

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

*Kona, from Kapūkakī to Kawaihoa*

## KONA ‘ĀINA INVENTORY

### Waikīkī Palena, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a, Moku o Kona



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# WAIKĪKĪ PALENA (WAIKĪKĪ AHUPUA‘A)

## Na lipoa ‘ala o Kawehewehe *The fragrant lipoa of Kawehewehe*<sup>20</sup>

This chapter documents the significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Waikīkī Palena (Waikīkī 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 Makiki, both on KS and non-KS land.

Figure 80 and Figure 81 are aerial image and USGS map depictions, respectively, of Waikīkī Palena. As described in the Introduction, some of the land divisions in this study near Waikīkī—including Palena—are atypical as ahupua‘a, and are referred to here as palena (boundary or partitioning or piece) of Honolulu Ahupua‘a.<sup>21</sup>

Table 11 is a summary of the significant wahi pana in Waikīkī Palena. Figure 74 is a GIS map depiction of Waikīkī’s wahi pana. The table of wahi pana is organized generally from makai to mauka.

### Overview – Hawaiian Cultural Landscape of Waikīkī

Waikīkī, literally means “spouting water”, appropriate to the character of the intact watershed system of pre-Contact Waikīkī, where water from the valleys of Mānoa and Pālolo gushed forth from underground. Today, many people know Waikīkī as a famous tourist destination of Hawai‘i, however, it was formerly a land rich in water resources and abundant with agriculture for hundreds of years.


Prior to the Māhele, all the land in Waikīkī was held under the control of the ali‘i. Although not named in the Māhele Book as an ahupua‘a or ‘ili kūpono subject to award, originally the palena of Waikīkī included all the valleys “from the west side of Makiki valley away to the east side of Wailupe...” (Lyons 1874). As an area that was reserved for the ali‘i (chiefs and nobility), it was a place where Mō‘ī (kings) of O‘ahu such as Mā‘ilikūkahi and Kākuhihewa called Waikīkī their home. In the early nineteenth century, when Kamehameha I successfully joined the island chiefdoms into a single nation under his rule, Waikīkī continued as a land favored by ali‘i.

Princess Ka‘iulani’s estate, ‘Āinahau, was located near the hotel that today bears her name. Lunalilo gifted Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV, Kaluaokau where they lived with their son Prince Albert, known today as the International Marketplace. “Pualeilani” was the royal home of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole and Princess Elizabeth Kahanu near the present Kūhiō Beach. Pualeilani was formerly owned by Prince Kūhiō’s uncle and aunt, King Kalākaua and his wife Queen Kapi‘olani. The king’s sister, Queen Lili‘uokalani, held lands named Hamohamo near ‘Ōhua street where her home, “Paoakalani,” once stood. Princess Pauahi inherited Helumoa (today the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center) from her cousin, Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, where she and her husband Charles Reed Bishop spent much time enjoying the sheltered ulu niu (coconut grove).

The landscape of Waikīkī has gone through a tremendous transformation. Generally, vegetation in the Waikīkī area today is landscaping that includes mainly introduced exotics, such as Banyan, MacArthur Palm, Brassia, Coconut, Plumeria, Money, Alexander Palm, Manila Palm, Date Palm, Fern, Monkey Pod, Tulip Wood, and Opium trees and a variety of grasses. Waikīkī today is surrounded by a modern


<sup>20</sup> The lipoa seaweed of Waikīkī, especially at Kawehewehe, was so fragrant that one could smell it while standing on the shore. Often mentioned in songs about Waikīkī. (Pukui 1983:246)

<sup>21</sup> As explained in the Introduction, the boundaries of palena in this study are based on the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom survey.



urban development including hotels, shopping, apartment, and commercial buildings, paved streets, sidewalks, utility infrastructure, and landscaped margins. However, traditionally Waikīkī is recognized as an area containing numerous ‘ili ‘āina ‘ili kū, lele, mo‘o ‘āina, ponds, channels, stones, heiau, and streams. (Handy and Handy 1972; Pukui et al. 1974; Pukui 1983; Sterling and Summers 1978). In addition, Waikīkī was also known for famous surf spots that continue to be ideal for he‘e nalu (the ancient Hawaiian sport of surfing) and canoe surfing with wa‘a heihei (or racing canoes). The “heart of Waikīkī” or Waikīkī Kai was once divided into smaller ‘ili (land sections), these famous ‘ili (listed generally from west to east) include Kālia, Keōmuku, Helumoa, Kaluaokau, Hamohamo, Uluniu, Kapuni, Kekio, Ulukou, Kāneloa, Kapua, and Kaluahole. These ‘ili names are found on many of the street names within Waikīkī today.

Before Westerners stepped ashore Waikīkī, Hawaiians farmed these once fertile lands. They filled the whole area from what is now Kapi‘olani Park to Mō‘ili‘ili with wetland taro and other crops. They built irrigated terraces into which water flowed from the Mānoa and Pālolo streams. 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) the following description was provided for the lands of Waikīkī including past uses to those of the time:



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). (Handy 1940:74)

Archibald Menzies, a surgeon and naturalist who sailed to Hawai‘i with English explorer George Vancouver onboard the H.M.S during the 1790s provides one of the first foreign writings about Waikīkī in observation highlighting the various resources of the land during that time:


...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 luxuriance of its production. (Handy and Handy 1972: 23-24).


Besides growing these crops, there were also once fishponds filled fish. In 1825 another Westerner named T. Bloxam, a naturalist on the H.M.S. Blonde made these observations:

The whole distance to the village of Whyeete [Waikīkī] is taken up with innumerable fishponds extending a mile inland from the shore, in these the fish taken by nets in the sea are put [in the ponds], and though most of the ponds are fresh water, yet the fish seem to thrive and fatten.

Most of these fish belong to the chiefs, and are caught as wanted. The ponds are several hundred in number and are the resort of ducks and other fowl. (Handy and Handy, 1972)



Prior to the arrival of Westerners in Hawai‘i, Waikīkī was a rich food-producing area of fields and fishponds. When the Westerners brought their diseases to Hawai‘i, Hawaiians got sick and died by the thousands. As the Hawaiian population dropped, so did the agriculture and aquaculture. Rice later replaced taro when Chinese farmers moved into the area. By the end of the 19th Century, Chinese were growing rice in irrigated paddies, supplying the fishponds with fish, raising ducks in the ponds, and filled the higher land with banana groves. Waikīkī remained an important source of vegetables, fruit, and fishing until the 1920s. Even as the Chinese were moving into Waikīkī, however, Caucasian merchants in Honolulu were eyeing possibilities there for the land speculation- “putting money into something risky for a quick profit” (Menton and Tamura 1999:321). Beginning in the 1860s they argued for widening and improving Waikīkī Road. In 1905, the Territorial Legislature changed the name of Waikīkī Road, the main artery linking Waikīkī with downtown Honolulu, after seven years of construction, the road was completed in 1928 and is now known as Kalākaua Avenue.



In 1896, when Hawai‘i was a republic, the Legislature passed a law calling on the Board of Health to judge whether the land in Waikīkī was unsanitary and to recommend improvements. The law became the basis for the reclamation project that began in 1920 and took a decade to complete. The Hawaiian Dredging Co. filled in the irrigated terraces and fishponds, including the area where Ala Moana Center now stands. It dredged the Ala Wai canal, which channeled water from Mānoa and Pālolo streams to the ocean. Before the construction of the Ala Wai Canal, these streams did not merge until deep within Waikīkī. As they entered the flat Waikīkī Plain, the names of the streams changed: Mānoa stream became the Kālia and Pālolo stream became Pāhoa. They joined near Hamohamo (now an area mauka of the Kapahulu Library) and then divided into three new streams, the Kuekaunahi, ‘Āpuakēhau, and Pi‘inaio. The land between these three streams was called Waikolu, meaning “three waters” (Kanahele 1995:7–8). The era of agriculture and aquaculture ended and Waikīkī was changed forever. Homes and hotels soon took the places of paddies and ponds. By the early 1900s, the sugar barons along with members of the wealthy elite began to build “beach homes” unparalleled in size, opulence, and grandeur in Waikīkī.

## Mo‘olelo

Waikīkī is a major land mark of not only in the Kona moku but the island of O‘ahu. Many well-documented mo‘olelo for this palena attribute to its abundance in agriculture and aquaculture such as the fishponds of Kālia, Kaihikapu, Kaipuni, Paweo, Kuwili, Kapu‘uiki; the famous surfing spots such as Kalehuawehe, and its numerous wahi pana such as Le‘ahi, ‘Āpuakēhau, Ulukou, Helumoa, to name a few. While there are numerous features with tied mo‘olelo for this renowned palena of Waikīkī, the mo‘olelo shared in this section specifically highlight these named distinguished and famed features, that are only but a few of the many.

The recording of Waikīkī’s history goes back long before the first accounts were written in the late 1700s. Since the days of antiquity, Waikīkī’s history has been documented through oral accounts passed down through the generations. One of the earliest accounts of Waikīkī’s inhabitants comes from the early 15th century. This was during the very end of the Hawaiian-Tahitian long-distance migrations. There were four renowned kahuna who would heal the population of their ills and teach their healing art. They eventually moved back to Tahiti but not before instructing the O‘ahu people to consecrate four boulders in their memory. The four boulders remain in Waikīkī today next to the Waikīkī Police Station on Kalākaua Street. They are called “**Na Pohaku Ola O Kapaemahu A Me Kapuni,**” and nicknamed “The Wizard Stones.” The historian Andrea Feeser shares the story of The Wizard Stones:

Today, the pōhaku [stones] are memorialized in recognition of their sacred power and the blessings they have bestowed on many people throughout Hawai‘i. The huge basalt boulders, each of which weighs several tons, were moved from **Kaimukī** to **Ulukou** [near today’s Moana Hotel] sometime around 1400 at the direction of four Tahitian kahunas [priests]. These healers --- Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi ---

...were māhū (men who dress and live as women) and possessed both manly stature and feminine grace coupled with tremendous healing powers. They toured all of the Hawaiian Islands before making a home at **Ulukou**; during their travels, they became famous for many miraculous cures, which they generously taught to their admirers. After a long sojourn in Hawai'i, the four kāhuna decided to return to their homeland. Before doing so, they asked their kanaka maoli [Hawaiian] friends to move four large stones from the vicinity of the renowned 'bell rock' at **Kaimukī**... On the night of Pō Kāne... thousands of Native Hawaiians moved the boulders to **Ulukou**, placing two on the grounds of the healers' residence and two in the surf where the four men loved to bathe... Each stone was named for one of the men who imbued the pōhaku with their restorative mana [power]. Today, areas where two of the boulders were originally located also bear their names: **Kahaloa** is a section of beach, and **Kapuni** is a portion of Waikīkī surf. (Feaser 2006:79, 81)

Waikīkī was a place frequently enjoyed by akua. It is said that traditional mo'ō (lizard) guardians protected the many loko i'a (traditional Hawaiian fishponds) that fed the people throughout Waikīkī. Hawaiian historian George Kanahale recounts traditional mo'olelo about some of these guardians:

Waikīkī's earliest mo'ō god was probably Kamōli'ili'i (literally, the pebble lizard) who was slain by Hi'iaka, Pele's sister. The legend related that Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o were escorting Lohi'au (Pele's lover-Prince) back to Pele on the island of Hawai'i. During the return journey, they left their canoe at Waikīkī and walked up toward Kamōli'ili'i. When they arrived at that particular spot (said to be where the old stone church stood in the 1920s), a heavy gust of wind blew, and Wahine'ōma'o and Lohi'au felt invisible hands pulling their ears back. They called to who did it and told the other gods to keep closely behind her. A short distance away they met Kamōli'ili'i, who wanted to fight. Hi'iaka removed her outsider skirt which concealed her bolts of lightning and struck him with them. His body was cut to pieces and the pieces turned into the long, low hill across from Waikīkī's Kūhiō School (Kanahale 1995; Sterling and Summers 1978).

In Hawaiian oral traditions is the demigod Kamapua'a, was a legendary figure from O'ahu who could assume the shapes of various plants and animals. In the story of Kamapua'a published in 1891 in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, Kamapua'a utters a chant which mentions the wind and rain of Waikīkī by name. He tells us that the wind belonging to **Kapua**, an ancient well-known surf spot near present-day Kapi'olani Park, is called **Hauālia**. Kamapua'a then indicates that the rain belonging to Waikīkī is called Wa'ahila:

*Oli aku la o Kamapuaa:  
...He Hauālia ko Kapua  
He ua Waahila ko Waikiki  
He ua Kukalahale ko Honolulu...*  
(Akana 2004:13, 16-17)

Kamapua'a chanted:  
... Kapua has the Hauālia [breeze]  
Waikīkī has the Wa'ahila rain  
Honolulu has the Kūalahale rain...

In addition to Waikīkī's features, centralized leadership organized the population of Waikīkī to construct huge places of worship, or heiau. Samuel Kamakau named the three Waikīkī heiau that were used for human sacrifices. They were **Mau'oki**, **Kupalaha**, and **Le'ahi**, also called **Papa'ena'ena** (Kamakau 1976).

The heiau called **Kupalaha** at today's Cunha Beach, is intimately connected to a supernatural battle against owls in the days of old. As a result of this battle, the O'ahu chief Kakuhihewa pardoned the life of the man named Kapoi who built **Kupalaha**. The noted ethnographer Martha Beckwith shared this story concerning **Kupalaha** Heiau in her documentation of Hawaiian mythology.

A famous Oahu owl story is that of the owl war carried on in behalf of a man named Kapoi who, having robbed an owl's nest, took pity on the lamenting parent and returned the eggs. He then took the owl as his god and built a heiau [Kupalaha Heiau] for its worship. The ruling chief Kakuhihewa, considering this an act of rebellion, ordered his execution but at the moment of carrying out the order the air was darkened by flying owls who had come to his protection. The places on Oahu where the owls made rendezvous for this battle are known today by the word pueo (owl) in their names, such as **Kala-pueo** east of Diamond Head, **Kanoni-a-ka-pueo** in Nu'uuanu valley, **Pueo-hulu-nui** near Moanalua. The scene of the battle at Waikiki is called **Kukaunahio-ke-pueo** (Confused sound of owls rising in masses). (Beckwith 1970:124, 125)

Waikīkī was the home of many famous ali'i (chiefs). There is a large body of oral-historical information about these various ali'i and their feats, royal residences and other compounds within Waikīkī. For instance, Kakuhihewa was just one of many ali'i connected to Waikīkī through mo'olelo. One of the first ali'i mentioned as being connected to Waikīkī was Kalamakua-a-Kaipuholu. He was the chief who built the grand taro fields of **Ke'okea**, **Kualulua**, and **Kalamanamana** and others in Waikīkī. Kalamakua-a-Kaipuholu married the skilled surfing chiefess Kelea-nui-noho-'ana-'api'api. Their daughter La'ie-lohelohe was born in Waikīkī at **Helumoa** and raised there at **Kaluaokau**. La'ielohelohe later married the famed Maui chief Pi'ilani, and this marriage solidified the ties between Waikīkī and Maui. The son of La'ie-lohelohe and Pi'ilani was Kiha-a-Piilani, an heir to the Maui chieftom. He was raised in Waikīkī by a kahuna at **Mau'oki** Heiau (Kamakau 1991). There are many other O'ahu chiefs connected to Waikīkī. Some of the most noted are Mā'ilikūkahi, Ka'ihikapuamanuia, Kakuhihewa, Ka'ihikapuakakuhikewa, Kahahana, and Kawelo.

According to Martha Beckwith (1940:383), by the end of the fourteenth century Waikīkī had become "the ruling seat of the chiefs of O'ahu." Mā'ilikūkahi, the first mō'i (island-wide chief) of O'ahu, moved the capital of the islands from 'Ewa and Waialua to Waikīkī. In this period, he had constructed a heiau at **Helumoa** for the Makahiki festival.

The pre-eminence of Waikīkī continued into the eighteenth century and is confirmed by the decision of Kamehameha, in the midst of unifying control of the islands, to reside there after wresting control of O'ahu by defeating the island's chief, Kalanikūpule.

The nineteenth-century Hawaiian historian John Papa 'Ī'i (1959:17), himself a member of the ali'i, noted that the ". . . place had long been a residence of chiefs. It is said that it had been Kekuapo'i's home, through her husband Kahahana, since the time of Kahekili" ('Ī'i 1959:17). Kamehameha also lived here at Puaaliili. 'Ī'i described the king's Waikīkī residence:

Kamehameha's houses were at **Puaaliili**, makai of the old road, and extended as far as the west side of the sands of **Apuakehau**. Within it was **Helumoa**, where Kaahumanu ma [mā—and others] went to while away the time. The king built a stone house there, enclosed by a fence . . . ('Ī'i 1959:17)

Before Kamehameha's victory at Nu'uuanu which led to his conquest of O'ahu, he had promised the mo'o (water spirit) goddess Kihawahine that he would build her a special dwelling called a hale puaniu, a place at which offerings of bananas, coconuts, and 'awa (kava) were kept to deify a deceased person and make him or her into a mo'o (water spirit) or goddess (Pukui and Elbert 1986:347; Kanahale 1995:92):

Walinu'u, Walimanoanoa, and Kalamainu'u were 'aumakua [deified ancestor] with many bodies. A certain chiefess of the island of Maui named Kihawahine was transfigured into (kaku'ai 'ia iloko o) Kalamainu'u, and she became a goddess with the body of a mo'o. Kihawahine was a famous mo'o, perhaps because she had been a chiefess and an ancestor of chiefs, and had been born a real human being. But when

she was transfigured she turned into an ‘e‘epa, a mo‘o. She was deified by the chiefs of Maui and Hawaii with kapus [taboo, prohibitions], with the setting up of kapu sticks [pulo‘ulo‘u], and with the kapus of the chiefess Kihawahine . . . when Kamehameha added her to his gods, she was one of his gods that united the kingdom from Hawaii to Kauai. He said: “If you take [‘ai] Oahu, I will build a house for your akua in the calm of **Waikiki**—a puaniu house for Kalamainu‘u, the akua of Kihawahine.” (Kamakau 1991:85)

In addition to the many references to royal residences of Waikīkī, ‘Āpuakēhau Stream at the present Royal Hawaiian Hotel, was thought to center the village of Waikīkī. The stream is one of the two branches of the united Mānoa-Pālolo Stream which once flowed past taro patches and fishponds. The mouth of the stream once emptied out into the ocean at the present location of the east side of the Outrigger Hotel and the west side of the (Sheraton) Moana Hotel. Land on the west side of the stream was known as **Kahaloa**, “the long place,” and on the east, **Ulukou**, “the kou tree grove.” There was a heiau and an athletic field in the village called ‘**Āpuakēhau** on the land known as **Helumoa**. The athletic field was called **Kahuamokomoko**, meaning a “sports field for boxing.” It is thought that this area was used for games such as maika (where stones were rolled to hit a target) as several of the stones used in this game, have been previously uncovered in this area (Acson 1983:20).

In the “Legend of Kawelo,” two boys are born on the same day, Kawelo-lei-makua, called Kawelo, the great nephew of the king of Kaua‘i, and Kawelo-aikanaka, called ‘Aikanaka, the grandson of the king. Kawelo’s older brothers and his parents soon moved from Kaua‘i to live at Waikīkī in O‘ahu near the ruling chief of O‘ahu, Kakuhihewa. The older brothers of Kawelo often challenged a famous wrestler living with Kakuhihewa, but they could never beat him.

*A he mea mau i na kaikuaana o Kawelo ka heenalu, i ka nalu o **Kalehuawehe**, a pau ka heenalu, hoi aku la a ka muliwai o **Apuakehau** auau, a pau, hoi aku la a ka hale mokomoko, aole nae he hina o ke kanaka o Kakuhihewa i na kaikuaana o Kawelo.*

The brothers of Kawelo were great surf riders, and they often went to ride the surf at **Kalehuawehe** [near the present Seaside Hotel in Waikīkī]. After the surf ride they would go to the stream of **Apuakehau** and wash, and from there they would go to the shed where the wrestling bouts were held and test their skill with Kakuhihewa’s strong man; but in all their trials they never once were able to throw him. (Fornander 1918:4)

When the king of Kaua‘i died, ‘Aikanaka became the new king. The grandparents, who longed to see their other children, traveled with Kawelo to O‘ahu, to **Ulukou** in Waikīkī, near the mouth of the stream ‘**Āpuakēhau**, where his elder brother and parents had been living. His grandparents later took him just inland of the coast. While Kawelo was working in the fields, he heard some shouting from the beach, and asked his grandparents, “What is that shouting down yonder?” (Fornander 1918:5). The grandparents answered that his older brothers had just finished surfing and must have challenged the king’s strong man. The shouting indicated one of them must have been thrown. Next day, Kawelo went down to the beach, went surfing with his brothers, and then bathed in the freshwater stream of ‘**Āpuakēhau**. He challenged the strong man to a match, even though his brothers mocked him, saying “Are you strong enough to meet that man? If we whose bones are older cannot throw him, how much less are the chances of yourself, a mere youngster?” (Fornander 1918:6). The strong man, impressed by Kawelo’s courage, said:

*“Ina wau e kahea penei, ‘Kahewahewa, he ua!’ alaila, kulai kaua.” Hai aku la no hoi o Kawelo i kana olelo hooulu, penei: “Kanepuaa! Ke nahu nei! Alia! Alia i oki ka aina o Kahewahewa, he ua!”*



“If I should call out ‘Kahewahewa, it is raining,’ then we begin.” Kawelo then replied in a mocking way: “Kanepuaa, he is biting, wait awhile, wait awhile. Don’t cut the land of Kahewahewa, it is raining.” (Fornander 1918:6)

Kawelo won the match, shaming his older brothers so much that they returned to Kaua‘i. In another version (Thrum 1923:154), the strong man was from Halemano [central O‘ahu], and was killed by a mighty blow from Kawelo. The man’s body was given to the king of O‘ahu, and was carried as a sacrifice to the gods to a heiau in Lualualei, Wai‘anae.

In the legend of the hero, Halemano, **Ulukou** in Waikīkī is mentioned as the residence of ‘Aikanaka, who later also became the king of O‘ahu:

*A noho iho la o Kamalalawalu me Halemano, ia wa ua kaulana kau ka maikai o Kamalalawalu a lohe o Aikanaka, ke ‘iia nui o Oahu nei, e noho ana ma **Ulukou** i Waikiki.*

Kamalalawalu lived with Halemano as husband and wife, and the fame of the beauty of Kamalalawalu was soon spread all over Oahu until it came to the ears of Aikanaka, the king of Oahu, who was living at **Ulukou** in Waikiki. (Fornander 1919:238)

In the Legend of ‘Ōlohe; ‘Olohe (a master of the lua wrestling) was a cruel chief who lived at ‘**Āpuakēhau**, Waikīkī, and he kept the people of the region in continual fear for their lives and possessions. He met in battle with one challenger who pitied the people, and was defeated with one blow that sent him flying into the site now called **Kalua‘ōlohe**, the area now covered by Kapi‘olani Park (Pukui et al. 1974:79).

Loheloa came from Waipio on a huge log. He came first to **Makapuu** and then to **Keauau** Point, now called **Leahi**.

He saw a strange glow like a ball of fire there. He asked for the chief Olohe and was told that the light was his. He saw some fishermen who told him to go away for he was scaring the fish. He called to Ku and Hina to bring them a school of fish which they did. The natives were grateful. He lifted his huge canoe and rested one end at **Haula** and the other at **Namahana**, against the hill. He told the people that he wanted to wrestle with their chief Olohe, who lived at **Āpuakēhau**, Waikiki. A messenger came to tell the chief who accepted the challenge. In the meantime the men were busy catching fish brought to them by Loheloa. A messenger was sent to bring Loheloa to the chief and Loheloa suggested that they wrestle in the open where they can be seen. He would bet his bones and his canoe on himself.

Olohe and Loheloa fought on the field now known as Kapiolani Park. Olohe punched and raised a gale that flattened the ilima bushes. Loheloa slapped his ear hard enough to throw him in the air. The place he fell is called **Kalua-olohe** (Olohe’s pit) to this day. Loheloa won and the people shouted with joy over the defeat and death of their cruel chief. (Sterling and Summers 1978:279)

Thrum (1998:203–214) recounts the legend of the kahuna nui (highest priest), of O‘ahu, Ka‘opulupulu, who lived in Waimea, O‘ahu. He had a son named Kahulupu‘e, who he taught all the traditions and rituals of the priestly caste. At this time, the ruler (ali‘i aimoku) of O‘ahu was Kumuhana, a cruel chief who terrorized his people and would not listen to the counsel of his priest, Kahulupu‘e. Kumuhana was finally driven off the island by the people and the lesser chiefs. When Kahekili, the king of Maui, heard this news, he sent his foster son, Kahahana (brother of Kumuhana), to rule O‘ahu in Kumuhana’s place (ca. 1773). Kahahana chose a grove of coconut and kou trees, called **Ulukou**, located on the Waikīkī coast as his place of residence, and many ali‘i gathered in that place around him. One day, Kahahana sent a messenger to Ka‘opulupulu to attend him at **Ulukou**, who traveled from his home in Waimea

and was greeted by the retainers of the king when he reached the mouth of the stream ‘Āpuakēhau. At first Kahahana valued the wisdom of the priest, but after several years, Kahahana began to be as cruel to the people as his predecessor, Kumuhana. In protest, the priest Ka’opulupulu left Waikīkī to return to his home in Waimea, where he tattooed his knees, a sign that Kahahana had turned a deaf ear to his advice. This angered the king, who sent messengers to order Ka’opulupulu and his son, Kahulupu’e, to come to Wai’anae, where Kahahana then resided. At Wai’anae, the two men were placed into a special grass hut, one tied to the end post and one tied to the corner post. The next day, Kahahana ordered his men to torture the son, stabbing his eyes and stoning him while his father watched. When Ka’opulupulu saw this, he commanded his son to flee into the sea, saying these words (Pukui 1983:44), which contained a prophecy:

*E nui ke aho, e ku’u keiki,  
a moe i ke kai, no ke kai la  
ho’i ka ‘āina.*

Take a deep breath, my son, and  
lay yourself in the sea, for then  
the land shall belong to the sea.

Ka’opulupulu was taken by the soldiers to Pu’uloa (Pearl Harbor), at ‘Ewa, and slain before the king. His body was put into a canoe and taken to Waikīkī, where it was placed high in the coconut trees at Kukaeunahi (at the heiau of Helumoa), so that the flesh would decompose and fall to the sand. When the king of Maui, Kahekili, heard this news he grieved for Ka’opulupulu and turned against his foster son. With his warriors, he set out over the sea for Waikīkī to take back the rulership of O’ahu under his own authority. This fulfilled the prophecy of Ka’opulupulu. According to S. M. Kamakau and David Malo, this saying was also in keeping with a prophecy by Kekiopilo presaging the arrival of the islands by Westerners, which would lead to “the foreigners possess[ing] the land” (Thrum 1998:214).

**Helumoa** means “chicken scratch.” In one version, this name refers to the legendary rooster Ka’au-helu-moa that lived up in Pālolo Valley and came down to this land and scratched for food. According to the Legend of Ka’opulupulu, the name refers to chickens scratching to find the maggots that fell from victims placed in the trees who were human sacrifices at the heiau of ‘Āpuakēhau (Pukui et al. 1974:44):

The seer, together with the body of the son, was brought to Waikiki, to the coconut grove at the place called **Helu-moa**. There he was slain and the two bodies hung upon coconut trees. The place was named from the scratching of the chickens about the place where the maggots fell from the bodies of the two men.

Before his death, Ka’opulupulu uttered this prophecy: -“At the place where my body hangs and its fat flows, chiefs and commoners shall be slain and here shall be the chief-destroying sands of Kakuhihewa.” These words were fulfilled soon after, when Kahekili, ruling chief of Maui, conquered the island. But the bitter result did not end there. They were again fulfilled in the time of Kamehameha when, after he had conquered Oahu at the battle of Nuuanu, he went back to Waikiki with his followers and many were stricken with the disease called okuu [possibly cholera] and many died. (Green and Pukui 1936:122–123)

The sand of **Helumoa** was known as **Ke one’ai ali’i o Kakuhihewa** (The Chief Devouring Sand of Kakuhihewa) because of the curse placed by the prophet Ka’opulupulu. When Ka’opulupulu was brought with his son, Kahulupu’e, to be executed at Waikīkī, he cursed the place where his body-grease (hinu) should drip upon the sand. This curse was upon the chiefs and the people (Hibbard and Franzen 1986:5).

Fishponds were one of the most important traditional resources for the Hawaiian community in Waikīkī. The fame of **Kālia’s** fishponds is attested to in a mo’olelo recounted by John Papa ‘Īī (in Wyban 1992) that deals with prohibitions against wasting food:

Once Kinopu gave a tribute of fish to Kamehameha's son Kinau, at Moehonua's fishpond in Kalia. While Kinau and his wife Kahukuhaakoi (Wahine-pio) 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 a 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. (Wyban 1992:87)

At **Kālia**, the seaweed called limu 'ele'ele was plentiful near the stream's outlet. A Hawaiian saying talks about this pleasant portion of the coast (Pukui 1983:186):

*Ke kai wawalo leo le'a o Kālia*                      The pleasing, echoing sea of **Kālia**.

**Kālia** is also a place where 'alamihī crabs were once plentiful, leading to a play on the word 'ala-mihī (path of repentance), indicating someone who is in a repentant mood (Pukui 1983:110):

*Ho'i i Kālia ka 'ai 'alamihī.*                      Gone to **Kālia** to eat 'alamihī crabs.

**Kālia** was also known for a fishing technique used to catch schools of mullet. When a school of mullet appeared, a bag net was set and the men swam out in a row, surrounded the fish, and slapped the water together and kicked their feet, thus driving the frightened fish into the opening of their bag net. The fishermen of Kālia became known as human fishnets (Pukui 1983:150):

*Ka i'a pīkoi kānaka o Kālia;*                      The fish caught by the men of Kālia;  
*he kānaka ka pīkoi,*                                  men are the floaters,  
*he kānaka ka pōhaku.*                              men are the sinkers.

**Kālia** is also mentioned in a story about a woman who left her husband and children on Kīpahulu, Maui to go away with a man of O'ahu. Her husband missed her and went to see a kahuna who was skilled in hana aloha (sorcery for love making potions with herbs, prayers and even hypnosis). The kahuna told the man to find a container with a lid and then speak into it of his love for his wife. The kahuna then uttered an incantation into the container, closed it, and threw it into the sea. The wife was fishing one morning at **Kālia**, O'ahu, and saw the container. She opened the lid, and was possessed by a great longing to return to her husband. She walked until she found a canoe to take her home (Pukui 1983:158):

*Ka makani kā'ili aloha o Kīpahulu.*                      The love-snatching wind of Kīpahulu

'**Āpuakēhau** Stream has sometimes been referred to as the muliwai of **Kawehewehe**. The place name Kawehewehe, cited by 'Ī'ī (1959:93) and in the Māhele records, is also of note. It does not only identify a land area in Waikīkī; according to Hawaiian scholars, it also names:

[The] Reef entrance and channel off Grey's Beach, just east of the Hale-kū-lani Hotel, Wai-kīkī, Honolulu. The sick were bathed here as treatment. The patient might wear a seaweed (limu-kala) lei and leave it in the water as a request that his sins be forgiven, the lei being a symbol. Lit., the removal. (Pukui et al. 1974:99)

The lipōa seaweed of Waikīkī, especially at **Kawehewehe**, was so fragrant that one could smell it while standing on the shore. It was often mentioned in mo'olelo about Waikīkī, including the following saying (Pukui 1983:246):

*Na lipōa 'ala o Kawehewehe.*                      The fragrant lipōa of Kawehewehe.

According to John R.K. Clark (1977), “every Hawaiian place name has a mo‘olelo, or backstory, that explains why the place was called what it’s called...place names capture the history and the culture of the people who coined them. They help us to understand what life was like and what was important at the time they were given.”

The last place wahi highlighted is one of the most famous landmarks in Waikīkī today is known as Diamond Head, which got the English-language name from 19th-century British sailors who initially mistook calcite crystals on its slopes for the precious stone. Kaimana is the same is Daimana meaning Diamond, and hila meaning hill, thus Kaimanahila. Clark (1977:41) cited in Tomonari-Tuggle et. al. (1998:13) seeks to describe the original name of this volcanic crater, also known as **Lēahi**:

...to the old Hawaiians the mountain was either **Le‘ahi or Lae‘ahi**. Because the original meaning of the name is obscure, the correct spelling and translation have never been agreed upon by students of Hawaiian. One interpretation says that **Le‘ahi** is a contraction of the two words lei (a wreath) and ‘ahi (fire), the two words combining to mean “wreath of fire” ... The other popular interpretation is that **Le‘ahi** is a contraction of lae (a cape of promontory) and ‘ahi (the yellow-fin tuna), the combination meaning “point of the ‘ahi fish. (Clark 1977:41)

Of the known variations of the place name Lēahi, the naming of Lae‘ahi or brow of the ‘Ahi can be found in the legend of Pele and Hi‘iaka. Hi‘iaka is said to have compared this crater jutting out into the sea to the brow of the ‘ahi (Palikapu n.d.):



<i>Me he i‘a la ka Lae o Ahi</i>	Like the forehead of the Ahi
<i>E kalali au ae nei i ke kai</i>	Jutting sharply into the sea
<i>Ka keiki waena ia a Haumea</i>	It is the middle child of Haumea [and Lua]
<i>Me lua he makua ‘a‘e‘a‘e</i>	The parent taken as a second mate
<i>Aloha wale na kini—e</i>	Beloved are the multitude
<i>Ka lehulehu noho kahakai o moku</i>	The many inhabitants of our beaches
<i>Aia Malei i ka laemakani</i>	There is Malei at the wind-blown point
<i>Makapuu alo ehukai ----ae</i>	Of Makapuu ever wet by sea spray.
(Palikapu n.d.)	

Mo‘olelo associated to Lēahi are highlighted various periods of significance. For instance, one period is attributed to Pele, the fire goddess, as all craters and volcanic related manifestations are attributed to her. Another period refers to Lēahi’s role along with Pu‘u o Kapolei and Pu‘u o Palailai in the O‘ahu seasonal calendar. Next is the of significance is when Kahahana (ruling chief of O‘ahu) lost the Kingdom of O‘ahu to Kahekili (ruling chief of Maui), marking the end of the O‘ahu ruling chiefs. Another significance is when Kamehameha I conquered O‘ahu, subsequently uniting the islands under one Kingdom. Both Kahekili and Kamehameha used Lēahi’s prominent features as a landmark to invade O‘ahu and made the surrounding locality their residence. Lastly, is the of significance associated with the monarchy era of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. In attempts to rightfully restore the beloved Queen and undo the wrongs of the Provisional Government, Robert Wilcox and Samuel Nowlein staged the counter-revolution of 1895 with Lēahi as the Battle Ground.

## Mele

### Waikiki Song

Waikīkī is remembered and famed throughout many traditional oli, mele, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau. These expressions continue to be referred to in contemporary discussions of Hawaiian history, Hawaiian values, and Hawaiian identity. There are countless mele and oli about the Waikīkī ahupua‘a.

This first mele was found from Bishop Museum telling of *Ka nalu ha'i o Kalehuawehe* or The rolling surf of Kalehuawehe (Take-off-the-lehua) which was Waikiki's most famous surf. It was so named when a legendary hero took off his lei of lehua blossoms and gave it to the wife of the ruling chief, with whom he was surfing. The mele also notes other parts the Waikiki's environment such as the fragrances, wind, and waves (Bishop Museum Archives, H.1 M.4 p 207).

*Pauku Akahi*

*Haaheo Waikiki i ka nalu hai mai Kalehuawehe*

*Me na Lipoa paoa aala, Loa ua ea kula,*

*Chorus*

*E noi ka olu i makou i ka nalu laumui Hale Kalani*

*Kali ana Lii e nanau ai i ke aheahe mai  
o ka makani*

*Pauku Elua*

*I waho na Lii i ka Kowaewae  
I ke kai nalu mai i ka puu one,*

*Me he lu ala anoi no na mauna*

*Ka hookahi i ka poli*

*Ka Paukukolu*

*Nani Waikiki i ka Ehukai  
I ka aui peahi o ka lau niu*

*O ia wale hoi a ka ha Kuhui  
Kilakila i ka uliuli e*

**Makee 'Ailana**

The following mele by James K. I'i is a traditional song that is still very popular among Native Hawaiians, and tells of an island that was located off of Waikiki prior to its urbanization (I'i n.d.). The island was located west of the current Honolulu Zoo, in the area now occupied by the zoo's parking lot. "Makee" was named for Captain James Makee (1812-1879). Sources described the island as being off shore from the original location of Kapi'olani Park, where the fresh water stream (like 'Āpuakēhau Stream) flowed into the Pacific Ocean. Sources also describe a bridge that went across this stream and beautiful lilies that floated in the water.

*Makee 'ailana ke aloha lā  
'Āina i ka 'ehu'ehu o ke kai  
'Elua 'ekolu nō mākou  
I ka 'ailana māhiehie  
Ka leo o ka wai ka'ū aloha  
I ka ʻī mai ē anu kāua  
Inā 'o you me mī nei  
Noho 'oe i ka noho paipai  
Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana  
Makee 'Ailana hu'e ka mana'o*

I love Makee island  
Land freshened by the sea spray  
There were two or three couples with us  
On this charming island  
I love the sound of the water  
When it speaks, we two are chilled  
I wish you were here with me  
Sitting in the rocking chair  
The story is told of  
Makee 'Ailana, with its fond memories

*First Verse*

Waikiki is made proud by the  
crashing waves of **Kalehuawehe**  
With the strong fragrance of Lipoa, Long is the  
time of arrival

*Chorus*

Our refreshing request of the large-leaf waves  
of **Hale Kalani**  
Awaiting the Ali'i's chewing of the  
gentle winds blow

*Second Verse*

Outside the Ali'i in the **Kowaewae**  
In the oceanic waves and the pond near the  
shore  
With the scattering desired fragrance of the  
mountain  
The only one in the bosom

*Third Verse*

**Waikiki** is beautified by the **Ehuakai**  
To the swelling and the rolling of the  
coconut frond  
That is definitely all of the **Kuhui**  
Majestic by way of the uliuli

Mele like “Makee ‘Ailana” are highly valuable in helping to reconstruct an understanding of Waikīkī’s landscape and resources prior to modernization. While many of the natural heritage features of this area have been lost over time, mele, hula, and other traditional practices help to keep the relationships between Native Hawaiians and their wahi pana alive.

### Aloha O‘ahu

This mele some claim this was composed by Mary K. Heanu in the 1920's, others believe Clarence Kinney wrote this mele that takes us on a trip around O‘ahu. Waikīkī is named as the loveliest spot. ‘Ilima, the official flower of O‘ahu, is compared to the yellow feathers under the wings of the black honey eater bird, highly prized for feather work. Līpoa, a seaweed mixed with raw scraped ‘ō‘io (ladyfish) is a scrumptious meal anytime (Bishop Museum Source: MS GRP 329, 1.37).

*Aloha Oahu lei i ka ilima  
Kohu manu oo hulu melemele  
Kaapuni hoi au a puni Oahu  
Hooka mea nani ao Waikiki  
Moani ke ala o ka lipoa  
Me ka pokke oio keu a ka ono  
Haina ia mai ana ka puana  
Kohu manu oo hulu melemele*

Beloved is Oahu draped in lei ilima  
Just like golden plumed oo birds  
I have really gone completely around Oahu  
The only lovely place is **Waikiki**  
The aroma of lipoa lingers in the air  
With raw, cubed oio so very delicious  
The story is told  
Just like the golden plumed oo birds.

In 1923, the Hawaiian Legend and Folklore Commission contracted the American scholar Helen H. Roberts to come to Hawai‘i and record Hawaiian chants and songs. With the invaluable assistance of the Hawaiian scholar Thomas K. Maunupau, Roberts documented close to 700 mele. Many of the chants were dedicated to the royalty. There is a chant that was composed to honor King Kalākaua, and in this chant, the king is acknowledged by the lights of Lē‘ahi or Diamond Head; the lights of Kaluahole, a coastal area from Lē‘ahi to Black Point; and the lights of Kālia at the western end of Waikīkī. Maunupau and Roberts recorded this chant from Mr. P.K. Kuhi, a resident of Kalihi Kai, Kaua‘i who was born in Honolulu in 1861:

*Lamalama i Makapu‘u ke Ahi o Hilo  
  
...Ho‘ohuelo i luna ke ahi o Lē‘ahi,  
Ho‘onohonoho i muliwa‘a ke ahi o  
Kaluahole.  
Mehe maka ihu wa‘a ala nā ahi o Kālia...  
(Bacon and Napoka 1995: 132, 133)*

Brightly shining toward **Makapu‘u** are the lights of Hilo  
...The light of **Lē‘ahi** send a beam above,  
In proper order at the sterns of canoes are the lights of **Kaluahole**.  
Like mysterious lights are the lights of Kālia...

There are numerous other mele for Waikīkī such as, “Waikīkī Hula”, “Lē‘ahi”, “Kaimana Hila”, “Kaimukī Hula”, “‘Āinahau”, “Royal Hawaiian Hotel”, “Ha‘aheo Kaimana Hila”, “Henehene Hou Aka”, “Wakīkī”. Each of these mele speaks of a particular landmark, event, or resource. As one of the most beautiful places in Hawai‘i, Waikīkī is known as a place of spirit and inspiration.

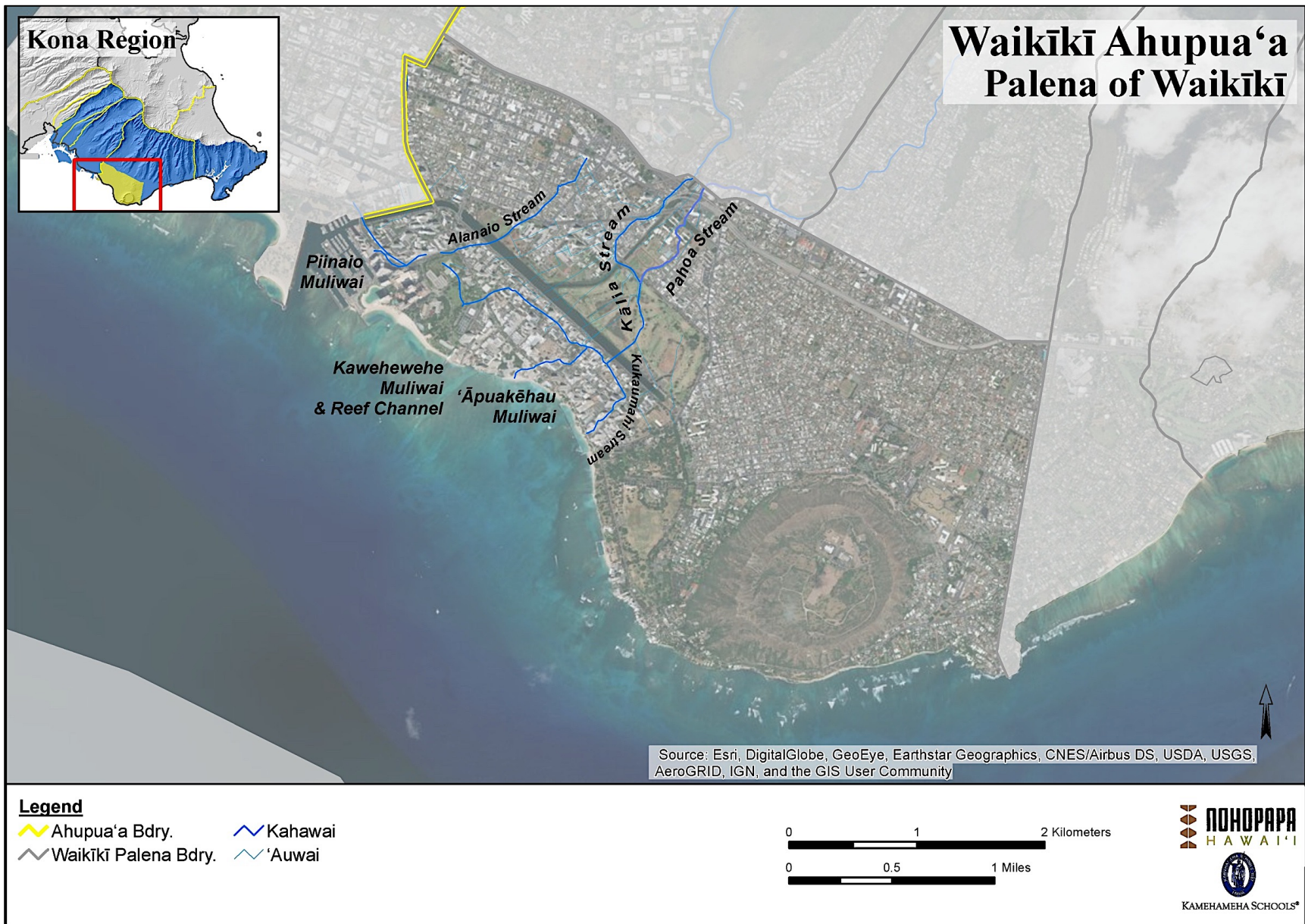


Figure 80. Aerial image of Waikīkī Palena

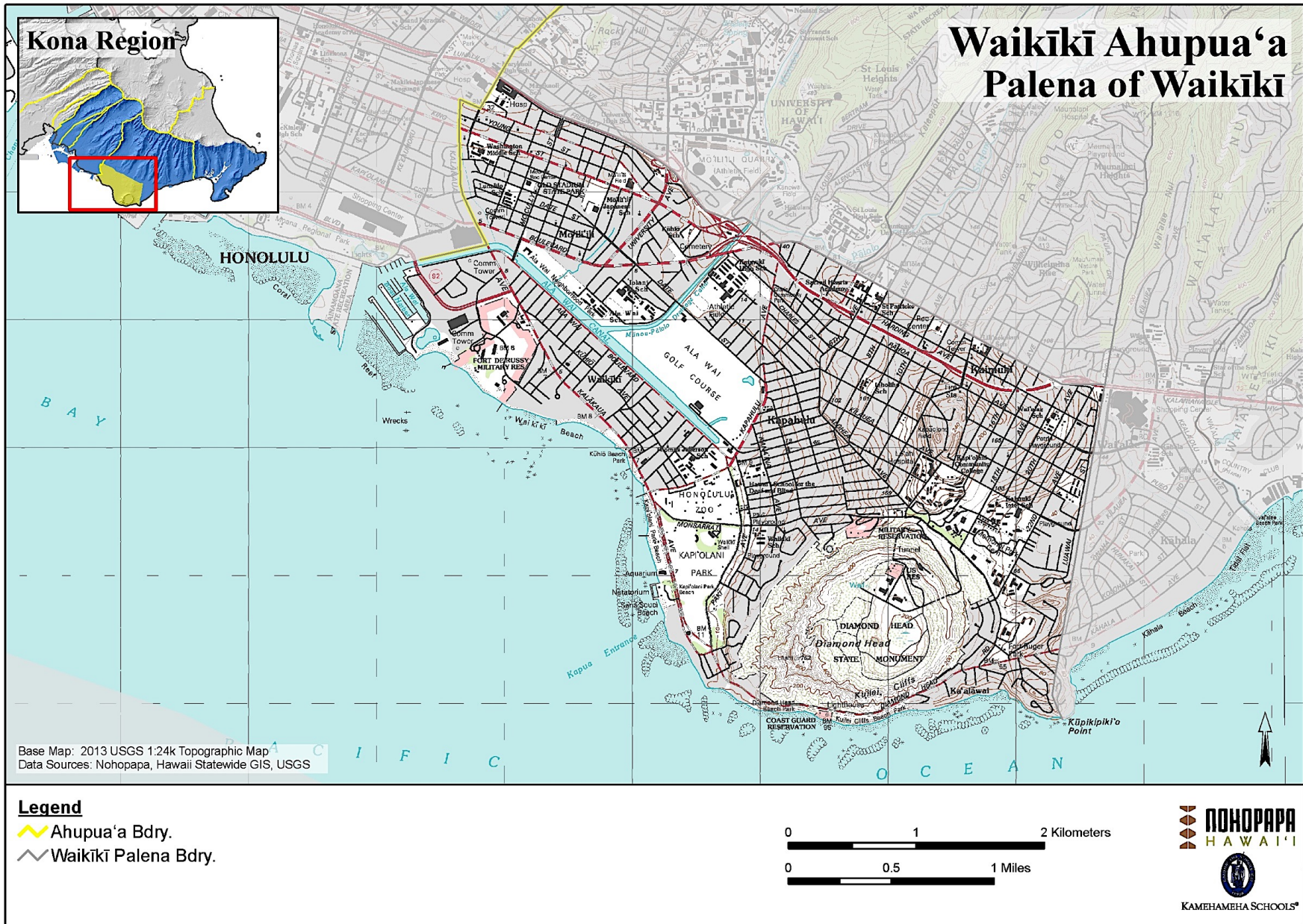


Figure 81. USGS map of Waikiki Palena



Table 13. Summary of selected wahi pana in Waikīkī Palena

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Ahi	heiau	At summit of Lē'ahi, Diamondhead	Hi'iakaikapoliopele stopped here on her return from Kaua'i & looked out to Hawai'i.	Destroyed	Mo'olelo establishes it as a place of kilo, or a look out.
‘Āinahau	place	The site of the present Sheraton Princess Ka-‘iulani Hotel, Waikiki, Honolulu. Meaning " Hau tree land"	Home and land of Princess Ka-‘iu-lani.		
‘Aiwahi	surf	Meaning royal ruler	An ancient surfing area of Waikīkī.		
‘Āpuakēhau	muliwai, kahawai	Muliwai fed by Kalia stream that entered the ocean near modern day Sheraton Hotel & Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center. Probably named for a rain, meaning basket [of] flow.		Sestroyed and filled in	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
‘Auwai ‘Alanaio	stream	Flows from Kapa‘akea and Pawa‘a through the many ponds of Kalia; becomes Kahawai Pi‘inaio below Waikīkī Rd (Kalakaua Ave), enters the sea at the present Ala Wai Yacht Harbor. Meaning ‘ala-naio [false sandalwood fragrance] canal.			
Hamohamo	mo‘o	Near ‘Ōhua street. Meaning "Rub gently" (as the sea on the beach)	Queen Lili‘uokalani, held this named land where her home, “Paoakalani” once stood.		Retained by Keohokalole at the Māhele, LCAw 8452:3, 99.68 acres. Given by Kamehameha to Keawe-a-Heulu. (Ii) LCAw 1452 to Haau: "2 apana ma Hamohamo, Waikiki, Oahu... 0.96 eka." Also LCAw 1456 to Iwinui, 2843 to Kaanaana, 2839 to Kahaka, 1447 to Kahue, 1468 to Kaiahopuwale, 1433 to Kaluhi, 1458 to Kapea, 2085 to Keamalu, 2492 to Kinikini, 1450 to Koa, 1459 to Kuihewa, 1453 to Manaole, 1446 to Naa, 1451 to Ohuehu, 2027 to Palauolelo, 1455 to Pelekane, 10677 to Pupuka, 2539C to Upai for Opuhali. "Area near ‘Ōhua Avenue, Wai-kīkī, O‘ahu, once belonging to Queen Lili‘u-o-la-lani." (PEM)

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Helumoa	'ili	The site of the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center, near the Royal Hawaiian Hotel at Helumoa Street, Waikīkī. Meaning "chicken scratch" (Chickens scratched to find maggots in the victim's body.)	Princess Pauahi inherited Helumoa from her cousin, Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani, where she and her husband Charles Reed Bishop spent much time enjoying the sheltered ulu niu (coconut grove). Old land division and site of a heiau where Kahahana was sacrificed.		LCAw 1466 to Kaanaana: "[Apana] 1. Pahale ma Helumoa... 1/5 eka." Also LCAw 1782 to Kahope, 228 to Kalaiheana, 1445 to Kanemakua, 922 to Okuu, 1463 to Wahahee. Claim no. 8827 by Kahooanohano was not awarded.
Kahaloa	place, stone	Beach area between the Royal Hawaiian and Halekūlani hotels, Waikīkī, noted for its fragrant līpoa seaweed. Meaning "long place"	Named for one of four stones believed to have been medical kahuna from Tahiti.		
Kalehuawehe	place, surf	Name for an ancient surfing area at Waikīkī, now called Castle's. Meaning the removed lehua lei.	Sick persons were brought here for cleansing baths just off the reef near Ka'ākaukukui.		
Kālia	'ili kū	Stretches along the coast from the kahawai and muliwai of Kukaumahi (west of Kapiolani Park), across the coast of Waikīkī ending just past Ala Moana Shopping Center. Meaning "waited for".	One of the most famous 'ili of Waikīkī.		Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882. Returned by Kamamalu at the Māhele, retained by the Gov. as Fort Land. Kalia resembles an ahupua'a extending across Waikiki from Makiki in the west to Kapahulu in the east, fragmented by many intervening 'ili and kuleana. CAw 2511 to Alapai: "Kaniukanuhou ma Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu." 4.60 acres. Also LCAw 5FL, 8FL, 31FL, 32FL, 97FL, 99FL, 100FL, 101FL, 104FL, 1356, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1423, 1436, 1437, 1510, 1512, 1514, 1515, 1736, 1737, 1758, 1765, 1775, 1999, 2082, 2549, 2981, 6450, 6616, 7597, 8023.

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo‘olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kālia	stream	Kalia Stream rises in Mānoa Valley, joins Pahoa Stream near Pahupahuapua‘a and continues to the sea through Muliwai o Kukaunahi, between Hamohamo and Kekio. Both streams have been realigned to form the Mānoa - Palolo Drainage Canal which flows to the Ala Wai Canal. Meaning "waited for".			
Kaluaokau	‘ili kū	Known today as the International Marketplace.	Lunalilo gifted Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV, Kaluaokau where they lived with their son Prince Albert.		Retained by Lunalilo at the Māhele, LCAw 8559B:31. Claim no. 1439 by Kailiwai for kalo and kula land was not awarded. Claim no. 1440 by Kekaha for a pond called Kanekualau in Kalua[o]kau was not awarded. Given by Kamehameha to Kalaimamahu. (Ii)
Kaluahole	‘ili kū	Coast between Waikīkī and Black Point, Honolulu. The name is frequently confused with Kaluaolohe Meaning the āhole fish			Where four entries under "Kaluahole" are actually in "Kaluaolohe". LCAw 6616 to Nuuanu is "ma Kaluahole... 3 loi kalo..." Claim no. 8847 by Kawi was not awarded.
Kalua‘ōlohe	‘ili kū	Coordinates are for LCAw 5873, the larger parcel of 102.5 acres. a smaller section of the ‘ili is at N42,500 E 560,200. Meaning the pit or cavern of ‘ōlohe.	The name commemorates the defeat in lua fighting of cruel ‘Ōlohe, a chief.		Returned by Kamamalu at the Māhele, retained by the Gov. Returned by Piianaia at the Māhele, retained by Crown; retained by Kahanaumaikai at the Māhele, LCAw 5873. Four of the five entries listed in Indices of Awards under Kaluahole are actually in Kaluaolohe: LCAw 5873 to Kahanaumaikai, 26FL to Kalalawalu, 1825 to Kuewa, 7161 to Kumuheha. Claims no. 2213 by Kauai, no. 9012 by Kekihele were not awarded.
Kāneloa	‘ili	Kap‘iolani Park, former Crown lands			

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kanukuā'ula	'ili kū	Nukuā'ula is a type of fishing net, with mesh so fine that only the very tip [nuku] of the finger could be inserted.			LCAw 1380 to Kahaaheo: "2 apana ma Kanukuaua... 0.80 eka." Also LCAw 35FL to Mahuka, 1514 to Kaauhau, 1388 to Kahaleuliuli, 1436 to Keleipaopao, 1510 to Kaluahinenui, 1511 to Kanae, 1408 to Kaua, 1378 to Kawaihapai, 1453 to Manaole, 1512 to Nalawehe, 1376 to Naoho, 1463 to Wahahee. Also written "Nukunukuaua" (q.v.).
Kapua	lele	This parcel includes the eastern part of Kapiolani Park, touching Papaenaena Heiau. Probably meaning, the flower.		Destroyed	RP 5667 on LCAw 5931 to Pehu: "Apana 3. Lele o Kekio i kapaia o Kapua ma Waikiki Kai." Claim no. 1760 by Kuaelele for his "Apana 3. Pahale in Kapua, Waikiki" at the shore was not awarded.
Kapua	heiau	Near Kap'iolani Park, opposite Camp McKinley Probably meaning, the flower.	Heiau po'okanaka. Fragments of its walls, torn down in 1860, show it to have been about 240 feet square; said to be the place of sacrifice of Kaolohaka, a chief from Hawai'i, on suspicion of being a spy.	Destroyed	Probably in the lele of Kapua (q.v.).
Kapua	channel, surf	Now filled in and a part of Kapi'olani Park Named for the adjoining lele of Kekio called Kapua. Probably meaning, the flower.	An ancient surfing area of Waikiki.	Destroyed	
Kapuni	lele	Meaning "the surrounding" perhaps named for the spreading banyan tree on the 'Āinahau estate of A. S. Cleghorn			LCAw 104FL to Kekuanaoa: "Aina ma Kalia, Waikiki, Kona, Oahu. Apana 5. Kahuahale ma Kapuni me Uluniu... 31 eka."

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kapuni	stone, surf	Now called "Baby Queen's" Meaning the surrounding	An ancient surfing area of Waikīkī. Named for one of four stones, now at the Waikiki Beach Center, which had been placed there to commemorate the four medical kahuna from Tahiti.		
Kawehewehe	muliwai, reef channel, wahi pana, wahi ho'ola	Channel exits between Paradise and threes surf breaks at the coast where the Shorebird Hotel is near the Army Museum.	"The sick were bathed here as treatment. The patient might wear a seaweed (limu-kala) lei and leave it in the water" (Place Names of Hawai'i).	The muliwai has long ago been filled in. The reef channel still exists.	located on RM1398 circa 1881-2 and traced in 1952. Place Names of Hawai'i
Keōmuku	'ili	Meaning the shortened sand (ō is short for one).			LCAw 1379 to Kapule: "Apana 1. Pahale ma Keomuku... 1/4 eka". Also LCAw 1388 to Kahaleuliuli, 1389 to Kuapaia, 1385 to Kaelemakule, 1511 to Kanae. Claim no. 8023 by Aua for "A house lot yard in Keomuku, Waikiki, Oahu" was not awarded.
Kinohi	stone	Meaning either "beginning, origin, genesis" or as Kinohi "decorated, spotted, or ornamented"	One of the four stones representing the four medical kahuna from Tahiti which had been on the beach at Ulukou where they had lived; now at the Waikiki Beach Center.		

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kuilei	fishery	Meaning the lei-stringing pond.			LCAw 154:4 to W. Sumner: "Loko Kuilei (kalo patch, makai in marsh)". 1.31 acres.LCAw 154 to W. Sumner: "a land situated in the district of Waikiki, island of Oahu, known as Kuilei... 14.74 acres." Also claim no. 1780 by Lahilahi. Claim no. 1619 by Nalua "consisting of kalo land in 5 patches and some kula, no house" was not awarded. Claims no. 1638 by Kohou, no. 4560 by Waiuia were not awarded. "Note: Kuilei has a sea belonging to it situate on South East side of Diamond Head (Leiahi [sic]) by the name of Eli."
Kūkaunahi	muliwai, kahawai	The former Kalia Stream entered the sea through "Muliwai Kukaunahi" between Hamohamo and Kekio, approximately between Ohua and Paoakalani Streets.			
Kūlanihāko'i	heiau	Meaning "agitated heaven that stands".	Site of grass house Kalākaua premises. Ruins noticed at time of Prince of Hawai'i's death in 1862; the walls were thought to be torn down much earlier.	Destroyed	
Kūpalahā	heiau	Kapiolani Park, near Cunha's. Meaning "temporary heiau temple".	Class unknown, but said to have had connection in its working with Papa'ena'ena.	Destroyed	
Lae o Kūpikipiki'ō	lae				

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Lē'ahi	lua pele, wahi pana	Diamond Head	one of the last places pele dwelled before finding her home at Halema'uma'u. She dug deep at Lē'ahi until waters welled up and quenched her fires.	Seized by American military during WWII	
Loko Ka'ihikapu	loko	A loko i'a near the shore of Waikīkī, in 'ili Kalia. It was just west of the Muliwai Kawehewehe. Today Fort DeRussy grounds. Meaning he taboo sacredness pond.		Destroyed and filled in	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
Loko Kai'ali'u	loko i'a	Loko in 'ili Pa'akea, modern Mō'ili'ili near Pucks Alley. alongside Loko Maui, Loko Mauoki, and the Heiau Mauoki, probably fed by pūnāwai Mauoki as well.		Destroyed and filled in	Located on historic RM 114 circa 1884 by Lyons & Wall.
Loko Kaipuni	loko	A series of Loko fed by Alanaio stream and in turn the kahawai and muliwai Piinaio. Today Fort DeRussy grounds & a portion of Ala Moana Blvd.		Destroyed and filled in	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
Loko Kapu'uiki	loko	A loko in the coastal plain of Waikīkī, in 'ili Kalia. Just inland of Loko Ka'ihikapu and the Muliwai Kawehewehe. Today Fort DeRussy grounds. Meaning the small hill pond.		Destroyed and filled in	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
Loko Pāweo	loko	A loko i'a near the shore of Waikīkī, in 'ili Kalia. It was just south of the Muliwai Piinaio. Today Fort DeRussy grounds.		Destroyed and filled in	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
Mau'oki	loko, pūnāwai, heiau			Destroyed and filled in	

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Mo'okahi	'ili				<p>Mookahi "A" was returned by Paki at the Māhele, retained by Crown.</p> <p>Mookahi "B" was retained by Napahi at the Māhele, LCAw 10535, 6.53 acres. In Mookahi A: LCAw 1430 to Huikau for Kaiwi, 2085:2 to Keamalu for Unuau, 2027:2 to Palauolelo, 1462 to Kunewa, 10677 to Pupuka. In Mookahi B: LCAw 6252:3 to Kekukahiko; RPG 6513 to A. A. Young contains 1.45 acres. Written "Kamookahi" in Indices but "Mookahi" in MB and elsewhere.</p> <p>RM 1398 shows 4 separate 'ili named "Mookahi": Mookahi I &amp; Mookahi II are sometimes distinguished in the records &amp; cataloged as 126.07.018. "Mookahi A" and "Mookahi B" are cataloged as 126.07.019. Claims no.2012 by Makualii, no. 2119 by Kalaimoku, no.2125 by Kaunahe weren't awarded.</p>
Paemāhū	stone	Meaning "homosexual row"	One of four stones at the western end of Kū-hiō Beach Park, Wai-kīkī, Honolulu, believed to have been medical kahuna from Tahiti that guarded this spot; formerly they were in the sea." The other three stones were Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi.		
Pāhoa	wahi pana, 'ili	Meaning "dagger"			Retained by Keoni Ana at the Māhele, LCAw 8515:4, 11.43 acres. Also LCAw 228 to Kaleiheana, 1.11 acres. Claim no. 1621 by Kaleikapu was not awarded. Given by Kamehameha I to John Young. (Ii)



Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pāhoa	stream	Pāhoa Stream rises in Pālolo Valley, joins Kalia Stream (q.v.) near Pahupahuapuaa and continues to the sea through Muliwai o Kukaunahi, between Hamohamo & Kekio. Both streams were realigned to form the Mānoa - Pālolo Drainage Canal which flows to the Ala Wai Canal. Meaning "dagger"			
Pa'akea	'ili, pond	Meaning Pa'akea [coral bed, limestone] pond.			LCAw 8441 & 8534 to G. L. Kapeau: "... kona hapalua ili aina o Pawaa ma Waikiki ma Kona... Oahu... Apana 1. Loko Paakea ma Kahalepaka... 3.12 eka." LCAw 4313B to Paukaa: "Apana 3. Pahale ma Paakea..." 0.35 acre. Also LCAw 8033:1 to Akaole, 1416:2 to Kuhaikanuu. Also written "Kapaakea". Claims no. 1262 by Kupa, no. 1269 by Nalopino were not awarded.
Papa'ena'ena	heiau	Now the site of La Pietra School for Girls	Home of a legendary pahu. Originally a heiau with ties to surfing, re-consecrated as a luakini by Kamehameha I	Destroyed	
Papanui	surf	Deep water summer surfing area about a mile seaward of Kūhiō Beach, Wai-kīkī, Honolulu, named in 1930 by Duke Kahanamoku to honor the big boards that were ridden there. Meaning "big board"			

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pāwa'a	'ili kū	Also noted as Pāwa'a o mā'alo meaning the canoe enclosure of Mā'alo	The lo'i in Pāwa'a were retained by the Crown. It is said that canoes were brought here from the sea by canal.		Returned by Kamamalu at the Māhele, retained by the Gov. as Fort Land. Retained by I. Ii at the Māhele, LCAw 8241:2. 1/2 returned by G. L. Kapeau at the Māhele, retained by the Gov. (aoao ma Waikiki); 1/2 retained by G. L. Kapeau, LCAw 8441 (aoao ma Honolulu). 1/2 returned by G. P. Judd, retained by the Gov. (aoao mauka); 1/2 retained by G. P. Judd, LCAw 660 (aoao makai). (MB 218). Also LCAw 264, 529, 566, 660, 1374, 1384, 2900, 3134, 3135, 3727, 4279B, 6486, 8241, 8441, 9002, 11018. Claims no. 1116 by Kaioe, no. 8065 by Hauula, no. 8335 by Kanuela, were not awarded.
Pi'inaio	muliwai, steam	Muliwai was fed by 'Auwai Alanaio and exited into the ocean near the 'Ilikai Hotel. The stream Pi'inaio fed the Loko Kaipuni.		Has been filled in and all flow channeled into the Ala Wai.	Located on RM1398, circa 1952 trace of the original map by Bishop done in 1881 & 1882.
Pua'ali'ili'i	place	Beach area at Waikīkī, Honolulu, approximately between 'Āpua-kēhau (site of the Moana Hotel) and Helumoa (site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel). Meaning little pig.	Kamehameha I's houses were here.		
Pualeilani	place	Near the present Kūhiō Beach.	Pualeilani was the royal home of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole and Princess Elizabeth Kahanu. Pualeilani was formerly owned by Prince Kūhiō's uncle and aunt, King Kalākaua & his wife Queen Kapi'olani.		

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Pūnāwai Ka'alāwai	pūnāwai	Meaning "the water basalt" or "the water gecko"			
Ulukou	'ili	Now the site of the Moana Hotel. Meaning kou tree grove.			LCAw 2084 to Keohokahina for Wahineinoa: "Apana 3. Kahuahale me ke kula o Ulukou, Waikiki... 0.53 eka." Also LCAw 1506:1 to Waikiki, claim no. 6324 by Kameheu. Claim no. 6680 by Kamaukoli for a house lot was not awarded.

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).



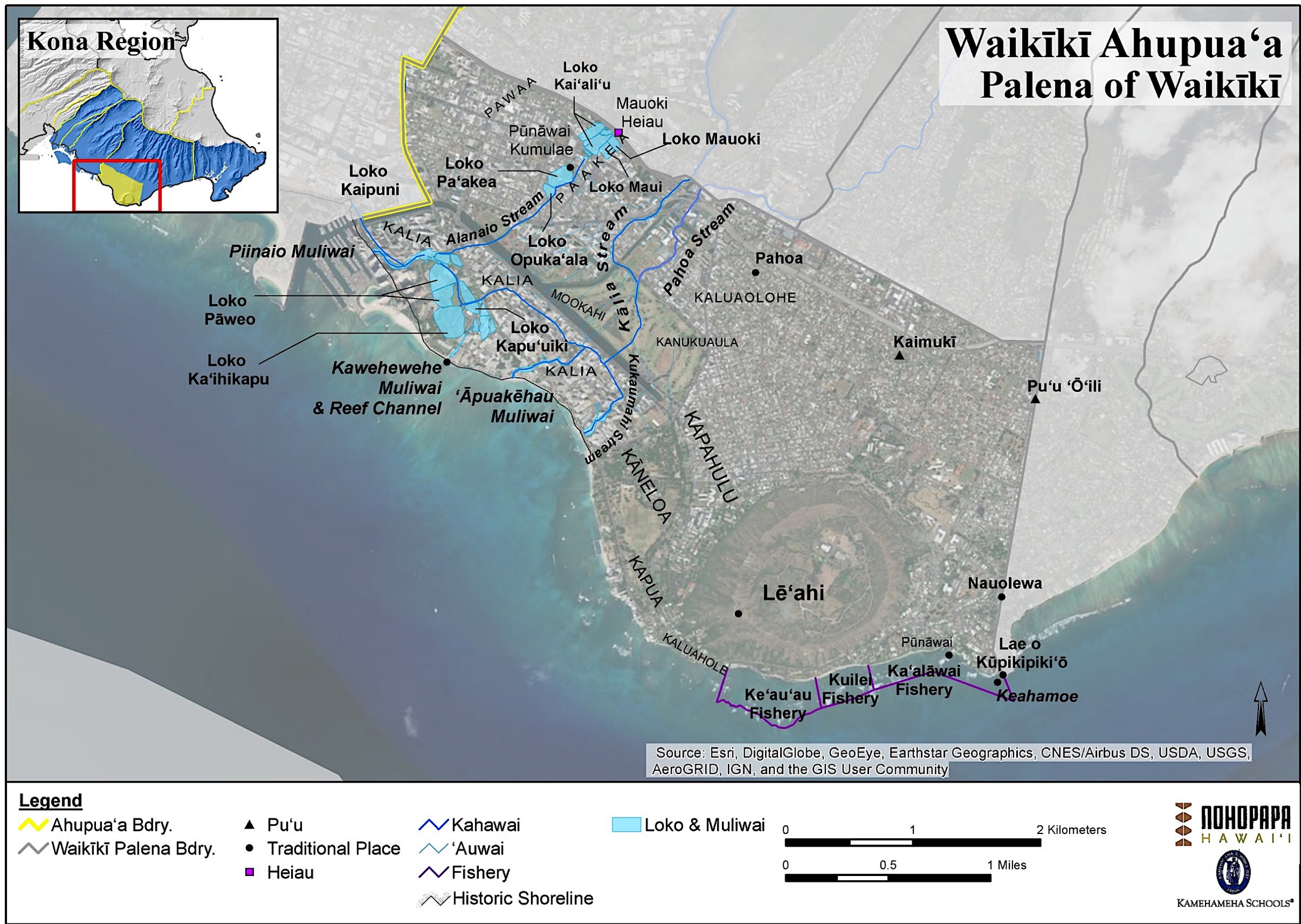


Figure 82. GIS map depiction of significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Waikiki Palena (Waikiki Ahupua'a)

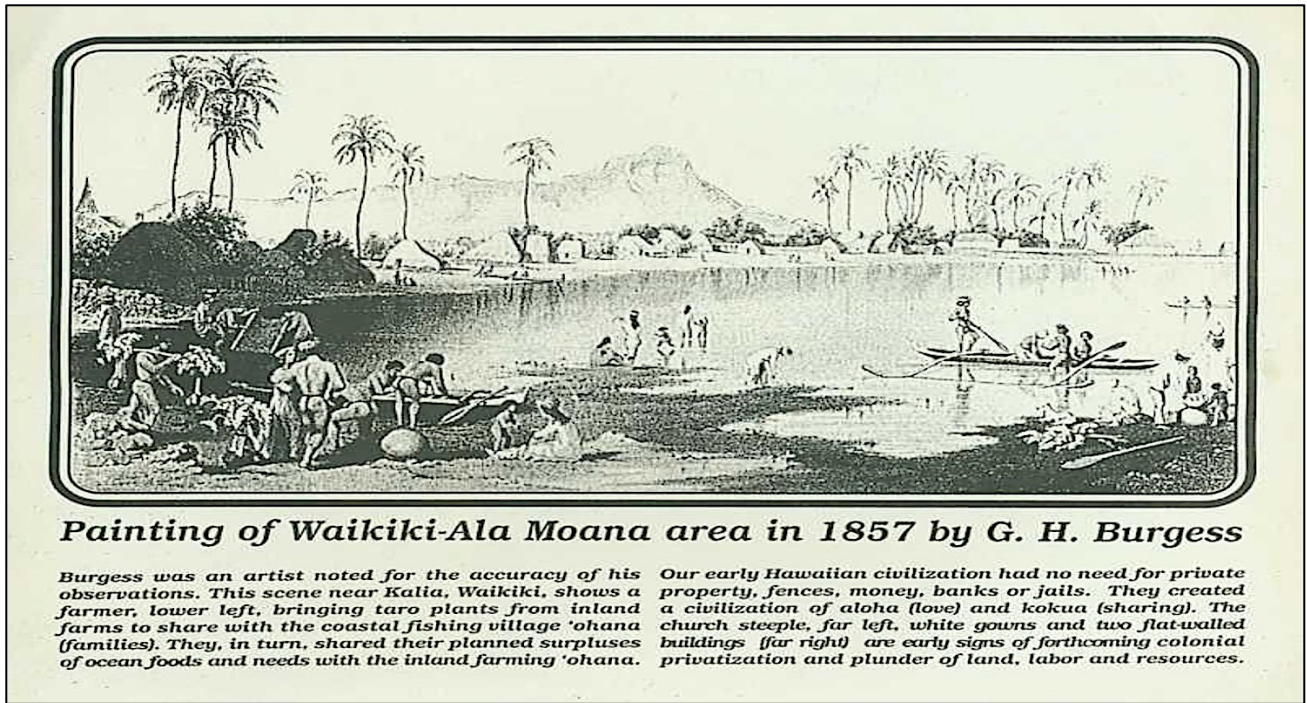


Figure 83. 1857 painting by G.H. Burgess of Waikīkī-Ala Moana area (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref#NABurgess, G.H.)



Figure 84. 1900 photo of Waikīkī Beach and Diamond Head (UHM Library Digital Image Collections)



Figure 85. 1900 photo of canals lined with palm trees, possibly around Kap'iolani Park next to Make'e Island (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref#H-00034-09)



Figure 86. Undated photo of Diamond Head from Waikiki rice fields (UHM Library Digital Image Collections)

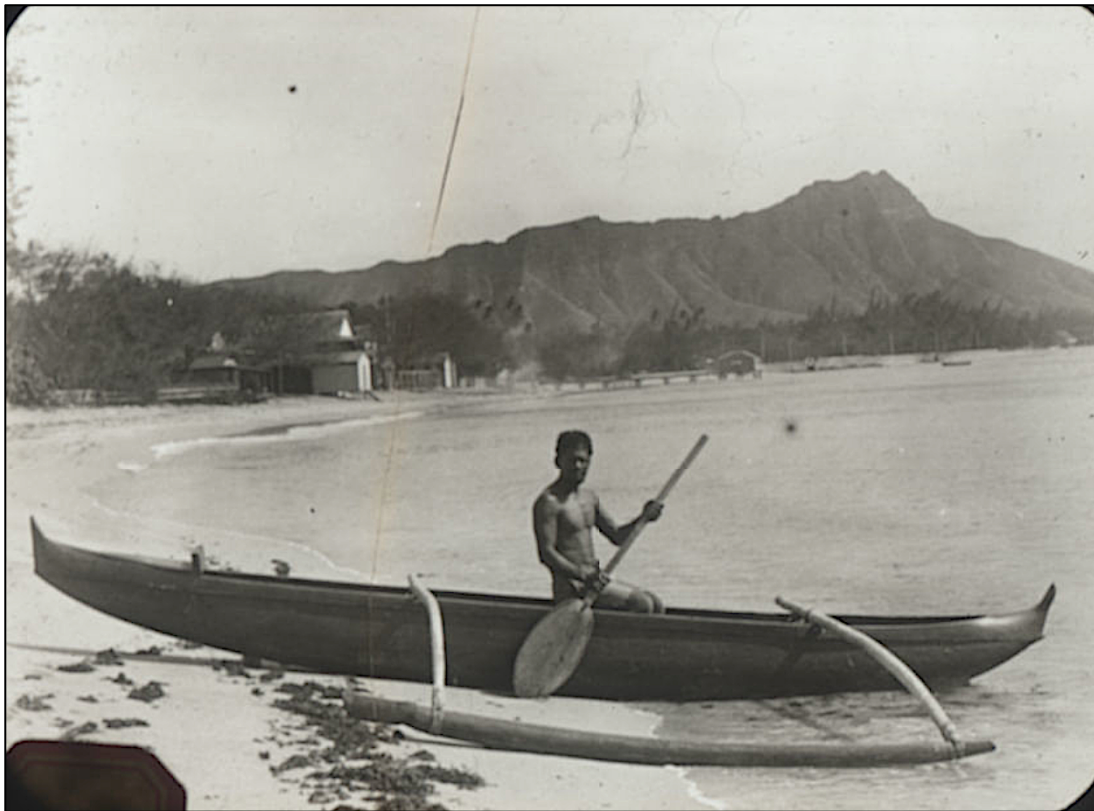


Figure 87. 1938 photo by Oliver, Douglas of a “Small outrigger canoe on the beach at Waikiki, Oahu, with Diamond Head in background” (UHM Library Digital Image Collections, Ref#0.1049)

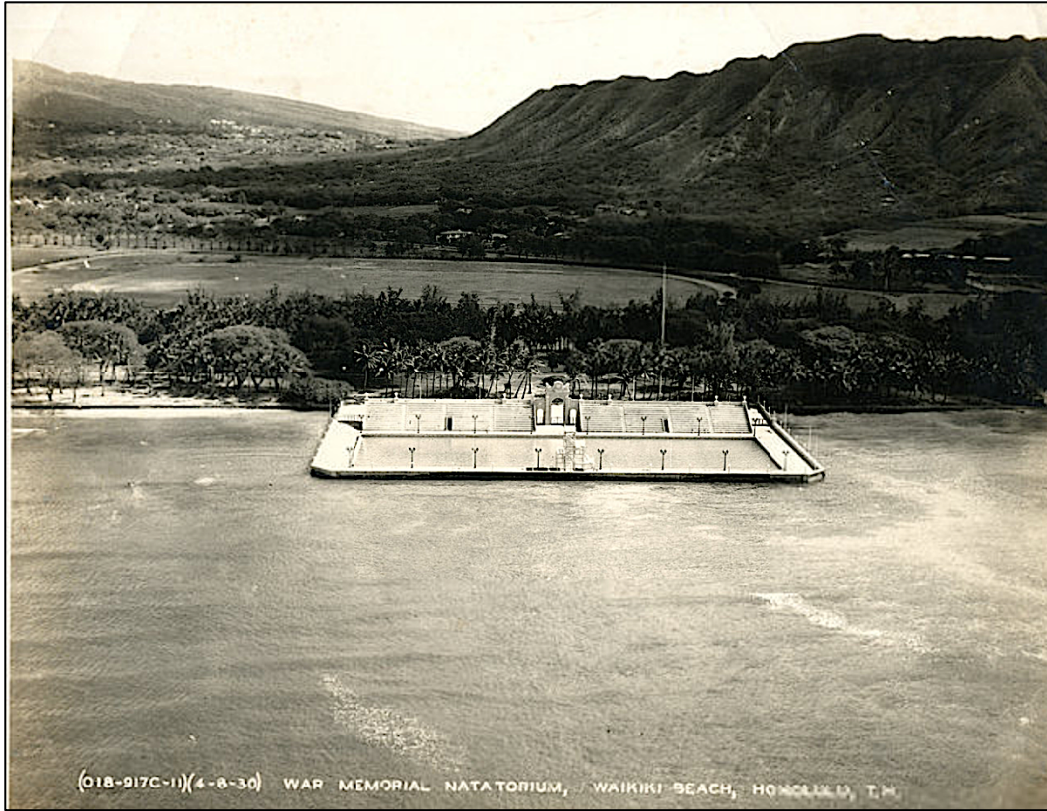


Figure 88. 1930 photo by United States Army Air Corps of the War Memorial Natatorium (UHM Library Digital Image Collections)



Figure 89. 1931 photo by the United States Army Air Corps of Waikiki and Diamond Head area (UHM Library Digital Image Collections)

# Community Groups in Waikīkī

This section provides a summary of the community groups in Waikīkī, 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 organizations 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.

## Waiwai Collective

Waiwai Collective is located in the ahupua’a of Waikīkī that serves as a kīpuka, a contemporary kanaka maoli space where, “community, culture, and commerce intersect.” Their mission is “Cultivating a community that takes creative risk necessary to put collective values into daily practices, affirm shared responsibilities, and learns together to create a more waiwai future.” Their long-term vision, “to cultivate meaningful and lasting relationships. Unlike other community gathering spaces, Ka Waiwai is a working model of innovation that creates, collaborates on ideas and practices that fosters generational well-being and waiwai.”



Figure 90. Ka Waiwai - a contemporary Hawaiian space where community, culture, and commerce intersect (Photo credit: Waiwai Collective)





Figure 91. A gathering at Ka Waiwai (Photo credit: Waiwai Collective)

## Community Outreach & Survey Results

### Organization Profile:

Contact person	Mahina Duarte
Address	1110 University Avenue, Suite 100, Honolulu, HI, 96822
Phone number	(808) 354-3928
Email	mahina@waiwaicollective.com
Website/Social media	<a href="http://waiwaicollective.com">http://waiwaicollective.com</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/waiwaicollective">https://www.facebook.com/waiwaicollective</a> <a href="https://www.instagram.com/waiwaicollective">https://www.instagram.com/waiwaicollective</a>
Year organization formed	2016
501c3 status	Waiwai Collective is an LLC

### Services, Target Audiences, & Partnerships:

Sites they mālama	Ka Mō'ili'ili, Kaiali'u, Mānoa, Kawaiakeakua
Services provided	Community Engagement, Cultural development (i.e. cultural activities, crafts, practices), Education, Family Engagement, Food production & security, Sustainability, Resiliency Hub, 'Ōiwi Leadership, Systems Thinking, and Business Modeling and Prototyping.  Specific programs/activities include Hālau Ea, 'Awa & 'Ai, Co-working, Panel Discussions, Networking Events, and Workshops.
Use of place based curriculum?	Yes, maps, mo'olelo, wahi pana, oral histories.
Use of cultural protocols, activities, and practices ?	Yes, maintenance of kūahu, oli, ha'i 'ōlelo, ho'okipa, and pule.
Public volunteer work days?	Yes, will be increasing frequency to one per quarter for community of users.

Student School groups (& ages) they service	14-18 years (9th-12th grade), 18+ years (Post-secondary), Adults
Community groups they service	Yes, between 75-100 community groups that they have serviced over two years of existence.
Existing organizational partners	Yes, The Nature Conservancy, Conservation International, OHA, Hawai'i Investment Ready, UH Mānoa, HMSA, Blue Zones, Aloha Care, 'Aha Kāne, Pā Lonopūhā, Ka Pā o ka Leilehua, Punahou, and Dawson Technical, Elemental Accelerator
Organizations wanting to partner with in the future	Yes, Hawaiian Airlines, Alaska Airlines, Hawai'i Tourism Authority, and the Kahala Hotel & Resort

**Additional Mana'o:** Waiwai Collective would appreciate access to demographic data and information of the Kona, O'ahu region. They would also appreciate support of a permanent commercial space to incubate and accelerate more Native Hawaiian businesses that serve as community resiliency hubs. Waiwai Collective is interested in cultivating new corporate members and sponsors to support their programming.



## Additional Resources for Waikīkī Palena

Table 14 is an annotated summary of additional resources for readers looking for more details on the natural and cultural resources of Waikīkī Palena, Waikīkī Ahupua‘a.

Table 14. Sample of Resources for Waikīkī Palena\*

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Beckwith (1970)	<i>Hawaiian Mythology</i>	This compilation and study of Hawaiian mythology utilizes numerous texts (and also provides some variations) of Hawaiian myths and legends. The book covers significant themes in Hawaiian mythology, from the origin myths of the Hawaiian gods and goddesses, to more recent legends, kahuna and menehune, etc.
Clark (1977)	<i>Beaches of Oahu</i>	In May 1972, Clark began gathering information for a book about O‘ahu’s beaches. His goal was to identify every beach on the island and describe its physical characteristics, including its dangers, its use as a recreational resource, and its value as a historic and cultural site. Clark’s original idea evolved into the “Beaches of Hawai‘i” book series that inventories and describes every beach in the Hawaiian Islands. During the course of writing the book series, Clark interviewed hundreds of informants to gather information, many of whom were Native Hawaiians. Clark also realized many of the place names collected during the study were not standard, recorded references such as those found in Pukui et al.’s (1974) <i>Place Names of Hawai‘i</i> . The University of Hawai‘i Press published <i>The Beaches of O‘ahu</i> in 1977.
Feeser (2006)	<i>Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting &amp; Remembering</i>	This book critiques the joint enterprises of colonialism and capitalism, especially in Hawai‘i. This work contributes to this rich and complex topic of study with particular focus on the perceived epicenter of the joint forces of colonialism and capitalism - Waikīkī. The work resurrects Waikīkī’s cultural context and history using historical photographs, historical maps, and other original sources.
Fornander (1918-1919)	<i>Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore: The Hawaiians Account of the Formation of Their Islands and Origin of Their Race, with the Traditions of Their Migrations, as Gathered from Original Sources</i>	This second edition of Fornander’s four-volume <i>Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore</i> , includes more important and prominent legends. Fornander’s work is a compilation of oral historical information and narratives drawn from ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources. Different versions exist of the most popular legends; this collection features a few legends featuring individuals with similar names, indicating different versions of the same story. The work closes with sketches of other myths and traditional characters composed by students at Lahinaluna School, Maui.
Green and Pukui (1926)	<i>Folk-Tales from Hawai‘i</i>	This book is the second in a series that honors both Hawaiian storytelling traditions and Mary Kawena Pukui. The stories in this collection range across a broad spectrum of subjects and styles and are full of veiled and double meanings. Readers are invited to interpret these

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
		<p>texts for themselves, but it is important to remember that these mo‘olelo are part of the culture that engendered them, and the more one learns about that culture, the more alive the stories become. M. Puakea Nogelmeier, the first recipient of the Mary Kawena Pukui Scholarship at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, assisted in reviewing the manuscript and standardizing the Hawaiian spelling. He also organized the stories in a sequence that reflects the order of traditional hula presentations, placing stories of the gods first, followed by those of chiefs, and then tales of ordinary people. Some of the English phrasing in the tales has been edited slightly for a modern audience, but care has been taken to retain the cadence of Pukui's original English translation. Footnotes have been added or amended to clarify references and explain matters of context. New footnotes are designated “Ed.” (editor), those written by Martha Beckwith carry her initials, and the remainder are from Laura Green or Pukui herself.</p>
Handy (1940)	<i>The Hawaiian Planter, Volume 1. His Plants, Methods and Areas of Cultivation</i>	<p>The Hawaiian Planter, Volume 1, published in 1940, catalogued what Handy perceived as Native Hawaiian agricultural traditions defined by Handy as planting and cultivation. Handy identified and discussed the plants raised by Hawaiians, the types of locality and areas in which they were planted, and the different varieties, methods of cultivation, and uses of the plants.</p>
‘Īī (1959)	<i>Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii; Fragments of Hawaiian History (1959)</i>	<p>John Papa ‘Īī is a preeminent 19<sup>th</sup> century Native Hawaiian scholar and historian. In the 1860s, ‘Īī published a history under the title, <i>Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii</i>, for the Hawaiian language newspaper, <i>Kuokoa</i>, which was later translated by Mary Kawena Pukui and published under the title <i>Fragments of Hawaiian History (1959)</i>. Hawai‘i was left with a unique and invaluable record when Papa ‘Īī ‘wrote of his childhood and youth while traditional and ancient structures of power and systems of governance were still in power, telling of the events he witnessed during the early years of the great transition which followed the fragmentation of the ancient order.</p>
Kanahele (1995)	<i>Waikīkī: 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D., An Untold Story</i>	<p>In this accessible, beautifully written book, George Kanahele recounts Waikīkī rich cultural history, including its natural abundance and the masterful ‘āina engineering and biocultural stewardship. Kanahele uses ethnohistorical and ethnographic resources, some of which are newly published, in a work that counters popular Western narratives and stereotypes of what Waikīkī is and who the place is for. The stories compiled by Kanahele include memories of chiefs and commoners, planters, fisherman, who long ago turned an ancient marsh into one of the most fertile and hospitable lands in all of Hawai‘i.</p>
Maly and	<i>Ka Hana Lawai‘a a me Nā Ko‘a o Na Kai Ewalu: A History of</i>	<p>This study details archival historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document, traditional knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries—</p>

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Maly (2003)	<i>Fishing Practices and Marine Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands</i>	including those extending from mountain streams to the beaches, estuaries and near-shore, and extending out to the deep sea—and 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.
Smith (2004)	“Historical Timeline of Helumoa, Waikīkī, O’ahu”	This resource was compiled for the Commercial Assets Division of Kamehameha Schools. It includes information about the place names, legendary accounts, timeline of settlement, land use, and Hawaiian practices that occurred in Helumoa ‘Ili, Waikiki. The document also includes historical accounts and a Māhele overview.

\* 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.

