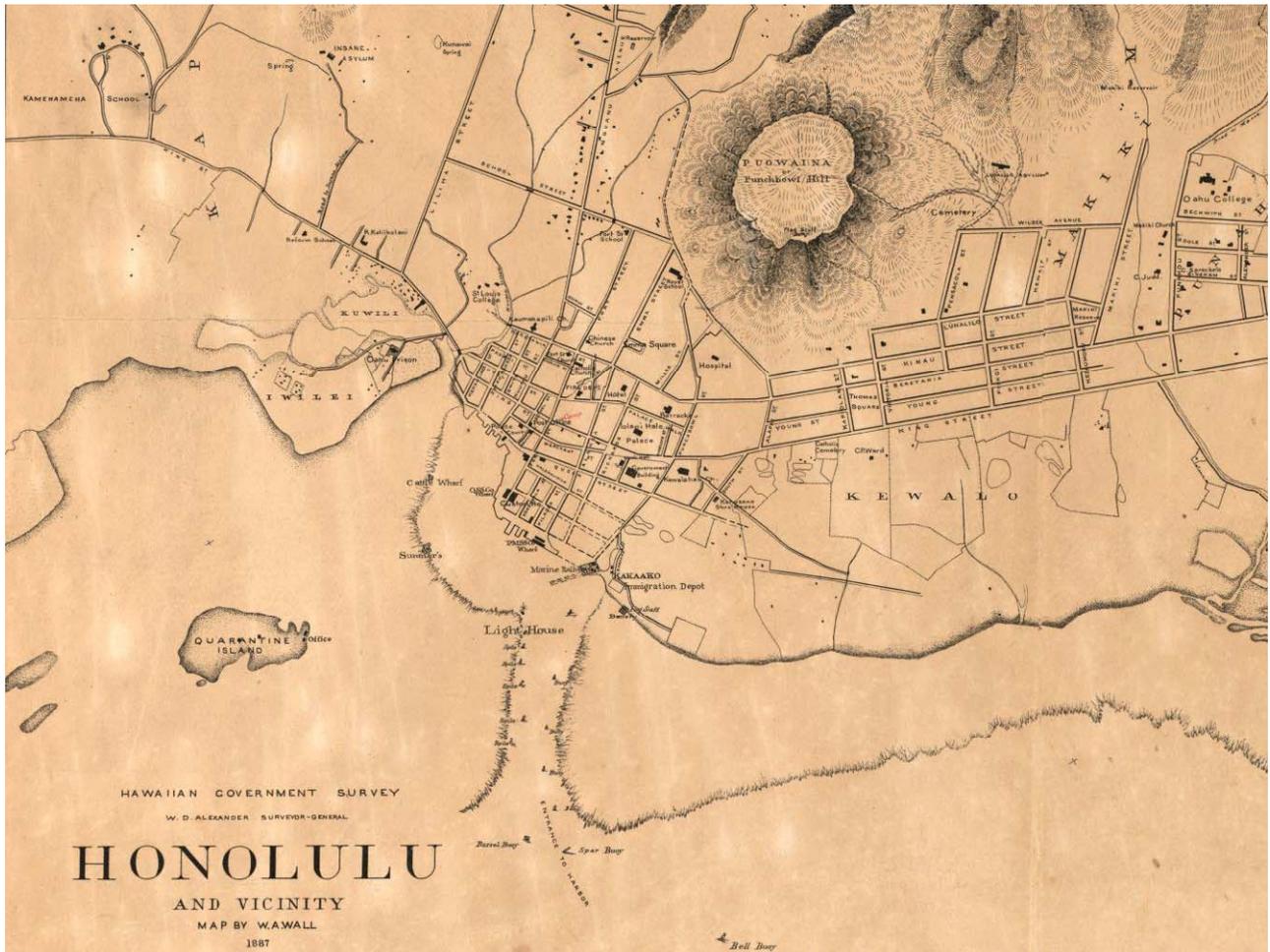


# HE MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA— TRADITIONS AND STORIED PLACES IN THE DISTRICT OF KONA — HONOLULU REGION (LANDS OF KALIHI TO WAIKĪKĪ), ISLAND OF O‘AHU

## A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY — TECHNICAL REPORT **DRAFT**



Portion of a Map of Honolulu – Kalihi to Waikīkī (W.A. Wall, 1887) Library of Congress: G4384\_H6\_1887\_W3



**Kumu Pono Associates LLC**

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·  
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents ·  
Māhele ‘Āina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records ·  
Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·  
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

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## A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY – TECHNICAL REPORT

### TMK Overview Sheets Zones 1-2, 1-5, 1-7 & 2-1, 2-3 (Various parcels)

PREPARED BY

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Kepā Maly • Cultural Historian/Resource Specialist  
Onaona Maly • Researcher/Project Administrator  
&  
Kawena Maly • Project Assistant

With Oral History/Consultation Program Contributions (Appendix D) by:

Mina Elison • Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting

PREPARED FOR

---

SRI Foundation  
333 Rio Rancho Drive, Suite 103  
Rio Rancho, New Mexico 87124

DRAFT – MARCH 26, 2013

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Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·  
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents ·  
Māhele ‘Āina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records ·  
Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·  
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

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P.O. Box 631599 · Lāna‘i City, Hawai‘i 96763 · (ph.) 808.565.7174 · (e-mail) [onaona@kumupono.com](mailto:onaona@kumupono.com)

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

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At the request of SRI Foundation, Kumu Pono Associates LLC (KPA) conducted an ethnographic study and oral history interviews as the foundational work of a Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) study. This study (the technical report) was then synthesized by SRI Foundation—whose specialty is compliance with Criteria of National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker & King, 1990)—in development of the TCP management report, prepared at the request of “PB” Americas for the City and County of Honolulu (the County) as a part of the research required in conjunction with the proposed Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project (Project). The primary focus of the research undertaken by KPA was to augment earlier cultural studies compiled as a part of the overall project, with certain fields of research being requested of the City by Native Hawaiian Organizations and consulting parties. This study provided SRI Foundation with additional information to identify and assess potential “Traditional Cultural Properties” within the project’s “area of potential effect” (APE).

The overall Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project area crosses O’ahu, from Honouliuli to the northern limits of Waikīkī and is divided into four sections. This study covers Section 4 (Section 1-3 were been completed in April 2012), being the ahupua’a (traditional land divisions) of Kalihi, Kapālama, Nu’uanu, Honolulu and Waikīkī in the District of Kona, Island of O’ahu.

KPA has incorporated a wide range of historical literature into this technical report—portions of which have not been previously cited, or which are cited in verbatim quotes and given in their original context. The information included primary Hawaiian language resources; the writings of early residents (often witnesses to some of the histories being described) pertaining to the lands of the study area; along with several significant classes of Hawaiian information, which had not been previously reviewed in development of studies related to the project area. This documentation included native lore, Māhele ‘Āina and land tenure records (1848-1920s), surveys (1850-1930s), testimonies of witnesses before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1860s-1920s), records of land conveyances, and historical narratives describing the land and people spanning the period from the late 1700s to the 1920s.

### **Mapping Program**

Following research and the identification of wahi pana (storied and sacred places) on the landscape crossed in Sections 1-3, it was determined that a series of annotated historic maps would help identify the locations and possible boundaries of potential Traditional Cultural Properties along the corridor of the proposed rail route. Pursuant to the arrangements for the mapping program in Sections 1-3 of the study, PB Americas program staff agreed to continue the mapping program, and Cultural Surveys Hawai’i (CSH) cartographer/GIS specialist, Todd Tulchin was engaged in creating overlays of historic maps with the APE, as shown on the “Honolulu High-Capacity Transit Corridor Project: Corridor Map with Ahupua’a and Area of Potential Effect” (prepared by “PB” Americas, June 2011). The mapping supports meeting TCP study requirements, and provides value as interpretive/educational resource materials for proposed rail stations, and in place-based education programs (mitigation).

## **Brief Comparison Between Studies for Sections 1 to 3 and Section 4**

In April 2012, Kumu Pono Associates, LLC completed its research and development of the Traditional Cultural Properties Study – Technical Report (Maly, et al., 2012) for Sections 1-3 of the proposed Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project (project). The methodology in undertaking the present study, covering Section 4 of the project was the same as that employed in Sections 1-3, but in this case, the findings were somewhat different. In the study prepared for Sections 1-3 (Honouliuli through Moanalua-Kahauiki), the landscape remained rural and “county” much longer than that of the Honolulu (Kahauiki-Kālia, Waikīkī), Section 4 landscape, and as a result, a great many more traditions associated with named places and wahi pana (storied/sacred landscapes) survived the passing of time in Sections 1-3. This is not the case in the lands crossed by the Section 4 project corridor.

While locational information was more readily available for traditional sites and practices in Sections 1-3, the “national” significance, and “Kingdom” changing history of the lands of concern in Section 4, still permeates the lives of Hawaiians and all people of Hawai‘i today. So while by some chance the number of potential TCPs identified in the 2012 study and the present study are comparable, the nature of the physical landscape in history is actually very different.

While the history of lands covered by the Section 4 study include sites of significance in native lore and practices, it is observed that it was in the lands of the Honolulu region nearly all the major events in Hawaiian history after ca. 1815 occurred. At places such as ‘Ai‘ēnui, Hale Hui, Hale Kauwila, Hauhauko‘i, Honoka‘upu, Honolulu, Honuakaha, Kapu‘ukolo, Kīkīhale, Kou, Kuloloia, Mauna Kilika, Pākākā, and Pūlaholaho, all of the foreign influences came to bear on the little island kingdom. The lands within the Section 4 study area were at the forefront of the major and swift changes in Hawaiian culture, life-ways, practices, beliefs and residency. In the heart of the region, at places named Hale Kauwila, Pākākā and Pūlaholaho, was formed the basis of land tenure and the steady erosion of Hawaiian self-governance leading to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893. The events on this landscape remain the foundation of fee-simple property rights and governance in the Hawaiian Islands today. Thus the significance of places in Section 4 creates a different class of “traditional cultural properties” than those of Sections 1-3.

## **Oral History-Consultation Program**

The oral history program conducted as a part of this study was undertaken by Mina Elison (Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting). Efforts were made to identify kūpuna and elder kama‘āina (natives of the land) who shared generational ties to the lands crossed by the project. Guidance of staff of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the State Historic Preservation Division, PB Americas, and the City & County of Honolulu was also elicited in development of this program. Efforts were also made in reaching out to members of Civic and Native Hawaiian Organizations, and individuals known to the interview participants. As a result of Ms. Elison’s efforts, eight (8) new oral history/consultation interviews were conducted. Two additional interviews conducted with kama‘āina, and recorded in 2011 were also cited as they cover relevant information as a part of the present study. And nine (9) previous oral history consultation studies conducted in the Kalihi-Kālia (Honolulu) region were also cited. The synthesis of findings and transcripts recorded as a part of the oral history program are cited in Appendix D of this study.

## Acknowledgements

This research has been conducted and is reported with aloha and care for the traditions and history of Hawai'i and her people. Many people—those who recorded the history of Hawai'i to those who shared of their personal knowledge of place—have contributed to making the study possible. These friends, contributors and those who have passed before us are acknowledged throughout the study and its appendices. For any name missed, any tradition not cited, or some facet of history incompletely described, we humbly ask for understanding. The wealth of information passed on by the kūpuna is almost limitless, and capturing it all in a short period of time or in the pages of a simple ethnography is impossible. So we have done our best to add substance to the study and understanding of these 'āina.

In the context of Hawaiian cultural values, this study speaks the names and traditions of 'āina (place and natural resources), akua (gods), kānaka (people), and the honua ola (living environment), describing the resources which sustained the lives, experiences and thoughts of those people who were, and remain a part of the land.

First and foremost, the kūpuna instruct us to “aloha 'āina” (have love for the land). This aloha is deeply rooted in Hawaiian cosmology, genealogy, and way of life. It is expressed by in a sustainable relationship fostered in respect, speaking the names of place, passing knowledge of traditions, practices and values on to future generations, and by acting as good stewards. “Aloha 'āina” is more than words that sit on the tip of one's tongue. It is a way of life, demonstrated in one's relationship with, and respect for the honua ola, and fellow man. “Aloha 'āina” is reflected in the way that the land is cared for and treated.

John Wise, a noted Hawaiian historian of the late 1800s, early 1900s, wrote:

“O ke Aloha o Kekahi i Kekahi — Iwaena o na la apau o ke ola ana o na kupuna o kakou i hala, kekahi mau mea ano nui loa a kakou e hoomaopopo ae ai, o ia no keia mea o ke aloha. O kekahi mea pookela loa keia iloko o keia ao nei. He lehulehu o na mana ano nui a ano kupono, ma ka nana aku, i kukuluia malalo o keia uhi o ke aloha...” [John Wise, Editor. Nupepa Kuokoa, Maraki 31, 1922:2]

Aloha for one another – Through all the days in the lives of our elders who have since passed on, one thing of the greatest importance to them, and that we know, it is this, aloha. It is one of the most significant things on all the earth. There are many examples of greatness and righteousness that can be observed, and all are founded under aloha... [Maly, translator]

Na mākou no me ke aloha a nui,

Kepā Maly  
Onaona Pomroy May  
&  
Kawena Maly

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**HE MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA–TRADITIONS AND STORIED PLACES  
IN THE DISTRICT OF KONA — HONOLULU REGION  
(LANDS OF KALIHI TO WAIKĪKĪ), ISLAND OF O‘AHU  
A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY  
– TECHNICAL REPORT**

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**HE MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA–TRADITIONS AND STORIED PLACES  
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A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY  
– TECHNICAL REPORT**

**APPENDIX C:  
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**HE MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA–TRADITIONS AND STORIED PLACES IN THE  
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**APPENDIX D:  
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**TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY – TECHNICAL REPORT**

# I. AN ETHNOGRAPHY AND TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES STUDY OF COASTAL LANDS FROM KALIHI TO HONOLULU AND A SECTION OF WAIKĪKĪ, ISLAND OF O‘AHU

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## Background

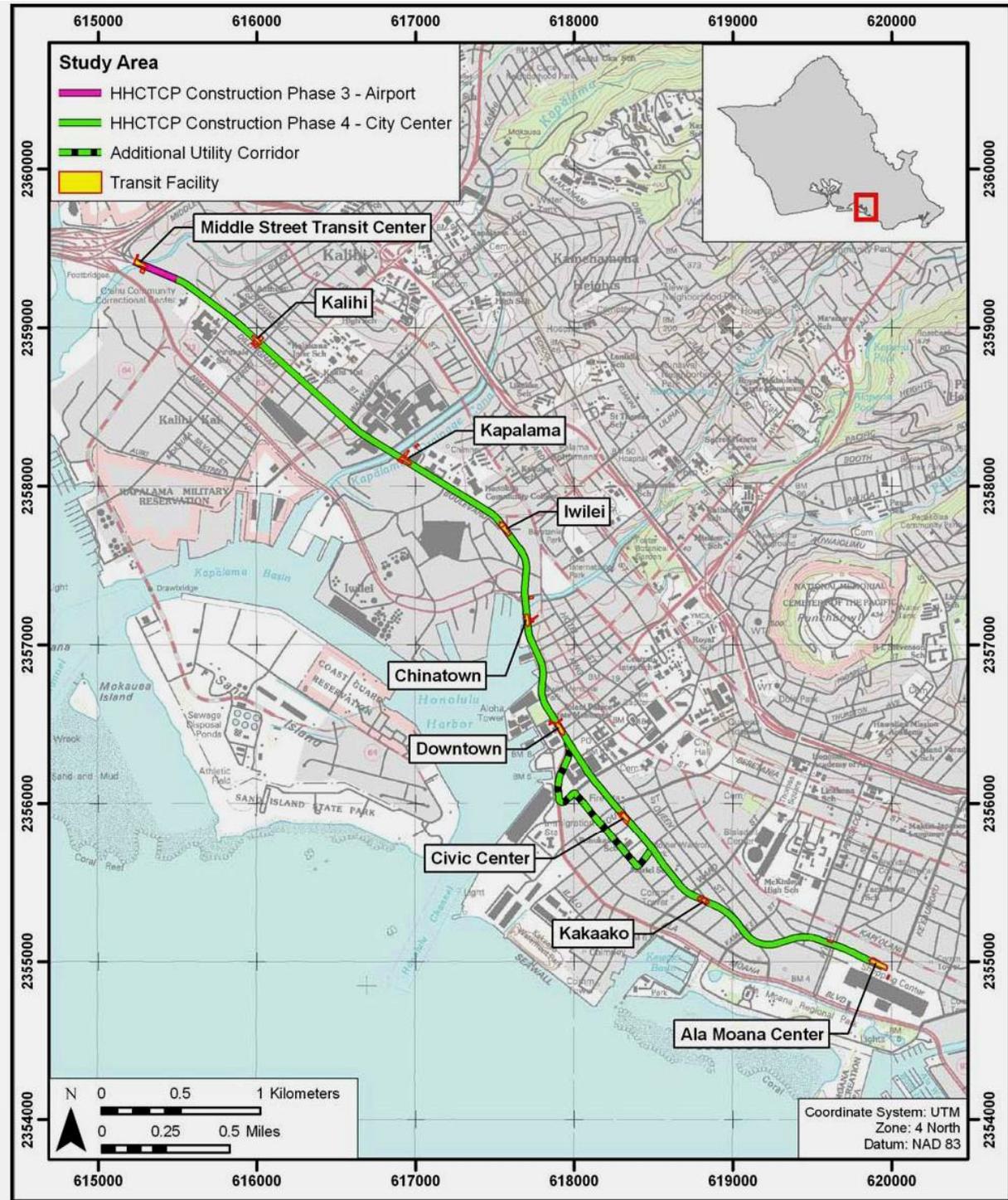
At the request of SRI Foundation, Kumu Pono Associates LLC (KPA) has conducted ethnographic research and oral historical interviews as a part of the Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) study in conjunction with the proposed Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project (rail corridor). The primary focus of this research was to investigate historical documentary literature covering the Kalihi-Honolulu and Northern Waikīkī vicinity (Honolulu region) of the island of O‘ahu, in order to identify and assess potential “Traditional Cultural Properties” within the project’s area of potential effect (APE).

In this study, KPA incorporated a wide range of historical literature — including primary Hawaiian language resources and accounts recorded by early visitors and residents (often witnesses to some of the histories being described) — pertaining to the lands of the Honolulu region (Figure 1). Unless otherwise indicated, all original Hawaiian language narratives were translated by Kepā Maly as a part of the research for this study.

As a result of the research, several significant classes of Hawaiian information, including native lore, land tenure (1848-1920s), surveys (1840s-1930s), testimonies of witnesses before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1860s-1920s), and records of land conveyances have been more fully explored and described in this study than in previous studies. The research adds to the detailed documentary study prepared by Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (CSH) as part of the archaeological inventory study, and focuses on notable sources of information for the land areas covered by the proposed rail project, and which was not drawn into the earlier reports. Thus, this study brings additional links to Hawaiian traditional and historical knowledge, but does not repeat everything covered in the CSH reports.

In addition to literature research, KPA also engaged Ms. Mina Elison of Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting to conduct oral history and consultation interviews with individuals who had been identified as being interested in care of cultural resources in the project area (based on public meetings and communications with City officials and project planners), or who either possessed knowledge of place, or shared familial ties to traditional residents of the Honolulu region. The results of those interviews demonstrate continuity in facets of the information that has been handed down over time and an on-going cultural attachment to place in the context of spiritual/familial relationships, knowledge of place and practices, and the passing on of lore from one generation to the next.

The research, in the form of literature/archival documentary resources and memories of interviewees, identifies hundreds of named places on lands of the Honolulu region, and provides valuable traditional/historic documentation on those names. This information is summarized and incorporated in a gazetteer of place names, and in a table that summarizes testimonies of the Boundary Commission proceedings. The gazetteer cites more than 180 place names spanning the Honolulu region. A number of the place names are notable by their associated traditions and early historic period events which occurred in



**FIGURE 1. U.S. Geological Survey 7.5-Minute Series Topographic Map Honolulu Quadrangle (1998), Showing the Location of the Proposed HART Corridor (Courtesy of Cultural Surveys Hawai'i)**

or near the named localities. The list of named places and wahi pana given in the gazetteer spans the traditional land divisions from sea to mountain peaks.

While the proposed Honolulu High Capacity Transit Rail Corridor is only a narrow strip crossing the larger ahupua‘a in a portion of the Kona District, there are significant—mauka-makai (mountain to sea) connections in view planes; cultural/environmental systems (such as steams, resource collection zones, and agricultural field systems); trails; and cultural practices associated with the lands. Based on traditional and customary practices, there is also the anticipated presence of iwi kūpuna (ancestral remains) throughout the corridor.

As a part of the effort to develop the list of places names and associated traditions or historical references, KPA partnered with Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, and developed a series of annotated historical maps identifying, when possible, selected areas of the cultural landscape in an effort to help identify boundaries of wahi pana which could be considered for their eligibility as traditional cultural properties. A number of the traditions associated with named places have been found to provide locational information on places by reference to the ancient trail system, land boundaries, notable geographic features, and the government road system. Additional information on the location of named places in the project area is recorded through land claims of the Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division of 1848), in surveys or Royal Patent Grants, and in surveys and conveyances for lands crossed by the rail corridor. An annotated map depicting cultural historic features and the corridor APE is found at the end of this study (see Figure 2).

## **Study Organization and Presentation**

The research conducted as a part of this study led to the collection, translation and transcription of hundreds of documents recorded between the late 1700s to the early 1900s; and engaging eight people in an oral history/consultation program. Because it is important to establish a cultural-historical context for the large region of land covered by the proposed and narrow Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project (rail corridor); and because of the depth and diversity of history from the Kalihi-Kapālama-Nu‘uanu/Honolulu-Waikīkī Ahupua‘a (Honolulu region), the study covers facets of the larger regional history, not just the narrow corridor being considered for the proposed rail corridor. This said, much of the information is directly tied to the actual study area—describing traditions of place, residents and practices, beliefs, and the diverse history spanning the traditional and historic periods. It should be noted here that the historic period dating from ca. 1800 to the early 1900s is significant in the national history of the Hawaiian Islands and people of Hawai‘i. And while not necessarily “traditional,” the history of that era in the Honolulu region has shaped all Hawai‘i and still impacts the lives of Hawaiians and island residents in the modern day.

As a result of the diverse, and at times lengthy documentary resources incorporated into this study, we have divided the actual printing into several sections. This volume serves as the primary collection and overview of area history (while thorough, it is by no means exhaustive). The appendices — Appendix A: Historical Accounts of the Honolulu Region – A Hawaiian Community and Kingdom in Transition; Appendix B: The Māhele ‘Āina, Royal Patent Grants & Overview of Land Use and Tenure; and Appendix C: Boundary Commission Proceedings and Survey Records — along with the oral history/consultation program findings provide further details and supporting documentation of the rich history for the study area lands and that led to the conclusion.

## Oral History/Consultation Interview Program

The oral history/consultation interview research conducted as a part of this study was prepared by Mina Elison, principal of Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting. Ms. Elison's findings are included in their entirety in Appendix D of this study. Prior to initiating the interview process, Ms. Elison worked with Kumu Pono Associates LLC and the SRI Foundation in the development of a general questionnaire outline, which was also reviewed by "PB" Americas for the City and County of Honolulu. This questionnaire served as the standard approach to conducting the eight interviews recorded as a part of this study.

The interviews were conducted during January and February 2013 using Federal guidance documents such as the National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker & King 1990). A multi-phased process began with contacting potential consultants, asking knowledgeable community members and organizations for referrals to kama'āina and kūpuna of the areas of study, as well as researching previously conducted oral history studies. The second step was conducting the oral history interviews, followed by their transcription or summarization, analysis of oral history data and report write-up.

Selection of consultants was based on his or her "fit" within one or more of the following criteria: 1) the individual has/had ties to the area of study; 2) is known as a Hawaiian cultural resource person; 3) is a knowledgeable cultural practitioner; or 4) was referred to the ethnographer by other kūpuna, kama'āina or cultural resource professionals. A list of potential interviewees was gathered and attempts were made to contact these individuals by phone and/or email. If contact was successful, and the individual was interested and able to participate, a formal oral history interview was conducted.

Prior to the interview, consultants were briefed on the purpose of the Traditional Cultural Properties Study's Oral History Program. With consent of the consultant, interviews were digitally recorded on a MP3 recording device. During the interviews, consultants were provided an aerial map with the proposed rail route and stations, and were also given a set of seven historic maps, dating from 1875 to 1888, of Kalihi, Pālama, and Honolulu as makana. Several of the interviewees were able to review these historic maps during consultation and any references to place names and historic landmarks are made to these maps and noted in transcription.

A copy of the interview transcript was provided to each consultant for his or her review, along with a transcript release form and a self-addressed stamped envelope for the return of the revised or edited transcript, as well as the release form. The transcript release form provided space for interviewees to note any clarifications, corrections, additions or deletions to the transcript, and also gave consultants the opportunity to object to the release of the document.

Participants in the Kalihi-Waikīkī Oral History Program (2013) include:

- Beadie Dawson
- Randie Fong
- Francine Gora
- Ka'anohi Kaleikini
- Adrian Keohokalole

- Doug Lapilio
- Michael Lee
- Dexter Soares

Two interviews which were previously conducted for an cultural impact assessment for the Kaka'ako area are also included as a part of Appendix D, as the interviews include valuable information regarding the history and cultural practices associated with the Honolulu area (Elison & McElroy 2011). One of these individuals is Van Horn Diamond, who passed away in 2012. Due to scheduling and health matters, an interview with Uncle Bill Haole, Jr. was not possible for the current study. Because of this, an interview previously recorded with him is cited in this study.

## **II. HE WAHI MO‘OLELO NO KA ‘ĀPANA ‘ĀINA MAI KALIHI A I WAIKĪKĪ – AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED TRADITIONS FROM THE LANDS OF KALIHI TO WAIKĪKĪ (THE HONOLULU REGION)**

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The history of lands within the Honolulu region study area include a rich blend of native traditions, beliefs and practices reflecting the broad spectrum of life on the land from that which is sacred to that which is basic in domestic life. But perhaps most unique in the history of the lands in the Honolulu region is the fact that on this landscape was also recorded nearly all the major events in Hawaiian history after ca. 1815. At places such as ‘Ai‘ēnui, Hale Hui, Hale Kauwila, Hauhauko‘i, Honoka‘upu, Honolulu, Honuakaha, Kapu‘ukolo, Kīkīhale, Kou, Kuloloia, Mauna Kilika, Pākākā, and Pūlaholaho, all of the foreign influences came to bear on the little island kingdom. These lands were at the forefront of the major and swift changes in Hawaiian culture, life-ways, practices, beliefs and residency. At the heart of Hale Kauwila, Pākākā and Pūlaholaho, were formed the basis of land tenure which remains the foundation of fee-simple property rights in the state.

The named places became the seat of western economic drivers in the Hawaiian Islands. Thus, the “modern” history of the Honolulu region seems to overshadow all history of Hawai‘i. Those early historical events led to the continual erosion of the Hawaiian landscape and governance, and literally buried the storied and sacred landscapes under debris and construction of monoliths of the modern day. Today, the history of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī region is a reflection of many cultures, economic pressures and often anti-Hawaiian sentiments. And while the physical remains of traditional places, and the pursuance of traditional practices may not be readily evidenced, there is belief among many Hawaiians that the po‘e kahiko (ancient people) still walk the earth, and that the sacred and storied places (wahi pana) still exist simply by their names.

### **Historical Background**

Through this section of the study, readers are provided an overview of some of the historical accounts which provide the foundational background on traditions of place, practices, beliefs and noted people, and events in history. The following narratives offer a broad overview the history of place, while later sections of the study provide specific details recorded on paper between the 1790s to the mid 1900s. Appendix A provides readers with access to a significant collection of historical literature dating from the late 1700s to the ca. 1920, some of the accounts not previously available in English language and others not previously cited in areas studies. The section of the study that follows in this chapter offers a cultural-historical context for the proposed rail corridor.

The place name “Honolulu,” literally, “Sheltered or Protected Cove,” is foremost of the place names of Hawai‘i in that it has international recognition. Native historian Samuel Kamakau observed that the origin of the name, Honolulu:

Honolulu was originally a small place at Niukukahi [at the junction of Liliha and School streets] which some man turned into a small taro patch. Because of their aloha for him, his descendants gave this name to the whole ahupua‘a [Kamakau 1976:7].

Prior to its discovery by foreigners, the vicinity in and around Honolulu Harbor was named Kou, so named because groves of kou (*Cordia*) trees were a prominent feature on the landscape. It was here that the city now called Honolulu began to grow, and was established as a haven for foreign ships (cf. Handy, Handy & Pukui 1972). Kou was noted for a number of heiau (temple/ceremonial sites), particularly in the Nuʻuanu area. Pukui et al. (1974) describe Kou as “the area from Nuʻuanu Avenue to Alakea Street and from Hotel Street to the sea noted for konane [Hawaiian checkers] and for ʻulu maika [an ancient game likened to lawn bowling] and said to be named for the executive officer (Ilamuku) of Chief Kākuhihewa of Oahu” (Pukui et al., 1974:117-118).

One of the earliest references for lands of the Honolulu region was recorded by preeminent Native Hawaiian historian, David Malo in the 1840s, who listed the genealogies of ancient chiefs. Notably, Luanuʻu, son of Laka, died in Honolulu and was buried in Nuʻuanu, while his great-grandson, Pau, son of Hua, was born at Kewalo (Malo, 1951:191).

Lands of the Honolulu-Waikīkī region are also described in the tradition of Pele & Hiʻiaka (cf. Kapihenui, 1862; Hooulumahiehie, 1905-1906; and Keonaona & Desha, et al. September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1924 to July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1928) Hiʻiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, youngest and beloved sister of Pele, goddess of the volcano, was sent to fetch Kauaʻi chief, Lohiʻau from Kauaʻi and return with him to Kīlauea on Hawaiʻi. This epic account includes site history, place name documentation, and accounts of noted figures throughout the Hawaiian Islands. While in the Honolulu region, events focused on games of kilu (game in which quoits were hidden, players chanted and tossed their markers in an effort to strike the quoit, and thus win the favor of their opponent). Most notable in this account is the reference to Peleʻula, a chiefess of the area, and for whom an old section of Honolulu was named. The tradition include a number of mele (chants) and poetical references to noted places between the Kapālama and Waikīkī section of Kona, Oʻahu. Hawaiian historian John Papa Ii observed in the early 1800s that “Peleula was covered with healing heiaus, where offerings were made and methods of healing were taught” (Ii, 1959:46)

Summarizing the tradition of Hiʻiaka’s visit with the chiefess Peleʻula in the regions of Kou and Honolulu, Gessler (1942) wrote that:

Hiʻiaka and Lohiʻau, immortal lovers of legend, entered this harbor in the course of their voyage from Kauaʻi to Hawaiʻi, and a little farther up the valley [in the Nuʻuanu and Vineyard streets vicinity] Hiʻiaka’s skill at the game of kilu won her sweetheart from the wiles of the local enchantress Peleʻula. [Gessler, 1942:6]

According to Westervelt (1915), when Kākuhihewa, the noted ancient king of Oʻahu divided the island among his favorite chiefs, the area lying roughly between Hotel Street and the ocean, and between Nuʻuanu and Alakea Streets, was given to and named after Kou, who was an “Ilamuku,” or “Marshal,” for Kākuhihewa. The area was known as Kou up to the time of Kamehameha’s reign (Westervelt 1915:2). To this Gessler (1942) adds:

At about the same time when the Lord Marshal Kou was staking out his fishing camp along the harbor, another chief, it is said, occupied another fief under Kakuhihewa farther up the valley. This chief’s name was Honolulu. For many years, far into the time of the white men’s occupation of the island, a stone that

stood near the intersection of Liliha and School streets was called Pohaku o Honolulu, the Honolulu stone. But the area between the present course of Hotel Street and the sea was “the land of Kou.” [Gessler 1942:8]

William Westervelt (1910) provided readers with a summary of place names and their related stories in the Honolulu/Kou region (first occurrence of place names underlined).

Ke-Kai-o-Mamala was the name of the surf which came in the outer entrance of the harbor of Kou. It was named after Mamala, a chiefess who loved to play konane, (Hawaiian checkers), drink ‘awa, and ride the surf. Her first husband was the shark man Ouha, who later became a shark god, living as a great shark outside the reefs of Waikiki and Koko Head. Her second husband was the chief Hono-kau-pu (Hono-ka‘upu - Albatross bird bay), to whom the king gave the land east of Kou, which afterward bore the name of its chief. In this section of Kou now called Honolulu were several very interesting places...

....Kou was probably the most noted place for konane on O‘ahu. There was a famous stone almost opposite the site of the temple. Here the chiefs gathered for many a game. Property and even lives were freely gambled away. The Spreckles Building covers the site of this well-known gambling resort.

In Honoka‘upu was one of the noted places for rolling the flat-sided stone disc known as “the maika stone.” This was not far from Richards and Queen Streets, although the great “Ulu-maika” place for the gathering of the chiefs was in Kou. This was a hard, smooth track about twelve feet wide extending from the corner of Merchant and Fort Streets now occupied by the Bank of Hawai‘i along the seaward side of Merchant Street to the place beyond Nu‘uanu Avenue known as the old iron works at ‘Ula-ko-heo.

It was used by the highest chiefs for rolling the stone disc known as “the maika stone.” Kamehameha I is recorded as having used this maika track.

‘Ula-kua was the place where idols were made. This was near the lumber yards at the foot of the present Richards street.

Ke-kau-kukui [Ka‘ākaukukui] was close to ‘Ula-kua, and was the place where small konane boards were laid. These were flat stones with rows of little holes in which a game was played with black and white stones. Here Mamala and Ouha drank awa and played konane. Here also Kekuanao‘a, father of Kamehameha V, built his home.

“Ka-ua-nono-‘ula” (The rain with the red rainbow) was the place in this district for the “wai-lua” or ghosts, to gather for their nightly games and sports. Under the shadows of the trees, near the present Hawaiian Board rooms at the junction of Alakea and Merchant streets, these ghosts made night a source of dread to all the people. Another place in Honolulu for the gathering of ghosts was at the corner of King Street and Nu‘uanu Avenue.

In Kou itself was the noted Pakaka Temple. This temple was standing on the western side of the foot of Fort Street long after the fort was built from which the street was named. It was just below the fort. Pakaka was owned by Kina'u, the mother of Kamehameha V. It was a heiau, or temple, built before the time of Kakuhihewa. In this temple, the school of the priests of O'ahu had its headquarters for centuries. The walls of the temple were adorned with heads of men offered in sacrifice.

Enormous quantities of stone were used in the construction of all these heiaus often passed by hand from quarries at great distances so the work of erection was one consuming much time and energy... [Westervelt, 1910:15-25]

### **Pākākā Heiau, Haleolono and the Residence of Liholiho**

The history of Pākākā Temple is described in detail in Westervelt's story "The God of Pakaka Temple" (1915 & 1963). The following summary tells how the god of that temple came into being.

Kalauokekahuli, a sacred tree once grew in Waipi'o Valley. The goddess Haumea stopped there for a time and saw a beautiful tree. She agreed to aid a princess and her mother who were very sick in exchange for the tree. After she acquired the tree, Haumea traveled to Maui and planted her tree by Waihe'e Stream [atop Pu'u-kuma or Pu'u-ku'ua hill]. The tree grew and grew and Haumea returned to her home in the mists when the tree blossomed. Then one day, a man saw the beautiful tree and cut it down and laid it where it fell. That night a great storm broke out that lasted 20 days and nights. The river rushed through the valley and carried the tree and its branches far into the sea.

For six months the waves tossed the branches until one finally landed at Kailua, Kona. The people there saw the branch and where it lay in the water, there were many kinds of fish gathering and leaping around it. The chiefs took the branch and made the god Makalei, which was used for many generations. Another branch landed on Maui and the Maui chiefs used it as a stick for hanging bundles. It became a god for the Maui chiefs, and they named it Kukeoloewa. The body of the tree was hidden among refuse along the beach at Waihe'e.

A chief and his wife were looking for a god for their home and in a dream they were told to get a god. They prayed and consulted priests and on the third night the omens led them to the beach where they say the tree trunk.

They took the tree, cut out their god, and called it Ku-ho'o-ne'e-nu'u. They built a heiau for it named Waihau [the Waihau class of temples were generally associated with promoting the abundance of the land], and made it taboo. The power of this god was very great and it was noted throughout all the Hawaiian Islands.

The king who was living on O'ahu heard about the tree and sent his servants to Maui to find out whether such an idol did exist. They found the god and told the chief who owned it that the king wanted to establish it at Kou, and would build a

temple for it there. The chief readily gave up the god and it was taken to its new home. Thus Pakaka Heiau was built at Kou and the god Ku-ho‘o-ne‘e-nu‘u was placed in it. Pakaka became the most noted temple on the island and the log became god of the chiefs of O‘ahu. [Westervelt 1963:27]

Citing historical accounts, McAllister (1933), reported that Pākākā Heiau was:

...an ancient temple, a Waihau po‘okanaka [a temple at which human sacrifices were sometimes used; Ku-ho‘o-ne‘e-nu‘u was a war god of the chiefs of O‘ahu]. It was built by Ka-maunu-i-Halakaipu the chief. Ku-ho‘one‘e-nu‘u was the god.

Native historian, John Papa Ii (1959), who wrote about his childhood experiences among members of the Kamehameha household described the heiau and features around it:

...a short distance from where the Hale Hookolokolo, or court house, later stood. There was a beach there [Kuloloia] , and heiau houses, each one enclosed with a fence. Wooden female images stood outside of each enclosure, with iholena and popo‘ulu bananas in front of them. There were maoli bananas before the male images at the lele altar inside of the enclosure of lama wood. Back of the male images of wood was an ‘anu‘u tower, about 8 yards (iwilei) high and 6 yards wide. It stood on the right side of the house, and was covered with strips of white ‘oloa tapa attached to the sticks resembling thatching sticks. The opu tower was just as tall and broad as the ‘anu‘u [oracle tower], and was wrapped in an ‘aeokahaloa tapa that resembled a moelola tapa. The small lama branches at its top were like unruly hair, going every which way. The opu stood on the left side of the house, facing the images and the ‘anu‘u. Between the two towers and extending from one to the other was a fine pavement of stones. In line with the middle of the pavement were the gate and the house which was called the Hale o Lono, where Liholiho was staying. It was thatched with dried ti leaves [page 56], just as Hale o Keawe in Honaunau, Hawaii, was thatched. Houses of this kind were all thatched with ti leaves, and all the posts and beams were of lama wood. The Hale o Lono was like a heiau. There were two others like it in the vicinity, one called the Hale Hui and the other, Hale o Kaili. The Hale Hui was the dwelling for miscellaneous gods and Hale o Kaili was for the god Kaili, or Kukailimoku.

As the boy [Ii] drew near the Hale o Lono, he saw two crossed lama sticks outside the entrance gate. He knew that the tapa covering he wore must be removed before entering, and this he did although he was not yet near the houses. Then he walked to the steward’s house just outside the enclosure and found Liholiho there waiting for him. When he was recognized by the occupants of the house and was told to enter, he went in and sat by the edge of the fireplace. He bundled his tapa and just sat as a stranger. The chief and people of the house treated him kindly... [Ii, 1959:58]

In traditions of the progenitors of the Hawaiian race — the goddess Papa, who was also called Haumea, and her husband, the god Wākea — it is said that these creative forces of nature took human form and lived on the Ko‘olau side of O‘ahu. Reference to Pākākā Heiau as a place of human sacrifice is discussed in Westervelt (1915 & 1963), and Handy et al.,

(1972) cites one of the land section of Waikahalulu as being the setting of a supernatural 'ulu (breadfruit tree), which later became the goddess Kāmeha'ikana:

...On the Honolulu side of the mountains were many chiefs and their people, living among whom was Lele-ho'o-mao, the ruler, whose fields were often despoiled by Papa and her husband. It was his servants who while searching the country around these fields, had found and captured Wakea. They were forcing him to the temple Pakaka to be there offered in sacrifice. They were shouting, "We have found the mischief maker and have tied him."

The Pakaka temple through its hundreds of years of existence received from time to time human sacrifice. [Westervelt 1963:28-34]

Learning of her husband's plight, Papa ran to Wakea and embraced him. She then took the form of an 'ulu (breadfruit) tree, enclosing Wakea within the tree and thus rescued him. The place at which this occurred is at Waikahalulu, near the present day Lili'uokalani Botanical Park on School Street, a short distance above the lands of Kou. [Handy 1972:449]

## **Māmala – The Bay of Honolulu**

The tradition of "Mamala the Surf-Rider" is an account of an ancient chiefess of this region. Her story as recorded by Westervelt (1915), mentions many names of people which were later made into the place names of Honolulu and surrounding districts. A synopsis of this legend is included here (place names underlined at first occurrence):

"Kou" was a noted place for games and sports among the chiefs of long ago. A little to the east of Kou was a pond with a beautiful grove of cocoa-nut trees belonging to a chief, Honoka'upu, and afterward known by his name. Straight out toward the ocean was the narrow entrance to the harbor, through which rolled the finest surf waves of old Honolulu. The ocean bore the name "Ke-kai-o-Mamala" (The sea of Mamala), and the high surf bore the name "Ka-nuku-o-Mamala" (The mouth or peak of Mamala).

Mamala was a chiefess of kupua [supernatural] character. This meant that she was a mo'o [nature-water form goddess], as well as a beautiful woman, and could assume whichever shape she most desired. One of the legends says that she was a shark and woman, and had for her husband the shark-man Ouha, afterward a shark-god having his home in the ocean near Koko Head. Mamala and Ouha drank 'awa together and played konane on the large smooth stone at Kou.

Mamala was a wonderful surf-rider. Very skillfully she danced on the roughest waves. The surf in which she most delighted rose far out in the rough sea, where the winds blew strong and whitecaps were on waves which rolled in rough disorder into the bay of Kou. The people on the beach, watching her, filled the air with resounding applause, clapping their hands over her extraordinary athletic feats.

The chief, Honoka'upu, chose to take Mamala as his wife, so she left Ouha and lived with her new husband. Ouha was angry and tried at first to injure Honoka'upu and Mamala, but he was driven away. He fled to the lake Ka-ihikapu toward Waikiki. There he appeared as a man with a basket full of shrimps and fresh fish, which he offered to the women of that place, saying, "Here is life [i.e., a living thing] for the children." He opened his basket, but the shrimps and the fish leaped out and escaped into the water.

The women ridiculed the god-man. As the ancient legendary characters of all Polynesia could not endure anything that brought shame or disgrace upon them in the eyes of others, Ouha fled from the taunts of the women, casting off his human form, and dissolving his connection with humanity. Thus he became the great shark-god of the coast between Waikiki and Koko Head.

The surf-rider Mamala is remembered in a beautiful mele, or chant, which comes from ancient times:

"The surf rises at Ko'olau,  
Blowing the waves into mist,  
Into little drops,  
Spray falling along the hidden harbor.  
There is my dear husband Ouha,  
There is the shaking sea, the running sea of Kou,  
The crab-like moving sea of Kou.  
Prepare the 'awa to drink, the crab to eat.  
The small konane board is at Honoka'upu.  
My friend on the highest point of the surf.  
This is a good surf for us.  
My love has gone away.  
Smooth is the floor of Kou,  
Fine is the breeze from the mountains.  
I wait for you to return,  
The games are prepared,  
Pa-poko, pa-loa, pa-lele,  
Leap away to Tahiti  
By the path to Nu'umealani (home of the gods,)  
Will that lover (Ouha) return?  
I belong to Honoka'upu,  
From the top of the tossing waves.  
The eyes of the day and the night are forgotten.  
Kou has the large konane board.  
This is the day, and to-night  
The eyes meet at Kou [Westervelt, 1915:52-54]

### **Kou to Honolulu – Western “Discovery” of “Fair Haven”**

English Captain William Brown of the Butterworth is usually credited as being the first Westerner to see and enter Honolulu Harbor; he entered the harbor in November of 1794 (Krauss 1987; Thrum 1893; Stroup 1959:10; Fornander 1969:II264.; Bingham 1969:46;

Alexander 1907:13; Westervelt 1910:81). The Butterworth was a fur trading ship that stopped in Hawai'i for supplies. Captain Brown called the harbor "Fair Haven," but it was less romantically referred to for years by seamen as "Brown's Harbor" (Stroup 1959:11). In Brown's entourage were the schooner, Jackall, which is said to be the first vessel to enter the harbor, and her tender, Prince Leeboo, which followed shortly after (Krauss 1987, Thrum 1893:77, Kuykendall 1938:46).

Brown's discovery of the harbor came at a time when Kalanikūpule, ruler of O'ahu, was defending his land from Kā'eo of Maui. Fornander (1969) writes of Brown's involvement in the battle between the two rulers:

In the month of November 1794 Kaeo broke up his camp at Wai'anae and marched on Ewa. At a place named Punahawehe he encountered the troops of Kalanikūpule, who had received an auxiliary force of armed seamen from the English vessels "Jackal" and "Prince Leboo," under command of Captain Brown, who shortly previous had been the first to enter the harbour of Honolulu, known to the natives by the name of Kou. [Fornander, 1969:264]

Under Kamehameha's rule, Honolulu Harbor became the favored "resort for shipping" (Alexander 1907:13). Although previously encamped at Waikīkī, Kamehameha moved to the harbor area to conduct trading with visiting captains. A description of the area at the time of Kamehameha I's rule is given by Gideon La'anui, a retainer in Kamehameha's court:

We came down to the shore of Kou (Honolulu Harbor), my parents and I. The king was awake night and day. My father was drilling with him. Our house was erected where the foreign church (Bethel) stands. Below that was the place of Ho'ai folks. There stood the cluster of houses belonging to Kaainahuna folks. Adjoining was the drill house, their place. There we lived till the arrival of Kaumualii from Kauai on a foreign ship, commanded by Winship... It anchored outside Mamala... On landing at Pakaka they held audience there, after which was a prostration ho'okupu, at the close of which Kaumualii sailed for Kauai... [Laanui in Thrum 1930:87-88]

## **The Shoreline of Kuloloia and Vicinity**

Kuloloia is another name of significance along the former Kou/Honolulu waterfront. It was the name of the beach which extended from about the foot of Fort Street to Kākā'ako, Honolulu (Pukui et al. 1974:124). Gessler (1942) wrote:

In ancient times the port that is now Honolulu was a rather obscure fishing settlement known as Kuloloia. It is mentioned in Hawaiian tradition as an entry point for canoes bound up the Nu'uaniu stream to villages in the valley. Yet it had a certain distinction. A temple stood on the flat land of Pakaka near the waterfront; where Fort and Queen streets now cross, chiefs met to play a game (konane)... [Gessler 1942:6]

Another native tradition from the time when the gods walked the land in human form and worked to the benefit of those who respected the ways of the gods is found in the tradition of 'Ai'ai, son of the fishing god Kū-'ula (Keli'ipio et al., 1902). The lengthy narratives, which

cover many locations across the islands reference Pākākā, Kuloloia and Māmala, and the establishment of a fishing shrine at Kou:

...Upon Puniaki reaching the landing the canoes were quickly made ready to depart, and as they reached Kapapoko and Pakaka, at the sea of Kuloloia, they went on to Ulukua, now the lighthouse location of Honolulu harbor. At this place Puniaki asked the paddlers; “What is the name of that surf cresting beneath the prow of our canoes?” “Pu’uiki,” replied the men.

He then said to them; “Point straight the prow of the canoes and paddle with strength.” At these words of Puniaki their minds were in doubt, because there were probably no akus at that place in the surf; but that was none of their business. As they neared the breakers of Pu’uiki, below the mouth of Mamala, Puniaki said to his men: “Turn the canoes around and go shorewards.” And in returning he said quickly, “Paddle strong, for here we are on the top of a school of akus.”...and the shore people shouted as the akus which filled the harbor swam toward the fishpond of Kuwili and on to the mouth of Leleo stream....

Shortly afterwards ‘Ai’ai arranged with Puniaki for the establishing of Kū-‘ula (fishing god stones) and ko’a (fishermen's temples and fishing stations) around the island of O‘ahu, which included “the stone at Kou was for Honolulu and Kaumakapili” (Keli’ipio et al., in Thrum 1902:114-128).

## **Archaeology of O‘ahu – Sites of the Waikīkī-Kalihi Region**

In 1930, J. Gilbert McAllister conducted the first detailed survey to document information about archaeological sites of O‘ahu. McAllister (1933) conducted field work, archival research, and also had the benefit of working with knowledgeable Hawaiian informants around O‘ahu. His findings are reported in Bernice P. Bishop Museum Publication No. 104. The bulletin lists sites by numbers, which coincide with a general map of locations. It is important to note that the changes on the Honolulu vicinity landscape had been so complete that by the early 1930s McAllister observed that it was difficult to find elder natives who could point out and recount the history of traditional sites in the Honolulu vicinity:

Site 66. Honolulu. Information regarding former sites within the present limits of Honolulu must come entirely from literary sources. If there are any Hawaiians who remember having heard of old places, I have not been able to discover them.

The old name of Honolulu is said to be Kou, a district from Nuuanu to Alakea streets and from Hotel Street to the sea. Westervelt (85, p.1) says:

“Honolulu” was probably a name given to a very rich district of farm land near what is now... the junction of Liliha and School Streets, because its' chief was Honolulu, one of the high chiefs of the time of Kakuhihewa.

After the discovery of the excellence of Honolulu's harbor the town rapidly increased. In 1825 Macrae (59, pp. 16, 17) found:

The town of Hanaruru contains about five or six hundred houses, and if the number of its inhabitants is taken at about ten to a hut, where they generally live together in families of two or three generations, they will amount to about 6,000, which I think is underrated. Their huts are built without any regular form, enclosed with low mud walls, and a small garden, but without taro ponds the same as we saw at Mowee.

The native huts are small and thatched with grass from top to bottom, but there are others inhabited by some Europeans and chiefs, which are covered over with mud, half a yard thick, to prevent accidents by fire, which so often occur in the others. These are better finished inside, and the floors spread over with mats made from rushes or the leaves of pandanus.

The huts of the poorer classes are mere hovels, having a low door placed where they creep on hands and knees to get out and in, with nothing to cover the opening but a piece of cloth or mat. [page 80]

In 1828, a little more than 100 years ago, Honolulu was still comparatively Hawaiian. Judd (48, p. 2) remarks: "There I see the town of Honolulu, a mass of brown huts, looking precisely like so many haystacks in the country; not one white cottage, no church spire, not a garden nor a tree to be seen save the grove of coconuts."

The famous temple of Honolulu was Pakaka, located at the foot of Fort Street. Westervelt (85, p. 8) records the legend of how Kuhooneenuu came to be the god of Pakaka and regarding Pakaka writes:

This temple was standing on the western side of the foot of Fort Street long after the fort was built for which the street was named. It was just below the fort. Pakaka was owned by Kinau. It was... built before the time of Kakuhihewa. In this temple the school of the priests of Oahu had its headquarters for centuries. The walls of the temple were adorned all around with heads of men offered in sacrifice.

There were apparently a number of heiaus in and about Honolulu. In 1819 Corney (25, p. 101) saw:

...several morais, or churches in the village, and at new moon, the priests, chiefs and hikanees (aikane) enter them with offerings of hogs, plantains, and cocoanuts, which they set before the wooden images. The place is fenced in and has pieces of white flags on the fences.

According to Thrum (79, 4), Kaahaimauli is the name of one of these heiaus which is said to have been located near the site of the palace. Manua heiau was back of Queen's Hospital on the side of Puowaina (Punchbowl). Kamakau (49)

says that the menehune lived on Puowaina, “and the pit for excrement was Pauoa” and as quoted by Westervelt (85, pp. 4,5): [page 81]

“Formerly there was an ‘imu ahi,’ a fire oven for burning men on this hill. Chiefs and common people were burned as sacrifices in that noted place. Men were brought for sacrifice from Kauai, Oahu, and Maui, but not from Hawaii. People could be burned in this place for violating the tabus of the tabu divine chiefs.”

“The great stone on the top of Punchbowl Hill was the place for burning men.”

Above Puowaina on what is now Pacific Heights there were apparently two heiaus: Kahuoi, mentioned only by Thrum (79, 4), who says it was of husbandry class, but destroyed about 1850; and Kaheiki, a famous heiau mentioned in several legends. Kamakau (49) remarks:

There is Kaheiki at Keoihuiu on the ridge between Nuuanu and Pauoa. It is a temple built by the Menehunes for Kahanaiakeakua. But when the government was taken by the dog Kaupe, Kahilonā the guardian of the dog resided at Kaheiki. Kahilonā the priest.

According to Westervelt (85, p. 6), it was “here the priest and prophet lived who founded the priest-clan called ‘Mo-o-kahuna,’ one of the most sacred clans of ancient Hawaiians.”

Aside from heiaus, there were many important sites in Honolulu, only a few of which are now known. Westervelt (85, p. 6) states of Kewalo Basin:

Kewalo was the place where the Kauwa, a very low class of servants, were drowned by holding their heads under water, according to the law known as “Ke-kai-he-hee.” ... Kewalo was also the netting-ground of the owl who was the cause of battle between the owl and the king Kakuhihewa.

Westervelt also notes (85, p. 6) that Kawaiahao is the name of an old spring, at the site of which the noted church of the same name was built. According to Emerson (60, note, p. 283), “In old times the site on which now stands Bishop’s Bank (Kaahumanu Street) was occupied by a house in which kilu and ume were wont to be played.” Two ulu-maika courses are mentioned by Westervelt (85, pp. 8,9):

In Hono-kau-pu was one of the noted places for rolling the... “maika stone.” This was not far from Richards and Queen Streets.

One of the finest Ulu-maika places on the islands was the one belonging to Kou. This was a hard, smooth track about twelve feet wide extending from the corner on Merchant and Fort Streets now occupied by the Bank of Hawaii along the seaward side of Merchant Street to the

place beyond Nuuanu Avenue known as the old iron works at Ula-ko-heo. It was used by the highest chiefs for rolling the stone disc known as the “maika stone.”

According to Kamakau (49), “At the north side of the Kaumakapili Church [on Beretania between Nuuanu and Maunakea] is an altar of the aku fishhook of Kahuoi. This aku fishhook was very famous.”

On the east bank of the Nuuanu stream at Puehuehu, the old name for the stream where it is crossed by the Nuuanu Street bridge, stood a very famous breadfruit tree, regarding which Kamakau (49) writes: [page 82]

On my going to see the place where the breadfruit stood, whereby Kamehaikana became a goddess, I found it at Nini, a short distance above Waikahalulu. This breadfruit became a deity, known as Kamehaikana, a goddess famous from Hawaii to Kauai, for its power and ability to overthrow governments. It was one of the deities of Oahu, and was taken by the chiefs of Maui at Hana, and became a deity of Kamehameha when he ruled the land.

Pele-ula, where Vineyard Street crosses Nuuanu, is the land where Hiiaka and Lohiau visited the chiefess Pele-ula, on their return to Hawaii. This is where the game of kilu was played in which the power and wits of Hiiaka were matched with those of Lohiau. An entire chapter is given to the minute description of this performance by Emerson (32, p. 168)... [page 83]

...Site 71. Kapalama. Another region about which it is now difficult to obtain information. Kapalama is said to have obtained its name from an establishment in which the young alii were kept just before pairing off for offspring. Emerson (60, p. 184, note 2) writes:

Such an establishment was surrounded by an enclosure, pa, made of the sacred lama [a sacred tree, also said to have been a body form of the goddess, Laka], a tree whose wood in color and fineness of grain resembles boxwood. Hence this special care, or guardianship, was called palama. It is said that an establishment of this kind was anciently placed at that suburb of Honolulu which for that cause to this day bears the name Ka-pa-lama.

Thrum (79, 4) mentions:

Puea, Palama, is a noted place to which offerings were taken; probably only a sacred shrine. Long since removed... Oomaunahale and Paepaenuileimoku, are names of Kapalama heiaus known only in tradition.

A fishpond listed as Kuwili by Cobb (23) adjoined Kapalama.

Site 72. Kalihi Valley. If any archaeological remains yet exist in Kalihi Valley, they are not known to the Hawaiians. David Kama, who is caretaker of the water reserve, tells me that he has heard the drums on nights of Kane, above his house, but he has never found the heiau.

Thrum (79, 4) mentions three heiaus about which I have been unable to obtain additional information:

Kaieie, Kalihi-uka, on premises of Dr. Huddy; of hoouluai class. Haumea its deity. Parts of foundations only remain. Kaoleo [Kaaleo], Kalihi-kai, no particulars ascertained. Haunapo, Kalihi-kai, no particulars ascertained. [page 88]

Emerson (60, p. 295, note 1) describes a holua slide at a site not now known:

The course of an old-time holua slide is at present writing [1898] clearly to be made out sloping down the foot-hills back of the Kamehameha School. The track is of such a width,—about 18 feet—as to preclude the possibility of two sleds travelling abreast. It is substantially paved with flat stones, which must have held their position for many generations. The earth that once covered them has been mostly washed away... [page 89]

...In connection with the legend of the breadfruit tree in Honolulu (Site 66) there is mentioned the peak on the northeastern side of Kalihi Valley: "Kilohana, the home dark with mist, of Wakea and Papa."

Site 73. Ananoho fishpond, Kalihi.

An oval-shaped pond 52 acres in area. The walls approximate 4,700 feet in length, and average 6 feet in width. They are primarily of coral and average 3 feet in height. There are now two houses on the wall, but houses and makaha are modern.

Auiki is a small adjoining pond partly filled. It is 12 acres in area with a 900-foot wall. [page 90]

Site 74. Pahouiki, Pahounui, and Apili, three adjoining fishponds off Kalihi.

Pahouiki is the smallest, being 14 acres in area with a wall 1,050 feet in length. The wall is of coral, with one house and two makaha now. It is open to Pahounui, a pond of 26 acres with a wall 2,600 feet long. The walls are also of coral with one house and two makaha. It adjoins but does not open to Apili pond, which is 28 acres in extent, with a wall 1,500 feet long...

Site 75. Weli fishpond, between Kahauiki and Mokumoa Island.

Said to be 30 acres in area. The greater part of its walls appear to be earth embankments, mostly natural. It is now separated from Kaikikapu pond by a roadway. Kaikikapu is 20 acres in area with a wall from Mokumoa Island to Moanalua 900 feet long... McAllister, 1933:91]

## **Loko I'a (Fishponds) of the Kalihi-Waikīkī Landscape**

One of the great resources of the lands spanning the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī region were the loko i'a (fishponds) which dated from antiquity to the period shortly following western contact. Native historian, Samuel Kamakau (1976) penned the following thoughts of the importance of ponds on the Hawaiian landscape. The description is particularly relevant to the lands of the current study area, where the mix of kuapā (walled fishponds) pu'uone (dune-banked ponds) and loko kalo i'a (fish-taro ponds) were found across the region.

Fishponds, loko i'a, were things that beautified the lands, and a land with many fishponds was called "fat" land ('aina momona). They date from very ancient times...The making of fishponds and their walls is very ancient. It is known which chiefs built some of them, but the majority of their builders is not known. However, one can see that they were built as "government" projects...Pu'uone ponds and taro patch ponds, loko i'a kalo, belonged to commoners, land holders, and land agents, the maka'ainana, haku, and konohiki. The ponds cultivated for a chief, pu'uone haku ko'ele, belonged to the holder of the land, haku 'aina, as did the taro patch ponds [on ko'ele lands].

The pu'uone ponds near the sea (loko kai pu'uone) were much desired by farmers, and these ponds were stocked (ho'oholo) with fish...the "native sons" (keiki papa) of places that had taro patches and pu'uone fishponds loved the lands where they dwelt... [Kamakau 1976:47-50]

In 1900, The Hawaiian Islands were formally designated a territory of the United States, and a detailed study of Hawaiian fisheries, stock and economic value was undertaken (Jordan and Evermann, 1902). The study also focused on the adjudication of private / Konohiki fisheries, with the view on it being un-American for fisheries to be held as private properties. The Jordan and Evermann report included a comprehensive listing of fish- and salt-ponds along the stretch of coastline from Kalihi through Kālia at the time. These resources, now all buried under a filled landscape were once an integral part of a cultural landscape that embraced many facets of Hawaiian life ranging from religion to resource management, chiefly directed public works and subsistence.

### **Fish Ponds.**

The most interesting of the fishery resources of the islands are the fish-ponds. This is the only place within the limits of the United States where they are found on such an immense scale and put to such general and beneficent use. The time of the building of many of these ponds goes back into the age of fable, the Hawaiians, for instance, attributing the construction of one of the most ancient, the deep-water fish-pond wall at the Huleia River on Kauai, to the Menehunes, a fabled race of dwarfs, distinguished for cunning industry and mechanical and

engineering skill and intelligence. Many of very old ponds are still in practical use and look as though they would last for centuries yet. As the ponds were originally owned by the kings and chiefs, it is very probable that most of them were built by the forced labor of the common people. There is a tradition amongst the natives that Loko Wekolo (Wekolo pond) [i.e., Weloka], on Pearl Harbor, Oahu, was built about 250 years ago, and that the natives formed a line from the shore to the mountain and passed the lava rock from hand to hand till it reached the shore where the building was going on without once touching the ground in transit. As the distance is considerably over a mile, this speaks well for the density of the population at that time.

The ponds are found principally in the bays indenting the shores of the islands, the common method of construction having been to build a wall of lava rocks the narrowest part of the entrance to a small bay or bight of land and use the enclosed space for the pond. They were also built on the seashore itself, the wall in this case being run out from two points on the shore, some distance apart, in the shape of a half-circle. Most of the Molokai fish ponds were built in the same manner. A few were constructed somewhat interior and these are filled by the fresh-water streams from the mountains or by tidal water from the sea carried to them by means of ditches. Most of the latter are on Oahu, near Honolulu. The Nomilo fish pond at Lawai, on Kauai is formed from an old volcanic crater with an opening toward the sea, across which a wall has been built, and as the opening is below the surface of the sea the tide pays in and out when the gates are opened.

In the sea ponds the walls are about 5 feet in width and are built somewhat loosely in order that the water can percolate freely. The interior ponds have dirt sides generally, although a few have rock walls covered with dirt, while others have rock walls backed with dirt. The sea ponds generally have sluice gates which can be raised or lowered, or else which open and close like a door. In the interior ponds there are usually two small bulkheads with a space about 8 feet square between them. Each of these has a small door which usually slides up or down. When the tide is coming in both doors are opened and the fish are allowed to go in freely. When the tide turns the doors are closed. When the owner wishes to remove any of the fish he generally opens the inner door when the tide is ebbing. The fish rush [page 427] into the narrow space between the bulkheads, from which they are dipped out by means of hand dip nets. In the sea ponds the gate is opened when the tide is coming in and when it turns it is closed.

There is usually a small runway, built of two parallel rows of loosely piled stones from the gate to about 10 feet into the pond. As the fish congregate in this runway when the tide is going out, it is very easy to dip out the supply needed for market. Seines and gill nets are also swept around the inside of the ponds at times in taking fish from them, and as they are quite shallow this is done easily.

The sea ponds usually contain only the amaama, or mullet, and the awa. In the fresh and the brackish water ponds gold-fish, china-fish, oopu, opai, carp, aholehoe, and okuhekuhe are kept. Practically no attempt at fish-culture is made with these ponds. Besides the fish which come in through the open gates,

the owner usually has men engaged at certain seasons of the year in catching young amaama and awa in the open sea and bays, and transporting them alive to the fish ponds. They are kept in the ponds until they attain a marketable size, and longer frequently if the prices quoted in the market are not satisfactory. They cost almost nothing to keep as the fish find their own food in the sea ponds. It is supposed that they eat a fine moss which is quite common in the ponds.

There are probably not more than one-half the number of ponds in use today that there were thirty years ago...

There are numerous reasons for this, the principle ones being as follows... [page 428]:

**Island of Oahu:**

Moanalua and Kahauiki:

	Area in Acres
Lelepaua, in Moanalua, mostly filled up	332
* Kaihikapu, in Moanalua	258
* Kaloaloo, in Moanalua	36
* Awaawaloo, in Moanalua	8.8
* Mapunapuna, in Moanalua	40
* Kaikikapu, in Moanalua	20
* Weli, in Kahauiki	30

Kalihi and Kapalama:

* Apili, in Kalihi	28
* Pahou nui, in Kalihi	26
* Pahou iki, in Kalihi	14
* Auiki, in Kalihi, partly filled	12
* Ananoho, in Kalihi	52
* Kuwili I, in Kapalama	10.5
* Kuwili II, in Kapalama	17.7

Kewalo and Waikiki:

Ponds, in Kewalo proper, all being filled up.	
Opu, in Miki, now used as rice field	1.31
* Kuwili, in Kalia	9.7
* Name not known, in Kalia	2.5
* Name not known, in Kalia	1.4
* Name not known, in Kalia	1.5
* Kaipuni Pond, in Kalia	1.5
* Kaipuni Pond 2, in Kalia	1.3
* Paweo 1, in Kalia	13.1
* Paweo 2, in Kalia	2.9
* Kapuuiki, in Kalia	1.5
* Kalihikapu, in Kalia	12.2
* Pau Pond	1.45

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\* Used commercially.

* Maalahia, fresh water, Waikiki	2.1
* Opukaaia, fresh water, Waikiki	1.7
* Kapaakea, Waikiki, fresh water 1902:429]	6.0 [Jordan and Evermann,

All of these fishponds are buried with fill, and several are crossed by the proposed rail route. While they are invisible on the surface (except in areas where flooding periodically occurs), many of the features remain almost intact below surface, and in the past, have been encountered during excavations.

## Summary of Land Use in the Waikīkī-Honolulu-Kalihi Region

In the 1930s, Bishop Museum’s, E.S.C. Handy conducted research of Hawaiian land use and history, including work with native informants in the field. In his account of “Native Planters” (1940), we find the following description of lands in the Honolulu region of the study area, including past uses to those of the time of writing:

**Waikiki.** The extensive terrace areas that covered the level land between what are now Kalakaua Avenue, Kapiolani Park, and Moiliili were watered by Palolo Stream and Manoa Stream, the lower courses of which formerly met in the midst of this area. In former days this was one of the most extensive single terrace areas on the island. It was developed by the chief, Kalamakua. Some of the area has been filled in for fair grounds and building sites, while the remaining terraces now in cultivation are in rice. (In 1931 these were all in Chinese bananas.)... [page 74]

...The first description of Waikiki by a foreigner was given by Vancouver in 1792 (71, vol. 1, pp. 360-365):

On the shores [of the bay] the villages appeared numerous and in good repair; and the surrounding country pleasingly interspersed with deep, though not extensive valleys; which, with the plains near the seaside, presented a high degree of cultivation and fertility... To the northward through the village...an exceedingly well-made causeway, about twelve feet broad, with a ditch on either side. This opened to our view a spacious plain, which...had the appearance of the open common fields of England; but on advancing, the major part appeared divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. These several portions of land were planted with the eddo or taro root, in different stages of inundation; none being perfectly dry, and some from three to six or seven inches under water... ..Near a mile from the beach...was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up and nearly motionless; some small rills only, finding a passage through the dams that checked the sluggish stream, by which a constant supply was afforded to the taro plantations... ..At the termination of the causeway the paths of communication with the different fields or plantations were on these narrow stone walls; very rugged and where one person only could pass at a time... The sides of

the hills, which were at some distance, seemed rocky and barren; the intermediate valleys, which were all inhabited, produced some large trees, and made a pleasing appearance. The plains, however, if we may judge from the labor bestowed on their cultivation, seem to afford the principal proportion of the different vegetable productions on which the inhabitants depend for their subsistence. The soil, though tolerably rich and producing rather a luxuriant abundance, differs...from that of ... Otaheite.

Menzies, surgeon and naturalist with Vancouver on board H.M.S. Discovery writes (49, pp. 23-24):

...The verge of the shore was planted with a large grove of cocoanut palms, affording a delightful shade to the scattered habitations of the natives... We pursued a pleasing path back into the plantation, which was nearly level and very extensive, and laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with taro, yams, sweet potatoes, and the cloth plant. These, in many cases, were divided by little banks on which grew the sugar cane and a species of *Draecena* without the aid of much cultivation, and the whole was watered in a most ingenious manner by dividing the general stream into little aqueducts leading in various directions so as to supply the most distant fields at pleasure, and the soil seems to repay the labor and industry of these people by the luxuriancy of its production.

In 1831, the voyager Meyen (50) writes of this part of Oahu:

At the village of Waititi, where running and standing water is at hand, the taro fields and valuable coconut plantations begin, and stretch along the shore of the ocean until they become quite thick; beneath the poor shade of these trees stand the neat huts of the Indians... [page 76]

**Honolulu.** Of the specific section in early days known as Honolulu, Meyen (50) writes:

If one were to visit the great plains of Honoruru and see all the beautiful cultivated land in the transverse valleys, that extends onto the plains of Honoruru, and also the tremendous quantity of food plants that are cultivated in the valley of the Pearl River, one might perhaps be persuaded to believe that a great excess of food prevails here, although it is not the case. The taro plantations occupy a great deal of space and yield far less nourishment than our potato and grain fields. In fact, the high price of fresh supplies at the market of Honoruru we might directly ascribe to inadequate cultivation.

Kotzebue, traveling in the islands from 1815 to 1818, was more impressed. He writes (42, vol. 3, p. 236):

Woajoo is the most fertile of the Sandwich Islands, from which Owhyee receives a part of the taro necessary for its consumption. The cultivation of the valleys behind Hanarura is remarkable; artificial ponds support, even on the mountains, the taro plantations, which are at the same time fish ponds; and all kinds of useful plants are cultivated on the intervening dams.

Elsewhere Kotzebue describes the method of taro cultivation in greater detail (42, vol. 1, pp. 340-341):

The artificial taro fields, which may justly be called taro lakes, excited my attention. Each of them forms a regular square of 160 feet, and is enclosed with stone all round like our basins... In the spaces between the fields, which are from three to six feet broad, there are very pleasant shady avenues, and on both sides bananas and sugar cane are planted. ...I have seen whole mountains covered with such fields, through which the water gradually flowed; each sluice formed a small cascade, which ran through avenues of sugar cane, or bananas, into the next pond, and afforded an extremely picturesque prospect... [Handy, 1940:77]

**Nuuanu.** In upper Nuuanu there are many small valleys which open into the main valley on either side of the stream... From Waolani to Kapalama the terraces were continuous on the level and gently sloping land between the Nuuanu and Waolani Streams, past Wyllie and Judd Streets and throughout the section on the north side of the valley, down what is now Liliha Street. In many vacant lots, yards, and gardens above and below Judd Street traces of terraces may still be seen...

Of this section Meyen, continuing his Oahu observations, says (50) :

Scarcely had we left the gardens of the capitol, which were for the most part planted with beautiful flowers, when we arrived at broad fields of Arum macrorrhizon, which are known by the name of “tarro patches” here. What a sight for us to view such large fields of this valuable economic plant... Nearby lie fields planted with sugar cane, which is only used for eating here, and whose bluish green makes a vivid contrast with the bright green of the banana leaves and the velvety color of the tarro plants. How beautiful is the sight of these tropical plants in their own country! [page 78]

...The newspaper “Kuokoa” of June 22, 1865 (32) has this reference to a famous taro terrace in the district:

I turn to view Kamanuwai [near the junction of Nuuanu and Beretania Streets]. This is an ancient taro patch said to have belonged to Keopuolani or to someone earlier. The food from this taro patch is the food of the sow belonging to the chief. Kupanihi was the name of the sow, so named for the father of the red-eyed chief Kahaoi.

**Kapalama.** Kapalama had two streams watering its terrace area, which was almost continuous from Iwilei up to the foothills above School Street, an area measuring about three quarters of a mile both in depth inland and in breadth.

**Kalihi.** Extensive terraces covered all the flatland in lower Kalihi Valley for approximately 1.25 miles on both sides of the stream. Above this the valley is too narrow for terraces for a mile or more; but in upper Kalihi there are numerous small areas that were developed in terraces. Bennett (4, vol. 1, p. 202) says of this valley: "Human dwellings and cultivated lands are here very few, or scattered thinly over a great extent of probably the finest soil in the world." McAllister (44, site 72) notes that "on the Ewa side of the stream the home site is still to be seen at a place called Kupehau where the chiefs of Hawaii resorted because of the delicious poi and tender taro tops to be had there. Kamehameha the first was one of the chiefs who visited the spot."

**Kahauiki.** Kahauiki Stream irrigated a moderate-sized area of terraces extending from the sea inland for about half a mile... [Handy, 1940:79]

### **III. WAHI PANA (STORIED AND SACRED PLACES) THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE NAMES IN NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL RECORDS**

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From the earliest of human times, the Hawaiian landscape has been alive with spiritual beliefs, traditions, customs, and practices. Unfortunately, with the passing of time, coupled with the westernization of life, land tenure and access, and cultural diversification, irretrievable traditional knowledge has been lost. This is in part a result of the rapid decline in the native population, and enforcement of restrictions placed upon Hawaiians in education and all facets of life which culminated in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom Government in 1893. By 1900, English became the official language of the schools and government and native Hawaiian children were punished at school for speaking their ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue/language). Thus, slowly but steadily children and grandchildren were separated from their elders, and the passing on of mo‘olelo (traditions) of place, family and practice—traditional knowledge—was largely cut off (cf. J.W.H.I. Kihe, 1924).

The loss of language, practice and land, accompanied by development of large plantations, changing demographics, sprawling communities, military complexes and resorts, led to noted traditional places being steadily erased from the landscape, or access to sites where traditional and customary practices occurred being blocked. Thus, it became difficult, if not impossible to pass on the experience of practice and familiarity with wahi pana—those sites which would qualify in their native culture and communities as “traditional cultural properties.”

Even with all that has been lost, research in Hawaiian language narratives, historical literature, and in the knowledge of families descended from traditional residents of the land reveals a wealth of history through place names, and in some instances through on-going practices. Through place names, many wahi pana (storied and sacred places) are found to exist, and for Hawaiians today, those wahi pana remain important. In this modern age, and often in the context of historic preservation, it is the biggest sites and features—such as heiau and mass ilina—that are determined to be the most significant. But Hawaiians have observed that “The land is not sacred because the heiau is there. The heiau is there because the land is sacred.” This sacredness is conveyed in the cultural attachment shared between Hawaiians and the ‘āina (land/natural environment) that nurtured and sustained them, and their relationship with the ilina of their ancestors who rose from and returned to the embrace of the ‘āina. This living and on-going sacredness also implies that there need not be physical remnants of “traditional properties and features” on the ground. When all else is lost, it is enough to speak the names and pass on the knowledge of place (see interviews conducted in conjunction with the Traditional Cultural Properties Study).

#### **Inoa ‘Āina (Place Names)**

By learning place names and their traditions, even if only fragmented accounts remain, one begins to see a rich cultural landscape unfold on the lands of the Honolulu region. Across the land are found many place names that have survived the passing of time. There are also many more recent place names which document events of the early historic period,

and the lives of historic residents on the land. The occurrence of place names demonstrates the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture and practices of the Hawaiian people. In “A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaiian,” Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from “outstanding cliffs” to what he described as “trivial land marks” (Coulter 1935:10). In 1901, Kingdom/Territorial Surveyor, C.J. Lyons observed that “It is not always safe to undertake to give the meaning of a Hawaiian proper name, especially for those not acquainted with the working of the Hawaiian mind, or what may be called the genius of the people. Some ludicrous mistakes have been made in this line. The literal translation of two words taken separately may be very different from the idea conveyed to the Hawaiian mind by the combination” (Lyons in Hawaiian Annual of 1901, page 181).

In 1902, W.D. Alexander, former Surveyor General of the Kingdom (and later Government) of Hawai‘i, wrote an account of “Hawaiian Geographic Names” (1902). Under the heading “Meaning of Hawaiian Geographic Names” he added additional thoughts on the matter of translating place names:

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes of which many of them have evidently undergone. It often happens that a word may be translated in different ways by dividing it differently. Many names of places in these islands are common to other groups of islands in the South Pacific, and were probably brought here with the earliest colonists. They have been used for centuries without any thought of their original meaning... [Alexander 1902:395]

History further tells us that named locations were significant in past times, and it has been observed that “Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography” (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412).

In ancient times, named localities served a variety of functions, telling people about: (1) places where the gods walked the earth and changed the lives of people for good or worse; (2) heiau or other features of ceremonial importance; (3) triangulation points such as ko‘a (ceremonial markers) for fishing grounds and fishing sites (4) residences and burial sites; (5) areas of planting; (6) water sources; (7) trails and trail side resting places (o‘io‘ina), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot; (8) the sources of particular natural resources/resource collections areas, or any number of other features; or (9) notable events (in the traditional and historic periods) which occurred at a given area. Through place names knowledge of the past and places of significance was handed down across countless generations.

The Gazetteer below is a compilation of more than 180 place names—selected from many more place names that are referenced in the literature—for which traditions were recorded, or which were frequently referenced in historical accounts reviewed as a part of this study. These named localities provide foundational information for the identification of sites which could be considered “traditional cultural properties.” While fairly extensive, the list below is in no way exhaustive, it simply sets a frame work for consideration of notable places in Hawaiian history on the lands which span the Kalihi to Kālia-Waikīkī region of O‘ahu.

Of the place names cited in the Gazetteer, 105 are emphasized by bold printing. These names were identified through traditional and/or historical accounts (including the land

records of the Māhele ‘Āina) as being within or linked to the proposed rail corridor, or are features associated with: (a) ceremonial functions; (b) traditional practices; (c) notable events in history which have, or continue to influence Hawaiian life; or are linked as discontinuous parcels of land in the narrow study corridor. Figure 3 (at the end of the study) is an annotated aerial map with an overlay of selected named localities, proposed wahi pana, trails and kingdom roads, topographic and noted natural features, and the proposed rail corridor. Some twenty historic maps dating from ca. 1847 to the 1930s served as the base maps for identifying the sites, either by actual occurrence of names or by places associated with identifiable localities named in historic references. Thus with the place name citations and mapping points, we are able to begin to view this modern landscape as a cultural landscape through references to storied and sacred places handed down from the past.

### **A Gazetteer of Place Names of the Kalihi-Honolulu and Kālia, Waikīkī Region (Kona District, Island of O‘ahu)**

Note: Translations of place names are cited with traditions or references that have been found which specify the origin of a given name. Those translations are sometimes literal, and other time interpretive based on the history of place. Place names cited below, followed by a — indicates that the present authors were unable to locate an explanation of pronunciation (use of diacritical marks or historical description). Thus rather than create a meaning, it is left to history or others to interpret. Bold print indicates that the place name is within the proposed corridor, immediately adjacent to the project area, or connected to the history of naming lands within the study area.

#### **Inoa ‘Āina**

#### **Ahupua‘a and Description:**

‘A‘ala (Fragrant)	Honolulu. Reportedly named after a steward of the chiefess Pele‘ula. Historically said to have been named because of the fragrant soaps used in Chinese laundry shops. (Cited in the tradition of Hi‘iaka & Pele; Māhele Claims 4747, 6236; and Register Map No. 900)
Ahu (Cairn or altar)	Kalihi. A boundary station on the reef flats between Mokauea and Kaliawa. (Cited in Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Ahuaiki</b> (Little mound/hillock) Also written Ahukai (Shoreward cairn)	Honolulu. A fish pond/salt pond area situated in Kukuluāe‘o, bounded on east side by the ‘Auwai o Pākī. (Cited in Māhele Claim 982)
‘Ai‘ēnui (Deep in debt)	Honolulu. Historical name of area just above Pākākā and the Robinson wharf, commemorating the period of great debt owed by the Kingdom and chiefs to foreign traders (S.M. Kamakau, 1961). (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; Māhele Claim 3; and Register Map No. 900)

<b>‘Āina Hou</b> (New land)	Honolulu. Area of former Kuloloia-Waikahalulu shoreline on side of Pākākā, filled in to expand the Honolulu waterfront (S.M. Kamakau, 1961); also called Esplanade in historical accounts. (Cited in historical account of 1868; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Ananoho</b> (Dwelling cave) Loko Ananoho	Kalihi. An ili land of Mokauea, and fishpond awarded to Kaunuohua, LCA 6450. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No.’s 1471 and 1472)
<b>Apili</b> (Snared or Trapped) Loko Apili (Apili Fishpond)	Kalihi. Ili land surrounding the fishpond, once famed for its excellent awa fish. It was there that Capt. Alexander Adams (Māhele Claim 803) had “his famous gardens, which was quite a place of resort for strangers and whale-men, about 1850.” (Cited in historical accounts; Māhele Claims 803, 3237, 6450 and 10498; Saturday Press of July 28, 1883; and Register Map No.’s 1039, 1472 and 2284)
<b>‘Āpua</b> (Woven fish basket)	Honolulu. Named for a fisherman resident of the land which bears his name. The coastal flats between Richards, Queen and Punchbowl Streets. (Cited in the tradition of Aiai and Kuula, 1902; S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Māhele Claim 704; and Register Map No.’s 241, 611 and 900)
<b>‘Auwaiolimu</b> (Water channel of algae; Mossy stream)	Honolulu. Area between the shore lands of Waikalalulu and Honuakaha, Hale Kauwila and Queen Street vicinity. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; and Register Map No.’s 611, 861, 900 and 1090)
<b>‘Auwai o Pākī</b> / Pākī ‘Auwai (Water channel of Paki)	Honolulu. A water course flowing from the Luakaha region of Nu‘uanu to the near shore lands of Honolulu. The water course/irrigation channel is generally described as ending near Nu‘uanu Cemetery, though in claims of the Māhele, tenants of kuleana crossed by the proposed rail corridor, identify the “Auwai o Paki” as extending below Kukuluāe‘o. (Cited in Māhele Claim 982; historical accounts; and Register Map No. 839 ½)
<b>Esplanade</b>	Honolulu. Area of the former Kuloloia-Pākākā shoreline, filled in to create new wharfage and harbor frontage (thus called ‘Āina Hou), from 1857. (Cited in historical accounts and Register Map No.’s 279 and 900)
Haimoepio —	Honolulu. Situated between Beretania, Punchbowl, Richards and Hotel Streets. (Cited in historical account of 1896; Register Map No. 900)

<b>Hale Hui</b> (Gathering house)	Honolulu. Kamehameha's compound at Kou (Cited in J.P. li, 1959, P. Rockwood map, 1957; and W. Judd, 1975)
<b>Hale Kauwila</b> (House made of Kauwila wood)	Honolulu. Historical name given to area adjoining Pākākā and the old Fort, and the street which bears the name Hale Kauwila (Kuloloia shoreline section). The name was given to one of the large thatched structures built by the Chiefs, and was the place where the King, his Council, Governor/Judge Kekuana'oa, the Legislature, Board of Land Commissioners and many other offices of the Kingdom met. It was at this place that many of the major decisions of the Hawaiian Government were made (cf. J.P. li, 1959 and S.M. Kamakau, 1961). It was this structure that gave rise to naming Hale Kauwila Street. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No.'s 241, 242, 864, 1910, 1955 and 2609...)
<b>Hale o Lono</b> (House of Lono)	Honolulu. A heiau, and for a time, the residence of Liholiho (Kamehameha II), once situated at the area marked by the corner of Fort and Queen Streets. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; and map by P. Rockwood, 1957)
<b>Hau'eka</b> (Defiled)	Honolulu. The name of an early drinking establishment near the Honolulu waterfront, and operated by the chief Manu'ia. Situated near the establishment of Boki, called Polelewa. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961)
<b>Hauhauko'i</b> (Struck with an adze)	Honolulu. A land area situated just west of 'A'ala. (Cited in Māhele Claims 2107, 2440 B, 6236; and Register Map No. 241)
<b>Hāunapō</b> (Strike in the dark)	Kalihi - Kalihi Kai. A land area, and heiau (Thrum, 1916). (Cited in Māhele Claims 50 and 3237; historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 2284)
Hi'iwai iki (Little carry water) & Hi'iwai o Ke'ehi	Kalihi. Named localities of the Ke'ehi reef fronting Ananoho Fishpond and Mokauea. (Cited in Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Honoka'upu</b> (Albatross Bay)	Honolulu. A coastal land situated west of Kuloloia. Named for a chief and husband of Kauanono'ula. The Hale Hui and Hale Kā'ili (houses of the gods) were situated here in the area between what is now Queen and Merchant Streets. The ancient trail from Waikīkī, joined the trail of Honuakaha and continued to Honoka'upu, where a noted fresh water spring was situated, and continued on the Ai'ēnui. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959, and map by P. Rockwood, 1957; historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900)

<b>Honolulu</b> (Calm/Peaceful cove)	Ahupua‘a. Area once known as Kou, which in the early historical period became the seat of the Hawaiian Government, being the formal capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom since the 1840s. (Cited in numerous native traditions and historical accounts)
<b>Honuakaha</b> (Marked earth or Coastal land)	Honolulu. A land area bounded by Queen and Punchbowl Streets, once the site of an important coconut grove; former residence of Kinau (k.) father of Chiefess M. Kekauonohi. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; Māhele Claims 677, 680, 683 and 729; and Register Map No.’s 241, 611 and 900)
<b>Ho‘okūkū</b> (To compete)	Honolulu. Area between Honuakaha and Honoka‘upu, now covered by Queen Street. Healing heiau and a residence of Liholiho were situated here. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; and map by P. Rockwood, 1957)
<b>Hu‘ehu‘e</b> (Overflowing)	Honolulu. A land area situated on the shore below Honoka‘upu, and bounded by Queen Street. (Cited in historical descriptions of the Honolulu region; and Register Map No. 900)
‘Ie‘ie‘ula (Red ‘Ie‘ie plant)	Kalāwahine-Honolulu. Situated at the foot of Pu‘u ‘Ōhi‘a, where Pi‘iwai and Kalāwahine join. ‘Ie‘ie (the Freycinetia arborea) is a sacred plant, and increasingly rare except in more remote forest areas. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Iwilei</b> (Collar bone or length of measurement, a yard)	Kapālama/Honolulu. A land section fronting Kapālama, described as being an ili of Kalāwahine (Honolulu). Fronted by a fishpond, and noted for agricultural fields that extended inland zone. Area was filled in and developed for wharfage and as an industrial center. (Cited in historical accounts; Māhele Claims 1034/8400 and 3142; and Register Map No.’s 242, 1039 and 1471)
<b>Ka‘ae‘ole</b> (One who disagrees)	Kalihi. An ili land which adjoins Kaliawa, Apili and Hāunapō. Pu‘uone fishpond and dry land agricultural parcels were claimed here. (Cited in Māhele Claim 3237; and Register Map No. 2284)
Ka‘ahaimauli —	Pohukaina/Hāli‘imaile-Honolulu. An ancient heiau formerly situated in the vicinity of the Palace grounds. (Cited in Thrum, 1907:44)
Ka‘aihe‘e (Octopus eater)	Kewalo-Honolulu. An inland site along the boundary of Makiki. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)

<b>Ka'ākaukukui</b> (The north/right light)	Honolulu. A coastal land east of Waikahalulu, and adjoining Kukulū'āe'o. The area was fronted by fishponds and salt works. (Cited in historical accounts, Māhele Claims 6236, 7712, 7713 and 10605; and Register Map No.'s 241, 395, 611, 861, 900, 1090 and 1471)
Ka'akopua (The flower picker)	Honolulu. An ili land extending in the Fort and Beretania Street area. Formerly an 'auwai ran through Ka'akopua to the shore below Honuakaha to the ponds at Kahō'ikekānaka. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Ka'ala'a</b> (Vigorous) Also Ka'ala'a lalo and Ka'ala'a luna	Honolulu. A lele land of Honuakaha, between 'Auwai o Limu and Queen Street. (Cited in historical accounts and surveys; Māhele Claim 7712; and Register Map No.'s 611 and 1090)
<b>Ka'aleo</b> (Speak loudly) (also written as Kaoleo)	Kalihi. A land area in the vicinity of Hāunapō, Kaluaopulu and Kaluaopalena. Cited by Thrum as being a heiau of unknown function (1909:41). (Cited in historical accounts and surveys; Thrum, 1909; and Register Map No. 2284)
<b>Ka'aloa</b> (Long roll)	Honolulu. Area below Kapu'ukolo (between Maunakea and Nu'uaniu Streets), where chief Kuihelani kept his wealth (storage) houses; reportedly named for his father. (Cited in Māhele Claim 3; S.M. Kamakau, 1868; and P. Rockwood map, 1957)
Kahaka'aulana —	Kalihi. Entryway to the canoe landing along the Kalihi coast. (Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Kahalepūnāwai</b> (The spring house)	Kapālama. Land area adjoining Kūwili and Pelekāne. (Cited in Māhele Claim 3144)
<b>Kahapa'akai</b> (Salt land)	Honolulu/Nu'uaniu. An ili land granted to the Government in the Māhele 'Āina, situated on the west side of Ka'ākaukukui. (Cited in historical surveys)
<b>Kahauiki</b> / Hauiki (The little dew)	Ahupua'a. Bounding the west side of Kalihi Ahupua'a. (Cited in Māhele Claim 10498; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No.'s 1472 and 2284)
Kahaumaka'awe —	Kalāwahine-Honolulu. An ili and ancient hau grove at Po'opo'o Gulch, separating Ka'ala'a from Kewalo. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)

<b>Kahawali / Kahawale</b> (Smooth/slippery shore)	Honolulu/Kapālama. A land area in the vicinity of Hauhauko'i and Kapahāhā. (Cited in Māhele Claims 2107 and 6236; historical surveys; and Register Map No. 241)
Kaheiki (Little flow)	Honolulu. A heiau of the po'o kanaka (human sacrifice) class; also a land area and stream. A large boulder, named Hō'eu, once served as the guardian of Kaheiki. In another accounts, Kaheiki Heiau was built by the menehune for the ward of the gods, Kahānaiakeakua. It is also reported that in 1783, a great battle took place on the lands around this place, in which Kahahana, the king of O'ahu was defeated by his uncle, Kahekili, king of the Maui group of islands. (Cited S.M. Kamakau, 1961 & 1976; and T. Thrum, 1907:45)
Kahō'ikekānaka (The census)	Honolulu. Land area and fishpond situated below Ka'akopua and Honuakaha, and to which an 'auwai formerly ran (J.P. li, 1959 and S.M. Kamakau 1868). (Cited in historical accounts)
<b>Kaholoakeāhole</b> (The running/schooling of the āhole fish)	Honolulu. A point along the shoreline below Kākā'ako, near where fishermen resided in the time of Kamehameha I. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; and Māhele Claim 23)
Kahuananaula —	Honolulu. A land area situated between King and Merchant Streets, and bounded between Fort and Alakea Streets. (Cited in Register Map No. 900)
Ka'ie'ie (The Freycinetia plant)	Honolulu. An ancient heiau in the uplands of Kalihi. (Cited in Thrum, 1909)
Kaihikapu or Kalihikapu	Kālia-Waikīkī. An ancient fishpond, passed by the trail from Waikīkī to Honolulu. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959)
<b>Kaimukanaka (Umukanaka)</b> (The human oven)	Honolulu. A section of land and pond in Ka'ākaukukui. Noted as being near the home of high chiefess, Keōpūolani. Situated below Māhele Claim 7713; a salt making area situated makai of Auwaiolimu. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; and Register Map No. 611)
Kaipunui (Surrounded sea)	Kālia-Waikīkī. Two adjoining fishponds. (Cited in Jordan and Evermann, 1902)
Kaiwiokaihu (The bone of the nose)	Honolulu. An inland ili land that bounds Kewalo. Kauliokamoa was Konohiki of this land prior to the Māhele, and Uuku served under him. (Cited in historical surveys)

Kaiwi'ula (The red bones)	Kalihi. Also called Kulaokaiwi'ula. A flat land area associated with the fish pond Ananoho and Pāhounui. (Cited in Māhele Claim 6450)
<b>Kākā'ako</b> (Strike and gather)	Honolulu. A land area, ancient fishing village and historic community, situated between Honuakaha and Kaholoakeāhole. In the historic period a section of the land was used as a quarantine for plague victims. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; Māhele Claims 3455 and 4457; and Register Map No. 900)
Kalaeoka'oki / Kalaeokaiki (The point of severing)	Kalihi. A point of reef near the boundary between Kalihi and Moanalua. (Cited in surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
Kalaeone (The sandy point)	Kalihi. A section of sandy reef on the channel between the Kaliawa and Mokauea fisheries. (Cited in historical surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Kalanikahua</b> (The royal contest arena)	Honolulu. The 'ulu maika field and warrior training ground during the time of Kamehameha I at Kīkīhale. Adjoining Kalanikahua was a number of houses of the sacred high chiefs. The area is now generally under the alignment of King Street. (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; and P. Rockwood Map, 1957)
<b>Kalāwahine</b> (The day of women)	Honolulu. A land section reportedly named for a mo'ō deity who guarded the water sources (Pukui et al. 1974). (Cited in historical accounts; Māhele Claims 1034/8400 and 2938; historical surveys; Register Map No.'s 111 and 395; and Pukui et al., 1974)
<b>Kālia</b> (Waited for)	Waikīkī. An ili land of the coastal region of Waikīkī, noted for its numerous salt works and fishponds. "The trail from Kalia led to Kukuluaeo" (J.P. li, 1959). (Cited in J.P. li, 1959; Pukui et al., 1974; traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 100 F.L., 101 F.L., and 387; historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 111 and 1090)
<b>Kaliawa</b> / Kaliawa Fishery —	Kalihi. Land area fronted by fishponds, and reef fishery. (Cited in Māhele Claims 803, 818, 3237, 6450 and 10498; and Register Map No.'s 1472 and 2284)

<b>Kalihi</b> (The boundary or edge)	Ahupua‘a. A land area noted for extensive settlement, agricultural development, ceremonial sites, and in several important traditional accounts— notably traditions of the goddess, Haumea or Papa, her husband, Wākea, and the supernatural breadfruit tree, Kāmeha‘ikana (S.M. Kamakau, 1991). (Cited in Māhele Claims 50, 803, 818, 3237, 6450 & 10498; historical surveys; S.M. Kamakau, 1991; traditional and historical accounts; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No.’s 1472 and 2284)
<b>Kali‘u</b> (Salted) Also Kali‘u lalo and Kali‘u luna	Honolulu. A land named for a man of the same name, who lived in the area during the time that the goddess Papa prepared to rescue her husband from being sacrificed at the heiau of Pākākā. The area was once without water except when it rained. Because of his good nature, Papa created the spring, Pūehuehu to relieve the people of their need to gather water from afar (J. Poepoe, Nupepa Ka Nai Aupuni, May 8-15, 1906). (Cited in Māhele Claim No.’s 6236 and 11225; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 242)
<b>Kaloko‘eli</b> (The dug pond)	Honolulu. A land area at Ka‘ākaukukui, and adjoining Kuaimeki, noted for its salt works. (Cited in historical surveys; and Register Map No. 611)
<b>Kalokoloa</b> (The long/distant pond)	Kapālama. Land area adjoining Iwilei. (Cited in Māhele Claim 3142)
Kahuaainana —	Kalihi – Kalihi kai. A boundary point on the reef between Kaliawa and Ke‘ehi. (Cited in surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Kaluaopalena</b> (The pit of Palena)	Kalihi. An ili land bounded by Hāunapō, Kawaihola and Apili. (Cited in Māhele Claim 10498; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 1039, 1511 and 2284)
Kaluapuhi (The eel hole)	Kalihi. A section of the reef on the channel between the Kaliawa and Mokauea fisheries. (Cited in historical surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Kaluaopulu / Kaluapulu</b> (The damp pit)	Kalihi. A land area in the vicinity of Hāunapō and Kaluaopalena; the fishpond, of Pāhou adjoins this land. (Cited in Māhele Claims 3237 and 6450; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 1039 and 2284)
<b>Kaluapakohana</b> (The open/exposed grave)	Honolulu. A land area situated in the Ka‘aloa-‘Ai‘ēnui vicinity where the chief Kuihelani lived, and where he was buried. (Cited in Māhele Claim 30; and Register Map No. 900)

Kāmae (To wilt)	Kalihi. A sandy area on the reef at Mokauea. (Cited in Register Map No. 1472)
Kamakelā / Makelā (Dead in the sun)	Honolulu Section. An ili bounded by ‘A‘ala, Kauluwela and Leleo; cited in historical accounts as being a “lele” of Kionawawana of Kalihi. (Cited in Māhele Claims 6236 and 10498; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 900 and 1910)
Kamanuwai (The water bird)	<p>Honolulu. The land area neighboring Kaumakapili. Kū‘ula and Hina lived at Niolopa. Kū‘ula’s favored aku lure was kept at the place called Kamanuwai, in the care of the bird with the same name. The aku lure, Kahu‘oi was stolen by Kīpapalaulā, the chief of Honolulu. Thus Kū‘ula could no longer provide fish to Kamanuwai, who sat perched upon its resting place, weakened with its eyes closed. Because of this, the adjoining land came to be called Kaumakapili (Fornander, 1917:554-559).</p> <p>The place called Kamanuwai was noted for its fresh water spring and taro ponds which sustained the sacred chiefess, Keōpūolani, and also served as a residence of Kamehameha II (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in traditions; historical surveys and accounts; and Register Map No. 900)</p>
Kamo‘okāhi (The single lizard)	Kapālama. An ili land. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kamo‘opili (The clinging lizard)	Kewalo-Honolulu. A ridge that separates Kewalo and Kalāwahine. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Ka‘oa‘opa —</b>	Honolulu. Coastal section of land between Moku‘aikaua and Honuakaha. Area crossed by the trail from Honolulu to Kākā‘ako and beyond, where attendants of Liholiho resided in the time of Kamehameha I. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; and Māhele Claims 19 and 129)
Ka‘ōpuaua (The storm cloud)	Honolulu. A land area situated between Beretania and Kukui Streets, adjoining Kaumakapili and Kaukeano. A noted place in the tradition of Keaomelemele, Kahānaiakeakua, Kāne and Kanaloa. (Cited in W.D. Westervelt, 1915; traditions; and Register Map No. 900)
Ka‘owai / Ka‘oawai (The water crack)	Honolulu. Land area with a natural water course, situated between Keone‘ula, Leleo, Iwilei and Kūwili. (Cited in Register Map No. 242)

<b>Kapahāhā</b> (The swollen one)	Honolulu. An ili vicinity of Hauhauko'i, Kawaiiki and Kuhimana. (Cited in Māhele Claim 655, 826, 1089, 2107, 2440 B, and 6236; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 242)
Kapāla'alaea (The red daub)	Kalihi. An ancient kalo patch, adjoining the land of Nahinu, near the sea. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Kapālama</b> / Pālama (The lama enclosure)	Ahupua'a. Land area cited in traditions, and noted for ceremonial sites, agricultural and fishery resources. The land area was named for the practice of constructing a lama wood enclosure in which couples of high rank lived to conceive a child. (Cited in traditions; Māhele Claims 275 B, 591, 1034/8400, 1053, 1222, 1723 B, 2073 2937, 3142, 3144, 4034, 4747, 4889, 7681, 8504, 8856 and 11056; historical surveys and accounts; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 1471)
<b>Kapāpoko</b> (The short lot/wall) Pāpoko	Honolulu. A land area of the historic Honolulu waterfront. (Cited in traditional and historical accounts; Māhele Claim 3; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Kapāuhi</b> / Pāuhi (The yam enclosure/garden)	Honolulu. An agricultural field dedicated by Kamehameha I, during his residency in Honolulu. Situated between Nu'uanu, King, Emma and Beretania Streets. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; P. Rockwood map, 1957; and Register Map No. 900)
Kapu'uiki (The little hill/mound)	Kālia-Waikīkī. A fishpond. (Cited in Jordan and Evermann, 1902)
<b>Kapu'ukolo</b> / Pu'ukolo (The creeping hill)	Honolulu. An ili land formerly situated on the waterfront of Honolulu. A village site of prominence from traditional times through that of Kamehameha I, and continuing through the years of the Māhele. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; Fornander, 1917; Māhele Claims 22, 30, 57, 66, 256 and 2056; historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 242)
<b>Kauanono'ula</b> (The red glowing rain)	Honoka'upu-Honolulu. Named for an ancient chiefess, and wife of Honoka'upu (Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 24, 1919). Early historic buildings once stood here, among which was the former Sailors Home. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Historical accounts; and Register Map No. 1390)
Kauhokuwale —	Kalāwahine-Honolulu. Ridge in the vicinity of Kaupō (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)

<b>Kaukahōkū</b> (The star arises)	Kapālama. An ili land in the vicinity of Kilikiliawa and Wainae. (Cited in the tradition of Kamēha‘ikana; Māhele Claims 275 B, 591, 1034/8400, 2073, 7681 and 11056; and Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kauhulimoa —	Kewalo-Honolulu. Point where the boundary between Kalāwahine and Kewalo begins, near a spring at Po‘opo‘o. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kaukeano (The awe appears)	Honolulu. Land area bounded by Beretania, Nu‘uanu and Fort Streets. (Cited in Register Map No. 900)
Kaumakapili (Perched with eyes closed)	Honolulu. A land area named from the account of the supernatural bird companion of Kū‘ula, Hina, and their son, Aiai. The theft of the powerful aku lure, Kahu‘oi, from Kū‘ula, led to the bird Kamanuwai, perching and closing its eyes in hunger. (Cited traditional and historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900)
Kaupō (Land at night)	Kalāwahine-Honolulu. A boundary area on the line between Ka‘ala‘a and Pāwa‘a. Houses in the vicinity were divided between Ka‘ala‘a and Waikīkī. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Kāwā</b> (Channel) Loko Kāwā (Kāwā fishpond)	Honolulu. Land area and fishpond along Honolulu Harbor. Site of the new O‘ahu prison built in 1857. (Cited in Māhele Claim 6236; and Register Map No.’s 900, 1039 and 1910)
Ka-wa‘a-a-ke-kūpua (The canoe made by the supernatural being)	Honolulu. A site in the Ka‘ala‘a-Waikahalulu vicinity, named for a canoe made by the supernatural being, Kekūpua, near (Kawānanakoa). The canoe was to have been made for Kahānaiakeakua, the foster child of the gods Kāne and Kanaloa, but being left unfinished in the required time, it turned to stone and became a part of the water-course in the area. (Cited in tradition of Keaomelemele, 1916; and M. Beckwith, 1970)
Kawaha‘ele‘ele (The black mouth)	Kalihi. An ili land bounding Kionawawana. (Cited in Māhele Claims 6450 and 10498; and Register Map No.’s 1039 and 2284)
Kawaiaha‘o (The water of Ha‘o)	Honolulu. An ili land once noted for its spring and healing waters. Depending on the account, Ha‘o is either a chiefess or a chief of the region (Pukui et al. 1974). A known burial ground from ancient times through the recent past, and site of the “mother” church of the American Protestant Mission. (Cited in traditional and historical accounts; Māhele Claim 10605; and Register

	Map No.'s 111 and 900, and map by Baldwin & Alexander, 1912)
<b>Kawaiholo</b> (The flowing water)	Kalihi. An ili land. (Cited in Māhele Claim 803; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 2284)
<b>Kawaiiki</b> (The little water source)	Honolulu. An ili land adjoining Kapahāhā. (Cited in Māhele Claims 1723 B and 7681; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 242)
Kawānanakoa (The brave prophecy)	Honolulu. An ili which adjoins Kālia. It was at Kawānanakoa that Kawa'aakekūpua (The canoe of Kekūpua) was made for the ward of the gods, Kāne and Kanaloa. (Cited in traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claim 10605; and Register Map No. 111)
Keahukumano (The shrine of the shark)	Kalihi. An area along the reef on the boundary between Mokauea and Kaliawa. (Cited in historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 1472 and 2284)
Ke'ehi (To tread upon)	Kalihi. A land and reef/fishery area. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Keone'ula</b> (The red sand)	Honolulu. An ili land, which was among those extensively turned over to cultivation in the time of Kamehameha I. Prior to that time the area was generally uninhabited. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; historical accounts; Māhele Claims 23 F.L., 655, 1398, 1723 B, 2073 and 7681; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 242)
Kepahoni (Cape Horn)	Honolulu. A historical name from the Hawaiianized "Cape Horn," named on account of the many ships that came into Honolulu Harbor, having sailed around Cape Horn. Of course, the sailors were looking for entertainment, and Kepahoni, became known as a place where such entertainment could be purchased. (Cited in Kawena Pukui – Pomroy Genealogy, ms., 1959; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Kewalo</b> (The calling)	Honolulu. A kula land and coastal region, noted for its fish and salt ponds. There was once a famous spring at Kewalo near the ponds, where victims of sacrifice at Kānelā'au Heiau on the slopes of Pū'owaina were first drowned. "The priest when holding the victims head under water would say to her or him on any signs of struggling, "Moe malie i ke kai o ko haku." "Lie still in the waters of your superior." From this it was called "Kawailumalumi," "Drowning waters" (Saturday Press, Oct. 6, 1883) The

	law under which the sacrifices were made, was called Kekaihehe'e. (Cited in traditional and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 100 F.L., 101 F.L., 387, 1503, 1504 and 10605; and Register Map No.'s 111, 611 and 1090)
<b>Kīkīhale</b> (Mended house)	Honolulu. An ili bounded by the modern-day King, Maunakea and Beretania Streets, and Nu'uaniu Stream. Reported to have been named for a daughter of the chief, Kou (Aiai, 1902). In the time of Kamehameha I, Kīkīhale was the site of major 'ulu maika and training warrior fields in Honolulu; and also the residence of a number of high chiefly families (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in traditions and historical accounts; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 900)
<b>Kilikiliawa</b> —	Kapālama. Two land sections, one makai, and the other mauka. The makai portion is bounded by Wainaue and Kaukahōkū. (Cited in Māhele Claim 275 B)
Kilohana (Lookout point)	Kalihi. A high point at the back of the valley, where the gods Haumea (Papa) and her husband, Wākea, lived. (Cited in the tradition of Kāmeha'ikana in S.M. Kamakau, 1991; and W.D. Westervelt, 1915; and Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Kionawawana</b> —	Kalihi. An ili near the boundary of Kahauiki Ahupua'a, adjoining Kawaha'ele'ele and Kaliawa. Makelā (Kamakelā) is referenced as a lele parcel of Kionawawana. (Cited in Māhele Claim 10498; and Register Map No. 2284)
Koholaloa (The long reef) Quarantine or Sand Island (often written Kahololoa)	Honolulu. A reef/sand section situated in Honolulu Harbor, later called "Quarantine Island and Sand Island. (Cited in Māhele Claim 153 to Sumner (Reef part), and Helu 7712; historical accounts; and Register Map No.'s 900, 1471 and 1472)
<b>Kō'iu'iu</b> (Distant, far away)	Honolulu. The ancient trail between Kou and 'Ewa passed along Kō'iu'iu (J.P. Ii, 1959). Area known for its taro and fishponds. (Cited in Māhele Claims 61 F.L., 64 F.L., 4747 and 6236; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 242)
Koleaka —	Honolulu. Land area situated between School and Kukui Streets. (Cited in Register Map No. 900)
Kolopō (Crawl about in the dark)	Honolulu. Old name for the original section of Hotel Street. (Cited in Māhele Claim 2071)

<b>Kolowalu</b> (An ancient law)	Honolulu. A section of land in Kukuluāe‘o, and adjoining Kālia. During the reign of Kūali‘i, the “Royal Kolowalu Statute” was declared for the “preservation of life,” making it safe for people to travel the trails, and to be respectfully treated. (Cited in Fornander, 1917, and traditions; Māhele Claim 3142; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 111 and 1090)
<b>Kou</b> (Cordia tree)	Honolulu. Said to be the ancient name of what is now called Honolulu. (Various features and named localities cited in traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims; and various Register Maps)
<b>Kō‘ula</b> (Red sugar cane)	Honolulu – Kewalo. Kō‘ula and Kewalo were lands which the ancient chief Hua, caused to be cultivated. Hua was known as a chief who cared for his people (S.M. Kamakau, 1865). Land section covering the Catholic burying ground and the Ward family’s, “Old Plantation” (Saturday Press, Oct. 6, 1883). (Cited in traditions and historical accounts)
<b>Kū‘aimeki</b> (Purchase metal)	Honolulu. A land section of Ka‘ākaukui, associated with salt works. (Cited in Register Map No. 611)
Kua‘i‘ula (Rubbed raw)	Honolulu. A land area adjoining Hauhauko‘i, Kahawali, Kauluwela, and Kapahāhā. (Cited in Royal Patent Grant No. 180; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 242)
<b>Kuhimana</b> (Gesture with power)	Honolulu/Pālama. A land area situated mauka of Keone‘ula and in vicinity of Hauhauko‘i and Kō‘iu‘iu. (Cited in Māhele Claim 7681; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 242)
Kūkanaka (Stand tall like a man)	Honolulu. An ili land adjoining Kō‘iu‘iu and Hauhauko‘i. (Cited in Māhele Claim 6236)
<b>Kukuluāe‘o</b> (The Hawaiian stilt)	Honolulu. A near shore land area in the Kākā‘ako vicinity, traditionally a detached parcel belonging to Punahou of Waikīkī. “This was a famous place in ancient times, and the heiau was Puukea” (S.M. Kamakau, 1865). Noted for its fish and salt ponds. (Cited in traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 387, 982, 1503, 7712, 10463 and 10605; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 111, 611, 1090 and 1471)

Kulaokahu‘a (Plain of the boundary)	Kewalo-Honolulu. A flat land area that was formerly known as a maika ground; and plain upon which the native soldiers were reviewed by Governor Kekuana‘oa on the 4 <sup>th</sup> of July, for some years following return of Hawaiian sovereignty. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings; and historical accounts)
<b>Kuloloia</b> — (also written Kuloloio)	Honolulu. Once a beautiful sandy beach on the shore of Kou, and a favored residence of the high chiefess Nāmahana (wife of Ke‘eaumoku, and mother of Ka‘ahumanu and other significant figures in the Hawaiian Kingdom). There were a number of chiefly houses and heiau spread across the shoreline of Kuloloia, between Pākākā and Honuakaha. Nāmahana died at her home on the shore of Kuloloia, and “A younger cousin of Namahana’s children, who was present at her death, was named <u>Kuloloia</u> for the place in which Namahana died.” (J.P li, 1959). (Cited in P. Rockwood Map, 1957; Māhele Claims; and historical accounts)
<b>Kumuhahane</b> —	Kapālama. An ili land of kalo fields, ‘auwai and various features. Identified as adjoining Iwilei. (Cited in Māhele Claim No. 4034)
<b>Kumupali</b> (Cliff base)	Kapālama. An ili land, adjoining Niuhelewai along one boundary. (Cited in Māhele Claim 4889)
<b>Kumu‘ulu</b> (Breadfruit tree)	Kapālama. A land area with fishponds and lo‘i. (Cited in Māhele Claim 8504)
Kupēhau —	Kalihi. A once favored taro growing land, where chiefs of old gathered. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings; and Handy, 1940)
<b>Kūwili</b> (Restless movement)	Honolulu, Kālia & Kapālama. Land area and fishponds. In Honolulu, the pond was watered by Leleo Stream. Place named Loko Kūwili are also identified in Kapālama and Kālia. (Cited in historical accounts; Māhele Claims 9 F.L., 61 F.L., 64 F.L., 591, 655, 826, 1089, 2440 B, 3144 and 6236; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 241, 900, 1039 and 1398)
<b>Leleo</b> (Carrying voice)	Honolulu. Land and stream area. In the time of Kamehameha I the trail from Kīkīhale to ‘Ewa passed over Leleo. The land was an open plain with few houses (J.P. li, 1959). (Cited in Māhele Claim 4747; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 900)

<b>Loko Auiki</b> (Little current fishpond)	Kalihi. A small pond adjoining Ananoho. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No.'s 1039, 1471 and 1472)
<b>Loko Keālia</b> (Pond of the salt encrustation)	Honolulu. Pond situated in the ili of Iwilei. (Cited in historical surveys)
Loko Ōpū (Clump pond)	Waikīkī. A land area and dune banked pond claimed by Kamehameha V, situated between Malo'okahana and Miki. (Cited in Register Map No. 1090)
<b>Loko Pāhou</b> (Pāhou fish pond)	Kalihi. A land area and one of a series of fishponds which include the name "Pāhou" (New wall). (Cited in historical accounts and surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Loko Pāhou iki</b> (Little Pāhou fishpond)	Kalihi. A land area and fishpond awarded to Kaunuohua. (Cited in Māhele Claims 3237 and 6450; historical surveys and accounts; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 1472)
<b>Loko Pāhou nui</b> (Big Pāhou fishpond)	Kalihi. A land area and fishpond awarded to Kaunuohua. (Cited in Māhele Claim 6450; historical surveys and accounts; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 1472)
<b>Loko Weli</b> (Phosphorescent light fishpond)	Kalihi/Kahauiki Boundary. (Cited in Māhele Claim 10498; historical surveys and accounts; and Register Map No. 2284)
Mai'a (Bananas)	Kewalo-Honolulu. A spring formerly situated at the head of Po'opo'o Gulch, makai of the hau grove called Piliamo'o. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
Malo'okahana —	Waikīkī. A land area adjoining Kālia, and also known as "Little Brittain, in the historical period. (Cited in Land records, historical accounts and surveys; Register Map No. 1090)
Māmala (Fragmented or splintered)	Honolulu. Old name of the entry way to the Harbor of Kou. Also known as "Ke Kai o Mamala," and now known as Honolulu. (Cited in traditions and historical accounts)
Manua Heiau	Manamana-Honolulu. An ancient heiau formerly situated behind the Queen's Hospital on the slopes of Pū'owaina. (Cited in Thrum 1907:45)

<b>Mauna Kilika</b> (Silk Mountain)	Honolulu. Named for the mounds of silk cloth traded by foreigners in exchange for Hawaiian products. Area of the former residence of M. Kekuaana‘oa; and situated along the shore of Kuloloia. Area was later called Hale Kauwila, and is the source of the street with the same name. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900)
Miki (Active, alert)	Waikīkī. A land area awarded to native historian, John Papa Ii. (Cited Māhele Claim 8241; historical accounts; and Register Map No. 1090)
Mililani (Beloved of chiefs)	Honolulu. Area of land situated between Richards, Queen, Punchbowl and King Streets. (Cited in Register Map No. 900)
<b>Mokauea</b> —	Kalihi. Land area, fishponds and reef fishery. (Cited in Māhele Claims 803 and 6450; and Register Map No.’s 1039, 1471, 1472 and 2284)
<b>Mokuaikaua</b> (Section won by war)	Honolulu. “A new name on the land,” (S.M. Kamakau, 1868), situated along a section of Kuloloia, below Honoka‘upu. (Cited in Register Map No. 900)
Mokumoa Fishery (Chicken islet)	Moanalua/Kalihi Boundary region. (Cited in Register Map No. 1472)
Mokuo‘eo —	Moanalua/Kalihi Boundary region. (Cited in Register Map No. 1472)
Monikaha‘ae (Swallow the spittle)	Honolulu. A land area situated between Nu‘uanu, Hotel, Fort, and King Streets. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900)
Nahakaipuami —	Honolulu. A storied stone situated along Nu‘uanu Stream, celebrated in the tradition of Aiai. (Cited in A. Fornander, 1917:556)
Nī‘au (Coconut mid-rib)	Kalihi. A land area bounded by Kaluaopalena and Mokauea. (Cited in Māhele Claims 803 and 6450; and Register Map No. 2284)
<b>Nihoa</b> (Notched or imbedded)	Honolulu. Name given to an area of the Honolulu shore by Ka‘ahumanu following a trip made to the island of that name, made by her, Kaumuali‘i and others. Situated mauka of Pākākā. Between Ka‘ahumanu, Merchant, Fort, and Queen Streets; adjoining Pūlaholaho. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No. 900)

<b>Niuhelewai</b> (Coconut going on water)	Kapālama. Identified as a place of residence of the goddess, Haumea, and considered by her to be sacred. The site of a battle between Haumea and Kaulu (Fornander, 1917). Also the site of a later battle in which the forces of O‘ahu and Maui fought; the waters of the stream were turned back, and the stream became damned by the corpses of men (ibid.). (Cited in Māhele Claim 1053; and historical accounts)
Niukukahi (Single standing coconut)	Honolulu. A land area on the boundary between Kalāwahine-Honolulu. Ridge in the vicinity of Ka‘uluwela and Kāwā. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
‘Oi‘o (Procession of ghosts)	Kapālama. Land area adjoining Kaukahōkū. (Cited in Māhele Claim 11056; and Register Map No. 1039)
‘Ōlani (To toast or broil)	Kapālama. Land area adjoining Pūlehu and Keone‘ula. (Cited in Māhele Claim 1723 B)
‘O‘omaunahēle Heiau—	Kapālama. An ancient heiau site (Cited in T. Thrum, 1909:41)
<b>Nu‘uanu</b> (Cold height)	Ahupua‘a. (Cited in native traditions and historical accounts; and Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Pākākā</b> (To skim, as stones over water)	Honolulu. Site of an ancient heiau of human sacrifice, dedicated to the god Kūho‘one‘enu‘u (Westervelt, 1915). Later the site of the Fort of Honolulu, and residence of chiefs. In the historic period, the site was developed into “Robinson” wharf on the western side of Hale Kauwila Street; and later filled in. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No.’s 241, 242, and 900)
<b>Pānāhāhā</b> (Broken wall)	Kalihi. An ili land section. (Cited in Māhele Claim 818; and Register Map No. 2284)
Paepaeali‘i (Royal platform)	Kapālama. An ili land. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
Paepaenuileimoku Heiau	Kapālama. An ancient heiau site (Cited in T. Thrum, 1909:41)
Pā Pelekāne (British enclosure)	Ka‘akopua-Honolulu. Area, at which Kamehameha III lived, situated along mauka side of Beretania (British) Street - Bounded by Beretania, Emma, Miller and Punchbowl Streets. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Māhele Claims 591, 1222, 3144, 8856 and 10806, Ap. 10; Register Map No. 900; and Boundary Commission proceedings)

<b>Pāpū (Fort)</b>	Honolulu. Fort built in 1815, on the site of Pākākā Heiau, and used until 1857 when it was destroyed. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No.'s 241, 242 and 900)
<b>Paukika —</b>	Kalihi. An ili land, adjoining Hāunapō. (Cited in Māhele Claims 50 and 803; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 2284)
<b>Pelekāne (British)</b>	Honolulu. Hawaiianized form of British, known in modern times as Beretania. The site of that name was formerly the residence of high chiefs, Boki and Liliha
<b>Pāweo (Turn aside)</b>	Kālia-Waikīkī. Two fishponds. (Cited in Jordan and Evermann, 1902)
<b>Pele'ula (Red Pele)</b>	Honolulu. Land area named for a chiefess of Kou/Honolulu. The chiefess frequently surfed the break of Kapu'uiki in the harbor of Kou, below Nu'uuanu. The land is bounded by Pauoa Stream, Kamanuwai and Kaumakapili. (Cited in tradition of Pele & Hi'iaka; historical surveys; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Piula —</b>	Ka'akopua-Honolulu. An 'auwai. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Poepoe / Kapoepoe (Round)</b>	Kapālama. A land area. (Cited in Māhele 275 B)
<b>Pohukaina —</b>	Honolulu. A land area noted to be part of an underground burial cave system that connects with various places around O'ahu, most notable is the royal burial cave at Kualoa. The opening in the Honolulu area is in the vicinity of the Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) residence, where also many of the notable chiefs resided. The area is mauka of the present-day main branch of the library. (Cited historical accounts; S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Register Map No. 900; and Boundary Commission proceedings)
<b>Polelewa —</b>	Honolulu. It was here that high chief Boki and Manuia erected buildings in which to sell liquor to sailors. Boki's building was called Polelewa and Manuia's was Hu'eka (S.M. Kamakau, 1961). (Cited in Register Map No. 900)

Pū'alo'alo —	Honolulu. Land area situated below Pu'unui, and bounded on east side by Kewalo and Kukuluāe'o. (Cited in Māhele Claims 7712 and 10605; and Register Map No.'s 111, 611 and 1090)
Puea —	Kapālama-Pālama. A shrine where offerings were made. (Cited in T. Thrum, 1909:41)
<b>Pūehuehu</b> (Scattered spray)	Honolulu–Nu'uaniu. A stream and spring site (said to be an old name for Nu'uaniu Stream). The spring was made by the goddess, Papa, while visiting with the man named Kali'u (see Kali'u), who agreed to help her in the rescue of Wākea from being sacrificed at Pākākā Heiau. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings; and J. Poepoe in Nupepa Ka Nai Aupuni, May 8-15, 1906)
<b>Pūlaholaho</b> (Little scrotum) Charlton Square	<p>Honolulu. For a time, Kamehameha I lived at Pūlaholaho, later high chief Boki, built a store through which to sell/trade sandalwood near Pākākā, where Liholiho also built a larger wooden building. Boki's being smaller, it came to be known as "Little scrotum" (S.M. Kamakau, 1961). The great debt of the chiefs from operating their businesses with foreigners led to the neighboring land being named Ai'ēnui. A portion of Polelewa was later converted into use for the Bethel Church. (Cited in Māhele Claim 626; and Register Map No. 900)</p> <p>British consul, Richard Charlton claimed that in 1826, Kalaimoku granted him a 299 year lease on Pūlaholaho and other sections of land. His pursuit of the deal with an unverifiable deed, led to the occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by British forces under the command of Captain Paulet in February of 1843. In July 1843, Admiral Thomas arrived in Hawai'i and returned the rightful rule of the Kingdom to Kamehameha III, and the famous phrase, "Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono" (The life or sovereignty of the land is perpetuated in righteousness) was spoken.</p>
<b>Pūlehu</b> / Kapūlehu (Broil, cook food)	Kapālama. An ili land, house site and kalo fields, bounded by Keone'ula, Kawaiiki and Wainauae. (Cited in Māhele Claims 1723 B and 2073)

Pū'owaina (Hill of sacrifice)	Honolulu. In ancient times, a heiau by the name of Kānelā'au was situated on the slopes of Pū'owaina. In the observances at the temple, human sacrifices were burned and offered to the gods (S.M. Kamakau, 1868). In Ca. 1815, one of two forts over Honolulu was built. Ten guns were mounted at the fort, which overlooked "the town and the taro ponds with other provisions cultivated in a large valley well watered by two rivers which run on each side till they meet in one behind the town" (J. Macrae, 1922). (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Pu'uhale</b> (House hill)	Kalihi. A land area of Kalihi. (Cited in Māhele Claim 6450; historical surveys; and Register Map No. 2284)
Pu'uiki (Little hill/mound)	Honolulu. A surf spot of Māmala - Honolulu Harbor. (Cited in traditions of Hiiaka, 1862; and Aiai, 1902)
<b>Pu'ukea</b> (White hill)	Honolulu-Kukuluāe'o. An ancient heiau built for or by, Hua-nui-ka-lā-la'ila'i, a hereditary chief of O'ahu, who was born at Kewalo. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, Nupepa Kuokoa, Iulai 22, 1865 and M.K. Pukui, 1991)
<b>Pu'ukolo</b> (Creeping hill) Kapu'ukolo	Honolulu. During the time of Kamehameha I's residency in Honolulu, many fishermen and their families lived at Kapu'ukolo (J.P. Ii, 1959). In one account of Kū'ula (Beckwith (1970), Kapu'ukolo is the residence of the chief Kipapala(u)ulu, who stole the sacred fishhook of Kū'ula. The hook was later restored to Kū'ula. (Cited in Māhele Claims 22, 30 57, 66, 256 and 2065; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Pu'unui</b> (Large hill or mound)	Honolulu. A detached ili land in several locations. The coastal section of Pu'unui was noted for its salt making ponds, in the vicinity extending from Queen Street, across Hale Kauwila Street to Ka'ākaukukui. Situated between South and Coral Streets. (Cited in Māhele Claims 2045, 7712 and 10605; and historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 111, 611 and 1090)
<b>Pu'uokapolei</b> (Hill of Kapolei)	Honuakaha-Honolulu. A fishpond near the shore of Honuakaha, and a detached parcel belonging to Ka'ala'a. A place where houses were situated during the time of Kamehameha I. (Cited in G. Laanui, 1837 and 1930)
'Ulakōheo (Red penis head – literal)	Honolulu. A land area situated near the shore above Kapāpoko, between Maunakea, Marine, Nu'uuanu and Queen Streets. (Cited in historical accounts; Boundary Commission proceedings; and Register Map No. 900)

<b>Ulukua</b> (Agitated)	Honolulu-Kou. A coastal point, the former location of the Honolulu Lighthouse, and fronted by the surf of Pu'uiki. (Cited in the tradition of Aiai, 1902)
<b>'Umi</b> (Suffocate or repress)	Kalihi. An ili land bounded by Hāunapō and Kaliawa. (Cited in Māhele Claims 803, 818 and 3237; and Register Map No.'s 1039 and 2284)
Wai'ale'ale (Rippling water)	Honolulu. A land area bounded by Maunakea, Hotel, Nu'uaniu and King Streets. (Cited in Māhele Claim 23; and Register Map No. 900)
<b>Waikahalulu</b> (Roaring water)	Honolulu/Nu'uaniu. An ili land, the upper section being where the goddess, Papa, embraced her husband Wākea, who was being taken to be sacrificed at Pākākā Heiau, and changed into the form of an 'ulu (breadfruit tree). This 'ulu, became known as the deity, Kāmeha'ikana, who had the power to overthrow governments. Kāmeha'ikana was one of the gods called upon by Kamehameha I in his conquest of the islands (S.M. Kamakau, 1991). The land area includes the section between Nu'uaniu and Pauoa streams, and a section on the shore, below Hale Kauwila Street, where it joins the sea at 'Āina Hou, and adjoining Kuloloia and Ka'ākaukukui (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Māhele Claim of H. Kalama, wife of Kamehameha III; traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claim No.'s 7712, 11219 and 11225; historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 242, 244, 305, 611, 861, 900, 1090 and 1471)
<b>Waikulu</b> (Dripping water)	Kalihi. Land area and fishpond. (Cited in Māhele Claim 818; and Register Map No. 2284)
Waiololi (Narrow waterway)	Kalihi. Identified as a narrow ditch on the reef boundary between Mokauea and Kaliawa. Situated seaward of Kahaka'aulana. (cited in Māhele Claim 10611; in historical surveys; and Register Map No. 1472)
<b>Wainaue</b> (Rippling/quaking water)	Kapālama. An 'ili land, bounded by several lands, among which are Kilikiliawa, Poepoe, Kaukahōkū, Kūwili and Pelekāne. (Cited in Māhele Claims 275 B, 591 and 1723 B; Register Map No. 1039)
Waalani (Heavenly realm)	Honolulu-Nu'uaniu. Said to be the place where the gods Kāne and Kanaloa built the first heiau (temple). Also a place where the gods (progenitors of the Hawaiian race) Wākea and Papa or Haumea lived. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1976; and Boundary Commission Proceedings)

## Place Names of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī Region in 1883

The importance of place names in the history of the Hawaiian people and on their native landscape was also appreciated by many foreign residents in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1883, the Saturday Press, a Honolulu based newspaper, ran a series of articles that ran from July 28, 1883 to January 12, 1884. The author (unidentified), covered place names from across the Hawaiian Islands, at times sharing little historical anecdotes, and translations of the names. While some translations may not be based on authentic traditions, the list adds important information to the research of history for lands crossed by the proposed rail. Selected places named from the present study area ahupua'a are cited below:

**July 28, 1883 (page 5)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

The names given below are Hawaiian geographical names, of towns, districts, estates, mountains, valleys, bays, rivers, etc., which English readers are likely to come across in historical or newspaper reading. Translations are given when a satisfactory English rendering is possible. This dictionary will be continued as possible.

Aala – “Sweet smelling.” All that part of Honolulu beyond Smith’s bridge and the Chinese wash-houses, and this side of Leleo, and extending towards the valley as far as the Honolulu Poi Factory.

Apua– “A purse net or shrimping basket.” That portion of Honolulu below Queen Street, and immediately opposite the government house premises, and of about the same width. The name more especially belongs to the premises belonging to the late Princess Keelikolani.

Auwaiolimu – “The mossy stream.” The district above School Street, and bounded by that street, Punchbowl, the Pauoa stream and Kaalaa, Honolulu.

Alewa – “Swinging.” Between Waikahalulu and Puunui Street, Honolulu.

Ainahou – “New land.” The Esplanade, Honolulu.

Alakani – “The sounding way.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

Apili – “Caught, snared or struck.” Land surrounding the fish pond in Kalihi, Oahu, belonging to the Adams’ family. It was there that Capt. Alexander Adams had his famous gardens, which was quite a place of resort for strangers and whale-men, about 1850. The fish pond is yet famous for the superior flavor of its fish, particularly the awa, which, eaten raw, is esteemed a rare treat by native epicures.

**August 11, 1883 (page 4)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

...Alakea – “The white or light way.” Alakea Street, Honolulu.

Alii – King Street, Honolulu.

Aliiwahine – Queen Street, Honolulu.

Alaliili – Palace Walk, Honolulu.

Akamu – Adam’s Lane, Honolulu.

Ahua – “Little hill.” Land in Moanalua, Oahu.

**August 25, 1883 (page 4)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Iwilei – “Yard, 3 feet.” Land in Honolulu adjoining Kawa and just beyond the slaughter houses. It includes a fishing right.

Umi – “To suffocate or to suppress.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

**September 8, 1883 (page 5)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Haipu – “All broken into.” Land in Honolulu.

Honuakaha – “Marked ground.” Land in Honolulu.

Hamohamo – “Feeling, brushing or smoothing.” The residence of H.R.H. Liliuokalani, Waikiki, Oahu.

Honolulu – The capital of the kingdom, Oahu.

Haunapo – Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

**September 22, 1883 (page 5)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Hauhaukoi – “Struck with an axe.” Land bordering on Liliha Street, Honolulu, Oahu.

Honokaupu – Land in Honolulu on Queen Street, and between Fort and Alakea Street.

Halimaile – “Strewn with maile.” One third of the palace grounds on the Ewa side.

**October 6, 1883 (page 5)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Kou – “Cordia.” The former name of Honolulu. One of the finest specimens of wood.

Kawaiahao – “The water of Hao.” A district of Honolulu about where the old Stone Church now stands and from there eastward.

Koula – “Red sugar cane.” The region about the Catholic burying ground and Mrs. Ward’s “Old Plantation.”

Kewalo – A fish pond and surrounding land on the plains below King Street, and beyond Koula. It contains a spring rather famous in the times previous to the conversion to Christianity, as the place where victims designed for the Heiau of Kanelaa on Punchbowl slopes, was first drowned. The priest when holding the victims head under water would say to her or him on any signs of struggling, “Moe malie i ke kai o ko haku.” “Lie still in the waters of your superior.” From this it was called “Kawailumalumai,” “Drowning waters.”

Kaumakapili – “The clouded eyes.” The district of Honolulu above Smith’s bridge and about where the new native Protestant church stands.

Kikihale – “Mended house.” District in Honolulu between Maunakea and King Street.

Kakaako – Where the salt work is, and the leper hospital, Honolulu.

**November 17, 1883 (page 3)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Kukuluaeo – “Tall, slim or slender.” Also the name of a sea bird. District adjoining Kakaako in Honolulu.

Kaakopua – “Picking flowers.” District of Honolulu on the west of Emma Street and about where Princess Ruth’s palace is. It was also the place where Kahaniakeaku’s canoe was dropped for the last time by the demons in the legend of Kaala.

Koleaka – The district on School Street, Honolulu, about the bridge between Fort and Nuuanu streets.

Kahehuna – “The hidden water way.” About where the Royal school is, Honolulu.

Kuwili – “Hugging, or telling a thing over and over.” A fish pond on the mauka side of the prison, Honolulu.

Kapahaha – “Spreading out.” Land in Honolulu.

Kaliu – “Salty.” Land in Honolulu.

Kaoawai – Literally “The water crack.” Really, a natural “water course.” Land in Honolulu.

Kamakela – “Died from sunstroke” or “killed by the sun.” Land in Honolulu.

Kuhimana – “Pointing in different directions.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Kahawale – “Soft branch or stalk.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Keoneula – “Red sands.” Where the Reformatory school is, Palama, Oahu.

Kukanaka – “Standing men.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Kalawahine – “Forgiven woman.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Kauluwela – “Hot groves.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Kawaiki – “Little water.” Land in Palama, Oahu.

Kunawai – Spring and surrounding land between Liliha street and Insane Asylum. A large spring of considerable value, and considered sacred by natives as the residence of a moo (water spirit). Land in Honolulu.

Kuaiula – “Red bargain.” Land in Honolulu.

Kumuhau – “Hau tree.” Land in Honolulu.

Kaimuohena – “Mound of Hena.” Where a chief was baked in an underground oven in the olden times. Land in Honolulu.

Kapauhi – “Covered yard” or “yam enclosure.” The lower end of the square between the Fort and Emma streets and above Beretania, Honolulu.

Kaikahi – “Very scarce.” Land in Honolulu.

Kawananakoa – “The brave prophecy.” Where the royal mausoleum is, Honolulu.

Kaluapalena – “The ending hole.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

Keonepanei – “Moving sand.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

Keauhou – “The new current,” or “The new regime.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

Kahui – “A society or club.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

Kukahi – “Standing alone.” Land in Kalihi, Oahu.

**December 1, 1883 (page 5)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

...Kalia – Land in Waikiki about where Moehonua’s cottage is and including land bordering the Piinaio stream to the sea.

**December 29, 1883 (page 6)**  
**Saturday Press**  
**Dictionary of Hawaiian Localities**

Names of the streets in Honolulu.

Alanui Berekane – Beretania Street.

Alanui Chaplain – Chaplain Street.

Alanui Hokele – Hotel Street.

Alanui Kihapai – Garden Street.

Alanui Kalepa – Merchant Street.

Alanui Kawaiahao – “Hao’s water.” Kawaiahao Street.

Alanui Kamika – Smith’s Street.

Alanui Marine – Marine Street.

Alanui Maunakea – “The white mountain.” Maunakea Street.

Alanui Nuuanu – “The cold step or peak.” Nuuanu Street.

Alanui Puowaina – Punchbowl Street.

Alanui Paipalapala – Printer’s Lane.

Alanui Rikeke – Richard Street.

Alanui Waikahalulu – The extension of School Street.

## IV. NĀ MO'OLELO HAWAI'I (HAWAIIAN TRADITIONS)

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### Background

In Hawaiian mo'olelo (traditions and historical narratives) are found expressions of native beliefs, customs, practices, and history. Indeed, in Hawai'i, the very landscape is storied and alive, and facets of the land are held as sacred (wahi pana). Each place name was associated with a tradition—ranging from the presence and interactions of the gods with people, to documenting an event, or the characteristics of a given place. Unfortunately, today, many of those mo'olelo have been lost. But as described in the first sections of this study, some traditions of named places, though fragmented, have survived the passing of time. Even more place names remain in the modern vocabulary, while their origins have apparently been lost. Through mo'olelo we are able to glimpse into the history of the land and people of the Honolulu region study area.

In this section of the study readers are provided access to a collection of narratives, many of which are the source of the documentation cited in the Gazetteer. The traditions and history were recorded by native Hawaiian authors and historians, foreign visitors and residents of the land during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The narratives document traditional lore and knowledge, customary practices and beliefs, and the importance of place names which have survived the passing of time. We note here, that extensive research has already been conducted in several phases of work associated with the Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor (cf. Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, 2011). That research is quite comprehensive and is of value in describing both traditional/historical accounts and the cultural landscape of the region. We have endeavored to build upon those earlier studies and add to the resources that will facilitate making better decisions on how planning and implementation might proceed.

On the pages that follow, readers will find rich collection of place-based narratives. A number of the accounts come from Hawaiian language resources which have not been previously available in English. Other citations revisit some of the better known historical accounts, while attempting to shed new light on them, with efforts made to place them in a Hawaiian cultural context based on a wide range of resource materials.

Transcripts and/or translations of the Hawaiian language accounts are given either verbatim, or in summary of longer narratives, with emphasis on the key events—their association with akua (gods), 'āina (land) and kānaka (people) of the Kalihi-Waikīkī region of O'ahu. The citations span the period from antiquity to the 1920s. We have elected to include the Hawaiian language transcripts in this study in an effort to provide present and future generations with easy access to these important narratives as a means of fostering on-going cultural attachment to place, and for educational and interpretive purposes. In this way, the kūpuna (elders/ancestors) speak for themselves, and pass their voices on to inspire continued knowledge of place, practice and use of the native place names.

The narratives which follow are generally organized chronologically, by date of occurrence—the period of history being described. It will be noted that in a number of instances, place names originated as the names of notable figures, either gods, demigods, chiefly personages or deified ancestors, while other names describe events or particular

characteristics of named locations. We have added underlining to indicate the first occurrence of place names of lands directly associated with the proposed rail corridor.

The narratives below address aspects of traditional knowledge and native lore which was passed down through families and recorded in writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations and summaries were prepared by Kepā Maly. Every effort has been made to accurately translate and represent the knowledge and thoughts of the original Hawaiian language accounts.

Ke nonoi ha'aha'a mākou, inā ua hewa mākou, e hui kala mai iā mākou. Ua ho'omākaukau 'ia kēia palapala me ke aloha a nui no nā Kūpuna o ka wā kahiko. Ua hohonu a kupaianaha ka 'ike Kūpuna. No laila, aia ma loko o kēia palapala, e loa'a iā 'oe i ke kumu palapala o nā mo'olelo like 'ole i ha'i 'ia ma loko nei. A no laila ua hiki iā 'oukou ke huli a loa'a i nā mea 'oia'i'o i ha'i 'ia na nā Kūpuna.

## **Native Traditions and History**

This section of the study recited traditions of place, spanning the period of antiquity, when the gods walked the earth with humans to the early historic period. The accounts focus on lands that are crossed by the proposed rail route, or are directly mauka or makai of the corridor.

### **The Traditions of Aiai– Establishment of Kū'ula and Ko'a in the Kona District of O'ahu**

In 1901 and 1902, the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac published a detailed article series, with portions written by L.D. Keli'ipio, Moses (Moke) Manu, and other sections compiled by M.K. Nakuina and S.N. Emerson. These important narratives included descriptions of fishing customs, the diversity of species in the Hawaiian fisheries, and a wide range of ceremonial observances associated with the gods and practices of the lawai'a. The narratives also include references to resources across the main Hawaiian Islands:

#### **Hawaiian Fish Stories And Superstitions. Furnished the Annual by L. D. Keliipio, ex-Fish Inspector, Board of Health, translated by M. K. Nakuina.**

The following narration of the different fish here given is told and largely believed in by native fishermen. All may not agree as to particulars of this version, but the main features are well known and vary but little. Some of these stories are termed mythical, in others the truth is never questioned and together they have a deep hold on the Hawaiian [HAA 1901:110] mind. Further and confirming information may be obtained from fishermen and others, and by visiting the market the varieties here mentioned may be seen almost daily.

In the olden time certain varieties of fish were tabued and could not be caught at all times, being subject to the kapu of Kuula, the fish-god, who propagated the finny tribes of Hawaiian waters. While deep sea fishing was more general, that in the shallow sea, or along-shore, was subject to the restrictions of the konohiki of

the land, and alii's, both as to certain kinds as well as periods. The sign of the shallow sea kapu prevailing was by branches of the hau tree placed all along the shore. The people seeing this token of the kapu respected it, and any violation thereof in ancient time was said to be punishable by death. While this kapu prevailed the people resorted to the deep sea stations for their food supply. With the removal of the hau branches, indicating the kapu was lifted, the people fished as they desired, subject only to the makahiki tabu days of the priest, or alii, when no canoes were allowed to go out upon the water.

The first fish caught by fishermen, or anyone else, was marked and dedicated to Kuula. After this offering was made, Kuula's right therein being thus recognized, they were free from further oblations so far as that particular variety of fish offered was concerned. All fishermen, from Hawaii to Niihau, observed this custom religiously. When the fishermen caught a large supply, whether by the net, hook or shell, but one of a kind, as just stated, was reserved as an offering to Kuula; the remainder was then free to the people.

#### **Deified Fish Superstition.**

Some of the varieties of fish we now eat were deified and prayed to by the people of the olden time, and even some Hawaiians of today labor under like superstition with regard to sharks, eels, oopus, and some others. They are afraid to eat or touch these lest they suffer in consequence, and this belief has been perpetuated; handed down from parents to children, even to the present day. The writer was one of those brought up to this belief and only lately has eaten the kapu fish of his ancestors without fearing a penalty therefore. [HAA 1901:111]

#### **Story of the Anae-Holo.**

The anae-holo is a species of mullet unlike those of the shallow water, or pond variety, and this story of its habit is well known to any kupa (native born) of Oahu.

The home of the anae-holo is at Honouliuli, Pearl Harbor, at a place called Ihuopalaai. They make periodical journeys around to the opposite side of the island, starting from Puuloa and going to windward, passing successively Kumumanu, Kalihi, Kou, Kalia, Waikiki, Kaalawai and so on, around to the Koolau side, ending at Laie, and then return by the same course to their starting point. This fish is not caught at Waianae, Kaena, Waialua, Waimea or Kahuku because they do not run that way, though these places are well supplied with other kinds. The reason given for this is as follows:

Ihuopalaai had a Kuula, and this fish-god supplied anaes. Ihuopalaai's sister took a husband and went and lived with him at Laie, Koolauloa. In course of time a day came when there were no fish to be had. In her distress and desire for some she bethought herself of her brother, so she sent her husband to Honouliuli to ask Ihuopalaai for a supply, saying: "Go to Ihuopalaai, my brother, and ask him for fish. If he offers you dried fish refuse it by all means, do not take it, because it is such a long distance that you would not be able to carry enough to last us for any length of time."

When her husband arrived at Honouliuli he went to Ihuopalaai and asked him for fish. His brother-in-law gave him several large bundles of dried fish, one of which he could not very well lift, let alone carry a distance. This offer was refused and reply given according to instruction. Ihuopalaai sat thinking for some time and then told him to return home, saying: "You take the road on the Kona side of the island; do not sit, stay, nor sleep on the way till you reach your own house."

The man started as directed and Ihuopalaai asked Kuula to send fish for his sister, and while journeying homeward as directed a school of fish was following in the sea, within the breakers. He did not obey fully the words of Ihuopalaai for he became so tired that he sat down on the way, but noticed whenever he did [HAA 1901:112] so that the fish rested too. The people seeing the school of fish went and caught them. Of course not knowing that this was his supply he did not realize that the people were taking his fish.

Reaching home he met his wife and told her he had brought no fish but had seen many all the way, and pointed out to her the school of anae-holo which was then resting abreast of their house. She told him it was their supply, sent by Ihuopalaai, his brother-in-law. They fished and got all they desired, whereupon the remainder returned by the same way till they reached Honouliuli where Ihuopalaai was living, and ever afterwards this variety of fish has come and gone the same way every year to this day, commencing sometime in October and ending in March or April.

Expectant mothers are not allowed to eat of the anae-holo, nor the aholhole, fearing dire consequences to the child, hence they never touch them till after the eventful day. Nor are these fish ever given to children till they are able to pick and eat them of their own accord.

**Aiai, Son of Ku-ula (1902).**

**Being part II of Ku-ula, the fish god of Hawaii.**

**(Continued from the last Annual; translation completed by S.N. Emerson and the whole carefully revised and compared with the original.)**

**Ko'a (Fishing Stations) on the island of O'ahu:**

...Aiai then came to Oahu, first landing at Makapuu, in Koolau, where he founded a pohaku-ia (fish stone) for red fish and for speckled fish and called it Malei. This was a female rock, and the fish of that place is the uhu. It is referred to in the mele of Hiiaka, thus:

I will not go to the stormy capes of Koolau,  
The sea-cliffs of Moeaau.  
The woman watching uhu of Makapuu  
Dwells on the ledge of Kamakani  
At Koolau. The living  
Offers grass twined sacrifices, Oh Malie!

From the time Aiai founded that spawning place until the present, its fish have been the uhu, extending to Hanauma. There were also several gathering places for fish established outside of Kawaihoa. Aiai next moved to Maunalua, then Waialae and Kahalaia. At Kaalawai he placed a white and brown rock. There in that place is a hole filled with aholehole, therefore the name of the land is Kaluahole. Right outside of Kahuahui there is a station of Aiai's where he placed a large round sand-stone that is surrounded by spawning places for fish; Ponahakeone is its name.

In ancient times the chiefs selected a very secret place wherein to hide the dead bodies of their greatly beloved, lest someone should steal their bones to make fish hooks, or arrows to shoot mice with. For that reason the ancients referred to Ponahakeone as "He Lualoa no Na'lii"—a deep pit for the chiefs.

Aiai came to Kalia and so on to Kakaako. Here he was made a friend by a man named Apua, with whom he remained several days, observing and listening to the murmurs of the chief, named Kou. This chief was a skillful hiaku fisherman, his grounds being outside of Mamala until you came to Moanalua. There [HAA 1902:122] was none so skilled as he, and generous withall, giving akus to the people through the district.

As Aiai was dwelling with his friend Apua at Kakaako, he meandered off one day along the shore of Kuloloia, and so on to Pakaka and Kapapoko. But he did not return to the house of his friend, for he met with a young woman gathering limu (sea-moss) and fishing for crabs. This young woman, whose name was Puiwa, lived at Hanakaialama and was a virgin, never having had a husband. She herself, as the people would say, was forward to ask Aiai to be her husband, but he listened to her voice and they went up together to her home and saw the parents and relatives and forthwith were married. After living with this young woman some time a son was born to them whom Aiai named Puniaiki. During those days was the distribution of aku which were sent up from Honolulu to the different dwellings, but while others were given a whole fish they got but a portion from some neighbor. For this reason the woman was angry, and told Aiai to go to the brook and get some oopus fit to eat, as well as opae. Aiai listened to the voice of his wife. He dug a ditch; constructed a dam so as to lead the water of the brook into some pits, and thus be able to catch the oopu and opae. He labored some days at this work of theirs, and the fish and shrimps were hung up to dry.

On a certain day following, Aiai and his wife went with their child to the brook. She left their son upon the bank of the stream while she engaged herself in catching opae and oopu from the pits. But it was not long before the child began to cry, and as he cried Aiai told his wife to leave her fishing, but she talked saucily to him. So Aiai called upon the names of his ancestors. Immediately a dark and lowering cloud drew near and poured out a flood of water upon the stream, and in a short time the dam was broken by the freshet and all the oopu and opae together with the child were swept toward the sea. But the woman was not taken by the flood. Aiai then rose up and departed, without thought of his wife.

He went down from the valley to Kaumakapili and as he was standing there he saw some women fishing for oopu on the [HAA 1902:123] banks of the stream, the daughter of the chief, Kikihale being with them. At that time, behold, there was caught by the female guardian of the daughter of Kikihale a very large oopu. This oopu she showed to her protégé who told her to put it into a large calabash with water and feed it with limu, so that it might become a pet fish. This was done and the oopu was tended very carefully night and day.

Aiai stood by and saw the fish lifted out of the brook and recognized it at the same time as his own child, changed from a human being into an oopu.

At this point the story of Aiai gives place to that of his child.

When the oopu was placed in a large calabash with water, it was carefully tended and fed with sea-moss for some time, but one day in seeing to this duty the guardian of the chiefess, on reaching the calabash, was startled to behold therein a human child, looking with its eyes. And the water in the calabash had disappeared. She was greatly surprised and seized with a dark foreboding, and a trembling fear possessed her as she looked upon this miraculous child.

This woman went and told the chiefess of this child they knew to have the form of an oopu, and as Kikihale heard the story of her guardian she went quickly, with grave doubts, however, of this her report, but there, on reaching the calabash, as she looked she saw indeed a child therein. She immediately put forth her hands toward the child and lifted it to her, carefully examining, its form noted its agreeable features. As the thought quickly possessed this girl she said: "Now my guardian, you and your husband take and rear this child till he is grown, then I will be his woman."

The guardian answered her: "When this child becomes grown you will be an old woman; that is, your days will be in the evening of life, while his place will be in the early morn. Will you not thereby have lasting cause for dissatisfaction and contention between you in the future?"

Kikihale answering her guardian said: "You are not to blame, [HAA 1902:124] these things are mine to consider for the reason that the desire is mine, not yours, my guardian."

Just after this talking it was quickly known of this child among the chiefs and attendants, and he was nourished and brought up to adult age when Kikihale took him for her husband as she said she would, and for a time they dwelt together as man and wife without disagreement between them.

But during these days Kikihale saw plainly that her husband was not disposed to do anything for their support, therefore she mourned over it continually and angrily reproved him, finally, with these words, saying:

"Oh my husband, can you not go forth also, as others, to assist our father and the attendants in the duties of fishing, instead of eating till you are satisfied then

rolling over with face upward to the ridge-pole of the house and count the ahos? It may do while my father is alive, but if he should die whence would come our support?" Thus she spoke reproachingly from day to day and the words stung Puniaiki's heart with much pain.

And this is what he said to his wife one day: "It is unpleasant to hear you constantly talking thus. Not as wild animals is the catching of fish in the sea; they are obedient if called, and you may eat wastefully of my fish when procured. I have authority over fish, men, pigs and dogs. If you are a favorite of your father then go to him for double canoes, with their fishing appurtenances, and men to paddle them."

When Kikihale heard these words of her husband she hastened to Kou, her father, and told him all that Puniaiki had said, and the request was promptly executed. Kikihale returned to her husband and told him all she had done.

On Puniaiki's going down to the canoe place he found the men were making ready the canoes with the nets, rods, lines and the pearl fish-hooks. Here he lit a fire and burned up the pearl fish-hooks, at which his wife was much angered and cried loudly for the hiaku pearl hooks of her father. She went and told Kou of this mischievous action of her husband, but he answered her not a word at this act of his son-in-law, though he had supplied five gourds filled with them, a thousand in number, and the strangest [HAA 1902:125] thing is, that all were burned up save two only which Kou had reserved.

That night Puniaiki slept apart from his wife and he told the canoe paddlers to sleep in the canoe sheds; not to go to their homes that night, and they obeyed his voice.

It was Kou's habit to rouse his men before break of day to sail in the malaus<sup>1</sup> for aku fishing at the mouth of the harbor, for that was their feeding time, not after the sun had risen. Thus would the canoes enter the schools of aku and this chief became famous thereby as a most successful fisherman, but on this day was seen the sorcerer's work of this child of Aiai.

As Kou with his men set out always before dawn, here was this Puniaiki above at his place at sunrise. At this time on his awaking from sleep he turned his face mountainward and looking at Kaumakapili he saw a rainbow and its reddish mist spread out at that place, wherein was standing a human form. He felt conscious that it was Aiai his father, therefore he went there and Aiai showed him the place of the pa (fish-hook) called Kahuai, and he said to his son: "Here will I stay till you return; be quick."

Upon Puniaiki reaching the landing the canoes were quickly made ready to depart, and as they reached Kapapoko and Pakaka, at the sea of Kuloloia, they went on to Ulukua, now the lighthouse location of Honolulu harbor. At this place Puniaiki asked the paddlers: "What is the name of that surf cresting beneath the prow of our canoes?" "Puuiki," replied the men.

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<sup>1</sup> Light double canoe for quiet water fishing.

He then said to them: “Point straight the prow of the canoes and paddle with strength.” At these words of Puniaki their minds were in doubt, because there were probably no akus at that place in the surf, but that was none of their business.

As they neared the breakers of Puuiki, below the mouth of Mamala,<sup>2</sup> Puniaki said to his men: “Turn the canoes around and go shorewards,” and in returning he said quickly, “Paddle strong, for here we are on the top of a school of akus, but strange to say, as the men looked in the water they saw no fish swimming about, [HAA 1902:126] but on reaching Ulakua Puniaki opened up the fish-hook, Kahuoi, from its wrapping in the gourd and held it in his hand.

At this the akus, unprecedented in number, fairly leaped into the canoes. They became so filled with the fish, without labor, that they sank in the water as they reached Kapuukolo and the men jumped overboard to float them to the beach. The canoe men wondered greatly at this work of the son-in-law of Kou the chief, and the shore people shouted as the akus which filled the harbor, swam towards the fish-pond of Kuwili and on to the mouth of Leleo stream.

When the canoes touched shore Puniaki seized two fish in his hands and went to join his father where he was staying, and Aiai directed him to take them up to where his mother lived. These akus were not gifts for her, but an offering to Kuula at a ko’a (station) established just above Kahuailanawai. Puniaki obeyed the instructions of his father and on returning to him he was sent back to his mother, Puiwa, with a supply of akus. She was greatly surprised that this handsome young man, with his gift of akus for her to eat, was her own son and these were the first fruits of his labor.

The people marveled at the quantity of fish throughout the harbor so that even the stream at Kikihale was also full of akus, and Puniaki commanded the people to take of them day and night; and the news of this visit of akus went all around Oahu. This unequalled haul of akus was a great humiliation to Kou, affecting his fame as a fisherman, but he was neither jealous of his son-in-law nor angry, he just sat silent. He thought much on the subject but with kindly feelings, resulting in turning over this employment to him who could prosecute it without worry.

Shortly afterwards Aiai arranged with Puniaki for the establishing of kuulas, koas (stations) and fish-stones around the island of Oahu, which were as follows:

The Kou stone was for Honolulu and Kaumakapili; a kuula at Kupahu; a fish-stone at Hanapouli, Ewa. Ahuena was the kuula for Waipio; two were assigned for Honouliuli. Hani-o was the name of the ko’a outside of Kalaeloa; Kua and Maunalahi- [HAA 1902:127] lahi for Waianae; Kamalino for Waimea; and Kaihukuuna for Laiemaloo, Koolau.

In another version of the tradition of ‘Ai’ai, he is born on O’ahu, near Kaumakapili. His parents tossed him into the stream of Nu’uanu, and he floated down to an areas where a

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<sup>2</sup> Entrance to Honolulu Harbor.

rock was situated in the stream, near the former Haaliliamanu Bridge. Fornander (1917) reports:

The water carried the child to a rock called Nahakaipuaumi, just below the Haaliliamanu bridge, where it is seen to this day (of writing), where it floated. [King] Kipapalaulu was at this time living at Kapuukolo, where his palace was situated, with his daughter, Kauaelemimo by name. One day at noon she went in bathing with her maids and discovered Aiai by a large rock. Kauaelemimo too the child as her own and brought it up... [Fornander, 1917:556]

## **Kou and the Honolulu Region In the Tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele**

The goddess, Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, youngest and beloved sister of Pele, chief goddess of the volcano travel to Kaua'i to fetch Pele's lover Lohi'au and bring him to Hawai'i, where he and Pele would be reunited. The journey is famed in Hawaiian traditions, and covers noted places, people and events in ancient history across the island group. Kapihenui, the bard who contributed this early narrative to the Hawaiian newspaper, Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, include the accounts of Hi'iaka's sojourn through the Kou-Honolulu region, and the source of several noted places names, among them Pele'ula, named for a chiefess of the land which now bears her name.

### **Aperila 3, 1862 (aoao 4)**

#### **Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika**

#### **He Mooolelo No Hiiakaikapoliopole. Helu 11.**

...A pau ia mele aia nei, ia manawa, pane aku o Wahineomao ia Lohiau, e! hoe ia ae ka waa o kaua i uka, ke kahea mai la ko wahine, i mai o Lohiau, ka-ha-ha, aole paha ia i imai ia kaua e pae ma keia wahi, hoomaka ia e hele ma uka, kauoha mai ia ia kaua e holo kaua ma kai, holo kaua ma kai a hala na wahi i hala aku nei ia kaua mahope, a ma keia mau wahi aku, he awawa nui aku keia la, e hele ana a iho i Koolau, o Nuuanu ia, he puu aku mamua o Leahia ia, a ma ia huli aku, he loko nui, o Maunaloa ia, ka lae e lae ae ana, o Kawaihoa ia, o Kuamoookane o luna, a ma ia huli aku la, pae kaua, a hiki ae ia, alaila, holo kakou, pela kana kauoha ia kaua. I mai o Wahineomao ia Lohiau, hoopae ia ae ka waa o kaua i uka, o huhu mai auanei ko wahine, alaila, hooko o Lohiau i ka nui koi a Wahineomao e pae i uka, ko laua nei hoe mai la no ia a pae i uka, ae mai o Hiiakaikapoliopole a holo aku la lakou nei, ia holo ana aku o lakou nei a waho o Puuloa... ..ku ana keia i kai o Puuloa, hookokoake aku la keia ma kahi o kamaaina, e hoomakaukau ana na kanaka, na wahine, a me na kamalii e hele i Kou, i ka po lealea o Peleula me Waikiki, he po lealea nui ia ma Kou nei, o Kou ka inoa mua o Honolulu nei i ka wa mamua

...holo no lakou nei a ke awa o Kalihi, nana aku keia i uka, e noho mai ana no o Leinono, a me Kealia, hapai hou no o Hiiakaikapoliopole i keia wahi mele no Leinono ma penei.

Aloha oe e Leinono, e Kinimakalehua,  
E Kealia i lalo—e aloha,

Eia ka naenae, ka mohai,  
A ka mea hele la, he leo—e,  
He leo wale no hoi—e.

A pau ia oli ana aia nei, ko lakou nei hoe aku la no ia a waho o Kou, nana aku keia i uka o Nuuanu, e noho mai ana o Haupu ma laua o Kalaihauola, i aku no o Hiiakaikapoliopole, mai poina olua ia'u e Haupu ma, i mai la olua aole au i kanaenae aku ia olua, nolaila, hapai ae no keia i ke mele no laua penei.

E Haupu e Kalaihauola—e,  
Na wahine nonoho koolau,  
E nonoho ana i ke alanui—e,  
Ka naenae au a ka mea hele i laila.

A pau keia oli ana aia nei, nana iho keia ia Peleula e hee nalu ana i kai o Kapuiki, nana iho keia i na kanaka me na wahine, e hee ana i ka nalu, aloha ae keia ia Hilo i ka hee pue wai, nolaila, hoohalike keia ia Peleula ma, me ka poe hee puewai o Hilo a ke mele penei.

Ke iho la ka makani,  
Halihali pua o Nuuanu—e,  
Aia i kai na lehua ke nana la o Hilo,

Ke ka ia hoi ka aukai—e,  
Na lehua i ka wai o Hilo, o Hilo hoi—e.

A pau keia oli ana aia nei, ko lakou holo mai la no ia a hiki i kahi o Peleula ma e lana ana, i aku keia ia Peleula, e ae ae maluna o ka waa, aole hoi he ae mai o Peleula iluna o ka waa, ia manawa, me he mea la i poina iho, hiamoe o Peleula i luna o ka papa heenalua, ko lakou nei kaikai ae la no ia a luna o ka waa, i hikilele ae ka hana o ua o Peleula, eia i luna o ka waa, ua hoouhi ia i kahi kihei akaka o lakou nei o Kauai mai, ia manawa, ko lakou nei hoi aku la no ia a pae i uka, a hiki lakou nei i ka hale, ho-a ke ahi kapu o mua, ho-a no hoi ke ahi no o ka hale, ko lakou nei noho iho la no ia a moa ka mea ai, hoomakaukau ka mea ai, ai a maona, ko lakou nei noho iho la no ia a ano ka malu po, i mai o Peleula ia lakou nei, ua piha ae nei paha ua hale kilu nei, e hele paha kakou, i aku o Hiiakaikapoliopole ia Peleula penei, mamua aku paha kamaaina, a honua, alaila, mahope aku ka malihini, ua maikai ia mea imua o Peleula. Ko ia nei hele e aku la no ia a hiki i ua hale kilu nei, noho o Peleula, ku no hoi o Wahineomao hele, pane aku o Hiiakaikapoliopole, e hele no a ma ka aoao mea kane, noho iho, wahi a Wahineomao, ko ia nei hele aku la no ia, ia Wahineomao e hele ana, kani aku ke oli a Hiiakaikapoliopole penei.

Po Puna i ka uwahi kui maka lehua,  
Na wahine ki heihei, pau heihei o uka,  
E noho ana ka papa lohi o Maukele,  
Haa hoi ka papa—e, haa hoi ka papa,  
Ke kahuli nei—e.

A pau ia oli ana aia nei, a hele aku la o Wahineomao, puka aku la o Lohiau, pane aku o Hiiakaikapoliopele ia Lohiau, e, ke hele la, hele no a ma ka aoao o ka ka oiwi wahine noho, ae mai no o Lohiau, ku kela a hele, kani aku no ke oli a Hiiakaikapoliopele penei.

Mai Puna au—e, mai Puna,  
Ke haa la ka lau o ka lima e,  
O ke oho o ka niu, e loha ana i kai e.

A pau ia oli ana aia nei, komo no hoi o Lohiau iloko o ua hale hula nei, puka aku no hoi o Hiiakaikapoliopele, kani no ke oli aia nei penei.

Mai Puna au—e, mai Puna au,  
Mai uka au o Wahinekapu,  
Mai Ooluea i Keahialaka la,  
Mai Puna au—e.

A pau ia oli ana aia nei, komo ana keia iloko o ua hale kilu nei, noho wale aku la no keia ma kahi e, o Wahineomao me Lohiau, ke noho mai la no me Waikiki ma, me kana mau kane, o Peleula wale no ma kona aoao o ua hale kilu nei, a no kona noho hookahi aohe koolua, a me kona manao kuko ia Lohiau no ke kanaka maikai, hoouna ae la ia i kekahi kanaka ona ia Aala, e kii ia Lohiau i kokoolua nona, ia pane ana no a Peleula e kii ia Lohiau, pane mai o Hiiakaikapoliopele ia Peleula, o kua hoi ha malaila, ia lohe ana o Peleula i keia olelo a Hiiakaikapoliopele, i iho o Peleula iloko ona, ka! oia ala ka! aole hoi ia i kahea ia aku nei, pela o Peleula, ia wa, pane mai ke kanaka o Peleula, aole oe, oia la aku, i mai o Hiiakaikapoliopele, aohe pono oia, o huhu mai auanei ka mea kane, o ka pono ea, o kua malaila, aohe a'u kane, kohu no kua, hele mai paha auanei kane a ka poe mea kane, huhu mai ka wahine, ua maikai ia mea imua o Peleula.

Ko Hiiakaikapoliopele ku ae la no ia hele a noho pu me Peleula, ia manawa, hoomakaukau lakou nei na mea no ka hula kilu, ia manawa, kaawale ke kane me ke aikane, noho laua me Waikiki ma, ma kekahi aoao o ka hale kilu, kaawale hoi o Hiiakaikapoliopele ma kekahi aoao o ua hale kilu nei me Peleula, ia manawa, ka hoomakaukau iho la no ia o na mea hula, a makaukau, ahu ka pa kilu, kukulu ka pahu kahi e pa ai o ke pa ke hoolei mai, i na i pa ke pa i ka pahu laau i kukulu ia, alaila, e kapa ia ka mea i pa ai he akamai, ke pau na pa he umi i ka pa, alaila, e kapaia ia he akamai, a o ka mea i pa ole, he hawawa ia no ka pa ole. A makaukau no hoi na aoao a elua, alaila, mu ka leo, aohe he leo pane, alaila, lalau mai hoi o Peleula i ka pahu e kukulu, i mai o Hiiakaikapoliopele ia Peleula, no ke kukulu pahu ana ka ko eo ia lakou la, o ka makou kukulu ana no ia la e eo nei kahi aoao, a e ko ai no hoi, wahi a Peleula, i mai o Hiiakaikapoliopele, aole pela ke kukulu ana o ka pahu, homai na'u e kukulu, lilo ia Hiiakaikapoliopele ke kukulu ana o ka pahu hula kilu, e kahea ae ana keia i na kaikunane oia nei, a me na kaikuaana oia nei, ko ia nei kapakapa ae la no ia, a pau ke kapakapa ana, alaila, hoomaka ke kilu mua ma ke mele penei, na Lohiau ke kilu mua, penei ke oli ana.

Ke hele la ka auhula ana o Kalalau,  
Ke poi la ke kai o Milolii,  
Ka laau kui o Makuaiki,  
Lawe i ka haka la lilo,  
Makua keiki i ka poli—e, i ka poli.

I hoolei aku ka hana o Lohiau i ke kilu ana aohe he pa, ua hala, e pa la hoi paha  
i na ua olioli keia, aohe, ua hala, e oli hou ae ana keia penei.

I ka poli no ke hoa a hele,  
Kalakala i ke kua ka opeope aloha,  
Auwe hoi—e.

A pau ka Lohiau kilu ana, aohe he pa, hapai ae o Hiiakaikapoliopole i kana kilu  
ma ke mele penei.

A makani pua ia lalo, moe ko a ka huhu aia iloko hoi—e,  
Hoi a ka lili a ka pua o ka wao,  
Noho ilaila ka hihi ka paa,  
A ka manawa hoi—e.

A pau no ia oli ana aia nei, hoolei no keia i ke kilu aia nei, oia niniu no a pa no i  
ka pahu, olioli keia i ka pa o ka ia nei kilu, aohe he hala iki, oli no keia penei.

O kuu manawa nae kai hei i ka moe,  
O oe nae ka'u e lawe la lilo,  
Lilo oe la e, auwe.

A pau ka ia nei oli ana a me ke kilu ana, alaila, hoopuka hou mai o Lohiau i kana  
mele penei.

A makani pafele hala ko Mailehuna,  
Ke wahi mai la malamalama iki,  
Noha Wailua pau ka pua,  
Pau pu no me ke kino o Kalehuawehe e.

#### **Aperila 10, 1862 (aoao 4) — Helu 12.**

A pau no keia oli ana aia nei, ko ia nei hoolele akula no ia i ke kilu aia nei, oia  
lele no a ka inoa paha e pa, aole ka! ua hala, oli ae no keia penei.

Wehea iho nei iloko e ka moe.  
Malamalama no me he ahi lele la,  
No lalo—e, auwe hoi au—e.

A pau ka Lohiau oli ana, alaila, hapai hou ae o Hiiakaikapoliopole i keia wahi  
mele penei.

O Puna kai nehe i ka uluhala,  
I ka leo pa e leo hano,

O ke akua, i ka haa ana,  
A lilo oe lilo maua,  
Me kuu kane ua awaawa,  
I ka lipo o ka ohia,  
I ka hai malule a ka wao,  
I ka uka i ka nahele la,  
O Kehooku—e, ku la...

## “Hiikaikapoliopole” – Translation and Additional Narratives

In 1906, Hooulumahiehie republished the Hawaiian language account of “Hiikaikapoliopole, in the newspaper, “Ka Nai Aupuni.” In 2008, Hawaiian language professor and ethnographer, Puakea Nogelmeier published a translation of the Hooulumahiehie texts, in which the author also embellished the narratives bringing facets of the story up to then modern-day reference points.

The original texts from 1861, as cited above, end at the kilu contest, citing mele (chants) describing various noted places across the islands, and Lohi’au losing at each toss of his quoit. Nogelmeier’s translation below takes us through the events cited above, with some additional notes, and to the end of the kilu match, and departure of Hi’iaka and companions from Pele’ula:

Dear reader, we see in this kānaenae that Hi’iaka makes mention of the story of “The broad sands of Ewa traveled arm in arm,” a famous reference of which the children of Ewa boast.

When Hi’iakaikapoliopole finished this chant, they sailed on to the bay of Kalihi. There, Hi’iaka turned and looked at the uplands, seeing that Leinono was still there, with Ālia (Keālia), so she called out—

Greetings to you, O Leinono, O Kinimakalehua  
O Keālia there below, aloha  
Here is a greeting chant, an offering  
From the traveler, a voice  
Only a voice.

When Hi’iaka finished her chant, they paddled to the area outside of Kou. She turned, looking towards the uplands of Nu’uanu, where she saw Hapu’u and Kala’ihauola. I do not want you to say I did not acknowledge you, so here are the chanted regards from the traveler.” Then Hi’iaka offered up this kanaenae.

O Hāpu’u and Kala’ihauola  
O women who dwell on the Ko’olau range  
Residing upon the pathway  
I offer this chant for those who pass that way.

They continued their sailing. They sailed on until passing just outside of Kahaka’aulana, when Hi’iaka saw Pele’ula surfing down at the beach. She rode the waves of Kapu’uiki. Hi’iaka also saw men and women surfing, and was filled

with fond recollections of Hilo, remembrances of the men and women “surfing the river mouth.” As she was comparing Pele’ula and the others to the surfers of Hilo, She began this chant. [page 278]

The wind blows down  
Carrying flowers of Nu’uanu  
There in the sea are the lehua, as Hilo looks on  
The seafarers are touched  
Lehua blossoms in the waters of Hilo  
Hilo, indeed.

Her chant done, they sailed on to where Pele’ula was floating. Hi’iakaikapoliopole told her to board the canoe, but she would not. Pele’ula refused, so Hi’iaka told Lohi’au, “Say! Grab the chiefess and bring her aboard. Lift her and her board.”

Lohi’auipo’s muscular arms reached down, and in no time the surfboard and the ample body of that chiefess of Kou were aboard the canoe. Pele’ula was covered over with a delicate white kapa they had brought from Kaua’i.

Their canoe moved forward to land at Waikiki. When they reached land, Hi’iakaikapoliopole woke Pele’ula. She opened her eyes, and there they were, in Waikīkī. Once they’d landed, Pele’ula urged them to come to her house. Hi’iaka said, “We will not be going to your house to stay together, O Chiefess, but instead, you should give us a separate abode.”

“That is not my plan, visitors, I want us to go back to my house to stay, for all of me has been seen by all of you. I would say nothing about it if it had been just us of the fairer sex, but one of the masculine gender has also seen me from head to toe, so I do not want you, our guests, to stay in a separate place. Where I stay, you should stay,” the young chiefess replied.

They all moved on to the house, where the sacred fire and common fires were lit. The young chiefess, Pele’ula, hastened her stewards to prepare food for them. Once everything was ready—kalo, fish, and delicacies of all sorts—they all sat down to eat.

Wahine’ōma’oma’o and Lohi’au dined with their hostess, but not Hi’iaka, who had declined. Wahine’ōma’oma’o, Lohi’au, and their hostess ate until they were satisfied, then they relaxed until the wings of night spread over them, at which point Pele’ula said to her visitors, “Hear me, my guests. The entertainment of this place is kilu. Our kilu house is probably full by now, so shall we go play?”

Hi’iaka told the chiefess, “The proper thing, O Chiefess, would be for you to go first, and when you have the playing area readied, your visitors will follow.”

Pele’ula thought this was fine, saying, “Gest, that is a good idea. I will go first and settle the assembly, and then you come. It is a new thing for the people here to see visitors like you, and especially like this chief of Kaua’i. So I will go on ahead, but do not tarry long.”

Then Pele'ula departed for the hale kilu. After she had gone, they waited for a bit until they were ready, then Hi'iaka said to her aikāne, Wahine'ōma'oma'o, "Aikāne, you will be escorting our man to the kilu house tonight. Here are my instructions: wherever your husband sits, you sit beside him. Do not sit next to anyone else's man, lest their women get angry at you."

Wahine'ōma'oma'o agreed, and exited the house. Hi'iaka then lifted her voice in chant. [page 279]

Puna is darkened by smoke that threads through the lehua blossoms  
Like women staining the pā'ū skirts  
The uplands are streaked  
The sparkling flats of Maukele will remain  
The plains dance  
The plains of Maukele dance  
Changing as they go.

When this chant of Hi'iaka's was done, she turned and said to Lohi'au, "So! Be on your way. Go, and wherever your woman is sitting, that is where you must sit."

Lohi'au agreed, and rose to go. As he was leaving, Hi'iaka chanted.

My husband of the strands of Pu'uloa  
From the plains of Pe'ekāua, there to abide  
Let us dwell on that stretch amid the 'ōhai and wiliwili  
and the blossom of Kaiona's noni groves at Kānehili  
I have strayed.

Hi'iaka stayed back until she was ready, then decided to head for the kilu house, whereupon she began this chant.

I hail from Puna  
From Puna I come  
From the uplands of Wahinekapu  
From Poluea at Keahialaka  
From Puna I hail.

As her chant finished, Lohi'au entered the hale kilu, going over to sit beside Wahine'ōma'oma'o. They sat on the side of the house where the Waikīkī people were seated. Hi'iaka then entered, and chose to sit elsewhere.

Pele'ula was alone at her spot, which was on the north side of the kilu house. She was sitting there, her heart yearning for Lohi'au, telling herself that he would be the right man to satisfy her needs, if they were to stray on the shores of Kaupe'a.

So she sent one of her men, 'A'ala, to fetch Lohi'au as a partner to play kilu with her.

Just as the chiefess was telling ‘A‘ala to get Lohi‘au, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole said to Pele‘ula, “Shall I come over there and join you?”

When Pele‘ula heard Hi‘iakaikapoliopole, she said to herself, “Ha! Oh really? How bold! She was not even invited.”

When Hi‘iakaikapoliopole spoke to Pele‘ula about them sitting together, Pele‘ula’s servant said, “Not you. Him over there.”

Hi‘iaka said, “He will not do. His wife would be angered. [page 280] You and I should be on that side, for I have no man, and it would be right for us to sit together. Otherwise, men might come around whose women would be incensed.”

Hi‘iaka’s words made sense to the young chiefess, who replied, “Your advice is appropriate, so come over here, and let us sit together on this side.”

Hi‘iaka went to sit with Pele‘ula. Then the “dance” of the kilu game was ready to begin.

Thus when Hi‘iaka went over and sat with the chiefess, Pele‘ula, she was separated from her aikāne and their man.

The kilu pieces were laid together in a little pile and they set up the stake where the kilu gourd would be aimed.

When a player threw the kilu gourd and it struck the stake, that was called a show of skill.

If one person accumulated ten strikes, that was considered extraordinary skill. The person whose gourd made no strikes was considered incompetent.

Once everything was set, all voices in the house fell silent; from the players to those just sitting, not a word was uttered.

In this match, Lohi‘au and Wahine‘ōma‘oma‘o were together on one team, with Pele‘ula and Hi‘iaka making up the other.

As the game opened, the first placement of the stake went to Pele‘ula’s side, and the tossing of the kilu gourd to Lohi‘au’s side.

So Pele‘ula quickly took action, thinking she would put up their stake.

Hi‘iaka said to Pele‘ula, “Listen, fellow admirer of that gentleman who is as sweet as the lau‘e of Makana, this could bring defeat or make you lose; you see, it is all in the way that you erect the stake. If your post is not well placed, you will lose to your opponent.”

“But this is how we always set up our stakes, and the other side always loses.”

“Let us see your method of setting it up,” said Hi’iaka to Pele’ula.

Pele’ula demonstrated how she placed her kilu stake, at which point Hi’iaka said, “Oh my! That is not how the post should be erected. Hand it over, and I will position it.”

Somewhat chagrined, Pele’ula passed the stake to Hi’iaka, saying, “Well then, if that is the case, you place it for us. Here.”

Hi’iaka took the stake firmly in her hand. Here, she prayed to all of her ‘aumākuā, she also called out to Lohi’au’s hula ‘aumākuā, Kanikawī and Kanikawā, and when she was done praying over their kilu stake, she stood it in the center. Then the match began.

Lohi’au had the first kilu toss and he also had the first mele. His kilu poem went like this.

Traversing the perilous sea cliffs of Kalalau  
The surf of Miloli’i pounds  
The joined wood pieces of Makuaiiki  
Taking the ladder, it is gone  
Makuā, the parent with child held to the bosom  
Held to the heart.

When Lohi’au’s kilu chant was finished, he tossed his game piece. The gourd went spinning, and seemed about to hit the stake, but remarkably, it missed. It was wasted. When he saw his loss, he voiced this kilu hula chant, as was his custom in his beloved homeland of Kaua’i... [page 281]

The narratives described the continuation of the contest, with Lohi’au losing and Pele’ula’s desire for the young chief of Kaua’i remaining unsatisfied. At the close of the events Hi’iaka bestowed a gift upon Pele’ula and the people of Kou, by setting up the annual cycle of the ‘anae holo migration from Pu’uloa to Kou and around the island of O’ahu:

...Hi’iaka addressed their hosts, “We will be leaving, and my gift to you, the people of this place, is that from now on, your land will be where the ‘anae fish school when they migrate from down in ‘Ewa. This fish will save you when eyes bulge from craving fish and there is none... [page 290]

Following many adventures on the trip from O’ahu to Hawai’i, where Lohi’au was fatefully reunited with Pele, Lohi’au was joined by his friend, Kauakahiapaoa, for the return trip to Kaua’i. The party stopped on O’ahu where they paid a visit to Pele’ula. There Kauakahiapaoa succumbed to the wiles of Pele’ula, and following a game of kilu, the two spent the night together. By the evidence of their passion, left in marks upon the neck, Hi’iaka uttered the saying that was once famous for the Kou-Honolulu area (Hi’iaka, 2008:417) —

**“Hāhā pō’ele ka pāpa’i o Kou.”**

The crabs of Kou are groped for in the dark. [Pukui, 1983:50-51; No. 407]

Kawena Pukui noted that the saying:

“Applied to one who goes groping in the dark. The chiefs held kōnane and other games at the shore of Kou (now central Honolulu), and people came from everywhere to watch. Very often they remained until it was too dark to see and had to grope for their companions.” [Pukui, 1983:50-51; No. 407]

In some native accounts another famous ancient saying of the Kou - Honolulu area is credited to the tradition of Hi'iaka. It is spoken in reference to the custom of meeting at Kou where the ancient chiefs played games such as kōnane (a form of checkers), kilu (a form of quoits), and 'ulu maika (a form of lawn bowling). Kawena Pukui cited the saying and expounded upon its meaning in 'Ōlelo No'eau (1983):

**“Hui aku na maka i Kou”**

The faces will meet in Kou.

“We will all meet there. Kou (now central Honolulu) was the place where the chiefs played games, and people came from everywhere to watch.” [Pukui 1983:120; No. 1128]

**Mooelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa na Kahu Iwikuamoo o  
Keawenuiaumi Ke Alii o Hawaii, a o na Moopuna hoi a Laamaomao!  
The Hawaiian Tradition Pakaa and Ku-a-Pakaa, the Trusted Attendants  
of Keawenuiaumi, the King of Hawaii, and the Grandson of Laamaomao!**

In 1901, Moses Nakuina, published the tradition of Kū-a-Pāka'a and the supernatural wind-gourd of La'amaomao (Ka-ipu-makani-o-Laa-mao-mao). The tradition includes references to winds from each of the Hawaiian Islands. On O'ahu, the following winds were named for lands of the Kona and 'Ewa Districts:

**1901 (aoao 56-57)**

...Helu aku la o Ku-a-Pakaa i na makani o Oahu, penei:

...He Olauniu ko Kahaloa,  
He Waiomao ko Palolo,  
He Kuehulepo ko Kahu'a,  
He Kukalahale ko Honolulu,  
He Ao-a-oo ko Mamala,  
He Olauniu ko Kapalama,  
He Haupeepee ko Kalihi,  
He Ho-e-o ko Moanalua,  
He Moae-ku ko Ewaloa,  
He Kehau ko Waiopua,  
He Waikoloa ko Lihue,  
He Maunuunu ko Puuloa,  
He Kaiaulu ko Waianae...

Translation — The Hawaiian Tradition Pakaa and Ku-a-Pakaa...

...Kū-a-Pāka'a called upon/named the winds of O'ahu, thus:

...The 'Ōlauniu is at Kahaloa,  
The Wai'oma'o is at Pālolo,  
The Kū'ehulepo is at Kahu'a,  
The Kūkalahale is at Honolulu,  
The Ao-a-oa is at Māmala,  
He 'Ōlauniu is at Kapālama,  
The Haupe'epe'e is at Kalihi,  
The Ho-e-o is at Moanalua,  
The Moa'e-kū is at Ewaloa,  
The Kēhau is at Wai'ōpua,  
The Waikōloa is at Līhu'e,  
The Māunuunu is at Pu'uloa,  
The Kaiāulu is at Wai'anae...

### **“He Kaao no Kauilani” A Tradition of Kauilani**

The tradition of Kauilani spans various islands of the Hawaiian Archipelago, and follows the children of chiefly parents with a godly lineage. The parents of Kauilani and Lepeamoā were Keāhua and Kauhao, both of whose names are commemorated as places in the 'Ewa District. Kauhao's parents were Honouliuli (k.) and Kapālama (w.), for whom the lands which bear their names were given. The daughter, Lepeamoā was born in a supernatural form, possessed of both nature and human body-forms. She participated in histories of great importance during the reign of Kākuhihewa, as king of O'ahu. The original account was published in Nupepa Kuokoa, submitted by S. Kapohu. Subsequently William D. Westervelt published an English language translation of the tradition (1915), excerpts of which are also cited below.

#### **Kepakemapa 18, 1869 – Okakopa 30, 1869 Nupepa Kuokoa**

##### **September 18, 1869:1**

Kauilani was the son of Keahua (k) and Kauhao (w), and he was the younger brother of Lepeamoā (w). The family resided at Wailua Kauai, where Keahua was the high chief. Kauilani was descended from high chiefs of Kahiki and Hawaii, and both Kauilani and his elder sister, Lepeamoā, were possessed of supernatural powers.

The elders of Kauhao were Kapalama (w) and Honouliuli (k), and the lands on which they lived are now named for them. When Lepeamoā was born, she was born in the form of a hen's egg. Discerning the supernatural nature of her granddaughter, Kapalama and Honouliuli sailed to Kauai on their canoe, Pohakuokauai, and retrieved the egg. With the egg, they then returned to Kapalama, where they cared for the egg until it hatched. While sailing from Kauai to Oahu, the canoe passed by Pokai, Waianae, and sailed along the fine

shore of Kualakai, Ewa. From there, they sailed to the many harbored bays of Puuloa, and entered into the opening of Puuloa where they landed their canoe on the side of the bay. From there, they traveled along the plain to Kapalama...

[The story continues, describing the care given to the egg-grandchild, Lepeamoa, which when hatched, took the form of a beautiful bird with many brightly colored feathers.]

#### **September 25, 1869:1**

After Lepeamoa was taken to Oahu, her younger brother, Kauilani was born. He was taken and reared by his paternal grandparents, Laukaieie (k) and Kaniaula (w), in the uplands of Wailua. Kauilani was bathed in a sacred pool, which caused him to mature quickly, and his grandparents instructed him in various skills and forms of Hawaiian combat. During this time, a god Akua-pehu-ale rose up and fought against Keahua and his people, capturing them and holding them captive. Following the instructions of his grandparents, Kauilani fought against the god, [October 2, 1869:1] and vanquished him, returning the rule of Kauai to Keahua...

#### **October 9, 1869:4**

After the battle, Kauilani and his father were reunited, and in this way, the youth learned that he had a sister who was being raised on Oahu, by the elders of Kauhao. Kauilani determined to go and seek out his sister, and Kauhao instructed him about the lands he would pass and how he would know his sister.

She told him that he must sail from Wailua and along the coast of Waianae, and along the shore of Puuloa, where he would find a landing and the path to Kapalama. Before his departure, Kauhao also gave Kauilani a supernatural spear named Koa-wi - Koa-wa, which would help him along his journey, and lead him to his elders on Oahu.

Departing from Wailua, Kauilani traveled to the shore at Nukolii. He threw the spear, and then took off after it, across Kaieiewaho channel, sailing to Oahu. In his canoe, Kauilani passed the coast line of Waianae, and he then drew near the shore of Kualakai where the spear had landed. While Kauilani was traveling from Kauai to Oahu, two sisters, Kamalulena and Keawalau, who had been surfing at Kualakai, returned to the shore and found the spear. Seeing the spear, and recognizing it's excellent quality, the sisters hid it, seeing no man who could claim it.

Shortly thereafter, Kauilani passed the coast of Waianae and landed on the shore of Kualakai to retrieve his spear. Upon landing, Kauilani saw the two sisters and noted that his spear was nowhere to be seen. Kauilani inquired of the sisters if they had seen the spear, which they denied. Kauilani discerned that they were lying, and told them so, and he then called out to his traveling companion, the spear, Koa-wi Koa-wa. The spear answered from where the sisters had hidden it, and Kauilani picked it up and threw it again. It landed near the entry way to Puuloa.

**October 23, 1869:4**

Arriving where the spear landed, the spear then told Kauilani to climb a wiliwili tree that was growing nearby. From there, he would see a rainbow at the shore, and a person picking limpets, octopus, and other things. That person would be Lepeamoa, Kauilani's sister. Kauilani climbed the wiliwili tree and saw a red patch of a rainbow upon the water near the shore. He asked Koa-wi Koa-wa about this, and learned that it was the rainbow shroud of his sister, who was in her bird form near the shore. Before Kauilani could approach Lepeamoa, she disappeared, returning to Kapalama. Kauilani prepared to follow, and as he drew near, Kapalama knew of his arrival, and ordered food to be prepared. As Kauilani drew near the house, Kapalama saw him and cried out, greeting her grandson. They ate together, and then Kapalama inquired about the purpose of Kauilani's journey. He explained that he wished to see his sister, Lepeamoa...

**October 30, 1869:4**

Before meeting her young brother, Lepeamoa tested Kauilani to determine the depth of his skills and strength, and his ability to care for himself while traveling around the islands. Kauilani demonstrated exceptional strength and skill, and Lepeamoa took her human form and greeted Kauilani. After spending ten days together, Lepeamoa instructed Kauilani to go to Waikiki kai, where the king, Kakuhihewa was hosting Maui nui, king of Maui. Maui nui and Kakuhihewa were competing against one another, in the sport of cock-fighting (hoohakaka moa)... Kakuhihewa was losing and the stakes were the life of the king that lost... Learning that Kauilani had arrived on Oahu, Kakuhihewa, who was related to the chiefs of Kauai, sent his messengers to seek out Kauilani, in hopes that he might be able to help...

Westervelt (1915) provides the earliest translation of the events in the account of Lepeamoa, as they took place in the Honolulu-Waikiki region. As the events unfold, Kakuhihewa and his court were assembled at Ulukou, Waikīkī (the area of the Moana Hotel):

...At this time Kakuhihewa was entertaining his sister and her husband, Maui-nui, who was king of the island of Maui. According to custom, the days were devoted to sports and gambling.

Maui-nui had a kupua, a rooster, which was one of the ancestors of Kauilani's family, but was very cruel and destructive. He could assume a different bird forms for each magic power he possessed. This, with his miraculous human powers, made him superior to all the roosters which had ever been his antagonists in cock-fighting. It was the custom of this king to take this kupua in his rooster body, with some other chickens, and visit other chiefs, having many battles and winning large amounts of property, such as the best canoes, the finest mats and kapas, and the most royal feather cloaks, as well as the lands of the chiefs who had not been subject to him. Sometimes, when all available property had been won, he would persuade a chief to "bet his bones." This meant that the poverty-stricken chief, as a last resort, would wager his body against some of the property lost. If defeated, his life might be taken and his body sent to the most noted heiau (temple) of his opponent and placed on an

altar as a human sacrifice, or the body could be burned or cooked in a fire oven and thrown into the sea. [page 229]

Kakuhihewa and Maui-nui had been passing many days in this sport. When the Maui king was afraid the game might be given up, he would let some of the ordinary chickens fight, or would select the weakest from his flock. Then a large amount of property might be returned to the original owners, but he took care to lead his opponents on until their pride or their shame compelled them to wager their very last resources.

Thus the betting had gone on from time to time until the Maui king had provoked Kakuhihewa into betting his kingdom of Oahu in an almost hopeless attempt to win back all that had been lost before.

The Oahu king realized that his brother-in-law was using a bird of magic power, but his bets had been made and word given, and he did not know of any way in which he could get sufficient magic to overcome his antagonist. He had heard about Kauilani, a wonderfully powerful young chief on Kauai, who had conquered a god of the seas and restored a kingdom to his father. He had sent messengers to Kauai to ask this young chief to come to his aid, promising as a reward the hand of his favorite and most beautiful daughter in marriage; but the days passed and no word came from Kauai. Meanwhile Kauilani came before Kakuhihewa and was announced as a young [page 230] chief from Kapalama. No one thought of any connection with the noted warrior of Kauai.

The king was very much pleased with the young chief, and finally asked him if he had seen his chickens, and if he would like to go to the place where they were kept.

Kauilani saw the chickens and sent for water, which the keepers brought to him. Taking it, he sprinkled the eyes of the roosters. None of them had sufficient power to keep from shutting their eyes when the water struck their heads. Then he said to the keeper, "These birds will not be of any use for our chief."

Then he went to see the king's tabu rooster, the one reserved by the king for any' last and desperate conflict. This he also tried and found wanting.

The keepers then sent word to the king that a strange young man with great wisdom was looking at the chickens, and the king came out and asked Kauilani about the tests.

The young chief sprinkled water as before, and then said to the king, "Perhaps your rooster has strength and perhaps he has no power."

The king said: "Ah! We see that this tabu rooster has no strength for this conflict. He closes his eyes. His enemy is very strong and very quick. We shall be defeated and belong to the king of Maui." [page 231]

Then Kauilani said, "Perhaps I can find a bird of very great powers who can save us."

The king said: "If you defeat Ke-au-hele-moa<sup>1</sup>, the magic rooster of the king of Maui, you shall become my son. My daughter shall be your wife..." [page 232]

Kauilani agreed, and he returned to Kapālama where he told Lepe-a-moa and his elders about the matters at hand, and the threat against the life of Kākuhihewa. Kapālama explained to the children:

"That great bird is one of our own family, and has very great power, but Lepe-a-moa has much greater power if you two work together. He must not see her until she goes out to fight with him..."

Lepe-a-moa made herself very beautiful with a glistening spotted feather cloak. Her pa-u, or skirt, was like fire, flaming and flashing. Kauilani told her she must go first, as the eldest one of the family. Thus they passed in their splendid feather dresses down to Kou (Honolulu) [page 234] and out to Pawaa, the people shouting and praising the beautiful girl...

Kakuhihewa sent Kou, one of the highest officers in his government, to go after Kauilani. This Kou was the chief after whom Kou, the ancient Honolulu, was named. Kou found the young chief sleeping, and aroused him, telling him the king was very sorry for the anger of his daughter, and asking him to come back to the king's house and on the morrow see the day of death.

Kauilani told Kou to return and tell the king to prepare everything for the day of battle, and hang a large kapa sheet between two posts. He pointed out two roosters which were to be taken first. The king was to send them one by one to fight. When they were killed the king was to [page 236] ask for a time of rest. "After this will be the time for my battle." Thus he instructed Kou, who returned and told the king... [page 237]

The narratives describe a great battle between the two supernatural beings, in which Keauhele-moa (Kaauehele-moa) assumes many different bird-forms, is killed by Lepe-moa, and peace is brought back to the kingdom of Kākuhihewa. In the last battle, Lepe-moa—:

...whirled around the left side [of Ke-au-hele-moa]. He struck at her. As his wing was spread out she flew in and broke it, so that it fell useless by his side. Then she struck his eye, and he was [page 241] entirely blind. She dashed against him, and he fell over. She clawed and picked and tore his body until it was in small pieces and his life was destroyed.

The people shouted with a loud voice: "Auwe! Auwe! [Alas! Alas!] The rooster of the king of Maui is dead! Ke-au-hele-moa is dead! The king of Maui is to die!"

The name of this rooster, it is said, was given to a place far up Palolo Valley, near Honolulu.

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<sup>1</sup> Westervelt writes the name "Keauhele-moa," though S. Kapohu's original texts write the name as "Kaauehele-moa," which is the same spelling as given in other place name accounts and chants.

When the people shouted, Kaulani stood up in his splendid cloak and sash and cried out: "Aye! Aye! Dead to me. Dead to Kaulani, the child of Keahua and Kauhao!"

His sister flew to him and he took her and disappeared in the confused, moving crowd of excited people. Thus they returned to Kapalama.

The king ordered his people to make search everywhere for Kaulani... For several months the search was prosecuted. Even the mountains, hills, valleys, forests, jungles and caves were looked over as carefully as possible. By and by two chiefs, Kou and Waikiki, saw the signs of a high chief over Kapalama's group of houses, and went up to make inquiries. They saw Kaulani and told him that the king wanted him to come back.

Kaulani sent the chiefs, Kou and Waikiki, back to the king with the message that he would follow the next day... [page 244]

In the Hawaiian newspaper, Saturday Press of December 15, 1883, reference is made to the Ka'auhelemao as a wahi pana —

Kaauhelemao: A mountain ridge and pond in the mountains at the head of Palolo Valley, Oahu. It is famous as the last resting place of the wonderful goblin rock in the legend of Kaauhelemao. It is one of the sights for sightseers, and is known as a wahi pana — "famous place."

Another account of this battle between Lepeamo and Ka'auhelemao includes the following lines of a chant describing the day of the battle and the quiet—cold nature of Ka'auhelemao's final resting place at the crater known as Ka'au, nestled in the upper forests.

Pā ka makani nāue e ka lau o ka niu  
Ha'a ka pua kōwali i ke kula  
Leha ka maka o ka manu 'ai pua lehua  
Ha'ū ka waha o ke kāhuli i ka nahele  
Lī ka 'i'o o Ka'auhelemao la...

The wind blew shaking the leaves of the coconut trees  
The morning glory blossoms danced upon the plains  
The startled birds glanced to and fro as they sipped the lehua nectar  
And the voices of the land snails could be heard calling in the wilderness  
Ka'auhelemao's flesh is chilled in the bitter cold...

(pers. comm. M.K. Pukui and M.A. Lake, 1975)

## **Famous Places to be Seen, Supernatural Beings And the Chiefs of Old from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau**

In a series of articles titled “No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na Wahi Kaulana a me na Kupua, a me Na'lii Kahiko Mai Hawaii a Niihau” (Traveling to See Famous/Storied Places, Learn of the Supernatural Begins, and the Chiefs of Old, from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau), S.M. Kamakau presented readers with a series of traditions which also add to our understanding of important places, customs, beliefs, and events in history. In the narrative collection are found accounts from the lands of Kewalo, Kukuluāe'o and portions of Kālia and Waikīkī, which are crossed by the proposed rail corridor.

**Iulai 22, 1865 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moolelo o Hawaii Nei. Helu 5 [6]**

**No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na Wahi Kaulana**

**a me na Kupua, a me Na'lii Kahiko Mai Hawaii a Niihau.**

**S.M. Kamakau**

No Kapoi.

He kanaka o Kapoi no ka aina i Kahehuna i Honolulu. I ka hele ana o Kapoi i ka uhuki pili i Kewalo, maluna aku o Pauoa, loa ia iho la iaia kekahi mau hua pueo, a hoi mai la ia. A hiki i ke ahiahi, hoomakaukau iho la oia e pulehu. Kau ana ka pueo ma ka puka o ka pa o ka hale, a kahea mai la ka pueo “E Kapoi — e; ho mai au hua,” Ninau aku la o Kapoi; “Ehia hua?” “E hua hiku.” Olelo aku la o Kapoi; “E pulehu ana au i keia mau hua i ai na'u.” Olelo mai la ka pueo; “E Kapoi — e homai au hua;” “E pulehu ana au i keia mau hua;” Olelo aku la ka pueo; “Aloha ole oe e Kapoi i ka haawi ole mai i o'u mau hua.” Olelo aku la o Kapoi. “e kii mai i ko hua.”

Ka lilo ana o ka pueo i akua no Kapoi.

Kauoha mai la ka pueo ia Kapoi e hana i Heiau; a e kukulu i kuahu a i lele, a o ka inoa o kahi e kukulu ai o Manoa.

Kukulu iho la o Kapoi i ka Heiau a paa. A kau iho la i ka mohai a me ka maia iluna o ka lele, a kapu iho la, a noa ae la.

Kukui aku la, a lohe ke Alii o Kakuihewa, e noho ana i Waikiki, me ka olelo ia aku, ua kapu mai nei kekahi kanaka i ka Heiau o kona akua, a ua noa. He kanawai kapu, ina e kukulu kekahi Alii a kanaka paha i ka Heiau, a kapu e mamua, a noa, aole nae i noa ke kapu Heiau a ke Alii Aimoku; alaila he kipi ia, a hookahi ona hope o ka make. Nolaila, kii ia mai la o Kapoi, he lawehala, a alakai ia i Waikiki i ka Heiau o Kupalaha.

Ia la no, kii ia ka pueo o Hawaii, o Lanai, o Maui, o Molokai, a akoakoa i Kalapueo. O na pueo o Koolau, o Kahikiku, a akoakoa i Kanoniakapueo. O ka pueo o Kauai, o Niihau, o ke komohana, a akoakoa i Pueohulunui.

I ka la i o Kane ka hoouka ana o ke kaua. No ka mea, oia ka la e make ai o Kapoi; a e kau ai iluna o ka lele.

I ka wanao ka hoomaka ana o ke kaua, i ka puka ana mai o ka la: Ua uhi paapuia kona malamalama; lele mai la ka pueo a wawalu i ka maka, i ka ihu o kanaka ; a lanakila ka pueo maluna o kanaka : A o ka hanalepo o ka pueo, ua paumaele na kanaka. Ua kapaia kela wahi o Kukaeunahiokapueo. Ua olelo aku o Kakuhihewa ia Kapoi; he akua mana kou, a o kou akua ka oiaio.

Nolaila, ua hoola ia o Kapoi; a ua hoomanaia ka pueo i akua. Oia hoi o Kukauakahi.

[Translation]

### **About Kapo'i**

Kapo'i was a man of the land at Kahehuna in Honolulu. When Kapo'i went to gather pili grass at Kewalo, there around Pauoa, he found some owl eggs and then he returned home. In the evening he prepared to cook them. An owl landed at the entrance of his house, and the owl called out, "O Kapo'i return my eggs to me." Kapo'i asked, "How many eggs?" "Seven eggs." Kapo'i then said, I am cooking these eggs for me to eat."

The owl said, "Kapo'i, you have no compassion if you do not return my eggs to me." Kapo'i then told the owl, "Come get your eggs."

The owl becomes a god of Kapo'i.

The owl then instructed Kapo'i to make a heiau, an altar and sacrificial platform, and the name of the place where it was built was Manoa.

Kapo'i built the heiau, and he placed offerings of banana upon the sacrificial platform, thus it was consecrated and then freed. News of this reached the King, Kākuhihewa, who resided at Waikīkī, that a man had consecrated a heiau for his god, and freed it. Now it was forbidden that any chief and man could build a heiau, sanctify it, and make it free except for the chief who controlled all the island. There for it was determined that he was a rebel and that he should die. Therefore, Kapo'i was caught and taken to Waikīkī, to the heiau of Kūpalaha.

That day, the owls of Hawai'i, Lāna'i, Maui, and Moloka'i were all called together at Kalapueo. Also the owls of Ko'olau and Kahikikū gathered at Kanoniakapueo, and the owls of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau gathered at the west, at Pueohulunui.

On the day dedicated to Kāne the battle (of the owls) was to occur, that was when Kapo'i was to be killed and placed upon the altar.

In the early morning, the battle began, with the rising of the sun. The light was blocked out as the owls flew down, striking at the eyes and faces of the men. The owls were victorious over the men. The owls also defecated upon the men, and that place came to be called Kukaeunahiokapueo. Kākuhihewa then said to Kapo'i, your god is powerful and a true god. Thus Kapo'i was saved and the owl came to be worshiped. It was known as Kukauakahi.

### **No Huanuikalalailai.**

I ko'u makaikai ana i kahi i hanau ai ; ua loa ia'u ma ka wanana mele a ka poe kahiko. Penei:

“O Huaakamapau ke lii,  
O Honolulu o Waikiki,  
I hanau no — la,  
I Kahua la i Kewalo,  
O Kalia la kahua,  
O Makiki la ke'we,  
I Kanelaau i Kehehuna ka piko,  
I Kalo i Pauoa ka aa,  
Iuka i Kahoiwai i Kanaloahookau.”

He Alii maikai o Hua, o kana puni o ka mahiai; nana i hana o Kewalo a me Koula.

He Alii malama i na makaainana, a hoopunahela i na keiki makahiapo a puni ka aina. Ua kapa aku na makaainana, o Huanuikalalailai.

Aia kona kupapau i Niuula ma Honokohau i Maui. O Puukea kana Heiau, aia ma Kukuluaeo. He wahi kaulana no ia i ka wa kahiko.

Penei ka Wanana Kahiko:

“Ua puni ka ia — e Mokumoa,  
Ua kau ia i ka nene,  
Ua haa ka-lo-hanu,  
Haa ka ia o Kewalo,  
Haa na uala o Paua,  
Haa ka mahiki i Puukea.  
Haa ka unuunu i Peleula,  
Haa Makaho i ke ala,  
E Ku — e,  
Ma ke kaha kua — e Ku.”

**Ma ka mookuauhau o Huanuikalalalai;  
malaila e loaa'i ka moolelo o Kana a me Niheu, no ka mea, oia kona  
kupuna.**

O na'lii mahope mai o Hua i noho ma Honolulu. O Pueonuiokona; o Kapaemahu;  
o Oiouli ; o Oiomea; o na keiki a Paikua; o Kahonuimaeleha; o Kahonumaeleka;  
o na keiki a Lonoawohi; o Kapuaahiwa ma.

[Translation]

#### **About Hua-nu-ka-lā-la'ila'i**

While visiting the place of my birth [Mokulē'ia, in Waialua, O'ahu], I  
obtained a wānana mele of the ancients, ka po'e kahiko. Here it is:

Hua-a-Kamapau the chief  
Of Honolulu, of Waikīkī  
Was born at Kewalo,  
Kālia was the place [the site].  
At Makiki the placenta,  
At Kānelā'au at Kahehuna  
the navel cord,  
At Kalo at Pauoa the caul;  
Upland at Kaho'iwai, at Kanaloaho'okau...

Hua was a good chief. His favorite occupation was cultivating, which he  
did at Kewalo and at Kō'ula. He was a chief who cared for the people and  
made favorites of the first-born children all over the land. The people  
named him Hua-nu-ka-lā-la'ila'i. His remains are at Niu'ula in Honokōhau,  
Maui. Pu'ukea was his heiau; it is there at Kukuluāe'o in Honolulu. It  
was a place famous in olden times according to the ancient wānana:

[The increasing "first rain" of Ewa]  
Overcomes the fish of Mokumoa,  
Washes up fish to the nene plants;  
Lays low the taro as it patters down;  
Lays low the fish of Kewalo,  
Lays low the sweet potatoes of Pahua,  
Lays low the mahiki grass at Pu'ukea,  
Lays low the growing things at Pele'ula,  
Lays low Makaaho [Makāhoa] in its path.  
O Kū, the rain goes along the  
Edge [of the island], o Kū  
["Eating" the fish of Maunaloa]...

In the genealogy of Hua-nu-ka-lā-la'ila'i will be found the stories of Kana  
and Niheu, for he was their ancestor.

The chiefs after Hua who lived in Honolulu were Pueo-nui-o-kona, Kapaemāhū, 'Oī'ouli, 'Oiomea, and the children of Pa'ikua, Ka-honu-i-ma'elehā, Ka-honu-ma'elekā, the children of Lono-a-wohi, and Ka-pua'a-hiwa ma. [Pukui, 1991:24-25]

### **No Puowaina.**

He puu kaulana o Puowaina, aia ma ka aoao Hikina o Honolulu. Me he pikawai la kona kino ke nana'ku, a ua poepoe maikai ololo o luna o kona waha.

Ina e ku ke kanaka maluna ona, ua ike maopopo ia i ke kulanakauhale, me ka aoao hikina, a me ka aoao komohana.

Aia maluna ona ka umu ahi e puhi ia ai na 'lii a me ma kanaka i ke ahi...

[Translation]

#### **About Pūowaina**

Pūowaina is a famous hill, it is there on the Eastern side of Honolulu. Its shape is like that of a water pitcher and it is nicely rounded above at its mouth [opening].

If a man stands atop it he can become familiar with the town, to both the eastern side and the western side.

There at its top was an oven in which chiefs and commoners were burned in its fires.

### **No Kawaaokekupua.**

He waa keia no Kahanaiakekua ma ka Wananakoa kahi i kalai ia ai, a oki, a i ke kauo ana i kai me na'lii a me na kanaka. Ua kauo ke akua iuka, a puepue ka waa. Aole i paa i ke akua, ua lilo i kanaka.

I ka hiki ana i Kahookane, ua hakaka me ka moo.

He kuna ka mea i paa ai o ka waa.— (Ua oleloia he kuna ka mea nana i pani ka wai o Honolulu) ke waiho nei keia waa ma Kahookane a hiki i keia la.

“Ka maiewa lauoho loloa o ka hala,  
Kauna lauoho loloa o Hanalei,  
I hoao mokumoku ia e ka ipo,  
Ua moku ka welelau,  
O kelakela ke kupu,  
Mamae ka liko ua eha Kaukaopua,  
Akahi o hai mai i ka eha,  
Ua eha ia.”

[Translation]

### **About Kawa‘aokekūpua**

This was a canoe for Kahānaiakekūpua. It was cut down and carved at Wānanakoa, and it was hauled down by the chiefs and the people. But a god hauled it back towards uplands, and they fought over the canoe. The god could not hold it and it became the peoples.

Upon arriving at Kaho‘okāne, they fought with a mo‘o.

It was a kuna (freshwater eel) that held back the canoe. – (It is said that this kuna is the one that held back the water of Honolulu.) And the canoe is there at Kaho‘okāne to this day...

### **No Luanuu.**

He keiki o Luanuu na Laka, o Hikawolena kona makuahine, no Waimea, i Kauai, ma Peekauai kahi i hanau ai o Luanuu.

I ka wai ula o Mahaihai, i ke one aei o luhi kahua. I luhi i kamaikeaho ka-a-a. I kona i Peapeamakawalu ke ‘ewe. I ke kaha i kolo ka piko.

Ua hanai ia o Luanuu i Kauai a nui; a ua oleloia he Alii maikai oia.

O ka mahiai kana hana nui. Ua hoolilo oia ia Kauai i mahinaai momona no kona Aupuni.

I ka manawa i kokoke ai o kona makuakane o Laka e make ma Kualoa.

Ua kauohaia o Luanuu e holo mai e ike. I ka holo ana mai, ua laweia o Laka i Waikane. I ke kokoke ana e make o Laka. Ua laweia i kai o Ahua o Laka, a malaila oia i make ai.

A ua kapaia kela wahi ma kona inoa, a hiki i keia la. Na Luanuu i hoihoi i ka hooilina kupapau Alii, aia ma Iao, i Wailuku, Maui.

Ua hoi o Luanuu i Kauai, a malaila no oia i noho ai a elemakule.

He Aupuni maikai kona a ua mahalo na kanaka a pau iaia. I kona kokoke ana e make ua hoihoi ia mai oia i Oahu nei. Mawaho o Mamala oia i make ai, a ua hoihoiia ma Puukea, no ka oihana a Kahuna, a ma Honuakaha kona wahi i waiho ai.

A ke waiho nei o Luanuu i ka ua waahila o Nuuanu.

“O ka lua o Haho,  
O Luanuu kameha,  
O kahai o Lono,

O Keakahala o Kahalaie,  
Ooe ia e Kane,  
O Kane oe o kaula i ke apo lani,  
O kaula hooleilei a Makalii,  
Ia Makalii oki ka lua,  
Kiai ka la ilaila,  
Nana mai o ke kanaka a Kaukuna,  
O ke kanaka a Kaukuna,  
I Manuakahi i ka poipoi,  
I Kahopuaiku,  
I aiku i Kaiwikanihele al.  
Hele kaiwi o kalua ka'u aloha."  
(Aole i pau.)

[Trasnslation]

### **About Luanu'u**

Luanu'u is a son of Laka, and Hīkāwolena was his mother... [Continues with a short account of Luanu'u's life, the death of his father Laka, and Luanu'u's old age.]

Luanu'u returned to Kaua'i and resided there until he was an old man... As the time of his death drew near, he returned to O'ahu. Outside of Māmala, he died, and he was taken to Pu'uokea because he was of the priesthood order, and was placed (buried) at Honuakaha. Luanu'u is there in the Wa'ahila rains of Nu'uānuu...

### **"He Moolelo Kaa no Kepakailiula" A Tradition of Kepaka'ili'ula (Events in Ancient Waikīkī and Honolulu)**

"He Moolelo Kaa No Kepakailiula" is a tradition about a youth who was born in an 'e'epa (premature or mysterious) form, who was given up for dead by his parents. Kepaka'ili'ula's father was Maka-o-Kū, and his mother was Hina-ai-ka-malama, both of whom were descended from Kū and Hina the akua - ali'i (god-chiefs) who came from Kahiki and established the highest chiefly bloodlines of Hawai'i. At the time of Kepaka'ili'ula's birth, Makaokū and Hina dwelt near Moku-ola (now called Coconut Island) and ruled the district of Hilo.

Kepaka'ili'ula's birth was accompanied by numerous displays of natural phenomena including fragmented rainbows that rested upon the ocean, rains that poured upon the land, and rivers that overflowed upon the land. His maternal uncles, Ki'inoho and Ki'ihele, took these signs as omens of Kepaka'ili'ula's supernatural nature. Without the knowledge of Makaokū or Hina, Ki'inoho and Ki'ihele rescued Kepaka'ili'ula and raised him while instructing him in all manner of fighting techniques, and in the use of his supernatural powers, and the notable events across the islands in which he would be the central figure.

This version of the mo'olelo was published in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (March 20, 1919 - December 9, 1920). The earliest published accounts of Kepaka'ili'ula date back to ca.1863, and this version of the legend is attributed to David Malo (*Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, March 13 and 20, 1919). This account also differs substantially from the versions published in the Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore (1917, IV-III:498-517 and 1919, V-II:384-405). The following narratives are paraphrased translations of the Hawaiian texts—with emphasis on the main places, individuals, and events associated with lands of the Waikīkī-Honolulu region—and were prepared by Kepā Maly.

When Kepaka'ili'ula came of age, his uncles went in search of a suitably beautiful and highly ranked chiefess to whom Kepaka'ili'ula could be married. The journey took them around Hawai'i, where they met with sacred chiefesses of the various districts on the island. In Kona, the uncles met with the chief Keolonāhihi and his wife Kahalu'u, who were parents of the sacred chiefess Mākole'ā (also the name of a heiau not far from the shore of Kahalu'u and near the Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> boundary). Mākole'ā was found to be the most suitable chiefess for Kepaka'ili'ula, and a wedding was arranged. When the uncles departed, Keolonāhihi was approached by Kaikipa'ananea, a chief from Maui, and he broke the betrothal between Kepaka'ili'ula and Mākole'ā. This action set in motion the events of the legend. By association with other figures identified in the tradition, the time period seems to be set around the sixteenth century, and the time of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki.

...Unknown to his attendants and companions, Kepaka'ili'ula obtained a canoe and departed from Maui and journeyed till he was outside of Maunaloa, O'ahu. Kepaka'ili'ula waited in his canoe until daylight began to appear, and with the coming of dawn, he saw the island of O'ahu. He then continued in his canoe until he was directly outside of Waikīkī. It was here that Kepaka'ili'ula landed his canoe on the shore. Now while Kepaka'ili'ula had been out on the ocean, a rainbow had arched over the spot where he waited, and when he landed, the rainbow accompanied him to the shore. Because of this sign, the people on the land had known that an ali'i of a very high blood line was on the canoe.

The chief who reigned over O'ahu at this time was Kaumō'ali, and he was a close relation of Kepaka'ili'ula's father, Makaokū. As the battle between Kepaka'ili'ula and Kaikipa'ananea was being fought on Maui, news of the conflict spread to O'ahu, and Kaumō'ali knew that this stranger was his nephew. Understanding the sacred nature of the rainbow symbol of Kepaka'ili'ula's lineage, Kaumō'ali made ready to welcome his nephew.

As Kepaka'ili'ula landed his canoe on the shores of Waikīkī, six men took up the canoe, with Kepaka'ili'ula still in it, to carry it to the place of the canoes. Now the reason the men did this was to be helpful, for these commoners saw that the passenger was truly fair to look upon, and they did not know his status as a high chief. When the makua ali'i (royal father/uncle) Kaumō'ali arrived near the shore, he saw that the men had taken up the canoe; and though they did not know the sacred nature of Kepaka'ili'ula, Kaumō'ali had the men taken up and killed, and placed on the lele (altar).

Although these men had only been trying to be helpful, they were put to death, and Kaumō'ali had this done without first conferring with Kepaka'ili'ula. The

action of his chiefly uncle was something for which Kepaka'ili'ula had no respect, and it was because of this that Kepaka'ili'ula determined not to stay long on the island of O'ahu. The killing of those men who simply carried the chief's canoe, shows how severe the restrictions of sacred ali'i of high blood lines were... [April 22, 1920].

The narratives continue, telling readers about Kepaka'ili'ula's journey around O'ahu and on to Kahiki, from whence he returned after many years.

...Kepaka'ili'ula dreamed of learning that his wife, the chiefess Mākole'ā, had been abducted by Ka'aka'alaneo, the chief of Kaua'i. Kepaka'ili'ula departed from ka 'āina akua o Kuaihelani (Kuaihelani the land of the gods), and returned to Hawai'i. One day when Kepaka'ili'ula awakened, he saw the mountain ridges of the "mokupuni o Hawai'i nui kuauli" (great island of Hawai'i with the green ridges) in the distance. The next day Kepaka'ili'ula passed along the windward side of Moloka'i and saw "ka mokupuni 'ai ali'i o Kākuhihewa" (the island controlled by the chief Kākuhihewa [O'ahu]) and he traveled along the side of the Ko'olau peaks, passing near Moloka'i.

Kepaka'ili'ula landed his canoe on the shores of Waikīkī, which was the home of the chiefs of this land [O'ahu]. When the people saw this canoe landing upon the shore, they knew that it was the sacred high chief of Hawai'i, that it was Kepaka'ili'ula, the chief who had also subdued Maui. The people greeted this chief with the honors befitting an island king. A great feast was held and Kepaka'ili'ula ate with the ali'i of O'ahu. During the feast, the chief told Kepaka'ili'ula about Mākole'ā's journey in search of her husband [Kepaka'ili'ula himself], and how the chiefess had come to be taken by the chief of Kaua'i. Upon hearing the chief's words, Kepaka'ili'ula thought of the dream he had while he was at Kūkulu o Kahiki (the foundation of Kahiki). Kepaka'ili'ula then enlisted the assistance of the king of O'ahu, asking that war canoes and warriors be given to him so that he could go get the wife of his beardless days, the wife of his youth [November 25, 1920].

Kepaka'ili'ula also asked that one canoe be dispatched to go to Maui and fetch his maternal uncles, Ki'inoho and Ki'ihēle. It was Kepaka'ili'ula's wish that his uncles be upon a canoe with warriors as they traveled from O'ahu to fight with the "large handed" (thieving) chief of the island of Kaua'i...

Following a tearful reunion with his uncles and attendants, everything was made ready for the journey to Kaua'i. As the war canoes moved together [the scene was described] – ua uhi pū 'ia ke kai o Māmala i ka nui lehulehu maoli o nā wa'a kua (the ocean of Māmala was completely covered by the great numbers of assembled war canoes). Departing from Waikīkī, the canoes crossed the ocean and landed on the shore near Wailua river.

The warring sides met on the kahua kua (battle field) of the chief Ka'aka'alaneo. Though the battle was fierce, Ka'aka'alaneo was defeated and his warriors were secured. This battleground came to be call "Ke Kahua Kua o Kapa'a" (The Battle Field of Ka-pa'a [the secured one]); and this is how the name Kapa'a came to be used to this day.

After regaining his wife, Kepakaʻiliʻula returned to Oʻahu with her and with his uncles, and the warriors and chiefs of Oʻahu and Maui. Kepakaʻiliʻula and companions remained at Waikīkī for a short time where they enjoyed the famous surf of Kalehuawehe before returning to Hawaiʻi nui o Keawe – Great Hawaiʻi, Island of Keawe [December 9, 1920].

**He mele no Kualii, Kalanipipili, Kulanioaka, Kunuiakea &c.  
i haku ia e Kumahukia a me Kaiwiokaekaha, na kahu pono i Kualii,  
ma ke kauhā i Kunia, ma Keahumoa i Lihue.**

**A Chant for Kualii, Kalanipipili, Kulanioaka, Kunuiakea &c.**

**Composed by Kumahukia and Kaiwiokaekaha, the attendants of Kualii,  
in the battle at Kunia, at Keahumoa in Lihue.**

Kūaliʻi is cited as a great chief who was born on the island of Oʻahu in ca. 1555. He lived for 175 years, reportedly dying in ca. 1730. In his lifetime he became proficient in the art of war and rule, and is credited with having unified the Hawaiian islands under one rule several generations prior to the time of Kamehameha I. His son and heir was Peleioholani, also a noted chief of Oʻahu. In her collection and synthesis of “Hawaiian Mythology,” Martha Beckwith (1970) offered the following comments on the tradition of Kūaliʻi:

Certain elements in the Kualii tradition give the impression that we have here the legend not of a single chief but of a political movement led in the name of a god, perhaps belonging to the ancient Ku line and directed against the Lono worshipers. The names Ku-aliʻi, Ku-nui-akea, Ku-i-ke-ala-i-kaua-o-ka-lani (Ku in the stone in battle of the heavenly one) and the repeated assertion of divinity suggest that some symbolic object is here impersonated as a god, like the feather god Kaili, who became in Kamehameha's day the war god Ku-kaili-moku, and was similarly handed down in a family line as a god of victory in battle. The impression is strengthened by the chronological uncertainty of Kualii's period, the length and character of his chant, the story of his birth, ushered in by the sacred pahu drums, the boast of his speed, and by the fact that his antagonists on Oahu bear Lono names. His early act of rebellion in taking upon himself a ceremony which belonged to the ruling chief to perform was in itself an assumption of superior divinity. [Beckwith, 1970:396-397]

In the narratives below, penned by Samuel M. Kamakau, readers are introduced to a mele (chant), extolling the heritage of Kūaliʻi, and his association with wahi pana across the islands, including those of the Honolulu region.

**Mei 2, 1868 (aoao 1)  
Nupepa Kuokoa**

...26. Aole i like i ka ua nalu,  
la ua hoo haili kehau,  
Me he ipuwai i nininiia la,  
Na hau o Kumomoku,  
Kekee na hau o Puuloa,  
Piiku na hau o Lelewi.

- Noho e na hau o Kepookala,  
 Aole ka oe i ike i ka hau kuapuu,  
 Kuakee, kuawili, kekee, nohoke,  
 Ohai mohala o Kanehili,  
 I Kaupea-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
27. Aole i like i ka lipoa  
 Ka nanue ai a ka ia,  
 Ka lipahapaha o Waimea,  
 Ka limu kau i ka laau,  
 Ka alamihī ula i ka luna o Kaala-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
28. Aole i like i ke kukui,  
 Iā kukui ili puupuu,  
 Ili nakaka i ka la,  
 Me he kanaka inu awa la,  
 Ka mahunea o kukui o Lihue-la —  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
29. Aole i like i ke aalii,  
 Ka poholua laau aala.  
 Ka maile hoe hoi i Maoi,  
 Ke kaluhea o Kawiwi-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
30. Aole i like i ke kokio,  
 I ka hahaka pua mao ia,  
 Ke kahuli pua i Kupaka-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
31. Aole i iike i ke ka waa,  
 I ke ka liu ku ma ka waha,  
 Ai mai kamahēle he kanaka,  
 He moku, he au, he aina-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
32. Aole i like i ka naia,  
 I kona ihu i kihe i kai,  
 I kona ili i eleele,  
 I kona kino i kai o ka mano-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—
33. Aole i like i ka hokii,  
 Kahapane ai puu lehua,  
 Ka oo manu i Kaiona-la—  
 Ua like paha?  
 Aole i like (me Ku)—  
 (Aole i pau.)

**Mei 23, 1868 (aoao 4)  
Nupepa Kuokoa**

Ua hanau ia o Kualii ma Kalapawai,  
ma Kailua, Koolaupoko, i ka A. D. 1555.  
O Mahuluanuiokalani ka makuahine,  
a o Kauakahi a Kahoowahaokalani

ka makuakane. Ua waiho aku au i ke  
Kumuuli me Kumulipo no ka mohai ole  
ka! Pela paha oukou. — S. M. Kamakau.

A ka opana i opanaiki,  
A ka oio e hana, e lomai mai la,  
Holo ka oo alahee a ka mahiai,  
E mahiai mai la,  
Holo ka o i ke kia manu,  
Ka pili apane o ka nahele,  
Ua wela i ka la na mauu pili.  
I ka la o Makalii,  
A ka pahukauila i ke kanaka pahipahi,  
O Wailoa ia i na hoa i ka olelo,  
O ka hookauna i ka la o lalo he malie,  
A ka pupu o ka awa ua o Maheleana-e,  
A ka wai i ke hoesa'na,  
A ke kukui o Hapuu ke hele ia,  
O ka pupu e loa ke pae ia,  
O ka punaunu inai o ka nenu,  
O kuu palauhu wauke,  
Alai hoihoi o ka makani,  
A ka wai i ke hooloa –  
A ka pa i na muliwai,  
I ka mana kai e nui –  
Hina kokea i na lua wai,  
Malino o Hikiau,  
A Kailikahi i ka ili hoaloha,  
Kaaaukuu i o Mokupaoa,  
Kawaihapai lehua o ka holo,  
A Kealia manu o Anahola,  
A keena i ke ahu a Kupihea,  
I kona au –

Hele ae o Kaipunui ko aina-e–  
A kaula i ka pali ua o Hanalei,  
A ka ha o ka leo  
I ka aukai o lalo he malie,  
A ka ohiki haehae kapa o Waiolono,  
A ke kanaka kaha nalu o Makaiwa,  
Hihi na maile hihi i kai o Kua,

Kūali'i was born at Kalapawai,  
At Kailua, Ko'olaupoko, A.D. 1555.  
His mother was Mahuluanuiokalani,  
and his father was Kauakahi a  
Kaho'owahaokalani.  
I leave the rest to the Kumuuli and  
Kumulipo. Or perhaps for you. —  
S.M. Kamakau.

A ka wai kulu i ka wai hoanae,  
A ka maili i ka ohuku,  
A ka ohuku i ke hoolae,  
A ka hawahawa i ka pili a ka ua,  
O ka ua pili o Hooilo-e-a-  
O Kuikealaikauaokalani no ke'lii,

O Kawelo—e, e Kawelo—e  
O Kaweloiki puu oioi,  
Puu o Kapolei—e—  
Uliuli ka poi e piha nei  
- o Honouliuli,  
Aeae ka paakai o Kahuaiki—Hoeae,  
Pikele ka ia e Waikele—o Waikele,  
Ka hale pio i Kauamoa—o Waipio,  
E kuu kua i ka loko awa—o  
Waiawa,  
Mai hoomanana ia oe—o Manana,  
He kini kahawai,  
He lau kamano—o Waimano,  
Ko ia kua e ke au—o Waiau,  
Kukui malumalu kua—o Waimalu,  
E ala kua ua ao—e—o Kalauao,  
E kipa kua e ai—o Aiea,  
Mai hoohaluwa ia oe—o Halawa,  
E noho kua i ka lua—o Moanalua,  
Hoopiopio hau kua—o Kahauiki,  
Hookekee lihi kua—o Kalihi,  
E pii kua i ka lama—o Kapalama,  
E nunu a paa hoawe—o Honolulu,  
Kiki kuu oho ilaila—o Waikiki,  
Kike ka hua o ka alae—o Waialae,  
He wahine oho lupe keia—o Wailupe,  
E pii kua i niu—o Niu,  
He wahine heekoko keia—o Koko,  
Ouou ka manu o Kaula—o Kuliouou,

...O Kawelo! Hail Kawelo!  
Sharp pointed hill, Kaweloiki,  
Hill of Kapolei,  
It is the dark poi which satisfies  
those of Honouliuli,  
The fine-grained salt is there  
at Kahuaiki, Hō'ae'ae,  
The fish of Waikele are small—  
Waikele,  
The arched house of Kauamoa is  
at Waipi'o,  
We two cast the net in the milkfish  
pond of Waiawa,  
Don't stretch yourself out at  
Mānana,  
There are many stream gulches,  
There are many sharks at Waimano,  
We two are drawn by the current of  
Waiau,  
We were sheltered by the kukui of  
Waimalu,  
Let us arise, it is light at Kalauao,  
We two are welcomed to eat at  
'Aiea,  
You should not be troubled at  
Hālawa,  
Let us stay at the crater/pit of  
Moanalua,  
We shall bend the hau of Kahauiki,  
We two shall go zigzagging along the  
edge of Kalihi,  
We two shall ascend to the lama tree of  
Kapālama  
Gathering and holding fast to the bundle  
of Honolulu,  
My hair is moistened at Waikīkī  
The egg of the mudhen of Wai'alae is  
broken...

Ua puni ka moku ia Ku–  
Me he kai la, me he wai–la–  
Me he kai malu la ka hoi,  
Ka poe kou i kai e Kahaloa,  
Ku ke koa, ku ka oa,  
Ku ka lehua, ku ke aalii,  
Ku ka hele a maua,  
O Kuikealaikauaokalani,  
A puni – Amama – ua noa.  
(Aole i pau.)

One of the notable traditions associated with Kūali'i is thought to be connected to the place called Kolowalu in the area of Kukulūāe'ō, and within the proposed rail corridor. Kolowalu is connected by trails that cross Waikīkī and the Honolulu Region, and is the name of a law that was established by Kūali'i. In Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore, the Kānāwai Nī'āupī'ō Kolowalu (Royal Kolowalu Law) is described as:

...[T]he best law during the reign of Kualii Kunuiakea Kuikeaakaikauaokalani. It was strict, unvarying and always just. It was for the care and preservation of life; it was for the aged men and women to lie down in the road with safety; it was to help the husbandmen and the fishermen; to entertain (morally) strangers, and feed the hungry with food. If a man says, "I am hungry for food." feed [him] with food, lest he hungers and claims his rights by swearing the kolowalu law by his mouth, whereby that food becomes free, so that the owner thereof cannot withhold it... [Fornander, 1917 Volume IV - Part II:432-433]

## Notes on Hawaiian Burial Customs and Practices

“Mai kaula’i nā iwi i ka lā!” (Do not lay the bones out in the sun!)  
(M.K Pukui, pers. comm., 1975; cf. M.K. Pukui, 1933:174 No. 1618)

Since the earliest of times, the relationship shared between Hawaiians and their ancestors has been manifest in their care for the iwi (bones). The iwi, “bones of the dead” are “considered the most cherished possession” (Pukui & Elbert, 1971:98). The notes below offer readers a small glimpse into the traditional and customary practices of Hawaiians in regards to iwi, ilina (burial sites), kupapa’u (treatment of the dead), and kino wailua (remains of the dead and spirits).

### **No ka Uhane Mahope iho o ka Make ana o ke Kino About the Spirit Following the Death of the Body**

Hawaiian beliefs and customs concerning the dead remain an integral part of the lives of many Hawaiians in the modern day, and respect of the ilina (burials) is a major concern shared by individuals with generational ties to ancient and historic residents of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī region. The narratives below, are meant to assist those unfamiliar with the importance of ilina (burials) and moepū (funerary objects) with a cultural context for the issues raised by Hawaiians on the subject.

**Iulai 21, 1858 (aoao 1)  
Ka Hae Hawaii.  
Moolelo Hawaii—Helu 13.**

No ka uhane mahope iho o ka make ana o ke kino.

Aneane kulike ole ka manao o na kanaka kahiko o Hawaii nei no ka Uhane mahope iho o ka make ana o ke kino. He ekolu wahi e noho ai ka Uhane, wahi a lakou. Oia hoi, o ka lua o Pele, o Kilauea no ia, oloko o na wai, a me ka aina maloo.

Ina i make ke kino o na alii, a o kona mau kanaka pono paha, a me na kahu Pele, alaila, e hoi ko lakou Uhane i ka lua o Pele, a e lawelawe mai na kahu Pele, a me kona poe kanaka, e like me ka noho ana ma keia ao. A o na kahu Pele, o lakou kona poe puuku, a he mau mua hoi maluna o na kanaka aipuu, a i ole ia, o kona poe kahu pono no. I ka noho ana o keia mau Uhane malaila, ina makemake kekahi kanaka e ike ia lakou, alaila, penei e ike ai, e hele pu me ke kahu Pele, a na ke kahu Pele e kahea aku.

Olelo mai kekahi poe. Ina i make kekahi kanaka a kanu ia kona kino ma ke kae o ka muliwai, a o ka Punawai, a o ka Auwai paha, alaila, e komo ae ka Uhane iloko o kekahi mea kino e ae, iloko e ka Mano paha, a iloko o ka Puhi paha, a i ka Ula paha, a me na mea e ae o ka Moana; aka, o na mea ma ka lihiwai, e komo ae lakou iloko o ka muliwai, a lilo i mau Okuhekuhe nui, a i mau moo huelo, a ina ma ka aina maloo, alaila, e komo ae iloko o ka Pueo, a me na mea ano like. O keia mau mea i pau i komo ia e ka Uhane o na kanaka, e lilo lakou i mau mea e alakai ai i ko lakou poe e ola ana. Penei ka hana ana o keia Uhane i

kona iloko o keia mau mea, hele hou aku no ia, a komo iloko o kona mau makamaka, a no kona noho ana iluna ona, a ai mai keia Uhane i ka ai maoli a maona, alaila, hoi aku, a pela mau ka hana ana. A o keia poe makamaka, ina he pilikia ko lakou ma ka aina, no ke kua ia mai, na ka Pueo e alakai ia lakou i kahi kupono e pale ai. A ina ma ka Muliwai, na ka Moo me na mea ano like e mahuna ia lakou. A ina ma ka moana ka pilikia, na ka Mano e malama, a me na mea ano like. No keia mau mea ko na kanaka hookapu ana i kekahi mau mea ai he hui wale.

Eia kekahi: Aia ma ka aina maloo, kahi i noho ai ka Uhane mahope iho o ka make ana o ke kino, a ua kapaia mai keia mau wahi o Kaleina a ka Uhane. Ua lawa keia inoa "leina a ka Uhane," ma kela Mokupuni, keia Mokupuni o Hawaii nei i noho ia e ke kanaka. O kahi e noho ai ka Uhane o ko Niihau poe, aia ma Kapapakiiki a o Mauloku ma Lehua kekahi, oia hoi kahi i kapaia ka leina a ka Uhane o ko Niihau poe. Pela no hoi ko Kauai. Ma Hanapepe, kahi i noho ai ko laila poe Uhane, a o ko Oahu poe, aia ma Kaimalolo, a ma Waianae kekahi, A o ko Molokai poe, aia ma ka palena o Koolau a me Kona, mawaena olaila o ka leina a ka Uhane, o Wainene ka aina nui. A o ko Lanai, aia ma Hokunui, wahi a kekahi; aka, i ka manao o kekahi aia ma Kananolu [Kaunolu] ia. A he elua wahi e noho ai na Uhane o ko Maui, aia ma ke Kea kekahi, aina kula o ka Maomao kekahi. A o ko Hawaii. he ekolu wahi e noho ai na Uhane o Hilo, a o Waipio a me ka Palelua. O keia mau wahi a pau, ua kapaia o ka leina a ka Uhane. Ina e hiki ka Uhane ma kekahi o keia mau wahi, aole e hiki ke hoi hou mai.

Eia no kekahi; Ina make ke kino, hele no ka Uhane me ke ano o ke kino, pela no ka Uhane e hele ai, ina aole kapa o ke kino i ka make ana, aole no hoi kapa. aole lani, aka, he ao po lohina wale no, ane like ino ka ohu e uhi ana i ka aina, pela ke ano o kahi e noho ai na Uhane ma ia hope ilio o ka make ana o ke kino, aole no hoi he po he ao wale no. Okoa no ko na alii wahi, okoa ko na koa. Malaila na hana a pau e like me ka wa e ola ana, O-oihe, Puhenehene, Heeholua, Heenalua, Moko, Lua, nui ka ai, he ai ulu wale no, uala, kalo, maia, ape, hapuu a no keia nanao o lakou la, a i make ke kino, e kanu pu ia ka ai, ia, wai paka, kila ahi, o-o ihe, koi, pahi, manao lakou e hana ka Uhane me keia mau mea ma ia wahi.

Eia no hoi kekahi: Manao mai kekahi poe, he hele wale no na Uhane, a hoi, a noho iluna o ke kanaka e ola ana, maluna o ka elemakule a me ka luahine, maluna o ke kanaka a o ka wahine paha. Ua kapa ia kela Uhane, "he Makani, a he Unihipili." Oia na manao o kanaka kahiko no ka Uhane mahope iho o ka make ana o ke kino.

O ka Helu 13 no keia, ua pai hewa ia kela ma ka Hae Helu 15. O ka mua keia a mahope kela. J. P.

#### Summary — About the Spirit Following the Death of the Body

The ancient people of Hawaii had different ideas concerning the soul after death of the body. They said that there were three places for the soul to go. The volcano of Pele, that is Kilauea, in the water, and on the dry land...

Some say that if a man's body is buried on the bank of an estuary (kae muliwai), a spring (pūnāwai) or an irrigation way (auwai), that the spirit will enter into another body, like that of a Shark, an Eel, a Lobster or some creature of the ocean. Those buried along the edge of the stream (lihi wai) will become the goby fish ('ōkuhekuhe nui), or lizards with tails; and if on the dry land, it will then become an owl (pueo) or some other creature. These are the things into which the spirits of people can become, and they in turn will guide their living relatives (to safety in times of need)...

Here also is this. It is there on the dry land that spirit stays after death of the body. These places are called Kaleina a ka Uhane (Leaping places of the Spirit), or simply Leina a ka Uhane, on the various Hawaiian Islands upon which people live. The place where the spirits of Ni'ihau's people live is at Kapapaki'iki'i, and at Mauloku at Lehua, also. That is called the Leina a ka Uhane of Ni'ihau's people. And so on Kaua'i, it is at Hanapēpē. Where the spirits of the people stay. O'ahu's people (spirits) are there at Kaimālolo, at Wai'anae, being one of the places. For the people of Moloka'i, it is there at the boundary between Ko'olau and Kona, that the leina ka Uhane is found, Wainēnē is the a great land. Lāna'i's is there at Hōkūnui, so some say; but others think that it is there at Kaunolū. There are two places where the spirits reside on Maui, there at Kea is one, and the plain lands of Ma'oma'o is another. And Hawai'i has three places where the spirits dwell, Hilo, Waipi'o and Pālehua. So these places are all called leaping sites of the Spirits. If the Spirit arrives at one of these places it cannot be returned...

### **Modes of Burial of Chiefs and Common People (Practices Described in 1841)**

The following account is excerpted from an 1841 manuscript written by Missionary William Richards, in answer to a series of questions asked by Captain Charles Wilkes, Commander of the United States Exploring Expedition. Richards was among the second party American missionaries to arrive in the Hawaiian Islands (in 1823), and by the death-bed request of the sacred chiefess Keōpūolani (in 1823), he raised Kamehameha III and his sister, Nahi'ena'ena. In his lifetime, Richards served in many official capacities in the Hawaiian Kingdom (Richards Street in Honolulu is named after him). Richards identifies the chief and counselor to Kamehamehas I, II, and III, Hoapili, as the primary source of his information, which was reportedly corroborated by Kamehameha III prior to Richards sending it to Wilkes.

Ulumaheiehi Hoapili was the son of Kame'eiamoku, one of the "four Kona uncles" and confidants of Kamehameha I. Kame'eiamoku and his twin brother Kamanawa were of a line of priest of the "class of Ka-uahi and Nahulu" (Kamakau 1961:188, 190, 231). When Kame'eiamoku died in 1804, his son Hoapili, inherited his father's position, which he retained until his death in 1840. It was also Hoapili who in 1819, cared for and hid the bones of Kamehameha I (Kamakau 1961:211, 212, 215).

...After the death of a chief or the king, the corpse was permitted to lie one day, during which time the royal sorcerer was engaged in incantations to pronounce the death of some person as a sacrifice or peace offering to the gods for the prosperous reign of the new king. The corpse was then carried to the temple where it lay eight days. On the ninth or tenth day it was neatly inclosed in leaves of the dracaena in the same manner as meat is for cooking. The body was then placed in the ground and covered to the depth of about eight [page 55] inches. A slight fire was then kindled over it, so as to keep it at about the natural temperature of the living body. This was for the purpose of harvesting the process of putrifaction [sic]. As soon as the flesh could be easily slipped from the bones the six long bones of the arms and the six long bones of the legs, were taken out and nicely cleaned in some perfumed waters. The[y] were then fastened together, the bones of the arms standing on the bones of the legs. The head was then taken and having been cleaned in the same manner was placed on the top, and the whole wound up in kapa and deified, if the bones of a king. But if merely a high chief, they were deposited in a seminary [sic]. In times of public commotion the bones of the king though thus deified were immediately concealed by the friends lest they should be obtained by the enemy and treated with disrespect. Some kings gave charge during their lifetime to have their bones concealed at once. This was the charge of Kamehameha I and it has never been known what was done with his remains.

The common people were usually buried or deposited secretly in caves during the night. There was a great fear among the people lest their bones should be made use of after their death for arrows or for fish hooks & it was this which lead to secret burials — The present form is the same as in the U.S.A... [Hawaii State Archives Series M-126]

### **Kulaīwi: The Ancestral Lands in Which Ones Ancestors are Buried**

Writing in the 1860s, noted Hawaiian historian, Samuel M. Kamakau wrote about the attachment-connection shared by the Hawaiians with the land of their ancestors. He described this in the context of the land as the burial place of one's family, and the sanctity of such a relationship:

...In the old days the inheritance of the family burial place, the caves and secret burial places of our ancestors was handed down from these to their descendants without the intrusion of a single stranger unless by consent of the descendant, so that wherever a death occurred the body was conveyed to its inheritance. These immovable barriers belonged to burial rights for all time. The rule of kings and chiefs and their land agents might change, but the burial rights of families survived on their lands. Here is one proof of the people's right to the land.

With this right of the common people to the land is connected an inherent love of the land of one's birth inherited from one's ancestors, so that men do not wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors. The Kona man does not wander to 'Ewa or Ko'olau, nor does the 'Ewa man change to Waialua. Whether rich or impoverished and barren, his love is unchanged; he cannot treat the land with contempt. However good the land on which he later lives he will

wish to return to the land of his birth. The land so worthless in the eyes of a stranger is good to him. But today the habit of going away for an education or sailing abroad has undermined this old feeling for the land... [Kamakau in Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i (1961:376)]

Writing in 1870, Kamakau also penned the following notes on burial customs:

There were many ways of disposing (kanu ana) of corpses. In the very ancient times corpses were buried in graveyards (kanu ma na ho'oilina), and these graveyards were well known throughout the islands. The corpses were laid out straight in wooden troughs (holowa'a) and buried. That was in the time of peace and tranquility in the land; that was when corpses were actually buried. During the time of wicked, traitorous, and desecrating chiefs, the bones of the dead were dug up out of the burial grounds to be used for arrows for rat shooting and for fishhooks, and the bones and bodies of the newly buried were dug up for food and bait for sharks. For this reason, consternation arose in every family, and they sought places of concealment for the bones of their grandparents, parents, children, chiefs, and relatives. They searched for deep pits (lua meki) in the mountains, and for hiding pits (lua huna) and hiding caves (ana huna) along the deep ravines and sheer cliffs frequented by koa'e birds. There they deposited the precious bones of their loved ones, without a thought for their own weariness, the heavy load they carried, or their own possible death; with no other thought except that they were carrying out the "last will," the kauoha, of their loved one. For instance, someone who was dying on Hawaii might before his end make his kauoha known by saying, "When I die take me to the high-ridged hills of Nakoaka'alahina on Kauai," or "to Kapalikalahale on Niihau." A death might take place on Oahu and the kauoha point to Hawaii, or perhaps to Maui. The right thing to do was to fulfill these commands. The places mentioned in the kauoha are the burial pits and caves of the ancestors. They are well hidden from the eyes of men, and unknown to the "wizards of the night," kupua o ka po, who might reveal them. These caves hold treasures and other hidden things. [Kamakau in "Ka Po'e Kahiko" (1964:38)]

### **Ka Moolelo Hawaii—O kekahi mau mea i manao nui ia o ke kupapau Hawaiian History—Some things which are of importance pertaining to the dead**

Care for the dead (kupapa'u), respect of the graves (ilina), and traditions associated with the spirit after death are subjects of great significance to Hawaiians – past and present. In his history of the Hawaiian people, Samuel M. Kamakau, shared with readers a collection of traditions and practices pertaining to the dead, and identified some of the places of importance in these practices. These narratives are of particular importance to lands and specific wahi pana of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikiki region.

#### **Okatopa 6, 1870 (aoao 1)**

##### **Ke Au Okoa**

##### **Ka Moolelo Hawaii. Na S.M. Kamakau. Helu 43.**

##### **O kekahi mau mea i manao nui ia o ke kupapau.**

...Hookahi anahuna kaulana ma Oahu. O Pohukaina ka inoa, aia ma ka pali o Kanehoalani mawaena of Kualoa a me Kaaawa, ai ka puka i manao ia ma ka

pali o Kaoio e huli la i Kaaawa, a o ka lua o ka puka aia ma ka punawai o Kaahuula-punawai. He anahuna alii keia, a he nui ka waiwai huna iloko a me na'lili kahiko. O Hailikulamanu, oia kekahi puka, aia a kokoke makai o ke ana Koluana i Moanalua, aia ma Kalihi, ma Puiwa, oia na puka ekolu o Pohukaina ma Kona, a o Waipahu ma Ewa, aia ma Kahuku i Koolauloa kekahi puka, a o kauhuhu o kaupaku o keia hale anahuna, oia no ka mauna o Konahuanui a iho i Kahuku. Ua olelo ia ma ka moolelo a kanaka, ua nui ka poe i komo iloko me na ihoiho kukui, mai Kona aku nei a puka i Kahuku...

Na uhane mahope o ka make ana o ke kino.

O ke ao kuenta: a o ke ao auana kekahi inoa. I ka make ana o ke kanaka kuleana ole, ua auana kuenta hele kona uhane me ka lalau hele i ka nahelehele, a ua hele wale i Kamaomao, a i ka wiliwili o Kaupea, a hiki kona uhane i Leilono, aia malaila ka Uluolaiowalo; a i loa ole kona uhane aumakua i maa mau ia ia, a aumakua kokua hoi, alaila, e lele kona uhane ma ka lala ulu popopo a haule ilalo liko i ka po pau ole i o Milu la...

O Leiolono, oia kekahi wahi e make ai na uhane i ka po pau ole. Aia o Leiolono kokoke i ka pohaku o Kapukaki a ma nae aku, e kupo ana i puu hoilina kupapau o Aliamanu, a huli i ka aoao akau o Hokupaa, aia ma ke kapaluna o ke alanui kahiko, aia he hapapa pahoehe pohaku, a ia maluna he wahi ponaha, he alua paha kapuai ke anapuni, oia ka puka e iho ai ilalo, o ka nuu ia o Papa-ia-Laka he ao aumakua ia wahi, aia ma ka puka e iho ai o ka puka o Leiolono, he ulu o Leiwalo, elua lala ma ka hikna kekahi a ma ke komohana kekahi, he mau lala ulu hoopunipuni keia, a o kekahi lala niu, he lala e lele ai i ka po pauole, a o ka lua o ka lulu ulu, aia a kokua ia mai e ka uhane aumakua kokua, alaila, e ike auanie maia ao aumakua, i na kupuna i olelo ia o Wakea a me ka huina kupuna a pau, a me ko ke ao holookoa e hele nei, i ka lakou huakai; a o kekahi hapa, aia ma kela alala ulu hoopunipuni i ka po pauole. O ka palena o Leilono, o Kapapa-kolea ka palena hikina, he peelua nui launa ke kiai hikinina o Keleana; a o Napeha ka palena komohana, a he moo ke kiai malaila, a i makai i keia mau kia, alaila hoi hou i hope, a i kokua hou ia e na uhane aumakua, alaila, ua hou, a ua alakai ia i ke ao aumakua.

A i makau i ka peelua e alai ana i ke alanui mai kela aoao mai o Alia, kiei je poo ma ka pali o Kapakolea, aliala makau ke uhane a auwana, a pili aoao ma ke kahawai ma ka hale hana ili, aole he alanui aupuni mamua, aka, he alanui kamaaina no Kauhilaeele, a ua olelo ia aia a komo ka auwana maloko o na palena, he make wale no kona uhane, a o ke lele i ka po pau ole; aka, ua oleloia ua ola mai no kekahi poe uhane auwana ke loa i na uhane aumakua kokua, a o ka poe kokua, a o ka poe kokua ole, e make no i ka po pauole, a i o Milu la. Aia ma ke kula o Kaupea, ma ke kaha o Puuloa, e hele ai na uhane auwana e poipoi pulelehua, a e poipoi nanana, oia aole e hele loa na uhane auwana i na wahi i olelo ia mamua, a i loa paha i na uhane aumakua e poipoi nanana ana, a ua hoopakeleia, a o ka poe uhane kokua ole, he poe uhane haukae lakou, a mai ka wiliwili i Kaupea, i Kanehili, he nui no na wahi i oleloia ma keia inoa. O Kalea-a-kauhane [Ka-leina-a-ka-uhane], a me ka Ulu o Leiwalo, aia ma Hawaii, ma Maui, ma Molokai, ma Lanai, ma Kauai a me Niihau, hookahi no moolelo like no keia mau wahi...

]Translation] Hawaiian History:

Some things which are of importance pertaining to the dead

There is only one famous hiding cave, ana huna, on Oahu. It is Pohukaina. The opening on Kalaeoka'o'io that faces toward Ka'a'awa is believed to be in the pali of Kanehoalani, between Kualoa and Ka'a'awa, and the second opening is at the spring Ka'ahu'ula-punawai. This is a burial cave for chiefs, and much wealth was hidden away there with the chiefs of old. On the Kona side of the island the cave had three openings, one at Hailikulamanu—near the lower side of the cave of Koleana in Moanalua—another in Kalihi, and another in Pu'iwa. There was an opening at Waipahu, in Ewa, and another at Kahuku in Ko'olauloa. The mountain peak of Konahuanui was the highest point of the ridgepole of this burial cave "house," which sloped down toward Kahuku. Many stories tell of people going into it with kukui-nut torches in Kona and coming out at Kahuku. Within this cave are pools of water, streams, creeks, and decorations by the hand of man (hana kinohinohi'ia), and in some places there is level land. [Kamakau, 1964:38]

The leina a ka 'uhane on Oahu was close to the cape of Ka'ena, on its right (or north, 'akau) side, as it turns toward Waialua, and near the cutoff (alanui 'oki) that goes down to Keaoku'uku'u. The boundaries of this leina a ka 'uhane, it is said, were Kaho'iho'ina-Wakea, a little below Kakahe'e, and the leaping place (kawa-kai) of Kilauea at Keawa'ula. At these places would be found helpful 'aumakua souls who might bring back the spirit and restore life to the body, or if not, might welcome it to the realm of the 'aumakua. Places within the boundaries mentioned were where souls went to death in the po pau 'ole, endless night.

Leilono at Moanalua, Oahu, was close to the rock Kapukaki and easterly of it (a ma ka na'e aku), directly in line with the burial mound of Aliamanu and facing toward the right side of the North Star (a huli i ka 'ao'ao 'akau o ka Hokupa'a). On the bank above the old trail there was a flat bed of pahoehoe lava, and on it there was a circular place about two feet in circumference. This was the entrance to go down; this was the topmost height (nu'u) of Kapapaialaka, a place in the 'aumakua realm. Here at the entrance, ka puka o Leilono, was a breadfruit tree of Leiwalo, he 'ulu o Leiwalo. It had two branches, one on the east side and one on the west.

These branches were deceiving. From one of them, the soul leaped into the po pau 'ole; if he climbed the other, it would bring aid from helpful 'aumakua ('aumakua kokua). From that branch the soul would see the 'aumakua realm and the ancestors spoken of, Wakea and all the rest, and those of the entire world who had traveled on this same journey.

The boundaries of Leilono were, Kapapakolea on the east, [with] a huge caterpillar (pe'elua nui) called Koleana as its eastern watchman, and the pool Napeha on the west, with a mo'o the watchman there. If the soul was afraid of these watchmen and retreated, it was urged on by the 'aumakua spirits, then it would go forward again and be guided to the

'aumakua realm. If a soul coming from the Alia (Aliapa'akai) side was afraid of the caterpillar, whose head peered over the hill Kapapakolea, and who blocked the way, it would wander about close to the stream by the harness shop. This was not the government road (alanui aupuni) of former times, but was a trail customarily used by "those of Kauhila'ele" [figuratively, the common people; the la'ele, old taro leaves, as contrasted with the liko, the new and choicer leaves—that is, the chiefs]. It was said that if a [page 48] wandering soul entered within these boundaries it would die by leaping into the po pau 'ole; but if they were found by helpful 'aumakua souls, some wandering souls were saved. Those who had no such help perished in the po pau 'ole of Milu.

On the plain of Kaupe'a beside Pu'uloa, wandering souls could go to catch moths (pulelehua) and spiders (nanana). However, wandering souls would not go far in the places mentioned earlier before they would be found catching spiders by 'aumakua souls, and be helped to escape. Those souls who had no such help were indeed friendless (he po'e 'uhane hauka'e lakou), and there were many who were called by this name, po'e 'uhane hauka'e.

There were Leina-a-ka-'uhane and 'Ulu-o-Leiwalo on Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kauai, and Niihau as well as on Oahu. The traditions about these places were the same. They were where spirits were divided (mahele ana) to go into the realm of wandering spirits, the ao kuenta or ao 'auwana; or to the ancestral spirit realm, the ao 'aumakua; or to the realm of endless night, the po pau 'ole.

The places said to be for wandering spirits were: Kama'oma'o for Maui; Uhana [Mahana] at Kahokunui for Lanai; Ma'ohelaia for Molokai; Mana for Kauai; Halali'i for Niihau; in addition to Kaupe'a for Oahu. In these places the friendless souls ('uhane makamaka 'ole) wandered. [Kamakau, 1964:49. M.K. Pukui, translator]

## **A Lamentation for Aupuni Citing Noted Places of the Kona District**

With the advent of writing and the publishing of native language newspapers in the Islands, the Hawaiian people began sharing their grief at the loss of loved ones with others across the islands. These kanikau and uwē helu (lamentations, dirges and wailing), such as the kanikau of Aupuni (f.), describe the cultural attachment that people of old shared with their environment, and are significant sources of cultural knowledge. The mele (chant formed) laments are rich with information about wahi pana, named places, sites, resources, winds, rains, and traditional knowledge of the land.

The context of the memories composed into mele is in the form of remembrances of places loved at and visited, of experiences, and places that the two shall never again visit together.

**Apelila 19, 1862 (aoao 4)  
Nupepa Kuokoa  
He kanikau.**

Feberuari, la 2, 1862, ma Kualoa,  
Koolaupoko, make o ke Aupuni w.,  
oia ka la Sabati, hora 9 o ka po.

Haku iho au i wahi kanikau nona.  
Eia malalo iho kona wahi kanikau.

Kanikau aloha no ke Aupuni,  
Kuu wahine mai ka po loloa o ka Hooilo,  
Mai ka makani anu he Hoolua...

...Kuu wahine mai ke kula wela,  
o Waianae  
Hoomaha aku kua i Puuokapolei,  
Auwe kuu wahine.  
Kuu wahine mai ke kula la o Ewa,  
Mai ka i-a hamau leo i ka makani,

Kuu wahine mai ke kula la o Kemoo,  
Mai ka wai aku o Kaukonahua,  
Kuu wahine mai ke kahawai aku  
o Waikakalaua,  
Mai ka ihona o Kipapa,  
Aloha ia kula a kakou e hele ai,

Elua kua, hookahi keiki,  
Kuu wahine mai ka laula o Ewa,  
Mai ke awa lau o Puuloa,  
Kuu wahine mai ka Ikiiki o Honolulu,

Mai ka piha kanaka i Polelewa,  
Mai ka ululaau nahele i ka moana,

Hooluana aku i kai o ka makeke,  
Auwe kuu wahine.  
Kuu hoa pili mai ka ua kukalahale  
o Honolulu,

Kuu wahine mai ke ola o ka wai o ke ki,

Mai ka hui-kau-lua a na haole,

Kuu wahine mai ka lai o ke Kaona,

February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1862, at Kualoa,  
Ko'olaupoko, Aupuni (f.) died,  
it was the Sabbath, 9 o'clock at  
night.

I composed this lament for her.  
Here, below is a lamentation for her.

This lamentation is for Aupuni,  
My wife of the long winter nights,  
from the cold Ho'olua winds...

My wife from the sticky heat  
of Honolulu,  
From the fullness of people  
at Polelewa,  
From the forest grove [descriptive  
of the masts of the sailing fleet]  
on the sea,  
Meeting at the shore side market,  
Alas my wife.  
My close companion in the rains  
that announce their arrival at  
Honolulu,  
My wife from the waters of life of the  
ti plants,  
From the complications of the  
foreigners,  
My wife from the tranquility of  
the town,

<p>Komo aku kaula o ka olu o <u>Kaumakapili</u>,  Kuu wahine mai ka waa a ke Kupua,  Oia wahi a kaula e hele ai,  Kuu wahine o na hale aikane nui,  Akahi au a ike i ka mea nui he aloha,  Kuu wahine mai ka wai nuhou o ke Aupuni,  Mai ka piina o Maemae,  Hoomaha aku kaula i Puiwa,  Kuu wahine mai ke kula wela la o <u>Kahua</u>,  Komo aku kaula o ka malu o ka niu o Waikiki,  Auwe kuu wahine.  Kuu wahine mai ka wai o Kahapaakai,  Mai ka piina o Luakaha,  Kuu wahine mai ka wai o Kahualana,  Mai ka uka anu o Hapuu,  Kuu wahine mai ka ua o <u>Nuuanu</u> — e,  Hai ke kawelu holu i ka makani,  Kuu wahine mai ka nuku o Nuuanu...</p> <p>...Noho au me ka u me ka minamina,  Me ke kaumaha ia oe,  Auwe kuu wahine.</p> <p>Na Konaaihele.  Kualoa, Koolaupoko, Apr. 19, 1862.</p>	<p>We two entered into our peace at  Kaumakapili,  My wife from Ka wa'a a ke kupa,  That place where we two traveled...</p> <p>...I remain here in tears with regret,  With sadness for you,  Alas my wife.</p> <p>By Konaaihele.  Kualoa, Koolaupoko, Apr. 19, 1862.</p>
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## John Papa Ii's Account of History in the Honolulu Region During the Residency of Kamehameha I

Native historian, John Papa Ii, was one of the preeminent Hawaiian authors of the 1860s. His writings were based on personal experiences, as a member of the Kamehameha household, and a key figure in the evolving Hawaiian Kingdom of the period. Ii penned a series of articles titled, "Na Hunuhuna no ka Moolelo Hawaii" (Fragments of Hawaiian History) in the native language newspaper Ku Okoa. The narratives, translated in the 1950s by native ethnographer, Mary Kawena Pukui, provide readers with important details on the history of noted places and people, across the Kona District landscape of which the Waikiki-Honolulu-Kalihi region lands are a part. Ii's history is written from personal experiences, observations and firsthand accounts, and cites many named localities crossed by the proposed rail corridor. These named places are a part of the storied landscape — wahi pana — with their significance spanning traditional times through the historic period. While the events of the later period erased physical remains from the surface of the 'āina, the spirit of place survives, and in many instances is embodied in place names that are still used in the modern day (underlining is used to identify places of importance in the study).

## **Pele'ula a site of many Healing Heiau**

Peleula was covered with healing heiaus, where offerings were made and methods of healing were taught. The locations of all diseases they had sought and found in man were marked by the placing of pebbles. This helped them to recognize the nature of the disease. Feeling with the hands indicated whether the disease would be fatal or was curable if treated then. They learned the proper remedy, the methods of treatment, the results to expect, and the island where a disease was first discovered. For instance: "It appeared on the island of Niihau (or Kauai, or another island) ; such-and-such was the place; such-and-such is the pig to offer; such-and-such is the clothing; such-and-such is the disease; and such-and-such is the remedy."

This went on until all the islands were mentioned, with the diseases and medicines, the kinds of pigs, and the clothing suitable for offerings. All of these things composed and arranged for memorizing were learned by all the students of the art of healing. These were among the things they recited to the medical instructors, including the names of the 'aumakua gods of healing from remote times. This was done in front of the heiaus we have mentioned, and if the recitation was perfect, it was believed that such a person would attain skill in treating various diseases. A live pig, squealing on the way, was brought to the kahuna as a gift from the patient. If there were many kinds of diseases in a patient, the methods of treatment were many and it was understood that the expense would be great... [li, 1959: 46]

## **The Fishponds of Kālia - Kamehameha's Distain for Waste of Fish**

Once Kinopu gave a tribute of fish to Kamehameha's son, Kinau, at Moehonua's fish pond in Kalia. While Kinau and his wife Kahakuhaakoi (Wahinepio) were going to Waikiki from Honolulu, the sea came into the pond and fishes of every kind entered the sluice gate. Kinopu ordered the keepers of the pond to lower fish nets, and the result was a catch so large that a great heap of fish lay spoiling upon the bank of the pond.

The news of the huge catch reached Kamehameha, who was then with Kalanimoku, war leader and officer of the king's guard. The king said nothing at the time, but sat with bowed head and downcast eyes, apparently disapproving of such reckless waste. Had they caught enough for a meal, perhaps forty or twenty, nothing would have been said. However, Kalanimoku, apparently knowing why the king kept his head bowed, commanded Kinopu to release most of the fish. Kinopu's act became common knowledge, and the report caught up with the two travelers, Kinau and Kahakuhaakoi... [li, 1959:49]

## **Noted Sites of the Honolulu Vicinity, and Practices in the Time of Kamehameha:**

...Kamehameha, with the members of his court, also gave much attention to farming, especially in Nuuanu, from Niolopa to Hapuu. He also farmed at Ualakaa in Manoa, in Waikiki, and in Kapalama.

When Kamehameha went to Nuuanu, mounted on his horse, Kawaiolaloa, many of the children, including Ii, followed him with great interest. They found innumerable people all over the farming area, from down below the present road at Niuhelewai to the bend in the road where the houses of the Portuguese now stand. The bulrushes were as nothing, for they were cleared away in a single day. Some men cut the rushes, some dug them out, some built mounds, and others covered the mounds with the rushes. Much food was provided for the noonday meal of the workers, who then resumed their work until evening. The actual planting was reserved for the caretaker of the land.

So it was on the following day, at Kahoikekanaka, close to Kamanuwai at Peleula. It, too, was teeming with men, though there had been more people at Nuuanu. The men, scattered systematically from a spot on the upland side to a place on the seaward side, dug and beat on the banks with dried coconut-leaf stems. The next day they trampled in the wet patches and planted taro. When the workers and Kamehameha ate, Ii shared in the food, for among the men in the crowd were his mother's own brothers. All he did was watch the horse, but actually he just wanted to be there.

After these projects, three schools for lua fighting (pa ku'i-a-lua) were established by Kamehameha, and perhaps there were some smaller ones. Hahakea was the instructor at one of them, Namakaimi was the instructor at another, and Napuauki and his assistant were teachers at the third. At the school taught by Napuauki and his assistant were twenty-four boys from Kamehameha's court who were trained for more than two months. Among them was the king's own son [page 68] Kekuaiwa, who was older than the chiefess Kinau. Ii also attended this school, as did Kekuanaoa, father of Kamehameha IV and V. Twenty-three of these boys are dead at this writing.

Earlier, some of Kamehameha's warriors had been organized into a company called the Kulailua (Knocked Over). It was so named for the force by which the discharging of a rifle on the shoulder made one fall backward...

We have already seen some things accomplished under Kamehameha, but some not mentioned previously were fishing, canoe-making, paddle-making, and the like. His craftsmen were as well cared for as were his farmers, and there were many of them. His wish was to obtain prosperity for the people.

Here let us return briefly to farming. The places Kamehameha farmed and the houses he lived in at those farms were show places. His farmhouses in Nuuanu stood several hundred fathoms away from the right side of Kapaehala, a knoll on the western side of Nuuanu Street and Hanaiakamalama House. Perhaps the location was chosen to enable him to look both inland and seaward to his food patches. Some elevated houses seem to have been for that purpose. So it was with Puupueo, directly below Ualakaa. He dwelt part of the time at Helumoa in Puaalili, Waikiki (in the house mistakenly called Kekuakalani; Kuihelani is the correct name) to till the famous large gardens there. He also lived in Honolulu, where his farms at Kapalama, Keoneula, and other places became famous. These tasks Kamehameha attended to personally, and he participated in all the projects.

Kamehameha was often seen fishing with his fishermen in the deep ocean, where the sea was shallow, and where fish-poison plants were used. He took care of the canoe paddlers who went out for aku fish, bringing in supplies from the other islands for them, and sent ships to-and-fro fetching nets, lines, olona fibers, and other things. Part of his goodly supply of such necessities he divided among his chiefs and among those he had conquered. Because of his generosity, all of the chiefs worked too and gave him a portion of the products of their lands. [page 69]

...While li was at court, there were two other occasions when sports and games were held in the royal town of Honolulu. These occurred when the makahiki gods went forth from the luakini heiau at Leahi... [page 70]

...In the evening of the day on which the wooden gods departed to go on their circuit of the island, the chiefs who had fed the attendants remained secluded with their possessions from daylight to dark. The attendants of the gods carried them facing backward when they traveled. Therefore it was said that the eyes of Lono remained upon the activities of the people when the gods left the presence of the chiefs for the circuit of the island. The procession went from Honolulu toward Ewa, and when the procession reached the boundary between Honolulu and Kapalama, the akua loa stopped with its two alai markers, two sticks that were used to mark the area that was made kapu for the god. This area was forbidden to the people, but not to the attendants. As the akua loa stood on its designated place, the persons in charge of the land of Kapalama brought all the taxes of the land. If the taxes were sufficient, the tapa of the aku[a] loa was gathered in (papiro'ia) and the god proceeded to the next ahupua'a. The akua pa'ani was placed where the akua loa had stood to inspire the men to box. [li, 1959:75]

### **Places and People on Oahu – Trails of the Kona District:**

...Perhaps it would be well to follow the Honolulu trails of about 1810, that they may be known, and to determine whether the houses were many or few. Let us begin looking.

The trail from Kalia led to Kukuluao, then along the graves of those who died in the smallpox epidemic of 1853, and into the center of the coconut grove of Honuakaha. On the upper side of the trail was the place of Kinau, the father of Kekauonohi. His houses were made kapu after his death, and no one was permitted to pass in front of them. Piopio and others were in charge.

The trail came out of the coconut grove and went on to Kaoaopa. Mauka of the spot where it came out of the coconut grove was a bare place, like a plain, and below this spot were Keopuolani's houses. Back of her houses was a long stone wall, beginning outside of the grove and going north to the edge of the pond of Umukanaka, as far as a cluster of houses there.

The trail went by Papa's heiaus of healing, and in front of them was Hookuku, the residence of the heir to the kingdom. His houses were separated from all the others there because of the strict kapu surrounding them. Four kapu sticks were

set up, one at each corner, about 2 chains away from the houses; and the trail was about 5 fathoms beyond the sticks. When those approaching drew near to the kapu sticks, they observed the rules we have mentioned previously. [page 89]

We have spoken of Kaoaopa before as the location for the homes of attendants to the heir to the kingdom. Their houses stood on both the makai and mauka sides of the trail, set apart from the others like those of the heir. From the makai side of Kaoaopa was a trail to the sea at Kakaako, where stood the homes of the fishermen. Below the trail lived Hewahewa and his fellow kahunas. The trail led to the spot where the ship Namahana was berthed, then went on to Kaholoakeahole. The Namahana was in the charge of Leleahana, father of Abel Wahineahi, and was berthed on the north side of Naahu's place, where Halakika later resided. North of where this trail branched off from Kaoaopa, and close to the home of li's mother, was a coconut tree on which the boy made a swing. Here he and his companions whiled away hours each evening. The person who could chant the most pleasingly swung the most often.

Also on the north were Leleahana's houses, then those of the attendants of Kekuaiwa, son of Kamehameha. Kekuaiwa's home was set apart with four kapu sticks. Next came Kekumanoha's place, then a vacant place that reached as far as the bathing pool of Honokaupu, above Queen Street, north of a pier at the corner where Queen and Alakea Streets now meet. There were two houses above this bathing pool which belonged to Kaiwikokoole; and north of the pool was one house, on the mauka side of the trail. Many bathers gathered of ten at this pool.

The trail went on above the spring of Honokaupu to the loku site at Merchant and Alakea Streets. Just above this spot it joined the trail from Waikiki which came over a wall and branched off to the two drilling sites mentioned earlier. Beyond them, to the west of the drilling sites, were the king's houses. A trail joined the one from Waikiki above the field where maika rolling and foot racing were held, on the mauka side of the king's houses, and came out at Pakaka.

West of the Honokaupu spring was the pond owned by Mataio Kekuanaoa, where the coconut trees later grew. The houses of the king's stewards were there, in the charge of Kamokupanee. Makai, and south of the drilling field, was a temporary house for those of the Kulailua company. On the makai side of the temporary house were the houses of the gods Kalaipahoa, Kihawahine, and others. Just beyond the houses of the gods were Kalanimoku's houses, close to the edge of the sea. The trail there was always used to reach the drilling field, for by going between the houses of the gods and the heiaus one escaped death. Mauka of Kalanimoku's houses were Kalaimamahu's houses, and there he had died. Next to Kalanimoku's houses were those of Kalaniakua, Liliha, Kekauonohi, and Namahana.

Let us return to where the trail from Waikiki met the trail from Honuakaha, mauka of the Honokaupu spring. The trail ran on from there until it reached above Aienui, going by the big stone house of Kimo Pakaka, or James

Robinson. It went to the maika field of Kikihale, and then on to the stream above [page 91] Lepekaholo (Liberty Hall). Adjoining Kikihale and stretching from Kaumakapili to the south side of John Meek's yard was the maika field of Kalanikahua. On the south side of Kalanikahua were Kaoleioku's houses and those of Kekuaokalani, son of Keliimaikai. Each side of this maika field was bordered with houses, as was the maika field of Kikihale. A loku site at King and Nuuanu Streets, mentioned before, was where the two maika fields joined, and that place was without a house.

On the mauka side of the place where the trails met at Honokaupu, houses occupied both sides of the trail. The stone wall mentioned before ran on mauka of the church at Polelewa to the upper corner of King and Nuuanu Streets. Then the stone wall turned and went on up to Beretania Street. The fence on the mauka side was made of hau wood, and it led to the corner of Emma Street. There it turned and came down to meet the edge of the trail from Waikiki. That was the enclosure of the yam farm called Kapauhi mentioned earlier.

The trail to Nuuanu began at Kalanikahua and led north of Kaumakapili Church to below the little stream which flowed out of Kamanuwai pond. There the trail turned slightly to the right, went along the edge of the pond, and down into the water. Then, coming up on the bank onto Waiakemi, it led on to Waaakekupua, along the bank of the taro patches, to the Pauoa stream, up to Pualoalo, and on to the gap at Nuuanu Pali.

Our description of the trails of the royal town is finished, but we have not yet told of the trails going to lower Waikiki, Kamoiili, and Manoa. A trail led out of the town at the south side of the coconut grove of Honuakaha and went on to Kalia.

From Kalia it ran eastward along the borders of the fish ponds and met the trail from lower Waikiki. At Kawaiahao a trail passed in front of the stone house of Kaina, late father of Kikaha. The trail went above Kalanipuu's place, along the stream running down from Poopoo to the sea, close by Kaaihee in Makiki, to Puu o Manoa, then below Puupueo, where a trail branched off to go to upper Kaaipu and Kahoiwai, and another to go below Kaahulue, to Kapulena and Kolowalu.

The trail from Kawaiahao which led to lower Waikiki went along Kaananiau, into the coconut grove at Pawaa, the coconut grove of Kuakuaka, then down to Piinaio; along the upper side of Kahanaumaikai's coconut grove, along the border of Kaihikapu pond, into Kawehewehe; then through the center of Helumoa of Puaalilii, down to the mouth of the Apuakehau stream; along the sandy beach of Ulukou to Kapuni, where the surfs roll in; thence to the stream of Kuekaunahi; to Waiaula and to Paluki, Kamanawa's house site. The latter was named for the Paluki in Punahoa, Hilo. Perhaps that was where Kamanawa lived when the king resided in Hilo during the battle called Puana, prior to the building of the great peleleu fleet.

From Paluki the trail ran up to Kalahu, above Leahi, and on to the place where the Waialae stream reached the sand. The trail that ran through Kaluahole... [page 92]

...Let us now examine the remainder of the places in the royal town, for we have not yet seen them all. There were many people living in those other places. Perhaps we should glance first at the spot below Kikihale's maika field. Many people who lived here at Kapuukolo were fishermen who fished with draw nets and with the many other kinds of nets needed in their profession.

Kuihelani was an important person there, for he was of high station. He had many people to serve him, his wives were many, and his household was large. Li went often with his mother to see Kuihelani, who was related to them, perhaps through Kaaloakaulani or perhaps through their makuahine. This large family was related to the family of Luluka. Perhaps that was why the mother and the boy went to these places often and were known by many of the people in the household of each wife, who lived there as a retainer. Because of his skill in handling the property of the king, Kuihelani attracted prosperity to himself. The keeping of a multitude was as nothing to a man so wealthy. The king's faith in him never changed, for the king's lands in his charge were cared for by his kinsmen, and they were obedient to Kuihelani's commands. Therefore the kinsmen also held good positions and were well known.

Among these people was the Spaniard Paula Marin, a friend of the king, who lived wherever the king's relatives lived. On his place—which was surrounded on the sides, back, and part of the front by Kuihelani's property—he had two or three horses, one a mare, and a young cow. Marin was very fond of fishing, perhaps because he saw Kamehameha doing it. And he was also an expert in the stick hula.

Makai of Kuihelani's own home was Keliimaikai's home, which was on the coral point where the first custom house stood. On the south side of this place was berthed the Kaaloo, a ship belonging to Kuihelani, which lay at the extreme north of all the ships previously discussed.

Near the Kaaloo and in the vicinity of the custom house at the beach was a house for the very first Chinese ever seen here. There were two or three of them and they prepared food for the captains of the ships which took sandalwood to China. Because the faces of these people were unusual and their speech—which is now commonly heard—was strange, a great number of persons went to look at them. [page 94]

On the south of Kuihelani's residence was that of George Isaac Davis and his company of people. The chiefs' places extended from there, above the maika field to the Honokaupu trail junction. Near there, too, were the houses for the king's stewards, and above that group of houses were the houses of the warriors. These stood on the upper side of the trail. Among the chiefs' houses were those of Kuakini, of Kaiko, and of Kaukuna Kahekili, Kaiko's younger brother.

Let us turn to look at the trail going to Ewa from Kikihale, up to Leleo, to Koiuiu and on to Keoneula. There were no houses there, only a plain. It was there that the boy Li and his attendants, coming from Ewa, met with the god Kaili and its

attendants who were going to Hoaeae. When the kapu moe was proclaimed, they all prostrated themselves on the plain until the god and his attendants passed by.

When the trail reached a certain bridge, it began going along the banks of taro patches, up to the other side of Kapalama, to the plain of Kaiwiula; on to the taro patches of Kalihi; down to the stream and up to the other side; down into Kahauiki and up to the other side; turned right to the houses of the Portuguese people; along the plain to Kauwalua, Kalaikoa's house of bones; down to a coconut grove and along the taro patches of Kahohonu; over to the other side, and from there to a forded stream and up to Kapapakolea, an established resting place for travelers.

From there the trail went to Kaleinakauhane, then to Kapukaki, from where one could see the irregular sea of Ewa; then down the ridge to Napeha, a resting place for the multitude that went diving there at a deep pool. This pool was named Napeha (Lean Over), so it is said, because Kualii, a chief of ancient Oahu, went there and leaned over the pool to drink water... [li, 1959:95]

### **Kuloloia – The Home of Namahana and Naming of the Family**

...The good royal mother Namahana, mother of Kaahumanu ma, also died at Kuloloia, where she had a home. During her life she was known for herself control, and she was considered the best behaved and the noblest of persons. As she was beautiful in appearance, so were her deeds. Perhaps that was why she was espoused by Kamehamehanui. As we have seen, they were both the children of Kekaulike, and so they were brother and sister through the one parent. When Kamehamehanui died, Namahana was taken at once by Keeaumoku, who was a relative and who is said to have been a handsome man.

Namahana was a fine old lady when she died. A younger cousin of Namahana's children, who was present at her death, was named Kuloloia for the place in which Namahana died. This was a custom of those who loved their chiefs in the olden days. While the cries of lamentation arose and Namahana's body was on view, someone came from Waialua or thereabouts to die with her and share the same grave, which was another ancient custom with some who loved their chiefs and sought peace of mind. The heir to the kingdom was kept [page 100] at Waikiki during the period of mourning, for Honolulu was defiled by the royal corpse. [li, 1959:101]

### **First Stone Houses Built in Honolulu**

Aikona's first stone house, which was built in Honolulu before the company left Oahu [ca. 1811], stood near W. N. Ladd's stone house. On its north was the first custom house. For this house, the chiefesses and men and women of the royal household brought earth for mortaring from Kanelaau [site of a heiau on Pū'owaina]. They formed a large procession, and by time for the morning meal, the earth was in such a great heap that they had enough. This well-built house was the only large stone building of that time. Marin's house was built like it, for Aikona was his son-in-law, through marriage with Miela, Marin's oldest daughter.

When Aikona began building the end and side walls of the house at Kamakahonu he built a third wall between them and arranged stones in the center of this middle wall to form a door. The walls rose together until the house, from one end to the other, was finished. When Aikona later removed the stones set up in the doorway of the center wall, the doorway looked like the fine arched bridge of Pualoalo at Peleula in Honolulu... This house was well completed. In the stone house were stored the king's valuables and those of Aikona. These valuables were kegs of rum and gunpowder and guns, of which the guns and powder were placed on the inside near the inner wall. Rum distilled on Oahu accounted for most of the freight aboard the ship Keoua when it returned to Hawaii. [li, 1959:120]

### **Noted Surfing Spots**

Kapua and Kaihuwaa are surfs on Oahu. Kapuni and Kalehuawehe are at Waikiki, and Ulakua is a surf at Honolulu. [li, 1959:135]

### **Naming of Nihoa at Honolulu**

The British Consul, Richard Charlton, said in a speech that W. P. Kalanimoku had leased him the land of Nihoa in Honolulu and declared that J. A. Kuakini had seen the document. This greatly puzzled the chiefs and they questioned the existence of such a lease, for that land belonged to Kaahumanu, who had named it Nihoa in remembrance of the visit that she and Kaumualii had made to that island. When the king and the premier, Kekauluohi, went to Lahaina in January or February of 1840, li went along for the purpose of seeking Kuakini and finding out about the alleged lease. After the king reached Lahaina, li went on with the premier to Kailua in Kona, Hawaii, where he found Kuakini. He emphatically denied associating with the consul in conjunction with the lease. [li, 1959:166]

John Papa li's original texts were translated by native Hawaiian ethnographer, Mary Kawena Pukui, of the Bishop Museum, with editing and research assistance from Dorothy Barrere, also of the museum's staff. Working with the translations, Bishop Museum's Paul Rockwood and Dorothy Barrere, wrote a paper on the Honolulu region, and Rockwood drew a map depicting the region as described. Rockwood also added several of the key road ways in the town as a means of understanding exactly where features were located (Rockwood, 1957, Figure 4). The narratives below from the paper prepared by Barrere and Rockwood provides clarity as to the locations of wahi pana in the downtown Honolulu district:

Kamehameha I, who had been living at Waikiki since 1804, moved his court to Honolulu in 1809. His immediate court consisted of high-ranking chiefs and their retainers, but in the area also lived those who contributed to the welfare and enjoyment of court members, from fishermen and warriors to whites and the chiefs of lesser rank. In those days, the area was not called Honolulu. Instead, each land section had its own name.

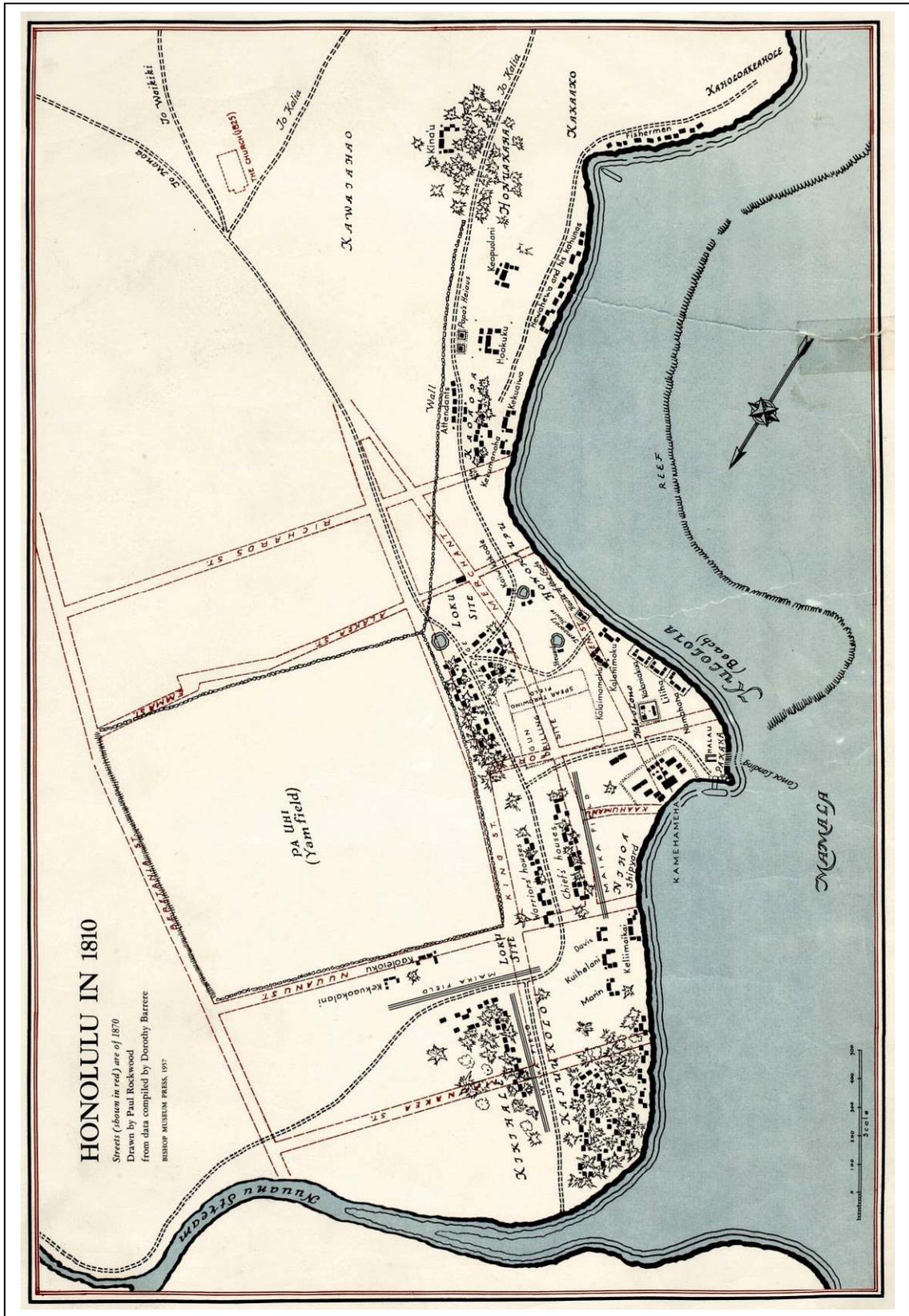


Figure 4. Honolulu in 1810. Based on Narratives of John Papa Ii (1959) Paul Rockwood & Dorothy Barrere (1957)

Beginning near the mouth of Nu'uuanu Stream, makai of King Street was Kapu'ukolo, "where white men and such dwelt." Among them were Francisco de Paula Marin, the Spaniard who introduced horticulture to Hawai'i, and Isaac Davis, friend and co-advisor with John Young to Kamehameha. Here too lived Kuihelani, a relative of I'i and an important chief who had charge of many of the king's lands. Near his place was the home of Keli'imaika'i, full brother of Kamehameha, on the coral point "where the first custom house stood." There on the beach was a house for "the very first Chinese ever seen here." Mauka of Kapu'ukolo were two maika fields and a loku site. A loku site contained a house for the enjoyment of various indoor games and amusements such as kilu, puhenehene, chanting, or dancing. The two maika fields at Kikihale were bordered with houses, notably those of Kaoleioku and Kekuaokalani, son and nephew respectively of Kamehameha.

Next to their homes was one wall of a large yam field, where in 1812 the first Fourth of July celebration in Honolulu was held by the captains of three trading vessels just returned from China. Makai of the yam field were homes of warriors and lesser chiefs and on the shore at Nihoa, "between Ka'ahumanu and Nu'uuanu streets", was a shipyard where foreign style vessels were being made by the Hawaiians under the tutelage of whites.

Next along the shoreline "surrounded by a fence" was the establishment of Kamehameha himself, consisting of many houses, for himself, for Ka'ahumanu and other chiefesses, and for his gods and his personal attendants. Close by were two drilling sites and a "foot racing" and maika field, where the king kept a personal eye on the performances of his warriors and chiefs. Near the shore, "in front of the courthouse," was a Hale-o-Lono, where Liholiho, later Kamehameha II, regularly kept the kapus of the gods therein.

Next along the beach of Kuloloia was the home of the chiefess Namahana, mother of Ka'ahumanu; that of Liliha, mother of Keopuolani, Kamehameha's sacred wife and mother of Kamehamehas II and III; then that of Kalaniakua, sister or cousin of Liliha. Then came the residence of Kalanimoku (also written as Kalaimoku), the king's prime minister, known to the foreigners as "Billy Pitt." His residences were called Papakanene and Moku'aikaua, and the land long bore the name Moku'aikaua. Mauka of his place was that of Kalaimamahu, Kamehameha's half brother and his war leader in early battles for supremacy over Hawai'i. Though his houses remained, Kalaimamahu had died some years before. Nearby were a gods' house and houses for the king's stewards, as well as a temporary house for the lua wrestlers.

Mauka of this area was a "cluster of houses" and another loku site "at Merchant and Alakea streets." Beyond, along the shoreline, was the home of Kekumanoha, uncle of Ka'ahumanu, "on the south side of Richards street." Next came the establishment of Kekuaiwa - a son of Kamehameha by Kaheiheimalie - who died in young manhood. Farther along were the homes of kahunas, headed by Hewahewa, high priest of Kamehameha, and the same man who abetted in the overthrow of the kapu system after the king's death. At Kaka'ako were the homes of fishermen who, together with those who lived at Kapu'ukolo, supplies the needs of the court...

Only for a short while did Honolulu appear as is shown here, for in the latter part of 1812 Kamehameha and most of his court, including Liholiho and I'i, went to Hawai'i, where he remained until his death in 1819 (1957).

Walter Judd, descendant of G.P. Judd, missionary and minister to Kamehameha III added further details of Halehui, the compound of Kamehameha I at Kou and Honolulu in the book titled "Palaces and Forts of the Hawaiian Kingdom" (Judd, 1975):

Kamehameha's compound was surrounded on the land-side by a palisade. The largest building was the palace (the mua, men's eating house), which was entitled Halehui. The next largest building just to the north of Halehui was the hale 'aina (women's eating house) where his queens held their court. His favorite queen, Ka'ahumanu ("the wife of Kamehameha's heart") and the lesser queens slept in the three nearby smaller houses. Other buildings within the compound included a storage house, powder magazine and guardhouse, a few huts for the attendants, etc. A short distance away were two extensive storehouses of stone which held the King's Western goods.

There was a battery of 16 carriage guns on the sea-side which had come from his recently acquired 200-ton "Lelia Bird," which was docked nearby. While at this palace, one of Kamehameha's wives was delivered of a daughter about midnight, and Kamehameha announced this event with an immediate 16-gun salute.

Kamehameha displayed the British flag in front of Halehui. His use of the British flag began on February 25, 1794, when he "ceded" the island of Hawai'i to Captain George Vancouver, who represented Great Britain (the cession was never accepted or ratified by the British Government). Use of the powerful British flag during the Pax Britannica, when the British ruled the seas, undoubtedly prevented many unpleasant episodes with foreign ships. The Hawaiian flag was developed during the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the young United States: the crosses on the blue field retained the friendship of Great Britain; the red, white and blue strips recognized the United States; and the eight stripes represented the eight major islands of the Hawaiian group (Judd 1975:25).

## **Samuel M. Kamakau's Narrative of Events in the Early History of Honolulu and Vicinity**

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (born in 1815 at Waialua, O'ahu), was educated at Lahainaluna, and rose to prominence as an educator, elected official, judge, member of the Land Commission, and most importantly, as a chronicler of Hawaiian history through hundreds of contributions to Hawaiian language newspapers. Kamakau's narratives—in serial form and as individual editorials—have been largely translated by Mary Kawena Pukui (Kamakau 1961, 1964, 1976 and 1991). These important texts provide readers with descriptions of the land and noted places, chiefly associations with specific localities, traditional practices and historical events, and participants in the history of Hawai'i.

The narratives cited on the following pages are among those penned by S.M. Kamakau, and which pertain to lands crossed by the proposed rail corridor.

**Ianuali 19, 1867 (aoao 1-2)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I**  
**Na S. M. Kamakau. Helu 11.**

...Eia kekahi, o na mele a ka poe kahiko, he mau mele ano nui, he mau mele wanana, he mau mele pule, he mau mele kaua, he mau mele aina noho wale, a he nui wale ke ano. Aka, o na mele o keia wa a ka poe opiopio, he mau mele hooipoipo ka nui, he mau mele hoochiehie hoalaala puuwai. Mapuna hou mai la keia wanana o Kualii.

“No wai ke kai? No Ku no,  
Inu kai i Tahiti,  
I piha kai i ka moana,  
I poi ke kai i ke kohola,  
I nehe ke kai i ka iliili,  
He kai lihaliha ko ka puua,  
He kai likoliko ko ka moa,  
I kiki ke oho i ke kai,  
I ehu ke oho i ke kailiu,  
I lelo ke oho i ke kailoa,  
He kai heenalu ko Kahaloo,  
He kai hopuni ko Kalia,  
He kai au kohana Mamala,  
He kai au aku ko Kapuone,  
He kai ka anae ko Keehi,  
He kai elemihi i Lelewi,  
He kai awalaukee Puuloo,  
He kai puhinehu puhilala,  
Ke kai o Ewa-e-noho i ka lai,  
O Ewa nui a Laakona,  
O Ku i Kealaikauokalani,  
He kai mokumoku ko Heeia,  
He kai o hee ko kapapa,  
He kai o kilo ko Kualoo,  
He kai ehuehu ko Kaaawa,  
He kai ahii ko Kahana,  
Wehe kai ia Paaoo,  
Ikea Kahiwa ilalo-o Kahiwa ia.”

Owau no o ko oukou wahi lolo hai moolelo—E aloha no i ka poe heluhelu me ka noonoo, ia lakou ko’u Aloha.

S. M. Kamakau

[Translation] The History of Kamehameha I.

...Here also this, the chants of the ancients were of many kind; there were prophetic chants, prayer chants, chants of war, chants of settled

land, and many other kinds. But the chants of the young people in these days are largely love songs, songs to ennoble and excite the heart.

This prophecy of Kualii again comes to mind:

“Whose is the sea? For Ku indeed.  
Tahiti drinks the sea;  
The ocean embodies the sea;  
The sea covers the shoals;  
The sea rumbles over the pebbles.  
Greasy is the soup of the hog;  
Glistening is the soup of the fowl.  
Greased is the hair by the sea;  
Red is the hair by the very salt sea;  
Brown is the hair with the foamy sea.  
The sea for surfing is at Kahaloa;  
The enticing sea is at Kalia;  
The sea for swimming naked is at Mamala;  
The sea for kicking up mullet is at Keehi;  
The sea for small crabs is at Leleiwi;  
The sea of many crooked harbors is at Puuloa.  
A sea that blows up nehu and lala  
Is the sea of Ewa, so calm;  
The great Ewa (lands) of Laakona.  
Of Ku in Kealaikauokalani.  
A mottled sea has Heeia;  
A sea for spearing squid has Kapapa;  
The sea watcher is at Kualoa;  
The sea is furious at Kaaawa;  
The wild sea is at Kahana;  
The sea is open for Paao;  
The great one is seen below, he is the great one.”

I am your exponent of traditions. Regards to the people who read carefully, they have my salutation.

S.M. Kamakau [Mary Kawena Pukui, Translator]

## **Honolulu – Battle of 1783 Kahekili Wrests the Rule of O’ahu from Kahahana**

Kamakau’s description of the final battle between King Kahekili of Maui, and King Kahahana of O’ahu, takes place in the region mauka of Honolulu, but is connected to lands which share detached parcels of the same name as those crossed by the proposed rail route:

...In January, 1783, a decisive battle was fought with Kahe-iki as the battlefield. Ka-hekili’s forces were divided into two companies, one under Hu’eu’s leadership stationed at Kanela’au and Kapapakolea back of Pu’owaina, and the other under his own command stationed from above Hekili to Kahehuna and ‘Auwaiolimu. In this battle the waters of the stream of Kahe-iki ran red with blood from the heaps of broken corpses that fell into the water; the stream was dammed back with the

corpses of those who died in battle. On the ridge facing Pauoa and from thence down to Kapena another attack was made against the defense stationed back of the heiau of Kahe-iki. Confusion seized the ranks; the warriors of Ka-hahana were dispersed; Ka-hahana and Ke-kua-po'i his wife fled to the forest. Ka-hekili's wife Kau-wahine was also a noted fighter. Thus Oahu and Molokai were taken by Ka-hekili and Ka-'opulupulu's prophecy was fulfilled. [Kamakau, 1961:136]

## Honolulu – Change and Conflicts Between Chiefs and Foreigners

While there are hundreds of places named in traditional times on the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī landscape, the impacts of western occupation in the early post contact history of Hawai'i rapidly erased many of the surface features, and fostered a loss of ancient knowledge. In the narratives below, Kamakau (May 2, 1868 & 1961) described notable events in the history of the Honolulu region and conflicts between Hawaiian customs and western business interests. The English translation of S.M. Kamakau's original texts was prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui (Kamakau, 1961). Underlining is used to identify selected named places of significance (also see the Gazetteer for locational information on selected places):

...Why were Pohukaina and Hali'imaile made palace grounds for the king's dwelling? It was the desire of the chiefs to hear the word of God and be near where the missionaries lived. Waikiki had been the old place of residence for rulers. Honolulu was seldom used in Ka-lani-ku-pule's day. In Kamehameha's time the chief lived half his time at Waikiki and half in Honolulu. Liholiho made Honolulu his usual place of residence. He used to live at Kamanuwai. Houses were built above the stream of Kikihale down to Kapu'ukolo and to Ka'aloa House, the warehouse owned by Ku-i-helani, above which was Pulaholaho, the land owned by Ka-'ahu-manu which the British seized; on the beach called today Moku'aikaua and at Kaluaokapili and at 'Apua, Ka'oa'opa, and all the way to Honuakaha. Within these boundaries [page 271] there were a few buildings, in Kauanono'ula, Honoka'upu, old Honolulu, and Sailors' Home. The maika grounds called Kalanikahua ran from the Kikihale stream in front of William Stevens' place, south-east along John Meek's place to Polelewa (Bethel Church) and along Ka-makea's coconut grove. A watercourse ran from Ka'akopua [Central Grammar School] to the fishponds of Kaho'ikekanaka makai of Honuakaha. The center was occupied by a few scattered houses where the foreigners lived. Liholiho and his chiefs lived at Pakaka [the end of Fort Street] and at places near the fort, where also lived the influential people and the soldiers who guarded the fort. Pohukaina and its vicinity were overgrown with vines and brambles. Ka-lani-moku's and Ka-'ahu-manu's acceptance of the word of God was their reason for living on the plain of Apahu'a. Ka-lani-moku built a large enclosure, of forest timber, adjoining King Street on the makai side and almost reaching Richards Street on the 'Ewa side, leaving the boundary of Hali'imaile on the mauka side and running along the road leading to Waikiki as far as to the edge of Punchbowl Street on the 'Ewa side of the stone house of the Rev. Mr. Ellis (Eleiti) down King Street to where it joined Hali'imaile. He also erected a large stone house, named Pohukaina, mauka of King Street and on the 'Ewa side of the burial place of the kings. It was

in this enclosure that Kau-i-ke-aouli's house stood and also Ka-'ahu-manu's and the house of her nieces Kina'u, Ka-lani-pauahi, Ke-ka-ulu-ohi, and of their guardian, Kahala-i'a, who was the king's kahu. Hali'imaile was the home of Boki and Liliha. The house of Lilia Na-mahana, or Pi'ia as she was called, was on the Waikiki side of the Pohukaina enclosure; and near to this where Punchbowl Street runs were Wala-wala-i-honua and Ka-polohau, and it was there that Ruth Ke-eli-kolani was reared.

The Pohukaina enclosure was surrounded inside and out by the homes of the chiefs, the high and the lesser chiefs and the counselors and the old chiefs who desired to know about God. So great was the desire to join the church that men and women flocked in from the country districts neglecting their duties to those at home. A wife would leave her husband or a husband his wife in order to devote himself to the service of God. Such a seeker after membership in the church would come first to Ka-'ahu-manu, braving the fear the people had of her because of her blood-red eyes, and would be sent on to another; perhaps at midnight they would be sent on elsewhere and their faith questioned. Finally [page 272] they were told that they must see one of the teachers who explained the word of God, for only so could their faith be known. It was these difficulties put in the way of their own simple manner of expressing their faith that made the chiefs and people so devoted to the word of God in the old days.

After the bodies of Liholiho and his queen had arrived from England, and the Council of chiefs had met and Kau-i-ke-aouli had been proclaimed king at Honuakaha, Boki was continued in the office of governor of the island of Oahu which he held under Kamehameha I and Liholiho. He put his younger cousin, Manuia, in command of Fort Ke-kua-nohu, of the fortified hill of Punchbowl, and the harbor of Kou, and made him Chief Marshall with power over life and death. Ke-ku-anao'a he put in command of the troops.... [Kamakau, 1961:273]

### **The Career of Boki [Economic Devises of the Foreigners]**

...Boki...became the friend of...foreigners and they would ply him with liquor and when he was intoxicated give him goods on credit. Thus he would buy whole bolts of cloth and boxes of dry goods and present them to the chiefs and favorites among his followers, and these flattered him and called him a generous chief. In this way he became even more heavily indebted to the foreigners for goods than the King [himself, through his] purchases. In some things he was farsighted, for he had several buildings put up on Kauai, Maui, and Hawaii for the sale of sandalwood and paid the men [who cut it] in cloth; and so the mountains where the sandalwood grew were full of people working for cloth. Boki also established several stores in Honolulu where cloth was sold, "Deep-in-debt" (Aie nui) they were called because of his heavy debts. At Pakaka was a large wooden building belonging to Liholiho. Boki's was a smaller building which had been moved and was called "Little-scrotum" (Pulaholaho). The weighing of the sandalwood was done by foreigners who went from place to place for the purpose. The foreigners, finding Boki friendly and obliging, proposed a more profitable way of making money, and both Boki and Manuia erected buildings for the sale of liquor, Boki's called Polelewa and Manuia's Hau'eka. Since Liholiho's

sailing to England, lawlessness had been prohibited, but with these saloons and others opened by the foreigners doing business, the old vices appeared and in a form worse than ever. Polelewa became a place where noisy swine gathered. Drunkenness and licentious indulgence became common at night, and the people gathered in these places for hulas and filthy dances. The foreigners came to these resorts to find women, and Ka-‘ahu-manu and the missionaries were discussed there. [page 276]

...Ka-lani-moku had been interested in the cultivation of cotton and had, in 1825 and 1826, planted large areas in cotton from one end of the group to the other. In 1826 the cultivation of sugar was begun in Manoa valley by an Englishman. Boki and Ke-ku-anao‘a were interested in this project and it was perhaps the first cane cultivated to any extent in Hawaii. When the foreigner gave it up Boki bought the field and placed Kinopu in charge. A mill was set up in Honolulu in a lot near where Sumner (Keolaloa) was living. For this action Boki is to be commended... [Kamakau, 1961:278]

...When Ka-‘ahu-manu and the higher chiefs heard how Boki had divided up his lands in the district of Hilo among the chiefs and the king’s men, they suspected him of conspiracy, for they held that the lands were really under their control. They therefore agreed not to hold the government responsible for debts contracted by him or Kuini Liliha his wife, but to consider them his personal indebtedness. The old debts contracted in the time of Kamehameha I and II and those of the ruling [page 284] king, yet unpaid, all of which had with interest accrued reached the sum of \$150,000 to \$200,000, were alone to be included in the indebtedness of the kingdom. Of this debt the greater part was owed to American merchants. There was a rumor that the kingdom was to be taken over by the United States. This might have happened had not a constitutional form of government been declared and government revenues conserved so that its debts could be paid in full. Certain of the foreign teachers who loved the Hawaiian people, the chiefs, and the whole nation, were taken into the government, and it became an easy thing to pay these debts and deal with other abuses that had been heaped upon the government. But Boki when he heard what Ka-‘ahu-manu had said about his paying his own debts said, “This is strange! I thought that the King was mine, that the government of the whole group was under my control, and that whatever I thought right would be accepted by the king, the chiefs, and the whole people!...”

...Another cause of complaint against Ka-‘ahu-manu arose when Ka-iki-o-‘ewa, finding himself deep in debt to Mr. French and other foreign merchants, was arranging to pay his debts by giving over the lands of [page 285] Kewalo and Kulaokahu‘a to Mr. French. This merchant never made any complaints in business matters, but took all the sandalwood which others refused, even white wood or small wood. He was accordingly called “Grab-all” (Hapuku), and several of the chiefs were indebted to him. He accepted Ka-iki-o-‘ewa’s offer and made ready to erect a wooden frame building at Kulaokahu‘a on the Waikiki side at a point where the ‘olohe\* had sunk sometime before. + Ka-‘ahu-manu heard of this

\* An ‘olohe was a rude dugout canoe.

+ Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, June 13, 1868.

and sent a man to forbid Mr. French's building on the land and issued an order that none of the chiefs was to dispose of lands or give over any to the foreigners in payment of debts, for the king alone had the power of disposing of land anywhere in the group. She was then obliged to assume the indebtedness of all the chiefs, and when the chiefs discovered that the government was assuming the debts, there was a rush to turn them over to her. This added to Boki's discomfiture...

There was also a quarrel over the succession. One of Ka-ahu-manu's attendants, named Ka-pau, said to Boki, "Say, [Boki] Ka-ma'u-le'ule, Ka-ahu-manu says that her foster child is a grandniece of your foster child" (the King). Boki asked, "What did that boastful woman say about our lord?" "She was talking to Ke-ka-ulu-ohi, and we sat listening, and she said, 'Perhaps when my grandchild [Ruth Ke-'eli-kolani] is grown she may become ruler.' 'How?' asked Ke-ka-ulu-ohi. 'Don't you understand that Ka-'o-lei-o-Ku was Kamehameha's first child, and that Pauahi was his daughter, and she [pointing to Ruth] is Pauahi's daughter? She is therefore the grandniece of Kau-i-ke-aouli on the Kamehameha side.'" When Boki heard this he conceived the wish to dispose of Ka-ahu-manu, but he said nothing openly. One day however when he was under the influence of liquor and Harriet Nahi-'ena'ena had arrived from Maui and was with the king at Boki's house at Ka-'opua-ua just above the king's house, Ka-pa-mo'o, Boki said to the king, "You two should be married and have children so that I might bring one up as your heir and successor; then the chiefs would not dare urge your grandniece as your possible successor!" and he recounted all that he had heard... [page 287]

...Several months passed and Boki, urged on by such foreigners as Richard Charlton and some of the merchants who hated the missionaries, determined to put an end to Ka-ahu-manu. There was scarcely a good word said of her by these foreigners; Boki they made much of and called "a good fellow."\* Their anger was especially stirred by certain laws promulgated by Ka-ahu-manu to be observed throughout the kingdom, and supported by the chiefs from all over the group except Boki. [These were the laws:]

1. You shall not commit murder; he who puts another to death shall himself die.
2. You shall not commit adultery; he who commits this crime, man or woman, shall be banished to Kahoolawe.
3. You shall not practice prostitution; anyone guilty of this shall be imprisoned and beaten across his back with a rope, and if he still fails to keep the law shall be banished to Kahoolawe.
4. Natives and foreigners are forbidden to manufacture, sell, or drink liquor.

Ka-ahu-manu made many laws verbally which carried weight and were observed throughout the kingdom. She prohibited the planting and drinking of 'awa, and 'awa cultivation ceased throughout the group, and peace reigned. She prohibited the practice of ancient worship, and all this ceased, and peace reigned. But at

\* Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a, June 20, 1868. [page 288]

this time when so many laws, innumerable laws, laws upon laws were made, there was no peace; there was bitterness everywhere. Murder was committed, theft, adultery, worshiping of gods, drunkenness, 'awa drinking, rum drinking, and deceit.

These swept the island out as far as to the coral beds of Waialua... [page 289]

Some of the laws were changed, the punishment of adultery, for example, to hard labor on the roads. But Boki kept prostitutes in the town of Honolulu, brought in profit to the country thereby, and was therefore popular with the whites, and praised in the columns of American and English newspapers. Boki was the younger brother of Ka-lani-moku, premier for the first and second Kamehamehas. Mr. Charlton, the British consul, and John Jones, the American consul, and all the other foreigners had great faith in Boki. Gray-headed Mr. Reynolds (Lanai), the American vice-consul, also upheld Boki. Mr. Jones who had children by many women who were not his wives acted as chaplain for the seamen and other American citizens who died on the island, just as if there were no American ministers to preside on such an occasion. Thus encouraged in his purpose Boki sent word by Hakiki to Ke-kahi-moku, husband of Kau-mea-lani and land agent for Boki in charge of Waikiki, to make food ready for the soldiers who were coming that night for drill, Ka-hi-lauhele lived at the streams of Pi'inaio and 'Apuakehau and was Ka-'ahu-manu's retainer and fisherman. Boki went to Waikiki that evening, and the soldiers arrived that night equipped with guns and ammunition as if for war and some white men with them. The land of Kahaloa was covered with them.

People carried the news to Ka-'ahu-manu and told her that the soldiers and white people were coming to kill her. Some of the people, the chiefs, and members of the church joined her, but most of the soldiers stayed with Boki. Ka-'ahu-manu said, "I do not fear death planned by this son of ours, but he will have to [come] himself to kill me and these grandchildren of mine who will stay by me." These were Ruth Ke-'eli-kolani and David Kamehameha, [the latter] the firstborn child of Kina'u and Ke-ku-anao'a, whose birth had reconciled her to her niece's match and whom she and Ke-ka-ulu-ohi had adopted.

When Ke-ku-anao'a, and Ka-na'ina, Ka-'ahu-manu's nephews-in-law, heard the rumor of Boki's purpose they started on horseback for Waikiki, but at Kewalo near Ma'alo, a little distance from Pawa'a, Ka-na'ina became frightened and turned back to encourage their wives and Ka-'ahu-manu while Ke-ku-anao'a proceeded alone. He went through the stream of Pi'inaio, on to Kaihikapu and Kawehewehe, entered the coconut grove between there and Helumoa, and went down the mouth of 'Apuakehau Stream to the kou growth at Kahaloa. It was full of people as far as the grass house of Kekahimoku close to Kualalua... [page 290]

...Boki was angry and would not look at him. Even when Ke-ku-anao'a reached out for his hand and kissed him he would not extend his hand. Ke-ku-anao'a led him away to a secluded place and said, "Here am I, your younger brother, whom you commanded to remain at Ka-'ahu-manu's house and to be obedient to the voices of those whose house it was. I would not have gone there except for your

command because I did not wish your words to be in vain. I have found no fault in the house of the aunt-in-law. I have heard that you were coming to kill Ka-‘ahu-manu and I have left her weeping over this plot of yours.” Boki answered, “I will not put those of her household to death, but I am jealous of her because of our lord” [the king]... \* Much more was said between the two, and Boki gave up the idea of declaring war against Ka-‘ahu-manu.

Boki returned and lived at his place at Beretania and devoted himself to medicine, in which he was proficient, and all those joined him who were skilled in placing pebbles [in diagnosis], such as Kaa, Kuauau, Kinopu, Kahiole, Nahinu, Kekaha, Hewahewa, and their followers and other kahunas besides. Early in 1829 Boki started work on a government road running from the west gate of the Beretania place at Kahehuna (the Royal School) to ‘Auwaiolimu (where the Buddhist church stands on Punchbowl) and to the Pauoa stream, then on to the opposite side of Kalokohonu, down Kaheiki, rising to ‘Alekoki and then running straight to Kawananakoa. The Keanini road began at the mouth of Nu‘uanu [Valley] and ran down to the hau grove of Kahaukomo. Here the trees grew thick and overarched the way with their shade, leaving it in old days muddy like a taro patch. It is said that in old days from Kahapa‘akai clear to Hapu‘u it was a beautiful highway through charming villages with manienie grass on either side of the road and garden patches where grew taro, potatoes, bananas, ‘awa, wauke, sugarcane, olona and all the fat things of the land. Between Kahapa‘akai clear to the mouth of the valley were situated many celebrated heiaus (luakini waihau) where people went to worship. [These had been] erected in ancient days as war heiaus or heiaus for purifying the land; for Nu‘uanu had been a magnificent battleground in those old times. Here Pele-io-holani fought against Alapa‘i-nui, ruling chief of Hawaii, and so fought chiefs before and after his day. But when the hau trees grew so thick as to cover the road, the lovely place became a swamp where thieves and robbers took refuge. Keanini was the first to clear and widen the road and let in the light of the sun. He improved the road in order to draw lumber for building the Kawaihae church. The logs were cut in Ko‘olauloa, brought by canoe to Kane‘ohe, and hauled over the Pali.

\* Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, June 27, 1868. [page 291]

Boki started to work at the makai road leading to Ka‘ala‘a and when he reached the stream of Kaheiki there stood a great rock over the stream blocking the way. Boki was trying to remove it when a man came forward and said, “Hear, O chief! Leave that rock alone. The god made this rock a guardian for this place and his house is yonder (pointing upward to Kaheiki). It is a guardian for the house of the god and its name is Ho‘eu. The nature of this rock is that if you move it aside it will make you move to a foreign land and you will no longer live in Hawaii. Lucky for you if a year passes before you depart.” Boki’s pipe lighters, Hohopa and Hukiki, reproved the man, to whom he answered, “Take care lest you be thrown onto a bed of thistles!” While working on the Luakaha road Boki found a long, pointed rock in his way and was starting to remove it when a divining kahuna named Lu‘au who was skilled in pointing out locations came forward and said to him, “Do not disturb this rock; it is named Ku-of-exceeding-great-mana (Kumanamana) and Rock-of-exceeding-great-mana (Pohaku-manamana). Not even

a high chief should disturb that rock, for it covers the waters of Ka-papa-i-kawa-luna which lie below it and supply the waters of Kunawai, Kahoa-kane, Ko'ula, and Kewalo." Boki instantly ordered the men to remove the rock, but it extended into the soil so far that when they had dug some ten fathoms down and about the same distance either way, he gave up in despair. Lu'au also showed him Kukui-puka and other kupua objects mauka of this place.

The building of Kawaiaha'o church was completed in 1829 while Boki was cultivating taro in the uplands of Nu'uaniu from Kahapa'akai to Makuku and at Keawawapu'ahanui. Cutting of the logs for the building had been begun in 1825 at Paupala'ai in Wahiawa while Keanini was chief in Ko'olaupoko, and the finishing timbers were had from Ko'olau-poko and Ko'olauloa. The building was begun in the latter part of 1828, and early in 1829 it was completed. The pulpit was built, and covered with red velvet with candlesticks on either side. The ship Vincennes, under Captain Finch, arrived with the chaplain, Rev. Charles S. Stewart who had been one of Ke-opu-o-lani's teachers on Maui. The king and some of the chiefs sailed to Maui to bring the king's sister, Harriet Nahi-'ena'ena, and the Maui chiefs to the dedication of the church... Another ship sailed to bring the chiefs from Hawaii... and those from Kauai were also ordered to Honolulu to witness the grand display of the king and his sister... The dedication took place on Friday, July 3, 1829, and was conducted with great ceremony. The king and his sister were seated on a litter some three fathoms long and a fathom and a half wide with heavily padded seat draped with fancy tapas soaked in perfumed waters, and covered with the feather cloak named Halakea-o-'I'ahu (white pandanus of 'I'ahu). Harriet [ was] in front, and the king [page 292] wearing a gold-trimmed suit and a feather cloak [was] seated farther back. Boki and all the other chiefs of rank carried the litter on their shoulders while Ka-'ahu-manu, Kina'u, and the other high chiefesses held up the edges of the trailing tapas. Kahili were placed along the sides of the litter and the famous old kahili, 'Ele'ele-ua-lani and Hawai'i-loa, were brought out for the occasion. Ku-ho'oheihēi Paki made himself famous that day by carrying alone the great kahili of Ke-opu-o-lani, called 'Ele'ele-ua-lani. Ka-'ahu-manu also did honor to her grandniece Ruth Ke-'eli-kolani, who had also a high seat and her kahili Po'o-uliuli, as well as a number of smaller kahili. The procession extended for a mile. Native soldiers and sailors from the ship accompanied the march, and Captain Finch, the ship's officers, and a band of sixty pieces joined the procession. All the missionaries were assembled. After a song, the Rev. Hiram Bingham dedicated the church... [Kamakau, 1961:293]

## The Path Traveled by Kamehameha I from Honolulu to Honouliuli

The article below, published in 1883, shares with readers an account from the period of Kamehameha I's residency at Pūlaholaho in Honolulu, and names several areas found along the proposed rail corridor:

**September 3, 1883 (page 2)**  
**The Daily Bulletin**  
**Treason & Magnanimity.**  
**An anecdote**  
**Kamehameha the Great**

When Kamehameha conquered Oahu though he had firmly established himself all the chiefs had not reconciled themselves to his rule. Kamehameha however adopted the plan of making the women chiefs and not allowing their husbands to receive the taxes. He also selected the handsomest and smartest women as spies who used to report to him all that went on their districts. One of these female spies reported to him that the chiefs of Ewa, Waianae, and Waialua, were conspiring against him and were to meet on a given night at Puuloa (Pearl River), then the favorite spot with the chiefs of those districts, to finally settle on their plans.

Kamehameha was then living at Pulaholaho, afterwards known as Charlton Square, the block now bounded by Merchant, Kaahumanu, Queen, and Nuuanu Street. It was then supper-time and he excused himself from supper and, taking his famous spear of peculiar make, Ka ihe o Kamehameha, the like of which no other Hawaiian had, he started off striking across the harbor at Kapuukolo (near Emmes boat-building establishment,) to Koholaloa, along a fishpond wall to Kulaokaiwiula, (the plains near Kalihi), then swimming the Kalihi passage and wading till he came to Ahua (the sand beach below Moanalua), then to the Pearl River and swimming across to Puuloa, He thus made a bee-line from E. to W. over land and sea alone without a single attendant. Nothing stopped him. Here he went from halau to halau, (the halau is a large meeting house), until he came to the place where all the Chiefs were inside plotting treason against him. After listening long enough to learn all their plans he stuck his spear point downwards, in the sand about 4 feet from the door and returned as he came alone.

When the chiefs awoke next morning and went out they saw the spear. Said they, "The great chief has been here. Here is his spear. He knows all." So in accordance with the ancient Hawaiian custom of those who feared for their lives, they went to Honolulu and crawled in on their hands and knees into the presence of Kamehameha saying "E ola au." (Let me live.) And Kamehameha granted their prayer and had the satisfaction of knowing ever after that they were faithful to him.

## Life with Kamehameha I in 1800-1819

Gideon La'anui was born in ca. 1794 in Hilo, as Kamehameha I was preparing the “peleleu” war canoe fleet to carry his battle of conquest on to Maui and O'ahu. His family was associated with the household of Kamehameha I and traveled with the king to O'ahu. In between 1800 to 1819, La'anui lived in the presence of the king and royal court. In 1837, he penned an account of his memories of those earlier years that people would know about the things that happened at the time. His Hawaiian account was published in the paper Ke Kumu Hawaii on March 14, 1838. Excerpts from the original Hawaiian narratives follow below, with excerpts from a translation first published in the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac of 1930. Notable places, events, and residents of the lands within the proposed rail corridor are cited.

### Ke Kumu Hawaii

Maraki 14, 1838 (aoao 81-83)

He Pepa Hoikeike i na mea e Pono Ai ko Hawaii Nei.

“O ka pono ka mea e ai ka lahuikanaka; aka, o ka hewa ka mea e hoinoia'i na aina.”

Waialua, Detemaba 26, 1837.

He manao hoakaka wale no keia no ko'u hanau ana, a me ko'u kamalii ana, a me ko'u hookanaka ana, a me ka ike ana i kekahi mau mea oloko o ke aupuni o Kamehameha.

Kaua aku o Kamehameha, a make o Namakeha ia Kamehameha, o ka pau no ia o ke kaua ana, lanakila loa o Kamehameha.

...hiki no i Kaalaa, e noho ana no o Kaohela ma, mamua a hiki no i Kaalaa, e noho ana no o Kaohela ma, mamua mai no lakou mauka mai no ma Nuuanu mai, a noho iho la no hoi au ilaila e kamalii ana no owau. Ua moe o Kekai i ke kane o Nawailau ke kane mua, pau ia. Holo aku la ke alii a Waiana'e noho ilaila. Hele o Kekai me ke kane. Noho makou i ka Paeli, ilaila, ko makou mau hale, makemake kuu wahi kahu e hele hou e kaapuni hou ia Oahu nei, hahai au i kuu wahi kahu i ke aloha, hele aku la makou mahope o ke akua makahiki a hiki makou i Waiana'e, kaohi mai o Kekai, aole au e noho, hele aku la no makou a Kaneohe. Ma Nuuanu no makou ka hoi ana a kiki i Kaalaa io Kaohela ma. Noho iho la no wau me o'u makua a hoi aku la makou a Waikiki noho me ke alii o Kaohai ko makou wahi i noho ai. A make no o Kanihonui i Waikiki, i moe me Kaahumanu, pepehiia no e Kamehameha, he keiki no na kona kaikuahine na Piipii. A hoi no makou a uka o Kaalaa noho no ilaila, a hoi mai ke alii Honolulu, mai Waikiki mai.

A iho aku la makou a Honuakaha he wahi loko no Kaalaa o Puuokapolei ka inoa, ku na wahi hale o makou ilaila, noho ilaila, hooholo i ka ia, ilaila Kalaimoku i kauhale i ke ahi, i ke aloha ia Kuwahine o ke kaikuahine no ia o Kanihonui, i moe ia no e Boki e kona kaikaina, a me ke kaikuaana no ona e Kuakini. Nolaila pupuhia i i ke ahi kauhale e Kalaimoku, ae aku ao o Kahi no hoi a pau i ka wela,

a pau ia, hoi aku la makou iuka i Kaalaa e noho ai, a loa ka laau hale. Hoi mai la makou i kai o Kou me kuu makuwahine kulu iho la ka hale o makou ma kahi e ku nei ka hale pule haole, ma kai iho olaila i kahi no ia Hoaa ma, malaila no kahi i ku ai o kauhale o makou no Kaainahuna ma wale no ia, a paapu kauhale, a ka hale puali hoi mai, ko lakou wahi. Ilaila no ko makou wahi i noho ai a ku mai ai o Kaumualii mai Kauai mai, maluna mai o ka moku haole, o ka inoa o ka haole nana i lawe mai, Unihepa, o ka moku o Kena ka inoa. A ku no hoi iwaho o Mamala. A holo no hoi o Kamehameha i kai e ike ai me Kaumualii, a ike no hoi iluna o ka moku. A holo mai iuka, a Pakaka noho a hoike o uka nei, a pau i ka hookupuia Haakulou, a pau ka hookupu ana, a hoi o Kaumualii i Kauai, poalua no iuka, pau ia. A mahope iho o ia wa, ua nui ae hoi au, he keiki no nae ke ano, a ohia he kamalii, owau kekahi, no Oahu nei kekahi poe kamalii, no Hawaii no hoi kekahi. Oia kou noho ana me ke alii me Kamehameha, haalele au i kuu makuwahine, Hele aku la maua me kuu wahi kanaka a noho i ka hale o Kaihekukui, ilaila maua kahi i noho ai, a ao makou i ka lonomakaihe, he pa okoa ka makou o Keauhulikuli ka makou kumu lonomakaihe, a hoi mai la maua a me Kinopu ma, noho ilaila i huhu ke kane a Kapihe o Maioea, haalele maua, noho maua i kahi o Kinopu ma, hele no hoi i ka ahaaina a ke alii, hele no hoi ke alii i ka mahiai, hele no, hele i ka holahola, hele no i ka hiaku, hele no wau, mai na alii aku o makou e ai ai me Paelua ma kekahi ai ana o makou, owau o Kekuaokalani, o Kamaha. Pela no ka noho ana, moku o Unihepa, a me ko Kewiti, a iho, hoomakaukau kau moku, ka peleleu, a me ka moku o ke alii me Keoua ka inoa ia o ua moku la, pau ia, moe au me Kekuanaoa i kahi hale palama ona, hookahi po. I ka wanao, hele mai o Kamehameha io Kekuanaoa la e moe e moe nei? I aku la o Kekuanaoa o Laanui no, a pau ia hoi aku la i ka hale, pau ia...

[Translation – Hawaiian Annual and Almanac, 1930:86-93]

This is just a plain account of my birth, youth and adult periods, and certain observation noted in the government of Kamehameha. Kamehameha battled against Namakeha, in which the latter was killed, thus ending the war, with Kamehameha victorious [1794]... There I was born, Hilo being the birth place...

[La'anui's narratives describe completion of the peleleu fleet, and travels to Maui and O'ahu, with various activities and experiences in traveling around the island.]

...We returned again to Honolulu, above Kaalaa, where our father died from his illness [ma'i 'oku'u]. Such was the sickness. My mother was taken by my uncle, father's brother... reaching Kaalaa, where Kaohela's folks lived... I reside there with them, being yet a child... I lived with my parents till moving to Waikiki where I resided with the chief Kaohai. After the death of Kanihonui at Waikiki for undue intimacy with Kaahumanu, killed by Kamehameha, thou as son of his sister Piipii, we went up to Kaalaa and lived, and the king moved to Honolulu from Waikiki.

Shortly thereafter we went down to Honuakaha, a fishpond of Kaalaa, called Puuokapolei, and built our house and there lived during the run of

fish. Kalaimoku burned a number of houses in sympathy for Kawahine, the sister of Kanihonui, living with Boki, a younger brother, and his older brother, Kuakini. For that reason Kalaimoku burned a number of houses to the ground to which Kamehameha consented, after which we went up to Kaalaa to reside while getting house timbers.

We came down to the shore of Kou (Honolulu Harbor), my parents and I. The king was awake night and day. My father was drilling with him. Our house was erected where the foreign church [Bethel] stands. Below that was the place of Hoaii folks. There stood the cluster of houses belonging to Kaaiahuna folks. Adjoining the drill house, their place. There we lived till the arrival of Kaumualii from Kauai on a foreign ship, commanded by Winship. The vessel was named O'Cain. It anchored outside Mamala. Kamehameha went down to meet Kaumualii on the vessel. On landing at Pakaka they held audience there, after which was a prostration hookupu, at the close of which Kaumualii sailed for Kauai.

After that time (I had grown somewhat but still of youthful appearance) there was a gathering together of children. I being one, some of Oahu and some of Hawaii. That was my living with the king Kamehameha. I forsook my mother. I and my male companion went and stayed at the house of Kaihekukui, where we were taught spear practice. We had a distinct enclosure. Keauhulikuli was our spear instructor. We came with Kinopu folks and stayed there till Maioea, the husband of Kapaihe, getting angry, we left and stayed with Kinopu. Went to the feast of the king. The king went to cultivated food, we accompanied; went to the spreading [fishing with 'auhuhu or 'ākia on the reefs]; went aku fishing, I also. From our bowling went to the feast, us children following, and the chiefs off on one side eating with Paelua folks, some of our food, Manono and I, with the chiefs, also Kekuaokalani and Kamaha. Such was our living, till loading sandalwood on the vessels of Winship [Unihēpa] and Davis [Kewiti] for Makao, China. Shortly after they sailed my vessel, the peleleu, was made ready, and the vessel of the king called Keoua. When done I slept with Kekuanaoa, at his Palama house one night. At dawn Kamehameha came over to Kekuanaoa, who was asleep with me, he asked "Who is this sleeping here?" Kekuanaoa replied, "It is Laanui," with that he went to the house. It is finished... [Laanui in Thrum, 1930:86-88]

## **Historical Narratives – How Kauanono'ula, Honoka'upu, Kou and 'Ulakōheo Were Named**

In 1919, an unidentified contributor to the Hawaiian language newspaper submitted a short article to the paper, in which he discussed several place names of Honolulu. In the narratives are found references to places within the proposed rail corridor:

**Ianuali 24, 1919 (aoao 3)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**Kuu Kamaaina i ka ua Kukala Hale.**

O ke kumu o ke kapaia ana o keia wahi ae la o Kauanonoula, mamuli mai no ia o kekahi alii wahine u'i nona ia inoa a i noho hou me kona ohana ma ua wahi la; ke aliiwahine hoi i lawe ae ia Honokaupu i aliikane nana; a ma o ka laua puni o ke konane, pela i loa ai keia mau olelo kaulana, "Huhuhui aku na maka i Kou," ame "Haha poele ka papa'i o Honolulu."

Eia ka mo'olelo: Ma keia ua olelo ia aia ma ke alanui Papu e kokoke la i ke alanui Moiwahine, a ma kahi e ku nei o ka hale banako o ka Onomiliona o Kama'oma'o ke kahua konane o ua mau alii la; a ma keia wahi ka akoakoa nui ana me ka muimuia pu o na kane ame na wahine no keia le'ale'a konane o na'lii.

O ka papa kōnane ma keia mo'olelo, ua hanaia mailoko mai o kekahi kumulaau kou nui, i laweia mai mai kekahi wahi mai e kokoke ana i ka Paka Kapiolani o Waikiki ae nei, a maluna o keia papa i kahakahaia ai na huina ha lilihi me na niho lio i okomoia ma kela ame keia, hai ana o na kihi o na huina ha.

Iloko o ia mau la, ua kapaia ka inoa o keia wahi ae la o Kou, ma o keia hana le'ale'a a na 'lii; a holo iho la ka lea hanenahe o ka ipo i ka ipo, "Huhuhui aku na maka i Kou," o ia hou, ilaila ka puana ana i ke kono a ka makemake; ka lapuu lakee aloko; ka hoohehelo a ka li'a makaiauli; ka wili haku ka-ke a ka ai liliha he aloha e nanahe ana i ka poli. Auwe!

I ka halii ana mai hoi o ka po i kona aahu pouli, ia wa ka nianu ame ka imi ana o ke kane i kana wahine, pela o wahine e huli ana i kana Mr., a no keia an ohana i ko ai ka olelo, "Haha poele ka papa'i o Honolulu." Aole aku la no hoi e nele ka poele ke haha la na lima—Pau ka ike a na maka.

Ulakoheo—Eia ka mo'olelo i hoomaopopoia no ke kumu i loa mai ai o kela inoa. I kekahi la i ke 'lii Kiaaina Kekuanaoa maluna o kona lio i hiki akua i ma kahakai o Kapuukolo; o ia hoi kela wahi o Mr. S.H. Oni e ku nei o ka hale pohaku o S. Kawahara, kihi o na alanui Maunakea ame Moiwahine, ia wa i ike aku ai ua kiaaina la i ka hoi mai o kekahi kanaka lawai'a a i kokoke na mai i kahi o ke kiaaina e ku aku ana, ia wa ua kanaka la i papio ae ai i ka pola o kona malo iamua ona; a pane no hoi ke kiaaina ia ua kanaka la, "E, he mea ula hoi kau!"

"Ae, i ka la heenalua iho nei no hoi o oukou o na 'lii," wahi a ka lawai'a. "Ka-ha-ha! Owau pu no hoi iloko o ia huikau, eia nae, aole a'u mea ula i loa; wahi a ke Kiaaina Kekuanaoa. Pane hou no hoi ka lawai'a i ka olelo o ka noeau nui wale e hanini ai ka aka, "O keia ula au i ike mai la i ka po ana iho ka loa ana ia'u."

No keia pane a ka lawai'a ua kauoha aku la ke Kiaaina Kekuanaoa iaia e hiki aku imua ona, a o ia ka ua lawai'a la i hooko aku ai i ke kauoha. A mai ia la mai ua lilo laua kekahi ame kekahi he mau hoaloha pilipaa loa...

[Translation]

My familiarity with the Kukala Hale Rains.

It is because of a beautiful chiefess that this place is named Kauanono'ula. It was there that she and her family resided. This is the chiefess who took Honoka'upu as her chiefly husband, and it was at this place that they played their favorite game of kōnane. This is why the famous sayings came about, "Huhuhui aku nā maka i Kou" (The eyes will meet at Kou) and "Hāhā pōele ka pāpa'i o Honolulu" (The crabs of Honolulu grope about in the dark).

Here is the tradition: It is said that the kōnane playing area of the chiefs was there by Fort Street, close to Queen Street, where the bank of Spreckels is; and at this place many people, attractive men and women, gathered for these pleasurable kōnane games of the chiefs.

The kōnane board of this story was made from a large kou tree that was taken from a place nearby what is now Kapiolani Park in Waikīkī. And on the board, were marked the lines and four corners in which the various pieces were set.

It was in those days that the name, Kou was given to that place, because of the pastime of the chiefs, and the murmuring voices of the sweethearts could be heard about, "Huhuhui aku na maka i Kou," that is the saying was spoken there, inviting the desire of those who were entwined in the embrace of love to meet. Auwe!

As night set out its cover, the men and women would begin to ask and seek out their companions and the saying was uttered "Hāhā pō'ele ka pāpa'i o Honolulu." Thus the night was not without the groping hands— So that which was seen is finished.

**Ulakoheo**—Here is the story that is known about how that name was given. One day the chief, Governor Kekuanaoa was on his horse, and he reached Kapuukolo; that is the place of Mr. S.H. Oni, and where stands the stone house of Mr. S. Kawahara, at the corner of Maunakea and Queen Streets. At that time the governor saw a fisherman returning from fishing and as he drew near to where the governor was standing, a gust of wind threw up the flap of the man's malo. The governor said to the man, "Say you have a red mea [meaning penis, in this context]."

"Yes, from the day of surfing when you, the chiefs came down," said the fisherman. "Chaa! I was together with them down there, and I don't have a red mea," said Governor Kekuanaoa. The fisherman then said this clever phrase which brought about great laughter, "This red that you see now, in the dark, I shall get it."

Because of this reply of the fisherman, Governor Kekuanaoa instructed him to come before him, and the fisherman did as instructed. From that day on the two of them became very close friends...

## Honolulu's Chinatown

As the region of Honolulu transitioned from Hawaiian villages to a western town and city, fires also shaped the landscape. Historical records of 1852, 1856, 1860, 1877, 1884, 1886 and 1900 document fires of various size and impact occurring in along the Honolulu waterfront, in the growing business and residential district, and the region that came to be known as Chinatown. Some of the fires were purposely set as in the “sailor’s riot” of 1852, while others were accidental. The cause of the great Chinatown fire of 1900 was long debated as to whether the cause accidental or intentional.

Honolulu’s Chinatown has evolved over the last 200 years. John Papa Ii (1959) wrote about the first Chinese to be seen in Honolulu, as being three Chinese cooks, associated with ships of the sandal wood trade who settled along the Kapāpoko-Waikahalulu waterfront prior to 1810. By 1844, three Chinese businesses were situated near the Honolulu waterfront – Nu’uanu Street vicinity (R.C. Wyllie, in the Friend, 1844). By the early 1860s extensive tracts of irrigated taro land were being turned over to the cultivation of rice, and at various outlying locations, large sugar plantations were emerging on the island scene. As a result, programs of Chinese immigration for the workforce were implemented. By 1884 the area in the vicinity of Mauna Kea, Nu’uanu, King and Beretania Streets was heavily devoted to Chinese businesses and residences. The 1886 fire burned most of “Chinatown” to the ground. The Chinese residents quickly rebuilt, but by the early 1890s, sanitary conditions and a “slum-like” environment brought about renewed fears of cholera and other diseases. At the same time extensive development of western businesses all around Chinatown took place, and concerns about “property values” arose (see Map of Honolulu and Vicinity, W.A. Wall, 1887).

In December 1899, the first case of bubonic plague was confirmed in Chinatown, and events following identification of the case, and subsequent deaths, led to relocating hundreds of people from Chinatown to a Kaka’ako quarantine on January 5, 1900. On January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1900, “controlled fires” began to be set at buildings where victims had resided, and additional quarantine facilities capable of housing 2,000 people were being set up on Bishop Estate lands in Kalihi.

As cases of the plague continued to increase, “controlled burns,” were used in larger areas in an effort to remove the threat. On January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1900, the fire at Block 15, between Beretania, Kukui, River and Nu’uanu Streets went wild, and the entire block, including Kaumakpili Church was destroyed. From there, the flames spread, and a day later, on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1900 nearly all the buildings between Kukui, Queen, River and Nu’uanu Streets were burned to the ground (see Figure 15 on page 333).

Today, a number of the buildings in or adjoining the proposed rail corridor, and particularly those in Chinatown date after 1901. In 1973, nearly 36 acres of the area called Chinatown was added to the National Register of Historic Places (National Register Information System Number 73000658). The district is generally bounded by “Beretania St. on NE, Nuuanu Stream on N, Nuuanu Ave. on SE, and Honolulu Harbor” (National Register Nomination Form, January 17, 1973).

As has been the history of the larger Honolulu region, the landscape of Chinatown is also changing. While a number of the post 1900 buildings are still in use, change is always occurring, not only in the nature of goods and business endeavors, but also in the makeup of the purveyors and merchants. With the National Register Bulletin No. 38 (Parker & King, 1990:6) as the reference, Chinatown was the only “Traditional Cultural Property” identified along the entire proposed HART rail route (Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, 2011:76). While there is no remnant of the “traditional” Hawaiian period visible above the surface of the ground in Chinatown—similarly to many locations of the Sections 1-3 Traditional Cultural Properties Study (Maly et al., 2012)—it is known that the multi-layered history of the region spans centuries of Hawaiian residency, traditions, beliefs and practices, and a shorter period of time in cultural overlays since the early 1800s. The underlying foundation of the proposed route, is a Hawaiian landscape, place names document the occurrence of sacred and storied sites, and the po‘e kahiko still walk the land. Thus, in the minds of many Hawaiians, the places identified in this study, along with many others, are still considered to be traditional cultural properties. It is the spirit of place that resonated with Hawaiians of the modern day.

## V. OVERVIEW OF ORIGINAL LAND TENURE GRANTED IN THE PROPOSED RAIL CORRIDOR

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### Claims Recorded for Lands of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Waikīkī Region

Research previously conducted as a part of the Honolulu High-Capacity Transit Corridor Project corridor included a review of Māhele records for the ahupua‘a and smaller land divisions within the ahupua‘a, of Kalihi, Kapālama, Honolulu and Waikīkī (Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, 2011<sup>2</sup>). The study identified Land Commission Award Numbers (Helu) and provides detailed transcripts of the types of land uses and practices recorded for the land areas crossed by the proposed rail alignment.

Review of the original Hawaiian and English language records of the Māhele ‘Āina reveals that a rich collection of personal histories, descriptions of features and land uses, the names of residents, and place names was recorded for each ahupua‘a, ili and other subdivisions of land. We have done our best to review the original handwritten records, and provide accurate spelling of place- and personal-names (a challenge when spelling varies from volume to volume). We also humbly acknowledge that there is further work to be completed, and apologize for any errors or omissions which may of inadvertently been made that are pertinent to proposed rail corridor, which is the focus of this study.

The place names are important as they are indicators of events in the early history of Hawai‘i, and identify places for which stories and traditional values exist or once existed. From these localities come candidates for consideration as wahi pana or Traditional Cultural Properties. The citation of hundreds of personal names—being family names for those who are recorded as among the early historic period residents of the Honolulu region study area also identifies families whose descendants might step forward in the discussion on the care of wahi ilina (burial sites), and mitigation of impacts on other cultural resources and practices. In the records are found individuals who were actual claimants for kuleana, as well as others who were resident witnesses who provided testimony on behalf of applicants (though not always applicants themselves).

Appendix B of this study, provides readers with access to the full list of records reviewed as a part of this study. Table 1 on the following pages cites the personal names of applicant/awardees for kuleana as Land Commission Awards (LCA), and other residents identified in the project area awards, and also identifies land names and land use or feature descriptions. Descendants of these awardees and witnesses may be considered as having ties to iwi/ilina (burials) which presently rest in the ‘āina.

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<sup>2</sup> “Final Archaeological Inventory Survey Plan for the City Center (Construction Phase 4) of the Honolulu High-Capacity Transit Corridor Project, Kalihi, Kapālama, and Honolulu Ahupua‘a, Honolulu District, Island of O‘ahu... Volume II: Appendices A-E, Land Documents” (September 2011).

**Table 1. Summary of Place- and Resident-Names, Land Use Practices and Description of Features Along the Proposed Rail Corridor – Ahupua‘a of the Kalihi-Honolulu-Kālia, Wakīkī Region**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu Kuwili	<b>Kewa – LCA 9 F.L.</b> Kaniku Moeino Kamaala Kamaua Kinau	Loi Kalo Auwai Shore
Honolulu Kaoaopa	<b>Naahu &amp; Puniwai – LCA 19</b> Namauu Wahinealii Kinimaka Kekauonohi	House
Honolulu Kapuukolo (Puukolo)	<b>Kawaina/Kauwaina – LCA 22</b> Weloula Napahi Kane Manuela Kuihelani	House Hala tree
Honolulu Kaholoakeahole	<b>Oliver Smith – LCA 23</b> Namakeha	House Waialeale St. Water St.
Honolulu Kunawai Keoneula	<b>Moeino – LCA 23 F.L.</b> Kaniku Kewa Kahaleaahu Kamaua Kekauluohi	Loi Boundadary between Honolulu & Kapalama Kuauna Hala tree
Honolulu Kapuukolo Kaluapakohana	<b>Kahoowaha – LCA 30</b> Moo Kahau Kinopu Napahi	House Shoreline Ala Ooli Ala Hale Pule (Chapel St.)

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu	<b>E. &amp; H. Grimes – LCA 38</b> Karaimoku J.C. Jones S. Reynolds Ladd & Co.	Stores & Warehouses Wharf Stone walls Wooden & Thatched buildings Marin & Merchant St. Reserved Public Road Nuuanu Street
Honolulu	<b>J. Maughan – LCA 46</b> Cruz Marin (w.) F.P. d. Marin Kanemaka Kalua Moo	Adobe house Maunakea Street Alley (narrow road)
Kalihi Haunapo Paukika	<b>Laumaka – LCA 50</b>	Kalihi Stream
Honolulu Kapukukolo	<b>Simeona Kou – LCA 57</b> Kihewa (brother of Kou) Piko (father of Kou & Kihewa) Napahi Weloula Kahoowaha	House Alanui Shore
Honolulu Kuwili Koiuiu	<b>Aholo – LCA 61 F.L.</b> Kapulani Keonekapu	House Auwai Fish pond
Honolulu Kuwili Koiuiu	<b>Kapulani – LCA 64 F.L.</b> Kimo Pakaka (J. Robinson)	House Auwai
Honolulu (Kapukukolo)	<b>Napahi – LCA 66</b> Weloula Kawaina Kahoowaha	House Hala tree Ala Ololi Wall features
Waikiki Kalia Kukuluaeo Kewalo	<b>Kapapa – LCA 97 F.L.</b> Kamakee Piikoi	House Fish pond Kiopua (Fingerling pond) Auwai Shoreline

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Waikiki Kalia Waialala Kewalo Loko Kauamoa	<b>Kekaula – LCA 100 F.L.</b> Kaluaoku Kamakee Piikoi Wm. Miller	Loi Fish ponds Fingerling ponds Kula land
Waikiki Kalia Loko o Kewalo	<b>Kaluaoku – LCA 101 F.L.</b> Kekaula Kamakee Piikoi	Loi Fish pond Auwai
Honolulu (Kaoaopa)	<b>Kinimaka – LCA 129</b> H. Kalama Ki Pahi C. Kanaina Wahinealii Kealoha Naahu	House Fish pond Shoreline Punchbowl St. Roadway
Honolulu	<b>V. Kamamalu – LCA 164</b> Kekauonohi	Fort Alanui Makai Walled lot Shore
Honolulu	<b>M. Kekuaaoa – LCA 170</b> S. Thompson Napahi	House Alanui Halepule Shoreline Slaughter house
Honolulu	<b>L. Kamehameha – LCA 180</b> Pahi Kinimaka Kaumealani Ohua Hoapili	House Alanui Puowaina Shore
Honolulu	<b>V. Kamamalu – LCA 186 B</b> S. Reynolds Hackfeld Store Kaahumanu I & II	House Wharf

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu	<b>Kekauonohi for L. Haalelea – LCA 191</b> Poki (Pokii) Tute Iosua Kaeo	House Street to Chiefs School Land Commission Office Wooden building Richards Street
Honolulu	<b>C. Kanaina for Wm. Lunalilo – LCA 247</b> Wm. French Geo. Pelly	House Merchant & Fort Streets
Honolulu Kapuukolo	<b>Kalakini – LCA 256</b> Kahanaiki J.C. Jones Kahoowaha Kekai	House Government lot
Palama Kilikiliawa makai Kilikiliawa mauka Poepoe Kaukahoku Wainaue	<b>Henry Zupplien – LCA 275 B</b> John Meeks	House Stream
Honolulu	<b>B. Namakeha – LCA 298</b> Kealoha	House Wall features Queen Street Government lot Shore
Waikiki Kukuluaeo Punahou Kewalo Kalia	<b>Sandwich Island Mission LCA 387</b> Kauhi Wahineino Henry Dimond Pehu	Shoreline
Kapalama Wainaue Kuwili Pelekane Kaukahoku	<b>John Meek (Keoni Miki) – LCA 591</b> Thomas Meek H. Zupplien	Fish pond

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu Pulahoalaho	<b>Stephen Reynolds – LCA 626</b> George Manini Amos Knight M. Kekuanaoa C. Kanaina R.C. Janion	Oahu Hotel Wharf Puchard Store Nuuanu Street Merchant Street Queen Street Cook houses New Market place
Honolulu Keoneula Kapahaha Kuili (Kuwili) Kaoawai	<b>Kahaleaahu – LCA 655</b> Kauaua Keakahiwa Kahina Nakookoo Kawai Kapehe	Houses Limestone cliff kalo land Kuauna (walls) Auwai
Honolulu Honuakaha	<b>M. Kekuanaoa – LCA 677, 680 &amp; 683</b> Kekuanui Kaahumanu Aimaka Kinimaka Kukoo	Houses Queen Street Ponds Government land
Honolulu Kaloa	<b>Honaunau – LCA 704</b> Kaloa	House Punchbowl Street Pond Auwai Shore
Honolulu Honuakaha	<b>Kekuhaupio – LCA 729</b> Kaihiwa Kaahumanu Kinimaka	House Shore Pond Alanui Makai
Honolulu Honuakaha	<b>Kaahumanu – LCA 735</b> Kekuhaupio Kalolo Kekuanui Kaihiwa	House Kula land

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu	<b>Kaunuohua – LCA 738</b> Kamehameha III M. Kekauonohi	House Shore Alanui Makai Richards Street
Honolulu	<b>Kealoha – LCA 773</b> Wahinealii Namakeha Kinimaka	House Alanui Makai Shore
Honolulu Wharf Lot “The Point” (Pakaka)	<b>James Robinson – LCA 784</b> Karaimoku	Wharf Kings Wharf Fort Buildings Bathing house Robinson & Co. facilities Water Street Blacksmith's shop
Kalihi Umi Kawaihola Kaliawa Apili Niau Mokauea	<b>Alexander Adams – LCA 803</b> T. Sams Wm. Beckley	Houses Kalo lands Kula land River T. Sam's land Fences and walls Prickly pear plants Kuauna Windmill Fishpond Coconut trees Salt ponds
Honolulu	<b>F., R. &amp; J. Jones – LCA 810</b> Heirs of Lahilahi & F. Marin Drews John Meek Kalama	<b>Stone house</b> Caranaves store Government land Marin Street
Kalihi Kaliawa Waikulu Panahaha Umi Iha	<b>George Beckley – LCA 818</b> A. Adams Nahinu	Fish pond River Shore

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu Kuwili Kapahaha Kapalama	<b>Keakahiwa – LCA 826</b> Ohulenui Hawaii Kamaala Keakahiwa Kahaleaahu Kapehe Kauaua Kaniku Lai	Loi Fish pond Auwai Kuauna Government land
Honolulu Kukuluaeo Loko Ahukai (Loko Ahuaiki)	<b>Kukao – LCA 982</b> M. Kekuanaoa	House Fishpond Auwai o Paki
Honolulu Kapalama Iwilei Kalawahine Kaukahoku	<b>Kapauhi &amp; Kuhelelei – LCA 1034 / 8400</b> L. Haalelea H. Zupplien Kamehameha III Maui G.D. Roberts John Meek (Keoni Miki) Kukahekahe Kanakanui G. Holmes (Keoki Homa)	House Loi Konohiki land Kong’s land
Kapalama Niuhelewai	<b>Kahenawai – LCA 1053</b> Kaikaai Keoki Halulu Naai	Steam Loi
Honolulu Kuwili Kapahaha	<b>Kapeha – LCA 1089</b> Kaniku Alapai Keakahiwa Kahaleaahu Lai Kauaua	House Loi Shore Limestone cliff Government land Ala Ololi Fish pond

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Kapalama Pelekane	<b>Alua – LCA 1222</b> Naluai Ku Nakoa Kekona	Loi Stream Konohiki loi House
Honolulu Keoneula	<b>Mumuku – LCA 1398</b> Kalunaaina Kauiki Nakookoo Kahaleaahu	House Konohiki land Wall features
Honolulu Kewalo Kukuluaeo	<b>Puaa – LCA 1503</b> Kauhi I. Piikoi Pahiha Kalaka Mahuka M. Kekuanaoa Keo (Bolabola) Puhiula Kumukau Kaula Kamaka	House Shore Fishpond
Honolulu Kewalo	<b>Pahiha – Helu 1504</b> I. Piikoi Kanekapolei Kalaka	House Wooden fence
Palama (Kapalama) Olani Pulehu Keoneula Wainaue Kawaiiki	<b>John Neddles (Kuene) – LCA 1723 B</b> Hooliliamanu Kupololei	House Kalo patches Wall features Prickly pear fence Stream Pig run Coral cliff
Honolulu Kapukolo	<b>Keo Bolabola for Kawai – LCA 2065</b> M. Kekuanaoa Kahoowaha Kukao	House Punawai (spring) Shore

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu Puunui Alialia	<b>Kauwahi for Puniwai – LCA 2045</b>	House Auwai Ponds Wall features Konohiki’s land
Honolulu Kolopo (Hotel Street)	<b>Kalua – LCA 2071</b> Luhiau Nele (a foreigner)	House Alanui Hotela Frenchman’s lot Street
Kapalama Kaukahoku Kalialia Honolulu Keoneula Pulehu	<b>Kauhiwa – LCA 2073</b> Kuene (John Neddles) Lopaka (G.D. Robert) George Holmes Kekai Hooliliamanu Kauiki	Moo (ag parcel) House
Honolulu Kahawali Hauhaukoi Kapahaha	<b>Kahina – LCA 2107</b> Pihiliilii Moeino Kaio Kianui Kahakuliilii Kupanio Auhaukii Kuapohaku Kahaleaahu Kauaua	Loi Konohiki’s land
Honolulu Kapahaha Kuwili Hauhaukoi	<b>Kauaua – LCA 2440 B</b> Wana Kalaimoku Kapouhiwa Paakua Kapehe Kahaleaahu Kahina	House Loi Auwai Hawai (water channel)

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu Kapalama	<b>William Harbottle – LCA 2937</b> Kekai Kekauonohi H. Zuplien I. Piikoi G. Holmes	House Alley way Water course Fish pond
Honolulu Kalawahine	<b>Huana for Marin heirs – LCA 2938</b> J. Maughan	Maunakea Street Government land Crown land
Kapalama Kolowalu Kalokoloa Iwilei	<b>Hoaliku – LCA 3142</b> Uilama / Wiliama Hale G.D. Robert Poli Maki Kuhelelei	Loi Auwai Puuone ponds Houses Konohiki’s land King’s land
Kapalama Kuwili Pelekane Kahalepunawai	<b>Ku – Helu 3144</b> Alua Malauea Keoni Kamuku Kalanui Keawe	Loi Konohiki’s land Fish ponds Auwai Kuauna House
Kapalama	<b>Nakoa – LCA 3153</b> Alua Malauea Kekona Anapuni	Loi kalo Auwai House Konohiki’s land
Kalihi Kaluaopulu Pahouiki Kaaeole Kaliawa Apili Umi Haunapo	<b>Hewahewa – LCA 3237</b> G. Holmes	Fish ponds Kula land Kuapa (fish pond wall) Stone wall
Honolulu Kakaako	<b>Kaule for Liliha – LCA 3455</b> Kanakanui C. Kanaina	House Muliwai (estuary) Shore

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Kapalama Kumuhahane	<b>R.G. Davis – LCA 4034</b> Hoaliku Hale	Auwai Kalo Kula land Stream King’s land Kuauna
Honolulu Kakaako	<b>Ana Kaloa – LCA 4457</b> Kaialonui	House Fish ponds Pond keeper’s house Auwai Shore
Kapalama Kuipaakea Leleo Koiuiu Honolulu Aala Kukui	<b>Kama – LCA 4747</b> Mahi Kaaiawaawa Kaapuiki Keonekapu	Loi kalo Auwai Konohiki’s land House Government land
Kapalama Kainapuaa Haikuou Kumupali	<b>Kalimaiki for Kahuhu &amp; children – LCA 4889</b> Kanakaole Kuene (J. Neddles) Kahiku	House Konohiki’s land Koele parcel Loi Auwai
Honolulu Koiuiu Kawa Kuwili Kapahaha Kahawali Hauhaukoi Kukanaka Kuluwela Kamakela Aala Kaliu Kaakaukukui	<b>Kaaiawaawa – LCA 6236</b>	Fish ponds Shore Auwai Alanui Ewa Makaha (sluice gate) Kalo patches Alanui Liliha Alahaka lilihi (small bridge) Alanui Alii (King Street)

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Kalihi Mokauea Pahounui Pahouiki Ananoho Kaiwiula Apili Kaliawa Kaluaopulu Niau Puuhale	<b>Kaunuohua – LCA 6450</b> Kanepaiki Mahani	Fish ponds Kula land Kuapa Stream Government Road Shore
Kapalama Kaukahoku Paeaki Kawaiiki Keoneula Kuhimana	<b>N. Kekai – LCA 7681</b> Keumikahi Pulupuluole John Neddles G. Holmes (Homa) Moeino Keaonui Kewa	Loi Kula land Auwai King's land
Honolulu Kaakaukukui Kukuluaeo Puunui Pualoalo Kaalaa Waikahalulu Koholaloa	<b>M. Kekuanaoa for V. Kamamalu – LCA 7712</b> Laioha I. Piikoi Kekuanui Kaialomi Kaloa	Shore Auwai Government land Wall features J. Robinson's Wharf Custom House Fish ponds
Honolulu Kaakaukukui	<b>M. Kekuanaoa for V. Kamamalu – LCA 7713</b>	
Kapalama Kumuulu	<b>George Holmes (Geogi Homa) – LCA 8504</b> Nauala M. Kekuanaoa Wm. Harbottle J. Neddles	Loi Houses Water course Shore Government land

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Kapalama Pelekane	<b>Kalanui – LCA 8856</b> Mahuka Kahawaiolaa Puniwai Keoni Muki Keawe Kanuku Malauea	Loi Auwai Fish pond House Konohiki’s land
Honolulu Pakaka	<b>W.P. Leleiohoku – LCA 9971</b>	The King’s Wharf Fort Bathing house Buildings Wharf Water Street
Honolulu Kukuluaeo	<b>Napela – LCA 10463</b> Kauhi	Fish ponds House Konohiki’s land Auwai Salt making pond
Kalihi Kionawawana Makela Kaluaopalena Kaliawa Kamoku Apili Loko Weli Kahauiki Kawahaeleele	<b>Nahinu – LCA 10498</b> Kelea Leonui Kahale	Catholic Church Lot Alanui Aupuni Fish pond Stone wall Dryland planting field
Honolulu Kewalo Pualoalo Kaakaukukui Puunui Kawaiahao Kukuluaeo Kalia Kawanakoa Kulaokahua	<b>Iona &amp; Kamakee Piikoi – LCA 10605</b> T.C.B. Rooke M. Kaina	Ponds Alanui Alii Animal enclosure Auwai Shore

**Table 1. (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Claimant &amp; Individual Names</b>	<b>Features/Uses</b>
Honolulu	<b>Kamehameha III – LCA 10806</b> Kaunuohua Haalelea	Queen Street Richards Street
Kapalama Kaukahoku Oio	<b>Mauli – LCA 11056</b> G.D. Robert R.D. Davis Kapauhi	Loi Street Auwai Konohiki’s land Stream
Honolulu Waikahalulu Honolulu Harbor Aupuni Maunakilika	<b>(Queen) Hazaleleponi Kalama – LCA 11219</b> Charles Kanaina James Robinson M. Kekuanaoa L. Haalelea A. Liholiho Alawa Nanameha Kinimaka John li Kanai Kealoha L. Kamehameha Kaialomi V. Kamamalu Kaina	Sea to 20 ft. depth Wharf Walls Punchbowl St. Fishponds Richards St.
Honolulu Kaliu Akaukukui Koiuiu Kawa	<b>Kekualoa – LCA 11225</b> Koakaikolu Keohohiwa Napahi Weloula M. Kekuanaoa Kawaihae Nuuanu Kuapanio Kauaohilo John Meeks J. Turril Wm. Sumner	Harbor wall Lime kiln Bullock pen Palama Road Path to Kamakela Fishpond wall Sea

## **VI. SURVEYS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION IN THE YEARS 1865 TO 1925**

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### **Surveys Identify notable features on the Hawaiian Landscape**

Following the Māhele ‘Āina, there was a growing movement to fence off the land areas and control access to resources that native tenants had traditionally used. In the 1860s, foreign land owners and business interests petitioned the Crown to have the boundaries of their respective lands—which became the foundation for plantation and ranching interests—settled. In 1862, the King appointed a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission), and tasked them with collecting traditional knowledge of place, land boundaries, customary practices, and deciding the most equitable boundaries for each ahupua‘a that had been awarded to Ali‘i, Konohiki, and foreigners during the Māhele.

The commission proceedings were conducted under the courts and as formal actions under law. As the commissioners on the various islands undertook their work, the kingdom hired or contracted surveyors to begin the surveys, and in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118).

Records land of the region spanning from Kalihi to Kālia, Waikīkī were recorded between 1865 to 1925. The records include testimonies of: (1) elder kama‘āina who were either recipients of kuleana in the Māhele; (2) holders of Royal Patent Land Grants in the ahupua‘a of interest; (3) individuals who were direct descendants of the original fee-simple title holders; (4) subsequent holders of title; residents of the land with direct knowledge of the boundaries and practices; and individuals who had learned of the lands from elder residents.

The narratives that follow, include entire ahupua‘a or subdivision parcels (such as ‘ili, lele, loko, and kula) as recorded for the lands of Kahauiki (adjoining Kalihi), Kalihi, Kapālama, Nu‘uanu-Honolulu, Kālia, and Waikīkī (with neighboring lands). We have included lands beyond the specific corridor of consideration for this study, as the narratives provide readers with a larger, traditional context of the relationship Hawaiians share the honua ola (living environment).

The Boundary Commission proceedings (See Appendix C) provide descriptions of the land, extending from ocean fisheries to the mountain peaks; traditional and customary practices; land use; changes in the landscape witnessed over the informants’ lifetime; identify various cultural features across the land; and name individuals who share lineal and/or cultural ties to traditional residents of the lands crossed by the proposed rail corridor. Through the latter names, families with interest in disposition of cultural resources and ilina of the present-day are also identified.

The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and in some instances, their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Other testimonies were transcribed in Hawaiian as cited in this study. The occurrence and recounting of traditional place names (a number of which are no longer in common use) in this section of the study provides present and future generations with a sense of history and value, and can help reconnect people with the culture of place.

The Boundary Commission records documented more than 244 traditional place names along the boundaries of five ahupua‘a and numerous smaller land divisions, with locations extending from the sea (including fishponds and fisheries) to Ko‘olau mountain peaks). These names demonstrate Hawaiian familiarity with the resources, topography, sites and features of the entire island; sharing the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture and practices of the early residents in the region. Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from “outstanding cliffs” to what he described as “trivial land marks” (Coulter 1935:10). History tells us that named locations were significant in past times: “Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography” (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412).

In ancient times, named localities signified that a variety of uses and functions occurred, including:

- (1) triangulation points such as ko‘a (land markers for fishing grounds and specific offshore fishing localities);
- (2) residences; areas of planting;
- (3) water sources;
- (4) trails and trail-side resting places (o‘io‘ina), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot;
- (5) heiau or other features of ceremonial importance;
- (6) may have been the source of a particular natural resource or any number of other features; or
- (7) the names may record a particular event or practice (e.g., use for burials, the making of ko‘i or adzes, or designation as a fishery) that occurred in a given area.

Table 2 below, provides readers with a compendium of place names recorded from Kahauiki to Waikīkī, and names of residents, as documented in the Boundary Commission proceedings. Many of the place names remain in use on maps or among some residents, while others are no longer in use. A number of the places names are found in traditional narratives and historical accounts that are of “national” significance to the Hawaiian people and history of Hawai‘i. Any number of these “wahi pana” could be considered as Traditional Cultural Properties.

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa</b> Auwaiolimu (Ili) Kahehuna Kalawahine Kaloa Kewalo Waikahalulu	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Crown Land</b> Mahoe	<b>1869</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Hauhaukoi (Ili) Kahawali</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Crown Land</b> J.A. Kauwa Keonekapu P.Y. Kaeo S.P. Kalama	<b>1873</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kaakopua (Ili) Kaakaukukui Kalawahine Kaliu Kapauhi Pa Pelekane Peleula Piula (Auwai)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>W.P. Leleiohoku</b> Hueu Kalama Makalawelawe Munu Malulu Keanu Kaawa Kahau Keliiaa Kapa Kauo Kalaau	<b>1873</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kaalaa (Lele) Ili of Honuakaha</b>	<b>B. Namakeha</b>		<b>1873</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kahehuna (Ili) Auwaiolimu Kaakopua</b>	<b>Crown Land Honolulu</b>	R. Keelikolani Waikane Maii	<b>1868</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kalawahine (Ili)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>A. Kealiihonui</b>	<b>1872</b>
Auwaiolimu		M. Kekauonohi	
Haumakaawe		L. & A. Haalelea	
leieula		Kanihina	
Iwilei		Afong	
Kaakaukukui		Keaha	
Kaalaa		Mary E. Foster	
Kaalaa lalo		Kuaana	
Kaalaa luna		H. Kalama	
Koholaloa		Helela	
Kaiwiokaihu		(Por. Pawa Govt. Land)	
Kapulehu		Keahua	
Kauhopuwale		Kaauhauhula	
Kaupo		Hanunu	
Keoneula		George Wood	
Kewalo		Anini	
Kuwili		Kimo	
Lehuahuluhulu		Paele	
Lihue		Wm. Sumner	
Molokohana		R. Gilliland	
Moopili		Wm. Ka	
Nuuanu		Kaia	
Opu		Kalaeloa	
Pahuniu (Heiau)	<b>Kalawahine/Makiki</b>	Ioane Akina	
Papaa		Kamaile	
Papakolea		John Makini	
Pauoa		Holt Estate	
Pawaa		Banning	
Piiwai		Mahana Makahopu	
Piliamoo		Kamehameha V	
Pukaawapuhi		W.L. Moehonua	
Puumakani		Kaena	
Puu Ohia		Kuoi	
Waikahalulu		P. Naone	
		Mahoe	
		Kaina	
		Lahilahi	
		Kaukoke	
		A. Paki	
		Keaeloahi	
		Livingston	
		Paahana	

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kalawahine (Ili)</b>	<b>(continued)</b>	Holapu Pooleho Kaupe Keino	

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu (Kapalama) Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kaliu &amp; Kaliu lalo (Ili)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Julia Alapai Kauwa</b>	<b>1872</b>
Hauahukoi		Lipoa	1878
Kaaipeelua		Kaleikini	1881
Kapaalua		Liaikalani	1885
Kapahaha		Kapu	1916
Kauluwela		J. Kapena	
Kawaiiki		Kaaukai	
Keoneula		Mrs. Rose	
Kuaiula		Wm. Jarrett	
Poohuluhulu		J.E. Chapman	
Pualoalo		H. Kaoo	
Puehuehu (Wailele)		Lupo (w)	
Niupaipai	Kaliu lalo	Maria Peke Pepe Rosalie Tripp Kaumiumi Luka Kama Kulainanea Pehi Kalai David Kahoena Kahapii James Makua David Kukapu Kapahukepau Paki Puowaina (w)  Maluaikoo	

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kaliu (Ili) (Lipoa Portions) &amp; Kapahaha (Ili) Pualoalo Wailele Puehuehu Kauluwela Waikahalulu</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>J.A. Kauwa</b> M. Lipoa Elizabeth Kauwa Keoni Ana Wiliama Kalama Kuukuu Unauna Lupe (J. Robinson) S.P. Kalama	<b>1873</b>
		D. Kawananaoka for Estate of Queen Kapiolani	1902
<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kapahaha (Ili) Hauhaukoi Kuaiula Kawaiiki Keoneula Kaaipeelua Kapaalua</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Kapiolani Est.</b> D. Kawananaoka, Tr. L. Kamehameha Kaluau Mikapala P. Kanoa Lupe (J. Robinson)	<b>1902</b>
<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kapalooa (Ili) Kewalo Kaakaukukui Auwaiolimu</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Crown Land</b> Kamakee & Government V. Kamamalu The King	<b>1868</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kauluwela (Ili)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>V. Kamamalu</b>	<b>1885</b>
Iwilei		C.N. Kumano	
Kalawahine		Kalaeokekai	
Kaliu		Wm. Sumner	
Kamakela		Manele	
Kawa (Loko)		Kahekili	
Koholaloa		Kinau & Kekuanaoa	
Koiuiu		L. Kamehameha	
Kukanaka		R. Keelikolani	
Kunawai		Poomanu	
Kuwili (Loko)		Piki (w)	
Nini		Kaluahine (w)	
Niukukahi		Ku	
Nuuanu (Stream)		Kapule	
Pakii		Kauhema	
Puehuehu (Stream)			
Puunui			
Waikahalulu			

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Kawaiiki (Ili)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Crown Land</b>	<b>1873</b>
		Kapukula	
		Kapohaku	

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kewalo (Ili)</b>	<b>Honolulu</b>	<b>Kamakee Piikoi</b>	<b>1864</b>
Auwaiolimu/Waiolimu		Keanui (w)	1873
Kaaiee		Naone	
Kahulimoa		Kamakau	
Kaiwiokaihu		Mahoe	
Kakaepali		Naihekukui	
Kapapakolea		M. Kekauonohi	
Kukuluaeo		Maii	
Kulaokahua	J.P. Ii, site of a former	maika playground p. 8	
Maia		Kealiihonui	
Nahunia		Poo	
Pauoa		Kaina	
Peleula		L. Haalelea	
Poopoo		Kaoae	
Puuiole		Haole	
Puowaina/Punchbowl		J.P. Ii	
		Moo	
		Kaauiwaipaa	
		Keawehano	
		Hinau	
		Kaohimaunu	
		Kauliokamoa	
		Kaaha	
		Uuku	
		Nawaaholo	
		Keauna	
		Makukoloe	
		Kuoi	
		Nania	
		Kauinui	
		Meheula	
		Ihu	
		Kekahupuu	



**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Puunui</b> Ahua (Loko) Kaa (Loko) Kakaako Kalokoeli Kuaimeki		<b>Kekuanui</b> Kapolei Kukao Iwiula Kahakai M. Kekuanaoa	<b>1873</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Honolulu Ahupuaa Waikahalulu</b>	<b>Nuuanu</b>	<b>H. Kalama</b> Kunane Kekaulahao M. Kamanu C. Kanaina Kuhiau Kaoo	<b>1872</b> 1880

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kahauiki Ahupuaa</b> Kalihi Ahupuaa Kaluaoplena Kapalaalaea Kupehau Kapuukao Koloalu Laelae Leaha Mailihalai Moanalua Ahupuaa Mokumoa Pikapu Pohakaa Pohakuaukai Punakalae Puukapina Puukau Weli (loko)	<b>Crown Land</b> (Boundary)          <b>(Boundary)</b>	   Kainapu Bolabola Keoniholo (R.P. G. 595) Kahaha Nahinu Amona Kanahi Hoohuli Kekuapalau Kioi Kaunuohua A. Adams C. Kanaina Uwe Kekino Palau	<b>1884</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Haunapo (Ili)</b>	<b>Kalihi</b>	<b>Laumaka</b>	<b>1885</b>
Kahoewai		D.L. Kalawaia	
Kaliawa		Piena	
Kaluaopalena		Kaiapa	
Niau		G. Waller	
Pahuiwi		A. Adams	
Paukika		Pulaa	
Puu Haunapo		Hewahewa	
Umi		Kahue	
		Waimahui	
		Kaolala	
		H. Nolte	

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kai o Kaliawa</b>	<b>Kalihi</b>	<b>Fishery of Kaliawa</b>	<b>1890</b>
Ahu Kehookomowaa	Kai o Kaliawa	Geo. Beckley	
Ahu Kumau		C. Lucas	
Ahu Pohaku		A. Adams	
Apili (Loko)		Lokana	
Aweoweonui		Keamalu	
Halii		Waialua (w)	
Hiiwai o Keiki		Kaleiluhiole	
Honoku		Kamehameha V	
Ilinui		Kahuihu	
Kahakaaulana		Lama (w)	
Kahuanana		Kilinahe	
Kalaaukiei		C. Kanaina	
Kalaenahaweli		Ohule	
Kalaeokaoki		Kahunahana	
Kalaeone		Maka	
Kalaeunoa			
Kaluapuhi			
Kaluapuhinui			
Keahukumano			
Kapookamahina			
Keehi			
Laeokaiki			
Makaaa			
Makukaloa		Sand Mound Burial Site of Lama's family	
Moanalua Ahupuaa	(Boundary)		
Mokauea			

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kai o Kaliawa</b>	<b>(continued)</b>		
Mokulau			
Mokuoni			
Moleokauhola			
Namoku		Also called Kalaeokaiki	
Pahou iki (Loko)			
Pahou nui (Loko)			
Pohaku Kiei			
Pupuawa			
Waiololi			

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kaluaopulu (Ili) / Kaluapulu Kalihi</b>			<b>1873</b>
Ananoho (Loko)		A. Adams	
Apili		Kama (T. Sams)	
Halekaua		Kalei	
Haunapo		J. Komoikehuehu	
Kaahaloa		W.L. Moehonua	
Kahauiki Ahupuaa	<b>(Boundary)</b>	J. Kahai	
Kahoiwai		Miliama	
Kaliawa		Kanahi	
Kaluaopalena		Kakaio	
Kauhiakanamee		Kaluaikai	
Kauole		Eliama	
Kekualiliii		H. Hewahewa	
Kukahi		Kama	
Kupehau		G. Beckley	
Laelae		Keano (Eldridge)	
Mokauea		John Ii	
Niau			
Pahou nui (Loko / Kula)			
Pakaaluna			
Pohakuloa			
Pukakaewai			
Puuhale Pohaku			
Umi			
Wailele			

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b> <b>Maluwai (Lele) of Waiaula (Ili) Kalihi</b> <b>(Also known as Kuaiula)</b> Huea Kamanaiki Kapo Kawaaloa Kuaiula (in Kalihi uka) Maluwai (Lele) Nanahele		<b>V. Kamamalu</b> Kaunuohua C. Kanaina Kaunuohua Alex. Adams Daniel Kama Sol. Kamohoalii Mokina Kuamoo Nawahie Eliz. K. Hiram Kaua Kanekoa Kaneolaelae Paniohaku Honolulu Pakoma Kupau Niho Kaneai Puipui Naai W.L. Moehonua	<b>1924</b>
<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kalihi Ahupuaa</b> <b>Pohakulawaia (Ili)</b> <b>(Also known as Huea)</b> Huea Kahauiki Pohakuawaawa Waiaula	<b>Kalihi</b>	<b>Kahaha</b> S.M. Kamakau C.W. Booth	<b>1897</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kalaepohaku (Ili)</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>M. Kekuaiwa</b>	<b>1886</b>
Alewa		V. Kamamalu	
Ananoho (Loko)		R. Keelikolani	
Hauhaukoi		Kaunuohua	
Iwilei		M. Kekuanaoa	
Kahawale (Kahawali)		S.M. Kamakau	
Kalihi Ahupuaa	(Boundary)	Kauai	
Kamanaiki		Keliikuloa	
Kapo		Luaiki Kepuohiohi	
Kealaaku		Napua	
Kealia (Loko)		Kaawaaua	
Keaneulu		Nuuanu	
Keoneula		P. Kanoa	
Kuwili (Loko)		Paele	
Mokauea		Wm. Harbottle	
Naohia		Geo. Pelly	
Nukohe		J. Meek	
Pohakuawaawa		Wm. Sumner	
Pohakuwauwau			
Waolani			

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Fishery</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>M. Kekuaiwa</b>	<b>1886</b>
Ananoho (Loko)			
Kuwili (Loko)			
Mokauea			
Kealia (Loko)	A lele of Kapalama	W. Sumner Koi	

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa Kahawale / Kahawali Apana 1 Keoneula Hauhaukoi</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>J. Kaeo</b>  D.W. Pua Keonekapu Luka Keonekapu Mele Pua S.M. Kaaukai Pihiliili Kahina	<b>1885</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa Kahawale / Kahawali Apana 5 Keaneulu</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>J. Kaeo</b> J.Y Kau Kuluahi Moo Loke (w) Kealakua Pekelo Jos. Gilman Joe West Paahana Kela Umi	<b>1885</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa Kahawale / Kahawali (Hiram Portion) Hauhaukoi</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>J. Kaeo</b> John Hiram Fanny Kaiwi Kepi Kalanihou Levina Kapu Keonekapu Marie Coffin (Kane's granddaughter) Mrs. Bolster (Kane's granddaughter) Mele Holelua (Kane's granddaughter) Kiki	<b>1891</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Kapalama Ahupuaa Kahawale / Kahawali (Spencer Portion)</b>	<b>Kapalama</b>	<b>J. Kaeo</b> Annie Kaaoa (Malumalu) D.W. Pua Keonekapu Kane M. Kekuanaoa Napihe Naholowaa Kahina Holelua	<b>1896</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Waikiki Ahupuaa Hamohamo (Ili)</b>	<b>Waikiki</b>	<b>A. Keohokalole</b>	<b>1865</b>
Apuakehau		W.C. Lunalilo	1920
Kalia		C. Kanaina	
Auaukai		Mamala	
Kaluakau (Part of Kalia)		Pupule	
Kaneloa		Naihekukui	
Makua		Aikanaka	
Paliki		M. Kekuanaoa	
Keonioku		C. Kapaakea	
Puaalilii		Pukaana	
Pohaku o Kauai		Kamaukoli	
Lae Pohaku		Hookaia	
Kukaunahi		Kailio	
Kekio		Kekupuohi	
Kalamanamana (Loko)		Umalele	
Pahoa		Paulokia	
Hoolu		Kailikoli	
Kamookahi		Piiwi	
		Kaneloa	
		Kahiawiawi	
		Hanaumaikai	
		Kailielulu	
		Piikoi	
		Nahalau	
		Hooku	
		Kaaua	
		Kekauluohi	
		Mahuka	
		Kaholoipua	

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Waikiki Ahupuaa Hamohamo (Ili)</b>	<b>(continued)</b>	Charlotte Kaholoipua laukea Wm. Sumner	

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Waikiki Ahupuaa Kaiwiokaihu (Ili)</b> Opu Maunalaha Keaniani Makiki	<b>Waikiki</b>	<b>D. Kauliokamoa</b> E. Maui Roke Keanui Kaohimaunu Poloke Piikoi	<b>1874</b>

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua'a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Waikiki Ahupuaa Kamoku (Ili)</b> Kuilei Hapuna Maui (Loko) Kalia Kuwalu Kaoiiliili Kiona Papaiki o Kepahu Kapaeli	<b>Wakiki</b>	<b>W.C. Lunalilo</b> Keolaloa S. Kauluwailehua Kaaimoi Kauhane Nuhi Palaualelo Kupele Jos. Kawainui Kalaula Kaaimanu	<b>1873</b>

**Table 2. Place Names and Resident Names Cited in Boundary Proceedings**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Cited in Ahupua‘a / Ili Testimony</b>	<b>Notes / Resident Names</b>	<b>Year of Record</b>
<b>Waikiki Ahupuaa</b>			
<b>Kalia (Ili)</b>	<b>Waikiki</b>		<b>1882</b>
Waiaka		Hookaia	
Mookahi		Opunui	
Kaokapokii		Nakohana	
Kaluaolohe		Hookahi	
Pau		Makuaole	
Makoku		Kaleiapo	
Maulukikepa		Haumea	
Alanaio (Auwai)		Nauhana	
Kauamoa (Ili of Kalia)		Kaluopo	
Kaaipuaa		Heami	
Paakea		Kahiki	
Kapahulu		Elama	
Kookahi		Kalama	
Kanukuaula		Nakookoo	
		Kahakai	
		Nakai	
		Kuaana	
		Paukuwahie	
		Kalaeone	
		Kaihoolua	
		W.K. Kawaihapai	
		M. Kekuanaoa	
		Keoneanea	
		Kumoanahulu	
		Kahiloaha	
		Kanemakua	
		Ainoa	
		Kao	
		Kawelohelii	
		Hukau	
		Kalakoa	
		Pahau	
		C. Kapaakea	
		Paoa	

## VII. THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF THE HONOLULU REGION MORE THAN WHAT IS SEEN ON THE SURFACE

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Research conducted as a part of Section 4 of the proposed HART project revealed unexpected findings, and differed in some ways from the research conducted as a part of Sections 1-3 of the proposed rail corridor which passes through the District of 'Ewa and into Moanalua Ahupua'a. While significant changes—development of ranching, sugar plantation, military, business hubs and residences—had occurred in the 'Ewa-Moanalua region, major sections of the landscape still remain visible. Bays, hills, valleys, plains, river alignments, and distant view planes of storied landscapes are still visible, and in many instances the places associated with traditions are still identifiable on the ground. By the time one enters the Moanalua-Kalihi region, and passes through the ahupua'a of Kapālama, Nu'uānu-Kou-Honolulu, and into the Kālia-Waikīkī region, we find that the cultural landscape has been radically altered on the surface. The changes brought about following the arrival of westerners, and the altering of nearly every aspect of traditional life, are centered in the heart lands of Section 4. Most of the significant changes in Hawaiian culture, religion, subsistence lifeways, politics, land tenure and self-determination were played out on the landscape of the Section 4 lands. This cultural transformation and loss of Hawaiian identifiers is described in the preceding sections of this study, with further documentation cited in Appendices A-D.

While the major traditional landscape has been radically altered, we suggest that it is warranted to say that the history of the land is more than what is seen on the surface. For Hawaiians it is the very core of their being and the essence of their spirit. Simply speaking place names evokes a deep cultural attachment<sup>3</sup> to place and heritage, and connects people to their 'āina, mo'olelo, and kūpuna (iwi a me ka uhane pū). One such expression of this relationship is found in a speech made by then Prince David Kalākaua in 1872.

Following the death of Lot Kapuāiwa – Kamehameha V on December 11, 1872, Prince David Kalākaua was among a group of four likely candidates to assume the rule and throne of the Hawaiian Islands. By December 28, 1872, two candidates stood ahead of the others, Prince William Charles Lunalilo and Prince Kalākaua. In a passionate speech presented by Prince Kalākaua on December 28, 1872, he called out to the Hawaiian people, referencing his own lineage and the ascendancy of Kamehameha I as the ruler of the Hawaiian Islands. In the speech, reference was made to the shores of Kuloloia. This call strikes a chord in the hearts of Hawaiians in the present day.

...O my people, my countrymen from old, arise, this is the voice!

Ho, all ye tribes and sections. Ho, mine own ancient people, the people who took hold and built up the kingdom of the Kamehamehas from the blow struck at the

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<sup>3</sup> "Cultural Attachment" embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources etc., that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, "Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture." September, 1995)

water of Keomo to the final union of the islands at the sea beach of Kuloloia, arise, this is the voice...! [The Daily Bulletin, April 15, 1884:4]

While the election held on January 1, 1873 was carried by Prince (subsequently King) Lunalilo, the new King died on February 3, 1874. On February 13, 1874, Prince (become King) Kalākaua took the oath of office, and served as King until his own death on January 20, 1890.

The fact that elder natives and others wrote about the traditions of place across the proposed Section 4 route, and that the history is still accessible in the modern day—in some instances cited in the memories of oral history/consultation program participant (Appendix D)—leads us to conclude that the traditional cultural value of the lands crossed by the proposed rail route (and which have been subject to many other changes), has not been diminished. The lack of surface evidence in areas formerly documented as being cultural landscapes is not the evidence of absence.

Throughout the islands places once cultivated as plantation fields, covered under roads, or built over by modern structures have been found to be rich in cultural layers, some lying just inches below the surface. Along the proposed rail route, past construction has uncovered traditional and historic treasures, human remains, and the evidence of past generations. At places like Pāuhi, Pākākā, Kuloloio, Hale Kauwila, Kaka'ako, Kolowalu and Kewalo, significant features have been revealed, even though construction and filling of coastal features has radically altered these areas over the last 180 years.

At Iwilei-Kāwā, areas traditionally developed as fishponds, with associated wall features, were filled and dry land made available for construction. Subsequent projects revealed that the fill had remarkably preserved the walls and fishpond features. This type of preservation is not unexpected. One must expect that the lands in the Kalihi-Waikīkī section of the proposed route, which have been made by the filling in of former fishponds and other traditional sites are still home of once significant traditional properties, and evidence of Hawaiian skills in resource management.

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