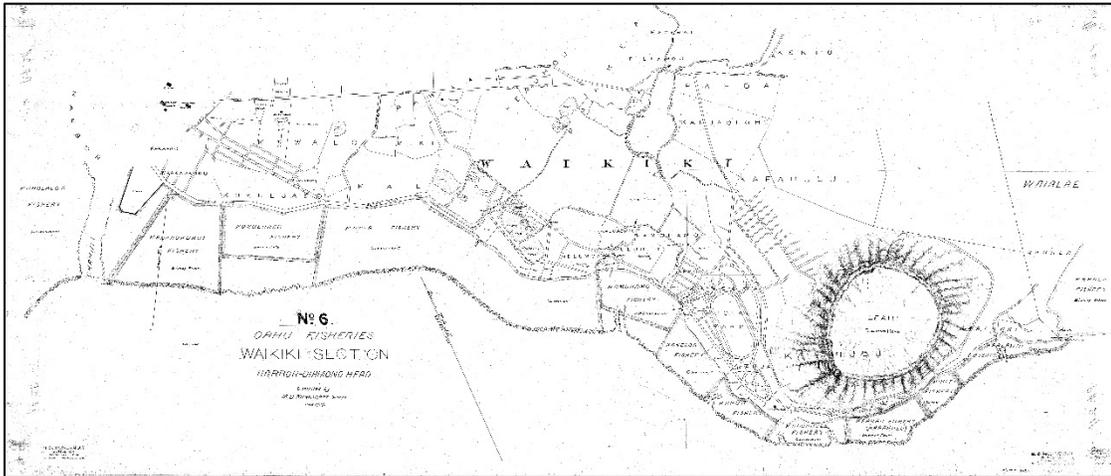


FINAL—Cultural Impact Assessment for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Hotel Revisioning, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Kona District, Island of O‘ahu

TMK: (1) 2-6-004:010



Prepared For:

Group 70 International
925 Bethel Street, 5th Floor
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813



April 2015



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MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

A Cultural Impact Assessment was conducted for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project, at TMK: (1) 2-6-004:010 in Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Kona District, on the island of O‘ahu, in anticipation of hotel improvements.

The current study took the form of background research and an ethnographic survey consisting of four interviews, all of which are included in this report. The background research synthesizes traditional and historic accounts and land use history for the Waikīkī area. Community consultations were performed to obtain information about the cultural significance of the subject property and Waikīkī as a whole, as well as to address concerns of community members regarding the effects of the proposed construction on places of cultural or traditional importance.

As a result of this work, the cultural significance of Waikīkī has been made clear. The background study revealed that Waikīkī was a vibrant region with natural resources that supported traditional subsistence activities such as *lo‘i* agriculture, the gathering of *limu*, and fishing. It was also an area for human burial. Consultations with individuals knowledgeable about Waikīkī produced information on its rich cultural history.

The consultants were generally supportive of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project but shared several concerns and recommendations. Most of these centered around incorporating Hawaiian elements and themes into designs, keeping the community involved in plans, and identifying and caring for historic properties, such as human burials and cultural layers. Another important consideration is access and parking so that today’s *kama‘āina* can enjoy the beach and amenities.

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of Group 70 International, Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting conducted a cultural impact assessment for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Hotel Revisioning Project in Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Kona District, on the island of O‘ahu. Outrigger is planning improvements to the property on TMK: (1) 2-6-004:010, to include demolition of existing structures, transformation of the pool deck, and other improvements. The cultural impact assessment study was designed to identify any cultural resources or practices that may occur in the area and to gain an understanding of the community’s perspectives on the proposed hotel revisioning.

The report begins with a description of the project area and an historical overview of land use and archaeology in the area. The next section presents methods and results of the ethnographic survey. Project results are summarized, and recommendations are made in the final section. Hawaiian words, flora and fauna, and technical terms are defined in a glossary, and an index at the end of the report assists readers in finding specific information. Also included are appendices with documents relevant to the ethnographic survey, including full transcripts of the interviews.

Project Location and Environment

The project area is located on the south shore of O‘ahu, on Waikīkī Beach, in the Kona District of the island (Figure 1). TMK: (1) 2-6-004:010 is situated between Kālia Road and the coast, with Fort DeRussy Beach Park on the west and the Halekulani Hotel on the east.

The Waikīkī of today is generally recognized as the tourist mecca bounded by Diamond Head on the east, Ala Moana on the west, and inland from the Ala Wai Canal to the long sandy shore at the coast. This perimeter is a faint image of the Waikīkī from Hawai‘i’s pre-contact era. In traditional times, Waikīkī was an *ahupua‘a* that stretched much further east to Maunalua and much further west to the outskirts of Kou (Honolulu). And the *ahupua‘a* included all the land in between from the Ko‘olau ridgeline and summits down through the valleys of Pālolo, Mānoa, and Makiki to the seashore (Kanahele 1995).

Of particular note were the extensive marshlands which made up just one specific ecosystem within the large *ahupua‘a* of Waikīkī. The original marshlands of Waikīkī predate the man-made Ala Wai Canal. It spanned the coastline from Diamond Head and Kaimukī in the east; traversed Mō‘ili‘ili while passing the mouths of Mānoa and Makiki Valleys towards Kewalo; and ended roughly near today’s Pi‘ikoi Street in the west. The original Waikīkī marshlands covered a 2,000-acre area three miles wide by one mile long, an expanse approximately four times the size of today’s Waikīkī (Kanahele 1995).

Two major factors contributed significantly to Waikīkī’s hydrology. The first was the continuous flow of subterranean water which manifested itself in former times through an abundance of springs. Indeed, this natural characteristic of Waikīkī reinforced the literal translation of its name, “Spouting Water.” The second significant contributor to Waikīkī’s hydrology was its surface water flow. Originating far inland at the headwaters of Pālolo Stream in Pālolo Valley and Mānoa Stream in Mānoa Valley, these two were a perennial source of fresh water. Further downstream, the Pālolo took the name of Pāhoa Stream, and the Mānoa took the name of Kālia Stream. Both of these streams joined at a place near today’s Kapahulu Library, and after going a little way, divided once again, this time into three streams: the Kuekaunahi Stream, the ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, and the Pi‘inaio Stream. The Kuekaunahi met the sea at Hamohamo, a place near today’s intersection of Kalākaua and ‘Ōhua Streets. The ‘Āpuakēhau met the sea at Helumoa, a place between today’s Moana Surfriider and Royal Hawaiian Hotels. The stream outlet here was also called Muliwai o Kawehewehe meaning

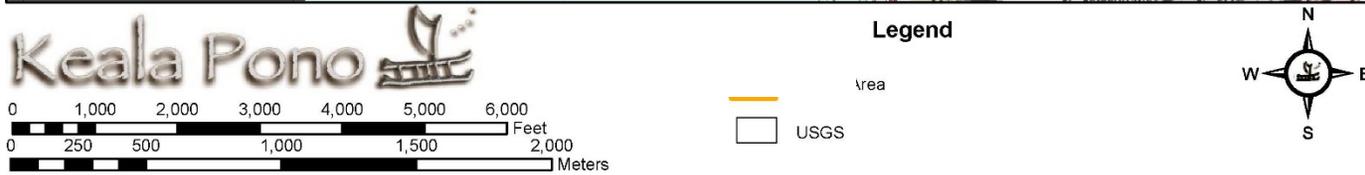
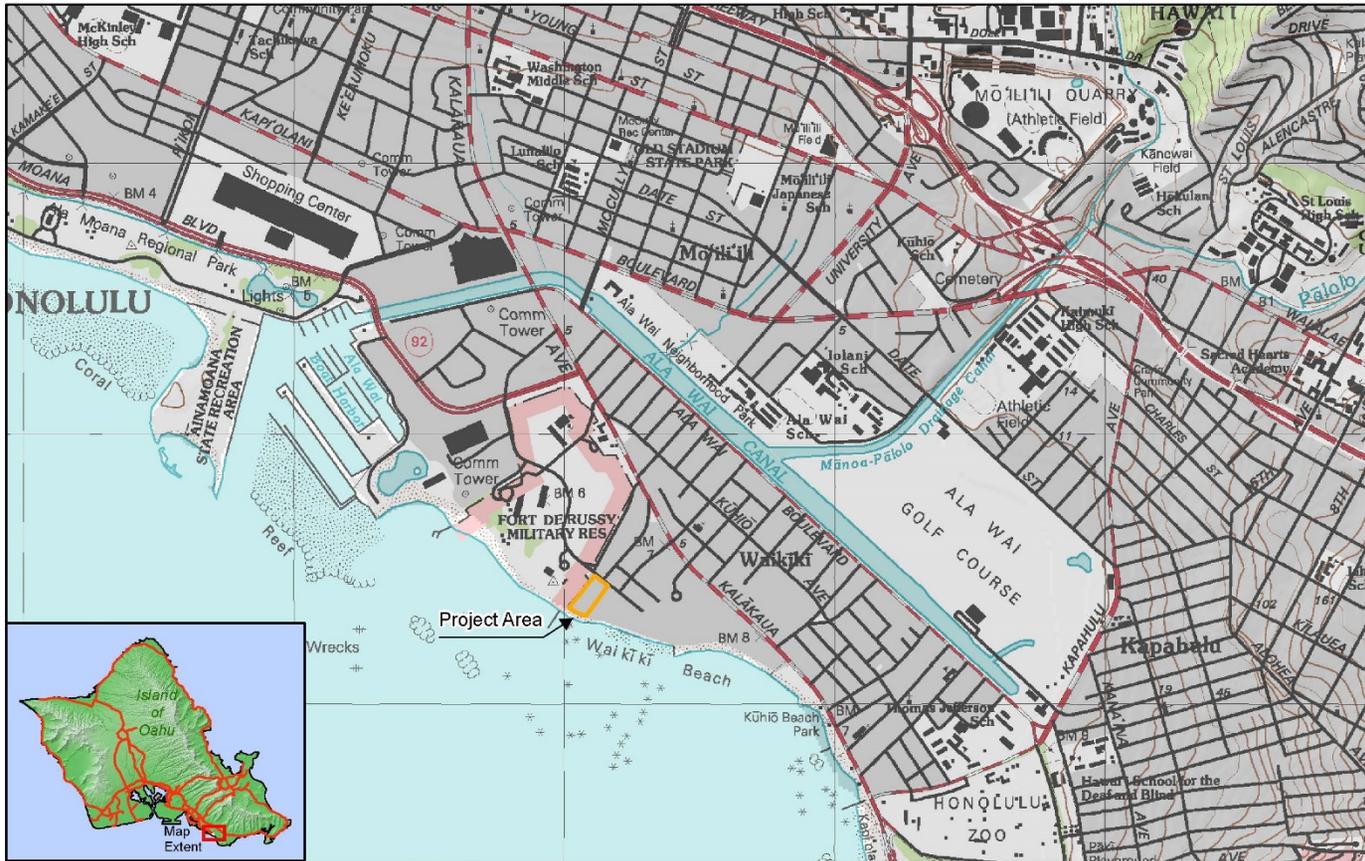


Figure 1. Project area on a 7.5 minute USGS Honolulu quadrangle map.

“The stream which opens the way.” And finally, the third stream was the Pi‘inaio which met the sea at Kālia near today’s ‘Ilikai Hotel. The Pi‘inaio gave way to an enormous sediment-filled delta, much more than that of the Kuekaunahi or the ‘Āpuakēhau. Where these three streams met the ocean, the shorelands in between were called Waikolu or “Three-waters” (Kanahele 1995).

Focusing on the contemporary boundaries of today’s Waikīkī, the terrain is relatively flat with a slope of 0-15%, no more than 15 feet (4.5 meters) above sea level. Its geologic composition consists mostly of well-drained Jaucus Sand (JaC) which is derived from marine shells and coral particles, with a strip of Beaches (BS) at the coast (Figure 2) (Foote et al. 1972). Winds are typical northeasterlies with an average velocity of about 10 miles per hour and varying in frequency from 50% in the winter to more than 90% in the summer. Rainfall averages from 20 to 30 inches annually (Juvik and Juvik 1998), and the average temperature varies from 63 degrees Fahrenheit in the winter to 88 degrees in the summer (Armstrong 1973). The vegetation of Waikīkī is largely made up of maintained ornamentals on a landscape that has been thoroughly modified for many years.

The Undertaking

Improvements proposed for the Outrigger Hotel Revisioning include the demolition of existing structures and conversion of floor area to non-floor area use (Figure 3). Specific improvements are as follows:

- Addition of a Great Lawn to provide a transition from the hotel property to the beach.
- Beachfront improvements include demolition of the Diamond Head Tower, a 4-story structure running along the beachfront, and construction of a series of improvements that transition from the beach into the property, blending the two and providing a sense of open space and connection between the beach and hotel open areas.
- New hotel rooms will be provided through construction of a new 350 ft. hotel tower at the Kalia Road edge of the property. This new tower will offer approximately 100–160 new oceanfront hotel rooms.
- The pool deck will be transformed to feature expanded and enhanced pools, water features, lounging areas, and recreation deck, that gradually step down to beach level open air dining. Approximately 34,000 square feet of new open recreation space will be created.
- Approximately 8,700 square feet of new meeting facilities will be constructed, including a ball room, breakout, and prefunction space to meet a need for mid-sized meetings.
- A gateway will be created at the Kālia Road entry to Waikiki Beach Walk to offer an attractive, landscaped pedestrian experience.
- Service will be improved with new and reconfigured parking, loading, and service routes from Kālia Road.
- Waikiki Beach Walk’s signature Hawaiian sense of place will be continued through physical improvements, signage, programs, and employee training and outreach.



Figure 2. Soils in the vicinity of the project area.

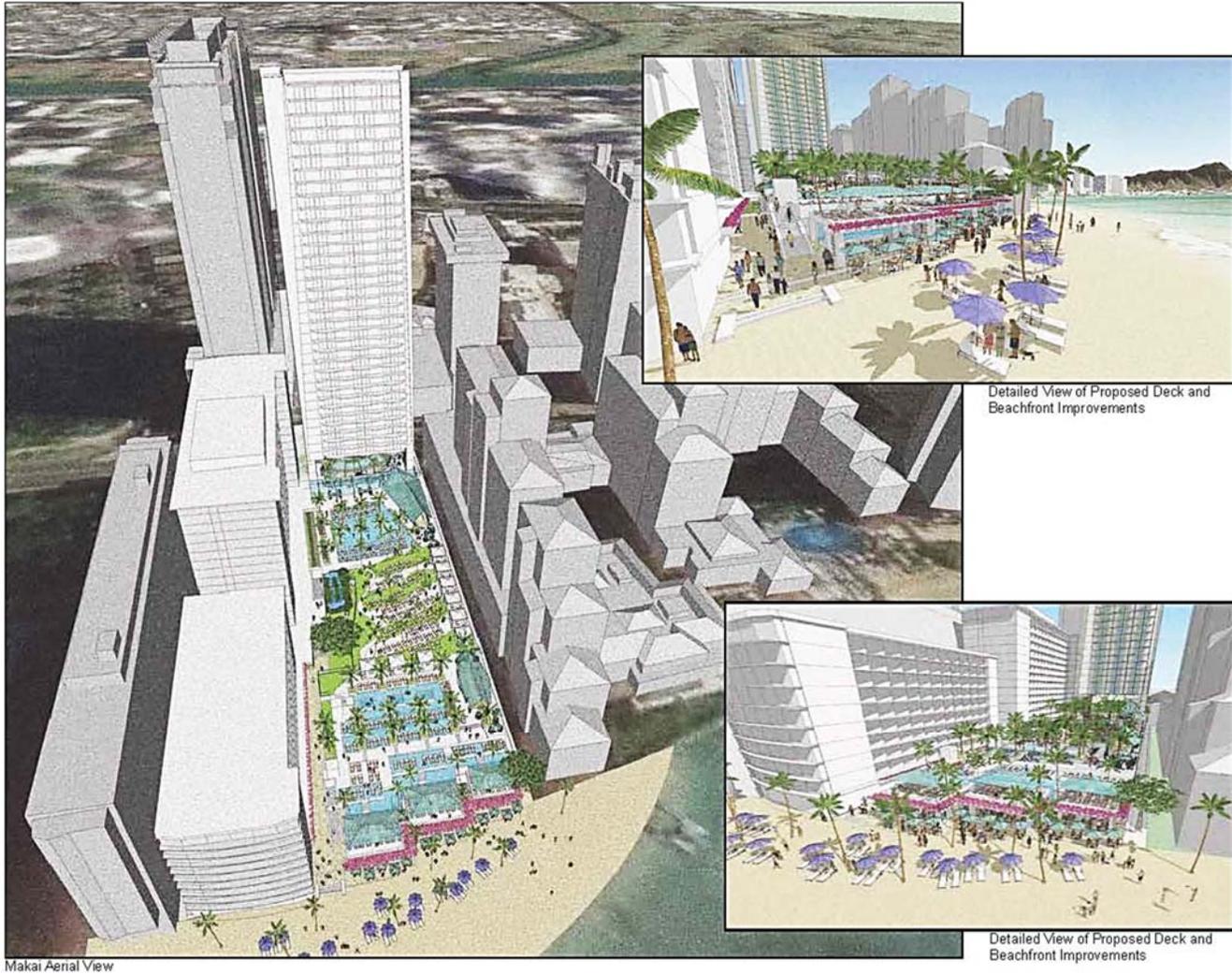


Figure 3. Proposed improvements associated with the undertaking.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL AND HISTORIC BACKGROUND

A brief historic review of Waikīkī is provided below, to offer a better holistic understanding of the use and occupation of the project area. In the attempt to record and preserve both the tangible (i.e., traditional and historic archaeological sites) and intangible (i.e., *mo'olelo*, *'ōlelo no'eau*) culture, this research assists in the discussion of anticipated finds. Research was conducted at the Hawai'i State Library, Hawai'i State Archives, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa libraries, the Leeward Community College library, the SHPD library, and online on the Papakilo database, Ulukau database, Waihona 'Aina database, and the State of Hawai'i Department of Accounting and General Services (DAGS) website. Historical maps and photographs, archaeological reports, and historical reference books were among the materials examined.

Waikīkī in Traditional Times

The recording of Waikīkī's history goes back long before the first accounts were written in the late 1700s. Since the days of antiquity, Waikīkī's history has been documented through oral accounts passed down through the generations. One of the earliest accounts of Waikīkī's inhabitants comes from the early 15th century. This was during the very end of the Hawaiian-Tahitian long distance migrations. There were four renowned *kahuna* who would heal the population of their ills and teach their healing art. They eventually moved back to Tahiti but not before instructing the O'ahu people to consecrate four boulders in their memory. The four boulders remain in Waikīkī today next to the Waikiki Police Station on Kalākaua Street. They are called "Na Pohaku Ola O Kapaemahu A Me Kapuni," and nicknamed "The Wizard Stones." The historian Andrea Feeser shares the story of The Wizard Stones:

Today, the *pōhaku* [stones] are memorialized in recognition of their sacred power and the blessings they have bestowed on many people throughout Hawai'i. The huge basalt boulders, each of which weighs several tons, were moved from Kaimukī to Ulukou [near today's Moana Hotel] sometime around 1400 at the direction of four Tahitian *kāhuna* [priests]. These healers --- Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi --- ...were *māhū* (men who dress and live as women) and possessed both manly stature and feminine grace coupled with tremendous healing powers. They toured all of the Hawaiian Islands before making a home at Ulukou; during their travels, they became famous for many miraculous cures, which they generously taught to their admirers. After a long sojourn in Hawai'i, the four *kāhuna* decided to return to their homeland. Before doing so, they asked their *kanaka maoli* [Hawaiian] friends to move four large stones from the vicinity of the renowned 'bell rock' at Kaimukī... On the night of Pō Kāne... thousands of Native Hawaiians moved the boulders to Ulukou, placing two on the grounds of the healers' residence and two in the surf where the four men loved to bathe... Each stone was named for one of the men who imbued the *pōhaku* with their restorative mana [power]. Today, areas where two of the boulders were originally located also bear their names: Kahaloa is a section of beach, and Kapuni is a portion of Waikīkī surf. (Feeser 2006:79, 81)

Subsistence and Traditional Land Use

The Hawaiian scholar George Kanaha explains that when Waikīkī was first settled, its waters provided most of the food resources. On land, there were few edible plants.

[When the] pioneer families arrived in Waikīkī, the marshland and the valleys had no food resources except for native berries, such as the *'ōhelo* and the roots of the *hāpu'u* fern and the edible birds. Until the new *mahi'ai* (farmers), could prepare the soil, plant the offspring of the *kalo* (taro), *niu* (coconut), *'uala* (sweet potato), or *mai'a* (banana) that they had originally brought from the motherland, they had to rely mostly on the fish in the streams

and sea for nourishment. Other land sources of food were rats and bats and the birds that inhabited the forests and marshes. Time was needed for the migrants to increase the small number of pigs, dogs and chickens which may have accompanied them. (Kanahele 1995:16, 17)

Although some of Waikīkī's aquatic resources came from streams and ponds, the majority came from the bountiful coastal waters. Waikīkī's pelagic waters were rich with deep-sea marine life. Most of the shoreline was devoid of reef due to the flow of fresh water and its sediments into the sea which stifled coral growth. However, there was a healthy reef system growing at the eastern end of Waikīkī fronting Kapi'olani Park and Le'ahi, and there was some reef noted at the western end of Waikīkī towards Kālia. These provided a good variety of reef fishes. In addition, the entire coast offered many other types of marine resources such as crabs, shellfish and *limu* (Kanahele 1995).

To supplement their marine diet, the natives made use of inland ponds. Some ponds were near the shore, separated from the sea by a sand dune, but connected to the sea through a canal or 'auwai; these were called loko pu'uone. Other ponds were further inland and only fed by freshwater streams or springs; these were called loko wai. Many loko wai used to exist in the region of Mo'ili'ili. The loko pu'uone, on the other hand, were plentiful in the delta area of the Pi'inaio Stream at Kalia. All of these ponds were modified, stocked and maintained through the ingenuity of the natives. They added to their waters such things as makaha or sluice gates, paniwai or dams, kahe or fish traps, and umu or man-made fish shelters. Ko'a or shrines were also erected near these water resources and dedicated to the god Ku'ula to ensure an abundant harvest of fish (Kanahele 1995).

Another aquacultural innovation was the *loko i'a kalo*, or taro fish ponds. These were ponds in which fish were raised, but they also served the purpose of growing taro. The latter purpose was probably more important since taro was culturally and spiritually significant in Hawaiian cosmology, and taro was the main starch in the Hawaiian diet. The marsh environment of Waikīkī was perfectly suited for the conditions essential to wetland taro cultivation. An estimated 20 acres of Waikīkī's marshlands were converted for this sole purpose. Some of these wetland taro fields continued into operation well into the 19th century (Kanahele 1995).

Besides taro, the original inhabitants of Waikīkī cultivated 'uala; grew *ipu* for containers; and cultivated *wauke* for clothing. In addition, the *ahupua'a* of Waikīkī provided various ferns and berries for food; *pili* grass for house thatching; *hau* for cordage, clothing, canoe making, and for igniting fires; *mamaki* for clothing; *naio* for timber; *kukui* for food, medicine, and lamp oil; *lama*, 'ōhi'a 'ai and *uhiuhi* for timber; 'olonā for cordage; 'ie'ie for weaving; and the 'ōhi'a *lehua* for house building and weapon making. Clearly, the natural environment of Waikīkī was a place that easily furnished a large community with all the necessities for survival (Kanahele 1995).

Dr. Kanahele explains that Waikīkī started as a patriarchal society firmly centered around the family unit. This extended family or 'ohana was the most important socio-cultural and economic unit. In such a society, the "heads of families initially ruled the settlement in a kind of patriarchal confederacy" (Kanahele 1995:49). It wasn't until many generations later, after immense population growth, that there was the need for strong societal organization under a chiefly class. Under centralized leadership, the Waikīkī tapestry of taro fields and fishponds was developed into one coherent sustaining system (Kanahele 1995).

In addition to the agricultural and aquacultural engineering feats, the centralized leadership organized the population of Waikīkī to construct huge places of worship, or *heiau*. The famed historian Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau named the three Waikīkī *heiau* that were used for human sacrifices. They were Mau'oki, Kupalaha, and Le'ahi, also called Papa'ena'ena (Kamakau 1976).

There is some disagreement as to whether or not Mau'oki Heiau was used for human sacrifice. However, the accounts all agree that Mau'oki was constructed by the legendary ancient people of Hawai'i, the *menehune*. Written in *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko*, Kamakau explained:

Mau'oki was a *luakini heiau* built by the Menehune, a numerous race of men often spoken of in the traditions of *ka po'e kahiko*... Mau'oki was made of stones from Kawiwi in Wai'anae, and there were so many Menehune that each brought one stone, and Mau'oki was completed. (Kamakau 1976:144)

Kanahele stated that Mau'oki was torn down in 1883, and its stones were used for roadwork. He went on to describe the other *heiau* located in Waikiki some of which were enumerated by Kamakau.

[Besides Mau'oki] the other six are: Helumoa, more frequently referred to as the 'Āpuakēhau; the previously mentioned Hale Kumuka'aha built by Ka'ihikapu and Papa'ena'ena at the foot of Diamond Head; Kupalaha at Waikiki's Cunha Beach, which may have been a sister *heiau* to Papa'ena'ena; Kapua, another *luakini* located in the Kapi'olani Park area; Kulanihako'i near Helumoa; and Makahuna near Diamond Head, dedicated to *Kanaloa*, the god of the Seas, and hence attended to by fishermen and seamen. (Kanahele 1995:61)

The famed historian John Papa 'Ī'ī reminds us that there was a well-known, well-traveled network of trails that crisscrossed O'ahu connecting east to west and north to south (Figure 4). Of the famous trail which traversed Waikiki, 'Ī'ī elucidates:

The trail from Kawaiahao which led to lower Waikiki went along Kaananiau, into the coconut grove at Pawaa, the coconut grove of Kuakuaka, then down to Piinaio; along the upper side of Kahanaumaikai's coconut grove, along the border of Kaihikapu pond, into Kawehewehe; then through the center of sandy beach of Ulukou to Kapuni, where the surfs roll in; thence to the stream of Kuekaunahi; to Waiaula and to Paliiki, Kamanawa's house site. The latter was named for the Paliiki in Punahoa, Hilo. Perhaps that was where Kamanawa lived when the king resided in Hilo during the battle called Puana, prior to the building of the great *peleleu* fleet. From Palikki the trail ran up to Kalahu, above Leahi, and on to the place where the Waialae stream reached the sand. (Ii 1959:92)

Mo'olelo

The *heiau* called Kupalaha at today's Cunha Beach, is intimately connected to a supernatural battle against owls in the days of old. As a result of this battle, the O'ahu chief Kakuhihewa pardoned the life of the man named Kapoi who built Kupalaha. The noted ethnographer Dr. Martha Beckwith shared this story concerning Kupalaha Heiau in her documentation of Hawaiian mythology.

A famous Oahu owl story is that of the owl war carried on in behalf of a man named Kapoi who, having robbed an owl's nest, took pity on the lamenting parent and returned the eggs. He then took the owl as his god and built a heiau [Kupalaha Heiau] for its worship. The ruling chief Kakuhihewa, considering this an act of rebellion, ordered his execution but at the moment of carrying out the order the air was darkened by flying owls who had come to his protection. The places on Oahu where the owls made rendezvous for this battle are known today by the word pueo (owl) in their names, such as Kala-pueo east of Diamond Head, Kanoni-a-ka-pueo in Nu'uuanu valley, Pueo-hulu-nui near Moanalua. The scene of the battle at Waikiki is called Kukaunahio-ke-pueo (Confused sound of owls rising in masses). (Beckwith 1970:124, 125)

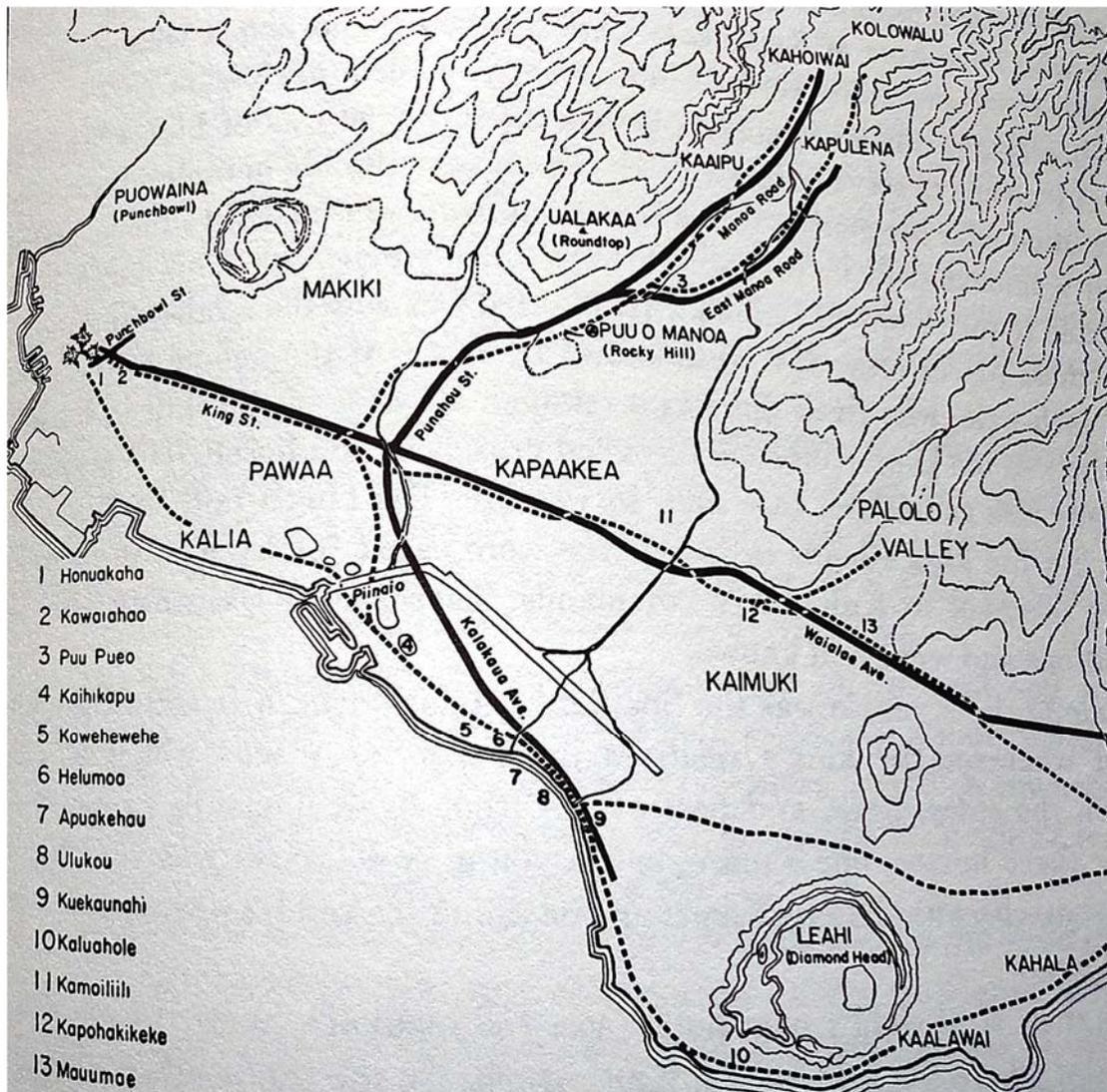


Figure 4. Trails in the vicinity of the project area. Adopted from Ii (1959:93).

Chief Kakuhihewa was just one of many *ali'i* connected to Waikīkī through *mo'olelo*. One of the first *ali'i* mentioned as being connected to Waikīkī was Kalamakua-a-Kaipuholua. He was the chief who built the grand taro fields of Ke'okea, Kualulua, and Kalamanamana and others in Waikīkī. Kalamakua-a-Kaipuhola married the skilled surfing chiefess Kelea-nui-noho-'ana-'api'api. Their daughter La'ie-lohelohe was born in Waikīkī at Helumoa and raised there at Kaluaokau. La'ie-lohelohe later married the famed Maui chief Pi'ilani, and this marriage solidified the ties between Waikīkī and Maui. The son of La'ie-lohelohe and Pi'ilani was Kiha-a-Piilani, an heir to the Maui chiefdom. He was raised in Waikīkī by a *kahuna* at Mau'oki Heiau (Kamakau 1991).

There are many other O'ahu chiefs connected to Waikīkī. Some of the most noted are Mā'ilikūkahi, Ka'ihikapuamanuia, Kakuhihewa, Ka'ihikapuakakuhikewa, and Kahahana. Sometime around the start of the 15th century, Mā'ilikūkahi was born at the sacred birthing place in Wahiawā known as Kukaniloko. When Mā'ilikūkahi was 29 years old, he was chosen by the *ali'i*, *kahuna*, and *maka'ainana* to become O'ahu's king. He consented and moved to Waikīkī, making it his

administrative center. Mā'ilikūhahi was well-loved because he ruled with compassion and wisdom as heard in his decree:

Cultivate the land, raise pigs and dogs and fowl, and take the produce for food. And you, chiefs of the lands, do not steal from others or death will be the penalty. The chiefs are not to take from the *maka 'āinana*. To plunder is to rebel; death will be the penalty. This is my command to the chiefs, the lesser chiefs, the warrior chiefs, the warriors, and the people: all the first-born sons, the *keiki makahiapo*, are to be mine to raise; they will be my sons, *ka'u keiki*, and mine to take care of. (Kamakau 1991:55)

Many generations after Mā'ilikūhahi, Ka'ihikapuamanuia became the ruler of Waikīkī, and like Mā'ilikūhahi, Ka'ihikapuamanuia was well-liked by the people. Ka'ihikapuamanuia built the *heiau* in Waikīkī called Hale Kumuka'aha, and shortly thereafter laid plans to kill his brother Ha'o who was the chief at Waialeale in 'Ewa. After Ka'ihikapuamanuia carried out his plans of murdering his brother, there was a dividing of O'ahu into two chiefdoms. Out of Waikīkī, Ka'ihikapuamanuia continued ruling the districts of Kona, Ko'olaupoko and his brother's former stronghold of 'Ewa. Ha'o's son Napulanahumahiki, who escaped to Wai'anae after his father's murder, became O'ahu's other chief, ruling the districts of Wai'anae, Waialua, and Ko'olauloa (Kamakau 1991).

Upon the death of Ka'ihikapuamanuia, his warrior son Kakuhihewa assumed power. Kakuhihewa's daughter Kaeaakalona married the rival chief Napulanahumahiki of Wai'anae, and once again, O'ahu became one united kingdom under Kakuhihewa. The reign of peace and prosperity that Kakuhihewa brought to the kingdom of O'ahu marked him as the greatest of Mā'ilikūhahi's descendants and gave O'ahu the nickname of "The Sands of Kakuhihewa." Dr. Kanahele sums up the greatness of Kakuhihewa's sway:

Conditions in the kingdom in the mid-1500s were excellent. Agricultural and fishing industries were thriving. Food was abundant and the people were healthy. The prosperous economy attracted chiefs from Maui, Hawai'i and Moloka'i who came to O'ahu to live or to enjoy the excitement and brilliance of the court. Chiefs from the island of Hawai'i also came to escape their own interminable wars. (Kanahele 1995:73)

When Kauhihewa died, his oldest son Kanekapuakakuhihewa became the ruler, and this new king shared the monarchy over O'ahu with his three brothers. One of the four brothers, Ka'ihikapuakakuhihewa, made sure that the kingdom of O'ahu continued to be administered from Waikīkī as well as 'Ewa. Unlike previous generations, the four brothers did not succumb to intrafamily conflict, and as a result they brought five generations of continued peace to O'ahu. Their only challenge came from the outside when the Maui chief Kauhiakama invaded O'ahu at Waikīkī. The invading Maui ruler was routed, and he was offered up at the *heiau* 'Āpuakēhau in Waikīkī (Kanahele 1995).

A little over a century later, the last of O'ahu's sovereign chiefs was Kahahana. Although Kahahana was born on O'ahu, he was raised by his uncle, the chief of Maui, Kahekili. Since the people of O'ahu had been mistreated by their ruler Kumuhana, the O'ahu chiefs deposed Kumuhana and summoned Kahahana from Maui to be their new ruler. Kahahana accepted and sailed for O'ahu where he was greeted with rejoicing when he landed on the Waikīkī shores of Kahaloa, an area between today's Halekulani and Royal Hawaiian Hotels. Kahahana had his residence at Helumoa in Waikīkī as did the future rulers Kahekili and Kamehameha I (Feaser 2006). For a while, Kahahana was a well-loved chief, and much of his good leadership was attributed to the guidance of his high priest Ka'opulupulu. However, Kahahana's uncle Kahekili had coveted the O'ahu kingdom, and he wrongfully convinced Kahahana that Ka'opulupulu was a traitor. As a result, Kahahana killed his high priest and presented him on the sacrificial altar of the *heiau* at Helumoa (Pukui 1983:44). As soon as Kahekili learned that the wise priest was dead, he set out to invade and conquer O'ahu.

Kahekili and his army from Maui landed their war canoes on the shores of Waikīkī covering the entire coast from Ka‘alawai near today’s Diamond Head to Kawehewehe near the present Halekulani Hotel. After three years of fighting, Kahekili finally subdued the forces of Kahahana, and the sovereignty of the O‘ahu kingdom was no more. The year was 1783, and by that time, the Western explorers had also already arrived on O‘ahu’s shores (Kanahele 1995). Thus ended one chapter of O‘ahu’s history and started a new one toward the modern era.

Oli

Waikīkī’s rightful place in Hawaiian pre-contact history is further bolstered by its appearance in traditional *oli* and *‘ōlelo no‘eau*. These expressions of folklore have not lost their merit in today’s society. They continue to be referred to in contemporary discussions of Hawaiian history, Hawaiian values, and Hawaiian identity.

A well-known person in Hawaiian oral traditions is the demigod Kamapua‘a. He was a legendary figure from O‘ahu who could assume the shapes of various plants and animals. In the story of Kamapua‘a published in 1891 in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, Kamapua‘a utters a chant which mentions the wind and rain of Waikīkī by name. He tells us that the wind belonging to Kapua, an ancient well-known surf spot near present-day Kapi‘olani Park, is called Hauālia. Kamapua‘a then indicates that the rain belonging to Waikīkī is called Wa‘ahila:

Oli aku la o Kamapuaa:	Kamapua‘a chanted:
... He Hauālia ko Kapua	... Kapua has the Hauālia [breeze]
He ua Waahila ko Waikiki	Waikīkī has the Wa‘ahila rain
He ua Kūalahale ko Honolulu...	Honolulu has the Kūalahale rain...
	(Akana 2004:13, 16, 17)

In 1923, the Hawaiian Legend and Folklore Commission contracted the American scholar Helen H. Roberts to come to Hawai‘i and record Hawaiian chants and songs. With the invaluable assistance of the Hawaiian scholar Thomas K. Maunupau, Roberts documented close to 700 *mele*. In the section of chants dedicated to the royalty, there is a chant that was composed to honor King Kalākaua, and in this chant, the king is acknowledged by the lights of Lē‘ahi or Diamond Head; the lights of Kaluahole, a coastal area from Lē‘ahi to Black Point; and the lights of Kālia at the western end of Waikīkī. Maunupau and Roberts recorded this chant from Mr. P.K. Kuhi, a resident of Kalihi Kai, Kaua‘i who was born in Honolulu in 1861:

Lamalama i Makapu‘u ke Ahi o Hilo	Brightly shining toward Makapu‘u are the lights of Hilo
...Ho‘ohuelo i luna ke ahi o Lē‘ahi,	...The light of Lē‘ahi send a beam above,
Ho‘onohono i muliwa‘a ke ahi o Kaluahole,	In proper order at the sterns of canoes are the lights of Kaluahole.
Mehe maka ihu wa‘a ala nā ahi o Kālia...	Like mysterious lights are the lights of Kālia...
	(Bacon and Napoka 1995: 132, 133)

Two more chants, which make specific reference to Lē‘ahi, can be found in the collection gathered by Mary Kawena Puku‘i and Alfons L. Korn. They were published in a book called *The Echo of Our Song*. Puku‘i and Korn gathered these works to demonstrate, among other things, the significance of chants “as documents illuminating Hawaiian social and cultural history” (Puku‘i and Korn 1973: xv). The first chant printed below mentions Lē‘ahi in the context of Hawai‘i’s whaling industry in the 1860s. It illustrates the tall-masted whaling ships and reminisces of the love found at Lē‘ahi:

Ka Ulu Lā'au o Kai
 ...O ka home a'e o Lē'ahi,
 Oni ana Pu'u-loa i ke kai,
 Loa ke ki'ina a ke aloha...

Forest Trees of the Sea
 ...Love's home is Diamond Head.
 Love's shelter is where Pearl Harbor hills reach out
 to sea.
 Love's gaze is keen and long...
 (Pukui and Korn 1973: 103, 104)

The other chant from *The Echo of Our Song* which references Lē'ahi does so in the context of Hawai'i's reaction to Hansen's disease, or leprosy, in the 1880s. It is an autobiographical account composed by the great chanter Ka'ehu of Kaua'i who had become afflicted with the illness. In this chant, he lamented the coldness of the Board of Health officials who pointed past Lē'ahi and exiled the afflicted to Moloka'i:

Mele a Ka-'ehu ka Haku Mele
 Lohe ana kauka aupuni,
 Ho'ōuna ke koa māka'i.
 Hopuhopu 'ia mai koku moa,
 Alaka'i i ke ala koku pipi.
 Ku ana imua o ka Papa Ola,
 Papa ola 'ole o nei ma'i.
 Ki'ei wale mai nā kauka,
 Hālō ma'ō, ma'ane'i,
 Kuhi a'e na lima i Lē'ahi,
 'Hele 'oe ma Kalawao!'

Song of the Chanter Ka-'ehu
 ...Word reached the medical authorities.
 The doctors sent the military to fetch us.
 We were caught like chickens,
 like cattle herded along roadway and country lane.
 Then they paraded us before the Board of Health
 but there was no health in that Board for such as we.
 Examining doctors eyed us,
 squinted this way and that.
 More fingers pointed Diamond Head way:
 'You go to Kala-wao!'

(Pukui and Korn 1973:126–128).

Yet another chant which references Waikīkī is *He Inoa no Kualī'i*, a chant which honors the great O'ahu chief Kualī'i. The chant has been shared through the generations by such historians as Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and by Abraham Fornander in his book *Account of the Polynesian Race*. A portion of this chant is published in Kamakau's *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, and in this portion, the waters around O'ahu are described. Here is an excerpt of it from that publication. It describes the coastal waters of Waikīkī:

I nui kai mai Kahiki
 I miha kai i ka 'āina;
 I po'i ke kai i kohola,
 I nehe ke kai i ka 'ili'ili...
 He kai he'e nalu kō Kahaloa,
 He kai ho'opuni kō Kālia...

The great sea from Kahiki
 Quietly surrounds the island;
 The sea breaks on the reef flats,
 The sea whispers to the pebbles...
 Kahaloa [the area between the Halekūlani and Royal
 Hawaiian Hotel] has a sea for surf riding,
 Kālia [the area near Fort DeRussy and the Hilton
 Hawaiian Village] has a surrounding sea...

(Kamakau 1991:44)

'Ōlelo No'eau

Waikīkī's connection with its distinguished coast is also preserved in several traditional proverbs and wise sayings. In 1983, Mary Kawena Puku'i published a volume of close to 3,000 'ōlelo no'eau that she collected throughout the islands. The introductory chapter reminds us that if we know these proverbs and wise sayings well, then we will know Hawai'i well (Pukui 1983). Not all of these 'ōlelo no'eau focus on the sea of Waikīkī, some emphasize other aspects of the *ahupua'a*. But more importantly, the fact that Waikīkī is memorialized in these 'ōlelo no'eau is a testament to the

significance of the entire place. Here are the traditional sayings from Puku‘i’s book which mention Waikīkī either in its text or in its explanation:

(27) Aia aku la paha i Waikīkī i ka ‘imi ‘ahu‘awa.

Perhaps gone to Waikīkī to seek the ‘ahu‘awa sedge.

Gone where disappointment is met. A play on *ahu* (heap) and *‘awa* (sour).

(110) Alia e ‘oki ka ‘āina o Kahewahewa, he ua.

Wait to cut the land of Kahewahewa, for it is raining.

Let us not rush. Said by Kaweloleimakua as he wrestled with an opponent at Waikīkī.

(285) E ho‘i i ka u‘i o Mānoa, ua ahiahi.

Let the youth of Mānoa go home, for it is evening.

Refers to the youth of Mānoa who used to ride the surf at Kalehuawehe in Waikīkī. The surfboards were shared among several people who would take turns using them. Those who finished first often suggested going home early, even though it might not be evening, to avoid carrying the boards to the *hālau* where they were stored. Later the expression was used for anyone who went off to avoid work.

(1378) Ka i‘a pīkoi kānaka o Kālia; he kānaka ka pīkoi, he kanaka ka pōhaku.

The fish caught by the men of Kālia; men are the floaters, men are the sinkers.

In ancient days, when a school of mullet appeared at Kālia, O‘ahu, a bag net was set and the men swam out in a row and surrounded the fish. Then the men would slap the water together and kick their feet, driving the frightened fish into the opening of their bag net. Thus the fishermen of Kālia became known as human fishnets.

(1463) Ka makani kā‘ili aloha o Kīpahulu.

The love-snatching wind of Kīpahulu.

A woman of Kīpahulu, Maui, listened to the entreaties of a man from O‘ahu and left her husband and children to go with him to his home island. Her husband missed her very much and grieved. He mentioned his grief to a *kahuna* skilled in *hana aloha* sorcery, who told the man to find a container with a lid. The man was told to talk into it, telling of his love for his wife. Then the *kahuna* uttered an incantation into the container, closed it, and hurled it into the sea. The wife was fishing one morning at Kālia, O‘ahu, when she saw a container floating in on a wave. She picked it up and opened it, whereupon a great longing possessed her to go home. She walked until she found a canoe to take her to Maui.

(1493) Ka nalu ha‘i o Kalehuawehe.

The rolling surf of Kalehuawehe.

Ka-lehua-wehe (Take-off-the-*lehua*) was Waikīkī’s most famous surf. It was so named when a legendary hero took off his *lei* of *lehua* blossoms and gave it to the wife of the ruling chief, with whom he was surfing.

(1772) Ke one ‘ai ali‘i o Kakuhihewa.

The chief-destroying sands of Kakuhihewa.

The island of O‘ahu. When the priest Ka‘opulupulu was put to death by chief Kahāhana for warning him against cruelty to his subjects, he uttered a prophecy. He predicted that where his own corpse would lie in a *heiau* in Waikīkī, there would lie the chief’s corpse as well. Furthermore, he said, the land would someday go across the sea. This was felt to be a curse. When Kamehameha III was persuaded by a missionary friend to move the capital from Lahaina to O‘ahu, a *kahuna*, remembering the curse, warned him not to, lest the monarchy perish. The warning was ignored, and before the century had passed, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was no more.

(1776) Ke one kuilima laula o ‘Ewa.

The sand on which there was a linking of arms on the breadth of ‘Ewa.

‘Ewa, O‘ahu. The chiefs of Waikīkī and Waikele were brothers. The former wished to destroy the latter and laid his plot. He went fishing and caught a large *niuhi*, whose skin he stretched over a framework. Then he sent a messenger to ask his brother if he would keep a fish for him. Having gained his consent, the chief left Waikīkī, hidden with his best warriors in the “fish.” Other warriors joined them along the way until there was a large army. They surrounded the residence of the chief of Waikele and linked arms to form a wall, while the Waikīkī warriors poured out of the “fish” and destroyed those of Waikele.

Historic Waikīkī

Since the arrival of Westerners to Hawai‘i in the late 1700s, perhaps no other village in the islands epitomizes the transformation of Hawai‘i as well as Waikīkī does. At the time of contact, Waikīkī was the center of rule for the independent O‘ahu kingdom under Kahahana. Waikīkī remained a seat of political administration even under Kahekili, the chief from Maui who wrested control from Kahahana, and it continued to be the seat of rule for the completely unified Hawaiian Kingdom under Kamehameha who conquered Kahekili. After little more than a decade of ruling from Waikīkī, Kamehameha moved the seat of government to Honolulu, but Waikīkī continued to be a place of royal residences, surf spots, and temples.

The first half of the 1800s brought whalers, sandalwood traders, and Protestant missionaries to Waikīkī’s doorstep. The foreigners brought with them new diseases for which Hawaiians had no immunization, and as a result, there was a rapid depopulation of Waikīkī and throughout Hawai‘i. Waikīkī’s once-thriving taro fields and fishponds would decline severely. In the latter half of the 1800s, the lands and fishponds of Waikīkī would be carved out for the royalty, the commoners, and the foreigners, allowing everyone ownership, a new concept of land tenure in Hawai‘i. The land-owning foreigners would start massive agricultural ventures throughout the islands bringing in laborers from Asia and other places around the world. Some of these new Asian laborers found their way to Waikīkī and rehabilitated the fields and ponds of Waikīkī to a productive state. By the end of the century, Waikīkī was a lovely back country near bustling Honolulu, but that would change with the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation by the United States.

As the 1900s started, the U.S. military began construction of a base in Waikīkī and dredged the Ala Wai Canal, permanently changing the nature of Waikīkī’s landscape. This spurred a host of construction projects by developers wanting to capitalize on the filled-in former marshlands. Development came to a standstill during the Second World War when martial law strictly regulated non-military presence in Waikīkī. But after the war, the construction projects in Waikīkī ensued. The latter half of the 1900s witnessed hyper-development of Waikīkī, turning it into one of the most famous tourist destinations in the world today.

Historic Land Use

By the time Western explorers had arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, Waikīkī had been the seat of Hawaiian royalty for almost four centuries. As pointed out in the previous section, O‘ahu’s King Mā‘ilikūkahi made Waikīkī the seat of his kingdom when he assumed power in the early 1400s. Because of Mā‘ilikūkahi’s wisdom and benevolence toward his people, the kingdom of O‘ahu flourished. O‘ahu’s prosperity endured throughout the centuries as Mā‘ilikūkahi’s descendants followed his style of rule, the most renowned being the great Chief Kakuhihewa. Generations after Kakuhihewa, Kahahana became the ruler of O‘ahu, and it was in 1783, during his reign, that Chief Kahekili of Maui conquered the island, and O‘ahu never again regained its independence.

Some of our first Western accounts of Waikīkī were written during the reign of Kahekili. In 1792, the British Captain George Vancouver anchored off of Waikīkī and described the wealth he saw on the land:

On shores, the villages appeared numerous, large, and in good repair; and the surrounding country pleasingly interspersed with deep, though not extensive valleys; which, with the plains near the sea-side, presented a high degree of cultivation and fertility...

Our guides led us to the northward through the village, to an exceedingly well-made causeway, about twelve feet broad, with a ditch on each side.

This opened our view to a spacious plain, which... had the appearance of the open common fields in England; but, on advancing, the major part appeared to be divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. These several portions of land were planted with the eddo or taro root, in different stages of inundation; none being perfectly dry, and some from three to six or seven inches under water. The causeway led us near a mile from the beach, at the end of which was the water we were in quest of. It was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up, and nearly motionless; some small rills only, finding a passage through the dams that checked the sluggish stream, by which a constant supply was afforded to the taro plantations. (Kanahele 1995:82,83)

Another early Westerner who contributed to the first written accounts of Waikīkī was Archibald Menzies, an expert on board Vancouver’s ship, who specialized in natural environmental studies. He echoed the favorable descriptions that Vancouver gave about Waikīkī:

The verge of the shore was planted with a large grove of cocoanut palms, affording a delightful shade to the scattered habitations of the natives. Some of those near the beach were raised a few feet from the ground upon a kind of stage, so as to admit the surf to wash underneath them... We pursued a pleasing path back to the plantation, which was nearly level and very extensive, and laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the cloth plant. These, in many cases, were divided by little banks on which grew the sugar cane and a species of *Draecena* [the *ki* or *ti* plant] without the aid of much cultivation, and the whole was watered in a most ingenious manner by dividing the general stream into little aqueducts leading in various directions so as to be able to supply the most distant fields at pleasure, and the soil seemed to repay the labour and industry of these people by the luxuriantcy of its productions. Here and there we met with ponds of considerable size, and besides being well stocked with fish, they swarmed with water fowl of various kinds such as ducks, coots, water hens, bitterns, plovers and curlews. (Kanahele 1995:83)

Within two years of Vancouver’s 1792 visit, Chief Kahekili died, and control of O‘ahu went to Kahekili’s son, Kalanikūpule. The next year, 1795, Chief Kamehameha of Hawai‘i Island landed his

war canoes along Waikīkī's shore to engage Kalanikūpule in battle. So massive was Kamehameha's war fleet that his canoes covered two miles of shoreline from Waikīkī to Wai'ālae. Kamehameha advanced across Waikīkī toward Nu'uānu Valley and met Kalanikūpule's forces at the Nu'uānu Pali in the back of the valley. There he overwhelmed Kalanikūpule's warriors at the Battle of Nu'uānu, effectively gaining control of all the islands from O'āhu to Hawai'i. Kamehameha took up residence in Waikīkī like the rulers before him and administered his kingdom from there (Kanahele 1995).

Dr. Kanahele noted that the name of Kamehameha's royal residence at Waikīkī was Kuihelani. It had a central location along the coast at Pua'ali'ili'i, an area between today's Royal Hawaiian and Moana Hotels (Kanahele 1995). The Hawaiian historian John Papa 'Ī'i described Kamehameha's Waikīkī household, the birth of his children there, and his farmlands further inland:

He (Kamehameha) dwelt part of the time at Helumoa in Puaaliilii, Waikiki (in the house mistakenly called Kekuaokalani; Kuihelani is the correct name) to till the famous large gardens there. (1959:69)

Kamehameha's houses were at Puaaliilii, makai of the old road, and extended as far as the west side of the sands of Apuakehau. Within it was Helumoa, where Kaahumanu ma went to while away the time. The king built a stone house there, enclosed by a fence; and Lamalo, Wawae, and their relatives were in charge of the royal residence. Kamalo and Wawae were the children of Luluka and Keaka, the childhood guardians of Kamehameha. (1959:17)

Kamehameha had three sons and two daughters born to him during his residence on Oahu. Kinau, by Kaheiheimalie, was the older of the daughters and Nanaulu was the younger... Kinau and an older child than she were born at Waikiki. Kinau's eyes rolled about, but she was one of the king's brightest children. (1959:70)

He (Kamehameha) also farmed at Ualakaa in Manoa, in Waikiki, and in Kapalama. (1959:68)

In 1809, Kamehameha moved his royal court from Waikīkī to Honolulu (Kanahele 1995). That same year, Kamehameha sentenced an adulterer to death and had the transgressor's body placed on Waikīkī's Papa'ena'ena Heiau in one of his last such recorded uses of that structure. John Papa 'Ī'i explained that the condemned in this case was guilty of having relations with Kamehameha's favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu:

When, in 1809, Kanihonui, a nephew of Kamehameha, was put to death for committing adultery with Kaahumanu, Kaahumanu's wrath was aroused. She sought to recover from her anger but was unable to do so; and she considered taking the kingdom from the king by force and giving it to the young chief, Liholiho. Before she laid her plans for the war, a holiday for the purpose of surfing at Kapua in Waikiki was proclaimed, because the surf was rolling fine then. It was where one could look up directly to the heiau on Leahi, where the remains of Kanihonui were, all prepared in the customary manner of that time. It was said that only Kaleiheana, who was a Luluka, watched over the corpse from the time of death until it was decomposed. The chiefess had heard something about her lover's remains being there, and perhaps that was why the proclamation was made. (Ii 1959:50, 51)

The following year, Kamehameha met King Kaumuali'i of Kaua'i in Honolulu to negotiate a peaceful way for Kaua'i to join the rest of the Hawaiian kingdom. It was agreed upon that Kaumuali'i would surrender his lands to Kamehameha as long as Kaumuali'i would be allowed to continue governing Kaua'i under Kamehameha's rule. Thus marked the final unification of all the Hawaiian Islands under one monarch. While Kamehameha ruled his unified kingdom from Honolulu, he, like many other chiefs, held onto his royal lands at Waikīkī. Kamehameha died in 1819, and in a twist of

fate, the very next year marked the arrival of Protestant missionaries from America intent on Christianizing the Hawaiian nation. Kamehameha's wife, the Chiefess Keōpūolani, was among those first royals who converted to Christianity. She was taught the Christian faith at her house in Waikīkī:

The missionaries concentrated on the chiefs, especially those who had supported the breaking of the kapu system. One of the converts was Keopuolani who, in failing health, moved to the quiet groves of Waikīkī in early 1823... During the few weeks she encamped there she was taught the gospel by Hiram Bingham and other missionaries, including Taua, a Tahitian. (Kanahele 1995:107)

Not all of the chiefs and commoners welcomed the new religion of the missionaries. There was a division between those who converted their faith and those who clinged to the old religion. Chief Boki, the governor of O'ahu, was one of the chiefs who adhered to the traditional beliefs. He was the younger brother of Chief Kalanimoku, a trusted advisor to Kamehameha I, and he did not approve of Ka'ahumanu's efforts to control Kamehameha II. In 1826, he hid in Waikīkī while devising a plot to get rid of Ka'ahumanu:

In December 1826... After Kaahumanu's return, a rumor went abroad that Boki desired to rebel against her... (Boki) decided to take the king and his men to hide in Waikiki.

Before they departed for Waikiki, Boki sent secretly for Hinau, Kaleohano, Aua, and Kapalaau and commanded them to gather the people of Kapahu and destroy Kaahumanu. He said, 'We will wait at Waikiki and when we hear the report of your guns at Kapahu, we will know that you have carried out the deed.' Those who were so commanded were filled with consternation. They discussed the fact that Kaahumanu had no fault, and they refused to carry out the evil deed. They resolved to send Kapalaau to notify Kekuanaoa to inform Kaahumanu of what Boki wanted them to do. Kinau overheard Kapalaau telling Kekuanaoa, and departed tearfully at once to go to Kaahumanu. 'What are the tears for?' asked Kaahumanu.

Kinau replied, 'Boki plots your death and has commanded Hinau, Kaleohano, Aua, and Kapalaau to kill you. They sent Kapalaau to tell Kekuanaoa because they were sorry for you and refused to carry out Boki's evil plan.' (Ii 1959:153-155)

Chief Boki's wife, Liliha, followed in her husband's footsteps with a displeasure for Ka'ahumanu's political influence. After Boki died, Liliha plotted against Ka'ahumanu, and like Boki's failed plot, Liliha's attempt to overcome Ka'ahumanu failed. As a result, Liliha was stripped of her governance of Waikīkī, and Keloā was named the new administrator of the Waikīkī lands (Kanahele 1995).

Other *ali'i* maintained their residences and lands at Waikīkī throughout the years. Besides being the homes of Kamehameha I, and Kahekili and Kahahana before him, Waikīkī was also notably the home of Kamehameha V, and Princess Ke'elikōlani and Princess Pauahi after him. Kamehameha V, also named Lota Kapuāiwa, built his home at Helumoa on the grounds of the present-day Royal Hawaiian Hotel. When he died in 1872, his property was inherited by Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani, and when she died, the property went to Princess Pauahi (Feaser 2006).

A very important thing to point out is that while the monarchs continued ruling, while the missionaries continued proselytizing, and while more foreigners kept arriving onto Hawai'i's shores in increasing numbers, the native Hawaiian population declined drastically. Much of this decline has been attributed to foreign-introduced diseases to which the Hawaiians had no immunity. The resulting depopulation was unmistakably apparent in the landscape of Waikīkī and throughout the villages on all of the islands. In 1828, a French navigator named Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly observed the landscape of Waikīkī and Honolulu and wrote:

...irrigation canals are now blocked nearly everywhere; small ponds where taro was grown are totally dried and barren... great expanses of terrain, remnants of what had been dikes and causeways, where now the soil has been so much reduced from its normal elevation that no further witness is needed to prove that in earlier times here stood fields under constant cultivation. (Kanahele 1995:112)

One of the early Protestant missionaries to Hawai‘i, Levi Chamberlain, echoed the remarks of Duhaut-Cilly:

We took a path... leading through a grove of tall cocoanut trees towards Waikīkī --- our path led us along the borders of extensive plots of marshy ground, having raised banks on one or more sides, and which were once filled with water, and replenished abundantly with esculent fish’ but now overgrown with tall rushes waving in the wind. The land all around for several miles has the appearance of having been once under cultivation. I entered in to conversation with the natives respecting its present neglected state. They ascribed it to the decrease of population. (Kanahele 1995:112)

By the mid-1800s, thousands upon thousands of native Hawaiians had succumbed to the arrival of one epidemic after another—dysentery, whooping cough, measles, typhoid, small pox, mumps, syphilis, and gonorrhea. In response to the small pox epidemic of 1853, a hospital was built in Waikīkī near today’s Kapi‘olani Park to treat the natives. As a sign of the times, there had already been a hospital in Waikīkī, the first in all of Hawai‘i, built in 1837, but it was only opened to treat American seamen (Kanahele 1995).

The depopulation of Hawai‘i by foreign diseases was a major factor that shaped early history of post-contact Waikīkī. Two more events would occur by the end of the century that would drastically affect Waikīkī and indeed all of Hawai‘i. One was the proclamation of the Māhele of 1848, and the other was the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 which led to Hawai‘i’s annexation by the United States in 1898.

Māhele Land Tenure

On the heels of the depopulation of the Hawaiian nation in the first half of the 1800s was the official enactment of King Kamehameha III, called the Māhele of 1848. This proclamation by the king divided the lands throughout Hawai‘i and set aside land ownership for three groups of people: the king, the chiefs, and the commoners. This was a sweeping departure from the traditional land tenure system which originally fostered common stewardship rather than private ownership:

THE MAHELE is rightfully considered one of the most significant chapters in the modern history of Hawai‘i. Several legislative acts during the period 1845–1855 codified a sweeping transformation from the centuries-old Hawaiian traditions of royal land tenure to the western practice of private land ownership. (Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995)

The king enacted the Māhele intending for it to provide the Native Hawaiian population with an irrevocable land base they would own. The process that the commoners needed to follow to secure their land titles consisted of filing a claim with the Land Commission; having their land claim surveyed; testifying in person on behalf of their claim; and submitting their final Land Commission Award to get a binding royal patent. However, in actuality, the vast majority of the native population never received any land commission awards recognizing their land holdings due to several reasons such as their unfamiliarity with the process, their distrust of the process, and/or their desire to cling to their traditional way of land tenure regardless of how they felt about the new system (Moffat and Fitzpatrick 1995).

With regard to Waikīkī, about 250 high chiefs, lesser chiefs, and commoners filed land claims for the *ahupua'a*. Among those awarded lands there were six well-known chiefs, and their properties are broken down as follows: 2,229 acres went to William Charles Lunalilo, a future king of Hawai'i. His Waikīkī lands were at Kamoku, Kaluaokau, and Kapahulu. Another 133 acres went to Mataio Kekuaano'a, the husband of Kamehameha I's daughter Kīna'u. His lands were at Uluniu, Kapuni, and Kālia including the large fishpond called Paweo. Another 100 acres went to Ane Keohokalole, the mother of future King Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uokalani. Her land was at Hamohamo. An additional 62 acres remained under the ownership of the current king, Kamehameha III, himself the son of King Kamehameha I and Queen Keōpūolani. His lands were at Hohe, Kalamalama, and Ke'okea. Another 11 acres went to Keoni Ana, the son of the daughter of Kamehameha I's brother Keli'imaika'i. His land was at Pāhoa. And nine acres went to Kapa'akea, the great-grandson of Kamehameha I's advisor/uncle Kame'eiamoku. His land was at Kapa'akea. The total Waikīkī acreage awarded to the king and his chiefs amounted to 3,235.95 acres (Kanahele 1995).

Most of the awardees given land from the Māhele of 1848 were commoners, chiefly retainers, and *konohiki* or land managers. Most of the land awards given to the commoners were less than an acre in size with just a few exceptions. The total Waikīkī acreage awarded to the commoners was roughly 691 acres. Kanahele provides some details:

A partial list of the non-royal awardees names and the locations of their lands are as follows: Aua, Kaelemakule, Kalawaia, Kamaukoli, Kameheu, Kapule, Muakoki, and Okuu in Auaukai. Haau, Iwinui, Kaanaana, Kahaka, Kahue, Kaiahopuwale, Kalui, Kapea, Keamalu, Kinikini, Koa, Kuihewa, Manaole, Naa, Ohuohu, Palaualelo, Pelekane, and Pupuka in Hamohamo. Laamama, Kahope, Kalaiheana, Kanemakua, Okauu and Wahahee in Helumoa. Kaleipaopao, Kaluahimenui, Kanae, Kaua, Kawaihapai, Manaole, Nalaweha, Naoho, and Wahahee in Kanukuaua. Ainoa, Kahiloaho, Kahope, Kaluhi, Kamaka, Kao, Kauhao and Makoli in Kanukulahi. Alapai, Aua, Kaauhau, Kaeina, Kahikaele, Kamalie, Kaihuoaloa, Kalaeone, Kaleipaopao, Kaluahinenui, Kaluaolka, Kamaukoli, Kaohulenui, Kapapa, Kapilimanu, Kaua and Kaunuohua in Kalia. Haole, Kaaha, Kaaimoa, Kahue, Kamoho, Kaneauhi, Kaniuhi and Kawela in Kapaakea. And Kohokahina and Waikīkī (in 1848 this was also a personal name) in Ulukou and William Sumner [a part-Hawaiian also known as J. S. Keolaloa] in Kuilei. (1995:117)

In 1850, the king passed another law, this one allowing foreigners to buy land. Regarding foreign landowners in Waikīkī, Kanahele sheds some light on this as well:

Only a handful of foreigners were awarded land parcels in Waikīkī. They included Nicholas George 1.92 acres in Kaluaolohe, and J. Emmanuel, 2.64 acres, W. Webster, 12.7 acres, George McLean, 1.5 acres, Alice Montgomery, .58 acres, and Francis Spencer, 1.4 acres, all in Kālia. Their total holdings amounted to less than 21 acres.

For the next 20 years additional properties went to non-Hawaiians with names such as, E. H. Allen, W.L. Green, H. J. Holdsworth, Catherine Lewis, Lawrence McCully, H. F. Poor and H. Widemann. With the exception of Chief Justice McCully who was awarded 118 acres, the other foreign landowners owned only about a dozen acres that, like the royal properties, were mostly located on or near the beach. (1995:118)

Until the mid-1800s, all foreigners arriving in Hawai'i were mostly White American and European. But with the advent of Hawai'i's sugar and pineapple industries in the 1800s, non-White immigrants began arriving in Hawai'i in great numbers to work on the large plantations. It is important to give some historical context before illustrating the effect that the Asian arrivals had on the transformation of Waikīkī in the latter 1800s:

Extensive Asian settlement in Hawai‘i was made possible by American colonial efforts to secure a labor base for a settler plantation economy... Thus by 1852, when the first major contract labor group of Chinese arrived in Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian Kingdom was already a nation in distress under Western forces of colonialism. As the Hawaiian population continued to plummet, the sugar planters sought to build their empire by securing Asian laborers from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines. The planters found that British, American, Spanish, and Japanese acts of imperial aggression created social and political conditions in Asia that helped to facilitate their own efforts in the building of an American settler colony in Hawai‘i. (Fujikane 2008:17)

Hence, when the taro fields and fishponds of Waikīkī deteriorated due to the native depopulation of Hawai‘i, it was conducive for the newly arrived Chinese agricultural immigrants to work in the fields and ponds of Waikīkī. The Chinese immigrants, many of whom eventually married Native Hawaiians, rehabilitated the dilapidated taro fields, turning many into thriving rice fields as well. And they restored Waikīkī’s fishponds, stocking a healthy fish market with *‘ama ‘ama, awa, and i ‘a pake* and turning some of the fishponds into lucrative duck farms as well. The Chinese soon had many interests in Waikīkī:

Hawaiians began to lease their lands to new Chinese immigrants who knew all about rice cultivation. Occasionally, they sold their lands... Hawaiian landowners, including the Bishop and Lunalilo estates, were more than happy to lease their old taro patches—hundreds of which were ‘lying idle’ and unused, ‘at exceptionally high rents.’ Rice had become the survival crop that offered more profits than taro. (Kanahele 1995:121, 122)

[The Chinese immigrant Lum Yip Kee] made his money initially by raising taro in Mānoa and Mō‘ili‘ili where he also had a poi factory. Eventually he controlled the largest poi factories on O‘ahu along with hundreds of acres of taro lands in Mānoa, Pālolo and Mō‘ili‘ili. (Kanahele 1995:123)

As time went on, Hawaiian landowners leased their fish ponds to the Chinese... Not only did the Chinese operate the fish ponds, but they also controlled the local fish market... In 1889, the Chinese-controlled fish market was able to supply the demand for mullet by Honolulu’s restaurants, almost all of which were run by Chinese. (Kanahele 1995:128)

The 19th century ended with an exponential number of immigrants from various parts of the globe arriving in Hawai‘i to work on the plantations. This influx continued well into the 20th century. As the economy in the islands changed and an increasing number of Westerners gained power and influence, conditions were set in place for the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by Americans and Europeans in Hawai‘i. This paved the way for an irrevocable future for Waikīkī and a permanent change on its landscape as the 20th century began (Feaser 2006).

Historic Maps and Photographs

Historic maps and photos help to paint a picture of Waikīkī in years past and illustrate the many changes that have taken place in the region. The earliest map found for this area is from 1825 (Figure 5). Little detail is shown of the project area vicinity, although palm trees are illustrated inland of the coast, along with a symbol that may depict marshland. To the east of the project area are two fresh water ponds and “Ruins or a Morai.” Farther inland is “Cultivated Land.”

An 1879 map shows development already beginning in Waikīkī, with roads and structures illustrated (Figure 6). The project area is mostly within the lot labeled as “Nalaweha L.C. 1512,” but may extend into the adjacent lot marked as “Haaheo L.C. 1380 C.C. Harris.” A house is depicted on this

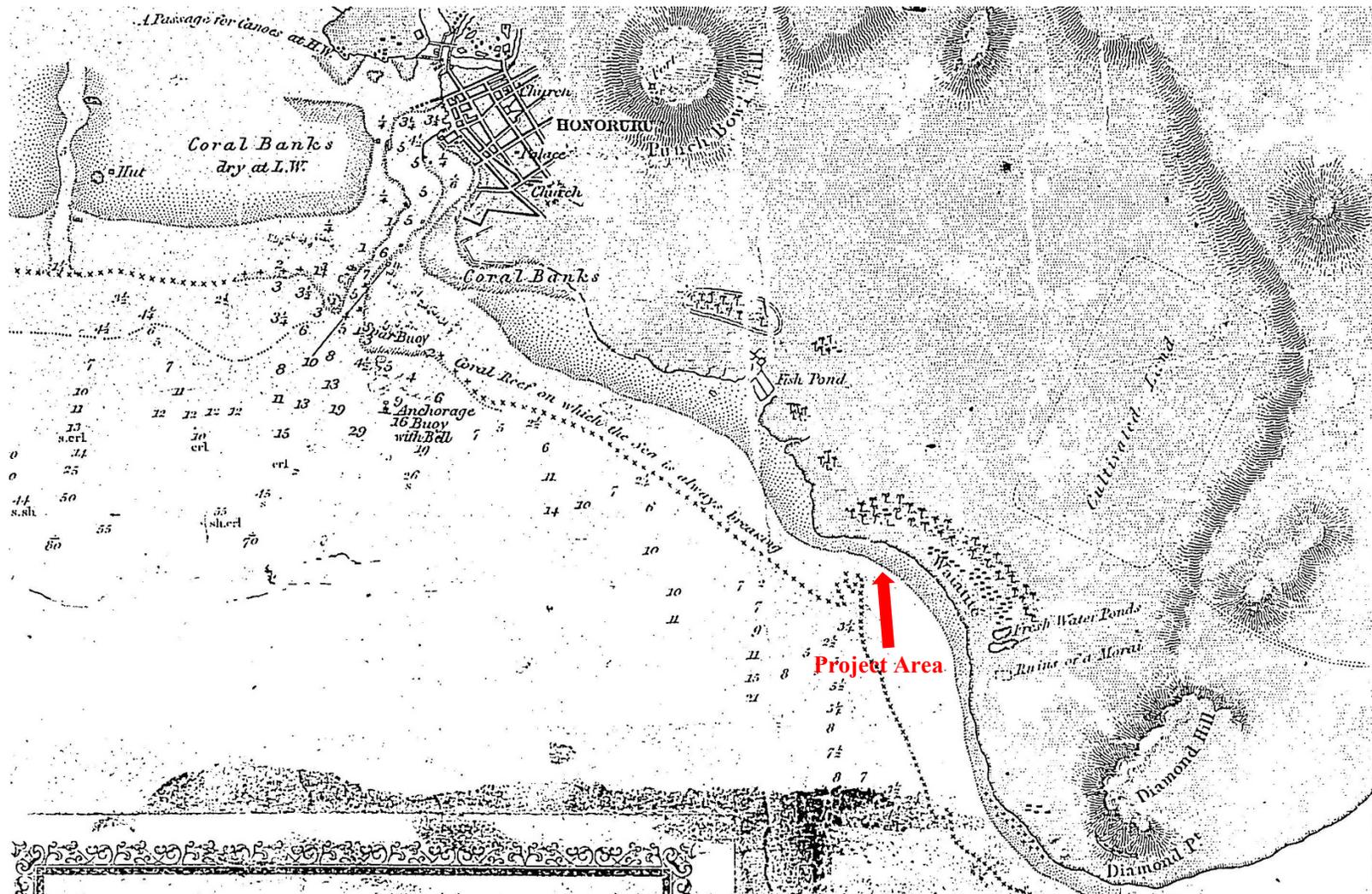


Figure 5. Portion of a map of the south coast of O'ahu (Malden 1825).

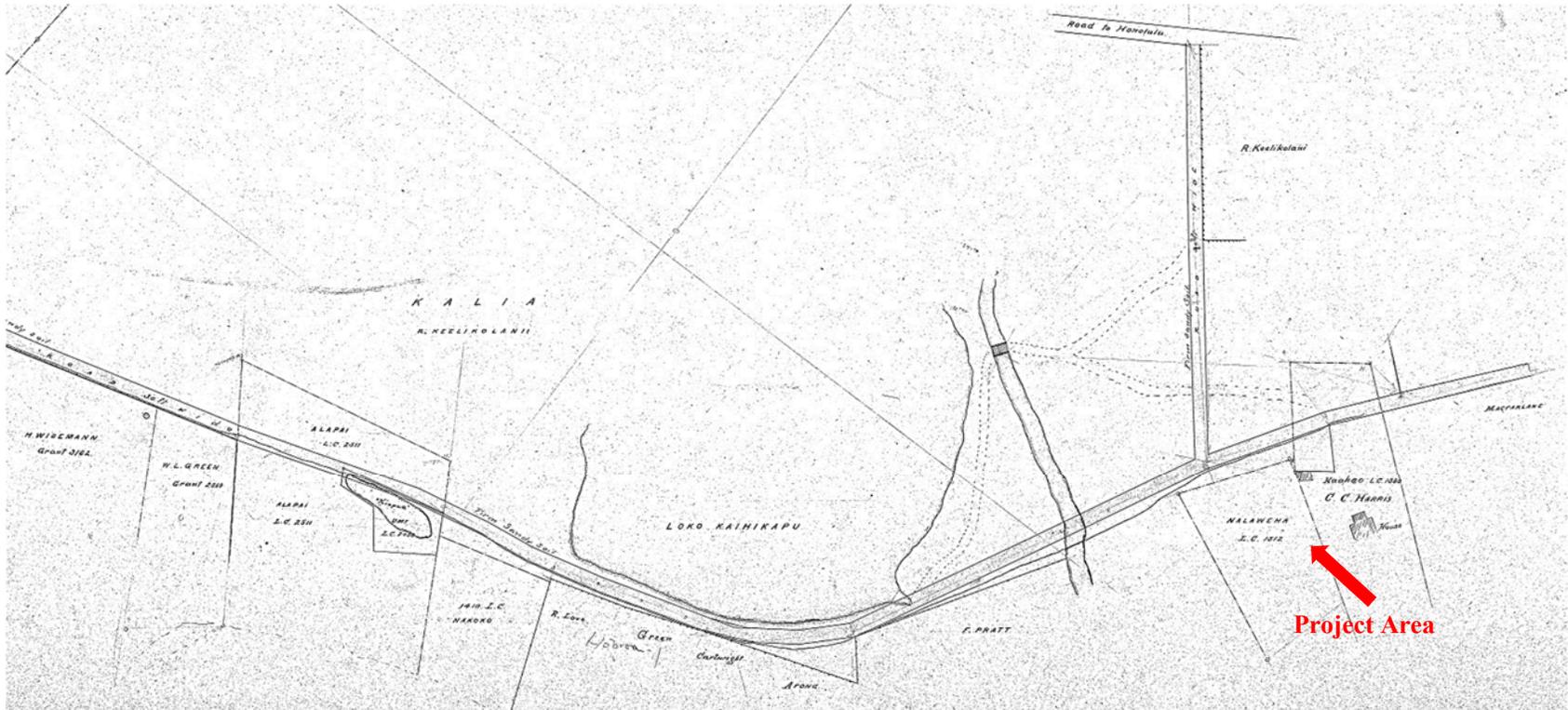


Figure 6. Portion of an early map of Waikiki (Brown 1879).

latter property. A road heads *makai* to *mauka*, intersecting with the “Road to Honolulu.” The west side of the *makai/mauka* road is labeled as “Firm Sandy Soil.” The Fort DeRussy area is marked “Loko Kaihikapu.”

By 1892, more development is seen in Waikīkī and Honolulu (Figure 7). A grid of streets occupies the expanse south of Punchbowl, and Kapi‘olani Park is already established. The project area lies in what looks to be marshland, with a series of ponds just to the north.

Just a few years later, as shown on an 1897 map, the main streets near the project area are laid out (Figure 8). These include Kālia Road, Saratoga Road, and Lewers Street (called Lewers Road at the time). Many structures are depicted along the coast within and around the project site, with the project lands labeled “S.M. Damon” and “F.S. Keiki.” Despite all the new development, ponds are still present to the northeast.

The ponds in the 1892 map can still be seen in a 1909 fisheries map (Figure 9). Two of the ponds are named: Kahikapu on the south and Paweo in the center of the cluster. Piinaio Stream surrounds the ponds, and is bridged once on Kālia Road and twice on Kalākaua Avenue. The project lands are labeled as “Damon,” as in the 1897 map, and the offshore resources are part of the Kalia Fishery, marked as “Government.” The Seaside and Moana hotels are established, on opposite sides of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, which is bridged at Kalākaua Avenue. The waters fronting the Moana Hotel are part of the Hamohamo Fishery, labeled as “H.M. Liliuokalani.” Mauka of the Moana Hotel are a school, a church, and a structure marked as “Queen Emma.” Rice fields can be seen farther inland.

The final map depicts the Waikīkī region in 1928 (Figure 10). The project area appears to encompass lands owned by Robert Lewers, Est. and Clifford Kimball. Many structures are visible along the beach, and a “Public Walk” skirts the west edge of the project site. A concrete retaining wall runs along the ocean side of the property, and what appears to be a stone jetty extends into the ocean just to the southeast.

Historic photos also help to illustrate the transformation of the project area during the 1900s. The first photo shows the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1928 (Figure 11). The Outrigger Reef on the Beach Hotel site would have been just off the photo to the left. The area is already somewhat developed, although many palm trees can still be seen.

The next two photos date to 1934 (Figures 12 and 13). They show a structure at or very near to the project site. Several other buildings are visible in the area, although the multitude of palm trees remain. The forest of palm trees can still be seen ca. 1937–1941, and Ft. DeRussy is already constructed (Figure 14).

Several historic photos were found in the Hawai‘i State Archives that were not dated. These include two aerial images that show Waikīkī before many of the hotels were constructed (Figures 16 and 17), as well as a more modern view of the city (Figure 17). Rampant development is evident by 1953 (Figure 18).

Mele

Like the traditional chants from ancient times that give us a window into pre-contact Hawai‘i, the modern songs of today also provide a glimpse of the specific recent time and place in which they were written. There is a clear evolution in the content of the songs composed for Waikīkī in contemporary times. Perhaps the most poignant Waikīkī song is *Ku‘u Pua I Paoakalani*, written by

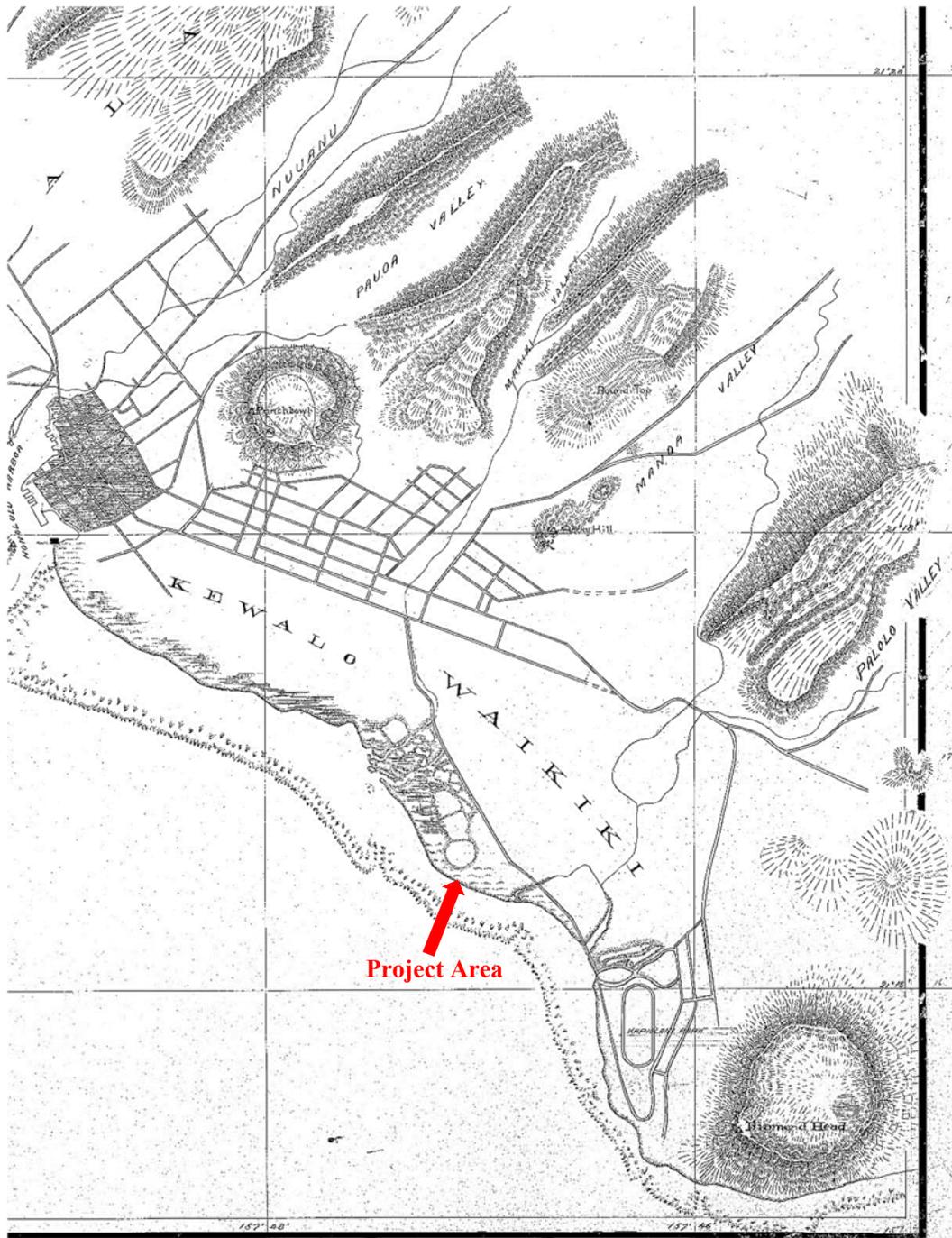


Figure 7. Portion of a map of Honolulu and Pearl River (Thrum 1892).

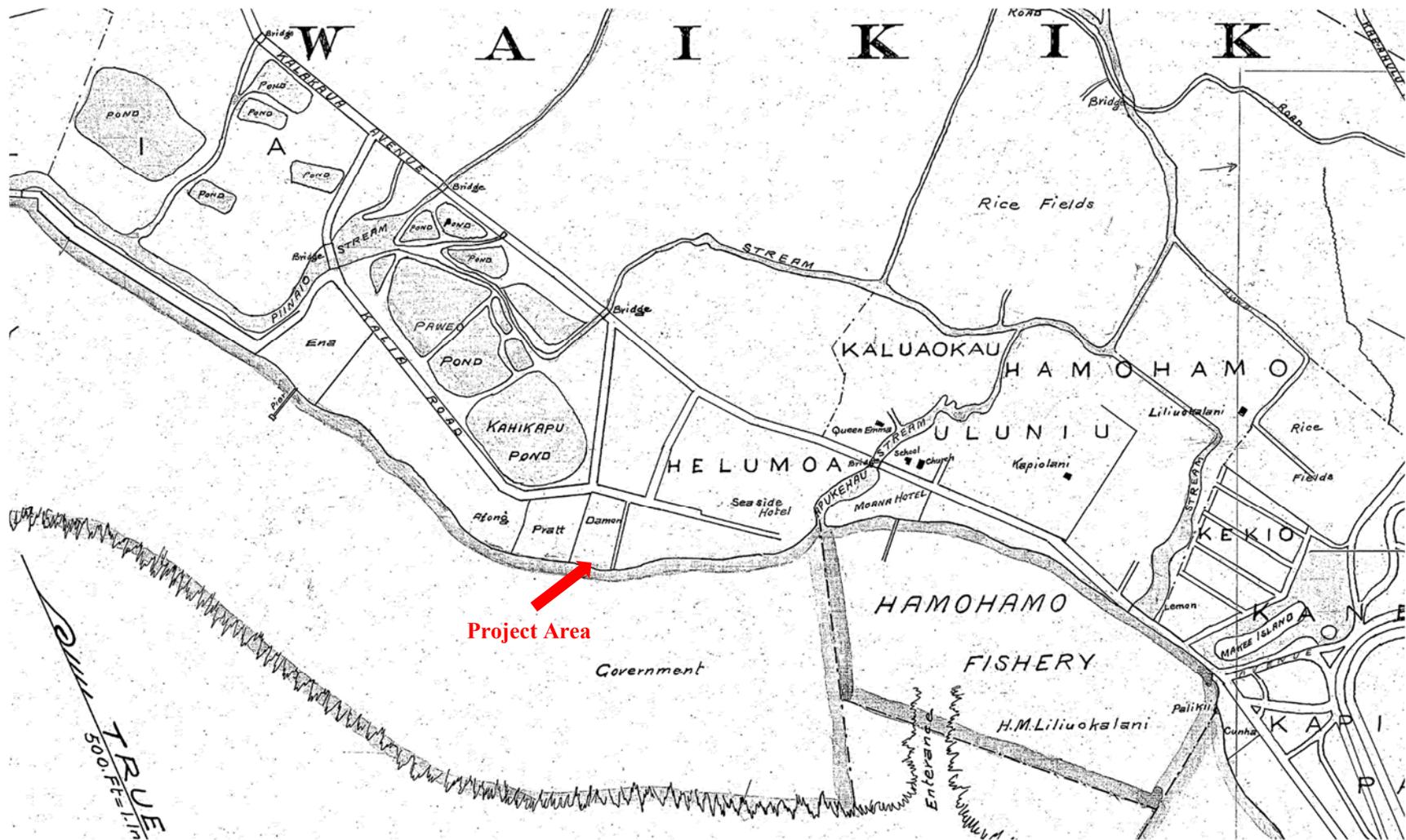


Figure 9. Portion of a Waikiki fisheries map (Monsarrat 1909).

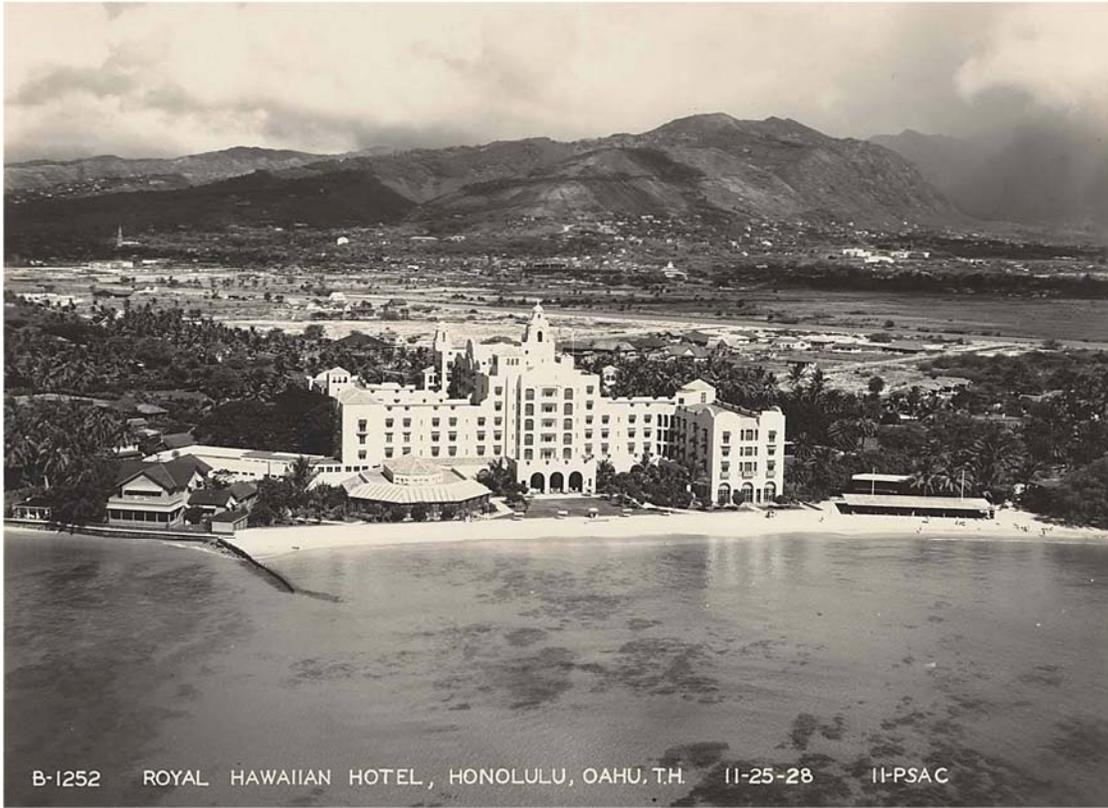


Figure 11. View of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1928.



Figure 12. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel vicinity in 1934.



Figure 13. View of the Waikiki and Diamond Head area in 1934.

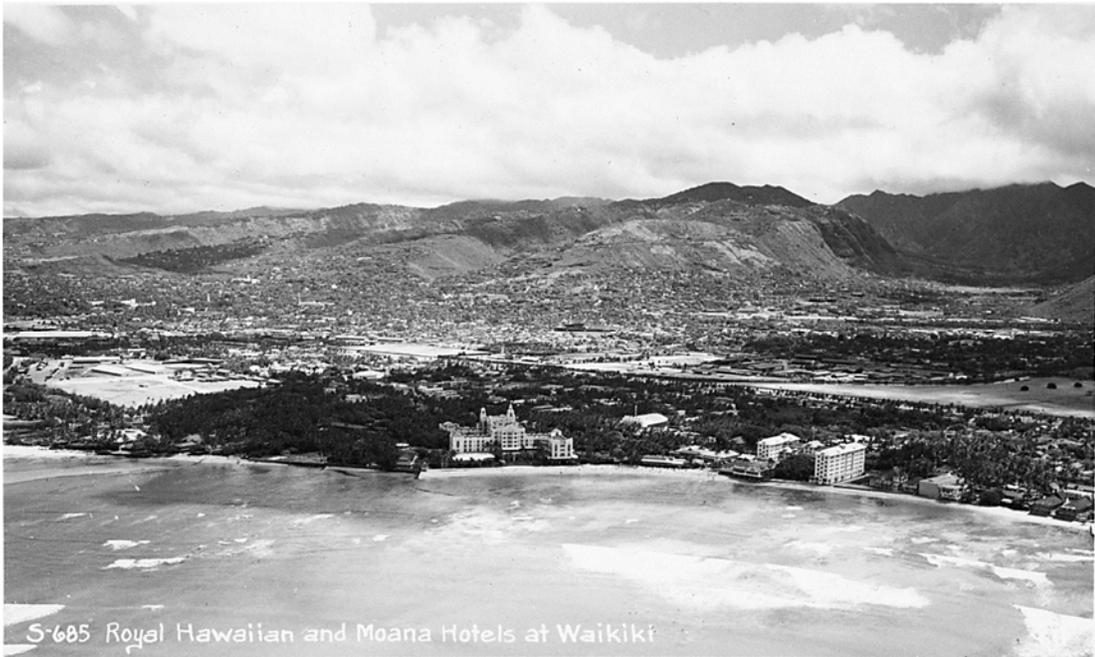


Figure 14. The Royal Hawaiian and Moana Hotel vicinity ca. 1937-1941.



Figure 15. View of Waikiki and Diamond Head, date unknown.

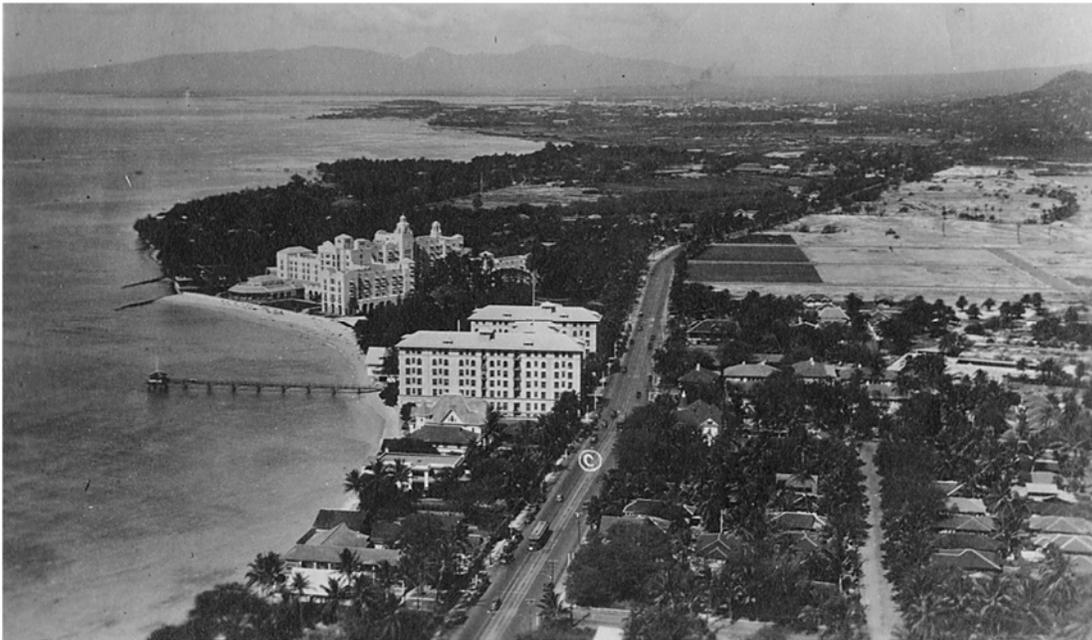


Figure 16. Aerial view of the Moana and Royal Hawaiian hotels, date unknown.



Figure 17. Aerial view of the project area, date unknown.



Figure 18. Aerial view of the project area in 1953.

Queen Lili‘uokalani at the turn of the 20th century. The Queen wrote this balad while she was imprisoned by foreigners in ‘Iolani Palace after the overthrow. In her song, Queen Lili‘uokalani expresses her affection for her beloved home in Waikīkī which was named Paoakalani:

Ku‘u Pua I Paoakalani by Queen Lili‘uokalani

E ka gentle breeze a pa mai nei Ho‘ohāli‘ali‘a mai ana ia‘u E ku‘u sweet never fading flower I pua i ka uka o Paoakalani	O gentle breeze that waft to me Sweet, cherished memories of you Of my sweet never fading flower That blooms in the fields of Paoakalani
‘Ike mau i ka nani o nā pua O ka uka o Uluhaimalama ‘A‘ole na‘e ho‘i e like Me ku‘u pua i ka la‘i o Paoakalani	I’ve often seen those beauteous flowers That grew at Uluhaimalama But none of those could be compared To my flower that blooms in the fields of Paoakalani
Lahilahi kona ma hi‘ona With softest eyes as black as jet Pink cheeks so delicate of hue I ulu i ka uka o Paoakalani	Her face is fair to behold With softest eyes as black as jet Pink cheeks so delicate of hue That grew in the fields of Paoakalani
Nane ‘ia mai ana ku‘u aloha E ka gentle breeze e waft mai nei O come to me k‘au mea e li‘a nei I ulu ika uka o Paoakalani	Now name to me the one I love Gentle breezes passing by And bring to me that blossom fair That blooms in the fields of Paoakalani

Paoakalani (Royal Perfume), the Waikiki estate where the Queen spent most of her time composing and translating Hawaiian legends into English, was inherited by Lydia Kamakaeha from her grandfather ‘Aikanaka, along with Ke‘alohilani (Royal Brightness). April 11, 1877, the day after Leleiohoku, her brother, died, she was proclaimed heir apparent to the throne and changed her name to Lili‘uokalani at the request of her brother, King Kalākaua. This song was composed by the Queen during her 8 month imprisonment in ‘Iolani Palace. Evelyn Townsend Wilson was voluntarily imprisoned with the Queen. Her son, John, would send newspapers hidden in flowers from Uluhaimalama, the Queen’s garden in Pauoa Valley. He later became Mayor of Honolulu. She visited Washington D.C. after she was deposed where she finished translating the Kumulipo. Her three hanai children were John Aimoku Dominis, Kaiponohea Aea and Lydia Ka‘onohiponiponiokalani Aholo. Her estate established Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center that provides counseling to Hawaiian families. Translation by Lili‘uokalani. (Lyrics and translation to this song and all other songs in this section along with their accompanied description are from the www.huapala.org database compiled by Kanoa-Martin 2012)

Another song written for a royal residence in Waikīkī is the song ‘*Ainahau* written by Princess Likelike. ‘Ainahau was the name of Princess Ka‘iulani’s Waikīkī home, part of the estates that she inherited from Princess Ke‘elikōlani:

‘Āinahau by Princess Likelike

Na ka wai lūkini Wai anuheā o ka rose E ho‘opē nei i ka liko o nā pua Na ka manu pīkake Manu hulu melemele Nā kāhiko ia o ku‘u home	It is the perfume and the lovely Fragrance of the roses that sweeten The leaf buds of the flowering plants The peacocks And the yellow feathered birds Are the adornments of my home
--	---

Nani wale ku‘u home	Beautiful is my home
‘O ‘Āinahau i ka ‘iu	‘Āinahau so regal
I ka holunape	Where the fronds
A ka lau o ka niu	Of the coco palms sway
I ka uluwehiwehi	The beautiful grove
I ke ‘ala o nā pua	The fragrance of flowers
Ku‘u home, ku‘u home i ka ‘iu‘iu	At my home, my home so regal
Na ka makani	It is the gentle breeze
Aheahe i pā mai makai	From the sea
I lawe mai i ke	That brings the sweet
Onaona līpoa	Odor of lipoa sea weed
E ho‘oipo ho‘onipo me ke ‘ala	Mingling with the fragrance of my love
O ku‘u home ku‘u home	Of my home, my home
Ku‘u home i ka ‘iu‘iu	My home so regal

Source: ‘Āinahau, one of the homes of the O‘ahu chiefs, was part of the 10 acre estate inherited by Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani. Originally called Auaukai, Princess Likelike named it ‘Āinahau or “Cool Land” when she lived there with her husband, Archibald Scott Cleghorn, who turned it into a botanical garden. The stream that flowed through ‘Āinahau and emptied into the ocean where the present Outrigger Hotel is located, was called Apuakehau. At one point more than 50 peacocks roamed the estate and were fed by the hands of Princess Ka‘iulani. When Ka‘iulani, heir to the Hawaiian throne died, the peacocks screeched so intensely and incessantly, that some were destroyed. Translation by Mary Pukui.

Staying true to the tradition of composing chants to memorialize special places in the landscape, the song *Makee ‘Ailana* is a famous Hawaiian song that takes us back to a Waikīkī that was still primarily a wetland environment. James K. I‘i wrote this song about one of the little islands that existed in the marshes:

Makee ‘Ailana by James K. I‘i

Makee ‘ailana ke aloha lā	I love Makee island
‘Āina i ka ‘ehu‘ehu o ke kai	Land freshened by the sea spray
‘Elua ‘ekolu nō mākou	There were two or three couples with us
I ka ‘ailana māhiehie	On this charming island
Ka leo o ka wai ka‘u aloha	I love the sound of the water
I ka ‘ī mai ē anu kāua	When it speaks, we two are chilled
Inā ‘o you me mī nei	I wish you were here with me
Noho ‘oe i ka noho paipai	Sitting in the rocking chair
Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana	The story is told of Makee ‘Ailana
Makee ‘Ailana hu‘e ka mana‘o	With its fond memories

Source: Baker Collection - The present site of the Honolulu Zoo parking lot, this island was named for the sea Captain James Makee (1812–1879) born in Woburn, Massachusetts. It was off the shore of Kapiolani Park, where a fresh water stream flowed into the ocean. There was a bridge across this stream and lilies in the water. Older musicians seem to remember 2 other verses.

Another modern song which celebrates the landscape of Waikīkī focuses on Diamond Head. Interestingly, this song also mentions Makee Island and the royal grounds of ‘Ainahau, but in addition to that, this song also points out Kapi‘olani Park and the Seaside Hotel on the Waikīkī landscape. The song is called *Kaimana Hila*, and it was written by Charles E. King:

Kaimana Hila by Charles E. King

Iwaho mākou i Ka‘alawai lā ‘Ike i ka nani Kaimana Hila lā Kau mai i luna	We all went there on Ka‘alawai shores And gazed up at the grandeur of old Diamond Head So majestic
Iwaho mākou Kapi‘olani Paka lā ‘I ka lina poepoe ho‘oluhi kino Aloha ‘ino	We all went and saw Kapi‘olani Park To see a ring that exhausted the body That is too bad
Iwaho mākou Waikīkī lā ‘Ike i ka nani hale ho‘onui ‘ike lā Ho‘onui hana	We all went and saw Waikiki To see a house that increased knowledge And made much work
Iwaho mākou Maki ‘Ailana lā Ku‘u pua lilia lana i ka wai lā Lana mālie	We all went and saw Makee Island Beheld the beauty of the floating water lily Sweet and peaceful
Iwaho mākou i ka Seaside lā ‘Ike i ka nani papa he‘e nalu lā He‘e mālie	We all went to the Seaside Hotel And looked with wonder at all the riders of the surf Gliding swiftly
Iwaho mākou ‘Āinahau lā ‘Ike i ka nani papa hinuhinu lā Hele mālie	We all went to ‘Ainahau And saw the beautiful shining surfboards Moving gently
Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana lā ‘Ike i ka nani Kaimana Hila lā Kau mai i luna	This is the end of the song Gazed up at the grandeur of old Diamond Head So majestic

Source: King’s Hawaiian Melodies - This song relates the adventures of a group of friends on a Hawaiian holiday. Verse 1, stanza 1, Ka‘alawai is the land below Diamond Head. They go to Kapiolani Park, dedicated in 1877, by King Kalakaua, and renowned for the beautiful oval horse race track, the ring, in verse 2, stanza 2. The exhausted body is that of the jockey. They watch the races, then meander through Maki (Makee) ‘Ailana, an island in the park. They marvel at the big hotels and stop for refreshments at the Seaside Inn, a favorite of kama‘āina and malihini in the early 1900’s. This hotel, situated on 10 acres of Waikīkī beachfront property, was demolished in 1920, to make way for the new Royal Hawaiian Hotel. They end their holiday with a leisurely stroll thru ‘Āinahau, the lush estate of Princess Miriam Likelike. The melody and lyrics as it is sung today, was popularized by Andy Cummings and is different from the original tune and lyrics. Translation from Hawaiian Melodies. Copyright 1916, 1943, Charles E. King

In a twisting sign of the times, one of the new man-made hotels in Waikīkī becomes a landmark in itself. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel secures its own famous name song becoming memorialized in a composition written by Mary Pula‘a Robins:

Royal Hawaiian Hotel by Mary Pula‘a Robins

Uluwehiwehi ‘oe i ka‘u ‘ike la E ka Royal Hawaiian Hotel A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	You are festive to see O Royal Hawaiian Hotel Beauty gleaming True beauty
Ka moena weleweka moe kāua la He pakika he pahe‘e maika‘i nei A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	Velvet beds we sleep upon Smooth, soft and good Beauty gleaming True beauty
Ka paia māpala ‘ōma‘oma‘o la He pipi‘o mau e ke ānuenuē A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	Green marble walls Rainbow constantly at arch Beauty gleaming True beauty
‘O ka hone a ke kai i ka pu‘u one la Me ke ‘ala līpoa e moani nei A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	Soft song of sea on sand dunes Wafting in fragrance of seaweed Beauty gleaming True beauty
‘O ka holunape a ka lau o ka niu la I ke kulukulu aumoe A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	Leaves of coconut sway In the late night Beauty gleaming True beauty
Ka Hōkū-loa nō kou alaka‘i la ‘O ka mana Kāhikolu kou home la A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	The morning star your guide Power of the Trinity your home Beauty gleaming True beauty
E ō e ka Royal Hawaiian Hotel Kou inoa hanohano ia la A he nani la ke hulali nei A he nani maoli nō	Answer O Royal Hawaiian Hotel This is for the glory of your name Beauty gleaming True beauty

Source: Na Mele ‘o Hawai‘i Nei by Elbert & Mahoe - Composed for the grand opening of the \$4 million Royal Hawaiian Hotel on Feb 1, 1927. Opening night festivities at the Pink Palace was attended by 1,200 invited guests who enjoyed a black tie dinner, concert by the Royal Hawaiian Band and dancing in the grand ballroom. © 1929 Johnny Noble Rights throughout the world controlled by Miller Music Corp.

Several other contemporary Hawaiian compositions make revealing references to Waikīkī in their verses. The song *Miloli‘i* written by John Makuakane takes the listeners on a tour from Hawai‘i to California and back. One of the verses in this song tells us that Waikīkī is where one can ride an elephant. The verse is as follows:

Waikīkī aku nei au la I ke kau ‘elepani la Ihu peleleu	At Waikiki, there was I As I got on the elephant It swings its trunk
--	--

[*Composed in the 1930’s, verse #2, the elephant was Daisy, a popular animal at the Honolulu Zoo]

Another similar song takes listeners on a tour of various places in O‘ahu’s Honolulu District. In this song, Waikīkī is especially a place to enjoy swimming. The composer of this song has been lost to history, so it is simply called a ‘traditional’ song without author. The name of the song is *Henehene Kou ‘Aka*, and the verse about Waikīkī is as follows:

I Waikīkī mākou	To Waikiki we go
‘Au ana i ke kai	Swimming in the sea
He mea ma‘a mau ia	Always a good time
For you and I	For you and I

[*Source: Leilehua Yuen as told by Nona Beamer]

As Hawai‘i became Americanized in the 1900s, more and more songs were being written in the English language. An entire genre of Hawaiian music called *hapa-haole* (literally, ‘half-foreign’) music was born. The birth of this music and its accompanying dances are largely credited to an attempt to entertain the increasing numbers of tourists to Hawai‘i. The bulk of these tourists flocked to Waikīkī’s shores, and *hapa-haole* songs and dances became a staple in Hawai‘i’s tourism industry. A list of popular *hapa-haole* song titles from the 1900s reinforces the reappropriation of Waikīkī as a tourist playground. From the huapala.org online collection of songs we see such titles as *Waikiki Hula*, *Waikiki Chickadee*, *Hawaii Calls*, *Hawaiian Hospitality*, *Hawaiian Moonlight*, *Honolulu I Am Coming Back Again*, *At Waikiki*, *Coconut Willie*, *Hula Glide*, *I Fell In Love With Honolulu*, *I Want To Learn To Speak Hawaiian*, *I’ll See You In Hawai‘i*, *In A Canoe*, *My Hawaiiiana* (for the Hawaiiiana Hotel), *My Rose Of Waikiki*, *My Tropical Hula Girl*, *My Waikiki Girl*, *On The Beach At Waikiki*, and *Out On The Beach At Waikiki*.

The historian Dorothy Barrere of Hilo reminds us that these *hapa-haole* songs and dances, while different from the chants and dances of old, became popular especially with the visitors to Waikīkī, and have now become an important part of Hawaiian history:

The [*hapa-haole*] hula came into public prominence again after the first decade or so of the 20th century, this time under the stimulus of business—the entertainment business. The hula became a feature of carnivals and pageants and then became entrenched as standard entertainment fare catering to the growing tourist trade. (Barrere et al. 1980:64)

Perhaps one of the most famous and enduring songs about Waikīkī known around the world is the *hapa-haole* song composed by Andy Cummings. The magical spell of Waikīkī leaves both residents and tourists yearning to return. Here are the lyrics to that well-known song which sums up the charm of Waikīkī that world continues to love:

Waikīkī by Andy Cummings

There’s a feeling deep in my heart
Stabbing at me just like a dart
It’s a feeling heavenly
I see memories out of the past
Memories that always will last
Of the days that used to be
*(Of a place beside the sea)

Waikīkī
At night when the shadows are falling
I hear the rolling surf calling
Calling and calling to me

Waikīkī
Tis for you that my heart is yearning
My thoughts are always returning
Out there to you across the sea
Your tropic nights and your wonderful charms
Are ever in my memory
And I recall when I held in my arms
An angel sweet and heavenly

Waikīkī
My whole life is empty without you
I miss that magic about you
Magic beside the sea
Magic of Waikīkī
*Alternate stanza

Source: Copyright 1947, 73 Atlantic Music Corp—The composer, on tour with the Paradise Islands Revue in Lansing, Michigan, had a severe attack of homesickness one cold and foggy night in November, 1938. Walking back to his hotel he thought about Waikiki with its rolling surf, warm sunshine and palm trees.

History of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Hotel

Outrigger founder, Roy Kelley, arrived in Hawai'i with his new wife, Estelle, in 1929 (Outrigger Enterprises Group 2011:1). In 1947, Kelley bought his first hotels, including the Edgewater Apartments, near the site of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Hotel. The Edgewater Hotel's Ocean Wing was built three years later, and the second Edgewater tower was constructed two years after that. The Ocean Wing was luxurious for its time, boasting six stories, a swimming pool, and an elevator.

The Reef Hotel's Ocean Tower was constructed in 1955 where the Edgewater Cottages once stood (Outrigger Enterprises Group 2011:1). Four years later, the Reef Towers Hotel fronting Lewer's Street was erected. The Outrigger name was branded in the early 1960s and the Reef Lanais were built, although the first hotel to feature the Outrigger name was the Outrigger Waikiki, established in 1967 (Outrigger Enterprises Group 2011:2).

In 1969, the Edgewater, Reef, and Reef Towers were sold to the Cinerama movie company so Outrigger could finance other projects (Outrigger Enterprises Group 2011:2). The hotels were repurchased in 1982, however. In the 1980s, the Reef Hotels, Waikiki Hotels, and Outrigger Hotels were consolidated into a single entity, and most properties took on the Outrigger name. The Edgewater and Reef Lanai hotels were demolished as part of the Waikiki Beachwalk project, which began construction in 2005, and the Reef Towers were transformed into the Wyhdham Vacation Ownership. The Outrigger Reef on the Beach underwent major renovations, completed in 2009, as part of the Waikiki Beachwalk project.

Contemporary History

Following the overthrow of 1893, the United States declared that the Hawaiian Islands were an American territory with its annexation in 1898 (Feeser 2006). Within the following decade or so, more than 70 acres of Waikīkī land in the area of Kālia was acquired by the U.S. War Department to establish a new military compound called Fort DeRussy. The construction of Fort DeRussy required the military to fill in the centuries-old fishponds in the area, and by 1928, all of the fishponds in this part of Waikīkī were filled (O'Hare et al 2005).

The filling in and draining of all of Waikīkī's fishponds and wetland agricultural fields coincided with the construction of the famous Ala Wai Drainage Canal. Construction of this canal started in 1921 and was completed in 1928. Subsequently, the 1930s saw the layout of today's familiar grid of Waikīkī's streets and spurred a rush to develop the carefully created tracts of land.

The rush to development in the 1930s came to a halt in the 1940s on the eve of World War II. Hawai'i's budding tourism industry focused on Waikīkī came to a standstill as the U.S. military imposed strict control throughout Hawai'i. The military declared a good portion of Waikīkī off limits to the public, but not off limits to military personnel. Instead, during the war years, Waikīkī became a special recreation area for the military. By the war's end, Waikīkī had sprouted a mix of curio shops, miscellaneous 'joints' and other so-called eyesores.

In the postwar era, the 1950s saw the comeback of extensive development throughout Waikīkī:

By the mid-1950s there were more than fifty hotels and apartments from the Kalia area to the Diamond Head end of Kapi'olani Park... [the Waikīkī population] was not limited to transient tourists but also included 11,000 permanent residents living in 4,000 apartments in stucco or frame buildings. (O'Hare et al 2005:27)

The second half of the 20th century has promoted the continued development of Waikīkī into the 21st century making it a celebrated tourist destination:

Waikīkī, one of the most famous and popular tourist destinations in the world, is today a concrete jungle built on grounds that were once Native Hawaiian royal compounds and on land reclaimed by draining the multiple fishponds and taro fields that *kānaka maoli* cultivated. Because Hawai'i's current economy relies on tourist-related industries, development continues in Waikīkī and elsewhere in the islands... and facsimiles of *kanaka maoli* culture are marketed as commodities to fulfill visitors' fantasies of an exotic, tropical paradise. (Feaser 2006:8)

Previous Archaeology

By the time Waikīkī came under serious archaeological investigation, most of the region had been cleared and rebuilt. J. Gilbert McAllister is credited with doing the first major archaeological documentation in Waikīkī in 1930. As part of his famous island-wide survey of O'ahu, he identified four pre-contact Waikīkī *heiau* sites, one of which was Kamehameha's Papaenaena Heiau near today's La Pietra School for Girls (McAllister 1933). Prior to that, nothing archaeological had been recorded except for the inadvertent discovery of *iwi* near the present day Waikiki Elks Club in 1901 (Emerson 1902). The *iwi* at the Elks Club were the remains of four adults, and they were uncovered along with glass beads and whale teeth. After McAllister's survey, archaeological work in Waikīkī did not resume until the 1960s when Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum tried to find Papaenaena Heiau again. His results were inconclusive.

The bulk of the intensive archaeological investigations within the Waikīkī area have taken place in the last few decades. A summary of that work concentrating on the vicinity of the project area is shared here, based on reports found at the SHPD library in Kapolei (Figure 11 and Table 1).

Considerable work has been conducted in the Fort DeRussy area, just northwest of the project area. In 1976, archaeologists for the Bishop Museum recovered five prehistoric or early historic human burials during excavation there. This was designated SIHP (State Inventory of Historic Places) 50-80-14-9500. One more burial was recovered from the road area, but it was believed to be of a more recent time period (Kimble 1976).

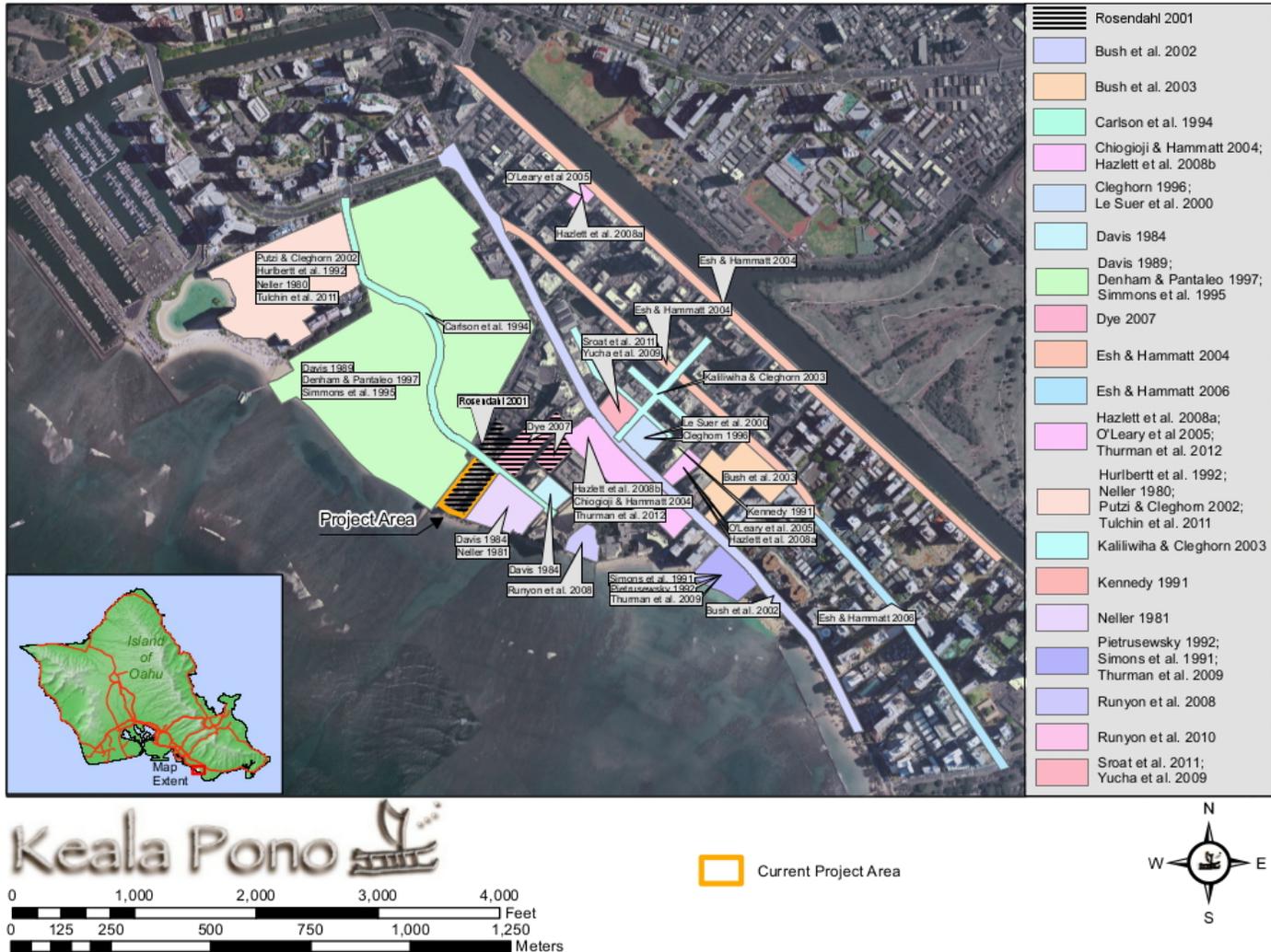


Figure 19. Previous archaeology in the vicinity of the project area.

Table 1. Previous Archaeology in the Vicinity of the Project Area

Author	Year	Location	Work Completed	Findings
Kimble	1976	Hale Koa Hotel	Inadvertent Discovery	Documented five human burials.
Neller	1980	Hilton Hawaiian Village	Rescue Archaeology	Identified SIHP 2870, three sets of <i>iwi</i> and historic trash pits.
Neller	1981	Halekulani Hotel	Reconnaissance	Identified SIHP 9957, four sets of <i>iwi</i> .
Davis	1984	Halekulani Hotel	Archaeological and Historical Investigation	Documented 32 features of SIHP 9957, including human remains, a dog burial, pits, privies, and post holes.
Davis	1989	Fort DeRussy and Hale Koa Hotel	Subsurface Reconnaissance	Documented SIHP 4573–4577, fishponds, and 4570, a cultural layer.
Kennedy	1991	IMAX Theater	Monitoring	Recovered pollen and ¹⁴ C samples from ponded sediments.
Simons et al.	1991	Moana Surfrider Hotel	Monitoring & Data Recovery	Documented 24 sets of human remains along with traditional and historic artifacts.
Hurlbett et al.	1992	Hilton Hawaiian Village	Monitoring	Identified 15 features and 4,000 artifacts of SIHP 2870.
Pietrusewsky	1992	Moana Surfrider Hotel	Inadvertent Discovery	Documented a human mandible that was inadvertently discovered.
Carlson et al.	1994	Kālia Rd.	Monitoring	Documented SIHP 4574, a buried fishpond.
Simmons et al.	1995	Fort DeRussy	Data Recovery	Documented a habitation deposit.
Cleghorn	1996	King Kalākaua Plaza	Inventory Survey	No findings.
Denham and Pantaleo	1997	Fort DeRussy	Data Recovery	Identified a human burial at SIHP 4579; further documented SIHP 4570.
Le Suer et al.	2000	King Kalākaua Plaza	Inventory Survey	Documented SIHP 4970, an <i>'auwai</i> , and 5796, a historic wetland agricultural layer.
Rosendahl	2001	Waikiki Beach Walk	Assessment	No findings.
Bush et al.	2002	Kalākaua Ave.	Monitoring	Identified four human burials associated with three sites: SIHP 4856, 5860, and 5864.
Putzi & Cleghorn	2002	Hilton Hawaiian Village	Monitoring	Documented SIHP 6399, fishponds, <i>'auwai</i> , and pits.
Bush et al.	2003	International Marketplace	Monitoring	No findings.
Kaliliwiha & Cleghorn	2003	Lau'ulu St., Waikolu Way, & Royal Hawaiian Ave.	Monitoring	No findings.
Chioioji & Hammatt	2004	Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center	Assessment	No findings.
Esh & Hammatt	2006	Kuhio Ave.	Monitoring	No findings.
O'Leary et al.	2006	Royal Kahili Condo	Inventory Survey	No findings.

Table 1. Continued

Author	Year	Location	Work Completed	Findings
Dye	2007	Waikiki Beachwalk	Inventory Survey	No findings.
Hazlett et al.	2008	2284 Kalakaua Ave.	Monitoring	No findings.
Hazlett et al.	2008	Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center	Monitoring	No findings.
Runyon et al.	2008	Royal Hawaiian and Sheraton Hotels	Assessment	Found two human bones.
Thurman et al.	2009	Moana Surfriider Hotel	Inventory Survey	Identified SIHP 7068, a cultural layer, and 7069, a historic trash pit.
Yucha et al.	2009	Waikiki Shopping Plaza	Inventory Survey	Documented SIHP 5796, a previously recorded culturally modified wetland agricultural layer.
Runyon et al.	2010	Sheraton Waikiki	Burial Site Component of Data Recovery Plan	Reported on an inadvertent find of human remains to be preserved in place.
Sroat et al.	2011	Waikiki Shopping Plaza	Monitoring	Documented SIHP 5796, a previously recorded culturally modified wetland agricultural layer.
Tulchin et al.	2011	Hilton Hawaiian Village	Inventory Survey	Documented a buried cultural layer associated with SIHP 2870.
Thurman et al.	2012	Royal Hawaiian Hotel	Monitoring	Documented SIHP 7119, a subsurface cultural layer.

In 1989, archaeological investigations at Fort DeRussy and the Hale Koa Hotel sought to confirm the former presence of fishponds, habitations sites, and *'auwai* (Davis 1989). Test excavations at the Hale Koa Hotel uncovered a previously disturbed cultural layer with historic artifacts in secondary context. Along the beachfront at SIHP 50-80-14-4570, a pre-contact feature with fire pits and a post hole was discovered along with various 19th century glass and ceramic material. A subsurface reconnaissance survey at Fort DeRussy identified an intact cultural deposit and confirmed that while the fishponds and *'auwai* had been previously filled in, they were not destroyed (Davis 1989).

In 1992, a habitation deposit was identified during data recovery excavations at Fort DeRussy during the construction of recreational facilities. Additionally, excavations at SIHP 50-80-14-4570 revealed further information about the structure of Waikīkī's former fishpond and *'auwai* systems (Simmons et al. 1995).

In 1993, archaeological monitoring was carried out for the Kālia Road Realignment project. A significant find was the buried Loko Paweo Fishpond, SIHP 50-80-14-4574. In addition, human remains were identified in front of the U.S. Army Museum along with an occupation layer with historic trash pits and features. These were SIHP 50-80-14-4570 and 50-80-14-4966 (Carlson et al 1994).

In 1997, a human burial was uncovered at SIHP 50-80-14-4579 during data recovery excavations at Fort DeRussy between Kālia Road and Dudley Street. Also identified were historic middens, fire pits, dark stains, and possible pre-contact midden features. In addition, a concentration of coral, a fire pit, and a post hole were identified at SIHP 50-80-14-4570 (Denham and Pantaleo 1997).

In 2000, a major *'auwai*, SIHP 50-80-14-4970, was found during subsurface testing conducted on a parcel across from the Fort DeRussy tennis courts. In the same project, a historic period wetland was identified with an abundant micro-strata determined to be fill from the dredging of the Ala Wai Canal. This was assigned the site number 50-80-14-5796 (LeSuer et al. 2000).

Farther northwest is the Hilton Hawaiian Village, where several archaeological projects have taken place. In 1980, three sets of *iwi* were recovered and nearby trash pits were identified during excavations. This was designated SIHP 50-80-14-2870. It was determined through historic documents that the burials were likely post-1850 (Neller 1980). Later archaeological inventory survey documented a buried cultural layer associated with Site 2870 (Tulchin et al. 2011). Historic and modern debris was found, including glass bottles, ceramics, and faunal material.

Between 1985 and 1987, 15 features and nearly 4,000 artifacts were identified during archaeological monitoring of excavations at the Hilton Hawaiian Village. This was at the previously identified Site 2870. The artifacts consisted of household items of glassware and tableware and architectural material, such as nails and glass, with most of the artifacts dating from 1870 to 1930 (Hurlbett et al. 1992).

In 2002, four fishponds were identified during the archaeological monitoring conducted for excavations on the roadways fronting the Hilton Hawaiian Village. Also documented were two *'auwai*, a prominent waterway, a fire pit, three refuse pits, and a fifth pit, the function of which was undetermined. This entire site was designated as SIHP 50-80-14-6399 (Putzi and Cleghorn 2002).

On the east side of the project area, the remains of four individuals were identified at the Halekulani Hotel during an archaeological reconnaissance and recovery (Neller 1981). Historic trash pits were also discovered. The site was designated as SIHP 50-80-14-9957. Although the cultural remains had been previously disturbed, the burials were dated to the 1800s. The historic artifacts dated to the late 1800s and early 1900s (Neller 1981).

In 1984, trenches and test pits were excavated to isolate the cultural deposits at Site 9957. A significant amount of cultural material dating to the late 1800s was found, and 32 features were documented, including human skeletal remains, a dog burial, pits, privies, and post holes. The trash pits contained ceramics, bottles, and metal (Davis 1984).

A series of projects were conducted in the Sheraton Waikiki and Royal Hawaiian Hotel and Shopping Center area, farther to the east of the project area. Isolated fragments of human remains were reinterred on the grounds of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel at SIHP 50-80-14-5937 (Runyon et al. 2008). Later archaeological monitoring documented a subsurface cultural layer, SIHP 50-80-14-7119 (Thurman et al. 2012). Other work at the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center had no findings (Chiogioji and Hammat 2004; Hazlett et al. 2008).

Farther east at the Moana Surfrider Hotel, several other archaeological projects were carried out. The earliest work identified 24 sets of human remains, along with traditional and historic cultural material (Simons et al. 1991). The next year a human mandible was found by a hotel guest (Pietrusewsky 1992). A later inventory survey identified SIHP 50-80-14-7068, a buried cultural layer, and -7069, a historic trash pit (Thurman et al. 2009).

At the Waikiki Shopping Plaza, on the *mauka* side of Kalākaua Avenue, archaeological inventory survey and monitoring were completed (Yucha et al. 2009; Sroat et al. 2011). A previously recorded wetland agricultural layer was found, Site 5796. The layer was buried deeply, more than 1.2 m below the surface.

Other archaeological monitoring projects have yielded various findings. At the IMAX Theater, pollen and radiocarbon samples were collected from ponded sediments (Kennedy 1991). Along Kalākaua Avenue, three sites (SIHP 50-80-14-4856, -5860, and -5864) contained four human burials (Bush et al. 2002). The two burials of Site 5860 and the burial of Site 5856 were disinterred and moved to a shrine at the corner of Kalākaua Avenue and Kapahulu Avenue. The burial at Site 5864 was left in place.

Other projects that did not identify new archaeological sites include work at the International Marketplace (Bush et al. 2003), the Royal Kahili Condo (O’Leary et al. 2006), the Waikiki Beachwalk (Rosendahl 2001; Dye 2007), the IMAX Theater (Kennedy 1991), The Kalakaua Plaza (Cleghorn 1996), 2284 Kalākaua Avenue (Hazlett et al. 2008), and two roadwork projects (Kalilihiwa and Cleghorn 2003; Esh and Hammatt 2006).

Countless other archaeological investigations have been undertaken throughout Waikīkī, and many more human remains have been inadvertently uncovered. However, only the above projects documented have taken place in the vicinity of the current project area.

Previous Oral Histories

A wealth of information can be found in the numerous previous oral histories of Waikīkī (Table 2). In 2001, an assessment was conducted regarding the nature of cultural practices in Waikīkī, especially in the area of the Outrigger Reef redevelopment project. The research was aimed to document traditional and historical cultural practices; identify cultural concerns of the community; and propose recommendations to mitigate possible negative impacts of the planned development. A large part of their research was an oral history component where they interviewed four *kūpuna* connected to the project area. The four *kūpuna* interviewed were: Peter Aho Akimo Jr, Florence Kamaka’ōpiopio Clark Miyamoto, Robert Clarke Paoa, and Betty Dyer Sorensen.

Although, the specific details of the interviews varied with the individuals, common themes emerged. All four *kūpuna* depicted a Waikīkī they grew up in that was substantially different from the Waikīkī of today. Among the illustrations of old Waikīkī that they shared were the abundance of marine resources in the past and the many ways they would harvest these resources. It was a common scene to see a great number of fishermen and divers; of ladies gathering different types of seaweed; of people laying net and throwing net; of those looking for squid or crabs or ‘o’opu inshore; and of fishermen torching at night. Another depiction they provided was the visual description of the landscape. This included memories of which families lived where in Waikīkī; of people living on the edges of the Ala Wai and of others “squatting” in the area of present-day Ala Moana; of duck ponds once cared for by the Chinese; and of a strong military presence in the vicinity of Fort DeRussy. Most of the *kūpuna* acknowledged the presence of burials uncovered in the development of Waikīkī and some were even lineal descendants. All of the interviewees agreed that the development of the last century surely changed the face of Waikīkī.

Another source of oral histories regarding Waikīkī comes from a University of Hawai‘i (UH) project called *Waikiki, 1900–1985: Oral Histories* (Oral History Project 1985). The project was undertaken by the UH Center for Oral History under the direction of ethnographer, Professor Warren Nishimoto. A total of 50 *kūpuna* with ties to Waikīkī were asked to share their accounts of growing up, living in, and working in Waikīkī. The aim of this oral history project was to focus on the changes of Waikīkī today from how it used to be. The life stories of the 50 *kūpuna* that UH interviewed offer priceless first-hand memories of the Waikīkī of bygone times: of neighborhoods within a rural Waikīkī; of duck ponds and rivers; of surfing and fishing and crabbing; of two teahouses and few

Table 2. Previous Oral History Interviews for Waikīkī

Person Interviewed	Age (at time of interview)	Occupation
Akana, Joe	79	Beachboy, Naval shipyard worker
Akimo, Peter Ahoe Jr.	74	Moving company operations manager, Shuttle bus driver
Anderson, Robert Alexander	92	Composer, Sales executive
Aoki, Harold	75	Store owner
Arashiro, John	84	Waiter
Asuka, Miyo	91	Laundress
Bader, Esther Jackson	69	Shopping company employee
Bishaw, Jack	67	Federal civil service worker
Clarke, Mary Paoa	84	Homemaker
Cook, William	64	Businessman
Craw, Wilbur	72	Food broker
Ernstberg, John	76	Beachboy/musician, City & County lifeguard
Freitas, Hilda	76	Nutrition Aide
Fullard-Leo, Leslie	77	Family estate manager
Hikida, Sadao	72	Bellhop, federal employee
Holt, Lemon “Rusty”	82	Postmaster, School store manager
Joy, Leillima	58	Taxi driver
Kaawakauo, Emma	59	State clerical worker
Kahanamoku, Louis	78	Beachboy, U.S. marshal
Kalama, Benny	70	Musician
Kaneapua, Rose P.	67	Condominium owner, entertainer
Kapule, Rebecca	73	Hotel clerk
Kelley, Roy C.	81	Developer, Hotel owner
Kennedy, Eugene	73	Police detective
Kimball, Richard “Kingie”	No age given	Hotel owner
Kusunoki, Helen	68	Family-run restaurant helper
Love, Alan “Turkey”	No age given	Beachboy
Matthias, Jesse	90	Auditor, Realtor
McKinzie, Adelaide Ka'ai	85	School teacher
Midkiff, Marjorie	66	Executive secretary
Miyamoto, Florence Kamaka'opiopio Clark	73	Occupation not stated
Murakami, Ume	89	Laundress
Nakamura, Susumu	70	Boat carpenter

Table 2. (Continued)

Person Interviewed	Age (at time of interview)	Occupation
Nunotani, Fumiko	72	Homemaker
Paoa, Fred	81	Assistant police chief
Paoa, Robert “Bob” Clarke	64	Gun repairman, Army National Guard inspector
Peterson, King	75	Business manager
Reiplinger, Lila	63	Hula dancer, Musician
Richards, Mervin	65	Naval shipyard worker
Roxburgh, Nani Espinda	75	Homemaker
Sasaki, Richard	68	Police officer
Sniffen, Lilinoe	67	Lei seller
Sorenson, Betty Dyer	79	Occupation not stated
Steer, “Tootsie” Notley	71	Hula dancer
Steiner, Ernest	78	Stockbroker
Tominaga, Beatrice	71	Clerk
Uyehara, Sam	76	Restaurant owner
Vida, Earle “Liko”	84	Business executive
Wong, Ella Ling	74	School teacher
Yasumatsu, Taka	86	Dry cleaner helper
Yasumatsu, Toshio	86	Dry cleaner
Yee, Ah Kin “Ah Buck”	86	Beachboy, Federal worker
Yoshimoto, Teiki	83	City & County worker, Taxi driver
Yoshimura, Masayuki “Mahjong”	70	Lumber salesman

hotels and *lu‘aus*; of family life and growing up in Waikīkī; and the list goes on. These 50 elders echo the memories of the four *kūpuna* mentioned above, and the collective thoughts of all 54 of them agree with the stories of the community members that Keala Pono interviewed for this project.

Summary and Settlement Patterns

Scientific models, historical evidence and traditional sources advance the theory that Waikīkī was one of the first places that Pacific Islanders settled on O‘ahu after the initial occupation of the Ko‘olaupoko area. The first arrivals to Hawai‘i probably came around 300 A.D., and the settlement of Waikīkī probably occurred around 600 A.D (Kanahele 1995). The well-watered lands and the rich coast of Waikīkī were conducive to sustaining a healthy population. While the earliest form of society in Waikīkī centered on extended family units headed by a number of patriarchs, as the population expanded, it evolved into a strict hierarchal class-society ruled by divine chiefs. It is suggested that Hawai‘i’s organization under divine chiefdoms probably first appeared around 800 A.D. (Kanahele 1995).

The Hawaiian Islands consisted of several sovereign island kingdoms independent of each other for almost 1,000 years. During this time, different islands were consolidated under one ruler, and at

other times, the chiefdoms consisting of several islands were splintered, all of this fluidity due to inter-island wars and alliances. For much of this portion of Hawaiian history, Waikīkī not only remained part of the O‘ahu kingdom, it was the very seat of power for the O‘ahu king. Toward the end of the 18th century when O‘ahu was first conquered by the Maui king, and about a decade later when O‘ahu was conquered by the Hawai‘i Island king, Waikīkī remained the seat of political power. The newly unified Hawaiian Islands continued to be ruled out of Waikīkī under King Kamehameha the Great until he moved his seat of government to Honolulu. Throughout it all, Waikīkī was still a place reserved for Hawaiian royalty to live, worship, and play. Even after King Kamehameha III’s sweeping enactment of the Māhele of 1848 which allowed for private ownership of land, Waikīkī continued to be associated with the Hawaiian royals and their comrades.

The 19th century closed with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by foreigners backed by the United States and the annexation of Hawai‘i into an American territory, and the next century began with the U.S. military building a base in Waikīkī. By the end of the 1920s, the U.S. military drained and filled all of the natural wetland environment that Waikīkī had been known for, and developers started converting the entire area into prime real estate. Development was halted during the 1940s due to World War II when the U.S. military declared martial law and all non-military movement was strictly curtailed in the region. However, after the war, Waikīkī was re-opened for business, and it was slated to become Hawai‘i’s premier tourist destination. The hyper-development of Waikīkī snowballed throughout the rest of the 20th century, and staying true to the original plans, the area had become the number one destination for Hawai‘i’s tourists. Today, the name and reputation of Waikīkī is known around the globe, its allure continues to attract new visitors and bring back returning visitors year after year.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY

As we all know, there are some things that cannot be found in the archives, in textbooks, or at the library. It is here, through the stories, knowledge and experiences of our *kama 'āina* and *kūpuna*, that we are able to better understand the past and plan for our future. With the goal to identify and understand the importance of, and potential impacts to, traditional Hawaiian and/or historic cultural resources and traditional cultural practices of Waikīkī, ethnographic interviews were conducted with community members who are knowledgeable about the project area.

Methods

This cultural impact assessment was conducted through a multi-phase process between August and November 2014. Guiding documents for this work include The Hawai'i Environmental Council's Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts, A Bill for Environmental Impact Statements, and Act 50 (State of Hawai'i). Personnel involved with this study include Windy McElroy, PhD, Principal Investigator of Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting, and Dietrix Duhaylonsod, BA, Ethnographer and Archival Researcher.

Consultants were selected because they met one or more of the following criteria: 1) was referred by Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting or Group 70; 2) had/has ties to the project area or vicinity; 3) is a known Hawaiian cultural resource person; 4) is a known Hawaiian traditional practitioner; or 5) was referred by other cultural resource professionals. Four individuals participated in the current study (Table 3). *Mana 'o* and *'ike* shared during these interviews are included in this report.

Interviews were taped using a digital MP3 recorder. During the interviews, consultants were provided with a map or aerial photograph of the subject property, the Agreement to Participate (Appendix A), and Consent Form (Appendix B), and briefed on the purpose of the Cultural Impact Assessment. Research categories were addressed in the form of open questions which allowed the consultant to answer in the manner that he/she was most comfortable. Follow-up questions were asked based on the consultant's responses or to clarify what was said.

Transcripts were produced by listening to recordings and typing what was said. A copy of the edited transcript was sent to each consultant for review, along with the Transcript Release Form. The Transcript Release Form provided space for clarifications, corrections, additions, or deletions to the transcript, as well as an opportunity to address any objections to the release of the document (Appendix C). When the forms were returned, transcripts were corrected to reflect any changes made by the consultant.

The ethnographic analysis process consisted of examining each transcript and organizing information into research themes, or categories. Research topics include traditional land use and archaeological sites, connections to Waikīkī, reminiscences, change through time, cultural practices and gathering, effects on cultural resources, and concerns and recommendations. Edited transcripts are presented in Appendices D–G.

Consultant Background

The following section includes background information obtained from each consultant during the interviews. This includes information on the consultant's *'ohana* and where the consultant was born and raised, in their own words. Consultants include Mana Cáceres, Willie Ho'ohuli, Paulette Kaleikini, and Didi Robello.

Table 3. Individuals/ Families Contacted

Name	Affiliation/Expertise	Result
Didi Robello	Waikīkī Beach Boy	Interview Completed
Keohokalole ‘Ohana	Waikīkī Descendant Family	No Reply
Malia Nobrega	Waikīkī Hawaiian Civic Club	No Reply
Mana Cáceres	Waikīkī Descendant Family	Email Interview Completed
Manu Boyd	Kumu Hula, Cultural Director at Royal Hawaiian Center-Helumoa	No Reply
Paulette Kaleikini	Waikīkī Descendant Family	Email Interview Completed
Tom Shirai	Waikīkī Descendant Family	No Reply
Willie Ho‘ohuli ‘Ohana	Waikīkī Descendant Family	Interview Completed

Mana Cáceres

[My name is] Norman “MANA” Kaleilani Cáceres. My parents moved away from Hawaii right before I was born (10/7/1976). I was born in Orange County California and lived most of my pre-adult years in Washington state where I graduated from Clover Park High School. After graduation, I relocated to Hilo, Hawaii where I attended the University of Hawaii at Hilo. My original goal was to double major with a BA in Hawaiian Studies/Anthropology and a BA in Communication but after we found out that we were expecting our first child, I finished with a BA in Communication.

Willie Ho‘ohuli

My name is William Aweau Ho‘ohuli or Willie, and I was born in Nanakuli, and we also lived out in Kaka‘ako by the fire station, and a few buildings behind of us was the makers Kona Coffee and across HRT Bus terminal, the bus ran by electrical overhead cables and spring rods part way end of the bus roof, and we go back and forth from Nanakuli. Our dad worked for Lewers and Cooke Honolulu. He had a huge car and on his way home he would bring home wooden crates to build house with. Some of the Nanaikapono homesteaders would ask him to transport them to and from work at Pearl Harbor Hickam, down town Honolulu which he did. He started with two taxis then some second hand buses. Named Nanakuli Bus line bus stations were at Kakaako Nanakuli lot 60, and Haleakala Ave. Bus Schedule 4:00am at Tamura store the bus route was Kakaako, Nimitz, and River Street to Dillingham, Pearl City, Waipahu, Nanakuli, Maili, and Waianae on old gov’t road fronting old 1st Tamura Store and Teramoto Barber Shop. The last bus left Kakaako at 8:00pm. Our mother was a mail carrier pick-up mail, deliver mail to and from Waipahu Post Office by old Waipahu movie house, and old fire station and between Kawano Store. Ewa, post office in old quonset hut across store and business building and ewa sugar plantation factory. Nanakuli post office corner of Nanakuli Ave. and Farrington Hwy. and between Mahilona Soda Fountain and Kalito Barbar-Shop and Waianae post office. Where Oritas Bldg. is at now presently a surf shop. Bus line started early 1930–ceased 1958.

I also lived in Waianae Valley. I helped my sister Pauline Sweetie, she worked at Barber Point NAS and my brother in law Ah Ching Poe. He worked for Hawaiian Dredging at Mt. Kaala Water tunnel to help with the farm and animals. She would pick me up where I was born after work. I would also help another Sister, Rose Pua, and my brother in law, David Kauwa Poe. He was in the Air Force to help my sister with their peanut farming. I also help tutu Harry G. Poe and tutu Emily Dung Poe with tutu-ma the Hoohuli Kaahaaina, Poe ‘Ohana every two weeks we all pull taro, clean the *lo ‘i* of roots and weeds. Pulling cleaning

roots off taro, set up taro for wheel barrel to load, take to preparation area dump taro, cut off *luau*-leaf *ha-ha* [stem] and *huli*. Good *luau* leaf will cook for lunch or Ohana to take home, or rest for pigs, cut *huli* and sort for replanting. Leave out to dry one or two days, bunch up and set in a corner of *lo'i* to root, plant taro during day of the full moon. Preparation set up and cooking set up four (4) 55 gallon drums. Set wire basket bottom of drum set some burlap bags for taro to cook on fill with water to wire basket. Fill with taro cover top with burlap bags, and cover. Cook over night. Early the next morning all the Ohana would gather to dump taro on cleaning area. Fill half drums with water and fill drum with taro as need while removing skins, root eyes, etc. Keep scraps and skin for ducks, chicken or pigs. Ready to grinding trough. Fill Ohana big pot with *poi*, when *pau* clean up and a big lunch. Lunch was a mixture of dry salted salmon, *aku*, *palu*, *pulehu*, *bakalau*, stew *luau*, *pipikaula*, salt pork, sweet potatoes, taro, *ulu*, *ulu poi*, fresh taro *poi*, *kulolo*, sugar cane. Swim in the Water Concrete Flume or water ditch that fed sugar cane fields in lower Waianae Valley, Waianae dump, and Kamaile area. These were the days, here time passed us by again.

I am the 12th of 13 children and my one half sister of our father. That makes 7 boys and 7 girls. I went to Nanaikapono [Elementary], and I went to Wai'anae High. My Ohana, My wife Kim and children, lived in Makaha Lahana and Jade. Then Waianae Kawili St. next to Charles and Madge Orita family and below water tank sold both homes, then rented a home on Makau St., Makaha, ocean side, the papa held *limu kohu*, *limu pepe'e*, *he'e*, *kala*, *manini*, lobsters, *a'ama* that was our ice box when we lived there while our new home in Waipio By Gentry was being built. I worked for Kaiser Cement in Nanakuli as a maintenance mechanical superintendent. Kaiser Cement ceased operations summer of 1985. I was transferred to California Apple Valley, then San Jose. I retired from San Jose, California summer of 1986. I am very blessed from *Akua* to have granted 28 years of retirement and looking for more. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Paulette Kaleikini

[My name is] Paulette Kaanohiokalani Keaweamahi Kawainui Kaleikini. Keaweamahi is my mother's family name; Kawainui is my father's family name; Kaleikini is my husband's family name. I was born, primarily raised and grew-up on Oahu.

Both my mother's and father's *kupuna* are from Hawaii Island. My father is from Ka'u; the Kekuhaupio lineage. My mother is of the Keawe clan of Kona Keawemoku and the Mahi lineage of Kohala.

My *'ohana* were of this area; lived and died there. My mother's uncle is buried on lands there. My grandfather's ashes and his brothers were scattered on the ocean outside of the Halekulani like that of their cousins, the Kahanamokus. My knowledge of this area are from her.

Didi Robello

My name's Didi Robello. That's my nickname. My first name is Harry, 52 years old, born in 1962. My father was Harry S. Robello. My mother was Barbara Kahanamoku. I grew up in Kuli'ou'ou Valley and in Waikiki. My dad started Aloha Beach Services back in 1959. We've been here the longest. All I know is Waikiki. I do know more of my information is from the Royal Hawaiian [side] towards Diamond Head to the police station.

Kuli'ou'ou is the area I grew up, Kuli'ou'ou Valley. I went to Hahaione School, and then Niu Valley Intermediate. And I graduated from Kaiser High School in 1980.

My mom was Bill Kahanamoku's daughter. He's one of the Duke's brothers, one of only three that had any children. I've got a brother and a sister. I also have two first cousins from my mom's brother, Billy Kahanamoku, who also passed away. They both passed away already. My dad passed away in 2004 in April, and my mom passed away in 2004 in August.

My great-grandmother was a Paoa, and my great-grandfather was Halapu Kahanamoku. They actually named the police station after him because he was a captain of the police. And then, from them came the six brothers and two sisters. So I come from the Kahanamoku side.

Topical Breakouts

A wealth of information was obtained through the oral interviews. Quotes from the interviews are organized in the following sections by topic. Topical breakouts include traditional land use and archaeological sites, connections to Waikīkī, reminiscences, change through time, cultural practices and gathering, effects on cultural resources, and concerns and recommendations.

Traditional Land Use, Archaeological Sites

There were a lot of fish ponds and *lo'i*. My *kupuna* had special traditional and cultural uses of the ponds that were on the lands belonging to them. One pond was used for raising the favorite fish of the *ali'i*; the *moi*. She talked of her father's *'ohana* who lived in the area; Kahanamoku, Harbottle, Alapai, Naihe, Kalehua, Umiumi. [Paulette Kaleikini]

There were ponds in this area; some were used for raising fish (like the one on my *'ohana's* property) and some were used to irrigate *lo'i*. Surveying the bottom of these *lo'i* might provide some answers. In another area of Kou, the sides of a pond that belonged to another of my *kupuna* revealed *iwi* in the sidewalls of the pond. The only ongoing practice today is tourists walking throughout the street and people living in apartment buildings; nothing native Hawaiian, traditional or cultural about that. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Yes, some burials were found in close proximity to the project site; it's been recorded at the SHPD. The whole area is an historic site. Many natives lived there and many were killed during the invasion of Kahahana, Kahekili and again by Kamehameha. Where they died is where they were buried. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Currently, I am involved with the cultural monitoring work for the Hilton's wastewater project and their Grand Islander project. There were burials found in this area. We are monitoring in case more burials are impacted or cultural layers, historic properties are located. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Well, I've seen them move bones around. That would be at the Moana Hotel. I've had friends give me things that they've found in the waters out here, kinda neat, you know. Other than that, my stuff would be more from the '60s. [Didi Robello]

No, I haven't [heard of *iwi* in the Outrigger area]. I'm almost sure that there's some in the Royal too, but I couldn't tell you exactly. [Didi Robello]

Connections to Waikīkī

My dad was the last of the original [Waikīkī] beach boys. He grew up working with Duke Kahanamoku. Pua Kealoha is the one who brought 'em on the beach and introduced him to the boys. I grew up being what you call a *gadut* [a word in the Pidgin language meaning

“gopher”] for most of them. And fortunately, I got to meet ‘em all and see them all before they passed by [died]. [Didi Robello]

Yeah, with Chick Daniels, Tom Fittera, Joe Wright, all these guys at the Royal [Hawaiian Hotel]. I spent a lot of time in front of the Royal, as a little kid, and the Moana Hotel....I would say [my knowledge is] just from being down here my whole life, hearing the stories from all the old guys, from my parents, from my families, my mom, dad—actually just watching a whole lot of the changes go on down here. [Didi Robello]

Although majority of my genealogy comes out of the Big Island, my wife and I both do have familial ties to Waikiki. Which we can go over at a later time...The knowledge I possess, that specifically deals with this area in particular are of the burial practices, ceremonies and other *mea* of that nature. [Mana Cáceres]

My mother’s *kupuna* were with the entourage of the chiefs who traveled to Oahu from Keawemoku. Some *kupuna* traveled to Oahu to log the sandalwood for the king. It was very hard work and most of those *kupuna* never made it back to Keawemoku and Kohala. Other *kupuna* members were of the *kauhale* of the chief and king, became part of the land, living and farming the land like on the subject property. Of course, these *kupuna* were all related to Kamehameha and is why one of his favorite *lo‘i* on Oahu was in Kalia Waikiki. [Paulette Kaleikini]

When the lands were issued at the time of the Mahele, *kupuna* who were already on the lands received them as Land Commission Awards (LCA) which eventually became Royal Patents. Not all LCAs became Royal Patents. The king issued lands to his ‘*ohana* first making sure they were taken care of. After that is written history. We know what happened to the lands, the LCAs, the RP. But the real truth is not written. Royal Patented lands could not be sold; as is noted on the bottom of each document. The lands were quiet titled. The real meaning of the process of quiet title is to “steal;” simple as that. [Paulette Kaleikini]

The lands of my *kupuna* belonged to William Luther Moehonua. The RP stretched from the location of the Ilikai to Kalakaua Ave, from Atkinson Drive to Ala Moana Blvd. My grandfather was born on that property, my mother and her siblings were born on that property, my siblings were born on that property. As the youngest, I was the only one of my siblings not born on that property and yet I feel the strongest ties. Long story short, the occupier of the land gratefully helped my ‘*ohana* to relocate elsewhere. My mother loved that land. She did not like talking about it, but I saw it in her eyes and felt her heartache. I carry her *kaumaha*. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Anyways, the area of the project was not always under Kekuaanoa. He was the father of Kamamalu; granddaughter of Kamehameha I. After her death, he inherited the lands that were given to her at the Mahele. Before the Mahele, the lands were primarily occupied by the Keawe, Kekaulike and Mahi ‘*ohana* who were already here; and had come over with Kahahana, Kahekili or Kamehameha. When the lands were issued by the Mahele, the ‘*ohana* were allowed to remain and farm the land as most or all were relatives to the awardee; in the case of this project area, it was Kamamalu and Kekuaanoa. The families living in the area before the Mahele would have been of the Kahekili and Kamehameha lineage. Very little families of the Oahu chiefs lived in these areas by then. [Paulette Kaleikini]

...An ‘*ohana* by the name of Kupuna M. Kekuaanoa...he is a *poolua* child of two fathers. This *poolua* father named Kupuna Kiilaweau (our *tutu*) and Kupuna Wahine are half sibling, same father Kupuna Kanaina-nui, but different mothers. Kekaunaoa is in one of the books I read, it mentioned *tutu wahine* is his older sister. Sometimes I question that to

my wife about it. He comes from a lower generation, from my *tutu*, but he calls her his older sister. He is also the father of Kamehameha IV and V. There's other names that it's not on this map, but [it's] on the map that we're working with, Fort DeRussy. It has names of our ancestor. There were people that was brought over from Kona, Kohala and left to *malama* the island Kupuna Kuihelani, and their name was Kupuna Kamakahono, and Kaukaumakea and others. Kupuna Kamakahono is a son of Kupuna Kaiakoili I, Sister Kupuna Walawala and Kupuna Kapalalaole of Kohala. Kupuna Kuihelan is 'ohana to Kupuna Tutu Kailihao and Kupuna Kaukaumakea is brother to Tutu Kailihao, they are descendants of Kupuna Kekaulike of Maui. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Because at this point the question to the past you mentioned special things, remember in your experiences, the changes, personal stories, *mo'olelo*, songs anything to Waikiki project and yes we will open this door for you. Yes there is a link to the past of these Kupuna and their descendants in this 21st century. This Hoohuli Ohana and Hoohuli Ohana genealogist will share this shared ancient Kupuna like others of Waikiki and the island of Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, Hawaii, and Kauai. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

One must know the *kupuna* that are mentioned the island that they descended from and how they intertwined with each other. Beginning with this lineal, Kupuna Kukanihilo of Oahu and Kupuna Luaia, of Maui. With this great grandson of their Kupuna Kakuhihewa, whom was said to have been born at Kukanihilo, Oahu, with forty-eight chiefs of the highest rank being present. At the ceremony of cutting the naval cord of the new born chief and the two sacred drums names "Opuku" and "Haweia" Fornanders Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the time of Kamehameha I again Kupuna Kakuhihewa and Kupuna Kahaihanui-a-Kahuaailana, daughter of his first cousin Kupuna Napulahumahiki, and their aunt Kupuna Kekela, Kupuna Kekela is a younger sister to Kupuna Napulanahumahiki's father, Kupuna Hao, both of them are siblings to Kupuna Kakuhihewa's father Kupuna Kaihi-kapu-a-manuia. They are children of Kupuna Kaleimanuia of Oahu and Kupuna Lupekapukeahemakalii of Maui. Again Kupuna Kakuhihewa's great, great-grandson Kupuna Kualii of Oahu and Kauai and Kupuna Kalanikahimakeialii daughter of Kupuna Kaulahea II and his sister Kupuna Kalaniomaiheuilani of Maui. Again Kupuna Kualii granddaughter Kupuna Kuwalu of Oahu and Hilo Hawaii and Kupuna I-Kanaka, son of Kupuna Makua and Kupuna Kapohelemai of Hilo Hawaii. Again Kupuna Kuwalu is a daughter of Kupuna Peleioholani of Kauai, Oahu, and Lonokahikini. Again Kupuna Kuwalu's great, great, great granddaughter Kupuna Hakau and Kupuna Kanaina-nui A.K.A Kupuna Kalaimanokahoowaha, a story with Captain James Cook at Kealakekua Bay. Again Kupuna Kanaina-nui is a son of Kupuna Keaweikekahiali'iokamoko A.K.A Keawe II with Kupuna Moana. Again Kupuna Moana and Kupuna Heulu, is the parents of Kupuna Hakau. Both having the same mother. They being half siblings, Kupuna Heulu is a son of Kupuna Umiulaa Kaahumanu and Kupuna Kapaihia-ahu, again Kupuna Umiulaa Kaahumanu is a daughter of Kupuna Mahiolole and Kupuna Kanekukaa'ilani these Kupunas mentioned here is also 'ohana to Kupuna Kamehamehas, Kupuna Kalakaua, Kupuna Liliuokalani, Kupuna Kaoanaeha wife of Kupuna John Young the chief of Kamehameha I. And again these Kupuna mentioned below have also shared the same Kupuna as the Kamehameha and Kalakaua Dynasty. Again Kupuna Kanaina-nui and Kupuna Hakaus their great grandson Kupuna Naeole of Kohala Hawaii and Kupuna Kauko. Again Kupuna Naeole, the story of the child Kupuna Kamehameha, with the help of the people of Kohala. Again their son Kupuna Kaiakoili I A.K.A Hulikoa of Kohala, Kona, Kau and Kailihao. Again Kaiakoili I was sent to Oahu to Konohiki Koolaupoko to assist Kupuna Kuini Lihia. Again Kupuna Kaiakoili II Stayed back to *malama* Kohala, Kona, Kau, with his uncle Kupuna Manuhua II. Eventually Kupuna Manuhua was sent to Honolulu. Kupuna Kaiakoili II remained in Kona. Again Kupuna Kaiakoili II aka Hulikoa and his aunt Kupuna Mai'au his mother Kupuna Kailihao's younger half-sister. Their granddaughter Kulani Lima II is a great, great, great granddaughter of Kupuna Alapai-nui-a-mahi and Kupuna Keakokalani Puou Kupuna Keaka is a great granddaughter of Kupuna

Holoae, again Kupuna Kaiakoili, A.K.A Hulikoa, and Kupuna Maiau, their granddaughter Kulani Lima II, our mother, her older sibling Joseph Hulikoa Lima and his Wife Rebecca Likua. Again Joseph Kahapea Hoohuli, a descendant of Kupuna Kanoenoe of Kauai, our father. Their 14 children Hoohuli Ohana and Lima Ohana. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

The Ho'ohuli 'Ohana asked that the following engraving (Figure 20) and newspaper article accompany their interview, to better understand their genealogical history. The engraving of Chief Kanaina-nui is a reproduction of a painting by John Webber, the artist aboard Captain Cook's first expedition to Hawai'i. The newspaper article is reproduced in full below:

Voyaging with Captain Cook

BY Mike Gordon
Advertiser Staff Writer

It's hard to imagine a time when there were still mysteries just beyond the blue horizon, even as Eleanor Nordyke holds the proof in her hands — a weathered journal from one of history's most celebrated explorers, Capt. James Cook.

When Cook sailed into the Pacific in 1776, he and his crew encountered people and places previously unknown to Europeans, including Hawai'i. Cook's descriptions of the cultures he found were first published in 1784 and thrilled readers, as did the drawings of expedition artist John Webber.

But the exotic eventually gave way to the commonplace and then to the realm of the forgotten. When Nordyke first saw one of Cook's original published journals in the 1970s, the three-volume set was in a rare bookstore in San Francisco.

For the Manoa grandmother, Cook's descriptions loomed fresh and large and would launch her on her own voyage of discovery. A career demographer, Nordyke wanted to rekindle the wonder of the original expedition. After years of painstaking effort, the result was "Pacific Images," a book published in 1999 that paired Cook's journal entries with Webber's drawings.

"What right did I have to have these wonderful books and not share them broadly?" Nordyke said, as she sat in her living room with one of Cook's original published journals in her lap.

"Pacific Images" took almost two decades to create and just four years to go out of print. In the years since, it has become a coveted collector's edition in its own right — a \$45 book that has sold for up to \$1,500.

Still driven to share, Nordyke has now produced a second edition, paying for the \$60,000 printing cost out of her own pocket. It's been in bookstores since February.

"I'm providing it for a different generation," she said.

Cook's original work, "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean," is one of Nordyke's most beloved treasures, but she treats it as casually as an old friend. The pages that inspired "Pacific Images" are more than 200 years old, have brown spots, and sticky notes. The worn covers are sheathed in plastic, but Nordyke turns its pages with ungloved fingers.

Two years after Nordyke bought Cook's journal, the San Francisco bookstore called — it also had a copy of the original engravings made from Webber's drawings. The 61 drawings in the Cook expedition's official atlas folio were large and beautiful, but each one bore only the briefest description, and nothing to link it to the well-detailed journals.

More troubling was the rarity of the published volumes. Owning a complete set of original journals and engravings could cost as much as \$30,000, while their age meant no library could ever loan them to the public.

“I thought, I really need to write about these engravings,” Nordyke said. “I felt by making a book, the world would have a chance to see the entire collection. You will see these pictures in many books, but never together.”

Coincidence stepped in to help Nordyke in 1981, when a friend of her husband came to visit from the Mainland. Not only was James Mattison Jr. a huge fan of Cook’s explorations and Webber’s drawings, he was also a photographer who had once studied with Ansel Adams.

They became partners in the effort: Mattison would photograph the original engravings and Nordyke would comb the detailed journal entries to find a passage that best described the print.

The demographer, whose job as a research fellow at the East-West Center kept her busy all day, would wake up at 1 a.m. to work on the project. At times, she thought it might never get done.

“Any writing is a lonely process,” said Nordyke, who also published “The Peopling of Hawai’i” in 1977. “You have to push yourself to do that instead of something else that would be more fun.”

She organized the journal entries chronologically and included a passage about Cook’s death on the Big Island in 1779 that was written by one of the other expedition captains.

“You are just riding along with Cook on the trip and seeing what he saw,” she said.

Photographing the engravings became an obsession for Mattison, a surgeon from Salinas, Calif. Initially, he made several trips to Honolulu and would set up cameras on Nordyke’s dining room table.

“He was so interested he went out and found another set of three books and a folio, and he used his own picture sometimes,” Nordyke said. “He was a perfectionist.”

Mattison died last November from Alzheimer’s. He was 82. His fascination with Cook spanned four decades.

His family takes pride in the photos he took of Webber’s drawings. He even took his family on vacations mirroring the explorer’s travels.

“My dad was so enthralled with the images that he wanted to get them out and have greater detail available,” said his son, Richard Mattison, of Elk Horn, Calif. “He wanted to share these with the world.”

The elder Mattison tried several cameras before settling on a Graflex that produced an 8-by-10-inch negative. It provided images with enormous detail.

“The process of getting those prints was very long-winded,” said the 57-year-old younger Mattison, who is also a photographer. “It took years to find the right combination.”

ON AN EXPLORATION

The first printing of “Pacific Images” was done by the Hawaiian Historical Society. Barbara Dunn, administrative director of the organization, said it is a unique book because Nordyke put the engravings in context.

The end product transports the reader to the moment of first contact.

“I think there is always an interest in the moment of a discovery formerly unknown to you,” Dunn said. “The Pacific islanders and the Alaskan tribes, they didn't need to be discovered. They knew they were there all the time. But for the voyagers in this time period, they had the thrill of discovery of new worlds.”

The second edition of “Pacific Images” will fill a void.

“The book is a magnificent publication and will be greatly welcomed by those who missed the first edition, which now commands a high price,” said Alwyn Peel, secretary of the Captain Cook Society, an international organization with 500 members. He called the book “magnificent.”

“As the early editions of Cook’s journals of his third voyage are well beyond the pocket of most and are only available in major libraries, Ellie Nordyke’s book gives Cook enthusiasts and others the opportunity to have the engravings, to view them in their own homes,” he said.

Nordyke grew up in Hawai‘i, just a few doors away from the home where she has lived since 1960. Her parents collected books about Hawai‘i, a habit that Nordyke has also maintained throughout her adult life. Every time she traveled with her husband, physician Robert Nordyke, who died in 1997, she would visit rare bookstores.

Now she has a small library, although it’s somewhat hidden. In her cluttered home, her love of history outweighs more domestic details.

Nordyke’s hope for “Pacific Images” was always to recreate the experience of discovery. To her surprise it reminded her of her own adventure. From 1952 to 1953, Nordyke and her husband traveled around the world.

“I was impressed that we were all alike,” she said. “We love. We eat. We have families. Cultures impose some differences, but the basic elements of all people are love, kindness and goodness. In seeing the many different cultures Cook was able to visit, you find basically the same things.” (Gordon 2009)

Nordyke notes that Chief Kanaina-nui “was one of the first chiefs to greet and help Captain Cook upon his arrival at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai‘i on January 17, 1779” (1998:228). She goes on to say that the chief stood out for his sharp intellect and was described as follows:

...Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our King; the nature of our government; our numbers; the method of building our ships; our houses; the produce of our country; whether we had wars; with whom; and on what occasions; and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension. (Captain James King 1779 in Nordyke 1998:229–230)



Figure 20. Engraving of Chief Kanaina-nui.

Reminiscences

I frequented this area with my mother as a young child. We went to the beach known as Gray's beach (whea da hell did that name Gray come from; I used to ask my mother; doesn't sound Hawaiian to me). My mom and aunt went to gather *limu* that only grew near the flow of water coming from a stream; not sure what the name of that stream was; didn't pay attention. It was a special *limu* that grew at a certain time of the year. Finally, my mom said that the water was getting too *pilau* and she could taste it in the *limu*. The healing qualities of the *limu* were gone. Not much water flow. [Paulette Kaleikini]

When our 'ohana had luau, the whole street was shut down; like for my sister's 1st birthday luau; Hobron Lane was closed off. All of Waikiki would be there and *kanikapila* all nite. Errol Flynn, who was a movie star at the time, attended that luau. [Paulette Kaleikini]

I do remember lots of trees, and a huge fortress with big guns [at Fort DeRussy]. While we are on Fort DeRussy subject. December 7, 1941 Waianae, our parent on their way to church to Paea, Waianae Valley T.H. they heard the news that Pearl Harbor being attacked upon entering Ziona Hou church yard they turned around in the church yard and headed back to Nanakuli, to our home and Nanakuli bus line station to round up three busses. Our mom, dad, and their Ohana Kupuna Henry Alo, he was at our home waiting for our parents. They knew the soldiers needed transportation from R+R camp in Nanakuli A.K.A Camp Andrews, because the soldiers caught the bus, train, or hitchhike. The three *kupunas* filled the buses and took them to Pearl City. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

When I was growing up in Nanakuli, our dad had an old canoe with outriggers which he used to launch at Zablan beach to go to the shores of Ko'olina, Nanakuli, Ulehawa and Maili Pt. to fish and bring home fish. We all surf and body surf while growing up at black rocks Keaulana Kalaniaole Beach Park, names after Buffalo's *'ohana*. All of the *'ohana* attended church at Buff's house. We did a lot of net laying in Nanakuli, Maili, Waianae, Makaha, and Makua, our *'ohana* feed on turtle, pig, cow, goat, chicken, and duck, etc. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

When we were younger and the train was still operating, they would come with loads of pineapples or sugar cane. We used to pile small rocks and hit the pineapples over and long bamboo for the sugar cane. An era of the past to remember is President Eisenhower who touring from Schofield, passed our house in Nanakuli in his limo with his entourage. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

So long ago to remember. We lived at Kaka'ako. It was short to walk to Ala Moana Park, Waikiki Zoo past the hotels through the back roads... We just saw them as a place for tourist. But today we stay at the hotels. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

I remember sitting down on the beach, down here with the beach boys, as a small young kid, now you gotta figure elementary school age, watching those big hammers pounding down the cement in for the Surfrider hotel and a lot of 'em, Sheraton Waikiki. I remember seeing the Royal Hawaiian Tower [being built]. I know what was there before the Royal Hawaiian Tower. That I remember because there was a grass shack over there with a snack bar. They had the best ice cream. [laughs] That's how I remember, as a little kid running down, "I wanna go buy ice cream!" [Didi Robello]

Change through Time

Waikiki has changed a lot. Even from the '50s I remember it changed a lot. When you talk about the area, for instance the area leading up to it, Ala Moana wasn't there. I mean, driving through the area, it's just like time went pass by so fast, yeah? Also a lot of concrete structures and more jobs for people. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Within the wink of the eye, the thing went by. Changes went by. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

When I was born, everything was already changed. I really don't know. That would've been my parents. And I'm sure people on the Paoa side would know a lot about that side. You better go find 'em because they're going fast. [Didi Robello]

Well I know as far as the beach boys are, we used to be the only ones who would be fishing out here mostly. There's not a lot of fish now. Why? I don't know. In my area, I couldn't say exactly for the reason, but I have seen the reef deteriorate drastically out here, from the overuse, and a lot of it in my opinion has to do with the catamaran...In the nearshore waters

of Waikīkī, nearshore being the first, say 200 yards. Out in the deep, I don't know, but nearshore, it's not like it used to be. [Didi Robello]

I remember there being traffic, a lot of cars because my mom complained about it. We parked the car on Hobron Lane then walked over to the beach. She enjoyed doing that because she got to feel the *aina* (I think). She missed it and this was her way of returning. There's more traffic now. I think I could find the area of Gray's beach we used to frequent if I wanted to; don't want to; reminds me of my mom. [Paulette Kaleikini]

My mom and siblings spoke of date trees. There were a lot of them in the project area; all over that area actually. There were a few mango trees in the area of the project; the common mango, what we call the #9s. Gabby Pahinui grew up in that area. He and my uncles used to entertain in Waikiki in the 1930–40s. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Cultural Practices, Gathering

As far as cultural, I would guess that surfing is part of the culture. And everywhere people try to go surf, there's no parking. There's no access. "Oh, sorry you cannot park here, it's hotel guests only." Or it costs an arm and a leg. So if there's a token 33 parking stalls, is there any way they're gonna do that? Because they're building in front, again, there's lots of very good surf spots out there that locals can't have access to. [Didi Robello]

Well there used to be a lot of *limu* out here. My dad used to tell me that the most expensive *limu* came out of Waikīkī back in his day. When people got *limu* in Waikīkī, that was the top dog. Because of the fresh water streams we used to have, all the *limu* was really good. And you know, this place was *kapu* to *ali'i* only, so they had to have the best stuff. Now, it's hard to find the *limu*. One reason again, you got your over usage and your fuel [leaks]. There's not much fresh water seeping although there is. It does come from underground. There are spots out here that you can still go and gather the *limu*. So it's whether they know where it is or not. That's the thing, you know? [Didi Robello]

Other than that [cultural monitoring mentioned earlier], I do not know of many or any Hawaiian cultural practices within the project site. There is contemporary Hawaiian music played at the hotel on Kalia Rd; that's about it. [Paulette Kaleikini]

...About gathering? No. I really don't know. I think gathering is more today than years before, because most of the people, I think, was trying to survive, to find a good job so they can feed their family. There was nothing, no talk about gathering rights or gathering laws at the time. Everybody knew, you just go get. Family that you knew, you go ask permission and help yourself. But today, everything is different. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Effects on Cultural Resources

The development could impact a cultural layer; not all of Waikiki was totally dug-up and filled. There may be some hot-spots; like we are finding today. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Is there any way it's gonna affect the surf? What other walls and stuff are they gonna be putting up? I don't know. Do they have those in their plans? You know, just because they have the hotel going up, next question is gonna be, how do we make our beach better? And what are they gonna do then, you know? Is that gonna come out and bite me in the butt later? You wanna get all that up front. And if there's gonna be any effect to what the surf conditions are gonna be like. [Didi Robello]

On your end of the beach [the Outrigger side of Waikīkī] you know, a lot of the reef seems to be more alive. There's not as much activity as there is on this side being that this is the main area, Waikīkī. I think you guys oughtta, or whoever oughtta, keep an eye on how the reef is because as much as they deny it, they [the catamarans] leak fuel. I've smelled leakages off the catamarans before. It was that bad that it seeps all over. Nothing's gonna grow. We used to get schools of *manini*, schools of *āholehole*, *palani*, *pualu*, *uhu*, everything would all come in. And we would go lay net, and take what we need, and leave it. Now, there's just nothing here, there's nothing to eat. It's just dead. It's just flat out here, especially behind the boats. So behind there is dead. There's been a lot of damage, I would say, from fuel leaks off the catamarans. If you don't have to have it over there [by the Outrigger], don't do it. [Didi Robello]

You want to see the damage underwater? Go get some environmentalist or something, go for a dive out here and see what kind of *'opala* you going find under the water. Nobody knows what's in the water over here. It's dirty. There's some places, that it's just disgusting. [Didi Robello]

Well, if they do affect anything, there's always ways and things that can help them move forward. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Concerns and Recommendations

As the project continues I would like to see a cultural monitoring plan to be implemented alongside the archaeological monitoring plan. On my current project, where I assist as a cultural monitor as well as a consultant, we have been able to identify and save five *in situ* burials as well as recover numerous disarticulated *iwi kupuna* for later reinternment. Being on this project we have figured out ways to minimize cultural impact to the land and our *mea kapu* all the while keeping the project on schedule. [Mana Cáceres]

You know, it's good what the hotel wants to do. Think about history and let people know about the island and what happened out in Waikiki. We don't know too much about [Waikiki] history because the timeline is different from us. We don't know many good things that happened, and my wife was just mentioning that she really would like to see that pictures of the monarchy be shown like at Kona, Kamehameha Hotel. Whatever good would come out of it. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

I don't believe there are any current cultural practices going on in the area. I would love to have something going, but currently, there is nothing native Hawaiian about that area. But perhaps this is something that can be explored with the developer; to include native Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices in whatever the project is going to be; by way of landscaping, naming, workshops at the development, on-site cultural resource person; endless ways to involve the native Hawaiian community. Cyril Pahinui plays at the Outrigger at times and there are hula dancers. [Paulette Kaleikini]

Well, you know right now, everything is money and project improvement to survive. So I think the hotel is looking how they can better their position, and at the same time, bring forward the history of the area, and serve the public even better, or even the tourists, and not only tourists, the Local [people]. Then the Local can know the history behind the area. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

So I think there's a multipurpose of learning. One, the developer going learn the area. Two, the community [will learn]. Three, the people themselves, to recap history, and also the tourists. So whatever the hotel do going benefit. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

If it's possible Outrigger Reef can check on old ground and its building site maps that may have been documented during the early ground and footing work. The area shows ponds and perhaps fill in from Ala Wai Canal dredge. Fragment of Kupuna Iwi possibly from dredge. I really don't know how we can get around that. We just need to follow whatever the law is today, and from there, we can work with the descendant, whoever the descendants are. Then you can work with them to try push forward the project. Right now, we have descendants working on the Fort DeRussy project. I'm pretty sure any adversity that was presented is well-taken care of. So with the hotel one, the same can be done. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

...You have to work with the descendants. You know, that's the way things fall. We're willing to work, and we look for good outcome, whereas everybody going benefit from learning, and what the corporations can offer, in terms of learning, and that the hotel will still be there for generations, for people to enjoy. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Well, I don't know of a concern right now. We just have to look when you do your project, what comes out. I think that's where concerns will come from. A lot of the concerns will present themselves, and from there, we work together. [Willie Ho'ohuli]

Well, Waikīkī is culturally significant. So if they're gonna do something to it, they should do it the right way and make sure that it's gonna be done the right way. The whole Waikīkī area is culturally significant. So they should take a lot of care into what they're gonna do. [Didi Robello]

I mean, you know you could landscape stuff not to look so mainland-ish. You could landscape it to look more local, which would probably be more culturally significant. People may like the fact that, oh you know, the stage kind of resembles rock formations, the plants are all native, mostly native. You know, you don't want to be bringing in bougainvillea like that anymore. We have our natural stuff we could use. I'd like to see more of that around...All the grounds, you know. Put some ponds. Put something instead of just straight up cement. [Didi Robello]

Yeah, I mean the people came here because of how beautiful this place was, what Waikīkī looked like. You know, don't forget that. It looks like it's been forgotten for a while. But it's time to make changes, let's make changes in the right way, make it look almost like how it used to be, why they came here in the first place. [Didi Robello]

I think they should manage the beach a lot more. They should be working with the way the ocean works instead of trying to beat it or go against it. The sand replenishment, in my opinion, wasn't done right. But no one asked. Everybody went by [talking to] the college people, what it's supposed to be like, but not what it [the natural sand movement] actually is, and how it [sand replenishment] is done. Nobody came around asking us how does the sand work. Everybody just assumed that their way is the way, and that's how it got done, and as of now, it ain't working. So you're gonna lose a lot of sand, possibly. [Didi Robello]

Accessibility. Parking. You know, you gotta be *kama'āina* friendly also. I mean, after surfing, can we come in with our shorts and t-shirt and get something to eat? Like Duke's, you can go out, come right back in soaking wet, but they're all good to go. Is there someplace that's gonna be, you know, as long as it's not all exclusive. Is it *kama'āina* friendly also? [Didi Robello]

Summary of Ethnographic Survey

A total of four ethnographic interviews were conducted with individuals knowledgeable about Waikīkī: Mana Cáceres, Willie Ho‘ohuli, Paulette Kaleikini, and Didi Robello. The consultants are descendants of Waikīkī families and are knowledgeable of cultural resources as well as traditional practices and beliefs associated with the area. They continue to actively work toward preservation and perpetuation of Hawaiian practices and/or resources in Waikīkī.

The interviewees discussed the traditional use of the region, which includes *lo‘i* agriculture, fishing, gathering of resources such as *limu*, surfing, and human burial. They reminisced of times past and shared their *‘ohana* background and connections to Waikīkī. They noted that the region has changed significantly over time, with increased development and changes to the ocean ecosystem and beach.

The consultants were generally supportive of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project but shared several concerns and recommendations. Most of these centered around incorporating Hawaiian elements and themes into designs, keeping the community involved in plans, and identifying and caring for historic properties, such as human burials and cultural layers. Another important consideration is access and parking so that today’s *kama‘āina* can enjoy the beach and amenities.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Waikīkī is an important place in Hawai‘i in both the past and present. A rich corpus of background information was found for the region, including *oli* and *mele*, *‘ōlelo no ‘eau*, *mo ‘olelo*, information on land use in traditional and historic times, and data from archaeological work. Adding significantly to this is the information shared during oral history interviews. The consultants for this project all have strong family ties to the region, and Waikīkī is a cherished place for their *‘ohana*.

Cultural Resources, Practices, and Beliefs Identified

Research and ethnographic survey compiled for the current study revealed that Waikīkī was a culturally significant area with many of the natural resources which supported traditional subsistence activities. These included fishing, the gathering of plants, and collecting various shellfish and *limu*. Traditionally, the region was a marshland with abundant springs and supported *lo ‘i* agriculture and fishponds.

Community members who are knowledgeable of the cultural resources of Waikīkī provided their *‘ike* which identified important cultural practices that continue to today, including surfing, fishing, and gathering *limu*. Consultants report a significant decline in ocean life, which affects these activities. Interviewees generously shared their personal and *‘ohana* connections to this *‘āina* as well as their *mana ‘o* of the importance of preserving our cultural heritage. It was noted that although the area has been significantly modified by modern development, human burials, subsurface cultural layers, and other historic properties may still be found.

Potential Effects of the Proposed Project

Consultants mentioned concern over several resources that may be affected by the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project. Resources that might be affected include human burials, cultural layers, the surf, and the beach itself.

Confidential Information Withheld

During the course of researching the present report and conducting the ethnographic survey program, no sensitive or confidential information was discovered or revealed, therefore, no confidential information was withheld.

Conflicting Information

No conflicting information was obvious in analyzing the gathered sources. On the contrary, a number of themes were repeated and information was generally confirmed by independent sources.

Recommendations/Mitigations

The consultants are generally supportive of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project. They would like to have Hawaiian traditions and practices incorporated into the plans and have the Hawaiian community more involved. They proposed specific ways to do this:

- developing a cultural monitoring plan and implementing cultural monitoring during construction
- displaying pictures of the Hawaiian monarchy
- utilizing natural landscaping to include native plants, ponds, etc.

- considering Hawaiian traditions in naming
- offering workshops
- hiring an on-site cultural resource person
- working more with the descendant families
- managing the beach more efficiently (e.g., with sand replenishment strategies)
- improving accessibility and parking to make the area more *kama'āina* friendly

One consultant summed it up as follows:

Waikīkī is culturally significant. So if they're gonna do something to it, they should do it the right way and make sure that it's gonna be done the right way. The whole Waikīkī area is culturally significant. So they should take a lot of care into what they're gonna do.

GLOSSARY

‘āholehole	Young stage of the Hawaiian flagtail fish.
ahupua‘a	Traditional Hawaiian land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea.
‘āina	Land.
ali‘i	Chief, chiefess, monarch.
‘ama‘ama	The mullet, or <i>Mugil cephalus</i> , a prized indigenous fish.
‘auwai	Ditch, often for irrigated agriculture.
awa	The milkfish, or <i>Chanos chanos</i> , often raised in fishponds in ancient times.
gadut	A word in pidgin meaning “gopher.” Used to refer to a subordinate or someone who performs miscellaneous tasks for a superior.
hāhā	To grope or feel; trap made of small branches for catching fresh-water fish. Also same as hā, stalk; striped taro leaves baked or boiled for consumption.
hālau	Meeting house or long house for canoes.
hapa haole	A person who is of diverse ethnic makeup; often part Caucasian.
hāpu‘u	<i>Cibotium splendens</i> , a fern endemic to Hawai‘i; a forest fern to 5 m high.
hau	The indigenous tree <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> , which had many uses in traditional Hawai‘i. Sandals were fashioned from the bark and cordage was made from fibers. Wood was shaped into net floats, canoe booms, and various sports equipment and flowers were used medicinally.
heiau	Place of worship and ritual in traditional Hawai‘i.
huli	The top of the <i>kalo</i> used for planting; shoot, as of the <i>wauke</i> .
i‘a Pākē	The introduced fish <i>Ophiocephalus striatus</i> found in rice and taro patches or in streams.
‘ie‘ie	The vine <i>Freycinetia arborea</i> , an endemic, woody branching climber that grows at altitudes of 300–600m. In ancient Hawai‘i, vines were considered sacred and used in basketry and for ceremonial purposes.
‘ike	To see, know, feel; knowledge, awareness, understanding.
ipu	General name for a vessel or container. Also the bottle gourd <i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> or <i>L. vulgaris</i> , which was used traditionally for containers, hula instruments, and for medicine.
iwi	Bone.
kahuna	An expert in any profession, often referring to a priest, sorcerer, or magician.
kalo	The Polynesian-introduced <i>Colocasia esculenta</i> , or taro, the staple of the traditional Hawaiian diet.
kama‘āina	Native-born.
kanikapila	A style of Hawaiian music produced in an impromptu gathering of musicians.
kapu	Taboo, prohibited, forbidden.

<i>kauhale</i>	A group of houses that comprise the traditional Hawaiian homestead. Often included are a sleeping house, men's eating house, women's eating house, cooking house, and canoe house.
<i>kaumaha</i>	Heavy, heaviness. Fig., sad, troubled.
<i>kī</i>	The plant <i>Cordyline terminalis</i> , whose leaves were traditionally used in house thatching, raincoats, sandals, whistles, and as a wrapping for food.
<i>konohiki</i>	The overseer of an <i>ahupua'a</i> ranked below a chief; land or fishing rights under control of the <i>konohiki</i> ; such rights are sometimes called <i>konohiki</i> rights.
<i>kukui</i>	The candlenut tree, or <i>Aleurites moluccana</i> , the nuts of which were eaten as a relish and used for lamp fuel in traditional times.
<i>kupuna</i>	Grandparent, ancestor; <i>kūpuna</i> is the plural form.
<i>lama</i>	The native tree, <i>Diospyros sandwicensis</i> , that had many uses in traditional Hawai'i. Fruit was eaten, wood was fashioned into fish traps and sacred structures within <i>heiau</i> . <i>Lama</i> wood was also crushed and used for medicinal purposes.
<i>limu</i>	Refers to all sea plants, such as algae and edible seaweed.
<i>līpoa</i>	The brown seaweeds (<i>Dictyopteris plagiogramma</i> and <i>D. australis</i>), highly prized as a delicacy.
<i>lo'i, lo'i kalo</i>	An irrigated terrace or set of terraces for the cultivation of taro.
<i>loko, loko i'a</i>	Pond, lake, pool, fishpond.
<i>luakini</i>	Large <i>heiau</i> of human sacrifice.
<i>lū'au</i>	Young taro tops, often refers to a dish of taro leaves baked with coconut cream and chicken or octopus.
<i>mahalo</i>	Thank you.
<i>Māhele</i>	The 1848 division of land.
<i>mahi'ai</i>	Farmer.
<i>māhū</i>	Homosexual, of either sex.
<i>mai'a</i>	The banana, or <i>Musa sp.</i> , whose fruit was eaten and leaves used traditionally as a wrapping for cooking food in earth ovens.
<i>maka'āinana</i>	Common people, or populace; translates to "people that attend the land."
<i>makai</i>	Toward the sea.
<i>mālama</i>	To care for, preserve, or protect.
<i>malihini</i>	Foreigner, stranger, newcomer, guest.
<i>māmaki</i>	<i>Piptarus spp.</i> , a small native tree. Fiber from its bark was used to make a kind of coarse tapa. Sometimes spelled <i>mamake</i> in old texts.
<i>mana</i>	Divine power.
<i>mana'o</i>	Thoughts, opinions, ideas.
<i>manini</i>	The surgeonfish <i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> , common in Hawaiian waters.
<i>mauka</i>	Inland, upland, toward the mountain.

<i>mea</i>	Thing, object, person.
<i>mele</i>	Song, chant, or poem.
<i>menehune</i>	Small people of legend who worked at night to build structures such as fishponds, roads, and <i>heiau</i> .
<i>moi</i>	The threadfish <i>Polydactylus sexfilis</i> , a highly prized food item.
<i>mo‘olelo</i>	A story, myth, history, tradition, legend, or record.
<i>naio</i>	<i>Myoporum sandwicense</i> , the bastard sandalwood native to Hawai‘i.
<i>niu</i>	The Polynesian-introduced tree <i>Cocos nucifera</i> , or coconut.
<i>niuhi</i>	Man-eating shark; any shark more than 3.5 m long is probably a <i>niuhi</i> . Catching the <i>niuhi</i> was a sport of chiefs.
<i>‘ohana</i>	Family.
<i>‘ōhelo</i>	<i>Vaccinium reticulatum</i> , a native shrub with small edible berries. Found in higher altitudes.
<i>‘ōhi‘a ‘ai</i>	The mountain apple tree, <i>Eugenia malaccensis</i> , a forest tree that grows to 50 ft.high.
<i>‘ōhi‘a lehua</i>	The native tree <i>Metrosideros polymorpha</i> , the wood of which was utilized for carving images, as temple posts and palisades, for canoe spreaders and gunwales, and in musical instruments.
<i>‘ōlelo no‘eau</i>	Proverb, wise saying, traditional saying.
<i>oli</i>	Chant.
<i>olonā</i>	The native plant <i>Touchardia latifolia</i> , traditionally used for making cordage.
<i>‘opala</i>	Rubbish, trash, garbage, junk.
<i>palani</i>	The surgeonfish <i>Acanthurus dussumieri</i> , known for its strong odor.
<i>pau</i>	Finished.
<i>pilau</i>	Rotten, foul.
<i>pili</i>	A native grass, <i>Heteropogon contortus</i> .
<i>pōhaku</i>	Rock, stone.
<i>poi</i>	A staple of traditional Hawai‘i, made of cooked and pounded taro mixed with water to form a paste.
<i>pualu</i>	The surgeonfish <i>Acanthurus xanthopterus</i> and <i>A. mata</i> , similar to <i>palani</i> but with a blue line that extends through the fin.
<i>tutu</i>	Grandmother or grandfather.
<i>tutu wahine</i>	Grandmother.
<i>‘uala</i>	The sweet potato, or <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> , a Polynesian introduction.
<i>uhiuhi</i>	The endemic tree <i>Mezoneuron kauaiense</i> , a legume with pink or red flowers and winged pods. It produces a hard, heavy wood that was used for <i>hōlua</i> sleds, spears, digging sticks, and house posts in ancient times.

uhu

An adult parrot fish, one of two genera of the *Scaridae* family known to occur in Hawai'i.

wauke

The paper mulberry, or *Broussonetia papyrifera*, which was made into tapa cloth in traditional Hawai'i.

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APPENDIX A: AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

Agreement to Participate in the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Cultural Impact Assessment

Dietrix J. U. Duhaylonsod, Ethnographer, Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting

You are invited to participate in a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) of the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning in Waikiki, on the island of O‘ahu (herein referred to as “the Project”). The Project is being conducted by Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting (Keala Pono), a cultural resource management firm, on behalf of Group 70 International. The ethnographer will explain the purpose of the Project, the procedures that will be followed, and the potential benefits and risks of participating. A brief description of the Project is written below. Feel free to ask the ethnographer questions if the Project or procedures need further clarification. If you decide to participate in the Project, please sign the attached Consent Form. A copy of this form will be provided for you to keep.

Description of the Project

This CIA is being conducted to collect information about Waikiki and the subject property in the Kona District of the island of O‘ahu, through interviews with individuals who are knowledgeable about this area, and/or about information including (but not limited to) cultural practices and beliefs, *mo‘olelo*, *mele*, or *oli* associated with this area. The goal of this Project is to identify and understand the importance of any traditional Hawaiian and/or historic cultural resources, or traditional cultural practices in properties on the current subject property. This Assessment will also attempt to identify any affects that the proposed development may have on cultural resources present, or once present within the Project area.

Procedures

After agreeing to participate in the Project and signing the Consent Form, the ethnographer will digitally record your interview and it may be transcribed in part or in full. The transcript may be sent to you for editing and final approval. Data from the interview will be used as part of the ethno-historical report for this project and transcripts may be included in part or in full as an appendix to the report. The ethnographer may take notes and photographs and ask you to spell out names or unfamiliar words.

Discomforts and Risks

Possible risks and/or discomforts resulting from participation in this Project may include, but are not limited to the following: being interviewed and recorded; having to speak loudly for the recorder; providing information for reports which may be used in the future as a public reference; your uncompensated dedication of time; possible misunderstanding in the transcribing of information; loss of privacy; and worry that your comments may not be understood in the same way you understand them. It is not possible to identify all potential risks, although reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize them.

Benefits

This Project will give you the opportunity to express your thoughts and opinions and share your knowledge, which will be considered, shared, and documented for future generations. Your

sharing of knowledge may be instrumental in the preservation of cultural resources, practices, and information.

Confidentiality

Your rights of privacy, confidentiality and/or anonymity will be protected upon request. You may request, for example, that your name and/or sex not be mentioned in Project material, such as in written notes, on tape, and in reports; or you may request that some of the information you provide remain off-the-record and not be recorded in any way. To ensure protection of your privacy, confidentiality and/or anonymity, you should immediately inform the ethnographer of your requests. The ethnographer will ask you to specify the method of protection, and note it on the attached Consent Form.

Refusal/Withdrawal

At any time during the interview process, you may choose to not participate any further and ask the ethnographer for the tape and/or notes. If the transcription of your interview is to be included in the report, you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript, and to revise or delete any part of the interview.

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Consent Form

I, _____, am a participant in the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Cultural Impact Assessment (herein referred to as “Project”). I understand that the purpose of the Project is to conduct oral history interviews with individuals knowledgeable about the subject property and Waikiki, in the Kona District of the island of O‘ahu. I understand that Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting and/or Group 70 International will retain the product of my participation (digital recording, transcripts of interviews, etc.) as part of their permanent collection and that the materials may be used for scholarly, educational, land management, and other purposes.

_____ I hereby grant to Keala Pono and Group 70 International ownership of the physical property delivered to the institution and the right to use the property that is the product of my participation (e.g., my interview, photographs, and written materials) as stated above. By giving permission, I understand that I do not give up any copyright or performance rights that I may hold.

_____ I also grant to Keala Pono and Group 70 International my consent for any photographs provided by me or taken of me in the course of my participation in the Project to be used, published, and copied by Keala Pono and Group 70 International and its assignees in any medium for purposes of the Project.

_____ I agree that Keala Pono and Group 70 International may use my name, photographic image, biographical information, statements, and voice reproduction for this Project without further approval on my part.

_____ If transcriptions are to be included in the report, I understand that I will have the opportunity to review my transcripts to ensure that they accurately depict what I meant to convey. I also understand that if I do not return the revised transcripts after two weeks from the date of receipt, my signature below will indicate my release of information for the draft report, although I will still have the opportunity to make revisions during the draft review process.

By signing this permission form, I am acknowledging that I have been informed about the purpose of this Project, the procedure, how the data will be gathered, and how the data will be analyzed. I understand that my participation is strictly voluntary, and that I may withdraw from participation at any time without consequence.

_____	_____
Consultant Signature	Date
_____	_____
Print Name	Phone

Address	

Thank you for participating in this valuable study.

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPT RELEASE

Transcript Release

I, _____, am a participant in the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Cultural Impact Assessment (herein referred to as “Project”) and was interviewed for the Project. I have reviewed the transcripts of the interview and agree that the transcript is complete and accurate except for those matters delineated below under the heading “CLARIFICATION, CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, DELETIONS.”

I agree that Keala Pono Archaeological Consulting and/or Group 70 International may use and release my identity, biographical information, and other interview information, for the purpose of including such information in a report to be made public, subject to my specific objections, to release as set forth below under the heading “OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS.”

CLARIFICATION, CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, DELETIONS:

OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS:

Consultant Signature	Date
Print Name	Phone

Address

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW WITH MANA CACERES

TALKING STORY WITH
MANA CACERES (MC)

Oral History for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning project area by Dietrix Duhaylonsod (DD)

For Keala Pono 11/14/2014

Note: Mana apologized that he is too busy to meet in person, but he graciously agreed to share his *mana'o* by answering our questions via email. This transcript is the result of that email correspondence.

MC: Once again, *mahalo nui* for reaching out to my *'ohana* as a consulting party for this project. Being that I am extremely busy as of late, I will apologize for not being able to go over every question and answer each one fully. I hope that as the project progresses I will be able to offer more *mana'o* and provide more feedback. Here are the ones that I can address at this particular time:

DD: To start please tell us about yourself...Name? Where/When you were born? Where you grew up? Where you went to school?

MC: Norman "MANA" Kaleilani Cáceres. My parents moved away from Hawaii right before I was born (10/7/1976). I was born in Orange County California and lived most of my pre - adult years in Washington state where I graduated from Clover Park High School. After graduation, I relocated to Hilo, Hawaii where I attended the University of Hawaii at Hilo. My original goal was to double major with a BA in Hawaiian Studies/Anthropology and a BA in Communication but after we found out that we were expecting our first child, I finished with a BA in Communication.

DD: What is your association to the subject property (family land, work place, etc.)?

MC: Although majority of my genealogy comes out of the Big Island, my wife and I both do have familial ties to Waikiki. Which we can go over at a later time.

DD: What are the ways you have acquired special knowledge of this area (from your *'ohana*, personal research, specific sources)?

MC: The knowledge I possess, that specifically deals with this area in particular are of the burial practices, ceremonies and other *mea* of that nature.

DD: While development of the area continues, what could be done to lessen the adverse effects on any current cultural practices in the area?

MC: As the project continues I would like to see a cultural monitoring plan to be implemented alongside the archaeological monitoring plan. On my current project, where I assist as a cultural monitor as well as a consultant, we have been able to identify and save five *in situ* burials as well as recover numerous disarticulated *iwi kupuna* for later reinternment. Being on this project we have figured out ways to minimize cultural impact to the land and our *mea kapu* all the while keeping the project on schedule.

I would be more than happy to sit down and discuss these things further as the planning and consulting phase progresses. Once again, *mahalo* for taking the time to seek my humble *mana'o*. If you should have any further questions, please feel free to contact me.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW WITH WILLIE HO‘OHULI

TALKING STORY WITH

WILLIE HO‘OHULI (WH)

Oral History for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project by Dietrix Duhaylonsod (DD)
For Keala Pono 8/25/2014

Also present was Uncle’s wife Kim Ho‘ohuli (KH), Uncle’s brother Blackie Ho‘ohuli (BH), and Uncle’s niece Garnet Clark (GC).

DD: Aloha. Today is Thursday, the 21st of August, and we’re talking story with Uncle Willie-them, and first of all, I’d just like to say, “Thank you so much for spending time out of your busy day talking story with us. I appreciate it.” We’re going to be talking about the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project, and we’ll see if Uncle-folks have any thoughts that they’d like to share. So we’ll begin by Uncle, if you could, please tell us your name, where/when you were born, where you grew up, where you went to school and such?

WH: My name is William Aweau Ho‘ohuli or Willie, and I was born in Nanakuli, and we also lived out in Kaka‘ako by the fire station, and a few buildings behind of us was the makers Kona Coffee and across HRT Bus terminal, the bus ran by electrical overhead cables and spring rods part way end of the bus roof, and we go back and forth from Nanakuli. Our dad worked for Lewers and Cooke Honolulu. He had a huge car and on his way home he would bring home wooden crates to build house with. Some of the Nanaikapono homesteaders would ask him to transport them to and from work at Pearl Harbor Hickam, down town Honolulu which he did. He started with two taxis then some second hand buses. Named Nanakuli Bus line bus stations were at Kakaako Nanakuli lot 60, and Haleakala Ave. Bus Schedule 4:00am at Tamura store the bus route was Kakaako, Nimitz, and River Street to Dillingham, Pearl City, Waipahu, Nanakuli, Maili, and Waianae on old gov’t road fronting old 1st Tamura Store and Teramoto Barber Shop. The last bus left Kakaako at 8:00pm. Our mother was a mail carrier pick-up mail, deliver mail to and from Waipahu Post Office by old Waipahu movie house, and old fire station and between Kawano Store. Ewa, post office in old quonset hut across store and business building and ewa sugar plantation factory. Nanakuli post office corner of Nanakuli Ave. and Farrington Hwy. and between Mahilona Soda Fountain and Kalito Barbar-Shop and Waianae post office. Where Oritas Bldg. is at now presently a surf shop. Bus line started early 1930–ceased 1958.

I also lived in Waianae Valley. I helped my sister Pauline Sweetie, she worked at Barber Point NAS and my brother in law Ah Ching Poe. He worked for Hawaiian Dredging at Mt. Kaala Water tunnel to help with the farm and animals. She would pick me up where I was born after work. I would also help another Sister, Rose Pua, and my brother in law, David Kauwa Poe. He was in the Air Force to help my sister with their peanut farming. I also help tutu Harry G. Poe and tutu Emily Dung Poe with tutu-ma the Hoohuli Kaahaaina, Poe ‘Ohana every two weeks we all pull taro, clean the *lo‘i* of roots and weeds. Pulling cleaning roots off taro, set up taro for wheel barrel to load, take to preparation area dump taro, cut off *luau*-leaf *ha-ha* [stem] and *huli*. Good *luau* leaf will cook for lunch or Ohana to take home, or rest for pigs, cut *huli* and sort for replanting. Leave out to dry one or two days, bunch up and set in a corner of *lo‘i* to root, plant taro during day of the full moon. Preparation set up and cooking set up four (4) 55 gallon drums. Set wire basket bottom of drum set some burlap bags for taro to cook on fill with water to wire basket. Fill with taro cover top with burlap bags, and cover. Cook over night. Early the next morning all the Ohana would gather to dump taro on cleaning area. Fill half drums with water and fill drum with taro as need while removing skins, root eyes, etc. Keep scraps and skin for ducks, chicken or pigs. Ready to grinding trough. Fill Ohana big pot with *poi*, when *pau* clean up and a big lunch. Lunch was a mixture of dry salted salmon, *aku*, *pahu*, *pulehu*, *bakalau*, stew *luau*, *pipikaula*, salt pork, sweet potatoes, taro, *ulu*, *ulu*

poi, fresh taro *poi*, *kulolo*, sugar cane. Swim in the Water Concrete Flume or water ditch that fed sugar cane fields in lower Waianae Valley, Waianae dump, and Kamaile area. These were the days, here time passed us by again.

I am the 12th of 13 children and my one half sister of our father. That makes 7 boys and 7 girls. I went to Nanaikapono [Elementary], and I went to Wai'anāe High. My Ohana, My wife Kim and children, lived in Makaha Lahana and Jade. Then Waianae Kawili St. next to Charles and Madge Orita family and below water tank sold both homes, then rented a home on Makau St., Makaha, ocean side, the papa held *limu kohu*, *limu pepe'e*, *he'e*, *kala*, *manini*, lobsters, *a'ama* that was our ice box when we lived there while our new home in Waipio By Gentry was being built. I worked for Kaiser Cement in Nanakuli as a maintenance mechanical superintendent. Kaiser Cement ceased operations summer of 1985. I was transferred to California Apple Valley, then San Jose. I retired from San Jose, California summer of 1986. I am very blessed from *Akua* to have granted 28 years of retirement and looking for more. You mentioned about the hotel project, what hotel was that?

DD: Outrigger. Outrigger Reef.

WH: Outrigger hotel. You know, it's good what the hotel wants to do. Think about history and let people know about the island and what happened out in Waikiki. We don't know too much about [Waikiki] history because the timeline is different from us. We don't know many good things that happened, and my wife was just mentioning that she really would like to see that pictures of the monarchy be shown like at Kona, Kamehameha Hotel. Whatever good would come out of it. Garnet you got anything to say?

GC: Introduce the people here.

WH: Sorry. Myself (Willie) my brother Black, my wife Kim, and our niece Garnet Clark, Garnet is my older sister, Stella Keala the eighth child, and Clifford D. Enos. Clifford like his siblings were all born at the Makua ranch house, Oahu. His father John Enos was Ranch foreman for L.L. McCandless, they resided at the ranch house. Clifford moved with his sister Hattie Kalama and Noah Kalama Sr. to the Enos estate in Waianae Valley when the ranch was closing down.

DD: [pause] Ok, thank you, Uncle. Yes, it's a different timeline. Could you please tell us about your '*ohana* background?

WH: When you say '*ohana*, what '*ohana* you asking?

DD: I don't know if you want to share about your '*ohana* in Nanakuli, or maybe any connections back to Waikiki, or Kaka'ako time. It's up to you.

WH: Our parent Joseph Kahapea Hoohuli, born in Kohala, raised in Kohala, Kohanaiki Ke'ei, Honaunau, Hawaii. Kulani Lima, born in Kohanaiki and raised in Kohanaiki, Honokohau, Koloko, Ooma, Hawaii. They are one of the first settlers to settle in Nanaikapono Hawaiian Homestead in Nanakuli.

When I was growing up in Nanakuli, our dad had an old canoe with outriggers which he used to launch at Zablan beach to go to the shores of Ko'olina, Nanakuli, Ulehawa and Maili Pt. to fish and bring home fish. We all surf and body surf while growing up at black rocks Keaulana Kalaniaole Beach Park, names after Buffalo's '*ohana*. All of the '*ohana* attended church at Buff's house. We did a lot of net laying in Nanakuli, Maili, Waianae, Makaha, and Makua, our '*ohana* feed on turtle, pig, cow, goat, chicken, and duck, etc. When we were younger and the train was still operating, they would come with loads of pineapples or sugar cane. We used to pile small rocks and hit the

pineapples over and long bamboo for the sugar cane. An era of the past to remember is President Eisenhower who touring from Schofield, passed our house in Nanakuli in his limo with his entourage.

With this information and map you e-mailed to me for outrigger Project. An *'ohana* by the name of Kupuna M. Kekuaaoa...he is a *poolua* child of two fathers. This *poolua* father named Kupuna Kiilaweau (our *tutu*) and Kupuna Wahine are half sibling, same father Kupuna Kanaina-nui, but different mothers. Kekaunaoa is in one of the books I read, it mentioned *tutu wahine* is his older sister. Sometimes I question that to my wife about it. He comes from a lower generation, from my *tutu*, but he calls her his older sister. He is also the father of Kamehameha IV and V. There's other names that it's not on this map, but [it's] on the map that we're working with, Fort DeRussy. It has names of our ancestor. There were people that was brought over from Kona, Kohalo and left to *malama* the island Kupuna Kuihelani, and their name was Kupuna Kamakahono, and Kaukaumakea and others. Kupuna Kamakahono is a son of Kupuna Kaiakoili I, Sister Kupuna Walawala and Kupuna Kapalalaole of Kohala. Kupuna Kuihelan is *'ohana* to Kupuna Tutu Kailihao and Kupuna Kaukaumakea is brother to Tutu Kailihao, they are descendants of Kupuna Kekaulike of Maui.

DD: Thank you Uncle. Thank you for sharing your relationship to the place we are talking about, this project area. Are there any other associations that you'd like to share about being connected to that area in Waikiki?

WH: No. I don't have anything to share because the timeline to my timeline is different.

DD: Ok, thank you.

KH: That was not their playground. They lived in Kaka'ako and Nanakuli.

DD: Right.

WH: So long ago to remember. We lived at Kaka'ako. It was short to walk to Ala Moana Park, Waikiki Zoo past the hotels through the back roads.

DD: Right. So are there any special things to know about Waikiki that you'd like to share? And what are some ways that you've learned about Waikiki or the project area?

WH: [thinking] We just saw them as a place for tourist. But today we stay at the hotels.

DD: Ok. So as far as you remember in your experiences, how has this area changed?

WH: A lot. Waikiki has changed a lot. Even from the '50s I remember it changed a lot. When you talk about the area, for instance the area leading up to it, Ala Moana wasn't there. I mean, driving through the area, it's just like time went pass by so fast, yeah? Also a lot of concrete structures and more jobs for people.

DD: Right.

WH: Within the wink of the eye, the thing went by. Changes went by.

KH: [talking softly but it can't be made out on the recording]

DD: Right. Aunty was saying that at the same time of all these changes, Uncle-them was concentrating on providing for the family and going on with daily life. Thank you for that, Aunty.

So, regarding that Outrigger area of Waikiki, that Fort DeRussy area of Waikiki, do you have any personal stories, or *mo'olelo*, or songs, or anything that's connected there that come up to mind?

WH: No.

DD: Okay, *mahalo* Uncle. Do you know of any traditional sites, or cultural sites, from the past, that may have been there in that area?

BH: Talking about Waikiki ah?

DD: Mm-hmm [yes].

WH: Because at this point the question to the past you mentioned special things, remember in your experiences, the changes, personal stories, *mo'olelo*, songs anything to Waikiki project and yes we will open this door for you. Yes there is a link to the past of these Kupuna and their descendants in this 21st century. This Hoohuli Ohana and Hoohuli Ohana genealogist will share this shared ancient Kupuna like others of Waikiki and the island of Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, Hawaii, and Kauai.

One must know the *kupuna* that are mentioned the island that they descended from and how they intertwined with each other. Beginning with this lineal, Kupuna Kukaniloko of Oahu and Kupuna Luaia, of Maui. With this great grandson of their Kupuna Kakuhihewa, whom was said to have been born at Kukaniloko, Oahu, with forty-eight chiefs of the highest rank being present. At the ceremony of cutting the naval cord of the new born chief and the two sacred drums names "Opuku" and "Hawea" Fornanders Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the time of Kamehameha I again Kupuna Kakuhihewa and Kupuna Kahaiianui-a-Kahuailana, daughter of his first cousin Kupuna Napulahumahiki, and their aunt Kupuna Kekela, Kupuna Kekela is a younger sister to Kupuna Napulanahumahiki's father, Kupuna Hao, both of them are siblings to Kupuna Kakuhihewa's father Kupuna Kaihi-kapu-a-manuia. They are children of Kupuna Kaleimanuia of Oahu and Kupuna Lupekapukeahemakalii of Maui. Again Kupuna Kakuhihewa's great, great-grandson Kupuna Kualii of Oahu and Kauai and Kupuna Kalanikahimakeialii daughter of Kupuna Kaulahea II and his sister Kupuna Kalaniomaiheuila of Maui. Again Kupuna Kualii granddaughter Kupuna Kuwalu of Oahu and Hilo Hawaii and Kupuna I-Kanaka, son of Kupuna Makua and Kupuna Kapohelemai of Hilo Hawaii. Again Kupuna Kuwalu is a daughter of Kupuna Peleioholani of Kauai, Oahu, and Lonokahikini. Again Kupuna Kuwalu's great, great, great granddaughter Kupuna Hakau and Kupuna Kanaina-nui A.K.A Kupuna Kalaimanokahoowaha, a story with Captain James Cook at Kealakekua Bay. Again Kupuna Kanaina-nui is a son of Kupuna Keaweikekahialiiokamoko A.K.A Keawe II with Kupuna Moana. Again Kupuna Moana and Kupuna Heulu, is the parents of Kupuna Hakau. Both having the same mother. They being half siblings, Kupuna Heulu is a son of Kupuna Umiulaa Kaahumanu and Kupuna Kapaihia-ahu, again Kupuna Umiulaa Kaahumanu is a daughter of Kupuna Mahiolole and Kupuna Kanekukaaailani these Kupunas mentioned here is also *'ohana* to Kupuna Kamehamehas, Kupuna Kalakaua, Kupuna Liliuokalani, Kupuna Kaoanaeha wife of Kupuna John Young the chief of Kamehameha I. And again these Kupuna mentioned below have also shared the same Kupuna as the Kamehameha and Kalakaua Dynasty. Again Kupuna Kanaina-nui and Kupuna Hakaus their great grandson Kupuna Naeole of Kohala Hawaii and Kupuna Kauko. Again Kupuna Naeole, the story of the child Kupuna Kamehameha, with the help of the people of Kohala. Again their son Kupuna Kaiakoili I A.K.A Hulikoa of Kohala, Kona, Kau and Kailihao. Again Kaiakoili I was sent to Oahu to Konohiki Koolaupoko to assist Kupuna Kuini Lihaha. Again Kupuna Kaiakoili II Stayed back to *malama* Kohala, Kona, Kau, with his uncle Kupuna Manuhua II. Eventually Kupuna Manuhua was sent to Honolulu. Kupuna Kaiakoili II remained in Kona. Again Kupuna Kaiakoili II aka Hulikoa and his aunt Kupuna Maihu his mother Kupuna Kailihao's younger half-sister. Their granddaughter Kulani Lima II is a great, great, great granddaughter of Kupuna Alapai-nui-a-mahi and Kupuna Keakokalani Puou Kupuna Keaka is a great granddaughter of

Kupuna Holoae, again Kupuna Kaiakoili, A.K.A Hulikoa, and Kupuna Maiiau, their granddaughter Kulani Lima II, our mother, her older sibling Joseph Hulikoa Lima and his Wife Rebecca Likua. Again Joseph Kahapea Hoohuli, a descendant of Kupuna Kanoenoe of Kauai, our father. Their 14 children Hoohuli Ohana and Lima Ohana.

KH: [asking Uncle Willie] Do you remember Fort DeRussy? Or you too young for that yeah?

WH: Oh yes. I do remember lots of trees, and a huge fortress with big guns. While we are on Fort DeRussy subject. December 7, 1941 Waianae, our parent on their way to church to Puea, Waianae Valley T.H. they heard the news that Pearl Harbor being attacked upon entering Ziona Hou church yard they turned around in the church yard and headed back to Nanakuli, to our home and Nanakuli bus line station to round up three busses. Our mom, dad, and their Ohana Kupuna Henry Alo, he was at our home waiting for our parents. They knew the soldiers needed transportation from R+R camp in Nanakuli A.K.A Camp Andrews, because the soldiers caught the bus, train, or hitchhike. The three *kupunas* filled the buses and took them to Pearl City.

Camp Andrews was located *makai* Waianae side of gated driveway and parking area of Kawai Hona O Ka Na'au Ao to Depots Park Shower Vicinity and across Farrington Hwy. *mauka* of gated roadway to present day Nanaikapono Elem. School on Hawaii Homestead Land.

DD: Right, so this proposal they have to develop the property, do you think that it would affect any culturally significant place? What do you think of that?

WH: Well, if they do affect anything, there's always ways and things that can help them move forward.

DD: What would you like to see?

WH: Well, you know right now, everything is money and project improvement to survive. So I think the hotel is looking how they can better their position, and at the same time, bring forward the history of the area, and serve the public even better, or even the tourists, and not only tourists, the Local [people]. Then the Local can know the history behind the area.

So I think there's a multipurpose of learning. One, the developer going learn the area. Two, the community [will learn]. Three, the people themselves, to recap history, and also the tourists. So whatever the hotel do going benefit.

DD: Yeah, that topic of history keeps coming back, and that's important like you said. It's good for everyone to know, both the tourists and the Locals, and the hotel. *Mahalo*.

KH: Do you know when the hotel was built?

DD: Oh, I don't know. I go find out, Aunty, and I go let you know.

KH: Thank you.

DD: What about any traditional gathering practices? Are you familiar if anyone still does any gathering out there or fishing out there or anything?

WH: As far as the area, I don't know, but you know, like I mentioned earlier, we stay more towards Kaka'ako side. Our stompng grounds was all over, but about gathering? No. I really don't know. I think gathering is more today than years before, because most of the people, I think, was trying to

survive, to find a good job so they can feed their family. There was nothing, no talk about gathering rights or gathering laws at the time. Everybody knew, you just go get. Family that you knew, you go ask permission and help yourself. But today, everything is different.

DD: Right, good point Uncle, thank you for that.

So when they develop this area, this site, do you have any thoughts on what could be done to lessen any kind of potential bad effects on the area, as they develop, do you have any thoughts on that?

WH: Good point. If it's possible Outrigger Reef can check on old ground and its building site maps that may have been documented during the early ground and footing work. The area shows ponds and perhaps fill in from Ala Wai Canal dredge. Fragment of Kupuna Iwi possibly from dredge. I really don't know how we can get around that. We just need to follow whatever the law is today, and from there, we can work with the descendant, whoever the descendants are. Then you can work with them to try push forward the project. Right now, we have descendants working on the Fort DeRussy project. I'm pretty sure any adversity that was presented is well-taken care of. So with the hotel one, the same can be done.

DD: So you'd like to see little more partnership working with descendants as we move forward with this project?

WH: I think, for my part, yeah, and to say, I think you cannot get away from that. You have to work with the descendants. You know, that's the way things fall. We're willing to work, and we look for good outcome, whereas everybody going benefit from learning, and what the corporations can offer, in terms of learning, and that the hotel will still be there for generations, for people to enjoy.

DD: Mahalo Uncle, yes *he mea pono*.

So are there any other concerns that we didn't bring up that you'd like to bring up?

WH: Well, I don't know of a concern right now. We just have to look when you do your project, what comes out. I think that's where concerns will come from. A lot of the concerns will present themselves, and from there, we work together.

DD: Right, we'll make sure to keep you in the loop. The last thing is: Is there anyone else that we should be talking to?

WH: Well, there is other descendants that I know of that's on with Fort DeRussy. I think you should get together with Group 70. They can help you out much more than me. They have names of people.

DD: Okay. Well that's it then. So *mahalo* again, on behalf of Keala Pono. Thank you so much for spending your time and talking story. We really appreciate it, Uncle. I'll be keeping in touch.

WH: Thank you for inviting us. And I'm sorry, like I said, because of the timeline and our age, we can't give you any more. But I'm pretty sure with your setting up the program, [and] everything, we all going learn more.

DD: I learned more in this little talk story today. Thank you.

WH: Thank you. I learned too [laughing]. [SEP:1:SEP]

DD: It was a good time [laughing].

WH: Thank you.

DD: Thank you, Uncle. Okay, so we signing off. Alooooha.

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW WITH PAULETTE KALEIKINI

TALKING STORY WITH
PAULETTE KALEIKINI (PK)

Oral History for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning Project by Dietrix Duhaylonsod (DD)
For Keala Pono 8/26/2014

Note: Auntie Paulette apologized that she is too busy to meet in person, but she graciously agreed to share her *mana'o* by answering our questions via email. This transcript is the result of that email correspondence.

DD: Do you have any questions before we begin?

PK: No.

DD: To start please tell us about yourself...Name? Where/When you were born? Where you grew up? Where you went to school?

PK: Paulette Kaanohiokalani Keaweamahi Kawainui Kaleikini. Keaweamahi is my mother's family name; Kawainui is my father's family name; Kaleikini is my husband's family name. I was born, primarily raised and grew-up on Oahu.

DD: Could you tell us about your *'ohana*/family background?

PK: Both my mother's and father's *kupuna* are from Hawaii Island. My father is from Ka'u; the Kekuhaupio lineage. My mother is of the Keawe clan of Kona Keawemoku and the Mahi lineage of Kohala.

DD: What is your association to the subject property (family land, work place, etc.)?

PK: My mother's *kupuna* were with the entourage of the chiefs who traveled to Oahu from Keawemoku. Some *kupuna* traveled to Oahu to log the sandalwood for the king. It was very hard work and most of those *kupuna* never made it back to Keawemoku and Kohala. Other *kupuna* members were of the *kauhale* of the chief and king, became part of the land, living and farming the land like on the subject property. Of course, these *kupuna* were all related to Kamehameha and is why one of his favorite *lo'i* on Oahu was in Kalia Waikiki.

When the lands were issued at the time of the Mahele, *kupuna* who were already on the lands received them as Land Commission Awards (LCA) which eventually became Royal Patents. Not all LCAs became Royal Patents. The king issued lands to his *'ohana* first making sure they were taken care of. After that is written history. We know what happened to the lands, the LCAs, the RP. But the real truth is not written. Royal Patented lands could not be sold; as is noted on the bottom of each document. The lands were quiet titled. The real meaning of the process of quiet title is to "steal;" simple as that.

The lands of my *kupuna* belonged to William Luther Moehonua. The RP stretched from the location of the Ilikai to Kalakaua Ave, from Atkinson Drive to Ala Moana Blvd. My grandfather was born on that property, my mother and her siblings were born on that property, my siblings were born on that property. As the youngest, I was the only one of my siblings not born on that property and yet I feel the strongest ties. Long story short, the occupier of the land gratefully helped my *'ohana* to relocate elsewhere. My mother loved that land. She did not like talking about it, but I saw it in her eyes and felt her heartache. I carry her *kaumaha*.

Anyways, the area of the project was not always under Kekuanaoa. He was the father of Kamamalu; granddaughter of Kamehameha I. After her death, he inherited the lands that were given to her at the Mahele. Before the Mahele, the lands were primarily occupied by the Keawe, Kekaulike and Mahi 'ohana who were already here; and had come over with Kahahana, Kahekili or Kamehameha. When the lands were issued by the Mahele, the 'ohana were allowed to remain and farm the land as most or all were relatives to the awardee; in the case of this project area, it was Kamamalu and Kekuanaoa. The families living in the area before the Mahele would have been of the Kahekili and Kamehameha lineage. Very little families of the Oahu chiefs lived in these areas by then.

I frequented this area with my mother as a young child. We went to the beach known as Gray's beach (whea da hell did that name Gray come from; I used to ask my mother; doesn't sound Hawaiian to me). My mom and aunt went to gather *limu* that only grew near the flow of water coming from a stream; not sure what the name of that stream was; didn't pay attention. It was a special *limu* that grew at a certain time of the year. Finally, my mom said that the water was getting too *pilau* and she could taste it in the *limu*. The healing qualities of the *limu* were gone. Not much water flow.

There were a lot of fish ponds and *lo'i*. My *kupuna* had special traditional and cultural uses of the ponds that were on the lands belonging to them. One pond was used for raising the favorite fish of the *ali'i*; the *moi*. She talked of her father's 'ohana who lived in the area; Kahanamoku, Harbottle, Alapai, Naihe, Kalehua, Umiumi.

DD: What are the ways you have acquired special knowledge of this area (from your 'ohana, personal research, specific sources)?

PK: My 'ohana were of this area; lived and died there. My mother's uncle is buried on lands there. My grandfather's ashes and his brothers were scattered on the ocean outside of the Halekulani like that of their cousins, the Kahanamokus. My knowledge of this area are from her.

DD: As far as you remember and your experiences, how has the area changed? Could you share how it was when you were young and how it's different now?

PK: I remember there being traffic, a lot of cars because my mom complained about it. We parked the car on Hobron Lane then walked over to the beach. She enjoyed doing that because she got to feel the *aina* (I think). She missed it and this was her way of returning. There's more traffic now. I think I could find the area of Gray's beach we used to frequent if I wanted to; don't want to; reminds me of my mom.

DD: Could you share your *mana'o* relevant to the area around the Outrigger Reef and the surrounding Waikiki area (personal anecdotes, *mo'olelo*, *mele*, *oli*, place names, etc.)?

PK: My mom and siblings spoke of date trees. There were a lot of them in the project area; all over that area actually. There were a few mango trees in the area of the project; the common mango, what we call the #9s. Gabby Pahinui grew up in that area. He and my uncles used to entertain in Waikiki in the 1930-40s.

When our 'ohana had luau, the whole street was shut down; like for my sister's 1st birthday luau; Hobron Lane was closed off. All of Waikiki would be there and *kanikapila* all nite. Errol Flynn, who was a movie star at the time, attended that luau.

DD: Do you know of any traditional sites which are or were located on the Project site--for example: historic sites, archaeological sites and/or burials? Please elaborate.

PK: Yes, some burials were found in close proximity to the project site; it's been recorded at the SHPD. The whole area is an historic site. Many natives lived there and many were killed during the invasion of Kahahana, Kahekili and again by Kamehameha. Where they died is where they were buried.

DD: Do you think the proposed development would affect any place of cultural significance or access to a place of cultural significance? Please elaborate.

PK: The development could impact a cultural layer; not all of Waikiki was totally dug-up and filled. There may be some hot-spots; like we are finding today.

DD: Are you aware of any traditional gathering practices at the Project area and within the surrounding area of Waikiki, both past and ongoing?

PK: There were ponds in this area; some were used for raising fish (like the one on my *'ohana's* property) and some were used to irrigate *lo'i*. Surveying the bottom of these *lo'i* might provide some answers. In another area of Kou, the sides of a pond that belonged to another of my *kupuna* revealed *iwi* in the sidewalls of the pond. The only ongoing practice today is tourists walking throughout the street and people living in apartment buildings; nothing native Hawaiian, traditional or cultural about that.

DD: While development of the area continues, what could be done to lessen the adverse effects on any current cultural practices in the area?

PK: I don't believe there are any current cultural practices going on in the area. I would love to have something going, but currently, there is nothing native Hawaiian about that area. But perhaps this is something that can be explored with the developer; to include native Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices in whatever the project is going to be; by way of landscaping, naming, workshops at the development, on-site cultural resource person; endless ways to involve the native Hawaiian community. Cyril Pahinui plays at the Outrigger at times and there are hula dancers.

DD: Are you aware of any other cultural concerns the community might have related to Hawaiian cultural practices within or in the vicinity of the Project site and surrounding Waikiki area?

PK: Currently, I am involved with the cultural monitoring work for the Hilton's wastewater project and their Grand Islander project. There were burials found in this area. We are monitoring in case more burials are impacted or cultural layers, historic properties are located. Other than that, I do not know of many or any Hawaiian cultural practices within the project site. There is contemporary Hawaiian music played at the hotel on Kalia Rd; that's about it.

DD: Do you know of any other *kupuna*, *kama'āina* or cultural/lineal descendants who might be willing to share their *mana'o* of the Project area and of the surrounding Waikiki area?

PK: No.

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW WITH DIDI ROBELLO

TALKING STORY WITH

DIDI ROBELLO (DR)

Oral History for the Outrigger Reef on the Beach Revisioning project area by Dietrix Duhaylonsod (DD)

For Keala Pono 9/22/2014

DD: Aloha. Today is Monday, September 22, 2014. We're at the Hula Grill. *Mahalo* to Didi Robello for talking story with us. We're gonna talk story about some of the areas here in Waikīkī and any thoughts he has on the area, trying to focus toward the Outrigger project. We'd just like to *mahalo* Didi for taking the time to talk story with us. If you could start, Didi, by telling us your name, where you were born, when you were born, where you grew up, where you went to school, like that?

DR: My name's Didi Robello. That's my nickname. My first name is Harry, 52 years old, born in 1962. My father was Harry S. Robello. My mother was Barbara Kahanamoku. I grew up in Kuli'ou'ou Valley and in Waikīkī. My dad started Aloha Beach Services back in 1959. We've been here the longest. All I know is Waikīkī. I do know more of my information is from the Royal Hawaiian [side] towards Diamond Head to the police station. I admit I don't know very much about the [Outrigger] Reef Hotel side. As far as on the business side of it, it is a lot slower than our side, like that. That's it, I don't know, shoot your questions.

DD: Ok, you said Kuli'ou'ou, what school was that?

DR: Kuli'ou'ou is the area I grew up, Kuli'ou'ou Valley. I went to Hahaione School, and then Niu Valley Intermediate. And I graduated from Kaiser High School in 1980.

DD: *Mahalo*. Could you tell us a little bit of your 'ohana background please?

DR: My dad was the last of the original [Waikīkī] beach boys. He grew up working with Duke Kahanamoku. Pua Kealoha is the one who brought 'em on the beach and introduced him to the boys. I grew up being what you call a *gadut* [a word in the Pidgin language meaning "gopher"] for most of them. And fortunately, I got to meet 'em all and see them all before they passed by [died]. My mom was Bill Kahanamoku's daughter. He's one of the Duke's brothers, one of only three that had any children. I've got a brother and a sister. I also have two first cousins from my mom's brother, Billy Kahanamoku, who also passed away. They both passed away already. My dad passed away in 2004 in April, and my mom passed away in 2004 in August.

DD: *Mahalo* for sharing. So you said you were a *gadut*, was that because you were the young boy around them?

DR: Yeah, with Chick Daniels, Tom Fittera, Joe Wright, all these guys at the Royal [Hawaiian Hotel]. I spent a lot of time in front of the Royal, as a little kid, and the Moana Hotel.

DD: So that kind of leads into the next question. Could you tell a little more about your association to this area, like family land or work place, anything else you can tell us about your association?

DR: Well, one thing I know is that at least down by the Hilton Hawaiian Village, everybody knows that Kālia was, I don't know if it is anymore, was Paoa land. I'm not sure what it is now. That's where the Kahanamoku side of the family grew up. That's what I was told by my parents, you know, unfortunately by the time I was around, it's all built. I don't know anything about it down there. You

know, as a kid, like I said, my parents wouldn't allow me [quick laugh] to pass the Royal Hawaiian wall. I was too small. And that way they could keep an eye on us.

DD: Could you explain Kālia, in your mind, what would be like the boundaries of Kālia? Where are we talking about, Kālia?

DR: I'm gonna say that the entire Hilton Hawaiian Village part, especially where the dome used to be. That's what I was told. Other than that you'll have to check with my other cousins on that one. The older ones, they would know. Patty [Kahanamoku Teruya] might know. Her sister might know.

DD: And then you're saying that was Paoa family land, and just for clarification, that is your 'ohana, the Paoas, could you explain how Paoa is related?

DR: My great-grandmother was a Paoa. That's who married Kahanamoku. [phone rings] Excuse me.

DD: All good, all good.

DR: Sorry. My great-grandmother was a Paoa, and my great-grandfather was Halapu Kahanamoku. They actually named the police station after him because he was a captain of the police. And then, from them came the six brothers and two sisters. So I come from the Kahanamoku side.

DD: You said "Kalapu?"

DR: Ha – lapu.

DD: Oh, Ha – lapu, ok *mahalo*. So you have some special thoughts and knowledge of this area. Could you tell what are some of the ways you acquired this knowledge, whether it's from your own 'ohana, your experiences, your personal research, like how would you say you got most of your knowledge of this area?

DR: I would say just from being down here my whole life, hearing the stories from all the old guys, from my parents, from my families, my mom, dad—actually just watching a whole lot of the changes go on down here.

I remember sitting down on the beach, down here with the beach boys, as a small young kid, now you gotta figure elementary school age, watching those big hammers pounding down the cement in for the Surfrider hotel and a lot of 'em, Sheraton Waikīkī. I remember seeing the Royal Hawaiian Tower [being built]. I know what was there before the Royal Hawaiian Tower. That I remember because there was a grass shack over there with a snack bar. They had the best ice cream. [laughs] That's how I remember, as a little kid running down, "I wanna go buy ice cream!"

DD: [laughs] Wow, you remember all the changes being done, yeah?

DR: I saw a lot on my side.

DD: You were saying that you weren't allowed to go past the Royal Hawaiian. Is there a reason for that?

DR: That's so my parents could keep an eye on us. All the beach boys knew where we were. Once we passed the Royal Hawaiian, nobody would let us know. And then we weren't allowed to go [in the opposite direction] toward where the police station is now, because that's where it was a little more outlawish, let's say.

DD: The people hanging out over there?

DR: Yeah. I had to stay down this side.

DD: Ha, it was its little own society over here, ah?

DR: Yeah. A lot of them weren't allowed down this side.

DD: Oh wow, territories.

DR: Mm-hmm. Well this side, you had to be down the 'straight' because you're dealing with tourists, dealing with the hotels and stuff.

DD: Oh right. I see.

DR: Anything bad reflect on everybody. So they just kept the bad out of there.

DD: Was that enforced by the police? Or enforced just by the community?

DR: It's more like, [enforced] from the beach boys.

DD: Ah, I see, so the beach boys were kind of like looking out for the interest of everybody?

DR: Yup.

DD: And everybody respected that.

DR: Yeah.

DD: Ok, I got it. So you mention Kālia. Do you have any other place names, maybe a song or two, or a chant, you know, specific personal anecdotes you can talk about that would be connected?

DR: No I don't. When I was born, everything was already changed. I really don't know. That would've been my parents. And I'm sure people on the Paoa side would know a lot about that side. You better go find 'em because they're going fast.

DD: Yeah, you bring up a good point that everything has changed here in Waikīkī drastically since the early 1900s. Do you know of any traditional sites which are or were located in the Waikīkī area, whether it's historic sites from modern times or ancient sites or burials? Anything come to mind?

DR: Well, I've seen them move bones around. That would be at the Moana Hotel. I've had friends give me things that they've found in the waters out here, kinda neat, you know. Other than that, my stuff would be more from the '60s.

DD: When you say your friends gave you stuff, that's like artifacts?

DR: Yup.

DD: And then, you heard of *iwi* in the Moana area, but you never heard of any *iwi* in the Outrigger area?

DR: No, I haven't. I haven't.

DD: Ok, *mahalo*.

DR: I'm almost sure that there's some in the Royal too, but I couldn't tell you exactly.

DD: Ok, this development that we're talking about at the Outrigger, do you think that it would affect any place that's culturally significant, or do you think it would affect any kind of access to a culturally significant place?

DR: Well, Waikīkī is culturally significant. So if they're gonna do something to it, they should do it the right way and make sure that it's gonna be done the right way. The whole Waikīkī area is culturally significant. So they should take a lot of care into what they're gonna do.

DD: That's a real good point. It's not just that one area.

DR: It's not just one area, it's all of Waikīkī. It's all significant, so make sure it's done nicely, done right.

DD: What would you say would be a way to do things right, or to keep in mind, as we move forward?

DR: Well, it may be off the wall, but landscaping.

DD: Landscaping.

DR: I mean, you know you could landscape stuff not to look so mainland-ish. You could landscape it to look more local, which would probably be more culturally significant. People may like the fact that, oh you know, the stage kind of resembles rock formations, the plants are all native, mostly native. You know, you don't want to be bringing in bougainvillea like that anymore. We have our natural stuff we could use. I'd like to see more of that around.

DD: Yeah, that's a good thing to keep in mind as they're renovating the area.

DR: All the grounds, you know. Put some ponds. Put something instead of just straight up cement.

DD: Right, and like you say, make it look like Hawai'i instead of a mainland landscape.

DR: Yeah, I mean the people came here because of how beautiful this place was, what Waikīkī looked like. You know, don't forget that. It looks like it's been forgotten for a while. But it's time to make changes, let's make changes in the right way, make it look almost like how it used to be, why they came here in the first place.

DD: Right. Ok, so are you aware of any traditional gathering practices, whether it's fishing, *limu*, crabbing, anything in the area, either in the past or ongoing?

DR: Well I know as far as the beach boys are, we used to be the only ones who would be fishing out here mostly. There's not a lot of fish now. Why? I don't know. In my area, I couldn't say exactly for the reason, but I have seen the reef deteriorate drastically out here, from the overuse, and a lot of it in my opinion has to do with the catamaran.

On your end of the beach [the Outrigger side of Waikīkī] you know, a lot of the reef seems to be more alive. There's not as much activity as there is on this side being that this is the main area, Waikīkī. I think you guys oughtta, or whoever oughtta, keep an eye on how the reef is because as much as they deny it, they [the catamarans] leak fuel. I've smelled leakages off the catamarans before. It was that bad that it seeps all over. Nothing's gonna grow. We used to get schools of *manini*, schools of *āholehole*, *palani*, *pualu*, *uhu*, everything would all come in. And we would go lay net, and take what we need, and leave it. Now, there's just nothing here, there's nothing to eat. It's just dead. It's just flat out here, especially behind the boats. So behind there is dead. There's been a lot of damage, I would say, from fuel leaks off the catamarans. If you don't have to have it over there [by the Outrigger], don't do it.

DD: Ok, wow, I'm sure a lot of people don't realize that.

DR: Mm-mm [No] they don't. You want to see the damage underwater? Go get some environmentalist or something, go for a dive out here and see what kind of 'opala you going find under the water. Nobody knows what's in the water over here. It's dirty. There's some places, that it's just disgusting.

DD: So catamarans, fuel leaks, so that has affected fishing.

DR: In my opinion, it's affected the sea life.

DD: The sea life.

DR: In the nearshore waters of Waikīkī, nearshore being the first, say 200 yards. Out in the deep, I don't know, but nearshore, it's not like it used to be.

DD: Any other gathering of *limu*, crabbing, lobsters, you can tell us?

DR: Well there used to be a lot of *limu* out here. My dad used to tell me that the most expensive *limu* came out of Waikīkī back in his day. When people got *limu* in Waikīkī, that was the top dog. Because of the fresh water streams we used to have, all the *limu* was really good. And you know, this place was *kapu* to *ali'i* only, so they had to have the best stuff. Now, it's hard to find the *limu*. One reason again, you got your over usage and your fuel [leaks]. There's not much fresh water seeping although there is. It does come from underground. There are spots out here that you can still go and gather the *limu*. So it's whether they know where it is or not. That's the thing, you know?

DD: Ok, *mahalo*. So while the development of this area continues, what do you think could be done to lessen the adverse effects on any cultural practices? What precautions?

DR: [thinking] I don't know. [pause] I think they should manage the beach a lot more. They should be working with the way the ocean works instead of trying to beat it or go against it. The sand replenishment, in my opinion, wasn't done right. But no one asked. Everybody went by [talking to] the college people, what it's supposed to be like, but not what it [the natural sand movement] actually is, and how it [sand replenishment] is done. Nobody came around asking us how does the sand work. Everybody just assumed that their way is the way, and that's how it got done, and as of now, it ain't working. So you're gonna lose a lot of sand, possibly.

DD: Yeah, I know before we started this tape recorder, you were explaining about how the sand and the current move. That's local knowledge.

DR: Yeah, some of the people they have doing it, I mean, they're younger. So they're gonna say, "Oh I remember growing up in Waikīkī." No, they didn't go as far back as we did. So you know, we've got 20, 30 years over most of the people who are saying that they know everything already, but they don't. They don't know everything unless they come talk to us, then they'll be that much closer to knowing everything. You gotta keep asking, keep asking, keep learning.

DD: So, you're saying better management of the beach, consult with the old-timers regarding the sand replenishment, any other things that they should consider to lessen adverse effects?

DR: I guess they could consider the growth. I mean, you can only handle so much growth, and that's island wide. You can keep going up, up, up, up. The island is only so big. The beaches can only hold so much. The sewers can only hold so much. You only have so much water, you know, conserve, conserve, conserve, but build, build, build.

DD: Good point. Are you aware of any other cultural concerns the community might have related to the cultural practices here or anything else that we haven't covered?

DR: Is there any way it's gonna affect the surf? What other walls and stuff are they gonna be putting up? I don't know. Do they have those in their plans? You know, just because they have the hotel going up, next question is gonna be, how do we make our beach better? And what are they gonna do then, you know? Is that gonna come out and bite me in the butt later? You wanna get all that up front. And if there's gonna be any effect to what the surf conditions are gonna be like.

DD: I'll make sure to ask that.

DR: As far as cultural, I would guess that surfing is part of the culture. And everywhere people try to go surf, there's no parking. There's no access. "Oh, sorry you cannot park here, it's hotel guests only." Or it costs an arm and a leg. So if there's a token 33 parking stalls, is there any way they're gonna do that? Because they're building in front, again, there's lots of very good surf spots out there that locals can't have access to.

DD: Access.

DR: Accessibility. Parking. You know, you gotta be *kama'āina* friendly also. I mean, after surfing, can we come in with our shorts and t-shirt and get something to eat? Like Duke's, you can go out, come right back in soaking wet, but they're all good to go. Is there someplace that's gonna be, you know, as long as it's not all exclusive. Is it *kama'āina* friendly also?

DD: Good point. Ok, lastly, do you know of any other *kupuna* or *kama'āina* or any other descendants who might be willing to share their *mana'o* of this area? Anyone you suggest?

DR: You might wanna go and talk with Ted Bush. He has the other concession stand near the Royal. He also used to have one and worked for the lady who had one in front of the Reef Hotel. He may have some information for that side, definitely more than I would have. As far as family, I would get in touch with any of the Paoas or even some of the Harbottles might know. The Harbottles are all family. Maybe Nainoa Thomspson, he may be able to tell you who to see about it. I mean, he might not know, I don't know, but he might tell you, "Oh, go see my Aunty So-and-so or my Uncle So-and-so."

DD: Is he a Harbottle?

DR: No, he's a Paoa.

DD: Oh, I didn't know that. You know, we had Harbottles grew up next to us, Clyde Harbottle-them, in Honokai Hale on the west side, then they moved out, I don't know where they moved to.

DR: I don't know, but I know that's one of the names. Harbottles, Paoas, there's a whole bunch that we're all related to. [laughs] My parents

DD: [laughs] Big family.

DR: Yeah. Uncle Pinky was a Paoa.

DD: Pinky? Oh. Ok, so I just want to say *mahalo* again for spending time, and I'll be getting back with you.

DR: Yeah. Anything I can do, let me know.

DD: Ok, *mahaaalo nui* and *aloha*.

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