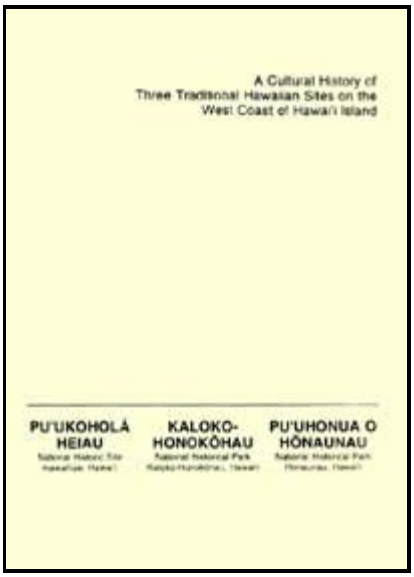
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island



A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Linda Wedel Greene

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Denver Service Center

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Kawaihae, Hawai'i

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A Note on Spelling

Due to the inability of some Web browsers to display certain characters, the anglicized spelling of many Hawaiian words will be used in this on-line edition. We hope this does not detract from the contents of this document. You are encouraged to consult printed materials for proper spelling. The following illustrates the correct spelling of the three parks covered by this study:

PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU	KALOKO-HONOKŌHAU	PU'UHONUA O HŌNAUNAU
National Historic Site	National Historical Park	National Historical Park
Kawaihae, Hawai'i	Kaloko-Honokōhau, Hawai'i	Hōnaunau, Hawai'i

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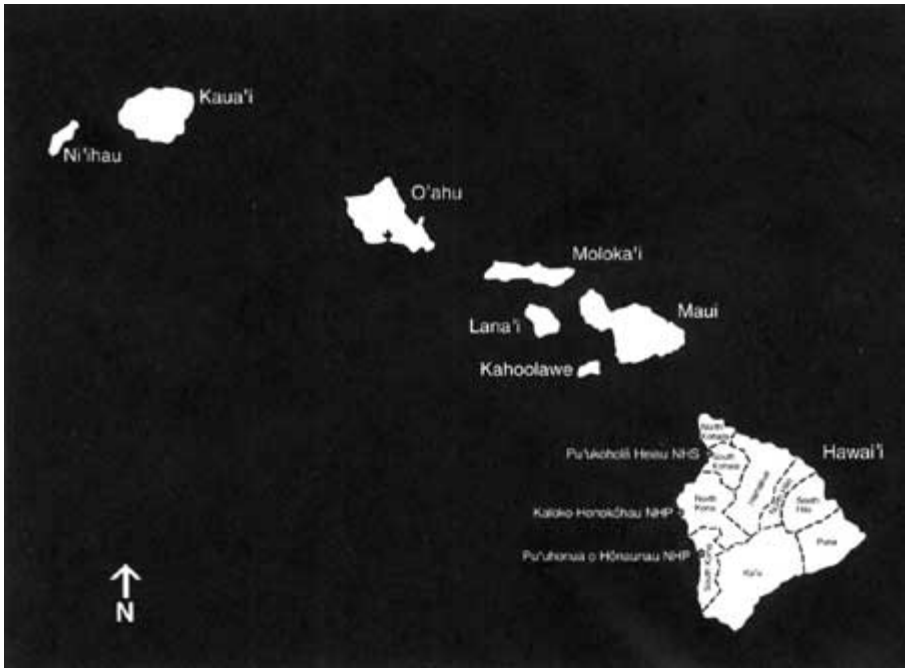
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PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

PREFACE

This document is a historic resource study for three Hawaiian units of the National Park System. These areas Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site and Kaloko-Honokohau and Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Parks — are located on the west coast of the island of Hawai'i. All possess prehistoric sites as well as resources related to the historical period, after European and American vessels had begun to visit the islands.



The primary purpose of this study was to ascertain the appearance of Pu'ukohola Heiau and any structures that rested on its platform during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Additionally important was any evidence concerning the location and appearance of buildings on the John Young homestead, which is a component of Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site. It was hoped that data could be found on the historical landscape of these sites as first observed by European and American visitors. Because the source material for the early history of all three parks and the repositories to be visited were likely to be the same, it seemed more efficient to perform concurrent research and combine historic resource studies for the three parks into one document.

Specific emphasis was put on examining journals, logbooks, photographs, drawings, maps, and other material in the Eastern United States that had not been previously researched. Repositories in foreign countries, such as England and Russia, were not personally visited by the researchers due to time and budget constraints. Specialists at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., familiar with foreign holdings were consulted as to the existence of pertinent records. They had noted no early descriptions or drawings of these areas during research on other Hawaiian subjects. A variety of published German, French, and Spanish sources, however, were translated and studied during

our research.

This study has collected and evaluated data and presents research findings on the physical development of these areas and on the use of sites and structures as well as of lands within the park boundaries and in immediately adjacent areas. The study also provides an overview of the prehistory and history of the Hawaiian Islands. It should be noted that not all anthropologists and historians agree on details of the origin and development of the Hawaiian culture prior to Western contact, nor do they interpret changes in political systems and societal patterns the same way. This will be especially evident in discussions such as those related to abolition of the *kapu* system. The study team determined that this introductory information was necessary to provide a context within which the parks' resources could be understood and evaluated. These sections provide data that not only increases our understanding of Hawaiian culture but enhances our ability to more accurately interpret the history of these park areas to visitors.

The study also provides narrative histories of each park area supplemented by historical maps, photos, and drawings. Archeological base maps showing the location of park resources are on file in the Pacific Area Office of the National Park Service in Honolulu. They are not included in this report due to the sensitivity of park resources. Numerous maps are presented, however, showing the location of major structures and sites. This report also contains recommendations for planning, resource management, and interpretation.

This study has been prepared in accordance with National Park Service Cultural Resources Management Guideline NPS-28 and NPS Management Policies. It has involved a thorough search of primary and secondary sources detailing various aspects of the historical period of these three areas. Source material consisted of logbooks of European and American vessels visiting the islands in connection with exploratory, trading, whaling, missionary, or diplomatic ventures; diaries, personal journals, and travel accounts of visitors; personal letters as well as official correspondence; records of scientific and exploratory expeditions; missionary records; official military reports; records and reports of the kingdom, territory, and state of Hawai'i; U.S. government documents; and land records. The researchers also examined newspapers, guidebooks, manuscripts, articles, oral histories, interviews, archeological reports, ethnographic collections, field notes, nautical charts, drawings, notes, sketches, maps, plans, watercolors, paintings, stereopticon slides, photographs, and other miscellaneous source materials.

An immense quantity of data was collected in the course of this study. Researchers handcopied, photocopied, and photographed site-specific data as well as historical background information pertaining to the west coast of Hawai'i Island. Focus lay on European and American travelers' accounts and records of voyages of discovery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and on manuscripts and papers of mariners, missionaries, and adventurers who either visited the Island of Hawai'i or were early residents.

An effort has not been made in this study to provide a detailed analysis of the various models of Hawaiian cultural development or of the varied interpretations of Hawaiian cultural history. Nor did time permit a detailed analysis or critical evaluation of all the ninteenth- and twentieth-century European sources used. It is clear that ethnocentric social, political, and economic biases exist in many of these records, which must be viewed in the context of the writers' traditions, experiences, and background. Valid or not, many of them seemed worthy of inclusion.

The intent of this study was to examine Western sources for possible observances of structures or land use in these park areas. It was not intended to extensively collect and evaluate Native Hawaiian oral traditions or ethnographic or ethnohistorical data. A few such studies were used, however, as well as translations of native manuscripts when relevant. It is recognized that an ethnographic overview and assessment and a traditional use study of these three parks would be a valuable addition to their data bases. Utilizing native Hawaiian oral traditions as well as published ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies, an applied anthropologist might be able to provide important additional information on sites and structures in these three parks. Research of this type could also provide data on the continuing significance of these sites to contemporary peoples.

A vast number of previously unresearched manuscripts, periodicals, and published sources were inventoried at the following repositories:

California

Berkeley —	Bancroft Library, University of California
San Francisco —	California Historical Society Maritime Museum
Stockton —	University of the Pacific

Colorado

Denver —	Museum of Natural History Denver Public Library
Boulder —	University of Colorado Library

Connecticut

Mystic —	White Library, Mystic Seaport, Inc.
New Haven —	Yale University Libraries and Peabody Museum of Natural History

Hawai'i

Island of Hawai'i —	Kona Historical Society Hawaii Volcanoes NP, USGS Lyman House Memorial Museum University of Hawaii, Hilo, Hawaiian Studies Division Kaloko-Honokohau NHP Pu'ukohola Heiau NHS Pu'uhonua o Honaunau NHP
Island of O'ahu —	Pacific Area Office, NPS Hawaii State Library Hawaii State Archives Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Mission Houses Museum Hawaiian Historical Society University of Hawaii at Manoa Bernice P. Bishop Museum
Island of Mau'i —	Kahului Historic House Museums Lahaina Restoration Foundation Maui Historical Society Lahaina Whaling Museum
Island of Kaua'i —	Waioli Mission House Museum Kauai Museum Association, Ltd. Kauai Historical Society

Massachusetts

Boston —	Bostonian Society Boston Athenaeum Massachusetts Historical Society
Cambridge —	Harvard University Libraries Peabody Museum of Archeology and Anthropology
Nantucket —	Nantucket Historical Society
New Bedford —	Public Library Whaling Museum
Salem —	Peabody Museum Essex Institute Salem Maritime NHS
Sharon —	Kendall Whaling Museum
Worcester —	American Antiquarian Society

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia — University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Rhode Island

Providence — Public Library
John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress
National Archives
Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives

Telephone contact was made with numerous other museums and libraries that did not have pertinent material and were therefore not visited.

The research study for this team consisted of Linda W. Greene, Historian; Diane Lee Rhodes, Archeologist; and Dr. Lawrence F. Van Horn, Anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado. Ms. Rhodes wrote the historical overview section of this report. Rhodes and Van Horn are to be especially commended and thanked for their many long research trips, their meticulous note-taking, and their invaluable expertise and suggestions during the course of this study.

Numerous other people facilitated our work. They include the staffs of all the institutions mentioned above who contributed their time and knowledge. In addition the author expresses great appreciation to Dorothy Barrère, Marion Kelly, and Russell Apple, all of whom gave freely of their extensive knowledge of Hawaiian prehistory and history. Janette Wesley and her staff in the Rocky Mountain Regional Library, National Park Service, Denver, facilitated the pace of the research by acquiring a vast number of books and articles on inter-library loan. Janet Stickland and Mary Ryan of the Graphics Division, Denver Service Center, spent long hours typing rough drafts and the final document and preparing maps and photographs for publication. Their hard work and professional expertise is highly valued.

Thanks also to Maurice Miller and Michael Spratt of the Branch of Planning, Western Team, Denver Service Center, for their support of the project; to Western Regional Office personnel including Thomas F. Mulhern, Chief, Park Historic Preservation; Gordon Chappell, Regional Historian; Helene R. Dunbar, Archeologist, Interagency Archeological Services; and Roger E. Kelly, Regional Archeologist, for contributing data and advice; to G. Bryan Harry, Director, Pacific Area Office, National Park Service, and especially to Gary F. Somers, Archeologist, Pacific Area Office, for his constant help and advice. Thanks also for their help either in providing data, park tours, or review comments to Jerry Y. Shimoda, Superintendent, Pu'ukohola Heiau NHS and Pu'uhonua o Honaunau NHP; Daniel K. Kawaiaea, Jr., Area Manager, Pu'ukohola Heiau NHS; and Francis I. Kuailani, Sr., Superintendent, Kaloko-Honokohau NHP.

This is the second study on Hawaiian park units that I have had the privilege to be involved in. I continue to be thoroughly fascinated by the complex culture and exciting history of the Hawaiian people. The three parks addressed in this study are truly important cultural sites and significant components of the National Park System.

Linda W. Greene
Denver, Colorado
September 8, 1992

PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian Prehistory

CHAPTER I: BEFORE THE WRITTEN RECORD

A. Formation and Description of the Hawaiian Archipelago

Hawaii comprises the northern apex of the Polynesian Triangle (Illustration 1), the name given an area in the central and eastern Pacific Ocean stretching from New Zealand on the south to Hawai'i on the north to Easter Island on the east and encompassing several island groups. All of these populations are thought to be descended from a common ancestral society. The Hawaiian chain is among the most isolated areas in the world, lying approximately 2,100 nautical miles southwest of California and more than 4,000 miles from Japan and the Phillipines. As a consequence of their location, these islands were among the last areas in the world to be discovered and populated but also have served as an important link between North America and Asia. The greatest single distance between any two of the larger Hawaiian Islands is the eighty miles from Kaua'i to O'ahu, while the distances between adjacent islands average twenty-five miles or less. Except for certain wide and dangerous channels that limited communication in some directions, the earliest inhabitants were able to voyage among most islands of the group with relative ease by paddling or sailing canoes. [1]

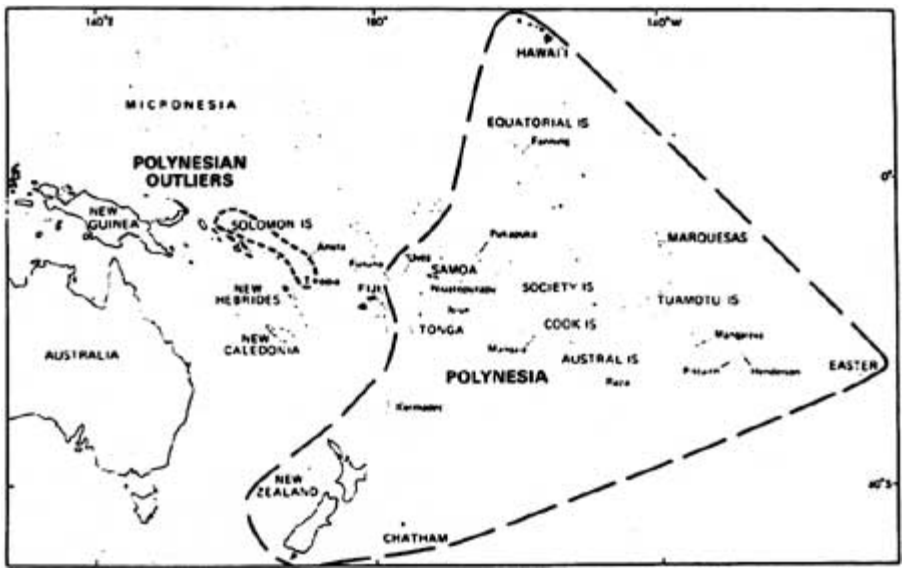


Illustration 1. Polynesian Triangle, with Hawaiian Islands at northern apex. All peoples within this area are thought to have common ancestry. (Figure 13 in Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, p. 23.)

The entire Hawaiian archipelago consists of 132 islands, islets, sand cays, and reefs. [2] Most of the total land area, however, is made up of five major islands — Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Moloka'i — and three smaller ones — Lana'i, Ni'ihau, and Kahoolawe — stretching across the Tropic of Cancer. The island of Hawai'i, commonly known as the "Big Island," contains more than twice as much land as the other seven islands combined. The group lies between latitudes 19 degrees and 29 degrees North and longitudes 154 and 179 degrees West. The northern and central, most westerly, leeward islands are small, almost uninhabited, volcanic rocks and coral atolls. The two exceptions are Nihoa and Necker, which were uninhabited at the time of European discovery but contain archeological evidence of earlier human occupation.

The larger islands of the Hawaiian chain comprise the emerged summits of a 1,600-mile-long northwest-southeast trending range of volcanic mountains resting on the Pacific Plate. These shield-shaped basaltic domes have been built up by successive outpourings of lava from vents along a crack in the earth's crust that cooled to solid rock bodies. These islands vary considerably in configuration, land area, rainfall, and vegetation. The oldest eruptive centers are at the northwest (Kaua'i, O'ahu) end of the chain, while the youngest, still active volcanoes are at the southeast end, including Kilauea and Mauna Loa (the world's largest active volcano) on Hawai'i Island. This youngest island has been the focal point of active vulcanism during the period of human occupation. Volcanic eruptions have been a frequent cause of population dislocation, burying settlements and agricultural land under sweeping lava flows. These flows preserve numerous important archeological sites.

The different geological ages of the islands of the Hawaiian chain mean great differences in topography, bespeaking various stages of formation and erosion. The larger islands, which are all dome volcanoes, exhibit a gentle, gradual slope from summit to ocean. The central, mountainous parts of these islands are generally rugged and cover considerable area. Through the years volcanic flows have been subjected to various weathering processes. First chemical weathering gradually works upon the lava, resulting in formation of soil. That action is followed by rainfall-induced stream erosion associated with north-east trade winds — the dominant feature of the Hawaiian climate. Erosion is usually greater on the windward side of the islands where the greatest amounts of rain fall, causing the formation of steep valleys and cliffs, often cut by permanent streams. [3] These predominantly wet, cool areas are forested where not cultivated. It has been estimated that almost fifty percent of the total area of the main islands (6,435 square miles) was forest land in pre-European times. [4] The warmer and drier leeward sides of the islands, more sheltered from the rain, undergo much more gradual erosion and are mostly grassland and scrub, characterized by shallower, trough-like valleys, coastal plains, flat sand or cobble beaches, and occasional coral reefs.

The mild, subtropical climate of Hawai'i has been favorable to the growth of introduced vegetation. Plants and animals native today are descendants of those that arrived over a long period of time by one means or another and spread gradually throughout the islands. Hawai'i's flora and fauna are highly specialized because of their isolation and the great variations in environment on the different islands. [5]

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PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian History
by Diane Lee Rhodes
(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER II: EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

A. Captain James Cook Brings the Islands to Europe's Attention

1. Cook Discovers the Sandwich Islands

The Hawaiian Islands remained unknown to Europeans until the late 1700s. For nearly a decade, Englishman James Cook had systematically traversed and recorded much of the Southern Hemisphere attempting to find a sea passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. On his third voyage, Cook's ships — the HMS *Resolution* and HMS *Discovery* — spent almost a year in the South Pacific before sailing northward via a previously uncharted route. On January 18, 1778, the expedition sighted the westernmost three landforms (O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau) of the volcanic chain known today as the Hawaiian Islands.

Cook's ships anchored off the southwestern coast of Kaua'i near the village of Waimea. The friendly native Hawaiians welcomed the strangers warmly. Cook offered them gifts and invited some of them aboard his vessel in hopes of establishing a good relationship, much as he had done with the inhabitants of other Polynesian Islands.

The Hawaiians were intensely curious about these voyagers. Once invited aboard, they rapidly overran the ships and began to remove goods, especially metal items. This was in accordance with their traditional beliefs that items not under *kapu* were common property. According to Marion Kelly,

> the acceptance of food and water on the part of the Europeans obligated them, according to Hawaiian social custom, to be as generous with their possessions as the Hawaiians were with their food supplies. [1]

The English regarded these actions as theft, however, and, hoping to instill respect for private property, quickly devised deterrents and punishments for offenders.

Upon Captain Cook's arrival ashore, he received a tumultuous welcome. Hundreds of Hawaiians prostrated themselves in front of him, offering gifts of bananas, pigs, and bark cloth. Cook accepted these and offered presents of his own, exchanging nails and bits of iron for pigs and fowl, huge sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas. The Englishmen also acquired beautifully made native cloaks of red and yellow feathers, valued highly by the Hawaiians.

Word of the foreigners and their iron goods spread swiftly around the islands, and heavily laden canoes continued to bring goods to trade. Ultimately the high-ranking chiefs and priests welcomed the foreigners, and a long period of formal gift exchanges and ceremony followed. On February 1, 1778, Cook arrived at Ni'ihau. He took ashore goats,

pigs, and seeds from the ship's stores to give to the Hawaiians, thus establishing important new items of trade as well as new sources of food for both the Hawaiians and future visitors.

Leaving the islands, Cook's expedition explored the northern reaches of the Pacific but failed to find a sea passage to the Atlantic Ocean. After battling the biller cold and the ice packs of the Arctic seas, Cook decided to winter in the Sandwich Islands and return north the next summer.

Late in 1778 Cook entered the Tropics again, and on November 26 the high volcanic mountains of the island of Maui came into view. The Hawaiians again welcomed the sailors warmly. After a short period of trading and exploring the windward side of the island, Cook's expedition sailed to the largest of the Sandwich Islands — Hawai'i.

2. Cook Winters at Kealakekua Bay

After sailing around that island and exploring its northern and eastern sides, Cook landed at Kealakekua Bay early in 1779. At least a thousand Hawaiians, enticed by trade and curiosity, swarmed over the ship. [2] To discourage theft, Cook ordered that shots be fired over the heads of the people in canoes alongside the ship. Impressed by the sound, but not unduly frightened, the people continued to crowd around the vessel to trade. Dignitaries from the island of Hawai'i eventually came out to the ships. After an appropriate period of gift exchange and eating, they led Cook and several of his men ashore to a nearby *heiau* that was bedecked with human skulls. Believing that Cook was the god Lono, returned from his travels, the priests dressed him in sacred clothing and sacrificed animals in his favor. They also conducted an elaborate commemoration ceremony at the *heiau* (which had been dedicated to Lono), with Cook as a fascinated observer. [3] From this point on, the priests accompanied Cook everywhere, announcing the arrival of "Orono" (Lono) as they encountered villagers. [4]

There are a number of reasons why the Hawaiian priests may have thought Cook was the god Lono. [5] His expedition arrived during the *Makahiki festival,* a time when the god Lono symbolically returned from his travels. During *Makahiki,* images of Lono were paraded throughout the coastal districts, tribute in the form of produce was collected for the chiefs, and commoners celebrated with feasts, contests, and holidays. Like Lono, Cook had come to the Hawaiian people from the sea. The shapes of the English ships were reminiscent of the *kapa* cloth and upright standards used in the *Makahiki* parades. Upon first sighting one of the vessels, the priests concluded that it was the *heiau* of Lono. [6] Also, Cook's ships had sailed around Hawai'i clockwise, the same direction followed by Lono's processions. In addition, Kealakekua, where Cook's ships anchored, was the site of the important Hikiau Heiau dedicated to Lono. [7]

There were, however, a few disquieting incidents that may have provoked disbelief of Cook's godliness among some of the Hawaiians. At one point the sailors ripped the railings and the huge carved wooden idols from Lono's *heiau* at Kealakekua for firewood. Some authors suggest that the priests acquiesced in these actions (and even helped dismantle the structure) because they had identified Cook with Lono and saw nothing wrong in giving away the images from the *heiau* dedicated to that god. However, one of the seamen recounted the affair differently. John Ledyard asserted that the chiefs refused Cook's demands and were forced to watch in humiliation as the *heiau* was dismantled. The chiefs refused the gift of a hatchet by throwing it on the ground, an act which "would have taken place only under circumstances of the most extreme stress." [8] The commoners also objected vigorously to the desecration, and some of them threw the wood back at Cook's men as soon as it was removed from the *heiau.* Later, the Hawaiians burned the structures on the temple, perhaps to cleanse this sacred area. [9]

Cook's visit also placed a great economic hardship upon the commoners. For at least a fortnight the people of the district had provided food, water, and fuel for some 180 English sailors, thinking that their visitors were in need of supplies. [10] In addition, Kalani'opu'u; ruler of the island, had collected the yearly tribute from the people in the area, including foodstuffs and ceremonial goods, and even some of the prized iron objects taken from the ships. Keeping only a third for himself, Kalani'opu'u offered the rest to Captains Cook and King.

3. Cook's Death

Leaving Hawai'i, Cook's ships ran into bad weather and one lost her foremast, forcing the crew to return to Kealakekua Bay. The bay was deserted because the area was under *kapu,* although Cook persuaded the natives to begin

repairs and reestablish the observatory. Trading resumed, and the relationship between the islanders and the English appeared unchanged. However, before long several disquieting events occurred. First, sailors aboard the *Discovery* opened fire on natives escaping from the ship with stolen goods. Then, intending to teach the Hawaiians a lesson, the sailing master of the *Resolution* seized a canoe belonging to an important *ali'i,* who was injured in the conflict. The natives retaliated for these attacks, smashing the boats and equipment and beating several sailors. Deciding to put an end to the problem, Cook armed his men, blockaded the bay, and fired upon one of the canoes, killing an important chief. Meanwhile, Cook led an armed party ashore to seize Chief Kalani'opu'u as a hostage. But he and a small group of sailors were surrounded at the beach, and Cook was clubbed to death in the ensuing conflict. A day and night of retaliation by both sides ended with complete destruction of the village despite continued pleas for peace by the native priests. [11]

There are a number of possible reasons why the Hawaiians turned on Cook, a mortal whom they had elevated to god-like status. The Europeans had desecrated the nearby *heiau* and its images of Lono and had used the structure to house their sick and as a burial place for their dead. Also, the tremendous amounts of food, fuel, and water taken aboard the ships had been a heavy drain on Hawaiian resources. The refusal to fully share their prized iron goods with the Hawaiians may also have caused animosity. Cook also seemed to expect subservience, intending finally to force submission of the Hawaiians by taking their high chief Kalani'opu'u hostage. By encouraging the natives to break the *kapu* on Kealakekua Bay, Cook had directly challenged the authority of the chiefs. One author suggests that when the women began to visit the ships in great numbers, their husbands grew jealous "and began to distrust these new divinities." [12] Others suggest that the fact that the sailors slept with the women of the islands proved they were foreigners *(haoles).* [13] The return of the English ships to Kealakekua Bay to repair a broken mast shortly after their triumphant exit only served to illustrate their fallibility; Cook's death in battle finally proved to the Hawaiians that they were mere mortals. Cook's ignorance of Hawaiian customs probably contributed in large part to his death, he and his men failing to grasp the intricate relationship between politics and religion in the Hawaiian culture. Even though Cook recognized the extraordinary homage and honor accorded him, he failed to correct the Hawaiians "misimpression of his identity, allowing himself to be addressed and treated as their god." [14]

Eventually a fragile truce took place between the Hawaiians and the English. Parts of Cook's body (which had been partially dismembered and burned) were recovered, along with some of his belongings, and his bones were interred in the bay. It should be noted that the priests had treated Cook's body and personal effects in the same manner and with the same reverence they accorded their own chiefs. [15] The Englishmen quickly took on water and supplies and completed the repairs to their ship. On the evening of February 22,1779, eight days after Cook's death, the *Disco very and* the *Resolution* sailed out of Kealakekua Bay, leaving behind the lovely islands that had claimed the life of their captain. Despite Cook's death, these voyages successfully explored great reaches of the Pacific and opened the door for future expeditions from England, France, Spain, and Russia. For years after Cook's death, Hawaiians held ambivalent feelings about him, inquiring of other sea captains whether Cook would ever return and questioning whether Cook had, in revenge, sent the Spaniards to make them slaves and take their country. The natives were especially concerned about how long Cook would stay hostile towards them, blaming his anger for volcanic eruptions in Hawai'i. [16]

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CHAPTER III: FOREIGN POPULATION GROWS

A. First White Residents of Hawai'i

1. Kamehameha Detains Two Foreigners

The first known westerners to have remained in the Hawaiian Islands, and certainly among the most influential individuals in terms of their impact on Hawaii's development, were an Englishman, John Young, and a Welshman, Isaac Davis. Both men were detained in Hawai'i unwillingly as the result of rather strange and interrelated circumstances. As mentioned, during the 1790s an increasing volume of trade had evolved between Hawaiian chiefs offering food, firewood, and fresh water, and foreign sea captains pedalling cargoes of metal, firearms, gunpowder, and cloth. The Hawaiian *ali'i* avidly desired such foreign goods, for through them they gained status and power over their rivals.

Isaac Davis served as mate on a small schooner, the *Fair American*, commanded by Thomas Metcalf, the son of Captain Simon Metcalf of the American snow *Eleanor* out of New York. Both vessels were bound on a northwest fur-trading voyage, which included a rendezvous in the Hawaiian Islands if they became separated. Reaching the islands, the elder Metcalf traded off the coast of Hawai'i during the winter of 1789, ultimately moving over to Maui. Metcalf was, by all accounts, an irascible, harsh individual, who believed in strong and immediate punishment for infractions of his rules. When natives stole a small boat he was towing and killed its watchman, he sought a secret, murderous revenge. Sailing to the village of the suspected thieves, he waited until the trusting inhabitants had gathered in their canoes around his ship, eager for trade, and then opened fire, indiscriminately killing more than 100 natives and wounding several hundred more. Avenged of his losses, Metcalf weighed anchor and returned to the island of Hawai'i where he initiated a seemingly friendly intercourse with the natives at Kealakekua Bay.

Kame'eiamoku, one of the North Kona chiefs on Hawai'i, however, had previously been insulted by Metcalf and vowed revenge on the next ship that passed his way. By coincidence, it happened to be the *Fair American*, seeking land near Kawaihae Bay. The opportunity to avenge his insult by foreigners, the defenseless state of the vessel due to its small crew and inexperienced commander, and the value of the muskets and other iron implements on board sealed the vessel's doom. Metcalf and his crew were either killed or drowned. The only survivor was Isaac Davis, who, although wounded, jumped overboard and managed to reach a native canoe, whose occupant clubbed him into submission but for some reason spared his life. The *Fair American* was hauled ashore and Kamehameha later appropriated it, its guns, ammunition, and other articles of trade, as well as Davis himself.

During this event, the *Eleanor* remained anchored at Kealakekua. John Young, a native of Liverpool, England

(Illustration 20), serving as boatswain, went on shore one day with some of his shipmates to see the country, and, venturing far inland, returned alone to the beach too late to reboard the vessel. In addition, he discovered that Kamehameha had instituted a *kapu* on all canoes and was prohibiting the population from further contact with the *Eleanor*. A combination of reasons probably influenced that action. First, having just been informed of the capture of the *Fair American,* Kamehameha undoubtedly feared retribution from Captain Metcalf. Second, Kamehameha was still involved in warfare both with other chiefs on Hawai'i and with the rulers of the other islands. Because he was slowly amassing a quantity of arms and ammunition to combat these threats, he may have felt in dire need of knowledgeable foreigners with the expertise to handle those items, care for and repair them, and train his warriors in their use.



Illustration 20. John Young, drawn by Jacques Arago, artist on the de Freycinet expedition, 1817-20. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Puzzled by the sudden lack of activity in the bay, the crew of the *Eleanor* remained offshore for two days, firing guns and awaiting Young's return. Finally, puzzled by the sudden disruption of trading, frustrated by his broken contact with the *Fair American,* and probably thinking Young had deserted, Metcalf set sail for China. [1]

These events mark a turning point in Hawaiian history, for they provide the catalysts, in the form of Young and Davis, that enabled Kamehameha to succeed in his military ventures and eventually assert his dominance in the islands. It is the beginning of the transformation of the ancient Hawaiian civilization to a modern state.

2. Young and Davis Adjust to Their New Life

Although at first full of despair and fearful of what lay ahead, the two white men received only kind and respectful

treatment from Kamehameha and his people:

> It is true, he [Young] was narrowly watched whenever a vessel came in sight, lest he should escape and relate what had passed; but at other times he was treated with entire confidence and great distinction. He became a prime favorite, cabinet counsellor, and active coadjutor of Tamaahmaah, attending him in all his excursions, whether of business or pleasure, and aiding in his warlike and ambitious enterprises. By degrees he rose to the rank of a chief, espoused one of the beauties of the island, and became habituated and reconciled to his new way of life; thinking it better, perhaps, to rule among savages than serve among white men; to be a feathered chief than a tarpawling boatswain. [2]

Young later told Vancouver's party that, having been present at Kealakekua with Kamehameha at the time he received the news of the seizure of the *Fair American,* he could vouch for the fact that the king was very disturbed over the incident. Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago* (Honolulu: New Freedom Press, 1920), p. 97. Because Kamehameha wished to encourage friendly relations with visiting ships, he must have been greatly angered at Kame'eiamoku's actions and fearful of how they might affect future relations with foreign powers. Menzies, *ibid.*, p. 96, states that King Kamehameha was anxious that Young and Davis remain on the island until Metcalf returned so that they could tell him that the king had played no part in the seizure of the *Fair American.*

According to Captain Joseph Ingraham, the natives at Kaleakekua were planning to attack the *Eleanor,* but were dissuaded at the last minute. Fearing further trouble, the king sent Metcalf a letter telling him to depart immediately or risk losing his vessel. "Log of the Brig Hope called the Hope's Track Among the Sandwich Islands, May 20-Oct. 12, 1791," Hawaiian Historical Society Reprint #3 (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press; 1918), pp. 16-17, photographed from the original in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Finding their lives secure, and being watched closely and unable to escape, Young and Davis became reconciled to their lot. Their fortunes became quickly and closely linked to those of the king. They would play a significant role in Kamehameha's rise to dominance, and Young, especially, who quickly gained the king's trust and became his principal advisor, would be visited, consulted, or at least mentioned by every visitor to the islands for the next forty years. Young and Davis, although untutored seamen, were far above the ordinary class of sailor to which the Hawaiians had become accustomed. Possibly because they realized that in their position as advisor to Kamehameha they could accomplish things for themselves that would have been impossible elsewhere, they rose to the occasion and displayed great intelligence and fairness in their dealings with Kamehameha as well as sincere compassion for the Hawaiian people.

By the time Vancouver reached the islands on his 1793 voyage, Young and Davis had been residing there for three years. Vancouver wrote at this time that Young and Davis "are in his [Kamehameha's] most perfect confidence, attend him in all his excursions of business or pleasure, or expeditions of war or enterprise; and are in the habit of daily experiencing from him the greatest respect, and the highest degree of esteem and regard." [3] The two men were

> Well cared for, but never allowed to embark together in the same canoe, each knew that attempted escape by one would mean the instant death of the other. White men, with so much knowledge to offer, had great value for the Hawaiian king; soon, he made both his prisoners chiefs and gave them royal women as brides, and by the time of Vancouver's visit both men had lost all wish to leave. [4]

Young stated about two years after Davis's death that after Davis recovered from his wounds, neither of them had any particular reason to complain of the treatment they received from the natives. [5] He said "We rendered great and important services to the king in his wars, and, in consequence, were held in high estimation by his majesty, and the principal and subordinate chiefs and warriors." [6]

Young admits, however, that

> We were by no means sleeping on beds of roses, for our situation was most arduous, responsible, and trying, but we were under many obligations to the king, whom we resolved to defend with all our might. If honesty is the best policy, gratitude for past favors ought never to be obliterated from the mind; and whenever we can consistently manifest our returns, we should not hesitate to devote our hands and our

> hearts in the cause that demands our services. [7]

Vancouver left a letter with Young and Davis in 1793 commending them to visiting sea captains as men who could be trusted and requesting that they be treated with civility and hospitality by any subjects of Great Britain and those of other powers dealing with them. At the same time, he enjoined Young and Davis to render every service they could to Europeans and Americans who visited the island while they were there. [8] Young and Davis owed much to Vancouver. Artemas Bishop wrote in 1826 that Young had told him that, after the *Eleanor* set sail, he and Davis had "wandered from place to place dressed in the native habit, until at the suggestion of Capt. Vancouver, Tamehameha gave them land." [9] The following year Vancouver stated that he felt that Young and Davis's presence, conduct, and good advice to the king and chiefs had been "materially instrumental in causing the honest, civil and attentive behavior lately experienced by all visitors from the inhabitants of this island." [10]

3. Young and Davis Aid Kamehameha's Wars of Conquest

Vancouver heartily encouraged Kamehameha and the Kona-Kohala chiefs to take advantage of the political expertise, technical knowledge, and military skills of Young and Davis in their struggle for dominance. In fact the success in conquest these chiefs experienced was primarily due to Young's and Davis's knowledge of Western firearms — including cannon and rifles, of fortification techniques, and of the martial arts." Kamehameha had a rather interesting method of utilizing his foreigners in battle:

> It was customary, in an engagement, when victory began to incline to the standard of Tamaammaah, and the enemy was yielding, for him to press upon him with so much vigour and rapidity, that it was not possible for us to load and fire upon the enemy, and at the same time keep up with the rapid movements and advance of the king. In this case, the chief, now called Billy Pitt, and prime minister, and who is a remarkably strong and well-built man, would place one of us on his shoulders, and another strong chief would take the other of us on his, and swiftly run with us to the front of the battle. There we were placed on the ground, and would then fire and reload. By that time the van would be considerably in advance, when the chiefs would again remount us and dash away to the front, and thus continue until the victory was decided, and none of the enemy were longer in sight. [12]

Although other chiefs also employed foreign military experts, Kamehameha used his most successfully. Militarily Young and Davis were indispensable to Kamehameha during his conquest period, from about 1790 through the capitulation of Kaua'i in 1810. During this time they adopted the use of gunpowder and European military tactics to Hawaiian warfare. They mounted the small cannon from the *Fair American* on carriages and trained the king's troops in the use of muskets and other firearms. It was a swivel gun obtained from a trader and mounted on a large double Canoe, manned by Young and Davis, that gave Kamehameha his advantage in naval warfare. [13] The two advisors were also instrumental in providing Kamehameha's navy with the first keeled vessel constructed in Hawai'i, with the help of Captain Vancouver's carpenters. [14] They also helped the king fortify his kingdom against invasion by building forts. Young and Davis, in charge of artillery, were especially important in engagements at Hilo against the forces of Keoua, in the naval encounter off Waipio under Ke'eaumoku, in the conquest of Maui, and in the celebrated battle of Nu'uanu that won O'ahu. [15]

4. Young and Davis Conduct Business with Foreign Traders

In the years following Cook's discovery of Hawai'i, Kamehameha began to realize the advantages of having loyal white men within his inner circle to deal with foreign traders. Over this period of time he had become cognizant of the broad business acumen and wide variety of skills that foreigners possessed and had come to understand the need of including in his retinue foreign advisors adept in diplomacy and navigational and technical matters as well as military strategy. [16]

Young and Davis, in addition to being the king's business agents, acted as interpreters between the king and foreign traders, supplying information to the former on the customs and habits of the visitors and explaining the Hawaiian way of thinking to the latter. When explorer Otto von Kotzebue wanted to survey Honolulu harbor, his men erected poles around the perimeter of the water to which white flags were attached. These greatly upset the Hawaiians, who believed either the Russians were taking possession of the island or that foreigners were making the waters *kapu*. Young

explained the local agitation to Kotzebue, who then substituted brooms for the flying flags. [17]

Known to Hawaiians as "Olohana," in reference to his frequent boatswain's call of "All Hands" for any duty he required of them, Young piloted many ships in and out of Hawaiian harbors and served as Kamehameha's agent in business transactions with visiting sea captains. On board ship Young would provide the visitors with information about activities on the island and the arrival and departure times of other trading vessels and dispense any current news that might interest them. [18] Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist with Vancouver on board the *Discovery*, states that Young and Davis were extremely useful to them because of their acquired knowledge of the language and customs of the Hawaiians:

> One of them lived on each vessel, especially in the daytime, and transacted all business of intercourse and traffic between us and the natives, with such candour and fairness as entitled them to our approbation and regard and reflected much credit on their conduct. [19]

William Shaler, master of the *Lelia Byrd,* which brought the first horses to Hawai'i in 1803, said that

> John Young and Isaac Davis have been the principal means of convincing the islanders of the good policy of treating the foreigners well, and have shown them the great advantages that would derive from a friendly intercourse with them. [20]

Georg von Langsdorff noted in 1805 that

> Their King, Tomamahah, from his constant intercourse with the sea-officers of the American States, and particularly under the instruction of Mr. Young and Mr. Davie *[sic]* , who have already lived with him some years, and are, as it were, his ministers, has introduced many European customs, and has brought the English language so much into use, that most of the inhabitants of the island [Hawai'i] of any rank or distinction can now speak English. [21]

5. Young and Davis Settle Permanently into Hawaiian Life

Before long, Young and Davis had made a secure niche for themselves in Hawaiian society. John Boit, master of the *Union*, in the Sandwich Islands in 1795, said that he had

> offered to give Young his passage to Canton but he excus'd himself from excepting *[sic]* it mentioning at ye same time, that this was the only country that he was ever in where he could be allowed so many privileges as he here enjoyed for 'twas at Owhyhee he said that peace and contentment seemed to go hand in hand, & everyone seemed to be perfectly happy, with the portion, that was allotted him for poverty was a stranger, in this land of liberty, and slavery was a term they did not understand & for his own part he had a very good plantation allotted to him by the Chiefs as many wifes as he chose to take. [22]

The high regard in which the king held these men was evidenced by the recollection of Ebenezer Townsend, of the *Neptune,* who noted in 1798 after a meeting with the king on board his ship before sailing that

> On leaving Davis the king embraced him and cried like a child. Davis said he always did when he left him, for he was always apprehensive that he might leave him, although he had promised him he would never do it without giving him previous notice. [23]

Townsend also noticed that

> Young and Davis now are right hand men to the king, and are very serviceable to him as well as to the foreigners who visit the island. They honestly appear to consult the interest of the visitors and visited. [24]

Not that friction did not sometimes develop between the king and his foreign advisors. John Papa I'i mentions:

> It is said that there had developed a great argument between Kamehameha and Isaac Davis, one of the

> well-known haole men who were with the king during his battle at Koapapaa in Hamakua, Hawaii. When the first Russian ship to visit Honolulu arrived in about 1808, visitors noticed the friction between the two men. It was not generally known why they had disagreed, thereby ending their pleasant association to hoist the banners of animosity. However, they did not openly quarrel, because Kamehameha would not countenance that. Finally, they put an end to their disagreement, and had become friendly by the time the ship departed from Honolulu. [25]

An anecdote relates how Young obtained a high level of power and influence. It is said his popularity with the king created some animosity with the priesthood. A certain *kahuna* let it be known he planned to kill Young and had already retreated to the woods to build a hut in which to pray him to death. Young then proceeded to build a small, round hut just opposite that of the priest in which he determined to pray the latter to death. Superstition overcame the *kahuna*, who became so worried and upset by this situation that he eventually died. This turning of the tables on his enemy greatly increased Young's power. [26]

6. Young and Davis are Active in Kamehameha's Government

Both men were considered to be of good character and very influential, in their adopted homeland as well as among their own countrymen and men of other nations, as is documented by navigators, traders, missionaries, and businessmen. Their wise counsel and natural tact enabled the king to cope with the myriad of administrative matters involved in consolidation of his kingdom. Hawaiian chiefs and commoners, especially during the period of the disintegration of their traditional society, of necessity placed their confidence and trust in Europeans who not only could advise them on foreign customs but who, being independent of local politics, could also be trusted to act in the best interest of the Hawaiian people as a whole. [27] A glance at the documents reveals that most visitors considered Young and Davis a good influence on the Hawaiian people, especially compared to most of the sailors and traders to whom the Hawaiians had theretofore been exposed.

Young and Davis became an integral part of this early period of modern Hawaiian civilization, and for their efforts Kamehameha rewarded them by making them high chiefs and endowing them with large tracts of land on which they settled and raised families. This property was given particularly for their services in helping conquer the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i, and O'ahu. [28] The land given to Young included Mailekini and Pu'ukohola heiau. Near their homes in Kawaihae, Young and Davis raised fruits and vegetables new to Hawai'i from seeds procured from foreign ships. Their residence in this area made it a required port of call for sea captains who had to obtain Young's blessing before conducting business with the Hawaiian government. In 1793 Vancouver landed the first cattle in Hawai'i at this spot. In 1803 Richard Cleveland, supercargo aboard the *Lelia Byrd,* left a mare with foal in Young's care at Kawaihae — the first horse ever seen in Hawai'i. In 1809 Young took the first horses and cattle to Honolulu, O'ahu. [29]

Davis served as governor of O'ahu during the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1810 he negotiated terms of peace for Kamehameha with Ka'umu'ali'i, the king of Kaua'i, bringing that island under Kamehameha's dominion. When Ka'umu'ali'i journeyed to Honolulu on board a foreign vessel to see Kamehameha, some lower chiefs conspired to kill him and proposed to Kamehameha that a sorcerer perform this deed. The king refused and even had the sorcerer slain. The chiefs then hatched a plot to kill Ka'umu'ali'i secretly as he journeyed into the interior. Learning of these plans, Davis warned Ka'umu'ali'i to return on board ship. Shortly thereafter, Davis died by poisoning, possibly in retaliation for this act of loyalty to Ka'umu'ali'i [30] Davis's grave is located at Kawaihae.

After the conquest of O'ahu, Young was designated governor of Hawai'i Island, an office that primarily involved superintending tax gathering for the king. [31] He governed Hawai'i from his home at Kawaihae from 1802 to 1812 while Kamehameha attended to royal business on other islands; Young later became the resident chief of Kohala, with frequent assignments to Honolulu and elsewhere. [32]

Young kept closely apprised of political and military affairs in the kingdom, he being the one in 1816 to inform the king, then at Kailua-Kona, of the raising of the Russian flag in Honolulu and the initiation of construction of a Russian fort on the shores of the harbor in a first attempt to gain a foothold in the islands. Young carried back Kamehameha's orders to the Russians to leave immediately and then rebuilt the fort for Kamehameha's use. [33]

Prior to 1819 Young also modified Mailekini Heiau into a fort to protect the important Kawaihae harbor. As business agent for Kamehameha, as well as chief of the area, Young supervised the trade with ships at this port, where local salt and sweet potatoes, timber for ship repairs, hogs, fowl, taro, sugar cane, breadfruit, muskmelons, coconuts, and bananas were traded for nails, iron, and finally, at Young's suggestion, for more sophisticated types of goods. A lucrative sandalwood trade also originated here, with Young supervising from his home the measuring and loading of trees. [34]

Young was involved in, or witness to, most of the significant events in the early years of the Hawaiian kingdom. He was also present at Kamehameha's death in 1819 and participated in the secret burial of the monarch. He was also a guest of the royal court at the banquet in Kailua a few months later when Kamehameha II abruptly discarded the ancient Polynesian religion. There is no question that Young was sincerely devoted to the interests of his adopted country. Louis de Freycinet, who commanded a French expedition to the islands in 1817-20, noted that the death of King Kamehameha affected him deeply. [35] Although Liholiho felt well disposed toward Young, their relationship could never match the Englishman's previous attachment to the young monarch's father. After Kamehameha's death, a degree of unrest existed among some of the principal chiefs regarding several economic matters, including the king's monopoly of the sandalwood trade. This tension in the political situation disturbed the elderly Young, who entreated de Freycinet to stress to the Hawaiians that peace and unity were essential for the future of the country and could only be attained by continuing loyalty to the Kamehameha dynasty. De Freycinet's draftsman, Jacques Arago, noted that

> This request of Mr. Young's could only have been dictated by generosity of sentiment; personal interest had no share in it; the poor old man has but a few days to live; extended on a bed of sickness, he perceives the rapid approach of death, and, little regarding his own sufferings, his last prayers are offered up for a country, which the beneficence of Tammeamah makes him grieve to leave a prey to the factions which are about to divide it. [36]

Young evidently had some religious inclinations, and, when counseled by Liholiho during the prolonged debate over allowing the American missionaries to land, helped arrive at a decision favorable to the newcomers. Young not only supported the missionaries' initial appeal to land, but maintained friendly relations with them afterwards. By persuading tolerance of these new arrivals, Young helped set a course that ultimately brought Hawai'i into the sphere of American influence and finally to statehood.

Young's second wife was Ka'oana'eha, a niece of Kamehameha. Their children became intimately involved with the Kamehameha dynasty, several of his descendants holding important government posts until late in the nineteenth century. John Young II (Keoni Ana) served Kamehameha Ill as a member of the committee that paved the way for the Great *Mahele.* He served as *kuhina-nui* (premier) from 1845 to 1854 and as a member of the Privy Council. Kamehameha IV made him Minister of the Interior, a post he held until his death in 1857. James Young Kane-hoa, a son by his first wife, served as interpreter for Kamehameha II on that monarch's ill-fated trip to England in 1824. He also held the governorships of Kaua'i and Maui. Later he was a member of the first Board of Land Commissioners under Kamehameha III. [37] Young's last descendant, his granddaughter Emma Rooke, married King Kamehameha IV in 1856. Her estate, administered by the Queen's Hospital, a facility for needy Hawaiians that she and her husband opened in 1859, included the lands at Kawaihae on which Pu'ukohola and Mailekini heiau stand.

In feeble health, Young finally moved to Honolulu in the care of his son-in-law, an English physician, Thomas C.B. Rooke. (Rooke's wife was a sister of Fanny Young, Queen Emma's mother. The Rookes adopted Emma.) Young died at the latter's home in 1835 at the age of about 93. As a last gesture to an old friend, he made Isaac Davis's children equal heirs in his will. His remains and those of his granddaughter Queen Emma lie with those of other high chiefs and royalty of the Kamehameha dynasty at the Royal Mausoleum in Nu'uanu Valley, Honolulu.

Unfortunately, and possibly because he was uneducated, Young wrote virtually nothing about himself or the happenings of his time, in most of which he was an important participant or at least a witness. His journal, spanning the years 1801 to 1809, located in the Hawaii State Archives, is primarily a log of taxes gathered. [38] Young would have been able to provide invaluable accounts of Kamehameha's battles, the murder of his arch-rival Keoua, the dedication of Pu'ukohola Heiau and its subsequent use, the death and burial of Kamehameha I, and of the abolition of the *kapu* system.

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PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian History
by Diane Lee Rhodes
(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER IV: FOUNDING OF THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM

A. Reign of King Kamehameha

1. Political Warfare in Ancient Hawai'i

Warfare was a familiar part of early Hawaiian life. Interludes of peace were often broken by fierce battles to determine succession to the office of *ali'i-nui* and to establish political boundaries. Aspiring young chiefs practiced the arts of warfare with great intensity. Typically, having defeated other chiefs to gain control over one island, a major chief and his warriors would then raid and attempt to conquer other islands. Death of a reigning king almost always meant war. [1] Large-scale political activity and territorial expansion by conquest was characteristic of the decade and a half following Captain Cook's arrival.

It is ironic that Cook's arrival was thought to be the return of Lono, the god of peace and plenty. Once the Hawaiians discovered Cook was not a god, warfare resumed among the four interrelated chiefs who had split the island archipelago into four chiefdoms. During the two decades following Cook's visit, intense rivalry among these intensified. Beginning in 1786, other foreign ships called at the islands, introducing trade and new technology and expertise to conduct warfare. [2] Rituals and offerings to Ku, the god of war, increasingly occupied the hearts and hands of the populace, the warriors, and the priests. As the local economies were drained by warfare, the chiefs of Hawai'i and Maui began to assume more power, for those islands had larger populations and richer resource bases to draw upon.

By the 1780s warfare had become institutionalized, with formal rules and rituals. The *ali'i* built and consecrated *luakini* (state temples) and conducted sacrifices, prayers, and ceremonies. *Kahuna* were consulted to determine the best time to attack. The chiefs acquired war experts who passed on their combat skills to young warriors. Warfare skills were honed during athletic contests held during the *Makahiki festival*, which, however, marked a suspension in actual warfare from October to February each year.

Trading contributed to the increased warfare, which previously had, to a certain degree, been kept in check by limited weaponry and by economics. Unfortunately, as more foreign traders and travelers came to the islands, the populace acquired powerful new weapons of war whose killing power was far greater than the stones and spears traditionally employed. [3] Trading also brought new sources of wealth with which to gain power and thus increased rivalry among the chiefs.

2. Kamehameha's Rise to Power, 1758-1819

King Kamehameha was one of the most striking figures in Hawaiian history, a leader who united and ruled the islands during a time of great cultural change.

Accounts vary, but many authors think that Kamehameha (originally named Pai'ea) was born into a royal family in North Kohala sometime between 1753 and 1761, possibly in November 1758.

Kamehameha's mother was Kekuiapoiwa, daughter of a Kona chief. His father was probably Keoua, chief of Kohala. [4] Legends link his birth to storms and strange lights, activities thought by Hawaiians to herald the birth of a great chief.

Because of prognostications at his birth and threats from warring clans, Kamehameha was taken away and hidden immediately after his birth. He spent his early years secluded in Waipio, returning to Kailua at the age of five. He lived there with his parents until his father's death, then continued to receive special training from King Kalani'opu'u, his uncle. This training included skills in games, warfare, oral history, navigation, religious ceremonies, and other information necessary to become an *ali'i-'ai-moku* (a district chief)." [5] By the time of Cook's arrival, Kamehameha had become a superb warrior who already carried the scars of a number of political and physical encounters.

The young warrior Kamehameha was described as a tall, strong, and physically fearless man who "moved in an aura of violence." [6] Kamehameha accompanied his uncle (King Kalani'opu'u) aboard the *Discovery,* and history records that he conducted himself with valor during the battle in which Cook was killed. For his part in the battle at Kealakekua he achieved a certain level of notoriety, which he paraded "with an imperiousness that matched and even exceeded his rank as a high chief." [7]

Kamehameha might never have become king except for a twist of fate. Within a year after Cook's death, the elderly *ali'i* Kalani'opu'u, crippled by age and disease, called together his retainers and divided his Hawaiian domain. His son Kiwala'o became his political heir. To his nephew Kamehameha, the elderly *ali'i* entrusted the war god Ku-ka'ili-moku. Although this pattern of dividing the succession of the chiefdom and the protectorate of the god Ku was legendary, some authors suggest it was also uncommon. [8] As the eldest son, a chief of high rank, and the designated heir, Kiawala'o's claim to the island of Hawai'i was "clear and irrefutible." [9] However, although Kamehameha was of lower rank, and only a nephew of the late king, his possession of the war god was a powerful incentive to political ambition. Thus the old chief's legacy had effectively "split the political decision-making power between individuals of unequal rank" and set the stage for civil war among the chiefs of the island of Hawai'i. [10]

Although Kiwala'o was senior to Kamehameha, the latter soon began to challenge his authority. During the funeral for one of Kalani'opu'u's chiefs, Kamehameha stepped in and performed one of the rituals specifically reserved for Kiwala'o, an act that constituted a great insult.

After Kalani'opu'u died, in 1782, Kiwala'o took his bones to the royal burial house, Hale-o-Keawe, at Honaunau on the west coast of Hawai'i Island. Kamehameha and other western coast chiefs gathered nearby to drink and mourn his death. There are different versions of the events that followed. Bingham suggests that the old king had already divided the lands of the island of Hawai'i, giving his son Kiwala'o the districts of Ka'u, Puna, and Hilo. Kamehameha was to inherit the districts of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua. It is not clear whether Kiwala'o's landing at Honaunau was to deify Kalani'opu'u's bones or to attempt seizure of the district of Kona. Daws suggests that Kamehameha and the other chiefs had gathered at Honaunau to await the redistribution of land, which usually occurred on the death of a chief, and to make hasty alliances. When it appeared that Kamehameha and his allies were not to receive what they considered their fair share, the battle for power and property began. [11]

Over the next four years, numerous battles took place as well as a great deal of jockeying for position and privilege. Alliances were made and broken, but no one was able to gain a decisive advantage. The rulers of Hawai'i had reached a stalemate. Writing a century later, Stevens and Oleson assert that Kamehameha spent the years during this time improving his lands and completing public works before embarking on his "career of conquest." [12]

Kamehameha's superior forces had several times won out over those of other warriors. He took Kiwala'o's daughter Keopuolani captive and made her one of his wives; he also took the child Ka'ahumanu (once mentioned as a wife for

Kiwala'o) and "betrothed her to himself." [13] He thus firmly established himself as an equal contender for control over the Hawaiian lands formerly ruled by Kalani'opu'u. Eventually Kiwala'o was killed in battle, but control of the Island of Hawai'i remained divided. By 1786 the old chief Kahekili, king of Maui, had become the most powerful *ali'i* in the islands, ruling O'ahu, Maui, Moloka'i, and Lana'i, and controlling Kaua'i and Ni'ihau through an agreement with his half-brother Ka'eokulani.

In 1790 Kamehameha and his army, aided by Isaac Davis and John Young, invaded Maui. The great chief Kahekili was on O'ahu, attempting to stem a revolt there. Using cannon salvaged from the *Fair American*, Kamehameha's warriors forced the Maui army into retreat, killing such a large number that the bodies dammed up a stream. However, Kamehameha's victory was short-lived, for one of his enemies, his cousin Keoua, chief of Puna and Ka'u, took advantage of Kamehameha's absence from Hawai'i to pillage and destroy villages on Hawai'i's west coast.

Returning to Hawai'i, Kamehameha fought Keoua in two fierce battles. Kamehameha then retired to the west coast of the island, while Keoua and his army moved southward, losing some of their group in a volcanic steam blast.

This civil war, which ended in 1790, was the last Hawaiian military campaign to be fought with traditional weapons. In future battles Kamehameha adopted Western technology, a factor that probably accounted for much of his success. [14] Because of Kamehameha's presence at Kealakekua Bay during the 1790s, many of the foreign trading ships stopped there. Thus he was able to amass large quantities of firearms to use in battle against other leaders. However, the new weapons were expensive and contributed to large increases in the cost of warfare.

After almost a decade of fighting, Kamehameha had still not conquered all his enemies. So he heeded the advice of a seer on Kaua'i and erected a great new *heiau* at Pu'ukohola in Kawaihae for worship and for sacrifices to Kamehameha's war god Ku. Kamehameha hoped to thereby gain the spiritual power that would enable him to conquer the island. Some say that the rival chief Keoua was invited to Pu'ukohola to negotiate peace, but instead was killed and sacrificed on the *heiau's* altar. Others suggest that he was dispirited by the battles and was "induced to surrender himself at Kawaihae" before being killed. [15] His death made Kamehameha ruler of the entire island of Hawai'i.

Meanwhile, Kahekili decided to take the advantage while Kamehameha was preoccupied with Keoua and assembled an army — including a foreign gunner, trained dogs, and a special group of ferociously tattooed men known as *pahupu'u*. They raided villages and defiled graves along the coasts of Hawai'i until challenged by Kamehameha. The ensuing sea battle (Battle of the Red-Mouthed Gun) was indecisive, and Kahekili withdrew safely to O'ahu.

Shortly thereafter, the English merchant William Brown, captain of the thirty-gun frigate *Butterworth*, discovered the harbor at Honolulu. Brown quickly made an agreement with Kahekili. The chief "ceded" the island of O'ahu (and perhaps Kaua'i) to Brown in return for military aid. [16] Kamehameha also recognized the efficacy of foreign aid and sought assistance from Captain George Vancouver. Vancouver, a dedicated "man of empire," convinced Kamehameha to cede the island of Hawai'i to the British who would then help protect it. [17] Kamehameha spent the next three years rebuilding the island's economy and learning warfare from visiting foreigners.

Upon Kahekili's death in 1794, the island of O'ahu went to his son Kalanikupule. His half-brother Ka'eokulani ruled over Kaua'i, Maui, Lana'i, and Moloka'i. The two went to war, each seeking to control all the islands. After a series of battles on O'ahu and heavy bombardment from Brown's ships, Ka'eokulani and most of his men were killed. Encouraged by the victory over his enemies, Kalanikupule decided to acquire English ships and military hardware to aid in his attack on Kamehameha. Kalanikupule killed Brown and abducted the remainder of his crew, but the British seamen were able to regain control and unceremoniously shipped Kalanikupule and his followers ashore in canoes.

Recognizing his enemy's vulnerability, Kamehameha used his strong army and his fleet of canoes and small ships to liberate Maui and Molaka'i from Kalanikupule's control. Kamehameha's next target was O'ahu. As he prepared for war, one of his former allies, a chief named Kaiana, turned on him and joined forces with Kalanikupule. Nevertheless, Kamehameha's warriors overran O'ahu, killing both rival chiefs. Kamehameha could now lay claim to the rich farmland and fishponds of O'ahu, which would help support his final assault on Kaua'i. [18]

By mid-1796, Kamehameha's English carpenters had built a forty-ton ship for him at Honolulu, and once again he equipped his warriors for battle and advanced on Kaua'i. However bad weather forced him to give up his plans for

invasion. Meanwhile yet another challenger — Namakeha, Kaiana's brother — led a bloody revolt on Hawai'i, depopulating the area and forcing Kamehameha to return to Hawai'i to crush the uprising. Kamehameha used the next few years of peace to build a great armada of new war canoes and schooners armed with cannons; he also equipped his well-trained soldiers with muskets. He sailed this armada to Maui where he spent the next year in psychological warfare, sending threats to Ka'umu'ali'i, Kaua'i's ruler. This proved unsuccessful, so early in 1804 Kamehameha moved his fleet to O'ahu and prepared for combat. There his preparations for war were swiftly undone by an epidemic, perhaps cholera or typhoid fever, that killed many of his men.

For several more years he remained at O'ahu, recovering from this defeat and, perhaps, pondering conquest of Kaua'i. Expecting an attack from Kamehameha, Ka'umu'ali'i sought the help of a Russian agent, Dr. Georg Schaffer, in building a fort at the mouth of the Waimea River and exchanged Kaua'i's sandalwood for guns. However, the anticipated battle never came because an American trader convinced Kamehameha to reach a compromise with Ka'umu'ali'i. Kamehameha was acknowledged as sovereign while Ka'umu'ali'i continued to rule Kaua'i, with his son as hostage in Honolulu.

After nine years at O'ahu, Kamehameha made a lengthy tour of his kingdom and finally settled at Kailua-Kona, where he lived for the next seven years. His rise to power had been based on invasion, on the use of superior force, and upon political machinations. His successful conquests, fueled by "compelling forces operating within Hawaiian society," were also influenced by foreign interests represented by men like Captain Vancouver. [19]

3. Changes in Land Tenure, Government, and Hierarchal Structure

(a) Land Tenure

Upon unification of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1810, Kamehameha set about to consolidate his power base and instituted a number of changes in government, land tenure, and the hierarchal structure of society. This new government served Kamehameha's political needs and accommodated the economic demands of Western traders. [20] According to one author, Kamehameha's government drew upon the best of the old ways while "incorporating novelty without letting it become heresy or anarchy." [21]

Kamehameha used several different methods to disenfranchise his enemies. He ordered the houses of defeated chiefs burned and replaced rivals with those he trusted. For example, when forced to leave O'ahu and return to Hawai'i to put down a revolt, he left O'ahu in the charge of his own men rather than in the hands of local chiefs. His advisors were chosen for their loyalty to him as well as for their skills. Sahlins and Barrère suggest that the Hawaiian kings "looked with jealousy on any chief who had a wife of as high birth as his own." [22] For this reason, *all* five of Kamehameha's wives were of high rank. By choosing these women, he eliminated the possibility of competition on the basis of rank after his death.

Political unification of the islands allowed Kamehameha to reorganize landholdings and paved the way for later changes in land tenure. Recognizing that control over resources was a major source of power, he began to make fundamental changes in the land redistribution patterns. Levin notes that "prior to Kamehameha's unification, the pattern of redistribution was to give sections of contiguous lands to relatives and retainers in traditionally held family lands." [23] However Kamehameha broke this pattern. Retaining the choicest parcels of land for himself and his children, he then reapportioned the "smaller tracts of land in different *mokus* and on different islands to his kinsmen and followers in accordance to their rank and service." [24] In return, they

> were to render public service in war or peace, and in raising a revenue. These let out large portions of their divisions to their favorites or dependents, who were in like manner to render their service, and bring the rent; and these employed cultivators on shares, who lived on the products which they divided, or shared with their landlord, rendering service when required, so long as they chose to occupy the land. [25]

Often this re-distribution of lands was "carried out with great severity." [26] As Kamehameha's enemies were dispossessed of their lands, they lost the cadre of commoners who had provided their economic support and their political power. The *ali'i* who had formerly held tenure and administrative rights over large sections of land now found themselves without any responsibility for administration. Thus

> this new pattern of land redistribution entailed a differentiation between land tenure and administrative duties and a concomitant change in the administrative organization. [27]

In other words, the *ali'i* were separated from "their traditional source of power" and lost control over large contiguous sections of land and over the *maka'ainana*, whom they "viewed as their junior kinsmen." [28]

Kamehameha required his most influential rivals to dwell near him and to travel with him, making it easy to observe and thwart any scheming. He scattered the friendly chiefs' landholdings over several islands. These actions kept the *ali'i* away from their own lands where they could amass men and resources to overthrow Kamehameha. [29] Townsend suggested that the king also made it a policy to change his residence occasionally, "for where he is known he will be popular." [30] Because he was the kingdom's sole ruler, the local chiefs also lost much of their former autonomy in decision-making, and Kamehameha's decisions became the law by which people were governed.

These changes helped break down traditional kinship ties between the *ali'i* and the *maka'ainana*, leading to a sense of alienation and loss of the feeling of mutual obligation. As a result, the *maka'ainana* could be exploited through excessive taxation and, later, as labor for the sandalwood industry. "This marked a beginning of a shift in the conception of social stratification based on kinship to one which was less particularistic." [31]

(b) Government Structure

Kamehameha added several new levels of government within the system. [32] As an example, he chose for his advisors five Hawaiian chiefs, who served as a "council of state" whom he consulted on important matters. [33] As these chiefs died, their sons replaced them, but their influence grew less as Kamehameha gradually assumed more power. The king chose as an executive officer a young Hawaiian chief named Kalanimoku (or, as he later chose to call himself, William Pitt). Pitt acted as treasurer, prime minister, and advisor to the king.

Kamehameha also appointed governors "of proven loyalty and executive ability" for each island. [34] This action was in accord with the past Hawaiian tradition of installation of a governor or viceroy to rule newly acquired territory. [35] However, because of the new type of land redistribution, the governor was "in effect merely an administrator" whose major responsibility was tax collection. [36] At least two of these governors — Isaac Davis and John Young — were foreigners. They reported directly to Kamehameha and managed affairs in his absence. They apprised him of unrest anywhere in his kingdom and informed the chiefs of Kamehameha's wishes. Appointment of a governor for each island removed the autonomy of the individual chiefs, helped unify commerce and communication, and protected Kamehameha's own interests.

Kamehameha promoted unity among the islands by strongly encouraging traditional religious practices like the yearly *Makahiki* feasts and the construction of *heiau.* He used the *kapu* system as a religious framework to maintain control over his subjects and as a means of controlling production and distribution of goods, including trade with foreigners.

Kamehameha continued to collect taxes on a regular basis. Annual taxes were assessed by the king's tax agents and at first remained fairly stable from year to year. There were also other common rules that required presents to the king, especially when he was travelling. The individual chiefs who were given land now owed Kamehameha their political allegiance and had to share with him the products and services they acquired from the commoners who farmed the lands. As foreign trade and influence increased, so did the taxes, especially the odious request to cut sandalwood. Sometimes the lesser chiefs would tax the people "to a very considerable extent in the name of the king, but without his sanction." [37]

Money from yearly tribute was used to promote increasingly lucrative trade with foreigners, which resulted in a number of new jobs, such as washing clothes for the sailors. Kamehameha levied duties on these new businesses and also taxed the commerce between the Hawaiian women and the sailors. In 1818 he established high harbor and pilot fees. [38]

4. Foreign Relations

As described earlier, after Cook's voyages, a number of different nations recognized the desirability of utilizing the Sandwich Islands as a major port on their trading routes. The Russians, Spanish, British, and Americans all joined in the lucrative fur trade with Canton, using the islands as a refreshment stop and as a place to obtain a source of labor. At first, foreign traders never knew what to expect when they dropped anchor at one of the islands. Some local chiefs had continued to attack shore parties or rob ships; others were exceedingly hospitable and helpful to their guests. Some of the captains circumvented this situation by using foreigners living on the islands as middlemen to arrange for safe transport of water and supplies out to the ships so the seamen did not have to go ashore. [39]

As Kamehameha formalized relationships with foreigners and skillfully encouraged their assistance and trade, he made the process much safer. He was also able to control trade while avoiding foreign political entanglements or alliances. He did, however, build a special relationship with Great Britain during the early 1800s, partly through his policy of "cession." [40] Great Britain never took advantage of this relationship, however, perhaps because of the distances involved or because of her preoccupation with other affairs, such as the War of 1812.

Kamehameha was a consummate politician. Under his rule, the "position of the Hawaiian kingdom in the world political system was managed with considerable skill." [41] He had to deal with the Americans, the English, and the Russians who all sought to colonize the islands, or at least to include them as a protectorate. The English looked to the Northwest and the Pacific to supply new raw materials and markets for their expanding economy, while the Spanish had designs upon rich new trading resources. Under the auspices of the Russian American Company, Dr. Georg Anton Schaffer attempted to gain Kamehameha's favor while involving King Ka'umu'ali'i of Kaua'i in a treasonous plot against Kamehameha. Schaffer erected a fort at Waimea, Kaua'i, and a warehouse at Honolulu. Eventually Schaffer's efforts to take over the islands for Russia were thwarted, and peaceable visits by two other Russians, Otto von Kotzebue and Vasilii Golovnin, helped repair the diplomatic damage.

Kamehameha welcomed productive foreign immigrants, perhaps offering them a gift of land or wives. However, he also encouraged sailing ship captains to recruit from among the wastrels that had jumped ship or had left penal colonies and were now squatters in the islands.

5. New Era in Hawaiian Commerce

a) Honolulu Becomes a Major Port

As mentioned previously, the harbor at Honolulu ("Fair Haven") was discovered in 1792 or 1793 by the English captain and merchant William Brown. A gun seller and fur trader, Brown had made several previous trips to the islands before locating this spot. Although at the time it was not well populated or favored by the chiefs, the Honolulu area had an excellent natural harbor, a navigable channel through the reef, and deep protected waters close to shore. Many mariners considered Honolulu harbor superior to those on the other islands. [42] Also, by heading directly into O'ahu, traders could avoid the treacherous calms near the southern point of Hawai'i, thought by early navigators to be caused by the heights of Mauna Loa. [43] Envisioning a prosperous future for the port, Brown, as noted earlier, quickly made an agreement with Kahekili whereby the island of O'ahu was "ceded" to him in return for the promise of military assistance. However, Brown was killed before he was able to realize his dreams for Fair Haven.

After Brown's death, Kamehameha's presence on O'ahu meant that more and more of the traders called there. [44] As its importance as a trade center grew, Honolulu became a gathering place and residence for foreign sailors, traders, and merchants. By 1809 the village of Honolulu had grown to several hundred houses. The king's house, surrounded by a palisade, displayed the British colors and was arrayed with a battery of sixteen carriage guns belonging to his ship. [45] The English and American ships in Honolulu harbor were flanked by those from Spain, France, and Russia. At first Kamehameha supervised trade from his home at the native village of Waikiki, but he moved to Honolulu about 1810. Kuykendall suggests that this move may have been prompted by "the foreigners' rendezvous at Honolulu." [46] Thus, foreign trade was one of the major influences in the rise of Honolulu at the expense of other island harbors.

Also, by the turn of the century native goods and produce had become quite expensive on Hawai'i, where ongoing warfare and large numbers of traders seeking goods had raised prices. [47] Traders were advised to go to islands like O'ahu for better bargains. By this time O'ahu also had more land under cultivation than did other islands and could provide a more ready supply of foodstuffs. Equally important, good water was available at Honolulu, whereas at ports

like Kealakekua it had to be transported for some distance.

When the French corvette *Uranie* visited O'ahu in 1819, the captain's wife found O'ahu "less wild" than the other islands, surely a comment on the more Europeanized nature of this new port. [48] Kamehameha encouraged a polyglot collection of traders and even built houses for some of the ship's captains who called regularly at the islands. [49]

As more ships called at Honolulu, the number of service industries increased to meet demand. All along the shore developments arose, including a ropewalk, the king's storehouse, and sheds for blacksmithing and shipbuilding, many of these industries run by native Hawaiians. Repairs to the ships could more easily be accomplished at Honolulu than anywhere elsewhere in the islands.

b) Sandalwood Trade

Although salt was an early island export, sandalwood was the first major item of external trade. At first the islands were viewed only as a place to rest and provision ships, but soon traders recognized that an important natural resource — sandalwood — was readily available. Several American traders sought sandalwood on the islands in the early 1790s, but Chinese importers rejected the harvest as inferior. By 1805 Hawaiian sandalwood had begun to reach Canton, and by 1809 it was a regular trade commodity. [5] The market for furs had begun to change by 1810 — Northwest Coast sea otters were becoming scarce, and their purchase price had increased. Fur traders had had to broaden their purchases to include other animal skins and were forced to "work the year round." [51] At the same time, the glutted Canton market paid lower prices for incoming pelts. These traders discovered that sandalwood was an easy way to rapidly increase their profit with much less work. In 1810 American merchants William H. Davis, Nathan Winship, and Jonathan Winship abandoned their fur trade routes and reached an agreement with Kamehameha for a monopoly on the sandalwood trade in exchange for a quarter of the profits. These merchants took a convoy of sandalwood ships to China in 1812, making a good profit on their sales. [52] However, the War of 1812 quickly ended their enterprise and the agreement with the king. After the war other merchants assumed control of the lucrative sandalwood trade. [53]

After an abortive and costly attempt to enter the sandalwood trade himself, King Kamehameha was content to make it a royal monopoly. [54] He retained control of the sandalwood and the right to be "agent of negotiation . . . when bartering with the traders," but relegated its collection to the *ali'i*, who were allowed to keep "four parts by weight for every ten collected." [55] Once Kamehameha became aware of the value of the trees to the traders, he handled their harvest in a traditional way. He claimed the trees as his own

> by heavy taxation, employed the people much in hunting out the trees, felling them, and cleaning the wood, and bringing down on their backs ship loads of it, from the mountains. [56]

The younger trees were placed under a *kapu*, to be saved for Kamehameha's grandchildren. He organized the cutting and transport of the trees under his "normal public works format." [57]

The sandalwood trade under Kamehameha had serious repercussions on Hawaiian culture. The income from the sandalwood encouraged the purchase of luxury goods and the transition to a cash economy, and in numerous subtle ways helped to undermine the *kapu* system. It became the main source of revenue for the Hawaiian chiefs. After the War of 1812, this million-dollar-market allowed the Hawaiians to purchase ships and munitions; the king himself had acquired more than thirty ships by 1819. Kamehameha had clearly established commercial trade and associated business ventures as the best means of obtaining the luxury items and other goods that had become so important to certain segments of Hawaiian society.

PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP
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PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites
on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian History
by Diane Lee Rhodes
(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER V:
CHANGES AFTER THE DEATH OF KAMEHAMEHA

A. Liholiho (Kamehameha II) Ascends the Throne

King Kamehameha became seriously ill in the spring of 1819. Upon the advice of the priests, the chiefs built several sacred houses for the god Ku-ka'ili-moku and called for a *kapu.* The native doctors at Kamehameha's bedside were joined by Don Francisco Marin, the Spaniard living on O'ahu, who had some medical knowledge, but none of their treatments were effective. King Kamehameha died on May 8,1819. [1] The reign of King Kamehameha II began, as had his father's before him, cloaked in the traditional rituals of mourning. Liholiho left Kailua for Kawaihae to escape the defilement of death, returning when the priests had completed their prayers and had secretly buried the bones of their beloved former king.

As the crown prince, Liholiho had been taught the royal duties and responsibilities. So when he reappeared at Kailua he was appropriately garbed in splendid clothing, accompanied by his royal attendants. However, his power over the kingdom was not sovereign. Like his uncle before him, Kamehameha had made his son Liholiho the king and ruler, but had given his nephew Kekuaokalani custody of the war god Ku-ka'ili-moku. The new king's authority was diluted even further by the actions of Ka'ahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha, who had quickly proclaimed herself *kuhina-nui* (regent). She presided over the ceremonies and informed the new king that "we two shall share the rule over the land," a statement that was not refuted by Liholiho. [2]

Despite his training for the monarchy, Liholiho was ill-prepared for his new role. He had led a sheltered life of luxury, gaining "a reputation as a gambler and a playboy" who was fond of whiskey. [3] Although trained as a warrior, he had never fought in battle, and he had never ruled a district or an island before, much less a kingdom. It was not long before the new king was faced with a major decision.

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A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

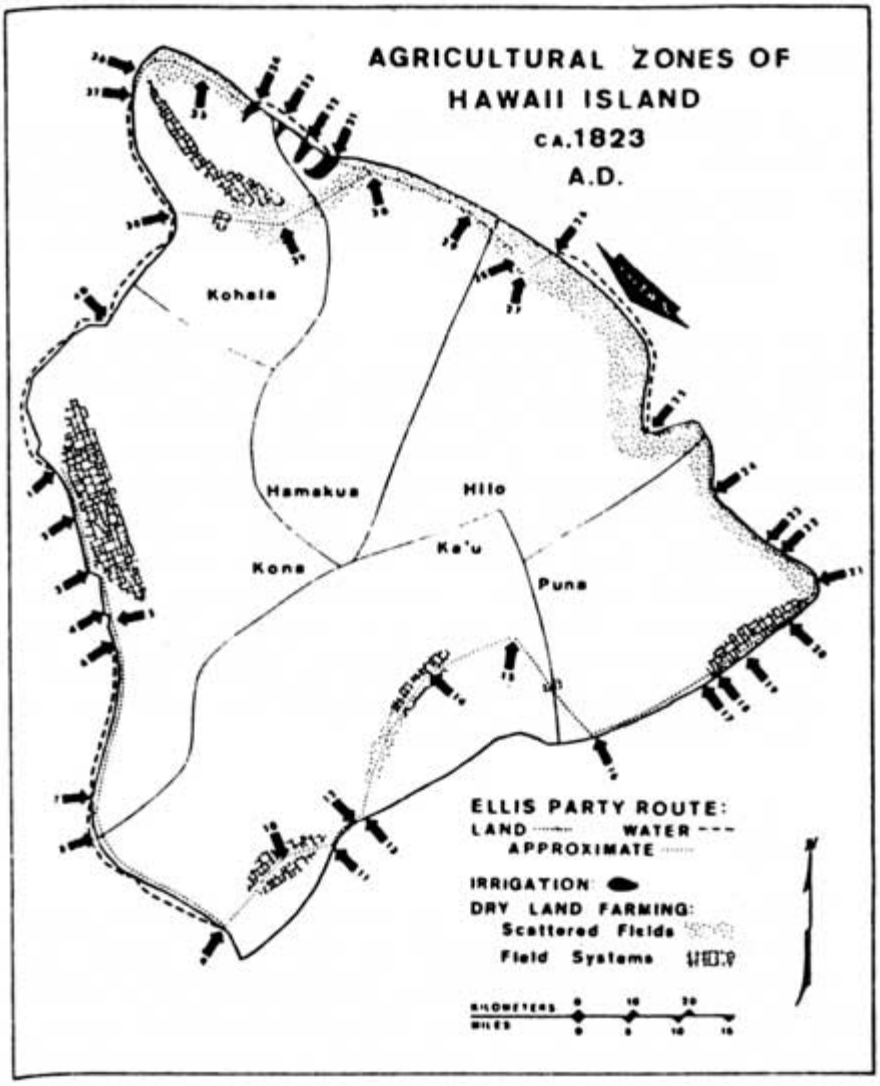
West Coast of the Island of Hawai'i

CHAPTER VI: DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN ACTIVITY ON THE WEST COAST OF THE ISLAND OF HAWAI'I

A. Population

The island of Hawai'i lies at the southeastern end of the Hawaiian archipelago. Located about 148 miles southeast of Honolulu, it owes its existence to the actions of five volcanoes — Kohala, Mauna Kea, Hualalai, Mauna Loa, and Kilauea (actually a caldera on Mauna Loa). The island is 76 miles wide, 93 miles long, and has an area of 4,030 square miles, with its highest point the top of Mauna Kea, 13,784 feet above sea level. [1]

Exact historical figures are uncertain, but at the time of the arrival of Capt. James Cook in 1778, the population of Hawai'i Island was estimated at about 120,000. [2] The most continuously and densely populated area stretched along the coasts of North and South Kona; [3] that population was estimated at about 20,000 individuals. The Reverend William Ellis, who circled the entire island in 1823, recommended the establishment of missionary stations at Kailua, Kealakekua, and Honaunau because of their density (Illustration 21). Possibly some Europeans other than missionaries lived along the west coast of Hawai'i Island by 1825, but there is no mention of them in the literature. Most Europeans living in the islands were tradesmen working for the king, who stayed in close proximity to him in Honolulu. [4] Although Ellis believed that Hawai'i supported a larger population than the rest of the islands, he observed that Honolulu was regarded as the chief port for foreign trade as well as the home base of the missionaries and that the king and major chiefs were already forsaking Hawai'i for O'ahu. [5]



1. Kailua; 2. Keauhou; 3. Kaawaloa; 4. Honaunau; 5. Keokea; 6. Kalahiki; 7. Kapua; 8. Kaulanamauna; 9. Kailikii; 10. Waiohinu; 11. Honuapo; 12. Hilea; 13. Punaluu; 14. Kapapala; 15. Kilauea Volcano; 16. Kealakomo; 17. Kalapana; 18. Kaimu; 19. Kamaili; 20. Keahialaka; 21. Kapoho; 22. Kahuwai; 23. Honolulu; 24. Keaau; 25. Waiakea (present city of Hilo); 26. Laupahoehoe; 27. Humuula; 28. Kaula Valley; 29. Manienie; 30. Kapulena; 31. Waipio Valley; 32. Waimanu Valley; 33. Honokane Valley; 34. Polulu Valley; 35. Halawa; 36. Awalua; 37. Mahukona; 38. Kawaihae; 39. Waimea (also called Kamuela) 40. Kiholo.

Illustration 21. Route of William Ellis and his associates on their tour of Hawai'i Island in 1823. From Newman, "Hawaii Island Agricultural Zones, Circa A.D. 1823," p. 337.

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A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites
on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations

CHAPTER VII:
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

A. Setting of the Park

1. Village of Kawaihae

The terraces of Pu'ukohola Heiau dominate the side of a prominent hill overlooking Kawaihae Bay. Despite the nondescript nature of the early village of Kawaihae, as recorded in the journals of early Euro-American voyagers to the islands, it has played a conspicuous role in Hawaiian history. In both prehistoric and historic times, its spacious natural harbor has distinguished it from the other coastal settlements of leeward Kohala, making it not only the safest mooring spot in that district, but also one of the best anchorages on the island of Hawai'i. Kawaihae is where Kamehameha confirmed his position as *ali'i-nui of* the island upon the death of his chief rival, and it remained his residence from about 1790 to 1794 while he planned the invasion of the other Hawaiian Islands. According to Marion Kelly, Kawaihae was a popular surfing area in ancient times. The name means "Water-of-Wrath" and refers to the battles over the life-giving waters of one of the springs in the area. Kelly states this water source reportedly was destroyed by harbor development, but it could also have been impacted by destructive high floodwaters in the gullies during heavy rains. [1]

According to trader William French, who owned a store in Kawaihae, the settlement was extremely active during the time of Kamehameha's reign. Its harbor and its proximity to the fertile uplands of Waimea ensured its status as an important stopover for many early European voyagers and merchantmen needing to make repairs and resupply their ships. Because King Kamehameha firmly controlled all trade and other intercourse with Euro-American ships, all sea captains arriving in the Hawaiian Islands had to obtain his permission before initiating any activities with his subjects. Therefore ships were constantly stopping at Kawaihae to pay their respects and gain his blessing when he was in residence. If he was not there, visitors contacted John Young, Kamehameha's business manager and governor of the island from 1802 to 1812, an important foreign political figure who, while he lived at Kawaihae, exerted a strong influence on its social, political, and economic life, and about whom more will be presented later. For all the above reasons, for many years Kawaihae served a crucial role in the importation of foreign goods, the distribution of local products, and the spreading of new ideas and mores during a time of great change for the Hawaiian people. After Kamehameha's death, it was to this place his son returned from the royal residence at Kailua to unite his supporters, formulate his policies, and consecrate his new leadership role. [2]



Illustration 25. Kawaihae landing, probably 1880s. Monsarrat Collection. Courtesy Hawaii State Archive, Honolulu.

2. Historical Accounts of Kawaihae Bay Area

The earliest European observers of Kawaihae Bay were members of Captain James Cook's exploratory and scientific expedition. Arriving at the mouth of the bay in February 1779, they were little impressed, Captain James King noting that

> Although the NEern part of the bay which . . . is call'd Toe-yah-ya [Kawaihae] looks green & pleasant, yet as it is neither wooded or hardly any signs of culture, & a few houses, It has certainly some defect, & does not answer the purposes of what the natives cultivate. [3]

A month later, revisiting the harbor after Cook's death, King still found nothing of particular interest:

> We now come to *Ko-Harra* [Kohala] the NW & last district. It is bounded by two tolerable high hills, & the Coast forms a very extensive bay calld Toe Yah-Yah. . . . In the head of the bay as far as we could judge distant [blank space] the Country lookd tolerably, but the s side is partook of the same nature as Kao, & along the NE side of the bay close to which we Saild, It is very little Cultivated, & we saw but few houses; the Peoples appearance shewd that they were the lowest Class that inhabited them. [4]

George Vancouver, captain of the *Discovery,* visited Kawaihae in February 1793 and found a watering place

> situated in a small sandy bay, where, over a space of twenty yards of rugged rocks and stones, a fine stream empties itself, whose water is easily to be procured by landing the casks on the sandy beach, and having the water brought in smaller vessels to fill them; a service the natives will readily perform for a trivial reward. [5]

Going on shore to visit the inhabitants, Vancouver noted that

> Toeaigh [Kawaihae] is situated in a grove of cocoa-nut trees, just behind a sandy beach. A reef of coral rocks, extending thence about three quarters of a mile into the sea, rendered it inaccessible to our boats in a direct line, but we landed very commodiously in a narrow channel, between the reef and the shore, near the morai [Pu'ukohola], to the S.E. of the beach, from whence we had about two miles to walk. . . .
>
> The village consisted only of straggling houses, of two classes; those appropriated to the residence of the inhabitants were small, mean, miserable huts; but the others, allotted to the purposes of shading, building,

> and repairing their canoes, were excellent in their kind. . . . In about the middle of the village is a reservoir of salt water, nearly in the centre of a large inclosure, made by walls of mud and stones. Between these walls and the reservoir the whole space is occupied by shallow earthen pans, of no regular size or shape, nor placed in any order or degree of elevation. The reservoir . . . constantly affords a sufficient quantity of excessively salt water, for supplying the numerous pans. . . . [6]



Illustration 26. Kawaihae Bay and village, ca. 1880s. Taken from Pu'ukohola Heiau toward landing, supposedly from site where Keoua sacrificed. Courtesy Hawaii State Archive, Honolulu.

Captain Richard J. Cleveland, anchored off "Toiyahyah" Bay in 1799, described the approach of a large number of canoes carrying hogs, potatoes, taro, cabbages, watermelons, muskmelons, sugarcane, and a variety of other produce for trade. A local chief came on board to maintain order and regulate the number of persons allowed on the vessel at one time. He also acted as a broker for the crew and as a facilitator for the bartering process. [7]

Isaac Iselin, supercargo on the *Maryland,* visited Kawaihae in the early 1800s:

> This Bay of Toeigh [Kawaihae] is very open; an extensive reef runs near it nearly level with the water, and altogether it is no inviting place to anchor at. The country around it looks like a hilly barren desert; nothing grows within ten miles of it, except a few cocoanut trees, of which a fine grove stands near the beach. The inhabitants and huts are thinly scattered along the shore, far less numerous than about Karakakooah, and seem more indigent, indeed, having to go so far for their subsistence, they are not seldom in want of the supports of life.

Iselin also mentions visiting "several salt ponds or pans, the arrangement of which displays much industry and ingenuity." [8]

Jacques Arago, draftsman on the French expedition (1817-20) under command of Louis de Freycinet (in the corvette *Uranie),* noted that

> About two hundred huts compose the town of Toyai [Kawaihae]; they are low, small, and badly covered. Many of them are not more than six or eight feet in length. The people who inhabit them will however bear no comparison with those whom we saw at *Karakakooa.* You breathe in the first-named anchorage; here you seem to be stifled: though the court of Tammeamah might be expected to give a little life to the scene. [9]

De Freycinet described the town in terms equally unflattering:

> Less spread-out and more irregular than Kayakakoua [Kealakekua], Kohaihai [Kawaihae] is surrounded by even sadder, even drier grounds, if that is possible. Here, in fact, not an atom of greenery appeared before our eyes. One could have said that it had been ravaged by fire. On an elevation near the southern section of the village, a morai [Mailekini] surrounded by a rock wall had the appearance of a European fort. Mr. Young's house, built in European style, could be seen farther off on the shore to the north. [10]

3. Historical Appearance and Activities of Kawaihae

a) Fishponds

Frenchman Louis Duperrey, an officer of the de Freycinet expedition, drew a map of Kawaihae Bay in 1819, showing about ninety structures along the shoreline (Illustration 27). The main portion of the settlement contained three rows of houses parallel to the coast. [11] The first group abutted the shore, with the last row lying near the base of the Kohala Mountain slope. This map also delineates a small inland body of water, probably one of two fishponds that existed there. One was located near the homestead of John Young at the mouth of Makahuna Gulch; the other lay near the old salt pans to the north. Historian Russell Apple has determined that the Makeahua pond existed from before 1819 at least through 1848. [12]

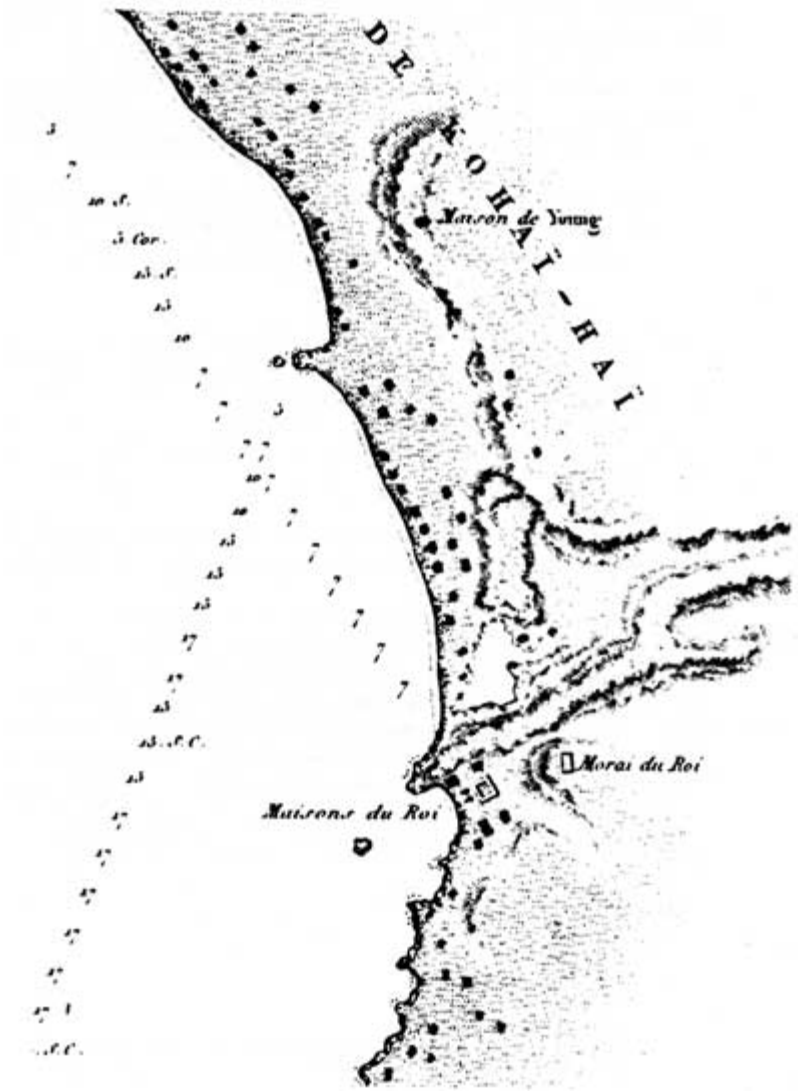


Illustration 27. De Freycinet sailed from Kailua to Kawaihae to visit the new king, Kamehameha II. The above is a detail of the chart "Plan de la Baie de Kohai-Hai" drawn by Capt. L.I. Duperrey of the French Royal Navy, 1819. Note the houses of the king in the Pelekane area, John Young's residence, and the two *heiau.* Figure 24

in Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 104.

b) Salt Pans

The salt pans constructed for the extraction of salt from sea water were an extremely important aspect of Kawaihae's subsistence — perhaps its major industry for many years. Because of its shoreline's lack of fertility, Kawaihae was always foremost a fishing village; in the mid-1830s it was reportedly the best place to buy fish on the entire island. This distinction resulted not only from its abundant marine resources but also from its status as an important trading center to which people from other communities along the Kohala coast brought their catches. The ready availability of salt there allowed the immediate preservation of excess fish for use as trade items or for future local need. [13] The locals traded this salt to Kona as well as other sections of Kohala for the necessities they lacked — such as cultivated food and *kapa.* [14]

Hawaiian salt, used to season and preserve fish and meat, was one of the first items of exchange between the natives and foreign fur traders in the early nineteenth century. Extensive areas in certain parts of the islands were reserved for the production of this commodity. On Hawai'i Island, Kawaihae boasted the largest salt pans. Hawai'i exported salt from around 1840 to 1881, reaching a peak production about 1870. [15] Hawaiian salt was later used in curing hides in addition to salting meat, requiring construction of larger pans as the Waimea cattle industry expanded; these were destroyed by a tidal wave in 1946. [16] According to Marion Kelly, Kawaihae informants told her the earlier salt pans had been destroyed during construction of the modern harbor. [17]

As Reverend William Ellis traveled around the island of Hawai'i in 1823, he visited Kawaihae twice, recording 100 houses there in 1824. [18] Ellis mentioned several interesting activities and sites in Kawaihae, including some warm springs a short distance south of the *heiau,* in which he enjoyed a refreshing bath:

> These springs rise on the beach a little below high-water mark, of course they are overflowed by every tide; but at low tide, the warm water bubbles up through the sand, fills a small kind of cistern, made with stones piled close together on the side towards the sea, and affords a very agreeable bathing place. . . . The water is comfortably warm . . . various medicinal qualities are ascribed to it by those who have used it. [19]

Ellis also described salt production at Kawaihae, noting that Hawaiians partook of this item liberally with their food besides utilizing large amounts to preserve their fish catches:

> The natives of this district manufacture large quantities of salt, by evaporating the sea water. We saw a number of their pans, in the disposition of which they display great ingenuity. They have generally one large pond near the sea, into which the water flows by a channel cut through the rocks, or is carried thither by the natives in large calabashes. After remaining there some time, it is conducted into a number of smaller pans about six or eight inches in depth, which are made with great care, and frequently lined with large evergreen leaves, in order to prevent absorption. Along the narrow banks or partitions between the different pans, we saw a number of large evergreen leaves placed. They were tied up at each end, so as to resemble a shallow dish, and filled with sea water, in which the crystals of salt were abundant. [20]

c) Sandalwood Trade

On his second visit to Kawaihae, Ellis stayed with John Young, where, one morning

> Before daylight . . . we were roused by vast multitudes of people passing through the district from Waimea with sandal wood, which had been cut in the adjacent mountains for Karaimoku [the high chief Kalanimoku]. . . and which the people of Kohala, as far as the north point, had been ordered to bring down to his storehouse on the beach, for the purpose of its being shipped to Oahu. [21]

The sandalwood trade was another extremely important industry in this area — a commercial activity that reached its peak in the 1820s. At this time the Kohala Mountain forests were abundant, reaching almost to the Kawaihae shore in 1815. John Young oversaw the measuring and loading of logs, while, according to Ellis, thousands of natives were

forced to cut and haul timber, penetrating ever deeper into the interior as supplies dwindled. This intensive business venture denuded the forests and precipitated their retreat inland. The prospering herds of wild cattle and goats in the Waimea area prevented new growth from surviving, as did the diversion of streams to support the community there. All these factors contributed to Kawaihae's appearance as a desolate place. [22]

4. Missionary Activities at Kawaihae

American missionaries arrived in the islands in 1820. During a brief sojourn at Kawaihae they met some members of Hawaiian royalty, including two of Kamehameha's widows. The Reverend Hiram Bingham also visited Pu'ukohola Heiau with the high chief Kalanimoku and left a description of the structures that will be presented in the next section of this report. Because the new king was living in Kailua at this time, however, the missionaries' ship proceeded on down the coast to ask his permission to begin their work. [23]

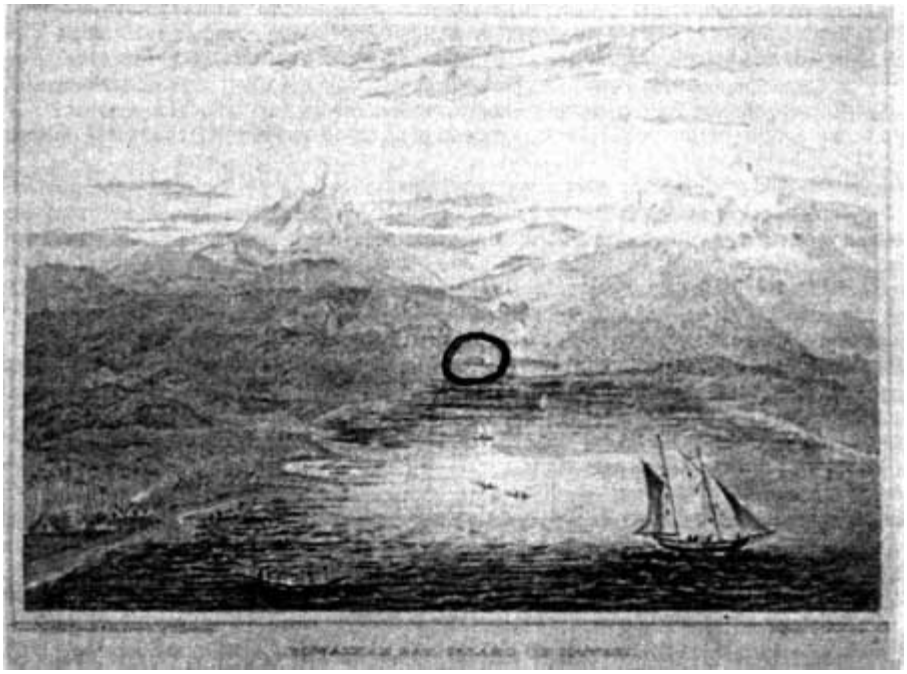


Illustration 28. Kawaihae Bay, drawn by Daniel Tyerman of the London Mission in 1822. Pu'ukohola Heiau appears near the shore behind the bay in the center of the picture. From Tyerman and Bennet, *Voyages and Travels*, facing p. 97.

Kawaihae was the site of one of the first mission stations in the Hawaiian Islands, although it was only briefly looked after by Elisha Loomis beginning in 1821. Kawaihae and Puako were ultimately included in the area served by missionaries Dwight Baldwin from 1832 to 1835 and Lorenzo Lyons from 1832 to 1876. [24] Lyons landed at Kawaihae in 1832 before proceeding to Waimea to establish a station. He noted that Kawaihae was "about as desolate a place as I have ever seen, nothing but barrenness, with here and there a native hut." [25] His Waimea parish eventually included the districts of Kohala and Hamakua, making it the largest mission station in Hawai'i. During his tenure, Lyons was responsible for the erection of fourteen churches, including one at Kawaihae. [26]

Kawaihae had supported some type of meetinghouse since the earliest days of the Protestant mission, though it amounted to little more than a rude grass sanctuary. In 1843, however, the parish began construction of a stone meetinghouse, probably covered by a thatched roof. Stones for the walls were found nearby, while coral collected from the beach was burned to produce a lime for mortaring. The final dedication ceremony on January 13, 1859, involved a procession, prayers, speeches, and songs. Toward the end of the service, the parishioners marched over to the old *heiau* of Pu'ukohola where they prayed and sang. This church underwent renovation in 1884 and repairs in 1903; it was torn down in 1959. [27]

5. Cattle Industry in the Kawaihae-Waimea Area

In time it was the lush pastures of the upper slopes of Kohala Mountain that sustained the Kawaihae economy. Travel

between the two areas was possible via a number of trails that led from the seacoast, past periodically cultivated agricultural plots, to the Waimea Plain. In the early 1820s three major population centers existed there, about two miles apart, at Keaalii, Waikoloa, and Pu'ukapu. [28]

After the supplies of sandalwood and *pulu* disappeared, resulting in the failure of those business enterprises, South Kohala turned to cattle for its livelihood. The cattle industry had begun in the early 1800s with government-controlled bull hunting. [29] An American who greatly impacted this activity was John Palmer Parker, a seaman who came to Kawaihae in 1815 and then moved to Waimea. Enlisted to hunt wild cattle on the slopes of Mauna Kea, he was to thin the herds, descended from cattle introduced by Vancouver, that had multiplied so rapidly that they were a danger to people and destructive of the landscape and cultivated upland fields. The government and king, who jointly owned all the wild cattle on Hawai'i and sold or leased slaughter rights to private parties, encouraged the capture of these animals to procure beef, hides, and tallow. Because Hawaiians did not yet eat beef, it was the needs of the whalers, arriving in great numbers in the 1840s, that spurred this enterprise. Parker soon built up a thriving business with foreign, and later interisland, trading vessels in meat treated with salt from Kawaihae and tanned hides. Over the next thirty-two years, Parker expanded his activities, importing Spaniards from Peru as ranchhands and shipping out hides, tallow, and soap. Parker received two acres of land on the Waimea Plain from King Kamehameha Ill in 1847; this landholding ultimately developed into the famous Parker Ranch. Exporting its cattle became Kawaihae's principal activity. [30]

The wild descendants of Vancouver's original cattle comprised the herds of Hawai'i's first ranches prior to 1830. After that time, however, as a flourishing by-products industry took hold, most wild cattle were killed, and imported animals were brought in to stock the ranches. [31] The cattle industry slowed in the late 1830s and early 1840s due to overkilling. By 1850, however, cattle raising was again a thriving industry in Waimea, with cattle driven to Kawaihae for shipment to Honolulu's slaughterhouses. The old road between Waimea and Kawaihae is supposedly the route of the historical Parker Ranch cattle drives. More modern cattle holding pens are located across from the small boat harbor; the massive rock walls near the present canoe club are said to be the remnants of older corrals where cattle were held until shipment. [32]

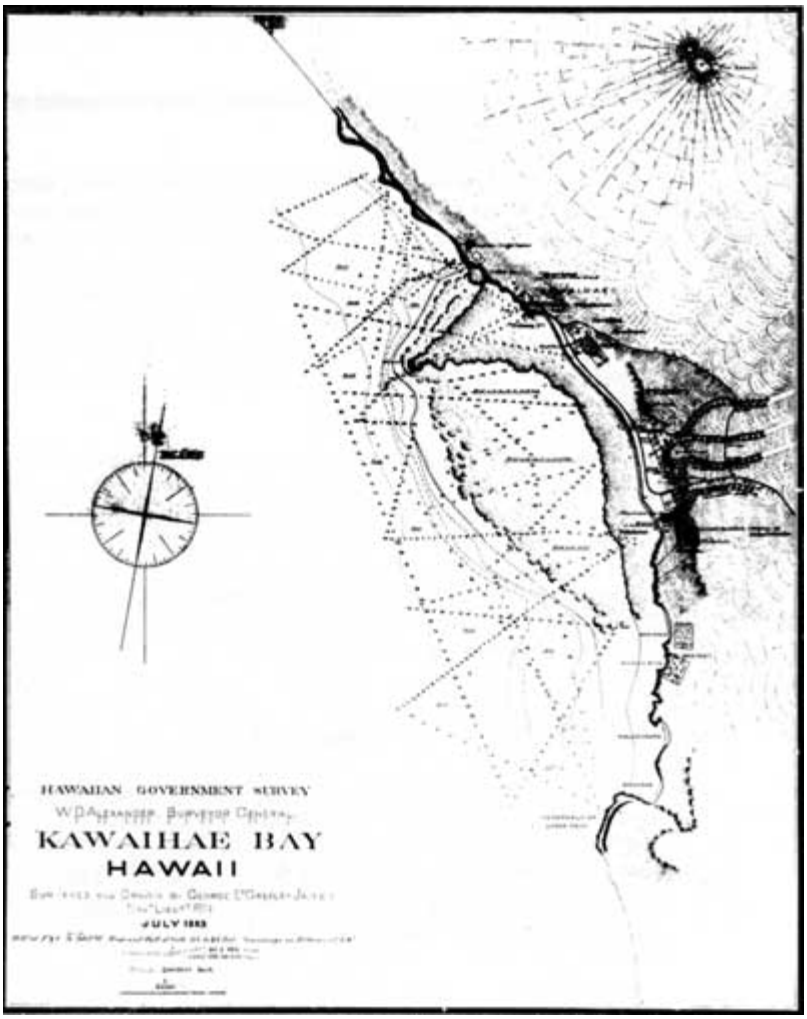


Illustration 29. Map of Kawaihae Bay area. Surveyed and drawn by George E. Gresley Jackson, Lt., R.N., July 1883.

6. Agricultural Activity in the Kawaihae-Waimea Area

A slight decline in Hawaiian agricultural production began in the 1830s. Author and journalist James J. Jarves described Kawaihae in the late 1830s as

> barren and almost destitute of inhabitants. . . . A well-built store and a few houses constituted the only appearance of a town. There was no vegetation to be seen. . . . Kawaihae is merely a depot for goods for the interior. A good coast-road leads to Waimea. . . . [33]

Agricultural activity revived somewhat in the late 1840s and early 1850s, primarily due to the demand for sweet and Irish potatoes. Although the former had always been a much-sought-after item for ships' stores, it was not until the early 1830s that Irish potatoes were also cultivated in Hawai'i. Increased whaling activity after 1840 brought new demands for both types. Another short-lived increase in potato production began in 1849 to help make up for a lack of that vegetable in California during the Gold Rush. This trade had diminished by 1852, although that with whalers continued for several more years. [34]

In 1853 Edward T. Perkins, anchored in a ship off Kawaihae Bay, judged this to be

> one of the most lonely places dignified with the name of port I ever visited; it consists merely of half a dozen framed houses, scattered at wide intervals along the rocky shore, and perhaps a couple of dozen native huts. . . . a few cocoanut trees charitably extend their broad plumes over the miserable abodes that craved their protection. With all its faults, Kawaihae must not be too hastily condemned, for it is but the humble gate to a paradise among the mountains; I mean Waimea. . . . [35]

By 1857 Kawaihae was described as an important port shipping produce from the rich uplands of Waimea, one of the finest agricultural districts in the islands:

> Forty or fifty whale ships have annually visited this port for the last few years, to procure salted beefs and Irish potatoes, which are considered the finest produced in the islands. [36]

Other exports included fresh beef, pork, fowl, beans, wool, bullock hides, goatskins, and tallow. [37] By the mid-1800s, then, Kawaihae hosted an active port, where visiting ships low on provisions traded foreign goods for produce, sandalwood, *pulu*, firewood, fresh water, and local salt. While there, the ships' officers usually met with any high-ranking personnages who happened to be in the area. [38]

An 1880s photo of the Kawaihae landing (Illustration 30) shows a group of buildings that may include William French's warehouse for storing sandalwood, wool, salted beef, and hides to be shipped to Honolulu or California in the 1830s and 1840s. French obtained property near the landing from Governor Kuakini in 1838 for the storage of cargo. [39]



Illustration 30. Photo of Kawaihae landing, ca. 1889, showing Pu'ukohola Heiau in the distance to the right. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Drawing at top by Marion Kelly is her identification of the buildings.

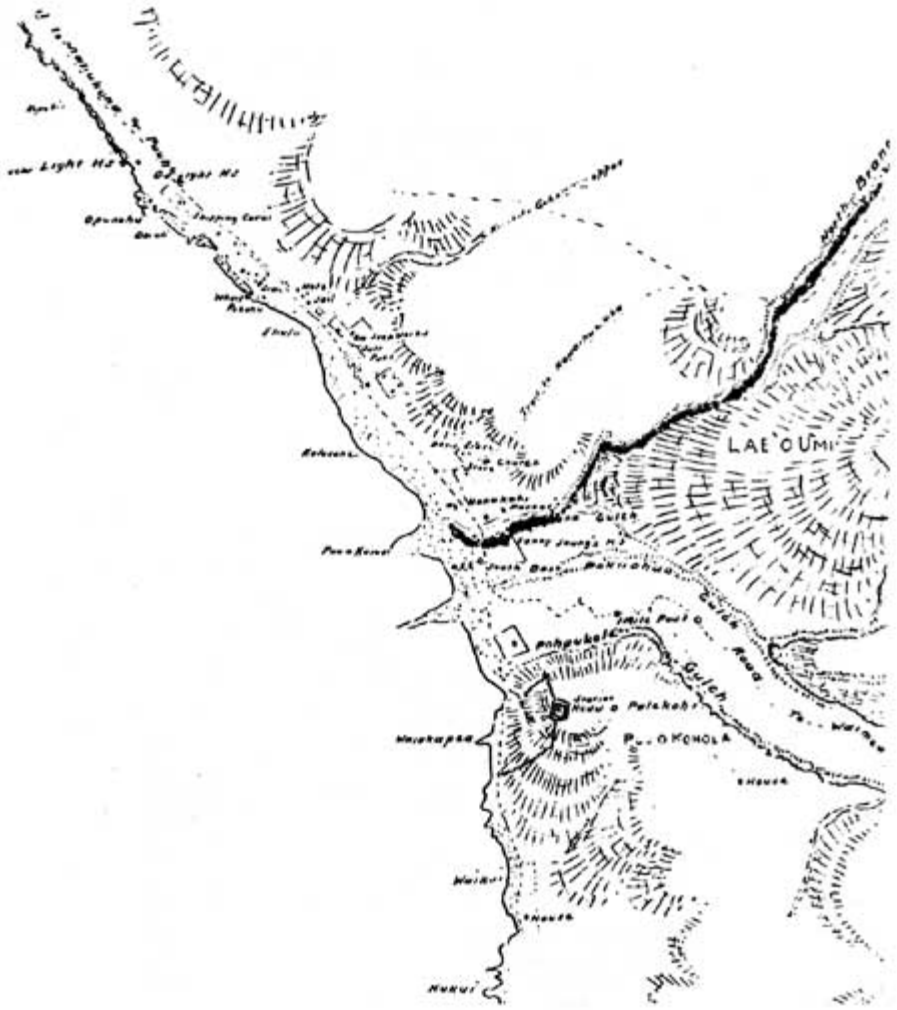


Illustration 31. Portion of 1903 map of Kawaihae Bay area by A.B. Loebenstein. Figure 8 in Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 17.

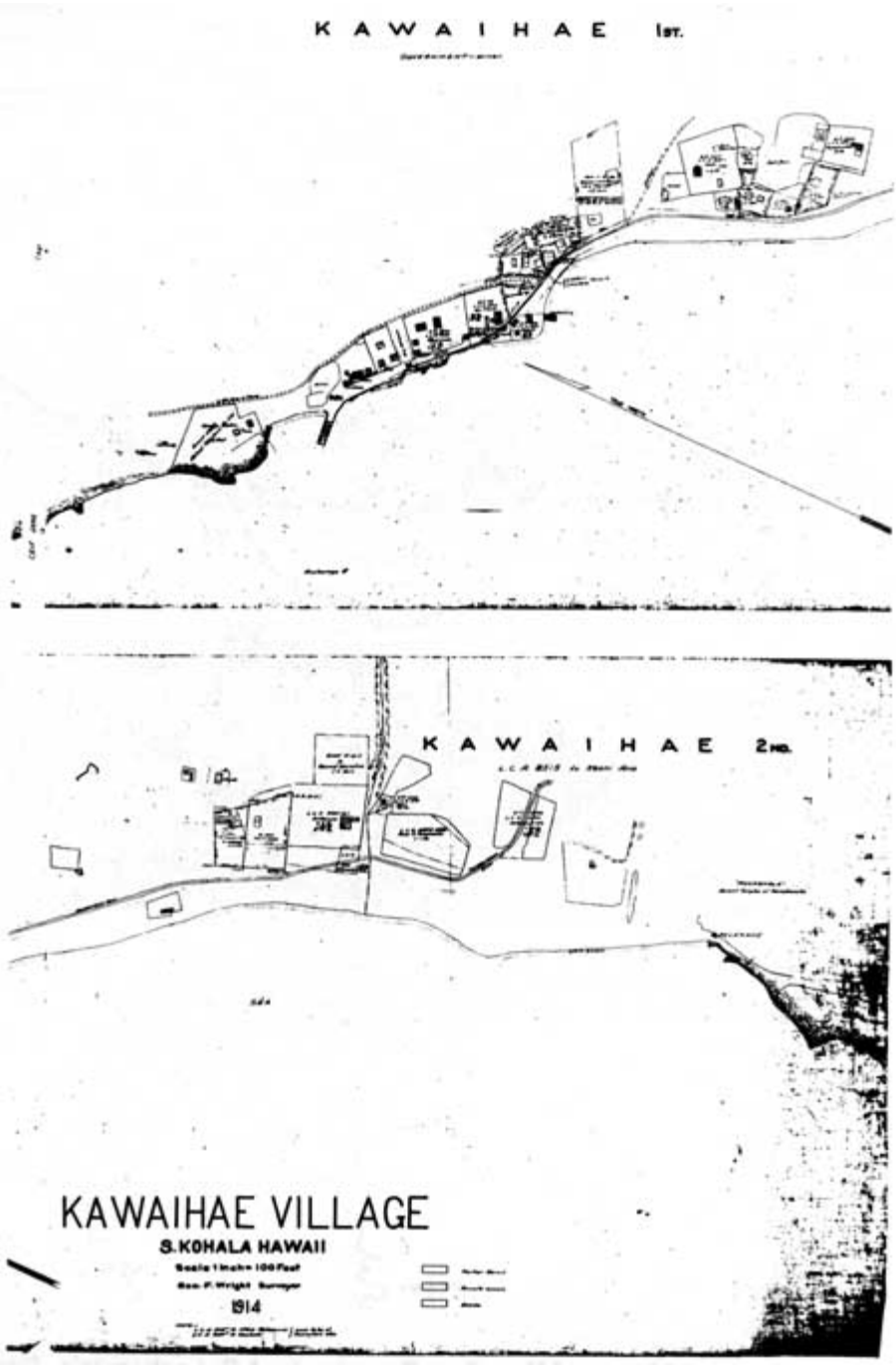


Illustration 32. Map of Kawaihae Village by George Wright, 1914.

7. Decline of Kawaihae

The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons noted in 1841, while preaching in Kawaihae, that its population stood at 726 people, 300 less than the previous year. His letters attribute this decrease to its being such a "wretchedly poor place," offering so little to eat that families were forced to relocate to more fertile regions. [40]

Throughout the 1800s, the population of the Waimea-Kawaihae area seems to have been in decline. It probably fluctuated due to a number of circumstances, including people moving periodically to certain areas for specialized public work projects, such as coming in from all over Kohala to build Pu'ukohola Heiau or to carry sandalwood from Waimea to Kawaihae Bay. Other population shifts would have involved families visiting relatives elsewhere for periods of time; chiefs and their entourages moving from site to site, always attracting the curious and various hangers-on; neighboring residents coming in to watch the arrival of ships, anxious to see the foreigners and engage them in trade; and residents moving to other places for new and better commercial opportunities. In addition to this constant movement, reduced fertility and increased mortality changed the population figures. A smallpox epidemic in

Kawaihae in 1853, for instance, took half the population. [41]

Isabella Bird Bishop, visiting Kawaihae in the 1870s, was able to make the small town seem appealing despite the slow tempo of its life:

> A foreign store, a number of native houses, a great *heiau*, or heathen temple on a height, a fringe of cocoa-nut palms, and a background of blazing hills, flaring with varieties of red, hardly toned down by any attempt at vegetation, a crystalline atmosphere palpitating with heat, deep, rippleless, clear water, with coral groves below, and a view of the three great Hawaiian mountains, are the salient features of this outlet of Hawaiian commerce. [42]

By 1890 Henry Whitney reported that:

> Kawaihae itself is a small village, which thirty years ago was of some importance, and did a considerable trade with the whalers that then visited it. It has dwindled very much since then. At present it is the landing for the cattle ranches of South Kohala [43]

Caspar Whitney verified this view of Kawaihae's decline in 1899:

> Once, many years ago, Kawaihae was a thriving port, where the whalers came for the potatoes raised on the hills directly back of the settlement, and people lived here and prospered. Now the settlement owes its life to the weekly arrival of the steamer from Honolulu. Small wonder its handful of residents shake off sleep to view this periodical deliverance from utter stagnation! [44]

8. "Modern" Kawaihae Village

Not until modern times, with the dredging of its harbor and the opening of luxury resorts, did the forgotten village of Kawaihae again become a prominent site on the Kohala coast. In 1949 construction of a deep-draft harbor was recommended for the bay, which by that time was a small port shipping sugar, steers, pigs, and sheep to market on interisland vessels. In 1957 a contract was let to build causeways, a dike, and a revetment; the new deep-water port of Kawaihae Harbor was finally completed in 1959. Three years later the Corps of Engineers decided to widen the harbor's entrance channel and its basin, extend the existing breakwater, and construct a small boat harbor.

By that time the Corps and the Atomic Energy Commission had begun a joint research program focusing on the use of nuclear explosives for construction purposes. Some of the types of projects amenable to nuclear excavation included water channels, highway cuts, harbors, and dams. The army's Nuclear Cratering Group was anxious to try chemical high explosives in excavating the small boat harbor and entrance channel at Kawaihae. "Project Tugboat" would be the army's first major construction project using that method of excavation. Some local opposition arose, concerned about detrimental impacts on marine life and on historically significant structures such as the nearby *heiau.* Before setting off the explosions, engineers braced the walls of Pu'ukohola Heiau and placed a seismograph next to the structure to monitor movement. Three phases of detonations were required to accomplish the job, which also involved construction of an 850-foot-long breakwater to protect the new basin. The project was considered a complete success, but expensive. No known damage occurred to historic structures. [45]

Today Kawaihae Bay and its coastline differ drastically from the views described in historical journals. In Young's day, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the original hardwood forests stretched almost to the beach. Freshwater streams flowing down gulches from Kohala Mountain provided the water supply of Kawaihae and potable water for ships. Ultimately logging activities related to the sandalwood trade and to the repair of visiting ships, clearing for agricultural terracing, and uncontrolled cattle grazing and tree removal caused the forest to recede. As streams dried up, erosion intensified, creating a semi-barren desert environment. While the town evolved into a specialized port for salt and cattle-related products, many of its residents left for the bustling major ports such as Lahaina and Honolulu. [46]

During excavation of the harbor, the dangerous coral reef, which formerly stretched just under two miles south from the area of the town, was cut and scraped and the dredged material formed into a landfill to support the harbor terminal

facilities, oil storage tanks, and other buildings. Excess material was stockpiled and its outer edge revetted with stones. [47]

Kawaihae village itself also little resembles the settlement seen by early European explorers and merchants. It consists of frame dwellings, a few stores, and other local businesses. Kawaihae is now a major shipping center for raw sugar. Structures in the harbor facility include storage tanks for oil and molasses, a bulk sugar warehouse and conveyor system for loading ships, a metal warehouse, a service terminal, and a concrete bulk chemical warehouse. The town is also the major supply point for Pohakuloa Training Area. Development farther south along the coast includes Spencer Beach County Park, residences, and the Mauna Kea Beach resort hotel. [48]

Two highly visible structures in Kawaihae served as landmarks for ships heading into Kawaihae Bay in the early historic period. One was the grave of George Hueu Davis, son of Isaac Davis. The other was the grave of George W. Macy, a sea captain who was in business with an early Waimea merchant. Macy's grave was described as a "conspicuous white obelisk" on a hill behind the village. [49] Significant prehistoric and historical manmade structures around Kawaihae include numerous stone features of early Hawaiian civilization such as agricultural enclosures, homesites, fishing shelters, and graves. The ruins of John Young's Kawaihae home overlook the bay, and two structures of extreme importance in Hawaiian history — Pu'ukohola and Mailekini heiau — still stand quietly by the sea. The history, appearance, and significance of these structures will be discussed in the next section.

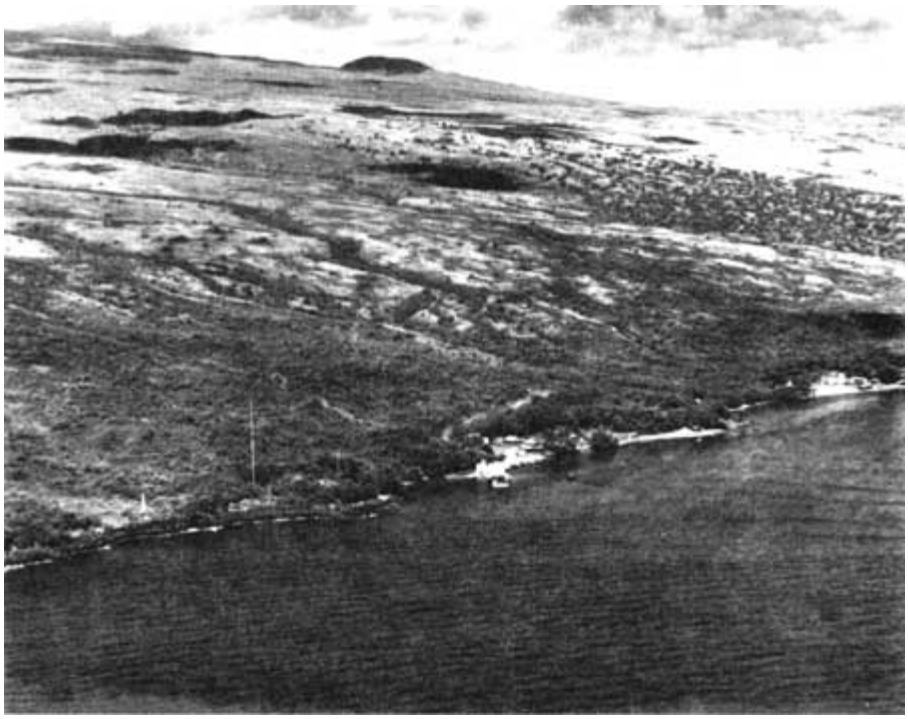


Illustration 33. Kawaihae landing, no date. Monsarrat Collection. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP
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PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites
on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations

CHAPTER VIII:
KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

A. Setting

About three miles north of Kailua-Kona lies the rugged lava-covered shoreline comprising Kaloko-Honokahau National Historical Park. This area includes those lands *makai* of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway (Route 19) in the *ahupua'a* of Kaloko and Honokahau.

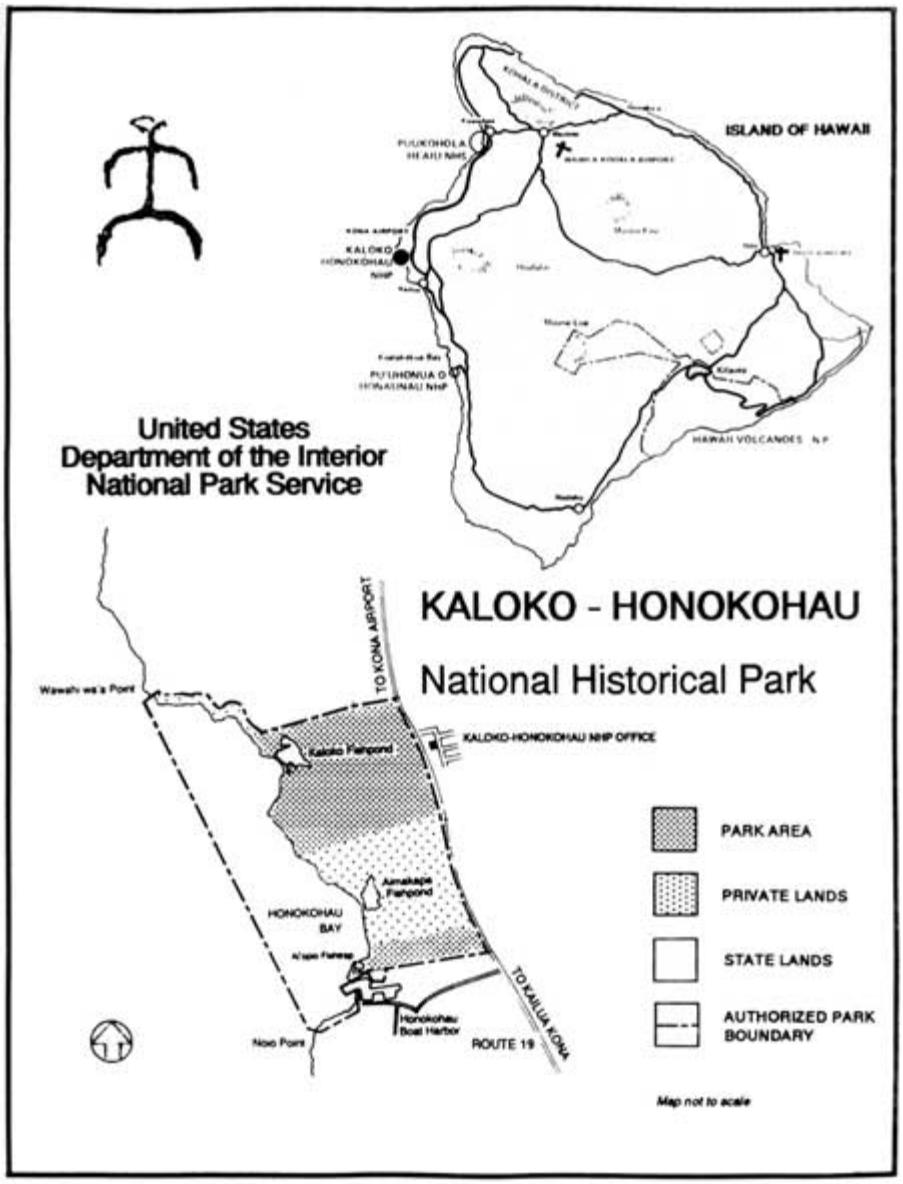


Illustration 93. Map of Kaloko-Honokokau National Historical Park, Hawai'i.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

The area of broad lava fields north of Kailua-Kona resulting from volcanic flows as recent as the 1800s is called Kekaha — a name designating a dry, barren, and harsh land. This portion of the Kona Coast consists of flat open areas with scattered grasses among the convolutions of rugged lava. The jagged terrain makes foot travel almost impossible, a problem that the early Hawaiians addressed by means of painstakingly built trails. In 1823, walking northwest from Kailua toward Kaiwi Point, the missionaries Asa Thurston and Artemas Bishop noted neat houses shaded by coconut and *kou* trees erected on top of the lava flows along the shore. Small gardens in the few patches of soil among the rocks produced sweet potatos, watermelons, and even some tobacco. The last eruption prior to their visit had been in 1801, that outflow from Hualalai having destroyed villages, agricultural fields, and fishponds on its way to the sea, where it re-formed the coastline. [1]

The lack of rainfall in this area made large-scale agricultural production impossible, but several other advantages enabled establishment of a settlement that lasted well into the nineteenth century. These included calm seas with a shallow canoe landing area, plentiful marine resources, and a variety of plants and flowers that served medicinal and dietary needs as well as furnishing material for making fishnets and for thatching simple shelters erected on the *pahoehoe* and *'a'a* lava flats. Cool, brackish springs provided a sufficient water supply. The use of these pools was dictated by the *kapu* system, which designated some of these for drinking, some for bathing, and others for washing utensils or clothes. [2]

Despite the dryness and hostility of the environment, the early inhabitants of the Kaloko-Honokahau coastal settlements devised successful adaptive methods of growing supplementary food items such as sweet potatoes and gourds upon the lava beds. The husks of dry coconuts, immersed in water until well soaked, and then placed around the plant roots provided moisture and protected against direct exposure to the harsh sun. Stone enclosures built around the plants provided support for vines, deflected the wind, and lessened the effects of the afternoon heat. [3] Archeologist Robert Renger theorized that the presence of these agricultural structures enabled a different type of adaptation to the environment in this area — one in which agricultural production along the coast supplemented both the marine resources *and* the products of the upland. [4]

The most important subsistence features of this shoreline, and those that imbued the area with such importance for the ancient Hawaiians, were its fishponds. Of the three structures within the park, two were originally inland bays converted into ponds by stone walls constructed across their mouths, isolating them from the sea except for controlled water movement through *makaha* (sluice gates). The third feature, a fishtrap, was formed by arcing a stone wall from the shoreline out to a protruding point of land.

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PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites
on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations

CHAPTER IX:
PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

A. Setting

Pu'uohonua o Hoaunau, "Place of Refuge of Honauhau," is located in the *ahupua'a* of Honauhau, in South Kona, on the west coast of the Island of Hawai'i. The present park includes the coastal portions of three ancient land divisions: Honaunau, Keokea, and Ki'ilae. It lies about midway between the larger towns of Kailua to the north and Miloli'i to the south. Located next to the ocean, the park is reached via a secondary road off the Mamalahoa Highway. It consists here of a large flat tongue of *pahoehoe* lava flanked by three bays, Honaunau to the north and Alahaka and Ki'ilae to the south. In the vicinity of Honaunau Bay, the park includes the refuge itself, nearby palace grounds, royal fishponds, a royal canoe landing area, stone house platforms, and temple structures. The boundaries of the refuge are formed by a wall starting at Honaunau Bay and extending in a southwesterly direction for more than 600 feet, at which point a leg turns to the west and runs again southwesterly about 400 feet toward the sea.

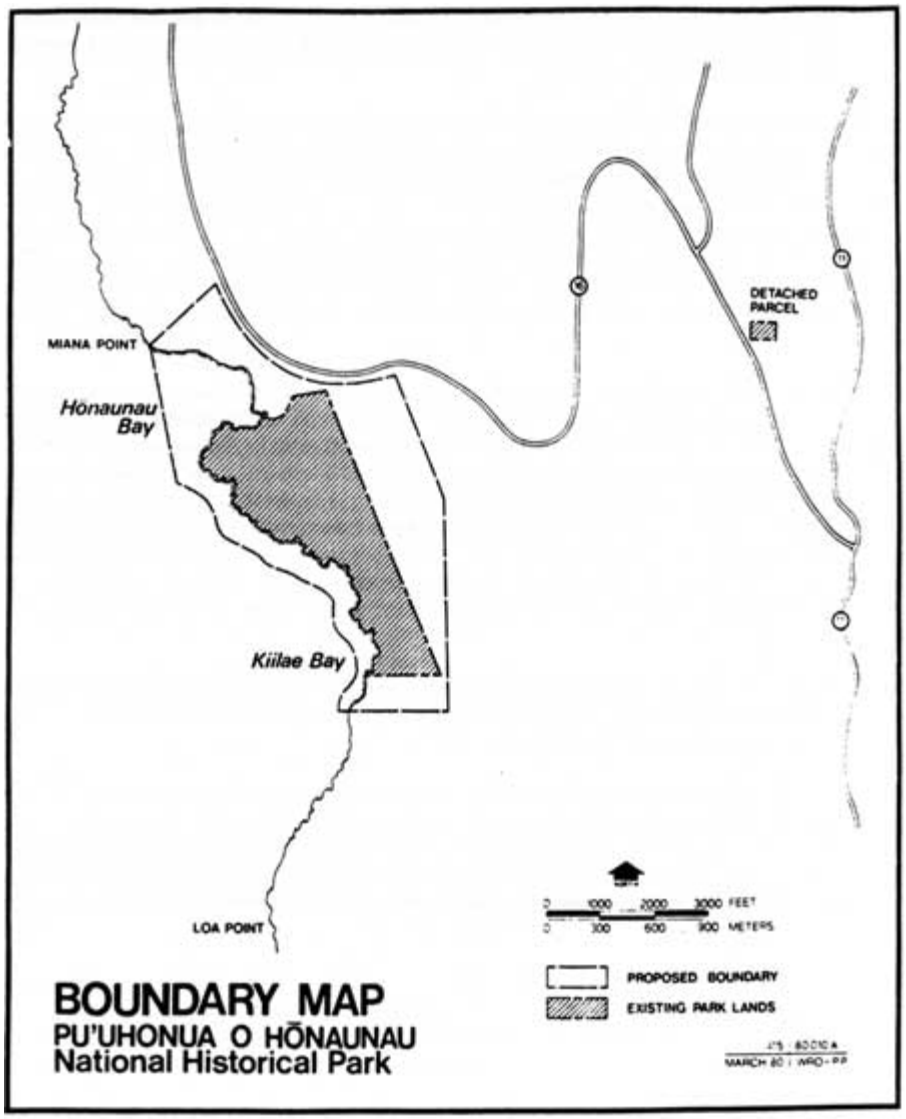


Illustration 141. Boundary map, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, Hawai'i.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

Here, as elsewhere along the Kona Coast, lava flows (these from Mauna Loa) are the dominating coastline feature. The refuge is situated on a tongue or small peninsula of black *pahoehoe* lava jutting into the ocean and forming the southwest wall of Honaunau (Ke Awa) Bay. Within the curve of the bay nestles the small village of Honaunau, once the home of chiefly retainers and commoners, now supporting only a small number of houses. From here one can see what is perhaps the most spectacular natural feature of the park — the Keanae'e *pali* (cliff), a fault scarp paralleling the shore about one-tenth of a mile inland. The imposing appearance of the cliff, which is arc shaped, more than 100 feet high, and 1,000 feet long, is due to the metallic-hued ancient lava flows frozen in time as they cascaded over the cliff edge toward the sea, creating "festoon lava." The early inhabitants used the numerous cave openings and lava tubes in the cliff face as residences, burial chambers, and possibly for refuge from the elements. [1]

From the ocean inland to the beach the area that used to be barren, dry, open, and dotted with scattered large lava boulders (deposited by tidal action or brought in for construction purposes) is now overgrown with *koahaole* and *opiuma.* The area historically supported stands of *pill* grass used for thatching houses, pandanus, *kou, kamani,* and *noni,* with cocoanut palms providing some shade around the refuge itself. About a mile inland, the scene changes to dense foliage as a result of the more abundant rainfall and the presence of decomposed lava. The early Hawaiians appreciated this area's fertility and their descendants continue to utilize it for growing large quantities of coffee, macadamia nuts, plumeria, avocados, papayas, and other tropical fruits.

North about four miles on the Kona Coast is Kealakekua Bay, the scene of the second significant contact between

native Hawaiians and Europeans. It was there, at the site of the early Hawaiian villages of Napo'opo'o and Ka'awaloa, that Captain Cook's ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, dropped anchor after discovering Kaua'i in 1778. There Cook was worshipped as the physical manifestation of the god *Lono* in the temple of Hikiau. And there he eventually lost his life during a sudden battle with the natives at the water's edge near Ka'awaloa. A monument on the north side of the bay marks his death site. Hikiau Heiau, restored in 1917, stands on the east side of the bay.

The area between Kealakekua and Honaunau bays is renowned as the Moku'ohai battleground, site of the 1782 conflict between the forces of Kamehameha and those of Kiwala'o for dominance over the island after the death of Kalani'opu'u, king of Hawai'i at the time of European contact. Kamehameha's troops succeeded in killing Kiwala'o and routing his warriors, although the latter's half-brother Keoua escaped to carry on the battle until his own death at the hands of Kamehameha's followers at Pu'ukohola Heiau.

Immediately south of the refuge, in Keokea, a satellite village of scattered residential sites, including that of King Keawe, hugged the coast in ancient times. Inland remains of this settlement consist of two *heiau*, a *holua*, and the burial cliffs mentioned earlier. A little farther south, within the present southern boundary of the park, is a portion of Ki'ilae Village, occupied from prehistoric times until 1926. There residences arose around a well, called Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela, named for Kekela, a resident of the area, daughter of John Young and mother of Queen Emma. Nearby are lava tube refuge caves useful in time of war. [2]

Today the refuge and associated residential and temple sites, walls, trails, and village remains are in ruins. Non-native shrubs and trees, vines, and a dense undergrowth of grass form a thick cover over the *pahoehoe* lava flow, which is periodically exterminated in an attempt to restore the landscape of the eighteenth century and expose significant archaeological features. Park facilities include a visitor center, parking lot, headquarters building, and a picnic area.

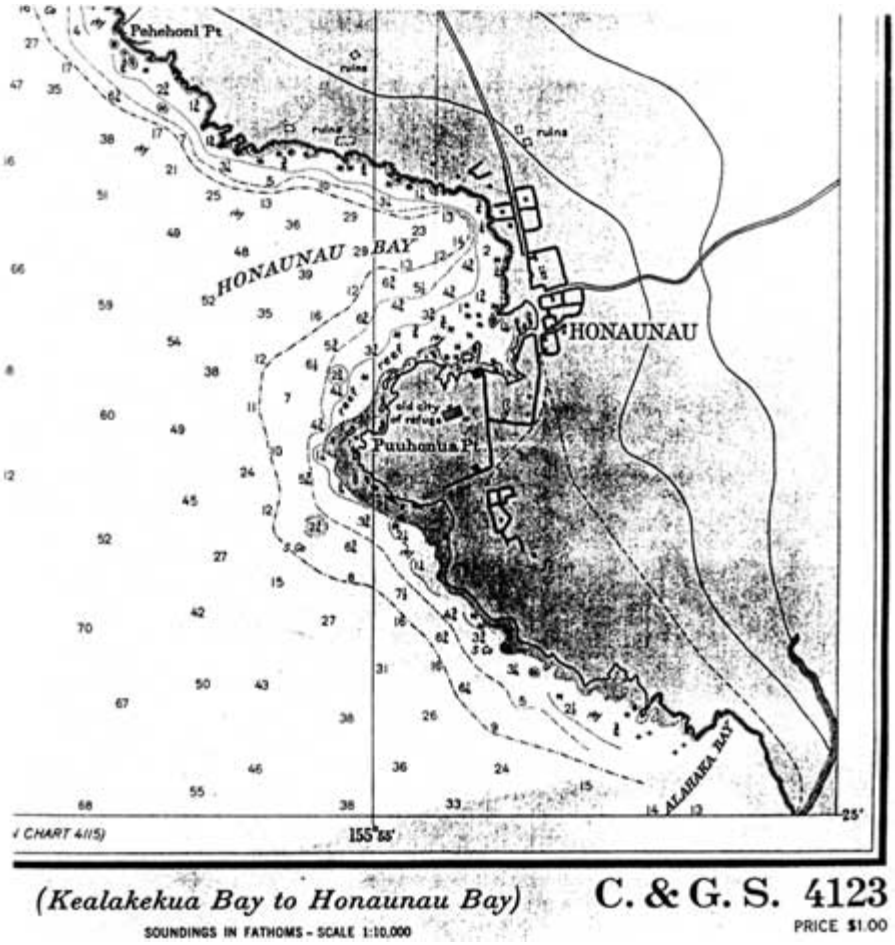


Illustration 142. Portion of chart showing soundings, Kealakekua Bay to Honaunau Bay, Island of Hawaii, n.d. Note delination of pu'uhonua, royal compound, house lots, and various "ruins." Courtesy Hawaii State Library, Honolulu.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

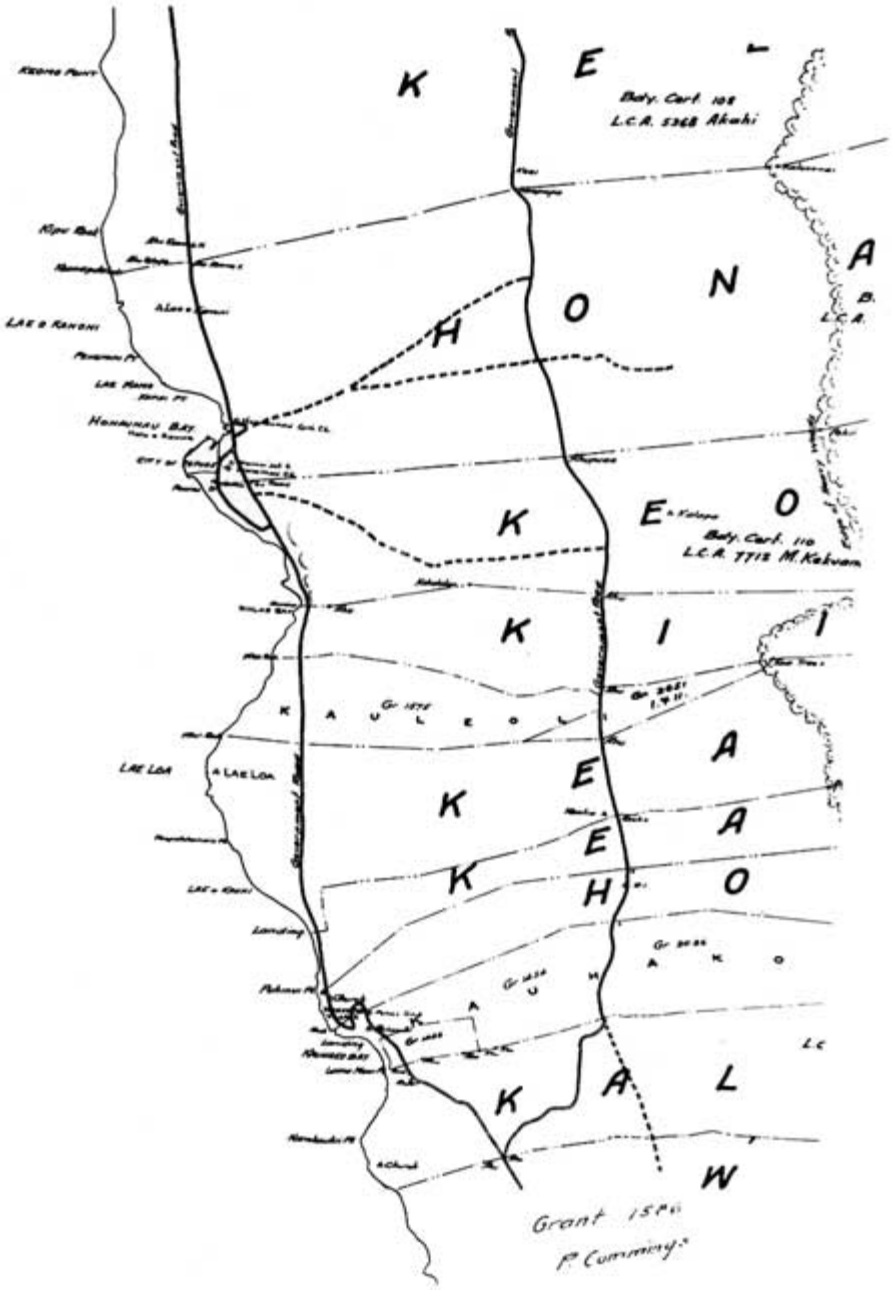


Illustration 143. Detail of "Honaunau (Section), South Kona, Hawaii." W.A. Wall, 1895-96. This shows some of the structures and the road system around the "City of Refuge."
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

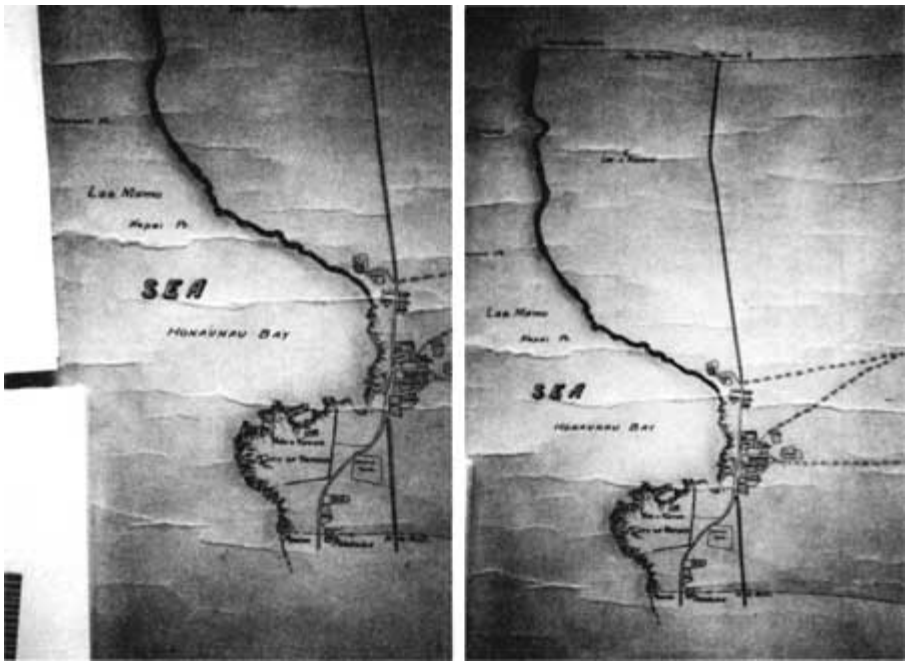
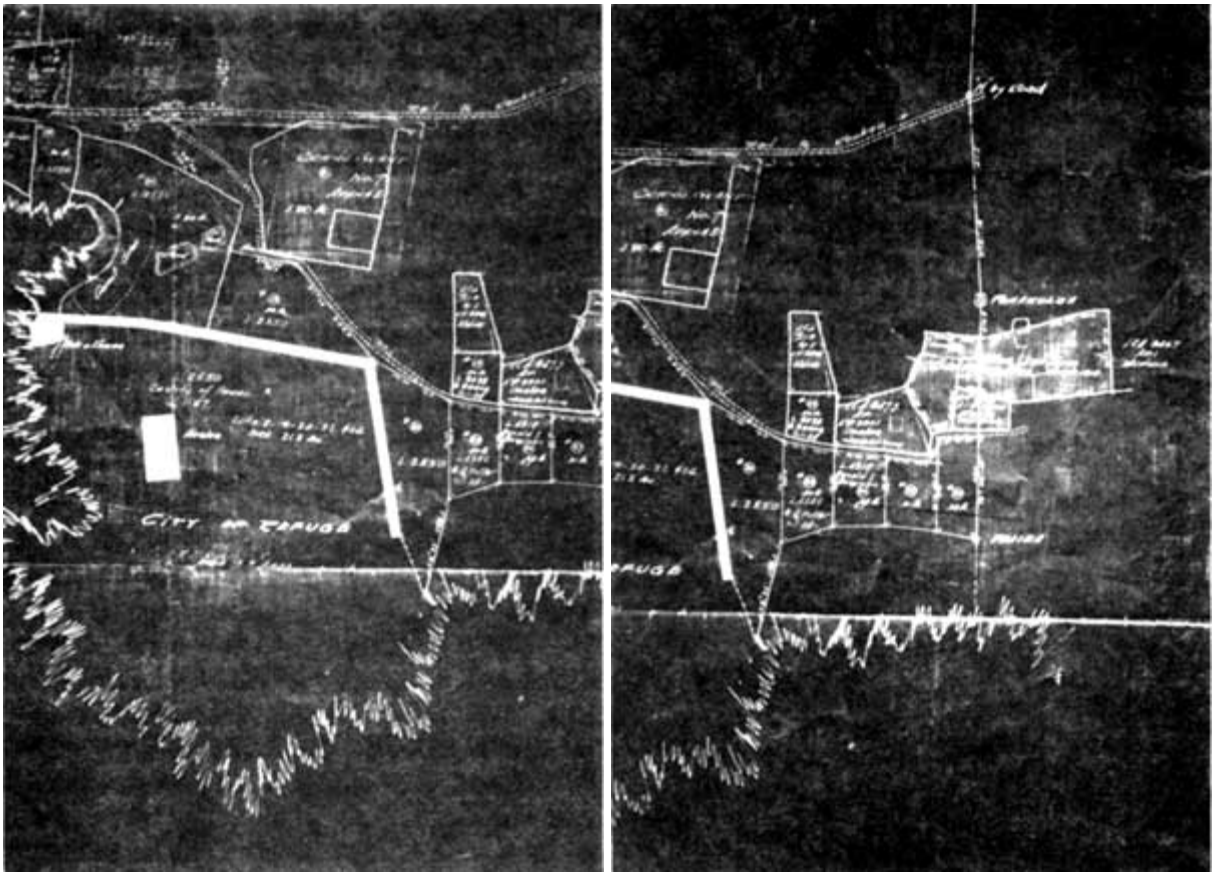


Illustration 144. "Map of Honaunau, South Korea, Hawaii." W.A. Wall, 1906. This shows some of the *kuleana* and road systems in the area. Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.



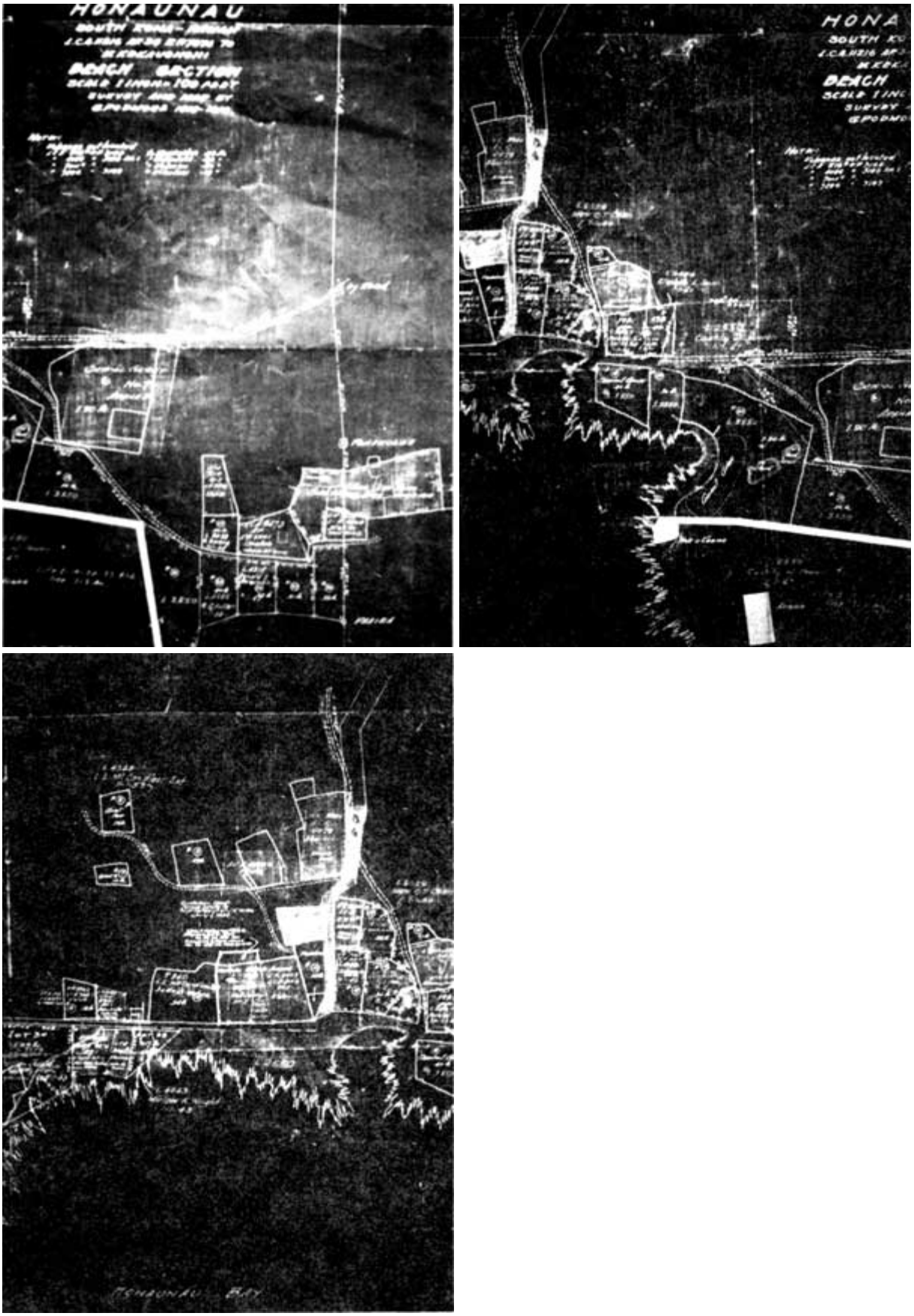


Illustration 145. Portions of "Honaunau, South Kona-Hawaii, Beach Section," G. Podmore, 1918-9. This shows *kuleana* around Honaunau Bay and the *pu'uhonua.* Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

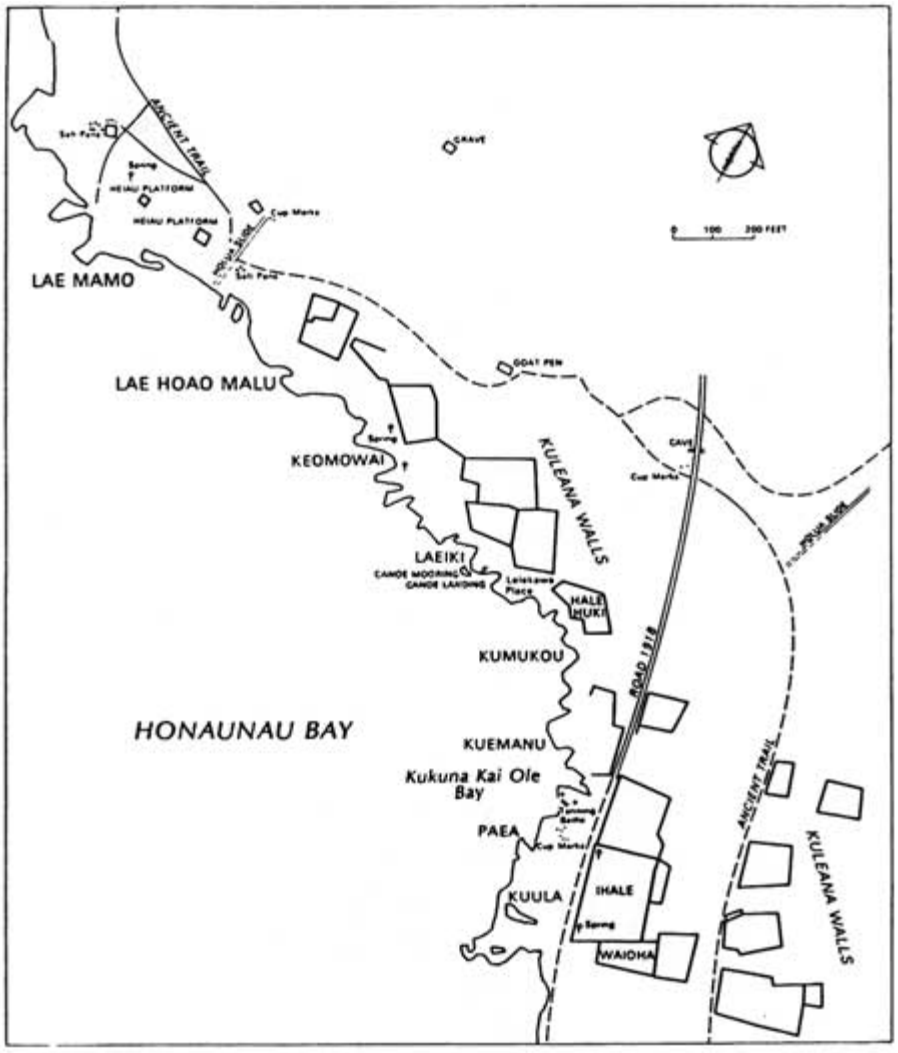


Fig. 14.1. HŌNAUNAU BAY AREA (After Stokes 1919).

Illustration 146. Drawing showing significant prehistoric and historic sites along the coast of Honaunau Bay, 1919. Figure 14.1 in Stokes, "Features Pertaining to Early Hawaiian Life," p. 212.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

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GLOSSARY

a'a - rough, clinker-type lava

aha - mat braided out of rare seaweed used to decorate shrine of Ku

ahu - cairn; a stone mound serving as an altar, shrine, or security tower

ahupua'a - principal land division running from mountains seaward; basic unit of Hawaiian socio-economic organization

akau - north, or right

akua - personification of major natural forces; four all-powerful cosmic deities existed in Polynesian mythology: Kane, creator of nature and man; Kanaloa, associated with the sea and death; Ku, controlling agricultural productivity, politics, and the power behind war; and Lono, god of rain, agriculture, and fertility

ala - waterworn stones used as veneer in *heiau* construction

ali'i - ruling class of chiefs and nobles considered to be of divine origin

ali'i-aimoku - chief of an island or district - sometimes referred to as *ke ali'i* or *ke ali'i-nui* (chief, or great chief) or *mo'i* (king)

'anu'u - wooden framework obelisk serving as oracle tower

'aumakua - family spirit god belonging to and protecting families or specific kinship group and passed down through the generations; ancestral protective gods

'awa - plant used as a narcotic

hale o Lono - temple dedicated to Lono, deity of agriculture and fertility

hale mana - largest, most sacred house on *luakini* platform, used by king and high priest during *kapu* periods

hale noa - family sleeping house

Hale o Papa - womens *heiau* adjacent to a *luakini*

hale pahu - drum house in courtyard of *luakini*

hale umu - oven house for temple fires on *luakini*

haole - a European, White

heiau - temple; pre-Christian place of worship or sacrifice

hema - south, or left

holua - a long narrow sled on runners on which the *ali'i* raced down a long track

hula - averent dance linking music and poetry with religious overtones

'ili - subdivision of an *ahupua'a;* long, narrow strips of land running lengthwise along *ahupuaa; ili lele* (jump strips) comprised one segment near the ocean and one in the uplands or plains; *moo* were long strips of arable land within *ili*

'ili'ili - pebbles, usually waterworn pavement of these pebbles used as flooring on *luakini*

imu - underground oven; cooking pit

kahu - keeper responsible for care and worship of sharks who were thought to be embodiments of *'aumakua* and who were fed and cared for to bring good luck and protect their worshippers

kahuna - priests and master craftsmen who ranked near the top of the social scale; occupational specialists; *kahuna pule* were a distinct group of priests presiding over each religious cult

kahuna-nui - chief priest assisting *ali'i-nui* with governmental functions; conducted important religious ceremonies, interpreted natural phenomena, consulted auspices for omens, and advised king in spiritual matters

kalai-moku - counselor to supreme chief serving as prime minister and chief administrative officer, advised on distribution of lands and on military strategy

kama'aina - native-born

kanaka - distant relatives of a chief

kapa - barkcloth made by pounding paper mulberry bark

kapu - taboo prohibition system with elaborate sanctions regarding behavior between individuals and among classes; this system was the major social control helping preserve class distinctions and conserve natural resources in ancient Hawai'i

kauwa - social outcasts, untouchables, possibly lawbreakers or war captives, considered unclean to aristocrats

kiawe - Hawaiian mesquite tree (algaroba)

ko'a - fishing shrine; pile of stones erected on promontories or headlands overlooking ocean or in form of small temples on rock platforms; designed to entice the gods to attract fish to the area

konane - variant of checkers played on wood board or rock with black and white pebbles

konohiki - resident representative of the high chief on the land; controlled the labor force

kuapa - seawall built across opening of natural embayment to form fishpond

kuhikuhi pu'uone - order of the priesthood with knowledge of plans and sites of abandoned *heiau;* provided advice when construction of new temple planned

kuhina-nui - premier regent

Ku-ka'ili-moku - war god special god of the kings of Hawaii Island; especially important during ascendancy to power and reign of Kamehameha; Kamehameha's personal god

kula - uplands; open country slopes between the shore habitation zone and the forest belt

kuleana - cultivated lands awarded to commoners during the Great *Mahele*

ku'ula - a large smooth stone set upright on a platform as a religious effigy; a shrine to the god Ku'ula used to attract fish

lele - sacrificial altar or stand

loko - general Hawaiian term for any type of pond or enclosed body of water

luakini - temple where Ku rituals held; built by ruling chiefs ceremonies held in connection with war and other national emergencies and involved human sacrifice

lua pa'u - refuse or bone pit within *'an'uu* of *luakini* where decayed offerings and victims' bones cast

maika - game in which players threw or bowled stone discs between two upright sticks set in the ground

makaha - grill or sluice gate of straight sticks obstructing openings through seawall of fishponds; most distinctive feature of Hawaiian aquacultural system

maka'ainana - commoners, primarily laborers, fishermen, farmers, and the like

Makahiki ceremony - annual harvest festival comprising ritual for collecting tribute

makai - toward the sea

mana - spiritual or supernatural power; gods fully embodied this sacredness, nobility possessed it to a high degree; was concept underlying *kapu* system

mauka - toward the mountains, inland

mo'i image - image of *luakini* kept in *mana* house; primary image was akua *mo'i* (lord of the god image), elaborately carved statue placed in front of altar

mokupuni - name for each of the major Hawaiian islands or independent chiefdoms; each island was divided into major districts, or *moku*

mo'o - spirit guardian (lizard) that protects a resource, such as a fishpond, from overuse and other abuse

morae, marae, morai - term used by foreign observers when referring to *heiau*

noa - game of chance in which player had to guess on which person or under which *kapa* bundle a small stone was hidden

'ohana - extended family

ohi'a - tree whose wood was used for chief image, oracle tower, and houses on *luakini* platform area

opu - oracle tower similar to the *'anu'u* in height and breadth but with small branches at the top

paehumu - fence of images on *luakini*

pahoehoe - smooth, rope type of lava flow

pali - cliff

pao - a hollow construction technique saving labor and materials; a caverned, honeycomb construction composed of several tiers of lava slabs or columns laid across the space between outer and inner retaining walls

papamu - *konane* game board

poi - staple plant food of Hawaiian diet cooked *taro* pounded and thinned with water

pu'uhonua - sacred areas, places of refuge where murderers, kapu-breakers, defeated warriors, and others who had incurred the wrath of the ruler could gain sanctuary and pardon

Pu'ukohola - Hill of the Whale

taro - a staple in the Hawaiian diet

wa'iea - small house for *'aha* ceremony on *luakini* platform

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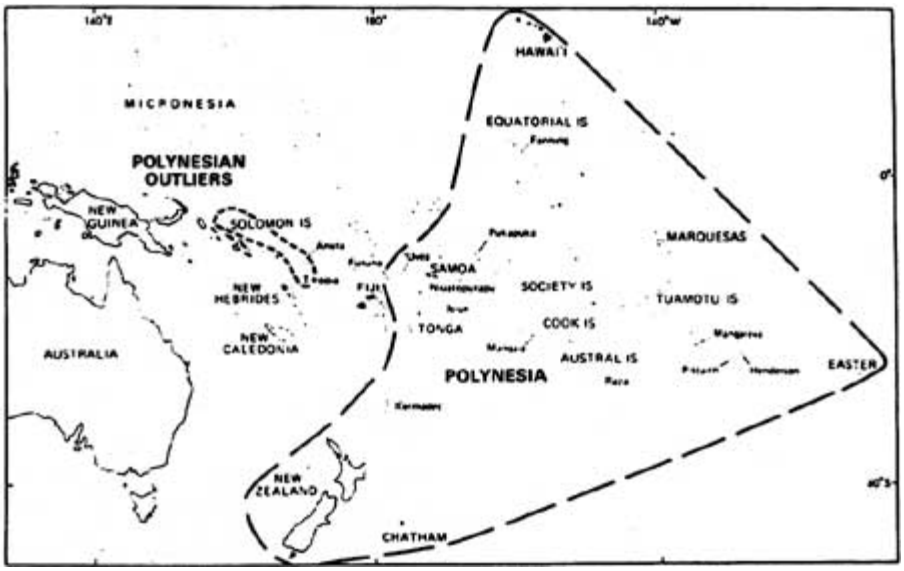
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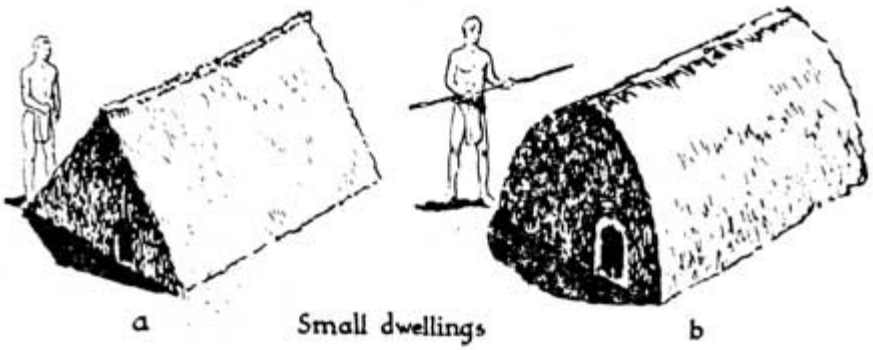
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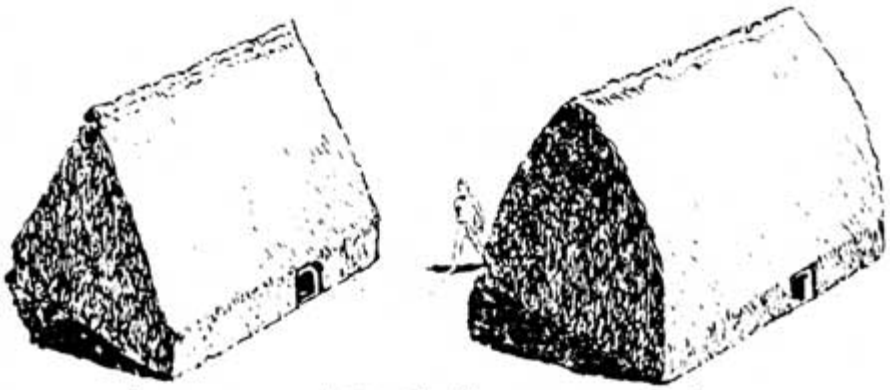
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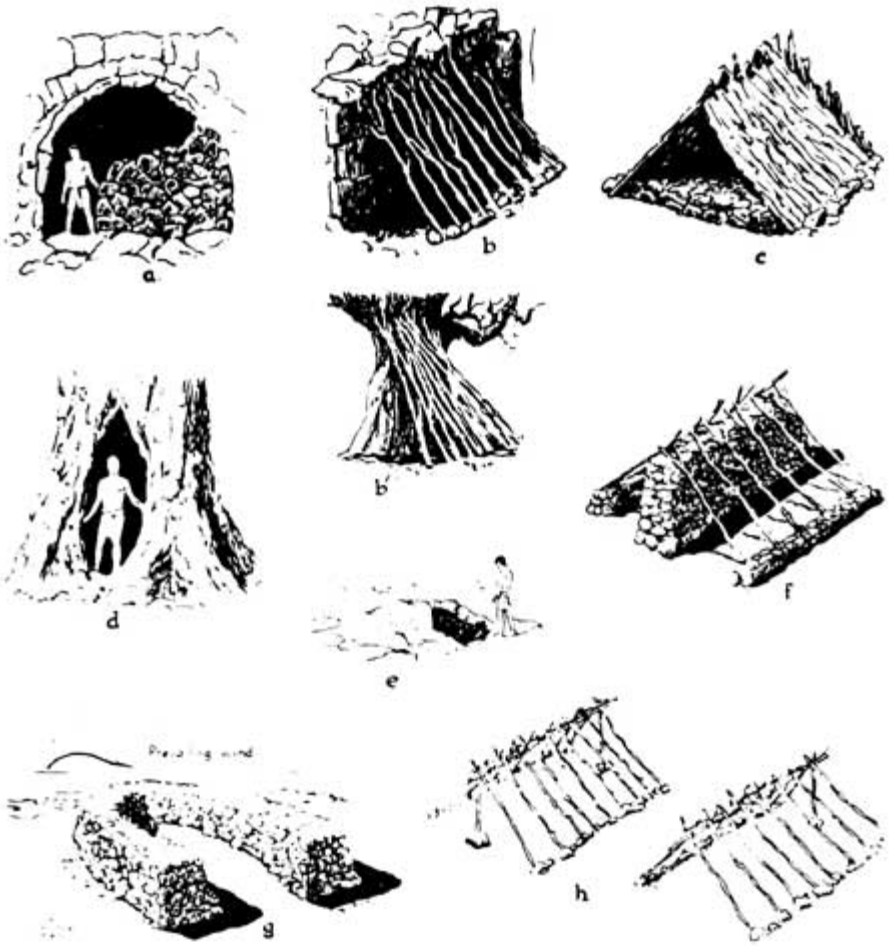
a Small dwellings b



c Large dwellings Roof Elevated d

a. Roof on ground, straight rafters; ridge 4'-to 6' high.
b. Roof on ground, curved rafters; ridge 4'-to 6' high.
c. Walled house, straight rafters, ridge 8'-to 22' above ground.
d. Walled house, curved rafters, ridge 8' to 22' above ground.





Shown here are the frameworks only.
The covering could be fern leaves, ti leaves, palm fronds or any convenient and practical material.
a. Lava tube with partially walled opening. b. Lean-to against stone face b' against tree. c. Bark house. Koa or ohia bark over stone platform. d. Hollow trees were used as shelters. e. Lava blisters gave good shelter. f. Center wall created two areas. g. Horse-shoe design protected dwellers. h. Simple 'A' frame with and without front center post.

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TYPOLOGY OF
HAWAIIAN AQUACULTURAL SYSTEM

I Loko Kuapā — A fishpond of littoral water whose side or sides facing the sea consist of a stone or coral wall containing one or more sluice grates

Ia — A loko kuapā whose wall is built from a point along a relatively straight shore to another point on the same shore, forming an arc



Ia_1 — A loko kuapā built at a natural curvature of the shoreline utilizing an islet as part of the arc of the sea-wall



Ia_2 — A loko kuapā which shares part of its wall with an adjoining pond



Ia_3 — A loko kuapā built between two existing ponds utilizing the walls of both adjoining ponds as parts of its own wall



Ib — A loko kuapā whose wall completely closes the mouth of a bay



Ib_1 — A loko kuapā within a type Ib pond formed through subdivision by a secondary wall



Ic — A loko kuapā similar to a Ia or Ia_1 pond, but having no discernible sluice grate



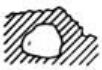
II Loko Pu'uone
Loko Aku'one — An isolated shore fishpond usually formed by the development of barrier beaches building a single, elongated sand ridge parallel to the coast and containing one or more ditches and sluice grates



IIa — A loko pu'uone formed by a lava flow surrounding it and isolating it from the sea and having no ditches or sluice grates



IIa_1 — A loko pu'uone formed by a limestone or beachrock sink and having no ditches or sluice grates



IIb — A loko pu'uone which was entirely excavated by man, which is connected to the sea by a ditch, and which contains a sluice grate



III Loko Wai — An inland fresh water fishpond which is usually either a natural lake or swamp, which can contain ditches connected to a river, stream, or the sea, and which can contain sluice grates





by man

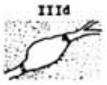
IIIb — A man-altered loko wai which has a dirt and stone embankment-wall separating it from a river or stream and which has a sluice grate



IIIc — A loko wai which is a volcanic crater



IIId — A loko wai which is formed by walling off a section of a river or stream and which has sluice grates at both ends



IV Loko i'a kalo
Loko lo'i kalo — A fishpond utilizing irrigated taro plots as inland water ponds for the raising of fish and / or taro



V Loko 'Ume'iki
Pā
Pā 'ōhua
Pā hīnālea
Pā 'ohi'a
Pāholoholo — Hawaiian terms for different types of fishponds

Va — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia loko kuapā but which has inward leading lanes



Vb — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia loko kuapā but which has both inward and outward leading lanes



Vb_1 — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia_1 loko kuapā but which has both inward and outward leading lanes



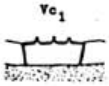
Vb_2 — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia_2 loko kuapā but which has both inward and outward leading lanes



Vc — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia loko kuapā but which has outward leading lanes



Vc_1 — A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia_1 loko kuapā but which has outward leading lanes



Vd — A fishtrap which is located on the side of a piece of land jutting out into the sea and which has an opening facing the direction of the on-coming tide



Vd_1 — A pā type fishtrap built in the channel of a large lagoon having a single opening which faces either upstream or downstream



Vd_2 — Pā 'ōhua: An enclosure which has no lanes or openings, which is covered by water at high tide, and which is used to trap and then hold 'ōhua fish



Ve — Pā hīnālea: A natural sea pool in which hīnālea fish are trapped and kept



Vf — Pā 'ōhi'a: Part of a type Vd_1 fishtrap appearing as a fence of 'ōhi'a tree logs set up in a channel to guide fish

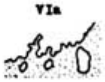


Vg — Pāholoholo: A fishtrap of stone shaped like a V with an open apex facing seaward



VI Kaheka
Hāpunapuna — A natural pool or holding pond

VIa — Kaheka: A pool or pond found along rocky shores which are flooded by high tidal waves

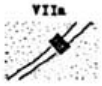


VIb — Hāpunapuna: A pool or pond fed directly by fresh water springs



VII Kahē
Paniwai — A weir found in permanent streams in the uplands

VIIa — Kahē: A weir made of wooden stakes used on permanent streams during freshets to segregate and isolate fish from the water



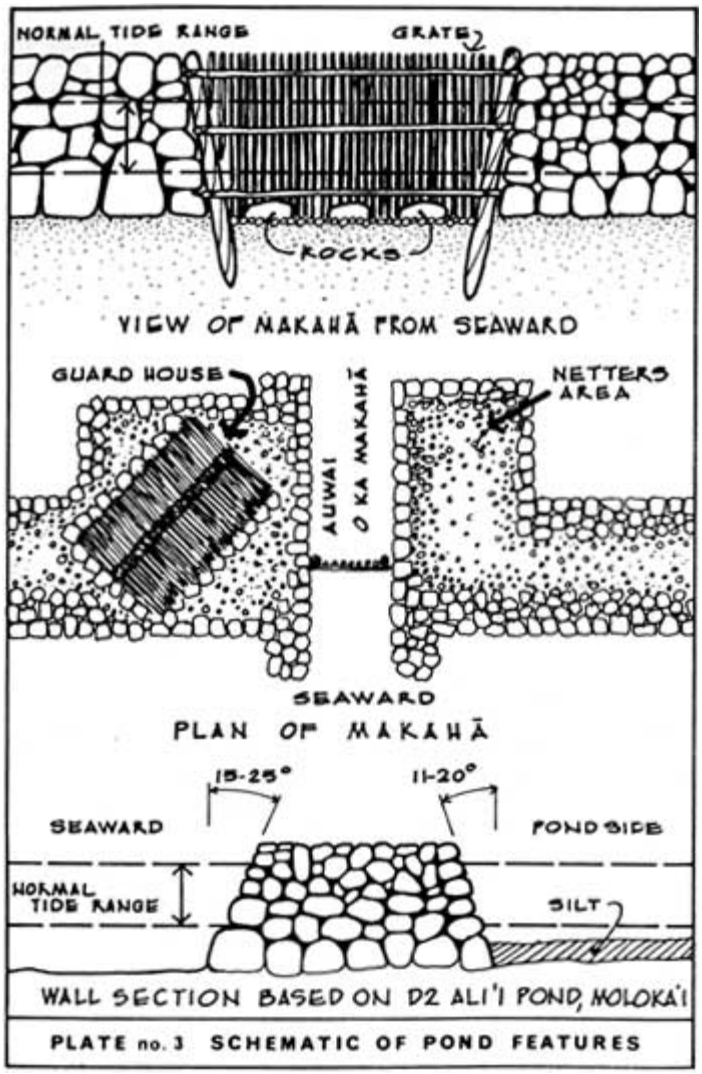
VIIb — Paniwai: An impermeable dam of wood, stones, and mud used to divert permanent stream waters and dry the lower reaches



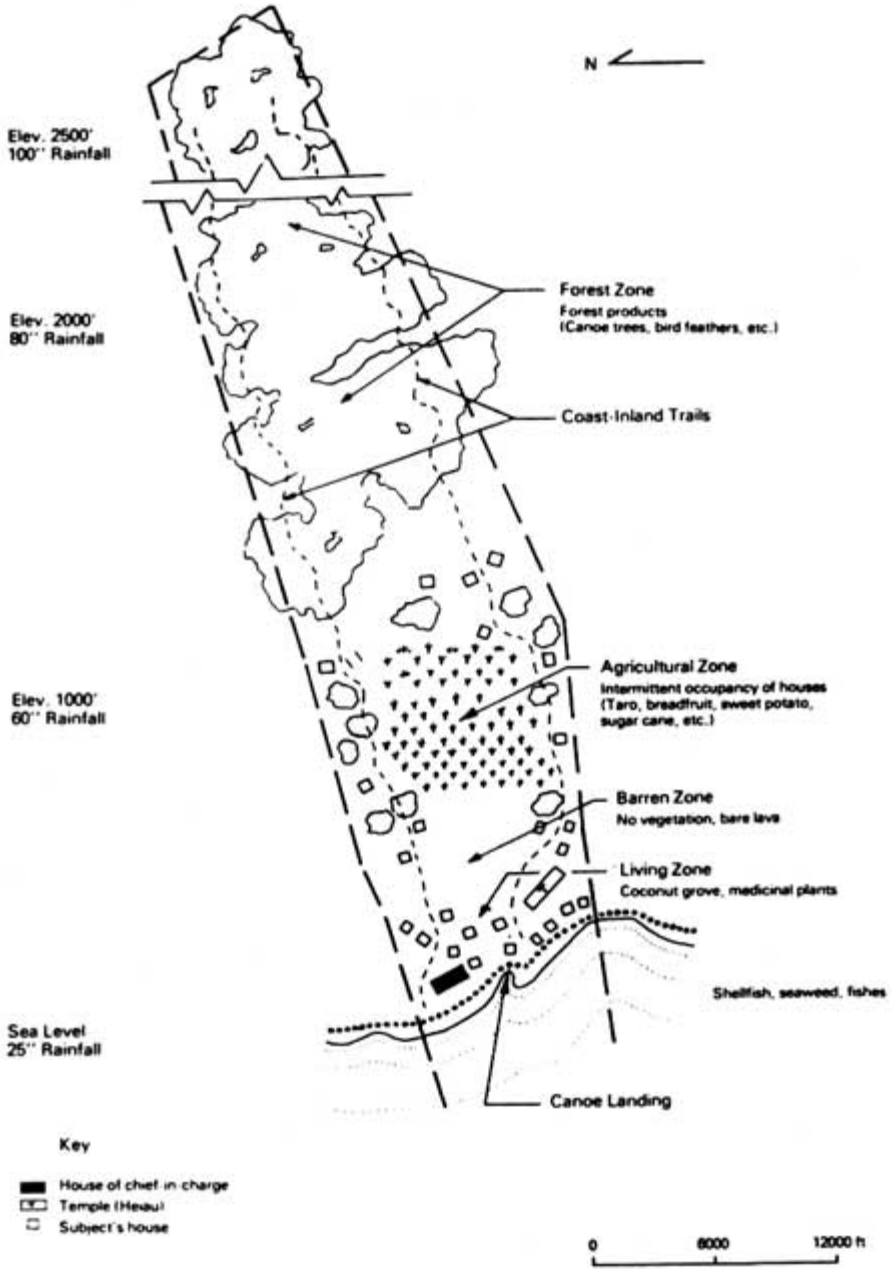
VIII Puu
Imu — An artificial fish shelter made of heaps of stones in shallow shoals where natural shelters are absent



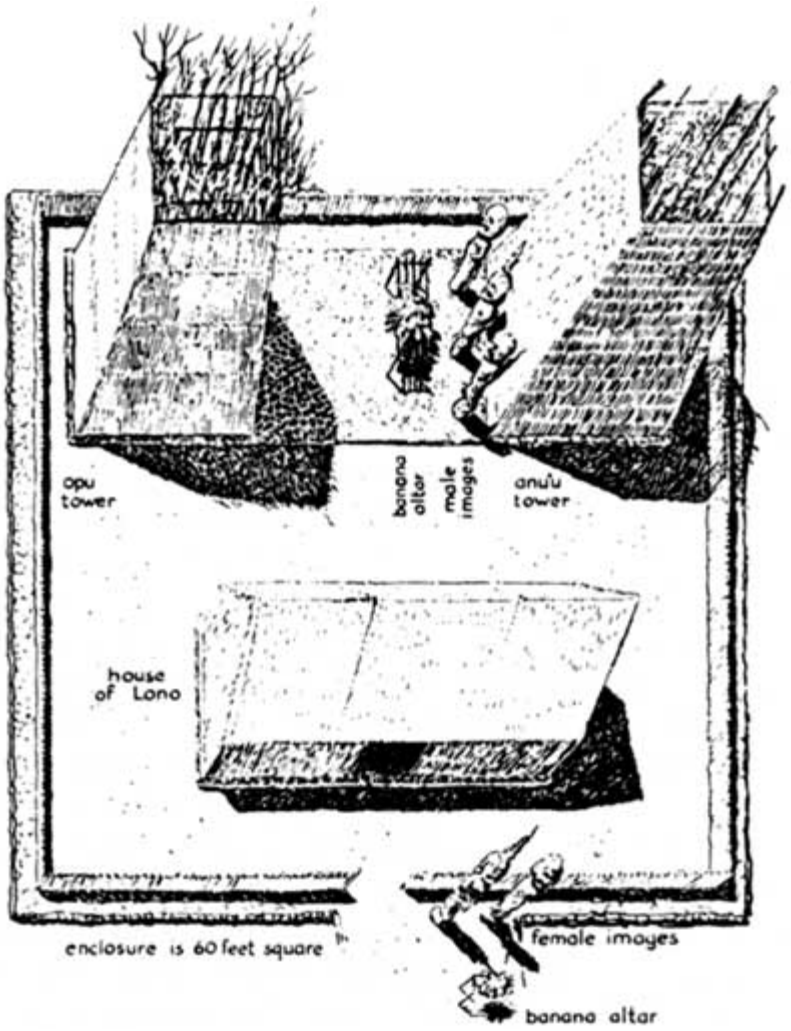
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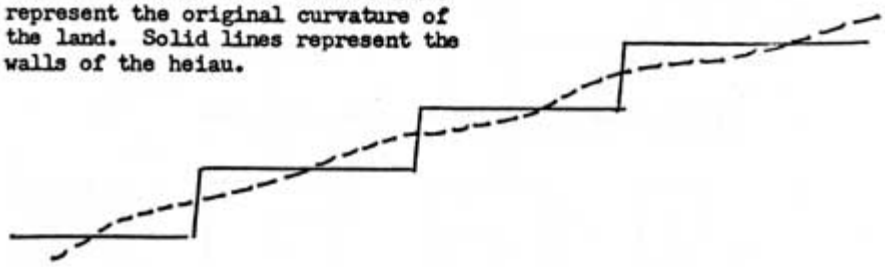

N
Elev. 2500'
100" Rainfall
Forest Zone
Forest products
(Canoe trees, bird feathers, etc.)
Elev. 2000'
80" Rainfall
Coast-Inland Trails
Agricultural Zone
Intermittent occupancy of houses
(Taro, breadfruit, sweet potato,
sugar cane, etc.)
Elev. 1000'
60" Rainfall
Barren Zone
No vegetation, bare lava
Living Zone
Coconut grove, medicinal plants
Shellfish, seaweed, fishes
Sea Level
25" Rainfall
Canoe Landing
Key
House of chief in charge
Temple (Heiau)
Subject's house
0
6000
12000 ft


Trading up and down the coast with neighboring Ahupua'a
Concentrated housing areas and associated activities
Mauka-Makai Trails for moving food and other goods to and from living areas
PACIFIC OCEAN
Boating and food gathering activities along the coast, in tidal areas, and in the ocean
Trading up and down the coast with neighboring Ahupua'a
NORTH
0
½
1
SCALE IN MILES


opu
tower
banana
altar
male
images
anu'u
tower
house
of Lono
enclosure is 60 feet square
female images
banana altar

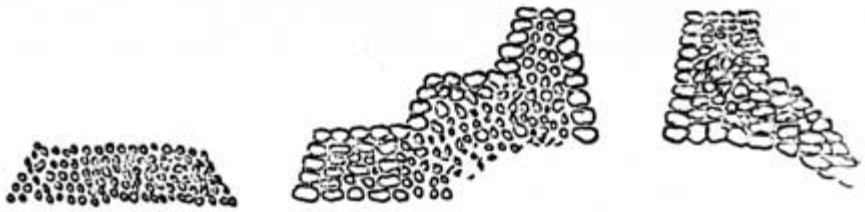


Ill. 6: How the construction of a heiau took advantage of the natural contours of the land. Broken lines represent the original curvature of the land. Solid lines represent the walls of the heiau.





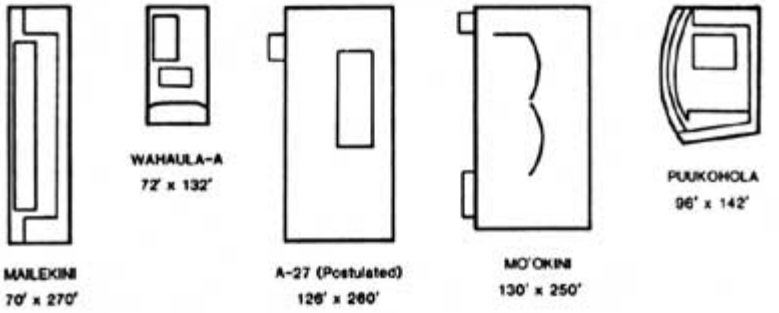
Ill. 7: Cross sections of typical heiau walls.



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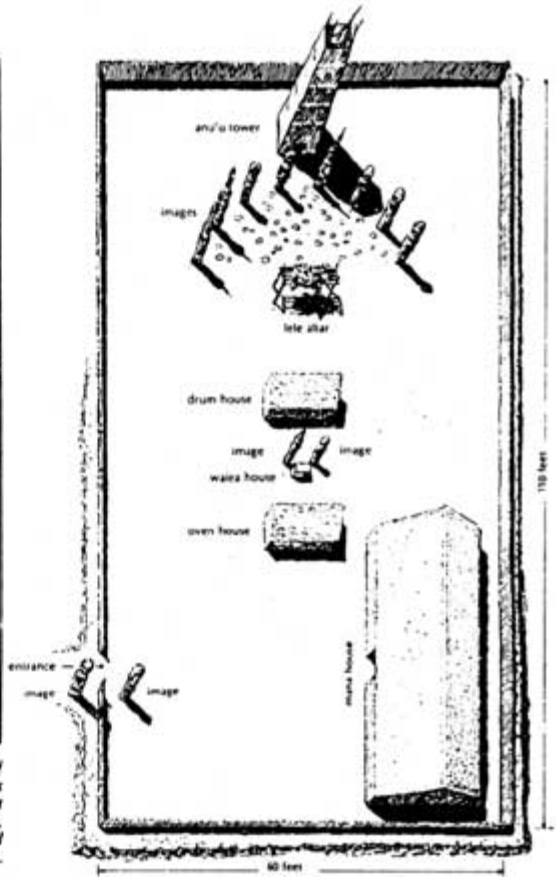
FIGURE **32**

Schematic Ground Plan Drawings of Hawaii Island Luakini Class Heiau

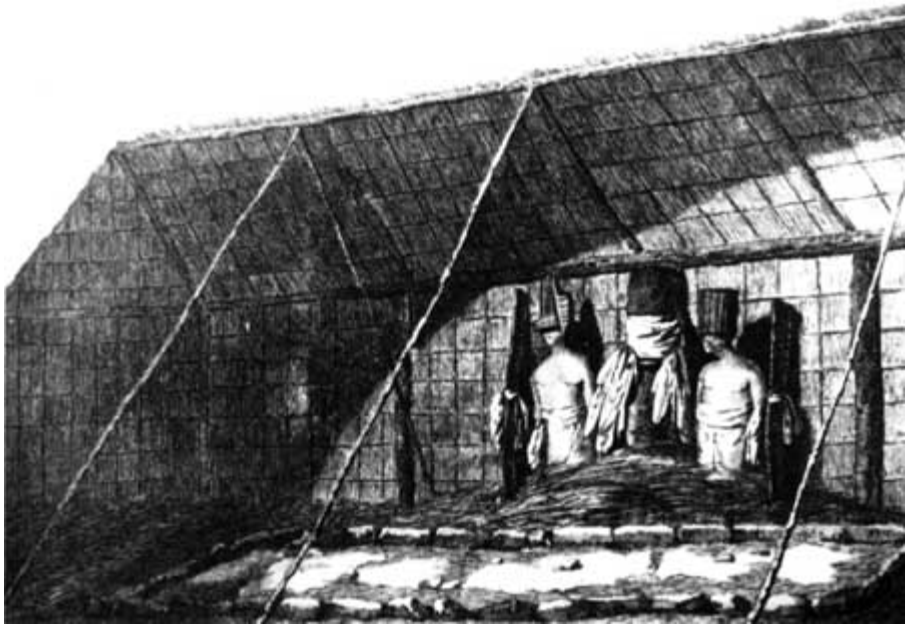


NOTE: Only outside dimensions to scale.





A reconstruction of a luakini *temple. The plan of this temple was obtained from early descriptions of the Papaenaena Heiau which once stood at the foot of Diamond Head overlooking Waikiki Beach. Here Kamehameha offered human sacrifices to his god Ku-ka-ili-moku on several occasions.*



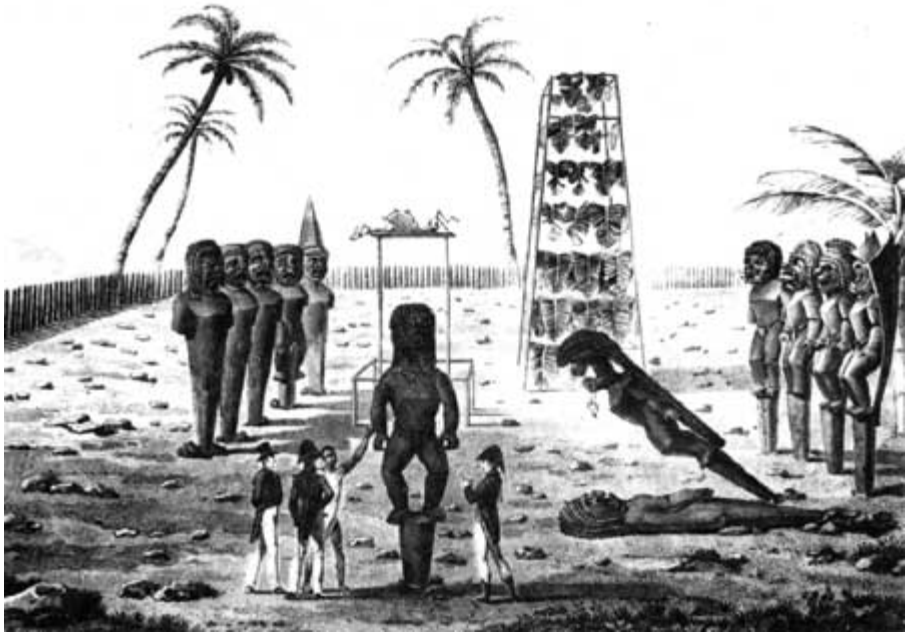




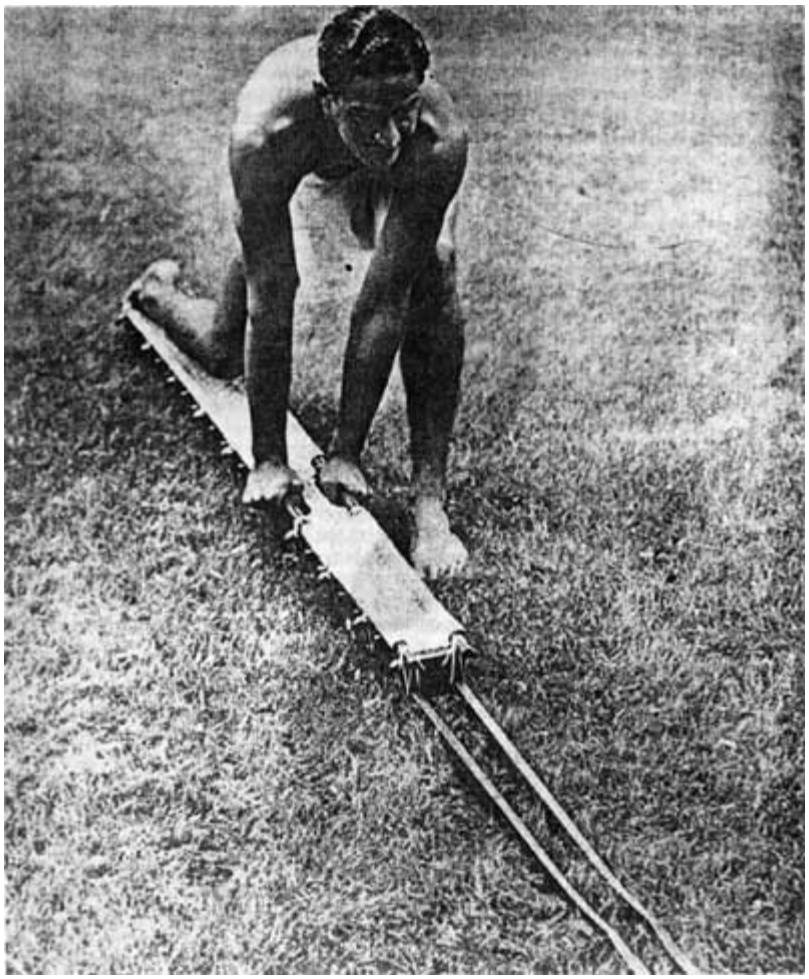


Plate 8. *Akua ka'ai* image with headdress.



Plate 9. Main temple image, representing Kū (Kona style). Detail of the face, showing the pig-shaped nose.

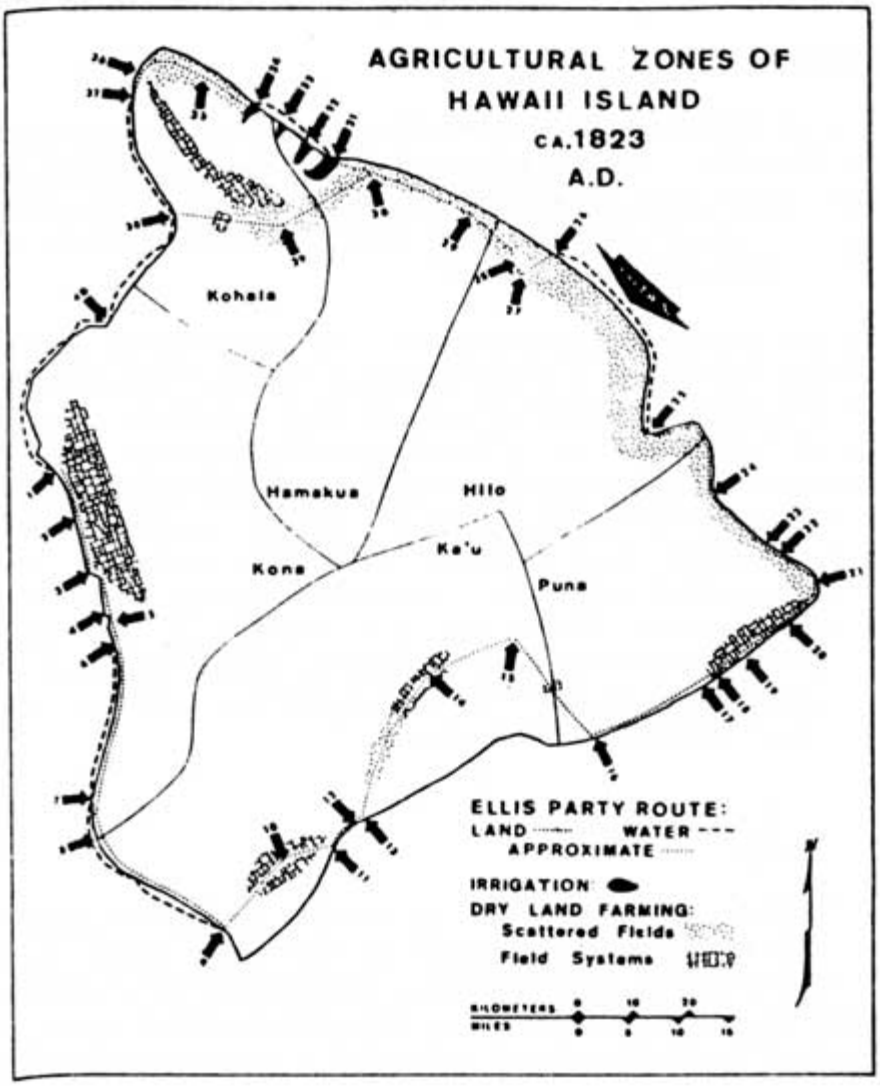




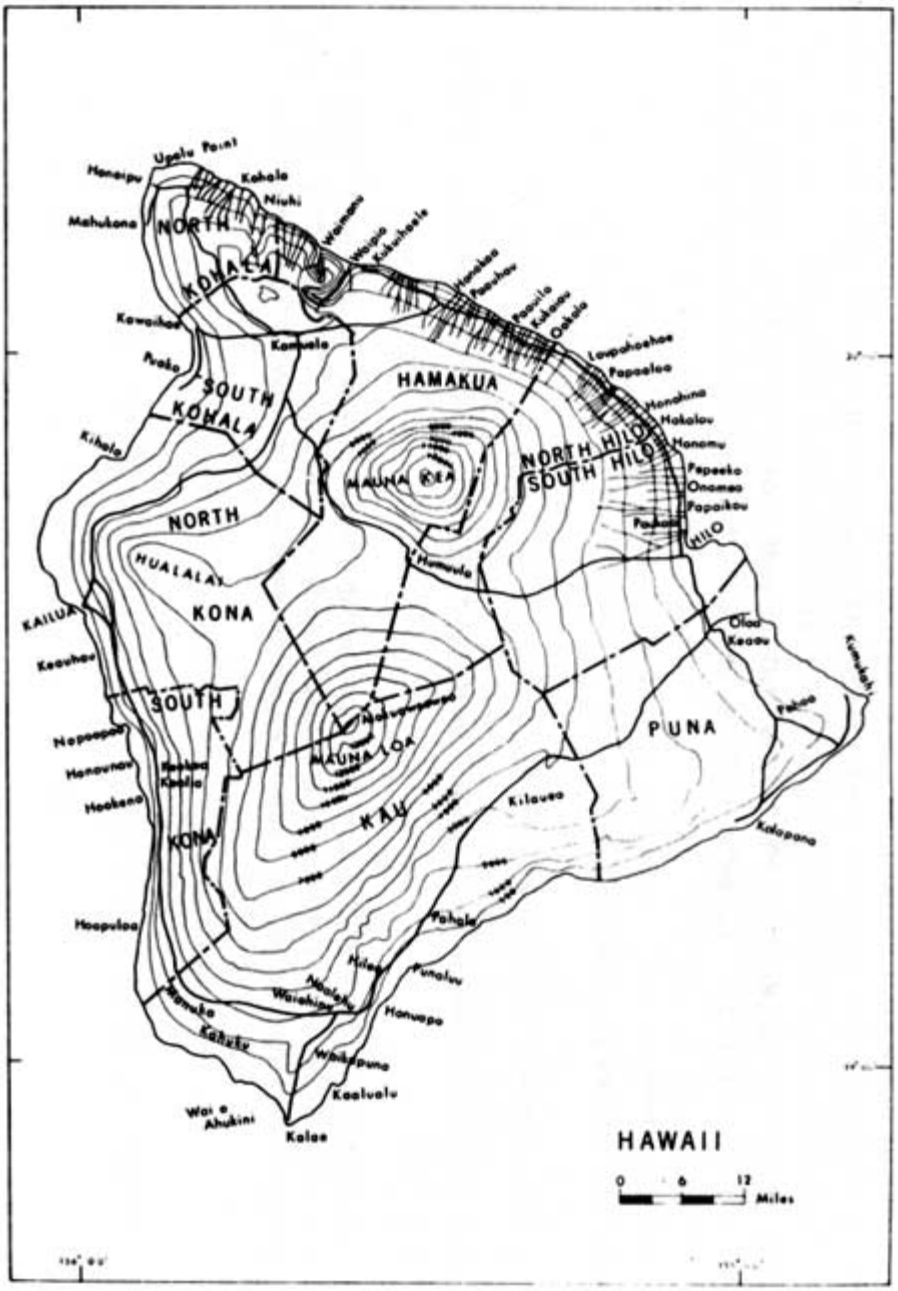


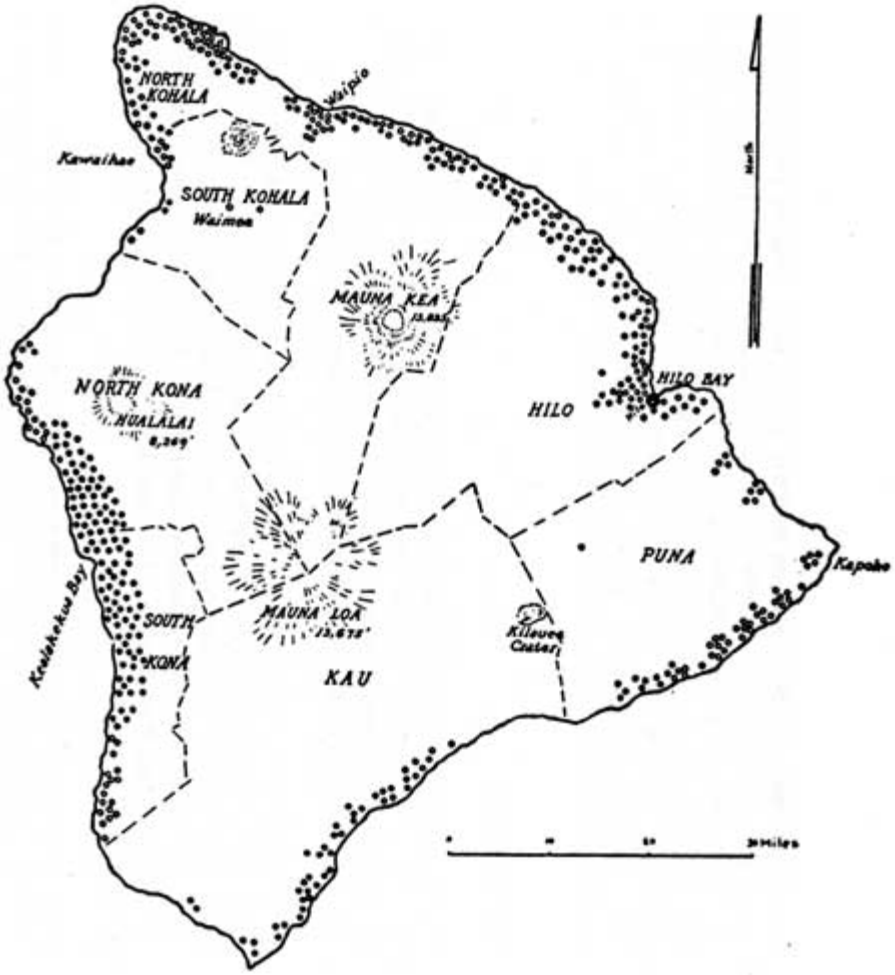
Young favori du Roi Tamaamaha.
Des Sandwich.

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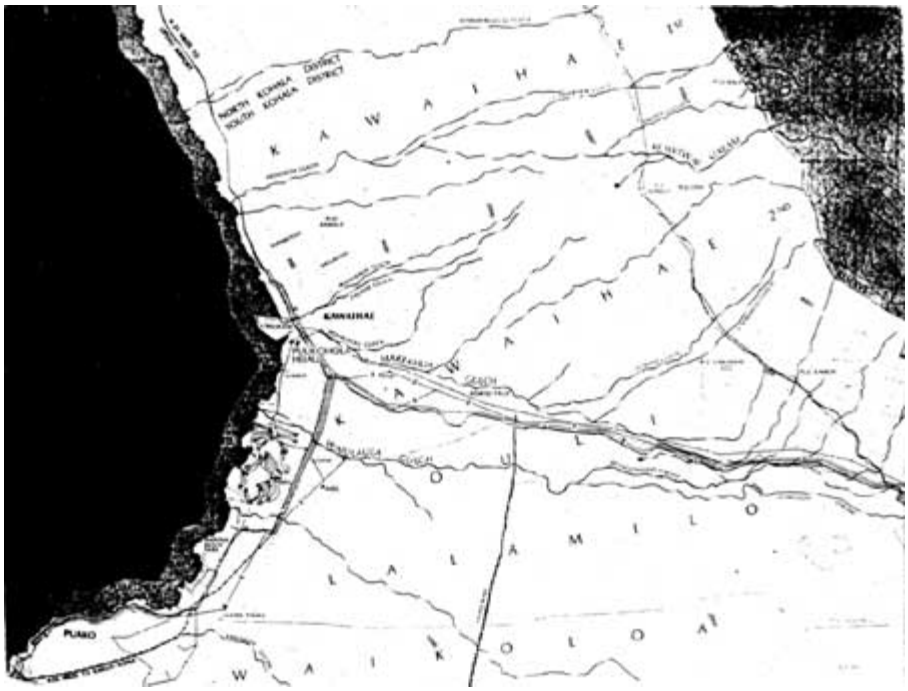


1. Kailua; 2. Keauhou; 3. Kaawaloa; 4. Honaunau; 5. Keokea; 6. Kalahiki; 7. Kapua; 8. Kaulanamauna; 9. Kailikii; 10. Waiohinu; 11. Honuapo; 12. Hilea; 13. Punaluu; 14. Kapapala; 15. Kilauea Volcano; 16. Kealakomo; 17. Kalapana; 18. Kaimu; 19. Kamaili; 20. Keahialaka; 21. Kapoho; 22. Kahuwai; 23. Honolulu; 24. Keaau; 25. Waiakea (present city of Hilo); 26. Laupahoehoe; 27. Humuula; 28. Kaula Valley; 29. Manienie; 30. Kapulena; 31. Waipio Valley; 32. Waimanu Valley; 33. Honokane Valley; 34. Polulu Valley; 35. Halawa; 36. Awalua; 37. Mahukona; 38. Kawaihae; 39. Waimea (also called Kamuela) 40. Kiholo.


Upolu Point
Honoipu
Kohala
Niuli
Mahukona
NORTH
KONA-LA
Waimea
Waipio
Kukuihaele
Honokaa
Paauhau
Pauuila
Kukaiau
Oaksla
Kawaihae
Kamuela
Puako
SOUTH
KOHALA
Kiholo
HAMAKUA
Lapahoehoe
Papaaloa
Honohina
Hakalau
Honomu
NORTH HILO
SOUTH HILO
MAUNA KEA
Papaeko
Onomea
Papaikou
Pepeekeo
HILO
NORTH
HUALALAI
Hamakua
KAILUA
KONA
Keauhou
Olaa
Keaau
Kurtistown
SOUTH
Napoopoo
Honaunau
Kealia
Hookena
MAUNA LOA
PUNA
Kilauea
KAU
KONA
Kalapana
Hoopuloa
Pohala
Halea
Punaluu
Naalehu
Waiohinu
Hanuapo
Kahuku
Whitapuna
Kaalualu
Wai o Ahukini
Kalae
HAWAII
0 6 12
Miles

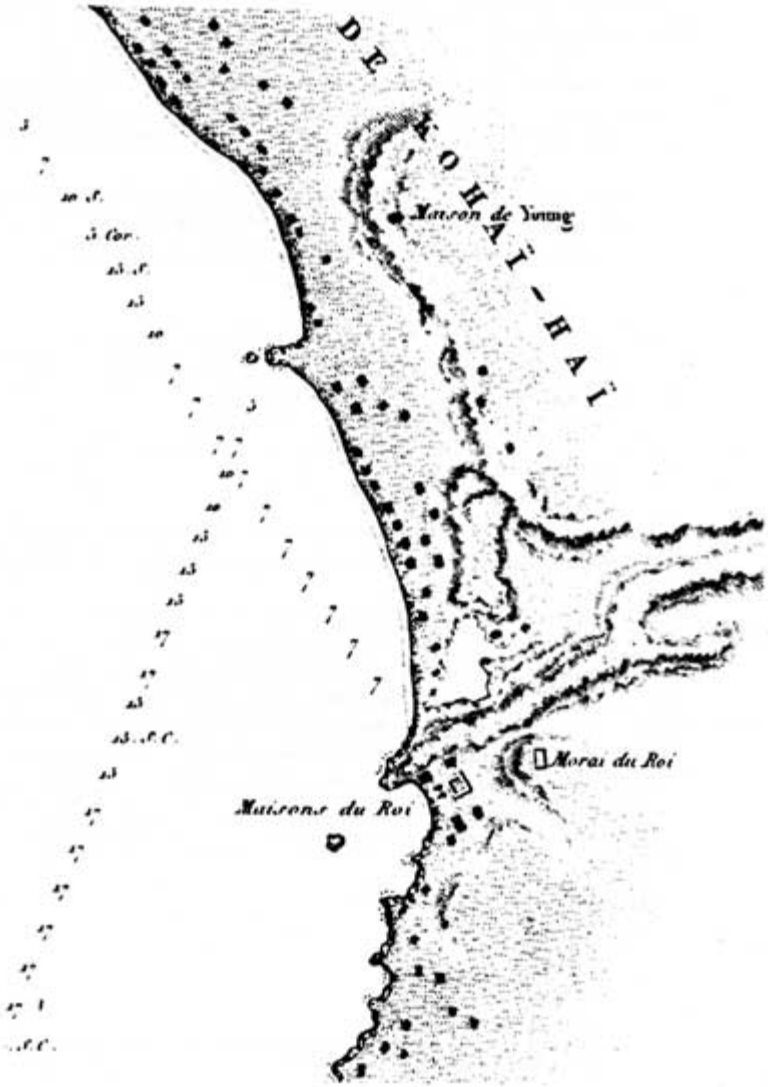


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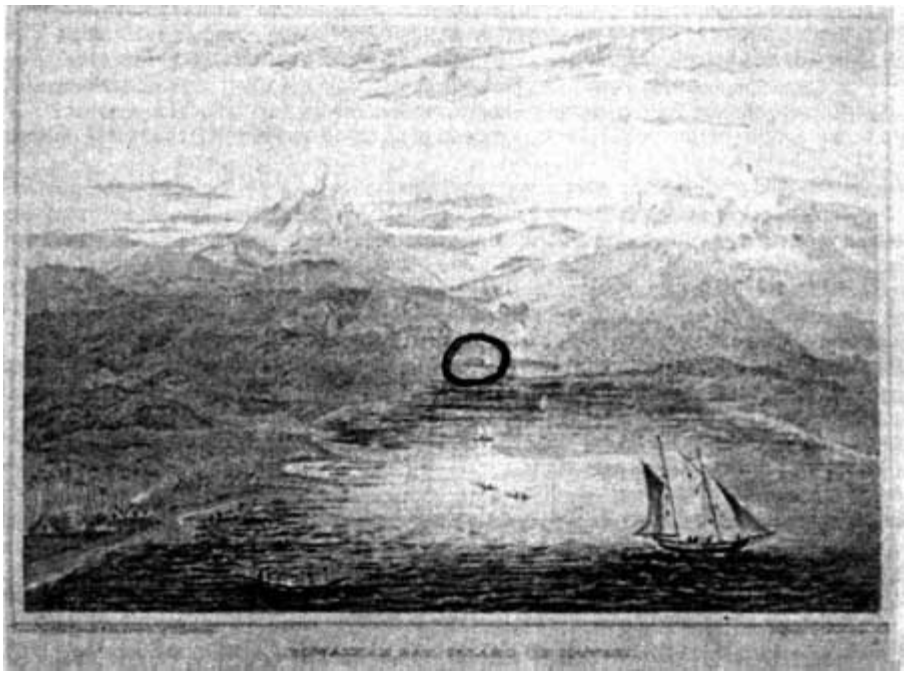

NORTH KOHALA DISTRICT
SOUTH KOHALA DISTRICT
KAWAIHAE
KAWAIHAE
PUAKO
WAIKOLOA
KAMUELA

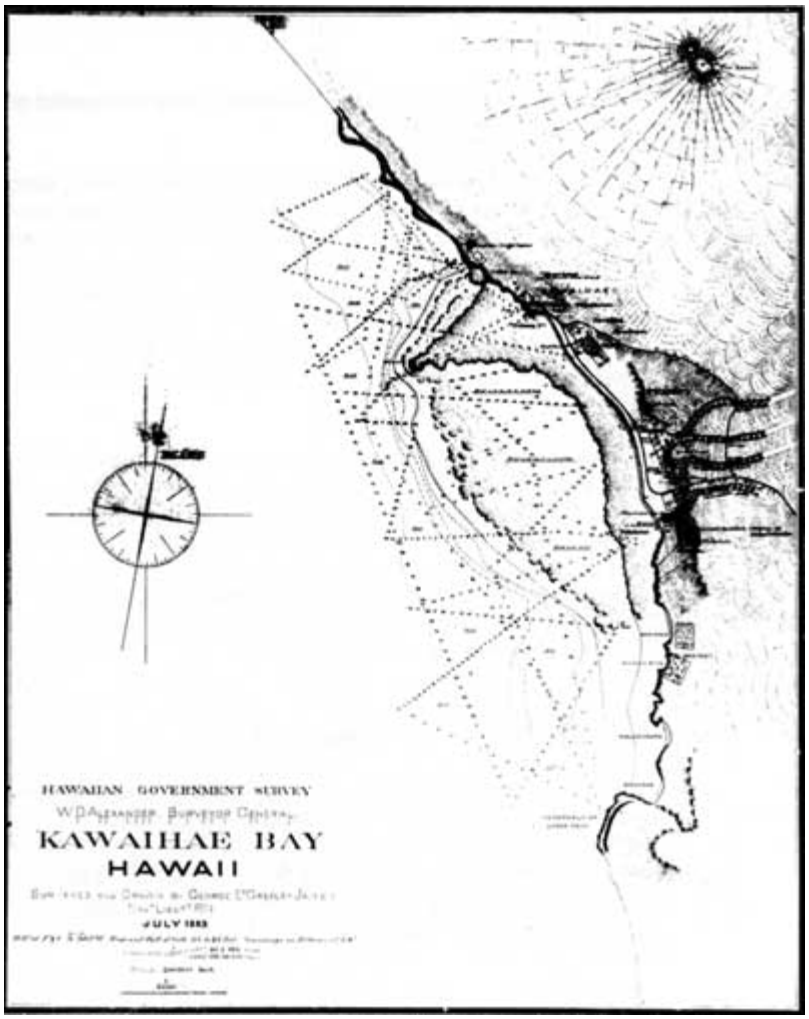






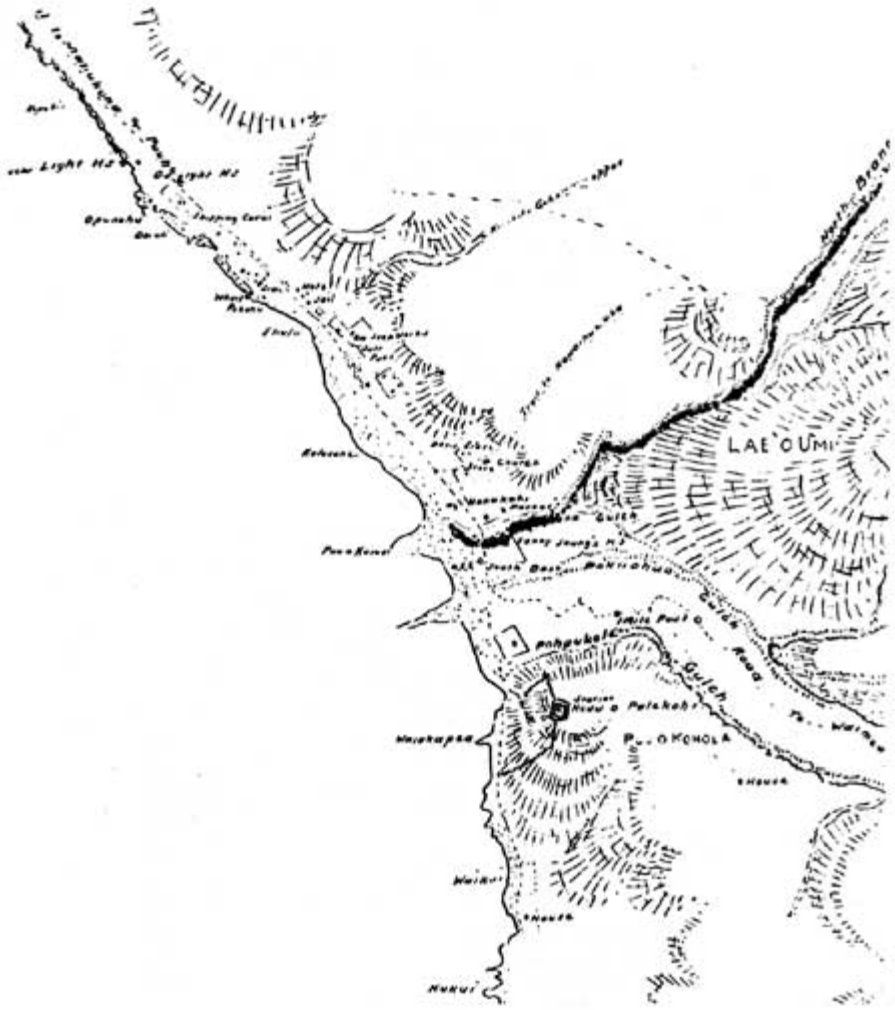
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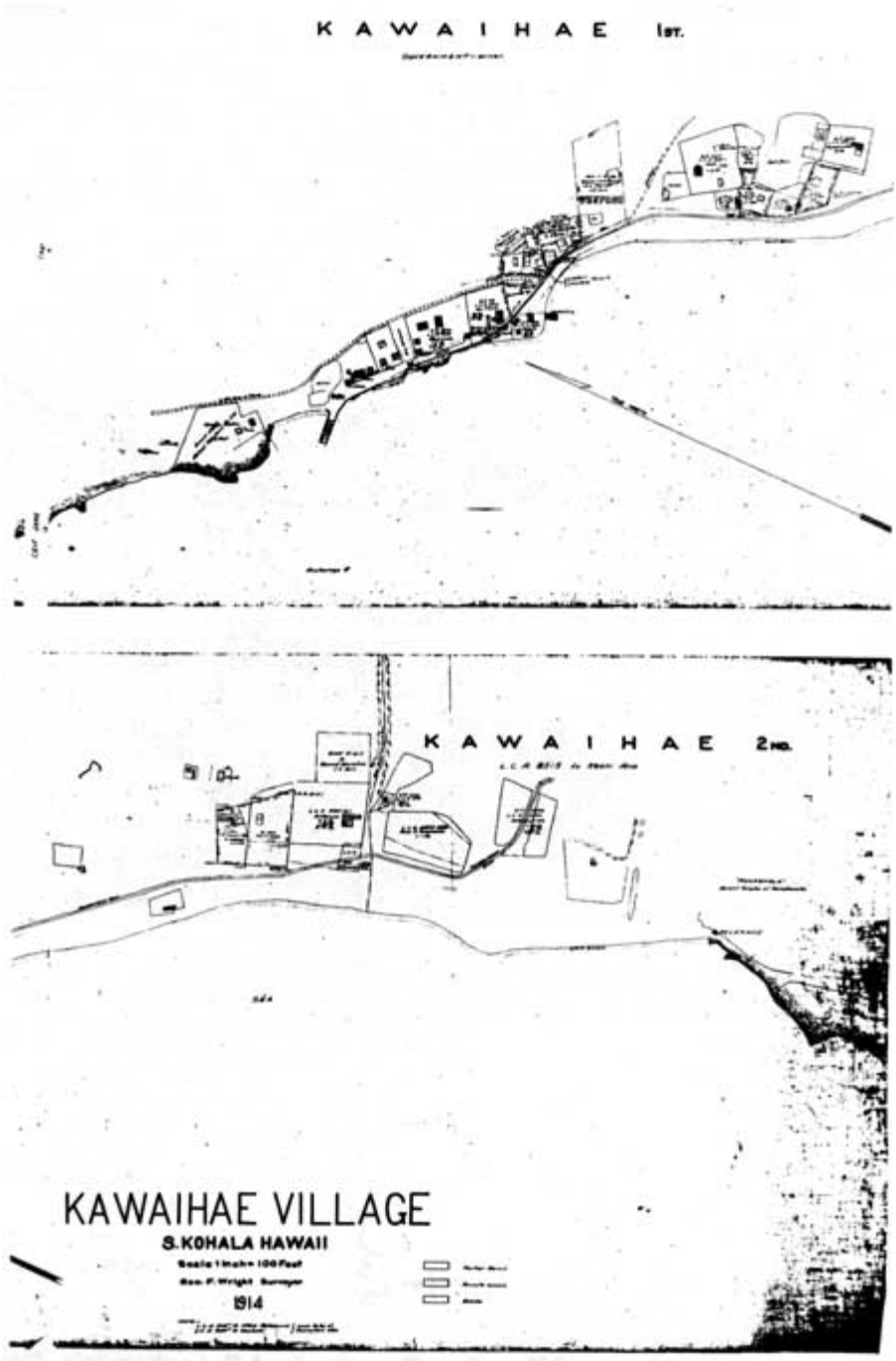

HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY
KAWAIHAE BAY
HAWAII
JULY 1883

a

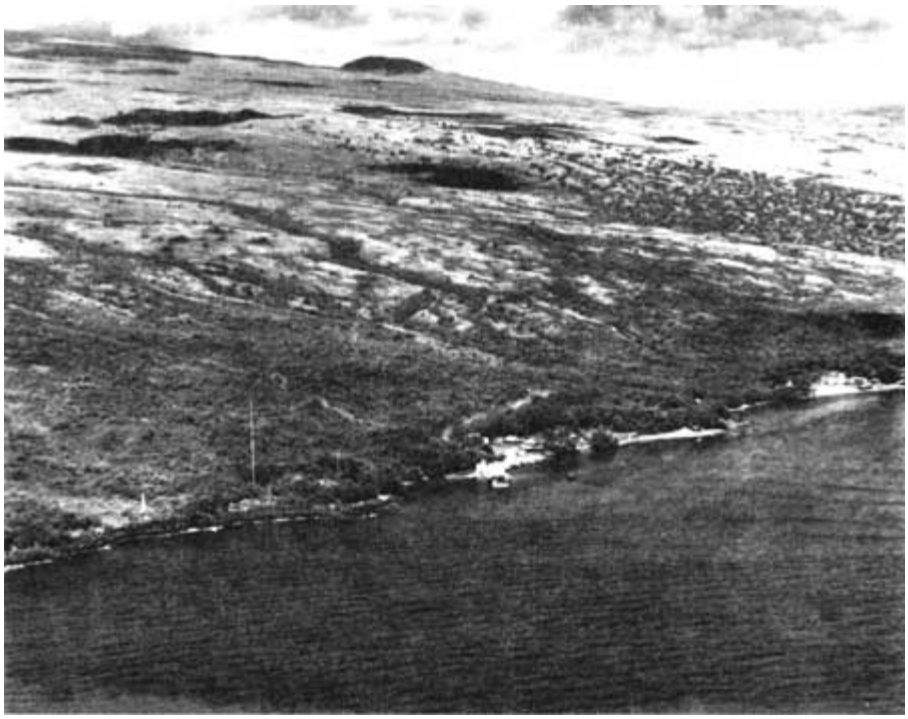

School
Guesthouse
Church
Ruins of John Young's House
Mauka Kahuna
Makahiau
Kings Residence

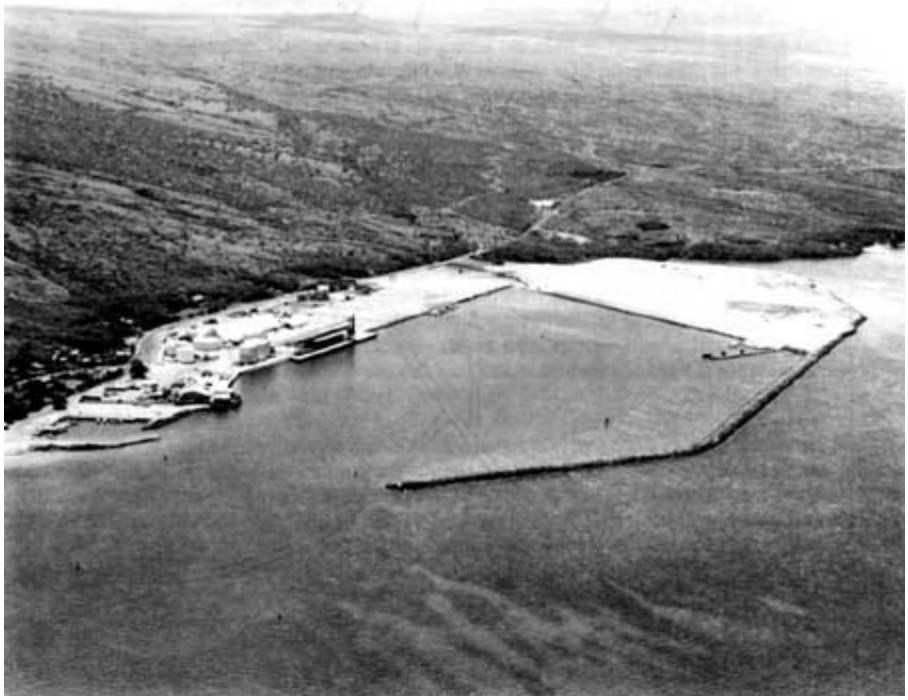


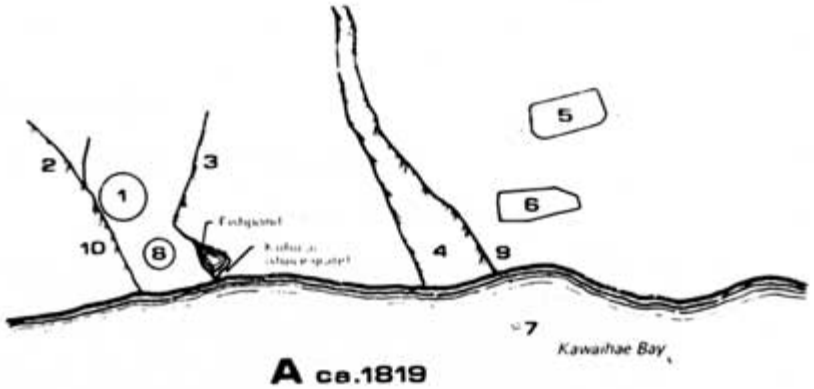
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KAWAIHAE 1st.

KAWAIHAE 2nd.
KAWAIHAE VILLAGE
S. KOHALA HAWAII
1914

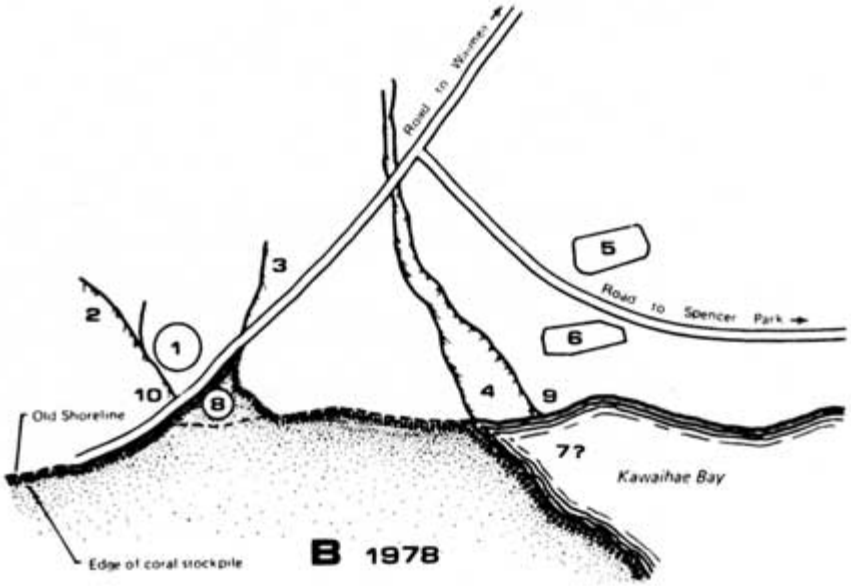






A ca.1819

1 John Young Homestead (upper portion)
2 Makahuna Gulch (modern name)
3 Makaʻiua Gulch (modern name)
4 Pohaukole Gulch
5 Puʻukoholā Heiau
6 Mailekini Heiau
7 Haleokapuni Heiau
8 Pahukaniua: John Young Homestead (lower portion)
9 Pelekane
10 Hunakahi

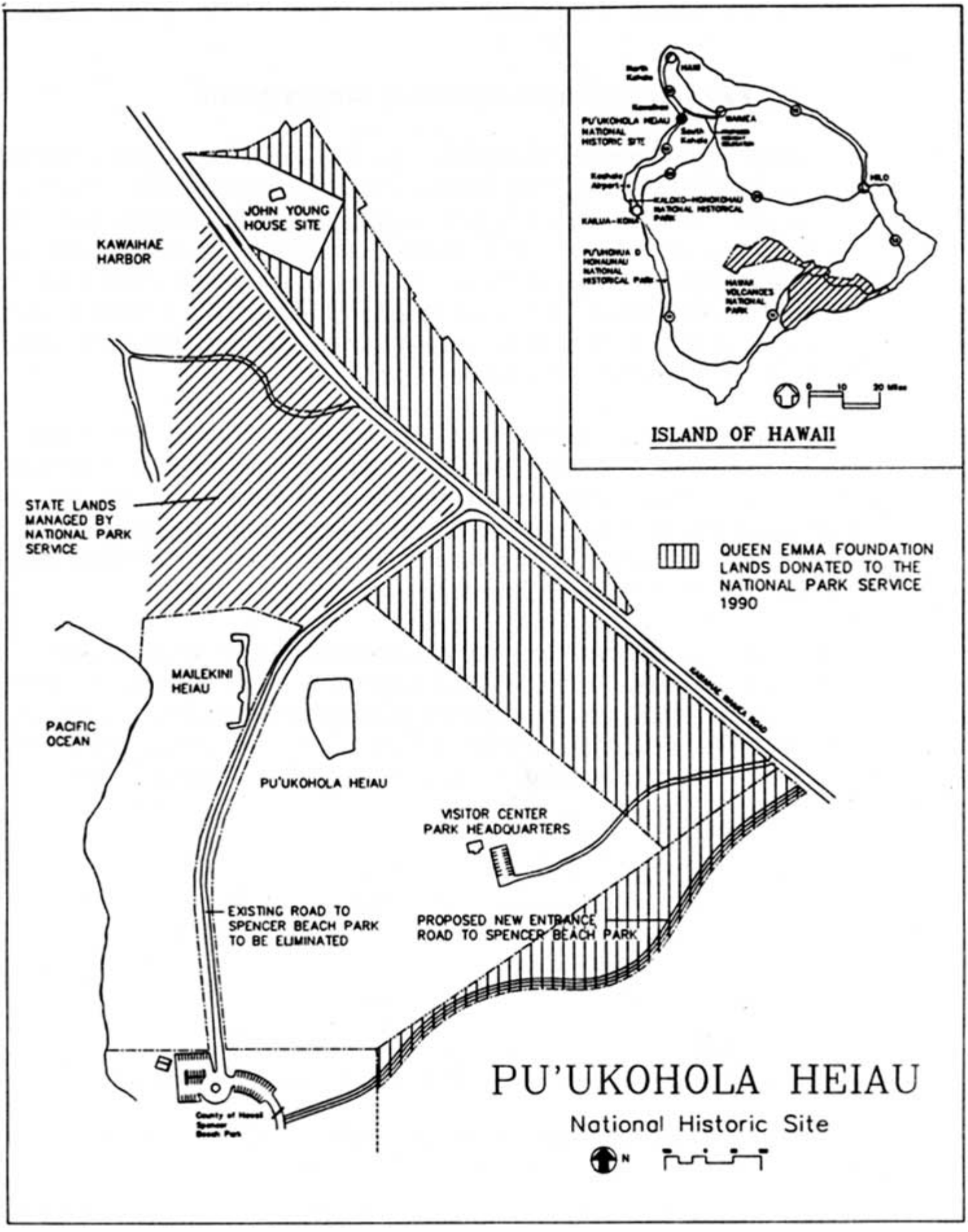


B 1978

KAWAIHAE FEATURES AND LOCATIONS

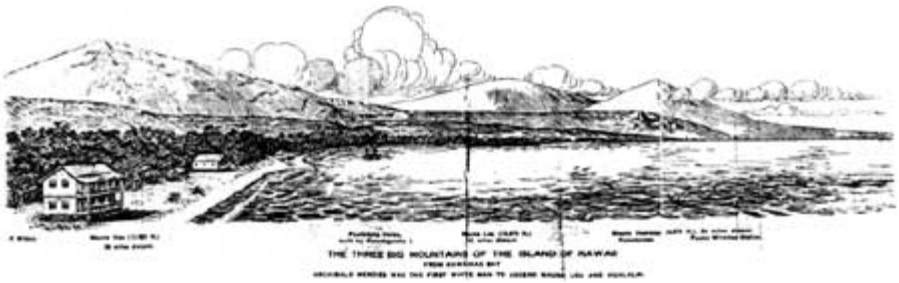
NORTH

Figure 2


PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
HILO
KEALAKEKUA-HONAUNAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL Park
KAILUA-KONA
PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL Park
HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK
0 10 20 Miles
ISLAND OF HAWAII
JOHN YOUNG HOUSE SITE
KAWAIHAE HARBOR
STATE LANDS MANAGED BY NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
QUEEN EMMA FOUNDATION LANDS DONATED TO THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 1990
MAILEKINI HEIAU
PACIFIC OCEAN
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU
VISITOR CENTER PARK HEADQUARTERS
EXISTING ROAD TO SPENCER BEACH PARK TO BE ELIMINATED
PROPOSED NEW ENTRANCE ROAD TO SPENCER BEACH PARK
County of Hawaii Spencer Beach Park
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU
National Historic Site
N






THE THREE BIG MOUNTAINS OF THE ISLAND OF HAWAII



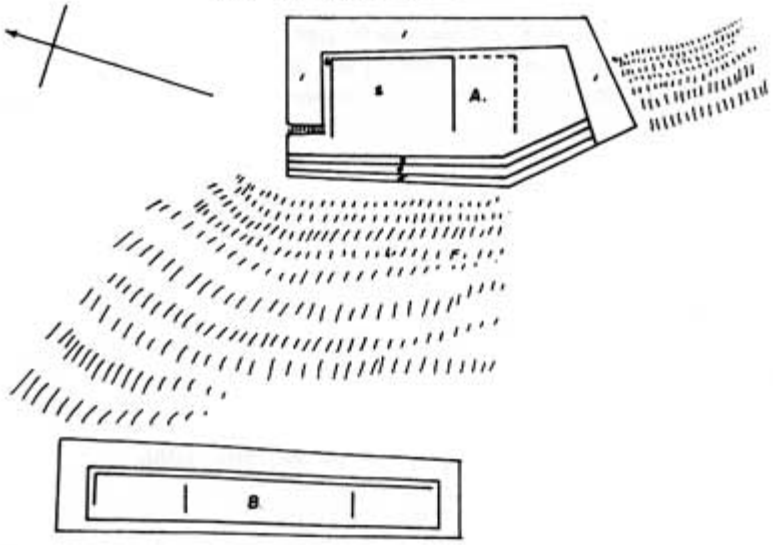
PUU KOHOLA HEIAU

KAWAIHAE, HAWAII

A. Heiau of Puu Kohola
1. Outer wall
2. Sacred platform
3-4-5. Terraces
6. Ditch where bodies were thrown

B. Heiau of Mailekini
(Said to be older than Puu Kohola)

Built by Kamehameha I



0 20 40 60 80 100
Scale in feet

MAP 2

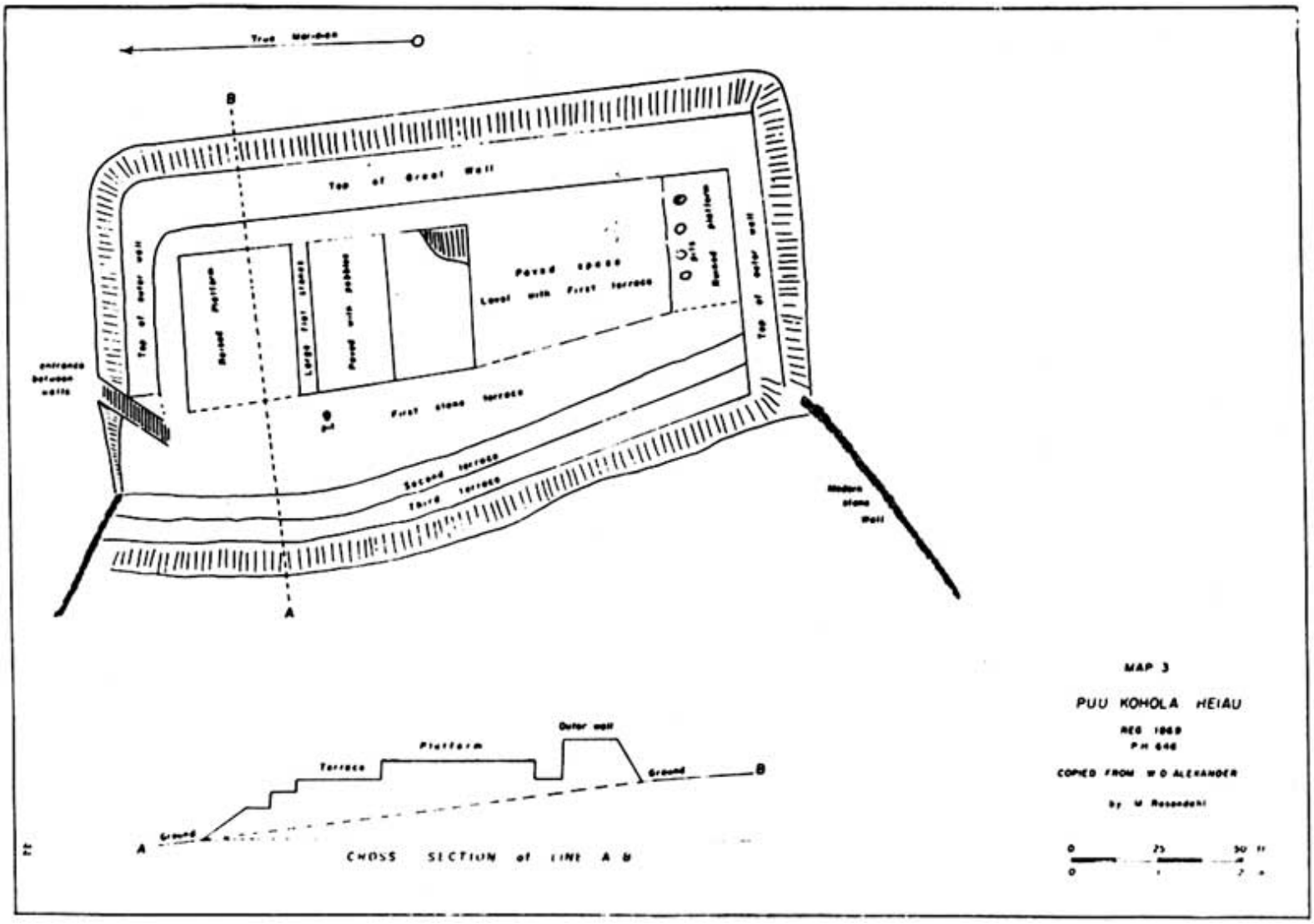
REG 1869
PH 646
Surveyed by Lyons

COPIED FROM C J LYONS
1853

by M Rosendahl

C J L. 1853

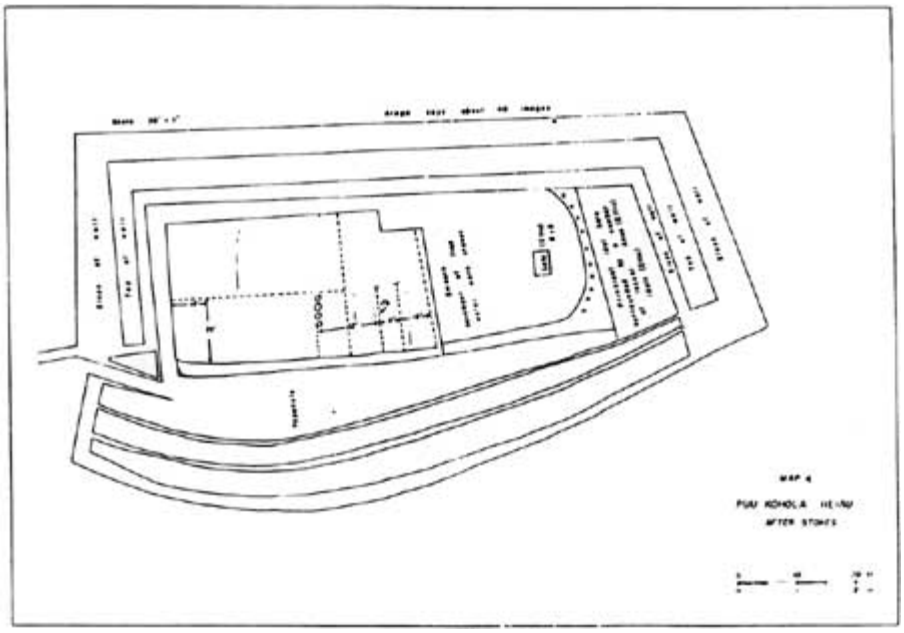
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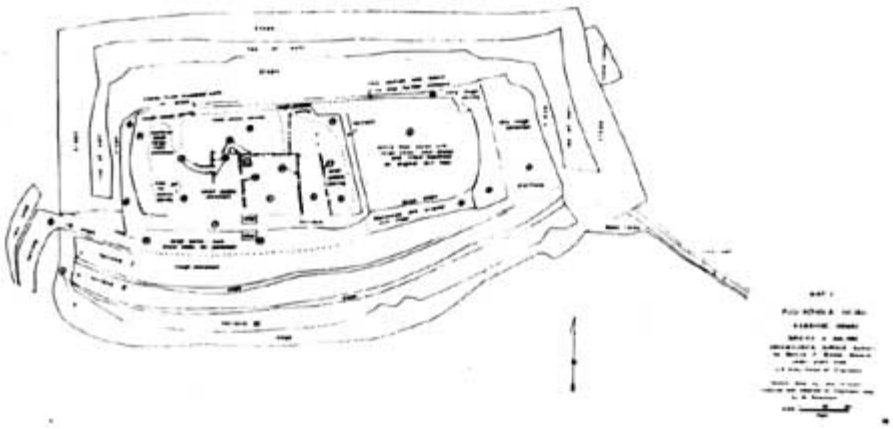


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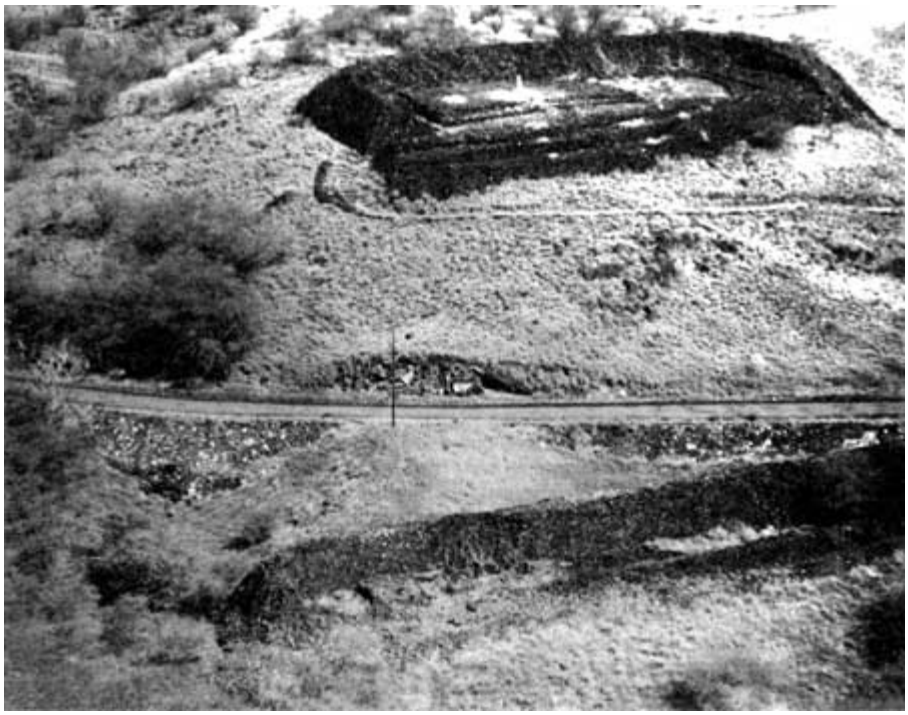










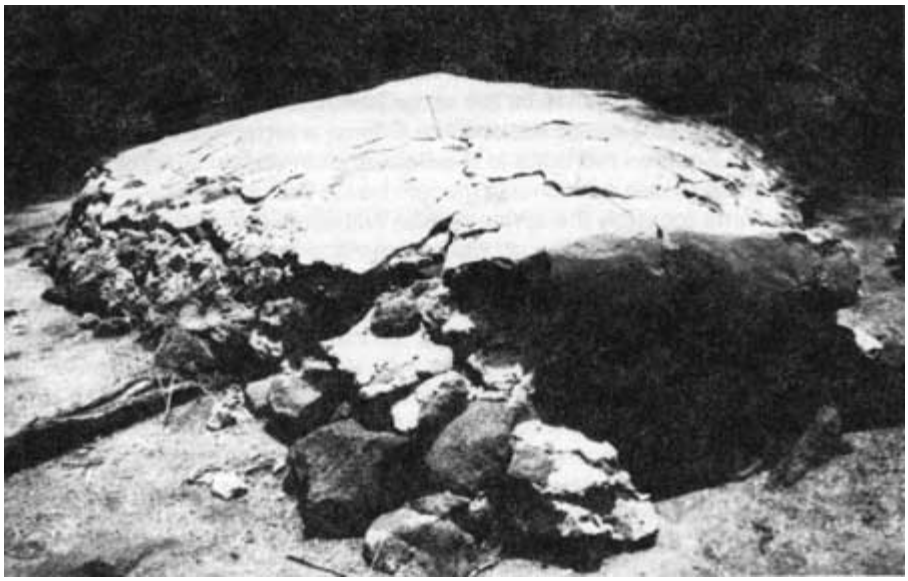








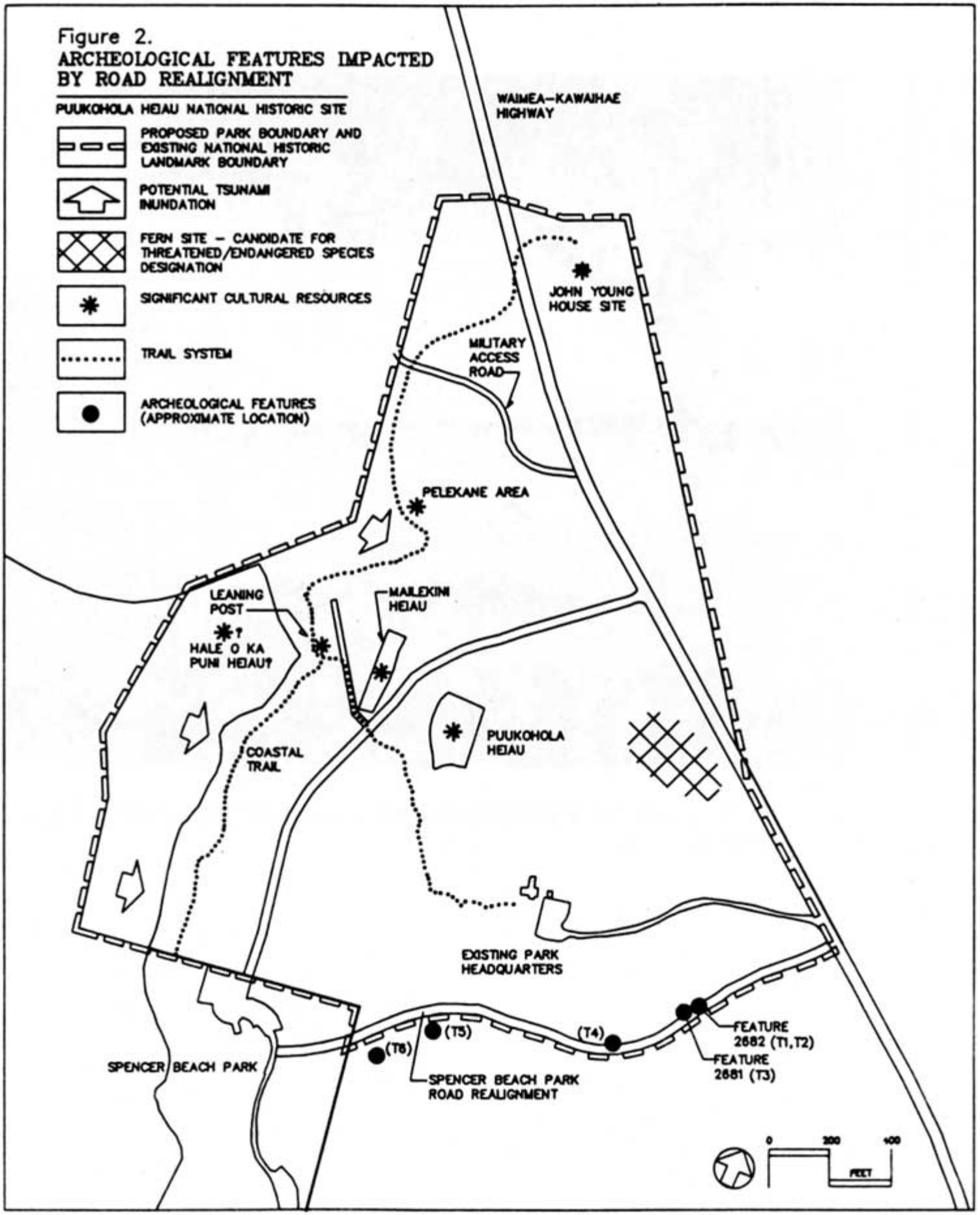




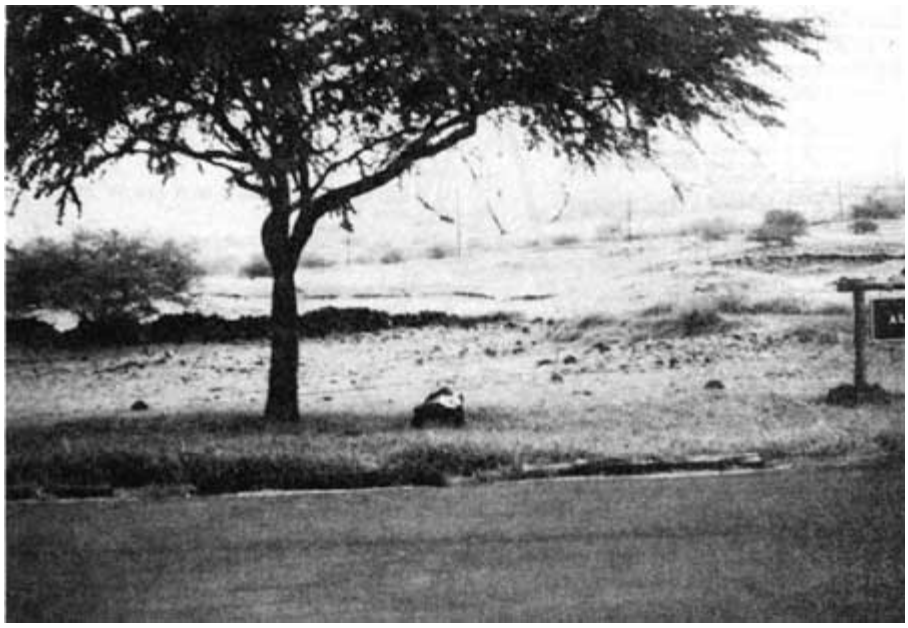


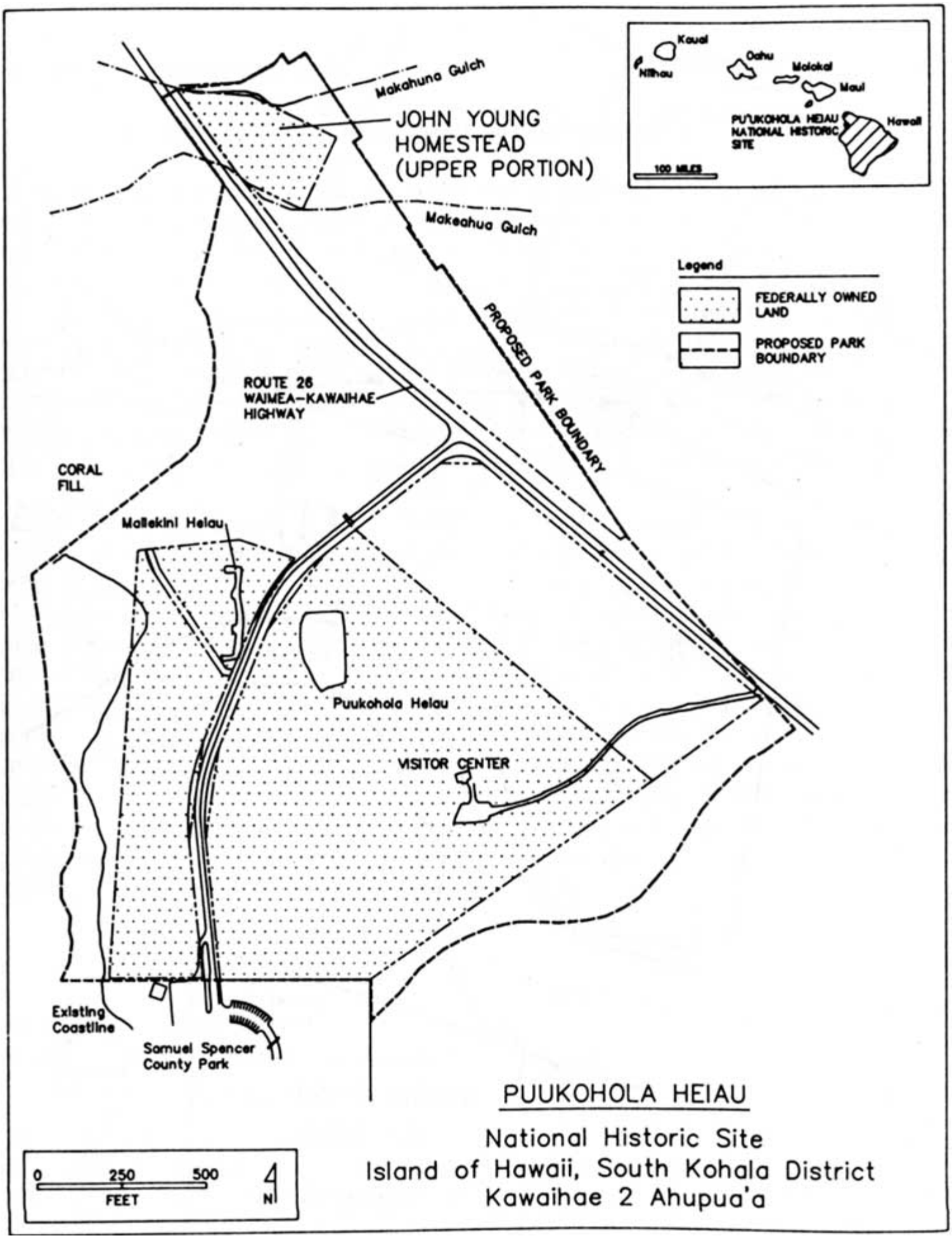


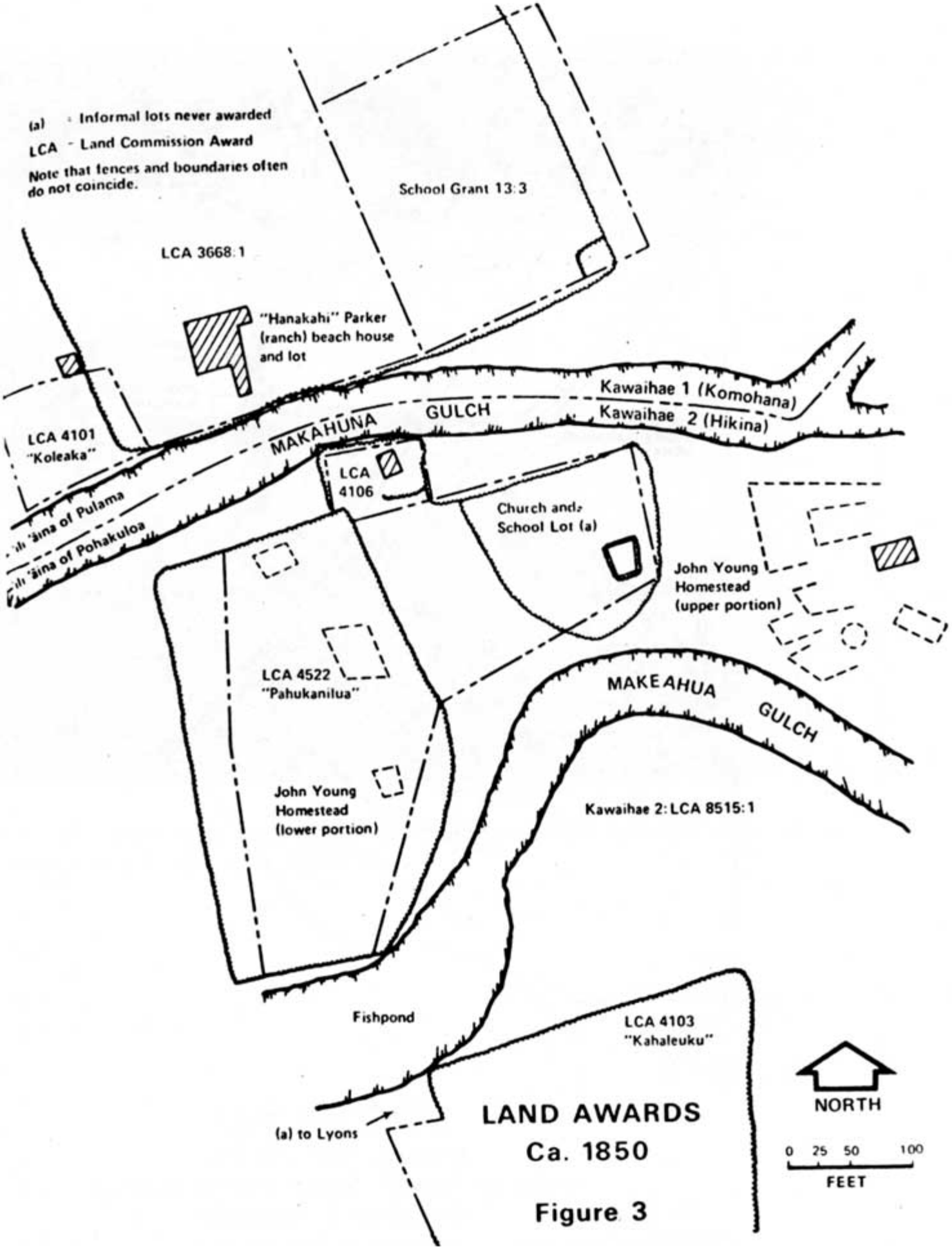




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Kauai
Oahu
Niihau
Molokai
Maui
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
Hawaii
100 MILES
Makahuna Gulch
JOHN YOUNG HOMESTEAD (UPPER PORTION)
Makeahua Gulch
Legend
FEDERALLY OWNED LAND
PROPOSED PARK BOUNDARY
PROPOSED PARK BOUNDARY
ROUTE 26 WAIMEA-KAWAIHAE HIGHWAY
CORAL FILL
Mailekini Heiau
Puukohola Heiau
VISITOR CENTER
Existing Coastline
Samuel Spencer County Park
0 250 500
FEET
N
PUUKOHOLA HEIAU
National Historic Site
Island of Hawaii, South Kohala District
Kawaihae 2 Ahupua'a



LAND AWARDS
Ca. 1850

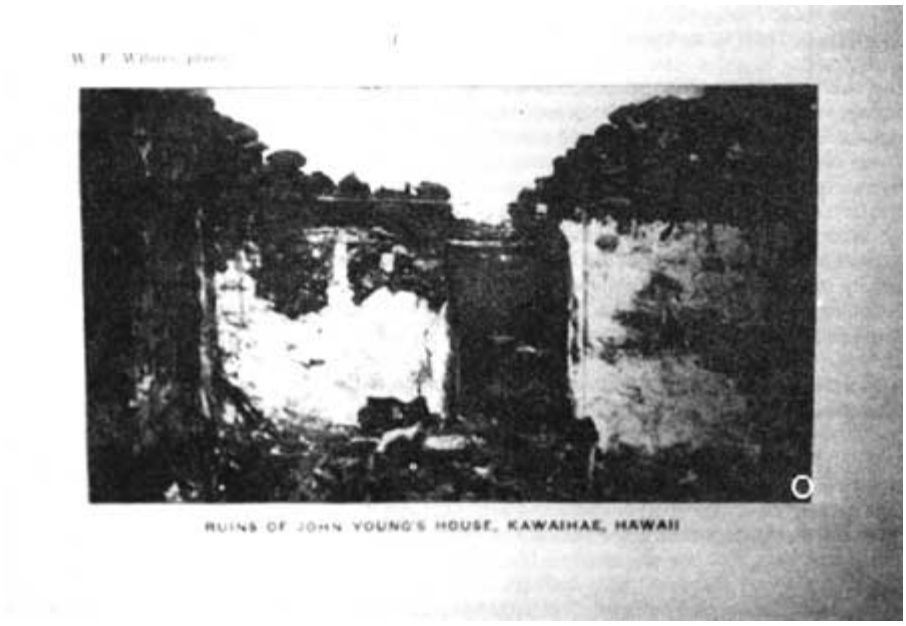
Figure 3



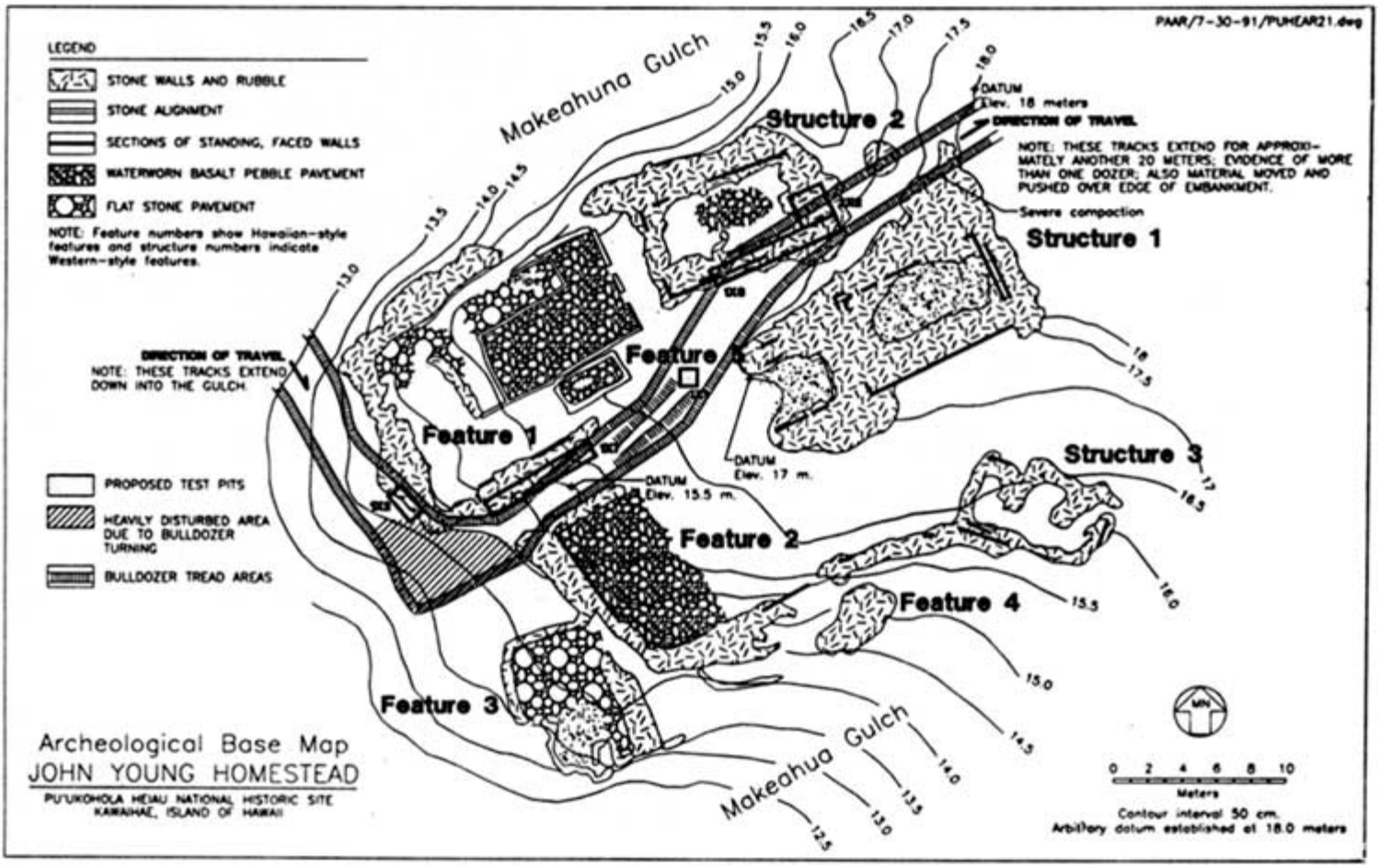








RUINS OF JOHN YOUNG'S HOUSE, KAWAIHAE, HAWAII


PAAR/7-30-91/PUHEAR21.dwg
LEGEND
STONE WALLS AND RUBBLE
STONE ALIGNMENT
SECTIONS OF STANDING, FACED WALLS
WATERWORN BASALT PEBBLE PAVEMENT
FLAT STONE PAVEMENT
NOTE: Feature numbers show Hawaiian-style features and structure numbers indicate Western-style features.
PROPOSED TEST PITS
HEAVILY DISTURBED AREA DUE TO BULLDOZER TURNING
BULLDOZER TREAD AREAS
Makeahuna Gulch
Structure 2
DATUM Elev. 18 meters
DIRECTION OF TRAVEL
NOTE: THESE TRACKS EXTEND FOR APPROXIMATELY ANOTHER 20 METERS; EVIDENCE OF MORE THAN ONE DOZER; ALSO MATERIAL MOVED AND PUSHED OVER EDGE OF EMBANKMENT.
Severe compaction
Structure 1
Feature 5
DIRECTION OF TRAVEL
NOTE: THESE TRACKS EXTEND DOWN INTO THE GULCH.
Feature 1
DATUM Elev. 17 m.
DATUM Elev. 15.5 m.
Structure 3
Feature 2
Feature 4
Feature 3
Makeahuna Gulch
MN
0 2 4 6 8 10
Meters
Contour interval 50 cm.
Arbitrary datum established at 18.0 meters
Archeological Base Map
JOHN YOUNG HOMESTEAD
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
KAWAIHAE, ISLAND OF HAWAII





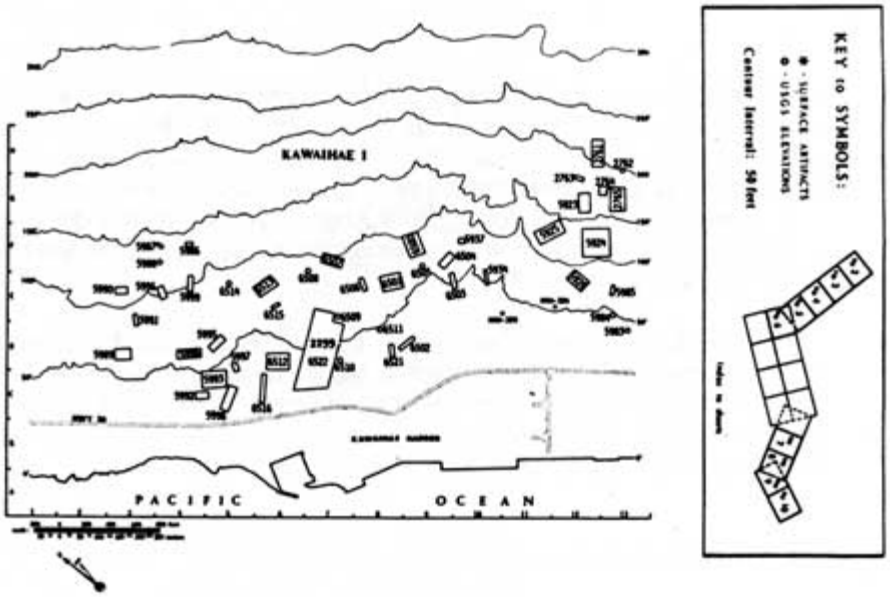


Fig. 2. LOCATION OF SITES IN KAWAIHAE 1. (Contours show elevation above mean sea level.)



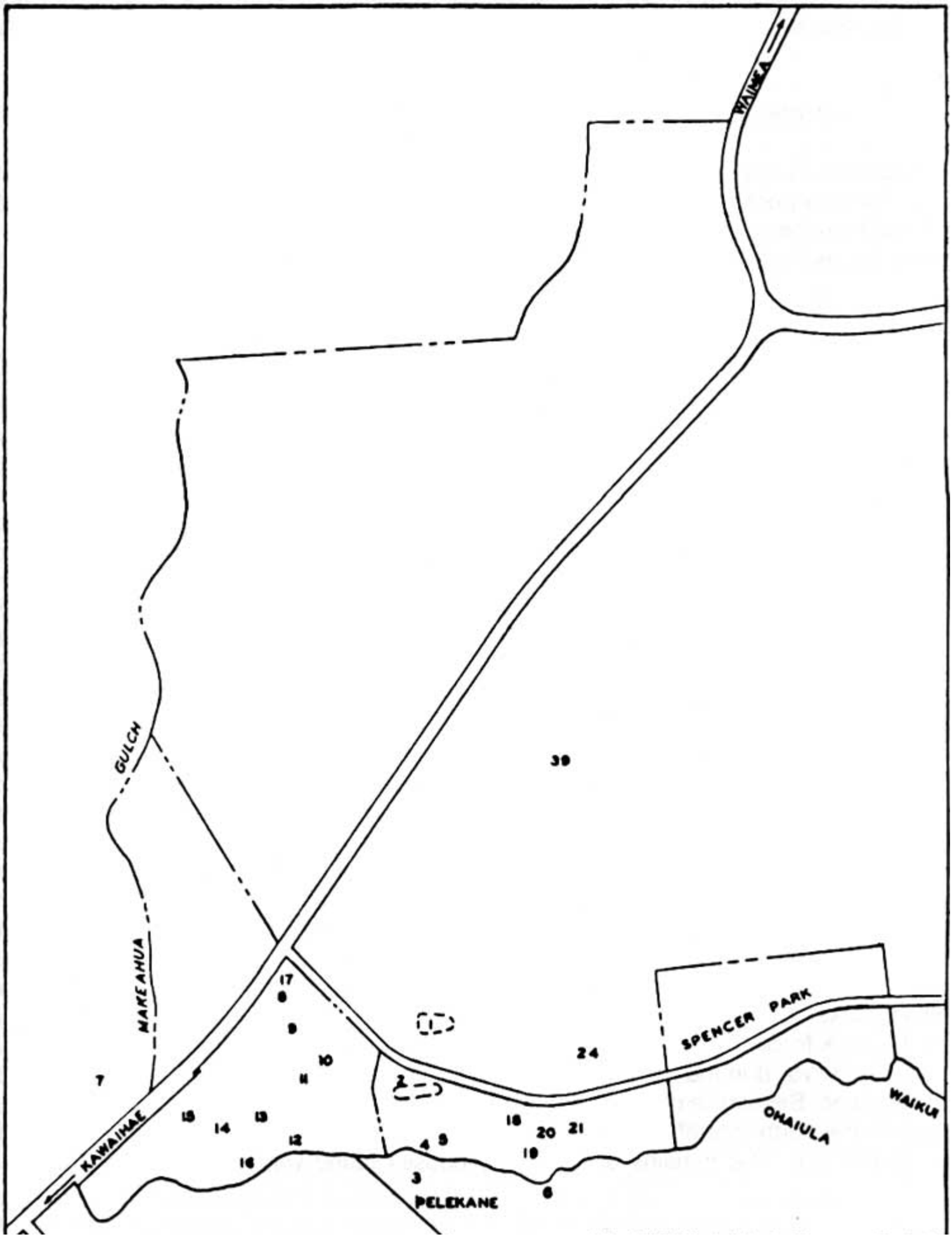
Fig. 3. LOCATION OF SITES IN KAWAIHAE 1 AND 2. (Contours show elevation above mean sea level.)

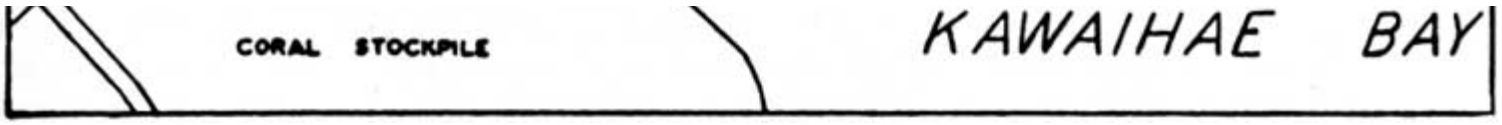









WAIMEA
GULCH
MAKEAHUA
KAWAIHAE
SPENCER PARK
OHAIULA
WAIKU
PELEKANE
39
24
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21


CORAL STOCKPILE
KAWAIHAE BAY

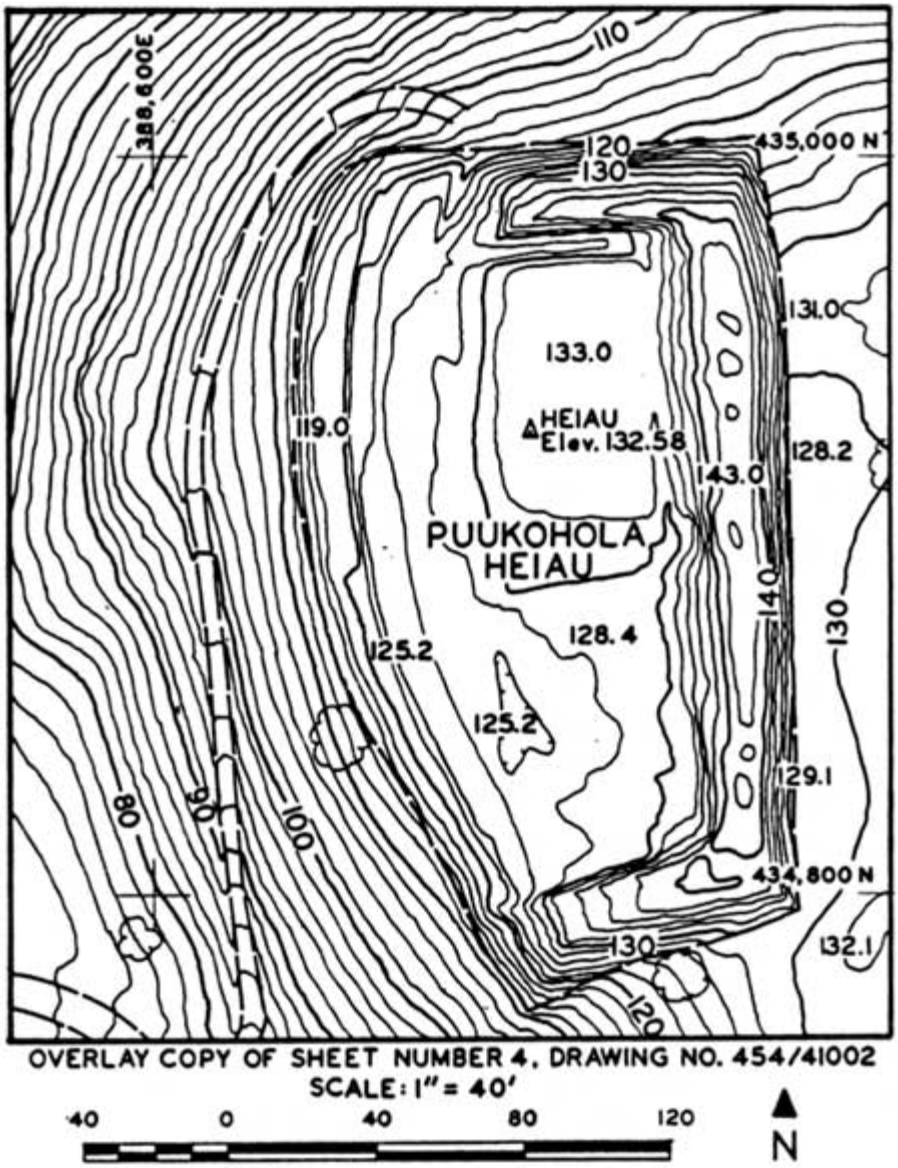
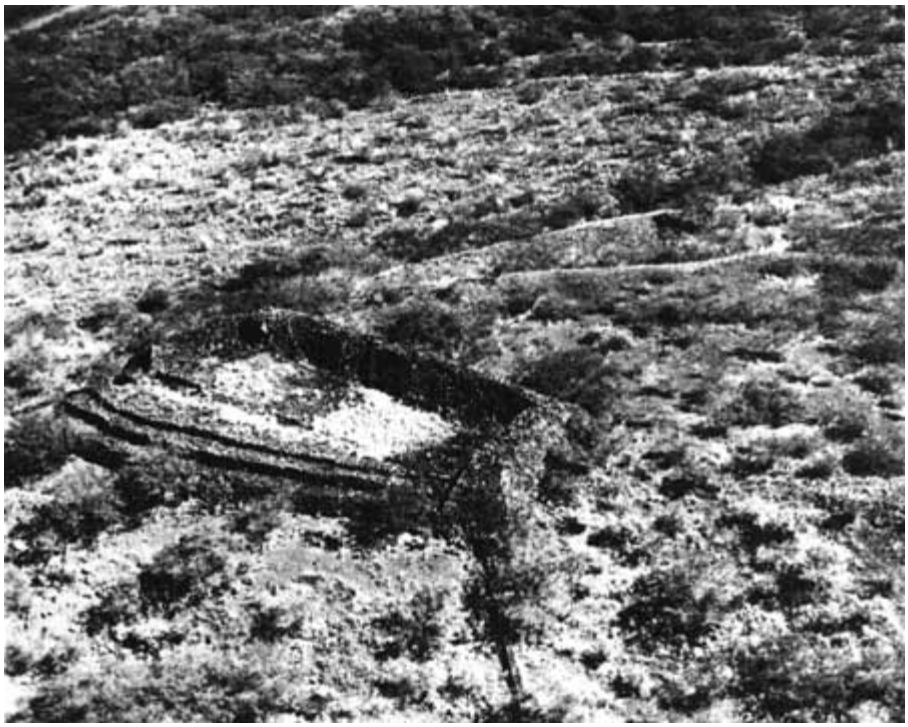
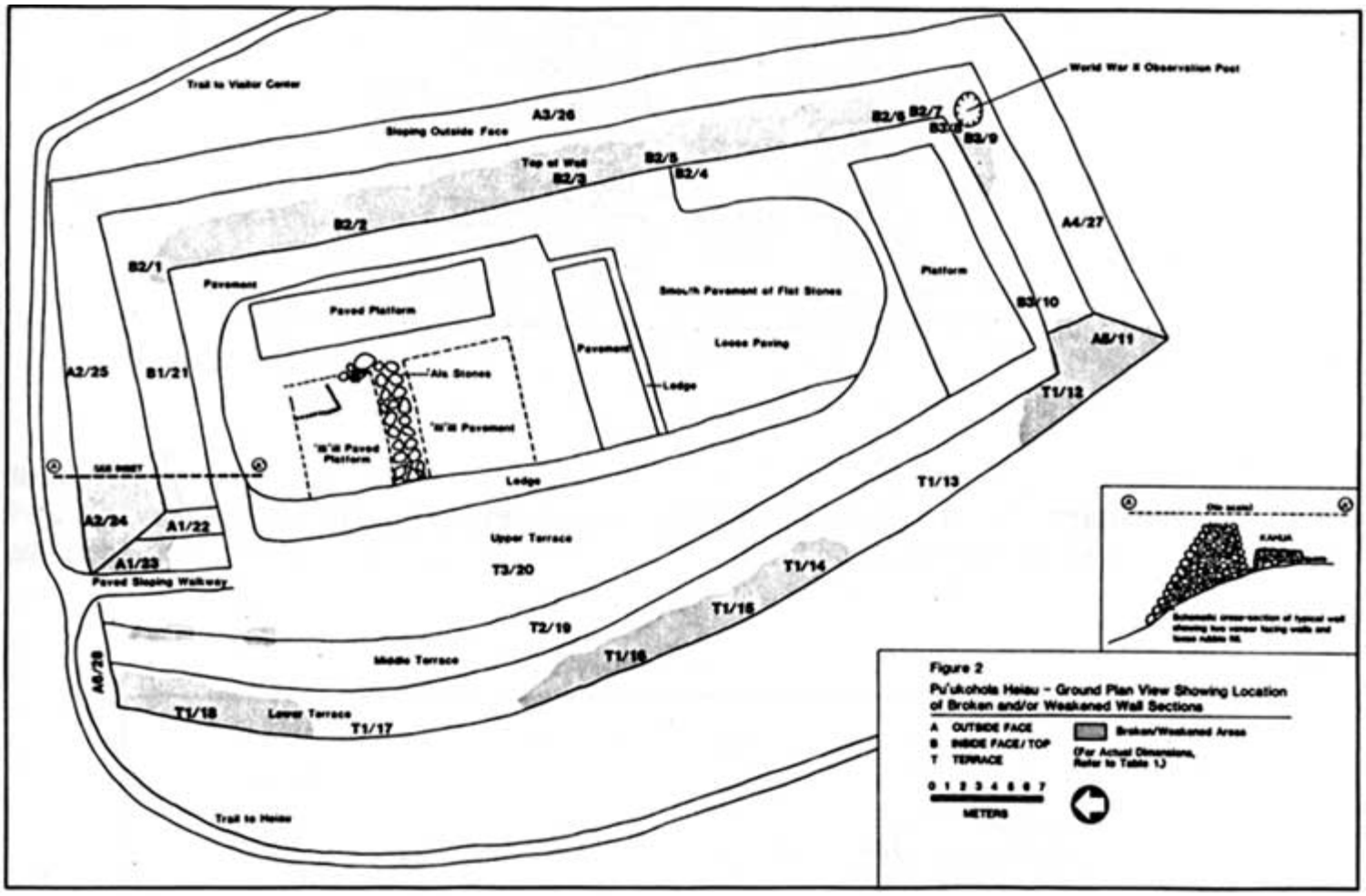


Figure 1. Topographic map of Pu'ukohola showing outline of heiau.




Trail to Visitor Center
World War II Observation Post
A3/26
Sloping Outside Face
B2/6
B2/7
B2/8
B2/9
Top of Wall
B2/3
B2/5
B2/4
A4/27
B2/2
B2/1
Pavement
Paved Platform
Smooth Pavement of Flat Stones
Platform
B2/10
A5/11
Loose Paving
Pavement
A2/25
B1/21
Alu Stones
Ledge
T1/12
Paved Platform
Ledge
T1/13
A2/24
A1/22
A1/23
Upper Terrace
T3/20
T1/14
Paved Sloping Walkway
T1/15
T2/19
Middle Terrace
T1/16
A6/26
T1/18
Lower Terrace
T1/17
Trail to Halau
Figure 2
Pu'ukohola Heiau - Ground Plan View Showing Location of Broken and/or Weakened Wall Sections
A OUTSIDE FACE
B INSIDE FACE / TOP
T TERRACE
Broken/Weakened Areas
(For Actual Dimensions, Refer to Table 1.)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
METERS

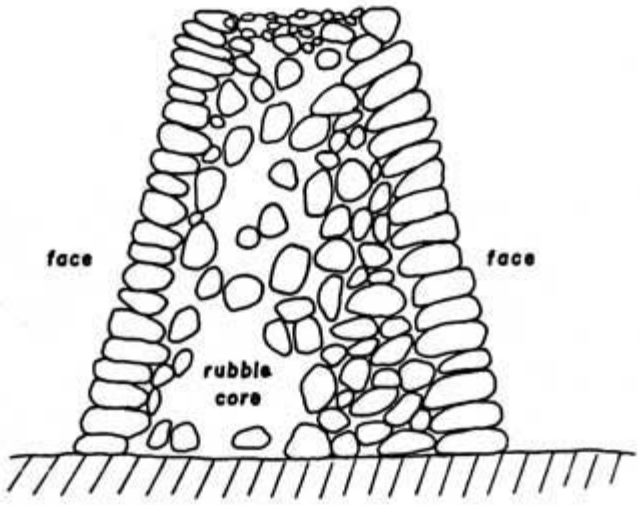


Figure 1. Puu Kohola Heiau: Schematic diagram of typical cross-section.

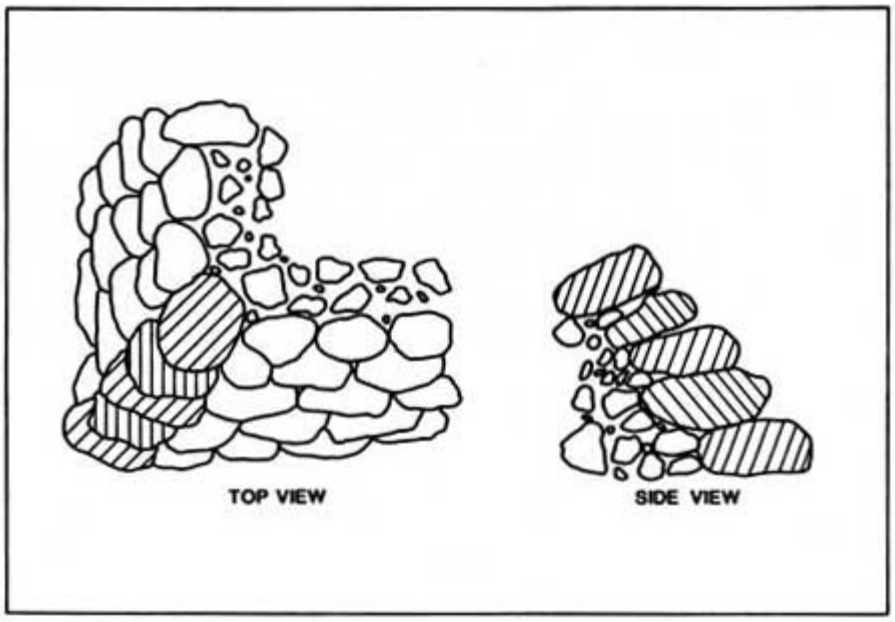


Figure 5. Top and side view of typical corner (see Plate 18 for photo).

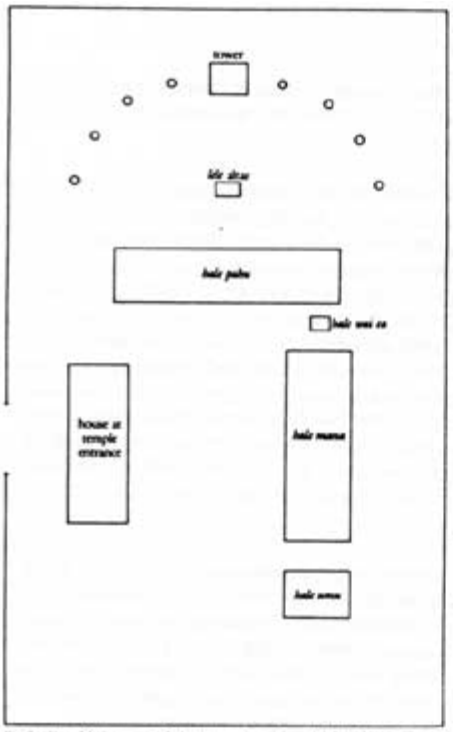


Fig. 5. Plan of the inner court of a *heiau* temple according to Malo (M5, 164). This is a tentative reconstruction, since Malo's text is not completely clear.

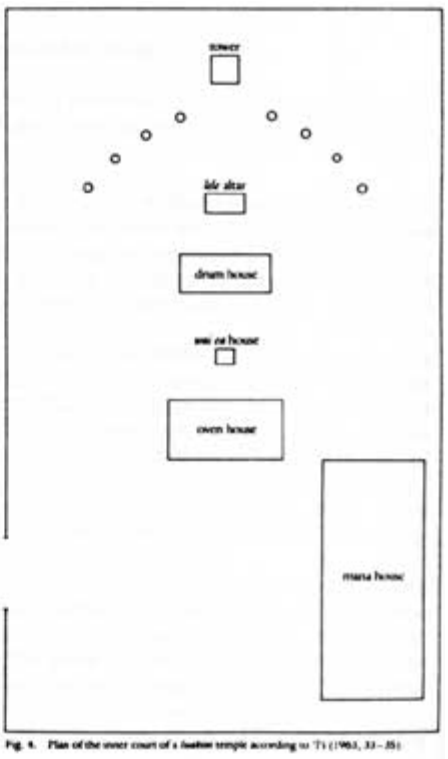
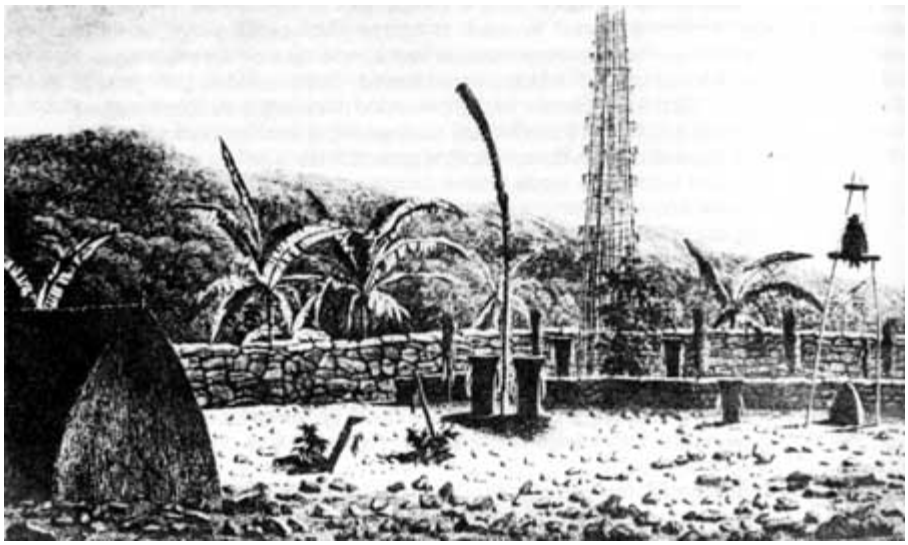
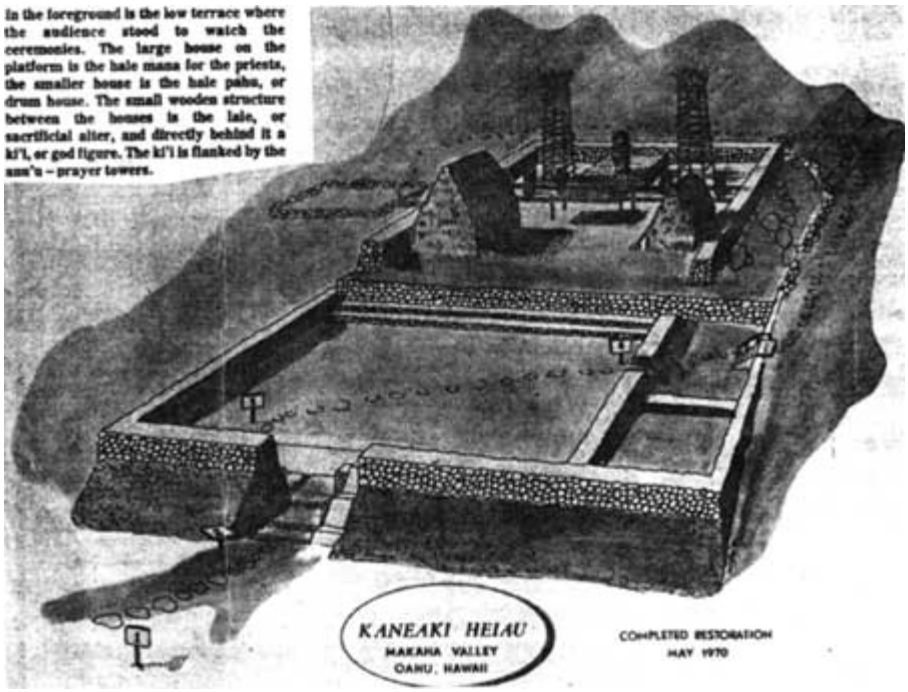


Fig. 6. Plan of the inner court of a *heiau* temple according to Ti (1963, 33–35).




In the foreground is the low terrace where the audience stood to watch the ceremonies. The large house on the platform is the hale mana for the priests, the smaller house is the hale pahu, or drum house. The small wooden structure between the houses is the lale, or sacrificial alter, and directly behind it a ki'i, or god figure. The ki'i is flanked by the anu'u – prayer towers.
KANEAKI HEIAU
MAKAHA VALLEY
OAHU, HAWAII
COMPLETED RESTORATION
MAY 1970

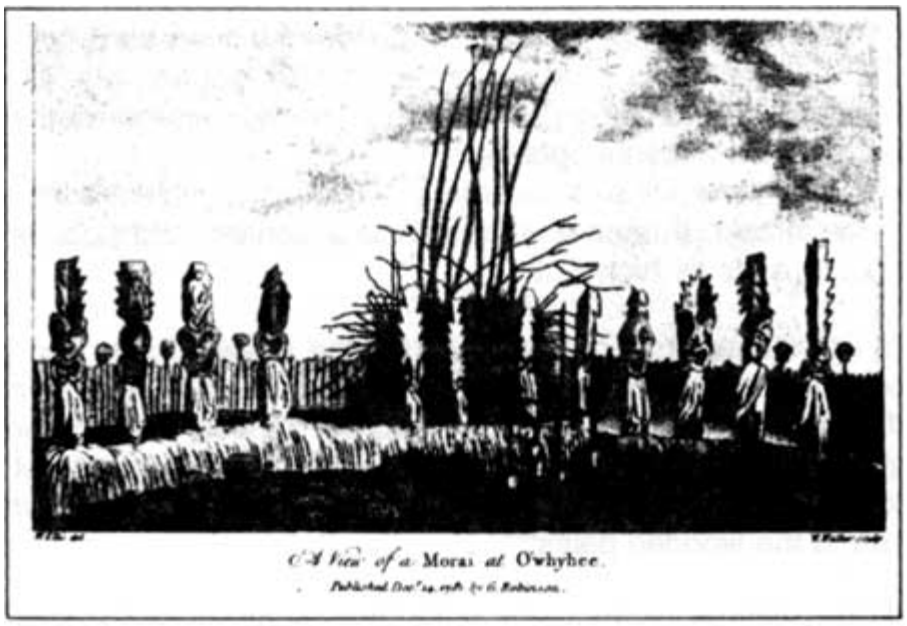
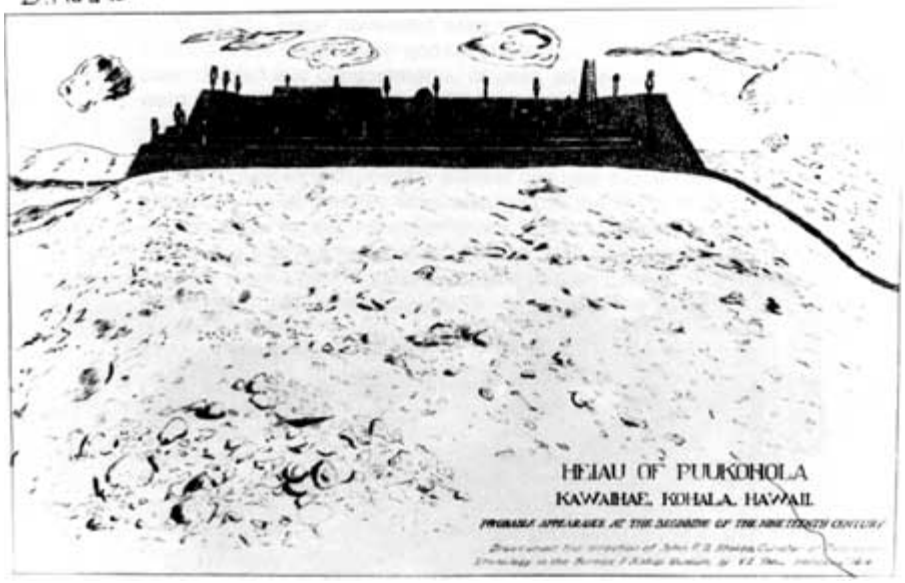


Plate 3. Main images in Hikiau temple, Kealakekua, island of Hawai'i, as they were in 1779. From Ellis 1782, 2:181.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig84.jpg[3/19/2013 10:09:54 AM]



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig85.jpg[3/19/2013 10:09:55 AM]


Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawai





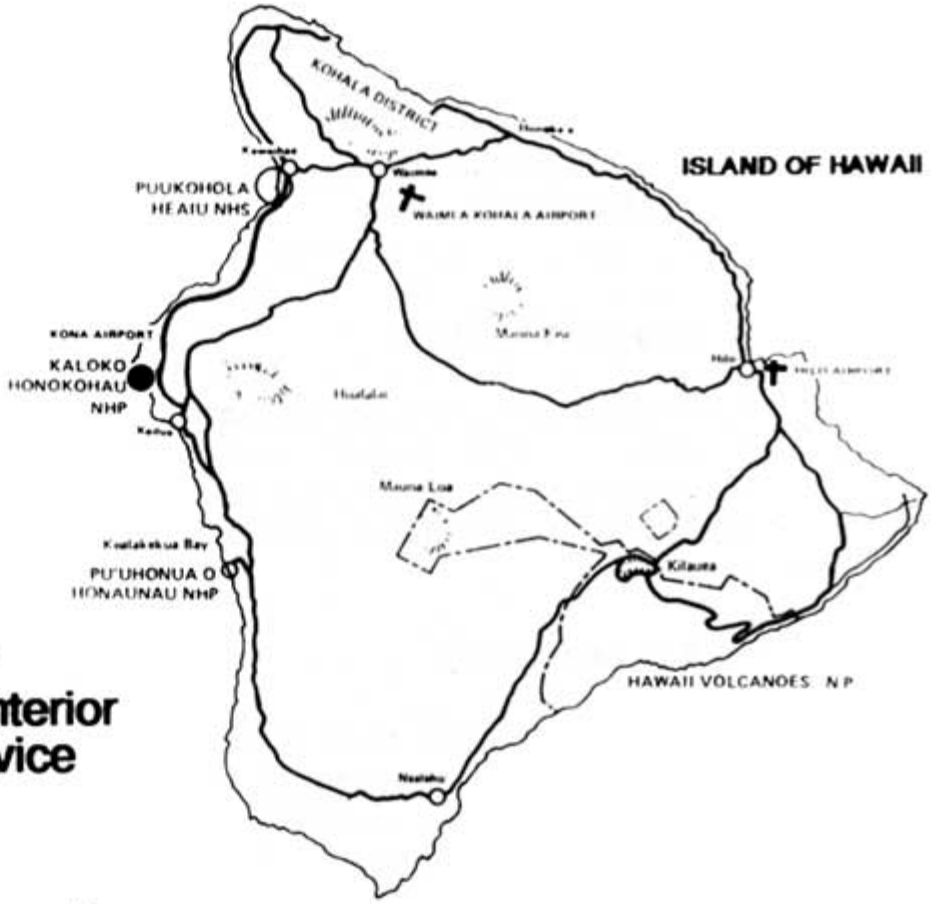












United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service

KALOKO - HONOKOHAU

National Historical Park



PARK AREA

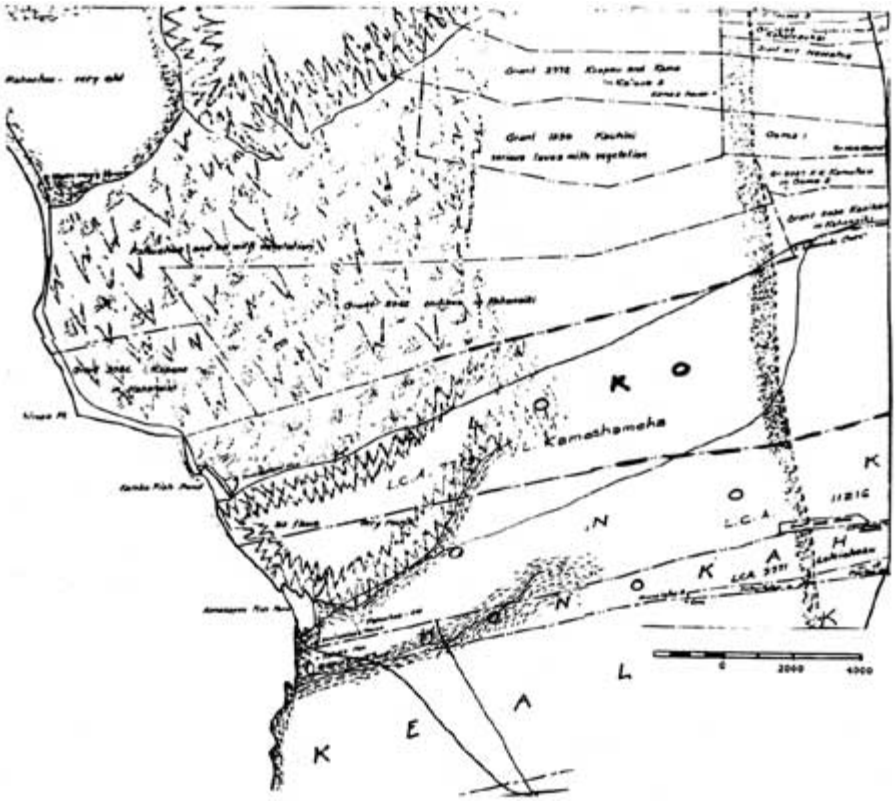
PRIVATE LANDS

STATE LANDS

AUTHORIZED PARK BOUNDARY

Map not to scale




K O
L. Kamaahomoka
L C A
K O N A
K E A
L
0
2000
4000

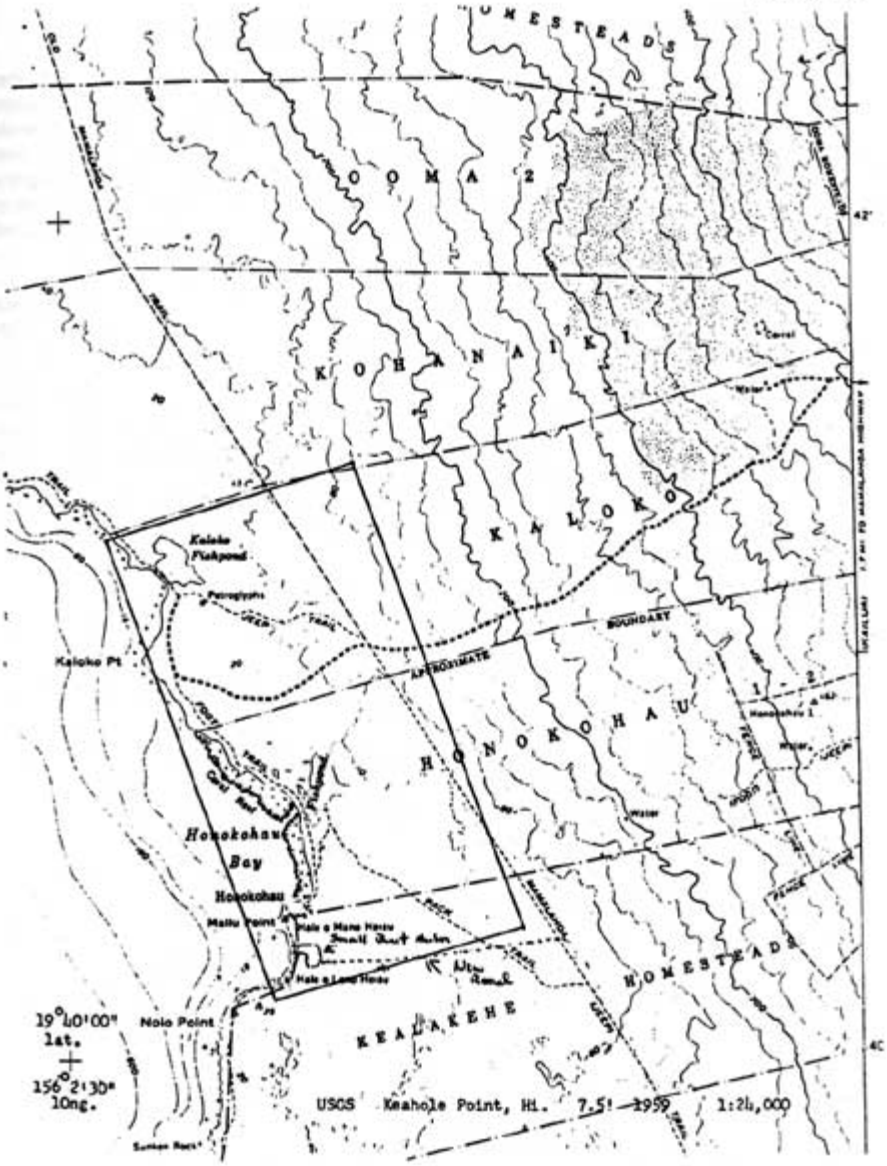


FIGURE 23. Map of Honokohau-Settlement Complex.

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FIGURE 9. Map of Kaloko Fishpond showing wall (D13-11) connecting headlands of the bay. Subdivisions within the pond are located at points A (D13-17), B, C, and D (D13-12). Scale 1" = 200 ft (after Renger, 1970).

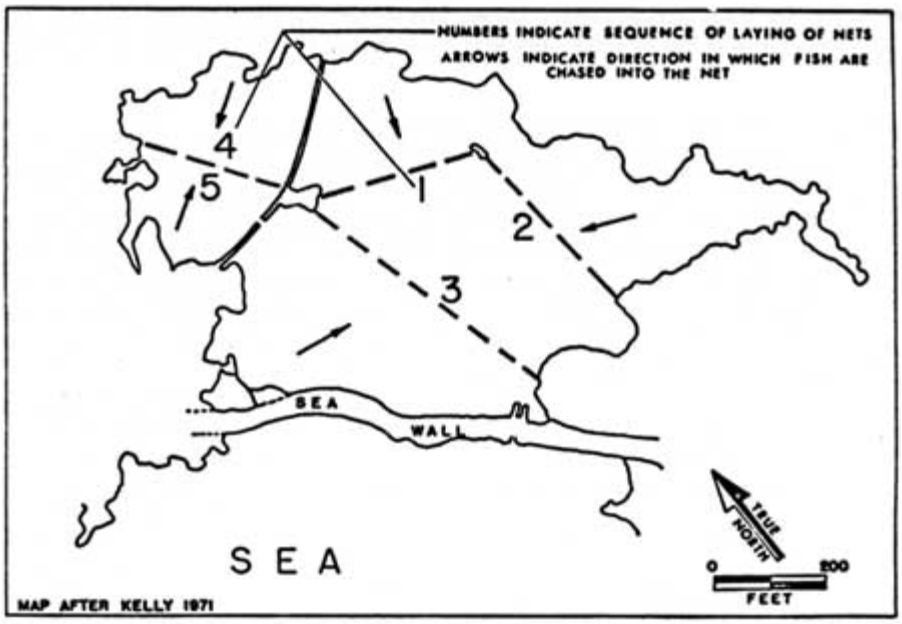


Fig. 35. Placement and Progression of Fishnets, Kaloko Fishpond

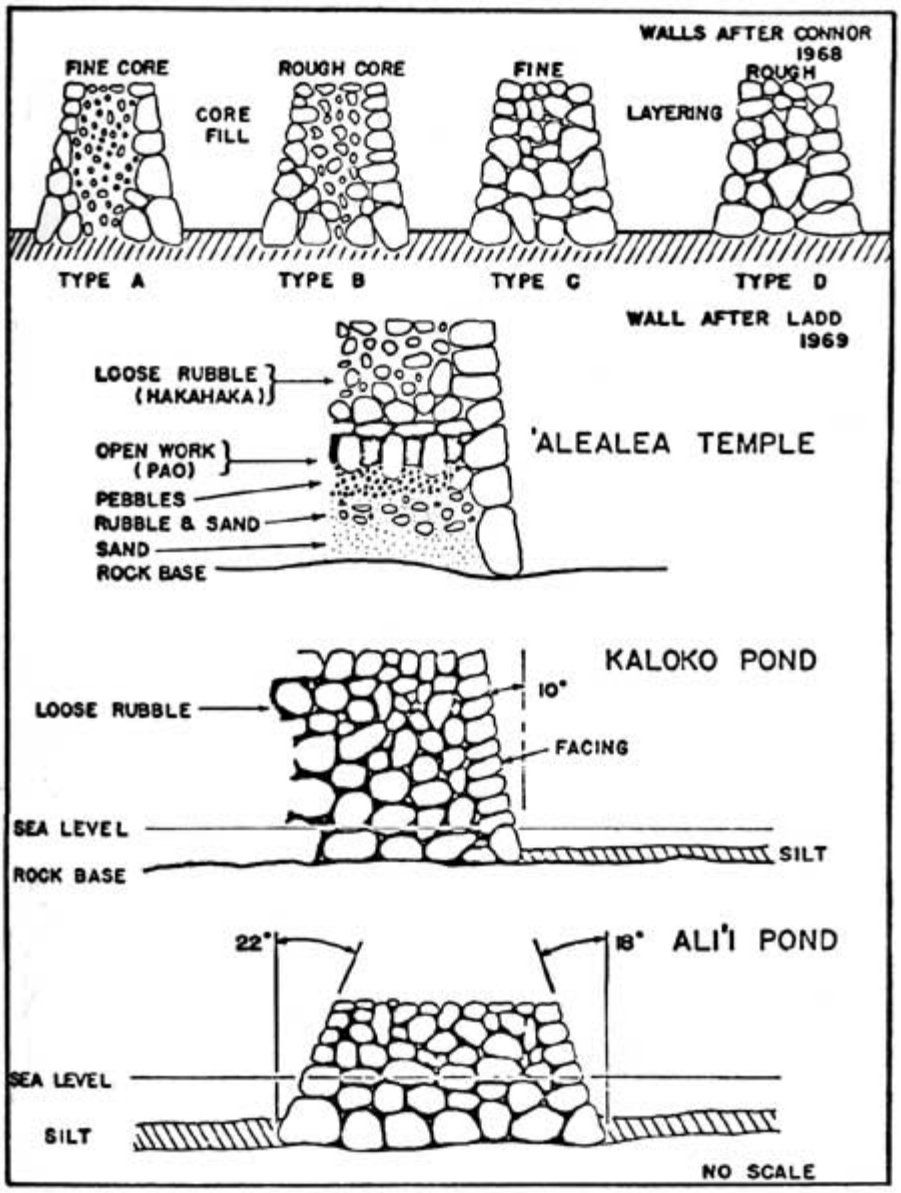
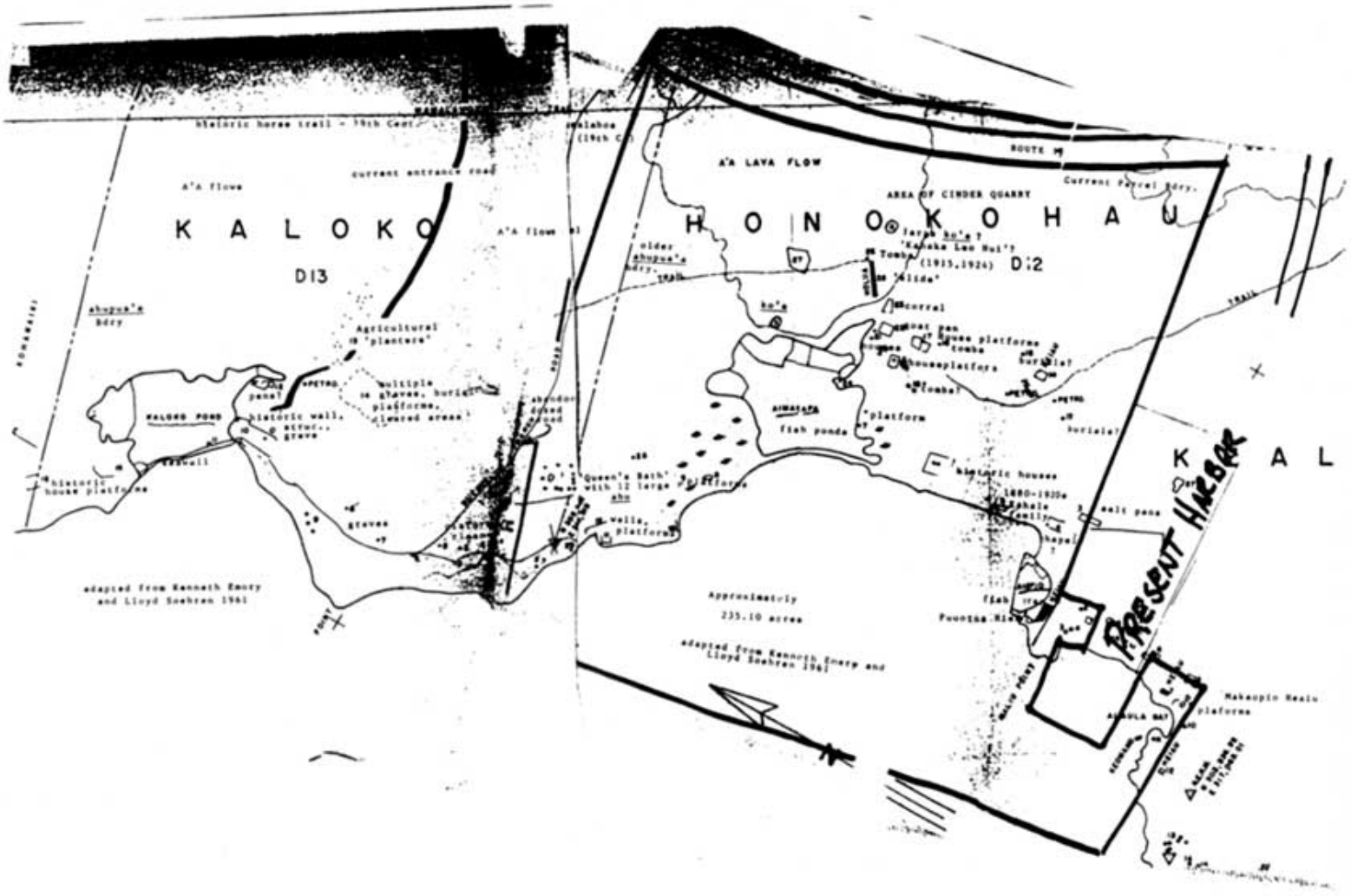


Fig. 27. Wall Construction

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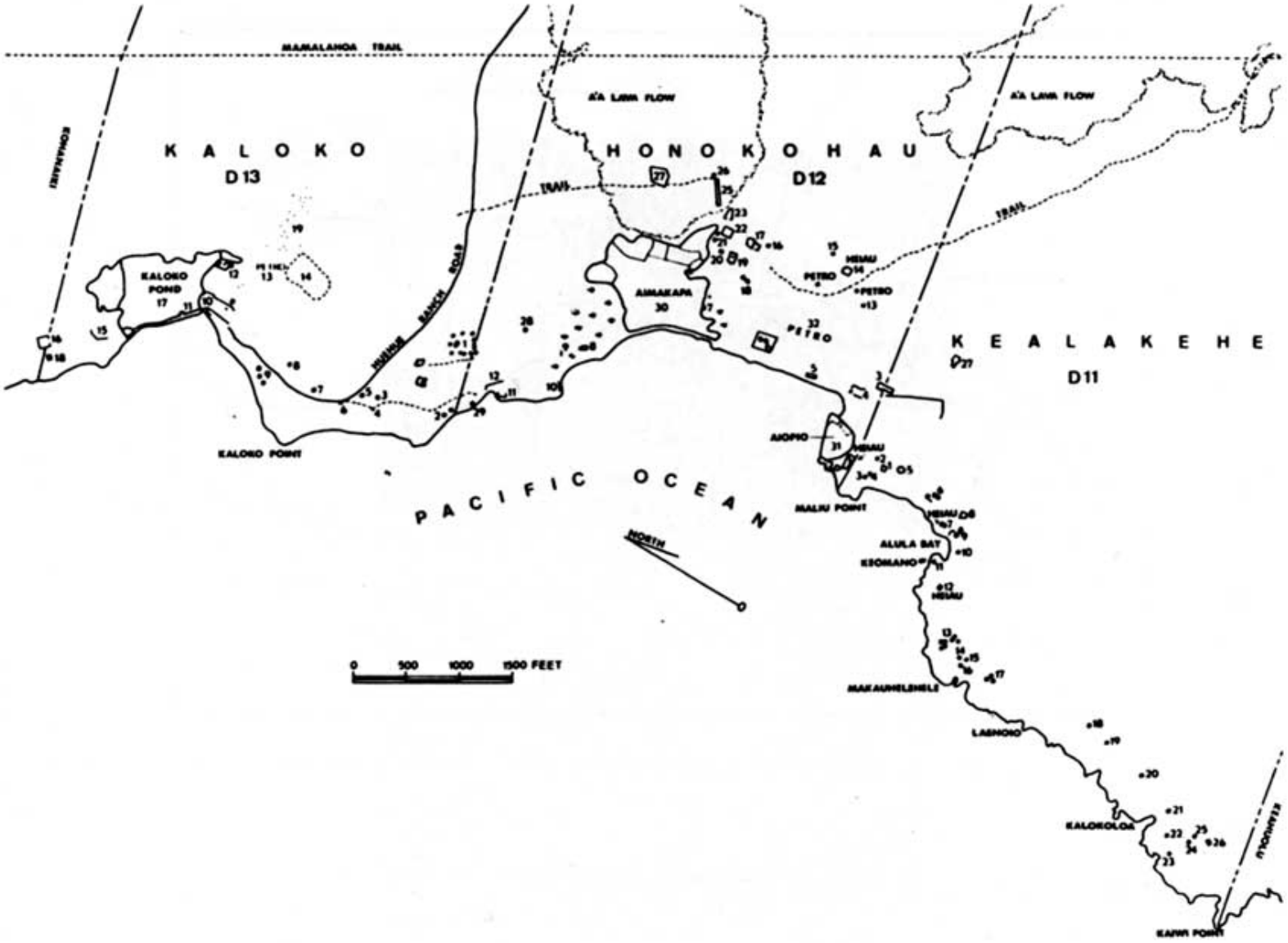


Figure 1. Detailed Map of site locations in Coastal Area of Honokohau, and Kealakehe, N. Kona, Hawaii.

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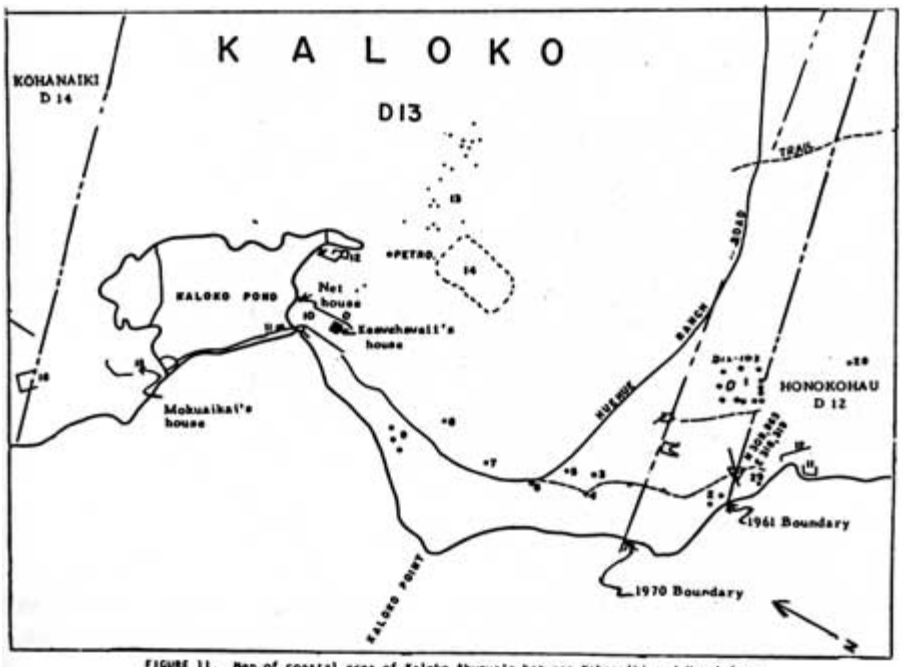


FIGURE 11. Map of coastal area of Kaloko Ahupua'a between Kohanaiki and Honokohau, showing location of site D12-103 (a cluster of large *ahu*), Kaloko Fishpond, house sites, and the changing boundary between Kaloko and Honokohau.

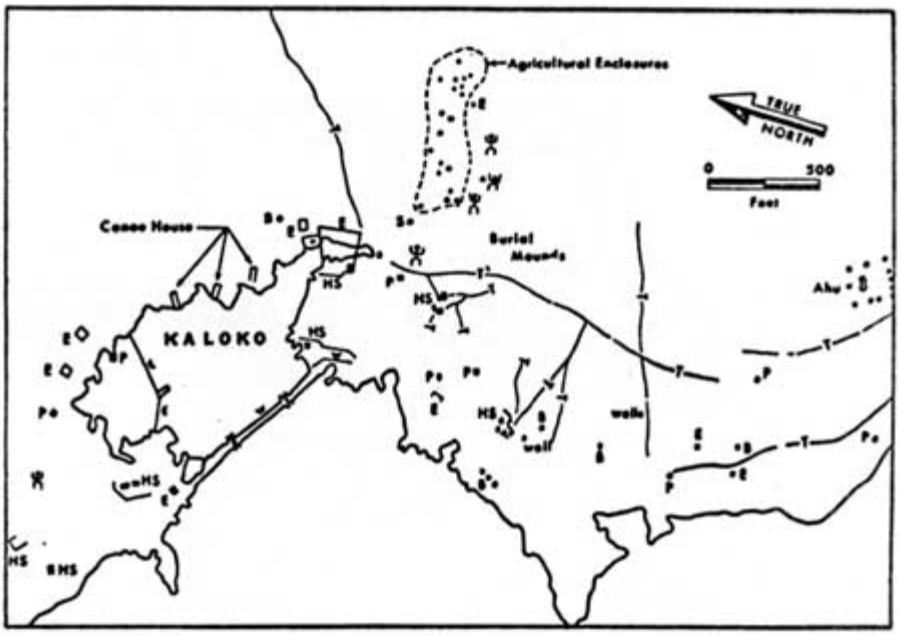


Fig. 40. Archaeological Sites Associated with Kaloko Fishpond

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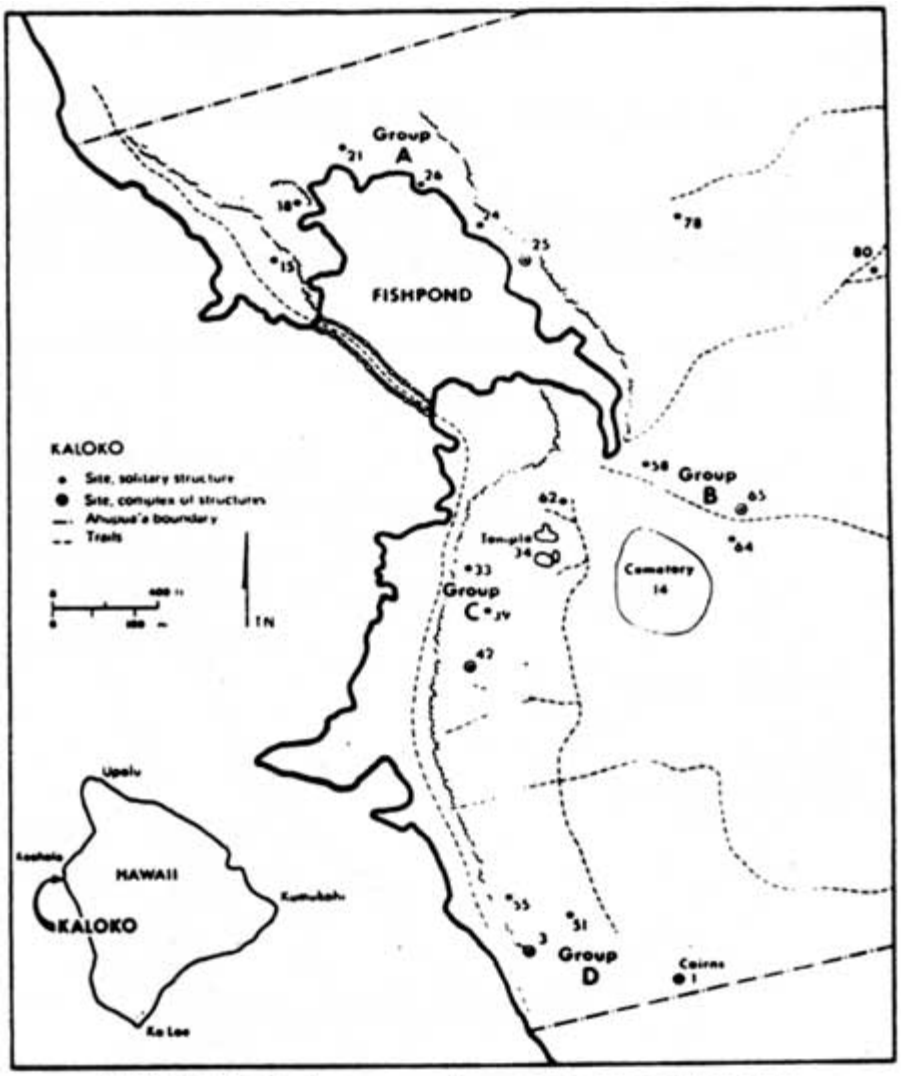
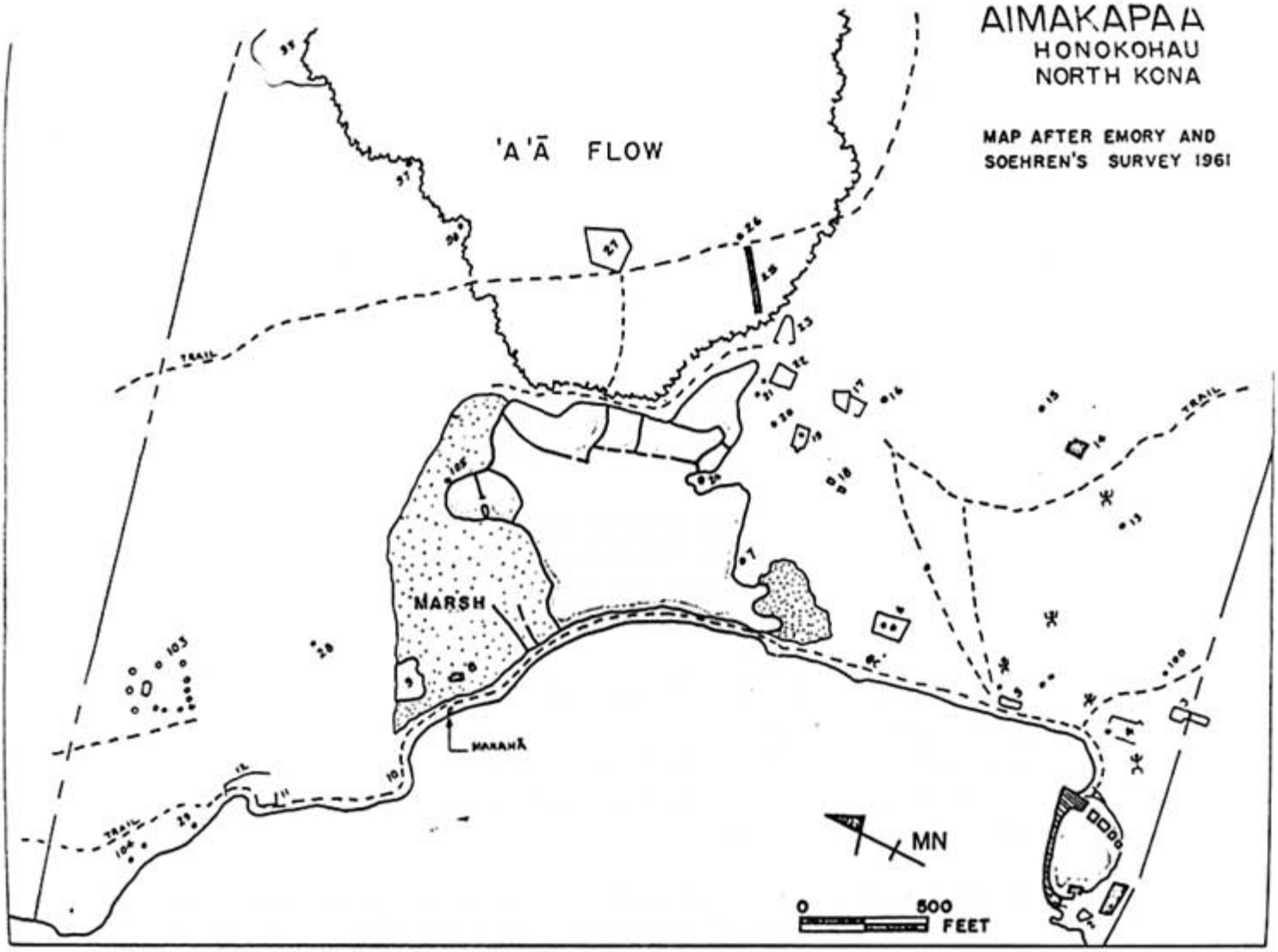


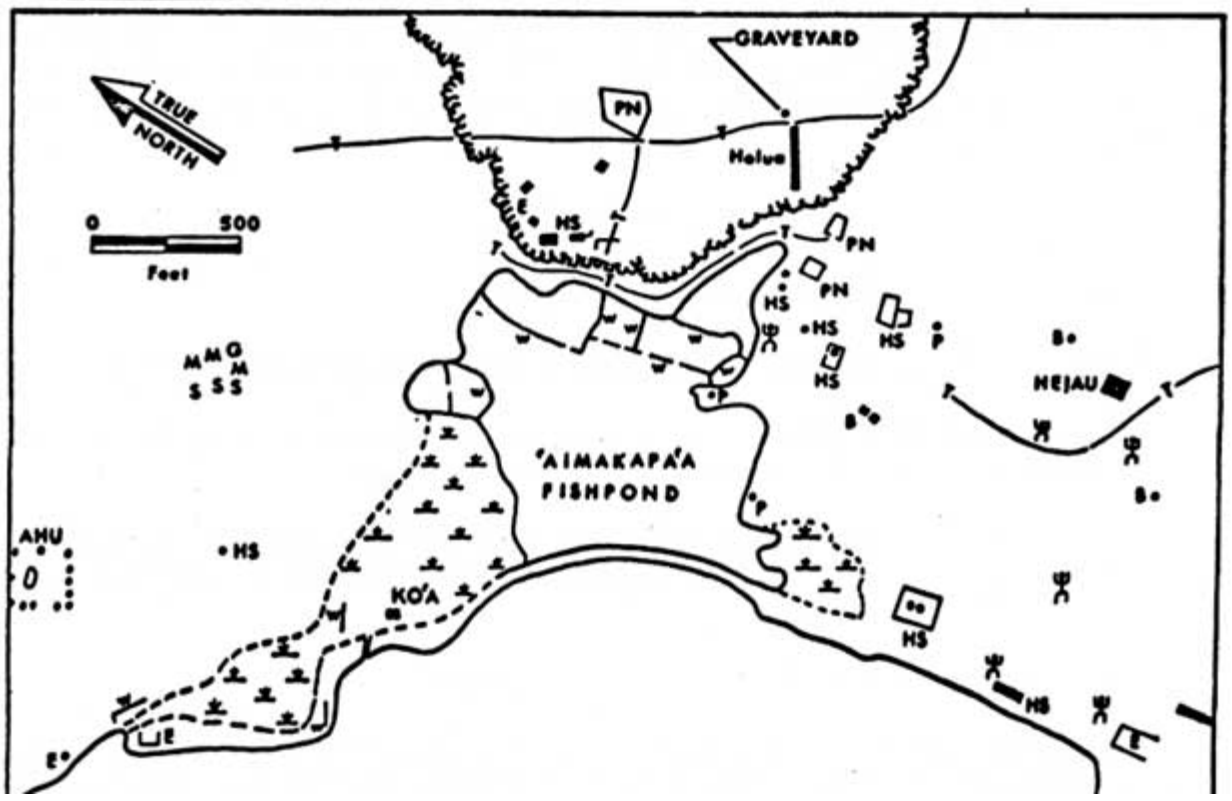
FIGURE 12. Kaloko: location map of prehistoric permanent structures

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig104b.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:19 AM]






AIMAKAPAA
HONOKOHAU
NORTH KONA
MAP AFTER EMORY AND
SOEHREN'S SURVEY 1961
'A'Ā FLOW
MARSH
MAKAHĀ
MN
0 500
FEET


GRAVEYARD
TRUE NORTH
PN
Holua
0 500
Feet
HS
HEIAU
'AIMAKAPA'A
FISHPOND
AHU
KO'A

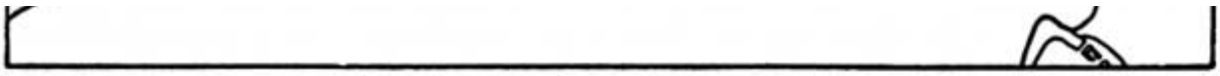


Fig. 38. Archaeological Sites Associated with 'Aimakapa'a Fishpond

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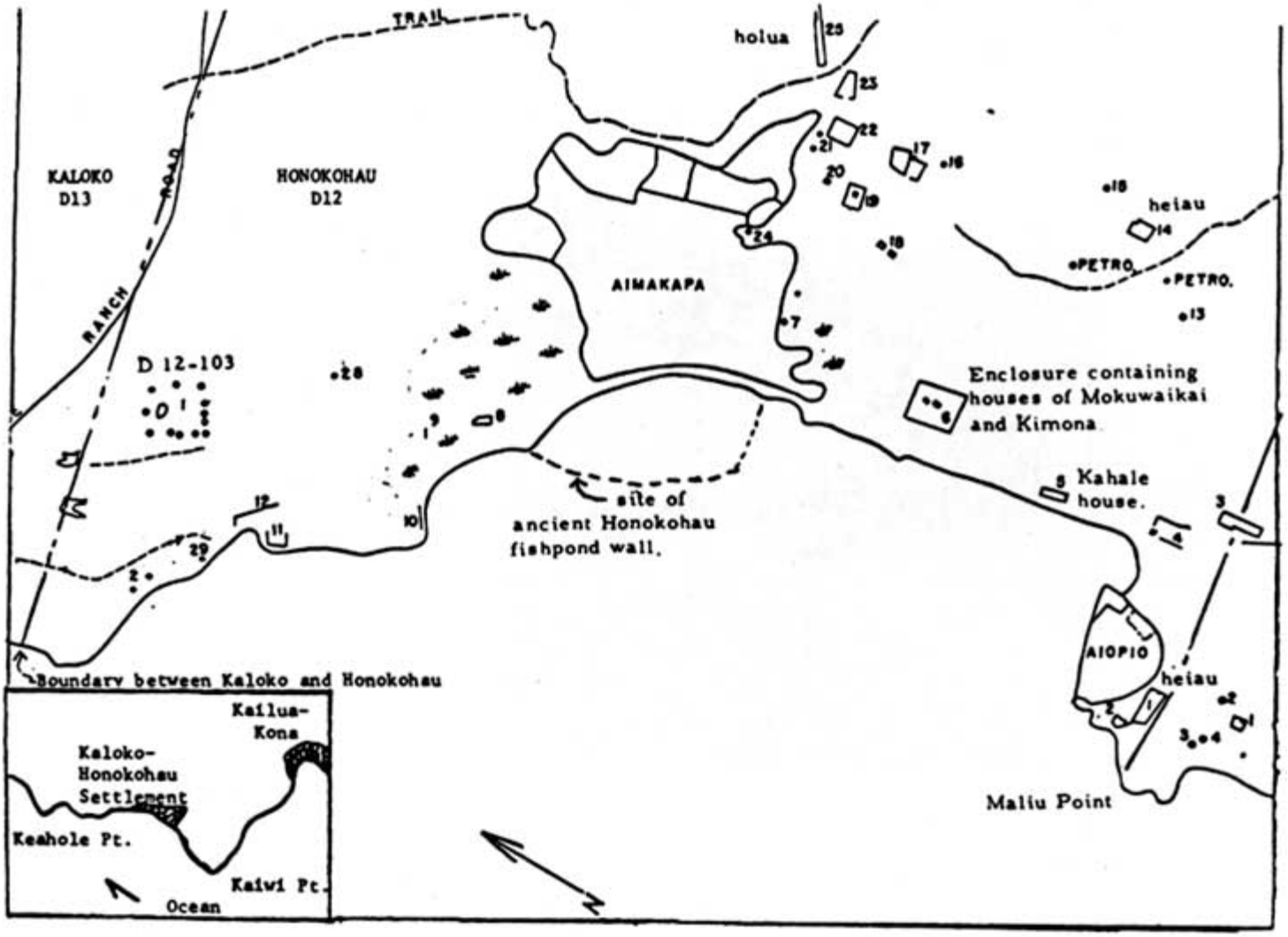
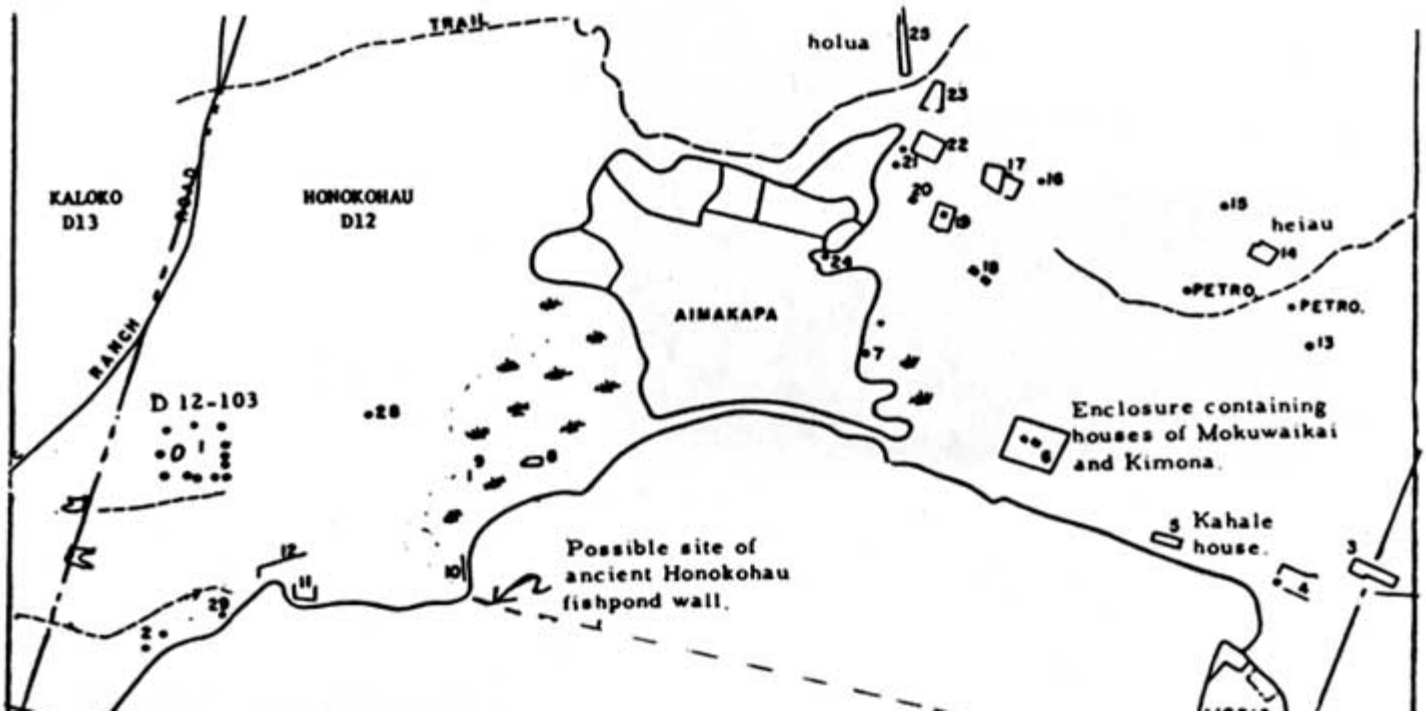


Fig. 39. MAP OF HONOKOHAU AREA. The monumental *ahu* and "Queen's Bath" are at left of photo (Site D 12-103). The ruins of an old fishpond wall *makai* of Aimakapa Fishpond are shown.



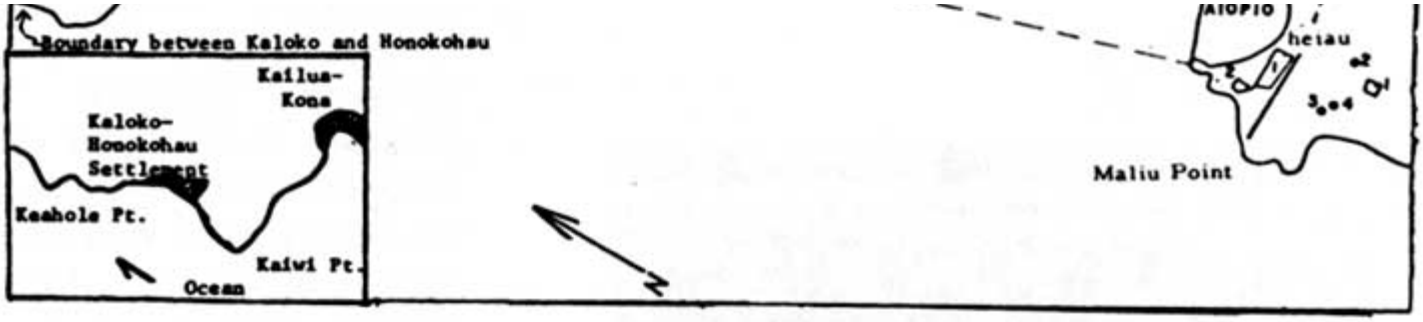


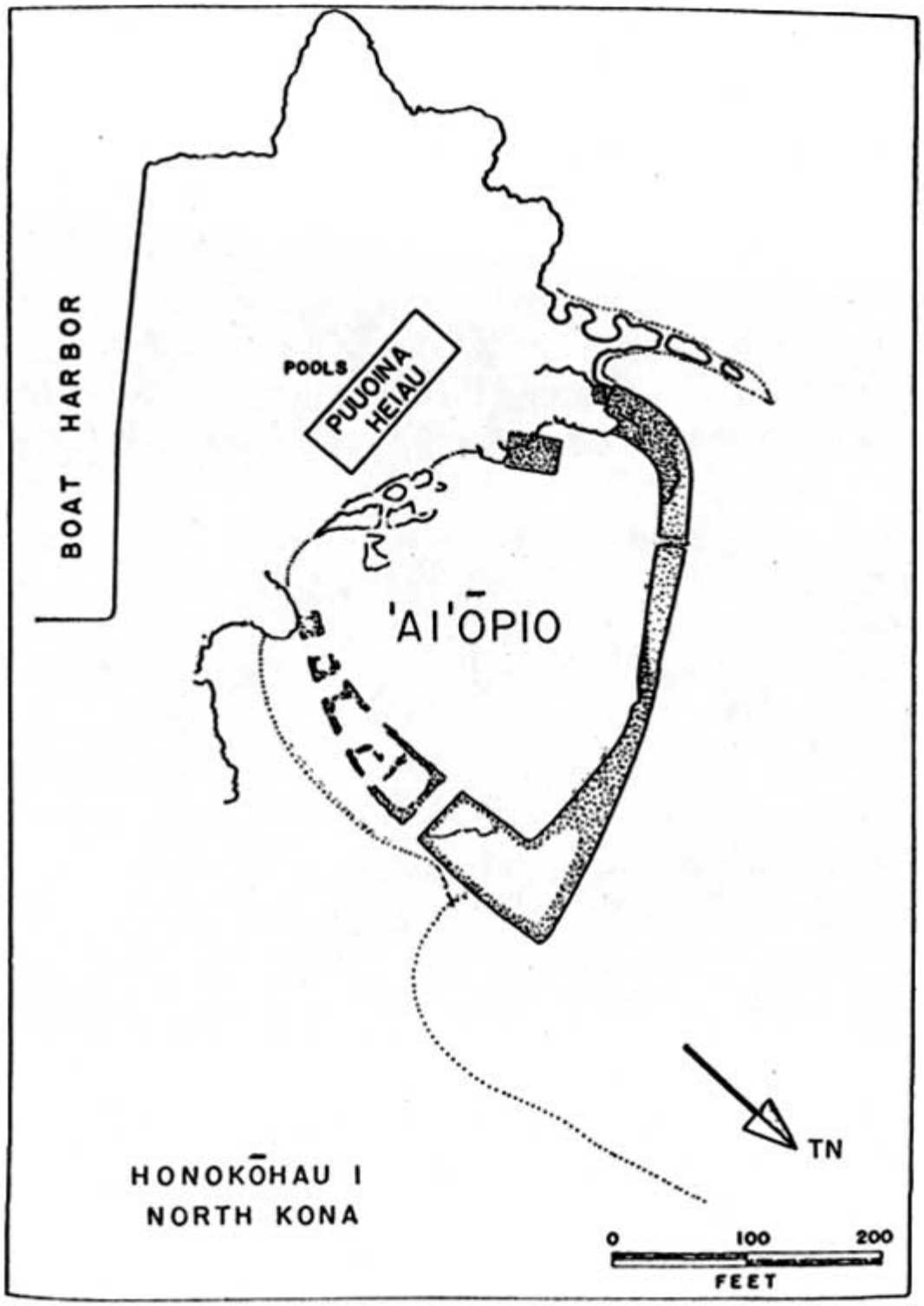
FIGURE 10. Map of coastal area of Honokohau Ahupua'a between Kaloko and Kealakehe, showing fishponds, house sites, and cluster of *ahu* (D12-103).

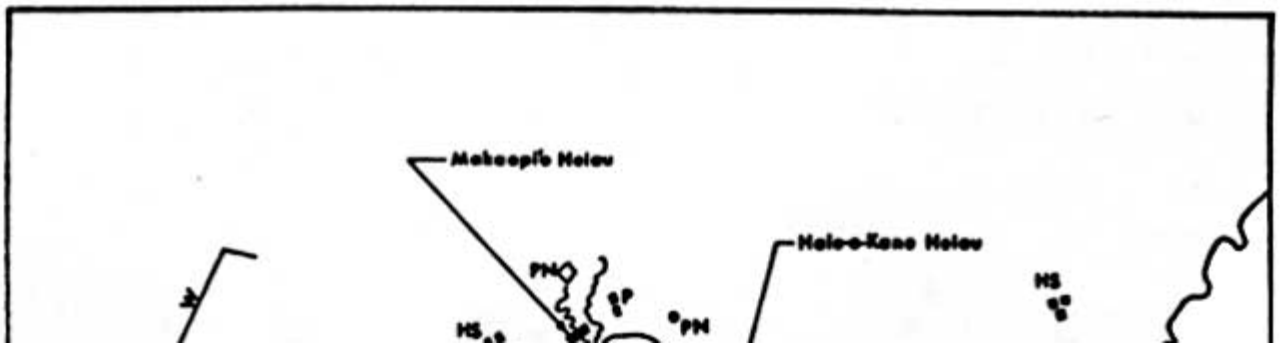
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig108.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:23 AM]








BOAT HARBOR
POOLS
PUUOINA HEIAU
'AI'ŌPIO
TN
HONOKŌHAU I
NORTH KONA
0
100
200
FEET


Mokoopio Heiau
Hale-o-Kane Heiau
PH
HS
HS

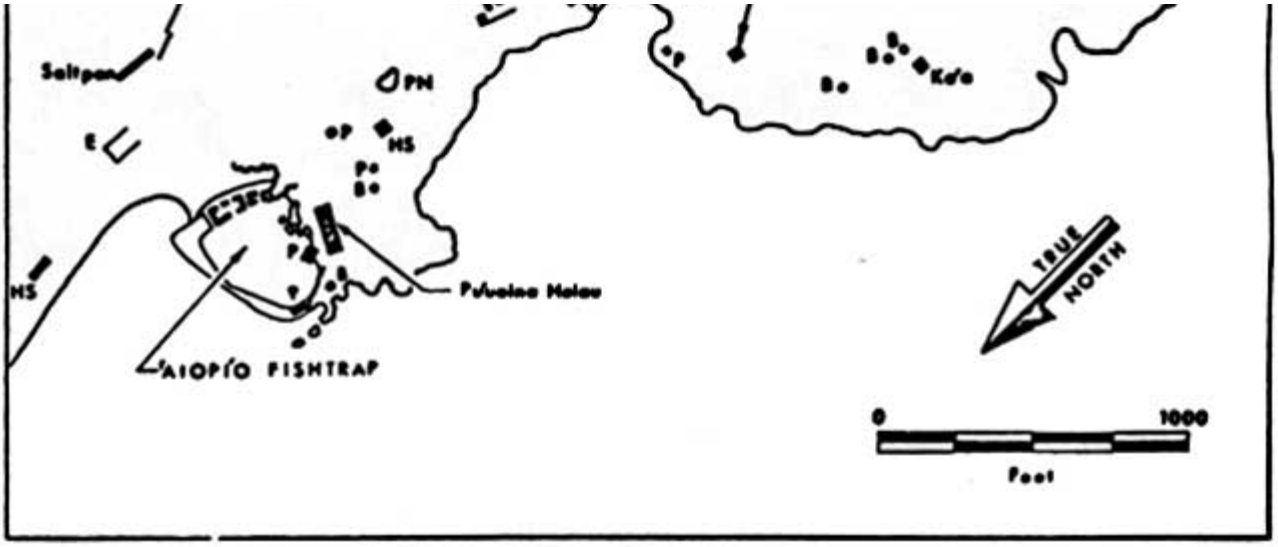
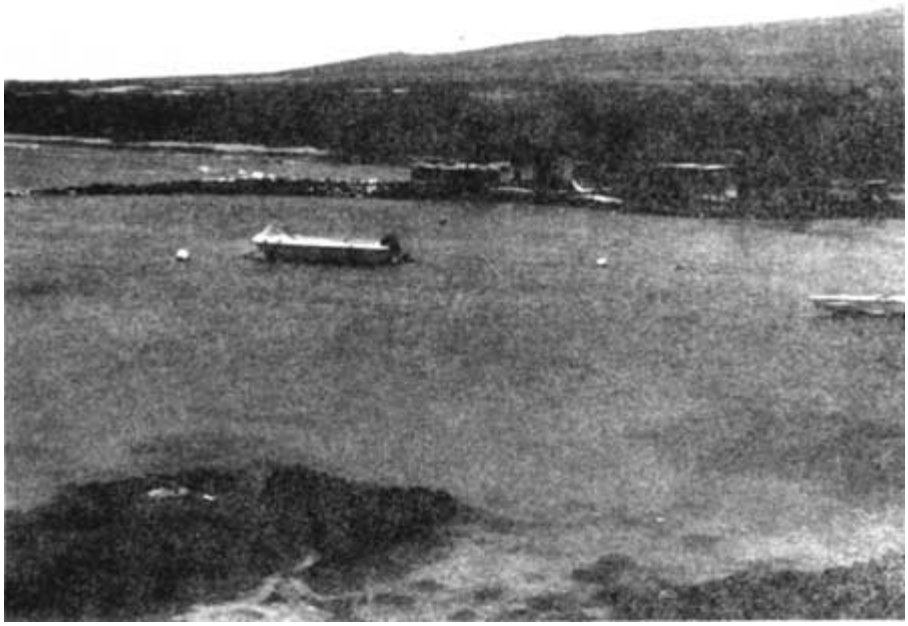


Fig. 39. Archaeological Sites Associated with 'Aiopi'o Fishtrap

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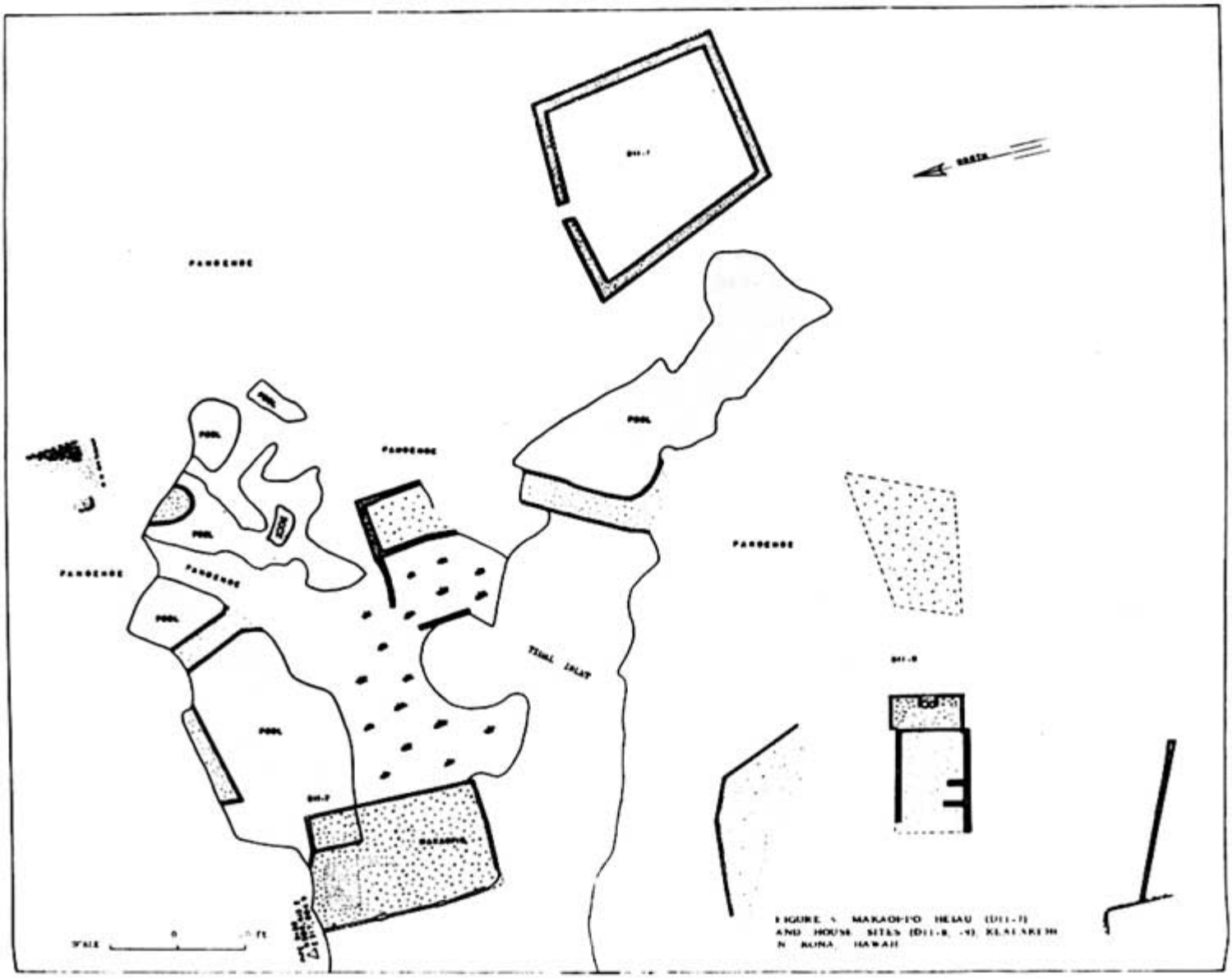
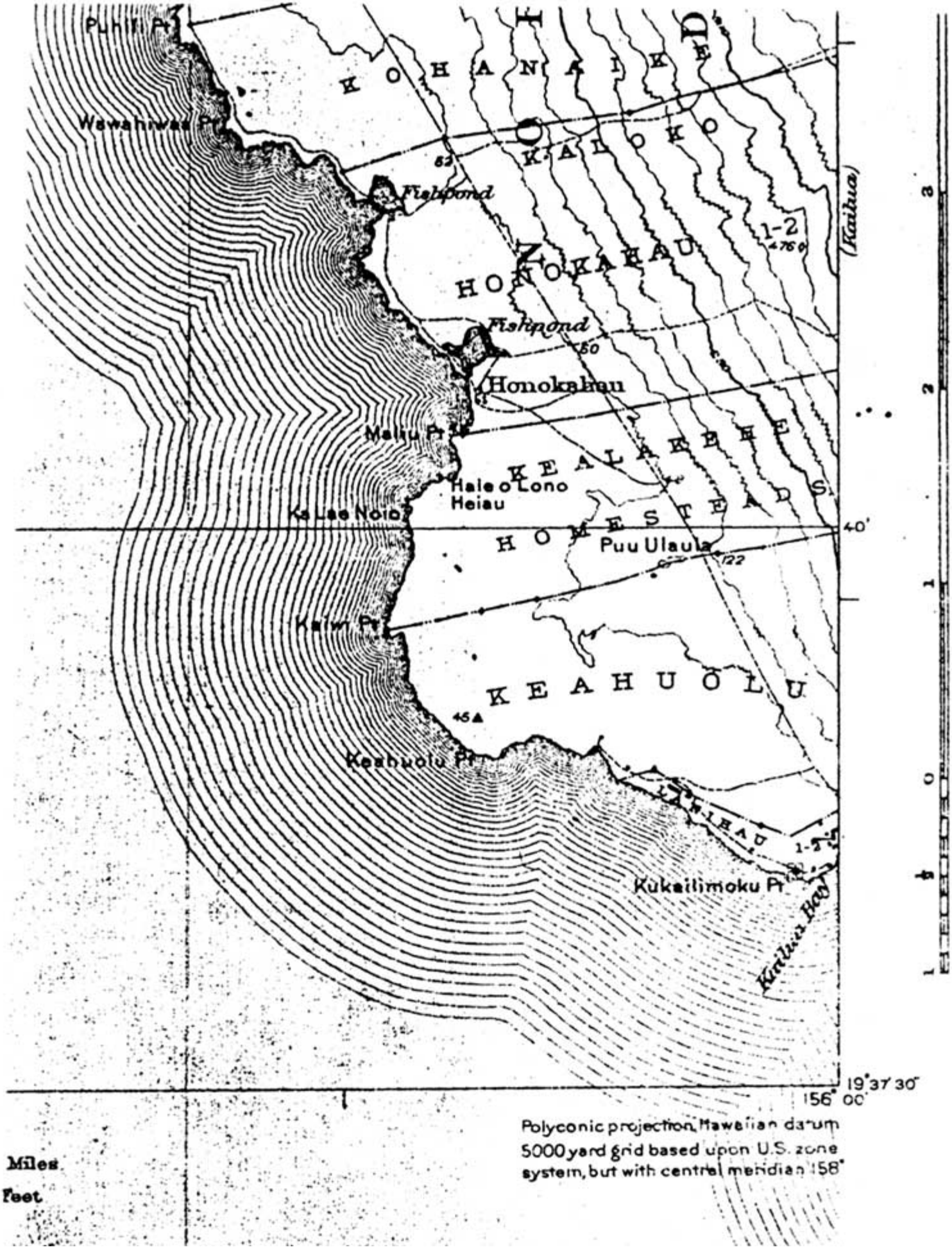


FIGURE 1. MAKAOPIO HEIAU (DII-7) AND HOUSE SITES (DII-8, -9), KLAIAKEIN IN KONA, HAWAII

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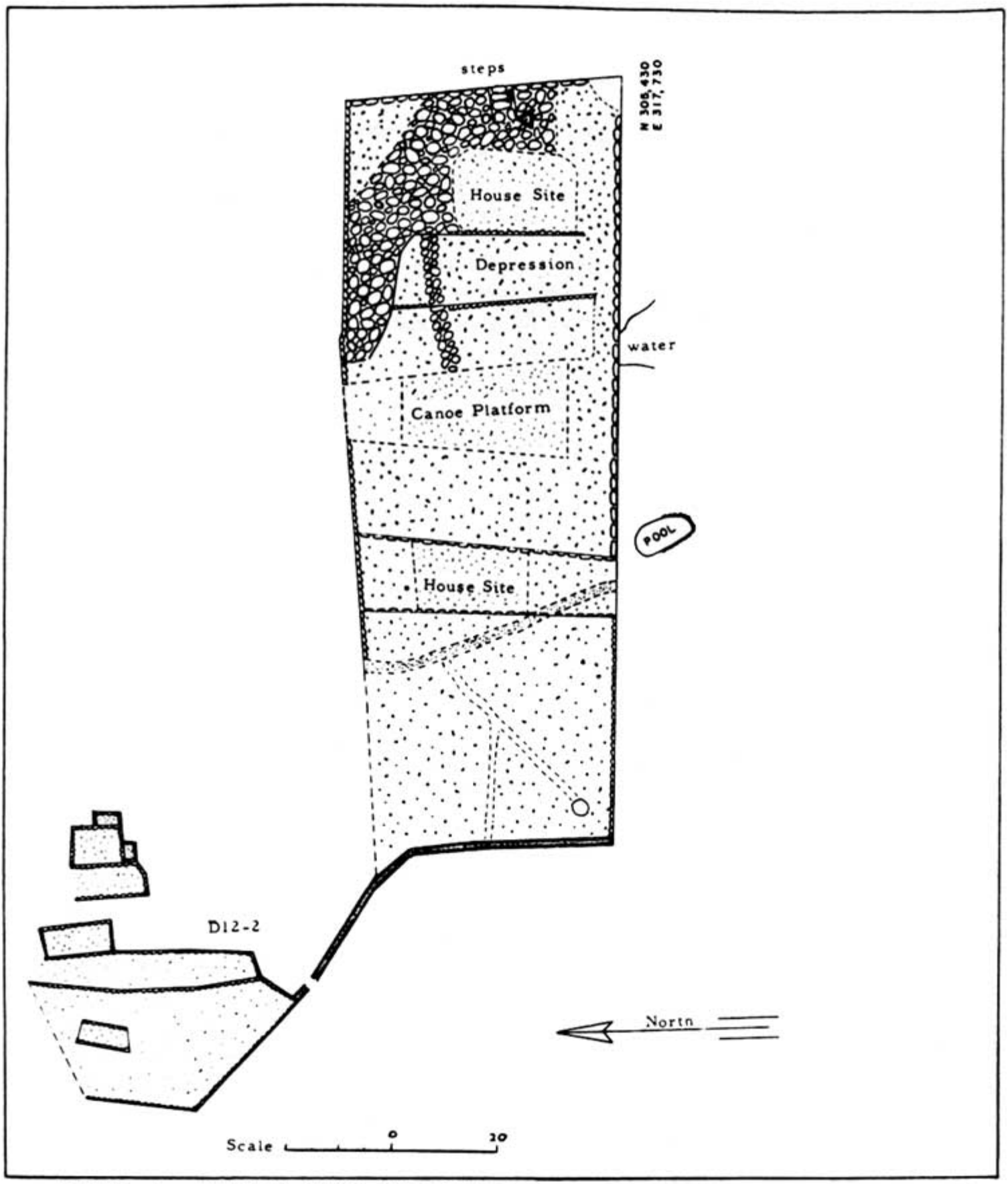


FIGURE 7. PUUOINA HEIAU AND BURIALS (D12-1, -2), HONOKOHAU, N. KONA, HAWAII

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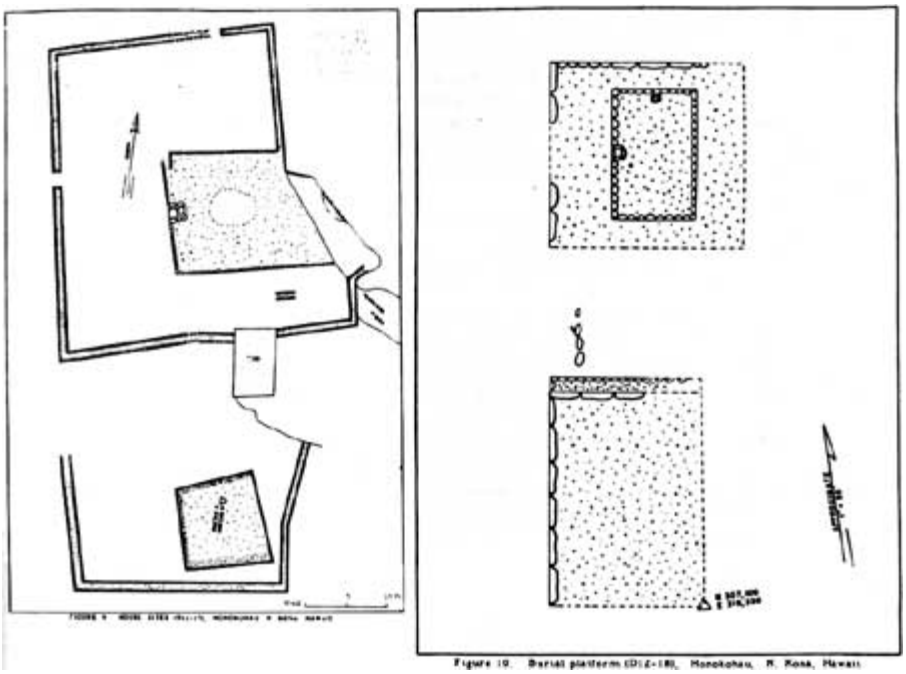
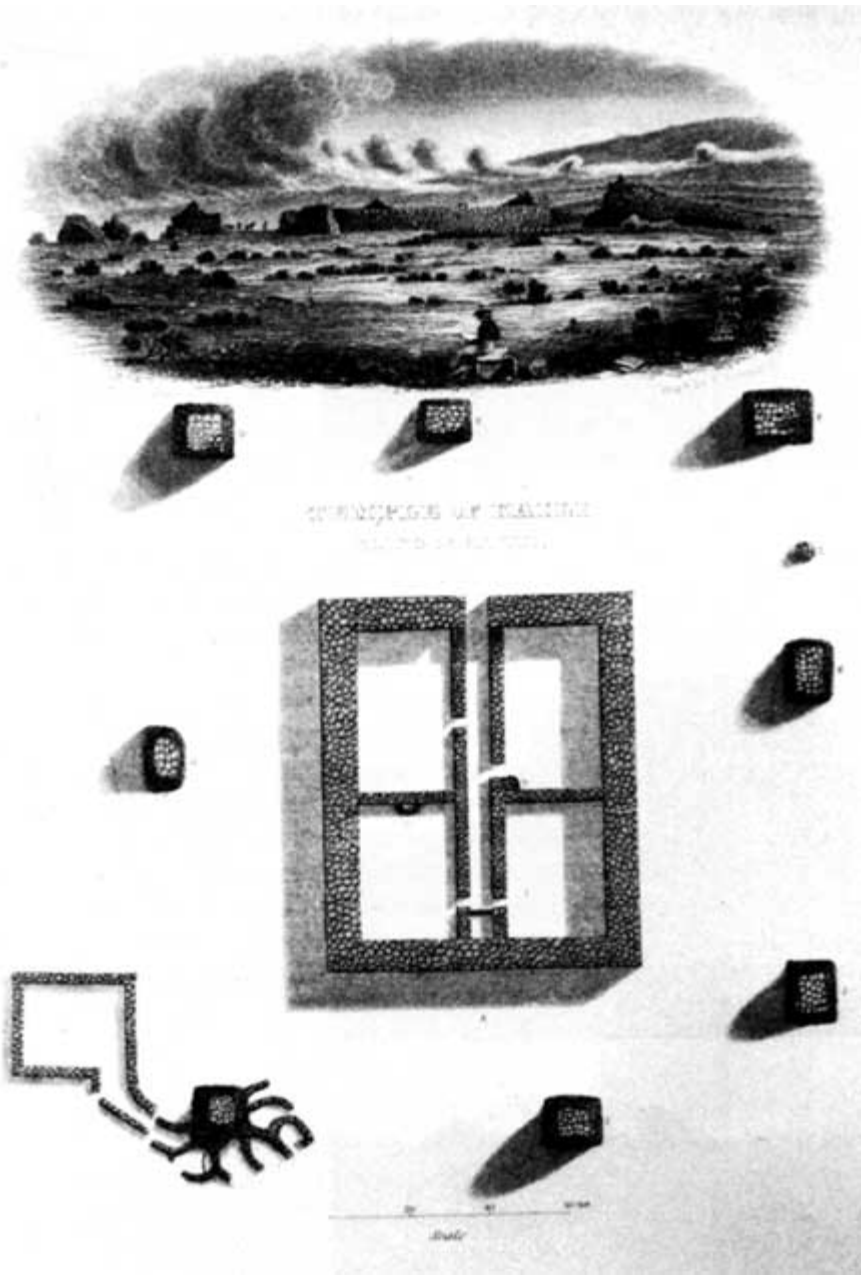


Figure 10. Burial platform (D1:2-18), Honokohau, N. Kona, Hawaii



















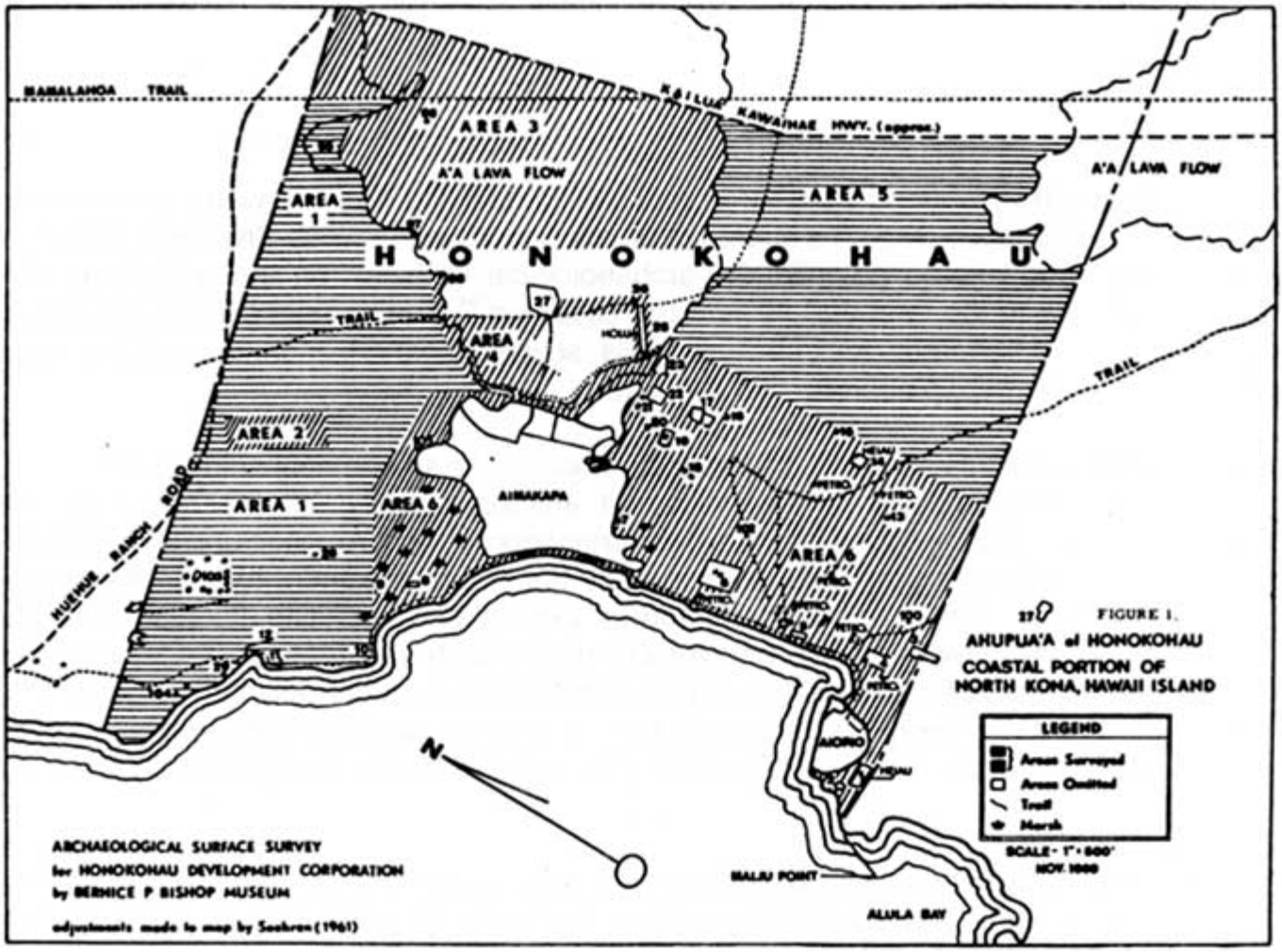
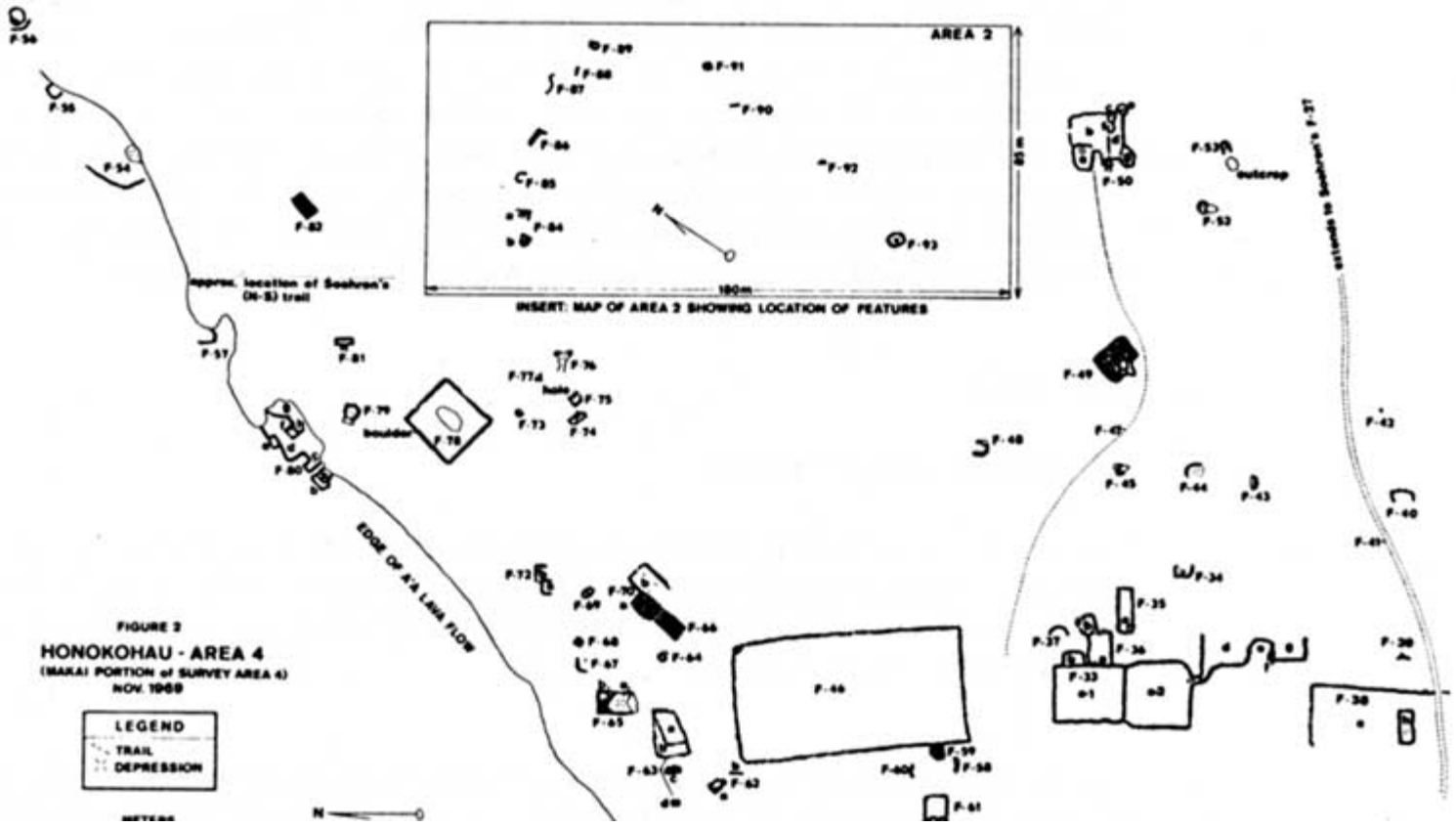


Figure 1. Map of Honokohau Coastal Area, N. Kona, Hawaii, showing location of Areas 1-6, and of sites surveyed.



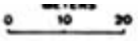
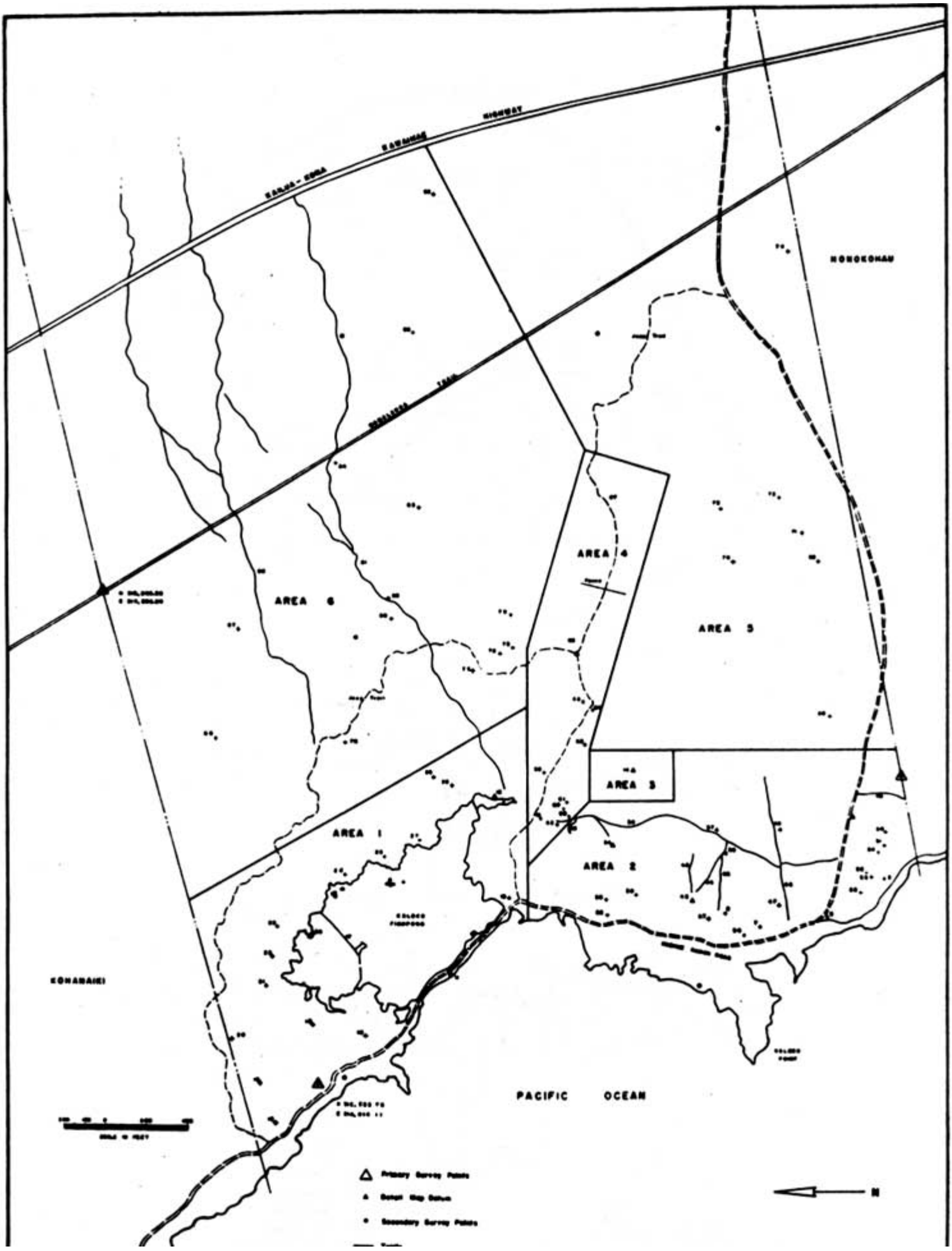


Figure 2. Map of Area 4 and Insert Map of Area 2, showing location of sites surveyed.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig133.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:45 AM]


AREA 6
AREA 4
AREA 5
AREA 3
AREA 1
AREA 2
PACIFIC OCEAN
KONAWAIKI
HONOKOHAU
N

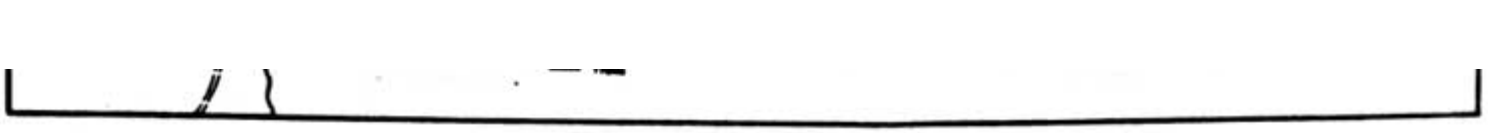


Fig. 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE COASTAL PORTION OF KALOKO.

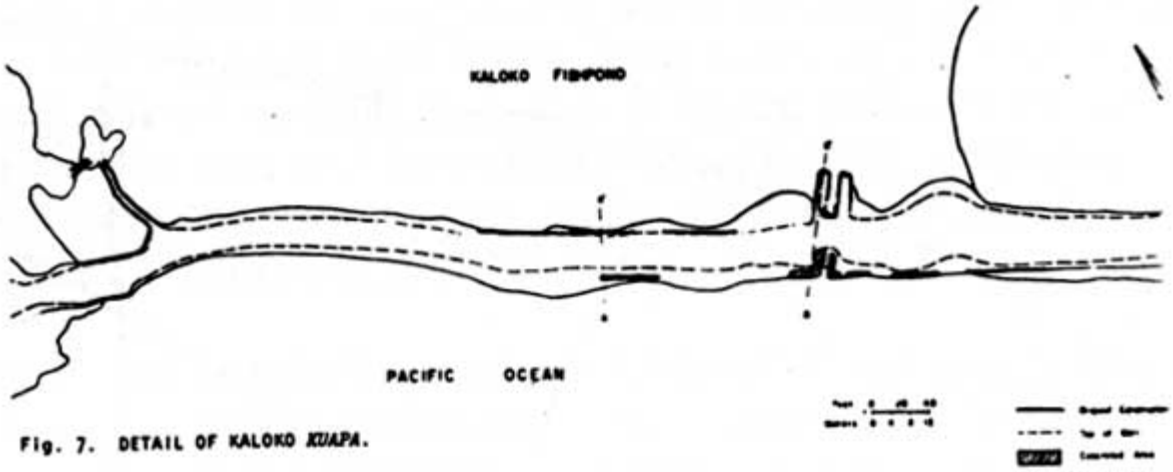


Fig. 7. DETAIL OF KALOKO *KUAPA*.

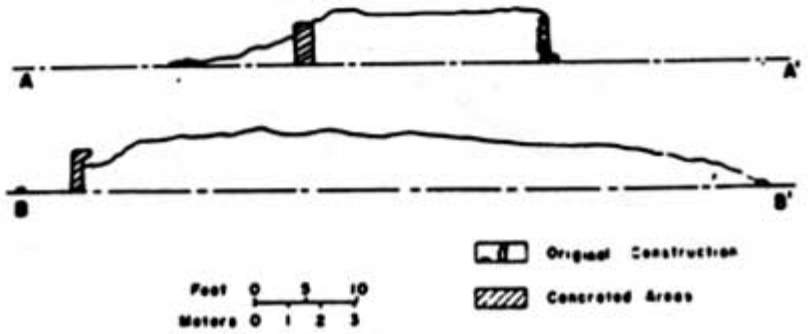
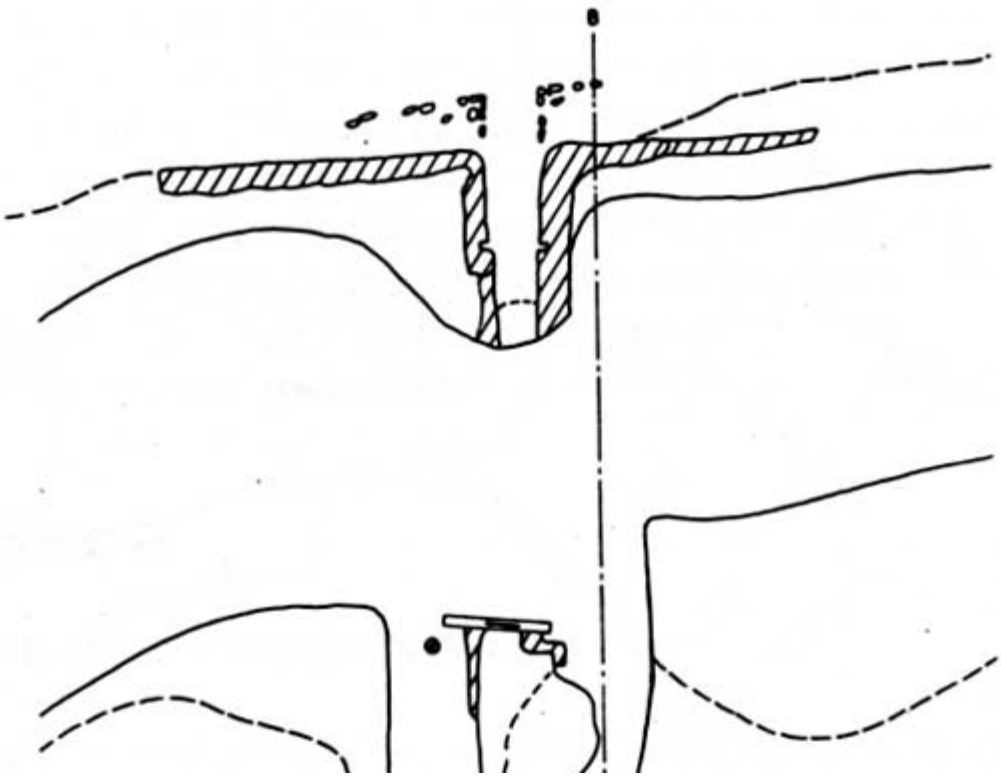


Fig. 8. *MAKAI-MAUKA* CROSS SECTIONS OF KALOKO FISHPOND *KUAPA*.



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig135.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:47 AM]



Fig. 9. DETAIL OF *AUWAIKA* IN KALOKO FISHPOND *KUAPA*.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig135.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:47 AM]

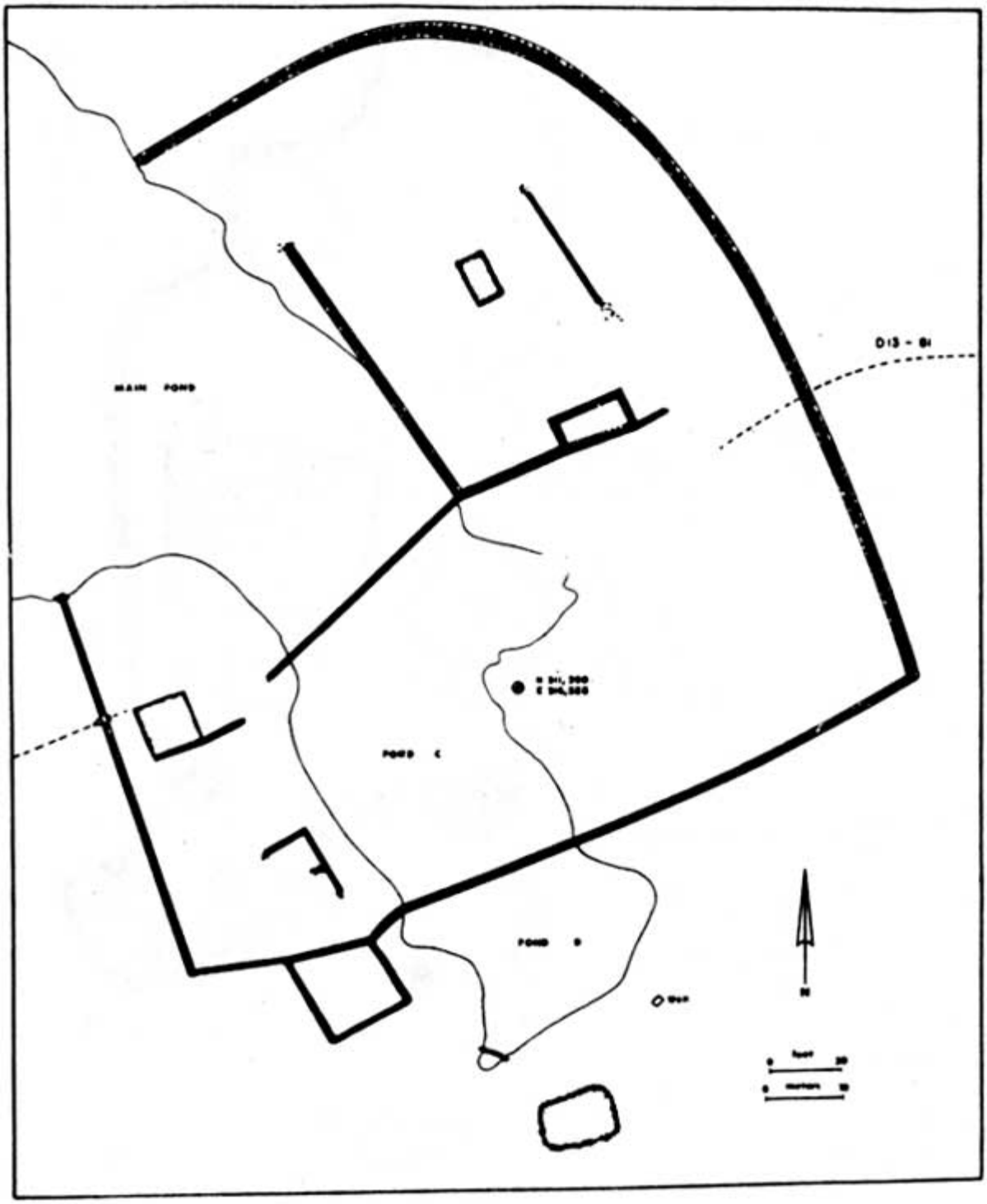


Fig. 10. MAP OF SITE D13-12, KALOKO.

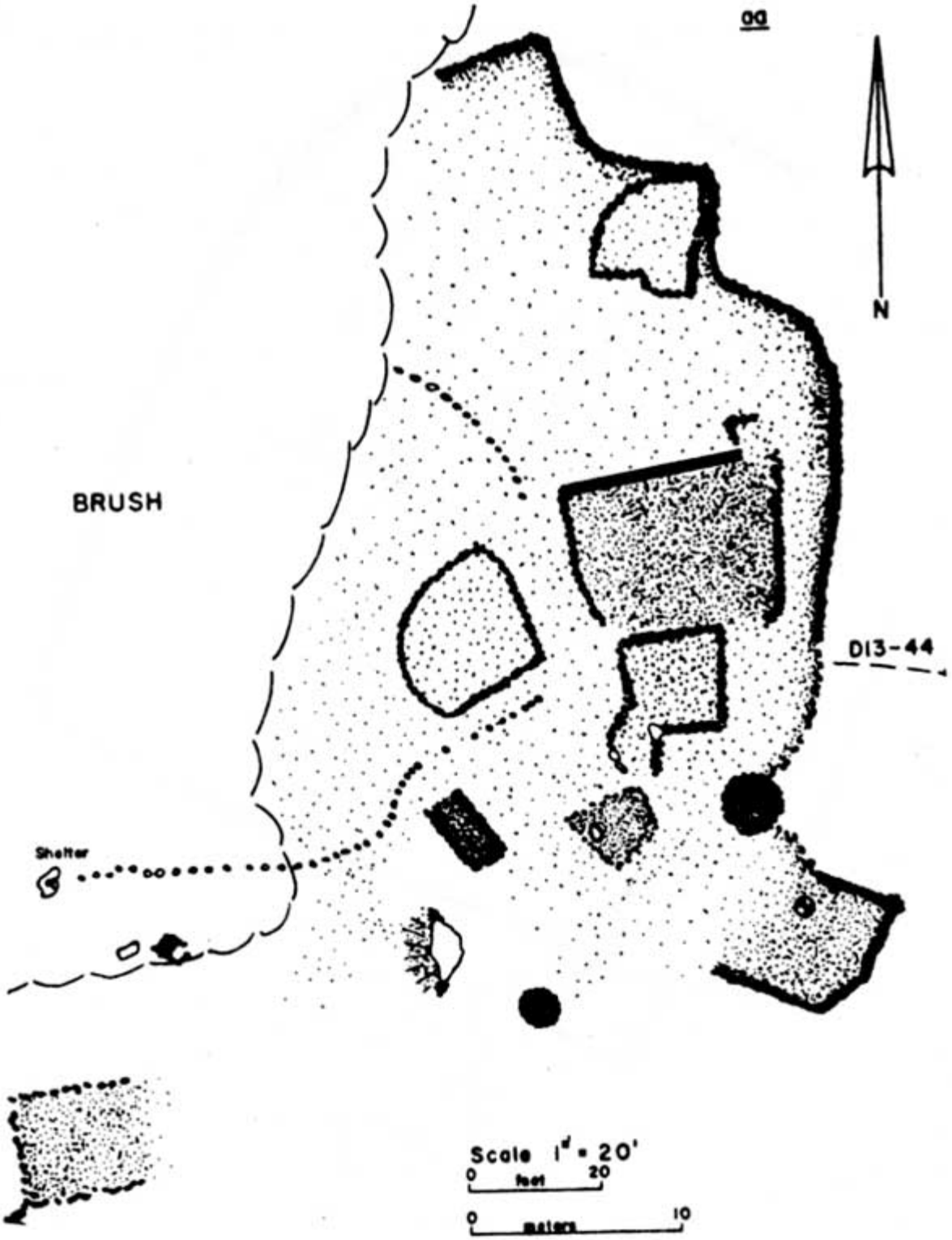


Fig. 17. MAP OF COMPLEX IN SITE D13-42, KALOKO.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig137.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:49 AM]

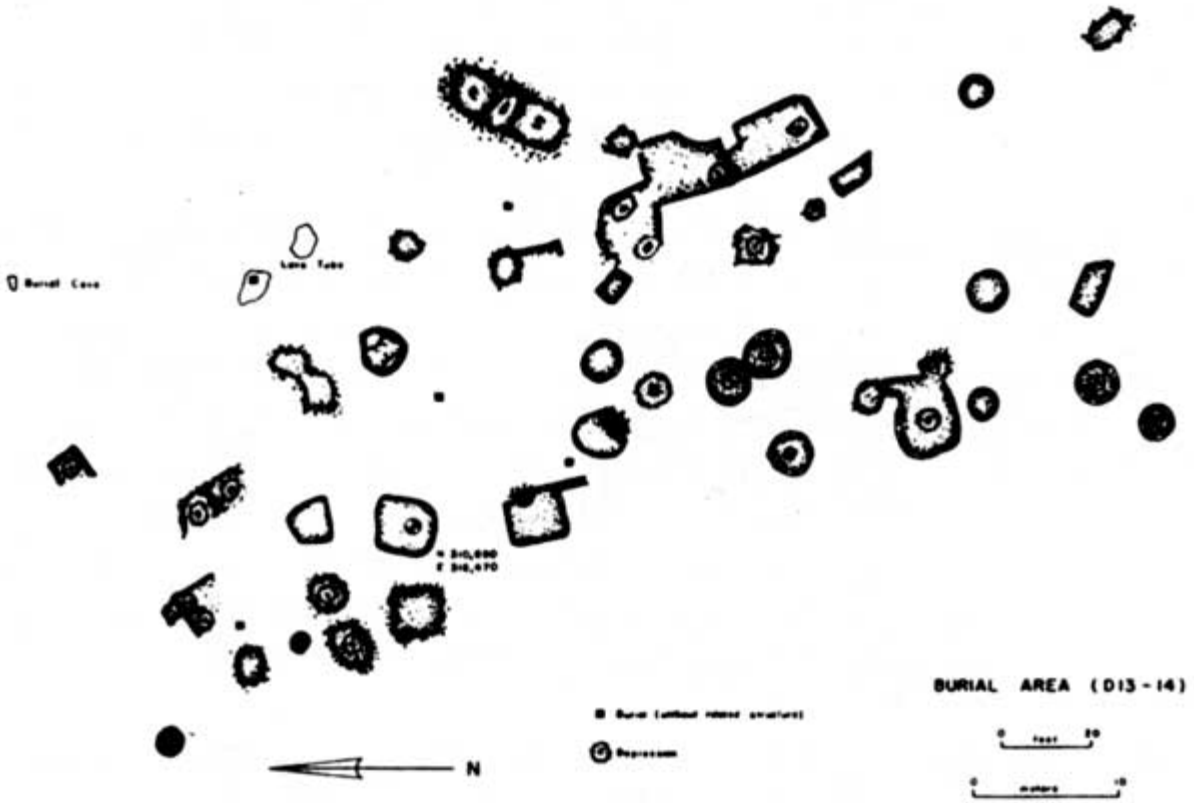


Fig. 18. MAP OF BURIAL AREA, SITE D13-14, KALOKO.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig138.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:50 AM]

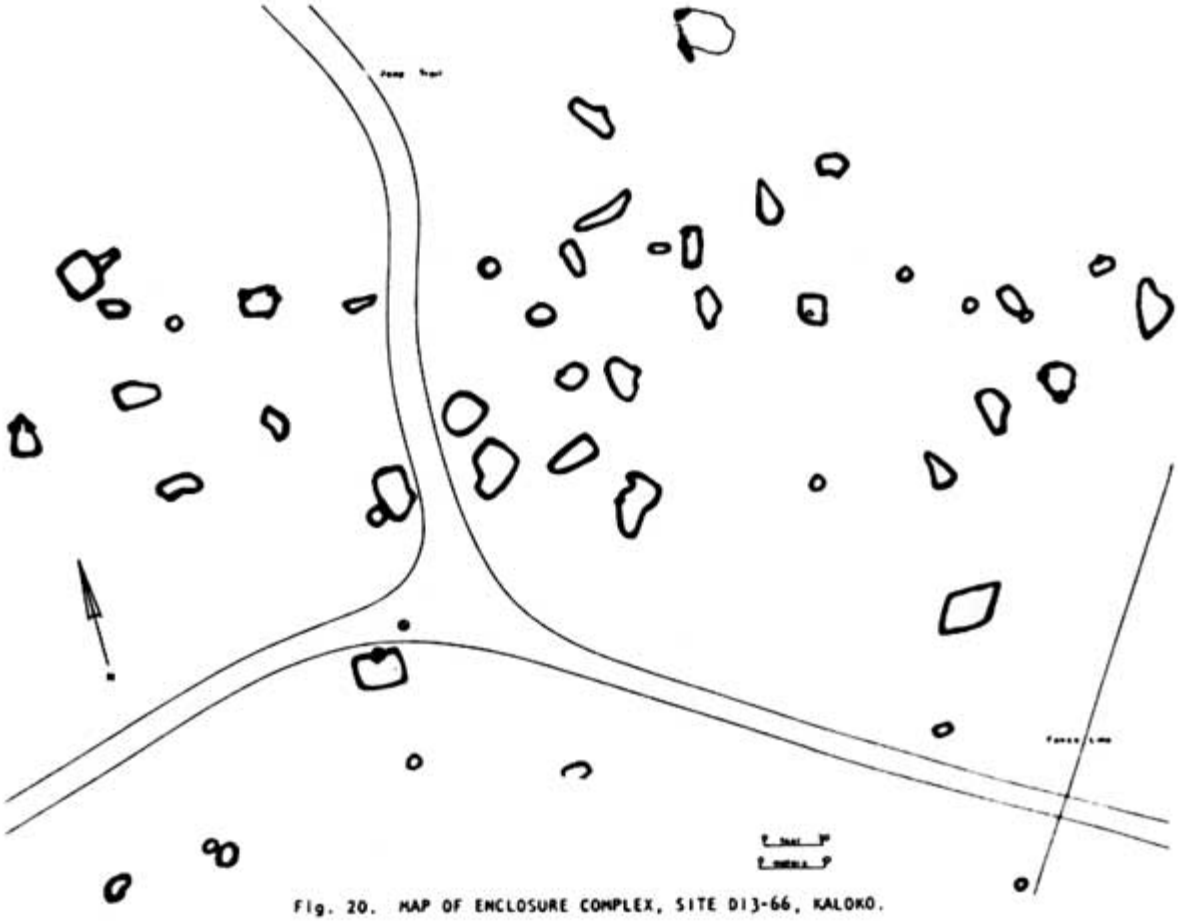


Fig. 20. MAP OF ENCLOSURE COMPLEX, SITE D13-66, KALOKO.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig139.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:51 AM]

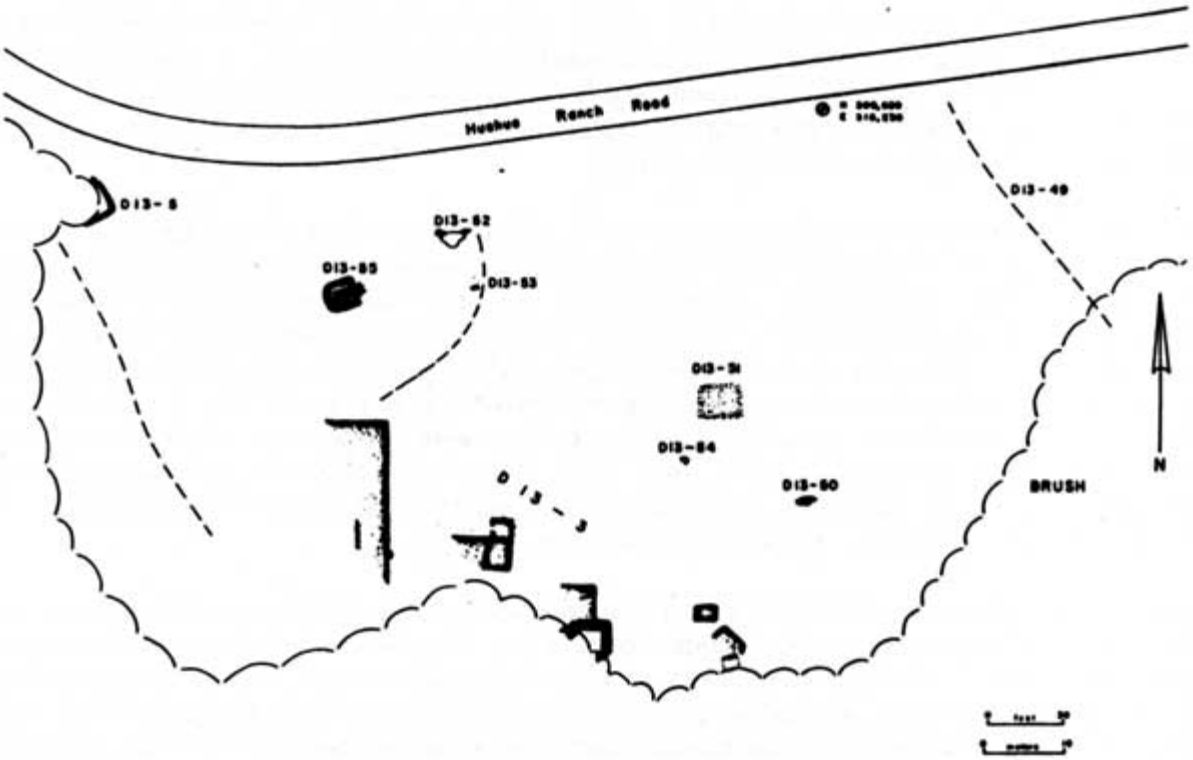
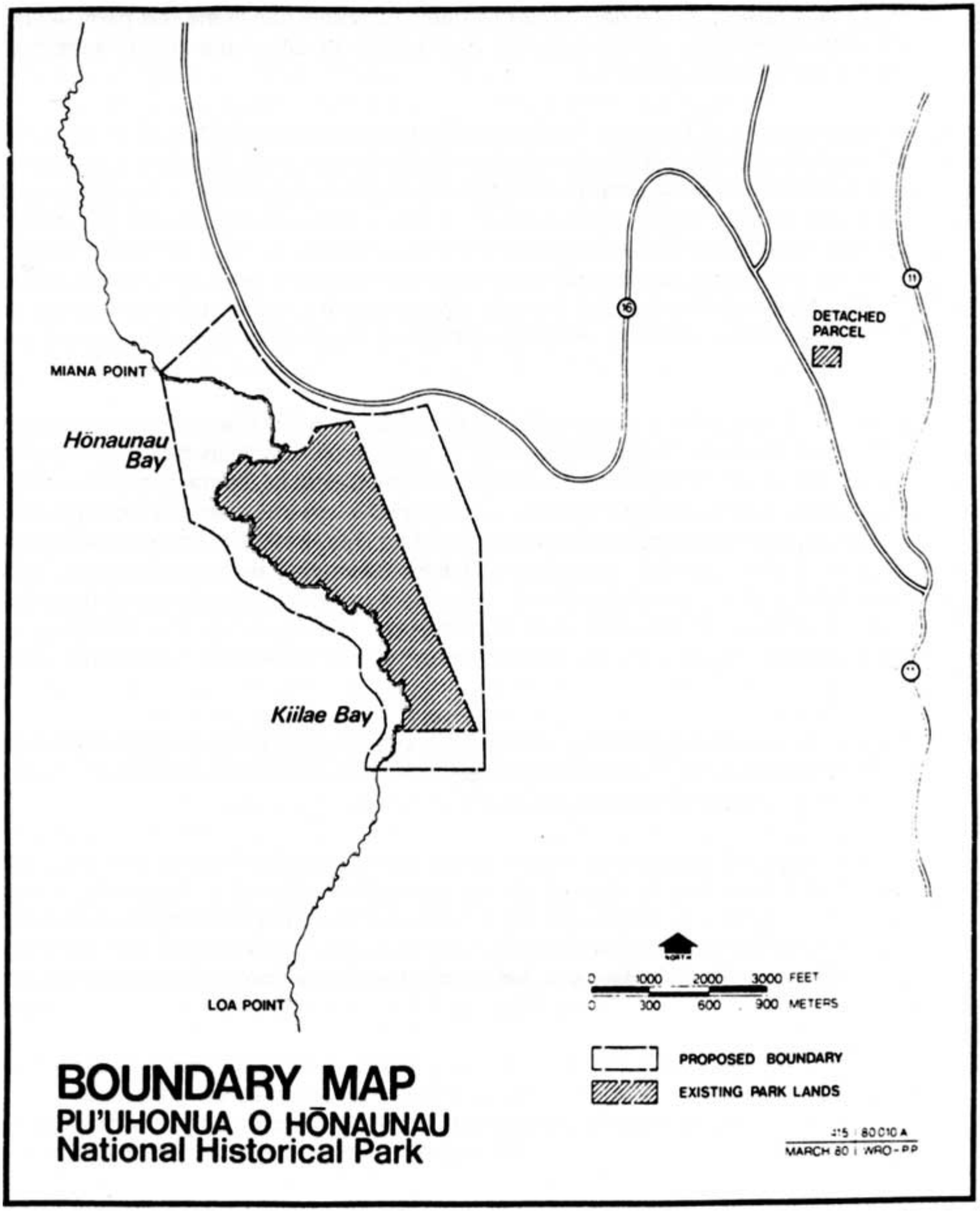
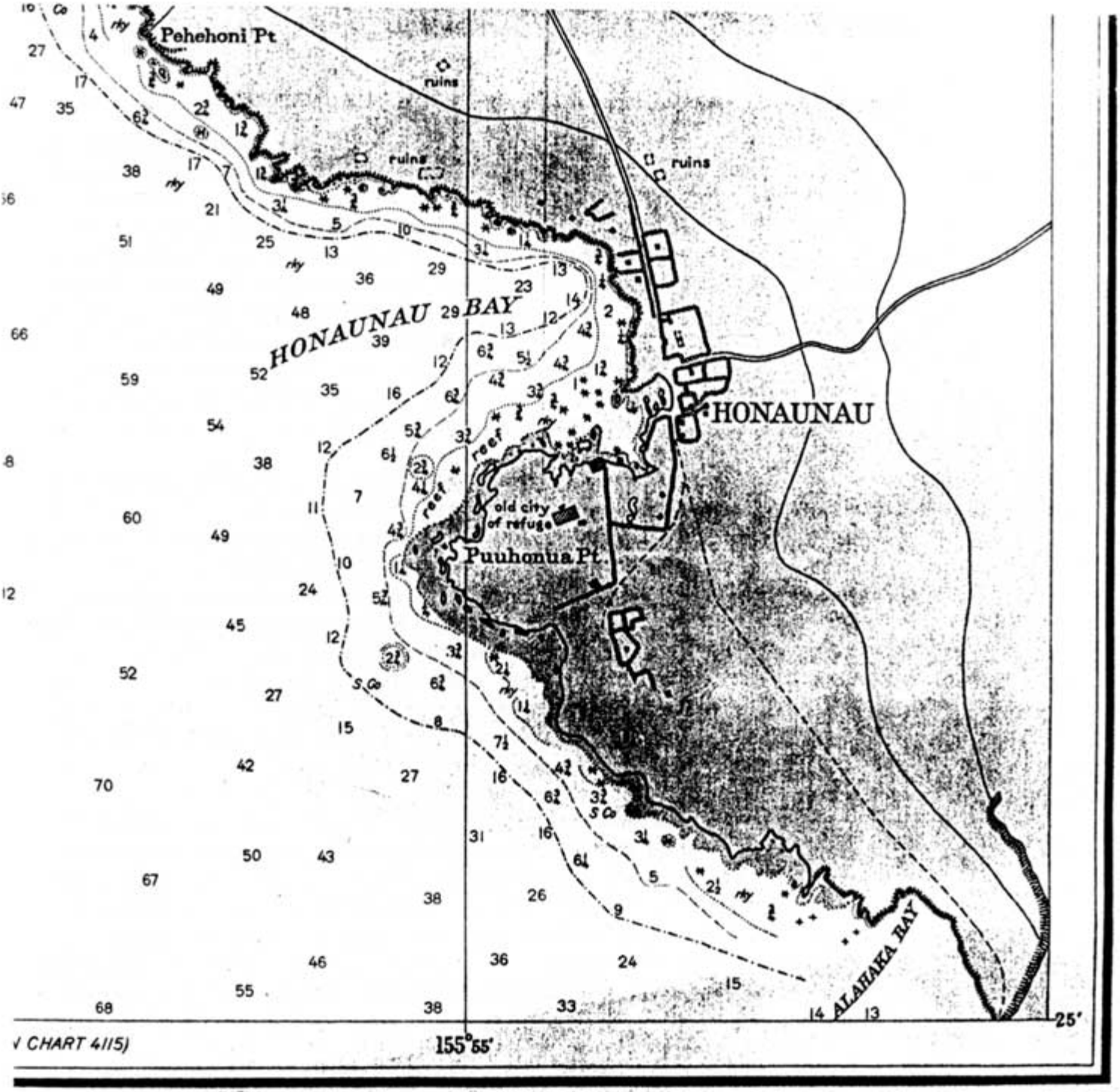


Fig. 16. MAP OF SW SECTION OF KALOKO AREA 2.



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig141.jpg[3/19/2013 10:10:52 AM]



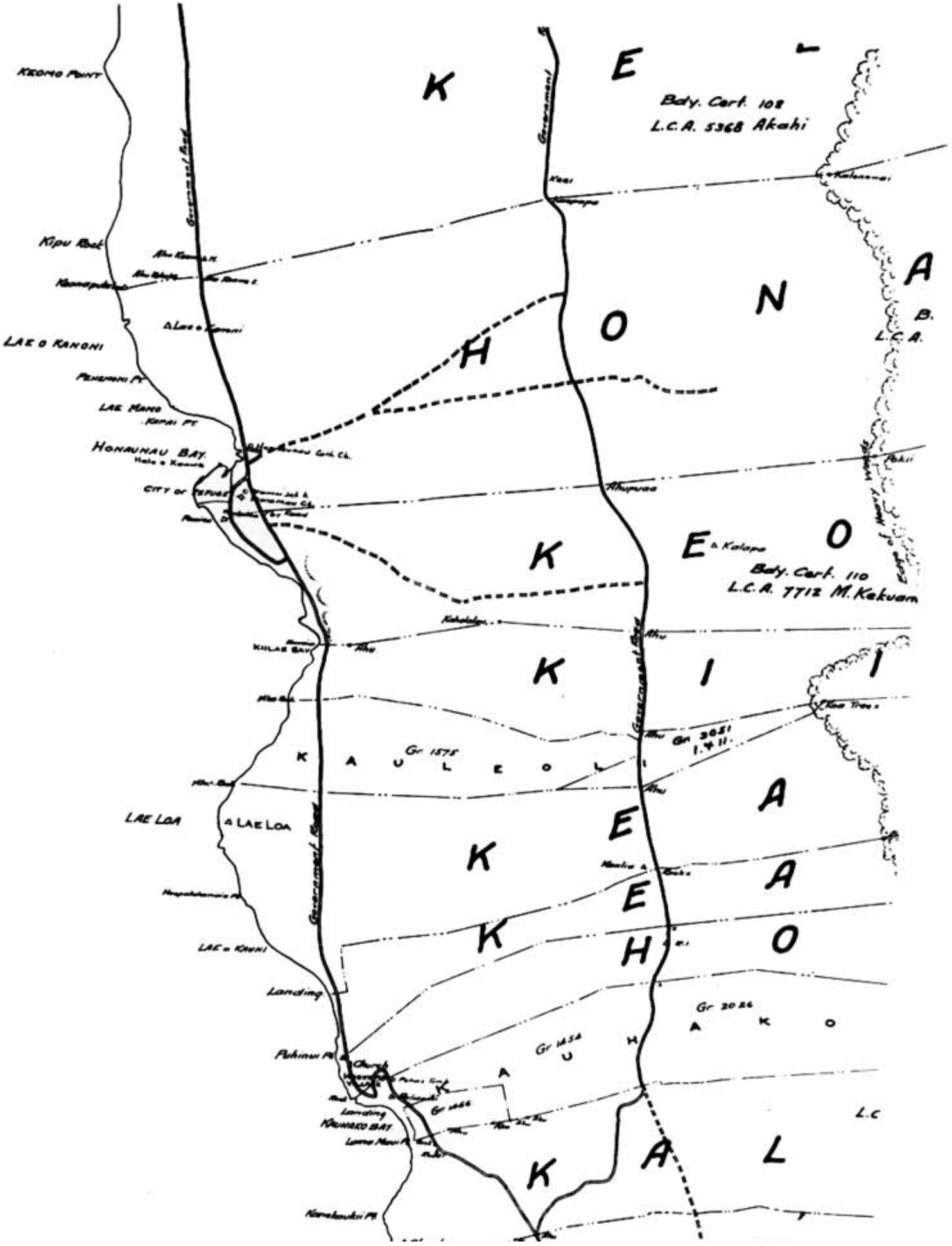
(Kealakekua Bay to Honaunau Bay)

C. & G. S. 4123

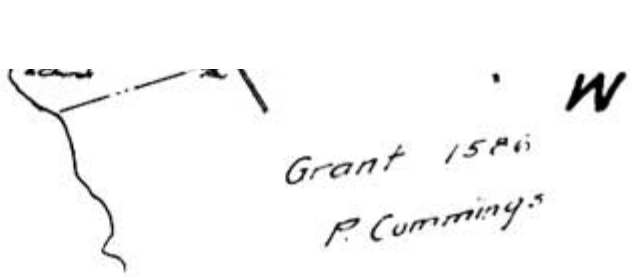
SOUNDINGS IN FATHOMS - SCALE 1:10,000

PRICE $1.00

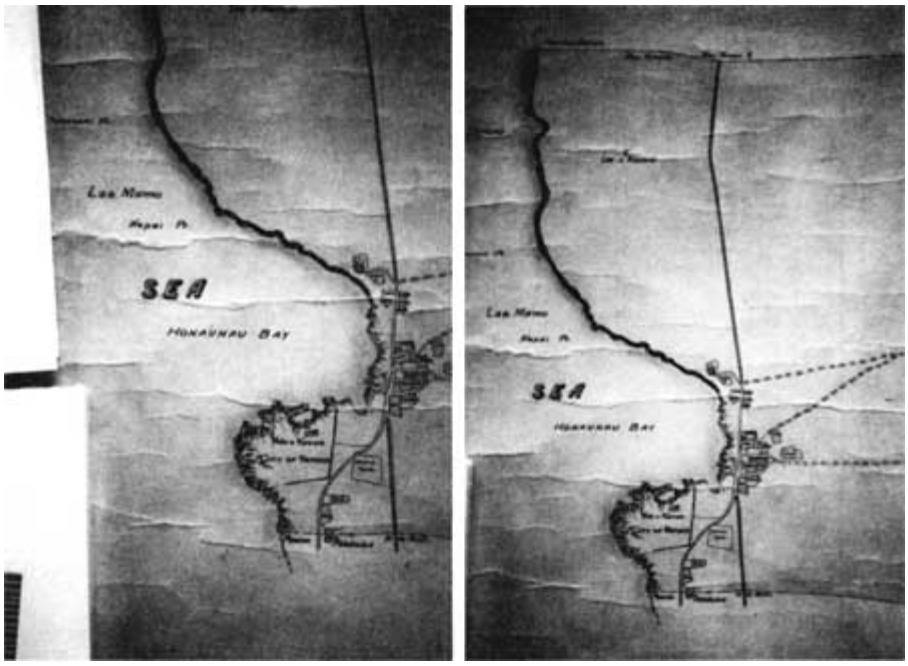
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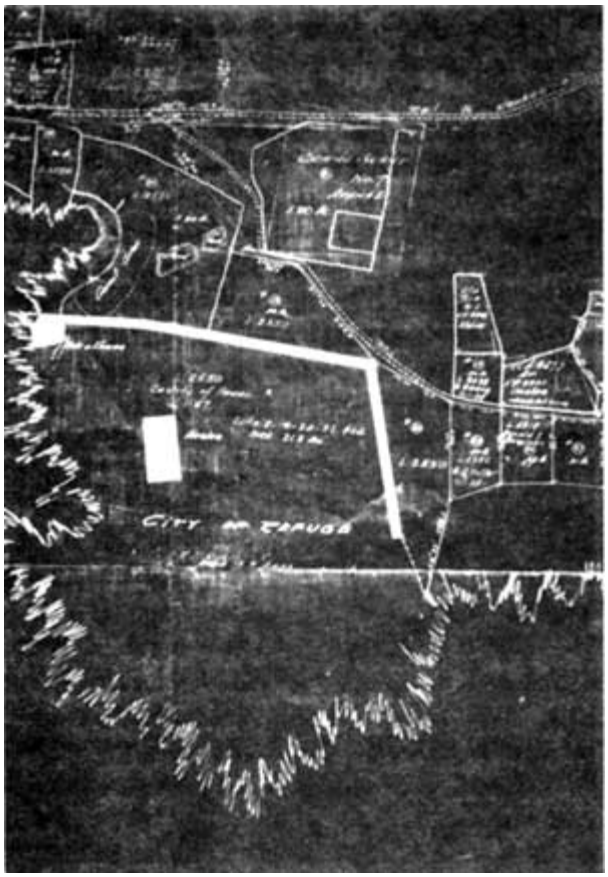


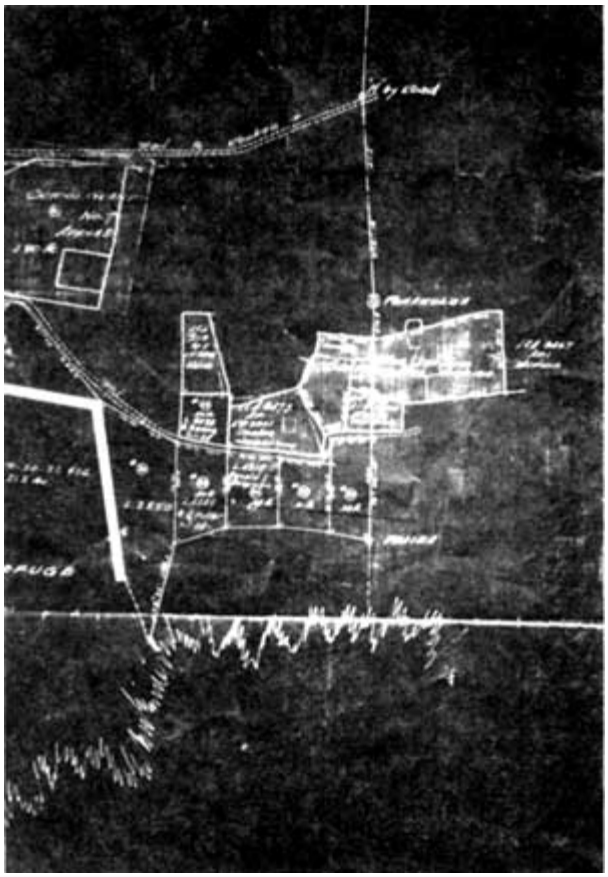
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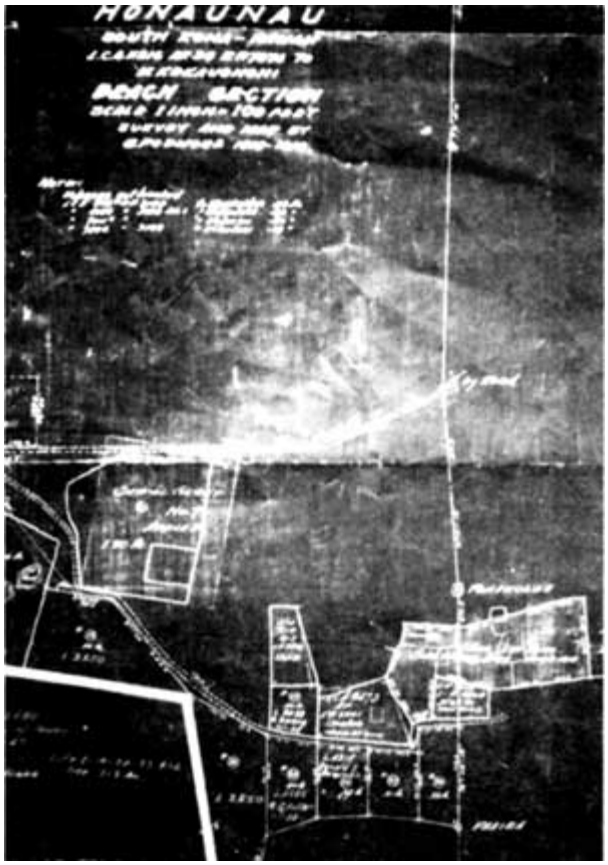


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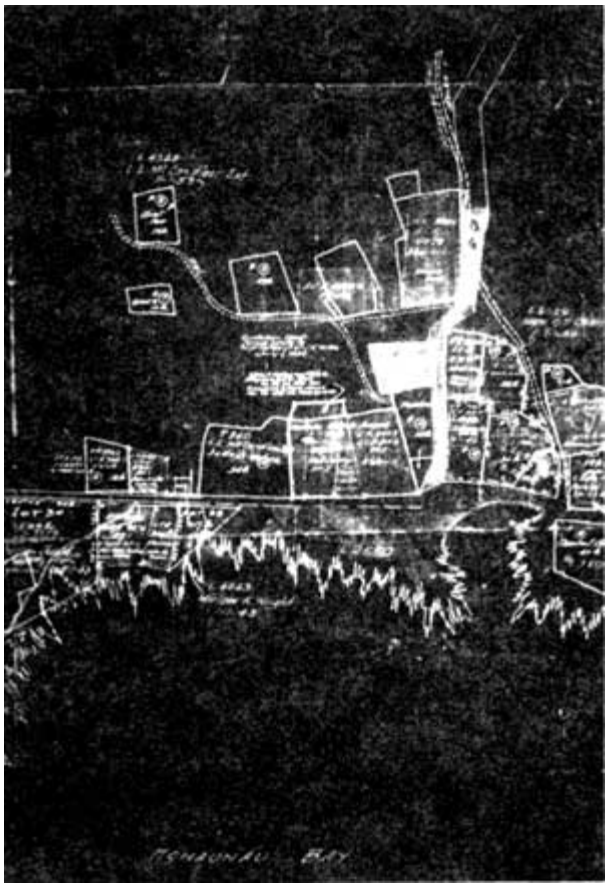

SEA
HONAUNAU BAY
SEA
HONAUNAU BAY


IRA
City of Kapaa




HONAUNAU
BEACH SECTION


HONA
BEACH



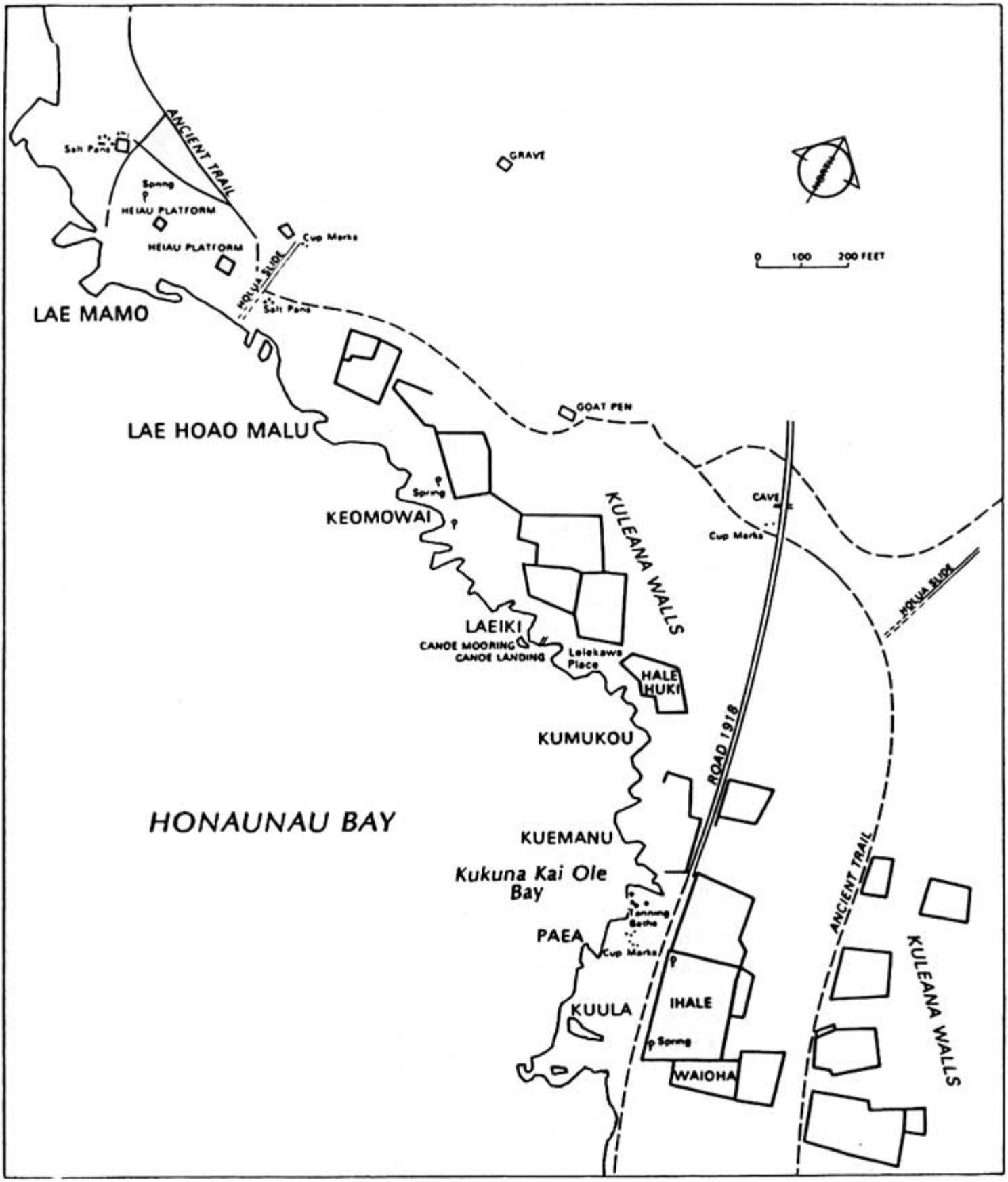
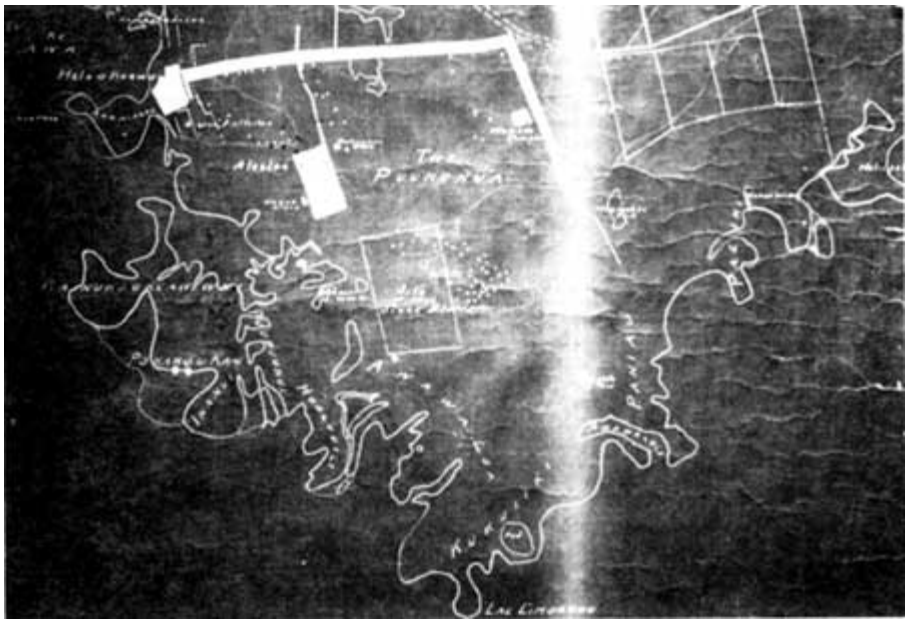
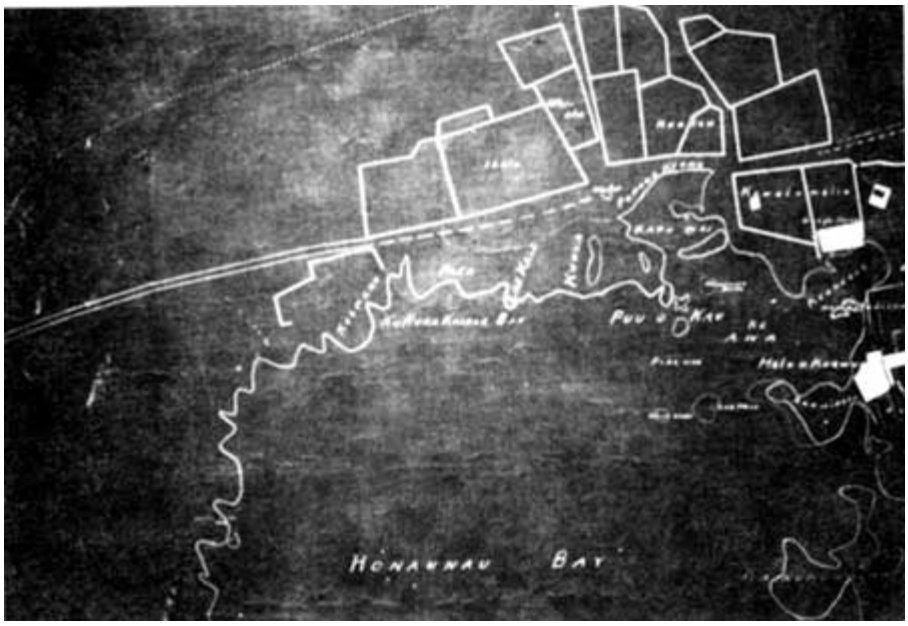


Fig. 14.1. HŌNAUNAU BAY AREA (After Stokes 1919).

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig146.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:00 AM]




HONAUNAU BAY

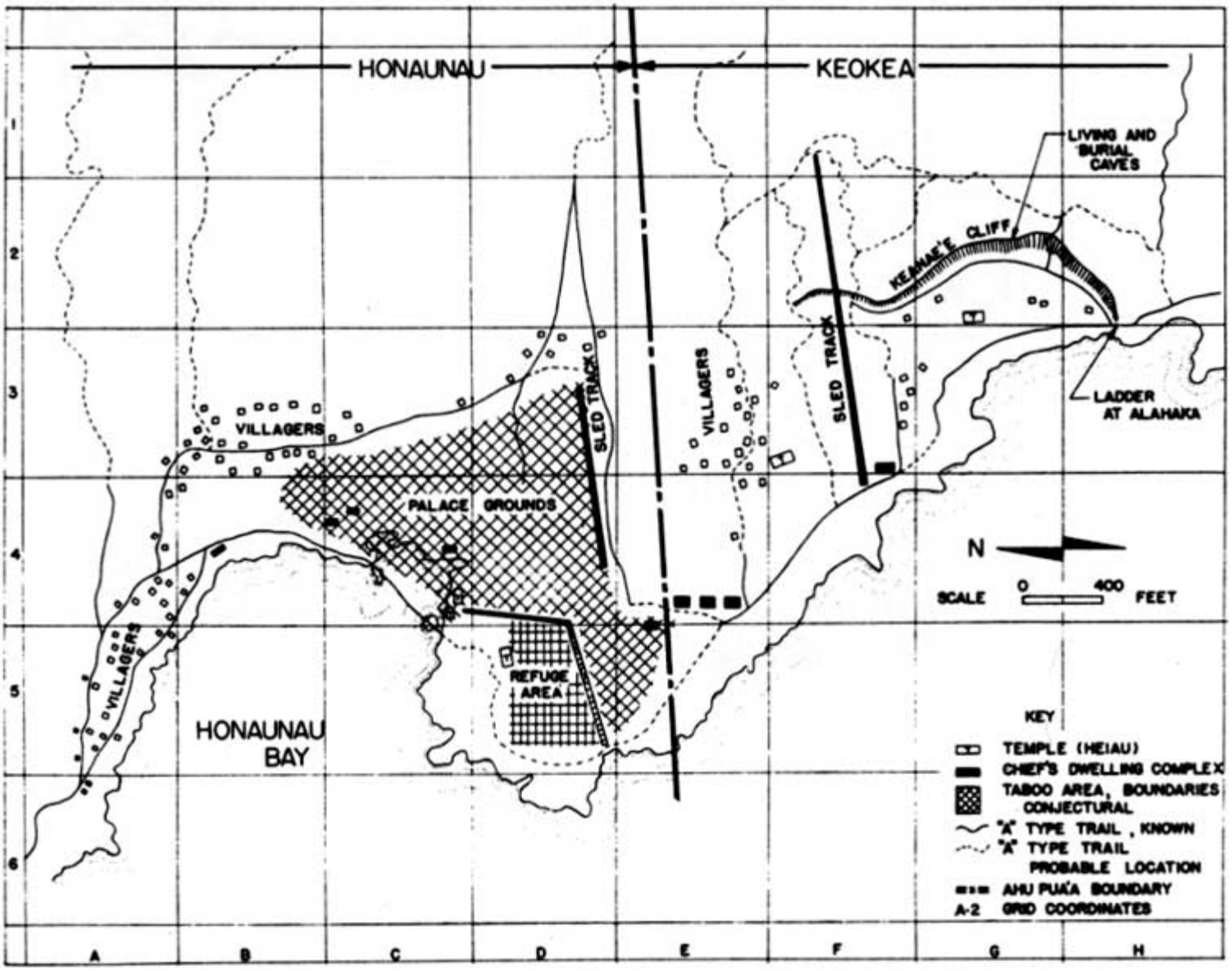


FIGURE 6.—Plan of a portion of Honaunau and Keokea, about 1750.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig148.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:03 AM]

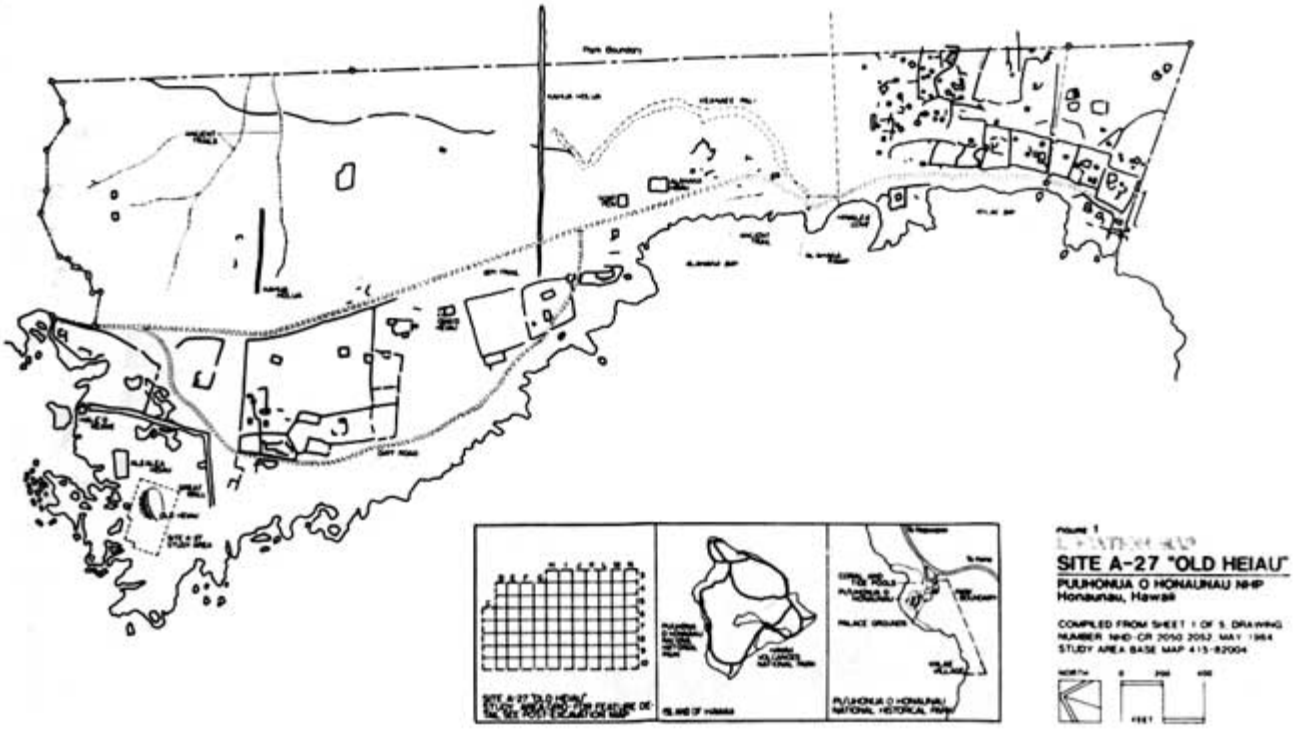


FIGURE 1

SITE A-27 "OLD HEIAU"

PUUHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP
Honaunau, Hawaii

COMPILED FROM SHEET 1 OF 5 DRAWING
NUMBER NHD-CR 2050 2052 MAY 1964
STUDY AREA BASE MAP 415-82004

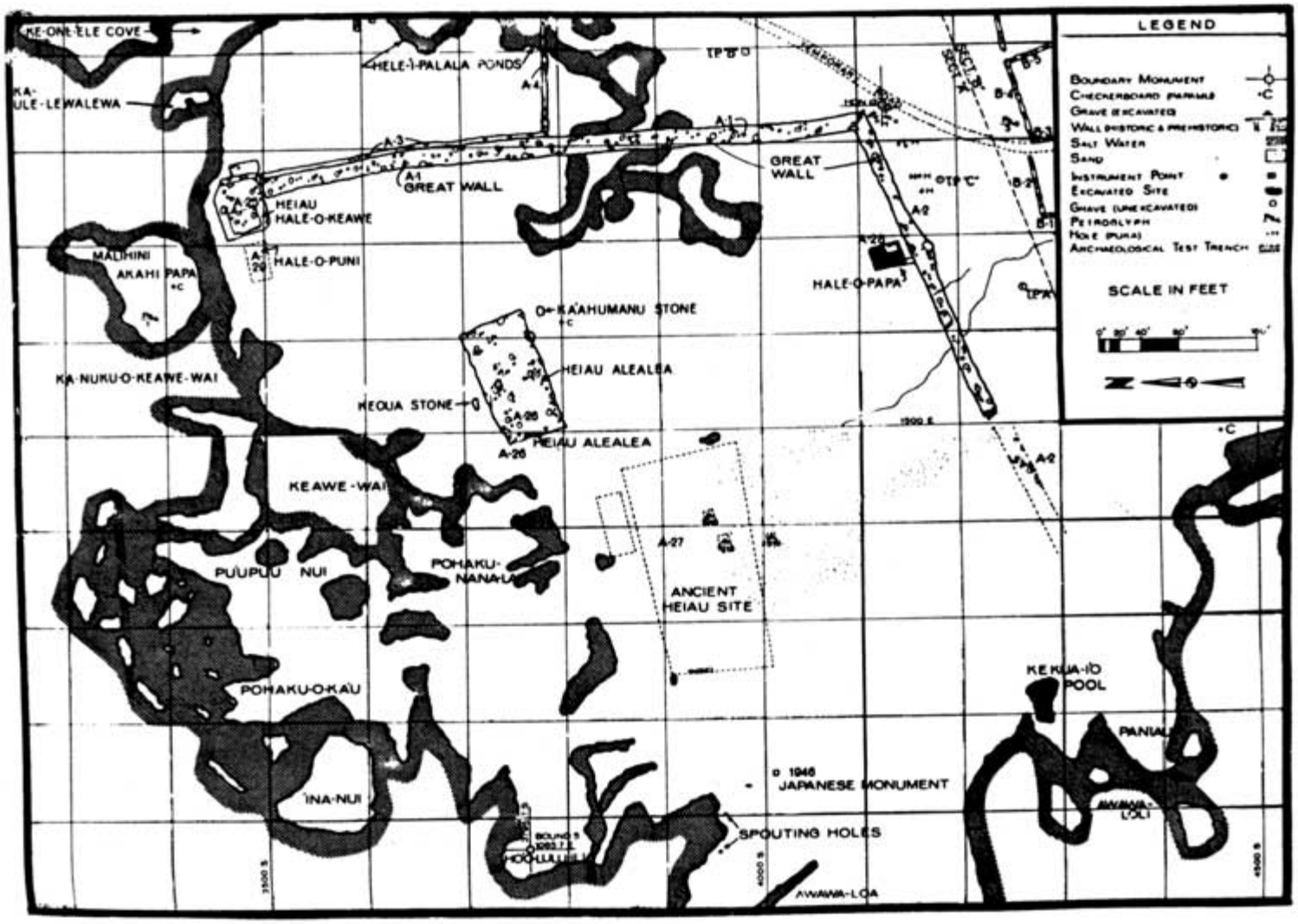
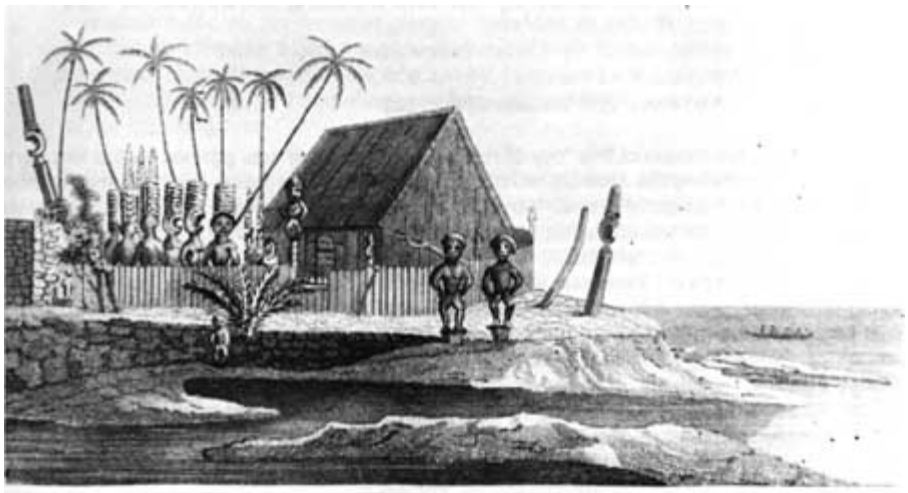


Plate II. The Pu'uhonua at the City of Refuge National Historical Park, Honaunau.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig150.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:05 AM]

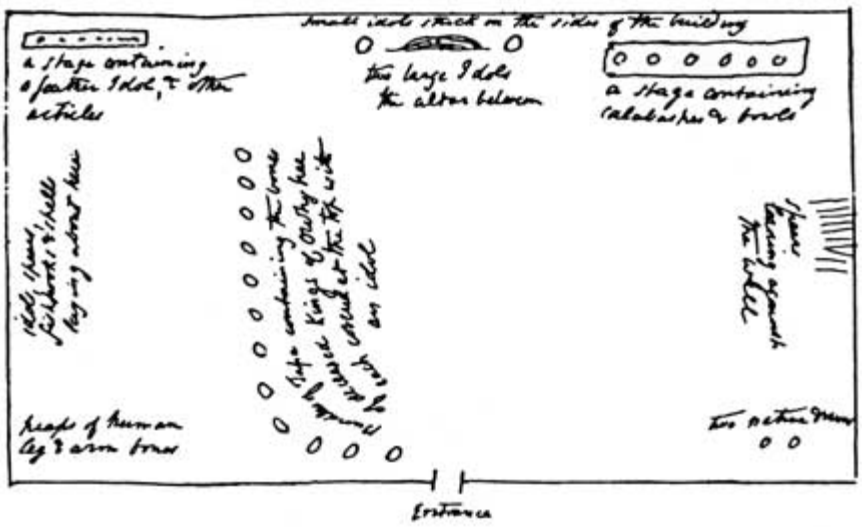


The Depository of the kings of Hawaii, adjoining the Place of Refuge at Honaunau

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig151.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:06 AM]



Ground plan of the Morai or Hare o Keave





Capt Cooks Monument



Exterior of the Morai or Hare o Keave ←

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig153.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:09 AM]



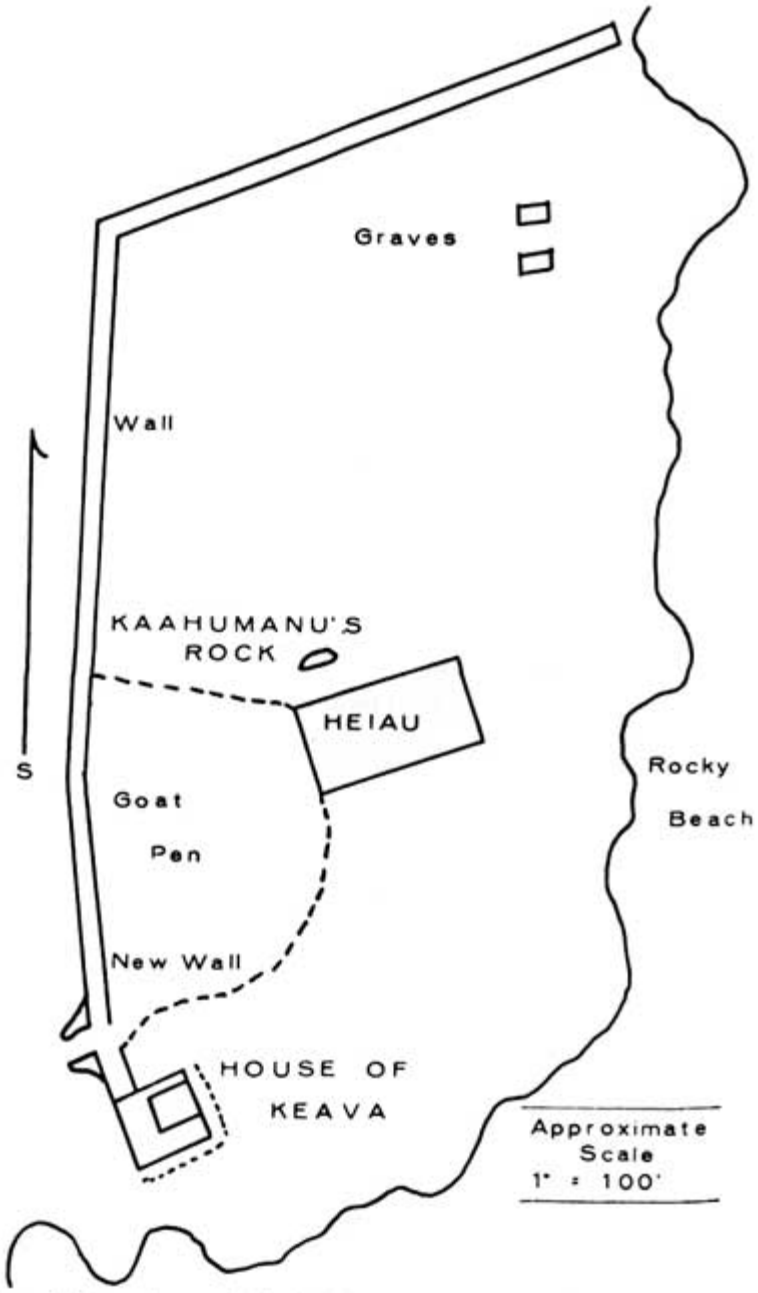


Fig. 1. Chester S. Lyman's map of the Pu'uhonua at Honaunau in 1846. (Redrawn from a copy in Apple 1965-1966.)

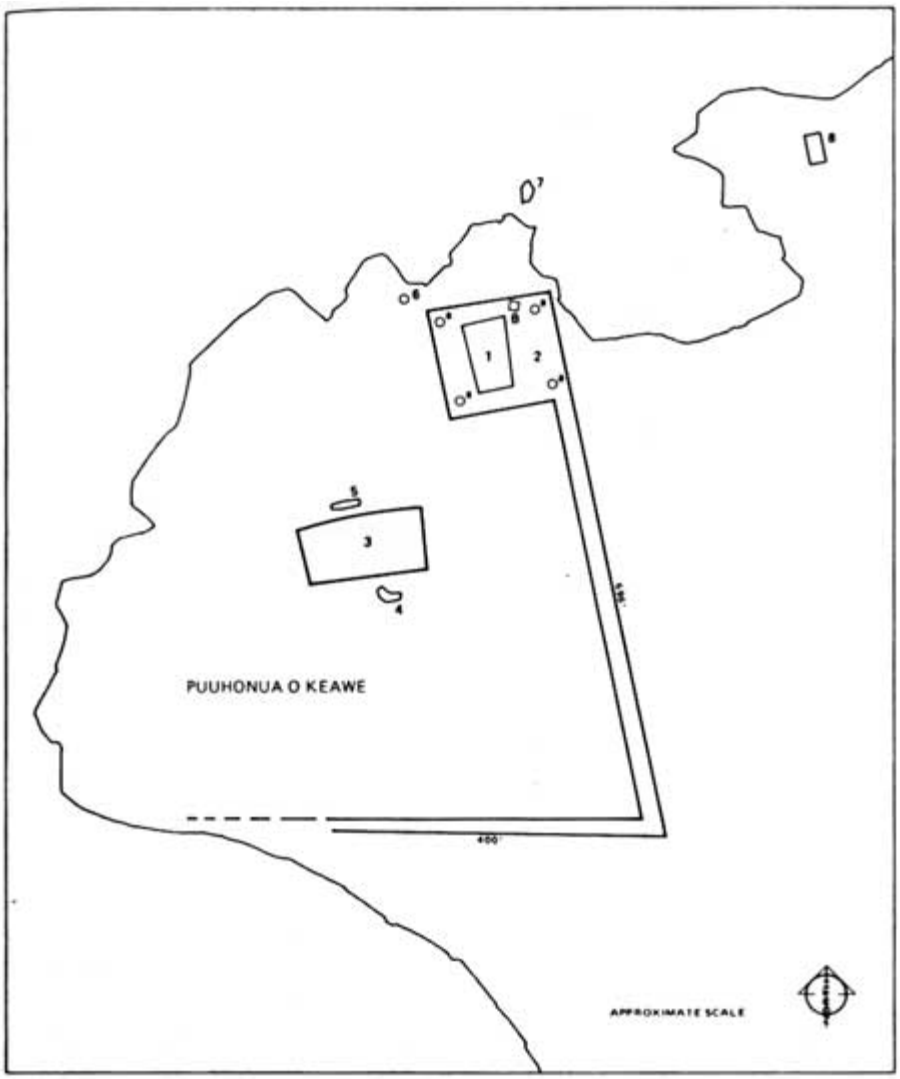


Fig. 9.2. SKETCH MAP OF RUINS AT HŌNAUNAU, WITH SOME FEATURES DESIGNATED (After D. H. Hitchcock 1889). (1) Hale o Keawe; (2) heiau, about 100 ft square, partly washed away, about 6 ft above sea level; (3) heiau, 125 by 60 by 8; (4) stone, 6 by 10 by 2 ft, front end is propped up, Ka'ahumanu; (5) Keoua's rock, 13 ft 3.3 at shoulder, 2.5 at head, 2 ft at foot; (6) where Kamehameha is said to have landed; (7) a long pole was fixed in a sunken rock, a point of safety; (8) site of old royal residence; (a) idols were always kept in these positions; (B) a deep hole under a cover of stone, 1 ft thick and 6 ft in diameter, bones were found in it after the sea washed away the facing wall.



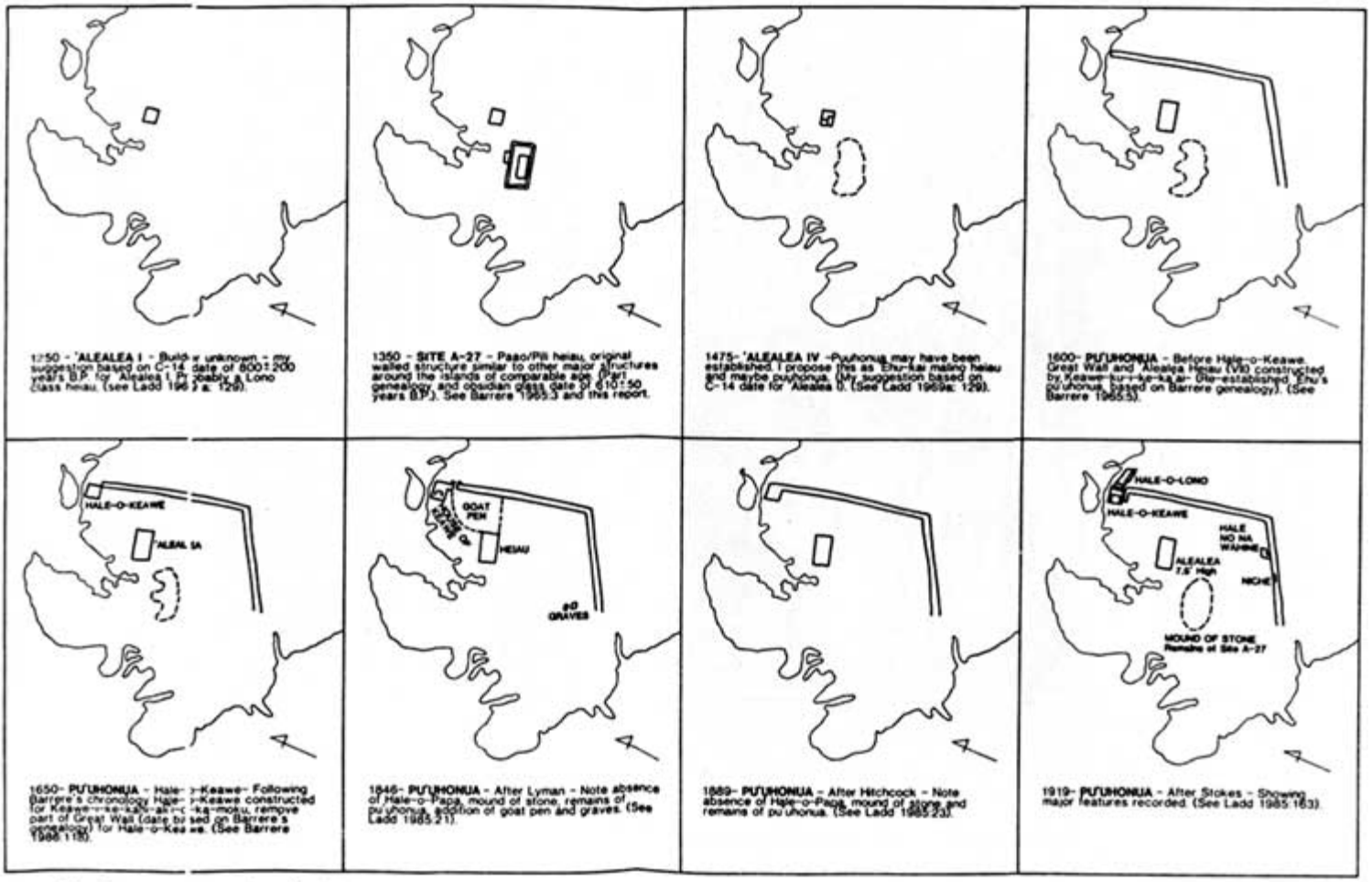


Figure 33. Suggested Chronology for Pu'uhonua o Honaunau

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig158.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:14 AM]



The woven sennit caskets of Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki in Bishop Museum.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig159.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:14 AM]

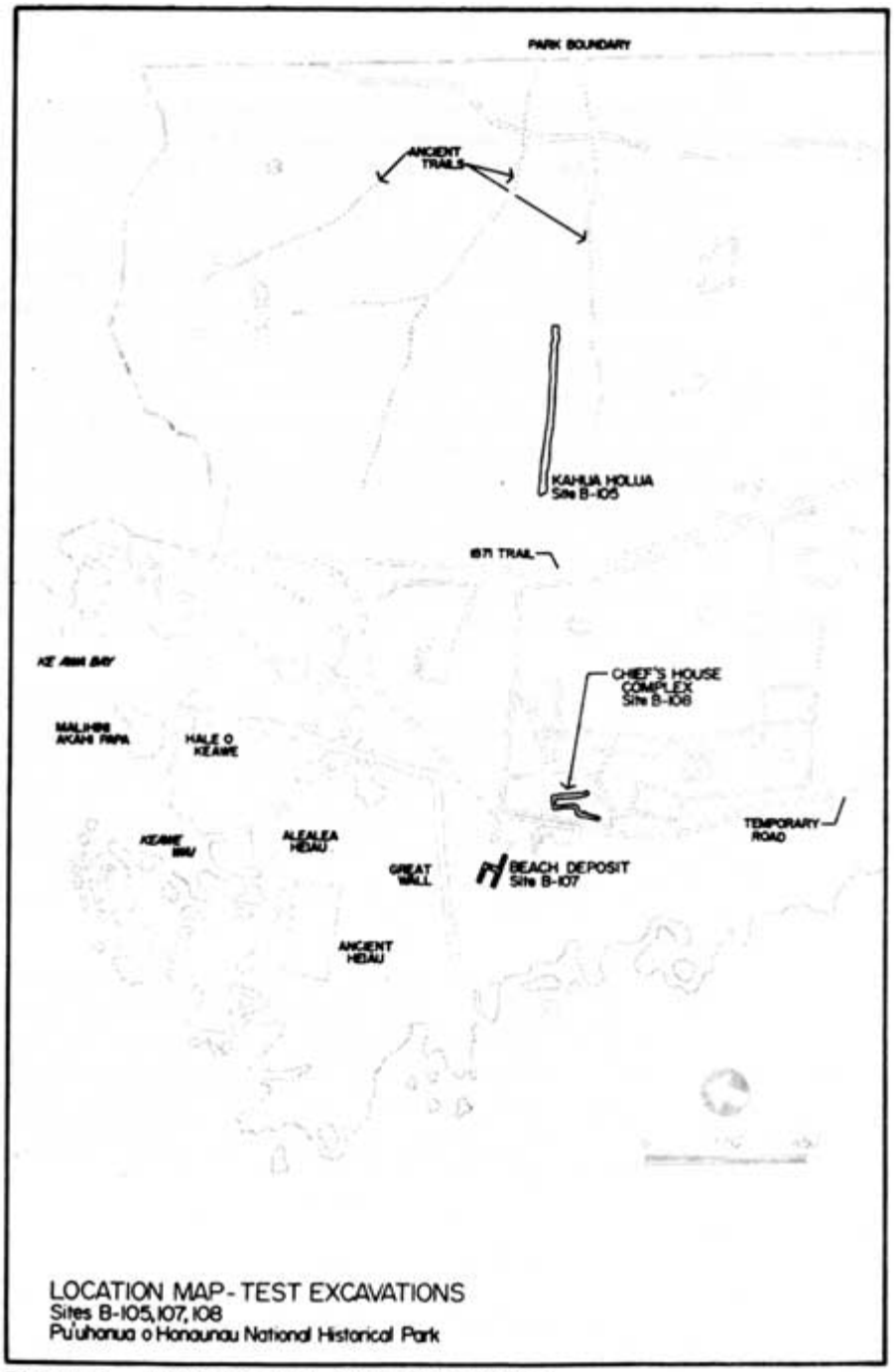


Figure 1. Location Map, Test Excavations

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig160.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:15 AM]

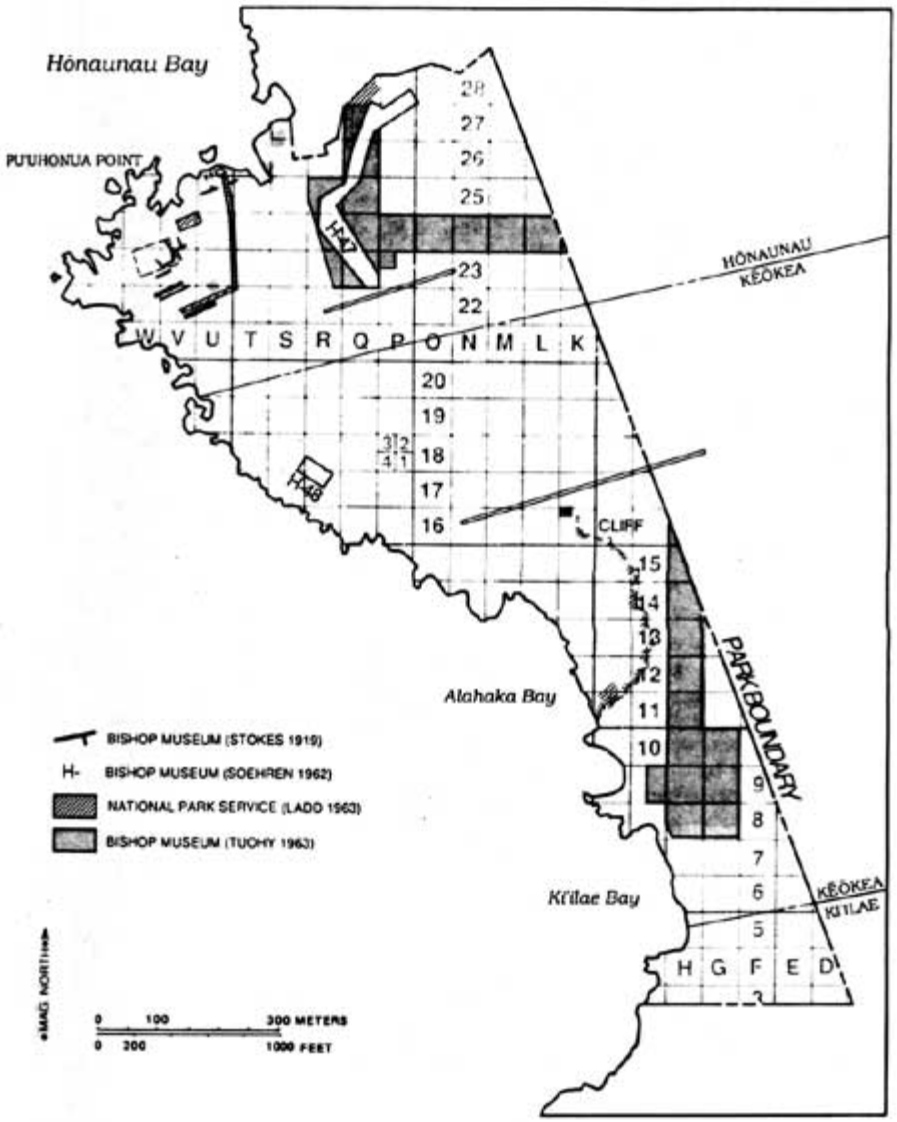
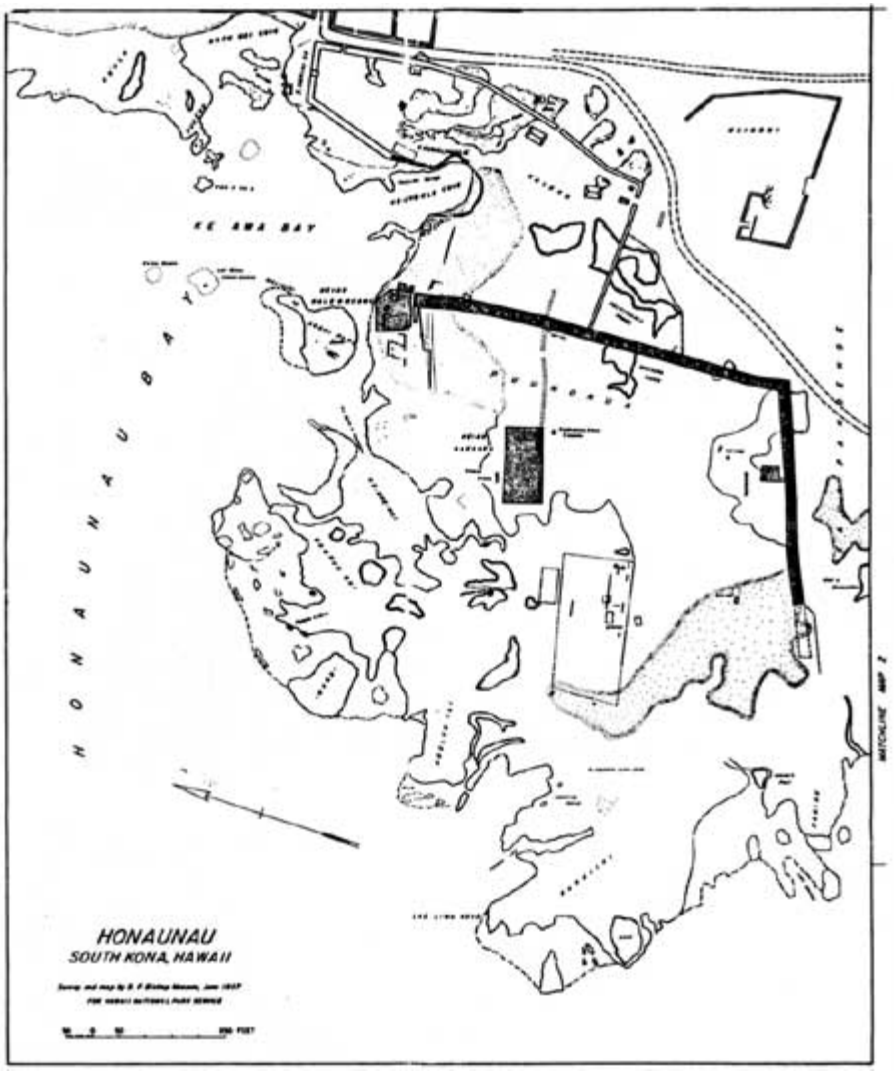


Fig. 2.2. PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT CITY OF REFUGE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (after Tuohy 1965).


HONAUNAU
SOUTH KONA, HAWAII



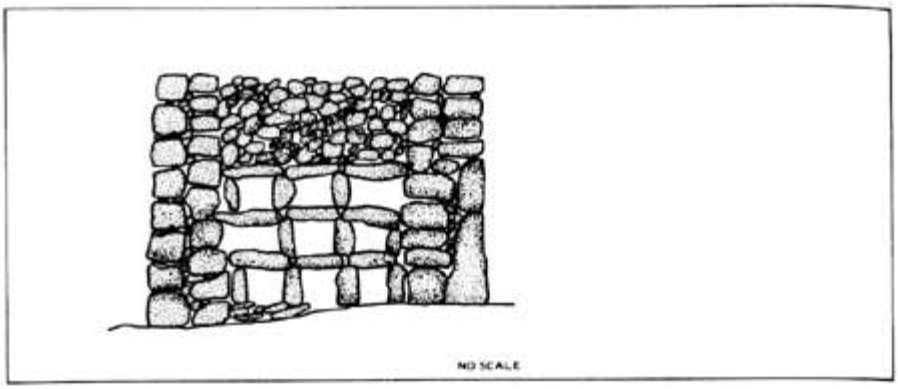


Fig. 13.6. SCHEMATIC CROSS SECTION OF GREAT WALL OF PU'UHONUA, SHOWING OPEN PAO CONSTRUCTION.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig164.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:20 AM]





PARCEL DESCRIPTION AND APPRAISAL

CITY OF REFUGE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PARCEL 1



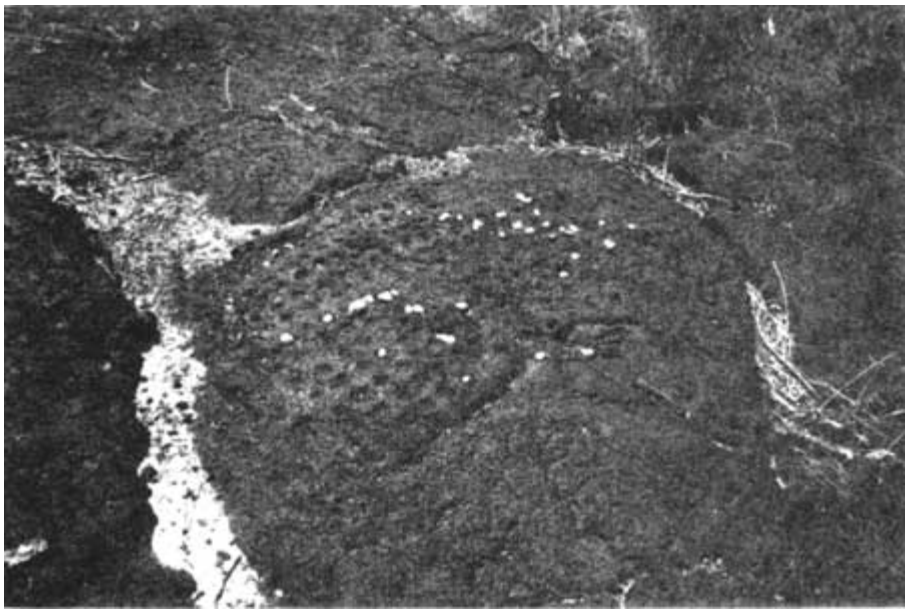
Portion of Strip Parcel "F" Park Area leased by County of Hawaii from B.P.Bishop, Estate looking S.E. from small inlet to lavatory and bathhouse.

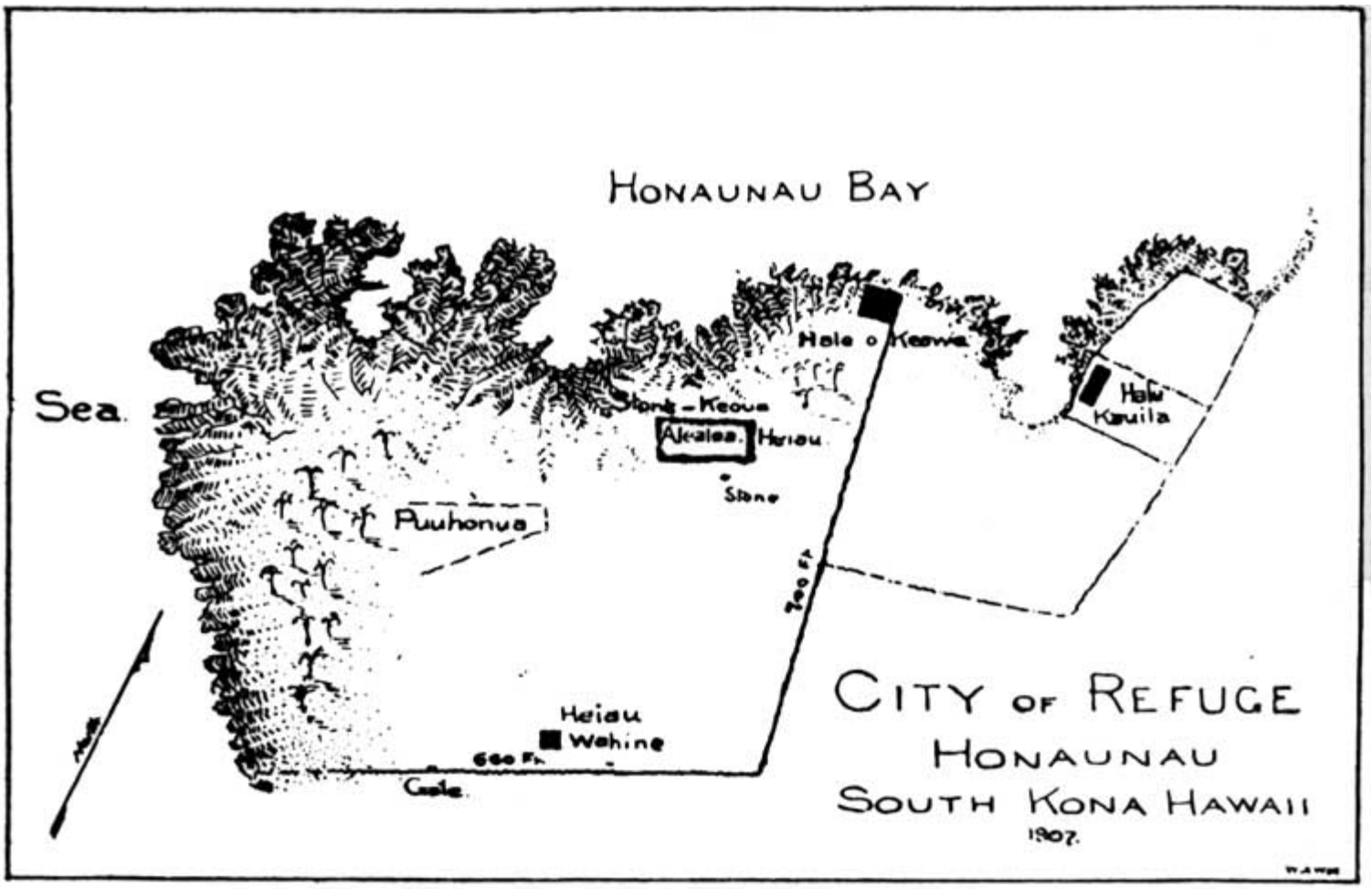


Another part of Strip Parcel "F" Park Area leased by County of Hawaii from B.P.Bishop, Estate looking N.E. across one of the ponds in the park towards the caretaker's house.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig167.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:23 AM]







4. Wall's Plan of Place of Refuge in 1907.
(From The Hawaiian Annual, 1908, 75.)

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig170.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:25 AM]

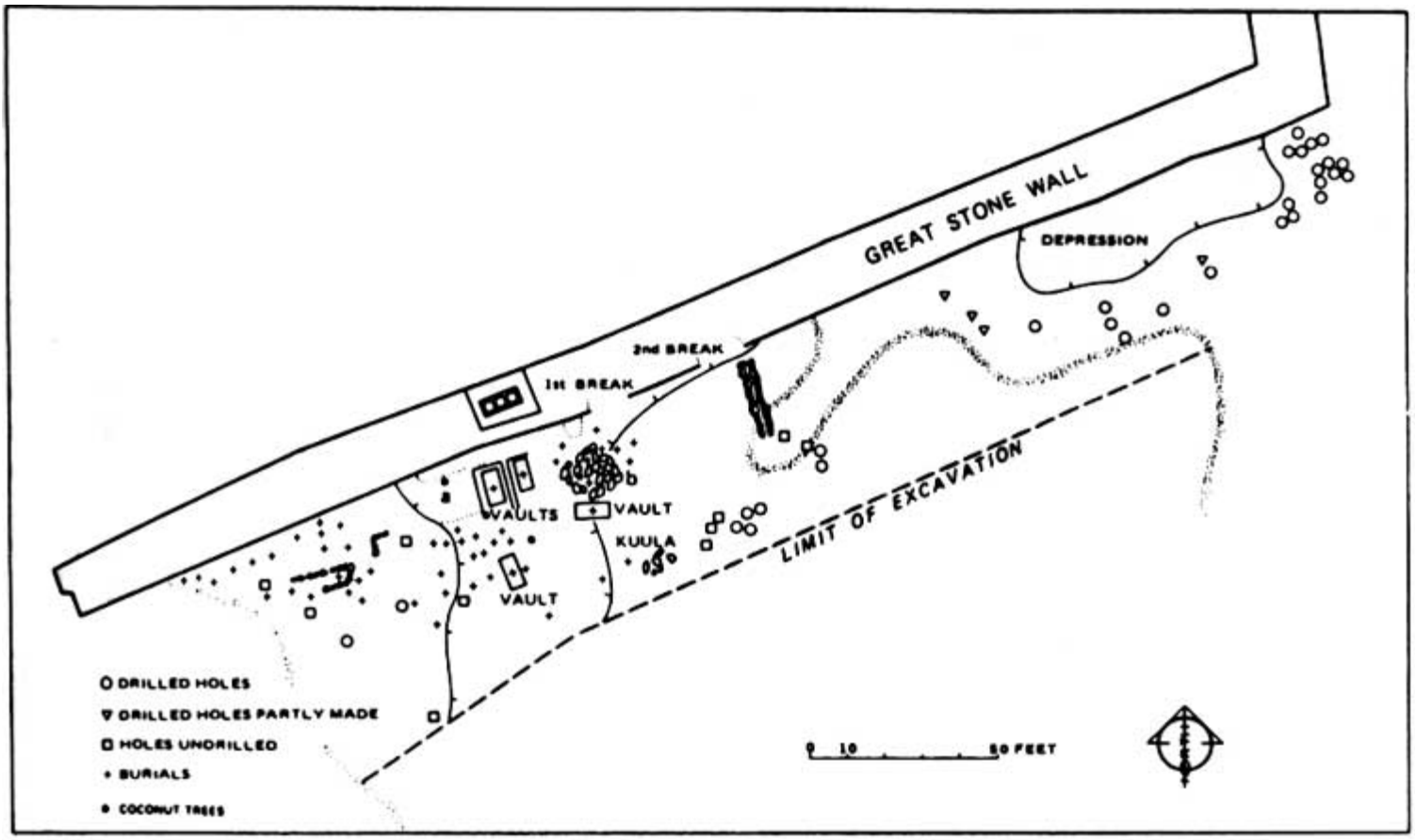
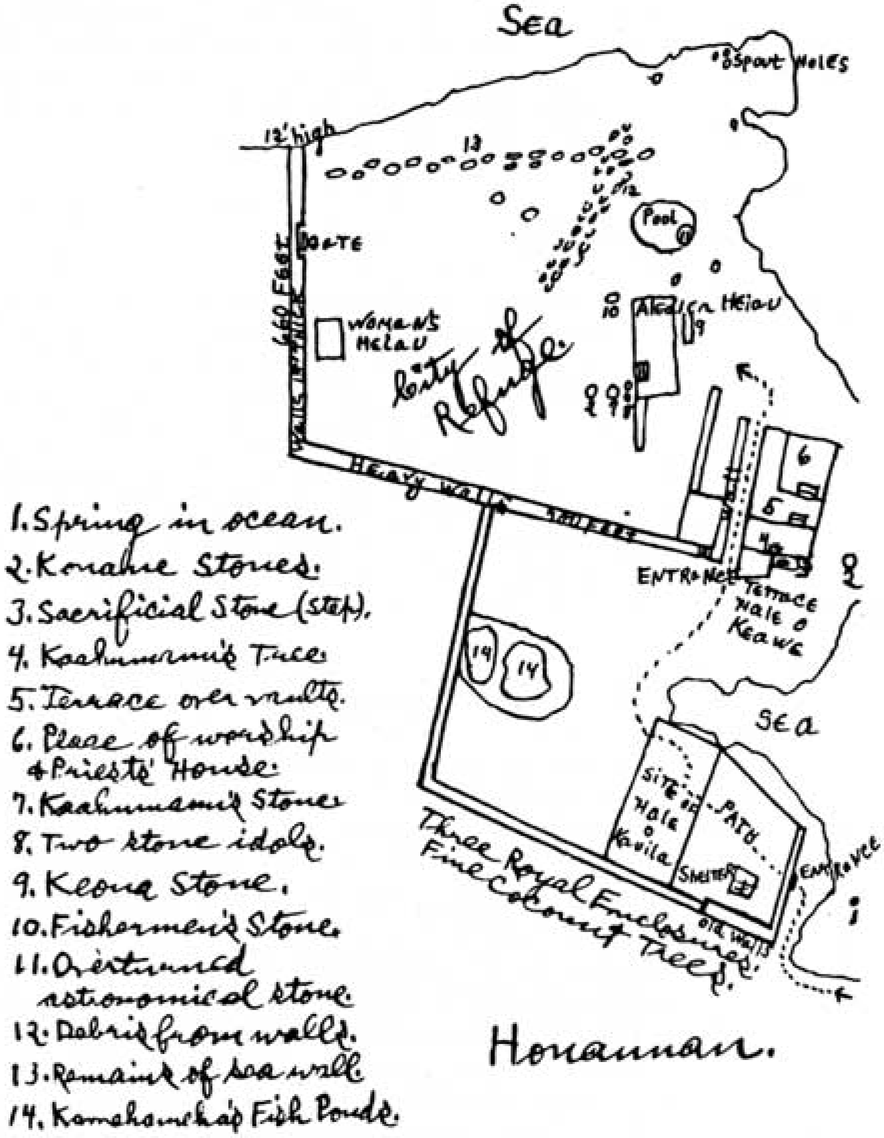


Fig. 13.40. PLAN OF SOUTH WALL OF THE PU'UHONUA AT HŌNAUNAU (After Stokes 1957). (a) unexcavated area; (b) rough pavement.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig171.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:26 AM]



Honaunau.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig172.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:27 AM]

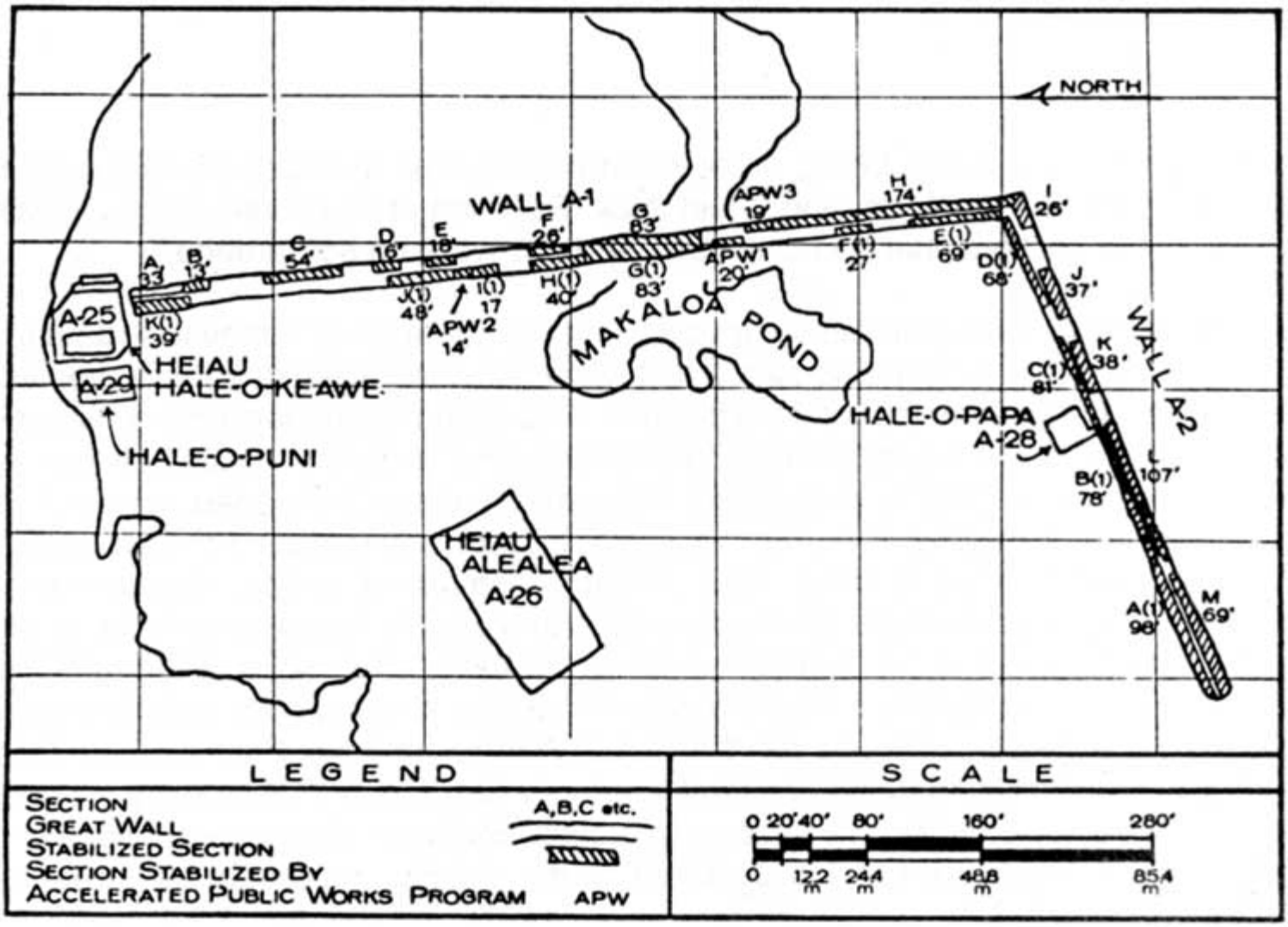


Fig. 1. Diagram showing 1963 stabilized sections of the Great Wall, City of Refuge National Historical Park, Honaunau.

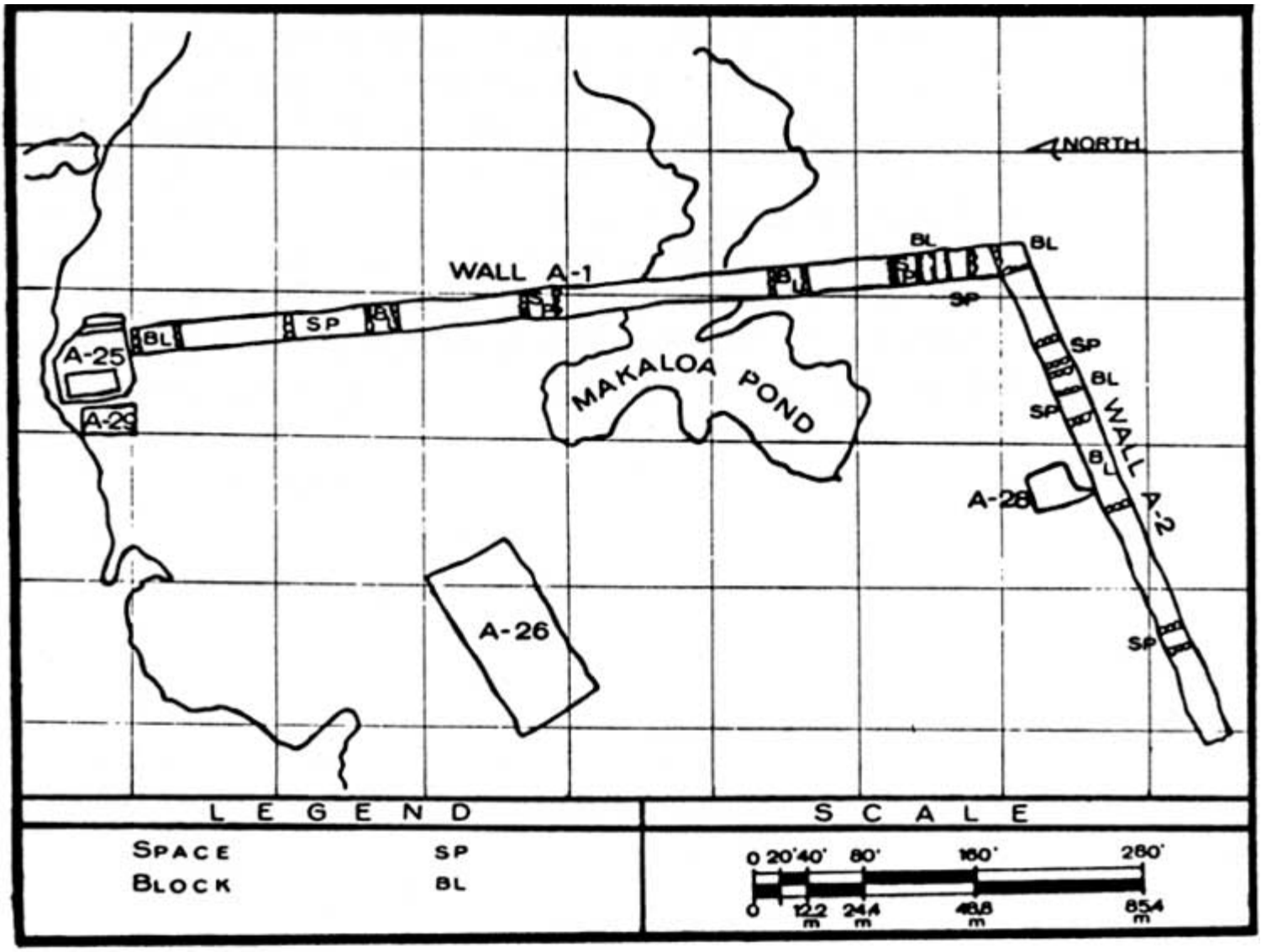


Fig. 2. Diagram showing cross walls in the Great Wall that form construction blocks and spaces. (Other cross walls are not shown.)

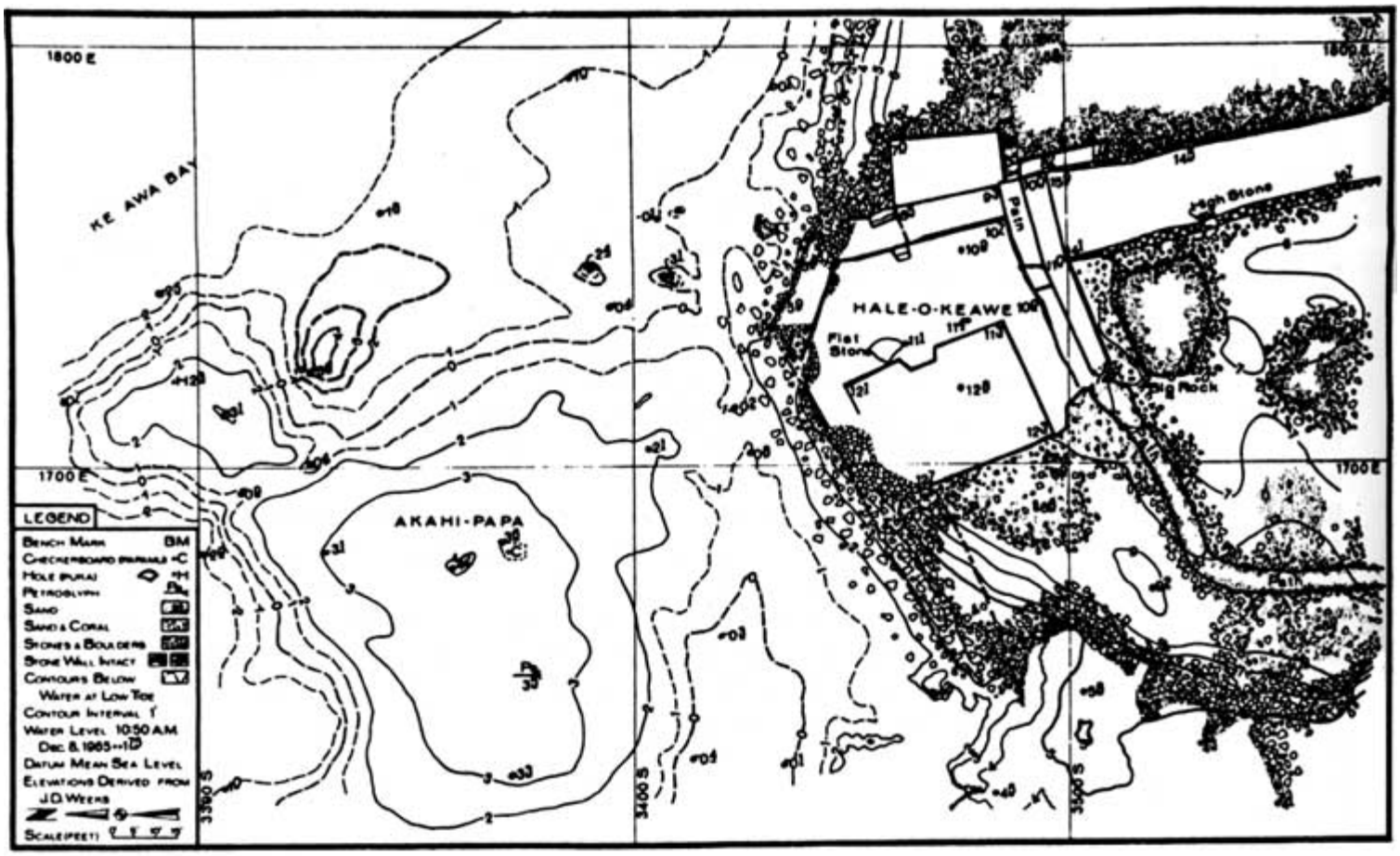


Plate III. Hale-o-Keawe platform and vicinity, City of Refuge National Historical Park.



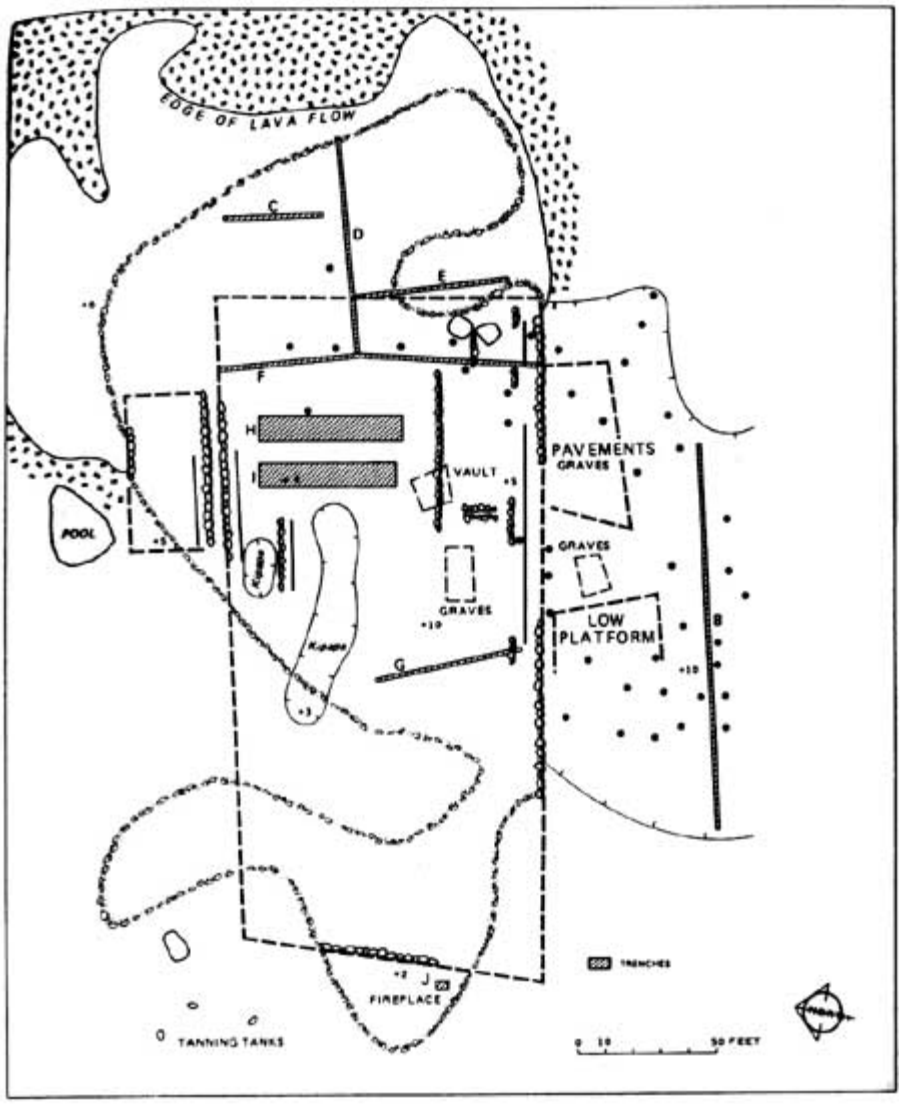
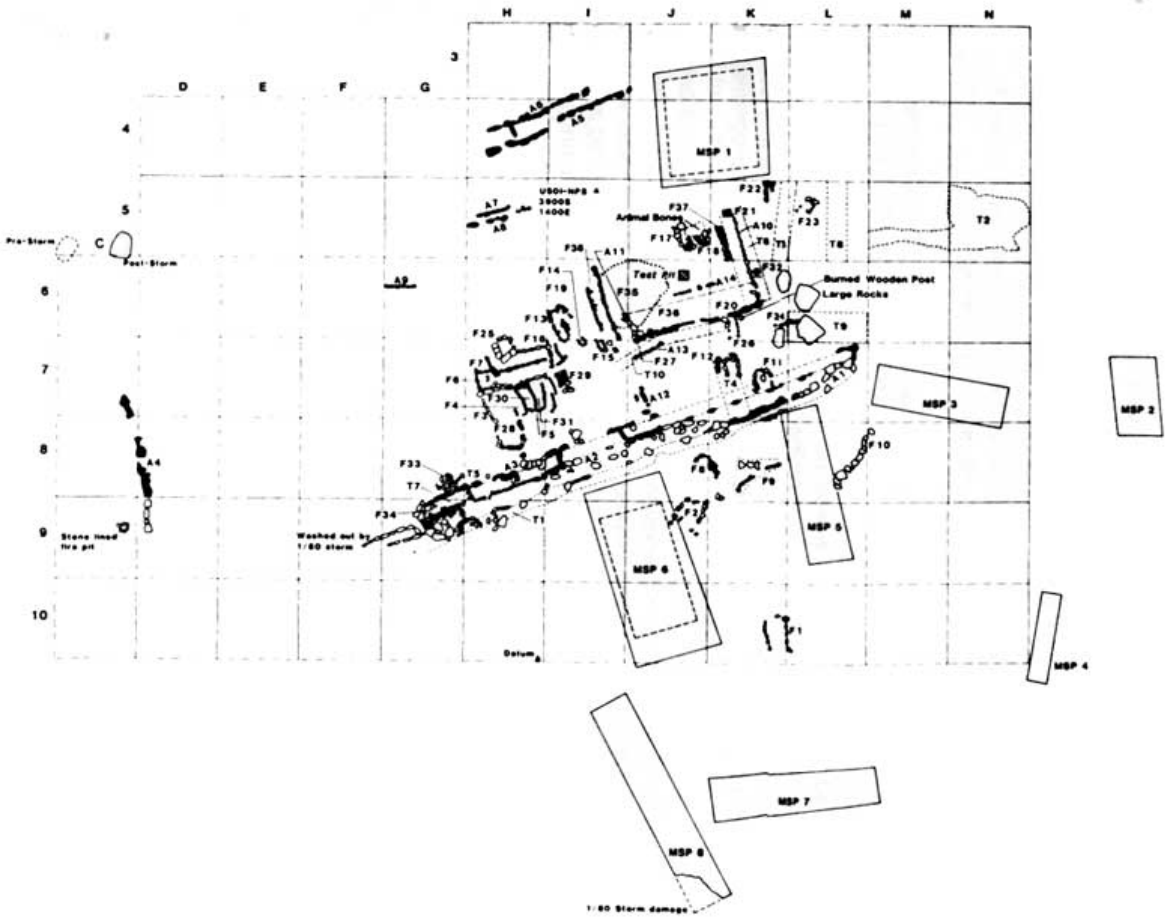


Fig. 13.12. PLAN OF RUINS OF OLD HEIAU WITHIN THE PU'UHONUA AT HŌNAUNAU. (B-I) trenches made in 1919 to determine structure of ruins and underlying ground; (J) ancient stone-lined fireplace; (+ numbers) heights above mean sea level; (•) cocoanut trees.

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig176.jpg[3/19/2013 10:11:32 AM]



Legend

MSP	Measured Stone Pile
	Upright Stones
F3	Feature Number
T3	Trench Number
A3	Alignment Number
	Burial Without Cist

Feature List SEE TABLE FOR DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS

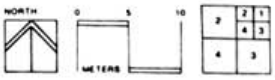
F1 SET UPRIGHT STONES, RUBBLE INTERIOR
F2 SET UPRIGHT STONES, SEMI-CIRCLE
F3 CIST WITH POSSIBLE HUMAN REMAINS
F4 SQUARE, ENCLOSED CIST FORMED WITH SET STONES
F5 SURFACE, PARALLEL ALIGNMENT
F6 CIST WITH POSSIBLE HUMAN REMAINS
F7 CIST, SET UPRIGHT STONES, SEMI-CIRCLE
F8 SEMI-CIRCULAR CIST, SET UPRIGHT STONES
F9 L SHAPED FEATURE, PAHOEHOE PAVING, HUMAN REMAINS
F10 TRAIL OF PAHOEHOE STONES
F11 POSSIBLE CIST
F12 DISTURBED CIST, UPRIGHTS WITH KEYSTONE
F13 CIST
F14 POSSIBLE CIST
F15 CIST, SET UPRIGHT ALIGNMENT
F16 CIST, LARGE UPRIGHT STONES
F17 CIST, POSSIBLE STONE ALIGNMENTS, PAO CONSTRUCTION
F18 CIST, UPRIGHT STONES, RUBBLE FILL
F19 RECTANGULAR FEATURE, PRECISE CONFIGURATION UNKNOWN
F20 UPRIGHT SET STONES IN RIGHT ANGLE ALIGNMENT
F21 BURIAL IN SAND
F22 CIST, BURIAL INSIDE
F23 POSSIBLE FOX HOLE FEATURE
F24 STONE ALIGNMENT
F25 CIST, STONES SET ON SIDES
F26 POSSIBLE FOX HOLE FEATURE
F27 VAULT, KEYED TOGETHER FOR CURVED SURFACE
F28 BURIAL
F29 BURIAL CIST
F30 BURIAL
F31 BURIAL
F32 BURIAL
F33 BI-FACED WALL, PROBABLE GRAVE
F34 LARGE STONE PAVEMENT
F35 AREA OF PAO CONSTRUCTION AND/OR HAKAHAKA
F36 PAVEMENT
F37 BI-FACED CORE FILLED WALL
F38 BI-FACED CORE FILLED WALL

NOTE FEATURES 1, 2, 8, 9 AND PORTION OF ALIGNMENT IN G8 WASHED OUT OR COVERED BY 1/80 STORM. TRAIL ALONG EASTERN EDGE OF SITE DESTROYED BY STORM ALSO.

FIGURE 8

SITE A-27 "OLD HEIAU"

PUUHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP
Honaunau, Island of Hawaii



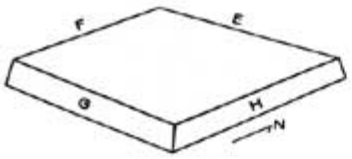


Fig. 2. 'Aleutian I

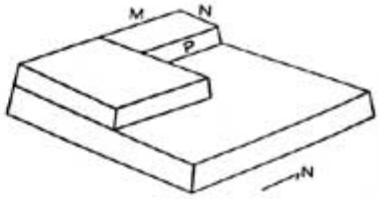


Fig. 4. 'Aleutian III

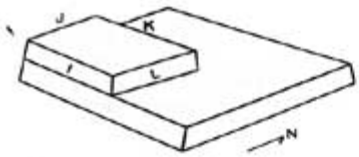


Fig. 3. 'Aleutian II

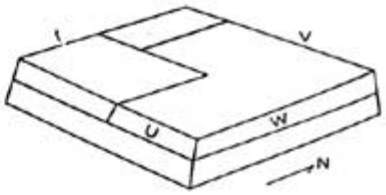


Fig. 5. 'Aleutian IV

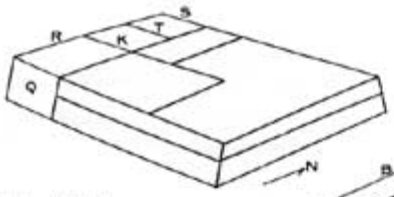


Fig. 6. 'Aleutian V

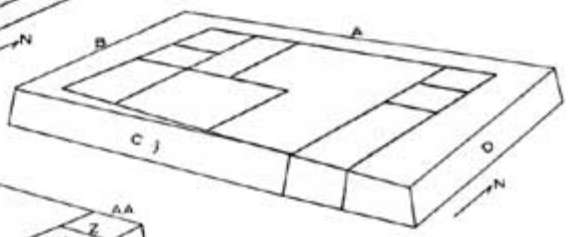


Fig. 8. 'Aleutian VII

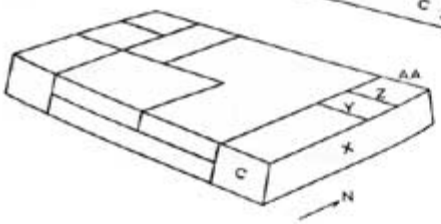
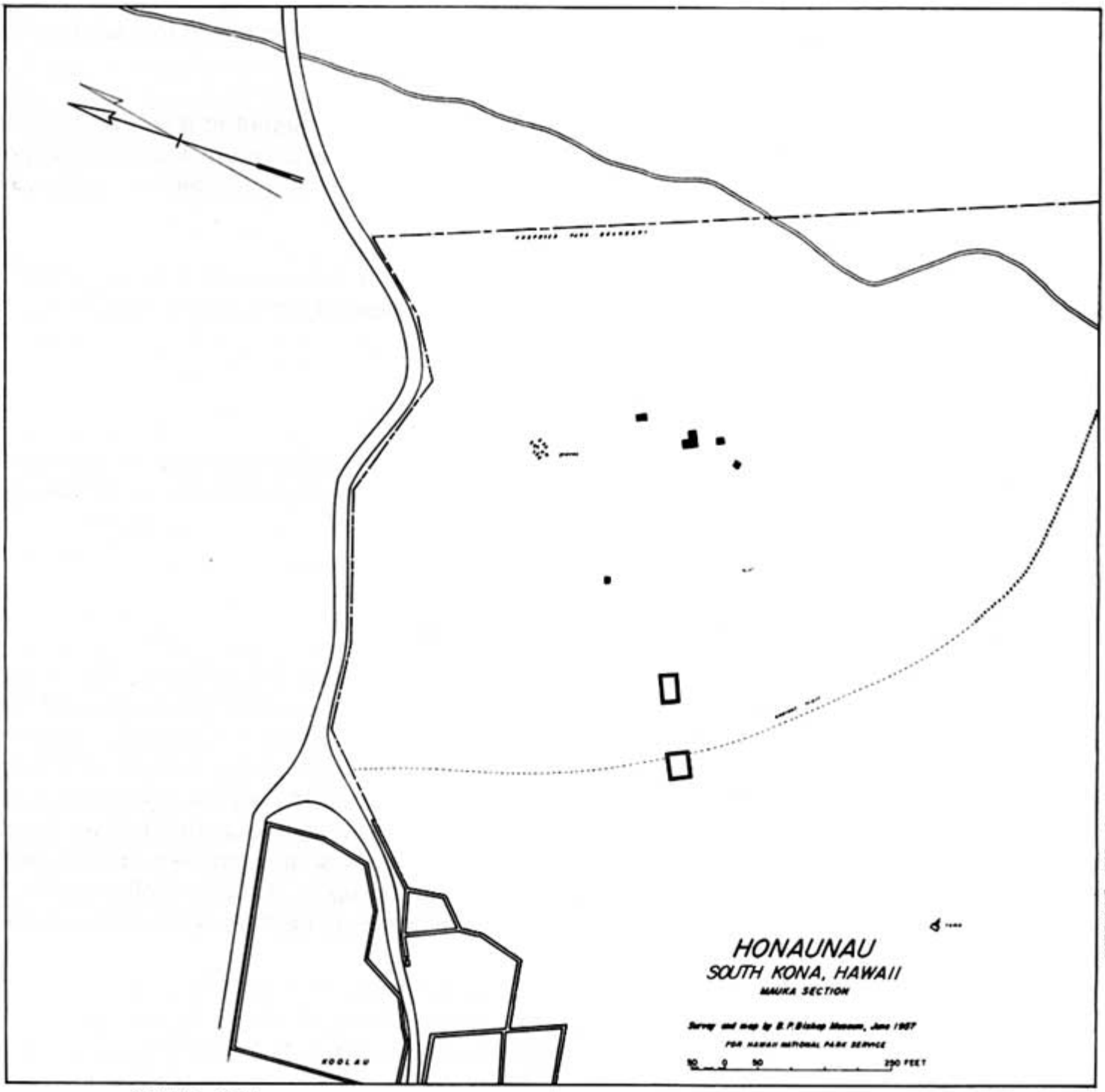


Fig. 7. 'Aleutian VI



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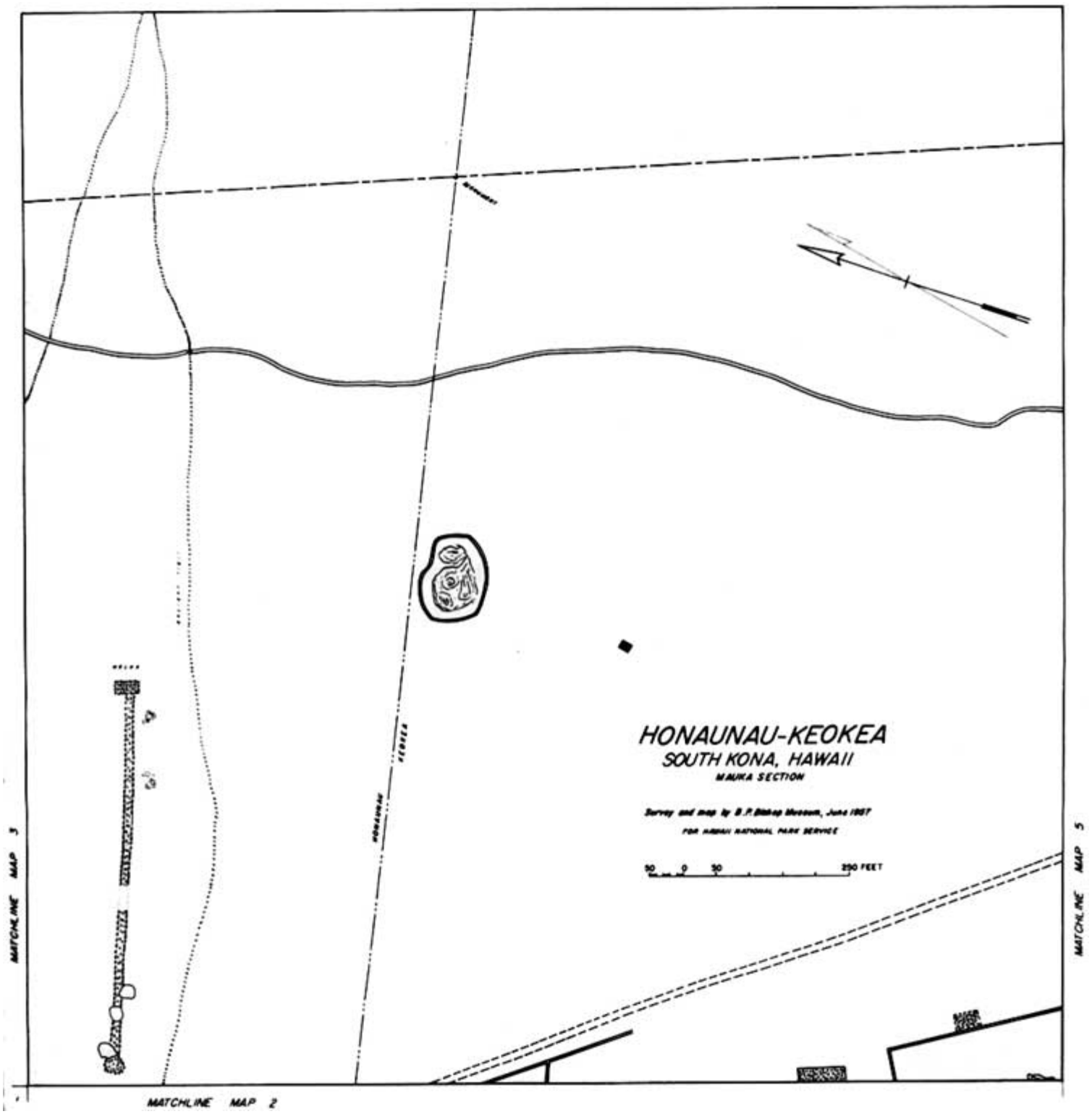

HONAUNAU-KEOKEA
SOUTH KONA, HAWAII
MAUKA SECTION
Survey and map by B.P. Bishop Museum, June 1957
FOR HAWAII NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
50 0 50 250 FEET
MATCHLINE MAP 3
MATCHLINE MAP 2
MATCHLINE MAP 5



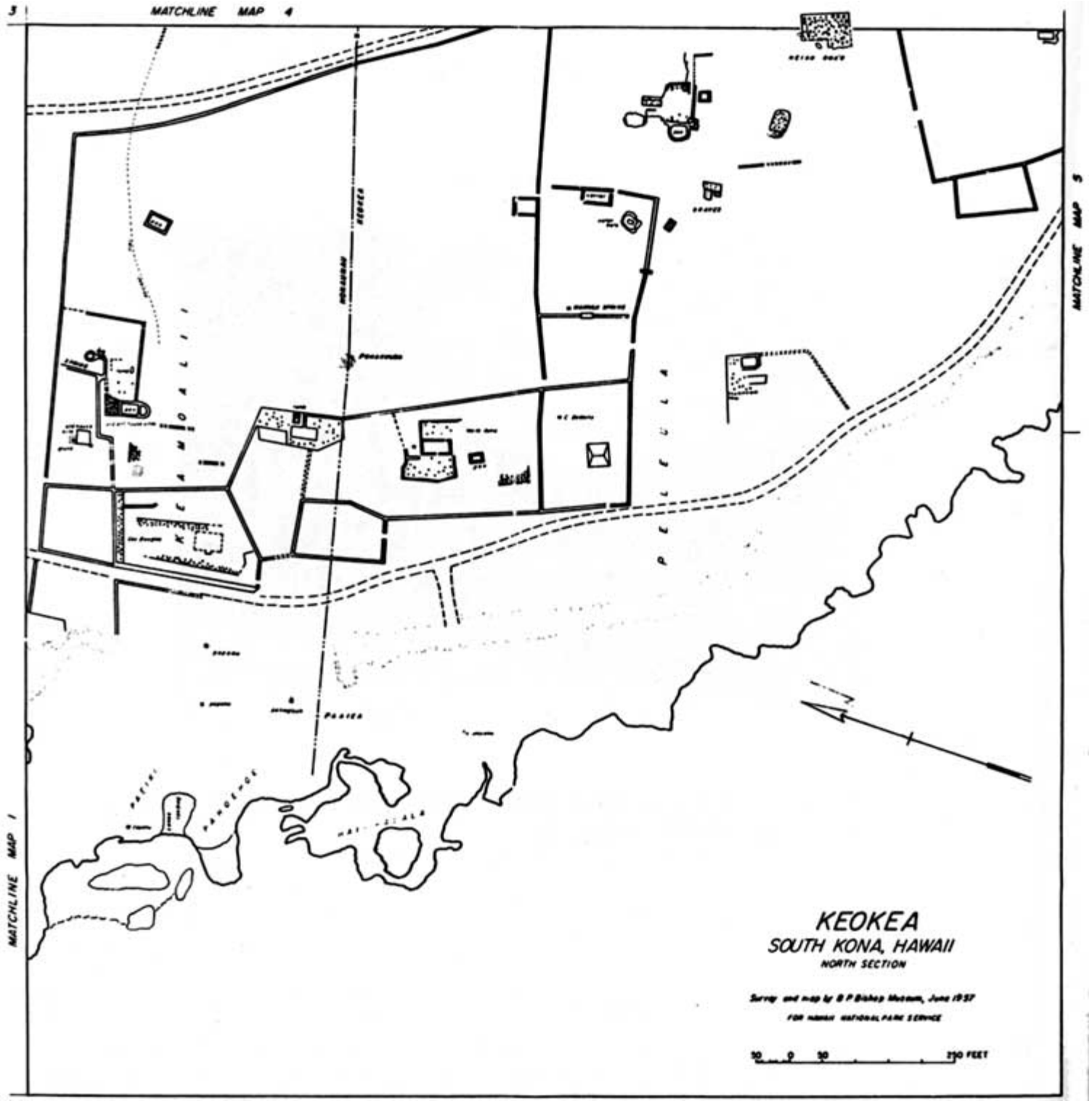
Fig. 13.8. THE LONG HŌLUA SLIDE AT KĒŌKEA (After Emory 1957).



Fig. 14.5. RUINS OF SHORT HŌLUA SLIDE BACK OF HŌNAUNAU (After Stokes 1957).

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MATCHLINE MAP 4
MATCHLINE MAP 5
MATCHLINE MAP 1
KEOKEA
SOUTH KONA, HAWAII
NORTH SECTION
0 50 250 FEET



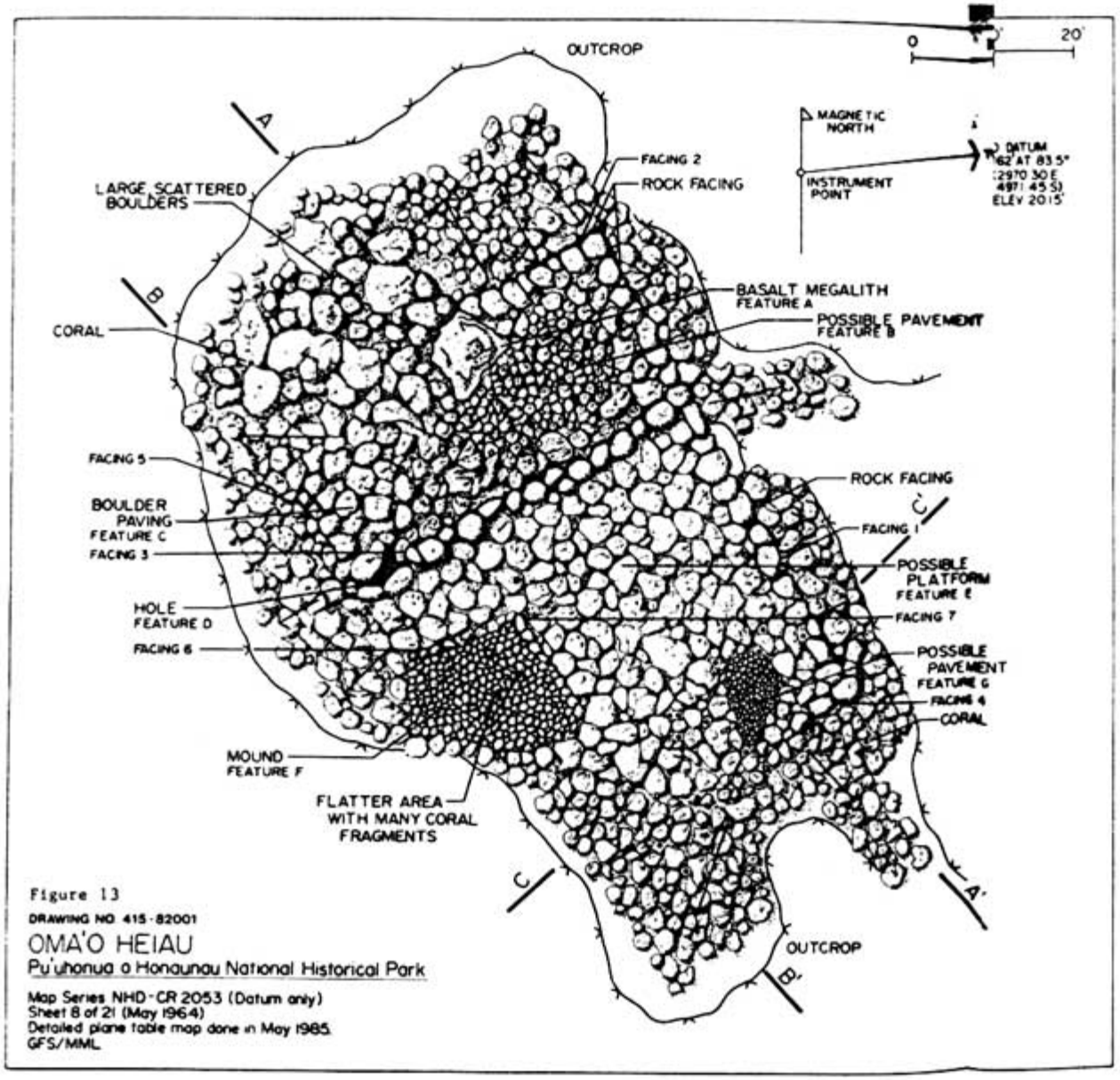


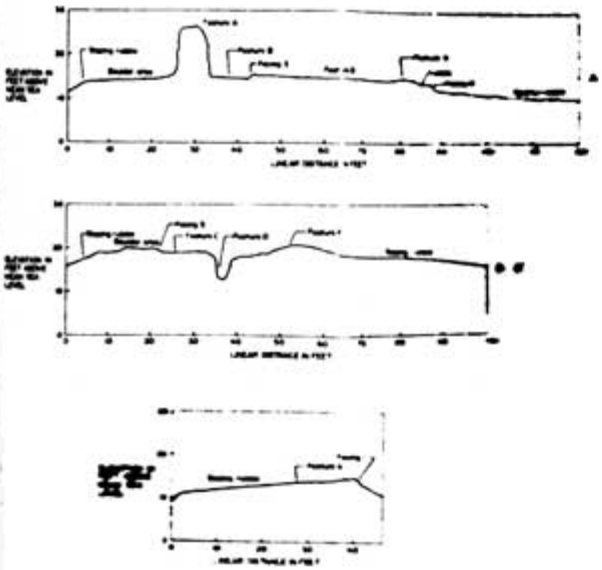
Figure 13

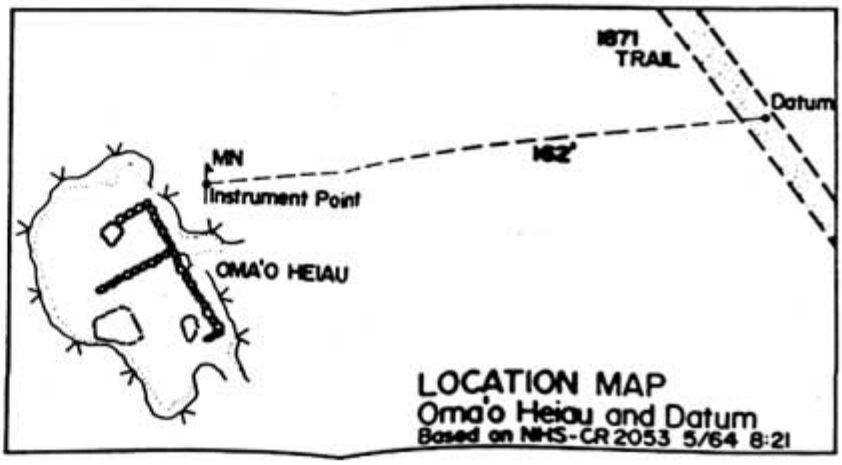
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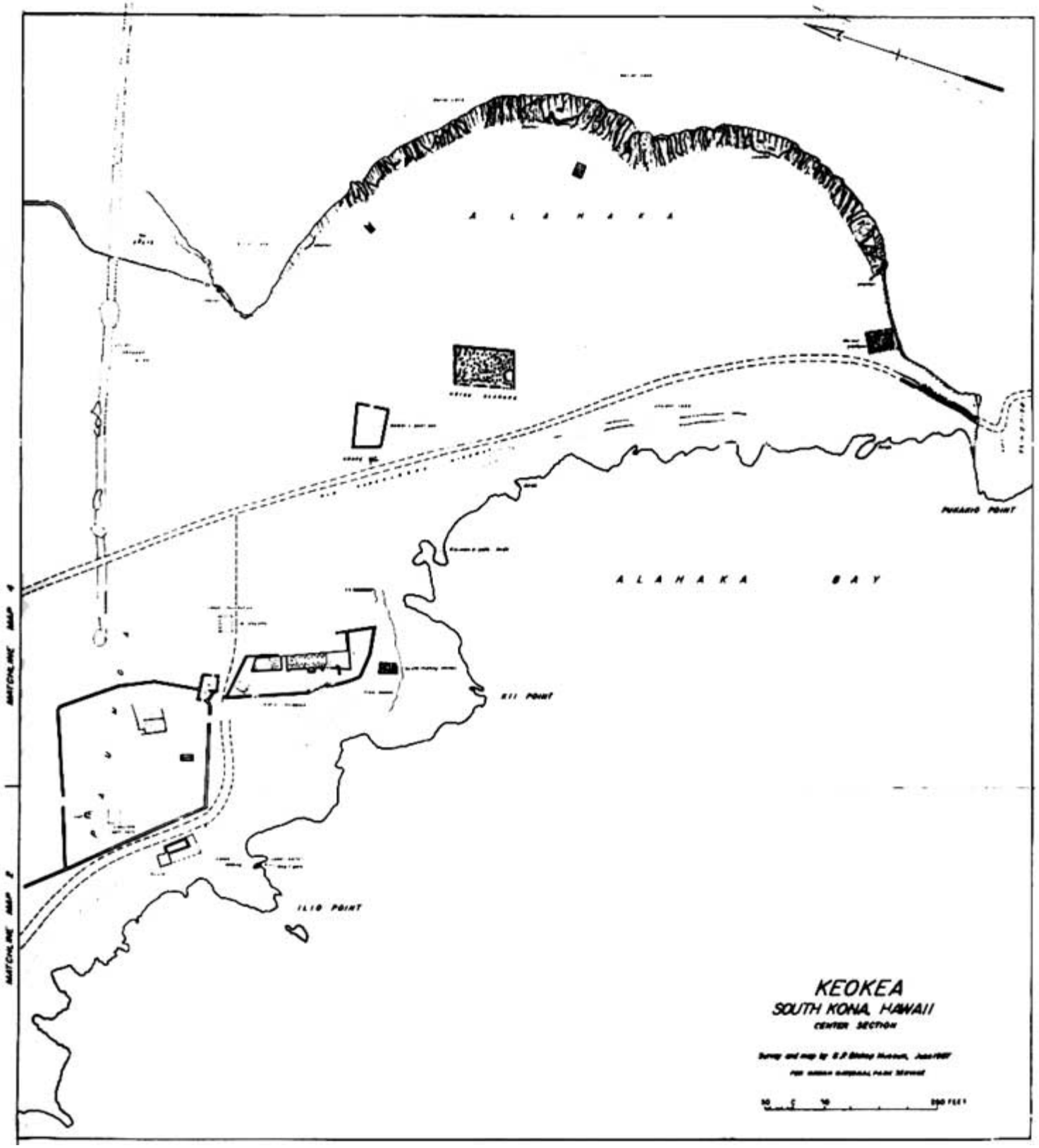
OMA'O HEIAU

Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park

Map Series NHD-CR 2053 (Datum only)
Sheet 8 of 21 (May 1964)
Detailed plane table map done in May 1985.
GFS/MML







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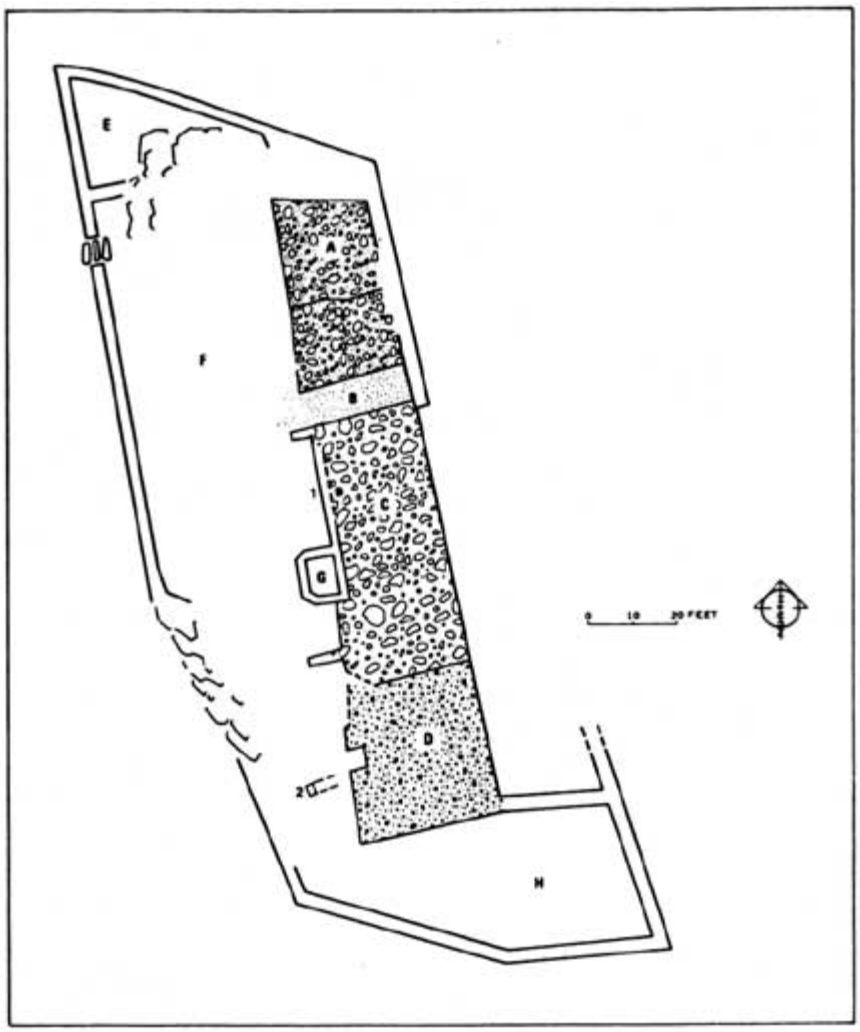


Fig. 15.3. PLAN OF DWELLING SITE OF KING KEAWE, PAUMOA, KĒŌKEA (After Emory 1957). (A) platform paved with pebbles, probably the location of the women's eating house (hale 'āina), the north section is higher and more finely paved than the south; (B) corridor between platforms, sanded, probably place for canoe hulls; (C) highest platform, paved with large stones, probably location of men's house (hale mua); (D) finest paved of the three platforms, probably the common sleeping house (hale noa); (E) enclosure blocked in by high lava ledge; (F) courtyard; (G) recently-constructed pen; (H) yard; (1) papamū (pitted stone slab on which the game kōnane was played); (2) entrance to a narrow vault extending about 6 ft.

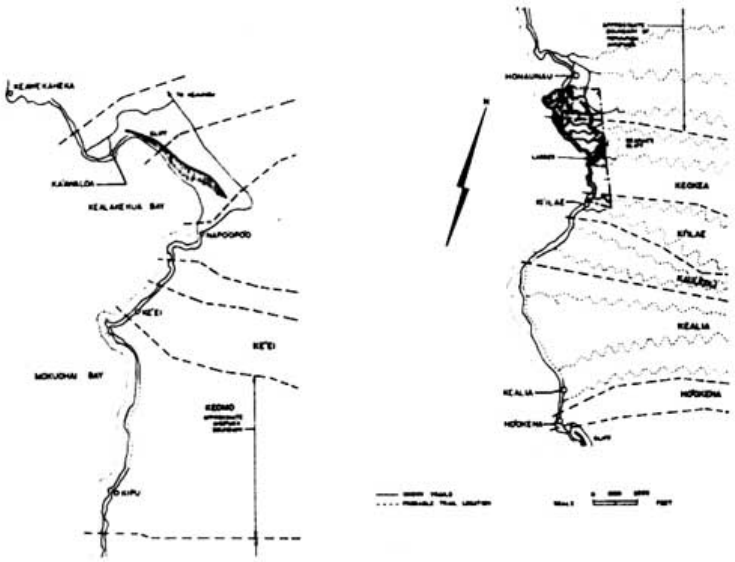


FIGURE 7.—Type "A" trails, about 1750, used for foot traffic only. Numerous coast inland trails and *ahupua'a* have been omitted. Shaded area represents the present location of the City of Refuge National Historical Park. Left, upper half, right, lower half.

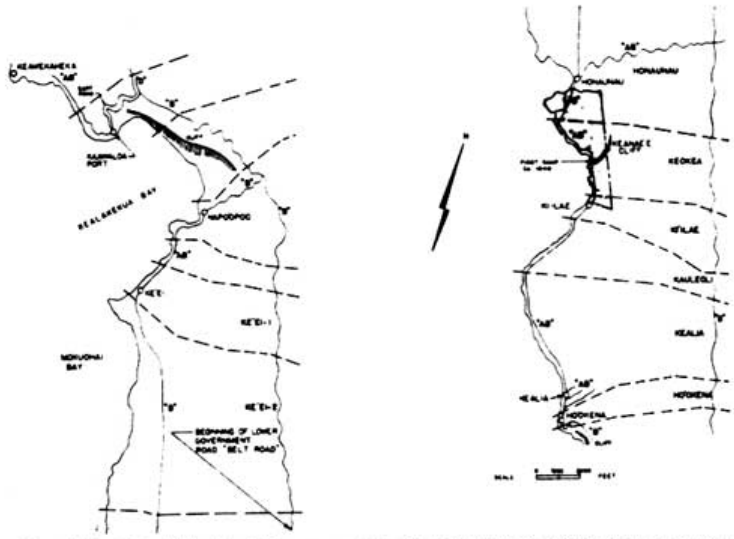


FIGURE 8.—Type "AB" and "B" trails in the Honaunau area used for foot and horse traffic by 1850 (this date is given instead of 1840 because with so little documentation for this early historical period in Hawaii to go on, estimates made in this paper of the time when changes took place may have been earlier than the date they actually occurred). Shaded area represents the present location of the City of Refuge National Historical Park. Left, upper half, right, lower half.

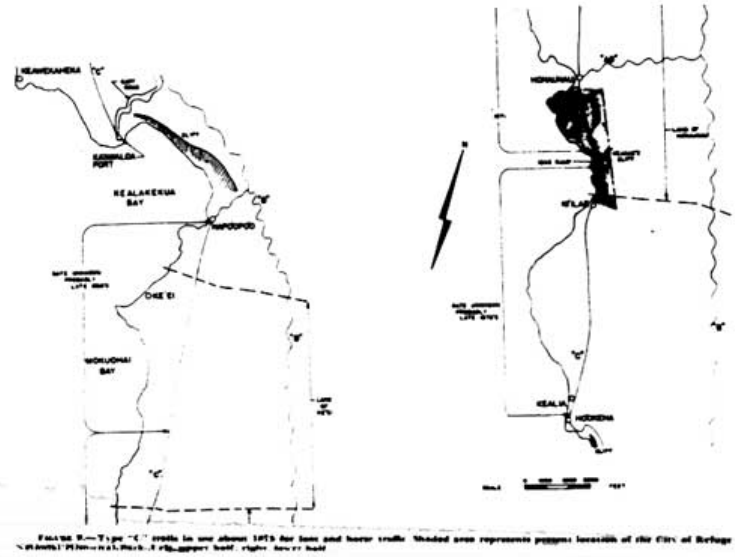


FIGURE 9.—Type "C" trails in use about 1875 for foot and horse traffic. Shaded area represents present location of the City of Refuge National Historical Park. Left, upper half, right, lower half.

Illustration 190. Types of trails in the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau area, ca. 1750-1875. Figures 7-9 in Apple, *Trails*, pp. 14-16.







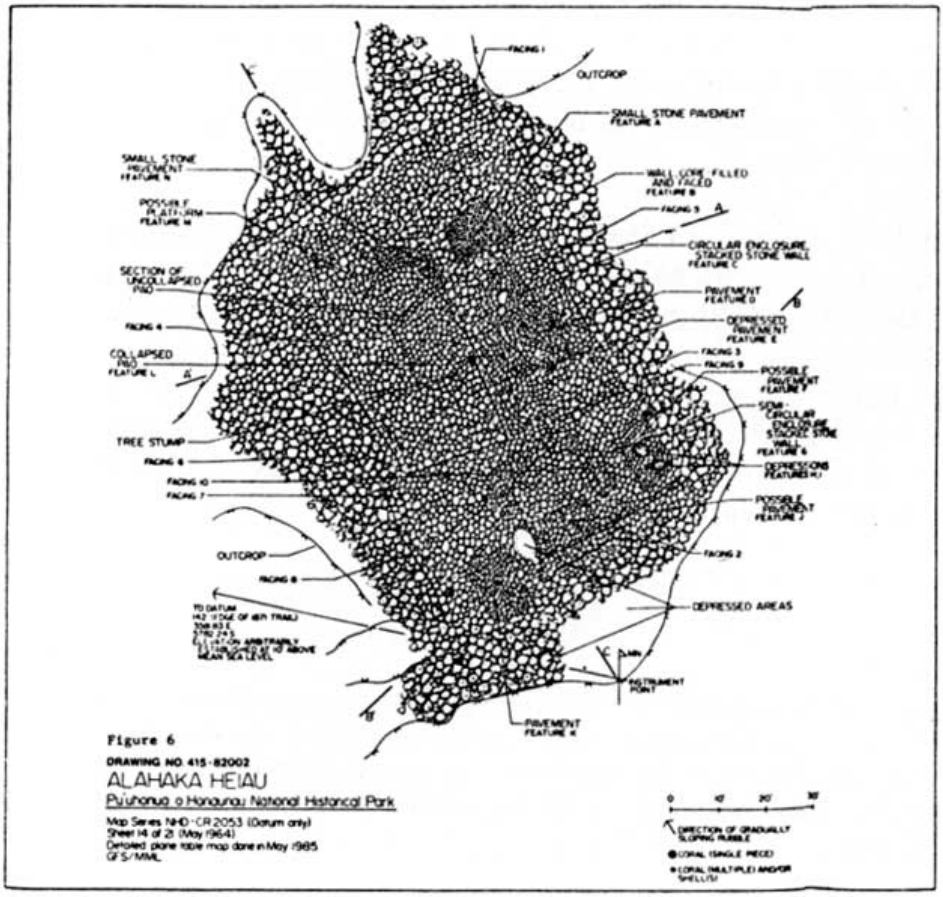


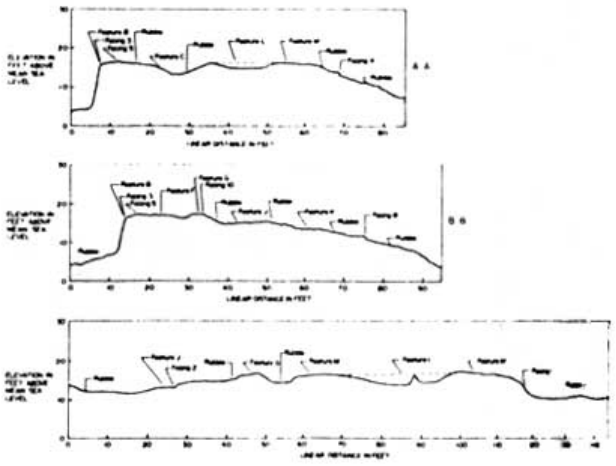
Figure 6

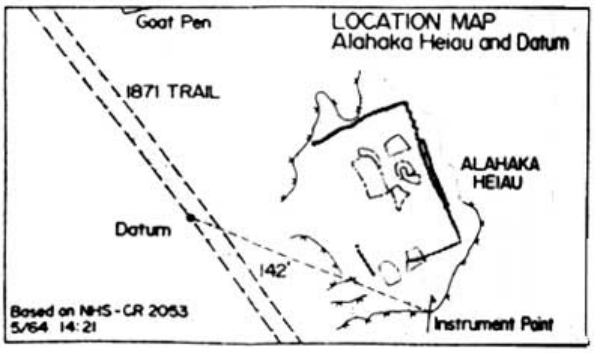
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ALAHAKA HEIAU

Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park

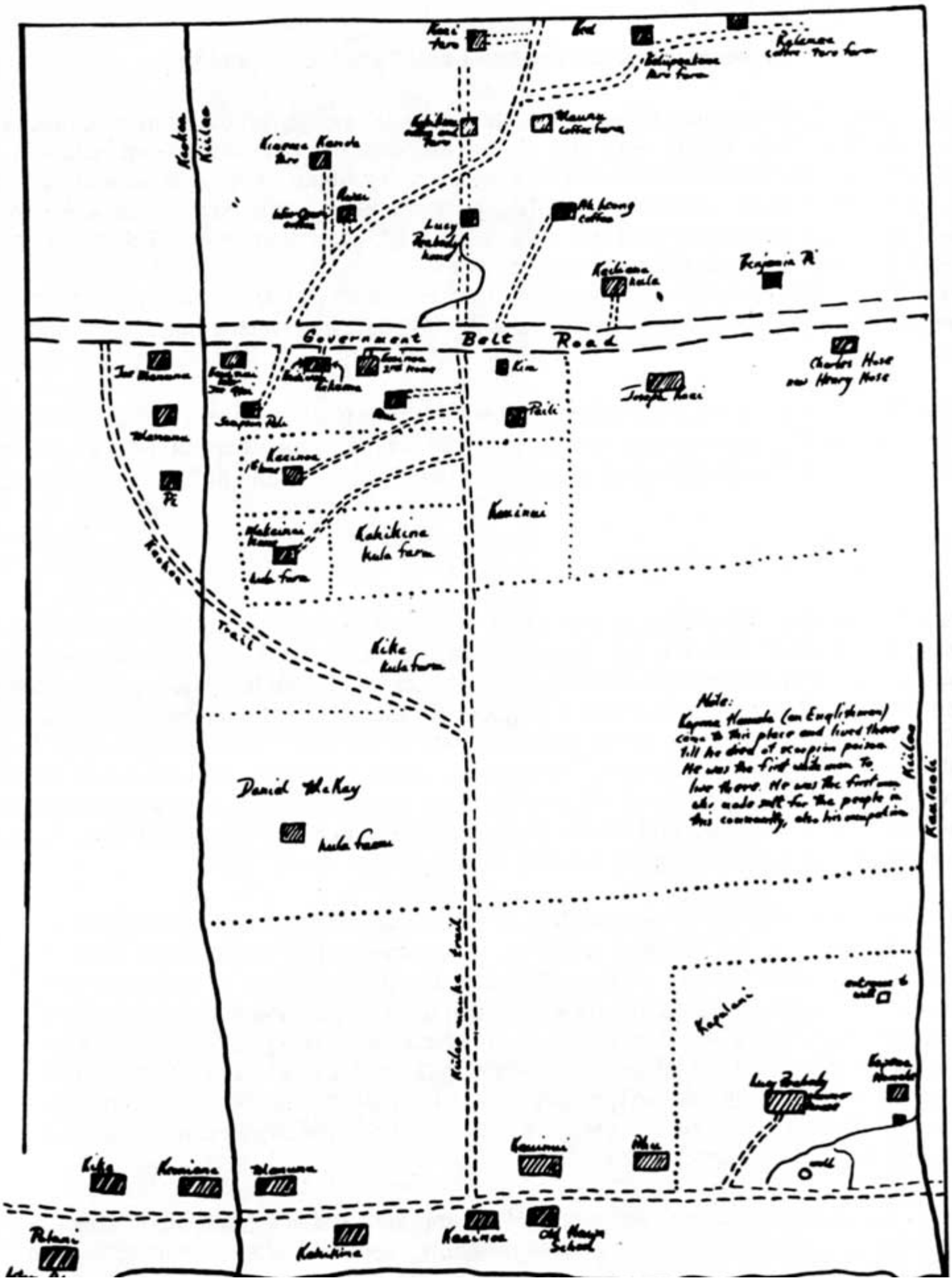
Map Series NHD-CR 2053 (Datum only)
Sheet 14 of 21 (May 1964)
Detailed plane table map done in May 1985
GFS/MML



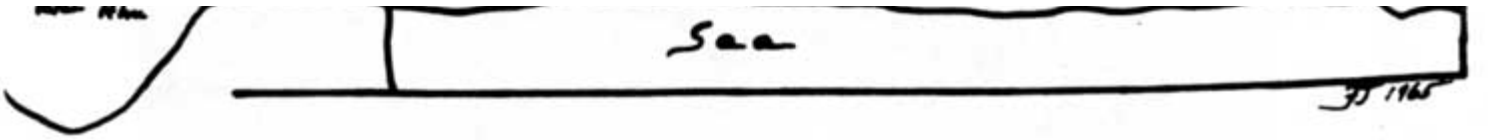


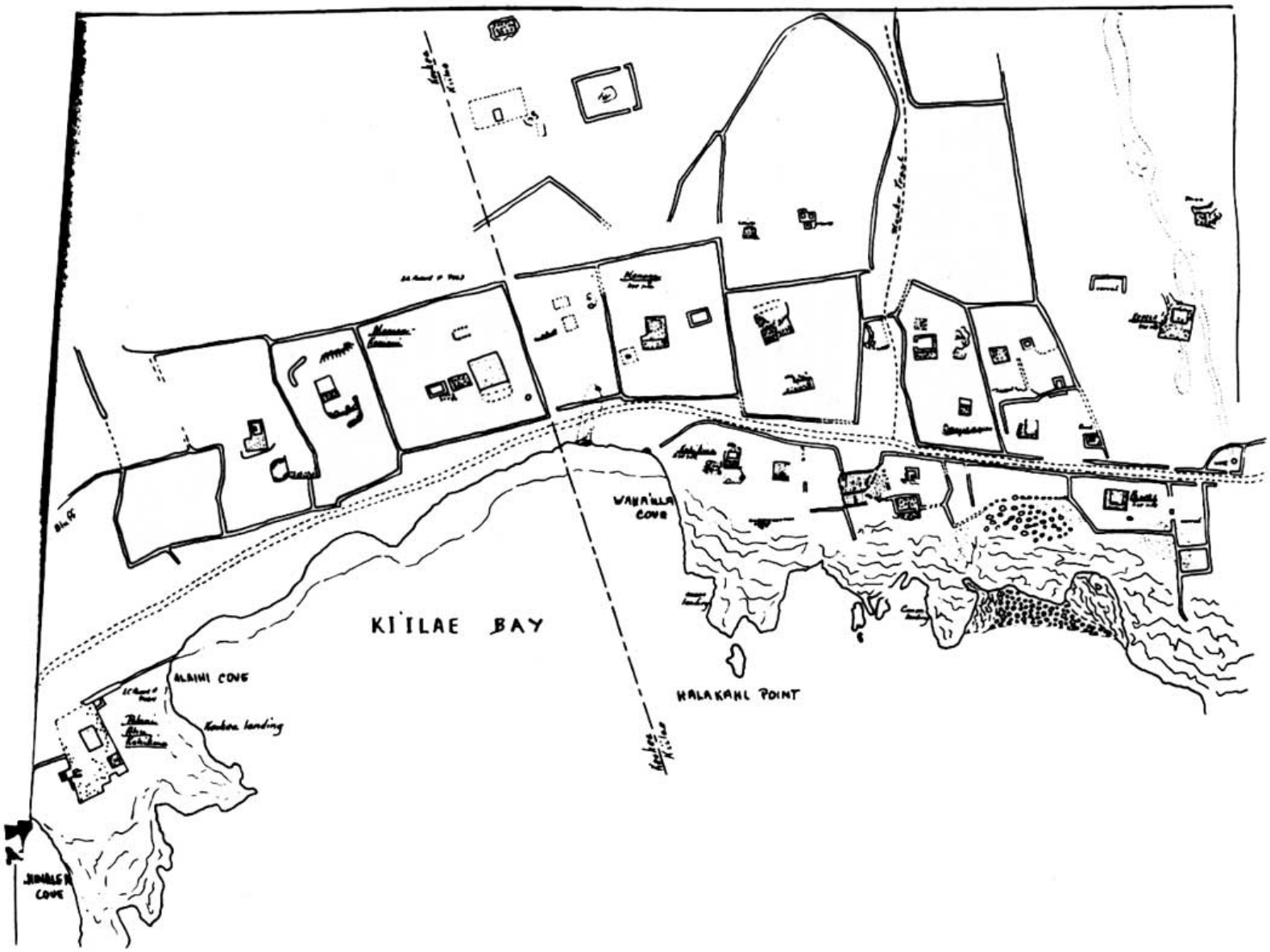






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Sea

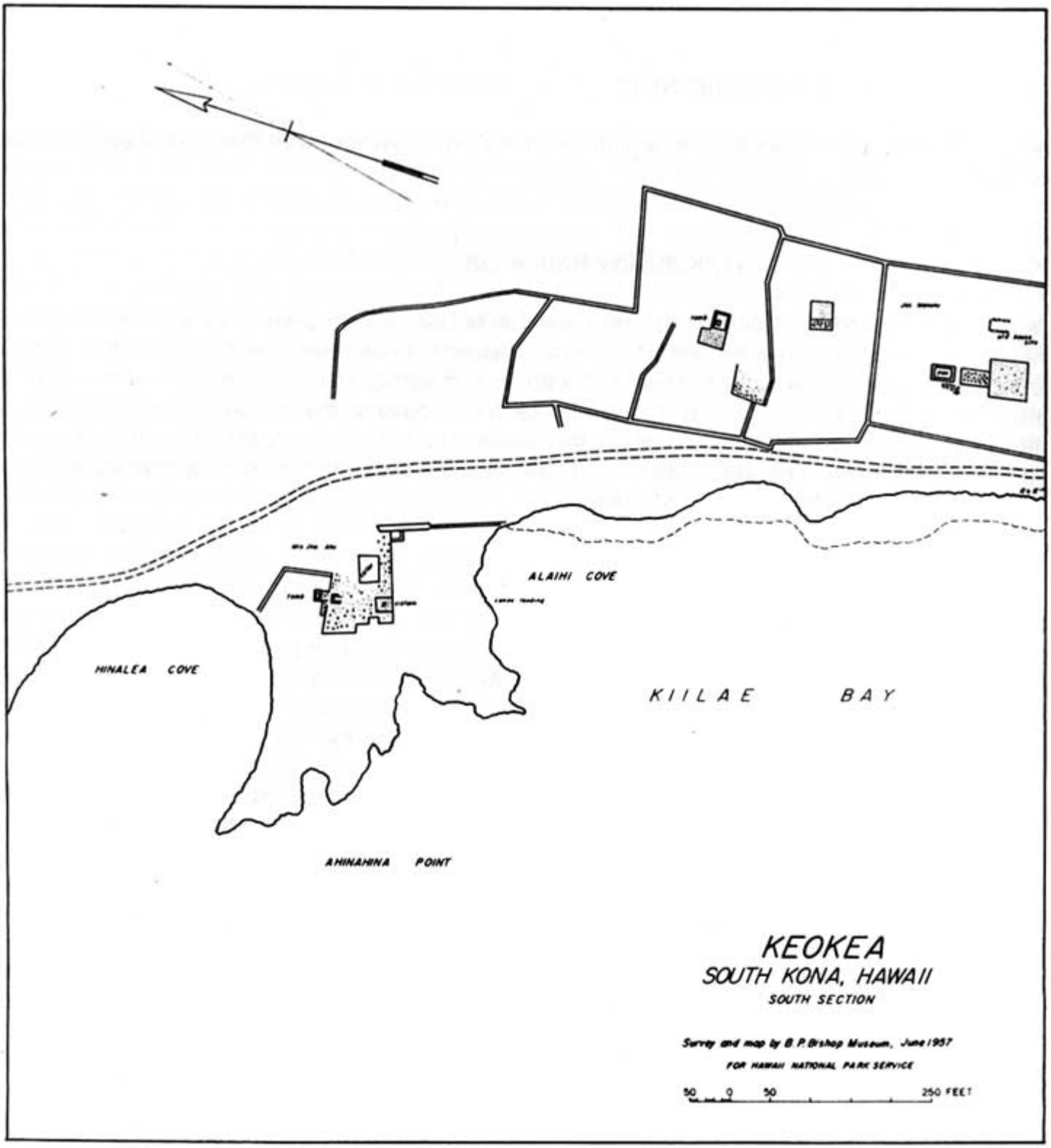

KI'ILAE BAY
WAWA'ELA COVE
HALAKAHI POINT
ALAIHI COVE
Kuakua landing



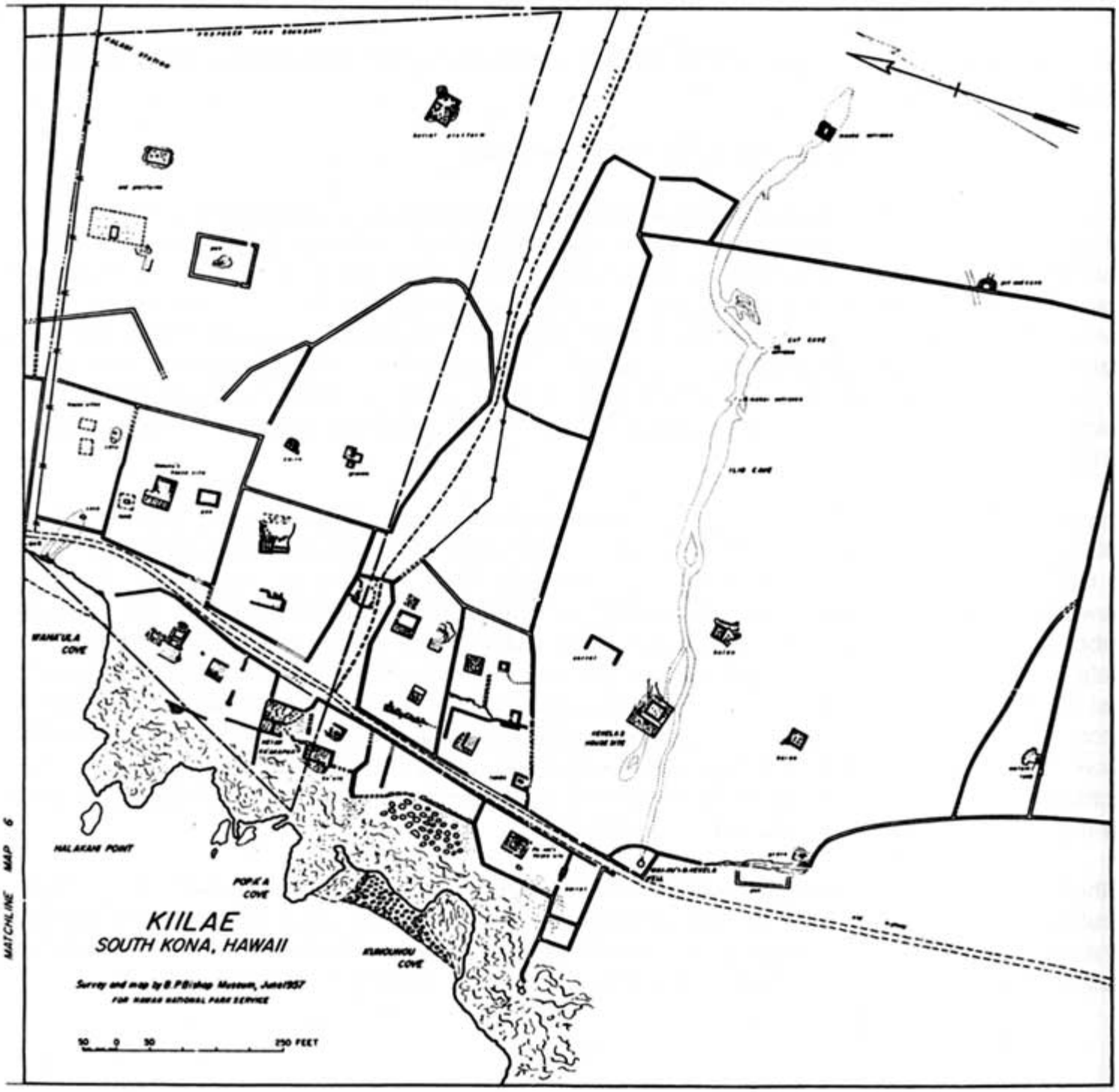


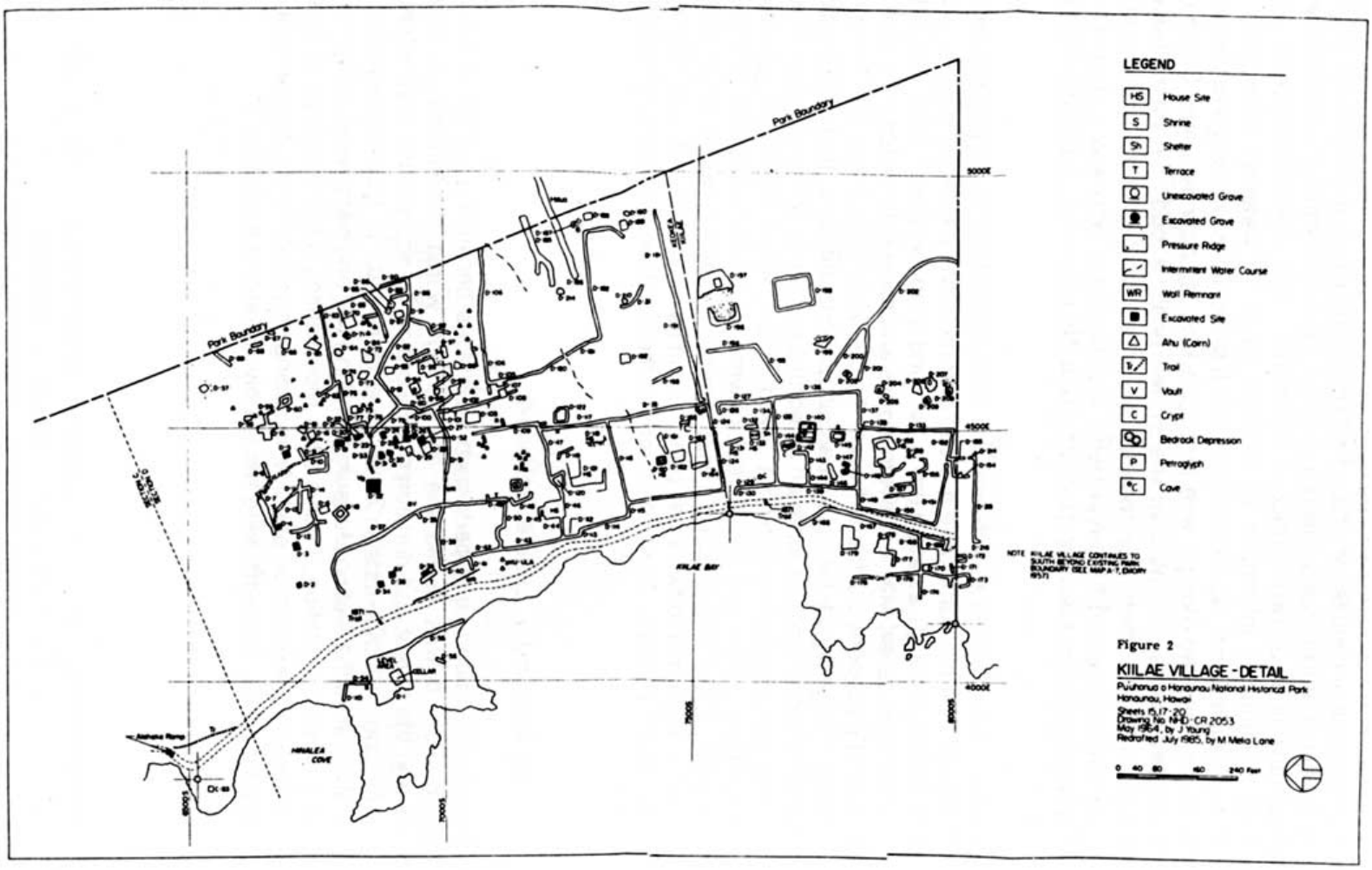


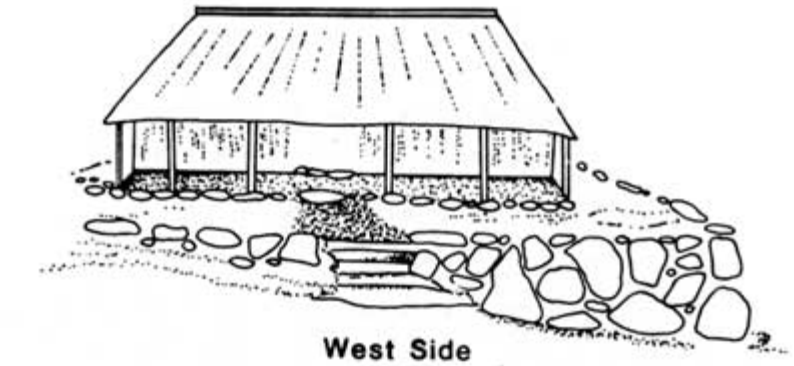




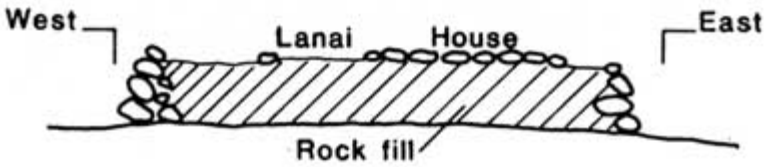
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MATCHLINE MAP 6
HALAKAHI POINT
POPE'A COVE
KIILAE
SOUTH KONA, HAWAII
KUKUIHOU COVE
50 0 50 250 FEET

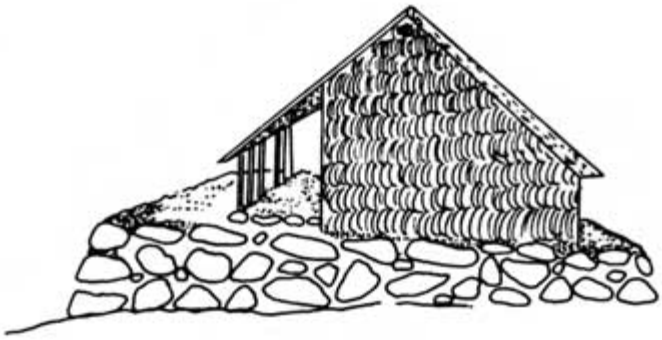

LEGEND
HS House Site
S Shrine
Sh Shelter
T Terrace
Q Unexcavated Grove
Excavated Grove
Pressure Ridge
Intermittent Water Course
WR Wall Remnant
Excavated Site
Ahu (Cairn)
Trail
V Vault
C Crypt
Bedrock Depression
P Petroglyph
Cave
Park Boundary
Park Boundary
KIILAE BAY
HONAUNAU BAY
NOTE KIILAE VILLAGE CONTINUES TO SOUTH BEYOND EXISTING PARK BOUNDARY (SEE MAP A-7, DWGMY 8531)
Figure 2
KIILAE VILLAGE - DETAIL
Puuhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park
Honaunau, Hawaii
Sheets 15,17-20
Drawing No NHD-CR 2053
May 1964, by J Young
Redrafted July 1985, by M Melia Lane
0 40 80 160 240 Feet



West Side



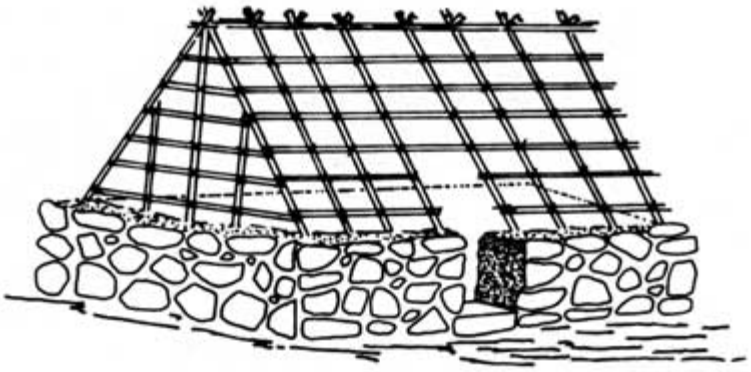
Cross Section



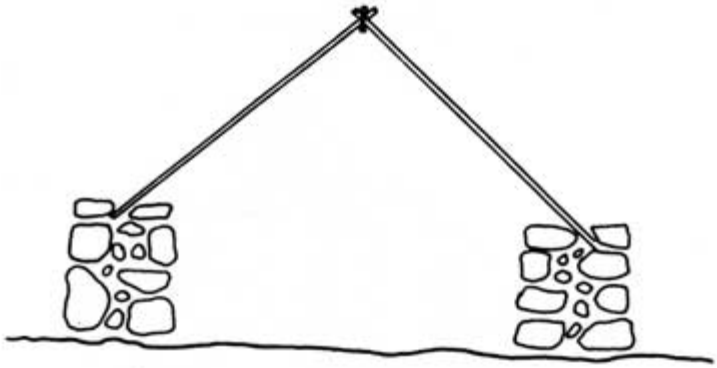
South Side

Figure 33. Conjectural Drawing of House Site D-140, Manunu's House. (Not to scale.)

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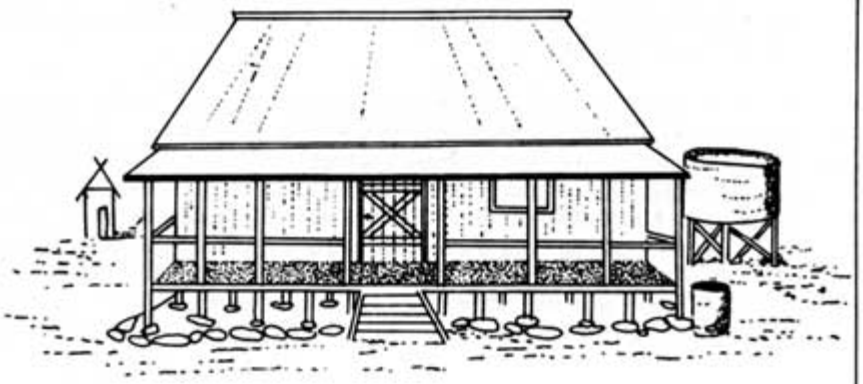
Side View



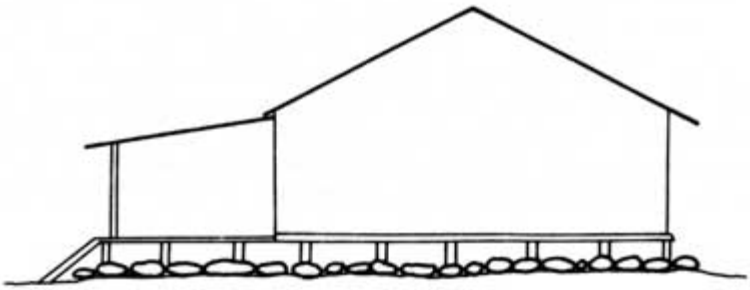
End View

Figure 30. Conjectural Drawing of House Site D-160. (Not to scale.)

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig207.jpg[3/19/2013 10:12:01 AM]



Front View



Side View

Figure 31. Conjectural Drawing of a House Type Typical of the Historic Period, Site D-163. (Not to scale.)

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kona/fig208.jpg[3/19/2013 10:12:02 AM]

PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Marion Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1778-1850," Master's thesis (Pacific Islands Studies), University of Hawaii, 1956, p. 1.

2. Patrick V. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. 22.

3. Ross H. Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change: The Development of Complex Societies in the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 9, 11.

4. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 1, 3.

5. Dorota Czarkowska Starzecka, *Hawaii: People and Culture* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1975), p. 5.

6. Tom Dye and David W. Steadman, "Polynesian Ancestors and Their Animal World," *American Scientist* 78, no. 3. (May-June 1990): 207-15; [Dorothy Barrère, Paul J. F. Schumacher, Charles W. Snell, and John A. Hussey], *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture, A.D. 750-AD. 1778,* The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XVI: Indigenous Peoples and Cultures (Washington: National Park Service, 1962), pp. 6-7.

7. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1947), p. 3.

8. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 87.

9. E. S. Craighill Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii," prepared for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York, 1931, pp. 4-5.

10. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 187 (Honolulu: The Museum, 1945), p. 107; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p.3. Buck was part Maori from New Zealand and was a medical doctor before becoming interested in Pacific ethnology. He based his work on traditional Hawaiian sources.

11. Buck, *Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology,* p. 15.

12. T Stell Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," in E. Alison Kay, ed., *A Natural History of the Hawaiian Islands: Selected Readings* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1972), pp. 561-62; Kirch, *Feathered*

Gods and Fishhooks, p. 286.

13. H. David Tuggle, "Hawaii," in Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *The Prehistory of Polynesia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 174.

14. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 9.

15. Paul H. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Hapuna-Anaehoomalu Section of the Kailua-Kawaihae Road (Queen Kaahumanu Highway), Island of Hawaii,* prepared for Department of Transportation, State of Hawaii, Bishop Museum Report 72-5 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1972), p. 9.

16. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 298; State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i, Volume I: The Historical Summary* (Honolulu: Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1976), p. 4; Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 8, 30-31.

17. Samuel M. Kamakau, *Na Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko [The Works of the People of Old],* trans. Mary K. Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère, Bishop Museum Special Publication 61 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1976), p. 95 (hereafter cited as *Works of the People of Old);* Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 300.

18. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 302.

19. *Ibid.,* p. 303.

20. *Ibid.,* pp. 303-5. A wide range of estimates has been suggested for the population of the Hawaiian Islands at the time of Western contact. These range from less than 100,000 to at least 800,000. Interesting discussions of the question are found in David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Social Science Research Institute, 1989). This work shows that the demographic history of Hawai'i is a subject that still provokes stimulating controversy.

21. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 305.

22. *Ibid.,* pp. 306-7.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 298.

24. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i,* Vol. I, p. 5.

25. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 302-3.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 304.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 307.

28. Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 175; Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," pp. 562-63.

29. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 303, 305.

31. *Ibid.,* p. 302.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 303.

33. *Ibid.,* pp. 303-6. Ku, a deity of war, was one of four major gods in the Hawaiian religious hierarchy. The *ahupua'a* resembled a pie-shaped wedge running from the interior of the island to the sea, cross-cutting all environmental zones and resources.

30. *Ibid.,* p. 307.

34. *Ibid.,* pp. 307-8.

35. Rose Schilt, *Subsistence and Conflict in Kona, Hawaii: An Archaeological Study of the Kuakini Highway Realignment Corridor,* Hawaii Historic Preservation Report 84-1 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1984), p. 290; Benjamin B. c. Young, "The Hawaiians," chapter 2 in John F. McDermott, Jr., Wen-Shing Tseng, and Thomas W. Maretzki, eds., *People and Cultures of Hawaii: A Pyschocultural Profile* (Honolulu: John A. Burns School of Medicine and The University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p. 5; Dorota czarkowska Starzecka, "Hawaii," chapter 5 in Hugh Cobbe, ed., *Cook's Voyages and Peoples of the Pacific* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1979), p. 109; William H. Davenport, "The 'Hawaiian Cultural Revolution': Some Political and Economic Considerations," *American Anthropologist* 71 (1969): 4.

Davenport questions whether priests actually constituted a distinct social class. Although definitely a conspicuous and influential segment of society, they may have been simply an occupational category spanning social classes. In the broadest sense, a priest was anyone who by inheritance and/or training could practice any of the many rituals required in Hawaiian society. The lower order of priests concerned themselves with divining, sorcery, curing, and crafts, while the "true' priests conducted the rituals to the major gods. The latter type was divided into hereditary orders, each one serving a particular god. Many priests were full-time religious specialists. "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 4.

36. Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii," pp. 4-5.

37. *Ibid.;* Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 29, 41; Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 3. The highest ranking *ali'i* were the "first-borns of first-borns all the way back to the demigods and the gods," either men or women. *Ibid.,* p. 7.

38. William H. Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," *Expedition* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1964): 16.

39. Ibid; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 178; William H. Davenport, "The Religion of Pre-European Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* 16 (1952): 22.

40. Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii," pp. 5-6.

41. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., *Ancient Hawaiian* Life (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1938), p. 18; E. S. Craighill Handy, Kenneth P. Emory, Edwin H. Bryan, Peter H. Buck, John H. Wise, *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* rev. ed. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Publ., 1965), p. 77; E. S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Press, 1972), pp. 284, 287; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 182.

42. Stephen B. Jones, "Geography and Politics in the Hawaiian Islands," *The Geographical Review* 28 (1938): 194.

43. Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change,* p. 21.

44. Robert J. Hommon, "The Formation of Primitive States in Pre-Contact Hawaii," Ph.D. dissertation (Anthropology), University of Arizona, 1976, p. 230.

45. Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 182; Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* pp. 19-20.

46. Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* pp. 19-20; Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* p. 96.

47. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, The Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands . . .,* 3d ed. rev. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), pp. 115-16.

48. Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 178. Because *kapu* forbid the sexes from eating together, several commoner households often shared a men's house, which provided them with a leisure, religious, and eating facility. Commoner women who ate indoors probably did so in the sleeping house. Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change,* pp. 73-75.

49. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* pp. 5-6.

50. Frank F. Bunker, *Hawaii and the Phillipines* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1928), pp. 23-24.

51. Russell A. Apple *Hawaiian Thatched House: Use-Construction-Adaptation* (San Francisco: National Park Service, Western Service Center, Office of History and Historic Architecture, 1971), p. 10.

52. *Ibid.,* p. 15; Handy et al., *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 77.

53. Handy et al., *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* pp. 76-77; Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* p. 96; Bryan, *Ancient Hawaii an Life,* p. 20.

54. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* p. 5.

58. Thomas Newman, *Hawaiian Fishing and Farming on the Island of Hawaii in A.D. 1778* (Honolulu: Division of State Parks, 1970), p. 54, cited in Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 59.

59. Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," pp. 564-66.

60. Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* p. 15; Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," p. 564.

61. Margaret Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1972), p. 5.

62. Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* p.16.

63. Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii,* p. 8.

64. Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* p. 10; Jerald J. Holland, "Land and Livelihood: The Kona Coast About 1825," Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1971, p.31.

65. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 31.

66. Yvonne Kami Ohira, "Fishing Kapu & Rituals: Their Relationship to conservation Past & Present," in Dorothy Hazama, ed., *Culture Studies: Hawaiian Studies Project* (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, Office of Instructional Services, 1978), pp. 42-43; Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* p.17; Handy, *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 105; Herb Kawainui Kane, "Hawaiian Fishponds: the Fascinating History of Hawaiian Aquaculture,' *Historic Hawai'i* 14, no. 6 (June 1988): 5.

67. William Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis: A Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii in 1823* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazetteco., Ltd., 1916), p. 88.

68. William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands,* 4 vols. (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1833), 4:73.

69. J. Halley Cox with William H. Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 14; W. D. Westervelt, "Ancient Hawaiian Fishing," *Paradise of the Pacific* 4, no. 12 (December 1902): 72; Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii,* pp. 1, 35-36.

70. J. S. Emerson, "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers No. 2* (Honolulu, 1892), pp. 8-12, cited in Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii,* p. 37.

71. Ohira, "Fishing Kapu & Rituals," p. 44; Titcomb, *Native use of Fish in Hawaii,* pp. 13-14; Handy, *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* pp. 110-11.

72. William K. Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," Ph.D. dissertation (Anthropology), University of Arizona, 1973, cited in Russell A. Apple and William K. Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds: An Evaluation of*

Survivors in Historical Preservation (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1975), p. 7.

173. William K. Kikuchi and John C. Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds on the Leeward Coast of the Island of Hawaii," compiled for the Hawaii County Planning Commission, Hilo, Hawaii, November 22, 1971, pp. 9-10.

74. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 211; Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," pp. 207-8, 211-13; Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 1-2.

75. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 2; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 214. Historian Marion Kelly, on the other hand, believes fishponds did not become the private property of the king or the chiefs until the Great *Mahele.* Although the chiefs directed the work of the people in building the ponds, all Hawaiians earned use rights in the fishponds through their labor, enabling them to catch and eat certain of the fish in the pond. She believes that these ponds were an integral part of the Hawaiian land division *(ahupua'a)* system of land-sea cultivation. Marion Kelly, "Loko Kuapa O Hawai'i Nei," *Historic Hawai'i News* 5, no.4 (April 1979): 1,6; Carole McLean, "Endangered Species: Hawaiian Fishponds," *Historic Hawai'i* 14, no. 6 (June 1988): 6-7. Kelly's view contrasts with Kikuchi's belief that natural resources such as water and agricultural and aquacultural lands remained the complete domain of the elite, control of these resources giving them power over their subjects. *Ibid.,* p. 7.

76. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 211-12.

77. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 7, 45; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 212-13; Robert C. Renger, "Human Adaptation to Marginal Coastal Environments; the Archaeology of Kaloko, North Kona, Hawaii," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974, p. 160. According to Kamakau, both *pu'uone* and taro patch ponds belonged to commoners, land holders, and land agents. Farmers especially desired the *pu'uone* ponds near the sea and stocked them full of fish. *Works of the People of Old,* pp. 49-50. Catherine c. Summers states there were two types of *pu'uone.* Smaller ones were usually built by farmers who used them in addition to cultivating fields; chiefs used larger ones that covered up to several hundred acres and required much labor in their construction. *Hawaiian Fishponds,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 52 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), p. 19.

78. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 8; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 212-13; Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 161.

79. Marion Kelly, "Loko Kuapa O Hawai'i Nei," p. 1.

80. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 14-18, 25; Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 161;Summers, *Hawaiian Fishponds,* p. 5; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 212.

81. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 162; Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 20, 22-23.

82. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 22-23, 45-46; Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 163.

83. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 162-65; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 213.

84. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 23-24, 44, 47; Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 163; Kelly, Loko Kuapa O Hawai'i Nei," p. 1.

85. Kane, "Hawaiian Fishponds, p. 5; Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 51-52; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii,* trans. Paula Wissing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 22.

86. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 62-63.

87. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 214-16; Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 56.

88. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 63.

89. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 165-66.

90. Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 218.

91. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 64.

92. Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," pp. 206-7.

93. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* pp. 27, 53.

94. *Ibid.,* p. 3.

95. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 160-61; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 213; Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," p. 570.

96. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 215; Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 36.

97. *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 216-17.

98. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 4. Marie Morin, Research Assoc., to Francis Kuailani, Sr., Supt., Kaloko Honokohau NHP, November 25, 1992, in DSC files.

99. *Ibid.,* p. 36; Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* p. 11.

100. Tuggle, "Hawaii," pp. 171, 174.

101. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* pp. 36-37; John W. Coulter, *Population and Utilization of Land and Sea in Hawaii, 1853,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 88 (Honolulu: The Museum, 1931), pp. 6-8; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 172.

102. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, p. 5.

103. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 37.

104. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 216.

105. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

106. Handy et al., *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 119.

107. Newman, "Man in the Prehistoric Hawaiian Ecosystem," pp. 561-62. According to Research Associate Marie Morin, fossil evidence indicates numerous birds were present in early Hawai'i that are now extinct. Morin to Francis Kuailani, Sr., November 25, 1992.

108. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 38; Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 67.

109. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 11. (Kalani 'opu'u was chief of Hawai'i and of the Hana District of Maui.)

110. According to Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," the *ali'i-nui* was the great chief, or *mo'i,* who ruled over an entire island or several islands. The *ali'i-'ai-moku* were the second rank chiefs who ruled over a district or sometimes an island. Below them were the *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a,* who ruled that land division. p. 100. Davenport states that added stability adhered to the office of paramount chief if that person was of the highest sacred rank because of the special reverence he was accorded as a "divine being." "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 7.

111. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1 778-1854,* pp. 9-10; State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, pp. 8-9; Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 17; Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* pp. 279, 321; Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 43-45.

112. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 289, 294; Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," pp. 229-31.

113. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 11.

114. Sanford B. Dole, "Evolution of Hawaiian Land Tenure," *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers No.* 3 (Honolulu, 1892), pp. 3-4.

115. *Ibid.,* pp. 4-5.

116. Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," pp. 58-62.

117. *Ibid.,* pp. 1, 11.

118. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 11; Jeffrey T. Clark and Patrick V. Kirch, eds., *Archaeological Investigations of the Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor, Island of Hawaii,* Departmental Report Series 83-1 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1983), p. 9; Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 229. Hommon states that the *ahupua'a* as a unit of economic exploitation is the most efficient way to encompass the greatest range of natural resources in the smallest space." p. 57.

119. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 39; Kelly, "changes in Land Tenure," pp. 18, 20, 22-25; Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," pp. 55-57, 67-68; Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* pp. 48-50.

120. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, p. 10.

121. Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 71.

122. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i,* Vol. I, p. 10; E.S.C. Handy and Mary Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii* (Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society, 1958), cited in Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 40.

123. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 289, 294.

124. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i,* Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

125. Handy and Pukui, *Polynesian Family System,* cited in Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 41.

126. Russell Apple, *Tales of Old Hawaii* (Norfolk Island, Australia: Island Heritage, Ltd., 1977), pp. 64-66.

127. Starczeka, "Hawaii," p. 110; Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 38-39. By the end of the sixteenth century, the *Makahiki* festival began to include sports, war games, and contests of strength. As warfare developed into an increasingly important activity, this festival provided an opportunity for chiefs to identify and select those young men who would be the best warriors. The role of the ceremony thus expanded to include a warrior training and recruiting program. *Ibid.,* p. 39.

128. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 289-90, 302.

129. Starzecka, *Hawaii: People and Culture,* p. 16; John F. Mulholland, *Hawaii's Religions* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1970), pp. 11-12,14-15; cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* pp. 16, 19; State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, p. 12; Kenneth P. Emory, "Religion in Ancient Hawaii," in *Aspects of Hawaiian Life and Environment* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1965), p. 86; Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 19; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom. 1778-1854,* p. 7.

130. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," pp. 6-7.

131. Davenport, "Religion of Pre-European Hawaii," p. 21; State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* Vol. I, p. 11; Emory, "Religion in Ancient Hawaii," p. 87; E. Ellsworth Carey, "The Ancient Hawaiians and the Tabu," *The Californian* 3, no. 5 (April 1893): 542; Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 30; Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," pp. 109-10; C. F. Gordon Cumming, *Fire Fountains: The Kingdom of Hawaii, Its Volcanoes, and the History of its Missions,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883), 2:22. To perhaps more clearly explain the term *kahuna,* Cox and Davenport state it was applied to "a group of highly trained male artisan-priests." The name specifies

> someone who possessed special ritual by means of which supernatural powers were generated and manipulated. Since all gifted artisans probably possessed ritual used to assist them in their crafts, they too were classed as *kahuna.* Every important skill was under the direction of *kahuna. . . .* Any undertaking that required much skill and mana for its successful completion had an appropriate *kahuna.* The creative arts of dancing and sculpture were under the control of these priestly artisans. It is not clear exactly how *kahuna* were distributed among the noble and commoner social classes.

Hawaiian Sculpture, p. 12.

132. *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 50.

133. Amanda Kautz, "Hawaii: Tradition and change," *Impulse* 7 (Winter 1980): 53.

134. Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* pp. 9,12; Kautz, "Hawaii: Tradition and change," p. 52.

135. Abraham Fomander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations,* 3 vols., reprint (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), 1:113-14. William Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1915), pp. 46-47.

136. Leonard Lueras, "Ancient Hawaii," in Leonard Lueras, ed., *Hawaii* (Hong Kong: Apa, 1980), pp. 30-31; carey, "Ancient Hawaiians and the Tabu," p. 278.

137. *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1 778-1854,* p. 8.

138. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 284.

139. *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 47.

140. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 282; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 8.

141. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 10.

142. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* pp. 281-82; William D. Alexander, "Overthrow of the Ancient Tabu System in the Hawaiian Islands," reprinted in the *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1916* (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific, 1917), pp. 37-38; Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 46. See Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence.' Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: The university of Michigan Press, 1990) for a discussion of the role of women in Hawaiian society. Linnekin concludes that Hawaiian women did view the *kapu* restrictions as burdensome and devaluing and did not always passively acquiesce to their constraints.

143. Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 47.

144. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 29.

145. *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 9.

146. Charles F. Gallagher, *Hawaii and Its Gods* (New York: Weatherhill/KAPA, 1975), p. 20.

147. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 283.

148. *Ibid.;* Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 47.

149. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* p. 19.

150. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* pp. 29-30.

151. Dye and Steadman, "Polynesian Ancestors and Their Animal World," p. 214.

152. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 282.

153. *Ibid.,* p. 283; Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 19; carey, "Ancient Hawaiians and the Tabu," p. 278.

154. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 9.

155. *Polynesian Researches,* pp. 280-81.

156. Barry M. Gough, ed., *To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey: The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of H.M.S. 'Blossom,' 1825-1828* (Cambridge, England: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the Cambridge university Press, 1973), p. 135. During the early wave of enthusiasm among the Hawaiians for everything new and foreign, many chiefs assumed foreign names. Kuakini, perhaps due to some physical resemblance to the great American statesman, assumed the name "John Adams." He is more frequently referred to in the literature as "Governor Adams" than by his Hawaiian name. Emma Lyons Doyle, comp., *Makua Laiana: The Story of Lorenzo Lyons* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1953), p. 44.

157. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 10.

158. Marion Kelly, ed., *Hawai'i in 1819: A Narrative Account by Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet,* trans. Ella L. Wiswell, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 26 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1978), p. 78.

159. Samuel Kamakau, "Hawaiian Antiquities: Customs at Death, Notable Traditional Burial Caves," in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Annual for* 1932 (Honolulu, 1931), p. 104.

160. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* pp. 25-26.

161. Hazama, *Culture Studies,* p. 17; Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 25; Starzecka, *Hawaii. People and Culture,* p. 19; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 260-62.

162. Byron Shimizu, "An Architectual Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau* Focusing on the Island of Oahu," Master's thesis (Architecture), university of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1980, pp. 12-13.

163. *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 17.

164. *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 259.

165. Thomas G. Thrum, "Hawaiian Temple Structures," reprint from Special Publications of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum No. 7 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1921), pp. 86-87; David Kalakaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* ed. R. M. Daggett (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1888), p. 39.

166. William Shaler, "Journal of a Voyage between China and the North-Western Coast of America, Made in 1804," in *The American Register,* 7 vols. (Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Company, 1808), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 167.

167. John B. Whitman, "An Account of the Sandwich Islands, 1813-1815: A Residence of Two Years," MS, Slip Case, cage 2A, Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Mass., n.p.

168. "A View of the Sandwich Islands," in *Letters from Missions to Islands of the Pacific.* undated MS (ca. 1818?), American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 19.3, v. 6, in Haughton Library, Harvard university, Cambridge, Mass., p. 21.

169. Jules M. Remy, *Contributions of a Venerable Savage to the Ancient History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Boston: Privately Printed, 1868), p. 16.

170. Buck, *Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology,* p. 32.

171. Wendell C. Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiaus* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1932), p. 30.

172. Quoted in Thomas G. Thrum, "The Heiau (Temple) of Kupopolo. And Incidentally Others," in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1906* (Honolulu, 1905), p. 121.

173. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 9.

174. Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 23.

175. Folder 1 of 3, box 8.33, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Heiau notes, Stokes p. 1; Folder 1 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.47, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, Kamakau pp. 4 and 6, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

176. Folder 1 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.47, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, Stokes pp. 3-4, 6, and Kamakau, p. 6; folder 2 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.48, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, pp. 3, 5.

177. *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 263-64.

178. Folder 2 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.48, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS. Stokes p. 6. Older temples frequently underwent alteration, sometimes every year. There might even be a complete change in the structure to induce good luck. Rather than remodelling older temples, new ones might be built and the old ones abandoned or used for another class of worship. If not rebuilt, temples might be rededicated annually so that the name of the latest king to dedicate it would be associated with it as the builder. "Static condition of institutions not necessarily maintained, " folder 3 of 6, box 9.25, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, "Puuhonua and Honaunau p. 1.

179. Folder 1 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.47, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, Malo pp. 1-2, Kamakau p.4; "Concerning the Luakini (draft of Chapter 37), folder 3 of 3, box 8.35, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Heiau notes, pp. 1, 5-6; folder 1 of 3, box 8.33, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Heiau notes, Stokes p. 1; Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,"* pp. 16-22; Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 26; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii),* trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2, 2d ed. (Honolulu: The Museum, 1951), p. 176; Native Historian John Papa I'i describes a slightly different arrangement of structures that will be presented in the section on Pu'ukohola Heiau. Shimizu believes that the stone walls and platform defined the *heiau* boundaries (and certainly in many cases provided the massive authority of the structures), but that the true essence or image of the temple was created by such features as the towers, images, houses, and wickerwork objects that are now gone but whose placement and construction were planned with great care by the priestly architect of the temple, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 15.

Usually high-ranking prisoners of war or those who had violated a *kapu* became sacrificial victims. Women were never selected for this "honor." William D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York: American Book Co., ca. 1891), p. 51. Rebellious nobles were also a source of sacrifice. Historian Samuel Kamakau states that

> if no culprit or captive was at hand for the purpose [sacrifice to complete consecration of a *luakini],* then some cause would be found by one of the favorites of the chief against probably some high or ordinary chief, or maybe some intimate friend of the chief. No one was safe or could escape from those jealous

> fault-finders; even the power of the king could not save his life.

Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), cited in Shimizu, "Architectural .Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 13.

The Reverend William Ellis states that when a sacrifice was needed,

> A message was sent to the chief under whose authority they [the chosen victims] were, and at the appointed time he sent his men, who generally despatched them with a stone or club, without any notice, and then carried them away to the temple.
>
> Sometimes they were bound and taken alive to the heiau, and slain in the outer court, immediately before being placed on the altar.
>
> It does not appear that they were slain in the idol's presence, or within the temple, but either on the outside or at the place where they were first taken. . . .

Journal of William Ellis, p. 112.

The oratory was the place in which the prophets received information from the gods. E. Ellsworth Carey surmises:

> The prophets, who were priests of great sanctity, were supposed to speak from inspiration, and there is reason to believe that certain occult operations such as clairvoyance, mind-reading and thought transference, were not unknown in the secret circles of this ancient priestcraft.

"Ancient Hawaiians and the Tabu," p. 544.

180. Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* p. 135. One fathom equals six feet.

181. *Ibid.,* pp. 136-38.

182. *Ibid.,* pp. 138-39.

183. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 26. After completion of one of these ritualistic ceremonies specifically conducted to alleviate a pestilence or famine or bring success in some war-related venture, a *luakini* was often abandoned. Its site would, however, as mentioned earlier, be used repeatedly. A ruling chief maintained at least one functioning *luakini* near his residence that he ceremoniously revisited and reconsecrated each year. *Ibid.,* p. 27. Shimizu suggests that

> The ritual process, besides being sacredly motivated, undoubtedly had a psychological effect upon the populace. The elaboration of the event surrounding the construction of a *heiau,* with eating and working together in ceremony, served to excite and motivate the masses in times of war, and unify them in times of hardship.

"Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 14.

184. Malo quoted in Noel Haas, "The Hawaiians as Engineers," MS, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1964, p. 18.

185. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 8.

186. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 30.

187. Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* p. 135. According to Kamakau, this laborious *heiau* construction work fell on the people of the district, not on the whole island. Thomas G. Thrum, "Heiaus: Their Kinds, Construction, Ceremonies, Etc.," trans. from writings of S.M. Kamakau and others, in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Annual for 1910* (Honolulu, *1909), p.* 58.

188. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 9. The *kapu* system provided all sorts of opportunities for selecting sacrificial victims from the local populace:

> When a sacrifice was wanted, and no criminal could be found, they imposed a new tabu of such a nature as to present a strong temptation to some person or persons to break it; perhaps it was laid secretly, and then whoever should be so unfortunate as to break it, was immediately seized, by persons on the watch, and hurried away to the altar.

"Memoir of Keopuolani," Box 1 :20a, Andover Newton Theological School Mss., Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., p. 15.

189. Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiaus,* p. 34.

190. Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: T.G. Thrum, 1909), p. 81.

191. Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 19; Davenport, "Religion of Pre-European Hawaii," p. 24.

192. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 323.

193. Apple, *Tales of Old Hawaii,* p. 6.

194. Cumming, *Fire Fountains,* 2:18.

195. Handy et al., *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 228.

196. Starzecka, *Hawaii: People and Culture,* pp. 37, 39. The smaller images could be carried into battle:

> The Hawaiians carried no banners; but the idols, borne by the priests, acted as rallying points, and inspired the combatants with vigour.

Cumming, *Fire Fountains,* 2: 56.

197. Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiaus,* p. 32.

198. Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* pp. xx, 16. 58-59.

199. George Vanderbilt, "Human Sacrifice" (October 9, 1 955):A4; "Polynesian Prelude" (September 11, 1 955):A4; and "Getting Right with Ku" (October 2, 1955):A4, in *Honolulu Advertiser.* Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* pp.136-37; Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," pp. 25-26.

200. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 9.

201. Nathaniel Portlock, "Voyage of Captains Portlock and Dixon to King George's Sound and Round the World," in William Marvor, *Historical Account of Voyages, Travels and Discoveries from the Time of Columbus to the Present,* 20 vols. (London, n.p., 1796-1801), 8 (1798): 285.

202. Fred Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood" from 1844 to 1848* (London: Richard Bentley, 1850), p. 250.

203. *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 60.

204. "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 10.

205. *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 229.

206. W. Chapin, *Missionary Gazeteer* (Woodstock, 1825), p. 312.

207. Bingham *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 162.

208. Gilbert E. Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands During the Years 1821 and 1822* (London: C. Knight, 1825), p. 430.

209. *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 23.

210. Toni L. Han, Sara L. Collins, Stephan D. Clark, and Anne Garland, *Moe Kau A Ho'oilo: Hawaiian Mortuary Practices at Keopu, Kona, Hawai'i* Bishop Museum Report 86-1 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1986), pp. 12, 21.

211. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 237-38, 240, 242; Han et al., *Hawaiian Mortuary Practices,* p. 18. Interment of these four groups of people in *heiau* probably reflects their close relationship with Hawaiian religious practices.

212. William D. Westervelt, "Hawaiian Burial Caves," in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Annual* (Honolulu, 1904), p. 147.

213. Han et al., *Hawaiian Mortuary Practices,* p. 16.

214. Bryan, *Ancient Hawaiian Life,* pp. 58-59; Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 77; Kamakau, "Hawaiian Antiquities: Customs at Death," pp. 104-5, 108-9. Embalming of bodies involved cutting open the corpse, removing the inner organs, and filling the cavity with salt. In other instances, relatives stripped off the flesh, saved particular bones and the skull, and threw the rest of the body in the deep ocean. Kamakau, *People of Old,* pp. 33-34. Han et al., *Hawaiian Mortuary Practices,* p. 14, state that the practice of offering oneself as a "death companion" might have been mostly a ritual process, suicide not being a prevalent aspect of ancient Hawaiian society.

215. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i,* Vol. I, p. 12. Because skeletal material remains indefinitely, "in essence, bones represent the immortality of an individual, as well as a link between the living and their progenitors." The treatment and safe-guarding of bones after death, therefore, comprised a very important part of the burial procedure. Han et al., *Hawaiian Mortuary Practices,* p. 13.

216. *Account of the Polynesian Race,* II:105-6.

217. *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 272. The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons noted in 1833, however, that "Though coffins are sometimes used now, the dead are generally merely wrapped in mats. . . . Graves are not numerous in this part of the islands. caves are converted into sepulchres. . . ." Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 69. The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons (1807-1886) and his wife Betsey arrived in Honolulu in 1832. Working out of the mission station at Waimea on the island of Hawai'i, his district included Kawaihae and Hamakua. He kept busy translating books and composing hymns while he counseled and preached. He built fourteen churches in his district before dying at Waimea. Biographical Notes, in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (Lela Goodell, Elizabeth Larson, David Forbes), "Keola Hou Church, Kawaihae," 1969, p. [10].

218. Frederick D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe, From the Year 1833 to 1836,* 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1840), I:224. Reprint ed., Bibliotheca Australiana #46 (Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970).

219. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People,* pp. 44-45; Carey, "Ancient Hawaiians and the Tabu," p. 278; Marion A. Kelly, "Report 12: Annotated List of *Pu'uhonua* in the Hawaiian Islands," in Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., and Kenneth P. Emory, *The Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau, Kona, Hawaii,* Departmental Report Series 86-2 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1986), p. 152.

220. Starzecka, *Hawaii: People and Culture,* p. 41; Lueras, "Ancient Hawaii," p. 34.

221. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842,* 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), 5:46. Sledding activity will be discussed more fully later in this report. These slides were monumental construction projects that probably came late in Hawaiian history.

222. Caspar Whitney, *Hawaiian-America: Something of its History, Resources, and Prospects* (New York: Harper, 1899), pp. 228, 231.

223. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p.81.

224. Lueras, "Ancient Hawaii," pp. 36-37.

225. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 1 .

226. Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii," p. 17.

227. Young, "The Hawaiians," pp. 6-9; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 184.

CHAPTER II

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1. "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 52.

2. Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1968), p. 11.

3. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 101.

4. John Barrow, ed., *Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery* (London: Dent, 1967), P. 391.

5. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 15; and Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 26.

6. samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), p. 92.

7. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 26. Also see the discussion of Cook's relationship to the Hawaiians in Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom,* Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Special Publications No. 1 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981).

8. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 57.

9. John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and in quest of a North-West Passage, Between Asia & America; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779* (Hartford: Printed by Nathaniel Patten, 1783), pp. 136-39.

10. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 53, 55. Lieutenant King suggested that the Hawaiians generosity with their resources was because they thought Cook was from a drought-stricken country lacking food. In any case, the amount of food and water supplied to the ships was prodigious. For example, one of the ships took on a total of nine tons of fresh water on the first day alone, and hundreds of hogs were butchered, salted down, and placed in casks for their use.

11. Kalani'opu'u's nephew, Kamehameha, was slightly wounded in the British attack on the village.

12. Jean A. Owen, *The Story of Hawaii* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1898), p. 138.

13. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 95. In Hawaiian tradition, however, gods slept with mortal women.

14. Ruth Tabrah, *Hawaii, a History* (New York and Nashville: W.W. Norton and Co. and the American Association for State and Local History, 1984), p. 17.

15. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 99.

16. F.W. Howay, ed., *Captain James Colnett Aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940), p. 220.

17. The Russians even restocked their fur hunting parties from the islands. Isaac Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage Around the World, 1805-1808* (New York: McIlroy and Emmet, n.d.), p. 67. Fur traders Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon visited Hawaii in 1786; Commander J.F.G. de la Perouse anchored off Maui at about the same time. Captains Colnett and Duncan arrived in 1787 and Captain Douglas in 1788. Captain John Meares was at the islands in 1787-88, Henry Cox in 1789, and Etienne Marchand in 1791. The ill-fated Captain Thomas Metcalf stopped at Hawai'i in 1789. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* pp. 38-39.

The first Hawaiian arrived in America in 1788, and it was not long before Hawaiians were regularly hired on as sailors. Thomas French, *The Missionary Whaleship* (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), p. 51.

18. George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World... in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, captains Portlock and Dixon* (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789), pp. 264-65. According to Dixon, breadfruit, potatoes and plantains were then the most plentiful vegetables, and there were great numbers of fine hogs and fowl available to the traders.

19. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 32.

20. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979), p. 46.

21. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian, Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 20.

22. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts,* p. 54.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 67.

24. Russian discovery ships sailed to Hawai'i from Cronstadt in about 1805.

25. Manley Hopkins, *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of Its Island-Kingdom,* 2d ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1869), pp. 4-5.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 117.

27. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 33.

CHAPTER III

1. The story of Davis's and Young's detainment in Hawai'i can be found in a variety of sources, with minor variations in detail: Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:231-35; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* pp. 145-47; charles H. Barnard, *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures . . . during the Years 1812 . . . 1816* (New York: Printed for the author by J. Lindon, 1829), pp. 224-28. This is supposedly Young's own account of the events; Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1835) 1:69-71; Henry B. Restarick, "John Young of Hawaii, an American,' *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1913* (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1914), pp. 28-29; Hopkins, *Hawaii,* pp. 120-22; and Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* pp. 39-40.

2. Irving, *Astoria,* p. 71.

3. Thomas J. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha, in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Annual for 1911* (Honolulu, 1910), p. 96.

4. Mamie Bassett, *Realms and Islands: The World Voyage of Rose de Freycinet in the Corvette Uranie, 1817-1820....* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 157. In fact, Vancouver states that when he gave Young and Davis their choice of taking passage with him back to England or of remaining on the island, the latter decided,

After mature consideration, they preferred their present way of life, and were desirous of continuing at Owhyhee; observing, that being destitute of resources, on their return home . . . they must be again exposed to the vicissitudes of a life of hard labour. . . .

George Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World,* 3 vols. (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1967) 3:65. After all, in Hawai'i they had achieved respect as chiefs, possessed considerable property, and lived in peace and plenty.

5. Barnard, *Narrative,* p. 228. Captain Barnard sailed aboard the *Millwood* and visited the Sandwich Islands in late 1815-early 1816.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 229.

7. *Ibid.,* pp. 229-30.

8. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha p. 99.

9. Artemas Bishop, "Notes taken on a tour to Hido [Hilo] ," (1826), *Missionary Herald* 23 (February 1827): 49.

10. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha, p. 100.

11. Marion Kelly, *Na Mala o Kona, Gardens of Kona: A History of Land Use in Kona, Hawai'i,* Bishop Museum Report 83-2 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1983), p. 24.

12. Barnard, *Narrative,* p. 229. "Pitt" was the name assumed by the Hawaiian chief Kalanimoku.

13. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 69.

14. Russell A. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," MS for "Historical Notes," in Belt, Collins and Associates, Ltd., *The Kohala Coast Resort Region/Island of Hawaii: A Land Development Plan* (Honolulu: Olohana Corporation, 1967), p. 7.

15. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha, p. 100.

16. Charles-Victor Crosnier de Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands, 1855-1868,* trans. Alfons Korn (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii and the Hawaii Historical Society, 1981), p. 21. De Varigny, who lived in Hawai'i for many years, served as Minister of Finance and Minister of Foreign Affairs for King Kamehameha V while remaining a citizen of France.

17. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," p. 9.

18. Frederic W. Howay, "The Ship *Pearl* in Hawaii in 1805 and 1806," *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1937* (Honolulu: The Printshop co., Ltd., 1938), p. 30.

19. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* p. 96. Occupants of the H.M.S. *Blonde* at Honolulu in 1824 believed that Young's "constant attachment to his native country, though for twenty-four years absent from it, has doubtless been the cause of the great

attachment of the Sandwich Island government to the English." Maria Graham, comp., *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, 1824-1825, Captain the Right Honourable Lord Byron, Commander* (London: John Murray, 1826), p. 123.

20. Shaler, "Journal of a Voyage Between china and the North-Western coast of America, Made in 1804," p. 162.

21. Georg H. von Langsdorff, *Voyage and Travels in Various Parts of the World, During 1803-1807*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1813), 1:186.

22. John Boit, "The Journal of a Voyage Round the Globe, 1795 & 1796," annotated notes in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, pp. 13-14.

23. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., "The Diary of Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., the Supercargo of the Sealing Ship 'Neptune'..., *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 4 (New Haven, Conn.: Printed for the Society, 1888), p. 62.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

25. John Papa I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian* History (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959), p.79. I'i continues later that after his untimely death, "many chiefs and notables mourned Davis, including Kamehameha and the company of warriors who watched over him." *Ibid.*, p. 83.

26. Henry W. Nicholson, *From Sword to Share; or A Fortune in Five Years at Hawaii*, 2d ed. (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1889), pp. 46-47.

27. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 140-41.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

29. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," pp. 8-9.

30. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, p. 59.

31. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha, p. 100.

32. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," p. 9.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

35. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819*, p. 20.

36. J.[acques Etienne Victor] Arago, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, Commanded by Captain Freycinet, During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820...* (London: Treuttel and Wurtz, Treuttel, Jun. and Richter, 1823), pp. 115-16.

37. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona*, p. 25.

38. Thrum, "John Young: Companion of Kamehameha, p. 94.

39. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1 778-1854*, p. 27.

40. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 82. These foreigners (estimated to number between 100 and 200 persons) were described as vagabonds and wanderers, "the very dregs of society." French, *Missionary Whaleship*, p. 55.

41. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 247.

42. Buck, *Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology,* p. 26.

43. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 22.

44. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure,' p. 82.

45. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 47; Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 87; Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 77.

46. William R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press; Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1967), pp. 42, 47.

47. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 84.

48. However, according to Rose de Freycinet, "the gascon Rives" was somewhat of a scoundrel and would later prove an embarrassment to the Hawaiian government. Victor S.K. Houston, "Madame de Freycinet in Hawaii — 1819," *Paradise of the Pacific* (February 1937): 12.

49. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 113.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 52.

52. Kamakau notes that Vancouver's advice to the chiefs was: 'Stop making war; live in peace; be friends with each other." *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 164. Vancouver also used his influence to effect a reconciliation between Ka'ahumanu and Kamehameha following her purported infidelity with another chief. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 44.

53. Marion Kelly, "Some Problems With Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," in Genevieve A. Highland, Roland W. Force, Alan Howard, Marion Kelly, and Yasihiko H. Sinoto, eds., *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory.* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 56 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967), pp. 404, 407.

54. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 68. Most of the stock Vancouver brought to the islands died, but were replaced by those brought by other traders shortly thereafter. Captain Richard Cleveland introduced the first horses to the islands in 1803. Other imported animals included geese and turkeys. Fruits like the guava and the mango were brought in, along with eucalyptus and kiawe trees. Sheep, goats, and mixed breeds of pigs were also available to traders by this time, thanks to Vancouver.

55. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* p. 96. Presumably this refers to fruits with pits.

56. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 5; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1 778-1854, p.* 15.

57. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 68.

58. Tabrah, *Hawaii,* p. 9.

59. Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 178.

60. John L. Stevens and W.B. Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1894), p. 11.

61. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 75. Mention of the first liquor on the islands having been produced by escaped convicts from Australia is also found in "History of Hawaii," typed ins., undated, on file at Pu'ukohola Heiau NHS (hereafter cited as PUHE), p. 1.

62. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 76.

63. *Ibid.,* p. 77.

64. However, John Young supposedly convinced Kamehameha of the evils of drink, and, before his death, the king ordered all the stills on Hawai'i destroyed. Owen, *Story of Hawaii,* p. 110.

65. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 62.

66. *ibid.,* p. 52.

67. Tabrah, *Hawaii,* p. 13.

68. Townsend, "Diary," pp. 67, 77.

69. James Jackson Jarves, "The Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands — No. 2," *The Merchants' Magazine* 9, no. 2 (August 1843): 112.

70. Hopkins, *Hawaii,* p. 149.

71. Jarves, "Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands," p. 125.

72. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 68.

73. *Ibid.,* p. 70; Kelly, "Some Problems with Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," p. 402.

74. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 63.

75. These subsistence items included poultry, coconuts, plantains, sweet potatoes, yams, sugarcane, and breadfruit.

76. Dixon, *Voyage Round the Worid,* pp. 103-4.

77. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 66.

78. *Ibid.,* p. 67.

79. *Ibid.,* p. 61.

80. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery,* p. 35.

81. Vancouver is usually credited with bringing cattle to the islands. However, according to one author, all those Vancouver brought from California died except a bull and a cow, and the cow died shortly after landing. Hopkins, *Hawaii,* p. 127.

82. Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering"s Straits...in the Years 1815-1818,...in the Ship Rurick,* 3 vols. (London: R. Phillips & Co., 1821), 2: 384.

83. W. Harper Pease, *A Catalogue of Works Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: A.M. Whitney, 1862), p. 24.

84. In later years the plants and animals introduced by the foreign visitors would have a serious impact upon the "native" fauna and flora of these genetically isolated islands. (Of course, the plants and animals introduced by the Polynesians had already impacted the indigenous flora and fauna.)

85. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 73.

86. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 44.

87. Within a single day after the Hawaiians observed ironworking aboard one of the ships, they set up their own smithing apparatus and began fashioning their own weapons and tools. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 17, fn. 14.

88. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 65.

89. *Ibid.,* p. 66.

90. *Ibid.,* p. 70.

91. Townsend, "Diary," p. 67.

92. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 65.

93. *Ibid.,* p. 76. (For a discussion of women and the *kapu,* see Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence,* pp. 20-22.)

94. *Ibid.*

95. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 251. Kamakau lists a number of foreigners living in Honolulu in 1820.

96. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* p. 54.

97. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery,* pp. 45, 73.

98. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 67.

99. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery,* p. 42.

100. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* pp. 65, 67, 71. By about 1807 Kamehameha was also using traders' ships to convey Hawaiian goods and people from one island to another.

CHAPTER IV

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1. Marshall Sahlins and Dorothy Barrère, eds., "William Richards on Hawaiian Culture and Political Conditions of the Islands in 1841," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973): 20.

2. Kelly, "Some Problems With Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," p. 401.

3. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 164. Although trade accounted for most of the new weaponry acquired by the Hawaiians, occasionally foreign sailors were killed for their weapons.

4. It has also been conjectured that Kamehameha's lather may have been the chief Kahekili of Maui. Richard A. Wisniewski, *The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Pictorial* History (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1979), p. 13. (Kamehameha's lineage will be discussed again later.)

5. *Ibid.*

6. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 29.

7. *Ibid.*

8. S. Lee Seaton, "The Hawaiian *Kapu* Abolition of 1819," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 1 (February 1974): 193.

9. Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 140.

10. Seaton, "Hawaiian Kapu Abolition of 1819," pp. 193, 195.

11. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 30.

12. Stevens and Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii,* p. 10.

13. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 38. The Hawaiians had a long tradition of using marriage to forge alliances.

14. Seaton, "Hawaiian Kapu Abolition of 1819," p. 195.

15. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 36; Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands,* pp. 40-42. This sacrifice was characteristic of Hawaiian conquest warfare. If the defeated warrior was not killed in battle, he "was sacrificed to a god of war by the victorious alii nui in a heiau ceremony." Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 142.

16. It is not clear what cession of the island meant to the native chief. The result, however, was that Brown obtained use of the harbor.

17. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 38.

18. Apparently Kamehameha's ambitions did not stop with the Hawaiian Islands; at one time he intended to broaden his sphere of influence by taking Bola, one of the Society Islands.

19. Kelly, "changes in Land Tenure," pp. 67, 73. Kelly notes that Kamehameha's military success was aided by the "powerful chiefs who rallied to his support, to a degree attributable to Vancouver's encouragement in 1794."

20. Kelly, "Some Problems With Early Descriptions of Hawaiian culture," p. 401.

21. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 42.

22. "William Richards," p. 20.

23. Stephenie Seto Levin, "The Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 77 (1969): 420.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery,* p. 37.

26. Dole, "Evolution of Hawaiian Land Tenure," p. 6.

27. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 420.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.;* Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom,* p. 21.

30. Townsend, "Diary," p. 65.

31. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 420.

32. Thereafter, he used the existing land system and seldom exercised his prerogative to revoke land ownership. Marion Kelly suggests that Kamehameha patterned his new form of government after the Western feudal governments described to him by foreigners. Kelly, "Some Problems with Early Descriptions of Hawaiian culture," p. 402.

33. Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom,* p. 20.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Hommon, "Formation of Primitive States," p. 142.

36. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 420.

37. Sahlins and Barrère, "William Richards," pp. 25-26.

38. These fees were reduced in 1825 upon the advice of Lord Byron. Jarves, "The Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands," p. 113.

39. Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Bastno House, 1817; reprint ed., Upper Saddle River, N.J.: The Gregg Press, 1970), p. 388.

40. Kamehameha flew the British flag over the king's residence for twenty-two years. Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom,* p. 21.

41. Seaton, "Hawaiian Kapu Abolition of 1819," p. 196.

42. Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels* p. 388.

43. Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery,* p. 293.

44. The ships' captains generally agreed that where the king resided, there was less trouble with the natives. In addition, Kamehameha had taken a keen personal interest in trade.

45. Owen, *Story of Hawaii,* p. 105.

46. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 27.

47. John Turnbull visited the Sandwich Islands in the early 1800s and traded at several of the ports. Goods on Hawai'i cost from three to six times as much as on the other islands. *A voyage Round the World, in the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804,* 2d ed. (London: A. Maxwell, 1813), p. 222.

48. Houston, "Madame de Freycinet in Hawaii — 1819," p. 20.

49. Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels,* p. 397.

50. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 421.

51. Ernest S. Dodge, *New England and the South Seas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 78-79, 84.

52. Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels,* p. 399; Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 50.

53. The German-born doctor Georg Anton Schaffer, mentioned earlier, an employee of the Russian-American Company, had come to the islands in 1815 hoping to secure the sandalwood trade for Russia. His efforts failed when his agreement with Ka'umu'ali'i foundered.

54. Excessive Chinese port duties and an extravagant captain contributed to Kamehameha's losses. However, this

experience may have given Kamehameha the idea of establishing harbor fees in the Hawaiian Islands.

55. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 421.

56. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 50.

57. Seaton, "Hawaiian *Kapu* Abolition of 1819," p. 195.

CHAPTER V

1. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 71.

2. Quoted in Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom, p.* 24, but lacking a citation.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii."

5. Hopkins, *Hawaii, p.* 171.

6. Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii, p.* 432.

7. John L. Fischer, "Political Factors in the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Taboo System," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1970): 164.

8. Hopkins, *Hawaii,* pp. 181-82; Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861,* ed. Dale L. Morgan (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, 1966), p. xxvi; Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii, p.* 432.

9. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 14.

10. Information in the above paragraphs has been drawn from Hopkins, *Hawaii,* pp. 184-89; Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* pp. 432-37; Dorothy Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona: Two Documentary Studies, Kamakahonu: Kamehameha's Last Residence; "The Morning Star Alone Knows ...": A Documentary Search for the Bones of Kamehameha,* Pacific Anthropological Records No. 23 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1975), pp. 33-34; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 99.

11. Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* pp. 437-38.

12. Ross H. Gast and Agnes C. Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* (Honolulu: The university Press of Hawaii for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1973), p. 234. Marin (1774?-1837), as mentioned earlier, came to Hawai'i as a young man and turned to agriculture and cattle raising. He introduced and raised a variety of European fruits and vegetables and home manufacturing processes and also produced wine. He was a close friend and advisor to both Kamehameha I and II.

13. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 91, quoting Alexander, "Overthrow of the Ancient Tabu System in the Hawaiian Islands," p. 45.

14. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 98.

15. Malcolm C. Webb, "The Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 74, no. 1 (1965): 23. These lesser, local chiefs joined the opposition because they realized that if the sacredness of kinship relationships sanctioned by the present system lost their importance, no one outside governmental circles would have

any power or status. P. 34. Webb and others have pointed out the interesting similarity between Kekuaokalani's role, as keeper of the war god, relative to Liholiho and Kamehameha's role relative to his cousin Kiwala'o, whom he replaced as ruler. Webb states that "the division of power upon the death of a supreme chief into 'secular' and 'sacred' aspects, leaving the two heirs either to fight it out between themselves or to accept a reversion to a rather more decentralised condition may well have been a basic pattern of Hawaiian society." P. 34. The idea that two individuals in these positions might share equally and support each other rarely occurred. In fact. this continual rivalry between contenders for the throne, and the fact that possession of power came to depend more on arms and power than *mana*, might have served to stimulate thinking on the need for a different system that would lead to the "legitimate" consolidation of power, which could only be secured by the overthrow of the *kapu* system.

16. Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* pp. 438-39.

17. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* p. 134.

18. Mathison, *Narrative,* p. 447.

19. Daniel Tyerman and George Rennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels by Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq* 3 vols. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1832), 2:19.

20. Frederic Shoberl, ed., *The World in Miniature: South Sea Islands,* 2 vols. (London: R. Ackermann, Repository of Arts, Strand, 1824), 1:262-63.

21. "Lahaina. Extracts from the Journal of Mr. [William] Richards. Remains of Idolatry. June 11, 1826," *The Missionary Herald* 24 (April 1828): 106.

22. Bennett, *Narrative,* pp. 219-20.

23. "Sandwich Islands. Joint Letter of the Missionaries," *The Missionary Herald* 19, no. 4 (April 1823): 13.

24. *Fire Fountains,* 2:55.

25. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal culture,* p. 24; Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. xxiii.

26. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 426.

27. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 18.

28. Webb, "Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawaii," p. 21; E.S. Craighill Handy, "cultural Revolution in Hawaii," *The Friend* (January 1932): 310. See discussion of the *kapu* abolition and the roles of various people in it in Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence,* pp. 69-73.

29. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 95.

30. Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* p. 21.

31. Webb, "Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawaii," pp. 23-25; A. L. Kroeber. *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1948).

32. Webb, "Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawaii," p. 25; Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 405. See Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953).

33. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 405.

34. Webb, "Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawaii," p. 25.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 26.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

40. *Ibid.* By 1819, the need for soliciting Ku's help was definitely past. In fact, after the cession of Kaua'i in 1810, Kamehameha had been able to devote himself to peaceful pursuits. The state-level Ku rituals were not only unnecessary, but took time away from important commercial endeavors.

41. *Ibid.*, p.33.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

46. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," pp. 405-6.

47. Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," p. 1.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

54. Fischer, "Political Factors in the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Taboo System." pp. 161-62.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

59. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," pp. 422-23.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 426-27.

62. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 91-92.

63. Judd, *Honolulu,* p. xxvii.

64. E.S. Craighill Handy, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii," *The Friend* (December 1931): 283-84; Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," pp. 425-26.

65. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 249.

66. Samuel Ruggles and Nancy Wells, "From a Missionary Journal," *Atlantic Monthly 134* (November 1924): 655.

67. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 31.

68. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 69.

69. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 34.

70. This timing was crucial, for it would allow the missionaries to accomplish here in a relatively short period what had taken their colleagues fifteen years to achieve elsewhere in the Pacific. This missionary group was the first of fourteen (some 150 persons) that would come to the Hawaiian Islands over the next thirty-five years, which would include in their ranks ministers, physicians, farmers, printers, teachers, and businessmen.

71. Albert P. Taylor, *Under Ha waiian Skies* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1926), p.231.

72. American missionaries Artemas Bishop and Elizabeth Edwards Bishop arrived at Kailua in 1824, and Doctor Seth L. Andrews and Parnelly Pierce Andrews in 1837. The Reverend Isaac Bliss, Emily Curtis Bliss, and Edward Bailey were at Kohala by 1837; the Reverend Elias Bond and Ellen Howell Bond came in 1840. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* n.p. (appendix at end of book). The phrase quoted is from Hiram A. Bingham, "Arrival of the First Missionaries," in Gerrit P. Judd, ed., *A Hawaiian Anthology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 23.

The young Hawaiian converts Hopu and Kanui played an important role in helping the missionaries communicate with the native Hawaiians and in smoothing diplomatic relations with Hawaiian leaders.

73. The Holmans soon left Kailua, and the Thurstons went to Honolulu for about two years before returning to the island of Hawai'i.

74. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 34.

75. Ruggles and Wells, "From a Missionary Journal," p. 650.

76. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 88.

77. *Ibid.,* p. 311; French, *Missionary Whaleship,* p. 54; Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 35.

78. Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies,* p. 252, and Arthur Nagasawa, introduction to Theodore-Adolphe Barrot, *Unless Haste is Made ...,* trans. Rev. Daniel Dole (Kailua, Hawaii: Press Pacifica, 1978) p. x. Taylor also notes that the clerics evidently overlooked the moral courage of a people who had overthrown their own gods, burned their temples, and destroyed the *kapu* and the feudal power of their leaders.

79. Stevens and Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii,* p. 13.

80. Dodge, *New England and the South Seas,* pp. 123-24.

81. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 44.

82. However, because the missionaries imposed such rigid standards, and because the natives did not understand the Western concept of sin, few natives were actually admitted info the church during the first few years. The missionaries

felt they had to first destroy the old Hawaiian standards before the natives could comprehend sin and the need for Christ. Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom,* p. 30.

83. Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies,* p. 253.

84. Kelly, "Some Problems With Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," p. 401.

85. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 28.

86. The missionaries evicted the first Catholic priests to arrive in the islands in 1827. By 1840, however, the Catholic Church had established a foot hold in the islands. Mormon missionaries soon followed. Albert W. Palmer, *The Human Side of Hawaii: Race Problems in the Mid-Pacific* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1924), pp. 50-51.

87. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 12.

88. Tabrah, *Hawaii,* p. xiv.

89. Owen, *Story of Hawaii,* p. 117. Missionary Elisha Loomis went to Kawaihae to teach Kalanimoku and his wife and some of their favorite youths. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 99.

90. Because of his familiarity with the Polynesian languages, the Reverend William Ellis played an especially important role in developing written Hawaiian. Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom,* p. 29. As the Hawaiian language became more intelligible to the missionaries, a better understanding gradually developed between them and their pupils. Taylor. *Under Hawaiian Skies,* p. 253.

91. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 86.

92. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* pp. 216-17. The missionary schools also taught social graces and "appropriate" behavior. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 249.

93. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 517.

94. French, *Missionary Whaleship,* p. 129.

95. Francisco Marin served as interpreter for the government. Jean Rives served as private secretary to the king. and Dr. Law was the king's physician. After Kamehameha's death, John Young continued to serve the Hawaiian monarchy, but his role diminished as he grew older. Charles Samuel Stewart, *The Hawaiian Islands in 1822,* Old South Leaflets No. 221 (Boston: Old South Association, ca. 1910). p. 13.

96. Owen, *Story of Hawaii,* p. 117.

97. Bingham suggests that the 1824 warfare on Kaua'i had little effect on the island of Hawai'i. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 253.

98. Elisha Loomis, "Extracts From a Journal," in Orramel H. Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918), p. 79.

99. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* p. 107.

100. Richards taught the king and chiefs political economy and "helped them to formulate their thinking in accordance with western practices." Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 125. Richards was entrusted with negotiating for recognition of Hawai'i's independence in 1842. Sahlins and Barrère, "William Richards," p. 18.

101. See the discussion of the "Great *Mahele"* in the following chapter.

102. Frederick W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait . . . in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28,*

2 vols. (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1831), 2: 420.

103. Doyle. *Makua Laiana,* p. 116.

104. James Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825. Being Extracts from the MS Diary of James Macrae, Scottish Botanist* (Honolulu: H.M. Whitney, 1922), p. 20.

105. Charles Samuel Stewart, *Private Journal of the Rev. C.S. Stewart, Late Missionary to the Sandwich Islands* (Dublin: Thomas l. White, 1830). pp. 76-77.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 113.

109. The missionaries were convinced that changes in land tenure would improve the labor situation, because "the labor due the chiefs interfered with the operation of the wage labor system of free enterprise." *Ibid.*, p. 137.

110. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 63.

111. Seaton, "Hawaiian *Kapu* Abolition of 1819," p. 195.

112. Also, the Hawaiians did not always receive full value for their sandalwood — many of the ships bought were rotted or badly worn. One author suggests that the missionaries tried to curb some of the excesses, insisting upon fair treatment for the Hawaiians. As a result, the enormous profits made by the sandalwood traders dropped considerably. Dodge. *New England and the South Seas,* p. 122.

113. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 252.

114. Owen, *Story of Hawaii,* p. 117. During the early 1820s, the traders brought two brigs to the islands and traded them for sandalwood. Shortly after, the young king acquired the famous yacht *Cleopatra's Barge* in exchange for an amount of sandalwood said to be valued at between $50,000 and $90,000. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts,* pp. 262-63.

115. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819.* p. 114.

116. Between 1826 and 1849 the British, French, and Americans all sent warships to the islands several times to collect debts claimed by traders. When the king rejected French demands, the French took possession of the Hawaiian fort, pillaged and destroyed government property, and confiscated the king's yacht. They replaced an earlier treaty with a new one that was much less advantageous to the Hawaiians. As foreign governments intervened to collect traders' debts, the Hawaiian government became increasingly afraid that one of the foreign countries would take over the Hawaiian kingdom. Marion Kelly, "Land Tenure in Hawaii," *Amerasia Journal* 7, no. 2 (1980): 59.

117. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* pp. 284-85.

118. William Ellis, quoted in Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 111.

119. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific,* p. 418.

120. Malo, quoted in Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* pp. 111-12.

121. Ralph G. Ward, ed., *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 1790-1870 (Ridgewood, N.J.: The Gregg Press, 1967), pp. 140,182; and Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 134.

122. MacKinnon Simpson, *Whaling Song* (Honolulu: Beyond Words Publishing Company, 1986), p. 33.

123. Honolulu harbor could accommodate more than 100 ships and had a wide range of docking and repair services. However, it was easier to obtain fresh foodstuffs in Lahaina, and fewer problems arose between the sailors and the local population there. Kealakekua served as the port of entry for whaling vessels. Golda Pauline Moore, "Hawaii During the Whaling Era, 1820-1880," MA thesis, University of Hawaii, 1934. pp. 14, 37.

124. There also existed a small trade in local hides that were shipped to New England.

125. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific,* p. 417.

126. Stewart, *Private Journal,* p. 83.

127. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 102-3.

128. Jarves, "The Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands," p. 114.

129. Simpson, *Whaling Song,* p. 93.

130. *Ibid.,* p. 92.

131. Stewart, *Private Journal,* p. 87.

132. Dodge, *New England and the South Seas,* p. 25.

133. Consuls from Great Britain and the United States were in the islands by 1831 and had made treaties of alliance with the Hawaiian government.

134. Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences of Charles Brewer* (Jamaica Plain, N.Y.: By the Author, ca. 1884), p. 33.

135. Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1942), p. 170.

136. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawaii,* vol. I, p. 55. By the summer of 1825 it had become apparent to the foreign traders that the missionaries could count on the support of the regency in their quest for reform. Bradley, *American Frontier,* p. 172.

137. Additionally, the French became concerned over the cruel treatment the missionaries and Christian Hawaiians accorded their Catholic priests.

138. Wisniewski, *Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom, p.* 33.

139. Kelly, "Land Tenure in Hawaii," p. 57.

140. Sahlins and Barrère, "William Richards," p. 23.

141. Jean Hobbs, "The Land Title in Hawaii," *Annual Reports of the Hawaii Historical Society* 40 (1931): 30-31.

142. "Sandwich Island Mission: Journal of the Missionaries, Tenure of Lands," *Missionary Herald* 18 (July 1822): 207. It is possible that the missionaries' altruism may also have been influenced by their desire to own land in the islands.

143. Sahlins and Barrère, "William Richards," p. 23.

144. Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958), p. 8.

145. Kelly, "Land Tenure in Hawaii," p. 61.

146. The term "Great *Mahele"* has been used specifically for the 1848 act and collectively for a series of acts passed in the mid-1840s that marked the transition of Hawaiian land ownership from traditional right of use to private property.

147. Chinen, *Great Mahele,* p. 15.

148. Dole, "Evolution of Hawaiian Land Tenure," p. 8.

149. *Ibid.,* p. 9.

150. Kelly, "Land Tenure in Hawaii," p. 62.

151. *Ibid.,* pp. 64-65. Kelly suggests that "70 per cent of the adult male population, along with their wives and children, were rendered landless as a result of the 1848 Mahele and the 1850 Kuleana Act." in effect, the *ali'i,* who comprised less than one percent of the population. acquired control of nearly all the land. *Ibid.,* p. 66.

152. *Ibid.,* pp. 66-67.

153. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 121.

154. Simpson, *Whaling Song,* p. 103.

155. Titus Coan, *Life in Hawaii: An Autobiographic Sketch of Mission Life and Labors, 1835-1881* (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1882), p. 230.

156. Judd, *Hawaiian Anthology,* p. 81.

157. Tabrah, *Hawaii,* p. 8.

158. Kelly, "Land Tenure in Hawaii," p. 70.

159. Maturin M. Ballou, *Footprints of Travel* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1889), p. 20.

160. Despite all these changes, the old system of land division was retained, with the *ahupua'a* as the basic unit.

161. "Notes from an Interview with Mr. Joe Gomes, April 20, 1981, Kailua, Kona," appendix B in Kelly, *Gardens of Kona,* pp. 111-12.

162. Larry K. Stephensen. Kohala Keia (This is Kohala). Collected Expressions of a Community. A Product of Kohala People." Typescript, December 1977, Hawaii Public Library, Hilo, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER VI

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1. Harold T. Stearns and Gordon A. MacDonald, *Geology and Ground-Water Resources of the Island of Hawaii,* Bulletin 9 (Honolulu: Hawaii Division of Hydrography in cooperation with U.S. Geological Survey, 1946), pp. 4-5.

2. T. Stell Newman, "Cultural Adaptations to the Island of Hawaii Ecosystem: The Theory Behind the 1968 Lapakahi Project," in Richard J. Pearson, ed., *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii,* Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series, No. 3 (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1969), p. 14. Again, various estimates of population figures at Western contact have been made. See, for instance, Stannard, *Before the Horror.*

3. Coulter, *Population and Utilization of Land and Sea,* p. 26.

4. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 22.

5. Jones, "Geography and Politics in the Hawaiian Islands," p. 193.

6. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 5.

7. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* pp. 45-46.

8. Henry T. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1851), p. 110.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.,* p. 111.

11. Francis K. W. Ching, *The Archaeology of South Kohala and North Kona From the Ahupua'a of Lalamilo to the Ahupua'a of Hamanamana, Surface Survey Kailua-Ka waihae Road Corridor (Section III),* Hawaii State Archaeological Journal 71-1 (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, Division of State Parks, 1971), p. 33.

12. "Eruptions of Hawaiian Volcanoes," in Thomas G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1883* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1882, pp. 50-51.

13. Lloyd J. Soehren and Donald P. Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, Honaunau, Kona, Hawai'i,* Departmental Report Series, Report 87-2 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1987), p. 2.

14. Dorothy Barrère, "Notes on the Lands of Waimea and Kawaihae," Report 2 in Clark and Kirch, *Mudiane-Waimea-Ka waihae Road Corridor,* p. 25. The three National Park Service cultural areas that are the subject of this study are located in the Kohala and Kona districts.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Schilt, *Subsistence and Conflict,* pp. 22-23, 290.

17. Barrère, "Notes on the Lands of Waimea and Kawaihae," p. 25.

18. The North and South districts of Kona and Kohala were created in 1859. *Ibid.;* Jones, "Geography and Politics in the Hawaiian Islands," p. 206.

19. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 32. The long-term decomposition of grasses and weeds growing in cracks in the lava flows eventually formed a soil that supported limited agricultural activity near the coast. Dixon accompanied Captain Nathaniel Portlock, master of the *King George,* on a trading voyage between America's West Coast and China in the 1780s.

20. *Ibid.,* p. 19.

21. *Ibid.,* p. 33.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 34.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 35.

24. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau,* p. 2.

25. Thomas Stell Newman, "Two Early Hawaiian Field Systems on Hawaii Island," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81 (March 1972): 87.

26. Ibid., pp. 87-89.

27. Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* p. 287.

28. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau,* p. 2.

29. Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* p. 523.

30. Francis K. W. Ching, *The Archaeology of South Kona* from the Ahupua'a of Kahauloa to the Ahupua'a of Honaunau, Surface Survey, Napoopoo-Honaunau Road (Alt. 2), Hawaiian Archaeological Journal 71-1 (Lawai: Archaeological Research Center Hawaii, 1971), p. 17.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," pp. 16-17, 23. When Liholiho moved his court to Honolulu, he left Kuakini, a high chief and brother of Ka'ahumanu, in control of Hawai'i Island. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* pp. 7-8.

33. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 139.

34. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

35. Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 50. Bryan states that the older Hawaiian temples were constructed with mortarless rough stones arranged as a "low, truncated pyramid, oblong in shape," supporting an altar, grass houses, idols, and other sacred images and objects. That form later evolved into a structure comprising four high walls of stone, surmounted with images and enclosing an area filled with more statues, oracles, and altars.

36. Wilkes, *Narrative,* 5:91-92, 95-97.

37. Paul H. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Ke-ahole to Anaehoomalu Section of the Kailua-Kawaihae Road (Queen Kaahumanu Highway), Island of Hawaii,* with Appendix B by Marion Kelly, "Historical Background of Kekaha, North Kona, Hawaii," Hawaii Historic Preservation Report 73-2 (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, Department of Transportation, 1973), pp. 60, 74. Robert Renger points out that the interest of businessmen in developing the Kona Coast area has precipitated several archaeological and historical surveys in the Kekaha region. "Human Adaptation," p. 217.

38. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Ke-A hole to Anaehoomalu Section,* pp. 60-61, 65-66.

39. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona,* p. 92.

40. Ching, *Archaeology of South Kona,* p. 5.

41. *Ibid.,* pp. 15-17.

42. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* pp. 1-2.

43. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 47.

44. Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii,* p. 182.

45. Thomas H. Creighton and George S. Walters, *The South Kona Coast Historic and Recreation Area, Island of Hawaii,* prep. for the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1969), p. 21.

46. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* p. 11.

47. *Ibid.,* p. 12.

48. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 61.

49. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* pp. 5-6. The author points out that usually the king allowed only limited provisioning on Hawai'i Island, requiring ships to finish the process at either Maui or O'ahu, possibly because his court was already making heavy demands on the countryside for food and other goods.

50. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," pp. 1-2; Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:133.

51. George Washington Bates [pseud. of William Brown], *Sandwich Island Notes, By a Haole* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publ., 1854), p. 334.

52. Richard J. Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: John Owen, 1842), 1:59.

53. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* pp. 271-73. Liholiho resided at Kawaihae before moving to Maui and then returning to Hawai'i Island at Hilo. He was living in Kailua in time to greet the Protestant missionaries arriving in the spring of 1620. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* p. 7.

54. Bates, *Sandwich Island Notes,* pp. 335-36.

55. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* p. 52.

56. Ching, *Archaeology of South Kohala and North Kona,* p.35. Ellis noted that near Kawaihae, 'The coast was barren; the rocks volcanic; the men were all employed in fishing; and Mr. Thurston was informed that the inhabitants of the plantations, about seven miles in the interior, were far more numerous." Quoted in Lloyd J. Soehren, *An Archaeological Survey of the Shores of Ouli and Kawaihae, South Kohala,* Hawaii (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1964), p. 4.

57. Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* pp. 531-32; Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Hapuna Anaehoomalu Section,* p. 85.

58. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 85.

59. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Hapuna-Anaehoomalu Section,* p. 83.

60. *Ibid.,* pp. 85-86.

61. Coulter, *Population and Utilization of Land and Sea,* p. 30.

62. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 83.

63. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 73.

64. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 43.

65. Coulter, *Population and Utilization of Land and Sea,* p. 30.

66. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Hapuna-Anaehoomalu Section,* pp. 83-84, quoting Menzies (1920), pp. 55-56.

67. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 292. In 1830 Governor John Adams of Hawai'i Island ordered a road wide enough for a carriage built from Kawaihae to Waimea. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 46.

68. Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii,* p. 528; Coulter, *Population and Utilization of Land and Sea,* p. 30.

CHAPTER VII

1. Marion Kelly, *E Hoolono I Ke Kai Hawanawana: Listen to the Whispering Sea* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1974), p. 5.

2. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* pp. 43-44; Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* pp. 18, 36; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 175; Melinda S. Allen, *Archaeological Inventory Survey of Hawaiian Home Lands, Kawaihae I, South Kohala, Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1987), pp. 15-16.

3. J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery,* 4 vols. (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1967), 3 *(The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780), pt.* 1, p. 525.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 608.

5. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* 2:114.

6. *Ibid.,* pp. 116-17.

7. Cleveland, *Narrative,* 1:25.

8. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 72.

9. Arago, *Narrative,* p. 101.

10. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p.41.

11. Plate 17 in *ibid.,* pp. 26-27.

12. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 40.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 42-43.

14. Allen, *Archaeological Inventory Survey of Hawaiian Home Lands,* p. 15.

15. Lorna H. Jarrett, *Hawaii and Its People* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1933), p. 151.

16. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 40.

17. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 33.

18. *Ibid,* p. 53.

19. Ellis., *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 299. Marion Kelly suggests the bathing place in Kawaihae that Ellis is describing is the *kapu* bathing pool John Papa I'i referred to as "Alawai." She also notes that an informant pointed out to her a site called "Waiakape'a" near the Pelekane area, about twenty feet inland, where water bubbles to the surface. Reportedly its once warm waters had curative powers. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 28.

20. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 299. A visitor to Kawaihae in the early 1850s described the same type of process, but in more detail:

Beyond the Purdy house are the Kawaihae salt ponds. When the tide is in, water flows into the first, where it evaporates in the sun until the next high tide. Then a portion is bailed into the next pond, at a slightly higher level. There the water is more concentrated. Bailing is tedious, for the gourd holds hardly a gallon. In the same way the water is bailed to the third, and yet again to the fourth and smallest pond, each a little higher. Now it is so concentrated that crystals of salt keep forming. These, at first minute cubes at the surface, tend to sink; and they form clusters of crystals, perhaps half an inch broad, finally reaching the bottom. Every day the crystals are raked on to a clean, flat

rock, where they dry completely in the sun. Then they are packed into lauhala bags, making bundles. . .

Emma Lyons Doyle, "Historic Kawaihae Port Enters Modern Age," *Honolulu (HI) Advertiser* (Jan. 18., 1959): A18.

21. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis.,* p. 298.

22. Belt, Collins and Associates., Ltd.., *Kohala Coast Resort Region,* p. 23.

23. Kalanimoku was the presiding chief of the Kawaihae area, serving as the king's treasurer, land overseer, and war leader. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 29. He was also Kamehameha I's prime minister. Kawaihae was his primary residence, where he served as chief until his death in 1827. Russell A. Apple, "Bouncing Boundaries of Kawaihae," talk presented at Fourth Annual Land Surveying Seminar, Hawaii Section, American Congress on Surveying and Mapping, Ala Moana Hotel, Honolulu, Hawaii, January 1 19, 1979, pp. 3, 6.

24. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 45.

25. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 40.

26. Belt, Collins and Associates, Ltd., *Kohala Coast Resort Region,* pp. 23, 25.

27. "Keola Hou Church, Kawaihae, pp. 5-9.

28. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 30.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 48. *Pulu* is the silky, brown fibrous material from the base of the fronds on the Hawaiian tree fern and in buds on the trunk. They were gathered by natives under contract to local traders who shipped them to California for use in stuffing pillows and mattresses. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 30.

30. Belt, Collins and Associates, Ltd., *Kohala Coast Resort Region,* pp. 20, 23; Kelly, *Gardens of Kona,* p. 79; Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 58.

31. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona,* p. 79.

32. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* pp. 48-49; Allen, *Archaeological Inventory Survey of Hawaiian Home Lands,* p. 15; Kelly. *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 37.

33. James J. Jarves, *Scenes and Scenery in the Sandwich Islands . . . . Observations from My Notebook During the Years 1837-1842* (Boston: J. Munroe and Co., 1843), pp. 218-19. William French, a wealthy Hawaiian merchant from New England, had a store in Kawaihae, as well as establishments in Honolulu and Hilo. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure.," p. 110.

34. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* p. 50.

35. Edward T. Perkins, *Na Motu, or Reef-Rovings in the South Seas* (New York: Garrett and Co., 1854), p. 176.

36. "Ports of the Sandwich Islands--No. 2," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Jan. 29, 1857), cited in Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors* (Honolulu: The university of Hawaii Press, 1958), fn. 47, p. 320.

37. Kawaihae, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu Jan. 29,1857). This appears to be the same article cited in fn. 36.

38. Allen, *Archaeological Inventory Survey of Hawaiian Home Lands,* p. 15; Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* pp. 43-44.

39. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 34. Other buildings in the vicinity of the landing by 1883 consisted of a woolshed, store, boathouse, and jail; by 1903 there was also a hotel there. See redrawn George E. Gresley Jackson map

of Kawaihae Bay, 1883, and A.B. Loebenstein map, 1903 (Illustration 31), in *ibid.,* pp. 13, 17.

40. "Keola Hou Church, Kawaihae, p. 5.

41. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* pp. 51 -52.

42. Isabella L. [Bird] Bishop, *The Hawaiian Archipelago . . . Six Months Among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands* (London: John Murray, 1875), p. 218.

43. Henry M. Whitney, *The Tourists' Guide Through the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1890), p. 45.

44. Whitney, *Hawaiian-America,* p. 77.

45. Erwin N. Thompson, *Pacific Ocean Engineers: History of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Pacific, 1905-1980* [Honolulu, ca. 1982], pp. 165, 254-55.

46. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala, pp. 11, 13.

47. Walter C. Day, *Project Tugboat: Explosive Excavation of a Harbor in Coral,* Technical Report E-72-23 (Livermore, Calif.: U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, Explosive Excavation Research Laboratory, 1972), p. 13.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 40. A U. S. War Department informational booklet of 1893., for instance, stated that "On approaching the anchorage [of Kawaihae] a good landmark is a conspicuous mound [presumably Pu'ukohola Heiau] situated a short distance south of the village. Another conspicuous landmark is a white tomb in the form of a pyramid." U.S. War Department, Military Information Division, Informational Booklet A60 #1, "The Hawaiian Islands.," with maps and charts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 23.

50. S. Lee Seaton points out a significant aspect of this conflict:

The civil war among the supporters of Kamehameha and Kiwalao, which ended in 1790, was the last military campaign to be fought solely with traditional weaponry. Muskets and cannons greatly increased the costs of war. Kamehameha's speedy adaptation to the new technology, including Western men-of-war and advisers, accounted for much of his success.

"Hawaiian *Kapu* Abolition of 1819," p. 195. Seaton also raises the question of whether Western seamen and merchants consciously promoted Kamehameha's use of firearms to assure a stable environment in which to trade. *Ibid..,* fn. 4, p. 204.

51. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* pp. 149-50, 157; I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History,* p. 17.

52. Kamaka Paea Kealii Ai'a, *From the Womb to the Tomb: King Kamehameha Paiea I* (Kamuela, Hawaii: Published by the Author, 1966), p. 7.

53. Herbert Gowen, *The Napoleon of the Pacific: Kamehameha the Great* (1919; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1977), p. 190.

54. Henry W. Kinney, *The Island of Hawaii* ([Hilo,] Hawaii: Hilo Board of Trade, 1913), p. 45.

55. Thomas G. Thrum, "Heiaus of Kohala, in "Tales from the Temples. Part II," *The Hawaiian Annual for 1908* (Honolulu, 1907), p. 67. Soehren interprets the data as suggesting that Kapaukahi believed that *both* the restoration of Mailekini Heiau and the construction of Pu'ukohola Heiau were necessary to win Ku-ka'ili-moku's favor. Lloyd J. Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions from 'An Archaeological Survey of the Shores of Ouli and Kawaihae,' South

Kohala, Hawaii," Exhibit A in Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 58.

56. Thrum, "Tales from the Temples. Part II," *Hawaiian Annual for 1908,* p. 69.

57. Albert P. Taylor, Puukohola, The Temple of Destiny," MS, n.d. (pre-1931), 16 pages, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, p. 2.

58. Fornander., *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:120-22, quoted in Thrum, "Tales from the Temples. Part II," pp. 66-67. The details of the latter stages of this campaign, which mention that the rebels decided to encamp at Haleokapuni at Kawaihae and attempt to occupy Puukohola, from which eminence they could shower rocks down onto Lono's troops, verify the importance of this area both logistically and politically in early Hawaiian history. Instead, Lono attained the hill during the night and was able to repulse his enemies. Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore,* trans. Thomas G. Thrum, Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 6 vols. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1916-20), 5(1918-19): 324, 326.

59. Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:327.

60. *Ibid.,* p. 328.

61. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* pp. 154-55. It is believed that Kamehameha wanted to keep his younger brother ritually pure, that is, uncontaminated by manual labor, so that he could preside at the consecration ceremony of the completed structure. Taylor, "Puukohola," p. 6.

62. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 37.

63. Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:328. Kamaka Paea Kealii Ai'a writes that during construction of the *heiau,* as the men passed large stones from hand to hand, the women gathered smaller stones in baskets and passed them along the line. Even children did their share, returning the baskets to the beach to be refilled. *Womb to the Tomb,* p. 7. This author's facts are open to question, because he also states that Keoua was the first and only human sacrifice made at this *heiau.* Obviously, however, several had been offered during construction as part of the ritual process of building a *luakini.* In addition, it is generally acknowledged that Keoua's companions in death were also offered on the altar of Pu'ukohola.

64. Russell A. Apple, "Davis, Young and Lopaka, The Cannon," in *Tales of Old Hawaii,* p. 47.

65. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 38. Whether or not the official dedication of Pu'ukohola was held *at* the end of construction or whether it was delayed until Keoua's arrival is unclear. However, completion of the *heiau* and Keoua's death ultimately occured so close together in time that Kapoukahi's prophecy seemed to have been fulfilled., assuring Kamehameha's undivided supremacy over the island. Taylor, "Puukohola," p. 7.

66. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 156.

67. Kaoleioku is said to have been Kamehameha's first-born son, explaining why Keoua assumed his rival would spare the boy's life. *Ibid.* Marion Kelly states that Kaoleikou was reportedly conceived while Kamehameha was with Kalani'opu'u's court in Ka'u. Not all scholars believe there is truth in this legend. Kalani'opu'u raised Kaoleioku, whatever his parentage, as his son. *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 7. Kaoleioku was interred in the Hale-o-Keawe at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau in 1818.

68. Various sources have Keoua killed by a hurled spear (Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* p. 38; Thrum, "Heiaus of Kohala, in "Tales from the Temples. Part II," p. 68-69; Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:334; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 157) or by drowning (Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore,* 5:692). William Ellis states that Keoua had come to Kawaihae to surrender to Kamehameha, but that one of Kamehameha's chiefs, despite his leader's objections, waded into the water and stabbed Keoua to death with a knife as he sat in his canoe. *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 157. Another version of the story holds that John Young and Isaac Davis, standing on the shore with Kamehameha, shot Keoua. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 7.

69. Fornander, *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore,* 5:472. The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons stated: "I have it from the mouth of Mr. Young who was present that at the time of dedication thirteen human victims were sacrificed." Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 68. Young, however, told William Ellis the number was eleven. (See Ellis's description of Pu'ukohola later in this chapter.)

70. *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:329.

71. *Ibid.,* 2:330. Fornander also points out that one must view this deed in light of the political and social conditions of the time and the principles that governed men's actions. This rivalry for power had gone on for nine years and had inspired intense feelings of hatred. Kamehameha's supporters undoubtedly were anxious to remove this impediment (Keoua) to their leader's unrivalled supremacy: "Under these considerations, though the deed was none the less a cruel wrong and a foul murder . . . it is well to bear in mind that the actors in that deed . . . were men of that age . . . swayed by its modes of thought, following its modes of action." *Ibid.,* p. 331.

72. Other sources used for the historical data in this section include Davenport, "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution," pp. 11-14; Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala, pp. 3-7; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawaii," brochure (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1985); and Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854,* pp. 36-38.

73. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* pp. 56-57.

74. Evidently human skulls and wooden images were used together at some temples and might have been at Pu'ukohola. The adornment of Hawaiian temples with skulls appears to have been common during the time that human sacrifices were practiced. Captain Jacobus Boelen, who visited Hawai'i in 1828, after the lifting of the *kapu* system, left a description of the ruins of such a temple — Hikiau Heiau — near the village of Kealakekua (present site of Napo'opo'o) on Kealakekua Bay:

. . . on top of this stone mass [temple foundation] were the remnants of some idols that had been carved with some artfulness. . . . The top floor of the *moral* was fenced in with a kind of wooden palisade, where formerly hung the skulls of those unfortunates who, according to the religious customs, had been sacrificed on the occasion of the death of a chief, the outbreak of war, or the imminence of a great battle.

According to Boelen, the heads were cut off the corpses of the murdered victims and exposed on these wooden stakes. Jacobus Boelen, *A Merchant's Perspective: Captain Jacobus Boelen's Narrative of his Visit to Hawai'i in 1828,* trans. Frank J. A. Broeze (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Historical Society, 1988), pp. 22-23.

A sacrificial ceremony in 1804 at Kealakekua consisted of strangling and singeing numerous victims, who were then placed face down in a row with their feet toward the idols. Roasted pigs and dogs were placed between the victims, and the entire offering was covered with coconuts, yams, and plantains. After the pile had putrefied, the skulls were collected and affixed to the railing of the *heiau.* Han et al., *Hawaiian Mortuary Practices,* p. 18.

75. Samuel Patterson, *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Samuel Patterson, Experienced in the Pacific Ocean, and Many Other Parts of the World, With an Account of the FeeGee, and Sandwich Islands* (Palmer, Mass., 1817), p. 71.

76. Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery,* 1:295.

77. Arago, *Narrative,* pp. 101-2.

78. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 84.

79. Entry for April 2, 1820, in "Journal of the Sandwich Island Mission," begun on Brig *Thaddeus,* Capt. Blanchard, October 23, 1819, probably written by Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, and Elisha Loomis, p. 26, in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, Hawaii.

80. *Ibid.,* pp. 26-27.

81. Cheever, *Island World of the Pacific,* p. 188.

82. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 18.

83. Ellis., *Journal of William Ellis,* pp. 71-73.

84. Artemas Bishop, "Visit of Kaahumanu to Hawaii," letter from Mr. Bishop to the Corresponding Secretary, A.B.C.F.M., Nov. 30, 1826, *Missionary Herald* 23, no. 8 (August 1827): 247.

85. John K. Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chile, &c. with a Scientific Appendix* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1839), p. 281.

86. *Ibid.*

87. James J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. . . .* 3d ed. (Honolulu: C.E. Hitchcock, 1847), p. 29.

88. Gorham D. Gilman, "Journal: Honolulu, May 29-Oct. 28, 1844; rough notes on trip to Hawaii, Nov. 19-Dec. 8, 1844," MS, 129 pp., [Journal: Nov. 19, 1844-Jan. 30, 1845 (trip to Hawai'i)], Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, p. 120.

89. "Rambles in Hawaii," by a Metropolitan, Chapter I, *The Polynesian* (Honolulu) 4, no. 37 (Jan. 29, 1848): 1.

90. S[amuel]. S. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1856), pp. 147-50.

91. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 95. Archeologist Helene R. Dunbar of the NPS Interagency Archeological Services in San Francisco believes this description is of the *holehole* stone at Mo'okini Heiau. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Mookini Heiau National Historic Landmark nomination form, 1990, by Helene R. Dunbar, in files, Western Regional Office, NPS, San Francisco.

92. Kom, *Victorian Visitors,* p. 78.

93. [Whelden, Clara], "Whaling Bark *John Howland,* Descriptive letters by Mrs. Clara Kingman Whelden, 1864-70, MS No. 460, Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Mass., p. 77.

94. Bishop [Bird], *Hawaiian Archipelago,* pp. 220-21.

95. Frank Vincent, Jr., *Through and Through the Tropics, Thirty Thousand Miles of Travel,* 2d ed. (New York: Harper, 1875), p. 94.

96. Folder 2 of 2, Hawaiian Heiau MS (pre-1919), Sc Stokes, Gr. 1, Box 9.48, pp. 86-87, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Stokes's site records have recently been published in *Heiau of the Island of Hawai'i: A Historic Survey of Native Hawaiian Temple Sites,* ed. Tom Dye, Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology 2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991).

97. *Ibid.,* p. 88.

98. Folder 1 of 3, Heiau Notes, Sc Stokes, Gr. 1, Box 8.33, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, p. 17.

99. *Ibid.,* pp. 17, 19.

100. *Ibid.,* pp. 20-22.

101. Thrum, "Heaiaus of Kohala, in "Tales from the Temples. Part II," pp. 64-65.

102. Gerard Fowke, Section V. "Archeological Work in Hawaii," in *Archeological Investigations,* Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 76 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), pp. 183-84.

103. Solomon Akau, interview by Rose Fujimori, January 12,1979, at Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, pp. 2-3, in park files. The structure was taken down several months later, in the early 1920s.

104. See William K. Kikuchi and Deborah F. Cluff, "An Archaeological Survey of *Puu* Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, Kawaihae, South Kohala, Hawaii Island," in Deborah F. Cluff, William K. Kikuchi, Russell A. Apple, and Yosihiko H. Sinoto, *The Archaeological Surface Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, South Kohala, Kawaihae, Hawaii Island,* Hawaii State Archaeological Journal 69-3 (Honolulu: Division of State Parks, Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1969), pp. 37-53. *[Note:* The cover title of this report is *The Archaeology of South Kohala: The Ahupua'a of Kawaihae,* and it will hereafter be cited that way.]

105. Edmund J. Ladd, *Ruins Stabilization and Restoration Record, Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Kawaihae, Hawaii* (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1986), p. 1.

106. *Ibid.,* p. 2.

107. *Ibid.,* p. 5.

108. *Ibid.,* p. 3.

109. *Ibid.,* pp. 3, 5.

110. *Ibid.,* pp. 7-8.

111. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Puukohola Historic District, Hawaii, n.d., by Edmund J. Ladd.

112. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* p. 77. Keawe'opala was later conquered and killed in a battle at Kawaihae with the ruler of the other half of the island. That victorious chief, who became the new ruler of South Kohala, was Kalaniopuu. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala, p. 3.

113. See, for instance, I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History,* p. 17, and Kinney, *Island of Hawaii,* p. 45.

114. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 73.

115. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 90. De Freycinet also mentions that the port of Honolulu was protected by "a very large square fortress" with artillery pieces. *Ibid.*

116. *Ibid.,* fn. 49, pp. 114-15; Russell A. Apple, "A History of Historic Structures, Kawaihae, South Kohala, Hawaii Island," in Cluff et al., *Archaeology of South Kohala,* p. 22. Apple surmised that these guns were probably placed behind a wooden barricade in which gun ports were cut. He believes the ditch that archaeologists found just inside the seaward wall of the structure might have been the foundation for this timber wall. *Ibid.,* pp. 22-23.

117. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 14.

118. *Ibid.,* p. 17.

119. Arago, *Narrative,* p. 102.

120. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* p. 31. If such coverings as these existed at Mailekini, evidence of them would long ago have faded away.

121. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 117.

122. Arago, *Narrative,* p. 102.

123. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* p. 31.

124. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 14.

125. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 73.

126. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 118.

127. Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey,* p. 282.

128. Folder 2 of 2 (pre-1919), Hawaiian Heiau MS, Sc Stokes, Gr. 1, Box 9.48, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, p. 88.

129. Thomas G. Thrum, "Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands," *Hawaiian Annual for 1908* (Honolulu, 1907), p. 43.

130. Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions, "p. 59.

131. Solomon Akau and Masaru Doi, interview by Rose Fujimori, September 30, 1978, at Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, in park files, p. 9.

132. Cluff et al., *Archaeology of South Kohala,* pp. 54, 57-60, 62, 64.

133. *Ibid.,* p. 66. Local informants stated that Mailekini Heiau was used extensively in the late nineteenth century as a burial ground. *Ibid.,* p. 65. Also see Deborah F. Cluff, "The Preliminary Investigation of the Burials in Mailekini Heiau, Kawaihae, Hawaii Island," in *ibid.,* pp. 67-86.

134. Martha Warren Beckwith, "Hawaiian Shark Aumakua," *American Anthropologist* 19 (Oct-Dec. 1917): 503. It has been stated that Kamehameha fed sharks in this area of Kawaihae and that the temple's name derives from *Kapuni,* a high priest under Chief Keawe. Mary K. Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974), p. 38.

135. Beckwith, "Hawaiian Shark Aumakua," pp. 506-7.

136. Emerson quoted in *ibid.,* p. 507.

137. *Ibid.,* pp. 512-13.

138. Fornander, *collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore,* p. 324.

139. Theophilus H. Davies, "An Account of the First Visit to the Island of Hawaii, Between August 3rd & September 15th (About) 1859" (transcription of original journal written in May 1861), in Davies, "Personal Recollections of Hawaii," in Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, p. 21.

140. Excerpts from Akau and Doi interview by Fujimori, September 30,1978, p. 17. Mr. Doi stated the underwater *heiau* lay about fifty to sixty feet offshore from the original location of Alapa'i's chair and measured from thirty to forty feet both ways. *Ibid.,* p. 63.

141. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 27.

142. Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions," p. 59.

143. Ichiro Goto, interview by Rose Fujimori, September 5,1978, at Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, in park files, p. 7.

144. Shirley Rizzuto, "Historic Heiau Rock Moved for Dedication," *West Hawaii Today* (October 12, 1972): 2. Reportedly stone in the area of the chair, from either Pelekane or Mailekini Heiau, was used for backfill during construction of the pavilion at Spencer Park in the 1930s. Local stories say that the driver of the dump truck that backed into this ancient stone and broke it died later that day in a car accident. Akau and Doi interview by Fujimori, September 30, 1978, p. 8.

145. L. W. de Vis-Norton, "The Heiaus of Hawaii," *Paradise of the Pacific* 29, no. 1 (1916): 19.

146. Apple, "History of Historic Structures, Kawaihae, pp. 19-20.

147. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 7, and Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* fn. 20, p. 101.

148. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819, p.* 17.

149. Arago, *Narrative,* pp. 89-90.

150. Houston, "Madame de Freycinet in Hawaii — 1819," p. 26.

151. Goto interview by Fujimori, September 5, 1978, p. 6. Goto's statements are a little difficult to understand, but he seems to have described a home built of old-style mortar similar to that at the John Young homesite (coral ash mixed with concrete and water). He speaks of a cistern underneath the house catching rainwater off the roof. This might have been in the vicinity of Fanny Young's home. This "beautiful building" is also mentioned in connection with the Parker Ranch beekeeper. *Ibid.,* p. 7. This might be the Parker Ranch beach home mentioned by another local resident, Solomon Akau. Akau and Doi interview by Fujimori, September 30,1978, p. 4. Akau mentions that the Parkers had their own cistern in connection with their home. Historian Russell Apple, however, determined from a check of government Land Commission Awards that the John Parker beach house, a large stone residence, stood across Makahuna Gulch from the lower portion of the John Young homestead, which places it farther north than the Pelekane area. Russell A. Apple, *Pahukanilua: Homestead of John Young, Kawaihae, Kohala, Island of Hawai'i,* Historical Data Section of the Historic Structure Report (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1978), fig. 3 and p. 36. (Jackson's 1883 map shows a Parker residence in this location.)

152. Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions," p. 60.

153. *Ibid.,* pp. 61-62. Elizabeth Nagasawa remembers Kawaihae residents drawing water from this reservoir. Elizabeth Nagasawa interview by Rose Fujimori, August 23,1978., at Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, in park files, p. 4.

154. It seems certain that this is a charcoal oven. A report on Ki'ilae Village at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau mentions a Portuguese-owned bread oven in that area and states a similar one existed near Kawaihae. Interview with Mr. William (Willie) Thompson, June 29, 1965, in Frances Jackson, Ki'ilae Village, South Kona, Hawaii, (A Report of its Political, Economic, Social, and Religious History, from Earliest Mention to Modern Times)," Section 2, NPS contract study, MS, 1966, 76 pages, p. 25. (This report contains two numbering systems, one for the interview section and another for the history section.) A similar structure on Kaua'i, built by Portuguese plantation immigrants, was constructed of small bricks, rounded like an igloo, and mortared on the outside. Mary Cooke, "Old Bread Oven on Kauai Survives After 60 Years," *Honolulu Advertiser* (July 6,1973): C5. Evidently the man responsible for collecting most of the junk found in the Pelekane area, Eddie Joe Gonsalves (?), was a Portuguese from Kaua'i who lived in a trailer. Jack Paulo, possibly a Filipino, ran the marine railway and had a shack in the Pelekane area when the park was established. Akau interview by Fujimori, January 12, 1979, pp. 25-26.

155. Nagasawa interview by Fujimori, August 23, 1978, p. 3. This trail, on the John Young homestead side of the national historic site, becomes approximately the route of the main highway through Kawaihae. Akau interview by Fujimori, January 12, 1979, p. 4.

156. Russ and Peg Apple, "Problems: Kiawe, Concrete, Junk," in "Tales of Old Hawaii" column, *Honolulu (HI) Star-Bulletin* (May 18, 1974): A10; Goto interview by Fujimori, September 5, 1978, pp. 10-11. Whether these fishponds near the squatters' huts were in the Pelekane area is unclear. This interviewee also remembers that lori built the

charcoal oven now standing in the Pelekane area, p. 1; Nagasawa interview by Fujimori, August 23, 1978, pp. 2-3. According to Nagasawa, this beach area formerly had many more pools and ponds of water. *Ibid.*, p. 5. In this interview, Fujimori specifically asked about the presence of fishponds, suggesting that because it had at one time been a royal compound, it might well have had a fishpond. Nagasawa, however, did not remember ever hearing about one here, although it was suggested the cistern might have originally been part of a fishpond complex. *Ibid.*, p. 6; Akau and Doi interview by Fujimori, September 30, 1978, pp. 1, 20.

157. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, p. 350.

158. *Listen to the Whispering Sea*, pp. 23, 26.

159. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, p. 299.

160. Akau and Doi interview by Fujimori, September 30, 1978, pp. 11-12.

161. William J. Bonk, "An Archaeological Survey of a Coastal Tract in North and South Kohala, Hawaii," in "The Archaeology of North and South Kohala, from the Ahupua'a of Kawaihae to the Ahupua'a of Upolu. Coastal Archaeological Surface Survey," MS prepared for the Department of Land and Natural Resources, Division of State Parks, State of Hawaii, 1968, p. 9. This report covers survey work on the coast north of Kawaihae. During World War II, a military training camp was established at the old Kona mill site to train soldiers for battle in the western and southwestern Pacific theaters. The soldiers scattered machine-gun nests around the pasturelands throughout the area. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona*, pp. 91-92. According to Elizabeth Nagasawa, who grew up in Kawaihae, the road used by the military closely follows the route of the old road between Waimea and Kawaihae. Nagasawa interview by Fujimori, August 23, 1978, p. 3. She also reported that during the war, many service personnel lived in the Kawaihae area. Her interview also mentions several foxholes near the Pelekane area. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

162. Detailed descriptions of the important archeological sites near Pu'ukohola Heiau are found in Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions," pp. 60-64.

163. Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor*, p. 28.

164. *Ibid.*

165. Jean Hobbs, *Hawaii:A Pageant of the Soil* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1935), pp. 18,76. However, these lands, acquired through conquest, were Kamehameha's sole property and could be given away and reclaimed at will. He probably considered recipients of these awards more as permanent landlords there by royal consent rather than as owners with full individual title in the contemporary sense of land ownership. According to Russell Apple, the Hawaiian throne never reclaimed any of Young's lands. Apple, "Bouncing Boundaries of Kawaihae, p. 5.

166. Tyerman and Rennet, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 101.

167. Russ and Peg Apple, "John Young's Land Holdings," in "Tales of Old Hawaii" column, *Honolulu (HI) Star-Bulletin* (July 14, 1978): A19.

168. Apple, "Bouncing Boundaries of Kawaihae, p. 6.

169. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-11.

170. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei*, p. 101.

171. Apple, *Pahukanilua*, p. 26.

172. Apple points out that several interpretations exist as to what comprises the John Young homestead. In a broad sense it is the *'ili 'aina* of Pohakuloa, which was the northernmost *'ili 'aina* of Kawaihae Hikina. Pahukanilua is the

place- name that referred in 1848 to the lower portion of Pohakuloa on which Young's house stood, and it is assumed it probably referred to the upper portion as well, at least up until 1835. This was, in other words, a named piece of land within the *'ili 'aina* of Pohakuloa within the *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae Hikina. In a much broader sense, the entire *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae Hikina could be referred to as the homestead area. This report will conform to the narrower delineation of Young's homestead, describing only the physical layouts of the structures in the "lower portion" on the beach that no longer exists and in the "upper portion" further inland that contains several archeological ruins of stone buildings. In historic times, Young had tenants living on the *'ili 'aina* of Pohakuloa as well as on other *'ili 'aina* of his *ahupua'a.* Some of these people lived quite far inland, with scattered houses lying between the beach and these inland communities. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

Young's second wife, the high chiefess Ka'oana'eha, according to Apple, followed the traditional practices of Hawaiian society, which included living in quarters separate from her husband. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 50. Native testimony in 1848 indicated that Young was living on the lower portion of Pahukanilua when the battle of Nu'uanu Valley on O'ahu took place (1795). Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 67.

174. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 16; Apple, *Pahukanilua,* pp. 25-26. Missionary Sereno Bishop mentioned that adobes furnished an excellent cheap building material. Natives gathered the tough fibers of a species of bunch grass called *makuikui,* which thickly covered the lower uplands, in large quantities and then trod it into the wet clay soil. This fibrous mortar stood overnight and then was retrodden and molded into huge bricks that were dried in the sun: So tough was the resulting concretion, that it was nearly impossible to drive a nail into a well made adobe." Sereno Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1916), p.42.

175. Apple, *Pahukanilua,* p. 50. Also see Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 67.

176. Apple, *Pahukanilua,* p. 26.

177. Young's Diary, 1798-1799, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 47. Archeological excavations at the site in 1978 found remains consistent with plaster made from burned coral and sand, but did not find evidence of *poi* or of hair particles in the mixture. Paul H. Rosendahl and Laura A. Carter, *Excavations at John Young's Homestead, Kawaihae, Hawai'i,* Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology No. 47 (Tucson: National Park Service, 1988), p. 84.

178. Rosendahl and Carter, *Excavations at John Young's Homestead,* p. 48. Hawaiian-style Feature 2 of the John Young complex, which may have been an open working or eating space protected by a shade or other type of shelter, will be discussed later. Young provides no indication as to whether the cookhouse and lanai were added to the upper or lower portions of his property.

179. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage,* p. 72.

180. Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River,* ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1923), pp. 36-37.

181. [Adelbert van Chamisso], "Chamisso in Hawaii," trans. Victor S. K. Houston, *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1939* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Printing Co., Ltd., 1940), p. 57.

182. Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery,* 1:295-96.

183. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* pp. 20, 22.

184. Arago, *Narrative,* pp. 100-1.

185. Laura F. Judd, "Life in the Mission," in Judd, *Hawaiian Anthology* p. 40. It is interesting to note, in regard to Alexander Ross's earlier statement that Young was "more Indian than white man" that Mrs. Judd commented on being "surprised to see how imperfectly Mr. Young spoke the native language." *Ibid.* It has been theorized that Judd's

description of this adobe structure, which contained an upstairs or loft area, might not refer to the ruins within the park today but to an earlier house on the lower part of Young's holdings near the grass residence of his wife. As timid as Laura Judd sounds, it is difficult to believe she would have walked clear down the hill to the beach from the upper portion of the homestead alone at midnight, although her husband might have accompanied her. (Of course the possibility exists that Young's wife had a native-style structure on the upper portion of the homestead. But would Judd then have talked about walking "down" to her home to sleep?) In addition, the stone house on the ridge does not appear large enough to have had two stories, although the "rickety flight of stairs" might have been a ladder to a loft. Judd suggests that Young was living in the house in which she stayed, but this is unclear. Possibly Young used the adobe beach house for occasional entertaining and housing of guests because it was more commodious than the one on the hill. The Reverend William Ellis speaks in 1823 of going on shore at Kawaihae and walking "along the beach about a mile to the house of Mr. J. Young." Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 71. This also could refer to a house on the beach rather than the one on the ridge. Young might have alternated between the two for various reasons. Because he was well along in years at this time, perhaps he was more comfortable being near his wife's home in case he needed help. Marion Kelly has suggested that Young's early adobe house at the beach might have been the one the merchant French at Kawaihae later used partly for storage and partly as a residence, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 16. Illustration 64 shows a two-story adobe structure at the landing in town, which looks as if it is a store on the lower level and a residence on the second level. If this is the building that French owned, it is farther north than Young's old adobe beach house.

186. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 39.

187. Lorenzo Lyons, "Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of Waimea Station," made to ABCFM, January 13, 1871, xerox copy in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

188. Sereno Bishop, "Old Memories of Kailua *The Friend* 59 (January 1901): 2.

189. These pictures have generated much discussion among those trying to find early photographic evidence of the appearance of structures on the John Young homestead. Pacific Area Archeologist Edmund Ladd was of the opinion that this picture was not the Young home. He believed that the reverse printing at the top of the photograph (which does not show in these prints) indicated that the picture had been printed backwards, and therefore this was not the correct location for the homestead. However, whether or not the picture is reversed depends on whether or not the original negative was labelled on the front or the back. A strong possibility still exists that this is one of the Young homestead structures.

190. Bates, *Sandwich Island Notes,* p. 389.

191. Apple, *Pahukanilua,* pp. 11, 14. At the time John Young II received Kawaihae Hikina in the Great *Mahele* of 1848, steps were already underway to legally separate the upper and lower portions of the John Young homestead. Young's *konohiki* (resident land manager), Puna, and Young's wife, Ka'oana'eha, had applied to make their property a private inholding. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

192. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 29.

193. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 12.

194. Apple, *Pahukanilua, p.* 32.

195. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

197. Apple, "Bouncing Boundaries of Kawaihae," pp. 6-7.

198. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

199. Rosendahl and Carter, *Excavations at John Young's Homestead,* p. 11.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

201. *Ibid.*

202. *Ibid.*

203. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 15.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

205. *Ibid.*

206. *ibid.*

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 18.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 49.

209. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

211. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 62.

212. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawaii, Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session, on H.R. 1462 . . . December 2, 1971, January 7, 1972 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 10, 13, 15-16, 33-34; Russell A. Apple, "A Short Description of the Project to Establish the Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site," September 28, 1972, MS, 8 pages, pp. 7-8.

213. Mulholland, *Hawaii's Religions,* p. 22.

214. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* p. 184.

215. Rose M. Fujimori, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawaii," *Trends* 25, no. 1 (1988): 42-43.

216. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* fn. 49, pp. 114-15.

217. Apple, *Pahukanilua,* p. 6.

218. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

219. Young's Diary, 1798-99, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 47.

220. Apple, "Historical Notes," in Belt, Collins and Associates, Ltd., *Kohala Coast Resort Region,* p. 20.

221. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* pp. 203-4.

222. "John Young's House, Kawaihae, in "Historical Notes," in Addenda, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1929* (Honolulu: Honolulu *Star-Bulletin,* 1930), p. 60.

223. See site descriptions in Soehren, "Archaeological Survey of the Shores of Ouli and Kawaihae, pp. 7-23.

224. Soehren, "Summary and Recommendations," in *ibid.*, p. 29.

225. Lloyd J. Soehren, "An Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of a Portion of Kawaihae 2, South Kohala, Hawaii," prepared for Mauna Kea Land Corporation, 1980, 9 pages plus map, pp. 2-4; Test excavations to assess the significance of archeological features within the right-of-way for a proposed new access road to Spencer Beach County Park adjacent to Pu'ukohola Heiau found four temporary shelters consisting of: two contiguous C-shaped walls, a U- shaped feature, a wall section, and a rock alignment enclosure. C-shaped features have been interpreted as being temporary shelters for humans or agricultural crops, hunting blinds, or bird-catching shelters. Perhaps these particular structures were occupied by the builders of Pu'ukohola Heiau. The U-shaped structure might have been a plant windbreak for gourds, sweet potatoes, or some type of vine. The wall might be remains of a habitation feature. Military construction in the area reused some early Hawaiian features. Two examples of military foxholes fashioned from early shelters exist within the park near the visitor center parking lot. A stone alignment found was thought to be a military tent outline. Laura A. Carter, *Archeological Excavations of Six Features within the Right-of-Way for the Proposed Spencer Beach Park Entrance Road, Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Island of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1989), pp. 6, 16, 18, 22-23.

226. Barrère, in Clark and Kirch, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor,* pp. 288-89. The National Park Service has located all sites found on an archeological base map of Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, on file in the Pacific Area Office, NPS, Honolulu.

227. Mulholland, *Hawaii's Religions,* p. 19.

228. Cumming, *Fire Fountains,* 2:165-66.

229. *Ibid.,* 1: 55.

230. Mabel Clare (Craft) Deering, *Hawaii Nei* (San Francisco: William Doxey, 1899), p. 154.

231. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea,* p. 23.

232. Gary F. Somers, Pacific Area Archeologist, NPS, to Bryan Harry, Director, Pacific Area, NPS, July 26, 1991, in files, Western Regional Office, NPS, San Francisco.

233. Fornander, *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore,* 4:324.

234. *Ibid.,* p. 326.

235. *Ibid.*

236. *Ibid.,* p. 330.

237. Folder 2 of 2, Gr. 1, Box 9.48, Hawaiian Heiau MS (pre-1919), Sc Stokes, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, p. 6.

238. Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 48.

239. S. M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," Helu 23, in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (April 13, 1867).

240. Dorothy Barrère, interview by Linda Greene December 5, 1989, at Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

241. Barrère et al., *Hawaiian Aboriginal Culture,* Vol. 1, pp. 26-27. The choice of Mookini over Pu'ukohola as the functioning *luakini is* an interesting one, perhaps because it was a very old one in addition to being near Kamehameha's birthplace, or perhaps because Puukohola had been used just to insure his conquest of the islands and then basically abandoned?

242. Russell Apple interview by Linda Greene and Diane Rhodes December 5,1989, in Volcano, Hawai'i. Also see Apple, 'History of Historic Structures, Kawaihae, p. 23.

243. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* 3:62.

244. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* pp. 56-57.

245. Arago, *Narrative,* p. 112.

246. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

247. Ladd, *Ruins Stabilization,* p. 1 .

248. *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* Vol. I, p. 25. Although Mo'okini Heiau might have been the official state temple, the fact that Kawaihae was a royal residence, an important contact point for foreign ships, and residence of the governor of the island, John Young, combined with its past history, would seem to argue a continuing royal presence and thus continuing religious activity.

249. Doyle, *Makua Laiana,* p. 40. Young, however, may simply be referring to the sacrifices during construction and those of Keoua and his followers. It is difficult to conclude from this statement how many other victims may have been sacrificed there in succeeding years.

250. Vincent, *Through and Through the Tropics,* p. 94.

251. Thrum, "Tales from the Temples. Part II,' p. 65. Realistically, however, the configuration of the *heiau* and location of structures on it might have changed markedly during those thirty years, with the temple's original appearance being very different from the one Ellis described.

252. Mulholland, *Hawaii's Religions, p.* 20. No year or other supporting data is provided. Could this be the A-frame structure Solomon Akau mentioned seeing on the Pu'ukohola platform in the 1920s, which was removed several months later? Akau interview by Fujimori, January 12, 1979, pp. 2-3.

253. Thomas Thrum mentions the *heiau* of Wahaula, at Pulama, the first temple built by the high priest Pa'ao. The account of it states that

the ascent to it is by terraces. Upon the first terrace the female members of the royal family brought their offerings which were taken by the priests. Beyond this first terrace no female was allowed to pass. Two more terraces brings one to the enclosure or temple, in the shape of a quadrangle. . . . A stone wall encloses the temple. . . .

Heiaus of Puna," in 'Tales From the Temples. Part II," p. 49. According to Ka'ahumanu, women were never allowed in the sacred temple area proper, but possibly during dedication rites they were allowed to bring offerings. Pu'ukohola's terraces, however, are so large that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to ascend or descend them unless there were steps or toeholds, no account or other evidence of which has been found. Although in many early *heiau* these terraces were used as entrances, they seem at Pu'ukohola to have been more more a show of massiveness and architectural style, while the northwest corner walkway provided access.

254. Bates, *Sandwich Island Notes,* p. 338.

255. Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* pp. 44-45. Kalakaua specifically notes on p. 46 that "The victims were slain with clubs without the temple walls, and their bodies, with other offerings, were laid upon the altar to decay." Note that there are indications in some of the historical references that victims were slain elsewhere, rather than in Pu'ukohola: Menzies, who did not enter the temple, said he was shown the spot where Keoua and his followers were slain and where their bodies were interred. Samuel Hill says this was done on a projecting rock beneath (below?) the temple. Hiram Bingham wrote that Mailekini had been used for the sacrificial offering of animals and plants, although there is some possibility that it might have been used for human sacrifices before they were carried out at Pu'ukohola. Varigny states that sacrificial victims were killed on a stone inside the enclosure. Bates noted that at the *heiau* of Pu'uepa, after the sacrificial victims' bodies had remained on the main altar for two days, they were removed to a large flat stone outside the temple near the east corner of the north wall. The stone measured seven feet long by five wide

and was slightly concave. On it the flesh was stripped from the bones, the flesh and bones were then carried to the sea and washed, and the bones were then tied in bundles back at the temple while the flesh was burned in a fireplace at the back of the central altar. Bates said this was proven by the fact that the altar stones were covered with a vitreous coating from the frequent and intense heat. Bates, *Sandwich Island Notes,* p. 339.

256. Edward Handy, *Polynesian Religion,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1927), pp. 174-75.

257. Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 25.

258. Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* pp. 134-36, 138. Editor Barrère points out the differences in the accounts of a *luakini* plan between Kamakau, Malo, and I'i. Kamakau places the main image, or *mo'i,* inside the *mana* house; Malo places it between the rows of images in front of the *'anu'u,* the spot Kamakua assigns to the *hale wai'ea.* Kamakau does not mention a *hale umu,* saying animal offerings were cooked in the *mua* house and the ruler and his companions stayed in the *luakini,* or *mana,* house. Barrère suggests Kamakau was probably describing O'ahu and Kaua'i traditions in his account, while Malo and I'i described Hawai'i Island practices. *Ibid.,* fn. 13, p. 146. Thrum, "Heiaus," p. 59.

259. Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old,* p. 130.

260. I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History,* p. 35.

261. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People,* pp. 43-44.

262. Table II, in Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiaus,* p. 8.

263. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* pp. 235-36.

264. *ibid.,* pp. 236-37.

265. *Ibid.,* pp. 237-43. Kamakau mentions that the 'anu'u stood on the north, or right, side of the enclosure of images on the level pavement of the foundation, while the *opu* tower stood in the space on the south, or left, side. *Works of the People of Old,* pp. 135-36. I'i describes an *opu* tower as being as tall and broad as the *'anu'u.* It had small branches at the top that looked like unruly hair, going every which way. *Ibid.,* fn. 12, p. 146 (see Illustration 10).

266. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* p. 254.

267. *Ibid,* pp. 254-55.

268. *Ibid.,* pp. 255-56.

269. *Ibid.,* p. 256.

270. *Chatham* (armed tender). copy of MS journal, kept on board the armed tender Chatham during Captain Vancouver's voyage in the *Discovery,* 1791 to 1794. Wellington, New Zealand, no date. On microfilm, HU #2356, reel 2, #1, in Houghton Library, Harvard University, p. 53.

271. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* pp. 73-74.

272. Howard Wiig, Kamehameha's Last War Temple," *Historic Hawai'i News* 4, no. 7 (July 1978): l.

273. Gowen, *Napoleon of the Pacific,* p. 197.

274. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 19.

275. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice,* pp. 338-39.

276. *Ibid,* fn. 2, p. 385.

277. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

278. "Queen Emma Foundation Donates Land at Pu'ukohola Heiau," *Historic Hawai'i* 16, no. 7 (July 1990): 12.

279. Apple, "A Short Description of the Project to Establish the Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site," p. 6. Public Law 92-388, August 17, 1972 (86 Stat 562), H.R. 1462, "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, in the State of Hawaii, and for other purposes." This act does not specify a restoration date for Pu'ukohola Heiau.

280. See U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawaii.* (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1989) for more details on future activities.

281. The question of whether proposed activities at Pu'ukohola would be restoration or reconstruction is a complex one. If one regards the stone foundations plus the grass and wicker structures and wooden images thought to have existed on Pu'ukohola Heiau as a single architectural unit, likening it to a historic house with furnishings, for instance, one could argue that erecting thatched huts, an oracle tower, an altar, and wooden images is merely replacing, or restoring, missing elements of a historic structure. If one regards the foundation ruins of the *heiau* and the homestead as archeological resources, as complete entities as they exist today, then one could argue that by stabilizing the remains the NPS has already "restored" these resources. By adding elements we think were there (of which nothing remains and of which we have only meager evidence) in an effort to make the *heiau* and homestead appear as we might like to interpret them, the NPS would be reconstructing, or reproducing, a generic *luakini.* Because of this lack of original fabric on which to build or of archeological evidence to determine what was on the *heiau* originally, this writer will refer to these proposed projects at Pu'ukohola Heiau and John Young homestead as reconstructions, in this case a conjectural rebuilding of complexes of structures.

282. Soehren, "Archaeological Survey of the Shores of Ouli and Kawaihae, p. 30.

283. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Management Policies, 1988, chapter 5:5.

284. Section D, Stewardship, under Management ot Archeological, Resources, in "NPS-28, cultural Resource Management Guideline, Release No. 4," Draft, February 1993, chapter 6:92.

285. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

286. Section D, Stewardship, under Management of Historic and Prehistoric Structures, in *ibid.*, chapter 8:142.

287. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

288. Management Policies, chapter 5:7.

289. NPS-28, chapter 8:145. Management Policies, chapter 5:7.

290. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 1.

291. *Ibid* One very important recent contribution to the study of *heiau* construction and design, relating those elements to the development of chiefly power and control over the local economy, labor force, and ideology, is Michael John Kolb, "Social Power, chiefly Authority, and Ceremonial Architecture, in an Island Polity, Maui, Hawaii," Ph.D. dissertation (Anthropology), University of California, Los Angeles, 1991 .

292. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau,* p. 3.

293. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. Earlier it was noted that Stokes said he believed this variation in plans resulted from incorporating

several significant aspects of a successful *heiau* into one new one.

294. Thrum, "Heiau of Kupopolo," p. 122.

295. John F. G. Stokes to Charles R. Forbes, October 22, 1915, Box 1.18, MS. SC Stokes Group 3, Library, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

296. *Ibid.*

297. *Ibid.*

298. Emory, "Religion in Ancient Hawaii," p. 89.

299. Barry Mackintosh, "The Case Against Reconstruction," in *CRM* 15, no. 1 (1992): 17.

300. *Ibid.*

301. Albert H. Good, quoted in Barry Mackintosh, "To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct: An Overview of NPS Policy and Practice," *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 1(1990): 6.

302. Paul R. Huey, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, in *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 1 (1990): 2.

303. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 259-60.

304. *Archaeology of South Kohala,* p. 3.

305. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 264.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

CHAPTER VIII

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1. Marion Kelly, *Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o. Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko and Kuki'o Ahupua'a, North Kona, Hawaii,* Report 71-2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1971), pp. 2-3.

2. Hono-ko-hau Study Advisory Commission, "The Spirit of Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau," A Proposal for the Establishment of a Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau National Cultural Park, Island of Hawaii, State of Hawaii, published by Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1974, pp. 4-7.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

4. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 202.

5. Ross Cordy, Joseph Tainter, Robert Renger, and Robert Hitchcock, *An Ahupua'a Study: The 1971 Archaeological Work at Kaloko Ahupua'a, North Kona, Hawaii: Archaeology at Kaloko-Honokohau National Historical Park,* Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology No. 58 (Tucson: National Park Service, 1991), pp. 574-79.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 566, 570, 579.

7. Study Commission, "The Spirit of Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau pp. 9,17.

8. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* pp. 4-6. Kelly has researched land claims, *kuleana* awards, tax

records, and other legal documents for information on land ownership and use of Kaloko *ahupua'a,* which she presents in more detail in the work cited and to which the reader is referred.

9. *Ibid.,* p. 7. This report contains more detailed information on these land awards, including the names of awardees.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

11. *Ibid.,* pp. 10-11.

12. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* pp. 566, 569.

13. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 12. The Greenwell family, for instance, came to Hawai'i Island in the 1850s. Of the family of ten children, the three oldest became involved in ranching activities. In 1875 H.N. Greenwell began raising cattle in Kona, continually expanding his holdings until his death in 1891. By the 1920s, the enterprise had developed into three ranches. The Frank Greenwell Ranch (Honokohau Ranch, Hualalai Ranch) comprised thousands of acres in North Kona, stretching from the sea *mauka* to about 5,400 feet. Two other Greenwell family ranches were active in the 1920s, one with land in both North and South Kona, and the other only in South Kona. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona, p.* 81.

14. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 27.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 29.

16. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* pp. 570-71, 573, 580.

17. The Emerson map is filed in the Hawaii State Land Surveyor's office, State Office Building, Honolulu . See Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* pp. 14 and 15 (Fig. 6).

18. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* pp. 570-71, 580.

19. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 63.

20. Kelly, *Gardens of Kona,* pp. 85-86.

21. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 34.

22. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, and the Hono-ko-hau Study Advisory Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Ka-loko, Hono-ko-hau National Cultural Park, Hawaii* (n.p., 1975), p. 64.

23. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 200-1.

24. Kinney, *Island of Hawaii,* pp. 57, 59.

25. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 92.

26. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 35.

27. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 580.

28. Gavan Daws, "Hawaii, Guarding the 'Islands of the King,'" *Historic Preservation* 25, no. 2 (1973): 7.

29. Thompson, *Pacific Ocean Engineers,* p. 253; Ching, *Archaeology of South Kohala and North Kona,* p. 38.

30. Study Commission, "The Spirit of Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau p. 17.

31. Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change,* pp. 144, 180.

32. L. 'A'alaonaona Roy and J. Ku'ualoha Nahale, "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," typescript, 86 pages, no date (1970s?), in files, Pacific Area Office, NPS, Honolulu, pp. 46-51.

33. Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 202-3.

34. Sunao Kido, "A Report on Kaloko Fishpond and the Honokohau Settlement National Historic Landmark," October 15, 1971, typescript. 21 pages, in files, Pacific Area Office, NPS, Honolulu, p. 10.

35. Ross Cordy, Joseph Tainter, Robert Renger, and Robert Hitchcock, "Archaeology of Kaloko: A Generalized Model of a Hawaiian Community's Social Organization and Adaptation, MS, 51 pp., n.p., 1977, pp. 35-37. Oral histories have stated that although the produce of 'A'imakapa could be used by commoners in need of food, that of Kaloko could not. Roy and Nahale, "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko,' p. 18.

36. Kamakau quoted in Renger, "Human Adaptation," pp. 31-32. Tradition states that these spies reported their observations to the keepers of the Mailekini Heiau at Kawaihae, who were also spies for Kamalalawalu. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 22.

37. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 22.

38. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B22.

39. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* pp. 22-23.

40. Kamakau, *People of Old,* p. 41. Kelly notes in regard to this statement that Kame'eiamoku, Kamehameha's counsellor, predeceased the king, excluding him as one of the funeral members. *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 23. It is impossible to verify whether all these people are actually buried at Kaloko, although most local residents still believe that the remains of King Kamehemeha are there. One of the reasons given for Kahekili's burial at Kaloko is that he was actually Kamehameha's natural father rather than Keoua-kupuapaikalani as has been traditionally accepted. An interesting discussion of this question is provided in *ibid,* p. 24. Fornander states that Kahekili's age at the time of his death was not known, "but as by all native accounts he was the reputed, if not the legitimate and acknowledged, father of Kamehameha I., he could not well have been less than eighty years old, and was probably some years older." *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 2:260. Dorothy Barrère presents a lengthy discussion of the possible burial places of Kamehameha in her work *Kamehameha in Kona,* providing numerous historical accounts of the concealment of Kamehameha's bones, many at variance with each other. Those pinpointing Kaloko as his burial place refer both to an underwater cave at Kaloko Fishpond and to a secret burial cave elsewhere in Kaloko. Informants have told Kelly that the Kaloko burial caves were not near the fishpond but farther inland. *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 25.

41. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona,* p. 70.

42. *Ibid.,* p. 73.

43. Levin, "Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," p. 424.

44. Ching, *Archaeology of South Kohala and North Kona,* p. 245.

45. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," pp. 15-16.

46. *Ibid.,* p. B11.

47. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 59.

48. *Ibid.,* pp. 60-61.

49. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. vii.

50. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 49.

51. Robert C. Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I, North Kona, Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1970), p. 31.

52. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds p. B22.

53. *Ibid.,"* pp. 18, B20. See Kenneth P. Emory and Lloyd J. Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area, North Kona, Hawaii,* rev. ed. (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1971), pp. 28-35, for detailed descriptions of the archeological features in the Kaloko Fishpond area. This report was originally published in 1961. Other more recent survey findings will appear later in this section.

54. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 288.

55. *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* pp. 29-35.

56. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 50.

57. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 27.

58. *Ibid.,* p. 29. Local informants told Roy and Nahale that Kaloko Fishpond is still considered *kapu-kapu* (very sacred), a much higher status that that accorded other ponds in the area and requiring special care and treatment of the pond and surrounding area. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 34. These individuals also mentioned two stones near the south end of the pond, one said to be a likeness of the *mo'o* and the other a flat stone on which offerings have been laid. *Ibid.,* pp. 35-36.

59. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B13.

60. u.s. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* pp. 47, 49.

61. *Ibid.,* p. 49; Importance and Description Section, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings form for Honokohau Settlement, 1962. The NPS has mapped and stabilized the holua near 'Aimakapa.

62. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 49. See Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area,* pp. 19-27, for detailed descriptions of sites around 'Aimakapa Fishpond.

63. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B14.

64. Roy and Nahale mention a small unnamed *heiau* just northeast of Pu'u'oina, referred to as Kahakuloa Heiau. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko,' p. 20. They further relate being told of a *ko'a heiau* at the beach below the "Queen's Bath," near 'Aimakapa. This was an important shrine used for ceremonies of thanksgiving after the fishermen returned to shore. Inland of this *heiau,* "across the small channel entrance to the [canoe] landing," are remains of a walled platform used for prayers requesting luck and a bountiful harvest prior to sailing. *Ibid.,* p. 22. 'Aimakapa Fishpond contains another large stone platform near its north end that served as a shrine. Roy and Nahale, "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 22. Another informant mentioned to Roy and Nahale the small but powerful "bad" *heiau* situated along the coast at various points all the way to 'Anaeho'omalu. *Ibid.,* p. 86.

65. Study Commission, "The Spirit of Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau," p. 6.

66. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B9.

67. *Ibid.,* p. 18. According to Kelly, an informant told, her that the Honokohau ponds once formed a single, large pond, whose wall stretched from the west end of 'Ai'opio north to the headland about 800 feet beyond the present

northernmost limits of 'Aimakapa Fishpond. *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 18.

68. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. 510. See Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area,* pp. 15-19, for detailed descriptions of features in the 'Ai'opio Fishpond area. Informants mentioned these salt pans to Roy and Nahale, describing how the salt was evaporated and then skimmed off for use in drying fish. The researchers were told that some people have attributed other uses to these pans, such as for drying fish or for crushing the herbs used by fishermen to stun fish and enable their easy capture. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," pp. 24-25. Plate 5A in Emory and Soehren is a photograph taken in 1918 from Pu'u'oina Heiau looking northeast toward 'Ai'opio Fishtrap. Along the shoreline are the houses and church of the Honokohau Settlement. Some of these houses, as well as the church, were still shown on a 1928 map. Archeologists believe that the walls and foundations associated with these structures are still present in the park.

69. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 47.

70. *Ibid.,* p. 49. According to local informants, Maka'opio was built in the time of Lono'i'ka'makahiki. The tall stones set the standards of height for warriors sent into battle. Roy and Nahale, "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 50.

71. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 49.

72. Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area,* pp. 15-17. According to one of Roy and Nahale's informants, five natural pools adjacent to Pu'u'oina Heiau on the south were holding areas for specific kinds of fish the ruling chief desired. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 18.

73. Study Commission, "The Spirit of Ka-loko Hono-ko-hau," p. 6.

74. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* pp. 267, 270. See Russell A. Apple, *Trails: From Steppingstones to Kerbstones,* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 53 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1965).

75. Joseph Chang, Sr., "Ancient Hawaiian Trails and Access in Kohala," in *Kohala Keia (This is Kohala)* (n.p., 1977), pp. 101-2.

76. Roy and Nahale, "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 51.

77. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Ke-ahole to Anaehoomalu Section,* p. 78; Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 267.

78. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 462.

79. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," pp. B11, B15, B22; Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 403. The latter point out that the Mamalahoa Trail (Lower Government Road), "the major seaward road through the region of this period," bypassed the coast, indicating that area's lack of population by the mid-1800s. By 1888, however, that road's major period of use had also ended. Having replaced the coastal trail, it eventually gave way to the Upper Government Road, again indicating population and economic changes. That road then became the only major route through Kaloko, with shorter roads emanating to various places from the Kohanaiki Homesteads. The only *mauka-makai trail* used at this time was one leading from the Kohanaiki Homesteads to Kaloko Fishpond. Pp. 406,569, 572. Regarding the question of who could eat fish from these ponds, informants told Roy and Nahale that part of the harvest of the ponds was always distributed among the people, and that Kamehameha's armies were allowed to eat the fish from the ponds on their way through in times of war. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," P. 37.

80. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 51; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 172.

81. Description of Sites, (D13) Kaloko, in Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau*

Area, pp. 28-29.

82. Virginia Brooks, "The Demonstration Project: *Ala Kahakai (Trail by the Sea),"* in *Na Ala Hele (Trails for Walking)* (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, 1973), p. 30. informants gave Roy and Nahale the names of several women who used this bath, many being the wives of the ruling chiefs of the area. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 51.

83. Kelly, *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko,* p. 48.

84. *Ibid.,* p. 49.

85. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 84.

86. *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 579. The *ahupua'a* shrines were the places where the yearly tributes were collected during the *Makahiki* season.

87. The Honokohau Settlement Complex" included 'Aimakapa Fishpond and the cultural sites around it as well as Kaloko Fishpond.

88. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 1.

89. Sunao Kido, "A Report on Kaloko Fishpond and the Honokohau Settlement National Historic Landmark," October 29, 1971, typescript, 22 pages, p. 5; U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* p. 50.

90. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* pp. 46-47.

91. *Ibid.,* p. 50; Kido, "Report on Kaloko Fishpond and the Honokohau Settlement," October 15,1971, pp. 9-10, and October 29, 1971, p. 10.

92. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement,* pp. 50-51.

93. *Ibid.,* pp. 1-2.

94. Deborah F. Cluff, *An Archaeological Survey of the Seaward Portion of Honokohau #1 and #2, North Kona, Hawaii Island,* rev. ed. (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1971), p. 2. See this report for detailed descriptions of archeological sites within the coastal portion of the *ahupua'a* of Honokohau, pp. 7-14.

95. *Ibid.,* p. 13.

96. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

97. *Ibid.,* pp. 14-16.

98. Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I,* pp. 3-5.

99. *Ibid.,* p. 5.

100. *Ibid.,* pp. 10-16.

101. *Ibid.,* pp. 16-22.

102. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

109. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 275.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

111. Kido, "Report on Kaloko Fishpond and the Honokohau Settlement," October 15,1971, p. 4. An informant told Roy and Nahale that one used to be able to see fires at Honokohau from Kaloko and at the coast from the uplands, supporting the contention that the original vegetative cover here was much less dense and overgrown. As mentioned earlier, tradition says that fires were used to signal impending danger to other areas along the coast, but local informants have stated that fires were part of the *mauka-makai* exchange system, signalling when a group of people needed food. "Ka Mo'olelo Ha'i Waha O Honokohau-Kaloko," p. 24.

112. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 580.

113. Marie Morin, Research Assoc., to Frances Kuailani, Supt., Kaloho-Honokohau NHP, Nov. 25,1992, in DSC tiles.

114. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds,* p. 58.

115. Kido, "Report on Kaloko Fishpond and the Honokohau Settlement," October 15, 1971, p. 10.

116. *Ibid.*, p.11.

117. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study,* p. 573.

CHAPTER IX

1. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau,* p. 70.

2. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 8: Honaunau Village and Vicinity Under Hawaiian Culture," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* pp. 93-94.

3. Russell A. Apple, "City was a Refuge by Columbus' Day," *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (June 11, 1965): 02.

4. William Ellis, *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1825), p. 84.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 9: Honaunau in Transition to the Present," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* pp. 112, 114. During the period the county leased this land, the parcel comprising the park area contained bathhouse facilities for those using the shallow inlet and sandy beach nearby, a tank supplying brackish water for the toilets and showers, and a caretaker's house. The area had tables and benches and was a popular picnic ground used mostly by local residents and to some extent by tourists, who were also given a guided tour around and through the City of Refuge. Richard E. Devine, Francis Cushingham, and Royden Bryan, "Appraisal Report Covering Land and Improvements to be Acquired for City of Refuge National Historical Park For the Commissioner of Public Lands, Territory of Hawaii," December 1956, in files, Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i, p. 9. Russell

Apple and Peg Apple, "Bishop Estate and Honaunau, in "Tales of Old Hawaii" column, *Honolulu (HI) Star-Bulletin* (May 26, 1978): A19.

7. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* pp. 114-15.

8. Marion A. Kelly, "Report 11: The Concept of Asylum," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau.* p. 137.

9. *Ibid.,* pp. 137,150.

10. *Ibid.,* pp. 149-50.

11. Kenneth P. Emory, "City of Refuge," *Paradise of the Pacific* 71 (July 1959): 67.

12. Kelly, "Concept of Asylum," pp. 140-41.

13. Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 1:118.

14. Kalakaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii,* p.46.

15. Kelly, "Concept of Asylum," pp. 138-39.

16. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p.74.

17. Cumming, *Fire Fountains,* 2: 71.

18. Barrère et al., *Hawaiian Aboriginal Culture,* p. 35.

19. Kamakau, *People of Old,* pp. 17-18.

20. *Ibid.,* p. 17. On the other hand, the person running to the king hoping for protection could also be killed, depending on the mood of the monarch.

21. Kelly, "concept of Asylum," p. 138.

22. Kamakau, *People of Old,* p. 19.

23. James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere,* 3 vols. and Atlas (London: G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784), 3:160, quoted in Russell A. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study of the Hale-o-Keawe Platform, Honaunau Bay, South Kona, Hawaii," draft study for the National Park Service, January 1966. The image King describes matches a figure now in the British Museum in London. It is shown in Cox and Davenport, *Hawaiian Sculpture,* A6.

24. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei,* p. 86.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 87.

26. I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History,* pp. 137-39.

27. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* pp. 123, 129.

28. *Ibid.,* pp. 124, 126-28.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 128.

30. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 27.

31. Andrew Bloxam, *Diary of Andrew Bloxam, Naturalist of H.M.S. Blonde on Her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands, 1824-1825,* Bishop Museum Special Publication 10 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1925), pp. 74-76. The bones stacked in the corner of the Hale-o-Keawe were those of selected lesser male chiefs of the ruling family who were not considered gods.

32. Rowland Bloxam, "Visit of the H.M.S. *Blonde* to Hawaii in 1825," *Hawaiian Annual for 1924* (Honolulu, 1924), pp. 79-80. The two altar idols Bloxam mentions reside today in the Bishop Museum and in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. The feathered deity is pictured in *The London Mirror* of August 12, 1826, and is thought to be in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Emory, "Honaunau Village and Vicinity," p. 100. See this report for a discussion of what happened to images taken from Hale-o-Keawe.

33. Lord [G. A.] Byron, *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, 1824-1825, Captain the Right Honourable Lord Byron [George Anson], Commander,* comp. Maria Graham (London: John Murray, 1826), no pages given, typescript of account found in MS collection, Peabody Museum ("Black Notebook" on South Sea Islands, religious idols, etc.), Salem, Massachusetts. Dr. W.S.W. Ruschenberger, author and U.S. Navy surgeon on board the *Peacock in* 1836, noted that because the officers of the *Blonde* were so anxious to take home examples of the ancient Hawaiian temple images as souvenirs, the number of idols available was soon depleted; enterprising Hawaiians then began producing new carved images, which they smoked slightly to add a patina of antiquity and then sold to unwary Europeans. W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *A Voyage Round the World in 1835, 1836, and 1837 including Sketches in the Sandwich Islands* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1838), p. 455.

34. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," pp. 28-29, 31-32.

35. James Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825* (Honolulu: W.F. Wilson, 1922), pp. 71-72.

36. Judd, *Honolulu,* p. 35. This dismantling of the mausoleum will be discussed later in detail.

37. Quoted in Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," Appendix W, p. 112.

38. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands,* pp. 183-85.

39. George Bowser, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists' Guide, 1880-1881* (Honolulu and San Francisco: George Bowser & Co., Publ., 1880), p. 553.

40. Kamakau, *People of Old,* p. 18.

41. Dorothy Barrère, "Report 10: A Reconstruction of the History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe at Honaunau, in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* p. 122.

42. *Ibid.,* p. 117.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.,* p. 118.

45. Edmund J. Ladd *Excavations at Site A-27: Archeology at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park,* ed. Gary F. Somers, Publications in Anthropology No. 43 (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation center, 1987), pp. 79-80. NPS Pacific Area Archeologist Gary Somers points out that Ladd's chronology tried to assimilate Barrère's traditional history with the archeological evidence and still allow two other basic assumptions — that Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai built 'Ale'ale'a and that that *heiau* was abandoned when Hale-o-Keawe was erected. Gary F. Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau: Archeology at Pu'uhonua O Honaunau National Historical Park* (Honolulu: National Park Service, 1986), pp. 16-17.

46. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* p. 80.

47. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," pp. 119-21.

48. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* pp. 80-81.

49. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 22.

50. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* pp. 234-35.

51. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 426. Kekauluohi was the daughter of Kala'imamahu, a half-brother of Kamehameha; Boki was governor of O'ahu; and Naihe was the husband of Kapiolani nd one of Kamehameha's councillors. The latter was also guardian of the ancient tombs of Hawaiian kings and chiefs. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 131.

52. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 131.

53. William D. Alexander, "The 'Hale o Keawe,' at Honaunau, Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3(1894): 160-61. Walter F. Judd states that the sennit caskets of Kings Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki were placed in a modern coffin, on which their names were engraved, which was placed in the Royal Tomb at Iolani Palace, while the remains of the other chiefs were buried inside or alongside that chamber. Judd states that these bones were never moved again. This Royal Tomb had been built just south of the Iolani Palace to hold the coffins of King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu. The tomb's function was replaced in 1865 by the Royal Mausoleum at Nu'uanu. *Palaces and Forts of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, Publishers, 1975), p. 155. At that time the coral rock walls of the old royal tomb were razed and the site was marked only by a tumulus. Stokes's conclusions are that in 1830 the remains of the twenty-three kings and chiefs from Hale-o-Keawe were placed in two large wooden boxes and concealed in the burial cave of Hoaiku at Ka'awaloa along with the remains in native wrappings that had been deposited in the Hale-o-Liloa, including those of Liloa and Lono. In 1858 all remains were removed to O'ahu. Because Liloa and Lono were the most distinguished of the remains and perhaps were identifiable by external markings, they were put in a modern coffin on which their names were engraved. Thus they were carried in the procession along with similar coffins to the new mausoleum in 1865. The other Hale-o-Keawe remains were not further dealt with either because of the crudity of their containers or the loss of identification as to who they were. Because of the hopelessness of making any positive identifications, the remains of these former kings and chiefs of Kona were undoubtedly left behind in the tumulus marking the site of the old tomb. John F.G. Stokes, "Burial of King Keawe," *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society* no. 17 (1930) (Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1978), pp. 63, 71-72. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 136, states that nowhere is there a written record of these coffins having been removed to the Nu'uanu mausoleum. Possibly they are still interred in the mound now marking the site of the old Iolani Palace mausoleum or possibly they were never removed from Ka'awaloa, only the bones of Liloa and Lono having been taken to O'ahu.

54. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," pp. 132-33. See that report for a detailed discussion of the chiefs whose bones were interred in Hale-o-Keawe.

55. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 36.

56. *Ibid.,* pp. 36-38.

57. *Ibid.,* p. 41.

58. *Ibid.,* pp. 42-43, 50.

59. Thrum, "Heiaus and Heiau Sites," pp. 75-77.

60. Homer Hayes, "City of Refuge," *American Heritage* 2 (Spring 1951): 19.

61. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* p. 11.

62. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 7: Investigation of Ancient Honaunau, in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* p. 86.

63. Hayes, "City of Refuge," p. 19.

64. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua O Honaunau,* pp. 3, 34, 73-74, 76.

65. *Ibid.,* p. 65.

66. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Statement for Management, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, Hawaii, 1991, p. 7.

67. J.F.G. Stokes, "Report 14: Features Pertaining to Early Hawaiian Life in the Honaunau Bay Area," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* p. 223.

68. "Puuhonua at Honaunau, City of Refuge," notes said to be from interview of Ma'inui by Tom White, recorded by Francis Cushingham, in Kona Historical Society, captain cook, Hawai'i, pp. 5-6. Another copy of these notes, however, indicates they were made by John F.G. Stokes from an interview on March 14, 1919. Note the structure (No. 8) located on the east side of Keone'ele cove by Emory and designated as "site of old royal residence," in 'Transition to the Present," p. 113.

69. Emory, Honaunau Village and Vicinity," p. 93.

70. "Puuhonua at Honaunau," notes, p. 1.

71. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis,* pp. 126, 128.

72. Theresa K. Donham, "Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey, Hale-o-Ho'oponopono Project Site, Land of Honaunau, South Kona, Island of Hawaii," typescript, April 1986, in Hawaii Department of Natural Resources, Honolulu, p. 4.

73. Kamakau, *People of Old,* p. 18.

74. Samuel Kamakau, "Ancient Hawaiian Religious Beliefs and Ceremonies," *Hawaiian Annual* for 1911 (Honolulu, 1910), p. 152.

75. Puuhonua at Honaunau," notes, pp. 4-5.

76. Edmund J. Ladd, "The Great Wall Stabilization: Salvage Report," in Pearson, *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii,* pp. 133, 135-36. Ellis noted, regarding the large stones in the wall: "Many fragments of rock, or pieces of lava, of two or more tons each, were seen in several parts of the wall, raised at least six feet from the ground." *Journal of William Ellis,* p. 128.

77. Ladd, "Great Wall Stabilization," p. 136; V. Aubrey Neasham, *Historic Sites Survey Report, Place of Refuge, Hawaii* (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1949), p. 23; Albert S. Baker, "How to Spend a Day in Kona, *The Friend* (May 1930): 104-5.

78. J.F.G. Stokes, "Report 13: Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* pp. 163-74; Hawaiian workmen told Archeologist Edmund Ladd that the purpose of the *pao* construction was to allow water to flow through the walls during periods of flooding or tidal waves. Edmund J. Ladd, "Ruins Stabilization Record - Alealea Heiau (Outside Wall)," completion Report, July 1963, 5 pages, Second Sheet.

79. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 174.

80. Ladd, "Great Wall Stabilization," pp. 136, 139.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

82. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonu o Honaunau,* pp. 72-73.

83. Kelly, "concept of Asylum," p. 138.

84. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* p. 272.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

86. Stokes, "Burial of King Keawe," p. 64.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

88. Emory, "Honaunau Village and Vicinity," pp. 104-5.

89. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau,* p. 212.

90. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 23.

91. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," pp. 118, 123.

92. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," pp. 16-17.

93. Alexander, "The 'Hale o Keawe,' at Honaunau, Hawaii," p. 160; This passage is open to question. Barrère points out that there exist no previous reports of the need for human sacrifices while making the basket containers for bones, and this had been a very ancient practice in Hawai'i. "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 124.

94. Hayes, "City of Refuge," p. 18.

95. "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 124.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

97. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," pp. 18-19.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

99. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," pp. 126-27. It is thought that Kalani'opu'u's corpse was taken back to his homeland, Ka'u, and placed in a burial cave after Kamehameha killed Kiwala'o. Tradition had said that he was only taken to Honaunau by his followers as part of a power play to obtain more Kona lands, it being the Hawaiian custom that whatever lands *a* ruler's funeral cortege passed belonged from then on to his heirs. The battle between Kamehameha and Kiwala'o, from which the former emerged as victor, effectively ended those plans. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

100. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 17. Because of indications that sacrifices took place here earlier, Barrère suggests Kamakau meant that Kamehameha expanded upon the functions of the Hale-o-Keawe to include ceremonies that required human sacrifices. "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 123.

101. Henry T. Cheever, *Life in the Sandwich Islands* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), p. 24.

102. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society islands,* p. 183.

103. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 19.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

107. Puuhonua at Honaunau, notes, pp. 1, 6.

108. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* p. 247.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 248. Ladd restored the platform and nearby area in 1966 and 1967. Apple restored the Hale-o-Keawe surface features in 1967 and 1968.

111. *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 254-55.

112. Jerry Y. Shimoda, "Reconstructing Hale o Keawe," *Historic Hawai'i News* 10, no. 6 (June 1984): 1.

113. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 186.

114. Puuhonua at Honaunau, notes, p. 2.

115. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 127.

116. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* p. 11.

117. *Ibid.*

118. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Environmental Assessment, Proposed Emergency Preservation of the Old Heiau Site, City of Refuge National Historical Park," January 27, 1977, typescript, 6 pages, p. 1.

119. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Pre-Stabilization Report, Proposed Emergency Preservation of the Old Heiau Site, city of Refuge National Historical Park," July 30, 1975, typescript, 4 pages, pp. 2-3.

120. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Research Proposal, Proposed Emergency Preservation of the Old Heiau Site, city of Refuge National Historical Park, Kona, Hawaii," December 1976, typescript, 7 pages, p. 2.

121. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* pp. 67-68.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

126. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* p. 127. William T. Brigham, director of the Bishop Museum, was horrified on viewing the restoration work of 1902. On his first visit to the *pu'uhonua* in 1864, he had noted the fallen walls of an enclosure in which, according to native informants, refugees had given thanks for their deliverance from death. By the time of his return visit in 1919, these walls had been replaced by a vertical wall around the site of the original temple. The interior had been filled in with stones taken from the *mauka* exterior wall of the refuge. John F.G. Stokes, *Heiau of the Island of Hawai'i: A Historic Survey of Native Hawaiian Temple Sites,* ed. Tom Dye, Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology 2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), pp. 104-5.

127. Edmund J. Ladd, Alealea Temple Site, Honaunau: Salvage Report," in Pearson, *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii*, p. 99. According to Stokes, restoration of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau in 1902 involved rebuilding the western end, levelling off the paved surface, and building steps in the southern wall for public access. Workmen at the time said there had been a mound of stone at the eastern end of the top platform, possibly corresponding to the base of an oracle tower. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 181.

128. Ladd, Alealea Temple Site," p. 101.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 107.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

133. *Ibid.*

134. *Ibid.*, p. 111

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 111,113.

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 113,115.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

138. Dorothy B. Barrère, "A Discussion of the Honaunau complex Relative to the Modifications of Alealea Platform," February 1965, typescript, 9 pages, in files, Pu'uohonua o Honaunau NHP, p. 2.

139. *Ibid.*

140. *ibid.*, p. 3.

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

143. *Ibid.*

144. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

145. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Stokes wrote that the *heiau* was reported to him as having served as a "temple for pleasure, where the chiefs reclined and relaxed to look over the country or watch the *hula."* He said that access to the temple platform was by means of a wooden ladder that the keeper of the *heiau* stored in his house, bringing it out for use whenever the chiefs wished to ascend to the temple platform and returning it to storage when they left. A later note in this essay by Emory states that Kekahuna's 1952 map shows a site on the east side of the platform for a priest's house and another on the south side for a thatched hut for ceremonial purposes. "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," pp. 181, 183.

146. "Puhonua at Honaunau, notes, p. 2; Barrère has not found the name Alealea in any genealogy. "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 121.

147. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 121.

148. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," pp. 192-93.

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.

150. *ibid.*, pp. 186-87; An informant stated that this was the place of seclusion for women during their menstrual periods. Women entered the *pu'uhonua* through a separate entrance from that of the refugees, but the informant did not know just where. Puuhonua at Honaunau, notes, p. 3.

151. "History and Function of the *Pu'uhonua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 121.

152. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 187.

153. Stokes, "Early Hawaiian Life," p. 218.

154. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 190.

155. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91; An informant stated that a long wall once extended from a point about forty feet from the southwest corner of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau, running *makai,* and then curving around to the entrance at the *makai* end of the outer southern wall. This enclosed the Puuhonua Proper," a level area with *kamane* trees where the refugees slept. A tidal wave later destroyed the wall. Puuhonua at Honaunau, notes, p. 3.

156. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 197.

157. *Ibid.* A local informant told Stokes this was used as an astronomical clock, with the time of day revealed by watching the shadow of the sun in the water. Puuhonua at Honaunau, notes, p. 3.

158. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 197.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 199.

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

164. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

167. Edmund J. Ladd, *Test Excavations at Sites B-105, B-107, and B-108: Archeology at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park,* ed. Gary F. Somers, Publications in Anthropology No. 34 (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1986), p. 58. Site B-108, the Thompson House Site, will be discussed later.

168. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks,* p. 240.

169. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Honauna,* p. 212.

170. *ibid.*, p. 213.

171. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 203.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

173. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 15: Archaeological Features of Hinterland and Keamoalii of Honaunau, Keokea, and Ki'ilae in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau,* p. 225. This volume contains the set of seven maps of the proposed park area that show the various features Emory investigated. These maps are reproduced in this report.

174. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* p. 220.

175. Lucien Young, *The Boston at Hawaii* (Washington: Gibson, 1898), pp. 88-89.

176. Shoemaker McDonald, "Hawaiian Holua — Snowless Sledding," *Paradise of the Pacific* 51 (December 1939): 77.

177. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819,* p. 80.

178. Handy, *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization,* p. 150; Edmund Ladd noted that these tracks varied in size from 6 to 18 feet in width and from 100 to more than 1,000 feet in length. Ladd, *Test Excavations,* p. 4.

179. Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture,* p. 94.

180. Ladd, *Test Excavations,* p. 55.

181. *Ibid.,* pp. 4.5

182. *Ibid.,* p. 6.

183. *Ibid.,* pp. 55-56.

184. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," pp. 225-27. Note on Map 2 the house lot designated as belonging to George Douglas. Douglas bought this house from Edward Thompson prior to 1952; the lot is referred to as the "Thompson House Site." Douglas burned the house in 1952. Test excavations at the site focused on the primary features, including the house site and several grave platforms. This lot was originally awarded in the Great *Mahele* and went through various owners after that. Occupied from early historic to modern times, it also had some pre-contact use. It appears to have evolved over time from a modest-sized house to several structures and then a multi-level complex as the owner's social and political status increased, It is thought to have possibly been a chief's residence. Ladd, *Test Excavations,* pp. 73-74, 101-2, 106.

185. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 227.

186. *Ibid.,* p. 228.

187. *Ibid.,* pp. 228-29.

188. Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau,* p. 20.

189. *Ibid.,* pp. 28-29.

190. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

191. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 229.

192. *Ibid.,* p. 232.

193. *Ibid.,* p. 230.

194. *Ibid.*

195. *Ibid.,* pp. 230, 232.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

198. Edmund J. Ladd, "The 1868 Alahaka Ramp: Salvage Report," in Pearson, *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii,* p. 191.

199. *Ibid.*

200. "Appendix 2: Trail Types," in Apple, *Trails,* p. 65.

201. Apple, *Trails,* p. 19.

202. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 27. The reader should keep in mind that Ladd did not believe these slides were built until after Ellis's visit in 1823. Therefore, they would not have posed an impediment to early travel.

204. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

205. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28, 30, 55.

206. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

211. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 56-57, 68.

213. Ladd, "The 1868 Alahaka Ramp," p. 192.

214. *Ibid.*, pp.200-1. William Thompson mentioned in an interview (June 29,1965) with Frances Jackson that he helped small ranchers with branding and running bulls from the open areas to pens. This involved running them down the horse ramp to a holding pen near the house complex at Ilio Point. Horses, mules, and donkeys served as mounts, but, despite their surefootedness, the cowboys would keep one foot out of the stirrup in case the bull and horse stumbled on the very narrow ramp. Jackson, Ki'ilae village," p. 23.

215. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 235.

216. Ellis, *Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii,* p. 91.

217. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoalii pp. 239-41.

218. Edmund J. Ladd, "Site C58: Salvage Report," in Pearson, *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii,* p. 203.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 219. The lowlands in this area were also inhabited. According to an informant Frances Jackson used in her research on Ki'ilae Village, a few grass houses existed ca. 1900 between the 1871 trail and the Keanae'e Cliff. Mable Keahi Alporque and Moses Kalele interview by Russell A. Apple, April 6,1963, at City of Refuge National Historical Park, in Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," p. 3.

220. John E. Reinecke, "A Survey of Hawaiian Sites: Kailua to Kalakupuaa, Kahaluu-Keauhou-Onouli (2) to Honalo (Kualanui Pt.), Kaawaloa-Honaunau to Ka'u Line," MS, June 1929-June 1930, p. 31, quoted in Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau,* pp. 2, 4.

221. Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau,* p. 4.

222. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoalii, pp. 241, 243.

223. Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau,* p. 4; See Stokes, *Heiau of the Island of Hawaii,* pp. 108-10.

224. Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau,* p. 4.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

226. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

227. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoalii, p. 245.

228. Forbes quoted in Jackson, "Ki'ilae Village," pp. 8-9.

229. Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," pp. 75-76.

230. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

231. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37. One interviewee said that the people living there did not have much in the way of possessions, but they paid a small rent to Henriques and provided *"much* food, etc." when he visited. Thompson interview with Jackson, June 29, 1965, in Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," p. 26.

232. Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," p. 42.

233. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

236. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

237. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.

238. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

239. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-66.

240. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

241. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70. An interviewee mentioned a large Portuguese oven near the belt road, which the "neighbors" in the community all used for baking bread. He said it was similar to the one near Kawaihae (at Pelekane). The location of this one near Ki'ilae is unclear. Thompson interview with Jackson, June 29. 1965, p. 25.

242. Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," pp.22,71-73; Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House,* pp.219-20. One interviewee mentioned that Ki'ilae families banded together for work; some go mauka to fields, some to beach to fish. Then all eat together." Thompson interview with Jackson, June 29, 1965, in "Ki'ilae Village," p. 24. Thompson did not arrive in the Ki'ilae area, where he worked as a cowboy, until the 1920s. Perhaps as the population dwindled, people became more inclined

to work together for their sustenance.

243. Jackson, Ki'ilae Village," p. 54.

244. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75. The source of some of the information on the Ahu place was the April 6, 1963, Alporque-Kalele interview with Apple, in *ibid.*, p. 4. Emory stated that the John Ahu family homestead had already been abandoned for many years by 1957. Although the Ahu residence was probably an ancient house site, later construction had obliterated earlier remains. The Land Commission Awards noted this land was given in the 1850s to a man who had received it from his parents in 1819. He evidently supported himself by cultivating taro and sweet potato patches inland as well as by utilizing nearby marine resources. "Hinterland and Keamoalii, p. 244. This site still contains the house foundation and a cistern.

246. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoalii, p. 245.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 248.

248. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-48.

249. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

250. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

251. Edmund J. Ladd, *Ki'ilae Village Test Excavations: Archaeology at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park,* ed. Gary F. Somers, Publications in Anthropology No. 35 (Tucson: Western Archeological and conservation Center, 1986), p. 5.

252. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

256. *Ibid.*

257. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, p. 161.

258. *Ibid.*

259. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* p. 1.

260. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, city of Refuge National Historical Park, no date, in files, Pacific Area Office, NPS, Honolulu.

261. Statement for Management, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, p. 6.

262. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, City of Refuge National Historical Park.

263. *Ibid.*

264. Emory, "Transition to the Present," pp. 114-15. The *tsunami* (massive sea waves) of the *Kai mimiki o Naihe* at an unknown date filled He-lei.palala Fishpond in the Honaunau palace grounds with silt and sand. This is the only fishpond known to have been affected by a prehistoric *tsunami.* Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 153.

265. Statement for Management, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, p. 8.

266. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

267. Edmund J. Ladd, *A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of the North Shore of Honaunau Bay, South Kona, Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1969), p. 5.

268. Statement for Management, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, p. 11.

269. Ladd, *Preliminary Archaeological Survey of the North Shore of Honaunau Bay*, p. 9.

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A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian Prehistory

CHAPTER I: BEFORE THE WRITTEN RECORD (continued)

B. Origins of Hawaiian Population

Probably beginning about 1000 B.C. or earlier, small groups of people from western Melanesia or southeast Asia migrated toward the Pacific into the western part of Polynesia. Their colonization attempts were highly successful for several reasons. A seafaring population, they had developed strong double-hulled outrigger canoes that could carry many people and supplies and travel great distances. They had well developed celestial and other navigational skills that not only allowed far-flung colonization efforts but also enabled round trips between parent and daughter colonies. Finally, they had perfected the horticultural, hunting, and fishing technologies needed to sustain fledgling populations on previously uninhabited islands. These colonists, who became the ancestors of a hybrid people known today as Polynesians, ultimately spread to all other islands of the Triangle. [6]

The Hawaiians are a branch of these peoples inhabiting the eastern tier of islands in the Pacific Ocean. The other principal branches were the Maori of New Zealand and the Samoans, Tongans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, and Marquesans. [7] According to Anthropologist Patrick Kirch, there is strong evidence from a number of early Hawaiian archeological sites that initial colonization of some of the islands had occurred by at least the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. by people from the Marquesas Islands. [8]

It is thought there were additional waves of immigrants to Hawai'i beginning in the twelfth century from the Society Islands (Tahiti). Evidence exists, and Hawaiian tradition suggests, that the route between Tahiti and Hawai'i was traversed frequently by large double-hulled canoes during this later period, return voyages possibly being made to renew contacts and secure skilled labor and additional plants and animals. The role of external contacts (migrations) in the evolution of Hawaiian culture is still actively debated.

Important new cultural elements forming the framework for the later Hawaiian labor system, social structure, and religious order were introduced during the final migratory period and superimposed upon the aboriginal society of earlier migrations. The leaders of these last arrivals were the ancestors of the *ali'i*, the chiefly class of Hawaiian society noted by the early discoverers, whose origin and cultural heritage were distinct from those of the older Hawaiian population. [9] After this period of "long voyages" ended, communication ceased between Hawai'i and other areas of Polynesia, and the Hawaiians lived in nearly complete isolation from outside influences until 1778. [10]

C. Origins of Hawaiian Culture

The early migrants from Central Polynesia did not arrive in Hawai'i totally unprepared for life in a new island setting.

They brought with them a collective knowledge accumulated over thousands of years of migration from southeast Asia relative to subsistence activities, engineering techniques, adaptation to environmental constraints, and handicrafts that were suited to dealing with the raw materials of a tropical environment. The Polynesian culture of which these settlers were a part emphasized fishing and farming supplemented by dependence on domesticated animals. The development of this culture had also resulted in traditional ways of thinking and patterns of social behavior and formation of specific attitudes towards relationships among individuals and between individuals and nature.

Peter H. Buck, a former director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, points out that there was no single Polynesian culture when foreigners first made contact. The only common culture would have existed when people were living in one island group before dispersing elsewhere. From that point on, each island group proceeded to develop its own culture, specializing in different directions while still retaining some fundamental elements of the early common culture. When the term "Polynesian culture" is applied to that functioning at the time of European contact, it is an abstraction referring to common features or general similarities underlying local differences in culture within Polynesia. [11]

The first voyagers to the Hawaiian Islands would have brought with them only some of the cultural variations and subsistence items present in the various Polynesian societies, which would have become the basic agricultural staples of the Hawaiian economy. Not only did these prehistoric peoples make extensive changes in the Hawaiian landscape, modifying and manipulating the habitat to suit their needs, but they also had to live with certain constraints exercised by nature that greatly affected the development of their culture. These factors set certain directions in terms of needed skills and a subsistence base and gradually led to a culture very distinct from the Polynesian homeland. The social and political organization and the religious practices that emerged as part of this new Hawaiian society were related to the peoples' past experiences as well as to their adaptations to the ecosystems of their new home. [12]

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CHAPTER I: BEFORE THE WRITTEN RECORD (continued)

G. Hawai'i at the Time of European Contact

By the time of European contact, the early Hawaiian population, in spite of their unique and sometimes difficult island environment, had established a complex civilization that included all the necessities for survival as well as for recreational pursuits and artistic expression. Characterized by a rigid class social structure and a highly organized political system, this culture based social status and prestige on genealogy, whereby governing chiefs attained their power through their perceived direct descendancy from the gods. While these rulers increasingly endeavored, through diplomatic and military means and prescribed religious observances, to maintain their position in the face of the ambitions of rival forces, the commoners struggled, through close cooperation, careful planning, and community organization, to support their leaders on the bounty of the land and sea. At the same time, societal relationships functioned within a "concept of the world as being controlled and watched over by spirit forces which constantly had to be propitiated or manipulated." [225] Transgression of any of the cultural, social, political, or religious restrictions based on the inseparable relationship between the natural and physical worlds and between man and the gods resulted in the direst of punishments for the common people.

The ancient Hawaiians were subject to a wide range of restrictions that governed when and where they performed certain activities, what they could eat, and the manner and times in which they could interact with one another. These restraints, however, did not impede amazing achievements. As Dr. E.S. Craighill Handy states, the ancient Hawaiians created a complex culture characterized by highly developed agricultural and aquacultural systems; advanced engineering technology; an intensive and productive fishing industry; a high degree of technical skill in areas such as celestial navigation and in various crafts such as canoe-making; outstanding artistry in the production of *kapa* cloth, sculptures and featherwork; and an extremely intricate political, social, and ceremonial system characterized by dancing, poetry, music, and mythology. [226]

The arrival of Captain Cook in 1778 and subsequent visitations by Europeans introduced a myriad of new material goods and concepts, as well as problems. New, unknown diseases and a declining birth rate would decimate a once healthy population. Iron in the form of knives, nails, and other tools would dramatically alter native technology. The introduction of explosives and firearms, along with European military knowledge, would eventually enable an aggressive chief from the island of Hawai'i to unite the islands. The nation's economic base would shift from a subsistence economy to a barter system, and the rising importance placed on the acquisition of Western goods, on private enterprise, and on personal aggrandizement would redefine social interactions and the culture's value system. Land use would change with the introduction of new plant and animal species. Altered lifestyles resulting from the addition of European goods and the new concepts of property rights would result in the modification or rebuilding of

native homesteads. Some redistribution of the population would occur, causing disintegration of the native kinship structure. And finally, the overthrow of the *kapu* system and the destruction of the visible signs of its power would leave the people quite suddenly without a regulatory social or political framework and with drastically restyled social interrelationships. The arrival of missionaries would result in conversion of the islands to Christianity, and their descendants would eventually dominate many of the financial and business aspects of the Hawaiian community. The Hawaiian people in the late eighteenth century were poised on the brink of an almost complete cultural transformation. [227]

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CHAPTER II: EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
(continued)

B. Hawai'i Becomes an Important Pacific Port

1. Provision Stop

For the Hawaiians, the next forty years encompassed a period of intermittent contact with foreigners. It was a time of political consolidation accompanied by the gradual disintegration of traditional religious beliefs. Geography played a critical role in the events of these four decades.

Because of their strategic location on a direct route between the North American continent and the ports of the Far East, the Sandwich Islands became a convenient place for ships — especially those of the Russians and Americans — to rendezvous, replenish their supplies, and seek replacement crews. [17] The Hawaiian bays offered good anchorage, while abundant supplies of fresh food, wood, and water could be obtained. In 1787 Captain George Dixon found that the island of Hawai'i was

> by far the most plentiful island of the whole . . . and the land is more universally cultivated than at any of the other islands, which . . . accounts for the great plenty of vegetables &c. met with here. [18]

The Hawaiian Islands also offered the sailors a pleasant break from the daily monotony of storm and sea and sky. Once within reach of land, the sailors were warmly greeted by the Hawaiian women who, "sublimely indifferent to politics and war," went out to the ships "in droves." [19]

2. Northwest Coast-Canton, China, Fur Trade

Cook's voyages set the stage for a major change in the pattern of world commerce and travel. During the 1780s, the British held the monopoly on trade with Canton, purchasing Chinese goods with the "spoil of India and the Moluccas." [20] British ships regularly sailed the coast of Africa, around the Horn, to India and China. Although eager to join in this lucrative business, the merchants and shipping companies of New England had little to offer the Cantonese in return for their goods.

Accounts of Cook's voyage published in 1784 encouraged a group of Boston merchants to expand American trade frontiers into the Pacific. (The British and the Europeans had not, as yet, laid claim to the northern Pacific routes.) The Bostonians decided to carry trade goods to the Indians living along the northwest coast of North America, swap these

items for fur pelts, and then ship the furs to China to trade for items such as tea, spices, silks, and luxury goods. These merchants quickly fitted out the ship *Columbia* and chose John Kendrick as captain. The *Columbia* was accompanied by the tender *Lady Washington*, commanded by Robert Gray, also an American. Eleven months out of Massachusetts, the vessels anchored at Vancouver Island and began to collect furs. The next summer the *Columbia* carried a load of furs to Canton, exchanging it for tea.

Unfortunately, the voyage of the *Columbia* was not financially successful. Other American ships had already reached Canton via Africa's Cape, and their goods were being sold in Boston by the time the *Columbia* dropped anchor in her home port. However, the idea of the triangular trade — from New England via Cape Horn to the Northwest Coast fur country and thence to China — quickly caught on. By 1792 the trade route from Boston to the Northwest Coast to Canton to Boston was fairly well established, and American merchant ships had begun to make regular calls at the Hawaiian Islands.

By 1790 several other foreign ships also visited the islands, helping to establish them as a "familiar resort for the fur traders" and as a "port of call and wintering place . . . for those engaged in the more general trade which grew up between Asia and the west coast of North and South America." [21] These voyagers included English Captains Portlock, Dixon, and Meares (seeking commercial development), and French naval vessels under the command of La Perouse.

The Northwest trading ships generally stopped twice on their voyage to China. Sometimes the first stop was at the Cape Verde Islands, the Falklands, or the Galapagos, but invariably Hawai'i was their second stop. There they obtained fresh provisions and fruit to prevent scurvy and received a respite from the long voyage and the damp cold of the Pacific Northwest. [22] The trade increased so rapidly that by 1805-1806 the value of imports to Canton on American vessels had grown to more than five million dollars. [23]

3. Military and Scientific Value

Recognizing the strategic location, important resources, and trade potential of the Hawaiian Islands, several European nations sent exploratory missions to the Pacific over the next three-quarters of a century. [24] Scientists recorded botanical features, native customs, and volcanic activity and mapped harbors and coastlines. Their work provided the outside world a glimpse of these new people and places and provided a basis for later scientific research. While most of these missions were ostensibly scientific in nature, they had underlying military value and aspirations.

4. Commercial Exchange Initiated

Because of their excellent harbors and strategic location nearly equidistant from the coasts of the Orient and North America, the Hawaiian Islands quickly became a primary stop on the Pacific trade routes. These islands contained more cultivated land than most of the other Pacific islands, forming "an oasis in the ocean desert." [25] At first traders used the islands simply as a refueling and provisioning stop where they bartered for food, water, wood, and salt in return for inexpensive pieces of metal and items of Euro-American manufacture. Iron objects, weapons, and ammunition comprised the most popular trade items. For nearly two decades after Cook's visit, the islands " were the theatre of long and destructive wars" in which the arms furnished by the traders played a major role. [26] Soon, however, traders included a variety of manufactured items in their cargoes, and island products like salt and sandalwood were sought for export.

It was not long before the two trading partners had worked out ways of obtaining the best deals. During the early part of the period, the *kapu* system was often used to the advantage of the Hawaiian traders in obtaining weapons for internecine warfare or in procuring other desirable goods. For example, Hawaiian pigs might be declared *kapu* to the foreigners unless they were paid for in arms. Sometimes other methods were used to equalize trading opportunities. There were continuing incidents of theft and hostilities between the crewmen of the trading ships and the Hawaiians. Occasionally shore parties were attacked and boats and anchors stolen, to be later ransomed for guns and ammunition, or the metal converted into hand weapons. [27] As time went on, the natives became sophisticated traders. Island sandalwood, discovered in the early 1790s, became a major Hawaiian export by 1812. The Chinese highly prized this fragrant wood, using it for boxes and incense.

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(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER III: FOREIGN POPULATION GROWS (continued)

B. Foreigners Become Residents

As a result of continued contact and trade by foreign ships, it was not long before some foreigners became permanent residents. By 1794 there were at least eleven non-native residents in the Islands, including Englishmen, Chinese, Americans, Irish, Genoese, and Portuguese. At Kawaihae in 1798 there were at least six foreigners, including John Young. [39] Some foreigners had been left in the islands because of illness or to establish trade relations, while others jumped ship. [40] While this latter group contributed little to either culture, they usually did not pose a serious threat to the Hawaiian rulers because they "worked under the chiefs." [41] Some of the new residents were fugitives from justice and escaped convicts who "eked out an existence by living on the natives." [42] Sometimes, however, the foreigners caused problems by refusing to submit to Hawaiian justice or by inciting unrest. Several times during his reign, Kamehameha issued deportation orders for all non-land holders, as did his successor Liholiho.

However, it had become fashionable for important chiefs to have foreigners in their employ, and many of the newcomers were able to quickly establish themselves as associates of Hawaiian leaders. [43] Many of the foreigners were allowed to stay on the islands because of their knowledge of firearms, navigation, and military warfare, while others were welcomed because of their background as skilled tradesmen. James Coleman, left behind on Kaua'i by Captain John Kendrick, was befriended by the chief of O'ahu and given considerable power and property.

Coleman went on to regulate shipping and served as the chief's business representative, smoothing relations between the Hawaiians and foreigners visiting O'ahu. [44]

Kamehameha employed emigrant carpenters, masons, joiners, bricklayers, and blacksmiths and gave them generous grants of land. For example, by 1794 an English seaman named Boyd had taken up residence on the islands and had become one of Kamehameha's artisans, employed in the construction and repair of the king's fleet of vessels. It is likely that Boyd helped train many of the Hawaiian shipwrights stationed at Honolulu.

Some foreigners like Captains Alexander Adams and William Sumner sailed ships for Kamehameha and Liholiho and were awarded significant land grants for their services. Williams Stevenson distilled brandy for the king, while John de Castro served as his personal surgeon and Welshman William Davis as his gardener. [45]

Some of the foreigners served in Kamehameha's military forces. William Broughton states that part of Kamehameha's confidence in the 1790s battles was due to the fact that he had fifteen Europeans with him. Other chiefs contended for the foreigner immigrants as well, perhaps hoping to counter Kamehameha's superior forces. [46]

Kamehameha had a number of trusted advisors among the foreign population. Several married into Hawaiian families, some, like John Young, Isaac Davis, and John Smith, marrying daughters of chiefs. They were endowed with lands upon which to settle and held important positions in Hawaiian government; they also, however, had to live under the *kapu* system. Padre Howel guided Menzies and his party to the summit of Mauna Loa and "had many long sessions with Kamehameha on the subject of Christianity." [47] Jean Rives served as an interpreter at Kawaihae and later at O'ahu. [48] An American named Oliver Holmes became the governor of Hawai'i following Isaac Davis's death and received large tracts of land on O'ahu and Moloka'i.

A few of the immigrants operated as independent businessmen. For example, a certain Mr. Harribottle (ca. 1807) was the "chief purveyor of water" on O'ahu. Former slave Anthony Allen supplied milk, kept a boarding house, and cultivated land. Don Francisco de Paula Marin was an Andalusian Spaniard who settled on the island of O'ahu in 1791. He was a lack of all trades who married a Hawaiian woman and became closely involved with several Hawaiian leaders. He established a large ranch where he introduced a wide variety of fruits and vegetables, bred horses, processed beef for traders, and ran a distillery. Marin acted as an interpreter to the king, served as a doctor for members of the nobility, built a storehouse for Kamehameha, ran a boarding house, served as a tailor, commanded a ship, and dealt with sandalwood exports. He also reportedly built a stone house for Liholiho at Kailua, Kona, about 1813. [49] During King Kamehameha's last days, Marin was called to his bedside in a futile attempt to save his life. After Kamehameha's death, Marin lost favor with the chiefs and had to struggle to make a living. [50]

One of the early foreign settlers was a New England sailing master named John Parker. He married a high-ranking Hawaiian woman and built a home on the west side of the island of Hawai'i. He adopted many Hawaiian ways and became well versed in Hawaiian history and legend. He bred horses and captured wild cattle to help build the Parker Ranch, which now occupies vast acreages of Hawai'i Island. (Parker's contributions to Hawai'i Island history will be discussed in more detail later.)

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CHAPTER III: FOREIGN POPULATION GROWS (continued)

C. The Impact of Foreign Influences on the Native Hawaiians

1. James Cook, George Vancouver, and Others

Although James Cook's visits to the islands were short and spatially limited, they "set in motion some very basic changes in Hawaiian culture." [51]

Captain George Vancouver, who had first come to the islands with Cook, returned as commander of *HMS Discovery* in March 1792. Recognizing Kamehameha's exceptional leadership abilities, and knowing that trade would be most profitable in a stable political climate, Vancouver sought to reconcile the warring island chiefs and refused to sell the natives guns and ammunition. [52] However, Vancouver had another agenda as well. He carefully planned his campaign to transform Kamehameha's chieftainship into a kingship and to acquire Hawai'i for Great Britain. [53] Vancouver's actions and his support of Kamehameha helped establish the basis for the united Hawaiian kingdom.

Vancouver's visit also had a long-lasting effect on the islands' economy and environment. He recognized the utility of introducing new species to provide food and subsistence items for both foreign traders and native peoples. He brought goats, sheep, and cattle from California for Kamehameha in gratitude for the king's kind treatment of foreigners. The cattle — saved from slaughter by a *kapu* — multiplied rapidly and were reported running wild by 1807. [54] Vancouver gave the Hawaiians a variety of garden seeds, among which were "stone fruits" from Monterey. [55] He also provided men and materials to build a ship for Kamehameha,

As mentioned in an earlier section, the impact of foreign customs, beliefs, and institutions upon the native Hawaiians was far reaching, resulting in abolition of the *kapu* system, changes in religious and social mores, reforms in the land tenure system, introduction of new tools and technology, and reshaping of the economic system. In addition, the introduction of new species initiated major ecological changes.

2. Diseases and Liquor

Because of their centuries-long isolation from other islands and continents, the Hawaiians had no immunity to diseases such as smallpox and measles that foreign visitors introduced. Despite Cook's efforts to protect the native population, venereal disease arrived in the Sandwich Islands through members of his expedition on their first visit. [56] Upon his return in late 1778, Cook was saddened to see the effects of the disease already visible among the natives. Over the next decade, the native women continued to entertain visiting sailors, although many of the captains tried, generally in

vain, to contain the contagion by keeping their sailors aboard ship.

Venereal disease would be responsible for sterility, considerable illness, and even death among the population, but other diseases created distress as well. Visitors observed depopulation as early as about 1807 due to a "kind of epidemic or yellow fever." [57] Kamehameha's plans to invade Kaua'i were aborted by an epidemic causing illness and death among his army. By 1819 the population of the islands had decreased drastically. [58] Only in the second decade of the twentieth century would the Hawaiian population rise again to the estimated 1778-79 level. [59]

Although the people of the Sandwich Islands made and drank a hypnotic brew known as *'awa* as part of their religious activities, the art of distilling hard liquors, especially rum, was supposedly introduced into the islands sometime before 1800 by Botany Bay convicts. [60] There were a number of sources for the liquor. Iselin, writing in 1807, reported Englishmen living on O'ahu who invited the sailors for beer and a kind of gin made from the tea root, "said to be drank freely in these Isles." [61] The Spaniard Don Francisco Marin, who was operating a distillery on the island of O'ahu by 1807, was furnishing at least some liquor. [62] When the Hawaiians of important rank came aboard ships, they drank freely. [63] Brandy and rum imported for resale were consumed in such large amounts by the natives that within a few years drunkenness had become a major problem, especially among the royalty. Liquor was probably responsible for much of the capricious behavior exhibited by Liholiho. [64]

3. New Economic System, Trade, and Technology

The pre-contact Hawaiian society was economically self-sufficient, with management of resources and redistribution of goods effected through the land tenure system and through religious rituals like the *Makahiki* festival, through the *kapu* system, and through payment of tribute. Enough surplus food was produced to support the chiefs, priests, and craftsmen. However, Cook's visit set in motion events that would eventually effect a major change in this economic system from a subsistence economy to a supplementary food market economy. [65]

Trade between Europeans and native Hawaiians was one of the most important catalysts of cultural change. Traditionally, large-scale trade had not been an important part of the subsistence economy of the Hawaiian Islands. At first, contact with Europeans was sporadic, and trade was conducted on a piecemeal basis, usually controlled by individual chiefs. As more traders came to the islands, the finely balanced system of supply and demand was disrupted, which eventually led to the demise of the traditional subsistence economy.

This change in the islands' economic base was exacerbated by the singular differences between the two cultures. For example, the Europeans were accustomed to a society where the means of production were privately owned and profits were expected. Hawaiians, on the other hand, were part of a society that shared work and its products for the welfare of the larger community. According to Marion Kelly, the

> Europeans expected to give the least and obtain the most, while Hawaiians had a heritage of sharing what they had without thought of gain or loss, but not, however, without responsibility. [66]

Changes in the Hawaiian society went deeper than simple economics. The Hawaiian's value system included *aloaha aina*, an "ideal that expressed the land's meaning" to the islanders and "insured the preservation, the conservation, and the balance of life-giving resources of land and sea." [67] As this cultural value was diminished, concomitant economic changes disrupted the delicate resource balance.

During the early Western contact period, Hawaiian farmers were able to increase the production of goods and commodities to meet the traders' demands and satisfy the needs of the *ali'i* without a major dislocation of island economics. Hawaiians quickly learned the value of their goods and showed a strong ability to barter. On Hawai'i, early traders found plentiful sugarcane, breadfruit, coconut, plantain, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, bananas, and hogs as well as introduced oranges, watermelon, muskmelon, pumpkin, cabbages, and garden vegetables. [68] Initially the Hawaiians wanted bits of iron and beads for these products, but by 1790 firearms, gunpowder, and liquor had become prized trade items. [69] One critic complained that the European traders "commenced implanting among the chiefs the taste for ardent spirits." [70] It was not long before Hawaiians began to demand clothing, cloth, pitch, flour, and other western products. As described by one trader, "the islanders . . . ceased to care for objects of mere ornament, and preferred in their traffic cloth, hardware and useful articles." [71]

By about 1790, the demands of traders and explorers had begun to adversely affect the traditional Hawaiian subsistence economy, which was also under stress from ongoing warfare, which drained labor and resources away from the native farms. For example, visiting traders remarked that most of the hogs on Hawai'i were destroyed when their owners left to join Kamehameha in his crusade against Ka'umu'ali'i. The once flourishing vegetable gardens on the west coast also perished through neglect. Trade for guns and weapons only accelerated the process.

Inter- and intra-island warfare posed an inconvenience to the traders. The chiefs often put trade under *kapu* while they were away in battle, and some even used force to obtain needed guns and ammunition. Like a number of chiefs, Kamehameha played the traders off against each other to gain a trading advantage. [72] Captain Vancouver was the first to recognize that a stable, peaceful, and politically unified Hawaiian government would benefit trade and strongly supported Kamehameha in his conquest. Kelly suggests that without the political unity fostered by Vancouver, "later changes in land tenure might never have occurred." [73]

After about 1796, peaceful conditions generally prevailed across the islands. As more trading ships called at island ports, local communities began to suffer deprivations. Sometimes food and water were plentiful, but at other times the natives had little to offer to trade. According to Kelly, pork was one of the most popular trade items. Reductions in the supply of hogs due to increased trade may have encouraged a renewed dependency on fish by the native population, which then might have resulted in a return to seashore areas from inland farms. [74]

Increasingly goods became unevenly held and distributed across the islands. Some of this was due to geography; some parts of the islands were far more arable than others, and the rainfall differential between the windward and lee sides of the islands produced a much different crop potential. Also, traders tended to visit ports like Kealakekua and Lahaina, and later Honolulu, where they could generally obtain supplies and fresh water at lower prices and also feel safe from attack. As commerce increased at those ports, native populations began a subtle shift to those areas. As trade increased, more and more labor was drawn away from subsistence production to provide food, fuel, and water for the traders in return for Western clothing, metal, and even luxury items. [75]

The chiefs precipitated and encouraged some of the cultural changes associated with trading. Before Kamehameha's ascent to power, individual *ali'i* effectively controlled large amounts of wealth through their regulation of the trading canoes. The chiefs increasingly sought luxury goods in exchange for food and fuel. These goods did not, however, filter back to the commoners through traditional means; in fact, some Hawaiian chiefs confiscated trade goods that commoners received. [76] It is likely that the health and general welfare of the people decreased during this time because there were fewer subsistence items left for their use and because so much of their energy was spent in supplying goods for the traders.

As many of the chiefs sought to establish a relationship with the Europeans in hopes of acquiring gifts and weapons, they often served as middlemen or brokers in trading situations. This was a natural extension of their relationship with the commoners, and "it was this convenient adaptation that facilitated the chiefs' rapid acceptance of western trade practices." [77] In turn, the ready acceptance of these foreign customs by the chiefs served as an example to the commoners. Unfortunately, the acceptance of foreign customs and products also marked the increased exploitive role of chiefs toward the people, which peaked during the sandalwood trade. [78]

Other changes in the economic system were encouraged by the new plants and animals introduced by the early traders and explorers. These items quickly took hold in the islands and displaced more traditional foodstuffs on the small farms. These new items were generally used in trade rather than for local consumption. Cook introduced European plants to the islands — including pumpkins, melons, and onions — and also brought English pigs, goats, and sheep. [79] Captain William Broughton had his men plant grapevines and vegetable fields during the ship's visit. He complained that "pumpkins and melons were in no great plenty," but the excellent island cabbages weighed nearly two pounds. [80] By 1791 seamen were able to trade for pumpkins and watermelons.

The cattle that Captain Vancouver and other traders left swiftly multiplied because of a ten-year *kapu* the king placed on their use. [81] According to Kotzebue, by 1821 the wild herds were so large that Spaniards from California came frequently to the islands to capture them. [82] Vancouver also introduced goats to the islands; by 1796 these had multiplied prodigiously. In 1796 Captain William Broughton gave the islanders another pair of goats, along with geese,

ducks, and pigeons. Horses were introduced onto the island of Hawai'i in 1803 by Captain Cleveland as a gift to King Kamehameha. [83] At least two breeds of swine were being raised for the traders, native pigs having been interbred with those the sailors brought. The introduced livestock did not appear to have been used by many Hawaiians for food. Instead the animals destroyed crops, helping disrupt the islands' ecology and accelerating the removal of ground cover leading to erosion. [84] When sold to traders, the pigs and cattle were usually butchered and salted down before the ships left the islands, creating yet another new industry for the islanders.

During the early 1800s, so many traders called at the islands demanding pork and other goods that supplies of hogs and produce were often exhausted. European traders were no longer able to procure large amounts of goods in exchange for a handful of nails or other metal. Although at one time a hog could be acquired for a few pieces of rusty iron, by 1807 the standard price was a greatcoat and a cask of powder. Sailcloth, tar, and pitch (for Kamehameha's navy) were also much in demand.

By 1810 a number of Hawaiian traders were demanding luxury goods and cash. Iselin describes the high prices for hogs — $4.00 each in specie, plus several yards of expensive scarlet broadcloth (worth perhaps $3.00 per yard) plus up to twenty yards of linen sheeting. [85] Americans were described as the best customers, and by the time the missionaries arrived, four American mercantile companies had established themselves in the islands.

Once in power, Kamehameha made a number of changes that resulted in formalization of relationships with foreigners. He made trade a royal monopoly and took pleasure in driving a shrewd bargain. Trade was regulated, and a certain protocol was necessary when foreigners entered port. Incoming ships had to call upon the king or upon the island governor (or one of his representatives); Kamehameha provided harbormasters to guide the ships and appointed special "confidential men" who served as intermediaries between the traders and the island governors. [86] He also attempted to control production and distribution through use of the *kapu* system.

The economic system was also changed by the new and different labor needs. Traditional activities, often related to subsistence or religion, were increasingly replaced by other tasks. The islanders readily learned important new crafts and skills like shipbuilding and blacksmithing and quickly adapted new technologies to traditional needs. [87] Natives now served as laundrymen, messengers, guides, servants, and boatwrights. [88] One of the major industries that developed on the islands was ship repair; ships calling at the Sandwich Islands were often repaired by native craftsmen under the direction of the ship's carpenters. [89] Kamehameha encouraged this industry and built boat sheds on the shores of O'ahu. This activity was fairly labor intensive, for repair of a mainmast might involve 300 people who dragged the timber with ropes six to eight miles down the mountainside. [90] Again, these duties pulled a substantial number of workers away from their traditional farming practices.

As early as the 1790s, the New England traders picked up men on Hawai'i to serve aboard the sailing ships or purchased youngsters as servants. [91] Soon Hawaiian sailors were visiting American coastal towns; by 1807 Hawaiian sailors could be found in the ports of New York. [92]

They brought ideas from abroad home with them, thus contributing to the cultural changes.

4. *Kapu* System Weakened

Well before the formal end of the *kapu* system, there were signs of weakening in the authority of the priests, especially over women. While the rules forbade women to watch a man eat pork — or to consume it themselves — on board ship they would "partake, in stealth, of what was handed to them, and would peep from behind the screen of a stateroom, to see the men eat." [93]

5. Population Shift and Growth of Towns

When Vancouver's ships stopped along Hawai'i's west coast in 1793-94, more than 3,000 people came to greet them at Kealakekua Bay, suggesting a fairly large population in that area. However, between Vancouver's visit and 1819, a gradual shift of population away from Hawaii's west coast to other areas began. Several factors may have accounted for this: as the importance of O'ahu and the port of Honolulu grew, more ships began to call there and more people went there to interact with the foreigners; also Kamehameha and his retinue began to spend more of their time on the

other islands, and *ali'i* and commoners alike tended to cluster around his court. Disease may have played a role in population decrease in certain areas, and ongoing warfare, causing abandonment of farms, certainly was a strong factor.

6. New Class of Foreigners — Part-Hawaiians

By the year 1800, there were a number of children of mixed heritage resulting from two decades of contact between native women and foreign traders. The majority of these children were raised in the traditional Hawaiian manner. In addition the islands supported a small but growing number of foreign residents who had married Hawaiian women. Some, like John Young, married into Hawaiian royalty and lived their lives according to the rules of Hawaiian society but sent their children abroad for schooling. Some Hawaiians took in the children of foreigners; Kamehameha's prime minister in 1807, a chief named Teremotoa, cared for the children of a Captain Hart, who had died on O'ahu, along with those of several other white men. [94] Some part-Hawaiians were regarded as native residents, such as George Holmes, son of Oliver Holmes and a Hawaiian woman. [95] Many of these children went on to become their country's leaders in later years.

7. Facilitation of Kamehameha's Rise to Power

During the 1790s, warring Hawaiian chiefs often demanded powder or guns in return for their produce. For example, when Vancouver s ships first stopped at Kawaihae to trade, they were able to purchase vegetables with nails and beads but "the hogs they [the Hawaiians] would not at first part with but for muskets." [96] Some traders (especially Vancouver) tried to ameliorate antagonisms among the various chiefs, but others encouraged the distribution of guns and powder as a form of bribery to obtain preferential trading privileges. [97]

At the time of Western contact, the Hawaiian Islands were already on the road towards state formation. Unquestionably, Western technology, and especially guns, played a major role in speeding up the process by facilitating Kamehameha's rise to power. Recognizing the value of ships, arms, and ammunition in warfare, Kamehameha set out to acquire Western technology and skilled technicians. His first venture was to take possession of the schooner *Fair American* and its big guns in 1790. He also acquired a number of small arms and ammunition. [98] In 1796 one explorer noted that European vessels had furnished Kamehameha with such a large supply of muskets and ammunition, and numerous three- and four-pounders (cannons), for his boats, that he "presumes his force is equal to any." [99] John Young and Isaac Davis, both experienced seamen, provided technical assistance and military advice.

Kamehameha convinced Captain Vancouver to assist in the construction of his first ship; by 1807, Kamehameha had built or acquired a navy of his own, consisting of a large ship (the former *Lelia Byrd,* an American vessel), several large three-masted schooners, and about twenty-five small vessels of twenty to fifty tons. [100] He employed Euro-Americans both to construct his ships and to serve in the military.

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PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian History
by Diane Lee Rhodes
(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER V: CHANGES AFTER THE DEATH OF KAMEHAMEHA (continued)

B. Overthrow of the *Kapu* System

1. Traditional Religious System Kept Intact During Kamehameha's Reign

A major event in Hawaiian history occurred in 1819, shortly after the death of King Kamehameha, with the overthrow of the ancient *kapu* system. Indeed, E. G. Craighill Handy has gone so far as to refer to this as the "Hawaiian Cultural Revolution." [4] During his reign, Kamehameha steadfastly adhered to the traditional social and religious customs of Hawaiian society that maintained the superiority and power of the chiefs and priests. Kamehameha, as other chiefs before him, regarded the *kapu* system as the central force stabilizing the political and social systems of the culture.

It has been suggested, however, that at times the king questioned the advisability of strict observance of the *kapu* and pondered thoughtfully the continuing performance of traditional religious practices. His continuing dialogue with a variety of European visitors and advisors and his awareness of subtle changes in the political and social environment of the islands undoubtedly prompted much soul-searching on this subject. But his upbringing in traditional ways strongly influenced his behavior, and he probably perceived more benefits than impediments to the smooth running of his government from continued adherence to the *kapu* system. It may also be that he was not wholly convinced that the only alternative suggested to him, Christianity, would provide his people with a better way of life. And so, as Hawaiian consul-general Manley Hopkins later stated

> . . . to the end of his life, the King [Kamehameha] continued devotions to his idols. He was probably a very sceptical *[sic]* worshipper; but he looked upon the national religion as a great state instrument, which it was better on his part to support by his patron age. [5]

While Kamehameha ruled, no resistance to the *kapu* system was allowed. Any persons brave enough to dare infractions of the rules, who were discovered, were summarily executed up until the time of his death. [6] But as he lay dying, it is said, he suggested that his successor should give the question of continuing allegiance to the *kapu* system some thought, and that perhaps the system should be maintained only if he survived. [7]

Even prior to the king's death, however, some Hawaiians, whose transgressions had not been discovered by the chiefs or priests, had defied the *kapu* without experiencing dire punishment from the gods. This must have provided food for thought. In addition, during Kamehameha's reign, skepticism of the religious system had grown on the part of the commoners. This resulted from several factors: the growing oppressiveness of the restrictions and of the tax burdens and military services required of the people; increasing interaction with foreigners, whose ridicule and disregard of the

restrictions did not appear to bring them either misfortune or death; and some awareness of the abolition of a similar system in the Society Islands without ill effects. [8]

2. Kamehameha's Death Provides Opportunity for Religious Reform

It is not surprising then that Kamehameha's death in 1819 might precipitate a dramatic change in the social, political, and religious systems of the country. For although Kamehameha had continued the traditional ways of his ancestors, he had also opened the door to European influences. In fact, some Hawaiians, notably members of the *ali'i,* had already acquired many of the outward manners and accoutrements of European civilization during the final years of Kamehameha's reign.

Kamehameha II's unfortunate "fondness for drinking, carousing, general debauchery, and . . . unsatiable taste for Western trade goods taxed much of his ability to rule the kingdom." [9] Ka'ahumanu, meanwhile, as mentioned, had stated that because of uncertainties as to Liholiho's abilities, her husband had placed her next in authority to oversee the government and act as guardian of the realm. In view of Liholiho's rather weak personality and the fact that he was content to be a follower rather than a leader, the strong-willed Ka'ahumanu would have little trouble in making changes she desired in the kingdom. One of these involved ending the *kapu* system. Aiding her in this endeavor were Keopuolani, the new king's mother and the highest-ranking chiefess of the ruling family; Kalanimoku, functioning as prime minister; and Hewahewa, the last high priest of the Pa'ao lineage.

On the morning after his father's death, Liholiho left Kailua, which had been defiled by death, for Kawaihae in Kohala, as was the custom. During his absence, as was also the custom, the population committed all kinds of excesses, breaking the *kapu* with impunity. Although the usual mourning ceremonies on the death of a king took place, no sacrifices occurred to provide the old king with companions in the next world. During this mourning period, the dead chief's bones were secreted in a cave, the traditional action that ritually disassociated the mandate to rule from the dead king so that his heir could re-establish it on his return to the area. After the requisite ten days of seclusion had passed, Liholiho returned to assume power, at which time he was also supposed to re-establish the *kapu* system, something he did not do. Instead he left again for Kawaihae in the Kohala district, where he took up residence until October, probably hoping to avoid having to make some important decisions concerning land redistribution, requests by the *ali'i* to share in the sandalwood trade, and whether or not to break the *kapu,* an action he knew Ka'ahumanu and others favored.

During the new king's absence, Ka'ahumanu had begun instigating for reform. Her motives and those of the small group of influential individuals who allied with her have been speculated upon for years. Ka'ahumanu was stubborn, ambitious, and no doubt tired of the restraints upon her sex. In addition, if serious political questions were considered within *heiau,* where spiritual power might influence decision making, she would have been unable to co-rule effectively because she could not enter those structures. Kalanimoku, who was not a high-ranking chief, would not be adversely affected by depriving others of their *kapu* prerogatives. (He and his brother Boki had been secretly baptized by a Roman Catholic chaplain on board the French ship *L'Uranie* captained by Louis de Freycinet while Liholiho was in residence at Kawaihae. It is not clear, however, whether either man completely understood the meaning of the ceremony.) Keopuolani, though of very high rank, was easily influenced by Ka'ahumanu. The high priest Hewahewa, who appears to have had nothing to gain by the overthrow of idolatry, is thought to have participated in the rebellion simply due to a deep personal conviction of the inconsistencies of the religious system of which he was head. In addition, there possibly existed some conflict and friction over status within the government between Kekuaokalani, keeper of Ku, and Hewahewa. It was Hewahewa's strong support that ensured the success of this endeavor.

3. Liholiho Abolishes the *Kapu* System

Ultimately Ka'ahumanu advised Liholiho to return to Kailua, having already alerted him to the fact that she was ready to abolish the *kapu* system upon his return. Having been raised during the peaceful time of his father's rule over a united kingdom, the young heir had little training in either civil or military matters. In addition, being of a gentle, affectionate, and light-hearted disposition, he was averse to conflict over the matter despite his lingering feelings of loyalty to the old system under which he had been raised. He therefore reacted with mixed feelings to Ka'ahumanu's declaration. Realizing that he would soon be forced to make a decision, and uncertain as to the correct course he

should take, Liholiho's return to Kailua was slow and filled with feasting, drinking, and dancing to delay events as long as possible.

The restriction against "free eating," the ability of men and women to eat the same foods at the same table, was one of the most significant aspects of the *kapu* system. As stated earlier in this report, certain items denied to women were either considered aspects of the male gods or were used as sacrificial offerings to them and therefore were *kapu.* Because it was considered highly symbolic of all the constraints on women, the eating *kapu* became the focal point of Ka'ahumanu's efforts to overthrow the system. Therefore, upon Liholiho's arrival in Kailua, approximately six months after the death of his father, a feast was prepared in welcome. It was attended by several foreigners as well as such trusted counselors as John Young. In accordance with native custom, separate tables were set up for the sexes. Young and several chiefs described the ensuing scene as the young king, who had been drinking fairly steadily in an attempt to settle his nerves, ordered his attendants to carry prohibited food to the women's table, at which he deliberately sat down to eat — the public, symbolic act of ending the *kapu* system. Seeing that the influential dignitaries of the kingdom present appeared to approve this act, several chiefs followed the king's example. [10] According to David Kalakaua, following this act of common eating,

> an indescribable scene ensued. "The *tabu* is broken! the *tabu* is broken!" passed from lip to lip, swelling louder and louder as it went, until it reached beyond the pavilion. There it was taken up in shouts by the multitude, and was soon wafted on the winds to the remotest corners of Kona. Feasts were at once provided, and men and women ate together indiscriminately. . . . At the conclusion of the royal feast a still greater surprise bewildered the people. "We have made a bold beginning," said Hewahewa to the king. . . "but the gods and *heiaus* cannot survive the death of the *tabu."* "Then let them perish with it!" exclaimed Liholiho, now nerved to desperation at what he had done. "If the gods can punish, we have done too much already to hope for grace. They can but kill, and we will test their powers by inviting the full measure of their wrath." [11]

No matter what the actual words, it was clear that Liholiho was prepared to go all the way. With the agreement of the high priest, Liholiho sent out orders to destroy the images and temples throughout the kingdom and to generally ignore all former *kapu.* Legend has it that, immediately resigning from his office of high priest, Hewahewa then set fire to the nearest *heiau.* Francisco de Paula Marin seems not to have fully appreciated the significance of this momentous time, noting in his journal on November 7, 1819, only that: "This day all the women ate pork and they burnt all the churches on the island." [12] Lifting the *kapu* restrictions that protected the sanctity of the chiefs and priests somewhat eroded their separateness from the common people, while destruction of the temples and images removed many of the trappings of their status. Both actions, resulting in cessation of public rituals, worship, and sacrifices, accomplished dissolution of the priesthood as an organized body. [13]

It would take one final action, however, to stabilize the new state of affairs. This involved Liholiho meeting on the field of battle his cousin Kekuaokalani, to whom Kamehameha had bequeathed, in addition to his war god Ku-ka'ili-moku, co-responsibility for the care of the gods, their temples, and the support of their worship. [14] Kekuaokalani, who was next in line for the position of high chief after Hewahewa, and who took his charges from the late king seriously, assumed the responsibility of leading those who opposed the abolition of the *kapu* system. These included priests, some courtiers, and the traditional territorial chiefs of the middle rank. [15]

Kekuaokalani demanded that Liholiho withdraw his edicts against the priesthood, which traditionalists believed should still be preserved; permit rebuilding of the temples; and dismiss both Kalanimoku and Ka'ahumanu. [16] Kamehameha II refused. At a battle fought at Kuamo'o on the island of Hawai'i, the king's better-armed forces, led by Kalanimoku, not only defeated the last defenders of the Hawaiian gods, of their temples and priesthoods, and of the ancient organized religion, but also effectively weakened belief in the power of the gods and the inevitability of divine punishment for those who opposed them.

4. Some Vestiges of Old Practices Remain

The Reverend Sheldon Dibble reported, with true missionary vigor and some exaggeration, that

> The war having thus resulted in the entire overthrow of the idolatrous party, both chiefs and people united

> with one voice and in the strongest terms to reproach the folly and impotency of their former idol gods. . . . Their rage toward idols by which they had been so long enthralled and who had now failed them in the day of battle was unbounded. They began the work of destruction. Some of their idols they cast into the sea, some they burnt, and some they treated with contempt and used for fuel. They rushed to the temples and tore them to the ground. [17]

According to Gilbert Mathison, visiting the islands about 1822, "so complete was the work of destruction, that, in the course of a few months, neither sacrifices nor religious observances of any sort were kept, or even thought of, by the inhabitants." [18] The Reverend Daniel Tyerman, who departed from the London Missionary Society to visit various stations in the South Sea islands, China, India, and other places between 1821 and 1829, noted in 1822 that

> Mr. Young informs us that though idolatry is abolished, yet the multitude of gods of wood and stone, formerly worshipped, have been rather hidden than extirpated, many of its inveterate abettors still hoping for a counter-revolution in their favor; a notion fostered by the priests, who have lost their occupation, but naturally exercise their subtle influence to recover it. Not a single image has been brought to us for sale, and the only one that we have obtained was a gift from the governor. [19]

About this same time, however, Frederic Shoberl recounted that

> the king and queen of Atooi [Kaua'i] . . . made a tour round the island of Owhyhee [Hawai'i], during which above a hundred idols were discovered at one place in caves situated among the mountains: these were all burned together; and many more were destroyed in other parts of the island during this tour. When idolatry was formally abolished in 1819, these images were concealed by those who were adverse to the change. [20]

By 1826 the *Missionary Herald* reported that

> There are still, in many places on the islands, multitudes who continue in rather a secret manner to worship their old false gods, but the number is every month growing less. [21]

Frederick Debell Bennett spent time in Hawai'i in 1834 and 1835, where he noted that since the arrival of the missionaries,

> religious and general education has advanced so rapidly over all the islands, that idolatrous ceremonies are totally obliterated, and the rising generation now regard a ruined morai, or a wooden deity, with the same traditionary interest that the British attach to their druidical remains. [22]

In actuality, although destruction of temple structures and their adorning large-scale images were an obvious action that could be readily observed and monitored, the rapidity with which smaller images were destroyed is much less clear. The missionaries, who were closely watching these events, realized that

> Where the idols were so very numerous, and there were so many household gods, it is not to be supposed that all would be destroyed at once. Though the burning was general, some idols would be clandestinely preserved. [23]

One early writer looked back on this destructive activity with some regret. Constance Cumming lamented:

> With all possible reverence for the great work so nobly accomplished by the early missionaries, it is certainly a matter much to be regretted that, in the wholesale sweeping away of idolatry, so many subjects deeply interesting to the ethnologist and the antiquarian should have been hopelessly swamped, and everything in any way bearing on the old system treated as being either so puerile as to be beneath contempt, or so evil as to be best forgotten with all speed. [24]

Numerous household gods were not abandoned. Because they were viewed as family guardians, they continued to be venerated during the disintegration of other government-related trappings of the old religion. [25] And certainly it was

almost too much to expect that mere renunciation of these age-old traditions by the king and destruction of those physical structures connected with the ancient religious practices would immediately erase the training and mindset inculcated in the Hawaiians from childhood.

Stephenie Levin points out that although the formal state religion had been destroyed, certain non-institutionalized beliefs that were mystical in nature and that dealt with immediate needs in daily life continued to flourish. Most Hawaiians, in fact, maintained the belief that supernatural assistance could be obtained from gods lower in the pantheon, such as Pele, and from ancestral spirits. [26]

William Davenport agrees, making it clear that Hawai'i was not totally lacking in religion until the arrival of the New England missionaries because beliefs in sorcery, the power of ancestral deities, and other aspects of the old religion, such as curing rituals, persisted. These had probably been the more important practices of their religion for most Hawaiians anyway, Davenport surmises, because worship of the primary gods had been mainly the privilege of the *ali'i* and the head of government. [27]

5. Discussion on the Overthrow of the *Kapu* System

The reasons for the overthrow of the *kapu* system by the Hawaiian people and the events leading to it have been a subject of speculation by scholars for many years and deserve some mention here. The whole question of voluntary culture change is certainly an intriguing one and has been explained through the years as a result of religious and social factors as well as political and economic motivations. The abolition of the *kapu* system in Hawai'i was an extraordinary action for two primary reasons. First, it was an abandonment of traditional religious practices with no specific thought of replacing them with another system. It was not a religious reformation instigated by foreign traders or missionaries as was the case with other isolated Polynesian societies being contacted by the Western world. [28] And second, the movement was undertaken by those who appeared to have the most to lose; high-ranking officials sought to abolish an ideological system that legitimized their authority, even though there did not exist a strong demand among the people to do so.

Why did this religious revolution succeed? Why was resistance to the change so ineffectual? Primarily because the ruling monarch, influential officials, and the high priest — those who had the most authority in the kingdom — led the revolution. Also the timing of the change was an asset. It occurred at the end of an era and in the midst of general unrest caused by the death of a much-beloved king. In addition, at this particular phase in the development of the nation, Hawaiian society was receptive to new ideas and changes.

The Reverend William Ellis ventures that Liholiho's reasons for supporting the abolition of the *kapu* system included first, possibly some desire to better the condition of women in Hawaiian society, and second, a wish to lessen the power of the priests and the amount of resources channeled for their support. [29] Certainly this was accomplished to some degree, because abolishing the organized religion effectively emasculated the hereditary priesthoods by reducing the need for their social and ritualistic functions to reinforce the existing political authority, thus effectively removing them as any kind of threat to the ruler. An unfortunate by-product of their loss of position, however, was decreased use of the skills, intellectual attainments, and special knowledge and abilities possessed by that class. [30]

Was the abolition primarily a result of dissatisfaction with the system on the part of the two most powerful women in the kingdom — Ka'ahumanu and Keopuolani — who received the opportunity to exercise their influence at a time when faith in the old socio-economic system was weak? Or as Anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber has suggested, did the principle of "Cultural Fatigue" lead to this revolution, meaning that the over-elaboration of this traditional pattern of religious and political behavior finally resulted in a burdensome system with which the people became disillusioned and which they finally abandoned? [31] This explanation downplays the influences exerted by changing social and physical environmental factors resulting from the new European influences impacting Hawaiian society, which others believe must have shaped its thinking to some degree.

Robert Redfield, for instance, stresses the importance of this culture contact and has suggested that the overthrow of the *kapu* system exemplified planned, conscious reform on the part of the Hawaiians as a result of the "unsettling impact" of Western customs and moral attitudes. He argues that the social strain and ideological incongruities presented by exposure to European civilization increased the probabilities of such a change in a culture that had shown

in the past a proclivity to abandon gods who did not achieve for them what they wanted. [32] This explanation, however, fails to address the social and political developments that had taken place in Hawaiian society during the previous years that enabled the change to take place so easily. [33]

Several anthropologists have used sound arguments for both political and economic motivations. Malcolm Webb, for instance, questions whether personal desires, such as the preference of two women for more personal freedom, would be powerful enough to cause such a great change unless other factors were also at work undermining the traditional process. He also questioned how on this level one could explain the ready acquiescence of the king and the high priest, who stood to lose considerable status, or whether this would even adequately explain the motives of the royal women involved, who, because of their high rank, actually suffered less from the *kapu* system than the common women. [34] Webb believes it doubtful such a drastic change would have occurred without foreign contact showing the availability of alternative systems. However, although the Hawaiians were probably struck by the fact that foreigners could violate *kapu* without harm, Webb believes the Hawaiians were not overly disturbed by this because they realized these people were not part of the same genealogical-ceremonial system. [35]

Webb states that during the years preceding the overthrow of the old religion, rivalry among closely related members of ruling kin groups and the channeling of much of the country's resources to ritual rather than to the increase of foreign trade or as bonus payments for armies were the leading causes of the failure of the early Hawaiian chiefs to consolidate state power. By the time of the overthrow, however, an intense desire had grown on the part of the local chiefs for foreign goods, to such an extent that they were heavily in debt and needed to divert resources from other uses. [36]

Webb's argument is that the abolition of the *kapu* system was linked to the ongoing, although probably unrealized, transformation of the Hawaiian culture from a tribal to a state entity. [37] European trade goods, especially firearms, and the surplus wealth gained from their position in the center of the goods distribution network, had by this time enabled senior tribal chiefs to gain some measure of power. That power, independent of tribal tribute, enabled them to safeguard their new status by hiring and paying additional retainers. As the power of local chiefs increased in this manner, they had less need of a leadership system based on prestige, seniority, or rank-status within a kinship group. Their increased wealth and power gained from trade and military force lessened their need as well for the ritual requirements of the traditional system but increased their need for the freedom of action enabling fluidity within a changing social system. Elimination of the sacred nature of the socio-political system would also remove restrictions on the ruler in terms of the time devoted to ritual practices, his ability to move freely around his kingdom, and his ability to wage war without tedious ceremonials. [38] Webb states that for all these reasons, "the downgrading of the traditional religious institutions should in fact be a very common or even typical occurrence during state formation and consolidation." [39] The weakening of traditional religious constraints is especially likely to occur, Webb argues, whenever chieftainships, characterized by the extension of power through kinship and ritual ties, start to develop into states. [40]

Webb believes, however, that Hawai'i was unique in that foreign missionaries did not influence the overthrow of the old religion. He points out the continuing worship of some gods and the veneration of royal tombs, such as Hale-o-Keawe, and suggests that if the missionaries had not arrived on the scene, some variation of traditional religious practices would have been instituted, controlled by the monarch, that did not interfere with the increasing power and efficiency of the government. [41] In terms of timing of the abolition of the old religion, it occurred at a point when the older ideological system had become seriously inhibiting and when power adequate to replace it had arisen.

Webb characterizes Hawai'i in 1819 as illustrating the changeover from ritual to secular controls that usually accompanies the growth of state societies. The event comprised, he thinks, a "functionally necessary adjustment," similar to those that any culture would have to make at a certain stage of development in response to a specific problem in order to survive. [42]

This does not detract from the importance of individual actions in the event, because the persons initiating changes would be suffering "status conflict or deprivation" within the current system. But, they could only be successful in their rebellion if the cultural situation also demanded the change. And possibly the people most likely to initiate such a change would be those of high rank, rather than oppressed commoners, who were less bound by traditional codes of

behavior and freer to innovate and move toward needed cultural changes. [43] Webb ends his discussion with the intriguing statement that it was not necessary that individuals such as Ka'ahumanu and her followers completely understand the full ramifications or the ultimate advantages of their actions before initiating innovative measures serving the survival needs of their society. Such acts, he states, "would be performed because when they were done things — for some reason — simply *worked* better." [44] In other words, personal motivations may not be that important a consideration in the overthrow of the *kapu* system, for

> the novelty-prone Hawaiian rulers certainly did not realise that they were part of "the process of inevitable political consolidation within a newly formed secondary state," but they must have had enough perspicacity to see that the old religious system, in supporting a social structure which worked against the new social reality, was somehow "wrong" and had to be changed to one which was more congruent with the new order. The motives of the innovators themselves may, of course, have been either cynical *or* pious . . . and the end product would surely have been the same. [45]

William Davenport also cites economic and political reasons for the repudiation of the *kapu* system, and at the same time explains why members of the *ali'i* would naturally be the principal instigators of reform. It was the aristocratic class, he reasons, that had had the most contact with Europeans after Cook's discovery and thus had been subject to the strongest acculturative influences. In time they began to demand more and more imported goods, which led to the need for increasing commercial trade. As a consequence, they had to divert large amounts of labor from traditional subsistence activities to the procurement of sandalwood, the major trade item, straining the Hawaiian economy and a labor force that was already decreasing due to disease.

Therefore, in addition to simply wanting the increased power that would result from abolition of the old socio-political system, Davenport thinks the *ali'i* believed that the economic crisis necessitated freeing the culture from the burden of supporting the various priesthoods. Levin places little weight on this argument because, she states, it is difficult to determine how oppressive a burden the support of the priesthood was and whether the advantages gained would really have been worth repudiating an entire religious system. [46]

Davenport's argument, in other words, also looks at the overthrow from a political perspective — "as a deliberate political action of the legitimate government of the Hawaiian Islands." [47] It was, as Webb surmises, a political act resulting from a political decision in response to stress. [48] Ka'ahumanu, Webb believes, instigated the *kapu* violations as an "intuitive political response to preserve the regime that . . . she had helped to expand and consolidate" under Kamehameha I. [49] She could clearly see that the traditional dual succession system handicapped the government by providing optional leaders who could easily rally opposing factions. By pressuring for a break in this tradition, she raised an issue sure to create factions in the population, but at a time when the opposition was not yet fully organized. The faster an encounter could be forced, she knew, the less opposition could be raised. Therefore she pushed the issue as quickly as she could after Kamehameha's death. [50]

This argument states that the major goal of Ka'ahumanu at that time was to maintain the strength of the monarchy. Davenport points out that the priesthood had functioned as one of the most important checks against despotism; if a ruler alienated his priests, they could weaken his rule or cause his overthrow by interpreting divinations and auguries as adverse to his regime. If not supported by the priesthoods in ancient Hawai'i, a ruler often found himself in serious political trouble. To remove their status, therefore, would strengthen the power of the ruler, a huge gain worth the price of lowering the value of divine rank.

In addition, even the commoners had surely begun to realize, Davenport believes, that guns possessed as much ability to make things happen as did the gods. That fact was probably abundantly clear to Hewahewa, who had served as Kamehameha I's advisor in religious matters during his rise to power. Hewahewa might have sensed that the power of the priesthood would wane as the relationship of Hawai'i's monarchs with Europeans increased. At the same time Kalanimoku, as senior minister, war leader, and an intimate of the late king, could see that trade was vital to the maintenance of governmental power because it was the only way to gain guns and ships. Destruction of the organized priesthoods, which claimed a large segment of the labor and produce of the land, could only strengthen his regime both politically and economically. The interesting aspect of the event, Davenport points out, is that those who sought to change the system did it through the head of state, not in the form of a *coup d'etat.* The strategy, a successful one, was

to reform from within in what amounted to a constitutional reform of traditional government. [51]

Davenport also discusses the economic side of the overthrow. He believes the political crisis resulting in the change was a result of the government's stress from trying to pay for its unrestrained purchases of foreign goods. The commoners were kept so busy providing sandalwood for trade that they did not have enough time to cultivate food for their own needs. That affected not only their well-being, but also lessened the amount of tribute and taxes they were able to contribute to support the court and the priesthoods as well as the many religious rituals and military campaigns. This steadily deteriorating situation was forcing the central government to a decision — to either renounce its commercial goals or reorganize the allocation of its resources. At the same time, the *ali'i'* s strict religious doctrine had been shaken by contact with Europeans. Therefore, there existed little opposition to an action that, in eliminating the priesthoods, would free the country's resources for other uses and also increase the political authority of the paramount chief and his followers. Despite the loss of some benefits heretofore prescribed by religious sanctions, the king could retain his power through armed force. As Webb suggests, Davenport believes the timing of the overthrow was all important. It took place during a period of instability, when the *kapu* was already being violated as part of the traditional mourning ritual for a beloved leader. Instead of reinstating the *kapu,* an action that would have reaffirmed its perceived value to the country, Liholiho joined the violators and thus ensured the system's destruction. [52]

All things considered, Davenport agrees with Webb's evolutionary interpretation of events. He strongly believes the abolition of the *kapu* was a deliberate political response to political crisis caused by the growing power of the monarch and local chieftains and by an increase in commercial trade, and was further stimulated by growing religious doubts and the problems caused by a declining population. Those internal problems were intensified by continuing social and economic contact with Europeans. The government response to lower this stress level involved governmental reform that would enable reorganization of the admininstrative infrastructure to allow more efficient allocation of the country's economic resources. [53]

John L. Fischer also believes the overthrow was successful because it was a smart political move and because it coincided with the popular sentiment at that time. He states his belief that prior to Kamehameha's unification of the islands, "sociocultural forces" were increasing the elaborateness of the state religion; after unification, there were forces at work to simplify it. [54] However, he states, it usually was more typical for dissatisfied members of the general population to demand change than for the central government to initiate reform without pressure from the people, missionaries, or foreign governments. In most developing societies, he states, chiefs and high-ranking persons usually attempted to maintain the aboriginal religion and its authority- preserving sanctions. Hawai'i was different because of the political conditions and the political functions served by *kapu* and the native religion. Fischer thought the old religion's major purpose prior to Kamehameha's reign was to militarily and economically support local chieftainships, a function made unnecessary by unification of the islands. Whereas in earlier times, this had created a close relationship — the local chiefs defending the people against enemies and organizing the production and distribution of resources, Fischer believes the abolition of the *kapu* system was a manifestation of a new alliance — uniting the central government and the commoners against the local aristocracy. [55]

An essential part of Fischer's argument is that class conflict had always existed between the local chiefs and commoners in aboriginal Hawai'i. [56] One reason was the hardship of supplying labor and food to the chiefs, time-consuming tasks that put additional stress on the commoners and that depleted their own food supply. Contact with the West increased this stress by leading to the need for additional production by the people for trade purposes; in addition, unification of the islands had already resulted in an additional level of administrative hierarchy for the commoners to support. Added to this was conflict between the central government and its retinue and lower-ranking chiefs. [57] Because of this, Fischer thinks it would only have been sound political strategy, to guarantee their continued authority, for the central government to attempt to ally itself more closely with the commoners; certainly one way to dramatically accomplish this would be by abolishing the *kapu.* [58]

From another viewpoint, Stephenie Levin points out that the immediate period after Kamehameha l's death was one of unrest regarding land tenure rights, which traditionally on the death of a paramount ruler reverted to his successor, who redistributed them. Ka'ahumanu was a member of the *ali'i* group to whom Kamehameha had deeded land outright. She must have realized that the *kapu* system was adverse to the interests of her kin group in retaining these lands. As a member of the central government, she would also be averse to the *kapu* system because it threatened the continuance

of her administration by implying that the right to rule could only be confirmed through religious ritual. [59] Ka'ahumanu would have been astute enough to realize that secularizing the government and making succession hereditary would not only stabilize but increase the power and authority of the central government. [60] In summary, Levin believes that certain members of the ruling *ali'i,* after the death of Kamehameha, probably feeling their position to be somewhat insecure, realized that the current political system, constrained by ancient religious tenets, was highly unstable. That explains why the movement arose and did not constitute an attempt to destroy a set of religious beliefs the people had already rejected, but was a specific attempt to consolidate and strengthen the political authority of the central government. [61]

The reason for the *kapu* system's overthrow at this particular time was probably a result of all the conditions discussed, in varying degrees. Undoubtedly Western contact and growing desires on the part of the people for European amenities; the insecurities of the government — the first monarchy to take office through hereditary succession; the far-reaching political and social implications of maintaining the *kapu* system; the disruption of the balance of power among local chiefs due to trading advantages; and the disturbance of personal relationships in and among the general population from exposure to Western goods and customs, all must have played a role. And because of this unrest, strong personalities in the forefront of the government at this time were able to assume a critical role in nudging the course of history.

6. Effects of the Overthrow of the *Kapu* System

What were the affects of the overthrow of the *kapu* system? According to Marion Kelly,

> The royal declaration outlawing the taboo system did not affect all Hawaiians in a like manner. For the most part it relieved the *ali'i,* and particularly the women, of certain oppressive conditions. Although the revolt against the declaration was not well supported, the people did not immediately abandon their religious practices nor their beliefs. Ancient religious rituals were set aside by the *ali'i* only, and the new religion that Christian missionaries brought was not welcomed by Hawaiians with opened arms. [62]

In his introduction to Laura Judd's memoirs, Dale Morgan, in reflecting upon the consequences of the *kapu* abolition movement, opines that

> Destruction of the kapu system made little difference in the power of the chiefs, and though the revolution greatly impaired the power of the priests, it did not destroy their power wholly. A more far-reaching effect was that the discontinuance of formal religious services left a certain vacuum in the nation's life, subtly damaging the social fabric, the sense of order that had shaped much of Hawaiian existence. . . [63]

Scholars have enumerated many detrimental effects of the abolition of the *kapu* system on the Hawaiian population precipitated by the loss of order and regulation in society and of the ceremonial motivation and efficiency of organized labor. Psychological hardships became extremely significant for a people deprived of the support and leadership heretofore offered by customary ways of doing things.

Because *kapu* had directed *every* aspect of Hawaiian culture, their removal also affected every segment of daily life. Removing the underpinnings of traditional Hawaiian social and political culture led to a chaotic psychological trauma for the majority of Hawaiians who, subjected at the same time to such detrimental influences as rum, tobacco, and venereal disease, were assailed by feelings of doubt, fear, confusion, stress, and depression about the future.

Changes in land tenure and ownership rights, in the division of labor, in the types of services performed and the kinds of goods produced, in personal relationships, and in social stratification were many. For instance, the allotment of land changed with the further consolidation of the government. Although the former *kahuna* of the organized priesthoods were stripped of their powers, they kept their lands, becoming landed gentry like the rest of the *ali'i.* The withdrawal of the caste system tended to weaken kinship ties between the *maka'ainana* and the *ali'i* and removed distinctions between the *kauwa* and the *maka'ainana,* opening the way for integration of the classes. Ultimately the disintegration of old values and the traditional kinship systems led to the loss of the feeling of unity in families, which had been one of the keystones of ancient Hawaiian society.

As traditional values fell in esteem, so did the production of native implements, arts, and crafts and the accomplishment of other native industries as the focus of acquisition settled on more and more foreign items. As political rivalry and wars of succession ceased, commoners no longer regarded the king and other *ali'i* as leaders and an inspiration in war. The overthrow also affected the culture's subsistence and consumption patterns, specifically food and craft production, which were no longer tied to the social-political-religious system. Because the people no longer observed seasonal cycles marked by formal religious ceremonies, planting was less planned and more informal; the lack of *kapu* on fishing activities probably resulted in increased overfishing. Although agricultural festivals were no longer held, farmers and fishermen still had to pay taxes, not to bring bounty through the goodwill of the gods as in earlier times, but as impersonal payment to the central government. [64]

The void left by abandonment of the age-old socio-religious system would be filled only partially by the teachings of Christianity. Members of the upper class of Hawaiian society would support the work of the New England missionaries upon their arrival and would, in turn, instruct the people to learn and obey the new teachings. Possibly because they were used to obeying edicts from above, or possibly because they were looking for a new direction in their spiritual and daily lives, many of the population took to the teachings of Christianity with little resistance. Even the missionaries, however, would have rough going in countering some of the more unwelcome attractions of the foreign trading ships and of a new visitor to Hawai'i's shores — the whalers.

7. Death of Kamehameha II

Despite this dramatic break with past traditions, some of Liholiho's actions were similar to those of rulers before him. He gathered around him young chiefs, children of warriors, and even commoners, making them members of his household. [65] He collected taxes in the form of food and subsistence goods from the different islands of his kingdom. [66] Like his father, Liholiho moved his residence several times in response to the need for his presence in an area. At one point he lived at Kawaihae and later, upon the advice of his cabinet, moved his principal residence from Kailua to Honolulu. [67]

However, the short reign of King Kamehameha II was clouded by excesses in drinking and spending on luxury goods. One author writes that Liholiho

> did not have to rule by ritual and he did not know how to rule by law, and so he ruled by whim, alternately despotic and delinquent. . . . Even a decent respect for his own position seemed to be beyond the king. [68]

The king, queen, and their attendants visited London in 1824. In their absence, Ka'ahumanu acted as regent, imposing strict new moral rules on the islands. At about the same time, a revolt was instigated on Kaua'i by the son of the old chief Ka'umu'ali'i. Although the government put an end to the revolt, these events combined to further the missionary cause, while diminishing the power of the king.

King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu died of measles in London in July 1824. A national council appointed his younger brother Kauikeaouli as king, and Ka'ahumanu continued as regent. The council also decreed that hereditary succession was now the law of the land.

PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Overview of Hawaiian History
by Diane Lee Rhodes
(with some additions by Linda Wedel Greene)

CHAPTER V: CHANGES AFTER THE DEATH OF KAMEHAMEHA (continued)

K. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The reign of Kamehameha Ill ended in December 1854. Under his liberal guidance, Hawai'i had established constitutional government, a workable legislature, and executive and judicial branches, and had redefined personal and property rights. The Hawaiian government made a number of treaties and agreements with foreign nations during the years 1826 to 1839. In most of them, the Hawaiian government had little room for negotiation because demands "made by the military representatives of powerful nations" were usually backed "with threats of violence and the presence of warships." [153] The French, British, and Americans all sent warships several times to protect their commercial interests, acquire special rights for their citizens in Hawai'i, collect sandalwood debts, and protest Hawaiian land tenure policy. In addition, each foreign nation tried to prevent the other from annexing Hawai'i. Negotiations began in 1854 to annex Hawai'i to the United States, but ended with the death of the king.

Kamehameha IV and V (1854-63 and 1863-72) were well-traveled and well-educated leaders whose policies were somewhat pro-British. Kamehameha IV and his queen, Emma, founded the Queen's Hospital and introduced the Episcopal Church into Hawai'i. In the early 1860s King Kamehameha V called and dismissed a constitutional convention and then proclaimed a new constitution in 1864.

By 1862, sharply diminished returns from the whaling industry made it clear that some new economic incentive was needed in the islands — that product proved to be sugar. During the American Civil War, Hawai'i's exports of sugar "increased tenfold," establishing a new industry that continued into the twentieth century. [154]

In 1863 the American Board of Missionaries ended four decades of work in the islands by transferring its work to the Hawaiian Board. By 1882, most of the original Hawaiian missionaries had died, and those who came later had left. The only remaining missionary stations were at Kohala, Waimea, and Hilo; the churches had been turned over to native Hawaiian pastors. [155]

Following the death of Kamehameha V, the popular pro-American Lunalilo reigned for only a year before the kingdom was taken over by King Kalakaua, who ruled from 1874 to 1891. He helped bring about the reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1875. As extended in 1887, this treaty gave the United States the exclusive right to Pearl Harbor and allowed tariff-free exchange of certain items, especially Hawaiian sugar and molasses, for several American products. King Kalakaua also made a world tour — the first by a Hawaiian monarch — thereby catching the attention of world leaders. However, he increasingly leaned toward a return to many of the aspects of the old Hawaiian system, including the idea of divine right. A new constitution was promulgated in 1887, guaranteeing more responsible ministerial

government.

Kalakaua's sister Lili'uokalani assumed office in 1891, but was deposed in 1893. Her opponents, mostly American residents in the islands, objected to her attempts to provide a more authoritarian government and reduce American influence. These Americans also sought annexation of the islands by the United States in order to end the prohibitive McKinley tariff of 1890, which had precipitated a severe depression. [156] There were other underlying reasons behind the move for annexation. Honolulu's protected Pearl Harbor was needed as an American fueling station during the Spanish-American War. In addition, some Americans viewed the Hawaiian Islands as a logical steppingstone for United States manifest destiny in the Pacific. [157]

Over the years, large landholders had acquired Hawaiian lands at the expense of the small native farmers. By 1867, seventy-two large private landholders and the government owned approximately 95.36 percent of the land in Hawai'i. [158] Americans continued to heavily influence the course of Hawaiian industry. For example, American investors furnished approximately three quarters of the funds invested in the sugar industry and also managed the plantations. [159] Hawaiian government lands continued to be sold until the Revolt of 1893 placed the remainder of the Crown Lands in the public domain. [160]

By the late 1800s cattle ranches had grown up in the Kona District. Sugar, cattle, and pigs were major products. Japanese workers grew cotton, and there were several cotton gins in the area. [161] After World War II, Kona became an important producer of coffee and macadamia nuts. Similar changes occurred in the Kohala District, which, with its good fishing and excellent soils, had supported a large population before Cook's arrival. With the advent of commercial plantations there, laborers and planters came from a number of countries to work in the mills and sugarcane fields, contributing to the growing cultural diversity of the area. [162]

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on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

West Coast of the Island of Hawai'i

CHAPTER VI:
DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN ACTIVITY ON THE WEST COAST OF THE ISLAND OF HAWAI'I (continued)

B. Water Resources

In very general terms, West Hawai'i comprises the leeward side of the island, extending from 'Upolu Point on the north to Ka Lae at the southern tip. The rugged volcanic masses of Kohala, Mauna Kea, Hualalai, and Mauna Loa separate this region from the wetter, windward side of the island to the east. Because it seldom rains on the leeward coast, West Hawai'i is characterized by a paucity of stream drainages and a tendency to aridity — any loose water is quickly absorbed in the porous earth. [6]

The Reverend William Ellis observed this water problem, finding on his journey that

> Kairua [Kailua], though healthy and populous, is destitute of fresh water, except what is found in pools, or small streams, in the mountains, four or five miles from the shore. . . . The late king Tamehameha used frequently to beg a cask of water from the captains of vessels touching at Kairua; and it is one of the most acceptable presents a captain going to this station could make, either to the chiefs or missionaries. [7]

Missionary Henry Cheever noted wryly that "On that part [leeward coast] of the great Island of Hawaii there is not a brook that runs into the sea for more than a hundred miles of coast. At Kealakekua ships can hardly get a cask of genuine fresh water for fear, love, or money." [8] He noted that Captain Cook had to acquire his supply from natives who brought it in calabashes from the mountains, four miles away. Missionary stations, he said, had to be supplied in the same manner. The natives, however, could drink from the brackish springs on the coast, "the water of which is almost as nauseous and purgative, with a stranger, as a dose of salts." [9]

C. Volcanic Activity

Both North and South Kona show traces of prehistoric and historic lava flows. Cheever described the area from Kealakekua toward the south and middle sections of the island as containing frequent traces of recent volcanic activity. Whether coasting along in a canoe or traveling on foot ashore, he stated, one passed "rugged cones and oven-like blisters, deep-mouthed caves and fissures, enormous gaps and ravines, overhanging arches and natural bridges, great tunnels and blow-holes." [10] Archeological data, however, suggests that the people adjusted well to the topographical changes caused by these eruptions, and today one can find trails and other features constructed on top of the 1859 Mauna Loa flow and the Hualalai flows of 1800-1. [11]Hualalai has not erupted since early historic times (1801), but

the land has been subjected to repeated eruptions from Mauna Loa into the historic period.

The earliest volcanic outbreak described historically issued in November 1790 from the caldera of Kilauea on a flank of Mauna Loa. Earthquake shocks accompanied the violent eruption, which included the ejection of large quantities of stone and cinders. This hot base surge composed primarily of superheated steam suffocated soldiers in the army of Keoua, the rival of Kamehameha. In 1801 an eruption from the west side of dormant Hualalai occurred — the first one in the Hawaiian Islands witnessed by Europeans. Lava flowed rapidly to the sea six miles away, covering villages, agricultural plots, and fish ponds. Other eruptions from Mauna Loa occurred in 1823,1832,1840, and 1843. In 1859 two lava streams poured forth from new craters on the north slope of Mauna Loa. Eight days later, the lava began flowing into the sea at a village about fourteen miles from Kawaihae in the Kohala District. This activity continued for three weeks. A worse disaster occurred in 1868 when Mauna Loa erupted, precipitating severe earthquakes and an eruption of mud that extended for three miles, varying from one-half to one mile wide and from two to thirty feet deep. The mudslide swept away houses and stock and took a number of lives. It was followed by an enormous tidal wave that battered the coast, further destroying lives and property. [12]

The abundance of rocks remaining from volcanic activity during prehistoric and historic times supplied the inhabitants of the west coast with building material for house platforms, temples, fences, and agricultural and stock enclosures. (The latter were more common after the introduction of grazing animals by Westerners.) The many crevices and caves created by the numerous lava flows provided both habitation sites and burial places. [13]

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CHAPTER VI: DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN ACTIVITY ON THE WEST COAST OF THE ISLAND OF HAWAI'I (continued)

H. Kohala District

1. Pre-European Contact Period

The Kohala District comprises the northernmost land area of the island of Hawai'i. It is important for many reasons, not the least of which is that it was the birthplace and ancestral chiefdom of Kamehameha, born about 1753 near Mo'okini temple at Kokoiki, 'Upolu Point. Mo'okini Heiau is one of the most famous and best preserved temples in Hawai'i, traditionally reported to have been built by the Polynesian priest Pa'ao. The areas of Kawaihae and Waimea were the site of continual battles between the armies of the six kingdoms of the island to enlarge their domains. In addition, fleets from Maui that had fought in Kona, returning home, would land at various places along the Kohala coast to wreak havoc, often cutting down the coconut trees at Kawaihae as a show of defiance to the island chiefs. The ancient temple of Mailekini at Kawaihae was a prize held by the South Kohala chief. [50]

2. European Contact Period

The largest coastal town is Kawaihae, which lies on a broad, shallow bay. It has always served as the district's primary seaport — the most convenient point of embarkation for inhabitants of the northern part of the island and of debarkation for mail and visitors to this district, as well as the place from which to ship surplus goods from the hinterland to market. In ancient times it was a good-sized fishing village. The land surrounding it is semi-arid and barren and struck many early visitors as somewhat unattractive. George Washington Bates, visiting Hawai'i in 1853, noted:

> The village of Kawaihae was the poorest and most cheerless I have ever seen. Everything around and in it wore an aspect of such stern desolation, that I could not but wonder that any human being, or even a wild goat, should find a place of abode there. [51]

Despite its unimpressive appearance to most outsiders, Kawaihae's importance in ancient Hawaiian history is indisputable. It is the site of Pu'ukohola Heiau, the most significant historical structure associated with Kamehameha I's rise to power. Upon its altar Kamehameha sacrificed his rival Keoua and some of his followers to ensure his unchallenged rule over the island. The area also served as a periodic residence of Hawaiian royalty over the years. In 1793 Captain George Vancouver, on his way to Kealakekua Bay to deliver the first cattle to Hawai'i, stopped in Kawaihae Bay to release the weakest pair of animals, which he was certain would not last the journey farther down the

coast. Ten years later Captain Richard J. Cleveland stopped here with the first horses to be delivered to the king, causing "incessant exclamations of astonishment." [52] The town also had four famous salt ponds, which will be described in more detail later. The missionary brig *Thaddeus* anchored offshore of Kawaihae in 1820, its occupants learning to their astonishment of the overthrow of the kapu system and gaining their first look at their new home. [53]

3. Historical Descriptions

Bates described what is now the North Kohala District as

> very fertile and extensive, and the soil rich, and it is well refreshed by fertilizing showers. If ancient landmarks are any evidence of past population, then the district of Kohala has been densely peopled. The entire region . . . is covered with these landmarks. Countless footpaths, wide enough for pedestrians in single file, but nearly overgrown with grass; sites of villages, of various extent and in every location, and the small, elevated lines of demarkation . . . which showed the limits of landed property, were scattered over all the entire district. [54]

Reinforcing this historical view are the remarks of Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist on the Vancouver expeditions, who noted in 1793:

> From the north-west point of the island, the country stretches back for a considerable distance with a very gradual ascent, and is destitute of trees or bushes of any kind. But it bears every appearance of industrious cultivation by the number of small fields into which it is laid out, and if we might judge by the vast number of houses we saw along the shore, it is by far the most populous part we had yet seen of the island. [55]

4. Settlement Patterns and Subsistence Activities

a) South Kohala

Francis Ching suggests several factors that might account for the sparse population and limited subsistence activity noted along the coast of South Kohala and North Kona, between Kawaihae and Kailua, by those few visitors who recorded their observations. Kamehameha's frequent wars, epidemics, and the eruption of Hualalai in 1801 might have drastically altered an earlier, more complex, aboriginal lifestyle along the west coast and been responsible for the limited occupation and subsistence activity observed in the early Western contact period by visitors such as Menzies and Ellis. [56]

Although Rosendahl points out that the few historical accounts available do not make much mention of any vegetation other than coconut palms along the desolate South Kohala coast, Handy states that sweet potatoes would undoubtedly have been grown there. He also suggests that wet taro might have been cultivated along some of the intermittent watercourses extending down from the mountains through the desolate terrain between Kawaihae and Puako. [57] Lorenzo Lyons described Puako as

> a village on the shore, very like Kawaihae, but larger. It has a small harbor in wh. [which] native vessels anchor. Coconut groves give it a verdant aspect. No food grows in the place. The people make salt and catch fish. These they exchange for vegetables grown elsewhere. [58]

Few historical references specifically addressing present South Kohala exist. As mentioned previously, during both the prehistoric and historic periods, travelers tended to travel by water through this area rather than hiking over the rough, broken volcanic coastlands. [59] The nature of aboriginal settlement in South Kohala was similar to that in North Kona, consisting of scattered coastal settlements whose inhabitants exploited marine resources and pursued fishing, gathering, salt production, and limited agricultural activities. Perhaps they had some success growing sweet potatoes and taro in the nearby sandy soil, along seasonal streams, and on the fertile alluvial deposits around the mouths of intermittent streams in the inland area between Kawaihae and Pauoa Bay. The major occupational area was the uplands, with scattered settlements located in the foothills of the Kohala Mountains at the northern edge of the Waimea Plain. Extensive cultivation of sweet potatoes and dryland taro took place on the slopes below Waimea and

wetland irrigated taro grew along streams emanating from the Kohala foothills. There was little or no cultivation or habitation in the drier portion of the Waimea Plain close to the slopes of Mauna Kea. [60]

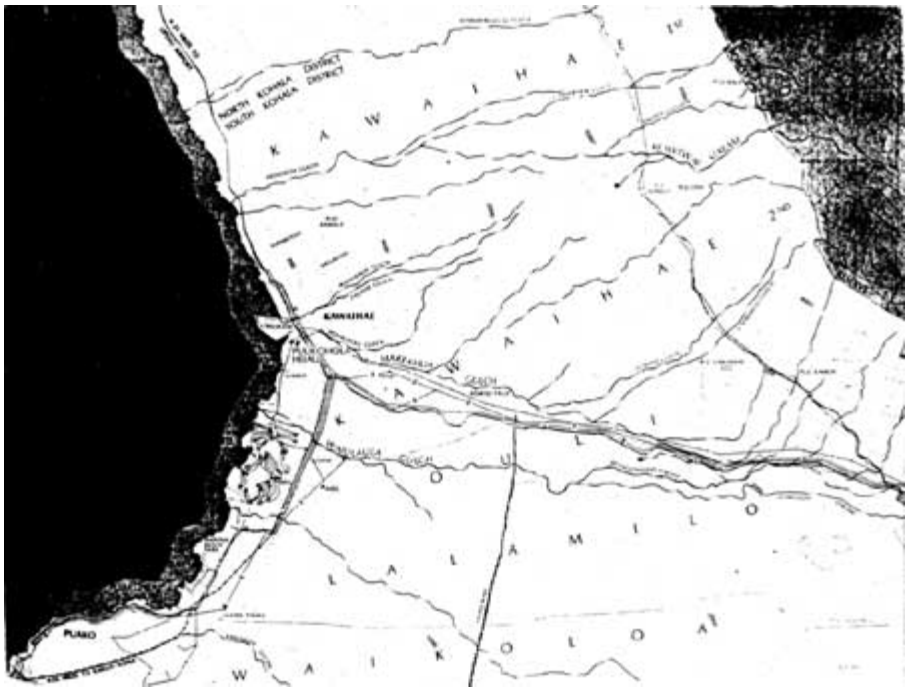


Illustration 24. Map of South Kohala District showing Kawaihae area. From Belt, Collins and Associates, *Kohala Coast Resort Region.*

b) North Kohala

Along the shore from Kawaihae Bay to the north point of Hawai'i, the topography remains fairly regular, lacking the deep canon-like valleys and steep vertical cliffs characteristic of the windward side of the island. In several places along the coast are lava streams that flowed in ancient times from craters higher up the slopes. The North Kohala coast, stretching from Kawaihae around to the Waipio Valley, was populated, even densely so in the northeast section where there were perennial streams. But because of its isolation, travelers probably rarely visited the northern part of Hawai'i. [61] Missionary Lorenzo Lyons reported to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1835 that

> The Western shore [of Kohala is hot and barren. The people live on fish and on food cultivated in the interior. Water is brackish. Good water is only to be had five or six miles distant. . . . On the North and East the country is very well peopled and beautiful, with streams, verdure, awful majesty. [62]

Frenchman Charles de Varigny, landing briefly at Kawaihae Bay in the nineteenth century, looked over the area and then

> After a two-hour rest, we returned to the seashore and embarked once more, following a northward route in order to round Honoipu Point. The coastal areas of the Kohala district which we were now ranging are rich in fishing grounds. At this quite early hour in the morning, the sea was covered with small native canoes, shaped from hollowed logs and 'balanced by a cross-beam, or outrigger, and nearly all equipped with triangular sails. [63]

Kawaihae was unique among Kohala coast settlements because of the extent of European and American influences resulting from its position as an important harbor and focus of Hawaiian political and social history. In terms of appearance and livelihood, however, Clark and Kirch surmise that most other settlements on the leeward Kohala coast were probably similar in many respects. Inhabitants were fishermen, dependent on the sea for resources rather than on the dry, barren, treeless coastal area. Major settlements on the Kohala coast north of Kawaihae were Owawalua, Hihiu, Mahukona, Koaie, and Kipi. South of Kawaihae, the primary towns were Puako, Kalahuipua'a, and Anaehoomalu. [64]

Occupants of the Waipio Valley lived by taro cultivation, the surplus of which was taken to Kawaihae. [65] According to Menzies, during a walk from Kawaihae to Waimea he met several people carrying surplus produce from upland plantations down to the coast to market "for the consumption was now great, not only by the ship, but by the concourse of people which curiosity brought into the vicinity of the bay [Kawaihae]." [66]

c) Interior

The rugged dome of Kohala Mountain — the oldest of the island's volcanoes, now long dormant — constitutes the central area of the Kohala District. The high plateau between Kohala Mountain and the northern slopes of Mauna Kea is known as Waimea. It not only possesses one of the finest mountain climates in the islands, but also provides good grazing for cattle. The forested areas of Mauna Kea and other inland parts of the island offered a safe and pleasant haven and luxuriant pastureland for hundreds of wild cattle descended from the pair Captain Vancouver left at Kawaihae in 1793. By the early 1820s, cattle pens near Waimea held wild bullocks that were lassoed or trapped, shot, then salted, and taken to Kawaihae for shipment or trade. The availability of this salted meat made Kawaihae a favorite provision stop for whaling ships. The Reverend William Ellis noted that the first cattle brought by Vancouver were

> at his request, tabued for ten years, during which time they resorted to the mountains, and became so wild and ferocious that the natives are afraid to go near them. Although there are immense herds of them, they do not attempt to tame any; and the only advantage they derive is, by employing persons, principally foreigners, to shoot them, salt the meat in the mountains, and bring it down to the shore, for the purpose of provisioning the native vessels. But this is attended with great labour and expense. They first carry all the salt to the mountains. When they have killed the animals, the flesh is cut off their bones, salted immediately, and afterward put into small barrels, which are brought on men's shoulders ten or fifteen miles to the seashore. [67]

Sheep also thrived in the rich fields of Waimea. Settlement on the higher elevations of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, however, was precluded by the cold temperatures. [68]

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PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites
on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations

CHAPTER VII:
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE (continued)

B. Pu'ukohola Heiau

1. Traditional Construction History

a) Hawai'i Island Politics at Euroepan Contact

At the time Cook discovered the Hawaiian archipelago, Kalani'opu'u ruled as paramount chief of the island of Hawai'i and the Hana District of Maui. During the fierce interisland warfare of this period, the young chief Kamehameha highly distinguished himself as a warrior in Kalani'opu'u's army. Before Kalani'opu'u died in 1782, he designated his son, Kiwala'o, to succeed him as high chief; in accordance with the custom in those days of splitting power, he also named his nephew Kamehameha custodian of the state god Ku-ka'ili-moku. Kamehameha first revealed his political ambitions shortly after this by offering up a human sacrifice — the leader of a failed uprising — usurping Kiwala'o's prerogative as designated future ruler. As punishment for this infringement, Kalani'opu'u dismissed Kamehameha from his court. Hostilities between the rival supporters of the son and the nephew resurfaced upon Kalani'opu'u's death. At the battle of Moku'ohai, Kona, in 1782, Kiwala'o met his death at the hands of Kamehameha's supporters. [50] This left his younger brother Keoua Kuahu'ula as the chief contender with Kamehameha for sovereignty of the island. The situation was further complicated when Keawemauhili, the chief of Hilo and Keoua's uncle, declared his independence, splitting the island into three rival factions.

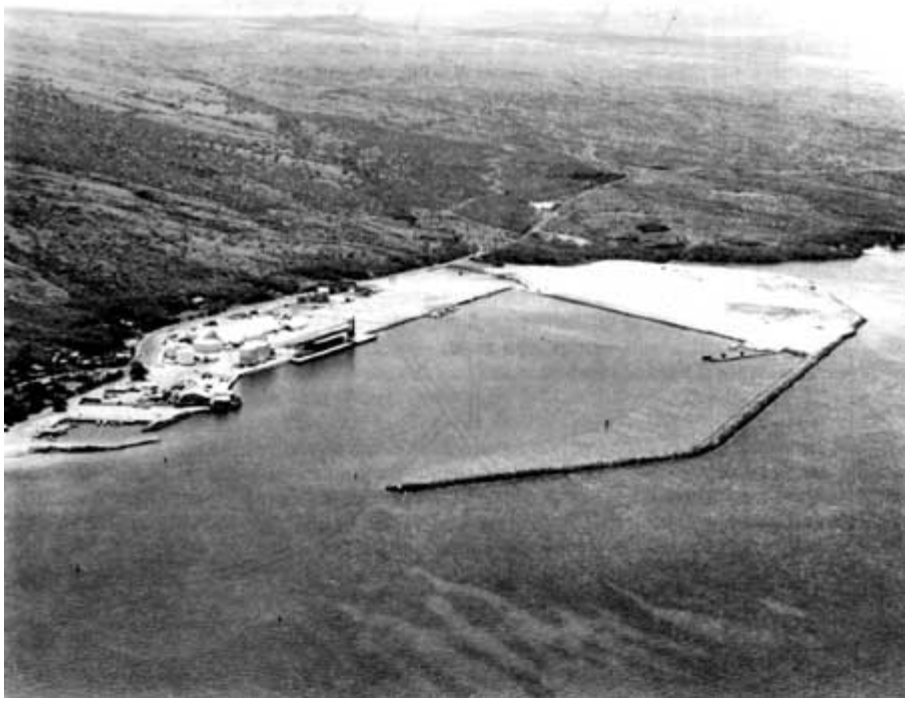


Illustration 34. Aerial view to southeast of Kawaihae Bay after harbor modifications. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers photo, 1969.

b) Kamehameha Begins His Bid for Power

Kamehameha, reigning over the western part of the island, with its favorable anchorages at Kailua and Kealakekua Bay, gained a distinct advantage over his foes by acquiring not only the benefits of European ideas and military strategies, but also advanced technology such as arms and gunpowder. By 1790 he had managed to acquire guns, light cannon, and an armed schooner, in addition to the advice and technical expertise of two European seamen, John Young and Isaac Davis.

Setting aside for the moment his ambitions on his own island, however, Kamehameha decided to invade Maui, where he defeated its defending army but failed to capture the important chiefs. When Kamehameha pushed on toward Moloka'i, Keoua took advantage of his absence, and, defeating Keawemauhili, invaded his other rival's territory, laying waste Hamakua and Kohala. Quickly returning to defend his lands, Kamehameha secured them but did not defeat Keoua and decided to again invade Maui. It was during Keoua's retreat to his home district of Ka'u that part of his army, passing near the summit of Kilauea volcano, was suffocated during a rare explosive eruption — a signal to many observers that the gods favored Kamehameha. Although weakened psychologically as well as physically by this tragedy, Keoua remained tenacious and managed to hold his own against Kamehameha's forces for several more months.

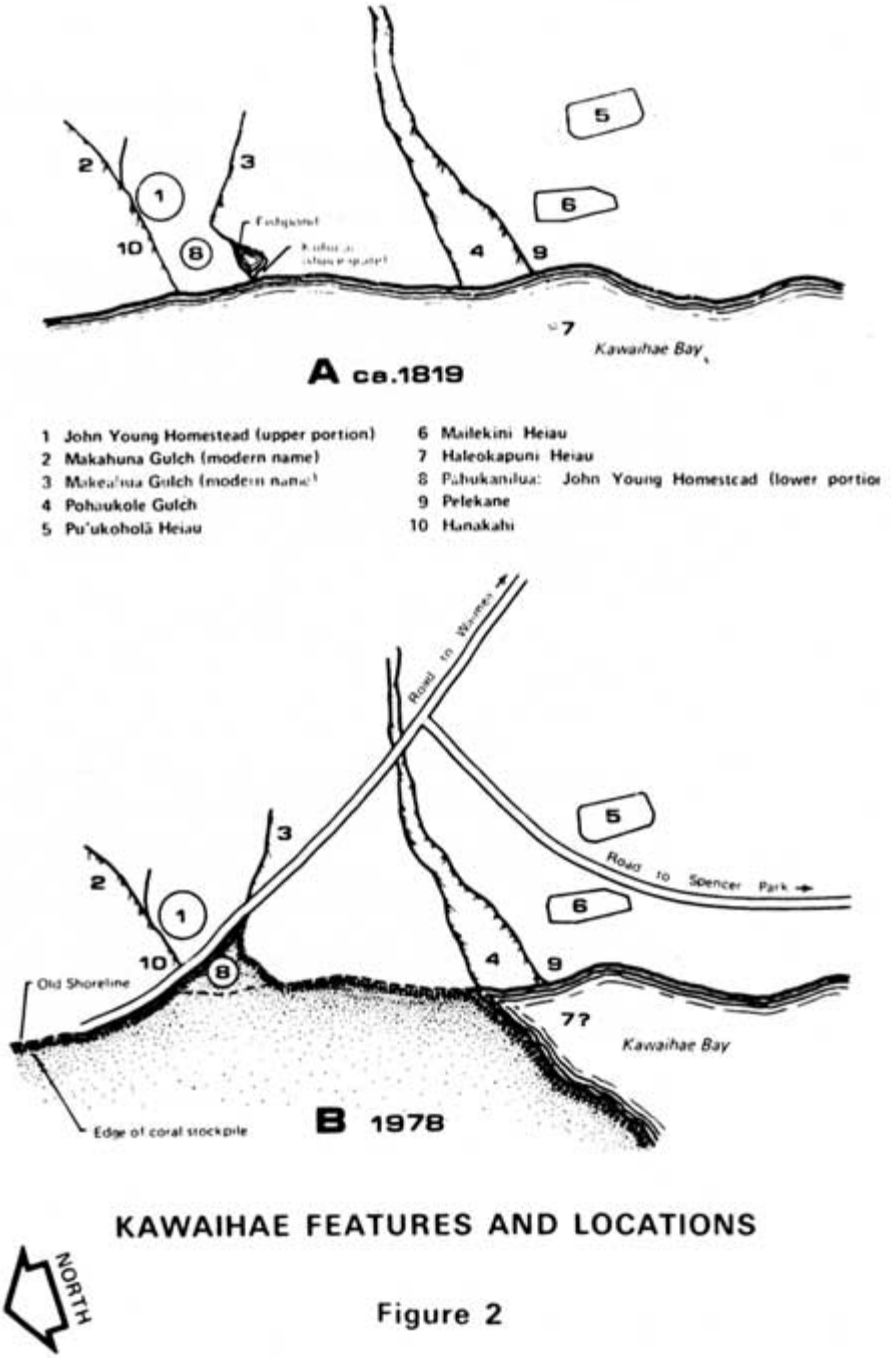


Illustration 35. Changes in Kawaihae Bay shoreline over period from 1819 to 1978, drawn by Historian Russell Apple. Figure 2 in Apple, *Pahukanilua,* p. 12.

c) Kamehameha is Instructed to Build a *Heiau*

Meanwhile, from Moloka'i, Kamehameha had sent his aunt to Kaua'i to consult a *kahuna* as to what the future course of his actions should be in order to take possession of Hawai'i and the rest of the islands. Instead, she found on O'ahu the famous prophet of Kaua'i—Kapoukahi. This man., who according to the historian John Papa I'i was skilled in selecting propitious sites for *heiau,* told Kamehameha that if he rebuilt the temple at Pu'ukohola ("hill of the whale") near Kawaihae and rededicated it to honor Ku-ka'ili-moku, he could conquer the rest of the islands. Kapoukahi supposedly prophesied that "War shall cease on Hawaii when one shall come and shall be laid above on the altar *(lele)* of Pu'u-kohola, the house of god." [51]

A few sources state that construction of this *heiau* had been an intention of Kamehameha for some time. Kamaka Paea Kealii Ai'a writes that "From time to time the High Priest of Kohala urged Tamaahmaah to build a *heiau* at Puukohola,

Kawaihae, for which he would gain supremacy of Hawaii." [52] The Reverend Herbert Gowen states that Kamehameha had promised to build it *[heiau* of Pu'ukohola] years before this, but had evidently been trying carnal weapons first and leaving spiritual means as a kind of last resource." [53]

One part of the legend also states that Kamehameha first intended to refurbish and rededicate Mailekini temple, on the slope below Pu'ukohola. But Kapoukahi, who had joined Kamehameha's staff as royal architect, suggested that a new temple on the summit would be more appropriate and provide greater benefits. [54] According to Thomas Thrum, Kapoukahi instructed Kamehameha "to build a large heiau for his god at Puukohola, adjoining the old heiau of Mailekini. . . . [55] Thrum continues:

> Of Mailekini heiau little of its history is learned, or what connection, if any, it had in its working with Puukohola within two hundred feet above it. In early days it was said that traces of an underground passage existed, though it was difficult to tell whether or not the two temples were connected by it. . . . A tradition is current that this was the one that Kamehameha set out to rebuild that he might be successful in war, but on the advice of Kapoukahi he transferred his labors to the upper one of Puukohola. . . . [56]

Only archeological excavations could provide definitive evidence on whether Pu'ukohola Heiau is a new structure or a renovation of an older, abandoned temple. According to Hawaiian mythology, the original temple of Pu'ukohola was consecrated by the god Lono about 1580. [57] Fornander gathered some data on this subject from native accounts:

> A revolt occured on Hawaii which had its strength in Kohala during Lonoikamakahiki's visit to Kakuhihewa's court at Oahu, which hastened his return, and landing at Kealakekua where he began gathering his forces . . . they met and routed the rebels in two battles . . . . Reinforced from Kohala and Hamakua the rebels gave two other engagements, at Puupa and Puukohala *[sic]*, near the heiau of that name, in both of which Lono was victorious, and Kanaloakapulehu, one of the four revolting brothers, was taken prisoner, slain, and sacrificed at the heiau. Puukohola is one of several named heiaus consecrated by Lono, as acknowledgment to the gods for his victories after he had restored peace and order. This indicates that the heiau of Puukohola was in existence in the time of Lonoikamakahiki (1565-95). . . . [58]

Fornander states that the long years of warfare and strife were becoming tiring to Kamehameha, who "stood no nearer to the supremacy of Hawaii than he did on the day of Mokuohai." [59] Because neither spears nor guns had succeeded in annihilating Keoua, Kamehameha decided to follow the seer's advice "and the construction of the Heiau on Puukohola was resumed with a vigour and zeal quickened, perhaps, by a consciousness of neglected duty." [60]

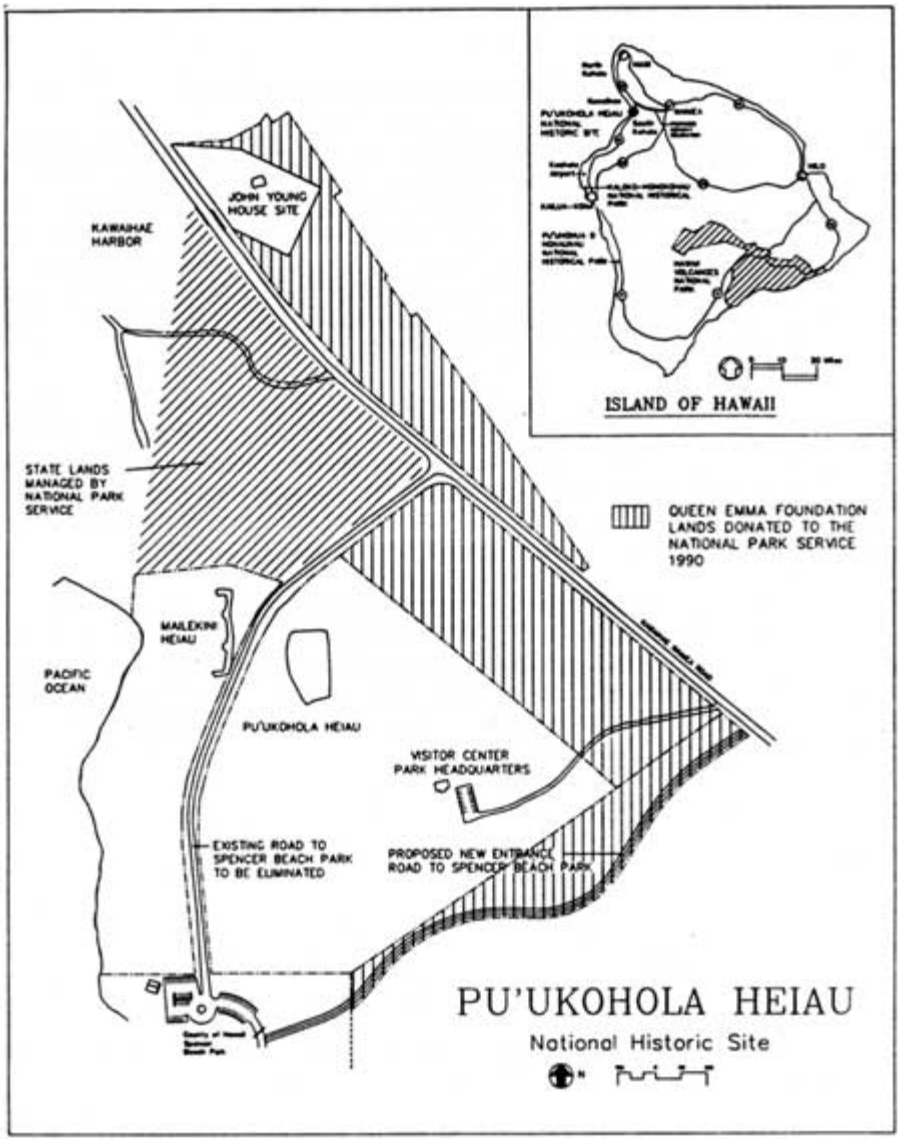


Illustration 36. Site plan of Pu'ukohola Heiau NHS. From *Development Concept Plan.*
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

d) Construction of the *Heiau* Begins

According to Samuel Kamakau, Kamehameha

> summoned his counselors and younger brothers, chiefs of the family and chiefs of the guard, all the chiefs, lesser chiefs, and commoners of the whole district. Not one was allowed to be absent except the women. . . .The building of the heiau of Pu'u-kohola was, as in ancient times, directed by an expert . . . by a member of the class called *hulihonua* who knew the configuration of the earth (called *kuhikuhi pu'uone)* . . . .
>
> When it came to the building of Pu'u-kohola no one, not even a tabu chief, was excused from the work of carrying stone. Kamehameha himself labored with the rest. The only exception was the high tabu chief Ke-ali'i-maika'i [Kamehameha's younger brother]. . . . Thus Kamehameha and the chiefs labored until the heiau was completed, with its fence of images *(paehumu)* and oracle tower *(anu'unu'u),* with all its walls outside and the hole for the bones of sacrifice. He brought down the *ohi'a* tree *('ohi'ako)* for the *haku 'ohi'a* and erected the shelter house *(hale malu)* of *'ohi'a* wood for Ku-ka'ili-moku according to the rule laid down for the kahuna class of Pa'ao. [61]

According to Historian Kuykendall, basing his information on Kamakau and Fornander, in 1790

> The building of this heiau was a great and arduous undertaking. Priests were everywhere about; they selected the site, determined the orientation, the dimensions, and the arrangement of the structure, and at every stage performed the ritualistic ceremonies without which the work could not be acceptable to the gods. [62]

Fornander states that an aged informant from Kawaihae had actually helped carry stones for the construction of Pu'ukohola Heiau. This man painted a vivid picture of thousands of people encamped on the hillsides and described the careful regulation of their eating periods, work shifts, and break times. He also mentioned the large number of chiefs present and the numerous human sacrifices required at various stages of construction. [63]



Illustration 37. View to southeast of Pu'ukohola Heiau from coral stockpile. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 38. View to east of Pu'ukohola Heiau. Note Mailekini Heiau midway between shore and Pu'ukohola. Pelekane area to left. NPS photo, 1989.

e) Warfare Interrupts Construction

A revolt on the islands of Maui, Lana'i, and Moloka'i, followed by an invasion of North Kohala by the previously conquered chiefs of those islands, interrupted work on Pu'ukohola Heiau. Possibly the news that Kamehameha was building a major temple unsettled his rivals to such an extent that they hoped that even if they could not kill the ambitious chief, they could at least keep the temple from being ritually perfect by interfering with its erection and the attendant ceremonies. If the construction process displeased Ku-ka'ili-moku, Kamehameha's foes reasoned, it might eliminate or reduce the spiritual power exuded by the *heiau.*

A sea battle in 1791 near Waipi'o Valley raged, with both Kamehameha and his foes utilizing muskets and cannons operated by foreigners. Kamehameha's fleet included, in addition to double canoes armed with cannons, his warship *Fair American.* Young and Davis commanded his artillery. This battle of Kepuwaha'ula'ula, or "the red-mouthed gun," referring to the repeated firing of cannons and muskets as well as possibly to the carnage, resulted in defeat of the invading forces. Apple states that this was Hawai'i's "first and last real sea battle using Hawaiian canoes and Western gunpowder." [64]

f) Kamehameha Becomes Undisputed Ruler of Hawai'i Island

Kamehameha then resumed construction of his *heiau,* a massive terraced and walled hilltop platform built of mortarless, waterworn lava rocks and boulders. Measuring about 224 by 100 feet, it contained walls on each end and the landward side. The side toward the sea remained open. Three narrow, terraced steps down the hillside to the west enabled the interior to be seen from the sea. The temple was finished in the summer of 1791.

It has been written that Keoua was enticed to the dedication of Pu'ukohola Heiau by a ruse, in the belief that he and Kamehameha were to arrange a treaty of peace. Given the past history of the two men, however, it is hard to believe that Keoua would have considered this a possibility. Keoua and his retinue proceeded to Kawaihae amidst considerable pomp and pageantry. According to legend, the journey had "the appearance of a fatalistic resignation to the doom which he clearly recognized as a possible issue of his journey to Kawaihae." [65] Samuel Kamakau relates that

> He [Keoua] brought out all his weapons of war, his feather capes and feather helmets, and placed them in Keawe-a-heulu's canoes. He also ranged his chiefs about him in his own double canoe, those of high rank and those who had lived with him and upon whose love he could count and who would die with him. Such was the custom with chiefs of old to have many companions in death *(moepu'u).* Keoua knew that he was to die. . . [66]

Keoua placed the reminder of his companions in a canoe with his younger brother Kaoleioku. [67] Kamehameha, resplendent in feather cloak and helmet, stood on the shore below the *heiau* to greet his visitors. Versions differ as to what happened next, but at some point, while Keoua was disembarking, someone among Kamehameha's retainers killed him and the others in his canoe; Kamehameha did, however, prevent the killing of Kaoleioku and others in the party. [68] Fornander states that prior to Keoua's arrival, "the umu had been prepared and was red hot. Keoua was then roasted" before he and the other victims were offered up as sacrifices to celebrate this great victory. [69]

Many questions have been raised as to why Keoua willingly entered the camp of so bitter an enemy. Fornander believed that the defeat of Kamehameha's enemies in the battle of Kepuwaha'ula'ula probably influenced Keoua to try to negotiate with Kamehameha. [70] Perhaps Keoua realized the political and religious significance of this *heiau* and surmised that with its completion his fate was sealed. Whether his death occurred by or against Kamehameha's wishes is also disputed. After critically examining the statements of a variety of early native and foreign writers on the subject, Fornander concludes that

> it is impossible to acquit *Kamehameha* of complicity in the cruel death of *Keoua.* It must have been planned in his council. It was executed by three of his highest chiefs and most trusted counsellors. The deed itself took place in his presence and within sound of his voice; and there is no mention, tradition, or hint that he ever disapproved or regretted it, or in the slightest manner rebuked or punished those who treacherously enticed *Keoua* away, or him who actually stabbed him. [71]

g) Kamehameha Unites the Hawaiian Islands

Whether planned or not, the assassination of Keoua gave Kamehameha undisputed control of Hawai'i Island by 1792. In early 1795 Kamehameha took Maui, Lana'i, and Moloka'i. With the conquest of O'ahu that year, Kamehameha's aggressive military policy succeeded in bringing all the islands but Kaua'i under his control. In 1810 that island's paramount chief acknowledged Kamehameha's supremacy, completing the consolidation of the islands into the Kingdom of Hawai'i, which Kamehameha ruled until 1819 and his descendants until 1872. [72] Although the monarchy was overthrown in favor of a republic in 1894, it established the foundation for the future state of Hawai'i.

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CHAPTER VII:
PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE (continued)

O. Further Research and Interpretive Needs

At the time of European contact and before the Hawaiian temples were disassembled in 1819, thousands of them were in use. Some were described by early visitors, who provided tantalizing clues as to the functions of various parts of the temple and the rituals performed in them. A systematic accounting of *heiau* was not initiated until Malo, Kamakau, and others began the process in the late nineteenth century. From them we learned the basic heiau types, the particular functions of each type, and which ones were used by which segments of society. But frustrating gaps still exist in our knowledge of *heiau* and their specific uses. Ruins of *heiau* remain as a symbol of the all-pervading spiritual environment within which the early Hawaiians lived and which influenced all aspects of their culture.

This study has researched all repositories known or thought to have historical data relative to Pu'ukohola and Mailekini heiau, as well as to the John Young homestead. Some scholars believe the key to understanding the development of Hawaiian temple construction, re-use, subtypes, and rituals lies in detailed archeological study and excavation. [303] Cluff et al. point out that *heiau* "are archaeologically significant as little archaeological research has been undertaken with regard to the remaining religious structures of the aboriginal Hawaiian" [304]

It is highly probable that some further archeological research would provide more data for interpretation and enhance our knowledge of ancient religious structures and of the aboriginal Hawaiian culture prior to and during the time of European contact. So far, neither research nor limited survey work has conclusively shown whether Pu'ukohola originated with Kamehameha or was rebuilt over an earlier structure. If Pu'ukohola is built on an earlier structure, as tradition says, the possibility exists that it is architecturally stratified, with the platforms and terraces of the older *heiau* buried under later additions and elaborations. Excavations at other East Polynesian temple sites have shown this stratification, and it has proven a significant step in ascertaining the development of temple ritual in those areas. In Hawai'i, few investigations of internal *heiau* architecture have been conducted. [305] The few done, however, have shown that excavations and detailed architectural studies of *heiau* can contribute significantly to an understanding of political and religious change in early Hawaiian society. The construction sequences of the temples in this park might help explain the development of complex chiefdoms on Hawai'i Island in the centuries before European contact. Architectural studies can also help assure the accuracy of stabilization and reconstruction efforts. [306]

Pu'ukohola Heiau is significant architecturally for what it can show us about how Hawai'i Island *heiau* architecture differed from that on other islands and in other areas of Polynesia. Archeological excavations could add to our knowledge of Mailekini Heiau, which has undergone substantial changes over the years and about whose original configuration we are uncertain. This type of study might provide information on whether sacrifices were performed

there, whether the platform held any structures, what changes might have occurred when the structure became a fort, when the burials were added and to what degree their addition resulted in changes to the configuration of the temple platform, and other alterations over time. Archeologists have determined that the structure has been greatly changed by the moving around of rocks for other construction purposes and by vandalism. Major concerns in any work of this type would be care and preservation of original fabric and of areas important to native Hawaiians.

Archeological resources within Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site other than the *heiau* have been archeologically surveyed, given site numbers, and recorded on an Archeological Base Map. Further excavation does not seem warranted at this time, although park interpretation should mention the nature and origin of these features. Little evidence of outlying structures that might have been connected with either Pu'ukohola or Mailekini heiau has been found. Although a possibility existed that archeological survey work might expose additional exterior features that had not been mentioned in the historical record in connection with Pu'ukohola but that were integral parts of many *luakini*, such has not been the case. These features might have included the oven near Mailekini in which Keoua's body was baked; tombs; postholes of a sacred boundary fence; a hut, or at least a large stone, where victims were slain; an outside pavement area where the idols were carved; refuse pits; perhaps the foundations of a *hale papa*, an exterior row of images, or other satellite structures; or indications of the limits of the sacred space surrounding the temples and the Pelekane area. Further archeological work on Pu'ukohola and Mailekini heiau might reveal evidence of internal features, such as structures and additional tombs on the temple platforms and in their foundations as well as changes over the years. Perhaps when foundations or portions of the walls of either *heiau* need stabilization, they could be checked for earlier remains. The course of the walls emanating from the corners of the *heiau* as depicted by Jackson in 1883 have changed somewhat, and only slight remains exist of any type of enclosure around the royal compound in the Pelekane area. Further study of the ground with maps in hand might reveal some earlier traces of these walls.

Personnel connected with the NPS Submerged Cultural Resources Unit based in Santa Fe, New Mexico, have searched for, but not found, foundations associated with the Hale-o-Kapuni *heiau.* Pelekane, the site of the royal compound, would be an excellent interpretive area if more of the overgrowth were cleared out, exposing archeological features. These ruins are within the park but on state-owned lands. The Park Service removed debris determined not to be of historical significance from this area, which serves as the site of an annual park cultural festival. The leaning post near the shore should be repaired and replaced in a protected area but close enough to the shore that its use in ancient times and its possible association with the shark *heiau* can be interpreted.

Temporary stabilization actions at the John Young homestead have included erecting a plyboard reinforcing wall around the standing plastered masonry walls to protect them from the elements and adding a metal roof. Some type of long-term stabilization method needs to be utilized that will be more effective and that permits viewing of the resource by the public. In 1985 Cultural Resource Specialist George J. Chambers of the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC), in Tucson, Arizona, recommended a procedure for stabilization of the John Young home. It would have enabled removal of the protective roofing and concealment of the plywood sheets. Both the Superintendent and Pacific Area Director endorsed this plan, but it was not implemented because a Historic Resource Study had not been done.

The landscape surrounding the *heiau* is a resource also. The vegetative cover might be hiding still other early Hawaiian structures, some of which might be associated with the *heiau* functions. Some individuals have discussed restoring the landscape to its "original" condition, presumably utilizing more appropriate traditional plants, such as sweet potatoes or melons, and shrubs in the landscape scene. A large-scale landscape restoration program could utilize early data on similar seashore sites in the Kohala District or attempt to utilize data from some of the later-period pictures of the site that are available.

A Cultural Landscape Report, an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, an Ethnohistory, and a Park Administrative History should be programmed.

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PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NHS • KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NHP • PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP

A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island

Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations

CHAPTER VIII: KALOKO-HONOKOHAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (continued)

B. Chronology of Settlement

In a new publication currently in press, Archeologists Ross Cordy, Joseph Tainter, Robert Renger, and Robert Hitchcock, on the basis of historical accounts and archaeological data, have postulated the social, economic, and physical development of the Kaloko-Honokahau area over the years. The following information is taken from their study.

1. A.D. 900s-1700s

The authors believe that small permanent settlements in the leeward portions of Hawai'i Island began by the A.D. 900s to 1000s, and possibly earlier. These would have occurred near favorable water sources, Kaloko bay probably having been one of the most sheltered and inviting large inlets along the Kona Coast. Coastal habitations had expanded by the 1200s, utilizing inland fields as well as sea resources for subsistence. The Kekaha lands north of Kaloko and extending to Kohala are thought to have undergone initial permanent settlement beginning in the 1400s, with subsequent occupation of the coast north and south over the next few centuries.

Sometime during the period of 1580 to 1600, Laeanuikaumanamana, the *kahuna-nui* of the ruling chief, Liloa, acquired the Kekaha region. It is thought that the construction of fishponds at Kaloko and Honokahau began during this time, with Kaloko Fishpond dating from at least the 1400s to 1500s During the 1600s to 1700s, as the Kona Coast population grew with the establishment of the royal residence of 'Umi-a-Liloa at Kona and the consequent increased demand for food production, Kaloko also increased to probably almost 200 residents. It continually supported a higher population than other Kekaha areas because of its fishpond and extensive inland field system.

It was the presence of these resources that resulted in residence at Kaloko by a high chief for at least part of the late prehistoric period. The authors suggest that Kaloko *ahupua'a* had been given to Kame'eiamoku, a high chief and one of the counsellors of Kamehameha, as well as one of the heirs of the Kekaha lands, the area having been a periodic residence of that family from his grandfather's time. A specific site within the park has even been identified as a chiefly residence. At some time during this period Kaloko's large *heiau* was built. Such structures were occasionally constructed away from the major centers of government, serving as *luakini, ahupua'a heiau*, or as a high chief's personal *hieau.* It is possible the "Queen's Bath," an anchialine pond, and its associated cairns is also a religious site constructed during this period, perhaps as an *ahupua'a* shrine, although its precise use has not yet been determined. [5]

2. Historic Period (1800-1900)

Major changes occurred along the Kona Coast in the early historic period. Drastic depopulation resulted from inhabitants leaving the coastal settlements for the port towns of Kailua and Kealakekua, resulting in a decline in agricultural production and in the utilization of marine resources. Diseases; the abolition of the *kapu* system; and the removal of the central government to O'ahu and Maui all contributed to the dissolution of the early settlements.

By the early 1800s, Kaloko was still an identifiable community, containing about six households near the coast, but with no high-ranking occupants in residence. These coastal habitations centered mainly around the fishpond. A few scattered inland residences remained. Although the abolition of the ancient religious system probably ended formal use of the *heiau* and other religious shrines in the area, the already declining population and the movement of the high chiefs of Kekaha to Honolulu may have instigated this move much earlier. Subsistence still depended on agriculture and marine exploitation. By the 1830s to 1840s, the coast was being abandoned, with some resettlement occurring in the uplands zone. Only a single household, that of a caretaker, occasionally occupied the area around the fishpond. [6]

Hawaiian *ali'i* had always highly valued lands containing fishponds as a dependable source of a continuing and plentiful food supply. The Kaloko and 'Ai'makapa fishponds were among the largest along the Kona Coast and added considerable value to the lands on which they were located. They were probably the primary reason that *ali'i* used this area for recreational and ceremonial purposes. [7] The 1848 Great *Mahele* resulted in almost all lands with fishponds being selected as private property by members of the ruling family. To Lot Kamehameha (Kamehameha V), a grandson of Kamehameha, went the lands of Kaloko and Kaupulehu, both supporting fishponds. Kaloko Fishpond was considered a very valuable resource, later having its own overseer who sold its products in Kailua. Kamehameha's granddaughter, Kekauonohi, received the *ahupua'a* of Honokohau-nui, containing the large 'Aimakapa Fishpond. W.P. Leleiohoku, heir of Kuakini, Ka'ahumanu's brother, received the smaller 'Ai'opio Fishtrap in Honokohau-iki. [8]

The land that Lot Kamehameha received in Kaloko *ahupua'a* included all acreage except cultivated lands *(Kuleana* grants) awarded to commoners, which numbered twelve adjacent to or near the main road around the island. [9] A Catholic school with forty-five students was listed in Kaloko in 1848. [10] Government records show that in 1857 nineteen people were paying taxes in Kaloko; this number reached twenty-three in 1860. [11] In her discussion of the population changes in Kaloko through the years, Kelly surmises that the entire *ahupua'a* of Kaloko might have supported up to 400 people at one time. The *Mahele* wrought numerous changes by initiating a new system of land division and the transition to a cash-based economy. Crops and produce from Kaloko Fishpond were taken to Kailua-Kona and the arid Kekaha region for sale. [12] The coastal trail connecting Kekaha villages was abandoned as traffic moved to the trails connecting the upland communities. The Mamalahoa Trail, or Lower Government Road, farther away from the coast and inland of the prehistoric coastal King's Highway, was constructed between 1835 and 1855. The *Mahele* and subsequent awarding of private claims probably also forced some of the inhabitants off their lands, either into outlying areas or into one of the larger port cities such as Kailua or Kawaihae. Eventually the aggrandizement and fencing of large portions of land by ranchers also served to discourage smaller native landowners. [13]

Princess Ruth Keelikolani acquired Kaloko by deed in 1874 as the sole heir of Kamehameha V. She leased the *ahupua'a* of Kaloko to three lessees for five years, but exempted the fishpond. A second five-year lease was granted to two of these men in 1881. [14] After Ruth Ke'elikolani's death in 1883, her sole heir was Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Upon her death in 1884, Kaloko was sold to C. H. Judd, trustee of the estate of King Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani. (John A. Maguire of the Huehue Ranch obtained Kaloko from that estate in 1906.) [15]

The area around Kaloko Fishpond began losing its identity as a community beginning in the 1880s, when permanent settlement started moving upland where cash crops could be grown, the population focusing on the Kohanaiki Homesteads. Social and economic ties were expanding outside the Kaloko area as the shoreline was virtually abandoned both here and in neighboring *ahupua'a.* The Kaloko Fishpond caretakers relied completely on cash sales of its produce. [16] J.S. Emerson's ca. 1888 map of North Kona shows only a few houses along the Kaloko-Honokohau coast: that of Kealiihelepo on the east edge of Kaloko Fishpond and those of Kalua and Beniamina between 'Ai'opio and 'Aimakapa fishponds in Honokahau. [17]

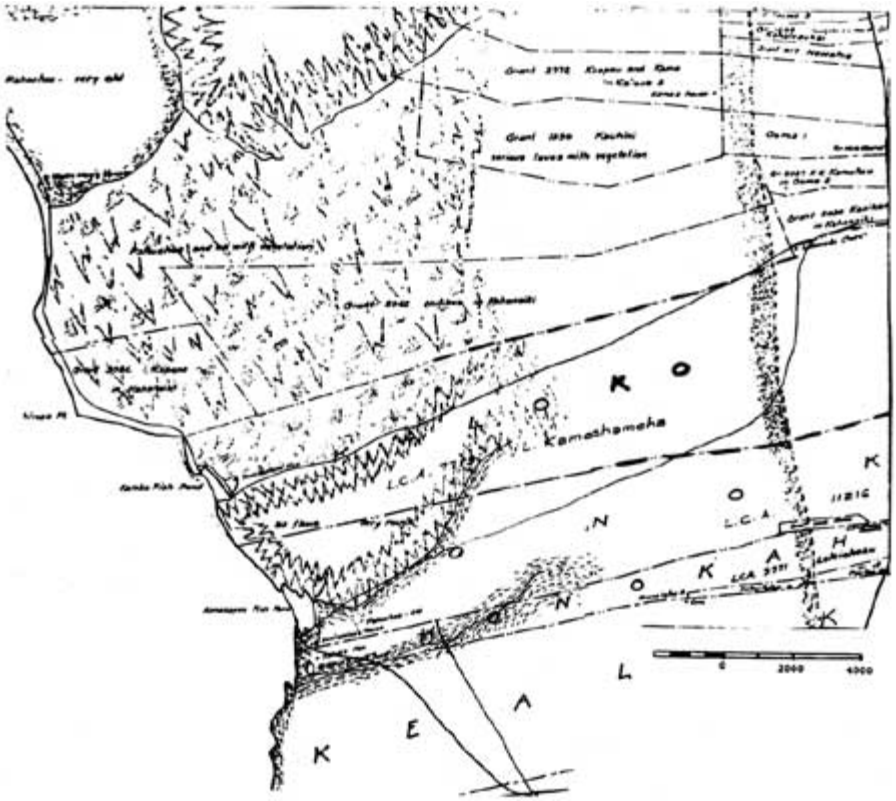


Illustration 94. Portion of Kailua Section, North Kona, Hawaii, Hawaii Territory Survey, survey and map by J.S. Emmerson, 1952.

Ultimately large ranches began leasing and purchasing the lands formerly owned by Hawaiian chiefs. Ownership of the Kaloko *ahupua'a*, excluding the *kuleana* grants, passed into the hands of the later Huehue Ranch operation. Subsistence in Kaloko *ahupua'a* from here on began to depend on the small-scale household farming in the uplands, which had shifted primarily to cash crops by the 1880s; on sales of fish from Kaloko Fishpond by its caretakers or lessees in the markets of Kailua-Kona; and on cattle raising by the Huehue Ranch. [18]

Plantation agriculture began in Hawai'i in the mid-nineteenth century, after the decline of the whaling trade and of the demand for ship provisioning that had given impetus to the native agricultural system. Plantation agriculture greatly altered the native social and economic systems. Many native Hawaiians would not work as laborers in the cane fields. Others were either forced to migrate to the upland plantations to work under this system so foreign to their traditional way of life or to move to larger towns, such as Kailua or Honolulu, to find other means of subsistence. The continuing prosperity of the plantations created a continuing need for fieldworkers. In addition, then, to new tools, agricultural practices, and forms of landownership, Western-style plantation agriculture introduced foreign contract laborers. [19] Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, and Filipino immigrants soon began arriving to work on the plantations.

Coffee raising was a growing industry in Kona in the 1880s. A large number of coffee plantations filled the hills behind Kailua. These trees grew in narrow strips or belts of volcanic land on the leeward slopes of Hualalai and Mauna Loa. Small-scale coffee operations also existed around Kaloko and Honokahau in North Kona. [20]

Few written records exist about the Kaloko coast from the latter half of the nineteenth century through the turn of the twentieth. What little is known exists primarily only in the memories of older Kona District residents. [21] As the archeological record bears out, many of the sites in this once heavily populated area were gradually abandoned in the middle and late nineteenth century due to a combination of factors causing heavy population decline, including culture change, disease, new land laws, and a growing desire to move to urban centers. [22] At that time the remaining inhabitants tended to cluster around the fishponds in the area. [23] Honokahau village ca. 1913 held about a dozen houses along the beach. At Kaloko at this time, only one house is mentioned, near the fishpond — probably that of a caretaker. [24]

The Honokahau settlement continued to be inhabited as a Hawaiian village until about 1920, when people left it due to

its isolation — it was accessible by sea only in small boats and by land only on foot or horseback. The site was later occupied by Filipino fishermen, living in shacks on the shore. [25] The Filipinos who obtained leaseholds on the Frank Greenwell property had come to Hawai'i beginning in the 1920s. After the expiration of their work contracts, many stayed on, moving from the plantation camps down to the beach.

3. Historic Period (1960s-Present)

Kaloko continued as a working domestic and commercial fishpond during the early part of this century, the main seawall undergoing constant repairs. Between 1943 and 1961, it was leased to a resident of Kailua, who cemented several sections of wall to minimize maintenance. He also built a jeep trail from Kaloko to Kailua over which to ship fish from the pond to market. After that lease expired, the coastal area was sporadically used by fishermen and campers, who mostly occupied the coconut grove at the south end of the seawall. [26] Kona's resort/development boom started in the late 1960s, aided by construction of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway, which provided easy access to the seaward portions of North Kona and South Kohala. [27]

A 1972 federal court memorandum stated that the Kaloko-Honokohau area remained rural in character, with its inhabitants still relying on the ocean, as well as the land, for their subsistence. The bounty of the ocean and fields kept them independent and off public assistance. [28] Today, under permits first issued by the Greenwells and later by the National Park Service, a few huts of fishermen dominate the Honokohau shoreline around 'A'iopio Fishtrap.

A final development spurring further activity in the area occured when the 1965 River and Harbor Act authorized construction of a small boat harbor, which began in 1968 and was finished by March 1970. (Although located in the *ahupua'a* of Kealakehe, it is referred to as the Honokohau boat harbor.) Because of the basaltic lava that had to be removed, many tons of explosives were used to form the facility, which included an inshore harbor basin, entrance channel, main access channel, rubble wave absorbers, and a wave trap. Its total accommodation was planned at more than 400 boats. [29] Construction of the boat harbor resulted in destruction of some archaeological sites, but they were of marginal value and were salvaged prior to their loss. This construction added another dimension to activity along the coast, providing impetus for planning further resorts there and housing in the upland areas.

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CHAPTER IX: PU'UHONUA O HONAUNAU NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (continued)

B. Description of Refuge Area

Early in the area's prehistory, a ruling chief declared the tongue of black lava flow extending out into the ocean southwest of the bay a sanctuary protected by the gods. There *kapu* breakers, defeated warriors, and criminals could find safety when their lives were threatened if they could reach the enclosure before their pursuers caught them. A massive stone wall around the sanctuary marked the boundary, while a *heiau* within the walls afforded spiritual protection. Later a temple was built at the north end of the wall to hold the sacred bones of the ruling dynasty, who would act as perennial guardians of the *pu'uhonua.*

The refuge site today consists of an area partially surrounded by a thousand-foot-long wall of *pahoehoe* lava about seventeen feet thick and ten feet high. The north side of the structure is open to the bay and the west side to the sea. Within or next to the enclosure were several significant structures, including the Hale-o-Keawe, the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau, the "Old Heiau," and the Hale-o-Papa (Women's Heiau). Other notable features include a *konane* stone *(papamu),* a fisherman's shrine, and two large stones, one reportedly serving as a hiding place for Queen Ka'ahumanu during a quarrel with her husband King Kamehameha and the other used by Chief Keoua. A small enclosure east of Hale-o-Keawe contains two fishponds used by Hawaiian royalty. The Hale-o-Keawe housed the bones of the paramount chiefs descended from 'Umi and Liloa, some placed in wicker caskets woven in anthropomorphic shapes. This sepulchre of the very high ali'i lent Honaunau its great sanctity. The entire area surrounding the complex was densely settled in aboriginal times and is now replete with significant archeological remains.

It is clear that a well-organized society once flourished in this area. Archeological features here illustrate all aspects of ancient society relating to the religious, economic, social, and political life of early Hawaiians. This way of life began disappearing with Cook's arrival in 1778 and underwent more deterioration when Liholiho abolished the *kapu* system in 1819.

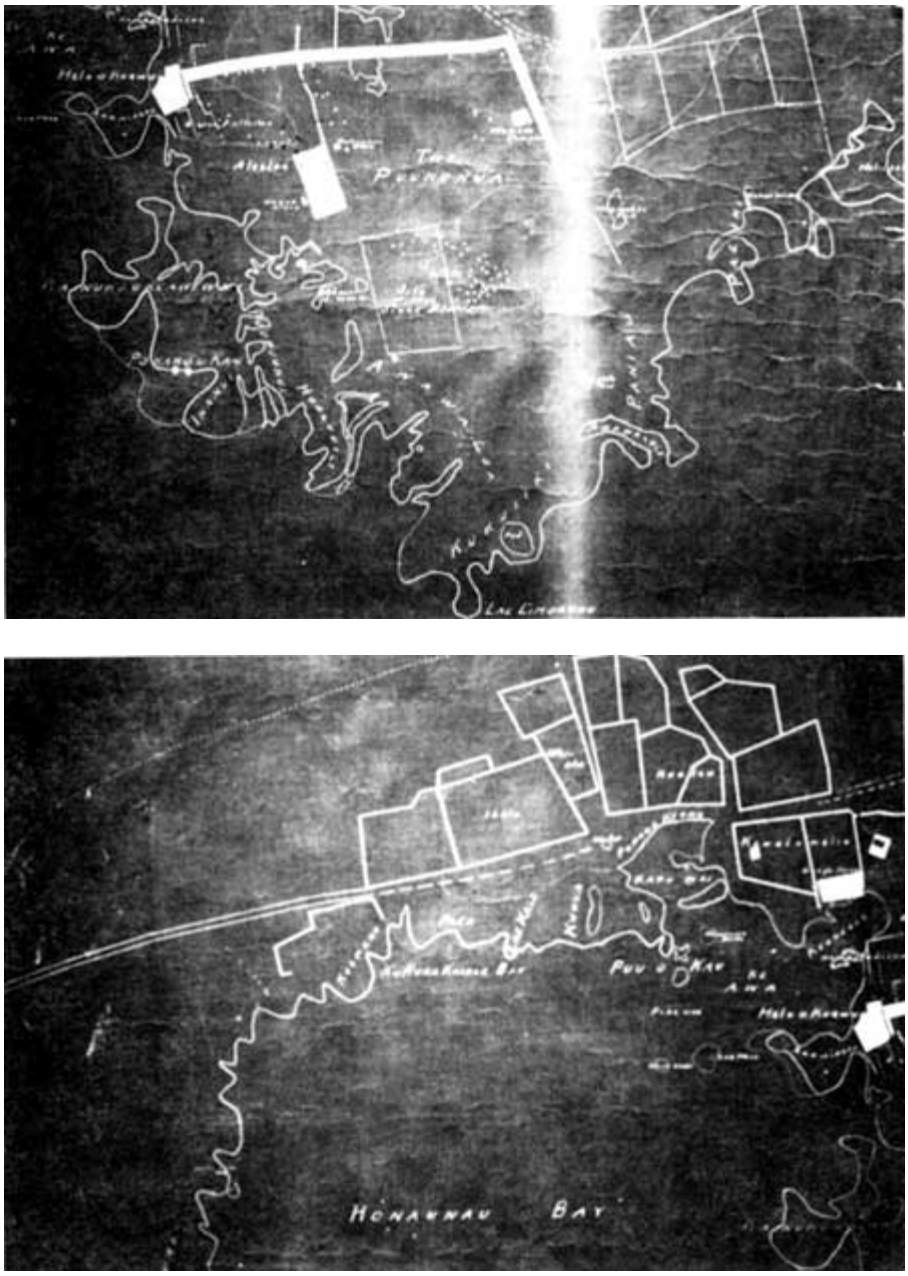


Illustration 147. Portion of map "Honaunau, South Kona-Hawaii, Beach Section at Low Tide. Historical and Archaeological Remains," by John F.G. Stokes, 1919. Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

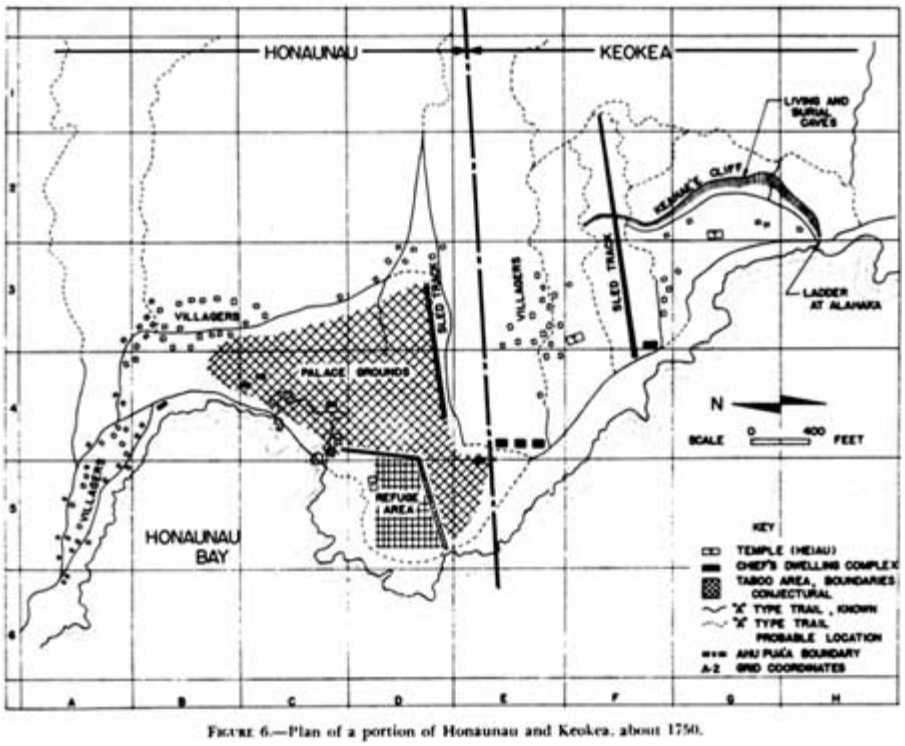


FIGURE 6.—Plan of a portion of Honaunau and Keokea, about 1750.

Illustration 148. Plan of Honaunau area, showing settlements, Palace Grounds, and refuge area, ca. 1750. Figure 6 in Apple, *Trails*, p. 13.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

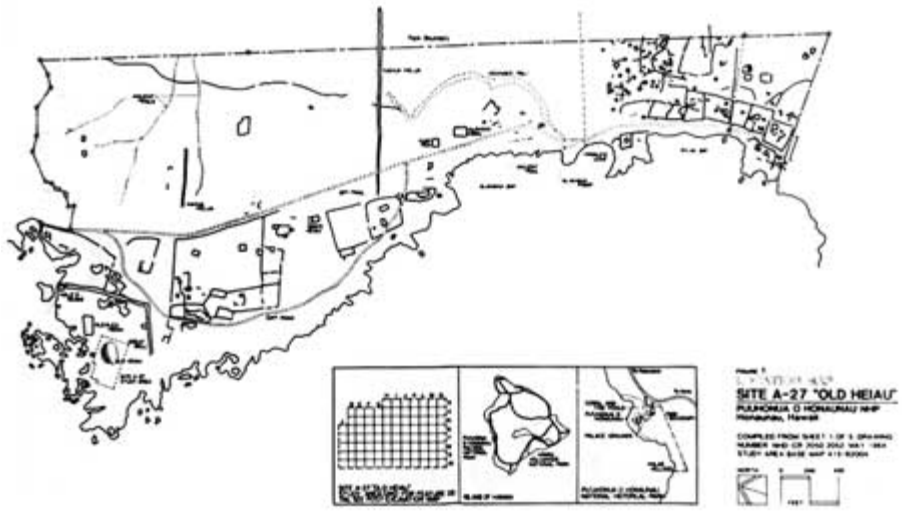


Illustration 149. Map showing extent of resources at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau, including Ki'ilae Village to the right. Figure 1 in Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27,* p. 3
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)



Illustration 150. Archeological map of the Pu'uhonua o Honaunau showing major structures and features of area. Plate II in Ladd, "Hale-o-Keawe Temple Site," p. 164.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

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