He aliʻi ka ʻāina; he kauwā ke kanaka.
*The land is a chief; man is its servant.*

DISPLACEMENT AND POPULATION DECLINE IN RURAL VALLEYS:
A HISTORY OF HĀLAWA VALLEY, MOLOKAʻI

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By
Kaleialoha O Kamalu Lum-Ho

Thesis Committee:
Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa, Chairperson
Davianna McGregor
April A.H. Drexel
DEDICATION

In loving memory of my maternal grandfather, whose stories about growing up in Hālawa inspired me to learn more about this valley that many kānaka maoli once called home.

Ralph Papa Kahalewai
April 11, 1931 – February 26, 2005
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper is both a history of Hālawa Valley on the island of Moloka‘i and an examination of displacement and out migration issues in Hawai‘i’s rural valleys because of changing values towards the land.

The title of this paper, expressed in a ‘ōlelo no‘eau, exemplifies the traditional values kānaka maoli upheld towards the land:

*He ali‘i ka ‘āina; he kauwā ke kanaka.*

_The land is a chief; man is its servant._

Land has no need for man, but man needs the land and works it for a livelihood.

‘Ōlelo No‘eau #531

(Pūku‘i 1983, 62)

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau reflects the general attitude kānaka maoli had towards their ‘āina. They revered and respected the land and believed that if they took care of the land, it would take care of them. However, with the influx of western influence and a shift in values, this attitude began to change and land became a commodity rather than a resource.

Initially rural areas and especially isolated valleys like Hālawa were able to avoid the devastating impacts of Western contact. Unfortunately the valleys were not immune to change and they too suffered from the effects of new values and concepts. This paper will present a history of Hālawa Valley to show that it was once the site of a thriving community and preferred place of residence. The more contemporary history of Hālawa will reflect the changes that occurred in Hālawa that resulted from new Western values and the effects it had on the population. The paper closes with a discussion on options for the future and the feasibility of re-establishing a community in Hālawa Valley and the factors that may inhibit or encourage life there.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................................ iv
ABSTRACT ................................................................................................................................. v
LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................................................................... vii
LIST OF FIGURES ..................................................................................................................... viii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................. 1
   SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH ............................................................................................... 1
   Re-Connecting to the Land and the Value of Rural Communities ........................................... 3
   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ................................................................................................. 4

CHAPTER 2: A PHYSICAL, CULTURAL & HISTORICAL SETTING ........................................ 6
   THE PHYSICAL SETTING ......................................................................................................... 6
   THE CULTURAL SETTING ....................................................................................................... 12
   Ua Hānau ‘Ia ‘O Hālawa: Hālawa’s Origins ........................................................................ 12
   Nā Mo’olelo Kaulana o Hālawa ............................................................................................. 14
   PRE-HISTORY OF HĀLAWA .................................................................................................... 17
   HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS ....................................................................................................... 21
   LIFE IN HĀLAWA VALLEY ..................................................................................................... 23

CHAPTER 3: LAND OWNERSHIP IN HĀLAWA VALLEY ..................................................... 25
   TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE IN HĀLAWA .......................................................................... 25
   A NEW SYSTEM OF LAND OWNERSHIP .............................................................................. 27
   A TITLE HISTORY OF LCA #7713, RPG #4475 .................................................................. 29

CHAPTER 4: POPULATION DECLINE IN HĀLAWA .............................................................. 45
   EARLY POPULATION ESTIMATES .......................................................................................... 45
   HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF A DECLINING POPULATION .................................................. 50
   ORAL HISTORIES: SPECULATIONS ON THE DECLINE ....................................................... 57
   DECLINING POPULATION
     Ralph Papa Kahalewai .......................................................................................................... 58
     Anne Kaiana Enis Deduoit .................................................................................................... 60
     Walter Kaloeaulani Kawaal Jr. ............................................................................................ 63
     Kelson “Mac” Poepeoe ........................................................................................................ 71
     Kathryn Māhealani Davis .................................................................................................... 74
   REASONS FOR THE DECLINE ............................................................................................... 76

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE ........................................ 83
   THE FUTURE OF HĀLAWA .................................................................................................... 83
   CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN HĀLAWA .............................................................................. 84
   RE-ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY IN HĀLAWA ............................................................ 89
   Factors to Consider in Re-establishing a Community in Hālawa ........................................ 90
   Community in Hālawa
     The Feasibility of Re-establishing a Community in Hālawa .......................................... 93
   Discussions on How to Preserve Hālawa Valley ............................................................... 94
   The Kuleana Landowners Gathering
OTHER OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF HĀLAWA ................................................. 97
  The National Park Service ............................................................... 98
  The Hālawa Valley Land Trust ......................................................... 101
  The Hālawa Valley Cooperative ......................................................... 104
CONCLUSIONS .................................................................................... 107
APPENDICES ....................................................................................... 109
  APPENDIX A: The Physical Setting: Maps of Hālawa Valley ............. 110
  APPENDIX B: Natural Resources of Hālawa Valley ............................. 114
  APPENDIX C: List of Archaeological Sites in Hālawa Valley ............... 123
  APPENDIX D: Population Trends in Hālawa Valley from 1902-1936 ...... 131
  APPENDIX E: List of Kuleana Grants, Hālawa, Moloka‘i ..................... 133
  APPENDIX F: List of Members of Hui Hālawa ..................................... 142
  APPENDIX G: List of Lessees in 1915 ................................................. 143
  APPENDIX H: Current Landowners in Hālawa ................................... 147
  APPENDIX I: Tax Maps Showing Current Landowners ....................... 151
  APPENDIX J: Interview Questionnaire ............................................. 158
  APPENDIX K: Interview Transcripts ................................................. 159
BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................. 213
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Title History of LCA #7713</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Population Estimates in History for Halawa</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Breakdown of current landowners in Halawa</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Map of Hālawa Ahupua‘a</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hālawa Valley</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hālawa Valley, 1969</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>View of Hālawa in 1969</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Title of Podmore’s Map</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Portion of list of lessees from Podmore’s Map</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Picture of Paul I. Fagan at Pu‘uohōkū Ranch from an article in the Māui News, October 12, 1938</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Some of the current dwellings in lower Hālawa</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pu‘uohōkū Ranch Properties</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Graph showing population trends from estimates in history</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Graph showing growth and decline of total population of Hālawa</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Graph showing population trends from historical estimates vs. Husted’s Directory</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>The Kahalewai’s properties in Hālawa</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Joseph Kamana‘o’s property in Hālawa</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>The Kawaa family’s properties in Hālawa</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Remains of Hālawa Congregations Church</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Ierusalema Hou Church, 1965</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Ierusalema Hou Church, 2005</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>View of Hālawa Valley from the shore, 2005</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20. View of modern temporary settlements in Hālawa ........................................ 84
21. Properties in the Hālawa Valley Land Trust .................................................. 101
22. Properties in the Hālawa Cooperative .......................................................... 105
23. Map of Estate of Bernice P. Bishop in Hālawa .............................................. 111
24. Map of Hālawa Ahupua‘a ............................................................................. 112
25. Map showing ahupua‘a on Moloka‘i .............................................................. 113
26. Graph of current landowners in Hālawa ......................................................... 150
27. Map of current landowners in Hālawa .......................................................... 150
28. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9 ....................................................... 152
29. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 1 ........................................... 153
30. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 2 ........................................... 154
31. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 3 ........................................... 155
32. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 4 ........................................... 156
33. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 6 ........................................... 157
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Hālawa Valley on the island of Moloka‘i was one of the most populated areas in pre-contact Hawai‘i. Like most other rural valleys, it was the preferred area of settlement, as its geographic setting was ideal for cultivation. The valley was like a mini-oasis, providing resources from the land, streams, and sea. However, following Western contact, the population in Hālawa slowly dwindled. This pattern was repeated throughout other valleys on the island as well as the rest of Hawai‘i. Valleys that were once sought after were now being neglected. While there were several reasons for this change in settlement patterns, one of the most prominent factors was the influence of Western contact and the change in values towards the land. Shifting land tenure and the need to seek cash work led many valley residents to migrate towards more urban areas, and as a result, only a few families are permanent inhabitants today. This study will focus on the factors that influenced out-migration in rural valleys and discuss options for the future of Hālawa and the feasibility of re-establishing communities in such areas.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

As kānaka maoli, we are increasingly being displaced from our ‘āina. The heart of the Hawaiian culture lays in a connection to the land. Without that connection, we have become detached from our heritage. It is not a new concept that Western influence has been a major cause of this detachment. This research intends to examine what factors have influenced people to leave rural valleys as exemplified in the history of Hālawa Ahupua‘a. Today many kānaka maoli acknowledge the disconnection between the people and the ‘āina and are eager to seek their roots. Movements such as the Protect
Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and Mālama 'Āina have encouraged kānaka maoli to return to a land based culture. This paper includes a discussion on how feasible it is for people to return to rural valleys to re-establish communities in order to reconnect kānaka maoli to the 'āina.

This paper aims to examine how the shift in values towards the land has pushed kānaka maoli away from rural areas. The history of Hālawa Valley provides a good example of this shift in values. An overview of the cultural, geographical, and historical significance of Hālawa confirms that this valley was once a thriving community and was revered by its inhabitants. Besides the physical evidence presented from archaeological investigations that prove Hālawa supported a large population, early historical accounts and descriptions of life in the valley also report a flourishing community. Eventually however, this community began to decline. Population estimates and records reflect a downward trend, especially in the early part of the 20th century. While there have been many theories that attempted to explain this decline, including environmental factors and natural disasters, it is likely that the influence of Western values was a motive. Historical accounts and oral histories show that out-migration and population decline in Hālawa Valley are directly related to the change in ownership of the land and the shifting values.

Understanding this issue is imperative for the future. These rural areas are still capable of supporting thriving communities, but first the disconnection between the people and the land must be reconciled. By acknowledging the shift in focus from traditional to Western values, we may be able to understand why our ancestors felt obligated to leave their homes. With this understanding, kānaka maoli will be able to return to the rural valleys while maintaining a balance between the traditional and Western world.
Finally, I conducted this research for personal reasons. My grandfather spent his childhood in Hālawa Valley. I have always been fascinated by this mysterious place that seems to be locked in time and I wanted to learn more about my family. While there has been extensive research and publications on the archaeology of Hālawa, there is no comprehensive history published for this ahupua‘a. When I am finished with this research, I want to share it with my grandfather and the rest of my family so that we have a better understanding of where we came from and the significance of our Moloka‘i ties.

Re-Connecting to the Land and the Value of Rural Communities

The Hawaiian Renaissance has encouraged kānaka maoli to embrace their culture and reconnect to the land. More kānaka maoli are realizing the importance of ‘āina and preserving the culture. While kānaka maoli throughout Hawai‘i were forced to leave their homes, a movement that contributed to the decline of the culture, usually the more rural and undeveloped areas were able to maintain the traditional lifestyle. The rural areas were lucky in that they escaped much of the influences that the rest of Hawai‘i suffered. These communities were often bypassed by foreigners because they were either difficult to access, or had limited accessibility. As a result, outsiders, including missionaries, were often unable to alter the way of life in rural communities and kānaka maoli living there were able to maintain their belief systems longer than kānaka maoli living outside. Even when Christianity began to spread in the rural regions, it co-existed with traditional Hawaiian beliefs. Besides the advent of Christianity, rural areas also escaped large-scale agriculture. The geography in these localities, many of them valleys or rugged terrain, restricted large-scale agriculture and plantations. The restrictions of accessibility and harsh natural features limited the number of haole settlers (McGregor,
Minerbi and Matsuoka 1993, 24). These factors allowed kānaka maoli living here to maintain their traditions and beliefs.

Because kānaka maoli in rural areas were more able to sustain their culture than kānaka maoli living outside, these communities are essential in the future preservation of the culture. "Of singular importance to the perpetuation of the Hawaiian people are isolated and undeveloped rural communities which were historically bypassed by the mainstream of social and economic development. Hawaiians in these rural areas did not fully assimilate into the changing system. Instead, they pursued traditional subsistence livelihoods...Rural Hawaiians are stubbornly independent, feel a strong attachment to their land and to traditionally cultural customs and practices" (McGregor, Minerbi and Matsuoka 1993, 20). McGregor contends that these enclaves in which the communities have managed to maintain traditions, which she deems "cultural kīpuka," are essential in ensuring the survival of the Hawaiian culture into the 21st Century and without them, Kānaka maoli risk losing their language, religion, culture, land base, and the livelihoods that characterize them as the natives of this land (op. cit., 20).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research began with a history of land ownership for Hālawa Valley. Three title histories were conducted, one for the largest parcel of land measuring over 8,000 acres that was granted to Victoria Kamāmalu during the māhele as an "ahupuaʻa" and two smaller kuleana parcels. These title histories provided valuable information in understanding the direct influence of Western values towards the land. The title history research included several visits to the Bureau of Land Conveyances and the Hawaiʻi State Archives located near the Hawaiʻi State Capitol. At these locations, historical and
government documents, including probates, deeds, and land transfers were collected and examined.

Following the title histories, extensive literary research was conducted. There is a limited amount of published material on Hālawa. There has been considerable research on the prehistory of Hālawa, primarily based on archaeological investigations done by Patrick V. Kirch and Marion Kelly, but the historical information is limited. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive history of Hālawa in print. With this in mind, I was determined to create a detailed history of the ahupua‘a of Hālawa. I collected several reports (including a study by the National Park Service), newspaper articles dating as far back as the late 19th century, and any literature referring to Hālawa including moʻolelo, mele, and missionary reports. I also examined several historic maps at the State Survey Division and historical documents (including directories) from the State Archives. An invaluable resource was an unpublished report on the history of Puʻuohōkū Ranch in Hālawa written by Marion Kelly, which gave me a good start and provided many additional references. These resources were compiled and analyzed to provide a comprehensive background and history of Hālawa. This information was the backbone of the research needed for this paper to determine the factors that have influenced out-migration and population decline in Hālawa.

Finally, oral histories were collected to support the information accumulated from archival and literary research, and more importantly, to give the people of Hālawa a voice. Former residents of Hālawa were interviewed to understand why people left the valley, while illuminating their own recollections of the valley and their personal histories. People were also interviewed regarding the feasibility of re-establishing a community in Hālawa and how it relates to reconnecting to the land.
CHAPTER 2
HĀLAWA: A PHYSICAL, CULTURAL & HISTORICAL SETTING

This section presents information on the physical, cultural, and historical background of Hālawa. A description of the geography of Hālawa reflects the valley's ideal physical characteristics and natural resources for supporting a self-sustaining community. The cultural history of Hālawa reflects the reverence ka poʻe kahiko had for this ahupuaʻa and defends the belief that the valley once sustained a thriving population. Meanwhile, the archaeological evidence resulting from extensive investigations in the 1970s provides physical evidence for the existence of large populations in Hālawa over an extended period. Indeed, Hālawa has been renowned as one of the areas with the longest continuous settlement pattern in the entire archipelago. Even after Western contact, Hālawa continued to flourish. Early historical accounts describe a large community, active in cultivation. In fact, life in the valley was not only successful as far as subsistence and self-sustenance, but the people living in Hālawa were also prosperous and maintained a healthy way of living.

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

According to McGregor, Minerbi and Matsuoka, “the natural environment is crucial to Hawaiian culture and well-being, because nature is believed to be the domain of both ancestral spirits and Hawaiian deities” (1993, 3). This special relationship, combined with an ideal environment for cultivation and an abundance of resources, was one of the many reasons why Hālawa was such a desirable place to settle.
The ahupua‘a of Hālawa is located on the northern coast of the island of Moloka‘i and extends westward into a portion of Wailau Valley (Summers 1971, 160). It is part of the Ko‘olau or windward district. Even its name reflects its physical orientation; Hālawa, which can be interchanged with kālawa (Pūku‘i 1971, 49), is defined as a curve, as in the road or along the beach, the action of going from one side to another, or “intermittent pains in the side of the neck” (113). Hālawa is described as a “typical amphitheater-headed valley” on the northeast side of Moloka‘i that was formed when streams eroded the slopes of the northern end of the island (Macdonald 1983, 415). The ahupua‘a of Hālawa is a valley that makes up the “lower part of an extensive drainage basin” (National
An extensive drainage basin is the area that provides water to a stream system (Dolgoff 1998, 609). The valley extends up into the East Moloka‘i Mountains and measures ¾ miles long, ½ mile wide at the coast, and less than 1/3 mile wide inland.

The National Park System (2001, 9) categorizes the valley geographically into three regions. The first region is composed of bare outcrops (or exposed) basalt rock. The main sources of erosion in this region are mechanical weathering, which is defined as “the combination of physical processes that disintegrates a rock without chemical change” (Dolgoff 1998, 611), and mass movement, also known as mass wasting, in which rocks and soil are moved down slope by gravity alone and not by an outside force like a stream (611).

The second region is characterized by a thin top layer of talus, “coarse angular rock fragments that collect at the base of the cliffs from which they were dislodged” (615) and colluvium, “a loose deposit of rock debris accumulated through the action of gravity at the base of a cliff or slope” (Farlex 2005), covered
by a layer of vegetation. In this region, the stream is the primary source of erosion.

The third region is classified by its alluvial terraces along the stream. Alluvial terraces are “level areas that appear as topographic steps above a stream, created by a stream as it scours with renewed downcutting into its floodplain” (Christoperson 1997, A.13). These terraces are composed of alluvium, or sediments deposited by the stream. The terraces culminate in the alluvial floodplain, where, like the second region, the stream is the primary source of erosion.

In addition to these three divisions, there is the cliff region, which the National Park Service claims was not used by early inhabitants except to obtain raw stone, the taluvial slope region, where kānaka maoli practiced unirrigated horticulture, and the alluvial terraces where the hydromorphic soils (soils often found in wetlands and where there is poor drainage) (Farlex 2005) was ideal for the development of pond field agriculture (National Park Service 2001, 9).

The National Park Service further describes Hālawa as a “partially drowned valley” which results in a “relatively deep and sheltered bay” (2001, 9). Due to the freshwater output from Hālawa Stream, a fringing reef, which is typically found off the coasts of Ka Pae 'Āina o Hawai‘i, (Juvik 1998, 117), was not able to develop. Despite the absence of a reef, the carbonate sand beaches, whose sand is from the “remains of calcium carbonate skeletons and sediments produced by corals and coralline algae” (117), provide evidence of the presence of coral in the bay. There may not be much of a coral reef system in Hālawa but there is a “fairly large expanse of inshore habitat” including the sea cliff at Cape
Hālawa to Lamaloa Head, a boulder or cobble beach, the carbonate sand beach at the mouth of the bay, and a “sheltered sand-and-silt beach in the ‘lagoon’ near the Hālawa Stream effluent” (National Park Service 2001, 9).

The natural setting of the windward valleys of Moloka‘i provided a multitude of resources to support the communities living there. Besides the water that fed the ‘auwai to irrigate the taro terraces, there were fruits and other root crops (i.e. sweet potato), medicinal plants, fibers for cordage, ‘o‘opu, ‘ōpae, wi, and hīhiwai form the streams, fish from the ocean, limu, and shellfish (See Appendix B for complete list of resources) (McGregor 1989, 410). In addition, since kānaka maoli were farmers and fishermen, they often lived close to the land and sea and frequently established populations in
valleys with perennial streams. Such valleys were ideal for pond field taro agriculture, which could be planted continuously, and Hālawa “with its year-round freshwater stream and relative easy access to the sea, was a prime site for a productive taro growing and fishing settlement” (Kelly 1989, Part I: 1).

The plentiful resources available in Hālawa were imperative in maintaining the community. Without self-sustenance, settlement in Hālawa would not have been possible. Luckily, Hālawa’s geography allowed the natural resources to thrive and when kānaka maoli began to establish themselves here, they had more than enough to sustain themselves. As a result, the community grew and Hālawa soon became one of the most populated sites in the entire island chain. Archaeological investigations have revealed that prior to Western contact and over an extended period, a thriving community lived in Hālawa, who relied on the abundance the ‘āina provided. Mo‘olelo also reflect Hālawa’s importance to kānaka maoli. The stories, chants, and mele indicate a place that supported the not only the physical survival of the kānaka maoli, but also promoted the cultural and spiritual continuity of the people.
THE CULTURAL SETTING

The rich cultural history of Hālawa reflects the reverence kānaka maoli had towards the valley. There are many stories that illustrate the valley’s importance and its ability to support the populations that lived there. These oral traditions, that have been passed on for generations and collected by various scholars and historians, are an integral part of Hālawa’s history.

Ua Hānau 'Ia 'O Hālawa: Hālawa’s Origins

Hālawa is an ahupua’a belonging to the moku or district of Koʻolau on the island of Moloka‘i. There are several versions that recount the origin of the island of Moloka‘i. According to a mele written by Kahakuikamoana, Haumea’s husband Kuluwaiea and another woman named Hinahuialana conceived Moloka‘i, who became a god and priest (Fomander 1959, 6):

It was Kuluwaiea of Haumea who was the husband,
It was Hinanuialana the wife,
Then was born Molokai, a god, a priest,
A yellow flower from Muimea

Pāku‘i, a historian during Kamehameha’s time, claimed that Moloka‘i was conceived by Hina and Wākea and described Moloka‘i as “an island child” (op. cit., 12):

Then Wākea turned around and found Hina,
Hina was found as a wife for Wākea.
Hina conceived Molokai, an island,
Hina’s Molokai is an island child.

Besides mele and mo’olelo relating to the creation of Moloka‘i, and consequently Hālawa, we also have mele that describe the winds of the area. There are many winds that are specific to Hālawa. The following mele identifies these winds (Fomander 1916, 78-135):
Ka po'e kahiko were very observant. They paid particular attention to their physical surroundings and were able to identify the different aspects of nature. As a result, they developed a classification system for these various aspects of nature, including wind.

There was a name for each wind that took on a particular characteristic. This mele lists the many winds that have been witnessed in Hálawa. The ho'olua wind is a strong north wind (Kent 1986, 438). Noe is a mist, so the ho'olua noe is probably a strong north wind accompanied by mist (Pi'iku'i 1971, 247). Wahakole is defined as garrulous, noisy, or boisterous, so the ho'olua wahakole is probably a garrulous, noisy or boisterous strong wind from the north (348). The kā'ao wind is when it is calm in one place while the wind is blowing in another location (Kent 1986, 439). Laumakani is simply a puff of wind (Pi'iku'i 1971, 369). Nāulu is characterized by heavy mists or a shower of fine rain without any clouds (Kent 1986, 441). Kēhau is a mountain breeze in the morning (439). Lī anu is a cool chill (Pi'iku'i 1971, 188) and 'ehukai is a sea spray (36). Descriptions of the winds 'okia, ualehu, and la'ikū could not be found, but there are definitions for these terms: 'okia is defined as separated (259), ualehu means gray or ashy-gray (334), and la'ikū is a great calm, quiet, or peace (176). Perhaps these winds take on these characteristics. No definition or description could be found for the koi pali wind.
Na Mo’olelo Kaulana o Hālawa

Besides oli that talk about the origins and winds of Hālawa, many mo’olelo discuss famous deities and visitors to go to Hālawa and its place in the Hawaiian culture. As stated earlier, Hālawa was known in early history as a vibrant valley and a desired place to live. Mo’olelo reflect this veneration, as many famous characters were known to visit Hālawa. In fact, Hālawa was known as the “second-best place where Moloka‘i chiefs liked to surf” (Kamakau 1992, 54).

Hālawa was not only known for its superior surf. It was also the home of a band of mo‘o. In addition to retrieving Lohi‘au, Hi‘iaka was on a quest to rid the land of the mo‘o. The mo‘o were “lawless beings,” who made life difficult for the people throughout the islands. The goddess Hi‘iaka stopped here on her way to Kaua‘i to fetch her sister’s lover. She had fled to Moloka‘i to escape the people of Kauakahimahikulani, a priest who was ordered to capture her to revive King Kaulahea. When she arrived in Hālawa, the people explained that they were being tormented by mo‘o. The windward side of Moloka‘i was infested by a group of “man-killing mo‘o.” The people of Hālawa told Hi‘iaka that she could not go on her planned route through the windward coast because there were dangerous cliffs and a nest of mo‘o, who were ruled by the female chief mo‘o Kikipua, in an area also known as Kikipua. Kikipua would change her shape to capture her victims and was a source of trouble for the people of Hālawa. Hi‘iaka ignored the warnings and proceeded on towards Hālawa. At one point Hi‘iaka and Wahine‘ōma‘o, her companion, were about to cross what looked like a bridge but was actually Kikipua’s tongue. Hi‘iaka used her magic pā‘ū to cross the gap. She then chased Kikipua and killed her, ridding Hālawa of its tormentors (Emerson 1993, 83-84).
Halawa was also the home of the famous kukui grove of Lanikāula. A visitor to Halawa named James N.K. Keola retold the story of Lanikāula, the famous prophet, in an article in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*:

Lanikāula was a prophet or makaula, who lived in a kukui grove in the plain above Halawa. The kukui grove is still standing, although diminished to less than half its original size. The way to it is so thickly covered with lantana bushes, horses cannot penetrated on account of them. Within the kukui groves was buried, over a century ago, the remains of Lanikāula, the great prophet of Molokai. The story goes, that he died a victim to the strategy of Polo, another and lesser prophet of Molokai. Lanikāula saw his end was nigh and he brought together his three sons. He asked them how they could best conceal his bones so that other chiefs might not use them for fish-hooks. The eldest recommended giving his bones to the sharks. The second son advised breaking up of his bones and feeding the pigs with them. The youngest son suggested a better plan, which was accepted by their father. His plan was to dig a deep hole within the kukui grove, lay his bones at the bottom and put layers of pāhoa, or sharp-edged rocks, on top, so that whoever attempted to unearth the bones would have his fingers cut by the stones. Agricultural implements were not imported then. Lanikāula favored this plan, and his tomb is located among the kukui trees. It is a place often visited by strangers, but the lantana bushes have shut out the tomb from view. I made two attempts to see the place, but failed each time (Keola 1893).

Another moʻolelo describes the origin of the “pio pio” chirping that can be heard in Halawa. A man named Manukula was sent to live on Moku Hoʻoniki to care for the beloved birds there. One day a dream advised him to go to Halawa in search of a wife. He traveled over Kapuʻupoʻi and found her atop Hipuapua Falls, which he reached by transforming himself into a bird, and with the guidance of a friendly bird. The girl’s name was Pio, and Manukula married her, as his dream had predicted. When Manukula died, all their children became birds. It is said that the “pio pio” chirping that can be
heard in the valley is from Pio’s children. When people in Hālawa heard it, they would say, “Oh, Pio will have another child” (Ne 1992, 91-94).

Oral traditions have preserved the pre-Western contact history of Hālawa. These mo‘olelo, mele, and oli depict not only the observations of the people who lived in and passed through the valley, but also the love they had for this special place. Hālawa was famous for its impressive surf, its sacred kukui groves, and its many winds. The reverence ka po‘e kahiko had for the valley is also reflected in the mo‘olelo that remember those who had visited this place. The combination of superior geographic conditions and an abundance of natural resources, as well as mo‘olelo, mele, and oli that embody the sacredness of the valley make Hālawa the perfect place to establish a population. Indeed, Hālawa’s prehistory reveals that it was once the site of a thriving community, a fact that has been proved by physical evidence obtained in archaeological investigations.

Figure 4. View of Hālawa in 1969. (George Bacon Collection, PPBAC-2-15, Hawai‘i State Archives)
PRE-HISTORY OF HĀLAWA

While legends and tales of Hālawa illustrate the cultural significance of the valley, archaeological investigations have proven through physical evidence that there was once a thriving population in Hālawa, and it has been argued that “Hālawa Valley is one of the best examples of the agricultural genius achieved by Hawaiians” (Kelly 1989, 5). Even before Western contact, Hālawa was once heavily populated, as can be seen from remnants scattered throughout the valley (Belknap 1949) and archaeological investigations which have provided an in-depth look at its prehistory.

Archaeological studies have revealed that Hālawa Valley was a major settlement area during the pre-Western contact period. Hālawa has been characterized as “the classic example of wetland agricultural adaptation by prehistoric Hawaiians” and “represents the longest continual cultural sequence yet documented for the Hawaiian islands—some 1,350 years” (National Park Service 2001, 6). This would mean that Hālawa was continuously inhabited for a period of about 1,350 years. Hālawa Valley has been studied extensively by archaeologists and evidence has been found to support its continuous settlement. Polynesian settlers brought pigs, dogs, and rats to Hālawa and prehistoric cultural layers (layers that have been excavated to expose the prehistory) reveal that the appearance of pig and dog increased over time. This is a sign of increased agricultural production (Kirch 1985, 78). Hālawa is described as a “permanent farmer-fisher settlement” (81) and “the settlers were agriculturalists who had dogs and pigs and who were also adept at marine exploitation, both shell-fish gathering and fishing” (78). Furthermore, remains found in the valley by archaeologists, including Patrick V. Kirch, have been dated as far back as A.D. 650, which is one of the earliest known dates found in the Hawaiian Islands.
As stated earlier, Hālawa is said to be one of the earliest settlements in Hawai‘i. Excavations at a location known as the Hālawa Dune Site (MO-A1-3) produced radiocarbon dates of volcanic-glass flakes from the lower layers dated AD 826 – 964 and the site seems to have been continuously settled for six to seven centuries (Kirch 1985, 77). According to archaeologist Patrick V. Kirch, the site was probably abandoned between 1300 and 1400 A.D. (1975, 53). Kirch categorized the settlement of Hālawa in four phases, based on his findings at the Hālawa Dune Site. The first phase, which Kirch calls the “Ka‘awali Phase” dates from 600-1350 AD. According to Kirch, settlement was primarily in the coastal region. Houses were typically of pole-thatch construction and were ovoid in shape. The houses tended to have internal hearths and separate cookhouses. The main sources of subsistence were fishing, domesticated pigs and dogs, and “shifting cultivation and water-control agronomic technologies.” The population c.1350 AD is estimated to be 150.

Next came the “Kaio Phase” from 1350-1650 AD. Settlement moved inward and people began to disperse closer to the small water courses. House construction became more elaborate, with “simple, stone-faced, earth-filled terraces,” hearths, and separate cook houses with ovens. The shape of the houses became rectangular. People living in Hālawa during this period continued to rely on pigs and dogs and shifting cultivation, but they also began to use the side streams for pond-field irrigation. The population was estimated to range from 150 to 350 by the end of the phase.

The following phase from 1650-1800 AD was the “Mana Phase.” People continued to live inland and near the small water courses and lived in the same type construction houses, however, they also began to use stone-filled patterns. Subsistence expanded to animal husbandry and extensive irrigation and pond-field agriculture. By
this time, the valley floor was covered with terraces, or lo‘i, and irrigation canals, or ‘auwai. The major ceremonial sites, including Mana Heiau, whose history was not recorded during Stokes’ survey of heiau on the Island of Moloka‘i in 1909 (Summers 1971, 167-168), and Pāpā Heiau, a luakini heiau to Kū, are also believed to have been constructed during this period. The population during the Mana Phase is estimated to range from 350 to 600 by the end of the period. Kirch’s final phase is the “Historic Phase” from 1800 to the present. Settlement was concentrated above the lo‘i, around the church, and in the lower parts of the valley. Houses were now surrounded by walled enclosures and wooden structures began to appear. New domestic animals were introduced along with European goods, but intensive lo‘i cultivation persisted. Following a population decline from A.D. 1300 to 1400, the Hālawa Dune Site was again settled c. A.D. 1900 (Kirch 1975, 53). Kirch estimates that in 1836, the population was 506, which coincides with Rev. H.R. Hitchcock’s estimate of 500 in 1836 (H.R.H. 1836), but by 1972 had dwindled down to two (Kirch 1985, 128).

While initial settlement was focused near the shore, the population slowly moved inland, probably as the result of a population increase and the expansion of lo‘i (irrigated terraces) in the interior (Kirch 1975, 164-165). Archaeological surveys support that by the 1300’s the valley’s population began to expand inland and by the 1600’s “an extensive taro irrigation system dominated the valley’s settlement pattern” (1985, 77). Archaeologists estimate that approximately 55 acres of the valley was covered with pond fields, or lo‘i, that have been characterized as being the “most complex type of prehistoric irrigation systems in all of the Hawaiian Islands” (National Park Service 2001, 7). Five residential sites located inland were studied and found to have dates ranging from A.D. 1200 through the 1400s and 1500s (Kirch 1975, 164-165) and as late as 1750, justifying
that the “occupation but not necessarily the utilization” of the interior portion of Hālawa Valley was a comparatively late phenomenon in the valley’s sequence” (171). There is also evidence that the people of Hālawa had used stone-terraces along the narrow alluvial flats and there were smaller irrigated terraces in the upper valley. Indeed, it has been concluded, “the irrigated agricultural adaptation was a major part of the late precontact agricultural system in the valley (Riley 1973, 69). Archaeologists have also found the remains of residential sites, dry land gardens, and temples in the valley (National Park Service 2001, 7) (See Appendix C for list of cultural sites in Hālawa). They concluded that “the inland portion of the valley was permanently occupied in the period from A.D. 1200-1400 and that Hālawa, at that time, supported one of the most dense concentrations of populations in all of the Hawaiian islands, estimated to be nearly 650/square mile” (6).

Archaeological studies have revealed that Hālawa’s prehistory is implemental in creating an understanding of the prehistory of the entire island chain, and a history of the people that settled here. As Patrick V. Kirch relates, “[t]he value of an understanding of Hālawa’s prehistory is that it allows us to comprehend the broader fabric of Hawaiian prehistory, the whole cloth of cultural development and evolution in this island chain. And as such, it is significant as one exemplar of the evolution of Polynesian culture in general, at one of Polynesia’s most remote, yet varied and elaborate outposts” (Kirch 1975, 184). Because Hālawa is believed to be one of the oldest and continuous sites of settlement, it can be used to create a model for settlement patterns throughout the Hawaiian Islands. This is an important contribution to understanding the prehistory of ka po‘e kahiko. Therefore, the archaeology of Hālawa not only reveals that there was a thriving population here, but it is also a key component in reconstructing the habitation of the kānaka maoli in the Hawaiian Islands.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

Hālawa Valley was revered in ethnohistoric literature as “the wealthiest taro-growing valley on Moloka‘i” (Riley 1973, 60). The cultural accounts and oral histories describe Hālawa as a sacred and fertile valley and archaeological evidence confirms that the valley once supported a large and thriving population. Historical accounts from the 19th century portray Hālawa as a beautiful valley filled with people and actively cultivated. Prior to Western influence, “the Islands were heavily populated and Hālawa Valley was no exception. As one winds his way beneath towering trees of every description, many traces can be seen that once a teeming community made its home here” (Belknap 1949).

Following a visit to Moloka‘i in 1793, George Vancouver described Hālawa Valley writing, “...the face of the country, diversified by eminences and valleys, bore a verdant and fertile appearance. It seems to be well inhabited, in a high state of cultivation; and presented not only a rich but a romantic aspect” (Vancouver 1798). By the time of Western contact, Hālawa was still able to maintain a rather traditional way of life by upholding subsistence activities and the practices of their ancestors. Even so, Christianity made its way into the valley.

In September of 1843, Hālawa was listed as an out-station where church buildings and housing for missionaries were built (Pleasant 1942). In fact, the earliest known written records are from the missionary Rev. H.R. Hitchcock who came to Moloka‘i as the first missionary on November 7, 1832 at the Kalua‘aha mission station in the Kona district of the island. Hitchcock had lived on Moloka‘i for over three years when he decided to tour the island by canoe in 1836 (Anderson, Pia 2001, 76). He did not physically visit Hālawa but made mention of the area being notorious for its taro.
production. Hitchcock estimated the population to be 500 people living in the valley including 80 children attending the school in Hālawa who were literate (H.R.H. 1836).

In the 1850’s another man named George Bates, self-described as “a haole”, visited Hālawa. He illustrated the valley as follows: “Here passes a solitary dwelling that indicates the last extreme poverty and discomfort. Yonder is a small village bearing precisely the same aspect, and yet its tenants seem perfectly happy” (Bates 1854, 269). While Bates’ standards of living may have underestimated the quality of life for the people in Hālawa at the time, he continued, “The cultivation of the taro is carried on here on a large scale. It is raised chiefly to supply the Lāhainā market. I was informed by Mr. Dwight, at Kalua‘aha, that the entire amount raised for sale and home consumption was valued at $15,000 to $20,000. The Valley of Hālawa is the richest spot on the island” (277).

Due largely to their relative geographic isolation and rural setting, Hālawa was able to escape much of the effects of Western influence. In 1893, Hālawa was said to have “genuine, old style Hawaiians” who “are so far away from city life that they are not contaminated by the loose habits of civilization. There are no sugar plantations near by to call their attention from home life. Men, women and children are all hard workers. Even school children are to be seen working in the taro patches before and after school” (Keola 1893). Indeed, taro was the primary staple crop in Hālawa well into the nineteenth and twentieth century (Riley 1973, 60). In fact, taro soon became an important cash crop in the early part of the nineteenth century and was a major part of life in Hālawa Valley.
LIFE IN HĀLAWA VALLEY

Hālawa was abundant in resources. It was known as “a rich and fertile valley, a much sought after prize amongst chiefs...for both its taro and other resources” (Anderson, Pia 2001, 86). In 1893, James N.K. Keola counted over a thousand taro patches in Hālawa. Another anonymous visitor (A Visit to Hālawa 1877) counted 913 lo‘i (“a helu i nā lo‘i kalo ma kahi i‘ike ‘ia e ko‘u mau maka, he ‘eiwahaneri me ‘umikūmākolu lo‘i”) in addition to 119 lo‘i with a total of 1032 lo‘i (“he haneri ‘umikūmāiwa lo‘i kahi i koe aku ia‘u, hui ‘ ia ho‘okahi tarsani me kanakolu kūmāmalua lo‘i”). According to the visitor, most of the land was covered with taro patches, 80 of which belonged to the Konohiki, and several Pō‘alima1 lands scattered among the plots of the maka‘āina. Not only was Hālawa able to support its own inhabitants, but the people here were able to supply taro to other communities. In the 1850s, Bates contended that Hālawa provided taro to Lāhainā. It was also a major supplier to the leprosy settlement in Kalaupapa. In a letter to his dear cousin Queen Emma in 1873, Peter Kaeo, who was living as a patient at Kalaupapa wrote, “…So the expectation is that Poi will be supplied us from Wailau, Pelekunu, and Hālawa. The Board has made a contract with these places to supply us weekly with Poi, and Napela has got a letter from Wilder to that effect” (Korn 1976, 107). In an interview with Mary Kawena Pūku‘i in 1961, John Akina, who was born in Hālawa in 1896, also supported, “Hālawa is the valley that supplied Kalaupapa with poi so everybody cook taro down there” (Akina 1961).

1 Pō‘alima lands: “Term used for land farmed by tenants for ali‘i one day in five. Later term used for kō‘ele or hakuone because tenant was obliged to labor for a chief of Fridays. Payment of a portion of the products of the land held by them to the king as a form of taxation” (Lucas 1995: 93-94).
Besides taro production, Hālawa was the “seat of learning” for the island of Molokaʻi. Rev. Hitchcock and the missionaries set up several schools throughout the island. From 1836-37, he reported, “at two of the schools laudable improvement has been made. The one at Hālawa a pleasant and populous valley at the northeast end of the island numbers 140 scholars 67 of whom can read with tolerable ease” (Hitchcock 1836-37). Hālawa School was established in 1886 by Henry Van Gleson, originally consisting of a building with 3 rooms, 2 assistants and about 100 students ranging from grades one to six. The school was so popular, students flocked from all districts of the island, including Kaunakakai, Kamalō, Kalua‘aha, Wailua, Honouli, Wailau, and Pelekunu, even though these districts had their own schools (Wiebke 1939).

Taro production allowed the people of Hālawa to sustain themselves while creating an economic opportunity in a world of growing change and values. According to Pia-Kristina Balboa Anderson (2001, 88), “[t]he continued economic viability of taro production allowed the people of Hālawa to continue with this traditional way of life long after it had been abandoned on other valleys on Molokaʻi. Despite the continued drain on the population by disease and emigration to the ports of Lāhainā and Honolulu, Hālawa maintained a labor base large enough to continue valleys of Molokaʻi, Hālawa was easily accessible by sea, greatly facilitating trade. The ease with which taro could be exported and its value elsewhere allowed the residents of Hālawa to become part of the new Hawaiian global economy.” Unfortunately, with the influx of Western influence, Hālawa residents would not be able to rely on this as a source of economic sustenance. It was not long before these influences began to affect the rural valley. One of the major changes that Hālawa faced dealt with the shift in land tenure.
CHAPTER 3
LAND OWNERSHIP IN HĀLAWA VALLEY

In its early history, Hālawa Valley is represented as a vibrant valley and desired place of habitation. This peaceful, uninterrupted standard of living was soon altered with the incursion of Western influence. Besides dealing with the impacts of Western contact like disease and Christianity, kānaka maoli were dealt another blow when a new land tenure system was introduced in the 1840s. It is arguable that this new system was one of the most devastating changes kānaka maoli had to cope with. People throughout the islands were displaced by a Western-style system of land ownership, much different from the traditional communal land management. Hālawa Valley was one of the many victims of displacement and out-migration as a result of shifting values towards the land. Unlike most other ahupua‘a, Hālawa was transferred as an entire ahupua‘a, excluding smaller kuleana parcels granted to maka‘āinana. This large piece of land went through several transfers in history, and implemented many changes that had a major effect on the population of Hālawa Valley.

TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE IN HĀLAWA

During the pre-contact period, kānaka maoli practiced land tenure described as a system of communal land management. Land was not considered a commodity. Rather it was considered a living entity that took care of the people as long as pono (righteousness) was maintained. Pono was upheld through respect for the land, a concept known today as mālama or aloha ‘āina. It was up to the chiefs to regulate the activities on the land—they made sure that the people took care of the land and cultivated adequate tributes that were presented to the higher chiefs to appease the gods. Maintaining pono
was vital to the survival of the community and is probably one of the reasons why such a large community was able to flourish in Hālawa. Ali‘i were assigned to varying land divisions in an effort to manage the lands and provide leadership to the people.

One of the early chiefs who was said to have control of the lands on the Koʻolau side of Molokaʻi, including Hālawa, was Paepae. Abraham Fornander recounts the story of how Paepae obtained the ahupuaʻa. Paepae acquired Hālawa after Kualiʻi helped the chiefs of Kekaha defeat the chiefs of Koʻolau. Kualiʻi was once the king of Oʻahu renown for his strength and bravery and believed to have supernatural powers (Fornander 1916, 364). While residing in Hilo, Kualiʻi received word of conflict on Molokaʻi. The cause was that the chiefs of Koʻolau wanted to seize a strip of land called Kekaha. Kekaha stretched from Kawela to Maamomi (Moʻomomi). The Koʻolau chiefs were interested in this land because the ocean on the Koʻolau side was too rough for fishing half of the year, and as described in the section on Hālawa’s geography, that ahupuaʻa did not support the growth of fringing reefs. The chiefs of Kekaha knew how valuable their fishing grounds were and were not eager to give it up. They refused and conflict ensued. Kualiʻi decided to head to Molokaʻi to resolve the disagreement. On his way to Molokaʻi, Kualiʻi stopped at Māui where he met one of the Kekaha chiefs, Paepae. Paepae returned to Molokaʻi and asked the other Kekaha chiefs for permission to enlist the aid of the famous Kualiʻi. They agreed and Paepae went off to find Kualiʻi, who consented to help. Kualiʻi and the chiefs went from Kaunakakai to Moʻomomi and then headed to Kalaupapa where the war was to be carried out. The Koʻolau chiefs heard about the location of the battle and sent their canoes out from Hālawa. Kualiʻi and his party defeated the Koʻolau chiefs at Kalaupapa. Kualiʻi, Paepae, and the Kekaha chiefs
then defeated the rest of the Ko‘olau chiefs and all the lands on the Ko‘olau side, including Hālawa, were given to Paepae (Fornander 1916, 416-421).

Another famous chief to manage Hālawa was Kahekili. According to Kamakau, Kahekili asked Kahahana for control of the ahupua‘a of Hālawa after the battle of Kamoku‘uilima (1992, 132). William Westervelt further describes how Kahekili obtained Hālawa. During this time, O‘ahu Island had power over the island of Moloka‘i. The King of O‘ahu, Kahahana, had promised Kahekili a large amount of ivory for his assistance. Kahahana failed to fulfill his promise, so instead he gave Kahekili control of the ahupua‘a of Hālawa (Westervelt 1998, 114-124). Later during the period preceding contact, the ruling chiefs of O‘ahu and Māui alternately controlled the island of Moloka‘i until Kamehameha’s unification of the islands (Kelly 1989, Part 1: 2).

A NEW SYSTEM OF LAND OWNERSHIP

As Western influence began to dominate Hawaiian politics, a movement commenced to privatize lands in Hawai‘i. It culminated in the Māhele of 1848, in which King Kamehameha III, or Kauikeaouli, created a new land tenure system whereby land could be held in fee simple. Private ownership of land affected the entire island chain and Hālawa was not exempt. During the Māhele, all ahupua‘a were distributed between the King (lands referred to as “Crown” Lands), the Government (lands relinquished by the King for the Kingdom Government), and the chiefs or konohiki. The distribution of land between the King, Government, and Konohiki were recorded in a document known as the Buke Māhele. Hālawa Ahupua‘a is not listed in Buke Māhele; however, a Royal Patent Grant was issued to Victoria Kamāmalu for this land, measuring over 8,500 acres.
Maka‘ainana were also given the opportunity to make claims to the lands they inhabited within these ahupua‘a. Early survey maps reveal that several Kuleana Grants (See Appendix E for complete list of grants), also referred to as LCAs (or Land Commission Awards), were granted in Hālawa, especially along the stream. There were a total of 54 grants in Hālawa (Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands of the Territory of Hawai‘i, 1929). Today, few of the original families still live in the valley.
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Table 1. (Continued) Title History of LCA #7713, RPG #4475

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<td>283</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>INST</th>
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<td>REC</td>
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<td>acs</td>
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<td>Rel.</td>
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The ahupua'a of Hālawa is not listed in Buke Māhele. It was granted as a Land Commission Award (#7713, 'Āpana 28) to Victoria Kamāmalu on June 19, 1852 (Land Commission Awards, Book 10, p. 445). Kamāmalu, the granddaughter of Kamehameha and heir of Ka‘ahumanu, was the fourth largest landholder following the Māhele (Kameʻeleihiwa 1994, 244-245). On April 3, 1861, she received Royal Patent Grant #4475 (Royal Patent Grants, Book 18, p. 405). A map by M.D. Monsarrat (believed to be one of the oldest maps of Hālawa) shows LCA #7713 belonging to V. Kamāmalu (Monsarrat 1892) and another map by Walter E. Wall shows the parcel with an area of 8547 acres (1896).

In 1866, Victoria Kamāmalu died at the age of 28 (Kelly 1989, Part I: 10). Her father, Kekūanaō‘a petitioned for and was declared the heir to her estate (Probate 2409, 1st CC). On February 25, 1868, Kekūanaō‘a mortgaged the estate of V. Kamāmalu to James Robinson et al., and the mortgage was later released on February 6, 1872 (Liber 25 Folio 132). When Kekūanaō‘a died in 1868 (Kelly 1989, Part I: 10), his lands went to his son, Lota Kapūaiwa Kamehameha, also known as Kamehameha V (Probate 2060, 1st CC).

In 1872, Kamehameha V died intestate. Ruth Keʻelikōlani petitioned that she was the sole heir of his estate. However, there was concern regarding her status, as it was not known whether her father was Kahalai‘a, her mother Pauahi’s first husband, or Mataio Kekūanaō‘a, whom she married after Kahalai‘a’s death (Kelly 1989, Part I: 10). It was determined that Keʻelikōlani was the half-brother of Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and she was declared the sole heir to his estate (Probate 2412, 1st CC). While Keʻelikōlani had control of Hālawa Valley, “some 53 people living in the valley formed a
hui, an association, with the purpose of obtaining a lease of the taro lands in the valley from the owner of the valley” (Kelly 1989, Part I: 11-12). The 53 names were listed in a suit (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879) (See Appendix F for list of names) made up an association known as Hui Hālawa. A hui was a group of up to about seventy individuals who did not own the land they were occupying but lived on the land as tenants in common (Lucas 1995, 37). These long time residents of Hālawa cultivated taro for the production of poi, some of which was to be sent to the Hansen’s disease colony in Kalaupapa (several valleys in Moloka‘i were contracted for this purpose). Many of these lessees cultivated taro for sale. As illustrated in the previous chapter, Hālawa was one of the largest cultivators of taro and provided large amounts of poi to both Kalaupapa and Lāhainā (Kelly 1989, Part I: 11-12).

The hui had originally leased the valley from then owner Ruth Ke‘e‘ilikōlani for a period of five years, beginning in 1873 and culminating at the end of 1877 for an annual rent of $500 (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879). Unfortunately, there were some “serious misunderstandings” about the new lease that needed to be settled in court (Kelly 1989, Part I: 11-12). On April 15, 1879, S. Kekahuna, J.S. Nahinu, Lot Kaahu, Kailiuli, Kupanaha, and several other members of Hui Hālawa filed a suit against J. Nakaleka and M. Kane. S. Kekahua et al., as members of the Hui Hālawa, claimed that they had “always been occupiers of the land called the ahupua‘a of Hālawa situated in said Island of Moloka‘i, and now owned by Her Royal Highness Ruth Ke‘e‘ilikōlani, at first in the ancient customs of hoa‘aina, and from the year 1873 to the year 1878 under a written lease at the annual rent of Five Hundred Dollars which said lease was for a term of Five years from some day in February A.D. 1873” (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879).

2 Hoa‘aina: Native tenants residing within an ahupua‘a, sometimes members of a hui, who served as caretakers of a kuleana under the jurisdiction of the konohiki (Lucas 1995, 27-28).
According to the suit, the members of the hui got together in 1877 (while the existing lease was still in effect) to discuss obtaining a new lease, since the current one would expire the following year. At the meeting, the members of the Hui chose J. Nakaleka and M. Kane, who were also part of the Hui and were the defendants in the case, to go to Honolulu as the Hui’s committee to obtain a new lease. The members of the Hui agreed to authorize Nakaleka and Kane to negotiate a new lease and to consent to raise the annual rent as high as one thousand dollars if necessary. Nakaleka and Kane would be compensated ten dollars for the expense of the trip (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879).

Upon their arrival in Honolulu, the plaintiffs alleged that Nakaleka and Kane “violated the trust of the hui by instead obtaining a new lease for themselves for a period of ten years beginning in January 1st, 1878 for an annual rent of Five Hundred dollars.” The defendants claimed that they had rights because they did not receive the promised compensation for their trip. The Hui charged them with fraud for pretending to act in the benefit of the Hui members (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879).

The defendants argued that by taking out a lease in their own names, they were not depriving the Plaintiffs of their rights and that the landowners wanted to lease to them (the new lease was made out to defendants Nakaleka and Kane only). Judge A. Francis Judd determined that the defendants were Trustees for Hui Hālawa and the lease they obtained was supposed to be for the benefit of the Hui. He ordered them to pay the Hui for the rent of that year as well as taxes and improvements to the land (i.e. fencing), and to cover the cost of the suit. The result was that Hui Hālawa was able to obtain a new lease for a period of ten more years, beginning on January 1, 1878 (Equity Case 202, 1st Circuit Court 1879).
In 1883, Ruth Ke'elikōlani died (Kelly 1989, Part I: 11). Her will named Bernice Pauahi Bishop as the heir to her estate (Probate 2009, 1st CC). When Pauahi died in 1884, her lands were put into a trust (Item 13 of Last Will and Testament, Probate 2425, 1st CC). A 1915 map showing the estate of Bernice P. Bishop in Hālawa lists several lessees for taro and kula lands (Podmore 1915) (See Appendix G for list of lessees).

On April 18, 1935, Bishop Estate sold the land, which measured 8547 acres, more or less, to Helene I. Fagan for $25,000 (Liber 1276 Folio 375). Helene’s husband Paul
was a capitalist from California and the property was his second large purchase on Moloka‘i (Young 1939). Fagan combined this parcel with the land he purchased in 1933 now known as Pu‘uohōkū Ranch. The initial purchase measured 8,000 acres and Fagan had purchased it from Mrs. Sarah E. Brown for $150,000. The purchase of Hālawa in 1935 from Bishop Estate doubled the ranch area (Big Pu‘uohōkū 1989). Paul Fagan had big plans for Hālawa Valley. He claimed that he purchased the property to better the lives of its residents:

“We’ll buy that valley and the valleys beyond around the coast to the west. I don’t want the Hawaiians within them to live a pauper life: they are industrious. We must appeal to that side of their natures. Tell them that so long as they remain deserving tenants and a credit to the settlement and their race, maintaining their family traditions, I will reduce their rents to one dollar a year each family. The rents today on some of the holdings are hundreds of dollars each. But reduce these amounts to a dollar each.

I want the people to be proud of their race, to live and think as Hawaiians. Ask them to cover their haole style huts with pele [pili] grass and coconut leaves. Those iron roofs are an eyesore. The valley is famed for its red hala groves. Haven’t city dealers sought to lease the rights to these trees so that they might exploit the lauhala for the manufacture of native arts and crafts for tourists? We will turn them down because those trees must remain in the valley for the people who live there” (Williams 1935).

Fagan purchased the valley and intended to facilitate his “dream.” David Kalaaau, a schoolteacher in Hālawa, was responsible for advertising Fagan’s intentions. Even the school would benefit from Fagan’s plan. Fagan ordered playground facilities for the school. He also planned to put “old koa outrigger canoes on the river so that the youths may follow in the wake of Sam Kaulili and the other old men and learn the arts of fishing” (Williams 1935). Fagan immediately sent surveyors into the valley to plot potential home sites, which would be available to any Hawaiians who were interested,
though he wasn’t sure how many of the younger generations would be willing to live there. Fagan believed that his “village” would promote the “Hawaiian style” of living and give them the opportunity to “live the life of their forefathers” (Young 1938). Apparently, Fagan believed that it was his duty to rectify the repercussions kānaka maoli faced as a result of Western contact (Williams 1935).

It is not known whether or not Fagan’s plan was followed through or that it was considered a success. It is possible however, that World War II may have interfered with the success of Fagan’s dream. The war disrupted the lives of the people living in the valley and not long after, the tsunami of 1946 hit (Kelly 1989, Part I: 16). The ranch was up for sale for some time. In 1946, Fagan offered the ranch to the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company for hotel expansion purposes (Big Pu’uohōkū 1989). George P. Mossman and his wife, the owners of the Lalani Hawaiian Village, offered to purchase the ranch but Fagan ended up selling the property to the Ward sisters.
On June 13, 1947, Helene and her husband Paul I. Fagan deeded the parcel as joint tenants with rights of survivorship to Lucy K. Ward et al. (Liber 2044 Folio 481). They purchased the property for over $500,000 (Big Pu‘uohōkū 1989). The Ward sisters did not retain the property for long. In a deed (Liber 3011 Folio 283) dated September 7, 1955, the Estates of Lucy K. Ward, dec’d and Hattie K. Ward, incompetent by Trs. & Gdn., sold the property to George W. Murphy for $300,000 (or $300,600 according to an article in the Advertiser in 1959). This was following a court order that the ranch had to be sold at public auction in order to pay the taxes and debts accumulated by the Ward Estate (Greaney 1959). It seems the Ward sisters faced problems while in possession of the ranch. In an interview with Marion Kelly, James Lindsey maintained that when the Ward sisters owned Pu‘uohōkū Ranch from 1942-1955, “there was so little rainfall that there was not enough grass for the cattle. The weather was so dry, the grass dried up and cattle died of hunger” (Lindsey 1989). Kelly further contended, “On looking back at the records of Hālawa Stream flow, the data show that from April 1952 to May 1955, there were only two months when the stream flow was over 40 cubic feet per second. For whatever reason, whether it was the drought, or the lack of proper care and management, in 1955 Pu‘uohōkū Ranch was ordered sold” (Kelly 1989).

Hattie Kulamu Ward was incompetent, so Hawaiian Trust Company, Ltd. was appointed the guardian of her estate by order of the Circuit Court of the First Judicial Circuit, Territory of Hawai‘i on January 14, 1949. Lucy K. Ward had agreed to assume the debts of her sister Hattie, including a promissory note to the Bank of Hawai‘i dated June 16, 1946, which was borrowed to pay for her property and the Hawaiian Trust Company agreed to convey Hattie’s property unto her. Unfortunately, Lucy died on March 20, 1954 and her last will and testament appointed Ernest K. Kai and Henry C.
Hapai, Sr. co-executors of her estate.³ Kai and Hapai petitioned the court on March 10, 1955 to sell the property known as “Pu‘uohōkū Ranch” and the court appointed Kai and Clifford H. Bowman as co-commissioners to sell the real property. They held sealed bids for the property, which was eventually sold to George W. Murphy, a “Honolulu auto dealer” (Greaney 1959). According to the deed, the parcel still contained an area of 8547 acres, more or less.

Unlike Fagan’s plan to rejuvenate a dwindling community, Murphy intended to create a great ranch. According to long-time Hālawa resident Pilipo Solatario (Solatario n.d.) Murphy had plans to create a subdivision that would become a place for wealthy people to live. He even built a road and had plans to build a golf course and hotel at Pōhakupili. He began by introducing pasture seeding and a “cattle breeding program that should some day make the ranch outstanding among those in America”. The ranch was not in the best state when Murphy purchased it. Not long after acquiring the property, he invested $100,000 a year to provide new fences, gates, equipments, and other miscellaneous improvements (Morse 1958). Eventually the 14,000-acre ranch (which included not only Kamāmalu’s approximately 8,500-acre grant, but also the properties Fagan added to the Ranch in 1933) was home to 15,000 head of cattle and Murphy had plans for a herd of pure Charolais to be bred and exported as cattle. The ranch also had axis deer, wild goats, pheasants, quails, doves, and chuker partridges (Pu‘uohōkū Ranch 1967).

Several deeds followed dating from 1977 to 1987 in which the property was transferred back and forth between George W. Murphy and Blanche L. Murphy (Liber 20424 Folio 480, Liber 16655 Folio 258, Liber 12822 Folio 461, and Liber 12666 Folio

³ Lucy Kaiaka Ward’s last will and testament were admitted to probate on June 16, 1954—Probate No. 18087, 1st CC
Although Murphy owned several properties throughout the Island of Moloka'i, Hālawa was very special to him. Contrary to Solatario's claim, Māhealani Davis (2005) says that Murphy did not want the valley to turn into a subdivision for the rich. In fact, she says that he made a stipulation that the property was to remain a working ranch. However, the ranch sat idle for many years, as it became a pawn in Murphy's divorce. According to Davis, the divorce was "not a friendly divorce" and Murphy's wife, knowing how much he loved the ranch, insisted on owning half so he could not do anything with it. This would explain the back-and-forth transactions between George and Blanche Murphy from 1977-1987. Davis says that "it had to do with spite and borrowing money, and using that [the ranch] as collateral" (Davis). Eventually, George W. Murphy transferred the land to Pu'uo hōkū Ranch, Ltd. on September 9, 1987 (Liber 21112 Folio 401-450).

The current owner of the 14,000 acre Pu'uo hōkū Ranch, including LCA #7713 and several other properties that encompass the majority of Hālawa Valley, is a wealthy heiress named Lavinia Currier. Real Property Tax records list Pu'uo hōkū Ltd. as the owner via Peregrine Financial Corporation which operates out of Boston, Massachusetts (Maui County 2003). Peregrine is the organization that manages Currier's assets. Currier purchased the property from Murphy in 1987 for a hefty $5 million dollars (14,000 Moloka'i Acres... 1987).

Lavinia Currier comes from a "long line of philanthropists and patrons of the arts" and was listed, along with her sister Andrea Bruce Currier, in *Virginia Business* as one of the 100 richest Virginians in 2002 (Virginia Business 2002). According to the article, Lavinia was worth $520 million in 2002 (Ibid). Besides moonlighting as a screenwriter and directory (she has released two feature films to date), Currier is known for her
conservation efforts. She founded the Sacharuna Foundation in the 1980s and is a board member of the World Wildlife Foundation (Virginia Business 2002; Kelly 2004).

While the ranch now advertises lodges for accommodations and vacations (Pu‘uohōkū Ranch n.d.), Currier reportedly purchased Pu‘uohōkū Ranch to preserve it intact and serve as a steward of the land. One of her efforts was to establish a certified organic farm which cultivates bananas, mixed tropical fruits, and ‘awa, which they package and offer for sale (Ibid). Currier also wanted to protect the cultural sites within the ranch (Kelly 2004) and is looking into issues and concerns regarding the deteriorating forest (Davis 2005). She supports Háalawa once again becoming economically healthy in agriculture. While she may not necessarily be willing to take actions to restore the economic viability of Háalawa herself, she does encourage it and has even agreed to work on a lease agreement with the Háalawa Valley Land Trust (Davis 2005). Although some locals and Moloka‘i residents criticize Currier, especially since she is not native Hawaiian, she does her best to maintain Háalawa and the rest of Pu‘uohōkū Ranch, and some people have even lauded her for her preservation efforts (Kelly 2004). As Māhealani Davis puts it, “we could have done a lot worse” (2005).
It seems that for the ahupua‘a of Hālawa, ownership has moved further from local control. Ownership by kānaka maoli was maintained for only 52 years following the original grant to Victoria Kamāmalu during the Māhele. In the ensuing years, the property that makes up the majority of Hālawa, now known as Pu‘uohōkū Ranch, was sold to several haole investors. While Fagan may have had intentions to create a community to benefit kānaka maoli, the new landowners often had a negative impact on the population of Hālawa. It is without a doubt that the combination of a new and often misunderstood system of land tenure and the constant transfers of the large portion of the ahupua‘a of Hālawa contributed to the decline of the valley’s population.

Figure 8. Some of the current dwellings in lower Hālawa (NPS 2001, 5)
Pu’uohōkū Ranch’s Properties Today

Figure 9a. Pu’uohōkū Ranch Properties highlighted in yellow (Experian 1998, 573-576, 578)

Figure 8b. Pu’uohōkū Ranch Properties highlighted in yellow (Experian 1998, 573-576, 578)
Figure 9c. Pu‘uohōkū Ranch Properties highlighted in yellow (Experian 1998, 573-576, 578)

Figure 9d. Pu‘uohōkū Ranch Properties highlighted in yellow (Experian 1998, 573-576, 578)
Figure 9e. Pu’uohōkū Ranch Properties highlighted in yellow (Experian 1998, 573-576, 578)
CHAPTER 4
POPULATION DECLINE IN HĀLAWA

While undeveloped lands in rural areas provided kānaka maoli living there with abundant natural resources needed to survive and allowed their traditional subsistence activities and cultural beliefs and practices to persist despite the influx of Western influence (McGregor 1989, 107), kānaka maoli living in rural areas eventually felt the effects of changing times. McGregor, Minerbi and Matsuoka contend that “in Hawai‘i, cultural impacts, particularly upon Hawaiian rural communities, are becoming increasingly severe” (1993, 5) and “much of the socio-economic disorientation suffered by Ka Po‘e Kahiko Hawai‘i today can be attributed to dislocation from ancestral homelands and related disruptions to the traditional family and social order” (14). Although traditional Hawaiian communities such as those in Hāna, Miloli‘i, Hā‘ena, and on Moloka‘i “have been pivotal in the perpetuation of native Hawaiian society into the 1990s” (23), as early as the 1920s “the dominant trend among the Hawaiian people was the move out of the rural areas and into urban Honolulu” (22). Such was the case in Hālawa.

EARLY POPULATION ESTIMATES

Due to its relative isolation, very few population estimates exist in historical documents for Hālawa. Phelps assumed that prior to the arrival of the missionaries the population of the island of Moloka‘i was between 8,000 and 9,000 and speculates that the population was even greater in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Phelps Ms, 63). Unfortunately, the censuses conducted throughout history bypassed the isolated rural valleys of East Moloka‘i and according to Kelly, “[t]here are very few statistics available
on the population of specific valleys on the Island of Moloka‘i” (1989, Part III: 2). There are however, several historical references that estimate the populations of Moloka‘i.

Table 2 lists the population estimates and Figure 8 illustrates the population trends.

Table 2. Population Estimates in History for Hālawa

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<td>500</td>
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<td>506</td>
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<td>1935</td>
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<td>1956</td>
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<td>1972</td>
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Figure 10. Graph showing population trends from estimates in history

Based on archaeological evidence, Patrick V. Kirch (1985, 127-130) has made several estimates for the population of Hālawa prior to Western contact. He estimated
the population after initial settlement around 600 AD to be 50. By 1350, Kirch alleges the population grew to 150 and by 1650 reached 350. By 1800, the population may have reached 600. While many early voyagers made estimates for the rest of the islands, it was the missionaries who made the earliest counts for Moloka‘i, including Hālawa (Phelps Ms, 63). The earliest estimates come from Rev. H.R. Hitchcock who arrived in Moloka‘i on November 7, 1832 (Anderson, Pia 2001, 76). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Hitchcock did not physically visit Hālawa, but based on word of mouth he estimated the population of the valley to be 500 people (H.R.H. 1836). Based on the number of terraces per complex and the areas of the complexes in Hālawa and taking into account the minimum and maximum yields of irrigated taro, Riley (1973, 94) calculated a population estimate between 343.3 and 698.6. This estimate coincides with the one made by Hitchcock in 1836 (Kirch and Kelly 1975, 112). Hitchcock also reported that there were 80 children attending school in Hālawa (H.R.H. 1836). In 1842, there were reportedly 19 students at the school, 12 boys and 35 girls (Kapeau 1842). Later in a report for 1848-1849, Hitchcock reported the population of Hālawa to be at least 400 (1849).

In 1877, an anonymous visitor to Hālawa counted 61 men, 64 women, and 99 children, reporting a total population of 224 (A Visit to Hālawa 1877). In addition, several women were pregnant and according to the visitor, “ke ulu nei ka Lāhui Hawai‘i o ka Mō‘i Kauliulukeanuwait‘ale‘ale ma Hālawa nei [the Hawaiian race of King Kauliulukeanuwait‘ale‘ale grows here in Hālawa] (Ibid, translation by author).

George Bowser’s Directory of the Hawaiian Kingdom (1881, 571-572) also gives an approximation of the population of Hālawa in 1881, counting 300 individuals and listing 16 taro farmers in the Directory. Kelly, however, questions this estimate.
According to her estimates, “there were 53 farmers who were members of Hui Hālawa in 1873 when they had a lease on the valley from Ruth Keʻelikōlani. If each had a wife and two children, the valley population may have been only slightly more than 200…Bowser lists only sixteen taro planters, although he estimated the valley population to be about 300. Judging from this, statistical lists in Directories may not be useful for population estimates” (1989, Part III: 2). There are several problems with Bowser’s Statistical Directory: “the older Hawaiian population was decreasing and many of the older generation would have died between 1848 and 1880”. Also, there were still few individuals at the time who had adopted the western custom of taking a surname—“when a farmer needed only to have permission from the konohiki (the overseer for the chief) in order to establish his use rights to a particular parcel of land, a single name to identify the farmer was all that was necessary” (Part III, 3-4). Because of these factors, it is likely that Bowser’s estimates were inaccurate. However, they do present a general idea of how large the population may have been 1881. Ten years later another visitor to Hālawa in 1893 counted 200 men, women and children, most of whom were “engaged in taro cultivation” (Keola 1893).

At the beginning of the 20th century, we see another growth and decline of the population of Hālawa Valley. Husted’s Directory of Honolulu and Hawaiian Terr. (Sanderson 1902-1936) reflects a peak in Hālawa in 1908 at 56 and a general decline from that period on. Although Kelly questions the merit of directories, they provide an idea of the general trends of the population through time. Figure 9 illustrates the population growth and decline from 1902-1936 (See Appendix D for complete list of population numbers). When comparing the data from Husted’s Directory to actual historical estimates (Figure 10), the graphs follow relatively the same trends, reflecting a
large population at the beginning of the 20th century, a gradual decline in the following years, a slight peak in the 1930s, and a drop after the 1940s.

Figure 11. Graph showing growth and decline of total population of Hālawa

Figure 12. Graph showing population trends from historical estimates (See Table 2) vs. Husted’s Directory (See Figure 11)

Around 1915, 30 people were leasing lo‘i (wet-land taro cultivation) and kula (dry) lands from Bishop Estate (Kelly 1989, Part III: 5) and 35 people, including 23 taro farmers, are listed in Husted’s Directory during that year (Sanderson 1915). By 1935, there were reportedly 90 people living in the valley (Williams 1935) although only 15 are listed in Husted’s Directory (Sanderson 1934-1935). In 1926, there were about 50 people
living in Hālawa, 49 of which were described as “Hawaiians of old stock” (Beautiful Hālawa... 1926). Informants have reported a large population in Hālawa during the 1920s and 1930s (although it is small in comparison with the mid19th century). In an interview with Marion Kelly, George Kuluau Chong mused that during the 1920s and 1930s “plenty people lived in Hālawa, plenty” (1989). Former Hālawa resident Ralph Kahalewai also contended that around 1936, “had lots of people down there” (1999). By 1956 there were only five families living in Hālawa and the total population was reportedly 27 (Park 1956) and by 1972, Kirch estimated the population to be only two (1985, 127-130).

Today very few families live permanently in Hālawa. A recent report by the National Park Service (2001, 5) listed only seven “full-time” residents in Hālawa, even though during the summers the shore is lined with campers and temporary residents.

**HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS OF A DECLINING POPULATION**

The population of Moloka‘i is estimated to have exceeded 9,000 prior to the arrival of the missionaries before it started to decline (Phelps Ms, 63-65). By the time missionaries came to Moloka‘i, the population had already reduced due partly to the conquest of Kamehameha and the arrival of foreigners. Another contributing factor, which began to affect the population around 1800, was the lure of foreign ships throughout the islands. Disease hit the rest of the population rather hard, and although Hālawa was not immune to the threat, “it is likely that the influences of foreign diseases did their work later on Moloka‘i than on the larger islands. The lack of anchorages along the Moloka‘i coast as well as the small size of the island and its inferior position served to keep it excluded from early alien contact” (63-65).
Unfortunately, according to a report in 1849-49 by Reverend Hitchcock, disease did affect the population of Hálawa. First there was a small bout of measles that had little incidence for several weeks. Than an “obstinate disease of the bowels” spread and caused several deaths on the Island of Moloka‘i. According to the report, one in every six members of the population of Hálawa died as a result of the disease. Hitchcock reported that the population of the valley was more than 400 at the time, so by this account at least 66 died as a result of the outbreak. Hitchcock further testified that “never were a poor people more unprepared for so terrible a scourge” (1849-49, 40). To make matters worse, before the people had a chance to recover from the diarrhea epidemic, a cough (which Hitchcock believed was possibly whooping cough), set in and caused more deaths. It was especially detrimental to the older population and those in poor health, females “near confinement,” and children born near the end of the year (Ibid).

Despite the ravaging effects of these bouts with measles, diarrhea, and a cough, outbreaks were probably not common occurrences in Hálawa, as no other instances of population decline from scourges were found in historical accounts. Perhaps by the time diseases made their way to the previously isolated valley preventative measures (i.e. medicine) were more easily available. Hitchcock’s account of these devastating outbreaks gives evidence of the presence of disease in Hálawa. The diseases did have an impact of the population and was a contributing factor for the decline in that year—and indeed by 1877 the population was estimated to have dropped from 400 to 224—because there were no other reports of a similar outbreak later in history, there is a lack of evidence to conclude that disease was a major source of population decline in Hálawa.

Instead of disease, Hálawa experienced a population decline mainly as the result of out migration and displacement. These issues were common throughout Ka Pae ‘Áina
o Hawai‘i and were often the result of changing values and the influence of Western culture. One of the major causes of out migration and displacement was the shift of survival based on sustainable agriculture to one based on cash work. Taro production in the valley decreased rapidly in the early part of the 20th century. Even though taro was the main industry in Hālawa in the 1930s, where it was highly sought by dealers (Williams 1935), by 1931, only the lower terraces of the valley were being cultivated, where taro was being grown for both subsistence and for sale (Handy 1972, 516).

From 1900 to 1920, the entire island of Moloka‘i faced a period of “economic stagnation” and following the failure of raising sugar, the American Sugar Company tried raising cattle and sheep and produced honey. Cattle became the main agricultural industry on Moloka‘i and remained so until the 1920s. Even so, rural areas throughout Moloka‘i were hit hard by the fluctuating agriculture and during this period, “the valleys of Pelekunu and Wailau were abandoned because of their isolation. The 1836 population of 8700 had fallen to about 1300 by 1900 and by 1920 it was 1117. (The last two figures do not include the County of Kalawao.) Many of these people had left the island to make a better living on the neighboring islands” (Summers 1971, 24).

Perhaps in search of a new agricultural venture, the pineapple industry was introduced on Moloka‘i in 1923 and the California Packing Corporation began growing pineapple on lands in Na‘iwa and Kahanui around Kualapu‘u in 1927 (Summers 1971, 24). Even before pineapple was introduced on a large scale, independent growers in Kala‘e and from Waialua to Hālawa were raising the crop. Unfortunately, many of these independent growers lacked adequate transportation and as a result most went bankrupt (Ibid). Many people ended up finding work with the larger plantations, and California Packing Company (or “CPC” as residents called it) was a popular source of employment.
In addition to a fading livelihood, younger generations in the valley were becoming more attracted to the amenities offered by western-style living. Paul Fagan had feared that young kānaka maoli were becoming too enthralled by western “civilization.” He was appalled at the sight of children in the valley eating candy and chewing gum and mothers cooking haole style food. Fagan noted, “here were these native people, selling their native foods to dealers, and with the proceeds abandoning their simple living habits to copy haoles,” building wood huts with rusting iron roofs, wire fences, and roads (Williams 1935). In a visit to the valley, the older residents conveyed their fears to Fagan, telling him they “wanted so badly to preserve the charm and fertility of their valley, to keep it a permanent home for the Hawaiian people”. Unfortunately, “the children, as they grow, wander away, seek jobs in the towns, live from hand to mouth, break down in health in the new environments” ensnared by the “old, old story of the false lures of white man’s civilization”. As early as 1935, it was evident that the native customs that regulated the traditional way of life were at risk. Resident John Kawaa told a reporter that after he died his children would leave the valley like so many had done before (Williams 1935). These fears prompted Paul Fagan to purchase the property known as Pu‘uohōkū Ranch in order to establish a Hawaiian community to promote the traditional way of life. Unfortunately, the desire to seek cash work and the availability of jobs throughout the islands were more attractive (Kelly 1989, Part V: 2).

Besides the lure of western conveniences, many children were forced to move out of the valley in search of education. New laws were introduced that required children to attend school known as the School Attendance Compulsory Laws. Chapter X, Section 20 of the Compiled Laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom of 1884 states, “It shall be incumbent on all parents, guardians and adopters of children, to send such children, from their sixth to
their fifteenth years, to some lawful school, public or private, to be instructed in good morals and elementary learning” (204). The compulsory school age remained from six to fifteen through 1905 (Ch. 17: Sec. 212, Territory of Hawai‘i 1905, 157) and 1915 (Ch. 24: Sec. 286, op cit. 1915, 196) but was reduced to age fourteen in 1925 (Ch. 27: Sec. 324, op cit. 1925, 243). The age was still up to fourteen in 1935 (Ch. 19: Sec. 745 op cit. 1935, 167). In 1945, the law was changed so that the ages were now “all children who will have arrived at the age of at least six years, and who will not have arrived at the age of sixteen years on or before December 31 of any school year” (Ch. 30: Sec. 1830, op cit. 1945, 276). Sixteen was the limit thru 1955 (Ch. 40: Sec. 9, op cit. 1955, 310) and on September 1, 1966, sixteen was changed to eighteen (Ch. 40: Sec. 9, State of Hawai‘i 1965, 249). The law remained the same for many years (op cit. 1968, 148). Then in 1996, Act 89, also known as SB No. 2446, was passed. Under this act, the legislature determined that the school system needed to be reformed. As part of this reform, the school attendance policy was changed to read “all children who will have arrived at the age of six years, and who will not have arrived at the age of eighteen years before January 1 of any school year” (op cit. 1996, 159). Today the school attendance compulsory regulation is recognized as Hawai‘i Revised Statutes (HRS) §302A-1132 and the age remains from six to eighteen (Lexis Nexis 2002, 432).

These laws reflected the increased emphasis on the Western style education. In many cases, especially in the isolated rural areas, children had to go away for school. The mandatory attendance took many children away from the land and as a result, a large workforce was lost. Waipi‘o, on the island of Hawai‘i, provides an example of how schooling affected rural valleys in Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Like many other rural communities, it experienced depopulation because of an emphasis on the importance of
western educations. Many of the young people who were raised in Waipi'o Valley had to go “up top” to school in Kukuihaele when they reached intermediate school age. Then, children who decided to go on to high school would have to go to Hilo, and often times would have to live there and only returned home during breaks. After finishing school, many of these students did not return to the valley but decided to seek jobs and raise their families elsewhere. Sometimes, one of the children would go back and help take care of their farms and families (McGregor 1989, 414).

The same could be said for Hālawa. Although Hālawa Valley had its own school, it only went up to the sixth grade in the 1940s (Duduoit 2005) and the eighth grade in the 1950s (Kawaa 2005). Because the law mandated that children needed to go to school until they were at least sixteen during these time periods, they were forced to continue their education outside of Hālawa. Most children continued their schooling at either Moloka‘i High or to Honolulu (Duduoit; Kawaa 2005). In most cases, the children’s families would move out of the valley to join them and live closer to the schools. In addition, many of these children were implemental in caring for the lo‘i, and without their workforce, their parents struggled to maintain their means of sustenance on their own.

Another contributing factor in history to the declining population in Hālawa was the effects of World War II. As mentioned earlier, many residents were enticed out of the valley by the availability of jobs. During WWII, many residents of Moloka‘i sought to work at Pearl Harbor, which was regarded as a “gold mine” of jobs (Kelly 1989, Part V: 2). Many people throughout Moloka‘i left the island to find good paying jobs during the war (Chong 1989).

Besides changing laws and historical events, the population and life in Hālawa was affected by natural disasters. Following the outbreaks in 1848, a storm hit Hālawa. The
storm produced two months of sunless days and “clouds & darkness literally overspread the heavens” (Hitchcock 1848-49, 40). The constant rain triggered a landslide near Hitchcock’s residence and an island wide flood. At Hālawa, a newly constructed but unfinished meetinghouse was left in ruins and three schoolhouses between the Kalua‘aha Station and Hālawa were destroyed. Many people, already weakened by the illnesses, suffered from lack of supplies and starvation. Hitchcock summed up the event saying, “Long must the nation suffer from the effects of this remarkable visitation of God” (1848-49, 42).

The people of Hālawa, as well as the rest of the islands, suffered yet another “visitation of God” when the entire island chain was hit by a tsunami in 1946. On April 1, 1946, an earthquake measuring 7.4 and originating from the East Aleutian Islands triggered a tsunami at 12:29 (Pararas-Carayannis 1969, 28-29). In Hālawa, the water rushed into the valley, washing a large area of the floor clean and cutting back the beach at the head of the inlet by several feet (Shephard 1950, 430). Informant George Chong (1989) described the effects of the tsunami:

The 1946 tsunami also ruined the taro fields in the front of Hālawa Valley. The taro farmers in the valley had to work very hard to flush the salt out of their gardens and remove the tons of sand that the ocean had deposited in them. The gardens nearest the beach were the hardest hit. They had to run fresh water through the taro gardens to try to rid them of salt. Getting rid of the sand was the worst part. Without the aid of earth-moving machines, they bent their backs over shovels, picks and hoes, filling the wheelbarrows, and hauling the sand out by hand. It was hard, grueling, laborious work.

The tsunami is speculated to have ended the commercial growing of taro in Hālawa (Riley 1973, 60). Several families migrated out of Hālawa following the tsunami and “a minimal amount of taro was grown in the valley after this date” (69).
Even more devastating that the tsunami was the flood in the 1960s. According to Lawrence and Harry Aki, in 1964 Hālawa Stream flooded and destroyed the waterworks in the valley (Wood 2005, 47). Walter Kawaa also remembered the storm, although he thought it was in 1967. The statewide storm, which they called “Big Water,” “eroded the stream bed so deeply that water could not be diverted to the ‘auwai that flowed to the taro patches, making taro farming impossible as we knew it” (Kawaa 2005).

These events in history reflect a long period of change during the early part of the twentieth century. Decreasing taro production resulted in the loss of an economic source as new agricultural venues arrived on the island of Moloka‘i. Western amenities were becoming more desirable and people were beginning to move away from a self-sustaining way of life to one involving cash work. People were being lured away from rural areas like Hālawa in search of readily available jobs. A war brought on new opportunities and several people left to find work or to join the service. Then, several natural disasters caused massive damage in the valley. These events directly affected the population in Hālawa and reflect the changing values of the people. When inquiring with kama‘āina of Hālawa, it is apparent that these new values had a devastating impact on a once thriving traditional Hawaiian community.

ORAL HISTORIES: SPECULATIONS ON THE DECLINING POPULATION

Many of the people who grew up in Hālawa and those who still reside there describe life in the valley as peaceful and prosperous. There stories reflect very similar tones of a period of happiness and a flourishing community in the early part of the 20th century followed by a slow decline in the population and the desire of younger generations to seek other opportunities. The histories of the kama‘āina of Hālawa and
Moloka‘i express the possible reasons for the decline in the population and reminisce about a way of life long gone.

**Ralph Papa Kahalewai**

Ralph Papa Kahalewai was born on O‘ahu on April 11, 1931. When he was five years old, he and his family sailed to Moloka‘i on the boat *Hualalai* and moved down to Hālawa. He describes living in Hālawa as the best time of his life (Kahalewai 2002). When he first moved to the valley, there were several people living there. He says, "that valley was beautiful at the time. Taro patch go from the beach all the way up, almost to the waterfall...where the main road comes down, was loaded with houses, and we had the church, two churches, the school house, and then all the way up to our good friend...good people" (Kahalewai 1999). He lived in Hālawa with his six of his brothers, one sister, and his parents.

![Figure 13. The Kahalewai's properties in Hālawa highlighted in orange (Experian 1998, 574)](image-url)
Like most of the residents in Hālawa, the Kahalewai family lived simply, in a house with a dirt-floor kitchen and large sleeping room, and they tended their twelve taro patches diligently. There were only two radios in the whole valley, and residents often gathered to listen. Resources were abundant, from ‘o’opu, Sāmoan crab, goat, ‘akule, guava, coconut, mountain ‘opae, mountain apple, and mango. Some people still ate dog, and of course, there was kalo. Whenever there was a party, everyone in the valley was invited. Food sharing was still practiced in Hālawa at that time. When the sampan boats would come up stream, pulling the net full of ‘akule, the people would gather to help haul in the harvest. Everyone would go home with at least two bags of ‘akule for each house. Residents also maintained conservation of resources. They would only pick what was needed to feed their family. For example, when gathering ‘opihi, families would only pick to a certain point, enough to feed themselves. Then the next family would continue picking from the point where the last one left off (Kahalewai 2002). Eventually, however, his family was affected by changing times.

As Ralph’s older brothers aged, they sought work outside of the valley. They went to work at the ranch (Pu‘uohōkū) where they became cowboys while the younger siblings went to school and helped at home. Being the youngest, Ralph, his older brother Eddie, older sister Mary, and cousins Vivian and Wallace were the only ones left to help his father tend the lo‘i. Even with the help of the younger children, Ralph remembers his father struggling, as he was getting older. Eventually the family followed the movement of many other residents and migrated to Honolulu not long after WWII (Kahalewai 2002).
Anne Kaiana Enis Duduoit (2005)

Anne Kaiana Enis Duduoit was born in Hālawa in 1936. Anne was one of fourteen children. Seven of the children either died at birth or did not live much longer than their second birthday. Of the children that survived, there were four girls and two boys, in addition to Anne. While seven children lived with her parents, Anne was hānai by her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kamanao. Annie lived in Hālawa and attended Hālawa School until she reached the sixth grade. At that time, Hālawa School only went up to the sixth grade. She then moved with her sister Eliza to Honolulu to live with her grandfather’s oldest daughter, Mrs. Lucy Mikasobe to go to school. In Honolulu, she attended Washington Intermediate School and then McKinley High School. She married in 1946, when she received her married name, Duduoit. Anne never moved back to Hālawa, but she still remembers the valley fondly.

Figure 14. Joseph Kamana’o’s property in Hālawa highlighted in purple (Experian, 575)
Mrs. Duduoit lived with her grandparents in a big red house. They were actually neighbors to the Kahalewai family. They also lived near the Kaalouahi family. The house was Western-style, with three bedrooms, a charcoal stove, and a large dining room. The Kamanao family also had the only indoor toilet in the valley. Her grandfather, Joseph Kamanao Jr., worked for the county on the roads so during the week, he would go “topside” and come home on Fridays.

Like Ralph, Anne describes Hālawa as a relatively rural and simple valley. There were many taro patches in the valley and the stream provided an abundance of resources, including ‘ōpae and ‘o’opu, her grandparents’ favorite. Everybody planted taro at that time. She did not work in the lo‘i, but her grandfather worked diligently cultivating taro. He also enlisted the help of Filipino workers from Pu‘uohokū Ranch. During off seasons, they would come down into the valley looking for work and Mr. Kamanao often hired them to work in the lo‘i and as a driver. On occasion, the driver would take Anne into Kaunakakai to go shopping or to go to the movies at Takata’s theater. The community in Hālawa, which was predominantly pure native Hawaiian, continued traditional practices of food sharing and lived communally, always looking out for each other. Whenever there was a party, everyone attended. If someone was pulling taro from his lo‘i and he knew that another family might need some, he would pull extra. If someone went fishing and they had an excess of fish, they would give fish to whoever needed it. In Mrs. Duduoit’s words, “They used to help each other, you know. It was never, only mine, yeah.” This reciprocal lifestyle meant that the people of Hālawa never had to rely on government assistance or welfare.
Unfortunately, this traditional lifestyle could not last forever. Mrs. Duduoit began to notice change in the valley. Western values began to infiltrate life in the valley. For example, cars afforded residents the opportunity to experience life outside Hālawa. Mrs. Duduoit’s grandfather owned one of the two cars in Hālawa at that time (Paahao Nahoopii owned the other). She was usually allowed access to the car on Saturdays, and capitalized on the privilege. She would take her cousins and friends to town to watch movies, at a small charge. She says she did not have anything at the time, and this was an opportunity for her to earn something while giving her friends and family the change to experience the world outside Hālawa.

These trips “topside” and the introduction of Western goods into the valley gave residents a taste of other opportunities. Once residents experienced life outside Hālawa, many were apt to leave. Like Ralph and many other Hālawa residents, Anne and her sister had to leave Hālawa in search of better opportunities. In addition, it was becoming increasingly apparent that life in Hālawa was a struggle. This was especially clear following the tsunami. The water wiped out several taro patches, which was a major source of sustenance for valley residents. Land issues were also of concern. Puʻuohōkū Ranch may have affected some people leaving. According to Mrs. Duduoit, some people living on the ranch property were asked to leave. However, one of the most common reasons why people left Hālawa was to find jobs. The county provided many jobs that force people to move out to Kaunakakai and Honouliwai. The California Packing Company, or CPC, also provided jobs, and many families moved to Honolulu. As the economic viability of taro declined, families slowly left Hālawa. Before long, almost everyone was gone. Mrs. Duduoit’s parents were one of the last families to live full time in Hālawa and cultivate their own loʻi. Whatever their reasons were for leaving, many
people in Hālawa decided to live elsewhere. Unfortunately, Mrs. Duduoit was also part of a common trend with those who left Hālawa. She never moved back.

Walter Kaloheaulani Kawaa, Jr. (2005)

Walter Kaloheaulani Kawaa, Jr. was born on September 23, 1943. He was delivered by his father in their home in Hālawa. Uncle Walter lived in Hālawa until 1957. He had attended Hālawa School, which only went up to the eighth grade at the time. As previously discussed, the law required children to attend school until they were sixteen, so like many other children in Hālawa Uncle Walter had to leave to continue his schooling. In his case, he left Hālawa to begin the ninth grade at the Kamehameha School for Boys in 1957 and graduated from the same school in 1961. Uncle Walter is now a retired detective who currently lives with his wife Audrey in Mililani. He never moved back to Hālawa.

Uncle Walter remembers Hālawa being filled half way with taro patches. He estimates that the population was between 35 and 40. Among the people living there when he was growing up were his own ‘ohana (Figure 15 shows his family’s properties), the Mollen ‘Ohana, the Solatario ‘Ohana, the Pauline Nahoopii ‘Ohana, the John Akina Sr. ‘Ohana, the Peter Kawaa Sr. ‘Ohana, Tutu Paahao, and Tutu Paio Akina.
In addition to residential homes, there was the one room Hālawa School, which is currently the site of the public park and pavilion, and Hālawa Congregational Church. Unfortunately the church no longer remains (Figure 16). A volunteer group had gone down to Hālawa to clean the church and lit a fire whose embers may have landed on the shake (pili) roof and caught on fire. The church had also been facing vandalism as people had stolen the bell, the chairs, the pulpit, and other items.
Another church, Ierusalema Hou, stands just up the road from the Congregational Church’s ruins (Figure 17). The church was an offshoot of the churches founded by the early Congregationalist missionaries and is a branch of the King of kings and Lord of Lords Protestant denomination (Scott 1978). Uncle Walter does not remember this church from his childhood.

Most families were taro planters, although Uncle Walter’s father also worked outside the valley. He was a foreman for the State of Hawai‘i and worked out of
Kalaupapa where he rounded, castrated, branded, and slaughtered cattle, repaired roads and buildings, and unloaded supplies from the barge when it docked once a year. He would come out of Kalaupapa at the end of work every Friday afternoon and then go back down to on Sunday afternoon. Uncle Walter was told that there were some people who worked outside, mainly for the State or County on road projects. For the most part families were "extremely happy." It was a very simple time. Everyone was family—either you were related by blood, or you just knew people as "Aunty" or "Uncle."

Life in Hālawa was simple. The daily regiment was that the children would go to school, come home, eat Saloon Pilot crackers as a snack, and then work in the taro patch or the yard. Afterwards they would go play or swim in the stream which was located about a hundred yards from their loʻi. The children living in Hālawa attended the one-room Hālawa School, which placed a lot of emphasis on music and the Bible. The teacher during Uncle Walter's time was Edward Kaupu, who stressed singing and insisted that all the students learn to sing in parts. School was conducted in English and the Kawaa family only spoke English at home. While Uncle Walter's parents spoke Hawaiian to each other and friends and older 'ohana, they did not teach the children. However, that was typical for that period.

The people of Hālawa maintained a self sustaining lifestyle. "If you wanted food, you just went and got it." Besides taro, there was guava, mango, mountain apple, and banana throughout the valley. The Kawaa family also had a grapefruit tree, many papaya trees, and grew fresh vegetables including kai choi (mustard cabbage), head cabbage, and string beans. Of course, they also grew taro. Sometimes the family would sell taro for cash. Uncle Walter remembers being sent to sell a bag of taro and received $4.00. It does not sound like much now, but it got two whole bags of groceries. During off
seasons Uncle Walter’s father would dry out the lo‘i and grow watermelon, which they would sometimes sell. For the most part, Hālawa residents were self reliant and survived on taro, local/wild produce, crackers, tea, poi, and fish.

The sea provided an abundance of resources. While Hālawa does not have any reefs, there are still many other things to harvest. ‘Akule was one of the fish the Kawaa family would catch. They caught ‘akule in a process known as lau, which was also the name of the long rope they used created by intertwining rope with lā‘i. Uncle Walter’s maternal grandmother would spot the ‘akule from high atop the cliff overlooking Hālawa Bay. Meanwhile, his grandfather and some other people would wait below in their canoes. Some of the canoes had the lau and others had long surround nets. Uncle Walter’s grandmother would guide the people below to go far out and then signal for them to drop the lau rope and encircle the fish. When they had successfully encircled the fish with the lau, they would pull the ends towards the mouth of Hālawa Bay. Then the other canoes would drop their surround nets behind the lau and pull their catch in to the shore.

In addition to lau, the people living in Hālawa would throw net to catch fish. Uncle Walter’s mother would drop him off along with his father and younger brother Earl at the top of the south side of Pu‘uohōkū Ranch. The three would then trek “down the steep hill through the cow pasture strewn with lantana bush.” The first fishing spot they would reach was known as Manapa‘i, which meant magic or spiritual slap. Uncle Walter and his brother would follow their father and they were responsible for helping pull the net in after it was thrown and then collecting and carrying the fish from the net.

According to Uncle Walter, “To break the monotony, they [we] would count off the fish after each throw. It was kinda boring because sometimes they [we] would walk for long
distances without the net being thrown into the water.” However, once they saw their father stop and then “stalk the kai,” they would get excited because they knew he would be throwing his net soon and they would have fish to collect. Their father would catch all kinds of fish but they hated removing āholehole the most because they were so spiny and always poked their hands and fingers. Once their father caught 177 āholehole in one throw and another time he caught 119 moi!

The family usually ate the fish fresh, i.e. fried, but the father would also salt some fish. He was an expert at käpi, or salting fish. He knew exactly how much salt to put in the fresh fish and would let it cure overnight. The next day he would rinse the fish out and knew exactly how much needed to be rinsed. Uncle Walter’s father also made his own salt. He would gather the salt from Kalaupapa and carry it out in sacks. Uncle Walter remembers his father carrying at least a hundred pounds of salt up the steep hill, balancing the bags on either shoulder. The salt was collected and sorted in two batches. One batch, the “clean” salt, came from the bottom of the salt pan. The other was from the top of the salt pan and usually had some debris in it. The “dirty” salt was used for salting fish and the clean salt was used for cooking and consumption.

Although they relied mainly on traditional food, the Kawaa’s would also partake in Western goods. On occasion their mother would obtain goods from the store. Bread was a special treat. Sometimes she would buy codfish, which they would hang and eat when desired. The mother also had an affinity for crackseed. She would buy it and the children would devour theirs, then stare at her longingly until she shared some of hers. They also ate almond roca candy as a treat.

Western culture also influenced everyday life. The Kawaa family owned a battery operated radio, which they would listen to after dinner. Then the family would
gather in the living room for ‘Ohana, or devotion, when they would sing, recite the Psalms and the 12 Commandments, and hold bible study. The Kawaa’s were raised in a strong Christian family. Their mother had embraced Christianity and raised her own family with the same values. She served as the licentiate, an ordained minister who did not receive formal training from a seminary, at Hālawa Congregational Church and Wailua Congregational Church.

Given the happy life maintained in Hālawa during this period, it seems unusual to think people would even consider leaving. Nevertheless, many families did. The Kawaa ‘Ohana, like many other families in Hālawa, left to provide the children with an education. Uncle Walter moved to Honolulu to attend the Kamehameha School for Boys and his parents moved to Kaunakakai around 1958 when his brother Earl (who was a year younger) graduated from Hālawa School and had to attend Moloka‘i High, the only high school on the island.

Besides schooling, Uncle Walter discusses some of the other contributing factors that led people to move out of Hālawa. Natural disasters had some effect. The 1946 tsunami caused major damage in the valley. The lo‘i nearest the shore were wiped out and several houses were destroyed, including his father’s. Uncle Walter recalls his father and maternal grandfather either gathering or attempting to gather fish after the water receded and then somehow realizing that something was wrong and narrowly escaping death or injury. Uncle Walter was only three at the time and does not remember much about the tsunami. He recalls seeing at least three tsunamis in his lifetime and although the lo‘i nearest the beach were damaged or destroyed, the people were always able to recover and start over. Nature created much more havoc in the 1960s. According to
Uncle Walter, a great flood in 1967 severely damaged the ‘auwai and made taro farming “impossible as we knew it before.” This storm forced many residents to move elsewhere.

More than the pressures of nature, Western values had a profound impact on the population of Hālawa. As mentioned earlier, the emphasis on Western education forced many residents to leave Hālawa so their children could continue their education because Hālawa School only went up to the eighth grade. In addition, many people left because “the younger folks moved out to seek jobs because taro farming was very hard work.” Uncle Walter believes that the older folks would have preferred to stay in Hālawa because they were content and they were hard workers who knew how to live with nature off the land and sea. The younger generations, on the other hand, wanted to find easier work and make money. They probably felt obligated to leave because in Hālawa there was no running water, no taro, and no kālā. One family tried to “make a go” by installing PVC pipes to divert water to their patches. This work for a couple of the small lo‘i but “not like before when each family formed a dozen or two big taro patches.”

Uncle Walter believes that most people today would not want to live in Hālawa. People have become accustomed to a life of convenience. They seek work that produces cash, not sustenance. Even Uncle Walter admits he would not go back. When asked if he would consider moving back to Hālawa he responded, “Absolutely not...I got haole-fied with the conveniences of indoor plumbing, electricity and bright lights rather than dim lit kukui hele pō (kerosene lamp, kerosene lanterns, and occasionally Coleman gas lanterns) when guests visited us.” When he first moved to Honolulu, he was shocked by some things. For example, on his first night at Kamehameha Schools, he could not sleep because he kept hearing a ticking noise. It turned out to be the clock in the hall. Eventually Uncle Walter got used to Western amenities and soon did not want to live
without modern conveniences like television. Furthermore, Hālawa Valley as it is today saddens Uncle Walter. His memories of Hālawa are of a valley lined with taro patches and teeming with people. Now it is a wild jungle smothered by trees and "ʻōpala plants." It is not the Hālawa he fondly remembers.

Despite the setbacks, Uncle Walter is optimistic about a community being established in Hālawa again. There are several issues, mainly political and conflicting views, that would have to be addressed first, but as Uncle Walter says, "Anything is possible...nothing is impossible where green and need is involved." If people are passionate about it, life may be restored in Hālawa Valley.

Mac Poepoe (2005)

Kelson "Mac" Poepoe was born in 1949. He was raised in Ho’olehua and has lived there his whole life. The first time he visited Hālawa was in 1958. He was eight years old and went down with the Boy Scouts. They would visit Hālawa often to camp. In those days, there were about four or five families still residing in the valley, including the Kawaas, the Kainoas, Nahoopii, and the Enis. The Mollenas’ house was still standing but he does not remember if they were living there at the time. As for the Enis family, they were the last ones he recalls seeing working in their taro patch.

There was a dirt road in Hālawa in the late 1950s and early 1960s, until the early to mid 1970s. By that time, there was only one family down there, Johnny Kainoa and his wife. In the 1970s, Mac would go down to the valley often to hunt and fish. He stayed with Johnny Kainoa. Taro cultivation was on a small scale, being produced mainly for home consumption. Eventually, however, the lo‘i became bare and were slowly overtaken by trees.
Even from his childhood Mac remembers how the valley changed: "Was one interesting place, because over that time, from when I was young, all that time I go in and I visit, the place was changing. Changing, changing. Until came into one jungle. And kind of sad because we see that when we was small and then, when you grow up and you look back, how used to be and what stay now, it's just like one...turning into one big waste. Everything just went overtake and kind of like, nobody, nobody went care anymore about the place." The few people who were living in Hālawa during his childhood left in search of a better life. Many were no longer interested in working in the taro patches. They abandoned the hard work that kalo cultivation entailed to find jobs and make money. In speaking with residents, Mac found that most people left to find jobs in places like Honolulu and "get away from the taro patch." Others opted to join the service. Many people in his own generation chose to join the Army to avoid working in the pineapple fields because, "you never like get stuck doing hard labor, I guess."

Unfortunately, as Mac contends, "people never see the value of working your land and,
you know maintaining the culture, the identity. They just went look at it like, hard work, I no like do that, and went dig out.”

One of the reasons why they needed to find jobs was to obtain Western goods. One story Mac tells reflects a metaphor for the changing values of the times. He and Johnny would often go into town (Kaunakakai) to go shopping. Many of the residents in the valley were not able to leave, so they would get things from the store for them. The most common request was crackers: “they used to like cracker every time. Cracker. That was one, like one main staple. The thing can last long, you know, put ‘em in the bucket. Used to have bucket, and, long time ago used to be the tin can, and can cover ‘em up and the thing stay good for long time. But they used to like crackers so we used to take cans and cans of crackers just for them stash, yeah. Kaukau. Can sardine, like that. But they went like that kind food because the thing last, yeah. Not like the old Hawaiian food, you gotta make ‘em every day. You gotta go make ‘em. But it’s fresh. It just takes work for do ‘em, yeah. I guess they, they kind of went like the easier way. Little bit more unhealthy, but was easier for them. And different, yeah. And the people, they used to like cracker. Every time we go down Hālawa that’s all we take. Cracker.”

Besides the desire to find jobs and obtain the amenities of the modern world, many residents were lured away by the opportunity to see the world and escape the harsh realities of their traditional lifestyles. Most people living in Hālawa did not own cars. As a result, they lived in an isolated world, which was some times difficult. Pulling taro was not easy work. Many people living in Hālawa became to old to continue the strenuous work. Mac quips, “you only walk in the mud you come tired. But they make their little boat, they throw ‘em on top. Pull ‘em to the side, by the bank. They unload ‘em. Back and forth, back and forth. And that’s only the beginning of the work. Then you gotta go
home clean ‘em. And then you go cut all the huli for plant another patch, then you gotta
go cook ‘em, then you gotta pound ‘em. You gotta make sure you eat ‘em, or give ‘em
away, you know, share with the rest of the guys. No waste, yeah.” To make matters
worse, once the road was paved and the valley became more accessible, people could go
in and out of the valley at will. Mac believes that some people became jealous. They
would see other people with cars traveling all over the place while they were stuck in the
mud. Eventually, when they owned their own cars, they would holoholo and not go back.

Kathryn Māhealani Davis (2005)

Kathryn Māhealani Davis defied the odds and contradicted the kupuna’s belief
that younger generations would be willing to live in Hālawa when she took her family
down there in the early 1980s. Māhea was born and raised in Hilo and then moved to the
Leeward coast of O‘ahu where she met her husband Glenn Davis. When they got
married and started having children, they decided to move to Moloka‘i. Both
remembered living there in the past and thought it would be a good place to raise their
children, so they moved there in 1975. They lived at different locations on the east end
of the island and eventually ended up in Hālawa Valley in the early 1980s. In Hālawa,
the Davises experienced the trials and tribulations associated with rural life while
learning how to live off the land. Despite these sometimes trying conditions, they were
able to restore life to some parts of Hālawa and proved that the younger generations are
capable of living in the valley (Davis 2005).

As illustrated in historical accounts, the population of Hālawa had declined
considerably in the early part of the nineteenth century and by the 1930’s, only a “handful
of taro farmers remained” (Tummons 2001). Many of the younger generations had left
Halawa, partly to go to school or find work, and according to Māhea, “you ended up with a population of elderly people who stayed until they died, but there were not enough of them to maintain the taro lo‘i or the extensive irrigation systems needed to cultivate taro. People were taking care of just a couple of lo‘i in places close to streams or ‘auwai intakes where it was easy for just one person to maintain water flow” (Ibid).

The Davises were determined to raise their family in Halawa. They rented a property in the valley and realized that there was a lot of work to be done. One of the first things that needed to be addressed was the ‘auwai. Because only elderly were still living in the valley, there was no one to maintain the ‘auwai. By the time the Davises moved there, it was overgrown with weeds. They cleared the vegetation but realized that they would still need to open the ‘auwai, clear the lo‘i, and plant taro, which was more than they could do on their own. They called upon the assistance of their friends and the Reppun family of Waiāhole (Tummons 2001). What they expected to be a small group of people working on restoring the ‘auwai turned into hundreds who showed up eager to help. The “‘auwai restoration day” had gone around via word of mouth and many people came to pitch in. The three day effort resulted in rejuvenated lo‘i and the opening of the ‘auwai and water flowing through the valley once more. In addition, several of the individuals involved organized themselves into a group known as ‘Onipa‘a Nā Hui Kalo who encouraged “a statewide renaissance in taro cultivation, an essential foundation in the recent rebirth of Hawaiian culture and pride” and Māhea’s husband Glenn served as the group’s first president (Tummons 2001).

Māhealani believes that like her family, others are capable of living in Halawa and that a community could thrive here once more. Besides raising her children and growing taro, Māhea now works for the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center as a
Community Building Facilitator. She works in the community providing activities and support that help with leadership development. She is also involved in promoting cultural activities for youth and promoting activities that will improve the community for the families and children. As a Community Building Facilitator, Māhea helps groups in the community carry out decisions to reach the goals that they would like to achieve. This often involves collecting information for the community groups, doing research, and bringing in resource speakers to help the groups figure out how to address a problem. Her work, which she has applied to efforts in Hālawa, helps her understand the processes concerned in establishing and maintaining a community. She believes wholeheartedly that a community could not only be re-established but could also thrive in Hālawa Valley.

REASONS FOR THE DECLINE

The kūpuna living in Hālawa in the early part of the 20th century saw no reason to leave the valley. In an article in 1956, Sarah Park reported:

Most of the families who live here received their lands from their ancestors. Many of the residents were born here, including Mrs. Walter Kawaa and Mrs. Filomena Aki, mother of two and a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Matio Mollena, whose five children and seven grandchildren live in the valley.

Some, as Mrs. Joseph Mollena, have struggled briefly in the outside world, but say they are happier foraging in Nature’s cupboard here at Hālawa, mountains cupping them on all three sides, and the sea with its curling combers as their lānai.

Residents in Hālawa were accustomed to this way of life, and as Mr. Mollena quipped, “If you live in the city, you wouldn’t like to stay here” (Park 1956). Unfortunately, the younger generations did not want to stay in Hālawa either.
While there seems to be a connection between the tsunami and the decline in population in Hālawa, it has been argued that the disaster did not wound the community as badly as previously thought. George Chong informed Marion Kelly that the taro farmers who remained in the valley after the war worked very hard to rehabilitate their lo‘i after the tsunami hit (Kelly 1989, Part V: 2). He said just one year after the disaster he was able to resume his poi factory and continue to purchase taro from the farmers in the valley. While the tsunami undoubtedly affected the community of Hālawa Valley, it did not impair them, as they were able to restore their livelihoods.

The 1946 tsunami is doubtfully the primary cause of the population decline in Hālawa. The flood in the 1960s was much more devastating. Mr. Kawaa believes that this was a turning point for the population and remembers a large out migration following the disaster. The damage was great and since most of the remaining residents were elderly, they did not have the energy to start over and rebuild. This was the case for Lawrence and Harry Aki’s grandparents, who ended up abandoning their land soon after (Wood 2005, 47). Despite the destructive effects of the storm on Hālawa, it was not likely the main reason people left. If Hālawa was not the victim of out-migration and displacement as the result of a natural disaster, then there must be deeper issues to blame. It was not the tsunami or World War II that prompted many residents of Hālawa to leave. Instead, it was the shift in values towards the land and changing priorities and desires that led so many people to leave Hālawa.

Perhaps one of the most prominent issues leading to the population decline in Hālawa can be attributed to the younger generation’s lack of enthusiasm in maintaining the traditional way of life. Younger generations no longer revered the ‘āina as a living growing provider, but instead as a commodity and a burden. Living off the land required
intense labor and the educated youth desired work that would provide profit with less effort. Mr. Chong (1989) contemplated the out-migration of the younger generations. He believed that younger generations were not interested in growing taro, work he called “back-breaking” that required working in the mud, bending over, pulling weeds, and maintaining the ‘auwai and terraces. It would seem that the age old saying, “Mai maka‘u i ka hana (Don’t fear the work)” holds less ground for the generations of today. Nowadays only older people continue to grow kalo, “primarily because it is their land that they are cultivating” (Chong 1989). The kūpuna recognized the value of working off their own land, a luxury only few kānaka maoli today can claim. James Lindsey also contends that young people today are unwilling to continue the difficult task of growing taro and those that wish to maintain taro cultivation are becoming too old to work (Lindsey 1989). Parents’ desires to provide a better life for their children often resulted in a new set of ideas, and as they became educated, they chose to live a different lifestyle than that of their ancestors (Solatario n.d.).

The desire to adopt a new way of life was directly influenced by the introduction of Western values. Younger generations throughout the islands began to abandon their traditional lifestyles in search of the amenities offered by a Western style life. Hālawa remained immune for a longer period than its neighbors did, due mostly to its relative geographic isolation. As a rural community, Hālawa was able to preserve its traditions longer than its urban counterparts. Unfortunately, “as western goods became increasingly insinuated into everyday life, those economic factors that had been a barrier to change gradually became an incentive” (Anderson, Pia 2001, 104-105). In other words, whereas in the past people living in rural areas like Hālawa were able to fight changes brought on by Western contact, younger generations yearning to acquire the
luxuries offered by this new society were eager to accept new values. Lawrence and Harry Aki grew up in Hālawa during the 1950s and contend that people left because they were lured by the conveniences of the modern economy and driven away by the difficulty of growing taro (Wood 2005, 47).

Pia-Kristina Balboa Anderson argues that one of the major impacts of Western influence in Hālawa was the disintegration of the traditional house. The “House” refers not only to the physical structure, but the family unit, or the “social, political and economic unit,” in Hawaiian culture. This structure was central in maintaining a customary way of life. Anderson’s concept of the “house” social structure or family unit, centers on the responsibilities families had to their ali’i that was integral in maintaining stability. She argues that the system of producing tributes to the Konohiki “ensured the continuation of the institutions of the House as its agent of production”. According to Anderson, the people of Hālawa were able to maintain their social structure despite the influx of Western influence due largely in part to the abundance of resources the valley provided (Anderson, Pia 2001, 110). This surplus of resources allowed maka‘āinana to provide the necessary tributes required under their land tenure system while being able to provide for themselves. However, as kānaka maoli accepted new values, they began to lose their traditional connection to the house and the ‘āina.

One of the most influential imports was the new land tenure system and the changing values towards the land. It is without a doubt that the shifting land tenure displaced many kānaka maoli throughout the islands. Prior to the Māhele, Hālawa residents were able to preserve the traditional land tenure system. The fertile valley supplied the makaʻāinana with resources needed to support themselves and fulfill their responsibilities to the konohiki. According to Anderson, “So long as the Houses met
their obligation to the konohiki, remaining productive on the land, there was little reason to interfere with their semiautonomous operations... Each House could thus become an enduring institution on the landscape, a durable system of tenure and occupancy developed in Hālawa in step with the valley’s prosperity” (2001, 110). Anderson argues that the traditional land tenure system “was so durable, in fact, that it remained substantively unchanged even amidst the turmoil of the late prehistoric and contact periods”. When land tenure was reorganized following the Māhele, the structure of the House that had been preserved for so long began to transform (112-113).

Hālawa Valley was initially able to sustain itself in a world of transformation. The Māhele displaced many kānaka maoli in Hawai‘i, but in Hālawa maka‘āinana faired relatively better than the rest of Moloka‘i. Victoria Kamāmalu received the majority of the land in Hālawa but several maka‘āinana received kuleana parcels. In fact, more claims were awarded in Hālawa than the other ahupua‘a on the island of Moloka‘i (Anderson, Pia 2001, 117). However, the new land tenure system, which was supposed to preserve and extend the rights of the kama‘āina, also opened the land up to foreign interests. Following the passage the Alien Land Act in 1850, foreigners ("aliens") now had the right to own land. The act allowed an unlimited buying and selling of land and aliens were allowed to buy land from subjects and the government (Langlas 2001).

As outsiders began to purchase land in Hālawa, values and the standards of living changed. Walter Kawaa, Sr. claimed that when Bishop Estate sold Hālawa to the Fagans in 1935, the population in the valley dropped considerably due to “poor management of the irrigation complexes” (Riley 1973, 60). According to Pilipo Solatario (Solatario n.d.), the “heaviest exodus from the valley” occurred several years after the tsunami of 1946 and was the result of land ownership issues rather than the natural disaster. He
claimed that when the Ward sisters owned Puʻuohōkū Ranch, they would fence the land and lock the gates and people could not access their own parcels. Then, after George Murphy bought the ranch in 1955, many of the Hālawa residents’ leases were cancelled. In an interview in 1961, Rebecca Uahinui related to Mary Kawena Pūkuʻi that “‘aʻole nui ka papa loʻi i keia manawa. ‘Aʻole hana ʻia ʻāina kuleana i keia manawa” meaning “there aren’t a lot of loʻi patches now. The kuleana parcels aren’t being worked on” (Uahinui 1961; translated by author). She alluded to the fact that changes brought on by “Bihopa me ka Ranch Puʻuohōkū” (Bishop Estate and Puʻuohōkū Ranch) may have been responsible. Many families who owned kuleana parcels in Hālawa could not afford to maintain their traditional lifestyle while surviving in a changing world and “[f]inancially desperate families started selling kuleana (ancestral) lands to outsiders,” which led to squatters moving into the valley and uninformed hikers damaging many prehistoric sites (Wood 2005, 48).

There is no clear-cut reason for the population decline in Hālawa Valley in the early part of the twentieth century. However, we can speculate what factors have contributed to this decline. While historical factors like World War II and the tsunami of 1946 undoubtedly had a negative effect on the population, it is likely that changing values as the result of Western influence had the biggest impact on the decline and was the driving force for out-migration. These new values introduced the people living in Hālawa to new “opportunities” and a way of life that was seemingly less strenuous. Western amenities and goods lured residents out of the valley and forced many to seek work to obtain these luxuries. Few recognized that value of their traditional lifestyle. Like many other kānaka maoli throughout the islands, they were assimilated into a new
culture. Unfortunately, this new culture often made it difficult to return to their old lifestyle, and as a result, no one was willing to move back to Hālawa. Hālawa is now a virtual ghost town. While it no longer boasts the thriving population it was renown for, Hālawa’s future is still imperative to the preservation of traditional Hawaiian values. We may never know exactly why people left Hālawa. However, we can take into consideration the factors that brought on so much change and contemplate what the future holds for this valley.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

While there may no longer be a thriving community in Hālawa to the extent that it was historically, there is still the issue of what the future holds for the valley. As discussed in the introduction, rural areas are imperative to the preservation of the Hawaiian culture. Movements such as Mālama 'Āina have prompted many people to “go back to the roots” and establish communities in rural areas in an effort to re-connect to the land. Several examples can be seen in areas such as nearby Pelekunu Valley and Waipiʻo Valley on Hawaiʻi Island. Perhaps Hālawa could serve as another site of cultural revival and a model for re-establishment in rural areas. Beside the establishment of a community, there are other issues affecting Hālawa today that influence its status in the future and there are several additional options that have been presented regarding what can be done in Hālawa.

THE FUTURE OF HĀLAWA

Now that Hālawa is no longer a thriving community, the question exists, “What is to become of the valley now and what is in store for the future?” There have been many proposed plans of action for Hālawa. The National Park Service contemplated turning parts of the valley into a national park. The State even suggested building a hydroelectric plant in the area. Then there is the possibility of re-establishing a community in Hālawa. This may be one of the more hopeful possibilities, but it still raises many concerns. While re-establishing a community in Hālawa may be a step closer to re-connecting to the land, some people have expressed doubts about the likelihood of people moving down
there. The following is a discussion on some of the issues faced in the valley today and how they can be addressed. In addition, several options are presented to determine what the best solution would be for the future of Hālawa.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 20. View of modern temporary settlements in Hālawa.** (Photo by Kaleialoha Lum-Ho)

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN HĀLAWA**

Despite the fact that most families have moved out of Hālawa, there are still several issues that affect the future of the valley. These issues are a concern to the entire community. While Western values may have lured people out of the valley, they are also causing problems to those who own property there or go there to gather resources. Liability and theft have become a growing concern. In reaction to these issues, people in Hālawa have been wary of strangers and have limited access to certain parts of the valley. A lack of respect for the land has also been a problem, as campers and visitors do not recognize the rules of mālama ʻāina and mālama kai.
One major concern is squatters in the valley. Most of them are non-Hawaiians (haole) and have been known to live on other people’s properties. In the past, this would not have been a major problem, but with liability issues that exist today, land owners need to be more aware of the situation. Mrs. Duduoit’s family had to deal with this problem in recent history. Her family’s house was torn down long ago, but a shack and outdoor toilet and shower were still standing. They received word that someone or some people were using their facilities and sleeping on the property. Her daughter-in-law had to get a police escort and tell the people that they were not allowed on the property. They were concerned about liability and the protection of their property and had to put expensive locks on their structures. Unfortunately, someone allegedly burned their shack down and now all that stands is the bathroom facility.

Squatters are not the only outsiders who have initiated concern in Hālawa. Many non-native investors have been rumored to express interest in acquiring property in Hālawa. According to Walter Kawaa, Jr., “Japanese and haole investors have been eyeing out the valley—all they see is dollar signs but they don’t appreciate what the valley has to offer. John MacAfee recently auctioned off over a thousand acres of land he purchased near Kaunakakai not long ago for more than twice the price he paid. What’s to keep folks like him from doing likewise in Hālawa Valley” (2005).

Summer campers have also created problems in Hālawa. The amount of people who go down in the summer has been overwhelming. Before you knew it, there would be 15 boats docked in the bay and 85 people camping along the beach (Davis 2005). These people often lack respect for the land or its residents. They leave trash in their campsites and trespass on other people’s properties and leave their waste all over the place. The campers have also depleted the water source for the people living in the
valley. There is a private water line that runs along the north side of the valley, which serves about five houses, including the Davises’ former residence near the beach. At first, people used to used water sparingly, with permission from Māhealani and her family but it was not long before they would take advantage of this “free” source of fresh water: “people with kids use the hose, and then pretty soon it’s humbug to walk to your yard and borrow the hose, so they tap into your water line, and then they have a whole kitchen over there. And then pretty soon there’s three camps with kitchens, so there’s all this water used down here [at the beach]...and we didn’t have any, because all the recreational campers are washing their clothes, and ‘au’au, and wash dishes, and rinse their kids off, and they’re cooking rice...so my neighbors up here are going, ‘Hoah, how come you game them all permission?’ Nobody asked us; they just went ahead and did it” (Davis 2005).

Besides campers, vandalism, theft, and drugs have been causes for concern in Hālawa. People have been known to break into properties in the valleys when no one is there and steal (Poepoe 2005) and visitors (usually tourists driving rental cars) have had their parked cars vandalized and property stolen (Krauss 1992). Another illegal act known to be practiced in the valley is the cultivation of marijuana. According to Davis, marijuana growing was very common in the valley in the 1960s. Even when it became less acceptable, people continued to grow, arguing that it was the only way they could pay their bills and take care of their kids (Davis 2005). This behavior reflects the changing values.

Changing values have also forced valley land owners to limit access in the valley. In the past, people had open access to the whole valley. Many visitors would go to the valley to see the waterfalls. The trail that leads to the waterfalls lies partly on the road
that goes through the kuleana lands. Unfortunately, a visitor got hurt and sued the State. People got nervous and closed the road. As a result, there is no longer free access to the trail leading to the falls (Poepoe 2005). Local residents put up a fence and several signs warning against trespassing. For those brave enough to bypass the barriers, they are often met with hostility and sometimes threatened. In 1995 tourists from California Stephen Barrett and his wife were given a “permit” by Jack Spruance, the supervisor at Pu‘uohōkū Ranch, to hike in the valley. They walked past the gate and “No Trespassing” sign and were consequently yelled at and threatened, supposedly by a local wielding a rifle (Tanji 1995). Spruance thought it would be okay for them to hike in the valley because “other landowners had been giving out the permit to visitors and he felt he was following protocols established by a group calling itself Hālawa Valley Kuleana Landowners Association” (Ibid). Hālawa Valley residents, on the other hand, did not think the Barretts should have been there in the first place. The Kuleana Landowners Association spokesperson and Hālawa native Pilipo Solatario said that some of the landowners felt it was necessary to close off access to the falls to avoid liability. The real problem, as Lawrence Aki and Solatario saw it, was that travel brochures and guidebooks were telling tourists they could hike in the valley, but the people who would write this never consulted with the kuleana landowners (Ibid). The unfortunate result is that both tourists and locals could not access the interior of the valley.

Perhaps the biggest concern has been people exploiting Hālawa to make money. People who begin running tours and commercializing the valley risk creating more problems. According to Mac:

I think going get so commercialized where they going have laws that going, that going satisfy these people. And that’s not good, because that’s not what that valley is for. That valley is for you go get kaukau. That’s all right, you know. For families for go holoholo back Wailau, go, you
know for the Summer, when the weather good. I mean that’s traditional kind stuff. But then when they get these tours, and then they getting people that paying them for take them go back there, what for? I don’t know. But it’s not like us guys, you know. They not going back there for go, go camping and you know, get back in touch, I guess, you know, with cultural stuff. They back there for different reasons. It’s not, it’s not for stay in touch with who you are, yeah. And that, that I against that. ‘Cause that’s how, you know, that’s how the people going start to lose their identity too. When you go back there, oh, you going need license. You no more license, you no can go, and all this kind stuff. That’s crazy.

(Poepoe 2005)

Most people in the community would agree that the tours are not in the best interest of the valley. There are some people who either have returned to Hālawa or have roots there who recognized the economic opportunities available by offering tours in the valley. The problem with this is that they are usually crossing (trespassing) on kuleana lands without permission (Kawaa 2005). The tours have created a disharmony within the community. There is growing tension between the commercial tour operators, who have created a lucrative business, and people who have gone down to the valley to do restoration work and cultural activities. Davis acknowledges, “It’s very enticing to go walk four haoles up to the waterfall and make $200 or more for taking a walk…and then you can just tell ‘em whatever you want to tell them. As opposed to clearing land, doing the maintenance, keeping lo’i up. It’s hard work…all of the kupuna that were alive when we were living down there said, ‘No can. People too lazy now’” (2005).

The main apprehension regarding the tours is liability. The negative effects of tours in the valley have already affected one family in Hālawa. The properties that are currently part of the Hālawa Valley Land Trust are the result of a lawsuit involving a Hawaiian kuleana landowner and a commercial tour operator. The elderly landowner had given the tour operator permission to stay on her property under the pretenses that he
would only be there when he went fishing. What the woman didn’t realize was that he had been living in her house full time and was conducting tours without proper license or permission. On one of the tours, a woman fell of her horse and got hurt. Her husband tried to sue the tour operator, who had no insurance, no license, and no assets.

The tourists decided to sue the landowner, who had no prior knowledge of what had been going on. To make matters worse, the landowner’s attorney did little to settle the situation. Instead, he offered to “relieve” her of the burden by buying her properties thereby “taking the problem off her hands.” Although the Davises begged her not to do it, the landowner, who was in her seventies, was scared and felt she had no other choice. She sold her family’s land to the lawyer. Within a year, he and a friend had the properties on the market. When people ask Māhealani Davis about what is wrong with tours she responds, “You know, when you run your tours and you go through all these people’s lands…you put them all at risk” (Davis 2005).

RE-ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY IN HĀLAWA

Rural areas like Hālawa may hold the key to the preservation of the Hawaiian culture, which is why it is important to maintain communities in these places. Perhaps this would also be a good reason to re-establish communities in rural areas that have been abandoned, like Hālawa Valley. Furthermore, we all need to realize that there are not enough places where kānaka maoli can remember the old ways. According to Māhealani Davis, “They [kānaka maoli] need a quiet place to site where they can hear these things again” (2005). Davis believes that Hālawa could serve as a model for other rural areas as a place where Hawaiian families can remember and be revitalized and reconnect to the ‘āina. She asserts that Hālawa needs to be preserved, “I was very surprised how many
people [former residents] said it doesn’t feel quite right, right now. It’s overgrown. It looks uncared for. One person said it was like watching...an old person that nobody wants and they’re having a hard time” (Davis 2005). A community in Hālawa would bring life back to the valley and serve as an inspiration for other rural areas throughout the islands. There are two major questions that must be acknowledged in the discussion of the potential to re-establish a community in Hālawa: what factors must be considered in re-establishing a community in Hālawa and what is the feasibility of establishing such a community. These questions can be answered by understanding the factors that affect life in rural areas in general and addressing the issues and limitations that affect life in Hālawa (including subsistence and accessibility). Several groups and individuals took these questions into account when they got together to deliberate the future of Hālawa Valley at a gathering in December 2004.

Factors to Consider in Re-establishing a Community in Hālawa

If a movement is carried out to re-establish a community in Hālawa, there are several issues that need to be addressed. Most rural communities escaped the effects of urbanization and Western economic, political, and social development and were therefore able to preserve traditional practices and subsistence through aloha 'āina/kai and mālama 'āina/kai. These practices preserved the Hawaiian culture and protected the natural resources of the land and sea. However, rural communities throughout the Hawaiian Islands still face many outside pressures, including large-scale agriculture, tourism, the influx of newcomers unfamiliar with Hawaiian values and methods of preserving natural resources, local people from outer islands not familiar with traditional values, over harvesting of local natural resources, and commercial harvesting. All these external
influences contributed to the decline of resources. In addition, government policymakers and private economists have not acknowledged the importance of subsistence activities to the economies of rural communities and “the Department of Business and Economic Development needs to recognize subsistence as an important sector of the economy in Hawai‘i’s rural areas and adopt a policy of protecting subsistence areas from the negative impacts of economic growth” (Matsuoka, Kei, McGregor and Minerbi 1994, 123).

Subsistence is one of the most prominent issues that affect the feasibility of establishing a community in Hālawa and is a concern that has been brought up throughout the island of Moloka‘i. In response to this concern, the Moloka‘i Subsistence Task Force was established in February of 1993, a group that sought to identify problems related to subsistence and “recommend policies and programs to protect and/or enhance subsistence activities on the island.” The group created a survey which was presented at community meetings throughout the island to determine what kinds of subsistence activities were performed. The primary issues addressed in the survey were (Matsuoka, Kei, McGregor and Minerbi 1998, 27-28):

1. demographic characteristics of respondents and rates and types of subsistence practices
2. the significance of subsistence to one’s family (e.g., the percent of a family’s food that comes from subsistence)
3. the types of non-consumptive uses of subsistence resources (e.g., sharing, exchange)
4. the cultural significance of subsistence, and
5. the types of issues and problems that impede subsistence on Molokai

The group conducted a telephone survey of a random sample of Moloka‘i residents using questions that addressed the above issues. They also created land-use maps by asking participants at community meetings to identify where they practiced what kind of subsistence activity (Matsuoka, Kei, McGregor and Minerbi 1998, 29).
The Task Force Group held Focus Group Meetings throughout the island to determine what kinds of issues and concerns the residents had and what policies and recommendations could alleviate those problems (Matsuoka, Kei, McGregor and Minerbi 1994, 167-173). For Hālawa, the issues were divided based on subsistence. For fishing, the problems and concerns of the Hālawa residents were the affect of house construction on hīhīwai in the streams, the effect of recreational activities like wind surfing, the reliance on commercial fishing for economic survival, larger fish that were spawning more than smaller fish, and the enforcement of fishing, especially in the moi fishing grounds. Some of the suggestions the focus group proposed were implementing a kapu system in which areas could be designated as open or closed for two year periods with the following regulations: gill netting and commercial fishing operations would not be allowed in closed areas; kānaka maoli allowed to practice traditional gathering rights as protected by law in closed areas via spear fishing, net-throwing, or pole fishing; commercial and subsistence activities were unrestricted in open areas for all residents; and harbors were open at all times, and areas between harbors would be under the kapu program explained above; and suggestions were made for offshore boundaries (Matsuoka, Kei, McGregor and Minerbi 1994, 167). The group also agreed that construction of houses near fishponds should cease and existing houses removed to prevent further leaching of sewage into the water and ocean gathering and hunting were also discussed by the group.

People would also have to consider the issue of accessibility. While Hālawa is physically easy to access, there are some political issues that concern accessibility in the valley. As of 2000, when the NPS study was conducted, public access was prohibited. There were several signs posted advertising, “NO TRESPASSING” and locked gates
preventing entrance. However, much of these local regulations were the result of visitors going through valley residents’ yards (National Park Service 2001, 10).

Subsistence and accessibility are very important, but if people want to live in Hālawa, they also have to realize that taro planting is a lot of work and everyone must work together. Many groups have expressed interest in creating a community in Hālawa but they have faced criticism because for one, not all of them have Hālawa ties, and there is conflict with the interests and goals of each group and determining who is “calling the shots” (Kawaa 2005).

The Feasibility of Re-establishing a Community in Hālawa

Pelekunu had more physical constraints in establishing a community than Hālawa, however there were many similar concerns. Unfortunately, a community was not established in Pelekunu. It seems that the probability of people establishing a community in Hālawa may also be unlikely. Some also have doubts about the likelihood of people returning or moving into Hālawa full time. It is likely that the same reasons why many people left Hālawa would hinder them from moving back. People today live in a different time with different values.

Mrs. Duduoit was clear in stating that she doubted people would go back to Hālawa. Her family has several properties in the valley from her grandfather (Kamanao received several, mostly kuleana lands), but she told her daughter-in-law, who maintains the land, that if the opportunity arises, she should sell the land, because “You know I don’t think anybody going back to Hālawa” because “there’s nothing in Hālawa” (2005).

Mac Poepoe agrees with Mrs. Duduoit. For one, the younger generations today don’t realize what is gone, they not going see the reality of what was, and you know.
Like me, I wish had, I had some of that stuff back. But no can because, like before you just work the land, you know. You don't who own the land. The families just go in and they work. As long as maintain your patch, you know, that's yours. And then whatever you harvest you share with whoever working in the same valley and stuff like that. Now everything is, oh, somebody owns the land. Kind of hard for go back and, you know, redo all that old stuff.” Although there is some interest in returning to Hālawa, Mac questions their dedication. He believes that for such a movement to be implemented, the people willing must have their heart in it. It's one thing to work in the lo'i during the day and then drive home and another to live in the valley full time. People would have to be willing to give up modern luxuries like the television. Although Mac questions the likelihood of people establishing a community in Hālawa, he concedes, “if your heart is in it, you know, that's the best place for live.”

Discussions on How to Preserve Hālawa Valley: The Kuleana Landowners Gathering

Realizing that Hālawa was being neglected and was in serious need of mālama ʻāina, several interest groups and landowners got together to discuss the future of the valley. The five groups responsible for the gathering were the Hālawa Valley Cooperative, led by Lawrence and Catherine Aki, the Hālawa Valley Land Trust, under the direction of Māhealani Davis and Anne Bacon, the Hālawa Valley Kuleana Association, represented by Pilipo Solatario, Ierusalema Hou congregation with Kahu Reynolds Ayau, and Puʻuohōkū Ranch, Ltd., with supervisor Jack Spruance (Kane 2004). They had initially gathered to discuss the declining health of the valley and what needed to be done to preserve it (Ibid). They realized that there was an imbalance in both the
environment and the community and wanted to create a forum where the landowners could discuss their concerns and hopes for the valley.

The ultimate goal of the gathering was to ask the landowners in Hālawa Valley for permission to conduct an assessment of Hālawa Valley’s natural and cultural resources, especially the lo‘i kalo and ‘auwai. While the landowners were not the only individuals concerned with and connected to the valley, the groups thought it would be easier to contact the kuleana landowners (that is the owners listed in the property tax records) in order to avoid offending someone or being accused of showing favoritism.

The groups formed a Cultural Resources Management Plan planning group and sent invitations to all those who held property in Hālawa. The groups and landowners met in December 2004, and according to Māhealani Davis, there was a pretty good turnout and the response was supportive. She said the general consensus was that everyone loved the idea of restoring the lo‘i kalo.

Besides obtaining permission to conduct an assessment of the valley, the groups wanted to get an idea of what people were concerned about and how they felt about Hālawa. The gathering also gave people an opportunity to share stories about their memories of Hālawa. The facilitators asked the attendees three main questions. The first was to describe Hālawa as they would like it to be. Then they were asked to describe Hālawa as they see it today. Finally, the gathering was asked what information would be needed and steps taken in order to move Hālawa as it is today to what they would like it to be.

The common vision for what people would like to see for Hālawa was the restoration of taro cultivation. People also mentioned the importance of “unity, respect for the land and each other, understanding and knowing the ‘āina, agriculture
appreciation, seeing the land as it used to be” and “restoration of the memories of the last people who raised taro in Hālawa” (2005). They talked about wanting to see the ‘auwai flowing and the taro patches thriving. People also expressed the need for managed tourism, clearing the valley of squatters, and restoring the ka pana area. There was a general desire to see the return of families, children playing, a full church on Sunday, healthy land, healthy people, people consuming traditional foods…restoration of the historical sites, eradication of invasive species, no pakalōlō growing, and other concerns for a healthy agriculture (Davis 2005).

People’s perceptions of Hālawa today contrast these reflections. There were both positive and negative depictions of the valley as people see it today. On the negative side, people noted the presence of invasive species, ungulates, junk cars, and excessive campers. Environmental concerns included the mismanagement of the river system, erosion of both soil and coastal and archaeological sites, and the deteriorating fishpond. In addition, people going down there were leaving rubbish and lacked respect for the church or burial areas. Overall, they thought Hālawa felt like a hostile and unwelcoming place.

On the other hand, there were still some positive aspects of Hālawa. On the whole, they all agreed Hālawa and its beauty were “overwhelming” and “people are transformed by the valley.” The valley still boasts healthy subsistence fishing and shoreline harvesting. The gathering agreed that “People have a strong love for the place. There’s cooperation and respect between legitimate residents” and their optimism was reflected by the assertion that people “see generations, multiple generations of people in the lo‘i that have been restored” (Davis 2005).
When asked how Hālawa could become what people idealized it to be, there were several suggestions for what kind of information would be needed to determine how to meet his goal. People noted the need for more information on the available resources, the hydrology of the stream, place names, traditional management practices, soils, geology, mapping, local species, history, and traditional knowledge. These suggestions were the issues that would be addressed in the assessment of the valley.

The outcome of the meeting was a discussion in which Hālawa landowners were able to address their concerns and desires for the valley. They all agreed that the valley needed to be revitalized and preserved and sought the restoration of a thriving community. The first step towards reaching these goals was to create an assessment of the valley, so that everyone would know what they were dealing with. The planning group would give a report back to the kuleana landowners that would give them information about the lands, including what is growing on the landscape, who owns it, place names, and other ethnohistoric and geographic information. These reports would make it easier for people to utilize the land and hopefully encourage more landowners to restore their lo‘i. According to Davis, “We want agriculture to be the economic foundation on this island because, well for many reasons, but one of the things is that the values attached to and the lifestyle attached to agriculture is different than the values and lifestyles attached to working hotel or working factories…” (2005).

OTHER OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF HĀLAWA

Restoring the community and agricultural viability of Hālawa is the suggestion at the forefront of the discussion on options for the future of Hālawa Valley. Several suggestions have been made regarding the future of Hālawa and many organizations have
expressed interest in the valley, including the National Park Service and the State of Hawai‘i and some nonprofit organizations, like the Hālawa Valley Land Trust and the Hālawa Valley Cooperative have begun projects with their own objectives for the future of Hālawa.

The National Park Service

In 2001, the National Park Service conducted a study for Hālawa Valley to determine whether it met the criteria to be added to the national park system. The study also made several suggestions on how to protect Hālawa’s existing cultural and natural resources, recognizing that “rural residents of East Moloka‘i have traditionally relied on their environment as a source of subsistence and they continue to do so” (National Park Service 2001, 6).

The study addressed many feasibility issues, including land ownership and zoning. Most of the land belonged to Pu‘uohōkū Ranch, who obtained the land that originally belonged to Kamāmalu and totaled over 8,500 acres, and several small private land owners (National Park Service 2001, 3). According to the study, the U.S. Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRC) and the Hawai‘i Department of Agriculture have categorized approximately 110 acres of land located near the bottom of the lower portion of Hālawa Valley as “Prime Agricultural Land”.

There was also concern regarding the status of private lands within the proposed park site. NPS assured residents that private lands would be maintained and that rights
would be protected. While some residents recognized the opportunity of more jobs, they were also worried about the affects of outside management. In response to concerns about the visitor industry’s expansion and possible affect on Hālawa Valley, as well as preserving natural and cultural resources and protecting native Hawaiian rights, some of the residents were working with the Trust for Public Lands to create a local land management plan. NPS also suggested several alternatives including establishing a local land trust, establishing a state park, designating the area as a National Historic Landmark, establishing a National Heritage Area, or the continuation of existing conditions (taking no action) (14-15). The NPS concluded, “the establishment of a national historical park in the Hālawa Valley would be the most effective and efficient means to provide the needed long-term protection to the nationally significant cultural resources found there. Direct management by NPS is judged to be the superior alternative. Further, a historical park, through the establishment of interpretive programs, would provide the greatest potential for visitors to be able to learn about and appreciate those facets of the ancient Hawaiian culture represented in the Hālawa Valley” (18).

The NPS study was intended to determine if Hālawa qualified (met the criteria) to be added to designated a National Park. They found cooperation on the part of Puʻuohōkū Ranch, who was willing to sell some land to the National Park Service. However, upon consultation with Molokaʻi residents, it was apparent that they wanted to keep land management at a local level in order to maintain traditional land uses and protect cultural rights (National Park Service 2001, 12). In fact, the study was met with vehement opposition, and while the study recommended that Hālawa receive federal protection and become its own national historic park, Park officials realized that it was
“highly unlikely a new park will be established on the island [Moloka‘i] anytime soon” (Hurley 2001).

Most Moloka‘i residents feared the establishment of a national park. Local activist Walter Ritte told the Honolulu Advertiser that there were fears within the community that if such a park was established in Hālawa, it would “become Yellowstone National Park and be overrun with tourists” (Hurley 2001). It seems however, that some of the fears and reactions to the study may have been fueled by propaganda. Patsy Mink insisted that the study was not intended to make Hālawa a National Park, only to see if it met the criteria. It did not help that no one went directly to the community to relieve these concerns. In addition, Māhea Davis found out that local marijuana growers were worried about their crops being on federal land if the valley became a park and started telling people that NPS would force them off their land (2005). Nevertheless, Hālawa was not turned into a park and the study was shelved.

The National Park Service was not the only government agency interested in Hālawa. In 1987, the State introduced an idea to build a hydroelectric plant in Hālawa. The officials representing the proposed project were met with protest. Residents repeated their desire to leave the valley untouched and the project was abandoned (State High on Hydro Power 1987). Like the idea of turning Hālawa into a national park, this project faced opposition by the people living in and around Hālawa.

While the status of Hālawa may be in question, the valley continues to serve as a natural resource to the people of Moloka‘i. People continue to collect resources from the mountain, stream, and ocean. Hālawa is still known as a viable source of ‘o‘opu, hīhīwai, crab, āholehole, mullet, ‘opihi, and other fish. While many other islands suffer from over
harvestation, the people who utilize Hālawa have maintained the rules of conservation. In addition, Hālawa is still used to access the other northern valleys (Poepoe 2005).

The Hālawa Valley Land Trust

The Hālawa Valley Land Trust is an organization that is determined to provide a positive future for Hālawa Valley. They are currently involved in restoration projects in Hālawa and the preservation of the traditional Hawaiian lifestyle. Unfortunately, the project was born out of an adverse event. As previously discussed in this chapter, Hālawa Valley Land Trust was the result of the negative impact of tours in the valley. When the lawyers who obtained the parcels from the elderly kuleana owner, they immediately put it on the market and the Davises feared the outcome.
The Davises had expressed an interest in purchasing the land themselves, but it ended up in the possession of a Kaua‘i rancher, who was reportedly interested in development (Tummons 2001). One day their friend, surfer Rell Sunn, brought two friends from California, Yvon and Malinda Chouinard to Hālawa. They were awe-struck by the beauty of the place and impressed by the Davises’ work. When Rell Sunn passed away in 1998, the Chouinard’s bought the parcels and offered to donate it to the Davises. Māhea and Glenn suggested that they instead set up a land trust and gift the lands to the trust. The Chouinard’s donated the land to the Māui Open Space Trust (MOST) until the Davises set up their own 501(c)(3), now known as the Hālawa Valley Land Trust (Ibid). Māhea was happy with the situation and says, “So that’s how the land came to the land trust. And so when we’re all gone, the lands cannot be used for anything else...hopefully
it will encourage other kuleana landowners to put their lands into taro and it will get easier” (2005).

The organization’s mission is to “support and encourage, through education and rehabilitation activities, the restoration of a thriving agricultural community in Hālawa Valley” and “support the efforts of our young people returning kuleana lands to grow kalo, grow families, and harvest a living culture” (Davis 2004). One example of the Davises’ attempts to foster cultural values through agricultural restoration is the Journey/Moloka‘i program. In 1999, the Davises hosted a group of ten young men from the Leeward side of O‘ahu designated “troubled” and who were close to expulsion from their schools. At the retreat, sponsored by the Boys and Girls Club of Hawai‘i, the boys were given the opportunity to get back to the land and find their roots. They learned about fence work, fishing, and taro farming while getting the encouragement they needed to finish school (Duahaylonsond 2003).

As part of their mission, the Hālawa Valley Land Trust is involved in lo‘i restoration guidelines for other areas in the islands. The opening of the ‘auwai in Hālawa in 1996 made everyone involved realize the importance of restoring lo‘i throughout Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. The Hālawa Valley Land Trust received a grant for $6,730 from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 2004 to produce, publish and distribute a document on lo‘i restoration (Boyd 2004). With the assistance of ‘Onipa‘a Nā Hui Kalo, an association of kalo farmers from throughout the islands, the support of the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Trust, and the grant from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, they were able to produce Guidelines for Grassroots Lo‘i Kalo Rehabilitation: Practical Pono Procedures for Lo‘i Kalo Restoration which was finished in 2004 (Davis 2004).
Glenn Davis suffered from an aneurism in 1999, which slowed the efforts of the project, but it work continues. The Hālawa Valley Land Trust, whose current directors are Māhealani Davis, Alton Arakaki, Anne Bacon, Paul Carson, Hōkūle‘a Hoe, and Malia Akutagawa, Esq., seeks to fulfill their public purpose which is to restore “productivity and abundance, community harmony, cultural vitality, spiritual strength, economic prosperity and physical health” in Hālawa (Davis 2004).

The Hālawa Cooperative

Another organization that has made efforts to restore lo‘i in the valley is the Hālawa Valley Cooperative. An article in Hawai‘i Magazine recently reported, “One family has dared to return to Hālawa. They’re tearing out the weeds of their grandparents’ lo‘i (irrigated terraces, taro fields)...Now for the first time in 40 years, the ancestral lo‘i are cleared, running with cool stream water and thick with the rich green foliage of the Hawaiian culture’s essential food, taro” (Wood 2005, 46). Brothers Lawrence and Harry Aki have returned to their grandparents’ land in an effort to restore the lo‘i and revitalize kalo production in the valley.
They began replanting taro in February 2004, but even before that, “Lawrence spent five years talking about the project, meeting with the other landowners in the valley, giving presentations and eventually forming the Hālawa Valley Cooperative. He wants nothing less that total agreement—not just within his ‘ohana but with all the landowners in the valley working together to make things pono again” (Wood 2005). The cooperative also conducts tours of the restoration project and the valley, an aspect that has been the source of controversy. While many people disagree with the Cooperative’s decision to give tours, they are still contributing to the renaissance of kalo culture in Hālawa Valley.

There are many options for the future of Hālawa. Many of the ideas have been met with less than enthusiastic reactions, including creating a park or a hydroelectric
plant. Other suggestions, while optimistic, have been seen as unfeasible. A community would bring renewed life to Hālawa. Marion Kelly believes that Hālawa can “flourish once again, providing there was a source of inexpensive labor, a low land rent, reliable cheap transportation to get the taro to market and a secure long-term contract for purchasing the taro produced in the valley” (1989, Part V: 3), but many have expressed doubt about the likelihood of people being willing to renounce their current way of life to establish a community. While the romantic aspect of establishing a community in Hālawa may seem viable, the reality of the situation is that most people today are unwilling to give up their modern conveniences in lieu of a lifestyle that would require a simpler, more restrictive, and isolated life. Despite these possible hindrances, there is still discussion of the potential of a community thriving in Hālawa again.

Given the rich culture and history of Hālawa, it is apparent that there is a need to preserve the resources of the area. Restoring the values of Mālama ʻĀina are essential in preserving the valley and could serve to improve life for kānaka maoli. However, perhaps the valley can persevere without a flourishing community. While some people are of the opinion that it is unlikely that people are willing to return to Hālawa to live full-time, it would be irresponsible to deny the importance of keeping the valley alive. This is possible by allowing people to continue to use the valley as a natural provider while being responsible and respectful to the land. Some people are taking advantage of the provisions of Hālawa while using the valley as an educational tool. While they are not re-creating the bounty of the past, they are carrying on the work of their predecessors. In addition, people who continue to access Hālawa are also perpetuating mālama ʻāina. As long as the values of mālama ʻāina are observed, Hālawa will continue to live on.
CONCLUSIONS

Whether it was the impacts of World War II, or the devastation brought on by the tsunami, there is no certain explanation for why so many people left Hālawa Valley. However, it is without a doubt that changing values left a lasting impact on the people of Hālawa and that this shift was a major contributing factor in the displacement and out-migration of the people living here.

The displacement of kānaka maoli throughout Hawai‘i from their homelands disrupted the traditional family and social order and is credited with contemporary social problems that exist among kānaka maoli today. One of the most prominent factors is the influence of Western culture and a shift in values towards the land. While some argue that the Māhele was intended to benefit the Hawaiian people, land ownership had a very negative impact. Kānaka maoli traditionally practiced a land tenure system in which land was managed or taken care of. The Māhele introduced a new system in which land was privately owned, a concept foreign to the kānaka maoli. As a result, many kānaka maoli lost land, selling it for next to nothing, or mortgaging their property to obtain Western amenities. They did not understand that if they did not own the land in this new system, they could not live and work on it. This was a major reason why many families migrated out of rural areas.

Besides the issue of land ownership, there was also a disconnection from the ‘āina. Outside cultural influences triggered this disconnection and “in Hawai‘i, cultural impacts, particularly upon Hawaiian rural communities, are becoming increasingly intense and severe” (McGregor, Minerbi and Matsuoka 1993, 5). In the 1920’s, “the dominant trend among the Hawaiian people was the move out of the rural areas” and into urban areas like Honolulu (op. cit, 22). The desire to obtain Western amenities forced
kānaka maoli to move out to urban areas to seek cash work. The same was seen in Hālawa Valley. This, in addition to other changes brought on by the influence of Western culture, led many residents left the area in search of “opportunities” outside. As a result, the once rivaled and infamous community of Hālawa has been reduced to a few squatters and occasional campers.

It would be nice to establish a viable community in Hālawa, because rural areas are proving to be a significant means of preserving the Hawaiian culture. Indeed, “[a] rebirth of the Hālawa Valley community could be a gift of great value to the coming generations of Kānaka maoli, and indeed of the entire population of the Island of Molokaʻi. Such an event could greatly contribute to the revitalization of Hawaiian culture throughout the Island group.” (Kelly 1989, Part V: 11). While Hālawa may not experience a restoration that would equal its past, we must continue to preserve it for the future generations. Although it no longer supports the thriving community that it once boasted, Hālawa is still able to provide for the people. Today it serves as a place where people can connect with their identity and continue the cultural practices of their ancestors. But Hālawa cannot continue to provide if we do not treat it with respect. Ka Poʻe Kahiko o Hawaiʻi believed that the land was their chief and that they were its servants. As servants of this land it is our responsibility to perpetuate the practices of our ancestors. While we may have slightly different values today, and we are adapted to a different way of life, if we carry on the tradition of gathering resources from the valley and respect the laws of the land, then Hālawa will live on for the benefit of future generations.
APPENDIX A:
The Physical Setting:
Maps of Hālawa Valley
Figure 23. Map of Estate of Bernice P. Bishop in Hālawa (Podmore 1915)
Figure 25. Map showing ahupua'a on Moloka'i (Experian 1998, 571)
APPENDIX B: Natural Resources of Hālawa Valley

Table

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<tr>
<th>MARINE RESOURCES</th>
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<th>Marine sources found in the cove: (National Park Service 2001, 9-10)</th>
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<td>Centrechinus paucispinus</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hinālea ʻAkiolo</strong> Yellowtail coris <strong>Coris gaimard</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻHāʻukeʻuke</td>
<td>shingle urchin <strong>Colobocentrotus atratus</strong></td>
<td>ʻ*Amaʻama** Striped Mullet/Bora <strong>Mugil cephalus</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowrie</td>
<td><strong>Cypraea</strong> spp</td>
<td><strong>Moi</strong> Six-fingered threadfin <strong>Polydactylus sexfilis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻ*Ama</td>
<td>Rock crab <strong>Grapsus tenuicrustasus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Uhu ʻAhuʻula</strong> Female Spectacled parrotfish/Budai <strong>Chlorurus perspicillatus</strong> (Endemic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periwinkle</td>
<td><strong>Littorina</strong> spp</td>
<td><strong>ʻAkule</strong> Bigeye Scad/Meaji <strong>Selar crumenophthalmus</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipipi</td>
<td><strong>Nerita picea</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location: Inland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native Species</strong>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Polynesian Introduced</strong>&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Alien Species</strong>&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Koa**  
*Acacia koa* | **'Ape**  
*Alocasia macrorrhiza* | |
| **'Ulu**  
Breadfruit  
*Artocarpus altilis* | | |
| **pi'oi**  
bitter yam  
*Dioscorea bulbifera* | | |

---

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U. S. Geological Survey/photos by Forest and Kim Starr

Starr, Forest and Kim  
2003  
*Plants of Hawai‘i. Hawaiian Ecosystems at Risk Project (HEAR).* Retrieved from the World Wide Web April 19, 2004:  

<sup>5</sup> Millen, Priscilla  
1996  
[http://emedia.leeward.hawaii.edu/millen/bot130/learning_objectives/lo03/03.html](http://emedia.leeward.hawaii.edu/millen/bot130/learning_objectives/lo03/03.html)  
Images used with permission from author.

<sup>6</sup> U. S. Geological Survey/photos by Forest and Kim Starr
| **Niu, olo\-lani**  
| Coconut  
| *Cocos nucifera* |

| **Kalo**  
| Taro  
| *Colocasia esculenta* |

| **Ki**  
| Ti  
| *Cordyline fruticosa* |

---

7 U. S. Geological Survey/photo by Forest and Kim Starr
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hau</th>
<th>Hibiscus tiliaceus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noni</td>
<td>Morinda citrifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Awa</td>
<td>Kava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Piper methysticum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai‘a</td>
<td>Banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musa acuminata hybrids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kö</td>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saccharum officinarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Naupaka</strong> (Pandanus tectorius)</td>
<td><strong>Hala</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong> Alon the shore</td>
<td><strong>niu kamani noni</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pia</strong> Arrowroot Tacca leontopetaloides</td>
<td><strong>Kou Cordia subcordata</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koa</td>
<td>Sisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Agave sisalana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ohi'a hā</td>
<td>Lantana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Syzygium sandwicensis</em></td>
<td><em>Lantana camara</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ohi'a</td>
<td>Haole koa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Metrosideros collina var.</em> polymorpha</td>
<td><em>Leucaena glauca</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūkiawe</td>
<td>prickly pear cactus <em>Opuntia megacantha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Styphelia tameiameiae</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuawa, kuawa keʻokeʻo, kuawa lemi, kuawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Location: Along the brackish estuary

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hala</td>
<td>hau</td>
<td>reeds tall grasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Milo</strong></td>
<td><strong>Red Mangrove</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Thespesia populnea</em></td>
<td><em>Rhizophora mangle</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Location: Scattered throughout the valley

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ōhi’a ‘ai</td>
<td>kī ‘ulu</td>
<td>guava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain apple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Syzygium malaccensis</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukui, kuikui</td>
<td>pūʻoheʻohe, kūkaekōlea, ʻoheʻohe, pūpū kōlea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candlenut Tree</td>
<td>Job's-tears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aleurites moluccana</em></td>
<td><em>Coix lachryma-jobi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Kukui, kuikui" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="pūʻoheʻohe, kūkaekōlea, ʻoheʻohe, pūpū kōlea" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>honohono, honohono wai, mākolokolo</th>
<th>wandering jew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Commelina diffusa</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="honohono, honohono wai, mākolokolo" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="wandering jew" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>java plum</th>
<th>manakō, manakō meneke, meneke mango</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Eugenia cumini</em></td>
<td><em>Mangifera indica L.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="java plum" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="manakō, manakō meneke, meneke mango" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ginger | |
|--------||
| *Zingiber sp* | |
| ![ginger](image) | ![Zingiber sp](image) |
### WILDLIFE
(National Park Service 2001, 10)

#### Native Species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birds</th>
<th>Sea Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Ō‘ū</td>
<td>Honu ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Psittirostra psittacea</em></td>
<td>Hawksbill Sea Turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endangered</strong></td>
<td><em>Eretmochelys imbricate</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endangered</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ō‘ō or ‘O‘ō‘ā‘ā</td>
<td>Honu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Moho bishop</em></td>
<td>Green sea turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endangered</strong></td>
<td><em>Chelonia mydas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endangered</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Alien Species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birds</th>
<th>Sea Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mynah</td>
<td>Axis Deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Acridotheres tristis</em></td>
<td><em>Axis axis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern cardinal</td>
<td>Mongoose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cardinalis cardinalis</em></td>
<td><em>Herpestes auropunctatus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House finch</td>
<td>Rats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Carpodacus mexicanus</em></td>
<td><em>Rattus rattus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Francolin</td>
<td>Feral Pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Francolinus francolinus</em></td>
<td><em>Sus scrofa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese bush warbler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Horeites cantans</em></td>
<td>dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern mockingbird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mimus polyglottos</em></td>
<td>cats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian cardinal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Paroaria coronata</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Sparrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Passer domesticus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese white eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zosterops japonicus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

122
APPENDIX C: List of Archaeological Sites in Hālawa Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEIAU NAME</th>
<th>SITE NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>PŪKUʻI’S(^8) DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>PG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akahana</td>
<td></td>
<td>small heiau in corner of walled space, 125x150 feet, class unknown</td>
<td>TH(_2) 132(^9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahil Heiau</td>
<td></td>
<td>of small size, probably only a shrine</td>
<td>TH(_2) 132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hālawa</td>
<td></td>
<td>important heiau of its time, all destroyed</td>
<td>TH(_2) 132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale O Lono Heiau</td>
<td>Site No. 265</td>
<td>Location: near the beach of Puaʻahaunui Flat at the northern point. “Said to have been made by Hina, who came from the sea. Supposed to have been a heiau for prayer.” (Stokes 1909, 17):(^10)</td>
<td>SU 172(^11)</td>
<td>Meaning: house of Lono</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hālīʻi Heiau</td>
<td>Site No. 251</td>
<td>Location: on the flat, near the south side of Hālawa Stream. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 89°07'; 10,495 ft “A series of stone terraces facing the north. Said to have been for human sacrifice.” (Stokes 1909, 15)</td>
<td>SU 164</td>
<td>Meaning: strewn</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopuhewa Heiau</td>
<td>Site No. 254</td>
<td>Location: at the foot of a ridge on the northern side of the valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 93°32'; 10,480 ft.</td>
<td>SU 166</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^8\) Pūkuʻi, Mary Kawena  
9 Thrum, Thomas G.  
1938 Complete List of Heiaus (temples) and Sites. *Hawaiian Almanac & Annual, 1938*, 121-142.  
\(^10\) Stokes’ descriptions were cited in Summers’ text. Unfortunately the original documents could not be obtained.  
Stokes, John F.G. (as cited in Summers 1971)  
\(^11\) Summers, Catherine C.  
"This was locally referred to as a ko‘a ho‘oulu‘ai, or ‘agricultural shrine.’ Its size, 42 by 28 feet would seem to classify it with the heiau."

(Stokes 1909, 15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaenakilolani or Mo'oiki Heiau</th>
<th>Site No. 256 &amp; 257</th>
<th>Location: at the base of the northern slope of the valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 100°05'; 6610 ft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;These two adjacent terraces are said to have been built by Kaenakilolani, a prophet from Wai'alee, O'ahu, who settled in this portion of Hālawa Valley called Mo'oiki. This prophet was a younger brother of Kaopulupulu, the famous prophet of O'ahu. (Another brother, Kaleopuupuu, became the prophet of Maui.) The first mentioned heiau, Puu O'ahu, is also locally known as Hiwa. I could learn nothing of its purposes. It has an earth platform measuring 86 feet west to east and 23 feet south to north, and on the south a 7-foot high retaining wall. The second heiau, Kaenakilolani, is also known by the name of the land, Mo'oiki. It is locally classified as a heiau kaula, and its purposes are said to be for prayer. The terrace has an earth and stone pavement measuring 92 feet west to east and 24 feet south to north. This was the only heiau about which any particulars seemed to have been remembered. Most of the information came from a woman of about 50, the great grand-daughter of Kaenakilolani.&quot; (Stokes 1909, 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SU 166-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mo'oiki = small lizard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kapaku or Helekū Heiau</th>
<th>Site No. 270</th>
<th>Location: located in Papalaua Valley which is between the flats of Hāka'a'ano and Kikipua. This heiau is in the “SE angle of Kikipua Flat.” From the Kikipua benchmark it bears 301°12'30&quot;; 2130 ft.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;This heiau is said to have been built by Alapai of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

124
Molokai, and was the depository for kuma’aiku, the dish for shark-bait of human flesh. This Alapai is said to have caught fisherman and placed their decomposing bodies on the dish, which was taken out to sea, the drip from the decomposition attracting the sharks.”
(Stokes 1909, 18-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heiau</th>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location:</th>
<th>SU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kapana Heiau</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>at the mouth of the second large valley on the south, Maka’ele’ele Gulch. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 89°07'; 10,495 ft. “A foundation consisting of stone terraces on the north and earth floors on the south. The stone terraces here are somewhat unusual for the valley; angular, flat stones have been selected, while in all the other heiaus in this valley, a preponderance of rounded, water-worn stones have been used. The eastern boundary of Kapana consists of a line of large, naturally placed boulders. The builder of this heiau was Kaleikuahulu, and it is said to have been for human sacrifice.” (Stokes 1909, 15)</td>
<td>SU 164-165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapanul Heiau</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>“on the eastern slope of the valley on the land of Hanau, this heiau is about 2000 ft from the sea.” From the Waiehu benchmark it bears 287°15’40”; 6380 ft</td>
<td>SU 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauhuhu Heiau</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>near the beach, north of the former landing. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 128°52'; 4390 ft. “Site only; heiau entirely destroyed. As the name implies, it was probably dedicated to the god-shark Kauhuhu.” (Stokes 1909, 17)</td>
<td>SU 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka‘opele or ‘O’opele Heiau</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>on the flat of the south side of Hālawa Valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 90°52'; 6690 ft</td>
<td>SU 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site No.</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>on the southern slope of Hālawa Valley, 50 ft north of the road near the former Catholic Church. From the Kalanikaua benchmark it bears 91°47'; 4490 ft.</td>
<td>&quot;This heiau site is generally known as Pōhakuola among the local natives. However, one native claimed that the name of the heiau was Ki‘i and Pōhakuola was the name of the land. The site shows that originally there existed a series of terraces faced with stone and paved with stones and earth. The main feature is the line of large boulders forming the southern boundary of the heiau. The heiau is reputed to have been used for human sacrifices.&quot; (Stokes 1909, 14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>on the beach to the south of where the Kauhuhu heiau once stood.</td>
<td>&quot;A small enclosure with its walls joining up with a large rock. Dedicated to Kuula, the god of fisherman.&quot; (Stokes 1909, 17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>on southern border of the stream, 2000 ft west of Site 252</td>
<td>S “This is a fishing shrine of the ‘o’opu, and was built to the god Hoomilianuhe. There is a small wall, enclosing a space about 6 feet in diameter, and as in many of the ocean fishing temples, the walls are built up to a large stone” (Stokes 1909, 15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Name</td>
<td>Site No.</td>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>Meaning:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalaohana Heiau</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>on the southern slope near the bottom of Hālawa Valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 94°08'; 5300 ft.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawea or Pualaulau Heiau</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>at the mouth of the side valleys on the south. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 87°27'; 8190 ft.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaohālawa Heiau</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>on the western shore of the small harbor. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 118°08'45&quot;; 4350 ft.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana Heiau</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>on the northern side of Hālawa Valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 111°34'; 5790 ft.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāpā or Kakau</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>at the base of the southern ridge of Hālawa Valley.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TH₂ 133 Meaning: supernatural power

127
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heiau</th>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location:</th>
<th>Notes:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>Hālawa-iki Valley. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 137°59'; 5390 ft.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|       | "A collection of small platforms, terraces and walls, suggesting more the site of a college of priests than a heiau. It is said to have been a heiau, built by Alapai, dedicated to Kaili and to have included a lele in its construction. It was not known if the heiau were used for human sacrifice, though the connection of the name of the war god [Kīka'ilimoku] and the presence of a lele would indicate this use.
|       | This heiau is also known by the names of Kakau and Hālawa-iki, the latter being the name of the land. It is probably the same called Akauhale by Thrum."
|       | (Stokes 1909, 17) |
|       | Pa'u Heiau Site No. Location: on the talus near the western angle of Pua'ahaunui Flat |
|       | Pua'a'aha'unui Flat Site No. Location: on the northern coast these are coastal flats located in Hālawa |
|       | Pua'a'ahaunui, Hāka'a'ano, and Kikipua Flats Location: on the southern slope of the valley, adjoining the road. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 94°39'; 4160 ft. |
|       | "Old name for the pali 128
end of the trail down the south side of Hālawa Valley, Moloka'i, probably now called Alanui-puhi-paka."

### Trail to Pāpalaʻaua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location: began at Kaʻili (Site 259) and “went up the ridge, or pali” then “descended in a northeasterly direction crossing Waialuna Gulch, then Pīpīwai Gulch down the cliff to Puaʻahaunui flat. After crossing the flat it followed the seashore to Hākaʻaʻano flat, crossed this flat, and then followed the seashore to Pāpalaʻaua.”</th>
<th>SU 168</th>
<th>Meaning: rain fog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Because of the lack of sunshine here there was the saying <em>Pupuhi kūkui o Pāpala-ua, he ‘ino,</em> light the lights of Pāpala-ua, the weather is bad (said of any gloomy place where lights were lit in the daytime).&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Two Heiau at Hākaʻaʻano Flats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location: Hākaʻaʻano Flats, Hālawa</th>
<th>SU 172</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>268 &amp; 269</td>
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### Waiʻoli Heiau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location: at the mouth of the large side valley on the south. From the Kalanikaula benchmark it bears 85°41', 7650 ft</th>
<th>SU 163</th>
<th>Meaning: joyful water</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The land on which this heiau is built is also called Waiʻoli, so there may be another name for this small site. The foundations are very small and consist of two adjoining stone terraces. The terrace on the south is 30 feet, west to east, and 18 feet, south to north. The terrace on the north is one foot higher than the southern one. It measures 30 feet, west to east, and 8 feet south to north. The ground on which the structure is located declines to the south. On the south side, the structure is 5 feet high, on the north, one foot.” (Stokes 1909, 14)</td>
</tr>
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### ʻEleʻiʻi Heiau

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Location: at the foot of a ridge on the northern slope of the valley. From the Kalanikaula</th>
<th>SU 166</th>
<th>Meaning: cockroach</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
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<td>&quot;The land on which this heiau is built is also called Waiʻoli, so there may be another name for this small site. The foundations are very small and consist of two adjoining stone terraces. The terrace on the south is 30 feet, west to east, and 18 feet, south to north. The terrace on the north is one foot higher than the southern one. It measures 30 feet, west to east, and 8 feet south to north. The ground on which the structure is located declines to the south. On the south side, the structure is 5 feet high, on the north, one foot.” (Stokes 1909, 14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
benchmark it bears 96°34'; 7610 ft.

"A combination of large and small terraces facing south. This was known as a ko‘o ho‘oulu‘ai, o ‘agricultural shrine’”
(Stokes 1909, 15)

| 'Ohi'a Heiau | Site No. 266 | Location: at Pua'ahaunui Flat on the talus at the base of the cliffs. | SU 172 | Meaning: ‘ōhi'a tree (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) | 168 |
APPENDIX D: Population Trends from 1902-1936

The following data is based on information obtained from *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and Hawaiian Terr.* (Sanderson 1902-1936).

<table>
<thead>
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<th>DATE(S)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>Taro Planters</th>
<th>Fisherman</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Laborer</th>
<th>Other</th>
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APPENDIX E: List of Kuleana Grants, Hālawa, Molokaʻi  
(Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands of the Territory of Hawaiʻi 1929)

(Organized by LCA#)

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<th>LCA</th>
<th>Bk</th>
<th>Pg</th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>Bk</th>
<th>Pg</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>ʻIi</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>NR</th>
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<th>NT</th>
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<td>52v6</td>
<td>177v6</td>
<td>166v15</td>
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<td>737</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Inui Elelu</td>
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<td>180v6</td>
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<td>1.54 ac</td>
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<td>179v6</td>
<td>174v15</td>
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<td>Mahoe Leokahi</td>
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<td>178v6</td>
<td>177v6</td>
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<td>178v6</td>
<td>182v6</td>
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<td>6135</td>
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<td>Kioko</td>
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<td>179v6</td>
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<td>178v6</td>
<td>165v15</td>
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<td>Kalikelike not awarded?</td>
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<td>Kane (Hau heir)</td>
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141
APPENDIX F: List of Members of Hui Hālawa¹²

The following is a list of the plaintiffs, who were members of Hui Hālawa, in a suit filed against two fellow members of the Hui, S. Nakaleka and M. Kane. The 51 plaintiffs and 2 defendants give a total of 53 members.


¹² Equity Cases No. 202, 1st Circuit Court, 1879 (Hawai'i State Archives)
APPENDIX G: List of Lessees in 1915

According to the list of lessees on Podmore’s 1915 map of Hālawa, there were at least 38 names leasing lands from the owner of LCA 7713/RPG 4475 Bishop Estate. However, since some of the names were illegible, this number may be higher.

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Podmore, G., Surveyor

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**APPENDIX H: Current Landowners in Hālawa**

The following data shows current landowners (2001) in Hālawa and the TMK numbers for each parcel (State of Hawai‘i 2001 and County of Māui 2005).

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Table 3. Breakdown of current landowners in Hālawa

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Figure 26. Graph of current landowners in Hālawa

Figure 27. Map of current landowners in Hālawa (NPS 2001, 4)
APPENDIX I: Tax Maps showing current landowners in Hālawa
Figure 28. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9 (Experian 1998, 572)
Figure 29. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 1 (Experian 1998, 573)
Figure 32. Tax Map 2nd Division, Zone 5, Section 9, Plat 4 (Experian 1998, 576)
APPENDIX J: Interview Questionnaire

PERSONAL INFORMATION
1. What is your full name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born and raised?
4. Where do you currently reside?

HĀLAWA AND KULEANA LAND
1. Does your family have kuleana land in Hālawa? Is your family one of the original claimants?
2. Do you still own that land?
3. Do you know any families that still own kuleana land in Hālawa? Do they use it?

DESCRIPTION OF HĀLAWA VALLEY
1. What is your connection to Hālawa Valley?
2. Did you live/grow up there?
3. If so, when and how long did you live in Hālawa?
4. Describe Hālawa at that time?
   a. How many families were living there?
   b. Estimated population
   c. Existing structures and facilities
5. What did people do for sustenance?
   a. Subsistence lifestyle?
   b. Did people go outside for work?
6. Were families happy there? Were you?
7. Was life difficult in Hālawa? Why? (money, work, etc.)

LEAVING THE VALLEY
1. When did you and/or your family leave Hālawa?
2. Why?
3. What do you think influenced people to move out of Hālawa?
4. Would you have liked to stay there?
5. Do you think other families would have preferred to stay in Hālawa?
6. Do you think families felt obligated to leave? (i.e. was it a matter of survival)

RE-ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY IN HĀLAWA
1. Would you consider moving into Hālawa?
2. Do you think there is an interest to establish a community in Hālawa?
3. Do you think it would be possible? Why or why not?
4. What factors do you think would inhibit a community in Hālawa?
APPENDIX K:
Interview Transcripts
Ralph P. Kahalewai
April 1999

This recording is a brief history of Ralph P. Kahalewai. That’s me. “P” is for Papa, and how they named me Ralph, I don’t know.

Early Life on O‘ahu
I was born in Honolulu, first in Wai‘alae. That’s what I was told. The only thing I remember is when I was in Kalihi when I was still a baby, I guess, and people was carrying me around. We was living at 1616 Republican Street, across the poi factory. Then things come hazy until a few years. I guess I was at Pohale School in kindergarten. I think I was four years old or a little over. My brother Enid took me to school and I was...then I was watching to see if he was outside. If not, then I go home. Once the teacher restrained me and I threw sand in her eyes. Whether I was disciplined or not, I don’t know. The next thing I know was me and Eddie on a raft at Kalihi and we drifted out and Cousin Wallace came and pull us in. I was four years old and Eddie was six years old. He was two years older than me.

Life on Moloka‘i
Other things I remember vaguely is when we left Honolulu to go Molokai on the boat Hualalai. I was about five years old, I guess, and we used to park way out cause the other boats couldn’t come in and we came in with the smaller skiff at, like, the Kaunakakai Pier. We stayed with Aunty Makanui Wailoa until our house was build down in Hālawa Valley. Then we moved down there across the stream. And had lots of people down there, a school, a church. Very good down there, and beautiful.

Family
Before I continue about Hālawa, I would like to name our family. I’m the youngest in the family. Then next to me is Eddie then sister Mary, then brothers Shark (Robert), then Enis and James, Cousin Wallace was living with us too, most of the time in Hālawa and usually we, summer, visit Cousin Vivian come down and stay with us with her sister Caroline. We will continue with Uncles and Aunties. My mother Juliana is the oldest in the family, had six sisters, well I had five aunties, six sisters all together with my ma, and I had two uncles. My ma, as I said, was the oldest. Then come down to Aunty Victoria or Aunty Makanui, either one went come next anyway. Same Aunty Makanui, then Jenny Kamakahi, then Aunty Victoria Kila, then comes Aunty Mary, that’s Vivian and Caroline’s mother...Uh...Kahale, then Aunty Rose, that’s Cousin Wallace’s mother, then Aunty Annie (I don’t know if that’s Cousin Borges and Lucy’s mother). Then on the brothers’ side we had Uncle Arthur and Uncle Enis. Uncle Arthur had one son, that’s Junior, and he’s living on the Mainland now, has big family...Uncle Enis was hānai adopted and living here Hilo. Had plenty kids adopted by Kepo‘o family and, uh, big mob. Uh...anyway, that’s our family, and had plenty more children, but we come to that later. Now back to Hālawa.

Hālawa
We lived across the stream, number six house, the sixth counting one from the beach going out. That’s the last house across the stream anyway. We had a nice beautiful house. Our kitchen was dirt floor, though we had two bedroom and a big parlor.
(everybody sleep in there, but that's the way). Years went by and all the boys moved out and then had a lot of room.

We had taro patch, actually the patch over there was Aunty Makanui's one. Ma bought 'um from Aunty Makanui for, I don't know how much...cheap. Actually, at that time, one dollar was about hundred dollars, or maybe more. With a nickel could buy soda and candy. Penny for candy and things like that. I was told was up at the ranch, Pōhaku Ranch, about five miles up the hill. And that valley was beautiful at the time. Taro patch go from the beach all the way up, almost to the waterfall. I was talking about that earlier, going up the stream. Actually, this side, where the main road comes down, was loaded with houses, and we had the church, two churches, the school house, and then all the way up to our good friend...good people. We had a lovely, nice time. We moved down there, I think I was about five years old. All the kids there were two years old and they knew how to swim, except me. I was five already, so Uncle Eneki took me out and threw me in the stream and I yelled like hell until they was sorry, you know what I mean. After I knew how to swim, I didn't want to come out. They had to find me down the stream. I won't say much about the older boys because they were old already and me and Eddie was close together. The other ones is older and they just didn't want kids around, I guess. But Wallace and Vivian was with us, we all stayed together.

**Food**

Our food was 'o'opu and sometimes we had 'opihi. Sometimes billy goat, and one time I had donkey. Uncle Eddie and Cousin Wallace went up and the donkey chased them way up the hill. They had a .22, till the donkey chase them and they climbed the tree and the donkey chase Eddie. I watched them. They just shoot the donkey and then it died. And then they cut 'em up and brought two pieces back. Then Uncle Eneki and Uncle Shark went up and get the rest. And then we just hang 'um on the line and make jerk meat, and what not, and make pūlēhu. And had lots of watermelon papaya, big. And we had lemon, and rose, and ginger, and one big palm tree, right in the middle.

And we had outhouse, but way upside, on the hill side. I was so small. I was scared because...but we had lots of dogs, so the dogs would accompany us with the lantern.

Papa and Eddie used to always stay in the taro patch cleaning taro, and then sometimes they pull taro and they pull. Cousin Wallace and Mary them to down help. We had about twelve taro patches and I was small, so I just went goof off. But when everything is finished and ready for eat, all the big boys come back, you know all the big boys, get Tuli, Eneki, and Shark. After awhile, they went work at the ranch and they came cowboys and we went to school. We had to take our own lunch, so we had the sardine can and we had sardine and rice. Every day, sardine and rice. We played out in the schoolyard until Mr. Kaupu, our teacher, came and he lived way up Wailau, up the other side. We played master, and elevator, and egg, and all kinds, top and what not. We stayed there kinda long, until World War II.

**WWII**

World War II. At the Ranch had one German manager. He said if the Japanese come, build one big fire. Everybody was mad, 'cause if he build one big fire, they just come in and land, so we called him one spy. But when WWII, hoah, that place, even Hālawa
Valley, all around the island was full with GIs.

Uncle Shark
Around WWII, before we left the place, Uncle Shark got married to Julia Kalae, that’s Sara’s last name, Kaalawahi, and the father was one priest for the church down at Hālawa. They had one big wedding, and I was working. I was seven or eight years old when they got married. We had to get the horse and get ti leaf and make tent and then people used to come and I was serving primo and beer. I used to go get for whoever like.

Aunty Mary
And Mary was about fifteen or sixteen when Uncle Paulino used to come down there. And then he fell in love with Mary ’cause Mary used to come up. Aunty Rose was CPC [California Packing Company]. Paulino was still young yet, but one look at Mary and he fall in love. So he come all the way with his jeep to Hālawa, but nobody like him except Uncle Tuli. And me, I didn’t care about that; I was too young. But Eneki and Shark no like Paulino because Mary too young. Uncle Tuli said too young, but let ‘em talk story. But he stayed CPC when we went Honolulu during WWII.

Back to Honolulu
1942, that’s when my father died. I was eleven years old when he died. And that’s when Uncle Tuli got married to Grace. We was at Hickam Housing. That’s another story. After a brief stay at Uncle Shark’s house—I went Kūhiō School, sixth grade. We stayed all together, until Uncle Tuli had another hose at the same place, but different area. The following year I went to Kalākaua School, seventh grade. That’s my naughty year, because I played hooky and things like that and I failed seventh grade, so when I went back to Molokai, I was still seventh grade.

Back to Molokai
The following year, till at CPC, Aunty Rose’s place for couple of months, then move to Kilohana School. We stayed at Aunty Makanui’s house, then we moved to Ho’olehua, out of the valley, right next to Makanae house. Stay there 1945. That’s when I started Kilohana School...’46 Tidal Wave. We stayed there ’47 and ’48. By then I was tenth grade, and I was with Isaac ???, good friend and distant relative at Kaimuki.

High School
I went to Kaimuki High School. That was down at 18th avenue. We lived at 7th avenue and I walked down to 18th avenue. Our food for me and my friend was corned beef and onion for almost two years. We had a lot of fun: hitchhike all over the island, body surf, and what not. After graduation, --- they gave us lei and at saimin and we went back to Molokai.

After High School
Going up in the Triple C Pineapple Field. That was ’50, and that’s when had motorcycle over there. So I jump on the bike and I had no money. I wanted the bike, but I never have money. I just sit one there, nobody took that bike. Was a beautiful bike. Until Aunty Mary knew the guy who was selling the bike, so Aunty Mary said she would pay down and I worked pineapple field and I pay the balance. So I had one bike, beautiful bike. Then I didn’t know how to ride the bike, so by the time I reached Aunty Mary’s
house, I fell down about seven times. But after that, I was one of the best. Even race on the race track. At that time, I went with somebody named Eleanor Naki. That one was one of my first girls. At school, I never fool around. I only go school and body surf and hitchhike around. Not no touchy, never touchy. Anyway, outside of Aunty Mary’s house had one small shack. We stayed over there until I was drafted in the Marines, and that was 1951.

**Joining the Military**

Then I worked over there until I went in the service. Most of the guys went to Schofield because they wanted to join the army but us. Pretty plenty guys wanted to see the big lights so we joined the Marines and went to Sand Diego for training. That’s another story. Five of us joined the Marines from Molokai. Eleven of us got drafted. They draft us for two years. After that we come out. We had partly the day before we left the lad house had chop chung (?) parties. Everybody on their bike and Uncle Eddie on his jeep. Go house to house and then we left airport. Went up Schofield, but only because that’s not our regular regiment. And then we left on the ship to Frisco. Frisco, we went up on the train. Eat breakfast and then we wind up San Diego, boot camp training. After that, we was basic, --- and you had to go L.A. if you had money. And if you get not much money, you go Mexico at Tijuana. So I went from Tijuana all the way to Aidak. That’s where I was stationed after. In fact, ended up eleven months I stayed at Camp Penelton. Better than L.A. because get Japanese food over there. And then I traveled. I went to Texicala, Arkansas, with my friend we wind up we went home. We went eleven months. Got to move around, then had orders, we go in for Korea. They ship me and my friend. We was the last guys. They ship us two. He went to Kwajalein and I went to Iraq. Bum bye, you go look at the map, where Aidak Stay. It’s way outside Aleutian Islands. Then I went to Frisco, and then I made mistake and jump off at Oregon. Then I went to Seattle and stayed over there two weeks. Then I went catch a plane to Anchorage, and I stayed over there for one year, one year and twenty days in fact. All mostly guard duties and then the Navy build a big house choke out with Navies and Air Force; some kind radar stations. And troops go over there from Korea and they was in that area until I was National Guard. I wouldn’t want to go back to that damn junk place anyway. Then I was shipped back out. When I came off that Island I was ready for discharge. I wind up ---island and Frisco. I stayed over there for two weeks and then came back on the ship, back to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor.

**Honolulu**

Wind up Uncle Shark’s house ---fish. Then I find Eddie inside Beretania. Oh, we suck ‘em up. I stayed with Eddie most of the time. Me and Eddie together until I started working his place. He was working for Sikiha Maintenance. I was driving truck. Two years, I was Harper driver until...oh, I find any kind job, and then they call me. The say they like me work temporary but I was already working for the army. Until I came over here. I might as well tell you how I went Waikīkī and met this haole wahine.

**Reflections**

This interview coming to an end. Like everyone, I was real not perfect. Of course things that I did wrong, like how I was saying the other day, if you do something right, will nullify some wrongs, so you don’t have too much wrongs then you go up there. If you go up there and if you get too much wrongs, they probably only give you one wing. So you
fly in circles. Then you come, you half angel. There are many things I missed, that I
didn’t put down. I go, and I coming across certain things to say, and then forget. And
then you thing about it, and you forget. Like down in the valley, Hālawa, our mother’s
home, we had big parlor light, but not too big for everybody. But the older boys wasn’t
staying with us. Only me and my father, mother, Mary, and Eddie, and Wallace, and
Vivian. But had big parlor, bedroom, parlor, and the kitchen. And our kitchen floor is
dirt, now, but hard dirt, you know what I mean. And one big table, like that. I cannot
forget that place at that time. Always the case, before was the best. And there’s other
things that I couldn’t come out. If I’m gonna bring everything out, you need about ten
tapes. Maybe more about my motorcycle crack up, this and that... you know what I
mean. Party here and there. But that’s it.

Miscellaneous

1. I was born Honolulu First in Wai‘alae, April 11, 1931.
   might as well tell you they were married, my father is [was] 20 years older than
   my mother and they was ...
3. My father is from over here, the Big Island, and my mother was born in Honolulu,
   but their parents, I never see my grandparents. But their parents came from
   Portugal or – I’m not sure.
4. School: I start with Hālawa Valley, up to 5th grade. Then I went Kūhiō School,
   Mō‘ili‘ili, that was 6th grade, but not all 6th grade, because we move to Hickam
   housing the same year and I went to Kalolo School. Then to Kalākaua, 7th grade.
   Then to Molokai Elementary and Intermediate, or what hell. Then 8th grade,
   partial 7th and 8th was at Kilohana (we moved). At Kilohana we had the best
   years of schooling. Stay there from ’45 to ’46 and to ’48. 1948, that’s tenth
   grade. That’s graduation already. Then my friend and I went to Kaimuki.
5. Fun: Our Christmas was no presents. Starting from way back, no such thing as
   Nintendo or what not, but we had our fun, like marbles, or elevator; you stuff your
   rags inside the dune bag and chase each other. We had top, master (touch each
   other and chase each other)...our toys was sardine cans—you put the sardine cans
   in the truck.
6. Life at home: While the older ones were at the taro patch, I would catch Sāmoan
   crab in the stream. Diving, mountain hiking, and eat fruits.
7. After high school at Kaimuki, I went back to Molokai and work in the pineapple
   field, the I get some money and I buy one bike. When I was drafted, I gave the
   bike to Eddie.
8. Joined the Marines when I was drafted.
9. Jobs: After service, stayed with Eddie and worked for six years delivering food all
   over the island
Ralph Papa Kahalewai
April 16, 2002
Interview with Kaleialoha Lum-Ho

Note: This is an edited version of the original interview. Non-related subject material was not included.

Kaleialoha Lum-Ho (KL): What you remember from small kid time?

Ralph Kahalewai (RK): What I remember? I remember going, giving everybody primo and royal. That’s when my brother Shark went marry Hālawa. Hālawa Valley. Went marry da kine, Sarah. Da kine, the father is the priest down there. But the mother never like my brother. He marry her, but every time they ---- they sneak through the window, and then, ah, patoonk {she got pregnant}. Ah, gotta marry. They was good. And I was only about nine, I mean, not nine, eight. I was eight then. And gotta drag, da kine, ti leaf and coconut leaf. Make house for the party. Big party, big party down there. Was good. Then some other time we had, da kine, sampan outside. Everybody inside go help them. And they drag all the ‘akule, was ‘akule. They drag ‘em right inside. And then, they ---. But today --- plenty. Every house had about two bags. --- Plenty. And the sampan was too full, yeah. So give the people. Plenty, even the cats went get some, because too much, yeah. Come right on the sand. Come on the sand, and then stuck, yeah. The cat get ‘em. You like ‘akule, you just scoop ‘em with the net. And then all the way out. Guys was --- we shine the light. All the blood, the sharks come in. Most of the time, we no eat. We eat guava and coconut, and whatever get up in the mountain. But we had the waterfall...and we get da kine, mountain ‘ōpae, coconut, or mountain apple. Until we went to, da kine, Hickam housing. That was World War II. WWII...what had WWII. No. Had civilian workers, at the neighbor houses. And he go way down, you know, because the train gotta come up, eh, and get da kine, pineapple on top. The train go, we jump up and throw the pineapple down and everybody grab. Some guys, they like plenty, keep on going until they forget the train going too fast. No can jump down. They wind up in Hoʻolehua, walk back. And then Eddie went in the service. He was only 16. He told them 17. He went volunteer. Me, I never even like go because I had motorcycle and wahine in Molokai. Ah, had to go. ‘Cause the Korean War. Couple of years until I went to the Army.

KL: What you said, try tell me...what you said about the shark? The shark from Waipiʻo?

RK: Oh. Oh that guy, that’s da kine, he’s from Molokai. If you go, you know where the place Kainalu? East end? You go Kainalu, and then you go Honolulu, and then Wailua. Not too far away. And this guy, he was on top the hill. He had potato farm and one well. But, he had scar on the back, went look like on shark, shark mouth. And the other side, I don’t know, I not sure. When anybody pass over by his house, he tell, “Aia ‘oe ua hele?” Oh, they going down someplace, down the beach. But he stay high, yeah. Then when these people was near the deep place, he go down his well and then choke ‘em. That’s what I heard. And then until guys went missing, and then the kahuna went find out he, da kine, he half shark. So they went chase him but he went jump in well and then he went. But they went find out that...he went stop Maui, I don’t know where the hell, someplace. But he was shark, caught over there too. But he went wind up in Waipi’o Valley. Nobody knew, but over there had, da kine, strong kind kahuna. They find out about him.
And he no can escape, 'cause he no had well. And then he was running but everybody went jump 'em. No believe, da kine, his name is Kimokeo [laughter]. Because what, that's what, I dive all around the place. I never see one damn shark. KL: The shark is our family, yeah?

RK: I don't know. I no I never did see. From Pupukea to da kine, Makapu'u, I never did see. Everbody see though, but I no see. Maybe the bugga kill me and then take off, yeah?

RK: What else? Hālawa, Hālawa. Yeah. Eddie and my father in the taro patch. Actually our house is the other side of the stream. Where get the road, yeah, now. And then get the beach, taro patch, beach. And all the way get the taro patches. But right by our ditch, hoah, big area. And then we eat 'o'opu every time. 'O'opu every time. And, uh, from the ditch. You go way up beside the, the taro patch, so you turn up the ditch, and get 'o'opu all over the place. We go with the bucket and we fill 'em up. Every time, all us guys do that. In the taro patch area. Had all kind. Samoan crab, plenty had, in Hālawa. Even billy goat. In that valley, every time get party, all invited. You know everybody.

Get some kahunas down there too. The Kamanaos. From our house, can see these fireballs go right over onto the house. Blow up like July 4th. My mother go, “Aiya,” Kamana'o, the old man, yeah, “I think Kamana'o make.” Yeah, next day, make. Sometimes the fire burn past and go all the way up. Ah, we don’t know who that. Somebody who live up there.

And all da kine, ah, Hawaiian toilet. Us guys, we had eight dogs. No nuff. Because I only get one lantern. And then behind the dog is one cow. The bugga was eating koa. The dogs the barking and I yelling. More down yeah our house. Somebody saying, “What?” “Somebody behind” “Ah, that's the cow.”

We had plenty da kine in our yard, watermelon papaya. Da kine no more seed. Plenty. And da kine, lemon. Good life. Coconut, coconut. And guava. Mango, more up get.

KL: You see any spirits down there? You see any kine spooky stuffs down there?

RK: No. I was young and the only spooky stuff was the cow. No, no more. Actually our, the house go little bit up. But da kine, the kitchen, the floor is dirt. But get roof, and get table but dirt floor. And we pound taro right outside. That's when everybody disappear, all the big boys, my brother them. Only me, Eddie, and Mary and Vivian. Go pound poi. But my father was getting old already. But still he can pound poi. But we had small kine board and small kine stone. For only make one small bottle of poi. Heavy on the water, pūpū. And then, the neighbor right across, we used to come to his party. Oh, he da kine, 48 or 50 I think. And we went to his party and get da kine, the dishes, the banana, the leaf. But the meat was dog. And then after everybody pau eat he show the head. Hoah, everybody was mad, because taste like pig. But he went show the head, everybody mad. Somebody's dog was missing, yeah. Good fun.
And the teacher from Wailua side. Every time rain, yeah, we no like him come school 'cause we no like do nothing. 9:00 and he coming down. Even all mud, he coming down. That's Kaupu. That's David Kaupu's father. The one stay da kine, Kam School. He was down there too, but he was a bit younger than me. All us guys, we playing da kine, like, uh elevator. You put em in the dune bags and then you go hit each other. And then you go hit the other guy, he dead already, you know what I mean? Until then all gone...and the principal come, everybody all over the place. Good fun, Hālawa School.

The whole valley had two radio. We used to go listen. Me and Eddie was young yet. And then my father from across the stream, whistle, and we gotta get outta there. Then whistle is kick in the ass, yeah. But, we no can go through the stream now, cause the water high and the water was rolling past and we gotta go thru the bridge. Just about dark I think. We gotta pass the church. And the church is where they keep the bodies. When we go over there, boom, we gone...gone until we on the bridge. But I was more fast than Eddie...Then we go through the patch, past the houses...

**KL:** You guys speak English or Hawaiian?

**RK:** My father, no, don't know how to talk English. We talk Hawaiian, mainly Hawaiian. But no, I don't know now. But I understand, I can understand...and then my mother, she talk Hawaiian...my father, he is pure Hawaiian...

...Us guys in Hālawa, people going make 'opihi, they no go all the way. They only go make one time by the bag. They only make for eat. So when they go over to the, so far, then that's it. But plenty 'opihi had over there. They get so much, they go home. And then the next family, they come, they start from where you left off they go, go, over here, then they go more. That's how they go...
Anne Duduoit (AD): I don't remember how many...we went up at...to the tenth grade. But when I left, it went only up to the sixth grade. I moved to Honolulu to live with my Aunt and I went to Mānoa Elementary School, then I went to Washington Intermediate School. I graduated from McKinley High School in 1944.

Kaleialoha Lum-Ho (KL): Can we start with your full name and where you were born?

AD: I was born in Hālawa Valley. My name is, I was Annie Kaiana Enis then I married my husband in 1946 to change it to Duduoit.

KL: And you grew up in Hālawa?

AD: I grew up in Hālawa until I was, uh, I was six years old. I mean sixth grade. And then I moved to Honolulu with my Aunty, Mrs. Lucy Mikasobe. And my sister and I moved, my sister Eliza was above me. We both moved to stay with my Aunt Lucy and we both went to...she went to McKinley High School, I went, I was a year down so I was in the tenth grade, uh ninth grade...no my sister and I were both in Washington. I was in the seventh grade and she was in the ninth grade. And when she graduated she went to McKinley High School. I went there when I was in the tenth grade too. She graduated before I got in there. Oh no, she didn't graduate, she got married. She became Mrs. Eliza Paleka. Mrs. Herbert Paleka. That was my brother in law. He was from Ho'olehua but he lived in Honolulu at that time. And he was living right across McKinley High School, that's how my sister met him. And she was in the 11th grade when they got married.

KL: So did you go back to Hālawa, or after sixth grade no?

AD: We didn't go back. We only visited.

KL: Okay. Uncle Mac was telling me that the Enis family was one of the last families down in Hālawa.


KL: So when you guys left, they stayed down there? Did your parents stay in the valley?

AD: My...I lived with my grandparents, I'm sorry. [KL: Oh, okay] I didn't live with my parents. My sister Eliza lived with my parents. But I lived with my grandfather Joseph Kamanao across the valley. [KL: Oh, okay.] They had a big red house.

KL: I think you might have been my grandpa's neighbor then, the Kahalewai's.

AD: Yeah. They were up this way.
KL: Yeah, that’s what he said. He said the Kamanao’s were below.

AD: Yeah. They were this way, my grandpa, and then...some, oh I forgot who was. I think Kaolouahi was below us.

KL: Oh, okay. ‘Cause I remember him saying that had his house, and then Kamanao’s were right below, so then that’s where you were living?

AD: Yeah. My grandpa and my grandmother hanai me when I was just a year old. I had my birthday and my Aunt that I was named for, she was married, she wasn’t married. She was staying with her boyfriend at the {unintelligible} settlement who was so nice. My grandfather just went in the house and took me away from them.

KL: So when you finished school and you moved to Honolulu, did your grandparents go with you, or...?

AD: No, no, no. I stayed with my Aunt, my grandfather’s oldest daughter. Mrs. Mikasobe was her oldest, she’s the oldest child. And that’s who I stayed with. He wouldn’t let me stay with anybody. Had to be his daughter to take care of me so he knew that she would take care of me well, yeah. But she took care of my sister Eliza and I.

KL: Can you tell me what you remember about Hālawa?

AD: I don’t remember...there were a lot of taro patches. And we used to go up the stream go catch ‘o’opu. ‘Cause my grandparents used to love ‘o’opu. So my mom used to be a good ‘o’opu catcher. So we’d all go swimming. It’s more fun swimming than catching fish. But, my mom was good at it, so every time she would catch, we would put it in a bag and she would half it with my grandpa and my grandma and I. And she, she had, my mom had 14 children. But, uh, about seven died at birth, and they, maybe they didn’t make more than 2 years and they passed away.

KL: So how many kids were living with your parents while you were with your grandparents?

AD: After that, they had, uh, five girls, four girls and two boys, ‘cause I was living with my grandparents. But, seven children lived with my parents. My oldest one married my husband’s cousin, Jessie Duduoit. Uh, they met in Honolulu. But actually, my sister married someone...she was staying down the country, I don’t know why...Oh, I know, because my younger sister Emma was hanai by Akina family and she went to visit my sister Emma and then she stayed there to play music. She was in this group called The Hawaiian Paradise. She used to sing, and married her first husband there. They had only one child. She had twin girls, but they died. The twin girls was first. And then the, the son, Kahuhu we used to call him. He was a great fisherman. And then she came back to Moloka’i and married Jessie Duduoit. Then I think from Jessie she had 8...Jessie, Teddy, Maggy, Marilyn...I think 7 or 8 children...8 children my sister had later with Jessie Duduoit. Uh, I don’t know very much about Hālawa, it’s just that...you know, everybody planted taro at that, time. Had the Kawaa family, Mrs. and Mrs. Lani Kawaa.
Their house is still up. And their grandson lives in that house. [KL: now?] Mmhmm. In Hālawa, Robert. Japanese, uh, she married a Japanese family, and the grandson was Japanese and everything, but nice boy.

KL: Is he planting kalo down there?

AD: I don’t know if he is, but there is a lot of taro patches right below his house. So, I, he must be planting, I’m not sure. Plus get plenty water, yeah? They get from the stream and we have a small muliwai that has a lot of water that comes in.

KL: While you were down there did you help with the lo‘i? Did you plant kalo too?

AD: No, I didn’t know how to huli the taro. My grandfather had plenty, but, he had Filipino workers. They used to stay up Puʻuohōkū Ranch. When they didn’t have jobs up at Puʻuohōkū Ranch, they would come down look for jobs. And that’s why my grandfather hired Filipino man, Simea (?), to drive us in case we needed to go Kaunakakai to go shopping. But most of the time we would go movies. You know, ‘cause they used to have a movie house in Kaunakakai. Takata. Takata used to own.

KL: So not too many people had cars at that time?

AD: No. There were only...we had one car, and uh, Paahao Nahoopii had the other car.

KL: And they shared? They would give people rides?

AD: Uh, whatever, well usually on Saturdays is the day that I can use the car. And I take all my young cousins and friends to go to the movies. I didn’t have any money but I used to charge. They say, “You Kamanao girl?” “Yeah.” They go okay. And when my grandpa comes up topside he used to go pay all our bills. [KL: oh] Cause I used to take all my cousin them, eh, go movie. They had nothing. I had. Even when we used to go walk up Puʻuohōkū Ranch in Hālawa just to go buy candies. And I used to charge over there. I tell everybody, “Okay you, go get what you guys like.” And they used to charge my grandpa. Cause my grandpa was a big boss, working for the county on the road so they knew him very well, eh. Then when he retired, my dad became the boss.

KL: So were you down there when the tsunami hit?

AD: No I wasn’t. I was in, where was I...I don’t remember where I was. I think I was in Honolulu. 1942...yeah I was in Honolulu. And I was working in the hospital 1945...I don’t know when the second one hit. ’46 yeah? [KL: Yeah, ’46 was the big one] ‘Cause I, I got married to my husband 1946.

KL: So you said a lot of people were leaving after the tsunami hit? [AD: Huh?] You said a lot of people left after the tsunami hit yeah?

AD: Yeah. A lot of people left because the water came, took a lot of kalo, the taro patches. That’s why they left. It was those that way inside of Hālawa that didn’t leave
for awhile. But, uh, Kalani Kawaa was working Kalaupapa, so weekends he would come
home and tend to his taro patch. He had his family. He had, uh, two boys, two girls.
The girls went to Kamehameha Schools. All of them, all of the four children attended
Kamehameha Schools. They went to Hālawa until they were able to go into
Kamehameha Schools.

KL: I was reading somewhere that some people have said that they think Pu'uohōkū
Ranch might have affected people leaving. [AD: Eh?] I read somewhere that people
might have thought that the ranch might have, kind of made people leave. Do think
anything about that?

AD: Yeah, because some of the properties in Hālawa is not sole owned. Molokai Ranch
has parts. The old places in Hālawa Valley. But uh, my grandfather had a lot of property
in Hālawa Valley and Pu'uohōkū Ranch and down the beach. But they never stopped my
grandfather. Every time he wanted to go fishing, 'cause I used to go fishing with him in
uh, weekends, we'd go Friday evenings and come home. Somebody would pick us up on
Sundays in the evening. I used to love to go with my grandfather.

KL: So was Pu'uoheōkū Ranch giving people a hard time?

AD: Uh, I guess so. Some places the people built, it belongs to Pu'uoheōkū Ranch. So
Pu'uoheōkū Ranch would then get all what they owned and ask people to move. That's
why a lot of them moved topside. Either Honouliwai, Kaunakakai, where they could get
jobs.

KL: That's another one too, yeah? A lot of people left for work, after the war. I've read
a lot of people wanted to go to Pearl Harbor because had plenty jobs up there yeah?

AD: I don't know anybody who went to Pearl Harbor. I only know that they came
topside to try to find job in Kaunakakai, around that area. And most of them was county.
And the county was good enough to hire a lot of the Hālawa Valley people. And my
father became the boss of the road company one year at one time. And my mother was a
housekeeper. She stayed home to take care of her children. But my dad helped, you
know he was a...a midwife for my mom. He delivered all of us.

KL: So most of the people down there at that time was home births, yeah?

AD: Yeah. My dad used to deliver most of the babies down there. All of yeah, whoever
was ready to hānau, he knew when they would be ready. You know, and he would tell
them, “I come, come be with you certain date” and they would hānau at that date he says.

KL: So do you think, was that a problem not having a hospital down there?

AD: You couldn't have a hospital, too small.

KL: So people managed?
AD: Yeah, we used to, we used to get uh, Ualapue used to be a hospital. It’s midway yeah, to town. Hālawa to Ualapu’e is halfway. But then they moved the hospital up at Ho’olehua. But now it’s in Kaunakakai. Up above the Kaunakakai town. But then a lot of people moved out. They moved, they went down to the country down in Honolulu. A lot of the people there. They get four or five families. But we moved to Honolulu... my dad moved to Honouliwai... I forgot where my grandparents moved to. And when they died I had to go back to my parents.

KL: How come your grandparents left?

AD: I don’t think they left. No... they died down there. They died in Hālawa. My grandfather died first. He died of stroke. I remember that very well. ‘Cause Mrs. Kaupu, her husband was the school teacher, uh school principal, she used to come and visit my grandfather. She said that’s her uncle. But he had stroke, so he couldn’t move. So every time when she come, she and my mom used to bathe my dad, my grandpa.

KL: That’s David Kaupu’s wife?

AD: Yeah. Malanai. Henrietta Malanai Kaupu. She was big. Hoah, but nice, nice lady.

KL: I think my grampa used to tell stories about how he used to make trouble to Mr. Kaupu.

AD: Hmm?

KL: My grampa.

AD: Used to make trouble? [Laughter] Well if he was a friend of David Kaupu’s son, Edward, uh yeah. They’re two troublesome kids.

KL: Do you remember my grandpa?

AD: Yes, Ralph. Haole looking.

KL: Haole looking?

AD: Yeah, he’s, he’s more fair than the rest of his family.

KL: ’Cause his mom is Portuguese.

AD: I don’t know, but, you know cause, you know he had, his big brother was dark complex. His sister Mary was dark complex. She married Filipino.

KL: But I heard he was a trouble maker down there.

AD: Could be.
KL: So you parents left, moved up top to get work?

AD: To Honouliwai. Wait, they moved to Honouliwai, yep. And then there was another, uh, tsunami that took the house where they were staying so they moved somewhere else and they moved with my mom’s uncle, uh, Nahoopi, the last name. No, not Nahoopi. His name Hoopiikai. He had home. And before he died, he asked my mom for a dollar for that property.

KL: In Hālawa?

AD: No.

KL: Oh, in Honouliwai.

AD: In Honouliwai. And that’s where my grand-niece lives now. My oldest sister’s granddaughter.

KL: In that property?

AD: Yeah. Because that belongs to my mom’s children, yeah.

KL: So what happened to your family’s land in Hālawa?

AD: Uh...my daughter-in-law pays for it. It belongs to, uh, her husband and my oldest son. But my daughter-in-law has to pay for it because my son gone, yeah.

KL: But nobody’s on it?

AD: No. Nobody’s on it. So I told them, sell it if somebody wants to buy it, because nobody’s going back to Hālawa.

KL: So you don’t think it’s likely that people will move back?

AD: No.

KL: Yeah?

AD: Well I told my daughter in law if she sells, she has to let my son know, maybe he doesn’t want to sell. But I told her sell that. You know I don’t think anybody going back to Hālawa. There’s nothing in Hālawa. There’s no telephone, no electricity.

KL: Do you think if they brought that down, like the utilities, more people would go back?

AD: Maybe, maybe. You know. I know only one house is still standing. Our house was torn down. When we lived in Hālawa, we had a big three bedroom house. Our dining room was so big and there was only three of us. Four of us, actually. My dad’s, my
grandparents’ youngest son, Joseph Kamanao, Jr. He lived with my, da kine. But, uh, usually when he goes home on Fridays. He comes topside on Sundays, ‘cause he used to work for the county on the roads.

*KL: My grampa said a lot of people left to go work at CPC too.*

*AD: Yeah. CPC. Which is very true, ‘cause they had, uh, jobs for people in CPC. Wages is cheap, but, those days you know, it was worthwhile.*

*KL: Something to do yeah?*

*AD: Yeah. And everything was cheap at that time too.*

*KL: I know a lot of people started to kind of want more of the western goods too yeah?*

*AD: That’s right, that’s right.*

*KL: Find cash work and stuff. You had to find cash jobs, yeah? So by your generation, not too many people were doing kalo then yeah?*

*AD: No. I mean, there were a lot of taro. I know my grandfather had plenty in front of their house. Before the house was broken down. But he had Filipino workers that’s why.*

*KL: That he would hire to help him?*

*AD: Mmhmm. To help take care of the kalo.*

*KL: I think when my grandpa’s dad died when he was eleven, I don’t think they could do the work by themselves.*

*AD: I don’t think so.*

*KL: Only had the kids yeah.*

*AD: Yeah. But they had taro patch across where our house was, in the front of their house.*

*KL: The Kahalewai’s?*

*AD: Uh huh. The Kahalewai’s and then my grandparents. And then Kaolouahi. Then had, uh, David Kalaau. And Akina’s…I don’t remember. Oh, that was so long. ‘Cause, well I’m, I’m gonna be 69 pretty soon.*

*KL: Yeah, he makes 74 this year, Ralph.*

*AD: Yeah?*
KL: Yeah. So little bit older.

AD: That’s your grandfather you’re talking about?

KL: Yeah.

AD: The first Ralph used to go with the Kaolouahi girl.

KL: I don’t know.

AD: Yeah.

KL: ‘Cause he said he went…when his father died, they moved to Hickam housing in Honolulu. I think that was…I think it was after the tidal wave. And then he went back, and he lived with, I think Aunty Makanui. Do you know her?

AD: Oh, okay.

KL: Yeah. And he was with her for a little while and he didn’t know what to do so he ended up joining the service.

AD: And then he moved up Honolulu?

KL: Yeah. Then he went Alaska I think, for the Marines.

AD: Too good.

KL: Yeah. I don’t think he ever went back. I think after military he never went back. He moved to Honolulu.

AD: Well right now, there’s nobody in Hālawa except haoles.

KL: Like squatters?

AD: Mmhmm. Squatters. We had to, uh, my daughter in law had to go down. Somebody told us that squatters were in our…you see in our property there’s bathroom and, uh, you know shower, and toilet.

KL: Still working?

AD: Yeah. And we were the only ones that had inside toilet. So my daughter in law had to take, get a police escort to down there and let them know that they were not allowed on the property at all.

KL: So they were living in you folks’ property?
AD: Well, they used the bathroom, you know. And we had a small little shack that you can sleep in. So...he put a restraining order that nobody can go into our property and sleep and use the bathroom and everything. So we had to buy lock. She bought three...whoa cost her big bucks, buy the lock and lock the bathroom. And then the police know that anybody broke the lock, he would come down and take everybody to jail. So, oh wow, you own one car.

KL: So right now it's mostly just squatters living down there?

AD: Yeah. Mostly squatters.

KL: What about the people that are going down, like the Davis'? They're trying to restore little bit, yeah?

AD: Yeah. That's what they're trying. But they really don't have any property. They're staying on somebody else's property. They staying on uh, who, Billy Gunderson, Gunderson's property. But belongs to, uh, the grandfather's cousin, Kaima. But Kaima's wife is Lindsey. So it belongs to Jimmy Lindsey's cousin, uh Billy Gunderson. His grandfather owns that property down there.

KL: So they're leasing?

AD: I don't know. I know they tried to move in but, uh, Gunderson went down and he said he didn't want anybody in the house.

KL: So as far as people going back, you don't think...?

AD: No, I don't think so. They only go down to go fishing, you know, throw net. Or bamboo, 'o'opu. But you know, not to live.

KL: But people are still using the valley though, yeah?

AD: Yeah, yeah. Get plenty, you know, fishing is galore down there. You can go make 'opihi, and up the stream there's 'o'opu and there's hihiwai. You know, and they have shrimp. Big kine shrimp. And the stream is getting small now.

KL: That was pretty much how it was, yeah, everybody shared?

AD: Share, yeah. The biggest thing at Christmas and at New Years, they always had a big party. And everybody in Hālawa was invited. And they always had kālua pig, poi, 'opihi, you know. But we never had crab. We had black crab, not white crab, 'cause we never knew about white crab.

KL: That's 'a'ama?

AD: No. The black crab is 'a'ama. Uh, the white crab is the, they buy it in the store now, in boxes.
KL: Oh, the big kind?

AD: Yeah. They used to have down in Hālawa. But small kind. But ‘a‘ama was loaded. ‘Opihi was loaded. Hāʻueʻue was loaded. I remember my grandmother. She used to love to eat the baby eel. So she get hāʻue and she put it in her hand. She just open it and make, put it, whatever in her hand and she grab it. [KL: Just like that?] Yeah. She used to love to eat the baby eel. I wouldn't do that. I don't trust anybody with my hand.

KL: I know my grampa ate, um, he said they used to eat the shrimp raw, too. Just scoop 'em up and just like that.

AD: Oh yeah. Yeah. They did.

KL: What about your folks' house? Was it... I know my grampa folks still had dirt kitchen, the dirt floor kitchen.

AD: Oh no, no. Everything was floor for us. We had one, two, I was in another room... I remember one time I was so sick, my grampa and my grandma used to rub vicks on me, rub on my feet. I remember rub on my back. My grandpa and my grandma always prayed. My uncle used to have girlfriends. You know, he had the front room. I said, I told myself, “Oh, they so cute.” And my grandpa and my grandma slept in the back room. We had a big kitchen, I remember. We had a big parlor. The kitchen and the parlor. And they had, not a sliding door, but, had the kind, and the dining room was big... I think it seat eight people. And our kitchen was big. We had a big stove. My grandma used to cook all the time for us.

KL: You guys had electricity?

AD: No. It was, uh, charcoal. So we had a lot of the kiawe trees. And that's what we, my grandfather used to cut it like this, and put it in the kind, for ours. So he would do it, and my grandma would be, do all the cooking.

KL: But you said you guys had indoor plumbing?

AD: Yeah. We did. We had one toilet indoor.

KL: And the only one?

AD: We were the only ones.

KL: Did you guys have a radio? He said had two radios in the valley.

AD: No. There was no radio. Uh, you mean, to listen to?

KL: Yeah, grandpa said had two people had radios.

AD: Oh. I don't know who had it. I know my dad didn't and I know we didn't.
KL: What did you guys do for fun?

AD: We used to have the you know, the, uh, like the Enis family always, Friday and Saturday we jam session. You see, my mom was the most beautiful singer.

KL: That's just your family or anybody come?

AD: No. Just my family, so... we had a big family. All my, my grandpa's children, would all, we'd get together in the house, in our house 'cause we had the biggest house. And we always jam session. My dad had a beautiful tenor. My grandfather had a beautiful bass. He was a small man. But he had beautiful bass. And my mom... we, you see when you went to Hālawa School, they taught you how to sing everything. Alto, soprano, alto, tenor, bass. Yeah, you had to learn. And the teacher called us by our Hawaiian names. Never like, uh, my name is Annie. Never Annie or Eliza. My sister Eliza's name was Eliza Ha'aha'a. My sister Louise's name was Louise Ka'ahanui. My sister Mary had the longest name, who, she was named for my grandmother, Puakoumeleka..., so they used to call her Pua. They call her daughter, who is Puakoumela, Koumela. She has a grandmother who carries that name too.

KL: What is your ethnic background? Both of your parents were Hawaiian?

AD: My mom was pure Hawaiian. My dad was Chinese-Hawaiian.

KL: What was the ethnic make-up in the valley?

AD: Hawaiian.

KL: Almost all Hawaiian?

AD: All Hawaiian, most Hawaiian. More pure Hawaiian at that time, when I was living in Hālawa. There's no, you know, only my dad was brand new to Hālawa. He met my mom, almost finish school, and he married her. My, uh, I had an uncle that was helping my mom to go to school. Oh he wanted to cuss my mother out. Because she almost finish, uh, graduate from Maunaolu College. That's the school she went, but, my dad met her on the boat, because he was working on the boat. And he took her to Honolulu and married her.

KL: Just like that?

AD: Yeah. Just like that. She was so pretty. My father said, "She was the most beautiful girl in the world. I just stole your mother. I took her to Honolulu and I married her. I made that priest marry us now." Those days no more blood test, yeah. Now you marry, you gotta get blood test. But my parents were so nice...nice parents. I'd come and visit, and then I go back to my grandparents. 'Cause I can hear my grandmother go, "Baby!" The valley was so calm you can hear everybody, you know.

KL: And you guys spoke Hawaiian or English at home?
AD: Most of the time we spoke Hawaiian. In my house, my grandparents only spoke Hawaiian to me.

KL: Did they, could they speak English?

AD: Not that I know of... 'cause they only spoke Hawaiian. Only my uncle and I, we speak English. And, my grandfather used to get mad at me. We used to have a bridge, yeah, in Hālawa Valley.

KL: Is that the swinging one?

AD: Yeah. I would go on there, Charlie Kalaau and I would go on our horse and ride 'em [chuckles]. My grandfather said, “Oh, that girl. There she goes being naughty.” I was the only one on Sunday who didn’t go to church. I was off riding horse. My father used to get so mad with me. “You know, you supposed to be boy.”

KL: So at school was in Hawaiian too, or English?

AD: No. We didn’t have Hawaiian in our school. It was only English. We had Eddie, Edward, no, David Kalaau was our first teacher. And then when he died, Mr. Kaupu came down to teach us. He lived in, where he lived? Not too far the house. But he had to travel about 15, 16 miles to go down Hālawa. So he would stay down until Friday evening then he would come home to be with his wife and family. They had plenty children, Mr. Kaupu.

KL: But his kids never go school in Hālawa?

AD: He had two who went, Jack and Edward Kaupu, Jr. So he took them with him. So he would get more students, yeah.

KL: So was combined? Not separate grades?

AD: We all sat in one. When I was there, it was from first to eighth grade.

KL: When did they start moving kids to Kilohana?

AD: When they graduated. Later on they graduated six grade and they moved up to Kilohana. Or wherever their family lived. You know, Hālawa didn’t have very much family up living this way. Ours was more in Honolulu, that’s why we moved to Honolulu, my sister and I. ‘Cause our Aunt was there in Honolulu, so we were able to go to Washington Intermediate.

KL: And you said was up to tenth grade at that time?
AD: Ninth grade. And then we went to McKinley High School. We'd catch the bus. We'd catch the bus with St. Louis boys, and every time we say “Portugee...” They used to get mad with us. [laughter]

KL: Washington is downtown now, in Honolulu?

AD: I don’t know, yeah. Uh, I forgot where it is now. Because it burned down, yeah. So they had to renovate but I don’t know where they renovated it.

KL: I think now it’s surrounded by big buildings already.

AD: Oh. Well I know...

KL: ‘Cause even McKinley, everything kind of developing around there too yeah? So when did Hālawa School close?

AD: I don’t remember. I have the history someplace, when it was closed. And they had, the, uh, I don’t know where I put it. My cousin knows this. If you can find Phillip Solatario, he’s the one that has the history about Hālawa School.

KL: There’s a lot of articles too, that I have.

AD: That he had out in the paper. Yeah. He has a lot of articles. What the word means, and where it came from. He’s good about that. He works for, Molokai Ranch. He’s good about Hālawa history. He knows anything and everything. He used to work in the taro patch. And my mom’s number two sister used to work in the taro patch, yeah.

KL: So how was the roles back then? Like with the women and eat men?

AD: It was...from here to Kaunakakai. From Hālawa to Kaunakakai that was all dirt road. I don’t remember when it was galvanized.

KL: So people used horse?

AD: No. They used to, you know, hire taxi. My father-in-law used to run taxi business. But now, his uh, youngest child runs the school bus. She has a lot of big buses that go to Molokai High School because my son in law drives for him to Molokai High School.

KL: Now?

AD: Mmmh. She got about six big buses and two or three small buses.

KL: So as far as people leaving, do you think a lot of it had to do with the tsunami and jobs?

AD: No more job as why. Tsunami, really, the second one really didn’t hit that much. The first one was bad. Hit a lot of kalo business. Destroyed a home that belonged to, I
think belonged to Kalani Kawaa. Destroyed the home. Changed Hālawa an awful lot.
The other side, plenty taro patches was...you know the ocean water was not good for the
taro patch.

KL: But other than that, a lot of people were leaving to find work and money?

AD: Yeah, that’s what it was. Because Hālawa, never lived on welfare, never. Anyone
and everyone, we always helped each other, you know, in Hālawa. There was...

KL: ...no need you mean? Never need welfare?

AD: No. If whoever is pulling taro, he thinks, “Oh, da kine is gonna need taro,” or you
know certain family, and they pulled extra for that family. And if somebody goes
fishing, and get plenty fish, they drop fish to who they think needs the fish. They used to
help each other, you know. It was never, only mine, yeah. It was always to share.

KL: And back then people picked so that had too, yeah? They picked so that everybody
else would have chance too, yeah?

AD: Yeah. They would pick, like if they went to go pick ‘o’opu, if they were going to
have a party, they would pick just enough for the party. But, uh, if it was just to eat, they
would make, lucky if they...maybe one small Ziploc bag. Make just enough to eat. My
mom used to love to make ‘o’opu. Even when she was 68 years old she was going to
make ‘o’opu. She used to love. Every time she tell, “Tell daddy come pick us up four
o’clock.” Okay. We would go early in the morning to go ‘auana. My father in law used
to come and pick us up. Tell, “Daddy,” “Yeah” “Mom and I going make ‘opu, ‘auana
today and pick us up four o’clock.” “Sure. I pick you folks up.” And he knew just
where to pick us up. My mom was not afraid to walk. I used to hate walk. You know,
when you make ‘opu, you gotta walk, walk, walk. But what we used to do, you know,
we used to put maybe a flat rock, we put small rocks around and put the ‘opu over there,
so that it wouldn’t be heavy. That’s how you did, pick up ‘opu.

KL: Then you no need carry the whole thing one time?

AD: Yeah. So when you come back, you pick up all your ‘opu on your way going
home.

KL: Oh smart. Do you miss Hālawa?

AD: Kind of. You know, I used to love to go make ‘o’opu, we used to call it hahaha. Go
make ‘o’opu, or go bamboo ‘o’opu. We used to bamboo, uh, what other fish...small, but
uh, after you scale ‘em and go deep fry, whoa, ‘ono. Yeah. I used to love Hālawa. I still
do. Once in a while my daughter takes me home, takes me back, to go check...I turned
everything over to Ronnie. That’s how the wife is paying everything now.

KL: That’s you parents’ or your grandparents’ land in Hālawa?
AD: That’s my grandparents’ land. Kamanao had plenty properties in Hālawa.

KL: That’s kuleana lands?

AD: Yeah. That’s kuleana lands. And he had in Pu‘uohōkū Ranch too. Now Phillip goes into Pu‘uohōkū Ranch for ‘auana, maybe go throw net, I don’t know he go make ‘opihi. So he has the key in case my son wants to go. Because my son is a good fisherman. ‘Cause he went to West End, was it yesterday or the other day? And came home with a bag full of ‘opihi. But he is a good fisherman.

KL: Is there anything else you remember about Hālawa? You were pretty young yeah?

AD: Yeah. I left there when I was young. We had to leave because we had to go to school and we went Honolulu to school.
PERSONAL INFORMATION
1. What is your full name?
Walter Kaloheaulani Kawaa, Jr.

2. How old are you?
61 (9-23-43)

3. Where were you born and raised?
At home in Halawa Valley, Molokai. His father was the mother’s midwife.

4. Where do you currently reside?
94-381 Noholoa Loop, Mililani, 96789.

HĀLAWA AND KULEANA LAND
4. Does your family have kuleana land in Hālawa?
Yes

5. Is your family one of the original claimants?
I’m not sure what this means.

6. Do you still own that land?
Yes, along with my brother and two sisters. We are also part owners, with our Dad’s siblings, of 2 parcels in Halawa Valley and one parcel in Wailau Valley. Family owns about two acres in Hālawa.

7. Do you know any families that still own kuleana land in Hālawa?
Yes

8. Do they use it?
Yes

DESCRIPTION OF HĀLAWA VALLEY
1. What is your connection to Hālawa Valley?
I was born and raised in the valley, son of taro farmers. Raised in Hālawa as a child. Went to Hālawa School until graduation in 8th grade in 1957. Then moved to Honolulu to attend Kamehameha Schools, which was known as Kamehameha School for Boys at the time. I believe my brother Earl graduated from Hālawa School in 1958, so my parents had to move to Kaunakakai in order for Earl to attend Molokai High School, the only high school on Molokai.
2. Did you live and grow up in Halawa?
Yes, until I moved to Honolulu. I boarded at Kamehameha School for Boys (KSB) as a 9th grader from about August 1957. I graduated in 1961.

3. If so, when and how long did you live in Hālawa?
From birth until graduation in 1957 from Hālawa School. Then I moved to Oahu to attend Kamehameha Schools.

4. Describe Hālawa at that time?
The valley was filled about half way with taro patches — not like today, with plenty of opala plants and trees.
   a. How many families were living there?
   My Ohana, the Mollen Ohana, the Solatorio Ohana, the Pauline Nahoopii Ohana, the John Akina Sr. Ohana, the Peter Kawaa Sr. Ohana, Tutu Paahao and Tutu Paio Akina.
   b. Estimated population. 35-40
   c. Existing structures and facilities.
   Besides personal homes, Halawa Congregational Church and a 1-roon Halawa School were the only public structures.
   The church was destroyed when it accidentally set on fire. A volunteer group had gone to Halawa to clean the church grounds and lit a fire whose embers may have landed on the shake (pili) roof and caught on fire. The church had also been facing vandalism as people were stealing the bell, chairs, pulpit, and other items from the church.

5. What did people do for sustenance?
Farmed taro.
   a. Subsistence lifestyle?
   You need to elaborate.
   parents were taro farmers. sometimes sold taro for cash. remembers selling one big bag of taro for $4.00. Doesn't seem like much but it got him four sacks of groceries. During off seasons, father would dry out taro patches (family planted watermelon in the lo'i directly fronting their home). Sometimes they would sell the watermelon. Mostly ate crackers, tea, fish, and poi. Fish was very abundant. If you wanted something, you just went out and caught it. Father collected salt from Kalaupapa.

   Father used to dry fish. He would gather salt from Kalaupapa. Walter remembers his father carrying at least a hundred pounds of salt up the steep hill, balancing them on either side of his shoulder. The salt was sorted in two batches—one that was clean, from the bottom, and one from the top that had some debris in it. The “dirty” salt was used for salting fish. His father knew exactly how much salt to put in the fish and he would let it cure overnight.
Then he would rinse it out the next day—and he knew just how much needed to be rinsed out. The clean salt was used for cooking and consumption.

On occasion their mother would obtain goods from the store. Bread was a special treat. Sometimes she would also buy codfish, which they would hang and eat when desired. His mother also had an affinity for crackseed. She would buy it and the children would devour theirs, then look at her longingly until she shared some of hers. Also ate almond roca candy as a treat.

b. Did people go outside for work?
The only one I remember who worked outside of Halawa Valley, while I was growing up, was my Dad. I remember being told that other folks worked outside the valley. He was a foreman for State of Hawaii in Kalaupapa. I'm told that some men worked for the State or County on road projects and other jobs prior to my knowledge.
Father rounded, castrated, branded and slaughtered cattle, repaired roads and repaired building and unloaded the barge when it docked with supplies once a year. Would come out at the end of work every Friday afternoon and returned on Sunday afternoon.

6. Were families happy there?
Families were extremely happy.
Very happy time... everyone was family. Either you were related by blood, or you just knew people as Aunty or Uncle—everyone was family. But seeing the way Hālawa is today makes him sad because this was not the way it used to be. Walter's memory of Hālawa was a community and a valley lined with taro patches. Today it is nothing more than a jungle with remains of a thriving community.

Were you happy?
Absolutely

7. Was life difficult in Hālawa? Why? (money, work, etc.).
I didn't know that life was difficult. I'm sure it was for my parents but we never felt it from their demeanor/attitude. We never went hungry.
Life was simple. We would go to school, come home, eat Saloon Pilot cracker snack, work in the taro patch or the yard then play or go swimming in the stream about a hundred yards from the taro patches. Helped his father with fishing, caring for the taro patches. The school had a lot of focus on music and bible. The teacher, Edward Kaupu had a strong emphasis on singing and insisted that all the students learned to sing parts. Also studied from the bible in school. Didn't speak Hawaiian at home or in school though. His parents spoke Hawaiian between themselves and the older ohana or friends. They never taught me and my siblings. At school they only spoke English. Typical of that generation. If you wanted food, you just went and got it. There was fish, limu, and plenty of fruits. Guava, mango, mountain apple and banana were plentiful. His family had a grapefruit tree, lots of papaya trees and fresh vegetables such as kai choi (mustard cabbage), head cabbage and string beans in their yard. Walter also described how his family would catch ‘Akule using a lau (long rope called lau, which consisted on rope intertwined with lā'i). His maternal
grandmother spotted the school of ‘akule from high atop the cliff overlooking Halawa Bay. His grandfather and other folks of the valley waited on canoes - some with lau and others with long surround nets. She would guide them out far enough and signal then to drop the lau and encircle the school of fish. Once circled the lau ends were pulled towards the mouth of the bay then the surround nets were dropped behind the lau and pulled to shore with the catch.

Also used to follow the father when he went to throw net. His mother would drop them off on at the top of Pu'u O Hoku Ranches south side. He, his Dad and brother trekked down the steep hill through the cow pasture strewn with lantana brush. His mother continued the drive down to sea level, over 2 miles away, to wait for them. The first fishing area at which the Kawaas arrived, after the hike down the hill, is called Manapa'i (magic/spiritual slap). Walter and his brother follow along and it was their job to help pull the throw-net in after it was thrown, remove the fish caught and carry the bag. To break the monotony, they would count of the fish after each throw. It was kinda boring because sometimes they would walk for long distances without the net being thrown into the water. Once his Dad stood in one place and stalked the kai, he and his brother got all excited because they knew their Dad would soon throw the net... then they can get into the action. They hated removing āholehole because they were so spiny and always poked their hands and fingers. Once his father caught 177 āholehole in one throw and another time he caught 119 moil.

Family had a batter-operated radio. Would listen to the radio after dinner, then the family would gather in the living room for Ohana (devotion). It was a time for singing, reciting Psalms and 12 Commandments and bible study. Raised in a strong Christian family. Mother embraced Christianity and raised the family with same values. She was the licentiate for Halawa Congregational Church and Wailua Congregational Church. Licentiate is an ordained minister, without the formal training from a seminary.

LEAVING THE VALLEY
1. When did you leave Hālawa?
I left in 1959 in order to attend Kamehameha School for Boys as a 9th grader.

2. When did your family leave Hālawa?
I think they moved to Kaunakakai in 1958 because my brother Earl (1 year younger than me) needed to attend Moloka‘i High School, the only high school on Molokai.

3. What do you think influenced people to move out of Hālawa?
I think the younger folks moved out to seek jobs because taro farming was very hard work. The big flood in 1967 (I’m not positive about the date) did not help matters. This state-wide storm eroded the stream bed so deeply that water could not be diverted to the ‘auwai that flowed to the taro patches, making taro farming impossible as we knew it before.

• The big storm in the 60’s was a major factor. Walter remembers a storm around 1967. The storm caused major damage, including damaging a dam
and the po'o 'auwai. There was a secondary po'o 'auwai that diverted from the main po'o 'auwai. During the flood, the stream bottom dropped below the primary (main) auwai and cut off water to that system. As a result, lo'i that received water from that 'auwai lost their source.

- The tidal wave (tsunami) of 1946 also caused major damage. The lo'i nearest the beach were wiped out and several houses were destroyed, including his father's home. He says that he recalls his father and maternal grandfather either gathering or attempting to gather fish after the water receded but some how realized that something was wrong and narrowly escaped death or injury. Walter was three at the time and does not remember the 1946 tidal wave. In his lifetime, he recalls seeing at least three tidal waves that hit the valley and wiped out all the taro patches near the beach.

- Many people also left to find work and join the service.

4. Would you have liked to stay there?
No. I got haole-fied with the conveniences of in-door plumbing, electricity and bright lights rather than dim lit kukui hele po (kerosene lamps, kerosene lanterns, and occasionally Coleman gas lanterns) when guests visited and stayed with us. When he first moved to Kamehameha Schools, had to get used to some things but he adjusted quickly. For example, on the first night, he couldn't sleep because he kept hearing a ticking noise, which frightened him. Turned out to be the clock in the hall.

5. Do you think other families would have preferred to stay in Hālawa?
Absolutely. The older folks were content. I think it's because they were hard workers and knew how to live with nature off the land and the sea. The younger folks wanted easier work... and more money. NO different than now-a-days.

6. Do you think families felt obligated to leave? (i.e. was it a matter of survival).
Absolutely. No water, no taro, aole kala. One family tried to make a go by installing pvc pipes but it was ok for a couple small taro patches but not like before when each family farmed a dozen or two big taro patches.

RE-ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY IN HĀLAWA
1. Would you consider moving into Hālawa?
Absolutely not.
Walter admits that he would not want to move back to Hālawa, mainly because he is used to the conveniences offered by the Western world, i.e. television.

2. Do you think there is an interest to establish a community in Hālawa?
There is an ongoing battle between 3 or 4 organizations who have established interest in resurrecting the aina and calling the shots.
Mainly outsiders and non-Hawaiians seem to be expressing interest in moving back to the valley. Japanese and haole investors have been eyeing out the Valley—all they see is dollar signs but they don't appreciate what the valley has to offer. John McAfee recently auctioned off over a thousand acres of land he purchased near Kaunakakai not long ago for more than twice the price he paid. What's to keep folks
like him from doing likewise in Halawa Valley. Pu‘u O Hoku owners were/are no different than any other investor. They have been seizing lands since the beginning.

3. Do you think it would be possible? Why or why not?
Any thing is possible... nothing is impossible where green and need is involved. The folks on the prowl/hunt are aggressive. The folks who own the land(s) are living someone else. Fighting for you property is hard work and requires money. So eventually relentless pursuit and money will prevail. Unfortunately the folks wanting to call the shots for Halawa Valley are outsiders and don’t know the history of the valley and how aina folks co-existed... peacefully. Any time you have 3 bosses, you’re in for trouble.

Perhaps people may want to move back, but they have to realize that taro planting is a lot of work. Groups currently interested in establishing a community of sorts are involved in in-fighting. Face some criticism because not all of them have Hālawa ties. Different interests/goals conflicting.

4. What factors do you think would inhibit a community in Hālawa?
NO jobs and taro farming is extremely hard work. I recall selling a burlap bag-full of taro (little less than 100 lbs.) for $4.00. But then in those days $20 could buy 4-5 big paper grocery bags full of goods.

- Walter says he doesn’t mind a community being established in Hālawa, but has reservations about the organizations running a community. He fears that if organizations take on the responsibility of establishing a community, they might set up rules and regulations that will negatively affect kuleana land owners in Hālawa. He says that he wants to be able to move back into the valley (if he or anyone else decides) and do what he wants with his own land and not have to be told what he can or can not do. Walter fears that organizations will regulate life for everyone else.

- Tours are also an issue. Some people, who have either gone back or have roots to the valley, have recognized the economic opportunities offered by providing tours in the valley. The problem with this is that they are usually crossing (trespassing) on kuleana lands without permission. Also he doesn’t agree that tours are being conducted, period. There are trespassing issues plus there is a high risk of suits as the result of injuries.
Mac Poepoe (MP): My name is Mac Poepoe. I live in Ho'olehua. 55 years old. Born in September 1949. And I live on Molokai all my life. Mainly in Ho'olehua. My experience in Hālawa when I was growing up... I think the first time I went Hālawa was in 1958, maybe, around there. I was about eight years old. We used to go with the Boy Scouts, go down there. Camp and stuff. Then, uh, I used to go in and out. Still had the dirt road. In and out, all the way up to the 70s. Probably, like the early 70s to the mid 70s. Had only... I remember that time only had Johnny Kainoa. Him and the old lady. That was the only family down there. But back in the young days, when I used to go down there, I guess had, maybe four or five families that was still residing in the valley. Had the Kawaas, the Kainoas, Nahoopii... uh, I don't know if the Mollenas was still living down there, but I remember their house. Their house was still there. Had uh, the old man and the old lady, Enis across the river. I used to, the last guys I seen working taro patch, the old people. Um... Hālawa in uh, back in the 70s when I was going down there, that was mainly for go, go hunt, go fish. I stayed with the old man John Kainoa. Only had him. We used to do a lot of fishing on the backside of the island. That time, we was one of the few people that had boat for go back. And uh, mainly go pick ‘opihi, diving. Not too much activity in the river. Mainly out in the ocean.

KL: By then never have too much people doing taro already?

MP: Yeah in the 70s never have already.

KL: You know when the Enis, they were the last you said?

MP: Yeah. I think I was, I was around eight years old, nine years old, something like that, the last I can remember when I saw them working at their lo‘i. They had one, I used to like the place because they used to let their horse run wild and we always used to go over there go play with the horse. Trying to find out who own the horse. We like ride ‘em. The old man came one day he call the horse and the horse came over there go work in the taro patch. And we go, “Oh, we can ride the horse?” “Yeah, yeah, yeah. Jump on top.” We go round and round in the taro patch. But uh, that was the last people I seen.

KL: So they was gone by the 70s already then?

MP: Yeah. The other families had small little patches. Right below our house, but, I don’t know, I guess they, wasn’t really, really working taro like the, like used to be. Because, I no think anybody was selling taro anymore, just for home consumption. I think. I not sure, but that’s how it went look like to me because plenty of lo‘i was all, all bare already. Can see the trees starting for come in and overtake the patches. But I think somebody was maintaining the ‘auwai, the water was still coming down. Was one interesting place, because over that time, from when I was young, all that time I go in and
I visit, the place was changing. Changing, changing. Until came into one jungle. And kind of sad because we see that when we was small and then, when you grow up and you look back at, you know, how used to be and what stay now, it’s just like one, turning to one big waste. Everything just went overtake and kind of like, nobody, nobody when care anymore about the place. But, uh, from talking with, not only with people from Hālawa but with my family from the Mana’e side, a lot of them never like work taro patch. Hard work. So they all left for go find job for make money one ’nother way.

KL: So why do you think so many people left?

MP: Mainly for one better life. That’s what I think. And from talking with the people that’s what they did. They wanted for, to go Honolulu or someplace else for find one job and kind of get away from the taro patch. Like us guys, we went go join the army for get away from the pineapple field. Kind of the same thing I guess. You know, you never like get stuck doing hard labor all your life, I guess. But people never see the value of working your land and, you know, maintaining the culture, the identity. They just went look at it like, hard work, I no like do that, and went dig out. But I guess, like, for me, when I left, I went miss this place. And I, I think was one blessing for me because the places that I went was third world countries and I seen people living in those countries, they had life more rough than what I went experience, or probably even the people before me. Life was more rough for them. So I got to appreciate where i came from. And that’s why I came back here and I stay over here for the rest of my life. And I ain’t moving.

KL: You said too, last time we were talking story about how you could kind of see people wanted the Western stuff, like remember the cracker story?

MP: Oh yeah. Every time. Like, like the old man Johnny, they guys, they hardly go store and stuff like that so, every time we go down to Hālawa, we always used to go shopping. And they used to like cracker every time. Cracker. That was one, like one main staple. The thing can last long, you know, put ‘em in the bucket. Used to have bucket, and, long time ago used to be the tin can, and can cover ‘em up and the thing stay good for long time. But they used to like crackers so we used to take cans and cans of crackers just for them stash, yeah. Kaukau. Can sardine, like that. But they went like that kind food because the thing last, yeah. Not like the old Hawaiian food, you gotta make ‘em every day. You gotta go make ‘em. But it’s fresh. It just takes work for do ‘em, yeah. I guess they, they kind of went like the easier way. Little bit more unhealthy, but was easier for them. And different, yeah. And the people, they used to like cracker. Every time we go down Hālawa that’s all we take. Cracker.

KL: It’s kind of funny. It’s almost like a metaphor for the changing values yeah? From traditional to the more...they like the Western kind food.

MP: Yeah. But now today, the people they see, the nutritional value, the difference in the nutritional value of the food, you know. Everybody like eat poi now. Nobody like eat cracker. I mean just the opposite now. But nobody like plant ‘em. But for me in Ho‘olehua no more river so I cannot plant ‘em. Gotta plant dry land taro and me I like lo‘i taro, I no like dry land taro. I like the real thing. ‘Cause I was brought up like that
too. Eating lo‘i poi from Wailua Valley. We used to have our taro patch up there. But, yeah, all that stuff, I miss all that. But I think, the, the younger generation today, they, for the guys that never had the experience, you know, they, they not going see the reality of what was, and you know. Like me, I wish had, I had some of that stuff back. But no can because, like before you just work the land, you know. You don’t who own the land. The families just go in and they work. As long as maintain your patch, you know, that’s yours. And then whatever you harvest you share with whoever working in the same valley and stuff like that. Now everything is, oh, somebody owns the land. Kind of hard for go back and, you know, redo all that old stuff.

KL: You think Pu‘uohōkū Ranch had a big play in Hālawa, speaking of land ownership and stuff?

MP: Um...not really. I think the people, they made up their own mind what they wanted for do, where they wanted for go. Actually the ranch, they just went own the land. The people, the people never really care about that. They just, if they wanted to stay they could stay, you know. I don’t know. I cannot really say because I wasn’t living over there at that time, so I don’t know how the interaction between the people and the ranch was. But, all I knew, when I used to visit the place, the people was still, felt like that was their place, and you know, if they wanted to go they can go at their own free will. They wanted to stay; nobody can do nothing about it. That’s their place. But yeah. Was hard life, for live that life and live down in one isolated place like Hālawa, you know. I think people was, they kind of get jealous too. They see, oh the other guys they get car, they traveling all over the place, and us guys we stuck over here in the mud, you know. I guess when they started owning cars, they holoholo, they go, they no go back.

KL: [laughter] See the world yeah? What about today? How possible do you think it would be for people to start going back?

MP: Um, get little bit interest. Like some of the younger guys, they back over here, growing taro and stuff, but, I don’t know if their heart is in it, into that, you know, that idea of going back over there and living, you know. Because they no live over there, they drive back and forth every day for go work in the lo‘i. But, for live there, yeah, take one special kind of person for adapt to that lifestyle, you know. That’s not easy. You try, you try stay someplace all by yourself. And I don’t know if over there get good reception for TV. or whatever, you know. I don’t know if they can live like that. But, like I say, if your heart is in it, you know, that’s the best place for live. ‘Cause me, I used to go live Pelekunu Valley. I stay over there all by myself. And was peaceful. I used to love that. And being lonely never trouble me because if I get lonely I just hit the trail. I go back Kaunakakai or whatever and when I like go back, I just go back. I just walk. I used to walk over the hill. Back and forth. So I had no problem with that. But nowadays, these guys get paved road. Hoah, man. No way they going stay in there. Go holoholo kine, but I no think they going stay over there. Live over there like the old people. So I no think, I no think people going back over there for live. Unless you going retire and you no more nothing for do and stuff like that you might get that kind people for go back. But for reestablish one population in there, hard, hard.
KL: What do you think would be some of the things people would have to think about? Other than your heart being in it to back down?

MP: I don’t know. I guess…well how you describe like, the south side, or the topside…or out of the valley as compared to in the valley. I mean everything is within your reach, yeah. You get the store, and you get the airport, you get all these different things that is available to you, whereas in Hālawa no more. No more this and no more that. I think today’s generation, they get hard time. Like I said, even without one television, they get hard time live. And for go back into isolation like that, I no think so. That’s hard, really hard.

KL: Yeah, really. The values are different now, yeah.

MP: Yeah. All change.

KL: So what else do you remember from the valley when you were small? I know when grandpa was there had plenty people and was, you know, pretty old school.

MP: Yeah, I remember the school. I remember the, all the houses used to be down there.

KL: The church too?

MP: The church, yeah. Still was good.

KL: People were still going to the church too?

MP: Yeah. In fact get, the one church down there, still open. They get services once in awhile, down there, in Hālawa. But, uh, yeah the big Protestant church went to waste. Was one nice church. I remember used to have one rope bridge, the swinging bridge go across the river. And we used to walk across. Then when you reach on the other side of that bridge, that’s where the old man and the old lady used to work in the taro patch. That’s how we know, that’s how I know them. They used to work. As soon as we go off the bridge, boom, not too far, that’s their place. So I see them. We go over there, maha‘oi, talk story. That’s how I knew who they was.

KL: They never leave the valley too often?

MP: No. No, they stayed over there. They stayed over there.

KL: So just had them? Their kids weren’t down there?

MP: I don’t know if had the kids but I only seen the old lady and the old man in the taro patch. I never see no kids. Only them and the horse. That’s all.

KL: That kind too, the older generations, after awhile no can work taro patch, yeah?
MP: No can. Come too old, pau. That’s too, too strenuous that kind work. And especially for pull the taro. You only walk in the mud you come tired. But they make their little boat, they throw ‘em on top. Pull ‘em to the side, by the bank. They unload ‘em. Back and forth, back and forth. And that’s only the beginning of the work. Then you gotta go home clean ‘em. And then you go cut all the huli for plant another patch, then you gotta go cook ‘em, then you gotta pound ‘em. You gotta make sure you eat ‘em, or give ‘em away, you know, share with the rest of the guys. No waste, yeah.

KL: Did people go down for other, like, go down fishing down there? You know what I mean, like people visiting just to get resources over there?

MP: Yeah. Mainly for get…that was kind of like the, the gateway to the backside of the island.

KL: To get to the other valleys?

MP: You go from Hālawa then you go down, into the other valleys. Some guys that knew the trail they used to walk. You can walk from Hālawa, you can going to Haka’ano, and stuff like that. You go from on top Pu‘uohōkū Ranch, if you know, the kind, used to have another trail going to Wailau too. I don’t know that trail, but my cousin them they talk about ‘em. They used to walk. But that’s their place, so they know.

KL: What about like, mountain stuff? I know grandpa said they still had ‘o’opu and everything over there, mountain ‘ōpae.

MP: Yeah. Yeah now no more ‘ōpae.

KL: Why is that?

MP: I don’t know. I have no idea. But still get ‘o’opu. Not too much, but, uh…the hīhiwai kind of little bit too, not as much. I think in Hālawa, only small kind left. I no think the thing even come big anymore. Get plenty crab inside the river. Crab…inside get āholehole, I don’t know if still get. But we used to go throw net, outside, right by the river mouth. Get mullet out there, on the ‘ili‘ili. Had plenty fish. We used to go throw net right around the, down by the bay. Enough, always get food.

KL: Do they have a problem with over harvesting down there?

MP: Uh, not now. Only the ‘opīhi. They sell ‘em, eh. Yeah. They over harvest on that. ‘Opīhi…they used to do that with the hīhiwai, but now the State put one kapu on the hīhiwai so now you no can sell ‘em. The ‘o’opu, well not too much guys ma‘a eat that fish, so nobody bother over harvesting that. You know, they just kaukau when you go in the valley. And then they went introduce prawns. Get plenty prawns. So get stuff inside the river that, you know, still can feed plenty people.

KL: But access now is limited eh? They not as open to let anybody in?
MP: Oh, not really. Anybody can go. Although some people down there no like the amount of people that come every summer, yeah. That's too overwhelming.

KL: The campers?

MP: Yeah. They come, and then they no more respect for the land too, yeah. They leave all their rubbish and they kind of go into one place that they not supposed to. Like the people live down there, they go inside, nobody home, they go over there, steal all your stuff. You know, no more respect. Different kind people today. Before you, you no go in somebody else's place and not yours and you no more permission. You know, you just don't do that. But today people, they're different. If you no get caught, it's all right. [laughter] They go according to the criminal law now, yeah. Not the law of man, yeah. The unspoken law.

KL: What else kind problems have they had down there in recent history, like is tourism a problem down there? Have they been getting a lot of people trampling?

MP: I know had, uh, had people with going back into the valley, yeah, go visit the falls. The residents that live before the trail, well in fact, part of the trail is the road, the road that lead back to the trail. That's kuleana land. So all the people that get land over there, they close the place off because had one incident where the, one lady got hurt and then she went sue the State. So the people, you know, naturally they going get nervous, so they said, "Oh, close the road." But then, no more trail for go up, yeah. 'Cause they no can, that is part of the way for get up. But that was the only kind problem that I know.

KL: Liability issues?

MP: Yeah. And I no blame the people. That's there place. They do what they like. Even if I no can go too, but, I think if I ask they going let me go. [chuckles]

KL: You have anything you want to add?

MP: Yeah, just...I don't know. I kind of no like the idea about people using that place for run tours and stuff like that.

KL: Make money?

MP: Make money, yeah. 'Cause I think going get so commercialized where they going have laws that going, that going satisfy these people. And that's not good, because that's not what that valley is for. That valley is for you go get kaukau. That's all right, you know. For families for go holoholo back Wailau, go, you know for the Summer, when the weather good. I mean that's traditional kind stuff. But then when they get these tours, and then they getting people that paying them for take them go back there, what for? I don't know. But it's not like us guys, you know. They not going back there for go, go camping and you know, get back in touch, I guess, you know, with cultural stuff. They back there for different reasons. It's not, it's not for stay in touch with who you are, yeah. And that, that I against that. 'Cause that's how, you know, that's how the people going start to lose their identity too. When you go back there, oh, you going need
license. You no more license, you no can go, and all this kind stuff. That's crazy. And
the people selling all the ‘opihi, that's kind of way out of hand. Way out of control.
'Cause only in couple months they can wipe the place out. And then I feel sorry for the
people that like make party. They go back there, jump on the shore, oh, bolo-head. The
stone no more ‘opihi for pick. And then if get, only get the small one. Then go to the
lū‘au, ah, this kind illegal. But that's all get left. What you going do? But then you
know, the Hawaiians they get caught in the kind, predicament where, eh, that's all get
left. No can do nothing about it. The only other thing is gotta go ask Mac Poepoe, "Oh, I
can go Mo‘omomi side go pick ‘opihi?" [laughter] But yeah, that kind stuff worry me,
'cause that's kind of like the next step, yeah. Not going get back there, where they
going? They going come down here. And then they going ride around the whole island
and going come like Honolulu, no more nothing.

**KL:** So it's not just affecting Hālawa. It's a chain reaction.

**MP:** Yeah. But I think people over here they gotta be more akamai because, eh, we the
last for have our, you know, natural resources all in tact and, you know, keep going
strong. The thing is strong. Like Big Island get ‘opihi, but the only reason get ‘opihi is
because a lot of the places you cannot go on the boulder. The boulder is so huge. I
mean, no place for stand on top. And the ‘opihi stay all on the side. You no can reach
'em. So, lucky get that kind place. But Molokai is different. Everything is flat. Right
down to the ocean. Bumbye they wipe 'em out. That's no good.

**KL:** But yeah, people gotta realize that, that's kind of like, once Hālawa goes, they going
move to the next thing, yeah?

**MP:** Yeah. Like me, I no mind going over there live. I would live down there. I don't
know if my wife would. But, I like that kind life. But I don't know. Kind of getting sore
back now. I don't know how much longer I can, the kind, if I can plant taro or what, how
long that going last. But me, I can handle that kind life. That's no problem for me.
Kathryn Māhealani Davis  
March 13, 2005  
Interview with Kaleialoha Lum-Ho  
Note: This is an edited transcript. Subjects not pertinent to this paper were eliminated.

Kaleialoha Lum-Ho (KL): Today is March 13, 2005 and I am meeting with Māhealani Davis and we’re going to talk about Hālawa. You’re mostly involved in what’s going on now. I was wondering if you wouldn’t mind telling me how you got started with the project down in Hālawa.

Māhealani Davis (MD): Okay. I was, well we used to live in Hālawa. In the early 80’s we moved down there full time. But we’ve lived on Moloka‘i since 1975, I believe. I’m from Hilo. I was born and raised in Hilo and then moved to the Leeward coast on Oahu where I met my husband, Glenn Davis. And when we got married and started having a family, we both remembered living on Moloka‘i. So we thought this would be a good place to raise children. So we moved back up here, moved in with his grandfather...lived different places on the east end of the island and eventually in the early 80’s took our three children, who were elementary school age...and the littlest one, Hoala, was two years old, two or three years old. And we lived down there. And so, the kids were pretty much raised in Hālawa. Um...more recently, I became employed with the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, and I’m a Community Building Facilitator with them. So most recently we’ve, we do work in the community to full capacity, activities, and support things that help with leadership development...cultural activities for young people...just a whole gamut of things that’ll make it a better community for our families and our children.

KL: Do you work with at risk kids too?

MD: Um...at risk kids...actually families, for me. The social workers are working with individual children and parents, foster parents. For me, it’s mostly working with groups that are trying to improve the community somehow. Sometimes it’s by bringing...having presents of cultural opportunities...sometimes it’s improving the education system...sometimes it’s the health system, it just depends on what the, what opportunity or what challenge is out there. And my job is more to help facilitate something to happen once the community group or collection of families has decided what it is that they want to do. So a lot of times I’m getting information for them, doing research, bringing resource speakers so that they can figure out how to address a problem. So it’s one of those jobs that I never quite feel like I know what I’m doing. Um, it’s community driven, definitely.

The work in Hālawa, specifically, because of our background having lived down there, we, I noticed as a community worker that there were a lot of activities, commercial activities, but also just people activities, that were creating some imbalance in the environment and in the community. There were a lot more confrontations, disharmony within the community and when we would speak with community people in group forums, everyone would speak very strongly about the importance of keeping the culture, keeping the values, maintaining a rural lifestyle, maintaining the environment health so that subsistence economy activities could continue because that was important for people,
to just live well. On the other hand we saw that some of the activities people were
choosing to be involved in, including drug activities, were being chosen because that’s,
they didn’t have, they didn’t feel like they had any other option. So we thought that
Hālawa’s a good example of a place where the community fell apart and people feel it’s
an important place to take care of but nobody was really doing it. So we thought why
don’t we try to get some of the key groups together, interest groups, and talk about
getting together to discuss how we could better take care of this place. What did they
see? Was there a common vision that everybody could agree on. Instead of dwelling on
the problems we could look at what is it people would be willing to support and be part
of. And in those early discussions about trying to do that, it, it very quickly became clear
that the group felt it would not be proper to go to the larger community before we went to
the landowners, the group of kuleana landowners, and ask them first, what did they think
of the idea and would they give us permission to go forward with this project. And so
that’s what we did in December. And, since that gathering, we’ve slowed the project
down a bit…we need to take a step back and assess it, because not all of the Hawaiian
families were happy with the, I think they weren’t’ happy with the outcome, but they also
did not feel that they were fully heard. That the Moloka‘i kuleana families weren’t fully
heard. And most of the people that came were from off island or were not po’e Hawai‘i.
So…all of us have different feelings about that. Most of the landowners from our
gathering…well that’s reality. But we thought okay, let’s slow down and take a step
back, and let other people in the community get their comfort level up with what we’re
trying to do. What we asked permission to do was to begin the process of doing a health
assessment of the valley’s cultural resources; in particular the lo‘i kalo and the ‘auwai,
and the water resources, the reason being that we had once felt, and it was confirmed at
this gathering in December, with the kuleana landowners, that everyone, I’d say 100%,
was very supportive of the idea of the lo‘i kalo being restored and the fields planted
again. Everyone loves that picture, that vision. There were different opinions about
other aspects of the community, but that clearly had full support, that would be a good
thing for all kinds of reasons. And it would also take a longer period of time with, and in
that time, people could think about, well what about this? What about – issues? What
about access issues? What about, you know, Pu‘uohōkū Ranch and the fact that they
own a lot of the land down there and don’t have a clear, you know, haven’t clearly
communicated what they would, the intent to do with this land, and political issues. So
we thought after the December gathering and hearing this directly from the kuleana
landowners that that would be a good place to start, and just assess those lands that are
lo‘i lands, taro lands, and see where everybody’s at the end of that assessment period.
We’d give a report back to the kuleana landowners. It would be a useful report and it
would tell people, on this land here, whether it’s ranch, or Hawaiian or haole owner, you
know, this land here, here’s what’s growing on the landscape, here’s how much water
there is, or would be needed, here’s the ‘auwai, and whether it’s flowing or not, here’s the
other landowners around you in this system, here’s the name of the place, the name of the
other people that you would be involved with if you wanted to put your land back into
taro…and here’s what you would be looking at to take that land and put it back into
production. So we thought, at that point, that’s useful information that we could give that
landowner, if that landowner is interested in having us do that work, or show them how to
do that work, to just see what the condition, the present condition of the land is and, and
then start, that would be a starting point for the landowner, whoever it is, to start talking
about, thinking about what do I, what do I want to do with this place? We’re hoping that
we can get enough people involved with lo‘i, with working their lo‘i, putting it back into production, that it would be, it would be an easier thing for landowners to participate in that and would considerably slow down the trend of families saying, you know, who cares? It’s way down there in the middle of no where, just sell ’em. That’s... we all heard that I think from the – that they want to help discourage... but we understand if you’re going to discourage people from selling the land, they have, the land has to be providing some kind of, um, it has to be nurturing the family somehow. And that doesn’t mean really, economics only. But if the land is producing taro, it’s feeding the family, the family starts to get reconnected to each other and to the land itself, and who used to be on that land and who used to be on that land and what used to be going on with this other culture. So, I real clearly see the connection between restoring the land and the landscape and restoring families and people. That’s a disconnect, um, that I think in the Hawaiian community, in the lāhui as a whole, we need places like Halawa where family members and their extended family ‘ohana can go and remember and get revitalized and reconnect and just, I think remembering is an important thing. ‘Cause we know what we... we have memories that need something to trigger them. And you can talk about things, you can, you can learn how to weave lauhala, and somewhat connect with all the women that used to weave, maybe your grandparents, your grandmother... you can start to relearn techniques, but it’s, it’s a very particularly important thing to do for the places like Halawa that are still, the landscape is the same as it was when kupuna were there and worked on those lands. There are very few houses, and they’re up away from the agriculture fields. And if you go very further or deeper into the valley there are places that even the old folks we remember said, “Oh, that’s those the old people.” You know. And I don’t know who they were talking about, but they said it like, like it was forgotten already. “Those are the old people” And that was left and pau, that time was pau. And they went through those areas, but very respectfully. And it’s got a very heavy family, when you walk in those areas. So there’s not too many places Hawaiians can still ----. And when you hear those things that it’s there, but they need a quiet place to sit before they can hear those things again. So for me, that’s the importance of the project. This is just a little piece of what we wanted to do is have a conversation with a larger group of people and say, well “What do you think? Is this important? Is, you know, should it be Waimea Falls Park because, you know we can get X number of jobs out of that, or is it important for other reasons? What do you think? How do you feel? If you could have anything, what would you want to see happen down there?” And I was really pleasantly surprised to hear similar comments coming from people, whoever they were. And whether they were recent owners, or had had this piece of land for a long period of time, they all recognized it’s a very unique and special place, and that their role is to do better at taking care of it, and it somehow doesn’t... I didn’t hear anybody going on and on about ownership. You know, I own that so I can do whatever I want. We heard very unselfish kind of comments from them. It is such a wonderful place, I wanna know more about it so that I can take better care of it. And I was very surprised how many people said it doesn’t quite feel right, right now. It’s overgrown, it looks uncared for. One person said it was like watching the you know, an old person that nobody wants and they’re having a hard time. So I’m... I think generally when people spend a lot of time in Halawa, they get that. They feel the ----.

KL: Was the feedback positive? Were more people interested in establishing... in trying to bring life back to the valley?
MD: Yeah. I asked, I emailed the members of our little planning group after I got your email and I asked if it would be okay to share the notes from the meeting with you. Two of our groups said it would be a good thing. Everyone said that would be maika'i. But two of them had slight reservations because they weren’t sure that everyone who came would want it to be public. That...we felt that it was a conversation that we were having with each other for the purpose of getting a better idea of how we felt as a group of kuleana landowners. And if your paper is published [KL: yeah]...And I thought, yeah, it’s really not my call. I have a copy of the notes, and I did want to share generally what the things were that they said.

KL: The reason I asked that is because from the people that I have talked to, it seemed more people had a lot of doubts about a community going back. So when you say that there was a positive feedback, that kind of surprised me.

MD: Yeah. We had asked several, a few questions, three questions actually. We said, first of all (it’s open discussion) describe Hālawa Valley as you would like it to be. Then we asked them to share, um, describe Hālawa Valley as you know it today. And then what information or what would we need to know in order to move Hālawa Valley as it is today to the Hālawa Valley that we would like it to be. And then we got more of a list of tasks.

The common vision itself was growing taro, unity, respect for the land and each other, understanding and knowing the ‘āina, agriculture appreciation, seeing the ‘āina as it used to be, restoration of the memories of the last people who raised taro in Hālawa, like to see the ‘auwai flowing, the taro patches thriving, managed tourism, clear the valley of squatters, restore the ka pana area, the return of families, children playing, a full church on Sunday, healthy land, healthy people, people consuming traditional foods...restoration of the historical sites, eradication of invasive species, no pakalolo growing...a lot of other, you know, healthy agriculture.

As we see it today:
People see it, there are invasive species, it’s overrun with ungulates, too much camping, junk cars, mismanagement of the river system, erosion, coastal archeological sites eroding away, fishpond is deteriorated, lots of ‘ōpala, illegal dumping, no respect for the church or burial areas...feels like a hostile unwelcoming place...a lot of the negative stuff, people just recognized that’s how it is. There’s a lot of absentee owners, very few people in the valley.

On the positive side:
It’s overwhelming. It’s beauty is overwhelming. People are transformed by the valley. There’s still healthy subsistence fishing and shoreline harvesting. People have a strong love for the place. There’s cooperation and respect between the legitimate residents. They see generations, multiple generations of people in the lo‘i that have been restored. There’s disrespect for people who don’t wanna, who can’t afford the tours and also don’t wanna be on the tours and it’s recognized as a gateway to the north shore, fishing and valleys on the back side.
And then what would we need to know to get from what it is today to what we would like it to be. This was information...basically here’s the things that would have to be on our survey when we go out and do an assessment of the place. And it was everything from what are the resources, what’s the hydrology of the stream, place names, what were the traditional management practices for that place, soils, geology, map the area, what species are growing there, look to traditional knowledge as well as maps and documents. History, who else is still alive...

**KL:** Have you guys thought of working with the University?

**MD:** We have. We’re at a very early stage of things and we didn’t want to spook people.

**KL:** Yeah, the University can be scary.

**MD:** Yeah. Many, several years back the National Park Service...Patsy Mink issued this area study for six places I think in Hawai‘i. And Hālawa Valley was one. The north shore from Hālawa to Kalaupapa was the second. And then there were four or five others. On Kaua‘i, I think one of them was there...all the places were found to be...fell short of the criteria to be considered to be in the National Park system. Two places, however, were found to meet the criteria, you know, to be considered to be part of the park system. One was Hālawa Valley and one was the north shore, from Hālawa to Kalaupapa. And so, those studies were supposed to see do those places meet the criteria to be considered. And the answer was yes for those two places, and then that was it. This community had in the past suggested that that might be a way to...but also culturally, historically...so when Patsy Mink attached these sites to the area study that was under way it was to get that one first step out of the way. There was no, she swears there was none, no plan to immediately nominate those places to be part of the park system. But the study, the intentions of the study were misconstrued in the community.

**KL:** I can see that. Especially with a big name like the National Park.

**MD:** Yeah. And it became just a horrible...the reactions was “What the hell is going on? We have to stop this.” So we, one of the things I did in my past years was ---- I got in touch with Patsy Mink’s office and said “I don’t think this community is going to believe anyone else.” --- Can Congresswoman Mink possibly work it into her schedule during the break and come here ----. My husband and I were asked to stop by the Park’s office in Honolulu because they had not been able to get in touch with anyone from Hālawa who actually lived there. So we had met the Park Service people who were just completing the study. And among other things, they had never been to Hālawa. “You’ve never been there and you’re writing this report? This report is two inches thick.” So they said they had never been invited. They came up once and it was raining. They just kind of didn’t know how to go about that. So I said, “Well if you want to come look at the place...”

**KL:** They were not Hawaiian?

**MD:** No. They were Park, um, federal employees. So I invited them to come up. And we walked around the valley. I just really wanted them to see the place once, so they’d
know what they’d been writing about. They’d been doing all their research through the books. There’s more than that. We just went down. --- So I thought, well, come up and walk this place. We went up one trail, just so far, across the stream, came back to the side. And just that was enough for them to say, “This is incredible.” I said, “Yeah.” The other things that we shared with them was, this land’s gonna stay with Hawaiians, they not going like the idea of the Federal Government saying, “We need to take care of this place for you. Because you guys don’t know how.” So there’s some feelings that we have about government, in particular federal government, okay. I can see where, they’re going to want to know, “is our land going to get condemned and we all, too bad for us, we’re out of there?” Could we still, if not can we still live there and, you know, use our land? You know, I tried to think of the questions that I could hear, you know, that the community would have and shared that with them. So they would be prepared. Just so they would know because they seemed kind of clueless. As a native Hawaiian, to tell you what I think people were going to say, if this ever comes out, and so they included that in the area study: here are some questions that are likely to come from this very Hawaiian community, okay. And that was the study and it went on the shelf. When it was, became known...they didn’t come to a community meeting. That was the error that could’ve prevented a lot of – the fears and the hostility. Because they never came to the community and said, “We did this report and we just want to let you know what we found out. But we also want you to know that there’s no plans for it, you know, to go forward with this.” So Patsy Mink came up...she said, “No. This was an unfortunate misunderstanding.” And that was that. And a lot of the fear was, I gotta say, was prompted by people who have things to do, had been making a lot of money growing pakalōlo on the north shore in the valleys. Now, if you’re doing that on State land, nobody cares. They don’t go enforce none. There’s nothing, you know, it’s pretty much of...slap on the wrist, and also it’s wide open and it had been very comfortable for many years, okay. The idea that it would suddenly become federal land, that’s mandatory 20 year minimum sentence. It changes if it’s federal. So some of the pakalōlo growers got up in arms about “we gotta stop this.” And started to suggest to the kuleana landowners, “You’re gonna lose your land. They’re gonna condemn your land and take it.” And that wasn’t true.

**KL: So it was propaganda?**

**MD:** Yeah. That’s what I...at the tail end of it I thought, “How the heck did this get so crazy?” That’s what it appears to me happened. It kind of got back to “Who told you this? Where’d you get this?” And it came back to a small group of people who I knew were growing dope in Wailau. And I thought, “Wow, that’s a lot of nonsense to put the community through and get people very afraid.” They were, thought they were going to lose their lands. But, for me, community worker that I am, the good thing that came out of that was that these families very clearly at the meeting at Mitchell Paoule Center, 200 Hawaiians there, all of whom had some sort of connection to Hālawa Valley, all of them were saying we should be the ones to put together a management plan and take care of this place. Not the County, not the State, and certainly not the Federal government. So that I heard real clearly at the meeting, you know.

Fast forward in time to when we were thinking about is there a positive way we can get people talking about more specifics about how to take better care of this place, that was
one of the things that prompted it. They said, this community said that they can do a better job. Let’s talk to some individual groups, you know the more actively, actively engaged people and see if they would support creating a forum for that discussion to take place. So that was something else that ---. First, with the kuleana landowners, and later on, down the road I can see where there’d be another discussion with the larger Hawaiian community, on the east end at least.

**KL:** It would kind of affect the whole island, whatever is decided?

**MD:** Yeah. The people, even if you don’t own land down there, if you’re Hawaiian, it’s, it has an important place in your life. We wanted to start with the, out of respect for the landowners. So we’re looking at in some point in time this turns into, it becomes kind of a basic foundation work to put together a management plan of cultural resources, natural resources, management plan for Hālawa Valley that the people, the landowners and the interested tenants, the other families who don’t own land there anymore but that’s where their family’s from, have developed ---. And it’s not a plan that comes from outside: the Nature Conservancy, or any other kind of group.

So we’re kind of at the beginning stages of saying “Okay folks, let’s talk about it.” The first discussion went really well, and, the vision statement that came out of it is, I think is about the clearest, as we all talked, one of my, one of the Hawaiian women in the valley put this together and it was an attempt to, at the end of this, of the day, to say, “Here’s, from everything everybody’s been saying: the positive, negative, good, bad, today, tomorrow, or what I remember from before, or I’d like more of that to be happening now in the present... I want that, I want my kids or my grandkids to be able to see this when they grow up” all of that, she put it together, and it’s, it’s beautiful. And when she was done, you could just hear it in the room. Everyone looked around and went, “Wow.” Everyone was smiling. Everybody, you know... I was crying because that’s so unreal. We could totally do that. Malia Akutagawa, she’s just wonderful. I want to read it.

Actually this, if there was some reason to give you this, it would be to give you this but I didn’t, I don’t, since your thing is going to be published I don’t want to get scoldings later. But she said:

“From all the thoughts at the end of the three days, Hālawa is the repository of our traditional knowledge where the presence of the ancestors is felt strongly still. We, whose koko run deep in the ‘āina of Hālawa, we, who have raised our children here, we, who wish to return, and we, who share a deep love and appreciation as new guests and stewards of Hālawa, envision a community that is vibrant and whole again, connected once more to this sacred place, its ancestral wisdom, and to each other. We see an ahupua’a verdant and abundant once more with clean streams flowing through the land, with lo’i kalo, ‘uala, and the many fruits of the ‘āina flourishing. With loko i’a and the seas teeming with fish and ‘opihi to secure our vision for a healthy land and people. We envision the restoration and preservation of our trails and historic sites for traditional access and gathering and to promote responsible management and enjoyment for all. We envision a Hālawa whose cultural traditions remain embedded in the ‘āina and in our way of life as we are guided by those who preceded us and as we seek to leave a legacy for those to come.”
So that was the, to me it pulled together really beautifully what everybody expressed over
that three days, two full days actually. So I don't have any trouble envisioning that
there's going to be a community there. The work we're doing right now is to try to
assure that it's a very, that it reflects what Hālawa was, because it's a very Hawaiian
place. I don't want to see a valley where taro is, is only a backdrop for tourism activities.
I don't want to see a hollow culture.

The Hālawa Valley Land Trust, which is these orange pieces of land is the result of a
Hawaiian family who a commercial tour activity person was running activities in the
valley, he got sued. Someone fell off the horse, he got sued, okay. So then when the
family, the husband of the wife that fell off the horse and broke her wrist, went to look
for who to sue, the commercial tour operator person didn't have anything. He didn't own
this land. He didn't own his boat. He didn't own a house. He didn't have anything. So
they went after the landowner, the Hawaiian family, Kane family descendants. Now this
is where Glenn and I were living with our kids. We were renting from them. So we saw
this happen. And when people talked about, "Oh tourism, you know, it's a good thing,
you know..." You know what, it can be so horrible for families if it's not done correctly.
We saw this place go from this Hawaiian family that was doing everything right. They
were taking care of their grandparents' place, they were paying the taxes, they were, you
know, anticipating that, maybe not this generation but Bumbye, someone will want to go
back there. And what happens? This guy sets up a tour business. Did he have
permission? No. No permission, no nothing. And that's similar to what's
going on. He had asked her permission to live in the house on occasion when he went
fishing. She didn't know he had moved in full time and was operating this horse ride
business. She found out through us, actually, 'cause we met her, we were renting the
house next door, and she mentioned, you know, "How often does the other guy come
down there?" "Um, he's down there all the time." She goes, "Oh. Oh, the fishing must
be good." And so we start talking and I'm like, "What?" and she's under the impression
he's an occasional, occasionally he comes and he just parks his boat next door and uses it
to, you know, go fishing, and was just not aware of what was going on. And then there
was somebody else squatting on another piece of land up here by the bridge who had
actually moved a house onto the property and was living there. She had no clue he was
there. So, I was like, "Oh Aunty, you know what?" So, but as it turned out, all of this
happens, her lawyer doesn't deal with the issues, he doesn't get rid of the squatters, he
doesn't deal with the person, she's being sued now, and his, the lawyer's solution was
"Sell the land to me. I'll take this problem off your hands." And we begged her not to,
you know, what about the kids? All of her kids were grown and had their own places,
you know. She was scared too, and in her seventies, and she just, they all basically said,
"Mama, just sell it.-and you and Daddy can be comfortable," for there, I mean, you
know, they're seventy-something years old. They made a decision to sell it to the lawyer
and within a year the lawyer and his friend had it on the market. So I'm not easily
persuaded by people who go, "Oh, what's the matter with tours?" You know, I'm going,
"You know, when you run your tours and you go through all these people's lands and all
these people's lands and then all these people's lands, you put all of them at risk. And
you have no insurance, and you don't even have the courtesy to talk to us about where are
you going, you know." So one of the things I see that I'll be difficult as far as having a
community again is that you've got this tension between the commercial tour operations,
which are very lucrative, and people who are interested in doing restoration and cultural

203
activities, which are not. And it's very hard work. I, it's very enticing to go walk four
haoles up to the waterfall and make $200 or more for taking a walk. Yeah, and "Thank
you very much." And then you can just tell 'em whatever you want to tell them. As
opposed to clearing land, doing the maintenance, keeping lo'i up. It's hard work. It's, all
of the kūpuna that were alive when we were living down there said, "No can. People too
lazy now. Bumbye they going steal your taro. They only going come over here for
check it out and then steal 'em when you not around." I was like, they were so
discouraging. I'm like, "Oh my, " and they go, "What, that's true, but you know if you
guys like, you know, you should try." But they were very, ---. It's too hard. You have to
have enough people where the workload is shared and when we first started, just as a
family, just one day, "Oh we go check out the 'auwai." We had some friends come down
from Waiahole Valley, looked at the 'auwai, looked at the intake place, and thinking,
"Yeah, we can do this." We had a group of ten of us or so who thought, "Yeah, let's see
if we can get the 'auwai flowing again and then we can plant taro down there." Another
incentive thing was, I was tired of seeing people coming into the valley to grow dope,
which was...it's less now than before. But it used to be in the 60's it was kind of hippy.
And it took a long time for that to be, kind of, not acceptable. There was still the little
hidden places. It was people from outside coming in. Then like I said, back in Wailau
there was a whole industry going on. We tried to tell people not to do that but there's
really nothing else to do. "Well how am I supposed to pay my bills, take care of my
kids," and all that. "Apply for food stamps" that's what we did, I don't know. But it's
hard to make choices and everyone --- because before it was like, whatever, you know.

KL: I think too, that generation, like my parents and your generation, you know, nobody
cared.

MD: No. And we all did it. We all did it. --- But at some point you start to think, "Gee,
is this a good basic economy for the community?" And there's values, especially when
you get older and you care more about it. Now I got kids. Now I'm starting to think
about things like, what are the values that are important to us and to our people. And so
you gonna walk the walk, you know, walk the talk. So we all need to --- too I think. Just
put it out there that I don't think this is cool. It took us like five years to kind of get up
the nerve to put the boundaries around our house. Because the beach parcel was right
there on the beach. This is where people come in with their boats. This is where people
leave to go Wailau and Pelekunu. This is where the camps go up every summer. So
we're surrounded by all of this activity, recreation activity but it's mixed in with the
growing, and transporting growers, and uh, tours, all the people coming down and
partying, and all that kind stuff. All that is like, whatever. So, in the summer it come to
be 15 boats and 85 people camping there, and toilets going everywhere, and people with
kids who use the hose, and then pretty soon it's humbug to walk to your yard and borrow
the hose, so they tap into your water line, and then they have a whole kitchen over there.
And then pretty soon there's three camps with kitchens, so there's all this water used
down here, and the private water line that runs all the way across is ---. A few residents,
I'd say five residents, were maintaining that water line, and we didn't have any, because
all the recreational campers are washing their clothes, and 'au'au, and wash dishes, and
rinse their kids off, and they're cooking rice, and everything is just so...so my neighbors
up here are going, "Hoah, how come you gave them all permission?" Nobody asked us.
They just went ahead and did it. So we thought, Pu'uo'hōkū Ranch as well. Another
factor is Pu‘uohōkū owns the land as --. And unless they’re part of...they were part of our group, but unless they are a...I guess...but they’re almost like silent partners, because they’re real unwilling, not willing, they’re unwilling to confront or be the enforcer. They don’t wanna get involved. They don’t want to get lickin’. And they know, this is a very Hawaiian community. So the other side of that is like, you know, I love it. But the other side of that is, any time the ranch has been, has tried to stop cars, traffic from going down here, because there’s burials, and there’s archaeological sites...there’s a fence that they cut because nobody respects them because of the original owners. “Oh, they don’t own the land, they stole ‘em...

KL: The way I see it, too, I mean, it’s true that --- and I appreciate the fact that it was kept as Kamāmalu’s whole parcel and not subdivided---

MD: Lavinia Currier who is the owner now is a strong conservation woman. And we could have done worse. You know, it could have been the Japanese. You know, there were other people who had been eyeing this property.

KL: I heard rumors there’s rumors that the Japanese were trying to get land here.

MD: I think they had an offer put in and Mr. Murphy, you know, as hoho as I hear that he was, wanted it to remain a ranch. He didn’t want it to turn into subdivision or rich houses, which it could easily have been. So he sold it to them, he sold it to Lavinia...actually there’s a stipulation on the deed, an easement on the deed that it has to remain a working ranch, always. And, I don’t think it can be subdivided. So that’s good. He wrote that in and he said “I want it to stay.” It was, personally he loved it. And it sat idle for many years because his wife and him got divorced and knowing that he loved it, kept it. She insisted that that be, like, half-half. So he could never do anything with it.

KL: Is Blanch Murphy his wife? Because when I did the title history, for years, there’s back and forth between he and here, and I couldn’t figure out why that was, because it’s not in the deeds.

MD: It had to do with spite and borrowing money, and using that as collateral, and just all kind stuff. It was not a friendly divorce. And then the son, I think he disowned his son. There’s just so much unhappiness. So...I’ve known Lavinia now for almost twenty years.

KL: So she’s the address that’s on...

MD: It’s her management.

KL: Oh, okay. I was trying to figure that out.

MD: The Peregrine Foundation. They manage her assets. But when she came here, she had no children. She, actually she got pregnant at home, and that was something that happened, right before she gave birth when it was...things were a little crazy, you know, you’re just like, you’re somewhere else. And they said they said --- accept an offer, and she said yeah I want to. And unintelligible...
Like I said we could have done a lot worse. She doesn’t really have any plans to do anything. Right now she’s hired someone to look at the mountain, the forest area to see what could be done. She’s not going to personally do it but she wants to know what needs to be done so they can start to put together a group of community foundations, Nature Conservancy, I’m sure – foundation, so that will be the next step once they know what needs to be done to include the, whose interested in partnering to make it happen. So I appreciate that because it means someone’s actually paying attention to the deteriorating forest which over the years, there’s been less and less and less stream flow in Hālawa. That’s a given. And people will say, well “People are diverting the water.” No, the forest is dying. The pigs are digging it up. You’ve got to actively take care of places for them to be...to remain productive. So we’ve got a landowner whose interested and knows what it means to make a commitment. She doesn’t usually make commitments. But once she does, so far, she’s followed through. One of the things about Hālawa that she’s said is she would like to support is it once more becoming economically healthy in agriculture. But she’s not going to do it. She’s not going to bankroll it and she also knows that it’s up to this community of people to decide to take that on and they’ll be supportive however they can and one way is that they’ve agreed to work on a lease agreement with the Hālawa Valley Land Trust.

Our ownership isn’t family ownership. When the land down at the beach got sold, and it was put on the market, we had already started opening ‘auwai and do taro activities. A wealthy friend of a friend of ours came to visit one summer. And asked if we own the place and we said no, we don’t own anything. They bought it off the market. They purchased it to get it off the market, where the two lawyers had put it, and the other parcels were...it was all one package deal. The lawyers bought all of these ---. Three and one more and a five acre parcel --- and all sold one time to the lawyer. So our friend’s friends said “We want to help this happen.” They talked to somebody, talked to the lawyers, made them an offer, bought it, and they wanted to gift it to us. And because we knew how it had gone away from the Hawaiian family, I liked the idea of not having to worry about the realtors coming down---because it would happen every couple months---we though sooner or later someone will show up and say okay. They bought the property and then we said we would, how about we consider setting up a 501c(3), which is now Hālawa Valley Land Trust, and you gift the properties to the land trust for the purpose of supporting and encouraging the restoration of an agricultural community in Hālawa. And we were all happy with that. So that’s how the land came to the land trust. And so when we’re all gone, the lands cannot be used for anything else. We thought, you know, here’s the deal, you guys want to be involved, here’s these properties that we can use, hopefully it will encourage other kuleana landowners to put their lands into taro and it will get easier and easier because there will be more people involved in maintaining systems and managing the interactions that any community has. But that’s the deal. The land is to be used for that purpose.

**KL:** So the trust is being...is it just anybody who’s interested...

**MD:** We have five, uh, seven board members (this is also relatively new, this happened in 2001) and so we’re just five years old. Previously we were held by another 501c(3) because it took us awhile to figure out how to, how do you set up a land trust. What is a land trust? It’s a 501. My husband had an aneurism about two years into this. He had an
aneurism, and so that was three years just dealing with that. There was the rehabilitation and everything after the fact. And the work that we had done up to that period just went back to grassland. So, that was something else that was a lesson for us to, you know, it's not so much about taro, it's about people and relationships and if you're going along and thinking, "Oh this is great. Oh people are giving up land, and oh boy, now we can do this and that," there's other people on the side going, "Whoa, what is this about?"

KL: There's always politics, yeah?

MD: Yeah. And people that don't know exactly what the intentions are and we you know, just didn't think about it. So if anything, I think on Moloka'i it takes time. You do a little thing and then you wait and give people time to get used to that. And then you do a little more, and then you stop and wait till everybody gets used to that, just so that they can ask all the questions, they can go talk to each other, see how they feel about it.

KL: You don't bombard them.

MD: Yeah. And that was a mistake that, you know, I recognized that. So the land trust is five of us. This, I wanted to give to you, because this was a letter we sent out to all the landowners, including Robert and Carol, but we didn't get anything back from them. But these are our board members right now and we have one vacancy. We sent this out just to let landowners know who we were because we thought, very soon they're going to get this invitation from the five groups and they're going to wonder, who is Hālawa Valley Land Trust, who is Hālawa Agriculture Cooperative, who is the Hālawa Kuleana Landowners Association (that's Uncle Pilipo Solatario and whoever, we don't even know), and there's Puʻuohōkū Ranch, and there's Ierusalema Hou Church, that's the five groups. So we sent out this letter, previous, in October to let them know, here's who we are and here's what we're doing, and you know, so that when they got the invitation at least they would know who we were. And it was up to the other groups if they felt like it to do the same thing. We wanted to let people know our purposes and our...

KL: But you were all working together for that meeting?

MD: Yes. And then in December, we sent out his, let me show you. Everyone on that property tax listing, because our group had five, these five groups, we were the hosts for this, to make this letter. We agreed that we cannot think "Okay, I know so-and-so, um, I think that's Karen Poepoe's 'ohana, you know, so let's send her an invite, or ask her who or...okay the Nahoopii family, get 85 of them, um, I like him and her. But I don't know who these other people are." So we thought well we can't do that. It will look like we're picking who and who we recognize or respect. So we go to the property, we ask our kupuna what should we do, all three said, "You go to the property tax list, whoever's name and address is over there, that's whose paying the tax. That's who has taken that responsibility, or the family has given. It's up to them to let all the other people who have interest in this property know about this gathering and decide who they want to come." I thought, "Yeah, okay." That's better than, you know, just haphazardly choosing.

KL: Also, some of the stuff on the website is not up to date.
MD: No it’s not. And that’s what we found out. We got so many back that was like, you know, people were dead, people had moved to the mainland, we had, you know, it was just a mess. But we did as best we could. The ones that came back, we said, “Okay, we’re going to go to the next planning meeting we had with these groups.” And said, “Okay these are the ones we all got back. Who are these people?” And then slowly we said, oh, Kaloiheaulani, that’s Kawaa family, we’ll take care of that one. So slowly we kind of, I think there were maybe ten that we just couldn’t figure out. I don’t know. Nobody knew and the families here, I don’t know, we just thought they’re not interested. They didn’t come back return to sender. We just never got a RSVP. So we sent this, telling them what our intentions were, December 3, 4 and 5, and then there was an RSVP card for them to let us know whose coming, how many, do you need a room...we it right down here at the old Pau Hana Inn. So RSVP cards came back, or didn’t come back from people. And we thought if they don’t respond they’re just not interested. And...Hawaiians too, you know...sometimes they no like, they just wanna watch, and see how it goes...and then, like...but maybe next time we have a get together, after we do these, then maybe more of them, you know, okay maybe now I’ll come.

KL: Maybe the formal invitations kind of scared them too.

MD: That too. Yeah, this was, our planner had suggested, “Let’s make it, you know, like really, you know, like we really want them to come, and...”

KL: Well, I laugh, because even, you know, even weddings nobody sends the RSVP back.

MD: [laughter] I know.

KL: Local style yeah.

MD: That’s what I said. You know what, we not going get any of these. And also, we had ---. We had hired a planner and a mapper and a facilitator because I knew that with the history, we all have history with each other, all of these five groups. And my history with them, with a particular couple of individuals in the agriculture cooperative, not the Hawaiians in the group, but with one of wives, she and I have had, just a long history of being on the other side of the table. And there’s been discussions about a Hawaiian family, they’ve organized into an ag cooperative, right on. They put up a gate that’s across the county road, okay. I took issue with that because Hawaiians and local families had gone up there and been yelled at and told, “This is a private road, get the hell out of here.” I had gone up there one day and Uncle Pilipo didn’t recognize me, and asked me for a, um, “Oh you gotta sign the waiver. Could you guys sign the waiver?” ---. Like, oh yeah, you know it’s okay, you just have to ask me for it and then I’ll give it to you, a pass. He had to give out a pass. No. So we got into a little discussion about, “What are you guys doing asking people for a pass and sign the waiver?” and you know, --- the proper access, traditional access, and the idea that one Hawaiian now, is keeping all the Hawaiians out, I don’t like that. That’s not right. There’s something wrong with this. So we had all kind of just, we left, leave it alone, because it’s Hawaiians, native Hawaiians. And it’s native Hawaiians from this place, you know, from a thousand years they’ve been here. So it took a little bit of a different, I don’t know, I guess it’s different. Although, I
think if a haole pulled that, you know, the gate would have gone in a day. So we took issue with the gate...and didn’t, for me, it wasn’t about who it was. It was about what was going on. I don’t like gates going up and locking people out, okay. Now this happens to be Hawaiians so it’s a little bit uncomfortable...way uncomfortable. And we just, I back off. And most people, who also have issues with that, they, “Oh, what are you going to do?” You know, no like the Hawaiians fighting Hawaiians. So we just let it alone. But the result of it has been to exclude people from having inside access, and they’re being re-routed to this side. Now, people over here who wanted the taro restoration or just have their own private thing have people walking up and down the trails all the time now, going up to the waterfall. It’s, it’s okay, but the idea that the situation is as it is because these people on the other side are making a lot of money running tours and advertising the fact that the only way you can go up into Hālawa Valley anymore is with a guided tour. Otherwise it’s not allowed. The rest of us think, says who, since when? So, that’s what I think about the tension between those tourism activities and people who want to have more of a community down there...and they’re excluded from the discussion about, is that okay with me? As a matter of fact at the landowners gathering, I heard very clearly from almost every landowner there, this is not good. You’re giving Hālawa this reputation of being hostile and not a place you want to take the kids. Everybody has a story about somebody’s friend, guest, or somebody on the trail being yelled at, extorted, going back to their car and the tire’s flat...and just made to feel unwelcome. And...the rest of us are like, ---.

KL: It wasn’t like that when I was a kid. When I was little, we would go down. But felt comfortable because that’s our ‘ohana down there. But when we moved away, I’d say in the last ten years, I was under the impression that you weren’t allowed there. That nobody could go.

MD: When you mix up money with everything else, all of a sudden it gets a little bit, you know...I think my main problem, just the problem I see with putting a community together, there’s gotta be mutual respect and as a community worker on this island, Moloka‘i, it’s like, this is um, the community has made some decisions and they’re not easy, you know, it’s not easy to live on Moloka‘i. But we clearly said, agriculture. We want agriculture to be the economic foundation on this island because, well for many reasons, but one of the things is that the values attached to and the lifestyle attached to agriculture is different than the values and lifestyles attached to working hotel or working factories, or you know other kinds of economies. So, the community has said that they want to maintain agriculture, they want to maintain the rural lifestyle of culture, and cultural values of subsistence activities. Okay. I don’t hear tourism yet. But if you have a strong ag base, you have strong culture, you have strong rural communities and values and subsistence activities, you have a subsistence economy so you’re not fully dependent on a paycheck, you have this whole thing, then you can have tourism activities. You need get the foundation in other areas. If you try it the other way...I’m a political science major, so, that’s my, I look at communities and economic systems. If you have tourism as the foundation, then the chances that you can also have a strong culture, strong subsistence economy, strong rural character, and that, is not...in theory, it should work. But I don’t see a --- merger. Slowly it just becomes, the taro field, and to me that’s not real culture, it’s just a showpiece. I mean there’s no ---. So,...
Halawa's a microcosm...If you have a strong bio-agriculture community down there...you're going to have to put limits on how often they come. Not only that...

KL: Is that the stuff that was in the Hawai'i Magazine article?

MD: ...and like I said, we all see the benefits of family. We know, we know what happened...like, people can make lo'īi for the stupidest reasons, but once they start doing that, they start to connect. They start...other things start to occur to them. So we're all hopeful that the longer they've got their feet in the mud over here, the less it will be just a picture-photo opportunity thing. You really start to think about the other particular issues in the valley. They're doing it because well, “Uncle Lawrence said to do it” and they get yelled at or scolded. But we went down, we planted a lo'īi together because of the gathering. And then nine months from now, eight months, after this you know, survey thing is pau, we can have a little hō'ike to finish this up, to close it, and the taro will be ready. That’s a symbolic thing for the practical use. They all love their --, so we went down and planted lo'īi together, a small one.

So the younger, not younger, teenage, the young adult men, from the family, mostly from Pilipo, Pilipo Solatario’s, the Ho‘opi‘i and Aki family, and Kawaa. Those families have um, like 18-25 year old men in the family working. And I was, throughout the day I was asking them how they felt about it and it was really beautiful. They all just felt so proud of what they were doing. One of them told me I going do this...another older, next generation up, brother of Lawrence had been living down at the west end moving from beach to beach and spending the night drugging out, doing drugs and alcohol issues, and so for him, for me, seeing him down there, and to hear about this and that, but he’s in a sacred place and he’s going to learn a lot of lessons...he’s back on the family place. So I talked to the daughter and I said she looked happy and she said she’s so happy. So I’m feeling like there’s a lot of healing to be done in that family. The fact that their holding tours is, you know, it can annoy me a lot if I let it, but, right now I’m seeing that there’s so much besides that. But it is creating a disharmony because other people are not involved, but like it or not, they see these tours being, you know, present in their lives almost every day. But, I don’t know why they’re bringing the tours over to this side. They’re running ‘em through this area [through people’s properties] here and they could just as easily, you see where they are. Across the stream here, you could go up the valley and not see anybody. So we’re all kind of confused about, why are they even bringing to our, if they come all the way back down here, through everybody else’s property, you know...that’s why we have conversations. It’s not about you and you and me being trouble makers, because everybody else feels like this too. But they didn’t have a safe forum to say so. So we did that, and all the groups like the ag coop and the kuleana landowner coop.

KL: So they’re not ...

MD: No, they quit the group. They quit the project. “Oh this is bogus, this is stupid. You no respect us and you not listening to us” so they quit. So right now we’re in reparations mode. We’ve sent a letter. Our kupuna catered them and taken the message to them that we don’t really want to ... it doesn’t make any sense and we ... to do an assessment on this map. That’s the project. But that the purpose was for all of us to
work together on this thing. And you know, we have to start to build a relationship, if we’re going to build a community. So we gotta get along. But it all goes back to communication. The stakes involved in communicating or not communicating. It is a terrible thing...

There are landowners who have said, let’s just start in this place and then maybe the other folks will see that it’s not a threat, it’s not meant to threaten their status or their position or their anything. It’s just meant to give our people a start…and I’m hoping that more of the community will get involved and more of the young people will…whoever it is that is managing the land, the more they will see that there’s value to keeping the land in the family instead of, well it’s not just a thing...

This [Jaime Waits’ lot—formerly Robert Kahalewai’s lot] was one of the first places we opened when we had the ‘auwai restoration day. There were so many people that showed up to help…Besides our friends from Waiahole that came, there were a hundred, I think a hundred and twenty people that just heard, “Oh there’s going to be a thing in Hālawa, they’re going to restore the ‘auwai.” And, um, I mean we were going to do it, but we were just going to bring water down to Les sue guys, and the Nahoopii’s, down to his place so we could grow some taro. That’s all we were going to do. But I guess, when the word got out it was like, “We going restore the whole valley!” Had Hawaiians coming in from all the place coming in by boat, by plane, by train. We just, we fed people. We, you know, I was at QLCC. The campers, who I guess were coming, had two camps in Hālawa. We had donations: the fisherman fished, the hunters brought deer meat, and the QLCC put in some money for propane and whatever we needed. And then everyone who came, I just told them to bring food, and we kind of had a list, so we didn’t end up with eight hundred pounds of chicken thighs. And so everybody somehow we kept organized. Or people just brought money. And we fed them for three days. And one crew did the intake. And one, some of the boys did the ‘auwai, you know the debris that had accumulated. And there was still so many people, I said okay, you guys can have three places with lo‘i, and by the end of the day, they had those lo‘i cleared. The grass was all gone and was ready to plant. And by the morning of the second day the water was flowing…and then it was up to those families to maintain it. So that was one place, was Jaime’s, the Kahalewai property…to Oz Stender’s place…when we lived in the valley, Uncle Charlie Kalaau was one of the last from his family and he had never left the valley...

After so many people left the valley there was no way one or two of those folks could maintain that long ‘auwai. It’s just not possible. Even now the younger kids can’t do it. You know. So Uncle Charlie had a small little lo‘i way up by the intake place and there was enough, it was wet enough that there was always enough moisture. He didn’t need, the water wasn’t flowing. The ‘auwai wasn’t flowing for about twenty years before we opened it. So we took his little lo‘i place and we opened up around it so we could just keep making it bigger. And that was two days. We did that in two days. And then after that it was maintaining it, and that’s where we were learning that it’s not just maintaining the ‘auwai and the lo‘i and keeping the grass cut. It’s maintaining the relationships, so that, we didn’t do a good job of that. Um, I’m still distressed with my son because of how he acted. But we learned, you know. It’s like, okay, we didn’t pay attention to it. You know, we just did it, we just took it, everybody was taking everybody else for
granted. So, I think you know, next time when there’s no place to go, you only open up as much as you can take care of. You don’t try to do, you know, the whole side of the valley, or whatever. That’s one of the things I think the other families are going to find out after awhile. They’re opening a lot of land. And as long as they have the whole family involved, it’ll be okay. But it’s hard to maintain it. It’s a lot of time.
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