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Case
Kaho'olawe

HAWAIIAN CUSTOMS, USES AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE OCEAN SURROUNDING KAHO'OLAWE

prepared for the
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

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HAWAIIAN CUSTOMS, USES AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE OCEAN SURROUNDING KAHO'OLAWE

Overview

Kaho'olawe is a center for the revitalization of Native Hawaiian culture, particularly with regard to subsistence gathering of marine life, canoe navigation, and the honoring of Hawaiian ocean and agricultural deities. Historically, Kaho'olawe's cultural significance was integrally linked to the ocean that surround it. Following are the main points drawn out in the narrative to explain Hawaiian customs, uses, and practices relating to the ocean around Kaho'olawe:

(1) Kaho'olawe was originally named Kohemalamalama O Kanaloa and just simply Kanaloa, after the Hawaiian god of the ocean, ocean currents, and navigation. It is a sacred kino lau/body form of the god Kanaloa.

(2) Each of the 69 fishing shrines around the island mark separate fishing grounds for distinct varieties of fish which thrive in the ocean offshore.

(3) Lae O Kealaikahiki/Point Kealaikahiki was a launching point for voyages between Tahiti and Hawai'i in the 13th century.

(4) Moa'ula iki at the central part of the island was the location of a traditional training school for navigators.

(5) The ocean surrounding the island has continued to be accessed by fishermen from Maui for fish, seaweed, limpets and other forms of marine life for subsistence and medicinal uses.

(6) Dolphins, whales, false killer whales are the marine mammals most often sighted by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana when they have accessed Kaho'olawe during the past ten years. Whales frequent the

windward side of the island from November through May. They frequently breach in Hakioawa Bay.

(7) Green sea and hawkbill turtles are frequently observed in the surrounding ocean.

(8) The coral reefs surrounding Kaho'olawe have been determined to be in a pristine condition in previous studies. This has been reaffirmed by the amount and wide variety of fish and marine life observed by 'Ohana fishermen.

(9) Kaho'olawe was one of the residences of the shark god brother of Pele, Kamohoali'i. Shrines to Kamohoali'i are found inland on the cliffs above Kanapou Bay which is a breeding ground for sharks.

(10) Seabirds live in cliffs and rocky islets on the leeward side of Kaho'olawe.

(11) The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana has made Kaho'olawe a focal point for the revival of Hawaiian subsistence, cultural and religious customs, beliefs and practices. While on the island they fish for subsistence; honor traditional Hawaiian fishing and ocean deities; access the coastline of the entire island by canoe; and seek to reopen fishing grounds in the ocean to re-establish the traditional fishing shrines.

Kaho'olawe: Aloha 'Aina

There are certain cultural terms which are important to understand in order to appreciate the following discussion of the cultural significance of Kaho'olawe. These are aloha 'aina/love for the land; wahi pana/sacred place; pu'uhonua/refuge for healing and cleansing; kapu/protection of natural resources; 'ili/traditional Hawaiian land division providing native tenants gathering rights from the mountain to the sea.

At its root, aloha 'āina is the belief that the land is the religion and the culture. Native Hawaiians descend from a tradition and genealogy of nature deities: Wākea, Papa, Ho'ohōkūlani, Hina, Kū, Kāne, Kanaloa, Lono and Pele - the sky, the earth, the stars, the moon, the forest, water, the sea, the natural phenomena such as rain and steam; and from native plants and animals. The native Hawaiian today, inheritors of these genes and mana [spiritual power], are the kino lau or alternate body forms of all our deities.

The land and all of nature was the source of existence for the Hawaiians - not only as the origin of humanity, but also as the source of natural resources for day-to-day subsistence. The Hawaiian related to the land and the sea as an ancestor and dear friend - giving its various natural forms and features descriptive names just as they named their own children; understanding and adjusting to its various moods at different times of the year; nurturing it with loving care. They honored and worshipped the life forces of nature as gods. They did not possess or own the land, the ocean or any natural resource. This was inconceivable. Instead, they maintained stewardship over it - planting and fishing according to the moon phases and the changes from rainy to dry seasons. [1]

Included in the concept of aloha 'āina is ke ola kai/the life of the ocean. The ocean was considered an extension of the land. One saying of Hawaiian kupuna indicates the importance of the ocean to Hawaiians - Mai ke kai ke ola, mai ke kai ka make/ From the ocean comes life, from the ocean comes death. The ocean was a primary source of life. Without the resources of the sea, the Hawaiian people and life itself would perish. The ocean provided Hawaiians with their main source of protein food. Animals domesticated on the land, pigs and dogs were eaten only as ritual food on special occasions. Day-to-day, the main protein source was marine life. Hawaiians

distinguished and named the various areas of ocean extending out from the shoreline. Pu'eone was the sandy edge of the sea. Kai po'i was the point where the waves began to break in the ocean. Kai kohola was the shallow sea inside the reef, the lagoon, Kai pualena was the yellowish sea, where streams flow in. Kai ele was the dark sea. Kai uli was the deep-blue sea. Kai popolohuamea a Kane designated the open ocean near the horizon. Kai au referred to the area where a moving current was visible. Kai a Pele and kai 'e'e were the Hawaiian names for tsunamis. [2]

The natural resources of Kaho'olawe and its surrounding ocean were severely depleted through overgrazing by introduced goats, sheep and cattle in the nineteenth century. The soil erosion was exacerbated by military bombardment and ground training in the twentieth century. Hawaiians and others who visit Kaho'olawe are visibly struck by the devastation and emotionally moved by a sense that the island is living, yet experiencing severe pain. The imperative to aloha 'aina, that is to love, respect, care for and heal the land, is clearest in relation to Kaho'olawe. Kaho'olawe: Aloha 'Āina is the slogan that has rallied thousands of Hawaiians and their supporters to stop use of the island for military training.

Wahi pana means a sacred place. Underlying the concept of wahi pana is the Hawaiian belief that the various forces of nature were the Gods who formed the earth and imbued it with a dynamic life force and energy. The earth's spiritual essence focuses in at and can therefore be experienced at wahi pana. Sacred places in Hawai'i are identified through their names. The name reveals the traditional, cultural, spiritual or natural qualities and significance of an area. There is usually a convergence of natural forces in and around a wahi pana which can be observed and felt. Remains of traditional structures and sites in an area offer clues as to how such areas were best utilized by

Hawaiian ancestors in order to draw upon the natural forces to empower, or to heal, or to enlighten themselves. For example, sites at Moa'ulaiki on Kaho'olawe indicate that this viewpoint which provides a panoramic vista of the surrounding islands and channels was utilized for the observation of currents and astronomical phenomena in the training of navigators. The inventory of sacred places in Hawai'i could include the dwelling places of the gods, the dwelling place of a kahu/caretaker or priest of the gods, temples, shrines, observation points, cliffs, mounds, whole mountains, weather phenomena, forest areas and volcanoes. Hawaiian chants and oral tradition linking the island to Kanaloa, Hawaiian god of the ocean, as well as the individual and collective experience of those who visit the island confirm that the entire island of Kaho'olawe is a wahi pana. [3]

Pu'uhonua is a place of refuge and sanctuary. It is a safe and peaceful place where one can go to cleanse and to heal - physically or mentally. A pu'uhonua is usually located in an isolated area - away from social or political distractions. In traditional times it was a place to which one could escape to make amends and to be saved from being punished or put to death for wrongdoing. Those who journey to Kaho'olawe experience the island as a pu'uhonua. It affords an isolated area away from the distractions and negative forces of urban centers on other islands. On Kaho'olawe the life forces of nature help to clean and heal the mind, the spirit and the soul.

The concept of kapu as applied to places is closely related to the concept of wahi pana. Kapu means sacred or consecrated. Wahi pana and pu'uhonua are kapu. These sacred areas are respected as a places of power. Kapu also refers to restrictions that are placed on social behavior in order to protect the sanctity of a sacred place. Natural resources, particularly fragile resources, at risk of being depleted were also managed through a system of

kapu/restrictions. For example, it was and remains kapu to catch mullet, oopu, or lobster during the time of year when they spawn. It is kapu to catch young, undeveloped marine life, under a certain size. A kapu can be temporarily placed on gathering seaweed and other marine life from certain sections of the reef where it is depleted, in order to give it a chance to reproduce. Enhancement and management of Kaho'olawe's land and ocean resources is the orientation of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana in its stewardship over the island. While they fish and gather from the ocean, they only take what is needed to eat while on the island. Marine life is not caught to take back to home islands or to sell commercially. Work projects for the island require advance preparation and are carried out with a spirit of cooperation.

An 'ili is a portion of an ahupua'a which was allotted to 'ohana or extended families to live upon and to cultivate. The ahupua'a usually coincided with the boundaries of the ecosystem of a natural watershed. The 'ili included lands in all of the resource zones - from the mountainside, to the stream-fed lowlands, to the shoreline and reefs. The hoa'aina or tenants who lived in an 'ili of an ahupua'a also had access rights to all parts of the entire ahupua'a to fish along the shoreline and reefs, hunt in the forested mountains, and gather fresh water marine life, fruits, and plant materials for healing, thatching, weaving, adornment, or spiritual ceremony. Kaho'olawe was an 'ili of Honua'ula on Maui. Hawaiians from the Honua'ula ahupua'a on Maui, which included Makena, therefore have rights, protected under Hawaiian common law, the Hawai'i State Constitution and the Hawai'i Revised Statutes to fish and gather on and around Kaho'olawe. Moreover, this is a right which they have continued to exercise without interruption, from the time of their ancestors who settled at Honua'ula. In addition, we

have learned through oral history interviews with elders, that families who moved from the Honua'ula district, after a lava flow, to Hana and other areas along the eastern coast of Maui, also continued to access Kaho'olawe and other areas of Honua'ula to fish and to gather a wide range of marine life. The Ahihi-Kina'u Natural Area Reserve is part of the same ahupua'a and could naturally be extended to include Kaho'olawe and the ocean surrounding it - if its provisions would be amended to recognize the traditional gathering rights of Hawaiians.

Kaho'olawe: Center For Revitalization of Hawaiian Culture

Kaho'olawe island is the center for revitalization of the cultural, spiritual and subsistence practices of Native Hawaiians. Beginning in 1976, the island attracted to its shores wave upon wave of Hawaiians and supporters from surrounding islands who were intent upon stopping the bombing and ending all military use of Kaho'olawe.

Forming the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, they filed a federal civil suit in an attempt to force the U.S. Navy to comply with laws regarding the environment, historic sites and religious freedom. [4] In 1977, the court required the Navy to conduct an environmental impact study; identify, inventory and protect the historic sites of the island; and submit the island to the Secretary of the Interior for possible inclusion in the National Register. [5]

In 1980, the 'Ohana settled part of the suit with a Consent Decree that mandated the Navy to continue to survey and protect the historic and cultural sites; clear surface ordnance from 10,000 acres; begin soil conservation and revegetation programs; eradicate the goats on the island; and limit the ordnance impact area to the central third of the island. In addition, the role of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana as steward of the island was acknowledged and they were allowed access to the island four days a month, 10 months a

year for religious, cultural, educational, and scientific activities. With regard to ocean management, the Consent Decree prohibited establishment of any targets in the ocean or within 800 years of the shoreline. No ordnance was to be jettisoned into the ocean, except in case of emergency to protect human life. In the event that live ordnance was jettisoned in waters adjacent to the beach, the U.S. Navy was required to promptly disarm or detonate such live ordnance and remove it from the ocean.

In 1981, upon completion of the archaeological survey, the entire island of Kaho'olawe was placed on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic District.

Over the past eleven years since the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana assumed stewardship of the island, they have taken over 3,000 visitors to the island for educational, religious, cultural and scientific activities. Trails have been established and maintained laterally along the coastline; to major cultural sites; and mauka/makai(toward mountain/toward ocean) within watersheds that open into the major bays of Kanapou, Oawawahie, Hakioawa, Kuhe'eia, Kaulana, Ahupu, Honukanaenae, Honukanai'a, and Keanakeiki. These follow the traditional Hawaiian custom of establishing trail systems which circuit an island, called the ala loa; and trail systems which link the land from the mountain to the ocean, called mauka/makai trails. A permanent base camp on the northeast side of the island, as well as three temporary camps along the north and west sides are established. The 'Ohana has re-dedicated ancestral shrines, temples and places where they conduct religious ceremonies. Water catchments to irrigate planting sites have been constructed and revegetation of the island with native species of plants have begun. An 'Ohana water study has revealed a ground water source of over 13 square miles and rainfall of approximately 24 billion gallons a year. Due to

'Ohana insistence and monitoring , the Navy has gotten rid of almost all of the goats on the island. More than 6,500 acres on the island has been cleared of surface ordnance under the Consent Decree between the 'Ohana and the Navy. The entire beach and shoreline has been cleared of surface ordnance from the shoreline to 800 meters inland, protecting the coastal ecosystem. [6]

When gathering together and living on Kaho'olawe, 'Ohana members apply and share subsistence skills of fishing, gathering, planting, and constructing traditional structures. Of particular significance is the sharing of knowledge by kūpuna/elders with the mākua/adults and the 'ōpi'o/youth. A large part of the daily meals is obtained by 'Ohana fishermen who dive, pole fish and throw net to catch ulua, uhu, moi, kole, manini, aholehole, uku, enenue, ula, he'e and a variety of other fish which are abundant in the offshore waters. Opihi, haukeuke, kupe'e, and dozens of varieties of limu are also gathered for food from the shoreline and reefs. The 'Ohana organizes visitors to help revegetate the island with native species of plants such as akulekule, pa'ū o hi'iaka, and pohinahina, naio and ma'o. 'Ohana visitors constructed a pā hula or hula mound which is only the third such structure to be built and dedicated in modern times to Laka, patron deity of the hula. Members of hula halau/hula schools who journey to Kaho'olawe offer hula kapu or sacred hula to honor Laka on the pā hula. They also dance the contemporary hula 'auana for the enjoyment of the 'Ohana visitors. During 'Ohana organized accesses to Kaho'olawe, visitors also help build a large traditional halau halawai or meeting house which is being constructed with native wood and grass thatching. The 'Ohana conducts religious ceremonies on traditional heiau/temples and shrines that they have reconstructed and stabilized. Fishermen offer the first fish of their daily catch on traditional fishing shrines/or ko'a that they have rededicated. Some 'Ohana members

honor Kanaloa, Hawaiian god of the ocean and navigation with offerings on a recently built shrine.

During the Makahiki or harvest season, a period in the year traditionally dedicated to Lono, Hawaiian god of agriculture, the 'Ohana has conducted special ceremonies for the past 10 years. Annually, the Kaho'olawe makahiki is opened in November and closed in January. Months in advance, 'Ohana members prepare chants and offerings from the land and ocean. A fresh kukui log must be chopped and hewn for the Lono canoe that is annually launched into the Kealaikahiki Channel. A special crossing of the Alalakeiki Channel is made by 'Ohana members in canoes.

For the Makahiki, a special canoe crossing is made from Maui. The ceremonies open with a pre-dawn hi'uwai (cleansing ceremony) in the ocean to purify and unify all participants. It continues for two days with games, hula, and offerings at significant shrines on the island. A cross-island procession claims the land for Lono. 'Ohana canoes circle the island stopping at various bays and inlets and leaving offerings at selected fishing shrines. At sunset of the last day in January, Lono's canoe is sent off, closing the ceremonies for the year.

The Kaho'olawe Makahiki is a time for 'Ohana members to celebrate and show appreciation for the past year's harvests on home islands. They come together on Kaho'olawe to thank Lono for his rains that greened lowlands, nourished fields, fed the streams that watered taro patches and nurtured pua (seedlings). The 'Ohana petitions Lono to raise the water table on Kaho'olawe by bringing gentle rain and cloud cover. It is the 'Ohana's hope to green Kaho'olawe in their lifetime.

The appearance of signs in nature are interpreted by 'Ohana members as indications that the ceremonies are done well. The partial arched rainbow;

light showers; long clouds connecting Kaho'olawe with the summits of mountains on Maui, Moloka'i, Lana'i, and Hawai'i Island; dolphins swimming offshore; and breaching whales are all positive ho'ailona or signs. Mother whales with their calves are sighted daily at Hakioawa while on the island as well as on the voyage to and from the island. In 1984, one of the kupuna members of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana observed the breach birth of a whale calve in Kanapou Bay.

During the time spent together on Kaho'olawe members share and exchange understandings of oral traditions relating to Kaho'olawe and to their home islands. Gatherings on Kaho'olawe also provide the opportunity to exchange concerns about problems being experienced on home islands and aspirations about how to improve the welfare of the Hawaiian people. Thus, another important development over the 15 years of working to protect Kaho'olawe has been the networking among Hawaiians from key rural areas where traditional cultural, subsistence and spiritual customs, beliefs, and practices had remained the strongest. Hawaiians from Moloka'i island, from Hana, Makena, Ka'u, Kona, Kaua'i, Kahalu'u, Hakipu'u, Waiahole, and Wai'anae reaffirm to each other that Hawaiian traditions have persisted, despite widespread changes in Hawai'i's urban centers. They also recognize that, like Kaho'olawe, ancestral lands, streams and offshore waters on every island are under assault from the military as well as from tourist resort, commercial and industrial development. As they commit themselves to focus combined cultural experiences and knowledge to rejuvenate and revive the resources of Kaho'olawe, they also agree to help each other protect the rural Hawaiian communities on their own home islands.

Kaho'olawe In The Larger Context of Modern Hawai'i

Approximately 175,000 Hawaiians comprised 19 percent of Hawai'i's population in 1980. 69 percent of the Native Hawaiians lived on O'ahu and 31 percent lived on neighbor islands. Hawaiians are concentrated on Hawaiian Home Lands on each island. Moloka'i and Ni'ihau are islands with high concentrations of Hawaiians. Other areas of our islands with high concentrations of Native Hawaiians are the Hana and Kahakuloa districts of Maui; Hauula, Waimanalo and Wai'anae Coast of O'ahu; Ka'u, Puna and communities in Kona outside of Kailua on Hawai'i; Kekaha and Anahola on Kaua'i. .

The socio-economic status of Native Hawaiians is poor, with median income levels falling into the lower levels of Hawai'i's society; a high proportion of Hawaiians holding low status and unstable jobs; and Hawaiians having the highest rate of unemployment among Hawai'i's ethnic groups. Among Native Hawaiian families, 35 percent do not earn an income sufficient to provide for their basic needs and receive some form of public assistance - either welfare, food stamps or rent subsidy. In 1980, 39 percent of the adult inmates were of Hawaiian ancestry and 60 percent of the incarcerated juveniles were Hawaiian.

The socio-economic status of Native Hawaiians is disconcerting. The condition of the Native Hawaiian culture unique to the islands is equally if not more serious. It is at risk of being lost to future generations with only a few native speakers of the Hawaiian language and a shrinking natural resource base for the ongoing exercise of traditional subsistence, cultural and religious customs, beliefs and practices. Essential to the survival of the Native Hawaiian culture are rural Hawaiian communities which are heartlands of the Native Hawaiian cultural values, customs, beliefs and practices.

Historically, these districts were bypassed by early trading activity as well as plantations due to the severe character of the landscape and the marginal nature of the soils. These enclaves were relatively isolated from the changes which swept through Hawai'i. Thus, traditional Hawaiian values and activities have persisted to a greater degree in these areas up to the present. Many of these districts still lack a developed infrastructure of roads, electricity, or running water. Rural Hawaiians who live in these districts still acquire basic necessities for their families through subsistence activities upon the land by employing traditional knowledge and practices passed down to them from their kupuna/elders. Family knowledge about prime fishing grounds and the types of fish which frequent the ocean in their district at different times of the year usually assure them of successful fishing expeditions. Many families continue to plant taro, sweet potato or other food crops by the moon phase. They also take advantage of seasonal fruits and marine life for their regular diet. They hunt pigs, deer or goats. Native plants and marine foods are utilized for healing of illnesses by traditional methods. Cultural knowledge attached to the traditional names of places, winds and rains of their district inform rural Hawaiians about how to best use the natural resources of their ancestral lands. Hawaiian custom, belief and practice is part of the day-to-day life of the people.

Botanists who study the volcanic rainforest have observed that eruptions which destroy large areas of forest land, leave oases of native trees and plants which are called kīpuka. From these natural kīpuka come the seeds and spores for the eventual regeneration of the native flora upon the fresh lava. For contemporary Hawaiians, the rural Hawaiian community enclaves are cultural kīpuka from which Native Hawaiian culture can be regenerated and revitalized in the contemporary setting. Protection of the

natural resources and the integrity of the lifestyle and livelihoods of the Hawaiians in these rural districts is essential to the perpetuation of Native Hawaiian culture today and for future generations.

Among the natural resources which are important to traditional Hawaiian customs, beliefs, and practices for cultural, religious and subsistence purposes in these areas are:

(1) wahi pana (sacred places) and historical sites - heiau, shrines, burials, terraces, house sites, etc.

(2) streams for taro cultivation, marine resources, and domestic water;

(3) shorelines, reefs, and ocean gathering for foods, medicine and spiritual customs;

(4) forests for hunting, gathering of medicines, foods, ceremonial uses for hula adornment or ritual offerings, and spiritual customs

(5) habitats for endangered native species of plants and animals

(6) natural and cultural areas as traditional domains of ancestral spirits and Hawaiian deities where Hawaiians renew their ties to ancestors through experiencing natural phenomena and witnessing ho'ailona (signs).

Customary management and stewardship over the natural, cultural and economic resources in these rural areas is threatened by new owners from outside Hawai'i with commercial, industrial or resort plans. This contributes to demoralization, fragmentation and/or polarization in these formerly cohesive cultural enclaves. The people, businesses and government of Hawai'i are posed with a unique historical opportunity and responsibility

to safeguard the Native Hawaiian culture for future generations by protecting these "cultural kīpuka".

Kaho'olawe is not an island that has been continuously inhabited by Native Hawaiians. Military control and use of the island prevented that. Nevertheless, it is an island whose oceans and shoreline was continuously accessed and utilized by Native Hawaiians for fishing and gathering of marine resources even during the period of military control. It is also an island rich in cultural resources. In the past fifteen years, as described above, Native Hawaiians from "cultural kīpuka" as well as from urban centers have made Kaho'olawe a focal point for the recognition, re-establishment and perpetuation of Hawaiian spiritual, cultural and subsistence practices. Their work on Kaho'olawe demonstrates the potential for reviving and perpetuating Hawaiian culture through applying the combined cultural knowledge and experience of Hawaiians from rural "cultural kīpuka" with the political and legal expertise of urban Hawaiians. Kaho'olawe also plays an important role in the assertion and recognition of the native rights, self-determination, and sovereignty of the Hawaiian people.

State Recognition of Native Hawaiian Rights

Native Hawaiian cultural practices are protected under sections of the Hawai'i State Constitution and the Hawai'i Revised Statutes. The Preamble to the Hawai'i State Constitution opens with the following:

> We, the people of Hawai'i, grateful for Divine Guidance, and mindful of Hawaiian heritage and uniqueness as an island State, dedicate our efforts to fulfill the philosophy decreed by the Hawai'i State motto, "Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono." We reserve the right to control our destiny, to nurture the integrity of our people and culture, and to preserve the quality of life that we desire.

Article IX of the Hawai'i State Constitution deals with public health and welfare. Section 9. states, "The State shall have the power to preserve and develop the cultural, creative and traditional arts of its various ethnic groups." Article XI of the Hawai'i State Constitution deals with conservation and development of resources. Section 1 reads as follows:

> For the benefit of present and future generations, the State and its political subdivisions shall conserve and protect Hawai'i's natural beauty and all natural resources, including land, water, air, minerals and energy sources, and shall promote the development and utilization of these resources in a manner consistent with their conservation and in furtherance of the self-sufficiency of the State. All public natural resources are held in trust by the State for the benefit of the people.

Article XII of the Hawai'i State Constitution deals with Hawaiian Affairs. Section 7 states, "The State reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes and possessed by ahupua'a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778, subject to the right of the State to regulate such rights."

The Hawai'i Revised Statutes, Chapter 7-1 defines rights of the people which were established in 1850 when Kuleana Act granted private property parcels to the common people. It reads as follows:

> Where the landlords have obtained, or may hereafter obtain, allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house-timber, aho cord, thatch, or ki leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. The people shall also have a right to drinking water,and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, running water, and roads shall be free to all, on all lands granted in fee simple; provided that this shall not be applicable to wells and watercourses, which individuals have made for their own use.

Chapter 174C - 101 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes deals with conservation and resources. Part (c) reads as follows:

> (c) Traditional and customary rights of ahupua'a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778 shall not be abridged or denied by this chapter. Such traditional and customary rights shall include, but not be limited to, the cultivation or propagation of taro on one's own kuleana and the gathering of hihiwai, opae, o'opu, limu, thatch, ti leaf, aho cord, and medicinal plants for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes.

Common law was incorporated into Hawai'i law on November 25, 1892. Thus, traditional and customary rights exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes are those which can be established as having been exercised prior to that date.

Federal Recognition of Native Hawaiian Rights

The right of Native Hawaiians to exercise their spiritual beliefs is formally protected under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act includes protection of Native Hawaiian spiritual beliefs, customs, and practices. The U.S. National Park Service recognizes the right of access for Native Hawaiians to enter into the National Parks free of charge for spiritual and religious purposes. Native Hawaiians at the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park are also permitted to gather native plants. Title 16. Subchapter 41. Section 396 a of the federal laws relating to the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park accords Native Hawaiians special rights to fish the park while denying that right to the general public. This law which was passed in 1938 states, "That fishing shall be permitted in said area only by native Hawaiian residents of said area or of adjacent villages and by visitors under their guidance."

Kaho'olawe and the Recognition of Hawaiian Sovereignty

Native Hawaiians were forged as a self-sufficient, sovereign and distinct people sharing a common ancestry, language; cultural and spiritual customs, beliefs, and practices; territory; and subsistence social system long before the twelfth century. It was important for Native Hawaiians to sustain supportive, nurturing and harmonious relations with the land, the gods, and each other, particularly their 'ohana or extended family. Moreover, Native Hawaiians, the land, and the gods were also spiritually, culturally, and biologically united as one - lokahi - by lineal descent. In their mo'okū'auhau / family genealogy chants, Native Hawaiians traced their lineal ancestry to historical figures and ultimately, through them, to various deities and gods of the land, ocean, forest and nature.

The traditional land system evolved to provide the common people access to the resources they would need for subsistence and to allow for stewardship over the land to the lineal descendants associated with particular ancestral 'aumakua / deities and akua / gods. There was no need for individual accumulation of wealth, for the land provided all of the necessities of life and the 'ohana collectively performed work projects as necessary.

Between 1100 and 1600 a class of ali'i/ ruling chiefs, and priests emerged and imposed their control over the land and the people This development coincided with a century of migrations from Tahiti. Ultimately, all of the lands of Hawai'i, together with the people living upon them, were divided up among the chiefs. While the tenure of a chief over the land was subject to his ability to defend his control over it, the various 'ohana of common people remained stable on their designated ancestral lands. The Hawaiians have a saying which refers to the stability of the common people

on their lands, "Ko luna pohaku no ke ka'a ilalo, 'a'ole hiki i ko lalo pohaku ke ka'a / A stone that is high up can roll down, but a stone that is down cannot roll." In other words, a chief could be overthrown in battle or lose tenure over the land upon the death of his patron chief. However, the common people who lived on the land from the days of their ancestors could not be displaced.

To the extent that the Native Hawaiian society evolved into a socially and economically stratified system by the time of Western contact in 1778, the responses of the people to contact and change were divergent and largely influenced by the individual social and economic role they played in the society. The acceptance or rejection of Western culture was largely the prerogative of the ruling class of ali'i. The common people did not play a major role in determining the political and economic future of Hawai'i. Those factions among the ali'i who opposed Western influence were defeated by Kamehameha I in his wars of conquest or by Kamehameha's Council of Chiefs under the leadership of Mo'i Kamehameha II, Kuhina Nui Ka'ahumanu, and High Chief Kalanimoku when they instituted the 'Ai Noa or abolition of the state religion.

The common people let the ali'i take the lead, while they struggled to survive the burden of contact. Plagued by foreign diseases, the common people were killed on a massive scale. For example, in the year 1804 alone, half of the Hawaiian people died of ma'i oku'u, a disease that was either cholera or bubonic plague. When the first census was conducted by missionaries in 1823, it was found that only 135,000 Hawaiians had survived the first forty-five years of contact. The survivors were left to bury their dead and struggle to carry on with life on a subsistence basis. Periodically, the

common people suffered from the famines which gripped the land, as the chiefs gave priority to meeting the needs of the fur and sandalwood traders.

Beginning in 1820, the foreign resident population steadily increased with the settling of missionaries, sailors, and businessmen in the islands. They, together with the gunboats of their national governments, placed increasing demands upon the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom to grant them the rights of citizenship and to allow them to own land on a private basis. Ultimately they persuaded the Kamehameha dynasty to transform the traditional Hawaiian subsistence social system by instituting a constitutional monarchy; establishing a system of private land ownership; permitting foreigners to naturalize; setting up a capitalist economy based upon plantation agribusiness; introducing a system of wage labor; and importing immigrant laborers on a largescale. The result was the alienation, dispossession, and impoverishment of Native Hawaiians in a multi-ethnic society in which Native Hawaiians were reduced to a minority. Western domination of Hawai'i culminated with the overthrow of the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom on January 17, 1893 by American businessmen backed up by the U.S. marines.

The clearest indictment of the illegal role of the U.S. military in overthrowing the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom are the words of President Grover Cleveland in his report to the U.S. Congress on December 18, 1893:

> *The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. . . .*
>
> *But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would never*

have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government. . . .

Believing, therefore, that the United States could not, under the circumstances disclosed, annex the islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate for its consideration . . .

By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair. . . .

I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on the 16th of January last, if such restoration could be effected upon terms providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned.

American business interests in Hawai'i rejected the position and diplomatic efforts of President Cleveland to restore Queen Lili'uokalani to the throne. Their Provisional Government and its successor, the Republic of Hawai'i continued to usurp the power of the monarchy, took control of the Government and Crown lands and suppressed Hawaiian sovereignty. In 1898, the Republic of Hawai'i annexed itself to the United States government and ceded the Government and Crown lands to the federal government. The Native Hawaiians, however, never directly relinquished or surrendered their claims to sovereignty as a people or over their national lands, either through the monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum. Therefore, the sovereign claims of the Native Hawaiians persist today and are exercised to various degrees even though they do not enjoy the benefit of formal recognition or settlement.

Partial recognition of the rights of Native Hawaiians to the Crown and government lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom were acknowledged by the U.S.

government in the creation of two public land bases for the benefit of Native Hawaiians of half-ancestry or more.

Approximately 200,000 acres of Hawaiian Home Lands were set aside for exclusive Hawaiian settlement in 1921. The Hawaiian Home Lands are administered by a regular department of the State of Hawai'i, having to conform to state budget policies and economic planning priorities. In 1989, there were 21,000 persons of half Hawaiian ancestry on the waiting list for an allotment of land, while only 3,700 Hawaiians lived on Hawaiian Home Lands.

In the 1959 Admissions Act, the U.S. government recognized the unique and special rights of Native Hawaiians in the remaining Crown and government lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i which had been illegally confiscated by the Provisional Government and ceded to the U.S. government by its successor, the Republic of Hawai'i. These ceded lands were turned over to the State of Hawai'i to manage as a public lands trust on behalf of the general public and the native Hawaiians, as follows:

> For the support of the public schools and other public educational institutions, for the betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians, as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, as amended, for the development of farm and home ownership on as widespread a basis as possible for the making of public improvements, and for the provision of lands for public use.

Further recognition of Native Hawaiian rights to the ceded public lands was provided by the 1978 Constitutional Convention in Article XII. Section 4 of the Hawai'i State Constitution:

> The lands granted to the State of Hawaii by Section 5 (b) of the Admission Act and pursuant to Article XVI, Section 7, of the State Constitution, excluding therefrom lands defined as 'available lands' by

Section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, as amended, shall be held by the State as a public trust for native Hawaiians and the general public.[7]

The 1978 Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention also acknowledged the special interest of native Hawaiians in the ceded public lands by designating one-fifth of the annual revenues generated from the ceded lands to be set aside to fund programs for native Hawaiians of half Hawaiian ancestry or more. It should be noted that the Convention could have used Article XII. Section 4 which identifies only two beneficiaries of the ceded public lands as the basis upon which to determine the interest of Native Hawaiians. In that case, it might have designated one half of the annual revenues to be set aside for Native Hawaiians. Instead, it used Section 5 (f) of the Admissions Act, which defined five purposes for the ceded public lands, as the basis upon which to determine Native Hawaiian interest in the trust.

The entire island of Kaho'olawe is government land of the Kingdom of Hawai'i that was confiscated by the Provisional Government, turned over to the Republic of Hawai'i and ceded to the U.S. government. Under the terms and language of the 1953 Presidential Executive Order 10436, the island is to be returned to the state government in a condition reasonably safe for human habitation.

The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana considers Kaho'olawe to be Hawaiian land. It proposes that the island become part of a Hawaiian land base to come under the sovereign control of the Hawaiian nation. In September 1991, Senator Inouye, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, drafted legislation to begin a process for recognition of Native Hawaiian sovereignty. While this is being worked out, however, Kaho'olawe should be held in trust for the nation and land banked by the federal government, the state government, or a private trust. The 'Ohana would like a survey of the

various forms of jurisdiction and title enjoyed by Native Americans which could serve as optional models for Kaho'olawe - federal trust title (most Native American reservations); federally-restricted title (some Native American lands); federally-protected title (Alaska Native corporation lands), state trust title (some Native American reservations), or a private land trust.

No matter who assumes jurisdiction over Kaho'olawe - the federal government, the state, or the Hawaiian Nation, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana has demonstrated the commitment, perseverance and expertise to manage the resources of the island and its surrounding ocean. Hearings conducted by the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission on the six major islands has reaffirmed that the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana has the gained the confidence of the State of Hawai'i, Congressional leaders, Hawaiian organizations and the general public to continue to provide stewardship over the cultural and natural resources of the island and the ocean surrounding it. Any designation of the ocean adjacent to Kaho'olawe as a marine sanctuary must be set up in close coordination with the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, as the stewards of the island, to manage the ocean ecosystem and to honor the traditional access, fishing, and gathering rights of Native Hawaiians protected under Hawai'i and U.S. laws.

Cultural Evidence of Kaho'olawe As Wahi Pana and Pu'uhonua

Each of the Hawaiian islands has its own unique features and characteristics. Each are special, significant, and sacred for different reasons. The following "Oli Kuhohonu O Kaho'olawe Mai No Kupuna Mai /Deep Chant Of Kaho'olawe From Our Ancestors" is one of the oral traditions shared by kupuna informant, Harry Kunihi Mitchell. It reveals the four ancient names of the island and its traditional significance. Harry Mitchell's ancestors settled at Honua'ula on Maui and fished and gathered marine life

in the ocean and along the shoreline of Kaho'olawe. The family moved to Ke'anae Maui after a lava flow in Honua'ula displaced them. Nevertheless, they continued to visit Kaho'olawe, gather marine life from its shoreline and fish in the surrounding ocean. Mr. Mitchell learned this chant when he heard his kupuna sharing chants and traditions of the island that they frequently visited.

Wehewehe mai nei kahi ao
Dawn is breaking.
Ku mai na wa'a kaulua
Two double-hulled canoes are sighted.
Pue ke kanaka mai ka wa'a mai
The men cheer from the canoe.
Kukulu ka iwi o ka 'aina
Land is sighted.
'Ailani Kohemalamalama
To your left it is like heaven all lit up
Ho'ohiki keia moku ia Kanaloa
We dedicate this island to Kanaloa.

Akua o ka moana 'ili, moana uli
God of the shallow and deep ocean
Ke holo nei me ke au kahili
We are running in an erratic current.
'Ohaehae mai ka makani
The wind is blowing from all directions.
Alala keiki pua ali'i
The chief's child is crying (also the name of the channel between Kaho'olawe and Maui).
Ka piko hole pelu o Kanaloa
The island of Molokini is shaped like the navel of Kanaloa.
Kahua pae i'i kihonua ahua
The channel between Molokini - Kanaloa and Maui Kahiki Nui is shallow.
Puehu ka lepo o Moa'ula
Dust is spreading over Mount Moa'ula.
Pu'uhonua mo'okahuna kilo pae honua
Gathering place of the kahuna classes to study astronomy.
Pohaku 'ahu 'aikupele kapili o Keaweiki
Stone of deep magic of Keaweiki
Kaulilua ka makani ke hae nei
The wind is chilly

*Kawele hele nei o **Hineli'i***
Light rain is falling
*Napo'o ka la i **Kahiki Moe***
The sun is setting towards Kahiki.
Nue mai ke ao Lanikau
The glow after the sunset is like the colors of the rainbow
Kapu mai ka honua kupa'a loa
The world seems to be standing still.
Pau ka luhi 'ana o ka moana
We shall no more labor on the ocean.
Mana'o halana pu i ke Akua
My thoughts are enlightened towards God.
He aloha pili kau no kia 'aina
My love for this land will always be deep within my heart.
Aloha no ka mana o na kupuna
I love the knowledge and power of my ancestors.

This chant reveals that there are four ancient names for Kaho'olawe: Kohemalamalama, meaning to your left and lit up like heaven; Hineli'i, light rain; Kahiki Moe, the sun sets in Kahiki; and Kanaloa, Hawaiian and Polynesian god of the ocean, ocean currents, and navigation. A fifth name combines two of the above names into Kohemalamalama O Kanaloa, the southern beacon of Kanaloa. The more recent name, Kaho'olawe can be translated as to take and to embrace.

According to Hawaiian tradition, the island was dedicated to the Hawaiian god Kanaloa. The name Kanaloa singlés out the entire island as a wahi pana since it is the only island in the Pacific named after a major Polynesian god. The name Kohemalamalama O Kanaloa can also be interpreted as meaning the sacred refuge or pu'uhonua of Kanaloa. This identifies Kaho'olawe as a traditional pu'uhonua.

Creation myths for Kaho'olawe also reinforce its significance as a wahi pana. The island, like Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, Ni'ihau and O'ahu, was born of Papa and Wakea. Two chants by composers of the time of Kamehameha give similar accounts of the birth of the island by Papa.

The chant by Kaleikuahulu gives the following version:

Papa was weakened at the birth of the island Kanaloa.
It was born beautiful like the birds punua and naia,
It was the child born of Papa.
Papa foresook her husband and returned to Kahiki;
Returned to Kahiki she lived at Kapakapakaua, [8]

The chant by Pakui records it as follows:

Papa was prostrated with Kanaloa, an island,
Who was born as a birdling; as a porpoise;
A child that Papa gave birth to,
Then Papa left and went back to Tahiti,
Went back to Tahiti at Kapakapakaua.[9]

Chants of Pele, Hawaiian god of the volcano, and her family of deities reinforce the significance of Kaho'olawe as a wahi pana and pu'uhonua. Pele is born in Kapakuela. Her husband, Wahieloa is enticed away from her by Pele-kumu-honua. Pele travels in search of him. With her comes the sea, which pours from her head over the land of Kanaloa/Kaho'olawe. This is said to be the first time that the sea is brought to Kaho'olawe. Her brothers chant at this phenomenon:

A sea! a sea!

Forth bursts the sea,

Bursts forth over Kanaloa (Kaho'olawe),

The sea rises to the hills. . . [10]

According the rest of the chant, the sea floods the land three times then recedes. The floodings are called the sea of Kahinali'i, the mother of Pele.

Kepelino's Traditions of Hawai'i provides the following account of how Pele brought the sea to Hawai'i at Kaho'olawe:

It is said that in ancient times the sea was not known here. There was not even fresh water, but with the coming of Pe-le the sea came also. It

was thus that Hawaii got the sea. Her parents gave it to her and she brought it in her canoes to the land of Pa-ku-e-la and thence to the land of Ka-na-loa, and at this place she poured the sea out from her head. That is how Hawaii got its sea. But when the sea burst forth her brothers chanted:

> A sea! a sea!
> The sea bursts forth,
> The sea bursts forth on Ka-na-lo-a
> The borders of the sea reach to the hills,
> Gone is the restless sea,
> Twice it breaks forth
> Thrice it breaks forth,
> The sea borne on the back of Pe-le,[11]

The brother of Pele who navigates for the family in their voyage through the Hawaiian chain of islands is Kamohoali'i is a principal male shark god. There are two sites on Kaho'olawe which are associated with Kamohoali'i. The first is Lua O Kamohoali'i or the abyss of Kamohoali'i. This is one of four pu'uhonua for Kamohoali'i in Hawai'i. [12] It is located in a deep cave that opens onto the ocean on the northeast side of the island. No one has explored it in modern times.

In the story of Laukaieie, Kamohoali'i and his shark people are said to be living at Kaho'olawe. This is likely to have been at the site identified on maps as Kahua Hale O Kamohoali'i, or the house foundation of Kamohoali'i in the central portion of the island. [13]

Shrines to Kamohoali'i have been re-discovered on the cliffs above Kanapou Bay, which is a breeding ground for sharks.

Evidence of the significance of Kaho'olawe as a pu'uhonua is found in the historic period in the account by King David Kalakaua in his book, The Legends and Myths of Hawaii, regarding the exploits of Chief Keeaumoku and his family, which included his daughter, Chiefess Ka'ahumanu. Chief Keeaumoku had been banished by Mōʻi Kalaniopu'u from his ancestral lands

in Kona, Hawai'i. Escaping to Maui, Keeaumoku was also banished by Kahekili, chief of Maui when he married the widow of Kahekili's brother. Keeaumoku was able to live peacefully in the Hāna district of Maui which was under the domain of Kalaniopu'u. A few months before the death of Kalaniopu'u, Kahekili, hearing of the failing health of the Kona chief, took the opportunity to invade Hāna in order to bring it under his rule. Learning of the impending invasion of Hāna by his enemy, Keeaumoku fled with his family to Kaho'olawe where he lived in seclusion until the death of Kalaniopu'u allowed him the opportunity to return to Kona and align himself with Kamehameha. [14]

A second importance reference to Kaho'olawe as a pu'uhonua is found the account of King Kalakaua's journey to the island to cleanse himself after moving the body and burial remains of King William Lunalilo from the Kamehameha dynasty crypt to a new crypt on the grounds of Kawaiahao Church. In a letter from Queen Emma to her cousin Peter Kaeo on December 17, 1875, the Queen wrote the following:

> He (D.K.) [David Kalakaua] went up to Kahoolawe by Steamer and will return in her on Sunday morning. Kahunas ordered him to do so, as a kala for Lunalilo's removal to his new tomb. [15]

It was necessary for King Kalakaua to remove the defilement from disturbing the corpse of King Lunalilo. His traditional priests sent him to Kaho'olawe to perform the necessary cleansing rituals. Thus, Kaho'olawe continued to be respected a spiritual center for setting things right within a Hawaiian cultural context.

Cultural Evidence of Kaho'olawe As a Center For Traditional Navigation

One of the most important cultural sites on Kaho'olawe is located at the center point or piko of the island at Moa'ulaiki. Moa'ula is a place name

associated with a place in Tahiti. There are other places in Hawai'i named Moa'ula - the waterfall in Halawa Valley on Moloka'i; falls, stream, ridge and heiau in Waikolu on Moloka'i; a heiau in Waipi'o Valley on Hawai'i Island; a gulch in Ka'ū on Hawai'i Island; and a heiau in Kīpapa Gulch on O'ahu. Moa'ula was one of the powerful kahuna priests associated with Kaho'olawe. An important feature of this site is a bell stone which was broken in half and carried to this point in two parts and placed back together. The split in the rock is oriented north to south. The rock is tilted at an angle of the earth on its axis to help in the calculations of keeping the astronomical calendar. Another important feature are the foundations of a platform used for a navigational school and of a housesite for the kahuna who instructed the students in navigation. At Moa'ulaiki, one gets a panoramic view of the islands of Lana'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Maui and Hawai'i, all the interconnecting channels and the currents which run through them. It is also an ideal site for astronomical observation in relation to the surrounding islands and channels. The ancient name of the rock is "pōhaku aikūpele kāpili o Keaweiki" / "the put together rock that kneads the knowledge of the mo'okahuna priest Keaweiki." The kahuna, Keaweiki, was associated with the school for training in astronomy and navigation at Moa'ulaiki.

Oral traditions identify Lae O Kealaikahiki as the major departure point from where Hawaiians left when they traveled between Hawai'i and Tahiti in the thirteenth century. The name translates into Point of the Pathway to Tahiti. The Hawaiians probably waited here for the ideal moon, wind and other signs to launch their voyages to Tahiti in the strong southerly Kealaikahiki Channel and current. Members of the Hokule'a estimate that they could have saved four days sailing if they had left from here rather than from the Big Island. Lae O Kealaikahiki is located on the Kealaikahiki

Channel. Just above the high water mark, inland from Lae O Kealaikahiki is a traditional compass site comprised of four large boulders. The lines formed by the placement of the stones mark true north, south, east, west, as has been verified by placing a compass in the center of the stones. Jutting out from the shoals just south of Lae O Kealaikahiki, is another key traditional and contemporary navigational marker. On the charts it is identified as Black Rock. The traditional name for it is Pōhaku Kuhi Ke'e I Kahiki, the rock that points the way to Tahiti. The rock was an important marker for boats sailing along the Western side of Kaho'olawe, because it indicated how far the shoals extended into the channel. It mysteriously disappeared in 1984.

The legend of Mo'ikeha, chief of Kaua'i, who sent his son Kiha to bring his other son, La'amaikahiki back to Hawai'i places Kaho'olawe as centerpiece in navigation between Hawai'i and Tahiti. Fornander offers the following translation of the La'amaikahiki account:

> As the place [Kahikinui, Maui] was too windy, Laamaikahiki left it and sailed for the west coast of the island of Kahoolawe, where he lived until he finally left for Tahiti. It is said that because Laamaikahiki lived on Kahoolawe, and set sail from that island, was the reason why the ocean to the west of Kahoolawe is called 'the road to Tahiti.'
>
> After Laamaikahiki had lived on Kahoolawe for a time, his priests became dissatisfied with the place, so Laamaikahiki left Kahoolawe and returned to Kauai. Upon the death of Moikeha [his father] the land descended to Kila, and Laamaikahiki returned to Tahiti. [16]

The tradition of Tahiti nui also refers to Kealaikahiki as central to the voyaging between Hawai'i and Tahiti. Fornander writes:

> After Hawaii Loa was dead and gone, in the time of Ku Nui Akea, came Tahiti-nui from Tahiti and landed at Ka-lae-i-Kahiki (the southwest point of Kahoolawe, a cape often made by people coming from or going to Tahiti). Tahiti-nui was moopuna of Ki, Hawaii Loa's brother, and he settled on East Maui and died there. [17]

Peter Buck concluded through his research that Ke-ala-i-kahiki was the primary departure point for voyages to Tahiti. He wrote as follows:

> The point of departure for the south was the passage between Kahoolawe and Maui which was named Ke Ala i Kahiki (The Course to Tahiti). In a translation from Kamakau, Alexander (1891b) refers to the southern sailing directions. Hokupaa, the North Star, was left directly astern; and when Hokupaa sank below the norther horizon on reaching the Piko o Wakea (the Equator), Newe became the guiding star to the south. No sailing directions were given for the return voyage to the north. [18]

In Hawaiian tradition, a point of land on the ocean is envisioned as the nose of on the face of a person. The entire feature naturally extends inland to the hills above to include the forehead to complete the image. More exploration and research of Lae O Kealaikahiki extending inland to the hills behind it will complete the modern understanding of the entire complex and how it was used to guide the ancient Hawaiians in their voyages back to Tahiti.

Fishing Resources of Kaho'olawe

The primary evidence of the rich and varied fishing resources of the waters surrounding Kaho'olawe are the location of 69 fishing ko'a/shrines around the island. Each ko'a is a unique marker for a distinct type of fish which frequents the ocean offshore. The first settlers may have been attracted to Kaho'olawe from Maui by the fishing resources, and decided to make a home there. Ko'a were used by fishermen to mark and develop their fishing grounds. The first caught fish were given as offerings on the ko'a upon returning from a day of fishing, as gratitude for the guidance of the shrine. The ko'a serve as land markers for ocean fishing grounds. In some cases the fish were fed at certain grounds to assure that they would be plentiful in those designated areas and the Ko'a serves as a land marker.

Kū'ula the patron of fishing is honored at the fishing ko'a. He is represented on the shrine as an upright stone. A broader stone is usually placed next to the upright to represent, Hina, the wife of Kū'ula. The practices honoring Kū'ula were introduced in Hawai'i by his son A'ia'i. Beckwith offers the following explanation of the Ku'ula custom:

> The god lived as a man on earth on East Maui in the land called Aleamai at a place called Leho-ula (Red-cowry) on the side of the hill Ka-iwi-o-Pele (the bones of Pele). There he built the first fishpond; and when he died he gave to his son Aiai the four magic objects with which he controlled the fish and taught him how to address the gods in prayer and how to set up fish altars. The objects were a decoy stick called Pahiaku-kahuoi (kahuai), a cowry called Leho-ula, a hook called Manai-a-ka-lani, and a stone called Kuula which, if dropped into a pool, had the power to draw the fish thither. His son Aiai, following his instructions, traveled about the islands establishing fishing stations (ko'a) at fishing grounds (ko'a aina) where fish were accustomed to feed and setting up altars (kuula) upon which to lay, as offerings to the fishing gods, two fish from the first catch. [19]

One of the early shrines built by A'ia'i in Hawai'i was on Kaho'olawe at Hakioawa. It is described as a square-walled Kū'ula like a heiau, set on a bluff looking out to the sea. [20] The following was published in the 1907 Hawaiian Annual by Thrum:

> Thus was performed the good work of Aiai in establishing ku-ula stations and fish stones continued all around the island of Maui. It is also said that he visited Kahoolawe and established a ku-ula at Hakioawa, though it differs from the others, being built on a high bluff overlooking the sea, somewhat like a temple, by placing stones in the form of a square, in the middle of which was left a space wherein the fishermen of that island laid their first fish caught, as a thank offering. Awa and kapa were also placed there as offerings to the fish deities. [21]

The establishment of a marine sanctuary around Kaho'olawe would offer continued protection of valuable fishing grounds which were acknowledged by ancient Hawaiians. It would also afford modern Hawaiians the opportunity to identify and re-establish complex of fishing grounds in the

ocean which are marked by the fishing ko'a on the island. This would assist in reviving the complete natural ecosystem of the island of Kanaloa - Kaho'olawe.

Additional Place Names Linked to Kaho'olawe's Ocean Resources

There are other place names on the island which identify additional marine resources utilized by Hawaiians who lived on the island. Honukanaenae near what is called Smuggler's Bay means "tired turtle". This was where the turtles came to lay, and to lay their eggs. It is not currently used as a nesting spot by turtles, probably because of the location of the military encampment in the vicinity. Honokanai'a is the traditional name for what is called Smuggler's Bay. It means "the dolphin harbor." Dolphins are frequently observed playing in the offshore waters of this bay. Pu'u Koa'e is the name of a islet off of the southern coast of Kaho'olawe. It means "hill of the tropic bird." These seabirds who feed daily off of deep sea fish, guide fishermen to schools of fish in the open ocean and can be followed back to landfalls.

These are only a few of the additional place names relating to Kaho'olawe's marine resources. A comprehensive study of the place names of Kaho'olawe is being conducted by the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission. It will yield a more thorough inventory of significant cultural areas and develop a more complete understanding of the natural ecosystem of Kaho'olawe - from the land, to the ocean, to the sky, the winds, and the rain as utilized by the Hawaiians who settled the island.

Footnotes

[1] Noa Emmett Aluli, M.D., "Land Issues ARe Integral Part of LIfe: Aloha 'Aina Is More Than Popular Slogan," Star Bulletin Ho'olako Year of the Hawaiian Progress Edition. Alto, New Mexico: C.F. Boone Publishing Co., 1988, p. 25.

[2] E.S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy, with Mary Kawena Pukui. Native Planters in Old Hawaii. Their life Lore and Environment. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1972, p. 56.

[3] Edward Kanahele, "Wahi Pana." tabloid published by the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities entitled "Literature & Hawaii's Children: Spirit, Land and Storytelling -- The Heritage of Childhood, undated, p. 2, 10.

[4] 'Ohana means extended family. The group chose to identify and organize itself as an 'ohana rather than as an association, thereby adopting a Hawaiian rather than Western way to structure and operate. The suit is referenced as Aluli v. Brown, Civil No. 76-0380.

[5] Aluli v. Brown, Civil No. 76 - 0380, in the United States District Court for the District of Hawai'i, Consent Decree and Order.

[6] Briefing paper entitled, "Aloha 'Aina: Ending Military Use and Control of Kaho'olawe" presented to the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission, January 18, 1991, Wailuku, Maui.

[7] Constitutional Convention 1978. The Constitution of the State of Hawai'i, As Amended by the Constitutional Convention 1978, and Adopted by the Electorate on November 7, 1978. Honolulu: August 1979.

[8] Fornander, 1916 - 19: VI:360.

[9] Fornander, 1916 - 19: IV: 12

[10] Martha Beckwith, Hawaiian Mythology. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1970, p. 170.

[11] Beckwith, 1971, Kepelino's Traditions of Hawai'i.

12 The other three sites are located in Halema'uma'u Crater at Palikapuokamohoali'i; in a shark cave in the reef near the entrance to Pearl Harbor; and on Ni'ihau.

13 Beckwith, 1970, p. 129.

14 Kind David Kalakaua, The Legends and Myths of Hawaii. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1973, p. 361.

15 Alfons Korn, Letters From Exile. 1976, p. 288.

16 Fornander, 1916 - 19: IV: 128.

17 Fornander, 1916-19:VI:281.

18 Buck, 1964, 283.

19 Beckwith, 1970, p. 20.

20 Beckwith, 1970, p. 22.

21 Thrum, 1907: 238.)