APPENDIX

E

CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

FINAL

Cultural Impact Assessment for the Lānaʻi City Expansion Project Ahupuaʻa of Kamoku Island of Lānaʻi

Prepared for

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Cover Page

Photo 1. View of Section of Project Area.
(All photos were taken by author unless otherwise specified)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) is in response to a request from T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists, Inc. for the *Lāna'i City Expansion* project in the *ahupua'a* of Kamoku, and *moku* of Kona, Island of Lāna'i. This study is part of a larger study that includes an Archaeology Inventory Survey in compliance with federal and state requirements to identify and evaluate possible cultural impacts to cultural resources, cultural practices and access to resources and/or practices in advance of construction activities.

The purpose of a CIA is to gather information about traditional cultural practices, ethnic cultural practices and pre-historic and historic cultural resources that may be affected by the implementation of this project or undertaking in accordance with the State of Hawaii Environmental Council *Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts* (Adopted on November 19, 1997) [Appendix B]. The *level of effort* for this CIA included ethnographic research (4-5 oral histories) of people who are connected to these lands in various ways and an archival cultural/historical background review of the literature (including reports by T.S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists Inc., Kumu Pono and internet research).

The archival research was conducted from July through August 2016; the ethnographic research in August-September 2016 and the cultural-historical background report write-up in September-October 2016.

This report is organized into five parts or chapters. Chapter 1 describes the project area in terms of location in the context of *ahupua'a* (land division), *moku'āina* (district) and *mokupuni* (island), as well as a generalized description of the natural environment (e.g. geology, flora and fauna) and built environment (e.g. any current structural features). Chapter 2 explains the methods and constraints of this study. Chapter 3 summarizes a review of the historical and traditional (cultural) literature in the context of the general history of Hawai'i, the island of Lāna'i and local histories of the *ahupua'a* of Kamoku. Chapter 4 presents the ethnographic analysis based on the supporting raw ethnographic data (oral history transcripts) as it pertains to land, water and cultural resources and use in the project area and vicinity. It also includes background data about the ethnographic consultants. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this study based on supporting data from Chapters 1 through 4 and presents a cultural impact assessment and recommendations.

Archival research in the Cultural and Historical Background Review (Chapter 3) and ethnographic research (Ethnographic Data Review and Analysis) (Chapter 4) produces the data utilized to identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs located within the potentially affected area in the *Summary of Findings*. There were no identified cultural resources or practices connected to the project area. Therefore, it is determined by the CIA results that the suggested actions will not create any cultural impacts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the ethnographic consultants this Cultural Impact Assessment could not have been done, therefore **Mahalo Nui Loa** goes out to Ms. Alberta De Jetley (guide through project area), Mr. Roberto Hera (saimin treat and especially the guided tour through Kānepu'u Preserve plus), Mr. Genji Miyamoto, Mr. Albert Morita (guided tour of the Lāna'i Cultural & Heritage Center, and Google search), and Mr. Warren Osako (for the t-shirt and help contacting Mr. Miyamoto); they are all so knowledgeable about Lāna'i's history and so very hospitable.

A big Mahalo also goes out to Ms. Onaona Maly for her hospitality; Mr. Kepa Maly for his suggestions and archival resources; Ms. Mikala Enfield for her *kokua* and patience; and a special mahalo to Mr. Ben Ka'aikala for driving for the Kānepu'u tour and for the special handcrafted wood knives.

An additional *mahalo* also goes to transcriber Seanna Piilani Ah Kee, Jessica Orr (IT consultant) and to Tom and Muffet (T.S.Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists, Inc.).

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists Inc**.** a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) of the Lāna‘i City Expansion Project lands in the *ahupua‘a* of Kamoku and *moku* of Kona, island of Lāna‘i was conducted in two periods: the archival research from July through August 2016; the ethnographic research in August-September 2016 and the cultural-historical background report write-up in September-October 2016. This CIA is in compliance with federal and state requirements to identify and evaluate possible cultural impacts in advance of construction activities. Act 50 SLH 2000 (HB 28 H.D.1) [Appendix A] as it amends the State of Hawai‘i Environmental Impact Statement law [Chapter 343, HRS] includes “effects on the cultural practices of the community and State. [It] also amends the definition of ‘significant effect’ to include adverse /effects on cultural practices.”

The purpose of a CIA is to gather information about traditional cultural practices, ethnic cultural practices and pre-historic and historic cultural resources that may be affected by the implementation of this project or undertaking in accordance with the State of Hawai‘i Environmental Council *Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts* (Adopted on November 19, 1997) [Appendix B]. The *level of effort* for this CIA included ethnographic research (4-5 oral histories) of people who are connected to these lands in various ways and an archival cultural/historical background review of the literature (including reports by T.S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists Inc., Kumu Pono and internet research).

This report is organized into five parts or chapters. Chapter 1 describes the project area in terms of location in the context of *ahupua‘a* (land division), *moku‘āina* (district) and *mokupuni* (island), as well as a generalized description of the natural environment (e.g. geology, flora and fauna) and built environment (e.g. any current structural features). Chapter 2 explains the methods and constraints of this study. Chapter 3 summarizes a review of the historical and traditional (cultural) literature in the context of the general history of Hawai‘i, the island of Lāna‘i and local histories of the *ahupua‘a* of Kamoku. Chapter 4 presents the ethnographic analysis based on the supporting raw ethnographic data (oral history transcripts) as it pertains to land, water and cultural resources and use in the project area and vicinity. It also includes background data about the ethnographic consultants. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this study based on supporting data from Chapters 1 through 4 and presents a cultural impact assessment and recommendations.

SCOPE OF WORK (SOW)

The CIA scope-of-work (SOW) was based on the Environmental Council *Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts* (1997) and focuses on three cultural resource areas (traditional, historical and ethnographic), conducted on two levels: archival research (literature/document review) and ethnographic data (oral history).

1. conduct historical and other culturally related documentary research;
2. identify individuals with knowledge of the types of cultural resources, practices and beliefs found within the broad geographical area, e.g., district or *ahupua‘a*; or with knowledge of the area potentially affected by the proposed action e.g. past/current oral histories;
3. identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs located within the potentially affected area; and
4. assess the impact of the proposed action on the cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified.

Traditional resources research entails a review of Hawaiian *mo‘olelo* (stories, legends or oral histories) of late 19th and early 20th century ethnographic works. Historic research focuses on the literature compiled.

Ethnographic research focused on current interviews with knowledgeable individuals who meet the following criteria:

- Had/has Ties to Project Location(s)
- Known Hawaiian Cultural Resource Person
- Known Hawaiian Traditional Practitioner
- Referred By Other Cultural Resource People

PROJECT LOCATION, AREA AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

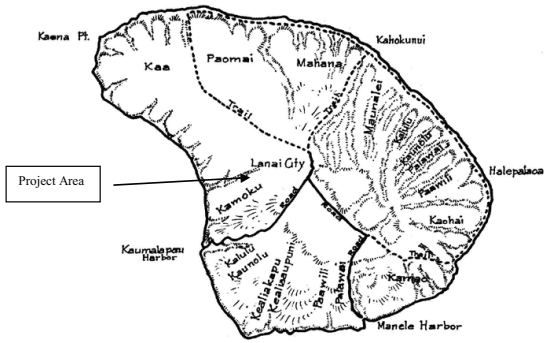

Figure 1. Map of Lāna‘i-Hawai‘i Territorial Survey Division (In Maly & Maly 2007:4)

Figure 2. *Moku* Map (*Ahu Moku* 2014)

The project area is located in the Ahupua'a of Kamoku, Moku of Kona on the Island of Lāna'i.

Figure 3. Project Area (Adapted from Dye/Figure 1).

Geology. Lāna'i, also known as Na-na'i (Pukui et al. 1974:128), is the sixth largest island of the eight major islands. It is of Maui County, along with Molokai and Kaho'olawe. Lāna'i is 13 ¾ miles long, 13 miles wide, with an area of 140 square miles. Lāna'i is a single dome-shaped shield volcano with its highest elevation of 3,379 feet at Lāna'ihale (Maly & Maly 2007:3). The volcano last erupted 1.3 million years ago, and Pālāwai Basin is all that remains of the caldera (Juvik & Juvik 1998:13).

> The name of the island may be literally translated as "day of conquest" – *Lā* meaning "day" and *Na'i* meaning "conquest." Through the tradition of the chief Kaululāau, Lāna'i was named on the day that the young chief vanquished the evil ghosts from the island. An early missionary dictionary translates the island's name as "hump," but this translation does not fit in with traditional knowledge of the meaning or pronunciation of the name (Maly & Dye 2016: 6).

The island of Lāna'i, Hawai'i, lies 59 miles southeast of Honolulu, O'ahu, and 9 miles west of Lahaina, Maui. Lāna'i lies in the rain shadow of Maui's West Maui mountains and annually gets only 35 inches of rain near the summit to a mere 10 inches in the southwestern part of the island. There are no permanent streams on the island, however the longest stream bed, the Maunalei-Wai'alala Gulch, is 12.9 miles long (Morgan 1996:211).

Figure 4. Map showing Lāna'i City
www.keyword-suggestions.com

Lāna'i City, has a population of 3,514 according to December 2015 Census (TC 2016) and Captain James King of Cook's expedition gives the earliest written description of Lāna'i:

"The country to the south is high and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better aspect and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told it produced very few plantains, and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots such as yams, sweet potatoes, and tarrow [taro]" (King 1785,115 in Morgan 1996:211).

Photo 2. Lāna'i City by NY Times (nd).

Additional descriptions of voyages in the late 1700s [Portlock; LaPerouse; and Menzies on Vancouver's ship] were sparse, mentioning that a few canoes came out with nothing worth bartering for and no women on board.

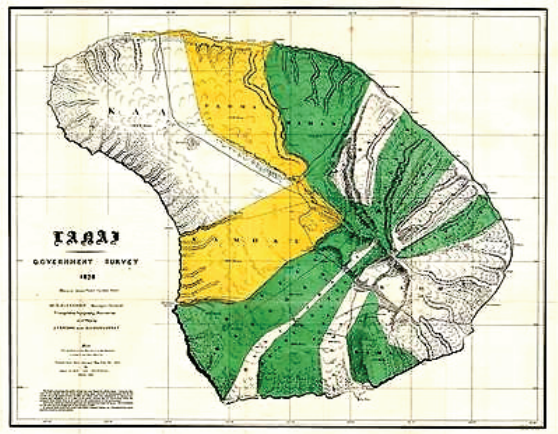

Figure 5. Government Survey. 1878. Walter E. Wall, Surveyor. Triangulation, topography, boundaries and map by J.F. Brown and M.D. Monsarrat. Traced from Gov't. Survey reg. map no. 1394. H.E. Newton. September, 1906. Andrew B. Graham Co., Photo-Lithographers, Washington, D.C.

Flora. In *Hawai'i a Natural History*, Carlquist divides each island into six regions: Coast, Dry Forest, Wet Forest, Epiphytic Vegetation, Bog and Alpine. Within the 0-500' elevation the only native tree is the *hala* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*). Humans have introduced other coastal trees in this zone (Carlquist 1980:267). (The Dry Forest Region has suffered the most impact by man. This is the area the early Polynesians modified extensively in slash and burn cultivation to expand their subsistence level, intensifying food production with complex irrigated agricultural systems of various crops (Kirch 1985:217). The early Polynesian settlers introduced all of the food or crop plants. The following crop plants were noted in Māhele Claims in the mid-1840s (Lanaichc.org):

Ipu (gourds) Six claimants listed *ipu* as a cultivated crop.
Kalo*, *'ai (taro) At least twenty-nine claimants listed *kalo* or *'ai* as a cultivated crop.
Kī (ti leaves) One claimant listed *kī* as a cultivated crop.
Kō (sugarcane) Four claimants listed *kō* as a cultivated crop.
Kou (Cordia) One claimant listed a grove of *kou* trees as a cultivated crop.
Mai'a (banana) Three claimants listed *mai'a* as a cultivated crop.
Niu (coconut) One claimant listed a grove of *niu* as a cultivated crop.
Pulu (cotton or the fiber of the native tree fern) One claimant listed *pulu* as a cultivated crop. *Pulu* in traditional times was the down of the native *hāpu'u* (tree fern); in historical times, it was also the name of cotton. Being that the claim in which *pulu* was cited was situated in Ka'ā Ahupua'a, it is assumed that the term refers to introduced cotton.
Uala (sweet potatoes) Native claimants cited at least fifty two land areas (*kula, mahina, kīhāpai*, *paukū*, *mo'o* and *'ili*) as *'uala* growing sites. With additional claims for *mahakea* or *kula pā'ō'ō* for fallow land.
Wauke (paper mulberry) One claimant listed *wauke* as a cultivated crop.

Some of the Dry Forest vegetation that may have been affected by early Hawaiian cultivation practices are the *naio* (*Myoporum sandwincense*), *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwincensis*), *ohe* (*Reynoldsia sandwincensis*), *'iliahi* (*Santalum sp*), *'ohia* (*Metrosideros sp*), *koa* (*Acacia koa*), as well as several species of shrubs, vines and ground cover (Carlquist 1980: 275-300).

> Lāna'i's ecosystem evolved in the absence of man and most other mammals, giving rise to cloud forest zones, which gave life to the land, and made the island hospitable to people when they settled Lāna'i perhaps as long as 1,000 years ago. There were two primary forest-watershed zones, the major watershed of Lāna'i Hale at the highest peak of Pā lāwai and Keālia Aupuni Ahupua'a; and what has historically been called the Kānepu'u forest zone of Ka'ā Ahupua'a. Untouched for countless centuries, the forest systems of Lāna'i evolved the unique ability to capture droplets of water, which in turn percolated through the ground to create water sources that were spread from mountain to shore across the island. While these precious forest regions have been radically altered by man's activities and feral animals, evidence of the region's water-producing capabilities are still visible on the landscape and in traditional accounts and historic literature (Maly & Dye 2016:6-7).

The following are excerpts from *A Botanizing Trip to Lāna'i in 1870 'Reminiscences of an Amateur Collector'* By J.M.Lydgate (In the *Hawaiian Annual for the year 1921*) (Maly & Maly 2007:79-81):

> Lāna'i, even in those days, had been pretty well denuded of its forest cover; only on the summit of the island ridge was there a somewhat moth-eaten mantle on the left, and only on the slopes of the higher ravines and the steep hill sides was that mantle really intact and undisturbed. It was to these limited remnants that we devoted our attention (Lydgate 1921 In Maly & Maly 2007:80).
>
> Another interesting plant which we found in the chaparral region lower down was a small tree Gardenia – *Gardenia Brighami.* The more common Hawaiian gardenia is a forest tree, rather sparse in flowering. This smaller one, growing in the open, flowered profusely, and filled the air with its delightful fragrance.
>
> Botanically speaking, Lānai was at one time a very interesting island, with a rich and somewhat peculiar flora, confined to a very small area. It was well that we visited it when we did and were able to make o thorough an examination, for after our visit it remained unexplored for many years, while the ravages of cattle, sheep and goats, as well as forest diseases, hastened the decadence of the indigenous forest, so that a good many things that we found there were gone for good when someone else tried to get them (Lydgate 1921 In Maly & Maly 2007:81).

To the north of Lāna'i City lies the Kānepu'u Preserve, habitat of several native dry forest species. It is maintained by volunteers who continue to clear the alien species and allowing the native dry forest collections to thrive.


Photo 3-5 Kānepu'u Preserve Signs.






Photos 6 - 11. Native species in the Preserve include *lama, olopua, alahe'e, na'ū and 'iliahi.*

The following are observations of George Munro, resident manager of Lāna'i Ranch 1911-1930 (2006:11):

> The ancient Lāna'i Hawai'ians must have cultivated a good deal of land before the Great Māhele, as there are signs of cultivation and habitation both on the grassy country and on the eroding land on the northwest end of the island where there are no *kuleana*. In some places where they were available, stones were used to mark off tilled ground and roads, and these are now the only signs that the land had been occupied. On the eroding lands, sometimes denuded of land down to hardpan, there can be seen cooking ovens with the charcoal still mixed with the stones. Over the hard surface there is a larger quantity of smaller stones, probably cooking stones that had broken up too small to be usable for that purpose. They were so numerous in some places that we raked them up and carted them to Kō'ele for use in making concrete. The land had been under cultivation for a long time, and this evidently was the reason that its soil had blown away. Yams, sweet potatoes, and taro were probably grown on these lands under a system of dry-land cultivation as long as the soil lasted. These localities were rich fields for the collection of old Hawaiian artifacts; most of my collection was obtained there. When plantation work was started, and excavations for roads and ditches had been freshly made on grass lands, sections of cooking ovens were exposed, the stones in position where they had been embedded well under the surface of the soil.

The following is a single paragraph noted by Handy & Handy (1978:520) about Lāna‘i:

> According to Emory (1924), except for the several localities in which taro was planted, sweet potatoes were planted in every part of the island where there were settlements: on the shore, in valleys, on the *kula*, and the upland. In other words, the sweet potato was the staple, although taro, yams, and breadfruit were important supplementary items of diet. There was an abundance of good land for planting and Lāna‘i has ample rain for sweet potatoes; but settlements and gardening were definitely limited by dearth of drinking water. Emory’s study of archaeology of the island indicates sparse and widely separated settlements.

Fauna. Terrestrial fauna in pre-colonized Hawai‘i consisted of only one endemic mammal, the hoary bat (*Lasiurus cinereus*), thousands of endemic insects, and about 100 species of endemic birds such as the Hawaiian honeycreeper (*Drepanididae spp*) (Berger, 1972:7, Kirch, 1985:28). Early Polynesian introduced animals included the Southeast Asian pig (*Sus scrofa*), jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*), dog (*Canidae*), and the Polynesian rat (*Rattus exulans*). Mammals on Lāna‘i today include both the feral and domestic pig, various breeds of cattle, horses, dogs, cats, the mongoose (*Herpestes auropunctatus*), first introduced in 1883 (Berger, 1972:9), and the axis deer (chetal or spotted deer) (*A. a. axis*). Marine life in Lāna‘i waters includes a variety of mollusk, seaweed, sea urchins, octopus, turtles, dolphins, stingray, whales and a variety of fish.

Native and introduced species were found in the dry forest in and outside of Kānepu‘u Preserve:

Photo 12. Alien Gulf Fritillary Butterfly

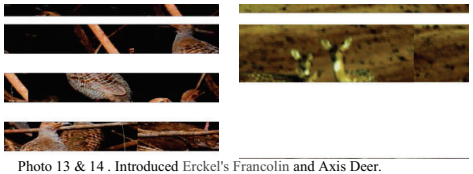

Photo 13 & 14 . Introduced Erckel's Francolin and Axis Deer.

The following excerpts from *Bird Life on Lanai* By G.C.Munro (1930) and published in *The Friend* (1944) [In Maly & Maly 2007:82-84], give a good summary of the types of birds and other fauna on the island:

> The plover (*kolea*) and the turnstone (*akekeke*) frequent the uplands in large flocks in the winter and with the aid of the much-abused mynah on several occasions saved the cattle from food shortage by devouring the army worm in its periodical invasions. Both of these waders should be taken under the protecting arm of the law. The owl (*pueo*), though not in large numbers, is to be seen over the plains country, where its nest with round, white eggs or young of various sizes will sometimes be met with in a hollow in the grass. The number of mice lying dead around the nest is evidence of the usefulness of the bird…. The rock pigeon though present does not increase into large flocks, as on some of the other islands. The common Singapore dove is abundant everywhere….
>
> A small Australian quail is becoming common, running like rats in the grass or rising in quick flight and dropping down a short distance away into the cover. Wild chicken were brought from Kauai and are in limited numbers along the forest edge. It is doubtful if they will survive the increase of population. It is to be hoped that something can be done to preserve the original wild Hawaiian chicken. Lanai has long been famous for its pheasant shooting. It is one the pretty sights of the island to see these birds walk confidently off the road in front of an approaching car…. The Mexican wild turkey mixed nicely with the original bronze bird that roamed the hills. The Mexicans liked the level cactus-covered country, now rapidly becoming pineapple fields. Semi-wild turkeys have a small chance of survival in thickly populated districts. All the larger *gallinaccous* birds will adopt a pineapple diet and eventually be condemned….

> The ‘*i‘iwi*, one of the most beautiful of the native birds and forty years ago one of the most common on some of the larger islands, has disappeared in late years from Lāna‘i. The ‘*apapane* is still a fairly common bird, also the ‘*amakihi*, the *o‘o* comes next and the *olomao* and *alauhiio.* All of these with the exception of the *‘i‘iwi,* were in sufficient numbers twenty years ago to keep up the species and every encouragement has been given them since. The *apapane* can be seen flying singly or in groups across the gulches; the *amakihi* comes down to the Koele garden and seeks honey from the flowering plants; the sweet song of the *‘o‘o* can be heard in the valleys; the *olomao’s* various calls are constant in some locations and the inquisitive little *alauhiio* works up close to the trail with its cheery little “chip chip” as the traveler passes (Munro 1930 In Maly & Maly 2007:84).
>
> Of the other imported birds the mynah. Linnet, skylark, ricebird and sparrow are present on the island…. It was interesting a short time ago to watch the mynah following two tractors dragging a heavy chain between them to stir up the drying cactus…. A continuous stream of birds were landing just behind the chain…cockroaches and other insects were disturbed by the chain and furnished them a feast (Munro 1930 In Maly & Maly 2007:83).
> Photo 16. Today the introduced egrets follow the tractor cutting grass.

The following excerpt is from Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center (lanaichc.org) Land Title 3:

> **January 26, 1875**
> **Ahsee & Akuna; to Walter M. Gibson Bill of Sale**
> **Conveying sheep pasturing on Ahupuaa of Kamoku**
>
> Know all men by these presents that we Ahsee and Akuna both of Kamoku in the Island of Lanai one of the Hawaiian Islands and both Chinamen in consideration of the sum of Eight Hundred Dollars paid to us by Walter M. Gibson of Lanai aforesaid Esquire do hereby bargain, sell, assign, transfer and set over unto the said Walter M. Gibson all those certain sheep numbering about Two Thousand more or less now in our possession or under our control depasturing or grazing upon or about the land known as “The Ahupuaa of Kamoku” on the said Island of Lanai.

The following excerpts by George Munro (1930) were published in *The Friend* (Sept 1930:193) as *The Goat Menace of Lāna‘i* (1930) [In Maly & Maly 2007:84-85).

> For more than a hundred years goats have roamed the hills of all the islands of our group. No one can ever estimate the amount of damage inflicted by these pests upon our pastures and forests. In many localities they have ruined the native woods and turned into barren wastes what should still be good forest cover….
>
> Lanai…has suffered badly from goats. The splendid forest area in the center of Lanai was encroached upon by hundreds of the destructive goats. In 1908 there were about 10,000 of these animals on the island. Not content with staying on the lowlands, they entered the dry forest lands of Kaa and did harm to the old native trees. For years they could be found in all parts of Lanai, but constant warfare resulted in the slaughter of thousands of the pests. It was a realm task to get them out of the cliffs of Maunalei and Nahoku, Kahawainui, and Naio, but at last that part of Lāna‘i has been freed of goats, and it is thought that only a few animals remain in the western *pali* region of the island (Munro 1930 In Maly & Maly 2007:84-85).

METHODS

The Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) consisted of three phases: (1) cultural and historical archival literature review; (2) ethnographic survey (oral history interview), analysis of ethnographic data (past and current oral histories) and (3) report writing. The research, ethnographic analysis and report writing were done July to September 2016.

Personnel. The personnel consisted of the author (ethnographer) who has a master's degree in Anthropology, with a graduate curriculum background in the archaeology track as well as anthropology theory, cultural resource management, ethnographic research methods, and public archaeology; an undergraduate curriculum background that included Hawaiian History, Hawaiian Language, Hawaiian Archaeology, Pacific Islands Religion, Pacific Islands Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology, as well as a core archaeology track, Geology, and Tropical Plant Botany; and ethnographic field experience that includes over 400 interviews to date.

Level of Effort. The level of effort for this study included an archival research literature review and an ethnographic survey and analysis [5 current oral histories].

Theoretical Approach. This CIA is loosely based on *Grounded Theory,* a qualitative research approach in which "raw data" [transcripts and literature] are analyzed for concepts, categories and propositions. Categories were pre-selected as part of the overall research design. However, it is not always the case that these research categories are supported in the data. Categories were generated by forming general groupings such as "Land Resources and Use," "Water Resources and Use," and "Cultural Resources and Use." Conceptual labels or codes are generated by topic indicators [i.e., flora, fauna]. In the *Grounded Theory* approach, theories about the social process are developed from the data analysis and interpretation process (Haig 1995; Pandit 1996). This step was not part of this cultural impact assessment as the research sample was too small.

Archival Research. The archival research entailed reviewing previous works by Kepa Maly and reviewing other primary and secondary works and collections from various libraries and the internet.

Consultant Selection (Oral Histories). The selection of the ethnographic consultant was based on the following criteria:

- Had/has Ties to Project Location(s)
- Known Hawaiian Cultural Resource Person
- Known Hawaiian Traditional Practitioner
- Referred By Lāna'i Culture and Heritage Center staff

Interview Processes. The formal interview process included a brief verbal overview of the study. Then the ethnographic consultant was provided with a consent or 'agreement to participate' form to review and sign [Appendix C]. An ethnographic research instrument [Appendix D] was designed to facilitate the interview; a semi-structured and open-ended method of questioning based on the person's response ('talk-story' style). Each interview was conducted at the convenience (date, place and time) of each consultant (after August 8th at the request of the Primary Client). The interview was conducted using a digital recorder. The interviewees were allowed to choose where they wanted to have their interview conducted. Two chose to meet at the Lāna'i Culture and Heritage Center; one asked to meet in the Park; one chose his home; and one asked for a telephone interview. Notes were also taken, but more attention was given to listening intently to the consultant. A *makana* or gift was given to each consultant in keeping with traditional reciprocal protocol.

Transcribing-Editing Process. The taped interview was transcribed by a hired transcriber. After the interviews were transcribed, each transcript was edited and corrected by the principal investigator before mailing. Each ethnographic consultant was sent a *mahalo* letter that explained the transcript review process, along with hard copies of the interview transcripts, *Release of Information* forms, and a self-addressed, stamped envelope for return of a signed release form and a copy of the revised transcripts. This process allows each consultant to make corrections (i.e., spelling of names, places), as well as have a chance to delete any part of the information or to make any stipulations if desired. The consultants were also informed of the two-week time limit for their review and return of revised transcripts and signed release forms after which it will be assumed that the raw data can be selectively used.

Ethnographic Analysis Process. The analysis process followed a more traditional method, as a qualitative analysis software program (i.e., TALLY) was not necessary. Each interview was considered a separate file, and the last name was used to identify the consultant. Each transcript was electronically coded for research thematic indicators or categories (e. g., personal information; land, water, marine resources and use; site information-traditional and/or historical; and anecdotal stories). For the purpose of this CIA, it was also not necessary to go beyond the first level of content and thematic analysis, as this was a more focused study. However, sub-themes or sub-categories were developed from the content or threads of each interview [e. g., plantation, ranching or fishing].

Summary of Findings and Cultural Impact Assessment. The Summary of Findings section is based on both archival and ethnographic data: Summary of Significant People and Events (e.g. Legendary Entities, *Ali'i Nui*), Summary of Historic People and Events, and Significant Practices Pre-Contact and Post-Contact. This section also includes 'Environmental Council Guidelines Criteria in Relation to Project Lands' and the Cultural Impact Assessment and recommendations or mitigation if any are made.

Report. The report includes the description of the project area; the explanation of methods; a review of the historical and traditional (cultural) literature; the ethnographic analysis; summary of findings and cultural impact assessment.

Site Visit. Site visits were made by the principal investigator including one with an ethnographic consultant.

Ethnographic Research Constraints. While most of the ethnographic research went very well, there were a few glitches: (1) one of the ethnographic consultants was not able to have a face-to-face interview but requested a telephone interview which proved to be less than desired as it was difficult to hear or catch everything; (2) after the transcripts were sent to each person, two interviewees could not return their revised transcripts in the two weeks requested and asked for an extension – they later sent in revisions; and (3) one revised transcript was returned with hand-written corrections, which was difficult to decipher, but he later mailed another hand-corrected original that was clearer.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND REVIEW

The Cultural and Historical Background Review entailed a review of previous reports that included primary and secondary source literature. Examples of primary source material include maps, Land Court records, newspaper articles, genealogies, oral histories and other studies. Secondary source material includes translations of 19th and 20th century ethnographic works, historical texts, indexes, archaeological reports, internet research and Hawaiian language resources (i.e., proverbs, place names and Hawaiian language dictionary). A review of selected archival material is presented in this section.

Chronology of Human Impact, Settlement and Development in Greater Hawai'i and the Island of Lāna'i – an overview.

Colonization Period. First voyager dating is scanty at best, however, based on early site dates from Bellows, O'ahu and Ka Lae/South Point, Hawai'i, Kirch (1985) estimated that the Colonization Period of the Hawaiian Islands by Polynesians from the south, was somewhere between AD 300-600 [this has been recently refuted with a new estimated settlement period beginning ca 1100AD (SAA 2013)]. A couple of *mo'olelo* about Hawai'i Loa the navigator, have the islands being settled much earlier than this. It is believed that the first Polynesian voyagers to Hawai'i followed the flight paths of migratory birds, and navigated by the stars. A voyage of migration would have included sixty to a hundred persons who could exist for weeks on a large canoe, which may have been a hundred feet in length (Day 1992:3). This feat was "remarkable in that it was done in canoes carved with tools of stone, bone, and coral; lashed with handmade fiber; and navigated without instruments" (Teruia 1995: vii). The earliest date for Lāna'i according to legend, was about 1400 A.D. (Lanaichc.org).

Reconstructing the cultural sequence for the *ahupua'a* of Kamoku and other places in Lāna'i and Hawai'i during the colonization period would involve the 'founder effect' and time necessary to adjust and adapt to a new environment. The colonizers were not able to bring all of the gene pool or crop plants from their homeland, so their new culture consisted of what survived the journey, what was remembered and what could be applied to the new environment (Kirch 1985:285-6). Although early Hawai'ians were farmers and felt spiritually tied to the '*āina* (land) in many ways (Waters, n.d.), when they first arrived they had to modify both their subsistence practices and the land. Faunal remains analyses indicate that early Hawaiian subsistence depended on fishing, gathering, bird hunting [extinct fossil remains, see Olson and James, 1982], as it took time to clear the forests, plant their crop cultigens, breed their animals, and construct suitable living quarters. Creation chants such as the *Kumulipo* depict a very deep philosophical bond with the land and nature and "the respectable person was bound affectionately to the land by which he was sustained" (Charlot 1983:45, 55). Ancient sites of various *ko'a* (fishing and bird shrines) also imply a spiritual respect for their sustenance.

As the founding groups grew, they fissioned into subgroups anthropologists refer to as *ramages*, with the senior male of the original ramage as chief of the conical clan, although hierarchical ranking was not just relegated through the patrilineal line of descent (Kirch 1985:31). Bellwood refers to these groups as tribal and related by blood (Bellwood 1978:31). Chiefly ranking probably did not occur until late in the Developmental Period.

Developmental Period**.** According to Fornander (1969) certain practices were universal Polynesian customs which the Polynesian-Hawai'ians brought from their homeland; such as the major gods *Kāne, Kū, Kanaloa* and *Lono*; the *kapu* system of law and order; *pu'uhonua* (place of refuge); '*aumakua* (ancestral guardian) concept; and the concept of *mana* (supernatural or divine power) (Fornander 1969:61, 113,118,127-8). The early culture evolved as the population grew, and many of the changes were related to significant socio-

economic changes. The evidence indicates that the "ancestral pattern of corporate descent groups" were still in place (Kirch 1985:302-3). However, this was changing as well.

During the Developmental Period, changes occurred bringing about a uniquely Hawaiian culture, documented by the material culture found in archaeological sites. The adze (*ko'i*) evolved from the typical Polynesian variations of plano-convex, trapezoidal and reverse-triangular cross section to a very standard Hawaiian quadrangular-tanged adze. A few areas in Hawai'i produced high quality basalt for adze production. Mauna Kea on the island of Hawai'i was a well-known adze quarry of very high quality basalt. Other areas included Maunaloa, West Molokai, Kapa'a Quarry in windward O'ahu, Kaho'olawe and Honolua-Honokōhau and Haleakalā on Maui. The two-piece fish hook and the octopus lure breadloaf sinker are also Hawaiian inventions of this period, as are the '*ulu maika* stones and the *lei niho palaoa* (whale-tooth adornment). The latter was a status item worn by those of high rank, indicating a trend toward greater stratification (Kirch 1985:184,204,306).

Expansion Period**.** The Expansion Period is significant in that most of the "ecologically favorable zones," the windward and coastal areas of all major islands, were now settled, and the more marginal leeward areas were being developed. This was also the period of the greatest population growth, the development of large irrigation field system projects, and dryland farming. The uniquely Hawaiian invention, the *loko* or fishpond aquaculture, was developed in the fifteenth century or the later half of this period (Kirch 1985: 303).

Between the 12th to 13th centuries another migration to Hawai'i brought the "priest" Pā'ao and a ruling chief, Pilika'aiea, from central Polynesia (some say Tahiti, others say Samoa). This created a major shift in "religion" and socio-political patterns. Pa'ao brought with him the Kū practice of human sacrifice, used in monumental *luakini heiau* or war temples. Pili started a line of *ali'i nui* that would continue through the Kamehameha "dynasty." The evolution of the *luakini heiau* is difficult to place archaeologically, and although the arrival of Pa'ao may have been a real event the uniqueness and complexity of *heiau* were most likely a local [Hawai'ian] development (Kolb 1989:3).

Lāna'i's history becomes more visible in the literature during this period with *mo'olelo* of Kaululaau who was banished to Lāna'i by his father Kaka'alaneo for destroying his prized breadfruit trees in Lahaina, Maui. Kaka'alaneo co-ruled Maui domain (Molokai, Lāna'i, Kaho'olawe) with his brother Kāka'e. The brothers were part of the dynasty of Maui kings. Kaululaau made the island of Lāna'i habitable by defeating the harmful entities said to reside there. He became the first known *ali'i* of Lāna'i.

Monumental *heiau* building flourished in this Period, as "religion" became more complex and embedded in a socio-political climate of territorial competition between related *ali'i*. Monumental architecture such as *heiau* "played a key role as visual markers of chiefly dominance" (Kirch 1990:206). Emory found that there were eleven large *heiau* on Lāna'i. Nine of these were along the coast and two on the uplands (Munro 2006:12-13).

During the last 200 years of the Expansion Period, the concept of *ahupua'a* was established, as well as class stratification, territorial groupings, powerful chiefs and *"mō'i"* or king (Kirch 1985:303-6). The *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana* (those who looked after the land) were not confined to the boundaries of the *ahupua'a*. Not only did the *ma kai* (ocean direction) and *ma uka* (mountain direction) people share seafood and produce by lighting a fire when there was a need, they also shared with their neighbor *ahupua'a 'ohana* (Hono-ko-hou 1974:14, 15). The *ahupua'a* was further divided into smaller sections such as the '*ili, mo'o 'āina, paukū 'āina, kīhāpai, kō'ele, haku one* and *kuakua* (Hommon 1976:15; Pogue 1978:10). The chiefs of these land units gave their allegiance to a territorial chief (*ali'i nui* or *mō'i* - king). One of the most famous *ali'i nui* during this period was Pi'ilani (ca. Late 1500s to Early 1600s) whose ancestors made Hāna, Maui their home. As a ruler, Pi'ilani spent time at both Hāna and Lele or Lāhainā. He was well

known for his peaceful rule of Maui, Moloka‘i and Lāna‘i. While he ruled there were no wars between chiefdoms and island polities. Several *mele, ‘ōlelo no‘eau,* and *mo‘olelo* mention that Maui, Moloka‘i and Lāna‘i and all the bays of West Maui that begin with ‘Hono’ were in the realm of Pi‘ilani.

Mo‘olelo about events that took place in the early to mid 1600s revealed that many of the battles of this period were relatively quickly contained by the opposing *ali‘i.* These stories also illustrate the on-going inter-relationships between the people of the various islands. In the *History of Kūali‘i,* the exploits of Kūali‘i (great-great grandson of Kākūhihewa, *ali‘i nui* of O‘ahu) take him to every island and he eventually unites all the islands “from Hawai‘i to Ni‘ihau” (Fornander 1917 vIV, part II, pg406). Kūali‘i lived in the time of Maui *ali‘i nui* Kamalalawalu and Kauhiokalani, sons of Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani by each of his two wives [Kumaka and Koleamoku] and Kauhiakama, son of Kamalalawalu (Kamakau 1992:56; McKenzie 1986).

Proto-Historic Period**.** The Proto-Historic Period appears to be marked with both intensification and stress. However, it was during this period that the *Royal Kolowalu Statute* or Kūali‘i’s Law was enforced. Kūali‘i Kunia‘akea Kūikealaikauaokalani lived for a very long time, was said to sometimes have supernatural powers, and was the first to “unite” all the islands. This *ali‘i nui* of O‘ahu died at Kailua in Ko‘olaupoko in AD 1730, supposedly at the age of one hundred and seventy five (Kamakau 1992:369).

> It (Kūali‘i’s Law) was strict, unvarying and always just. It was for the care and preservation of life; it was for the aged men and women to lie down in the road with safety; it was to help the husbandmen and the fishermen; to entertain (morally) strangers, and feed the hungry with food. If a man says, “I am hungry for food,” feed (him) with food, lest he hungers and claims his rights by swearing the *Kolowalu* law by his mouth, whereby that food becomes free, so that the owner thereof cannot withhold it; it is forfeited by law. It is better to compensate…. A transgressor, or one who is about to die, is, under the application of this law exonerated of his death or other penalty…(Fornander 1917 vIV, part II, pg 432).

Many wars took place during this time between intra-island chiefdoms and inter-island kingdoms; the majority of these *ali‘i nui* were related in various ways. In 1736, Maui *ali‘i nui* Kekaulike died. He chose his *nī‘aupi‘o* son Kamehameha-nui to be his heir; although Kauhi-‘aimoku-a-Kama was the oldest son, his mother was of a slightly lower rank than Kamehameha-nui’s mother [his parents were ½ siblings], making Kauhi whose parents were first cousins slightly lower rank than his younger half-brother. Kamehameha-nui was the full brother of Kalola, Kahekili, and Ku-ho‘oheihei-pahu. In 1737 and 1738 Kauhi-‘aimoku-a-Kama (Kauhi), oldest son of Ke-kau-like rebelled against his younger brother, Kamehameha-nui. Many of the warriors of Kamehameha-nui were slaughtered. This prompted Kamehameha-nui to flee to his uncle, Hawai‘i Island *ali‘i nui* Alapa‘i-nui-a-ka-uaua (Alapa‘i), who took him to Hawai‘i Island where they spent a year preparing for war. Alapa‘i-nui was the half-brother of Kamehameha-nui’s mother (Kamakau 1992:73-74).

When Kauhi heard that Alapa‘i was heading back to Maui, Kauhi enlisted the help of his uncle, Pele-io-holani, Kaua‘i *ali‘i nui* who was also ruling chief of O‘ahu and the son of Kūali‘i; Pele-io-holani was also the first cousin of Alapa‘i and said to be the father of Ke‘eaumoku (McKenzie 1986:23). Alapa‘i attacked Maui (1738), drying up the streams of Kaua‘ula, Kanahā and Kahoma near Lahaina Luna, destroying the taro patches. His men kept guard over the streams of Olowalu, Ukumehame, Wailuku and “Honokawai” (sic). “When Pele-io-holani heard that Alapa‘i was in Lāhainā he gathered all his forces at Honokahua and at Honolua. At Honokawai (sic) an engagement took place between the two armies, and the forces of Alapa‘i were slaughtered and fled to Keawawa.” Pele-io-holani had 640 men to Alapa‘i's 8,440. However, the cousins once again came face to face in Pu‘unēnē and decided to once more opt for peace between the families. Kamehameha-nui ruled Maui in peace; Pele-io-holani retired to Moloka‘i for a while, and Alapa‘i went back to rule Hawai‘i Island (Kamakau 1992:74). Kauhi, nephew of Pele-io-holani reportedly ruled east Maui before being killed in Kaupō.

The inter-relatedness of these chiefs are further expanded upon by Kamakau (1992:75):

> Perhaps the reason for this friendliness on the part of the two chiefs [Alapa‘i and Pele-io-holani] was the close relationship that existed between them. Alapa‘i's mother belonged to Oahu. She was Ka-lani-kau-lele-ia-iwi-nui, a daughter of Kane-i-ka-ua-iwi-lani, who was the child of Ka-ua-kahi-a-kua‘ana-au-a-kane, the daughter of Ka-‘ihi-kapu-a-Ku‘ihewa. Moreover Ka-lani-‘opu‘u and Keoua were own sons of Pele-io-holani through their mother Ka-maka‘i-moku. While Kuali‘i was still ruling Oahu, she had come to visit her mother ‘Umi-‘ula-i-ka-‘ahu-manu, who was living at Waikele with her younger brothers, and it was at the water of Alele just above Waipahu in Waikele, ‘Ewa, that Ka-lani-‘opu‘u was begotten by Pele-io-holani. The ruling chiefs of Oahu wore as a neck ornament an ivory whale's tooth shaped like a bud (*‘opu‘u*); the royal neck ornament of Hawai‘i was a tongue-shaped hook, like a tortoise-shell fishhook. Pele-io-holani named the child Ka-lei-‘opu‘u after the bud-shaped neck ornament of his father Kuali‘i. Thus he begot Ka-lei-‘opu‘u.* Keoua he probably begot after he became ruling chief. (* *Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a*, Nov. 3. 1866).

Between 1775 and 1779 fighting continued between Kalani‘ōpu‘u, son of Kalaninui‘iamamao [whom the *Kumulipo* was composed for] and his brother-in-law, Kahekili. In 1775 Kalani‘ōpu‘u and his Hāna forces raided and severely destroyed the neighboring Kaupō district, before continuing several more raids on Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i, Kaho‘olawe and parts of West Maui. It was at the battle of *Kalaeoka‘ilio* that Kamehameha, nephew and favorite warrior of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, was first recognized as a great warrior and given the name of Pai‘ea (hard-shelled crab) by the Maui chiefs and warriors (Kamakau 1992:84).

In 1776 Kalani‘ōpu‘u and his chiefs returned to wage war on Maui again, but were again defeated. Kalani‘ōpu‘u was forced to sue for peace and sent his young son Ka-lani-kau-i-ke-aouli Kīwala‘ō and with his twin brother’s-in-law Ka-me‘e-ia-moku and Ka-manawa, who were also younger half-brothers of Kahekili. Kahekili called for a cease and sent fish and vegetables to his sister Kalola and her husband Kalani‘ōpu‘u. This too was short-lived as a few years later Kalani‘ōpu‘u waged war on Maui again then ravaged Lāna‘i slaughtering the chiefs and soldiers there leaving only one survivor to tell the tale. Kalani‘ōpu‘u then went back to Maui to wage many battles from 1778 to 1779 (Kamakau 1992:88-91). In 1777 when very young, Ka‘ahumanu’s parents took Ka‘ahumanu and their whole family to Hawai‘i to get away from the war between Kalani‘ōpu‘u and Kahekili (Silverman, 1987:iii, 5-6; Kamakau, 1992:310).

In January 1778 Cook landed in Waimea, Kaua‘i and the culture of old Hawai‘i began its spiraling change (see Day 1992). Cook left Hawai‘i for several months, but returned later in the year. Kalani‘ōpu‘u was fighting Kahekili’s forces in Wailua, Maui on November 19, 1778 when Cook’s ship was sighted on his return trip to the islands. Kalani‘ōpu‘u visited Cook on the *Resolution,* while Kahekili visited Clerke on the *Discovery* (Kuykendall and Day 1976:16).

The following depicts the power struggles of the *ali‘i* of Hawai‘i and Maui (Bucy & Asso 1989:191-193):

> Five generations after Kaulula‘au there is mention in the History of Kuali‘i (Fornander 1918-19:V:422) that Lāna‘i chiefs wanted to be independent from Kamalalawalu, King of Maui. This documentation confirms an early subordinate relationship between Lanai and Maui. As a tributary of Maui, Lāna‘i was pulled into the struggle for power between Kalaniopu'u, ruler of Hawai‘i Island and Kahekili, ruler of Maui. After an unsuccessful attempt at trying to acquire Maui, Kalaniopu‘u and his forces raided and pillaged the islands of Kahoolawe and Lanai. The battle that ensued on Lāna‘i was described by native historian Kamakau (1961:90-91):

The War of Ka-moku-hi (1778)

> *Ka-lani-‘ōpu‘u carried the war into Lanai and attacked the chiefs and soldiers in their stronghold called Ho‘oki‘o, mauka of Maunalei, which was their place of refuge. The trouble with the place*

was that when the chiefs and soldiers fled thither, their water supply was cut off and they were all slaughtered. The whole island of Lanai was ravaged by the forces of Ka-lani-'opu'u. At Paomai, at Keaea close to the forest, and at Ka'ohai was the place called Kamokupeu scarred by war markings of old. A certain captive who was being led to Ka-lani-'opu'u with his hands tied, as he neared a cliff asked to have the cords loosened, pretending he was in pain. Since they were so close to the cliff the men felt no fear of his escaping, but no sooner were his hands released than he leaped over the precipice. His (91) name was Kini and he was famous for his skill in leaping cliffs. He had leaped down the rough cliff of Kukaemoku at 'Iao and Olowalu, and it was this skill in leaping down cliffs that saved his life in the battle on Lanai. During Ka-lani-'ōpu'u's occupancy of Lanai, the food ran out, and the men had to eat the root of a wild plant called kupala. This had a loosening effect upon the bowels when eaten in quantity. The war is therefore called The-land-of-loose-bowels (*Ka-moku-hi*) *and it is a war still talked of among the descendants on Lanai.*

When Ellis visited the island (Ellis, 1971:91) 45 years after this battle, he estimated the population to be 2,000, which is not far from the pre-contact maximum estimate that Emory gives of 3,000….

During the Battle of Ka-moku-hi a forty-two-year-old Kamehameha I fought alongside his Uncle Kalani'ōpu'u. After the death of Kalani'ōpu'u, Kamehameha eventually conquered and ruled the entire island chain, including Lāna'i. Lāna'i, like all the other islands, was subject to the rules and taxation of Kamehameha I, the ruling King, who did spend some of his time in residency at Kaunolu.

[NOTE: According to Kenneth Emory's research in Munro (2006:10): "The campaign was called *kamoku hi* after the effect of eating heavily of this root [*kūpala*] which grew on the Kamoku lands."]

When Cook sailed into Kealakekua Bay on January 17, 1779, Kalani'ōpu'u was still fighting Kahekili on Maui. At this time Kāeo, younger brother of Kahekili was the ruling chief of Kaua'i; Ka-hahana, nephew of Kahekili was the ruling chief of O'ahu and Moloka'i; Kahekili of western Maui, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe; and Kalani'ōpu'u of Hawai'i Island and Hāna (Kamakau, 1992:84-86, 92, 97-98). On January 25th Kalaniopu'u visited Cook again at Kealakekua Bay, presenting him with several feather cloaks. By February Cook's scheme to kidnap Kalani'ōpu'u as a hostage were thwarted and Cook was killed following a skirmish over a stolen cutter (Kuykendall and Day 1976:18).

When the *King George* passed Lāna'i on May 10, 1786, seven years after Captain Cook, when the *Hope* did likewise on October 9, 1791, and when Vancouver sailed by on May6, 1792, some canoes came out to the ships, but they had nothing in the way of foodstuff to barter. Menzies, Vancouver's surgeon, noted the absence of 'hamlets or plantations' and judged the island to be 'very thinly inhabited' (Munro 2006:10).

By 1790 Kamehameha I had gained enough control of the island of Hawai'i that he could leave to join the war parties on Maui. After several battles along the East Maui coast, Kamehameha's force reached Wailuku where the "great battle" took place. This would be the beginning of the end of independent ruling chiefs because of the inequity of battle strategy. Kamehameha had brought a cannon from the *Eleanora* along with her captain, Isaac Davis, and crewmember John Young, now his *aikane punahele* (favorites) and advisors (Kamakau 1992:147-148) [Day, 1992:24 says that Isaac Davis was the lone survivor of the *Fair American*].

Demographic trends during the Proto-Historic Period indicate a population reduction in some areas, yet show increases in others, with relatively little change in material culture. However, there was a continued trend in craft and status material, intensification of agriculture, *ali'i* (chief/land managers) controlled aquaculture, upland residential sites, and oral records that were rich in information. *Kū* worship, *luakini heiau,* and the *kapu* (restriction or regulation) system were at their peak, although western influence was

already altering the cultural fabric of the islands (Kirch 1985:308, Kent 1983:13). By 1794 at least eleven foreigners were living on the island of Hawai'i, including American, English, Irish, Portuguese, Genoese, and Chinese (Day 1992:23-25) [may have been connected to the sandalwood trade]. When Kamehameha I conquered O'ahu and Maui in 1795 (with western advice and technology), subsequently unifying the Island Kingdom (Kent 1983:16), it marked the end of the Proto-Historic Period.

Early Historic Period**.** The Early Historic Period (AD 1795-1899) is marked by very significant events. After Kamehameha I conquered Maui in 1795, he went to Moloka'i where the sacred women of Maui (Kalola Pupuka and her daughters Kalanikauiōkikilokalaniakua and Keku'iapoiwa Liliha and her daughter Kalanikauiaka'alaneo), were in hiding. Kamehameha took Keku'iapoiwa Liliha and Kalanikauiaka'alaneo to O'ahu to witness the Battle of Nu'uanu Pali and the defeat of O'ahu. It was during this trip that Kalanikauiaka'alaneo was given the name Ke'ōpūolani (Kleiger 1998:21).

Hawai'i's culture and economy continued to change radically as capitalism and industry established a firm foothold. In 1810, Kaua'i *ali'i nui* Kaumuali'i ceded under duress his kingdom of Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, Lehua and Ka'ula to Kamehameha I. At this time the sandalwood trade in Hawai'i was still flourishing; the Fijian and Marquesan supply of sandalwood was exhausted, so Hawai'i became known as the "sandalwood mountains" to entrepreneurs of Southern China. Sandalwood came under the personal control of Kamehameha I, who had become "a fervent consumer of high-priced western goods." The sandalwood industry was thriving to the point where the subsistence levels declined, as farmers and fishermen spent most of their time logging, causing famine to set in (Kent 1983:17-20).

On October 1819, Protestant missionaries set sail from Boston to Hawai'i. Earlier that year, on May 8, 1819, Kamehameha I died. Following his death, his son and heir Liholiho banished the *kapu* system at the advice of his queen mother Ke'ōpūolani and queen regent Ka'ahumanu [the queens were second cousins] (Kamakau, 1992:210, 222). The missionaries arrived in Kailua-Kona on March 30, 1820, to a markedly changed culture; one with a "religious" void, and a growing appetite for western products. They quickly started missions on all of the islands (Day 1992:25).

As shown by their many *heiau, kapu,* and their readiness to adopt new faiths, the natives of Lāna'i had strong religious inclinations. According to Reverend William Ellis, who passed Lāna'i on a schooner July 1, 1825, they had a number of idols. Two were 'large stone images representing the deities, who were believed to preside over the sea and were worshipped chiefly by fishermen (Munro 2006:12-13).

Following a chaotic internal overthrow of the established Hawaiian religion in 1819, Hawai'ians on all islands turned to Christianity. Although a newly converted Queen Kaahumanu visited Lanai in 1829 (Bingham 1855:375) and tried to influence the Hawai'ians to turn to Christianity, it wasn't until 1835, according to the records, that protestant evangelization occurred on Lanai. By 1837 there were three permanent church-affiliated schools to educate the children of Lanai (Napoka In Bucy & Asso 1989:193).

In 1802 Wong Chun arrived on a sandal wood trading ship from China and resided on Lāna'i for a short time. He is said to be the first person to process sugar in the Hawaiian Islands (Kepa 2016). Years later in 1828 two Chinese merchants established the Hungtai sugar works at Wailuku. Many of the earliest Chinese residents in Hawai'i were knowledgeable in sugar production (the *tong see* or sugar masters), and established successful plantations on Maui and Hawai'i (Speakman 2001:90). In 1836 the first sugar plantation was established on Kaua'i (Kent 1983:23, 29). During this period, "between one hundred and two hundred foreigners lived among the Islands…(Day 1992:25). Hardly a ship touched without leaving a deserter or two behind…. A white man automatically ranked as a chief, although he could not own land in fee simple or build a permanent house…[and] they took Hawaiian wives" (Day 1992:25). In the 1830's other industries such as whaling, and merchandising crept into Hawai'i.

In the 1840s a political act of the Hawaiian Kingdom government would change forever, the land tenure system in Hawai'i and have far-reaching effects. The historic land transformation process was an evolution of concepts brought about by fear, growing concerns of takeovers, and western influence regarding land possession. King Kamehameha III, in his mid-thirties, was persuaded by his *kuhina nui* and other advisors to take a course that would assure personal rights to land. One-third of all lands in the kingdom would be retained by the king; another one-third would go to *ali'i* (chiefs/*konohiki*) as designated by the king; and the last one-third would be set aside for the *maka'āinana* or the people who looked after the land. In 1846 Kamehameha III appointed a Board of Commissioners, commonly known as the Land Commissioners, to "confirm or reject all claims to land arising previously to the 10th day of December, AD 1845." Notices were frequently posted in *The Polynesian* (Moffat and Fitzpatrick, 1995). However, the Legislature did not acknowledge this act until June 7, 1848 (Chinen 1958:16; Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995:48-49), known today as *The Great Māhele*.

> At that time, lands on Lanai were divided between lands claimed by Kauikeaouli (40,665 acres), which were known as the Crown Lands, and the lands to be claimed by the chiefs and people (48,640 acres), which were called the Government Lands. The total land area of Lanai was then 89,305 acres, which included thirteen ahupua'a or traditional land divisions…. In 1921 when Emory conducted his Lanai research, only 208.25 acres of land remained in native Hawaiian ownership (Napoka In Bucy & Asso 1989:194).

The 1840s also heralded other changes as well. The Hawaiian government, with the aid of the missionaries, encouraged the sugar industry as well as other enterprises such coffee, cotton, rice, potatoes, and silk worms (Speakman 2001: 93), *pulu,* goat skins, fungus, wheat, other vegetables, sugar syrup and molasses (Maclennan 1995:35). The constitutional monarchy was established during this period and in a speech to the legislature in 1847 Kamehameha III promoted the agricultural industry:

> I recommend to your most serious consideration, to devise means to promote the agriculture of the islands, and profitable industry…. What my native subjects are greatly in want of, to become farmers, is capital, with which to buy cattle, fence in the land and cultivate it properly (In Maclennan 1995:34).

Disease had a devastating affect on the population and the landscape, killing *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* alike; measles epidemics in 1848 and 1849, were followed by the horrendous smallpox epidemic in 1853. John Papa 'I'i in *Fragments of Hawaiian* History (1984) talks about the impact of this disease and as *kahu* or guardian of several young *ali'i,* he had to take several of them off of O'ahu island. They just kept sailing from island to island and usually were not allowed to land as O'ahu was thought to be the source of the smallpox.

In 1850, the Kingdom government passed laws allowing foreigners to purchase fee simple lands (Speakman 2001:91), many were retired whaling captains or merchants. (Maclennan 1995:48, 52). By 1858 at least 2,119 foreigners lived in Hawai'i. Many were merchants who traded with whalers, while the missionaries lived in various locations throughout the islands. "Foreigners engaged in agricultural pursuits with the idea of reaping a profit from the land, in contrast with the Hawai'ians, who carried on…subsistence agriculture" (Coulter 1931/1971:11).

In 1851 Mormons arrived on Lāna'i according to Munro (2006:25):

> In September 1851, Elder Francis Hammon went to Lāna'i and organized a branch of the church at Manele Landing where there were Hawai'ians living at the time. The Hawai'ians took him for a horseback ride up the hillside to the rim of the Pālāwai Basin with which he was greatly impressed as a suitable site for a Mormon colony…. On July 26, 1854 it was decided to proceed with the

> Mormon colony…a party of church members went to Lāna'i to start the settlement. They selected a site for the city on the east side of the basin on a plateau about 50 feet above its lowest part. They called this the City of Joseph, and the lower part that it overlooked the Valley of Ephraim…. The Mormons went to work digging for water, building grass houses, and preparing land for crops. Lāna'i is tricky for ordinary crops. They may have had good ones to start with, and then a series of dry years and consequent crop failures. This and the lack of water were discouraging, and they were on a lookout for more favorable location when the elders were recalled to Utah on account of trouble with the U.S. government.
>
> The Mormons apparently had made no land transaction on Lāna'i and acquired no holdings there. Walter Murray Gibson went to Lāna'i near the end of 1861. He took charge of the Mormon colony but branched out from the teachings of the Mormons, and this was practically the end of it as a Mormon settlement. Gibson acquired land in his own name, and because he refused to turn it over to the Church, the Mormons excommunicated him in 1864 and some of the colonists left Lāna'i.

According to Munro (2006:27) the Lāna'i Ranch started about 1865:

> The Lāna'i Ranch was started by Walter Murray Gibson in about 1865 after the Mormon colony on the island had dispersed. Before Gibson went to Lāna'i, Hawai'ians had herded goats there, but it was he who consolidated most of the lands into one large sheep ranch…. In 1870 he persuaded twenty-two men with two women and six children to come from the United States to Lāna'i 'to ce, grains and other products upon a cooperative plan.' These people were 'independent immigrants' paying their own passage…they evidently arrived during Lāna'i's dry years and found conditions very different from what they were led to believe. They were soon discouraged, abandoned the project and left the island….
>
> Gibson eventually decided that grazing was more profitable than agriculture on Lāna'i. Goats were herded for their skins and sheep for their wool. Angora goats were imported to improve the weight of the skins and merino sheep to add fineness to the wool. With the lush natural vegetation, the sheep thrived and increased in number. On January 5, 1867, Gibson made a census report to the Education Office and gave the number of sheep as 10,000 and of goats 18,000.

Territorial History (AD 1900-1949)**.** This period saw Native Hawai'ians running for Congress (Daws 1974 297); and much of the lands being sold in fee simple. Lāna'i Ranch was deteriorating after owner Walter Murray Gibson left Lāna'i for O'ahu to dabble in politics. George Munro first visited Lāna'i in 1902 as the ranch purchase was being negotiated for Mr. Charles Gay; Mr. Alika Dowsett was manager of the ranch and living at Kō'ele. The ranch was in disrepair with evidence of severe drought (Munro 2006:28, 29). Shortly after this visit Gay gained possession of the island except for some *kuleana* lands and made considerable improvements. However, the financial strain proved too great and the lands reverted to Mr. W. G. Irwin in 1909 as the Lāna'i Company (Munro 2006:31). It wasn't until 1911 when George Munro was asked to come and manage Lāna'i Ranch because of his previous experience working for Francis Gay for seven years on Kauai and Alfred W. Carter for three years as Moloka'i Ranch manager (Munro 2006:32). With the help of Henry Gibson, son of Walter Murray Gibson, Munro searched the forests for scattered goats and pigs and at this time collected plants, land snails and studied the birds. Lāna'i was soon for sale again. This time several people with pineapple interests came to visit. In 1917 Harry and Frank Baldwin bought the island for $600,000. The Lāna'i Ranch improved and changed from sheep to cattle stock; the Lāna'i Company did well with their pineapple, but after five years the Baldwins decided to sell the island to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company (James D. Dole) for $1,500,000. This marked years of conflict between the profitable cattle industry and the land hungry pineapple industry on Lāna'i (Munro 2006:33).

Modern History (Post AD 1950)**.** Post World War II brought about an influx of people and industries to Hawai'i, allowing the tourism, offshoot enterprises and military to flourish. Along with the rise of the

tourism industry, and competing sugar markets abroad, the sugar companies saw a sharpening decline in business (the Sugar Acts of 1934 and 1937, and ILWU Strike of 1946 didn't help). The 1950s and 1960s were the bleakest years for the sugar industry and it was becoming apparent that the sugar industry was beyond salvage (Kent 1983:107-108). More changes were soon to take place on the landscapes of Hawai'i. On Lāna'i a decision was made in 1950 to discontinue Lāna'i Ranch operations and dispose of the stock; 44,000 acres of 'fair grazing country' was now wasteland (Munro 2006:35).

Traditional Literature

The ethnographic works of the late 19th and early 20th century contribute a wealth of information that comprise the traditional literature - the *mo'olelo, oli,* and *mele* - as well as glimpses into snippets of time, and a part of the Hawaiian culture relatively forgotten. The genealogies handed down by oral tradition and later recorded for posterity, not only give a glimpse into the depth of the Hawaiian culture of old, they provide a permanent record of the links of notable Hawaiian family lines. The *mo'olelo* or legends allow *ka po'e kahiko*, the people of old, the *kupuna* or ancestor*,* to come alive, as their personalities, loves, and struggles are revealed. The *oli* (chants) and the *mele* (songs) not only give clues about the past, special people, and *wahi pana* or legendary places, they substantiate the magnitude of the language skills of *na kupuna kahiko* (the people of old). Several excerpts of the *mo'olelo* and *mele* have already been used as references or chronology markers in the 'Overview of Human Impact, Settlement and Socio-economic Development…' above. The following sections give a little more detail and explanation of the traditional literature.

Genealogies**.** *Po'e kū'auhau* or genealogy *kahuna* were very important people in the days of old. They not only kept the genealogical histories of chiefs "but of *kahunas*, seers, land experts, diviners, and the ancestry of commoners and slaves…an expert genealogists was a favorite with a chief" (Kamakau 1992:242). During the time of 'Umi genealogies became *kapu* to commoners, which is why there "were few who understood the art; but some genealogists survived to the time of Kamehameha I and even down to the arrival of the missionaries" (ibid).

Surviving genealogies illustrate that the ruling families of each island were interrelated quite extensively. The chiefs of O'ahu, Kaua'i, Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i and Lāna'i had one common ancestry. Families branched out, but conjoined several times in succeeding generations. O'ahu and Hawai'i's chiefs were linked as are Hawai'i and Maui chiefs, and Hawai'i's chiefs were linked to Kaua'i chiefs (Kamakau, 1991:101; McKenzie, 1983:xxv). Not only were the chiefs or *ali'i* related to each other, they were also related to the commoners. In *Ruling Chiefs,* Kamakau states that "there is no country person who did not have a chiefly ancestor" Kamakau (1992:4).

Malo (1971) wrote about the connection between the *maka'āinana* and the chiefs; "Commoners and *alii* were all descended from the same ancestor, Wākea and Papa" (Malo, 1971:52). This is evident in the genealogies. Genealogies were very important to the chiefs, because ranking was very important. The genealogies not only indicated rank, they ascertained a link to the gods. The following excerpt explains the idea and importance of rank and the role of genealogies:

> Position in old Hawai'i, both social and political, depended in the first instance upon rank, and rank upon blood descent—hence the importance of genealogy as proof of high ancestry. Grades of rank were distinguished and divine honors paid to those chiefs alone who could show such an accumulation of inherited sacredness as to class with the gods among men…a child inherited from both parents…. The stories of usurping chiefs show how a successful inferior might seek inter-marriage with a chiefess of rank in order that his heir might be in a better position to succeed his parent as ruling chief…a virgin wife must be taken in order to be sure of child's paternity—hence the careful guarding of a highborn girl's virginity (Beckwith1990: 11).

One could defend and/or prove their rank by knowing or having one's genealogist recite one's genealogy. "To the Hawai'ians, genealogies were the indispensable proof of personal status. Chiefs traced their genealogies through the main lines of 'Ulu, Nana'ulu, and Pili, which all converged at Wākea and Papa (Barrere, 1969:24). Two well-known genealogy chants are the *Kumuhonua* and the *Kumulipo.*

Kumuhonua**.** The *Kumuhonua*, first published by Fornander in 1878, in *The Polynesian Race* Vol. I was based on information from Kamakau and Kepelino. Kumuhonua, the man, was of the Nanaulu line, and the older brother of Olopana and Moikeha (McKenzie 1986:14-15). However, the birth chant *Kumuhonua* has been a subject of controversy as noted in following *Preface* by Kenneth P. Emory in Barrere (1969):

> We have become painfully aware that the Kumuhonua 'legends' are not ancient Hawaiian legends, nor is the genealogy which accompanies them a totally authentic genealogy…. In his second volume (1880) when he relates events from the period of the arrival in Hawai'i of migrant chiefs from Tahiti to the time of Kamehameha, in these writings he is dealing with relatively untampered, authentic Hawaiian traditions and genealogies…. We must ever be on guard against the effects of this impact in what was recorded subsequently about the pre-contact period….. The world of the Polynesian began to be transformed overnight by Western influence" (Barrere, 1969:i).

Barrere (1969) explains that some of the *Kumuhonua* legends were recorded by Kamakau and Kepelino between the years 1865 and 1869, however, the 'genealogy' of the *Kumuhonua*, published by Fornander, was given to him "to provide credibility to the legends…this 'genealogy' [was] constructed from previously existing genealogies--the *Ololo* (*Kumuhonua*) and the *Paliku* (*Hulihonua*) which are found in the *Kumulipo* chant (see Beckwith 1951:230-234) and interpolations of their own invention" (Barrere, 1969:1).

Kumulipo**.** A better example is the famous Creation Chant *The Kumulipo.* Feher (1969) had several notable Hawaiian scholars write passages in his *Kumulipo: Hawaiian Hymn of Creation-Visual Perspectives by Joseph Feher.* In the *Introduction* Momi Naughton states "The Kumulipo belongs to a category of sacred chants known as *pule ho'ola'a ali'i,* 'prayer to sanctify the chief,' which was recited to honor a new-born chief (Feher, 1969:1). In her passage, Edith McKenzie states:

> "The *Kumulipo* is a historical genealogical chant that was composed by the court historians of King Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku of the island of Hawai'i about 1700 AD in honor of his first born son Ka-lani-nui-'I-a-mamao. This important chant honors his birth and shows the genealogical descent of both the *ali'i* (chiefs) and the *maka'ainana* (commoners) from the gods, in particular Wākea…" (Feher, 1969:1).

The Kumulipo was an *inoa* or name chant for Ka-lani-nui-'I-a-mamao, first born son of Keawe, who later became the father of Kalaiopu'u [Kalani'ōpu'u], ruling chief of Hawai'i (Beckwith, 1990:9). However, Johnson comments that "Malo remarks that the *Kumulipo* is important to both *ali'i* (chiefly) and *maka'āinana* (commoner) groups. It is also a means by which Polynesians as a whole may corroborate lineal ties to the Hawaiian people" (Feher, 1969:2).

Napoka (In Bucy & Asso 1989:185) expands on this in relation to Lāna'i:

> Genealogical chants, such as the Kumulipo, trace the descent of mankind from the gods, Wākea and Papa, the personifications of sky and earth. These early chants explain the creation of the islands of Hawai'i as well as the creation of the gods and thus eventually mankind. The birth of the island of Lāna'i has been recorded by several surviving traditions. Most common of these traditions was chanted by Pakui, a historian during the time of Kamehameha I (Fornander 1916-19:IV: 12). According to this chant, after the birth of Maui

> Island, Papa returned to Kahiki and Wākea took Kaʻulawahine for his wife. From this union Lanai-kaula was born. Another tradition says that Lānaʻi was found and adopted by a chief from Kahiki (Fornander 1916-19:IV:2), while another recounts how Lānaʻi grew from a piece of coral thrown into the ocean by the famous fisherman Kapuheʻeuanui (Fornander 1916-19:IV:20). All of these versions of creation are ancient traditions acceptable to native Hawaiʻians.

*Hawaiian Genealogies***.** In 1983 Edith McKenzie completed the first volume of *Hawaiian Genealogies,* translated from genealogy articles in 19th century Hawaiian newspapers; these articles were in response to a call to preserve the Hawaiian heritage. Some of McKenzie's genealogies were from feature articles published in Hawaiian newspapers such as *Ka Nonanona* and *Ka Nupepe Kuokoa* in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Some of the information was also in Malo's (1838) *Hawaiian History*, and in Fornander's (1880), *The Polynesian Race* (Book I) (McKenzie, 1983:1).

The following excerpt is from Kamakau's article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* October 7, 1865, and was translated by McKenzie (1986). It illustrates some of the mid-19th century sentiment regarding genealogies:

> To the commoners, a genealogy was of no value because their parents forbad (sic) it lest comparisons should occur and country children be born and rise up as chiefs. Therefore, the children of the commoners were not taught beyond father, mother, and perhaps grandparents…. To us, the people of this time, there is no value of this thing of a chiefly lineage; we have no great interest in it. But in our thoughts it is of great value. We have entered into discussion of it; the chiefs valued the chiefs and ancestors; and we also value our knowledge of it. Because it was forbidden to the commoners, they were not to know this. However, due to the rise of wisdom and skill of the children of the commoners, therefore, all of the ranking privileges were no longer restricted; it was only lifted. What remains of the ancestors is something of value (McKenzie 1986:18-19).

Using thirty years to account for one generation, McKenzie determined that Wākea was born in AD 190; Umi-a-Liloa in 1450; Keawekehahialiiokamoku in 1650, Kalanihuiikupuapaikalanui Keoua in 1710; and Kamehameha I in 1740" (McKenzie, 1983:12). Volume Two of *Hawaiian Genealogies* was published in 1986 and consists of information extracted from genealogical lists published in thirteen newspapers from 1858 to 1920. It compliments genealogies found in other works, such as Fornander's (1880) *An Account of the Polynesian Race…* and David Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (McKenzie, 1986:v).

Maui Royal Genealogy. The following is an annotated genealogy of the Maui Royal Line extracted from several works. They illustrate the various family connections with all the island kingdoms or royal lines including Lānaiʻi. The Maui *aliʻi nui* ruled over Lānaʻi until Kamehameha I. The ruling chiefs of the various islands come from combinations of genealogies or branches. Most of the people in the Table below are in a loose chronological order, however, the multiple unions of a particular person is not necessarily in a chronological order, as much of that information was not provided in most cases. Table 1 below illustrates how interconnected the royal lines were based on the works of McKinzie (1983, 1986); Kamakau (1992); Fornander (1969); Peleioholani (2012); MauiCulture (MC) (2013); and Wikipedia-Maui Kings 2013).

Table 1. Annotated Genealogy of Maui Royal Line [Many diacriticals were not used].

Kane	**Wahine**	**Keiki**
Kahai	Hina-ulu-ohia	Wahieola (Kipahulu Chief b/Punaluʻu, Kaʻu)
Wahieola	Koʻolaukahili	Laka (built heiau in Punaluʻu to honor father)
Laka	Hīkāwaelena	Luanuʻu I
Luanuʻu (Kauai ruling chief)	Kapokulaiula	Kamea
Kamea	Popomaili	Pohukaina
Pohukaina	Huahuakapalei	Hua (Lahaina/Hāna chief)

Hua	Hikimolulolea	Pau (born in Waianae, Oahu)
Pau	Kapohaakia	Huanuikalalailai (born at Kawelo, Oahu)
Huanuikalalailai	Kapoea	Paumakua (Chief of Koʻolau/Mokapu, Oahu)
"	Moleai	Kuhelani
"	Hoʻohokukalani 2	Manokalililani (w)
Paumakua (½ sibs)	Manokalililani	**Haho** (born in Waialua, Oahu)
[Paumakua became the first "Moʻi" or king of Maui – he was 31 generations after Wākea (Wiki-Maui)]		
Haho (Aliʻinui of Hawaiʻi)	Kauilaianapa	Palena-a-Haho (born on Puʻu Kaʻuiki, Hāna)
Limaloa-Lailea	"	Hikawai-nui
Palena-a-Haho (*aliʻi nui*) ½ sibs	Hikawai-nui (twin)	Hanalaʻanui (born at Mokae, Hāna, Maui)
[Hana-laʻa-nui is the ancestor of Hawaiʻi Island chiefs: Laʻau, Pili, Kalapana, Kuaiwa, Kiha, Liloa, Hakau, Umi, Keawenuiaumi]		
Palena-a-Haho	Hikawainui (twin)	**Hanalaʻaiki** (born at Mokae, Hāna, Maui)
Hanalaʻanui	Mahuia	Lanakawai
Lanakawai	Kukamolimolialoha	Pilikaʻaiea (Samoa?)
Hanalaʻaiki	Kapukapu	**Maui Loa** (b/Kaupo)
Maui Loa	Kauhua	**Alo/Alau**
(Mauiloa organized the chiefs of Maui under one rule with help of his uncle, Haho of Hawaiʻi Island, but "ceded" Hāna to Hawaiʻi as the district was more connected to Hawaiʻi Island chiefs – Mauiloa moved his Court from Hāna to Lāhainā)		
Alo /Alau	**?** Moe-I-ekana/Moe-I-kaeaea (twin)	Kuhimana
"	" (twin)	Kaumana I (w)
According to another online genealogy Maui-Loa was succeeded by his son, Alau and the generation of Maui kings passed as follows: Maui-Loa wed Moe-I-Kaeaea and had Kanemo-ku-Healiʻi, who wed Keakauhale and had Lono-Mai-Kalewa, who wed Kolu-Kuʻi-Mulia and had Waka-Alana, who wed Kauai-Kapu and had Alo-I-Kahakau, who wed Puhia and had Kahekahoku, who established on Maui the worship of the Lizard-God Laʻa. Kahekahoku wed Maia-o-Ula and had Ma-pule-o-Ula, who wed Kamai-o-Kalani and had the warlike Paukei, who conquered the Kingdom of Oʻahu and then wed the Princess Painalea of Oʻahu and had Luakoa who lost the Kingdom of Oʻahu, Luakoa wed the chiefess Hina-Apeape of Kona and had the twin brother and sister, **Kuhimana** and **Kaumana**; Chiefess Hina was the sister of Queen Hapae of Hawaiʻi and half-sister Aliʻi Nui Kalapana, ruling chief of Hawaiʻi Island.		
Kuhimana sibs	**Kaumana/Kaʻana**	Kamaloʻohua
"	"	Waohaʻakuna (w) connected to Maʻilikūkahi
(When Kuhimana was killed at Battle of Kaeleiki a distraught Kaumana killed herself falling onto his corpse; they were buried together at 'Iao, Maui).		
Kamaloʻohua	Kapu-I-Kaheke (sib of Hawaiʻi Queen)	**Loe -Ua-Kane**
(Legends are connected to Kamaloʻohua (1) he was kidnapped by Kauai Moʻi Kalaunuiohua (2) arrival of fair-skin people.)		
Loe-Ua-Kane	Waha'akuna/Waoha'akuna	Kahokuohua (*aliʻi nui* of Molokai)
"	Wao-Haapuna (Kaupo)	Kahaoku-Ohua
Kahokuohua (Molokai *aliʻi nui*)	Hikakaiula (Hawaiʻi chfs)	Kapohanaupuni (w) (became Hilo chiefess)
"	"	**Kaulaheanuiokamoku I**
(According to Kamakau, Kaulaheanuiokamoku I was born at **Kūkaniloko**, Lihue, Oʻahu; according to MC he later invaded and conquered Oʻahu.)		
Kaulaheanuiokamoku I (sibs)	Kapohanaupuni (Hilo chiefess)	**Kakae** (gdf of Piʻilani)
" (sibs)	"	**Kakaʻalaneo**
(Kakaʻalaneo and Kakae later ruled Maui jointly-Kakae's descendants ruled Maui; Kakaʻalaneo's →Oʻahu)		
Kakaʻalaneo (court in Lahaina)	Kaualua	Kaihiwalua
"	Kanikaniaula	Kaʻululaʻau (banished to Lānaʻi)
(Kakaʻalaneo was famous for first planting breadfruit in Lāhainā; he later banished his 2nd son Kaʻululaʻau to Lānaʻi for destroying the breadfruit trees; Kaʻululaʻau rids Lānaʻi of all the E'epa making it safe to live there; he became one of the first chiefs of Lānaʻi)		
"	**?**	Wao (w) (had Auwai-a-wao dug in Lahaina)
Kaihiwalua	Kahekilimanuahumanu	Luaia (grandson of Kakaʻalaneo)
Piliwale (Ewa--Oʻahu *aliʻi nui)*)	Paakanilea (Lihue, Kauaʻi)	Kūkaniloko (Oʻahu Ruling Chiefess)
"	"	Kohepalaoa
Luaia (Maui chief)	Kūkaniloko (Oʻahu ruling chief)	Kalanimanuia (w) (Oʻahu Moʻi)
(Kalanimanuia was also great granddaughter of Kakaʻalaneo; she became Oʻahu ruling chiefess after her mother Kūkaniloko dies; she is famous for building fishponds in Pearl Harbor; her son is also famous for building monumental fishponds in the now Hickam/Honolulu Airport area)		
Kakae ('Īao /Olowalu-Maui *aliʻi nui*)	Kapohauola (maternal aunt)	**Kahekilinuiahumanu 1**

(Kapohauola was also wife of Ehu, who was son of Hawai'i Mo'i Kuaiwa, whose father was Kalaunuiohua and Kamanawa) (Kahekili I waged many wars on Maui and was said to have impoverished his kingdom because of it (MC); he was 1st cousin of Luaia who married O'ahu ruling chiefess Kūkaniloko)		
Kahekili 1 (Kāne-Hekili)	Haukanuimakamaka (Kauai)	**Kawaukaohele** (Pi'ilani's father)
(According to MC his name was **Kawaokanele** which meant *Our-Days-of-Poverty* to commemorate this time; Kawao was 1st cousin of O'ahu ruling chiefess Kalanimanuia who ruled after her mother Kūkaniloko died)		
Kahekili 1 (Kāne-Hekili)	Haukanuimakamaka (Kauai)	**Kelea**nuinoho'ana'api'api (Pi'ilani's wife's mother)
(Kelea was a famous Maui surfer who was "kidnapped" by warriors of O'ahu *ali'i nui* Lolale, son of ruling chief Kalonaiki; she had three children with him before leaving him to go surfing again where she met up with Kalamakua son of Kalonanui, brother of Kalonaiki; they had Laielohelohe who was bethrothed in her youth to cousin Pi'ilani – they are progenitors of the famous Maui royal dynasty.)		
Kawaukaohele (Kawaokaohele)	**Kepalaoa/Kapalaoa** (O'ahu)	**Pi'ilani** (2nd cousin of Kalanimanuia of Oahu)
[*Pi'ilani The Great* was the most renowned ruling chief of Maui which is often called *Na-Hono-A-Pi'ilani*; he was the 130th generation from Wākea; when his mother was being prepared for her nuptials her screams brought her attendants who saw a giant dragon lizard, a form of Kū, mating with her – they were all struck blind and the subsequent child was named Pi'ilani *The Assent to Heaven* – this gave his descendants the tradition of divine descent and protection from being conquered except by a descendant of Kāne e.g. Kamehameha's birth of comet etc. signified the god Kāne (MC)]		
Kalonanui (Waikiki, b/Kūkaniloko)	Kaipuholua	Kalamakua-a-Kaipūhōlua
(Kalonanui was son of O'ahu *ali'i nui* Ma'ilikūkahi & Kanepukoa; and brother of Kalonaiki, Lo Ali'i of Kūkaniloko, O'ahu)		
Kalamakua (Halawa/Waikiki Chf)	**Kelea**nuinohoanaapiapi (Maui Chfs)	**Laielohelohe** (b/r on O'ahu)
(Kalamakua was famous for building the *auwai* in Waikīkī and Manoa; he was also *ali'i* of Halawa Ahupua'a)		
Pi'ilani	Mokuahualeikea	Kauhiiliulaapiilani
Pi'ilani (1st Cousins)	**Laielohelohe** (O'ahu/Maui lines)	**Lonoapiilani**
"	"	Pi'ikea (married 'Umi-a-Liloa - Hawai'i chief)
"	"	Kalaaiheana II-De Fries Family [Kihawahine]
"	"	**Kihapiilani**
"	Kumunuikapokii	Nihokela → W.C. Lunalilo
"	Kuamookea	Kauhiiliulaapiilani
Lonoapiilani	Kealana'awauli	Ka'akaupea (w)
(Kealana'awauli was the great granddaughter of Kahakuakane, Ali'i aimoku of Kauai)		
"	?	Moihala (w) → Sarai Hiwauli I'i
'Umi-a-Liloa (½ sibs)	Kapukini-a-Liloa (3rd wife)	Keli'iokaloa (eldest son) succeeded/usurped
"	"	Kapulani
"	"	Keawenuia'umi (usurped older brother)
'Umi-a-Liloa (Hawai'i ruling chief)	Pi'ikea (Maui chiefess)	Aihakoko
"	"	Kumalaenuiaumi (Hilo *ali'i*) →Lili'uokalani
'Umi-a-Liloa (Hawai'i Is)	Ku'i-hewa-maka-walu	Papaikaniau I
Ho'olae (Kauiki, Hana Chief)	Kaululena (Waiakea Chfs)	Koleamoku
Nihokela (uncle/niece)	Ka'akaupea (dau/Lonoapiilani)	Pi'ilaniwahine (granddaughter of Lonoapiilani)
(According to MC Piilani-wahine is the daughter of Kihapiilani and Kumaka-Kui-Kalani)		
Kihapiilani	Kumaka-Kui-Kalani (Hāna)	**Kamalalawalu** (Maui Chief)
"	Koleamoku (Waimea)	Kauhiokalani→Aea family p 89
"	Umahauuleiohua	Kapuiholani Kuaimanuu →Luahine Family
"	Hilima	Keaweau
"	"	Moemoe→ Heleluhe family
(Kumalaenuiaumi - Hilo chief	Kunuunuipuwala'au	Makua – Hilo chief)
Kauhiokalani	Kauamanu	Makaku
Kamalalawalu	Kapu-kini-akua (father/Kona chief)	**Kauhiakama** (k) [Kamakau 1992:60]
Kamalalawalu (cousins)	Pi'ilaniwahine (Maui/Hilo/Oahu)	**Kauhiakama** (k) [McKinzie 1986:12]
(Kamakau and McKinzie differ as to who the mother of Kauhiakama is—the children are grandchildren of the bothers Lono-a-Pi'ilani and Kiha-a-Pi'ilani according to McKinzie and secure the Royal Line of Maui; according to MC the couple are siblings and children of Kiha-a-Piilani and Kamaka-Kui-Kalani.)		
"	"	'Umikalakauehuakama (k)→ Kawaihae line
"	"	Paikalākauaakama (k)
"	"	Piilanikapu/Piilanikapokulaniokama (w)
"	"	Ka'unohohoikapelapuokakae (w)

"	"	Kekaikuihalaokeku'imanano (w)
Kauhiakama	Kapukini-II (Kapukinia-a-Liloa/HI)	**Kalanikaumakaowakea** (Maui king)
[Kapukinia-a-Liloa was the granddaughter of Liloa and daughter of Hawai'i ruling chief Hakau and Kini-Laukapu; her first husband was Ruling Chief Umi-a-Liloa (also son of Liloa) and their children were ancestors of Hawai'i Island ruling chiefs]		
"	"	Kanea-Kauhi (w)
Kalanikaumakaowakea sibs	Kaneakauhi	**Lonohonuakini**
"	"	Pi'ilani II (w)
"	"	Umi-a-Liloa (w) [according to MC]
"	Makakuwahine	Umialiloa-II (w) [according to McKinzie]
Lonohonuakini	Kalanikauanakinilani (Hāna)	**Kaulaheanuiokamoku II**
"	"	Lono-Maka-Honua (k)
"	"	Kalani-Mai-Heula [Heuila](w)
"	"	Kuhala (w)
[Kuhala was the great-grandmother of high chief Kalahuimoku II of Hāna and Kipahulu; he married Chiefess Kamehameha and had two daughters, Kahikikala and Kalani-Lehua who became wives of cousin Keōua Kalanikupuapa'ikalaninui Ahilapalapa/Keoua Nui who liked to visit Maui; Keoua and Kahikikala had a son Kalokuokamaile who is the eldest half-brother of Kamehameha I; Keoua was ordered back to Hawai'i by his father Kalani Kama Ke'eaumoku-nui son of Keawe'īkekahiali'iokamoku and half-sister Kalanikauleleiaiwi - royal daughter of ruling chiefess Keakealaniwahine of Hawai'i Island, and had to leave his son and wives on Maui; he then married his cousin Kamakaeheululi daughter of the high chief Haae-a-Mahi of Hawai'i (also father of Kekuiapoiwa II, mother of Kamehameha I) and the chiefess Kalelemaoli-o-Kalani of Maui – they had a son Kaleimamahu who is the ancestor of the Lunalilo *ohana* (MC)]		
Kaulaheanuiokamoku	Papaikaniau II (Hawai'i)	**Kekaulike** (b/Kamani'ula in the *ahupua'a* of Honolua, Maui [Orr 2006])
"	Kalani-kau-lele-i-a-iwi (Hawai'i Is)	**Keku'iapoiwa Nui**
Lono-Maka-Honua	Kapoohiwi (Kalae, Moloka'i)	Kauakahiakua-o-Lono
[Kauakahiakua-o-Lono by his first wife, Keku'iapoiwa the Great of Maui was the father of the Kekelaokalani (w) who married Haae-a-Mahi (k) of Hawai'i and had Keku'iapoiwa II (w), mother of the Kamehameha I; Kekelaokalani also married Kamanawa the Great. They were the parents of the Peleuli (w) who married Kamehameha I and had Kahoanoku-Kinau (k), Kaikoolani (k) and Kaleikiliwehi (w); Kauakahiakua-o-Lono by his second wife had High Chiefess Umiaemoku (also called Umiaenaku) of the Hawai'i House of Mahi. They had one daughter, Kānekapolei, who was the favored queen of Kalaniopu'u, King of Hawai'i – their children were Keoua-Kuahuula (k) of Hilo, and the Pauli-Kaoleioku (k) ancestor of Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani and her cousin, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (MC)]		
Kekaulike (cousins)	Kahawalu (sis of Pelei'oholani)	Kauhiaimokuakama (Chief of Hāna district)
[Kauhi was the father Koli'i chief of Kailua-Kona, Kaiwi chief of Hilo, Kaleohano the Navigator and Makaniahi]		
"	Holau	Manuha'aipo (Queen of 'Ī'ao)
"	"	Ke-kau-hiwa-moku
"	"	Ka'eokulani (Kaua'i mo'i/f-Ka'umu alii)
Kekaulike (1/2 sibs)	**Keku'iapoiwa Nui**	**Kamehameha Nui** (Ruling Chief of Maui)
"	"	Kalola
"	"	**Kahekilinui'ahumanu** II (Iron king of Maui)
		[Kahekili II was born in Hāli'iimaile]
"	"	Ku-ho'oheihei-pahu
Kekaulike	Ha'alo'u	Na-mahana-i-kaleo-nalani → Ka'ahumanu
"	"	Ke-kua-manoha (k) father of Boki
(Boki was born Kamā'ule'ule, son of Kekuamanoha and Kamakahuikilani (w); younger brother of William Pitt Kalanimoku; Boki was later appointed governor of O'ahu and chief of the Wai'anae district; he married Kuini Liliha, daughter of Ulumāheihei Hoapili and Kalilikauoha, daughter of Kahekili II – they both traveled to England [1824] with Kamehameha II and Kamāmalu; he ran a mercantile and shipping business and encouraged Hawai'ians to gather sandalwood; Boki later traveled south with cousin Kaleohano and they never returned)		
Kekaulike	?	Ahia
"	?	Nahulanui
"	?	Naaiakalani
"	?	Manuailehua
Kamehameha Nui (sibs)	Kalola (Maui/Hawai'i)	Kalaniakuaiokikilo/Kalaniwaiakua (Kapu) w.
"	"	Kuakiniokalani
Kamehameha Nui (1/2 sibs)	Namahana	Pele-io-holani II
"	"	Kua-kini-o-ka-lani
Kamehameha Nui	?	Pe'ape'a-maka-walu (fam at Ka'uiki, Hāna)

“		?	Kalani-ulu-moku
“		?	Kalani-hele-mai-i-luna
Kalei‘o-u‘u/Kalani‘ōpu‘u (Hawai‘i)		Kalola (Maui)	Kīwala‘ō (Hawai‘i ruling chief)
Keoua-kalani-kupua-i-kalani-nui		“	Liliha nui (Maui chiefess)
Kīwala‘ō	(1/2 sibs)	Liliha nui	Kalani-kau-i-Ka‘alaneo/**Ke‘opu-o-lani**
Kahekili II	**?**	Keku‘iapoiwa II	Kamehameha I (b1736/d1819)
Kahekili II		Kau-wahine	**Kalani-ku-pule**
“		“	Ko‘alaukani (k.)
“		“	Kalola II
“		“	Kau-lili-kauoha
“		“	Kalilipakauoha
Kahekili II		Luahiwa (Molokai)	Manono Ka-ua-kapeku-lani
Kalanikupule		‘Ualapu‘e (Molokai)	Kau-peka-moku
Ke‘eaumoku (son of Keawepoepoe)		Namahana (Maui)	Kuakini
[Ke‘eaumoku’s sister was Kekela; their mother was Kalani-kau-lele-ia-iwi ½ s sister of Keawe of Hawai‘i Is]			
Ke‘eaumoku		“	Ka‘ahumanu
“		“	Opiia (Lydia Piia Namahana)
“		“	Kaheiheimalie
“		“	Kahekili Ke‘eaumoku III
Kamehameha I		**Ke‘ōpū-o-lani** (Maui/Hawai‘i)	Liholiho/Kamehameha II
“		“	Kauikeuoli/Kamehameha III
“		“	Nahi‘en‘ena
k = kāne; w = wahine; gdf = grandfather			

Lāna‘i Konohiki.

(1852 LCA)	Pali	Kamoku Ahupua‘a	Kapu: Ulu fish and Koko wood
(1854-1888)	Gibson	All of Lanai	

History of *Mo‘olelo* Collecting**.** According to Leib and Day (1979) a substantial number of legends were collected and written in Hawaiian during the century following Cook’s arrival in Hawai‘i. A few accounts of the mythology were printed in the journals of missionaries and travelers, and a few of the Hawaiian lore were printed in languages other than English. The following synopses are excerpts from the works of Leib and Day’s (1979) and give an overview of the first collectors and compilers of Hawaiian myths and legends.

> About 1836 a movement was started under the influence of Reverend Sheldon Dibble, to write down in Hawaiian some of the material dealing with the native legendary history, customs, and other lore. Results of the research were published at the Lahainaluna press in 1838. A partial translation made by Rev. Reuben Tinker was issued serially in 1839 and 1840---the first four installments appearing in ***The Hawaiian Spectator*** and the last four in ***The Polynesian***. In 1841 the Royal Hawaiian Historical Society was formed at Lahainaluna. Some of their research and the earlier *Ka Moolelo Hawai‘i* were incorporated into Dibble’s *History of the Sandwich Islands* (1843). After his death in 1843 his work was carried on principally by two of his outstanding native pupils, David Malo and Samuel M. Kamakau. Malo wrote his own *Moolelo Hawai‘i* about 1840 at the request of Rev. Lorrin Andrews, which was later translated by Emerson as *Hawaiian Antiquities.* In 1858 the Rev. John F. Pogue of Lahainaluna printed a third *Moolelo Hawai‘i,* based on the 1838 history, but including additional material. Kamakau did not print any of his material for thirty years (Leib and Day 1979:7, 8, 9).
>
> The increase in the amount of Hawaiian lore appearing in the native press in the 1860’s and thereafter was at least in part the result of an organized effort to collect and preserve such material. At Kamakau’s instigation a Hawaiian society was formed in 1863 to collect material for publication in the native press at the time, and also to aid Fornander’s research. Fornander was the greatest collector of Hawaiian lore. He credits as sources, several natives whom he sent on tours of the Hawaiian Islands to collect all available Hawaiian lore, as well as Kalakaua, Lorrin Andrews, Malo,

Dibble, Dr. John Rae, Kamakau, Naihe, S.N. Hakuole [Haleole], Kepelino, and Remy. The culmination of this effort was Fornander’s (1880) *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* Fornander’s collection remains the most important single source of Hawaiian legends (Leib and Day 1979:9-13).

In June 1865 Kamakau began publishing in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* articles on traditions and legends. His series of articles dealing with Hawaiian history, particularly from the late eighteenth century on, and especially of Kamehameha, appeared weekly in the same publication in October 1866. When the newspaper ceased in 1869, this series continued in *Ke Au Okoa* for nine months. Kamakau then wrote a series on ancient Hawaiian religion, customs, and legendary history in *Ke Au Okoa* until February 1871. All of his writings were in Hawaiian(Leib and Day 1979:8, 9).

Very little work was done in translating Hawaiianmythology into English until late in the nineteenth century. It wasn’t until 1888, over a hundred years after the discovery of the HawaiianIslands, that the first book in English dealing exclusively with Hawaiian mythology was printed; *The Legends and Myths of Hawai‘i* by King Kalākaua. However, it was more likely authored by former United States Minister to the Hawaiian Islands, R.M. Daggett (Leib and Day 1979:5, 7).

Thrum is one of the most frequently cited authorities on Hawaiian lore. He was born in Australia in 1842 and arrived in Honolulu in 1853. In 1875 he began publication of the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*, later known as *The Hawaiian Annual* or *Thrum’s Annual*, which appeared yearly under his editorship until his death in 1932. Thrum’s contribution is as editor, compiler, and publisher of translations, not translator. By providing in his *Annual* a place for the publication of such material, and perhaps by persuading authors to provide him with translations, he was instrumental in much legendary matter appearing in printed form. Thrum wrote or rewrote a large portion of his own material (Leib and Day 1979: 17).

Thrum’s first book *Hawaiian Folk Tales* was published in 1907 and consisted largely of tales that had previously been published in *Thrum’s Annual*. Only 35 of the 260 pages were translated by Thrum, the rest were credited to Rev. A.O. Forbes, Rev. C.M. Hyde, William Ellis, J.S. Emerson, Mrs. E.N. Haley, N.B. Emerson, Mrs. E.M. Nakuina, Walter M. Gibson, Joseph M. Poepoe, and M.K. Nakuina. His second book *More Hawaiian Folk Tales,* published in 1923 was similar. A number were translations from Hawaiian language newspapers of half a century earlier, often with no translator cited. Translators credited were A. F. Knudsen, Henry M. Lyman, W. D. Westervelt, J. H. Boyd, and Lahilahi Webb. Some of the chapters were reprinted or abridged from the Bishop Museum translations of the *Fornander Collection*, of which Thrum was editor. His greatest work, *Fornander’s Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore,* was published by Bishop Museum in 1916 and 1920 in three volumes. The original editor was W. D. Alexander and most of the work completed under his supervision. However, he died in 1913 and Thrum was appointed to complete the production. Beckwith credits John Wise with the original translation of that work. In 1920 or 1921 Thrum completed another work “Ancient Hawaiian Mythology” which was never published (Leib and Day 1979: 18-19).

A great resurgence of interest in Hawaiian folklore began in the early twentieth century, in part caused by the annexation to the United States. People on the mainland wanted to know more about ‘their new island possessions.’ The funds of the Bureau of American Ethnology were made available for Hawaiian studies i.e., Emerson’s *Unwritten Literature* and Beckwith’s *Laieikawai*. The most important twentieth-century translators of Hawaiian legends have been N. B. Emerson, Thomas G. Thrum, William D. Westervelt, William Hyde Rice, Laura C. S. Green, Martha Warren Beckwith, and Mary Kawena Wiggins Pukui. Emerson’s extensive notes were a major contribution to Hawaiian scholarship. Most of them explain the meanings of Hawaiian words. In many, Emerson alludes to legends, giving a number of them briefly and relating a few in some detail. Some of these probably do not exist anywhere else in print (Leib and Day 1979:14).

Mo‘olelo of Ali‘i nui of Maui**.** From the legends or *mo‘olelo* collected by Fornander, Kamakau, and others, we can get a glimpse into the lives of some of these people listed in the genealogies. To reproduce any legend completely would take too long, therefore only excerpts [paraphrases] are generally used. The Ali‘i Nui of Maui were said to rule over Lāna‘i, especially noted from the time of Kaka‘alaneo. However, some of his ancestors are referenced below.

> Hua was from Lahaina, Maui. This is not the Hua whose *heiau* was Apahu‘a in Waine‘e next to Puako; this is Hua the son of Kapua‘imanaku [Pohukaina] whose *heiau* was Luakona, near to Kapo‘ulu. Huanuiikalala‘ila‘i was born at Kewalo in Honolulu (Kamakau, 1991:101)…. Hua-a-Pohukaina also known as Hua-a-Kapua‘i-manaku was born at Lahaina/who built *heiau* of Honua‘ula and Kuawalu at Ka‘uiki…includes a chant. He was a war-loving chief. He lived at Wananalua in Hāna…Pau-a-Hua born, also Pau-nui-i-ke-anaina, at Wai‘anae, Hua’s son--he ruled Ohikilolo to Keawaula on Oahu...Hua-a-Pau also known as Hua-nui-i-ka-la-la‘ila‘i born at Kewalo. He was known as a good chief. His government was called *he aupuni la‘i,* a peaceful government. He was chief of Honolulu and Waikiki (Kamakau, 1991:148, 149; see also Sterling, 1998:133).

Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki. According to legends, two of Hua’s descendants, Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki, became the progenitors of the Hawai‘i and Maui lines. These were twin children of Hikawainui (w) and Palena-a-Haho. They were born in Kahinihiniula in Mokae, Hāmoa, Hāna and certain districts of Maui were named after these children. The following excerpt is from Kamakau (1991).

> Paumakua, chief of Ko‘olau and Mokapu was the son of Hua-nui. He married his sister Mano-kapili-lani and they had a son Haho who was born in Wai‘alua, Oahu. Haho’s child was Palena-a-Haho…Palena [a-Haho] was born on the hill of Ka‘uiki [sic], in Hāna, Maui at the site Hananaiku; he ruled and died on O‘ahu…his grave is Kalua-o-Palena in Kalihi, O‘ahu…Palena-a-Haho who with Hi-ka-wai-nui had the twins Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki who were born at Kahinihini‘ula, at Mokae, Hamoa, [Hāna] and a certain *moku‘aina* land was named after these boys…The twins were progenitors of Hāna people…and because of their good deeds…their descendants gave the land their names. This was after the division of the island into *ahupua‘a, ‘okana,* and *moku‘aina* – at the time when the island was divided by Kalai-haohia during the reign of Kaka‘alaneo… Hanala‘anui was the ancestral chief for those of Hawai‘i and Hanala‘aiki for those of Maui…. [However] there is a dispute…Hanala‘anui really belonged to Maui…. In the division and separation of the Maui ancestral genealogies, the line of succession of Maui chiefs was made clear. It can be found in the genealogy of Hanala‘aiki to the time of Kahekili by turning to the ancient traditions of deeply versed persons. Here are made plain the places in which the chiefs were born, their deeds, and places in which their corpses were laid (Kamakau 1991:101, 150-152).

Beckwith’s (1970) version is as follows:

> Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki. Maui chief Haho, son of Paumakua and grandson of Hua-nui-ka-la‘ila‘i [Haho was grandfather of the twins], was the traditional founder of the *Aha‘ali‘i* or ranking body of chiefs whom were distinguished by the use of the sacred cord called *aha*. They cultivated a metaphorical form of speech to conceal their words from the uninitiated…. Between the periods of Hua and Pi‘ilani, that is, between Moikeha’s time and that of Umi on Hawai‘i, the twins were born at Kahinihini in Mokae, Hāmoa [sons of Palena, son of Haho]. ‘Little and big sacred one of Hāna’ called Hana-la‘a-nui and Hana-la‘a-iki, from who respectively the chiefs of Hawai‘i and Maui are descended. From Kiha and his wife Koleamoku are descended the great Kaupō families of Ko‘o and Kaiuli. From them, Kahekili’s wife Kauwahine, mother of Kanlanikūpule, the last ruling chief of Maui, and of a daughter, Kailikauoha, who became the wife of the Maui chief Ulumehe‘ihe‘i Hoapili and mother of Liliha, beloved wife of Boki of sandalwood fame (Beckwith, 1970:387, 389).

The following synopses consists of excerpts from Fornander‘s (1880) *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origins and Migrations,* and give an overview of the various *ali‘inui* (ruling chiefs) of Maui, which Fornander refers to as “Moi”*:*

> Independent Mo‘i**.** Among the Maui chiefs from the close of the migratory period, say La‘amaikahiki to Pi‘ilani, the contemporary of Umi and his father Liloa, not many names arrest the attention of the antiquarian student. The position of ‘Moi’ of Maui appears to have descended in the line of Haho, the son of Paumakua-a-Huanuikalalailai, though, judging from the tenor of the legends, East Maui, comprising the districts of Ko‘olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, and Kaupō, was at times under independent Mois [sic]. The legends mention six by name, from Eleio to Hoolae,[2] the latter of whom was contemporary with Pi‘ilani, and whose daughter [Koleamoku] married Pi‘ilani’s son, Kiha-a-Piilani. Their allegiance to the West Maui Mois was always precarious, even in later times (Fornander, 1880).

Kamalo-o-hua and ‘Ohana**.** While Kamaloohua ruled over the greater part of Maui, a chief who was doubtless a near relation, and who was called Wakalana, ruled over the windward side of the island and resided at Wailuku. During his time tradition records that a vessel called “Mamala” arrived at Wailuku. The captain’s name is said to have been Kaluiki-a-Manu, and the names of the other people on board are given in the tradition as Neleike, Malaea, Haakoa, and Hika. These latter comprised both men and women, and it is said that Neleike became the wife of Wakalana and the mother of his son Alo-o-ia, and that they became the progenitors of a light-colored family, “po‘e ‘ohana Kekea;” they were white people, with bright, shining eyes*, “Kanaka Keokeo, a ua alohilohi na maka*” (Fornander 1880:80).

> After the reign and times of Kamaloohua nothing worthy of note has been recorded of the Maui chiefs until we arrive at the time of Kakae and Kakaalaneo, the sons of Kaulaheanuiokamoku I [Kaulahea I], three generations after Kamaloohua…. Kakae’s brother, Kakaalaneo, appears, from the tenor of the legends, to have ruled jointly with Kakae over the islands of Maui and Lāna‘i. He was renowned for his thrift and energy. The brothers kept their court at Lahaina, which at the time still preserved its ancient name of Lele, and tradition has gratefully remembered him [Kaka‘alaneo] as the one who planted the breadfruit trees in Lahaina, for which the place in after times became so famous (Fornander 1880:80).

The following excerpt is according to Kepa Maly in Maly & Dye (2016:7):

> The earliest traditional lore of Lāna‘i describes the arrival of the gods Kāne, Kanaloa, and their younger god-siblings and companions to the southern shores of the island. Later accounts describe the visit of the goddess Pele and members of her family to the windward region of Lāna‘i. Subsequent narratives describe the settlement of Lāna‘i by evil spirits and the difficulties that the early human settlers encountered in attempts to safely colonize the island. Another tradition relates that in the early 1400s, a young Maui chief by the name of Kaululā‘au traveled around Lāna‘i vanquishing the evil ghosts/spirits of the island, making it safe for people to live on Lāna‘i, and is the source of the island’s name (Lāna‘i a Kaululā‘au).

Kaka‘alaneo was a grand uncle of Pi‘ilani. The following synopses about Kaka‘alaneo and Kūkanaloa are excerpts from Beckwith (1970). There appears to be a time-conflict with the arrival of the light-skinned foreigners. Fornander (1880) indicates they arrived during Kamaloohua’s reign, while Beckwith indicates the foreigners arrived four generations later during the time Kaka‘alaneo.

Kaka‘alaneo. Many legends mention the name of Kaka‘alaneo (Kūka‘alaneo, Ka‘alaneo), who lived in the Lāhainā district on the hill Keka‘a [Black Rock of Sheraton Maui]. He also owned fishponds in the Hāna district on the opposite end of the island and planted a famous breadfruit grove in Lāhainā. His wife was the Moloka‘i chiefess whom Eleio found for him and who brought him the first feather cape ever seen on Maui, and by whom he had the mischievous son Kaululā‘au [great-uncle of Pi‘ilani] who killed off the bad spirits [E‘epa] on Lāna‘i. In his day Lāhainā was called Lele. According to tradition, a group of strangers (*haole*) who later played an active part in court life and whose names were (according to Kamakau), kept in

memory as late as Captain Cook's day, arrived on Maui in Kaka'alaneo's time. Kūkanaloa and Kaekae (also Kakae) were the leaders of this group. The "last allusion" in this legend is a pun about chief Lolae of O'ahu who abducted the pretty chiefess of Maui, Kelea [sister of Pi'ilani's father], while she was out surfing and carried her away to O'ahu in the uplands of Līhue. She later deserted him for his cousin Kalamakua of 'Ewa, by whom she became mother of the high chiefess Laie-lohelohe (The drooping pandanus vine), who became the wife of her Maui cousin Pi'ilani. All these names appear in the chant linked with the coming of Kū-kanaloa, together with the names of a wife and son of Kaka'alaneo (Beckwith, 1970:384-385).

Legend of Kūkanaloa. The strangers land first at Ke'ei in South Kona and then come on to Waihe'e, Maui, and land at a place called Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (The road to Kahiki). They are exhausted and the natives clothe and feed them. In looks they are light with sparkling eyes. When asked after their homeland and parents they point to the uplands 'far, far above where our parents dwell' and show that they are familiar with bananas, breadfruit, mountain apple, and candlenut trees. The two leaders became Kaka'alaneo's property. There is no *kapu* place closed to them. They married chiefesses and some of their descendants are living today. Kani-ka-wi and Kani-ka-wa they are called, 'perhaps because their speech was as unintelligible as that of the *lale* birds that live in the hill' (Beckwith, 1970:386). Pi'ilani and some of his family are mentioned in the following *mele* of this *mo'olelo*:

Puka mai o Kanikawi, Kanikawa	Came Sharp-sound, Loud sound,
O na haole iluna o Halakaipo,	The strangers above Halakaipo
Puka mai nei Kukanaloa,	Came Ku-kanaloa
Kupuna haole mai Kahiki	The stranger forefather from Kahiki
Puka mai nei Kakaalaneo	Came Kakaalaneo,
Me ke leo iki o Kakae,	With the soft-voiced Kakae,
O Kaualua is, o Kaihiwalua	Kaualua (the wife), Kaihiwalua (the son),
O Kelea, o Kalamakua,	Kelea (the wife), Kalamakua (the husband),
O Pi'ilani ia, o Laielohelohe	Pi'ilani (the husband), Laielohelohe (the wife).

According to Fornander (1880), Kakae was the son of Kaulaheanuiokamoku I, and the brother of Kaka'alaneo with whom he co-ruled Maui. He was also the father of Kahekilinuiahumanu I and Kaulaheanuiokamoku II, grandfather of Kawaokaohele and Keleanuinoho'ana'api'api and great-grandfather of Pi'ilani of Hāna and Lāhainā. The following excerpts from Fornander (1880) reveal some of their history.

Kakae, Kahekili I, and Kawaokaohele**.** Kakae's son was Kahekili I, who is known to have had two children, a son name Kawao Kaohele [Pi'ilani's father], who succeeded him as Mo'i of Maui, and a daughter named Keleanohoana'api'api [Pi'ilani's wife's mother], who was successively the wife of Lo-Lale, son of Kalona-iki, and of Kalamakua, son of Kalona-nui, of the O'ahu Maweke line.

> From the time of Mauiloa, third from Haho and contemporary with La'amaikahiki, to the time of Kaulahea I [father of Kakae and Kaka'alaneo] there must have been troublous times on Maui, and much social and dynastic convulsions, to judge from the confusion and interpolations occurring on the royal genealogy of this period. I have shown it to be nearly historically certain that the O'ahu and Maui Paumakuas were contemporary, and it will be seen in the sequel that it is absolutely certain that Kawaokaohele [Pi'ilani's father] on the Paumakua-Haho line was contemporary with Kalamakua, Piliwale and LoLale on the Maweke line of O'ahu chiefs, as well as on the O'ahu Paumakua line through Lauli-a-La'a; and yet the Maui royal genealogy, as recited at the court of Kahekili II at the close of the last century, counts thirteen generations between Mauiloa and Kaulahea I, or sixteen generations between Mauiloa and Kawaokaohele [Pi'ilani's father], whereas the Maweke and Oahu Paumakua genealogies count only seven from La'amaikahiki to Keleanuinohoana'api'api [mother of Pi'ilani's wife La'ielohelohe], the sister of Kawaokaohele [Pi'ilani's father] (Fornander 1880:78-79).

> Kawaokaohele. During the reign of Kawaokaohele [Pi'ilani's father], the son of Kahekili I, and grandson of Kakae, the island of Maui appears to have been prosperous and tranquil. No wars with neighboring islands or revolts of turbulent chieftains at home have left their impress on the traditional record. Kawaokaohele's wife was Kepalaoa, whose pedigree is not remembered, but who was probably some Maui chiefess [she was a sacred O'ahu chiefess of Līhue]. Kawaokaohele was succeeded as Moi of Maui by his son Pi'ilani, who, through his good and wise government, and through his connection with the reigning chief families of O'ahu and Hawai'i, brought Maui up to a political consideration in the group which it never had enjoyed before, and which it retained until the conquest by Kamehameha I consolidated the whole group under one rule (Fornander 1880:83, 87)

There are several legends of Keleanuinoho'ana'api'api [Kelea], the sister of Kawaokaohele, aunt of Pi'ilani, and mother of La'ielohelohe, Pi'ilani's wife. Her story is one of intrigue, and romance, but also allegorizes the life and privileges of *ali'i nui* women. It further illustrates the interrelationships between the *ali'i nui* of the various islands. The following *mo'olelo* is extracted from Fornander's (1880) "Story of Keleanui-Nohoanaapiapi."

> The Story of Kelea. The Story of Keleanui Nohoanaapiapi, sister of Kawaokaohele, begins in Hāna. The men of Chief LoLale of Līhue, Oahu [now Schofield] were searching for a wife for him…. They went first to Molokai, then to Lāna'i, then sailed for Hāna intending to go to Hawai'i. While at Hāna they heard that Kawaokaohele, the Moi of Maui was stopping with his court and his chiefs at Hamakuapoko, regulating the affairs of the country, and enjoying the cool breezes of that district, and the pleasures of surf-bathing, and that with him was his sister Kelea, the most beautiful woman on Maui, and the most accomplished surf-swimmer.
>
> They thought of a plan to win her confidence by going surfing with her, and challenging her to a race. On her third time out, they captured her, and took her into a waiting canoe to O'ahu. They took her to Chief LoLale Līhue, O'ahu, son of O'ahu Moi Kalona-iki, and brother of heir-apparent Piliwale. "And as she did not commit suicide, it may be inferred that she became reconciled to her lot and accepted him as her husband. And as no invasion of Oahu was ever attempted by Kawaokaohele, or vengeance exacted for the abduction of his sister, it is probable, though the legend says nothing about it, that the affair was diplomatically settled to the satisfaction of all parties."
>
> Kelea and Lo-Lale had three children: Kaholi-a-Lale, (who later married Kohipalaoa [Kohepalaoa], sister of Kūkaniloko, Mo'i of O'ahu after her father Piliwale's death), Luliwahine, and Lulikane. After several years and three children she informed LoLale that she was leaving him, as was her privilege due to her rank. He reluctantly gave his consent, but his grief was preserved in a chant. While traveling around O'ahu, Kelea met Kalamakua, chief of Hālawa, son of Kalona-nui and cousin of Lo-Lale. They marry and have a daughter La'ielohelohe, who in her youth was betrothed to her cousin Pi'ilani, son of Kelea's brother Kawaokaohele (Fornander 1880:83-87, 90-91).

Hawaiian Legends/Lāna'i**.** There are 75 legends or *mo'olelo* that reference Lāna'i in *HawaiianLegends Index* Vol III (HSPLS 1989:1042-1048); too numerous to list.

Mele and Oli

Aside from the *mo'olelo,* legends or stories of these famous and infamous *ali'i*, the chants and songs also give glimpses into the lives of the ancient ones. This research has revealed that there are literally thousands of *mele* and *oli* that have been recorded and/or written over the last 170 years. There are several indexes of songs and chants in the Hawaiian Collections at the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library (i.e., Horie 1990; Stillman 1988; 1990; 1993; 1995; 1996). Unfortunately, they just give the first line as titles, and it would probably take several months to go through each *mele* and *oli*. Pukui explained that it was common,

for chants not to have a title, as it was the composer's role to create the *mele,* which was then given away. When formal titles were not specified, the first line of verse served as the title (Pukui, 1995:xvii).

The Hawaiian word *mele* included all forms of poetical composition and sometimes overlap *oli* or chant, the lyric utterance (Emerson, 1997: 254). In regards to Hawaiian poetry or *mele*, "they had no exact word for so abstract a term as our 'poetry.'" The English equivalent to the Hawaiian *mele* means a song. All *meles* were "sung, or rather chanted, or cantillated. This is equally true of all early poetry of whatever race…. The mele is interwoven in Hawaiian culture with the *hula* and the *kaao*--that is, poetry is interwoven with the dance and with mythology…. *Haku mele*, is one who arranges words into song (Plews, 1981:176).

Pukui (1995) classifies chants into three groups: (1) chants for the gods (pule); (2) chants for the *ali'i*, descendants of the gods; and (3) chants of activities that involved secular things. In Pukui's (1995) *Na Mele 'Welo* she points out that some *oli* are non-dance chants, but many of the *mele* and *oli* were expressed in dance or *hula* (Pukui, 1995:xvii). Emmerson explains that the hula was a religious service, in which poetry, music, pantomime, and the dance lent themselves, under the forms of dramatic art, to the refreshment of men's minds. Its view of life was idyllic and it gave itself to the celebration of those mythical times when gods and goddesses moved on the earth as men and women and when men and women were as gods (Emerson, 1997:11, 12). Helen Cadwell quotes Alexander, but does not name the publication, as classifying meles into 4 divisions: (1) religious chants, prayers, and prophesies; (2) *inoa*, or name songs, composed at the birth of a chief in his honor, recounting the heroic deeds of his ancestors; (3) *kani kau*, the dirges or lamentations for the dead; and (4) *ipo*, or love songs which includes topical *mele* of a more secular character, now surpassing the others in number, and have survived in better condition "on the lips of the country folk (Roberts, 1967:67, 72).

The following is from Napoka (In Bucy & Asso 1989:188-189).

> With no system of writing, traditional Hawaiian society relied on oral chants to pass their cultural memory from one generation to another. A traditional chant that was chanted and danced on the island of Lāna'i (Kahaulelio 1902) is a good record of early life on Lāna'i as told by a native Hawai'ian:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | A Kaohai, lae, lae | At Kaohai |
> | I ke kaka uhu lae, lae | Fishing for uhu |
> | A Kamaiki lae, lae | At Kamaiki |
> | I ka uhu ka'i lae, lae | For the Uhu ka'i |
> | Hoohaehae lae, lae | Luring the fish |
> | Hiu a lilo lae, lae | Until it is caught |
> | O ke Ake ono le, lae | The delicious liver |
> | O ka Lauli lae, lae | Of the Lauli fish |
> | Penu kai on lae, lae | Good when dipped in its gravy |
> | O ka Uhu ula lae, lae | The red Uhu fish |
> | Kau ka miko lae, lae | Good when salted |
> | Uala Kawelo lae, lae | The Kawelo sweet potato |
> | Kahi pupu lae, lae | Eaten as a pupu |
> | Poi Lehua lae, lae | The Lehua taro poi |
> | O Maunalei lae, lae | From Maunalei. |
>
> This is an excerpt of a longer chant that, when recited, chronicles life on early Lāna'i. The ahupua'a of Kaohai mentioned in the first line is a renowned fishing ground for the uhu fish. Lāna'i was famous throughout the Hawaiian Islands for its uhu fishing. Other legendary fishing places on Lāna'i were the cliffs of Kahola famous for the *malolo* flying fish, Polihua for turtle catching and Pu'upehe for *oio* fishing….

> This chant celebrates the delicious foods as well as the legends and places of Lāna'i. If all the verses were included for this chant, the "kaona," or word meanings hidden in symbolism, would provide another level of interpretation for the same chant. This level of meaning celebrates procreation and a variety of other human emotions. The author of this chant has compressed a tremendous amount of information into a deceivingly short number of words that, when understood, reveal many aspects of traditional Hawaiian existence on Lāna'i.

'Ōlelo No'eau and Place Names

'Ōlelo No'eau. 'Ōlelo no'eau or proverbial/traditional sayings usually had several layers of meanings. They reflected the wisdom, observations, poetry and humor of old Hawai'i. Some of them referenced people, events or places. The following '*ōlelo no'eau* were compiled by Mary Kawena Pukui between 1910 and 1960 with both translations and an explanation of their meaning (Williamson, et al. in Pukui, 1983:vii), which are often more *kaona* (hidden or double meaning) than obvious.

'Olelo no'eau	*Make auana'i i ka moana a pae kupapa`u i Lāna'i.*
Translation:	May probably die at sea and his corpse wash ashore on Lāna'i.
Meaning:	Refers to a person on a very hazardous venture (p 229 #2103).
'Olelo no'eau	*I puni ia 'oe o Lāna'i a i 'ike 'ole ia Lāna'i –Ka'ula me Lāna'i-Hale, 'a'ohe no 'oe i 'ike ia Lāna'i.*
Translation:	If you have gone around Lāna'i and have not seen Lāna'i Ka'ula and Lāna'i Hale, you have not seen all of Lāna'i.
Meaning:	None given (p 137 #1258).
'Olelo no'eau	*He weke, he i'a pahulu.*
Translation:	It is a *weke*, the fish that produces nightmares.
Meaning:	The head of the *weke* fish is said to contain something that produces nightmares. The nearer to Lāna'i the fish is caught, the worse the effects of the nighmares. Pahulu was the chief of evil beings (*akua*) who peopled the island of Lāna'i. When Kaulula'au, son of Kaka'alaneo, ruler of Maui, was a boy, he was banished to Lāna'i because of his mischief. By trickery, he rid the island of evil beings, and the spirit of Pahulu fled to the sea and entered a *weke* fish. From that time on, nightmares have been called *pahulu,* and a person who has had a nightmare is said to have been under the influence of Pahulu (p 105 #982).
'Olelo no'eau	*E Kaulula'au, 'akahi no po I pipili ai na maka.*
Translation:	O Kaulula'au, it is the first night that the eyelids have stuck so.
Meaning:	Used in derision of one who doesn't use his eyes. Kaulula'au was a Maui chief who, because of his mischief, was banished to the island of Lāna'i by his father. There he destroyed the evil inhabitants of that island by applying gum to their eyelids after they had fallen asleep (p 39 #318).
'Olelo no'eau	*Ke ku no a Maui; ke ki`ei no a Lāna'i; ka moe no a Moloka'i; ka noho no a O'ahu.*
Translation:	Maui stands; Lāna'i peers in; Moloka'i sleeps; O'ahu sits.
Meaning:	Said of people who stand about, look on, go to sleep and sit around, but do not lend a hand with work (p 189 #1763).
'Olelo no'eau	*Lāna'i a Kaulula'au.*
Translation:	Lāna'i of Kaulula'au.
Meaning:	Said in admiration of Lāna'i, Kaulula'au was a Maui chief banished to Lāna'i by his father for destroying his breadfruit grove. By trickery Kaulula'au destroyed the island's evil spirits and became its ruler (p 210 #1943).
'Olelo no'eau	*Niniu Moloka'i, poahi Lāna'i*

Translation: Moloka‘i revolves, Lāna‘i sways.
Meaning: Description of the revolving of the hips and the swaying movements in *hula* (p 252 #2315).

Place Names. Hawai‘ians of old generally named everything; from winds and mountains, to rocks, canoes, taro patches, fishing stations, and “the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place” (Elbert in Pukui et al., 1974:x). They all represented a story, some known only locally, while others became legendary. The following section is from Maly & Dye (2016:22-23) with additions from Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center (Lāna‘ichc.org) website:

> In addition to the *ahupua‘a* name, several place names survived the passing of time in Kamoku. The *site* numbers listed are from Emory’s 1924 archaeological inventory survey on Lāna‘i [13].

Anapuka Arch (Site 175). A rocky point with an arch.
Aumoku 1 & 2 ‘Ili in Kamoku (Lanaichc.org)
Hōkūao Morning Star (Site 84). A level land below Lāna‘i City.
Hulupu‘uniu Translation uncertain (Site 78). A level land area below Hōkūao.
Iwi‘ole No bones, or no boundary wall (Site 87). Named for a native tenant who lived on the land below Kō‘ele, in the early to mid-1800s; ‘ili in Kamoku (Lanaichc.org)
‘Ili o Lono The land section of Lono, site of an ancient *heiau* of the agricultural class, near the former house site of Papalua, and boundary point between Kalulu and Kamoku Ahupua‘a (Boundary Commission records). Point where the *mauka–makai* trail crosses out of Kalulu into Kamoku (Site 25). Now covered by the airport. Alternate spelling: Ka Ili o Lono, Iliolono.
Kaiholena The *iholena* banana tree (Site 89). An area above Kō‘ele, where bananas were grown formerly. A favored region of Lāna‘i, where enough water could be found to tend cultivated crops.
Kalamaiki The little torch (Site 71).
Kalamanui The big torch (Site 72).
Kamoku The district or cut off section. One of thirteen *ahupua‘a* that make up the island of Lāna‘i (Boundary Commission records).
Kaumalāpa‘u Soot placed in the planting field (Site 73). A bay and ancient village site. The present-day harbor was first opened in 1925, and it has served as the working harbor for Lāna‘i since that time; ‘ili in Kamoku (Lanaichc.org)
Ke‘a‘akū Interpretive, the brave or upright one. A small valley that joins Kapano Gulch on inland side of Pūlehuloa, Kamoku Ahupua‘a (Site 81) (Boundary Commission records).
Keone The sand (Site 69).
Ki‘ei To peer, peep (Site 70). A small bay.
Kihamāniania To sneeze and shudder (Site 85). Formerly a place associated with priestly lines, reportedly a training area of warriors. A hill with the ruins of a Protestant church and school house (construction started in 1840). Also the site of an old cemetery. Alternative spelling: Kihamānienie.
Kōele Black or darkness drawn down (Site 88). Said to be named for the heavy, moisture laden clouds which would come down the mountain gulches. These clouds and fog were so thick that one could not see but a few feet in front of oneself. Site of the former Kō‘ele Ranch—headquarters of the Lāna‘i Ranch from 1870 to 1951.
Ku-a-nā-ipu Interpretive, upright gourds, a section of land between Pu‘u Nānāi Hawai‘i ‘Ili o Lono, near the Kalulu and Kamoku boundary (Boundary Commission records).
Kulelelua also known as **Kalelelua** – ‘ili in Kamoku (Lanaichc.org)
Lālākoa *Koa* (*Acacia koa*) tree branch (Site 83). Formerly a forested area and, in the early 1900s, site of the Charles Gay family home.
Makaliilii ‘Ili in Kamoku (anaichc.org)
Maka-pa‘ia Enclosed point (Site 82). Overlooking Kapano Gulch.

Mooloa ‘Ili in Kamoku (Lanaichc.org)
Naupaka The *Scaevola* plant (Site 67). A small perched valley.
Nininiwai Pouring water (Site 86). Formerly one of the important agricultural areas of old Lāna‘i natives. Later, the location where the first pineapples were planted on Lāna‘i.
Paliamano Literally, Cliff of Mano. A gulch that forms a boundary between Kamoku and Ka‘ā
Pueo Owl. An *‘ili* of land in Kamoku Ahupua‘a, near the boundary with Kalulu.
Pūlehu-loa To broil (cook) for a long time (Site 80). Hill and bank that forms a northern wall of Pālāwai Crater, near the Kalulu-Kamoku boundary. Not far from Keli-ihananui’s house (Boundary Commission records).
Pu‘u Kauila *Kauila* tree hill (Site 74). A boundary point between Kalulu and Kamoku Ahupua‘a.
Pu‘ukoa *Koa* tree hill (Site 76). A low hill on the flat lands below Hulupu‘uniu.
Pu‘unānāhawai‘i Hill from which to look to Hawai‘i (Site 77), a high prominence in Kamoku Ahupua‘a close to the boundary with Kalulu (Boundary Commission records).
Pu‘unēnē Goose hill.

Early Historic References

History of Land Divisions**.** It was during the time of Kaka‘alaneo of Maui that the division of lands is said to have taken place under a *kahuna* named Kalaihaohi‘a. He portioned out the island into districts, sub-districts, and smaller divisions, each ruled over by an agent appointed by the landlord of the next larger division, and the whole under control of the ruling chief over the whole island or whatever part of it was his to govern (Beckwith, 1970:383).

Each island was divided into *moku* or districts that were controlled by an *ali‘i ‘ai moku* (Moffat and Kirkpartick, 1995:24-25). The island of Lāna‘i was divided into thirteen sub-districts (James 2001:150) or ‘*okano* (Alexander 1891). Within each of the *moku* on each island, the land was further divided into *ahupua‘a* and controlled by land managers or *konohiki*.

> Its name, as explained by Mr. Lyons, "is derived from the *Ahu* or alter, which was erected at the point where the boundary of the land was intersected by the main road *alaloa*, which encircled each of the islands. Upon this alter, at the annual progress of the *akua makahiki* (i.e. year god), Lonomakua, was deposited the tax paid by the land whose boundary it marked, and also an image of a hog, *pua‘a*, carved out of *kukui* wood and stained with red ochre" (Alexander 1891).

The boundaries of the *ahupua‘a* were delineated by natural features such as shoreline, ridges, streams and peaks, usually from the mountain to the sea, and ranged in size from less than ten acres to 180,000 acres (Moffat and Fitzpatrick, 1995:24-29, see also Chinen 1958:3).

Each *ahupua‘a* was often divided and sub-divided several times over (i.e., *ili, kuleana, mo‘o, paukū, kō‘ele, kīhāpai*), answerable to the *ali‘i* where the lesser division was located. However the ‘*ili kūpono* or the ‘*ili kū* was “completely independent of the *ahupua‘a* in which it was situated…his tributes were paid directly to the king himself” (Chinen 1958:4). Rights to lands were mutable or revocable; a ruling chief or any “distributor” of lands could change these rights if displeased, or as favors--usually after a victorious battle, and after the death of the *ali‘inui* (Chinen 1958:5).

The Great Māhele, Land Commission Awards, Royal Patents and Grants**.** During the period between 1839 to 1855, several legislative acts transformed the centuries-old Hawaiian traditions of *ali‘i nui* land stewardship to the western practice of fee simple or private land ownership. Kamehameha III formalized the division of lands among himself and 245 of the highest-ranking *ali‘i* and *konohiki* between January 27 to March 7, 1948. He acknowledged the rights of these individuals to various land divisions in what came to be known as the *Buke Māhele* or ‘sharing book’ or *The Great Māhele.*

This historic land transformation process was an evolution of concepts brought about by fear, growing concerns of takeovers, and western influence regarding land possession. King Kamehameha III, in his mid-thirties, was persuaded by his *kuhina nui* and other advisors to take a course that would assure personal rights to land. In 1846 he appointed a Board of Commissioners, commonly known as the Land Commissioners, to "confirm or reject all claims to land arising previously to the 10th day of December, AD 1845." Notices were frequently posted in *The Polynesian*. The legislature did not acknowledge this act until June 7, 1848 (Chinen 1958:16; Moffat and Fitzpatrick, 1995:48-49).

In the first stage King Kamehameha III [Kauikeaouli] divided up his lands among the highest ranking *ali'i* (chiefs), *konohiki* (land managers), and favored *haole* (foreigners) (Chinen 1958:7-14; Moffat and Fitzpatrick, 1995:11, 17). The land for the people was designated *Government Lands;* and "from time to time portions…were sold as a means of obtaining revenue to meet the increasing costs of the Government." People who purchased these lands were issued documents called "Grants" or "Royal Patent Grants," which differed from the Royal Patents issued upon Land Commission Awards (Chinen 1974:25-29). All these lands were "subject to the rights of native tenants" who were cultivating the land (Act of 1850) referred to as *Kuleana Lands.* They were independent of the *ahupua'a* or *ili kupono* within which they were situated and were free of commutation fees. However, if there were no heirs, the lands reverted back to the owner of the *ahupua' a* or *ili kupono* where they were located (Chinen 1974:29-30).

> In all Awards of whole Ahupua'a(s) and 'Ili(s) the rights of Tenants are expressly reserved, "*Koe na Kuleana o Kanaka.*" Besides, the Act of August 6th, 1850, confirmed and amended July 11th, 1851, protects the common people in the enjoyment of the right to take wood, thatch, ki leaf, etc., from the lands on which they live, for their own private use, but not to sell for profit. They are also guaranteed the right to water and the right of way, but not the right of pasturage on the land of the Konohiki. (Hawaiian Reports, Vol. 2, p. 87, and Vol. V., p. 133.) These rights are embodied in Section 1477 of the Civil Code. Furthermore, every bona fide resident on a land has the right to fish in the sea appurtenant to the land, and to sell the fish caught by him. (Hawaiian Reports, Vol. VI., p. 334 In Alexander 1891)…. It may be observed here that Kuleana(s) in default of heirs "revert to the owner of the Ahupua'a or *Ili* of which the escheated Kuleana formed a part," by a law passed July 6th, 1866 (Alexander 1891).

"The Māhele did not actually convey title to the various *ali'i* and *konohiki*; it essentially gave them the right to claim the lands assigned to them. They were required to present formal claims to the Land Commission and pay a commutation fee, which could be accomplished by surrendering a portion of their land to the government." The government could later sell these lands to the public. Upon payment of the commutation fee, the Minister of Interior issued a Royal Patent to the chief or *konohiki.* In 1892 the legislature authorized the Minister of Interior to issue Royal Patents to all *konohiki* or to their heirs or assigns where the *konohiki* had failed to receive awards for their lands from the Land Commission. The Act further stipulated "that these Royal Patents were to be issued on surveys approved by the Surveyor General of the kingdom…" (Chinen 1958:24; Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995:41-43; Alexander 1891).

Kamoku Government Lands: 8,291 acres on the west side from near Nānāhoa to Kaumālapu'u bounded by Ka'a on the north and Kalulu on the south (Munro 2006:19).

Kamoku Māhele Awards (Lanaichc.org) Kamoku was considered Crown Lands in the Record of Boundary Commission (1877).

Kamoku Royal Patents:

> Between 1855 to 1867, thirteen (13) grant applications, covering 735.93 acres, were surveyed and patented to fourteen individuals (13 natives and one foreigner) on the island of Lāna'i (Lanaichc.org).

Royal Patent No.
4800
Pali (Konohiki)
Kamoku, Lanai
Book 19:473-474

Kamoku Land Commission Awards (LCA) (from Lanaichc.org):

Helu 10630
Pali (Konohiki)
Kamoku
Native Register 6:526

Lanai Feb. 5th, 1848

Aloha to you Kaauwai, J. Ii and Armstrong, Commissioners who Quiet Land Claims. Here are my thoughts to you, that you will look upon my land claim. Here are the lands which the King gave me on Lanai. Auhea gave them to me. I am a Konohiki of the King, the lord of the land. That is what he said to me.

Here is this claim of mine. We spoke with Auhea, about my being the tax collector, that when the reign of the King in the Government was finished, then my position would end. That is was what we spoke of. But the Government would not consider my claim if my work should be at fault.

Here is this responsibility of mine, a responsibility of prayer [as an overseer of the Lanai Church] from Ricord and Hoapili. Richards is my overseer. I have attended this work for 13 years. That is what I took care of. Now Baldwin tends to the work, and I am under Baldwin.

School overseer is another responsibility of mine, gotten from those people who had it. That is it. The decision to approve or deny it, is now up to you as you decide.

Helu 10630
Pali (Konohiki)
Kamoku
Native Testimony 13:259

Lanai. July 10, 1851.

Poupou, Sworn. I know his parcels of land in the Ahupuaa of Makaliilii, Kulelelua, Iwiole and the 2 Aumoku on Lanai. They are combined into one, being several moku mauu (grass land/pasture sections), sweet potato and gourd fields.

The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Konohiki. Kamaiki, land of Kaauaeaina. Makai, land of Konohiki. Kaena, Alanui (Road).

He recieved his land from M. Kekauluohi in the year 1839, and has resided there peaceably to this time. No one has objected, and he is the Overseer of these lands.

Keawe, Sworn. All the words above are true. My knowledge is the same.

Pali, Sowrn. The reason for my thinking of joining them together as one, is be cause there are many places of mine which are cultivated here and there, and where are built houses. I go from one place to another to cultivate, as announced in the Elele [newspaper]. Therefore I've

joined my places together. It is as the witnesses have stated above. My claims for the other places are ended.

Helu 10630
Pali
Kamoku
Foreign Testimony 15:40

Jany. 17th, 1853.

Resolved, that the Land Commission be and is hereby authorized to award fee simple titles to Pali (Claim No. 10,630), Kalaihoa (No. 3719 B) and Malulu (No. 6846) as surveyed by Asa, containing repsectively 11 14, 75 1/10 & 90 Acres.

By order of Privy Council (Sig.) Lorrin Andrews, Secretary.

Helu 10630
Pali (Konohiki)
Kamoku
Māhele Award Book 7:222

There in the ili of Kaumalapau, Mooloa, Makaliilii, Kalelelua and 2 Aumoku, in the Ahupuaa of Kamoku, Island of Lanai. One Parcel.

Beginning at the Western corner and running… [metes and bounds] … 112 Acres, 1 Rood, 23 Rods…

Helu 2686 (see also Helu 367)
Oleloa (w.)
Kaumalapau at Kamoku
Native Register Volume 6:15

Lahaina. January 8th, 1848.

Greetings to you John Ii and Kaauwai, and the Commissioners who quiet claims.

I hereby tell you of my several land claims from the King. Here are the names of my lands: Puunau in Lahaina; Kalama II [Kona]; Kaumalapau [Lanai]; and Kanoni [Kau]. I have five lands, and my residency is from the King. Therefore, I provide before you, my document to you, that you, the Commissioners who quiet claims may see. Here also is my lot at Puunau, and I give to you my document, Kolopapela Kaau [wai] and Richards to quiet by your hands. Aloha to you with peace.

Done by me, Oleloa, Widow.

Helu 6833
Kaaiai
Kalulu & Kamoku
Native Testimony 13:272-273

Pali (Konohiki), Sworn. I know his Parcels of land at Kalulu, Lanai. 3 Parcels of land in the ili below.

Parcel 1. 1 moku mauu (grass land/pasture section) in the ili of "Ahupau." Parcel 2. 1 moku mauu in the ili of "Elialii."
Parcel 3. House lot [illegible – in the ili of] Kamoku.

Parcel 1. The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Keie. Kamaiki, Ahupuaa of "Kaunolu." Makai, land of Kaukapala. Kaena, Ili land of Kamoku.

Parcel 2. The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Maawe. Kamaiki, land of Konohiki. Makai, the same. Kaena, Ili of Kapano.

Parcel 3. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.

He received these Parcels of land from his parents in the year 1840, and his parents received them from Daniela Ii. He has resided there peaceably to this time. No one has objected..

Kawaaiki, Sworn. All the words above are true. My knowledge is the same.

Helu 8556 Kaauwaeaina
Maunalei, Kamoku and Kalulu Native
Testimony 13:265

Kawaaiki, Sworn. I know his parcels of land on Lanai. They are in the ili and Ahupuaa below. 3 parcels.

Parcel 1. 3 loi kalo (taro pond fields) in the ili of Ainaiki, Maunalei Ahupuaa.
Parcel 2. 1 moku mauu (grass land/pasture section), in the ili of Kapano uka, Kalulu Ahupuaa.
Parcel 3. 1 Pauku land in the ili of Pueo, Kamoku Ahupuaa.

Par. 1. The boundaries are thus. Mauka, my land. Kaena and all about, land of Konohiki. Par. 2. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.
Par. 3. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.

He received Parcel 1 from Kawaaiki in the year 1844. Par. 2 from his parents in the time of Kamehameha II. Par. 3 from his parents in the time of Kamehameha I. He has resided there peacably to this time. No one has objected.

I. Kaliliaumoku, Sworn. All the words above are correct. My understanding is exactly like that as spoken by Kawaaiki.

Helu 8556 Kaauwaeaina Kalulu and Kamoku
Māhele Award Book 7:212

There in the Ahupuaa of Kalulu & Kamoku, Lanai.

Parcel 2. There in the ili of Kapanouka... [metes and bounds] ... 1Acre, 0 Roods, 35 Rods.
Parcel 3. There in the ili of Pueo... [metes and bounds] ... 38 Acres, 2 Roods, 12 Rods

Lāna'i Land Grants

More than half the applications made by native tenants of Lāna'i for kuleana (personal property rights) were rejected by the Land Commission (see the Māhele 'Āina on Lāna'i). This problem was recognized while the Māhele was being undertaken, and Kamehameha III implemented the program

that allowed native and foreign residents to apply for grants of land—in fee-simple interest—which were held in the Government Land Inventory.

….Most of the native claimants had also applied for land as a part of the Māhele ʻĀina—some grantees received awards, others did not. The land came from the Crown and Government inventory of lands in four ahupuaʻa (Lanaichc.org).

Palapala Sila Nui Helu 3029
Nahuina & Keliihue

Parcel 2. In the ili of Kaumalapau, in the Ahupuaa of Kamoku.

Beginning at the Northeastern corner of this parcel and running to the: North

52 ¾ º West 415 links along Government;
North 44º West 2144 links along Malulu; South 32 ½ º West 4664 links along Malulu;
South 43º East 2320 links along Government; North 29º East 2540 links along the Ili of Pueo; North 43º East 2200 links along the Ili of Pueo; To the corner of commencement.

Containing 103 58/100 Acres.

[John Richardson]

Waikapu.
Nov. 1855. [Maly, translator]

Bureau of Conveyance Documents/Kamoku, Lānaʻi

January 26, 1875
Ahsee & Akuna; to Walter M. Gibson; Bill of Sale
Conveying sheep pasturing on Ahupuaa of Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 41, pages 194-195

January 26, 1875
Ahsee; to Walter M. Gibson; Assignment of Lease
Conveying Government Lease on Ahupuaa of Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 41, pages 195-196

July 5, 1875
William L. Moehonua, Minister of Interior; to Walter M. Gibson; Lease
Covering the Ahupuaa of Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 43, pages 255-258

January 1, 1878
John O. Dominis, Agent, Crown Lands Estate; to Walter M. Gibson
Lease (Terms of 20 years)
Covering the Ahupuaa of Kamoku and Kalulu
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 52, pages 475-478

June 13, 1879
M. Makalua, Guardian of Kaaukai an underage minor; to Walter M. Gibson; Lease
Covering Lands in Kamoku, Kalulu and Kaunolu
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 59 pages 499-500

December 19, 1890
Commissioners of Crown Lands; to F.H. Hayselden Lease No. 167

25 Year Lease on the Ahupuaa of Kamoku and Paomai, Lanai
Carried over from Leasehold Agreements dated Sept. 30, 1874 & Jan. 1, 1878.
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 128, pages 276-279

January 24, 1891
Fred. H. Hayselden; to Bishop & Co. Additional Security
Covering the Crown Lands of Kamoku and Paomai
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 121, pages 329-330

June 5, 1896
Kamala, Kainuwai & Mele; to Kahalau and Kumu; Deed
Conveying a portion of the land in Land Commission Award No. 6833 at Kamoku and Kalulu
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 158, pages 451-452

November 1, 1899
Kauhai; to S. Kahoohalahala; Deed
Conveying undivided interest in Royal Patent Grant No. 3029 of Nahuina and Keliihue at Kalulu (and Kamoku)
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 203, pages 33-34

November 21, 1899
Kekala; to S. Kahoohalahala; Deed
Conveying undivided interest in RP Grant No. 3029 of Nahuina and Keliihue at Kalulu (and Kamoku)
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 203, pages 34-35

September 12, 1902
F.H. Hayselden; to J.F. Colburn Assignment of Lease
Transferring lease of Crown Lands of Kamoku and Paomai (terms: 1890 to termination of lease)
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 240, pages 159-160

May 15, 1903
Estate of Walter Murray Gibson; to Charles Gay; Agreement
Agreement pertaining to the Crown lands of Kamoku and Paomai
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 245, pages 346-348

September 18, 1913
Ida Weedon (widow); to Lanai Company, Limited; Deed
Conveying half Royal Patent Grant No. 3029, to Nahuina & Keliihue, in Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 378, pages 391-392

March 15, 1920
Charles Gay & wife, Louisa Gay; to Bishop & Co., Limited; Mortgage
Covering Parcels of Land at Keomoku, Pālāwai ; and at Lalakoa, in Kamoku & Kalulu
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 550, pages 133-137
(See release of mortgage in Liber 689, page 33)

June 10, 1924
Elikapeka Kauhai (widow); to Henry Peters; Deed
Conveying Royal Patent Grant No. 3029, at Kalulu and Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 729, pages 411-412

June 12, 1924
Henry Peters, & wife, Sarah Peters; to Marmion M. Magoon; Deed
Conveying Royal Patent Grant No. 3029, at Kalulu and Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 720, pages 427-428

December 16, 1924
Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited Notice of Land Court Application (No. 635)
Covering Portions of the Ahupuaa of Kamoku and Kalulu
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 748, pages 285-286

August 30, 1926
Lanai Company, Limited; to Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited; Deed
Conveying portion of Royal Patent Grant No. 3029 (to Nahuina & Keliihue), at Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 840, pages 218-219

August 16, 1927
Samuel C. Kanoe and Samuel Kaehuaea & wife, Konia Kaehuaea; to Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited; Deed
Conveying interest in Royal Patent Grant No. 3029, and Land Commission Award No. 6828, at Kalulu and Kamoku
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 889, pages 436-437
December 5, 1928
Aukai Kanika Holi & Fred and Elizabeth Heihei; to Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited; Deed
Conveying Land Commission Awards 8556 (to Kaauwaeaina) at Kalulu & Kamoku; and 3720-B (to Kumaiewa [Kaumaiewa]) at Maunalei
Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 970, pages 457-458

Missionary Influences in Lāna‘i.

From the time they landed in Hawai‘i in 1820, the missionaries had a profound effect on the people and culture here. They quickly connected with the *ali‘i* who later provided them with lands to build their mission stations and churches. They soon had mission stations in most rural areas including isolated Lāna‘i. The following excerpts are from Napoka (In Bucy & Asso 1989:195).

> In 1854 the Mormon Church decided to establish a colony on the [west] side of Lāna‘i at the Pālāwai Basin, which they called the City of Joseph. Mormon missionaries were in Hawai‘i since 1850 and Lāna‘i was to be their first major attempt to organize an entire colony. In 1854 they received permission from Halelea, a Hawaiian landowner in the Pālāwai area, to use his property rent-free….
>
> The early Mormon settlers developed their property independently until 1861 when a self-declared leader of the colony, Walter Murray Gibson, arrived on Lāna‘i. Gibson arrived in Hawai‘i on June 30, 1861 from California with the intention of helping to organize Mormon activity in Hawai‘i, and envisioning himself as the leader of his own island utopia on Lāna‘i. Gibson reported to the Mormon leader, Brigham Young, in Salt Lake City at the end of 1861:
>
> *I continue to abide at the Hawaiian Zion on this island (Lanai); chiefly employed in organizing the labour of the Hawaiian Saints. I have built a good meeting house here; a dwelling house; and am now engaged in a large school house, 50 by 20 feet. We have 82 children on Pālāwai; and it is noted for being the healthiest and most prolific spot, this "Mormon den," in the entire Kingdom."(Adler and Kamins 1986:64)*
>
> By late 1863 Gibson had purchased a sizeable amount of land in the Pālāwai area, partly from native Hawaiian citizens and partly from the Hawaiian government. In 1864 Gibson was involved with a struggle for autonomy on Lāna‘i between himself and the Elders of the Mormon Church. Land that Gibson purchased on Lāna‘i was purchased in his name and he was reticent to relinquish ownership to the Church. The dispute ended with Gibson's excommunication. After Gibson's dismissal from the church, most of the Mormons on Lanai moved to Laie, Oahu to start a new center for Mormon operations. A Mormon temple was

> eventually built in Laie, which is now the center for Mormon activities in the Pacific.

The Ranching Era on Lāna‘i. The following is from Napoka (In Bucy & Asso. 1989:195-197):

> By 1865 the Mormon colony had disappeared from the island, but Gibson remained, and during this time he established the Lanai Ranch. Deciding that grazing was more profitable than agriculture, he began to consolidate most of the lands into one large sheep ranch. Although Hawaiians had herded goats prior to Gibson's arrival, Gibson was the first to launch a large scale business venture using goats and sheep. In a January 5, 1867 census report he counted the sheep population to be 10,000 and the goats 18,000.
>
> The introduction of free grazing livestock in large numbers took its toll on Lanai. Within a brief period of time the entire dryland forest area, with a few exceptions in the Kanepu'u area, was decimated. Initially, there was an abundant land cover of grasses, especially the native pill grass that supplied the goats and sheep with their needs. During frequent drought periods the free-roaming animals would cluster on the eastern slopes of Lanai where there was available water. The large numbers of livestock grazing in this area eventually denuded the land and gave it the desert-like appearance that it has today.
>
> In 1876, Gibson realized that Lanai was being denuded at a "fearful rate." (Advertiser:9/10/1946). One of Gibson's nephews, Mr. Moorehead, started planting Bermuda grass over all the northwestern end of the island to reclaim barren land. But, over the next 35 years, Lanai was primarily left to rambling herds of sheep and goats.
>
> By 1875 Gibson had control, either through lease or direct ownership, of nine-tenths of Lanai's lands. This was the first time since the occupation of Lāna‘i by humans that power was consolidated this way. In the traditional system, land managers, or *konohiki*, existed for all *ahupua'a* land divisions of which Lāna‘i had thirteen. These *konohiki* were subject to control by the ruling chiefs. Because of the poor rural nature of Lāna‘i, the ruling chief probably had very little to do with Lāna‘i other than occasional fishing trips and collecting yearly tribute.
>
> In 1874, Gibson's daughter Talula married Frederick Hayselden. Talula and her husband eventually moved permanently to Lāna‘i, where Fred took over as proprietor of ranch operations, which were shifted from the Pālāwai Basin to Kō‘ele in 1874. Kō‘ele remained the center for ranching activities on Lāna‘i until the closing of the Lāna‘i Ranch in 1951.
>
> In 1878 a manager's house for the Hayseldens was built at Kō‘ele where the first two Norfolk Island pines were planted in 1875 (Munro 1954:69). The ranch at Kō‘ele employed 12 Japanese men and two women to carry on daily activities (Thurston:1886:30). Hawaiians were usually employed just for shearing. Although this house was destroyed, one of the two pines still stands to mark this site today….
>
> In January 1888, he died in San Francisco, leaving all of his interest in the island of Lāna‘i to his daughter, Talula, and her husband, Frederick Hayselden. In 1902, Gibson's house in the Pālāwai Basin was still standing (Gay, Lawrence, K.: 1965:14). This area was later cleared and plowed for the cultivation of pineapple.
>
> During Hayselden's period [1888-1902] on Lāna‘i, Kō‘ele became a permanent sheep ranch center for Lāna‘i. By 1898, there were 50,000 sheep and only 174 people on the island (Tabrah:1976:79). Attempts were made to control the rampant erosion on the island by planting thousands of acres of Bermuda grass. The eucalyptus and Norfolk pine at Kō‘ele were also planted at this time. Water reservoirs at Kō‘ele and Kaiholena Gulch were also built.

Past Oral Histories.

> Since the time of Emory's expedition [1921], only one attempt was made to collect the oral traditions of Lāna‘i - a survey conducted by the Bishop Museum in 1963. At the present time there are 13 hours of indexed, but not transcribed, interviews in the sound archives at the Bishop Museum. When these recordings are transcribed and made accessible to the public they could add to our understanding of the early traditional history of Lāna‘i. These recordings may provide critical information since most of Lāna‘i‘s knowledgeable informants have passed away. Today, we have a sketchy and incomplete picture of the pre-contact occupation of Lāna‘i (Napoka In Bucy & Asso. 1989:184).

Lāna‘i Ranch: The People of Kō‘ele and Keomuku
Center for Oral History-UHM (2010)

Herding sheep on Charles Gay’s ranch, Kō‘ele, early 1900s. Gay also kept cattle, horses, mules, and goats. (Photo 16. By Violet Gay.)

In 1861 the approximately 600 native Hawaiians living on Lāna‘i were joined by Walter Murray Gibson and other followers of the Mormon Church who arrived to start a settlement on land they had purchased. Three years later, Gibson was excommunicated for allegedly misusing church funds and he consolidated 26,000 acres of land to form Lāna‘i Sheep Ranch.

After Gibson’s death in 1888, the ranch was turned over to his daughter and son-in-law, Talula and Frederick Hayselden. Charles Gay purchased the properties in 1902. He subsequently sold all but 600 acres of his lands in 1910 to a *hui* (association) of businessmen who formed Lāna‘i Ranch Company.

These interviews contain detailed descriptions of the day-to-day work and lifestyles of cowboys, their spouses and children, and other Lāna‘i Ranch residents.

> “I came over here, I learn cowboy. I work with the cowboys. The cowboys, most, they talk Hawaiian. Then I learn from them.” —Ernest Richardson

Documented are agricultural activities, ranging from Charles Gay’s pioneering attempts to grow pineapples commercially prior to the purchase of Lāna‘i by Hawaiian Pineapple Company in 1922, to the cultivation of watermelons by Keomuku families for shipment and sale to Maui, to the planting of pumpkins and sweet potatoes for home use.

Interviewees talk about fishing and hunting which enabled Lāna‘i’s native Hawaiians to maintain a near-subsistence lifestyle.

> “The reef, coming more shallow. Way back, those days, we used to go down there, the water was kind of deep, way up, you know. . . . So get big kind fish, small kind. Way up on shore, eh. . . . You just go and they throw (net). Almost everyone take home for eat, you know, just for the house only, and for down there.” —William Kwon, Sr.

The lives and accomplishments of former ranch managers Charles Gay, George Munro, and Ernest Vredenberg, and the changes each brought about in the lives of ranch workers and residents are also recalled. Interviewees remember when Munro, who took over in 1911, sent cowboys to plant hundreds of Norfolk Island pine trees to improve the ground-water supply. The trees are now Lāna‘i landmarks.

> “I was always a bit in awe of Mr. Munro even though I liked him and I would say he was a kind man, but he could be strict. One day I was naughty and broke off the top of a Norfolk pine so I had to go and apologize to him and that was very difficult. Because it seems that if you break off the top of Norfolk pine, it stunts the tree, the growth of the tree.” —Jean Adams

Interviewees look back on HawaiianPineapple Company’s purchase of Lāna‘i and the subsequent establishment of its pineapple plantation. Ranch residents, particularly women and students, found jobs in the pineapple fields and worked alongside newly hired Japanese and Filipinos from other islands.

> “But about 1950, when they closed, there’s only two more families up there. . . . The only two was working was (Ernest Keliikuli) and my dad (Ernest Richardson). The rest of them already all started to work for the company—truck driver—into the pineapple. They phased into the pineapple company.” —Charlotte Holsomback

In 1961 Castle & Cooke, Inc. acquired 100 percent direct ownership of Hawaiian Pineapple Company. Castle & Cooke’s recent construction of a luxury hotel on the former site of Lāna‘i Ranch generates bittersweet reactions from interviewees. Some see this as a positive step toward diversifying the island’s one-dimensional pineapple economy. Others view it as a threat to the island’s environment and its close-knit society characterized by unlocked doors and friendly greetings.

> “That’s all we can hope for is the best. I hope our island is not exploited, too, you know. . . . I think of her as a person, I don’t think of her as an island. If you take care of them, they take care of you. And that’s how Lāna‘i has been to me. She’s always been there for us when we really needed her.” —Elaine Kaopuiki

Interviewees

- Adams, Jean, 72, *homemaker*
- Benanua, Rebecca, 82, *pineapple picker, lau hala (pandanus leaf) weaver*
- Gay, Violet, 84, *pineapple helper*
- Holsomback, Charlotte, 50, *servicewoman, homemaker*
- Kalawaia, Mary, 77, *minister*
- Kaopuiki, Elaine, 60, *telephone operator, pineapple field worker, hula teacher*
- Kurashige, Aiko, 79, *household helper, store helper, domestic worker, meat department worker*
- Kwon, William, Sr., 67, *custodian, yardman, fence line worker, cowboy, fish and game manager*
- Matsuoka, Sally, 58, *teacher, iron works employee*
- Munro, Ruby, 86, *Palama Settlement worker, Department of Education employee*
- Munro, Ruth, 66, *bank employee, realtor*
- Nakoa, Mary Ellen, 53, *custodian*
- Nishimura, Tama, 85, *homemaker, household waitress and laundress, cook’ helper*
- Onuma, Helen, 66, *pineapple company employee*
- Perry, Irene, 71, *childcare worker, doughnut shop owner, hotel employee*
- Richardson, Clarence, 49, *soldier, truck driver, pineapple company worker*
- Richardson, Ernest, 77, *cowboy, truck driver*
- Richardson, Hannah, 71, *housekeeper, pineapple field worker, minister’s assistant*
- Richardson, Rebecca, 73, *maid, homemaker, pineapple field worker*
- Uchimura, Fusako, 64, *homemaker*
- Watanabe, Fumiko, 71, *library assistant*

Interviewers

- Kodama-Nishimoto, Michiko, *research coordinator*
- Morita, Mina, *researcher-interviewer*
- Nishimoto, Warren, *COH director*

http://www.oralhistory.Hawai‘i.edu/pages/community/lanai.html

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Previous Archaeological Surveys and Other Studies.

According to Napoka (In Bucy & Asso 1989:186):

> Except for recent research at Kalaehi (Graves: 1987:UH Field School) and Manele-Hulopoe (Kaschko and Athens:1987) the only major archaeological survey of the island was conducted over a six month period in 1912 by Kenneth Emory, who was employed by the Bishop Museum. Emory's inventory was field checked and updated for the State Historic Preservation Office by Rob Hommon in 1974. Except for Niihau, Lāna‘i is probably the least studied Hawaiian island from the perspective of archaeology. Future research will no doubt shed more light on life on pre-contact Lāna‘i.
>
> The wide variety of artifacts found on Lāna‘i reflect a culture almost identical to that which existed on the other Hawaiian islands. This traditional society lacked metallurgy as well as pottery. All implements for living were made from wood, coral, bone, or volcanic stone. The stone alignments and structures which are the most visible prehistoric remnants on Lāna‘i today were the foundations of structures in the Hawaiian village. Houses made of grasses fastened to a wooden framework stood on these platforms.

James, Van (2001) *Ancient Sites of Maui, Moloka‘i, and Lāna‘i: Archaeological Places of Interest in the Hawaiian Islands*

According to James (2001:150-161), there are many ancient sites on the island (twenty-three petroglyph sites, more than ten large *heiau*, numerous small shrines or *ko‘a,* house and burial sites, several fishpond ruins and ancient trails), but only a few are accessible. He briefly describes one ancient village, one shrine, some petroglyph sites, a cultural landscape, and a fishpond in his book. None of the sites are in the Kamoku project area. However, two miles southeast of Lāna‘i City on the lower slopes of Lāna‘ihale, on the edge of the Pālāwai Basin are the Luahiwa (*sacred black pit*) Petroglyphs – 400 images carved on twenty boulders; and a rain *heiau*. The site is on the boundary between Keāliaaupuni and Keāliakapu *ahupua‘a.* Hawai‘ians once grew sweet potatoes in the Pālāwai Basin, but in the early twentieth century it was the largest pineapple plantation in the world. The petroglyphs here depict the most variety on the island from ancient triangular figures to some post-contact images.

A few miles south of Lāna‘i City lies the ancient village of Kaunolū, a once-active fishing settlement abandoned over a hundred years ago. It was made famous in early historic times as a favorite recreation location for Kamehameha I. Archaeological surveys conducted in 1921 and 1991 recorded 86 house platforms, 35 rock shelters, 30 detached enclosures, a canoe house, a fishing shrine and several petroglyphs including the legendary birdman images [boulders at Kukui Point have many more of these birdman images].

Figure 6. Birdmen of Kaunolū (James 2001:155)

Figure 6. Birdmen of Kukui (James 2001:151)

There is a slight resemblance to the birdman pictograph of Moto Nui, Orongo, Rapa Nui (left), but not the graphic motif on the right, also from Orongo, Rapa Nui (Wiki-Tangata-Manu 2016).

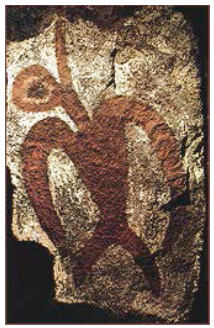


Figure 8. Birdman of Moto Nui, Orongo, Rapa Nui

Figure 9. Birdman motif of Orongo, Rapa Nui

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA AND ANALYSIS

The Ethnographic Survey (oral history interview) is an essential part of the Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) because the ethnographic data helps in the process of determining if an undertaking or development project will have an adverse impact on cultural properties and practices or access to cultural properties and practices. The following are initial selection criteria:

- Had/has Ties to Project Location(s)
- Known Hawaiian Cultural Resource Person
- Known Hawaiian Traditional Practitioner
- Referred By Other People

The consultants for this Cultural Impact Assessment were selected because they met the following criteria: (1) grew up, lives or lived in Lānaʻi; (2) consultant is familiar with the history and *moʻolelo* of Lānaʻi and/or Kamoku and vicinity; (3) consultant is a cultural practitioner of the area; or a resident of the area; or knows the history of the area. Copies of signed "Consent/Release" forms are provided [Appendix E and F].

In order to comply with the scope of work for this cultural impact assessment (CIA), the ethnographic survey was designed so that information from the ethnographic consultants would facilitate in determining if any cultural resources or practices or access to them would be impacted by the Lānaʻi City Expansion project. To this end the following basic research categories or themes were incorporated into the ethnographic instrument: Consultant Background, Land Resources and Use, Water Resources and Use, Cultural Resources and Use; Anecdotal Stories and Project Concerns. Except for the 'Consultant Background' category, all the other research categories have sub-categories or sub-themes that were developed based on the ethnographic raw data (oral histories) or responses of the ethnographic consultants. These responses or clusters of information then become supporting evidence for any determinations made regarding impacts on cultural resources and/or practices including access.

Each person interviewed is asked to talk about their background; where they were born and raised, where they went to school and worked, and a little about their parents and grandparents. This category helps to establish their connection to the project area, their area and extent of expertise, and how they acquired their proficiency. In other words, how they meet the selection criteria. Ethnographic consultants either have family or personal ties to the project vicinity and/or are familiar with the history of the area.

There is always a danger of not allowing the consultant's "voice" to be heard; of making interpretations that are not theirs; and of asking leading questions. To remedy this, the "talk story" method is used and allows for a dialogue to take place, thereby allowing the consultant to talk about a general topic in their own specific way, with their own specific words. All of the excerpts used are in the exact words of each consultant or paraphrased to insert words that are "understood" or to link sentences that were brought up as connected afterthoughts or related additions spoken elsewhere in the interview.

The following Table 2 is designed to provide a demographic view of the ethnographic consultants and how they met the selection criteria. The selected categories are name, year of birth, general ethnicity, connection to project area, where they were born and raised, where they currently live, and general area of expertise.

Table 2. Ethnographic Consultant Demographics.

Interviewee	YoB	Ethnicity	Connection to Project Area	Birthplace Raised	Reside	Expertise
Alberta de Jetley	1945	Pt. Hawn	Historian/News	Molokaʻi Lānaʻi	Lānaʻi	Island News/Farmer
Roberto Hera	1937	Filipino	Work Cultural Practitioner	Kealakekua Lānaʻi	Lānaʻi	Kānepuʻu Preserve
Genji Miyamoto	1926	Japanese	Work Water Expert Farmer	Hawaiʻi Lahaina/ Lānaʻi	Lānaʻi	Plantation/Taro LCHC
Albert Morita	1950	Pt. Hawn	DLNR-FW Historian	Molokaʻi Lānaʻi	Lānaʻi	DLNR-FW/LCHC
Warren Osako	1946	Japanese	Historian Archaeologist	Lānaʻi	Lānaʻi	Archaeology, LCHC
YoB=year of birth						

Consultant Backgrounds. The following "Consultant Background" section provides an overview of the ethnographic consultant, as well as information about their families, their relationship to Kamoku and/or Lānaʻi. These vignettes are presented in alphabetical order of interviewee names.

Alberta (Morita) De Jetley. My name is Alberta de Jetley, maiden name is Morita, my family moved to Lānaʻi in 1951 when my father, Richard Morita, was hired by the Territory of Hawaiʻi, Land and Natural Resources, and he became the Island's Game Warden in 1951. My mother was Anita Morita, she was a housewife, and when we came to Lānaʻi, she, like all of the other ladies of that time and generation worked for the plantation as summer employment, as field laborers. I think she did it until she was around 60 years old.

I went to school at Lānaʻi High and Elementary school and graduated in 1963. After I graduated from high school I moved to Oʻahu I went to University of Hawaiʻi for one semester and was asked to leave after that semester because I never went to class. I was too busy riding horses, gallivanting around in Mānoa Valley, where the supermarkets are now. We had horses all up into that valley. After that semester I was asked to leave and never come back. I was living with an older sister who was working at St. Francis Hospital; I had to look for a job. I was offered a job, and to this day my biggest regret of my life - Elmer Carvalho was Speaker of the House at that time, and I was offered a job in his office as a runner. This was before fax machine and e-mails, as a runner, Legislative Aide, we delivered papers and we did the copies, you were a glorified errand girl. But at the same time, I was offered a job as a dental assistant and sister told me I had to take the job as a dental assistant because the Legislative session was only for a few months and I would be job-less. And to this day I've regretted the opportunity to work with Elmer Carvalho. He was an amazing man. I worked as a dental assistant for about six months, until I couldn't stand it anymore. I eventually ended up working in Waikīkī and I used to like telling people I was a street walker, because I worked for a company that passed out travel brochures to all the travel agents. So, in addition to taking reservations in our office I got to walk up and down Kalākaua Avenue delivering pamphlets to all the different travel desks so I was a street walker and it was really fun. One of our accounts was Kauaʻi Helicopters, that's where I first met Kingie Kimball (Richard King "Kingie" Kimball) who was the owner of the Halekūlani, his family. With Kauaʻi Helicopters I went to Kauaʻi and did the flying around on helicopters, I also went to Maui to look at the hotels that we represented there and one of the hotels was the Royal Lahaina Hotel and that's where I met my husband Tony (De Jetley), he was the General Manager. I went to work on the Big Island; I worked for a while at Mauna Kea, at the Naniloa Hotel at Hilo, and then I returned to Oʻahu. When I lived on Oʻahu I use to go horseback riding at Tongg Ranch in 'Ewa. Rudy Tongg owned the ranch and I used to go out and play cowboys with them and go out and ride Polo ponies. Through the Tongg connection, I went to work at Aloha Airlines, I was a ground hostess and Aloha Airlines; they were one of the major owners of Aloha Airlines. When I worked at Contact and met Kingie Kimball the first time, he had horses and I rode all over Oʻahu because I was, in those days, was a very experienced rider. People who had horses to exercise, they wanted company so they would call me and ask if I wanted to go riding. So I started going to Laiʻe where the Kimball's had a weekend place and where they kept the horses, and I'd go riding with Kingie every Wednesday

afternoon. He asked my boss if it was all right to go with him up to Lai'e to go riding. He was a fabulous man, really kind, very nice man. I did a lot, mainly connected through horses. We [Tony] both knew Kingie Kimball at different times, and it was Kingie who recommended Tony for the Hāna job and that's how we ended up there…1968 until 1981. After Tony died, I moved to Lāna'i because I had Hotel Lāna'i and worked there until 1984 when I sold my lease.

I have lived on the Big Island of Hawai'i and also on Maui where I made my home from 1968 until 1996. Over the years I've come and gone from Lāna'i, beginning in 1980 when I had the lease for Hotel Lāna'i, I sold my lease in 1984 and returned to Maui, and then I returned to Lāna'i in 1986 to work for David Murdock when he became majority owner of the island. In my capacity working for Mr. Murdock, I did a community newsletter to let Lana'i people and former Lanaians know what was going on with the development of the hotel. The main perspective of the newsletter was trying to encourage people who had grown up here and lived here previously to return to Lāna'i to work in the resorts. In 1996 I returned to Lāna'i full time, I worked at Lāna'i High and Elementary School as the Parent Community Networking Coordinator, I later went to work for Castle and Cooke at Lāna'i Pines Sporting Place. In 2003 I started my own business, an 18-acre farm. I continue to run that farm today; it's called Alberta's Farm, and now it's only seven acres. In 2008 I started a community newspaper of which I am the publisher and editor, it's called *Lāna'i Today* and we are a community newsletter which is paid for by advertisers; I encourage community development and community enterprises.

[NOTE: Besides being a farmer on Lāna'i and the island newspaper publisher, editor and columnist, Ms. De Jetley is also the author of *Lanai* (*Images of America*) (2015) and she has been interviewed several times (You Tube).]

Photo 18. Ms. De Jetley leading site visit to project area and vicinity.

Roberto "Bob" Hera. My name is Roberto Hera, I came to Lāna'i in 1937, when I was a couple of years old with my parents and my brother from Kealakekua-Kona, Hawai'i on the S.S. Humuuula. My dad came over to start a new life with the pineapple industry…. Florentino, my father was well respected in the Community. I don't know if you've heard of the Filipino Federation of America? My dad was the branch manager and that was one of the other reasons why he came here was to head the branch of the Filipino Federation of America. There are Filipinos that had to have their own moral concept and believed in the United States, they are one of the organizations that outsold everybody in war bonds and they handled golf tournaments for school scholarships, they were big time, all the big wigs would come from O'ahu. Besides working for the company…so he was well respected; respected by the community and involved with community affairs. They were involved in the building of the senior citizen program here and my mom was the one that started the *ukulele* group that goes to the hospital every Wednesday. Albert Morita is in charge now and they go up and entertain. That's what kept my mother (Marcelina) going when she came to stay there; every Wednesday Albert and his gang of ladies brought the *ukulele* group up there to entertain. Both [parents from the Philippines] naturalized. My father was from Cebu and the mother was from Pangasinan it was one of those marriages that was not [accepted], her father disowned her because she married a Visayan and in those times Japanese were very strict about intermarriage, Chinese was the same thing.

I grew up here, graduated from high school here (1954), and I left to go to college, University of Hawai'i, on O'ahu. Agriculture. I did not graduate; I left college and joined the Army. That was 1955. I enlisted and got into aviation and was a mechanic in the Army-Aviation section. I took my basics in Monterey, California, and from there Texas, Edward Gary Air Force Base in San Marcos, Texas. I went to school there to learn the mechanics of the air planes. When I graduated I went to Junction City, Kansas, home of the First Infantry Division… I was an aircraft engineer on the U-1A military transport. We were in the Air Section at Marshall Air Field. There, we started on one of the new phases in the Army, Tactical Transport Aviation Company where the Army purchased 21 planes from the De Havilland Company in Canada. We converted them into Army transports. When the Company was formed we moved our planes

to Mobile, Alabama, where we put them on an aircraft carrier, the SS Tripoli and we spent fourteen days through the Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean to land up in Bremerhaven located at northern part of Germany. We flew missions out of Desheim. I had an opportunity to see the World's Fair in Brussels, Belgium, where they first displayed the Russian Sputnik. From there when my tour was up, I flew back to New York, to San Francisco, then Schofield Barracks where I got discharged. In 1958 I got into the building aspects of the building growth on O'ahu. I started as a warehouse boy at the first City Mill Company on Nimitz and I worked myself up to Division Manager and I saw the growth of and the start of the '58 building boom in O'ahu - all the high-rise, apartments and subdivisions. My last project was in Makakilo, one of Senator Hiram Fong's projects, the home for the Second City; his vision holds today. That whole area is now developed from Makakilo down to Kapolei, 'Ewa Plains.

In mid '65 I decided to go back home to Lāna'i. I went through a training program as a manager trainee for the Company. After the training program my first assignment was an administrative assistant to the Personnel Manager. At that time it was Yoshi Nagamine. I was involved with bringing in the summer seasonal workers. I spent a lot of time doing that in that area; I was handling the cafeteria and most of the indoctrination. So I got to know a lot of the people that came in and out. One familiar figure was the kicker for the Denver Broncos, he was one of the UH kickers…Elam [Jason Elam]. He was one of the seasonal supervisors at the time he was here. Teams came from St. Louis, Waianae, Hilo, and Kahuku. I replaced him as representative from the island of Lāna'i to OHA at the Native Hawaiian Historical Council for four years. My next assignment was with the Ag Engineering Department/Utilities Department as a job supervisor. I was one of those that were instrumental in putting up the log cabins at Dole Park. It was a familiar place but it's removed now. They have senior citizen and employee housing, there's no baseball park there anymore. My second assignment was going to the Utility Department as a Supervisor, and construction of the drip water irrigation system. During the summer I'd go on loan to the Harvesting Department. I ran the harbor at one time, and I did the supervision for the Trucking Department. So I've done all phases of the pineapple from ground up; one of the few people that knows the pineapple operation from the bottom up. I stayed with the Utilities Department; I ended up there as a Superintendent with the Agriculture Engineering Department until my retirement (1990).

My interest during those years was hunting and fishing. My spouse and I had seven children to raise so I had to do a lot of fishing and hunting to feed them. Besides hunting and fishing, I had a lot of outdoor activities, including raising horses. I grew up with the Kaopu'iki family, so I knew something about the culture. I was involved with Uncle Sol in different areas. We were involved with the Na Ala Hele; I still am. I've been with them for twenty-six years now. I've been involved as a hunter and education instructor in the '90s with Albert Morita. I played an active role in the community. I was the president of the Jaycee, PTA, and Chairman of the Advisory Commission to The Planning Department. I've been in the Grants Commission, involved in all the politics. I represented the Republican Party on the side of the political spectrum over here. On the Lāna'i Community Association - I was president for many years trying to keep the organization together. It folded up one year for lack of directors. Every year you have to look for new directors. With the help of Tamo Mitzunaga - he was really involved with the committee -he and I put the Community Association together and it's still going strong.

When I retired in the early '90s, my interest in the native forest really developed, kind of far back with Uncle Sol. The opportunity came when the Company gave the easement to the Nature Conservancy and they were looking for someone to run it. I applied for that job and did that until 1994. I got a notice from the Company that Murdock was looking for someone; they wanted me to come back and trouble-shoot for the Facilities Department. I was familiar with some of the operations because I was with the Utilities Department. I went back as a Facilities Director, I got through that and got everything straightened out, including accounts payable. So I told them that I wanted to go back to retirement; they said you have experience as a superintendent for the water facilities and we want you to train somebody because the guy was leaving. So I did, somebody from the mainland, it took me three years, after I found the guy I was going back to retirement. So after five years of being with Castle and Cooke, and the Murdock people, I retired.

In 2005, there were some problems with the Lāna'i operation. They were laying everybody off and were going to operate from Maui. What's going to happen to Kānepu'u? Uncle Sol and I were concerned about what would happen to Kānepu'u. That would put Kānepu'u on the back burner. So we talked it over with 'Iki 'Aina president Tom Lenchanko, and try to do it ourselves. We got a contract with them under the 'Iki 'Aina banner. Uncle Sol and I were the two guys that started it and from there we picked up people. We got a better contract and since then we've done so many things over there that we can call it a success in what we started. I call our gang the Kanepu'u Warriors. I had people, like Uncle Sol who is now gone. I have two other older plantation people, Marcos Esckaron and Ambrose Amancio that are gone and retired from working there. I have new people now working out there, it's mostly voluntary status because mostly the contract is low budget operation, but we are proud of what we've done. We raised money for

expenses putting up fences, developed interpretive trails, one for Uncle Sol which is now open to the public. Our self-guided trail is open twenty-four seven, adjacent to Keahiakawelo. So we have the Preserve that is very accessible, and we are proud to be able to maintain that. We'll take you out there today or this afternoon. We'll probably have saimin with one of my people - he's the only full blooded Hawaiian and he's learned a lot about the forest. You are Hawaiian and you are knowledgeable. There are a lot of people that are not aware of the native dryland forest. We have your our own cultural treasure right here.

Photo 20. Kānepu'u Warriors Ben & Bob.

Photo 21. Part of Kānepu'u Fenceline

Photo 22. Bob & Ben in the field.

Genji Miyamoto. [NOTE: Unfortunately Mr. Miyamoto was not available for a face-to-face interview, but agreed to speak briefly on the telephone. However, due to technical difficulties the conversation was not recorded and notes were sparse because of other issues. The following are bullet points from the conversation]

Genji Miyamoto born (1926) and raised in Lahaina, Maui. Father was Isao Miyamoto (Japan), mother Shinayo (Japan). Genji went to Lahainaluna to grade 12.

Photo 24. Mr. Genji Miyamoto [by De Jetley]

[Photo 23. From LCHC Newsletter Jan 2012:4]

- Father brought the family to Lāna'i to work in the fields
- Genji became a Surveyor and Geneticist of pineapple
- Worked in the whole plantation…testing pineapple in 1940's-1950's
- Worked the Company until 70years old.

Albert Halapē Morita. I was born Molokai, 1950, and my family moved to Lāna'i in the early 50s, about 1951 or so. My father Richard Morita Sr. (Japanese) was a game warden at that time, the Territory of Hawai'i, when he came here. My mother Anita Hagemann Morita (German-Hawaiian) raised the kids and like many of the other ladies worked in pineapple fields also…labor work, from picking pineapple to ohana, digging weeds, and another was stripping the plants or harvesting the slips for planting. That's about the type of work the ladies did at the time. My grandma was from the East Side [Moloka'i], near Kilohana School. My grandma's last name was Ka'awakauo. I don't know much past my grandma. My middle name, Halapē, comes from her mother or her grandmother. Other than that I don't know much about them. Grandma's story is that she was born on the backside of Molokai, Wailau, Pelekunu side. Collette Machado is my cousin's wife. My parents, just before they moved here, had a homestead lot near Kaunakakai, house lot and a home here. I've been back but I don't remember much, because we moved when I was young [1 yr old], Lāna'i is where I grew up, but I still have cousins and an aunty there.

On Lāna'i we lived at various places. When we first moved here we lived in Caldwell Avenue, that was just temporary and later we moved to Kō'ele, that's where the Lodge is located now. About that time the Ranch just closed down and the homes were available, the Division of Fish and Games got that area for the base yard and homes for their two employees, my father and William Kwon who was the neighbor, they both worked for Fish and Games. My father was a Game Warden in charge of all the fish and game on the island. He wasn't the one that made the rules; he was the one that enforced them. My dad was a hunter too and I grew up hunting from about 12 years old, the minimum age then was 12 years old.

I went to Lana'i High School, so Kindergarten to 12 (graduated 1968), and after that UH Manoa. I was in the Agriculture Program, animal science, and animal technologies. After I graduated I came back to Lāna'i in the Fall of '72. Lāna'i was starting to get together a development plan, there were two companies. Lāna'i Company, a part of Castle and Cooke, and I think the land side was Oceanic Properties, and they were responsible for the general plan for development. The other side doing the day to day maintenance of the island was Kō'ele Company, another subsidiary. Actually I worked on both sides. My first job when I came back was in a plant nursery and doing beach maintenance, Hulopo'e Beach. Then later doing anything they had to do, eventually after that company folded up, I went to Dole for a year 1976 or so. In 1977 I got a position with Land and Natural Resources as a Conservation Officer; I retired about nine years ago from that position (2007). I have been Board President of Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center and a Board Member and Docent of LCHC for several years. [Photo 26. Albert checking out old Google maps of Lāna'i City].

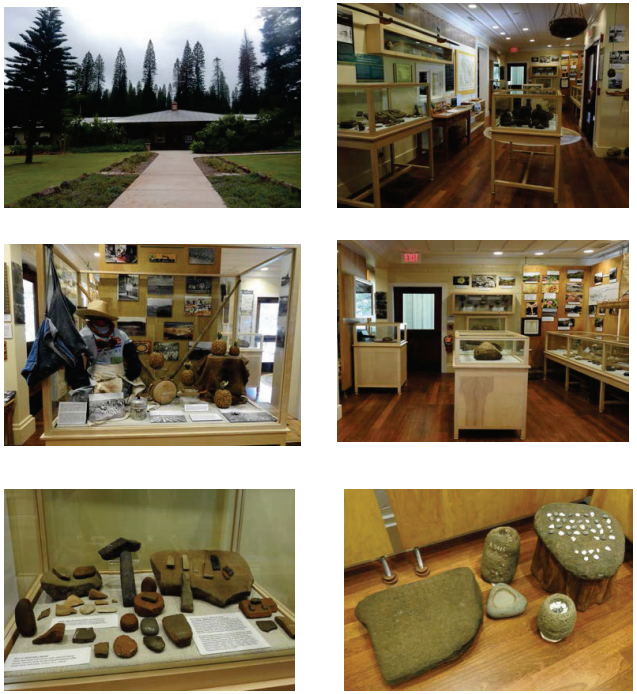
Warren Osako. I was born and raised in Lāna'i City, 1946. I went to school here until eighth grade, and I went to Honolulu and attended Mid Pacific…my older brother went there too. My dad decided I should go there, at first I didn't want to go. Pretty much after that I moved around a little bit, went to California for a short while to go to college and I didn't like it, came back and started at UH (Anthropology major). Being that I bailed out of California I couldn't ask my parents for assistance, so I had to work and go to school in-between so it took me kind of long…. I did not do much because at that time there were very few (archaeology) jobs… I was more into Archaeology when I was going to school. I did a couple of summer projects with some of the professors. I did one summer on the Big Island with Dave Tuggle and the next summer I worked Mauna Kea with Patrick McCoy. I know some of the Bishop Museum people too. I kind of lost contact a little bit. When I actually got my degree it was pretty much Bishop Museum and by then I got married and grad school was out of the question. Anthropology and the Grad Department, the guys actually lived at the school.

I actually left for a while, was in the Army, and after I came back I started working for United Airlines, was almost a summer job and I'd go to school the rest of the year, pretty much minimum full time, twelve credits and off and on. (In the Army) I went to military language school in Monterey, but they put me in Korean, after training I spent two years in Korea until I got out of the Army. This was in the '60s. For making a living I worked at United Airlines as a flight attendant, mainly. That's why it was almost like a summer job, got laid off and I went back to school and went back to work the next summer. When I actually finished I got a long layoff so I worked for them on the ground and went to school for the day, it was better because I had the GI Bill, that helped pay for expenses. I lived in Kona for about ten years and commuted, and I moved back to Lāna'i and commuted, it got really hard commuting from here because of the airlines situation. When Island Air was a part of Aloha we had privileges and when it got sold there was a period of time we didn't get flying privileges so I was paying full fare to commute.

My Father was Yoshikazu Osako…he worked for the plantation, originally from the Big Island, that's how they got workers; the pineapple plantation paid more than the sugar plantation. My father moved here, a couple of my uncles moved here, one on my father's side and one on my mother's side. My father developed a relationship with the *haole* managers, I remember when my dad passed away we still got Christmas cards from the mainland from retired *haole* managers. I guess the old days, the bank manager was with Bishop, now it's First Hawaiian, and they had good

relations with him. The first time they (parents) went to the mainland they visited them; they had built some kind of relationship. I think he (my father) actually got a GED - high school diploma, he was the oldest son in his big family so he had to go to work when he was fairly young to help the family. They came from Honoka'a, Paauhau, that part of the island. My mother was Mitsui Yamato Osako…she was from the same area; they were married before coming here. She was a housewife, but I remember she used to work for some of the other managers like housekeeping and eventually she worked at the post office. There were four of us, I wouldn't consider that being large but getting close to.

I'm retired now, since 2004. Since then I've worked with them here [LCHC]…I've been on the Board for five or six years. And I worked on a couple of archeological projects with Cultural Surveys, actually worked with them a couple of weeks on Maui and got tired of living out of a suitcase.



Photos 28-33. Lāna'i Cultural & Heritage Center and Exhibits

Land Resources and Use. Land resources and use changes over time. Evidence of these changes is often documented in archival records. Cultural remains are also often evident on the landscape and/or beneath the surface and provide information regarding land resources and use. However, oral histories can give personal glimpses of how the land was utilized over time and where the resources are or may have been. The sub-categories below are developed based on the responses of people interviewed.

Lāna'i Flora and Fauna

Did you get the Munro book too? That's a good one. George Munro wrote "*The story of Lanai*," the original is out of print already but it was privately published and it's available for purchase, they sell it at the Four Season's Gift Shop, everything looks the same except it's slightly smaller. The original is beautiful, George Munro was the Ranch Manager for Lāna'i, and he was the one that planted all these trees. Everything, the island was nude, it had no vegetation. [Because of] goats and sheep. He was the one who started taking care of the land and started to reforest so all the trees you see on the mountains, it's was all his work. His son and his grandson took his field notes and compiled this book. The son and grandson are on O'ahu, RM Towill Corporation, that's them [De Jetley].

At that time [my father was Game Warden], the main ones were game birds, feral goats and deer. Later, in that period of the early 50s, mid 50s, Mouflon Sheep were introduced, which is right now more than huntable population. Also one introduction of that period was Pronghorn Antelope - those eventually died out. Axis deer, same one from Molokai, in fact the Lana'i herd came from Molokai originally [Morita].

Photo 34. Lāna'i wild turkey.

Most common [game bird] was Chinese Ring-necked Pheasant, also the Blue Pheasant, it was rare. The two interbred so we called it a *Hapa*, it might have a faint ring. The Ring-necked has a nice white ring around the neck and the Hapa's wouldn't be as distinct, they have more of the blue coloring. The Blue Pheasant was prized for the feather lei, the hat leis. Another popular bird at that time was Chukkar Partridge, the doves, later the Gray Francolins, Rio Grande Turkeys, lot of them right around the City, and Erckel Francolin [Morita].

The Ranch was everything outside of the pineapple fields, prior to the pineapple plantation the whole island was the Ranch, they tried to fence off the forest area trying to protect the forest. The best grazing lands would become the [pineapple] plantation. The Pālāwai Basin and the North West Basin, they took the best lands and the ranch was pushed out to the surrounding areas, which were not as good and eventually decided that losing money and not doing the land any good, they decided in the '50s to close it down [Morita].

Photo 35. Photo of Lāna'i Ranch from LCHC.

Just prior to Dole buying the island, was the Baldwin family, Frank and Harry Baldwin, just about 1921 when they sold to Dole. Gay was a little bit before, up until the early 1900s, 1906 or so. They lost their holdings, the major part of their holdings, in 1909. They still stayed until the '20s, with smaller portions. After Hawaiian Pine bought the major part of the island they still continued the Ranch for at least another thirty years, and the closed down about 1951. When Mr. Murdock bought into Lana'i he started cattle again but eventually that too stopped [Morita].

They still have the stables up there, they still do rides. The whole island was a ranch, pretty huge about the largest in the state about 89,000 acres. They had corrals in all the different sections, I missed all of that. This is just before we came (looking at Kō'ele photo), this is circa 1951, maybe the following year we were in this area, and this was our playground. Used to camp right in this building, the milk shed and the blacksmith shop and these corrals were still up. This was the Richardson home; this was the school building, which was the one they moved down to 9th Street. At least fifteen homes, here's the present, they kept the reservoir and this building again is one they moved. It was quite a Ranch [Morita].

Photo 36. Photo of Kō'ele Ranch with famous Norfolk Pine and reservoir from LCHC.

[NOTE: The first pine tree on the island was a Norfolk Pine which was planted in 1878. In 1911, manager of the ranch on Lanai, George C. Munro, noticed that water was dripping from the pine tree onto a tin roof. George figured that the pine tree was taking water out of the fog and condensing it. He figured that if they planted more pine trees, it could bring much needed water to the island and make use of the heavy fog which would often collect near the high points on the island (http://everything-everywhere.com/2011/05/21/the-pine-trees-of-lanai/)].

Photo 37. Norfolk Pine now in front of the Lodge At Kō'ele.

Lāna'i Lifestyle

We came in 1951, when I was growing up until 1963, the community was predominantly Oriental and over the years I've seen it go from predominantly Oriental to predominantly Filipino. It was a very close society. Everybody did the same thing, we were all supposed to be the same. How do I say it? Everybody did the same thing; if you were different you weren't really accepted [De Jetley].

So in those days as soon as you turned 15 you went to work in the pineapple fields. If you didn't go to work in the pineapple fields when you became of age, you were considered a lazy good for nothing. So everybody went to work in the pineapple fields. On my 15 birthday, I went to the company office and signed up and the next day I was working with an old lady gang out in the field. For the summer help, they usually kept all the teenagers together with a luna, a field supervisor, usually somebody experienced with working with teenagers, and we basically did hoe-hana, which is pull weeds or later they put us into harvesting, so we went out and picked pineapple. Because I came in July 6th, which is in the middle of the season I had to go work with a group of old ladies until the following day when I was assigned to a teenage gang. Working in the pineapple fields was really boring and everybody was expected to do the same thing, you did what the luna told you to do and as long as you were living and breathing you weren't expected to think, so it was very, very boring [De Jetley].

[Teenager's Dream in Lāna'i] Get out of Dodge! Leave town, go to Honolulu [De Jetley].

We played, organized activities, Little League Baseball, Cub Scouts and Boy Scouts, hiking and camping, horses, we always had horses. As I got older I did more hunting, other sports, high school activities. One that I had in AG Program in school, caring for the animals after school hours, chickens I mostly had. We had FFA. That was a good part, I'm kind of sad, shortly after that they started to phase it out, which I think was a mistake, and now they are saying maybe we should have it again. Well you guys had it before; the feeling at the time was college prep. It's good to be more well-rounded, it handy skills to have and it was a great program. I think most of the schools had because we were so rural. Once year we would travel to the FFA convention, there was also travel for sports, basketball and baseball [Morita].

We were pretty busy; in summer time everybody of age would work the fields. The bulk of the summer labor was [from] outside, high school and anyone else that they could recruit. They [outsiders] were the enemy because when they come all the *wahines* [go for the] new guys. It was strict competition, mostly guys; if any females came it would be with family. I can't remember any females coming, mostly high school boys coming as a group, a school. One of the schools that used to come was Kahuku, this would be a summer camp to start their training. There were fights, I didn't. Anytime you have an influx of different groups coming there's going to be friction [Morita].

There were several places where they would stay. I recall before they had a lot of dormitories built they stayed in school buildings. I remember that Kindergarten and First Grade Buildings, I remember they even built a bathroom for them. Later Dole started to build more dormitories around town, and they placed the boys in there. Around 1968 or so, they built where the Hale Kupuna building is and the apartments across the service station what was called the log cabin dormitories; they had the dorm and cafeteria. By then, they were recruiting in the mainland, I think the group was called YDE Enterprises, I think they were associated with the Mormon Church and they'd bring them in for the summer. Every now and then we have some come and visit the Center (Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center), and their childhood working places [Morita].

(Growing up) I thought it was good; obviously I have a bond that's why I came back. I think it's different now, I think we didn't have too much, I remember there were times our family didn't have a car. You noticed if you drive around the old parts the streets are narrow, people didn't have cars and a lot of them didn't have a garage space, especially the older parts… plantation buildings were right down there so everybody just walked [Osako].

When I moved [back] here I was just shocked at these events where nobody had coolers and Hāna everybody sits on the wall with their [beer] coolers and here, you come to these big events nobody has coolers. But we do have crime. There's gambling, and a lot of domestic violence [De Jetley].

In their planning commission, they did a community plan, when they started the plantation they were visionary, even though it was lower income they had parks in town, a basketball court, a little play area and now they are slowly disappearing, which I thought was good because they had open spaces here and there in town, which really you need. Where I live right on Lāna'i Avenue, across from where those apartment buildings are and that whole area now which is the senior housing, County Hale Kupuna and supposedly low income rentals things. That used to be a park, that whole area used to be a park, they see money, granted that was the previous owners. I can see that they want those things in town, they start taking up the open spaces. When I was growing up that was where the baseball games were and all kinds of things like that, people don't realize. When they started the Pop Warner thing, they said this is the first time they had football on Lāna'i, they don't know they had football before, they had barefoot football [Osako].

Culturally they have the resort area homes, it's like a separation. Down Mānele and up Kō'ele, it's more high-end stuff and there is quite a bit of separation. And there are people that mingle but a lot of them are, you know in Hawai'i we say high *maka maka*. So something like this tends to concentrate the low income people in one place and you know you starting to make more of a class structure. When I was growing up, up the hill was "Haole Camp" starting right up here, above the hospital, because it was mostly the managers and stuff but as time went on, the local people [lived there too]. When we were kids that was 'Haole Camp' the group of luxury resort homeowners. That's why they call it homeowners, I'm a homeowner too. There is a little bit of class kind of thing happening, I think. I don't know if that's Larry Ellison, it started with the previous owner. I don't know if Larry Ellison feels something like that or whether he's personally involved too much with what happens here. I had friends who were really sensitive about that [plantation ethnic separation], but I wasn't, my parents were more open in a way, my father was a *luna*. Japanese custom, New Year's they always made food and everybody came and had a drink and ate and all the *haole* managers came [Osako].

I live in town. Back in 1989, Mr. Murdock did this project, he had a 350 plantation houses that he owned. He wanted to see what would happen if he sold them to people, so he did a lottery where they selected between 12 and 17 families. You had to be renting the house, you couldn't say I want that house or that house, you had to occupy the house and it had to be a company owned house. If you qualified and your name was drawn, you could buy your house. The houses were appraised for more than the market price so it gave people a cushion. As part of the sale if you had iron [corrugated] roof fencing, it had to removed, you had to landscape your yard, and bring the building up to code, so the plumbing and electrical had to be fixed. You had to fix the post and piers under the house, tent for termites, and your house had to be painted. Because of the way it was structured, every time you finished a job you got to cash out, the funds were held in escrow for you as you completed it. You could do most of the work yourself, but you had to get a licensed plumber and electrician. That was the only thing that had to come out of pocket so that was great, I bought my house for $50,000.00 [De Jetley].

Project Area

It's beyond the 9th Street extension. [pointing to a map] Coming down this way is the garden area, to about here. It looks like the subdivision would be above the garden area, here's the power house and the gardens would probably be here, roughly. So the top North East and North section of the gardens is part of the proposed subdivision [Morita].

The main tree [in the project area] is Iron Wood trees, introduced. I don't think there were any native trees in there. Other introduced weed in there is Christmas Berry, the grass was Cane Grass, I can't recall any other trees. Oh there were *kukui* trees, I remember my father going to get some, it was next to the power house; he would get some to make *inamona* [Morita].

Photos 38-40. Ironwood trees, Kukui nut tree, Lāna'i's old Power Plant and deteriorating house in project area.

Some of those buildings were originally at Keomoku, I don't know which ones, when they started the ranch then they moved them up. Had the old school building that was falling down they moved it down there and left it. Below [the Iron Woods], sort of about the level of where the old power plant was, right off the road, it's all bushes and everything…falling down and they weren't doing anything so people were taking the iron roofing and stuffs. I guess sometimes they don't see any value [Osako].

Pretty much that lower area [was pineapple fields], the other thing is the old power plant is in that area too. I guess as the town grew they decided to move it away. I always thought they could rehab the building and use it for something; the tendency is to let everything [deteriorate] [Osako]

[NOTE: The following photos are of LCHC photos and of Google maps.]

Photo 41. Historic aerial of pineapple fields and Lanai City. (From LCHC)

Photo 42. Google map of historic school, (arrow) Kukui tree (arrow) and Power House (arrow)

These two buildings, they are still down there but they were moved there. This was near the school and was used for Boy Scouts. They moved it when they did the parking lot and Rec Center; this building was the old school house. In this photograph it was the school, in that photograph I understand it was near the hotel, right about in here. Those days they moved buildings all over the place, later they moved it to this location and the John Richardson family lived there, when they built the hotel they moved it to where it is now and sadly it is beyond salvage. Yes [historic] - it's right off 9th Street, you can hardly see it, it's across the baseball field. This is kind of interesting to see what's

inside there, might be some gardens or shack. Grass has grown really thick in there now; this was thirteen years ago in 2003 (Looking at Google Earth image from 2003) [Morita].

The rest of this area is still vacant land, and some people had gardens in there. This is 9th Street extension, right in here is where the Quonset hut is, this is vacant hill side area. One gentleman over here, he was in the police department, Celedonio Asuncion, his house is right across the street, and he raised goats in a lot down here. Some of his fence might still be there, historic properties, right alongside the road just below the church, adjacent to the parking lot. Here's the Power House, again vacant lot, some people had horses here, not many, maybe one or two [Morita].

[Below the vacant lot was] pineapple fields. Right about from this road, this is the old Power House and below is the pineapple fields. I cannot remember any of the families who may have had gardens in here, probably people from across the street. Like every other neighborhood with children, that's the children's playground too, kind of overgrown forested area. After you e-mailed me I went down there on a Sunday, just to go look around and try to remember what was down there and sure enough had kids in there, so I went there to talk story. They were hacking on the trees. "What you guys doing?" "We making a club house." I was thinking that was great, many generations, that area, how many generations of kids playing there. I'm always happy to see that because today you always see kids playing computer games, kind of nice just to see them build a club house. I was thinking it's going to be a subdivision soon and maybe one of those boys could have a chance to get a house in there [Morita].

But it's been tough, because like some of the old houses, the theatre and three houses, they boarded them up and it got to a point where they didn't do anything and it became too badly deteriorated to save. I keep reminding them that there are two down here and the company owns and one of them is boarded up now and no effort made to, those were some of the first houses built by the pineapple plantation [Osako].

Not [familiar] in detail but just in looking at the map of the [project] area, our DLNR office was right up in the corner next to the church. In fact we had two different offices; right where the Jehovah Witness Kingdom Hall is, is where my first office where I worked, that's torn down now. That building was previously-the Research and Experimental Office (for Dole), next to it was a Quonset hut type building, which we moved into, now that's the present office. [pointing to a map] Its right here, it's still there next to the church [Morita].

Below was semi-industrial, I think the gas company had storage there…had some other stuff where they are slowly going out of use. Down below was original pineapple field. This upper part, once you get past Fraser, then it slopes down pretty steeply. There's not much there [Osako].



Photos 43-45. Previous pineapple fields now overgrown or in other use.

Community Gardens.

Did you see them? It's bad, it's really, really bad, and it's a shambles. The majority of the people down there are raising cocks; fighting chickens is illegal. I said I'd take you down there, but everybody knows me. But if you drove down there by yourself, you'd get stink eye and you would have someone stopping you to say "What are you doing here? "What are you looking for?" They need a real community garden where people are actually growing food for their families. They said they'd relocate it [De Jetley].









Photos 46-54. Selected photos of sections of Lanai City Community Gardens.

In talking with other people, had chicken fight in there too [near Ironwood tree area], cultural practice. I don't remember chicken fights being in there but after I thought about it, they went hide right. They aren't going to be out in the open and it was well hidden. Probably started off as a Filipino thing but a lot of ethnicities were attracted to it and it may have involved a wide range of cultures. And more recently, further down, there's community gardens in here and there too, I understand there is chicken fights in there too [Morita].

Looks like most of this and then this much, these are all community gardens. It looks like some will be displaced, this one is vacant lot. This is the County Yard, outside of project district, County Sewage Treatment Plant [Morita].

Photo 55. Base Yard

Photos 56 and 57. Sewage Treatment Plant

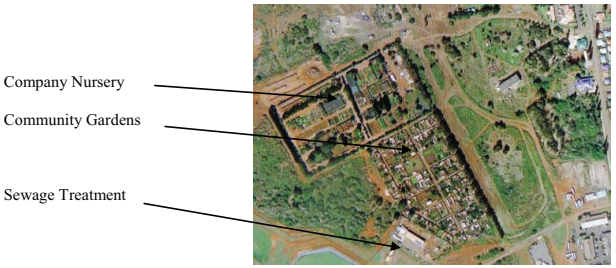
Company Nursery

Outside the fields are organic gardens; 3-4 places. The hotel needs vegetables and herbs; I planted what they wanted 3-4 yrs [Miyamoto].

Area is good…I did garden and I built the Green House – Nursery [Miyamoto].

Photos 58-60. Company Nursery area built by Mr. Miyamoto.

Photo 61. 2003 Google Map showing Project Area: Company Nursery and Community Gardens.



It's difficult here because they[Lāna'i people] have nothing in place, once in a while, they just did an appliance pick up, we had our old air conditioning unit out there and they didn't pick it up. [We have a dump] but they don't accept stuff like that, like say recycling, you pay 6¢ per container, you can get back 5¢ but they won't take bottles because it's a contractor that does it. Because of the weight they are not going to make money, the state still collects the money for the container but you'll not get your money back because of the glass [Osako].

Photos 62-64. Dumping area below the Church.

Lāna'i City Expansion Area

It's a 150 unit project, it's long overdue because we are in severe housing crunch. I know people who are living in garages with their families, I know of families with three generations with 9to 12 people living in one house. I know a family camping outside of town in the bushes, there was a family of three camping for six months, there were families camping down the beach. Now you can't camp at Hulopoe Beach Park for extended periods. For a while we had people going down there and camp all through the summer but now you have to break camp and leave - there're all kinds of rules down there. You can't be homeless down there now, but we've had homeless families go down the other side and live. I think, overall, basically the project is, I've written about it for Lynn, is for 150 units. Lāna'i City Builders will be the general contractor. They will install all of the infrastructure in one swoop, but they are going to build the houses in increments, 51% will be affordable, 49% will be market. At the community meeting we had people asking if we were going to just sell to anybody, market is market and they'll sell to whoever shows up with money, you don't ask where they are from, and there is no way you can say Lāna'i residence come first. I don't believe that there will be that many buyers for it, 51% will be affordable but with the chart that they were passing around, its 20% down and 8% closing. If you look at the numbers, it's between $30k and $40k to get in and with the economy on Lāna'i right now, I doubt if any of the families that really need it can get in. Pulama is going to rent the units they don't sell and that will be a good thing. Maybe they'll start talking about rent to own [De Jetley].

Water Resources and Use. The Hawaiian word for fresh water is *wai;* the Hawaiian word for wealth is *wai wai.* This is because of the value the ancient Hawaiians placed on fresh water, which was crucial for growing taro, the staple of the Hawaiian people using the '*auwai* or irrigation system. Fresh water was also crucial in the lifecycle of stream inhabitants such as the *'o'opu* and '*opae*, as well as some of the marine life that depended on the benefits of brackish water areas. Fresh water was valuable in other ways such as natural springs or ponds. Two of the ethnographic consultants worked in the water department for the pineapple company.

Company Water

Drainage Water (Mr. Genji Miyamoto)

- They should collect the rain water that goes down to 'Mississippi' to sewage system
- Below Ball Park a diversion ditch…1 proposed; now the water goes down from the school to 'Mississippi' then water goes down to the ocean
- Propose water to go to Pālāwai Basin, below Housing area; drainage to Pālāwai Basin would save water
- Should save the water to Pālāwai Basin
- Golf Course water goes to the ocean instead should divert water to Pālāwai Basin; they said it costs money can't do it.

Marine Resources and Use. The sea can be a great resource to people with access to its bounty. While Kamoku Ahupua'a was from the ocean to the uplands the interviewees did not mention any marine resources and uses. The project area is in Kamoku uplands.

Cultural Resources and Use. This category represents traditional Hawaiian cultural resources and practices and other ethnic resources and practices. The traditional Hawaiian cultural resources and practices, includes the pre-contact era, as well as cultural practices after contact. Cultural Resources can be the traditional *wahi pana* or sacred places, any cultural gathering place, or the tangible remains of the ancient past. One of the most significant traditional Hawaiian cultural resources is the *heiau* or place of worship. Other places of great significance for all cultures are the burial places of loved ones, dwelling places of deities and habitation sites of *ali'i nui.* The interviewees had very little to say in regards to what they considered cultural places and practices. All of them indicated there were no traditional cultural sites; a couple mentioned "cultural practices" such as chicken fighting and gathering *kukui* nuts.

Cultural Sites/Practices.

> Not that I know of, except that part of the community gardens but they said they are going to give them space somewhere else, they didn't say [Osako].
>
> I don't know any stories related to this particular area [Morita].
>
> Power Plant area…no cultural practices [Miyamoto].

Project Concerns/Comments/Recommendations. This sub-category was created because interviewees are free to comment on the project as well as the project area.

Sewage Treatment Plant

> It's not so much cultural sites, you've seen the map. Of course this was all Dole Pineapple Plantation property at one time. The sewage treatment plant is right here so the Kona Winds, you'll probably going to get the smell and this corner here, that's where they did the chemical mixing for the plantation. The ground has changed a little bit, but then a lot of the water flow was down here, down here was the catchment basin towards the highway, the drainage was over there. I don't know how bad contamination is…. I'm sure they did [test] but I don't know. Well you know Mililani had heptachlor in the water for a while and that was from pineapple field chemicals, and you see right out there that the pineapple doesn't grow really good without the chemicals [Osako].
>
> So I'm hearing resistance to that lot, they want the lot from the 65 acres that Mr. Murdock put aside that was given to the County. The County is saying that the infrastructure is going to be too expensive to put in, although they have money put aside to put in the infrastructure. The numbers don't come out, there are not enough qualified buyers. Although this project is adjacent to the town, its' downside is that it will back up to the sewer treatment plant. Personally, I don't think the sewer treatment plant is that much of a problem but I've heard comments that it will smell, especially on Kona wind days. If you get in on the first section, building closer to this side, you are going to be fine. If you sit around and wait for the perfect lot, it's never going to happen [De Jetley].

Project Financing

> I don't know if you got this, they handed this out [brochure], and they did say that this project is two years out and these figures won't be relevant at that point, that's the HUD figures. It's difficult because if you look at the figures, it's 20% down payment, especially if they are families, it will be hard for them to make the down payment. It's just because when we grew up and our situation, my wife and I both saved but you see the kids now they are young, they are driving all kind new trucks and cars [Osako].
>
> It's difficult raising funds and stuff. I think, that's the part, of course then they said that if low income doesn't sell they can rent them, it was a bad comment for her to say, "what, you want housing or don't you", because they need housing for their employees [Osako].

Affordable Housing and Rentals

> I don't know, personally although the infrastructure cost are going to be lower for them there, there's probably a better site. When you keep making a separation like that of rich and poor you create problems anyway. I can see their reasoning, because basically its 51% and 49%, you can say half and half, half market and half low income and that covers a lot of costs because of the low income they can't sell for very much and whatever they can't sell it becomes rental. The County land was given by the previous owner and it was all low income, I think that's what they were saying, plus the infrastructure costs for doing it out there [Osako].

Project Infrastructure

> Yes, this area they don't have [infrastructure like water, electricity] but it's so close to everything. Sewage is no problem because it's all downhill to the sewage and electricity and water is very close, got water all around up here and electricity. I can see that infrastructure cost are way lower than any place else. Sewage is the biggest thing; I don't think water or electricity. Sewage from any place else, especially if you have to pump it, it becomes a cost. So close, it's not a big problem [Osako].

Historic Properties

> The power plant, I'm hoping nobody will stand up in a meeting and say this is a historical building and we need to save it. Because that's what happened with the Richardson house, on the day it was scheduled to be demolished there was a court order stopping it. Then they put it up and moved it down there and they've been sitting there ever since. Another building that was moved there was deemed historically significant. Who's going to pay for that? Who is going to do it? [De Jetley]

These two buildings, they are still down there but they were moved there. This was near the school and was used for Boy Scouts. They moved it when they did the parking lot and Rec Center; this building was the old school house. In this photograph it was the school, in that photograph I understand it was near the hotel, right about in here. Those days they moved buildings all over the place, later they moved it to this location and the John Richardson family lived there, when they built the hotel they moved it to where it is now and sadly it is beyond salvage. Yes [historic] - its right off 9th Street, you can hardly see it, it's across the baseball field. This is kind of interesting to see what's inside there, might be some gardens or shack. Grass has grown really thick in there now; this was thirteen years ago in 2003 (Looking at Google Earth image from 2003) [Morita].

We've heard one person say the power house should be looked at because it is a historical building, you know it was an industrial building. Probably [built] during the '50s, maybe earlier. That was where the company's generators were [De Jetley].

Save the Pine Trees

I think the location is going to be fine, I hope they can save the row of pine trees by the community garden. If they could save that, that would be really nice but if they can't, the developer should plant trees [De Jetley].

Photos 65-66. Row of Cook Pine trees *mauka* of the Community Gardens

Native-Polynesian-Introduced Flora

The *kukui* is rubbish, they grow like weeds here. I have a kukui nut tree on my farm that is less than eight years and its more than 50 feet tall because it's been left in its natural state just to grow, so it's over 50 feet. If you go down to Central, there's kukui nut they planted as landscaping trees, there's rubbish all over the ground, and nobody picks the nuts. I actually, from my *kukui* nut tree, I sell it to this company called Lather and they make bath oil and lotion from it and package it for Four Seasons. They're in California. I send up there and they do it and my name is on the label under the ingredients. It's called Aina. They sell them in these little bottles, it's really, really nice. It's made exclusively for Four Seasons Resorts Lanai [De Jetley].

Batching Plant

I didn't go to the meeting. I didn't really take a good look at this map, I was concerned about one area but it's not on the project district according to this, and its right here. This area was a batching plant for the plantation, batching fertilizer, any time you have chemicals I wonder what it does to the soil. I was just telling my wife, "would you want to live in this area knowing what we do?" What was that subdivision in the mainland, Love Canal, being built on toxic sites with residents with problems? This is the area and I'm glad it's not in the development area. Here's a great photograph of the area, the batching plant is this Quonset hut here, and these are outside of the project district. Right in here up to 9th Street and coming down here - here's the power plant. This photograph is, I believe in the '50s [Morita].

CIA SUMMARRIES and ASSESSMENT

This cultural impact assessment (CIA) is based on two guiding documents: Act 50 and Environmental Council Guidelines (1997) [see Appendices A & C]. H.B. NO. 2895 H.D.1 was passed by the 20th Legislature and approved by the Governor on April 26, 2000 as *Act 50*. The following excerpts illustrate the intent and mandates of this Act:

> The legislature also finds that native Hawaiian culture plays a vital role in preserving and advancing the unique quality of life and the "aloha spirit' in Hawai'i. Articles IX and XII of the state constitution, other state laws, and the courts of the State impose on government agencies a duty to promote and protect cultural beliefs, practices, and resources of native Hawaiians as well as other ethnic groups.
>
> Moreover, the past failure to require native Hawaiian cultural impact assessments has resulted in the loss and destruction of many important cultural resources and has interfered with the exercise of native Hawaiian culture. The legislature further finds that due consideration of the effects of human activities on native Hawaiian culture and the exercise thereof is necessary to ensure the continued existence, development, and exercise of native Hawaiian culture.
>
> The purpose of this Act is to: (1) Require that environmental impact statements include the disclosure of the effects of a proposed action on the cultural practices of the community and State; and (2) Amend the definition of "significant effect" to include adverse effects on cultural practices.

Summary of Findings

The following summaries are based on the information presented in the previous sections: the traditional (cultural) and historical literature background review and the ethnographic data and analyses. References are not cited unless it is new information and not already cited in the text above. These summaries condense the information above, but also serve to focus on a few significant individuals and events in history in relation to the project lands of Kamoku. It will give a broad overview of land, water and cultural resources and uses in the general area, as they reflect cultural resources (properties) and practices and access to them, as well as share the concerns and recommendations of the interviewees.

Summary of Significant People and Events:

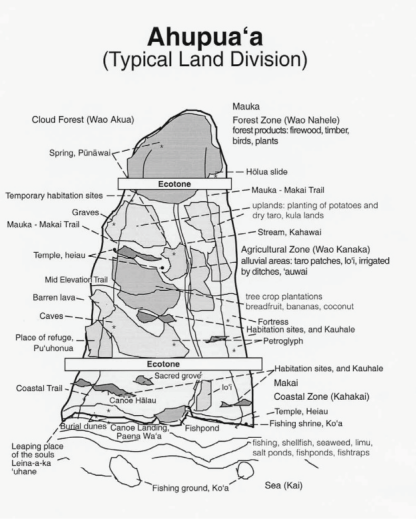
No legendary/mythical entities or ali'i nui were directly connected to the project area, but two post-contact konohiki were mentioned in the literature. No Contact or Historic people were directly connected to the project area, other than in relation to lands used in the brief Mormon colonizing period, the ranching era, and the pineapple industry.

Summary of Land and Cultural Resources and Use of Project Area:

Various resource use patterns are often physically evident as well as recounted in the literature. The physical evidence remains in the form of landmarks, stone ruins that are fortunate to have been preserved relatively intact and cultural material remains (surface and sub-surface). Clues regarding function and use can sometimes be extrapolated from the stories, songs, chants and ethno-historical observations that were also fortunately recorded or passed on; and the continuing cultural practices of today's people of Kamoku.

Ancient Use: *There is no current evidence of ancient use in the project area although it can be assumed that it was once part of the ancient ahupua'a system.*

The following Figure 10. illustrates a typical pattern of an ancient Hawaiianlifestyle from the ocean to the mountains (Minerbi 1999, slightly modified by Mueller-Dombois 2012); however, not all activities were carried out in every ahupua'a – a lot depended on the environment and natural resources.



Post-Contact/Historic Land Use:

- *The project area was once part of the Lāna'i Ranch lands;*
- *The project area was taken over by the pineapple industry which ended in 1992;*
- *The project area is currently overgrown with tall grasses, shrubs and trees;*
- *The now defunct Power Plant was previously operating in a section of the project area; the derelict structure is still there;*
- *The Company Nursery and Community Gardens will be relocated;*
- *A kukui tree in the project area may have been harvested by an interviewee's father-there is an interest in preserving it;*
- *There are two 'historic' structures that were relocated to the project area, but are currently neglected and in disrepair surrounded by overgrown vegetation;*
- *A row of historic Cook pine trees were planted as wind break and now mauka of the Community Gardens-there is an interest in preserving them.*

Cultural Impact Assessment

According to the Environmental Council Guidelines, the types of cultural practices and beliefs subject to assessment may include subsistence, commercial, residential, agricultural, access-related, recreational, religious and spiritual customs. The following actions were taken to meet the EC Guidelines Criteria for conducting this cultural impact assessment based on the SOW:

1) *conduct historical and other culturally related documentary research*;

Documentary research, particularly on identifying traditional and cultural uses of the area, was completed. Much of what is known about the traditional and cultural uses of the area comes from written records that tell of its prehistory (e.g. *mo'olelo*; and 19th century ethnographic works); the stories associated with early coastal and upland area uses by early Hawaiians; and scientific studies (i.e., archaeological, botanical, geological, and biological).

2) *identify individuals with knowledge of the types of cultural resources, practices and beliefs found within the broad geographical area, e.g., district or ahupua'a; or with knowledge of the area potentially affected by the proposed action* [*e.g. past/current oral histories*];

The project lands have been in continual use since ancient times, however, not in exclusive *kanaka maoli* use since Contact. The interviewees were selected because of their use and knowledge of the project area.

3) identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs located within the potentially affected area;

Archival research in the Cultural and Historical Background Review and ethnographic research (Ethnographic Data Review and Analysis) produces the data utilized to identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs located within the potentially affected area in the *Summary of Findings* above. There were no identified cultural resources or practices connected to the project area.

4) and assess the impact of the proposed action on the cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified.

Since there were no cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified in or connected to the proposed project area, there will not be any cultural impact. However, the following recommendations are suggested:

- Save the row of Cook Pines;
- If possible save the *kukui* tree.

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APPENDIX A
Act 50 SLH 2000

A BILL FOR AN ACT RELATING TO
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS
[UNOFFICIAL VERSION]
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES H.B. NO, 2895 H.D.1
TWENTIETH LEGISLATURE, 2000
STATE OF HAWAI'I
A BILL FOR AN ACT
RELATING TO ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS.
BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF HAWAI'I:

SECTION 1. The legislature finds that there is a need to clarify that the preparation of environmental assessments or environmental impact statements should identify and address effects on Hawai'i's culture, and traditional and customary rights.

The legislature also finds that native Hawaiianculture plays a vital role in preserving and advancing the unique quality of life and the "aloha spirit' in Hawai'i. Articles IX and XII of the state constitution, other state laws, and the courts of the State impose on government agencies a duty to promote and protect cultural beliefs, practices, and resources of native Hawaiians as well as other ethnic groups.

Moreover, the past failure to require native Hawaiian cultural impact assessments has resulted in the loss and destruction of many important cultural resources and has interfered with the exercise of native Hawaiian culture. The legislature further finds that due consideration of the effects of human activities on native Hawaiian culture and the exercise thereof is necessary to ensure the continued existence, development, and exercise of native Hawaiian culture.

The purpose of this Act is to: (1) Require that environmental impact statements include the disclosure of the effects of a proposed action on the cultural practices of the community and State; and (2) Amend the definition of "significant effect" to include adverse effects on cultural practices.

SECTION 2. Section 343-2, Hawai'i Revised Statutes, is amended by amending the definitions of "environmental impact statement' or "statement" and "significant effect", to read as follows:

"'Environmental impact statement" or "statement" means an informational document prepared in compliance with the rules adopted under section 343-6 and which discloses the environmental effects of a proposed action, effects of a proposed action on the economic [and] welfare, social welfare, and cultural practices of the community and State, effects of the economic activities arising out of the proposed action, measures proposed to minimize adverse effects, and alternatives to the action and their environmental effects.

The initial statement filed for public review shall be referred to as the draft statement and shall be distinguished from the final statement which is the document that has incorporated the public's comments and the responses to those comments. The final statement is the document that shall be evaluated for acceptability by the respective accepting authority.

"Significant effect" means the sum of effects on the quality of the environment, including actions that irrevocably commit a natural resource, curtail the range of beneficial uses of the environment, are contrary to the State's environmental policies or long-term environmental goals as established by law, or adversely affect the economic [or] welfare, social welfare[.], or cultural practices of the community and State."

SECTION 3. Statutory material to be repealed is bracketed. New statutory material is underscored.

SECTION 4. This Act shall take effect upon its approval.

Approved by the Governor as Act 50 on April 26, 2000

APPENDIX B
Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts
Adopted by the Environmental Council, State of Hawai'i
November 19, 1997

I. INTRODUCTION

It is the policy of the State of Hawai'i under Chapter 343, HRS, to alert decision makers, through the environmental assessment process, about significant environmental effects which may result from the implementation of certain actions. An environmental assessment of cultural impacts gathers information about cultural practices and cultural features that may be affected by actions subject to Chapter 343, and promotes responsible decision making.

Articles IX and XII of the State Constitution, other state laws, and the courts of the state require government agencies to promote and preserve cultural beliefs, practices, and resources of native Hawai'ians and other ethnic groups. Chapter 343 also requires environmental assessment of cultural resources, in determining the significance of a proposed project.

The Environmental Council encourages preparers of environmental assessments and environmental impact statements to analyze the impact of a proposed action on cultural practices and features associated with the project area. The Council provides the following methodology and content protocol as guidance for any assessment of a project that may significantly affect cultural resources.

II. CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY

Cultural impacts differ from other types of impacts assessed in environmental assessments or environmental impact statements. A cultural impact assessment includes information relating to the practices and beliefs of a particular cultural or ethnic group or groups.

Such information may be obtained through scoping, community meetings, ethnographic interviews and oral histories. Information provided by knowledgeable informants, including traditional cultural practitioners, can be applied to the analysis of cultural impacts in conjunction with information concerning cultural practices and features obtained through consultation and from documentary research.

In scoping the cultural portion of an environmental assessment, the geographical extent of the inquiry should, in most instances, be greater than the area over which the proposed action will take place. This is to ensure that cultural practices which may not occur within the boundaries of the project area, but which may nonetheless be affected, are included in the assessment. Thus, for example, a proposed action that may not physically alter gathering practices, but may affect access to gathering areas would be included in the assessment. An ahupua'a is usually the appropriate geographical unit to begin an assessment of cultural impacts of a proposed action, particularly if it includes all of the types of cultural practices associated with the project area. In some cases, cultural practices are likely to extend beyond the ahupua'a and the geographical extent of the study area should take into account those cultural practices.

The historical period studied in a cultural impact assessment should commence with the initial presence in the area of the particular group whose cultural practices and features are being assessed. The types of cultural practices and beliefs subject to assessment may include subsistence, commercial, residential, agricultural, access-related, recreational, and religious and spiritual customs.

The types of cultural resources subject to assessment may include traditional cultural properties or other types of historic sites, both manmade and natural, including submerged cultural resources, which support such cultural practices and beliefs.

The Environmental Council recommends that preparers of assessments analyzing cultural impacts adopt the following protocol:

1.identify and consult with individuals and organizations with expertise concerning the types of cultural resources, practices and beliefs found within the broad geographical area, e.g., district or *ahupua*ʻ*a*;

2.identify and consult with individuals and organizations with knowledge of the area potentially affected by the proposed action;

3.receive information from or conduct ethnographic interviews and oral histories with persons having knowledge of the potentially affected area;

4.conduct ethnographic, historical, anthropological, sociological, and other culturally related documentary research;

5.identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs located within the potentially affected area; and

6.assess the impact of the proposed action, alternatives to the proposed action, and mitigation measures, on the cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified.

Interviews and oral histories with knowledgeable individuals may be recorded, if consent is given, and field visits by preparers accompanied by informants are encouraged. Persons interviewed should be afforded an opportunity to review the record of the interview, and consent to publish the record should be obtained whenever possible. For example, the precise location of human burials are likely to be withheld from a cultural impact assessment, but it is important that the document identify the impact a project would have on the burials. At times an informant may provide information only on the condition that it remain in confidence. The wishes of the informant should be respected.

Primary source materials reviewed and analyzed may include, as appropriate: Māhele, land court, census and tax records, including testimonies; vital statistics records; family histories and genealogies; previously published or recorded ethnographic interviews and oral histories; community studies, old maps and photographs; and other archival documents, including correspondence, newspaper or almanac articles, and visitor journals. Secondary source materials such as historical, sociological, and anthropological texts, manuscripts, and similar materials, published and unpublished, should also be consulted. Other materials which should be examined include prior land use proposals, decisions, and rulings which pertain to the study area.

III. CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT CONTENTS

In addition to the content requirements for environmental assessments and environmental impact statements, which are set out in HAR §§ 11-200-10 and 16 through 18, the portion of the assessment concerning cultural impacts should address, but not necessarily be limited to, the following matters:

1.A discussion of the methods applied and results of consultation with individuals and organizations identified by the preparer as being familiar with cultural practices and features associated with the project area, including any constraints or limitations which might have affected the quality of the information obtained.

2.A description of methods adopted by the preparer to identify, locate, and select the persons interviewed, including a discussion of the level of effort undertaken.

3.Ethnographic and oral history interview procedures, including the circumstances under which the interviews were conducted, and any constraints or limitations which might have affected the quality of the information obtained.

4.Biographical information concerning the individuals and organizations consulted, their particular expertise, and their historical and genealogical relationship to the project area, as well as information concerning the persons submitting information or interviewed, their particular knowledge and cultural expertise, if any, and their historical and genealogical relationship to the project area.

5.A discussion concerning historical and cultural source materials consulted, the institutions and repositories searched, and the level of effort undertaken. This discussion should include, if appropriate, the particular perspective of the authors, any opposing views, and any other relevant constraints, limitations or biases.

6.A discussion concerning the cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified, and, for resources and practices, their location within the broad geographical area in which the proposed action is located, as well as their direct or indirect significance or connection to the project site.

7.A discussion concerning the nature of the cultural practices and beliefs, and the significance of the cultural resources within the project area, affected directly or indirectly by the proposed project.

8.An explanation of confidential information that has been withheld from public disclosure in the assessment.

9.A discussion concerning any conflicting information in regard to identified cultural resources, practices and beliefs.

10.An analysis of the potential effect of any proposed physical alteration on cultural resources, practices or beliefs; the potential of the proposed action to isolate cultural resources, practices or beliefs from their setting; and the potential of the proposed action to introduce elements which may alter the setting in which cultural practices take place.

11.A bibliography of references, and attached records of interviews which were allowed to be disclosed.

The inclusion of this information will help make environmental assessments and environmental impact statements complete and meet the requirements of Chapter 343, HRS. If you have any questions, please call 586-4185.

APPENDIX C

Agreement to Participate in Ethnographic Survey

Project Title: **Lāna'i City Expansion CIA**
by Pūlama Lāna'i - Lāna'i City, Lāhaina District, Lāna'i

Interviewer: Maria "Kaimi" Orr, M.A.
Kaimipono Consulting Services, LLC
(808) 375-3317 kaimi@lava.net

You are being asked to participate in an ethnographic survey conducted by an independent interviewer from *Kaimipono Consulting Services LLC* (KCS) contracted by *T.S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologist, Inc.* to prepare a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) as part of an environmental compliance document prepared by them. The interviewer will explain the purpose of this CIA, the procedures to be used, the potential benefits and possible risks of participating. You may ask the interviewer any question(s) in order to help you to understand the process. If you then decide to participate, please sign on the second page of this form. You will be given a copy of this form.

I. Nature and Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this ethnographic survey is to gather information about the project area through interviews with individuals who are knowledgeable about the area and/or about the history of this area. The objective of this survey is to provide ethnographic data for the CIA report.

II. Explanation of Procedures

After you have voluntarily agreed to participate and have signed the consent page, the interviewer will record your interview and have it transcribed later. The interviewer may also need to take notes and/or ask you to spell or clarify terms or names that are unclear.

III. Discomforts and Risks

Foreseeable discomforts and/or risks may include, but are not limited to the following: having to talk loudly for the recorder; being recorded and/or interviewed; providing information that may be used in a report; knowing that the information you give may conflict with information from others; your uncompensated dedication of time; possible miscommunication or misunderstanding in the transcribing of information; loss of privacy; and worry that your comment(s) may not be understood in the same way you understand them. It is not possible to identify all potential risks.

IV. Benefits

This survey will give you the opportunity to express your thoughts/knowledge (*mana'o*), which will be listened to and shared; your knowledge may be instrumental in the preservation of significant historic information.

V. Confidentiality

Your rights of privacy, confidentiality and/or anonymity will be protected **if you so desire**. You may request, for example, that your name and/or sex not be mentioned in write-ups, such as field notes, on recorder, on files (disk or folders), drafts, reports, and future works; or you may request that some of the information you provide remain "off-the-record." In order to ensure protection of your privacy, confidentiality and/or anonymity, you should immediately advise the interviewer of your desires. The interviewer will ask you to specify the method of protection, and note it on this form below.

VI. Refusal/Withdrawal

You may, at any time during the interview process, chose to not participate any further and ask the interviewer to erase the interview. Please note that you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

VII. Waiver

Part I: Agreement to Participate

I, _____, understand that Maria "Kaimi" Orr, an independent interviewer contracted by *T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc.* will be conducting oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about Lāna'i City Expansion development area. The oral history interviews are being conducted in order to collect information of the area.

I understand I will be provided the opportunity to review my interview to ensure that it accurately depicts what I meant to say. **I also understand that if I don't return the revised transcripts after two weeks from date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the CIA report. I also understand that I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.**

_____ I am willing to participate.

Signature **Date**

Print Name **Phone**

Address

ZipCode

Email Address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

Part II: Personal Release of Interview Records

I, _____, have been interviewed by *Maria "Kaimi" Orr* of *Kaimipono Consulting Services LLC*, an independent interviewer contracted by *T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc.* I have reviewed the transcripts of digital recordings of the interview and agree that said documentation is complete and accurate except for those matters specifically set forth below the heading "CLARIFICATION OR CORRECTIONS" below.

CLARIFICATION OR CORRECTIONS:

I further agree that **Kaimipono Consulting Services LLC**, **T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc.** *and* **Pūlama Lāna'i** *may use and release my identity and other interview information, both oral and written, for the purpose of using such information in a report to be made public, subject to my specific objections, to release as set forth below:*

SPECIFIC CONDITIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT:

_____

Signature **Date**

_____

Print Name **Phone**

_____

Address

_____

Zipcode

_____ _____

Email address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

APPENDIX D

Ethnographic Basic Research Instrument for Oral History Interviews

This research instrument includes basic information as well as research categories which will be asked in the form of open primary questions which allow the individual interviewed (Consultant) to answer in the manner he/she is most comfortable. Secondary or follow-up questions are asked based on what the Consultant has said and/or to clarify what was said. The idea is to have an interview based on a "talk-story" form of sharing information. Questions will NOT be asked in an interrogation style/method, NOR will they necessarily be asked in the order presented below. This research instrument is merely a *guide* for the investigator and simply reflects general categories of information sought in a semi-structured format. Questions will be asked more directly when necessary.

The Consultants were selected because they met one or more of the following criteria:

- ❖ Had/has Ties to Project Area/Vicinity
- ❖ Known Hawaiian Cultural Resource Person
- ❖ Known Hawaiian Traditional Practitioner
- ❖ Referred By Other Cultural Resource People
- ❖ Referred By Other People (e.g. Staff, Client)

[NOTE: This part of the interview, #1-4 is mutual sharing and rapport building. Most of the information for research categories "Consultant Background" and "Consultant Demographics" come from this section, but not exclusively.]

1. *To start please tell me about yourself…Name? Where/When you were born and raised?*

   [This information can be addressed in a couple of ways. After the investigator first turns on the recorder, the following information will be recorded: Day/Date/Time/Place of Interview; Name of Consultant (if authorized by Consultant; Name of Investigator. Questions: Have you read the Agreement-To-Participate? Do you have any questions before we begin? Will you please sign the Consent Page. The investigator will explain again the purpose of the interview.

   The investigator will then ask the Consultant to "Please tell me about yourself--when/where were you born? Where did you grow up? Where did you go to school?" This general compound question allows the Consultant to share as much or as little as he/she wants without any pressure. Most of the information for #1 may already be known to the investigator.]

2. *History: Your 'ohana/family background; Hawaiianconnection (if any)?*

   [Much of the information for questions #2, 3, and 4 usually comes from the answer to Question #1. If it does not, then these questions will be asked. The answers in this section usually establish how the Consultant meets the criteria; how the Consultant developed his/her information base, etc.]

3. *Youth: Where lived? Grew up?* [This may have been answered in #1]

4. *Schooling*? *Where? When?* [This may have been answered in #1]

[NOTE: The next part of the interview, #5-7 reflects information sought for the following research categories: Land, Water, Marine, Cultural Resources and Use as well as Significant People, Events, History, Mo'olelo (legends/stories). The questions are open-ended so as NOT to "put words in the mouths" of the Consultants. The answers will help in assessing if any cultural properties or practices will be impacted by the proposed project or undertaking.]

5. *Can you tell me what you know about the lands of Project Area? Kamoku?*

   [NOTE: Generally when people share information about a specific topic/place, they usually state where their information came from. If it isn't volunteered, it is asked as a follow-up question(s). A map of the project area should be available to confirm that investigator and consultant are talking about the same place. Photos would also help if a field trip is not possible. The best scenario would be to be "on-site" at some part of the interview…although this is not always practical.]

6. *What are your recollections and/or personal experiences of this area?*

7. *Do you know any stories/legends/songs/chants associated with these areas?*

   [NOTE: Possible follow-up questions:

   - How are you or your family connected to the project area?
   - What year(s) were you and/or your family associated with these lands?
   - What was this place/area called when you were growing up? When you were working here?
   - Can you describe what the area looked like--what kinds of natural and/or man made things?
   - To your knowledge what kind of activities took place in this location?
   - Do you know of any traditional gathering of plants, etc in the area?
   - Please describe any other land/water use? Resources?
   - What was the historic land use? Agriculture? Habitation? Dwellings? Ranching?
   - **[Have map ready for marking.]**
   - Do you know about any burials in the project area?
   - Do you know of any cultural sites in the project area or vicinity?

8 *Is there anyone you know who can also tell me about the project area?*

   [NOTE: Usually in the course of the interview, Consultants suggest other people to interview.]

9. *As soon as this interview is transcribed I will send you two sets. Please review your transcripts and make any corrections and/or additions, then sign both copies of the Release Forms thereby allowing the information to be used by the investigator, T.S.Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists Inc. and Pūlana Lāna'i. Then mail one set back in the enclosed stamped-addressed envelope.* [If available email is also utilized]

10. *If your revised transcript is not returned within two weeks of date of receipt, it will be assumed that you are in concurrence with the transcript material and your information will then be incorporated into CIA, EA or EIS draft reports. However, you can still make changes during the draft review process.*

MAHALO NUI LOA

APPENDIX E

Signed Consent Forms

VI. Refusal/Withdrawal

You may, at any time during the interview process, chose to not participate any further and ask the interviewer to erase the interview. Please note that you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

VII. Waiver

Part I: Agreement to Participate

I, _____, understand that Maria "Kaimi" Orr, an independent interviewer contracted by T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc. *will be conducting oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about Lāna'i City Expansion development area. The oral history interviews are being conducted in order to collect information of the area.*

I understand I will be provided the opportunity to review my interview to ensure that it accurately depicts what I meant to say. ***I also understand that if I don't return the revised transcripts after two weeks from date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the CIA report. I also understand that I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.***

_____ *I am willing to participate.*

Alberto de Jetley — 8/10/2016
Signature **Date**

Alberto de Jetley — 808-649-0808
Print Name **Phone**

P.O. Box 630601
Address

Lanai, HI 96763
ZipCode

lanaitoday@yahoo.com
Email Address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

VI. Refusal/Withdrawal

You may, at any time during the interview process, chose to not participate any further and ask the interviewer to erase the interview. Please note that you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

VII. Waiver

Part I: Agreement to Participate

I, Roberto Hera, understand that Maria "Kaimi" Orr, an independent interviewer contracted by T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc. *will be conducting oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about Lāna'i City Expansion development area. The oral history interviews are being conducted in order to collect information of the area.*

I understand I will be provided the opportunity to review my interview to ensure that it accurately depicts what I meant to say. ***I also understand that if I don't return the revised transcripts after two weeks from date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the CIA report. I also understand that I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.***

✓ *I am willing to participate.*

Roberto Hera — 8-11-16
Signature **Date**

Roberto Hera — 808-565-6672
Print Name **Phone**

P.O. Box 630339
Address

Lanai City, HI — 96763
ZipCode

robertohera@hotmail.com
Email Address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

VI. Refusal/Withdrawal

You may, at any time during the interview process, chose to not participate any further and ask the interviewer to erase the interview. Please note that you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

VII. Waiver

Part I: Agreement to Participate

I, Albert Morita, *understand that Maria "Kaimi" Orr, an independent interviewer contracted by* T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc. *will be conducting oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about Lāna'i City Expansion development area. The oral history interviews are being conducted in order to collect information of the area.*

I understand I will be provided the opportunity to review my interview to ensure that it accurately depicts what I meant to say. ***I also understand that if I don't return the revised transcripts after two weeks from date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the CIA report. I also understand that I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.***

✓ *I am willing to participate.*

Albert Morita — 8/10/2016
Signature — **Date**

Albert Morita — 565-6448
Print Name — **Phone**

P.O.Box 630884
Address

Lanai City, HI — 96763
ZipCode

almorital@gmail.com
Email Address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

VI. Refusal/Withdrawal

You may, at any time during the interview process, chose to not participate any further and ask the interviewer to erase the interview. Please note that you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

VII. Waiver

Part I: Agreement to Participate

I, WARREN OSAKO, *understand that Maria "Kaimi" Orr, an independent interviewer contracted by* T.S. Dye & Colleagues Archaeologist, Inc. *will be conducting oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about Lāna'i City Expansion development area. The oral history interviews are being conducted in order to collect information of the area.*

I understand I will be provided the opportunity to review my interview to ensure that it accurately depicts what I meant to say. ***I also understand that if I don't return the revised transcripts after two weeks from date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the CIA report. I also understand that I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.***

✓ *I am willing to participate.*

Warren Osako — 8/11/2016
Signature — **Date**

WARREN OSAKO — 349-8385
Print Name — **Phone**

P.O. BOX 630340
Address

LANAI CITY, HI — 96763
ZipCode

WMOSAKO@gmail.com
Email Address

MAHALO NUI LOA!

APPENDIX F

Release Statements

Email Release

Alberta Morita **August 23, 2016**

Hi Mia,

Attached is the transcript with my revisions and notes/comments highlighted in blue. Deletions are strike-through and additions are underlined.

By this email, I give Mia Orr, Kaimipono Consulting Services LLC, T.S. Dye Associates and Pulama Lanai permission to use information from the interview conducted with me on August 10, 2016 at the Lanai Culture & Heritage Center, Lanai.

Aloha, Albert

wmosako@gmail.com
Warren Osako **August 31, 2016**

I give Mia Orr, T.S. Dye Associates, and Pulama Lāna'i permission to use the information in this transcript.

Kaimi I did a few minor changes in the transcript, mostly spelling. I'm not the most savvy computer person so I couldn't get the changes to come out in blue. Sorry.

Verbal Release:

Alberta De Jetly
Roberto Hera