Nā Waiwai o Lāhainā, An Ethnographic History
Celebrating the Stories and Cultures of Lahaina

Prepared for

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Prepared by

July 2025

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Note on Hawaiian Language Use

In keeping with other Hawaiian scholars, we do not italicize Hawaiian words. Hawaiian is both the native language of the pae ʻāina of Hawaiʻi and an official language of the State of Hawaiʻi. Some authors will leave Hawaiian words italicized if part of a quote; we do not. In the narrative, we use diacritical markings to assist our readers, except in direct quotes, in which we keep the markings used in the original text. We provide translations contextually when appropriate. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by Honua Consulting and Kumu Pono authors.

Photo Credit: Lahaina Restoration Foundation (1908)

Suggested Citation

Watson, T.K., Maly, K., Maly, O., Mather, J.K., Thetford, C., Boyne, K., Hoʻopiʻi, T., Mather, R., Hinau, K., Sproat, M., Anthony, N.

2025 Nā Waiwai o Lahaina, An Ethnographic History Celebrating the Stories and Cultures of Lahaina. Kumu Pono Associates, LLC and Honua Consulting, LLC.

Acknowledgement

To each kūpuna and kamaʻāina who shared their recollections and history in this study, we extend our sincerest appreciation and aloha.

Executive Summary

At the request of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Honua Consulting, LLC prepared an ethnographic study of Lahaina, Maui. The primary objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive ethnographic investigation and oral history documentation of Lahaina, with a focus on its traditional and historic cultural significance. This effort aims to capture the rich narratives of Lahaina's past, particularly its role as a political, cultural, and religious center for Native Hawaiians. By gathering oral histories and documenting cultural knowledge, the study provides a deeper understanding of the pre-contact and post-contact history of Lahaina moku, including its significance during the reign of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its later transitions under Western influence.

This study documents and preserves the lived experiences and knowledge of Lahaina's community members, with particular attention on Native Hawaiian perspectives. This supports efforts to evaluate Lahaina as a Traditional Cultural Property in accordance with the guidelines set forth in National Register Bulletin 38, which emphasizes the importance of traditional cultural values in maintaining community identity. The ethnographic research largely excludes discussion of the 2023 Maui Wildfires, focusing instead on Lahaina's historical trajectory from the Chiefdom of Lahaina to its status under the State of Hawaiʻi.

Ultimately, the study aims to contribute to cultural preservation efforts, ensuring that the stories, traditions, and historical experiences of Lahaina are maintained for future generations. The findings may be utilized in future historical evaluations, restoration projects, and educational efforts, preserving the unique cultural landscape of this historically significant Hawaiian town.

Research in preparation of this report involved a thorough search of Hawaiian language documents including, but not limited to, the Bishop Museum mele (song) index and Bishop Museum archival documents, such as the Hawaiian language archival caché. All Hawaiian language documents were reviewed by Hawaiian language experts for relevant information that could be included in the report. Documents considered relevant to this analysis are included herein and translations are provided when appropriate to the discussion. Summaries of interviews and information on other oral testimonies are also provided.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABCFM: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
DOE: Hawaiʻi State Department of Education
FCC: Filipino Catholic Club
FEMA: Federal Emergency Management Agency
LOC: Library of Congress
LRF: Lahaina Restoration Foundation
LTAC: Lahaina Town Action Committee
Māhele: The Māhele ʻĀina of 1848
NHL: National Historic Landmark
NPS: National Park Service
TCP: Traditional Cultural Property

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KUMU PONO ASSOCIATES, LLC HONUA CONSULTING

1. Introduction

Lahaina, located on the island of Maui, holds a central place in the cultural and historic fabric of Hawaiʻi. Historically known as a significant seat of power and a center of governance for Hawaiian aliʻi (chiefs), Lahaina has long been regarded as a vital location in both pre-contact and post-contact Hawaiian society. The traditional cultural history of Lahaina is deeply rooted in the political and spiritual landscape of the Hawaiian Islands, particularly through its association with prominent aliʻi and its role as a cultural hub during the reign of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

In pre-contact Hawaiʻi, Lahaina was part of the larger moku (district) of Lahaina which was governed by the local aliʻi and played a critical role in the socio-political structure of the Hawaiian Islands. It was particularly notable for its association with high-ranking aliʻi and served as a residence for many of Hawaiʻi's ruling elite. The town's abundant natural resources, including fertile lands and access to marine resources, allowed for a thriving agricultural and fishing economy that sustained its inhabitants and contributed to the prosperity of the region.

Lahaina is a sacred place; heiau (ceremonial sites) and other historic sites associated with fertility and agriculture exist throughout the moku. These sacred spaces not only served religious purposes but were also political symbols that reinforced the power and authority of the local aliʻi. Oral histories and archaeological evidence suggest that Lahaina was a key site for ritual practices connected to the cycles of the seasons and the broader spiritual life of Native Hawaiians.

The arrival of Western explorers, missionaries, and traders in the late 18th century brought significant changes to Lahaina. In the early 19th century, Lahaina became the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom under King Kamehameha III, serving as the political and administrative center of the islands from 1820 to 1845. During this period, the town also became a bustling port for whaling ships and an important site for trade. Lahaina's significance grew as missionaries established schools and churches, including the iconic Waiola Church, influencing both cultural and societal shifts as Western education and Christianity became integrated into Hawaiian society. This historic and its enduring influence on Lahaina are further discussed in Appendix B.

Despite these external influences, Lahaina continued to hold cultural significance for Native Hawaiians, serving as a vital connection to their ancestral past while also adapting to new realities brought by the increasing presence of foreign powers. The cultural resilience of Lahaina can be seen in part through its continued role in the preservation of Hawaiian traditions, language, and governance, even as the Kingdom transitioned into

the Provisional Government, then Republic of Hawaiʻi, and eventually, the Territory of Hawaiʻi.

In the 20th century, Lahaina's role transitioned from a political capital to a historical and cultural landmark. The U.S. Department of the Interior designated the Lahaina National Historic Landmark (NHL) District on December 29, 1962. This designation was granted in recognition of Lahaina's outstanding historical significance, particularly for its role as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as one of the busiest whaling ports in the Pacific, and as a center for missionary activity in the 19th century. In 1974, the National Park Service (NPS) accepted documentation that delineated an official boundary, established a period of significance, and referenced additional resources associated with the NHL District and setting; this 1974 nomination stands as the official record of the NHL boundary (Wilson et al., 2024).

Today, the town remains a symbol of cultural resilience, reflecting centuries of tradition, history, and change. Efforts to preserve and document its oral histories, such as those initiated by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, are part of broader initiatives to ensure that the history and traditions of Lahaina continue to inform future generations.

This ethnographic report thus aims to capture the essence of Lahaina's historical and cultural narrative, ensuring the voices of its people are preserved and its place in Hawaiian history is recognized in full context.

1.1 Objectives

The primary objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive ethnographic investigation and oral history documentation of Lahaina, with a focus on its traditional and historic cultural significance. This effort aims to capture the rich narratives of Lahaina's past, particularly its role as a political, cultural, and religious center. By gathering oral histories and documenting cultural knowledge, the study provides a deeper understanding of the pre-contact and post-contact history of Lahaina moku, including its significance during the reign of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its later transitions under Western influence.

This study documents and preserves the lived experiences and knowledge of Lahaina's community members, with particular attention on Native Hawaiian perspectives, which have historically been underrepresented in histories on the region. This project also supports efforts to evaluate Lahaina as a TCP in accordance with the guidelines set forth in National Register Bulletin 38, which emphasizes the importance of traditional cultural values in maintaining community identity. The ethnographic research largely excludes

discussion of the August 2023 fires, focusing instead on Lahaina's historical trajectory from the Chiefdom of Lahaina to its status under the State of Hawaiʻi.

Ultimately, the study aims to contribute to cultural preservation efforts, ensuring that the stories, traditions, and historical experiences of Lahaina are maintained for future generations. The findings may be utilized in future historical evaluations, restoration projects, and educational efforts, preserving the unique cultural landscape of this historically significant Hawaiian town.

1.2 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study encompasses a detailed ethnographic and oral history documentation of Lahaina, Maui, focusing on its pre-contact and post-contact history. The work involves capturing traditional and historic narratives that reflect Lahaina's significance as a cultural, political, and religious center for Native Hawaiians. The ethnographic study centers on the collection of oral histories from key community members, kūpuna (elders), and cultural practitioners who provide valuable insights into the historical events and cultural practices associated with Lahaina.

The study covers major historical periods, including the Chiefdom of Lahaina, the rise and governance of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the transitions to the Provisional Government, the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and later the Territory and State of Hawaiʻi. The ethnographic research intentionally excludes discussions about the recent fire, instead focusing on the broader historical context. Key topics include the relationship between Native Hawaiian chiefs and the governance of Lahaina, religious and cultural practices, and Lahaina's role in the whaling and missionary periods.

In alignment with National Register Bulletin 38, which emphasizes the preservation of TCPs, this project applies best practices for ethnographic research, including preparation, interviewing, preservation of information, and ensuring access and use of the gathered materials for future generations. This work will culminate in a report that could support the future evaluation of Lahaina as a TCP, contributing to the preservation of its cultural legacy.

This study looks to identify properties important to the people of Lahaina due to their association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community, emphasizing that such beliefs and practices are:

1. **Rooted in the Community's History**: The significance of these properties is tied to their role in sustaining historical traditions, religious beliefs, or cultural practices

that have been passed down through generations. These practices are intrinsic to the community's identity and collective memory.

2. **Maintaining Cultural Identity**: These properties are vital for preserving the ongoing cultural identity of the community. They serve as physical spaces or locations where traditional ceremonies, rituals, and cultural activities continue to take place, allowing the community to maintain a connection with its past and ensure the continuity of its cultural heritage.

These sites often do not have visible markers or structures but are deeply significant to the communities that value them. For example, places where religious ceremonies are conducted, or locations associated with community-based traditions, are critical for maintaining the cultural identity of those who rely on them for cultural continuity. These guidelines are essential in identifying and protecting sites that might not be obvious historical landmarks but are nonetheless crucial for a community's cultural survival.

The geographic scope of this study encompasses the moku of Lahaina on the mokupuni (island) of Maui, focusing on its traditional land divisions, including ahupuaʻa[1] and ʻili.[2] The study spans from the coastal areas, where fisheries and marine resources were essential, to the upland agricultural zones nourished by irrigation systems like the ʻauwai (irrigation channels). Lahaina's unique land structure, with lele (detached land parcels) providing access to diverse resources, highlights the district's reliance on freshwater, agricultural, and marine resources across varying elevations, reflecting its importance in sustaining Native Hawaiian communities throughout its history.

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[1] Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (puaʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief.

[2] Land section, next in importance to ahupuaʻa and usually a subdivision of an ahupuaʻa.

2. Methodology

The methodology for the ethnographic study of Lahaina moku rigorously documents the traditional cultural values and historical significance of the area while ensuring community engagement and ethical data collection. The study utilizes a combination of qualitative ethnographic methods, archival research, and oral history practices to create a comprehensive cultural and historical record.

Ethnographic studies play a crucial role in documenting histories, particularly Native Hawaiian histories, that have often been marginalized or underrepresented in broader historical narratives. In Lahaina, such studies are vital for uncovering the depth of Native Hawaiian cultural practices, land stewardship, and social organization that may not have been well documented in written records, particularly during the period of Western colonization and influence.

Traditional Hawaiian knowledge systems, which were largely transmitted orally through moʻolelo (stories), oli (chants), and genealogies, often fall outside of conventional Western historical documentation. Ethnographic approaches, which include interviews with kūpuna, the collection of oral histories, and the examination of cultural landscapes, help to bridge this gap. In the context of Lahaina, these methods may reveal insights into land use, water management, agricultural practices, and spiritual beliefs, all of which were integral to the pre-contact Hawaiian way of life.

By embracing Native Hawaiian voices and perspectives in concert with the voices of other cultural groups that have helped to shape Lahaina, ethnographic studies restore agency to those whose histories have been overlooked or misrepresented. They help validate Native Hawaiian knowledge as a legitimate and critical source of historical understanding. In Lahaina, a district deeply intertwined with Hawaiian royalty, land, and spiritual practices, ethnography provides a means to document and preserve these cultural narratives, ensuring that the full scope of Lahaina's history includes the voices and experiences of its indigenous people. This approach is essential for a more holistic and accurate portrayal of Lahaina's past.

2.1 Ethnographic Approach

The ethnographic study utilizes a comprehensive methodology to gather oral histories and document traditional cultural values within Lahaina moku. Key methods include conducting in-depth interviews with Native Hawaiian kūpuna, cultural practitioners, and community members who hold intimate knowledge of the region's history and cultural practices. A mixed-method approach combines qualitative ethnographic interviews with archival research, including the analysis of historical documents and maps to understand

the biocultural landscape of Lahaina. This dual approach ensures a culturally sensitive and academically rigorous collection of data that respects traditional knowledge and modern ethnographic practices.

2.2 Community Engagement

Community engagement was vital for the success of the study. Culturally affiliated individuals, residents, and descendants with ties to Lahaina were identified through consultations with community leaders, cultural practitioners, and organizations such as the State Historic Preservation Division and local historical societies. The engagement included outreach efforts, ensuring that community voices were central to the project. These efforts foster trust and ensure the collected oral histories reflect the lived experiences and knowledge of those most connected to the area.

2.3 Oral History Practices

In line with the Oral History Association's Best Practices, the project emphasizes ethical and methodical approaches to preparing, conducting, and preserving interviews. This includes obtaining informed consent from all participants, providing them with the opportunity to review and approve interview transcripts, and ensuring their narratives are accurately represented. The interviews focus on documenting traditional and historical practices, beliefs, and cultural values tied to the Lahaina moku.

Oral history best practices are essential to ensuring the accurate, ethical, and respectful documentation of personal and community narratives. These practices guide researchers in collecting, preserving, and presenting oral histories, especially when working with indigenous communities or marginalized groups.

1. **Informed Consent:** Researchers must obtain informed consent from participants, ensuring that they understand the purpose of the project, how their information will be used, and their rights regarding anonymity and confidentiality.
2. **Respect for Narrators:** Oral historians should approach interviews with cultural sensitivity and respect, recognizing the narrators as custodians of their own stories. Building trust is crucial, especially when dealing with sensitive topics.
3. **Preparation:** Researchers should be thoroughly familiar with the historical context and cultural background of the community or individual they are interviewing. Well-prepared, open-ended questions encourage detailed and meaningful responses.
4. **Accurate Documentation:** It is essential to use reliable recording equipment and follow up with careful transcription to accurately capture the words, tone, and context of the interview.

5. Community Collaboration: When possible, oral history projects should involve the community in the research process, from designing the project to deciding how the material will be preserved and shared. This ensures that the work benefits the community and respects their knowledge systems.

By following these best practices, oral historians ensure that the stories they collect are preserved with integrity and respect. They were followed rigorously for this project.

2.4 Ethnographic Data Collection

This study employs high-quality audio and/or video recording equipment for interviews, ensuring that all oral histories are captured in their entirety. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, with transcripts made available for participants to review. Detailed field notes supplement audio recordings, where necessary. All materials – including digital audio files, transcripts, and field notes – are preserved in secure and accessible repositories, allowing for future use by researchers and the Native Hawaiian community. Archival research, including the compilation of historical maps and documents, complement the oral histories, providing a holistic view of Lahaina’s cultural landscape.

2.5 Historic Maps

There are also numerous, informative historic maps for the region. Surveyors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were skilled in traversing land areas and capturing important features and resources throughout Hawaiʻi’s rich islands. Historic maps were carefully studied, and the features detailed therein were aggregated and categorized to help identify specific places, names, features, and resources throughout Lahaina. From these, among other documents, new maps were created that more thoroughly capture the range of resources in the area.

Figures 1-5 are Biocultural and Kula (plains)/ʻAuwai Maps of Lahaina moku that were generated using a combination of historic maps between 1884-1919 to incorporate ahupuaʻa boundaries and features of each ahupuaʻa, such as streams, pūnāwai (water springs), loko (ponds), and paʻakai (salt) marshes. The purpose of these figures is to illustrate the many important cultural resources and places that contributed to the sustainability of traditional life in Lahaina. Many of these resources existed well into the historic period following foreign contact.

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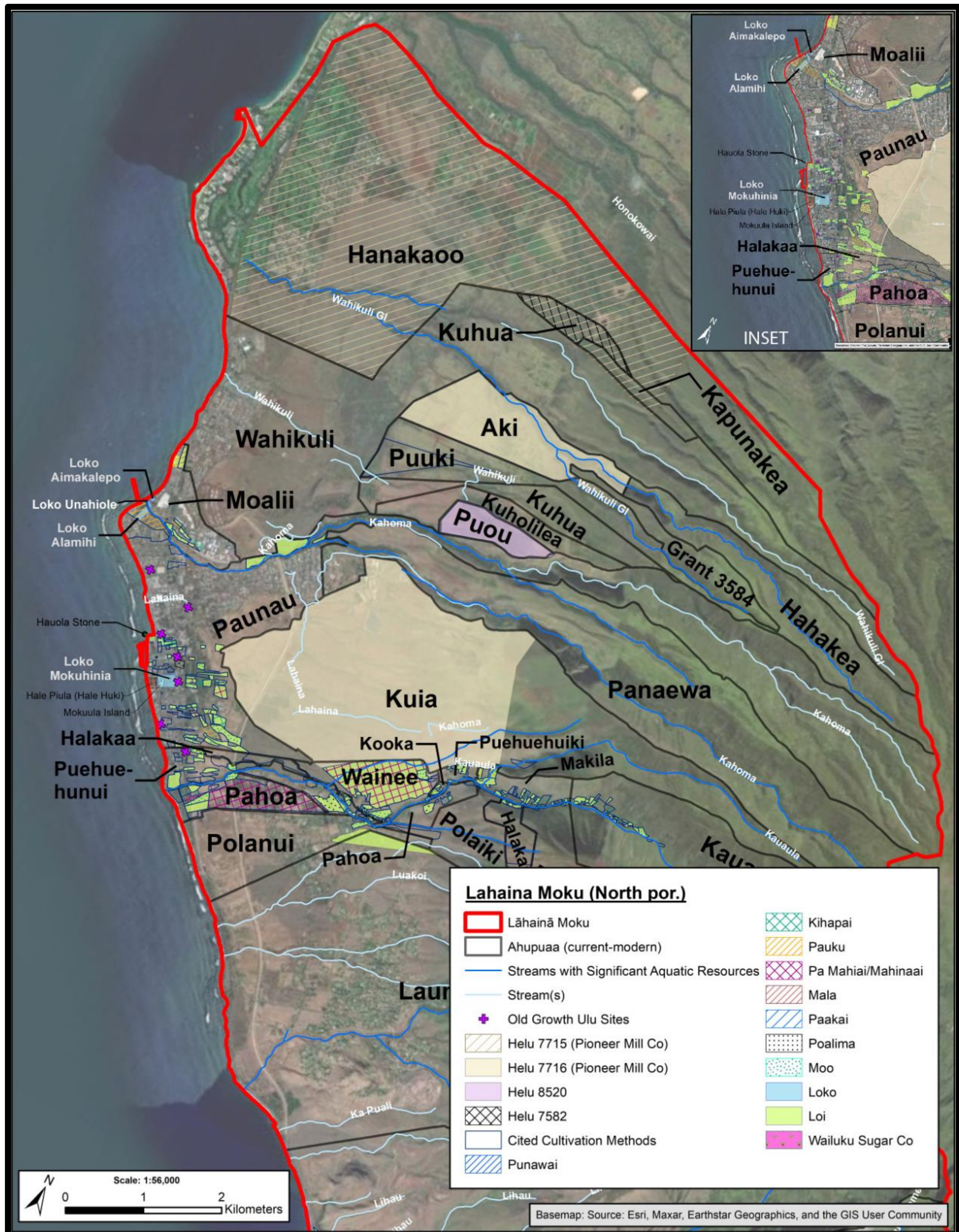

Figure 1. Biocultural Map of Northern Lahaina Moku (Honua Consulting)

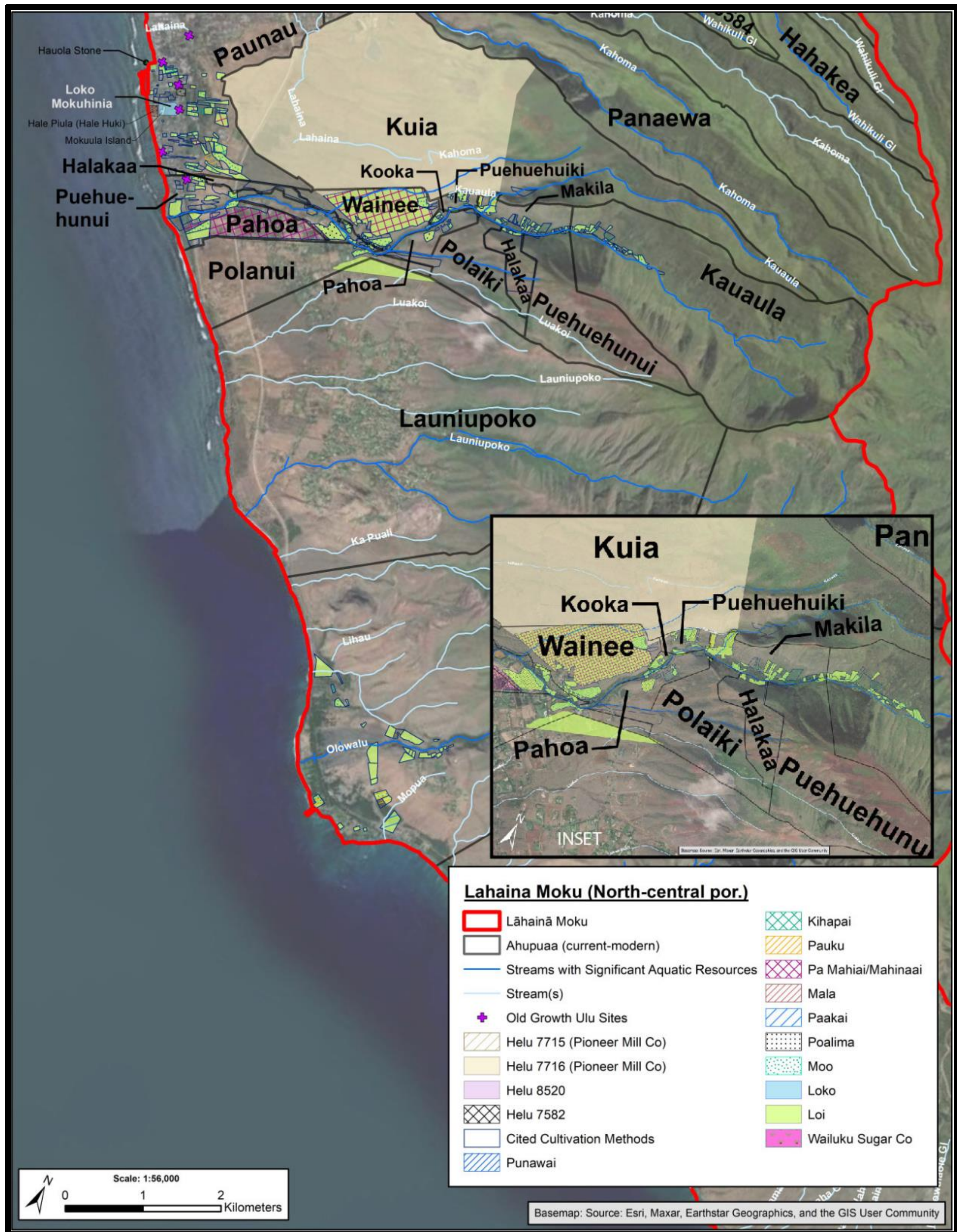

Figure 2. Biocultural Map of North-Central Lahaina Moku (Honua Consulting)

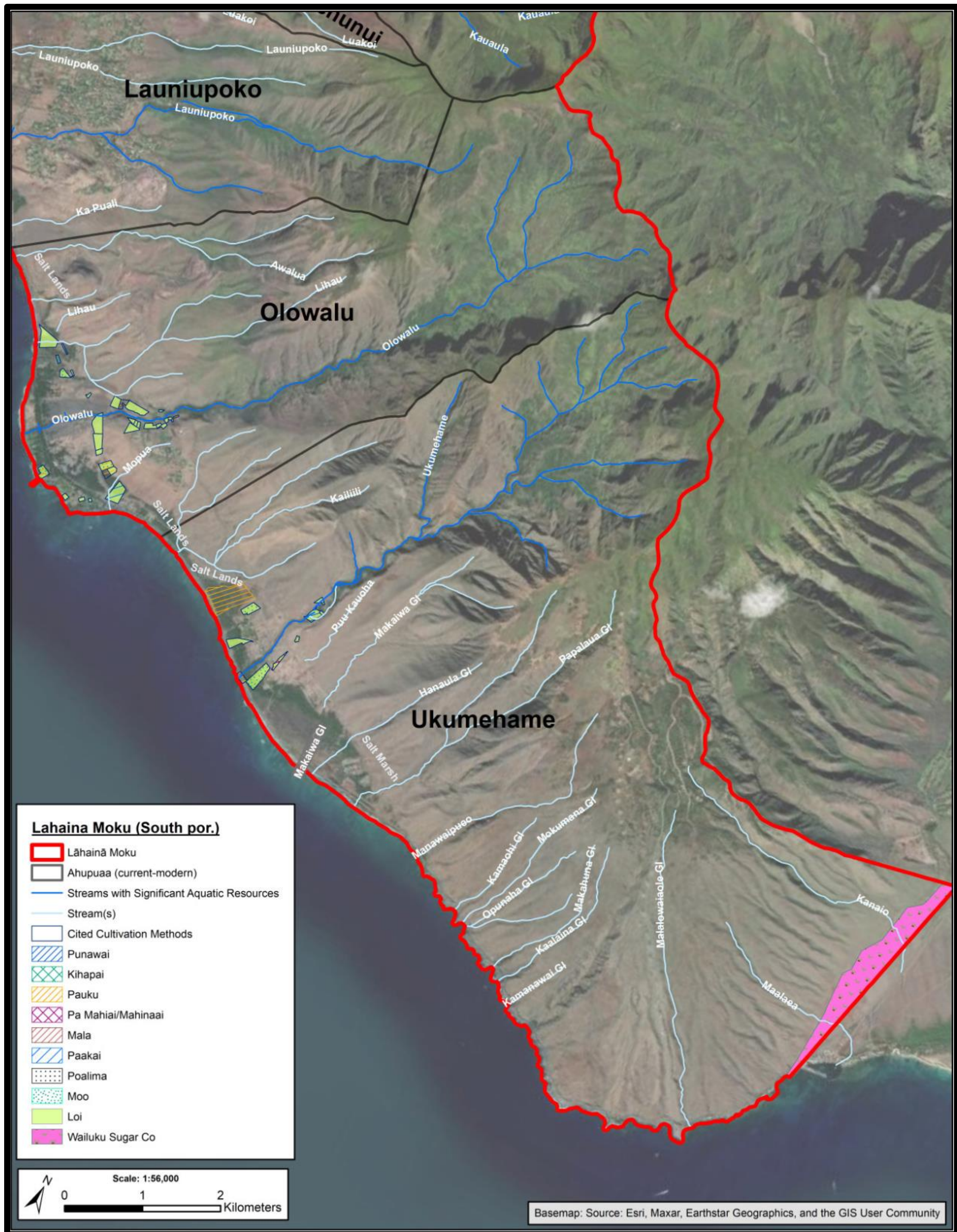

Figure 3. Biocultural Map of Southern Lahaina Moku (Honua Consulting)

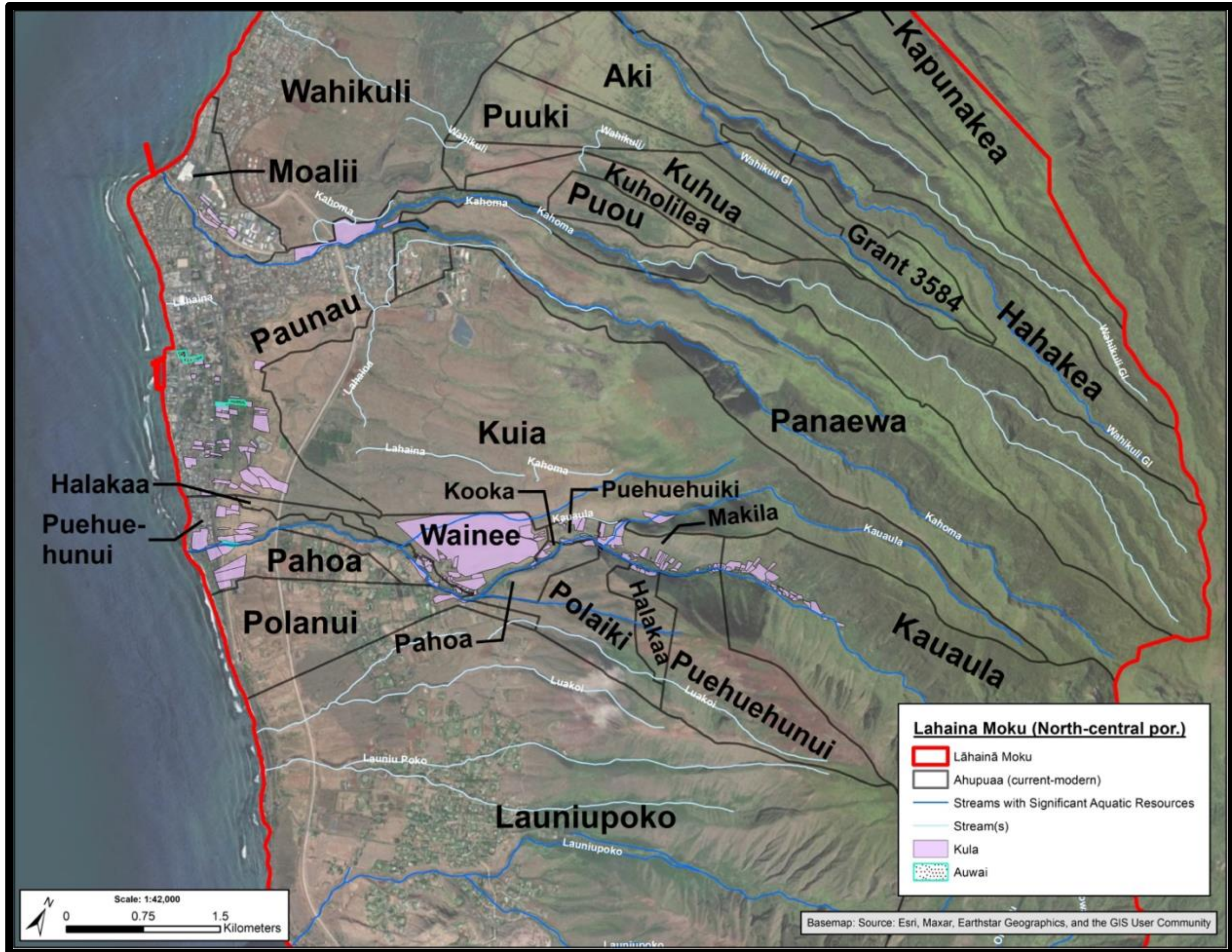

Figure 4. Kula/ʻAuwai Map of North-Central Lahaina Moku (Honua Consulting)

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Figure 5. Kula/ʻAuwai Map of Southern Lahaina Moku (Honua Consulting)

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3. Oral History Documentation

The Lahaina oral histories represent an invaluable record of the lived experiences, cultural practices, and historical transformations of the community. The voices of kūpuna and elder kamaʻāina (native born) are among the most precious resources handed down to us from our past. While the historical and archival records help us understand how we came to be where we are today, the voices of the kūpuna give life to history and demonstrate how practice and history are handed down and made. This collection, developed through extensive interviews with 82 participants, documents the voices of Lahaina's longtime kamaʻāina and descendants of Māhele/Kuleana awardees and informed the research for and foci of this study. Transcripts of the interviews are provided in their entirety in Appendix B.

These histories are a crucial resource for preserving Lahaina's legacy and serve as a foundation for ongoing efforts to rebuild the community with cultural integrity and historical awareness. Interviewees ranged in age from their 40s to 80s and included representatives of families with ties to kuleana lands of the Lahaina region and individuals who had worked in various facets of the region's plantation and ranching operations.

3.1 Key Themes and Topics Covered in the Oral Histories

Oral histories serve as an essential tool for recording knowledge not captured in written documents. The Lahaina collection offers critical insights into traditional land management, fishing, agriculture, community life, and spiritual practices. A primary goal of these oral histories is to inform and influence decision-making processes for Lahaina's restoration. The interviews emphasize the importance of wahi pana (storied places), cultural preservation, and biocultural stewardship, revealing how generations of families have shaped Lahaina's identity and future.

3.1.1 Traditional Land and Water Management

Many interviewees discussed Lahaina's sophisticated traditional land and water systems, which sustained agriculture and supported local communities for centuries. The oral histories emphasize the significance of ʻauwai and loʻi kalo (taro terraces), many of which were established under the rule of Chief Piʻilani in the 15th century. The ʻAuwai o Piʻilani, one of the most important water channels in West Maui, allowed water from the Kauaʻula Stream to nourish extensive loʻi kalo.

Keʻeaumoku Kapu and Keoki Freeland detailed the impact of plantation-era water diversions, which led to the drying of traditional taro fields and increased reliance on imported food sources. The decline of sustainable agriculture, they argue, made Lahaina

vulnerable to environmental degradation and contributed to the conditions that fueled the 2023 Maui Wildfires.

3.1.2 Fishing and Marine Practices

Fishing is central to Lahaina's identity, and interviewees shared deep knowledge of traditional fishing techniques and marine stewardship. Fea-B-Lei Kaleionālani Alcomindras spoke of her family's reliance on pāpio, ʻōʻio, and ʻāweoweo (various fish species) fishing, recalling how torch fishing was a common practice at Māla Wharf.

Another key discussion centered around loko iʻa (fishponds), which once provided an abundant food source for Lahaina's residents. Elmer K. Kaʻai Jr. emphasized the role of Olowalu and Kahoma loko iʻa, describing how his grandparents maintained these systems until their decline during the plantation era. The interviews underscore the need to restore loko iʻa and nearshore ecosystems to support food security and cultural revitalization.

3.1.3 Sacred Sites and Cultural Preservation

Many interviewees spoke passionately about the importance of Lahaina's sacred sites. Lehua Ii Kalepa shared her childhood memories of tending to Mokuʻula, an ancient royal residence that was once home to high chiefs. She described how her family took responsibility for maintaining Malu ʻUlu o Lele, a sacred breadfruit grove, and how restoration efforts should prioritize cultural values over commercial interests.

Similarly, Elmer K. Kaʻai Jr. discussed Puʻu Kīlea in Olowalu, a burial site of deep cultural and familial significance. He recalled how past generations protected these lands, stressing that future development must respect these sacred places.

3.1.4 Plantation-Era Development and Its Consequences

The shift from traditional agriculture to large-scale sugar plantations fundamentally altered Lahaina's landscape. Earle Kukahiko and Daryl Ken Mauliola Smythe Fujiwara detailed their families' experiences working for Pioneer Mill Company (1861–1999) and how its eventual closure led to economic instability.

One significant impact of the plantation era was the deterioration of traditional water systems. The diversion of streams for sugarcane irrigation contributed to the drying of lands that had once sustained kalo cultivation and loko iʻa. As a result, many families lost their ability to engage in traditional farming and had to seek wage labor elsewhere.

Interviewees also pointed to the increase in invasive grasses following the plantation closures, which created fire-prone landscapes. These changes, combined with

inadequate fire management, set the stage for the catastrophic 2023 Maui Wildfires that devastated Lahaina.

3.1.5 The 2023 Maui Wildfire: Loss and Resilience

Many participants shared their firsthand experiences of the 2023 wildfire disaster. Fea-B-Lei Kaleionālani Alcomindras spoke about losing her home and cultural artifacts, including the Moʻolele canoe, a symbol of Hawaiian voyaging traditions.

Lehua Ii Kalepa and Lillian Kalepa Suter described how families were displaced and forced into temporary housing on the mainland. They criticized the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) handling of the crisis, highlighting how many displaced residents struggled to navigate the bureaucratic obstacles that prevented them from returning home.

Despite the devastation, interviewees expressed hope for Lahaina's future. Keʻeaumoku Kapu emphasized the importance of community-led rebuilding efforts, ensuring that local voices dictate how Lahaina is restored rather than outside developers.

3.1.6 Community Life and Shared Traditions

Many interviewees reminisced about Lahaina's tight-knit community and the traditions that fostered strong social bonds. Scotty Rickard and Kīʻope Raymond spoke about growing up in Lahaina, playing baseball at Kamehameha III Elementary School, and fishing at Māla Wharf. They described a time when neighbors supported one another, shared food, and raised children collectively.

A common theme was the role of music and hula in preserving cultural identity. Shayne Kahahane shared how hula was central to Lahaina's social life, with performances held regularly at Banyan Court Park and the old Armory Hall.

Interviewees also recalled how Lahaina's Portuguese, Filipino, and Japanese communities played an integral role in shaping the town's culture. Archie Kalepa described how these immigrant communities introduced unique customs while blending with Native Hawaiian traditions, fostering a multicultural identity that defines Lahaina.

3.1.7 The Future of Lahaina: Cultural and Environmental Restoration

A major theme in the oral histories is the importance of protecting Lahaina's cultural and environmental legacy. Many interviewees called for a moratorium on commercial development, fearing that corporate interests would erase Lahaina's cultural identity.

Elmer K. Ka‘ai Jr. and Na‘ālehu Anthony discussed the need for historically accurate restoration projects, ensuring that any reconstruction of Lahaina includes traditional architecture and landscapes. They emphasized the role of genealogical research in informing land use decisions, advocating for local families to reclaim kuleana lands that were historically theirs.

Interviewees also stressed the need for climate-resilient planning, incorporating firebreaks, water conservation, and traditional agricultural practices to mitigate future disasters.

The Lahaina oral histories offer an unparalleled record of the town’s cultural, historical, and environmental transformation. These narratives provide critical insights for policymakers, historians, and cultural practitioners, ensuring that future restoration efforts prioritize community voices, traditional knowledge, and sustainable practices.

By honoring and preserving these voices, Lahaina can ensure that its history, traditions, and values remain at the heart of its future. These oral histories are more than just documentation—they are a blueprint for rebuilding Lahaina with cultural integrity, historical awareness, and resilience.

Table 1. Listing of All Oral History Participants (Listed in Alphabetical Order by Last Name)

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Feadora Alcomindras (Fea-B-Lei)	N/A	Part 1	• Cultural traditions and preserving heritages for the next generation • Canoe building traditions influenced by her brother, Keola Sequeira, who built the Mo‘olele canoe • Hula and mele traditions • Fishing and carving traditions • Kaua‘ula and her ‘ohana (family) overcoming two fires (2018 and 2023) • Kamehameha Schools Kapālama and being a boarder while living in Lahaina
Anonymous	N/A	Part 1	• Biocultural landscape—makai to mauka—of Lahaina • Loss of traditional land rights and its impact on Native Hawaiian families in Lahaina • Dispossession of Kuleana lands • Enduring mana (spiritual power) of sacred places like Moku‘ula and Mokuhinia

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Anonymous (cont.)			• Fishing, farming (loʻi kalo), and stewardship of ʻāina (land): personal stories of heʻe (octopus) diving, familial connections to ʻaumakua (guardian spirits), and traditional resource management that were deeply tied to specific places in Lahaina • Oral histories in keeping traditions and family knowledge alive • Moʻokūauhau (genealogy)
Lawerence Cabanilla (Uncle Lawrence)	Kekoa Mowat	Part 1	• Plantation life at Waineʻe Plantation Camp • Stories about growing up in Lahaina • Preservation of historical and sacred sites
Lawerence Cabanilla (Uncle Lawrence)	N/A	Part 1	• Preservation of historical and sacred sites • Memories of plantation life • Cultural preservation
Walter Chihara	Monica Chihara	Part 1	• Lahaina community relations • Preservation of historical and sacred sites • Stories of Lahaina
Aileen Reiko Kawaguchi Cockett	N/A	Part 1	• Memories of her family and growing up in Lahaina • Lahaina Hongwanji • Stories related to her family's fish market business
Lance Collins	N/A	Part 1	• Background and connection to Lahaina as a lawyer and cultural advocate • Contributions to preserving and documenting Hawaiian cultural practices • Water rights • Cultural preservation through mele • Cultural connection Obon tradition • Advocacy of Hawaiian and Environmental Justice
Laurie DeGama	N/A	Part 1	• Personal connections to Lahaina and stories as a longtime resident • Lahaina's transformation through the years • Cultural preservation of historical and sacred sites
Abner Kauwēkāne DeLima	N/A	Part 1	• Mākena and its traditional practices • Lahainaluna High School and boarding life • Lahaina and Mākena changes over time

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Pamela Laura DeMello-Silva (Pam Silva)	Diane Delos Reyes	Part 1	• Personal stories and deep connections to Lahaina dating back to Sugar Plantation Era • Transformation of Lahaina over the years • Preserving the cultural integrity of Lahaina • Preservation of historical landmarks • Lahaina ʻohana community • Holy Innocents Church • Puʻukoliʻi Camp
Hailama Vance Kihapiʻilani Kenichi Farden (Hailama Farden)	N/A	Part 1	• Puamana • Farden ʻOhana • How cultural practices tied his generational ʻohana in Lahaina • Hula, mele, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language), genealogy, kuleana • Stories relating to Farden ʻOhana and Haole Camp • Preservation of his ʻohana legacy • Cultural preservation of historical and sacred places • Hawaiian Civic Club
Puanani Neizman Felicilda (Auntie Puanani)	N/A	Part 1	• Family connection to Lahaina • Stories of family relationships and tight knit community • Community involvement • Cultural preservation of Mokuʻula and Wetlands
Keoki Freeland	Denby Freeland	Part 1	• George Freeland's establishment of Pioneer Inn • Childhood growing up in Lahaina • Lahaina Restoration Foundation • Pioneer Mill / Save Smokestack • Protecting Lahaina's sacred sites • Kamehameha III School
Daryl Ken Mauliola Smythe Fujiwara	N/A	Part 1	• Lahaina Hawaiian Civic Club • Deep Lahaina connection • Hula, mele, oli • Kamehameha Day Parade, Banyan Tree Events, Festivals of Aloha, Uncle Richard Hoʻopiʻi Falsetto Contest • Preservation and perpetuation of Hawaiian cultural traditions

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Glenn Gazmen	N/A	Part 1	• Growing up in Lahaina • Impact of tourism in Lahaina and how this has changed the community from the plantation era to the present • Preserving Lahaina's deeper cultural and historical aspects • Restoring Moku'ula • Water issues • Nā Kūpuna O Lahaina
Grace U'ilani Kekona Gomes (Auntie Grace)	N/A	Part 1	• Life in Plantations Camps • Honolua Camp • Kamehameha Schools • Cultural practices, especially fishing and agriculture • 'Ohana coming from Kahakuloa, Hawai'i and being a mahi 'ai (farmer) • Lahaina's future • Water issues • Mele and songwriting • Education and cultural preservation
Leslie Hiraga	Connie Sutherland	Part 1	• Lahaina relationships and community involvement in conservation and preservation • Lahaina Town Action Committee, Lahaina Restoration Foundation • Lahainaluna Highschool, Hale Pa'i, Lahainaluna Archives • Protecting historical sites for the next generation • Lahaina's shift from plantation era to tourism and the displacement of locals
Leslia Hiraga	Ralph Yanagawa	Part 1	• Lahainaluna High School: the function, creation, and boarding life • Vocational and agricultural programs at Lahainaluna and their role in the Community and Bordering Department • Hale Pa'i, the Hawaiian Language newspapers, and printing press • History of the large district of Ku'ia and Pu'u Pa'upa'u • Historical accounts of the formation of. Lahainaluna

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Leslie Hiraga (cont.)	Ralph Yanagawa (cont.)		• Missionaries' arrival and role at Lahainaluna • Water issues and ʻauwai • Mission Cemetery • Davida Malo • Preservation and archives
Reverend Ai Hironaka	N/A	Part 1	• Lahaina Hongwanji Mission and the impact of the 2023 Maui Wildfires • Japanese immigrant families • Role in the community and how that has changed from the plantation days to the present • Resiliency
Lehua Kalepa Iʻi	Lillian Kalepa Suter	Part 2	• History and stories of Lahaina from a kupuna with long generational ties • Mokuʻula and preservation of Malu ʻUlu O Lele for future generations • Stories of the tight knit family community for which Lahaina is known • Lahaina's future after the 2023 wildfires
Elmer K. Kaʻai Jr. (Studio interview)	N/A	Part 2	• Olowalu and its connection to his ʻohana, moʻokūʻauhau, and wahi pana • The sacred importance of Olowalu Valley and Puʻu Kīlea • Olowalu's connection to Lahaina and the people • Community drive restoration for Lahaina and its cultural landmarks • Preservation of cultural and historical sites
Elmer K. Kaʻai Jr. (Olowalu Huakaʻi)	N/A	Part 2	• Olowalu as a puʻuhonua (sanctuary) and how this area has changed since the introduction of the sugar plantation • Olowalu cultural practices and water issues • Moʻokūʻauhau and kuleana • Preservation of burial sites • Olowalu's natural ecosystem
Shayne Kahahane	N/A	Part 2	• Generational ties to Lahaina • Lahaina's infrastructure and neglect in relation to the 2018 and 2023 fires • Lahaina's future after the fire • Preservation of cultural sites and rebuilding Lahaina for the next generation • Cultural healing

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Tamalani Kaleleiki (Tama)	N/A	Part 2	• Pelekikena (President) of Nā Kia‘i o Waine‘e, the cemetery committee of Waiola Church • Stories and memories of his ‘ohana’s deep roots in Lahaina • His ‘ohana’s commitment to cultural preservation, exemplified by their stewardship of royal tombs at Waiola Church • Importance of preserving Lahaina’s identity in the face of modern development • Lahaina’s rebuild prioritizing local values, cultural landmarks like Mokuhinia, and the royal tombs at Waiola Church • Diversified economy other than tourism • Stories of Lahaina traditional and cultural practices
Archie Kalepa	N/A	Part 2	• Hōkūle‘a • Deep rooted connection to Lahaina as a lineal and multigenerational descendant • Water issues revolving Lahaina and Kahoma, including all the cultural Hawaiian practices of this place and his role to revive them • Family stories Moku‘ula • Lahaina cultural and environmental balance • Restoration of water systems and ecosystems • Cultural preservation and community involvement
Dallas Kalepa	Lillian Paaoao Kalepa Suter	Part 2	• Lahaina stories and growing up at Haole Camp • Fishing practices • Growing up on Front Street • Wahikuli Homestead • Farming practices • Lahaina’s sense of community • Iwi kūpuna (ancestral remains) and Kuleana
June Sylva Kalepa	N/A	Part 2	• Olowalu and Lahaina connections • Cultural practices, fishing practices, and families’ roles • ‘Ulu poi

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Viki Kaluna Palafox (Auntie Viki)	Group Huakaʻi Interview	Part 2	• Deep connections to Lahaina • Lahaina cultural significance to wahi pana and cultural sites like Mokuʻula • Waineʻe Cemetery • Wetlands of Lahaina • Development and how that changed environmental and overall interiority of the town • Protection of sacred burial sites and cultural landmarks • Ancestral knowledge and genealogical ties to prominent aliʻi
Viki Kaluna Palafox at Makenewa Ukumehame (Mākua Viki)	Tommy Palafox	Part 2	• Personal stories and experiences towards practices of the work to steward the biocultural landscape in Ukumehame, Olowalu, and the larger district of Lahaina • Stories of multigenerational relationship to kupuna and ancestral lands in Lahaina and Molokaʻi • Pule (prayer) and oli practices • Water and ʻauwai practices in Ukumehame and how that reflects to the larger district of Lahaina • Being raised under forced assimilation • Their journey on being advocates of social justice and restoration of cultural identity, beliefs, practices, and tradition; how this pilina (connection) to place and ʻāina is so important • Ancestral knowledge • Ukumehame locations of loʻi kalo, iwi kūpuna, heiau and other cultural landmarks within the ahupuaʻa • Stewardship of ancestral lands in Ukumehame and Lahaina • Maps and historical documents
Carolyn Waikun K. Kam	Stephany Maielua-Sepulveda	Part 2	• Stories of growing up in Lahaina, changes to Lahaina's environment, landscape, and weather • Water flow after the sugarcane industry • Preservation of the Hawaiian Language • Lahaina's futures after the wildfires

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Carolyn Waikun K. Kam (cont.)	Stephany Maielua-Sepulveda (cont.)		• Restoration and preservation for future generations • Tight knit community of Lahaina • Fishing and farming practices • Hop Wo Store and the role their family played in this along Front Street • Stephany’s family Kuleana land near Prison • Preservation of sacred deities like Mokuʻula and Waiola Church
Glenn Kamaka	N/A	Part 2	• Lineal descendant of Lahaina who shares rich personal experience and deep cultural knowledge of West Maui • Modern changes of the environment • Personal impact of the 2023 Maui Wildfires, future of the town rooted in respect for the natural resources • Restoration of natural water systems • Respect for traditional Hawaiian resource management • Restoring cultural and historical integrity, protection of iwi kūpuna • Need for cultural education and literacy • Honokahua and growing up during the plantation camp era • Kahana Door Faith Connections • Loʻi kalo and fishing practices in Honokōhau • Connections to Kahakuloa and the greater Kāʻanapali Moku, and how his family ties to Lahaina and expands through all of Maui • Heʻe nalu (surfing) practices in these wahi pana • Water issues and ʻauwai practices
Keʻeaumoku Kapu	Huakaʻi with bus of kūpuna	Part 2	• Nā Kūpuna O Lahaina • Nā ʻAikāne O Maui • Moku of Lahaina and its biocultural landscape • Lahaina as a living ahupuaʻa • Advocates for promoting preservation and education • Leader of land rights and restoration of kuleana rights • Community activism

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Keʻeaumoku Kapu (cont.)			• Program for cultural monitoring • Loko Mokuhinia, Mokuʻula and Loko Luaʻehu as the piko (the very core, umbilical) of the sacred landscape of Lahaina • A cultural corridor from the Mokuhinia-Mokuʻula Complex, crossing Halekamani, Pakalaā , the Kingdom Courthouse, and the Chiefly loʻi kalo (Apukaiao) and Pā Pelekāne-Hauola is seen as an important action for the future of Lahaina • Loss of biocultural sustainability, native lands, water resources, and access • Past and ongoing desecration of sacred sites and family ilina (burials) • The importance of restoring water to the natural and early ʻauwai systems • The regular occurrence of fires across Lahaina as a result of the failure to restore natural water flow after closure of the plantation in 1999.
Gordon Kekahuna	Pastor Kathy Kekahuna	Part 2	• Stories of childhood upbringing in Kīhei and Puʻunēnē, and how they settled in Lahaina • King Kamehameha III School • Cultural preservation, family values, faith especially after the 2023 Maui Wildfires. • Changes to Lahaina landscapes and challenges with post-fire recovery • Rebuilding of Lahaina that brings honor to its people • The importance of teaching the younger generation about Hawaiian culture, language, and history • Living at Villages at Leiʻaliʻi Hawaiian Homes, being displaced after the wildfire • Dealing with ongoing recovery issues such as insurance delays and property damage • Need for Lahaina to be rebuilt with a focus on its people, culture, and history, rather than prioritizing tourism and commercial development • Restoring historic sites like Mokuʻula

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Keaweiwi (Kimokeo)-Kekahuna ʻOhana Speakers: • Foster Ampong • Michelle Hoopii Ampong • Iaukea Ampong • Brenda Arcangel • Mike Arcangel • Anica Hussey • Marvin Hussey • Kamaile Kimokeo • Ualani Hussey Kimokeo • Donna Madrid	N/A	Part 2	• ʻOhana has deep ties to Lahaina and shared stories of their ancestral lands, family traditions, and cultural heritage to this place • Protection of wahi pana like Mokuʻula, Waiola Church, and burial sites tied to their genealogy. • Effects of the plantation and the negative impacts on Lahaina's historical and cultural corridor • Family gathering and cultural knowledge passed down through the generations • Māhele lands in Lahaina • Protection of ʻiwi kūpuna • Kahoma and Kanahā Valley and the roles their ʻohana plays in this area • Fishing, limu, and other cultural practices
Kalapana Kollars	Group Huakaʻi	Part 2	• History and knowledge of Lahaina and the role of the Lahaina Restoration Foundation • The Kamehameha Line • Preservation of wahi pana and mea koehana (artifactual treasures) of Lahaina
Earle Ray Kukahiko (Uncle Earle)	Group Huakaʻi	Part 2	• Na Kūpuna o Lahaina leader shares his longtime connection to Lahaina and reflects on this history and cultural significance of the many historical sites • Preservation of Waiola Church and significance of this place as a wahi pana that his dad was the Reverend of and members of for many years

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Earle Ray Kukahiko (cont.)			• Preserving what is left amongst modern devolvement • Role of Moku'ula in Lahaina, along with its historical loko i'a and restoration. • Plantation role played in changing and impacting the traditional and cultural practices of Lahaina. • Advocate for education of the future of Lahaina after the fire and preserving Lahaina's biocultural landscape. • Preservation of Lahaina iwi kūpuna and protection of burial sites • Community involvement and facilitator that mobilizes everyone for decision making • Prioritizing Lahaina's natural resources for the future
Tanya Lee-Greig	N/A	Part 3	• 'Āina Archaeology provides a comprehensive look at the cultural and archaeological significance of Lahaina and its historical and archaeological sites • Lahaina's cultural and historical significance, from its traditional Hawaiian landscapes and burial sites to post-contact development and restoration opportunities • Historic sites and artifacts of the area • Kamehameha III recent finding of iwi kūpuna • Restoration of significant sites like Moku'ula and Mokuhinia while balancing modern development and cultural preservation • How post-fire archaeological efforts are revealing Lahaina's forgotten past
Toddy Liliko'i (Auntie Toddy)	N/A	Part 3	• Life in Lahaina since moving there in 1980 • Her husband Eddie Liliko'i's musical legacy • Mele Hawai'i, hula, oli, Hawaiian immersion, and cultural identity of Sheraton Lū'au • Deep connection through many community activities and fundraising efforts • Navigating life after the 2023 Maui Wildfires living in Hawaiian Homes Leiali'i • Community bonds and family traditions in Lahaina that makes the town unique • Kobe Japanese Steakhouse Karaoke

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Toddy Liliko‘i (cont.)			• Passing down of ancestral knowledge and its importance for the next generation to carry forth the kuleana
Roselle Flora Keliihonipua Lindsey-Bailey (Roselle Bailey)	N/A	Part 3	• Early hula training with Aunty Emma and the legacy of Lahaina’s hula traditions • Front Street and her ‘ohana house in Haole Camp • Generational family ties to Lahaina • Parents Pua and Ned Lindsey • Fishing practices, family traditions, and cultural traditions • Genealogy practices done at the family home • Life growing up with deep roots in Lahaina and connections to storied and sacred places • Spiritual connections her family maintained with Lahaina’s land and ocean • Preservation of sacred sites like Moku‘ula and Waiola Church • Her family’s participation in traditional practices, such as fishing with barracudas at Māla • Restoration efforts that prioritize Lahaina’s cultural and historical heritage • Farming practices in Kaua‘ula and families that lived there • Life in Lahaina when the Plantation era began; changes and transition with the introduction of tourism • Holy Innocence Church • Lahaina families and genealogies • Going to school at Lahainaluna in the 50’s - 60’s and what life was like in Lahaina during that time and at that school
Cathreen Theodora Ralar Lum Lung (Cathy Ralar)	Jareth Lum Lung	Part 3	• Issues associated with the loss of stream flow leading to water scarcity • Lahainaluna High School stories • Concerns about the impact of development and tourism on their community and the importance of preserving their Hawaiian culture and land resources

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Cathreen Theodora Ralar Lum Lung (cont.)	Jareth Lum Lung (cont.)		• Experiences with the plantation system and mismanagement of public trust resources that led to the occurrence of fires across the landscape • Preservation of historical and cultural landmarks and preserving Lahaina historic and sacred sites like Mokuʻula and Mokuhinia Pond • Future restoration efforts prioritizing cultural and environmental integrity • Stories of water diversion for plantations and tourism, leading to the drying up of streams and the loss of ecosystems like limu beds and fishponds • Importance of community-led initiatives to shape Lahaina's recovery and future development • Providing access to responders who immediately moved into action to provide relief to the family of Lahaina, creating a distribution hub on the shore fronting the ancestral land • Ancestral kuleana land in Honokahua, Honokōhau, and Kahakuloa; farming practices • Kahana Door of Faith Church and Establishment of Smith Estate • Malu ʻ Ulu o Lele • Surviving the tidal of April 1, 1946
Linda Nahina Magalianes	Group Huakaʻi	Part 3	• Deep connection to Lahaina, personal history and intimate knowledge of the community's cultural landmarks and traditions • Memories of growing up near significant sites like Waiola Church and the Pioneer Mill • Preserving historical integrity and broader efforts to maintain Lahaina's cultural heritage • Stories of childhood, such as playing near historical landmarks and participating in community activities, painting a vivid picture

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Linda Nahina Magalianes (cont.)			of Lahaina's vibrant and interconnected community life • 2023 Maui Wildfire and advocating for preserving Lahaina's cultural integrity for future generations that honors its past • Preservation of sacred and historical sites like Moku'ula, Waiola Church and Cemetery • The close-knit Lahaina community where families lived near each other and participated in shared traditions
Kepā Maly during Nā Kūpuna Huaka'i	N/A	Part 3	• Collective effort to restore Lahaina's cultural, historical, and environmental significance after the 2023 Maui Wildfires • Importance of integrating traditional knowledge into recovery plans while respecting the spiritual and historical value of sites like Moku'ula, Mokuhinia, and Waiola Church • Preservation of Lahaina's biocultural landscapes, such as wetlands and loko i'a, which are seen as vital to both environmental sustainability and cultural identity • The systemic neglect of Lahaina's native history in favor of tourism-focused narratives, underscoring the need for community-driven restoration to reclaim the town's Hawaiian heritage and ensure that it serves as a cultural corridor for future generations • Ensuring local voices guide Lahaina's restoration • Re-framing of Lahaina's historical narrative, advocating for education that reflects its Hawaiian Kingdom history rather than the dominant tourism-driven whaling narratives • Incorporating Hawaiian protocols, such as daily pule for workers, into restoration efforts • Water issues and neglect of iwi kūpuna
Watters O. Martin, Jr.	N/A	Part 3	• Family's deep-rooted history in Lahaina, generational connections, land stewardship, and cultural changes witnessed over the years

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Watters O. Martin, Jr. (cont.)			• Haole Camp and growing up on Front Street • Family business and Furtado Buildings in Commercial district after the 2023 Maui Wildfires • The impacts of historical developments, the decline of agricultural traditions, and the increasing commercialization of Lahaina • His family's enduring ties to Lahaina, dating back to the Māhele era • Stories related to his kuleana lands, farming practices, and kalo cultivation in Honokōwai • The importance of allowing families like his to rebuild and preserve their legacy • Sugarcane plantations shaping Lahaina's economy and landscape until its decline, leading to increased commercial development and a loss of cultural balance • Tourism and its effects on water and Hawaiian sites and burials • Rebuilding Lahaina in a way that honors its cultural history and local families • Restoring Mokuʻula and natural ponds
Jen Kamahoʻi Mather	Torie Hoʻopiʻi	Part 3	• Reflect on the cultural, historical, and personal significance of Lahaina, sharing their deep ties to the town and its community • The importance of preserving Lahaina's legacy while addressing the challenges posed by modern development and the devastation of the 2023 Maui Wildfires • Torie discusses her family's presence and contributions to the town's history, including her connection to Hawaiian music through her father-in-law, Richard Hoʻopiʻi • Jen highlights her work with Waiola Church and efforts in emergency management, particularly in response to natural disasters that have affected Lahaina • Community resilience and opportunities to redefine and restore Lahaina in ways that honor its cultural and historical roots • Preserving Lahaina's landmarks and cultural traditions, such as Waiola Church

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Jen Kamahoʻi Mather (cont.)	Torie Hoʻopiʻi (cont.)		and Cemetery, and the broader legacy of the town's Hawaiian and multicultural heritage • Criticism of past preservation efforts that prioritized colonial-era structures over Hawaiian sites, emphasizing the need to integrate Lahaina's pre-contact and Kingdom-era history into future restoration projects • Traditional Hawaiian names and practices tied to Lahaina's landscape • Lahaina's history of natural disasters • Lahaina resiliency and the community's strong sense of unity and mutual support during these crises • Work with other agencies • Revitalizing biocultural landscapes, restoring natural features like streams, and integrating traditional practices to create a more balanced, sustainable, and culturally aligned vision of Lahaina • Sacred Hearts School/Bazaar, Catholicism, and life in Lahaina • Māla, Canoe Club, and life at Lahainaluna • Hula traditions, Richard Hoʻopiʻi Falsetto Contest, Aloha Week Festivals, Kamehameha Day Parade, Waiola Church, Bailey House Museum
Craig Murakami	N/A	Part 3	• Lahainaluna Boarders Association • Growing up in Maui, spending summers in Kaupo and Keʻanae, and attending Lahainaluna High School as a boarder from 1967 to 1971. • Sense of community, agricultural and boarding traditions of Lahainaluna, and the evolving landscape of Lahaina over the decade • Lahainaluna's agricultural programs, the transformation of Lahaina from a plantation town to a tourist hub, and deep connection to the school and the people of Lahaina

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Craig Murakami (cont.)			• Life in Lahaina during sugarcane plantation era decline and tourism rise • History and geography of Lahaina • The agricultural legacy of Lahainaluna and daily operations of what the boarding department and life of a boarder entailed back then compared to now and how things have changed within in the school and also within the community of Lahaina • The role of Lahainaluna boarding traditions, such as maintaining the iconic "L" on the mountain and paying tribute to David Malo • Kaupo and Ke'anae relation to cultural practices and 'ohana
Tamara Paltin	N/A	Part 3	• Connections to Lahaina through family ties and the rich cultural traditions of her husband's lineage, 'Ohana Keahi • Historical fishing practices of Māla, including the story of Jacob the barracuda, a legendary figure in Lahaina's 'ōpelu fishing culture • Impacts of development on traditional fishing grounds and local livelihoods, particularly the devastation caused by jet ski platforms on fish populations • Restoring Lahaina's authentic cultural identity, advocating for the revitalization of sacred sites • Lahaina's future rebuilt with resilience, cultural authenticity, and community-focused priorities; recognizes the challenges of balancing modern development with the preservation of traditional spaces and practices • Sustainable water management in West Maui • Affordable Housing and Post-Fire Recovery for families
Kī'ope Raymond	N/A	Part 3	• Interview held completely in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i • Retired Hawaiian Language Professor, Historian, and Program Director with Maui

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Kīʻope Raymond (cont.)			College, founder of ʻAha Punana Leo O Maui • Familial and cultural ties to Lahaina growing up at Haole Camp, exploring its history, transformation, and cultural significance • Growing up amidst the town's rich cultural landscape, from the bustling plantation era to its gradual transition into a tourist-driven economy • Lahaina's historical landmarks, such as Mokuʻula and the surrounding wetlands • Impact of the 2023 Maui Wildfires and the subsequent opportunity it presents for restoration and revitalization rooted in cultural and environmental sustainability • Cultural heritage, sustainable water use, and the thoughtful restoration of Lahaina's historic and natural landscapes • Role of community-driven decision-making in determining the town's future; over-reliance on tourism • Restoring Lahaina's biocultural landscapes, preserving its unique identity, and addressing systemic issues, such as water rights and the prioritization of local needs • Issue of water management and its central role in Lahaina's history and future
Scotty Rickard	Group Huakaʻi	Part 3	• Historical importance of Lahaina's infrastructure, including its early water systems • Seamen's Hospital archaeological discoveries and plantation-era features that shaped Lahaina's identity • Impact of modern development on Lahaina's cultural sites, advocating for their careful preservation during restoration efforts • Connections and shared experiences that made Lahaina unique and includes the close community feel • Impact of the 2023 Maui Wildfires; rebuilding with respect for its historical and cultural significance

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Scotty Rickard (cont.)			• Knowledge of iwi kūpuna • Preservation of cultural sacred sites • Traditional practices like diving for coins at the harbor and participating in plantation-era activities, illustrating the deep connections among residents • Old stores and restaurants in Lahaina Town
ʻĀnela Rosa (Kahu ʻĀnela)	N/A	Part 3	• Personal relationship to the former Kahu Earl “Chief” Kukahiko and how his legacy groomed and shaped her life as a minister • Family legacy in Lahaina and her evolving role as a spiritual and community leader • Aftermath of the 2023 Maui Wildfires, which destroyed a large area of Lahaina, including Waiola Church • Challenges of homelessness in the community, the importance of the Hawaiian language, and the need for proper stewardship of the land and water resources • Listening to the younger generation who have done their research and can guide the community in the right direction • Significance of the ʻulu tree in the history of Lahaina; suggests the removal of the banyan tree, replacing it with ʻulu and other native plants which belong on the landscape • Historical significance of Waiola Church, its connections to the royal lineage, and the cemetery's role as a sacred space • Prioritizing residents first before the church building • Rebuilding in a culturally sensitive manner
Stanley Solamillo	N/A	Part 3	• Lahaina’s historical and cultural architecture during the site visit through the town • Preserving Lahaina’s heritage, highlighting structures with historical significance • Interconnectedness of Lahaina’s plantation-era infrastructure, its historical residential patterns, and its relationship to Hawaiian sacred sites like Mokuʻula

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Stanley Solamillo (cont.)			• Protecting buildings representing Lahaina's plantation-era heritage, need for adaptive reuse to maintain their historical integrity. • Evolution of Lahaina from a Hawaiian Kingdom capital to a plantation town and its impact on residential and commercial architecture • Incorporating historical and cultural elements into rebuilding efforts • First-hand knowledge of house on the National Historic Register and who built them • Puamana and Pioneer Mill
Kalikolehua Kahunanui-Storer (Kaliko Storer)	N/A	Part 3	• Life and experiences in Lahaina, family's connection to Hawaiian culture, and the resilience of the Lahaina community • Preservation of Lahaina's cultural legacy • Role in the aftermath of the 2023 Maui Wildfires, emphasizing community solidarity and the importance of cultural stewardship in rebuilding efforts • Connection to the Leialiʻi Hawaiian Homesteads, which provided a safe haven during the fire • Childhood experiences at Mokuʻula • Work with Akoni Akana at Friends of Mokuʻula • Mokuʻula history and the cultural and historical significance of this sacred site, including archaeological findings like the port and loko iʻa • Efforts to organize relief, protect resources, and preserve cultural practices • ʻOhana ties to her mother, Makalapua Kanuha, and culture advocacy work over the years in Lahaina • Ties to Maui and moʻokūʻauhau • Puʻu Kukui Water Shed • Kūpuna that are at the summit of Mauna Kahālāwai

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Lillian Kalepa Suter	Group Huakaʻi	Part 3	• Connection to Lahaina, childhood experiences, family's legacy, and cultural richness of the town • Generational family of Lahaina originally of Front Street Haole Camp • Preserving cultural practices and historical sites like Waiola Church, the wetlands near Mokuʻula, and royal tombs • Prioritizing the preservation of Lahaina's historical and cultural legacy, ensuring sacred places remain central to the community's identity • Fishing trips, bonfires, and the communal sharing of resources • Future for Lahaina respecting its historical roots, incorporating sustainable practices, and reconnecting the community to its cultural and natural heritage • Balancing cultural preservation with practical rebuilding efforts
Dan Kaula Thompson	N/A	Part 3	• Personal and familial history, deep-rooted connections to Lahaina, and reflections on its cultural and historical evolution • Family's multicultural background, weaving Hawaiian, Japanese, and local traditions • Growing up in Lahaina during the 1960s and 1970s • Impact of the 2023 Maui Wildfires on Lahaina's landscape and cultural heritage • Lahaina Hongwanji temple activities, influence in Obon culture, Maria Lanakila, and Catholicism • Hawaiian mele and the Maria Lanakila Church Choir • Cultural blending that defines Lahaina's community • Preservation of family graves and the rich cultural practices tied to both Buddhist and Hawaiian spiritualities • Rebuilding that prioritizes cultural integrity and community values

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Dan Kaula Thompson (cont.)			• Restoring the natural flow of water to Moku'ula and preserving traditional practices and narratives • Lahainaluna High School and Boarders Chorus
Joyce Wada	Gregg Wada	Part 3	• Recollection of life in Lahaina, with a focus on the sense of community, plantation life, and cultural traditions • Joyce's upbringing in Lahaina, the challenges faced by her family as laborers in the sugar plantations, and the simplicity of life during her youth • Waihe'e Camp (Lahaina Pump Camp), Joyce's childhood, and Filipino traditions. • Gregg's Lahainaluna boarding life and traditions • Japanese culture and Judo • The 2023 Maui Wildfires: vision for recovery that honors the town's cultural heritage and emphasizes open spaces and community-centered rebuilding efforts • Tight-knit community dynamics in Lahaina and plantation camps, fostering multicultural exchanges despite socioeconomic challenges • Parents' hard work, the importance of education, and the values instilled by family traditions, including gardening and cooking • Loss of cultural practices, such as Filipino and Japanese traditions, due to assimilation pressures and their personal efforts to reconnect with these heritages later in life • The role of Pioneer Mill in Lahaina during their childhood • Lahainaluna School, school life, and the community as a whole
Ralph Yanagawa	Bus Huaka'i	Part 3	• Lifelong connection to Lahaina, significance of the town's cultural and historical landmarks, and the community's efforts to preserve them • Maintaining Lahaina's sacred sites, such as Waiola Church and its cemetery, where ali'i

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Ralph Yanagawa (cont.)			and significant community members are honored • Thoughtful restoration that respects burial sites, integrates cultural practices, and honors Lahaina's spiritual heritage • Restoring Lahaina in the aftermath of the 2023 Maui Wildfires, particularly the challenges posed by modern regulations • Importance of sustainability, urging Lahaina to move away from its dependence on tourism and embrace diversified economic opportunities that honor its historical roots • Na Kūpuna O Lahaina
Ralph Yanagawa	Leslie Hiraga	Part 3	• History of establishing Lahainaluna, its subsequent operations, how it relates to Lahaina • See interview from Leslie Hiraga (Part 1) • Provided key historical insights into Lahainaluna High School during the site visit, focusing on the campus's cultural and educational legacy. • Historical significance of Lahainaluna's structures, including the school's cemetery and the role of the ʻauwai in sustaining agricultural and hydroelectric initiatives on campus • Experiences growing up in Lahaina and the impact of the school's boarding program • Preserving the school's historical assets while adapting them for future use • Orientation to Lahainaluna Campus from the front of Hale Paʻi • History of Hale Paʻi and its role in printing the first newspapers in the island • The importance of ʻAuwai o Wao through the campus and the change in water through the ʻauwai over time. • The ʻauwai system, which once brought water from the Kahoma Valley to Lahainaluna's campus, supported agricultural activities and powered a

Name (Alternate Name)	Interview With	Appendix B Location	General Topics of Discussion
Ralph Yanagawa (cont.)	Leslie Hiraga (cont.)		hydroelectric generator in the late 19th century • Missions Cemetery • Restoration of facilities like the time clock building, which represents the historical connection between the school's boarding tradition and its practical, hands-on approach to education • Davida Malo, his role at Lahainaluna, and Puʻu Paʻupaʻu
Susan Yap	Penny Wakida	Part 3	• Cultural and historical essence of Lahaina, personal connections to the town, and its evolution over the decades • Lahaina's tight-knit, multigenerational community • Iconic landmarks like Front Street, Lahainaluna High School, and the Pioneer Mill Smokestack • Working at Lahainaluna High School, its unique boarding program, agricultural roots, and school traditions that make the town of Lahaina unique • Fishing traditions to plantation-era camps, the town's identity has been shaped by the Hawaiian, Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese families who lived and worked together • Empowering younger generations to carry forward Lahaina's legacy. • Both women moved to Lahaina in the 60's and see the impact of the end of the plantation to the rise of tourism on this small community and how the multicultural community changed even within the school • Penny's relation to the famous Wakida family of Lahaina • Susan's work at Lahainaluna as Dorm Matron

4. Ethnographic History of Lahaina

The history of Lahaina is woven from intricate social, political, and environmental relationships, each deeply grounded in Hawaiian traditions and beliefs that would later integrate a multitude of cultures as the population changed following foreign contact. Known in antiquity as Lele, Lahaina was more than a thriving center of daily life; it was a piko—a vital, central connection point for governance, spirituality, and resource management across the Hawaiian Islands. The land and its waiwai of resources were managed through the ahupuaʻa system, a sophisticated network of land divisions and resource stewardship that exemplified the interdependence of people and environment.

Lahaina's fertile fields were fed by the abundant freshwater streams descending from Mauna Kahālāwai, supporting extensive loʻi kalo that provided food for large communities. This abundance extended to the nearshore fisheries, where traditional practices such as koʻa (fishing shrines) and the management of marine resources ensured sustainability for generations. These systems reflected a worldview in which aloha ʻāina—the love and care for the land—was paramount, creating a reciprocal relationship between the people and the environment that sustained them.

Politically, Lahaina was a place of power and leadership long before the arrival of Western explorers. It was the seat of Maui's aliʻi nui (high chiefs), including the esteemed Piʻilani line, whose influence extended throughout the island chain. During the unification of Hawaiʻi under King Kamehameha I in the late 18th century, Lahaina became a central hub, embodying the convergence of traditional governance and the new political realities of a unified kingdom. By the 19th century, Lahaina rose to prominence as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom under Kamehameha III, Kauikeauoli, further solidifying its role as a political and cultural nexus.

Lahaina was renowned for its fertile lands, abundant freshwater resources, and its position along a strategic coastline that provided sustenance and connection. Central to its cultural and spiritual significance is the sacred island of Mokuʻula and the surrounding Mokuhinia fishpond. Mokuʻula served as the royal residence for high-ranking aliʻi of Hawaiʻi, embodying a place where political leadership, spiritual stewardship, and natural abundance converged. The physical and spiritual landscapes of Mokuʻula symbolize the interconnectedness of leadership, environmental stewardship, and cultural identity.

Lahaina's transformation in the 19th century was heavily influenced by the arrival of Westerners, particularly Christian missionaries. Lahaina established itself as a center for missionary activity in the islands. The introduction of Christianity had a deep impact on Hawaiian society, leading to the decline of traditional religious practices and the eventual

dismantling of the kapu system that once governed Hawaiian society. The missionaries worked closely with Hawaiian royalty, particularly Queen Kaʻahumanu and Kamehameha III, to promote Christian values and social reforms. In Lahaina, churches were built and the town was a focal point for the spread of Christianity across the islands.

One of the most significant events in Lahaina's 19th-century history was the Māhele ʻĀina of 1848, a land redistribution process that fundamentally changed the way land was owned and used in Hawaiʻi. Land ownership and tenure was a foreign, introduced concept that was significantly different from the Hawaiian system of land stewardship. By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was undergoing radical changes and the foundation for implementing the Māhele was established. This change in land tenure was promoted by the missionaries who had arrived in the 1820s amid a growing Western population and increasing business interests in the island kingdom. A detailed history of Lahaina land ownership can be explored in Appendix A. An in-depth analysis of these land documents was conducted, and a comprehensive dataset of land uses, with important biocultural resources, provided as Appendix C.

In the mid-19th century, Lahaina emerged as a key port in the Pacific whaling industry. The whaling industry had significant economic benefits for Lahaina and the broader Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiian merchants supplied the whalers with food, water, and other necessities, while local craftspeople found employment repairing ships and providing services to sailors. The influx of foreign currency and goods from whaling ships contributed to the growth of a cash economy, replacing the traditional barter system. Lahaina became a center for trade, connecting Hawaiʻi with the global economy through its interactions with whalers and foreign merchants.

As the landscape transitioned into an era of large-scale sugar production in the mid-19th century, commercial interests facilitated the arrival of immigrant laborers from across the globe. These immigrant communities, each shaped by their own histories and cultural identities, contributed immeasurably to the evolution of Lahaina. Today, these immigrant cultures have been integrated into the fabric of life in Lahaina, creating a richly layered cultural landscape. Festivals and celebrations of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino origin continue to be enjoyed in Lahaina by both the descendants of the original immigrants as well as the native community. This rich history is preserved through Lahaina's people and their cultural traditions, which are discussed throughout this section.

4.1 Nā Waiwai o Lāhainā

In Hawaiian culture, wai (water) holds a profound significance that extends far beyond its physical properties. Wai is the foundation of life itself, sustaining the ʻāina, the kānaka (people), and the ecosystems that thrive within these islands. The prominence of wai in

Hawaiian language and thought reflects its essential role in shaping the physical, spiritual, and communal well-being of society.

The connection between wai and the reduplicative word waiwai, a term for wealth or abundance, encapsulates a deeply rooted Hawaiian worldview. Linguistically, reduplication involves repeating all or part of a base word to alter its meaning or to highlight a particular quality or intensity (Alexander, 1864, p. 25). In many cases, this repetition adds depth, continuity, or plurality to the original concept. The duplicated form may carry meanings that emphasize abundance, frequency, intensification, or a quality of being widespread. In this perspective, wai and waiwai are inseparable, as true prosperity is gained from the health, abundance, and careful stewardship of natural resources. The wealth of a community is measured not by material accumulation but by the vitality of the land and water systems that sustain all life.

Lahaina's spiritual and natural wealth is profoundly rooted in its diverse landscapes and rich cultural history, making it one of the most significant places in Hawaiʻi. As referenced above, Lahaina was renowned for its fertile lands, abundant freshwater resources, and its position along a strategic coastline that provided sustenance and connection. Central to its cultural and spiritual significance is the sacred island of Mokuʻula and the surrounding Mokuhinia fishpond.

Mokuʻula served as the royal residence for high-ranking aliʻi of Hawaiʻi, embodying a place where political leadership, spiritual stewardship, and natural abundance converged. The island is also deeply tied to the moʻo (lizard), Kihawahine, a deity associated with freshwater, family lineage, and protection. This connection highlights the Hawaiian understanding of the ʻāina as sacred and integral to life. The physical and spiritual landscapes of Mokuʻula symbolize the interconnectedness of leadership, environmental stewardship, and cultural identity. These sacred sites remind us of Lahaina's role as a center of governance and spirituality in ancient times and as a place where traditions of the past continue to shape our understanding of community and responsibility today.

Lahaina's natural abundance—its fertile lands, freshwater resources, and access to the sea—sustained the Native Hawaiian people for generations and became a magnet for others. By the mid-19th century, as the landscape transitioned into an era of large-scale sugar production, commercial interests facilitated the arrival of immigrant laborers from across the globe. These individuals and their families, drawn by opportunity and necessity, wove their own traditions into the existing fabric of life in Lahaina, creating a richly layered cultural landscape.

Among the first to arrive were Chinese immigrants, whose skills in agriculture and commerce complemented the plantation economy and supported the broader community. Their spiritual practices, embodied in the construction of the Wo Hing Temple, reflect a deep respect for place and a willingness to integrate with the surrounding Hawaiian environment. This blending of traditions created shared spaces of cultural and spiritual significance.

Japanese immigrants, who followed in subsequent decades, brought with them a reverence for the natural world, seen clearly in the establishment of the Lahaina Jodo Mission. Perched near the coastline, this Buddhist temple represents an understanding of harmony between land and sea that resonates deeply with Hawaiian values of balance and stewardship.

Portuguese, Filipino, and Latino immigrants also arrived in Lahaina, bringing with them cultural and spiritual traditions that added to the community's diversity. Catholicism found expression through institutions like Maria Lanakila Catholic Church, which became a spiritual and social center for these communities, fostering connections that extended beyond ethnic boundaries while remaining deeply rooted in Lahaina's natural abundance.

These immigrant communities, each shaped by their own histories and cultural identities, contributed immeasurably to the evolution of Lahaina. While their labor fueled the economic demands of the plantation system, their traditions reflected a shared reliance on and respect for Lahaina's natural and spiritual resources. Together with the kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians), these groups created a multicultural tapestry, tied intimately to the wealth of the land and the enduring values of aloha ʻāina.

Lahaina's continuing waiwai, therefore, lies not only in its land and waters but also in the spiritual diversity that each culture has contributed. This blending of faiths and traditions, rooted in the land's natural abundance, has created a town rich in history and multicultural harmony, a testament to Lahaina's enduring significance.

4.2 Geography and Environmental Setting

The Hawaiian Ridge, made up of seamounts, banks, and islands that created the Hawaiian Islands, includes more than 107 individual volcanoes in a 1,600-mile chain that ages in progression from the youngest, and still active, volcanoes closest to the hot-spot at the southeastern end to the 80-million-year-old northwestern end (Clague & Dalrymple, 1994, p. 5). At the southeastern part of the chain, the eight principal Hawaiian Islands are the most recent in what can be visualized as a conveyor belt of explosive volcanic eruptions, collapses, and erosion that have persisted for millennia. The resultant high islands that are now present have only been exposed for a fraction of the time that it took

to create the Hawaiian Ridge, with the oldest exposed lava on Mauna Kea dating to about 250,000 years ago and eruptions continuing up until the present at Kīlauea, both of which are located on the youngest island, Hawaiʻi (Juvik, 1998, p. 45).

Encompassing nearly 728 square miles, Maui is geographically significant as the second largest island in the Hawaiian Island chain (Stearns & MacDonald, 1942). The island consists of two major shield volcanoes, the younger and dormant East Maui Volcano, Haleakalā, which rises to 10,023 feet, and the older West Maui Volcano, referred to in various ways as Mauna Kahālāwai, Mauna ʻEʻeka, and the West Maui Mountains. This extinct volcano has "numerous cones, domes, dikes, flows, and pyroclastic deposits of mugearite, hawaiite, and trachyte… and a few vents and flows located near Lahaina" (Juvik, 1998, p. 43). At its peak, it reaches 5,788 feet at the summit of Puʻu Kukui, which is the third rainiest place in the Hawaiian chain (Stearns & MacDonald, 1942, p. 32).

The moku of Lahaina is situated on the western, leeward coast of Maui, stretching from the ahupuaʻa of Ukumehame which shares a border with Pūʻali Komohana moku at the southeast to the leina a ka ʻuhane of Puʻu Kekaʻa within the Kāʻanapali region at the start of the moku by the same name to the north (See Figures 1-5). Within this large moku is the kalana (district smaller than a moku) of Lahaina, which is bounded geographically on the west by the fringing reef, known as Kapapalimuāpiʻilani, the mountain peak Puʻu Paʻupaʻu to the east, Mala to the north and Puamana to the south.

The climate of Maui is characterized by consistently mild temperatures and the presence of a northwesterly wind known as the moaʻe (tradewind), which prevails year-round. Forced orographically up the windward slopes of West Maui, the moist, warm moaʻe result in consistent rainfall at Puʻu Kukui (Cheng, 2014, p. 5), resulting in a monthly average rain fall of 169.46 mm at the top of the watershed (Giambelluca et al., 2013). This rainfall at Puʻu Kukui does not reflect in the leeward coastal areas of Lahaina where the average monthly rainfall drops to 6.3 mm (Giambelluca et al., 2013). However, the rain that does persist in the upward slopes of the watershed has supported a variety of historical agricultural activities which continues into contemporary times.

The district is nourished by water from Mauna Kahālāwai and Puʻu Kukui, allowing for the construction of extensive irrigation systems, or ʻauwai, which fed numerous loʻi kalo. These ʻauwai were not simply functional, but were part of the spiritual relationship between the people and the land, reflecting the interdependence of natural resources and the Hawaiian belief in the honua ola (living biocultural landscape).

One of the defining features of Lahaina's land division was its system of ahupuaʻa, which were often non-contiguous and spread across different elevations. Unlike the typical

ahupuaʻa that extended from the mountains to the sea in a single continuous block, the ahupuaʻa in Lahaina often included multiple smaller detached parcels, or lele (Maly & Maly, 2007, p. iii). This allowed for continual access to different types of resources throughout the year, optimizing the agricultural potential of the land. The lele configuration was particularly important in Lahaina due to its relatively arid coastal climate compared to the wetter areas inland.

4.3 Traditional History of Lahaina: A Cultural-Historical Context

In Hawaiian tradition, geography and all forms of the natural environment are understood as a genealogical extension of the akua (gods) and thus form the foundation of both cultural and ecological relationships. The islands themselves, beginning with Hawaiʻi Island, are described in chants and oral histories as the offspring of Wākea (the expanse of the sky, the father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands-the mother). Maui, the second-born of these islands, emerges within this cosmogony as a sibling in a sacred lineage of landforms. Hawaiian creation stories also connect the akua to the genesis of kalo (taro), the first-born child Hā-loa-naka-lau-kapalili (long stalk, quaking and trembling leaf), who was buried and from whose body grew the first taro plant (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The second child of this coupling, also named Hāloa, is recognized as the ancestor of the Hawaiian people, binding humans, land, and food sources in a profound kinship (Malo, 1951, p. 3, pp. 242-243; Beckwith, 1970; Pukui & Korn, 1973). This worldview emphasizes reciprocal stewardship—what Hawaiians term aloha ʻāina—which shaped systems of land use and resource management.

From a scientific and geographic perspective, settlement patterns across the Hawaiian Islands align with the availability of water and fertile land, reflecting the symbiotic relationship between culture and environment. Early Polynesian voyagers, navigating vast ocean expanses, settled initially along the koʻolau (windward) coasts, where abundant rainfall and flowing streams supported agriculture and subsistence fishing. These regions, enriched by nutrient-bearing waters, allowed for the development of loko iʻa and extensive loʻi kalo, ensuring sustainable food production. Archaeological evidence supports these accounts, pointing to the Marquesas and Society Islands as ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian people, with migrations continuing for centuries (Tatar, 1982, pp. 16-18).

As population density increased in the koʻolau regions, expansion into the kona (leeward) areas, such as Lahaina, became necessary. While drier than their windward counterparts, these kona lands provided access to sheltered coves, fertile upland forests, and marine resources, enabling the establishment of thriving communities. In Lahaina, freshwater springs and streams descending from Mauna Kahālāwai nourished both agriculture and spiritual life, linking the district's productivity to its sacred essence. The cosmogonic

connection between wai, waiwai, and life imbued these landscapes with both ecological and spiritual significance.

These interconnected systems of land and sea, governance and spirituality, and kinship and stewardship further bind genealogical ties to the land, embedded in the stories of Wākea, Papa, and Hāloa, and provide not only a spiritual framework but also a pragmatic basis for sustainable resource management. This understanding persists today, with modern ecological and archaeological studies affirming the ingenuity of ancient Hawaiians in adapting to diverse environmental conditions while maintaining a harmonious relationship with their natural world. Lahaina, as a significant kona district, serves as a living testament to these practices, where geography and the cosmogonic worldview remain inseparable.

Many of the practices discussed herein continue in Lahaina. While time and the influence of settlers and their cultures have forced many of these activities to adapt to changing times and circumstances, the origins of this practice remain rooted in traditional Hawaiian history. The history of Hawaiians is a living one that works in tandem with a dynamic culture that continues to this day.

4.3.1 The Naming of Lāhainā/Lahaina

Often translated in historic resources as "cruel sun," the name Lāhainā is rooted in Hawaiian traditions and stories tied to the area's cultural and environmental history. Anciently, the district was also referred to as Lele, emphasizing its significance as a thriving center of agriculture, governance, and spirituality in pre-contact Hawaiʻi. Various interpretations of the place name have emerged over time, reflecting narratives such as those recorded by James Keola and others, which attribute the name to the intense heat of the region:

> ***Mid-Pacific Magazine***
> **Old Lahaina**
>
> Less than a century ago, Lahaina was the second important town in Hawaii… the subject of this article is Lahaina, that fair old royal historical town lying at the base of Lihau range and on the western shores of the Island of Maui…
>
> A big battle was fought in the hills back of Lahaina between rival Maui chiefs in 1738, and the bones of the slain were later pointed out to the missionaries and others, who used to make trips to Wailuku across the mountains through the Olowalu Pass. In those days of rough traveling, the women were borne on the backs of sturdy native mountaineers, sometimes in *kokos* or nets. Kamehameha-

nui (not the conqueror) was then reigning over Maui. He was succeeded by Kahekili, who later ruled over Oahu.

Origin of Name.

Lahaina is said to have received its name from *La*, the sun, and *haina*, merciless. A bald-headed chief who lived at Kauaula Valley, while going to and fro without a hat, felt annoyed at the effects of the scorching rays of the burning sun. He looked up and gazed into the heavens and cursed at the sun thus: "*He keu hoi keia o ka la haina!*" (What an unmerciful sun!) But the sun, unmindful of his protestations, kept on throwing its radiant beams on his hairless head, while the condemnation of the erratic and eccentric chief was being circulated around until the town became known as the seat of the merciless sun, Lahaina—the home of the ungrateful, which, however, is not true of that most hospitable town.

In 1776 King Kalaniopuu of Hawaii sent a fleet of canoes to conquer Maui, but King Kahekili thwarted Kalaniopuu's idle dream by defeating the Hawaii army at Kakanilua, the sandhills lying between the town of Wailuku and the great Puunene Mill. It was a hand-to-hand fight, and the Maui warriors showed their superiority in the use of heavy spears by almost annihilating the flowers of Hawaii's crack regiment. Kalaniopuu died in 1782, and Kamehameha came to the throne of Keawe after defeating rival chieftains… (Keola, 1915, pp. 569-571)

The Friend

Sketches of Lahaina

Looking backward to a century ago, what was the picture revealed to those who first arrived in Lahaina from other lands? It was that of a small village stretching for miles along a level, sandy coast. The stately coconut palms had found their home there. It is supposed that the natives first brought and planted the seeds during their wanderings from the southern seas, or islands. There too, could be seen the broad, spreading breadfruit trees, the bananas, and guavas, rows of sugar cane, here and there a fish pond, and on some sides dry vegetation... The many thatched homes of the people, added to the picturesqueness of the scene.

Probably there is no portion of our Valley Isle, around which gathers so much historic value as Lahaina. It was the former capital and favorite residence of kings and chiefs. Even the great warrior, Kamehameha the Great, spent some of his time there. In 1796 he consecrated numerous heiaus (or heathen temples) with the usual rites and human sacrifices. Others may be mentioned. Kaahumanu the favorite queen of Kamehameha I, her birth place being in Hana, Maui. Keopuolani,

wife of Kamehameha I, though born in Wailuku, was a resident of Lahaina. Her mother's family had long governed Maui.

How Lahaina was Named–Tradition

It is of interest to know what the word Lahaina means and how it came to be called this. I will give in full Mr. Pogue's article on this subject.

One Version

Hawaiian tradition tells us that the first human residents of these islands came from Kahiki. Whether by the word Kahiki it is meant they came from Tahiti of the Society Islands, is a question, inasmuch as the word Kahiki was used in early days for anything foreign, as for instance, the Hawaiians said plover migrated to Kahiki to have their young; Irish potatoes are called uala–Kahiki or (foreign potatoes); pineapples are called hala–Kahiki or (foreign pandanus, or screwpine), the pineapple having somewhat a similar leaf to the pandanus. Assuming then, that the word Kahiki was used as a general expression for any foreign country, we can better understand the word Lahaina. The first human came to Maui from Kahiki through the channel between Lanai and Kahoolawe, landing somewhere between Launiupoko and Kekaa. Many years later they named the channel Ke-ala-i-kahiki, meaning the road, lane, or trail to, not from, Kahiki. After landing at or near Lahaina, these immigrants made many voyages from time to time to what to them were foreign lands, or Kahiki, and telling the beauties and advantages of Maui in general, and the locality from which they came, in other words, "Advertised Lands." They always left from, and returned to, Lahaina, passing out through the above named channel but not always returning by that channel. When returning they always brought with them immigrants, goods, etc.

One day the king, or chief, called his people together to counsel as to a name for the land of their adoption. Finally the council decided to call their new home Lahaina (La-ha-aina) because from there the land was advertised (hoo-laha-ia-ka-aina) which by contracting the phrase would spell Lahaina. Laha-aina, two words, which if further contracted, would spell Lahaina, the present name.

Another Version

The population of the district of Lahaina in the very early days mostly spread out between Kekaa and Kahakuloa. There was one king or chief who governed all the land between Uku-me-ha-me and Honokahau. This king lived at or near Kekaa in the locality of Kaanapali. He was known as the chief of the "Red Feet" because the people of this place had red feet, discolored by the red dust of that region. In the valley of Ka-u-wa-ula there was a settlement of farmers, so one day this chief of

> the Red Feet and his subjects visited the valley of Ka-u-wa-ula, starting in the forenoon from Kaanapali, passing through the present town of Lahaina, then only a hamlet, unnamed (there were no names in those days). He started up from Lau-niu-poko for the valley of Ka-u-wa-ula a little after noon. When half way there it was early afternoon, the hottest part of the day. The heat was even worse that afternoon than usual. The chief stopped beside a large rock and wiping the perspiration from his brow exclaimed, "Keu-keia-ka-la-haina." "What a hot day," which to make one word of two spells Lahaina.
> From W. F. Pogue.
> June 7, 1920. (Turner, 1922, p. 270)

"Lāhainā" reflects the interplay between the natural environment and the cultural identity of the place, drawing from its etymology rooted in the Hawaiian words "lā" (sun) and "hainā" (merciless). This interpretation, supported by the moʻolelo offered above by Keola of a chief scorched by the relentless sun, emphasizes the intense heat that defines the area. The inclusion of kahakō in "Lāhainā" ensures the precise pronunciation of long vowels, preserving the specific meaning of the name and honoring the language's phonetic integrity.

However, many kūpuna and kamaʻāina from the area have traditionally used the name without kahakō, as "Lahaina." Oral testimonies, including one by Kīʻope Raymond[3], indicate that the pronunciation "Lāhainā" is not commonly heard from native speakers or residents of the area. Furthermore, some consider the spelling "Lāhainā" to be an archaic form, as noted in linguistic studies and historical references. This perspective suggests that while "Lāhainā" aligns with efforts to restore linguistic precision, the community's longstanding usage of "Lahaina" carries its own cultural validity.

Although Cody Pueo Pata (2022, p. xvi) recognizes that renowned Hawaiian historian, Mary Kawena Pukui, did not use diacritics in her work when she referred to Lahaina, Pukui (1950) did, in *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi*, "...commence using diacritical marks and hyphens in the spelling of certain words in order to make pronunciation and derivation clear. But [was] not systematic" (p. xviii). The non-standardized usage and depiction of words thereby influenced generations of those who were language displaced, and it can be posited that the recent reintroduction of "Lāhainā" aligns with broader Hawaiian language revitalization initiatives. These initiatives seek to preserve traditional, contextual meanings and restore lost linguistic elements that rely on our ancestors' understandings and intent rather than rewriting history or even creating new history based on what could be derived from each literal word. Linguists emphasize

[3] Please see Appendix B for the full transcript of the oral history conducted by Kepā Maly with Kīʻope Raymond.

the importance of using diacritics as tools to safeguard the cultural and phonetic depth of Hawaiian place names. In this context, "Lāhainā" ensures that the name conveys its meaning documented in historic sources of "merciless sun" and prevents misinterpretations that might arise from leaving the word unmarked.

Kīʻope Raymond, in personal correspondence, pointed out the absence of diacritics in "Lahaina" has historically been used by mānaleo (native speakers) and kūpuna, and he wondered about the validity and authenticity of the moʻolelo offered by Keola in 1915. Without kahakō, the name can be parsed into meanings such as "the declaration of the sun" or "the shining confession," reflecting the adaptability and multiplicity of Hawaiian oral traditions. This flexibility, however, contrasts with efforts to anchor place names in their intended cultural and environmental contexts through the use of diacritical markers.

Ultimately, the perspective that "Lāhainā" is an archaic form, coupled with the community's enduring use of "Lahaina," underscores the complexity of honoring both linguistic tradition and local practice. This complexity contributes to the contemporaneous elevation of the dialogue around language, culture, and history, which is reminiscent of the discussions once found in Hawaiian language newspapers. The use of "Lāhainā" represents a deliberate act to align with historic resources, reconnecting the name to its documented origins, while the continued prevalence of "Lahaina" speaks to the lived experiences of the people who call the area home. Together, these variations reflect the resilience of a name that holds profound meaning for generations past, present, and future.

4.3.2 "Ka Moolelo o ke Kulanakauhale o Lahaina" (The History of Lahaina Town)

In 1898, two Hawaiian language newspapers – *Ka Lei Rose o Hawaii* and *Ka Malamalama o Hawaii* – were introduced to Hawaiian readers. The luna hoʻoponopono (editor) of the papers was Robert Hoapili K. Baker, who was of chiefly lineage and was also in the Privy Council of King Kalākaua. Baker was also a known confidant of King Kalākaua and had served as the governor of Maui in the 1880s. He shared strong ties with Lahaina, and Baker's relatives continue to live in Lahaina. The periodicals covered native history, current events, and offered commentary on what, at the time, was an effort by foreign annexationists to have the Hawaiian Islands annexed to the United States. During the short publication period of these newspapers (June to September 1898), Judge Daniel Kahaulelio (1835-1907), who was born and raised in Lahaina, graduated from Lahainaluna, and was a noted historian of Lahaina (i.e., documenting traditions, native customs, and practices of the region), submitted an unfinished series, titled "Ka Moolelo o ke Kulanakauhale o Lahaina."

Following the overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani on January 17, 1893, participants in deposing of the Hawaiian Monarch and undermining the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi's self-determination initiated a series of actions that culminated in the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States in August 1898. Among the new laws passed by the foreign leaders of the Provisional Government and Republic of Hawaiʻi, were efforts to quiet Hawaiian voices and control the published narratives.

In 1894, the promoters of annexation hosted a "Constitutional Convention" and subsequently enacted laws that imposed conditions on individuals seeking to hold government positions or vote on future governance. All government officials appointed or elected (Hawaiian and non-Hawaiians alike) were required to sign an "oath of allegiance" to the Republic of Hawaiʻi to keep their jobs. These government positions included judges, law enforcement officers, voter and election officials, and cantoneers (road crews).

The 1894 oath states:

> "I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii; and will not, either directly or indirectly, encourage or assist in the restoration or establishment of a Monarchical form of Government in the Hawaiian Islands." (Promulgated July 4, 1894:51[4])

While Robert Hoapili Baker and Judge Daniel Kahaulelio were among those who signed an oath, we would suggest that it was a means of self-preservation and maintaining a Native Hawaiian presence in the new government.

In 1896, S. B. Dole and his associates passed Act 57, Section 30, which established a law that "The English language shall be the medium and bases of instruction in all public and private schools..." (S. B. Dole, Approved June 8, 1896, p. 189[5]). In addition to the professions named above, public school teachers and administrators employed by the Republic of Hawaiʻi were also required to sign the "oath of allegiance." By mandating this oath for teachers and implementing Act 57, the Republic was able to exert control over educational institutions and the medium of knowledge transfer. This policy disrupted the intergenerational transmission of language and cultural knowledge (ʻohana communication from kūpuna to moʻopuna (grandchild, descendant)), directly contributing to the erosion of the Hawaiian language and the loss of traditional knowledge.

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4 "Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii Promulgated July 4th, A. D. 1894."

5 "Laws of the Republic of Hawaii Passed by the Legislature at its Session, 1896." (Hawaiian Gazette Company's Print).

The papers *Ka Lei Rose o Hawaii* and *Ka Malamalama o Hawaii* were both shut down due to their association with outspoken and well-connected Hawaiians. As a result, Kahaulelio's series, "Ka Moolelo o ke Kulanakauhale o Lahaina" was left incomplete in written form. We have transcribed the Hawaiian texts written by Judge Kahaulelio and provide translations of notable sections that describe Lahaina, highlighting its wahi pana and the richness of its biocultural landscape. His story provides a Hawaiian worldview of the legacy landscape, which differs greatly from the narrative promoted by the new government, Western settlers, and economic interests. The revised version of history diminished and marginalized a thousand years of Hawaiian residency in the region, replacing it with a revisionist narrative that has largely dominated until recent times. The following are the translations by Kepā and Onaona Maly of the primary texts by Kahaulelio (1898):

June 1, 1898 (page 10)

1. The nature and appearance of the town of Lahaina. **2.** The primary area where people reside. **3.** The chiefs born of the land. **4.** The lower chiefs. **5.** The influential and wide people of the land. **6.** The people of the land who reside in the town in the peace of Lele, beginning from A.D. 1820 to the year which is moving forward. Some of the main work done on the land.

Mr. Editor of the Lei Lose [Rose or Loke] o Hawaii—Aloha to you:—

Will you kindly let me make known the nature of Lahaina Town, a place where beauty and sweet fragrance reside, the Queen of the town in the famous Islands of Hawaii; surrounded by beauty and majesty, exalted with the sweet fragrance.it is all in perfection, and you will find nothing to criticize. Thus, I will first describe the nature of the town of Lahaina from the Year 1820 and to this year (season of auhuhu-paina), 1898, that is advancing—Aloha to all of you.

About the town of Lahaina here, extending to the North west, to the coconut grove of Mala, which is the boundary. The coconut grove planted by the chief Kaleikoa, and lying to the South East the boundary at the large stone that Kaukuna thought he could move with his own strength from his place to a different place, but it was not so, and it was the dynamite that moved it scattering it like it was nothing.

Therefore, the actual length of the town of Lahaina, is like 3 miles, 2 ½ miles wide from the ocean reaching to where the house of Rev. Dibble, one of the teachers of Lahainaluna stood; also the beautiful wood house of L. Kapokahi, my friend, and also of the Editor of Ka Lei Rose o Hawaii. And by my reckoning, the circumference of the town of Lahaina is 10 miles. Lahaina is described by the words of the people

of old, for its nature as a Paradise of the Islands of Hawaii, in the time of its beauty and majesty where everyone gathers; and the saying which honor Lahaina from those days when its stature was as the sacred woman possessed of beauty and distinction.

1 – Huai ka ulu o Lele i ka malie. (The breadfruit are revealed in the calm of Lele)

2 – Eaha ana ka ulu kaulana o Lele e lohi nei? (What is it about the famous breadfruit of Lele which one hears about?)

3 – Ka pohu lai o Hauola, (The tranquil peace of Hauola)

4 – Ka ua paupili o Lahaina, (The paupili rain of Lahaina)

5 – Ke aheahe makani i ka maa-a i ka lai. (The gentle maa-a breeze in the calm)

Also, praised by the composers of chants, who honored Lahaina, as in this fragrant gardenia blossom:[6]

Halau Lahaina molale malu i ka ulu	Lahaina is like a longhouse spread out under the shade of the breadfruit trees
Malu ai ka pea laula o ka aina,	Sheltering the broad expanse of the land,
Kiekie Lahaina i ka ua paupili,	Lahaina is exalted in the paupili rains,[7]
Pili aloha Maunahoomaha me Kekaa,	Beloved are Maunahoomaha and Kekaa,
Auau i ka wai hoolana kino...	Bathed in the water which brings peace to one's body...

Pursuant to that which my father shared, being familiar with the foolishness of ancient times, they were dedicated to the games of puhenehene, konane, heenalu, holua maika, keʻa pua, hoolele lupe and other such things, and even after learning about the alphabet, and various things; they also desired the native hula and other pleasures, accompanied by the resonating voices. Thus, it was a thing greatly desired by the people of this town, from the chiefs to the commoners; along with other pleasurable things which were familiar but that have since been forgotten from that time.

[6] A poetical reference to the mele describing Lahaina.

[7] Paʻūpili is a famous rain associated with Lahaina, literally translated to "rain that moistens pili grass."

And so that it may be understood about the progress in this town on the branch of righteousness, it was Hoapili Kāne and Hoapili Wahine in discussion with the Prime Minister Kaahumanu and all the chiefs, that the fort was built as a means of protection from enemies; also in this period, the church of Wainee was also secured in the year of our Lord, 1828.[8]

Now let us return back to the stature of Lahaina in this section, the things pertaining to the needs of the people who have lived as in the stories told to me by my parents. My father first arrived here at Lahaina when he was a young man, only 19 years old; having come from Honuaula, simply to sight-see in this famous land of Lahaina filled with goodness and fertility.

June 15, 1898 (page 10)

When you personally saw the fertility (wealth) of the land, he got a house for friends and for the women. He quickly returned to Keoneoio, the place of his birth, and brought his father, older siblings, and his younger siblings, and all the family. There were 10 of them on the canoe, and they came to love as newcomers at the place where the Honorable Judge, D. Kahaulelio resides, at that place called Makila.[9]

They settled down and became people of this place in the Year 1824, 74 years now having passed. O my friends who are reading about Lahaina, the foremost fertile as I have heard, and make known to you, having seen with my eyes for more than 50 years. Here are things to know.

It is not three chains [198 feet] from the shore, where a great number of loi kalo are found from one boundary to the other of Lahaina. There were loi kalo growing in front of and behind the houses; there was also grown sugar cane, banana, mala of sweet potatoes, mala of yams, mala of introduced gourds, pumpkins, corn onions, cucumbers, pineapple, bean, tomatoes and other things, and the land was entirely shaded by breadfruit trees, groves of coconuts, native sugar canes of olden times and various types. In that time, the land was fertile and filled with all

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[8] On September 14, 1828 the corner stone of the first stone church in Hawaiʻi was laid in the area of the present church on Waineʻe Street. Although dedicated as Ebenezera (Ebenezer), it became known as Waineʻe Church. [Upon completion] The dedication was held March 4, 1832. This large church was about 115’ x 50’, with 2 floors and seated 3000 people. (https://www.waiolachurch.org/history).

[9] Land awarded under Helu 6209:2, to Kamohai who was the father of D. Kahaulelio. (*Nupepa Kuokoa* Oct. 4, 1907, p. 6) Award document states, “Claimant received this piece of land from Kaipo a little while after the death of Kamehameha I about the year 1820. He has lived on the place up to the present time. (Helu 6209. Nat. Test. 16:74)

the fruits-vegetables spoken of above. I have never heard, in the least, words that lament or speak of a famine in Lahaina, never...!

The Editor of this newspaper is one of the prominent children and native of the town, and we traveled together in the days of our youth with other prominent children of this land who have since passed on to the other side in the 40 years that have arisen since then. He [the editor] is one of the true witnesses of this, and the other old natives who live on the land. It is not only him, but also my elder and younger siblings, who entered the Kula Nui of Lahaina-luna from the Year A.D. 1840 to the year A.D. 1863, they are among the people who can confirm the fertile native the land around the town of Lahaina.

There are 2 things which make known to visitors the truth of this when they see the beauty and fertility of the land of Lahaina in that time that has passed. 1. There above the Store where fish are sold, adjoining the lighthouse, is a large loi kalo of the chiefs. Its name is Apukaiao. Then mauka of the tea drinking house is the loi kalo of the deceased King, Lunalilo, known by the name Loinui, which is perhaps the single largest loi kalo in Hawaii. There is also the loi kalo of the chiefess Lahilahi, which adjoining the area where the writer resides. Its size is like that of Apukaiao, situated only a few feet [short distance] from the shore, and at these loi kalo there are also found Amaama (young mullet), Anae (large mullet), Awa (milkfish), Aholehole (young *Kuhlia sandvicensis* fish), Oopu (*gobidae* fish) and Opae (shrimp) swimming in these extremely fertile loi kalo.

When the kalo is mature, one lights the imu, prepares the fish there at the front of the house. This is a very significant part of the town of Lahaina.

Not finished.

June 30, 1898 (page 7)

[Kahaulelio repeats his description of the royal loʻi kalo of Apukaiao, Loʻinui, and of Lahilahi, also listing the fish and preparation of foods.]

This is a very significant part of Lahaina town. 1—in the year 1830, the papu kaua (fort) was completed; 2—the kulanui of Lahainaluna was built in 1831; 3—it was at this time that many of the Missionaries landed in Hawaii; 4—this is the time that the Good Spirit was poured out upon the town and the chiefs and people turned to the righteousness of Jehovah the God who made heaven and earth.

Part 1. Making the Fort.

Establishing the forts, there was a chief of the land, Kalaikoa was his name, who was established as the Overseer of the fort, and this is the grandfather of the chief Albert Kunuiakea Kaleiopapa, on the side of his father, Kaeo, the husband of Lahilahi, younger sibling of Kekelaokalani, the mother of Kaleleonalani [Queen Emma], and also Unele (k) and my father as the men who kept the peace and also cared for the powder house and keeping the cannons clean.

From the establishing of the fort to setting the cannons in place, which was in 1830, the cannons were not used once, and their rumbling where never heard by the ears.

There at daybreak on the 12th day of Feb. 1837, was the first time that the rumbling, striking voices of the cannons were heard by those from one boundary to the other of Lahaina. For there on the royal ship, “Kai” was the body of Chiefess Nahienaena, the sister of Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III Kaleiopapa, as she was returned from the funeral observances.

At this place, o readers, there was made known to my father that he was to prepare and fire the cannons, and he left my mother and the wife of his companion, Unele, where they were. At the first sounding of the voices of the cannons which my father lighted, the voice resonated and caused my mother to drop me from her puhaka (loins [giving birth]), and I breathed the cool air of Malu Ulu o Lele in the calm.

Pursuant to the words of my own father, it was while the royal body was being taken off the boat, and the King Kauikeaouli and the other chiefs around the town called out wailing and in dirges and name chants, as the body of the deceased was taken to a large Hawaiian longhouse. It is there along close to the edge of the shore, and close to the residence of the editor of the paper, makai (toward the sea) of the place of J.B. Jones (Keonikikane), that is the place where the landing occurred.

Not finished.

Aug. 15, 1898 (page 3)

That is the place at which the cherished one of the race at those times was brought on land. The house is not there at this time, a large portion of the foundation having been taken by the ocean. Only a small section now remains, and it is not known to the new students of Lahaina, and the Editor of this paper. Your writer and also Timoteo Keaweiwi have seen this.

As a part of the funeral services for the Chiefess Nahienaena, the path was covered with mats from the large longhouse to the Church of Wainee. This was not along the path on the shore, but where you have another path, from there to the stone Church of Wainee. At the beginning of the funeral procession to the church, there were multitudes of people behind it was carried on, and the procession reached the church, where many were also in the church. The numerous people were like an overflowing of waters. Rev. W. Richards was the one who oversaw the prayer and intersession for the Chiefess Nahienaena.

One of the prominent people and good parent was Akulamoku Kona by name, and it was he who told me about this, that there arose lamentations and words spoken. He also told me of his great love for his ward (Nahienaena), and the great loss. When the prayer gathering was completed, they proceeded once again with the body of the platform grounds of Mokuula, the place were the Alii-aimoku (Chiefs who controlled the abundance of the district), resided from the time of Kamehameha I to that of Kamehameha III. There is situated the crypt where were placed the bones of the chiefs and of this chiefess. And if I am not mistaken, it was in the year 1885 when the Editor of Ka Lei Rose o Hawaii, that this Chiefess Pauahi Bishop personally came to Lahaina and took the bones of all the chiefs to the pa ilina (cemetery) of the Church of Wainee, and set them next to the graves of Hoapili Kāne and Hoapili Wahine.

Part 2.
It is the building of the schoolhouse of Lahainaluna, Year, 1831. The School of Lahainaluna is one the things that brings distinction to the town of Lahaina, and it is name the foremost of place of learning, and for which is said, “ka ipu kukui pio ole i kamakani Kauaula” (The lighthouse that is never extinguished in the Kauaula wind).

If a visitor ascends to Lahainaluna and looks back down to the town of Lahaina, the natural beauty is spread across all that can be seen, and this is the foundation of Lahaina town, thus the names Lahainaluna, which at one time was called “ka hoku malamalama of ka moana Pakipika” (the shining start of the Pacific ocean), and that is how the town of Lahaina is called Lahaina-lalo. These are the first two sections of Lahaina.

Here also is this, in the time that the first High School was built in the kingdom of Hawaii, which is the one that was destroyed by fire in 1860, along with the adobe house where the students slept, it was on the South East side of the school house. It is very different when you look at it from the town in the night, with the twinkling

> lights, and also from the house where the teachers reside. It is adorned by the kukui grove which the students called “ulu kukui o Kaukaweli, ka ipu kukui pio ole i ka makani Kauaula.” The kukui grove of Kaukaweli, the light house the is not extinguished in the Kauaula wind). And from this school there graduated many famous noted for their wisdom who came from Hawaii to Niihau. And one of the vary famous one in this second part is S. P. Kalama Waiawawa, the surveyor...

The practice of mo‘olelo is in itself a traditional practice. It is essential to the transmission of knowledge and a critical part of Lahaina’s history. It is rooted in Hawaiian language, discussed further below in **Section 4.4.4 (Lahainaluna Seminary and School)**.

4.3.2.1 ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

‘Aha Pūnana Leo is a pivotal organization in the revitalization of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Established in 1983, its mission was to address the rapid decline of fluent Hawaiian speakers, which had reached a critical point by the mid-20th century, with only a small percentage of Hawaiians still speaking the language. Inspired by successful language immersion models in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and other indigenous communities, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo created the first Hawaiian-language immersion preschools (Pūnana Leo), where young children would be taught exclusively in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Figure 6. Students of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina (Credit: Pūnana Leo o Lahaina)

In 1984, the first Pūnana Leo preschool opened in Kekaha, Kauaʻi. The movement quickly spread across the Hawaiian Islands, establishing preschools on several islands, and spearheading the eventual integration of Hawaiian language into public schools. The success of ʻAha Pūnana Leo's immersion programs contributed to the resurgence of Hawaiian as a living language, fostering a new generation of fluent speakers and increasing pride in Hawaiian culture.

ʻAha Pūnana Leo eventually expanded to Lahaina, where a Pūnana Leo school was established to serve West Maui. This school is part of a network dedicated to preserving and promoting ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, giving local children the opportunity to learn their native language from a young age. The establishment of Pūnana Leo in Lahaina reflects the town's ongoing commitment to cultural preservation and education, helping to sustain the Hawaiian language for future generations while contributing to the broader language revitalization movement across Hawaiʻi.

4.3.3 Social Structure, Leadership, and Regional Politics

Regarding the social structure and leadership that allowed for the abundance that Judge D. Kahaulelio reported above, in pre-contact Hawaiʻi, Lahaina was governed by aliʻi who were responsible for the stewardship of the land and its resources. The aliʻi held ultimate authority over the land, while the makaʻāinana (common people) lived and worked on the land. The konohiki (lesser chiefs or land managers) oversaw the daily management of the ahupuaʻa, ensuring that resources were allocated according to the needs of the community and that traditional practices were followed.

Lahaina, like many other districts in Hawaiʻi, was subject to the larger political landscape of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The district was frequently involved in power struggles among the aliʻi of Maui and the neighboring islands, particularly during periods of consolidation under powerful chiefs or upon the succession from one ruler to another. One such struggle took place against the backdrop of Lahaina when Kamehameha-nui, the son and heir to King Kekaulike, was challenged by his brother, Kauhiʻaimokuakama. As told by Kamakau (1961):

> Alapaʻi [ruler of Hawaiʻi Island] returned to Molokai to straighten out matters between the chiefs and the country people and enable them to live at peace with the chiefs of Maui and Lanai. Upon arriving at Maui, he found that Ka-uhi-ʻaimoku-a-Kama, the oldest son of Ke-kau-like by his wife Kaha-walu, had rebelled against Kamehameha-nui, heir to the island. The occasion for this revolt came when stones were being carried for the building of the heiau of Wailehua. The counselor who incited him to rebellion was a kahuna named Pi-naʻau. He said to Ka-uhi, "Let the weak carry stones; the work for the strong is to establish themselves upon the

> land." Said Ka-uhi, "What shall I do?" Pi-naʻau answered, "Go to war, stand at the head of the government." They therefore seized all the food at ʻAlamihi and kept it under the control of the fighting men of Ka-uhi, enough to support their needs until they reached the fortress at Kahili. Thus began the war against Kamehameha-nui. (pp. 72-73)

The responsibility of aliʻi was not only to manage the land for its productivity but also to ensure that the spiritual and ceremonial practices and places, such as heiau, associated with the land were maintained. This was believed to be essential for the health of both the land and the people, as failure to do so could result in natural disasters or famine, which were interpreted as signs of divine displeasure. One such occurrence involved the Lahaina born Hua-a-Pohukaina, the chief attributed with erecting Maui's first heiau, as detailed by Thrum (1924):

> In the tradition of the Huas [for there were four of them], this same Hua-a-Pohukaina became infamous, as it is recorded of him that through a dispute with Leahoomoe, his high priest, about some birds, he in anger condemned the priest to death and his house to be burnt. The vengeance for this act was swift in coming and terrible in its consequences, for the springs dried up; the streams ceased running; no rain fell for three and a half years, and famine and desolation spread abroad, so that Hua and his people perished miserably, whereby the saying arose: "Nakeke na iwi a Hua i ka la" (Rattling are the bones of Hua in the sun). (p. 25)

Thusly, the aliʻi, konohiki, and makaʻāinana formed an interconnected social and political structure that was rooted in the principles of kuleana (responsibility) and mālama ʻāina (caring for the land). Lahaina's governance exemplified this dynamic, with leadership roles defined not only by the distribution of resources and labor but also by the need to uphold spiritual and cultural obligations that ensured the balance between the land, its people, and the divine.

The examples of Kamehameha-nui and Kauhiʻaimokuakama's political struggles, alongside the cautionary tale of Hua-a-Pohukaina, underscore the importance of this balance. Leadership failures—whether in managing resources, maintaining ceremonial obligations, or preserving the social order—were interpreted as breaches of sacred trust that could destabilize both the community and the environment. These narratives reveal the intricate relationship between governance, spirituality, and ecological sustainability, where the success or failure of the aliʻi directly influenced the abundance and wellbeing of the land and its people. The stewardship of Lahaina's aliʻi not only shaped the district's physical and political landscape but also left enduring lessons on the responsibilities of leadership and the consequences of their neglect.

4.3.4 ʻĀina, Wai, and Resource Management

The earliest recorded descriptions of Lahaina are found in the journals of Archibald Menzies, the naturalist and surgeon who accompanied Vancouver's 1793 expedition. Through Menzies' meticulous observations, a glimpse into the thriving landscape of Lahaina at the close of the 18th century is provided. Menzies' (1920) writings document an intricate system of cultivation that reflected not only the industriousness of the people but also the profound relationship they maintained with their ʻāina:

> Here our conductors importuned us to dine, and a pig being killed and got ready, together with yams and sweet potatoes, we partook of a hearty meal, after which we continued our journey, and soon entered the verge of the woods where we observed the rugged banks of a large rivulet that came out of the chasm cultivated and watered with great neatness and industry. Even the shelving cliffs of rocks were planted with esculent roots, banked in and watered by aqueducts from the rivulet with as much art as if their level had been taken by the most ingenious engineer. We could not indeed but admire the laudable ingenuity of these people in cultivating their soil with so much economy. The indefatigable labor in making these little fields in so rugged a situation, the care and industry with which they were transplanted, watered and kept in order, surpassed anything of the kind we had ever seen before. It showed in a conspicuous manner the ingenuity of the inhabitants in modifying their husbandry to different situations of soil and exposure, and it was with no small degree of pleasure we here beheld their labor rewarded with productive crops. (p. 105)

As mentioned in previous sections, Lahaina's agricultural productivity relied heavily on the careful management and distribution of freshwater. The district's terrain – comprising coastal plains, fertile valleys, and streams from the Mauna Kahālāwai – required an intricate system of irrigation to support the cultivation of staple crops like kalo (taro). Kalo, a water-intensive crop, were grown in loʻi sustained by an extensive network of ʻauwai that diverted water from streams and directed it into the loʻi before returning it to the waterways, the very "aqueducts" that Menzies mentions in his journal entry above. This ensured efficient water use while maintaining a balance in natural ecosystems.

The control and maintenance of these ʻauwai were communal responsibilities overseen by the konohiki, who were responsible for regulating water flow to ensure that each ahupuaʻa had equitable access to water for irrigation. This system of shared water resources was crucial in sustaining Lahaina's population and ensuring that agricultural practices could flourish year-round. Other crops, such as ʻuala (sweet potato), kō (sugarcane), and maiʻa (banana), were also cultivated using these water resources, providing a diverse agricultural base for the community.

Lahaina is poetically celebrated as ka malu ʻulu o Lele—the breadfruit shade of Lele—honoring the vast groves of ʻulu (breadfruit) and kukui (candlenut) that were said to have been planted during the time of Kakaʻalaneo (Fornander, 1919). As one of Maui's renowned aliʻi, Kakaʻalaneo is remembered in Hawaiian traditions as a ruler who elevated the importance of agriculture, fostering a period of abundance and prosperity for his people. His visionary leadership and dedication to the land ushered in a peaceful era often regarded as a golden age for Maui (Nakuina, 1901, p. 55). Thusly, the shaded groves of Lahaina served not only used as a source of sustenance but also as a living testament to the wisdom of their aliʻi and the deep ties to the system of land division and resource management. Land was not seen as property in the Western sense, but as a communal resource that was cared for by the aliʻi and makaʻāinana alike. Mālama ʻāina was central to the Hawaiian worldview; it was believed that the well-being of the land and its people were interconnected. This principle was reflected in the kapu system, a set of religious laws that governed the use of natural resources, ensuring that they were not overexploited and that the balance between humans and the environment was maintained. An additional discussion on agricultural practices is provided in **Section 4.3.4.5 (Farming and Lāʻau Lapaʻau)**.

4.3.4.1 Water and Social Structure

Due to water resources being of paramount importance, it played a crucial role in the district's agricultural productivity, social organization, and spiritual practices. The indigenous Hawaiian relationship with wai extended beyond its functional use; wai is deeply embedded in cultural and spiritual beliefs, and its availability was essential for sustaining life, fostering political power, and ensuring the success of community activities. Lahaina's arid coastal environment made water management systems critical for supporting both daily life and large populations.

Water resources were central to the organization of Lahaina's society, particularly through the division of land into ahupuaʻa, which were designed to provide access to different ecological zones. As mentioned earlier, the discontiguous lele divisions of land in Lahaina optimized the agricultural potential of the land much differently than in other contiguous ahupuaʻa we see throughout the majority of the Hawaiian Islands.

The distribution and management of water also reinforced social hierarchies, with the aliʻi and konohiki exercising authority over the land and water resources. The aliʻi had the responsibility of ensuring that water was used efficiently and justly, as the well-being of the land and the people depended on this careful management. Mismanagement of water resources could lead to food shortages or social unrest, while the equitable and sustainable use of water was seen as a reflection of the aliʻi's ability to govern effectively.

4.3.4.2 *Spiritual and Cultural Significance of Wai*

In traditional Hawaiian society, water was not simply a physical necessity, but a profoundly spiritual resource. Water was a sacred gift from the gods, and its availability was associated with the health and prosperity of the land and its people. Many streams and water sources were associated with deities; ceremonies were often held to honor these gods and ensure a steady flow of water. In Lahaina, the stream of Kauaʻula was a lifeline for the district, and its waters were revered for their role in nourishing the land.

The concept of wai also underpinned important cultural beliefs. Water being the source of abundance and prosperity meant the management of water was therefore considered a sacred duty, with the chiefs responsible for maintaining balance and harmony in the natural world. In return, the people paid homage to water sources, ensuring that they were protected and preserved.

Water was the foundation upon which pre-contact Lahaina's agricultural, social, and spiritual life rested. Its careful management through communal systems overseen by the konohiki allowed for the sustainable cultivation of crops, the maintenance of social order, and the reinforcement of spiritual beliefs. In a district where water was a precious and sometimes scarce resource, Lahaina's water management practices exemplified the Hawaiian people's deep connection to their environment and their understanding of sustainability.

The region's semi-arid climate made effective water management systems essential for sustaining agriculture and community life. As mentioned earlier, ʻauwai systems played a central role in distributing water to loʻi and other agricultural areas. The Māhele ʻĀina records frequently mention disputes over water rights, as the reorganization of land led to confusion about who controlled water resources. Native tenants often fought to retain access to the water they had relied upon for generations.

There are at least two notable ʻauwai systems in Lahaina, which span several ahupuaʻa. The oldest is known as ʻAuwaiawao which ran through the vicinity of Lahainaluna. Reportedly named after the Chiefess Wao, the daughter of Chief Kākaʻalaneo and sister of Kaululāʻau, he who had been previously exiled to Lānaʻi for mischievously destroying his father's ʻulu groves (Pualewa, 1863). Upon Kaululāʻau's return and subsequent rise to rule over Maui (ca. 1390):

> "...Kaululaau gave some sections of land to his elder sister. Two of her parcels of land were those below, and adjoining, the old water head of Lahainaluna, and along that side running towards the shore... It is said that the thing which she, Wao,

> did, was to have made the auwai, that there would be water on her lands near the shore of Kelawea." (Pualewa, 1863, p. 1)

The other was the ʻAuwai o Piʻilani, whose headwaters are in Kauaʻula Stream, associated with King Piʻilani who was known, along with his son and successor, Kihapiʻilani, for great public works throughout Maui. Testimonies indicate that this irrigation system was not only critical for kalo cultivation, but also for ensuring that fresh water reached all parts of the community from the mountains to the coast. These ʻauwai systems reflected the community's sophisticated approach to managing water resources, but as illustrated through "He Moolelo Kaao Hawaii no Laukaieie...", they were also sacred. This moʻolelo was written by Mose Manu, a prolific Hawaiian writer and historian of the period, and is a rich and complex account with island-wide references to wahi pana, the origins of place names, traditional practices, beliefs, history, and mele. The moʻolelo is also interspersed with accounts from other traditions and references to nineteenth-century events.

The following narratives (roughly translated by Kepā Maly) are a general synthesis of several of the events that took place in the moku of Lahaina,[10] and which contribute to our knowledge of the goddess, Kihawahine. While known around the islands in various forms, this water-form goddess made her primary residence in Loko Mokuhinia and Mokuʻula, Lahaina.

Introducing the moʻolelo, Manu described the birth of Laukaʻieʻie, her upbringing on Hawaiʻi, and her becoming an adult. The narratives then focus on her brother, Makanikeʻoe, who sought out suitable traveling companions for his sister, and who also partook in his own adventures, seeking out hidden caves and subterranean tunnels, which served as underground trails. One important aspect of Manu's account is that he shares traditional knowledge of sacred and integrated subsurface hydrological systems.

When Laukaʻieʻie was of age, she and her brother, in the company of their companions who they met along the way, traveled to various wahi pana across the islands. References to storied places, chiefly residences, deities, and experiences in the Lahaina region are covered in several of the issues, including, but not limited to, February 23 and March 2, 1894, and March 15, 18, 19, 22, and 29, 1895. Below, are some of the abbreviated highlights from the moʻolelo as they relate to Lahaina, Kihawahine, and several wahi pana.

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[10] This moʻolelo covers a vast collection of native history, and the accompanying translations here, should not be considered complete. A focused translation by a skilled native speaker will bring important information back into the community understanding of place.

February 23, 1894

Departing from Hilia and Punakou, Molokaʻi Makanikeʻoe and companions traveled across Pailolo Channel, towards Maui on their ʻauwaʻalālua, a supernatural nautilus shell that served as their canoe. Drawing close to Maui, they land in the calm waters of Keawaiki, where a young woman was engaged in her favorite activity of surfing at Uo. (remembered in the lines of a mele):

He aloha e ka nalu la	*Beloved are the waves*
Kahi nalu o Uo—e	*The surf of Uo—*
Nalu haʻihaʻi maka—la	*Waves which break on the point*
Na ua hoa nei—e.	*Of the companions here.*

Stepping off of the ʻauwaʻalālua the companions beheld the sheltering breadfruit trees of Lele, where the trees were spread about.

Huli aku ke alo i Lahaina la	*Turn about to be in the presence of Lahaina,*
I ka malu o ka ulu o Lele la	*In the shade of the breadfruit trees of Lele*

The young women of the group joined in surfing the waves of Uo, and there were loud calls by the people who observed these malihini women surfing the waves. After a short while Makanikeʻoe and his companions continued along the shore, arriving at the point of Hekili at Olowalu with its multi-faceted points (which looks like Lehua Islet). It as at this place that thought arose in Makanikeʻoe to gather lehua blossoms with which to make lei to adorn their heads and necks. The red color of the lehua blossoms was so deep that the surface of the ocean looked like a paʻiʻula kapa (deep red kapa cloth), or like the ʻulalena rains of Piʻiholo.

O my readers, one might inquire about the place where the lehua blossoms these lei were made of came from. The lines from the song may be remembered—

Maemae Lihau po i ka lehua	Līhau is pure in the darkness of the lehua
Kupu kelakela i ke alo o Malama,	Rising up to the presence of Mālama

Also, about Līhau famous in the lines—

Kau aku ka manao no Lihau	One's thoughts are set on Līhau
Ka lehua neepapa i Koaeloa	The lehua that creeps across the flats of Koaʻeloa
Mea ole kou loa la e Hawaii	The distance is nothing like Hawaiʻi
I ka haulani a ka ihu o Kinau	Surging forward is the nose o Kīnaʻu

The mountain above Nāhonoapiʻilani was named Līhau for this young sweet-voiced young woman who resided on the mountain ridges. The thought then arose in Makanikeʻoe that Līhau might be a good traveling companion for his sister...

March 2, 1894

[While it was thought that Līhau might accompany the companions, she was unable to travel with them.]

The companions then went to Kahoʻolawe where they were entertained by the aliʻi of that island. Makanikeʻoe, stepped outside of the compound, looking back towards Maui. He then saw Lihau waving her hand and bedecked in garlands of lehua blossoms from Olowalu, at the place also known as Konohikilua ka lā i Olowalu...

March 15, 1895

[Having continued their travels, Makanikeʻoe and companions returned to Maui, at Kahakuloa, Kāʻanapali, and then back to Lahaina, where the there was a large celebration to be held with the chiefs and people of the district.]

Laukaʻieʻie thought about returning to Lahaina where a large gathering was to be held; also being the place first they visited, which was completely filled with people. It was at the place where the Church of Wainee stood, and the place where the Aliʻi rest together in the "makuahine honua" (mother earth).

It was also there at Waineʻe where ʻUlu were growing. The name of that place where many ʻulu were growing, is Lele. This famous place is known by the name "Nā ʻUlu o Lele" (The Breadfruit Trees of Lele)... The people of old described the area in the saying, "Huai ka Ulu o Lele i ka makani" (The Breadfruit of Lele are Revealed in the wind).

The hula people were all ready and gathered in an extremely large house and all the gathered people with in the shade. The voices of chanters were heard as the first two dancers adorned in red lehua that have come from the heights of Maunaloa on Molokaʻi...

The people who were sitting at the place where the Ulu of Lele were standing, climbed up on the branches of those Ulu trees so they could see these mysterious ones who had come from the famous mist of Waipiʻo...

March 18, 1895

[After the festivities were completed, Makanikeʻoe then visited Loko Mokuhinia, and Mokuʻula. He then traveled the subterranean caverns which were the pathways to other locations.]

...Oh readers, let us turn and look to our clever and mysterious one of Hawaiʻi, the one who searched out the deep caverns within the earth, and in the depths of the ocean... After the gathering had dispersed, Makanikeʻoe felt it was the right time for him to "e hakilo ai i ke kahi lua maloko o ka loko o Mokuhinia" (look into the pit that is within the pond of Mokuhinia).

Thus, the adept one, dove into the water, desiring to see the wonderous things that were in the cold spring which causes pain in the hipbones [describing the water as very cold – numbing to the bones].

When he dove in, he beheld shimmering lights which were like beholding a fire. This being resided underneath the island that was situated in Mokuhinia, and which is known by its name, Mokuʻula.

This is the place where the body of Nāhiʻenaʻena, the true sister of Liholiho and our cherished Kauikeaouli was laid. These Aliʻi were likened to gods.

As Makanikeʻoe was preparing to explore the area, he understood who the one he saw, looking like a fire was. It was the eye of the great moʻo Kihawahine, looking at him. He then drew closer to where she was sitting. Makanikeʻoe then carefully put his hand on the moʻo, and caressed her, putting her to sleep. When Kihawahine fell asleep, Makanikeʻoe then started to look around the cavern. Crawling around, he saw that there were a number of branches in the cavern which went in various directions.

The first of these branches under the earth was a path from Mokuhinia, that comes out at Kalepolepo, the pond which is now covered by sand, and from there it went on to Waiheʻe, turning again, and traveled to the kumu wai (water source), where the tī-leaves of Eleile are born in the water, and then again he went on to the kahawai of Kahakuloa.

From there he went to the ocean point of Honolua at Kāʻanapali, at the place made famous in the saying recalling two ancient fishermen, one who was stingy and did not want to share with the other.

March 19, 1895

[Makanikeʻoe continued his exploration of the caverns, and returned to Mokuhinia, and then followed another cavern to Māla.]

Makanikeʻoe departed from Honolua, and once returned to Mokuhinia at Lahaina. This adept one then found another branch that took to the ulu niu o Māla (coconut tree grove of Māla).

From Māla he then went to kiʻo wai (small pond) of Kapōʻulu, then going toward the shore, he went to Kapahumanamana. From there he then returned to the place of the famous Chiefess of Maui, at Mokuʻula, Lahaina. Remember my readers that the journey explored the region of Maui Komohana, where these many caverns were seen and where the mysterious formed guardians resided.

At this place in our story, it is appropriate to explain the nature of this cavern-house that is within the Pond of Mokuhinia, Lahaina.

The name of this lua (pit) is Kamoʻoaliʻi of Kihawahine, and she was a famous moʻo in ancient times. The Aliʻi and makaʻāinana worshipped her and she became a goddess, as is said in the old traditions. The Goddess, Kihawahine, was relied upon by the Chiefs with great care.

When she was the goddess called upon by an Aliʻi ʻai moku and the chiefs of old, like Aliʻi Kihapiʻilani who controlled the Island. At the direction of the priest who cared for the moʻo at Mokuʻula, he came to be called the Kiha. The Moa (Chickens) and ʻAane (Mullet) were kapu to the chiefs and the people.

This was because of the similarity of the skulls of the Moa and ʻAnae to that of a moʻo. This kapu associated with Kihawahine, was established around the islands from Hawaiʻi to Niʻihau. The foremost residence of this Moʻo Chiefess was in her famous cavern below Mokuʻula and imbued with her great mana.

So, where is she and her many family members of kino lau? They have passed by from this place of our people, just like the snow which settles at the summit of Maunakea in the Winter (Hoʻoilo). Behold, when it is the Summer (Kau) season it is all lost, running off like water. But perhaps there are still some who remember their names and have heard the stories from their parents and elders, and they still hold on to the belief in this moʻo...

4.3.4.3 *Fishing and Marine Resources*

Lahaina's coastal location was fundamental to its identity and sustenance, offering access to a wealth of marine resources that sustained its people through generations. Fishing was not merely a practice of subsistence, but a cornerstone of the cultural and economic systems that supported the community. Various fishing methods, from shoreline to deep-sea techniques, were intricately tied to the seasonal rhythms and ecological balance of the ocean. Judge Daniel Kahaulelio (1902a) explained that fishing was elevated to an honorable profession, closely interwoven with farming as twin pillars of traditional subsistence. The collaboration of men, women, and children in practices such as lau fishing—where vast nets required collective labor—illustrates the communal ethic that permeated Hawaiian resource management (Kahaulelio, 1902a, p. 2).

Loko iʻa were a significant feature of Lahaina's coastal landscape, blending environmental stewardship with cultural ingenuity. These intricate aquaculture systems provided a reliable source of fish and reflected a sophisticated understanding of ocean currents and marine life. Kahaulelio's (1902a) recollections emphasize the meticulous construction and maintenance of fishing equipment, from nets woven with fibers like ʻolona to the specific weights and floats that optimized their use (p. 2). These fishponds were designed to ensure a steady food supply, demonstrating the practical knowledge and resourcefulness of Lahaina's people.

The konohiki, as stewards of marine and land resources, played a critical role in maintaining kapu systems that governed fishing practices. They enforced restrictions on when and where specific fish could be caught, ensuring that species populations were allowed time to replenish. For example, certain fishing grounds or species were placed under kapu during particular seasons, with the community expected to adhere strictly to these regulations (Kahaulelio, 1902c, p. 6). In addition, the konohiki oversaw the equitable distribution of the catch, ensuring fairness and sustainability. This governance model reinforced the interconnectedness of resource management and community well-being, promoting the long-term health of Lahaina's coastal environment.

The tools and techniques used in Lahaina's fishing traditions reflect a deep alignment with natural cycles and an intimate understanding of marine environments. From the preparation of specialized nets for specific fish to the observance of lunar cycles that dictated the best days for fishing, Kahaulelio's writings illuminate the intentionality behind these practices. The use of lau nets, for example, required careful coordination to trap fish without disturbing the coral or seafloor, ensuring both an abundant catch and the preservation of the marine ecosystem (Kahaulelio, 1902b, pp. 3-4). These practices reveal the skill and adaptability of Lahaina's lawaiʻa (fishers) in working with their environment.

While many loko iʻa and fishing grounds have been lost or altered due to development and other modern pressures, their legacy continues to inspire efforts to restore Hawaiʻi's cultural and ecological landscapes. Kahaulelio's accounts provide a valuable window into a time when Lahaina's marine resources were managed with a balance of practicality and sustainability, ensuring not only the community's survival but its prosperity. These narratives serve as a call to action for contemporary stewardship, reminding that the practices of the past offer enduring lessons for the future (Kahaulelio, 1902c, p. 6).

4.3.4.4 Paddling and Surfing

Hawaiian outrigger canoe paddling is deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of the Hawaiian Islands. It is a traditional form of canoeing that has been practiced by the indigenous people of Hawaii for centuries. Outrigger canoes are large canoes with a smaller attached float, or outrigger, on one side for stability.

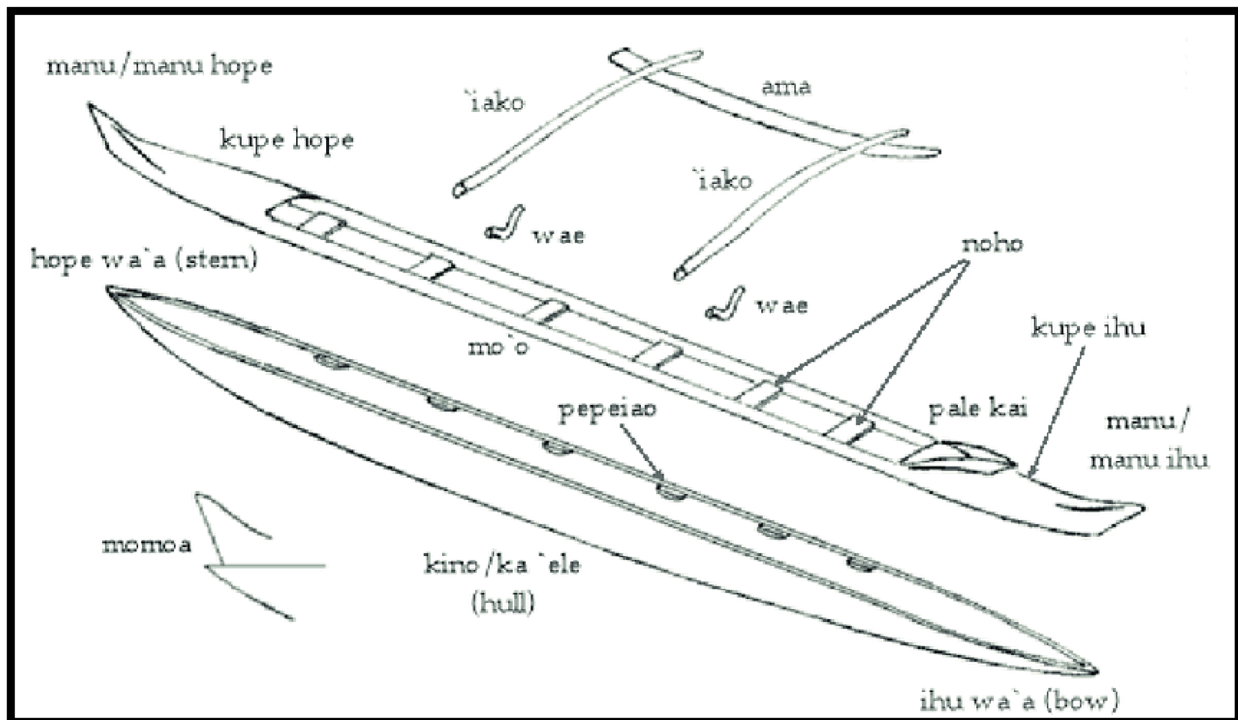

Figure 7. Diagram of a Traditional Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe (Babineau, 2004)

Hawaiian names for the parts of an outrigger canoe with English translations:

- Aha – braided or twisted cord used in lashing the canoe
- Ama – float/outrigger
- Hoe – a paddle; to paddle
- Hope waʻa – stern (back end of the canoe)

- ʻIako – spars, boom
- Ihu waʻa – bow (front end of the canoe)
- Kanaka – stern end of ama
- Kapuaʻi – part of ʻiako between hull and ama
- Kino/Kaʻele/Kuamoʻo – hull, keel
- Kua ʻiako – portion of the ʻiako lashed to the hull
- Kupe hope – curved end piece covering the aft part of the hull
- Kupe ihu – curved end piece covering the fore part of the hull
- Lupe – bow end of ama
- Manu hope – stern end piece
- Manu ihu – bow end piece
- Manu kupe –to steer a canoe
- Momoa – under part of the rear covered section of a canoe
- Moʻo – gunwale
- Muku – ends of ʻiako that extend beyond the hull
- Noho – seat
- Pale kai – splash board
- Paʻu – storm covers, spray skirts
- Pepeiao – lugs or blocks inside a canoe hull to which the ʻiako, booms, and perhaps the mast are fastened
- Pikao – hull
- Wae – spreaders
- Waʻa – canoe, also vaʻa, waka

Canoe paddling is culturally significant for Hawaiians. In ancient times, outrigger canoes were essential for fishing, transportation, and exploration between the islands. They played a vital role in the lives of the Hawaiian people and were deeply connected to their identity. Paddling plays a vital role in preserving Hawaiian culture and connecting the present generation with their ancestral heritage. The region has an extensive association with paddling, which occurs throughout the moku.

Historically, Māla Wharf was a popular launching point for canoe clubs in Lahaina, given its protected waters and central location. However, increasing congestion, structural degradation of the wharf, and the impact of tourism have led most organized paddling activities to relocate to Hanakaōʻō Beach (Figure 8), also known as Canoe Beach. Hanakaōʻō provides a more dedicated and accessible space for paddlers, with its expansive shoreline and fewer obstructions from commercial vessels. Several prominent canoe clubs now call this area home, using it for both recreational and competitive training.

Figure 8. Outrigger Canoes Housed at Hanakaʻōʻō (Honua Consulting)

Beyond Lahaina, Ukumehame has also emerged as an important site for paddlers. Located further south along the coast, Ukumehame Beach Park offers more consistent ocean conditions, particularly in the early mornings when the winds are calmer. This area is known for its open-ocean paddling, making it a favored training ground for distance paddlers preparing for long-distance races such as the Pailolo Challenge and the Molokaʻi Hoe.

Traditional surfing in Hawaiʻi has a rich and ancient history that dates back centuries. Surfing, known generally as heʻe nalu, was not just a sport but an integral part of Hawaiian culture and way of life. Surfing in Hawaiʻi can be traced back to ancient Polynesian settlers who arrived in the Hawaiian Islands around 2,000 years ago. These early kānaka settlers brought with them the knowledge and skills of wave riding. Surfing quickly became a significant aspect of Hawaiian society.

Clark (2011, p. 19) explains that traditional surfing consisted of six different sports:

- Heʻe nalu – board surfing
- Heʻe one – sand sliding
- Heʻe puʻe wai – river surfing
- Kaha nalu – body surfing
- Pae poʻo – bodyboarding
- Pākākā nalu – outrigger canoe surfing

Traditional surfing held deep spiritual and cultural significance in Hawaiian society. It was not only a recreational activity but also a way to connect with the ocean and the gods. Hawaiian mythology includes stories of powerful deities who were skilled surfers, further emphasizing the cultural importance of surfing. In the early days of Hawaiian surfing, surfboards were typically made from local materials such as koa wood. These wooden surfboards were heavy and often quite large compared to modern surfboards.

Surfing played a role in the social hierarchy of ancient Hawaiʻi. Aliʻi often had access to the best surf spots, and the sport was used to reinforce their status. Commoners also surfed, but their boards were usually of lesser quality. With the arrival of European explorers and missionaries in the late 18th century, Hawaiian society underwent significant changes. The influence of Western culture led to a decline in traditional Hawaiian practices, including surfing. Surfing was even discouraged and suppressed by missionaries who viewed it as immoral.

Traditional Hawaiian surfing techniques and the spirit of heʻe nalu are still respected and honored within the modern surfing community. Hawaiians take pride in their surfing heritage and continue to play a prominent role in the sport's development and culture. Clark (2011) also discusses known important surf sites in Lahaina, noting it as an important pastime of aliʻi and residents alike.

The region surrounding the project site is famous for surfing. Hauola was the name of one surfing location. Uo, mentioned in the excerpt below, is another famous surfing destination off the coast of Lahaina. While the exact location of Uo is not documented, it is in the Lahaina area, contributing to the cultural importance of the offshore waters. The following passage was taken from “Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo Hawaii” authored by John Papa ʻĪʻī (1870). The excerpt follows the journey of Kamehameha and his family returning to Hawaiʻi island from Oʻahu. After a series of issues with their ship leaking, the entourage of chiefs and the young prince (probably Kamehameha II) make their way past Molokaʻi and into the Lahaina region. The vignette depicts the sight of children surfing banana trunks at Pā Pelekane around the year 1812.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa

Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo Hawaii

A hala na elima paha o ke ku ana o kahi moku kiakahi ma kahi ku moku, a pela ka haalele ana iho ia wahi, a po a ao aku iwaena moana, a po ana i Punakou, a ao aku i Kahalapalaoa, loaa iho la ka makani Maaa, oia kakae wale no a ku ana i Lahaina, a ike ana i na hono o Piilani. Kamahao ka nana ana ma o a maani [pn: maanei], a me ka ulu Ulu a ulu Niu o Lele, hoohaha mai ana, mai kela a keia pea mai; aia hoi na keiki e heenalu ana ma ka aoao akau o Pelekane, me na hamaia, oia ko lakou papa heenalu. A oiai e makaikai ana ua keiki nei ia lakou la e hoohialaai mai ana ia hana, e like me na kanaka makua, mawaho ae o Uo. A oiai ua pae aku lakou nei mai ka moku ae ma kekahi waa kamaaina i pili ae ua wahi moku nei, ike iho la ua keiki nei i ka limukala eleele, no Mokuhinia ae paha, alaila, hoomanao ae la ia i ka limu o kona one hanau, ka mea i maa iaia.

> [Translation]
> Perhaps five days passed when the ship stopped at the dock and then left that place, spending the night until day in the middle of the ocean. Night fell on them in Punakou, and day came while they were in Kahalapalaoa, where the Maʻaʻa wind greeted them. They soon arrived at Lahaina and saw the bays of Piʻilani. It was a marvelous sight here and there, along with the ʻulu and niu groves of Lele in the calm. From one end to the other, there were children surfing on the side of Pelekane (Pā Pelekane) using banana trunks as their surfboards. While the young chief observed the voraciousness of the surfing children, their adults [were seen] surfing outside of Uo. While they boarded a canoe from the boat to go to the ship, the young chief saw the limu kala ʻeleʻele, perhaps from Mokuhinia, which then reminded him of the seaweed of his birth sands, the place he was familiar with.

Surfing continues to be a popular sport among locals within the moku of Kaʻanapali and Lahaina.

Additional discussion of other ocean practices, including fishing traditions and loko iʻa is provided in **Section 4.3.4.3 (Fishing and Marine Resources)**.

4.3.4.5 Farming and Lāʻau Lapaʻau

Native Hawaiians cultivated extensive loʻi kalo along Lahaina's streams, particularly in the fertile lands of Kauaʻula and Kanaha valleys (Figure 9). Traditional Hawaiian agriculture in Lahaina was based on the ahupuaʻa system, where land was divided from the mountains to the sea, allowing for sustainable food production. Taro, sweet potato, breadfruit, and coconut thrived in this system, sustaining large Hawaiian communities for

centuries. These practices continue today in the valleys of Lahaina, where practitioners work to enhance production of traditional foods.

Figure 9. Lo‘i Kalo in Kaua‘ula (Honua Consulting)

Since poi was the staple food for Native Hawaiians, it was of the utmost priority for the first settlers to establish lo‘i. Kalo’s prominence in the Hawaiian diet derived from its nutritional value, but even more so from its mythological significance. According to Hawaiian traditions, the first human (male) was born from the taro plant:

> The first born son of Wakea and Papa was of premature birth and was given the name Haloa-naka. The little thing died, however, and its body was buried in the ground at one end of the house. After a while, a taro plant shot up from the child’s body, the leaf of which was named lau-kapa-lili, quivering leaf; but the steam was given the name Haloa.
>
> After that another child was born to them, whom they called Haloa, from the stalk of the taro. He is the progenitor of all the peoples of the earth. (Malo, 1951, p. 244)

Additionally, archaeological sites within the project area, specifically the ahupuaʻa of Ukumehame, Olowalu, and Launiupoko, indicate that the area may have been used for dry land farming. Changes to agriculture in Lahaina over time are discussed in earlier sections of this study.

Lāʻau lapaʻau is the practice of traditional Hawaiian medicine. For centuries, Native Hawaiians relied upon the environment around them to provide them with medicine. It is still actively taught and practiced today. Medicinal experts or healers have intimate knowledge about plants and other resources to cure ailments, illnesses, and sicknesses. Native peoples and local communities around the world practice traditional medicine. Similarly, Native Hawaiians, over many generations, have learned how to properly care for, utilize, and prepare plants to maintain the community's health.

In addition to plant access, it was also important to ensure that these plants were healthy and in good condition. These cultural resources are critical to the ongoing practice of traditional medicine and healing within the Native Hawaiian community. Many traditional medicine practitioners remain in the Hawaiian community and throughout the Hawaiian Islands today; this practice continues to be taught to the younger generation and is honored and utilized in many Hawaiian households throughout the state.

It was important that medicinal plants existed throughout the Hawaiian Islands so that when people traveled throughout different places on the islands, they would always have access to the medicine they needed. In some cases, some plants were extremely rare, and, in those cases, it was particularly important to make sure that these populations were well protected and tended.

There were numerous gods associated with health, healing, and medicine: Hiʻiakaikapoliopele, Hiʻiakaikapuaʻenaʻena, Hauwahine, Hina, Hinaʻea, Hinalaulimukala, Kamakanuiʻahuʻilono, Kanaloa, Kū, Kūkeoloʻewa, Lonopūhā, Maʻiola, Mauliola, and ʻŌpeluhuikauhaʻailo.

Kahuna Laʻau Lapaʻau (Hawaiian herbal medical healers) recognized Hauola, also known as Pōhakuohauola, as a place of immense spiritual and physical significance. These traditional healers believed that true healing required more than medicinal plants—it also depended on the mana of special places in nature. Hauola was one such site, revered for its sacred connection to the ocean and the forces of renewal. Traditional accounts share that a young woman named Hauola, pursued by her enemies, was transformed into stone by her protective gods, thus escaping harm (Sterling, 1998, p. 34). This pōhaku (stone) holds profound cultural importance as the birthing stone of aliʻi, where chiefly children were brought into the world. It served as a pōhaku piko, where the piko (umbilical cords)

of newborns were concealed with prayers for their health and well-being throughout life (Sterling, 1998, p. 34).

Figure 10. Hauola Stone Centered in the Foreground (Honua Consulting)

Patients seeking relief from illness or imbalance were brought to this stone, where they underwent healing rituals that integrated both physical and spiritual elements. The seawater surrounding Hauola was thought to possess restorative properties, capable of cleansing both the body and the spirit. Of the Hauola Stone, Sterling (1998) stated that it "looks like a modern chair with a spacious seat and a small angular back… the front of which is worn hollow. Hawaiians believe that ailing people had only to sit in the seat,

dangle their legs in the water, and let the waves wash over them to regain their health" (p. 34).

The rhythmic movement of the waves, combined with the power of the site itself, was believed to promote balance and well-being. Through these practices, kahuna helped restore health to those in need, reinforcing the Hawaiian understanding that healing was not just about treating symptoms but about restoring harmony between the body, spirit, and natural world.

4.3.4.6 Traditional Clothing (Clothes Making, Dyeing, Weaving, and Lei Making)

The cultural landscapes of the Lahaina moku have changed dramatically over time. In addition to changes to water resources, many of the plant resources that depended on the availability of freshwater have been impacted over time. As Appendix C shows, native testimonies identified groves of ʻulu, wauke, and other culturally significant crops on their lands. These resources not only enabled sustainable agricultural use for the residents but were utilized in different aspects of habitation, including cooking and clothing.

Poʻo Kapa (commonly known as barkcloth) was the traditional material made through a method of gathering, treating, and beating plant fibers, often, but not limited to, wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) to make fabric that was used to make lole (clothing). Pacific and Hawaiian kapa was known for its wide range of colors and the application of watermarks. In Lahaina, wauke was identified in both the kalana of Lahaina and in Ukumehame.

Furer (1981) describes the process for making kapa:

> The finest kapa came from the paper of the mulberry tree. These trees were cultivated on plantations and grew to heights of more than twelve feet. As the tree grew, the branches were nipped off along the main trunk, ensuring a long piece of bark which was easily peeled from the tree.
>
> The manufacture of kapa was an important occupation for women. After the bark had been peeled from the tree, the inner bark was separated and soaked in sea water to make it soft and pulpy. The softened bark was placed on an anvil and beaten with a cylindrical wooden beater. The first beating separated the fibers and produced strips about eight or nine feet long and ten to fourteen inches wide. These strips could be dried and stored until needed. When needed, the strips were soaked in water, placed in layers between banana leaves, and left for about ten days to mature by "retting" which is the decomposition and removal of softened tissues, leaving the finer fibers. These partially decomposed layered strips were

> beaten a second time with specially carved four-sided beaters. The patterns carved on the beaters were functional as they produced the necessary characteristics in the kapa for its end use. These carved designs left the equivalent of a watermark on the kapa.
>
> Kapa which was to be extremely soft and pliable, such as that used for the malo or loincloth, was subjected to an additional softening process. This process, which produced a finely ribbed fabric, was done by dampening the cloth, stretching it over a grooved board, and running a wooden grooving tool along the indentations in the board. When the cloth dried, permanent ribs remained. The hand was very similar to our crinkle gauze of today. (pp. 109-110)

Hawaiians were skilled at utilizing plants and materials to dye their clothing and other materials. Different methods would be employed to hōʻawa, extract dye colors from their source material(s). These dyes would be placed in a cup, known as a kā kāpala. Even foreign or exotic plants were utilized for this practice. Hawaiians used different words for the various types of dyeing activities and methods:

- Hili – bark dye, as hili kukui, hili kōlea, hili noni; also kapa dyed with bark or the name
  for dyeing with the use of bark
- Hōlei –native tree (*Ochorosia compta*) related to the hao (*Rauvolfia*), which yields a yellow dye for kapa
- Kīheʻaheʻa palaʻā – dye made from the palaʻā (Sphenomeria chinensis syn. chusana) fern; palaʻā also references a kapa made from the māmaki (*Pipturus spp.*) bark which is then dyed a brownish-red with palaʻā fern
- Kiʻolena – to dye kapa
- Kūhili – to dye (or stain) by soaking in water containing mashed bark, such as used for nets; also mulberry bark before it is beat into kapa
- Kūpenu – to dye by dipping material
- Weʻa – a red dye or to print or dye red

Hawaiians also had a lexicon for the various colors that could be achieved through this traditional practice:

- ʻĀkala – color made from raspberry or thimbleberry juice
- Hili – Dark-brown dye made from bark
- Nao – dark red
- ʻŌlenalena – yellow
- ʻŌmaʻomaʻo – light green color made from maʻo leaves

- Pōkohukohu – color made from the noni (*Morinda citrifolia*) root
- Puakai – red

Another important associated practice is weaving. Traditional weaving occurred with a range of plant resources, but it was commonly practiced with lauhala. Lauhala, derived from the leaves of the hala tree (*Pandanus tectorius*), was one of the most essential materials in traditional Hawaiian weaving, deeply woven—both literally and figuratively—into daily life. The hala tree itself held spiritual significance, symbolizing both transition and continuity, often associated with journeys and genealogical connections. Its long, sturdy leaves were harvested, softened, and carefully woven into a wide range of household items, including moena (mats), hīnaʻi (baskets), peʻa (sails), and pāpale lauhala (hats, Figure 11). These items were integral to Hawaiian domestic and economic life, reflecting both functionality and artistry.

Figure 11. Historic Lauhala Hat Woven c. 1970 (Honua Consulting)

Lahaina, historically a thriving center of commerce, culture, and governance, played a unique role in lauhala weaving traditions. As a key port town, Lahaina attracted skilled

artisans who wove and traded lauhala goods, making it an important hub for the craft. The region’s dry climate was also well-suited for hala trees, which thrived in the sandy soils along the coastline. Weaving in Lahaina was not just a practical skill but also a cultural tradition passed down through generations, with knowledge carefully preserved within families and communities.

In addition to its practical uses, lauhala weaving reflected a profound connection to the land and the environment. The careful harvesting and preparation of hala leaves required an understanding of seasonal cycles and sustainability, ensuring that trees were not overharvested. Weavers would often select leaves from the tree with ceremony, maintaining an intimate relationship with nature.

Today, lauhala weaving remains a cherished tradition, with practitioners working to preserve the craft amid modernization and threats to the plants required for this practice. In recent years, weavers have annually gathered in Kaʻanapali for the Kauluhiwaolele Maui Fiber Arts Conference, where hundreds of practitioners and students have gathered over the years to share their practice and techniques. In Lahaina, the legacy of lauhala continues to hold cultural significance, serving as a reminder of the ingenuity and sustainability embedded in traditional Hawaiian practices. Protecting and revitalizing this art form ensures that the knowledge and skills of the past continue to thrive for future generations.

Similarly, lei making was a regular occurrence in traditional Hawaiʻi. Anderson-Fung and Maly (2009) write about the traditional practice:

> In old Hawaiʻi, lei could have important ceremonial functions, such as in religious offerings and for chiefly regalia, but lei were also enjoyed as personal adornment by Hawaiians of all levels of society. The aliʻi (chiefs) and the makaʻāinana (the common people who tended the land) all wore lei. Even the akua (gods, deities, spirits), it was believed, sometimes wore lei when they walked the land in human form. The following observation by the French botanist Gaudichaud, who visited the islands in 1819, paints a picture of Hawaiʻi as a place where the lei was an integral part of everyday life:
>
> > “It is indeed rare to encounter one of the natives of this archipelago who does not have an ornamental plant on his head or neck or some other part of his body…[The] women … change [the plants they wear] according to the seasons, [and for them] all the fragrant plants, all flowers, and even the colored fruits, serve as attire, one after another. …The young girls of the people, those of the island of Hawaiʻi especially, seem to be fond of the [kou, Cordia subcordata], a

> tree very abundant in all the cultivated areas… The young girls of the mountains, who live near the forests, give their preference to the flowers of the [Erythrina (wiliwili) and a species of Canavalia, called ʻawikiwiki], the lively color of which makes magnificent garlands. Such natural attire is much more rich, much more striking, than all the dazzling creations of the elegant European ladies."
>
> This account and others like it suggest that lei worn for personal adornment were fashioned from the favorite plant materials that were readily available and abundant in the lei maker's environment. (p. 4)

Lei making continues to be an important practice today, as the making and giving of lei as an expression of aloha to loved ones still regularly occurs throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Practitioners of these crafts actively practice in the Lahaina moku.

4.3.5 Religious and Ceremonial Practices

Religious practices were an integral part of daily life in pre-contact Lahaina. The district was home to numerous heiau, which served as sites for worship and offerings to the gods. The heiau were often located at significant points in the landscape, such as near water sources or at the boundaries of ahupuaʻa. These heiau varied in size and function, from large luakini heiau, where human sacrifices were offered, to smaller agricultural heiau, where offerings were made to ensure a bountiful harvest.

In *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, Kamakau (1991, p. 148) presents a moʻolelo of the chief, Hua-a-Kapuaʻi-manakū, that mentions the two Lahaina heiau he constructed, Waiʻie and Luakona:

ʻO Hua-a-Kapua'i-manakū,	Hua-a-Kapuaʻi-manakū,
Ke ʻliʻi o Lahaina,	The chief of Lahaina,
I hanau no i Kahoma i Kanahā,	Was born at Kahoma, at Kanahā,
ʻO Lelenuikuakamau kahua.	Lelenuikuakamau the site.
O Waiʻie ke ēwe,	At Waiʻie [heiau] the placenta,
O Luakona ka piko,	At Luakona [heiau] the navel cord,
O Kauaʻula ka aʻa,	At Kauaʻula the caul,
I Haleʻili i Kahili.	At Haleʻili, on Kahili.
Noho i Wānanalua,	He lived in Wānanalua,
Hahau i ke kaua o Kaniuhoʻopio,	Smote in the battle of Kaniuhoʻopia,
I hākā i Hakalau;	Fought at Hakalau;
I pā iā Kaona i Hikianakalā,	Was struck by Kaona at Hikianakalā,
I ili iā Kana,	Fell upon by Kana,

I pale ʻia iā Kalāʻaualomakauahi,	Warded them off with Kalāʻaualomakauahi,
I ka lāʻau kapu a Hua.	The sacred war club of Hua,
Haʻule i Kehoni i Kiʻikewe,	He died at Kehoni at Kiʻikewe,
I ka pā i Niua ke ʻliʻi ʻo Hua.	In the enclosure at Niua, the chief Hua died.

Along with the six known heiau in Lahaina (Thrum, 1924, p. 24), the sacred island of Mokuʻula was located in a freshwater pond called Loko o Mokuhinia, a religious complex that bridged the two ahupuaʻa of Waiokama and Waineʻe. Known as the domicile of the deified moʻo (lizard) goddess, Kihawahine, the pond, and subsequently, the island, was a place of great spiritual power. The royal family of Maui frequently resided at Mokuʻula, and it was here that many important religious ceremonies took place.

Kilo "references a Hawaiian observation approach which includes watching or observing [the] environment and resources by listening to the subtleties of place to help guide decisions for management and pono practices" (ʻAuamo, 2016). The practice of kilo is seeing a resurgence on Hawaiʻi Island and in the Hawaiian Islands.

Kilo hōkū are traditional astronomers who study the stars. Hale kilo or hale kilo hōkū are observatories or star observatories, respectfully. Kilo Makani are those who traditionally observe the winds. Kilo Moana were traditionally oceanographers. Kilo ʻuhane were those who observed and communicated with spirits.

Traditionally, the practice of kilo was critical to the management of Hawaiian landscapes. This practice is very closely tied to traditional or customary access, as observers would require access to specific vistas, viewsheds, or areas to observe environmental phenomena. Puʻu (hills) are particularly important to kilo practices, as elevated viewing locations support the ability of practitioners to observe their surrounding environment. One such location is Puʻu Kīlea, a traditional burial site located on a puʻu in Olowalu that serves as a kilo location (Figure 12).

Native Hawaiians created a wide range of terms to describe the environment and the ecosystems around them. These terms were often quite specific, and many were tied closely to a specific geographic area. This level of specificity illustrated the close kinship Hawaiians shared with their surrounding environment. The ability to observe and understand all elements of their ecosystem was essential to the successful care of natural resources and the survival of the Hawaiian people.

The ability to effectively and accurately read weather phenomena was essential to the ability of Hawaiian people who farm, fish, navigate, and conduct any number of practices in a sustainable and successful manner. The knowledge Hawaiians acquired about the

environment around them, including weather phenomena, was the result of multi-generational observations that comprised an extensive body of information passed down through oral traditions.

Figure 12. Puʻu Kīlea Located in Olowalu (Honua Consulting)

The following Hawaiians names and their descriptions of weather phenomena include words for clouds, rains, and winds that are utilized by kilo to help guide activities and practices:

- Ānuenue – rainbow, a favorable omen.
- Ao akua – godly cloud, figurative representative of a rainbow.
- Ao loa – long cloud or high, distant cloud. Status cloud along the horizon.
- Ao ʻōnohi – cloud with rainbow, ʻōnohi, colors contained within it.
- Ao pehupehu – continually growing cumulus typical of summer. Drifting with the tradewinds, these clouds pick up moisture and darken at their base, finally releasing their rain on the windward mountain cliffs.
- Ao puaʻa – cumulus clouds of various sizes piled together, like a mother pig with piglets clustered around her. The Kona coast is famous for ao puaʻa, a sign of good weather and no impending storms.
- Hoʻomalumalu – sheltering cloud.
- Hoʻoweliweli – threatening cloud.
- Ua loa – extended rainstorm.
- Ua poko – short rain spell.

The ceremonial practices of traditional Hawaiians are extensive. Throughout the course of Hawaiʻi's history, traditional Hawaiians have integrated religious, spiritual, and ceremonial practices in their daily lifestyle. Traditional or customary practices are then not distinct ceremonial practices but rather a part of the Hawaiian way of life. Therefore, it is challenging to explicitly define ceremonial practices associated with traditional Hawaiian customs. For the purpose of this section, the ceremonial practices discussed here focus primarily on customs carried out by general populations of Hawaiians, as opposed to activities or rituals carried out by trained and recognized specialists.

Ceremonial practices are incorporated throughout numerous, if not all, of the activities identified in this section. For example, there is a great level of ceremonial practice and ritual associated with the care of the dead, burial remains, and funerary objects. Native Hawaiians, as with most Indigenous peoples, integrated ceremony into most of their practices especially those that occurred in the natural landscape or related to their way of life. There was no specific site or materials required for ceremony *per se*.

Nonetheless, shrines were sometimes associated with ceremonial practices. Shrines for the purpose of this assessment are distinct from heiau, which were places of worship. The distinction is the natural contexts in which these features or sites were created. Heiau required the advice and guidance of a kahuna, who would help aliʻi determine the best location in which to erect a heiau. Conversely, shrines were erected by makaʻāinana as part of their daily or occupational functions.

Figure 13. Heiau Located in Olowalu (Honua Consulting)

Makahiki is one example of a practice that has taken place prior to contact and continues post-contact and involves ceremonial elements. One of these elements is the akua loa, described by Malo as "the image of the Makahiki god, Lono-makua … This work was called ku-i-ke-pa-a" (Malo, 1951, p. 143). Further described by Malo (1951):

> 22. This Makahiki idol was a stick of wood having a circumference of about ten inches and a length of about two fathoms. In form, it was straight and staff-like, with joints carved at intervals and resembling a horse's leg; and it had a figure carved at its upper end.
>
> 23. A cross piece was tied to the neck of this figure, and to this cross piece, kea, were bound pieces of the edible pala[11] fern. From each end of this cross piece

[11] Native fern (*Marattia douglasii)* used for medicinal purposes as well as in ceremony.

> were hung feather lei that fluttered about, also feather imitations of the kaupu bird[12], from which all the flesh and solid parts had been removed.
>
> 24. The image was also decorated with a white tapa cloth made from wauke[13] kakahi[14], such as was grown at Kuloli[15]. … One end of this tapa was basted to the cross piece, from which it hung down in one piece to a length greater than that of the pole. The width of this tapa was the same as the length of the cross piece, about sixteen feet.
>
> 25. The work of fabricating this image, I say, was called kuikepaa. The following night the chiefs and people bore the image in grand procession, and anointed it with cocoanut (sic) oil. Such was the making of the Makahiki god. It was called Lono-makua (father Lono), also the akua loa. This name was given it because it made the circuit of the land (pp. 144-145).

The akua loa was taken to each ahupuaʻa. This custom was important to the care, stewardship, and worship of the gods. These practices were intimately tied to the proper care and sustainable stewardship of all cultural and natural resources.

As with many concepts of traditional Hawaiian living and practices, the contemporaneous concept of the kahuna has been largely influenced by Western thought. The roles and responsibilities of the kahuna are well explained by Professor Terry Kanalu Young (1998):

> As recipients of hana lawelawe[16], the Aliʻi Nui were themselves servers of a sort. They were responsible for maintaining a positive spiritual relationship with the Akua through pono conduct. Pono was defined for individuals of that era within the context of a particular task specialty. Kahuna who functioned as experts in specific skill areas like medicinal healing, canoe building, or spiritual advising were consulted by leaders. The experts were looked to as responses for what was considered pono in their respective realms of knowledge. (p. 74)

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[12] Laysan albatross (*Diomedea immutabilis*), written with diacritical markings as kaʻupu.

[13] Paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*)

[14] Meaning outstanding or of high quality, as in reference to the white kapa (tapa) made from these fibers.

[15] Likely a reference to the place in Pelekunu Valley at Kamalō, Molokaʻi, located between the peaks of Kaunuohua and Pēpēʻōpae.

[16] Hana lawelawe are defined by Young (1998) as "service tasks" by which kaukau aliʻi (lower ranked chiefs) served the Aliʻi Nui. These hana lawelawe were critical to the ability of the Aliʻi Nui to effective govern.

Kahuna were critical to traditional Hawaiian lifeways as their extensive expertise helped to provide sound and strategic advice to aliʻi and other leaders on proper spiritual, cultural, and ecological management. There are numerous types of kahuna in Hawaiian traditions. including, but not limited to:

- kahuna ʻanāʻanā – sorcerer who practices black magic and counter sorcery.
- kahuna aʻo – teaching preacher, minister, sorcerer.
- kahuna hāhā – an expert who diagnoses, as sickness or pain, by feeling the body.
- kahuna haʻiʻōlelo – preacher, especially an itinerant preacher.
- kahuna hoʻohāpai keiki – medical expert who induced pregnancy.
- kahuna hoʻopiʻopiʻo – malevolent sorcerer, as one who inflicts illness by gesture.
- kahuna hoʻoulu ʻai – agricultural expert.
- kahuna hoʻoulu lāhui – priest who increased population by praying for pregnancy.
- kahuna hui – a priest who functioned in ceremonies for the deification of a king.
- kahuna kālai – carving expert, sculptor.
- kahuna kālai waʻa – canoe builder.
- kahuna kiʻi – caretaker of images, who wrapped, oiled, and stored them, and carried them into battle ahead of the chief.
- kahuna kilokilo – priest or expert who observed the skies for omens.
- kahuna lapaʻau – medical doctor, medical practitioner, healer. *Lit.*, curing expert.
- kahuna makani – a priest who induced spirits to possess a patient so that he might then drive the spirits out.
- kahuna nui – high priest and councilor to a high chief; office of councilor.
- kahuna poʻo – high priest.
- kahuna pule – preacher, pastor, minister, parson, priest, clergyman. *Lit.*, prayer expert.
- kahuna pule kaʻahele – preacher.
- kahuna pule wahine – priestess.

Today, groups like Nā ʻAikāne o Maui have worked for decades to restore and preserve ceremonial practices in Lahaina. Their cultural center served as a living museum of the works of practitioners and also provided a learning space for practitioners to learn about the area's traditions.

Figure 14. Nā ʻAikane of Lahaina has coordinated annual events associated with Makahiki (Lahaina News)

4.3.6 The Role of Women in Lahaina

In the social and economic life of pre-contact Lahaina, women played an important role in agriculture (i.e., crop cultivation), food preparation, the weaving of mats and clothing, and the care of children. In the religious sphere, women were often the keepers of family traditions and were responsible for maintaining household shrines and making offerings to the gods. The matrilineal aspect of Hawaiian society meant that women could inherit

titles and land, and the genealogies of the aliʻi often emphasized the importance of both male and female ancestors in the lineage.

4.3.6.1 Nā Aliʻi Wāhine o Lāhainā (Chiefly Women of Lahaina)

Nā aliʻi wāhine o Lāhainā played pivotal roles in shaping the political, social, and cultural history of Maui and the Hawaiian Kingdom and held significant political power. They owned vast tracts of land, managed vital resources, and lead their people in times of war and peace. These women, such as Kalola, her granddaughter, Queen Keōpūolani, and Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, wielded immense influence through their lineage, strategic alliances, and governance (Speakman, 2014, p. 60-73). Their leadership extended beyond family ties, as they navigated complex political landscapes and contributed to the unification of the islands. Through their actions and legacies, these women left an indelible mark on Lahaina's history, solidifying its place as a center of power and cultural innovation.

Kalola Pupuka was a highly influential aliʻi wāhine from Maui, renowned for her prestigious lineage, strategic marriages, and her pivotal role in the political dynamics of the Hawaiian Islands. Born into one of the highest chiefly families on Maui, her father, Kekaulike, was the Mōʻī (King) of Maui, and her mother, Kahikikala-o-kalani, was a high-ranking chiefess from Hawaiʻi Island (Kamakau, 1961). Through her father, Kalola was connected to the Piʻilani line. On her mother's side, she had ties to the chiefly families of Hawaiʻi Island, creating a web of powerful alliances across the islands. This dual connection helped ensure her family's prominence, with her brothers, including the rulers Kamehameha-nui and Kahekili II, playing critical roles in shaping the political landscape of the Hawaiian Islands (Kamakau, 1961).

Kalola's lineage was not only significant in terms of its political influence but also in its control of lands that held great agricultural and strategic value, particularly in the regions of Lahaina and Wailuku. These lands were critical not only for sustaining the people but also for securing power within the shifting alliances of the time. Kalola's marriages further cemented her position as a key political figure, ensuring her family's survival and influence in the face of both internal and external challenges. Her involvement in significant events like the Olowalu Massacre in 1790, which was a response to foreign encroachment and violations of Hawaiian customs (Thrum, 1885, p. 50), underscored her resilience and her commitment to the sovereignty of her people. Kalola's legacy, rooted in her remarkable lineage and political acumen, shaped the trajectory of her family and played a key role in maintaining the power and influence of the aliʻi class in the face of monumental change.

Keōpūolani, the granddaughter of Kalola, also played a pivotal role in Hawaiian history as the wife of Kamehameha I and the mother of two kings, Kamehameha II, Liholiho, and

Kamehameha III, Kauikeauoli. As a descendant of both Maui and Hawaiʻi Island royalty through her grandmother, Keōpūolani's lineage granted her immense spiritual and political influence. She was deeply involved in key events during the formation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, including the early stages of the kingdom's consolidation under Kamehameha I. Keōpūolani's legacy endures as one of the most respected figures in Hawaiian history, both for her genealogy and her role in shaping the kingdom.

Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, or Hoapili Wahine, was instrumental in shaping the administration and cultural life of Lahaina during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Most modern accounts attribute her importance as the wife of Hoapili Kāne, a high-ranking chief, trusted advisor to Kamehameha I, and once-Governor of Maui; however, she was integral to managing the kingdom's lands and resources through her own noble lineage. Hoapili Wahine was particularly influential as one of the first chiefs to become a member of the House of Nobles when Kauikeauoli established it in 1840. Hoapili Wahine's legacy is marked by her stewardship of Lahaina's lands, which included the granting of land to Lahainaluna Seminary, her strategic alliances, and her steadfast commitment to Hawaiian cultural practices and governance.

4.4 Lahaina and the Hawaiian Kingdom

Lahaina played a pivotal role in the political, economic, and cultural development of the Hawaiian Kingdom during the late 18th and 19th centuries. As the capital of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi in the early 19th century, Lahaina was a crucial center of governance, international trade, and cultural transformations brought about by Western influence. This period was marked by profound changes in Hawaiʻi's political landscape, social structures, economy, and culture, all of which were reflected in Lahaina's rise and transformation during these centuries.

In the 19th century, land use in Lahaina underwent significant transformations due to the Māhele ʻĀina of 1848 (also referred to as the Māhele) and the broader changes in Hawaiian land tenure practices. These shifts marked a dramatic change from the traditional land stewardship model to a more Westernized concept of private property. This period saw hoaʻāina (native tenants) and aliʻi alike grappling with new legal structures and the reorganization of lands into three categories: (1) ʻĀina Lei Aliʻi (Crown Lands) for the occupant of the throne; (2) ʻĀina Konohiki (Konihiki Lands) for notable chiefs and those who provided service to the Kingdom; and (3) ʻĀina Aupuni (Government Lands) to be used in support of public initiatives and as a means of providing land to those who did not acquire land in the Māhele. Key testimonies and records from the Māhele reveal the diverse agricultural practices, water resource management, and community life that shaped Lahaina during this era.

4.4.1 Political Importance in the Late 18th Century

In the late 18th century, Lahaina emerged as a strategically significant center within the Hawaiian Islands, particularly under the influence of Maui's powerful aliʻi. The reign of Kahekili II, Mōʻī of Maui, saw his influence extend beyond Maui to encompass portions of Oʻahu and Molokaʻi, establishing a formidable political entity (Kamakau, 1992, pp. 102-108). Lahaina's geographic position on Maui's western coast rendered it a crucial stronghold in the complex dynamics of inter-island rivalries and warfare, especially during the period of Kamehameha I's ambitious campaign for unification. This coastal location facilitated both defense and the projection of power across the channels to neighboring islands (Kirch, 2010, pp. 225-230).

The late 1790s witnessed the culmination of Kamehameha I's drive for control of the archipelago with the conquest of Maui. Lahaina, due to its established political importance and its role as a significant center of agricultural production, particularly of kalo and other essential food crops, became a key objective in this campaign (Kuykendall, 1938, pp. 48-52). The fertile plains surrounding Lahaina provided sustenance for a large population and, crucially, for the warriors engaged in these conflicts. This agricultural productivity also made Lahaina a valuable prize for any aspiring ruler. The conquest of Maui represented a critical juncture in Kamehameha's pursuit of unifying the Hawaiian Islands under his rule. Following the successful campaign, Lahaina was integrated into the nascent Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, solidifying Kamehameha's control and marking a new era in the political landscape of the islands (Kamakau, 1961, pp. 175-180). This integration brought significant changes to Lahaina, shifting its allegiance and embedding it within a larger, unified political structure.

4.4.2 Lahaina as the Royal Capital

Lahaina's rise as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom under King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) in the early 19th century was deeply rooted in its pre-contact prominence as a center of political power, agricultural productivity, and interisland trade as stated above. According to Samuel Kamakau (1992), Lahaina had long been recognized as "the town of chiefs," where Maui's aliʻi gathered to govern and maintain their authority (p. 104). It served as the seat of power for Maui rulers such as Kahekili II, who united most of the islands under his control before Kamehameha I's campaigns. The fertile lands of Lahaina, irrigated by the streams from the West Maui mountains, were integral to its prominence, as David Malo (1951) emphasizes the region's ability to sustain a large population through extensive loʻi kalo and loko iʻa that supported both the aliʻi and the makaʻāinana (p. 59).

An integral feature of Lahaina was Mokuʻula, a royal residence surrounded by the Mokuhinia fishpond, which became the political and ceremonial center of the Hawaiian

Kingdom. Mokuʻula, home to Maui's ruling aliʻi even prior to the rise of Kamehameha I, symbolized chiefly authority and was later restored as a royal complex under Kamehameha III. Kamakau (1992) notes that Mokuʻula was a gathering place for political councils and a residence that conveyed the sacredness and legitimacy of aliʻi leadership (p. 115). The site underscored Lahaina's importance as both a practical and symbolic capital, blending governance with the physical manifestation of chiefly power.

Lahaina's role as the center of the Kingdom's governance was solidified with the signing of Hawaiʻi's first written constitution, Ke Kumukānāwai o Hawaiʻi (The Constitution of Hawaiʻi), in 1840. The Constitution formalized the transition of the Kingdom into a constitutional monarchy, defining the roles and responsibilities of the king, chiefs, and makaʻāinana while incorporating Western legal structures. According to Kamakau (1992), Kamehameha III convened his council of advisors in Lahaina to draft and adopt the constitution, demonstrating the importance of the capital as a place of transformative political reform (p. 147). This historic event not only established a foundation for governance but also signified the Kingdom's efforts to assert its sovereignty and legitimacy in an era of growing foreign influence.

As the capital of the Kingdom, Lahaina became the site of significant reforms and administrative advancements. Kamehameha III utilized its central position for the development of a structured government while balancing traditional Hawaiian customs with modern legal principles. Lahaina was the setting for pivotal decisions that strengthened the Kingdom's sovereignty and laid the groundwork for its survival amidst intense international pressures (Kamakau, 1992, p. 120).

By building on its historical significance and leveraging its strategic location, Lahaina emerged as a political, economic, and ceremonial hub. Its selection as the capital reflected not only its deep cultural and historical roots but also its capacity to support the evolving needs of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This recognition of Lahaina's role underscores its enduring importance in Hawaiian history, as documented by early Hawaiian historians like Kamakau and Malo.

4.4.3 Western Contact and the Missionary Influence

Lahaina's transformation in the 19th century was heavily influenced by the arrival of Westerners, particularly Christian missionaries. In 1823, at the behest of Queen Keōpūolani, and led by Reverends William Richards and Charles Stewart, missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived in Lahaina. Soon after setting up the mission station, the most sacred chiefess and highest-ranking wife of King Kamehameha I, Keōpūolani, was baptized into the Christian faith,

heralding the acceptance of the new religion and allowing the evangelical conversion of the Hawaiian people to Christianity (Richards, 1825).

An excerpt from the journals of Richards & Stewart (1825) illuminates the landscape of Lahaina that greeted the missionaries when they first arrived in 1823:

> Arrival at Lahinah [Lahaina]. On the 28th of May, 1823, Messrs. Richards and Stewart sailed from Honoruru [Honolulu], for Lahinah on the island of Mowee [Maui].
>
> Saturday evening, May 31. After a very rough, but splendid night, we found ourselves, at sunrise this morning, in distinct view of the wild mountains, that overhang the district of Lahinah, and were advancing rapidly to the anchorage. The settlement appeared far more beautiful than any place we have yet seen in the islands; indeed, it is the only one that, in our judgment, has any claim to that epithet. The whole district, stretching nearly three miles along the sea side, is covered with luxuriant groves, not only of the cocoa-nut, (the only tree we had before seen, except on the tops of the mountains,) but also of the bread-fruit, and of the ko [kou], one of the handsomest ornamental trees. The banana and tapa tree, and the sugar cane, seemed most abundant and flourishing, and extended almost to the beach, on which a fine surf constantly rolls.
>
> As soon as they had landed, they were met by Krimokoo [Kalaimoku], the prime minister of the king, who expressed his regret, that there was no house at the disposal of himself, or of Keopuolani (the mother of the king,) suitable for their accommodation. He however assured them that if they could procure a temporary residence with a respectable American living in that place, buildings should be erected immediately. They accordingly hastened, under the guidance of Mr. Loomis, who was with them, to the plantation of Mr. Butler.
>
> We found his enclosure pleasantly located, about a quarter of a mile directly in rear of the landing place, and were received by him in the most kind and friendly manner. As soon as he was made acquainted with our object in coming to Lahaina, he proffered every assistance in his power, and tendered his best house for the reception of our families…
>
> Early in the afternoon, our whole number were comfortably and quietly located in the midst of his luxuriant grounds. The thick shade of the bread-fruit trees, which surround his cottages—the rustling of the breeze through the bananas and sugar cane—the murmurs of the mountain streams which encircle his yard, and the

coolness and verdure of everything around us, seemed, in contrast with our situation during a six months voyage, and four weeks residence on the dreary plain of Honoruru, like the delights of an Eden…

Description of Lahinah, &c.

Thursday, 5. Found leisure this morning to take a cursory survey of the settlement, over which the providence of God has made us the spiritual instructors and guides. The first view of it from the sea and anchorage, gives too favorable an impression of its beauty; and the appearance of great luxuriance which it exhibits, does not expose the rude and imperfect cultivation bestowed on it by the natives.

Lahinah is situated on the north-west end of Mowee, and lies between two points projecting slightly into the ocean; one on the north, and the other on the south end, about two miles distant from each other. These, in their respective directions, terminate the view of the beach.

The width of the district, from the sea towards the mountain, is from one half to three quarters of a mile. The whole extent, included within these boundaries, is perfectly level, and thickly covered with trees and various vegetation. The taste, skill, and industry of an American gardener might convert it into an earthly paradise; but now it everywhere appears only like the neglected grounds of a decayed and deserted plantation. There is no uniformity of neatness to be seen, and almost everything seems to be growing in the wildness of nature. The breadfruit trees stand almost as thickly, as those of an irregularly planted orchard, and beneath them are taro patches and fish ponds, 20 or 30 yards square, filled with stagnant water; and thickly interspersed with clumps of the tapa tree, groves of the banana, rows of the sugar cane, and bunches of the potatoe and melon. All these flourish exuberantly from the richness of the soil alone, with but little attention or labor from the hand of man.

It scarce ever rains, not oftener than a half a dozen times during the year. The land is watered entirely by conducting the streams, which rush from the mountains, by artificial courses on every plantation. Each farmer has a right, established by custom, to the water every fifth day. The pathways which are very narrow are usually along these water trenches.

The houses of the natives are generally not more than eight or ten feet long, six or eight broad, and from four to six high; having one small hole for a door, which cannot be entered but by creeping, and is the only opening for the admission of light and air. They make little use of these dwellings except to protect their food

> and clothing, and to sleep in during wet and cool weather. Most generally they eat, sleep, and live in the open air, under the shade of a Ko [kou] or bread-fruit tree. The land begins to rise rather abruptly, about three fourths of a mile from the sea, and towers into lofty mountains, three rude elevations of which, immediately east of Lahinah, are judged to be 4,500 or 5,000 feet above the level of the ocean. From the first swell of the rising ground almost to the summits of these mountains, there is nothing to be seen, but the most dreary sterility and sun-burnt vegetation, intersected by gloomy ravines and frightful precipices of black rock and lava.
>
> Every part of the island, seen from Lahinah, wears the same forbidding and desolate aspect, and after passing either point, the eye is met only by a barren sand beach occasionally interrupted by heaps of dark coral, and made gloomy by the wild dashings of a heavy surf. (pp. 39-41)

Over the decades that followed, Lahaina established itself as a center for missionary activity in the islands. The introduction of Christianity had a deep impact on Hawaiian society, leading to the decline of traditional religious practices and the eventual dismantling of the kapu system that once governed Hawaiian society. The missionaries worked closely with Hawaiian royalty, particularly Queen Kaʻahumanu and Kamehameha III, to promote Christian values and social reforms. In Lahaina, churches were built and the town was a focal point for the spread of Christianity across the islands.

Several locations in Lahaina are associated with missionary culture and history, serving as landmarks that highlight the profound influence of these missionaries on the social, political, and cultural life of the town. Unfortunately, following the 2023 Maui Wildfires, many of these sites sustained large scale damage (see **Section 5: Assessment and Conclusion**).

4.4.3.1 Waiola Church

Nearing the end of her life, Queen Keōpūolani returned to the island of her birth, taking up residence in Lahaina. With her she brought the missionaries, Reverends William Richards and Charles Stewart, and her Tahitian tutor who taught her the Christian faith, Tauʻa (Richards, 1825). On the shores of Lahaina, the missionaries held their first worship in 1823, thereby establishing the first permanent church on Maui. Upon her baptism, acceptance of the new faith, and subsequent reinterment[17] by her son – King Kamehameha III – at the Royal Tomb of Waineʻe Cemetery, Queen Keōpūolani reflects

[17] Keōpūolani was originally buried at the royal mausoleum on Mokuʻula and moved, along with her daughter, Princess Nāhiʻenaʻena, and other aliʻi to the tombs at Waineʻe Cemetery in 1884 (Williams, 2014).

a fusion of both Hawaiian and Christian practices, highlighting the transitionary period in Lahaina when Hawaiian culture and religion began to intertwine with Western influences.

Although the initial mission station was a thatched hale (house, building) closer to the beach, the cornerstone of the large stone church that was originally referred to as Ebenezer, but which the people of Lahaina called Waineʻe Church, was laid in September of 1828 (Waiola Church, n.d.). Throughout the 200 years of legacy, the church has undergone many rebuilds after various wind and fire events destroyed the physical buildings. In 1953, Waineʻe Church, rebuilt again after destruction by the Kauaʻula winds of 1951, was renamed Waiola Church, leaving the graveyard to bear the name of Waineʻe Cemetery (Young, 1953, p. 9).

The church property abutted Loko o Mokuhinia and the sacred island of Mokuʻula, and was a vital part of the nexus that was known as a royal stronghold with lands held by esteemed aliʻi (Klieger, 1998, pp. 64-65). In an account from 1838, Kamakau (1987) mentions, in a story of Kihawahine, that the aliʻi Kekauluohi travelled across Mokuhinia via canoe from Mokuʻula to Waineʻe Church (p. 83).

Figure 15. Waiola Church (2019) (Credit: iStock Photo ID: 1257287758)

The church celebrated its 200th anniversary in May 2023 with a large community festival and celebration. The church is an important symbol of the missionary legacy in Lahaina, and Waineʻe Cemetery is the resting place of Hawaiian royalty, including Queen Keōpūolani, Princess Nāhiʻenaʻena, King Kaumualiʻi, Kekauʻōnohi, and others of noble lineage. The cemetery is a sacred place for many Hawaiians and remains a key location for understanding the role of Hawaiian royalty and their connections to traditional Hawaiian spirituality. The site continues to be an active place of worship, offering insight into the religious transformation of Lahaina during the missionary period.

Figure 16. Waiola Church 200 Year Anniversary Celebration (2023) (Credit: Jen Mather)

4.4.3.2 Baldwin Home Museum

Located on Front Street, the Baldwin Home was once the residence of Reverend Dwight Baldwin, one of the most influential American missionaries in Lahaina. Baldwin arrived in Hawaiʻi in 1831 and played a critical role in shaping the town’s religious and educational landscape. His home, built between 1834 and 1835, served as both his residence and a

medical clinic, where Baldwin treated patients during epidemics, including a major smallpox outbreak. Henry P. Baldwin, the son of Dwight Baldwin, co-founded the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company, which became one of the largest sugarcane plantations in Hawaiʻi. The Baldwin Home also represents the intersection of missionary influence and the rise of the sugar industry, showcasing the role of prominent families in shaping Lahaina's plantation economy.

The Baldwin Home was converted into a museum that preserves the history of the missionary era in Lahaina, offering a glimpse into the daily lives of missionaries, their interactions with the local Hawaiian population, and their efforts to introduce Western medicine, education, and religion. The home was restored to reflect its original 19th-century appearance with original furnishings and artifacts from Baldwin's time.

4.4.3.3 Lahaina Heritage Museum

Lahaina Heritage Museum, located in the Old Lahaina Courthouse, offers exhibits on the history of Lahaina, including the role of missionaries in the town's transformation. The museum provides insights into the cultural and religious changes that took place during the 19th century, highlighting the interactions between Native Hawaiians, missionaries, and other foreigners. The exhibits cover the arrival of the first missionaries, their efforts to convert the Hawaiian population to Christianity, the establishment of educational institutions, and the introduction of Western customs and laws. The museum also explores the broader context of how missionary activity affected Hawaiian society, including the challenges and changes to traditional practices.

4.4.3.4 Lahaina Banyan Tree

The Lahaina Banyan Tree, planted in 1873, is considered an iconic landmark in Lahaina. While its planting was a Western initiative, the location where it stands holds deep historical significance for Native Hawaiians. The area beneath the banyan tree was once a site of important Hawaiian gatherings and ceremonies (Kanahele, 1986, p. 72). Situated near the Old Lahaina Courthouse, this area served as a crucial civic and cultural space for Native Hawaiians prior to Western contact and during the Kingdom era. This juxtaposition of the courthouse, a symbol of Western law and governance, with a traditional gathering place highlights the layered history of this site.

The planting of the banyan tree was commissioned by William Owen Smith, a lawyer and prominent figure in the annexation movement, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the arrival of Christian missionaries in Lahaina (LRF, 2014). This act of commemorating the missionaries by Smith adds a complex layer to the tree's symbolism, linking it to the increasing Western influence and eventual overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The

choice of a banyan tree, a non-native species, further underscores this Western presence.

The banyan tree continues to represent a complex intersection of Hawaiian and Western influences, continuing to serve as a gathering place for community events, cultural festivals, and historical reenactments. The tree and its surrounding park often host celebrations of Hawaiian culture, including hula performances and craft fairs, creating a living symbol of the fusion of Lahaina's past and present.

Numerous cultural events are held at Lahaina Banyan Tree Park including the Lahaina Banyan Tree Hoʻolauleʻa, which features Hawaiian music, food, crafts, and hula. The hoʻolauleʻa (celebration) is a part of the Aloha Festivals events that take place each September throughout the islands, further demonstrating the ongoing importance of this space for cultural expression and community engagement.

4.4.4 Lahainaluna Seminary and School

Established in 1831 by the ABCFM (ABCFM, 1832) on the slopes above Lahaina, Lahainaluna represents a pivotal chapter in the story of Hawaiian scholarship, education, and cultural resilience. While the institution was founded through the efforts of American missionaries, its profound significance lies in its role as a center for empowering Native Hawaiian agency and leadership during a transformative era for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Lahainaluna's inception, supported by prominent Hawaiian aliʻi like Hoapili, the then-Governor of Maui, and his wife Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, underscores the Kingdom's commitment to balancing its cultural foundations with the tools needed to navigate global diplomacy and modern governance.

The contributions of Hawaiian scholars and leaders such as David Malo, Samuel Kamakau, Timoteo Haʻalilio, and Judge D. Kahaulelio, who all emerged from Lahainaluna, should not be overshadowed by missionary narratives. The school became a locus for cultivating a literate, capable, and self-determined Hawaiian intelligentsia. It was an incubator for nā aliʻi, nā kumu (teachers), and nā luna (government officials) who would strengthen the Kingdom's sovereignty through education. These individuals skillfully merged Hawaiian ʻike (knowledge) with Western methodologies, ensuring that their heritage guided their stewardship of the Kingdom's future.

The land on which Lahainaluna stands carries its own story of Hawaiian generosity and foresight. The decision by Ulumāheihei, Hoapili Kāne, and his wife Kalākua, Hoapili Wahine, to provide this land for the school reflects the Hawaiian cultural value of hoʻokipa (hospitality) and a recognition of education's critical role in the survival and prosperity of

their people. This act of aloha ʻāina illustrates how Hawaiians actively shaped the trajectory of Lahainaluna, rather than merely being recipients of Western influence.

Lahainaluna's initial curriculum emphasized Hawaiian literacy, alongside instruction in subjects like arithmetic, geography, and history. This foundation was critical to preserving and promoting Hawaiian identity within an educational framework. ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi remained central to intellectual and cultural life at Lahainaluna, and its students were instrumental in producing some of the earliest printed works in the Hawaiian language (see **Section 4.4.4.3: Hale Paʻi**), solidifying a legacy of ʻōlelo preservation that continues today.

As Lahainaluna evolved into a public institution in 1849 and adopted English as the primary language of instruction, it retained its foundational commitment to empowering Native Hawaiian leaders (Anderson, 1872, p. 243). By 1864, Lahainaluna graduates were recognized as the most qualified individuals to hold key positions in governance and public service, an enduring testament to the school's success in bridging traditional Hawaiian values and modern statecraft.

The legacy of Lahainaluna persists not only in its educational milestones, but also in the deeply rooted traditions that continue to bind its students and alumni. From mele composed in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi to its alma mater—uniquely the first and, for several generations, only school anthem in the United States written in the Native Hawaiian language—Lahainaluna remains a bastion of cultural pride and responsibility.

Centering Hawaiian agency in Lahainaluna's history honors the foresight, leadership, and resilience of nā kūpuna who envisioned and supported an education system that served the lāhui (Hawaiian nation). The school's story is not merely one of missionary intervention and overt racism as documented in the minutes of The General Meeting of the missionaries when they resolved to "...instruct young men of piety and promising talents... [and] disseminate sound knowledge throughout these islands, embracing literature and the sciences, and whatever may tend eventually to elevate the whole mass of the people from their present ignorance; that they may become a thinking, enlightened and virtuous people..." (ABCFM, 1832), but of Native Hawaiian determination to adapt and thrive in an ever-changing world while steadfastly preserving their cultural identity and sovereignty.

Figure 17. Class photo of the 1920 graduating Class of Lahainaluna (Credit: Lahaina Restoration Foundation Printing and Publishing at Lahainaluna)

4.4.4.1 David Malo

David Malo, perhaps the eldest of the preeminent Native Hawaiian historians of the early 1800s, was born at Keauhou Bay, Kona in ca. 1795. He was raised under the ancient kapu system in a time when the beliefs in the kini akua (myriad gods) and the authority of aliʻi permeated every aspect of Hawaiian life. Trained as a kākāʻōlelo (chiefly counselor) and waihona ʻike (repository of knowledge), Malo's life spanned a period of immense cultural transformation in Hawaiʻi (Arista, 2020, p. 26). On the establishment of the high school at Lahainaluna in 1831, he became one of the first pupils at the age of about 38 years, and as an early convert to the Protestant mission, he deepened his understanding of Western literacy, Christian theology, and governance while attempting to maintain his role as a guardian of Hawaiian traditions and knowledge. In his lifetime, Malo also contributed a series of important manuscripts to our understanding of Hawaiian religious, political, and cultural history.

Malo's ability to navigate both Hawaiian and Western epistemologies made him an indispensable advisor to the aliʻi and a crucial bridge between Native Hawaiian leadership and foreign influences. His work to educate missionaries and chiefs alike demonstrated his commitment to empowering Hawaiians in the face of increasing foreign presence (Arista, 2020, p. 27).

Malo's legacy is profoundly tied to Lahaina, where he first served the aliʻi and contributed to the intellectual and spiritual growth of his nation. One of his most notable pieces of counsel is found in a letter dated August 18, 1837, addressed to Kīnaʻu, who had been appointed kuhina nui (prime minister) following the death of Queen Kaʻahumanu. Observing the radical changes he witnessed in his lifetime, Malo became wary of the words and actions of missionary teachers and other foreign residents. He was also deeply concerned by the impacts of foreign diseases on his lāhui kānaka (native race). Those who came to teach "Aloha ke Akua" (God is Love), gained control of all aspects of native life. Observing what was happening in his nation and to his people with the surging foreign population, he wrote to the aliʻi nui, urging vigilance lest the kingdom and native people would be eaten up. In his own words Malo wrote his urgent warning using a convincing metaphor:

> …Eia ke kumu, ina i pii mai ke kai nui, e hoea ma no na ia nui, noloko mai o ka moana eleele, kahi au i ike ole ai, a ike lakou i na ia liilii o ka papau, e ai no lakou i ka ia liilii, pela no na holoholona nui, e ai no i na mea liilii, pela no, ua pii mai na moku haole, a ua hoea mai na kanaka naauao, no na aina nui mai, au i ike ole ai, ua ike lakou ia kakou, he lahui kanaka uuku, e noho ana ma keia aupuni uuku, ua makemake lakou e ai ia kakou, pela wale no a na aupuni nui, ua lawe wale i na aupuni liilii ma ka honua nei a pau.
>
> > …Here is the reason. If the rough sea arises, large fish will come from the dark ocean, things which you have never before seen, and when they see the small fish in the shallow waters, they shall eat the little fish. It is the same with the large animals, they eat the little ones. Now the ships of the foreigners have come up, smart people have also arrived from the great countries that you have never seen before, and they know ours is a small race, living in a small country. They desire to eat us up, that is how it is with the large nations, they consume all the small nations of the earth.[18]

[18] David Malo to Kaʻahumanu II (E. Kīnaʻu) and Mataio Kekūanāōʻa, Augate 18, 1837, F.O. & Ex. 402-4-76 Chronological File, 1790-1849 (Hawaii State Archives, courtesy of Ronald Williams, Ph.D., Archivist.). Kepā Maly, translator.

In this correspondence, Malo employs the large and small fish as distinctly Hawaiian imagery to convey a cautionary message, urging the aliʻi to approach their responsibilities as leaders with diligence and gravity, warning against the dangers of complacency and foreign domination, reflecting his deep understanding of global dynamics and their implications for Hawaiʻi. A staunch advocate for the Hawaiian people, Malo held positions as a preacher, educator, and legislator, tirelessly working to safeguard the cultural and political sovereignty of his nation. His burial atop Puʻu Paʻupaʻu (Mount Ball), overlooking Lahainaluna, symbolizes his enduring vigilance and foresight. Malo's life and legacy remain a testament to the resilience, intelligence, and agency of Native Hawaiians during one of the most challenging periods in their history.

4.4.4.2 Lahainaluna Boarders and Boarding Department

Lahainaluna established boarding at the school in 1837, offering support "for children from seven to twelve, and for youth from twelve to twenty years of age" (Anderson, 1872, p. 179). The Lahainaluna Seminary was dedicated to educating men, while on the other side of Maui Komohana (West Maui), another boarding school, Wailuku Female Seminary, was overseen by Rev. Edward Bailey and his wife, Caroline (Anderson, 1872, p. 180). The boarding program began to accept female applicants in 1980.

The boarding program still exists as one of the few public boarding schools in the United States and the only public boarding school in the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education (DOE). In exchange for this opportunity, students are required to contribute to the institution by completing various tasks around the campus. Historically, these tasks included maintaining the landscape, caring for the agricultural farm and associated animals, and preparing student meals at the cafeteria. The farm that was once a vital part of the vocational agriculture program, and which the boarders helped to maintain, budgeted Farm Sales of $30,000 in the 1967 Executive Budget from the State of Hawaiʻi to offset the boarding program's projected cost of $155,102 for that year (Hawaii, 1967, p. 26). The jobs ascribed to the boarders evolved over the years as the programs offered by the school also changed. Today, boarders mainly assist with landscaping upkeep of the campus.

The two dorms on campus are David Malo Dormitory for boys and Hoapili Dormitory for girls; Hoapili previously housed both genders.

Puʻu Paʻupaʻu is a hill above Lahainaluna School, situated 2,250 feet above sea level, overlooking the town of Lahaina. The name Paʻupaʻu translates to drudgery, referencing the weariness of servants who used to transport water up the hill to bathe the chief's child (Pukui et al., 1976). As noted above, David Malo, one of the first scholars, is buried at the top of Puʻu Paʻupaʻu.

Boarders from the school climbed and carved an “L” on the face of Puʻu Paʻupaʻu to honor Lahainaluna, Lahaina, and the first scholars who attended the school. In an oral history interview conducted through this report, Craig Murakami, President of the Lahainaluna Boarders Association, relayed his understanding of the history of the “L” (see Appendix B). Some of the history he detailed included boarders trekking up Puʻu Paʻupaʻu in 1928-1929 to carve and refine the 30 ft “L.” They maintained the site and ensured the surrounding bushes and vegetation would not overtake it. The continued efforts and improvements, as outlined by Murakami, to the “L” are detailed as follows:

- 1945 – Boarders added white lime powder around the edges of the “L,” and bars were added for championships won in Football, Baseball, Track, and Basketball;
- 1954 – Boarders for Homecoming lit the “L” for the first time;
- 1955 – Boarders outlined the “L” with lime to celebrate graduation for the first time;
- 1956-present – Boarders continue to outline the “L” with lime at the beginning of each school year and before graduation.

Unfortunately, continuing this Boarders tradition is more challenging each year due to the lack of enrollment in the boarding program at Lahainaluna.

Each year, the graduating seniors leave a plaque with their names at Malo’s grave site. They also sing their Boarder song, “Yonder Lahaina Mountains,” composed by Alice K. Banham, Boarding Department dorm matron from 1929-1956, and pray together, to honor Malo for his contributions to the school and town.

4.4.4.3 Hale Paʻi (House of Printing)

Lahainaluna Seminary holds a prominent place in the history of Hawaiʻi, not only as an educational institution but as a pivotal center for printing and publishing within the Hawaiian Kingdom. The first printing press arrived in Honolulu in 1820 with the earliest mission of the ABCFM. It stayed in storage until the young printer, Elisha Loomis, was given rise to use it in 1822 (Spaulding, 1956, p. 313). The second printing press was of the same Ramage lineage and was sent to the Seminary at Lahainaluna in 1834. The Ramage press was a hand-operated flatbed press, requiring considerable manual labor to produce printed materials. Brought to Hawaiʻi by the missionaries as a tool for disseminating religious texts and educational materials, its use marked a profound shift, moving from an oral tradition to one incorporating written communication. The press quickly became instrumental in producing textbooks, religious tracts, and other educational resources in both Hawaiian and English, contributing significantly to the burgeoning literacy of the population.

Perhaps one of the most notable outputs of this press was *Ka Lama Hawaii*, the first newspaper printed in Hawaiʻi which commenced circulation in February 1834. This publication served as a crucial conduit for disseminating knowledge, news, and Christian teachings to a wider Hawaiian audience. Its pages offered insights into contemporary events, religious discourse, and evolving societal norms, shaping public discourse and fostering a sense of shared community. The press at Lahainaluna thus became a powerful instrument in shaping public opinion and spreading information throughout the islands.

The press at Lahainaluna also played a vital role in the development and standardization of the Hawaiian written language. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi existed as an exclusively oral tradition, without a formal system of writing. Missionaries, working closely with Hawaiian scholars and using the Latin alphabet as a base, developed a written form of the language, a process that was not without its complexities and debates (Elbert & Pukui, 1979, pp. xiv-xv). Lahainaluna then became a central hub for the production of Hawaiian-language materials, including the monumental task of printing the first complete Hawaiian Bible, completed in 1839. This undertaking, a massive project for the time, solidified the written form of the language and had a lasting impact on literacy, communication, and the preservation of Hawaiian culture. In later years, other presses were brought to Lahainaluna, including more advanced models that increased printing capacity.

Hale Paʻi, under the stewardship of the Lahaina Restoration Foundation, stands as a testament to this remarkable history. The museum displays original printing equipment, including a replica of the Ramage press, and showcases early publications, providing visitors with a tangible connection to this important chapter in Hawaiian history. It serves as a reminder of the power of the printed word and the profound impact Lahainaluna had on the development of literacy and communication in Hawaiʻi. One notable book printed at Lahainaluna was *He Hoikehonua*, an early geography textbook. Hale Paʻi was not impacted by the 2023 Maui Wildfires.

4.4.4.4 Lahainaluna’s Legacy and Impact

The impact of Lahainaluna on the Hawaiian Kingdom was profound. It played a critical role in the kingdom’s transition into a modern state, producing a generation of literate and educated leaders who were equipped to navigate the complex world of international diplomacy and trade. The school’s focus on Christian education, literacy, and leadership development left a lasting legacy in Hawaiʻi, influencing both the government and the church for decades to come.

Lahainaluna continues to stand as a symbol of Hawaiʻi's educational and cultural history. It remains one of the oldest schools in the Pacific, educating students while preserving its legacy as a center for learning and leadership. Its contributions to the development of literacy, governance, and cultural preservation in Hawaiʻi are an enduring testament to its historical importance.

4.4.5 Changes in Land Tenure and the Māhele ʻĀina

One of the most significant events in Lahaina's 19th-century history was the Māhele ʻĀina (Land Division) of 1848, a land redistribution process that fundamentally changed the way land was owned and used in Hawaiʻi. Prior to the Māhele, all land in Hawaiʻi was considered the property of the aliʻi, who managed it on behalf of the people. Land use was granted to the native tenants by the high chiefs or their konohiki. Land ownership and tenure was a foreign, introduced concept that was significantly different from the Hawaiian system of land stewardship. Before the 1840s, the lands in the islands were reapportioned among the Aliʻi each time there was a new Mōʻī, while the hoaʻāina were generally allowed to retain use of the land they occupied or cultivated over many generations.

By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was undergoing radical changes and the foundation for implementing the Māhele was established. This change in land tenure was promoted by the missionaries who had arrived in the 1820s amid a growing Western population and increasing business interests in the island kingdom. There were at least two main arguments for creating a land ownership system: 1) foreigners were hesitant to invest and construct improvements or enter into business deals on lease-hold land; and 2) the missionaries believed it was a God-given right to provide natives with their own ʻāina. The Māhele introduced the concept of private land ownership, influenced by Western notions of property rights.

Lahaina's aliʻi were central in the Māhele, and the redistribution of land had far-reaching consequences for the people of Lahaina. Many makaʻāinana who had traditionally worked the land found it difficult to claim ownership under the new system, leading to widespread dispossession and the eventual concentration of land in the hands of a few wealthy individuals and foreign landowners. This shift had profound economic and social consequences for Lahaina's population, contributing to the decline of traditional agricultural practices and the growth of commercial agriculture, particularly sugar plantations.

On December 10, 1845, Mōʻī Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) signed into law a joint resolution establishing and outlining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners

to Quiet Land Titles. The actions called for, and laws to be implemented, were as follows:[19]

Article IV. – Of The Board Of Commissioners To Quiet Land Titles.

Section I. His Majesty shall appoint through the minister of the interior, and upon consultation with the privy council, five commissioners, one of whom shall be the attorney general of this kingdom, to be a board for the investigation and final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired anterior to the passage of this act; the awards of which board, unless appealed from as hereinafter allowed, shall be binding upon the minister of the interior and upon the applicant.

Section II. Said commissioners shall, before acting, take and subscribe an oath to be administered to them by the minister of the interior in the following form:

We and each of us do solemnly swear that we will carefully and impartially investigate all claims to land submitted by private parties against the government of the Hawaiian Islands; and that we will equitably adjudge upon the title, tenure, duration and quantity thereof, according to the terms of article four of the seventh chapter of the first part of an act entitled "An act to organize the executive departments of the Hawaiian Islands," passed at Honolulu, —— day of ——, 18—.

Subscribed and sworn to, this —— day of ——, 18—.
Before me, ———
Minister of the Interior.

Which oath, having been sworn to, shall remain on file in the interior department.

Section III. It shall be the duty of said board of commissioners to select one of their number as president…

Section IV. The president of said board shall, at least once in each month, from the date of their first convention, report their proceedings to the minister of the interior—the number of claims then pending before them—the number to that date confirmed or rejected, and the reasons for confirmation and rejection of any particular claim to land, with all the evidence adduced to and reduced before them.

[19] *The Polynesian*; January 3, 1846, p. 140

Section V. It shall be the special duty of board to advertise in *The Polynesian* newspaper, during the continuance of their sessions the following public notice, viz.:

To All Claimants Of Land In The Hawaiian Islands.—The undersigned have been appointed by His Majesty the King, a board of commissioners to investigate and confirm or reject all claims to land arising previously to the __ day of__, 18__ [Dec. 10, 1845].

Patents in fee simple, or leases for terms of years, will be issued to those entitled to the same, upon the report of which we are authorized make, by testimony to be presented to us.

The board holds its stated meetings weekly at ——, in Honolulu, island of Oahu, to hear the parties or their counsel, in defense of their claims; and is prepared, every day to receive in writing, the claims and evidence of title which parties may have to offer, at the ——, in Honolulu between the hours of 9 o'clock A.M. and 3 o'clock P.M.

All persons are required to file with the board specifications of their claims to land, and to adduce the evidence upon which they claim title to any land in the Hawaiian Islands, before the expiration of two years from this date, or in default of doing so, they will after that time be forever barred of all right to recover same, in the courts of justice.

Section VI. The said board shall be in existence for the quieting of land titles during the two years from the first publication of the notice above required, and shall have the power to subpoena and compel the attendance of witnesses by discretionary fine; in like manner, when in session for the hearing of arguments, to punish for contempt; and they shall have the power to administer oaths to witnesses, and to perpetuate testimony in any case depending before them, which, when so perpetuated, shall be valid evidence in any court of justice created by the act to organize the judiciary.

Section VII. The decisions of said board shall be in accordance with the principles established by the civil code of this kingdom in regard to prescription, occupancy, fixtures, native usages in regard to landed tenures, water privileges and rights of piscary, the rights of women, the rights of absentees, tenancy and subtenancy, —primogeniture and rights of adoption; which decisions being of a majority in number

of said board, shall be only subject to appeal to the supreme court, and when such appeal shall not have been taken, they shall be final.

Section VIII. All claims to land, as against the Hawaiian government, which are not presented to said board within the time, at the place and in the manner prescribed in the notice required to be given in the fifth section of this article, shall be deemed to be invalid, and shall be forever barred in law, unless the claimant be absent from this kingdom, and have no representative therein.

Section IX. The minister of the interior shall issue patents or leases to the claimants of lands pursuant to the terms in which the said board shall have confirmed their respective claims, upon being paid the fees of patenting or of leasing (as the case may be) prescribed in the third part of this act, unless the party entitled to a lease shall prefer to compound with the said minister in the succeeding section allowed.

Section X. The minister of the interior shall have power in concurrence with the privy council, and under the sanction of His Majesty, to issue to any lessee or tenant for life of lands so confirmed, being an Hawaiian subject, a patent in fee simple for the same, upon payment of a commutation to be agreed upon by his Majesty in privy council.

Section XI. The patents and leases issued in accordance with the award of said commissioners, shall be recorded at the expense of the patentee or lessee, as prescribed in the third part of this act, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the minister of the interior.

Section XII. The said board shall not have power to entertain any claims to lands set up by any private person or persons until the claimant shall have deposited with the minister of finance a bond conditioned to defray the costs and expenses incident to the proposed investigation, according to the rates of charge prescribed in the third part of this act; which costs and expenses, shall, after award rendered, be taxed by the president of said board, and a certificate thereof shall be given to the claimant who shall exhibit the same to the minister of finance, whose certificate of full payment, together with the award of the commissioners, shall authorize the delivery of the awarded patent or lease to such confirmed claimant, by the minister of the interior, and not without.

Section XIII. The titles of all lands claimed of the Hawaiian government anterior to the passage of this act, upon being confirmed as aforesaid, in whole or in part by the board of commissioners, shall be deemed to be forever settled, as awarded by

said board, unless appeal be taken to the Supreme Court, as already prescribed. And all claims rejected by said board, unless appeal be taken as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be forever barred and foreclosed, from the expiration of the time allowed for such appeal.

As the Māhele evolved, it defined the land interests of the Mōʻī (Kamehameha III), the Aupuni, and approximately 252 high-ranking Aliʻi and Konohiki. Also included in the Māhele were numerous foreign residents who had served the Kamehamehas and representatives of the ABCFM. As a result of the Māhele, all land in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (ʻĀina Lei Aliʻi) for the occupant of the throne; (2) Konohiki Lands (ʻĀina Konohiki) for notable chiefs and those who provided service to the Kingdom; and (3) Government Lands (ʻĀina Aupuni) to be used in support of public initiatives and as a means of providing land to those who did not acquire land in the Māhele

As covered by the Act, and as a part of the proceedings, the King – after selecting land for his own use and agreeing on quitclaims with the approximately 252 Aliʻi and Konohiki – granted a large number and percentage of "his" lands across the islands to the ʻĀina Aupuni inventory to support government operations and the granting of lands in leasehold or fee-simple interest to qualified individuals.

Alphabetical List of Lands Cited in the Buke Māhele

Aki 1	Kuholilea	Polanui
Aki 2	Kuholilea 2 (Waena)	Puaa[20]
Alamihi	Kuholilea 2 (Waena)	Puahoowali (Puuhoowali)
Alio	Kuholilea 3 (Waena)	Puako
Aupokopoko	Kuholilea Hikina	Puehuehu 1
Halakaa	Kuhua	Puehuehu 2
Haleu	Kuia	Puou
Hanakaoo	Lapakea	Puuki
Ilikahi	Makila	Puunaunui
Kainehe	Mala	Puunauiki
Kalimaohe	Moalii	Puunoa
Kalualepo	Moanui	Uhao
Kamani	Oloalu & Olowalu	Ukumehame
Kapewakua	Opaeula	Aweoweo Ili no Ukumehame

[20] Puaaiki (portion of L.C.Aw. 8121 to A. Kaeo) and Puaanui (portion of L.C.Aw. 11216 to M. Kekauonohi) do not appear in the Buke Mahele, though the name "Puaa" is recorded (L.C.Aw. 11216, M. Kekauonohi).

Kapunakea (Punakea)	Paeohi	Puaaloa Ili no Ukumehame
Kauaula	Pahoa	Waianae 1
Kaulalo	Pakala	Wainee 1
Kelawea	Panaewa	Wainee 2
Kilolani	Paunau (Paunaʻu)	Waiokama
Kopili	Polaiki	

Ahupuaʻa Not Cited in the Buke Māhele include:

Hahakea[21]	Launiupoko[22]	Puamana[23]
Kulahuhu[24]	Nakalepo (Kalepo)[25]	Wahikuli (Ahikuli)[26]

4.4.6 Land Redistribution and Alienation in the 19th Century

In Lahaina, as elsewhere in the kingdom, the implementation of the Māhele led to the fragmentation of traditional land holdings. The lele ahupuaʻa in Lahaina became further subdivided (e.g., the ahupuaʻa of Mākila had portions situated both near the coast and further upland). The subdivision of these lands often resulted in some tenants losing access to critical resources like water, while others were left with disconnected parcels, making traditional agricultural practices more challenging.

Despite these challenges, agriculture remained the primary land use in Lahaina throughout the 19th century, though the focus shifted over time. The testimonies and land records from the Māhele period highlight the cultivation of kalo, ʻuala, and kō as the most common crops in the region. The loʻi kalo were particularly important, as kalo was a staple food in the Hawaiian diet. These patches were typically irrigated using water from streams like Kauaʻula, and their distribution across the land was carefully managed to ensure productivity year-round.

[21] Cited in Māhele-Kuleana Claim Documents.
[22] September 19, 1840: Launiupoko Ahupuaʻa was not entered into the “Buke Mahele.” Disposition is covered in Award 82 (to a foreigner, Thomas Phillips; Royal Patent Book 1358; Laauniopoko, Lahaina; 1 ap.; 3778 acres, with the caveat, “Said land to belong to Thomas Phillips and his Sandwich Island-born heirs forever more, together with all the privileges belonging to said land. It is also agreed hereby that said land shall never be transferred to any alien or non-resident of the Sandwich Islands… (Foreign Register Volume 1:92-93)
[23] Cited in Māhele-Kuleana Claim Documents.
[24] Kulahuhu cited in Royal Patent Grant 482 to James Young Kanehoa (Book 2 in 1850).
[25] Nakalepo was awarded in five Claims totaling approximately 10 acres, the largest piece being awarded to Daniela Ii, contianing 5 ½ acres (L.C.Aw. 520, R. P. 5632, Boook 22).
[26] Smaller parcels awarded to individual claimants; the remainder being held as ʻĀina Aupuni.

Testimonies from native tenants, such as those recorded in the Māhele documents (see Appendix A), describe land use patterns in the ahupuaʻa of Kahoma and Waiokama, where kalo was grown extensively in the lower elevations, while dryland crops like ʻuala were cultivated on the higher, drier slopes. Native tenants also grew kō, which became an increasingly important crop in Lahaina as foreign and commercial demand for sugar grew.

4.4.7 The Move to Honolulu and the Decline of Lahaina as a Political Center

In 1845, the Hawaiian capital was moved from Lahaina to Honolulu, marking the beginning of Lahaina's decline as the political center of the kingdom (Pukui et al., 1976). Honolulu's deepwater port and growing importance as a commercial hub made it a more practical choice for the capital. Although Lahaina remained an important town, it gradually lost its political prominence, with much of the kingdom's administrative functions shifting to Honolulu.

Despite the capital's relocation, Lahaina remained culturally significant, especially as a symbol of Maui's royal history. The town continued to serve as a residence for members of the Hawaiian royal family and retained its status as a key religious and cultural center Lahaina's role in the late 18th and 19th centuries was crucial to the development of the Hawaiian Kingdom. From its importance as a royal capital and center of governance to its role as a key economic hub during the whaling era, Lahaina was at the heart of many of the significant political, economic, and cultural transformations that shaped Hawaiʻi during this period. While its political influence waned after the capital moved to Honolulu, Lahaina's legacy as a center of royal power, missionary influence, and economic activity remains a central chapter in the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

As Lahaina adapted to the changes brought about by the Māhele, the introduction of commercial agriculture, particularly sugar, began to alter traditional land use practices. The shift from subsistence farming to commercial sugar production, driven by foreign investors, changed the landscape of Lahaina. Large sugar plantations began to dominate the economy, leading to a decline in traditional taro cultivation. The increasing demand for water for sugarcane irrigation also exacerbated conflicts over water rights[27], further

[27] The 1895 case *Horner v. Kumuliʻiliʻi* centered on the water rights of the Kauaʻula Stream, which had been traditionally shared among the families and communities in the valley, following an ancient rotational system. Pioneer Mill, a plantation owner, sought to claim a prescriptive right to the waters of Kauaʻula Stream and to impose a traditional eleven-day rotational water distribution system. The court reinstated this system, emphasizing its historical role in equitable water sharing among kuleana landowners but noted its limitations and inefficiencies in adapting traditional practices to private ownership systems under Western law.

complicating the lives of native tenants who relied on these resources for subsistence farming.

The Māhele documents and testimonies also reveal the impact of Western land ownership concepts on Native Hawaiians. Many tenants were unable to navigate the legal processes required to claim their land, resulting in dispossession[28]. The fragmentation of land and the introduction of a cash economy gradually eroded the communal stewardship that had defined Lahaina's land use for centuries.

4.4.8 Emergence of Whaling and Trade

Throughout the 19th century and early 20th century, Lahaina underwent profound social, economic, and political transitions that reshaped its landscape, communities, and significance within the Hawaiian Islands. The cumulative effects of the Māhele land division, the rise of plantation agriculture, increasing Western influence, and political shifts within the Hawaiian Kingdom created a rapidly changing environment. These changes altered Lahaina's economy, land use, social fabric, and its relationship to the broader Hawaiian political structure, ultimately influencing its trajectory into the 20th century.

In the mid-19th century, Lahaina emerged as a key port in the Pacific whaling industry (Speakman, 2014, p. 77). Whaling ships from the United States and Europe regularly visited Lahaina, seeking provisions and rest after long voyages at sea. The arrival of the whaling fleet transformed Lahaina into a bustling economic hub, bringing with it both prosperity and social change.

The whaling industry had significant economic benefits for Lahaina and the broader Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiian merchants supplied the whalers with food, water, and other necessities, while local craftspeople found employment repairing ships and providing services to sailors. The influx of foreign currency and goods from whaling ships contributed to the growth of a cash economy, replacing the traditional barter system. Lahaina became a center for trade, connecting Hawaiʻi with the global economy through its interactions with whalers and foreign merchants.

The social impact of the whaling industry, however, was more complex. The arrival of large numbers of sailors in Lahaina brought new challenges, including conflicts between sailors and missionaries over moral behavior. The sailors, who often stayed in the town for extended periods, were known for their rowdy behavior, which clashed with the strict moral codes promoted by the missionaries. These tensions sometimes escalated into

[28] Of the 794 claims recorded and researched through this report, 504 were awarded, 288 were unawarded, and 2 have unknown outcomes. See Appendix A for more information regarding Māhele ʻĀina land claims and awards.

violent confrontations, as seen in the 1827 riot when sailors clashed with locals over the enforcement of Christian prohibitions on alcohol and prostitution (Speakman, 2014, p. 79).

Lahaina was a central hub for the global whaling industry during the 19th century, particularly between the 1820s and 1860s (Speakman, 2014, pp. 77-79). The town served as a stopover for whaling ships from around the world, and the whaling industry significantly shaped its economy, social life, and traditions. Several locations in Lahaina are associated with its rich whaling history (see **Section 5: Assessment and Conclusion** for status of these sites after the 2023 Maui Wildfires), highlighting how deeply the industry influenced the town's development:

- **Lahaina Harbor** was at the heart of the town's whaling industry during its peak. Whaling ships from America, Europe, and elsewhere would anchor here for rest, repairs, and supplies. The harbor became a bustling center of activity, with sailors coming ashore to rest, repair ships, and trade. The harbor area became a meeting point for sailors and locals, leading to the development of various businesses, including taverns, general stores, and blacksmith shops, to cater to the needs of the whalers.

Figure 18. Lahaina Harbor (2019) (Credit: iStock Photo ID: 1185717077)

- **Lahaina Whaling Museum**, located in the historic Pioneer Inn on Front Street, is dedicated to preserving and presenting Lahaina's whaling history. The museum offers a range of exhibits that explore the town's connection to the whaling industry, displaying artifacts such as harpoons, scrimshaw, ship logs, and navigational tools

used by 19th-century whalers. The museum provides visitors with insights into the lives of sailors who frequented Lahaina, the dangers of whaling, and the economic impact of the industry on the town. The exhibits also highlight the social interactions between sailors, Native Hawaiians, and missionaries during this period.

- **Seamen's Chapel**, originally located near Lahaina Harbor, was established by missionaries to provide religious services to the sailors and whalers who frequented Lahaina during the whaling boom. The missionaries were deeply concerned about the behavior of sailors, who often indulged in drinking and other vices while in port, and the chapel was intended to offer moral guidance and Christian teachings. Although the original chapel no longer exists, its influence can be seen in the **Pioneer Inn**, which was built in 1901 near the same location. The Pioneer Inn, one of the oldest hotels in Hawai'i, catered to seafarers and travelers, and its proximity to the harbor connects it to Lahaina's maritime and missionary history. The Pioneer Inn is a designated historic landmark, offering visitors a glimpse into Lahaina's seafaring history.

Figure 19. Pioneer Inn (2023) (Credit: iStock Photo ID: 1614533677)

- **Seamen's Cemetery**, located near the harbor, is another important location tied to Lahaina's whaling history. This cemetery contains the graves of sailors, many of whom died while their ships were anchored in Lahaina or during their whaling

voyages. The gravestones provide a unique insight into the transient and often perilous lives of whalers during the 19th century. The cemetery stands as a solemn reminder of the hazards of whaling and the many sailors who passed through Lahaina during this period. It is a quiet and reflective space where visitors can learn more about the individuals who contributed to Lahaina's maritime past.

- **The Old Lahaina Courthouse**, located near the harbor, was built in 1859 during the peak of the whaling era and served as a government building for overseeing maritime activities. It housed the customs office, where whaling ships were registered and inspected, and the courtroom handled disputes that often arose between sailors and local residents. The courthouse also functioned as a post office and offered other services essential to the whaling industry. The Old Lahaina Courthouse was restored and serves as a museum and visitor center. Exhibits inside the courthouse provide historical information on Lahaina's whaling industry and its role in shaping the town's identity.

Figure 20. Old Lahaina Courthouse (2022) (Credit: iPhoto Stock Photo ID: 1608989732)

4.4.9 The Rise of Sugar Plantations and the Need for Labor

One of the most significant transitions in Lahaina during this period was the shift from traditional subsistence farming, particularly the cultivation of kalo, to large-scale commercial sugar production. Before the transformation, Lahaina's agricultural system centered on taro cultivation in loʻi kalo. After the Māhele of 1848 and the subsequent privatization of land, sugarcane quickly became the dominant crop, spurred by global demand for sugar. Large-scale efforts at commercial sugar cane production began with the West Maui Sugar Company circa 1864, although, as with the history of commercial sugar throughout the islands, other, smaller efforts to grow cane for profit in West Maui preceded this one. The West Maui Sugar Company—started by King Kamehameha V (Lot Kapuāiwa) and two foreign businessmen (F.W. Hutchison and James Makee)—was not successful and, by 1874, was bought out by the Pioneer Mill Company, which then dominated the West Maui / Lahaina business into the twentieth century.

In the early 1860s, the Pioneer Mill Company, itself originally started as one or more smaller companies, was established by James Campbell and other foreign-born businessmen. Hawaiʻi's famous artesian-well diggers, the McCandless Brothers, were hired by Pioneer Mill to drill for groundwater in 1883; by the early 1920s, they had completed at least 36 wells in Kāʻanapali and 26 in Lahaina (Wong et al., 2021, p. 44). Pioneer Mill also built a plantation railway system to connect the mill in Lahaina with the fields.

The transition from taro to sugar dramatically altered the landscape. Fields that had once been used for diversified agriculture were now consolidated into expansive sugarcane plantations, and many native tenants were displaced as these plantations required access to critical water resources.

The rise of sugar plantations exacerbated conflicts over water rights, as sugarcane required extensive irrigation. Testimonies from native tenants during this period frequently mention disputes over access to water, particularly as plantation owners diverted water for their crops at the expense of local communities. Traditional ʻauwai were often modified to prioritize the plantations, leaving many native farmers without adequate water for their loʻi kalo and further accelerating the decline of subsistence agriculture.

Several locations in Lahaina are historically associated with plantations, reflecting the town's deep connection to the sugarcane industry that dominated Hawaiʻi's economy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These sites are key to understanding the impact of plantation life on Lahaina's social, economic, and cultural development:

- **Puʻukoliʻi Sugar Mill (Historic Site)** was one of Lahaina's primary sugar processing facilities. Established in the late 19th century, it processed sugarcane grown on nearby plantations. The mill was central to the economic life of the region, employing many workers, including immigrants from China, Japan, the Philippines, Portugal, and other parts of the world. Though now in ruins, the site represents Lahaina's shift from a traditional Hawaiian economy to one based on plantation agriculture. It also serves as a reminder of the labor struggles and contributions of immigrant communities to Lahaina's development.

- **Plantation Camps (Historic Locations)** were residential areas where workers and their families lived, often segregated by ethnicity. These camps were established near sugarcane fields and mills, providing housing for Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, and other immigrant workers. While most of the original structures are no longer standing, areas around Lahaina, including Puʻukoliʻi and other plantation sites, were once home to these camps. These camps were places of cultural exchange, where diverse communities preserved their traditions while adapting to plantation life.

- **Lahaina Sugar Cane Train (Route)**, though no longer operational, once transported sugarcane from the fields to the mills for processing. The railway line connected the various plantations to the Puʻukoliʻi Sugar Mill and Lahaina Harbor. The train became a tourist attraction in later years, symbolizing Lahaina's plantation past and offering a historical glimpse into how sugarcane shaped the region's economy and infrastructure.

- **Lahaina Heritage Museum**, located in the Old Lahaina Courthouse, features exhibits that explore the town's plantation history. The museum offers insights into how sugarcane plantations shaped Lahaina's economy and society, highlighting the lives of immigrant workers, the evolution of plantation labor, and the environmental changes brought about by large-scale agriculture. As noted in Table 2, the Lahaina Heritage Museum was badly damaged during the 2023 Maui Wildfires, but there is a shoring and rehabilitation plan by FEMA (Wilson et al., 2024).

These locations provide a glimpse into Lahaina's plantation past, reflecting the town's economic transformation and the multicultural communities that developed around the sugar industry. Though the physical remnants of many plantations and camps have faded, their impact on Lahaina's cultural and social fabric remains significant today.

The introduction of sugarcane as a cash crop created a demand for large-scale labor, as the cultivation and processing of sugarcane were labor-intensive. Initially, Native Hawaiians made up the majority of the labor force on plantations. However, as the population of Native Hawaiians began to decline due to disease, social disruption, and displacement from their lands, plantation owners looked abroad to fill the labor shortage. This need for a steady labor supply led to the implementation of labor contracts and recruitment of foreign workers, marking the beginning of Hawaiʻi's era of plantation immigration. Lahaina, once a seat of Hawaiian royalty and a whaling port, became an important location for sugar production, with plantation owners requiring a stable, inexpensive workforce to ensure the profitability of their operations.

The influx of plantation immigrants to Lahaina created a complex, multicultural society, blending native Hawaiian traditions with those of the immigrant groups. While plantation life was often difficult, the diverse immigrant communities contributed to the development of Lahaina's unique cultural identity. Festivals, food, religion, and language from China, Japan, Portugal, and the Philippines all influenced the social fabric of the town. However, the rigid plantation hierarchy often enforced segregation and ethnic divisions. Immigrant groups were housed separately, paid differently, and faced distinct challenges in their integration into Hawaiian society. Despite the hardships faced by these immigrant communities, their contributions to the social and economic life of Lahaina were profound, shaping the town's evolution and leaving a lasting legacy in the 20th century and beyond.

4.4.9.1 Chinese Immigrants and Cultural Traditions

The first wave of immigrants to arrive in Lahaina and other parts of Hawaiʻi were the Chinese. Starting in the 1850s, Chinese laborers were brought to Hawaiʻi under contract to work in the sugarcane fields. Many of these laborers were recruited from Guangdong Province in southern China, where poverty and overpopulation made the promise of work in Hawaiʻi appealing (NPS, n.d.). Chinese workers endured harsh conditions, long hours, and low pay, typical of the contract labor system in place at the time.

Despite these difficulties, some Chinese laborers were able to save money and, after their contracts ended, established businesses in Lahaina. Chinese immigrants often operated small stores, restaurants, and other enterprises, contributing to the economic diversity of the town. By the late 19th century, a small but growing Chinese community had taken root in Lahaina, with Chinese immigrants integrating into the broader social and economic fabric of the town.

In Lahaina, several locations are associated with the Chinese community and reflect their cultural and religious contributions, particularly from the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Chinese immigrants played a significant role in the town's development. These

locations highlight the enduring influence of Chinese culture, business, and spirituality in Lahaina:

- **Wo Hing Temple**, located on Front Street, is one of the most prominent landmarks associated with Chinese culture in Lahaina. Originally built in the early 20th century, the temple served as a social and religious center for the Chinese community in Lahaina. The temple was established by the Wo Hing Society, a Chinese fraternal organization that provided mutual aid and a gathering place for Chinese immigrants. The upstairs of the building housed the temple for religious ceremonies, while the downstairs served as a community hall. The location operated as the Wo Hing Museum showcasing Chinese history and culture in Lahaina. The museum contained artifacts, photographs, and exhibits detailing the lives of early Chinese immigrants and the significant role they played in the town's history. The location also served as home to many local Chinese celebrations and traditional events. The August 2023 wildfires destroyed the Wo Hing Temple; community groups such as the Wo Hing Foundation are currently working to recover from the destruction.

Figure 21. Wo Hing Temple (2017) (Credit: Lahaina Restoration Foundation)

- **Lahaina Chinese Cemetery**. Located just outside Lahaina town, the cemetery dates back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It serves as the final resting place for many Chinese immigrants who worked on plantations or operated businesses in Lahaina. The Chinese community placed great importance on burial traditions and ancestral worship, and this cemetery reflects their enduring cultural and spiritual practices.

- **Front Street (Chinatown District).** During the height of Chinese immigration in the late 19th century, a section of Front Street became known as Lahaina's Chinatown. Chinese-owned shops, restaurants, and businesses lined the street, making it a center for trade and commerce. This area was pivotal in integrating Chinese culture into the broader economy and social life of Lahaina. While much of the old Chinatown no longer exists, the legacy of Chinese entrepreneurship remains significant in Lahaina's historical memory.

- **Joss Houses.** In addition to the Wo Hing Temple, small joss houses (traditional Chinese temples or shrines for ancestor worship and religious ceremonies) were found in various parts of Lahaina during the early 20th century. The Chinese community used these to practice religious rituals, including offerings to deities and ancestors. While many of these joss houses no longer remain, their presence was once a central part of the religious life of Lahaina's Chinese population.

- **Chinese-Owned Businesses and Homes.** Many Chinese immigrants in Lahaina became successful merchants, opening small stores, restaurants, and laundry services along Front Street and in nearby areas. Although these individual businesses are no longer in operation, they added to the economic and cultural vibrancy of Lahaina. Some of the original locations of these establishments have been repurposed or integrated into modern Lahaina's commercial district, but the early contributions of Chinese entrepreneurs remain a vital part of Lahaina's history.

These locations contribute to understanding the influence of Chinese culture and religion in Lahaina. They serve as lasting reminders of the contributions made by Chinese immigrants to the town's social, religious, and economic fabric.

4.4.9.2 Japanese Immigrants and Cultural Traditions

Following the success of the Chinese labor recruitment, the Hawaiian government and plantation owners turned to Japan as a source of labor. Beginning in the late 1800s, waves of Japanese workers were brought to Hawaiʻi under contract (LOC, n.d.), and by

the early 20th century, the Japanese had become the largest immigrant group in Hawaiʻi, significantly influencing the demographic and cultural landscape of Lahaina.

Japanese immigrants, primarily young men seeking economic opportunities, arrived to work in Lahaina’s growing sugar plantations. They were subjected to long hours, harsh conditions, and a contract labor system that left little room for upward mobility. Despite these challenges, the Japanese played an essential role in the success of the sugar industry, and their presence grew steadily over the years (LOC, n.d.).

Japanese immigrants brought their rich cultural heritage, including traditional customs, language, and religious practices, which began to influence life in Lahaina. Over time, Japanese laborers transitioned from contract workers to small landowners, entrepreneurs, and community leaders, helping to shape the town's multicultural fabric. The influence of Japanese immigrants is still evident today in the legacy of Japanese culture throughout Maui and the islands.

Lahaina has several locations associated with Japanese culture and religion, reflecting the deep influence of Japanese immigrants who arrived in Hawaiʻi, especially during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to work on sugar plantations. These locations highlight the lasting impact of Japanese religious practices, cultural contributions, and community life in Lahaina:

- **Lahaina Jodo Mission**, located near Māla Wharf, is one of the most significant sites associated with Japanese culture and religion in Lahaina. Established in 1912 by Japanese immigrants, the Jodo Mission serves as a Buddhist temple and is an important center for religious practice in the Japanese community. The temple grounds feature a large bronze Amida Buddha statue, which is one of the largest outside Japan, along with a traditional Japanese pagoda and a bell tower (bonsho), which symbolize peace and the teachings of Buddhism. The 2023 Maui Wildfires destroyed the Jodo Mission Temple, but the Amida Buddha statue survived.

- **Japanese Language Schools.** During the early 20th century, Japanese language schools were established in Lahaina to educate children of Japanese immigrants in both Japanese language and cultural traditions. These schools played an important role in preserving Japanese identity and culture among the second generation of Japanese immigrants (Nisei) while integrating into Hawaiian society. Though many of the original Japanese language schools are no longer standing, their presence was a cornerstone of Japanese cultural life in Lahaina.

- **Japanese-owned Businesses and Homes.** Similar to other immigrant groups, Japanese settlers established numerous businesses in Lahaina, including small

markets, restaurants, and service shops. These businesses were often located along Front Street and surrounding areas, contributing to the town's economic and social life. Many of these businesses became community hubs for Japanese families, who maintained their cultural practices while integrating into the broader Lahaina society. While the physical locations of many of these Japanese-owned businesses may have changed over time, the influence of Japanese entrepreneurship in Lahaina continues to be recognized as a major part of the town’s historical development.

- **Japanese Gardens and Cultural Markers.** In addition to religious and educational institutions, Japanese immigrants in Lahaina contributed to the development of Japanese-style gardens and cultural markers that reflected their homeland’s aesthetic and spiritual values. These gardens, often found near temples like the Jodo Mission, emphasized harmony with nature and provided spaces for reflection and meditation. While not as prominent as in other parts of Hawaiʻi, such gardens added to the cultural landscape of Lahaina.

Japanese culture and religion have left an enduring legacy in Lahaina. The influence of Japanese culture remains a vibrant part of Lahaina’s heritage, celebrated through religious festivals, language education, and traditional practices.

4.4.9.3 Portuguese Immigrants and Cultural Traditions

Portuguese immigrants from the Azores and Madeira were the third largest group of workers that arrived in Hawaiʻi in the latter half of the 19th century, with 17,500 immigrants arriving between 1878 and 1886 (Beechert, 1985, p. 86). Arriving in Lahaina to labor on the sugar plantations, the Portuguese were different from earlier immigrant groups in that they often came as families, more costly to the plantations, rather than individual laborers (Beechert, 1985, p. 87). Unlike Chinese or Japanese laborers, who were typically recruited for unskilled work in the fields, many Portuguese immigrants brought skilled trades with them, such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and stone masonry, and they were often employed in more specialized roles on the plantations (Beechert, 1985, p. 88).

The Portuguese introduced a unique set of cultural traditions to Lahaina, particularly in religion and music. As devout Catholics, the Portuguese helped establish Catholic churches and influenced the religious practices of the local community. Their contributions to Hawaiian music, particularly the introduction of the ukulele, adapted from the Portuguese machete brought from Madeira (Tranquada & King, 2012, pp. 39-40), remain a beloved part of Hawaiʻi’s cultural heritage.

The Portuguese plantation laborers, when their contracts expired, transitioned away from plantation labor and some even left for California (Beechert, 1985, p. 88). Those that stayed in Hawaiʻi began establishing small businesses and became landowners. As they integrated into the community, Portuguese families maintained their cultural traditions, contributing to the diversity of Lahaina's population.

In Lahaina, several locations are associated with Portuguese culture and religion, reflecting the influence of Portuguese immigrants who arrived in Hawaiʻi in the late 19th century to work on sugar plantations. The Portuguese community brought with them their unique cultural traditions, including Roman Catholicism, music, and food, leaving a lasting impact on Lahaina's religious and social landscape.

- **Maria Lanakila Catholic Church** is located on Waineʻe Street and is one of the most prominent landmarks associated with Portuguese culture and religion in Lahaina. Founded in 1846, it became a central place of worship for Portuguese Catholic immigrants who settled in the area. "Maria Lanakila" translates to "Our Lady of Victory," reflecting the deep Catholic faith of the Portuguese community. The church served as a spiritual home for Portuguese families, where they practiced their religious beliefs, held important celebrations like baptisms and weddings, and gathered as a community. Portuguese immigrants played a key role in the growth and development of the church, contributing both financially and through volunteer work. The architecture of Maria Lanakila, which has been maintained and expanded over the years, remains a symbol of the religious devotion of the Portuguese and the broader Catholic community in Lahaina. Maria Lanakila Catholic Church was not damaged by the 2023 Maui Wildfires.

  An annual festival is held in conjunction with a church feast day, such as the Feast of Our Lady of Victory (Maria Lanakila), the church's patron saint. During this event, the church holds special Masses and processions, which often incorporate elements of Portuguese religious traditions.

- **Catholic Cemeteries.** Portuguese immigrants, being predominantly Catholic, often chose burial sites in Catholic cemeteries, such as the cemetery associated with Maria Lanakila Catholic Church. These cemeteries reflect the religious customs of the Portuguese community, including the importance of memorializing ancestors and maintaining gravesites with religious symbols such as crosses. Many Portuguese families would gather at these cemeteries during religious observances to honor their departed relatives, a tradition that continues to be observed by descendants today.

- **Influence on Food Culture.** Though not tied to a specific physical location, the culinary influence of Portuguese immigrants in Lahaina can still be felt today. Traditional Portuguese foods like malasadas (deep-fried doughnuts) and pão doce (sweet bread) have become widely popular throughout Hawaiʻi, including in Lahaina. Portuguese sausage is another well-known contribution to local cuisine, commonly served at Hawaiian breakfast tables. These foods, introduced by Portuguese immigrants, are now part of the broader culinary landscape of Lahaina and Hawaiʻi, with many local bakeries and restaurants serving dishes inspired by Portuguese flavors.

Figure 22. Maria Lanakila Catholic Church (2022) (Credit: iStock Photo ID: 1425068146)

The Portuguese community in Lahaina, though smaller than other immigrant groups, left a significant imprint on the town's religious and cultural life. From their contributions to religious life, skilled trades, and local cuisine, the Portuguese have played an integral role in shaping Lahaina's unique multicultural identity. Their legacy is still visible today, particularly in the continued importance of Catholicism and Portuguese-inspired traditions in Lahaina's community.

4.4.9.4 Filipino Immigrants and Cultural Traditions

By the early 20th century, Filipino immigrants became the largest labor group recruited for the plantations in Lahaina and across Hawaiʻi. With the Philippines under U.S. control following the Spanish-American War, recruitment of Filipino laborers was relatively easy for the plantation owners (Gonzalez, 2013). Filipinos faced similar harsh working conditions as earlier immigrants but played a vital role in sustaining the plantation economy during the decline of native Hawaiian and Japanese labor forces.

Filipino immigrants, many of whom were young men seeking economic opportunities, brought their own cultural and social traditions to Lahaina. Over time, as they settled in the town and their communities grew, Filipino immigrants formed the backbone of the labor force in Lahaina's plantations (Gonzalez, 2013). Their contributions to Hawaiʻi's labor movement, including strikes and demands for better working conditions, were crucial in reshaping labor relations in the early 20th century.

In Lahaina, Filipino culture and religion are represented in various locations, reflecting the significant contributions of Filipino immigrants who arrived in Hawaiʻi, particularly in the early 20th century, to work on sugar plantations. Over time, Filipinos became a central part of the labor force and contributed to the cultural, religious, and social fabric of Lahaina. The following are key locations associated with Filipino culture and religion in Lahaina.

- **Maria Lanakila Catholic Church.** Like many other immigrant groups in Lahaina, the Filipino community has deep ties to the Maria Lanakila Catholic Church. As predominantly Roman Catholic, many Filipinos have found a spiritual home at this church, participating in religious services, sacraments, and community events. The church is a vital hub for Filipino families in Lahaina, offering a place for worship, baptisms, weddings, and celebrations of religious holidays such as Christmas and Holy Week. Filipino traditions, including the *Simbang Gabi* (a devotional nine-day series of Masses celebrated before Christmas), are observed at Maria Lanakila, reflecting the blending of Filipino Catholic practices with the broader community's religious life. The church also plays a role in other significant Filipino religious

events, helping to preserve the community's cultural and religious heritage. As stated early, the church was not damaged in the 2023 Maui Wildfires.

- **Lahaina Filipino Catholic Club (FCC)** is affiliated with Maria Lanakila Church and provides a space for Filipino parishioners to connect, celebrate their faith, and engage in community service. The FCC organizes events, religious activities, and fundraisers to support both the local church and the broader Filipino community. Through the FCC, the Filipino community in Lahaina is able to maintain and strengthen its cultural and religious ties, making it a vital part of Filipino identity in the area.

- **Filipino-Owned Businesses.** Many Filipino immigrants and their descendants have established businesses throughout Lahaina, contributing to the town's economy and offering goods and services that reflect Filipino culture. Restaurants, grocery stores, and service-based businesses often showcase Filipino cuisine, products, and traditions. These establishments, scattered across Lahaina, help maintain Filipino culture in the town and serve as informal gathering places for the community.

Filipino culture and religion in Lahaina are centered around Maria Lanakila Catholic Church and the community's strong connection to Catholicism. The church and related organizations, such as the FCC, play an essential role in preserving Filipino religious practices and providing a space for the community to gather. The historical presence of Filipinos in plantation camps reflects the deep roots of the Filipino community in Lahaina's history. Their contributions to the town's cultural and religious life continue to shape the identity of Lahaina today.

4.4.10 Late 19th Century Political Turmoil

The late 19th century was also marked by political upheaval in Hawaiʻi, culminating in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. The treasonous coup d'etat, led by a group of American and European businessmen with support from the U.S. government, resulted in the establishment of a provisional government and, eventually, the annexation of Hawaiʻi by the United States in 1898.

For Lahaina, the political transition signaled the final decline of its role as a political center. Although Lahaina's political influence had already waned when the capital moved to Honolulu in 1845, the overthrow and annexation further cemented Honolulu's dominance and left Lahaina playing a secondary role in the new political order. Despite this, Lahaina remained culturally and historically significant as a former royal seat and a center of Native Hawaiian life.

The political shifts also had direct consequences for land ownership in Lahaina. The annexation of Hawaiʻi led to the further consolidation of land into the hands of foreign investors, particularly through the expansion of the sugar industry. Many Native Hawaiians lost their land during this period, either through legal processes they could not navigate or economic pressures that forced them to sell their land to pay debts. The loss of land and political sovereignty deeply affected the native population, creating a sense of displacement and disenfranchisement that persisted into the 20th century.

4.5 Lahaina in the 20th Century to Present Day

By the early 20th century, Lahaina began to shift once again, this time toward a tourism-based economy. With the decline of sugar production due to mechanization and global market changes, the once-dominant sugar plantations started to reduce their influence. Meanwhile, Hawaiʻi's annexation by the United States and its subsequent inclusion as a territory in 1900 opened the islands to an increasing number of visitors from the mainland.

Lahaina, with its historical significance and picturesque location, gradually became a tourist destination. Visitors were drawn to its scenic beauty, warm climate, and the allure of its royal past. Mokuʻula, the sacred island that had been a residence of Maui royalty, became a point of historical interest, though much of it had been neglected or buried under sugarcane fields and infrastructure development.

Tourism also led to the preservation and restoration of many historical sites in Lahaina, including the Baldwin Home and the Old Lahaina Courthouse. These restorations were part of a broader effort to capitalize on the town's history and appeal to visitors interested in Hawaiian culture and history. However, the rise of tourism also contributed to further commercialization of Lahaina, as new businesses catering to tourists replaced traditional agricultural uses of the land. Most of the tourism-influenced revitalization, particularly on Front Street, focused mainly on the whaling and missionary historical context while downplaying the pre- and post-contact Native Hawaiian areas of cultural importance. This is reflected in the original Lahaina NHL District designation of 1962, which focused on the historic sites that granted Lahaina recognition as one of the busiest whaling ports in the Pacific and a center for missionary activity in the 19th century as opposed to the significance in the pre-contact era.

The shift to tourism marked the beginning of Lahaina's transformation into a modern tourist town, a process that would accelerate throughout the 20th century. By capitalizing on its historical and cultural significance, Lahaina became one of Hawaiʻi's most visited destinations, though this also introduced challenges related to cultural preservation and the impacts of development on local communities.

Culturally, the influx of Western influences, especially through the tourism industry, led to the commercialization of Hawaiian traditions such as hula and lūʻau (feasts), which were often performed for entertainment rather than as sacred cultural expressions. This shift contributed to the erosion of traditional practices and values, as Hawaiian spirituality and customs were commodified for profit.

Economically, Native Hawaiians struggled to find secure footing. As land was increasingly bought and developed for resorts, hotels, and businesses catering to tourists, many Hawaiians were priced out of their own hometown, facing rising costs of living and limited employment opportunities. The focus on tourism and service industry jobs offered few pathways for economic stability or land ownership.

Despite these struggles, the Native Hawaiian community in Lahaina has worked to reclaim its heritage through cultural revitalization efforts, such as the restoration of Mokuʻula and the promotion of Hawaiian language and practices. These efforts continue today, seeking to preserve and strengthen Native Hawaiian identity in Lahaina amid ongoing challenges.

4.5.1 Celebrations of Cultural Heritage in Lahaina

Lahaina, with its deep historical ties to the Hawaiian monarchy and cultural heritage, is a hub for Native Hawaiian customs and cultural celebrations, such as David Malo Day and the Emma Farden Sharpe Hula Festival. In addition to Hawaiian customs, the descendants of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino immigrants – brought to Lahaina during the 19th century for sugar plantation labor – celebrate their cultural heritage with a variety of festivals and events that take place annually in Lahaina. These celebrated traditions, such as Chinese New Year, Japanese Bon Odori, and Filipino Simbang Gabi are integral to Lahaina's cultural identity and serve as a testament to the enduring legacy of the immigrant communities. These events not only provide a means for these communities to honor their ancestors and preserve their customs but also offer opportunities for the wider population to engage with and appreciate the rich traditions of these cultures. Through these annual celebrations, Lahaina's multicultural spirit is highlighted, and the town's diverse heritage is honored and shared with all.

4.5.1.1 David Malo Day

David Malo Day, or Lā Davida Malo, at Lahainaluna is an annual celebration that honors the legacy of David Malo, one of Hawaiʻi's most prominent early scholars and historians. Malo was a graduate of Lahainaluna and later became a teacher at the school. His work was instrumental in recording traditional Hawaiian knowledge, history, and genealogies. His famous *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi)* is invaluable to understanding pre-

contact Hawaiian society, and Malo remains a revered figure in Hawaiian history. Malo's contributions also demonstrate that while Lahainaluna was established by missionaries, it also became a place where Hawaiian culture could be preserved and passed down to future generations.

Figure 23. Students performing at David Malo Day (2023) (Credit: Lahaina News)

The first David Malo Day celebration was held in 1969 to commemorate Malo's contributions and to celebrate Hawaiian culture at Lahainaluna. Annually, the students and faculty of Lahainaluna assemble to host this event, which highlights traditional Hawaiian values, practices, and arts, fostering a sense of pride in Hawaiian heritage. The event typically features performances of hula, mele, and oli, as well as presentations of traditional Hawaiian crafts.

The roots of this event are deeply embedded within the campus grounds. The late Jimmie Greig, a surveyor for Pioneer Mill Company and a former Lahainaluna football coach, is the mastermind behind this time-honored event. In 1969, together with then-Principal Ralph Murakami, Greig designed the first David Malo Day celebration. The event was created as a platform to instill in students the importance of giving back to a community that supports the school in athletics, academics, and society. Jimmie Greig also resurrected the Lahainaluna High School Boarders' Chorus, and in September of that same year, 1969, the Hawaiian Club was established.

Figure 24. The crowd at David Malo Day April 2024 (Credit: Torie Hoʻopiʻi)

Figure 25. Class of 1994 30th Reunion at David Malo Day (2024) (Credit: Torie Hoʻopiʻi)

David Malo Day is held at the Lahainaluna campus on Boarders' Field. The stage was constructed in the early 1950s by Earle Kukahiko and boarding students for annual May Day Programs. Back seating was added to the field in 1957, allowing graduation ceremonies to be held there.

The David Malo Day Hoʻolauleʻa and pāʻina (party, meal) also serves as a reunion night that welcomes Lahainaluna alumni back to campus to reflect on memories and celebrate with one another to honor David Malo, one of the historic school's first and most notable graduates.

Historically, preparation for David Malo Day, including food, entertainment, and decoration, was done by the Lahainaluna boarders. In recent years, the food preparation by boarders was unfortunately eliminated because of low enrollment in the boarders' program.

Figure 26. The Lahainaluna boarders preparing food for the pāʻina at David Malo Day (2015) (Credit: Torie Hoʻopiʻi)

For the small, close-knit community of Lahaina, David Malo Day represents the Hawaiian traditions envisioned for Lahainaluna. A central feature of the celebration is the acknowledgment of the importance of education in preserving Hawaiian culture,

something David Malo himself emphasized. The event not only serves as a tribute to Malo's legacy but also reinforces the ongoing mission of Lahainaluna to be a center of Hawaiian knowledge and pride. David Malo Day continues to be a meaningful tradition, connecting students and the broader community to their cultural roots.

4.5.1.2 Commemorating Hula

The Emma Farden Sharpe Memorial Garden, located near the Baldwin Home Museum, pays tribute to Emma Farden Sharpe, a renowned hula dancer and cultural ambassador. Born into a family deeply rooted in Hawaiian culture, Sharpe dedicated her life to preserving and promoting traditional hula. As an influential kumu hula (hula teacher), she taught countless students, helping to safeguard hula as a vital part of Hawai'i's cultural identity. Hula is a dance deeply rooted in Hawaiian religion and storytelling and is a powerful way for Hawaiians to preserve and transmit their history, mythology, and values.

While this memorial garden celebrates Hawaiian culture, it also serves as a reflection of the tension between traditional Hawaiian practices, such as hula, and the influence of missionary teachings. Early missionaries discouraged hula and other traditional practices, which they viewed as pagan, in their effort to Christianize the Hawaiian population. The garden and other cultural preservation efforts in Lahaina reflect a reconciliation of missionary influences with the revival of Hawaiian culture. This site is a reminder of the complex legacy of missionary efforts in Lahaina, where Western religious values were introduced, but eventually balanced with the preservation of Native Hawaiian identity and traditions.

The Emma Farden Sharpe Hula Festival, first established in her honor in the late 20th century, takes place annually in Lahaina and celebrates Sharpe's contributions to hula and Hawaiian culture. This festival features performances by hula hālau (schools) from across Hawai'i, showcasing various styles of hula, both ancient (kahiko) and modern ('auana). The festival not only commemorates Sharpe's legacy but also serves as a vibrant celebration of Hawaiian dance, music, and storytelling, drawing both locals and visitors to appreciate and participate in the rich tradition of hula.

Hula is an important tradition in Lahaina. The following is a list of hālau hula associated with Lahaina:

1. **Hālau Hula Malani O Kapehe**
    - **Kumu Hula**: Kapehe Puarosa
    - **Description**: This hālau teaches both kahiko and 'auana styles of hula. The hālau is active in community events and often performs at local festivals and cultural celebrations in Lahaina and Maui.

Figure 27. Emma Farden Sharpe Hula Festival (n.d.) (Credit: Emma Farden Sharpe Hula Festival)

2. **Hālau Keʻala Kahinano O Puna**
   - **Kumu Hula**: Nāpua Greig
   - **Description**: While primarily based in upcountry Maui, this hālau has a strong presence in Lahaina and frequently performs in cultural events, particularly those related to Hawaiian heritage and hula festivals.
3. **Hālau Hula O Keola Aliʻiokekai**
   - **Kumu Hula**: Kaponoʻai Molitau
   - **Description**: Known for their dedication to perpetuating traditional hula practices, this hālau often performs in Lahaina, focusing on the spiritual and cultural aspects of hula.
4. **Hālau Hula O Ka Makani Wili Makaha O Kauaʻula**
   - **Kumu Hula**: Leinaʻala Lassiter
   - **Description**: This hālau, rooted in Lahaina, offers classes and performances that highlight the beauty of both traditional and contemporary hula.

Kamehameha Iki Beach Park is another location tied to Hawaiian culture, particularly through traditional hula performances. Public hula performances often take place at this

beach park, celebrating both Hawaiian culture and its historical connections to Lahaina. Kamehameha Iki Beach Park serves as a gathering place where both locals and visitors can witness the beauty and spiritual significance of hula, connecting them to the traditional stories of Hawaiʻi's past.

Additionally, the Lahaina Banyan Tree Park, also known by its Hawaiian name Keawaiki, hosts celebrations of Hawaiian culture, including hula performances and craft fairs. The tree and its surrounding park are a living symbol of the fusion of Lahaina's past and present. The hoʻolauleʻa is part of the Aloha Festivals events that take place each September throughout the islands.

Figure 28. Lahaina Banyan Tree Hoʻolauleʻa (2018) (Credit: Festivals of Aloha)

4.5.1.3 King Kamehameha Day

King Kamehameha Day, celebrated annually on June 11, is a statewide holiday in Hawaiʻi honoring King Kamehameha I. In Lahaina, the celebration is especially vibrant, reflecting the town's historical significance as the former royal capital during Kamehameha's reign.

Festivities typically include a floral parade featuring beautifully adorned pāʻū (wahine skirt) horseback riders, representing Hawaiian royalty and the islands. The procession winds

through Lahaina’s streets, with traditional Hawaiian music, hula performances, and decorated floats. The parade concludes with a ceremony near Kamehameha’s statue or other historic sites, where lei are draped in his honor.

The day is also marked by hoʻolauleʻa at Lahaina’s parks, offering local food, cultural demonstrations, and live music. King Kamehameha Day in Lahaina is a time for the community to celebrate Hawaiian heritage, honor the legacy of its great unifier, and promote cultural pride.

Figure 29. Pāʻū Riders in the King Kamehameha Day Parade (Credit: Festivals of Aloha)

4.5.1.4 Chinese New Year Celebrations

The most prominent annual Chinese tradition celebrated in Lahaina is Chinese New Year, also known as the Lunar New Year. This celebration is one of the most important holidays in Chinese culture, marking the beginning of the lunar calendar and symbolizing renewal, prosperity, and the hope for good fortune in the year ahead. The festival typically takes place between late January and early February, depending on the lunar calendar.

In Lahaina, the Wo Hing Temple and Museum on Front Street was the focal point for Chinese New Year festivities. The museum, which was once a social hall and temple for

the Wo Hing Society (a Chinese fraternal organization), served as a cultural and historical site where the Chinese community and visitors alike could celebrate the New Year. The festivities include traditional lion dances, which are believed to ward off evil spirits and bring good luck for the coming year. These vibrant performances feature skilled dancers dressed in colorful lion costumes, accompanied by the sounds of drums, cymbals, and firecrackers, which are set off to scare away bad luck.

The streets around Wo Hing Museum come alive with the sights and sounds of the Chinese New Year, as local businesses and residents join in the festivities. Red lanterns and decorations adorn the area, and vendors sell traditional Chinese foods such as dim sum, jiaozi (dumplings), and nian gao (sweet rice cakes), which are considered symbols of good fortune and success. The celebration also includes cultural performances, such as traditional Chinese music and dance, making it an immersive experience for both locals and visitors.

The Lantern Festival, which marks the end of the Chinese New Year celebrations, is another important annual event in Lahaina. Taking place 15 days after the Lunar New Year, the Lantern Festival is a time to honor ancestors and celebrate family unity. In Chinese culture, it is also associated with the first full moon of the lunar year, symbolizing the reunion of families and the brightness of the future.

In Lahaina, the festival often involves the lighting of paper lanterns, which are released into the night sky or floated on water, creating a beautiful and symbolic display. Participants write messages of hope, good luck, or wishes for their loved ones on the lanterns before releasing them.

4.5.1.5 Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)

The Moon Festival, also known as the Mid-Autumn Festival, is another annual Chinese tradition celebrated in Lahaina. It takes place in the fall, usually in September or October, and is one of the most important harvest festivals in Chinese culture. The festival honors the full moon, symbolizing reunion and completeness, and is a time for families to come together and celebrate the bounty of the harvest.

In Lahaina, the Moon Festival was celebrated at the Wo Hing Museum and other community centers, where families gathered to share traditional mooncakes, a pastry filled with sweet lotus seed paste or red bean paste, and often containing a salted egg yolk to represent the full moon. The festival also includes storytelling about the legend of Chang’e, the moon goddess, and activities such as lantern-making workshops and moon-viewing parties.

4.5.1.6 Bon Odori (Bon Dance)

One of the most significant and widely celebrated Japanese traditions in Lahaina is the Bon Odori, which is part of the larger Obon Festival. Obon is a Buddhist event that honors the spirits of deceased ancestors, traditionally held during the summer months. In Japan, it is believed that during Obon, the spirits of the departed return to visit their families, and the Bon Odori is a joyful celebration welcoming them back.

Figure 30. O-Bon Festival held at Lahaina Jodo Mission (2023) (Credit: Lahaina News / Atsuko Sekiguchi)

In Lahaina, the Bon Odori is a major cultural event and was hosted at the Lahaina Jodo Mission near Mala, Lahaina Hongwanji on Waineʻe, and the Lahaina Shingon Mission on Luakini. The Obon hosted by Lahaina Jodo Mission, which was one of the key Buddhist temples in the town and located on the waterfront, often included a lantern ceremony. The events typically take place in July or August and feature lively folk dances, music, food, and lanterns.

Participants, dressed in colorful yukatas (light cotton kimonos), gather around a central tower (yagura) where taiko drummers perform traditional beats that set the rhythm for the dancers. The dances, accompanied by traditional music and chanting, are simple,

repetitive movements that anyone can participate in, symbolizing unity and community. The Bon Odori is open to people of all ages and cultural backgrounds, and both locals and visitors are encouraged to join the celebration, making it a truly inclusive and festive occasion.

The missions are adorned with lanterns, which are lit to guide the spirits of ancestors back to their resting places. This cultural event not only serves as a way for the Japanese community in Lahaina to honor their ancestors but also provides an opportunity for the broader community to engage with and appreciate Japanese culture and Buddhist traditions.

In August 2024, all three Buddhist missions in Lahaina combined efforts to host a special Obon Festival. The historical sites of the Lahaina temples were all impacted by the Lahaina fires. The renewed festival, post-fire, allowed for the greater Lahaina community to come together in the shared experience of the cultural event that is a long-standing part of Lahaina Town's heritage and tradition.

Figure 31. Flyer Promoting the August 2024 Lahaina Obon Festival

4.5.1.7 Oshogatsu (Japanese New Year)

Oshogatsu, the Japanese New Year, is another important annual tradition celebrated by the Japanese community in Lahaina. Japanese New Year celebrations are filled with rituals, traditional foods, and family gatherings, reflecting themes of renewal, prosperity, and good fortune for the year ahead.

While many families celebrate Oshogatsu privately at home, local Japanese temples often host special services to mark the occasion. These services typically include offerings to Buddhist deities, prayers for health and prosperity in the coming year, and rituals aimed at purifying participants of past misfortunes. Many Japanese families in Lahaina also prepare and enjoy traditional osechi-ryori—a variety of symbolic dishes that are eaten during New Year's celebrations, including mochi (rice cakes), nishime (vegetables simmered in broth), and ozoni (a soup with mochi, vegetables, and chicken).

In addition to religious services, some aspects of the Japanese New Year celebrations include making kagami mochi (decorative rice cakes) and participating in the first shrine visit of the year, known as hatsumode, which takes place at local Buddhist temples.

4.5.1.8 Cherry Blossom Festival

Though cherry blossoms (sakura) are not native to Hawai'i, the Cherry Blossom Festival is celebrated across the state, including in Lahaina. The festival, which originated in Japan to celebrate the fleeting beauty of the sakura blossoms, has become a broader celebration of Japanese culture and heritage in Hawai'i. In Lahaina, the festival typically includes cultural performances, art exhibits, and tea ceremonies, all showcasing Japanese traditions. While the festival is not as large as in other parts of Hawai'i, it is still an important way for the local Japanese community to maintain ties to their cultural heritage.

4.5.1.9 Sacred Hearts School Bazaar

The annual Sacred Hearts School Bazaar started in 1972 and includes food fairs where traditional Portuguese dishes such as malasada (Portuguese doughnuts), pork vinha d'alhos (a Portuguese-style marinated pork dish), and pão doce are served. These foods have become a beloved part of Hawai'i's culinary landscape, but they hold special significance for the Portuguese community as a way of maintaining their cultural identity.

In addition to religious and culinary traditions, the festival at Maria Lanakila often features music and entertainment that highlight Portuguese cultural contributions, including fado (traditional Portuguese folk music) performances and Portuguese folk dances. These

performances showcase the unique heritage of the Portuguese community in Lahaina and allow younger generations to connect with their ancestral traditions.

Figure 32. Sacred Hearts School Bazaar (2019) (Credit: Lahaina News)

4.5.1.10 Feast of Santo Niño Celebrations

Although not tied to a specific permanent location, the Feast of Santo Niño, an important religious celebration in Filipino culture, is observed by the Filipino community in Lahaina. The feast, which honors the image of the Christ Child, Santo Niño, includes processions, Masses, and communal gatherings. These celebrations often take place at Maria Lanakila Church or in community spaces where Filipino families come together to honor their religious traditions and cultural heritage. The event is a significant expression of Filipino Catholic identity and is one of the key religious festivals for the community.

4.5.1.11 Flores de Mayo and Santacruzan

One of the most important annual Filipino traditions celebrated in Lahaina is Flores de Mayo (Flowers of May), a Catholic festival honoring the Virgin Mary, which is deeply

rooted in Filipino religious practices. Celebrated throughout the month of May, Flores de Mayo features daily offerings of flowers to the Virgin Mary, processions, and prayers, culminating in the Santacruzan procession at the end of the month. Santacruzan commemorates Queen Helena's search for the True Cross and is a religious and cultural highlight for Filipino communities.

In Lahaina, Flores de Mayo and Santacruzan are typically celebrated at Maria Lanakila Catholic Church, which serves as a spiritual home for many Filipino families in the area. The church is adorned with flowers and banners during the festival, and the Filipino community gathers to offer prayers and participate in processions. The Santacruzan is a grand event featuring young women dressed as queens, with one participant representing Reyna Elena (Queen Helena), who is accompanied by a young boy playing the role of Emperor Constantine. The procession is a festive, colorful parade that symbolizes faith and cultural identity, and it is often followed by a community gathering with food, music, and dancing.

4.5.1.12 Simbang Gabi (Misa de Gallo)

Simbang Gabi, also known as Misa de Gallo, is another important Filipino Catholic tradition that takes place annually in Lahaina. Simbang Gabi is a nine-day series of early morning or evening Masses leading up to Christmas, starting on December 16 and concluding on Christmas Eve. This tradition is a way for Filipino Catholics to prepare spiritually for the birth of Christ and is marked by prayers, songs, and a festive atmosphere.

In Lahaina, Simbang Gabi is celebrated at Maria Lanakila Catholic Church, where Filipino families come together to attend Mass before dawn or in the evening. After Mass, participants often gather for a community meal, sharing traditional Filipino foods such as bibingka (rice cakes), puto bumbong (steamed purple rice cake), and kakanin (sticky rice desserts). Simbang Gabi is not only a religious observance but also a time for Filipinos to strengthen their sense of community and cultural ties. The joyful atmosphere, combined with the anticipation of Christmas, makes this event a cherished part of Filipino life in Lahaina.

4.5.1.13 Fiesta Celebrations

Filipino fiesta celebrations are another important cultural tradition in Lahaina, reflecting the community's love of family, food, and celebration. While not tied to a specific religious event, Filipino fiestas are held throughout the year to celebrate various occasions, such as town or village festivals, birthdays, anniversaries, and other milestones. These gatherings usually take place in community centers, parks, or private homes, and they

serve as an opportunity for the Filipino community to come together to enjoy traditional foods, music, and entertainment.

At these fiestas, Filipino delicacies such as lechon (roast pig), lumpia (spring rolls), adobo (marinated meat dish), and pancit (noodles) are commonly served. Traditional dances such as tinikling, a bamboo dance that mimics the movements of birds, and singkil, a dance that narrates a royal epic, are often performed, showcasing Filipino artistry and cultural pride. Fiestas in Lahaina provide an opportunity for families to celebrate their heritage and pass on these traditions to younger generations, ensuring that Filipino culture remains vibrant in the community.

4.5.2 Cultural Resilience and Preservation Efforts

Despite the profound changes in Lahaina during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Native Hawaiian culture and traditions showed resilience. As the political and economic landscape shifted, many Hawaiians held onto their cultural identity, maintaining traditional practices in fishing, farming, and religious life. The Hawaiian cultural renaissance that began in the mid-20th century would later draw on the cultural foundations preserved in places like Lahaina, where Hawaiian history and identity remained deeply embedded in the land. This section covers various practices and activities not discussed in previous sections of this report.

Moreover, the early 20th century saw the beginnings of efforts to reclaim and preserve Hawaiian culture and history. Institutions like Lahainaluna Seminary continued to play an important role in educating Native Hawaiians, while movements to revive Hawaiian language and traditional arts slowly began to take root. Though these efforts faced challenges, particularly due to the dominance of Western norms and the suppression of native culture in schools and public life, they laid the groundwork for the later revival of Hawaiian culture and identity.

The transitions that occurred in Lahaina during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were profound, reshaping the town’s economy, social structure, and cultural life. From the decline of kalo cultivation to the rise of sugar plantations and the eventual emergence of tourism, Lahaina’s transformation mirrored the broader changes occurring throughout Hawaiʻi during this period. Despite these shifts, Native Hawaiian culture remained resilient, adapting to new circumstances while preserving key elements of traditional life. As Lahaina moved into the 20th century, its role as both a historical center and a modern tourist destination continued to evolve, reflecting the complex legacy of these transitions.

The mid- to late 20th century also saw the emergence of historical societies focused on preserving Lahaina’s history. Together, the efforts of the Lahaina Town Action Committee

(LTAC), the Lahaina Restoration Foundation (LRF), and the Lahaina National Historic Landmark (NHL) District have ensured that Lahaina's unique history is preserved while allowing the town to remain a vibrant and welcoming community. Their work continues to safeguard Lahaina's cultural heritage, benefiting both residents and the millions of tourists who visit each year to experience its history.

Figure 33. Front Street (2011) (Credit: iStock Photo ID: 458636713)

4.5.2.1 The Lahaina Restoration Foundation

The LRF was established in July 1962 by a group of concerned citizens dedicated to preserving and restoring Lahaina's historical sites. The initial board of directors included Colin Camerson, Van Der Linden, Mrs. Roy Savage, Mrs. Keith B. Tester, J.E. Ednie, Robert Ohata, John Gregg, G.W. Fisher, Mrs. Walter Dillingham, J.C. Earle, Robert Van Dyke, Robert Midkiff, Russell Cades, Harold Kent, Vern Spackman, Harry Field, Asa Baldwin, and Richard Smart. At a time when many of Lahaina's historic buildings were at risk of being lost due to neglect or commercial development, the LRF stepped in to ensure that these sites were protected for future generations.

The foundation's primary mission is to preserve and celebrate Lahaina's unique history, with a focus on the town's importance as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom (1820-

1845) and its later role as a whaling port. Over the decades, the LRF has restored numerous historic structures, including the Baldwin Home Museum, the Old Lahaina Courthouse, the Seamen's Hospital, and the Wo Hing Temple. Each of these sites is integral to telling the story of Lahaina's diverse cultural and economic history.

The LRF continues to work on maintaining and restoring historic buildings, while also providing educational programs and resources to the community. The organization operates several museums and offers walking tours of historic Lahaina, helping to educate both residents and tourists about the town's rich past.

4.5.2.2 The Lahaina Town Action Committee

The LTAC was founded in 1988 with the goal of preserving and enhancing the historical, cultural, and economic vitality of Lahaina. The LTAC works to ensure that Lahaina remains a vibrant and culturally significant town while managing the challenges of modernization and tourism.

The LTAC plays a crucial role in organizing community events that celebrate the town's heritage, such as the annual Lahaina Halloween Celebration, which has become one of the largest Halloween street parties in the Pacific. This event draws thousands of visitors and residents, contributing to the local economy while promoting community engagement. The LTAC also organizes Chinese New Year, Fourth of July fireworks, and other events that reflect Lahaina's multicultural history.

In addition to event planning, the LTAC advocates for the preservation of historical sites and provides support for local businesses. The organization collaborates with other groups, such as the LRF, to ensure that Lahaina's historical integrity is maintained amidst increasing tourism and development pressures. The LTAC also addresses issues related to public infrastructure and economic development, working to keep Lahaina a viable and sustainable town for both residents and visitors.

4.5.2.3 Lahaina National Historic Landmark District

The U.S. Department of the Interior designated the Lahaina NHL District on December 29, 1962. This designation was granted in recognition of Lahaina's outstanding historical significance, particularly for its role as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as one of the busiest whaling ports in the Pacific, and as a center for missionary activity in the 19th century. In 1974, the National Park Service (NPS) accepted documentation that delineated an official boundary, established a period of significance, and referenced additional resources associated with the NHL District and setting; this 1974 nomination stands as the official record of the NHL boundary (Wilson et al., 2024).

The NHL District covers much of the central part of Lahaina, including many of its most historically significant buildings and sites. The boundary encompasses 1,671 acres, including 1,333 acres of ocean and 305 acres of land, to include "historic sites, buildings, objects and archaeological features [and] architectural elements' within the County of Maui Historic District 1, the architectural elements that comprise the County of Maui Historic District 2, the anchorage that defined Lahaina as a seaport, the waterfront along which boats landed, and sufficient town blocks outside the Maui County Historic Districts to include protection of the 'near-sight zone of the setting' to preserve views to scenic, rural, natural, and marine places" (Wilson et al., 2024, p. 12; Apple, 1974, pp. 6-7). The NPS developed a map (Figure 34) to illustrate the historic sites and buildings included in the current Lahaina NHL boundary; this map is an inset and not the entirety of the NHL boundary (Wilson et al., 2024, p. 8).

There is currently a recommendation to update the Lahaina NHL nomination to "reframe Lahaina's national significance as an important spiritual, cultural, and political center from the time of the Maui kingdom, through the period of the Hawaiian monarchy, up to the present day" because the current nomination focuses primarily on the whaling and missionary impacts to the area (Wilson et al., 2024, p. vii). Additionally, an updated nomination can include the significance of sugarcane plantation agriculture, as well as the resources associated with the many immigrants who came to the Hawaiian Islands in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Filipino.

Many studies of Lahaina have been conducted since the 1974 update that have identified additional resources and character-defining features associated with the national significance that are located within and outside the present NHL boundary. Adjusting the Lahaina NHL boundary is a factor of the proposed nomination update (Wilson et al., 2024).

The Lahaina NHL designation has helped protect these and other historic sites from overdevelopment and ensures that they are maintained to preserve their historical character. It also emphasizes Lahaina's role in both Hawaiian and American history, drawing attention to the town's significance beyond the local level. The NHL status has contributed to Lahaina becoming a major tourist destination, with visitors drawn not only to its natural beauty but also to its historical importance.

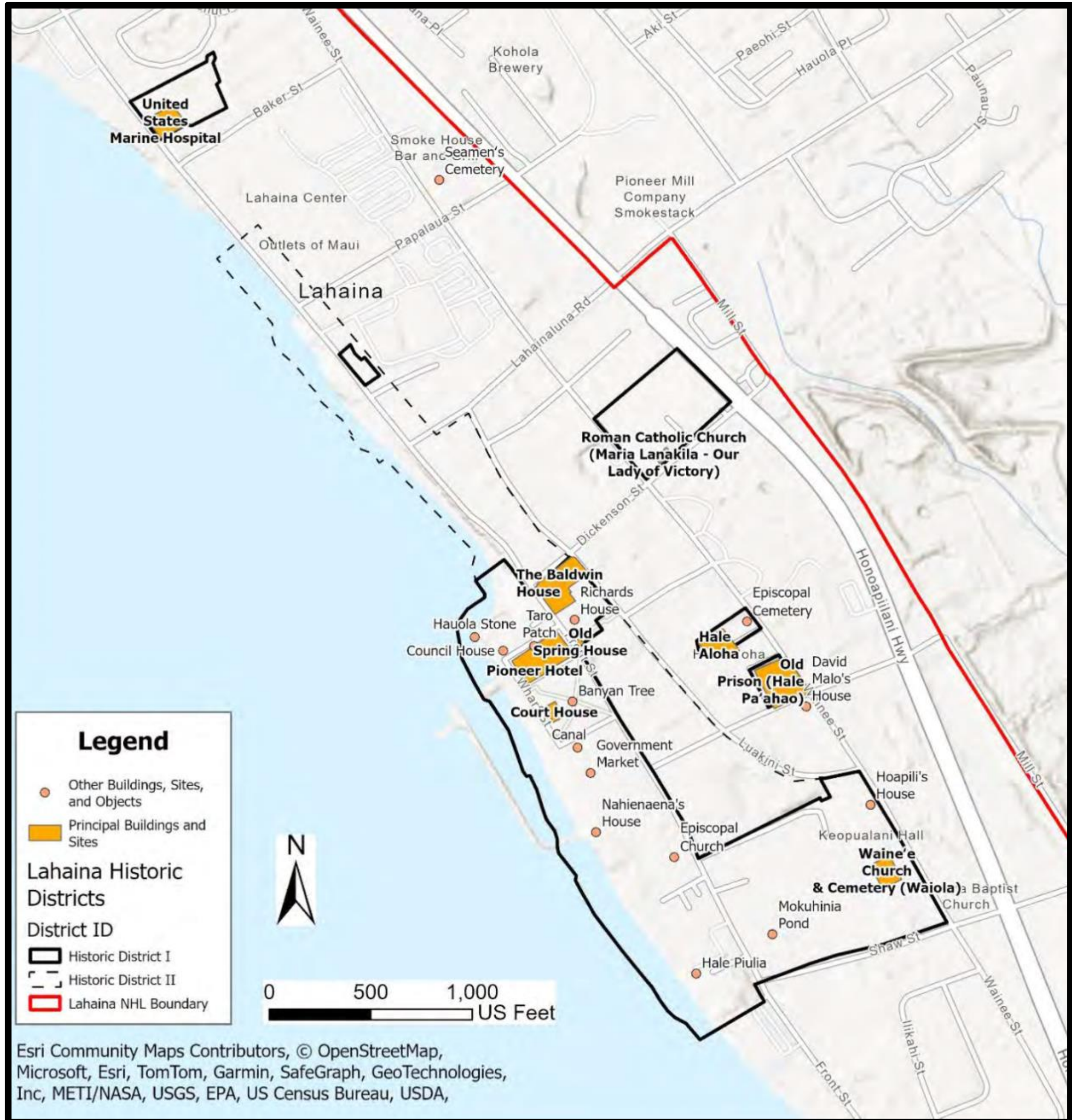

Figure 34. Principle and Other Noted Buildings, Sites, and Objects within the Lahaina NHL District boundary (Credit: NPS, Wilson et al., 2024)

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5. Assessment and Conclusion

This study encompasses a detailed ethnographic and oral history documentation of Lahaina, Maui, focusing on its pre-contact and post-contact history. Traditional and historic narratives that reflect Lahaina's significance as a cultural, political, and religious center for Native Hawaiians were explored. The ethnographic study centers on the collection of oral histories from key community members, kūpuna, and cultural practitioners who provide valuable insights into the historical events and cultural practices associated with Lahaina, which is available to view in its entirety in Appendix B.

Lahaina was designated an NHL District in 1962 based on its significance as the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom, a whaling port, and center of missionary influence. Agencies have recommended updating the NHL nomination to emphasize the extensive history of Maui and the Hawaiian monarchy in Lahaina prior to Western contact and evaluate the significance of Native Hawaiians and the monarchy after 1840.

The District, as originally designated, was significantly impacted by the 2023 Maui Wildfires. The following table details the impacts of the wildfires on historic sites discussed in the preceding sections of this ethnographic study.

Table 2. Assessment of Effects to Historic Sites of Lahaina Discussed in Study (Wilson et al., 2024)

Site	Impacts of the Wildfire	Effects of FEMA Undertakings
Baldwin Home Museum	All combustible parts of building consumed, walls damaged but still standing, grounds impacted but largely intact.	Walls shored; building can feasibly be rehabilitated.
Hale Paʻi	Undamaged.	No properties affected.
Lahaina Banyan Tree	Tree damaged.	Reasonable chance of rehabilitation with regimen or irrigation, compost, and soil aeration.
Lahaina Harbor	Fuel, embers, and debris blown into the sea; 82 commercial and private boats destroyed (Pells, 2024).	N/A; levels of hazardous material in harbor waters did not meet the FEMA threshold for funds (Cruz, 2024).

Site	Impacts of the Wildfire	Effects of FEMA Undertakings
Lahaina Heritage Museum	All combustible parts of building consumed, walls still standing.	Building can feasibly be rehabilitated; shoring plan.
Lahaina Jodo Mission	All combustible parts of building consumed; building collapsed; Amida Buddha statue still standing.	Anticipated destruction of remaining features; community groups working on recovery/rebuild plan.
Maria Lanakila Catholic Church	Undamaged.	No properties affected.
Old Lahaina Courthouse	All combustible parts of building consumed, walls still standing.	Building can feasibly be rehabilitated; shoring plan.
Pioneer Inn / Lahaina Whaling Museum	All combustible parts of building consumed.	Anticipated destruction of remaining features.
Seamen's Cemetery	Undamaged.	No properties affected.
Waiola Church & Waineʻe Cemetery	All combustible parts of building consumed, east gable collapsed, masonry gables damaged.	Anticipated destruction of remaining 1953 features. No effect to cemetery.
Wo Hing Temple	All combustible parts of building consumed; building collapsed.	Anticipated destruction of remaining features; community groups working on recovery/rebuild plan.

As this study has shown, while some physical properties in the District may no longer have integrity, the cultural history of Lahaina continues to thrive. Lahaina today has a unique culture and range of vibrant traditions that have grown organically from a community infused over time by a multitude of cultures. It would be advisable to evaluate the moku to determine whether or not boundaries of a new District(s) may be eligible as an NHL or National Register of Historic Places eligible properties.

The findings of this report are consistent with the updated review completed by NPS (Wilson et al., 2024), which found important properties throughout Lahaina. As previously discussed in this report and as supported by the oral histories, the boundaries of Lahaina can be approximately identified by Mala to the north, Puamana to the south, and the area from Puʻu Kukui in the mauka boundary to Kapapalimuāpiʻilani in the makai boundary. Further studies, including, but not limited to, a traditional cultural property evaluation and/or a historic context study, should specifically focus on the identification of an

appropriate boundary. A second area for evaluation, through a traditional cultural property evaluation, historic context study, and/or a cultural landscape report, would be the lands of Ukumehame, Olowalu, and Launiupoko, which served an important function for dryland agriculture. Recent agricultural surveys have identified previously undocumented historic sites. Considering these findings, further evaluation of the integrity of these landscapes would be appropriate.

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Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

Ahupuaʻa	Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (puaʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief.
ʻĀina	Land, earth.
ʻĀina Aupuni	Government lands.
ʻĀina Konohiki	Konohiki lands.
ʻĀina Lei Aliʻi	Crown lands.
Akua	1. God, goddess, spirit, ghost. 2. Divine, supernatural, godly.
Aliʻi	1. Chief, chiefess, ruler, monarch. 2. Royal, regal. 3. To act as chief, reign.
Aliʻi ʻai moku	Chief who rules a moku (district).
Aloha	Love, affection, compassion, mercy, sympathy, pity, kindness, sentiment, grace, charity
ʻAumakua	Family or personal gods, deified ancestors who might assume the shape of sharks, owls, hawks, dogs, plants, etc. A symbiotic relationship existed; mortals did not harm or eat them, and the ʻaumakua warned or reprimanded mortals in dreams, visions, and calls.
Aupuni	Government, kingdom, dominion, nation, people under a ruler; national.
ʻAuwai	Irrigation ditch, canal. ʻAuwai nui, large water ditch.
Hālau	1. Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house. 2. Large, numerous; much.
Hale	House, building, institution, lodge, station, hall; to have a house
Hale pule	Church, chapel.
Heʻe nalu	To ride a surfboard; surfing; surf rider. *Lit.*, wave sliding.
Heiau	Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine. Some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, other simple earth terraces.
Heiau luakini	Temple state worship at which human sacrifices were once offered.
Hoaʻāina	Tenant, caretaker, as on a kuleana.
Honua ola	Living biocultural landscape.
Hoʻokipa	To entertain; hospitality.
Hoʻolauleʻa	Celebration, festival.
Hula	A Polynesian dance form accompanied by chant or song. Hula ʻauana: modern hula. Hula kahiko: ancient hula.

ʻIke	To see, know, feel, greet, recognize, perceive, experience, be aware, understand.
ʻIli	Land section, next in importance to ahupuaʻa and usually a subdivision of an ahupuaʻa.
ʻIli kūpono	A nearly independent ʻili land division within an ahupuaʻa, paying tribute to the ruling chief and not to the chief of the ahupuaʻa. Transfer of the ahupuaʻa from one chief to another did not include the ʻili kūpono located within its boundaries.
ʻIli lele	Portion of an ʻili land division separated from the main part of the ʻili but considered a part of it. Also lele.
Ilina	Also ilina kupapaʻu. Grave, tomb, sepulcher, cemetery, mausoleum, plot in a cemetery.
Iwi kūpuna	Ancestral remains. The bones of the dead, considered the most cherished possession, were hidden, and hence there are many figurative expressions with iwi meaning life, old age.
Kahakō	Macron.
Kalana	Division of land smaller than a moku or district; county
Kalo	Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), a kind of aroid cultivated since ancient times for food, spreading wildly from the tropics of the Old World. In Hawaiʻi, taro has been the staple from earliest times to the present, and here its culture developed greatly, including more than 300 forms. All parts of the plant are eaten, its starchy root principally as poi, and its leaves as lūʻau.
Kamaʻāina	1. Native-born, one born in a place, host. 2. Native plant. 3. Acquainted, familiar.
Kanaka	Human being, man, person, individual, party, mankind, population.
Kānaka	Plural of kanaka.
Kāne	Male, husband, male sweetheart, man; brother-in-law of a woman.
Kapu	1. Taboo, prohibition. 2. Special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo. 3. Sacredness, prohibited, forbidden, sacred, holy, consecrated. 4. No trespassing, keep out.
Kīhāpai	Small land division, smaller than a paukū; cultivated patch, garden, orchard, field, small farm; parish of a church, diocese; department of a business or office; formerly various religious duties were divided into kīhāpai, as tending the altar, offering sacrifices
Kino lau	Many forms taken by a supernatural body, as Pele, who could at will become a flame of fire, a young girl, or an old hag.
Kō	Sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*), a large unbranched grass brought to Hawaiʻi by early Polynesians as a source of sugar and fiber.

Koʻa	1. Fishing grounds, usually identified by lining up with marks on shore. 2. Shrine, often consisting of circular piles of coral or stone, built along the shore or by ponds or streams, used in ceremonies as to make fish multiply; also built on bird islands, and used in ceremonies to make birds multiply.
Kōʻele	Small land unit farmed by a tenant for the chief; to be worked as a kōʻele.
Koʻi	Axe, adze; adzelike, sharp, projecting, as a forehead
Kona	Leeward sides of the Hawaiian Islands
Konohiki	Headman of an ahupuaʻa land division under the chief; land or fishing rights under control of the konohiki; such rights are sometimes called konohiki rights.
Koʻolau	Windward sides of the Hawaiian Islands
Kula	1. Plain, field, open country, pasture. 2. School, academy; to teach school, go to school; to hold school or class sessions
Kuleana	Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province.
Kumu	Teacher, tutor, manual, primer, model, pattern.
Kumu Hula	Hula teacher.
Kupuna	Grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle. Elder.
Kūpuna	Plural of kupuna.
Lāhui	Nation, race, tribe, people, nationality; great company of people
Lawaiʻa	Fisherman; fishing technique; to fish, to catch fish.
Lele	A detached part or lot of land belonging to one ʻili, but located in another ʻili.
Loʻi	Irrigated terrace, especially for taro, but also for rice and paddy.
Loko	Pond, lake, pool.
Loko iʻa	Traditional Hawaiian fishpond.
Luakini	Temple, church, cathedral, tabernacle; large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were offered; to perform temple work.
Lūʻau	Hawaiian feast, named for the taro tops always served at one; this is not an ancient name, but goes back at least to 1856, when so used by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*; formerly a feast was pāʻina or ʻahaʻaina
Luna	1. High, upper, above, over, up. 2. Foreman, boss, leader, overseer, supervisor, headman, officer of any sort.
Māhele ʻĀina	Land Division.

Mahi ʻai	Farmer, planter; to farm, cultivate; agricultural.
Maiʻa	All kinds of bananas and plantains.
Makaʻāinana	Commoner, populace, people in general.
Makai	On the seaside, toward the sea, in the direction of the sea.
Malā	Garden, plantation, patch, cultivated field.
Mālama	To take care of, tend, attend, care for, preserve, protect, beware, save, maintain.
Mānaleo	Native speaker, a term invented by Larry Kimura and William H. Wilson in the late 1970s. *Lit.*, inherited language.
Mana	Supernatural or divine power.
Mauka	Inland, upland, towards the mountain.
Mele	1. Song, anthem, or chant of any kind. 2. Poem, poetry. 3. To sing, chant.
Moaʻe	Trade wind.
Mōʻī	King, sovereign, monarch, majesty, ruler, queen.
Moku	1. District, island, islet, section, forest, grove, clump, fragment. 2. To be cut, severed, amputated, broken in two.
Mokuna	Division, boundary, border, as of land; severed portion, cut piece, part, severance; chapter, section, as of a book; platoon, as of soldiers (a mokuna may be divided into mahele, sections, and into paukū, squads)
Mokupuni	Island.
Moʻo	1. Narrow strip of land, smaller than an ʻili. Also moʻo ʻāina. 2. Lizard, reptile of any kind, dragon, serpent.
Moʻokūʻauhau	Genealogy.
Moʻolelo	Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yard, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article.
Moʻopuna	Grandchild; great-niece or -nephew; relatives two generations later, whether blood or adopted; descendant; posterity
Moʻowahine	Female lizard deity.
ʻOhana	Family, relative, kin group; related.
ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi	Native Hawaiian language.
Oli	Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill at the end of each phrase; to chant thus.
Pā	Fence, wall, corral, pen, sty, enclosure, courtyard, patio, arena, (house) lot, yard, extremity; to build a fence, enclosure.
Paʻakai	Salt.
Pae ʻāina	Group of islands, archipelago.
Pā ilina	Cemetery, graveyard.

Pāʻina	Meal, dinner, small party with dinner; to eat a pāʻina
Pāʻū	Woman's skirt, sarong; skirt worn by women horseback riders
Paukū	Land section smaller than a moʻo.
Pelekikena	President, as of a college or university.
Piko	Navel, navel string, umbilical cord. *Fig.*, blood relative, genitals.
Pōʻalima	Friday. Work on the chief's plantations, so called because this work was done on Fridays; the chiefs' plantation where the people worked on Fridays; to work thus
Pōhaku	Rock, stone, mineral, tablet.
Pūhaka	Loins, waist.
Pule	Prayer, magic spell, incantation, blessing, grace, church service, church; to pray, worship, say grace, ask a blessing, cast a spell.
Pūnāwai	Water spring.
Puʻu	Any kind of a protuberance from a pimple to a hill: hill, peak, cone, hump, mound, bulge, heap, pile
ʻUala	The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), a perennial, wide-spreading vine, with heart-shaped, angled, or lobed leaves and pinkish-lavender flowers. The tuberous roots are a valuable food, and they vary greatly in many ways, as in color and shape. Though of South American origin, the plant has been a staple food since ancient times in many parts of Polynesia, as well as in some other regions.
Wahi pana	A sacred and celebrated/legendary place.
Wahine	Woman, lady, wife; sister-in-law, female cousin-in-law of a man.
Wai	Water, liquid or liquor of any kind other than sea water.
Waiwai	Goods, property, assets, valuables, value, worth, wealth, importance.

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