KA MO‘OLELO O MILILANI: THE STORY BENEATH THE DEVELOPMENT

IN WAIPI‘O, ‘EWA, O‘AHU

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By

Olan Leimomi SauChai Morgan

Thesis Committee:

Carlos Andrade, Chairperson
B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer
April A. H. Drexel
S. Kauwela Valeho-Novikoff

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OLAN LEIMOMI SAUCHAI MORGAN

2014
Dedication

To my Dad, whose love for exploring our backyard in Kīpapa inspired this project, and my Mom, whose love for our Kānaka Maoli heritage inspired my journey through Hawaiian Studies. Aloha nui loa wau iā ‘olua no nā kau ā kau.
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Abstract

The community of Mililani in Waipi‘o, ‘Ewa, O‘ahu holds a beautiful heritage and identity unknown to many. A history of sacred lands including Kūkaniloko, Kīpapa, and O‘ahunui give this place its foundation in the center of O‘ahu. Significant figures including Mā‘ilikūkahi and Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī paved the way for the many people of Waipiʻo who cultivated the rich resources. The story of Mililani is a prime example of the changes in Hawaiʻi over time. The erasure of the past in this land was majorly caused by developments now housing thousands of O‘ahu’s population. A planned development should not mean a total disregard for what existed in the past, slowly removing the Kānaka Maoli sense of place. The Mililani community and all residents of Waipiʻo must understand the heritage of their home and recognize its importance in Hawaiʻi.
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Preface

“And so the real purpose of the Hawaiian is to take the world today and try to bring back those ancient chords and try to make the world vibrate in harmony.”

– Kenneth Francis Kamuokalani Brown (1919-2014)
Introduction

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Decolonising the Mind

The above quotation offers an explanation for the physical and mental erasure of the Kānaka Maoli identity in Hawai‘i through facades put in place by American perceptions of a utopian society. Although Ngũgĩ uses colonialism as the term to describe this domination, the concept of Americanization is more befitting to the events and situations in Hawai‘i. The majority of people in Hawai‘i have been severely Americanized by the United States since the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. The effects of Americanization have taken shape physically throughout Hawai‘i and likewise affected the “mental universe” of people and their relationships to the land. The definition of “Americanize” is “to bring (as an area) under the political, cultural, or commercial influence of the U.S.” and “to acquire to conform to American traits.” The definition of “colonize” is “to infiltrate with usually subversive militants for propaganda and strategy reasons.” In the case of Hawai‘i, some would argue that this concept of colonization has definitely occurred, while Kanaka Maoli scholar Kamanamaikalani Beamer calls the events in Hawai‘i after the overthrow as Faux-Colonial.

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2 This term, “Kanaka Maoli” will refer to what is also known as an indigenous or Native Hawaiian person. The use of a macron on the “ā” in Kānaka creates a plural form of the word. I prefer to use this term because it is a term that the indigenous people of Hawai‘i bestowed upon themselves to describe their ethnic heritage. See Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 118; Kanaka maoli. This source will be treated as a book, giving full credit to the author, Mary Kawena Pukui, whose works have preserved so much knowledge for the indigenous people of Hawai‘i.

3 For more about the events surrounding this illegal overthrow, please see the work by B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ‘Ōiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2008 (Ann Arbor: ProQuest LLC, 2008), 246-251.

4 Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Americanize.”

5 Ibid., s.v. “Colonize.”
...the changes in the structure following 1893 bring about an occupation which produces Faux-Colonial events, including the settlement of a foreign population in the islands, and the occupation of a national or ancestral land base. One difference however, which demonstrates why I am calling the events produced by the occupation as Faux-Colonial events, is that of land titles.6

Beamer goes on to explain that a significant difference between the colonization of other places and the case of Hawai‘i is that Hawai‘i had a fully independent, sovereign and internationally-recognized state at the time of the overthrow by the United States. This sovereign Hawaiian nation still remains, with no treaty of annexation in existence, and can be traced through the documentation of land titles from 1848 until now. The term colonization, therefore, will not be applied to Hawai‘i. Instead, Americanization is more appropriate given the unrelinquished sovereign state of the Hawaiian government under occupation by the United States of America. Understandably so, this occupation and Americanization create a lack of balance, sense of place, and well-being in the unique environment of Hawai‘i.

In order for pono, or well-being and righteousness7 to once again be obtained in the mental and physical reality of Hawai‘i, a deeper understanding of the past must be achieved, and given equal relevance with the present and the future. This deeper understanding also includes the important relationship that the people share with the land. The visual hegemony8 that veils much of Hawai‘i is especially prevalent in communities that have been master planned during United States’ occupation since the illegal overthrow. A master planned community is defined as “a residential development project usually managed by a single company which provides not only houses or house blocks, but also infrastructure, landscaping and community facilities.”9 A planned development should not mean that the entire history of a place is erased and painted over, eliminating any visual reminders of the past, and replacing them with foreign ideas and

6 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ‘Ōiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 281.


values. The “spaces of erasure” can be economic, political, cultural, or ecological\textsuperscript{10} in nature, and are strikingly apparent in the planned community of Mililani\textsuperscript{11}.

There is still much to learn from the indigenous\textsuperscript{12} people, Kānaka Maoli of Hawai‘i, and how to live with an understanding of one’s place in the distinct environment of these islands. Scholar Jeannette C. Armstrong describes the word “indigenous” as, “a profoundly undisruptive association with one place that was developed over many millennia by a people who shared that place as member of its flora and fauna.”\textsuperscript{13} This definition is similar to the Kānaka Maoli relationship with land, originating with the creation of the islands through the mating of Haumea (also known as Papa), the earth-mother goddess\textsuperscript{14}, with Wākea, the ancestor of all Hawaiians.\textsuperscript{15} The long story between the two results in the birth of the first born child, a still-born son named Hāloanaokalaukapali, of which the first kalo\textsuperscript{16} plant grew from his grave. A second child was born, named Hāloa (in remembrance of his elder sibling) and is considered by many as the “earliest human ancestor” of the Kānaka Maoli people.\textsuperscript{17} This relationship with the kalo, which was a staple food in all of Hawai‘i before the overthrow and Americanization, is why the land and its resources are considered an elder sibling of Kānaka Maoli. In order for this relationship to be cultivated, stories like this one must be shared and respected by all communities in

\begin{thebibliography}{9}


\bibitem{12} “Having originated in and being produced, growing, living, or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment,” from Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Indigenous.”


\bibitem{14} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 382; Haumea.

\bibitem{15} Ibid., 398; Wākea.

\bibitem{16} Ibid., 115, Taro, a kind of aroid cultivated since ancient times for food. In Hawai‘i, taro has been the staple food from earliest times to the present, and here its culture developed greatly, including more than 300 forms.

\bibitem{17} Carlos Andrade, Hā’ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 24.
\end{thebibliography}
Hawai‘i, a process similar to what is known as “re-indigenization.” The concept of “re-indigenization,” termed by John Mohawk, Armstrong describes as:

...calling all people back to ‘indigeneity’ through forging new relationships of ‘co-existence’ in land use practices and structuring new economies as a process of ‘restoring’ indigeneity to peoples and lands.\(^\text{18}\)

The purpose of this thesis is to discover and bring forward from a Kanaka Maoli perspective the unique moʻolelo\(^\text{19}\) of a place called Mililani. Hidden beneath the facade of this “All-American City” is a rich and fascinating heritage that when revealed will help to increase aloha\(^\text{20}\) for the ʻāina\(^\text{21}\) and indigenous people of Hawai‘i.

\textbf{Kānaka Maoli Research Model}

I will explain my own beliefs and guidelines as a Kanaka Maoli for the reader to better understand the perspective from which I think and write. For the purposes of this project, I chose to conceptualize the terms explained by Shawn Wilson’s article “What Is an Indigenous Research Methodology,”\(^\text{22}\) into my own Kānaka Maoli language and understandings. Wilson defines these four terms, which are bolded, that make up his version of an indigenous research paradigm:

\textit{Ontology} or a belief in the nature of reality. Your way of being, what you believe is real in the world...Second is \textit{epistemology}, which is how you think about that reality. Next, when we talk about \textit{research methodology}, we are talking about how you are going to use your way of thinking (your epistemology) to gain

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\item Armstrong, 2012, xxvi.
\item Ibid., 19; Compassion.
\item Ibid., 10; Land.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
\end{flushright}
more knowledge about your reality. Finally, a paradigm includes axiology, which is a set of morals or a set of ethics.\textsuperscript{23}

These concepts of ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology all have equivalents in the ‘ōlelo makua\textsuperscript{24} of my Kānaka Maoli ancestors. I hope to express the Kanaka Maoli viewpoint from which I write by explaining each of these concepts further and their meanings as recorded by Mary Kawena Pukui. All of them together create my own version, a Kānaka Maoli research model that guided me throughout my thesis project.

Kānaka Maoli Research Model

1. **ʻIke** – To receive revelations from the gods; knowledge, understanding, recognition, comprehension and hence learning; sense; vision. How I see, know, feel, recognize and understand\textsuperscript{25} my world or reality. Equivalent to ontology.

2. **Hoʻomaopopo iho** – By attaching the “hoʻo” at the beginning of the word “maopopo,” it becomes the active, causative\textsuperscript{26} version of maopopo, or to cause to understand.\textsuperscript{27} The “iho” after Hoʻomaopopo is included to show the directional force of the act of understanding to move toward the author or speaker.\textsuperscript{28} This is the process of how my ʻike is formed internally (epistemology).

3. **Hoʻomaopopo aku** – The same concept of Hoʻomaopopo is followed by “aku”\textsuperscript{29} to show the directional force of understanding to move away from the author or speaker and toward the reader or listener. This is how I will externally translate the ʻike I gained through research to the reader, and the types of sources that were researched to gain this ʻike (methodology).

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 6.

\textsuperscript{24} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 261; Mother tongue.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 90; ʻIke.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 75; Hoʻo-.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 222; Maopopo.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 89; Self.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 14; Aku.
4. **Hoʻopono** – The meanings behind pono include goodness, morality, moral qualities, excellence, proper and just.\(^\text{30}\) This causative version of pono represents the moral compass (axiology) to behave correctly and properly\(^\text{31}\) throughout all endeavors and especially while conducting research with valuable ancestral ‘ike and ideas.

**ʻIke**

My ‘ike has been shaped by the places that I spent most of my time growing up, the lands that shaped my reality and values. I was taught from a young age to respect the lands that I call my home. I was born on Oʻahu, and spent most of my younger years between ‘Aiea\(^\text{32}\) where my grandparents lived and Mililani where I lived with my parents and sisters. The stark difference between the two communities was apparent to me even as a small child, and I found myself more drawn to the less controlled and quirky environment of ‘Aiea. Although I love my family home in Mililani and always feel safe, I could tell even as a child that there was something missing compared to what I saw in ‘Aiea. I joined the same hālau\(^\text{33}\) hula as my mother and sisters, Hālau Hula o Kahikinaokalālani, with my kumu\(^\text{34}\) hula Karla Keliʻihoʻomalu Akiona, another resident of Mililani. My experiences through the hula were my first encounters with the living Kānaka Maoli culture, and helped spark the genesis of my deep love and appreciation for this part of my heritage.

Since my grandfather also owned an acre property in Pūpūkea\(^\text{35}\) on the north side of Oʻahu, many of our weekends were spent there. At a young age I already had a small sampling

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 314; Pono.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., Hoʻopono.


\(^{33}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 49; Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 167; Teacher.

of the vast differences between varying places found on just one of the islands in Hawai‘i. The houses in Mililani were very well maintained and the streets were never littered or dangerous, but still, I couldn’t help feeling a false sense of reality in this seemingly perfect community. From those younger years of first recognizing that something was missing, until now, I continue to feel this void that I know now is the Kānaka Maoli identity and history so present in other communities in Hawai‘i.

This thesis is meant to fill this void and bring the Kānaka Maoli sense of place back into my reality and ultimately the realities of others in the Mililani community. The concerns I have are not unique. For example, Pauline Chinn’s work “Educating for Science Literacy, Citizenship, and Sustainability: Learning from Native Hawaiian Perspectives,” in which she discusses the lack of indigenous understanding and awareness in science education in Hawai‘i and how certain teachers are utilizing Kānaka Maoli concepts to improve their lessons. In a section of this same work entitled “Hawaiian Sense of Place: A Cultural Model Oriented to Sustainability,” Chinn explains that “(a) person’s ‘sense of place’ is a form of mental model connecting personal experiences to constructed and natural settings.” I have experienced the distinct sense of place and community land stewardships in other communities, which have also inspired this thesis. Perhaps another reason why I can see the differences between my town and others so clearly is because my own reality has always been shaped by contrasting factors.

With a father who is Swiss-English and born and raised in Utah and California, and a mother who is Chinese-Kānaka Maoli and spent her whole life in Hawai‘i, my whole existence was created by two opposing cultural realities. Although my parents come from such separate backgrounds, they both agree on the importance and beauty of our home and ‘āina in Hawai‘i. Many Kānaka Maoli practices and beliefs can further empower a shift in consciousness back toward the ‘āina. I agree with C. Kanoelani Nāone who expressed in her dissertation The Pilina of Kanaka and ‘Āina: Place, Language and Community as Sites of Reclamation for Indigenous Education:

37 Ibid., 2.
In hearing and passing down the stories of place the ‘ike\(^{38}\) of our kūpuna\(^{39}\) is perpetuated: this gives sustenance to the next generation and power to the land. The stories of place teach us values, give us wisdom and knowledge about the intricacies of that specific place, they make us aware of what will and won’t thrive in that area and what to be careful of…(t)hrough place names and the names of winds and rains we can better know a place and ground ourselves in the value of dialogue between land and people.\(^{40}\)

My ‘ike is one where Kānaka Maoli ancestral knowledge is essential for understanding the environment in Hawai‘i, and therefore a vital component in all communities including Mililani.

**Hoʻomaopopo iho**

The ways in which I hoʻomaopopo iho or understand my own existence and reality are affected by my spiritual belief in Ke Akua.\(^{41}\) I recognize that there are spirits and energies that I can call on for guidance, protection and inspiration. This belief is based on Kānaka Maoli, Buddhist, and Christian understandings of the world and also attributed to lessons from my ethnic backgrounds: Kānaka Maoli, Chinese, and Swiss-English. I do not think it is necessary for me to ardently abide by only one set of value systems and choose to largely follow my own intuitions. I would like to acknowledge my spirituality as a part of my Kānaka Maoli research model because it is an important force in everything I do.

Lana Ray, an indigenous scholar explains the indigenous understanding of the Anishnaabe people of Canada, “From an Anishnaabe paradigm, the belief is held that knowledge can not only be obtained through social relationships, but there is also an emphasis on a spiritual context.”\(^{42}\) I have incorporated this spiritual awareness into my journey throughout my research.

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\(^{39}\) Ibid., 171; Plural of kupuna, ancestors.


\(^{41}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 65; God.

Instead of placing too much attention on this spiritual aspect, it will be conducted privately through prayer and meditation. In this same source, Shawn Wilson is paraphrased from his work Research is Ceremony, “…within an Indigenous view, knowledge belongs to the cosmos and we are merely the interpreters of knowledge.”\textsuperscript{43} I agree with this statement, that all the information that we need to know is already available somewhere, waiting for us to tap into and interpret. This is why it is so important for me to ask for spiritual guidance from my family ‘aumākua\textsuperscript{44} including my ancestors who have passed and are in the next phase of existence. The second meaning that I attribute to ho‘omaopopo is the structure in which I will share my ‘ike to others and how I went about gaining this ‘ike, also known as a my research methodology.

\textbf{Ho‘omaopopo aku}

The ho‘omaopopo aku structure or research methodology for this paper was shaped by concepts of time: the past, present, and future of Mililani. If all of these concepts are kept at balance, this would make way for a healthy influence of information from both the Kānaka Maoli perspective and all other perspectives in Hawai‘i. My understanding of these concepts will not follow a chronological flow, but rather take on a more cyclic and holistic structure. This approach is connected to the three-piko concept, largely inspired by the mana‘o of Kahōkūle‘a “Hoku” Haiku\textsuperscript{45} who leads tours of Waimea Valley.\textsuperscript{46} Haiku introduced me to the concept of achieving pono by the care and maintenance of these important piko. These piko are also described in Nānā I Ke Kumu by Pukui, Haertig, and Lee:

\begin{quote}
The individual in old Hawaii viewed himself as a link between his long line of forebears and his descendants, even those yet unborn. Three areas of his body were thought most intimately concerned with this bond that transcended time. They were the posterior fontanel, the genital region, male and female, and the umbilicus
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 29; Family or personal god.
\item \textsuperscript{45} In 2013 I participated in the North Shore Field School conducted at Kūpopolo Heiau, Waialua through the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Anthropology department, and went on a tour of Waimea Valley with Haiku.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Sterling and Summers, comps., Sites of Oahu, “Waialua: Waimea,” 125-132.
\end{itemize}
and umbilical cord with which he came into the world. All were
called piko.\footnote{Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, Nānā I Ke Kumu: Look to the Source (Honolulu, HI: Hui Hanai, 1983), Vol. 1, 182.}

Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell also described the piko and their concepts in his paper entitled
“Historical and Philosophical Aspects of Lapa’au Traditional Kanaka Maoli Healing Practices”:

Piko po‘o or manawa at the top of the person's head, also evident as the open fontanel in the infant's skull, was the opening that connected the individual’s ‘uhane (spirit) with the spiritual realm beyond, including one’s ‘aumakua, departed but ever-present deified ancestors, since the beginning of time. Piko waena, or the navel, represented the remnant of the person’s intrauterine umbilical connection to his parents in the contemporary world. This piko covered the na‘au (gut), which was the seat of knowledge, wisdom and emotions. Piko ma‘i was the genitalia, which linked the person to his descendants forever into the future.\footnote{Kekuni Blaisdell, “Historical and Philosophical Aspects of Lapa'au Traditional Kanaka Maoli Healing Practices,” In Motion, April 28, 1996, accessed February 21, 2014, http://www.hegemonystudies.org/journeytojustice/uploads/2011/03/Blaisdell-Kanaka-Maoli-Healing-Practices-copy.pdf.}

To reiterate the definitions that Blaisdell described, the three-piko start with the “piko po‘o,” the top of the head or fontanel for babies. This piko is connected to the generations that have already passed and are beyond in the next realm that continue to teach lessons to present generations. The “piko waena” is the most widely known piko, also known as the navel and umbilical cord. This piko is the life-giving link between mother and child, and also considered a link to all family. The third piko, the “piko ma‘i,” are the reproductive parts of the body that connect to conception and birth of future generations.

The descriptions that Haiku provided also reflect the same meanings and concepts of Pukui and Blaisdell. However, his interpretation makes these piko applicable to any situation or endeavor. When attempting any new task or project, it is essential to keep in mind the three piko concepts and make sure that all are equally maintained to achieve pono.\footnote{Kahōkūle‘a Haiku, “Tour of Waimea Valley” (lecture, O‘ahu, Waimea, March 2, 2013).} This is exactly what
the staff at Waimea Valley strive to do, and what Haiku follows in his daily endeavors and especially when working in wahi pana.\(^50\)

This thesis is meant to serve the Mililani community and make its story more complete with the Kānaka Maoli history brought to light. The past, present and future of the town were addressed in a holistic manner where all overlap and support each other. In my own understanding of time, all notions of the past, present, and future are constantly in flux, always affecting each other. For the structure of this thesis, I chose to start with the Piko Waena, the present. This first section explains the most chronologically recent era of the land that hosts the Mililani community. Although not chronologically before the past, the present state was where I started my journey for this research. Chapter 1, *Mililani: Ka Piko Waena*, discusses the present state of Mililani which inspired my interest in learning more about its past identity. The lack of Kānaka Maoli representation in Mililani inspired this thesis, and this issue is shared first to ideally strike the same questions in the minds of the readers such as “Why was it named Mililani?” or “What was here before it was developed?” This section is a description of what can be seen with the naked eye in Mililani, and how (and by whom) these structures, names, and representations were created and placed. By starting with the present view I hope to show the reader some of the vast changes that the ‘āina has undergone, and what these changes have come to represent through my Kanaka Maoli lens.

The next two sections are meant to highlight the Piko Po’o or “anchors to the past,”\(^51\) that connect the rich history of the land to the present. In Chapter 2, *‘Āina: Ka Piko Po’o, Hānau Mua,*\(^52\) specific sites and places in Waipi’o were listed first to provide the setting for Chapter 3, *Ka Po’e o Waipi’o: Ka Piko Po’o, Hānau Hope*\(^53\) about the people connected to this place. The ‘āina is discussed before the people to show the hānau mua (older sibling), hānau hope (younger sibling) familial relationship of the ‘āina and kānaka. The nonconsecutive order of the piko

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\(^{50}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 288; Celebrated, noted, or legendary place.

\(^{51}\) This concept was expressed to me by Kumu Lia O’Neill Keawe in her class Hawaiian Studies 621: ‘Ike Maka in the Spring of 2014. It describes the names of people and places that anchor themselves in Mililani and connect the present to the history of the land.


\(^{53}\) Ibid., Younger brother or sister.
concepts are intended to show the holistic and cyclical relationship they all share and the balance that must be maintained to achieve pono. Due to the excessive foreign concepts that are present in Mililani, a greater focus was paid to the Piko Waena, or Kānaka Maoli moʻolelo associated with the ‘āina in Waipiʻo. This is meant to counterbalance the overbearing foreign structures and values throughout the town. None of the sections in this paper are strictly about one piko, as in life, all three concepts constantly fluctuate and affect the reality of each other, and in turn shape the ʻike of people.

The last section, Chapter 4, ‘Aʻole i pau: Ka Piko Maʻi is intended to be open for further development and insight, as it represents possibilities for the future of the Mililani community to incorporate more Kānaka Maoli awareness and education. The phrase, “‘Aʻole i pau” is borrowed from the many ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi newspaper articles that include this phrase at the end to show that the story is not yet complete. The word “aʻole” before “i” and “pau” all mean together, “Not yet finished.” This section is intended to be an opening for more thoughts and discussions about the future for this place. The research for this chapter involved interviews with people connected to Mililani, and some of their own ideas and hopes. It also discusses some of the future possibilities for further opportunities that this research can inspire.

The process of researching involved utilizing many different sources. The Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert and Fragments of Hawaiian History by Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī and translated by Mary Kawena Pukui were both seminal resources for this thesis. Various newspaper databases were extremely useful and consulted extensively for cross-referencing. Many Kānaka Maoli were also seminal sources: Tom Lenchanko, John Kahaʻi Topolinski, members of the ʻĪʻī/Brown family, and Elsie Ryder.

In Chapter 1, Mililani: Ka Piko Waena, to learn more about the process of creating the present Mililani, I reached out to developer Castle & Cooke for more information. I also interviewed a few people who are leaders in the community, either professionally or through

54 Ibid., 25; Not.
55 Ibid., 87; Particle and clitic preceding subordinate verbs and marking completed or past action and state or condition.
56 Ibid., 294; Finished, ended, completed, over, all done.
education. I found many old newspaper and magazine articles at the Hawai‘i State Library and Mililani Public Library. The Mililani Town Center Pavilion also provided insights, along with other visuals around the town.

In Chapter 2, ‘Āina: Ka Piko Po‘o, Hānau Mua, the “anchors to the past” refer to the significant sites around Mililani in Waipi‘ouka. Interviews with experts and Kanaka Maoli scholar Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau’s writings were extremely helpful for this section, along with newspaper articles from Ulukau: the Hawaiian Electronic Library. For references to certain sites, the compilation of Sites of Oahu by Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers was reviewed.

In Chapter 3, Ka Po‘e o Waipi‘o: Ka Piko Po‘o, Hānau Hope, the people connected to the land of Waipi‘o and close to where Mililani now sits were discovered through various trips to the Hawai‘i State Archives and assistance from their staff. For insight about the changes in land tenure in Hawai‘i, various works from Kānaka Maoli scholars including Carlos Andrade, Kamanamaikalani Beamer, and Keanu Sai were examined thoroughly. Government documents were also researched. The information for Ioane Papa ‘Ī‘ī was found through various records of his own writings, along with records and maps from the Archives. The final map was created by environmental planner Dr. Charles L. Morgan utilizing older maps and records.

In Chapter 4, ‘A‘ole i pau: Ka Piko Ma‘i a second interview with Mililani Town Association general manager, David O’Neal, explains how the Association can aid in the efforts to increase Kānaka Maoli awareness and representation in the community. A couple other interviews with individuals connected to this place were included to give a sense of the endless possibilities that the future holds. The overall purpose of this thesis about the need for this story to be expressed was supported by the positive reactions from these interviews. The future development of Ka Mo‘olelo o Mililani will continue to flourish as time goes on.

Ho‘opono

In order to ho‘opono my path through this research, prayers directed to Ke Akua, my kūpuna, and specifically my grandfather and ‘aumakua Sam TanPau Chong were conducted regularly. These prayers were not constricted to any sort of format, but usually included thanking them for their help and asking for guidance and protection for new tasks. This practice of prayer helps me to focus my own ideas and clarify what I need to accomplish. Similar to this
is the Kānaka Maoli practice of oli\textsuperscript{57} or mele kāhea\textsuperscript{58} as protocol for entrance. Many chants that are still used today, asking for permission or guidance through important tasks. One very famous chant, “E Hō Mai” attributed to Edith Kanaka‘ole, is commonly used because of its straightforward and harmonious composition:

\begin{center}
E Hō Mai\textsuperscript{59}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
E hō mai (i) ka ‘ike mai luna mai ē Knowledge from above
‘O nā mea huna no‘eau o nā mele ē Every little bit of wisdom contained in song
E hō mai, e hō mai, e hō mai ē (a) Give forth, give forth, oh give forth
\end{center}

When searching for important aspects of this thesis, I used this chant for guidance and inspiration. Another chant that I found deeply inspiring was explained in the book \textit{Ka Honua Ola} by Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele:

\begin{center}
E nihi ka hele i ka uka o Puna\textsuperscript{60}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
E nihi ka hele i ka uka o Puna Walk carefully in the upland trail of Puna
Mai ‘ako i ka pua Don’t pick the flowers
O lilo i ke ala o ka hewahewa Or the path will become unrecognizable
Ua hūnā ‘ia ke kino i ka pōhaku The tricky ones are hidden in the rocks
‘O ka pua na’e ke ahu nei i ke alanui The thriving flowers distract from the path
Alanui hele o ka unu kupukupu ē The roadway full of growth covers the stones
Ka ulia If there is a sudden accident
A kaunu nō anei ‘oe ‘o ke aloha lā Would you not be yearning for compassion
He a’e a komo i ka hele o Pele Go forward and enter the house of Pele
Ua huahua‘i i Kahiki, lapa uila She burst forth to Kahiki, lightning flashing
Pele ē, hua‘ina ho‘i! Ever growing Pele!
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 262; Chant that was not danced to.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 226; Chant for admittance to an old-time hula school.


Kanahele explains the context of this chant in the story of Hi‘iaka’s journey to summon Lohi‘au of Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i, the lover of her older sister and fire goddess Pele. It is an instructional chant for being cautious while travelling to Kīlauea and informs “how one should conduct oneself when on an errand of importance…intended for all tasks important enough to warrant complete focus and concentration.” This chant serves much of the same purpose of my personal prayers by creating an atmosphere of priority for that which is being attempted. As Kanahele so eloquently puts, this protocol “teaches how to direct one’s own force and to concentrate on energies of the element at hand.” It also connects back to the previous discussion of the close familial relationship between kānaka and ‘āina. The ho‘opono aspects of prayer and oli guided every aspect of this thesis for my community of Mililani. It is the hope of this thesis to inspire and teach future generations in Mililani about the rich Kānaka Maoli identity that makes this place so distinct from anywhere else on Earth.


62 An active volcano on Hawai‘i island, where many stories with Pele take place.

63 Kanahele, Ka Honua Ola, 61.

64 Ibid.
Chapter 1. Mililani: Ka Piko Waena

On June 21, 1968, Reverend Abraham Akaka conducted the dedication ceremony for a newly planned community to be known as Mililani.\(^{65}\) The project developer Castle & Cooke originally started plans for the new community in 1958, initially naming it Waipio New Town.\(^{66}\) A wholly-owned subsidiary of Castle & Cooke called Oceanic Properties was formed on May 22, 1961 to spearhead the formation of the new town.\(^{67}\) In August 1968, Charles and Jean Young became the first couple to move into their new home on Alo Place.\(^{68}\) Mililani, completing development 40 years later in 2008 with over 48,000\(^{69}\) residents, would become the first master-planned community in Hawai‘i and cost Castle & Cooke $3.85 billion to develop 16,000 homes on 3,500 acres of former agricultural lands.\(^{70}\) Owners of Dole pineapple and Waialua sugar, before Mililani was created, Castle & Cooke once owned 40,000 acres of land on O‘ahu.\(^{71}\)

The 2010 census recorded that at least 48,668 people live in Mililani (including both the Town and Mauka sections), with approximately 20% (9,796) who distinguish themselves as being of Part-Hawaiian or Pacific Islander descent.\(^{72}\) The ever tidy and uniform appearance of the town is a result of strict regulations placed on homeowners by the Mililani Town Association.\(^{73}\) Similar to other planned developments, Mililani is affected by a “vague sense of

\(^{65}\) Doris D. Lawyer, “All-American Mililani Town,” The Honolulu Advertiser, May 4, 2003, sec. R.

\(^{66}\) Andrew Gomes, “Mililani Ends 40 Years of Building,” The Honolulu Advertiser, June 21, 2008, sec. C.

\(^{67}\) This source was provided on February 25, 2014 from Doreen Rozemond of Castle & Cooke, and contained no publication data. Castle & Cooke, The Mililani Story, PDF, 2.


\(^{70}\) Gomes, “Mililani ends 40 years of building,” sec. C.

\(^{71}\) Castle & Cooke. The Mililani Story, PDF, 2.


identity” and lack of a distinct Kānaka Maoli heritage. Mililani is located in the piko or center of Oʻahu in Waipiʻo, a place once inhabited by aliʻi or the royal ruling class of Hawaiʻi. The title of “All-American City,” is an example of the Americanization celebrated by the Mililani Town Association. The erasure of the past, and therefore the history of Waipiʻo, must be peeled back and examined for possible effects that this has on the minds of the community.

Similar to Julie Kaomea’s research of the kūpuna programs in the public schools of Hawaiʻi, the idea of “making the familiar strange,” to initiate “the persistent excavation of perspectives and circumstances that have been buried, written over, or erased” is needed in Mililani. The land that the town was built upon holds a largely unrecognized wealth of importance regarding the history and identity of Hawaiʻi. This identity, although not widely known, still exists beneath the facade of tree-lined streets and color-coded houses. Such a facade is perplexing in a place like Hawaiʻi where people come from around the world to experience the local culture, environmental beauty and history.

The meaning of “local culture” differs from Kānaka Maoli culture in that it includes the influences of other ethnic groups that immigrated to Hawaiʻi. This distinction between the two is discussed further by anthropologist Jonathan Okamura, who argues that although not everyone born and raised in Hawaiʻi is known as “Hawaiian,” the term “local” is used as “a symbol of the common identity of people who appreciate the quality and style of life in the islands and who therefore attempt to maintain control over the future of Hawaii and its communities.” Although there does exist a unique local culture in Hawaiʻi, much of it today derives from American and Asian influences. This excessive influence of foreign cultures makes the

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76 “25 Years of Our All-American City,” Mililani News, April 2012, 1.


78 Ibid., 15.

recognition of Kānaka Maoli perspectives and stories extremely important. After all, no where else in the world is the Kānaka Maoli culture so connected than in its origin of Hawai‘i. If anything, Hawai‘i is the one home that the indigenous values and history should never come second or be forgotten.

A quick visit to the first fee-simple, master-planned community of Hawai‘i would not imbue any sense of being in Hawai‘i, let alone a piece of land that once was cared for and protected by a very important ali‘i in Hawai‘i history. Many of the buildings and designs came from ideas based outside of Hawai‘i, and particularly from people and companies in California. In 1961, the State Land Use Commission zoned the land in Waipi‘o as agricultural, followed by protests from Oceanic Properties who planned for an over 3,000 acre development. However, in 1962 the plans were again pushed forth, approved by the Honolulu City Planning Commission and adopted as an ordinance by the City Council with approval from Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell.

In January of 1964, president of Oceanic Properties, Frederick B. Simpich, Jr. presented again for the Land Use Commission. In July of the same year, the first 705 acres including 140 acres for the golf course were rezoned for urban use to start building Mililani.

The main points for the need to build Mililani in Waipi‘o were described by Simpich:
1. The homes would all be offered as fee-simple, and being that the topography of the area made it inexpensive to develop, prices of houses would be low.
2. The golf course and other open areas would provide non-military access.
3. Construction would provide jobs and address the need for more houses with the growing population of O‘ahu residents.

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82 Castle & Cooke. The Mililani Story, PDF, 5.

83 Ibid., 3.

84 Ibid. 3-4.

85 Ibid., 4.

86 Ibid., 3.
4. Utility developments like water and sewage systems, roads, and street lights would be largely funded by the developer Castle & Cooke.

5. A greater need for urban lands surpassed the need for agricultural lands.

   The golf course was designed by architect Bob Baldock from Fresno, California, while the clubhouse design was done by Honolulu-based Vladimir Ossipoff. In the beginning of 1966, Oceanic Properties hired Murchison Construction from Sacramento, California to build the first 800 houses in Mililani, landscape architect Lawrence Halprin from San Francisco, California to design landscaping, and Vernon DeMars (also from San Francisco) to design the first set of homes by 1967. In fall of 1966, the Mililani Town, Inc. was started as “a subsidiary of Oceanic Properties to carry out the business of the new town development,” and the golf course was opened on December 3, 1966. A major controversy arose in 1969 when the company failed to meet their commitment in 1962 to provide low-income housing of $15,000 per home, claiming that the rising costs of construction made these prices impossible for them to achieve. The story of Mililani provided by Castle & Cooke is one of an ongoing push by the developers to get the State of Hawaiʻi to approve their plans and rezone lands from agricultural to urban. The lack of Kānaka Maoli representation, and inaccurate portrayal of what does exist, is a big problem in my community of Mililani. According to scholar Pablo Kala, the principle of “neo-liberal globalisation” is the cause of the erasure that is happening in India with the destruction of the Narmada river. Kala goes on to define this principle as:

   The fundamental principle of this doctrine [neo-liberalism and globalization] is ‘economic liberty’ for the powerful, that is that the social and political ‘impediments,’ ‘fetters,’ and ‘restrictions’ placed upon the economy by states trying to regulate in the name of the public interest must be erased from it. These ‘impediments’...are considered barriers to the free flow of trade

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87 Ibid., 5.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., 9-10.
91 Kala writes about the effects of “erasure,” on the indigenous people of India who are resisting against their government to stop the destruction of the Narmada River, a source from which much of their culture and livelihood is based. Kala, “In the Spaces of Erasure: Globalisation, Resistance and Narmada River,” 2001, 1992.
and capital, and the freedom of indigenous and transnational corporations to exploit labour and the environment in their best interests.\textsuperscript{92}

The neo-liberal globalisation, or “economic liberty” that also affects Hawai‘i is easily apparent in the planned community of Mililani, where little regard was shown to the host Kānaka Maoli culture during planning stages of the development.\textsuperscript{93} The only reference to the host Kānaka Maoli culture was in the naming of Mililani, discussed further in Chapter 3. The stories of genesis and experience in these lands allow us “to find out who we once were, and all that we can be again,” in the words of Kanaka Maoli scholar Kekʻewa Kikiloi.\textsuperscript{94} In order to move forward it is essential that we look toward the lessons of the past for guidance, and in the case of Hawaiʻi, the Kānaka Maoli are the keepers of this knowledge. The concept of erasure also brings about other concepts of “globalization” and “deterritorialization,” of which both are connected, and all a part of a big wave of influence and change, explained further by Neil Brenner:

In a world of intensifying global interdependence and interconnectedness—and the recognition of this dominant historical-geographical tendency is surely the common denominator of all analyses of globalization—space appears no longer as a neutral container within which temporal development unfolds but, rather, as a constitutive, historically produced dimension of social practices. The recognition that social relations have become increasingly interlinked and intertwined on a global scale necessarily problematizes the spatial boundaries of those relations and therefore the geographical context in which they occur.\textsuperscript{95}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 1991.
\textsuperscript{93} Castle & Cooke, The Mililani Story, PDF.
\end{flushleft}
These concepts, that can also be considered processes, echo similarities from Karl Marx in *The Communist Manifesto*, in which this expanding world market of capitalism and globalization is described:

All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations.  

Furthermore, in Cole Harris’ piece “How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire,” capitalism is connected with deterritorializing and reterritorializing people:

As Marx and, subsequently, others have noted, the spatial energy of capitalism works to deterritorialize people (that is, to detach them from prior bonds between people and place) and to reterritorialize them in relation to the requirements of capital (that is, to land conceived as resources and freed from the constraints of custom and to labor detached from land).

A major consequence of this increase in globalization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization is the homogenization that results in “extinguishing the local culture” from the increasing

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96 “An economic system characterized by private or corporate ownership of capital goods, by investments that are determined private decision rather than by state control...” in Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Capitalism.”


99 “To blend (diverse elements) into a uniform mixture,” Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Homogenize.”
social interactions that take place “irrespective of the geographical location of participants.” A solution to this danger can be to utilize the tool of reterritorializing to the Kānaka Maoli advantage in order to re-indigenize the space of Mililani. By doing so, current and future generations will become more aware of their own environmental realities and unique heritage in Hawai‘i.

The Americanization and hegemonic imaging as a result of the erasure in Mililani reach much further than the initial 1958 planning by land owners Castle & Cooke. Kanaka Maoli scholar Kamananaikalani Beamer argues that the 1893 illegal overthrow of Hawai‘i’s last reigning queen, Lili‘uokalani, “created drastic shifts in power that enabled events to occur in the Hawaiian Islands that would not have occurred had the Mō‘ī not been forcefully removed through the aid of officials of the United States.” The transplantation of these foreign ideas and structures through Americanization would not have happened so drastically without the illegal overthrow and continued occupation of Hawai‘i by the United States. Kanaka Maoli scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa goes into depth about the illegal overthrow and occupation in her work Native Land and Foreign Desires, summarized in the passage:

Although Senator Blount’s investigative report to the U.S. Congress vindicated Queen Lili‘uokalani and recommended her restoration to the Hawaiian thrown, today we Hawaiians still await American justice and have become like foreigners in the ‘Āina of our ancestors. Once Hawai‘i became an American territory in 1900, foreigners prohibited Hawaiian language and beat Hawaiian children for speaking it. As a result, we became ashamed to be Hawaiian. Now foreigners behave as though Hawaiians don’t belong in Hawai‘i, calling the Native people “immigrants.” There is a great lack of pono in Hawai‘i today as a direct result of our loss of ‘Āina and sovereignty.


102 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 246-251.

A start to regain pono has been initiated through publications and work like those of Kameʻeleihiwa and Beamer. Each new set of ‘ike contributes to the larger understanding for all Kānaka Maoli and locals in Hawai‘i. Through this thesis, more awareness about the erasure of the Kānaka Maoli perspective will be offset by sharing some of the indigenous moʻolelo of the ʻāina.

The visual effects of the continued imperialism104 from the United States exist all over the islands, and especially in Mililani. One such example is the United States flag, flown above the flag of Hawai‘i and one created for Mililani, placed throughout the town (Figure 1). When the symbols placed strategically throughout a society are looked at more closely and seriously, the meanings behind these images start to take shape and the many representations of American control over Hawai‘i come flooding through. The Americanization brought on by this occupation is constantly present in Hawai‘i, and in many forms.

![Figure 1. Visual domination of the United States in Mililani. Photograph by Leimomi Morgan, February 4, 2014.](image)

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104 “The extension or imposition of power, authority, or influence,” Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Imperialism.”
For a planned community like Mililani, the Americanization is upheld through strict rules that every Mililani resident pays fees for and must follow. The Mililani Town Association does provide many great services for the town, such as community events, classes, common area maintenance, and pool access. However, the whole “All-American City” title is misplaced in Hawai‘i, so geographically and culturally dissimilar from the continental United States. The fault is not at the hands of the Association, but the creators of this entity, developer Castle & Cooke. This misplaced identity is noticable even to a Mililani resident like Scott Ishikawa, who authored an article with this very concern. In the article from the Honolulu Advertiser published on July 13, 1998 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Mililani, Ishikawa discussed the maturing of the town from former pineapple fields, bylaws enforced on all homeowners, utopian vision, and lack of identity:

Strict bylaws require trim lawns and a tidy appearance. Some residents complain about the Mililani Town Association’s heavy-handed efforts to enforce those rules. And, like countless other suburban developments planned a generation ago, Mililani suffers from a vague sense of identity, with no town center or distinctive geography to set it apart.

Contrary to what Ishikawa portrayed, there does exist a Town Center in Mililani, where traces of the foreign-imposed world-view sit on display in a pavilion funded by Castle & Cooke in 2005. The visual texts on this pavilion are attributed to Mililani teachers and students. The depictions are of the past, present, and imagined future of Mililani, and offer insight into the knowledge and perceptions of members in the community. In one visual text by the children of Mililani Waena Elementary, a depiction of the “Battle of Kīpapa” (Figure 2) is accompanied by the following description:

A Hawaiian legend tells of a war leader, Kahikulani from Puna, Hawai‘i who came to battle against Chief Halemano. Kahikulani invaded O‘ahu and divided the reign of Ma‘ilikukahi. He first landed in Waikiki and proceeded up the ‘Ewa coast and then marched inland. At Waikakalaua a battle ensued. Kahikulani stood on the top of the mountain and looked down at the Kipapa stream where his warriors fought against Chief Halemano’s warriors. All of Halemano’s warriors were destroyed and the land

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and stream of Kipapa were reddened with blood from this battle. Thus, the name “Kipapa” refers to the warriors whose bodies covered the ground at the end of the battle.\footnote{106}

This inaccurate description seems to come directly from a translated version of an article in the Hawaiian language newspaper \textit{Ka Hoku o Hawaii}, which says nothing about “dividing the reign” of Māʻilikūkahi, nor about traveling from Waikīkī toward Waikakalāua.\footnote{107} Various sources recorded that more than one battle occurred in Kīpapa. This description and illustration suggest that only one battle occurred. The author of this description inappropriately combined this battle in Kīpapa with another involving Māʻilikūkahi, two events with entirely different outcomes and characters. There are many accounts of the battles that ended in Kīpapa, one being the invasion of Oʻahu during the reign of Māʻilikūkahi by Hawaiʻi island and Maui chiefs, referenced several times in \textit{Sites of Oahu}.\footnote{108}

The significant role that the reign of Māʻilikūkahi played in the history of Oʻahu and Waipiʻo is missing in the Mililani Town Center. In fact, the statement “Kahikulani invaded Oʻahu and divided the reign of Maʻilikukahi,” on the plaque is blatantly incorrect.\footnote{109} No reference examined thus far records such an occurrence, which is quite an upsetting claim about such a beloved and celebrated chief like Māʻilikūkahi.\footnote{110} The description provided, on display as truth in the center of Mililani, is grossly inaccurate and misleading. The current General Manager of the Mililani Town Association since 2011, David O’Neal, is unsure who exactly was responsible for the information on these plaques. He also agreed that the story of Kipapa should be corrected.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{106} The diacriticals for “Māʻilikūkahi,” “Kīpapa” and “Waikīkī” were not included in the this description. Students of Mililani Waena Elementary, Battle of Kipapa, 2005, Mililani Town Center Pavilion.

\textsuperscript{107} “Na Anoai O Oahu Nei [sic],” \textit{Ka Hoku O Hawaii} (Honolulu), January 28, 1930, accessed February 6, 2014, http://nupepa.org/gsdl2.5/cgi-bin/nupepa?e=d-0nupepa-00-0-0-010---4----prev---0-11-1en-Zz-1---20-about---0003-1-0000utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1.9.14&d=HASH015ea490f7f76b7a7b2bfe6e.4.


\textsuperscript{109} Description of the Battle of Kipapa, 2005, Mililani Town Center Pavilion.

According to O’Neal, Castle & Cooke created the pavilion and organized the creation of the plaques by the schools. The Mililani Town Association did not contribute to the information. O’Neal mentioned that many of the people who were working with the developer have since moved on to other projects. Since O’Neal only started working for the MTA in 2011, he does not know most of them. To his knowledge, the pavilion had been up since around 2005.\textsuperscript{111} Castle & Cooke provided no information about those responsible for the plaques.

To the right of the illustration of the “Battle of Kipapa,” are two depictions of the imagined future of Mililani Town, created by students from Mililani High School (Figure 3) and Hanalani Schools (Figure 4). The descriptions included next to these images (Figure 5) show a glimpse into the minds of future leaders in Mililani. An increase in technology with little regard for the land or sustainable practices is shown in both perspectives. Many of the sustainable land practices connected to Mā‘ilikūkahi, if properly shared and understood, would perhaps offset this unbalanced focus on technology in the future. The importance that this ali‘i had in Waipi‘o will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{111} David O’Neal, “Personal Interview with MTA General Manager,” 2012.
In a place like Mililani, located in an area known for its rich, red soil and rainy days, more focus should be paid to the ʻāina and its possibility to provide more resources instead of more development and restaurants. It is curious that the students see Mililani in the future as being known as the “restaurant town,” but no mention is made of where all this food will be coming from or grown. A clocktower and pineapple\textsuperscript{112} are utilized as symbols of Mililani, as if these were the only representations available to them. Although pineapple was once grown in the area, it represents only a small piece in the history of Waipiʻo. This lack of awareness of the land is similar to the lack of Kānaka Maoli culture, another consequence of the extreme Americanization that the area has undergone.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{A vision for the future of Mililani, the “restaurant town.” By Mililani High School students and their teachers. Photograph by Leimomi Morgan, February 4, 2014.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{112} Students of Mililani High School and Hanalani School, 2005, Mililani Town Center Pavilion.
Figure 4. A vision for the future of Mililani with the pineapple representing the heritage of the land. By Hanalani Schools students and their teachers. Photograph by Leimomi Morgan, February 4, 2014.
This showcase in the Mililani Town Center represents the values and direction that some of the residents in Mililani are following. This direction is based on the erasure and implantation of American ideals that were set in place by developer Castle & Cooke planners and Californian architects and designers. This erasure and deliberate Americanization, although physical at first, ultimately spreads into the “mental universe” of those affected. In Mililani it influences the widely recognized portrayal of the town identity and distorts the larger Waipi’o history. All of the schools that contributed in the creation of the murals discussed and accompanying descriptions, Mililani Waena Elementary School, Mililani High School, and Hanalani Schools, were contacted for information\textsuperscript{113} about those involved in their creation. However, none of them responded about the teachers or administrators responsible. Although the signatures of the students are evident on the plaques, those who taught and led them should also be held accountable.

\textsuperscript{113} All schools were called on April 17, 2014 by the author. The inquiry about these visual texts and call-back information for answers was left with Michelle from Mililani Waena Elementary School, Ingrid from Mililani High School, and Cindy Deleson from Hanalani Schools. None responded with answers.
The Americanism pushed forth by the planners of Mililani continues to affect current community members and is shown in the selection of examples discussed in this chapter. The town history shown in the Mililani Town Center, celebrated “All-American City” title, mission statement of the Mililani Town Association (shown in Figure 5), and lack of Kānaka Maoli recognition all demonstrate the Americanization on this ʻāina and people. By sharing the indigenous stories, the Americanization will have less control in the Mililani community, allowing the land-based, Kānaka Maoli perspectives more room to breathe and flourish. In the words of Kanaka Maoli kumu, teacher at Mililani High School since 1976, and kamaʻāina of Waipiʻo, John Kahaʻi Topolinski:

So, what the developers, and the sugar people, and the government did is that they temporarily cut the roots of this place. But it’s still here. You just got to go look for it!115

The development and sugar business connected to Castle & Cooke, along with negotiations and rezoning passed by government officials, are all connected to the Americanization and indigenous erasure in Mililani. Perhaps if more moʻolelo reflecting the true nature of the ʻāina in Waipiʻo are legitimized as valuable ʻike for the community, then a stronger sense of place, belonging, and Kānaka Maoli identity will be established.

In response to the Americanized Mililani landscape and community discussed in this chapter, a visual representation outlining the island of Oʻahu (Figure 6) was created highlighting the moku of ʻEwa, ahupuaʻa of Waipiʻo, and location of Mililani. The piece is entitled “Mai Poina i Nā Inoa o Waipiʻo, ʻEwa, Oʻahu,” meaning, “Don’t forget the Names of Waipiʻo, ʻEwa, Oʻahu,” and is an acrylic on canvas. In direct opposition to the historical and visual erasure that is so present in Mililani, the painting was created by repurposing an old, unfinished painting to show a Kanaka Maoli perspective. Oʻahu is centralized on the canvas in order to showcase the complex beauty of the landscapes regardless of the developmental interference. In

116 For direct translations to each of the words, please see the work by Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian.
the manaʻo of kahu\textsuperscript{117} for Kūkaniloko\textsuperscript{118} Tom Lenchanko, the Waiʻanae mountains\textsuperscript{119} represent the wahine\textsuperscript{120} and the Koʻolau mountains\textsuperscript{121} are the kāne.\textsuperscript{122} Where they come together and meet in the center of the island is the sacred birthing site known as Kūkaniloko, located close to the Mililani community.

The background colors of uliuli\textsuperscript{123} represent the flow of water and the ever-changing names attached to the ‘āina. The names act as anchors to the past and rise above the change, even their shadows still visible in the water. These names all came from the research found in the next two chapters of the stories attached to Waipiʻo including people, places, homes, gardens, and winds. The color melemele\textsuperscript{124} was used to represent the human influence on the land through names and boundaries. The melemele is also bright and draws the eye to notice the names. There would be no names or land divisions without the people, both Kānaka Maoli and foreign. The names of the Kānaka Maoli people and places that are unique to Waipiʻo, Oʻahu are brought to the forefront to highlight their importance in this place. The names were placed around Oʻahu to show how they embrace the island and add to the magnificence and diversity of the ‘āina. Significant to note about the Kānaka Maoli is that names were always given for a reason and “reflect [the] culture and history” of each particular place.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{117} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 105; Honored attendant, guardian, keeper.

\textsuperscript{118} A famous birthing site for Kānaka Maoli royalty, located close to the current area of Mililani. This area will be discussed further in Chapter 2. For more references please see the work by Sterling and Summers, comps., \textit{Sites of Oahu}, 139-140.

\textsuperscript{119} These mountains are on the west side of Oʻahu, bordering the section called Waiʻanae.

\textsuperscript{120} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 349; Woman.

\textsuperscript{121} These mountains are on the east side of Oʻahu, bordering Kāneʻohe and Kailua.


\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 340; The deep blue of the sea.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 226; Yellow.

\textsuperscript{125} For more about place names in Hawaiʻi, please see the work by Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, \textit{Place Names of Hawaii}, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 237.
Figure 6. “Mai Poina i Nā Inoa o Waipi‘o, ‘Ewa, O‘ahu.”
Acrylic on canvas by Leimomi Morgan, February 20, 2014.

Much more can be done to represent the Kānaka Maoli foundation in Waipi‘o that houses the nearly 50,000 people in the Mililani community. In the next chapter, more of these mo‘olelo regarding the significant sites of Waipi‘o will be explained for further understanding of its past.
Chapter 2. ‘Āina: Ka Piko Poʻo, Hānau Mua

Kūkaniloko

Current kahu of Kūkaniloko and kamaʻāina of Waipio, Tom Lenchanko, was kind enough to impart some of the deep ancestral knowledge passed down to him from his kūpuna. As a young man Lenchanko was given the task by his mother to take care of the sacred place known as Kūkaniloko in Waialua and has been doing so for the past 45 years.\textsuperscript{126} The responsibility of caring for this sacred birthing site has been entrusted to Lenchanko’s family for generations. Lenchanko continues the work and ‘ike passed down to him from his kūpuna to care for Kūkaniloko and share some of its moʻolelo with those interested.

Kūkaniloko was created by Nanakāoko and his wife Kahiliokalani as the place for the birthing of their child Kapawa.\textsuperscript{127} In the original article by Kamakau from \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa} on August 5, 1865 (Figure 7), a child born at Kūkaniloko was described as “(u)a kapaia kela he Alii, he akua, he ahi he wela,” translated by Pukui as “a chief, a god, a blaze of heat.”\textsuperscript{128} The name Kūkaniloko means “to anchor the cry from within,” in reference to the preparation to ease the pains of labor that the women would go through before giving birth.\textsuperscript{129} These “prescribed regulations for birthing” were called the Līloe kapu.\textsuperscript{130} Kūkaniloko was the name of the kuapuʻu or backrest, the rock that Kahiliokalani leaned against while giving birth to Kapawa in the presence of 36 aliʻi.\textsuperscript{131} Pukui further translated Kamakau’s moʻolelo about Kūkaniloko:

$$\text{When the child was born, it was immediately taken into the } \textit{waihau heiau} \text{ Hoʻolono-pahu. There forty-eight chiefs ministered to the}$$

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{126} Tom Lenchanko, interview at Kūkaniloko, interview by author, November 2, 2013.
\item \textsuperscript{127} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}

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child and cut the navel cord. Hoʻolono-pahu was a furlong\textsuperscript{132} and a half south of Kūkaniloko. Two furlongs to the west of Kūkaniloko was where the sacred drum Hāwea was beaten; it indicated the birth of a chief.\textsuperscript{133}

This birthing of Kapawa is recorded as occurring in approximately A.D. 1060\textsuperscript{134} and Kūkaniloko remained a ceremonial birthing site until the birth of Kākuhihewa in approximately A.D. 1600.\textsuperscript{135} The aliʻi Kākuhihewa is a well remembered mōʻī of Oʻahu (Oʻahu a Kākuhihewa) in part because of his kindness to all his people and also because of his ancestral ties to aliʻi from Hawaiʻi, Maui and Kauaʻi which created valuable alliances between the islands.\textsuperscript{136}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure7.png}
\caption{Original article by Kamakau from \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa} dated August 5, 1865.}
\end{figure}

The commonly recognized area of Kūkaniloko is located about four miles away from the heart of the Mililani community (Figure 8), and is an important site for all surrounding areas. As Lenchanko describes, the boundaries of Kūkaniloko are much larger than commonly recognized.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{132} “A unit of distance equal to 220 yards,” Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Furlong.”
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{133} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 38.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{134} Abraham Fornander, \textit{Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore}, vol. 6 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1920), 247.
\end{flushright}

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\textsuperscript{136} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 70.
\end{flushright}
Lenchanko’s stories start with describing the kalana\textsuperscript{137} or land division of Kūkaniloko as an area much larger than the five acres designated by the State of Hawai‘i as a State Monument. Lenchanko describes a kalana as one size smaller than a moku\textsuperscript{138} or district, yet larger than an ahupua‘a. This land area is marked by concentric\textsuperscript{139} boundaries starting at Kūkaniloko and includes approximately 36,000 acres.\textsuperscript{140} These lands were cared for and protected by a people known as the Lō Ali‘i.\textsuperscript{141} These people were described by Kamakau in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Figure 9) and translated by Pukui as the “chiefs of Līhu‘e, Wahiawā, and Halemano on O‘ahu” that “lived there continually and guarded their kapu\textsuperscript{142},” and “were like gods, unseen, resembling men.”\textsuperscript{143}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{137} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 113; Division of land smaller than a moku or district.
  \item \textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 232; District.
  \item \textsuperscript{139} “Having a common center,” Fredrick C. Mish, ed., Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “Concentric.”
  \item \textsuperscript{140} Lenchanko, interview at Kūkaniloko, interview by author, November 2, 2013.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{142} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 123; Sacredness.
  \item \textsuperscript{143} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko, 40.
\end{itemize}
Lenchanko describes the area of Līhu’e as the lands of the Lō Ali‘i from Pohakea Pass including all of Leilehua on the south west side of Kaukonahua stream. This area is still marked by rock pilings and geographic features known as the “kaʻānaniʻau,” a word associated with Oʻahu, similar to the ahupuaʻa or moku land division boundaries except with religious or ceremonial connotations. The word is described by Lenchanko to mean literally “a beautiful period of time.” Pukui and Elbert define kaʻānaniʻau as “(s)ame as ahupuaʻa, the altar marking the land division.” Genz quotes Christopher Monahan and Alika Poe Silva who note that kaʻānaniʻau function similar to an ahupuaʻa or dividing of resources, but are also religious areas, “a place where heaven and earth meet.” This would mean that not only do the kaʻānaniʻau mark the kalana of Kūkaniloko, but also that each kaʻānaniʻau marker is in itself a significant site with possible sacred, religious functions. Lenchanko and his sister Jo-Lin Lenchanko Kalimapau also shared the specific points that make up the kalana of Kūkaniloko including specific kaʻānaniʻau:

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144 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed., 185; Mountain and pass (2,200) feet elevation) in the Wai‘anae mountains on Oʻahu.

145 Leilehua in Wahiawā was taken over as a military reservation in 1909 and renamed after the secretary of war, Lt. General John M. Schofield, under U.S. President Andrew Johnson. Ibid., 210.

146 The longest stream on Oʻahu, 33 miles in Wahiawā, Leilehua and Haleʻiwa, Oʻahu. Ibid., 92.

147 Lenchanko, interview at Kūkaniloko, interview by author, November 2, 2013.


149 Genz, Kaʻānaniʻau of Kūkaniloko: An Expansive View of the Cultural Landscape on Oʻahu, working paper (Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi, 2011), 3.
Kalana Kūkaniloko\textsuperscript{150}

1. Along the Waianae ridge – Mauna Kaala to Puu Kalena to Kumakalii to Puu Hapapa to Kanehoa to Puu Kaua to Palikea to Mauna Kapu

2. Across the southern plain – Mauna Kapu to Kaananiau Kuua to Kaananiau Paupalai to the ridge top at Waianu

3. Along the Koolau ridge north – Waianu to Uwau to Kaaumakua to Puu Pau Ao to Puu Kaluanui

4. Across the northern plain – Puu Kaluanui to Kaananiau Halemano to Laukaha to Kaananiau Halahape to Puu Maili to Puu Pulee to Puu Kamaohanui to Mauna Kaala

In interviews conducted by Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, the ka‘ānani‘au were described further based on interviews with Lenchanko:

The land of O‘ahu is divided by a concentric alignment of ka‘anani‘au that demarcates the area of Kūkaniloko. Mr. Lenchako describes that these series of rock pilings conservatively demarcates an area of 36,000 acres known to be Lihue, Wahiawā, Halemano...that somewhat resembles the constellation Orion. Through land navigation and the confirmation of their continued existence, the ka‘anani‘au include, but are not limit[ed] to: O‘ahunui, Paupala‘i, Hālawa, Hāwea, Kou, Maunauna, Ku‘ua, Kulihemo, Kānewai, Halahape, ʻŌ‘io, Halemano.\textsuperscript{151}

Lenchanko describes this 36,000 acres (an approximation shown in Figure 10) as the inheritance of the descendents of the Lō Ali‘i. In actuality, this inheritance included the entire island of O‘ahu. The portion called the “‘aha i loko,” makes up this conservative estimate of 36,000 acres of which nearly all the land markers (ka‘ānani‘au) are still intact.\textsuperscript{152} When he was given the responsibility as kahu of Kūkaniloko, Lenchanko was also given the task to find all of these markers, which he has. The ‘aha i loko is basically the inner section marked by the kalana

\textsuperscript{150} In the original source provided to me, no diacriticals were included for these names, and although I am familiar with some of them, I decided to record them here exactly as they were given to me, only capitalizing them. Jo-Lin Lenchanko Kalimapau, “Kalana Kukaniloko,” e-mail message to author, February 16, 2014.

\textsuperscript{151} Tom Lenchanko, Cultural Impact Assessment for the Proposed In-Vessel Composting Facility, Kamananui Ahupua’a, Waialua District, O‘ahu Island (TMK: 1] 6-5-002:026), report, Summary of Interview with Tom Lenchanko (Kailua: Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, 2011), 1. This report was provided to the author by Jo-Lin Lenchanko Kalimapau.

\textsuperscript{152} Lenchanko, interview at Kukaniloko, interview by author, November 2, 2013.
boundaries or kaʻānaniʻau markers. Furthermore, Lenchanko describes the “‘aha i waho” as basically the perimeter from this inner land division until it reaches the ocean.\(^{153}\)

![Figure 10. Hawai‘i Territory Survey map of O‘ahu with the Kalana Kūkaniloko and kaʻānaniʻau described by kahu of Kūkaniloko, Tom Lenchanko--highlighted in red and encompassing roughly 36,000 acres. Highlighting of land area by Leimomi Morgan, March 1, 2014.](image)

Another account of the kaʻānaniʻau on O‘ahu is from Kamakau who describes Ka‘ena point as being a place of “Kaʻananiau,” in around 1782 where Kaʻopulupulu and his son Kahulupue stop to pray for guidance during a journey.\(^{154}\) The following portion of text (Figure 11) is from the original ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i article by Kamakau\(^{155}\) published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Maraki\(^{156}\) 23, 1867:

\(^{153}\) Ibid.


\(^{156}\) Also written as “Malaki,” Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 94; March.
The sacredness of Kūkaniloko is exemplified by the great aliʻi who are remembered as being born there, including Māʻilikūkahi,157 Kalanimanuia,158 and Kākuhihewa.159 As recent as 1797160 Kamehameha I attempted to have his wife Keōpūolani give birth to Liholiho Kamehameha II at Kūkaniloko, but was unable to achieve this goal. Not only was the region of Kūkaniloko considered a sacred birthing site, but also a center meeting ground for traditional learning. Lenchanko attributes Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī as the manager of this area as traditional schooling lands161 under Kamehameha III Kauikeaouli, perhaps due to his connection to Waipiʻo (further explained in Chapter 3).

Lenchanko, along with two other Kānaka Maoli kumu and kamaʻāina of Waipiʻo, John Kahaʻi Topolinski and Elsie Ryder, all attribute Kūkaniloko as an extremely important site for all of Oʻahu and especially the nearby ahupuaʻa of Waipiʻo. According to Topolinski, teacher of


158 Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 57.

159 Ibid., 68.


Kānaka Maoli history and culture at Mililani High School since 1976, his wife is a direct
descendant of Kūaliʻi, and he explains his family connection to Kūkaniloko:

...the piko’s of our grandkids and our children are buried there, and we still as a family carry out private ceremonies. I get upset when people go up there and just damage the area and just make it filthy...they don’t know the protocol. This whole area [Waipiʻo, including Mililani]...it’s all connected.

To validate Topolinski’s wife’s connection to the royal lineage of Kūaliʻi, many moʻolelo about this aliʻi were recorded by Fornander and Kamakau. Kūaliʻi was a respected mōʻī of Oʻahu because of his reverence to the gods and therefore peaceful kingdom. Although born on Oʻahu, this mōʻī was not born at Kūkaniloko but at Kalapawai in Kailua in the moku of Koʻolauupoku. However, the same sacred drums that were associated with births at Kūkaniloko, Hāwea and ʻOpuku, were brought to the birthing ceremony at the Heiau of Alala. Kūaliʻi is known for securing the power and rule of mōʻī on Oʻahu over other aliʻi in the districts of Kona and ʻEwa. Many mele and oli commemorate Kūaliʻi and tell of his interactions with foreigners. According to Kamakau, Kūaliʻi reigned on Oʻahu, was born in A.D. 1555 and died in 1730. This would mean that Kūaliʻi, who Kamakau claims his own grandmother saw in person, lived for 175 years. Kamakau also recognizes that Kūaliʻi’s long life is because he reigned with great respect for the gods. The continued observance by Topolinski’s family of private ceremonies and burying of his grandchildrens’ piko at Kūkaniloko show the enduring

164 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 369.
165 Fornander, Fornander’s Ancient History of the Hawaiian People: To the Times of Kamehameha I, 278.
166 Ibid.
167 Ibid., 280-281.
168 Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 115.
169 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 369.
significance of this place to Kānaka Maoli. In Topolinski’s own words, describing Waipiʻo and Kūkaniloko, “…these are sacred lands…that was the place at Kūkaniloko to be born!”

**Māʻilikūkahī**

A renowned aliʻi connected to Kūkaniloko, Līhuʻe, and Waipiʻo where Mililani was built is Māʻilikūkahī. An author identified as “S. N. H.” recorded the genealogy of Kamehameha I from the “Buke Mookuahau” or “Genealogy Book” of S. M. Kamakau (Figure 12). In the article, Kapawa is shown to have lived about 25-26 generations before Māʻilikūkahī, who according to Patrick Kirch, lived around A.D. 1490. This genealogy shows Kukahiaililani (k) and Kokalola (w) as Māʻilikūkahī’s parents and Puaakahuoī (k) and Nononui (w) as his paternal grandparents. However, Kamakau accounts these grandparents as being Māʻilikūkahī’s parents in the article “No Mailikukahi” published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on August 26, 1865 (Figure 13). The article also explains how Māʻilikūkahī was born at Kūkaniloko. A chief born at Kūkaniloko was considered a god of the land and sacred chief.

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173 The “k” represents the “kāne” or man and father, and the “w” represents the “wahine” or woman and mother.

Figure 12. Section of the genealogy of Kamehameha I by S. N. H., recorded from S. M. Kamakau’s Buke Mookuauhau, Ka Nuupea Kuokoa, Mei 4, 1865.

Figure 13. Section from “No Mailikukahi,” Ka Nuupea Kuokoa, August 26, 1865, by S. M. Kamakau.
Elsie Ryder, who is from Waipiʻo and taught at Mililani Uka Elementary for 19 years from 1988, told her students about the stories of Kīpapa gulch, and how the invasion between Māʻilikūkahī and outer island chiefs ended in this place:

From 1988, I taught 19 years at Mililani Uka [Elementary], and because Uka was right by Kīpapa gulch, I always told them the stories of the night marchers, how the war started, Māʻilikūkahī’s foster sons, and how the battle became, up at Leilehua, the plains of Leilehua which is [also known as] Schofield.175

According to Ryder, the area of Leilehua was once the training grounds for Māʻilikūkahī’s warriors. The place name Leilehua is noted by Pukui, Elbert and Mookini as “famous for training in lua fighting,”176 and meaning literally a “lehua lei.” The “lua” is described as the general term for “hand-to-hand fighting that included bone-breaking, quick turns and twists of the spear, noosing, leaping,”177 Ryder noted that the word “lehua,” although commonly in reference to the flower, also figuratively represents a warrior. Pukui also confirms this definition of lehua as figuratively meaning “a warrior” or “an expert.”178

A lot of the [place] names are reminiscent names telling you exactly what existed. It’s like Leilehua School. Leilehua School was named after the plains of Leilehua…the kaona179 of Leilehua is ‘lehua’ as another manaʻo of ‘the warriors.’ So…‘lei’ is like ‘not just one, but many.’ So, that’s another manaʻo of the Leilehua, ‘a lot of lua practitioners.’180

Two references to the plains of Leilehua are made in Sites of Oahu. One dated from 1925 describes how the area was also known as “Keawawaihe” or “The Valley of Spears” and was indeed a school for the arts of war including spearthrowing and lua.181 Another describes the

175 Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.


178 Ibid., 184.

179 Ibid., 121; Hidden meaning in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place; words with a double meaning that might bring good or bad fortune.

180 Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.

Leilehua Plains as the place where students would go and wait to practice their war techniques and skills on unknowing travelers.\textsuperscript{182}

Further aspects to the story of Māʻilikūkahī were described in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by Kamakau and translated by Pukui. The story explains Māʻilikūkahī was raised “at Wahiawā and at Kānewai and at Waiʻalua.”\textsuperscript{183} When he was 29 years old, he was chosen to rule by the leaders and those close to him. The current ruler of Oʻahu, a stingy chief named Haka, was killed so that Māʻilikūkahī could take his place.\textsuperscript{184} Another one of the reasons that Māʻilikūahi continues to be a celebrated chief is because of his dedication to the proper cultivation of the land on Oʻahu once he took over as mōʻī.

When the kingdom passed to Māʻilikūkahī, the land divisions were in a state of confusion; the ahupua a, the kū [ʻili kāpono], the ʻili ʻāina, the moʻo ʻāina, the paukū ʻāina, and the kīhāpai were not clearly defined.\textsuperscript{185}

In response to this state of confusion, Māʻilikūkahī ordered the division of Oʻahu into sections (explained further in Figure 14), and for each section a person was appointed to oversee the resources. The makaʻāinana\textsuperscript{186} were designated to cultivate the various resources according to where they lived.

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid., “Wahiawa: Waianae-uka,” 135.
\textsuperscript{183} Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 53.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., 54.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{186} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 207; Commoner; people that attend the land.
\end{quote}
Similar to what is hinted by Kamakau, Ryder believes that this system of resource management was in place much longer before the reign of Māʻilikūkahi, and stems back to a time before the aliʻi system took over in Hawaiʻi:

The aliʻi system that came, that was a system that was totally military. The people prior to the social system of the aliʻi, they lived in the social system called the ‘aha. The manaʻo of the ‘aha system came from my kumu [John Kaimikaua] and that was given
to him from his kumu, Kawahinekapuheaikapokane, which had the mana' o all the way back to 900 A.D.\(^{187}\)

According to Ryder, when Mā‘ilikūkahi took over control of O‘ahu, he simply brought back this ‘aha system that was once found in all of the Hawaiian Islands and focused on the resources of the people. He also made sure that no stealing was allowed during his reign, making sure that the chiefs could not take from the maka‘āinana, a crime punishable by death.\(^{188}\) His love for all of the people on O‘ahu was shown through his adoption of the makahiapo\(^{189}\) or first-born sons from all the people to be raised as his own and trained to protect the island in times of need.\(^{190}\)

From Halahape to O‘ahu-nui in Wai‘alua was the kūlanakahale of Mā‘ilikūkahi. There he raised the first-born sons of the maka‘āinana and of the ali‘i. The chiefs and commoners loved him for his great aloha for their children.\(^{191}\)

As described earlier in Chapter 1, there are accounts of two battles that occurred during the time of Mā‘ilikūkahi’s reign over O‘ahu. One account is described by Kamakau (Figure 15) in the newspaper Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. Various ali‘i from Hawai‘i and Maui heard of the success of Mā‘ilikūkahi’s leadership over O‘ahu, and decided to invade the island to defeat Mā‘ilikūkahi and take over O‘ahu’s precious resources.

\(^{187}\) Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.

\(^{188}\) Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko, 55.


\(^{190}\) Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko, 55.

\(^{191}\) Ibid.
Pukui translated this article into English, which records the names of the chiefs who came to invade, where the battle began, where it ended, and how this was “the first time the chiefs of Hawai‘i and Maui were defeated by O‘ahu chiefs.” Although slightly similar to what is described in the Mililani Town Center (previously discussed in Chapter 1), this translation by Pukui describes how the invading chiefs were defeated by Mā‘ilikūkahi and his warrior sons. The description and visual in the Town Center combine two different battles. This one by Kamakau and another discussed further in the section dedicated to Kīpapa. Both battles include different people, however both occurred (at least partially) in what became known as Kīpapa. The Mililani Town Center description portrays Mā‘ilikūkahi as being defeated by the invading chiefs from Hawai‘i island and Maui, which is not found in either recordings of the battles in Kīpapa. The translation by Pukui of Figure 15 is as follows:

Hilo, the son of Hilo-kapuhi, Hilo-a-Lu‘ukapu, and Punalu‘u, chiefs of Hawai‘i, and Luako‘a, a chief of Maui, decided to go and make war on Mā‘ilikūkahi. They sailed and landed in Waikīkī, he
went to Kapuaʻikāula in ‘Ewa with their canoes full of men. *Mauka* of Wai-kakala-ua gulch the battle was to begin. While they were going inland, they were cut off in the rear by the foster children of Māʻilikūkahi. Of the chiefs of Hawaiʻi and Maui, Punaluʻu was killed on the plain now called Punaluʻu. Corpses that “paved” a gulch gave the name Kīpapa to that place. Some of the invaders reached as far as the sea at ʻEwa and Waimano – the gulches were filled with their corpses. The heads of Hilo ma were cut off and taken to Honouliuli to a place now called Poʻo-hilo.193

According to Ryder, the Mililani Town Center and surrounding houses were built upon the “plains of Punaluʻu” described by Kamakau and Pukui, named for the aliʻi from Hawaiʻi who was killed there in this battle with Māʻilikūkahi. The map of ʻEwa and Waipiʻo in *Sites of Oahu* also confirms this to be true when overlaid with an image from Google Earth of Oʻahu today (Figure 16).

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Figure 16. Map of Oʻahu from Google Earth with the boundary of Waipiʻo from the Hawaiʻi Territory Survey of Oʻahu map of 1902 by John M. Donn. Sites of Waipiʻo overlaid from the *Sites of Oahu* ʻEwa map of 1959. Overlays by Leimomi Morgan 2013.

193 Ibid.
The place where Māʻilikūkahi’s warriors were “cut off” is described by Ryder as an opening across from the townhousing area of Nob Hill in Mililani:

…when you’re coming down this hill [going toward Kamehameha Highway on Lanikūhana Avenue] you see where the milo\textsuperscript{194} trees are just before the townhouses [across from Nob Hill], there’s an opening, the opening to the [Kīpapa] gulch…they were pushed in there…and they [the invading Hawai‘i and Maui warriors] just couldn’t handle what they got themselves into…he [Māʻilikūkahi] had posts all set up, like Pālehua was one of them.\textsuperscript{195}

Ryder goes on to describe how Pālehua in Makakilo was a famous site used by Māʻilikūkahi’s warriors to watch over O‘ahu for invading ali‘i from other lands, especially over the area of Pu‘uloa where there were many fishponds and it was easy for invaders to steer in their canoes.\textsuperscript{196} Ryder describes how Māʻilikūkahi’s army informed him of invaders:

So it was easy, from Pālehua, they [Māʻilikūkahi’s army] just sent their kūkini.\textsuperscript{197} The kūkini ran right over to Pōhākea\textsuperscript{198} pass or Maunakapu\textsuperscript{199} and came right down to Māʻilikūkahi, and there he sent out his foster sons. They knew exactly what to do and how to protect their home.\textsuperscript{200}

Interesting to note is the “lehua” in Pālehua, perhaps in reference to the warriors of Leilehua. It is made clear that Māʻilikūkahi and his reign over Oʻahu was a prosperous and peaceful time in Kānaka Maoli history. Much of his story takes place in the land that Mililani was built upon, which should pay homage to such an inspirational leader.

\textsuperscript{194} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 228; A tree to 40 feet high (Thespesia populnea), related to the hau which it resembles.

\textsuperscript{195} Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{197} Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian,163; Runner, swift messanger.

\textsuperscript{198} Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed., 185; Mountain and pass (2,200 feet elevation), Wai‘anae mountains, O‘ahu.

\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., 148; Mountain in the Wai’anae range separating Nānākuli and Honouliuli forest reserves, O‘ahu.

\textsuperscript{200} Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.
Kīpapa

Many of the sites that were heavily travelled and visited in Waipiʻo were described by Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī, including Kīpapa. The Kīpapa gulch, as it is commonly called, is a prominent feature in Mililani. Although the name “Kīpapa” is mostly attributed to the gulch, Kīpapa was known to cover a much larger section including where Kīpapa Drive and Kīpapa Elementary School sit today. The naming of Kīpapa is attributed to the corpses that were “placed prone” after “the victory of Oʻahu [Māʻilikūkahi] forces over those of Hawaiʻi in the fourteenth century,” locating it as a “ditch, gulch, junction, stream, elementary school, and park” in Wahiawā, central Oʻahu.  

As discussed earlier, there were two battles recorded as occurring in Kīpapa, one with Māʻilikūkahi, and another involving a Mr. Kahikulani from Puna, Hawaiʻi and the aliʻi Halemano. The area of Halemano is described as being the same as Helemano, an ʻili (shown in Figure 17) in the ahupuaʻa of Paʻalaʻa. This place is known for once being full of the fragrant Hawaiian ʻiliahi or sandalwood. Halemano along with Waipiʻo were areas where many schools were established during the reign of Kamehameha III who made sure that all of his kingdom was well educated. Kamakau further describes the Lō Aliʻi as from Halemano. An aliʻi known as Halemano was recorded by Fornander as the “son of Wahiawa

201 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed. 1974, 113.
203 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed., 1974, 38; Same as Helemano, 44; Stream, elementary school, reservoir, ditch, and camps, Wahiawā and Haleʻiwa qds., Oʻahu.
204 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 91; Land section, next in importance to ahupuaʻa and usually a subdivision of an ahupuaʻa.
205 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 207.
206 From about 1790 to 1840 sandalwood trees were cut and exported to China. Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 91; ʻIliahi.
207 Kamehameha III was born in 1813 and lived until 1854. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 422-424.
208 Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 40.
and Kukaniloko [who] falls in love with Kamalalawalu of Puna in his dreams. Halemano tries to escape with Kamalalawalu back to O‘ahu, but they are pursued by the king of O‘ahu and king of Puna who both seek to take Kamalalawalu as their own. After the two finally make it back to O‘ahu, two kings from Hawai‘i island track them down and “(a) terrible slaughter takes place and at the end Kamalalawalu is found alive and taken by the two kings back to Hawaii.” This could possibly be the same battle described by Mr. Kahikulani where the “Alii Halemano” is defeated by the ali‘i from Puna, Hawai‘i. More specifically, from the original article published in the newspaper Ka Hoku o Hawaii, the ali‘i Halemano was defeated by Kahikulani in Kīpapa (Figure 18).

Figure 17. “Portion of Paalaa, Waialua, Oahu” surveyed by J.G. Duarte & S.W. Keys in 1925. Registered map 2796 from the State of Hawai‘i Department of Accounting and General Services.

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210 Ibid.

211 Ibid.

The many sources clearly describe two separate battles as occurring in Kīpapa. These two different battles were erroneously combined into one as depicted in the Mililani Town Center pavilion description for “The Battle of Kipapa,” discussed in Chapter 1.

As a place much visited, Kīpapa was accessible from other prominent areas such as Kūkaniolo, Pa‘ala‘a, and Kolekole through trails frequented by travelers around O‘ahu. Some of these trails (in dotted lines) were described by ‘Ī‘ī and are shown in a depiction by Paul Rockwood (Figure 19). Mililani town sits with Waikakalāua on its north, and Kīpapa on its east.

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Two sites known as Heiau o ‘Umi and Moa‘ula Heiau are recorded in *Sites of Oahu* as once existing in Kīpapa. Both heiau were recorded by McAllister in 1930. Heiau o ‘Umi is referenced as Site 131, located “just northeast of the government road in the bottom of Kipapa Gulch on the slight elevation at the foot of the pali on the Honolulu side. The level elevation can still be seen, though planted in cane.” Moa‘ula Heiau is referenced as Site 132, located “on the Honolulu side of Kipapa Gulch just above Heiau o Umi, to which it is said to be a companion structure. The site is now covered with cane.” Ryder also confirmed that the Heiau o ‘Umi was located right off of the old government road on the Waikele side of Kīpapa.

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217 Ibid.

218 Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.
lands that were claimed by Kānaka Maoli during the 1848 Mahele and 1850 Kuleana Act were located in the gulch area of Waipiʻouka. These were claimed in the uka\(^{219}\) or inland portion of Waipiʻo to the east of Mililani bordering Waikele and will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

One moʻolelo from Waipiʻouka involves a kāne named Kalelealuaka, son of Kaopele, born in Waipiʻo during the early 17th century reign of Kākuhihewa on Oʻahu.\(^{220}\) Kaopele was known for cultivating lands while he was awake, but would go into deep sleeps for months at a time and the lands would go to waste. Once when he fell asleep and thought to be dead in Maeaea, Waialua and was taken to Kauaʻi to be sacrificed. But Kaopele awoke before this fate, and eventually married a Kauaʻi woman and had Kalelealuakā. When Kalelealuakā chose to visit Oʻahu, he came to an area in Waipiʻouka known as Keahumoe (Keahumo), which was under great cultivation planted by his father. This ʻāina called Keahumoe in Waipiʻouka was filled with maiʻa, upland kalo, kō, and ʻuala (banana, taro, sugarcane, and sweet potato).\(^{221}\) Kalelealuakā shot one of his magical arrows and where it landed he built a house known as Lelepua. This story is an exciting piece of evidence for what was once grown and can possibly be regrown in the uplands of Waipiʻo and Kīpapa.

Keahumoe in Waipiʻo (also known as Keahumo) was supposedly the home of Māui’s grandfather, Kūolokele.\(^{222}\) The olokele\(^{223}\) is a honeycreeper. When Māui’s wife, Kumulama was stolen by a chief named Peʻapeʻamakawalu, Māui sought help from his grandfather in Keahumoe. His grandfather builds for him a “moku manu,” or “bird ship,” which Māui uses to fly to Moanaliliha (the home of Peʻapeʻamakawalu) and rescue his wahine. Keahumo and Kanoenoe are two names used to describe the plains leading up to the start of the Kīpapa Sream in the gulch. The location of Kanoenoe was shown previously in Figure 16.

\(^{219}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 337; Inland, upland, towards the mountain.

\(^{220}\) Thomas G. Thrum, Hawaiian Folk Tales (Chicago: A.C. McClurg &\, 1907), 74-106.

\(^{221}\) For definitions to each of these, please see the work by Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian.


\(^{223}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 263; Same as ‘iʻiwi, honey creeper.
Ryder also tells of a moʻolelo that was told to her by her grandmother, Daisy Keanianiʻailuʻaunokamehameha, whose father was Kuluwaimaka the chanter.\(^{224}\) When Ryder’s parents first settled in Waipiʻo in 1956, her grandmother Daisy came to see their house:

So she walked in the house, she went in through the front, came out the kitchen door. She walked around the ʻāina where our house was and she pīkai-ed the place, pīkai\(^{225}\) – blessed the place. But one of the things she told us was, this place [Waipiʻo], this is where Pele would come to meet Kamapuaʻa, and the swimming hole was down where Oʻahunui was – that’s the swimming hole that Pele would bathe.

Kamapuaʻa is a widely-known “pig demigod whose rootings created valleys and springs.”\(^{226}\) Ryder also describes how Kamapuaʻa’s home was in Wahiawā, and his grandmother, Kamaunuaniho, was also from Wahiawā. Pukui describes Kamaunuaniho as the mother of Hina, who was the mother of Kamapuaʻa with his father, Kahikiʻula.\(^{227}\) The area described as Oʻahunui by Ryder is also a site of great importance, located on the northern border of Waipiʻo in the Waikakalāua gulch.

**Oʻahunui**

Oʻahunui is an area where several kaʻānaniʻau markers exist along the northern border of Waipiʻo in the Waikakalāua\(^{228}\) stream. Lenchanko described the significance of the site beginning with Laʻilaʻi. The whole island of Oʻahu shows the profile of Laʻilaʻi (Oʻahu a Laʻilaʻi) as lightly defined in Figure 20. The moʻolelo relates to the Eight Era in the Kumulipo

\(^{224}\) Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.

\(^{225}\) Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 302; To sprinkle with sea water or salted fresh water to purify or remove taboo.

\(^{226}\) Ibid., 386; Kamapuaʻa.

\(^{227}\) Ibid., 383; Mother of Kamapuaʻa by Kahikiʻula and referred to in chants by her mother Ka-maunu-a-Niho, in order to save Kamapuaʻa in time of peril.

genealogy of 1700 by Keaulumoku for Lonoikamakahiki, naming La‘ila‘i as the first born wahine. La‘ila‘i who stood down from the heavens and in union with Ki‘i (the image of man) at O‘ahunui created the first people of O‘ahu known as the Hu by Lenchanko and his kūpuna. This site (in what is now called Launani Valley near Mililani Tech Park) is marked by two large stones, O‘ahunui and O‘ahuiki, near the Waikakalāua stream.

The Hu people originated at this place, also called “Ka Lua A‘a Hu,” or “the pit, connected to the mother of the Hu.” Another account of the origins of O‘ahu island connect back to Papa and Wākea. Papa sleeps with a man named Lua after discovering Wākea’s infidelity, and to them is born a child, O‘ahu a Lua. Kamakau described O‘ahu as a new name “given in memory of an ancestor of the people of O‘ahu.”

Lolo-i-mehani, Lalo-waia, and Lalo-oho-aniani were the ancient names of O‘ahu. O‘ahu was the child of Papa and Lua, another husband of Papa, and because O‘ahu was a good chief and the people lived harmoniously after the time of Wākea mā, O‘ahu’s

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231 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed. 1974, 168; O‘ahu.
232 Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko, 129.
descendants gave the name of their good chief to the island – Oʻahu-a-Lua.\(^{233}\)

Oʻahunui, an area still marked by several kaʻānaniʻau, was the original site for Kūkaniloko according to Lenchanko. The area is surrounded by some of the kaʻānaniʻau markers that also make up the kalana of Kūkaniloko (discussed at the beginning of this chapter).\(^{234}\) Lenchanko received his ‘ike about this place passed down to him from his kūpuna who also cared for Kūkaniloko. Oʻahunui was also recorded by Emma M. Nakuina as “the historical place of Kukaniloko,” and “the ancient birth place of the Oahu kings and rulers.”\(^{235}\) Nakuina, an aliʻi woman who lived through the late 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries in Hawaiʻi, served as head of the Hawaiian Government Library and curator of the Hawaiian National Museum.\(^{236}\) Oʻahunui later moved to Halemano, and then again to its current location at the State Monument.\(^{237}\) Lenchanko, his sister Jo-Lin, and their supporters fought the development of Oʻahunui by Castle & Cooke but were unable to stop them from diverting the Waikakalāua Stream and developing over the sacred area. The Launani Valley and Mililani Technological Park were built, but fortunately the Oʻahunui and Oʻahuiki stones and various kaʻānaniʻau markers still remain.\(^{238}\) Although the erasure in the area is immense, the stones and markers act as invaluable anchors to the past moʻolelo of this area. The name of Oʻahu is broken down by Lenchanko:

\[
\text{Our kūpuna, our elders, tell us that the term “oʻa-hu” – “oʻa” is the interweaving of the bloodlines of Kiʻi (not the man, the image) and Laʻilaʻi when she stood down from the heavens. And their issue became the Hu. So you put that together, the interweaving of those bloodlines, to create those that are all of us – we are the descendants of the gods, and I don’t take anything from anybody else until they can prove it to me that we’re not. So, Oʻahu is what}
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\(^{233}\) Ibid.

\(^{234}\) Lenchanko, “Personal Interview at Oʻahunui,” interview by author, November 17, 2013.


\(^{237}\) Lenchanko, “Personal Interview at Oʻahunui,” interview by author, November 17, 2013.

\(^{238}\) Ibid.
this place [Kūkaniloko] is all about, the interweaving of the bloodlines of Kīʻi and Laʻilaʻi to create the descendants known as the Hu, that’s all of us. O’a-Hu. So that’s why it’s significant. And then, what she [Laʻilaʻi] did, she gave us her profile, as the island of Oʻahu (shown in Figure 20).

Lenchanko, along with his sister Jo-Lin and their Wahiawā Hawaiian Civic Club, have tried in the past to get the site of Oʻahunui recognized on the state historic register, but the plans have so far not materialized. When he can, Lenchanko comes to the site to check on the stones and clean up the area surrounding them. The Oʻahunui stone is located right on the edge of the Waikakalāua Stream, and Oʻahuiki nearby across the stream. If facing north with the Oʻahunui stone behind, one of the kaʻānaniʻau rock kūʻahu can be seen clearly, slightly to the right on the opposite side of the valley edge. A picture of the Oʻahunui stone confirmed by Lenchanko was taken after a hoʻokupu lei and pule were given (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Oʻahunui stone in Waikakalāua Stream.
Photo by Leimomi Morgan, November 2, 2013 after pule and hoʻokupu lei were presented.

Another accounting by Nakuina of Oʻahunui tells a later version of the moʻolelo provided by Lenchanko regarding the stones and place. Oʻahunui is recalled as the former residence of the aliʻi of Oʻahu. In the time when cannibalism of the LōʻeiʻAikanaka aliʻi was being condemned

239 Sterling and Summers, comps., Sites of Oahu, 111.
around the island, Oʻahunui was the mōʻī of Oʻahu and ruled alongside his sister, Kilikiliula. Due to friendly relations with the Lōʻ‘Aikanaka aliʻi, Oʻahunui unknowingly ate human flesh thinking it to be pork. His taste for kānaka grew, and he once day sent his sister’s kāne, Lehuanui, to go fishing for him while he ate his two sons. Lehuanui discovered Oʻahunui, drunk and full from eating his sons. He struck Oʻahunui, severing his head. He then went to find Kilikiliula, who had allowed her sons to be eaten. Lehuanui likewise killed her, and where she fell on the side of the stream, she turned to stone, becoming the Oʻahuiki stone. Oʻahunui also eventually turned to stone, showing the crime of cannibalism to be unforgivable. The god Kāne cursed the whole area because of these unforgivable acts by Oʻahunui and Kilikiliula. The once sacred, royal place was soon abandoned. 240 It is interesting to see through the moʻolelo of Oʻahunui that some of the erasure of this area can also be attributed to the Kānaka Maoli themselves prior to the Launani Valley and Mililani Technology Park developments. 241

Perhaps these many moʻolelo of cannibalism 242 purely serve as lessons that cannibalism was never acceptable, even for the mōʻī of Oʻahu. Both versions of the story only confirm the importance of this area and long history with the people of Oʻahu. Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī makes mention of Oʻahunui as being a place much visited, with a trail leading straight through it. 243 The moʻolelo of this area show the erasure of the past caused by the Launani Valley development and Mililani Technology Park, both of which were opposed by Lenchanko. In the interview at the Oʻahunui and Oʻahuiki stones, Lenchanko and his sister Jo-Lin expressed their wishes to protect and recognize the stones and kaʻānaniʻau markers. Although the stones are somewhat guarded by a long fence that runs between the Waikakalāua stream and a park, and the kaʻānaniʻau rock altars are still visible and intact on the hills above, the Lenchankos feel that there should be a marker showing the significance of this place to Oʻahu and Kānaka Maoli.

240 Sterling and Summers, comp.s., Sites of Oahu, 111-112.

241 This idea came from comments by Kumu April A. H. Drexel as a contributing member of my thesis committee in April 2014.

242 For more about cannibalism in Oʻahu, please see the many references by Sterling and Summers, comp.s., Sites of Oahu, 107-112.

Chapter 3. Ka Poʻe o Waiipiʻo: Ka Piko Poʻo, Hānau Hope

By discussing some of the wahi pana and aliʻi associated with Waiipiʻo, a stronger sense of place and belonging has been established for the ʻāina in ʻEwa that now hosts the Mililani community. The Kānaka Maoli moʻolelo associated with this ʻāina play an important role in shaping its history and identity. The focus on these moʻolelo for this thesis is meant to counterbalance the overbearing foreign structures and values throughout the town. Without the people on this land there would be no meaningful place names, significant sites, or boundaries. The ahupuaʻa that Mililani is a part of, Waiipiʻo, was mapped in 1877 as encompassing 16,250 acres on Oʻahu (Figure 22). Mililani is located in an area known as Waiipiʻouka, the upland portion of Waiipiʻo. The community was built in Central Oʻahu on 3,500 acres of former agricultural-zoned lands owned by Castle & Cooke. Before Castle & Cooke bought and developed the majority of Waiipiʻ o, it belonged to the family of Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī until 1952 (further discussed later in this chapter).

Waiipiʻo means literally “curved water,” but could also be in reference to the distinct arched shape of the ahupuaʻa (outlined in red in Figure 23). Pukui says that the word “wai,” has many kaona attached to it including “water” and also “has a connotation of wealth and life.” Another aspect of “wai” is that when it is attached to a place name, it refers to a river or stream. The name Waiipiʻo was also given to places on Hawaiʻi island and Maui, and all three areas with this name boast water features and gulches. The term “waiwai” also means

244 J. F. Brown, “Map of Waipio, Ewa, Oahu,” map, in Registered Map 0799 (Honolulu: State of Hawaiʻi: Department of Accounting and General Services, 1877), accessed April 22, 2014, Kipuka Database.


248 Ibid.

249 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed. 1974, 349; Wai.

250 Ibid.

251 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaii, 2nd ed. 1974, 352.
“value” or “worth,” showing that these lands must hold many valuable resources recognized by the Kānaka Maoli who named them. The word “piʻo,” means “bent” or “arched” similar to a rainbow. When an ānuenue or rainbow appeared, it was a sign for the aliʻi that the gods were recognizing or watching over them. The ānuenue and its connection to the naming of Mililani will be further discussed later on in this chapter. For the aliʻi, class and rank were very important to establish kapu and power. The term “piʻo” also connects to nīʻaupiʻo, the aliʻi practice to maintain mana and kapu through incestuous mating. Kamakau explained some of the specifics about the ranking system of the aliʻi, the two highest being the aliʻi nīʻaupiʻo and aliʻi piʻo. The word “Waipiʻo” could therefore also reference “chiefly or godly wealth” in the āina carrying this name. The ʻĪʻī family owned nearly all of Waipiʻo from 1848 until 1952. Although many people and stories are connected to Waipiʻo on Oʻahu, the main area of focus for this thesis is the upper portion of this place, Waipiʻouka. Those who shared interests or kuleana, in this āina included the Hawaiian government, aliʻi and makaʻāinana or hoaʻāina, and the process intended to clearly define and document these interests is commoly known as the Mahele.

252 Ibid., 305.
253 Ibid., 24; Rainbow.
255 Ibid., 174; ʻŌlelo Noʻeau #1614.
256 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 217; Supernatural or divine power, authority.
257 For more on this practice of aliʻi, please see the work by Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, Pehea lā e Pono ai?, 40-44.
258 For the specifics of these rankings, please see the translation of the works by Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko, 39-40.
260 “Hoa” translates as “companion” or “friend,” and together with “āina” means “land companion.” Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 68; Land overseer or caretaker, tenant, as on a kuleana.
Figure 22. “Map of Waipio, Ewa, Oahu” compiled by J. F. Brown encompassing 16,250 acres in 1877. Registered map 0799 from the State of Hawai‘i Department of Accounting and General Services.  

Figure 23. Map from Google Earth 2013, with an overlay by Leimomi Morgan of the six moku boundaries (Koʻolauloa, Waialua, Waiʻanae, ‘Ewa, Kona, & Koʻolaupoko) and the ahupua’a of Waipiʻo boundary (in red). Based off the Hawaii Territory Survey of Oahu map of 1902 by John M. Donn. Mililani is outlined in dark blue.
Mahele of 1848 and Kuleana Act of 1850

The land tenure system in Hawai‘i before the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles 262 and Mahele of 1848 263 was much different than today. Only a small number of privately owned lands were held through either oral or written deeds. 264 Beamer explains this further:

The Mahele of 1848 was a division of nearly all the lands in the Hawaiian Kingdom amongst the Mōʻī, the chiefs, and the government. Prior to the Mahele there had been private ownership of land in a number of select cases where the individual involved had acquired title through deed (oral or written) by either the Mōʻī or Kuhina Nui. 265 The Constitution of 1840 affirms that only those who held the offices of Mōʻī or Kuhina Nui could convey allodial 266 title. The Land Commission was established on December 10 1845, to investigate claims of those who had acquired title by the Mōʻī or Kuhina Nui prior to 1845. 267

Prior to these new changes in land tenure the lands in Hawai‘i were shared by all members of the community. However, all those under the Mōʻī had to be obedient to their leader. 268 The Mōʻī reserved the right to tax any of those living on the lands. If these taxes were not paid, they would possibly have to give up the rights to their land as a consequence. 269 The Kumukānāwai 270 of

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262 This board was established in 1845 to investigate instances of private land ownership in the Hawaiian Kingdom before 1845. Kamehameha, Joint Resolutions: An Act Relating to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, PDF, Honolulu: Council House, August 26, 1847.

263 More about this process known as the Mahele will be explained in this chapter, but for more about this please see the work by David Keanu Sai, The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State, diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2008, 81-83.

264 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 194.

265 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 160; Powerful officer in the days of the monarchy. Kaʻahu-manu was the first to have this title; the position is usually translated as “prime minister” or “premier,” but according to Kuykendall, carried greater power; the kuhina nui shared executive power with the king. The office was abolished in 1864.


267 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 194.

268 Kamehameha, Joint Resolutions: An Act Relating to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, PDF, Honolulu: Council House, August 26, 1847, 81.

269 Ibid.
1840 was secured by Kamehameha III and made clear that the kuleana of all the ‘āina in the Hawaiian Kingdom did not only belong to the Mōʻī, but also to all the subjects and lesser aliʻi. A portion from the original constitution in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Figure 24) explains that although Kamehameha was considered the “poʻo” 271 of the aupuni, 272 and the all the lands from Hawaiʻi to Niʻihau were for him, they were not for him alone.

![Figure 24. Portion of the Kumukānāwai of 1840 by Kamehameha III.](image)

The land tenure system before the Mahele and Kuleana Act is explained further in English from a portion of the Act Relating to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, passed into law in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi on December 10, 1845 (Figure 25).

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271 Ibid., 314; Head or director of an organization.

272 Ibid., 30; Government, kingdom, nation.
After this Land Commission was established, their first task was to settle the claims for those with evidence of private ownership before the creation of the commission in 1845. When these claims were proven and recorded, the process known as the Mahele began in 1848. The Mahele was meant to divide the interests that the government, prominent ali’i, and makaʻāinana had in all the lands of Hawai‘i. The Mōʻī acted as a private individual in this process, claiming the lands that he wanted for his own personal use, and setting aside one-third of the lands for government use.

Although this first process did not include input from the makaʻāinana (referred to as simply “kānaka”) nearly all of these claims included the equivalent of the phrase: “koe wale

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273 Andrade, Hā‘ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors, 79.
274 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 194.
276 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 118; Subject, as of a chief.
no na kuleana o na kanaka e noho ana ma ua aina la,”277 (subject to the rights of the people living on that aforementioned land). To claim land, the aliʻi had to first give up all of the other lands that they had claims to before this new division.278 After this was agreed, they could claim the lands of their choice (with approval from the Mōʻī Kamehameha III Kauikeaouli) and were given these as a “freehold life estate, capable of being converted into fee-simple” once a one-third value of the lands was paid to the government.279 This life estate, explained further by Beamer:

…allowed a chief the ability to acquire allodial title upon the payment of commutation (a 1/3 value of land payment to the government in order [to] acquire allodial on lands thus extinguished the vested right of a class or government) and the receipt of a royal patent.280

This process is comparable to the Kānaka Maoli division of ‘āina prior, known as the kālaiʻāina,281 which was initiated when a new mōʻī came into power:

...[he] divided out the lands among his principal warrior chiefs, retaining however, a portion in his hands, to be cultivated or managed by his own immediate servants or attendants. Each principal chief divided his lands anew, and gave them out to an inferior order of chiefs, or persons of rank, by whom they were subdivided again and again; after passing through the hands of four, five or six persons, from the King down to the lowest class of tenants. All these persons were considered to have rights in the lands, or the productions of them.282

277 Andrade, Hāʻena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors, 82.
278 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 196.

280 Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 197.
281 For more on this process of kālaiʻāina, please see the work by Beamer, Na Wai Ka Mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 53-101.
282 Kamehameha, Joint Resolutions: An Act Relating to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, PDF, Honolulu: Council House, August 26, 1847, 81.
The Kuleana Act passed on August 6, 1850 was the process where the tenant class (known as makaʻāinana or hoaʻāina) could claim their allodial titles to lands.\textsuperscript{283} Andrade explains this further:

\begin{quote}
\ldots it was not until the Kuleana Act of 1850 that \textit{makaʻāinana} claims would be considered. One phrase – “koe wale no na kuleana o na kanaka e noho ana ma ua aina la” (reserving only the right of the people who live on the aforementioned land) – was embedded in the deeds of almost all the lands disbursed in the Mahele. This articulation of the rights of the people in Hawaiian law is extremely important, for it distinguishes Hawaiian land laws from the land laws of most of the rest of the continental United States.\textsuperscript{284}
\end{quote}

As a part of this Kuleana Act, in order to claim the lands that they lived on or cultivated, the makaʻāinana had to go through a process to prove their claims. To receive a Land Commission Award, or L.C.A., makaʻāinana had to first register a claim, present two witnesses that knew them and could testify on their behalf, hire a surveyor to map out and measure the property, and also pay a commutation fee.\textsuperscript{285} After the government commutation fee was paid, they would receive a Palapala Sila Nui or Royal Patent, “the final step in securing fee simple title to their ʻĀina.”\textsuperscript{286}

In the fourth section of the Kuleana Act, it stated that some of the government lands would be set aside and sold “to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient land,” for a price of at least fifty cents per acre.\textsuperscript{287} The sales of government lands were finalized by a Royal Patent Grant proving the purchase.\textsuperscript{288} Although Kamehameha III went through all

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\textsuperscript{283} Kamehameha III, \textit{An Act Confirming Certain Resolutions of the King and Privy Council, Passed on the 21st Day of December, A. D. 1849, Granting to the Common People Alodial Titles for Their Own Lands and House Lots, and Certain Other Privileges}, PDF, Honolulu: Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, August 6, 1850.
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\textsuperscript{284} Andrade, \textit{Hāʻena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors}, 82.
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\textsuperscript{285} Ibid., 92.
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\textsuperscript{286} Kameʻeleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, Pehea lā e Pono ai?, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 316.
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\textsuperscript{287} Kamehameha III, \textit{An Act Confirming Certain Resolutions of the King and Privy Council, Passed on the 21st Day of December, A. D. 1849, Granting to the Common People Alodial Titles for Their Own Lands and House Lots, and Certain Other Privileges}, PDF, Honolulu: Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, August 6, 1850.
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\textsuperscript{288} Andrade, \textit{Hāʻena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors}, 100.
\end{flushright}
these measures to make sure that his people would continue to live on and cultivate the lands of their kūpuna, many of the makaʻāinana at the time did not feel the need to claim.\textsuperscript{289} They could not accept this foreign concept of owning land. These kānaka continued to believe in the traditional system that if they simply cared for and cultivated the ʻāina they would always be provided a place in the aupuni, just as their kūpuna had for countless generations before private ownership in Hawaiʻi.\textsuperscript{290}

\textbf{Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī}

Originally agreed upon by Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III in the Buke Mahele on Ianuari 27, 1848\textsuperscript{291} (Figure 26), and finalized by Palapala Sila Nui or Royal Patent 5432\textsuperscript{292} (Figure 27) on Aperila 21, 1875, Waipiʻo was recorded as 20,546 acres and awarded to Ioane “John” Papa ʻĪʻī. Two years later in 1877, Waipiʻo was mapped and recorded as encompassing only 16,250 acres.\textsuperscript{293} The 1877 boundary lines of Waipiʻo by J.F. Brown (shown previously in Figure 22) were overlaid on a State of Hawaiʻi Geographic Information System (GIS) map using topography from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration by certified GIS expert Dr. Charles L. Morgan.\textsuperscript{294} The overlay of the boundaries from 1877 were calculated using the NAD83 Zone 4 datum\textsuperscript{295} to determine the approximate acreage for the ahupuaʻa. The GIS determined the ahupuaʻa of Waipiʻo based on the 1877 map by J. F. Brown to encompass roughly 16,200 acres.

This calculation using the latest mapping techniques validate the mapping in 1877 by J. F. Brown to be very accurate. Morgan attested that the surveying techniques used by J. F.

\textsuperscript{289} Ibid., 93.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{291} Kamehameha III, Buke Mahele, Honolulu, Ianuari 27, 1848. 30.
\textsuperscript{292} Kalakaua. “Palapala Sila Nui: Helu 5432,” Honolulu, Aperila 21, 1875.
\textsuperscript{293} Brown, “Map of Waipio, Ewa, Oahu,” map, in Registered Map 0799, accessed April 22, 2014, Kipuka Database.
\textsuperscript{294} Charles L. Morgan overlaid the 1877 “Map of Waipio, Ewa, Oahu” Registered Map 0799 boundaries of Waipiʻo on June 25, 2014.
\textsuperscript{295} North American Datum 83, Zone 4, datum used by the State of Hawaiʻi 2014.
Brown in 1877 might have been even more accurate than the overlay technique used for the 16,200 acre approximation by the GIS, which would account for the extra 50 acre difference. Upon closer examination of the map, small points are shown along the boundary lines for Waipi‘o. According to Morgan, this suggests that metes and bounds\textsuperscript{296} were at that time recorded to define the boundary. From this 1877 map it is unclear if the boundary of Waipi‘o included the Waipi‘o Peninsula. The 16,200 acre approximation by GIS was determined without including the Waipi‘o Peninsula, which on the map by J. F. Brown appears to have a line segregating the peninsula from the rest of Waipi‘o. The Waipi‘o Peninsula section on the map was also overlaid on the GIS by Morgan, and determined to encompass about 1,250 acres. This would increase the overall size of Waipi‘o including the Waipi‘o Peninsula to about 17,450 acres according to the GIS. More research in the future must be done to account for the difference in the 20,546 acres recorded in 1875 with the 16,250 acres recorded in 1877.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure26.png}
\caption{Section from the Buke Mahele where “Ioane li” claimed the ahupua‘a of Waipi‘o on January 27, 1848, signed by Kamehameha III Kauikaouli.}
\end{figure}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{296}“Limits or boundaries of a tract of land as identified by natural landmarks, such as rivers, or by man-made structures, such as roads, or by stakes or other markers,” from Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. “Metes and Bounds,” 2014, accessed June 25, 2014, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/378245/metes-and-bounds.}
ʻĪʻī, a descendant of the Luluka family, became a close advisor and friend of the Kamehameha aliʻi during their reign over Hawaiʻi. The Luluka family members were very high ranking aliʻi, “descendants of Luahine, the younger brother of Palena and Paia,” and “connected

297 More moʻolelo about the Luluka family can be found in the translated works by Li, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 1963, 17-32.
to the lineage of Haloa – figuratively, ruling chiefs,” according to ‘Ī‘ī’s own writings.298 Ioane ‘Ī‘ī (pictured in Figure 28) was born in Kumelewai, Waipi‘o, O‘ahu on the third day in Hilinehu or August, 1800.299 His father known as Kuaena or Malamaekokeeke was the uncle of Kalanimoku, Wahinepio, and Boki. ‘Ī‘ī’s mother, known as Wanaoa, Pahulemu, and Kalaikane, was related through her father Kalaaumaloo to Luluka (k) and Keaka a Mulehu (w), the childhood caretakers of Kamehameha I.300 ‘Ī‘ī was born on land that was under the care of his uncle, Papa ‘Ī‘ī, who was in charge of the loko i‘a301 ‘o Hanaloa and two other lands in Waipi‘o.302 Papa ‘Ī‘ī the senior received his lands from Kamehameha I after the battle at Nu‘uanu.303 ‘Ī‘ī was raised to be a member of the royal court at age 10,304 and later became a close friend of Kamehameha II Liholiho, advisor to Kamehameha III Kauikeaouli,305 and caretaker of Victoria Kamāmalu.306 ‘Ī‘ī became a converted Christian at the age of 20 when the first missionaries arrived to Hawai‘i in 1820. Kamehameha II wanted to “observe the effects of the new Christian teachings,” so made sure that ‘Ī‘ī spend much of his time studying and later teaching under Reverend Hiram Bingham.307 ‘Ī‘ī was described by fellow teacher Reverent H. H. Parker:

My earliest impressions of John Il date back to the midsummer of 1846 or 1847, when I met him at the country residence of Kamehameha III in Nuuanu Valley, the occasion being La Hoihoiea, or Restoration Day. In a suit of dark broadcloth he stood in an open square or field, a brilliant yellow feather cape [‘ahu‘ula] over his shoulders, and in his hand a beautifully polished spear.

298 A fuller account of ‘Ī‘ī’s genealogy can be found from his own writings, Ibid.,19.
299 Ibid., 20.
300 Ibid., 19-20.
302 Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 20.
303 Ibid.
304 Ibid., 22.
305 Ibid., 147-152.
306 Ibid., 161-163.
307 Taken from the Preface by Zadoc W. Brown from Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, vii.
Alone, erect, nearly six feet in height, full chested and muscular, he presented a splendid figure. Opposite him on the mauka or inland side stood a group of expert spearmen wearing yellow feather tippets and armed with spears tipped with a kind of soft, bushy material. At a signal the weapons began to fly at the human target. Ii at first parried [deflected] with his single lance but presently, as the shots became faster, seized a passing spear aimed at him and parried with both weapons until the play ended amid the prolonged cheers of a great crowd of witnesses. It was years afterward that I came to know and love the man. He was clean and unselfish, and on questions involving moral issues, the community always knew where to find him. He was possessed of ample means as things counted in his day and many looked to him for help which they were sure to get in one way or another. He lived in an old fashioned cottage where the Judiciary building now stands. His home was named ‘Mililani,’ which means exalted or lifted heavenward. Hospitality was a marked feature of his character.  

ʻĪʻī served as a leader in many areas of the Hawaiian Kingdom, including superintendent of Oʻahu schools and a part of the House of Nobles. He was appointed to the Treasury Board in 1842, the Board of Land Commissioners in 1845, and represented the House of Nobles to help draft the 1852 Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom. He also served as an associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1846 until 1864. ʻĪʻī lived through many vast changes in Hawaiʻi and many deaths of those close to him, including his wives. He was married four times and had one daughter.

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308 Ibid., viii.


310 Ibid.

311 Ibid.
The first of ʻĪʻī’s wives, Sarai Hiwauli II, was born in the time of Kamehameha I and ʻĪʻī took her as his wife after her first husband Haalou was killed. Sarai died in Nāwiliwili, Kauaʻi on August 29, 1856. ʻĪʻī remarried about a year after his first wife’s passing to a woman known as Kamaka in Honolulu on July 9, 1857. This marriage to Kamaka was finalized in the marriage records on July 17, 1857 in Honolulu. According to DeSoto Brown, archivist at the

312 “Moolelo No S Hiwauli II,” Ka Hae Hawaiʻi (Honolulu), October 1, 1856.
Bishop Museum and great-great-grandson of Ioane ʻĪʻī, all of ʻĪʻī’s wives died early except for his fourth wife. 316 Although a certain date of death was not found for Kamaka, an article 317 was written by ʻĪʻī about a celebration on August 1, 1861 in Honolulu for his marriage to a third wife known as Maleka or Mareka. This marriage was also documented in Hilo on July 30, 1961. 318 Tragically, less than three months later, a large funeral was held at their home named “Mililani hale”319 for Mareka ʻĪʻī on October 10, 1861. 320 A few poetically touching lines from one of the songs that was performed, “Kapua i hauoli ai, Mohala mai la, a ua mae, Ua oki koke ia ua pau,” express that Mareka was like a delightful flower that bloomed, faded, was too quickly cut and exists no longer. 321

In his fourth and final marriage, ʻĪʻī wed a woman known as Maraea or Malaea in Honolulu on January 1, 1862. 322 Based on the ʻĪʻī family plot at O‘ahu Cemetary, death probate records, newspaper articles, and correspondence with DeSoto Brown, Maraea was also known as “Maria Keawe” and “Maria Kamaunauikea Kapuahi II.” In Hawai‘i many people would assume different names throughout their lives. A famous example is Queen Lili‘uokalani, who had many names including Kamaka‘eha and Lydia before she assumed the throne and became Lili‘uokalani. This naming process is explained further in the book Nā Mele Welo, Songs of Our Heritage: Selections from the Roberts Mele Collection in the Bishop Museum Honolulu:

Traditionally, Hawaiians were given a unique personal name. At any time in their lives, they might assume or be given other names. Depending on the circumstances, they used different names on different occasions. As exposure to the outside world increased,


321 Ibid.

Hawaiians adopted the Western custom of using surnames, and of women assuming their husband’s name.\(^{323}\)

This explains why ʻĪʻī’s fourth wife assumed so many names including Maraea, Malaea, Maria Kamaunaukeia Kapuahi II and Maria Keawe. The “Keawe” reference in her name could be related to her genealogy that connects to the Keawe line from Hilo, Hawaiʻi where she was from. A genealogy chant made for “John Liwai Kalaniopuuikapali-o-molilele-ma-wai-o-ahukini-kau-hawaii Ena” was published in the Ke Aloha Aina newspaper on Malaki 9, 1907 in Hilo, Hawaiʻi.\(^{324}\) Some of the genealogy in the chant connects the Keawe line of aliʻi from Hilo to Malaea ʻĪʻī, wife of John ʻĪʻī (section shown in Figure 29). The chant also reveals that Manonoikauakapekulani, a son of Kahekili, was the maternal grandfather of Malaea ʻĪʻī; her mother being Kaiawa of Hilo.\(^{325}\) The only daughter of Malaea and John ʻĪʻī was recorded as “Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku.”

![Figure 29. Section of the genealogy of Maraea ʻĪʻī from the genealogy of John Liwai Kalaniopuuikapali-o-molilele-ma-wai-o-ahukini-kau-hawaii Ena.](image)

The year before his death in 1869, ʻĪʻī’s first and only child was born, a daughter named Airine (Irene) Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku ʻĪʻī. Although many later documents recorded the daughter of ʻĪʻī as “Irene,” for the purposes of avoiding confusion with her descendant, Irene ʻĪʻī Brown, the daughter of ʻĪʻī will be referred to as spelt by ʻĪʻī himself,


\(^{324}\) L. M. Kekupuohikapulikoliko and L. L. Kalaniomaiheuila, “Mookuauhau Haikupuna Holopuni o John Liwai Kalaniopuuikapali-o-molilele-ma-wai-o-ahukini-kau-hawaii Ena,” Ke Aloha Aina (Hilo), March 9, 1907, Vol. 12, No. 10, 8, accessed June 17, 2014, Nupepa.org. This source was shared by Marie Alohalani Brown on June 16, 2014. Brown is currently working on her PhD about Ioane ʻĪʻī, and plans to write his biography in the future.

\(^{325}\) Translations from ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi by Leimomi Morgan 2014.
“Airine.” The mother of Airine was recorded as Maraea in ʻĪʻī’s death probate and will. Irene Brown (named after her great-grandmother) shared that on Airine Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku ʻĪʻī’s birth certificate, “Maria” is listed as her mother. Maraea ʻĪʻī remarried after ʻĪʻī’s death to a “half brother” of ʻĪʻī named Kamoikiehuehu and had a daughter named Libbie Kahalewehe. She later married a John Brown and moved to Hilo on Hawaiʻi island.

Her death probate shows that although the records have her name as “Maria Ii Brown,” she signed her name as “Maraea” (shown in Figure 30). This Maria ʻĪʻī Brown was further confirmed as Ioane ʻĪʻī’s fourth wife through a check after her death addressed to the “heirs of Maria Ii Brown,” made to “A. Francis Judd Guardian of Irene Ii” and the guardian of another child named “Libbie” (Figure 31). Furthermore, a man named John Worth provided a statement that he knew Maria ʻĪʻī Brown to have two small children, both girls, the oldest being “4 or 5 years old.” The age of the oldest child in 1876 would be consistent with the 1869 birthday of Airine Haalou ʻĪʻī. Furthermore, Figure 32 shows some of the genealogy of ʻĪʻī and his descendants with Maraea ʻĪʻī.

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328 Death Probate for Maria Ii Brown 32, Third Circuit Court, September 2, 1876, Death Probate and Will for Maria Ii Brown, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid.
Figure 31. Check addressed to the heirs of Maria ʻĪʻī Brown, July 7, 1877, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

Figure 32. “ʻĪʻī/Brown Family Tree” from the ʻĪʻī/Brown Family: Oral Histories published in 1999.

In the *Native Register* translated by Frances Frazier in 1974, the Kuleana award number 8421 was listed to “Ioane Ii” dated February 1, 1848 and his testimony was as follows:

Greetings to the Land Commissioners: I hereby state my claim for land, on Oahu only. An ahupua’a, Waipio, Ewa, is from the mountain to the sea, however, there are no ku lands situated within it because of the Mo‘i – that is up to the Mo‘i. The ones with the right to live there are listed below.

From Dorothy B. Barrere’s interpretations of the *Native Register 512.5*, on December 12, 1848 in Claim 8241, ‘Ī‘ī was considered the luna of Waipi‘o. The title of “luna” is described by Paul F. Nahoa Lucas as a “(l)and agent for the king” and a “head man of a land or plantation who gives orders.” This would have been a befitting title for Ioane ‘Ī‘ī, considering that this right was passed down to him through his uncle and former luna of Waipi‘o, Papa ‘Ī‘ī. The term luna is also very similar to the title of “konohiki,” meaning “(l)and agent” or “(h)ead man of an ahupua’ā land division under the chief.” The next kanaka in charge under ‘Ī‘ī was “Oopa,” and others with the kuleana or right to live in Waipi‘o were recorded by ‘Ī‘ī as:

Ia, Oopa (luna under Ii), Kaheleloa (or Kuheleloa) and his wife Kahakumaka, who has been there since the time of Kamehameha I; Mahoe, Naluakai, Laau, Kamokuahanui, Kaolei, Napohaku, Naukana, Mu, Kua, Nakaikuaana and Kaaiahua.”

Further accounts of Waipi‘o from ‘Ī‘ī show that it had many resources, such as when Liholiho Kamehameha II and others in the royal court stayed at ‘Ī‘ī’s birthplace Kumelewai, and “fish, dogs, vegetable food, and clothing” were provided all “from upper Waipi‘o to the sea.” Although a map could not be found locating the exact location of Kumelewai, this reference shows that it must have been a place close to the sea in Waipi‘o. Ioane ‘Ī‘ī and others in his

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333 Ibid., 511.
335 Ibid., 57.
family was originally buried on Waipiʻo Peninsula, possibly close to the Loko ʻEo fishpond (shown in Figure 33). This could also have been near to his birthplace of Waipiʻo. Mention is also made by ʻĪʻī about traveling with his family to Kīpapa from Kumelewai through Waipiʻouka to make ditches for the farms.338

Figure 33. “Pearl Lochs, and Puuloa Entrance, Ewa, Oahu” compiled by C. J. Lyons in 1873. Registered map 0567 from the State of Hawaiʻi Department of Accounting and General Services.

The whole ahupuaʻa of Waipiʻo was protected by its kamaʻāina who saw ʻĪʻī’s uncle and namesake Papa ʻĪʻī, as their luna or leader. This is shown through a moʻolelo of the men of Waipiʻo during the time of Kalanimoku when Kawelo (an overseer from Waikīkī) requested use

338 Ibid., 28.
of a double canoe beached at Kapahu (on the northeast of Halaulani). Kawelo claimed that the request came from Kalanikumoku. The men of Waipiʻo denied this request by Kawelo. When asked why they would not allow use of the canoe, a Waipiʻo man named Kaimihau answered, “All things left here at Waipio are protected, from the sea to the upland, and we shall not let them go unless we hear from our own leaders.”339 The men of Waipiʻo “felt that the command should have come from their own leader, Papa [ʻĪʻī].”340 ʻĪʻī goes further into explaining Waipiʻo:

The peace of the land of Waipio was well known while the high chiefs were in charge and up to the time of Papa’s [Ioane ʻĪʻī’s uncle] death. Here is a wonderful thing about the land of Waipio. After a famine had raged in that land, the removal of new crops from the taro patches and gardens was prohibited until all of the people had gathered and the farmers had joined in thanks to the gods. This prohibition was called kapu ʻohiʻa because, while the famine was upon the land, the people had lived on mountain apples (ʻohiʻa ʻai), tis, yams, and other upland foods. On the morning of Kane an offering of taro greens and other things was made to remove the ʻohiʻa prohibition, after which each farmer took of his own crops for the needs of his family.341

Games during the time of Makahiki342 on Oʻahu took place in Waipiʻo between boys from there and boys of the adjacent Waikele ahupua’a.343 Gifts of kapa cloth made from māmaki bark grown in Waipiʻo were sent to Wailua, Kauaʻi and given to Kaumualiʻi, last mōʻī of Kauaʻi and Niʻihau, from Kamehameha I.344 These gifts were part of the friendly relations and agreement between Kamehameha I and Kaumualiʻi that after Kaumualiʻi’s passing, the reign over Kauaʻi and Niʻihau would revert to Kamehameha I.345 Old trails are described by ʻĪʻī as

339 Ibid., 77.
340 Ibid., 76.
341 Ibid., 77.
342 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, 225; Ancient festival beginning about the middle of October and lasting about four months, with sports and religious festivities and taboo on war.
343 ʻĪʻī, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 1963, 76.
344 Ibid., 83.
345 Ibid. 79-83.
leading throughout areas well inhabited and lands rich with many trees, including through Waikakalāua, Kīpapa, O‘ahunui and Kūkaniloko (shown previously in Figure 19). As shown by the many moʻolelo recorded by ʻĪʻī, Waipiʻo was a lively and rich place.

ʻĪʻī had various homes, including one in Honolulu known as Mililani where he took residence in 1852 (Figure 34).346

![Figure 34. Mililani, Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī’s home in Honolulu where he took residence in 1852. From Fragments of Hawaiian History, 1963, 172.](image)

In *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, many references are made to this home named Mililani. Victoria Kamāmalu is recorded as being a guest. In the time of the smallpox epidemic on Oʻahu, everyone in ʻĪʻī’s household at Mililani was vaccinated and survived.347 Articles in ʻōlelo Hawai‘i newspapers record some of the events of the 1860’s surrounding Mililani, which was also a school for girls. Apparently, the separation of boys and girls in school was a new concept, when on July 24, 1865 an article from the Keena Hoonaaauo (Education Office) explained that the Kula Beritania would start again on August 14, 1865 and “Kahehuna” would be for boys and Mililani for girls.348 The article goes on to express that this was the first time for the separation

346 Ibid., 284.


348 Ibid.
of the genders in school and that it would remain to be seen if this would create upright, industrious individuals (Figure 35).

Figure 35. Sections from Ke Au Okoa published July 24, 1865, in an article entitled “Ma Ke Kauoha.”

Mililani (the home and school) was located where Mililani Street is today, across from ʻIolani Palace in Honolulu. When the Honolulu Harbor was dredged to fill in the area, the school came down. Mililani school was also called a “kula haole” and a “kula Enelani,” because of its instruction of English, and was often coupled with “Ke Kula Alii ma Kahehuna,” or Aliʻi School at Kahehuna for boys.

According to Topolinski, the Mililani School was started in 1856 for “part-Hawaiian kids of royal blood,” after the last class of Royal School in 1854. Topolinski wrote in an article for the Hawaiian Historical Society that the “Royal School was the successor of the Chief’s Children’s School, under the new Headmaster Mr. Beckwith.” Liliʻuokalani, last queen of the Hawaiian monarchy and former student of the schools for aliʻi, wrote that she also attended a


350 “He Wahi Ahaaina na na Kaikamahine o Mililani,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Kekemapu 30, 1865.

351 “Na Kula Enelani, Kahi o Ka Olelo Enelani Ka Olelo i Aoia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Mei 5, 1866.


school run by Rev. Mr. Beckwith after the first Royal School closed. She does not confirm the exact date of the last class for this second Royal School, but does say:

(from the year 1848 the Royal School [Chief’s Children’s School] began to decline in influence; and within two or three years from that time it was discontinued, the Cooke family entering business with the Castles, forming a mercantile establishment still in existence.  

Lili‘uokalani goes on to describe how the the Royal School was conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, who along with the Castles were originally sent to Honolulu from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).  

ʻĪʻī and his first wife Sarai Hiwauli II were also associated with the Cookes and served as advisers for the school for aliʻi.  

As soon as they [the Cookes and Castles] had become accustomed to life in the Hawaiian Islands, they severed all connection with the board [ABCFM], entered secular and mercantile pursuits, founding the firm of Castle & Cooke. This has now become a very wealthy concern; and although the senior partners are dead [in 1898 when this story was originally published], it is still conducted under their name by their descendants or associates.

The developer company Castle & Cooke went on to acquire about 16,250 acres of lands in Waipiʻo formerly owned by Ioane ʻĪʻī and develop part of this into the community also named Mililani (further discussed later in this chapter).

On May 5, 1866, an article (Figure 36) provided a short update of the status of the “Girl School of Mililani in Honolulu,” including that the “kumuluna” for the 33 older girls was Miss S. F. Corney and the “kumumua” for the 38 younger girls was Mrs. Caroline Kinney. The specific names of these teachers and others are provided to give more information about the people involved with this Mililani school.

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355 Ibid.


357 Ibid.

358 “Na Kula Enelani, Kahi o Ka Olelo Enelani Ka Olelo i Aoia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Mei 5, 1866.
Although it is unknown at this time exactly how long the school continued, as late as 1868 (two years before ʻĪʻī’s passing), there was an article describing a hōʻike or show that was put on by the Mililani School girls. The honored guests were Mrs. Pauahi Bihopa (Bishop) and Mrs. Kiliwehi Kaauwai (Figure 37). Two students were highlighted, a Miss Haleakala was the best at memorizing and the daughter of Kuakua was best at drawing for the show.

ʻĪʻī retired in 1864 and moved back to his birthplace in Waipiʻo (shown in Figure 38). He continued to write extensively about his life, experiences, and the drastic changes he encountered. Articles of his writings were published in the newspaper Kuokoa until his death in 1870. Some of his articles were published in 1959 with the help of his descendants into a compilation and translation from the original ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i entitled *Fragments of Hawaiian*

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359 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 70; To show, exhibit.

ʻĪʻī’s incredible life and accomplishments will forever be commemorated in the history of Hawai‘i. His connection to Waipiʻo should be celebrated and recognized in the Mililani community built upon ʻĪʻī family lands.

Figure 38. ʻĪʻī’s home in ʻEwa where he retired in 1864. From Fragments of Hawaiian History, 176.

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Descendants of Ioane ʻĪʻī

ʻĪʻī’s daughter with wife Maraea, Airine (Irene) Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku ʻĪʻī, inherited the bulk of her father’s lands after his passing on May 2, 1870. The entire ʻĪʻī estate at that time was valued at $10,000. 362 ʻĪʻī created his will shortly before his death when he was about 69 and named “Airine Haalou Ii,” widow Maraea ʻĪʻī, relative J. Kawaikehuehu, and A. F. Judd as devisees. 363 The inheritance that he left to daughter Airine included the ahupua’a of Waipiʻo in ʻEwa, underlined in yellow in Figure 39.

Figure 39. Portion of the Will and Testament of Ioane ʻĪʻī bequeathing the majority of his estate to daughter “Airine Haalou Ii.”

362 *Death Probate for John Ii 482*, May 18, 1870, Death Probate and Will for John Ii, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

363 Ibid.
Airine ʻĪʻī (pictured in Figure 40), was born on September 30, 1869\(^{364}\) and was less than eight months old when her father passed away on May 2, 1870. She attended Punahou School and became a strong advocate for Kānaka Maoli rights and cultural preservation. Airine married Charles Augustus Brown, a business man from Massachusetts, and had two sons, George ʻĪʻī Brown (1887-1946) and Francis Hyde ʻĪʻī Brown in (1892-1976).\(^{365}\) The family had many homes across the islands including one in the mountain regions of Waipiʻo and one closer to Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa\(^{366}\) at Kahuaiki. Airine’s home near Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa was located in a place called Kahuaiki (close to where the Ted Makalena Golf Course is currently) and also named Mililani.\(^{367}\)

![Figure 40. Photo of Irene Kahalelaukoa ʻĪʻī Brown.\(^{368}\)](image)

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\(^{364}\) Irene li Holloway tombstone, Oʻahu Cemetery, viewed May 2, 2014.


\(^{366}\) Literally, meaning “The Many Harbored Sea of Puʻuloa,” also known as Pearl Harbor, in reference to the system of “leaf-shaped” lagoons, lochs, channels and estuaries that formed the “Pearl Lochs” in ʻEwa, Oʻahu. For more about Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa, please see the many references cited by Sterling and Summers, comp., Sites of Oahu, 42-56.

\(^{367}\) Irene Brown, “Mililani History Project – MA Thesis in Hawaiian Studies,” e-mail message to author, June 8, 2014.

A song named *Waipiʻo* written in 1923 by Mekia Kealakai and melody by George Allen was created for Airine ‘Īʻī. The song references her home in Kahuaiki, Waipiʻo, ‘Ewa, which overlooked the West Loch of Pearl Harbor. It speaks of the hospitality found in Waipiʻo with Kahalelauokekoea (Irene ‘Īʻī) and the Laulani breeze of the area. Notes accompanying the song show that ‘Īʻī named his daughter Kahalelauokeoa o Kamamaluhaeoku, or “the koa leaf house” after Victoria Kamāmalu, who one day found shelter under a koa tree. ‘Īʻī and his wife Sarai were caretakers of Victoria Kamāmalu.

**Waipiʻo**

‘O kāu hana mau nō ia  
It is your usual way

‘O ka hoʻokipa i ke aloha  
To welcome all with love,

A naʻu i hoʻoheno mua  
I have been dearly loved,

Ka makani o Laulani.  
(By) the breeze of Laulani.

Hui: He inoa kēia no Waipiʻo  
Chorus: This is a praise for Waipiʻo,

‘O Kahalelauokekoea  
(And) Kahalelauokekoea,

I puia i ke ‘ala  
Imbued with fragrance

Onaona i ka ihu.  
So sweet to smell.

E ka iʻa hāmau leo  
The fish that silences the voice

E hiʻipo mālie nei  
Embraces gently

I ka mea kamehaʻi  
The wondrous one

O ua ʻāina nei.  
Of this land.

This song is very dear to the ‘Īʻī Brown family, and grandson of Airine, Kenneth Francis Brown (son of George ‘Īʻī Brown) remembers it fondly in an interview:

…our family had the song “Waipiʻo,” which was written for my grandmother [Airine ‘Īʻī]. My father always insisted whenever anybody played that [song] we would stand up so we have that tradition…So whenever “Waipiʻo” came – stand up. So it was sort

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371 Various other sources about this mele are available at the Bishop Museum Archives.

of a real anthem reminding them of their mom. He made me sing it several times, Uncle Francis did. We’d be over in Scotland in a big fancy hotel and they’d have an orchestra and they’d come around and play music. And Uncle Francis says, “My nephew is going to sing ‘Waipi’o.’” So I’d have to stand up in this dining room of a great hotel and sing a cappella. But he loved it...So we have a tradition of song. That’s an old Hawaiian tradition I guess, isn’t it.373

The tradition of song held true for Kenneth Brown’s dad and uncle, “Keawaiki” written for Uncle Francis and “ʻĀinamalu” written for his dad George about the family homes on Hawai‘i island and at Ka‘alawai on O‘ahu.374 The two sons of Airine loved their mother deeply, expressed further by Kenneth Brown:

…my father and uncle always wore black neckties after she [Airine ‘Ī‘ī] died for the rest of their lives. And my father even had a black band sewed on his coat because they were mourning her all their lives.375

Both Kenneth Brown and George Brown III remembered the parrots that their grandmother owned and how they could speak ʻōlelo Hawai‘i, English, and Japanese.

The place where Airine’s home was located near Ke Awa Lau o Pu‘uloa, Waipi‘o, Kahuaiki, was also known for a famous ki‘owai376 or pool of water (Figure 41).377 In the article a song is provided that was written to honor this ki‘owai, described as good for bathing. Ioane ʻĪ‘ī is recognized as caring for this place as his own and placing the stones that surrounded the pool.


374 Ibid.

375 Ibid.


377 “Ke Kiowai O Kahuaiki,” Nupepa Kuokoa (Honolulu), December 7, 1867.
Grandson of Airine, George ʻĪ‘ī Brown, Jr. owned a 13.2 acre family residence built close to the former home of his grandmother, near the base of Waipiʻo Peninsula. The home was located mauka or inland of the Waikele stream that also bordered Loko ʻEo on its south closer to Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa and Waipiʻo Peninsula. George ʻĪ‘ī Brown Jr.’s daughter named after her great-grandmother, Irene Brown, recalled exploring the shore area close to the family property near Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa which included the Kahuaiki pool:

The lower part of the yard, although I don’t think it belonged to us anymore because during the war [World War II], properties were condemned around Pearl Harbor. And so part of the bottom of the property was condemned, which included this old swimming pool that used to be Irene [Haalou Kahalelaukoa] Iʻi’s, which was a cement sort of swimming pool. And we’d go down there to check it out.
Airine ʻĪʻī was a close friend and supporter of Queen Liliʻuokalani (both shown in Figure 42) while her first husband, Charles A. Brown, was a capitalististic businessman and pro-annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. 381

_Below_ Queen Liliʻuokalani (center) and entourage at the home of Charles Augustus and Irene ʻIʻi Brown, Waipiʻo, Oʻahu, January 1891. David Kawānanakoa, Irene ʻIʻi Brown, and Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniʻainaʻole stand behind the queen; Col. Sam Parker, George ʻIʻi Brown (child), and John Cummins are in front. (Photo by Theo P. Severin, Bishop Museum)

Figure 42. Queen Liliʻuokalani and entourage at the home of Airine ʻĪʻī Brown and Charles A. Brown in Waipiʻo, ʻEwa, Oʻahu, January 1891. 382

Charles A. Brown made plans with Benjamin F. Dillingham (both shown in Figure 43 at the Brown Waipiʻo residence) to grow sugar on the central Oʻahu plains including the lands of the ʻĪʻī Estate in Waipiʻo. 383 These plans included diverting water from Waiāhole 384 and building a railroad to transport the sugar from all over the island. 385 By 1899 the Oʻahu Sugar Company

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384 Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, _Place Names of Hawaii_, 2nd ed., 219; Land division, forest reserve, and stream in Waikâne, Oʻahu.

began developing the sugar plantations in Waipiʻo and leasing from the John ʻĪʻī Estate (Figure 44).  

Kenneth Brown further explained this history of his grandfather Charles A. Brown:

…it [the sugar plantation plans] all got mixed up with sovereignty because then they could sell sugar, if you can sell on the Mainland, you could support this whole infrastructure, help make all these people rich. And so sugar became sort of a wonderful magic carpet for everybody but they had to be able to sell it tariff-free on the Mainland.  

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Figure 43. Charles Augustus Brown and Benjamin Franklin Dillingham shown at a lūʻau at the Brown residence in Waipiʻo, ʻEwa, Oʻahu circa 1890.  

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In the 1890s, Charles A. Brown had a relationship with another woman, of which Rose Brown was born. Airine ‘Ī‘ī and Charles A. Brown divorced soon after in 1900. DeSoto Brown researched a theory that their eventual divorce was also possibly in part because of their disagreement over the sovereignty of the Hawaiian monarchy. Airine ‘Ī‘ī remarried Carl Sheldon Holloway (1874-1915) and passed away fairly young at age 52 on August 26, 1922. The ‘Ī‘ī Estate held was under Airine’s name until her passing and included land from Waipi‘o Peninsula to the uplands near Wahiawa‘a. These lands were then inherited by Airine’s two sons Francis and George. Kenneth Brown remembered that the estate owned “10,000 acres starting at Pearl Harbor going up to Schofield which was used for sugar...it helped us, it was very profitable.”

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389 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 202, October 24, 1899, 56-59.


391 ‘Ī‘ī Family Plot, O‘ahu Cemetery, viewed May 2, 2014.


393 Ibid., 27.
In 1941, George ʻĪʻī Brown, Jr. completed construction of his family home in Waipiʻo on the ʻĪʻī Estate. Irene Brown (George Brown, Jr.’s daughter) grew up on the property and remembers the 13.2 acre lot being surrounded by the sugarcane fields of Oʻahu Sugar Company. The home built by George Brown, Jr. was built just inland of his grandmother Airine ʻĪʻī’s former dwelling, explained further by Kenneth Brown:

We used to go to the property at Waipiʻo. See, she [Airine ʻĪʻī] had houses all over. Had one in the mountains, one in Waipiʻo, one in Nuʻuanu, one on Kauaʻi, one on Hawaiʻi. In the old days, they used to travel around, so down in Waipiʻo, on the fish pond, [which by that time was filled in, but originally rich with mullet] there was a wonderful house that we kept using for years and years after her demise, and Uncle Francis lived there for a while after his accident, and my brother, George, built his house just above the old family place when he got married…So we stayed on long after my grandma died. The house was a big part of the family.

After the death of George ʻĪʻī Brown the senior in 1946, brother Francis ʻĪʻī Brown and George’s sons started plans in 1947 to sell the family estate to Hawaiian Pineapple Company (owned by Castle & Cooke). These plans were finalized on March 5, 1952. George ʻĪʻī Brown, Jr. was able to buy 10 acres of the ʻĪʻī Estate that already housed his family dwellings, and later added three more acres to this through a purchase from Oʻahu Shipyard. Kenneth Brown reminisced about the reasons behind the family decision to sell:

…we decided [to sell] because it was all undivided interests. My uncle [Francis Brown] owned some and my two brothers and I owned some, it was all undivided and we were afraid about governance. When my uncle passed away, we just worried about taxes from his estate and how we run it and you know, so we just decided, took the easy way out and sold it. So, probably shouldn’t

397 Ibid., 27.
398 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 2563, 9-83.
have, but in retrospect, I think we would still have a big problem with governance...we took the conservative way out and cashed in.\textsuperscript{400}

Kenneth Brown also expressed in 2012 at the age of 93 that when the roughly 16,300 acres in Waipiʻo were originally sold to Hawaiian Pineapple, it was understood that they would continue to be held under cultivation as agricultural lands.\textsuperscript{401} The lands were cultivated as pineapple for a short period, but as the pineapple industry dwindled, Castle & Cooke looked for other ways to maximize their profits. This later history of Waipiʻo and development of Mililani starting in 1958 was discussed earlier in Chapter 1.

Another ʻĪʻī family property in Waipiʻo was located in the mountains closer to Wahiawā. This other home was included in the 1952 sale to Hawaiian Pineapple Company, described further by Zadoc Brown, Jr.:

When we were very young before the Iʻi Estate was sold [to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company], the other place that we had access to, which was a unique place, was a house that had been built, I’m not sure when, but it was in the Koʻolau, above [what became] Mililani. So when we were very young, we had access to that home that had been built for my great-grandmother [Airine ʻĪʻī] originally. And so that gave us access to some kind of mountain activities. And we used to go up there, swim in the streams and have guava fights and shampoo ginger...Once the Iʻi Estate was sold though, that house went with them, that property went with the sale, so we didn’t have access to it quite the same way.\textsuperscript{402}

Not as much information was available about this other ʻĪʻī home in the mountains of Waipiʻo. Zadoc Brown remembered that the home was older, built for their great-grandmother Airine ʻĪʻī. Irene Brown recalls that it was known as “the mountain house” and the kids would hike around the area occasionally, although most of their time was spent growing up at the family home in lower Waipiʻo.\textsuperscript{403}

\textsuperscript{401} Pennybacker, “Kenneth Brown: Hawaiian Son, Celebrating a Life Lived Green.”
\textsuperscript{403} Irene Brown, “Iʻi/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 118.
Many fond memories of the former residence in lower Waipi‘o (shown in Figure 45) of George ʻI‘i Brown, Jr., his wife Julia Jones Brown, and their four children George III, Irene, Julia, and Deborah were remembered through interviews with family members. Up until the 1960s when homes started being developed, the property was entirely surrounded by sugar cane. Zadoc Brown, Jr. (son of Zadoc White Brown) remembers that while he was growing up in the 1950s, Waipi‘o seemed very far away and from their home in Honolulu it took about an hour and a half to drive to visit their cousins.

George Brown III, who grew up on the property, remembered some of the features of his family home:

At that time, Waipahu was way out in the middle of nowhere, really. And we were a mile or so, or more, from Waipahu. And the


property we grew up on was bordered by swamp on one side and cane fields on the other. And on the third side there was my great-grandmother’s [Irene Haalou ‘Ī‘ī] old house, and kind of a dairy, cattle in a kind of pasture. And the other side was kind of barren, and at some distance there’s a little pig farm and a little village of plantation workers…Now [in 1999] there’s a golf course on one side and the rest of it is surrounded by houses.\textsuperscript{407}

The “old house” of Airine ‘Ī‘ī was located close to their property and close to the former Loko ‘Eo fishpond (shown in Figure 46 and 47). A family burial ground with the remains of Ioane Papa ‘Ī‘ī and his daughter were also close to Loko ‘Eo.\textsuperscript{408}

George Brown III remembered that by the time he was growing up, the United States Navy dredged parts of Ke Awa Lau o Pu‘uloa and filled up the fishponds. Loko ‘Eo fishpond was filled in and turned into the Ted Makalena Golf Course.\textsuperscript{409} The ‘Ī‘ī family gravesite was located near the entrance to the Ted Makalena Golf Course, therefore close to what was once the Loko ‘Eo fishpond.\textsuperscript{410} Figure 46 shows a close-up of Waipi‘o Peninsula in 1873, with both Loko ‘Eo and Loko Hanaloa fishponds still intact. Although unnamed on this map, there is a clearly marked point that was highlighted in red. This point was identified in a later map from 1897 as “Tomb” (Figure 47), and confirmed by Irene Brown as most likely the former burial ground of her family.\textsuperscript{411} Irene Brown remembered that their family property was located just above what was later developed into the Ted Makalena Golf Course (current view shown in Figure 48), and before that it was sugar cane.\textsuperscript{412}

After World War II started, the Waipi‘o Peninsula was condemned by the United States Navy, including the ‘Ī‘ī family gravesite. The remains of Ioane Papa ‘Ī‘ī, daughter Airine Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku ‘Ī‘ī, and other family members buried at the peninsula

\textsuperscript{407} George Brown III, “‘I‘i/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 140.

\textsuperscript{408} Irene Brown, “Mililani History Project – MA Thesis in Hawaiian Studies,” e-mail message to author, June 8, 2014.

\textsuperscript{409} George Brown III, “‘I‘i/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 140-141.

\textsuperscript{410} Ibid., 157.

\textsuperscript{411} Irene Brown, “Mililani History Project – MA Thesis in Hawaiian Studies,” e-mail message to author, June 8, 2014.

\textsuperscript{412} Irene Brown, “‘I‘i/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 126.
were removed and relocated to a plot at O‘ahu Cemetery.\textsuperscript{413} The removal of the ‘Ī‘ī family burials show yet another haunting example of how Americanism and development has attributed to the erasure of Kānaka Maoli identity in Waipi‘o.

Figure 46. Close up of “Pearl Lochs, and Puuloa Entrance, Ewa, Oahu” by C. J. Lyons in 1873, registered map 0567, showing Loko ‘Eo in yellow and an unnamed burial site in red of the ‘Ī‘ī family.

\textsuperscript{413} ‘i/Brown Family Members, “‘i/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” xx.
Figure 47. Close-up from “Pearl Lochs” map by the Officers of U.S.S. Bennington in 1897, courtesy of the Hawai‘i State Archives, showing a ʻĪʻī tomb close to Loko ‘Eo fishpond.

Figure 48. Map of Waipiʻo Peninsula 2014 with Loko ‘Eo, former ʻĪʻī gravesite, and Loko Hanaloa shown based on overlay of registered map 0567 from 1873 by Leimomi Morgan 2014. Map from GoogleEarth.
Other significant features of the ʻĪʻī family home in Waipiʻo was that it included a large coconut grove and woodroses, all part of the large gardens that Julia Jones Brown devoted much of her life to tending. Irene Brown also remembered her parents bringing in the first rottweilers into Hawaiʻi, which they breded at their property.\(^{414}\) George Brown III remembered his father taking him around the ʻĪʻī Estate farms “in the gulleys between the cane fields or the pineapple fields,” that were leased from various farmers.\(^{415}\) In 1987 Julia Jones Brown passed away, George ʻĪʻī Brown, Jr. moved out of the family property in 1989 and passed away in 1993.\(^{416}\) The family sold most of the property to the Queen Emma Foundation in 1989, but retained about half an acre with the housing structures.\(^{417}\) The last family member to live on the property was George ʻĪʻī Brown III’s son, George “Keoki” ʻĪʻī Brown IV, who lived there until 1991. The remaining half acre of land was then sold to the Queen Emma Foundation in 1995.\(^{418}\)

Plans to build a Senior Care Home prompted the interviews conducted in 1999 by the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa of the ʻĪʻī/Brown Family, however, these plans did not materialize. Instead of their promised Senior Care Center, the Queen Emma Foundation developed the former ʻĪʻī/Brown family estate into more houses, as Irene Brown further explains:

> I was very disappointed in Queen Emma Foundation. We [the ʻĪʻī/Brown family] did sell the property to them because of their intention to build a senior care facility. Unfortunately, they didn’t follow through and 66 houses have been built on the property. Very unfortunate!\(^{419}\)

This is unfortunate, especially considering all of the positive hopes that the family expressed for the future care home. George ʻĪʻī Brown III was hopeful the Queen Emma Foundation would work to preserve some of the special features of his family property, including

\(^{414}\) Irene Brown, “ʻIʻi/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 130.


\(^{416}\) Ibid., 157.


\(^{419}\) Irene Brown, “Mililani History Project – MA Thesis in Hawaiian Studies,” e-mail message to author, June 8, 2014.
the coconut trees in the lower yard that his great-grandmother Airine Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaoeoku ‘Ī‘ī planted herself.420 The ‘Ī‘ī family, who held ownership over Waipi‘o from 1848 until 1952, must be recognized in this place today. The rich history that this family had with this place should be remembered and celebrated by the thousands who now call this place home.

The Naming of Mililani

The many publications about the school and home named Mililani (shown earlier in Figure 34) show that it was a celebrated place for both Kānaka Maoli children and the beloved ali‘i loane Papa ‘Ī‘ī. Daughter of ‘Ī‘ī, Airine Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaoeoku, carried on her father’s legacy by naming her family property in Waipi‘o also Mililani.421 This name was obviously very close to the ‘Ī‘ī family, to be used as the name of their family homes. Interestingly, the Mililani school and home may have been named after Ioane ‘Ī‘ī’s love for his birthplace, Waipi‘o. As described at the beginning of Chapter 3, Waipi‘o means “curved water,” and can also be in reference to the many ānuenue or rainbows that are constant in the area. Ryder describes the ānuenue as “one of the physical hōʻailona422 representations of this ‘āina,” and that Mililani also means “to look up, exalt and to be thankful.”423 The symbol of the Mililani Town Association (Figure 49) found throughout the town is confirmed by general manager O’Neal to be symbolic of a rainbow.424

423 Ryder, “Personal Interview in Mililani Town Center,” interview by author, February 7, 2014.
Ryder believes that Castle & Cooke planners decided to name Mililani to commemorate Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī, his home in Honolulu, and the significance of the ānuenue in Waipiʻo. Irene Brown also confirmed that the naming of Mililani was connected to her great-grandmother Airine Haalou Kahalelaukoa o Kamamaluhaeoku’s family home in Waipiʻo carrying the same name:

When Castle & Cooke developed Mililani Town, originally – now, Malcom MacNaughton [President of Castle & Cooke Inc. at the time] was a real good friend of Dad’s [George ʻĪʻī Brown, Jr.] and the Waipiʻo home’s name is Miliani…so Uncle Mal[colm MacNaughton] called Dad up and the first thing they were going to develop in Mililani Town was the cemetery. And Uncle Mal called Dad up, first of all, to get permission to use the name Mililani for Mililani Town and to tell him that the first thing that was going to be there was a cemetery. And Dad said that would be great because then he wouldn’t have to change his address when he died.425

An article from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin described how small subdivisions were planned for the first phase of the Mililani Mauka development in 1990 that would be named in connection to John Papa ʻĪʻī.426 The housing areas (shown in Figure 50) are now known as Kūmelewai427 Court and Kūmelewai Gardens (named for ʻĪʻī’s birthplace Kumelewai) and the ʻĪʻī Vistas (named for Airine ʻĪʻī). Another subdivision that did not materialize was planned to be named Kanoenoe, which according to the article, is the name of “the gentle breeze that generally blows

425 Irene Brown, “Iʻi/Brown Family: Oral Histories,” 132. Irene Brown also confirmed this statement to be true in e-mail correspondence with the author on June 8, 2014.


427 The use of a kahakō on the Kūmelewai has not been confirmed by ʻĪʻī or anywhere else besides these subdivisions, which is why the author decided to not utilize the kahakō in any references to Kumelewai for this thesis.
over this land." Kanoenoe is also the name of the plains located on the slopes close to Kīpapa (shown previously in Figure 16). Another wind name, Laulani, is referenced in the song Waipiʻo as occurring near the Waipiʻo Peninsula. Perhaps the Kanoenoe breeze referred to lands more inland and Laulani occurred in the lowlands closer to the ocean.

Figure 50. Kūmelewai Court, the ‘Ī‘ī Vistas, and Kūmelewai Gardens in Mililani Mauka. Photo by Leimomi Morgan 2014.

The theme of the name Mililani, which also means “to praise” or “treat as a favorite,” relates to the heavens or looking skyward, and is also seen in the names of the street and park names throughout the town. Ryder believes that a Kanaka Maoli person must have been consulted for the naming of the town features. Castle & Cooke, when asked for more information about Mililani, would not provide any sources for the names. The ‘Ī‘ī family connection to Waipiʻo is great, however, their family was not alone in their kuleana to Waipiʻo before and after 1848. The Mahele of 1848 and Kuleana Act of 1850 (explained earlier in Chapter 3) started the awarding of many lands in Waipiʻo to various claimants. Many of these claims were for small parcels at the time of a only few acres for small farm and house lots. The many claims in Waipiʻo show that it was a thriving community filled with various resources well before developers like Castle & Cooke took over. A few of the land awards were located close to where Mililani town was later built, in what is now designated as the Kīpapa gulch military reservation.

428 Ibid.

Kuleana i Waipiʻo

The kuleana in Waipiʻo included claims largely in the lowland areas, closer to Ke Awa Lau o Puʻuloa. These claims included moʻo 430 or “narrow strip(s) of land smaller than an ʻili,” 431 loʻi, 432 kula, 433 house lots and hale, 434 along with the number of keiki or offsprings 435 for each claimant. Table 1 shows all of the recorded claimants in Waipiʻo from the time of the Mahele in 1848 and Kuleana Act in 1850, although not all of these claims were awarded for various reasons. Although not included in the Native Register translation, the Indices of Awards also lists a kanaka named Kauluoaiwi as receiving a Palapala Sila Nui in Waipiʻouka. 436 In the Indices of Awards, 14 kānaka are listed as awarded lands in Waipiʻouka, the upland regions of Waipiʻo (Table 2).

Table 1. From the Native Register, Kānaka with Kuleana in Waipiʻo, ʻEwa, Oʻahu, 1848.

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<th>Inoa</th>
<th>Moʻo</th>
<th>Loʻi/Kula</th>
<th>House Lot</th>
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</table>

430 Lucas, A Dictionary of Hawaiian Legal Land-Terms, 82; Moʻo.

431 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 91; Land section, next in importance to ahupuaʻa and usually a subdivision of an ahupuaʻa.

432 Ibid., 193; Irrigated terrace, especially for taro, but also for rice.

433 Ibid., 164; Plain, field, open country, pasture. And act of 1884 distinguished dry or kula land from wet or taro land.

434 Ibid., 49; House or building.

435 Ibid., 131; Keiki.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamakahī</td>
<td>8241-Q</td>
<td>6902</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 ʻōkipu, 1 named Kailikahi in ʻili of Waimuku</td>
<td>2.473</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meahale</td>
<td>8241-R</td>
<td>6746</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Waiakapuaa</td>
<td>6.882</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailio</td>
<td>8241-T</td>
<td>7187</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ʻōkipu called Kaneulupo</td>
<td>5.665</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailihao</td>
<td>8241-U</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ʻōkipu called Kapupuka</td>
<td>3.804</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneakauhi</td>
<td>8241-W</td>
<td>6957</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ʻōkipu called Kaohai</td>
<td>8.162</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halelaau</td>
<td>8241-X</td>
<td>7479</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 called Kopilau</td>
<td>3.755</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepa</td>
<td>8241-Y</td>
<td>7978</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 ʻōkipu in ʻili of Kipapa</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaioe</td>
<td>8241-Z</td>
<td>6606</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 lands in 1 ʻili, Moakea and Puulu</td>
<td>18.727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palekaluhi</td>
<td>8241-AB</td>
<td>7264</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 ʻōkipu called Kamukuloa (makai) and Kalapopo (mauka)</td>
<td>6.363</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poupou</td>
<td>8241-CC</td>
<td>6958</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>An ʻōkipu called Papa and a valley therein called Leoi ki</td>
<td>14.38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalaiku</td>
<td>8241-UU</td>
<td>6649</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ʻōkipu in ʻili of Lelepua</td>
<td>13.148</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauluoaiwi</td>
<td>8241-V</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ʻōkipu in the ʻili of Honoawaka</td>
<td>5.475</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Table 2, only Foreign Testimonies were recorded for the claimants of these lands. These testimonies, although mainly in English, did reveal some of the Kānaka Maoli place names for the area. All testimonies were reviewed and the names of the land and their characteristics were included in the ‘Āina column. This area of Waipiʻouka close to the Mililani Town was the focus for this thesis, and therefore more critically researched than the lowlands of Waipiʻo.

The Land Commission Awards and Palapala Sila Nui were reviewed for each of the claimants to add to the information in Table 2. Examples of these documents show Kaioe, the largest claimant for this area of focus (Figures 51 and 52).

Figure 51. Land Commission Award 8421-Z for Kaioe in Waipiʻouka, Oʻahu.

The LCA documents showed that the majority of these awards in Waipiʻouka included “ʻokipu” or “ʻokipu” or “forest clearings” and a few “kahuahale” “house-lot or house

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43 Lucas, A Dictionary of Hawaiian Legal Land-Terms, 82.
foundations.\textsuperscript{438} The \textit{Indices of Awards} also records each parcel as being a “moʻo” or “narrow strip of land smaller than an ʻili.”\textsuperscript{439} When reviewing the Foreign Testimonies for each ʻāina, some of the names were recorded as ʻili, while it appears that others were names for each individual ʻokipu plot.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure52.png}
\caption{Figure 52. Portion of the Palapala Sila Nui or Royal Patent 6606 for Kaioe in Waipiʻouka, Oʻahu.}
\end{figure}

All of the claims from Table 2 were located in the gulch portion of Kīpapa. The majority of them were close to the Kīpapa stream, starting where the Waiāhole Ditch Syphon crosses through (Figures 53 and 54) and up past the H-2 Freeway.

\textsuperscript{438} Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., 77.
A close up portion of the same map from Figure 52 shows the plot of Kaioe in relation to some of the other claimants (Figure 54).
The map from 1928 by Harvey Wright was used to locate the land awards in relation to the newer Mililani development to create an ESRI ArcGIS\textsuperscript{440} map (Figure 55).

Figure 55. “Mililani in 2014 with 1848 LCA in Kīpapa” by Charles L. Morgan, March 9, 2014.

\textsuperscript{440} This is a company founded by Jack and Laura Dangermond in 1969, Environmental Systems Research Institute, that helps “organize and analyze geographic information.” For more about them please refer to their website, accessed April 23, 2014, www.esri.com.
Table 3. Map Key for Mililani 2014 Map by Charles L. Morgan March 9, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>LCA</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>8241-V</td>
<td>Kauluoaiwi</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>6957</td>
<td>8241-W</td>
<td>Kanaekauhi</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6606</td>
<td>8241-Z</td>
<td>Kaioe</td>
<td>18.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>6958</td>
<td>8241-CC</td>
<td>Poupou</td>
<td>13.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>7264</td>
<td>8241-AB</td>
<td>Palekaluhi</td>
<td>7.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>7978</td>
<td>8241-Y</td>
<td>Hepa</td>
<td>11.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>7187</td>
<td>8241-T</td>
<td>Kailio</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>7479</td>
<td>8241-X</td>
<td>Halelaau</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>8241-U</td>
<td>Kailihao</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>6746</td>
<td>8241-R</td>
<td>Meahale</td>
<td>7.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>6649</td>
<td>8241-UU</td>
<td>Kalaiku</td>
<td>8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>6902</td>
<td>8241-Q</td>
<td>Kamakahi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5461</td>
<td>8241-N</td>
<td>Ukeke Ap. 2</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>5461</td>
<td>8241-N</td>
<td>Ukeke Ap. 1</td>
<td>5.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>7976</td>
<td>8241-L</td>
<td>Mokunui</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>6902</td>
<td>8241-Q</td>
<td>Kamakahi</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1835, 513 individuals were recorded as residing in Waipiʻo and during the late 1840s about 300 people were recorded in Waipiʻo. The latter number of approximately 300 is consistent with the totals from Table 1 of 110 adults and 246 children (about 356 total) recorded with kuleana to Waipiʻo by ʻĪʻī in 1848. The claims to ʻokipu and kahuahale plots in Waipiʻouka show that the place was once regularly inhabited and cultivated by many kānaka prior to 1848, and definitely before pineapple, sugar and Mililani Town developments.

The fact that several claims were made in the uka regions suggests that Waipiʻo residents had particular plots that they traveled to repeatedly, possibly on some of the trails that ʻĪʻī described (previously shown in Figure 19). None of the Foreign Testimonies for these awards described any of the specific plants that were in the area. A few of the claimants stated that they received the lands much before 1848, including Kamakahi who received his lands from his father in the time of Kamehameha I, Kalaiku and Kailihao who both received the lands in the time of Kīnaʻu, and Palekaluhi who received the land “from his father from old time.”

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The awards in Table 2 were all listed as “kula” lands, which is a general term for open fields, pastures, uncultivated fields, or fields for cultivation, and upland (drier), which is distinct from meadow or wetland. These kula lands were often used for opportunistic plantings such as bananas, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, dry land taro, and others that did not depend heavily on a consistent source of water. However, all of the maps of Kuleana plots show them being close to the Kīpapa stream. It is uncertain exactly what these awardees were planting. In a passage by S.E. Bishop found in *Sites of Oahu*, some of the uplands above the Kipapa gulch were described in 1901:

> Our family made repeated trips to the home of Rev. John S. Emerson at Waialua during those years. (Bishop Family moved to Ewa in 1836) There was then no road save a foot path across the generally smooth upland. We forded the streams. Beyond Kipapa gulch the upland was dotted with occasional groves of Koa trees. On the high plains the ti plant abounded, often so high as to intercept the view. No cattle then existed to destroy its succulent foliage. According to the statements of the natives, a forest formerly covered the whole of the then nearly naked plains. It [ʻiliah] was burned off by the natives in search of sandalwood, which they detected by its odor when burning.

Although the Native forest was destroyed, the land in Waipiʻo was ideal for agriculture, shown in the many kalo fields close to the sea (shown in Figure 56) and ʻokipu plots in Waipiʻouka. The map shown at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 22) displayed the mauka portion of Waipiʻo as a thick ʻōhiʻa and koa forest. Pictures of this forest were also found in the Bishop Museum Archives recorded to include kukui, guava and staghorn in abundance (Figures 57 and 58).


Figure 56. “Map of Waipio Taro Land, Ewa Oahu,” by M. D. Monsarrat 1879. Registered map 0606 from the State of Hawai‘i Department of Accounting and General Services.
Figure 57. Photo from Bishop Museum Archives, “Kipapa Gulch, vegetation on south slope at 1300 ft. elevation, showing kukui, koa and staghorn. No date provided.

Figure 58. “Kipapa Gulch, looking up guava zone,” Bishop Museum Archives. No date provided.
After the lands were awarded in Waipiʻo to the various awardees and their families, many of them were leased or sold over time. Many entries are listed in the Grantor and Grantee Indexes at the Bureau of Conveyances showing the “John Ii Estate” as grantor. Discussed earlier in this chapter, leases to Oʻahu Sugar Company and Oʻahu Railway & Land Company were connected to the ‘Īʻī/Brown family. The lease to the “Oahu Sugar Co. Ltd.” was finalized on October 24, 1899, for the right to start construction for sugar planting in Waipiʻo.445 The “Oahu Railway & Land Co.”446 was granted an exchange and deed on May 22, 1900 and lease on October 25, 1909447 to construct the railway through Waipiʻo. A photo from 1915 shows the Waiahole Ditch Syphon construction going through Kīpapa, close to where many of the claimants from Table 2 once lived and farmed (Figure 59). Most of Waipiʻo was under heavy sugar cultivation by 1921 (Figure 60).

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445 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 202, October 24, 1899, 56-59.
446 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 209, May 22, 1900, 227
447 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 320, October 25, 1909, 322.
On September 12, 1944, the United States Government condemned 61.056 acres (of RP 4475, Kuleana 7713) in Waipiʻo in response to the start of World War II. On November 9, 1944 (in Civil Action 541) a total of 401.54 acres in Kipapa were condemned by the United States Army. This condemned area also has a much larger story not included in this thesis, in which 77 tunnels were made into the sides of the mountain walls to house ammunition and chemical agents during World War II. Hawaiian Pineapple Company (subsidiary of Castle & Cooke) bought about 16,250 acres of the John ʻĪʻī Estate in 1952 for pineapple cultivation. However,

448 From the Bureau of Conveyances, Grantor Index Book 1846, 153, and Grantor Index Book 1862, 122.

449 Charles M. Blackard, An Inventory of Real Property Owned or Controlled by the United States Under the Custody and Accountability of The Department of Defense in the State of Hawaiʻi, Charles Blackard and Associates: Hot Springs Village, 1993, 43.


451 Further discussed in the Descendants of ʻĪʻī section.
with the pineapple and sugar industries dwindling on O‘ahu, Castle & Cooke started plans to sell and develop their lands for more profit. The fading pineapple cultivation and emerging Mililani construction are shown in the early development phases in Figures 61 and 62, showing the two layers of erasure at once.\textsuperscript{452}

Figure 61. Beginning stages of Mililani development from pineapple fields. Photo from October 1973.

Figure 62. Beginning stages of Mililani development in Waipi‘o, O‘ahu. Photo from October 1973.

Chapter 4. – ‘Aʻole i Pau: Ka Piko Maʻi

A glimpse into the rich history of Waipiʻo, the land that hosts the Mililani community, has been presented to broaden and enhance the understanding of the indigenous heritage attached to this ‘āina. From the connections with Kūkaniloko and Māʻilikūkahai, to Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī and the many people who have called this place home, the Mililani community will now have access to these stories and ideally add more of as time goes on.

The story of Mililani is a prime example of the changes in Hawaiʻi over time. The land of Waipiʻo was held largely under cultivation as agricultural lands while in the hands of the royal aliʻi ʻĪʻī family for over a hundred years from 1848 until 1952. The erasure of the past in this land was then caused by developments now housing thousands of Oʻahu’s population. The development of an area should not mean a total erasure and disregard for what existed in the past, slowly removing the Kānaka Maoli sense of place in Hawaiʻi. The Mililani community and all residents of Waipiʻo must understand the heritage of their home and recognize its importance to the ‘āina and all of Hawaiʻi. The research from this thesis can be applied in many ways to further the education and Kānaka Maoli sense of place for the Mililani community.

Summary

The opening introduction of this thesis pointed out the problem of erasure caused by the Americanization of Hawaiʻi and specifically the area in Waipiʻo where the planned development of Mililani was built. A call to hoʻoponono, to correct, this issue was made and established through the structure of the three-piko concept and guidance of the Kānaka Maoli Research Model.

Chapter 1, Mililani: Ka Piko Waena, the most recent history and present state of the town were discussed. This was where the questions and journey of the thesis began and was presented first to inspire the same questions in the minds of readers.

Chapter 2, ‘Āina: Ka Piko Poʻo, Hānau Mua, focused on the farthest reaching moʻolelo that were unearthed through this research. These stories were connected to the wahi pana, the unique and significant sites around the area of focus in Waipiʻouka. These places and a few important individuals connected to them set the backdrop for Chapter 3, Ka Poʻe o Waipiʻo: Ka Piko Poʻo, Hānau Hope. This chapter discusses the next phase of time in Waipiʻo and specifically how the people shaped its identity. These two chapters, focused on Kānaka Maoli
moʻolelo, were meant to counterbalance the dominant and foreign Americanization in the area. Ideally, these chapters helped to re-establish some of the indigenous history drowned out by the erasure in Waipiʻo.

This final Chapter 4, ‘Aʻole i pau: Ka Piko Maʻi, is meant to explore some of the possible applications for the research from this thesis. A few more interviews were conducted to give a broader perspective on this discussion. The journey of this thesis only begins with the improvement of Kānaka Maoli identity in the Mililani community.

**E Holomua: Possibilities for the Future**

The moʻolelo from this research were presented in a second interview with Mililani Town Association general manager, David OʻNeal, who supported the project from its very beginning two years earlier. OʻNeal agreed that this information would also be very valuable to other Mililani residents, and suggested that articles for the Mililani Newsletter be created to circulate throughout the town. He also shared that the new Strategic Plan for the Association was completed in January 2014, and that a big part of this new plan will focus on revitalizing the landscaping around Mililani. The MTA owns and maintains about 220 acres throughout Mililani, much of which are common areas like sidestreps and medials between streets. OʻNeal and others on the Mililani Board feel that the landscaping needs more color and distinction, and that bringing in more Native Hawaiian plants will definitely be considered for the improvements. Contact information for Hui Kū Maoli Ola, Native Hawaiian plant nursery and supplier in Kāneʻohe, Oʻahu, was given to OʻNeal. He replied that he would present this contact to the rest of the board members for consideration.

Part of the 220 acres owned by MTA also includes ravines and gulches that the Association does not see any possible use or need for their purposes. OʻNeal said that if a community group or individuals expressed interest in caring for or utilizing some of these areas for non-profit activities, the Board and Association would definitely consider signing over their ownership of the lands to another group at no cost. This opens the door to so many possibilities

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453 This number came from General Manager of Mililani Town Association, David O’Neal, “Personal Interview with MTA General Manager,” interview by author, November 29, 2012.

454 For more about this company, please visit their website, www.hawaiannativeplants.com.
for groups that could act as stewards in Mililani, growing Native Hawaiian plants, protecting sacred sites, and learning more about the resources of this ‘āina. Overall, the second interview with O’Neal was very positive and promising, bringing this project full circle, and confirming that there are many possibilities for improving the Kānaka Maoli identity and education in the Mililani community.

Harold Fisher, a Mililani resident for the past 35 years, agreed that these stories of the past and Kānaka Maoli culture are important to remember. Fisher was born and raised in Hale‘iwa on the North Shore. As one of the first construction workers hired to help build Mililani, Fisher saw the place turn from pineapple fields in his youth to the town he eventually raised his family and maintains his home. Although he strongly believes in the positive attributes of Mililani for raising a family, he did agree that more can be done to increase awareness of the rich past in the area, for instance in the Kīpapa gulch:

People come from all over the world to visit us, and they come here to look and see…to even learn our culture. So they drive past Kīpapa gulch. I think it’s a historical site, there was a big battle from what I understand. We should have a little sign, pulled over to the side, with something explaining what went on, but it doesn’t have that. We should have things like that all around the islands, not just here [in Mililani].

The idea of more signage around the significant sites like Kīpapa is another avenue of possibility for what can be done to increase education in Mililani. This would help to directly offset the erasure by standing as physical reminders of the mo‘olelo of Mililani, including the some of the important wahi pana and people of Waipi‘o. If proper signage was created and maintained, the deep Americanization in Mililani would be counterbalanced by the Kānaka Maoli education and inheritance from these signs. The reasons behind some of the names in the community could also be explained. Perhaps this would inspire even more projects to take shape, like the maintenance of these significant sites.

An interview with Mililani High School kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i Kekoa Wong proved the same support for increasing Mililani students’ sense of place. Wong already teaches some of the Waipi‘o history to his students, and believes that they already know much of the truth about

Mililani being in Waipiʻo and a planned community. Wong also teaches hula, maintains a garden at school, and says that he does what he feels is right when it comes to educating the youth of Mililani. Although much more can be done, Wong continues to be a dedicated teacher for Mililani students. As he says, the “center” of the Kānaka Maoli culture in Mililani is the one that he creates in his classroom at the Mililani High School. He also feels that he has always had very strong support from the principals of the school in his endeavors to spread Kānaka Maoli identity throughout Mililani. Currently, he is working with the principal to increase the Native Hawaiian plants in the landscaping at the high school.

Other possibilities to apply this research involve further publications of the research from this thesis that can be circulated through the community. A book or pamphlet form with some of the stories from this thesis would be an excellent source to learn about Waipiʻo and Mililani. This could also be published in an electronic format for circulation on the Internet, and particularly on the Mililani Town Association website. The research can also be rewritten to the needs of a variety of readers, such as children.

Furthermore, in an effort to increase the education of the heritage of Mililani, a place should be designated somewhere in the town to commemorate Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī family connection to this ʻāina. Whether it be a statue and plaque in the Mililani Town Center or a small memorial at a local park in Mililani, something must be done to remember the ʻĪʻī family in this town named after their family homes. Perhaps a few sighs and stopping points could be designed throughout the town sharing some of the moʻolelo brought together through this thesis. If more people like O’Neal, Fisher and Wong took interest in the moʻolelo of Mililani, a piece of land from the MTA could be designated for a community garden or loʻi. The designated piece of land could also act as a place for teaching the history of Mililani to both locals and visitors.

This thesis recognized the need for a stronger sense of place in Mililani, delved into the history of this ʻāina, and presented the findings so that they may be shared with present and future community members. The development of Mililani should not mean that the whole sense of place in Waipiʻo is forgotten and replaced, but instead celebrated and remembered. The insights from residents supported the need of this thesis to create a deeper understanding of the past and stronger Kānaka Maoli identity in the Mililani community. Some of the unique moʻolelo of Mililani and Waipiʻo were brought to light to increase the aloha for the ʻāina and validate the importance of the indigenous Kānaka Maoli perspective in Hawaiʻi.
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