

# KONA, MAI KA PU‘U O KAPŪKAKĪ A KA PU‘U A KAWAIHOA

*Kona, from Kapūkakī to Kawaihoa*

## KONA ‘ĀINA INVENTORY

### Nu‘uanu Palena, Honolulu Ahupua‘a, Moku o Kona



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# NU‘UANU PALENA (HONOLULU AHUPUA‘A)

## **Kāhiko i Nu‘uanu ka ua Wa‘ahila** *Adorned is Nu‘uanu by the Wa‘ahila rain*<sup>8</sup>

This chapter documents the significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Nu‘uanu Palena (Honolulu Ahupua‘a) as well as known community groups engaged in education, restoration and other place-based activities in the palena. The main objective of this chapter is to create a comprehensive database of practical information about community initiatives dedicated to enhancing the lives of Native Hawaiians in Nu‘uanu, both on KS and non-KS land.

Figure 36 and Figure 37 are aerial image and USGS map depictions, respectively, of Nu‘uanu Palena. As described in the Introduction, some of the land divisions in this study near Honolulu are atypical as ahupua‘a (e.g., Pauoa and Makiki), and are referred to here as palena (boundary or partitioning or piece) of Honolulu Ahupua‘a.<sup>9</sup> Nu‘uanu, although it is considered a palena for the purposes of this study, is exceptional in that it is configured like a true ahupua‘a, and also is sufficiently large to be its own ahupua‘a. For example, its upper (mauka) limits do, indeed, reach the Ko‘olau ridgeline; and, its lower (makai) limits do, indeed, reach the ocean, at least as the shoreline was originally configured prior to the major in-filling and development of the late-historic period and modern Honolulu Harbor. By all measures, its resources are particularly abundant and diverse by Hawaiian standards. In fact, one of the authors of this study has argued elsewhere (see Monahan 2017, 2018) that the original inhabitants of O‘ahu—prior to the invasions by Kahekili (Maui) starting in the late eighteenth century, and later by Kamehameha (Hawai‘i)—would have referred to Nu‘uanu as its own, distinct and self-sufficient ahupua‘a, rather than a palena of Honolulu, given Nu‘uanu’s size, configuration and abundant resources from the mountains to the sea. As stated, however, for the purposes of consistency, we have chosen to use the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom government boundaries, which consider Nu‘uanu to be a palena of Honolulu.

Referring to well-known landmarks such as neighborhoods, roads and other infrastructures, the current (modern) boundaries of Nu‘uanu Palena are as follows. Starting from the south (makai) end on the eastern (Diamond Head) side, the boundary starts at the intersection of N. King Street and the Nu‘uanu Stream, just across from Chinatown (which is wholly within Honolulu Ahupua‘a), and at the edge of ‘A‘ala Park (which is wholly within Nu‘uanu Palena); the boundary then heads northeast (mauka) around the perimeter of Chinatown, crossing Vineyard Boulevard, the H-1 highway, School Street and the Pali highway just west of the lower slopes of Pūowaina (Punchbowl); the boundary passes by Pacific Heights (to the east, and wholly within Pauoa) along the east side of Nu‘uanu Stream, then continues a long distance mauka through undeveloped forest lands, past the Dowsett Highlands residential neighborhood (to the west), all the way to the Ko‘olau ridgeline at Kōnāhuanui, 3,150 ft. elevation, and the highest point in the Ko‘olau Mountains. The boundary then curves around to the north and northwest, following the Ko‘olau ridgeline, over the Pali tunnels, then west to another peak, Pu‘u Lanihuli; at this point, the boundary then heads back down (makai) and southwest through undeveloped forest lands bordering first Kalihi then Kapālama Ahupua‘a, past the ‘Ālewa Heights residential neighborhood and other residential and commercial areas below, back over the H-1 highway and other major streets, and ending in Iwilei and the waterfront.

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<sup>8</sup> Pukui (1983:143) explains: “The Wa‘ahila rain makes Nu‘uanu grow green and beautiful.” It is worth stating that this is also the name of Mānoa’s rain, which makes sense since these land divisions share a long boundary up against the Ko‘olau in their upper reaches.

<sup>9</sup> As explained in the Introduction, the boundaries of palena in this study are based on the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom survey.

Table 5 is a summary of the significant wahi pana in Nu‘uanu Palena. Figure 38 is a GIS map depiction of Nu‘uanu’s wahi pana. The table of wahi pana is organized generally from makai to mauka.

## Overview – Hawaiian Cultural Landscape of Nu‘uanu

Compared with other land divisions and areas in Kona Moku, Nu‘uanu may be the most storied and famous, arguably rivalled only by Honolulu, Waikīkī and Mānoa in terms of its cultural, historical and archaeological richness. For example, one of the most significant and impactful events in the history of O‘ahu and of all the Hawaiian Islands—the Battle of Nu‘uanu (where Kamehameha I finally established his dominion over O‘ahu)—took place here. As well, numerous Ali‘i Nui took up residence in the cool uplands of Nu‘uanu. The Nu‘uanu pali, a pass through which travelers could access the windward side of the island, is another of this palena’s outstanding resources.

The lowermost portion of Nu‘uanu (literally, “cool height”) has been heavily modified by urbanization, and much of its middle section by residential development;<sup>10</sup> undeveloped forest lands dominate the upper third or so of Nu‘uanu, which is blessed with numerous streams, waterfalls and pūnāwai (fresh-water springs). There are two main stream systems in Nu‘uanu: the primary (Nu‘uanu Stream) system draining the central valley all the way up to the Ko‘olau ridgeline; and a secondary (Waolani [literally, “heavenly mountain area”] Stream) system that drains much of the west side of the valley. Nu‘uanu Stream is fed by several named tributaries, including (from northwest to southeast): Moele Stream, draining Pu‘u Lanihuli [literally, “turning royal chief”]; Mākūkū Stream, draining the center of the valley; and Lulumahu Stream, draining Kōnāhuanui [literally, “large fat innards”]. The secondary stream system of Waolani is fed by two main tributaries: Kekoalele [literally, “the leaping warrior”] Stream (to the northwest), and Niniko Stream (towards the center of the valley). As depicted and discussed in detail in Table 5 and Figure 38 (below), the uppermost (mauka) portions of Nu‘uanu is home to at least four named waterfalls (Waipuhia [literally, “blown water”], Waipulani, Lulumahu, and Waipuilani [or Waipu‘ilani, which literally translates to “waterspout”]) and one named spring (Kaapaakai). Two named spring/pools (Kunawai and Pūehuehu [literally, “spray scattered”]) are located in the lower valley (Liliha area).

Several heiau have been recorded in Nu‘uanu, including Mākūkū in the upper reaches of the valley near the stream of the same name, two unnamed heiau in the lower central valley, and Kaheiki along the lower Nu‘uanu.


Like other ahupua‘a in Kona Moku, the upland forest in Nu‘uanu was a reliable source of various native, endemic, and Polynesian-introduced plants. These upland resources provided not only food products—especially when famine struck—but also medicinal plants, wa‘a (canoe) trees, and other needed items (e.g., for religious practices, hula, and so on). High-quality basalt for making tools such as ko‘i (adzes) could also be obtained in the upper forest region.

In his study of native planters in Hawai‘i, Handy (1940; Handy and Handy 1972) talked about traditional cultivation, settlement and land use in Nu‘uanu:

Nu‘uanu was a bountiful valley of ever-flowing streams, with taro lands extending from seaward back into extensive terraced areas at least half-way to the upper end of the valley. Its hinterland was rich in resources. It was unique in that the low pass in the Ko‘olau range known as the Nu‘uanu *pali* (cliff) gave easy access to the windward coast. At its seaward end lies Honolulu Harbor . . . (Handy and Handy 1972:475-6)

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<sup>10</sup> Unless stated otherwise, Hawaiian place-name translations are from Pukui et al. (1974).



Handy has written much more extensively about the details of traditional native planters in Nu‘uanu, but a full accounting here is beyond the scope of this study (see Sterling and Summers 1978:293-4) for more details. In any case, Handy’s descriptions, and other evidence such as an extensive network of ‘auwai (traditional irrigation ditches) (see Figure 38. GIS map depiction of significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Nu‘uanu Palena (Honolulu Ahupua‘a)), suggest the main settlement area extended far up into the valley.

Near the original seashore, a pu‘uone (inland-style) fishpond, Loko Keālia, was once located near Honolulu Harbor, just inland of several near-shore fisheries.

## Mo‘olelo

Nu‘uanu was an important place prehistorically and historically, that was rich in mo‘olelo. So much so, it arguably contains more localized mythical and legendary events than any other valley or locality on O‘ahu.

In Waolani, a small valley above the present O‘ahu Country Club was the first heiau on O‘ahu, built by Wākea and Haumea. Thrum (1910:55) wrote:

At Waolani, in Nu‘uanu, was where temples were first erected, because it was there at Wakea and companions lived. There were all the sacred divisions of the temples established, as is told by the people of old, thus:


“Wakea [progenitor of the Hawaiian race] was at Waolani,  
Kukalepe [carvel idol] was at Waolani,  
The paehumu [surrounding image face] was at Waolani,  
The iliili [pebbled pavement] was at Waolani,  
The anuu [tall tapa-covered structure] was at Waolani,  
The mana [prayer house] was at Waolani,  
The halepahu [drum house] was Waolani,  
The moi [principle idol] was Waolani,  
The kuapala [stand on which offerings were placed] was at Waolani.”  
(Thrum 1910:55)

In Waolani also dwelt Menehune brought from Kahiki by Kāne and Kanaloa. Sterling and Summers (1962:302) cite Mary Pukui (1952) stating:

In that area lived menehunes with Kane and Kanaloa. The story of the menehunes is in the story of Ke Ao Melemele. The better version is in the newspapers better than in Westervelt. He took portions from the newspapers but condensed it so, it lost the Hawaiian expression. The Ke Ao Melemele version went to several generations. Namu and Nawa were two groups menehunes. Mu means silent and Wa, noisy (The Silent Ones and the Noisy Ones). The stone of Pohaku a Umeume is not mentioned in the Ke Ao story.

The story goes that a group of menehune wanted that stone moved. Some wanted it moved mauka and some makai. They tugged at the stone in opposite directions until the cock crowed and they all ran away. There the stone remained in its old place but on it are the imprints of the hands of the menehune who did not agree and tugged, not together, but against each other.


According to Handy and Handy (1976:476), another locality is named Mo‘oinanea, the Queen of Reptiles (mo‘o), who led the migration of her people (mo‘o) from Kahiki. They landed at Waialua on the north coast and swarmed overland to Nu‘uanu, which Mo‘oinanea had chosen for her home, and



from there they spread throughout the islands. Mo'ō were inveterate enemies of the Pele clan, and Pele's youngest sister, Hi'iaka, had many battles with mo'ō in her travels through O'ahu. Where ever there was a pool or natural pond there was a female mo'ō who made it her home and guarded it jealously (Handy and Handy 1972: 476). There were several mischievous mo'ō who dwelt near the Nu'uānu pali, one of whom often assumed the form of Kū-īlio-loa, a mist wraith in the form of a great dog that was feared by those who had traveled the pali trail. There are numerous rocks on which are carved into petroglyphs of animal and human figures (McAllister 1933: 83-84).

There are many mythologies of īlio (dog) in Nu'uānu which include Kūīlioloa, Pe'a, Kaupe, and Poki. The mythical dog Kū-īlio-loa (Ku-long-dog) inhabited the uplands of the Ko'olau Range on O'ahu and was known too on Kaua'i. On O'ahu he is still often seen as swirling mist-wraith in the pass between Nu'uānu Valley and the windward lowlands. This is the “dog cloud” of Kū, referred to in the Pukui-Elbert (1986:93). Kū-īlio-loa of Nu'uānu Valley, who can lengthen (loa) and contract his body at will as he passes wraith-like across the gorge and hill, is the ghostly relic of this battle.

Mrs. Pukui also notes that there was said to be a brindled dog (īlio mo'ō, or īlio pe'elua) inhabiting Nu'uānu Valley who was both dog and mo'ō (lizard). The dog was a female named Pe'a, and could be seen walking on the land or living in the stream as a mo'ō. Another magical dog called Poki was said to have been visible in the moonlight, stretched across the mountains above Manoa Valley, by those uttered a wish at the “sacred bell rock at Kamoililili” (Westervelt 1915:83).




There is also a tale of five guardian dogs who “once upon a time” lived with their human family above Kapena Falls in Nu'uānu Valley, keeping the home, its owners, and their friends safe from robbers who sometimes infested the isolated region above the Pali. Handy and Handy (1978:246) cites Clarice Taylor in “Little Tales” (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, September 10, 1953):

It became evident in time that these were the kupua, ancestral guardians, not ordinary dogs. They achieved wide fame one day when they endeavored to prevent two friends of their masters' from pursuing their way to the Pali. The dogs howled and threw themselves in from the travelers. One friend refused to be deterred, the other turned back. The first was sent upon by bandits and killed; the other lived to rejoice in his own rescue. This came to the attention of the ali'i nui, who had the robber band routed out. Ever since, the people of Oahu traveling that way leave flowers, ferns, and food at the Falls in gratitude of the kupua dog guardians. “The larger of the five [dogs] was called Poki. Each of the other dogs had names which have been forgotten.” (Handy and Handy 1978:246)

There is said to be a tradition of a race of hairless dogs, which ties in with the verse from the Kumulipo Creation Chant concerning the conceiving of the first dog, quoted above. These hairless dogs were said to be related to the mo'ō, giant lizards, which lived in the streams and pools of Hawai'i. Sterling and Summers (1962:242-243) quote a tale of a mo'ō living in a pool on Konahuanui Peak at the head of Nu'uānu Pali who was able to save a dog relative from being eaten. This hairless dog, hear of the story, had been fattened in the windward area beyond the Pali, dismembered and cooked in the laulau, was being carried across the mountains in a calabash along with other ti-leaf packages of dog meat suspended from poles as tribute to the ali'i nui in Kona. Handy and Handy (1978:248) writes:


When the party was almost through the hala groves of Kekele at the foot of the Pali, they heard the mo'ō of Konahuanui call out from above “So, you are traveling?” The dog in the calabash made answer: “Yes!” So terrified were the carriers at this exchange that they dropped their burden and fled—but not before seeing the hairless dog emerge alive from the laulau wrappings and tout up Konahuanui to meet the mo'ō. Since then no native would eat hairless dog or raise them, “and the race has finally died out.” (Handy and Handy 1978:248)



There is a similar story told (Green 1926:48) about Pa'e, the brindled dog of Nu'uaniu, according to which Pa'e was also rescued after boasting, this by a "pretty 'ehu woman" who was her mo'o protectress. When Pa'e emerged from the calabash carrier, the two mo'o dived together into the pool.

There are two legends of cannibal dogs with magic powers: one attributed to Kaua'i, where it too was called Kū-īlio-loa and was cut into two when finally overcome. The two parts being turned to stone and recognizable still; the other's locale power was from Nu'uaniu to the sea and westward to the Wai'anae Mountains, where he built a sacrificial temple (heiau) to this gods. This dog, who could assume the shape of either a dog or man, was named Kaupe, and was a scourge to all the leeward side of Oahu, and to Maui and Hawai'i as well. According to Westervelt's version of the legends (1915:90-96), once this creature was overcome and his powers exorcized by prayers to Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa, it was Kaupe's ghost that returned to the upper reaches of Nu'uaniu Valley to watch over his former domain.

In Nu'uaniu Valley also dwelt Maikoha, who disappeared into the ground and became the first wauke plant. In the story of Maikoha, Puiwa is a place by the side of the Nu'uaniu stream where it is said that wauke first grew from his body and taught his daughters Lauhana and Lauhuki to make tapa. They became the 'aumākua (ancestral patronesses) of tapa making. There are two versions of the Maikoha legend, one recorded by Fornander who gives it a Maui locale, and one by Kamakau, who places it in Nu'uaniu Valley on O'ahu (Sterling and Summers 1962:302).



In the version provided by Handy and Handy (1976:208) recorded by Kamakau (in *Ku'oko'a* published on July 6, 1865) and translated by Thrum, as Maikoha was dying he said to his daughters; "When I die, bury me beside a stream, and the plant that will grow from my grave will be [used for making] the tapa, the skirts, the loincloths and other benefits for you two [to be] obtained from its outer bark." The daughters did as directed and the plant grew and became the wauke. When they saw it the daughters gathered the bark and beat it into tapa cloth for skirts and loincloths. Just as the daughters became the patronesses of tapa makers, Maikoha was venerated by wauke planters. "The body of Maikoha was carved into calabashes ('umeke) and placed before the priest and the chiefs for remembrance."

Many battles took place in and near Nu'uaniu. The Battle between Kahahana and Kakehiki took place at Kaheiki. In this battle the waters of the stream 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 (Kamakau 1992). In the Battle of Kawaluna, stood the sacred heiau of Kawaluna in the valley of Waolani, which only the highest chief of the island was entitled to consecrate at the annual sacrifice. Crossing the mountain by the Nu'uaniu and Kalihi passes. In Fornander's version of the story, Kualii assembled his men on the ridge of Keanakamano, overlooking Waolani valley, descended to the heiau, performed the customary ceremony on such occasions, and at the conclusion fought and routed the Kona forces that had ascended the valley to resist and prevent him (1914-1915:280). The Kona chiefs submitted themselves and Kualii returned to Kailua.

Perhaps one of the most famous stories is The Battle of Nu'uaniu in the year 1795. This story was written by many including versions by Emma Nakuina (1904), Thomas Thrum (1920), Pilahi Pahi (1972), Abraham Fornander (1918-1919), and Laura Green and Mary Pukui (1936). In the version told by Nakuina (1904):

Kamehameha landed at Waikiki, his immense fleet of canoes occupying the beach from Waikiki to Waialae, to the windward Diamond Head.

Immediately on disembarking the any was formed in a line of battle and marched to Nu'uaniu Valley to meet Kalanikupule. Several running engagements took place between the opposing forces, commencing at the opening of the valley on the Ewa side of Punchbowl, then again at about the present cemetery sites, and around where the royal mausoleum stands. Finally the hostile forces met in a punched battle at Puiwa.

The army of Kamehameha gradually gained the advantage, and the forces of the Oahuan king were pushed further and further up the valley.

They tried to make a stand at Luakaha and at Kaniakapupu, the hill above, but were defeated by the superior forces under Kamehameha, and fleeing up the valley, were pursued and driven over the precipitous pali, thousands there meeting death. (Nakuina 1904)

Nu‘uanu also appears in many other legends which include: *Catch of the Gods* (Armitage and Judd 1944), *Keaomelemele* (Westervelt 1915), *Pumaia* (Fornander 1916-1917, Haleole and Beckwith 1911-1912), *Legend of Kawelo* (Fornander 1918-1919), *Legend of Palila* (Fornander 1918-1919), *Aiai* (Fornander 1916-1917, Haleole and Beckwith 1911-1912), *At the top of the Word* (Raphaelson 1925), *Kaliuwa‘a Falls and Kamapua‘a the Demigod* (Thrum 1920), *The Water of Hao* (Pukui and Curtis 1985), *Kauilani and the Sea Monster* (Pukui and Curtis 1985), *Pele and Hi‘iaka* (Emerson 1915), *History of Kualii* (Fornander 1916-1917), *Legend of Kaulu* (Fornander 1918-1919), *Kaiana* (Kalakaua 1888), *Waipuhia* (Paki 1972), *Kalelealuaka* (Thrum 1907), *Legend of Paalua and Kawelu* (Thrum 1907), *The Gods Who Found Water* (Westervelt 1915), *The Owls of Honolulu* (Westervelt 1915), *Ancient Faiths of Hawaii* (Skinner 1900), and *The Bird-Man of Nuuanu Valley* (Westervelt 1915).

## Mele

As Nu‘uanu is rich in mo‘olelo, it is also rich in mele. A large body of songs and chants were composed for Nu‘uanu. Some of the well-known and easily accessible mele include *Aloha Nu‘uanu*, *Nu‘uanu Mele*, *Ua Nani o Nu‘uanu*, *Aia i Nu‘uanu Kou Lei Nani*, *Nani Nu‘uanu*, *Ka Wailele o Nu‘uanu*, *Alekoki*, and *Maunawili*, to name a few. Other mele include songs written for the beloved, making references to Nu‘uanu such as the mele *Na Kau(i)keaouli no Nahienaena*, *Kauikeaouli*, *Kanikau no Miss Rachel Iminaauao Kamainalulu*, and *He Lei No Kapi‘olani or No Kapi‘olani*. Below are but a few traditional mele pulled from Bishop Museum’s archives that are for or make reference to Nu‘uanu.

### ‘O Nu‘uanu ia

The first mele was published in *Ke Aloha Aina* on February 1, 1919 and noted as a name song for Nu‘uanu (Bishop Museum Archives, MICRO 363.9)

*O Nuuanu ia  
Hanohano Nuuanu aia iuka*

*Nou ana e ka ua pepekapu  
Pulu pe nei ili anu huihui  
Ke nihi aela ma na kualono  
E hea mai ana la kaua  
E hoi ka ui o na pali Koolau*

It is **Nuuanu**  
Majestic is **Nuuanu** in the upper precipice of the mountain  
Pitched by the Pepekapa rain  
My skin is soaked with the numbing cold  
Creeping atop the upper ridge of the mountain  
Beckoning us both  
To return to the beauty of the **Koolau** mountains

### Kamakahala

The song titled *Kamakahala* is thought to be a Mele Inoa. The notes attached to the song state it was published in *Ka Loea Kalaiaina*, August 27, 1898 and composed for Mrs. Irene Kahalelaukoa Brown Holloway, daughter of the chief John Papa ‘Īī and mother of George and Francis Brown. She had a home in Waipi‘o, O‘ahu. The second verse “O silent fish,” has no reference to fish but the pipi, a shellfish. As it was found only in the ‘Ewa district on O‘ahu, the district itself is sometimes referred to poetically as “silent fish.” The Bishop Museum Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (III V. 3. Pg 873) also state that the song was published in *Ke Aloha Aina*, January 25, 1919 and that “portions of mele by



Abner Paki, Ha'alilio, and Konia were combined into a himeni by J. Waiolohia and made into a mele inoa for Lili'uokalani.

*Aia la i ka pua o ka makahala  
E noho mai la i Nuuanu  
E walea ana paha ka wahine hele la  
I ke kui pua lei ahihi*

There is the blossom of the makahala  
Dwelling in **Nuuanu**  
The women traversing the sun is perhaps enjoying herself  
Stringing a lei of ahihi

*Hui  
He mea mau no i ke kanaka  
O ka ono wale aku no.  
I ka i'a nui e ma'alo i ku'u maka  
Aole paha ia oe ia wahi e  
Lihaliha i ka maka hawaii o uka  
E noho mai la i ka nahele  
Kikepa ka ohu i na pala,  
Ka noe kukala hala*

*Chorus*  
Tis the way of the humankind  
To yearn  
The fish that passes before the eyes  
That is no affair of yours  
Weary with the source of upland water ways  
Some dwell in the forest  
The cliffs are clothed in mist  
The fog weaves through the hala trees.

### He Kukui A

The mele *He Kukui A* names places around the island and the nuances and localities of that place. The mele ends with Nu'uanu by Kaluahinenui. (Bishop Museum Hawaiian Ethnological Notes, III PP 1152-1153).

*He kukui a iki i ke kai o Kaena-  
A nui mai o Hooilo ka malama  
Hia kau ka palala ino, a ka makani  
Ke hauli kai mai lalo o Lehua  
Ke haki nuanua mai i ka moana  
Uu ka polo kai nalu a ke Koolau  
O ka hoolalau kekahi a ka moe  
O ka lima ka nui i ka hai mea  
Ma laila la--ea*

A light glimmering at the sea of **Kaena**  
That increases in the wintry months  
Glowing in the ranging of the gales  
A darkness settles below Lehua  
The ocean breaks in waves  
The billows of the **Koolau** rise and spread  
In a dream one reaches forth  
With one's hand for another's possession  
There - over there

*Kaniakama*

*By Kaniakama*

*Kukui maka ula ahi na Kamaile  
Hoolamalama i ka pali o Kalalau  
He ahi makali hoali na ke kupa  
E hoehu ana i kau ka momoku  
Kiu ka auhau kokoe i ka papala  
Ahai ke ahi welowelo i Kamaile  
Akaka uwahi i ka pali i Makuaiki e-a  
He ike ke aloha i waho, ue nui i loko  
O kona pehu kahaia he manao  
Ma laila la--ea*

A red torch glows at **Kamaile**  
Lighting the cliffs of **Kooolau**  
A fire offered and lit by a native  
Lit to burn upon a stick  
To burn brightly on a brand of papala wood  
To dip and sway at **Kamaile**  
The smoke is clearly seen at **Makuaiki**  
Love is seen outside but most remains inside  
A thought that swells and grows within him  
There - over there

*Kaapuiki*

*By Kaapuiki*

*Kukui e a mahina i uku o ka lewa  
Hiki malama i ka wai a ke kehau  
Hoohalua ka Waiopua i ke kula  
I ka hui kono ku a ka Waikaloa  
Nihinihi ke ahi i kau ahi i ke pili  
Hoomaawa no a hiki i kai o Ewa  
Paewa ka maka e ka nana mau ia  
Waiholoa ka onohi o ike ia mai  
O kuhia mai ua hilahila i ka moe*

A light is the moon shining in the sky  
It appears with the falling of the dew  
The waiopua breeze wreaks havoc upon the plains  
As it accepts the invitation of the Waikaloa and joins it  
Only a little light aflame on the pili grass  
It streaks along toward the sea of **Ewa**  
The eyes that gaze at it see it indistinctly  
Gaze not too long lest you be noticed  
Lest it be thought that you are ashamed to sleep

*Ma laila la--ea  
Moe hiolo ka naulu wai Lihue  
Ua lana piha aku la o Kukaniloko  
Haale kahawai i ka luna o Puukuua  
Kapoo kapalulu aku la o Waimanalo  
Pulu Kekaha ua ola o Waianae  
Ua nai wale ia nei e holu nei  
E uwe nui oe i lohe kakou*

*Ma laila la--ea*

*Mauli*

*Kukui makala oha luna Kaala  
Ku kilohi e ike ia Koolau  
E nana i na lae hala o Kahuku  
Ia ike au i ka ua maamaa kua  
I ke ano oia ua Poaihala  
Hala ka ua kilinehe i ka pali  
Aka nehe no ia ua ahii Puukoa - e  
He koa alolu ia nei no ka moe  
He pupuki nopa lua ia nei no ka lohe*

*Malaila la ea*

*Kukui weli Nuuanu na ka Waahila  
Malamalama Kaholoakeahole  
Holo moku i ke ala pawa i no ka Lanihuli  
He makia na ka ua o Lanimaomao  
Huna Wailele no Waipuilani  
He wai mu wale waha na ke Kiowao - e*

*Hoao ia olua i ike ia*

*He aha hoi ia au e lele iki nei*

*Malaila la ----ea*

*Kaluahinenui.*

There - over there  
The rain clouds tilt pouring forth water in **Lihue**  
It flows 'til it covers **Kukaniloko**  
The streams of **Puukuua** fill to the brim  
They rush with a roar vanishing at **Waimanalo**  
Kekaha is wet, **Waianae** revived  
Great effort is made to dip and swar  
Bawl so that we may all hear

There - over there

By Mauli

A light glows brightly on **Kaala**  
Where one can stand and glance down on **Koolau**  
To look at the hala grove of **Kahuku**  
I have seen the familiar mountain rains  
The appearance of the Poaihala rain  
The rain passes quietly along the cliffs  
Sneaking softly to join the unruly Puukoa rain  
A spry warrior is he who lies here asleep  
A person whose prowess is often heard

There over there

A light that shines afar is **Nuuanu** to the Waahila rain  
It brightens **Kaholoakeahole**  
It spreads wide over **Lanihuli**  
The rain settles on **Lanimaomao**  
Sending fine sprays falling at **Waipuilani**  
Water blow by the mouth of the Kiowao breeze

Why don't you two try and know what it is like?

What is it that you give a little start

There - over there

By Kaluahinenui

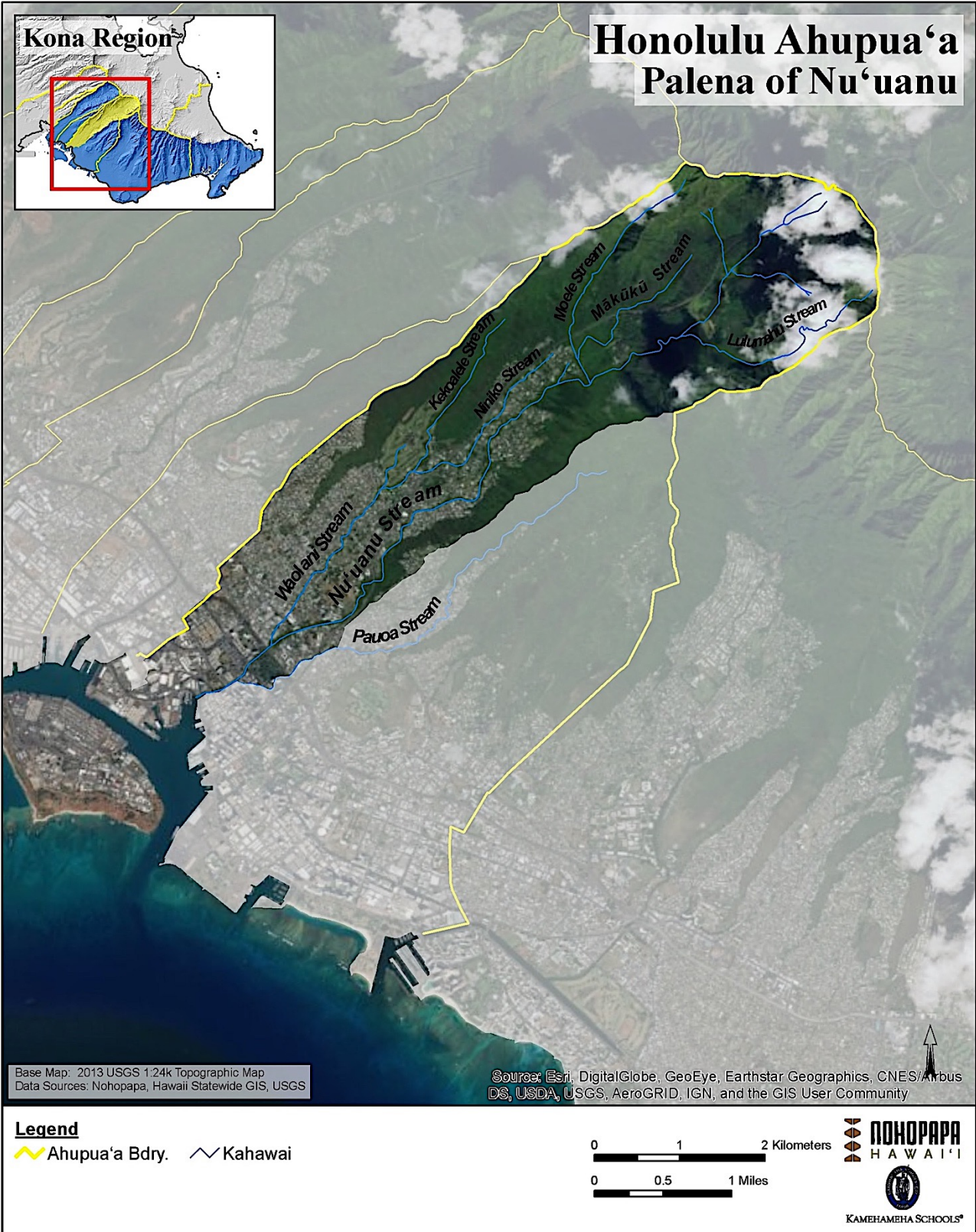


Figure 36. Aerial image of Nu'uanu Palena

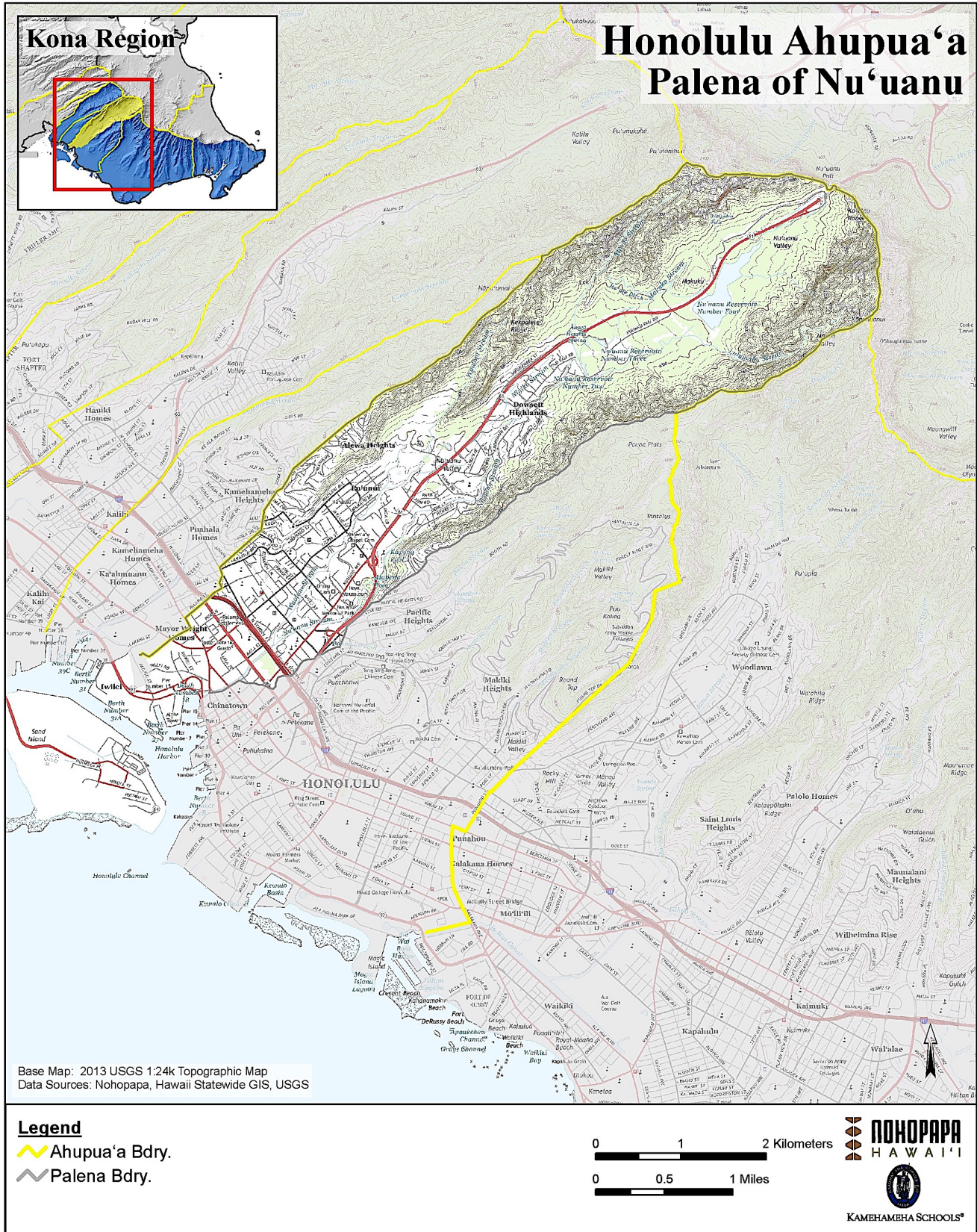


Figure 37. USGS map of Nu'uuanu Palena

Table 5. Summary of Selected Wahi Pana in Nu‘uanu Palena

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo‘olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Koholāloa (sometimes Kaholāloa) Reef	Reef- natural resource	Near current east end of Sand Island/Channel into Honolulu Harbor	Possibly part of LCAw 153 to one William Sumner, granted by Kamehameha III for his services to the king	Historically impacted by harbor dredging/ building of Sand Island	Literally “long reef”; after 1868-9, used to build up Quarantine Island (precursor to Sand Island)
Iwilei Fishery	Nearshore fishery	Iwilei Fishery	--	Mostly filled in/covered over by Sand Island	Channel between Sand Island and piers of Honolulu Harbor
Kūwili Fishery	Nearshore fishery	Kūwili Fishery	--	Filled in by piers and docks of Honolulu Harbor	Originally, this fishery fronted Loko Kūwili & Loko Kapukui
Loko Keālia	Fishpond (pu‘uone type)	Nu‘uanu kai, near current Iwilei	--	Filled in long ago by urbanization and harbor/pier development	Literally, “the salt encrustation”
Kamanuwai	Storied place/taro patch	Near current intersection of Beretania & Nu‘uanu streets	Kāne and Kanaloa story where a water bird or duck was used to transport their foster child wherever he wanted to go	Presumably filled in/destroyed by urban development	By 1884, this place was no longer used as a taro patch, which is was traditionally, but, rather, as a place that Chinese grew bananas; literally, “the water bird”
Nu‘uanu & Waolani Streams Lo‘i & Settlement Area	Lo‘i kalo (irrigated taro) & House sites	Lower & middle central Nu‘uanu valley	--	This was a very extensive system, and some parts of it still exist, particularly some ‘auwai and other water channels	Note, large portions of an extensive ‘auwai (traditional irrigation ditch system) have been mapped throughout the main lo‘i and settlement area—see Figure 11



Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pūehuehu	Water pool	Area/section of Waolani Stream known as Pūehuehu	Pukui-translated story about Papahānaumoku (Papa) (original earth mother) and a man named Kali'u, and how Papa created this water pool	Developed over by urbanization	From 1906 Hawaiian newspaper (J.M. Poepoe)
Kaheiki Heiau	Heiau,	Lower Nu'uaniu Stream, Pauoa side	Described by Kamakau as built by the menehune (which always suggests a great antiquity); related to Kaupe, the supernatural man-killing dog of O'ahu	Purportedly destroyed by early 1930s	Original location of this heiau is a bit uncertain; there are different ideas about where it was
Kunawai	Pūnāwai (fresh-water spring) & pool	Just 'ewa of Liliha St. and just makai of Kunawai Ln.	According to a Hawaiian language newspaper article in 1884 by Moses Manu, this was a bathing pool for the "rainbow goddess," and the "owner of this pool was a . . . mo'o"	Presumably destroyed by urban development	According to the mo'olelo, the name of the resident mo'o was Kunawai
Loko Alapena	Pool in Nu'uaniu Stream associated w. 3 petroglyph areas	Current location of Nu'uaniu Memorial Park & Mortuary	--	Indeterminate	3 petroglyph areas are described in <i>Sites of Oahu</i> (Sterling & Summers 1978:299-300) as Site #s 67-69
Loko Kapena	Small pool in Nu'uaniu Stream, also described as waterfall	Currently location along Nu'uaniu Stream behind Philippines Consulate	Supernatural dogs, including Poki, the most famous	Indeterminate	--

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Unnamed Heiau (n=2)	Indeterminate (destroyed long ago)	1 was at or near 2290 Liliha St., the other was at or near 2712 Nu'uanu St.	Heiau at or near 2712 Nu'uanu St. associated w. a mainlander who came to build a house right on top of it; he was warned not to, and later died because of his carelessness	Destroyed long ago by residential development	These heiau are described in <i>Sites of Oahu</i> (Sterling & Summers 1978:295)
Niolapa (or Niolopa)	Storied place/famous taro gardens	Near current Nu'uanu Ave.	Supplied famous "Piialii" (red taro) to the Royal Palace; Niolopa once belonged to Haalelea who married Amoi	Presumably built over by residential development	--
Hanaiakamalama (or Hānaiakamalama)	Storied place/Queen Emma's Summer Palace	2913 Pali Highway	Site named for a demi-goddess; main house known as Hale Aniani; associated in general w. the Kamehameha lineage	Museum open to the public	Constructed circa 1847 or 1848; literally, "the foster child of the light (or moon)"
Pū'iwa	Storied place w. a pool and cave	Current general location of Puiwa Rd. and Ln., and Nu'uanu Elementary School	Kamehameha's cannon fired here, around time of Battle of Nu'uanu and blew up a rock wall the O'ahu forces were sheltering behind; older mo'olelo about "a god of tapa makers, Maikohā, was buried here near the stream, and from his body grew the first <i>wauke</i> (paper mulberry) plants (in Pukui et al. 1974:193)	Pool and cave are likely intact	Specific location of pool and cave are not known, but Pū'iwa is located on the wahi pana map below; literally "startled" or "startling"
Kahuoi	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – palena boundary marker	Ridgeline between Pauoa & Nu'uanu	--	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	Kahuoi is also the name of an old, now destroyed heiau whose exact location is indeterminate

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pōhaku 'Ume'ume	Storied stone	Along east side of Kekoalele, at Waolani; O'ahu Country Club grounds	Menehune stories; also a struggle between Waolani (west side of valley) and Pū'iwa (east side of valley) over stone—eventually won by Waolani	Indeterminate	Literally, “pulling back and forth stone”; note, there are other stories in addition those mentioned in this table entry
Kanoniakapueo (or Kanoneakapueo)	Storied place/pool	Near current Pali Highway, an Dowsett neighborhood	“Where the owls of Koolau and Kahikiku gathered” (Moses Manu, 1884-5)	Indeterminate	According to Pukui, place name translates to “Owls dismal hoot”; another translation by Lahilahi Webb is “Cry of the owl”
Kapoholua	Natural feature/pu'u	Ridgeline between Kekoalele & Niniko streams	--	Presumably intact	--
Kahalepahu	Natural feature/pu'u	Ridgeline between Kekoalele & Niniko streams	--	Presumably intact	No translation found, but, possibly “the drum house” or “the house [of] drums”
Nāpu'umaia (or Nāpu'umai'a) (peak, elevation 1,870 ft.)	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – ahupua'a boundary marker	Ridgeline between Kapālama & Nu'uauu	--	Presumably intact	Literally, “the banana hills”
Holopoahina	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – ahupua'a boundary point	Marks very top of Kapālama Ahupua'a, where it intersects with Kalihi and Nu'uauu	--	Presumably intact	--



Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kaapaakai Spring	Pūnāwai (fresh-water spring)	Upper Nu'uanu Stream near its confluence w. Moele Stream	J.S. Emerson in 1877 wrote "Delicious cool water . . . Formerly this spring was kapu to common people – chiefs only were allowed to drink from it."	Most likely altered/modified by a long time ago, and later by Board of Water Supply activities	Not to be confused with an area below this known as Kahapa'akai ("salt place"), a stopping/resting place for cattle being driven to Honolulu from the Pali
Waipuilani Falls	Waterfalls	Upper Nu'uanu above Kaapaakai Pūnāwai	According to a traveler from a whaling vessel (F.O. Bennett) in 1834-5, a mo'ō lived at this place	Possibly altered by historic/modern activities, such as by the Board of Water Supply	Pukui et al. (1974) do not mention this specific location, but do note a place in Maui called Waipu'ilani (literally, "waterspout")
Kaniakapūpū	House site of Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli)	Upper Nu'uanu, near Waipuilani Falls	Lots of middle nineteenth century stories and social events	Ruins are supposedly in preservation status but under siege from vandals	--
Kaiholena	Natural feature/pu'u	Upper Nu'uanu, east side of Moele Stream	--	Presumably intact	--
Mākūkū Heiau	Heiau, possibly of the rain-bringing variety	Upper Mākūkū Stream (west of current Pali Highway)	According to Kamakau, the purpose of this heiau was to send rain	Indeterminate	--
Lulumahu Falls	Waterfalls	Upper Nu'uanu along Lulumahu Stream	--	Presumably intact	--

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kaumuhonu	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – palena/ahupua'a boundary marker	Intersection of Pauoa, Nu'uaniu & Mānoa	--	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	Literally, “the turtle oven,” and described by Pukui et al. (1974:95) as a place in Ni'ihau
Pōhaku Manamana	Storied stone	Close to the Pali Highway on its east side	Story about Boki (brother of Kalaimoku) overseeing road construction in early 1800s was warned about removing a large stone by a “divining kahuna named Luau,” ignored the warning, but his men could not remove it	Indeterminate—likely removed/destroyed long ago	Mo'olelo in this table recounted by Kamakau
Waipuhia Falls	Waterfalls	Below Pu'u Lanihuli	Story about a boy and girl who lived in these hills, their friendship and loss of each other, and how the girl's tears became the mist and rain that was carried down the valley	Presumably intact	Also known as “upside down falls”; in addition to the mo'olelo in this table, there is other oral-historical information about this place dealing with Kāne and some fair maidens who lived in the mountains
Pu'u Lanihuli	Natural feature/pu'u/ Boundary marker along Ko'olau ridgeline	Upper, northwest corner of Nu'uaniu Palena	“Name of an ancient mo'o god of Lā'ie” (Pukui et al. 1974:128-9)	Presumably intact	Literally, “turning royal chief”

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pōhaku Hāpu'u	Kia'i (guardian) stones – paired with Pōhaku Kala'iola	Originally right along the 'ewa side of the old Pali trail	Numerous accounts in <i>Sites of Oahu</i> (Sterling and Summers 1978:312-14)	Probably destroyed long ago by road construction	--
Pōhaku Kala'iola	Kia'i (guardian) stones – paired with Pōhaku Hāpu'u	Originally right along the Diamond Head side of the old Pali trail	Numerous accounts in <i>Sites of Oahu</i> (Sterling and Summers 1978:312-14)	Probably destroyed long ago by road construction	--
Waipulani Falls	Waterfalls	Below Kōnāhuanui	-	--	--
Nu'uaniu Pali	Pass through the Ko'olau ridgeline to the windward side	Above the Pali tunnels	Battle of Nu'uaniu; the great notches of the Pali	--	--
Kōnāhuanui	Natural feature/pu'u/ Boundary marker along Ko'olau ridgeline	--	--	--	Highest point on the Ko'olau Mountain range at 3,150 ft. elevation

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> References for more information on “Associated mo’olelo/other oral history” are listed in this column, where applicable.

<sup>2</sup> General references used in compiling information in this table include McAllister (1933), Pukui et al. (1974), Sterling and Summers (1978).

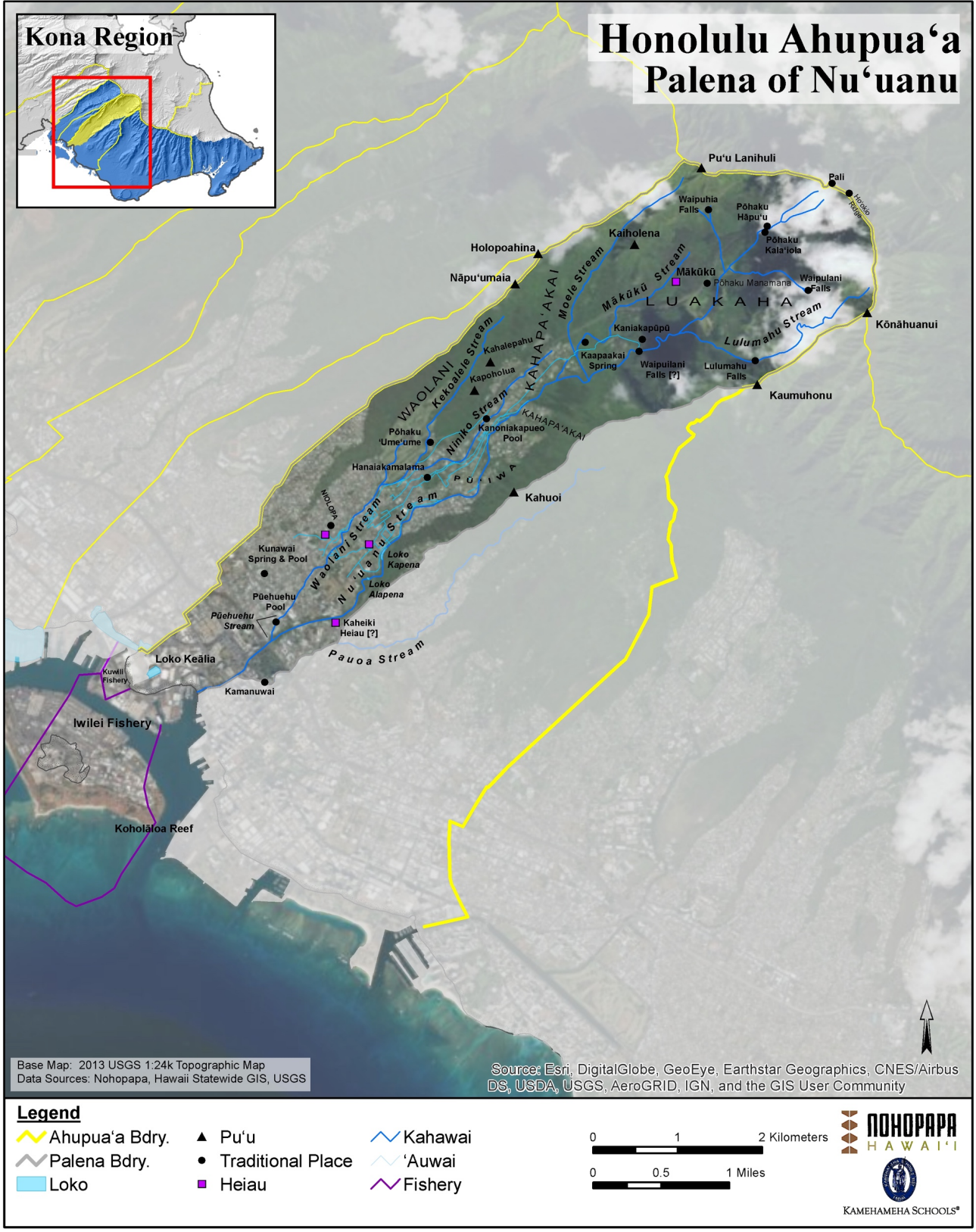


Figure 38. GIS map depiction of significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Nu'uano Palena (Honolulu Ahupua'a)



Figure 39. ca. 1889 photo of the Nu‘uanu Pali road (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref#H-00034-08)



Figure 40. 1940 photo of the old Nuuanu Pali road from the Windward side. The roadway is visible winding up towards Ko‘olau Mountains (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref #H-00002-17a)



Figure 41. 1910 photo "Going up Nuuana [sic] valley. The suburbs of this city are mostly valleys which run back to the mountains" (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref # H-00008-15)

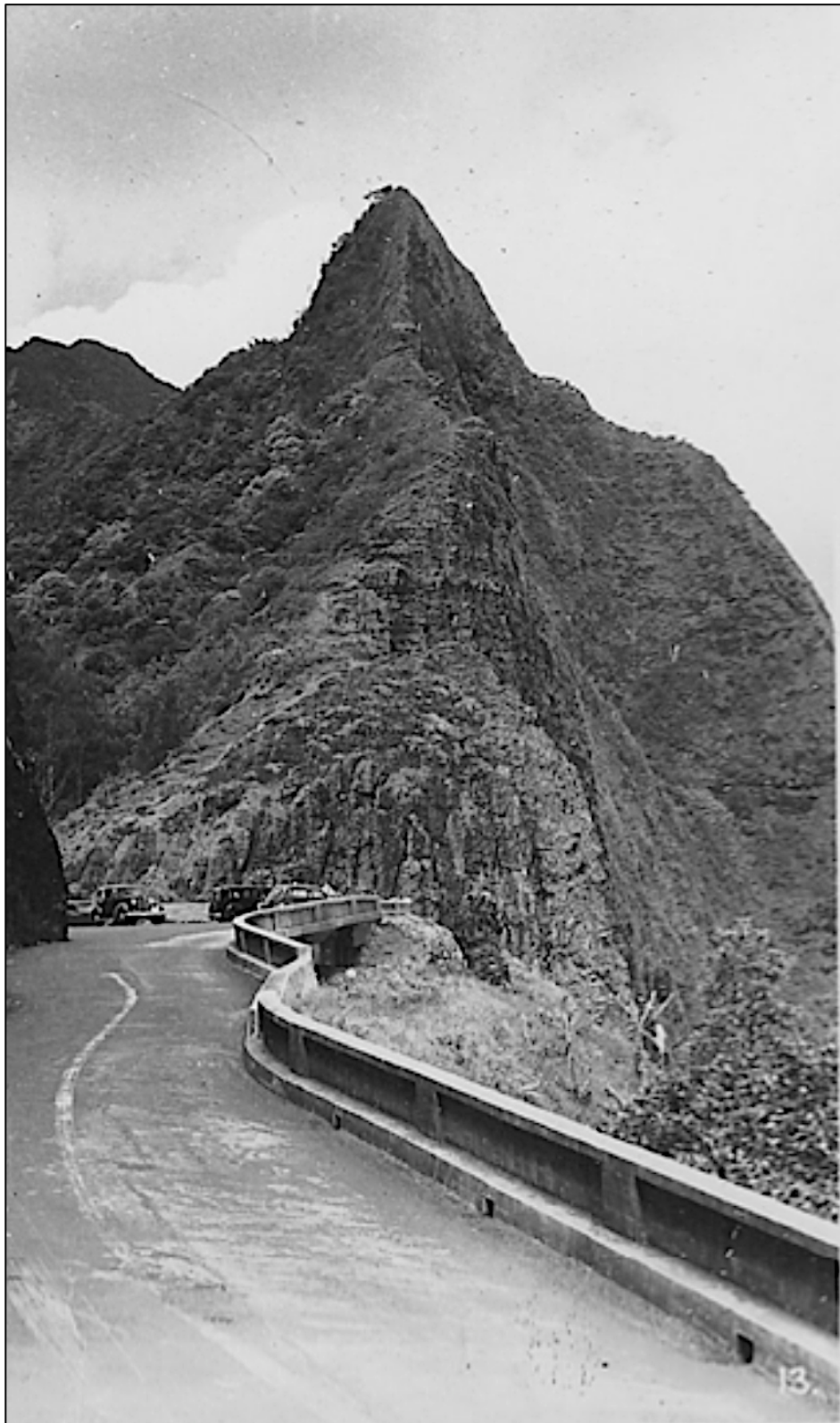


Figure 42. 1940 photo of the Old Pali Road looking up the road from the windward side near Nu'uuanu Pali lookout (UHM Digital Image Collections, Ref #H-00002-12b)

## Community Groups in Nu‘uanu

This section provides a summary of the community groups in Nu‘uanu, including details about their organizational profile, activities and services they provide, target audiences they service, new and existing partnerships, and strengths, opportunities, challenges, and needs of the organization. More specific information on the organization’s capacity (such as planning and assessment, staffing, funding and resources, communication, and site access, management, and security) can be found in the table in Appendix D.

### ‘Ahahui Mālama o Kaniakapūpū

‘Ahahui Mālama o Kaniakapūpū is a grass roots community organization that is preserving and protecting the heiau and summer palace of Kauikeaouli. They promote cultural and historic understanding of the significance of this wahi pana to keep alive the knowledge and achievements of Kauikeaouli and the lāhui. Their short-term goal are preservation, protection and education. Their long-term goals are to restore the archaeological features and restore them back to life; restore the ‘auwai and lo‘i on site and to bring agricultural production on line.

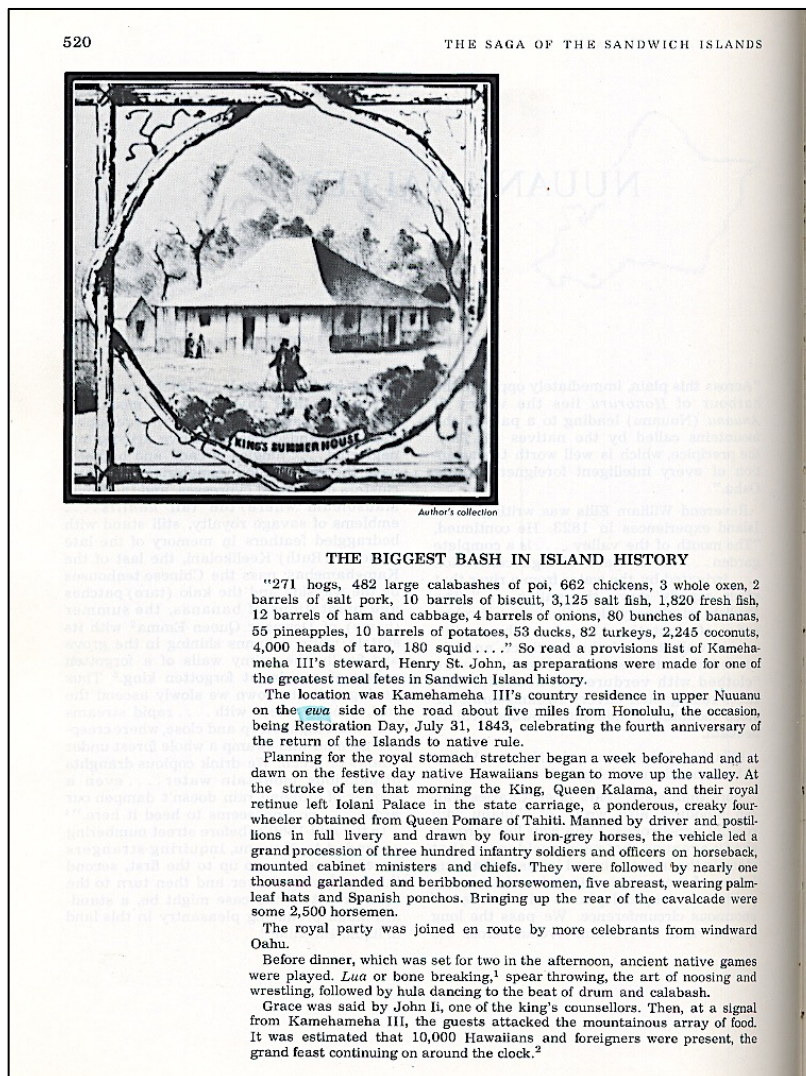


Figure 43. Drawing of Kauikeaouli's Summer House. (Photo credit: Courtesy of Baron Ching)



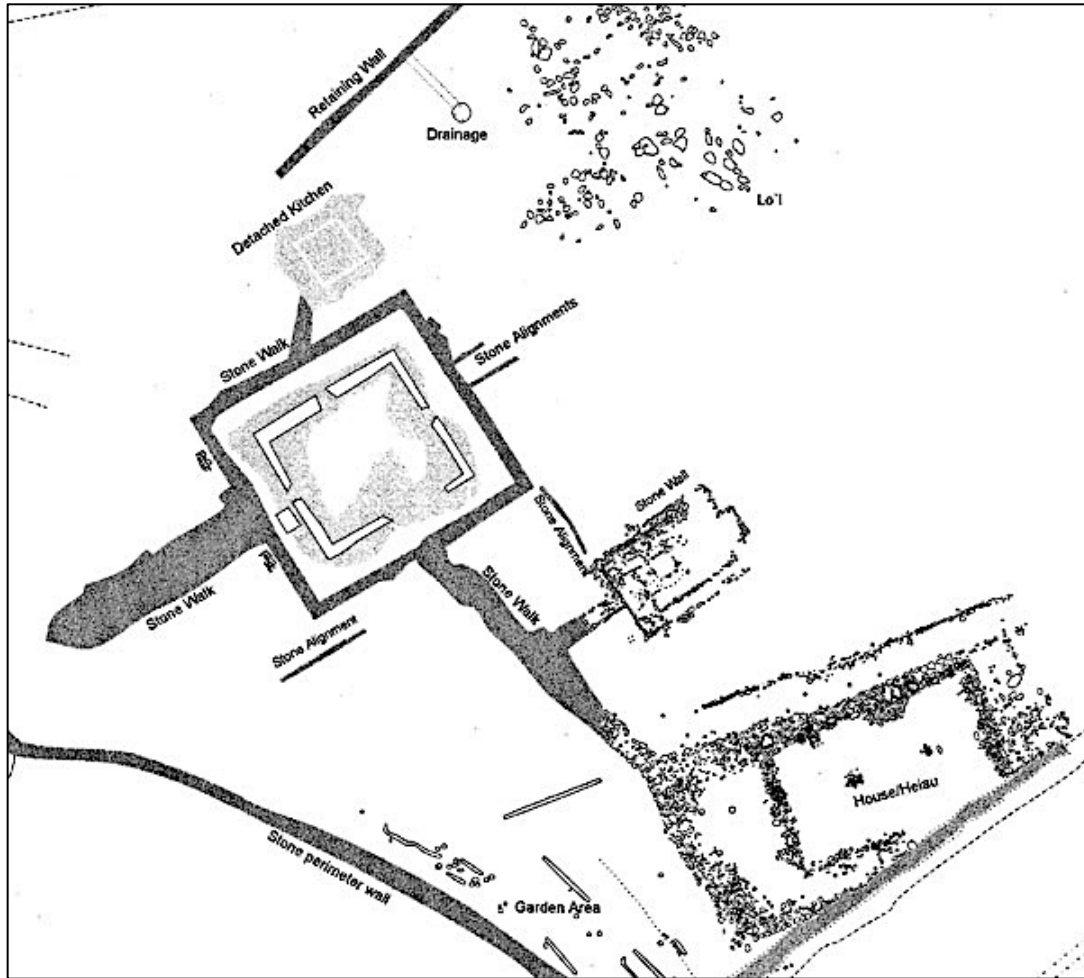


Figure 44. Plan view map of Kaniakapūpū. (Photo credit: Courtesy of Baron Ching)

### **Community Outreach & Survey Results**

#### **Organization Profile:**

Contact person	Baron Ching
Address	321 N. Kuakini St. #708 Honolulu 96817
Phone number	(808) 722-9358
Email	bchingkahoola@gmail.com
Website/Social media	N/A
Year organization formed	~1998 but stewardship granted in 2002 with DLNR State Historic Preservation Division
501c3 status	No, but they are currently working on it.

#### **Services, Target Audiences, & Partnerships:**

Sites they mālama	Ahupua'a o Honolulu, 'ili o Luakaha, Hale ali'i me ka heiau o Kaniakapūpū.
Services provided	Community engagement, Cultural development (i.e. cultural activities, crafts, practices), Cultural resource management, Education, Food production & security, Research, Sustainability

	Cultural and historic orientation and integration site visits and service; educate on the impact of this wahi pana on how modern Hawai'i has come to be.
Use of place based curriculum?	Yes, site visit; photographs; mo'olelo of the ahupua'a.
Use of cultural protocols, activities, and practices ?	Yes, entry protocols; oli and hula are encouraged; assistance and education on creation of various hula implements.
Public volunteer work days?	Yes, first Sunday of the month. Some months may vary depending on conflicts that month; best to call or email.
Student School groups (& ages) they service	Yes, 14-18 years old (9th-12th grade), 18+ years old (Post-secondary), The site is currently rough and we recommend that students that show up be fairly mature or closely supervised by adults.
Community groups they service	Hawai'i Pacific University Kua'ana Student Services, UH Mānoa
Existing organizational partners	Nu'uano 'Auwai Hui; Suzanne Chun Oakland's community hui; DLNR State Historic Preservation and O'ahu Forestry Divisions; we used to have cooperative agreements with 'Iolani Palace, Hānaiakamala.
Organizations wanting to partner with in the future	Kamehameha Schools; hula hālau; cultural hui and practitioners.



## Hulili Ke Kukui Hawaiian Center at Honolulu Community College

Hulili Ke Kukui Hawaiian Center at Honolulu Community College (HCC) is committed to actively preserving and perpetuating Hawaiian culture and values. Through an array of comprehensive services, they strengthen the college’s educational programs and enable students of Hawaiian ancestry to succeed in their academic, career and individual endeavors. Hulili Ke Kukui fosters a Hawaiian place of learning through the integration of language, culture, values, and history into curriculum, campus services, and community engagement. Hulili Ke Kukui achieves this by: Serving as a model for mālama ‘āina/sustainability initiatives on campus, Supporting enrollment in the A.A. Hawaiian Studies program and Hawaiian Studies courses, Providing activities and services that support ola kino (holistic health and wellness), Strengthening the campus's partnerships with Hawaiian community organizations, Creating a repository of kupuna ‘ike (ancestral knowledge) about the surrounding campus community, Increasing the usage of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) on campus, and Providing opportunities to demonstrate Hawaiian cultural practices and protocol.



Figure 45. Kōkō ‘Ōmole Wai Workshop presented by Aunty Jarena & Ho‘āla Hou. (Photo credit: Hulili Ke Kukui)

### Community Outreach & Survey Results

#### Organization Profile:

Contact person	Kalei Lum-Ho
Address	874 Dillingham Blvd, Honolulu, HI 96819

Phone number	808-845-9176
Email	lumho@hawaii.edu
Website/Social media	<a href="https://www.honolulu.hawaii.edu/hawaiian">https://www.honolulu.hawaii.edu/hawaiian</a>
Year organization formed	HCC was founded in Feb 1920; Hulili Ke Kukui was formed in 2001 through a Title III grant
501c3 status	No

**Services, Target Audiences, & Partnerships:**

Sites they mālama	We have begun doing work to mālama (care for) our own area, the ‘ili known as Niuhelewai (including our own campus māla, Ka Māla o Niuhelewai, Lo‘i Kalo Park, and Mokauea).
Services provided	<p>Community engagement, Cultural development (i.e. cultural activities, crafts, practices), Education, Research, Teacher Professional Development.</p> <p>The Center itself provides services such as a space for students and the community to gather, a computer lab, a Native Hawaiian Counselor, cultural workshops and guest speaker presentations, and general support to the campus. We also have several grant funded programs such as Po‘i Nā Nalu Native Hawaiian Career and Technical Education Program (funded by a U.S. DOE Carl Perkins Grant and sponsored by ALU LIKE, Inc.), Kūkala‘ula STEM Pathways Program (funded by a U.S. Department of Labor grant and sponsored by ALU LIKE, Inc.), Ho‘āla Hou (funded by a Title III grant), and Niuhelewai Scholars (funded through private donation by the Takitani Foundation).</p>
Use of place based curriculum?	Yes
Use of cultural protocols, activities, and practices ?	Yes, maps, oral histories, mo‘olelo, mele, oli, ‘ike kūpuna, nūpepa.
Public volunteer work days?	No
Student School groups (& ages) they service	18+ yrs (Post-secondary)
Community groups they service	N/A
Existing organizational partners	Lo‘i Kalo Park, Mokauea Fisherman's Association, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, INPEACE, Mālama Maunalua, Mālama Pūpūkea, Waimānalo Limu Hui, Kumuola Foundation, ALU LIKE, Inc.
Organizations wanting to partner with in the future	Kamehameha Schools-Kapālama, Kapālama businesses

## Additional Resources for Nu‘uanu Ahupua‘a

Table 6 is an annotated summary of resources for readers seeking additional information regarding the natural and cultural resources of Nu‘uanu Palena, Honolulu Ahupua‘a.

Table 6. Sample of Resources for Nu‘uanu Palena\*

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972)	<i>Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment</i>	Produced in collaboration with Mary Kawena Pukui, this work is a revised version of Handy and Handy’s original 1940 <i>The Hawaiian Planter Volume 1</i> . The revised edition offers an expanded discussion of Hawaiian biocultural resources, foodways, and landscape management strategies. The work draws on ethnohistorical, scientific, and archaeological lines of evidence. It also includes observations and discussions of Hawaiian political and social conventions, material culture, language, lore, and religion, dancing, the graphic arts, games and sports, war, society, and other aspects of culture.
Maly and Maly (2003)	<i>Ka Hana Lawai‘a a me Nā Ko‘a o Na Kai ‘Ewalu: A History of Fishing Practices and Marine Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands</i>	This study details archival historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document traditional knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries—including those extending from mountain streams to the beaches, estuaries and near-shore, and extending out to the deep sea. Also discussed are changes in the nature of fishery resources of the Hawaiian Islands as recorded in both written and oral histories. The resources cited in this study were compiled through archival and ethnographic research conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly over the last 30 years, and from additional research with specific emphasis on fisheries, conducted between August 2002 and May 2003.
Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina, Emma (1904)	<i>Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends (1904)</i>	Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina was a well-educated professional and Hawaiian scholar (Hopkins 2012:1,2). The first female judge in Hawai‘i, and also a water commissioner, Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina wrote a series of legal, newspaper, and other articles, as well as a book-length pamphlet.  Nakuina’s single book, <i>Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends</i> , was published in 1904 and features Hawaiian legends, myths, and stories (Nakuina 1904; Hopkins 2012:2, 96, 97). Nakuina’s book was commissioned in order to encourage tourism; she used the book as a vehicle to include a collection of her revised, previously published legends, united under her discussion of the greatness of the Hawaiian people and nation (ibid.).
Thrum (1920)	<i>The Pali and Battle of Nu‘uanu. Kaliuwa‘a Falls and</i>	There were numerous battles in Nu‘uanu throughout the eighteenth century due to interisland conflicts between rival ruling chiefs. Warriors used the Pali

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
	<i>Kamapua‘a, the Demigod</i>	pass to conduct raids into each other’s territories. The most significant and well-known of those battles took place in 1795 between two chiefs, Kamehameha I and Kalanikūpule and marked a pivotal event in Hawaiian history. This work is comprised of content from Thrum’s other publications – his Hawaiian annual series and book of Hawaiian folktales, which were frequently aggregations of information gleaned from contemporary sources like Fornander (1919-1919) and McAllister (1933). The book consists of mythological and traditional accounts of the Pali and Battle of Nu‘uanu, Kaliuwa‘a Falls and Kamapua‘a.

\* This table does not include general references that apply to all of the ahupua‘a in this study, including Sterling and Summers’ (1978) *Sites of Oahu*, McAllister’s (1933) *Archaeology of Oahu*, and Pukui et al.’s (1974) *Place Names of Hawai‘i*.

\*Resources listed in alphabetical order.

