come to light is accepted at its apparent face value, ancient religious, astronomical, and voyaging associations (all of which themes may be inferred, but not with certainty, from Fornander 1916-20:IV:20 as quoted in Silva 1983a:6) are supported, as is continuous knowledge of these associations (by at least one bearer of tradition) from ancient times to the present.

The site thus appears to have had religious use in the pre-contact period. Its known historical use is as a place for setting signal fires. It has cultural significance in the recent (post-1976) period as a locus of traditional or traditionally derived ritual for members of the PKO and a somewhat larger number of supporters. The current cultural significance of the site depends in part upon its pristine appearance; meditation on the Hawaiian past, for example, would be seriously impaired by any sort of modern structure. Participant observation indicates that the vista is now part of the site and that any construction on the peak or its viewshed would be damaging.

## Kamohio

This gulch and bay on the south coast of Kaho'olawe is not mentioned in published versions of oral traditions (Silva 1983a). It is, however, the subject of a narrative (mo'olelo) heard by Mr Harry Mitchell (text in Keene 1983). The narrative indicates the presence of a spring at Kamohio and, apparently, a priest/expert resident there. The English translation provided is somewhat free, and specialist analysis of this narrative would be necessary to interpret the significance of the mo'olelo (see "Myths and Traditional History," above).

### Archaeology

A shrine and fishook manufactory was located in a rock shelter near the shore here (Stokes 1913; McAllister 1933). [Hawaii State Archive Document 1126, a rough sketch map of Kaho'olawe, shows a "cave of Kunaka" (a name unknown to the researcher) approximately in the vicinity of Kamohio.] The shrine was composed of several terraces with religious images carved of sea urchin spine, leaf wrapped offering bundles, and an unusual number of sacred stones. The bundle offerings contained plants, bird and and animal bones, and barkcloth among other things; they were old, and McAllister noticed no recent offerings at Kamohio or elsewhere on Kaho'olawe (1985).

The shelter also contained a large quantity of fishooks in varying stages of completion along with a variety of tools. McAllister (1933:18-20) used this material to show how fishhooks were made from human bones.

The quantity of material remains suggests a long period of use, probably several centuries. The extremely small proportion of post - contact materials led McAllister (1933:18) to believe that the site was abandoned for purposes of fishhook manufacture shortly after European contact, though offerings may have been left at the shrine later by fishermen. Research has revealed no historical references to indicate any particular interest in this site.

### Recent Use

This site has not been a location of PKO activity, difficult of access as it is. Some PKO members are aware of its past use and could be said to value it from the standpoint of aloha 'aina (evidence of ancient use by Hawaiians; offerings as indications of desire for harmonious relations with forces animating the environment). It is well-stratified, and "much of the deposit is intact and well preserved" (Site Form 306). It is of value to all who have an interest in the island's prehistory for scientific or cultural reasons.

## Pu'u Moiwi

### Archaeology

Six quarries and adz workshops are located on this hill. A possible shrine (thought to be so due to upright stones, an elevated location, and the unusual presence of unbroken adz preforms around the

upright stones) is also located here. Volcanic glass dates range around c AD 1400. The sites can contribute to an understanding of the technology of adz-making in Hawaii, which appears to have been an important activity on Kaho'olawe. The adzes of Kaho'olawe have an unusual shape for Hawaii, and the Pu'u Moiwi sites could contribute to an understanding of the technology of adz-making in the archipelago.

No legendary or historical references were found to indicate any additional significance to this region.

Recent Use

Pu'u Moiwi site 108 is regularly visited on cultural and religious accesses to Kaho'olawe. It is utilized for educational purposes as an example of the ancient Hawaiian use of the island. In that the ancient use appears to have been benign and that worship was apparently connected with it (thus indicating appreciation for the bounty of the earth), the site has become a focus of aloha 'aina. It is one of the places which has become especially meaningful to individuals. One PKO member is said to have a special attachment to Pu'u Moiwi as a worksite, for he is also a workman (Keene 1983). The extent to which it has been so adopted is unknown, but the phenomenon of feeling a special affinity for a specific site or locale is not unusual among visitors to Kaho'olawe. [The degree to which this is representative of Hawaiian culture is problematic.]

Recent use has also involved a number of creative activities: "Someone has built a miniature facsimile of an ancient shrine in the eroded quarry area on the top of Puu Mo'iwi" (Neller 1984:16). Similarly, "the petroglyph that was made by one of the PKO supporters a few years ago at site 108, a human stick figure on a small, flat boulder, has weathered enough to start looking like a genuine prehistoric Hawaiian rock carving. Failure to document this recent alteration of the site could result in the acceptance of this recent petroglyph as being authentic a generation or two in the future" (Neller 1984:17).

Also at this site, a pair of rocks was identified by a PKO hike leader as "male and female." When asked the source of his knowledge, he replied that he knew from the shape of the rocks. The concept of male and female rocks is not unknown in Hawaiian culture, and indeed it is part of a fundamental dualism largely resolveable to the male/female opposition; moreover, rocks carry great symbolic weight in the culture. Nevertheless, it would be easy, even likley, for one hearing such a presentation to assume that the opinion being put forward comes from ancient knowledge of the rocks in question.

why isn't it?

Resource protection and preservation policy (as reflected in US Interior Dept 1980 and Hawaii State Historic Places Review Board 1980) calls for specification, to the extent possible, of the time period of any cultural resource. These two physical alterations of site 108 and the interpretation of a preexisting geographical feature should thus be recognized as dating to the recent (post-1976) period.

According to volcanic glass-derived dates, Pu'u Moiwi was put to

significant cultural use in the 15th century AD. It assume new cultural significance in the post-1976 period, and it was recognized as having scientific value at the same time. No historical, documentary evidence of additional significance has come to light.

## Kanapou

This bay and gulch at the southeast corner of Kaho'olawe is known for two related oral narratives. The tale of Kalaepuni has already been referenced and summarized ("Myths & Traditional History," above). It is set around 1650 (assuming an average generation of twenty years' duration) and depicts Kanapou as a place with only brackish water and no vegetable food but plenty of fish. By deception Kalaepuni, a killer and usurper of kings, is stoned to death by fisherfolk at the bottom of a shallow well.

The second tale comes from the fisherman and lawyer, Kahaulelio (1902:84-86), who heard it from his grandparents around the middle of the 19th century: Puuiaiki's canoe swamps and he swims toward Kaho'olawe. A dark limpet (_'opihi makaiauli_) is sent by the hill and prophet Moaula to help. A shark then appears and Puuiaiki tricks it in a manner identical to that of the trickster Punia (Fornander 1916-20) in a well known Hawaiian tale: i.e., he convinces the shark to swallow him whole and then uses the limpet shell to kill the shark from within over a period of three days and nights. The dying shark lands at Kanapou, and like Punia, Puuiaiki emerges hairless from the fish's belly. [Among the folkloric motifs (Kirtley 1971) in this narrative are: F911.4, Jonah (found widely in Polynesia); F921 swallowed person loses hair; and K952 monster killed from within.]

At this point Puuiaiki's fate begins to resemble that of Kalaepuni. Fearing that he is a demigod (_kupua_), some fishermen decide to kill him. Like Kalepuni he asks for water, is told ther is little, is led to a spring, enters, and is covered with stones. Unlike Kalaepuni, he is rescued by Moaula and taken to live with that prophet and hill, and when the fishermen return the next day the spring is open and the stones are piled at its side. Kahauleio goes on to say the bay and gulch had no vegetable food when he was there in 1848 but the spring was there, as were the largest of limpets (the last being the point of the story for Kahaulelio).

The narratives were collected in the 19th century and one may date to c 1650. They depict the region as lacking in water and dependant on Maui for vegetable food, but rich in marine resources. Both tales involve vistors from Hawaii Island, deception, and death.

Residents of Makena, Maui (Keene 1983) report good fishing (Olsen 1982), which they and presumably Hawaii Islanders have availed themselves of on a more or less continuous basis from recent to prehistoric times. The bay is subject to somewhat unpredictable conditions, rendering it potentially dangerous. This reputation is encapsulated in the name often used for it: Obake (Japanese, "ghost") Bay (Keene 1983).

Archaeology

Marine exploitation is also indicated by the presence of octopus lures and other fishing gear (Site forms 129 & 130). Fishing shrines and dwellings were also found. The well or spring which figures so prominently in the legends is not mentioned in the archaeolgical site reports, but Stearns (1940) notes a "filled" well there which was "dug by Hawaiians." He points out that Hawaiian wells were dug next to gulch walls, a better placement than later Kaho'olawe wells which were dug into alluvium. Stearns suggests that these well placed Hawaiian wells might yield water if redug. His description of the wells' location away from the shoreline corresponds with the spring/well of the legends.

Kanapou has not been much visited in the accesses of recent times, probably due its difficulty of access from land. It has been of interest, however, to visitors to the island.

Kanapou is culturally significant as the locus of two related oral narratives, which may be of some antiquity. It is rich in marine resources, and known for this quality. It is the location of religious structures suggesting an ancient form of aloha 'aina in that appreciation for the resources of the environment was expressed in worship.

Site Forms # 129 and 130 indicate that the area was surveyed early, prior to the establishment of more thorough standards which guided later research.

## Ahupu

Ahupu and Ahupuiki are adjacent gulches on the northwest coast of Kaho'olawe. Ahupuiki is of special interest as the site of an unusually dense petroglyph field. At least 378 figure representations have been picked, abraded, or incised in some 55 rock faces (Site Form # 121). The figures include men, women (one giving birth), animals, geometric forms, and a number of "enigmatic" representaions. The site (form 121) also includes habitation features.

The high density of petroglypshs is of special interest. Much remains to be learned regarding the symbolic and religious significance of such figures in Hawaii. The Ahupuiki petroglyphs may be helpful in elucidating the function or cultural use of petroglyphs in relation to what is learned from the other physical remainsin the area.

Ahupu is not mentioned in the oral literature (silva 1983a). The historical record (CHRON) includes no references of special significance.

Ahupu has been visited during the cultural and religious accesses of the recent period. It has not been the focus of much formal (e.g., ceremonial) on-site activity. [The beauty of this pristine spot adds to the impact of visits here; Ahupu Bay is recognizable at a distance by the sea stack at one end and the sea arch at the other.] The

petroglyphs of Ahupuiki have been visited for educational and aesthetic purposes and inspected for damage, however. Concern has been expressed (especially during the RIMPAC military exercises which involve foreign navies) by the PKO that the petroglyphs will be damaged by ordnance falling short of inland targets, and one of the.archaeological forms for Site 121 (50-20-97-121) does show the presence of ordnance. The only serious damage to the petroglyphs so far, however, comes from erosion. Many of the petroglyphs are highly weathered and continuing to deteriorate. Slope wash and stream erosion is also burying some of the petroglyphs in alluvium.

In addition to their interest to scholarhip, the petroglyphs have aesthetic value. They are culturally significant from the standpoint of aloha 'aina in that they demonstrate ancient Hawaiian presence on and attachment to the land. They also figure in the political and cultural stewardship aspects of aloha 'aina in that efforts are made to protect them and to delay or halt firing at other targets on Kaho'olawe due to potential damage to the petroglyphs. The periods of significance are the pre-contact period of use and the post-1976 interest.

## Kuhe'eia

This bay and coastal area on north Kaho'olawe is not mentioned in the oral literature (Silva 1983a). Although it contains at least three prehistoric features, midden, and some Hawaiian tools on the surface, its primary interest is ranching in the historic period (Tomonari-Tuggle & Carter 1984).

The first government lease for Kaho'olawe was awarded in 1858. By 1880 there waw concern over erosion and new lessees undertook to remove the goats and sheep and to stock the island with cattle. A series of leases to various ranchers followed. From 1910 to 1918 the territorial government attempted to reclaim the island as a forest reserve, but this proved too costly, and in 1918 a lease was awarded for the purpose of cattle ranching with the proviso that the rancher would exterminate the goats and sheep and try to halt the erosion.

Kuhe'eia was the primary site for ranching although Hanakanai'a (Smugglers' Cove) was used as an alternative landing. The site includes house platforms, water catchment and storage facilities, walls, and trails.

The Kaho'olawe ranching operation was unusual if not unique in Hawaii due to limited groundwater. This necessitated building cisterns and devices for catchment of runoff as well as bringing in water from Maui. The aridity, windiness, erosion, and isoaltion added a measure of hardship to ranching on Kaho'olawe. Kaho'olawe was the last wharfless ranch in Hawaii. When cattle were to be transported between ship and shore, cowboys tied them to the side of a boat which brought the cattle to a sampan waiting in deeper water where they were hoisted aboard with winch and strap.

The foundations at Kuhe'eia are relatively complete and well

preserved. This complex offers a good oportunity for study of Hawaiian ranching technology. Written accounts (e.g., Ashdown 1979), photographs, oral history from Kaho'olawe cowboys, and historical archaeology could provide complementary data for a cultural history of ranching on the island. The unusual conditions of the island lend special interest to such a project. Small scale subsistence farming and fishing were, for example, incorporated into ranch life at Kuhe'eia, in part due to to isolation from markets. There is also the possibility (Tomonari-Tuggle & Carter pp 21,22) that traditional basalt tools found on the surface may indicate continuity in the use of traditional tools into the historic period.

## Hakioawa

Hakioawa archaeological district consists of 41 sites with a total of 182 features around Hakioawa Bay on the northeast coast of Kaho'olawe. These include temples, shrines, habitation structures, human burials, petroglyphs, cairns, and midden.

Hakioawa is mentioned in one oral tradition (Thrum 1907:238 quoted in Silva 1983a:11). The fishing deity, 'Ai'ai, "visited Kaho'olawe and established a ku-ula (fishing altar) at Hakioawa, though it differs from the others, being built on a high bluff overlooking the sea, somewhat like a temple, by placing stones in the form of a square, in the middle of which was left a space wherin the fishermen of that island laid their first fish caught, as a thank offering. Awa [kawa] and kapa [barkcloth] were also placed there as offerings to the fish deities."

A structure which McAllister (1933:49,50) designates Site 21 corresponds to the legendary altar: It is termed a "heiau" [although the use of this word has sometimes been restricted to "temple," it may be properly used to mean "a pre-Christian place of worship" (PE 60; Valeri 1985:173)]. It is roughly square, and it is situated "above the gulch on a brow of the slope and approximately 400 feet distant from the sea." McAllister also found "much old coral lying about the site" (unworked coral is often taken as an indication of religious use of a site). Additional historical or oral historical data would be necessary for an unassailable conclusion that McAllister's "Site 21" is 'Ai'ai's legendary altar, but its location, shape, and apparent religious use are strongly suggestive.

This same structure is designated Site 350, "probable heiau," in the MRN survey. One corner of this site has already collapsed (Site form 350) and "additional collapse is imminent" due in part to erosion.

McAllister (1933:48,49) classified one other site as a heiau (#20 in his system, #358 in the more recent MRN survey). The recent survey notes signs of marine exploitation, food preparation and consumption, and the manufacture of stone tools at this site indicating that the site was not exclusively limited to religious use.

In recent times this structure has come to be known as the "Hale Mua," or the "Men's Heiau" (Keene 1983:25,26). Offerings are placed

here at the accesses which take place on some months and at the annual Makahiki rites. There is no direct historical or oral literary evidence to confirm the ancient use of this structure. The archaeologist Spriggs (1985:3,4), however, argues on the basis of the impressiveness of the structure, food remains, evidence of tool manufacture, and previous archaeological interpretations of similar structures that the site may well be a men's eating and prayer house. ["Hale mua" and "heiau" are not necessarily mutually exclusive. See Valeri (1985:173,174) for a discussion of these terms and their physical manifestations.]

On the opposite side of Hakioawa Bay is another site which McAllister (pp 23,24) designates "Site 23. Burial." The recent survey designates this as "Kaho'olawe Site 560 ... a probable temple complex." McAllister quotes an earlier researcher's identification of skeletons there as those of a woman and child. Site forms for Site 560 describe several skeletons exposed by erosion but does not give a firm conclusion as to their sex. This site has come to be known as "Hale o Papa" or the "Women's Heiau." The term "hale o Papa" is defined (PE 50) as a "House of the goddess Papa [associated with creation and "the female principle" (PE 396)] where religious services were held for women, said to be outside the heiau walls." Kamakau (1961:201) includes "Hale-o-papa" as one of several types of heiaus (including "Ko'a" and "Ku-'ula").

The closest to a documentary source for the designation of Kaho'olawe site 560 as "Hale o Papa" or the "women's heiau" is a map in Ashdown (1979:xv) on which the words "hai o Papa" appear near Hakioawa. "Hai" (PE) means sacrifice, and "haiau" (PE) is a variant of "heiau." The association of this site comes from the name Papa on the ashdown map and from the skeletons, which Stokes (McAlliater 1933) believed to be a woman and child. This structure has become part of the access and Makahiki rites now practiced on the island, offerings being placed there as at the "Men's Heiau." No additional historical or oral historical evidence is available to support any assumptions that the site was so used prior to the recent period.

Haioawa is of interest as a relatively nucleated settlement. (Hawaiians ususally lived in dispersed communities.) The district is also of interest for what it may tell of technology, exploitation of marine resources, the relation of religious to habitaion structures and other aspects of settlement pattern. The density and variety of features is relatively undisturbed by historical activity. The site is thus of value to the Hawaiian who wishes to experience an ancient and pristine Hawaiian place, to "discover his roots" as many visitors have put it. Others have also found a visit to this area to be a moving experience.

Written historical records yield nothing to indicate that Hakioawa was a place of special cultural or ethnic significance in the post-contact period (i.e., prior to the 1970's).

Recent use

Hakioawa has been the primary location for the cultural and

religious accesses of recent years. This due to the density of archaeologicl remains, propinquity to Maui, and perhaps the size of the area available for camping. Most of the on-island activities described elsewhere (e.g., Keene 1983) and earlier in this report take place at Hakioawa. They include presentations and discussion centering around land use in Hawaii; these stress historic rights of Hawaiians and contrast Hawaiian self-perception as living in harmony with the environment and taking only what is needed for subsistence with the perceived exploitative greed and destructiveness of others. Hakioawa is the base for hikes (illustrative of some of the points made in the oral presentations) to the immediate area and elsewhere on the island. Traditionally derived religious rites take place here, especially at the "men's and women's heiaus". The absence of modern structures and the sense of people living in close and apparently harmonious contact with the environment contribute to the impact of the political and economic discussions, hikes, and rites.

The recent activities carried out on Kaho'olawe generally and at Hakioawa in particular are expressive of aloha 'aina in its political, patriotic aspects as well as in the sense of attachement to specific places and a sense of nurturance of and harmony with the environment generally. Archaeological remains and the one legendary reference, indicate an ancient utilization of the (especially marine) environment and propitiation of the forces believed to animate that environment.

In conjunction with the activities already mentioned is a number of projects. Among these developments are the establishment of a garden located around a brackish, historic well; the construction of walkways, steps, cairns, a hula mound, a halau (traditional structure), leles (pole and platform altars), a major addition to the ancient religious and/or residential structure (Site 358); the carving of at least one petroglyph; the naming of several features; and (Keene 1983) the accumulation of a body of recent lore.

Several points have been made about some of these recent innovations (Neller 1984). They are destructive of ancient structures and their surroundings: "Site 358 is no longer a well preserved ruin .... It is now a partially destroyed ruin and a modern stone platform. Midden is scattered everywhere in the area disturbed by the platform builders .... And the new platform bears no resemblance to the structure that was built at the site by ancient Hawaiians several centuries ago." While construction is probably the most destructive activity, the volume of pedestrian traffic (civilian and military) contributes to the disappearance of artifacts and the collapse of structures. The researcher has observed that some access hike guides and orientation personnel stress the importance of preservation while others are more casual.

A second issue is the creation of neo-traditional cultural material. Hula mounds, for example, were unknown to aboriginal Hawaiian culture (Barrere et al 1980 cited in Neller 1984), although the "elevated stage associated with Western and Eastern theatrical traditions has come to be associated with Hawaiian hula too." This includes place names and tales as well as items of material culture.

Discussions of tradition earlier in this report show it to be neither immutable nor fixed in its rate of change. The aim of maintaining a dynamic as opposed to museumized culture also commands respect. Moreover, the PKO (Aluli et al 1983) has expressed objections to evaluation of the authenticity of their activities. In deference to this wish, the issue of authenticity of much recent activity is not discussed here, although arguments could be made in favor of neo-traditional authenticity. It is, however, a truism of historic protection and preservation that cultural properties should be identified with time periods whenever possible. Thus it is necessary, at a minimum to keep records of material and non-material innovations. The hula mound, halau, petroglyphs, cairns, place names, and interpretations of places and legends should be dated to the recent (post-1976) period.

## Conclusions

The data bearing on Kaho'olawe's cultural significance, which have been discussed in this report, are not entirely uniform or consistent in that some of these data indicate positive valuation while others are suggestive of the negative. Examples of the former include (but are not limited to): Kaho'olawe's association with the valued long distance voyaging tradition; the richness of the island's marine resources; visits or brief residence by deities and renowned historical figures; the presence of temples, shrines, and workshops; and the ancient name "Kanaloa." Examples of the latter include: legendary and proverbial references to Kaho'olawe which are suggestive of limited agricultural productivity, lack of water, and dependence on Maui for vegetable food; a relative lack of strong permanent associations with ruling chiefs or the chiefly class (and Hawaii was the most stratified society in Oceania); the use of the island as a penal colony in the 19th century, as instituted by Kaahumanu, widow of Kamehameha the Great; the belief reported for the period around the turn of the 20th century by Ashdown (1979) that the island was "cursed."

A pair of dualisms has been offered to resolve or explain these seeming dicrepancies: sea as opposed to land (Perkins 1984:34), and the chiefly class in contradistinction to commoners (Perkins 1984:22). [The reader will remember that dualism has been said to be a prominent feature of Hawaiian culture. These paired oppositions are a salient organizational feature of Polynesian culture generally.] Also offered in explanation of varying assessments of Kaho'olawe's cultural value is the process of reinterpreting the past in light of current needs (Linnekin 1983). None of these concepts accounts for all the data, but taken as a whole they go a long way toward resolving apparent inconsistencies.

Kaho'olawe's positively valued association with the sea is unassailable. Kahaulelio (1902) names rich fishing grounds in the waters off Kaho'olawe and tells a tale explaining why the largest 'opihi (limpets, a food prized by Hawaiians) are found there. [The value of fish generally in Hawaiian culture has already been established.] The fishing deity 'Ai'ai is said to have built a unique altar at Hakioawa, Kaho'olawe (Silva 1983a:11). Archaeological surveys indicate the presence of no fewer than 69 fishing shrines on Kaho'olawe as well as an altar associated with a fishhook manufactory. Kanaloa, an ancient name for Kaho'olawe, is also the name of one of the four major Hawaiian deities; the sea is one of this god's special realms. The shark god, Kamohoalii, is said to have a home on Kaho'olawe (but his sister, the volcano goddess Pele, seems to have visited Kaho'olawe only briefly). A porpoise and a birdling are auspiciously associated with Kaho'olawe in a creation chant (Silva 1983a:1). [Although only one of these creatures is unambiguously marine, neither is terrestrial.] Kaho'olawe [especially the cape and channel, Kealikahiki, "the way to foreign lands" (PNH)] is associated with the long distance voyaging tradition which is valued as a major cultural achievement.

By no means all of the references to Kaho'olawe as a land mass are pejorative, but all or nearly all which are suggestive of negative valuation are also terrestrial. The proverb, "Kaho'olawe 'ai kupala," "Kaho'olawe eater of [the famine food] kupala" (Pukui 1983:144) suggests irregular or poor agricultural productivity. The reference to Kaho'olawe as a "lopa" or "poor tenant farmer" (Fornander 1916-20:IV:2-4; PE) indicates lack of agricultural productivity, political dependence, or both. Although the Kaho'olawe cape and nearby channel, Kealikahiki, is famous (CHRON p 62) as the way to foreign lands, the great voyager Laamaikahiki's priests were "dissatisfied" (Fornander 1916-20:IV:128) when he lived on the island. Kaho'olawe's use as a penal colony in the 19th century and the curse claimed for it early in the 20th century have already been mentioned.

This is not to say, it may be worth repeating, that Kaho'olawe, as land, was without value and resources: the Hawaiians of old quarried basalt and volcanic glass there for tools; the Hawaiian historian Malo (1951:206), presumably writing about ancient times, states that dryland crops such as sweet potato were grown there but not the economically and symbolically important taro. There is a historical reference (CHRON pp 34,35) to its residents' affection for the place.

There are also (Keene 1983) statements by elderly Hawaiians indicating that Kaho'olawe was used as a place for meditation and as a place where Hawaiians could unburden themselves of physical or spiritual ills or contamination. The term pu'uhonua has been used to convey this idea in modern times, but no evidence has come to light in support of a belief that Kaho'olawe was a pu'uhonua in the sense of an ancient sanctuary sanctioned by a ruling chief.

The word kapu has been applied to the island in reference to the pre-contact period and early in the present century. There is a creation chant in which the island is associated with kapu semen or a kapu albino, depending on which variant of the chant is accepted. The word "Kapu" is translated as "sacred" for both variants (Fornander 1916-20:IV:2-9). "Sacred" appears in the context of this chant to be reasonable for a single word translation of this complex concept. [The same chant praises other islands in similarly elevated terms.] A second reference to Kaho'olawe as kapu comes from a tale of Molokini Island's origin (Fornander 1916-20:V:514-20). Again the translator rendered "kapu" as "sacred," but Barrere (1983) argues convincingly that "forbidden or prohibited" would be more accurate. A belief that the island was "kapu" around the turn of the 20th century is reported by the daughter of the last Kaho'olawe rancher; she does not define "kapu" but describes the island as being "cursed" (Ashdown 1979:x) at that time and associated with death (Ashdown 1979:xi, 1 ff).

Kaho'olawe does have some associations with the chiefly class, but these are not impressive in comparison with other islands. Chiefly or royal associations figure prominently in the significance of places and events in Hawaii. Such associations are not, however, the only source of significance in Hawaiian culture. Perkins (1984:22,33-36) points to the commoners as the traditional practitioners of conservation and the modern spokesmen of this traditional value. Kaho'olawe is valued now in

large part for its associations with commoner activities (Aluli et al 1985:10,13).

Professor Jocelyn Linnekin (1983:248) characterizes Kaho'olawe's past as "not-so-glorious" and argues (1983) that Kaho'olawe is an example of the normal cultural process of the reinterpretation of tradition in light of current needs. In the last decade the island has taken on a positive significance for many Hawaiians. This significance is associated with the reformation of social identity and boundaries, and it has become a cultural fact.

Over the past ten years Kaho'olawe has acquired ethnic significance of a political, economic, and religious character, as part of the social and cultural movement known as the "Hawaiian Renaissance." The concept of aloha 'aina has been used to interpret archaeological remains, oral literature, historical documents, and personal experiences in such a way that the island is invested with a significance which is new in its intensity, in the degree to which it is shared, and in many of the meanings now imputed to the past.

Those Hawaiians who have taken the most interest in Kaho'olawe are opposed to its use as a bombing target. This attitude is based on the concept of aloha 'aina: individuals identify with the island, and it is personified as a woman and as an infant. It is associated with the ancestors and with a past which is regarded as glorious, or at least superior in many respects to the present. It is, moreover, an example of the misuse of the Hawaiian environment by non-Hawaiians -- erosion due to the introduction of herbivores in the 19th century and the largely (but not entirely) symbolic and spiritual damage done by bombing. Some negative impact, primarily on the intangible cultural resources of the island, is thus inevitable as long as it is used for military purposes.

Other forms of negative impact may be mitigated. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has stated its opposition to any modern construction on the island. This is supported by the present research. Construction is potentially destructive of archaeological sites. More importantly, it can interfere with the appreciation of those which remain and their natural settings. Central to the experience of Kaho'olawe by contemporary visitors is the sense of ancient Hawaiian culture, nature, and the interrelationship of the two. Kaho'olawe is one of a diminishing number of places remaining in Hawaii where such an experience is possible.

The Hawaii Historic Places Review board has characterized this experience as a "freeing of ... Hawaiianness" and the replacement of a sense of shame and defensiveness with pride (1980:20,21). This "emotional freeing" is based on being "in touch with [the] past," and "being able to relate from mauka [inland] to makai [near the sea] without the interferences we usually face." The Board goes on to note that some Hawaiians experience this at all remote places.

Many Hawaiians (and some non-Hawaiians) have had this experience at Kaho'olawe. Of the eight major islands, it is uniquely free of modern

structures. This renders it suitable for the uses just discussed, for which some have used the term pu'uhonua." The island is also unique in its recent use. The sacrifices which have been made for Kaho'olawe and the experiences which have taken place there have invested it with cultural value for many.

Continued compliance with the Consent Decree (growing out of Aluli et al v Brown et al) and the Memorandum of Agreement is necessary to the preservation of the island's cultural resources. Artifact theft and damage to structures indicate a need for some form of monitoring of all visitors, civilian and military. Preparation of a brief guidebook has been suggested (Neller 1984) in this connection. This could be used to give visitors an informed appreciation of the island's resources and to impress upon them the importance of conserving those resources.

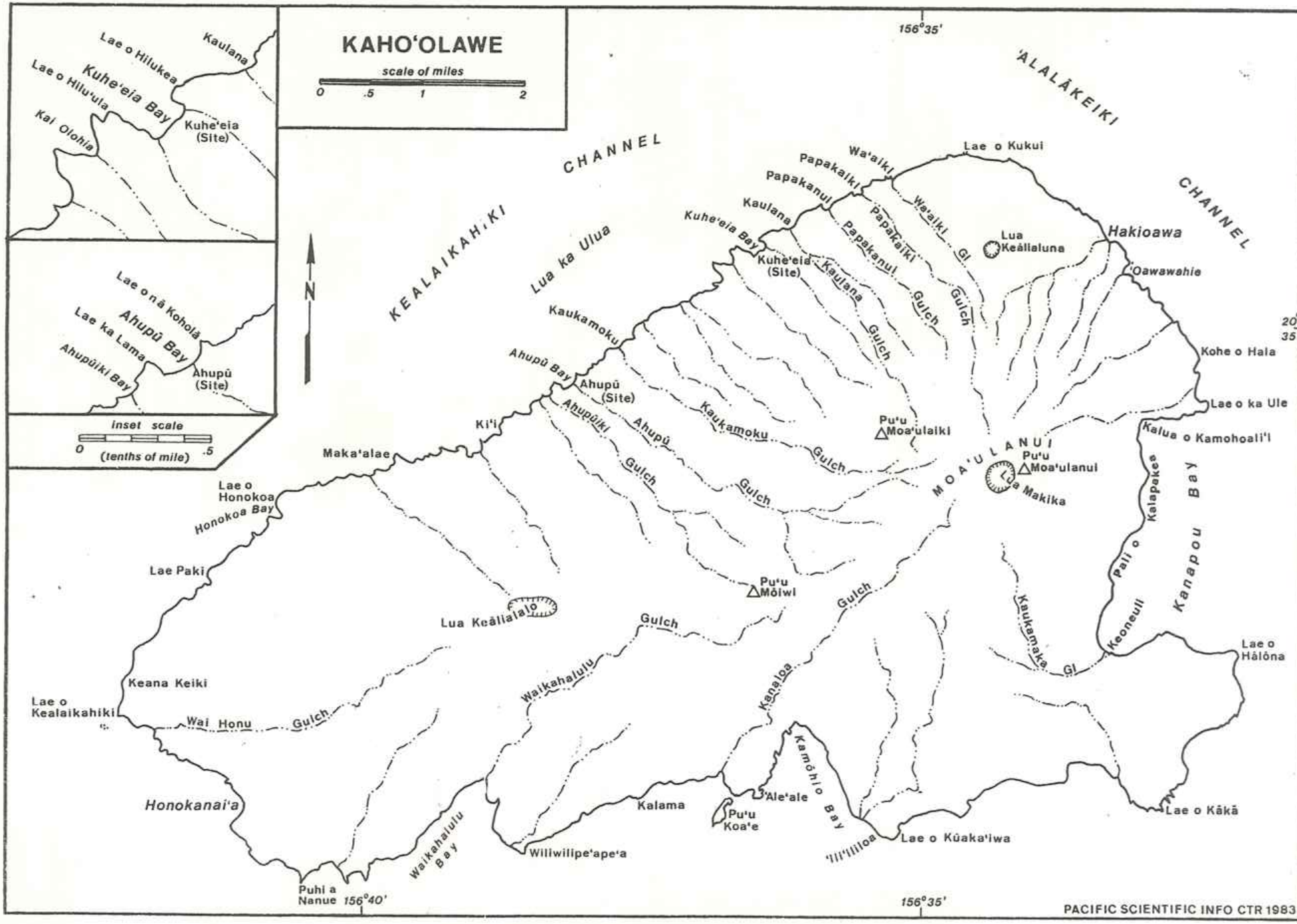
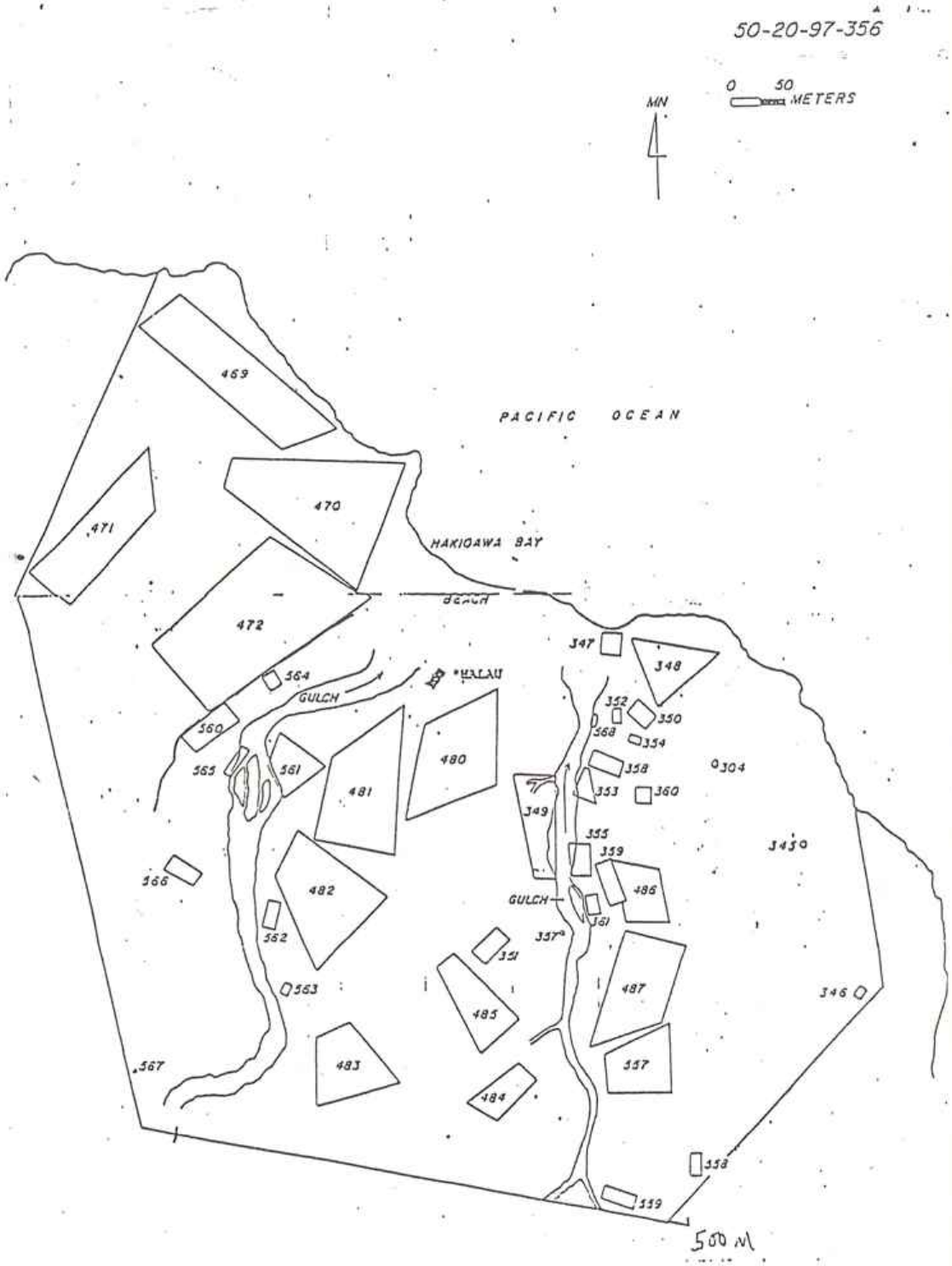



Figure 1 Kaho'olawe Island

Figure 2 Hakioawa Archaeological District



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1974 Historical Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Research proposal submitted to the National Science Foundation by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

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1983b Historical Summary and Analysis. Honolulu: EISC.
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## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| ahupua'a | land division including all ecozones from mountain to sea. |
| akua | spirit; god. |
| ali'i | aristocrat; chief. |
| 'ai | staple food, especially taro; to eat. |
| 'alina | scar; disgrace. |
| aloha 'aina | love of land; patriotism (Hawaiian). |
| halau | traditional structure; school. |
| haole | stranger, esp Caucasian. |
| hapu'u | endemic fern, a famine food. |
| Heiau | a pre-Christian place of worship |
| hui | club; association. |
| 'ili | land division within ahupua'a. |
| kahuna | priest; expert. |
| kapu | prohibition; sacredness. |
| kauwa | hereditary slave class. |
| Ki (ti) | cordyline terminalis |
| kiawe | algaroba tree. |
| ko'a | fishing shrine. |
| konohiki | land manager. |
| lahui | nation; statewide meetings of PKO. |
| lele | pole and platform altar. |
| lopa | poor tenant farmer; shiftless. |
| mahele | division. |
| makahiki | annual rites involving cessation of war and rendering of tribute to chiefs. |
| mana | supernatural power; authority. |

| | |
|---|---|
| mu | silence. |
| 'ohana | family; to be related. |
| 'opihi | limpet, a scarce and valued food. |
| poi | taro mashed and mixed with water. |
| pu'uhonua | sanctuary sanctioned by ruling chief; place of refuge from ills and woes. |

Sources: PE; author.

# KAHO'OLAWE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The primary documentary source for Kaho'olawe is Carol Silva's comprehensive compilation (1983) of all written materials retrievable through usual historical research methods. This includes materials from the first written reference through 1970, arranged in chronological order, and is cited as "chron" throughout this report. Silva has also prepared a brief bibliography of "miscellaneous references past 1970" (1983:350-55). This bibliography includes several important sources. [Especially worthy of attention are: Macdonald (1972); Kaho'olawe Aloha No (1978); Which Shall It Be? (1978); Na Mana'o Aloha o Kaho'olawe (1978); Recollections of Kaho'olawe (1979); and Kahoolawe: A Cultural Resource Management Plan (1981).]

From 1970 through 1983 several hundred articles relating to Kaho'olawe were published in Honolulu's two daily newspapers, the Advertiser and the Star Bulletin. References to these can be found, in chronological order and with brief indications of content, in the appended sections of the Hawaii Newspaper Index, under the headings "Kaho'olawe," "Kaho'olawe - Bombing," and (from 1977 onward) "Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana." Other documents referring to Kaho'olawe are listed chronologically below. These were identified by reference to the Newspaper Index; Magazine Index; Reader's Guide; an on-line computer search using DIALOG databases for the Science, Social Science, Public Affairs, and Environment citation indexes; and individual resources such as Myra Tomonari-Tuggle's files on the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. The aim has been to include significant and representative materials. Certain tracts, manifestoes, or broadsides may have been omitted, but not by any deliberate or systematic plan. Readers are requested to bring any omitted items, which relate to the cultural resources of Kaho'olawe, to the attention of the researcher.


1976

"Kaho'olawe and 'Aloha Aina'" M. Furusato. Hawaii Observer 10/27/76.

"Kahoolawe: What Really Happened" The Maui Sun 1/14/76.

"Paradise Bombed: the Future of Kaho'olawe" P. Smith. Hawaii Observer 2/24/77.

"The Walter Ritte Trial" The Maui Sun 4/21/76.

1977

"Aloha Aina Kahoolawe" The Native Hawaiian Winter 1977.

"Behind Bars, an Interview with Richard Sawyer and Walter Ritte, Jr" W.Kaho'olawe. Westlake. Hawaii Observer 11/17/77.

"George & Kimo Assassinated?" The Valley Isle: Maui's Community Newspaper 6/15-6/28/77.

"How Did This Boat Sink?" The Valley Isle 6/29-7/12/77.

"Kaho'olawe: A Different Meaning" J. Shimabukuro. Hawaii Observer 3/10/77.

"Kaho'olawe: Hawaiians on Trial" P. Smith. Hawaii Observer 7/28/77.

"Observations: Kaho'olawe revisited" P. Smith. Hawaii Observer 3/10/77.

"Observations: Operation Whitewash" P. Smith. Hawaii Observer 3/10/77.

Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana Press Releases/ Official Statements 1/31/77; 2/1/77; 4/21/77; 5/16/77; 6/14/77

"77 Legislature: The Godfather, Kaho'olawe and rumors of Upheaval" S. Shrader. Hawaii Observer 3/10/77.

"The Ohana: Birth of a Nation or Band-aid Brigade?" P. Smith. Hawaii Observer 5/19/77.

1978

Aloha 'Aina Newspaper/magazine sponsored by Protect Kaho'olawe Fund published monthly, then quarterly, beginning June 1978.

"Concerns of Hawaiian activists deserve a deeper look by all" Hawaii Tribune-Herald 7/19/78.

"Man of the Year, George Helm, 1950-1977" Hawaii Observer 1/26/78.

Memorandum of Understanding Pertaining to the Island of Kaho'olawe, signed by Governor of Hawaii and Commander of Third Fleet 8/9/78.

"Navy: Kaho'olawe vital to nation's defense" Hawaii Tribune-Herald 5/22/78.

Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. Press Release 3/7/78.

1979

Environment Impact Statement Military Use of Kaho'olawe Training Area. Honolulu: Environment Impact Study Corp.

Johnson, R.K. "From the Gills of the Fish: The Tahitian Homeland of Maui's Chief Mo'ikeha" in Pacific Studies 3:1:51-67.

"Kaho'olawe: There is Beauty on the Battered Island" Honolulu Mag Nov.

1980

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Resources Nomination Form for the Historic Resources of Kaho'olawe. Includes:
"Archaeology of Kaho'olawe"
"'Oia'i'o o Kaho'olawe (The Truth of Kaho'olawe)."

Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. Press Releases 11/6/80; 12/1/80.

1981

OHA 'Oleloho'oholo 'o Kaho'olawe (Kaho'olawe Resolution) [First resolution by Office of Hawaiian Affairs, recognizes sacrifices made to protect island from destructive use, calls for immediate end to bombing].

Ahlo, H.M. Kaho'olawe: A Cultural Resource Management Plan. Pearl Harbor: Naval Facilities Engineering Command.

1982

"Lonoikamakahiki" The Maui News 1/22/82.

Office of Hawaiian Affairs press release requesting foreign navies not to participate in Rimpac exercises. 4/19/82.

State of Hawaii Senate Resolution No. 38 Expressing Concern Regarding the Use of Kaho'olawe as a Shelling Target by the Department of the Navy and Rimpac '82 Participants. 3/31/82.

Shaplen, R. "A Reporter at Large: Islands of Disenchantment." New Yorker 8/30-9/6/82.

Tuggle, Myra M. The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana: Cultural Revitalization in a Contemporary Hawaiian Movement. Thesis. University of Hawaii.

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Keene, D.T.P. Kaho'olawe Cultural Study Part 2: Ethnography & Values. Honolulu: Environment Impact Study Corp.

Linnekin, J. Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity. American Ethnologist 10:241-252.

Silva, C. Kaho'olawe Cultural Study Part 1: Historical Documentation. Honolulu: Environment Impact Study Corp.

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R. Morales, ed Ho'iho'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press.

Schmitt, R.C. & C. Silva "Population Trends on Kahoolawe" The Hawaiian Journal of History 18:39-46.

State of Hawaii House Resolution No. 380, HD1, Expressing Concern Regarding the Use of Kaho'olawe as a Shelling Target by the Department of the Navy and Rimpac 1984 Participants. 5/9/84.

State of Hawaii Senate Resolution No. 96, S.D. 1, Expressing Concern Regarding the Use of Kaho'olawe as a Shelling Target by the Department of the Navy and Rimpac 1984 Participants. 4/18/84.

1985

"A Judge Who Visits Crooks in Jail" MidWeek 3/13/85.

| CONTRACT/REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL N62742-84-R-0076 | SECTION C | PAGE NO. 3 |
|---|---|---|

SECTION C - DESCRIPTION/SPECIFICATIONS

A. Introduction

1. The following specifications are designed to obtain the professional services necessary to prepare an overview of the ethnic significance of Kaho'olawe Island.

2. Kaho'olawe is under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Navy and is used for military training. The island was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Kaho'olawe Archaeological District in 1981. It was determined eligible for the register under criteria A, C and D of 36 CFR Part 60.6.

B. Purpose of Overview

1. Various documents relating to Kaho'olawe as a National Register property have alluded to the importance of Kaho'olawe in terms of contemporary values. Dr. Thomas F. King of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) referred to the "signficance of the island in terms of a putative continuing pattern of traditional cultural uses and values." Jerry L. Rogers, Acting Keeper of the National Register made reference to "historic and contemporary cultural values which may relate to the island as a whole or to specific sites and features on the island, and yet are not necessarily represented by material remains." The phrase "cultural values" appears in both the Memorandum of Agreement for Kaho'olawe (July 1981) and the Kaho'olawe Consent Decree of 1 December 1980.

2. For present purposes, the "ethnic significance" of Kaho'olawe refers to qualities of the island as a whole and of specific sites and features of the island that are important in terms of a continuing pattern of traditional cultural uses and values. The phrase "cultural significance" has not been used here, though it seems to refer to the same concept, because the definitions of culture are considered too broad (as in "cultural resources") or too narrow (as in archaeological "material culture") to be of use. The word "significance" is used rather than "value," because the former term is commonly used in discussions of historic properties such as Kaho'olawe.

3. The purpose of the overview is to present a succinct summary of Kaho'olawe's ethnic significance in the context of the history and culture of Hawaii in general and of Kaho'olawe in particular. The form and contents of the overview will be such that it will be useful for planning and resource management purposes.

C. Specific Tasks

1. The contractor will review thoroughly all relevant documents and other resources including but not limited to those listed in Exhibit A and will select data from these resources for the completion of the report.

SECTION C - DESCRIPTION/SPECIFICATIONS

2. The contactor will conduct interviews of knowledgeable individuals if such interviews are essential to the successful completion of the report. Interviews will be tape recorded.

3. The results of the study will be presented as a draft report which will include the items listed in Exhibit B.

4. A final report will be prepared.

MINIMAL LIST OF SOURCES TO BE CONSULTED

Ahlo, Hamilton M., Jr.
1981 Kaho'olawe: A Cultural Resource Management Plan Prepared for PACNAVFACENGCOM.

Barrere, Dorothy B.
1962 Indigenous Peoples and Cultures: Hawaii Aboriginal Culture, A.D. 750-A.D. 1778. The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XVI, United States Department of Interior.

Hommon, Robert J.
1980 National Register of Historic Places Multiple Resources Nomination Form for the Historic Resources of Kaho'olawe.

Kahaulelio, A. C.
1902 Fishing Lore, Nupepa Kuokoa (Feb. 28-Jul. 4).

Kamakau, S. M.
1961 Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu.

Keene, Tom
1983 Kaho'olawe Cultural Study, Part II: Ethnography and Cultural Values. E.I.S. Corp.

Malo, David
1951 Hawaiian Antiquities. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Napoka, Nathan
n.d. File on the Place Names of Kaho'olawe. Division of State Parks, DLNR, Honolulu.

Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana
1980 Oia'i'o o Kaho'olawe. (Appendix to Hommon 1980).

n.d. List of places and sites of significance to Native Hawaiians. (forthcoming).

Sahlins, Marshall D. et al.
1971 An Interdisciplinary Investigation of Hawaiian Social Morphology and Economy in the Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Periods. Research Proposal Submitted to the National Science Foundation by the B.P. Bishop Museum.

1974 Historical Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Research Proposal submitted to the National Science Foundation by the B.P. Bishop Museum.

Silva, Carol
1983 Kaho'olawe Cultural Study Draft. Part I: Historical Documentation. E.I.S. Corp.

Exhibit A

Theodoratus, Dorothea J. et al.
1979 Cultural Resources of the Chimney Rock Section, Gasquet-Orleans Road, Six Rivers National Forest. Theodoratus Cultural Research, Fair Oaks, California.

In addition: Items from Navy files as indicated by the Contracting Officer or his authorized representative.

OUTLINE OF THE KAHO'OLAWE ETHNIC SIGNIFIANCE OVERVIEW REPORT

I. Title Page: Report title, sponsoring agency, contract number, author, date (each revision should be dated separately).

II. Executive Summary: A brief summary of the major conclusions of the study with regard to the management of Kaho'olawe as a historic property.

III. Introduction

A. Purpose: To describe succinctly the past and present cultural values of Kaho'olawe as a whole and of that island's historic places and locales in the context of Hawaiian culture in general and the history of Kaho'olawe in particular. This information is to be presented in such a way that it contributes to the management of the cultural and historic resources of Kaho'olawe.

B. Basic information concerning the contract including the project sponsor, the project contractor, the number of the contract, personnel involved and dates of investigation.

C. A brief history of the project, including a discussion of events such as the historic places survey and the resulting listing of the Kaho'olawe Archaeological District on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), as well as documents bearing directly and indirectly on the present study, such as the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), the Consent Decree, the Memorandum of Agreement and the previous cultural studies.

D. Organization of the present report.

IV. Theory and Method

A. Theory and assumptions underlying present and previous phases of research.

B. Methods of data collection and analysis:

1. Participant observation.

2. Interviewing methods, including the selection of informants and methods of record-keeping.

3. Documentary research methods.

V. A Brief Summary of Hawaiian Culture (Note: this and the following sections should be brief yet comprehensive and should include adequate discussions of concepts, terms and other information that are essential to the final section.)

A. Pre-contact Hawaiian Culture

1. Chronology.

Exhibit B

2. Polynesian origins.

3. Economic system, including fishing, farming and collecting.

4. Arts and crafts.

5. Social organization including a discussion of the maka'ainana and ali'i.

6. Political organization.

7. Unwritten literature, including mythology, traditional history and genealogies.

8. Religion, including beliefs and the range and function of rituals as well as relationships with social and political systems.

9. Philosophy, values and concepts, including mana, kapu, aloha, pu'uhonua, and attitudes toward land.

B. Persistence and change in Hawaiian culture from 1778 to the present, including the effects of such factors as depopulation, the development of the Hawaiian Monarchy, the Great Mahele and other changes in land tenure, the introduction of Christianity and other non-Polynesian religions, suppression and loss of the Hawaiian language and other aspects of culture, and the "Hawaiian Renaissance."

C. Hawaiian culture today, including variability of beliefs, customs and perspective, as well as reference to a persistence of maka'ainana-ali'i division if present.

VI. Kaho'olawe: a brief summary

A. Environmental setting, past and present

1. Island size, location geology, soils, erosion.

2. Climate, including effect of the Maui rainshadow.

3. Flora and fauna.

B. History

1. General pre-contact history indicated by archaeological data.

2. Myths and traditional history.

3. Post-contact-history to 1941, including 18th and early 19th centuries as well as ranching era.

4. Military use since 1941.

5. Kaho'olawe since 1976 including reference to the documentary appendix.

VII. Ethnic significance of Kaho'olawe

A. Definition of ethnic significance, including a discussion of "cultural values" and "cultural significance."

B. Groups and individuals for which Kaho'olawe is ethnically significant:

1. The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (P.K.O.)

a. Organization and stated purposes

b. History

c. Activities

2. Other groups and individuals

C. Ethnic significance specified (identify for each aspect of ethnic significance discussed, the specific period(s) with which it is associated and the nature of the oral, written, archaeological or other evidence available):

1. Succinct discussion of examples of sites and places of ethnic significance elsewhere in Hawaii and the nature of their significance. (Examples might include Kukaniloko, Oahu; Honaunau and Kamakahonu, Hawaii, etc.)

2. Ethnic significance of the island of Kaho'olawe as a whole "in terms of a putative continuing pattern of traditional cultural uses and values," including a discussion of those general themes and concepts that are relevant to the subject of the report, such as aloha 'aina, kapu, mana, and pu'uhonua, as well as a discussion of relevant aspects of continuity and change in Hawaiian beliefs and practices, and how Kaho'olawe's ethnic values are related to the concepts of cultural renewal that are sometimes referred to as the "Hawaiian Renaissance."

3. Ethnic significance of Kaho'olawe locales, in the context of myths, legends and other sources of ethnogeographical information (included here should be references to Kealaikahiki, Moaula, etc.)

4. Ethnic significance of specific Kaho'olawe archaeological sites.

VIII. Conclusions

IX. Appendices, Glossary, Illustrations and Bibliography

A. Documentary Sources Appendix: Supplement to the Kaho'olawe Cultural Study, Part I: Historical Documentation by Carol Silva (July 1983), including sources from 1970 to the present. (This will be prepared as a separate volume.)

B. Other appendices deemed necessary by the author in consultation with the Contract Officer or his authorized representative. (Included here, for

example, would be long narratives such as a participant-observer description of a P.K.O. "access" presented as background information for the body of the report.

C. Glossary of Hawaiian terms used in the report.

D. A scale map showing all sites, locations and physiographic features mentioned in the report, as well as detail maps and illustrations, that may be necessary to an understanding of the text.

E. Bibliography, including all sources cited, whether written or oral.

(Note: Upon consultation with the Contracting Officer or his authorized representative, the report outline may be revised to improve the presentation and usefulness of the study results.)