HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADING ON MOLOKAI

By

FELIX M. KEESING, Litt.D.
University of Hawaii
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July 24, 1935.
Honolulu, T. H.,

D. L. Crawford,
President, University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, T. H.

Dear Sir:

As I have verbally informed you the last Legislature passed a concurrent resolution authorizing the appointment of a hold-over committee to study all phases of the Hawaiian Homes Project and I send you for your information an exact copy of this resolution.

You will note that the committee was appointed for the purpose among others "to receive any and all suggestions concerning the rehabilitation of the native Hawaiian and to make recommendations to the Governor of the Territory, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to this Legislature, should it be decided to call a special session thereof."

Pursuant to the terms of the resolution the Senate appointed Senators Farrington, Sylva and Heen as members of the committee and the House of Representatives selected the writer and Representatives Gomes and Akina. The committee, on organization, selected the writer as chairman.

The committee, after meeting, has decided to request the University of Hawaii to assist it in its work and particularly to assist it in making the investigations necessary to enable it to make findings under the terms of the resolution, particularly those hereinbefore quoted. I believe that the officials of the University have an idea of what is desired from the meeting held in my office this day. We understand that the University is willing to assist us in carrying on the work.

I wish to assure you that the committee and all its members will be very glad at any time to meet with you or any of the members of the University working on the project. Yours very truly,

ROY A. VITOUSEK, Chairman
Legislative Hold-Over Committee on Hawaiian Homes Project. (Signed)
CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

AUTHORIZING THE APPOINTMENT OF A HOLD-OVER COMMITTEE TO STUDY ALL PHASES OF THE HAWAIIAN HOMES PROJECT.

WHEREAS, the American people, wishing to save the native Hawaiians from extinction, did, by its Congress, under the leadership of the late Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, and the late Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, Delegate to Congress from Hawaii, adopt the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act providing for the rehabilitation of the native Hawaiians, which said Act, adopted in the year 1920, is in need of amendments to meet presentday conditions; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of the people of the Territory of Hawaii that the native Hawaiians shall be assisted in every way to perpetuate the Race; and there is not sufficient time in the remaining six days of this session fully to study the thoughts and suggestions presented by the many resolutions now before the Legislature; and

WHEREAS, the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Harold S. Ickes, and his assistant, Dr. Gruening, also have the welfare of the native Hawaiians at heart; and

WHEREAS, the said Honorable Secretary of the Interior, unable to come to Hawaii because of pressure of national affairs, is to assign Dr. Ernest Gruening or some other of his assistants to visit Hawaii on official business in the very near future; and

WHEREAS, there is at the present moment the urgent and immediate need and necessity of amending said Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in order to save from wrecking a big portion of the rehabilitation work under said Act, now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Senate of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, the House of Representatives concurring, that the President of the Senate appoint three members of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House appoint three members of the House, to constitute a joint “Hold-over Committee”; said committee to meet on or before May 6, 1935, to appoint its chairman; said committee to be in consultation with the representative of the Interior Department who will visit Hawaii; to study the thoughts and suggestions contained in the resolution now before the Senate and House; to receive any and all suggestions concerning the rehabilitation of the native Hawaiian; and to make recommendations to the Governor of the Territory, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to this Legislature, should it be decided to call a special session thereof; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii be respectfully requested to provide the office space, the clerical help, and any and all other help and assistance he may deem fit and proper, to said committee.
INTRODUCTORY

Plans for land settlement and rural rehabilitation, under way in many countries today, have a peculiar significance as regards the native Hawaiian people. For centuries before Captain James Cook sighted their mountainous island home in the north-central Pacific, they were skilled agriculturists and fisherfolk, living in scattered communities along the coastal plains and in the gulch-like valleys. But western civilization brought revolutionary changes. The Hawaiians not only became greatly reduced in numbers and increasingly mixed in blood; they also crowded into the cities and towns, and to a considerable extent adopted the material and mental trappings of urban America. In certain very isolated areas a conservative minority still lead a simple life that bears strong marks of the old Hawaiian culture. But for the most part the former settlements and gardens are deserted—given over to the white man's sugar cane and cattle, or to engulfing lantana and algaroba.

On July 9, 1921, as a result of much planning by Hawaiian leaders and others interested in their welfare, and on the recommendation of the Territorial legislature, the Congress of the United States passed a measure designed to return Hawaiians to the land. This, known as the "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," set up a commission with the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii as chairman, and provided land, capital, and a basic plan with which to experiment. In July 1922 the first Hawaiian homesteader moved on to the first allotment. Today, 647 Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, nearly all with families, are settled on farm lots or else have smaller residential lots in suburban areas. Nearly 4,000 individuals, or one out of every 15 persons of known Hawaiian ancestry, are now directly participating in the scheme. The first and main development took place on the island of Molokai, where there are
now 156 farm lot holders and 41 residence lot holders, affecting about 1,400 in all.

In 1926 a first five year period of trial was completed. On the recommendation of everyone concerned the organization was put upon a permanent basis. Since 1931, however, an amount of open criticism has been forthcoming both from a number of the homesteaders and from outside observers. Several official investigations have been made, especially of the Molokai schemes, by members of the Territorial legislature and others, and their enquiries, lasting from one to five days, mostly paint a rather dark picture. Over against these, rebuttals have been offered, notably by members of the Hawaiian Homes Commission. Unfortunately there is no easily available body of fact concerning the history and present status of the scheme on the basis of which either the ordinary taxpayer or the more directly interested enquirer can appraise what has happened, or the attendant controversies.

The following survey of the major homestead projects, those on Molokai, made in the spirit of scientific detachment, is designed primarily to give a summary of the facts. It is the result of observations and enquiries made on the spot during the summer of 1935, together with a close study of the documentary records. Though here and there critical opinions of homesteaders and others may be quoted to show what is in the minds of the people concerned, the writer himself does not set himself up as a critic. Personalities, too, are absent, and personal names are excluded as far as possible. The aim is to give a clear and concise picture of the Hawaiian rehabilitation experiment, as parallel to many others the world over, in which an attempt is being made to consciously remould the economic and social life of a human group: in this case, first to fit a settlement scheme to the special needs and character of the Hawaiian people, and second to fit the chosen Hawaiians to the special conditions that the island of Molokai provides.

The study was undertaken as a result of a request from a hold-over committee of the Territorial legislature
to the University of Hawaii for aid in analyzing homestead affairs. Travel and other costs were met from a research grant given to the department of anthropology in the University by the Rosenwald Fund of Chicago. The University is publishing the study at the request of the Legislative committee.

Every cooperation was offered by the many homesteaders with whom the writer consulted; they were eager to make known their experiences and problems. Officials of the Hawaiian Homes Commission also gave every help, notably Mr. J. F. Woolley, its executive officer at the time, and Mr. J. Munro, superintendent and agriculturist at Molokai. Mr. N. Pekelo, Molokai representative of the University of Hawaii agricultural extension service, put his knowledge at the writer's disposal, while officials of the pineapple companies and the Molokai ranch, and other residents willingly shared their experience and judgments of the situation. At a few points in the text reference will be made to somewhat comparable experiments in rehabilitation elsewhere; the writer in doing so is drawing upon more than a decade of personal research among other groups of the Polynesian people to which the Hawaiians belong, the Maoris of New Zealand and the Samoans, and also among American Indians and in the Philippines.

F.M.K.

Department of Anthropology
University of Hawaii
November, 1935.
I. THE BASIS OF REHABILITATION

"The Hawaiians . . . must get out in the sun, in the rain, and dig into the soil . . . they must be like most of the farmers on the (American) mainland who are hard workers and good American citizens in their community—our ancestors were not clerks, they were farmers and fishermen, and we should be like them; it is more healthy and we will be happier . . . we are gradually losing out (in the business and political jobs of the Territory), and the only place left for us is on these Rehabilitation Lands and if we do not get in and work and think for ourselves we will be lost."

In such words, the late Hawaiian Prince Kuhio Kalanianaole, formerly delegate to Congress from Hawaii, stated the hopes and fears that caused him and others to bring into being the scheme for Hawaiian land settlement and rehabilitation.

In olden days there were in the islands perhaps a quarter million Hawaiians, stalwart brown-skinned descendants of Polynesian voyagers from Malaysia and Asia. By 1878, after a century of contact with whites, their numbers had fallen nearly to 47,000, of whom one fourteenth had non-Hawaiian blood in their veins. The causes of this decline, some very obvious like warfare and disease, others social and psychological factors of a far less tangible nature, have been a subject of much study and discussion. From the year mentioned, the number of Hawaiians claiming to be of pure descent has declined, though at a diminishing rate, and those having fractions of white and Asiatic blood have increased at an accelerating pace. Official estimates of Hawaii's population on June 30, 1935, show 21,710 full Hawaiians, 18,742 Caucasian-Hawaiians, and 17,236 Asiatic-Hawaiians, or a total of 57,688 of Hawaiian ancestry.

1 For an early account see Bishop, A., "An Inquiry into the Causes of Decrease . . ." Hawaiian Spectator, volume 1, number 1, 1838. Modern scientific ideas on this subject are summarized in Roberts, S. H., Population Problems of the Pacific, London, 1927, which also gives a bibliography.

2 Though impossible to show statistically, it seems sure that many individuals classifying themselves on census schedules as full Hawaiian really have some intrusive racial strain. A leading Hawaiian recently asserted that not more than five thousand are genuinely fullblood.
Some read from such figures the sure extinction of the Hawaiian people. Others, however, take the more optimistic view that even should the last fullblood pass, there will still be a large group of folk dominantly Hawaiian in blood and outlook among the island population. And since the rate of natural increase is much higher among the part-Hawaiians than for any other group in the Territory, while a large proportion of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian marriages are within their own group, there is little prospect of the Hawaiian racial heritage being submerged at all completely short of a very long time. One of the main objects of the rehabilitation scheme has been to foster its survival.

The Hawaiian Backgrounds

Many works are extant on the modern history of Hawaii. As yet, however, the story of the Hawaiian people and their changing life has nowhere been adequately told. A first all important episode, to make a brief sketch here, was the conquest and unification of the Hawaiian islands by one out of a number of independent and often warring high chiefs, Kamehameha "the Great." He, and especially his descendants were made over through white influence into the pattern of European royalty. The new monarchy blossomed like some hot-house plant in the forcing at-

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3 Precise statistical summaries are available in Adams, R., The Peoples of Hawaii, Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1933, pp. 18-26. In 1931-32, for example, the birthrate among Caucasian-Hawaiians was 49.7 per thousand of population and among Asiatic-Hawaiians 78.1, as compared with an average for Hawaii of 28.2, while the deathrate for the two groups was respectively 13.8 and 13.2, as compared with a general average of 9.7. In that period the birth and death rates of the full Hawaiian group were 16.5 and 23.7. The mixed group are predominantly younger people and so would be expected to have a higher proportion of births, while the fullblood group have a weighting of old people, emphasizing the death rate.

4 Idem, pp. 31-32. Of 140 full Hawaiian men marrying in 1931-32, 63 married full Hawaiian women, 61 part-Hawaiians, and 16 into other racial groups. Of 158 full Hawaiian women, besides the 63 marrying men of their group, 39 married part-Hawaiians, and 56 into other racial groups. Of 307 part-Hawaiian men, besides the 39 marrying full Hawaiian women, 187 married part-Hawaiian women, and 81 into other racial groups. Of 408 part-Hawaiian women, besides the 61 marrying full Hawaiians and 187 marrying part-Hawaiians, 160 married into other racial groups. Thus at once the Hawaiian strain is being perpetuated and spread more widely through the island population.


6 Apart from scattered references in the published literature, mainly centering around the fortunes of Hawaiian kings and queens, the only available works are: Handy, E. S. C., Cultural Revolution in Hawaii, pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1931; Lind, A. W., The Modification of Hawaiian Character since the Advent of the White Man, a paper published in Reuter, E. B. (ed.), Race and Culture Contacts, New York, 1934.
mosphere of international rivalries. Most of the other high
born folk were wiped out in war or through disease, so
that the fortunes of the Hawaiian people became bound up
closely with the policies and experiences of these rulers, and
their response to outside instruction and pressure.

In the first half century of contact a great if in some
respects subtle revolution came about in thought and cus­
tom. By 1820, when the first missionaries arrived, even the
old religious system with its powerful taboos and priest­
hood had been voluntarily discarded. From then on the
variegated impact of missionaries, traders, sailors, consuls,
teachers, whalers, immigrant laborers from Asia, and other
folk of the Pacific frontier brought continued readjustment.
Christian denominations, and later the Mormon faith, se­
cured fervent followings, though fragments of old belief
and practice, particularly the fear elemen
t connected with
sickness, magic and death, fused in with the new.7 The more
or less arbitrary personal rule of chiefs became curbed by
constitutionalism and democracy, though with relapses to
the earlier philosophy of government as in the reigns of
King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani.8 Western laws,
manners, amusements, and artifacts superseded those of
earlier days. Even the older people flocked to the schools,
so that literacy, first in the hitherto oral Hawaiian tongue,
and more gradually in English, became widespread; today
linguistic change has gone to a point where the speech of
Hawaiians is becoming polyglot and the old tongue obso­
lescent.

In the same way, western standards of living and
commercial attitudes have tended to replace the simpler
subsistence economy of the old island environment. As
early as 1848, the individualistic ideas of land holding
brought in by the whites prevailed over an earlier feudal­
like system; the lands of the kingdom were divided up
among royalty, those of high birth (the alii), and the mass
of so-called commoners (makaaina). In the great major­
ity of cases the last named group, accustomed to using but

7 See Green, L. C. and Beckwith, M. W., Hawaiian Customs, American An­
thropologist, volume 26, number 2, 1924, and volume 28, number 1, 1926.
8 See Kuykendall and Gregory, op. cit., chapter xxv.
not to owning their little holdings, disposed of them for ready money and so became landless. This, and the attractions of the port towns and especially of the gay capital city, Honolulu, caused a shift of population from the scattered coastal villages to these centers. Most of the Hawaiian town-dwellers, being poor, settled in crowded tenements and slum areas where rents were cheapest. At first some thousands of Hawaiians worked on newly developing sugar plantations. But the monotonous regularity of this work, so different from that of old time, and particularly the stigma that became attached to it once Chinese, Japanese and other alien laborers were introduced, soon caused them to shun it almost entirely. The more educated Hawaiians gravitated to political jobs, to clerical, teaching, and police work, and to mechanical and other skilled trades; others became stevedores, cowboys, roadmen, flower lei sellers, "beachboys," and the like. On the whole, the Hawaiians have been able to find employment to their tastes in the new order, and for the most part have never yet "had their backs to the wall" in economic terms as have certain other peoples in the pathway of western civilization.

All such change was inevitably marked by psychological and social strains and stresses. Some pushed ahead faster than others. Conservative folk mourned the shattering of old modes of living. The new ways offered bewildering and often contradictory alternatives. There were revulsions and reversions to the old, both political and religious. Many fell foul of white codes of behavior, resulting in a high delinquency rate among Hawaiians. Physical decline and social derangement were melancholy accompaniments of the new order. When the royal line, which had assumed so central a place in the life of the people, shrivelled, and succession and traditional precedence became disputed, the Hawaiians were left without unity and in large measure without their traditional leadership. While presenting a

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9 The story of land matters in modern Hawaii, also a full bibliography, is given in Hobbs, J. Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil, Stanford U. Press, 1935.
10 The census of 1930 showed nearly 48 per cent of full Hawaiians and 58 per cent of part-Hawaiians as living in the cities of Honolulu and Hilo alone.
11 Hawaiian attitudes to work are discussed more fully on pages 91-94.
12 See the report of the Ninth Territorial Conference of Social Work, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 8-10.
somewhat clannish if amiable front to outsiders, among
themselves they became broken and individualistic.

The Kingdom of Hawaii came to an abrupt end in 1893. The islands, after being for five years a Republic governed mainly by resident Americans, were annexed to the United States and given the status of a Territory. At first a section of the Hawaiian people were bitter over the loss of their political independence. Under the new system, however, the leading Hawaiians assumed high political posts in local government, while those of Hawaiian blood were able to exercise a controlling voice in the politics of the Territory, having a voting majority. This, together with the mellowing of time and the establishment of happy relations with the government and citizenry of Uncle Sam, has brought not only loyalty but a thorough appreciation of their American citizenship. Such a political outlet for the energies of the people, combined with a strong racial pride and also with what to the competitive, bustling white man seems a happy-go-lucky, friendly philosophy of life, have served as bulwarks against the frustration, painful self-consciousness, and sense of hopelessness that have marked numbers of peoples under somewhat akin circumstances.

The Hawaiian of modern days has perhaps suffered rather than benefited from the haze of romance and sentiment with which the white man has surrounded him and his fellow Polynesians. The remarkable adjustments he has made, and the problems he still faces, have tended to be obscured. Too often his character and modes of living are set critically over against some ideal standard that the white man has (but does not always practice) of industry, thrift, morality, and integrity, disregarding the fact that his thought and behavior are still governed to quite an extent by values and habits of a radically different kind that come from the old Hawaiian backgrounds. To store up wealth, for example, rather than lavishing it on one's fellows still brands a person not as successful but as stingy; to work when one has money or feels like fishing is as yet to many foolish. Of Hawaiian morality, a report of a con-

13 See Lind, A. W., Voting in Hawaii, in a report on Administration in Hawaii, U. S. Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, 1929; also Adams, R., op. cit., pp. 16-19.
ference on social work held in 1929 (footnote 8, page 12) states:

"As yet none of the imported ethical systems have secured unquestioned allegiance. The survival of some deeply ingrained and ancient Hawaiian behavior patterns relating to property and sex which are, however, defined as criminal according to American legal practice, greatly accentuates the disorganization (among this racial group)."

The fundamentals of a culture cannot be destroyed easily, even though the externals may change. At a number of points in the survey, it will be seen how things Hawaiian continue to be effective in the lives of the homesteaders.

In two economic spheres of the modern island life the Hawaiians have been conspicuously absent: business and farming. The former, with its competitive individualism and technical organization, represents perhaps the extreme of contrast to the old economic system, and as yet even the educated Hawaiians have shown little interest in it. As regards farming, practically the only kind engaged in until the rehabilitation scheme began was where a minority of conservative folk continued to live on isolated coasts, growing taro and fishing to obtain their staple foods. In the later days of the kingdom and especially the early Territorial regime, the way was opened to get willing Hawaiians along with others on to the soil by giving them homesteads on government lands. The history of these attempts is summarized in an official report as follows:

"Under the homestead laws somewhat more than a majority of the lands were homesteaded to Hawaiians, but a great many of these lands have been lost through improvidence and inability to finance farming operations. Most frequently, however, the native Hawaiian, with no thought of the future, has obtained the land for a nominal sum, only to turn about and sell it to wealthy interests for a sum more nearly approaching its real value. The Hawaiians are not business men and have shown themselves unable to meet competitive conditions unaided. In the end the speculators are the real beneficiaries of the homestead

laws. Thus the tax returns for 1919 show that only 6.23 percentum of the property of the islands is held by native Hawaiians and this for the most part is lands in the possession of approximately a thousand wealthy Hawaiians, the descendants of the chiefs."

By the second decade of the new century, certain Hawaiian leaders, notably Prince Kuhio Kalanianaole, then delegate to Congress from Hawaii, and also some of the resident whites intimately familiar with the situation of the Hawaiian people began to consider whether some plan could be worked out to re-establish them physically and socially. It was felt that an attempt should be made on the one hand to preserve the pure Hawaiian stock that was diminishing from year to year (page 11), and on the other, to counter the more unfortunate results of the economic and social revolution which had brought so many Hawaiians into the less desirable areas of the cities. They were aware, too, that the oncoming youth of Hawaiian ancestry would find increasing difficulty in getting employment because of the vigorous competition of the young people of Oriental parentage, even in the political sphere. Naturally their thoughts turned to the possibilities of getting the folk thus "menaced" back once more to a healthy, open air life on the land.

A plan of homesteading took shape, in which the aids and safeguards that earlier experience had shown to be necessary were provided. Four basic principles were laid down:

"(1) the Hawaiian must be placed upon the land in order to insure his rehabilitation; (2) alienation of such land must, not only in the immediate future but also for many years to come, be made impossible; (3) accessible water in adequate amounts must be provided for all tracts; and (4) the Hawaiian must be financially aided until his farming operations are well under way." 16

An organizing and supervisory body on which Hawaiians

15 From a Report of the House Committee on Territories of the Sixty-Sixth Congress, quoted in Bulletin 2 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, "Rehabilitation in Hawaii," Honolulu, 1922, p. 12; see also a speech by a governor of Hawaii quoted in the same, pages 18-19.

16 From the House report quoted above.
were to be adequately represented was to have charge of the scheme. After many months of planning and full consideration by the Territorial legislature, an amendment to the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900 was recommended to the United States Congress and approved on July 9, 1921, under the title "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920."  

The Hawaiian Homes Commission

As the survey proceeds, various provisions of this rehabilitation act and of subsequent amendments will be discussed, particularly as relating to the Molokai homesteads. It is sufficient here to give a preliminary picture of the scheme as conceived and worked out for the islands as a whole.

A body known as the "Hawaiian Homes Commission" was created, consisting of the governor of Hawaii as chairman, and four citizens of the Territory "appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the legislature of the Territory." At least three of the appointed members of the Commission had to be of half or more Hawaiian blood. One of the members was to be named by the Commission as its "executive officer and secretary." The term of office was for four years, the original members being "staggered" so as to secure continuity of administration. This body, which has had regular meetings since its inception in September 1921, has been responsible for making the homesteading plan a reality.

A further section of the act defined a number of tracts of public land in the five main islands of the group, more than two hundred thousand acres in all, or one twentieth of the total area of Hawaii, which were to be available for

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17 The text of this Act, with subsequent amendments in 1923 and 1928, has been published in pamphlet form by the Territory of Hawaii at Honolulu, 1928; for a further amendment see Act number 223, Seventy-Fourth Congress, approved July 26, 1935.

18 The members were to receive a salary of $500 a year, and the executive officer and secretary up to $6,000.

19 The governor has power to remove any member for "neglect of duty or malfeasance in office," but only after due notice and a public hearing.
Homesteading on Molokai

homestead purposes. During the first five years, however, operations were to be limited to the Molokai lands and certain tracts on the "Big Island" of Hawaii. This was to provide a kind of trial experiment, and according to the original act no further areas could be taken over by the Homes Commission without authorization from Congress and written approval from the United States secretary of the interior. Actually an amending act was passed in 1928 which removed this restriction: a result of unanimous opinion that the scheme had proved a success. This opened the way for subsequent development of homesteading on Oahu island. A clause was also inserted at this time limiting the amount of homestead development in any five year period to twenty thousand acres. The system of tenure will be analyzed at a later point.

The major homesteading units today are on Molokai, where 153 farm lots, 3 pastoral lots, and 41 residential lots have been issued to Hawaiian families: these will be considered in due course. On Hawaii, lands at Keaukaha and Waiakea near the city of Hilo have since 1923 been allotted as house sites, each of approximately one acre, to 209 families; also one larger pastoral lot at Waimanu. On Oahu, a tract at Nanakuli has been divided into half acre lots, of which 240 are now occupied; at Waimanalo a number of families have "squatted" on Homes Commission lands and deserving families will be issued leases; and in 1934 an area of approximately ninety acres of public land in the Punchbowl area (Papakolea) behind the business district of Honolulu city, on which numerous Hawaiian families had established themselves as squatters, was handed over

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20 These public lands were in earlier days "government" lands the income of which accrued to the treasury of the Hawaiian kingdom. Of them a former governor of the Territory said: "The policy of the Hawaiian government had been to conserve large areas of public lands under the leasehold system, so that the title did not pass permanently from the people... These leases and the industries operating under them were an important source of income" (quoted from Bulletin No. 2 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, "Rehabilitation in Hawaii," Honolulu, 1922). The Hawaiian Homes Act specifically excluded all cultivated sugar-cane lands, forest reservations and areas homesteaded under other schemes from being assumed by the Commission. Where lands were under an unexpired lease, this could be withdrawn by the commissioner of public lands, provided the move was approved by the secretary of the interior of the United States.

21 The reasons for this are found in a Hearing before the Committee on Territories, House of Representatives, 70th Congress, 1928, p. 8. The Commission is empowered to return any land not immediately needed to the commissioner of public lands for leasing under the general laws of the Territory; but these may be assumed again upon giving five years notice to a lessee.
to the jurisdiction of the Homes Commission so that their occupancy could be validated. In all, so far, approximately 6,120 acres of agricultural land (this wholly on Molokai), 950 acres of pastoral land, and 450 acres of residential lots are in actual use by homesteaders, together with 12,630 acres of community pastures. 647 individuals are settled on Homes Commission tracts, these with their families making a total population of 3,265 persons benefited by the scheme.

To finance the homestead undertaking the Homes Commission has been allowed a "revolving fund," at first of one million dollars, but later enlarged to two millions. This, segregated in the Territorial treasury as the "Hawaiian home loan fund," was to be built up by paying in from year to year the entire income received from lands named as available for Homes Commission purposes but still under lease to other parties, likewise thirty per cent of the Territorial receipts derived from cultivated sugar-cane leases and from water licenses. In November 1933 the maximum total allowed was reached. The primary purpose of the fund was to provide advances to homesteaders under a loan system to be examined later (pages 50-53), these of course being paid back gradually and so keeping the fund "revolving." As of June 30, 1934, more than a third of a million dollars was on the Homes Commission balance sheet as comprising current loans to homesteaders which will gradually be paid off, along with interest.

The Commission was also authorized to appoint agricultural experts and other employees and agents as necessary, and to undertake and finance "general water and other development projects in respect to Hawaiian home lands." For the latter purpose, too, the legislature of the Territory was permitted under the act to appropriate whatever sums might be needed, and to issue bonds for these which would

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22 This was done by act of Congress on May 16, 1934, and adds a more or less "ready made" unit to the homestead project.

23 From an official estimate in the annual report prepared by the Homes Commission in 1935. The population figures do not include some 600 residents of Papakolea, or the Waimanalo squatters—units not yet formally organized.

24 By an amendment to the Homes Commission act, approved by Congress on March 8, 1928.

be paid along with interest from the Home loan fund.\textsuperscript{26} Of this wider expenditure a memorandum of the attorney-general of the Territory states:

"The apparent general purpose of this section (of the act) is to give...authority to initiate and carry out...projects of a permanent nature which are of such magnitude as would render them impossible charges against the individual occupants of Hawaiian home lands."\textsuperscript{27}

To the middle of 1934, the Homes Commission had expended approximately $665,000 in capital outlays from the fund, the major items being water (pages 45-49), roads (pages 49-50), buildings, and vehicles. Almost $450,000 of unrecoverable expenses have been lost to the revolving fund, representing depreciation, sums for bonded indebtedness, and appropriations for experimental work, upkeep of equipment, personal services, and the like.\textsuperscript{28} According to an official statement of June 30, 1935, the total assets of the Commission were at the date $1,635,011. But of this somewhat under a quarter million dollars only is unencumbered;\textsuperscript{29} in other words the Commission has reached a point of financial stringency. Inevitably, as matters have worked out, the Commission has its fund eaten into each year through unrecoverable costs. Either some revision of the fund system will have to be made to allow a wider margin of "revolving" moneys and capital expenditures, or else the rehabilitation development must stand at about the point it has now reached, or even be retrenched.

The Homes Commission has cooperated over the years of its work with other departments of the Territorial government. The public lands department has acted as its collecting agent in accumulating the loan fund. In the earlier years, the Commission assumed the responsibility for its survey, engineering, building and akin projects,

\textsuperscript{26}Such bonds were floated in 1923 and 1927 for a total of $125,000 to meet costs of road and water development.

\textsuperscript{27}Quoted in Bulletin No. 2 of the H. H. C., "Rehabilitation in Hawaii," 1922, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{28}Biennial report, H. H. C., 1935. An additional capital outlay was made in 1934-35 for water development, costing about $191,000, to which was added $62,000 from Federal (Public Works Administration) funds.

\textsuperscript{29}This brings in interest.
also its health work; but in 1930 these were transferred to the regular departments of surveying, public works, and health, making for greater economy. It has also given financial grants towards the cost of schools and other educational work in the homestead areas, supplementing the activities of the department of public instruction, especially on Molokai (page 118). The Commission has also obtained Federal aid in the form of Public Works Administration grants, totalling $87,000 to August, 1935, for water development.

An ever present and controversial problem connected with the Homes Commission has been how far it should exercise paternalistic control over the affairs of the homesteaders, treating them as wards. It troubled the minds of those initiating the homestead plan. Prince Kuhio is reported to have said:

“To become good Americans and good American farmers, we have to be taught and led—forcing and jamming things down our throats will not make any of us become good American farmers—we have to learn to do things for ourselves and not let others do it for us all the time—we have to think for ourselves and not have others do the thinking for us all the time.”

The dilemma has been to know how to teach and lead, while yet not sapping individual initiative and closing the way to competence. The general principle laid down by the Commission for its work has been to avoid as far as possible the evils of paternalism and to “foster self-reliance and individual responsibility among the homesteaders,” while yet doing everything necessary to establish the families successfully on the land. As will be seen at various points in the survey, however, it has met with criticism from those who say sweepingly that it has done too much or too little, or else assert that it has treated the homesteaders as ward or free in the wrong places. The sentiments of the homesteaders themselves, or at least those on Molokai, will be set out in due course.

In recent years the homestead scheme has been the subject of considerable discussion and investigation, and the

30 From a statement by the governor to the legislature, quoted in the Honolulu Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1932.
Homes Commission has been variously praised for its achievements and blamed for alleged shortcomings. In July, 1935, Congress passed a further amendment to the rehabilitation act, this previously formulated and sanctioned by the Territorial legislature, by which the Commission was to be reorganized. Its members, still five in number, were to be appointed by the governor from among residents of the Territory. One of these was to be designated as chairman by the governor, the latter being thus relieved from the now onerous duties attaching to that post and to membership on the Commission. At least three members were to be of Hawaiian ancestry as before, but needed to be of only one-quarter instead of one-half Hawaiian blood—this making eligible a number of part-Hawaiians whose talents, it was believed, could contribute beneficially to the scheme. Instead of the executive officer being a member of the Commission, he was to be a salaried employee appointed by them, and would reside habitually at the main homesteading center on Molokai instead of having his headquarters in Honolulu as previously. This, it was felt, would place him more directly in personal touch with the homesteaders. As an additional step in providing adequate guidance and in linking the project with the Federal government, the United States secretary of the interior was directed to “designate from his Department someone experienced in sanitation, rehabilitation and reclamation work to reside in the Territory of Hawaii and cooperate with the Commission in carrying out its duties.”

In a communication to a committee of the Territorial legislature, the present delegate to Congress from Hawaii proposed a further revision of the existing law to provide the Commission with more adequate funds for its work. He recommended that “a certain percentage of the annual income of the Homes Commission (ought) to be charged off to operation and not included as charges against the revolving fund”; and that the revolving fund should be “substantially raised, $5,000,000 being more adequate.” Others,

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31 Act No. 223, Seventy-Fourth Congress. The salary of this Federal official was to be met by the Homes Commission.

too, have urged some scheme of financial revision, especially pointing out that the water and other improvements represented not only specific benefits to the homestead communities, but also permanent contributions to the general assets and tax valuation of the Territory. At least the realistic fact is that within a short period of years even the costs of maintenance will exhaust the resources still in hand.

With this general picture in view, the survey can concentrate upon the Molokai homestead units, where practically all activities other than the allotment of residential sections have been centered.

33 See also recommendations contained in a report by a special investigating committee appointed by the governor in 1931, this made public in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Feb. 3, 1932.
II. SETTLEMENT ON MOLOKAI

Molokai, fifth largest of the Hawaiian islands and covering an area of 261 square miles, was until recently spoken of as the “Lonely Isle.” In the east it rises nearly five thousand feet to a forested peak cloud capped and rain drenched. The west end is about a fourth as high, and arid. Between is a saddle-like plateau less than five hundred feet above sea level at its lowest point, and noted for its rich red soil and its sweeping winds. This is the homestead country. On the south side the island slopes away to a reefbound coast, along which is scattered the greater part of Molokai’s population. The north coast takes the form mainly of abrupt precipices, dropping at some points more than three thousand feet to the sea. From the foot of the cliffs at one point a flat promontory thrusts out. Upon this stands a miniature city, the Kalaupapa leper settlement. It is a world to itself, and so far as the rest of Molokai is concerned could be a thousand miles away.

In the political hierarchy of oldtime Hawaii, this island had no great importance; nor did it figure largely in the accounts of early white visitors.\(^\text{34}\) The first available estimate of population was for 1832, which shows approximately 6,000 Hawaiians on Molokai. This number fell away by 1853 to 3,607: less, contemporary writers tell, because of an excess of deaths than of emigration to the centers of new development on other islands. Not until fifteen years after mission work was established in Hawaii was a station placed on “heathen Molokai.” Early visitors tell of deserted villages, and describe the remaining people as “poor” and “wretched,” except perhaps several communities on the richer east end. An important factor in Molokai’s isolation was the lack of any good harbor or anchorage. In later days a long pier to which vessels of fair

ISLAND OF 
MOLOKAI

from the north-west
draft would come was built at Kaunakakai, now the main port and town of the island, with smaller piers at several other points where there are breaks in the reef.

In the days of the later Kamehamehas, much of the island came to be used as a cattle ranch, though in some of the valleys where water was available a remnant of Hawaiian families and some Chinese grew taro. Late in the nineteenth century sugar cane was tried. But the holdings were abandoned when it was found that the artesian water being used was too salty. Ranching continued as almost the sole form of commercial development until about 1918, when experiments in growing pineapples were successfully launched. By 1900, the Hawaiian population of Molokai had dwindled to about one thousand, and in 1920, when the homestead scheme was being projected, the total population of the island, exclusive of the Kalaupapa Settlement, was only 1,117. The census of 1930, however, showed a leap in this total to 4,427; besides the homesteaders, a number of white families had come in, also Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans and others (page 36). A considerable group of Japanese are now small independent farmers leasing land at the southeast end of the island.

Soon after its appointment in 1921, the Hawaiian Homes Commission visited Molokai, along with a number of agricultural experts. After a thorough examination of the lands set aside there for rehabilitation purposes, it was decided to start the first homesteading on the coastal flats at Kalamaula. In the years from 1922 on, twenty-two farm lots and thirty-three residential lots were developed, these being known as the Kalanianaole Settlement after the Hawaiian leader who took so great a part in the scheme. Before the selected homesteaders were transported thither, complete surveys were made, roads cut, water for irrigation purposes located and piped in, a demonstration farm established, and a start made with the heavy task of clearing and breaking in the land. By 1924, fields of first class alfalfa were producing as many as ten crops a year; potatoes, watermelons, corn and tomatoes were being success-

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fully marketed; and cattle, hogs and poultry were thriving. Furthermore, the pioneering Hawaiian families, men, women and children, were working enthusiastically and hard. Observers reported it as a “Molokai miracle.”

The project entered upon a second and larger phase in 1924, when homesteads were opened for settlement on the upper plateau or saddle of central Molokai. The new settlement became known as Hoolehua-Palaau, the names which the old-time Hawaiians applied to the sections of land concerned, or nowadays more often Hoolehua. Three main groups of farm homesteaders can be distinguished: an original 75 who came during 1924-26, 8 who came in 1928, and 48 arriving in 1929. There are now 153 tracts of approximately forty acres each allotted, also a special group of 10 residential lots, besides other units connected with the scheme: a school and school farm, a community hall, an office of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, churches, stores, and camps for Filipino laborers who work in connection with the pineapple industry. The Hoolehua homesteaders, and also the Kalanianaole people, have large areas of grazing land set aside as community pastures on which their stock is maintained under the supervision of the Homes Commission.

Hoolehua can best be seen from the airplanes which now land daily on the Molokai airport situated within the homestead area. It is laid out mainly in great rectangles, each a lot of approximately forty acres, largely planted in pineapples, and criss-crossed by dirt roads of which the principal lines are named avenues. The houses, with little gardens of flowers and vegetables and often with rows of shrubs or high grass as windbreaks—the whole more or less covered with red dust that blends them into the landscape,—are strung out along the avenues for miles. The general impression is perhaps of a suburb, but one in which somehow the hundred-by-sixty feet lots had become vastly expanded, and gossip between neighbors would have to be conducted with a megaphone. The community center and school are up in the northeast corner, and the churches, stores and other general units are variously scattered
Homesteading on Molokai.

Sketch Plan of Hoolehua

Homesteads indicated by Official Lot Numbers.

- Homes
- A Community Hall and Center
- B Fair and Sports Ground
- C Molokai Intermediate School
- D School Farm
- E Hawaiian Protestant Church
- F Roman Catholic Church
- G Shingle Memorial Hospital
- H Homes Commission Office
- I Libby, M'Neil & Libby Office
- J Labor Camp
- K Mormon Church
- L Hoolehua Corporation Store
- M Ten One-Acre Residence Lots
- N Residence Lots for Koloaukaile Settlers.

Scale: One inch = 2,000 ft.
throughout. It is no wonder that practically every homesteader considers a car or truck essential.

A third but so far minor unit of the Molokai scheme is the development of pastoral lots as small ranches. Three such lots, each of two hundred and fifty acres, have been leased to Hawaiians, one on the higher land back of the Kalanianaole settlement, and two on lands known as Kapaa-kea and Kamililoa to the east of the port and town of Kau-nakakai.

By 1930, the farming development at Kalanianaole, pictured above as starting in so promising a way, had fallen upon evil days. The saline content of the spring water pumped for irrigation, combined with evaporation, caused the fields to become over-impregnated with salt. The water from the higher levels was insufficient for farming purposes. Insect pests, problems of marketing, and a tendency for the settlers to depend upon outside employment for their support contributed to the decline in agriculture. When pineapple cultivation began to produce large checks for the upper settlement people, it was only natural that the Kalanianaole folk should want lots there too. This was allowed in 1931, and at the same time a group of forty-seven one acre residential lots were surveyed for them in the extreme southerly part of the Hoolehua settlement. They have shown little desire, however, to move there from the lower area. Since no water is laid on at the new residence lots, and the cost of moving their homes would be considerable, they have been allowed to continue in occupation at Kalanianaole.

While all the major business of the Homes Commission has so far been cleared through its Honolulu headquarters, a branch office is maintained at Hoolehua as the point of direct contact with the day to day problems of the homesteaders. This is in charge of a "superintendent," with clerical, mechanical and other employees under him. The executive officer and secretary of the Commission makes frequent visits there from Honolulu. Members of the Homes Commission make occasional trips, while representatives of the Territorial and County health, engineering and
other departments cooperate as necessary. The office is a "nerve center" for the life of the settlers, a daily stream of people coming there to transact business, consult records, voice complaints, and especially to ask advice on a host of matters. In all, the Molokai settlements and projects represent a capital outlay alone of more than three-quarters of a million dollars from the revolving fund: primarily for water development, but also for roads, buildings, equipment and other improvements. This completes a first picture of the Molokai homestead units as they are today.

The Human Material

While no personalities enter into this survey, there are certain general factors concerning the settlers that will aid in understanding the homesteading situation.

In 1924, according to Homes Commission estimates, there were 278 men, women and children on the Molokai lands. This number rose progressively to nearly 700 in 1926, 863 in 1928, 1,138 in 1930, and 1,244 in 1934. In August 1935, the corresponding figure was estimated at close to 1,400. A difficulty of taking the exact census is that individual homesteaders or members of their households are moving out for longer or shorter periods, while an indeterminate fringe of relatives and friends stay more or less permanently with the lot holders and their immediate families.

It is no unusual thing for the settlers to leave Molokai for visits to other parts of Hawaii; especially immediately after payments on account of pineapples harvested from their lands. If, however, they intend to be gone for long, they will often notify the Homes Commission office. About eleven of the homesteaders now live rather permanently outside the area, merely coming for occasional visits; seven of these are in Honolulu. Two other homesteaders are confined in the Kalaupapa leper settlement, but their families continue in residence. Only where the person allotted a holding has failed to occupy and use it within the first year has there been any replacement on account of absence. Some tendency has shown itself for the young people of the homestead families to move away when they reach an

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36 From the biennial reports of the Homes Commission.
independent age. It will be seen how there is uncertainty as to where children of the lot holders can fit into the homestead scheme (pages 43-45). Those who do stay usually marry into other homestead families, and live with one or other of the parental groups.

The Hawaiians today maintain a considerable degree of solidarity among kinsfolk, expressed in mutual privileges and services, so that it is quite natural to find in numbers of the homes some form of extended family group. One lot holder, for example, is said to have with him, in addition to his own wife and unmarried children, two married children and their families, a cousin and his family, and a friend and his family. Some of the younger homesteaders have parents or parents-in-law with them. The stay of such people varies from a passing visit to permanent residence. If these fringe folks were taken into account, no doubt the total of those benefiting from the homesteading scheme would be much larger than the figures given above.

It is sometimes said by outsiders that a considerable turnover has taken place among the settlers; that they "do not stick." A detailed survey of the records does not bear this out. True, in some twenty-one instances the original person given a section failed to comply with residence requirements as prescribed in the Homes Commission act (page 41), so that the lot was passed to another holder. Again, some thirteen replacements occurred because of the decease of the lot holder. One or two marriages have taken place between lot holders, and the husband or wife has surrendered his or her tract. Several of the early Kalani-anaole settlers moved to Hoolehua when the latter settlement was opened, and so were replaced. Other than these instances of transfer, practically all the original lot holders are still in occupation.

The homestead community has a high rate of natural increase. Exact records of births and deaths have not been compiled in recent years; but the local health authorities

37 Resolution No. 12-A of the Homes Commission, dated Jan. 9, 1930, prevents occupants of homestead lands from holding more than one lot in the case of their intermarriage.

38 In the two-year period 1926-27, 1927-28, there were 38 births and 10 deaths in the Molokai settlements; in 1929-30 the corresponding figures were 28 and 14—Biennial reports, H. H. C., 1929, 1931.
declare that the birth rate is much higher than the death rate. In 1935, according to a count made by the Homes Commission authorities for use in this survey, there were 771 children and grandchildren in the 156 households for which records could be obtained, or an average of about five to a household. One family had 16 living children, 2 families had 14 children, 3 had 12 children, 2 had 11 children, 2 had 10 children, 5 had 9 children, 13 had 8 children, 11 had 7 children, 19 had 6 children, 18 had 5 children, 20 had 4 children, 20 had 3 children, 24 had 2 children, 20 had one child, and 8 had no children. The smaller or childless families include a large proportion of younger, recently married couples. A total of 441 of the children are males, as against 330 females. On the death side it can be recorded that some 13 of the original lot holders, or about seven per cent, have already died, as have 16 of their marital partners. In two families both husband and wife are dead. The important problems of inheritance created by this are discussed on pages 43-45.

A point of interest in view of the general purpose of the rehabilitation scheme, and of great practical importance as regards inheritance questions, is to know what proportions of Hawaiian blood are represented in the homesteaders and their families. The Hawaiian Homes act defined a Hawaiian, for the purposes of the homestead project, as "any descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778."

It is impossible after some six or seven generations of contact and intermixture to get an exact idea of the amounts of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian blood in such a group.

39 In eleven recorded instances the household contained more than one family, usually that of a married son or daughter, besides that of the lot holder. In addition to the above numbers of children, three lot holders reported having a total of eleven grandchildren in their homes. A number of the children are said to have been adopted. An old Hawaiian custom of adoption is still common, either with or without the formalities required by modern law.

40 Section 201 (7). Recently there has been some support for the idea of allowing persons with a quarter or more Hawaiian blood to participate. Others oppose this, however, on the grounds that those of fullest blood are the more needy and least able to look after themselves. No official move has been made in the direction of such a change.

41 An individual may have as little as one one-hundred-and-twenty-eighth part of white blood that comes from some early sailor. In numerous instances a living part-Hawaiian has various combinations of Caucasian (or White) and Mongoloid (or Asiatic) blood in his veins.
Nevertheless, the homesteaders and their families can be classified approximately into “full Hawaiians,” “White-Hawaiians,” “Portuguese-Hawaiians,” “Asiatic-Hawaiians,” and “Afro-Hawaiians.” The following summaries are compiled from an official source. First may be listed the racial composition of the actual lot holders on Molokai; 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Composition</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Hawaiians</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Hawaiians</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic-Hawaiians</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Hawaiians</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese-Hawaiians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More significant, however, is a table that shows the blood composition of both husbands and wives among 147 married homesteaders, regardless of who has the title to the lots, for it indicates the racial status of the oncoming generation. This (page 35) shows (A) 57 couples where both husband and wife are full Hawaiian; (B) 42 couples with one partner full Hawaiian (18 husbands and 24 wives) and the other part-Hawaiian (13 husbands and 4 wives White-Hawaiian, 5 husbands and 10 wives Asiatic-Hawaiian, 4 husbands and 2 wives Portuguese-Hawaiian, and 2 husbands and 2 wives Afro-Hawaiian); (C) 31 couples where both husband and wife are part-Hawaiian (16 husbands and 24 wives White-Hawaiian, 5 husbands and 6 wives Asiatic-Hawaiian, 6 husbands and 1 wife Portuguese-Hawaiian, and 4 husbands Afro-Hawaiian); and (D) 17 couples with one partner non-Hawaiian (2 husbands and 4 wives full Hawaiian, 2 husbands and 2 wives White-Hawaiian, 1 husband 3 wives Asiatic-Hawaiian, 1 husband Portuguese-Hawaiian, and 2 wives Afro-Hawaiian; of 11 non-

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42 The matter of terms here is awkward, but those adopted appear to be the best available. "White" refers to the Hawaiian census classification "Other Caucasians," that is, descendants of north-west European stocks. "Portuguese" is distinguished, partly to show the important place this group has assumed in relation to the Hawaiians, partly because the great majority of "Portuguese" in Hawaii today come not from the European mainland but from the Madeira and Azores Islands where the mass of the people are of racially mixed stock. "Asiatic-Hawaiians" are predominantly of part-Chinese blood, but there are some Japanese, Korean, and Filipino mixtures too. "Afro-Hawaiians" are descendants of Negroes, a sprinkling of whom married into the Hawaiian people.

43 Some lots are vacant or in process of transfer because of the death of the former holders, while the blood composition of four recent comers was not ascertained. This accounts for the discrepancy between the total of 185 here treated statistically, and the 197 lots in the Molokai scheme.
Homesteading on Molokai

Hawaiian husbands 3 are Portuguese, 2 Korean, and one each American, Scotch, French, Chinese, Japanese and Porto Rican, while of 6 wives 5 are Portuguese and 1 Chinese). To round out the picture, it should be added that of 38 homesteaders without partners, mostly widowers and widows but about a third of them single, 27 are full Hawaiian, 7 White-Hawaiian, 3 Asiatic-Hawaiian, and 1 Afro-Hawaiian.

Table Number 1: Blood composition of homestead husbands and wives as at 1935.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>Full Hawaiian</th>
<th>White-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Asiatic-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Portuguese-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Afro-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Non-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Total Husbands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Hawaiian</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2†</td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Hawaiian</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic-Hawaiian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese-Hawaiian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Hawaiian</td>
<td>2†</td>
<td>2†</td>
<td>2**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hawaiian</td>
<td>4††</td>
<td>2††</td>
<td>3***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2†††</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Wives 85 30 19 3 4 6 147

* 8 part-Chinese, 2 part-Japanese.
** All part-Chinese.
*** Husbands are 1 French, 1 Japanese, 1 Portuguese; wives are 2 part-Japanese, 1 part-Filipino.
† Portuguese.
‡‡ Chinese.
‡‡ Korean, 1 Portuguese, 1 Chinese.
‡‡‡ 1 Scotch, 1 Portuguese.
‡‡‡‡ 1 American, 1 Porto Rican.

Summarizing still more broadly, it can be said that the children of 57 homesteaders are full Hawaiian, so that they and their children after them will continue to be eligible as lot holders. The children of 110 more, either married or marriageable, have or would have at least half Hawaiian blood, and so would likewise qualify. Over against this, the children of 11 homesteaders who are of part-Hawaiian blood and have married non-Hawaiians would be disqualified under the existing law as not having half Hawaiian blood, while the same would happen to any offspring of 7
part-Hawaiians who are at present without partners, provided they married persons with very little or no Hawaiian blood. On the whole, it can be said that the Molokai area is a stronghold of Hawaiian blood on both the men's and the women's sides. As most of the young people of the homestead country are said to be marrying within the group, and the rate of natural increase is high, one of the main objects of the scheme, that of fostering the Hawaiian racial stock, seems to be getting realized.

The present-day population of the homestead area is by no means confined to these settlers. Besides officials, school teachers, ministers of religion, medical and hospital workers, and storekeepers, among whom the majority are whites, yet with most racial groups of Hawaii represented, there are large concentrations of Filipinos, and to some extent Koreans and Japanese, who are laborers. Most of these are in plantation camps within or adjoining the Hoolehua settlement. But several dozen live in the homes or out-houses of the homesteaders and are employed by them as workers. The numbers of such people vary from time to time and are difficult to estimate precisely. The Filipinos are especially numerous during the peak months of the pineapple season, July and August, totalling several hundreds. The economic and social consequences of having such laborers in the area, especially those living with the homesteaders, will be discussed in due course.

Selection and Allotment

The Hawaiian Homes Act gave the Homes Commission power to choose the homesteaders in the way it thought best, merely stating that they must be of the requisite amount of Hawaiian blood, also qualified to perform the conditions required of those holding the land (pages 41-42). The plan worked out by the Commission was marked by an unusual feature for land settlement schemes, namely that the homesteaders have been selected on the basis of their personal qualifications. Each applicant has had to give detailed particulars that have been used in judging his or her fitness.

44 The writer has not attempted to work this out statistically, as the records were not available on Molokai.
Apparently two by no means dovetailing principles were kept in mind by those having the responsibility of choice: first, that persons should be selected who were living in crowded regions of the city, hence in need of rehabilitation, and second, that they should have some aptitude for farm work. Naturally, too, character and conduct were taken into account.

For every block opened there have been more applicants than lots available. They were especially numerous for the Hoolehua settlement when pineapple development got under way. According to what homesteaders tell today of their reasons for coming, the main urge was an expectation that "big money could be made on the land." A large proportion of the selected people came directly from Honolulu, though their birthplaces and homes were scattered over the islands. They were of different economic and social levels. An occupational survey of the homesteaders at the time of their application shows that of the 107 men now holding lots and for whom records are available, 33 classed themselves as laborers or stevedores, 12 as farmers, 10 as carpenters or builders, 7 as engineers, 6 as mechanics, 6 as truck or tractor drivers or helpers, 6 as superintendents or foremen, 4 as clerks or salesmen, 3 as firemen, 2 as mail carriers, 2 as students, and one in each of the following categories: dentist, draftsman, U. S. Navy (retired), ship's officer, music instructor, manufacturer of musical instruments, riding instructor, cowboy, fisherman, 

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45 Records supplied by the Homes Commission office in Honolulu show that 82 of the present lot holders gave a Honolulu address at the time they applied for homesteads, though of these only 17 were Honolulu born. Of the remainder, 18 were born on the Island of Maui, 17 on the "Big Island," Hawaii, 16 on Kauai, 4 on Molokai, and 1 in rural Oahu, 9 being unrecorded. Of those coming directly from other islands to the Molokai settlements, 27 were from Maui (21 of them Maui born, 2 born on Kauai, 1 on Hawaii, 1 in Honolulu, and the rest unknown); 8 were from rural Oahu (of whom only 1 was born there, 3 of the others being born on Hawaii, 2 in Honolulu, 1 on Maui, and 1 unknown); 7 were from Kauai, though born on Hawaii. Sixty of the lot holders gave a Molokai address when applying for homesteads, but the names of none of them were necessarily Molokai people. Thirty-seven of them were already established on the island in an economic way, and received residence lots that took them out of the closer dwelling quarters of Kaunakakai; others appear to have been staying with friends or relatives who had already got homesteads at Kalanianaole or Hoolehua; several were children of the older lot holders. Only 21 of the 60 were Molokai born, 11 of the others being born on Maui, 11 in Honolulu, 9 on Hawaii, 6 in rural Oahu, 1 on Kauai, and 1 unknown. More than anything else, these figures serve to show the remarkable degree of movement among the Hawaiians in the modern period—a contrast to the olden days when islands and districts were so often at enmity, and a symptom of economic and social instability.
blacksmith, plasterer, welder, and boiler maker. Some twenty, either homesteaders or their marital partners, were alumni of the well known Kamehameha schools, which take boys and girls of Hawaiian ancestry to the college entrance stage. It is said that the Mormon church, which has interested itself particularly in rural agricultural development, encouraged its members to apply, and today about two out of every three families in Hoolehua are adherents of this faith. Some of the applicants had travelled abroad, and so probably had acquired a more individualistic outlook that stimulated them to try their fortunes in the scheme.

A rather striking point about the selection is that almost forty per cent of the lot holders today are of the female sex. Indeed, over the whole Hawaiian homesteading scheme, fifty per cent of the allotments have gone to women. Fourteen of these Molokai women are widowed or single, while a number have husbands not eligible as having insufficient or no Hawaiian blood. But on Molokai and elsewhere there are female lot holders with Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian husbands who are eligible at least in terms of their descent. Of the 57 Molokai families where both husband and wife are full Hawaiian, 18 lots are in the wife’s name. The chief explanations given by officials and by several of the men concerned who were seen by the writer are that at the time of allotment the husbands had jobs which they were loth to surrender, or else that they wanted to be free to go out and earn in case they did not like homesteading. Sometimes the men sent their wives to the Homes Commission office to apply, as they themselves were working, or else as one said, “because a woman can get what a man can’t.” Some persons familiar with the scheme now feel that the policy of allowing women with such eligible husbands to hold the title has been a mistake. As the husband is not legally obligated, he may not be so ready to settle as a genuine homesteader.

46 Compiled for this survey by the Homes Commission office. It has to be pointed out that Hawaiians move around considerably from one job to another, so that any occupational census has to be treated with caution. Seventy-seven of the lot holders are women, nearly all of whom recorded themselves as engaged in home duties. One was a trained nurse and one in a responsible post in a hotel cafeteria. Some lot holders have their former occupation unrecorded, having received their lots by inheritance, instead of through formal application.
Many people today, including homesteaders themselves, readily voice the opinion that the selection of people was not so wise as it might have been. Certain individuals, they say, should be ousted for the good of the scheme. Unfortunately there are differing ideas as to who are the undesirable. Some say those with least Hawaiian blood should be displaced; others list a roster of “agitators,” “loafers,” and so on. It is only to be expected that so heterogeneous a group should have some less satisfactory members. As yet, however, no move has been made for an official “purge” as some have been suggesting.

Each individual whose application for a tract received the approval of the Commission was given a number. These were placed in a container at the Honolulu office and a drawing was conducted. The person whose number came out first had first choice of a lot in the block being opened up; the one with the second number had second choice; and so forth. Some intending homesteaders were already familiar with the layout of the tracts, and so were able to discriminate. Others appear to have decided without seeing the land, either accepting advice from the officers of the Commission or else having as the first consideration being next to friends.

This method of allotment receives some criticism today as having produced a somewhat artificial social situation. Where relatives or acquaintances had their numbers come out early in the draw they were able to get together. In not a few instances, however, homesteaders seem to have little congeniality with their neighbors, or members of the same family are widely separated. The Molokai communities still show marks of being artificial rather than natural human groupings. This is emphasized by the scattered system of holdings, which makes visits between homesteaders often a matter of several miles of travel along the avenues. Where people were being drawn from such differing economic, social and educational strata, without any immediate basis of community solidarity, it might have been wise to make more of an effort to distribute the homesteaders in such a way that those with common interests would be to-
The Homestead Plateau—looking East from Lot 90.
Homesteading on Molokai

getter, and cooperation would be fostered to the maximum.47

Homestead Tenure

The homesteading project has been based on a special system of tenure designed to eliminate the evils of speculation and shiftlessness which have nearly always marked the pioneering of new land, and also to prevent repetition of the earlier Hawaiian homesteading experience (page 16).

The title to Hawaiian home lands has remained with the United States, and has been vested in the Homes Commission. The selected settlers have been given “the right to the use and occupancy of a tract” by means of leases of ninety-nine year duration with a nominal yearly rental of one dollar. The act of 1920 as amended in 1923 distinguished four types of holding: (1) not less than 20 acres nor more than 80 acres of agricultural land; (2) not less than 100 nor more than 500 acres of first-class pastoral lands; (3) not less than 250 nor more than 1,000 acres of second-class pastoral lands; and (4) sections of one-half acre or more of any class of land for residential lots.48

The lessee of a tract is required to “occupy and commence to use or cultivate the tract as his home or farm” within one year after the lease is granted, and to continue to do so every year under conditions which the Homes Commission has power to prescribe. He cannot transfer, mortgage, pledge, or otherwise dispose of his interest in the land except to another Hawaiian who has the requisite percentage of blood, and then only with the approval of the Commission. Other than in relation to such a transaction, his interest cannot be subject to attachment, levy or sale by court process. Any form of subletting of the tract or improvements is forbidden. All taxes upon the property are to be met by the homesteader (page 53).

Should the Homes Commission have occasion to believe that the conditions of a lease have been violated, it has to give due notice and afford a public hearing to the home-

47 See also pages 125-29, where a possible plan is discussed for reorganizing the holdings so as to build up a community center.

48 Hawaiian Homes act, section 207, as amended February 9, 1923.
steader concerned. Where the breach is proved, the Commission may "declare his interest in the tract and all improvements thereon to be forfeited and the lease in respect thereto cancelled, and shall thereupon order the tract to be vacated within a reasonable time." The title then revests in the Commission, which can take possession and dispose of the lot as it sees fit. To date this provision has not been invoked, though a number of the people originally selected have forfeited their interest through failure to occupy and use their lots.

The homesteaders appear to be satisfied with this system of tenure. Actually it is based on a principle not unlike that of the ancient Hawaiian tenure, by which the authority and control over the land lay in the hands of high chiefs or overlords, and the mass of the people had usehold rights defined and safeguarded by traditional custom. Writers on old Hawaii have nearly always given a distorted picture of this system through using terms drawn from European modes of tenure such as "owner," "tenant," and "feudal." In Hawaii, as elsewhere in Polynesia, the land and its products appear to have been associated with divine and supernatural forces that make inconceivable anything equivalent to the modern conception of a fee simple title. High born people exercised authority over land somewhat in the sense of being trustees for the gods and for their ancestral kin groups, while their lower born relatives and adherents were allotted sub-divisions of authority and use of special areas under an intricate system of rights and duties defined by customary law. Only as the western philosophy of land tenure intruded and the old beliefs and sanctions broke down did the "owner"-"tenant" relationship emerge. The willingness of the Hawaiians, other than the small group of chieftain descent who have had a tradition of managing property, to part with their land in modern times has been a direct outcome of their lack of experience in individual ownership of the western kind. Set against this background, the experiment in tenure being tried on the

49 Sections 208-10 of the act cover the above points. Section 217 empowers the Commission to enforce this through the courts.
Hawaiian homestead seems one peculiarly suited to the Hawaiian.\textsuperscript{50}

The really thorny problem involved in the homestead tenure, and found in similar experimental schemes elsewhere, is that of inheritance. Associated with it is the vital question of what place the hundreds of children now growing up in the homestead areas are to have within the plan. The Hawaiian Homes act states that upon the death of a lessee his interest in the tract and improvements “shall vest under the limitations provided for homesteads in Section 403 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii of 1915.\textsuperscript{51} This rules that regardless of any conveyance or bequest to the contrary, the title must pass first to the widow or widower, or if there be none to “the children,” or again if there are no children to the nearest living kin in an order defined as far as the grandchildren of any brother or sister; failing this, it revests in the Territory of Hawaii. The law further provides that:

“in case two or more persons succeed together to the interest of any occupier or lessee . . . they shall hold the same by joint tenancy so long as two or more shall survive, but upon the death of the last survivor, the estate shall descend according to the provisions of the first part of this section. And in case of such joint tenancy the continuous residence of any such tenants upon the premises shall be sufficient performance of the conditions of residence...”\textsuperscript{52}

The Hawaiian Homes act requires that successors to the interest assume the obligations financial and otherwise which were incurred by the decedent.

Two main complications arise: first, what is to be done when the heirs as here defined are not of half Hawaiian blood as required by the act, and second, under what system a group of children or other relatives are going to hold and

\textsuperscript{50} For the experience of other Polynesian groups in adjusting to modern systems of land tenure see Keesing, F. M., The Changing Maori, New Plymouth (N.Z.), 1928, part I; Keesing, Modern Samoa, London and Stanford, 1934, chapter V; The Laws of Tonga, and British Colonial Office annual reports on Tonga (in this island kingdom practically all land is held under leases from the government). So far the problems arising on the world’s frontiers from clashing ideas and systems of land tenure, though they have engaged the attention of local officials, have not been extensively described in literature.

\textsuperscript{51} Section 207 (5).

\textsuperscript{52} Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1915, pp. 240-41.
use a forty-acre or other lot which comes to them jointly.

The best way to approach these problems is to see what has happened already where lot holders have died. In some six cases the lease of a deceased male homesteader has been transferred by the Homes Commission to his widow, and in four cases of a deceased female homesteader to her widower, the marital partner concerned having been of sufficient Hawaiian blood. Here no difficulty has occurred. Three cases have already arisen, however, where the female lot holder has died and the heirs as defined in section 403 above do not meet the blood requirements. In two of these the widower is non-Hawaiian; but a solution has been available in that the children of the deceased are of half-Hawaiian blood, hence the lot could be transferred to them. In the other case, both the part-Hawaiian lot holder and her non-Hawaiian husband are dead, leaving three children who are ineligible. This is a key case, as before long a number of other situations of this kind will come about, while with passing generations no doubt increasing numbers of heirs will be ineligible under the law as it is at present. So far the Homes Commission has not settled this estate; but when it does, the precedent it creates will be of far reaching significance.

The second problem, far more comprehensive in its application—in fact, applying potentially to every family—is how to dispose of and administer a lot where there is more than one legal heir. A case in point is one where a lot holder and his wife are already both dead and there are six children. Here too, the estate remains unsettled. A kind of preliminary policy seems to have been laid down by the Homes Commission of cancelling the lease in such instances and of reallocating it to the eldest son, or to the one most competent. But this seems to conflict with section 403 above, which (a) apparently denies the right of a lot holder to assign his interest to any but the prescribed heirs, hence presumably to any special one of his children, and (b) specifies that children or other groups of relatives are

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63 Section 209 of the Hawaiian Homes act allows a period of two years during which the legal successors by inheritance are not considered to be violating its terms even though they are not eligible in terms of descent: this, apparently, designed to give time for readjusting their personal affairs.
Homesteading on Molokai

to exercise a joint tenancy, provided they fulfil the residence requirements.\textsuperscript{54} It would seem, to the layman at least, mandatory that the interest of a deceased person whose children are the legal heirs should be shared by them all, and not merely by one. Since, too, section 403 implies that the leased area cannot be formally subdivided among the heirs but must retain its identity as a block, the question emerges as to how such a lot can be held and worked “in severalty.”\textsuperscript{55} In the case mentioned above the estate has been administered by the Homes Commission authorities for the benefit of the children.\textsuperscript{56}

According to officials of the Commission this whole aspect of the homestead plan is undefined, the legal phases of the cases so far arising being treated on an individual basis, and the surviving members of the families allowed to carry on homestead activities in their own way. They are aware, however, of the seriousness of the issues, including the wider problem of what future there can be for the great majority of the children and grandchildren of the homesteaders under the present set-up. As for the homesteaders themselves, judging by the complete surprise shown by those questioned and the fact that few if any have made legally drawn wills, there has been little thought or concern about the matter of inheritance. The policies finally adopted by the Homes Commission as regards this phase of land tenure will have an interest and importance far beyond the Hawaiian scheme.

Water Development

A basic physical problem with which Molokai homesteading is concerned is to get an adequate supply of fresh water for home and farming purposes. The Hawaiian Homes act empowered the Commission to use free of charge

\textsuperscript{54} See also the terms on page 41 above on which leases may be cancelled.

\textsuperscript{55} Among the Maories of New Zealand, where this situation has come about, there is now the practice, legally provided for, of “incorporating” small groups of heirs; the interests of each are thus protected without subdividing the land, and it can be worked as a profitable unit under the direction of one or more, as agreed among the family; any individual can sell out his share to the others. See Keesing, “Maori Progress on the East Coast” in Te Wananga, journal of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, September and December, 1929.

\textsuperscript{56} The problem of succession is here complicated by the fact that should the lot be made over to an heir or heirs the pineapple contract of the deceased holder would lapse, as he did not make any legal assignment of the proceeds to his family; to prevent them losing the benefits the Commission is administering the holding as an estate.
the water on all government lands for domestic purposes and to supply livestock, likewise for irrigation purposes on the island of Molokai and an area of the island of Kauai.\footnote{Section 221. Special provisions are included to make available water for which the commissioner of public lands has issued "water licenses" to other parties.} Close to half a million dollars has already been spent by the Commission for Molokai water development, and further extensions are planned.

The homestead area of the island has a wet season usually from late September to February, during which crops can be grown without irrigation. For the rest of the year, however, blue sky is overhead and the lands become more or less parched. The rains that fall heavily throughout the year on the higher levels of the eastern peak either tumble over the cliffs into the valleys on the northeast and east coast, or else pass underground. There are a few springs but little surface water to the south and west. The problem of the water engineer has had two broad phases: first, to harness water on the heights and pipe it down to points of storage and distribution, and second, to bring artesian and well water from beneath the surface without drawing up the salt water which geologists find saturating the whole island somewhat below sea-level.\footnote{See Lindgren, W., The Water Resources of Molokai, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, 1903; also compare Stearns, H. T., and Vaksvik, K. N., Geology and Ground-water Resources of the Island of Oahu, Hawaii, Bulletin 1, Division of Hydrography, Territory of Hawaii, 1935.}

The early water supply of the Kalanianaole settlement was partly pumped from an old spring in the vicinity and partly piped and flumed from the upland valleys of Waihanau and Wahii. The spring supplied about two and a half million gallons a day, but had a salt content of nearly sixty grains to the gallon: about the limit of salinity for successful irrigated farming even with specially adapted crops. The equipment for bringing down the upland water, including check dams and perishable wooden tanks and flumes, was of a rather temporary nature. During the experimental period the homesteaders in this lower section were not charged for their water.

The opening up of the Hoolehua-Palaa area necessitated much larger capital outlays for water. From the higher valleys the precious fluid was brought by pipes to
five twenty-thousand gallon redwood tanks, and from there distributed through miles of smaller pipes over the plateau. In 1927-28 the storage system was enlarged by three eighty-thousand gallon wooden tanks at Kauluwai. Since then a steel tank of two million gallon capacity and two concrete tanks each of three and a half million gallons have been added, together with improved dams, tunnels and pipes to collect the water. This represents a total storage capacity in 1935 of 9,340,000 gallons. It is estimated to harness a maximum flow of approximately 1,760,000 gallons a day, and a minimum flow of 50,000 gallons during the dry season. In addition every homestead has its own tank of two to ten thousand gallon size. All the water for the Kalanianaole settlement is now drawn from this upland supply, and the spring has been abandoned.

Until the two great concrete tanks were completed in 1934, there was almost every year a shortage of water even for domestic use during the dry season, and in several drought years a serious hardship. By an elaborate system of meters and control points the flow from storage was portioned out to the individual tanks. On occasions as little as one thousand gallons is said to have been available to a family for a whole week—for the baths so essential on the dusty, windy plateau, for drinking and culinary purposes, for spraying pineapples, and for gardens and stock around the house. The year 1935 is the first in which a supply of storage water sufficient even for these domestic uses can be guaranteed regardless of weather changes. Full daily records of the water situation are kept by special employees of the Commission, and by now a body of information has been accumulated that has greatly simplified the task of planning and management.

No irrigated agriculture has been developed at Hoolehua, so that the capacity of the new system in this regard has not been tested. As homesteaders pay for all their water at a domestic rate of ten cents a thousand gallons, the cost of this would be prohibitive. No special rate for irrigation water has yet been provided by the Homes Com-

59 With a minimum charge of $1.50 a quarter. For the rules and regulations governing the use of domestic water see the biennial report, H. H. C., 1931, p. 64.
mission, as was originally planned, nor does the present distributing system make differentiation possible. Naturally the payments made by homesteaders for water, while slowly coming in to offset the expenditures for development, cannot be expected to amortize the costs to any great extent short of a very long time.

Before each block has been opened for settlement, a water outlet and meter was installed on each lot without cost to the homesteader. The Commission has authority to regulate the flow to ensure a fair distribution of the available supply. Payments must be made quarterly, and failure to pay within thirty days brings a ten per cent penalty plus accumulating interest during the time of default. The Commission may cut off the supply from those defaulting in payments for three months: a provision, however, that has never yet been enforced even though in certain cases homesteaders have let their water bills run until the original cost has been greatly magnified. Naturally the system of financial penalties has been a source of some complaint. But the official stand is that strict enforcement of water debts is essential in view of the vast expenditures involved in making this resource available. Strong measures have also been taken to prevent tampering with the meters, which is said to have been not infrequent in the earlier days when water was short, the water supply of the offenders having been temporarily cut off and the damages charged to them.

Just at the time an adequate storage has become available, a serious problem has arisen in connection with the distributing system both at Kalanianaole and Hoolehua. According to a report by the Commission engineer, the miles of piping originally laid from home to home, especially in the earlier units of settlement, cannot carry nearly the amount of water which is essential or which the homesteaders are prepared to take. The pipes, small in the first place, are continually becoming smaller because of "a tough organic film on the inner walls of the pipe" which is being built up by minerals in the soft mountain waters. Some of the pipes are already all but closed, making the position of the homesteaders concerned precarious. It is estimated
that renewing the system with pipes impervious to such chemical action and carrying a sufficient flow to make irrigated agriculture possible will cost something like $88,000.

In 1935 a survey was commenced with the object of harnessing far larger quantities of water on the higher lands, particularly the streams on the rugged northern face of the island. This is being financed by a Federal grant of $25,000, and the Hawaiian unit of the United States Geological Survey is cooperating. Should a feasible plan be worked out, it may well be that within two or three years the water system in the homestead country and elsewhere on Molokai can be vastly expanded and irrigated agriculture on a large scale made possible.

**Other Development**

In opening up each block the Homes Commission has planned and financed the other basic preparatory work: selecting and surveying the tracts, putting in a road system, and doing the heavy clearing of the land to get it ready for plowing. No charge has been assessed upon the individual homesteaders for these, though some contributed quite an amount of labor on their arrival. Kalanianaole settlement area was difficult to break in because of rock deposits and a heavy growth of algaroba trees, but the grassy plateau and deep soil of Hoolehua offered few natural obstacles.

Except for a main highway passing through Kalanianaole, all roads within the homestead blocks have been developed and maintained directly by the Homes Commission, without cost to the county of Maui, within which Molokai lies, or to the individual homesteaders. There are now nearly forty miles of wide main roads or avenues, with dozens of miles more of narrow roads between the lots along which trucks can go in connection with work in the pineapple fields. Nearly all are dirt surfaced, though in Kalanianaole some are built up with stone. The Commission maintains a grader which is hauled over them periodically with a tractor. An effort has been made to get the county of Maui, to which the homesteaders pay considerable amounts in taxes, to assume some responsibilities as regards
the roads. As a start, the county, with the aid of Federal grants, is carrying a tar sealed road in to the main community center at Hoolehua. This road development represents an outlay of close to $100,000 from the Hawaiian Homes fund.

As hardly any of the homesteaders have had the necessary equipment, the Commission maintains tractors and implements with which to plow and disc the land of any lot holder who wants this done. The minimum rate possible for the work is charged.\textsuperscript{60} Community pastures have also been established and are managed by the Commission under a system that will be examined in more detail later (pages 67-69).

\textbf{Financial Aspects}

To assist the individual homesteader in establishing his home, acquiring stock, and otherwise improving his tract, the act of 1920 authorized a system of loans from the revolving fund.

The lessee of a farm tract is able to borrow up to a maximum of $3,000, and a residence lot holder up to $1,000, to be spent for purposes which the Homes Commission approves. This is repaid in a fixed number of installments, along with interest at five per cent per annum on the unpaid principal, so as to amortize the debt within an agreed period not exceeding thirty years. The Commission has power, so long as three of its members approve, to postpone payments wholly or in part—this was done with the Kalanianaole farm holders between the time their agricultural enterprise failed and they were able to be established in pineapples. As the original loans are paid off, it is possible for new loans to be contracted, provided that the total sum outstanding at any one time does not exceed the maximum amounts named above. Where a lot is transferred by assignment the successor to the interest assumes the current obligation, or else the Commission can declare the outstanding debt immediately due and payable. It is stipulated, too, that “no part of the moneys loaned shall be devoted to any purpose other than those for which the loan is made.”\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{60} Plowing usually costs approximately $4 an acre, and discing $1.50 an acre.
\textsuperscript{61} Sections 214, 215 of the 1920 act, as amended Feb. 9, 1923.
As security for the loans advanced, the Commission acquires a lien upon the lessee’s interest in the tract and improvements upon it, also on his livestock, equivalent to the amount unpaid at any time: this to have priority over any other obligation for which these may be security. If the Commission finds that a homesteader has violated the terms of his loan, or when it otherwise “deems advisable,” it may enforce this lien and cancel the lease; in which case it has to pay to the borrower any difference in his favor between the fair value of the improvements and livestock, and the total amount of the lien. Where any lease is withdrawn under these circumstances, or as discussed on page 41, and is leased again, the worth of the improvements upon the tract made by the former lessee is to be regarded as equivalent to a loan by the Commission to the new holder, and is subject to the same conditions as a direct financial advance.62

Approximately $375,000 has been loaned so far to the Molokai homesteaders: some $68,000 to the Kalanianaole farm holders, $272,000 to the Hoolehua farm holders, $25,000 to the Kalanianaole and Hoolehua residential lessees, and $8,200 to the pastoral holders. A few of the earliest agricultural settlers received the maximum allowance in a lump sum, but the great majority of lessees have been given an initial amount of $1,500, followed by two to four small loans of one, two or three hundred dollars. An official summary of the loan situation as at June 30, 1934, shows a total of nearly $340,000 as being principal not yet due, $23,000 as principal due but to then unpaid, and $47,000 as accumulated interest.63 Nearly half the unpaid principal and accumulated interest comprised the postponed payments of the Kalanianaole farm holders. As these people had money available from pineapple crops later in 1934 and in 1935, these debts have been considerably reduced. The payments of the Hoolehua people have been coming in fairly satisfactorily, under a system of collection that will be seen

62 Sections 216, 217 of the act. The latter puts “teeth” into the clauses regarding leases and loans by providing for enforcement of Homes Commission decisions by the courts.

Some individuals have been far more conscientious in this matter than others; in fact five homesteaders have gone so far as to pay off not only the principal and interest due but also the whole of their remaining indebtedness which they had many years to amortize.

The loan system is today a source of some dissatisfaction. Not a few people, homesteaders and others, feel that the rate of interest should be scaled down from five per cent, following the widespread trend in recent years. Some, too, feel that the present limit of $3,000 for loans should be substantially increased. Certain homesteaders, while they have no clearly defined complaint, seem puzzled and aggrieved at the way their debit accounts, by no means always paid regularly, mount through charges for interest.

The Homes Commission has supervised closely the expenditure of loan moneys, nearly always purchasing the materials or getting the work done for the homesteaders through its own officers. The major item in all cases has been to build a house and supply it with furniture and a water tank. The Commission has made available a number of plans of houses that meet with the approval of the board of health, and cost different amounts, and the homesteaders have chosen from these the kind they wanted, or have suggested modifications. Some of the settlers, especially in the earlier years, built or had a hand in the building of their homes, while several who were formerly builders and carpenters by trade have taken regular contracts for such construction work in the homestead area. With few exceptions the houses are substantial, and many would grace any suburban allotment. Seeds, implements and livestock have been among the other main purchases.

The Commission has also required all homesteaders to take out insurance policies upon such dwellings and im-

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64 It is well to point out that official figures such as those above give a somewhat unfair picture of the indebtedness of the homesteaders to the Commission in this and other matters, as they are compiled every June, just before the major pineapple payments become available to reduce these obligations substantially.

65 See the recommendations of the present Delegate to Congress from Hawaii, contained in a letter made public in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 2, 1935.

66 The regulations of the Homes Commission regarding houses are found in the biennial report, H. H. C., 1932, p. 61.
provements, this being authorized by the original act. The basic amount usually corresponds closely to the total of the loan, though a few have taken out larger sums; nearly all the policies are such as to mature in the period 1934-37.

The Hawaiian Homes act states that "the lessee shall pay all taxes assessed upon the tract and improvements," though a first period of five years is allowed in which he or she is exempt from all taxation. Should payments be defaulted, the Commission is directed to meet the taxes, and acquire a further lien on the property corresponding to this amount.

The tax history of the homestead area has been rather checkered. Few of the settlers had ever had the experience before of paying such compulsory assessments. Coming as they have done suddenly into the position of being property owners, and in many cases of receiving a large income at least in some years, they have been faced with an imposing array of Federal and Territorial dues: the real property tax, the personal property tax, often the regular income taxes, and a new gross income tax. In view of their business inexperience it is no wonder that many are somewhat bewildered and even resentful. A complicating factor in the homestead area has been that the main income of the settlers, that from pineapples, is received almost entirely during three months of the year. As very few have made a practice of banking money or of saving it against future obligations (pages 94-98), nearly all find themselves unable to meet tax payments when they become due, and so have them magnified through delinquency penalties.

It has been essential, obviously, that the homesteaders should have advice and aid with their taxation problems. This has been supplied by the officers of the Homes Commission, though not without their incurring some animosity as if conniving at the impositions. Indeed, making out tax returns has become one of the major items of business with which the Hoolehua office has to deal. In practically

67 Section 216. The cost of this has been added to the amount of the annual installments under the loan amortization plan.
68 Section 208.
69 Replacing a former excise tax.
all cases the Commission meets the real property tax for the homesteaders, collecting this from them as feasible along with other debts. Since at least all the farm lot holders are engaged in business—primary production, trucking and so on—they are supposed to keep exact accounts of their financial dealings in order to comply with the income tax laws, especially the regulation of a new gross income tax. All this is on the whole still something remote and mysterious to such a Hawaiian community. At one time those homesteaders who so wished were relieved of their burden of tax calculation and payment by the pineapple company to which they were contracted (page 72), the company carrying out the transaction, and about half availed themselves of this arrangement; but it is now discontinued. Today the Commission has a system of managing this and other business affairs of those homesteaders who elect to utilize its facilities (pages 102-04).

Before homesteading started on Molokai, the areas concerned were worth about one dollar an acre, and were bringing in to the Territory a rental of five cents an acre. Today their value has increased very many times over, and thousands of dollars are paid in annual taxes by the settlers. The rehabilitation plan has thus benefited a far wider circle than merely the homesteaders.

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70 One homesteader, hearing the new tax regulations expounded, exclaimed "We shall all have to go back to school!" The gross income tax falls especially hard on the homesteaders, for as will be seen, the net income from pineapple production is very low in proportion to the gross income because of the technical and costly process of growing the fruit.
III. HOMESTEAD ECONOMICS

From the first the economic problems of homesteading have engrossed the attention of those responsible for the scheme, as has already been seen to quite an extent. To root the Hawaiian families once more in the land a means of subsistence had to be assured. Furthermore, some degree of commercial development was essential in order that they might have money to meet their taxes and other obligations, and secure clothing, furnishings and the like which their adjustment to western standards of living had made essential.

A survey of the further aspects of homestead economics on Molokai must concern itself with various experiments in diversified farming and stock raising, with marketing problems, with the cultivation of pineapples, and with methods of earning money other than directly from the land. It must also analyze the work effort of the people, their attempts to develop cooperative enterprises, their credit standing, and their spending. The many activities of the Hawaiian Homes Commission in guiding and controlling economic life will have to be reviewed. Two interesting factors to be kept in mind throughout are the way in which Hawaiian characteristics and cultural backgrounds enter in as shaping forces of homestead development, and the degree to which the Hawaiian settlers have been able to adjust themselves to the new techniques of production required by the Molokai situation, and the opportunities for handling money that have come to them. Behind all must be the paramount question: have economic foundations been laid that will provide a permanent basis for Hawaiians to live on the island?

Diversified Farming

Some observers see the homestead area as offering an ideal set-up for farming development. There is "deep red, extremely fertile soil," especially in Hoolehua-Palaau.\textsuperscript{71}

During the wet season from late September to February, many products can be grown, while expansion of the water system may make irrigated agriculture possible the year round. Besides a considerable local market, especially at Kaunakakai and the ranches and plantation camps, it is only sixty miles by sea to the city of Honolulu, which at present depends for its produce largely upon the American mainland. Adding to these advantages the terms of occupation and the aids rendered by the Homes Commission, the homesteader is judged to be in an enviable position. "If American farmers were told of the proposition," a local resident said, "two million of them would want to come tomorrow."

Others, however, are by no means so optimistic as to the economic opportunities. Too much wind, not enough water, infestation by pests and diseases that thrive in the semi-tropical climate, and a lack of certainty as to the success of any agricultural enterprise, making systematic marketing difficult—these are said to make farming "almost impossible." Furthermore, not a few folk ridicule the idea that the Hawaiian homesteaders, whose ancestors dwelt by the sea with fish and taro as their economic base, and who, if they themselves did not live this way, came mostly from crowded parts of the city, could ever make good as "dirt farmers" on dry upland country.

The best way to test these contrasting points of view is to examine what actually has happened so far.

The experts who visited Molokai in 1921 recommended that the first settlement at Kalamaula be based on diversified agriculture, if possible with irrigation, and on stock raising. By the time the pioneer homesteaders arrived a demonstration farm was already in operation. As already mentioned, the early farming proved a great success. Molokai alfalfa from the homestead country, with ten croppings a year, came to be in great demand. In 1924 homestead tomatoes "controlled the Honolulu market." Corn, watermelons, cucumbers, and sweet potatoes were successfully

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73 Biennial reports, H. H. C., 1925 and 1927.
grown, though with setbacks from pests. Of stock, pigs were the best money producers, though every family had some cattle and a few sold eggs. At the end of the first four years of experiment it seemed that alfalfa and pigs were to provide a permanent basis for Kalanianaole economics. The factors that finally brought an end to elaborate farming on this lower tract have already been referred to (page 30).

At the time the Hoolehua-Palaau lots were opened up an inquiry was under way as to the possibility of the homesteaders growing pineapples there. The immediate development, however, was along the lines of diversified dry-land farming. For a short period another demonstration farm was opened. But this was soon closed, as it was thought the necessary trial work could best be done by the settlers themselves on their own property in consultation with agriculturalists on the Homes Commission staff and with representatives of various experimental institutions in the Territory. Later a school farm was started that included experimental work among its activities.

The Hoolehua families planted annually large quantities of corn, and many of them pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, squash, peanuts, and minor amounts of other vegetables such as beans, onions, and cabbages. Indeed, few dry land products have remained untried. There are still vivid memories of "pumpkin poi," a mixture of flour and pumpkin, which took the place of the traditional taro poi as a staple food. A large amount of the corn was sold, or else fed to livestock which was being accumulated.

On the whole, however, dry land farming has had a very limited success at Hoolehua. The high winds already spoken of, several droughts, and increasingly serious ravages by pests and blights have tended to discourage even those who farmed most meticulously. The financial outlay, the technical processes and constant care involved in the growing of most crops, including spraying or other measures for their protection, and problems of marketing to be seen in a later section (pages 62-67) imposed a load that relatively

74 Biennial report, H. H. C., 1925, p. 15.
few of the homesteaders were ready to bear. Pineapple planting, too, began in 1927, and as the companies and neighborhood stores made advances, the spur of absolute necessity was removed.

An official survey of agriculture today shows approximately seven hundred acres used for crops other than pineapples. Nevertheless such cultivation seems to be still essentially in the experimental stage. The people have a struggle to achieve success with even the long familiar crops like corn: this crop in 1935, for example, was practically everywhere poor and shrivelled. Mediterranean fruitfly and other insects destroy the melons, and Irish potatoes have so far been a "total failure." Where a crop comes through to the point of harvest, the proceeds from its sale may hardly meet the cost of production. Success with any product usually brings over-production in the following year, hence a glut. Nevertheless much has been learned, even if largely in a negative way. The homesteaders are developing an experimental attitude that makes them increasingly willing to cooperate in attacking the weak points of diversified agriculture. They now know the vagaries of the local weather, and see clearly the value of windbreaks. Many have laid out lawns, flower-beds, and shrubbery round their houses, also useful banana and papaia trees.

A few, looking to the more distant future, are putting in slower growing fruit trees: avocados, breadfruit, mangoes, oranges, and figs. Several particularly interested in building up their stock have grown good stands of pigeon peas. Even the most inveterate critics of the Hawaiian as a dry land agriculturalist acknowledge that Hoolehua has "some real dirt farmers."

It has often been easier for the homesteader to blame the tangible organization of the Homes Commission for crop failures than to attack their not always easily visible causes. The visitor to the homestead country will find himself regaled on many occasions with its alleged sins, especially of omission, as regards agriculture. Some will

75 From a report in the Homes Commission files.
76 Some have larger shelter trees planted; but as these are supposed to interfere with the growth of any adjacent pineapples, they have not been gone in for extensively.
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A Hoolua Homestead.
sweepingly assert that no effective advice or help has been given; that at most representatives of the Commission merely plow and disc the settler's land—at a high price. The fact that the Commission has a hand in affairs has given opportunity for a new set of grievances to emerge as supplementing those which are the traditional prerogative of the "poor old farmer."

Those governing homestead matters are caught into something of a dilemma in trying to render assistance. On the one hand they can hardly leave the homesteader wholly to his own devices in this all important field of economic activity: it has been from the first the aim to get those on the agricultural lands on to a largely subsistence basis. On the other, it would be only too easy for experts of the Homes Commission, University, or other organizations to become virtually managers of the farms, directing most operations, and incidentally laying themselves open to blame on every occasion that their advice or assistance produced results short of the fullest success. Naturally, a middle path has been tried.

There will be no attempt to summarize all the activities and experiments so far conducted—far more in number than have ever appeared in published records. The Homes Commission, besides its early demonstration farms, its plowing and discing, and its road, water, and other development work, has had at least one agriculturalist permanently stationed in the homestead area. While such experts could not know the solutions for all problems, they have given advice and, within judicious limits, actual help to those asking for it. In 1930 a pamphlet prepared by the superintendent and agriculturalist was published in English and Hawaiian, giving directions for growing and protecting all crops considered possible in the homestead areas. To stimulate interest in farming and other activities, an annual fair has been held at Hoolehua under the auspices of the Commission, with prizes for which the homesteaders and their families could compete.

77 Munro, J., Circular No. 1 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

78 This was omitted in 1935, as it was felt that interest was flagging for want of novelty; a scheme for reorganizing the event is being worked out.
Most significant of all in the longer perspective, the Commission moved financially and otherwise to establish a model school farm. This, started in 1931, is attached to the Molokai Intermediate School in Hoolehua, and is a unit of the Smith-Hughes vocational plan. An agricultural expert has recently judged it to be one of the best equipped school farms in the Territory. Besides the growing of standard products like pineapples and corn, and the demonstration of stock raising, trials are being made with other crops and with grasses. Attached to the school is a local chapter of the Future Farmers of America, which has several sons of homesteaders in its membership. A number of its graduates now own small herds of cattle and raise crops on their parents' lots. Everyone seems agreed that the school farm is really providing the test as to whether the homestead scheme is likely to be permanent. Its results, so far very promising, will no doubt be followed with the greatest interest by those anxious to know if there is any future for the Hawaiian on the land.

From the first there has been cooperation with the agricultural extension service of the University of Hawaii. Its leaders have acted as advisers to the Homes Commission. Its weekly market bulletins and other literature are made available at the Molokai office of the Commission. Experiments in growing special crops, such as Irish potatoes have been conducted, with financial help from that body. The University service has supplied trees for windbreaks free. Since 1934 it has had stationed on Molokai an expert agriculturalist, of Hawaiian descent, whose cooperation is proving invaluable to the increasing number of homesteaders who consult him. In 1935 an assistant was appointed to work with him.

The future of diversified farming is largely dependent on factors as yet unpredictable. Should pineapples cease to be a source of income (page 84), it may become much more a basis for subsistence and money getting than now. Possible changes in the homestead set-up (page 127) would have an effect. Continued experiment and experience may

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79 Kinnison, F., citation footnote 2, page 56.
or may not subdue natural obstacles and arouse a greater interest in more elaborate agricultural techniques: seed selection, fertilizing, spraying, and so on. If new water developments should make irrigation or semi-irrigation possible at reasonable cost, some at least of the Hawaiian settlers would be able to return to more familiar techniques of farming. Dry land taro would be grown, or even perhaps wet land taro in some of the shallow gulches that traverse the plateau. Already it has been demonstrated on one or two lots that, given water, alfalfa does splendidly at Hoolehua. Besides giving a wider range of crops, such additional water would make possible a longer growing season for products now limited to the rainy season. Finally, there is the essential question of marketing, now to be considered.

Marketing

"The most important matter in connection with your Molokai settlements," wrote Dr. Elwood Mead, visiting expert from California, and now with the Federal government, "is to grow crops that can be sold and to provide facilities for placing them on the Honolulu market."\(^{80}\) Considerable attention has been given to this problem by officers of the Homes Commission, though not nearly enough according to critics.

In 1922, as part of the first organization, a survey was made by professors of the University of Hawaii to determine what products Honolulu markets might be able to absorb.\(^{81}\) The city, they found, had peculiarities of demand that arose out of the food habits of the different racial groups; that it was easily subject to glut as regards many lines of produce; that Orientals had developed truck farming to a degree that made it dubious whether Molokai homesteaders could compete, except in a few special lines; but that a bid might be made to meet demand now satisfied by products from the American mainland or abroad. They suggested that beef might become the basic commodity for

\(^{80}\) Biennial report, H. H. C., 1923, p. 18.

\(^{81}\) Published as Bulletin 1 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission: "Honolulu as a Market for Hawaiian Produce," March, 1922.
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securing a money income, with sweet potatoes, bananas, and other minor products supplementing it. Everything, however, would depend on the ability of the homesteader to obtain "cheap and efficient transportation and suitable marketing agencies."

The subsequent experience of the homesteaders as regards marketing has been checkered. Some corn, vegetables and stock are sold locally on Molokai, notably to the ranches and plantation camps. There has also been an irregular flow of the produce already discussed in the previous section to Honolulu. For the latter there are now convenient facilities of transportation: a good road to the Kaunakakai pier, and several small freighters weekly going direct to the city.

Early in the homestead development attempts were made to form cooperatives for marketing. About 1923 the Kalanianaole settlers banded into what was called the First Hawaiian Homes Cooperative Association, the members of which were pledged not to sell outside the organization. With aid from the University, a standard method of crating produce was worked out. A similar association was formed later among some of the Hoolehua settlers. Unfortunately neither of these groups were able to hold together permanently. Besides technical difficulties, a human factor entered in. The "great obstacle," states a report of the Homes Commission, is to get the people to realize that "they must share their losses as well as their gains." Because certain ones had better crops, or considered themselves to have worked harder than others, they thought themselves penalized when returns were shared. Before long some were marketing part or all of their produce outside the organization, and soon everyone was "cutting each other's throats to get to the market first." Nevertheless there is still much talk in the homestead country about such cooperatives (pages 89-90). The so-called "New Deal Committee" (page 123) includes in its proposed plan of reorganization the development of an association that would be a basis for cooperative producing and marketing.

82 Biennial report for 1925, pp. 16-17.
As a result of their experience in the individual sale of products in Honolulu to date, the homesteaders have become both discouraged and suspicious. Tomatoes, melons, beans and other crops of the diversified farm are now produced in increasing quantities by Oriental small holders on Molokai and elsewhere, and the tendency is for the markets to be glutted unless the homesteader gets an off season crop. Where formerly tomatoes and melons netted about five cents a pound, they may bring in less than one cent today, with expenses still to be met—anything but a profitable return, even for thrifty Orientals. Furthermore, the homesteaders tend to judge prices by what they used to be, and so are said to have a “vastly exaggerated idea of the value of their crops.” Where prices are low, they readily assume that they are the victims of unfair or dishonest practices by buyers in Honolulu. Here, too, the visitor will find himself regaled with stories. There are instances where lot holders, after bringing a crop to harvest, and meeting the charges for packing, transportation and commissions, have had hardly enough or not enough to meet the original investment in plowing and seeds.

On Molokai today the anomalous situation exists of having on the one hand Hawaiian homesteaders and other growers struggling to get their produce sold profitably on the Honolulu market, and on the other considerable quantities of foodstuffs being brought into the island for local consumption. Especially at the peak of the pineapple season, when large numbers of extra laborers are employed, there is a demand quite unsatisfied by home production.83 In the hope of working out a more satisfactory system of distribution, the authorities of the Molokai ranch organized in 1933 a “Community Market” at Kaunakakai. Its task was to act as a clearing house for the island produce, first to supply local needs, and second to sell outside. Unfortunately it has won to only a limited extent the necessary confidence and cooperation of small growers, including the homesteaders, and not having assured supplies of produce coming in regularly has not developed on the scale expected.

83 Even taro is brought in for the local poi factories (page 95). The Hawaiian growers at Halawa and elsewhere, it is said, ask too high a price.
So far, therefore, as the homesteaders contribute to the local markets, it is through individual sales to the plantation and other stores, and to chance customers such as Filipino laborers. Cattle are an exception to this, being disposed of usually through an employee of the Homes Commission (page 69). In 1932 a quantity of produce was shipped round the island to the Kalaupapa settlement (page 25), but the returns were low and supplies could not be maintained to put the enterprise on a regular footing.

No comprehensive system of marketing has ever been tried out under the auspices of the Homes Commission, though in a variety of ways its officers have sought to lend aid. On more than one occasion they have actually taken a hand in disposing of produce in Honolulu; but attempts to follow this up have failed because the expected crops met with set-backs from natural conditions or other circumstances. An employee thoroughly familiar with the situation explained the problem thus:

"We cannot tell what produce the homesteaders are going to have in this climate, hence cannot enter into any contracts in Honolulu. Our inability to anticipate the yield, found out by bitter experience, is the key to our marketing troubles. Where homesteaders have quit producing, it has not been their lack of interest, but rather the uncertainty of getting a return."

How could such a situation be resolved? A plan that has some proponents among both homesteaders and outsiders is to marshall the whole agricultural enterprise in a far more systematic manner—"much as has the A.A.A." They visualize the Homes Commission as arranging to market a certain schedule of goods, then directing this and that lot holder what to grow, and helping him to grow it. This scheme, fine as it may look on paper, seems hardly feasible at this stage considering past experience of the natural and human factors involved. A special proposal that has had considerable support for some years is to install a small canning plant in the homestead area. The idea has been that surplus vegetable and fruit products could be thus utilized, and at the same time remunerative employment
could be afforded for women and girls. Another suggestion, put forward by a local resident thoroughly familiar with the situation, is as follows:

"The Homes Commission might take from the homesteaders all the produce they wish to sell, paying them for it in cash at a fair price considering current market values. The produce could then be sold in whatever way that offers, without needing to make formal contracts ahead. Much could be disposed of on Molokai. Possibly the army and navy, which are now sympathetic towards the idea of encouraging self-sufficiency for Hawaii as regards the basic foodstuffs, would take produce of this kind. The Commission could maintain a fund which should remain about balanced by the gains and losses involved."

He points out, however, that the homesteaders will have to revise their present ideas as to values, and that it remains for the future to show whether they can really compete permanently with Oriental producers and with the large-scale agriculture of the American mainland. In opposition to such ideas there are some observers who consider that it would be a mistake for the Homes Commission to assume responsibility for the marketing of the crops. They not only doubt that a practical scheme could be worked out but also feel that the way would be opened for further discontent and criticism.

At least one valuable move at this juncture would be to have a thorough study launched of the agricultural situation to date, in order that the lessons so far gained may be utilized as regards both production and marketing. This would be especially timely in view of the proposed plans to invest large sums in water development. Granting that so far the picture as revealed in this brief outline is not very bright, the prospect is by no means hopeless. Molokai, after all, has its main growing season during the winter months when fresh produce is not so available from the mainland; there is a local market to build upon; if irrigation is started there should be ready sale of alfalfa to the ranches; and there is a growing spirit of cooperation with those institutions seeking by experimental means to adapt farming to local con-
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ditions. The survey here suggested would furthermore be of great help to the homesteaders as they seek to understand and grapple with the complex economic processes which the homestead project has thrust into their scheme of living.84

Stock Raising

From the start the homesteaders have been encouraged to acquire cattle, work animals, pigs and poultry. This phase of economics today falls into three distinct sections. First there are community pastures, upon which each lot holder is entitled to graze up to sixty head of stock on payment of one dollar annually per animal. Second, there are on Molokai three homestead holdings each of 250 acres of pastoral land, allotted directly for ranching purposes (page 30). Third, the settlers keep stock on their own lots, especially pigs and chickens.

The Kalanianaole settlement has 2,500 acres of community pasture on the adjacent slopes known as Kalamaula. This includes an amount of first class grazing land, and in summer great quantities of kiawe (algaroba) beans fall to the ground to form excellent stock food. The Hoolehua-Palaaau pasture totals 6,630 acres, but is poorer; indeed, a considerable section provides very little feed during the summer months. At Kapaakea-Kamililoa, east of Kaunakakai, a pasture of 3,500 acres is used as a fattening paddock for homestead cattle that are to be sold.

The rules of the Homes Commission regarding community pastures are to be found in its published annual re-

84 An agricultural expert, after reading the above report on diversified farming and marketing, offers the following suggestions "in the order of their importance," as based on his experience:

(1) Irrigation is necessary if it is hoped to develop a commercial truck farming project;
(2) Planting should be intelligently planned so that the product would reach the Honolulu market when competition from mainland or other sources is at a minimum;
(3) Grading, packing, and packaging must be improved so as to have products in best condition and attractive in appearance;
(4) There should be better handling between farm and market, including proper protection from the weather;
(5) The homesteaders should elect or appoint one of their own number to contact the Farmers' Exchange, as offering the best marketing outlet.

In connection with some of the above points it can be noted that, under a farm project being planned with resources available from government processing taxes, the problems of the Molokai homesteaders will be taken into consideration along with those of farmers in Hawaii as a whole. Planting, grading, packing, transportation and similar matters will be dealt with. A resident agent is to be appointed for Molokai, and his first duty will be to compile an agricultural census of the island.
port for 1931. They limit use to the homesteaders only, and give necessary powers of control to a "pasture keeper" and other officers of the Commission. A permit has to be obtained from the local office to put in, inspect, or take out stock, a detailed record being kept. The pasture keeper, at present the son of a homesteader, aids such persons to conduct their authorized business, sees to fences and water, and shifts the stock as necessary around the pastures, especially in the dry season. He also supervises annual drives, in which all stock owners or their representatives identify their animals, and take part in branding and other activities.

In July of 1935 the community pastures contained 979 head of cattle, 72 horses and 25 mules. All except one of the Kalanianaole farm lot holders owned cattle, four of them having herds of over fifty head: the largest ninety-one. Less than half of the Hoolehua families had any cattle in the pastures, and of these thirteen had only one, while only three had over twenty: the largest forty. The horses and mules are not looked upon with favor by the Commission authorities, as being little used by their owners, hence a drain upon the resources of the pastures.

So far the whole stock raising enterprise on these community lands has been of the simplest. Originally it was hoped to have pure-bred cattle of uniform strain so as to get the best results in marketing—indeed, regulations to that effect were formulated in 1922.\(^{85}\) The limited means of the homesteaders, at least in earlier days, made this impossible, and any animals that came into their hands were allowed entrance. Today, in consequence, the cattle are heterogeneous and nondescript, especially in Hoolehua pastures. In 1929 the Homes Commission purchased six pure-bred Hereford bulls in order to improve the strain. The stock is grazed on the open range. No paddock system has been possible thus far, other than to use one of the pastures for fattening (page 67); nor are any special feed crops such as pigeon peas grown. For the Commission to undertake the expense of such development has not seemed justifiable, and attempts to interest the stock owners in coopera-

\(^{85}\) Given in the biennial report, H. H. C., 1931, pp. 61-62.
tive work have failed. Indeed, it has not even been possible to collect anything like all of the small payments provided in the rules.

From a hundred to two hundred and fifty head of cattle have been sold annually to the Molokai ranch and Kaunakakai buyers for slaughtering purposes. The owners practically all leave the responsibility for disposing of their stock to the pasture keeper. About ten cents a pound is paid for the dressed meat that comes from a slaughtered animal. Incidentally the individual homesteaders buy the meat from Kaunakakai stores at a much higher price, so that the procedure is by no means the most economical one. Occasionally a settler undertakes the slaughtering of his own beast, and shares or sells the meat among relatives and friends. But there are no facilities for refrigeration in the settlement, even in any of the stores, that might make this practice more common. No meat is shipped by the homesteaders to Honolulu, as it was at first thought could be done.

Criticism has not been wanting as regards the community pastures. On the one hand there have been repeated urgings that, so long as all the settlers do not maintain stock up to their maximum quota, those who are interested should be allowed to graze more than sixty head. On the other, there are complaints about the poverty of the pastures, notably in western Palaau, the main cause of which is over-grazing. The stand of the Homes Commission on the first point is that the settlers concerned are on agricultural lots; should they wish to concentrate upon stock raising instead of cultivation they should apply for a pastoral allotment of 250 acres. Furthermore, those familiar with the state of the pastures seem agreed that, apart from some enlargement of the area or development of special feed reserves, the total number of animals should be reduced considerably. At the same time efforts should be bent toward improving the remaining stock so as to get better results. According to the estimates of a local expert, each head of stock requires thirty-five to forty acres for adequate grazing on such country. Actually there are now only eleven acres per head, while the Kalamaula pasture has five acres.
The three 250-acre allotments (page 30) have hardly as yet provided a demonstration of what might be done by Hawaiians in the way of small ranching. Each has changed hands, and the new occupants, having assumed the financial obligations of their predecessors, claim to find difficulty in financing new developments of their own. One reports having a herd of 112 purebred Herefords, but these are kept in east Molokai on rented land pending completion of fences on his lot. He has his own slaughtering plant, and sells dressed beef to the stores. The other two have no stock yet, maintaining themselves from other financial sources for the present; parts of their lands are not yet fenced off from the community pasture.

Most homesteaders have chickens and many have pigs on their lots. Pigs were seen as a mainstay in the earlier days at Kalanianaole, averaging in 1924 some forty to a family. But today only one or two have piggeries on such a scale. Usually there is just a sty near the house with two or three pigs that subsist mainly on scraps. Recently there has been not a little discouragement because of a serious epidemic of hog cholera which swept off most of the pig population. Disease has also provided a setback to poultry farming. Yet there is still talk of the possibility of trying to sell eggs on a large scale. A few settlers have good teams of horses or mules which they use for work purposes, and a number keep saddle horses on their lots, particularly for the younger members of their families to ride. A handful take the trouble to maintain a dairy cow at home in order to have fresh milk for their families. Most, however, get milk out of cans from the store. One of the early Hoolehua settlers, formerly a Kamehameha and University of Hawaii student, has established a small dairy which supplies the school, hospital and plantation camps with milk; his herd is grazed on land rented outside the homestead area, but he grows special feed on his home lot.

On the whole, stock raising, particularly the production of beef, has not taken the place in homestead life that was originally expected. Both natural difficulties and a tend-

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86 Biennial report, H. H. C., 1925.
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ency to leave initiative and management to the Homes Com-
misson have made of it a sideline. No doubt there could
have been developed under the auspices of the latter a well
equipped community or cooperative ranch with sound stock
and modern feeding methods, an enterprise that would have
paid its way and produced a surplus for the homesteaders.
Or again, if other means of economic support had not been
available, the homesteaders might have shown more indi-
vidual interest and cooperation under the present system.
As it is, except perhaps as regards some of the Kalanianaoe
settlers, it can hardly be classed as a fundamental of home-
stead economics.

Pineapple Production

"If it were not for pineapples, we could not have paid
our obligations and made a living here." In this way many
a homesteader will summarize the place pineapple cultiva-
tion has had in the economic scheme. More than a million
and a half dollars were distributed to the families for fruit
harvested on their lots from 1929 to 1935, besides pay-
ments for any work done in the fields since 1927. Yet the
enterprise has been marked by an almost constant strain
and suspicion as regards the relationships of the home-
steaders with the pineapple companies, in which the Homes
Commission has not escaped being involved.

The Hoolehua-Palaau plateau contains more than 6,000
acres of splendid land for growing pineapples. A still
larger area would be first class sugar cane land, provided water could
be made available. Pineapples do best on Molokai at heights more than 450 feet
above sea level.

by any individual. The Libby company established a special operating unit in the homestead area, usually referred to as Libby-Hoolehua, and in 1927 the first planting began. Two years later when further lots were being opened for settlement, the other of the two pineapple companies on Molokai, the California Packing Corporation, the lands of which were at Kualapuu immediately bordering on the homestead area in the east, also negotiated a number of contracts under the same terms. Today 128 homesteaders have agreements with "Libbys" and 25 with "C.P.C."

The original contracts were for ten years. In 1931 the Homes Commission secured from Libby a five year extension to 1941. These individual agreements give the pineapple companies no control over the land itself; their concern is merely with the growing crops. To enable the homesteader and members of his family first preference in all the contract agrees to make the necessary financial advances and provide technical assistance in preparing the soil, planting, cultivation and harvesting, giving the homesteader and members of his family first preference in all work, and rendering him adequate accounts of all operations. On his part the homesteader pledges himself to sell to the company all fruit classed as "merchantable" under standards defined in the contract, such fruit to be properly packed in lug boxes provided by the company and delivered F.O.B. at the Kaunakakai pier. The cash advances made, which usually total somewhat over $300 an acre on a plant crop, with further adjustments for ratoon crops, become a first charge upon the product, and are deducted along with six per cent interest by the company. A method is prescribed by which the contract price is to be fixed for each year on the basis of existing market rates. It is provided, however, that whatever fall in price might take place, the minimum amount paid to the homesteader is to be $23 per ton for first class fruit, with other classes scaled accordingly.

Actually the market value of pines has been away below this figure for several years. In 1935 it approximated

89 After the first harvest, which comes about eighteen months from planting, the pineapple plants will produce two or three other fruitings spaced at intervals of a year, these called ratoon crops.
to $19 a ton. Yet the homesteaders have been paid at the minimum rate of $23. In 1932, indeed, a glut year, eight to ten thousand tons of fruit for which payment was made were dumped into one of the gulches as being unprofitable even to move off the island.

While it is outside the bounds of this survey to present detailed information on the pineapple enterprise, it is important to see the main results to date and especially what problems and controversies have arisen.

There appears to be an amount of misunderstanding as to the system used at Hoolehua for allotting areas for growing purposes. In 1927 a first or "A" series of plots were prepared and planted, each a section up to ten acres in area on an individual homestead, and comprising 578 acres in all. By the summer of 1929 the plant crop was ready for harvesting. Meantime in 1928 a "B" series of individual plots of a size up to ten acres had been planted, 482 acres in their total area. A "C" series followed in 1929, comprising 550 acres, and any that were lucky enough to have any land still unplanted had it included in series "D" and "E" in the following two years. The result of this scattered plot system, best seen from an airplane, is locally known as "the checkerboard."

Logically a scheme of this kind should have produced a somewhat perfect succession. Each set of plots worked contemporaneously would go through a five year "cycle": preparation of the soil and planting about September of the first year, a plant crop in the middle of the third year, and then two additional ratoon crops. As each cycle came to an end a new one would begin, and every year the homesteader would have both new and ratoon fruit to be harvested.

In practice, however, the scheme did not work out so smoothly. An initial mistake was made of allowing up to ten acres to be planted in the first series instead of a maximum of five or six—those concerned freely admit their

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90 That is, F.O.B. at the Kaunakakai pier. In 1932 the price was $13.87 a ton, and during the summer of 1931 it fell to approximately $10.

91 Resolution number 11 of the Homes Commission, passed September 12, 1929, made this the limit to be planted at any one time except by special permission.
This meant that a forty acre lot holder who started in 1927 would have a large plot in series “A” and “B,” but in many cases not enough land left to make up ten acres in series “C,” let alone the two following ones. Even their ratoon crops, therefore, would run out before the second cycle of planting brought their first lands in again. To make matters worse, the ratoon crops on the early series largely failed through infestation by insects and other natural setbacks. Especially was this so with those of the original settlers who were on more exposed lots in the northeast corner. A number did not get a cent from pineapples after 1931 until a new system of cultivation, to be discussed shortly, brought them in their first checks in 1935. It will be seen that the theoretical cycle which was to follow the first cycle was never entered upon, at least on the checkerboard, for reasons that will become clear (pages 77-78). This breakdown of the cycle plan made both Libby and the Homes Commission a butt for great criticism. 93

The fact that the land of pioneer homesteaders was idle and seemingly “dead” was the more felt in that the preceding years had witnessed a “golden flood.” The price of pineapples was soaring, and more than $30 a ton, with special bonuses, was being paid—of course minus the financial advance incurred. From the 1929 harvest, fifty-four homesteaders cleared $121,902.42; in 1930, sixty-two received $303,059.73; in 1931, sixty-seven received $185,233.62. In 1932 the earnings of the earlier settlers dwindled, and thirteen received nothing; at the same time, however, the newer people, partly under contract to Libby and partly to the C.P.C., 94 harvested their first crop, so that in all $224,414.50 was netted. In 1933, thirty-two of the early families received nothing, while among the rest was divided an amount of $165,344.94. A new group took part in the 1934 crop, namely the twenty-two Kalanianaole farm lot holders (page 30), but of the $199,035.01 paid, sixty-

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92 It is said that strong pressure was brought to bear by the homesteaders to be allowed ten acres, and the full significance of what was to happen was not realized.

93 See, for example, the report of a special committee appointed by the Governor of the Territory, dated December 31, 1931, published in the Honolulu Star Bulletin, February 3, 1932.

94 As the California Packing Company is locally called.
four of the earlier people got nothing. In 1935 the lean period ended for these folk, as a large area of pineapples in which they had shares of three and a half to five acres was harvested. Practically every homesteader on the Kalanianaole and Hoolehua farm lots earned a substantial amount, the total approximating to $315,000. To date, therefore, pineapples have brought large though irregular amounts to the homesteaders.

Not all of this money has jingled loose in the pockets of those to whom it has been credited. In a later section it will be seen that much was assigned to pay obligations to the Homes Commission, taxes, and accumulated debts. Furthermore, it has to be remembered that by no means all homesteaders received large sums. The earnings of several of the early people from all the harvests of series "A," "B," and "C" did not total two thousand dollars. On the other hand, some of the later people have received in all more than twenty-five thousand dollars over their first five years, and almost ten thousand dollars in a single season. Sweeping generalizations concerning the income and expenditures of the Molokai homesteaders are liable to be both unfair and untrue.

The system of cultivation developed on the individual checkerboard was adapted so as to use as far as possible the lot holder and his family as workers. The company has done the heavy plowing and discing, but from then on the ditching, fertilizing, laying of mulch paper, planting, spraying, hoeing and weeding, picking and hauling of fruit, and gathering of slips for replanting could be done by any who were willing to work. In all this the company has given the necessary direction, and for every piece of work cash payment has been made at current rates. Any individual who wanted to earn more could contract to perform tasks on the land of others not so willing. Every month a financial statement has been issued by the company to each homesteader, showing debits and credits, with a quar-

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95 This was worked according to the "block system," to be explained on pages 78-83.
96 An invention developed in Hawaii by which long strips of paper are laid on the fields, helping to conserve moisture and giving protection to the growing plants.
terly summary, which is usually explained by a company representative in the course of a personal visit. As the peak months for picking are July and August, the homesteader receives his major payment on the fifteenth of the latter month, with other smaller payments as occasion arises.

In the early years the homesteaders worked hard in the pineapple fields. Later the great majority have preferred to employ Filipino and Korean labor under personal contracts (page 91), or else to leave the whole task of management and labor to the plantations. There are exceptions to this, however; today practically all the Kalani-anaole people travel the seven miles to their plots in order to weed and hoe, and several of the Hoolehua people work hard on their own lots or even take contracts through the companies for various kinds of labor in the fields. The work aspect of homestead economics will be discussed later (pages 91-94). In order to be assured of adequate labor, Libby now maintains a Filipino camp on the border of the homestead area, while the C.P.C. has its main camp within easy distance.

This whole plan involves a rather unique system of mutual benefits. The companies have been able to use good accessible land without meeting rents or taxes (though having to pay an artificially inflated price in recent years), while the homesteaders have received credit, expert management, an assured market, and an immediate financial return for any work done. Yet, as already indicated, it has by no means run smoothly. Many of the homesteaders have maintained an attitude of suspicion, by no means always disguised, as to the integrity of the companies and the validity of their financial operations. Pineapple growing is technical and expensive, especially in controlling the ravages of pests and diseases. Company officials have had difficulties in "breaking down resistance" so as to get the necessary work authorized; where the crop has not been completely successful, the blame is placed upon their shoulders; "bombs" or rumors derogatory to the companies pass around; and there is a widespread belief that they are trying to make expenses as high and production as low as pos-
A group of homesteaders pay one of their number to check the weighing of all pines at the company scale-house. For a time, too, nearly a third of them contracted with a local accountancy firm for services that included the checking of the pineapple company statements. When the Kalanianaole settlers came into the pineapple business their old cooperative association (page 63) was revived as a protective organization. There is at the same time a vaguely defined belief that "the Homes Commission is in league with the pineapple people"—another aspect of the psychological strains involved in the homestead situation.

Above all else, controversy has centered in the recent years around what is known as "the block system." This is a method of consolidating individual interests into large blocks which can be worked as a whole.

When in 1931 the first production cycle of series "A" plots came to an end, Libby considered it impossible to start them into a new cycle. By that time the checkerboard had become badly infested with mealy bugs—chief enemy of pineapple production in Hawaii. According to experiments conducted under the auspices of the Pineapple Experiment Station, it was judged to be "suicidal" to put new plantings in scattered plots among the older plantings and ratoons; only by having fields as large as possible with a minimum of border could these insects be kept under control. The lots in the older north-east corner were particularly infested, this having been the main cause for the failure of the ratoon crops there (page 74).

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97 This arrangement was subsequently broken, however, as it was found that this could be done by the homesteaders themselves in the Homes Commission office at Hoolehua, where copies of all financial records of the companies so far as the homesteaders are concerned are filed.

98 This group, however, has established more cordial relations with the pineapple company to which they are contracted. Their meetings are largely devoted to studying the financial statements rendered, with a view to getting explanations or adjustments where these are considered necessary.

99 The mealy bug (Pseudococcus brevipes), which causes wilt, is better known as the "milch cow" of the ant. Herds of them are carried into the fields by the ants, so that the problem of control is largely that of keeping out these latter insects, and of killing off those blowing into the borders of the fields. Oiled boards known as "ant fences" are put round the fields by one of the companies, Libby, and sprays are used. But it proved difficult to get homesteaders on the checkerboard to adopt such measures in an adequate way.

100 Attached to the University of Hawaii, and maintained by the Pineapple Producers' Cooperative Association of the Territory.

101 It has recently been demonstrated by the experiment station that exposure of young plants to mealy bugs for as short a time as forty-eight hours may be sufficient to kill them.
For a period it looked as though no further cropping would be undertaken by Libby, except to complete the new plantings on the lots of those who were recent comers. At this time the twenty-two Kalanianaole settlers were being given their lots in the upper area, and the Homes Commission wanted to secure contracts for them. The idea was evolved of planting a first quota of five acres each in a continuous block of 110 acres, that is, covering nearly all of three such lots. This was done, and what is now known as “Block 1” came into being adjoining the airport on its western side. So promising was this first trial that in the next two years “Block 2,” consisting of 411 acres, and “Block 3,” of 310 acres, were planted on the Kalanianaole lots in the south-west of the settlement. The 1935 and 1936 blocks, numbers 4 and 5, each of 250 acres, created a further precedent in both being planned as continuous holdings across a set of existing homesteads in the midst of Hoolehua. 102

When the block system was being instituted, a mass meeting of homesteaders was called so that the people would know its working. This has been followed up with other explanations, including a mimeographed circular issued by the Homes Commission office. 103 Nevertheless, there still appears to be a cloud of uncertainty as to how interests in the blocks have been allotted—even in the minds of many of those participating. Perhaps the best way to grasp the principle of the scheme is to follow first the interests of the Kalanianaole settlers. Each was allowed the equivalent of a 5 acre share in Block 1, the same in Block 2, 4½ acres in Block 3, 2 in Block 4; that is, an accumulated total so far of 16½ acres of intensively cultivated land which is likely to bring them in money every year. Block 2 also contains a first group of seventy-seven Hoolehua homesteaders, who have shares ranging from 3 to 5 acres proportionate to the area of land they had available in that year for planting under the abandoned checkerboard system. The earlier

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102 Block 4 takes in lots numbering 75 to 82, and block 5 lots 58 to 68. The house sites and immediately surrounding lands were naturally not included in the blocks. See sketch plan on page 29.

103 Under title “Some Facts Not Generally Understood in Regard to Blocks.”
settlers on the bad north-east lots naturally were given the maximum allowance. Practically all these people likewise have interests in Block 3, varying from 3½ to 4½ acres, and in Block 4, varying from 2½ acres to 3 acres. The reason for making these shares progressively smaller will be discussed at a later point (page 83). The allocation of interests in the blocks is done by Libby, in consultation with the homesteaders concerned, though any cooperation needed from the Homes Commission is readily given.

The block system has so far offered a compromise between individual and corporate holding. All major operations—preparing the ground, planting, spraying, and harvesting—are undertaken by the company, using the latest mechanical and scientific methods, though homesteaders who may wish to contract for the work at current wages receive first preference. The company also maintains an all important ant fence of oiled boarding round the block (page 77, footnote 99). The tasks of hoeing and weeding, however, are thrown upon the homesteaders, each participant in a block being apportioned an area equal to his share, which he is expected to look after. If he is willing to do this work at the prescribed time of the month, and performs it satisfactorily, he receives pay at the rate of 95 cents an acre.

While this attempt to preserve individualism has had its value in giving a personal contact with the block system, it has not proved particularly successful. Nearly all the Kalanianaoele people do the required work, but of the Hoolehua settlers only a small proportion are at all regular. Some claim never to have seen their section in the block. Of those who do not work, a number make special contracts with their more willing fellows or with Filipinos (page 91), but the majority leave it to the company gangs. The explanations given by Hoolehua settlers for not working themselves is that the block is "too far" (though this does

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104 Thus one homesteader has the contract for spraying the blocks and doing several other operations. The company supplies the machines and he has his own mule team and employs the necessary gang of helpers.

105 The block contract provides that the cost of such company labor shall be levied as follows: forty per cent against the account of the individual failing to do the work, and the rest against the whole group. Some feel that the penalty against the former should be heavier.
not deter the lower settlement people who come much farther), and that the wages are scaled down to the standard of alien laborers and do not afford enough to support a family (though many do nothing towards earning larger amounts by other means in the corresponding time). Some are of course occupied by other work elsewhere (pages 86-87). The question is now being raised as to whether even this amount of individualism is worth preserving in future blocks, especially as the weeding and hoeing can be done at less cost over the whole block at once. Those who wish can still obtain employment. The block could then be worked throughout on a pro rata basis, as is already done with the rest of the operations, including the final division of the profits.

An amended form of contract is now extant to deal with the greater complexities of the block system, but with the same minimum price set at $23 a ton. The contract period for the blocks has been lengthened to last until April 1943, with the right on the part of the company to extend it another two and a half years. Where in theory before, the homesteader who might have been able to grow pines quite independently could have insisted that his merchantable fruit be taken by the company F.O.B. at Kaunakakai, he is bound by this agreement to allow the company to decide the annual amounts to be grown in the blocks. Home sites and other parts of the lots chosen to constitute a block are not subject to interference by the company, except as crops to be grown there may be considered detrimental to the pineapple area; for example, as by being a source of infestation.

Among inducements put forward to get the homesteaders to take part in the block system were that the costs of production would be a great deal less and the yield would be larger. In both respects expectations have been exceeded. In almost every operation there is a saving. Where, for instance, in harvesting on the checkerboard, the company had to have an inspector on every truck to check the grading, packing, and identification of fruit taken off each plot, the block area can be treated as a single unit with great
Homesteading on Molokai

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economy of time and money. On Block 2, where the plan received its first extensive trial, production costs to harvest were held down to $228.65 an acre as compared to nearer $400 on the checkerboard. At the same time production figures have made history by soaring to a world's record of more than 43 tons to an acre,\(^{106}\) practically all of number one fruit. This gives a net clearance at the contract price of more than three times the cost of production per acre for the plant crop alone.

As the block plan has gone ahead it has been a subject for lively discussion. Those homesteaders opposing it have claimed that the land was passing into full control of the pineapple interests; that costs would be purposely lifted; that the acreage for each person was far too small; that the contract prices for labor were too low\(^{107}\); that the contract was too binding; and that all in all it was "harsh, unfair and inequitable."\(^{108}\) Under the checkerboard system the homesteader had the tangible assurance of seeing his own fruit growing on his own lot where he could "know what was going on," a sense of individual possession he is loth to lose. Again, some object to the idea of having other people share the use of their land, particularly where it is of superior quality for pines. Much of this criticism, however, has been silenced as a result of the very practical demonstration afforded by Block 2.

In contrast to those opposing the block plan, an increasing number support it heartily. Naturally enough, the Kalanianaole people and those with poorer lots have been at the van in this. When in early 1935 criticisms of the kind outlined above were voiced at a public hearing conducted by a committee of the Territorial legislature, a group of homesteaders signed a petition addressed to the Senate asking that the benefits they were receiving should not be jeopardized by such utterances. The settlers are finding that their lands formerly in the checkerboard are now becoming

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\(^{106}\) Or nearly forty over the whole block, counting in the area of roads, ditches, etc.

\(^{107}\) It appears to have been hard to get the homesteaders to realize that any additional wages would come out of their own pockets by raising the costs of production.

\(^{108}\) See a petition to the Territorial legislature dated August 13, 1934, and signed by seventy-two members of the homestead community.
free for growing corn, melons, and other produce. Even should their particular lots be included in a block for a cycle of growth, they will be available later for seasonal crops during the fallowing period. In any case, they have at least five acres around the house, and perhaps more in sheltered gulches, where they can engage in other farming activities. Above all, the people are freed from the more technical responsibilities of pineapple production, and can devote their time to other less exacting pursuits.

The clear fact amid all the controversy has been that there is no alternative to the block system. Either large plantings must be made or pineapples will go out. This is now thoroughly realized by the second company, the C.P.C. In 1920 its representatives signed up contracts with twenty-five of the later Hoolehua settlers, and so far it is still working on a system of individual plantings. The total acreage covered by the scattered plots developed in the years from 1930 to 1935 was successively 234, 239, 143, 87, 50, and 37 acres. The reason for this tailing off is that in the first two years approximately ten acres were planted on each lot (as was likewise done by Libby earlier), leaving relatively little for the later years. In the last planting mentioned only seven homesteaders have land with which to take part. The company has now reached the point where Libby stood in 1931-32, the fields being so infested as to make a second cycle "unthinkable." Its officials are now considering whether to start into the block system. The Homes Commission is pressing for this, hoping that a block contract can be negotiated to last for the same period as the Libby contract, and that several new people—one-acre lot holders and sons of homesteaders, who have proved themselves deserving—will be taken into the C.P.C. group.

A further matter under consideration is how best to work out blocks for this company in view of the fact that those holding contracts with them are scattered widely through the settlement. Nowhere could more than two lots be found together. This, it has been suggested by a Commission official, could be done most simply by having such blocks run across a series of lots without regard to whether
their holders have contracts with one or the other company. As before, those with Libby contracts would get their benefits from that company's blocks, while the proceeds of such new blocks would go to C.P.C. people. So far as the lot holder is concerned, it cannot affect him which company is operating on his land. The only alternative would be to have a transfer of contracts between the companies to produce consolidation of lots, a plan that might meet with great opposition from the people concerned.

Ever since the pineapple enterprise began, much discussion has ensued as to whether or not it has really been in the best interests of the homesteaders. Even granting that pines seem the logical crop for such land, a number of people think that introducing them has virtually destroyed the original basis of the scheme, which was to rehabilitate Hawaiian families by getting them to work on the land. The complexities of cultivation, the availability of outside finance, management, and labor, the mass handling of blocks, and above all the "golden flood" with all its psychological and social consequences are judged as building up a highly artificial situation. The fundamental base of homestead economics, instead of being diversified farming and stock raising largely on a subsistence basis, is a paper contract which expires within a decade—if the pineapple companies see fit to stay that long. The position is made still worse, such people say, by the minimum price clause, as a result of which for some years the companies have had to pay much in excess of the current values; that is, they participate now on the basis of a moral obligation rather than a sound industrial investment. To them the world's record crop on Block 2 spelled greater losses instead of an outstanding achievement. No doubt this is a major reason why the acreage planted yearly is being kept to a minimum rather than the possible maximum.

But there is another side to the picture. Many feel

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109 Even the method of calculating the worth of fruit which is embodied in the contract does not indicate present values, as improved means of production in the pineapple industry are lowering costs. Thus a recent discovery at the Experiment Station, gives a simple and cheap process by which the flowering of the pineapple plants can be controlled, and plants that "go to sleep" for an extra year, sometimes totalling as high as one-third of the crop, can be brought to fruit at scheduled time—a great saving, as formerly a field might have to be kept over for an extra year or the residue of fruit wasted.
that if pineapples had not been introduced, Hoolehua would now be practically devoid of families. The enterprise has not only borne up most of the homesteaders to a point where few farmers of comparable status in the whole United States can have been better off financially, especially relieving public funds from the burden of financing them through the depression period; it has also given them an invaluable experience in modern business matters. The new block system, if, as some say, it is "not homesteading," will take all but those interested out of the pineapple enterprise and free them for other types of activity. At the same time it will assure them a steady income with which to meet taxes, payments to the Homes Commission, and other obligations. There is also a growing sentiment, beginning to touch the minds of thinking homesteaders, that the minimum contract price is a disadvantage rather than an advantage; that for the sake of a few extra dollars now perhaps the future is being sacrificed. Some revision of the contract to make it economically profitable for the pineapple companies to stay in rent and tax free Hoolehua, and to plant the maximum possible, would change the present artificial, "charity" set-up to a sound commercial basis. It is well that this should be brought to the front now, for if there is found to be no basis on which pineapple cultivation can be continued on a considerable scale in the future, some plan will have to be devised to evolve a new economic system in the next few years—or else the whole homestead scheme may collapse.

Trucking

Every year, something like twenty-five thousand tons of yellowing fruit have to be transported from the Hoolehua fields to the barges at Kaunakakai pier. By far the greater part of this total is hauled during the peak months of July and August. It requires a fleet of about fifty trucks and an exceedingly smooth working organization to accomplish this without wastage of fruit. During the remainder of the year there is an amount of other hauling work, such as taking fertilizer, mulch paper, and slips for planting to the fields. From the first, a number of the homesteaders
have earned money by taking part in this phase of the pineapple enterprise.

When the first pineapple checks were becoming available, some acquired trucks and hauled their own fruit. For the majority, however, the work was done by a contractor arranged for by the Libby Company. In 1931 the trucking business was put on a more unified basis. Twenty-three homesteaders with trucks executed a hauling agreement with the contractor, working through a homesteaders' cooperative, the Hoolehua Company (page 89), and having the arrangement approved by the Homes Commission.

This, to last for five years, enabled the contractor to get trucks on the spot instead of bringing them in. The truck owners were to receive $2.25 a ton for hauling fruit, and prescribed rates for other work, less commissions. It was agreed, too, that on any given day at least one truck out of every three dispatched by the contractor to a given task should be that of a homesteader. After some preliminary financial difficulties the plan has worked smoothly so far as getting the work done is concerned. The trucking contractor has maintained a camp in the middle of the Hoolehua settlement, at least during the peak season, to house Filipino and other truckers who are brought from outside.

Inevitably the homesteaders have felt that they should have a larger part in this hauling work, if not all of it, especially as a number of new trucks have recently been purchased. Now that the existing contract is expiring, plans are being drawn to mobilize the trucks owned by the people today—said to total thirty-nine, of which twenty-nine are in first-class condition—and to bid for the next contract.

A difference of opinion exists as to whether homesteaders should be encouraged to take part in the trucking enterprise. Some think that the people are “on Molokai to farm, not to go into the transportation business,” and that they have neither the independent financial resources nor the thorough organization needed to undertake hauling on any comprehensive scale. Furthermore, it is said that the

110 The price arranged between Libby and the contractor.
trucks must lie practically idle for ten months of the year. On the other hand, there are those who feel that the majority of truck owners have acquired the necessary experience;\(^{111}\) that this offers work for young men of the homestead families who find it hard to get employment; and that it is bad economics to have an outside firm doing a job that would produce a considerable income for the homesteaders themselves. The real problems are those of finance and organization.

**Outside Employment**

With the growth of the homestead enterprise and of the general life of Molokai, a considerable number of full and part-time jobs have become available to the settlers and their families. It is to be expected that those holding one or half acre residential lots in Kalanianaole and Hoolehua (page 27) should be thus earning. But it comes as a surprise, perhaps, to realize that a majority of the farm lot holders in the former settlement and a fair percentage of those in the latter have an income of this kind, other than from farming and pineapples.

Out of the twenty-two families with farm sections in Kalanianaole, eleven homesteaders or husbands of homesteaders have more or less regular full-time positions, while three have part-time work.\(^ {112}\) Of five men not employed in this way today, all formerly held jobs. The other settlers are women. All three pastoral lot holders have an outside source of income. At Hoolehua fifteen farm holders or their husbands have regular positions, and numbers have part time work. At least one wife is employed regularly, while several have earned money occasionally by doing lauhala work\(^ {113}\) or making other small articles. Among the types of employment are postal jobs, road supervision and labor for the county, tractor and farming implement work for the Homes Commission, water tending and hauling for this body, janitor work, posts with

\(^{111}\) In 1935 several homesteaders took part in hauling fruit from the Mauna­loa fields outside the homestead area, and are said to have given satisfactory service.

\(^{112}\) This and what follows is summarized from information given to the writer in 1935. It does not include the trucking referred to above.

\(^{113}\) Weaving hats, mats, etc., from the pandanus leaf.
shipping companies and Federal relief agencies, and carp­
entry and mechanical jobs. Special positions that can be
mentioned are policeman, sanitary inspector, ranger, tax
clerk, oil company representative, section foreman for a
pineapple company, and social worker. Several sons of
homesteaders are employed on the Molokai ranch and on
the Kaunakakai wharf. Other children are in a scattering
of jobs on the island or outside.

Turning now to the residence lot holders, a survey
shows a variety of employment. Of the Kalanianaole people
some eight work in various county jobs such as road con­
struction and trucking, seven work for the Molokai ranch,
a few drive trucks for contractors, several are on Federal
relief rolls, one is employed in the pineapple fields by farm
lot holders, and one woman is a hospital nurse. The ten
one-acre lots in Hoolehua were designed primarily to bring
in Hawaiians as workers for the fields. Today, however,
their occupants are mainly on the Homes Commission pay­
roll: tractor, truck and water men, a caretaker, a worker on
the school farm, and so on. The wife of one is a hospital
nurse. Two families are supported by county road work.
Only one lot holder does field labor.

The Homes Commission authorities have taken a firm
stand against any introduction of Federal relief to the farm
lot holders, though they have been criticised for this. They
claim that any needy families can find plenty of employment
in the pineapple fields at tasks now being done by Filipinos
and others. A little F.E.R.A. work has been initiated in
the school grounds. There are also reported to be four sons
of homesteaders in the Civilian Conservation Corps on
Molokai.

The interest of this section lies mainly in the prospects
it shows of possible economic stability for some families, or
for the children of the settlers, apart from working the soil.
No doubt employment of this kind will continue to be avail­
able. On the other hand there seems no immediate hope
of a rapid expansion. Unless the increasing number of
young people who expect to achieve economic independence
are prepared to settle down to working the soil, the major­
ity will have to move out from Molokai.
A beach lot home—Kalanianaole.
Cooperative Associations

Already the difficulties of getting the homesteaders to band together in any permanent way in economic enterprises have been referred to (page 63). In this section there will be a brief review of the associations that have been of importance so far. What concerns this study is less the detail of their working and finances than the degree to which they offer any prospect of success for possible more elaborate schemes of economic cooperation.

An organization of the Kalanianaole settlers called the First Hawaiian Homes Cooperative Association was mentioned as having a sporadic existence (page 63). Once mainly concerned with marketing, its activities today are practically confined to meetings in which the pineapple transactions of its members are clarified. It has a president and secretary, and its minutes are kept in English and Hawaiian.

About 1929, a part of the Hoolehua settlers formed themselves into a “Hoolehua Mercantile Company.” It was started primarily as a consumers’ cooperative that was expected to distribute goods to its members more cheaply than they could be bought at the local stores. In 1930, this was expanded into a much larger project, partly to develop the trucking business, and partly to build up a community store. Registered as a corporation under the name “Hoolehua Company,” it was capitalized at $100,000, the shares at ten dollars each being taken by about eighty-eight homesteaders. The board of directors, drawn from among them, placed its financial affairs in the hands of an outside corporation. A substantial store built by the company sells most of the goods the settlers’ require other than fresh meat and poi.

The enterprise got into financial difficulties, and in 1933 it went into receivership. Since that time its obligations have been whittled down through careful management of the business and by annual collections from the pineapple checks of those still owing money. The visitor will find

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114 For a record of these, see the reports of officially constituted investigating committees, and the comments of members of the Homes Commission on these reports.
this latter particularly a subject of grievance. The Homes Commission, too, is blamed for letting the people take part in the scheme, and for not assuming control when its difficulties were mounting, this regardless of the fact that the Commission more or less opposed the plans for such elaborate development from the first. There is hope that, with satisfactory management, the Hoolehua Company will become in time an asset rather than a source of difficulty to the stockholders and the community.

A characteristic feature of modern Hawaiian life has been the growth of benevolent associations to which members pay small dues monthly, and which give their members sick benefits and a suitable funeral at death. The widely known Order of Kamehameha lodge for men, and the Kaa­humanu Society for women have a considerable membership among the homesteaders, notably the second named organization. A local association called the Kalanianaole Society, too, is very strong. As part of its activities it runs a small cooperative store in the Kalanianaole settlement called the Kalanianaole Groceteria. Under the direction of several homesteaders more competent in business matters, it is said to be paying its way successfully.

These represent the main cooperative enterprises realized among the homesteaders. Other schemes of less permanence have come and gone. "The people love huis (associations)," it was said. "So long as they are making money everything is all right; but when they are losing they break up, as the members think they can do better by themselves." Again: "Cooperative societies always split up into factions, and the people enjoy resigning with a flourish just as much as they do joining." A lay preacher in one of the churches, discussing the attempts made to get the homesteaders to work together, exclaimed: "I don't know what's the matter. We are all religious people. Yet in economic affairs it is every man for himself." Some clues to this individualism will be forthcoming in the section that follows.
Homesteading on Molokai

Work Effort

The records of the early days of settlement, confirmed by memories, tell of the homesteaders, men, women, and children, working hard and enthusiastically.115 A “working bee” was a common sight, clearing, planting or harvesting.

Gradually, however, what some label as “Hawaiian characteristics of indolence and individualism” came into the picture. Once money was available, or the pineapple companies would make financial advances on work done, it became easier to employ labor from outside. Several dozen Filipinos and Koreans, and one or two Japanese, came to attach themselves to homestead families. They live in the outhouses, and do the manual tasks in the fields under either written or verbal agreements.116 With the block system it has been possible to turn over even the responsibilities of management to the pineapple companies. The older system of cooperative work broke down almost entirely. A commercial attitude grew up among the families, to the great regret of many of the people, while, as already stated, those who thought themselves harder workers objected to sharing their superior energies with those they considered less efficient.

It must be said immediately that to make sweeping statements stigmatizing the homesteaders as a group on this matter of work effort is unjust. Some work hard, and a few can vie with Oriental farmers in their industry. Several of the women are among the keenest workers in the fields. A handful of the people, including in 1935 for the first time some young women, have worked in regular plantation gangs along with Filipinos—a situation regarded locally as something almost miraculous for Hawaiians.

A number of explanations are given by homesteaders as to why they “sit on rocking chairs” so much. “The people worked,” it is said, “until they were exploited, and debts piled up; then everything became so tangled that they lost all fight and just lay down on the job.” “Why should we

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115 Annual reports, H. H. C., 1925, 1927.
116 A resolution of the Homes Commission requires that any settler wishing to house aliens on his property must get a permit from the office. This does not seem to have been rigorously enforced, though the Commission representatives stopped an attempt by certain homesteaders to develop a regular camp for Filipino laborers.
work when we don’t see the money?—it goes into other people’s pockets.” 117 “It’s not worth our time to work in the pineapple fields at the rates being paid.” “We don’t know whether our crops can be sold profitably, so it is not worth putting in too much work.” “We got no encouragement from the Homes Commission” (someone can always find some blame for the Commission in everything!).

Yet there seem to be involved here some deep-seated attitudes toward work that can be understood only by knowing the historical and cultural backgrounds of the Hawaiian people. One homesteader, in explaining his experience of planting melons, remarked, “I actually had to get out with pick and shovel and plant them myself.” Another was quoted as saying: “What do you think I’d look like walking behind a plow?” A part-Hawaiian, in discussing the work effort of his fellows, exaggerated his point as follows: “Some of these city people, if put down a hundred miles from civilization, would lie down and die, being too lazy to work. If fishlines and bait were put in their laps they would eat the bait and then starve to death.”

Before whites came to the islands, the old time Hawaiians had undoubtedly to work hard. They had behind them the spur of absolute necessity, and their efforts were organized by chiefs or their representatives and validated by tradition and religion.118 Yet the mass of the people had no urge to labor beyond the needs of the day, or to store up what they judged as wealth. The Hawaiians, like other Polynesians and many folk at about the same level of culture, seem to have counted prestige in terms not of the individual accumulation of goods—that branded the person concerned as stingy—but rather of displaying and distributing them lavishly. This offers at least a considerable contrast to the economic ideals of western civilization. A group of kinsfolk would willingly pinch and starve to make a grand show on some festive occasion or to give profuse entertainment to honored visitors. Individuals or households without means of subsistence—having for instance,

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117 That is, to pay off old debts. The circumstances under which such debts were accumulated will be seen shortly.

118 See especially David Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, translated by N. B. Emerson, Honolulu, 1903.
their plantations destroyed by weather or war—could count on their relatives to carry them over. There was indeed a penalty rather than a premium for the industrious worker, for his more efficient services or the extra goods he might produce would make him the target for greater exactions from his relatives or overlords. Furthermore, the old economic and social system did not demand regular sustained effort like that of the modern West; it was marked by what might be called broken rhythms. When fishing, planting, hauling logs for canoes, and other work was to be done, the people fell to with a will, sometimes doing prodigies of labor; when tasks lagged there was no time clock or whistle to cause them to go through the motions of being “on the job”—they rested or amused themselves.

Western penetration brought significant changes that likewise left marks upon modern work effort. The chieftain class (alii), in striving to emulate European royalty and nobility, greatly increased their demands for goods and services from the lowlier people in order to build up their purchasing power. The willing worker was likely to get victimized even more than in earlier days. At the same time the sanctions of the past, especially the religious beliefs and practices, that provided incentives beyond mere animal appetite were largely swept away. Furthermore, new means of getting the few necessaries of living were available apart from fishing and planting, notably in the growing urban communities. A little work occasionally, or some entertainment for the white man, and money was obtained to buy these without the older burdens of labor. The government and the missions would not let anyone starve to death. The white man, too, demonstrated that a person who considers himself superior does not usually demean himself with manual work; for his developing plantation and other enterprises he brought in coolie laborers. Prestige lay in this new order with the man with a coat, an office chair, and a pen to sign his name on documents ordering others to fetch and carry.

119 The ideals of western economic and social organization that place a premium upon “white collar” jobs tend to be exaggerated in frontier places like early Hawaii, for all white men who have status are in professional or managing positions.
It is only by taking account of such factors in the Hawaiian past that the work attitudes of homesteaders today can be adequately interpreted. Many of the old cultural patterns are still more or less effective—simple standards of living calling for a minimum of effort, being lavish with what comes to hand rather than saving for the future, mutual interdependence of relatives, broken rhythms of effort rather than the steady drive. On the whole the Hawaiian in the modern period has had neither the pressure of real need (at least until recently) nor an example from the pace-setting local white man that would lead him to settle once more as a worker on the land.

It is not implied here that there is anything innate in Hawaiian character which would prevent the people from changing over from this work psychology to that of the West. Already Hawaiians have shown themselves thoroughly at home in political, legal, educational, clerical, mechanical and other lines of employment (page 14). Numbers of the homesteaders were seen as engaged in salaried or wage-earning jobs. That many at least would become competent farmers is suggested not only by the demonstration given by several of the homesteaders already but also by the fact that close relatives of the Hawaiians, the Maoris of New Zealand, who are racially of the same Polynesian stock, have shown themselves capable of working the soil in the western style once they found themselves with their back to the wall in economic terms. In this regard, a statement of the late Prince Kuhio Kalanianaole, made at the inception of the Molokai scheme, may be quoted: “We always depended on others to do our thinking and our work—we have now got to do our own work and thinking ourselves or else we are gone.”

Spending and Saving

What has been said above affords also some historical clues to the attitudes that underlie the handling of money by the homesteaders. It was seen how some, particularly the earlier people, have never had much money to spend. A few, too, can be singled out as being exceedingly cautious with their finances, and having large bank accounts. With
the majority, however, the "easy come, easy go" philosophy of pre-depression America appears to have combined with Polynesian attitudes toward possessions to bring about free spending and little saving.

It is no concern of this survey to discuss the personal affairs of the homesteaders. Nevertheless the financial story since 1929 can be summarized in broad terms. It has two phases: the checks received from pineapples, together with other income have been more or less all disposed of, leaving many folk "just as poor as they ever were;" and, parallel to this, debts have accumulated on account of Homes Commission payments, taxes, and services or goods from the stores, automobile companies, hospital, doctor, dentist, butcher, poi-man,\textsuperscript{120} field laborers and others. The accounts owing to single merchants by the homesteaders as a group have at times passed the ten thousand dollar mark.

"I had never seen a five thousand dollar check before," a lot holder remarked as he told ruefully of what happened in these years. Hoolehua became a "happy hunting ground" for salesmen and insurance agents, especially at the payment times. On the one hand the storekeepers, doctor, butcher and so on would be assembled outside the pay room as a visible reminder of the credits they had advanced.\textsuperscript{121} The tax collector would also be present. On the other hand would be those with offerings of new goods and investments. High pressure salesmanship, generous extension of credit in anticipation of future checks, a "spree of insurance," much of which has since had to lapse—these marked particularly the earlier payments. Automobiles were, and still are obtained. It is said that cars and trucks represent easily the greatest total investment; also that car debts are paid more promptly than any other, as it is a major blow to a family's prestige to have their neighbors recall that their automobile had to be turned in again.

Not a few of the homesteaders make trips to Honolulu or to their homes on other islands immediately after a payment, leaving by pineapple barge, inter-island boat, or even

\textsuperscript{120} Poi, or fermented taro root, a Hawaiian food staple formerly pounded by hand, is nowadays nearly all manufactured in "factories" run by Orientals.

\textsuperscript{121} The writer saw this happen at the 1935 payment.
airplane. "A hundred dollar bill is to some of them like a penny; they will buy a thousand dollars worth of presents for their friends; before they know where they are they are penniless, and when they get back they have to live on what credit they can get for the rest of the year. In some cases they and their families will be practically starving." A part-Hawaiian said: "Hawaiians cannot resist handing out to their friends; some do it with a big luau, others just give it away. But inevitably the money goes." Another remarked: "The homesteaders have hands like sieves so far as money is concerned."

A philosopher might say of this that after all, in the traditional way, the homesteaders concerned have received their due measure of psychological satisfaction and social assertion from all this, even if belts must be tightened afterwards. Unfortunately, modern ideas have penetrated to a point where, at least in retrospect, they consider themselves to have been victimized and exploited. In this, as in many other matters, the majority load the blame upon the shoulders of the Homes Commission. "We had had little experience with money, and should have been advised how to spend," they say. Non-homesteaders, too, have criticized this body for not introducing some greater degree of control.

Here, as in other phases of homestead affairs, the Homes Commission has been faced with the puzzling problem of how far to introduce supervision without producing the evils of wardship. Before the first harvest, members of the Commission urged the settlers both individually and in public gatherings to consult that body before signing any documents, to practise thrift, pay debts, and invest any surplus in government bonds or other property that it might recommend. The executive officer and secretary, it is reported, was so emphatic in this that "one corporation threatened him with suit." The question arose, too, as to whether the Commission had "any authority or right to con-
trol the freedom of the individual” as regards finances. Its officers point out that, at the time, the folk engaging in such transactions as those summarized above thought them good business, and only in retrospect have they looked so black. In the next section certain practical measures which the Commission took to stabilize credit and meet the debt situation will be seen. A notable fact is that when a plan was worked out by that body to supervise and assist in the financial operations of the homesteaders (page 102), more than a third refused to take part; doubtless these would resist efforts to compel them to do so. Any scheme of compulsory wardship would certainly have been resented.

Some homesteaders, looking back, console themselves with the idea that the people have had the chance to learn “a great economic lesson.” “They will not be so ready to sign on the dotted line in the future.” Even if this is so, it provides sorry comfort for a number whose debts are such that every pineapple check is more or less swallowed up by creditors of the past, and is likely to be for several years.

A few people were noted as having saved and banked their money. Where this procedure is a matter of applause, if not one of the main yardsticks of success in western society, there seems to be still a lingering feeling in such a Hawaiian community that folk who do this are miserly and “un-Hawaiian”; that they are being disloyal to relatives and niggardly to friends. A factor, however, that has to be taken into account in discussing the general lack of thrift along financial lines is that there are no really adequate facilities in the homestead area for banking money.

The pineapple payments have always been made in the form of checks. The lot holder may receive over the payment desk a lump sum of several thousand dollars in such a form. He walks out with this piece of paper in his hand to be faced, not by a latticed bank window, but by an array of creditors and salesfolk all eager to get at it: by no means a situation that would encourage financial responsibility. True, at Kaunakakai and Maunaloa camp there are

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124 From a parallel statement to that mentioned in the previous footnote, transmitted by the executive officer and secretary, and published simultaneously.
branches of Territorial banks. But these are receiving offices only, with no facilities for cashing checks, or even for drawing out money from current accounts except by giving several days’ notice. Hence they are not considered very satisfactory as depositing places.

What happens, therefore, is usually one of two things. The recipient of a check goes to Honolulu and gets the whole amount out in cash—which “burns a hole in his pockets till it is spent.” Or else, the check is handed over to a local merchant or creditor, and he deducts any amount that is owed, giving in return one or more checks of smaller denomination. These new checks go through a similar process of “changing,” and by repetition the amount is decreased until it becomes small enough to be received in cash, or else vanishes.

Those genuinely concerned over this checking system make several suggestions as to how the problem could be dealt with. Some feel that the Homes Commission should take the initiative in providing some form of savings bank, or at least in interesting private banks in the idea of sending a representative to the Hoolehua office at payment time. Another proposal is that pineapple payments should be disbursed in some form like travellers’ checks which would be of small denomination. More immediately practical is a suggestion that payments be made monthly or quarterly, instead of nearly all in two or three lump sums at the peak of production. This would minimize any tendency to sacrifice the year’s necessaries to immediate luxuries. But any move of this kind would have to be supplemented by educational measures in order to forestall misunderstanding and opposition. In this connection, a recent move to give instruction in banking and the use of checks to the children of the Hoolehua school seems of great importance.

Credit

Very little regular buying has been done by the homesteaders on a directly cash basis. A vital phase of homestead economics, therefore, has been to organize credit: on the one hand to enable the families to get groceries and
other necessaries, and on the other to protect from loss those making advances of a legitimate kind.

Credit transactions have become a normal convenience of western economics. At least the great majority of folk have been schooled to feel a sense of responsibility as regards paying their debts. Peoples such as the Hawaiians, however, without a commercial tradition, hence unversed in the techniques and ethics of business, have experienced difficulties in mastering such phases of the system. They have bought their knowledge largely by the dual process of being victimized by, and of victimizing those having transactions with them. The educated folk, of course, are now completely in step with the white men in these matters. But the less educated and poorer people, from whose ranks many of the homesteaders were drawn, have had only a limited experience of "high finance." Goods obtained through credit have been somewhat like manna from heaven. Bills and signed promises have little of grim inexorability. After all, the foodstuffs from the store have long since been eaten up, and the auto has become a useless heap of junk in the yard—so why bother to pay for them? Only by a process of direct experiment, often bitter and puzzling, are numbers of the homesteaders coming to realize that obligations they incur bring their day of reckoning, and contracts they sign cannot be broken once they no longer appeal.

In the early days of homesteading, the local merchants extended credit rather freely to carry the settlers along. By the time pineapples came in, many thousands of dollars worth of advances had been made. Before these debts were paid off the majority of homesteaders incurred further obligations, as already seen: credit was, as a local resident expressed it, a "fire that got loose."

To members of the Homes Commission it became obvious that some form of control was essential. A resolution was passed forbidding persons, firms or corporations to make advances of money to homesteaders in anticipation of benefits accruing from homestead lands, unless the approval of the Commission was obtained. In October 1930,
the more positive action was taken of working out a system by which the settlers could secure advances of goods or cash for "expenses necessarily incident to the conduct of the home and family," under terms that would give protection to the merchants concerned. Two features of modern homestead finance now to be examined, "assignments to the Commission" and "Exhibit A" documents, came into existence.

A form of indenture was worked out by which homesteaders who chose to do so could assign to the Homes Commission all money coming to them from their pineapple contracts. In turn the "signer" would be able to get the backing of the Commission for an extension of credit to cover legitimate needs. The Commission became virtually the financial agent or manager of the homesteader concerned. It was authorized to deduct from the pineapple money as a first charge such amounts as were owing to the Commission and the Territory of Hawaii. Next the approved credit advances would be met. Except where homesteaders had assigned all their pineapple income to meet obligations to the Hoolehua Company (page 89), as happened with many of those involved in that venture, the Commission would then pay over any residue to the assignor or else hold it on account, according to his wishes in the matter. About one hundred and ten homesteaders have their money currently assigned to the Commission, while somewhat over fifty have elected to continue managing their own financial affairs.

What has become known as "Exhibit A" is the printed order form which the homesteader desiring a credit advance has to sign, and the Homes Commission must approve and countersign in order to give it validity. It is said to have been originally worked out by the Hoolehua Company officials as a means of putting their business relations with their stockholders and clients on a secure basis. At first the maximum credit allowed by the Commission to the individual assignor was fixed at $50 a month, or $600 a year.

126 Resolution number 22 of the Homes Commission, dated January 29, 1931, made this explicit, and also provided that an adequate financial accounting be made to the assignor.
Afterwards the "Exhibit A" system was extended to apply to the advances made by other merchants, and the total credit allowed became larger than this maximum. Among the reasons for permitting this were that a monopoly by the Hoolehua Company was considered undesirable and that this cooperative organization did not supply certain essentials such as meat and poi. The "Exhibit A" form also became used retrospectively as an order to guarantee payment of the old debts of 1928-30, for without some such backing the merchants could not continue to advance new credit even for the basic needs: indeed most were on the verge of bankruptcy.

As this system became a source for considerable criticism, it is well to emphasize that the "Exhibit A" has not been a means of contracting debts but a short term credit note, in which the Homes Commission guarantees the financial integrity of the homesteader in anticipation of earnings from pineapples, and the merchants can count on getting their due return. The troubles centering around the "Exhibit A" system have been that the homesteaders in many cases have disliked finding most or all of their checks absorbed by these prior assignments, while the Commission has refused to countersign many of the forms signed by them. This latter has brought opprobrium upon the Commission from both parties in such uncompleted transactions. A real problem, in view of the size of many of the checks and the fact that after all the money belongs to the homesteader, has been to know how much control to exercise.

Today the "Exhibit A" system has been allowed to fall more or less into abeyance. Besides the difficulties just referred to, it has had the disadvantages of "tying up the homesteader's money in a few places," and shutting off essential credit elsewhere. Certain merchants or others would have first call upon all money available so that other creditors, such as perhaps the hospital, dentist, and poi-man, would often get nothing. By 1933, a combination of "a tremendous weight of debt and curtailment of credit" forced the Commission to assume an even more thorough control.
It has now devised a method which, while less formal, gives it a fairly complete supervision of the debt situation.

Where in the early years the pineapple companies made their payments directly to the homesteaders, all the money is today distributed through the office of the Commission. In August of each year (the first big payment month), the latter secures detailed information from everyone to whom the homesteaders owe money. The amounts are set out on a confidential working sheet, which is brought to the Hoolehua office on the pay-out days. Each lot holder to whom money is coming is consulted personally by the executive officer of the Commission in a private conference to arrange about debt payments. His main concern, of course, is with the 110 persons who have made assignments to the Commission. But usually all but about twenty of the “non-signers” voluntarily accept advice and help in this matter. An attempt is made to get as equitable as possible an arrangement in which all creditors will get at least a fair proportion of whatever is allotted to liquidate debts, while at the same time the homesteader receives some ready money in his pocket.

The Commission is trying hard to get all old obligations to the Homes Commission and the merchants paid up. Nevertheless its policy is to avoid sacrificing present and future credit on account of such prior assignments. Even where an individual has assigned all his money to the Commission and the Hoolehua Company (page 89), it makes arrangements for only a certain amount to be paid on account, leaving enough to be pro-rated against other debts to keep his credit good. In this way all regular creditors have in the last two or three years had their outstanding accounts considerably reduced, and numbers of homesteaders are already practically clear of debt. The constant slogan of the Commission officers is: “Unload your debt, then pay your way and keep your credit good.” Though some of the homesteaders do not like such close scrutiny of their debts, and the creditors usually feel that they might have been given a little more consideration in pro-rating the payments, the system appears to be very ef-
fective. A notable feature is that more than half of the non-assignors participate voluntarily in it.

When an agreement has been reached with each individual as to his various debt payments, the Commission officer writes out a check for the balance due him. At the end of the two or three payment days, all the creditors receive from the Commission "blanket" checks covering the total amounts collected for them during the proceedings, along with itemized statements as to who have paid, and how much. The Commission thus acts as an informal yet effective financial agent for those assigning to it or accepting its services. The twenty or so people who prefer to manage their own affairs are handed their checks intact, and creditors, including the Commission, have to make personal representations to them. This is the main reason why the storekeepers, doctor, and others stay around the office at pay time, though they also feel that their presence may serve as a reminder when the debt payments of the others are being pro-rated.

This system has given confidence to the local business and professional people in their dealings with homesteaders, while yet making them particularly careful as to how much new credit they extend. The tendency is to require cash for all luxury purchases; this is now always so for gasoline. The storekeepers keep themselves informed through the Homes Commission and pineapple company offices as to the debts and financial status of those on their books, and treat each one according to his special position. Where a homesteader or member of his family has a regular job or an income from farming, he is likely to get more liberal credit than if the only medium of payment is the irregular and widely spaced pineapple check. The residence lot holders, as would be expected, have a credit allowance that is adjusted closely to their income. An additional benefit from the present close supervision is that the Homes Commission authorities are able to scrutinize the accounts rendered to the homesteaders, and see that the latter are not made victims of excessive charges or trickery. Where out-

127 Those residence lot holders who are employees of the Homes Commission and have loans from the revolving fund get an agreed amount deducted regularly from their pay checks to amortize this.
side salesmen may come in to sell luxury goods or services, as in the earlier days, they have to take their chance as to payment, since such expenditure would be looked at askance by the Commission officers if the bills were put in to them under the pro-rating system.

The credit situation, therefore, can be said to be fairly well in hand, and the accumulation of past debts is being reduced. The main question that is still unsettled is whether, as family after family becomes cleared of its outstanding obligations, and so gets once more into the position of having large amounts of ready money on hand, the Commission should take some further step in the direction of supervising expenditures, so as to prevent a repetition of past happenings. There are those who say that, for the sake of future generations as well as the general economic and social welfare, the pineapple moneys over and above a reasonable amount should be held in trust instead of being distributed merely to be frittered away. Others insist that the people themselves must work out their own financial salvation. Here again emerges the question of self-responsibility versus trusteeship that runs as an almost constant thread through homestead economics.
IV. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

The task of building healthy and permanent homestead communities involves far more than establishing a sound economic foundation, important as that is. Actually it demands the creation of a new society and a new way of life. In this section a number of other essential aspects of the Molokai scheme which may broadly be called social and educational will be analyzed, such as family and community organization and leadership, religion, health, law and order, leisure and recreation, and school activities. Though in many respects less tangible and measurable than what has been dealt with so far, these offer at least equally vital problems.

Already at a number of points matters connected with family and community life have been discussed or mentioned. Hawaiian relatives were seen to retain a considerable amount of the larger family solidarity which the modern westerner has tended to shed off (page 32). Kinship—that is, linkage by blood and marriage—plays a very important part in determining the social activities of the homestead families. In many cases there are close ties between the lot holders: parents and children, and especially groups of brothers and sisters obtained homesteads at the same time, while there has been much intermarriage among the families of the settlers since. As more and more children are coming along, while those growing up have little stimulus or even opportunity to "hive off" and achieve economic independence, the trend is for the households to expand into large "extended family" groups covering three or more generations. The problem of just how the younger people are going to be fitted into the homestead scheme has already received prominent mention.

Another mark of old Hawaiian society that survives to some extent is a distinction between families on the basis of rank by birth. The Polynesians, probably more than any other people, kept their ancestral genealogies and took their social status according to the lineage of their parents.
Though the highest born people had nearly all died off (page 13), and democratic ideas have penetrated far, the old social hierarchy and way of reckoning are by no means obsolete. The great number of homestead families are counted as of "common" descent. But several have one or other parent, or both parents "high born" in some degree. To the outsider, there would be few visible signs of distinction in this regard; yet it is manifested in subtle attitudes and actions. Rank continues to be most effective, it would seem, in political and church organizations, though usually in any sort of meeting a higher born person will be given the chance to speak first. One homesteader with such standing has been elected representative in the Territorial legislature. The Homes Commission authorities have learned to take quiet account of this factor in their dealings with the homesteaders.

In contrast to the close knit family groupings, the homestead communities still show signs of their artificial growth. The people find it difficult to organize and cooperate as a whole (pages 89-90). While this latter is said to be a general characteristic of modern Hawaiian life, split as it tends to be by individualism and factionalism, local observers and homesteaders themselves assert that it is more marked on Molokai than in the average Hawaiian group. Among the reasons given are that the people were drawn in the first place from different islands and differing economic, educational, social, and age levels; that religious sectarianism has been a dividing force; that the scattered nature of the holdings has not been conducive to cooperation; and that the coming of pineapples and pineapple checks has produced a commercial attitude, and many occasions for jealousies. Homesteaders who were among the early comers say that conditions were better in the old days:

"When we came there were just a few houses. There were no autos or pineapples and only a trail to Kaunakakai. We all lived together like one big family. What was yours was mine and mine yours with no thought of pay. Now that is lost. When the big money came the friendship between us broke. Everyone is now for himself."
It could hardly be expected, of course, that such a group of people, no matter how carefully selected, could find themselves completely congenial. Every social group tends to be cut through by sectional interests, often conflicting. Nevertheless to a student of cultural change this seemingly abnormal lack of cohesion among the homesteaders, and also among the Hawaiians in general, is nothing unfamiliar. Peoples like the Hawaiians whose old social order and leadership are breaking down in drastic fashion almost inevitably go through a period of disruption and exaggerated individualism. The chieftain class (alii) of ancient Hawaii, who organized the life of the community with the backing of religious and traditional sanctions, has passed, or has very attenuated authority. Yet it is exceedingly difficult for individuals not of exalted birth to emerge as leaders, no matter how great are their economic or intellectual attainments. Anyone who moves out from the mass of his fellows tends to become a butt for criticism and jealousy. In spite, therefore, of frequently reiterated complaints among Hawaiians about their dearth of leadership, the present transitional stage is one in which only some very unusual personality indeed could win any widespread respect.

There is, however, a more cheerful side to this picture. Whatever the present difficulties, the Hawaiian people appear to have progressed considerably farther than other Polynesian groups in adapting themselves to the new social order that the white man has thrust upon them. In most other Polynesian regions the chieftain class is still powerful. While it continues more or less to give a leadership in economic and social affairs which the Hawaiians tend to lack, a serious conflict is coming about between such traditional leaders and an increasing number of individuals of lower birth but with outstanding attainments in terms of the white man’s values: that is, between aristocratic and democratic principles. The Hawaiian people can at

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128 A part-Hawaiian said: "Whenever a Hawaiian gets a little ahead, one hundred reach up and pull him back." Compare also Keesing, Modern Samoa, pp. 407, 436, where the same phenomenon is described.

129 See the comparative works cited previously. The conflict is also very marked among African peoples today, where educated younger people are challenging the authority of chiefs. Indeed, it has had a world-wide significance in modern times.
least comfort themselves with the thought that they are more than half way over one of the biggest hurdles of social readjustment. Whether their further jump will land them into the general milieu of American democracy, or find them still a racially conscious group organized in a more cohesive way by their own leaders, is a matter for the future to show. Meantime such a group as the homestead community bears the marks of this doubtless temporary social situation.

An interesting example of the present lack of consensus on Molokai is found in connection with the changing form of the Homes Commission (page 23). There has emerged a widespread feeling among the homesteaders that one of their number should sit on this body to look after their interests directly. Whenever this idea was advanced to the writer, he immediately asked the person whether he thought that the homesteaders, if given the chance, would name an individual of whom he approved. In almost every case a wry smile would appear, along with the opinion that "the wrong man would be elected."

Granting that as a whole these larger unities are as yet relatively lacking, the homesteaders nevertheless have their own sectional associations and social activities. Organizations of various kinds flourish for longer or shorter periods, some started by the Hawaiians themselves and others by outsiders. These have their elected officers, committees and common interests.

Already reference has been made to several cooperative enterprises of an economic nature participated in by groups of homesteaders, and to Hawaiian benevolent societies (pages 89-90). The alumni of the Kamehameha schools maintain a fairly active organization, and their members have financed a scholarship to send one of the promising children of the homestead community to their alma mater. A parent-teachers association has had in some years as many as eighty homestead people at its meetings. At one time a Hoolehua Civic Club was formed, but lapsed after a short existence. Several individuals are members of the local American Legion post or of its women's Auxiliary, while a Molokai women's organization known as the Hui o Lokahi has likewise had homestead women in its member-
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ship. There are various recreational associations (pages 116-17). Election time brings political meetings and other activities of which the Hawaiians are extremely fond. Several groups, notably a “New Deal Committee” (page 123), have banded together to voice criticisms of the homestead system, and make recommendations for change.

Undoubtedly the main outlet for leadership and corporate activity in the homestead communities is provided by the various churches. “The Hawaiians,” it is often said, “are a very religious people;” in other words, since their old religion has broken down as a working system, they have been eager adherents of one or other of the faiths that have come to them. As with many peoples similarly in transition, the church has provided a powerful integrating force amid the confused alternatives of new thought and behavior. Its authoritative “thou shalt” and “thou shalt not,” and the intellectual, ritual, and social activities of the religious week tend to be all important. Unfortunately, at the same time, sectarian differences become a dividing force in the community, and may be expressed in ill-feeling between individuals or groups.

About 95 families today are Mormon, 47 Hawaiian Protestant,130 25 Roman Catholic, 22 adherents of a Hawaiian faith called Ke Akua Ola (“the Living God”), 7 Apostolic or “Jesus is Coming” faith,131 3 or 4 Christian Scientist, and 1 Seventh Day Adventist. The first four have regular church buildings, while the others meet in private homes. A Roman Catholic priest is in residence, also usually two Mormon elders; the rest are headed by local lay preachers or leaders, with periodic visits from itinerant representatives of the church concerned. The Ke Akua Ola sect is especially interesting as being an indigenous Hawaiian growth.132 Varying with the special nature of the church organization, the homesteaders, from elders to child-

130 That is, affiliated with the Hawaiian Board of Missions (Congregational).
131 This, introduced from the Pacific coast, is sometimes called “Holy Roller.”
132 It is said to be a schismatic offshoot of another faith of local origin, the Hoomana Naauao (“Wisdom Religion”) church, which arose about 1900 as a kind of Hawaiian Christian Science. Such indigenous faiths, combining old and new religious ideas, are very frequent phenomena of the world’s frontiers. Some of the social and psychological forces that underlie them are analyzed in Keesing, F. M., “The Changing Life of Native Peoples of the Pacific Area,” American Journal of Sociology, January, 1934.
ren, have activities in which they can participate according to their interest and zeal.

A point of criticism both by some observers of the homestead scheme and by homesteaders is that the Homes Commission has made little attempt to foster cooperation and a community spirit by enlisting the help of the people themselves in the progressive development of the project. "Things have been done for the homesteaders, not with them." Apart from having a homesteader on the Fair committee, there has apparently been no important phase of the scheme where genuine responsibilities have been placed upon representative individuals: no advisory board, for example, such as is found on some Indian reservations, no health, recreation, or other permanent committees such as serve useful purposes in certain other comparable areas. Thus when a community hall was built at Hoolehua, little attempt was made to enlist the support, financial or otherwise, of the homesteaders in the enterprise. Indeed, a group of prominent people who requested that at least one of the settlers be placed on the board of control had their petition disregarded. The Commission, while bringing its influence to bear at so many points upon the individual, and providing extensive facilities for community activities, has done little to stimulate and utilize the group spirit.

There are those, of course, who dismiss this matter by saying that the homesteaders are as yet "incompetent," "unable to bear responsibilities," and "untrained in business matters;" also that, given the chance to name persons for leadership, they would "choose the wrong individuals." There is here, however, an old and widespread dilemma. If responsibilities are withheld because of alleged incompetence, the people concerned will never gain the experience that will lead to competence. Furthermore, only by giving those aspiring to leadership positive tasks will their real abilities be tested. In this regard, a proposal advanced by one or two people to the effect that there should be some board or committee of homesteaders who would work with the Homes Commission at least in an advisory capacity, and cooperate with its executive officers, may well merit some consideration. In such a community without firm
local rootings of kinship or corporate living, it seems wise that every effort should be made to build up group associations having worthwhile tasks, and in all other ways possible to foster a civic sense. Even if mistakes, inefficiencies and rivalries occur, these can be looked at as stepping stones towards greater competence and a closer knit community life.

**Health**

In the earlier days of contact with whites, the Hawaiians were decimated by newly introduced diseases. Even today the deathrate among them is considerably higher than in the average American community, or for the population of the Territory as a whole (page 12). The infant mortality rate is especially high, about one out of every five Hawaiian babies, and one out of every ten part-Hawaiian babies dying before the end of the first year. An all important phase of homestead affairs, therefore, is health work.

For some years the Homes Commission subsidized the work of a physician and a nurse. In 1931, however, their activities were transferred to the regular staff of the Territorial board of health. Today a government physician and his assistant have an office in Hoolehua, while a government nurse is permanently stationed there with facilities provided by the Homes Commission. One of the homesteaders is employed as a sanitary inspector for Molokai. Free clinics for babies and expectant mothers are conducted at short intervals by the nurse, and also examinations for the school children. The settlers are fortunate, too, in having within Hoolehua an excellent mission hospital, established by the Episcopal church for the people of Molokai on property provided by the Commission; this has a trained nursing staff and excellent surgical and laboratory facilities. One or two of the homesteaders who have contracted tuberculosis or leprosy have been transferred respectively to a sanitarium on Maui and to the Kalaupapa settlement.

The health authorities report an increasing willingness on the part of the homesteaders to use these modern medical

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facilities, though at first there was considerable suspicion. Among the most tenacious aspects of old Hawaiian culture have been the ideas and practices concerned with sickness. Beliefs in good and evil forces, family and guardian spirits, magic spells, and the effectiveness of kahuna-ism or sorcery, blending into Christian ideas in a most interesting and, to the people concerned, not inconsistent way, have considerable currency. This is especially so among the older, less educated folk. Furthermore, a native pharmacopoeia is still extensively resorted to. It can readily be understood, therefore, why modern ideas and practices have been accepted only slowly.

A complicating factor in earlier days was that not infrequently Hawaiian families brought sick members to the white doctor only as a last resort after their own treatments had failed. If they did not respond to his remedies the blame was laid not upon themselves but upon the doctor. Even yet, according to a person familiar with the situation, many either put in a rush call when something goes wrong, regardless of its seriousness, or else wait until the trouble is chronic or acute. The hospital, too, was feared by some at first because of the possible presence of the ghosts of those dying there. It is very difficult to get patients to go upon a diet or other special regime, or even to come back for observation. A rather different but nevertheless pertinent problem has been for the hospital and doctors, and also the dentist, to extract fees for their services after they have been rendered: several thousand dollars are outstanding.

A very encouraging sign of progress is the changing attitude of Hawaiian women toward going to the hospital at childbirth. In the earlier years practically all births took place at home, with only members of the family in attendance. Now, thanks especially to the work of the nurses, nearly all of whom have been part-Hawaiians, the majority of women register at the hospital and have profes-

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134 A like situation is found among other peoples whose beliefs have been drastically changing; see, for example, Keesing, Modern Samoa, pp. 376-77, 390-95, 408-13.

135 See Handy, E. S. C., Pukui, M. K., and Livermore, K., "Outline of Hawaiian Physical Therapeutics," B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 126, 1934. Many of these old remedies are undoubtedly effective, and are a subject of interest to medical men.
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This is said to be lowering noticeably the child mortality. The baby clinics, however, have not aroused much interest so far. A step that might count a great deal in this regard would be to organize a committee of women from among the homestead families to cooperate with the nurses, a plan found most effective elsewhere.

While as a whole the health of the Molokai homesteaders has been good, and there have been no serious epidemics, some new problems have arisen that are causing more than a little concern. Where formerly Hawaiians lived close to the sea and spent much of their time in the water, a combination of dusty uplands and scarcity of water is said by medical authorities to have made skin diseases more prevalent. But far more serious is the fact that the homesteaders have changed their diet considerably. The simple coarse foods of earlier times, mainly taro and fish, which produced the perfect teeth and splendid physique for which the Polynesians have been noted, are now largely replaced by starchy flour and polished white rice, and by canned foods from the stores.

Especially in Hoolehua the teeth of the people, including the children, are bad, and the general health is likewise affected.

The writer made a survey of Hawaiian food purchases at the local stores. They comprised large amounts of bread, flour, white rice, crackers, sugar, salt, canned or salted fish and meat (especially salmon and beef), fairly large amounts of canned milk, lard, butter, mayonnaise, cheap dried codfish, dried shrimps, onions, soy bean sauce, Karo and similar preparations for infant feeding, coffee, postum and chocolate; and a little tea, canned fruit, and fresh apples and oranges. Large quantities of meat and

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136 Among the New Zealand Maori, in Fiji, and in Samoa notable results have been achieved through such women's health committees. These also give an outlet for the enthusiasm and energy of leading women in the communities.

137 Ordinarily the Hawaiians still eat poi, the pounded fermented taro, at least once a day. This is recognized as having a high diatetic value; but combined with flour and rice it makes an excessively starchy diet. Recently there has been a scarcity of taro in Hawaii, and the price rose to a point where it became at least temporarily a luxury food, if used at all. Often flour is combined with poi to make it go further, or else is mixed into a paste like poi and eaten in the same way.

138 Few of the homestead folk go voluntarily to the local dentist for treatment, so that he visits from house to house to persuade them to get necessary work done. Few toothbrushes are sold to them by the merchants.

139 These last two are the drink of the Mormon families.
ordinarily) poi are bought in Kanakakai. Liquor is indulged in by those with a taste for it, and is obtained in Kaunakakai and at certain of the local stores. Most homesteaders grow vegetables during at least part of the year for their own consumption; but on the whole these and fruits are conspicuously lacking either in fresh or canned form. Storekeepers report the sale of large amounts of laxatives, symptomatic of the results of these new eating habits.

Countering this tendency toward an unhealthy diet, the schools are today striving to teach modern food principles through their home economics and hygiene work. Likewise the activities of the home economics extension service of the University of Hawaii are beginning to touch the women (page 120). All work along educational lines that can enable the homestead families to use in a balanced and healthy way the diverse foodstuffs now available to them will certainly be profitable.

Law and Order

It was seen earlier that the Hawaiians have had on the average a higher incidence of delinquency than other racial groups, apparently a sign of cultural maladjustment (page 16). Since the homestead scheme started, several settlers or members of their families have run foul of the law—for assault, theft, embezzlement, and a sex offence; but in general the homesteaders have proved an orderly group.

Where, however, there has been the elimination of one social problem in getting so many families out of crowded city quarters, conditions on Molokai have been such as to create another of increasing seriousness. It comes largely from the indeterminate position of the young people. There is little economic pressure upon the boys and girls as they come to maturity, and indeed little to stimulate their ambitions or even to absorb their time after leaving school. While some parents are giving their children an excellent education and upbringing, and they are fine citizens in the making, there are others who let them “bum around” without much sense of responsibility toward them. Church leaders and others shake their heads over the morals of many
of the homestead youth. The rate of illegitimacy is reported to be quite high.\textsuperscript{140} There is considerable drunkenness, some fighting, and much loafing around in gangs. Recently a particularly troublesome group of youths had to be broken up by the police. The main problem, according to local residents, is to “find something for these young people to do”; in other words, it is less a matter for the law than for the social worker. This leads on to the subject of recreation and leisure activities.

**Recreation**

The old time sports and entertainments of the Hawaiians have nearly all long since become obsolete. Those that remain—usually in very modified form, as witness the modern *hula* dancing and music based on western notation and instruments—tend to be reserved for special occasions. In the main, therefore, such a Hawaiian community finds its recreation along rather typically western lines.

A favorite leisure pursuit is automobile driving—provided the family concerned has cash to pay for the gasoline. Many of the young people like horseback riding. Movies have a great appeal, and also no doubt exert an important influence on thought and conduct.\textsuperscript{141} The poolrooms of Kaunakakai draw some of the younger men. A number of the homestead wives spend much time caring for flower gardens, making the fronts of their homes very attractive. The children rove over the scattered lots engaging in their own types of play, learned in school or elsewhere.

Certain days of the year are marked by special events and activities that bring many if not all of the homesteaders together. Christmas and Easter are appropriately celebrated, mainly through the churches. The birthday of the late Prince Kuhio Kalanianaole (March 26) is always made the occasion of a commemorative gathering. On May Day, which in Hawaii is called “Lei Day,” the schools put on a festival, which usually includes an excellent program of Hawaiian entertainment. The annual Fair has always

\textsuperscript{140} Yet illegitimacy bears little social stigma among many Hawaiians, and illegitimate children are readily taken into the mother’s family or adopted.

\textsuperscript{141} There are movie theatres at the nearby C. P. C. camp and at Kaunakakai. “Wild West” subjects are said to have the greatest appeal, and the youthful Hawaiian in “cowboy” garb is a familiar sight.
been an outstanding event, with its exhibits, competitions, and sports. For some years, in the first days of September, a group of homesteaders have organized and financed a Labor Day celebration, lasting as long as a week, with horse-racing and like displays of equestrian prowess, field sports, boxing, a dance, and other recreational features.

Several orchestras have been organized in the homestead communities, and these or other Molokai groups and societies run dances which usually are well patronized. Occasionally there is a concert by visiting artists. During the appropriate seasons, volleyball, basketball, and similar sports are played by church and other clubs, while there are scout, cub, and brownie troops for the boys and girls.

Other than at the churches and the schools, the main center for organized recreation and entertainment is a community hall at Hoolehua. This, a large, attractive and well equipped building, was planned and constructed by the Homes Commission through an appropriation from the revolving fund. The hall adjoins the Molokai Intermediate school and forms a gymnasium and assembly hall for the children. Nearly always, too, it is well booked ahead for evening gatherings, especially around the payment days when the families are best in a position to meet admission charges. Though at the time of construction there was some criticism from people who thought a less pretentious structure would be sufficient, it seems to have amply justified itself. Adjoining the hall is a large park with a race-track and other facilities for outdoor events, likewise provided by the Commission. Two or three small playgrounds, too, have been made at different points of the Hoolehua settlement.

A woman social worker is maintained at Hoolehua by the Alexander House welfare center of Maui, to organize leisure activities for girls. A man welfare officer em-
ployed by the Molokai ranch helps with work among the boys as far as his busy island-wide program allows. A pineapple company manager and his wife direct the local scout work. While these, together with some of the teachers and church leaders, are doing excellent work, there is said to be a serious need for more supervision. The spread out nature of the Hoolehua community is a special complication in this regard. It can hardly be expected that children who have travelled miles to school from the far end of Hoolehua in the daytime will be able to repeat the trip for directed recreation in the hall at night. An idea put forward by one of these workers is that two or three small halls or clubhouses be built in the less accessible sections.

Above all, some worthwhile activities for adolescents and young men and women who have finished school seem to be needed. One proposal now being urged is the formation of a local branch of the National Guard. Others are that a band be started, a reading room established, and a radio set be placed in the hall. A suggestion which would be of benefit to the homesteaders as a whole is that a community rest-house and camping place, with shade trees and a playground, be established at Moomomi, a beautiful beach several miles west of Hoolehua, easily accessible and with good fishing; this, too, it is thought, would counterbalance the unusual situation of having Hawaiians living on uplands away from the sea.

At least, among such a group of people without much economic pressure, and likely to feel the isolation of Molokai because of having experienced the attractions of city life, the organization of leisure activities becomes of the greatest importance. At an earlier point an economic survey was suggested. Equally worthwhile, in the writer's opinion, would be to have a qualified social worker visit the homestead area and make a survey of what recreational facilities are available, and of what further steps might be taken to build up this vital phase of community life.

145 He reports enrollment of about 40 Boy Scouts and 50 Girl Scouts in the Hoolehua area, with about 30 Cubs and the same number of Brownies.
In broad terms, the whole homesteading scheme has been an experiment in education: partly under detailed direction, and partly "learning by doing." At a number of points, too, it has been seen that the solution of certain economic and other problems can only come as ignorance, indifference or suspicion is dispelled by fuller knowledge. Above all, the future of homesteading depends on the children who are at present coming up through the schools.

The Territorial board of public instruction, through its Maui branch, maintains an elementary school in the Kalanianaole settlement and a large elementary and intermediate (junior high) school at Hoolehua. These serve not only the homestead children but also those of white, Japanese, and other residents there and in the nearby plantation camps. In order to make these schools fit as closely as possible into the homestead scheme, the Homes Commission has contributed special financial subsidies and facilities, notably for a vocational building and the model school farm at Hoolehua.146

Schooling in the homestead areas has involved a fundamental question of policy which has been of much concern to the responsible authorities. Should instruction follow the mainly academic patterns usual in American schools, in order to complete as fully as possible the assimilation of such Hawaiian folk into the general culture, or should a special type of curriculum be worked out that will fit the children closely to life in the homestead country, with emphasis upon agriculture and other useful subjects, and also perhaps upon worthy elements from the Hawaiian cultural heritage?

In general the school authorities have emphasized regular academic work, while showing interest in the other phases. The Homes Commission has encouraged the vocational side, and its practical contributions have been along these lines. A move in the direction of fostering things Hawaiian is provided by a bill which passed the legislature recently requiring all schools in the homestead settlements

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146 It also provided the land for school sites.
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to teach the Hawaiian language as an elective for at least
ten minutes each day. Perhaps the most satisfactory re-
conciliation of the two policies will be accomplished by a
plan now under way to establish a special "English stan-
ard school" where those who want to lean to the academic
side can go as a preparation for higher education, leaving
vocational work—farming, manual arts, and home econo-
mics—to be stressed at the present schools.\textsuperscript{147} How far it
would be possible to use Hawaiian elements in the school
program cannot be judged here. Undoubtedly there are
matters of local history and lore, skills of weaving and
other craftwork, knowledge of plants and other natural
phenomena, and perhaps certain ceremonies that could be
dramatized and used in pageantry, all of which would en-
rich the life and stimulate the pride of the children and in-
directly the community—these not at all inconsistent with
Americanization and western learning.\textsuperscript{148}

One of the key persons in the whole homestead scheme
is obviously the school teacher. A teacher with interest
and enthusiasm that goes beyond the classroom is capable
of providing leadership and being a vital influence in the
community. One who sees his or her job as merely getting
children through grades is actually a loss to the scheme as
failing to utilize the opportunities which such a post opens
out. The writer is in no position to pass judgment upon
the present teachers; in fact the schools were not in session
during his visit. This perhaps makes it easier to lay
down the principle that the Homes Commission should use
its influence so as to have on the staffs of the homestead
schools the best teachers that can be found in the Territory,
considering the special nature of these institutions and of
the communities. Such people, too, should be encouraged
to experiment. Some homesteaders have urged that all

\textsuperscript{147} The new school is being built about half way between Kalanianaole and
Hoolehua. It was reported that several dozen applications had been received in
advance for enrollment, including about twenty-five from the homestead area.
School busses are provided for all children on Molokai whose homes are at a dis-
tance of more than two miles away.

\textsuperscript{148} See an article by E. S. C. Handy, "Human Resources and Civilization,"
in Pacific Affairs (journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations), September 1935,
which has references to valuable elements in old Hawaiian culture; also Handy
and E. H. Bryan, "Can Hawaiian Culture be Preserved?" in Ancient Hawaiian
Civilization, published by the Kamehameha Schools, 1933. The way Maori arts,
crafts, and other cultural elements have entered into a modern renaissance of that
people is described in Keesing, The Changing Maori, parts II and III.
the teachers should be of Hawaiian blood; but this is by no means necessary, if indeed wise. As a homestead woman said: "Some of our own cannot meet our own; it often takes an outsider to touch them and get their cooperation." Such specially chosen teachers, too, will be best fitted to resolve the alternatives of policy referred to earlier, encouraging the most promising pupils to go on to higher education, and steering the rest more into vocational and local activities.

At least equally important in the immediate view can be a program of adult education. Much of the help given to the homesteaders along economic lines by the Commission, the University of Hawaii and other institutions, and also the work of church societies, goes into this category. Of special interest, however, is the fact that in 1934 home economics and demonstration classes were started among the homestead women by the university extension service. More than thirty wives and older girls entered enthusiastically into the project in its first year. Meetings were held twice a month under the leadership and at the home of one of the homestead women, a Kamehameha graduate, for instruction in cooking, dressmaking and other handicrafts, usually with visiting representatives of the extension service to help. Not least appreciative have been the husbands, who at one session were invited along to be fed. The initial experiment has proved so successful that the university has now stationed a woman agent permanently on Molokai to do this kind of work. Plans are under way among the women to make a start in the fall of 1935 with specifically Hawaiian arts and crafts, especially weaving with lauhala. In this connection, it might be possible to arrange for the Bureau of Hawaiian Arts and Crafts, recently formed by the Territorial government, to cooperate.

149 Though the pandanus, the leaves of which are used for this work, is plentiful in parts of Molokai, very little is yet grown in the homestead country. This might well be encouraged by the authorities, especially as it is now gaining commercial value because of a growing demand for lauhala products.
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V. THE FUTURE OF HOMESTEADING

Opinions diverge widely on what is the likely future of the Molokai settlement scheme. Some people shake their heads, and declare it a failure—economically unsound and socially artificial. The Hawaiians cannot be got back to the land, they assert; or at best the only way is to reproduce the old time conditions of a village by the sea, with a fish and taro economy, and leave it at that. Others take a most optimistic view. They look upon the difficulties and failures of the past as merely growing pains inevitable in working out a new mode of living. That the homesteaders have come, are there, and show no inclination to go elsewhere is visible proof of what has been accomplished.

The homesteaders, too, express themselves variously as to its success. "I'm satisfied," declared one of the hardest workers, "provided I can make enough money to pay off my debt." Numbers say the same. At the other extreme, however, are some who are very discontented and critical, considering themselves "destitute and in a deplorable condition," "baffled and fooled," "misused, abused, and otherwise cheated and defrauded"—allegedly by the Homes Commission, "capitalistic interests," the pineapple companies, and almost all other institutions or persons with whom they have had dealings.

As already apparent, the Homes Commission is the main center of controversy. On the one hand are those who feel that it has accomplished a most difficult job with a minimum of mistakes. On the other, there has been vociferous and highly adjetival complaint about alleged errors of omission and commission. For the most part these have already been examined in their specific context. Certain general catch phrases are also current, such as "We don't have encouragement;" "We want supervision and expert advice;" "Everything would be all right if the Commission would give us a little sympathy, a little help, a little

150 Grievance tends to attach itself to any tangible item. It has even been alleged that plant and insect pests were brought in by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and turned loose. Such ideas, usually in rumor form, spread quickly from lip to lip, becoming embellished as they go.
advice." Since it would seem that in general only people's mistakes and deviations make "news," the weaknesses of the homestead experiment have tended to reach the public and political ear more than the achievements.

It is of course beyond the task of this survey to make any sweeping evaluations of the above kind. Success and failure, good and bad as regards homestead affairs are in any case relative terms, depending on the person's point of view. In the same way, no prophecy can be ventured as to the future fortune or fate of the Molokai scheme. Nevertheless it seems worthwhile here to attempt to set out some of the possible alternatives, and record some of the constructive ideas that local people, homesteaders and others, have as to what types of reorganization could be made.

Everyone seems to feel that the residence lot system has been a great success. It gives the Hawaiian families concerned a neat and healthy home and garden outside of the crowded centers of population, yet keeps them accessible to where a congenial job can be found, and to neighbors of like interests. Some think that, instead of having taken families directly from city life on to the farm lots, they should have been "graduated" by way of the residence lots, those showing aptitude for agriculture and outdoor pursuits being so selected. Should future farm sections be opened up this might well be done. Meantime the major problems of homesteading center around the farming group already on Molokai.

At this stage of the Kalanianaole and Hoolehua experiments it seems timely to examine the possible lines of further development. First is the conservative way. As in the past, difficulties will be met as they arise, and for the rest the momentum of the years will carry the people along with a minimum of change. The trouble with this laissez faire policy is that already a group of problems have emerged which, if not anticipated by careful planning, may build up to points of crisis where the whole homestead scheme will be endangered: exhaustion of the liquid assets of the home loan fund, the matter of inheritance and the indeterminate

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This idea was more or less explicit in Elwood Mead's report (page 62), in which he visualizes the suburban lots as being a "stepping stone" to farming in open country.
position of the oncoming generations, and the uncertainty of the economic base, to name some of the main ones. Most serious from the practical viewpoint is the danger that pineapple cultivation will cease or tail off when the present contracts end, or even before, causing the "bottom to fall out" of homestead economic life as at present constituted, and so perhaps wrecking the project. The Homes Commission and others interested may well devote considerable time to this particular matter: on the one hand to see under what terms pineapples are most likely to continue as a major resource in the area, and on the other to explore thoroughly the available alternatives: diversified farming, individual or corporate ranching, and so on. If a transition has to come, it should be planned for and started as far ahead as possible.

At the other extreme, perhaps, from the conservative policy is a scheme of reorganization formulated recently by the so-called "New Deal Committee" of homesteaders.\(^{152}\) This proposes that the Molokai settlers be organized as a whole into "a corporation or an association; duly incorporated under the laws of the Territory; exclusively owned and controlled by the homesteaders and functioning with the aid of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, until such time as the Commission may be withdrawn. From this move, the homesteaders can be united en masse and provision made to equalize the industrial development, earning power and living conditions in general." The association would draw its officers and board of directors from among the homesteaders, but would employ competent outsiders until such time as the full responsibilities could be taken over. In its specific detail, the plan provides for a corporate pineapple plantation, truck farming under a system like the "A.A.A." in miniature, an animal husbandry department, a canning plant, corporate trucking, marketing and purchasing, including the establishment of a general store, and cash dividends for the participants on the basis of these operations as a whole. Apart from the feasibility of such a project in its practical detail—whether a new pineapple con-

\(^{152}\) Set out in a typed memorandum forwarded to Territorial and Federal authorities under title "Re-organization of the Rehabilitation Project on Molokai, Urged."
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cern could make its way, whether climatic conditions allow
thorough planning of agricultural production, and the like
—the main question which the realistic observer must ask
is how far the human factors are taken into account,
especially the experience so far as regards cooperative
projects within the Molokai group.153

Among the most interesting recommendations con­tained in the plan is one as follows:

"To properly establish a reorganized program of
activities, . . . the homes of every homesteader (should)
be moved into a beautified, modern community center,
located in the vicinity of the present school and church
sites in Hoolehua, laid out in the manner of city blocks,
with macadam roads within this area, connecting up
with the main artery to Kaunakakai . . . At present . . .
situated as (the homesteads) are, with poor roads that
are often impassable during the rainy season, and with
the stores, Post Office, schools, churches, etc., located
in one corner of the project and no means of trans­
portation, creates a burden of hardship, exposure, and
a menace to health . . . Children are obliged to wade
through mud and water for several miles to school dur­
ing wet weather and are often stricken with pneu­
monia . . .

"The idea of centralizing under an up-to-date
modern housing plan will improve living conditions and
human health; relieve hardship; improve the moral
character of the coming generation; . . . and save the
Hawaiian Homes Commission and the County Govern­
ment thousands of dollars in road improvement and
water distribution and school transportation . . .; and
lastly, place the entire project in line for the develop­
ment of industry."

Interesting enough, the writer found this idea of a
community center not only advocated by some of the key
groups among the homesteaders, but also by certain offi­
cials of the Homes Commission, local executives of the pine­
apple companies, and well informed residents. The idea
is well worth examining in some detail.

153 For comparison, it is interesting to note that schemes of incorporation,
though on a less ambitious scale, together with producers' and consumers' coopera­
tives, have been worked out by the Maoris of New Zealand, and have formed the
basis for economic success where the individual Maori could not get along alone. There, however, a considerable tribal and local solidarity is still preserved, and
gives a social foundation for the economic superstructure. See Keesing, "Maori
Progress on the East Coast," referred to on page 45.
Apparently it was the disastrous effects of some of the earlier settlement experiments (page 16), in which the Hawaiians held on to their home sites but disposed of agricultural lands, that caused the present scattered plot system with home and farm together to have been adopted. Nevertheless, from the first there seem to have been doubts as to whether this individualistic system was a "natural" way of living for Hawaiians, and was fostering those values other than of an economic character that were essential for a happy, well integrated community. With the introduction of the block system of pineapple growing, and the building of the hall, school, hospital, and other facilities within a community center in the northeast corner, the idea of concentrating the families into a town-like group has come to the fore.

This northeast section has the advantages of being to windward and so free from the choking red dust. It connects directly with Kualapuu (C.P.C. headquarters) by a short road now being tar sealed, and so with the splendid highway to Kaunakakai. Electric power is available. Being nearest the source of water supply, there is less danger of the distributing system being dislocated. Furthermore, the land is higher and less subject to drought, practically useless for pineapples, yet the best land for diversified agriculture. Shelter belts of trees can be planted there, though they are now frowned upon round the present homes as interfering with the growth of the pineapple crops. The social and recreational advantages are too obvious to need elaboration. By no means least important, it would meet the difficulty of placing the oncoming generation, as plenty of room could be provided for young people to get home sites. Four hundred one-acre home lots in such a new center would cover little more than ten of the existing farm holdings.

Is the scheme feasible? There is, of course, the all important financial aspect. It should be possible, however, to move the present houses intact at relatively little cost, while in any case the water distribution system has to be renewed (page 48). On the human side, leading homesteaders claim that there would be no difficulty. The Com-
mission, they say, could formulate a five or ten year plan of reorganization, and once a few fell in with the scheme the rest would quickly follow; especially if those who moved first were offered the best choice of sites. In this connection it would no doubt be unwise to use coercion, and should a few individualists want to stay on their isolated holdings they might well be allowed to do so, at least for the time. Every attempt might be made to allow the families to settle next to congenial neighbors. Perhaps both the initial costs and the further development might be financed by means of a special block of land which the Commission might set aside for planting pineapples under some separate agreement with the operating companies.

This raises the question of what arrangements would be made concerning the rest of the Hoolehua lands. Those making suggestions visualize them being used along the three lines discussed earlier: diversified agriculture, pineapple cultivation, and stock raising.

The high land adjacent to the community center was seen to be best for general agriculture. While it seems agreed that this is where subsistence cultivation and, if possible, commercial agriculture should be developed, no one appeared to have any exact plan of tenure. The writer could visualize, say, some four hundred five-acre plots laid out around the town, corresponding to the residence lots, and taking up approximately fifty more of the present holdings—still only a small fraction of the plateau, yet allowing plentiful room for future expansion. Rarely so far has any family used as much as five acres for diversified crops, so that this might be a satisfactory unit area. 154 Those who were not interested in farm work—perhaps holding a salaried job—would be under no compulsion to work their plots elaborately, while those able to use more could be allowed more. Such proximity of agricultural lands would make irrigated cultivation far more feasible, allow healthy emulation and better supervision, and aid in fostering cooperation in production and marketing.

154 The readjustments in the system of tenure would have to be worked out, and probably amending legislation passed, but they are by no means insuperable.
A supplementary suggestion concerned with agriculture is that, when circumstances allow, the Homes Commission should open up for settlement a shore area which it controls in lower Palaau, primarily with the object of growing wet-land taro. Some even go so far as to visualize a "fish and poi village" of more conservative folk there. Unfortunately the present water at lower Palaau has too high a salt content for irrigation purposes. Unless mountain water in sufficient quantities could be piped down the extra two or three miles from Hoolehua, the project is apparently not feasible.

As regards stock raising, the present community pasture system could be continued as a sideline much as hitherto, or, as some urge, a more elaborate development of this resource using modern ranching methods could be worked out.155 Should it so happen that pineapples disappear in due course from the homestead picture, some larger scheme of ranching may prove to be the best possible substitute as a major commercial resource.

What then of pineapples? Under the above plan, some five to six thousand acres of splendid pineapple land on the Hoolehua plateau would gradually be cleared of scattered home-sites. Worked under a block system with a cycle of five years of production and two or three of falling and preparation, some seven to eight hundred acres could be brought in every year. Obviously under the present losing arrangement of paying $23 a ton minimum, the pineapple companies would not be interested in any such expansion; in fact they are lessening production to the lowest point consistent with the moral obligations involved. The question arises, therefore, as to whether any new basis could be reached so that these or other companies would want to use this land to the maximum, and at the same time bring into homestead hands a profitable return.

Here, in the writer's opinion, is another key point for study by the Homes Commission and others, collaborating of course with the company authorities. In recent years

155 Among the Maoris, to make a comparison once more, large cooperative sheep runs (farms) are an important resource. Usually under government supervision, and with an outside expert employed as manager, they have a Maori board of directors, and hire their labor from among those sharing in the ownership. Careful stock selection, breeding, and pasturing enable these farms to obtain the highest prices for their products.
approximately a quarter million dollars has come annually from a much smaller acreage, though at the now exaggerated price. It would take less than one hundred thousand dollars a year to produce for each family now having an interest in the pineapple lands a basic income of six hundred dollars. Should it be possible to get a sum considerably larger than one hundred thousand dollars, the Homes Commission might give consideration to the idea of establishing some kind of financial control rather than passing the whole out in direct cash payments on a per capita basis. Thus trust funds might be formed for each family, to be used for approved purposes such as education of the children, and ultimately to be shared among the children, perhaps as they come of age. It might even happen that some thousands of dollars would be available as income to the Homes Commission to be used for general rehabilitation work and permanent improvements, and in this way minimize the need for drawing upon public funds in the future.

A seeming advantage of such a plan would be to “take pineapples out of the homesteading.” The present arrangement by which any homesteader or member of his family who wants work has first consideration in allotting contracts and jobs should be kept on. Hence the willing people can continue to utilize this source of income. But the rest will be able to concentrate upon other pursuits, without the constant distraction of “looking after their interests” and disputing the alleged machinations of the pineapple companies. Such a step would doubtless appeal greatly to harassed company managers and Homes Commission officers. It should be reflected, too, in a better community morale.

Some might say, in opposition to all such ideas for reorganization, that they smack overmuch of “interference” and “wardship.” The Homes Commission must expect, however, to face this familiar bugaboo as long as its work continues. Actually, if the Hawaiian folk concerned had been fully competent they would not have been in need of rehabilitation; and if they felt any irksomeness in their present degree of dependance they would not be so vocal in asking that the Commission do more for them than is
being done. So long as tutelage does not stabilize into bureaucracy on the one hand and arrested development on the other, it is a normal and necessary phase of such a transition as these people are making. The Commission is in a position to give real leadership, while yet placing responsibilities upon both the individual and the community to the fullest extent that they can bear.

In closing this survey, the optimistic remark of a local resident may be quoted. "There is no group of people," he said, "with so much making for success in their hands—if only they will take it." Certainly what has happened in the homestead area, and what is due to happen, is of the greatest interest and significance to the people of Hawaii, and indeed to those of other countries where land settlement schemes are being launched and where once isolated people are having to adjust themselves to modern world conditions.
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