Place and Community: The Ahuapua‘a of La‘ie

Human communities exist in geographical space, known locations, specific places. Landscapes may very well seem natural and unchanging, but the exploration of place will soon lead to the realization that there have been many changes over time. The evolution over time may at first go unnoticed, but with a little curiosity and questioning the changes become clear.

William Kauaiwiulaokalani Wallace III starts the exploration into the theme of community from a very small place. La‘ie is a town on the northern windward side of O‘ahu in the Hawaiian island chain. Despite its seeming insignificance, La‘ie has a history that speaks volumes. Before the eighteenth century contact with Europeans and Americans, La‘ie was, as Wallace explains, a city of refuge. It has since become a gathering place for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, site of the oldest L.D.S. temple still in operation outside of Utah (built in 1919), home to Brigham Young University—Hawai‘i Campus, and tourist draw for visitors to the Polynesian Cultural Center.

His interest in this place draws Wallace into an examination of his multiple family histories. An emphasis on place demands that he explain the origins of place names, for humans are the only creatures who name their surroundings. We even create categories of place: towns, ahuapua‘a, beaches, mountain ranges, oceans. Place also urges us towards careful knowledge about landforms, water sources, agricultural production and man-built spaces. The close details, often overlooked, insist that place is the best focus for our first look into human communities.

As you learn about La‘ie by reading about this small place, remember that “small gardens can reap large harvests.” Wallace—or Uncle Bill, as students refer to him—begins with place, but his small garden leads to the much larger place and culture of contemporary Hawaiians. Through places, names, stories and especially chants, Uncle Bill asks his listeners to open their senses to a spiritual world, indeed, a community that ties the past and present into an amazing place. Although small, La‘ie unlocks a vast world of communities.

The reading is a good introduction to the history of La‘ie, but do not direct your questions only to letters and words on the page. Wallace’s article asks us to physically examine, explore and see the place where we live. Take a walk around the streets, the beaches and alleys. Hike into the fields and hills. Even better, “talk story” with someone who was born in the place. The history of world communities begins with place. Know your place and how your place has changed. In addition to its value
for understanding yourself, this is the first step in understanding the importance of place for communities that are not your own. [James B. Tueller]

**Questions for Analysis**

1. What do maps reveal about how the land has changed in La‘ie?
2. Sometimes we study communities in isolation. However, this article indicates that La‘ie has come in contact with outside peoples and systems. Identify these groups and explain the ways that these encounters have altered La‘ie.
3. Wallace emphasizes names in this article. How does he use names as part of his narrative? Why are these names important? How are the naming patterns different than in other places? How are they the same?
4. What kinds of cultural assumptions are evident in the community master plan?
5. What kinds of choices have people made that shape the land and space in La‘ie? For example, what kinds of ways is space used to support economic needs? Family needs? Social needs? On the other hand, how do social and cultural practices grow out of the fact that La‘ie is on an island in the Pacific?
My name is Kauaiwiulaokalani. It was given to me by my paternal grandmother, Wahinehelelaokai'ona, and it means the “red bones of the Heavens.” My ‘aina hanau, or birth land, is the island of Moloka‘i and I am of Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian, English, Scottish, Irish, German, and Chinese koko, or blood. I grew up working on our family homestead at Ho‘olehua taking my turn caring for our pua‘a (pigs), pipi (cows), moa (chickens), mai‘a (banana), kalo (taro), uala (sweet potatoes), and other staples. As a teenager, I worked in the pineapple fields, for both Del Monte and Libby McNeil and Libby’s at Kualapu‘u and Maunaloa along side of my Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Hawaiian friends. Growing up on Moloka‘i exposed me at an early age to the great diversity of my little island and I now recall with great fondness, the special sharing and interaction of my youth and the fact that my life thus far has been, as we say in Hawai‘i, “a mixed plate” experience.

This article is an extension of that “mixed plate” experience. It focuses on a small village on the island of O‘ahu called La‘ie. In this article I examine La‘ie as a “site,” a place, an ‘aina or land deeply connected with Hawaiian values which have sustained life in its many forms from before European contact up to the present. La‘ie is of great interest to me, as it is the ‘aina hanau or birth land of my mother and of my four children and is the repository of the iwi or bones of many of my kupuna or ancestors. Someday, it will also be where my iwi will be laid to rest in the bosom of mother earth.

The mo‘olelo (history) of the land where people make their home is an important ingredient in shaping the present and future worth of communities. Surely changes will come, as they did in La‘ie; however, changes can be better understood and implemented when placed in proper historical context. How many people have taken the time to consider the significance, or to some, perhaps, the insignificance, of the name of the city or town in which they live? How many have experienced changes within their own communities based on the fact that their town or city carries a certain name? Whether we talk about towns, cities, schools, governments, or private buildings, streets, roads, or airports, the name associated with each of these sites consciously or unconsciously affects each of us.

Therefore, it becomes significant for us to engage in activities which allow us to expand our own personal knowledge of the place or site where we live or which we call home. We can do this best by sharing our man‘o or thoughts with each other often and by studying more about where we live and the importance of that place name and its history.
Let me share some of what I have found about La‘ie, the place where I live. La‘ie is a small, quaint village located on the Windward side of the island of O‘ahu in Hawai‘i. It has been home for myself, for my family, and for my ancestors since 1865, with only brief interruptions. They left to go to Utah in 1889, and returned in 1917, when my grandfather John Edwin Broad, his wife Maggie Kenison Broad, and their young children arrived from Salt Lake City. Though both my grandfather and grandmother were Polynesians (Grandfather was Hawaiian-Irish and Grandma was Samoan-English), they had lived in Utah from childhood. They returned to Hawai‘i and went to live in La‘ie in 1917 to help build the Hawai‘i Temple for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter, the Church) as volunteer laborers.1 By the time my grandparents returned to La‘ie in 1917, the Church had already been in La‘ie for fifty-two years2 and La‘ie was quite a busy little community. My grandparents were strong in their devotion to their Church and their Church became a part of their daily life.

This article centers around a number of questions. What was life like in La‘ie before the Church arrived? What kind of people lived there before 1865? Were there any environmental, ecological, or cultural changes in La‘ie which came about prior to 1865? If so, what were some of these changes? And then, how did each change that took place after the coming of the Mormon Church affect the land and the lives of the people of La‘ie?

La‘ie Before 1865

The name La‘ie is said to derive its origin from two Hawaiian words, the first being lau, meaning “leaf” and the second being ie, referring to the ie vine of the red-spiked climbing pandanus tree which wreaths forest trees of the uplands or mauka regions of the Koolau mountain range which stands behind the community of La‘ie. In Hawaiian mythology, this red-spiked climbing pandanus is sacred to Kane, god of the earth, god of life, and god of the forests as well as to Laka, the patron goddess of the hula.3

The name La‘ie becomes more environmentally significant through the Hawaiian oral history entitled Laie-i-ka-wai. In this history, the term i-ka-wai, which means “in the water” also belongs to the food-producing tree called ka-lala-i-ka-wai. The ka-lala-i-ka-wai tree was planted in a place called Pali-ula’s garden, which is closely associated with the spiritual home, after her birth and relocation, of Laie-i-ka-wai. According to Hawaiian oral traditions, the planting of the Ka-lala-i-ka-wai tree in the garden of Pali-ula is symbolic of the reproductive energy of male and female, which union in turn fills the land with offspring.4 From its close association with nature through its name, and through its oral traditions and history, the community of La‘ie takes upon itself a keen identification and a responsibility in perpetuating life and in preserving all life forms.

Before the coming of British explorer Captain James Cook Hawaiians lived by a strict code of environmental ethics, which an increasing number of Hawaiians are now coming to embrace once again. This code is concerned with more than just the human world, but also a spiritual world through which humans living in a community interrelate peacefully with each other.5 Therefore, when a Hawaiian speaks of environmental ethics, he or she speaks of a community shared by other sentient “indi-
viduals of the environment: the soil, water, plants, and animals.” It was understood by the Hawaiian people that when they did their part to assist nature in becoming fertile and productive, it became the “ethical obligation of gods and nature to similarly care for man.”

Sometimes, the land itself provided sanctuary for the Hawaiian people. La‘ie was such a place. The earliest information about La‘ie states that it was a small, sparsely-populated village with a major distinction: “it was a City of Refuge.” Within this city of refuge there were located at least two heiau or traditional Hawaiian temples, of which very little remains today.

Pu‘uhonua is the Hawaiian word for a sacred sanctuary or refuge, “holy ground... offered... to fugitives.” Pu‘uhonua, or cities of refuge, have been described as enclosures which were specially constructed and consecrated as holy ground for sanctuary for fugitives. Fugitives of all kinds—“men, women and children in war time, manslayers, thieves, and offenders against tapu [kapu] were allowed to enter the sacred enclosure, and once in, were safe.” While in the pu‘uhonua, it was unlawful for the fugitive’s pursuers to harm or injure him or her. During time of war, spears with white flags attached were set up at each end of the city of refuge and warriors pursuing fugitives, if they attempted to pass these limits, were killed by the priests living within. Fugitives seeking sanctuary in a city of refuge were not forced to live within the confines of the walls permanently. Instead, they were given two choices. In some cases, after a certain length of time (ranging from a couple of weeks to several years), fugitives could enter the service of the priests and assist in the daily affairs of the pu‘uhonua’a. A second was that after a certain length of time the fugitives would be free to leave and re-enter the world unmolested.

These traditional cities of refuge were abolished in 1819, when Liholiho-Kamehameha II, under the influence of the Kuhuna Nui, Queen Ka‘a Humanu, abolished the traditional Hawaiian kapu system or old system of Hawaiian laws which provided for such sanctuaries. There is no further evidence that La‘ie was ever used again as a city of refuge until some forty to fifty years after the abolition of the kapu system by Liholiho-Kamehameha II, when La‘ie was purchased by the Church. Under an entirely different culture, La‘ie once more became a place of refuge, a sanctuary for people in desperate need.

In 1846-1848, the traditional Hawaiian feudal ownership of land by the King, the ali‘i nui, and his leading chiefs or konohiki was changed through the mahele or major land division. Originally the idea was to divide the land three ways: “one-third each for the King, the Chiefs, and the commoners.” The result of the mahele was not in compliance with the original intent of Kamehameha III. The result was that the chiefs received about one and a half million acres, the king kept about one million acres which were called crown lands, and about one million acres were set aside as government lands. The interesting thing about the mahele was that the land itself was cut up into parcels, much like the traditional Hawaiian land divisions, centering around the ahupua‘a which followed a fairly uniform pattern. Each parcel was roughly shaped like a piece of pie with the tip in the mountains, the middle section in the foothills and coastal plain, and the broad base along the ocean front and the sea. The size and shape of the ahupua‘a varied. However, the purpose of these remained the same. The pie-shaped land division allowed the inhabitants of the area to hunt
wild game and to collect timber from the mountains, to farm in the midlands and down to the beach, and to fish in the ocean, as well as to use the sea for recreation, travel, and exploration.11

The village of La'ie is located in the ahupua'a of La'ie. As such, La'ie followed the general pattern of life in the ahupua'a, but only the valleys in the foothills had ample water. There were ten streams that flowed through the ahupua'a of La'ie before 1865 (see 1865 map). Their names were: Kahooleinapea, Kaluakaula, Kahawainui, Kaihihi, Kawiapapa, Kawauwai, Wailele, Koloa, Akakii, and Kokololio. There were more streams flowing through the ahupua'a of La'ie than through any of the other surrounding ahupua'a. Surrounding ahupua'a include Kaipapau and Hauula to the southeast and Malaekahana, Keano, and Kahuku to the northwest.12

Kahooleinapea is the first stream reached in La'ie as you leave the ahupua'a of Malaekahana. From about 1927 to the mid 1930s, the taro terraces which were located close to the Kahooleinapea stream were still in use. There were also taro terraces along the lower areas of the Kahawainui stream in a place called Waieli. These terraces were supplied with water from a large spring located in the area. Further up the Kahawainui stream, toward the mountains, were many terraces used for taro and other food cultivation. About 2.5 miles up Wailele stream there is more evidence of old taro terraces. Along the Koloa stream about 2 miles inland along its twisting course, there are abandoned groups of terraces at intervals, many now hidden by overgrowth. Just below the old water gates along the Koloa stream, on the south side of the stream, there is a group of about fifteen small terraces, all with stone facings, and nearer to the gates, on the north side of the stream, a smaller group of five or six terraces. The Koloa stream is filled with extensive evidence of cultivation and habitation. In all, over thirty-five terraces (large and small) used for taro and other crops, over fifteen old huge mango trees and eight or more breadfruit trees were found along the Koloa stream in the late 1920s and early 1930s. All these findings indicate that this area, La'ie, may have had a dense population at one time, that there were many agricultural terraces, house platforms, fruit trees, and an abundant supply of water to accommodate the needs of the taro farmers and their families (ohana) living in the area.13

E.S. Craighill Handy interviewed a Mr. Kekuku of La'ie, who was seventy-five years old at the time of the interview in the 1920s. Mr. Kekuku said that one of the largest single areas formerly under taro cultivation was the land, which totalled over sixty acres in extent, located behind the present Mormon temple. This area was known as kapuna, meaning the spring, because it was watered by one large and several lesser springs. In addition, the flat lowland on the Hauula side of the Mormon temple was "formerly a famous taro land. The old Hawaiian name for the land is now lost, and it is known as Kanaana, an adaptation of Canaan, the Land of Promise of the Israelites. In with the taro were extremely large fish. . . . About this taro land the old Hawaiian settlement was located."14

From the evidence thus far, La'ie had a lot of water in the old times, much agriculture was being done with the land, and life seems to have thrived throughout the area. Several large taro terraces that were famous anciently and have survived only in memory in the area are: Naue-loli (move-[and]-change), Kuamo'o (backbone), Mahanu (rest-[and]-breathe), Makali'i (Pleiades), Po'o-haili (head-recalls). All of these areas were closely tied to water, to the springs, and to the land at La'ie. Inland there was also a large horseshoe-shaped pond named Paeo which was famous for the large
Place and Community: The Ahupua’a of La’ie

Diagram showing the Ahupua’a of La’ie with key locations such as Kuleana, Plochani Street, Laie Bay, and Laie Stream. The diagram includes a timeline of 1865.
fish raised in it. The Paeo pond is no longer found in La‘ie. An old-time resident, Walter Tashiro, recalls that the Paeo pond was located on the Kahuku side of the Kahawainui stream between the now existing Kamehameha Highway and the Cackle Fresh Egg Farm in a central area which at one time was used as a dump site. What happened to all the people who lived in this thriving area? What caused them to leave? In Captain Cook’s time it was reported that “nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and the rich cultivated valleys which the whole face of the country [on this northern end of O‘ahu] displayed.” Thirteen years later another explorer, Captain George Vancouver, wrote of Kahuku and the surrounding area, including La‘ie: “Our examination confirmed the remark of Captain King [demographer on Cook’s ship] excepting that in point of cultivation or fertility, the country did not appear in so flourishing a state, nor to be so numerousy inhabited, as he represented it to have been at the time, occasioned most probably by the constant hostilities that had existed since that period.” There is a similar discrepancy between the descriptions of other areas in the 1780s and later accounts insofar as cultivation is concerned; but there is no discrepancy as to the verdure of the region.

What catastrophe of the elements, slow or swift, brought about such drastic change to this region? By 1865, La‘ie and its surrounding areas fell victim to the effects of urbanization, foreign diseases, new religions, and a shift from a subsistence form of economy to a money economy. Many people simply headed to the city to find jobs to make money. Many became part of the labor force on different sugar plantations scattered around the island. In the 1830s, it was reported that the population of La‘ie was only about 400 people. In 1853, twelve years before the Mormon Church purchased La‘ie, the population of La‘ie had only increased slightly to about 450 people.

1865 Purchase of La‘ie and Its Aftermath

The land of La‘ie was bought by the Church in January, 1865, to be used as a gathering place for Church members. The land was bought from a Thomas Dougherty, who had only recently purchased the land but was very anxious to resell. The property when purchased consisted of some six thousand acres, of which about 1,500 acres were good arable land. Included with the land were 500 head of cattle, 500 sheep, 200 goats, 26 horses, and some farm implements. Included also was a large frame house, called The Mansion, and several smaller auxiliary buildings. Elder Hammond negotiated the purchase for the Church and was able to purchase the above for $14,000. Since that time, the Church has used La‘ie as a gathering place, not only for members of the Church, but also for students, visitors, strangers, and in some cases even fugitives.

Title to the land purchased in La‘ie was originally held by George Nebeker, who served as president of the local mission of the Church as well as manager of the plantation from 1865 to 1873. In 1879 the title for the land in La‘ie was transferred to the president of the Church in Utah, who held the property in trust along with other Church properties.

In 1868, part of the land in La‘ie was planted with sugarcane and a plantation was started to provide employment for the Church members moving into La‘ie.
took about thirty years, until 1898, before the first large water pump was installed on the plantation on an artesian well. The installation of the water pump came along after many of the struggles of the early Mormon families had taken their toll. Many of the members of the Church living in La‘ie became discouraged. Joseph F. Smith, a member of the First Presidency of the Church, who had served as a missionary in Hawai‘i on three occasions, addressed the complaints of the members by saying: “Be patient, for the day is coming when this land will become a most beautiful land. Water shall spring forth in abundance, and upon the barren land you now see, the Saints will build homes, taro will be planted, and there will be plenty to eat and drink.” He further stated that “Many trees will be planted and this place will become verdant, the fragrance of flowers will fill the air, and . . . because of the great beauty of the land, birds will come here and sing their songs.”

With the installation of a larger water pump in 1898, the sugar production of the Church plantation in La‘ie became far too large for La‘ie’s milling capacity. In 1931 all the sugar production in La‘ie was turned over to the Kahuku Sugar Plantation. Sugar became the economic mainstay of La‘ie for many years. It produced revenues to help build the community and the Church in La‘ie as well as in other areas of Hawai‘i.

Between 1895 and 1917, the sugar output in La‘ie was increased tenfold. On June 1, 1915, the site for a Mormon temple was dedicated in La‘ie. Ground-breaking took place a year later. The temple was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1919. For the Mormon Church, La‘ie became the spiritual center of the Church in Hawai‘i, indeed, the whole Pacific. La‘ie had again become a sanctuary, a city of refuge, to many people, Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

In 1920 the La‘ie Plantation went deeply into debt. In 1927 the plantation manager sold a large strip of beach-front property to reduce the debt. With rising cost and shrinking profits, the La‘ie Plantation closed down in 1931. The population of La‘ie by 1931 had increased to about 521 people. La‘ie experienced some rough times during the Depression, as well as through World War II, but the people of La‘ie were very supportive of one another. In addition to mutual support among the people, the ‘aina, or land itself, had a healing effect upon the people who lived here and the people found sanctuary and peace therein.

In addition to the strong spiritual commitment of the members of the Church and its leaders, in 1955 and in 1963 two major new entities became part of La‘ie. In 1955, The Church College of Hawai‘i (hereafter CCH) opened its doors with 153 students, almost all local people from Hawai‘i. In 1958, the first Asian students arrived. In 1966 the enrollment reached over 1000 students, and by 1977–78 that figure had nearly doubled. In 1974, CCH became affiliated with Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and became Brigham Young University–Hawai‘i Campus.

In 1963, the Polynesian Cultural Center opened its doors to the world. The Polynesian Cultural Center (hereafter PCC) was built for the following reasons: “[T]o study and preserve Polynesian arts, crafts, and cultures. To provide work for students. And to provide community employment.” Initially, critics of the PCC stated that it would never work because it was too far outside Waikiki and Honolulu, and visitors would not drive the thirty miles to La‘ie to watch the kind of Polynesian shows they could see in Waikiki. The critics were wrong. In 1964, one year after the PCC
opened its gates, 48,600 visitors traveled to La‘ie to visit the PCC and to meet the students from the college. In 1971, less than ten years after it opened, 475,000 visitors went to the PCC. In 1978, over one million visitors went to the PCC. The PCC has been very successful since it opened its gates in 1963 and it has been a major source of economic assistance to La‘ie and to Hawai‘i. It has also provided employment and cultural experiences to thousands of students from all over the world.26

With the growth and development of the Church, of the university, and of the Polynesian Cultural Center, the population of La‘ie has increased over those same years and more stability has come to La‘ie. The 1940 territorial census showed that La‘ie’s population had increased from a mere 450 in 1853 to about 600 people. By 1960, the population had more than doubled, to over, 1,767 people. The United States Census in 1980 showed that La‘ie had more than tripled its population since 1960, to over 4,640 people. The 1960 and the 1980 population figures do not include the student population at the university.27

With the steady increase in population over the years, La‘ie, as a city of refuge, faced many problems. The purpose of this paper is not to resolve these problems but to simply identify some of them for future research purposes. Several general proposed master plans have been reviewed by the community and different church and governmental agencies for implementation. The process is continuing.

**What Is the Future Direction of La‘ie?**

Some of the major problems facing La‘ie now are: housing shortages; overcrowded classes in the elementary school; substandard roads, pathways, walkways, water distribution system, drainage system; and worst of all, an inadequate sewage treatment facility. In light of the above problems in La‘ie, John L. Hill, a former student at BYU-Hawaii, and Group 70 Limited, a private planning and consulting firm, submitted proposed master plans for La‘ie in recent years.

Hill’s proposed master plan for La‘ie was submitted in 1978. Therein he stated: “the proposed master plan of La‘ie must plan the population growth to protect the social, economic, and physical needs of the people.” Hill’s projections and conclusions were that BYU-Hawai‘i could be expanded to an enrollment of 10,000 students and that the community of La‘ie could be expanded to a population of 25,000. Hill argued for an amendment to the State’s zoning, on the ground that La‘ie had already utilized all of its urban zoned land for urban purposes by 1978. He proposed that agricultural land not in production be converted to urban use. Hill argued that since World War II the government’s planning office had not kept pace with the rapidly changing conditions, not only of La‘ie, but also of the entire state.28

Hill recommended that the three main creek beds surrounding La‘ie be opened up and that drainage lakes and canals be constructed for aquaculture and flood control. In recent years, especially since 1986, La‘ie has been hit by several major floods. Hill also recommended construction of a lake system throughout the *ahuapua‘a* of La‘ie leaving islands or wetlands scattered throughout the community to serve as natural bird sanctuaries. He also suggested that the banks of these lakes be left and designated and landscaped into parks to serve as green belts between the university campus and the residential area. He further recommended that a reforestation program be implemented to prevent further erosion of the foothill areas around La‘ie. The
islands off-shore of La'ie should be preserved as bird sanctuaries, and coral reefs in the area as fish sanctuaries. His plan also called for a full geological and archeological survey of the area to locate, verify, catalogue, and restore the significant traditional Hawaiian sites in La'ie.  

The other master plan was completed in proposal form in 1990 by Group 70 Limited. This firm was hired by Zions Securities Corporation, agents for a Church entity called Deseret Title Holding Corporation, which was based in Salt Lake City, Utah. The charge to Group 70 was to review the needs of the community of La'ie. Group 70's work primarily covered the area mauka, or toward the mountains, from Kamehameha Highway, the main highway which runs along the beach. This master plan has gone through several stages of review and is presently being handled by committees set up by the La'ie Community Association, a community-based group which has been actively involved in trying to resolve the three major problems of this community. These problems are: (1) upgrading of the existing sewage treatment plant; (2) installation of more adequate storm drains and continued maintenance of existing systems; and (3) resolution of the severe housing shortage in this community.

Conclusion

In the process of writing this article, my opinion as to what should be done to improve the quality of life in the ahupua'a of La'ie has changed many times. Initially, I felt that the Church had not done enough to assist the people of La'ie, nor did I believe that they had done enough to assist the Hawaiian families who had kuleana land interests—ancient land claims—in La'ie. However, as I found more information on pre-1865 La'ie, it became evident that many of the original inhabitants of this ahupua'a had moved out of this area long before the Church purchased La'ie.

In 1865 when the Church purchased La'ie, there were no major settlements in the flat lowland area between the mountain and the sea (see 1865 map). There were many kuleana parcels located on the Kahuku side of La'ie, close to the Malaekahana boundary, a ranch house, and the wetlands. Ten years after the purchase there were signs of a community beginning to develop. In 1885, La'ie had a sugar mill, a church, a school, and there were other houses built closer to the beach area on the Kahuku side of Laie (1885 map).

By 1919, La'ie had become primarily a sugar plantation town (1919 map). In addition to the members of the Church living in La'ie, plantation camps for Portuguese, Filipino, and Japanese laborers had been built. By this time the Mormon Temple had been built and new streets and houses had been added. Sugarcane and taro were being planted side by side in La'ie. By 1930, La'ie has become a fairly good-sized community. Many streets existed amongst the pasture land, the taro patches, and the kuleana lands. By 1939, a train track for hauling the sugarcane and for other use by the sugar plantation was making regular runs through La'ie, and the community continued to grow. By 1976, La'ie had grown into a fairly large community (1976 map). La'ie now had the university, the Polynesian Cultural Center, married student housing, a resort hotel, and many new residential dwellings. Later a shopping center was added. During the 1980s and the 1990s, future development of La'ie became a hot issue.

La'ie is an unusual community. La'ie is still considered to be a small town, but
it is filled with fairly solid institutions centered around religion, education, family, and cultural diversity. The proposed master plan, which is currently being reviewed by the community, by government, and by permit agencies, requests that certain agricultural lands should be rezoned to residential and in some areas to commercial use.

Whatever decisions are made about the future of La'ie, all plans must take into account the necessity to balance the requirements of all life forms here within this ahupua'a. We must understand the deep historical meaning and purpose of this land called La'ie and make sure it remains a sanctuary for those who desire peace.

Notes

4. Ibid., 532.
9. Cummings, Centennial History of Laie, 8.
11. Cummings, Centennial History of Laie, 8.
13. Handy, Hawaiian Planter, 1:89–90. Kakela Kalua, long since deceased, is quoted by Handy, saying that "formerly many terraces" were located farther up Kahawaiinui stream. This supports other statements this writer has heard on many occasions from the old people in Laie that "taro patches at one time dotted the region and could be found along the stream banks and up in the mountains". The reference to the old water gates along the Koloa stream refers to water gates which were put into irrigation canals and flumes used by the sugar plantation during the 1920s and 1930s.
14. Ibid., 90.
15. E.S. Craighill Handy, Areas of Habitation (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Bulletin 233), 461.
16. Handy, Areas of Habitation, 462.
20. Group 70, Laie Master Plan, 10.
22. Ibid., 13.
23. Ibid., 16.
29. Ibid., 149.