FINAL ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT

INTERNATIONAL MARKET PLACE REVITALIZATION PROJECT

Appendix 15

Cultural Impact Assessment

Cultural Impact Assessment for the International Market Place Revitalization Project, Waikīkī Ahupuaʻa, Honolulu (Kona) District, Oʻahu Island

TMK: [1] 2-6-022: 036, 037, 038, 039 & 043

Prepared for

The Queen Emma Land Company

and

The Taubman Company

Prepared by

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(Job Code: WAIKIKI 62)

December 2011

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Prefatory Remarks on Language and Style

A Note about Hawaiian and other non-English Words:

Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (CSH) recognizes that the Hawaiian language is an official language of the State of Hawai‘i, it is important to daily life, and using it is essential to conveying a sense of place and identity. In this report, CSH uses italics to identify and highlight all foreign (i.e., non-English and non-Hawaiian) words. Italics are only used for Hawaiian words when citing from a previous document that italicized them. CSH parenthetically translates or defines in the text the non-English words at first mention, and the commonly-used non-English words and their translations are also listed in the *Glossary* (Appendix A) for reference.

A Note about Plant and Animal Names:

When community participants mention specific plants and animals by Hawaiian, other non-English or common names, CSH provides their possible scientific names (Genus and species) in the *Common and Scientific Names of Plants and Animals Mentioned by Community Participants* (Appendix B). CSH derives these possible names from authoritative sources, but since the community participants only name the organisms and do not taxonomically identify them, CSH cannot positively ascertain their scientific identifications. CSH does not attempt in this report to verify the possible scientific names of plants and animals in previously published documents; however, citations of previously published works that include both common and scientific names of plants and animals appear as in the original texts.

Abbreviations

AIS	Archaeological Inventory Survey
AMS	Army Mapping Service
APE	Area of Potential Effect
BPBM	Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
Land Commission	Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles
CIA	Cultural Impact Assessment
CSH	Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i
DNLR	Department of Land and Natural Resources
DUF	Division of Forestry
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
HAR	Hawai‘i Administrative Rules
HECO	Hawaiian Electric Company
HRS	Hawai‘i Revised Statutes
LCA	Land Commission Award
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
OEQC	Office of Environmental Quality Control
OHA	Office of Hawaiian Affairs
OIBC	O‘ahu Island Burial Council
SHPD	State Historic Preservation Division
SIHP	State Inventory of Historic Properties
TCP	Traditional Cultural Property
TMK	Tax Map Key
UHCOH	University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral History
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
USGS	United States Geological Survey

Management Summary

Reference	Cultural Impact Assessment for the International Market Place Revitalization Project, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Honolulu (Kona) District, O‘ahu Island (TMK: [1] 2-6-022:036, 037, 038, 039 & 043 (Genz and Hammatt 2011)
Date	December 2011
Project Number	Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (CSH) Job Code: WAIKIKI 62
Agencies	State of Hawai‘i Department of Health/Office of Environmental Quality Control (DOH/OEQC)
Project Location	The Project site is bounded and accessed by Kalākaua Avenue to the southwest in the makai (seaward) direction, Kūhiō Avenue to the northeast in the mauka (toward the mountains) direction, Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel and the ‘Ohana East Hotel to the southeast, and the Waikīkī Beachcomber, the Aqua Waikīkī Wave Hotel, and Duke’s Lane to the northwest.
Land Jurisdiction	Queen Emma Land Company
Project Description	The Project includes the replacement of the existing buildings and structures of the International Market Place, the Waikīkī Town Center, and the Miramar Hotel with a new three level retail center that features the following: landscape and building elements that will convey a Hawaiian sense of place incorporating historical, cultural, and educational features and opportunities; improved streetscape along Kalākaua and Kūhiō Avenues to enhance the pedestrian experience; Significant open space throughout the Market Place to maintain and enhance the inviting, park-like setting; enhanced landscaped courtyards surrounding canopy trees and accommodating cultural programming; retention and enhancement of the “exceptional” Banyan Tree near Kalākaua Avenue; Revitalized and redeveloped retail space to better serve the community; and associated utility, parking, and infrastructure improvements.
Project Acreage	Approximately 5.98 acres.

Area of Potential Effect (APE) and Survey Acreage	For the purposes of this Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA), the APE is defined as the approximately 5.98-acre Project area. While this investigation focused on the Project APE, the study area included the entire modern ahupua‘a (land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea) of Waikīkī Kai.
Document Purpose	The Project requires compliance with the State of Hawai‘i environmental review process (Hawai‘i Revised Statutes [HRS] Chapter 343), which requires consideration of a proposed project’s effect on cultural practices and resources. The Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company requested CSH conduct this CIA. Through document research and ongoing cultural consultation efforts, this report provides information pertinent to the assessment of the proposed Project’s impacts to cultural practices and resources (per the *Office of Environmental Quality Control’s Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts*) which may include Traditional Cultural Properties of ongoing cultural significance that may be eligible for inclusion on the State Register of Historic Places, in accordance with Hawai‘i State Historic Preservation Statute (Chapter 6E) guidelines for significance criteria according to Hawai‘i Administrative Rules (HAR) §13-284 under Criterion E. The document is intended to support the Project’s environmental review and may also serve to support the Project’s historic preservation review under HRS Chapter 6E-42 and HAR Chapter 13–284.
Consultation Effort	Hawaiian organizations, agencies and community members were contacted in order to identify potentially knowledgeable individuals with cultural expertise and/or knowledge of the Project area and the vicinity. The organizations consulted included the State Historic Preservation Division, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the O‘ahu Island Burial Council (OIBC), Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai‘i Nei, and community members of Waikīkī.
Results of Background Research	Background research for this Project yielded the following results (presented in approximate chronological order): 1. A vast system of irrigated taro fields was constructed across the littoral plain from Waikīkī Kai to the lower valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo in approximately A.D. 1400. This, in combination with coconut groves and fishponds along the shoreline, enabled the growth of a sizeable population, including the coastal village of Waikīkī, which most likely centered around the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream in the vicinity of the Project area. 2. Cultural layers excavated throughout Waikīkī Kai and

	radiocarbon dated to approximately A.D. 1400 to 1800 provide evidence of this habitation, cultivation and aquaculture, as well as occupational activities of fishing, manufacture of tools and ornaments, and the use of adzes (see Figure 6, Table 2). In close proximity to the Project area are cultural layers indicative of habitation at the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel (State Inventory of Historic Places [SIHP] 50-80-14-7066, Runyon et al. 2010), Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991; SIHP 50-80-14-7068, Thurman et al. 2009), and at Kalākaua Avenue (Bush et al. 2002). In addition, a cultural layer indicative of wetland cultivation is located at the nearby Waikīkī Shopping Plaza (SIHP 50-80-14-5796, Yucha et al. 2009). 3. At least seven heiau (places of worship) and other religious sites were located in Waikīkī Kai, including Helumoa Heiau (also called ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau) (Thrum 1907a:44) and Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni (commonly called the Wizard Stones) (Paglinawan 1997; Thrum 1907b:139–141) in the vicinity of the Project area. These sites are connected through mo‘olelo (oral traditions) to ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, which once flowed through the southeast portion of the Project area. 4. Four of these heiau were associated with human sacrifice, including Helumoa Heiau (Thrum 1907a:44). Sacrificial drownings of kauwā (outcast caste) also took place in Waikīkī (*Ka Loea Kālai‘āina* 1899, translation in Sterling and Summers 1978:33). In addition, excavations and surveys have documented a high density of burials within the Jaucas sand deposits of Waikīkī, including 24 burials at the Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991). Within the Project area, human remains representing one individual buried with a funerary object (shell) were uncovered in 1967 by Lloyd J. Soehren during construction of the “Tahiti By Six” bar (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum [BPBM] Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum Native American Graves Protection and Repatration Act [NAGPRA] Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998). In addition, the following burials (single or small concentrations) have been uncovered along or near Kalākaua Avenue in close proximity to the Project area (within 400 feet): SIHP 50-80-14-5856-A; SIHP 50-80-14-5856-B (Winieski et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-5856-C; SIHP 50-80-14-5864-C; 50-80-14-5860-U and –V (Bush et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-3745 (Griffin 1987), SIHP 50-80-14-6703 (O’Leary et al. 2005); SIHP 50-80-14-5863 (Winieski et al. 2001); SIHP 50-80-14-7067 (Runyon et

	al. 2010); and SIHP 50-80-14-7065, Runyon et al. 2010). 5. The Project area is located in ‘ili (land division smaller than an ahupua‘a) of Kaluaokau in the central portion of Waikīkī. There are several possible meanings of Kaluaokau depending on pronunciation and combination of root words, most of which suggest a place deeply connected to the mana (divine power) of the Waikīkī ali‘i (chiefs) as indicated by interpretations of human sacrifice. The term may commemorate the burning sacrifice of the ali‘i Kauhi-a-Kama, as in “the pit of Kau” (ka-lua-o-Kau), “the pit of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Ka-lua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama), or the “baking of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Kālua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama). The term may also translate as the “lua fighting stroke of kau [hanging]” (ka-lua-o-kau) in reference to a special lua (hand-to-hand combat) strangling technique that was used to execute kapu (taboo) breakers and sacrificial victims (McKinzie 2005:24–28; Paglinawan 2008:8). It may also translate as “the grave of Ka‘u” (ka-lu‘a-o-ka‘u) (Thrum 1922:641). 6. Waikīkī Kai was a place of royal residence, starting with Mā‘ilikūkahi in approximately A.D. 1490 (Kamakau n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:74) and extending through Kamehameha (‘Ī‘ī 1959:17). The ‘ili of Kaluaokau, in which the Project area is located, was one such place of royal residence. At the Māhele (division of Hawaiian lands), the ‘ili of Kaluaokau was granted to William Lunalilo (LCA 8599, ‘Āpana 31), and bequeathed to Queen Emma. A map by C.J. Lyons in 1855–1877 shows the location of Lunalilo’s cottage just outside the Project area to the southwest. 7. The Moana Hotel was built in 1901, with auxiliary cottages in the Project area (1914 Sanborn Fire Insurance map). Other cottages were built in the 1920s at the Moana Hotel Annex and ‘Āinahau Court, located to the east of the Project area (the current Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel). The International Market Place was built in 1957 (Queen Emma Foundation n.d) and the Miramar Hotel was constructed in 1962 (Young 2010). 8. Oral histories indicate early twentieth century gathering practices of several varieties of limu (seaweed) and wana (sea urchin) along the Waikīkī coast, and catching of manini (reef surgeonfish) in the near-shore waters and moi (threadfish), shrimp, ‘oama (young weke, or goatfish), mullet, ‘a‘awa (wrasse), āholehole (juvenile āhole, or Hawaiian flagtail), pāpio (juvenile bigeye jack), and ‘o‘opu (goby) in ‘Āpuakēhau

	Stream (University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral History 1985).
Results of Community Consultation	CSH attempted to contact 126 cultural descendents of Waikīkī, other community members, and government agency and community organization representatives. Of the ten people that responded, six cultural descendents, kūpuna (elders) or kama‘āina (Native-born) participated in formal interviews for more in-depth contributions to the CIA. This community consultation indicates: 1. Waikīkī was once a place for fishing and cultivation of kalo lo‘i (irrigated taro fields) of the chiefs, followed as a place for former royalty to relax and entertain, according to Ms. Cayan of SHPD. Mr. Harris also notes that several heiau were located in Waikīkī, with the most famous heiau of O‘ahu, Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, located on the slope of Lē‘ahi (Diamond Head). Mr. Paglinawan shares mo‘olelo of Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni as well as royal lineages of Waikīkī and the ‘ili of Kaluaokau. 2. A history of music and entertainment in Waikīkī, and the International Market Place in particular, continues to have a strong sense of attachment for community participants. Mr. Diamond recalls listening in his youth to the Hawaiian musicians who played at the International Market Place, including Don Ho. He has fond memories of the group, “Hawaii Calls,” which broadcast its radio show from the banyan tree inside the International Market Place. For Mr. Diamond, this music scene was, and continues to be, an integral part of the International Market Place. In addition, Ms. Krewson-Reck remembers the Hawaiian music entertainers at Kūhiō Beach, and Mrs. Cazimero performed the ‘ukulele, guitar and the stand-up bass with the Kodak Hula Show at Sans Souci Beach. 3. The coastal waters of Waikīkī provided resources for community participants. In their youth, Mrs. Cazimero gathered limu līpe‘epe‘e, wana, and hā‘uke‘uke (urchin) for food and medicine, and caught ‘upāpalu (cardinal fish); Mr. Harris gathered limu kohu (seaweed) and wāwae‘iole (seaweed), and Mr. Paglinawan gathered limu and caught he‘e (octopus), mullet (‘ama‘ama), pāpio, uhu (parrotfish), and hīnālea (wrasse). 4. The ocean waters of Waikīkī were also a place of relaxation for community participants. Ms. Krewson-Reck was an avid surfer. She and other participants enjoyed the beaches with their

	families. 5. Most community participants and respondents support the Project. Mr. Nāmu‘o of OHA suggests that native plant species traditionally found in the Project area should be considered in the landscaping design to encourage practical traditional plant uses and, if drought resistant, to reduce demands on irrigation water. Mr. Paglinawan recommends re-introducing a more local Hawaiian sense of place than is currently established. 6. The main concern expressed by four community participants is the high likelihood of inadvertent discovery of burials or burial sites in the Project area. Mr. Harris suggests that epidemics resulted in mass burials along the coastal regions. Mr. Clarence Medeiros, Jr., stresses the customary practice of burying family members within their pā hale (yard). Mr. Diamond indicates that burials have been uncovered to the east of the Project area at the former Moana Hotel cottages (current site of the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel) and along Kalākaua Avenue in close proximity to the International Market Place. Ms. Coochie Cayan of SHPD indicates human remains in adjacent parcels. Should any burials be uncovered within the International Market Place, Mr. Diamond asserts that as much information of the remains and context must be documented and understood as possible. He recommends legally extricating the remains to a proximate location in order to address them, and ascertaining the significance of the site and remains. Depending on the findings, the human remains could be preserved in a memorial for “all past generations” within Waikīkī.
Impacts, Mitigation, and Recommendations	Based on the information gathered for the cultural and historic background and community consultation detailed in this CIA report, the proposed Project may potentially impact Native Hawaiian burials and subsurface cultural layers. Below, CSH identifies these potential impacts (Nos. 1–2), notes mitigation measures already in place by the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company (No. 3), and makes two recommendations (Nos. 4–5): 1. Although Native Hawaiians conducted traditional practices within the Project area, there are no customary practices that are occurring on these lands at this time. At one time there were cultural resources connected to the Project area such as ‘Apuakehau Stream and native plants such as kalo lo‘i; however, the lands of the Project area have since been developed and these resources, including the trails that once traversed this area, no longer exist. Yet, subsurface cultural

	layers uncovered in close proximity to the Project area indicate patterns of this former habitation and wetland cultivation. 2. There is also a concern that iwi kūpuna (ancestral remains) may be present within the Project area, and that land-disturbing activities during construction may uncover presently undetected burials or other cultural finds. The International Market Place is located on Jaucas sand deposits, a preferred location for interment; one burial with a funerary object was uncovered in 1967 within the Project area (BPBM Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998), and several burials and burial concentrations have been uncovered in close proximity to the Project area. 3. In order to address the concern of iwi kūpuna in the most sensitive and culturally appropriate manner, the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company began meeting with the cultural descendants of Waikīkī and the OIBC early in the process and have an approved archaeological inventory survey plan to guide the upcoming inventory survey work. 4. Personnel involved in the construction activities of the Project should be informed of the possibility of inadvertent cultural finds, including human remains. Should burials (or other cultural finds) be identified during ground disturbance, the construction contractor should immediately cease all work and the appropriate agencies notified pursuant to applicable law. 5. The Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company should consult with the cultural descendants to develop a reinterment plan and cultural preservation plan in the event that any human remains or cultural sites or artifacts be uncovered during construction or long-term maintenance for the Project.

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Section 1 Introduction

1.1 Project Background

At the request of the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company, Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc. (CSH) conducted a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) for the International Market Place Revitalization Project, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Honolulu (Kona) District, Island of O‘ahu, TMK [1] 2-6-022: 036, 037, 038, 039 & 043. The Project area is depicted on an aerial image (Figure 1), a U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) quadrangle (Figure 2), and a Tax Map Key (TMK) map (Figure 3).

The Project includes the replacement of the existing buildings and structures of the International Market Place, the Waikīkī Town Center, and the Miramar Hotel with a new three level retail center that features the following: Landscape and building elements that will convey a Hawaiian sense of place incorporating historical, cultural, and educational features and opportunities; Improved streetscape along Kalākaua and Kūhiō Avenues to enhance the pedestrian experience; Significant open space throughout the Market Place to maintain and enhance the inviting, park-like setting; Enhanced landscaped courtyards surrounding canopy trees and accommodating cultural programming; Retention and enhancement of the “exceptional” Banyan Tree near Kalākaua Avenue; Revitalized and redeveloped retail space to better serve the community; and Associated utility, parking, and infrastructure improvements.

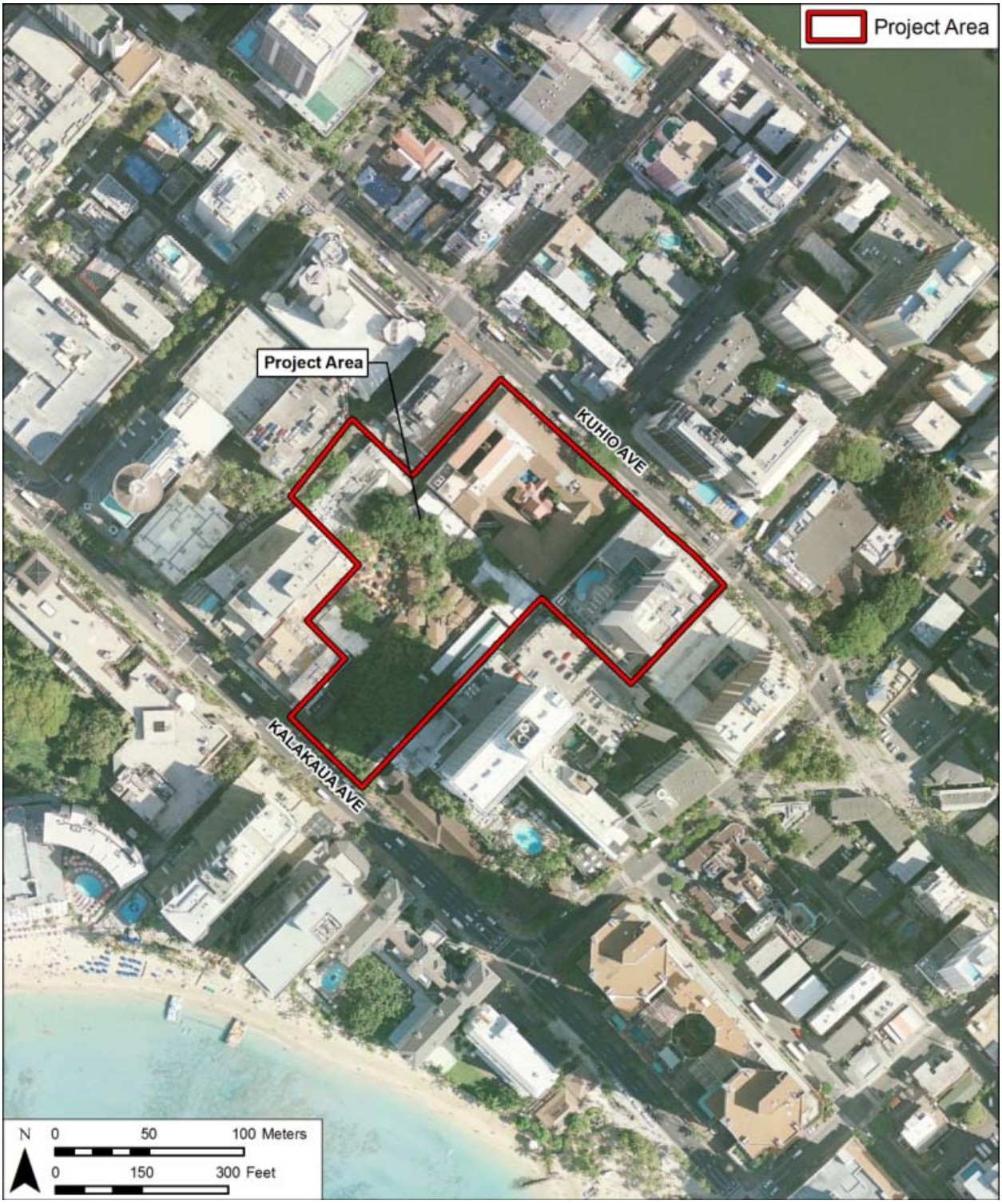

Figure 1. Aerial photograph showing the location of Project area, including the International Market Place (lower), the Waikīkī Town Center (upper left) and the Miramar Hotel (upper right) (Google Earth 2008)

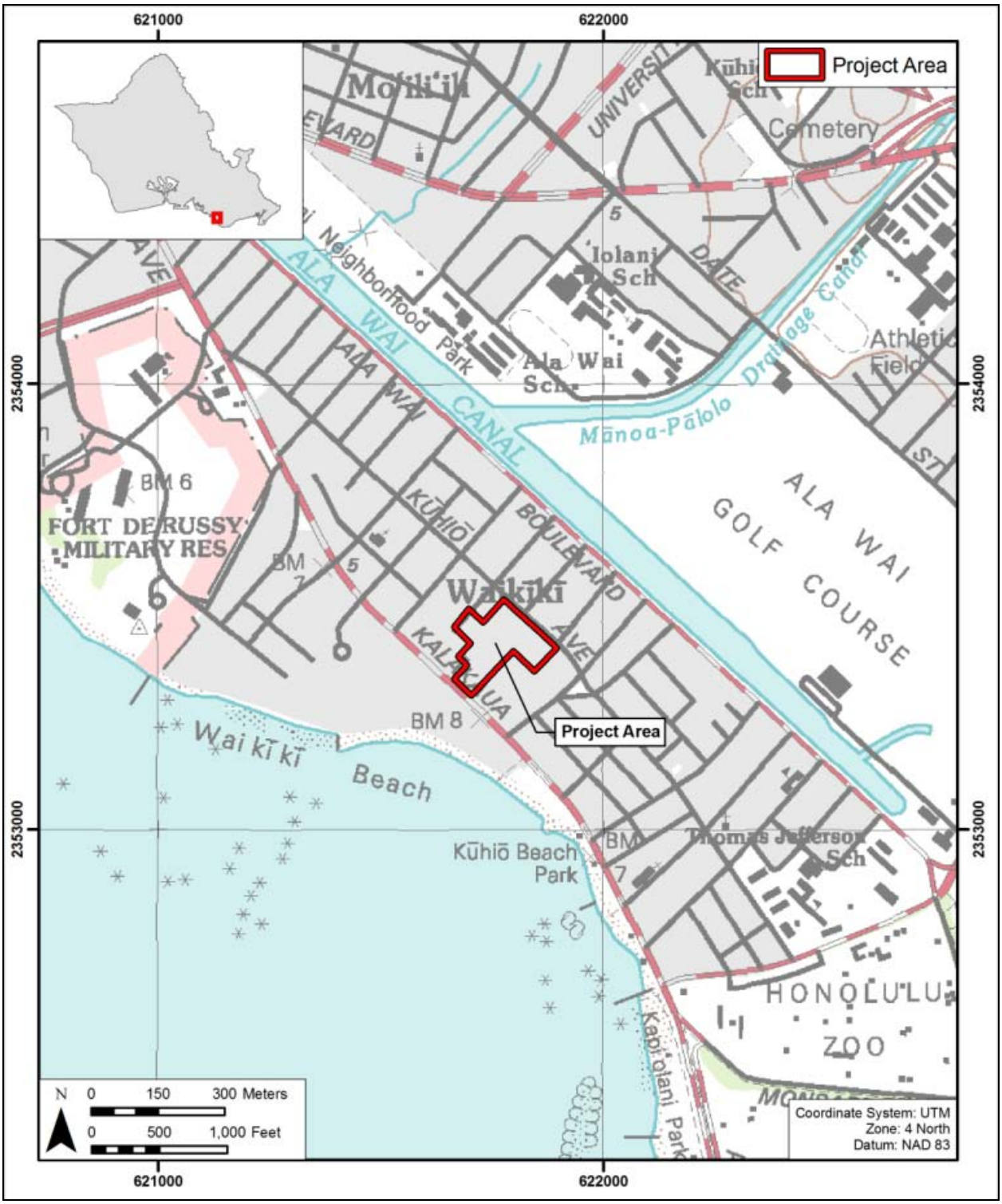

Figure 2. Portion of the 1998 United States Geological Survey (USGS) 7.5-minute series topographic map, Honolulu Quadrangle, showing the Project area

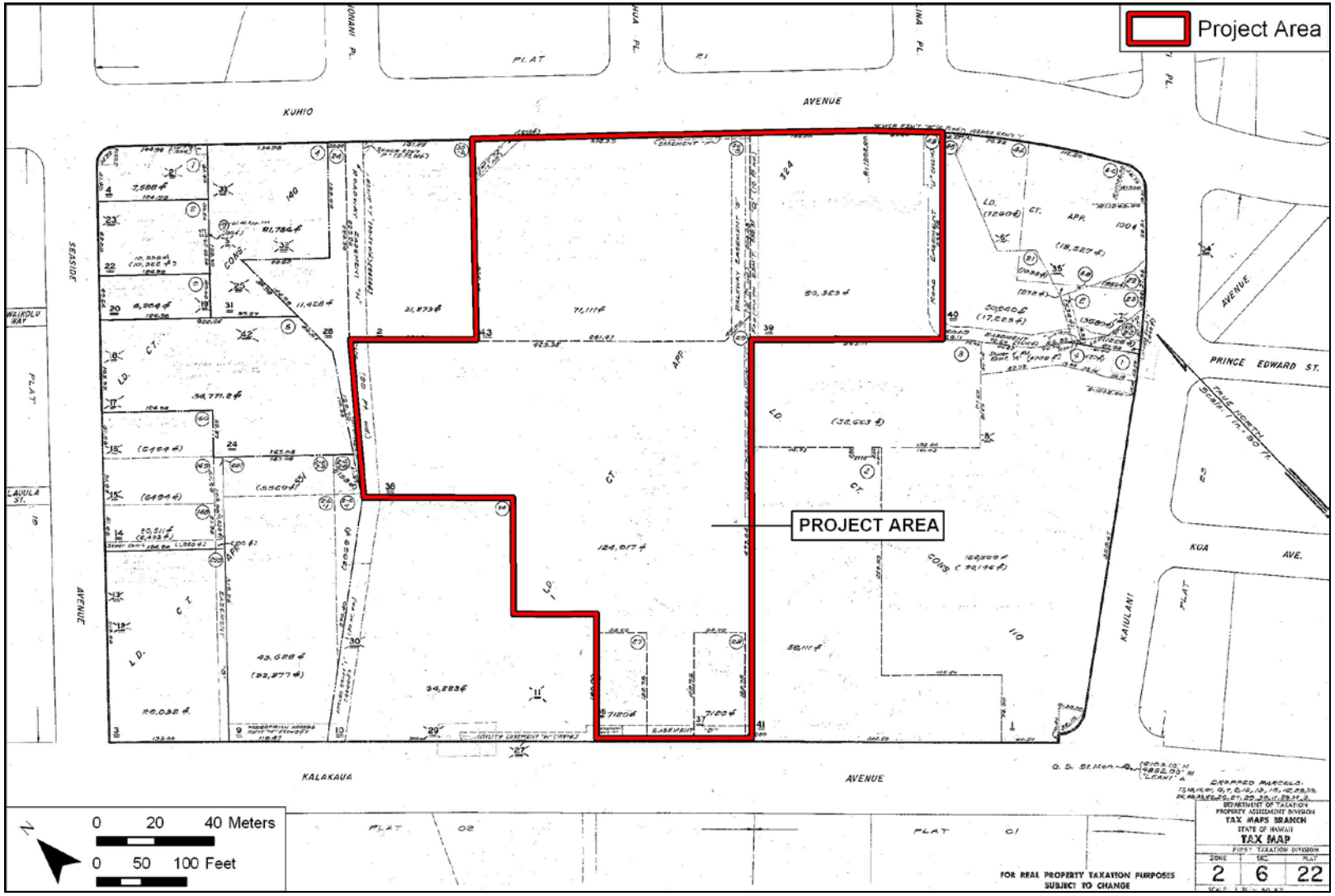

Figure 3. Tax Map Key (TMK): [1] 2-6-022 showing the Project area (Hawai‘i TMK Service 2011)

1.2 Document Purpose

The Project requires compliance with the State of Hawai‘i environmental review process (Hawai‘i Revised Statutes [HRS] Chapter 343), which requires consideration of a proposed project’s effect on cultural practices. CSH conducted this CIA at the request of the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company. Through document research and ongoing cultural consultation efforts, this report provides information pertinent to the assessment of the proposed Project’s impacts to cultural practices and resources (per the *Office of Environmental Quality Control’s Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts*), which may include Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) of ongoing cultural significance that may be eligible for inclusion on the State Register of Historic Places, in accordance with Hawai‘i State Historic Preservation Statute (Chapter 6E-42) guidelines for significance criteria in Hawai‘i Administrative Rules (HAR) §13-284 under Criterion E, which states that to be significant an historic property shall:

> Have an important value to the Native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the state due to associations with cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property or due to associations with traditional beliefs, events or oral accounts—these associations being important to the group’s history and cultural identity.

The document is intended to support the Project’s environmental review and may also serve to support the Project’s historic preservation review under HRS Chapter 6E and HAR Chapter 13-284.

1.3 Scope of Work

The scope of work for this CIA includes:

1. Examination of cultural and historical resources, including Land Commission documents, historic maps, and previous research reports, with the specific purpose of identifying traditional Hawaiian activities including gathering of plant, animal, and other resources or agricultural pursuits as may be indicated in the historic record.
2. Review of previous archaeological work at and near the subject parcel that may be relevant to reconstructions of traditional land use activities; and to the identification and description of cultural resources, practices, and beliefs associated with the parcel.
3. Consultation and interviews with knowledgeable parties regarding cultural and natural resources and practices at or near the parcel; present and past uses of the parcel; and/or other practices, uses, or traditions associated with the parcel and environs.
4. Preparation of a report that summarizes the results of these research activities and provides recommendations based on findings.

1.4 Environmental Setting

1.4.1 Natural Setting, Geology, and Topography

The coastal area of Waikīkī was backed by a large marshland about three miles long and one mile wide, enclosing approximately 2,000 acres. This marshland extended from the volcanic craters of Lē‘ahi (Diamond Head) and the Kaimukī dome (where the present day Kaimukī fire station is built) in the east toward Kapahulu Park, along the foot of Mānoa Valley into the districts of Kamō‘ili‘ili and Makiki toward the junction of Wilder and Pi‘ikoi Streets, and finally turning again to the sea (Kanahele 1986:5–6). The plain of Waikīkī, including the Project area, is relatively level with an elevation of approximately ten feet above mean sea level. ‘Āpuakēhau Stream flowed through the southeastern corner of the Project area.

1.4.2 Rainfall, Soils, and Vegetation

Waikīkī receives approximately 23 inches (600 millimeters) of rainfall per year (Giambelluca et al. 1986). According to U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) soil survey data (Foote et al. 1972), the Project area has been graded and filled (Filled Land), but the natural soil deposit is Jaucas sand (JaC), which is an excessively drained soil that forms narrow strips on coastal plains, developed through wind and water deposition of coral and seashell sand (Foote et al. 1972) (Figure 4). Vegetation in the general area includes introduced exotics, such as MacArthur palm, coconut, and a variety of grasses.

1.4.3 Built Environment

The International Market Place is a complex of mostly shops and restaurants located within urban Waikīkī in the central portion of the Waikīkī resort area. The Miramar at Waikiki Hotel is located in the northeast corner of the Queen Emma lands. Kalākaua Avenue, the main thoroughfare for coastal Waikīkī, bounds the International Market Place to the southwest, separating the International Market Place from Kūhiō Beach.

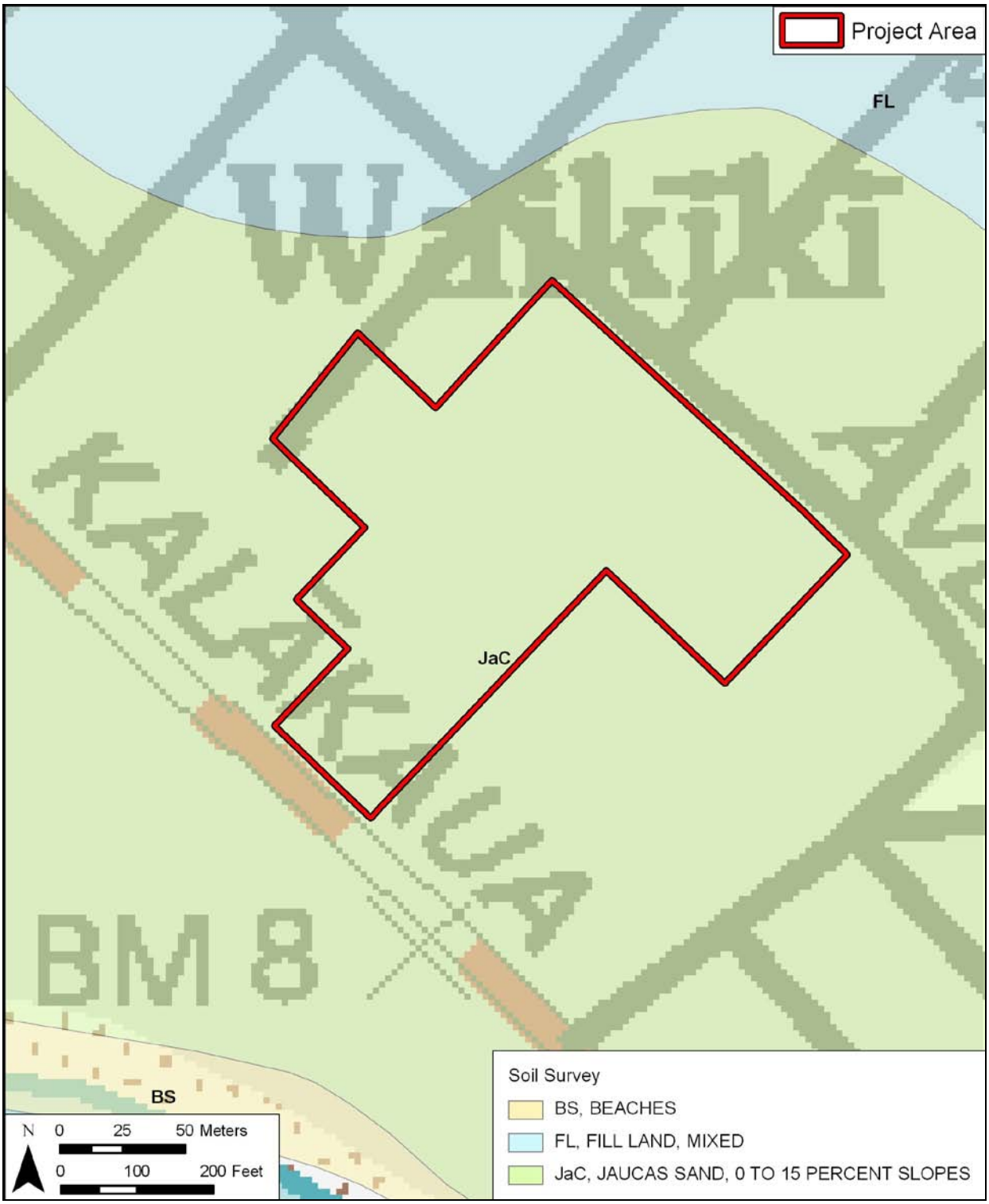

Figure 4. Portion of the 1998 USGS 7.5-minute series topographic map, Honolulu Quadrangle, showing the Project area with soil overlay (Foote el al. 1972)

Section 2 Methods

2.1 Archival Research

Historical documents, maps and existing archaeological information pertaining to Waikīkī Ahupua‘a were researched at the CSH library and other archives including the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s Hamilton Library, the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD) library, the Hawai‘i State Archives, the State Land Survey Division, and the archives of the Bishop Museum. Previous archaeological reports for the area were reviewed, as were historic maps and photographs and primary and secondary historical sources. Information on Land Commission Awards (LCAs) was accessed through Waihona ‘Aina Corporation’s Māhele data base as well as a selection of CSH library references. Research for the Cultural and Historical Background section centered on the following cultural and historic resources, practices, and beliefs: religious and ceremonial knowledge and practices; traditional subsistence land use and settlement patterns; gathering practices and agricultural pursuits; wahi pana (storied places) and associated mo‘olelo (stories, oral traditions), mele (songs), oli (chants), and ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverbs); and historic land transformation, development, and population changes (see Scope of Work above).

2.2 Community Consultation

2.2.1 Sampling and Recruitment

A combination of qualitative methods, including purposive, snowball, and expert (or judgment) sampling, were used to identify and invite potential participants to the study. These methods are used for intensive case studies, such as CIAs, to recruit people that are hard to identify, or are members of elite groups (Bernard 2006:190). Our purpose is not to establish a representative or random sample. It is to “identify specific groups of people who either possess characteristics or live in circumstances relevant to the social phenomenon being studied….This approach to sampling allows the researcher deliberately to include a wide range of types of informants and also to select key informants with access to important sources of knowledge” (Mays and Pope 1995:110).

We began with purposive sampling informed by referrals from known specialists and relevant agencies. For example, we contacted the SHPD, Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), O‘ahu Island Burial Council (OIBC), and community and cultural organizations in Waikīkī Ahupua‘a for their brief response/review of the Project and to identify potentially knowledgeable individuals with cultural expertise and/or knowledge of the Project area and vicinity, cultural and lineal descendants, and other appropriate community representatives and members. Based on their in-depth knowledge and experiences, these key respondents then referred CSH to additional potential participants who were added to the pool of invited participants. This is snowball sampling, a chain referral method that entails asking a few key individuals (including agency and organization representatives) to provide their comments and referrals to other locally recognized experts or stakeholders who would be likely candidates for the study (Bernard 2006:192). CSH also employs expert or judgment sampling which involves assembling a group of people with recognized experience and expertise in a specific area (Bernard 2006:189–191). CSH maintains a database that draws on over two decades of established relationships with community

consultants: cultural practitioners and specialists, community representatives and cultural and lineal descendants. The names of new potential contacts were also provided by colleagues at CSH and from the researchers' familiarity with people who live in or around the study area. Researchers often attend public forums (e.g., Neighborhood Board, Burial Council and Civic Club meetings) in (or near) the study area to scope for participants. Please refer to Table 6, Section 4, for a complete list of individuals and organizations contacted for this CIA.

CSH focuses on obtaining in-depth information with a high level of validity from a targeted group of relevant stakeholders and local experts. Our qualitative methods do not aim to survey an entire population or subgroup. A depth of understanding about complex issues cannot be gained through comprehensive surveying. Our qualitative methodologies do not include quantitative (statistical) analyses, yet they are recognized as rigorous and thorough. Bernard (2006:25) describes the qualitative methods as "a kind of measurement, an integral part of the complex whole that comprises scientific research." Depending on the size and complexity of the project, CSH reports include in-depth contributions from about one-third of all participating respondents. Typically this means three to twelve interviews.

2.2.2 Informed Consent Protocol

An informed consent process was conducted as follows: (1) before beginning the interview the CSH researcher explained to the participant how the consent process works, the Project purpose, the intent of the study and how his/her information will be used; (2) the researcher gave him/her a copy of the Authorization and Release Form to read and sign (Appendix C); (3) if the person agreed to participate by way of signing the consent form or providing oral consent, the researcher started the interview; (4) the interviewee received a copy of the Authorization and Release Form for his/her records, while the original is stored at CSH; (5) after the interview was summarized at CSH (and possibly transcribed in full), the study participant was afforded an opportunity to review the interview notes (or transcription) and summary and to make any corrections, deletions or additions to the substance of their testimony/oral history interview; this was accomplished either via phone, post or email or through a follow-up visit with the participant; (6) the participant received the final approved interview and any photographs taken for the study for record. If the participant was interested in receiving a copy of the full transcript of the interview (if there is one as not all interviews are audio-recorded and transcribed), a copy was provided. Participants were also given information on how to view the report on the OEQC website and offered a hardcopy of the report once the report is a public document.

2.2.3 Interview Techniques

To assist in discussion of natural and cultural resources and cultural practices specific to the study area, CSH initiated semi-structured interviews (as described by Bernard 2006) asking questions from the following broad categories: cultivation, gathering practices and mauka (toward the mountains) and makai (seaward) resources, burials, trails, historic properties, and wahi pana. The interview protocol is tailored to the specific natural and cultural features of the landscape in the study area identified through archival research and community consultation. For example, for this study, burials and recreation were emphasized over other categories less salient to Project participants. These interviews and oral histories supplement and provide depth to consultations from government agencies and community organizations that may provide brief

responses, reviews and/or referrals gathered via phone, email and occasionally face-to-face commentary.

2.2.3.1 In-depth Interviews and Oral Histories

Interviews are conducted with individuals or in focus groups comprised of kūpuna (elder) and kama‘āina (Native-born) who have a similar experience or background (e.g., the members of an area club, elders, fishermen, hula dancers). Interviews are conducted initially at a place of the study participant’s choosing (usually at the participant’s home or at a public meeting place) and/or—whenever feasible—during site visits to the Project area. Generally, CSH’s preference is to interview a participant individually or in small groups (two–four); occasionally participants are interviewed in focus groups (six–eight). Following the consent protocol outlined above, interviews may be recorded on tape and in handwritten notes, and the participant photographed. The interview typically lasts one to four hours, and records the—who, what, when and where of the interview. In addition to questions outlined above, the interviewee is asked to provide biographical information (e.g., connection to the study area, genealogy, professional and volunteer affiliations, etc.).

2.3 Compensation and Contributions to Community

Many individuals and communities have generously worked with CSH over the years to identify and document the rich natural and cultural resources of these islands for cultural impact, ethno-historical and, more recently, TCP studies. CSH makes every effort to provide some form of compensation to individuals and communities who contribute to cultural studies. This is done in a variety of ways: individual interview participants are compensated for their time in the form of a small honorarium and/or other makana (gift); community organization representatives (who may not be allowed to receive a gift) are asked if they would like a donation to a Hawaiian charter school or nonprofit of their choice to be made anonymously or in the name of the individual or organization participating in the study; contributors are provided their transcripts, interview summaries, photographs and—when possible—a copy of the CIA report; CSH is working to identify a public repository for all cultural studies that will allow easy access to current and past reports; CSH staff do volunteer work for community initiatives that serve to preserve and protect historic and cultural resources. Generally our goal is to provide educational opportunities to students through internships, share our knowledge of historic preservation and cultural resources and the State and Federal laws that guide the historic preservation process, and through involvement in an ongoing working group of public and private stakeholders collaborating to improve and strengthen the Chapter 343 environmental review process.

Section 3 Cultural and Historical Background

This section draws from archaeology and ethnography, histories, mo‘olelo written by Native Hawaiians, and an archive of historic documents and images to present a portrait of Hawaiian culture and history as it relates to the specific Project area. It first explores Hawaiian cosmogonic and genealogical origins (Section 3.1). Focusing in on geographic and temporal scales, this section then traces the exploration of the Pacific Ocean and the subsequent discovery, settlement, and expansion of the Hawaiian archipelago (Section 3.2). This broad overview of Hawaiian history introduces key concepts and terms used throughout the report and leads to a general history of the moku (district) of Kona (Honolulu) (Section 3.3). The focus then narrows to the ahupua‘a (land division usually running from the mountains to the sea) of Waikīkī (Section 3.4) regarding the earliest known settlement and subsistence patterns, a compilation of wahi pana and associated mo‘olelo, successions of chiefly rule, the introduction of private property, shifting land uses, and previously recorded oral histories, and finally a summary of the Project area (Section 3.5).

3.1 Cosmogonic and Genealogical Origins

Cosmogonic narratives and origin genealogies are indigenous forms of knowledge that account for the creation of the world and the first Hawaiians. Complementing this is an anthropological perspective informed primarily by archaeology (and genetics and linguistics) that traces the path of ancestral voyagers across the Pacific through their material remains (and genes and languages) (see Section 3.2). These two ways of understanding the past are often contrasted as “indigenous knowledge” and “Western scientific knowledge,” respectively. Recent studies, however, emphasize a plurality of knowledges that are epistemologically equivalent (Agrawal 1995; Meyer 2001). Following recent studies that blend oral traditions and archaeology to better understand Hawaiian history (Kirch 2010; Kirch and Sahlins 1992), accounting for the origins of Hawaiians is a quest that requires attention to both the stories of Hawaiian procreation and the anthropology of voyaging.

There are several founding narratives of the origin of the Hawaiian world, including the *Kumulipo*. This cosmogonic, genealogical prayer chant, which is over two thousand lines in length, was used to trace the divine origins of ali‘i through ruling chiefs, deified ancestors, and gods backwards in time through the animals, plants, and elements to the beginning of the universe. The *Kumulipo* is one of a class of such cosmological chants, but no others of such length are preserved (Silva 2004:103). This chant, titled *He Pule Ho‘ola‘a Ali‘i* (A prayer to consecrate [an] *ali‘i*) (Silva 2004:98), was composed for the Hawai‘i Island ali‘i Ka‘ī‘īmamao, also known as Lonoikamakahiki, when several kapu (sacred) rituals were performed that elevated him to the status of a god (Beckwith 1970:311), or divine king, in approximately A.D. 1600 (Kirch 2010:83). The text of the *Kumulipo* was first recorded by David Kalākaua in 1889 and translated by Queen Lili‘uokalani (1897), which was not available when folklorist Martha Beckwith completed her own translation and detailed study (1951).

Starting from, “*O ke kumu o ka lipo*” (At the beginning of the deep darkness), the *Kumulipo* divides the genesis of the world into 16 wā (epochs, time periods) (Beckwith 1951). These 16 wā are categorized into two periods, pō (darkness, the realm of the gods) and ao (light). During the

first period of pō there was a continuous birthing of the lower life forms to sea life, plants, and eventually mammals. During the second period of ao came the opening of light and the appearance of the first woman and man, La‘ila‘i and Ki‘i, respectively, and the coming of the gods, including Kāne and Kanaloa, which resulted in over a thousand genealogical pairs (Beckwith 1970: 310–11). Significantly, Hawaiian identity today is derived from origin genealogies such as the Kumulipo: "…every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage" (Kame‘eleihiewa 1992:2).

3.2 Discovery, Settlement, and Expansion of the Hawaiian Islands

Complementing the cosmogic and genealogical origins of Hawaiians detailed in the *Kumulipo* is an anthropological perspective on ancient patterns of voyaging. Archaeological studies have shown that by 10,000 years ago, humans had migrated to occupy nearly all the habitable land on the planet. Aside from crossing a series of short water gaps to reach Australia and New Guinea, they had reached it all by walking. The remaining unexplored region was the vast Pacific Ocean. Approximately 4,500 years ago, coastal dwellers of southeast China began a wave of migration through the closely-spaced, inter-visible islands of Southeast Asia. Advances in sailing strategies, canoe technology, and navigation techniques enabled their descendents to sail past the familiar insular waters a millennium later. These precocious seafarers systematically explored the remote, uninhabited regions of the Pacific Ocean to the east, as well as the Indian Ocean to the west. This led to the eventual discovery and colonization of virtually every habitable island in the Pacific Ocean, as well as coastal trading along the Indian sub-continent and settlement as far west as Madagascar (Howe 2007; Irwin 2007).

The ancient wayfinders most likely employed an expansionary strategy of first staging a series of exploratory probes to find likely islands, followed by returns to the homeland, and then launching colonizing expeditions (Irwin 1992). To do so, they sailed their double-hulled voyaging canoes eastward against the direction of the dominant trade winds by waiting for westerly wind shifts. After mentally mapping the positions of newly discovered islands in terms of celestial referents, they returned to their homelands to share the sailing directions for future voyages of colonization (Finney 1996). As most of the Pacific Islands are volcanic in origin, the exploratory seafarers, also horticulturalists, necessarily transported a living landscape. They brought with them taro, yams, breadfruit, bananas, and coconuts, as well as domesticated pigs, dogs, and chickens, and, possibly with intention, rats (Irwin 2007; Kirch 2000).

Later voyagers discovered and settled the distant archipelagoes of western Polynesia (e.g., Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji), the northwestern archipelagoes of Micronesia (e.g., Marshall Islands and Caroline Islands), and eastern Polynesia (e.g. Tahiti and Marquesas), and from there settled the widely-separated archipelagoes of Hawai‘i and Aotearoa as well as the solitary island of Rapa Nui (Irwin 2007; Kirch 2000). Anthropologist Ben Finney suggests that a waxing and waning rhythm of voyaging characterized the large, high-island archipelagoes of eastern Polynesia: "a flurry of back and forth sailings as the islands are being discovered, settled and supplied; then some continued long-range travel for personal, religious or other reasons; and then by a contraction of voyaging as populations grew and rival chiefdoms fought over land and power" (Finney 2007:145).

Archeological excavations, linguistic reconstructions, and genetic studies suggest that the initial settlement of Hawai‘i came from eastern Polynesia (Kirch 2000) around A.D. 700–800 (Athens et al. 2002). Mo‘olelo link Hawai‘i to Kahiki—the generic word for the ancestral homeland of Hawaiians, not a specific island—through accounts of the discovery of certain Hawaiian islands and subsequent inter-archipelago return trips (Beckwith 1970). The first settlers of Hawai‘i from within the region of Kahiki were probably from the Marquesas Islands (Kirch 2000:291). The archaeological record suggests that early Hawaiians formed settlements of hamlets along the coasts, interred the dead, ate domesticated pigs, dogs, and chickens, and began to clear tracts of forest between A.D. 600–1100 (Kirch 2000:293).

The early settlers of the Hawaiian archipelago would have been especially attracted to windward O‘ahu with its coral reefs, bays, and sheltered inlets for fishing, dense basalt dikes for the production of stone adzes and other tools, and amphitheatre-headed valleys and broad alluvial floodplains that contained fertile soils, numerous permanently flowing streams, and abundant rainfall for the cultivation of crops (Kirch 1985:69). Excavation data from the coastal region of Waimānalo provide a glimpse into the life of the settlers’ descendants. The Bellows Beach sand dune occupation site (O18) reveals a particularly rich cultural stratigraphy that has recently been radiocarbon dated after 40 years of dispute (e.g., Dye 2000; Kirch 1985:71; Pearson et al. 1971; Tuggle and Spriggs 2001) to A.D. 1040–1219 (Dye and Pantaleo 2010), several centuries after the current estimates of first settlement. Archaeological excavation data from this site indicate that the settlers’ descendants, like their east Polynesian ancestors, lived in pole-and-thatch dwellings, interred the dead beneath these structures, cooked in small hearths, and manufactured stone tools as well as bone and shell fishhooks, and supported themselves by cultivating inland crops, raising domesticated animals, hunting seabirds on offshore islets, fishing, and gathering shellfish (Kirch 1985:71–74). As they adapted to local conditions, they invented distinctive Hawaiian artifacts, including two-piece fishhooks and the lei niho palaoa (lei of rock oyster shell, or sperm whale tooth), which, in addition to other ornaments interred with individuals, suggests a degree of social stratification (Kirch 1985:71–74). Hawaiians also cared for the dead with a variety of ilina (burials, graves) depending on the social status of the deceased, including cremation burials, burial caves, burials in the sand and earth, burials directly underneath house floors, burials in the platforms of heiau (place of worship, temples), and burials marked on the surface by stone terraces, mounds, platforms, and other monuments (Kirch 1985:238–242).

New fishhook styles discovered in Hawaiian archaeological sites and Tahitian words entering into the Hawaiian language suggest contact with Tahiti around A.D. 1200 (Kirch 2000:291). In addition, numerous mo‘olelo chronicle the era of two-way voyaging between the archipelagoes of Tahiti and Hawai‘i by detailing the feats of specific navigators (Cachola-Abad 1993). The Hawai‘i-Tahiti voyaging corridor eventually ceased as Hawaiians and Tahitians began to focus more on local initiatives, such as building, maintaining, and deploying fleets of war canoes rather than guiding them on overseas adventures (Finney 2007:145). According to Abraham Fornander’s synthesis of mo‘olelo, the ali‘i La‘amaikahiki closed the era of voyaging between Tahiti and Hawai‘i when he returned to his ancestral homeland 21 generations before the 1870s (Fornander 1878:168-169). With an average of 20 years between generations, that places the cessation of Hawaiian long-distance voyaging at about A.D. 1450 (Fornander 1878:168–169).

The archaeological record suggests that Hawaiians experienced exponential population growth, intensification of production, and increased social stratification around A.D. 1100–1650. Hawaiians converted valley floors and hillsides to lo‘i (terraced fields) with ‘auwai (canals and ditches) that diverted stream water to irrigate kalo and other crops in flooded pond fields, developed dryland field systems for the cultivation of ‘uala (sweet potato) and other crops, and constructed stone-walled loko i‘a (fishponds) on shallow reef flats to grow and harvest fish (Kirch 2000:293–295). By A.D. 1600, the population, which had burgeoned to at least several hundred thousand people, expanded from the fertile windward regions into the most arid and marginal regions of the archipelago—the leeward valleys and coasts (Kirch 2007). This agricultural and aquacultural intensification supported emerging classes of ali‘i and maka‘āinana (commoners), whose labor created enduring heiau and other monumental architecture that survive in the archaeological record (Kirch 2000:295–296).

The original settlers and their descendents had likely organized themselves into kin-based social groups. The necessity of defining territorial boundaries increased as the population rapidly grew, the amount of available land diminished, voyaging spheres contracted, and the society became more differentiated, hierarchical, and competitive (Kirch 1985:306). The original lineage territories and associated chiefdoms were most likely moku‘āina (districts) (or moku) that were sequentially divided (Ladefoged and Graves 2006). Between A.D. 1400–1500, Hawaiians developed a hierarchically nested system of land tenure that centered on the ahupua‘a, a territorial unit that typically extended from the peaks of the mountains down to the sea, encompassing the entire ecology of an island and incorporating its main resource zones, including interior uplands and mountains, coastal lowlands, and fringing reefs (Kirch 2000:296). The maka‘āinana remained on the land they cultivated, but ali‘i governed this ahupua‘a pattern of territorial units. These ahupua‘a territories changed through time; the regions in a *moku* with greater predictability of resources were most likely settled first and defined according to topographic features, and later divided into separate communities if increases in production could support larger populations (Ladefoged and Graves 2006). Based on the distribution of sites in the most arid and marginal lands, virtually all of O‘ahu was territorially claimed and possibly occupied by A.D. 1650 (Kirch 1992:15). Then, on the eve of European contact (1778), critical transformations in the social structure took place that shifted Hawai‘i from a chiefdom to an emerging state-level society, especially the rise of divine kingship legitimated in a new religious ideology (the state cults of the gods Kū and Lono) with a formal priesthood (including human sacrifice) and maintained by a monopoly of force (Kirch 2010).

3.3 Kona Moku

In approximately A.D. 1310 (a time estimate based on an average length of generational intervals in chiefly genealogies), Māweke partitioned O‘ahu into three districts: the Kona region, the ‘Ewa, Wai‘anae, and Waialua region, and the windward Ko‘olau region. Then, in approximately A.D. 1490, the ‘aha ali‘i (council of chiefs) chose Mā‘ilikūkahi, an ali‘i kapu (sacred chief) who was born at the sacred site of Kūkaniloko in the uplands of Waialua to be the new ali‘i nui (paramount chief) of O‘ahu. After his paramountship was installed at the heiau of Kapukapuākea in central Waialua, Mā‘ilikūkahi instituted an explicit land division and administration structure: O‘ahu was divided into six moku—Kona, ‘Ewa, Wai‘anae, Waialua, Ko‘olauloa, and Ko‘olaupoko—that were further divided into 86 ahupua‘a and smaller territorial

units, such as ‘ili (subdivisions of ahupua‘a) (Kirch 2010:84–90). Upon his ascent to ali‘i nui, Mā‘ilikūkahi shifted his residence from Waialua to Waikīkī, which may have initiated the pattern of royal residence at Waikīkī (Kamakau n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:74).

3.4 Waikīkī Ahupua‘a

3.4.1 Land Divisions

The ahupua‘a of southeastern O‘ahu within the traditional moku of Kona once extended from the Ko‘olau mountain range on the mauka side to the shoreline on the makai side. The ancient ahupua’a of Waikīkī once extended from the land called Kou (Honolulu) to Maunalua (Hawai‘i-kai) (Hawaiian Studies Institute 1987), which was originally an ‘ili kūpono (a nearly independent ‘ili land division within an ahupua‘a, paying tribute to the ruling chief and not to the chief of the ahupua‘a) of Waimānalo that was integrated into Honolulu District in 1859 as an ahupua‘a (King 1935:223). On modern maps, the ancient ahupua‘a of Waikīkī is bounded in the west by Pi‘ikoi and Sheridan Streets and to the east by Maunalua, and mauka by the Ko‘olau mountain range and makai by the ocean.

Due to the growth of the settlements of Honolulu and Waikīkī following European contact in 1778, the seaward sections of many ahupua‘a were cut off from the sea. The government later subdivided sections of Honolulu and Waikīkī into neighborhoods or districts. In modern times, the area identified as Waikīkī is generally bounded on the west by Kalākaua Avenue and on the east by Diamond Head, and mauka by King Street/Wai‘alae Avenue and makai by the ocean. A distinction is sometimes made between Waikīkī Kai, the coastal area on the makai side of the Ala Wai Canal, and Waikīkī Waena (middle), the mauka lands between King Street/Wai‘alae Avenue and Ala Wai Boulevard.

Considering the vast scale of the ancient ahupua‘a of Waikīkī, which includes the modern ahupua‘a designations of Mānoa, Pālolo, Wai‘alae Nui, Wai‘alae Iki, Wailupe, Niu, and Kuli‘ou‘ou, and the size of the marshland of Waikīkī (which was four times the size of Waikīkī today; Kanahele 1995:6), this report focuses on the coastal strip of Waikīkī—the modern ahupua‘a boundary of Waikīkī, or Waikīkī Kai. This area includes the Waikīkī Plain, which encompasses Kapi‘olani Park and the Project area.

3.4.2 Settlement Patterns

While the surface archaeological record of Waikīkī has been extensively disturbed, obscured, and, in some cases, destroyed over the past two centuries, pioneering efforts in the early twentieth century to document sites based on the recollections of Hawaiian residents (McAllister 1933), recent archaeological research and cultural resource management work, combined with mo‘olelo, offer a window into the ancient past. Importantly, there was a close spatial association between major heiau and intensive agriculture for the entire island of O‘ahu, and residential sites are usually distributed around the margins of irrigation systems and up into lower valleys (Kirch 1992:16–17). Thus, fragments of information about residential sites, cultivation and irrigation, trails, burials, and monumental structures and other cultural sites derived from archaeology, ethnography, and historical records illuminate ancient settlement patterns, part of the overall cultural landscape.

Reconstructing patterns of ancient settlement draws heavily from wahi pana, a term not easily defined or described. A Hawaiian wahi pana “physically and poetically describes an area while revealing its historical or legendary significance” (Landgraf 1994:v). Wahi pana are sacred places that include such cultural properties as heiau, loko i‘a, ala hele (trails), ilina and iwi kūpuna (ancestral bone remains), individual garden plots, ‘auwai, house sites, intangible phenomena such as meteorological and atmospheric effects, land divisions, and natural geographic locations (place names), such as pūnāwai (fresh-water springs), streams, peaks, pōhaku (rocks), rock formations, ridges, offshore islands and reefs, and seas that are associated with culturally significant beliefs or events. A wahi pana leaves an imprint on the landscape even if its tangible properties no longer exist, as the mana (divine power) of previous people and events associated with this space continues to manifest itself. For example, the stereotypical heiau is composed of terraces, enclosures, walls, mounds, or upright stones, but heiau can also be sacred places on a landscape that lack built structures, natural landscape features such as rock outrcoppings, and earthworks where mana is concentrated and transferred between the deities and worshippers (Becket and Singer 1999:xix-xx). Further, previously documented and ongoing mo‘olelo of wahi pana that no longer have material traces are precisely the evidence of their enduring significance (Sahlins 1992:22).

For clarity, wahi pana are bolded in the text, their meanings are cited from Pukui et al. (1974) unless otherwise noted, and spelling and use of diacriticals follow Pukui et al. (1974). In addition, the cultural sites in Waikīkī Kai are mapped and organized in table format as place names (Figure 5, Table 1), archaeological sites (Figure 6, Table 2), and burials (Figure 7, Table 3).

Wahi pana are but one class of numerous cultural properties that create a cultural attachment to the landscape for Hawaiians. Kepā Maly explains the concept of “cultural attachment” from a Hawaiian cultural worldview:

> [Cultural attachment]…embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture. It is how a people identify with and personify the environment (both natural and manmade) around them. Cultural attachment is demonstrated in the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture share with their landscape—for example, the geographic features, natural phenomena and resources, and traditional sites etc., that make up their surroundings. This attachment to environment bears direct relationship to beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. In Hawai‘i, cultural attachment is manifest in the very core of Hawaiian spirituality and attachment to landscape, the creative forces of nature which gave birth to the islands (e.g., Hawai‘i), mountains (e.g., Mauna Kea) and all forms of nature, also gave birth to *na kanaka* (the people), thus in Hawaiian tradition, island and mankind share the same genealogy. (Maly 1999:27)

In a Hawaiian cultural worldview, a sense of place relies on keeping the integrity of the cultural landscape (Maly 2001). Maly succinctly articulates this connection between a sense of place and the cultural landscape:

> The integrity of the land- and ocean-scapes [landscape], and their sense of place depends upon the well-being of the whole entity, not only a part of it. Thus, what we do on one part of the landscape has an affect on the rest of it. (Maly 2001:2)

Figure 5. Place names of Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (base map, Google Earth 2008)

Table 1. Place names of Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai)

Place Name	Meaning	Description	Source
‘Āpuakēhau Stream	Basket [of] dew	Stream entered the ocean at Helumoa (between the Royal Hawaiian and Moana Hotels), probably named for a rain; also called Ulukou	Kanahele 1995:7; Pukui et al. 1974
Auaukai	(undocumented)	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Hamohamo	Rub gently [as the sea on the beach]	‘Ili where Kālia and Pāhoa Streams joined and then divided to form Kuekaunahi, ‘Āpuakēhau, and Pi‘inaio Streams	Kanahele 1995:7
Helumoa	Chicken scratch	‘Ili and site of a heiau where Kahanana was sacrificed, named in reference to mo‘olelo about the bodies of sacrificial victims pecked over for maggots	Pukui et al. 1974
Kālia	Waited for	‘Ili; a stream in the Waikīkī Plain that came from Mānoa	Kanahele 1995:7
Kalehuawehe	The removed lehua lei	An ancient surfing area, now called Castle’s	Finney and Housten 1966:38
Kaluahole	The āhole fish cavern	‘Ili; coast between Waikīkī and Black Point	‘Ī‘ī 1959:92; Pukui et al. 1974
Kaluaokau	(undocumented)	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Kāneloa	Tall Kāne	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Kapua	The flower	‘Ili; ancient surfing area, now filled in and part of Kapi‘olani Park	Finney and Housten 1966:28; Lyons 1876
Kapuni	The surrounding	‘Ili; ancient surfing area	Finney and Housten 1966:28

Place Name	Meaning	Description	Source
Kawehewehe	The removal	Name of the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream and also the name of the reef entrance and channel at what is known today as Grey’s Beach; the water had healing powers for removing sickness	Pukui et al. 1974:99
Kekio	(undocumented)	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Keōmuku	The shortened sand	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Kuekaunahi Stream	(undocumented)	Stream entered the ocean at Hamohamo (near intersection ‘Ohua and Kalākaua)	Kanahele 1995:7
Loko Mo‘o	(undocumented)	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Mo‘okahi	(undocumented)	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Niukūkahi	Coconut standing alone	‘Ili; ancient surfing area	Finney and Housten 1996:28
Pae-ki‘i	(undocumented)	Stones marking a site where strangers suspected of initiating war or searching for human sacrifices were drowned, a type of death called kai he‘e kai	Beckwith 1970:89)
Pāhoa Stream	(undocumented)	Stream in the Waikīkī Plain that came from Pālolo	Kanahele 1995:7
Pau	Finished	‘Ili	Bishop 1881
Pi‘inaio Stream	(undocumented)	Stream entered the ocean at Kālia, becoming a large delta	Kanahele 1995:8
Ulukou	Kou tree grove	‘Ili; another name for ‘Āpuakēhau	Bishop 1881; Pukui et al. 1974
Uluniu	Coconut grove	‘Ili	Bishop 1881

Place Name	Meaning	Description	Source
Waikīkī	Water spurting from many sources	Ahupua‘a	Pukui et al. 1974
Waikolu	Three waters	The land between Kuekaunahi, ‘Āpuakēhau, and Pi‘inaio Streams	Kanahele 1995

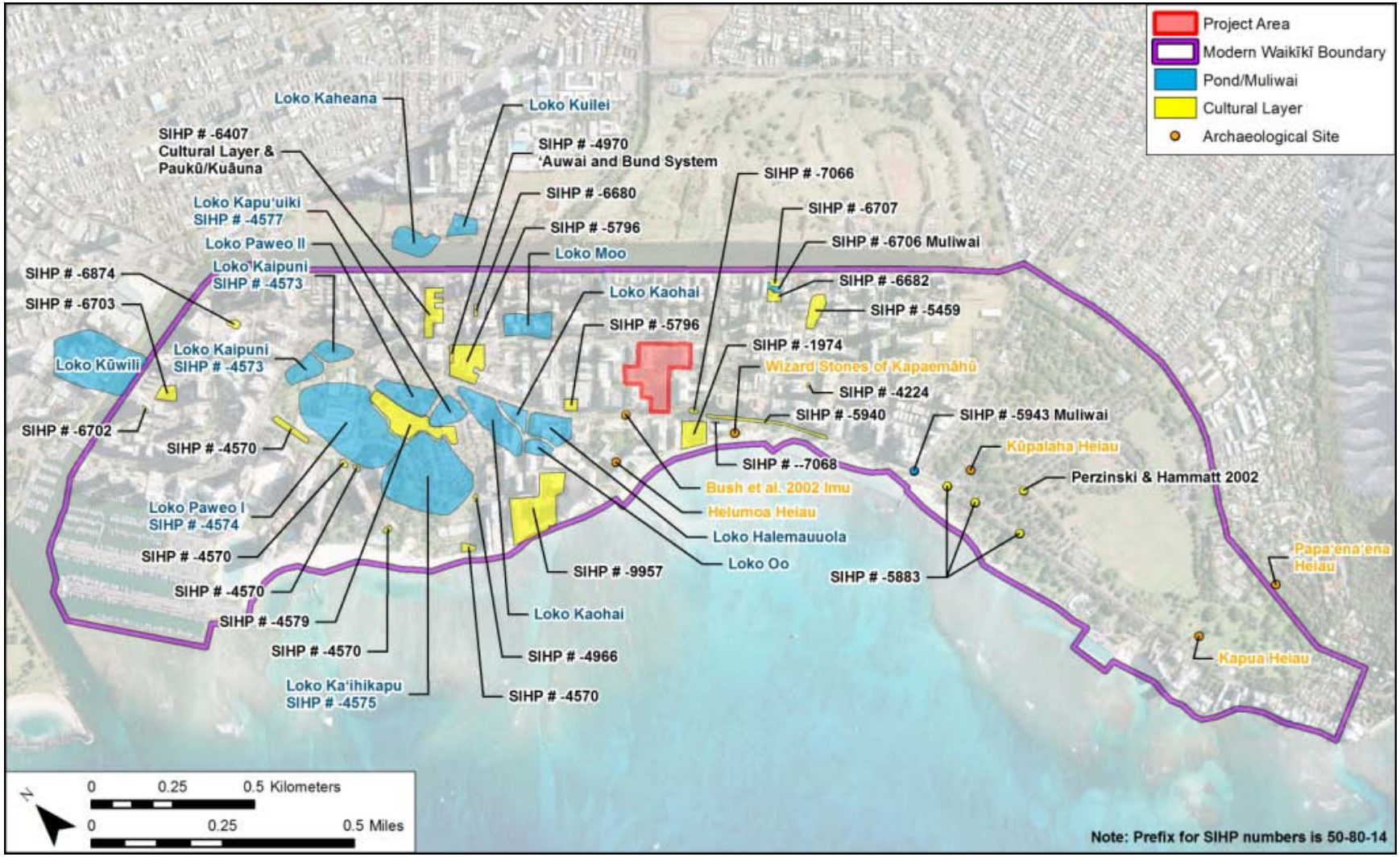

Figure 6. Archaeological sites in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (base map, Google Earth 2008)

Table 2. Archaeological sites in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (organized alphabetically by Site)

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Auwai and Bund System	Structural elements included a two phase rock alignment with a bund, two ‘auwai channels, three bunds, and a charcoal stain, in Fort DeRussy, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1800–1940	SIHP 50-80-14-4970	Denham and Pantaleo 1997b
Cultural Layer	Habitation layer with pits, firepits, post molds, artifacts, food debris (shells, fish, birds, dogs, pigs, rodents), and two human burials (see Burials); artifacts (basalt flakes, volcanic glass, worked pearl shell, basalt and volcanic glass cores, a basalt adze, adze fragments, a coral file and abraders, and a pearl shell fishhook) suggest occupational activities of fishing, manufacture of tools or ornaments, and use of tools as adzes; radiocarbon dating indicates habitation between A.D. 1430–1630	SIHP 50-80-14-4224	Beardsley and Kaschko 1997
Cultural Layer	Subsurface pit features containing historic artifacts , charcoal, fragmentary marine shells, and an assemblage of traditional artifacts, radiocarbon dated to before A.D. 1820	SIHP 50-80-14-6874	Bell and McDermott 2006
Cultural Layer and Paukū/Kuāuna	Culturally enriched agricultural soil, and a paukū (narrow strip of land smaller than a mo‘o) with a kuāuna (bank of an irrigated taro patch), with embankment utilized for habitation and planting of crops, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1400–1660	SIHP 50-80-14-6407	Borthwick et al. 2002
Cultural Layer	Habitation layer, radiocarbon dated from A.D. 1290 to 1530 at its inception and continues to the early 1900s; this is the nineteenth century ground surface of ‘Āinahu, the Waikīkī estate of Archibald Cleghorn, his wife Princess Miriam Likelike, and their daughter Princess Ka‘iulani	SIHP 50-80-14-6682	Chiogioji et al. 2004
Cultural Layer	Habitation layer with artifacts (coral abraders), animal burials, firepits with midden, imu, postholes, as well as burials (see above), located at the Halekulani Hotel; features indicate activities of cooking and eating fish, shellfish, and pig or dog; radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1620–1700 Associated with the Robert Lewers residence—the original Hale Kūlani—built between 1881 and 1897; bottles, ceramics from trash pits	SIHP 50-80-14-9957	Davis 1984

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Cultural Layer	Habitation layer with fire-cracked basalt, hearths, postholes, pits, midden (fish bones, shellfish), Artifacts (mostly historic, but one fragment of pumice, a polished basalt adze fragment, and three basalt flakes), Subsurface features and remains dated to 1780s–1790s through the mid nineteenth century, as well as one human burial (see above) at Fort DeRussy; Since most of the features uncovered were hearths, the major activity was likely cooking	SIHP 50-80-14-4570	Davis 1991
Cultural Layer	Habitation layer with firepit, pits, coral rock concentration with associated posthole, midden and human burials (see above) in Fort DeRussy, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1430–1670	SIHP 50-80-14-4570	Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b
Cultural Layer (LCA 1758:3)	Permanent historic occupation at LCA 1758:3 in Fort DeRussy, and possibly intermittent prehistoric use, including five firepits, a pit, a human burial (see above), two dark stains, two historic middens, and two possible prehistoric middens, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1510–1950	SIHP 50-80-14-4579	Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b
Cultural Layer	Cultural layer associated with five human burials (see above), pit, and postholes, with radiocarbon dates that suggested permanent occupation between the A.D. 1200–1600, located in Fort DeRussy	SIHP 50-80-14-4966	Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b
Cultural Layer	Culturally enriched buried A-horizon (Waikīkī’s former land surface prior to the introduction of fill sediments around the time of the construction of the Ala Wai Canal) in geographic association with a house site (LCA 99), radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1720–1890; cultural layer includes marine shell midden, fishbone, charcoal, historic glass, and fragments of large mammal bone	SIHP 50-80-14-6700; 6702	Freeman et al. 2005
Cultural Layer	An intermittent cultural layer (charcoal) noted during archaeological monitoring of a Kapi‘olani Park Bandstand redevelopment project, and basalt lamp uncovered	(none); an excavated trench dated 3/30 and 3/31	Perzinski and Hammatt 2002
Cultural Layer	A buried A-horizon containing evidence of traditional land use (charcoal flecking and staining, and probably fire pit) uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-5883	Winieski and Hammatt 2001

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Cultural Layer	Well-defined cultural layer, located at the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel adjacent to the International Market Place, containing charcoal, fire effected rock, midden material, pits, and intact cultural deposits that radiocarbon dates to A.D. 1725–1815	SIHP 50-80-14-7066	Runyon et al. 2010
Cultural Layer	Cultural layer (charcoal) in association with 24 burials at Moana Hotel (see above) with pits, postholes, and artifacts (boar tooth pendant, volcanic glass, cowry and pearl shell lures and scrapers, coral abraders, basalt adze fragments, and basalt flakes, awls, adzes, and hammerstones), radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1334–1955	SIHP 50-80-14-1974	Simons et al. 1991
Cultural Layer	Subsurface layer containing fire-cracked rock and charcoal deposits, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1801–1939, at the Moana Hotel	SIHP 50-80-14-7068	Thurman et al. 2009
Cultural Layer	Intermittent habitation layer uncovered during archaeological monitoring with midden (shell and bone), hearths, firepits, charcoal, artifacts (octopus lure sinker, urchin file, bone pick, two basalt adze fragments, two shell ornaments, 11 basalt manuports; radiocarbon dating indicates continuous habitation from A.D. 1555 +/- 115 to modern times	SIHP 50-80-14-5940	Winieski et al. 2001; Winieski et al. 2002
Cultural Layer	Culturally modified wetland ground surface; organic material with soil ridges indicative of ‘auwai; two overlapping deposits radiocarbon date to A.D. 1440–1640 and A.D. 1390–1490; located at the Waikiki Shopping Plaza, an extension of wetland agricultural environment documented by LeSuer et al. (2000)	SIHP 50-80-14-5796	Yucha et al. 2009
Imu	A trench (No. 10) extending across Kalākaua Avenue near the International Marketplace, also near a human burial (SIHP 50-80-14-5864), uncovered an imu pit with an entire pig still in situ, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1441–1671	(none)	Bush et al. 2002
Lo‘i	Buried remnants of lo‘i and ‘auwai, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1420–1645, as well as a burial (see Burials)	SIHP 50-80-14-5459	McDermott et al. 1996

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Lo‘i	Lo‘i retaining wall (in association with cultural layer and burial (see above) comprised of five courses of water rounded basalt boulders; likely a remnant of the extensive Waikīkī network of irrigated taro fields constructed in the fifteenth century attributed to the chief Kalamakua; radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1300–1480; data suggests an expansive and intensive wetland agricultural complex in the Waikīkī plains by the fifteenth century	SIHP 50-80-14-6707	Chiogioji et al. 2004
Lo‘i	Buried lo‘i sediments, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1010–1280, which appears to be extremely early and is probably anomalous	SIHP 50-80-14-6680	McIntosh and Cleghorn 2004
Loko	Remnant alluvial sediments associated with a fish pond uncovered (name not documented)	SIHP 50-80-14-6700; 6703	Freeman et al. 2005
Loko Ka‘ihikapu	Excavated, Fort DeRussy; basal sediments within and underlying the fishpond radiocarbon date to approximately A.D. 1400–1700, and indicate inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture	SIHP 50-80-14-4575	Denham and Pantaleo 1997b
Loko Kaipuni	Excavated, Fort DeRussy; basal sediments within and underlying the fishpond radiocarbon date to approximately A.D. 1400–1700, and indicate inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture	SIHP 50-80-14-4573	Denham and Pantaleo 1997b
Loko Kapu‘uiki	Excavated, Fort DeRussy; basal sediments within and underlying the fishpond radiocarbon date to approximately A.D. 1400–1700, and indicate inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture	SIHP 50-80-14-4577	Denham and Pantaleo 1997b
Loko Paweo I	Excavated, Fort DeRussy; basal sediments within and underlying the fishpond radiocarbon date to approximately A.D. 1400–1700, and indicate inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture	SIHP 50-80-14-4574	Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b
Muliwai	Remnant of segment of the ‘Āpuakēhau Stream bed, 30 feet in width	SIHP 50-80-14-6706	Chiogioji et al. 2004
Muliwai	Low-energy alluvial sediments associated with the now channelized muliwai of Kukaunahi	SIHP 50-80-14-5943	Winieski et al. 2002

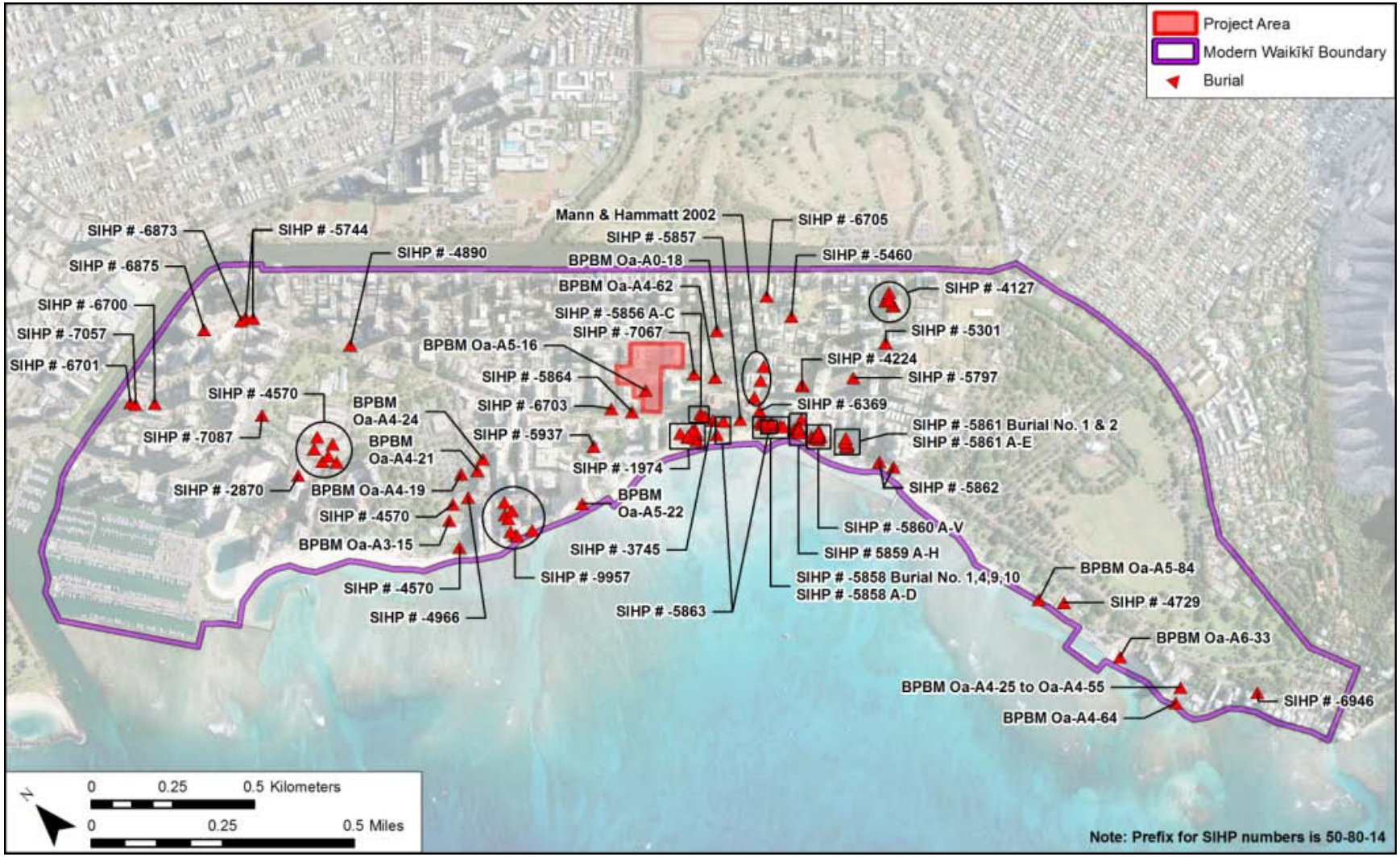

Figure 7. Burials in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (base map, Google Earth 2008)

Table 3. Burials in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (organized alphabetically by source)

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Burials	Two human burials, including a child in a fully flexed position, uncovered during archaeological monitoring, part of a cultural layer (see Cultural Layer)	SIHP 50-80-14-4224	Beardsley and Kaschko 1997
Burials	Two burials uncovered during archaeological inventory survey	SIHP 50-80-14-6873; -6875	Bell and McDermott 2006
Burials	Human remains representing one individual uncovered in 1923	BPBM Oa-A0-18	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burial	Human remains representing two individuals uncovered in 1955, Fort DeRussy area	BPBM Oa-A3-15	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Human remains representing nine individuals uncovered in 1957 near the southeastern end of Kapi‘olani Park	BPBM Oa-A3-91 to Oa-A4-02	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burial	Human remains representing one individual uncovered in 1961, Fort DeRussy area	BPBM Oa-A4-19	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burial	Human remains representing one individual uncovered in 1962, Fort DeRussy area	BPBM Oa-A4-21	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Human remains representing five individuals uncovered in 1963, Fort DeRussy area	BPBM Oa-A4-24	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Burials uncovered during excavation in 1963 for the construction of the Outrigger Canoe Club, including children, men and women in traditional burial position (legs bound tightly against the chest); number of burials reported to be 27 (Yost 1971:121–122) and 96 (Bishop Museum)	BPBM Oa-A4-25 to Oa-A4-55	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998; Yost 1971
Burials	Human remains representing four individuals uncovered in 1964, 2431 Prince Edward Street	BPBM Oa-A4-62	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998; Yost 1971

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Burials	Human remains representing four individuals uncovered in 1964 near Outrigger Canoe Club	BPBM Oa-A4-64	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Human remains representing one individual with a funerary object (shell) uncovered in 1967 by Lloyd J. Soehren at the International Market Place where the restaurant “Tahiti by Six” was being built	BPBM Oa-A5-16	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Human remains representing eight individuals uncovered in 1970	BPBM Oa-A5-22	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burial	Human remains representing one individual uncovered in 1986, Queen’s Beach	BPBM Oa-A5-84	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burial	Human remains representing two individuals uncovered in 1927, San Souci Beach	BPBM Oa-A6-33	Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998
Burials	Four human burials uncovered during archaeological monitoring, including one burial on the makai side of Kalākaua Avenue near the intersection with Duke’s Lane (SIHP 50-80-14-5864)	SIHP 50-80-14-5864; -5856 C; 5860, U-V	Bush et al. 2002
Burial	Burial uncovered during archaeological inventory survey, in vicinity of cultural layer, lo‘i and muliwai (see Cultural Layer)	SIHP 50-80-14-6705	Chiogioji et al. 2004
Burials	Three human burials uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-5861	Cleghorn 2001a, b
Burials	10 human burials and three animal burials uncovered during excavation at Halekulani Hotel in association with a cultural layer (see below)	SIHP 50-80-14-9957	Davis 1984
Burial	One human burial in extended position uncovered during archaeological monitoring in association with a cultural layer (see below) at Fort DeRussy	SIHP 50-80-14-4570	Davis 1991
Burials	During construction at the Waikīkī Aquarium in 1993, previously disturbed human remains were discovered in a back dirt pile	SIHP 50-80-14-4729	Dega and Kennedy 1993

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Burials	45 human burials uncovered in nine burial locations at Fort DeRussy, many associated with cultural layers (see below)	SIHP 50-80-14-4570; -4579:4; -4966	Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b
Burials	Inadvertent discovery of one human burial during construction	SIHP 50-80-14-5937	Elmore and Kennedy 2001
Burials	Four burials uncovered in 1901 with associated conical whale teeth beads, glass beads, and a small niho palaoa on the property of James B. Castle (present Elks Club) during excavations for the laying of sewer pipes	(none)	Emerson 1902:18–20
Burials	Two burials uncovered during archaeological inventory survey, including a previously undisturbed coffin burial with associated grave goods likely associated with inhabitants of LCA 99	SIHP 50-80-14-6700; -6701	Freeman et al. 2005
Burials	Inadvertent discovery of two human burials during construction, Kalākaua Avenue	SIHP 50-80-14-3745	Griffin 1987
Burial	Inadvertent burial discovered during landscaping of Waikiki Sunset Hotel	SIHP 50-80-14-5301	Jourdane 1995
Burial	Five burials representing six individuals uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-5859; 6369 (and three unassigned burials)	Mann and Hammatt 2002
Burial	Burial in flexed position uncovered during archaeological inventory survey, as well as buried remnants of ‘auwai and lo‘i (see Cultural Layer)	SIHP 50-80-14-5460	McDermott et al. 1996
Burial	Inadvertent discovery of burial in back dirt pile during construction	SIHP 50-80-14-4890	McMahon 1994
Burial	Burial uncovered during archaeological monitoring, Hilton Hawaiian Village	SIHP 50-80-14-7087	Mooney et al. 2009
Burials	Recovery of three human burials at construction site	SIHP 50-80-14-2870	Neller 1984

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Burials	Recovery of seven burials at construction site near Kapi‘olani Park, including one with a scattering of small waterworn basalt stones (‘ili‘ili) beneath the burial and the head facing in an opposite direction from the body, two possible customs not reported in the ethnohistoric literature; evidence of porotic hyperostosis (small pores) on some of the skulls may have resulted from minor chronic nutritional deficiency (e.g., reliance on a few staple foods, such as taro), or infectious disease; one burial wrapped in kapa	SIHP 50-80-14-4127	Neller 1984
Burial	Burial in flexed position uncovered during archaeological inventory survey, lying in organic stained soil characteristic of the wetland agricultural soils of Waikīkī; soil from nearby trench radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1400–1460	SIHP 50-80-14-6703	O’Leary et al. 2005
Burial	One human burial (SIHP 50-80-14-7067) in pit, in extended position uncovered during archaeological inventory survey of the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel; stratigraphy suggests that the burial likely post dates A.D. 1482–1666; glass whale tooth ivory on necklace were interred with individual—glass indicates historic era burial; disarticulated skeletal elements within the site of Kawaiaha‘o Branch Church and Cemetery SIHP 50-80-14-7065)	SIHP 50-80-14-7065 and -7067	Runyon et al. 2010
Burial	Two burials uncovered during archaeological monitoring, as well as pockets of undisturbed cultural layers	SIHP 50-80-14-5744	Perzinski et al. 1999
Burials	24 human burials uncovered during archaeological monitoring of the Moana Hotel, as well as cultural layer (see Cultural Layer), buried in a pit, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1410–1955	SIHP 50-80-14-1974	Simons et al. 1991
Burial	One isolated human skeletal fragment consisting of one tarsal phalange uncovered on the makai side of the Diamond Head Tower of the Moana Hotel	(none)	Thurman et al. 2009
Burial	Burial uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-7057	Tulchin and Hammatt 2009
Burial	A traditional burial uncovered during archaeological monitoring near Kapi‘olani Park	SIHP 50-80-14-6946	Whitman et al. 2008

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Burial	A previously disturbed burial uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-5797	Winieski and Hammatt 2001
Burials	44 human burials in clusters uncovered during archaeological monitoring, many were in traditional flexed or semi-flexed positions, near intersection of Kalākaua Avenue and Kealohilani Avenue	SIHP 50-80-14-5856 A-C; -5857; -5858 A-D; -5859 A-G; -5860 A-T; -5861 A-E	Winieski et al. 2002
Burials	Skeletal remains of ten individuals, as well as four indigenous artifacts (sandstone ulu maika, basalt slingstone, basalt kukui nut lamp, basalt mortar bowl)	SIHP 50-80-14-5857 to -5862; -5863	Winieski et al. 2001

3.4.2.1 Place Names

The name **Waikīkī** translates as “water spurting from many sources,” and reveals the character of the intact watershed system of Waikīkī prior to European contact, where water from the valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo gushed forth from underground. Before the construction of the Ala Wai Canal, these streams did not merge until deep within Waikīkī. As they entered the flat plain of Waikīkī, the names of the streams changed: Mānoa Stream became **Kālia Stream** and Pālolo Stream became **Pāhoa Stream**. They joined in the ‘ili of **Hamohamo** (rub gently [as the sea on the beach]) and then divided into three new streams that flowed into the sea—**Kuekaunahi, ‘Āpuakēhau**, and **Pi‘inaio**. The land between these three streams was called **Waikolu**, meaning “three waters” (Kanahele 1995:7–8).

Waikīkī Kai was once divided into smaller ‘ili lands, including (listed generally from west to east) **Kālia** (waited for), **Pau** (finished), **Niukukahi** (coconut standing alone), **Loko Moo**, **Keōmuku** (the shortened sand), **Helumoa** (chicken scratch), **Ulukou** (kou tree grove), **Mookahi**, **Kaluaokau**, **Auaukai**, **Hamohamo** (rub gently [as the sea on the beach]), **Uluniu** (coconut grove), **Kapuni** (the surrounding), **Kekio**, **Kāneloa** (tall Kāne), **Kapu**a (the flower), and **Kaluahole** (the āhole fish cavern (Bishop 1881; ‘Ī‘ī 1959:92–94).

Kālia ‘Ili, located in the western section of Waikīkī, is a name used for the central portion of Mānoa Stream and the name of the coastal area where the **Pi‘inaio Stream** emptied into the ocean. The exact meaning of Pi‘inaio is unknown, but pi‘ina means “climb or ascend” (Pukui and Elbert 1986:327). The stream’s mouth was on the western end of the Waikīkī coast, where the Ala Moana Shopping Center is now located, west of Duke Kahanamoku Beach and Lagoon.

The Project area is located in **Kaluaokau ‘Ili** in the central area of Waikīkī. There are several possible meanings of Kaluaokau depending on pronunciation and combination of root words, most of which suggest a place deeply connected to the mana of the Waikīkī ali‘i as indicated by interpretations of human sacrifice. The term may commemorate the sacrifice of Kauhi-a-Kama, as in “the pit of Kau” (ka-lua-o-Kau), “the pit of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Ka-lua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama), or the “baking of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Kālua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama). The term may also translate as “strike lua of kau [hanging]” (ka-lua-o-kau) in reference to a special technique of public execution and sacrifice by strangling (McKinzie 2005:24–28). It may also translate as “the grave of Ka‘u” (ka-lu‘a-o-ka‘u) (Thrum 1922:641) (see Section 3.5, Kaluaokau ‘Ili, for an expanded description). **‘Āpuakēhau Stream**, literally “basket [of] dew” and possibly named for a rain (Pukui et al. 1974), flowed through the southeastern corner of the Project area in this ‘ili (see Section 3.4.3.1, for the mo‘olelo of ‘Ōlohe at ‘Āpuakēhau).

Helumoa ‘Ili, located in the central makai section of Waikīkī, translates as “chicken scratch,” a reference to mo‘olelo about the bodies of sacrificial victims being pecked over for maggots (see Section 3.4.3.2 for expanded mo‘olelo of Helumoa ‘Ili). Two foci of chiefly residence were at places called Helumoa, now the site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and **Ulukou**, now the site of the Moana Hotel (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:2). **‘Āpuakēhau Stream** emptied into the ocean between these two centers. **Kawehewehe**, sometimes synonymous with the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream and also the name of the reef entrance and channel at what is known today as Grey’s Beach (just east of the contemporary Halekūlani Hotel), translates as “the removal,” which appears to refer to the water’s famous healing powers for removing sickness and forgiving

of sins (Pukui et al. 1974:99). A famous surfing spot called **Kalehuawehe** was located at the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:2).

Kapua ‘Ili, located in the eastern section of Waikīkī, was an ancient surfing area, now filled in and part of Kapi‘olani Park (Finney and Housten 1966:28). In 1809, Kamehameha put to death his nephew, Kanihonui, who committed adultery with Ka‘ahumanu, and placed his remains at Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau. As Ka‘ahumanu’s “wrath was aroused,” she began to make plans to take the kingdom from Kamehameha by force when she pronounced a surfing holiday at Kapua, since “the surf was rolling fine then” (‘Ī‘ī 1959:51). Kapua was also a site where “bone-breaking wrestlers” engaged in their sport (Kamakau 1992:72).

While many other place names in Waikīkī have been lost to antiquity, a song composed by Kawelo during the reign of Kākuhihewa (see Section 3.4.2.2.) provides a glimpse into other place names of Waikīkī and the emotions they once evoked. After Kawelo surfed and participated in wrestling matches at the coconut grove of Helumoa, he sang the following love song for Kou, his sweetheart from Waikīki, upon his departure to his homeland of Kaua‘i:

Aloha Kou e, Aloha Kou,	Farewell to thee, farewell Kou,
Ke aloha mai nei Kou ia‘u	The love of Kou is within me,
Ka hoa hele i ka makani,	My companion of the windy days
I ka ‘āpa‘apa‘a anu o Ahulu nei.	And the cold of **Ahulu**.
E ualo mai ana ia‘u nā niu o Pai,	The coconut trees of **Pai** are calling me back,
E ‘ena‘ena mai ana i ku‘u maka,	They appear as raging fire to my eyes,
Ke a‘ā o Kuamānu‘unu‘u,	Like the volcanic rocks at **Kuamānu‘unu‘u**
‘I‘iau e ki‘i, e kui, a lei—e	I am tempted to get them, to string them, and to wear them,
Nā‘ākulikuli papa o Huia nei la,	The ‘ākulikuli blossoms there at **Huia**
E ualo mai ana ia‘u—e	For they are calling me back there
	(Hibbard and Franzen 1986:7)

3.4.2.2 Cultivation and Habitation

The coastal village of Waikīkī was most likely centered around the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream in the vicinity of the Project area (near the Royal Hawaiian Hotel). Beginning in the fifteenth century, a vast system of irrigated taro fields was constructed, extending across the littoral plain from Waikīkī to the lower valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo. This field system was an impressive feat of engineering, the design of which is traditionally attributed to the chief Kalamakua. It took advantage of streams descending from the valleys of Makiki, Mānoa and Pālolo. The lo‘i kalo, in combination with coconut groves and numerous fishponds along the Waikīkī shoreline, enabled the growth of a sizeable population. Captain George Vancouver, arriving in Waikīkī in 1792, and the naturalist of the expedition, Archibald Menzies, described the village of Waikīkī, aqueducts (‘auwai) that irrigated vast fields of taro on the plain, and well-

stocked fishponds (Menzies 1920:23–24; Vancouver 1798:161–164). This was later depicted by Lt. Charles R. Malden, of the British vessel *Blonde*, in 1825 (Figure 8), and Joseph Marie Henri de LaPasse, of the French ship *Eurydice*, in 1855 (Figure 9).

Archaeological surveys and excavations conducted for cultural resource management work in Waikīkī have uncovered cultural layers that have been radiocarbon dated to approximately A.D. 1400 to 1800 (see Figure 6, Table 2 for locations and descriptions throughout Waikīkī). Many of these cultural layers contain evidence of habitation and occupational activities. For example, a cultural layer located approximately 1,300 feet east of the Project area and radiocarbon dated to between A.D. 1430–1630 contains evidence of habitation, with pits, firepits, post molds, food debris (shells, fish, birds, dogs, pigs, rodents), and two human burials, and artifacts (basalt flakes, volcanic glass, worked pearl shell, basalt and volcanic glass cores, a basalt adze, adze fragments, a coral file and abraders, and a pearl shell fishhook) suggest occupational activities of fishing, manufacture of tools or ornaments, and use of tools as adzes (SIHP 50-80-14-4224, Beardsley and Kaschko 1997).

Several cultural layers indicative of habitation are located in close proximity to the International Market Place. A well-defined cultural layer, located at the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel, contains charcoal, fire effected rock, midden material, pits, and intact cultural deposits that radiocarbon dates to A.D. 1725–1815 (SIHP 50-80-14-7066, Runyon et al. 2010). A cultural layer (charcoal) in association with 24 burials, located at the Moana Hotel, with pits, postholes, and artifacts (boar tooth pendant, volcanic glass, cowry and pearl shell lures and scrapers, coral abraders, basalt adze fragments, and basalt flakes, awls, adzes, and hammerstones) radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1334–1955 (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991). Another cultural layer at the Moana Hotel contains fire-cracked rock and charcoal deposits, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1801–1939 (SIHP 50-80-14-7068, Thurman et al. 2009). In addition, A trench (No. 10) extending across Kalākaua Avenue near the International Marketplace uncovered an imu pit with an entire pig still in situ, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1441–1671 (no SIHP number, Bush et al. 2002).

Other cultural layers provide evidence of the vast wetland cultivation, including buried lo‘i sediments, retaining walls and bunds, channelized muliwai and ‘auwai, and kuāuna (a bank of an irrigated taro patch) (see Figure 6, Table 2 for locations and descriptions throughout Waikīkī). One such cultural layer is located in close proximity to the Project area. At the Waikīkī Shopping Plaza, a culturally modified wetland ground surface with organic material radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1440–1640 and A.D. 1390–1490 contains soil ridges indicative of ‘auwai, which is an extension of a wetland agricultural environment documented by LeSuer et al. (2000) (SIHP 50-80-14-5796, Yucha et al. 2009).

Mā‘ilikūkahi, upon his ascent to ali‘i nui of O‘ahu in approximately A.D. 1490, shifted his residence from Waialua to Waikīkī, which may have initiated the pattern of royal residence at Waikīkī (Kamakau n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:74). With the ascension of Mā‘ilikūkahi, Waikīkī became the ruling seat of the O‘ahu chiefs (Beckwith 1970:383), with the royal courts established primarily at Helumoa (now the Royal Hawaiian Hotel) and Ulukou (now the Moana Hotel) (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:2; Paglinawan 2008:9). Five generations later, during the late 1500s, the ali‘i Kākuhihewa lived at Ulukou just makai of the Project area. Kākuhihewa defeated so many invading chiefs that Ulukou (and the island of O‘ahu) became known as ke one ‘ai ali‘i

o Kākuhihewa, or the chief-consuming sands of Kākuhihewa (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:2). In addition, La‘ie-lohelohe, the daughter of noted Waikīkī chief Kalamakua-a-Kapuholua, was raised within the bounds of Kaluaokau. She was betrothed to a Maui chief and later gave birth to Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani, the great Maui leader. Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani was born at ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, once located on the beach near Kaluaokau (Kamakau 1991:49). The preeminence of Waikīkī as a residence of chiefs continued into the eighteenth century, marked by Kamehameha’s decision to reside there upon wresting control of O‘ahu by defeating the island's chief, Kalanikūpule, in 1795. The nineteenth century Hawaiian historian John Papa ‘Ī‘ī, a member of the ali‘i, notes that the king’s Waikīkī residence was located at Pua‘ali‘ili‘i near the sands of ‘Āpuakehau (‘Ī‘ī 1959:17). These various mō‘ī (kings, rulers) who established their residence in Helumoa ‘Ili would have had hundreds of support staff in the ‘ili of Kaluaokau, Hamohamo, and Uluniu (Paglinawan 2008:10).

The focus on Waikīkī as a center of chiefly and agricultural activities on southeastern O‘ahu changed with Euro-American contact. The village of Kou (Honolulu), with the only sheltered harbor on O‘ahu, became the center for trade with visiting foreign vessels, drew increasing numbers of Hawaiians away from cultivation and aquaculture in Waikīkī, and foreign diseases devastated the populace (Chamberlain 1957:26). The shift in preeminence of Waikīkī is illustrated by the fact that Kamehameha moved his residence from Waikīkī to Honolulu.

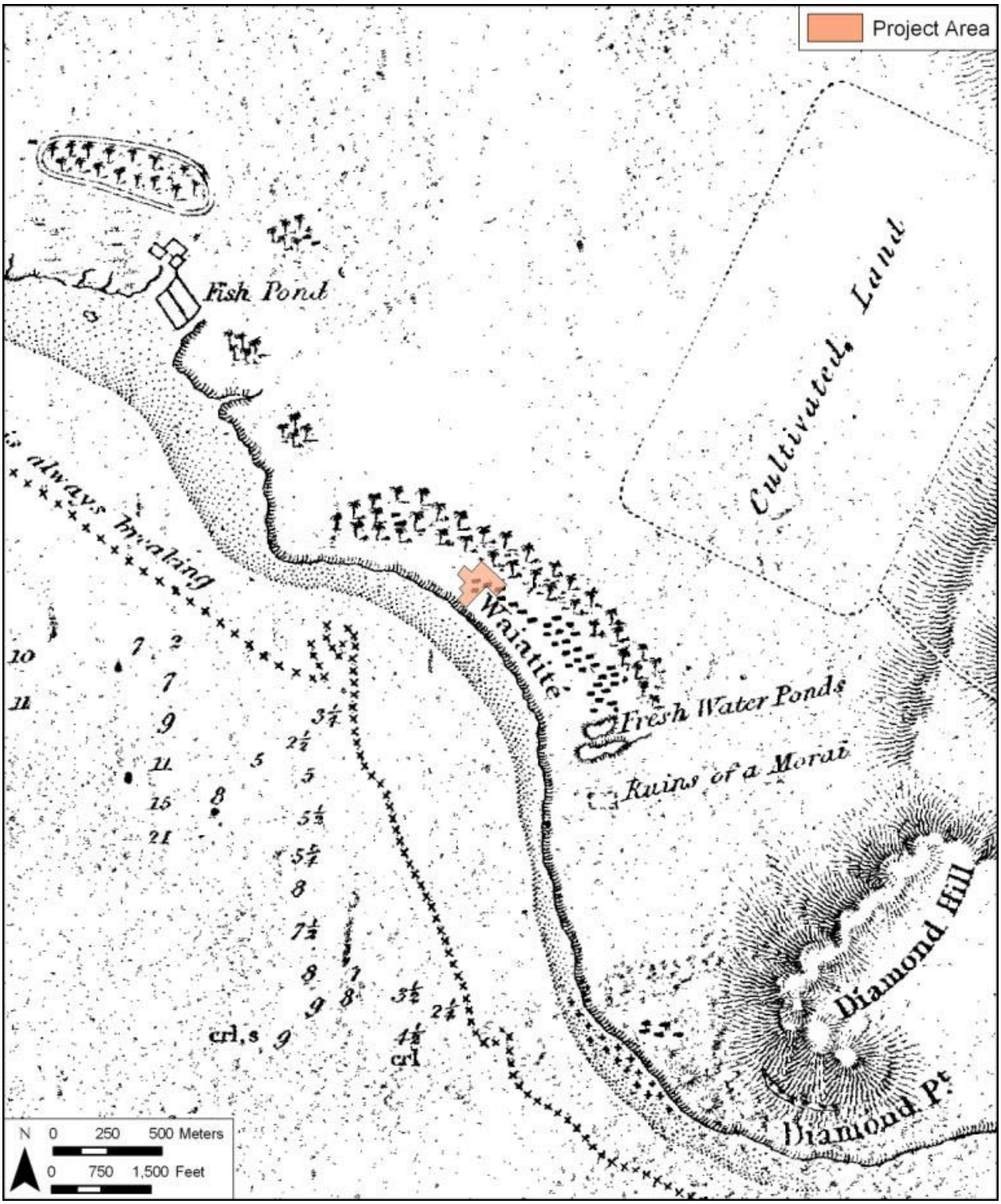

Figure 8. 1825 map by Lt. Charles R. Malden from the British ship *Blonde*, showing the Project area in the village of “Waiatite” [Waikīkī] surrounded by a coconut grove and in the vicinity of taro fields and fishponds

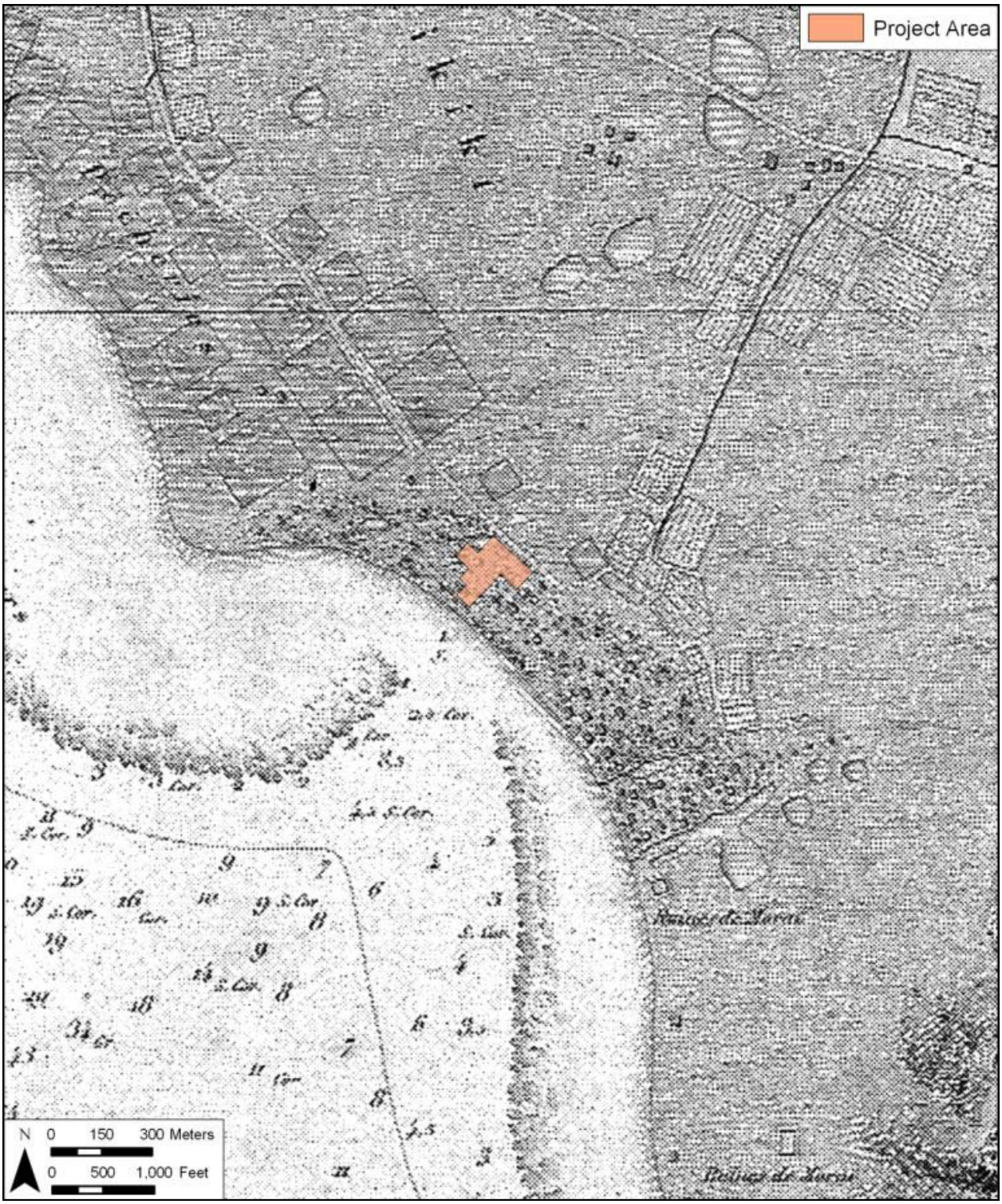

Figure 9. 1855 map of southeastern O‘ahu by Joseph Marie Henri de LaPasse, of the French ship *Eurydice* (map reprinted in Fitzpatrick 1986:82–83), showing the Project area within a coconut grove and surrounded by taro fields (rectangles) and near fishponds

3.4.2.3 Aquaculture

Historic maps and images depict the locations of numerous loko i‘a in Waikīkī to the west of the Waikīkī Plain (Kapi‘olani Park) and the current Project area (see Figure 10), and historic documents describe “several hundred” and “innumerable” artificial freshwater fishponds extending a mile inland from the shore (Bloxam 1925:35–36, cited in McAllister 1933:76). Two studies by the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries (Bowers 1902:429; Cobb 1902, cited in McAllister 1933:76) listed extant fishponds in Kālia in 1901, including **Ka‘ihikapu** (the taboo sacredness), **Kūwili** (stand swirling), **Kaipuni (1 and 2)**, **Paweo (1 and 2)**, **Kapu‘uiki**, **Kapaakea**, **Maalahia**, **Opu**, and **Opukaala**, as well as several fishponds with undocumented names. In addition, historic maps provide the locations of several of these and other fishponds: **Kaohai**, **Oo**, **Halemauuola**, **Moo**, **Kuilei** (lei stringing), and **Kaheana** (Bishop 1881).

Archaeological excavations of several of these loko have uncovered alluvial sediments (see Figure 6, Table 2 for locations and descriptions). Excavated sediments of four loko in Fort DeRussy—Ka‘ihikapu (SIHP 50-80-14-4575, Denham and Pantaleo 1997b), Kaipuni (SIHP 50-80-14-4573, Denham and Pantaleo 1997b), Kapu‘uiki (SIHP 50-80-14-4577, Denham and Pantaleo 1997b), and Loko Paweo I (SIHP 50-80-14-4574, Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b), have radiocarbon dated to approximately A.D. 1400–1700, and indicate inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture.

Figure 10. View from a fishpond in Kālia towards Diamond Head circa 1890 (photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum Archives)

3.4.2.4 Heiau and other Religious Sites

Thomas G. Thrum reports that seven heiau were once located in Waikīkī, including Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, Kapua Heiau, Kūpalaha Heiau, Helumoa Heiau, Makahuna Heiau, Kamauakapu Heiau, and Kulanihakoi Heiau (1907a:44), as well as four large pōhaku that constituted a religious site, commonly called the Wizard Stones of Kapeimāhū (Thrum 1907b:139–141). Samuel Kamakau notes another heiau of Waikīkī called Halekumukaaha Heiau (n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:78). Several of the heiau were of po‘okanaka classification, which were used ceremoniously for human sacrifices (Stokes 1991:24). The locations of several heiau in the vicinity of Kapi‘olani Park are indicated on early historic maps, such as by LaPasse in 1855 (Figure 9).

Helumoa Heiau, also known as **‘Āpuakēhau Heiau**, was located in central Waikīkī near the muliwai (river mouth) of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream in the vicinity of the Project area. This heiau, of po‘okanaka class, was the site of the sacrifice of Kauhi-a-Kama, a defeated mō‘ī of Maui, during his attempted conquest of Oahu about 1610 (Thrum 1907a:44). This sacrificial heiau was also where Ka‘opulupulu—the last O‘ahu-born Kahuna Nui of O‘ahu—was laid after being slain in Wai‘anae by Kahāhana (Thrum 1904:112–113). The memory of Kauhi-a-Kama’s death and descecration of his remains at ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau may have instigated his descendant, Kahehili, to massacre the O‘ahu chiefs and sacrifice Kahāhana at ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau (Fornander 1878, Vol. II:208). Portions the Royal Hawaiian Hotel are built on the former site of ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau. An athletic field of ali‘i was also formerly built at the site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, as excavations for the hotel uncovered ‘ulumaika (game) stones (Thrum 1907a:79) (see Section 3.4.3.2, for expanded mo‘olelo of Helumoa ‘Ili, ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, and Ka‘opulupulu).

Another religious site in Waikīkī is, according to mo‘olelo, **Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni**, commonly referred to as the **Wizard Stones of Kapeimāhū**. These stones were unearthed in the late 1800s on the Waikīkī premises of the Cleghorn family, including Governor A. Cleghorn, his wife Princess Likelike, and their daughter Princess Ka‘iulani. According to a mo‘olelo gathered by Thrum (1907b:139–141), four soothsayers from the court of a Tahiti king came to Hawai‘i and helped to heal many people. Four large stones were gathered from the vicinity of a “bell rock” in Kaimukī and erected in Waikīkī to commemorate them, two at their habitation and two at their bathing place in the sea. The chief of the wizards, Kapaemahu, named his stone after himself, and a virtuous young chiefess was sacrificed and placed beneath the stone. Today they are located at Kūhiō Beach Park (Thrum 1907b:139–141) (see Section 3.4.3.3 for expanded mo‘olelo of Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni).

At the base of Lē‘ahi (Diamond Head), **Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau** was once seen from Waikīkī and visited and described by many early voyagers to Hawai‘i (Site 58, McAllister 1933:71–74, noted as “Ruins de Morae” in Figure 9). Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, of po‘okanaka class, was a quadrangular paved terraces approximately 130 by 70 feet with walls on three sides but open to west, which faced the village of Waikīkī (McAllister 1933:74). Kamehameha commanded sacrifices at Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, and in 1795, the bodies of Kiana, mō‘ī of O‘ahu, and other slain chieftains from the battle of Nu‘uanu were impaled upon its walls (Jarves 1843:59–60, cited in McAllister 1933:73). Two travelers, Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, recorded the ceremonies of this heiau as reported by an observer:

> In the year 1804, when the late king, Tamehameha [Kamehameha], was on his way from Hawaii, to invade Tauai [Kaua‘i], he halted with an army of eight thousand men at Oahu. The yellow fever broke out among the troops, and in the course of a few days swept away more than two-thirds of them. During the plague, the king repaired to the great marae at Wytiti [Waikīkī], to conciliate the god, whom he supposed to be angry. The priests recommended a ten days' tabu, the sacrifice of three human victims, four hundred hogs, as many cocoanuts, and an equal number of branches and plantains. Three men, who had been guilt of the enormous turpitude of eating cocoa-nuts with the old queen (the present king's mother), were accordingly seized and led to the marae. But there being yet three days before the offerings could be duly presented, the eyes of the victims were scooped out, the bones of their arms and legs were broken, and they were then deposited in a house, to await the coup de grace on the day of the sacrifice. While these maimed and miserable creatures were in the height of their suffering, some persons, moved by curiosity, visited them in prison, and found then neither raving nor desponding, but sullenly singing the national *huru*—dull as the drone of a bagpipe, and hardly more variable—as though they were insensible of the past, and indifferent to the future. When the slaughtering time arrived, one of them was placed under the legs of the idol, and the other two were laid, with the hogs and fruit, upon the altar-frame. They were then beaten with clubs upon the shoulders till they died of the blows. This was told us by an eye witness of the murderous spectacle. (Tyerman and Bennett 1831:423, cited in McAllister 1933:71)

Kamehameha was said to have visited Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau before setting off to battle for Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i in 1804. Five years later, Kamehameha placed the remains of his nephew, Kanihonui, who committed adultery with Ka‘ahumanu, at Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, "all prepared in the customary manner of that time" (‘Ī‘ī 1959:51). This would have been one of the last human sacrifices in the kingdom. After it was destroyed by Kanaia in about 1856, the stones were used to enclose the premises of Queen Emma as well as road construction (Thrum 1907a:44). Now, the Hawai‘i School for Girls at La Pietra is located on the former site of Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau (Becket 1999:x).

Kapua Heiau, of po‘okanaka class, was located in Kapi‘olani Park near Camp McKinley. It is reported to have been connected to Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau. Fragments of its walls torn down in 1860 reveal that it was approximately 240 square feet. Mo‘olelo indicate that Kaolohaka, a chief from Hawai‘i, was sacrificed at Kapua Heiau on suspicion of being a spy (Thrum 1907a:44).

Another heiau in Kapi‘olani Park closely associated with Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau was **Kūpalaha Heiau**, located near the Cunha cottages (Thrum 1907a:44). According to a previously collected oral history, these cottages were located at the intersection of Lemon Road and Kapahulu Avenue (University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral Histories 1985:924). Kakuhihewa, mō‘ī of O‘ahu circa 1540–1634, attempted to sacrifice a man from Honolulu named Kapo‘i at Kūpalaha Heiau for consecrating a heiau called Manu‘a on a day that the mō‘ī had made kapu (restricted, taboo). Kakuhihewa's warriors were then attacked by owls from Moloka‘i, Lana‘i, Maui, Hawai‘i, O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, and Ni‘ihau at the order of Kapo‘i's ‘aumakua (deified ancestor), which was a pueo (owl). The owls defeated Kakuhihewa's warriors in the mo‘olelo known as the "Battle of

the Owls.” Kakuhihewa acknowledged that Kapo‘i’s akua (god) was a powerful one and from that time, the owl has been recognized as one of the many deities venerated by the Hawaiian people (Kamakau 1964:23; Thrum 1905:200–202). This failed attempt to sacrifice Kapo‘i at Kūpalaha Heiau may indicate that this heiau was of po‘okanaka class.

3.4.2.5 Burials and Human Sacrifices

Four heiau in Waikīkī, of po‘okanaka class, were associated with human sacrifice, including Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, Kapua Heiau, Helumoa Heiau (Thrum 1907a:44), and Kūpalaha Heiau (Thrum 1905:200–202) (see Section 3.4.2.4, Heiau). In addition, sacrificial drownings of kauwā, an outcast caste, took place at several sites on O‘ahu, including Kawailumaluma‘i, Kewalo, Kualoa, and Waikīkī. Mo‘olelo indicate the sea of Waikīkī was used for such drowning (*Ka Loea Kālai‘āina* 1899, translation in Sterling and Summers 1978:33). According to James Macrae, a member of his party discovered numerous skulls at the base of the steep makai cliffs of Lē‘ahi in 1825, which he later learned was a place of execution of criminals (Macrae 1922:33–34, cited in McAllister 1933:77–78). In Waikīkī, a row of rocks called **Pae-ki‘i** marks a site where, according to Mary Pukui, strangers suspected of initiating war or searching for human sacrifices were drowned, a type of death called kai he‘e kai (Beckwith 1970:89).

Previous archaeological excavations and surveys have indicated a relatively high density of burials within the Jaucas sand deposits of Waikīkī (see Figure 7, Table 3 for locations and descriptions). The preferred locations for interment of the dead within these deposits were lands slightly elevated above the water table, which includes the Project area. Areas of very high density of burials include the present Outrigger Canoe Club (96 burials, Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998), Kālia Road in Fort DeRussy (45 burials, Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b), near the intersection of Kalākaua Avenue and Kealohilani Avenue (44 burials, Winieski et al. 2002), and the Moana Hotel (24 burials, SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991). The burials at the Moana Hotel, in close proximity to the Project area, are associated with a cultural layer (charcoal, pits, postholes, and artifacts) that were radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1334–1955 (Simons et al. 1991). In addition, one isolated human skeletal fragment consisting of a tarsal phalange was uncovered on the makai side of the Diamond Head Tower of the Moana Hotel (no SIHP site designation, Thurman et al. 2009).

Smaller concentrations of burials (e.g., two to ten individuals) and individual burials have also been uncovered throughout much of Waikīkī. Of particular significance to the proposed Project are human remains representing one individual buried with a funerary object (shell) that were uncovered in 1967 by Lloyd J. Soehren during construction of the “Tahiti By Six” bar, located within the International Market Place (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum [BPBM] Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum Native American Graves Protection and Repatration Act [NAGPRA] Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998). In addition, the following burials have been uncovered along or near Kalākaua Avenue in close proximity to the Project area (within 400 feet): SIHP 50-80-14-5856-A and SIHP 50-80-14-5856-B, which was found in a flexed position indicative of traditional Hawaiian burial practices (Winiewski et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-5856-C, SIHP 50-80-14-5864-C, 50-80-14-5860-U and –V, which were part of a concentration of burials (Bush et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-3745 (Griffin 1987); SIHP 50-80-14-6703 (two burials), which were associated with wetland agricultural soils that radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1400–1460 (O’Leary et al. 2005); and SIHP 50-80-14-5863 (two burials) (Winieski et al. 2001). Also, a burial at the

Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel was uncovered in an extended position with historic-era funerary objects (glass beads) (SIHP 50-80-14-7067, Runyon et al. 2010), and disarticulated human skeletal elements were uncovered within the former Kawaiaha‘o Waikīkī Branch Church and Cemetery (SIHP 50-80-14-7065, Runyon et al. 2010).

3.4.2.6 Ala Hele

John Papa ‘Ī‘ī described the “Honolulu trails of about 1810” (‘Ī‘ī 1959:89), including the coastal trail from Honolulu to Waikīkī, which traversed just makai of the Project area (Figure 11):

> 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 Helumoa of Puaaliilii, down to the mouth of the Apuakehau stream; along the sandy beach of Ulukou to Kapuni, where the surfs roll in; thence to the stream of Kuekaunahi; to Waiaula and to Paliik…
>
> From Paliiki the trail ran up to Kalahu, above Leahi, and on to the place where the Waialae stream reached the sand. The trail that ran through Kaluahole went to Kaalawai, up over, and down into Kahala, to meet the other trail at the place where the stream reached the sand…(‘Ī‘ī 1959:92–94)

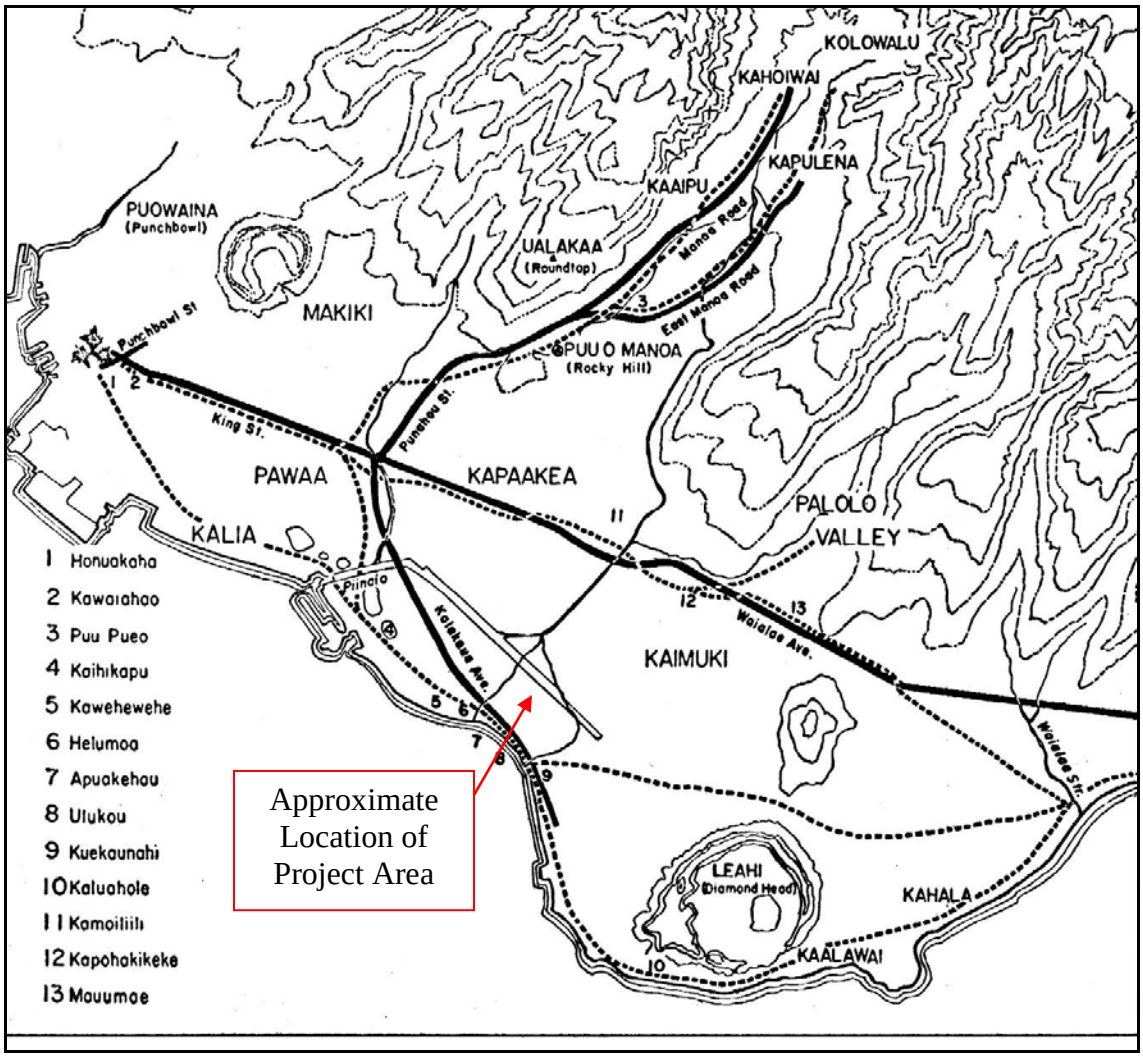

Figure 11. Trails on the southwest coast of O‘ahu ca. 1810 (Sketch by Gerald Ober; reprinted in ‘Ī‘ī 1959:93; not to scale), showing locations of some place names in Waikīkī; note, the coastal trail traverses near the approximate location of the current Project area

3.4.3 Mo‘olelo

In close proximity to the Project area are three wahi pana—the stream of ‘Āpuakēhau, Helumoa (or ‘Āpuakēhau) Heiau, and Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni, commonly referred to as the Wizard Stones—with associated mo‘olelo.

3.4.3.1 ‘Āpuakēhau and Ka-lua-‘Ōlohe

‘Āpuakēhau is mentioned in a mo‘olelo as the home of the cruel chief ‘Ōlohe, a master of lua wrestling. The defeat of this chief led to the naming of the area now covered by Kapi‘olani Park as Ka-lua-‘Ōlohe, or “the *lua* fighting of ‘Ōlohe” (Pukui et al. 1974:79):

> Loheloa came from Waipio on a huge log. He came first to Makapuu and then to Keauau Point, now called Leahi. He saw a strange glow like a ball of fire there. He asked for the chief Olohe and was told that the light was his.
>
> He saw some fishermen who told him to go away for he was scaring the fish. He called to Ku and Hina to bring them a school of fish which they did. The natives were grateful. He lifted his huge canoe and rested one end at Haula and the other at Namahana, against the hill. He told the people that he wanted to wrestle with their chief Olohe, a dogman who lived at Apuakehau, Waikiki. A messenger came to tell the chief who accepted the challenge. In the meantime the men were busy catching fish brought to them by Loheloa. A messenger was sent to bring Loheloa to the chief and Loheloa suggested that they wrestle in the open where they can be seen. He would bet his bones and his canoe on himself.
>
> Olohe and Loheloa fought on the field now known as Kapiolani Park. Olohe punched and raised a gale that flattened the ilima bushes. Loheloa slapped his ear hard enough to throw him in the air. The place he fell is called Kalua-Olohe (Olohe’s pit) to this day. Loheloa won and the people shouted with joy over the defeat and death of their cruel chief. (Hainakolo, *Hawaii Holomua*, July 21, 1912, Oahu Place Names, cited in Sterling and Summers 1978:279)

3.4.3.2 Helumoa ‘Ili, ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, and Ka‘opulupulu

Thrum (1998:203–214) recounts the mo‘olelo of the kahuna nui (highest priest) of O‘ahu, Ka‘opulupulu, who lived in Waimea, O‘ahu. He had a son named Kahulupu‘e, who he taught all the traditions and rituals of the priestly caste. At this time, the ruler (ali‘i aimoku) of O‘ahu was Kumuhana, a cruel chief who terrorized his people and would not listen to the counsel of his priest, Kahulupu‘e. Kumuhana was finally driven off the island by the people and the lesser chiefs. When Kahekili, the king of Maui, heard this news, he sent his foster son, Kahāhana (brother of Kumuhana), to rule O‘ahu in Kumuhana’s place (ca. 1773). Kahāhana chose a grove of coconut and kou trees, called Ulukou, located on the Waikīkī coast as his place of residence, and many ali‘i gathered in that place around him. One day, Kahāhana sent a messenger to Ka‘opulupulu to attend him at Ulukou, who traveled from his home in Waimea and was greeted by the retainers of the king when he reached the mouth of the stream ‘Āpuakēhau. At first Kahāhana valued the wisdom of the priest, but after several years, Kahahana began to be as cruel to the people as his predecessor, Kumuhana. In protest, the priest Ka‘opulupulu left Waikīkī to return to his home in Waimea, where he tattooed his knees, a sign that Kahāhana had turned a deaf ear to his advice. This angered the king, who sent messengers to order Ka‘opulupulu and his son, Kahulupu‘e, to come to Wai‘anae, where Kahāhana then resided.

At Wai‘anae, Ka‘opulupulu and his son were placed into a special grass hut, one tied to the end post and one tied to the corner post. The next day, Kahāhana ordered his men to torture the son, stabbing his eyes and stoning him while his father watched. When Ka‘opulupulu saw this, he commanded his son to flee into the sea, saying these words, which contained a prophecy:

E nui ke aho, e ku‘u keiki,	Take a deep breath, my son, and
a moe i ke kai, no ke kai la	lay yourself in the sea, for then
ho‘i ka ‘āina.	the land shall belong to the sea. (Pukui 1983:44)

Ka‘opulupulu was taken by the soldiers to Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor), at ‘Ewa, and slain before the king. His body was put into a canoe and taken to Waikīkī, where it was placed high in the coconut trees at Kukaeunahi (at the heiau of Helumoa, or ‘Āpuakēhau), so that the flesh would decompose and fall to the sand (Thrum 1998:214). According to one mo‘olelo, the meaning of Helumoa, “chicken scratch,” refers to chickens scratching to find the maggots that fell from victims placed in the trees who were human sacrifices at the heiau of ‘Āpuakēhau (Pukui et al. 1974:44). When the king of Maui, Kahekili, heard this news he grieved for Ka‘opulupulu and turned against his foster son. With his warriors, he set out over the sea for Waikīkī to take back the rulership of O‘ahu under his own authority. This fulfilled the prophecy of Ka‘opulupulu. According to S.M. Kamakau and David Malo, this saying was also in keeping with a prophecy by Kekiopilo presaging the arrival of the islands by foreigners, which would lead to “the foreigners possess[ing] the land” (Thrum 1998:214).

The sand of Helumoa was known as Ke one ‘ai ali‘i o Kakuhihewa (The Chief Devouring Sand of Kakuhihewa) because of the curse placed by the prophet Ka‘opulupulu. When Ka‘opulupulu was brought with his son, Kahulupu‘e, to be executed at Waikīkī, he cursed the place where his body-grease (hinu) would drip upon the sand, as well as the chiefs and the people (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:5). This curse continued to have an effect for the descendants of Kamehameha. Kamehameha II died in England. From the warning of this curse by the kahuna, Luau-nui-a-lepokapo, after the death of Kamehamea II, Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) transferred the seat of the government from O‘ahu to Lahaina in 1938. He later reconsidered moving back to O‘ahu against the counsel of his kahuna:

> “O chief! This land of Oahu of Lua is made bitter by the fat of the man of god and his words lie like a squirming maggot for Kakuhihewa. If you listen to those who ask that the government be taken back to Oahu, it will become a maggot which will consume your race.” (Green and Pukui 1936:123)

However, Kauikeaouli ignored the advice, and the prophecy was fulfilled with the smallpox epidemic of 1852–1853 (Thrum 1998:214).

3.4.3.3 Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni

Richard Paglinawan summarizes the history of Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni, or the Life-giving Stones of Kapaemahu and Kapuni, commonly referred to as the Wizard Stones (Paglinawan 1997). According to Mr. Paglinawan’s summary of various mo‘olelo, four healers gifted in medicinal practices once came from Kahiki [the ancestral homeland of the Hawaiians], most likely the sacred land of Raiatea. While some sources claim that they were homosexuals, Tutu Mary Kawena Pukui asserts that they were gender neutral. The wizards included Kapaemahu, who, due to his neutral gender, could examine and heal both men and women, Kahoe, a diagnostician who could determine illness just by visual assessment, Kahaloa, who was able to breathe life into ill patients, and Kapuni, who could envelope his patients with is mana to overcome their illness (Paglinawan 1997).

When the four healers returned to Kahiki, they had stones placed to commemorate their existence. They were most likely quarried from a site in Kaimukī near the present-day intersection of Wai‘alae Avenue and 5th Avenue, and then transported to Waikīkī. The coastal and inland region of Waikīkī was dominated by lo‘i, which would have made the movement of

these pōhaku difficult, but, according to Dr. George S. Kanahele, the stones may have been moved on a 12-foot wide causeway that extended between Mānoa and Waikīkī., which was observed by George Vancouver in 1792 (Paglinawan 1997).

Two of the commemorative stones were placed at the healers' residences, and two were placed in their bathing place in the sea. The Honorable A.S. Cleghorn unearthed an eight-ton stone at his residence close to the Moana Hotel in 1905. Another stone weighing ten tons was uncovered by Mr. Lutted, and two more were excavated in a straight line with the others. Underneath the ten-ton stone Mr. Cleghorn uncovered a female jaw bone and some crude images, which he later cemented onto the stone. In 1941, the Waikiki Bowling Alley was constructed with the stones serving as part of the foundation, but were then uncovered in 1958 when the building was razed. In 1963 the stones were located together on the beach, and in 1980 they were relocated to their present site near the police substation. The location of Mr. Cleghorn's cement casings indicated that the stones had been positioned incorrectly; however, a decision was reached to leave them as they had been placed (Paglinawan 1997).

3.4.4 The Māhele

To try to maintain sovereignty of the land, the Mōī (King) Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) in 1846–1848 supervised the Māhele—the division of Hawaiian lands—that transformed the land system in Hawai‘i from collective to private ownership. Modeled after Western concepts, certain lands to be reserved for himself and the royal house were known as Crown Lands, lands claimed by ali‘i and their konohiki were called Konohiki Lands, and lands set aside to generate revenue for the government were known as Government Lands. In 1850, these three categories of land were subject to the rights of the maka‘āinana and other tenants (naturalized foreigners, non-Hawaiians born in the islands, or long-term resident foreigners), who could make claims for their habitation and agricultural plots, known as kuleana (Native land rights) parcels (Chinen 1958:8–15).

Under the Kuleana Act of 1850, the maka‘āinana were required to file their claims with the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (Land Commission) within a specified time period in order to apply for fee-simple title to their lands. The claim could only be filed after the claimant arranged and paid for a survey, and two witnesses testified that they knew the claimant and the boundaries of the land, knew that the claimant had lived on the land since 1939, and knew that no one had challenged the claim. Then, the maka‘āinana could present their claims to the Land Commission to receive their Land Commission Award (LCA) (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992).

Not everyone who was eligible to apply for kuleana lands did so and not all of those claims were awarded. Some claimants failed to follow through and come before the Land Commission, some did not produce two witnesses, and some did not get their land surveyed. In addition, some maka‘āinana may have been reluctant to claim ‘āina that had been traditionally controlled by their ali‘i, some may have not been familiar with the concept of private land ownership, and some may have not known about the Māhele, the process of making claims (which required a survey) or the strict deadline for making claims. Further, the Land Commission was comprised largely of foreign missionaries, so the small number of claimants and awards may reflect only those maka‘āinana who were in good standing with the church. Significantly, the surveying of the land was not standardized (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:296–297).

A total of 14,195 claims were filed and 8,421 awards were approved to about 29 percent of the 29,220 adult Native Hawaiian males living at the time of the Māhele, averaging three acres each (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:295). Out of the potential 2,500,000 acres of Crown and Government lands, 28,658 acres of land were awarded to the maka‘āinana, less than one percent of the total acreage of Hawai‘i (Kame‘eleihiwa 1993:295). The small number of kuleana awards and their small size prevented the maka‘āinana from maintaining their independent subsistence, often forcing them to abandon their newly acquired property (Chinen 1958:32).

Although many Hawaiians did not submit or follow through on claims for their lands, the distribution and written testimonies of LCAs can provide insight into patterns of residence and agriculture. Many of these patterns probably had existed for centuries. By examining the patterns of kuleana LCA parcels in the vicinity of the Project area, insight can be gained to the likely intensity and nature of Hawaiian activity in the area at the time.

In 1848, the Crown, the Hawaiian government, and the ali‘i received their land titles. William Lunalilo—the future Kamehameha VI was granted the ‘ili of Kaluaokau, including the present Project area, as part of the konohiki award, LCA 8559, ‘Āpana (Lot) 31 (Waihona ‘Aina 2000). Since the ali‘i and konohiki were not required to record the use of their large land awards, the surrounding smaller kuleana awards of the maka‘āinana can be used to understand the land use of this area of Waikīkī.

The maka‘āinana received their kuleana awards (individual land parcels) in 1850 and thereafter. Eleven kuleana parcels are located in or near the vicinity of the Project area. These are depicted graphically and represented in table format (Figure 12, Table 4). The claims reveal that Hawaiian households had multiple ‘āpana in different geographical locations, involving lo‘i irrigated by ‘auwai from streams and muliwai (lagoons or stream mouths), fishponds and ponds, kula (plain, field) lands for pasture and dry-land cultivation of sweet potato and gourds, and access to such resources as coconut, hau (hibiscus), hala (pandanus), and bulrush (Waihona ‘Aina 2000). Overall, the LCA documentation indicates a wide range of indigenous Hawaiian subsistence activities being practiced in the vicinity of the Project area in Waikīkī.

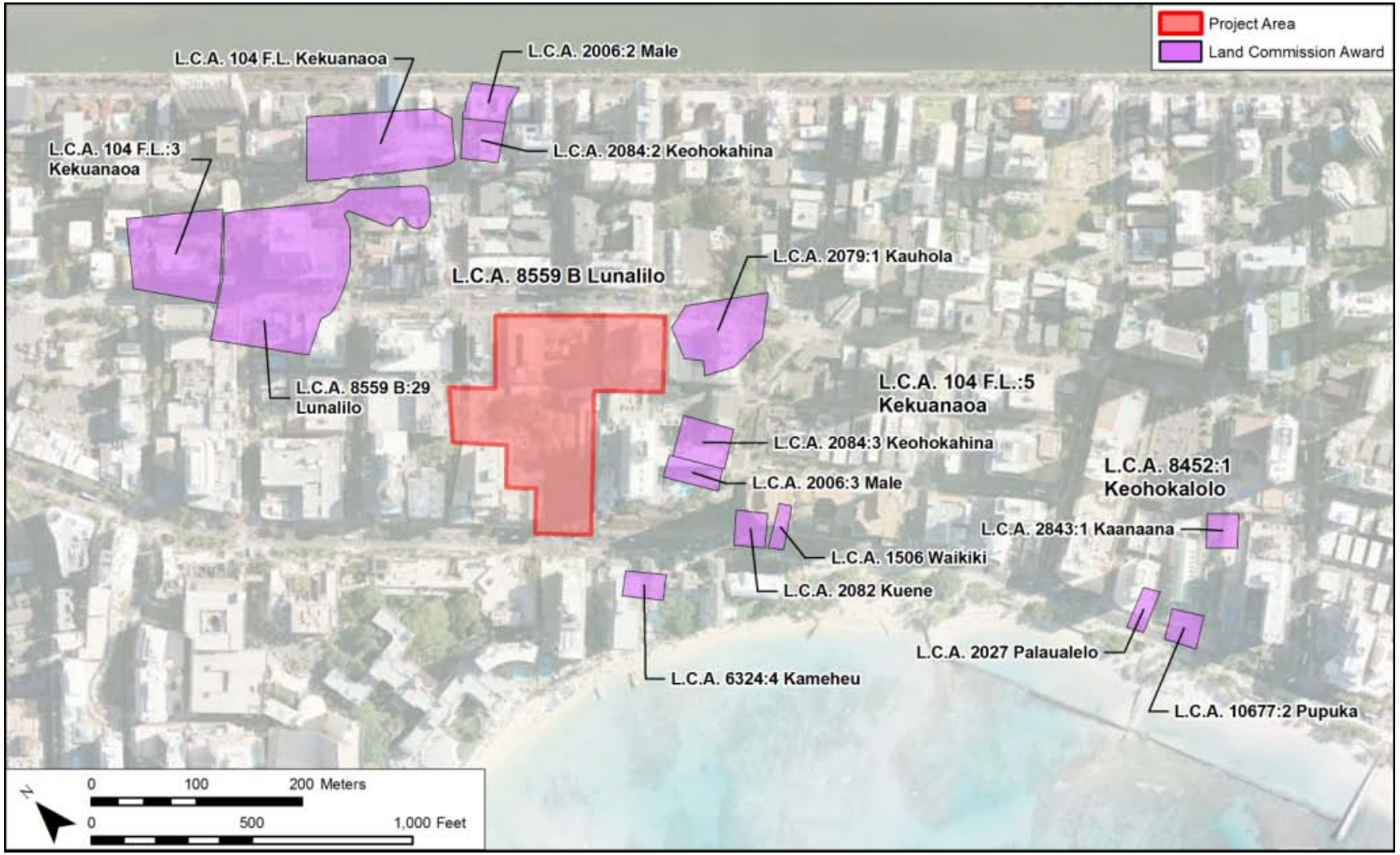

Figure 12. Kuleana LCAs in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) in the vicinity of the Project area (note that LCA 8559, LCA 104 FL:5, and LCA 8452:1 are not drawn, since their boundaries on the Bishop 1881 map are not clear, see Figure 14)

Table 4. Kuleana LCAs in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) in the vicinity of the Project area

LCA	Claimant	‘Ili	Acres	Description
104-FL	Kekuanaoa	Kālia, Kapuni, Uluniu, Piinaoi	112.9	Two lo‘i and five fishponds in Kālia, one muliwai in Piinaoi, a houselot in a coconut grove
1506	Waikiki	Ulukou	16.0	One row of taro, one kula, and one houselot
2006	Male	Kalokoeli	27.0	Five lo‘i by two ‘auwai, a pool for fish fry in the stream, a house lot with coconut trees
2027	Palaualelo	Mo‘okahi, Hamohamo	0.55	Three taro lo‘i, four bulrush lo‘i by two ‘auwai; one houselot, one hau tree
2079	Kauhola, wahine	Kiki, Mo‘okahi, Kawalaala	7.25	13 taro lo‘i, one ‘auwai, two kula lands, a pond for fish fry, hala trees, a house lot
2082	Kuene	Mo‘okahi	0.9	Four lo‘i at an ‘auwai, one houselot with two houses, four coconut trees
2084	Keohoka-hina	Kalokoeli, Uluko	0.53	Two lo‘i near ‘auwai, one houselot
2843	Kaanaana	Hamohamo	0.73	One lo‘i, one houselot
6324	Kameheu	‘Au‘aukai	0.72	Three lo‘i one kula planted in sweet potato and gourds
8452	Keohok-alolo	Hamohamo	101.92	Seven lo‘i
10677	Pupuka	Mo‘okahi, Hamohamo	0.43	Three lo‘i, three ‘auwai

3.5 Kaluaokau ‘Ili

The International Market Place is located within the ‘ili of Kaluaokau (Figure 14). The following wahi pana were located within or in close proximity to Kaluaokau ‘Ili: ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, which flowed through the southeastern corner of Kaluaokau ‘Ili (see Section 3.4.2.1, Place Names); ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, which was once located makai of Kaluaokau ‘Ili (see Section 3.4.2.4, Heiau); and a coastal trail that once extended along the southern coast just makai of Kaluaokau ‘Ili (see Section 3.4.2.6, Ala Hele).

Archaeological surveys and excavations conducted for cultural resource management work indicate numerous trash pits with artifacts dating to, or indicative of, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as bottles, ceramics, porcelain, glass, soda bottles. These and other historic-era sites throughout Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) are depicted graphically and in table format (Figure 13, Table 5). In the vicinity of Kaluaokau ‘Ili and the Project area are at the Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-7069, Winieski et al. 2002) and three trash pits just east of the Project area (Bush et al. 2002). Other historic-era sites in Kaluaokau ‘Ili in the vicinity of the Project area include the Moana Surfrider Hotel, which was placed on the Hawai‘i Register of Historic Places (1971) and the National Register of Historic Places (1972) (SIHP 50-80-14-9901), and the former Kawaiaha‘o Church and Cemetery, Waikīkī Branch, in which excavations encountered isolated and disarticulated human skeletal elements after the burials had been removed in 1916 (SIHP 50-80-14-7065, Runyon et al. 2010).

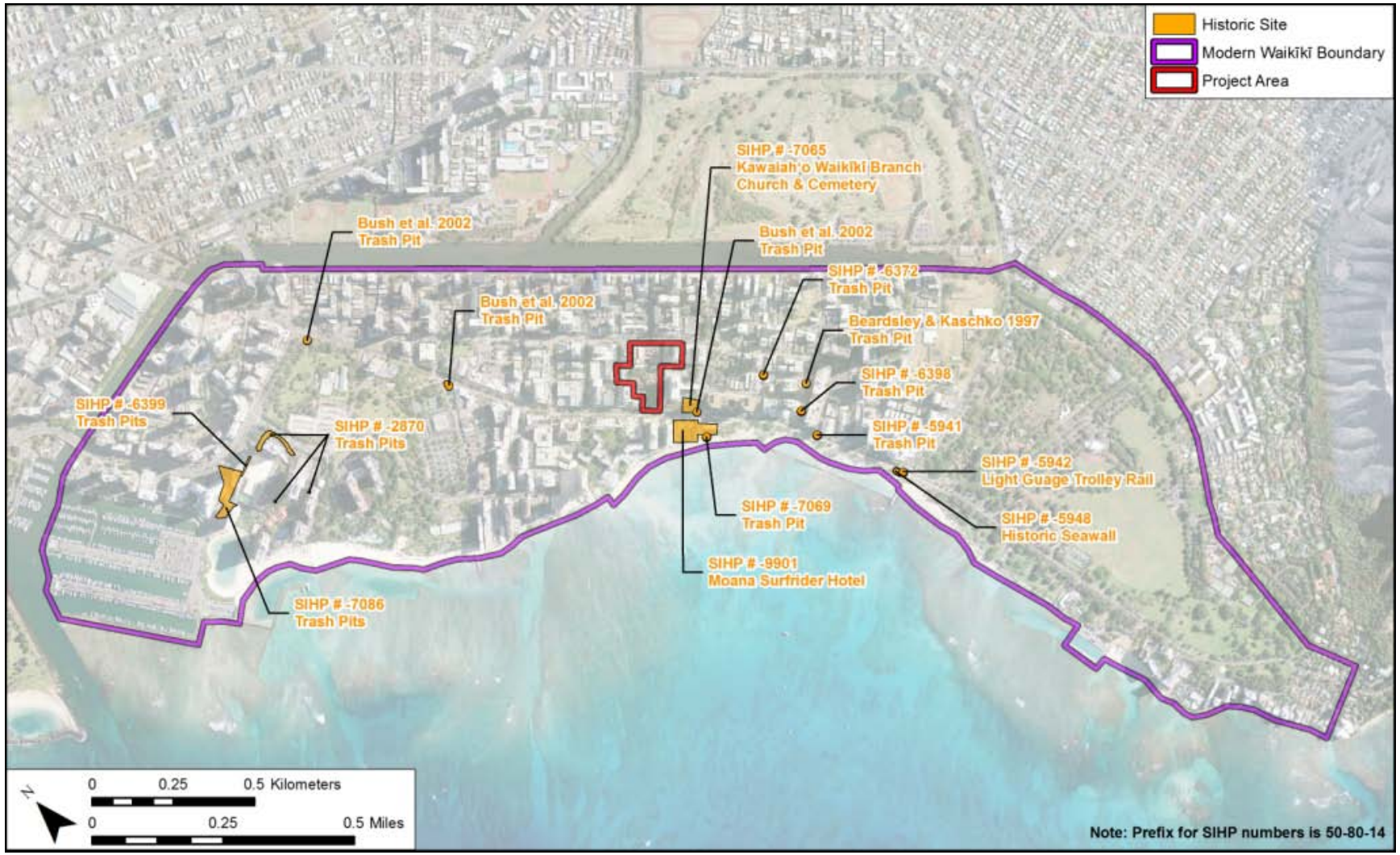

Figure 13. Historic sites in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) (base map, Google Earth 2008)

Table 5. Historic sites in Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai)

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Kawaiaha‘o Waikīkī Branch Church and Cemetery	Former Kawaiaha‘o Church and Cemetery, Waikīkī Branch (burials were removed in 1916), excavations encountered isolated and disarticulated human skeletal elements	SIHP 50-80-14-7065	Runyon et al. 2010
Light Gauge Trolly Rail	Remnant of Honolulu Rapid Transit Tramway (light rail gauge)	SIHP 50-80-14-5942	Winieski et al. 2002
Moana Hotel	Placed on the Hawai‘i Register of Historic Places (1971) and the National Register of Historic Places (1972)	SIHP 50-80-14-9901	
Seawall	Historic seawall constructed around 1900 near the intersection of Kapahulu and Kalākaua Avenues	SIHP 50-80-14-5948	Winieski et al. 2001
Trash Pit	Historic trash pit (bottles, ceramics) uncovered during archaeological monitoring, possibly associated with Queen Kapi‘olani house that was located nearby	(none)	Beardsley and Kaschko 1997
Trash Pits	Two historic trash pits uncovered during archaeological monitoring; SIHP 50-80-14-6372 (porcelain, glass, animal bone fragments) most likely dates to the early 1900s to post 1950s, and SIHP 50-80-14-6398 (mostly soda bottles) most likely dates from the late 1800s to the mid 1950s	SIHP 50-80-14-6372; -6398	Mann and Hammatt 2002
Trash Pits	Historic trash feature complex, consisting of architectural demolition and burn layers, bottle dumps, a partial pig skeleton buried in clean beach sand, stone structure remnants, pits and trenches, trash layers, trash pits, trash and burn layers, predominantly East Asian ceramic assemblages, in the Hilton Hawaiian Village	SIHP 50-80-14-7086	Monney et al. 2009
Trash Pits	Historic refuse pits with artifacts (glass bottles, glass fragments, ceramic fragments, butchered cow bones	SIHP 50-80-14-6399	Putzi and Cleghorn 2002
Trash Pits	12 historic refuse pits with numerous artifacts associated with land use after 1881, at the Hilton Hawaiian Village	SIHP 50-80-14-2870	Rosendahl 1992

Site	Site Description	Site Number	Source
Trash Pit	Historic trash pit (glass bottles and ceramics), dated to the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, at the Moana Hotel	SIHP 50-80-14-7069	Thurman et al. 2009
Trash Pit	Historic trash pit (metal, glass, ceramic, stoneware, and porcelain fragments) uncovered during archaeological monitoring	SIHP 50-80-14-5941	Winieski et al. 2002
Trash Pits	Three historic trash pits (ceramic, metal, tile, and glass fragments) uncovered during archaeological monitoring	(none)	Bush et al. 2002

3.5.1 Meaning of Kaluaokau

As introduced in Section 3.4.2.1, Place Names, there are several possible meanings of Kaluaokau depending on pronunciation and combination of root words. Henry Kekahuna, a Hawaiian ethnologist, pronounced Kaluaokau as ka-lu‘a-o-ka‘u, which Thrum (1922:641) translated as “the grave of Ka‘u” (lu‘a means “heap, pile or grave”). Edith Kawelohea McKinzie (2005), drawing from the Hawaiian dictionaries by Pukui and Elbert (1986) and Andrews (1974), provides several other translations of Kaluaokau that suggest a place deeply connected to the mana of the Waikīkī ali‘i as indicated by intepretations of human sacrifice.

The term Kaluaokau can be divided as ka-lua-o-Kau, which literally translates as ka (the) lua (pit) o (of) Kau (a personal name), or “the pit of Kau” (McKinzie 2005:24). While others have similarly defined Kaluaokau without additional interpretation (e.g., Feesing 2006:90), McKinzie suggests that Kaluaokau may be an epithet that commemorates the burning sacrifice of Kauhi-a-Kama at ‘Āpuakehau Heiau (2005:25–26). McKinzie elaborates that sacrifices were offered in a variety of ways, including the burning or baking of a person in an underground oven, a process called kālua, which is similar in phrasing to ka-lua (the pit). Since Kau may be a shortened name of Kauhi-a-Kama, the place name Kaluaokau may refer to “the pit of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Ka-lua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama), or, with a with the inclusion of a kahakō, Kāluaokau may refer to the “baking of Kauhi-a-Kama” (Kālua-o-Kauhi-a-Kama) (McKinzie 2005:25–26; note that McKinzie does not make use the kahakō in his text, which is added here).

Alternately, Kaluaokau may be connected to human sacrifice through other meanings of the terms lua and kau (McKinzie 2005:27–28). Lua can refer to a type of dangerous hand-to-hand combat in which the fighters typically broke bones, dislocated bones at the joints, and inflicted severe pain by pressing on nerve centers, and kau can also mean to hang or crucify a criminal. Kaluaokau can thus be translated as “strike lua of kau [hanging]” (ka-lua-o-kau), which may refer to a strike or blow (ka) of a certain (o) fighting stroke (lua) similar to hanging (kau) (McKinzie 2005:27), i.e., a “lua fighting stroke of kau [hanging]” (Paglinawan 2008:8). McKinzie elaborates that “noosing” was a particular technique of lua fighting used for execution. To procure victims for sacrifice or to execute those who had broken kapu laws, mū (public executioners) utilized basic cordage or a special strangling cord (ka‘ane) consisting of a short handle and a cord loop to “noose” or strangle people to death in a manner similar to hanging (McKinzie 2005:27–28).

3.5.2 Royal Residence

The Waikīkī ali‘i Kalamakua-a-Kapuholua, who is credited with constructing the pond fields and lo‘i in Waikīkī, and his surf riding wife from Maui, Kelea-nui-noho-‘ana-‘api, raised their daughter, La‘ie-lohelohe, within the bounds of Kaluaokau ‘Ili. La‘ie-lohelohe was betrothed to a Maui chief and later gave birth to Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani, the great Maui leader. Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani was born at ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, once located on the beach near Kaluaokau in the ‘ili of Helumoa (Kamakau 1991:49).

The ‘ili of Helumoa was the site of Kamehameha I’s residence in Waikīkī following his conquest of O‘ahu. Mid-nineteenth century Māhele documents confirm the significance of this portion of Waikīkī, including Helumoa, Kaluaokau, and adjacent ‘ili, in the lives of the Hawaiian ali‘i. The ‘ili of Kaluaokau was purchased sometime in the mid-nineteenth century by Henry

Macfarlane, an entrepreneur from New Zealand who had settled on O‘ahu. It was Macfarlane and his wife who planted the banyan tree currently growing in the center of the International Market Place. They lived on this property for a while, eventually raising six children, some of who became financiers for sugar plantations and for the early tourist industry in Waikīkī (Hibbard and Franzen 1986: 66–67).

At the Māhele, the ‘ili of Kaluaokau was granted to William Lunalilo (LCA 8599, ‘Āpana 31), who was democratically elected in 1873, defeating Kālakaua (see Section 3.4.4, Māhele). Following Lunalilo’s death in 1874, his Kaluaokau home and land were bequeathed to Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho), who had died in 1863. Queen Emma is known to have resided occasionally on the Waikīkī property before her death in 1885. An old photograph taken sometime during her residence (1874-1885) shows the simple beach cottage (Figure 15). An 1880 photograph shows the makai portion of the estate, the portion from Beach Road to the coast, with a long wall adjacent to ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (Figure 16). Queen Emma had Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau on the slopes of Diamond Head dismantled, and she used the rocks to build a fence to surround her Waikīkī estate (Kanahele 1995:136).

In 1878, Queen Emma sued the Lunalilo Trust, as she believed her bequest from Lunalilo should have included the entire 29-acre Kaluaokau parcel, not just the four acres of land immediately around the house lot. From this suit, a little information on the land is presented. The testimony states that the land was referred to as the “Marine Residence” by King Lunalilo and it consisted of a residence, a detached cottage, and outbuildings, surrounded by a fence to keep out straying animals. Queen Emma wanted the entire parcel, including access to the water (Āpuakēhau Stream) and the taro growing on the property. The suit mentions that the first structure on the property was a simple grass hut. Queen Emma won her suit, as the court determined that the term “Marine Residence” used in Lunalilo’s will, although ambiguous, probably referred to the entire Kaluaokau (spelled Kaluakau in the testimony) parcel (Hawaiian Reports 1883:82–88). A 1915 Land Court Application map shows the extent of this estate, including a small section that extends makai to the sea, and includes several small outbuildings (“lanai”) and a canoe shed (Figure 17). In the 1885 will of Queen Emma, her lands were put in trust with the proceeds to benefit the Queen’s Hospital in Honolulu, which Queen Emma, along with her husband, Kamehameha IV, had helped to found (Kanahele 1995).

An 1875–1877 “working map,” by C. J. Lyons of the surveyor’s triangulation points for Waikīkī (Figure 18) shows the position of the Kamehameha V cottage at Helumoa ‘Ili and the position of the Lunalilo cottage in Kaluaokau ‘Ili, adjacent to ‘Āpuakēhau Stream. This working map was later used to create several finished maps of the ‘ili within Waikīkī, but on those maps the locations of the two cottages were not marked. The location of King Lunalilo’s cottage appears to be just outside the Project area to the southwest. This accords well with a description of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in a 1930 tour guide, which states; “Near where the tennis-courts are now used to be the home of King Lunalilo” (Griffis 1930:61).

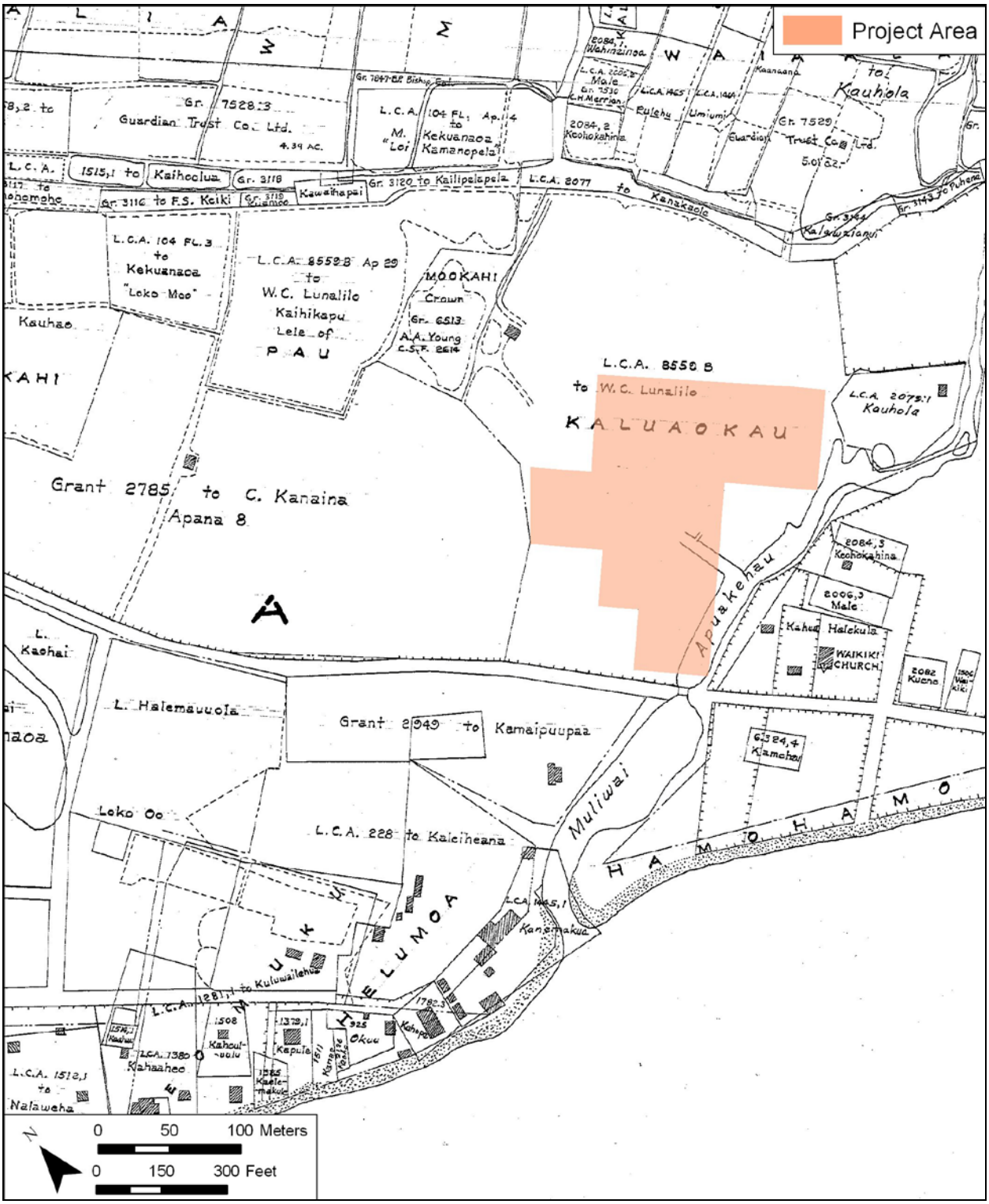

Figure 14. 1881 map of Waikīkī by S.E. Bishop showing location of Kaluaokau ‘Ili and ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (Bishop 1881)

Figure 15. Photograph (taken between 1874 and 1885) of the Waikīkī cottage at Kaluaokau, owned by King Lunalilo and bequeathed to Queen Emma (Bishop Museum Archives; reprinted in Grant 1996:22–23)

Figure 16. 1880 photograph of the makai portion of the King Lunalilo and Queen Emma estate at Kaluaokau, view from the Beach Road and Kalākaua Avenue (on right) towards the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (Hawai‘i State Archives, reprinted in Kapono 2009:19)

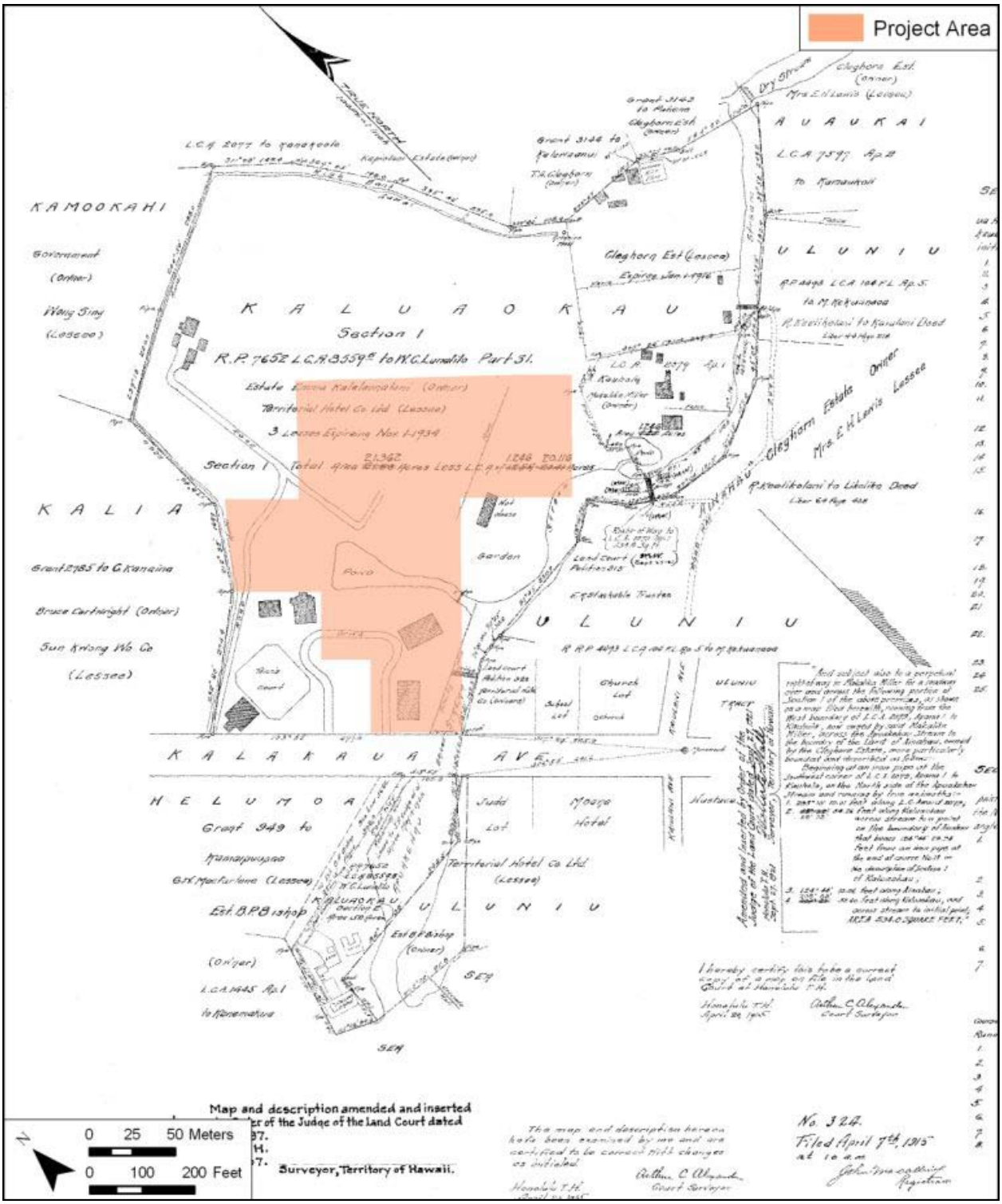

Figure 17. 1915 map of Kaluaokau showing the extent of the land bequeathed by King Lunalilo to Queen Emma in relation to the Project area (Hawai‘i Land Survey Division, Land Court Application Map)

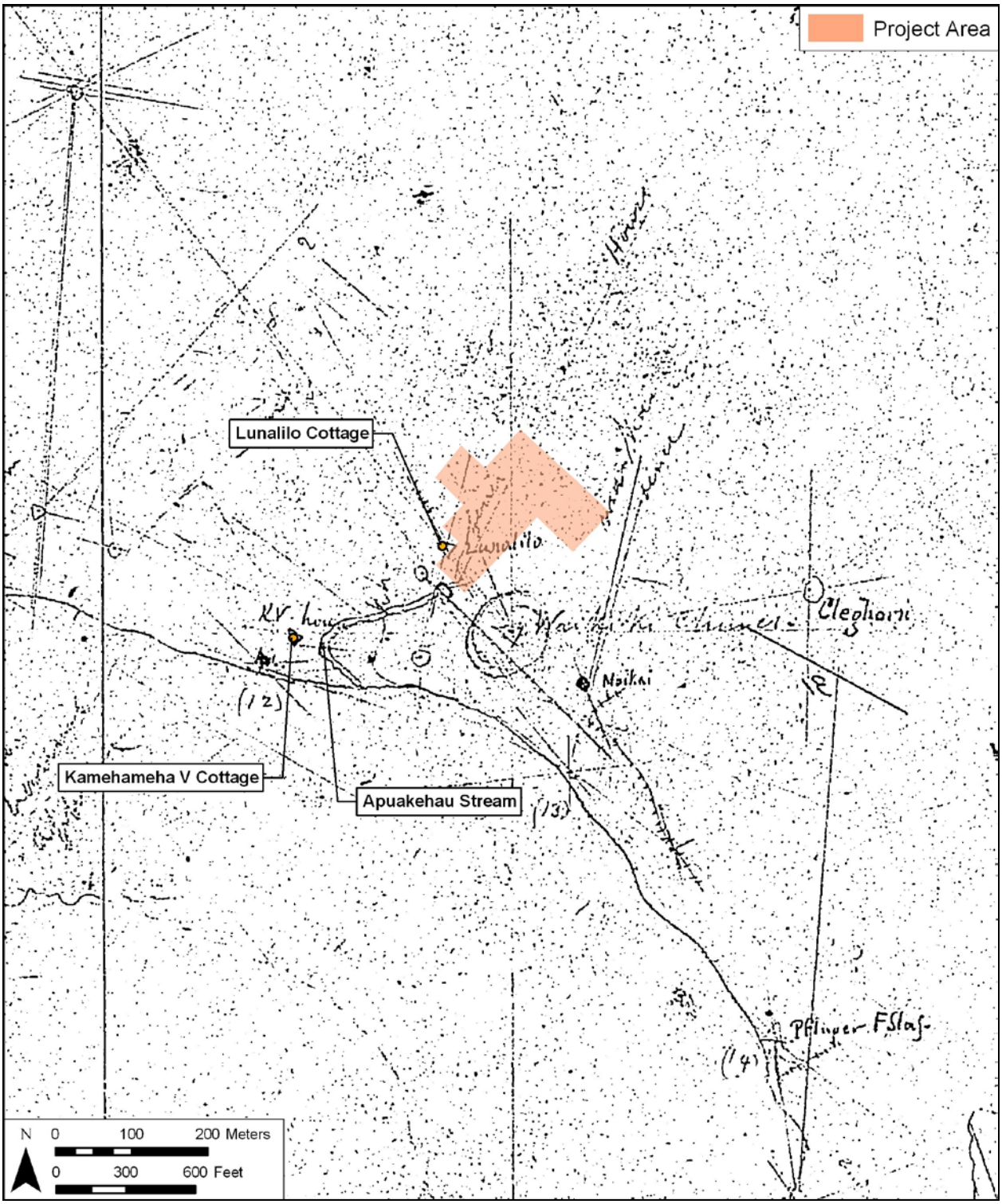

Figure 18. 1875–1877 working map of Waikīkī triangulation points, by C. J. Lyons, depicting the locations of the Kamehameha V cottage at Helumoa and the Lunalilo Cottage at Kaluaokau, in relation to the ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (Lyons 1875–1877)

3.5.3 Residential Development and Tourism

An 1893 map by W.A. Wall (Figure 19) shows the Project area in an uncultivated area surrounded by swampland, probably still used to grow taro, with rice fields mauka of the Project area. Although no houses are shown in the Project area on this map, this does not mean that there was not a cottage on the property. Early surveyors only mapped what they considered substantial "permanent" structures, but did not map grass houses or "beach cottages." An 1897 map by M. D. Monsarrat (Figure 20) shows that the present Project area mauka of the Beach Road (the future Kalākaua Avenue), with ‘Āpuakēhau Stream coursing through the southeastern section. This 1897 map shows one large house, perpendicular to the orientation of the stream, south of an inlet, labeled "Queen Emma." This label probably refers to the property, owned by the Queen Emma trust, as the map post-dates Queen Emma's death in 1885. Whether this structure was a building that dates to the time of Queen Emma's residence is unknown. It does not seem to be in the same area as the Lunalilo cottage.

In the late nineteenth century, the Waikīkī beach area in Ulukou and Kahaloa was dotted with small cottages and some bathing houses. These "bathing houses," placed strategically near the beach, were places where people could change into their bathing suits, rent towels, and walk directly into the ocean. One of the first of these bathhouses was the "Long Branch Baths," named after a popular New Jersey resort. This long wooden shed was built near the edge of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream by James Dodd in 1881 at the former residence of Kākuhihewa (Scott 1968).

W.C. Peacock, a wealthy Honolulu landowner, had a seaside cottage in Waikīkī east of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream. He tore down his cottage and built the Moana Hotel, which opened March 11, 1901. The first hotel building had 75 rooms, each with its own private bath and telephone, an unheard of luxury. In 1905, Peacock sold the hotel to Alexander Young, who had an interest in several other Hawaiian hotels. Young's estate managed the hotel until 1928, when it was purchased by the Matson Navigation Company to cater to the new steamship tourists that were flocking to Hawai‘i as a vacation spot. Under the title of the Territorial Hotel Co., Ltd., Matson operated a number of hotels in Hawai‘i, including the Moana, the Royal Hawaiian, and its predecessor the Seaside Hotel. The Seaside Hotel was built in 1906, and consisted of a ten-acre parcel west of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, and west of the Moana Hotel. Scattered on the grounds were bungalows and tent houses for guests. Many famous people came to stay at the hotel, including Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the daughter of the Theodore Roosevelt, and Jack London, who wrote several of his South Pacific stories at the hotel during his stay (Scott 1968).

A 1910-1917 U.S. Engineers map (Figure 21) shows the Project area in the taro area, with rice fields mauka marked by earthen berms. On this map, two large rectangular structures are shown—a structure oriented diagonal to ‘Āpuakēhau Stream and a structure south and oriented parallel to the stream. These structures also appear on a 1927-28 U.S. Geological survey map (Figure 22) and a 1943 U.S. War Department map (Figure 23). A 1914 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (Figure 24) shows the diagonal and parallel structures labeled as "Moana Hot'l Rooms" of the Moana Hotel. It also shows several smaller structures labeled "Moana Hot'l Cottages." The structures are also shown on the 1915 Land Application map (see Figure 17). These structures can be clearly seen on a 1920 photograph (Figure 25) just northwest of the H-shaped Moana Hotel. On a 1929 photograph (Figure 26), the parallel structure can still be seen, but the diagonal structure is probably hidden by the trees.

The original construction date of these hotel rooms and cottages is unknown, although they must predate 1914, the date of the Land Court Application map. The size and roof lines of the two larger structures are identical, indicating that they were built at the same time and for the same function. The two large rectangular structures were probably built by the Moana Hotel as auxiliary Hotel Rooms sometime between the Moana Hotel's opening in 1901 and the date of the Sanborn Fire Insurance map of 1914 and the Land Court Application map of 1915. A 1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (Figure 27) shows the Moana Rooms and Cottages, the tennis courts, and a horse-shoe shaped drive surrounding a "pavilion" in area labeled as the "Seaside Hotel." This is probably the horseshoe-shaped drive of the Seaside Hotel mentioned by Scott (1969:623) as "in the lattice-front entrance, on the *mauka* side, were the hotel offices facing a horseshoe driveway that entered from a connecting roadway off Waikiki Road." The map also shows two long strips used for automobile parking (labeled "A"). The Outrigger Canoe Club, then located across Kalākaua Avenue on the site of the present Outrigger Hotel, leased parking space in this area in the 1920s. East of the Project area, the Moana also built a power plant and hotel garage.

By the 1920s, the Territorial Hotel Company owned the Moana Hotel and held the lease for the Seaside Hotel. In 1925, they began to move many of the bungalows and cottages on the Seaside Hotel beach area to the mauka side of Kalākaua Avenue to clear the ground for the construction of the new Royal Hawaiian Hotel. An oral history interviewee, Beatrice Tominagam, who lived in the Moana Hotel employee housing area east of Ka‘iuilani Street from 1919 to 1925, has memories of life in this area when she was just a young girl:

> Oh, when we were there when I was a little girl, this was an empty lot. Just empty, nothing was on it. When I was living there, we watched them build these four big beautiful buildings (and a small two-bedroom cottage). They were beautiful (and painted white). They were two stories and they had a chimney on each one of them, and a big yard. The hotel called it the Moana Hotel Annex. And then, this part, ‘Ainahau Court, had many two-bedroom cottages and lot of date trees over here. We used to pick dates when they fell on the ground. (Beatrice Tominagam, University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral History 1985)

The four buildings referred to are probably four of the eight structures labeled "Moana Hotel Cottages" on the west side of Ka‘iuilani Avenue, east of the Project area on the 1927 Sanborn map (see Figure 27). The ‘Āinahau Court is mauka of these structures.

Mrs. Tominagam remembers that many of the buildings on the mauka side of Kalākaua Avenue were used for hotel guests; not all the buildings were used for hotel employees. The small cottages mauka of the Moana Annex, in the ‘Āinahau Court, were also for visitors. She noted: "Ainahau Court, were (for) Mainland people who rented those cottages and they lived there for many years." In the current Project area:

> Oh, this area right here where the International Market [Place] is now was the Seaside Hotel cottages that they moved from Kālia Road to make room for the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. They moved them here and they were over here. They were cottages, you see. After the war [World War II] they got rid of those

> cottages. And in the middle 1950s they built the International Market Place. (Beatrice Tominagam, University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral History 1985)

Stan Cohen (1997:42), in his book on the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel, recounts “In 1920 cottages and an expansive lawn were built across Kalākaua Avenue at the former site of ‘Āinahau.” These generally refer to a number of small rectangular cottages directly opposite the Moana Hotel on the mauka side of Kalākaua Avenue, east of Ka‘iulani Avenue and east of the current Project area. These neatly aligned cottages can be seen on the 1929 aerial photograph (see Figure 26) directly across Kalākaua Avenue from the main entrance of the Moana Hotel.

On a 1950 Sanborn map (Figure 28), the two large rectangular structures in the Project area are still labeled as “Hotel Rooms,” and a series of smaller cottages, the former beachside Seaside bungalows, are labeled as “Hotel Cottages.” The area within the horseshoe drive has a number of kitchen and dining facilities. In the northeastern section of the Project area, the Miramar Hotel parcel, the Moana built a series of interconnecting structures for hotel maintenance, including shops for pipes, woodworking, furniture, and pillows and mattresses. On the 1956 Sanborn map (Figure 29), all of the hotel rooms and cottages are gone, and most of the land is labeled as “Parking.” The only remaining hotel structures are the kitchen and dining facilities in the horseshoe-shaped driveway area.

By the mid-1950s, there were more than fifty hotels and apartments from the Kālia area to the Diamond Head end of Kapi‘olani Park. The Waikīkī population, by the mid-1950s, was not limited to transient tourists but included 11,000 permanent residents living in 4,000 single-dwellings and apartments in stucco or frame buildings. By the late 1950s, a row of retail shops had been constructed along Kalākaua Avenue. In 1952, Matson built a new hotel adjacent to the Moana on the east side, called the Surfrider Hotel. The 1953 U.S. War Department map of O‘ahu (Figure 30) shows this addition, and significant development in Waikīkī. Matson sold all of its Waikīkī hotel properties to the Sheraton Company in 1959 and no longer required housing for its hotel staff. Additionally, properties were likely cleared in anticipation of the extensive development that occurred throughout Waikīkī in the 1960s and 1970s.

The International Market Place was built in 1957, as described in the market’s history:

> On January 16, 1955, entrepreneur Donn Beach (Don the Beachcomber) announced plans for a “Waikiki Village” that was to be called “The International Market Place.” Designed originally to encompass 14 acres between the Waikiki Theater and the Princess Ka‘iulani, extending from Kalakaua Avenue halfway to Kuhio Avenue, the International Market Place was to be a “casual, tropical village with arts, crafts, entertainment, and foods of Hawai‘i’s truly diverse people...including Hawaiian, South Sea islander, Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Filipino...” (Queen Emma Foundation n.d.)

In the same timeframe, the present Miramar Hotel parcel was being re-developed. Circa 1950 (see Figure 28) there was a mattress and awning shop on the parcel understood as a “back-of-house” portion of the Matson Navigation Hawaiian Hotels Division. This was largely cleared out by 1956 (see Figure 29). In 1961 a four-story “Waikiki International Terminal Parking Garage and Transportation Center” was developed including a service station and restaurant fronting

Kūhiō Avenue and with a large covered terminal loading area on the makai side. The 349-room, 22-floor Miramar Hotel was constructed almost immediately thereafter in 1962 incorporating the recent construction. It started as a sister hotel to the Miramar Hotel in Hong Kong and it is decorated in a predominantly Chinese motif. The Miramar Hotel was purchased in 1976 by the Milford (International) Investment Co., Ltd. (Young 2010).

Figure 19. 1893 map by W.A. Wall of Waikīkī, showing the Project area on land owned by the Queen Emma estate (Wall 1893)

Figure 20. 1897 map of Honolulu by M.D. Monsarrat map, showing proposed Project area; one structure in the Project area is labeled “Queen Emma” (Monsarrat 1897)

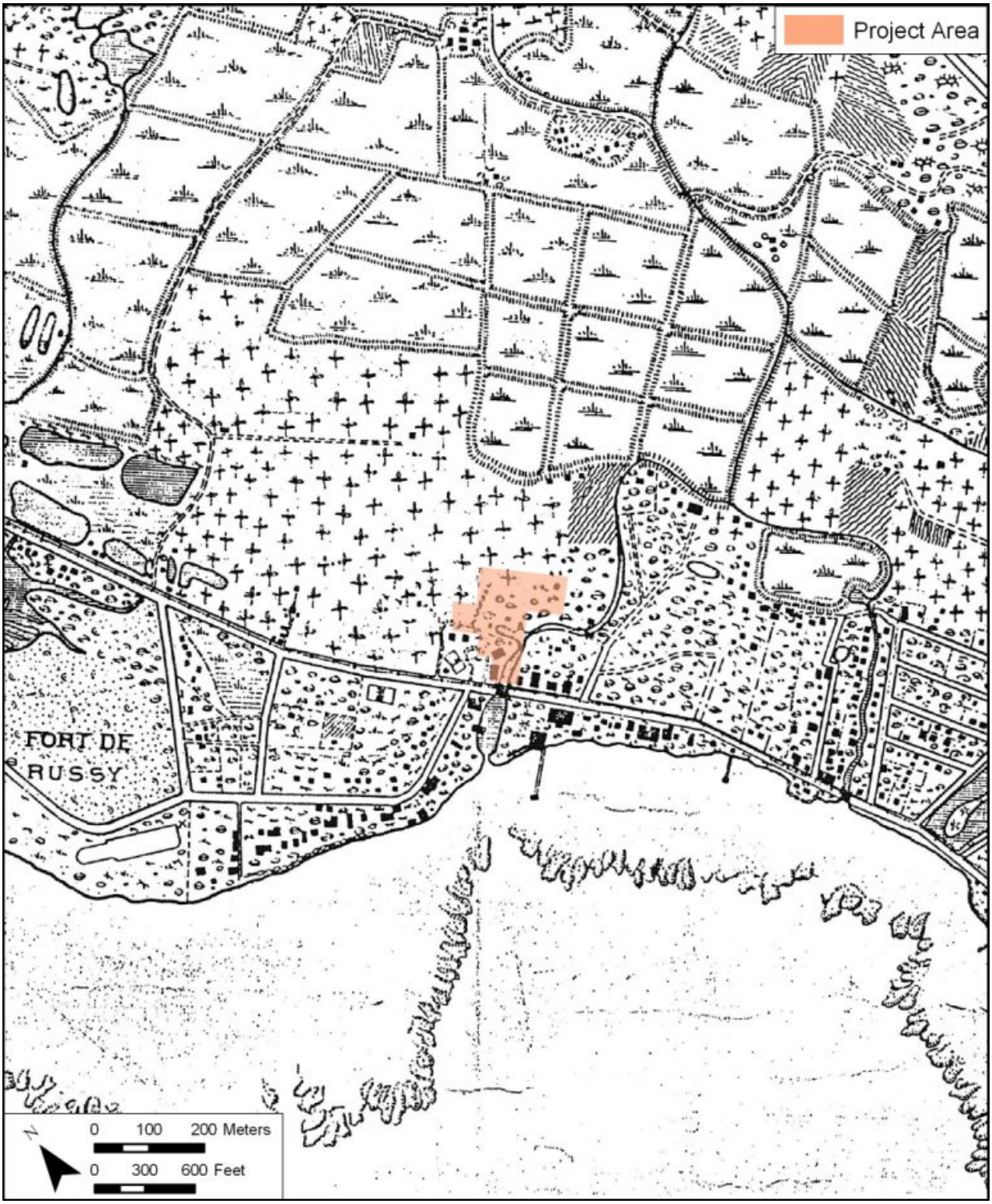

Figure 21. Portion of the 1910–1917 U.S. Engineers map, showing the approximate location of the Project area

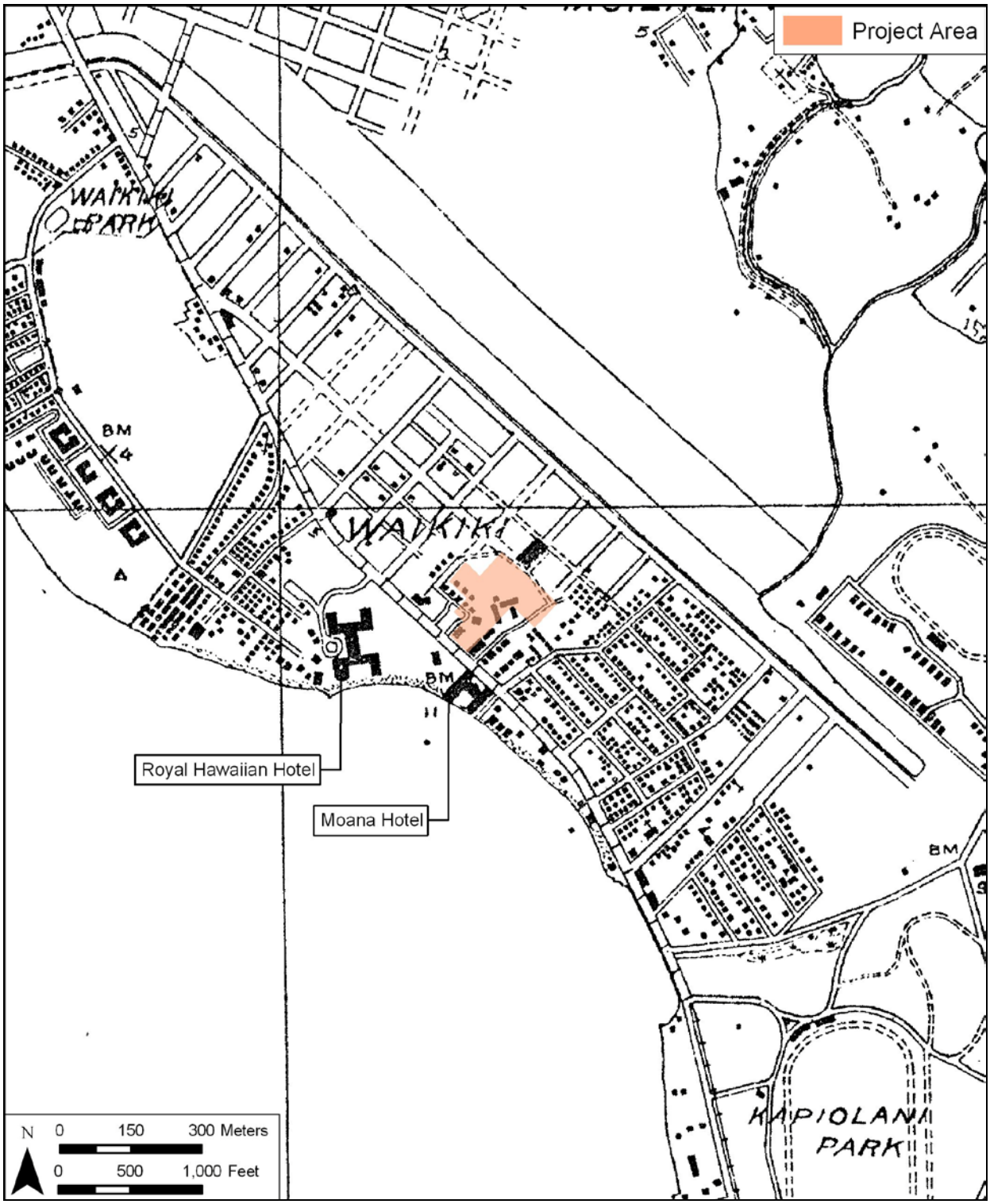

Figure 22. Portion of 1927–1928 USGS 7.5-minute topographic map, Honolulu quadrangle, showing the Project area northwest of the Moana Hotel and northeast of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel

Figure 23. Portion of 1943 U.S. War Department map, Diamond Head quadrangle, showing the Project area

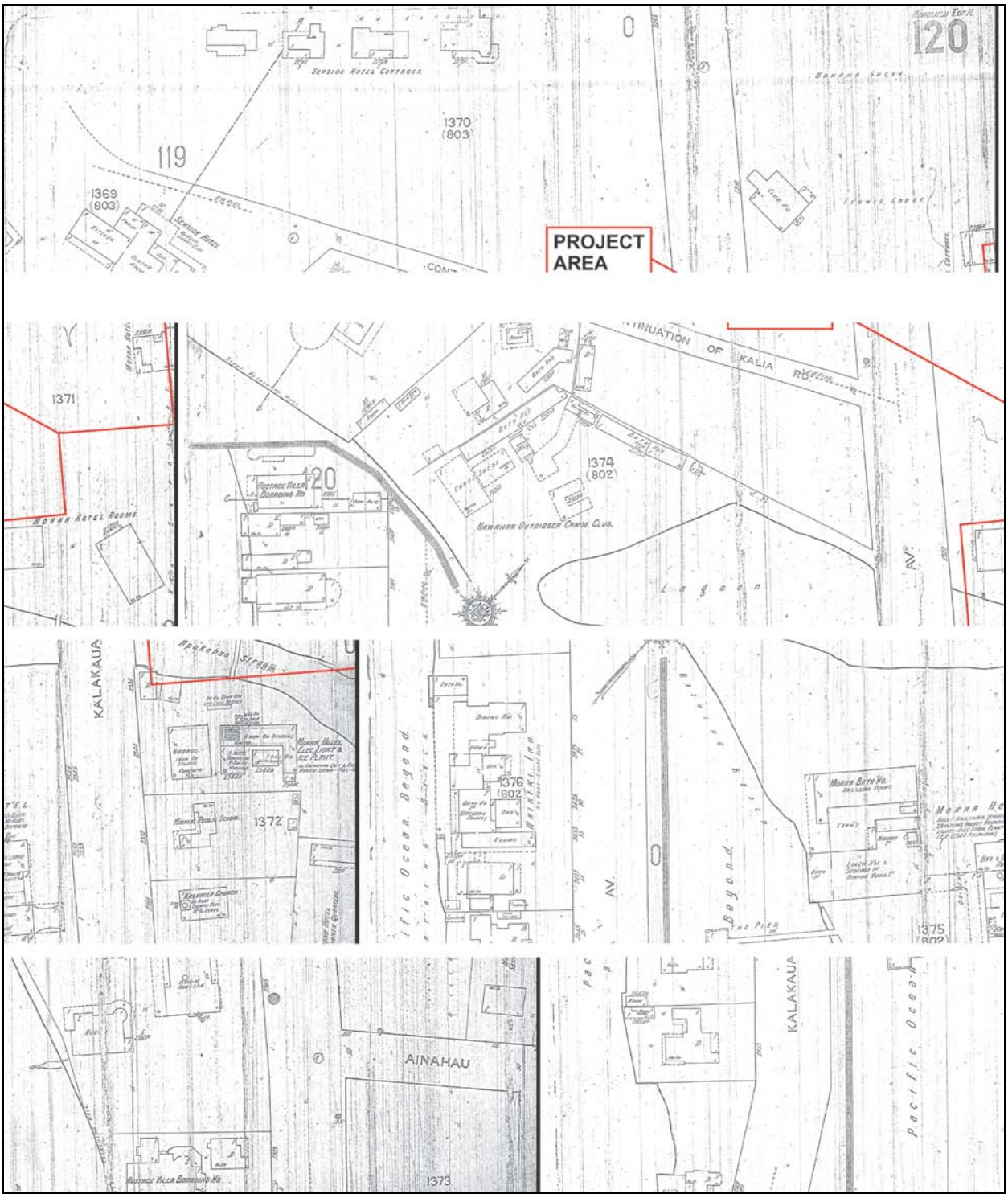

Figure 24. 1914 Sanborn Fire Insurance map with seaward portion of the Project location (note: the “0” on the right edge of the map indicates that there is no adjoining map); the two structures in the southern portion of the Project area are labeled “Moana Hot’l

Figure 25. 1920 aerial photograph of the Moana Hotel coastal area, showing general Project area; the two structures (diagonal and parallel to the stream) shown on earlier maps are still present (U.S. Army Air Service, reprinted in Cohen 1995:59)

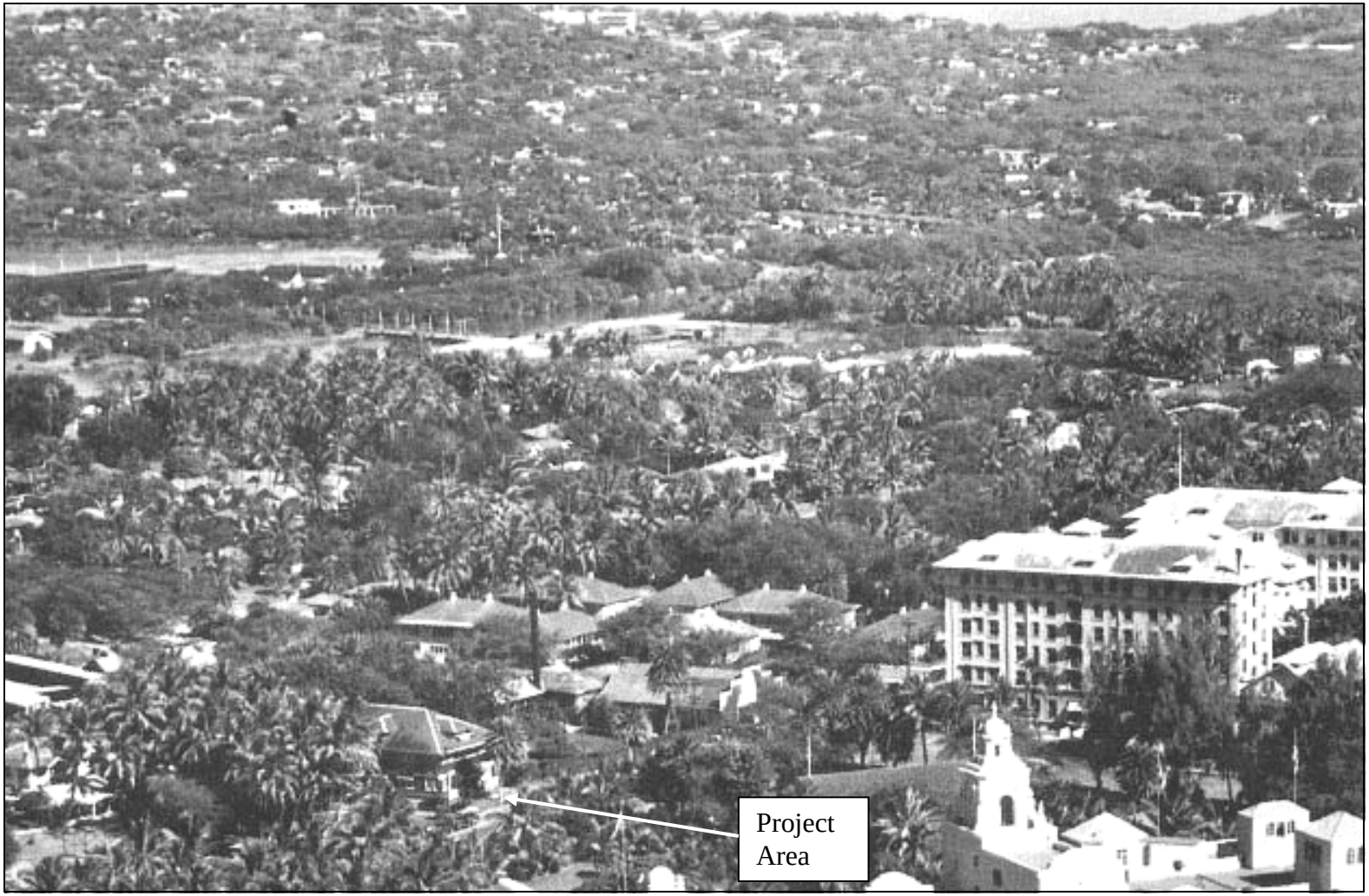

Figure 26. 1929 aerial photograph of Waikīkī, showing numerous cottages behind the Moana Hotel (Hawai‘i State Archives 1929, reprinted in Brown 1985:40); one of the older structures is still present, but the original Queen Emma Trust house is hidden

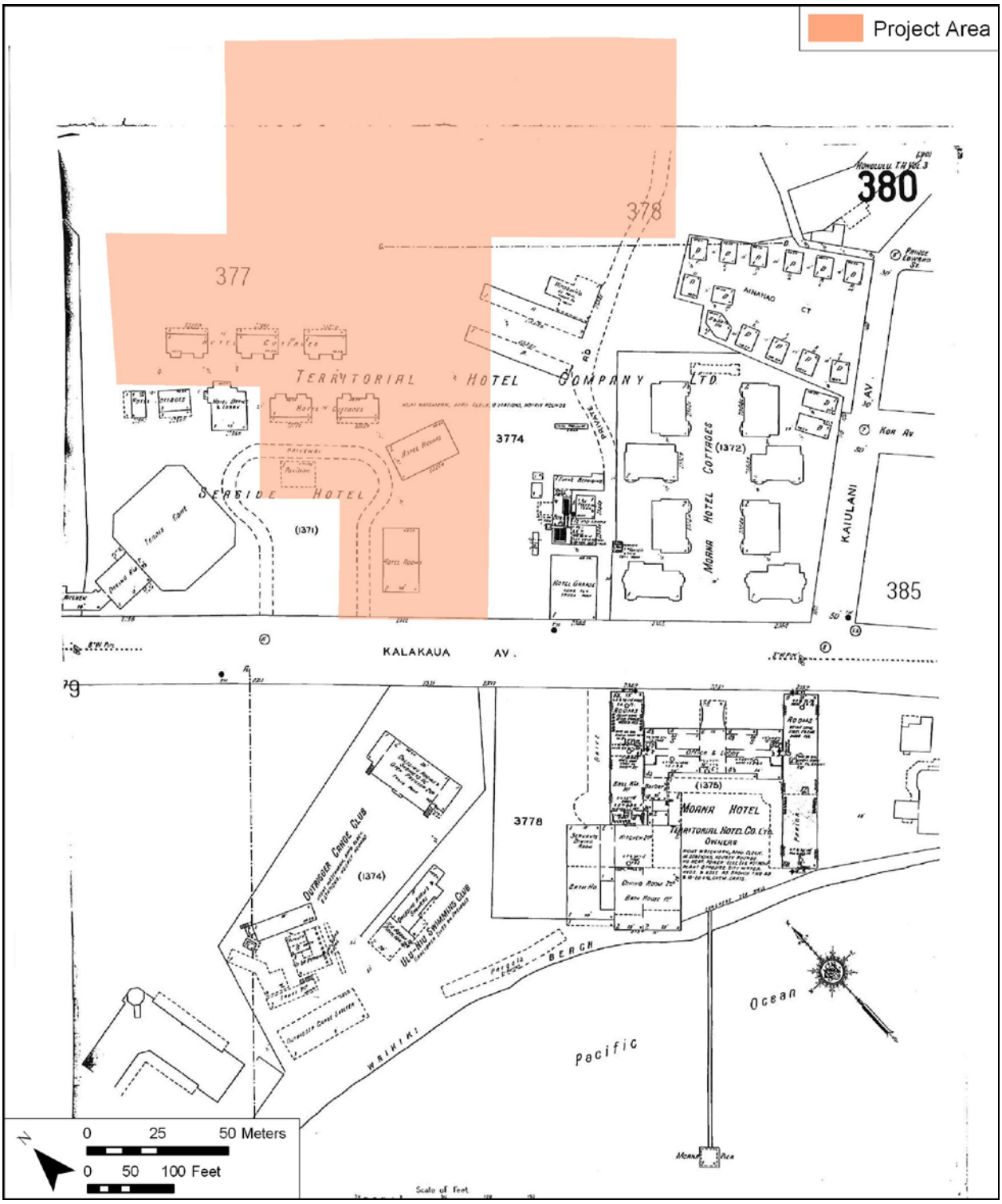

Figure 27. 1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the Project area with structure labeled for the Seaside Hotel and the Moana Hotel, both owned by the Territorial Hotel Company

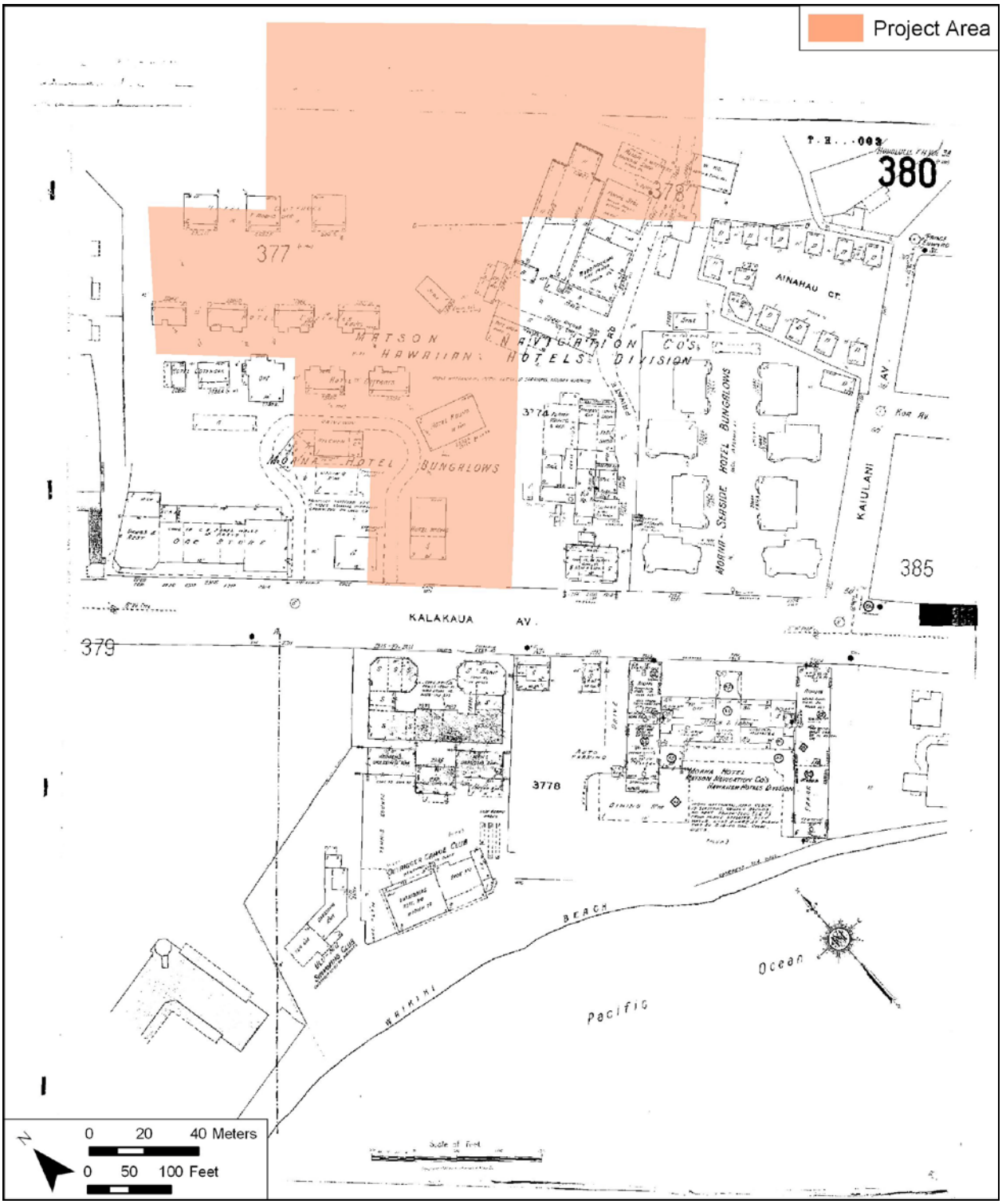

Figure 28. 1950 Sanborn Fire insurance map showing structures in Project area during early 1950s

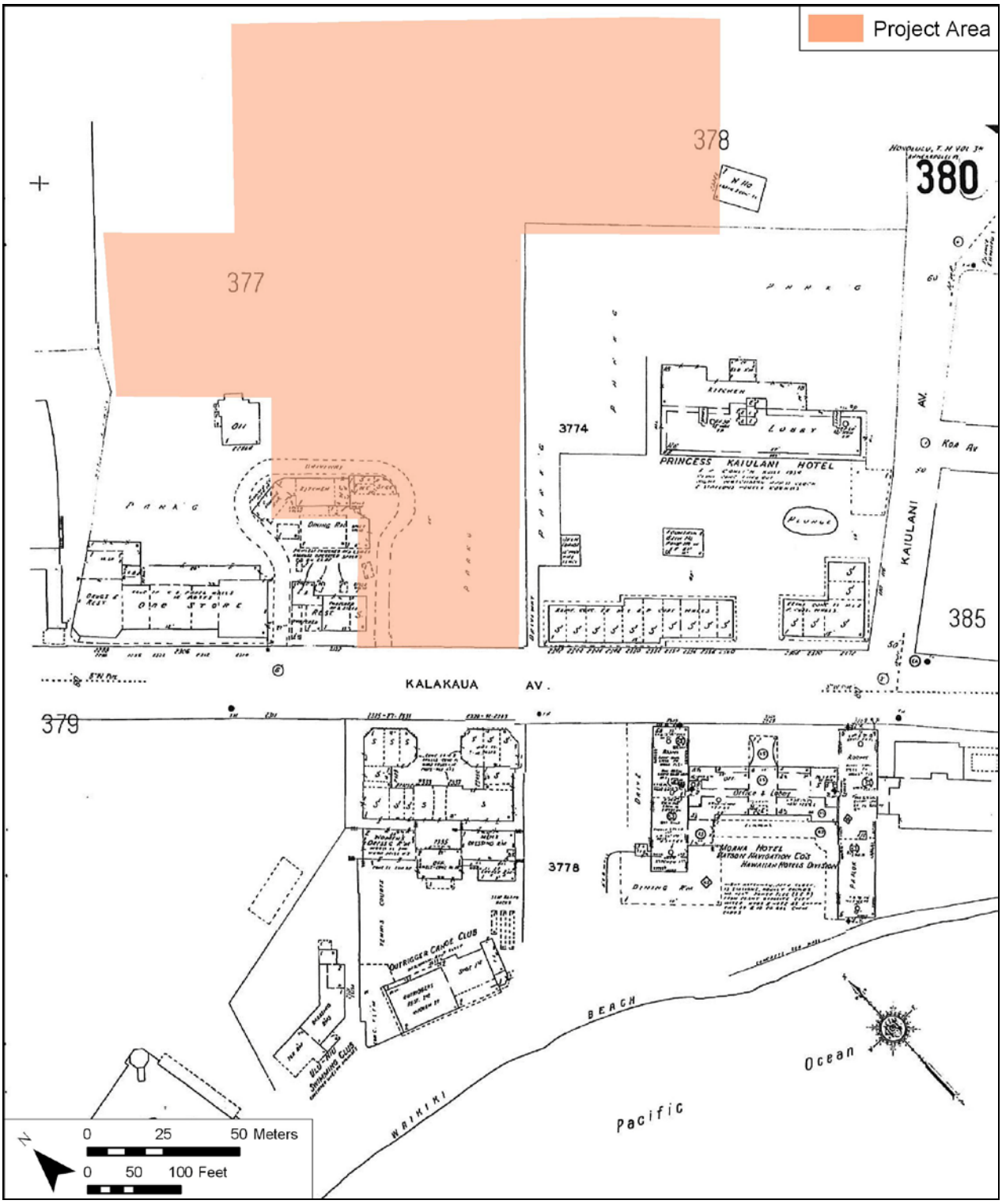

Figure 29. 1956 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing the removal of most of the Moana Hotel structures in the Project area

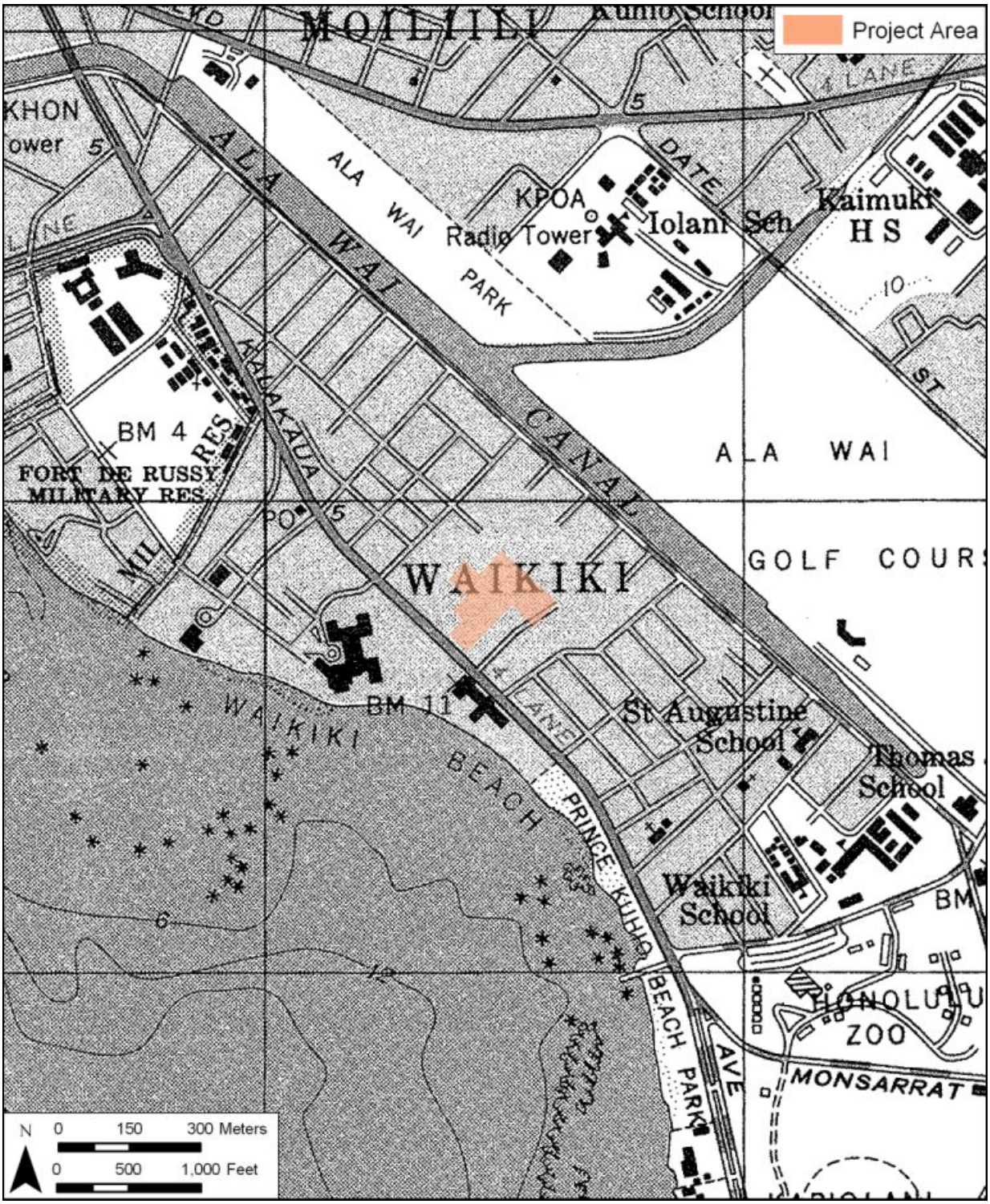

Figure 30. Portion of 1953 U.S. Army Mapping Service (AMS) map, Honolulu quadrangle, showing the Project area

3.5.4 Previous Oral History Research

This section draws from previous oral history research conducted by the University of Hawai‘i’s Center for Oral History (UHCOH) in 1985 to highlight the voices of several people who have or have had deep knowledge of the culture and history of the ahupua‘a of Waikīkī, with particular connections to the ‘ili of Kaluaokau. Their mo‘olelo color the cultural and historical background with nuanced recollections and add a depth to the information provided by kūpuna and kama‘āina who were interviewed for this CIA (see Section 5). Summaries and excerpts from this vast collection of oral histories are presented below.

3.5.4.1 Robert Anderson

The UHCOH interviewed Robert Anderson on March 4, 1988 at his Diamond Head home. Mr. Anderson was born in Honolulu in June 6, 1894 and graduated from Punahou School in 1912. Mr. Anderson is best known as one of Hawai‘i’s most prolific composers of hapa-haole songs (a type of song that is a hybrid of both the English and Hawaiian language). Mr. Anderson’s most famous work is *Mele Kalikimaka*, which translates as Merry Christmas in Hawaiian and is learned by most grade school students throughout Hawai‘i. Other compositions by Mr. Anderson include *Lovely Hula Hands* and *Haole Hula*. In his interview with UHCOH, Mr. Anderson described what Waikīkī was like during the early 1900s:

> Well the Moana Hotel was there. That was the biggest thing. And it did not have the wings at that time. It was just the central building which was frame construction. Later on, the two wings were built of concrete. That was in 1918 that the wings were put on.
>
> The Halekūlani Hotel, I don’t remember the year, but that was just about along in there. And Niumalu [Hotel], little further down where the Hilton [Hawaiian Village Hotel] is today. That was about it. Coming out this way, there was the - - I forget what the year the Outrigger [Canoe] Club started.
>
> Well, they had what they call the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and cottages right next to Bertha Young where it is today. It was just a frame building and some little cottages scattered all through the grounds. And then, next to that was the Outrigger and then the Moana. The other side of the Moana was Judge Steiner’s home, and then a place called the Waikīkī Tavern. And about that time, you came to the seawall out there.
>
> Across the way were coconut palms and undeveloped property. And there was quite a bit of water up in there, the ponds. And when it ever rained hard, you’d get a run-off right pass the Outrigger Club, which was next to the Royal Hawaiian at that time, and mud would come down into the ocean. You’d get some dirty conditions in the water for a few days, until much later when they built the Ala Wai Canal to take care of that extra drainage. It dried it all up. (UHCOH 1985:209)

3.5.4.2 John C. Ernstberg

The UHCOH interviewed John C. Ernstberg on March 15, 1985 at his home in Waikīkī. Mr. Ernstberg was born in 1910 in Kahului, Maui and is a former Waikīkī beach boy, musician and a

retired Honolulu City and County lifeguard. In his interview with UHCOH, Mr. Ernstberg described the various ocean resources in Waikīkī during his youth:

> The limu [seaweed] was there. You want limu. You need limu now. All the Hawaiian[s] do. I do. My wife needs limu because she’s got goiter, in that for the throat and things like that. Before all the limu, all the lipoa and everything I can get here manauea, lipoa, wawae‘iole and eh, everything you like. All kinds of limu. You like lipoa?
>
> You like manini? I love manini [reef surgeonfish], one, two manini. I go out there, see, I go on the reef over there when the tide coming up. You go out there with your net, walk outside on the reef, flat reef, you wait over there. Soon as the tide starts coming up, you see the manini. All big schools come up. They go on top of the reef. When the wave break, you can see them—all that green. You stay up there. You wait, wait, wait, wait till they all come on the flat one time. Throw. You look, you see the all green and spiral. You go in there and pick ‘em up little by little now. Go pick up, put ‘em all in your bag. You look—full, ‘nough. Going home. (UHCOH 1985:125)

3.5.4.3 Wilbur Craw

The UHCOH interviewed Mr. Wilbur Craw on April 11, 1985 at his home in Ka‘a‘awa on the island of O‘ahu. Mr. Craw is a former Waikīkī beach boy and founded a food brokerage company along with his brother. In his interview with UHCOH, Mr. Craw described his experiences with ‘Āpuakēhau Stream in Waikīkī:

> When we first got down there, the old Outrigger [Canoe Club] was built on the banks of the [‘Āpuakēhau] stream that came into the water between the Moana Hotel and the Seaside Hotel which is now the present site of the Royal Hawaiian [Hotel].
>
> (Across) that stream, (a) bridge was built across Kalākaua Avenue, a low concrete bridge, almost flat on the road, then the stream went up into the duck ponds. We used to paddle surfboards up there, small kids, go (up) and (explore) at the duck ponds, the rice paddies, the taro patches and we’d paddle along and look around. Now and then you’d see duck eggs, (and) swipe the duck eggs, (don’t) know what the hell for. Used to kinda be adventurous, you know, all these waterways going up all around (and) which is all built now in highrises.
>
> Then when we would get back down we would go fishing in the stream. They had lots of little baby fish, I guess, you might call them “mosquito fish.” Or when the stream would open up and the water would come in, it would be moi [threadfish] season or ‘oama [young of the weke, or goatfish] season, some of these fish would go up in there. Actually, some of the regular fish like manini and stuff, they became acclimated to the water. You’d see these damn manini swimming around in the fresh water! (UHCOH 1985:334–335)

Mr. Craw also stated that the area in front of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, where ‘Āpuakēhau Stream entered into the ocean, was once abundant with various types of limu:

> They had a lot of limu there…Manauea and limu līpoa. Waikīkī was very famous for its limu. It had līpoa, they had manauea. They had huluhuluwaena. They had, some spots there, wāwae‘iole. Only thing that you couldn’t find too much of and wasn’t a good place for it, was lipēpē [limu līpēpē]. It’s crunchy, when it grows flat looks like a Christmas tree. It’s very crunchy, and real good tasting. Oh, boy! There’s some out here but it’s scrubby stuff.
>
> Oh, limu-kala is broader leaf than the other limu līpoa. It is a coarser limu. It has almost the same taste but it is a wide coarse limu, and for that reason, the Hawaiians don’t particularly care for it. They call it limu-kala. It is the līpoa that has the fine (leaf). It’s about half or one-third the width of the limu-kala, and that is the preferred limu [līpoa]. (UHCOH 1985:335–336)

Mr. Craw expressed a recipe that he used for limu gathered from the shores of Waikīkī:

> …it’s that red manauea…if you want to make namasu-style [pickled]; you gotta clean out the fine (green) limu that grows in with every now and then. You have to clean that out, chop it up, blanch it and then run it under cold water so it doesn’t cook because when it gets too cooked it gets soft and mushy. But just so you blanch it, and then you make your vinegar, sugar, ginger, (sauce) namasu-style, put it in.
>
> Otherwise, you would chop it up, mix it with say wāwae‘iole, a good mix is līpoa, wāwae‘iole, lipēpē and manauea. Mix ‘em all together, put it together. Whew! (UHCOH 1985:336)

3.5.4.4 Lemon “Rusty” Holt

The UHCOH interviewed Mr. Lemon “Rusty” Holt on March 15, 1985 at his home in Wilhemina Rise in Honolulu. Mr. Holt was born and raised in Waikīkī in 1904. Mr. Holt graduated from Kamehameha Schools in 1928 and later from the University of Hawai‘i. Later he became a postmaster, personnel department head, and store and apartment manager. In his interview with UHCOH, Mr. Holt described his experiences with the dangers of gathering wana (sea urchin) in Waikīkī during his youth:

> The best wana grounds is at where Queen’s Surf is. There’s a little channel, and right next to the channel is a reef. Wana growing underneath running water or (white) waves breaking is supposed to be fat. Good wana. Worthwhile getting and eating. You pick them in the month of October. They’re fatter then.
>
> Well, one day we went out, and (who was) steering, I forget. I was in the middle. We had gotten what wana we wanted—three or four gunny sack bags, filled up. They were in the front of me, at the bow was my sister Dawn Kinney, who just recently passed away. So in coming in, we caught a wave, a good sized wave. We shouldn’t have. We shouldn’t have, but we did. I can’t remember now who was steering. Anyway, we caught the wave and as we came in, it ran into white water. The spray, came into the boat. My sister, who was sitting at the bow, when the spray came in, leaned back. When she leaned back, she leaned back onto the wana (bags), into the spears. Those spears are deadly because they break off. You can’t

> get them out unless you use tweezers right away. I don’t know how many hours it took for somebody to pick out all they could find.
>
> Years later, quite a few years later, I can’t remember how many years later, my sister complained of her big toe hurting. So somebody got a razor and started to scrape around where she said it was hurting because they could feel it was hard. Then somebody got a pair of tweezers, and they opened it up a little bit, and they pulled out the tip of one of those wana spears…
>
> …After all those years, one of them came out in her big toe. It was white in color, being in the stream, the bloodstream, all that time. But they could see, they could tell that it was still in the shape of the wana point. UHCOH 1985:808–809)

3.5.4.5 Sadao Hikida

The UHCOH interviewed Mr. Sadao Hikida on December 18, 1986 at his home in Honolulu. Mr. Hikida was born and raised in Waikīkī in 1914 and is a *nisei* (second generation) Japanese. He was a caretaker for ‘Āinahau, the former home of Princess Ka‘iulani, and a night watchmen for the Moana Hotel. In his interview with UHCOH, Mr. Hikida shared a story about ‘Āpuakēhau Stream:

> The ‘Āpuakēhau Stream flowed pass our back and front yards and emptied into the ocean between the Moana Hotel and the Outrigger Canoe Club. The banks of the river were lined with hau groves and palm trees. The river was abundant with shrimp and fishes such as mullet, ‘a‘awa [wrasse], āholehole [young stage of āhole, or Hawaiian flagtail], pāpio [young stage of ulua, or crevalle, jack or pompano], manini and ‘o‘opu [goby]. I spent many happy relaxing hours fishing from the banks of the river or from the bridge which spanned the river. There was also a pond by our home which was connected to the ‘Āpuakēhau Stream. It was filled with shrimps and small fishes. And it was where we raised our ducks. (UHCOH 1985:967)

Mr. Hikida also discussed the Ala Wai Canal project during his youth in the 1920s:

> The dredging of Ala Wai Canal started about 1920 and was completed around 1926. The canal is about two and a half miles long, ending at Makee Road. It is about 150 feet wide and about 10 to 20 feet deep. This solved the flooding problem of Waikīkī. The dredged material of mud and coral was used to fill up hundreds of acres of pond fields and marshland in Waikīkī, Mō‘ili‘ili, McCully, Kapahulu and Kapi‘olani Park. They also filled up the ‘Āpuakēhau, the Kukaunahi and other small streams. While the ‘Āpuakēhau Stream was being filled, thousands of mullet and other fishes and shrimps were being smothered by the land fill. (UHCOH 1985:970)

Mr. Hikida also discussed his past employment experiences at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel before switching over to the Moana Hotel:

> I first started to work at the hotel in 1930 as a summer hire at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. I started as an elevator operator. My immediate supervisor was Thomas Ishii (bell captain). The manager of the hotel then was Mr. Bignalia and Jack

> Fishback. From 1931-34 while still a student in high school I worked full-time at the Moana Hotel on the midnight shift for three years as an elevator operator, bellhop and relief telephone switchboard operator. (UHCOH 1985:973)

3.6 Project Area

In summary, the archival research for this cultural and historical background of Waikīkī Kai and the ‘ili of Kaluaokau indicate that the International Market Place has been connected to patterns of habitation, as indicated by a burial within the Project area uncovered by Lloyd J. Soehren in 1967 (BPBM Oa-A5-16, NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998) and royal residence for William Lunalilo (LCA 8559, ‘Āpana 31 (Waihona ‘Aina 2000), and Queen Emma (Kanahele 1995), with Lunalilo’s cottage located just outside the Project area (Lyons 1875–1877) (Figure 31). ‘Āpuakēhau Stream once flowed through the southeast portion of the Project area, and is connected to broader patterns of lo‘i cultivation, habitation, as well as mo‘olelo of ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau, and Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni. The Project area is connected to these and other aspects of the broader cultural landscape, including the entire area of Waikīkī Kai. For a synthesis of this cultural landscape and the community interviews, see Section 6, Cultural Landscape.

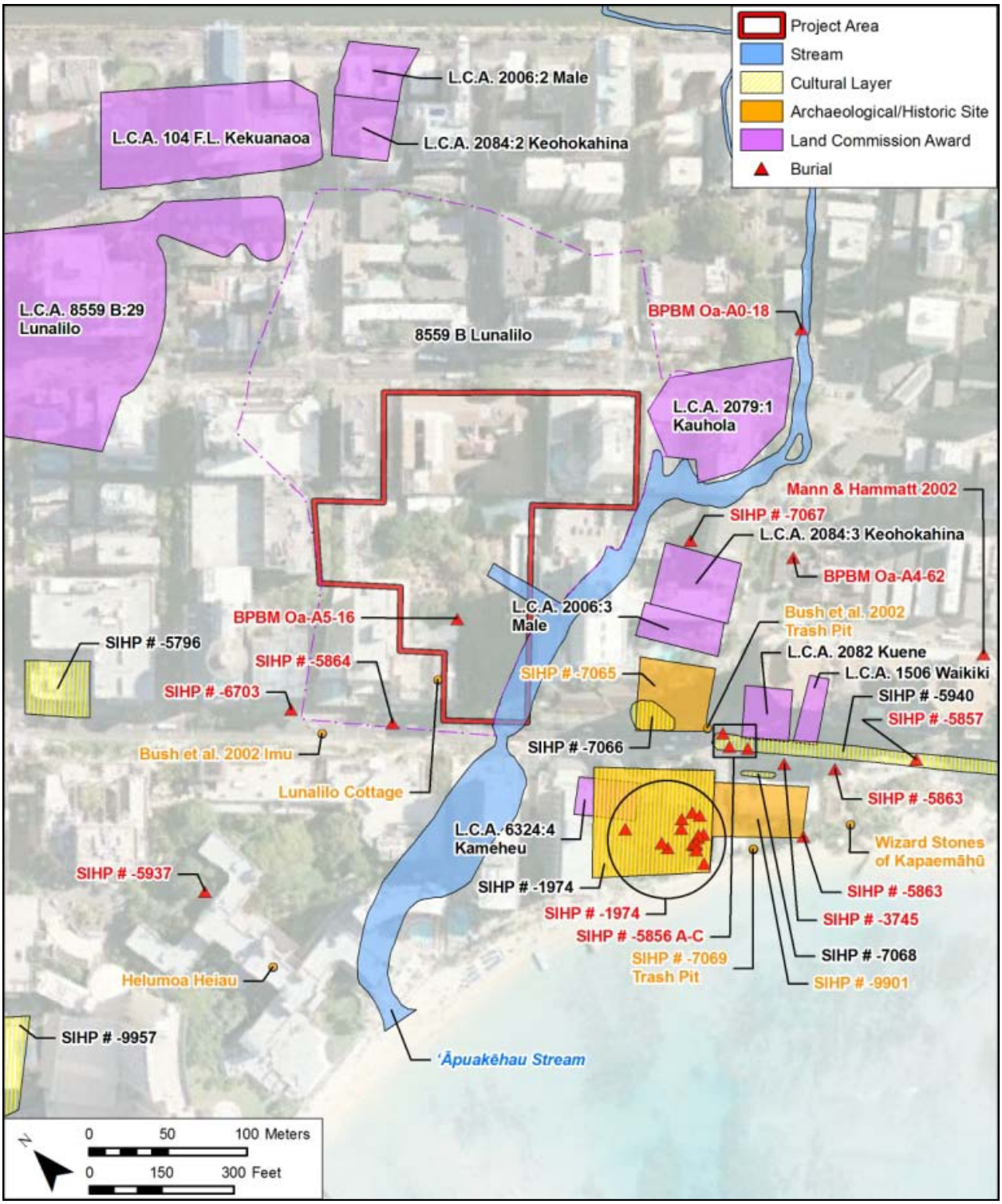

Figure 31. Composite image of place names, archaeological sites and cultural layers, burials, Māhele LCAs, and historic-era sites in the immediate vicinity of the Project area (base map Google Earth 2008)

Section 4 Community Consultation

Throughout the course of this assessment, an effort was made to contact and consult with Hawaiian cultural organizations, government agencies, and individuals who might have knowledge of and/or concerns about traditional cultural practices specifically related to the Project area. This effort was made by letter, email, telephone and in-person contact. The initial outreach effort was started in August 2011 and completed in October 2011. In the majority of cases, an aerial photograph (see Figure 1), a USGS map (see Figure 2), and a letter (Appendix D) of the Project area were mailed.

In most cases, two to three attempts were made to contact individuals, organizations, and agencies apposite to the CIA for this Project. The results of the community consultation process are presented in Table 6. Written statements are presented in Section 4, and excerpts from interviews are presented in Section 5.

Table 6. Results of Community Consultation

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Agard, Louis Buzzy	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Ahlo, Charles	Cultural Descendent	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Ailā, William	Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna ‘O Hawai‘i Nei	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Apaka, Jeff	Waikīkī Neighborhood Board Subdistrict 2-Chair	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Arcalas, Cara	Cultural Descendent	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Ayau, Halealoha	Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna ‘O Hawai‘i Nei	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Bates, Cline	Cultural Descendent	August 29, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Bates, Ke‘ala	Cultural Descendent	August 29, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Battle, Cherie Kahealani Keohokālole	Cultural Descendent	August 29, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Beckett, Jan	Photographer, Kamehameha Schools	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email October 12, 2011 Mr. Becket responded, intends to visit a culturally significant pōhaku that overlooks Waikīkī
Bissen, Tony	Cultural Historian at the Moana	August 29, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Blaisdell, Dr. Kekuni	Resident	October 6, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Boyd, Manu	Royal Hawaiian Center	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Bridges, Cy	President, Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association	August 29, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Brown, Desoto	Bishop Museum Archivist	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Cayan, Phyllis Coochie	History and Culture Branch Chief, SHPD	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 9, 2011 Ms. Cayan responded, referring Van Horn Diamond (see Section 4.1)

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Cazimero, Anna Ka‘olelo Machado	Waikīkī Musician and Kupuna	October 12, 2011 CSH conducted interview, and Ms. Cazimero gave permission to re-use previous interview (see Section 5.2)
Del Toro, Benjamin	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Del Toro, Daniel	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Del Toro, Rachel	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Del Toro, Samuel	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Diamond, Van Horn	Cultural Descendant, Former OIBC Chair	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 18, 2011 CSH conducted phone interview, and Mr. Van Horn Diamond gave permission to re-use a previous interview (see Section 5.6)
Downing, George	Resident well known for surfing	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Finley, Bob	Waikīkī Neighborhood Board	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter August 24, 2011 Mr. Finely responded by email, and is supportive of the Project without any mana‘o on cultural impacts
Gomes, Phoebe	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Gomes, Robin	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Gora, Amelia K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Grace, Nadine	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Ha‘ole, William Papa‘i‘ku	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Harris, Cy K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 11, 2011 CSH called and left a message, and sent email October 13, 2011 CSH conducted phone interview, and Mr. Harris gave permission to re-use previous interview (see Section 5.5)
Hatchie, Andrew	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Hukiku, Clarence Moses	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Ka‘awakauo, Emma	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaimuki Senior Care, LCC		September 9, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, Ali‘ikaua	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, Haloa	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, Kala	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Kaleikini, Mahiaimoku	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, Moehonua	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, No‘eau	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kaleikini, Paulette	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kam, Thelma	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Betty	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Kīhei	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Luther	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Michelle	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Noelani	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Regina	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keana‘āina, Vicky	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Keana‘āina, Wilsam	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kekaula, Ashford	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kekaula, Mary K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keli‘inoi, Kalahikiola	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keli‘inoi, Moani	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keli‘ipa‘akaua, Chase	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keli‘ipa‘akaua, Justin	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, Adrian K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, Dennis Ka‘imina‘auao	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, Emalia E.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, James Hoapili	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, Jeanine Leikeonaona	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Keohokālole, Joseph Moses Keaweaheulu	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Keohokālole, Lori Lani	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kihikihi, Kaona	E Noa Tours, Waikīkī Cultural Historian	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kini, Debbie	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kini, Nalani	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Koko, Kanaloa	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Krewson-Reck, Sylvia	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 18, 2011 CSH conducted phone interview, and Ms. Krewson-Reck gave permission to re-use previous interview (see Section 5.4)
Kruse, T. Kehaulani	OIBC	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Kuhea, Kealoha	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Lanikila Multi-Purpose Senior Center		August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Lew, Haumea	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Lopes, Kamaha‘o	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Lopes, Leina‘ala	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Lopes, Puahone Kini	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Luka, Alika	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Mamac, Violet L. Medeiros	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Mānoa Senior Care		August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
McDonald, Ruby Keana‘āina	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
McKeague, Mark Kawika	Chair, OIBC	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros Jr., Clarence	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter October 12, 2011 CSH emailed Mr. Medeiros, who gave permission to re-use previous interview (see Section 5.3)
Medeiros, David	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Jacob L.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Medeiros, Jaimison K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Jayla A.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Jim	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Kareen K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Lincoln K.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Medeiros, Roland	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Naguwa, Joan	Executive Director, Waikiki Community Center	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Nāmu‘o, Clyde	Administrator, OHA	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter August 30, Mr. Nāmu‘o replied in a written statement (see Section 4.2)
Napolean, Rhoda and Barry	‘Ohana to Nalani Olds	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Nobrega, Malia	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Norman, Eileen	Pelekikena, Waikīkī Hawaiian Civic Club	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Norman, Kaleo	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Norman, Keli‘inui	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Norman, Theodore	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Norman, Carolyn	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Olds, Nalani	Resident well known for Hawaiian music	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Paglinawan, Richard	Queen Emma Trust	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 20, 2011 CSH conducted interview November 8, 2011 Mr. Paglinawan approved interview summary
Paoa, Clarke	Kama‘āina of Kālia	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Papa, Jr., Richard Likeke	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Pascua, Bruce H.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Peters, David	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Rash, Regina	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Rochlen, Lillian Kenuenue Kaeo	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Roy, Corbett	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Shirai, Jacqueline	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Shirai, Jr., Thomas T.	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Soares, Moani Kaleikini	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Souza, William D.	Royal Order of Kamehameha, Kūhiō Chapter	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Spinney, Charles	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Suzuki, Ashley	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Suzuki, Kimberly	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Takaki, Miles	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Takaki, Moses	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Takaki, Tracy	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Takizawa, Lorna Medeiros	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

Name	Affiliation, Background	Comments
Tesoro, Cassandra,	Executive Director, Kapahulu Center	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Theone, Nicole Gulia	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Wagner, Pat	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Waikīkī Community Center Kūpuna		August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter by email
Williams, Evern	Resident	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Wong, Hinaleimoana	Vice Chair, OIBC	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter
Yokooji, Dayleen	Cultural Descendant	August 17, 2011 CSH sent letter September 30, 2011 CSH sent letter

4.1 State Historic Preservation Division

CSH contacted Phyllis “Coochie” Cayan, History and Culture Branch Chief of SHPD, on August 17, 2011, and Ms. Cayan responded to CSH on September 9, 2011 (Figure 32). According to Ms. Cayan, the SHPD is concerned about the possibility of burials or burial sites in the Project area, as there have been finds in adjacent parcels. Ms. Cayan summarizes Waikīkī as a place for fishing and kalo lo‘i of the chiefs, followed as a place for Hawai‘i’s former royalty to relax and entertain. Ms. Cayan recommends interviewing kūpuna who grew up in Waikīki, which can be facilitated by contacting Jeff Apaka at the Waikiki Community Center and other senior citizens in the adjacent neighborhoods of Kapahulu, Kaimukī, Mānoa, the Lanikila Senior group of Liliha. Ms. Cayan also recommends contacting the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s (UHM) Center for Hawaiian Studies regarding the historic use of the Project area and the ali‘i use of the ‘āina for their homes in Waikīkī. Ms. Cayan also recommends using interviews and other media from the Oral History program at UHM for histories of the early fishing village, plantation era, and modern culture. Finally, Ms. Cayan refers Van Horn Diamond, a renowned Hawaiian musician who grew up in Waikīkī.

4.2 Office of Hawaiian Affairs

CSH contacted Clyde Nāmu‘o, Administrator of OHA, on August 17, 2011, and Mr. Nāmu‘o responded to CSH on August 30, 2011 (see Figure 33). According to Mr. Nāmu‘o, OHA suggests that native plant species traditionally found in the Project area should be considered in the landscaping design to encourage practical traditional plant uses and, if drought resistant, to reduce demands on irrigation water.

NEIL ABERCROMBIE
GOVERNOR OF HAWAII

WILLIAM J. AILA, JR.
CHAIRPERSON
BOARD OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES
COMMISSION ON WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

GUY H. KAULUKUKUI
FIRST DEPUTY

WILLIAM M. TAM
DEPUTY DIRECTOR - WATER

AQUATIC RESOURCES
BOATING AND OCEAN RECREATION
BUREAU OF CONVEYANCES
COMMISSION ON WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
CONSERVATION AND COASTAL LANDS
CONSERVATION AND RESOURCES ENFORCEMENT
ENGINEERING
FORESTRY AND WILDLIFE
HISTORIC PRESERVATION
KAHOOLAWE ISLAND RESERVE COMMISSION
LAND
STATE PARKS

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
601 KAMOKILA BLVD., RM. 555
KAPOLEI, HI 96707

August 31, 2011

Dr. Hal Hammatt, Ph.D., President
Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, Inc.
P.O. Box 1114
Kailua, Hawai'i 96734

LOG NO: 2011.2263
DOC NO: 1108PC009

Dear Dr. Hammatt:

SUBJECT: WAIKIKI 62: A Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) for the Proposed International Market Place Revitalization Project, Waikiki Ahupua'a, Honolulu (Kona) District, O'ahu Island.
TMK: [1] 2-6-022:036.037.038, 039 & 043.

Mahalo for the opportunity to make recommendations for the aforementioned CIA for a significant area in Hawaii's history. As you well know, Waikiki was the preferred place for Hawaii's former royalty to relax and entertain as well as its prior use for fishing and kalo lo'i for the chiefs. Current landowners such as the Bishop Estate Trust, the Queen Liliuokalani Trust, as well as your client the Queen Emma Trust have informational documents that contain personal history of these ali'i and their holdings in Waikiki. While this parcel is heavily developed, the department does have concerns on possible burials and/or burial sites as there have been other finds in adjacent parcels.

The following recommendations may yield more historical and cultural information for the CIA:

1. Interviewing possible kupuna (elders) who grew up in Waikiki or recall the area's historic uses. Contact Mr. Jeff Apaka at the Waikiki Community Center and/or other senior citizen groups in the adjacent neighborhoods of Kapahulu, Kaimuki, Manoa and the Lanikila Senior group in Liliha.

2. The University of Hawaii at Manoa's Center for Hawaiian Studies regarding the historic significance and use of the project area in the historic time of the ali'i use of the 'aina for their homes in Waikiki.

3. The University of Hawaii at Manoa's Oral History program that has documented interviews and other media of Hawaii's history from early fishing village to plantation to modern culture through many individuals who have recalled the early days of Waikiki.

4. Contact Mr. Van Horn Diamond, a renowned Hawaiian musician who grew up in Waikiki and remembers what it was before development that may be helpful in this CIA. His contact phone is 808.943.8674 or snail mail at 1523 Halekula Way #F, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

Any questions, please call me at 808-692-8025 or via email at Phyllis.L.Cayan@hawaii.gov.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Coochie Cayan

Phyllis Coochie Cayan
SHPD History & Culture Branch Chief

Figure 32. SHPD response letter

PHONE (808) 594-1888 FAX (808) 594-1865

STATE OF HAWAI'I
OFFICE OF HAWAIIAN AFFAIRS
711 KAPI'OLANI BOULEVARD, SUITE 500
HONOLULU, HAWAI'I 96813

HRD11/5916

August 30, 2011

Joe Genz, Cultural Researcher
Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, Inc.
P.O. Box 1114
Kailua, Hawai'i 96734

Re: **Pre- Cultural Impact Assessment Consultation**
International Marketplace Revitalization Project
Waikiki, Island of O'ahu

Aloha e Joe Genz,

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is in receipt of your August 16, 2011 request for comments ahead of a cultural impact assessment (CIA) which will be prepared to support the International Marketplace Revitalization Project (the project) proposed by the Queen Emma Land Company and the Taubman Company.

The project will demolish the existing structures which constitute the "International Marketplace". A new three level retail center will be constructed and supporting utilities, amenities and infrastructure installed within the 5.98 acre project area. OHA does seek clarification whether an archaeological inventory survey will be conducted. CSH has well established relationships with the many recognized descendant families (families) of Kaka'ako and surrounding ahupua'a and we are confident that the forthcoming CIA will reflect extensive consultation with these families.

As project plans move forward, OHA suggests that native plant species traditionally found in the project area be considered in project landscaping design. In general, OHA believes utilizing certain native species has the potential to encourage practical traditional uses, while utilizing others that are drought tolerant has the potential to reduce demands on irrigation water.

We have no additional comments at this time. We look forward to reviewing the CIA when it is completed. Should you have any questions, please contact Keola Lindsey at 594-0244 or keolal@oha.org.

'O wau iho nō me ka 'oia'i'o,

Clyde W. Nāmu'o
Chief Executive Officer

CWN:kl

Figure 33. OHA response letter

Section 5 Interviews

Kama‘āina and kūpuna with knowledge of the proposed Project and study area participated in semi-structured interviews from August to October 2011 for this CIA. CSH attempted to contact 126 individuals for this CIA report; of those, ten responded and six participated in formal interviews. CSH initiated the interviews with questions from the following five broad categories: wahi pana and mo‘olelo, agriculture and gathering practices, freshwater and marine resources, cultural and historic properties, and burials. Participants' biographical backgrounds, comments, and concerns about the proposed development and Project area are presented below.

5.1 Acknowledgements

The authors and researchers of this report extend our deep appreciation to everyone who took time to speak and share their mana‘o (thoughts, opinions) with CSH whether in interviews or brief consultations. We request that if these interviews are used in future documents, the words of contributors are reproduced accurately and not in any way altered, and that if large excerpts from interviews are used, report preparers obtain the express written consent of the interviewee/s.

5.2 Anna Ka‘olelo Machado Cazimero

CSH interviewed Anna Ka‘olelo Machado Cazimero, a retired musician and Waikīkī kupuna, by phone on October 12, 2011 and previously on June 21, 2010 at the Lunalilo Home Adult Day Care Center in Hawai‘i Kai (Cruz and Hammatt 2011). Mrs. Cazimero was born to parents Manuel Ka‘olelo and Sarah Koleka Kuhaupi‘o on August 28, 1920 in Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai‘i.

Mrs. Cazimero spent her early childhood in Kailua-Kona in an area called Hōlualoa Makai. She explained that there were two areas of Hōlualoa, one called Hōlualoa Makai, located in the coastal area of Kailua-Kona, and the other Hōlualoa Mauka, located in the uplands of Kailua-Kona. Today there is no Hōlualoa Makai. During her teens and early adulthood, Mrs. Cazimero spent some of her time sorting coffee beans at the Kona Coffee Mill in Kailua-Kona. She noted that little children went to work with their parents because there were no babysitters, so children at a very young age also worked at odd tasks and were paid a small amount by the coffee companies. At times, she also worked in the fields picking coffee beans for what she considered small pay but still financially worthwhile because things were much cheaper back then.

Mrs. Cazimero explained that her family's home in Hōlualoa, like other homes of Hawaiian families in the area, usually had some instrument in the house like a guitar or ‘ukulele. At an early age, Mrs. Cazimero learned to play the various musical instruments at her home, although she insists she had no formal training. She learned to sing and to play the instruments by "ear," a method of learning and practicing music by listening to a song and replicating the melody on an instrument or by voice without actually knowing what chords are that are being played. To help her learn and understand the Hawaiian songs that were being played by other musicians, her family spoke both Hawaiian and English. By the time she was in her early twenties, Mrs. Cazimero had acquired more than enough musical talent to join the musicians union. She began playing music and singing professionally soon after.

At the age of 20, Mrs. Cazimero relocated to O‘ahu to seek job opportunities in the musical industry in Waikīkī. She recalled catching a ride on a cattle ship that frequently traveled between islands for five dollars, an activity affordable to and commonly practiced by local people. The two cattle ships she recalled were the *Humu‘ula* and the *Hawai‘i*. During the trips on the cattle ships, where everyone slept on deck with the cattle, Mrs. Cazimero recalled playing music, the practice of kanikapila (to play music together), aboard the ship with other musicians. She states that the atmosphere on the deck of the ship was like a big party and lots of fun.

One of her first gigs was playing for the Kodak Hula Show in Waikīkī. The Kodak Hula Show officially began March 7, 1937 in Waikīkī. It was created by Fritz Herman, then vice-president and manager of Kodak Hawai‘i, to create an opportunity for tourists to photograph hula dancers in the daytime. Mrs. Cazimero was part of the Kodak Hula Show at Sans Souci Beach near the Natatorium in Waikīkī.

Mrs. Cazimero continued to play for the Kodak Hula Show until it finally ended in 2002 after a 65 year run in the islands. Instruments played by Mrs. Cazimero include ‘ukulele, guitar and the stand-up bass; as well as vocals. She recalled that the show, held during daylight hours, was in an outdoor setting in the sun that was hot for the show’s cast.

During her early stint in Waikīkī with the Kodak Hula Show, Mrs. Cazimero was residing at 411e Kapahulu Avenue, minutes from the Waikīkī Beach. She recalled the December 7, 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japan, and how soon after, blackout laws were imposed by the U.S. military. She continued by sharing that no light was allowed to escape her house during the evening time or a night watchman would come to the house and reprimand her family for violations of the war-imposed blackout laws.

Soon after the historic attack on Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Cazimero found herself working at the Pearl Harbor Naval Yard building ammunition for the war effort of the U.S. military. She explained that she would take the bus early in the morning from Waikīkī and make her way to Pearl Harbor. Once there, she would board a ferry to get to Ford Island. In the factory where she worked, it was required that she have on her at all times her government-issued gas mask or she would not be allowed to work. The U.S. military was concerned for a chemical attack in the islands by Japan, so Mrs. Cazimero made sure she had her gas mask everyday she went to work at Pearl Harbor.

During the time she resided in Waikīkī, Mrs. Cazimero recalled gathering limu (seaweed) and catching fish along Waikīkī’s shores. The type of limu she collected was limu līpe‘epe‘e (see Appendix B for common and scientific plant and animal names mentioned by community participants), a much-desired edible red seaweed found near-shore in basaltic rocks and coral reefs throughout the Hawaiian islands. She recalled picking only enough limu for her family’s next meal and not over picking because the practice was to pick only as much as would be consumed for one meal. She noted that all practitioners knew that the ocean was an icebox that would hold the limu until the next meal, so picking more than was needed made no sense. She says this particular type of limu went well with all kinds of dishes.

Mrs. Cazimero recalled catching ‘upāpalu in Waikīkī, a type of cardinal fish. ‘Upāpalu is usually caught at night when the moon is bright, thus earning the nickname “moonfish” and its length is commonly three to five inches. This fish was eaten either raw or cooked, and was a

favorite of her mother-in-law at the time, Mrs. Amelia Machado, with whom she lived. Mrs. Cazimero also used to gather wana, sea urchin varieties with sharp pointed spikes, and hā‘uke‘uke, a type of shingle urchin used for both food and medicine.

One story shared by Mrs. Cazimero involved a dream she had about being given a gift by the sea. The day after she had the dream, she went to Sans Souci Beach to pick limu. The area, also known as Kaimana Beach, was during Mrs. Cazimero’s time, a narrow strip of rocky sand with a wide reef where local residents gathered octopus, limu, and other seafood. She typically wore *tabis*, (tabi is a Japanese shoe that can be used to walk on reefs) and a wide-brimmed hat secured with a string tied under her chin. That day, while she was out on the reef, a strong wind came and blew her hat off. It flipped over and landed on the shallow reef and a fish (an uhu [parrot fish]) jumped into her hat. Immediately she stopped gathering limu, picked up her hat with the fish in it, and went home. She gave the fish to her mother-in-law and told her about the dream. Her mother-in-law cooked the fish and they had it for dinner. She later told Mrs. Cazimero that the fish was a gift from the ocean and that the gift came for a reason, so she should be mindful that something else would likely happen. Several days later, Mrs. Cazimero went to the beach again to pick limu, but when she entered the water she found that the bottom of her feet hurt, so she went back on shore and discovered that the soles of her feet were cracking. She went to the doctor, who took some tests. Shortly afterward he determined that Mrs. Cazimero had become allergic to salt water. After that, she stopped going to the beach to gather limu and other seafood.

Now residing in Hawai‘i Kai at the Lunalilo Home Adult Day Care Center with other kūpuna, Mrs. Cazimero expressed her enjoyment of sharing her life stories with CSH. She spent over 50 years of her life in Waikīkī. She has worked with numerous musicians throughout her career such as Bill Lincoln, Van Horn Diamond, Lena Machado and John Alameida. Mrs. Cazimero was part of a group called the Diamond Head Trio, which included herself, Richard Wells and Doreen Lindsey. Her late husband, Bill Cazimero, is the father of the famous Hawaiian musical duo *The Brothers Cazimero*.

Mrs. Cazimero does not have any concerns or recommendations for the proposed Project.

5.3 Clarence Medeiros, Jr.

CSH contacted Clarence Medeiros, Jr. on October 12, 2011 to follow-up on a previously conducted interview in Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i on May 27, 2010 (Cruz and Hammatt 2011) and by phone on December 29, 2004 for a cultural evaluation of the International Market Place (Mitchell et al. 2005). In this interview and in the past statements regarding projects in Waikīkī, which Mr. Medeiros approved to be re-used, he details his ‘ohana (family) links to Waikīkī as well as provide comments specific to this Project. He has four documented genealogical connections with Waikīkī.

Mr. Medeiros was born in 1952 in South Kona to Clarence Medeiros Sr. and Pansy Hua Kalalahua. He served in the United States Army from 1969 to 1972, including a tour of duty in Vietnam. Mr. Medeiros is married to his wife, Nellie, and they tend to a coffee, taro, and macadamia nut farm on Hawai‘i Island. They have two children: Jacob, 36, and Kareen, 38.

Mr. Medeiros’ interest in his genealogy was sparked when he first saw a picture of his grandmother, Violet Leihulu Mokuohai Parker. Grandma Violet was tall, fair and had green

eyes. But inside, she was pure Hawaiian. Mr. Medeiros grew up learning about his grandmother through stories from his parents, kūpuna, and from his grand-uncle, the famed canoe carver Charles Mokuohai Parker, the brother of Grandma Violet. Grand-uncle Charles made canoes for canoe clubs throughout the islands. By the time Mr. Medeiros was in his 20s, he had spent many hours documenting his family connections. Using sources such as oral history, Mormon genealogical records and scholarly works, he outlined four connections to the Waikīkī area.

Mr. Medeiros states that the Project area involves Waikīkī kai, and is part of Honolulu district. While showing CSH a map of 1874 Waikīkī, he notes that “Mānoa, Makiki, and Pauoa Ahupua‘a all take care of the Waikīkī area. Most of the land we are talking about went through Kamehameha IV. Kamehameha IV owned several big portions.”

Stating that he has Hawaiian, Portuguese, English, Scottish, Spanish and Chinese in his background, Mr. Medeiros explains that his first connection to Waikīkī is through his great-great-great grandfather, Samuel Puhalahua. He documented that LC Award 1268 was awarded to Nakai and it involved 1.60 acres and 23/100 acres in Waikīkī waena, not at the beach area of Waikīkī. The land consisted of a lo‘i. Nakai conveyed the land to William Smith who later conveyed it to Naomi Nakuapa Puhalahua, the wife of Kuwalu Puhalahua. Kuwalu, the father of Samuel Puhalahua, was Mr. Medeiros’ great-great-great-great grandfather.

Samuel Puhalahua married Kanika and they had a son named John Mokuohai Puhalahua, the great-great-grandfather of Mr. Medeiros. Mr. Puhalahua married a half-English, half-Hawaiian woman named Kaehamalaole Elemakule Clark. They had one child, Abigail Mokuohai, who is the great-grandmother of Mr. Medeiros. Abigail married William Parker Jr. and they had two children, one of them was Violet Leihulu Mokuohai Parker, who was the grandmother of Mr. Medeiros and whose picture first inspired his genealogical interest when he was a young boy.

As for the second connection to the Waikīkī area, Mr. Medeiros describes his great-grandfather, Zen Man Sing, (also known as “Zane Man Sing”), who is connected to Mr. Medeiros’ maternal side. His great-grandfather was Chinese and arrived in Hawai‘i in 1888. Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Medeiros’ great-grandfather worked in Waikīkī with relatives planting rice and taro and working in the Sun/Soong stores which were owned by his mother’s family. Mr. Medeiros states the following:

> It was all water, swampland. Waikīkī was all lo‘i kind of land around 1890s. Life was kind of hard then. But they [great-grandfather and family] are Chinese; they are business-minded. They are looking to get better. After five years of planting rice, great-grandpa came to Kona, hearing stories that coffee would make money. He went to Ho‘okena where he met my great-grandmother, Kaaumoana Niau. They got married and ended up in Kalahiki. Then he moved back to O‘ahu. All his kids were raised in Kalahiki as well as O‘ahu. Now they are all over Honolulu.

From this union, Mr. Medeiros’ grandma, Annie, was born in Waiea, South Kona. Her full name was Annie Man Sing Zen, and she did not follow her parents and siblings when they later moved to Honolulu. Instead, she stayed behind and lived with different family members in Ki‘ilae, Honaunau, Kēōkea and Kalahiki. Grandma Annie married her first husband, Charles Hua, the grandfather of Mr. Medeiros. After his death, Annie married Charles Weeks.

In 1975, Mr. Medeiros went to a family reunion and spent time with his grandma Annie and other relatives:

> My grandma was still alive at that time. In her 90s, and also one of her brothers. We got to talk about their life in Kalahiki and O‘ahu…They remembered going to school in Kalahiki and Ho‘okena; [they] walked to school, fished, worked in the farm and picked coffee. When they moved to O‘ahu, they worked in a hotel. The older ones liked the old-time life, fishing, hunting which they could do in Kalihiki, but not in O‘ahu.

Regarding the third connection to Waikīkī, Mr. Medeiros explains that his grand-aunt Miriam Peleuli Crowingburg Amalu owned several parcels of choice land in Waikīkī. She and Mr. Medeiros share the same bloodline through a relative named Kameeiamoku. Miriam was a close friend and relative of Queen Lili‘uokalani and often visited the palace to see the queen. She later had her properties auctioned off and conveyed to others. It was from Miriam’s grandson that some properties were conveyed to Mr. Medeiros. These properties included 1¼ of an acre in Ho‘okena Beach and 300-plus acres in Waiea on Hawai‘i Island.

His fourth connection to the ahupua‘a of Waikīkī is from the Portuguese side of his family. When Mr. Medeiros was around seven years old, he attended school in O‘ahu. He first lived with his great-grandmother Mary Costa Pimental. Great-grandma Mary was married three times: her first marriage was to Marion Medeiros, whose son was Frank Medeiros. Frank Medeiros had married Grandma Violet, who was a direct descendant of Samuel Puhalahua who owned land in the middle part of Waikīkī (see above).

Mr. Medeiros’ great-grandma Mary’s maiden name was “Pacheco” and she came from a Portuguese-Italian background. During the year he visited and lived with them in their home on Birch St., Mr. Medeiros would watch his great-grandpa by marriage, Frank Pimental, play *bocci* (ancient game stemming from the Roman Empire which resembled bowling) along with other elderly men. He and great-grandma Mary would bake bread every Thursday. All the great-aunts would converge to help with the baking of bread and *malassadas* (sweet doughnuts originating from a Portuguese colony), and they would hug and squeeze their eight-year-old great-nephew until he was blue.

While his father worked for the survey of the Wilson Tunnel, Mr. Medeiros went to Lanakila School in Kalihi. His father also worked part-time for former Mayor Frank Fasi as a truck driver. Mr. Medeiros remembered old landmarks of Honolulu during his time there, like the old Honolulu Stadium and Ft. DeRussy where his great-grandpa played *bocci*. In Kalihi, there was a wigwam store that is no longer there. The remaining eight months of that year, Mr. Medeiros lived with his father’s half-sister who was also named Violet. Her neighbors were relatives of Mr. Medeiros’ mother. Kalihi had a river, and there he used to catch tilapia with relatives and friends.

Mr. Medeiros believes that because of the customary Hawaiian practice of burying family members within their pā hale (yard), it is highly likely that Native Hawaiian burials may exist in this Project area. He also thinks that since foreigners also lived in Waikīkī, burials of these foreigners may also be found within the Project area. Mr. Medeiros does not have any concerns or recommendations for the proposed renovation of the International Market Place.

5.4 Sylvia Krewson-Reck

CSH interviewed Mrs. Sylvia Krewson-Reck by phone on Ocrober 18, 2011 and previously at her home in Kahalu‘u on the windward side of O‘ahu on March 23, 2010 (Cruz and Hammatt 2010). Aunt Sylvia, as she is affectionately known, was born in 1929. When she was seven years old she and her family moved to O‘ahu to a small home in Kalihi Valley. She spent childhood time in the Waikīkī area beginning at the age of eight. Two years later, she and her siblings were put into the custody of the St. Mary’s Orphanage on King Street in Mō‘ili‘ili, where they spent the next five years:

> …we were placed in the St. Mary’s Orphanage; we attended Lunalilo School in Honolulu. We still had visits from our parents every now and then but we continued to stay at St Mary’s. I was lucky enough to be named “Princess O‘ahu” on May 1, 1941 for Lunalilo School…I don’t know how that happened but there I was, “Princess O‘ahu” with the flowers and all on May Day. I was taught a poem to give the aging Hawaiians at the Lunalilo Home for the Elders.
>
> I remember riding the trolley from the orphanage into Waikīkī. As we rode on McCully Street heading towards Waikīkī, on the left hand side or the Diamond Head side of McCully Street, were all these fishponds and lo‘i [Figure 34 and Figure 35]. Didn’t have all the buildings like now. It was taro and fishponds but I guess they all got filled in.

In 1932, George P. Mossman opened Lālani Hawaiian Village in Waikīkī to demonstrate traditional hula in tribute to the monarchy. The presence of Kuluwaimaka, the former chanter for Kalākaua, lent the village much credibility (Figure 36). After spending five years at St. Mary’s, Aunt Sylvia attended the Lālani Hawaiian Village in Waikīkī, at the corner of Kalākaua Avenue and Kapahulu Boulevard:

> I became a student at Lālani Hawaiian Village. That’s where I started learning about the Hawaiian culture and specific dance for the royalty. It was right near the beach in Waikīkī. I believe the person that ran the village was George Mossman. He even created a place in the village that I believe was a heiau. There was a Hawaiian cultural feel to the place. I danced hula there. Our hālau [hula group] was called “Ho‘o Na‘auao Hawai‘i o Mokīmana.” It means “Spread Knowledge of Hawai‘i” (through the dance). My kumu hula was Pualani, Leilani, and Pi‘ilani Mossman, they were wonderful people.

Often her parents took her to play at Waikīkī beach, where she enjoyed the beaches and surfed:

> When my father used to take us kids with him, he would bring us to the beach at Waikīkī. He would hang out at this bar called the Waikīkī Tavern. It was right on the beach, so he’d be at the beer garden and us kids would be on the beach. So we basically grew up on Waikīkī beach. All the old timers were there. Folks like George Downing was there. My surfing partner was Joseph Kaopuiki [Figure 37]. His nick name was “Scooter Boy.” He was known at that time as the surfer who rode the biggest wave on the North Shore. Everyone knew him. He was

> Cherokee Hawaiian. He was a really close friend of mine, he was a little older than me but we were really close. He would take me tandem surfing all the time. We were best friends but he never made a move on me, I'll never forget that [smiling as she said that]. I think he respected me too much. He was such a good man…quiet…and very respectful.
>
> Anyway, while we were at the beach my dad was at the Tavern. Richard Kauhi was a musician upstairs at the Tavern. He played the piano and sang. He was so good. When I hear his songs now, it brings back those memories, he died very young.

Aunt Sylvia elaborated about the Hawaiian music scene in Waikīkī when she was growing up:

> At night in Waikīkī, there were all these Hawaiian music entertainers. It was before Don Ho's time. Under the big Banyan tree at Kūhiō Beach, the Kalima Brothers used to play for the crowds and they'd pass a bucket around for donations. They were really great musicians. At night, you could hear the music and people would follow the music and that's where the party was.
>
> Gabby Pahinui was also playing. His gig was at this hotel called Niumalu Hotel. He played with Pua Alameida, I remember they were good. It was before Gabby was big time. They played at this dinner and dance place. I used to go there on dates.

After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, members of the Royal Hawaiian Band visited Ellen Wright Prendergast, a close friend of Queen Lili‘uokalani, and expressed their unhappiness with the takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. At her father's home in Kapālama, Ms. Prendergast put the band member's feelings into the song "*Kaulana Nā Pua*," or "Famous are the Children." Today, this song continues to be symbolic of the Hawaiian independence movement. Aunt Sylvia shared a story of Ms. Prendergast during her teen years:

> I had a classmate and her name was Lorna Prendergast. One day after school we went to her home in Kapālama. While there, he grandmother, an older woman, came through the kitchen. Lorna introduced her grandmother to us. She was very nice to us and they had a piano in which we played and sang songs. This was in 1947.
>
> One day about ten years ago, I recalled that day in 1947 and it was then that I realized that Lorna's grandmother was Ellen Wright Prendergast, the woman who wrote *Kaulana Nā Pua*. On that day at Lorna's house, we never heard of that song so we just played on the piano and had fun.

Aunt Sylva also recalls that in *Hawaii's Story* (1898), Lili‘uokalani wrote that she delighted in seeing people of opposite political views enjoy themselves at Hamohamo, her seaside estate (now Kuhiō Beach). To Aunt Sylvia, these people were most magnanimous.

With such massive development that has taken place in Waikīkī, Aunt Sylvia is not aware of any potential cultural impacts from the proposed Project at the International Market Place, and does not have any concerns or recommendations.

Figure 34. Photograph of trolley on Waikīkī Road circa 1940 described by Mrs. Krewson-Reck in her interview (photograph courtesy Hawai‘i State Archives)

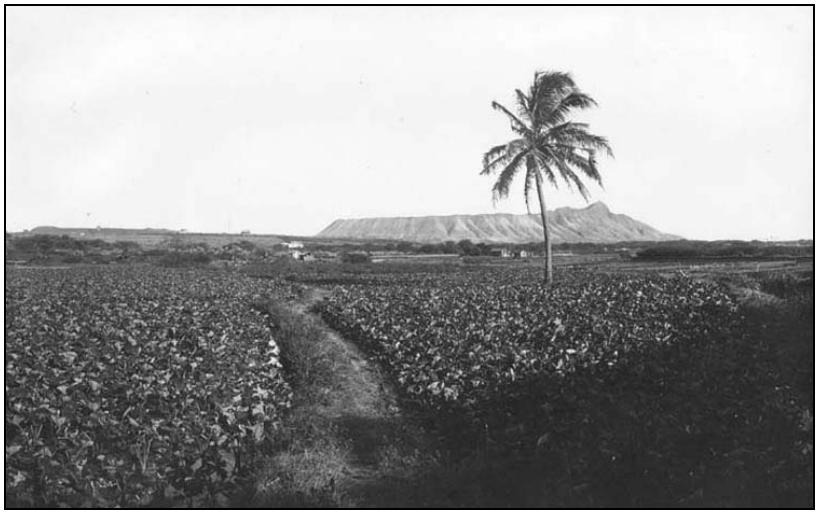

Figure 35. View of Diamond Head from McCully Street showing fields of lo‘i kalo circa 1940 described by Mrs. Krewson-Reck in her interview (photograph courtesy of Kamehameha Schools’ Baker Collection 1826–1940)

Figure 36. Kuluwaimaka, the court chanter for Kalākaua, at the Lālani Village (Hibbard and Franzen1986:130)

Figure 37. Photograph of Aunt Sylvia Krewson-Reck with Joseph “Scooter Boy” Kaopuiki circa 1945 (photograph courtesy of Aunt Sylvia Krewson-Reck)

5.5 Cy Harris

CSH interviewed Cy Harris by phone on October 13, 2011 and previously on December 16, 2004 for a cultural evaluation of the International Market Place (Mitchell et al. 2005). Mr. Harris, a cultural descendant with familial ties to Waikīkī, was born in Honolulu in 1953, and is a member of the Kekumano ‘Ohana. Mr. Harris notes that several heiau were located in Waikīkī, with the most famous heiau located on the slope of Lē‘ahi Crater. He mentions that the Hawaiians used the ocean off Waikīkī for gathering limu kohu (seaweed) and wāwae‘iole (a moss).

Based on research undertaken by his kumu, Mr. Harris thinks it is very probable that burials will be found in the Project area. He explains that the epidemics that occurred in post-Contact Hawai‘i resulted in mass burials along coastal regions. Additionally, the Project construction may uncover remnants associated with the ali‘i who once lived in Waikīkī.

5.6 Van Horn Diamond

CSH interviewed Van Horn Diamond by phone on October 18, 2011 and previously on June 21, 2010 in Honolulu (Cruz and Hammatt 2011). Mr. Diamond was born and raised in Waikīkī. Mr. Diamond served six years on the OIBC and is the former OIBC chairperson. His family’s residence was on Kānekapōlei Street, named after one of the wives of Kamehameha I. Mr. Diamond adds that most of the place names in Waikīkī, including the street names, were associated with Kamehameha I or the ali‘i class in general.

Mr. Diamond describes his mother’s occupation during his youth:

> My mom was a schoolteacher and played music. My grandmother had a hula troupe and her sister had a hula troupe. My grandmother’s hula troupe was the Honolulu Girls. They called it glee clubs at the time. Her sister’s one was the Royal Hawaiian Girls Glee Club. The Royal Hawaiian Girls Glee Club was the ones that maintained and performed at the Kodak Hula show all these years.

Mr. Diamond describes his childhood home on Kānekapōlei Street:

> It was pretty much urbanized by then. When I was growing up there was a fence line. On the other side of the fence were date trees. And the other side of the fig trees there were bachelors’ quarters, Filipino workers for the hotels. And the community shower and there were these banyan trees. That was Supervisor’s Road. And where the parking lot is, it connects to Kānekapōlei, that part of the parking lot, there was a platform. It could’ve been… Now, in retrospect, it could’ve been a platform for iwi, for whatever. What I saw there was, they had like, rotted out, badminton net kind of situation. And they had backboard for basketball. That’s all there was. But thinking about it now, it could’ve been a platform. And the banyan tree was right there.
>
> Where we lived, I go the ball game, I walk home. Cheaper than riding the bus. Take too long the bus. Gotta get on the bus in front of the stadium, go all the way to Pāwa‘a, where Cinerama was, get off there, get on another bus and we’d get on the bus that came from Mānoa, then it’d take you down around by Fisherman’s

> Wharf and come all the way and then up along the Ala Wai. Or take the bus that went right down through Waikīkī and ended up by the Moana Hotel, Moana Surfrider, then walk home. Too long! So we just got off, walk down.

The International Market Place has a strong history of entertainers. During his childhood, Mr. Diamond listened to the musicians who played there, including Don Ho. He has fond memories of the group, “Hawaii Calls,” which broadcast its radio show from the banyan tree inside the International Market Place. This music scene was, and continues to be, an integral part of the International Market Place, and Mr. Diamond recommends that it be perpetuated in the Project’s revitalization design.

Musicians in Waikīkī during the 1940s and 1950s were unionized already. Mr. Diamond shares some insight into what it was like for his mother being a musician in the union:

> There was a union, but they didn’t pay that much attention to it. Some were unionized, some were not. My mom got kicked out of the union because she wouldn’t stop playing for her mother. She knew who the union president was and one day she was playing at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on arrival day, or boat day and the union president showed up. He was wondering what she was doing. She said, “Oh, I got kicked out of the union.” So he got her back in. She got back in after she saw him.

Mr. Diamond expresses his mana‘o regarding burials in the vicinity of the Project area. There is a possibility of uncovering burials in the eastern section of the Project area and makai of the Project area along Kalākaua Avenue. Mr. Diamond explains that the area of the current Princess Kai‘ulani Hotel used to be an open area with guest cottages of the Moana, and human remains have been previously discovered in this former cottage area. Thus, it may be possible that burials may extend into the eastern section of the Project area. In addition, a previous study uncovered a burial at the crosswalk just makai of the Project area under Kalākaua Avenue, which suggests that burials may be located closer to the makai portion of the Project area. Should any burials be uncovered within the International Market Place, Mr. Diamond asserts that as much information of the remains and context must be understood as possible. He recommends legally extricating the remains to a proximate location in order to address them, and to ascertain the significance of the site of the remains. Depending on the findings, the human remains could be preserved in a memorial for “all past generations” within Waikīkī.

5.7 Richard Paglinawan

CSH interviewed Richard Paglinawan in Waimānalo on September 20, 2011. Mr. Paglinawan, who was born in 1936 and raised in Waiāhole Ahupua‘a, is a special assistant at the Queen Emma Foundation and was formerly the administrator of OHA. He had previously prepared the following documents for the Queen Emma Land Company, which he shared with CSH: *Some Notes on the Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni Restoration Project* (1997) and *Waikiki Then and Waikiki Now* (2008).

Mr. Paglinawan describes the history of Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni, or the Life-giving Stones of Kapaemahu and Kapuni, commonly referred to as the Wizard Stones. According to Mr. Paglinawan’s summary of various mo‘olelo, four healers gifted in medicinal

practices once came from Kahiki [the ancestral homeland of the Hawaiians], most likely the sacred land of Raiatea. While some sources claim that they were homosexuals, Tūtū Mary Kawena Pukui asserts that they were gender neutral. The wizards included Kapaemahu, who, due to his impartial gender, could examine and heal both men and women, Kahoe, a diagnostician who could determine illness just by visual assessment, Kahaloa, who was able to breathe life into ill patients, and Kapuni, who could envelope his patients with his mana to overcome their illness.

When the four healers returned to Kahiki, they had stones placed to commemorate their existence. They were most likely quarried from a site in Kaimuki near the present-day intersection of Wai‘alae Avenue and 5th Avenue, and then transported to Waikīkī. The coastal and inland region of Waikīkī was dominated by lo‘i, which would have made the movement of these pōhaku difficult, but, according to Dr. George S. Kanahele, the stones may have been moved on a 12-foot wide causeway that extended between Mānoa and Waikīkī, which was observed by George Vancouver in 1792.

Two of the commemorative stones were placed at the healers’ residences, and two were placed in their bathing place in the sea. The Honorable A.S. Cleghorn unearthed an eight-ton stone at his residence close to the Moana Hotel in 1905. Another stone weighing ten tons was uncovered by Mr. Lutted, and two more were excavated in a straight line with the others. Underneath the ten-ton stone Mr. Cleghorn uncovered a female jaw bone and some crude images, which he later cemented onto the stone. In 1941, the Waikiki Bowling Alley was constructed with the stones serving as part of the foundation, but were then uncovered in 1958 when the building was razed. In 1963 the stones were located together on the beach, and in 1980 they were relocated to their present site near the police substation. The location of Mr. Cleghorn’s cement casings indicated that the stones had been positioned incorrectly; however, a decision was reached to leave them as they had been placed.

Mr. Paglinawan also traces royal lineages in Waikīkī. The ali‘i Mā‘ilikūkahi, born at the sacred site of Kūkaniloko in the fifteenth century, was installed as the mō‘ī, or paramount ruler, at the heiau of Kapukapuākea, after which he moved to the lands of Helumoa in Waikīkī. This marked a shift in royal residence to Waikīkī. In the eighteenth century, Kahekili, the ruling chief of O‘ahu, stipulated that his nephew and mō‘ī of O‘ahu, Kahāhana, should give him the lands of Kualoa. Kahāhana’s priest, Ka‘ōpulupulu, was strongly opposed to forsaking the sovereignty of O‘ahu, but when Kahāhana did not listen to his advice, Ka‘ōpulupulu prophesized their deaths and the future invasion of ruling chiefs from Hawai‘i Island (Kamehameha) and foreigners, resulting in the loss of O‘ahu (and Hawaiian) sovereignty:

> According to Tūtū’s [Mary Kawena Pukui] version, which is interesting, Ka‘ōpulupulu, when making that prophecy, was in Nānākuli. What he did was to tattoo his knee. And in tattooing his knee, because he had given advice to Kahāhana [who] did not heed his advice, he tattooed his knee so that when people would look and say “Ka‘ōpulupulu, how come your knee is tattooed?”, he said “My chief was deaf, kuli, to my advice.” And the prophecy that he gave that he would be killed, Ka‘ōpulupulu would be killed, and that Kahāhana himself would also be killed and offered as a human sacrifice on the same heiau. To seal that fate, he had told his son, Kahulupue, to go out on Pōka‘ī Bay and drown himself. Now it’s very rare to see [a] Hawaiian drown himself because they're good

> fishermen. So he must have swam way the hell out. But did, in fact, drown himself. And according to Ka‘ōpulupulu the prophecy was sealed at that time.

Ka‘ōpulupulu, who was slain by Kahāhana at ‘Āpuakehau Heiau, was strung up on a tree, such that chickens were eating maggots that fell from the rotting bodies, hence the name Helumoa, or “chicken scratch.” After the death of Ka‘ōpulupulu, Kahekili invaded O‘ahu in 1780 to overthrow Kahāhana (who was later sacrificed on the same heiau as Ka‘ōpulupulu), clogging the streams of ‘Ewa with bodies of the slain chiefly lines, and settling in Helumoa.

Then, Kamehameha invaded O‘ahu in 1795 from Hawai‘i Island, landing 10,000 canoes with 30,000 troops in Waikīkī, to defeat Kalanikupule, the son of Kahekili. Kamehameha’s warriors were housed and fed on the only upraised land in Waikīkī—the land of Helumoa (near the International Market Place). Epidemics in the 1800s may have resulted in many Hawai‘i Island ali‘i buried in the area.

The area of the International Market Place was also utilized by immigrant Japanese workers. During the construction of hotels (Moana Hotel, Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and Surfrider Hotel) in the early twentieth century by the Matson Navigation Company, cottages were built in the area of the International Market Place for housing the mostly Japanese immigrant workers and their families, called “Japanese Camps.”

Mr. Paglinawan shares his childhood memories of the International Market Place and Waikīkī. In the 1950s and 1960s, the area of the International Market Place was a desired destination for locals and tourists, who were drawn to Hawaiian musicians and entertainers such as Don Ho and Kui Lee. Mr. Paglinawan’s family regularly came to Waikīkī on Sundays, where they visited the zoo, listened to the Royal Hawaiian Band at the bandstand, swam at San Souci Beach, dove off a diving board at the Natatorium, and listened to the music in the evenings. In the tidal pools by the Natatorium, he and his family also gathered limu and caught he‘e (octopus), mullet (‘ama‘ama), pāpio, uhu, and hīnālea (wrasse), and consumed the fish that same day.

Mr. Paglinawan does not have any concerns for the proposed Project, but recommends re-introducing a more local Hawaiian sense of place than is currently established.

Section 6 Cultural Landscape

Discussions of specific aspects of traditional Hawaiian culture as they may relate to the Project area are presented below. This section integrates information from Sections 3–5 in order to examine cultural resources and practices identified within or in proximity to the Project area in the broader context of the encompassing landscape of Waikīkī Kai.

6.1 Settlement

After the first settlement of O‘ahu, which may have occurred between approximately A.D. 1040 and 1219 in the windward Ko‘olaupoko region (Dye and Pantaleo 2010), the southern coast of Waikīkī Kai was occupied by at least A.D. 1400. Numerous excavated subsurface cultural layers have been radiocarbon dated to between approximately A.D. 1400 and 1800, with evidence of habitation, subsistence and other occupational activities.

6.2 Habitation

Subsurface cultural layers throughout Waikīkī Kai contain pits, firepits, post molds, food debris, and associated burials that indicate habitation, as well as stone tool production, as early as approximately A.D. 1400 (e.g., SIHP 50-80-14-4224, Beardsley and Kaschko 1997). Such cultural layers have been uncovered in close proximity to the Project area, including Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991; SIHP 50-80-14-7068, Thurman et al. 2009), the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-7066, Runyon et al. 2010), and across Kalākaua Avenue (no SIHP number, Bush et al. 2002). This area close to the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream was most likely the area of the coastal village of Waikīkī Kai.

Waikīkī Kai was an area for royalty to relax and entertain, according to community participant Ms. Cayan, starting with Mā‘ilikūkahi in approximately A.D. 1490 (Kamakau n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:74), continuing with Kākuhihewa in the late 1500s (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:2), and extending until the time of Kamehameha’s conquest of O‘ahu in 1795 (‘Ī‘ī 1959:17). La‘ie-lohelohe, the daughter of Kalamakua, was raised within the bounds of Kaluaokau, the ‘ili within which the Project area is located, and gave birth to her son at the nearby ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau (Kamakau 1991:49). At the Māhele, the ‘ili of Kaluaokau was granted to William Lunalilo (LCA 8599, ‘Āpana 31) (Waihona ‘Aina 2000), whose cottage was located just outside the Project area (Lyons 1875–1877), and who bequeathed the ‘ili to Queen Emma (Kanahele 1995).

More recently, community participants Ms. Krewson-Reck, Ms. Cazimero, and Mr. Diamond express their cultural attachment to Waikīkī as a place of surfing and other forms of recreation, such as swimming and listening to Hawaiian music, such as at the International Market Place.

6.3 Cultivation

The population of Waikīkī Kai was supported by a vast area of wetland taro cultivation, as well as coconut groves and fishponds, as stated by Ms. Cayan and supported by archaeology. Subsurface cultural layers throughout Waikīkī Kai provide evidence of this wetland cultivation, including buried lo‘i sediments, retaining walls and bunds, channelized muliwai and ‘auwai, and

kuāuna. One such layer has been uncovered in close vicinity to the Project area at the Waikīkī Shopping Plaza (SIHP 50-80-14-5796, Yucha et al. 2009).

6.4 Makai Resources

The streams that watered the lo‘i in the flat plain of Waikīkī originated from the valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo, but the names of the streams changed: Mānoa Stream became Kālia Stream and Pālolo Stream became Pāhoa Stream. They joined in the ‘ili of Hamohamo and then divided into three new streams that flowed into the sea, including ‘Āpuakēhau that flowed through the southeastern portion of the Project area. The land between these three streams was called Waikolu, meaning “three waters” (Kanahele 1995:7–8). Historic documents describe “several hundred” and “innumerable” artificial freshwater fishponds extending a mile inland from the shore (Bloxam 1925:35–36, cited in McAllister 1933:76). Cultural layers provide evidence of some of these fishponds that date to approximately A.D. 1400 to 1700, as well as inland burning associated with clearance of land for agriculture SIHP 50-80-14-4573, -4574, -04575, and -4577, Denham and Pantaleo 1997a, 1997b). Oral histories indicate early twentieth century gathering practices of several varieties of limu and wana along the Waikīkī coast, and catching of manini in the near-shore waters and moi, shrimp, ‘oama, mullet, ‘a‘awa, āholehole, pāpio, and ‘o‘opu in ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (UHCOH 1985). In their youth, community participants Mrs. Cazimero, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Paglinawan gathered limu līpe‘epe‘e, limu kohu, wāwae‘iole, wana, and hā‘uke‘uke, and caught he‘e, mullet, pāpio, uhu, hīnālea, and ‘upāpalu along the Waikīkī coast.

6.5 Storied Landscape

Numerous wahi pana are located throughout Waikīkī Kai, including the most important heiau on O‘ahu, Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, according to community participant Mr. Harris. Mr. Paglinawan describes how ‘Āpuakēhau Stream was connected to mo‘olelo of ‘Āpuakēhau (or Helumoa) Heiau and Nā Pohaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni. The eighteenth century ali‘i Kahahana, lived close to the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, slayed his priest, Ka‘opulupulu, whose body was placed at ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau after he prophesized the loss of O‘ahu sovereignty and his own death (Thrum 1998:214). In addition, two of four large pōhaku, quarried in Kaimukī, were originally placed near the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (and later moved to the current site near the police substation) to commemorate four healers from Kahiki (Paglinawan).

6.6 Burials and Human Sacrifice

Waikīkī Kai was a place for sacrificial drowning of kauwā (*Ka Loea Kālai‘āina* 1899, translation in Sterling and Summers 1978:33), human sacrifices at four po‘okanaka-class heiau, including ‘Āpuakēhau (Helumoa) Heiau (Thrum 1905:200–202), and numerous burials in Jaucas sand deposits. Interpretations of the place name, Kaluaokau, suggest an area of human sacrifice, with such connotations as burying or burning the ali‘i Kauhi-a-Kama, or executing kapu-breakers or sacrificing victims by a lua technique involving strangling (McKinzie 2005:24–28). Interment of the dead included large concentrations of burials such as the Moana Hotel near the Project area (24 burials, SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991), smaller concentrations and individual burials. Human remains representing one individual buried with a shell were uncovered in 1967 by Lloyd J. Soehren during construction of the “Tahiti By Six” bar, located within the Project area (BPBM Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal

Register 1998), and other burials have been uncovered along or near Kalākaua Avenue near the Project area (SIHP 50-80-14-5856-A and -5856-B Winiewski et al. 2002; SIHP 50-80-14-5856-C, -5864-C, -5860-U and –V, Griffin 1987; SIHP 50-80-14-6703, O’Leary et al. 2005; SIHP 50-80-14-5863, Winieski et al. 2001), at the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-7067, Runyon et al. 2010), and at the former Kawaiaha‘o Waikīkī Branch Church and Cemetery (SIHP 50-80-14-7065, Runyon et al. 2010). Community participants Mr. Harris, Mr. Medeiros, Mr. Diamond, and Ms. Cayan assert a high likelihood of uncovering burials or burial sites within the Project area for a variety of reasons.

Section 7 Summary and Recommendations

CSH undertook this CIA at the request of the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company. The cultural survey broadly included the entire ahupua‘a of Waikīkī (Waikīkī Kai) including the specific Project area within the ‘ili of Kaluaokau.

7.1 Results of Background Research

Background research for this Project yielded the following results (presented in approximate chronological order):

1. A vast system of irrigated taro fields was constructed across the littoral plain from Waikīkī Kai to the lower valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo in approximately A.D. 1400. This, in combination with coconut groves and fishponds along the shoreline, enabled the growth of a sizeable population, including the coastal village of Waikīkī, which most likely centered around the mouth of ‘Āpuakēhau Stream in the vicinity of the Project area.
2. Cultural layers excavated throughout Waikīkī Kai and radiocarbon dated to approximately A.D. 1400 to 1800 provide evidence of this habitation, cultivation and aquaculture, as well as occupational activities of fishing, manufacture of tools and ornaments, and the use of adzes (see Figure 6, Table 2). In close proximity to the Project area are cultural layers indicative of habitation at the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel (State Inventory of Historic Places [SIHP] 50-80-14-7066, Runyon et al. 2010), Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991; SIHP 50-80-14-7068, Thurman et al. 2009), and at Kalākaua Avenue (Bush et al. 2002). In addition, a cultural layer indicative of wetland cultivation is located at the nearby Waikīkī Shopping Plaza (SIHP 50-80-14-5796, Yucha et al. 2009).
3. At least seven heiau (places of worship) and other religious sites were located in Waikīkī Kai, including Helumoa Heiau (also called ‘Āpuakēhau Heiau) (Thrum 1907a:44) and Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni (commonly called the Wizard Stones) (Paglinawan 1997; Thrum 1907b:139–141) in the vicinity of the Project area. These sites are connected through mo‘olelo (oral traditions) to ‘Āpuakēhau Stream, which once flowed through the southeast portion of the Project area.
4. Four of these heiau were associated with human sacrifice, including Helumoa Heiau (Thrum 1907a:44). Sacrificial drownings of kauwā (outcast caste) also took place in Waikīkī (*Ka Loea Kālai‘āina* 1899, translation in Sterling and Summers 1978:33). In addition, excavations and surveys have documented a high density of burials within the Jaucas sand deposits of Waikīkī, including 24 burials at the Moana Hotel (SIHP 50-80-14-1974, Simons et al. 1991). Within the Project area, human remains representing one individual buried with a funerary object (shell) were uncovered in 1967 by Lloyd J. Soehren during construction of the “Tahiti By Six” bar (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum [BPBM] Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum Native American Graves Protection and Repatration Act [NAGPRA] Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998). In addition, the following burials (single or small concentrations) have been uncovered along or near Kalākaua

Avenue in close proximity to the Project area (within 400 feet): SIHP 50-80-14-5856-A; SIHP 50-80-14-5856-B (Winieski et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-5856-C; SIHP 50-80-14-5864-C; 50-80-14-5860-U and –V (Bush et al. 2002); SIHP 50-80-14-3745 (Griffin 1987), SIHP 50-80-14-6703 (O'Leary et al. 2005); SIHP 50-80-14-5863 (Winieski et al. 2001); SIHP 50-80-14-7067 (Runyon et al. 2010); and SIHP 50-80-14-7065, Runyon et al. 2010).

5. The Project area is located in ‘ili (land division smaller than an ahupua‘a) of Kaluaokau in the central portion of Waikīkī. There are several possible meanings of Kaluaokau depending on pronunciation and combination of root words, most of which suggest a place deeply connected to the mana (divine power) of the Waikīkī ali‘i (chief) as indicated by interpretations of human sacrifice. The term may commemorate the burning sacrifice of the ali‘i Kauhi-a-Kama, as in "the pit of Kau" (ka-lua-o-Kau), "the pit of Kauhi-a-Kama" The term may also translate as the "lua fighting stroke of kau [hanging]" (ka-lua-o-kau) in reference to a special lua (hand-to-hand combat) strangling technique that was used to execute kapu (taboo) breakers and sacrificial victims (McKinzie 2005:24–28; Paglinawan 2008:8). It may also translate as "the grave of Ka‘u" (ka-lu‘a-o-ka‘u) (Thrum 1922:641).
6. Waikīkī Kai was a place of royal residence, starting with Mā‘ilikūkahi in approximately A.D. 1490 (Kamakau n.d., cited in McAllister 1933:74) and extending through Kamehameha (‘Ī‘ī 1959:17). The ‘ili of Kaluaokau, in which the Project area is located, was one such place of royal residence. At the Māhele (division of Hawaiian lands), the ‘ili of Kaluaokau was granted to William Lunalilo (LCA 8599, ‘Āpana 31), and bequeathed to Queen Emma. A map by C.J. Lyons in 1855–1877 shows the location of Lunalilo's cottage just outside the Project area to the southwest.
7. The Moana Hotel was built in 1901, with auxiliary cottages in the Project area (1914 Sanborn Fire Insurance map). Other cottages were built in the 1920s at the Moana Hotel Annex and ‘Āinahau Court, located to the east of the Project area (the current Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel). The International Market Place was built in 1957 (Queen Emma Foundation n.d) and the Miramar Hotel was constructed in 1962 (Young 2010).
8. Oral histories indicate early twentieth century gathering practices of several varieties of limu (seaweed) and wana (sea urchin) along the Waikīkī coast, and catching of manini (reef surgeonfish) in the near-shore waters and moi (threadfish), shrimp, ‘oama (young weke, or goatfish), mullet, ‘a‘awa (wrasse), āholehole (juvenile āhole, or Hawaiian flagtail), pāpio (juvenile bigeye jack), and ‘o‘opu (goby) in ‘Āpuakēhau Stream (University of Hawai‘i Center for Oral History 1985).

7.2 Results of Community Consultation

CSH attempted to contact 126 community members and government agency and community organization representatives. Of the ten people that responded, six cultural descendents, kūpuna or kama‘āina participated in formal interviews for more in-depth contributions to the CIA. This community consultation indicates:

1. Waikīkī was once a place for fishing and cultivation of kalo lo‘i (irrigated taro fields) of the chiefs, followed as a place for former royalty to relax and entertain, according to Ms. Cayan of SHPD. Mr. Harris also notes that several heiau were located in Waikīkī, with the most famous heiau of O‘ahu, Papa‘ena‘ena Heiau, located on the slope of Lē‘ahi (Diamond Head). Mr. Paglinawan shares mo‘olelo of Nā Pōhaku ‘Ola Kapaemahu a Kapuni as well as royal lineages of Waikīkī and the ‘ili of Kaluaokau.
2. A history of music and entertainment in Waikīkī, and the International Market Place in particular, continues to have a strong sense of attachment for community participants. Mr. Diamond recalls listening in his youth to the Hawaiian musicians who played at the International Market Place, including Don Ho. He has fond memories of the group, “Hawaii Calls,” which broadcast its radio show from the banyan tree inside the International Market Place. For Mr. Diamond, this music scene was, and continues to be, an integral part of the International Market Place. In addition, Ms. Krewson-Reck remembers the Hawaiian music entertainers at Kūhiō Beach, and Mrs. Cazimero performed the ‘ukulele, guitar and the stand-up bass with the Kodak Hula Show at Sans Souci Beach.
3. The coastal waters of Waikīkī provided resources for community participants. In their youth, Mrs. Cazimero gathered limu līpe‘epe‘e, wana, and hā‘uke‘uke (urchin) for food and medicine, and caught ‘upāpalu (cardinal fish); Mr. Harris gathered limu kohu (seaweed) and wāwae‘iole (seaweed), and Mr. Paglinawan gathered limu and caught he‘e (octopus), mullet (‘ama‘ama), pāpio, uhu (parrotfish), and hīnālea (wrasse).
4. The ocean waters of Waikīkī were also a place of relaxation for community participants. Ms. Krewson-Reck was an avid surfer. She and other participants enjoyed the beaches with their families.
5. Most community participants and respondents support the Project. Mr. Nāmu‘o of OHA suggests that native plant species traditionally found in the Project area should be considered in the landscaping design to encourage practical traditional plant uses and, if drought resistant, to reduce demands on irrigation water. Mr. Paglinawan recommends re-introducing a more local Hawaiian sense of place than is currently established.
6. The main concern expressed by four community participants is the high likelihood of inadvertent discovery of burials or burial sites in the Project area. Mr. Harris suggests that epidemics resulted in mass burials along the coastal regions. Mr. Clarence Medeiros, Jr., stresses the customary practice of burying family members within their pā hale (yard). Mr. Diamond indicates that burials have been uncovered to the east of the Project area at the former Moana Hotel cottages (current site of the Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel) and along Kalākaua Avenue in close proximity to the International Market Place. Ms. Coochie Cayan of SHPD indicates human remains in adjacent parcels.
7. Should any burials be uncovered within the International Market Place, Mr. Diamond asserts that as much information of the remains and context must be documented and understood as possible. He recommends legally extricating the remains to a proximate location in order to address them, and ascertaining the significance of the site and

remains. Depending on the findings, the human remains could be preserved in a memorial for “all past generations” within Waikīkī.

7.3 Impacts, Mitigation, and Recommendation

Based on the information gathered for the cultural and historic background and community consultation detailed in this CIA report, the proposed Project may potentially impact Native Hawaiian burials and subsurface cultural layers. Below, CSH identifies these potential impacts (Nos. 1–2), notes mitigation measures already in place by the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company (No. 3), and makes two recommendations (Nos. 4–5):

1. Although Native Hawaiians conducted traditional practices within the Project area, there are no customary practices that are occurring on these lands at this time. At one time there were cultural resources connected to the Project area such as ‘Apuakehau Stream and native plants such as kalo lo‘i; however, the lands of the Project area have since been developed and these resources, including the trails that once traversed this area, no longer exist. Yet, subsurface cultural layers uncovered in close proximity to the Project area indicate patterns of this former habitation and wetland cultivation.
2. There is also a concern that iwi kūpuna (ancestral remains) may be present within the Project area, and that land-disturbing activities during construction may uncover presently undetected burials or other cultural finds. The International Market Place is located on Jaucas sand deposits, a preferred location for interment; one burial with a funerary object was uncovered in 1967 within the Project area (BPBM Oa-A5-16, Bishop Museum NAGPRA Inventory O‘ahu Federal Register 1998), and several burials and burial concentrations have been uncovered in close proximity to the Project area.
3. In order to address the concern of iwi kūpuna in the most sensitive and culturally appropriate manner, the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company began meeting with the cultural descendants of Waikīkī and the OIBC early in the process and have an approved archaeological inventory survey plan to guide the upcoming inventory survey work.
4. Personnel involved in the construction activities of the Project should be informed of the possibility of inadvertent cultural finds, including human remains. Should burials (or other cultural finds) be identified during ground disturbance, the construction contractor should immediately cease all work and the appropriate agencies notified pursuant to applicable law.
5. The Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company should consult with the cultural descendants to develop a reinterment plan and cultural preservation plan in the event that any human remains or cultural sites or artifacts be uncovered during construction or long-term maintenance for the Project.

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Appendix A Glossary

To highlight the various and complex meanings of Hawaiian words, the complete translations from Pukui and Elbert (1986) are used unless otherwise noted. In some cases, alternate translations may resonate stronger with Hawaiians today; these are placed prior to the Pukui and Elbert (1986) translations and marked with “(common).”

Diacritical markings used in the Hawaiian words are the ‘okina and the kahakō. The ‘okina, or glottal stop, is only found between two vowels or at the beginning of a word that starts with a vowel. A break in speech is created between the sounds of the two vowels. The pronunciation of the ‘okina is similar to saying “oh-oh.” The ‘okina is written as a backwards apostrophe. The kahakō is only found above a vowel. It stresses or elongates a vowel sound from one beat to two beats. The kahakō is written as a line above a vowel.

Hawaiian Word	English Translation
‘a‘awa	wrasse
āholehole	young stage of āhole, or flagtail
ahupua‘a	land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua‘a), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief
ala hele	pathway, route, road, way to go, itinerary, trail, highway, means of transportation
ali‘i	chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, peer, headman, noble, aristocrat, king, queen, commander
ao	light, day, daylight, dawn; to dawn, grow light; enlightened; to regain consciousness
‘āpana	piece, slice, portion, fragment, section, segment, installment, part, land parcel, lot, district, sector, ward, precinct
‘auwai	ditch, canal
hā‘uke‘uke	urchin
he‘e	octupus
heiau	pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces

Hawaiian Word	English Translation
hīnālea	wrasse
‘ili	land section, next in importance to an ahupua‘a and usually a subdivision of an ahupua‘a
ilina	grave, tomb, sepulcher, cemetery, mausoleum, plot in a cemetery
iwi kūpuna	ancestral remains
kahuna	priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession; kāhuna—plural of kahuna
kalo	taro
kama‘āina	Native-born, one born in a place, host; native plant; acquainted, familiar, Lit., land child.
kapu	taboo, prohibition
kauwā	outcast, pariah, slave, untouchable, menial; a caste which lived apart and was drawn on for human sacrifices
kula	plain, field, open country, pasture
kuleana	Native Hawaiian land rights (common). Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province
kupuna	elders (common). Grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle; kūpuna—plural of kupuna
limu	seaweed
limu kohu	a variety of seaweed
limu līpe‘epe	a variety of seaweed
lo‘i	irrigated terrace, especially for taro, but also for rice; paddy
loko i‘a	fishpond (common)

Hawaiian Word	English Translation
lua	a type of dangerous hand-to-hand fighting in which the, fighters broke bones, dislocated bones at the joints, and inflicted severe pain by pressing on nerve centers
maka‘āinana	commoners
makai	seaward
mana	supernatural or divine power
mana‘o	thought, idea, belief, opinion, theory, thesis, intention, meaning, suggestion, mind, desire, want; to think, estimate, anticipate, expect, suppose, mediate, deem, consider
manini	reef surgeonfish
mauka	Toward the mountains
mele	song, anthem, or chant of any kind
moi	threadfish
moku	district, island, islet, section
mo‘olelo	story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting (From mo‘o ‘ōlelo, succession of talk; all stories were oral, not written)
muliwai	river, river mouth
‘oama	young weke, or goatfish
‘ōlelo no‘eau	proverb, wise saying, traditional saying
oli	chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill at the end of each phrase; to chant thu.
‘o‘opu	goby
pā hale	yard
pāpio	juvenile bigeye jack

Hawaiian Word	English Translation
pō	night, darkness, obscurity; the realm of the gods; pertaining to or of the gods, chaos, or hell; dark, obscure, benighted; formerly the period of 24 hours beginning with nightfall (the Hawaiian “day” began at nightfall)
pōhaku	rock
po‘okanaka	classification of heiau used ceremoniously for human sacrifices (Thrum 1907)
uhu	parrotfish
‘upāpalu	cardinal fish
wā	epoch, time period
wahi pana	storied place (common); legendary place
wana	sea urchin
wāwae‘iole	a moss

Appendix B Common and Scientific Names for Plants and Animals Mentioned by Community Participants

Common Names		Possible Scientific Names		Source
Hawaiian	**Other**	**Genus**	**Species**	
‘ama‘ama	striped mullet	*Mugil*	*cephalus*	Hoover 1993
hā‘uke‘uke	sea urchin	*Colobocentrotus*	*atratus*	Pukui and Elbert 1986
hīnālea	wrasse	multiple genera and species in the family Labridae		Hoover 1993
limu kohu	seaweed, algae	*Asparagopsis*	*taxiformis*	Abbott and Williamson 1974
limu līpe‘epe‘e	seaweed, algae	*Laurencia*	*parvipapillata*	Guiry and Guiry 2010
pāpio	juvenile bigeye jack	*Caranx*	*sexfasciatus*	Hoover 1993
uhu	parrotfish	multiple genera and species in the family Scaridae		Hoover 1993
‘upāpalu	cardinal fish	*Apogon*	*spp.*	Hoover 1993
wana	sea urchin	*Diadema*	*paucispinum*	Pukui and Elbert 1986
wāwae‘iole	a moss	*Codium*	*edule*	Pukui and Elbert 1986

Appendix C Authorization and Release Form

Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc.
Archaeological and Cultural Impact Studies
Hallett H. Hammatt, Ph.D., President

P.O. Box 1114 Kailua, Hawai‘i 96734 Ph: (808) 262-9972 Fax: (808) 262-4950

Job code: WAIKIKI 62 jgenz@culturalsurveys.com www.culturalsurveys.com

AUTHORIZATION AND RELEASE FORM

Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i appreciates the generosity of the *kūpuna* and *kama‘āina* who are sharing their knowledge of cultural and historic properties, and experiences of past and present cultural practices for the Cultural Impact Assessment for the *ahupua‘a* of Waikīkī.

We understand our responsibility in respecting the wishes and concerns of the interviewees participating in our study. Here are the procedures we promise to follow:

1. You will have the opportunity to review the written transcript of our interview with you. At that time you may make any additions, deletions or corrections you wish.
2. You will be given a copy of the interview notes for your records.
3. You will be given a copy of this release form for your records.

For your protection, we need your written confirmation that:

1. You consent to the use of the complete transcript and/or interview quotes for reports on cultural sites and practices, historic documentation, and/or academic purposes.
2. You agree that the interview shall be made available to the public.

I, _____, agree to the procedures outlined above and, by my
(Please print your name here)
signature, give my consent and release for this interview to be used as specified.

_____
(Signature)

_____
(Date)

Appendix D Community Consultation Letter

Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc.
Archaeological and Cultural Impact Studies
Hallett H. Hammatt, Ph.D., President

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Experience the revitalized International Market Place;
celebrate the history of the land, Kaluaokau, and its people;
and perpetuate the legacy of Queen Emma,
in the gathering place of Waikīkī.

August 17, 2011

Aloha mai e kāua,

At the request of the Queen Emma Land Company and The Taubman Company, Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc. (CSH) is conducting a Cultural Impact Assessment for the proposed International Market Place Revitalization Project, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Honolulu (Kona) District, O‘ahu Island, TMK [1] 2-6-022: 036, 037, 038, 039 & 043

The International Market Place Revitalization Project is located on a 5.98 acre site in the center of Waikīkī (see attached maps). The project site is bounded and accessed by Kalākaua Avenue to the southwest in the makai direction, Kūhiō Avenue to the northeast in the mauka direction, Princess Ka‘iulani Hotel and the ‘Ohana East Hotel to the southeast in the Diamond Head direction, and The Waikīkī Beachcomber, the Aqua Waikīkī Wave Hotel, and Duke’s Lane to the northwest in the ‘Ewa direction.

The International Market Place Revitalization Project includes the replacement of the existing buildings and structures with a new three level retail center that features the following:

- Landscape and building elements that will convey a Hawaiian sense of place incorporating historical, cultural, and educational features and opportunities.
- Improved streetscape along Kalākaua and Kūhiō Avenues to enhance the pedestrian experience for local residents and visitors alike.
- Significant open space throughout the Market Place to maintain and enhance the inviting, park-like setting.
- Enhanced landscaped courtyards surrounding canopy trees and accommodating cultural programming.
- Retention and enhancement of the “exceptional” Banyan Tree near Kalākaua Avenue.
- Revitalized and redeveloped retail space to better serve the community—both kama‘āina and visitors.
- Associated utility, parking, and infrastructure improvements.

The purpose of the Cultural Impact Assessment is to gather information about the Project area and its surroundings through research and interviews with individuals that are knowledgeable

Cultural Impact Assessment for International Market Place Revitalization Project

about this area in order to assess potential impacts to the cultural resources, cultural practices, and beliefs identified as a result of the planned Project. We are seeking your kōkua and guidance regarding the following aspects of our study:

- **General history as well as present and past land use of the Project area. Although the redevelopment will be within the boundaries as stated above, this study will include the entire ahupua‘a of Waikīkī.**
- **Knowledge of cultural sites which may be impacted by future development of the project area—for example, historic and archaeological sites, as well as burials.**
- **Knowledge of traditional gathering practices in the Project area, both past and ongoing.**
- **Cultural associations of the Project area, such as mo‘olelo and traditional uses.**
- **Referrals of kūpuna or elders and kama‘āina who might be willing to share their cultural knowledge of the Project area and the surrounding ahupua‘a.**
- **Due to the sensitive nature regarding past encounters with iwi kūpuna or ancestral remains discovered in Waikīkī, mana‘o regarding iwi kūpuna will be greatly appreciated.**
- **Any other cultural concerns the community might have related to Hawaiian cultural practices within or in the vicinity of the Project area.**

In advance, we appreciate your assistance in our research effort. Please don't hesitate to contact Joe Genz at jgenz@culturalsurveys.com or by phone at (808) 262-9972.

Mahalo nui loa,

Joe Genz, PhD
Cultural Researcher