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

Also
coded:
KAHO
and
PUHO

**PU'UKOHOLĀ
HEIAU**

National Historic Site
Kawaihae, Hawai'i

**KALOKO-
HONOKŌHAU**

National Historical Park
Kaloko-Honokōhau, Hawai'i

**PU'UHONUA O
HŌNAUNAU**

National Historical Park
Hōnaunau, Hawai'i

ERRATA SHEET

for

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

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Kawaihae, Hawai'i
Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, Kaloko-Honokōhau, Hawai'i
Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Hōnaunau, Hawai'i

Page 208 Caption should be:

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

Page 219 Caption for bottom photo should read:

Illustration 38. View to east of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Note **Mailekini** Heiau midway between shore and Pu'ukoholā. Pelekane area to left. NPS photo, 1989.

Page 259 Caption should read:

Illustration 53. Cultural remains at Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS. Top left: walled enclosure, Pelekane area. Bottom left: beach trail. Top right: **leaning stone**. Submerged site of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau in water offshore. NPS photos, 1989.

Page 392 Caption should read:

Illustrations 130-32. Significant cultural resources, **Kaloko-Honokōhau** NHP. Top: petroglyphs. Middle: village site. Bottom: Māmalahoa Trail. NPS photos, 1989.

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

September 1993

by
Linda Wedel Greene

**PU'UKOHOLĀ
HEIAU**

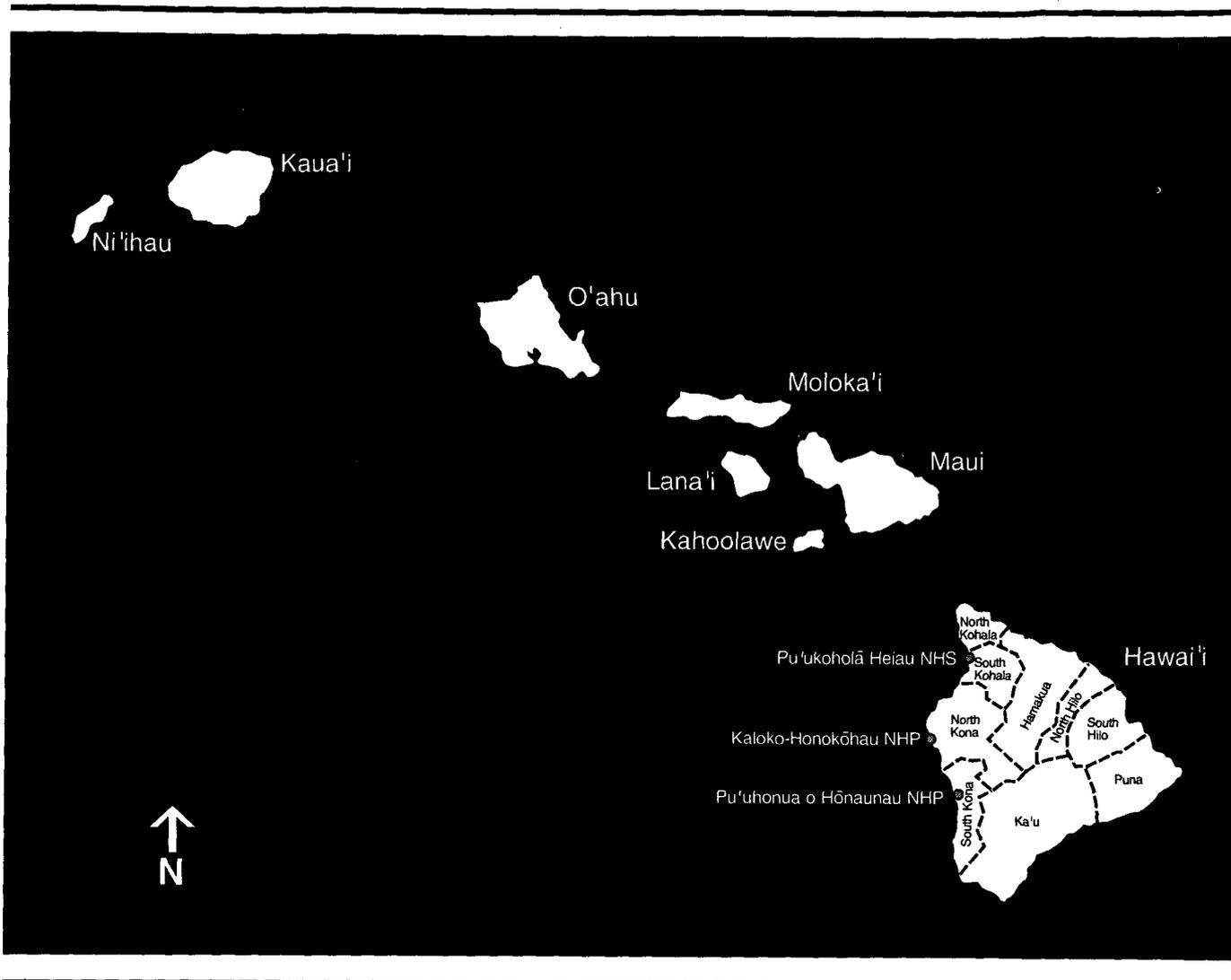
National Historic Site
Kawaihae, Hawai'i

**KALOKO-
HONOKŌHAU**

National Historical Park
Kaloko-Honokōhau, Hawai'i

**PU'UHONUA O
HŌNAUNAU**

National Historical Park
Hōnaunau, Hawai'i



Hawai'i

PREFACE

This document is a historic resource study for three Hawaiian units of the National Park System. These areas – Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and Kaloko-Honokōhau and Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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 nineteenth- 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-Honokōhau NHP

Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS

Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau 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'ukoholā Heiau NHS and Pu'uhoonua o Hōnaunau NHP; Daniel K. Kawaiāea, Jr., Area Manager, Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS; and Francis I. Kuailani, Sr., Superintendent, Kaloko-Honokōhau 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

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OVERVIEW OF HAWAIIAN PREHISTORY

by
Linda Wedel Greene

Chapter I. Before the Written Record

A. Formation and Description of the Hawaiian Archipelago

Hawai'i 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 Philippines. 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

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.

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.

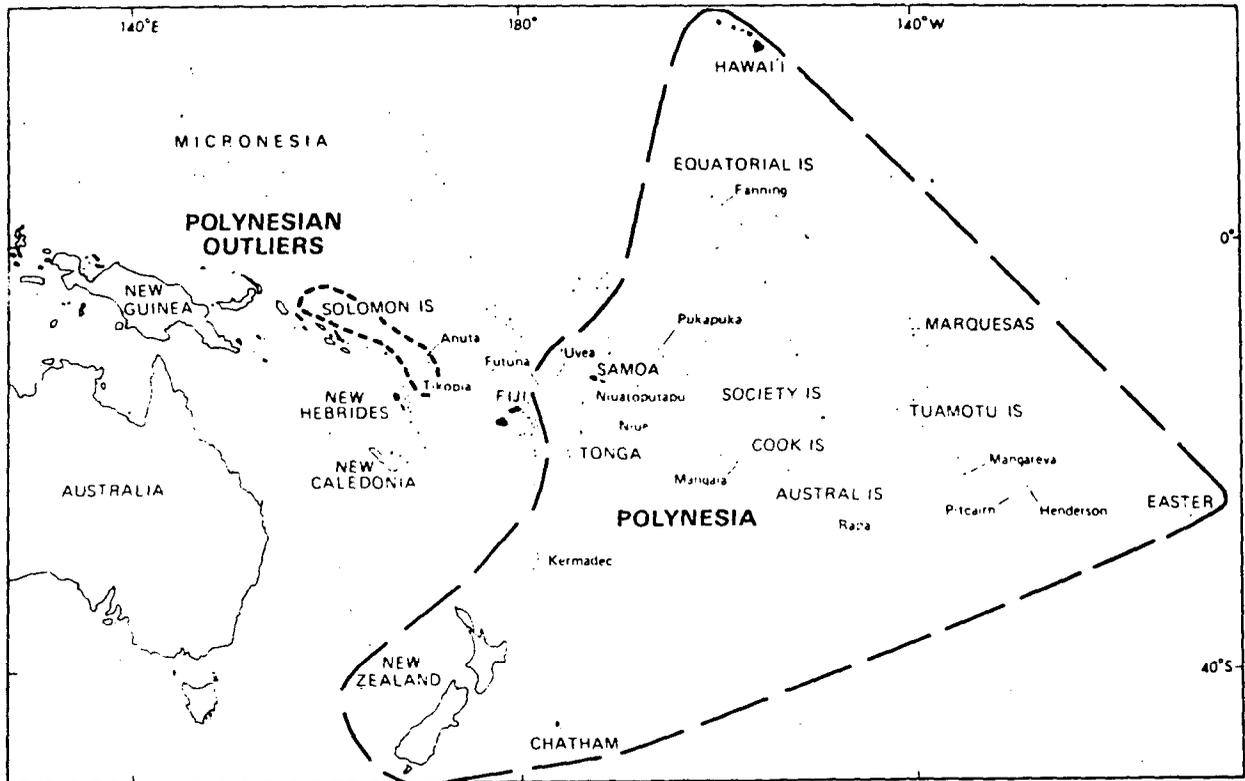


Illustration 1. Polynesian Triangle, with Hawaiian Islands at northern apex. All peoples within this area are thought to have common ancestry. (Figure 13 in Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, p. 23.)

The 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

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,

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-A.D. 1778*, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XVI: Indigenous Peoples and Cultures (Washington: National Park Service, 1962), pp. 6-7.

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,

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.

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

D. Development of Hawaiian Culture

1. Early Environment of the Hawaiian Islands

The Hawaiian Islands consisted of high volcanic landforms separated by miles of open water. A great diversity of environmental conditions existed among islands and upon each one. The first Polynesians reaching this new homeland found a virtually unspoiled landscape. Although somewhat barren and dusty in places, there were as well undisturbed reefs and lagoons, sandy beaches, dense inland rain forests, broad alluvial plains, precipitous cliffs, high peaks, and moist valleys and uplands, in addition to a mild, salubrious climate. And until European contact the area remained relatively pest and disease free.

The most serious deterrent to technological advancement was the absence of metals, such as copper and iron, in a usable form, forcing reliance on stone, wood, shell, and bone for tools, weapons, and household implements. Fortunately, one of the assets of their new home was an abundance of volcanic rocks, some of which were hard enough to be used as adzes, cutting implements, and abraders, while others could be broken up into blocks suitable for construction. Other types of stones, such as waterworn pebbles and talus fragments, were also used in building.¹³

The volcanic nature of their new home affected many aspects of the developing Hawaiian culture. The percentage of land available for cultivation was small. The rugged, mountainous interiors were neither conducive to habitation nor good for agriculture due to excessive rain and scarce sunlight. Some areas of the islands had abundant water, while others were very dry. Tidal waves,

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.

mud and rock slides, and volcanic eruptions were a constant threat, undoubtedly causing considerable damage and loss of life. Seasonal flooding, droughts, and other environmental conditions seriously affected agricultural as well as maritime pursuits and necessitated careful planning and community cooperation to insure an adequate and constant food supply.¹⁴ All things considered, however, these pristine tropical islands offered an abundance of raw materials and a favorable environment for the formation of a distinctive socially and politically complex culture.

The archeological profession is still actively debating the nature of pre-Western contact Hawaiian culture. This has resulted in the formation of several models illustrating the evolution of Hawaiian settlement and subsistence patterns, material culture, and socio-political organization. A detailed analysis of each of these models is not presented here, but rather a summary of the probable general development pattern of Hawaiian society prior to the arrival of Europeans.

2. Settlement Patterns and House Styles

Over the last twenty years archeologists have begun intensive investigations into the nature and patterns of aboriginal cultural adaptations to the varied environmental situations found in the Hawaiian Islands. The term "settlement patterns" refers to the nature and distribution of dwellings and other buildings reflecting the natural environment, level of technology, class differences, trade patterns, warfare, political and religious systems, and cultural traditions.¹⁵

Little is known about the earliest Hawaiian population, but because of their Polynesian background as fishermen and agriculturalists, during this formative time settlement probably began along the coastlines near rich fishing grounds. These scattered, often temporary, coastal homesteads, consisting of a few houses, were probably occupied by extended family groups. Although the character of a shoreline might seem promising for a village site, its selection depended upon shelter from winds and the availability of fresh water. In ancient times, water was available from several different sources. Surface streams in the larger valleys provided water for domestic use and later were used for irrigation purposes. Along the coastal plains, ground water was available in volcanic rock, limestone, and gravel. This lower-level fresh water (basal water) floats on the salt water because of its lesser specific gravity. Where there were no streams, coastal villages depended on basal water obtained from shallow wells dug in the sand a few feet from the shore. In some areas fresh water escaped along the coasts, causing springs under the surface to erupt through the salt water. This water could be captured in gourds for use. Settlement also extended into the lowland zone of alluvial windward valleys where there were fertile agricultural resources.¹⁶

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.

Initially, some of the settlers living farther away from the coast on the hillsides and in the valleys where there were many rock caves, might have used these for housing. At some point these first arrivals began constructing shelters and arched dwellings of wood and bark on level spots along the curves of the land, along sandy shores and the banks of streams, on ridges and hills, and in gulches and wooded areas – wherever suitable material for thatching existed. Some evidence has been found that these early settlement structures contained fire hearths and that cooking was done in traditional Polynesian earth ovens.¹⁷

In time, the focus of permanent settlement became the fertile, well-watered windward valleys, but with continued exploitation of rich fishing grounds. Activities were not confined to the windward lowlands, and eventually small permanent nucleated settlements became dispersed throughout ecologically favorable locations on all the major islands. The archipelago's population was probably increasing, due in large part to the lack of restrictions on agricultural land and to plentiful natural resources.¹⁸

Evidence of house structures from this period reveals small, round-ended huts with internal, stone-lined hearths. Other types of houses, including rectangular shelters, might also have been present.¹⁹

Explosive population growth ultimately necessitated expansion into even the most arid and marginal regions of the archipelago. During that time, the population established numerous new sites and settlements, mostly in previously unoccupied areas. Small clusters of houses continued to appear in the interior portions of windward valleys, away from the coast, and along leeward coastlines. The first settlements in these latter areas were situated at the most favorable spots, near natural fishponds or around sheltered inlets. This period was characterized by the rapid dispersal of population from the fertile windward regions into leeward valleys and along leeward coasts. Throughout this period the continued settlement and development of less favorable areas occurred.²⁰

Large numbers of rockshelters now served for both temporary and permanent occupation. Houses with rounded ends persisted in limited numbers, but the dominant permanent house style was rectangular. These structures frequently rested on stone-faced, earth-filled rectangular terraces, and a pattern of separate dwellings and cookhouses was established. The C-shaped shelter also appeared during this time, correlating with the development of leeward agricultural field systems.²¹ Just prior to contact, there were few significant lowland tracts not subject to some

17. Samuel M. Kamakāu, *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.

level of occupation and exploitation. An apparent decline in growth rates, however, led at this time to a leveling off of the population. The effect of such controls as abortion, infanticide, and warfare on this trend is uncertain.²²

3. Material Culture

Little is known about the earliest Hawaiian material culture. Stone adzes of various types were certainly used, and because these people were fishermen, depending initially almost entirely upon the sea and its produce for their subsistence, simple fishhooks were manufactured as well as trolling lures. Other items found from this early period include coral abraders and flake tools.²³ Cultural items most susceptible to change during the settlement period would have been those used in sea exploitation, because of the different raw materials, marine conditions, and types of marine resources in Hawai'i.²⁴

Ultimately certain distinctive patterns of Hawaiian material culture did begin to develop. Fishing gear was refined to adjust to local marine environmental conditions and available materials. Elaborate two-piece bone fishhooks appeared and trolling lures became more distinctive. Styles of coral and sea-urchin files, awls, scrapers, and flake tools remained about the same.²⁵

Few new portable artifact types developed over the years, and the basic Hawaiian material culture inventory changed little until the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of foreign goods and materials.²⁶ However, elaboration of elite status goods, such as feather capes and whale ivory pendants, and wood carving increased. Craft specialists standardized and controlled the production of these valued goods as well as of utilitarian items.²⁷ At the time of European contact, these status items were much admired for their design and artistry.

4. Subsistence

If the Hawaiian settlers had been totally dependent on the land resources of the islands they were settling, it would have been very difficult to survive. The upland forests, often extending to the foothills, provided some food plants such as pandanus and edible ferns. The forests also were habitat for bats and birds, which could be utilized for food, while the feathers of the latter also became an important aspect of personal ornamentation. In addition, the fertile soil and water resources could be exploited for agricultural purposes. These indigenous island resources were supplemented by a limited number of plants and animals the voyagers brought with them by canoe. These included taro, yams, and breadfruit (not successfully transplanted until the 1200s);

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

23. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

24. State of Hawaii, *Historic Preservation in Hawai'i*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

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

26. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

fiber plants like the paper mulberry whose bark could be manufactured into clothing and decorative items; medicinal plants of many varieties; and a few domesticated pigs, dogs, and fowl. However, careful tending of these food plants and domesticated animals for several years would have been necessary before they could provide an adequate food supply.

The early settlement period, therefore, was probably characterized by primary dependence on the sea and its products for subsistence. On adjacent land, however, if sufficient rainfall and protection from salt spray allowed, the villagers could raise sweet potatoes or yams. Expert fishermen, the first settlers were adept at exploiting the rich marine resources found in nearby reefs and bays, including fish, shellfish, squid, crustaceans, marine mammals, and seaweed. They not only rapidly became familiar with the various habits and characteristics of the different kinds of fish on the coasts and the best places and times to catch them, but also acquired an intimate knowledge of their breeding places and feeding grounds. This almost total dependence on the sea would last until crops were growing well and domesticated animals were reproducing in sufficient numbers, allowing the Hawaiians to expand into a land-oriented economy.²⁸

In time there was extensive development and intensification of all aspects of food production. Fishing and shellfish-gathering continued as a major specialized activity. The Hawaiians not only became adept at spearing and poisoning fish, but also at formulating precise techniques for the manufacture of fishhooks, lures, basket traps, and nets with sinkers. The population also collected salt for treating pork and fish in dry coastal areas by evaporation, frequently in natural or manmade salt pans.

Economic production intensified with the development of large irrigation works, dryland field systems, and methods of aquacultural production. There is direct archeological evidence for taro irrigation in the form of stone-faced pondfields and irrigation channels constructed in interior valleys. These irrigation systems reflect the intensification of production in areas that had already been occupied for centuries. Leeward areas, however, also underwent rapid agricultural expansion as dryland forests and scrub were cleared and various kinds of field systems were laid out. The first true fishponds and associated aquacultural techniques probably developed during the latter half of this period. The earliest ponds were constructed by the fifteenth century and increasingly thereafter as chiefs could command the labor necessary to transport the tons of rock and coral used in the enclosing walls. These ponds, which yielded several hundred pounds of fish per acre annually, were not only feats of engineering technology, but reflected chiefly power and were a major symbol of the intensification of agricultural and aquacultural production.²⁹ Many of the larger pondfield irrigation systems in the valley bottoms appeared in the final centuries prior to European contact. In addition, a large number of fishponds were constructed along the island coasts, under the direct control of the chiefly class.³⁰

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

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

30. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

5. Social, Political, and Religious Organization

During the early colonization period in the islands, Hawaiian society probably remained structured along the lines of its ancestral concept of hereditary chieftainship, with settlers organized into corporate descent groups. The rank differential between chiefs and commoners was probably not great for the first few centuries after settlement when bonds of kinship would still have been important in a small population group. The precise nature of the religious beliefs of this early population is unknown, although the pan-Polynesian concepts of *mana* (spiritual or supernatural power) and *kapu* (taboo) were probably still a part of their social and ritual lives.³¹ Sacred places were probably only designated by small platforms or some type of enclosure.

Eventually a distinctive Hawaiian cultural pattern began to emerge. Although little is known about this stage of socio-political and religious systems, the discovery of some elaborate burials from this period indicates that some sort of status differentiation between chiefs and commoners existed. Probably the ancestral pattern of corporate descent groups had not yet given way to the later rigid class stratification.³²

In time, the socio-political structure of Hawai'i underwent a radical change, resulting in new forms of religious belief and ritual, in increasing rank differences, and in formation and stabilization of the basic social and political framework found at European contact. The increase in population was a major factor underlying these substantive changes. The spread of settlement into previously unoccupied lands, the establishment of inland field systems, and the dispersed residential pattern provided significant opportunities for agricultural development and intensification, for territorial and political reorganization, and for intergroup competition.

Ultimately, corporate descent groups no longer held land in common. That system was replaced by the *ahupua'a* pattern characterized by territorial units under the control of subchiefs owing allegiance to a central chief and subject to redistribution in the event of conquest and annexation by a new ruling chief. The establishment of the *ahupua'a* as the central unit of territorial organization probably dates from this time. As the amount of land available for agriculture diminished, the definition of territorial boundaries increased and local conflicts over arable land brought about intergroup warfare and competition among chiefs. Success in warfare enabled increasingly powerful chiefs to annex conquered lands and place the control of *ahupua'a* units in the hands of their lesser chiefs. Ultimately, rigid class stratification and territorial rather than kin-based social groupings were established.

Because it was so closely interrelated with these social and political changes, the religious system underwent significant development and elaboration. The *Makahiki* ceremony, closely tied to the *ahupua'a* pattern of territorial organization, probably began at this time, developing by the end of this period into a ritualized system of tribute exaction. The rise of intergroup warfare and conflict probably arose with the elaboration of the Kū cult, which was accompanied by an emphasis on increasingly massive temples (*heiau*).³³

31. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-6. Kū, 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.

By the end of this period, Hawaiian culture had been substantially transformed from its ancestral Polynesian predecessor; the basic technological, social, political, and religious patterns witnessed at European contact were now in place.

In 1810 Kamehameha completed the unification of the Hawaiian Islands, basically ending the old political order. This was also the approximate time that foreign goods and ideas began to make serious inroads on the native culture. A wealth of oral traditions handed down by such nineteenth-century scholars as Samuel Kamakau, John Papa I'i, David Malo, and Abraham Fornander provide much information on the political developments of Hawaiian society at this time. (Kamakau, Papa I'i, and Malo were native historians. Fornander is an important source whose writings should be carefully evaluated due to religious influences and some questionable interpretations.)

The political history of all the major islands during the final two centuries prior to European contact comprised constant attempts by ruling chiefs to extend their domains through conquest and annexation of lands, with campaigns often extending beyond the borders of individual islands. The expansion of a chiefdom was generally short-lived due to usurpation by a junior chief enlisting the aid of various malcontents. The later political history of the islands was therefore very cyclical. Another significant aspect of this late-period political organization was the system of marriage alliances between ruling lines of various islands. During this period, high-ranking women were regarded as the main transmitters of rank and *mana*.

Various cultural elaborations resulted from the intense rivalry and warfare and cyclical conquest characteristic of highly advanced chiefdoms as they attempt to unify and emerge as states. The Kū cult rose in importance, resulting in construction of increasingly massive *luakini* (temples of human sacrifice). The *kapu* system, especially the sanctions surrounding the high chiefs, also underwent further elaboration.³⁴

E. Major Aspects of Traditional Hawaiian Culture

The previous sections have provided the reader with an overview of the origins of the colonizers of the Hawaiian Islands, the type of environment the original inhabitants encountered, and some idea of the major trends in the development of Hawaiian society during specific cultural sequences. Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and Kaloko-Honokōhau and Pu'uuhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Parks contain a vast number of resources representing the evolution of Hawaiian settlement patterns and house types; fishing and agricultural activities; social, political, religious, economic, and land use systems; and recreational and artistic pursuits. These resources include habitation, recreational, and religious sites; items of material culture, such as tools, utensils, and artwork; roads and trails; and structures associated with agriculture, husbandry, and fishing, including shrines, windbreaks, fences, and animal pens. In order to better understand the contexts within which these remains attain their significance, it is necessary to describe in more detail some of the developments in Hawaiian culture up to the time of European contact.

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

1. Social Organization

a) Stratification

During the period from about A.D. 1400 to European contact, Hawaiian society underwent a systematic transformation from its ancestral Polynesian descent-group system to a state-like society. The stratification that came to characterize Hawaiian society – consisting of a highly cultivated upper class with territorial control supported by a substructure of an underprivileged lower class – was somewhat reminiscent of ancient Mediterranean and Asian civilizations as well as of medieval Europe, and indeed has been referred to as feudal in nature.

The *ali'i* attained high social rank in several ways: by heredity, by appointment to political office, by marriage, or by right of conquest. The first was determined at birth, the others by the outcomes of war and political intrigue. At the time of European contact in 1778, Hawaiian society comprised four levels: the *ali'i*, the ruling class of chiefs and nobles (kings, high chiefs, low chiefs) considered to be of divine origin; the *kahuna*, the priests and master craftsmen (experts in medicine, religion, technology, natural resource management, and similar areas), who ranked near the top of the social scale; the *maka'ainana*, those who lived on the land, the commoners – primarily laborers, cultivators, fishermen, house and canoe builders, bird catchers who collected feathers for capes, cloaks, and helmets, and the like; and the *kauwa*, social outcasts/"untouchables" – possibly lawbreakers or war captives, who were considered "unclean" or *kapu*, that is, ritually polluting to aristocrats. Their position was hereditary, and they were attached to "masters" in some sort of servitude status.³⁵

b) Rights and Duties of Each Class

Earlier it was stated that the *ali'i* are thought to have arrived in the Hawaiian Islands after initial colonization had occurred. According to E.S. Craighill Handy, the origin and cultural heritage of the *ali'i*, who had earlier invaded and conquered aboriginal populations in central Polynesia, distinguished them from the older Hawaiian population. Historically and socially different, they maintained the purity of their blood and the integrity of their cultural heritage through barriers of *kapu* that isolated them from the lower echelons.³⁶ Varying degrees of sanctity existed among

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 Psychocultural 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.

the *ali'i*, the highest *kapu* belonging to an *ali'i* born to an *ali'i* of supreme rank and his full sister. In his/her presence, commoners prostrated themselves. The Hawaiian Islands are the only place in Polynesia where this type of extreme inbreeding was sanctioned, although only among the chiefly class, and the only place where the prostration *kapu* (*kapu moe*) was imposed.

Recognized degrees of superior sacredness demanded special deference. All nobles of lesser rank had to observe prescribed forms of obeisance to those of the several sacred ranks and avoid their persons and personal property. Death resulted from failure to observe the proper form of homage. Lesser nobles occupied degrees of rank that were significant in connection with marriage and offspring but not in relation to the entire community. The mass of the people, the *maka'ainana*, probably descended from the aboriginal Hawaiian population. They performed many duties for their social superiors, producing food, supplying items for clothing and home furnishings, and laboring on community projects such as roads, water courses, taro patches, fortifications, and temples.³⁷

A division existed not only between classes but also between the duties of commoner men and women. While men engaged in farming, deep sea fishing, manufacturing tools and weapons, building houses, and conducting religious rituals, women raised the children, helped in some agricultural tasks and in-shore fishing, collected wild foods, and made barkcloth, mats, and baskets.

c) Role of the *Kapu* System

The Hawaiian concept of the universe embodied the interrelationship of the gods, man, and nature. The former, although the ultimate controlling influence in this system, granted their direct descendants – the nobility – secular control over the land, the sea, and their resources:

The aristocracy fiefed these resources to commoners, and commoners allowed the pariah to attach themselves to their households in domestic servitude. In return, pariah served commoner directly with his labor; commoner exploited the resources and delivered tribute to the aristocracy; the aristocracy served the gods with lavish religious observances in their honor; the gods communicated their satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, through the forces of nature and by influencing the outcomes of human affairs.³⁸

Power and prestige, and thus class divisions, were defined in terms of *mana*. Although the gods were the full embodiment of this sacredness, the nobility possessed it to a high degree because of their close genealogical ties to those deities. The priests ratified this relationship by conducting ceremonies of propitiation and dedication on behalf of the chiefs, which also provided ideological security for the commoners who believed the gods were the power behind natural forces. Commoners possessed little *mana* and were therefore prohibited from entering any of the holy places where nobles and gods communicated, such as the *heiau* in which the aristocrats honored their gods. Pariah, with no *mana*, could interact with commoners but not approach aristocrats.

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.

Mana was the central concept underlying the elaborate *kapu* system of Hawai'i, the major social control perpetuating rigid class distinctions and conserving natural resources.³⁹ As Handy states:

It is evident that *kapu* determined and regulated the three castes. For the *alii*, the *kapu* of sanctity was at once a wall of protection and the source of prestige and authority. The same *kapu* determined for the commoners their social and economic relationship to, and their reverential attitude towards their overlords. As for the *kauwa*, their segregation and exclusion from the social organism was due to a *kapu* of defilement.⁴⁰

2. Settlement Patterns

a) Location of Houses

Ancient Hawai'i contained no large villages because of the need to reserve as much land as possible for cultivation or as fishing sites and because concentration of the population for governmental and business purposes was not integral to the functioning of society. The terms "village" and "town" as used in this report regarding early Hawaiian settlements do not denote a corporate social entity as they do today, but a forced proximity of homes to each other because of the topography or physical character of an area or the concentration of a particular activity, such as fishing, at that location. Most permanent villages initially were near the sea and sheltered beaches, which provided access to good fishing grounds as well as facilitating canoe travel between settlements. The majority of the population maintained these permanent residences along the coast and erected temporary shelters inland for use while exploiting forest products and working in taro and sweet potato fields.⁴¹

Both windward and leeward coasts of the Hawaiian Islands had their virtues and defects. As habitation sites, windward coasts were well watered but susceptible to choppy seas, a lack of sunshine, and often harbored steep cliffs. Leeward coasts offered safer navigation, were sunny and warm, but sometimes lacked water for agricultural and domestic use. Leeward coasts possessed of abundant water were considered ideal habitation sites.⁴² According to Archeologist Ross Cordy, recent study indicates that the first population centers on the larger Hawaiian islands existed on the windward sides, probably primarily in fertile valleys but extending into areas with good fishing. Permanent occupation of leeward areas did not begin until later.⁴³ By about A.D. 1400 population had begun expanding inland from the coast, increasing throughout the fifteenth

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.

and sixteenth centuries as scattered homes and small settlements were established near extensive permanent inland irrigation fields and in specialized agricultural areas.⁴⁴

The district chief resided mostly among the largest centers of population, near the most productive resource areas, where there was enough food to feed his immediate family and relatives. His retainers, including lesser chiefs, warriors, and priests, settled nearby, creating a village atmosphere. Tenants of the *ahupua'a* provided food and goods to the court. District chiefs tended to move about, concentrating on good surfing or fishing areas, and distributing the burden of their support among the people.⁴⁵ This constant movement also enabled them to keep a critical eye on their subjects and ferret out any unrest.

b) Construction Techniques

Houses of many different construction types existed in the Hawaiian Islands. Usually a commoner constructed his house with the help of friends. When a chief needed a house, however, his retainers assembled the materials and erected the structure under the direction of an individual (*kahuna*) expert in the art of erecting a framework and applying thatch. Every step of the house building process, from the selection of the site to the final dedication, required careful religious supervision. Certain prescribed rules governed not only the house's location, but also the method of construction, the arrangement of the mats for sleeping, and the procedure for moving in. Blessings such as long life were expected to result from proper respect of these rules.⁴⁶

Most houses at the time of Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands consisted of a framework of posts, poles, and slender rods – often set on a paving or low platform foundation – lashed together with a coarse twine made of beaten and twisted bark, vines, or grassy fibers and covered with ti, pandanus, or sugarcane leaves, or a thatch of *pili* grass or other appropriate material. When covered with small bundles of grass laid side by side in overlapping tiers, these structures were described as resembling haystacks (Illustrations 2 and 3). One door and frequently an additional small "air hole" provided ventilation and light, while air also passed through the thatching. Grass or palm leaves covered the raised earth floors of these houses.⁴⁷

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

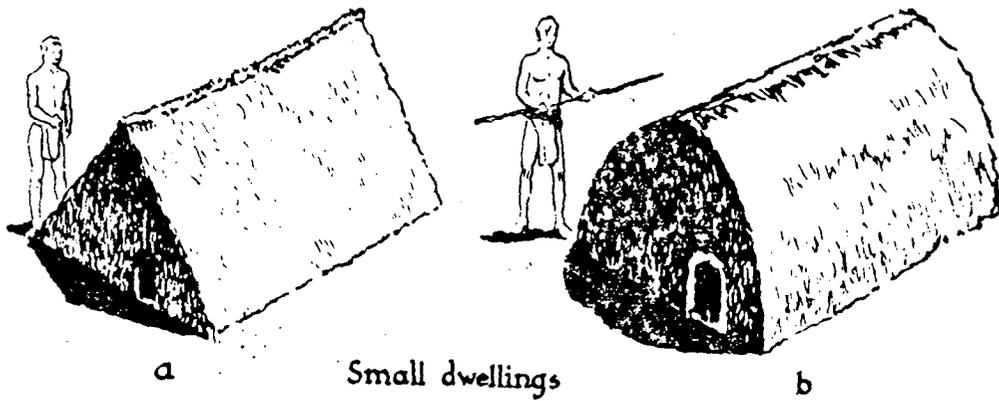
45. Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 182; Barrère et al., *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture*, pp. 19-20.

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

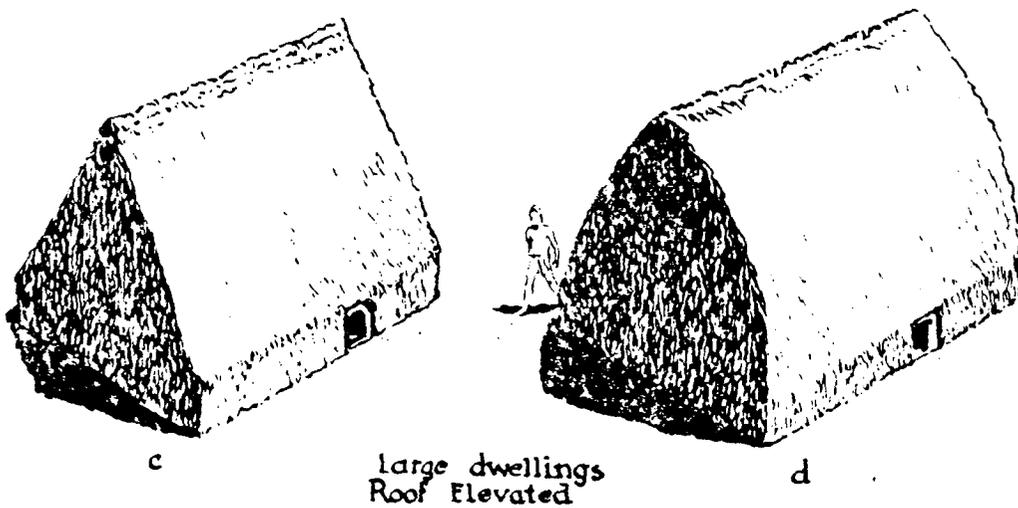
47. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, The Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands . . .*, 3d ed. rev. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), pp. 115-16.



Illustration 2. Scene on the west coast of Hawai'i Island, no date, near Kealakekua Bay. From Jose de Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*. . . . 2 vols. Edited by William S. Bryan. St. Louis: N.D. Thompson, 1899, p. 521.



Small dwellings



Large dwellings
Roof Elevated

- 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.

Illustration 3. Hawaiian thatched houses, ca. 1779. Plate 2 in Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House*, p. 18.



Illustration 4. Villagers at Kalaupapa (pre-leprosy settlement), 1880s. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

c) Size of Residences

Residences of the Hawaiian people varied in size because of differences in use based on class and social status. A commoner's family probably occupied only one or two structures – a sleeping house and perhaps a cooking or utility house, with an associated work plaza for *kapa* making and other outdoor activities (Illustration 4).⁴⁸ Households by the sea kept their canoes in sheds and farmers might have storehouses. Furnishings in the homes of commoners were almost nonexistent, consisting only of some mats used as floor coverings and, when covered with *kapa*, as beds; a variety of containers; *poi* boards and calabashes; some simple tools; fish lines and nets; and weapons of war.⁴⁹ Commoner's houses were primarily used only for storage and shelter in inclement weather; most daily household activities, such as cooking, took place outside.⁵⁰ These houses also served as places of security or hiding places for commoners and lesser chiefs during *kapu* periods while high chiefs and high priests conducted important religious activities, such as burials or temple ceremonies, that needed to be free from prying eyes.⁵¹

The families of chiefs occupied their structures day and night, good weather or bad. The household of a Hawaiian of rank or position, therefore, would need six or more houses. This is because separate structures had to be built for different purposes, the *kapu* forbidding eating and sleeping under the same roof and prohibiting men and women from eating or working together.⁵² The typical household cluster of a chief or other person of rank or position would include one or more of the following: a common sleeping house, a men's house for eating and cooking that was *kapu* to women, a women's eating house, a women's work house for making mats and beating *kapa*, a private retreat house for women during their menstrual period, and a *heiau* or house temple for worship of the family gods.⁵³ At least one house of each chief's complex served as an office, conference room, and reception area for important visitors. Chiefs tended to stay inside most of the time, shielding their person and their *mana* from the view of commoners.⁵⁴

A high chief possessed at least one complex of permanent thatched houses surrounded by a fence, while a ruling chief and other high-ranking individuals maintained several such complexes in different locations or districts. A ruling chief moved his court as desired, travelling along the coasts by canoe with his retinue and setting up temporary establishments at certain sites for

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 Philippines* (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 Hawaiian Life*, p. 20.

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

purposes of business or pleasure.⁵⁵ Numerous individuals, possibly as many as 100 people including family members, relatives, friends, and servants, attended and supported each chief. These retainers, each with specific duties such as preparing food or carrying the chief's spittoon, lived near the chief and moved when he did. Most of the families in this complex organization lived outside the chief's enclosure, but also required thatched houses for storage, shelter, and security during *kapu* periods. Probably the higher a chief's rank, the larger his stockade and more numerous his houses.⁵⁶

d) Shelters

Shelters at worksites for farmers, canoe makers, bark scrapers, salt makers, fishermen, and quarrymen; at short-term special-use camps for those working at a distance from their permanent home or involved in resource procurement; or at rest stops along trails when traveling were a necessity (Illustration 5). These temporary abodes took a variety of forms, including caves, stone-wall windbreaks, lava tubes, lean-tos, hollow trees, simple A-frame structures, or bark houses. Shelters in the non-irrigated inland agricultural areas and in the forests where people were raising crops, hunting birds, gathering vines, or cutting timber, protected against heat, cold, wind, and rain. Shelters on the coasts, and especially on barren lava flows, provided relief from the sun or inclement weather or were used as windbreaks when sleeping. Chiefs and their retainers lived in temporary shelters when travelling by canoe along the coasts to establish temporary settlements for business or recreational pursuits. Apparently some commoners, regarded somewhat as vagrants by the rest of the population, used caves, lava tubes, or lean-tos as permanent abodes. Sheds thatched only on the roof were erected near the shore to provide shelter for canoes during construction and storage periods and shade for craftsmen working on them.⁵⁷

3. Subsistence

a) Marine Activities

(1) Inshore and Offshore Fishing

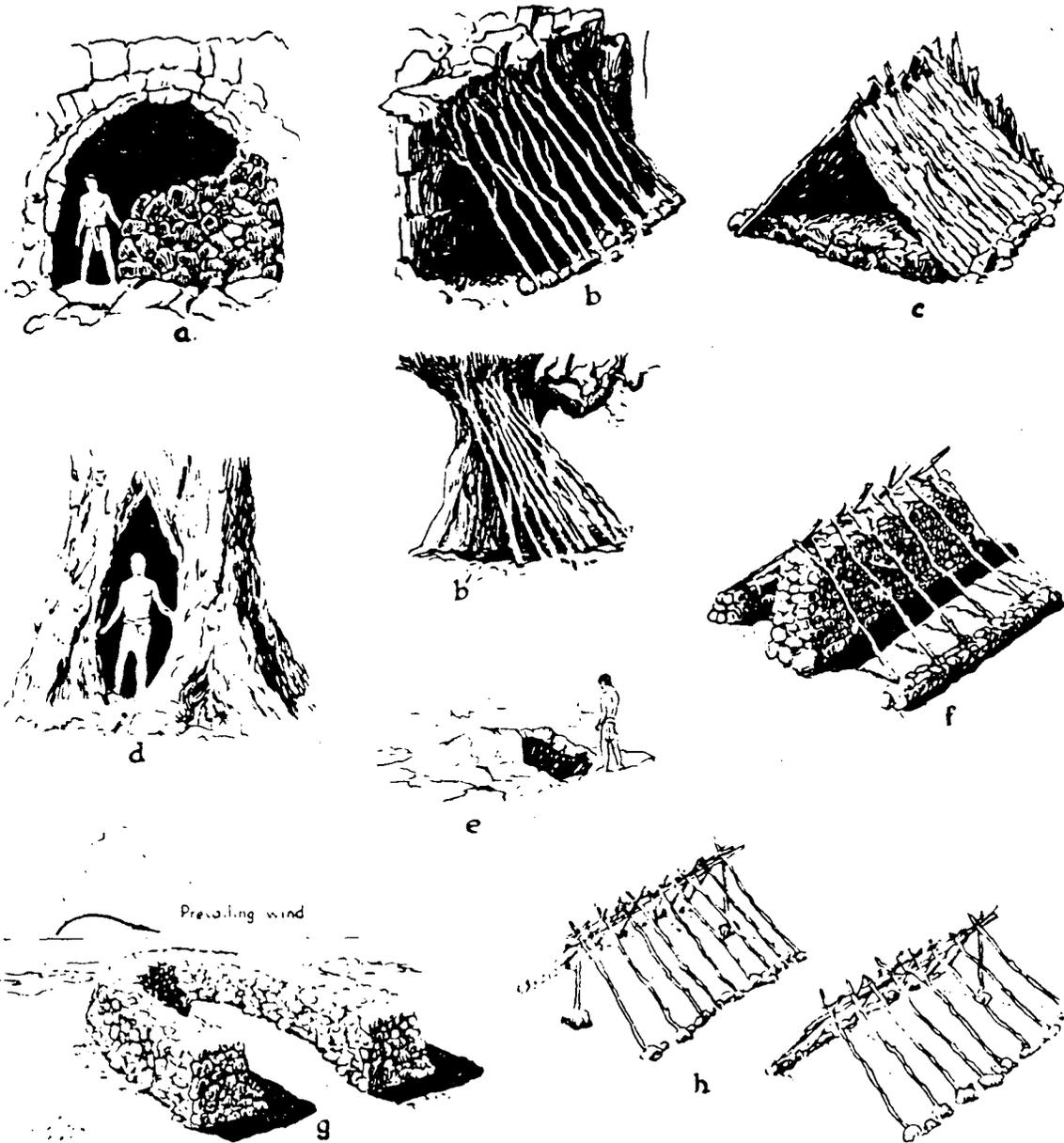
(a) Techniques

Abundant marine resources, including aquatic plants such as seaweed and edible algae and animals such as crustaceans and shellfish, provided the primary protein component of the Hawaiian diet because of the limited supply of other protein foods such as pig, dog, chicken, and wild birds. The ancient Hawaiians quickly became familiar with the various species of fish frequenting the waters adjacent to their shores, closely studying their habits and feeding grounds and adopting gathering methods suited to their particular characteristics. Although a constant, necessary occupation and duty, fishing was probably also a pleasure as a time for social interaction. Fishing was one of the favorite sports of the Hawaiian chiefs.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 11.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 10-11, 13-14; Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change*, pp. 57-59.



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.

Illustration 5. Hawaiian temporary shelters, ca. 1778-1950. Plate 1 in Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House*, p. 14.

Fishing took place both inshore and offshore. Many fishing techniques were used, each demanding different equipment and procedures. The principal open sea marine exploitation practices at the time of European contact included hand catching, snaring, spearing, basket trapping, netting, hook and line fishing, and poisoning.

Inshore fishing was probably the most productive and reliable source of seafood for the ancient Hawaiians, yielding fish, echinoderms, crustaceans, molluscs, and edible seaweed.⁵⁸ Women and children participated in this type of fishing, although canoe fishing and even several of the reef methods were restricted to men. Several types of fish, including crabs, lobsters, eels, sea urchins, shellfish, octopi, and shrimp, could be caught by hand along the rocky coasts in shallow coral reef areas and shoreline pools or by divers in underwater caves.

Eels and lobsters could be caught by snaring with a noose hung from a pole. When an eel stuck its head outside its hole to get at the bait on the other side of the noose, the noose was drawn tight and the eel ensnared and raised to the surface. Using hardwood spears about six feet long, underwater divers stood on the bottom of the shore and impaled fish as they swam by. Spears were used above water for turtles, octopi, and fish that were mesmerized by torches at night in shallow water.

Women used basket traps to catch shrimp and fish. Woven of vines or branches and filled with bait, these baskets could be lowered to the shallow bottom. Women then dove down and brought the filled traps to the surface. More sophisticated baskets had conical woven entries, making it impossible for the fish to find their way out.

Several types of gill nets were used, according to the type of fish to be caught and the type of habitat. The three techniques of fishing with these involved setting up a stationary net in which fish became entangled as they swam about; driving the fish into a stationary net; or moving the net to encircle the fish. Seine nets were also used in shallow water and trapped fish by impounding them within a complete circle formed by the net or between the net and the shoreline. Bag nets were made into enclosed purses with one open end in which bait attracted fish.⁵⁹

A leguminous plant called *'auhuhu* was pounded to make a material called *hola*; this was applied to holes or tidal pools to stupefy the fish, which floated to the surface where they could be retrieved in scoop nets. Or divers stuffed the pounded fibers into an underwater cave that had been sealed earlier to trap the fish inside. In a few minutes the dead fish were retrieved by hand. Another plant, called *akia*, found in the forests and foothills also served this purpose.⁶⁰

Professionals did most of the offshore fishing, using canoes to reach the deep sea fishing grounds. Only through long and careful training did men become acknowledged fishermen. The head fisherman of a group, for whom this activity was a profession and sole occupation, was the *po'o lawai'a*. He could be a chief of lower rank or a commoner and often supervised a company of apprentices. Knowledge of the habitats and movements of different species of fish, of the methods of capturing them, and of the types of fishing apparatus needed and of how to

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.

manufacture them (these were usually made for him by craftsmen) had been handed down to him. It was therefore his duty to choose pupils to whom to transmit his expertise so the cycle could continue. His assistants helped in fishing beyond the reef, an activity that needed to be done in concert. Often one member of the party stayed on shore to watch for the schools of fish, whose location he signalled to the fishermen. The *po'o lawai'a* could be commanded to accompany the high chief for a sporting fishing expedition, he could be ordered to fish for the chief, or he could go whenever he wanted.⁶¹

Knowledge of the location of good fishing places off shore was a family or community possession. These spots were defined by taking bearings on natural features on shore. Several kinds of line fishing from canoes were practiced. The primary type was trolling for tunas with an unbarbed trolling hook, or lure. At other times a one-piece bone or shell hook was attached to a line, sometimes 600 feet long, weighted at the bottom with a stone sinker. Hooks were fastened to the ends of short sticks standing out at right angles along its length, which caught different kinds of fish frequenting different depths.⁶²

The first fish caught were reserved for the gods and offered on altars on shore or given to priests as soon as the canoes landed. The best fish of the catch were then set aside for the chief's personal needs and those of his household. After apportions had been made to the various *kahuna* and *konohiki* (resident land manager of the high chief), the common people finally received their share according to their need.⁶³

Resources caught along the coasts and on reefs were usually eaten raw. Fish were caught mainly for immediate consumption, but surpluses could be preserved by drying or by salting and drying on racks in the sun along the beach. Salt fish went especially well with *poi*, the staple Hawaiian plant food. Preserved fish could be stored for later food needs or became an important article in internal and external trade or exchange. Fish could also be wrapped in ti leaves and cooked in an *imu* (underground oven), laid on coals and cooked, or boiled in a calabash (gourd bowl).⁶⁴

As mentioned earlier, salt was an important adjunct to the fishing industry, with villagers collecting and evaporating sea water in either naturally or artificially pan-shaped rocks along the shore. The extraction of salt from ocean water for domestic use was an ancient art.⁶⁵

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.

(b) Religious Aspects

As with so many other activities in early Hawaiian life, success in fishing was closely tied to signs, omens, and the will of the gods. At the beginning of the fishing season, many ceremonies took place in which offerings such as pigs, coconuts, and bananas were made. There were also specific ceremonies surrounding the christening of a new canoe, the initial use of a new net or hook, and the catching of the first fish.

Many deities were associated with fishing. Although an ancient noted fisherman Ku'ula-kai, his wife Hina-hele, and their son Aiai, were the chief deities of this activity because they supposedly presided over the sea, each fisherman also had his own god, which might be a stone or image of the family guardian spirit ('aumakua), which would bring good luck in fishing and to which he said prayers and made offerings. 'Aumakua belonged to and protected families, or a group of kinsmen, and passed from generation to generation. They were thought to be ancestors of these kinship groups. Good-luck stones, sometimes carved with human form or in the shape of a fish, were either taken along when fishing or left at home facing the sea. In addition, a variety of shrines and altars were placed along the shore near villages or fishing places. Fishing shrines (ko'a), comprising a pile of stones usually of coral or limestone, were erected on promontories or headlands overlooking the ocean. Ko'a also took the form of small thatched temples built on rock platforms, which were enclosed with wooden fences or rock walls and sheltered by banana trees. All these structures were designed to entice the deities to attract shoals of fish to the area, and offerings of fish and sometimes fishhooks were placed on them prior to setting out to sea. After successful fishing expeditions, fishermen again placed offerings of fish on their altars.⁶⁶

Missionary William Ellis, describing his tour around Hawai'i in 1823, mentions that upon

Leaving the heiau [Kauaikalaloa], we passed by a number of smaller temples, principally on the sea shore, dedicated to Kuura [Ku'ula], a male, and Hina, a female idol, worshipped by fishermen, as they were supposed to preside over the sea, and to conduct or impel to the shores of Hawaii, the various shoals of fish that visit them at different seasons of the year. The first of any kind of fish, taken in the season, was always presented to them. . . . This custom exactly accords with the former practice of the inhabitants of Maui and the adjacent islands, and of the Society islanders.⁶⁷

As mentioned, the protective spirit of an 'aumakua was considered to be related to a specific kinship group. This was because the Hawaiians thought that the spirit of an illustrious deceased relative or young child could be ritually induced to enter some kind of fetish, either an inanimate object, a carved image, or an animal, and thus become a patron. The animal selected as the receptacle of the spirit would be treated as a pet, and a familiar relationship between its species and the family would be established. The early Hawaiians regarded certain sea animals, such as

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 Gazette Co., Ltd., 1916), p. 88.

sea turtles, eels, squids, porpoises, and most notably sharks, as the physical embodiments of personal gods (*'aumakua*).

Ellis conjectured that

In some remote period, perhaps, they had observed the sharks chasing or devouring these fish, as they passed along among their islands, and from this circumstance had been led to deify the monster, supposing themselves indebted to him for the bountiful supplies thus furnished by a gracious Providence.⁶⁸

If a species of shark were *'aumakua*, any of its members received offerings for special favors, such as good luck at sea and protection from drowning, prior to embarkation of a fishing expedition. Many fishermen, however, regularly fed a shark at a special spot along the shore or from a canoe and came to recognize them as individuals and even as pets.⁶⁹ According to J. S. Emerson,

The shark was perhaps the most universally worshipped of all the *'aumakuas*, and, strange to say, was regarded as peculiarly the friend and protector of all his faithful worshippers. . . . Each several locality along the coast of the islands had its special patron shark, whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance, were well known to all frequenters of that coast. Each of the sharks, too, had its *kahu* (keeper), who was responsible for its care and worship. The relation between a shark-god and its *kahu* was often times of the most intimate and confidential nature. The shark enjoyed the caresses of its *kahu* as it came from time to time to receive a pig, a fowl, a piece of *'awa*, a malo, or some other substantial token of its *kahu's* devotion. And in turn it was always ready to assist the *kahu*, guarding him from any danger that threatened him.⁷⁰

Religious practices related to fishing not only helped ensure successful fishing ventures, but the *kapu* related to fishing and fishponds also helped conserve the sea's food supply. These *kapu* were rigidly adhered to, not only through tradition, but because it was the will of the chiefs and of the gods and one could expect severe punishment for ignoring them. Hawaiian exploitation patterns were designed to preserve fishing grounds by tapping specific types of marine biota at certain periods. *Kapu*, or closed, seasons on certain fish during their spawning time helped in the conservation of that species. Elaborate religious ceremonies accompanied the switches in open fishing seasons. Other *kapu* involved prohibiting fishing at certain places along the shore when deep sea fishing was open; alternating fishing times at inshore fishing places; and making certain that seaweed remained off limits at certain times of the year to preserve it as fish food and thus ensure good shore fishing. The ancient Hawaiians were not only skilled and knowledgeable fishermen, but they also respected the customs and traditions associated with this activity, which

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.

was a mainstay of their life. Fishing *kapu* were considered especially important because they were the method of preserving the harvest of the sea for coming generations, and they were observed with great care.⁷¹

(2) Aquaculture

(a) Fishponds

i) Origin

Anthropologist William Kikuchi has broadly defined Hawaiian aquaculture as "the indigenous, economic, technological and political control of natural pools, ponds, and lakes, and of man-made ponds, enclosures, traps, and dams for the culture and harvest" of various marine resources to ensure year-round food availability.⁷² The Hawaiian fishponds comprised an early attempt to prudently manage and control the sea's resources for use by man. Fishponds held and fattened fish captured in the sea and served as a source of fish under *kapu* during their spawning season. The growing of fish in ponds and their conservation for future needs was an advancement on simply capturing food to fill immediate demands and denotes an increasing awareness of the need to manage food systems as the population expanded. Fish did not spawn in the ponds, however, and the level of stock management in them was very limited. The productivity of these historic Hawaiian fishponds was not great because of limited food availability, inter-species competition, and uncontrollable predation.⁷³ Fishponds did, however, help provide chiefs and their retinue with much of the large quantity of fish they required.

Nowhere else in Polynesia was true aquaculture developed and nowhere else in the Pacific did fishponds exist in the types and numbers found in prehistoric Hawai'i. Where the concept of aquaculture came from and when it was introduced into the Hawaiian Islands is unknown, but it is thought that the idea of fishtraps, probably coming with migrants from the Society Islands, preceded that of fishponds. Probably the earliest aquacultural system in ancient Hawai'i consisted of simple fishtraps, dams, weirs, and natural pools, which were in the hands of the commoners. The Hawaiians ultimately developed the more dependable and efficient ponds. Prehistoric Hawaiian aquaculture encompassed the seven major islands of the group – Ni'ihau, Lana'i, Maui, Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, and Hawai'i – but fishponds were particularly extensive on the latter four. Kikuchi states that at least 449 ponds are known to have been constructed prior to A.D. 1830, mostly during prehistoric times in periods of intensification of production to feed large populations. Only on Hawai'i was there an intensive effort to utilize practically every form and body of water for agricultural and aquacultural use.⁷⁴

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.

73. 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.

Ancient Hawai'i's broad aquatic food production system, then, included structures built to catch mature fish as well as structures and practices related to true aquaculture. These latter structures existed throughout the islands and included numerous manmade and natural enclosures of water in which fish and other products were raised. Hawaiian tradition associates a large number of ponds with particular chiefs who directed their construction. Based on genealogies, the first true fishponds may have been built as early as the fourteenth century; there are many definite references to their construction throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. By the end of the eighteenth century, high chiefs are known to have owned more than 300 fishponds. Ownership of one or more fishponds was a symbol of chiefly status and power. According to Apple and Kikuchi, accessibility to some prehistoric fishponds and their products was limited to the elite minority – the chiefs and priests. Because these ponds were *kapu* to the common majority, they yielded them no direct benefit. Indirectly, however, royal fishponds insured less demand on the commoners' food resources.⁷⁵

ii) Types and Construction

The extent and distribution of fishponds depended on the local topography. In areas where broad, shallow fringe reefs existed close to shore, numerous ponds could easily be formed by constructing semicircular stone walls arcing from the shoreline. Although Hawai'i Island does not have this type of coastline, it does have many natural ponds in lava basins along the shore; the addition of walls and gates made these operational as fishponds.⁷⁶

Loko is the general Hawaiian term for any type of pond or enclosed body of water. The two major categories of *loko* were shore ponds and inland ponds. Hawaiians recognized five main types of fishponds and fishtraps: *loko kuapā*, *loko pu'uone*, *loko wai*, *loko i'a kalo*, and *loko 'ume'iki* (Illustration 6). Ruling chiefs owned the first three types, and perhaps some of the larger and more productive of the other types, because they produced consistently and in sufficient quantity throughout the year to be highly prized. Common people and the *kono'hiki* mostly constructed and utilized the inland types, which primarily comprised natural freshwater holding ponds (*loko wai*) in which fish were placed and allowed to fatten, smaller fishtraps, and small irrigated taro plot ponds (*loko i'a kalo*), which provided only small and erratic yields. Other inland ponds were much larger, requiring collective labor forces for construction, and were almost exclusively for use by the chiefs.⁷⁷

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

The three royal types of fishponds comprised: *loko kuapā*, the most important type of shore pond, artificially enclosed by an arc-shaped seawall and containing at least one sluice gate (*makahā*); *loko pu'uone*, an isolated shore fishpond containing either brackish or a mixture of brackish and fresh water, formed by development of a barrier beach paralleling the coast, and connected to the ocean by a channel or ditch; and a *loko wai*, a natural freshwater inland pond. The *loko kuapā* pond type is unique in Polynesia to the Hawaiian Islands. It was constructed either by building walls in relatively shallow water from two points along the shore into a semi-circular seawall or by constructing a seawall (*kuapā*) across the opening of a natural embayment. Ponds of this type, built within embayments, occur at several sites along the west coast of the island of Hawai'i.⁷⁸ (The *loko 'ume'iki* [fishtrap] will be discussed later.)

Although many different kinds of fish filled these large ponds, the main inhabitants were mullet (*'ama'ama*) and milkfish (*awa*). The algae they fed on grew best when sunlight, salt, and fresh water combined in just the right proportions. Therefore, these walled fishponds needed to be shallow, from two to five feet in depth, so that sunlight could penetrate. Some ponds had fresh water springs in them or were located at the mouths of streams so that fresh water could combine with ocean water within its walls. The larger a pond's acreage, the greater the rate of evaporation, and the greater the need for an adequate supply of fresh water that could be diverted into the pond when necessary. Balancing the salinity, the food supply for the fish, the temperature, and other environmental needs was important to the success of the *loko kuapā*.⁷⁹

Materials used in the construction of prehistoric fishponds came from local sources and included stone and coral for the walls; lithified sand, alluvium, and vegetable materials for filling, surfacing, and cordage; and timber for sluice grates. The main seawall of one of these ponds comprised coral boulders or rocks or unworked basalt and ranged in width from three to nineteen feet, five feet being average. They were usually three to five feet high and faced on both sides with block construction. They were always massive and well built compared to secondary and tertiary walls within the confines of some ponds, which probably served to segregate fry from predators. The construction of fishponds involved men standing in a line from the source of the building material to the construction site and passing rocks of huge size along the human chain. Some of the fishponds were massive, their assembly being intensive, lengthy, and costly in terms of material, manpower, and the expense of feeding or housing workers.⁸⁰

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.

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



Ia₁

A loko kuapā built at a natural curvature of the shoreline utilizing an islet as part of the arc of the seawall



Ia₂

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



Ia₃

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



Ib₁

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



Ic

A loko kuapā similar to a Ia or Ia₁ pond, but having no discernible sluice grate



II Loko Pu'uone
Haku'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



IIa₁

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



IIIb

A loko wai whose shape has been altered by man

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



IIIId

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

Hawaiian terms for different types of fishtraps

Pa 'ōhua
Pa hinalaea
Pa 'ohi'a
Paholoholo

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



Vb₁

A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia₁ loko kuapā but which has both inward and outward leading lanes



Vb₂

A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia₁ loko kuapā but which has both inward and outward leading lanes



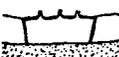
Vc

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



Vc₁

A loko 'ume'iki fishtrap which is similar to a type Ia₁ 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

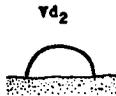


Vd₁

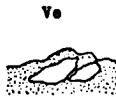
A pā type fishtrap built in the channel of a large lagoon having a single opening which faces either upstream or downstream



Illustration 6. Hawaiian fishponds, fishtraps, and other types of holding devices. From Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," pp. 227-32.



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



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



Pā 'ōhi'a: Part of a type Vd₁ fish-trap appearing as a fence of 'ōhi'a tree logs set up in a channel to guide fish



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

VI Kahaka
Hāpunapuna

A natural pool or holding pond



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



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

VII Kahē
Paniwai

A weir found in permanent streams in the uplands



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



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

VIII Umū
Imū

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



Grills or grates (*makahā*) composed of straight sticks tied to one or more crossbeams obstructed the openings through the seawall (Illustration 7). The upright sticks stood close enough together that the sea water and young fry could pass in and out but larger fish could not. The *makahā* were stationary, with no movable parts, and were sometimes placed across a sluice or ditch, channels formed by two parallel rows of stone walls running into the pond from the grill opening. These sluices carried water into the pond from an agricultural irrigation system or from a river, spring, or the sea, creating a brackish water environment. There are no traditional standard locations for these grates, which were probably placed to provide flow into and out of the pond to reduce silting and inhibit stagnation. This sluice gate, the most distinctive and unique feature of the Hawaiian aquacultural system, was probably the technological innovation that allowed prehistoric Hawaiians to move from high tide-dependent fishtraps and from enclosed ponds with no sea access to artificial estuaries that could be controlled at all times of the tide.⁸¹

The sieve-like nature of the sluice grates and the permeable seawalls allowed a wide range of sealife to enter the fishponds. To insure a supply of preferred fish, fingerlings of the desired kinds were captured and transported over the walls into the ponds. Stocking occurred on a seasonal basis because *kapu* prohibited the catching of fish during spawning. Mature fish ready for harvesting congregated on the pond side of the grate during incoming tide and on the sea side during outgoing tide. Fishing in the ponds usually involved hand nets, dip nets, seines, or surround nets. The most common method of harvesting fish utilized scoop nets on the pond side of the gate on the incoming tide.⁸²

iii) Products and Maintenance

As mentioned earlier, the fish most frequently raised in *loko kuapā* ponds were mullet (*'ama'ama*) and milkfish (*awa*). In early times, both species were *kapu* for all but the chiefs. Both thrive in slightly brackish water and are vegetarians, feeding on algae at the bottom of the ponds and on the roots of plants growing along the water's edge. Often stones with seaweed attached were set in the ponds to increase their food supply. Because neither of these fish reproduced in ponds, fingerlings captured in the ocean were deposited in the pond to augment supplies. In addition, excess ocean catches were allowed to grow in the ponds and then recaptured for consumption.⁸³

Each royal fishpond had a resident male keeper (*kia'i loko*) who stayed in a small guardhouse near the *makahā* when the tide was high and the fish more accessible to guard against poaching or destruction by pigs and dogs. Balancing all elements of the pond environment to ensure healthy growth was a practiced art in early Hawai'i. Maintenance of fishponds required repairing the seawall, cleaning the pond of silt and overgrowth, repairing the *makahā*, and eliminating predators such as barracudas and eels. Probably the *kia'i loko* and his staff handled routine maintenance operations but coordinated with the *konohiki*, who controlled the laborers, for the

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.

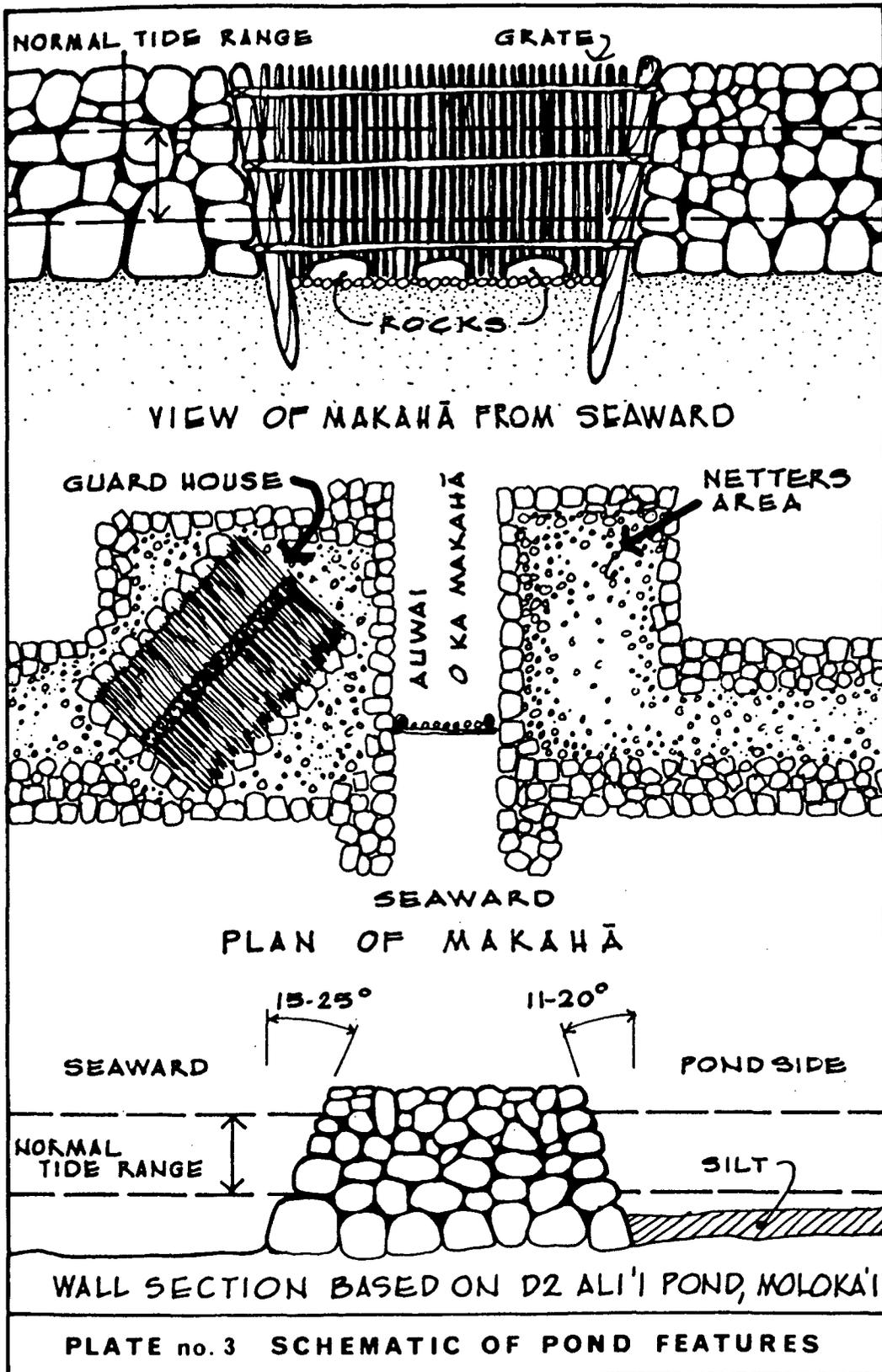


Illustration 7. Hawaiian fishpond features. From Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds*, p. 21.

large-scale construction, repair, and cleaning of the ponds. The *kia'i loko* also fertilized the ponds artificially with sweet potatoes, taro, breadfruit, mussels, and seaweed.⁸⁴

iv) Religious Aspects

Strict *kapu* against poaching or pollution helped insure fishpond production. In addition, guardian spirits were believed to inhabit fishponds, and regular offerings to them were made at shrines near the walls. Usually these guardians were 'aumakua *mo'o*, female marine creatures who appeared as lizards, turtles, or as a woman sitting alongside the pond combing her long black hair. They are considered the feminine equivalents of shark 'aumakua. *Mo'o* were reportedly seen on rare occasions. A *mo'o* is associated with the fishpond at Kaloko, in the Kona District of Hawai'i Island. Major shrines for royal fishponds, called 'aoa, often contained two stones representing Ku'ula and his wife Hina.⁸⁵

v) Role in Hawaiian Society

Royal courts were very mobile before European contact, none of the chiefs establishing a permanent capital. During the absence of the *ali'i*, royal fishpond managers administered these food resources. When a mobile court took up temporary residence near a royal fishpond, a fresh supply of fish and other pond products was available whenever needed. Fishponds in conquered chiefdoms became the personal property of the conquering high chief and their harvest helped support him and his court. As the Hawaiian kingdom took form, royal fishponds in different parts of the islands supplied Kamehameha's appointed governors and district chiefs by his order as owner of all fishponds by right of conquest.⁸⁶

The coastal fishponds and their resources were the exclusive property of the district chief and were not a major economic resource to the general population, who were prohibited by *kapu* from fishing, collecting seaweed, or polluting the pond. Commoners, especially women, were seldom in the vicinity of royal fishponds. There was little advantage for commoners to live near a pond for fear of breaking the *kapu*. Possibly after abandonment of the *kapu* system in the early nineteenth century, the population concentrated more around these ponds because the resources became available to them. Coastal fishponds probably played a more important role in early Hawaiian social and political systems than in the economy. Coastal fishponds owned by the district chief increased his wealth, giving him greater political power. They were an important factor in inter*ahupua'a* and interdistrict politics and social structure, giving wealth and status to the *ali'i* while at the same time demanding labor from the commoners to maintain them.⁸⁷ Conspicuous ownership of food sources in Hawai'i was the sign of a powerful chief. The value

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.

of fishponds as symbols of power continued through the mid-nineteenth century. In the Great *Mahele* of 1848, which imposed Western-type land registration on the traditional Hawaiian land ownership pattern, fishpond ownership and high status remained linked, and larger fishponds remained with the nobility.⁸⁸

This is not to say that fishponds were not of some economic and social value to the early Hawaiians. During certain periods of the year when particular fish were *kapu* and could not be harvested in the open ocean, fishponds provided a source for those species. A stocked fishpond could also sustain a population through periods of poor fishing. Robert Renger believes that social restrictions on these pond resources, however, would have been a limiting factor before the abandonment of the *kapu* system in 1819.⁸⁹ The actual yield of prehistoric Hawaiian fishponds is not known, but estimates of from 300 to 500 pounds of fish per acre per year have been made.⁹⁰

After 1800 there was a steady decline of aquaculture throughout the islands due to movement of people from rural to urban areas, decrease in population within the transportation range of fishponds, changes in eating habits, and a more Western orientation in terms of material culture and monetary value. The diversion of streams for agricultural purposes, changing shoreline use, and commercial/resort development along the ocean also impacted aquaculture practices.⁹¹

The differences between aquacultural sites in the Hawaiian Islands and fish devices elsewhere in the Pacific were many: the emphasis in Hawai'i lay in stocking and raising fish rather than trapping them; Hawai'i had a much more extensive number of aquacultural sites; Hawaiian aquacultural practices were more technically advanced, including sluice grates, channels, and canals; and finally, in Hawai'i fishponds were primarily owned by the *alii*, whereas in other societies, families or villages owned fish trapping and holding facilities.⁹²

Only a small number of Hawaiian fishponds remain in existence, and they have undergone vast physical changes since prehistoric times. Factors threatening their existence through the years have included warring chiefs, siltation from upland runoff, overgrowth, introduced marsh plants and grasses, general disrepair, and pollution. Lava flows from Mauna Loa and Kilauea volcanoes on Hawai'i Island in 1801 and 1859 and from Haleakala on Maui in historic times have adversely impacted several known fishponds. Other natural disasters, such as earthquakes, landslides, faulting, storms, and *tsunami* (tidal waves), have also affected ponds.⁹³

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.

(b) Fishtraps

Prehistoric fishtraps were not as economically important as fishponds. Because their harvest was dependent on the tides, they were a much less reliable source of food. And because they were accessible to commoners as well as to women, they were also of less religious and political significance. They are, however, representative of overall aquacultural practices of the early Hawaiians.⁹⁴

A *loko 'ume'iki*, a shore pond with numerous lanes leading in and out, was actually a very large fishtrap, whose walls were submerged at high tide, enabling fish to enter, and slightly above sea level at low tide. Fish were not continually raised or stored inside these structures, but were trapped and used immediately after capture. These ponds were fished by netting during the ebb and flow periods through the entrance lanes.⁹⁵

b) Agricultural Activities

(1) Crops

The early Hawaiians were primarily fishermen and cultivators. On their colonizing trips from their homeland they brought in their canoes planting stocks of their primary staple food crops as well as of plants yielding materials for housing, clothing, and utensils and of ornamental and medicinal value. Establishing and nurturing these plants in the fertile and well-watered soil of their new home, they eventually formed the basis of a well-developed agricultural economy.⁹⁶ Kirch divides agricultural development in Hawai'i into three major processes. The first is adaptation, adjusting cultivation practices to local conditions. Second is expansion, turning a natural landscape into an agricultural one as populations grew. This involved clearing forests and terracing slopes. The final phase is intensification, with greater labor efforts to achieve greater yield to support a denser population and a complex hierarchy of nobility.⁹⁷

A few edible food plants were indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands. Those used and carefully tended were pandanus and some ferns and probably 'ohelo and 'akala.⁹⁸ The main native farming implement consisted of the *o'o*, a digging stick of hard wood of variable length, from six to nine feet long, with either a flat point or a flat blade.⁹⁹ With the additional use of adzes, fire, and cutting implements, the early Hawaiians were able to clear vegetation; control streams by

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-Honokōhau NHP, November 25, 1992, in DSC files.

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

constructing dams, irrigation ditches, canals, and terraces; cultivate the soil of mountain slopes and valley bottoms; and build stone walls to arrest erosion.¹⁰⁰

Sometime during the settlement period, probably after crops were growing well and domesticated animals were reproducing, an economic shift from the sea to the land took place. As the population grew, this would have provided a more efficient means of subsistence than total reliance on fishing. Some farming was done in open grassland and forests, where irrigation was not necessary because of sufficient rainfall. Other crops grew in the lowlands or alluvial valley bottoms, where flowing water provided irrigation.

The most widely cultivated food plant of the early Hawaiians was the taro, whose tubers were baked, pounded, and mixed with water to make *poi*, staff of life of the Hawaiian culture. Wet taro, requiring abundant fresh water, was planted in pond fields near springs and freshwater marshes and on the flood plains of perennial streams, arranged in terraces so that diverted water could flow from the higher to the lower patches. Canals, constructed of earth and stone embankments, channeled water from streams or springs to irrigate these fields. Dry or non-irrigated taro required less water and was cultivated in upland grasslands, rain-soaked forest areas, and under mulch.¹⁰¹

Several other dry land crops were also important food items. They were cultivated by means of swiddening – clearing vegetation by cutting and burning, followed by alternate periods of planting and leaving the land fallow.¹⁰² Sweet potatoes comprised the main crop where insufficient water occurred to grow taro. Breadfruit trees were planted in groves in sheltered areas with fertile soil and little wind. Numerous varieties of bananas grew in clumps around taro patches and in gulches. Yams were raised to some extent in the early days, but because of their mealy texture were not a favorite food. Later they were grown to sell to sea captains because they spoiled less quickly than taro or sweet potatoes. Other vegetables in the Hawaiian diet included coconuts, sugarcane, arrowroot, and seaweeds.¹⁰³ Other plants extensively cultivated were the paper mulberry for manufacturing barkcloth (*kapa*), the 'awa for use as a narcotic, bottle gourds used for containers and musical instruments, screwpine (pandanus) used in making mats, and a variety of other useful plants.¹⁰⁴

In summary, the earliest agricultural period in ancient Hawai'i involved both taro cultivation in irrigated pond fields and dryland cultivation of crops such as taro and sweet potatoes. The extent of wet taro pond systems was small at first because of the restricted needs of a small population. As agricultural productivity became a more efficient and reliable means of subsistence, however, a rapid population growth occurred. Settlements probably remained scattered and small as a rule, although in alluvial valleys pond fields had been developed to the extent of supporting larger,

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.

more concentrated settlements. Concurrently, changes began to occur in the technology of farming relative to engineering techniques, in plant adaptations, and in environmental factors affecting crop yields. Increasing population pressures encouraged a greater emphasis on more elaborate, high-yield wet taro systems. In addition, changes occurred in gently sloping leeward areas, where vast dry field systems began to be constructed. The intensification of agriculture resulted in even more densely populated settlements whose larger populations could provide the labor needed for vast public works projects such as the creation of more dry land field systems. Aspects of Hawaiian culture related to ensuring maximum productivity of the land probably flowered during this period, including the elaborate land tenure system that will be discussed later.¹⁰⁵

As with all other aspects of Hawaiian culture, agricultural practices closely interfaced with religion, traditions, and customs. Because this endeavor was so dependent on the powers of nature, every step of the agricultural cycle – preparing the land, planting crops, caring for plants, and harvesting – was accompanied by appropriate ceremonies.¹⁰⁶

(2) Animal Husbandry

As mentioned earlier in this report, the Hawaiian Islands supported some edible land animals, such as birds and bats, when first colonized. The settlers brought with them, however, domesticated land animals – pigs, dogs, and chickens – that they carefully bred and raised as a supplementary food source.¹⁰⁷ Chickens were the least popular food item. Although the dog was considered superior to the pig in taste, both were favorites of the commoners and the chiefs and both were bred and nurtured in large numbers. More chiefs than commoners consumed pork and dog meat, the right to the fattest and largest number of pigs and dogs being a privilege of rank. Both animals were tendered as tribute and as ritual offerings at ceremonial feasts of the chief on demand. Chickens and dogs lived near dwellings, the latter feeding on *poi*, breadfruit, and sweet potatoes. Pigs ranged more widely, rooting for food, but also living off sweet potato vine cuttings, taro leaves, sugarcane, and garbage.¹⁰⁸ Captain Cook and other European navigators later introduced goats, cattle, sheep, and horses.

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.

4. Political Organization

a) High Chiefs and their Advisors

The pre-contact political hierarchy of the Hawaiian Islands was rigidly organized, with a variable number of high chiefs controlling different parts of an island, a whole island, or several islands. Although historically there were several attempts by chiefs to expand their domain over other islands, none was successful until Kamehameha, who, in addition to possessing great intelligence and a strong personality, was aided by the weaponry and military expertise of European advisors. By the time of Captain Cook's arrival, four high chiefs ruled the eight main islands of Hawai'i. One kingdom included Maui, Moloka'i, Lana'i, and Kahoolawe, while a second comprised Kaua'i and Ni'ihau. O'ahu and Hawai'i each had its own chief.¹⁰⁹

These independent chiefdoms were each ruled by a supreme chief, or *ali'i-'ai-moku* (chief possessing an island or district); at times he was referred to simply as *ke ali'i* or *ke ali'i-nui* (the chief, or the great chief) to distinguish him from lesser chiefs. Ideally the *ali'i-'ai-moku* was also the person of highest rank among the nobility. Therefore he was sometimes referred to as the king or *Moi* (*mo'i*, supreme male *ali'i*). Although individuals usually attained this position on the basis of genealogical inheritance, a junior collateral relative could also gain it by force or because he had the personal qualifications to make himself leader.¹¹⁰

The *ali'i-nui* had complete control over his lands and its products, over the lives of his subjects, and over their personal property. He derived these rights from his close genealogical ties with the Hawaiian gods and was considered one himself. Generally the will of the ruling chief was the law of the land, but there also existed a large body of traditional or customary law relating to such things as water rights, fishing rights, and land usage.

Two high officers assisted the *ali'i-nui* with governmental functions. The *kahuna-nui* (chief priest) conducted important religious ceremonies, observed and interpreted natural phenomena, consulted the auspices for favorable omens, and advised the king on how to remain in favor with the gods. Although the king sometimes consulted his lesser chiefs on important matters, he relied mainly on his *kal'ai-moku*, a counselor who served as prime minister and chief administrative officer, advising the king on the distribution of lands and positions and on military strategy. This position was highly important because the judicious assignment of lands to chiefs and the maintenance of control over them was the key to successful governing. Larger districts, for example, were never assigned to the higher chiefs, thus preventing them from accruing enough power to rebel. The tie between these two counselors and the high chief was the strongest in the government in pre-European times. (With the collapse of the ancient religion in 1819, however, the power of the priests was broken and the position of *kahuna-nui* abolished.) The *kahuna*, occupational specialists, fit into this political structure at points depending on their genealogical

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.

ranking and specialty. Each *ali'i-nui* also maintained a court of advisors, religious specialists, and personal servants, which followed its leader from place to place within the kingdom.

b) Lower Levels of Government

After the *ali'i-nui* had gained power, either through orderly succession or victory in battle, he took the lands he wanted and divided the rest among his chiefs, who in turn rewarded their retainers, thus establishing a sort of feudal relationship. No system of permanent land tenure existed under the ancient system, because upon the accession of every new supreme chief, *ahupua'a* could be reapportioned among the high chiefs and *'ili* (smaller land divisions) among lower chiefs and supporters. It was to a new chief's advantage, however, to maintain some stability relative to tenancy among the commoners to ensure a steady supply of food and goods. The chiefs below him to which the *ali'i-nui* allocated portions of his kingdom did not acquire title to the land but could use it, its products, its people, and their possessions. These chiefs then allocated use rights in their portion of the kingdom to chiefs below them and so on down to the lowest chiefs in the hierarchy. Just below the chiefly ranks were the *konohiki*, administrative functionaries who controlled a specific parcel of land, such as an *ahupua'a*, and who assumed responsibility for the smooth running of the sophisticated Hawaiian agricultural and aquacultural systems, the fair allotment of water, and the enforcement of fishing rights, and who collected taxes and supplied armies in case of war and laborers for state enterprises such as *heiau* and fishpond construction.

c) Political Unrest

Commoners, the bulk of Hawaiian society, had no voice in political matters. The king held the authority to draft an army, assess taxes, condemn or pardon criminals, or banish subjects, all without appeal. Depending largely upon an *ali'i-nui's* abilities as a leader, his people suffered or prospered. They did not feel irrevocably bound to their chiefs, however, sometimes dispossessing an unjust ruler, killing him, or moving to another kingdom if the situation became too unbearable. In addition, senior nobles, acting as tenants-in-chief, could transfer their fealty and form coalitions to replace a ruler. At the same time, each paramount chief ideally tried to expand his kingdom by conquering and incorporating rival chiefdoms. Overall, the pre-contact political situation in the islands was variable – disputes over succession, land control, and individual ambitions, and quarrels between neighboring districts, were frequent disruptions to a routine way of life.¹¹¹

5. Economic System

a) Summary of Change in the Economic Structure

Originally Hawaiian land units were semi-independent chiefdoms whose inhabitants were related by bonds of kinship and whose chiefs were senior relatives in a corporate descent group. This ancestral Polynesian social and land-tenure system existed while the population concentrated along the coast but changed radically during the pre-contact years as the population expanded

111. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, 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.

inland. At that time the pattern of economic exploitation changed from the coastal zone to a coastal-inland axis. With the formation of self-sufficient *ahupua'a*, kinship ties slowly disintegrated and the gap between chief and commoner widened. The highest chiefs, at the tip of a hierarchical pyramid, gained sole stewardship of the land, while the commoners, who had no ownership rights and worked the land, formed the broad supporting base. Competition among chiefs over control of productivity led to formation of socio-political boundaries through force. Power rather than kinship determined control and led to the formation of the Hawai'i emergent state.¹¹²

b) Competition for Resources Increases

According to the native Historian Samuel Kamakau, no formal division of land existed in ancient Hawai'i while the population figures remained low. Holdings depended upon possession and use. As the number of inhabitants increased, however, a need arose for apportioning the land equally, and formal land divisions were established.¹¹³ While arable land, water, and other resources were plentiful and kinship groups dominated the social system, land could peacefully be held in common, with possession and use deciding rights. As the population increased, however, and resources became less plentiful, competition for them also increased. Intensification of agricultural activities, with the resultant labor involved in constructing irrigation systems, aquacultural facilities, and dryland field and wet taro systems to support a larger population, increased the value of certain land parcels, making them very appealing to the growing ranks of rival chieftains.¹¹⁴

The establishment of a formal and rather elaborate land tenure system, then, based upon an investment of labor implying ownership in land and permanence of settlement and improvements, resulted from the expansion of settlement inland from the coast, an increase in population, the intensification of agricultural activities to ensure maximum productivity, and intergroup competition for resources. Ultimately politics and the extension of chiefly powers through landownership and personal aggrandizement promoted the growth of feudalism. The growing necessity for personal protection caused lesser chiefs and commoners to attach themselves to a high chief who afforded protection in return for service and a portion of the resources of the land. One by one, smaller chiefdoms allied themselves with more powerful chiefs for security against rising warrior chiefs until finally each island came under the control of a high chief, all of whom finally came under the sovereignty of Kamehameha.¹¹⁵

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.

c) Land Divisions

Each of the Hawaiian Islands supported several environmental zones or exploitation areas. Initial occupation during the colonization period was of the deep sea and inshore zone, which provided fish, marine food animals, seaweed, and salt. Food crops grown along the shoreline or coastal flat on which homes were built included coconut palms, sweet potatoes, and sometimes breadfruit trees. Between this shoreline habitation zone and the forest belt lay the *kula*, or open country slopes. In many leeward areas, the lower portion of the *kula* consisted of a broad, arid expanse where little cultivation was possible. On the island of Hawai'i, this zone consists of bare lava with scattered soil patches on which small numbers of sweet potatoes and gourds could be grown. Inland from this area lies the upper *kula*, whose greater rainfall creates well-developed soils that allow cultivation of extensive fields of sweet potatoes, dry taro, paper mulberry, and sugar cane. Crops of the upper *kula* mostly grew in isolated plots separated by unimproved land or fallow fields. The forest above the upper *kula* agricultural zone provided timber for making canoes, house frames, weapons and utensils, and craft items. Bananas were grown along the lower forest margins, and sometimes small plots in the middle of the forest were planted in taro. The forest also provided wild plants that supplemented the Hawaiian diet.¹¹⁶

Prior to European contact, each of the major islands or independent chiefdoms in the Hawaiian chain comprised a *mokupuni*. Each island was divided into major districts, or *moku*, administered by high-ranking chiefs. They were either relatives of the high chief of the island, trusted supporters, or high ranking individuals who pledged their support to the high chief but were allowed to remain relatively independent. In ancient Hawai'i, land division and the resulting economic system reflected both geographic conditions of the environment and characteristics of the social organization of the people. The land pattern established in Hawai'i was based on the wedge-shaped land divisions typical of mountainous islands in Polynesia. These divisions (*ahupua'a*) radiated from the interior uplands, down through deep valleys, and past the shoreline into the sea.¹¹⁷ They became the basic unit of the Hawaiian socio-economic organization (Illustration 8). This type of land division allowed exploitation of all the resource zones of the island – forests, agricultural land, shoreline, and ocean – by a single socio-political group and guaranteed them some degree of self-sufficiency and economic independence. These zones provided fish; taro fields; logs for firewood, ridgepoles, and canoes; bark for *kapa* cloth; and bird feathers for cloaks and helmets. They represented a continuous range of environmental conditions in terms of rainfall, soils, and species of vegetation, provided diverse natural products, and supported a variety of crops and domestic animals. The boundaries of these land divisions, each of which had a specific name, were determined by topographical features, such as ridges and streambeds, rather than by artificial delineations. Initially, as in other Polynesian systems, kinship-based corporate descent groups occupied these divisions. In Hawai'i, however, this system of land tenure eventually developed into a local variant that was much more politically based. The determination of socio-political boundaries by the exercise of power rather than through kinship ties is a formulative characteristic of emergent states.¹¹⁸

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.

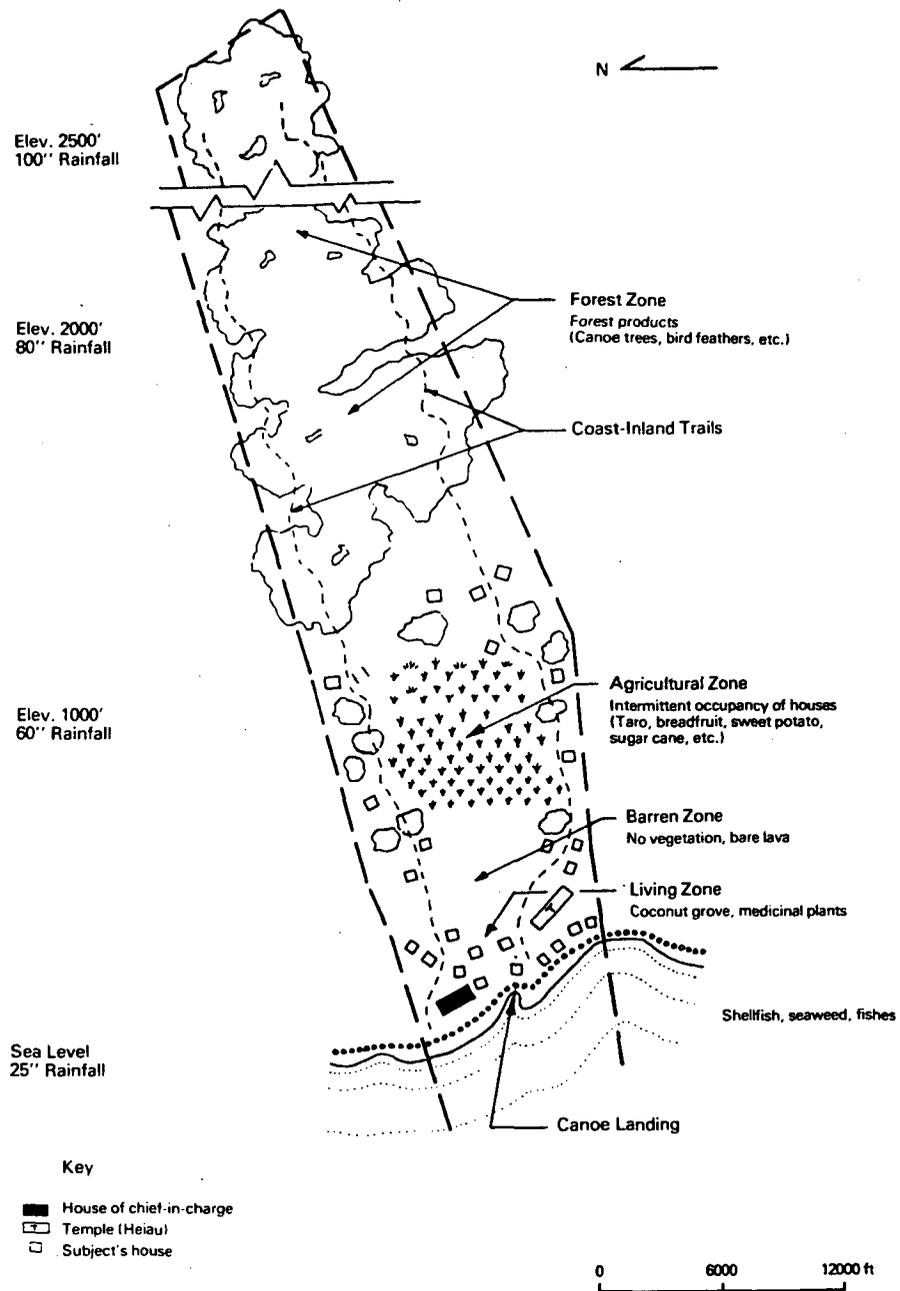


Illustration 8. The *ahupua'a* of the ancient Hawaiian land system. Figure 2 in Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, p. 4.

All of the resources within this strip were restricted to use by its inhabitants. The name derives from *ahu*, an altar erected at the intersection of the land division boundary with the main road around the island, and *pua'a*, a pig, represented by a carved wooden image of a hog's head placed on the altar. Because a pig was an acceptable tribute, it represented any tribute-in-kind. Residents deposited gifts at this site each year during the annual harvest festival (*Makahiki*). The size of the *ahupua'a* varied, the larger ones on the island of Hawai'i being located in the interior.

The *ahupua'a* were often divided into '*ili* ('*ili'aina*), long, narrow strips of land running lengthwise along the *ahupua'a* that could be discontinuous, or '*ili lele* (jump strips), which comprised one segment near the ocean and another in the uplands or on the plains, continuing the *ahupua'a* rule of equitable land division but on a smaller scale. These were portions of *ahupua'a* land allotted to the families who lived on them and cultivated them. The right to continue to use and cultivate these stayed with the '*ohana* (extended families) living on them regardless of any transfer of title to the *ahupua'a*. The '*ili* was a land division, the *ahupua'a* a tax unit. Long strips of arable land within an '*ili* were called *mo'o* (strips). There were in addition smaller land divisions comprising special plots of cultivated land.¹¹⁹

Rights to irrigation water and fishing areas, considered very valuable economic assets, were strictly controlled within an *ahupua'a*. Water rights were codified to assure the equitable distribution of free-flowing waters for irrigation. Inshore fishing rights were explicitly stated. Normally only members of an '*ohana* had rights to exploit specific water areas of the '*ohana* lands. These rights usually included the inshore waters out as far as a man could stand upright with his head above water. A chief or *konohiki*, however, could place *kapu* on the use of certain types of fish and other marine resources at certain times or by certain people.¹²⁰

d) Sharing

The Hawaiian economic system functioned within the context of these land divisions and within the concepts of certain social relationships. Research to date indicates that large-scale trade between districts was not a major aspect of the Hawaiian pre-contact economic system. Because of the diversity of environments and products available within each *ahupua'a*, they were probably fairly self-sufficient, providing not only necessary resources for its inhabitants, but also enough to contribute to the political hierarchy.¹²¹

Effective economic distribution of goods and services within an *ahupua'a* was accomplished by sharing and mutual cooperation. This type of socio-economic system, providing a means for resource distribution between the upland and coastal exploitation zones, was most effectively accomplished within a family organization, where ties of kinship dictated sharing of the resources of the family land (Illustration 9). The fundamental social unit in Hawaiian culture was the dispersed community of '*ohana* mentioned above – relatives by blood, marriage, or adoption – some living inland and some near the sea in a geographical locality to which they were tied by ancestry or sentiment. The functional unit within the '*ohana* was the household, including the

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.

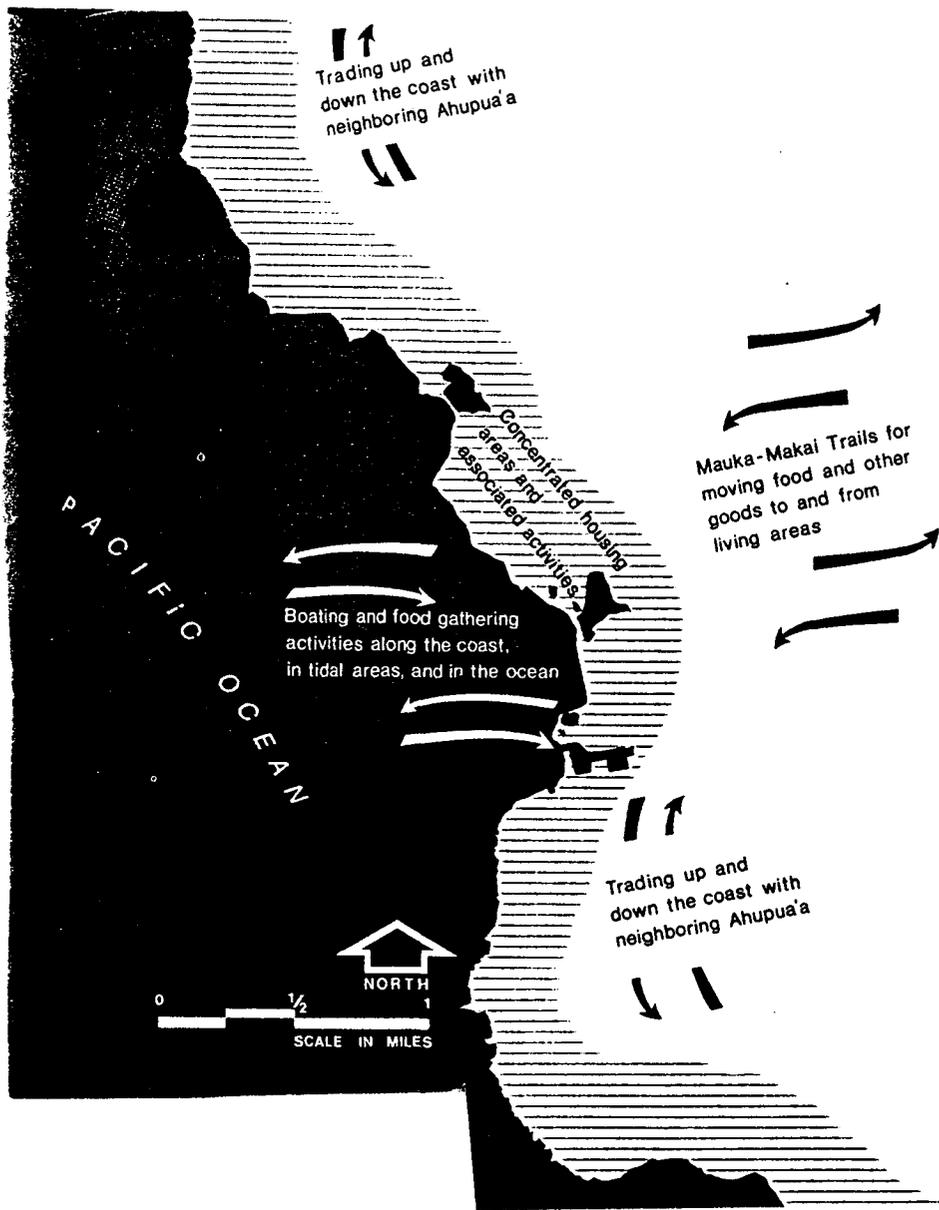


Illustration 9. Traditional Hawaiian land use pattern. From *Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Ka-loko, Hono-ko-hau National Cultural Park*, p. 57.

immediate family as well as unrelated dependents. Between households within the 'ohana constant sharing and exchange of food, articles, and services occurred. Those households living inland raising taro, sweet potatoes, breadfruit, bananas, and *kapa*, and needing coconuts, salt, and marine foods, would take a gift to a 'ohana household living near the sea and receive in return fish or other needed items. The 'ohana constituted the community within which the economic life of Hawai'i centered. This constant circulation of food products and services within the land area controlled by a family became the basis of the *ahupua'a* land division economic system.¹²²

e) Tribute

The right of the commoners to live on the land and cultivate it, instead of naturally resulting from membership in a corporate descent group as in their ancestral homeland, depended on the regular payment of labor and tribute, or "offerings," to the "god-descended" chiefs at the top of the social scale. In this system, farmers and fishermen, for example, were required to offer a specific share of their labor and their yield to the chiefs, who in return ritually interceded with the appropriate deities to assure peace and plenty.¹²³

The economy of ancient Hawai'i was closely interwoven with the political system, creating a vertical economic structure. The ruler of each independent chiefdom controlled the use rights to all lands and products in his kingdom; as a group, therefore, these chiefs controlled the economic organization of the islands at the state level. They supported themselves and their retinue through two annual *Makahiki* rituals, during which time taxes in the form of produce and personal property were gathered. One collection was made for the political hierarchy, others for the religious specialists and members of the chief's court. The chief could also levy special assessments at any time. In return, the commoners expected intercession with the gods on their behalf and on behalf of their fishing and farming endeavors, prosperity, protection in time of war, and the benefit of major public works such as religious temples, field systems, and fishponds.¹²⁴

The levy of the *ali'i* during the tribute collection of the *Makahiki* festival fell on the 'ohana rather than on individuals or single households.¹²⁵ The tax levy per family was based on its ability to pay, taking into account the type and extent of holdings and the size of the family. The *konoiki*, as the absentee chief's resident land manager, collected the taxes. Because Hawaiians were not bound to the land on which they lived, they could move elsewhere if the *konoiki* became too oppressive. This tended to prevent too frequent levies. Taxes included food items, such as pigs, taro, potatoes, dogs, and vegetables, and personal goods, such as bird feathers, rope, fishing nets, fishhooks, tools, bark cloth, and mats. These latter items were collected only once a year, at *Makahiki* time, whereas animal and produce items were on call as needed. Actually because the chief upon whose lands they lived owned all the land and resources in an *ahupua'a*, in a

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.

sense the tenants were only giving these resources to the rightful owner, in a useful form and upon demand, on a gift-tax basis.¹²⁶ He kept a part and passed the rest on to the chief to whom he owed allegiance and so on up to the ruling chief, who distributed the goods to support himself and all the members of his household, including his retainers, specialists, priests, and political advisers, who in turn supported their families on these bounties.

The annual harvest festival of *Makahiki* was the most important Hawaiian religious festival, lasting from October until February. During the first part of the celebration, work and war were *kapu*. At this time activities focused on recognizing and sanctioning the position held by the chiefs and priests within the total Hawaiian social structure. During the course of the year each household had produced the extra items required for presentation to the chief during this festival. At a designated time, the people of each land division carried those offerings to altars established at the point where the main trail around the island crossed the border of their *ahupua'a*. These were symbolic offerings to Lono, god of peace and agriculture, whose image was transported around the islands by the priests and high chief to acknowledge the offerings. When the circuit was completed, the *kapu* was lifted and the period of feasts and merrymaking started, marking the completion of the year's agricultural labors. The *Makahiki* ceremony symbolized an important aspect of the Hawaiian economy – the fact that the *maka'ainana* were both able and required to produce a surplus for the support of an economically non-productive chief and priest class. The ceremony would also have particular significance in relation to the arrival of Captain Cook in Hawai'i.¹²⁷

Because the prestige and *mana* of the chiefs depended upon their ability to mobilize labor and exact tribute, pressure from the top of the pyramid was constant for more intensive economic development to keep the infrastructure intact. A rapidly increasing population and the resultant growing labor base made this intensification possible. With a wealth of available agricultural lands supporting plentiful natural resources, population growth rates during the period from A.D. 600-1100 continued to be high. Conversely, as the infrastructure developed, these larger populations could be supported. The limits to this growth depended on the changes and alterations made to the island environment. This self-perpetuating cycle could continue only if certain management controls were exerted on the Hawaiian ecosystem.¹²⁸

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.

6. Religion

a) Gods

Religion was the paramount aspect of Hawaiian life, permeating every daily activity, every aspect of secular affairs, and every significant event, such as birth, marriage, death, house construction, fishing, agriculture, and war. Also important were the regular calendrical celebrations to ensure the peoples' prosperity and well-being. All activities were accompanied by appropriate rites, religious ceremonies, and prayers to establish and maintain proper relations with the spirits. The ancient Hawaiians believed these spirits, who pervaded the world and shaped events, had the power to inflict injury if directed or if angered by the breaking of their *kapu*, but could be approached and persuaded to act in one's behalf. The Hawaiians worshipped a vast number of deities, of which there were two main categories. *Akua* represented nature's elements – they were the personifications of great natural forces. The *'aumakua* mentioned earlier were the familiar ancestral protective gods.

All parts of nature were thought to be manifestations or particular functions of one of these gods. A distinct difference in their "personalities" was reflected in the kind of phenomena and natural processes with which they were associated. A particular manifestation of one of a god's functions was regarded as a separate being. One god, in his different aspects, could be a patron of various crafts and activities and was usually referred to with an epithet attached to the name describing the particular aspect being invoked (e.g., Kū-of-fishing, Kū-of-war). These aspects of the major gods were worshipped as separate entities. The war god Kū-ka'ili-moku, the special god of the kings of Hawai'i Island, became of great importance during the latter era of Hawai'i's ancient history, especially in the reign of Kamehameha. At that time Kū-ka'ili-moku (Kū-the-snatcher-of-islands), Kamehameha's personal god, was established as the principal deity of the realm, a kind of state god. Demigods such as Pele, the volcano goddess, were less powerful than the four major ones and were associated with definite places, forces, or beings, as they are today. Their worship was mainly a private affair, while that to the great deities was publicly carried out in large temples by noble priests and their superiors.¹²⁹ The four all-powerful cosmic deities, or *akua*, in Polynesian mythology were Kane, the primary god, representative of the supreme being, creator of nature and men, concerned with life and procreation; Kanaloa, associated with the sea and death but of little importance in the hierarchy; Kū, who assisted in strenuous activities, generally controlled the fruitfulness of the earth, politics, and, as the power behind war, was a special god of the chiefs; and Lono, god of rain and agriculture and hence of fertility, the most benevolent of the four.

The general welfare of the land, its occupants, and the chiefdoms was considered dependent on the careful and proper observance of the several calendric cycles of temple ritual. The strength and prosperity of a chiefdom, in other words, was directly related to the religious fervor the paramount chief displayed. Although the paramount chief exerted the ultimate political authority of the chiefdom, the resting place of supreme power and authority lay with the gods, or usually one specific god, who provided the paramount chief with the *mana* to rule. This divine mandate was considered revoked if there were a successful *coup d'état* or victorious invasion resulting in

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.

a reassignment of political authority. The successful defeat of an invasion, on the other hand, was interpreted as divine confirmation of the status quo.¹³⁰

b) Priests

The ancient Hawaiians considered themselves always in the midst of gods, spirits, and supernatural beings who frequented the mountains, woods, shores, and the sea, and who entered into objects, stone and wood images, and living things such as birds and sharks as well as people. According to Hawaiian belief, the success of all human activities depended on maintaining the proper relations with these spirits, and the vehicles for accomplishing this included shrines, temples, and images as well as rituals and prayers. The latter work was carried on by *kahuna*. In family worship, the male head of the family acted as priest, but at the elaborate, prescribed rituals in the temples of the chiefs, professional priests presided. It was they alone who knew the proper rituals for winning the favor of the gods and obtaining the purity necessary to survive the ever-present dangers in life. Closely associated with the ruling chiefs, and next in rank and authority to them, stood the *kahuna pule*, a distinct group of officiating priests that presided over each facet or cult of the religion. Although the chiefs were more closely descended from the gods, these *kahuna* were also very powerful because of their direct contact with the gods and could best determine ways to gain or perpetuate power, maintain rapport with the major gods, and intercede with them for a particular purpose.

The worship of the gods named earlier comprised a state religion characterized by large, influential cadres of priests, complex rituals, and specific places where ceremonies took place. Each major god had his own hereditary priesthood, distinct ceremonies, and specific temples (*heiau*) where the appropriate rituals were performed and offerings made. Each priestly family was, by tradition, devoted to the service of a particular god and could not officiate at the temple of any other deity. Only the king had free access to all sacred enclosures. In addition to their religious duties, the priesthood had charge of the chronologies, historical songs, traditions, and legends of Hawaiian society. On the island of Hawai'i, at least, two hereditary hierarchial orders of priests existed, those of Ku and those of Lono, with the former being of highest rank and therefore most powerful. The high priest (*kahuna nui*), one of the supreme chief's two senior advisors, headed the cult of the war god Kū. The Kū rituals were only held in *luakini* (a sacrificial *heiau*) of the independent ruling chiefs, which will be described later, and were held in connection with war and other national emergencies. The Lono rituals were for maintaining peace and the fruitfulness of the land.¹³¹

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

c) *kapu*

(1) Purpose of System

The ancient Hawaiian culture's system of law, derived from religious authority, influenced social organization by dictating an individual's appropriate behavior within this highly rigid and ranked society. As Apple and Kikuchi state,

The universe of the native Hawaiian can be viewed as having been a delicately balanced, tri-state system composed of the supernatural, the natural, and the cultural. . . . Hawaiian culture demanded that the balance be maintained in order for the universe to function smoothly, efficiently, and abundantly.¹³²

The *kapu* system was based in part on a dualistic conception of nature that

separated the things which were believed to be inferior (the common and unsacred, the physical, passive, female, darkness, destruction, and death, ignorance, westerly direction, left side) from the things which were believed to have a superior nature (the sacred, the psychic, *mana*, male, light, life, occult knowledge, easterly direction, right side).¹³³

This system, a "sanctioned avoidance" behavior conforming to specific rules and prohibitions (*kapu*), prescribed the type of daily interactions among and between the classes, between the people and their gods, and between the people and nature. By compelling avoidance between persons of extreme rank difference, it reinforced class divisions by protecting *mana* (spiritual power) from contamination while at the same time preventing the *mana* from harming others. *Kapu* not only separated the nobility from the lower classes, but also prevented contact with such spiritually debasing or defiling things as corpses and evil spirits. The *kapu* system preserved the Hawaiian culture not only by maintaining social control through the prevention of chaos caused by the confusion of societal roles and by reinforcing political power, but also by providing environmental controls through the conservation of natural resources, which maintained a balance in nature and enabled maintenance of a subsistence economy.¹³⁴

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.

(2) Origins and Enforcement

The *kapu* system was practiced throughout Polynesia, indicating that the early Hawaiians brought its basic tenets from their homeland. Certain religious *kapu* were permanent and unchangeable, relating to customary rites, observances, ceremonies, and methods of worship, and to the maintenance of the gods and their priests. They were familiar and understood by all, having been practiced from childhood. Civil *kapu* were more capricious, erratic, and often temporary, depending on the whims of the chiefs and priests.¹³⁵ The *kapu* system comprised a vast number of prohibitions with dire penalties for infractions, intentional or not, that included execution by being stoned, clubbed, strangled, drowned, or burned alive. The strict observance of the *kapu* system and its punishments were necessary to preserve the power and prestige of the priesthood and the rulers. This intricate system that supported Hawai'i's social and political organization directed every activity of Hawaiian life, from birth through death, until its overthrow by King Kamehameha II in 1819.¹³⁶

(3) Foreign Perceptions

According to Kuykendall, the *kapu* system was

the feature of the Hawaiian culture which made the deepest impression upon most of the early foreign visitors, who saw only the outer manifestations of the system and who in their descriptions emphasize its bizarre restrictions and cruel sanctions.¹³⁷

One of these early visitors, the Reverend William Ellis, noted that

an institution so universal in its influence, and so inflexible in its demands, contributed very materially to the bondage and oppression of the natives in general. The king, sacred chiefs, and priests appear to have been the only persons to whom its application was easy; the great mass of the people were at no period of their existence exempt from its influence, and no circumstance in life could excuse their obedience to its demands. The females in particular felt all its humiliating and degrading force.¹³⁸

And Professor William Bryan of the College of Hawaii remarked in 1915 that the *kapu* system

was fastened on every act of the daily life of the people to such an extent that it was ever present, dominating their every thought and deed. It oppressed their

135. Abraham Fornander, *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, 1778-1854*, p. 8.

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

lives, curtailed their liberties, and darkened and narrowed their horizon beyond belief.¹³⁹

Whether or not the Hawaiians believed the *kapu* restrictions to be bizarre, inflexible, humiliating, or oppressive is questionable. Certainly it was a system that impressed all foreign visitors as being shocking and cruel in the context of their experiences.

(4) Categories

Many things were *kapu* under Hawaiian culture. Anything connected with the gods and their worship was considered sacred, such as idols, *heiau*, and priests. Because chiefs were believed to be descendants of the gods, many *kapu* related to chiefs and their personal possessions, such as clothes, mats, and houses. Certain objects were also *kapu*, and to be avoided, either because they were sacred or because they were defiling. Seasons and places could also be declared *kapu*.¹⁴⁰

The Hawaiian *kapu* can be grouped into three categories.¹⁴¹ The first evolved from the basic precepts of the Hawaiian religion and affected *all* individuals, but were considered by foreign observers to be especially oppressive and burdensome to women. One of the most important and fundamental of this type of proscription forbade men and women from eating together and also prohibited women from eating most of the foods offered as ritual sacrifices to the gods. For example, it was *kapu* for women to eat pork, pigs being a frequent sacrificial offering, and they could only eat dog meat or other *kapu* foods on special occasions. They also could not eat fowl, coconuts, bananas, turtle, shark meat, or certain kinds of fruits or fish that were offered in sacrifice, these being *kapu* to anyone but the gods and men. In addition, foods for husbands and wives had to be cooked in separate ovens and eaten in separate structures.¹⁴² During the four principal *kapu* periods of each month, women were forbidden to ride in a canoe or have intimate relations with the other sex. During her pregnancy, a woman had to live apart from her husband.¹⁴³

A second category of *kapu* were those relating to the inherited rank of the nobility and were binding on all those equal to or below them in status. Regarding *kapu* relative to the ruling class,

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.

The *kapu* of prerogative associated with the high chiefs were in effect safeguards to their *mana*. They took several forms, but all were designed to prevent loss of a chief's *mana* through contact with "common" things, on the one hand, and to protect ordinary mortals from the dire consequences of exposure to his god-like radiations of *mana*, on the other. The *kapu* of prerogative were inherited, and were observed in recognition of the degree of *mana* inherent in the chiefs who held them.¹⁴⁴

These *kapu* posed enormous difficulties for the high *ali'i* because it restricted their behavior and activities to some degree. As Cox and Davenport state:

An individual of high rank could have considerable *mana*, but it was extremely dangerous to a commoner or an outcast when, by contagion, he contracted a supercharged amount of *mana* from an exceptionally high *ali'i*. For this reason those chiefs who were the direct descendants of the great deities and who were thought to be in some ways the incarnation of these gods, were so charged with *mana* that in some situations they could not even walk about the land without rendering all they touched, or upon which their shadows fell, prohibited to commoners.¹⁴⁵

Because these *kapu* prohibited the highest-ranking chiefs from easily walking around during the day, some of them traveled in disguise to protect the people and themselves from the difficulties presented by this custom.¹⁴⁶

This category included the deferential behavior patterns that lower-ranking people had to follow in the presence of those of higher rank. Commoners had to prostrate themselves with their faces touching the ground before the most sacred chiefs when they ventured out in public, and neither the king nor priests could touch anything themselves.¹⁴⁷ All personal possessions of a person of the highest chiefly rank (resulting from a brother-sister marriage) were definitely *kapu*, and contact with them by a commoner meant certain death.

The third category were governmental edicts issued randomly by a paramount chief or his officials that were binding on all subjects and included such acts as the placing of *kapu* on certain preferred surfing, fishing, or bathing spots for the chief's exclusive use. Any place or object could be declared *kapu* by the proper person affixing near it or on its perimeters a pole or stakes bearing a bit of white *kapa* cloth or a bunch of bamboo leaves, signifying that the locality or thing should be avoided.¹⁴⁸ The most important temples and the permanent housing complexes of high chiefs were surrounded by dry-laid masonry walls or wooden palings that created a sacred stockade. However,

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.

not all of the stockades were physical. Some were invisible lines that were as effective as rock walls or picket fences. Walls and fences apparently marked lifetime or permanent taboo areas. Invisible lines marked enclosures guarded by temporary taboos. Real or invisible, they excluded commoners.¹⁴⁹

In addition, the chiefs proclaimed certain *kapu* seasons as conservation measures to regulate land use and safeguard resources. These had the same force as other *kapu*, but pertained to the gathering or catching of scarce foodstuffs, such as particular fruits and species of fish; to water usage; and to farming practices.¹⁵⁰ These *kapu* were designed to protect resources from overuse. Through the *kapu* system, Hawaiian chiefs played a major role in controlling the food supply by restricting consumption of certain types of food to certain classes and sexes. The restriction on the types of food women could eat, for example "would have moderated demand for domesticated mammal meat and may have played a major role in preserving herds."¹⁵¹ At certain times, also, particular fruits, animals, and fish were *kapu* for several months to both sexes. Other *kapu* seasons observed were at the approach of a great religious ceremony, before going to war, or when a chief was sick.¹⁵²

(5) Effects on the Population

High officials declared general *kapu* and had them publicly announced. On specific nights of every lunar month, rituals and sacrifices took place at the temple of each major deity. During a *strict kapu* period, when the ruler especially needed the favor of the deities, absolute silence was mandated in order not to break the sacred spell of the rites. All human activity ceased, no fires were built, domestic animals were shut away or muzzled, and everyone except priests remained indoors. Common *kapu* only required males to stop their work and attend temple ceremonies, while the time it lasted was considered a holiday.¹⁵³

The Hawaiian *kapu* system not only hindered the freedom of the commoners and women in general, but also restricted the activities of the highest ranking chiefs. It was also open to periodic abuse.¹⁵⁴ The *kapu* system was, nonetheless, enforced throughout Kamehameha's reign. According to William Ellis, "Tamehameha always supposed his success, in every enterprise, to be owing to the strict attention he paid to the service and requirements of his god."¹⁵⁵ According to Lt. George Peard, crewman on the *H.M.S. Blossom*, who visited Hawai'i in 1826-27,

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.

Tamaamaah [Kamehameha] himself had even been averse to a change [in religious practices], and refused several applications to allow the Missionaries to settle on his estates, although he was well aware of the absurdity of Paganism. When questioned by [Gov. John] Adams [Kuakini] about it, and more particularly concerning human sacrifices, 'You don't think me such a fool said he as to put any faith in their efficacy. I only suffer them, because I find them useful in keeping my people in subjection.'¹⁵⁶

(6) Sanctioned Violations of System

The only time the ancient Hawaiians could violate *kapu* occurred upon the death of a paramount chief. Mourning customs then allowed the deliberate violation of several *kapu* accompanied by a variety of excessive behaviors:

In addition to the usual signs of grief, people went naked, women entered temples and ate prohibited foods, property was plundered, and some individuals begged to be buried with their ruler. Although these excesses were rationalized as due to unreason from grief, the license also seems to have symbolized the temporary state of anarchy and suspension of the divine mandate to rule. During these revelries the successor removed himself from the place of death and the scenes of *kapu* violation to avoid contamination by them. Upon his return from his retreat to be installed in the chieftainship, one of his initial acts of rule was to reinstate the law of the *kapu*. By this he declared his assumption of the divine mandate.¹⁵⁷

The Reverend William Ellis, landing on the island of Hawai'i soon after the death of Kamehameha, noted:

When we landed on Owhyhi, signs of desolation met our eyes everywhere and were proof of the excesses that had been committed at the recent death of Tamehameha. During such a crisis, anarchy reigns in all its horror: laws and tabou restrictions are violated with effrontery; forbidden foods are devoured without scruple, especially by women; rights of ownership are disregarded; force becomes the supreme law; the voice of the chiefs is powerless; old offenses are revenged with blood or pillage – in a word, unbelievable scenes of disorder, cruelty, and debauchery take place all over, encouraged by lack of punishment. Calm is gradually restored only when the heir has been definitely invested with royal power. Such is the manner in which the common people, momentarily free of all

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 Laimana: The Story of Lorenzo Lyons* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1953), p. 44.

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

restraint, express the sorrow that one is expected to feel at the death of one's sovereign.¹⁵⁸

The only individuals who did not take part in this period of licentiousness were the heir to the throne and his family, who immediately removed themselves from the district that had been defiled by death. The heir returned after fifteen days, after the dead ruler's bones had been preserved and a priest had cleansed the area of all pollution.¹⁵⁹

d) *Heiau*

(1) Types and Construction

Because Hawaiian life focused on propitiating the gods, the various islands contained many kinds of temples invoking peace, war, health, or profitable fishing and farming. Families and individuals conducted daily worship services at home, either in the men's eating house, in a family *heiau*, or at small improvised altars or shrines. More formalized worship by chiefs and specific occupational groups, such as fishermen, took place in temples, or *heiau*. These structures ranged in complexity from single houses surrounded by a wooden fence to stone-walled enclosures containing several houses to the massive open-air temples with terraces, extensive stone platforms, and numerous carved idols in which ruling chiefs paid homage to the major Hawaiian gods.¹⁶⁰

There were two major orders of *heiau*: the agricultural or economy-related ones dedicated to Lono, referred to as *mapele (heiau ho'ouluulu)*, at which offerings of pigs, vegetables, and bark cloth hopefully guaranteed rain and agricultural fertility and plenty (Illustration 10); and the large sacrificial government war temples, *luakini (heiau po'okanaka)*, upon whose altars human lives were taken when assurance of success in combat was requested or when a very grave state emergency, such as pestilence or famine, dictated that the highest religious authority – Kū – be approached for help. The nobility, land division chiefs, or priests could construct agricultural temples, whose ceremonies were open to all. War temples dedicated to Kū could only be built by the *ali'i-'ai-moku*, and could only be entered by the king, important chiefs and nobility, and members of the Kū priesthood. Dedication of this type of temple by anyone else was considered treason. In addition, only the high chief could undertake the rituals involving human sacrifice – the highest form of offering to propitiate the gods.¹⁶¹ Because only a high chief could order the construction of a war temple and conduct the rituals necessary for assuring victory, the process clearly designated him as the correct person to wage war and the only one who would have the

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.

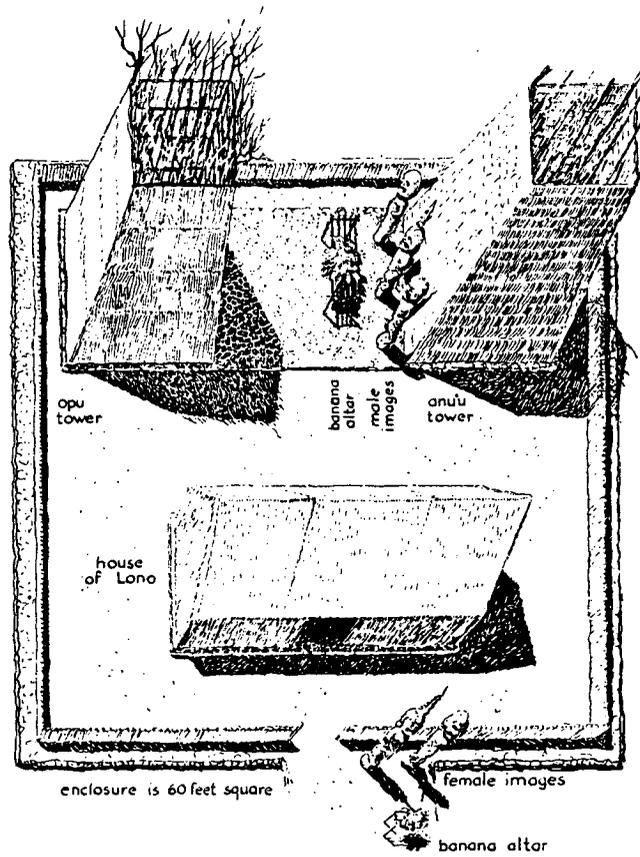


Illustration 10. Reconstruction of a Hale o Lono by Paul Rockwood. From *I'i, Fragments of Hawaiian History*, p. 57.

backing of the gods. These obvious distinctions served also to gain him the full support of his people in this endeavor.¹⁶² Cox and Davenport elaborate on this point:

Erecting temples was the prerogative and responsibility of the *ali'i*, for only they could command the necessary resources to build them, to maintain the priests, and to secure the sacrifices that were required for the rituals. Though temple worship was primarily an affair of the nobility, the whole land depended upon the effectiveness of these rituals. . . . Actually, the temple worship was a form of ancestor worship, since the gods were looked upon as also being direct ancestors of the *ali'i* and progenitors of all Hawaiians.¹⁶³

Hawaiian temples and shrines, according to Patrick Kirch,

are part of a wide-spread tradition of temple construction found throughout Eastern Polynesia, with roots that can be traced to Ancestral Polynesian Society. In most of East Polynesia such temples are called *marae* . . . and all of them, including the Hawaiian *heiau*, have certain architectural features in common.¹⁶⁴

Oral traditions trace the origin of Hawaiian *luakini* temple construction to the high priest Pa'ao, who arrived in the islands in about the thirteenth century. He introduced several changes to Hawaiian religious practices that affected temple construction, priestly ritual, and worship practices. Prior to his coming, the prayers, sacrifices, and other ceremonial activities that the high chief and his officiating priest performed could be observed by the congregation, who periodically responded as part of the ceremony. After Pa'ao's arrival, temple courtyards, which were sometimes built on hillsides to add to their massiveness, were enclosed with high stone walls, preventing the masses from participating as freely in the worship ceremonies. In addition, new gods; stronger *kapu*; an independent, hereditary priesthood; wooden temple images; and human sacrifices became established parts of the religious structure. Pa'ao erected the first *luakini* (Wahaula) at Puna, Hawai'i, followed by Mo'okini Heiau at Pu'uepa, Kohala. These structures signalled a new era in Hawaiian religious practices.¹⁶⁵

(2) Early Descriptions

At the time of European contact, a multitude of temples still functioned in the islands, and early visitors noted many of these:

They [the Hawaiians] have many temples, which are large enclosures, with piles of stones heaped up in pyramidal forms, like shot in an arsenal, and houses for

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 Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, ed. R. M. Daggett (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1888), p. 39.

the priests and others, who remain within them during their taboos. Great numbers of idols, of the most uncouth forms, are placed round within, in all directions: to these they offer sacrifices of hogs, cocoa nuts, bananas, and human victims: the latter are criminals only; formerly, prisoners of war were sometimes sacrificed, but that inhuman practice was abolished by the present sovereign [Kamehameha].¹⁶⁶

John B. Whitman was also impressed by these structures:

. . . of their morairs [*maraes* (temples)], or churches, and the terrible rites . . . were I to give but a partial account . . . it would be . . . of such length. . . . Hundreds of these Slaughter houses, are still standing on various parts of the Islands, each distinguished by the Symbols of the high taboo. Several long poles with a round ball of white tarpen [*kapa*] on the top of them, are placed round the house, and mark the boundaries of the sacred spot, these buildings [structures on the *heiau*] are mostly of the same materials as the dwelling houses.¹⁶⁷

Early missionaries noted that

Their *morais*, or places of worship, consist of one large house or temple, with some smaller ones round it, in which are the images of their inferior gods. The tabooed or consecrated precincts are marked out by four square posts, which stand thirty or forty yards from the building. In the inside of the principal house there is a screen or curtain of white cloth, hung across one end, within which the image of Etooah [principal god] is placed. When sacrifices are offered, the priests and chiefs enter occasionally within this space, going in at one side, and out at the other. On the outside are placed several images made of wood, as ugly as can be well imagined, having their mouths all stuck round with dogs [*sic*] teeth.¹⁶⁸

In regard to their sacrificial customs, Jules Remy clarified that

The Hawaiians are not cannibals. They have been upbraided in Europe as eaters of human flesh, but such is not the case. They never killed a man for food. It is true that in sacrifice they eat certain parts of the victim, but there it was a religious rite, not an act of cannibalism. So also when they eat the flesh of their dearest chiefs, it was to do honor to their dearest chiefs, it was to do honor to their memory by a work of love: they never eat the flesh of bad chiefs.¹⁶⁹

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 Houghton 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.

The early Hawaiians did cut up bodies as a part of their mortuary customs of stripping the flesh from bones of their chiefs before they were hidden. According to Ethnologist Peter H. Buck, however, "Cannibalism was never customary among the Hawaiians."¹⁷⁰

(3) *Luakini*

(a) Origin and Use

The ruins found in Hawai'i illustrate the wide variety of temple types built. Although many of their features have been found at other sites in Polynesia, according to an early study of Hawaiian *heiau*, "there is nothing to show that the *heiau* reached Hawaii as a complex of established form and features," and certain features "seem independent and . . . were doubtless evolved locally."¹⁷¹ According to Historian Samuel Kamakau, *heiau* in the Hawaiian Islands "varied in shape, being square, oblong, and round in form; of no uniform plan . . . but each according to the design of the *kaula*, or prophets."¹⁷² The large *luakini* were the most impressive of the Hawaiian temple structures in terms of size and associated religious activities. Their rituals dramatized the *ali'i-'ai-moku's* spiritual, economic, political, and social control over his dominion and his authority over the life and death of his people. As Davenport states,

the purpose of that worship was to promote the integrity and continuity of the chiefdom by keeping the covenants between the gods and the ruling chief strong. It can be regarded, in some ways, as a maintenance activity of the government.¹⁷³

Whenever a chief unseated a rival in war, the process of takeover was not complete until all the *luakini* temples of the defeated chief had been reconsecrated to the victor's gods. Often the defeated paramount chief and his followers were among the first sacrificed to signify his loss of the supernatural mandate to rule.¹⁷⁴ The services that occurred in these state *heiau*, conducted by priests of the order of Kū were either related to the personal life of the king, such as at the birth and maturity of his sons, or due to emergency needs of the nation – to increase the population, to improve the public health, to bring peace, to ask for success in war, or to prepare for defense.

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.

(b) Design and Construction

These temples could not be constructed randomly, but only on sites formerly used by the "people of old." *Kuhikuhi pu'uone* (an order of the priesthood) were the only persons with knowledge of the plans and sites of abandoned *heiau*, and they furnished this information when construction of a new temple was planned.¹⁷⁵

Luakini stood in or near villages, on prominent hills or ridges, on cliffs with a good view of the sea, or on plateaus between the coast and the mountains. Because of the variety of topography, the form and size of these structures depended on the ground contours (Illustration 11). In some cases the apparent massiveness of the temple foundation was deceiving, because the builders took full advantage of the contours to give the structure height without using much stone. The aim during construction of a *luakini* class of *heiau* was to create as imposing a structure as possible, and they often formed a very conspicuous part of the landscape. *Luakini* varied in form and outline but contained platforms (high or low, simple or tiered), a terrace of one or more tiers, walled enclosures, or any combination of these (Illustration 12). Terraces produced the same effect as a platform of more than twice the size. A structure with all three types of features, such as Pu'ukoholā on the island of Hawai'i, was considered the zenith of Hawaiian temple construction. It not only intimidated the people, but was considered extremely potent in securing the favor of the gods.¹⁷⁶ As Kirch states, "such temples reflect the power of the late prehistoric and early historic Hawaiian paramounts, and their ability to command the labor necessary to raise such monuments."¹⁷⁷

In addition to carefully selecting the correct site for a new *heiau*, the *kuhikuhi pu'uone* also took great care in planning its design. These *kahuna* studied earlier temples and learned every detail of their construction, particularly those features of *heiau* that they knew had brought luck or victory to their builders. According to J.F.G. Stokes, these seers then incorporated various design elements of those "successful" temples into new *heiau*, and this explains the variety of forms.¹⁷⁸

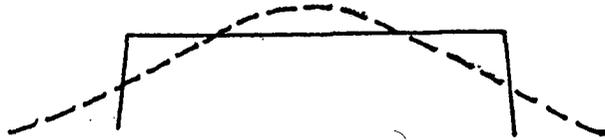
The process involved modeling the design of a new *heiau* in sand for approval by the king, after which a tax in the form of building the *heiau* was laid on all commoners, courtiers, and chiefs. The usual plan of the *luakini* dictated that if the front faced the west or east, the oracle tower stood on the north end of the structure. If the *heiau* fronted on the north or south, the tower would be on the east side, turned toward the west or south. The audience sat in the southern or western part of the structure.

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.

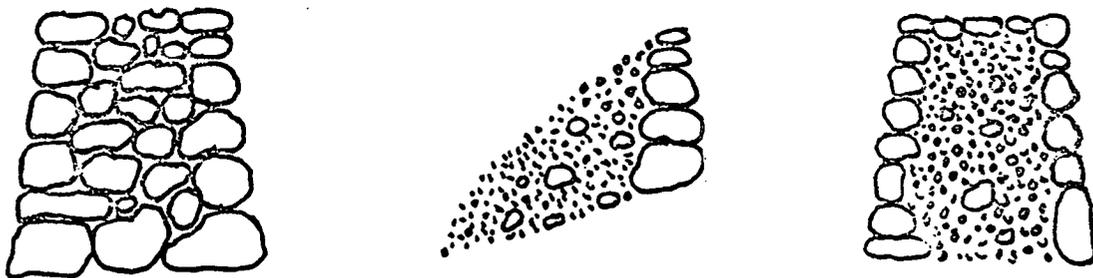
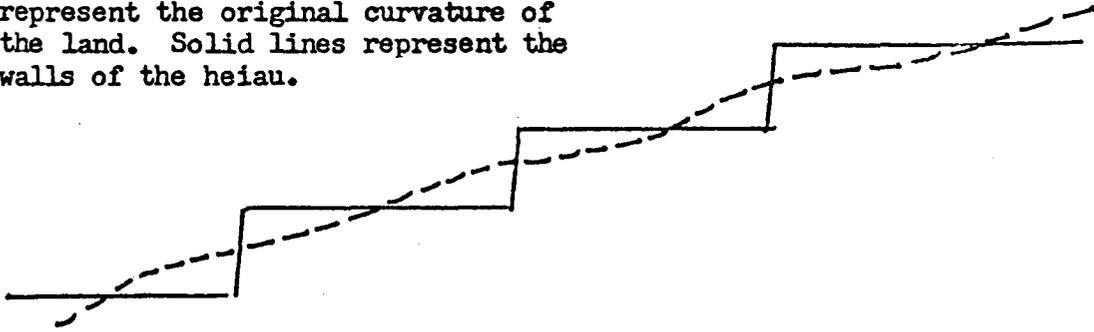
176. Folder 1 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.47, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, Stokes pp. 3-4, 6, and Kamakau, p. 6; folder 2 of 2 (pre-1919), box 9.48, Gr. I, Sc Stokes, Hawaiian Heiau MS, pp. 3, 5.

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.



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.

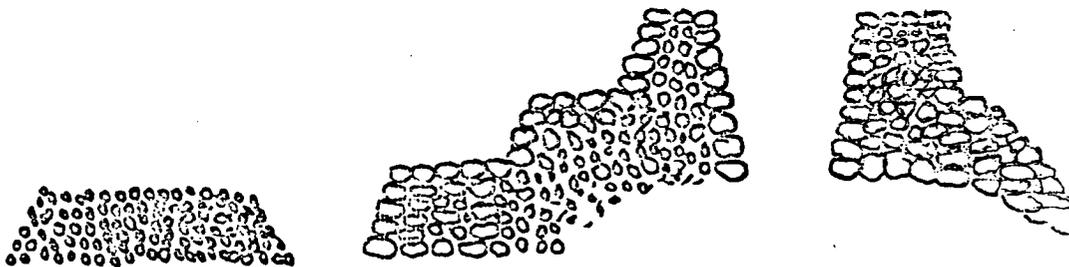
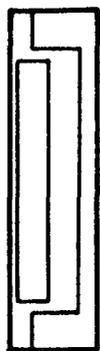


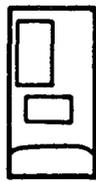
Illustration 11. *Heiau* construction techniques for terraces and walls. From Haas, "Hawaiians as Engineers," p. iv.

FIGURE 32

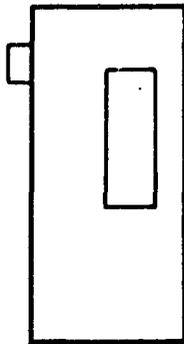
Schematic Ground Plan Drawings of Hawaii Island Luakini Class Helau



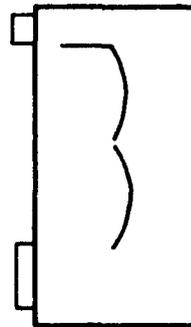
MAILEKINI
70' x 270'



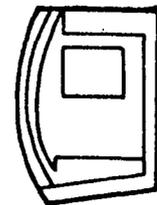
WAHAULA-A
72' x 132'



A-27 (Postulated)
126' x 260'



MO'OKINI
130' x 250'

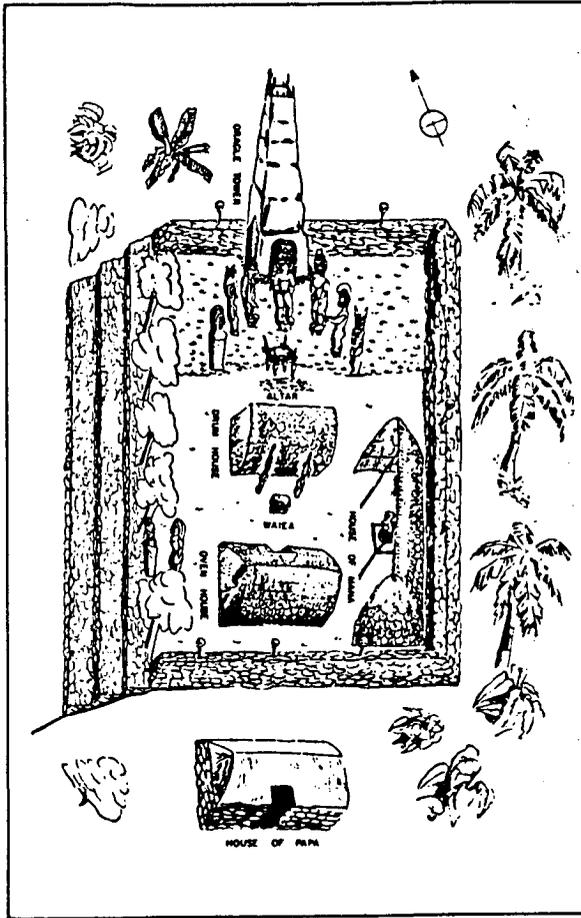


PUUKOHOLA
96' x 142'

0 50 100
FEET

NOTE: Only outside dimensions to scale.

Illustration 12. Ground plan drawings of *luakini* on Hawai'i Island. Figure 32 in Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27*, p. 75.



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.

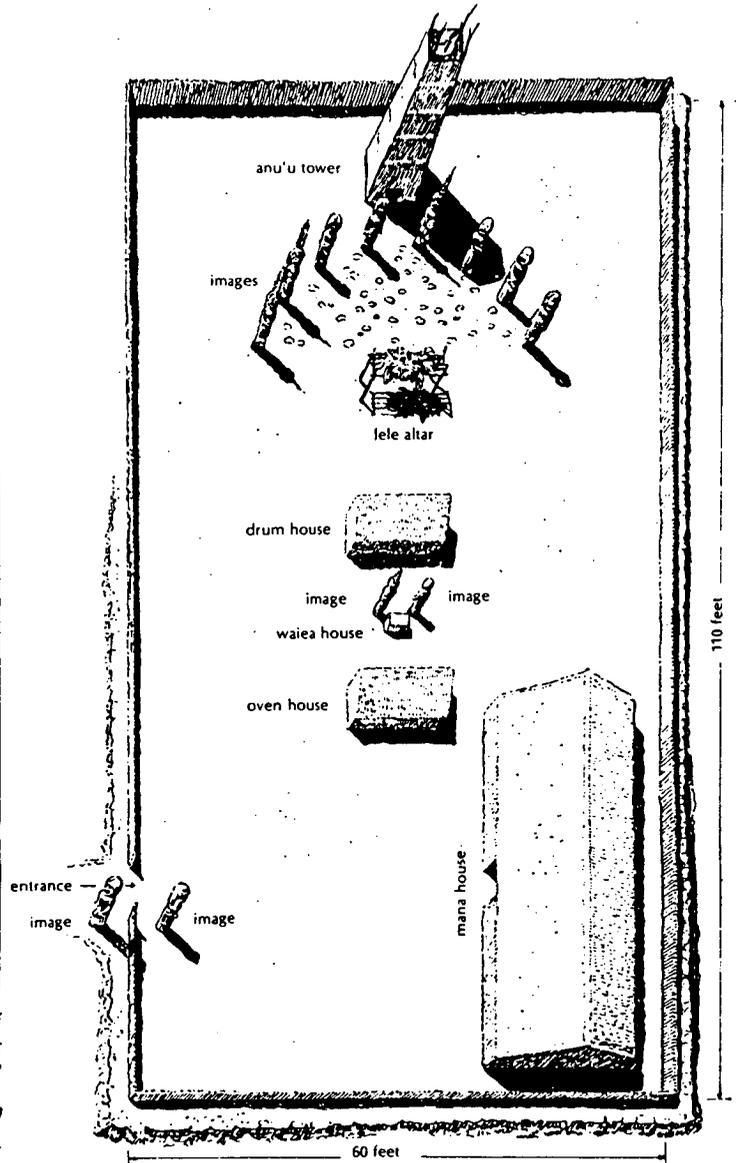


Illustration 13. Two reconstructions of a *luakini*. Drawing on the left is of Papaenaena Heiau on O'ahu. Drawing on the right, by Paul Rockwood, is of Waha'ula Heiau in Puna, Hawaii'i. From Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 18, and I'i *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, p. 34.

(c) Features

The main features of a *luakini* (Illustration 13), enclosed by walls or wooden fences, included the:

lananuumamao, or '*anu'u* — a wooden framework obelisk that served as an oracle tower. It was usually more than twenty feet tall and contained three platforms. The lowest symbolized the earth, the abode of humans, and was where offerings were placed; the middle was viewed as the space of birds and clouds and was where the high priest and his attendants conducted services; the highest platform symbolized the heavens – dwelling place of the gods – and could only be ascended by the high priest and the king. This was where the high priest received inspiration and acted as intermediary with the gods. The entire structure was covered with bleached *kapa*. It was a highly visible component of the temple platform area and contained within a refuse or bone pit where decayed offerings and bones of victims were cast (*lua pa'u*).

lele — an offertorium, the altar on which offerings were left

hale pahu — the drum house, enclosed except at the front

hale mana - the largest, most sacred house on the *heiau* platform, used by the king and the officiating priest during *kapu* periods (Illustration 14)

wai'ea — a small house for incantations in which the '*aha* ceremony took place. Relaxing of the *kapu* proclaimed over the new *heiau* depended on obtaining an *aha*, a mat braided out of a rare seaweed found only in the deep ocean. Coconut fiber was combined with the seaweed in braiding the '*aha*, which was used to decorate the shrine of Ku. If the seaweed was not found immediately, the search continued for months or years

hale umu — the oven house for temple fires

house at the entrance to the temple

kipapa — a pavement of large stones for ceremonial use

'ili'ili — a pavement of pebbles used as flooring

Haku ohi'a — (Lord of the *ohi'a* tree) the chief idol. Other temple images, up to twelve feet tall, were arranged in various ways within a *heiau* – some were in a fence configuration and others adorned the walls.

(d) Placement of Features

Wood for the temple houses was usually *ohi'a*; their thatching was *loulu* palm leaves and *uki* grass. Large pieces of *ohi'a* wood were used for the *lananunmamao* and similar large trees for the carving of idols. These wooden images stood in a semicircular arrangement in front of the *lananuumamao*; in front of them was the *kipapa* and the place where the *lele* stood on which sacrifices were placed (Illustration 15). In front of the *lele* and below was the *'ili'ili*. Also in front of the *lele* was the *hale pahu*, with its entrance facing the *lele*. Back of the drum house stood the long *mana*, also facing the *lele*, and another house at the entrance to the *heiau*. The *aha* service (in connection with the *Makahiki* festival) was performed in the *wai'ea*, located in the narrow passage back of the drum house and at the end of the *mana* house; at the other end of the *mana* was the oven house (*hale umu*) where the temple fire was kindled.¹⁷⁹

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'ukoholā 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.

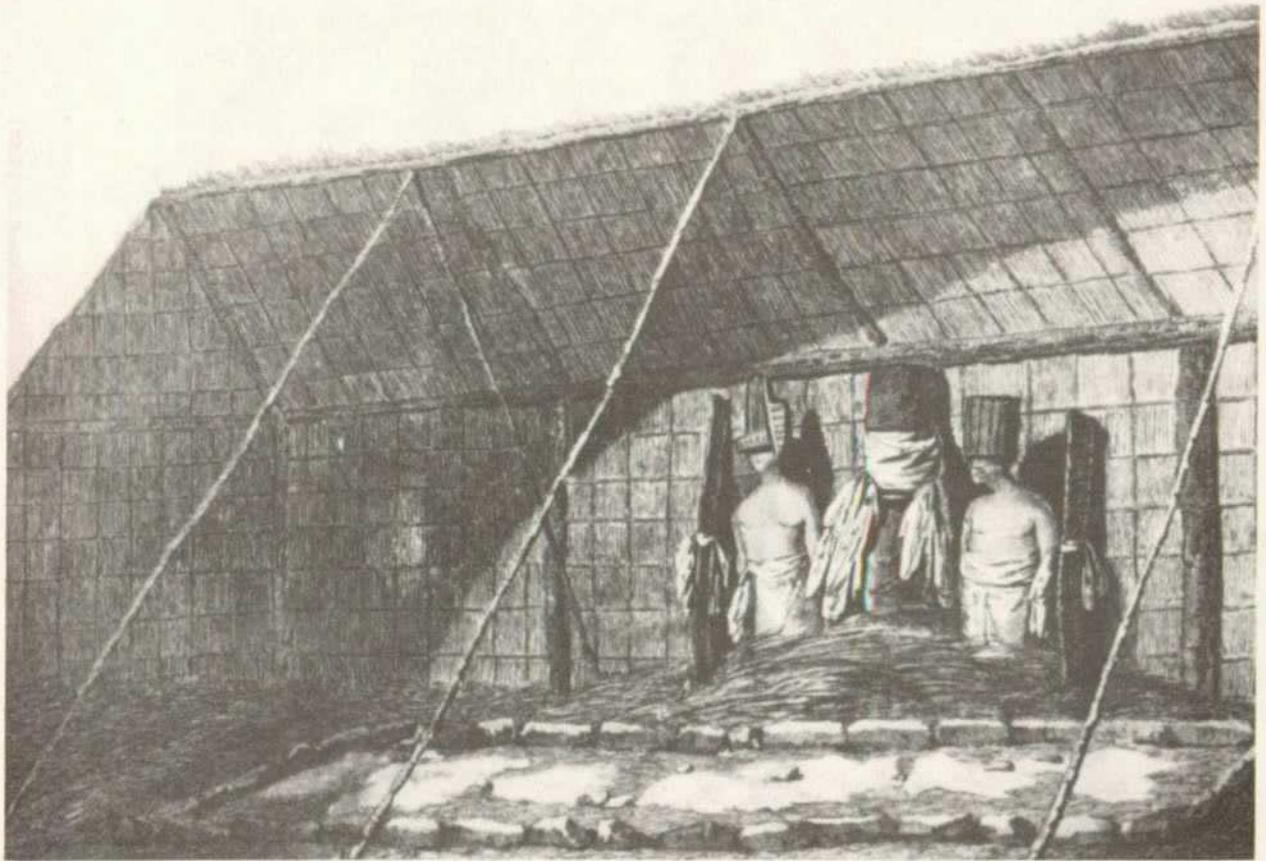


Illustration 14. Interior of a *hale mana* in a *luakini*, Kaua'i. Drawing by John Webber on the James Cook expedition, plate 2, in Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, from 1784 publication, p. 261.

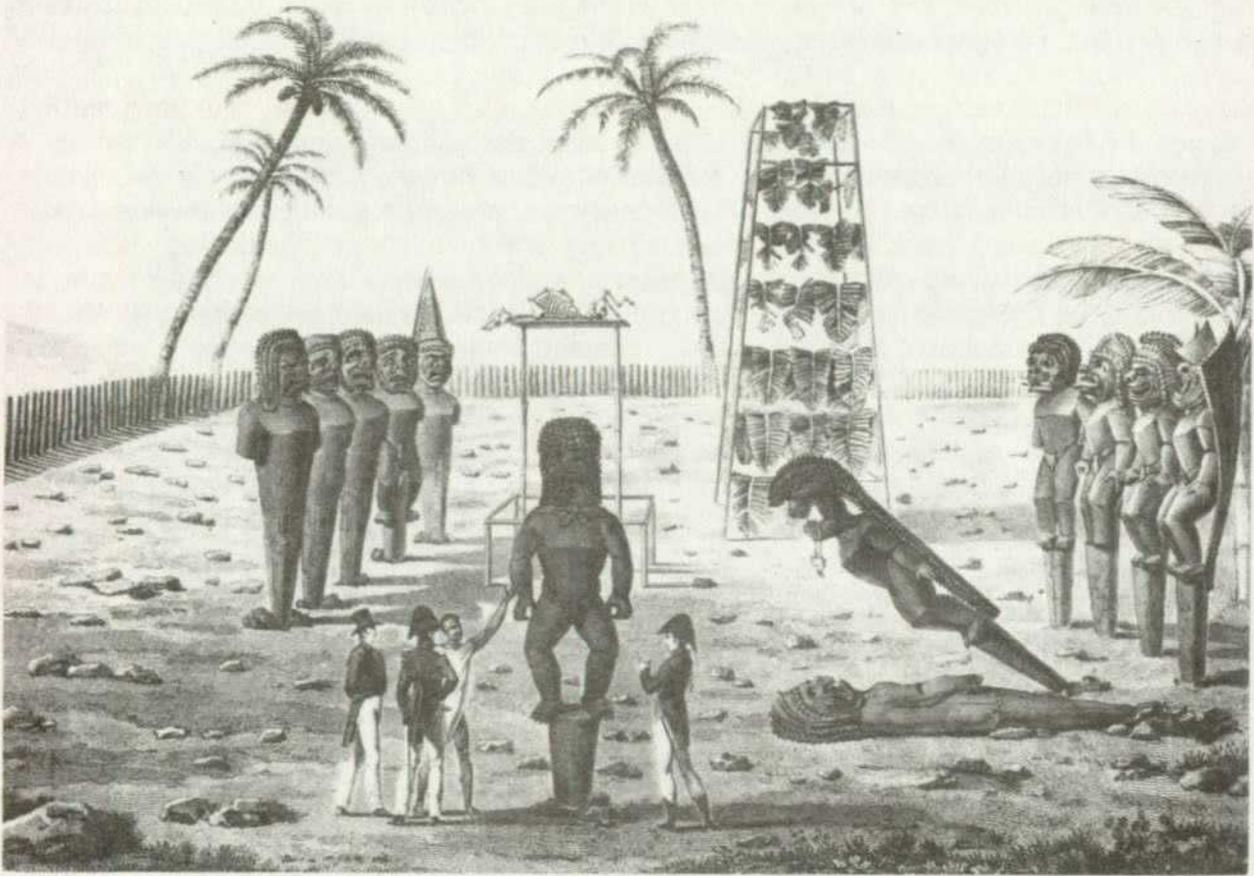


Illustration 15. The king's *luakini* in the Kona District, Hawai'i Island, by Jacques Arago, artist on the de Freycinet expedition, 1817-20. The structure was abandoned at this time. Published in *Voyage Autour du Monde*. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Samuel Kamakau provides some additional information on the *luakini* furnishings. He states that the 'anu'u, or oracle tower, as erected in the larger *heiau*, was square in shape, four to five fathoms high, and three or four fathoms long and wide. Pieces of *kapa* hung from purlins attached to the frame.¹⁸⁰ Kamakau described the ritual observances for obtaining the timber for the houses and for the main image within a *luakini*, involving the consecration of the adz; the formation of a large procession up the mountainside consisting of the ruler and his chiefs, retainers, and priests; prayers; a tree-felling feast; the leaving of the body of a lawbreaker at the stump of the *moku 'ohi'a*; and then the slow return to the lowlands that had to proceed in absolute silence and that no commoner could witness on pain of death.¹⁸¹

The construction, location, and configuration of the houses on the *heiau* was governed by prescribed rules related to the site, the kind of house, the god being honored, and the ritual ceremonies that would be performed. Of the houses within the *heiau*, the most sacred was the *mana* house, which held the *mo'i* image. The large *umu*, or oven house, was a shed-like structure within which pigs were baked for offerings. Kamakau mentions a "house to revive life" that stood in front of the 'anu'u tower and was used by the ruler and *kahuna nui* in the 'aha ritual (same as the *wai'ea*). The *hale pahu* housed the large and small drums played to please the gods. To the sound of their constant beat, the "god keepers" chanted formal prayers and entreated the gods. Between the *hale mana* and the *hale pahu* was the *lele* (altar). After the houses were built, all other items required to complete the rituals were added, including *kapa* garments for the priests, *kapa* for the houses and the scaffold structures, and *kapa* for covering each image. The altar was hung with fern leaves and other greenery.¹⁸²

(e) Rituals

Construction of a *luakini* was arduous, entailing several days of protracted and elaborate ritual. Consecration for this type of temple required two series of services, one for the king and the congregation lasting ten days and one for the king only, lasting three days. The initial ceremonies occurred during the construction of the temple foundations, the erection of houses, and the preparation of the images. The main consecration ceremonies followed, with offerings to the gods of hogs, coconuts, bananas, and human sacrifices. The women's *heiau* – *Hale o Papa*, adjacent to the *luakini* – housed the final ceremonies, performed by the women in the ruler's family.¹⁸³

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.

David Malo surmised that "it was a great undertaking for a king to build a heiau of the sort called a *luakini*, to be accomplished with fatigue and with redness of the eyes from long and wearisome prayers and ceremonies on his part."¹⁸⁴ William Davenport states that

The most exacting and arduous rites were those performed at the temples dedicated to Ku. Hundreds of pigs and great quantities of staples might be consumed and sacrificed to mark each phase of the ritual cycle. . . . Each part of the ritual was conducted by a different priest who was specially practiced at his specific ritual role. But the paramount chief himself was always the pivotal participant, for the propitiation was directed toward his personal aspect of the god from whom he received the supernatural mandate of his office. At the completion of each ritual phase, which had to be executed without flaw lest its efficacy be marred, the environment was scanned for specific omens that indicated whether or not the god accepted the ritual communication. Only when the omen revealed favorable reception was the next ritual phase begun. Thus, the ritual and the reading of answering omens amounted to a dialogue between the paramount chief together with his priests and the godly source of their political authority.¹⁸⁵

The number and types of structures that crowned the *heiau* platforms, the constant chanting and beating of drums that emanated from the temple during ceremonies, the smell of burnt and decaying offerings wafting through the air, and the knowledge that direct communication with the gods was taking place, endowed *heiau*, especially *luakini*, with a tremendous visual and sensual impact on the people.¹⁸⁶

The most impressive feature of these huge *luakini* ruins is the stonework forming the foundation terraces, platforms, and walls. According to Samuel Kamakau:

The hardest work in making the heiaus of the ancient days was in laying the stones. . . . If the heiau were on a cliff or hillside, stones had to be laid and interlocked . . . until they reached the highest level. A heiau on level ground (*heiau pu'uhonua*) did not need as much stone covering, but many thousands of stones were needed just the same. The first thing in making heiaus was to locate a site, and then to raise up the well-fitted stones. The chiefs and those who lived in their households did the work, but if the task were extremely laborious, then it became "public work" . . . and the people . . . helped.¹⁸⁷

"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.

(f) Relationship to the People

Everything concerning *luakini* was hard work for commoners, including the initial conscription of their labor to build the massive stone foundations, the periodic rebuilding of structures, the production of large quantities of produce extended as tribute that was used as sacrificial offerings, and the severe restrictions imposed on the nearby population during the *kapu* periods when dedication services or other rituals were being conducted. In addition, there was always the possibility that inadvertent breaking of a *kapu* could result in a commoner ending up as the ritual sacrifice.¹⁸⁸ In general, both commoners and women were excluded from all *heiau*, although some had structures in close proximity for use by women of royal lineage.¹⁸⁹

e) Images

(1) Function

Prior to the high priest Pa'ao's arrival, the Hawaiians worshipped unseen deities. The introduction of wooden temple images as representations of the cosmic gods provided the people with something tangible through which to worship their deities. These images were not worshipped as gods themselves, but it was thought that when invoked through certain rituals, the *mana* or spirit of a god would occupy the carved statue and could be consulted or supplicated in times of need. Visitors to the islands long after the abolition of the ancient religious system noted that the Hawaiians

deny that they actually worshipped the wood and the stone, and to explain to us their use of images, they refer at once to the practice of the Romanists in regard to pictures and symbols. They can discern but little difference between their ancient worship and the rites and ceremonies of the Romanists. . . .¹⁹⁰

Hawaiian temple courtyard images were only one means by which priests communicated with the gods. In other instances they received messages while in the oracle tower or while in a trance. It is also thought that in some cases the paramount chief, as a direct descendant of the gods, served as the interlocutor between the deities and their worshippers during the course of a ceremony.¹⁹¹

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.

(2) Appearance

Priest-craftsmen, highly trained and skilled in the intricacies of both the carving of wood and the symbolism of religious ritual, served as the artisans of these powerful images. Standing within the temple courtyards or stationed around the walls of *heiau*, these sculptures inspired fear among the populace and vividly impressed visiting Europeans (Illustration 16). In 1823 the Reverend William Ellis

took a sketch of one of the idols [on the ruins of the *heiau* Ahuena at Kailua], which stood sixteen feet above the wall, was upwards of three feet in breadth, and had been carved out of a single tree. The above may be considered as a tolerable specimen of the greater part of Hawaiian idols. The head has generally a most horrid appearance, the mouth being large and usually extended wide, exhibiting a row of large teeth, resembling in no small degree the cogs in the wheel of an engine, and adapted to excite terror rather than inspire confidence in the beholder. Some of their idols were of stone, and many were constructed with a kind of wickerwork covered with red feathers.¹⁹²

A few visitors managed to catch a glimpse of these various types of images before their swift destruction upon abolition of the *kapu* system; others relied on secondhand information to convey the frightful aspects of the figures. In addition to fixed temple images, there were mobile ones that could be transported between temples or in ritual processions, such as during the *Makahiki* festival. The featherwork noted in the 1880s description below of images carried into battle is attributed to the religious tradition instituted by the high priest Pa'ao:¹⁹³

These gods were no light burden, being great blocks of wood several feet high, with heads and necks formed of fine wickerwork, covered with red feathers so curiously wrought as to resemble the skin of a bird. The face was hideous, having a mouth from ear to ear, armed with triple rows of shark's teeth, and eyes of mother-of-pearl. The head was adorned with long tresses of human hair, and crowned with a shapely feather helmet. The priests who carried these repulsive deities uttered terrific yells, and distorted their own countenance, the better to encourage their own warriors, and alarm the foe.¹⁹⁴

Despite the ethnocentric descriptions of them by early viewers, the few remaining Hawaiian temple images are regarded today as one of the finest artistic accomplishments of the ancient Hawaiians:

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

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

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

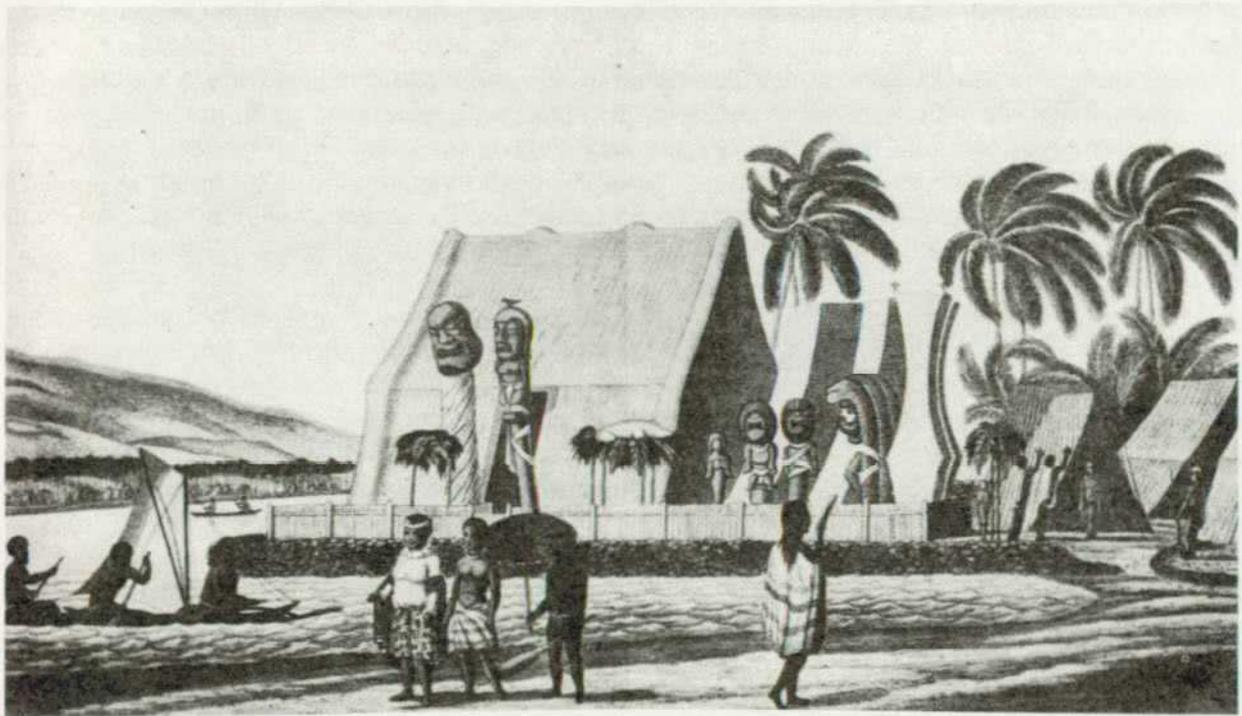


Illustration 16. Temple of Kamehameha in the Kona District at Kamakahonu, showing courtyard temple images. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

It is very probable that these statues were intended to be ugly. They were meant to look ferocious, and to inspire fear in all beholders. . . . There is more to it than that, however. The decorated headdresses of the idols, the staring eyes, the big heads and the scowling mouths, with tongues sticking out, have undoubted symbolic significance. . . . These features are common throughout the Pacific. . . .¹⁹⁵

(3) Types

Dorota Starzecka divides Hawaiian religious sculpture into three types: temple, stick, and free-standing images (Illustrations 17 and 18):

Temple images are monumental in scale and threatening in expression. Among the most distinctive are those in Kona style (from the Kona coast of Hawaii where the style developed), characterized by the elaboration of the hair with its two downward sweeps, a figure-of-eight mouth, extended nostrils, and eyes located off the face and in the hair, following its curve. The central image in the temple was the most elaborately carved and the ceremony of its setting up was marked with a human sacrifice. Stick images are small, portable images with shafts, from 3 to 24 in. in length. . . . These images . . . were also used during ceremonies in the temples. Free-standing images tend to be bigger than the stick images, and show a certain realism. Some of them have pearl-shell eyes, human teeth and human hair pegged in.¹⁹⁶

(4) Arrangement in *Heiau*

Idols were commonly found in association with religious structures in other areas of Polynesia, but Hawai'i was somewhat unique in terms of the arrangement of images within the *heiau*.¹⁹⁷ Temple images were either erected in holes made in the stone paved platform area of a *heiau* or were placed on top of the surrounding walls or fences. In the latter case, they were probably decorative features rather than ritual focuses. Some may have designated entrances to the temple and some appear to have marked boundaries of ritual spaces. Images used within the central temple area were manifestations of one of the four major Hawaiian deities (Kū, Kane, Lono, Kanaloa) but were not specifically identifiable to any one of them. The primary *luakini* temple image was the *akua mo'i* (lord of the god image), an elaborately carved statue that was the last to be placed in front of the altar.¹⁹⁸

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.



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

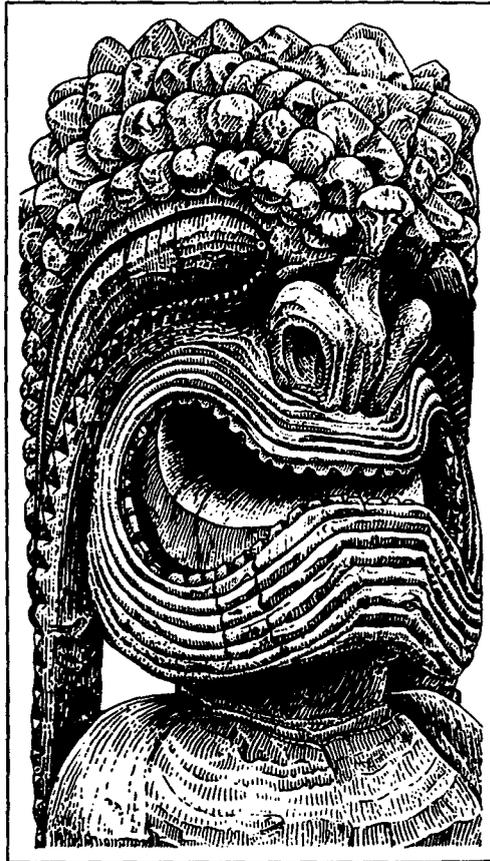


Plate 9. Main temple image, representing Kū (Kona style). Detail of the face, showing the pig-shaped nose.

Illustration 17. Stick and temple images. Plates 8 and 9 from Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*.



Illustration 18. Temple of Kamehameha I in the Kona District at Kamakahonu. Courtesy, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

(5) Associated Rituals

The same heavy *ohi'a* wood used for the oracle tower was utilized in carving the *luakini* images. A complicated ritual observance (*haku ohi'a*) existed for obtaining the timber for both the *heiau* houses and the main image of Ku. It involved consecration of the axes used to fell the trees, followed by a journey to the mountains by a delegation of priests and the ruler to obtain the special timber needed. Other ritual observances included prayers, feasting, and an offering of a human sacrifice. After carving the image, the priests carried it back and laid it outside the entrance of the temple. Inside, a row of carved images representing the major gods was placed in front of the oracle tower with a space left in the middle. Toward the end of the *luakini* ceremonies, the central idol was brought into the courtyard and set up in the hole dug for it in the midst of the other statues. A ceremony including prayers and another sacrificial victim, whose body was thrown into the cavity prepared for the main image, took place and the statue was erected in the hole. Construction of the *mana* house was then quickly finished and another image placed inside it. Afterwards priests awaited a sign that Ku was present at the ceremonies. The signal was the finding of the seaweed to be placed in the *waiea*. If it was found, a coconut fiber cord was wrapped around the principal image's belly as an umbilical cord. It was then cut and a feast held to honor the "birth" of this image. A confirmation ceremony followed. Just as a young boy was dressed in a bleached loin cloth at puberty, the new image was wrapped in bleached bark cloth and declared *mo'i*, lord of all the idols. The lesser images were then also wrapped in *kapa*. In the evening shadows they would have presented a ghostly, surreal presence.¹⁹⁹

(6) Treatment by the Hawaiians

An interesting aspect of the Hawaiian temple images is that they were considered only representations of the gods and not sacred in and of themselves. The sacredness only came after the spirits of the gods had been induced to enter them through specific rituals. As Shimizu states,

Sacredness of the physical elements of a *heiau* was a temporary condition. After all the labor involved in construction and the intensive ceremonies within the *heiau* were concluded, the *heiau* was virtually abandoned until the next major event. Although the central image representing the main deity of the *heiau* remained sacred, the supplementary images were no longer regarded with value and respect.²⁰⁰

The minor images were evidently allowed to deteriorate between important ceremonies. This gave some people, such as Captain Nathaniel Portlock, a mistaken impression about the fervor of Hawaiian religious practices when he visited there in 1786-87:

Another species of ingenuity met with amongst the natives here, is carving: they have a number of wooden images, representing human figures, which they esteem as their gods; but it is a matter of doubt, whether religion is held in any great

199. George Vanderbilt, "Human Sacrifice" (October 9, 1955):A4; "Polynesian Prelude" (September 11, 1955):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.

estimation amongst them, for every god amongst the islands might be purchased for a few towees.²⁰¹

Captain Cook also reported that the people, including the priests, seemed to have little respect for their idols, many of which his sailors carried away in full view of the people.²⁰² Cox and Davenport surmise that when a temple was rededicated, the central image may have been the only one replaced. That act might have symbolized the renewal of all the others, which could then just be retouched and redressed.²⁰³ Shimizu interprets this attitude toward temple images as reinforcing the theory that "the physical form [of a *heiau* and its furnishings] is secondary to the ritual process."²⁰⁴ Handy et al. state that although previously used images might be retained with the thought that they still possessed some elements of sacredness, "that the idols themselves were not gods is evidenced by the common custom of making a new image for every ceremony of importance."²⁰⁵

(7) Destruction at Overthrow of *Kapu* System

The overthrow of the *kapu* system on the death of Kamehameha I entailed the destruction of temple images. W. Chapin reports that the destruction of vestiges of the old religion began in the early part of November 1819, and describes how on "Atooi" (Kaua'i), by the end of that month, "the *morais* and the consecrated buildings, with the idols, were on fire, the first evening after the order arrived. The same was done in all the islands."²⁰⁶ The Reverend Hiram Bingham describes how Ka'ahumanu, wife of King Kamehameha I, demonstrating her enthusiasm for the new religion of the missionaries on a tour of the islands in 1822, sought out remaining images for destruction: "On the 26th of the same month [June], one hundred and two idols, collected from different parts of Hawaii, where they had been hidden 'in the holes of the rocks and caves of the earth,' were, by her authority, committed to the flames."²⁰⁷ Gilbert F. Mathison, who visited the islands during 1821-22, lamented that at the time of his visit, he made

every possible inquiry in vain for one of the ancient idols. The people expressed great astonishment at my desire to possess what they had themselves ceased to

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.

value, and seemed even affronted by my supposing that they could have preserved any such antiquated relics of pristine ignorance and superstition.²⁰⁸

According to Cox and Davenport, there are only about thirty-five of the large Hawaiian temple images remaining, probably because they were so visible and therefore extremely vulnerable to destruction, while smaller images could be easily hidden away for furtive worship.²⁰⁹

f) Mortuary Practices

(1) Burial Customs and Places of Interment

Hawaiian death and mortuary practices were as filled with meaning as every other aspect of life. Elaborate rituals revolved around preparation of the body, burial processes, mourning procedures, and purification of the living who had come in contact with the corpse. These deliberate and well-defined behaviors not only allowed full expression of grief, but also reaffirmed the unity of the family group and assured solace and peace for the dead in the hereafter.²¹⁰

Several different burial places and methods of interment were used, depending to a great extent on the deceased's status in society as well as on local geographical conditions. Locations of burials included the earth, sand dunes, under monuments and cairns, beneath houses, in *heiau* platforms, and in lava tubes, natural caves, rockshelters, and niches in steep cliffs. Burials in these last areas usually are well preserved, as is artifactual material interred with them. Burials marked on the surface by stone monuments were common in the historic period. Many have been found at Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau and near Kawaihae. Sacrificial victims, priests, and *kapu* breakers, as well as high chiefs were interred in temple platforms. The most famous sepulchre of high chiefs was the Hale-o-Keawe at Hōnaunau, the burial place of a long line of deified chiefs.²¹¹ Other well-known burial places on the island of Hawai'i included the Waipio Valley, the cliffs surrounding Kealakekua Bay, and the caves of Kaloko.²¹² Cave sites, usually located near a living area, were frequently used in both the prehistoric and historic periods for either the combined dead of a village or as individual family resting places.²¹³

208. Gilbert F. 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'oilō: 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.

(2) Mourning Rituals and Burial Practices

As mentioned earlier, corpses were considered to be defiling, extremely *kapu* in ancient Hawaiian culture. All clothing in the vicinity of the dead person, all furnishings items, and all food utensils had to be burned after removal of the body. Those relatives who remained in the vicinity of a dead person for any length of time had to undergo a purification ceremony before they could again interact in society. While prolonged weeping and sorrowful wailing marked the death of a loved one, distress upon the death of a respected leader was demonstrated by knocking out one's teeth, cutting one's flesh, tattooing one's tongue, or cutting a section of one's hair. During the mourning ritual for royalty, chiefs and commoners might also commit suicide in front of the corpse. Bodies of commoners were often preserved and wrapped in layers of *kapa* cloth before being buried, in a variety of locations and positions, along with their valued personal possessions, food, mats, and other things needed to make them comfortable.²¹⁴

The ancient Hawaiian's overriding concern with *mana* guided burial customs for the *ali'i* concerning time of interment and extent of reduction of the body. It was believed that in order to prevent their former enemies from finding their bones and gaining possession of their power, the skeletal material of chiefs, after removal of the flesh, had to be secretly interred. There are, therefore, many secret burial caves on the islands whose entrances are hidden from view.²¹⁵ Fornander found that

This extreme solicitude of concealing the bones of defunct high chiefs was very prevalent in the Hawaiian group. . . . The greatest trophy to the victor, the greatest disgrace to the vanquished, was the possession of the bones of an enemy. They were either simply exhibited as trophies, or they were manufactured into fish-hooks, or into arrow-points wherewith to shoot mice. Hence various expedients were resorted to to effectively prevent the bones of a high chief ever becoming the prey of any enemies that he may have left alive when he died. One of the most trusted friends of the deceased chief was generally charged with the duty of secreting the bones . . . and the custom prevailed till after the time of *Kamehameha* I. This custom applied, however, more particularly to prominent warrior chiefs. . . . Generally the custom in chief families was to strip the flesh off the corpse of a deceased chief, burn it, and collect the skull, collar-bones, arm and leg bones in a bundle, wrap them up in a *tapa* cloth, and deposit them in the family vault. . . .²¹⁶

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.

According to Reverend Ellis, burial practices changed after the abolition of idolatry:

. . . all ceremonies connected therewith have ceased; the other heathenish modes of burying their dead are only observed by those who are uninstructed, and are not professed worshippers of the true God: those who are, inter their dead in a manner more resembling the practice of Christians. The corpse is usually laid in a coffin, which . . . is borne to the place of worship . . . where a short service is performed; it is then carried to the grave. . . .²¹⁷

Current information on ancient burial practices, as on other aspects of early Hawaiian life, derives mainly from descriptions by nineteenth-century Hawaiian historians and from accounts by European visitors. The English surgeon Frederick Bennett notes that a resident of O'ahu, C.B. Rooke, related to him that he had visited several "sepulchral caves" on various of the Hawaiian islands: "The bodies they contained were numerous, mostly in a mummy state, and placed in a sitting posture, with their limbs flexed; they were enveloped in bark-cloth, and some of them had portions of sugar-cane in their hands, and calabashes, which had contained *poe* [*poi*], by their sides."²¹⁸ An additional important source of data are archeological discoveries found during survey and excavation work.

g) Places of Refuge

The last aspect of ancient Hawaiian religion important to the scope of this report concerns *pu'uhonua*, or places of refuge. The authority of the high chief and the priests to regulate the patterns of ancient Hawaiian society, especially as they related to social and religious customs, was unquestioned. Those who disregarded the traditional restrictions were susceptible to the most extreme punishment. One avenue of succor was available to them, however, consisting of escape to a place of refuge. These were the only checks to the king's absolute power of life and death over his subjects.

Pu'uhonua were sacred areas, not necessarily enclosed, to which murderers, *kapu*-breakers, and other transgressors who had incurred the wrath of the ruler could hastily retreat to gain sanctuary from reprisal. Upon reaching the entrances of these compounds, often enclosed by extensive and massive stone walls, the refugee immediately gave thanks to the guardian deity. Theoretically, no one pursuing this person, including a high chief, the king, or enemy warriors, could enter the enclosure without risking death at the hands of the resident priest or his attendants. The one seeking asylum usually remained several days and then returned home, absolved of his misdeeds

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).

by the gods. Fugitives from battle also fled to these places; during times of war white flags waved from tall spears placed outside the walls at each end of the enclosure. Because these refuge areas were quite large, during wartime, women, children, and the aged were often left within the walls while the men went off to battle. The person of the *mo'i* was also *pu'uhonua* and could provide asylum. Ten *pu'uhonua* existed on the island of Hawai'i, the one at Hōnaunau being the largest in the Hawaiian Islands.²¹⁹

7. Recreation and Art

a) Games and Sports

While the *ali'i* and priests occupied themselves with political and religious issues, the commoners pursued activities related to the essentials of life – food, shelter, and clothing. Although this took up much of their day, they also found time for recreation in the form of games and sports, song and dance, and the execution of fine arts. These activities were undoubtedly a welcome relief from the pressure of daily subsistence activities. Races were a popular pastime, while many leisure hours, from birth to adulthood, were spent in the sea in swimming, canoe racing, and other aquatic sports. Surfboarding was the favorite recreational activity of the early Hawaiians and possibly the one at which they were most proficient. Games of skill and chance were also popular, including *puhenehene* and *no'a*, in which players had to guess on which person or under which bundle of *kapa* a small stone was hidden; *kōnane*, a variant of checkers played on a wood board or rock with black and white pebbles; and *maika*, in which players threw or bowled stone discs between two upright sticks set in the ground. These sources of amusement were almost always accompanied by some form of gambling, which was pursued very seriously.

In addition, the feudalistic nature of Hawaiian politics precipitated frequent wars over territory and succession. Therefore chiefs tended to encourage participation and development of expertise in such aggressive sports as dart- and javelin-throwing, wrestling, boxing, and archery as good training for combat. Sham battles were prevalent, and chiefs also held athletic games, especially during the *Makahiki* celebration, to entertain their people, to keep their subjects healthy and fit, and to identify those with special fighting skills.²²⁰

One of the most interesting Hawaiian sports (Illustration 19) was reported on by Charles Wilkes of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, who noted that

A favourite amusement of the chiefs was sliding down hill on a long narrow sled: this was called holua; it was not unlike our boys' play, when we have snow. The sled was made to slide on one runner, and the chiefs prostrated themselves on it. For this sport they had a trench dug from the top of a steep hill and down its sides, to a great distance over the adjoining plain. This being made quite smooth, and

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 Hōnaunau, 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.

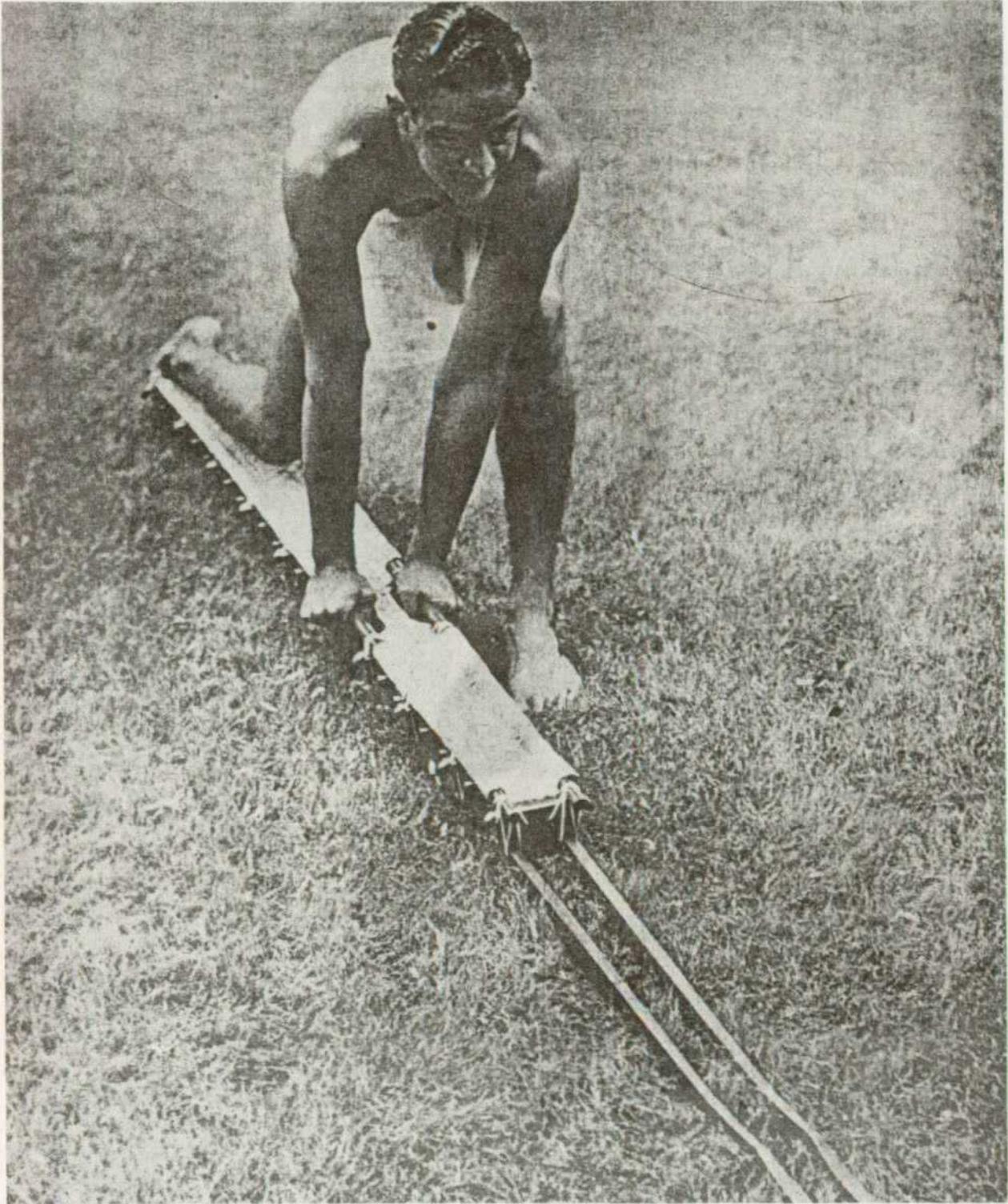


Illustration 19. Hawaiian *hōlua* (sled). From McDonald, "Hawaiian Holua," p. 76.

having dry grass laid on it, they were precipitated with great velocity down it, and, it is said, were frequently carried a half, and sometimes a whole mile.²²¹

Caspar Whitney, visiting Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century, remarked that he

noted these old courses [of the *hōlua*] in my travels over the islands, very plainly marking several precipitous hill-sides, and suggesting a considerable amount of toil in their original making.²²²

Eight of these slides remain on the island of Hawai'i, five of them being found in or near Pu'u'honua o Hōnaunau.

The missionaries who arrived in the early 1800s worked diligently to end many of these ancient pastimes, both because of their perceived origin in "heathen" beliefs and because of the gambling that accompanied them. In addition, however, their practice waned as European influences extended throughout the islands and the Hawaiian value system and lifestyle changed. Many of these games were then given up in lieu of their foreign counterparts.

b) Song and Dance

According to the Reverend William Ellis, "The Sandwich Islanders have various types of dances and participate in this amusement with great fervor."²²³ Music and chanting, mentioned earlier in relation to religious temple ceremonies, also provided informal entertainment for commoner and *ali'i* alike. The famous Hawaiian *hula* linked music, dance, and poetry in a ceremony permeated with strong religious overtones. (The missionaries later preached against this dance as being lewd and immoral.)

c) Fine Arts

The early Hawaiians created exquisite works of art and items of personal adornment as well as skillfully designed wood and stone weapons and domestic utensils and graphic and striking religious statues and sculptures. The most ornate examples of ancient Hawaiian featherwork – comprising the capes, helmets, and cloaks worn by the high chiefs as the visual symbol of their power – and items such as the *lei palaoa* (whale ivory pendant) of the *ali'i* are considered priceless objects today. The paper-mulberry tree was grown for its bark, which women soaked and pounded into a soft, pliable material (*kapa*) for clothing. Adorned with a variety of dyed

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.

patterns and figures of great intricacy and symmetry, these pieces represent "a major Hawaiian artistic achievement."²²⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 bitter cold and the ice packs of the Arctic seas, Cook decided to winter in the Sandwich Islands and return north the next summer.

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

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

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).

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

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.

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 *Discovery* 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

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.

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

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.

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

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

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

23. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

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.

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. 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 peddling 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



Young, favored du Roi Kamehameha.
(Mes Sandwich.)

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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

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

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. Marnie 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.

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.¹¹ 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

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.

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'uuanu 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

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.

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

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.

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 wives 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:

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.

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

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.

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

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.

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 III 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'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau stand.

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.

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'uuanu 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'ukoholā Heiau and its subsequent use, the death and burial of Kamehameha I, and of the abolition of the *kapu* system.

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.

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

39. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, 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.

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 jack 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

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.

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.)

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

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 Yosihiko 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.

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

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, 1778-1854*, 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.

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

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 ms., undated, on file at Pu'ukoholā 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.

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

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.

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 –

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 World*, pp. 103-4.

77. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," p. 66.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

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.

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 Furick*, 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.

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 harbor masters 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

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.)

5. Population Shift and Growth of Towns

When Vancouver's ships stopped along Hawaii's west coast in 1793-94, more than 3,000 people came to greet them at Kealahou 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

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.

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.

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. 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 Kū, 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.

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.

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 Kū-ka'ili-moku. Although this pattern of dividing the succession of the chieftom 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, Kiwala'o's claim to the island of Hawai'i was "clear and irrefutable."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

4. It has also been conjectured that Kamehameha's father 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.

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 Hōnaunau 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 Hōnaunau 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 Hōnaunau 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.

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.

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'ukoholā in Kawaihae for worship and for sacrifices to Kamehameha's war god Kū. 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'ukoholā 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,

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.

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 Schäffer, 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

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."

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

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.

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

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.

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

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.

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 Schäffer attempted to gain Kamehameha's favor while involving King Ka'umu'ali'i of Kaua'i in a treasonous plot against Kamehameha. Schäffer erected a fort at Waimea, Kaua'i, and a warehouse at Honolulu. Eventually Schäffer'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.

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.

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 Kealahou it had to be transported for some distance.

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.

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.⁵⁰ 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

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 Schäffer, 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.

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.

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. 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 Kū-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 Kū-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.

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.

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."

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 patronage.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.

5. Hopkins, *Hawaii*, p. 171.

6. Kalākaua, *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; Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, p. 432.

Kamehameha II's unfortunate "fondness for drinking, carousing, general debauchery, and . . . insatiable 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 Kū, and Hewahewa. It was Hewahewa's strong support that ensured the success of this endeavor.

9. Holland, "Land and Livelihood," p. 14.

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 Kalākaua, 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

10. Information in the above paragraphs has been drawn from Hopkins, *Hawaii*, pp. 184-89; Kalākaua, *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. Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, pp. 437-38.

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 Kū-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

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. Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, pp. 438-39.

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

17. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, p. 134.

18. Mathison, *Narrative*, p. 447.

19. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, *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.

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.

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.

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 *alii* 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

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.

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,

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.

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

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 Kū'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 Kū rituals were not only unnecessary, but took time away from important commercial endeavors.

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.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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

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.*

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 priesthods 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 priesthods, 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 administrative 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. Hawaii'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

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.

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 I'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

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.

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.

62. Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure," pp. 91-92.

63. Judd, *Honolulu*, p. xxvii.

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

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.

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 Kawiikaouli as king, and Ka'ahumanu continued as regent. The council also decreed that hereditary succession was now the law of the land.

C. Arrival of New Religion

1. Missionaries Come to Hawai'i

The year 1819 was a critical turning point in the history of the Hawaiian Islands. As described, the death of Kamehameha and the abolition of the *kapu* system left the islands without a formal religion. Unaware of these events, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that same year determined to send missionaries to Hawai'i to convert and "civilize" the people by introducing churches, schools, and the press.

Another new element was added to fuel the social, cultural, and economic turmoil in the islands as whalers began to arrive in increasing numbers looking for supplies, fuel, food, and water. This onslaught greatly increased demands for goods and services, a situation that commercial interests and foreign governments (largely British and American) were quick to capitalize upon. The missionary activity, expansionist ambitions, and commercial interests prevalent in the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1820s set the stage for a battle for control of the Hawaiian kingdom, a battle dominated for the first few decades by the American missionaries. They would influence Hawaiian politics, foreign relations, and economics for the next half century.⁶⁹

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.

2. Establishment of Mission Stations

By 1800 a number of young Hawaiians who had signed onto trading ships as sailors had found their way to New England. In 1816-17, the American Board of Christian Missions opened a Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, for young foreigners; seven of the original twelve students were Hawaiians. The success of these young scholars encouraged the board to send missionaries to the Sandwich Islands.

The first company of missionaries left Boston in October 1819 aboard the ship *Thaddeus*. After a turbulent eighteen-thousand-mile-voyage, they arrived at Kawaihae on the shores of Hawai'i at the end of March 1820. Upon their arrival they found that King Kamehameha was dead and the *kapu* system had been abolished.⁷⁰ After lengthy consultation with his advisors, King Kamehameha II granted the missionaries permission to land. The newcomers felt they had a tremendous task ahead of them, for their charge from the American Board had been to

open your hearts wide and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization.⁷¹

They quickly set about establishing mission stations. Reverend Asa Thurston; Mrs. Lucy Goodale Thurston; Thomas Holman, M.D.; and Mrs. Lucia Holman, accompanied by Hawaiian converts Thomas Hopu and William Kanui, were sent to Kailua to minister to the people of that district – teaching them literature, the arts, and most importantly, Christianity ("training them for heaven").⁷² Among their first pupils were the new king and his younger brother, two of his wives, and some other youths.⁷³ The king was particularly interested in having Holman present to provide medical care for the royal family, and for a short time William Loomis ran a "family school" for Kalanimoku and his family at Kawaihae.

Although the king and his chiefs were gracious in receiving the missionaries, there were others – especially among the foreign merchants – who argued against their admission. Some of the

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 Hawaiian 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.

foreigners residing on the islands were wary of the newcomers, fearing a loss of easy access to the governing chiefs and diminishing returns from their prosperous businesses that catered "to native vices."⁷⁴ They warned the chief that the missionaries would ban polygamy, alcohol, and native religion. They also suggested that the arrival of English missionaries was imminent and argued that the missionaries intended to claim possession of the islands for themselves.⁷⁵

John Young generally supported the missionaries, helping them with translations, housing, and other matters. One of his sons was among the first pupils taught by the American missionaries at Kailua. According to the captain of the *Thaddeus*, Young suggested to the missionaries that the "Government of Great Britain might not be pleased with the settlement of American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands."⁷⁶ Some of the chiefs even asked Young to write to the British to avoid any misunderstanding. Other foreigners living in the islands were not so supportive. Frenchman Jean Rives (who had close ties to King Kamehameha II) argued strongly that the missionaries should not be allowed to stay. (Rives was a Catholic who later requested that priests be sent to the islands.) In the end, the American missionaries were limited to a probationary one-year period, and only because of Ka'ahumanu's support.⁷⁷

Intrigued and repelled by traditional native customs, the missionaries quickly set about to "civilize" the Hawaiians. This involved imposition of a strict culture common to the New England ministers whose religion was "intolerant of religious and moral beliefs that were not in accord with their own."⁷⁸ Idols that had been hidden when the *kapu* was broken were sought out and burned. It was later reported that around 1822,

Kamehameha's poison-god Kalaipahoa was burned at Hilo, and at Kailua, one hundred and two idols, collected from various hiding places, were consumed in one bonfire. Feasting, dancing, and revelry went together with the burning of idols.⁷⁹

Laws were enacted against gambling, drinking spirits, dancing the *hula*, breaking the Sabbath, polygamy, prostitution, and other acts the missionaries considered immoral.

Wary at first of the new religion, a number of the natives were won over following the conversion of several high-ranking women, including Keopuolani, Kapiolani, and Ka'ahumanu.⁸⁰ The support

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.

of these women was crucial to the missionaries' success, because they were extremely influential. Keopuolani, who was the first convert in 1823, was the highest-born woman in the land and mother of the next two kings. Ka'ahumanu served as regent of the kingdom with power almost equal to that of the king. After her conversion, Ka'ahumanu worked zealously for the missionary cause. One early traveler suggested that because she had always expected "prompt and unquestioning obedience" from the commoners, she probably believed the moral attitudes of her people could easily be molded by government decree.⁸¹ Also, because traditionally there had been no division between religion and government, Ka'ahumanu's acceptance of the new religion gave it official sanction in the minds of the people.⁸²

Before long, churches were erected, and the native people, used to instruction from religious leaders, became active churchgoers.⁸³ One factor explaining their receptivity to the new religion is that many older Hawaiians had died of warfare and disease during the previous years, precluding instruction of their descendants in the traditional ways.⁸⁴ The native Hawaiians may also have accepted Christianity for another reason. A number of years prior to the arrival of the missionaries, a native prophet named Kalaikuaulu had predicted that the Hawaiian people would receive a message from Heaven "entirely different from anything they had known, and that the tabus of the country would be subverted."⁸⁵

The American missionaries actively discouraged activity by members of other religious groups, especially the Catholics.⁸⁶ However, when the Reverend William Ellis of the London Missionary Society toured the islands in 1823, he was well received by the Americans. Ellis noted that there were eight areas suitable for mission stations on the island of Hawai'i. On the west coast,

Honannau [Hōnaunau], the frequent residence of former kings, where a depository of their bones, and many images of their gods, still remain, has a dense population waiting for Christian instruction. . . . Towaihae [Kawaihae] on the north-west, a considerable village, presents nearly equal claims.⁸⁷

The missionaries led a difficult life, isolated from each other by the great stream channels and mountains of Hawai'i. The missionaries' homes, and often their young children, were in New England, thousands of miles away. Several times a year, the missionary would tour his district,

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 into 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 foothold 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.

preaching and checking on the schools. Because of rough terrain and the lack of roads, each tour might require five or six weeks. However, the missionaries persisted, and over the next two decades they accomplished much of what they set out to do. By that time, New England Puritanism and Christian beliefs had largely replaced the *kapu* system in ordering the Hawaiians' lives.⁸⁸

During the early 1830s, missionary influence on Hawaiian life began a gradual decline, broken by a short period of revival (1837-40) when newly arrived evangelicals baptized hundreds of Hawaiian supplicants. Some of the missionary children, educated in the United States, later returned to the islands as missionaries or became active in politics and commerce there. As the islands gradually adopted Christianity, many of the missionary stations were closed or turned over to native Hawaiian leaders.

D. Literacy Increases

Education of the Hawaiians was a high priority among the missionaries. Their first pupils were the chiefs and their attendants and the native wives and the children of the foreign residents.⁸⁹ At first lessons were taught in English, but soon the missionaries set about mastering the Hawaiian language. By the mid-1820s they had adopted an alphabet and reduced the spoken Hawaiian to the written word. They then began to print textbooks while continuing to translate religious materials, particularly the Bible, into Hawaiian so that the lessons could be taught to a larger audience. Once materials were printed in Hawaiian, the missionaries could teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion to the native populations.⁹⁰ By 1824 the missionary teachers were trading copies of religious texts for basic food supplies, and by 1834 two newspapers were being published in Hawaiian.

Lahaina and Honolulu soon developed into important mission stations where religious tracts and newspapers were published in Hawaiian, augmenting and accelerating the literacy program for the islanders. Because Ka'ahumanu and several key chiefs supported the missionary cause, Christian conversions were accompanied by ever-increasing numbers of natives attending school at the urging of their leaders. However, school attendance was always affected by traditional activities. For example, entire families might be away from an area for a period of several weeks building a wall for one of the chiefs or searching for articles of tribute. The missionaries also accused foreigners "of no very virtuous character" of injuring the educational system by enticing the children away from school.⁹¹ On the other hand, the foreign schooling also drew the younger *ali'i* and *maka'ainana* away from traditional pursuits, accelerating the pace of acculturation.

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.

After a time, some of the best educated Hawaiian students were assigned school districts of their own. The area chief furnished their housing, the schoolhouse, clothing, and food and was to ensure that all inhabitants attended school. As the pupils progressed, this process was repeated, and soon the majority of the population could read and write. According to one author, so many schools were established during this time that Hawaiians became one of the most literate peoples in the world.⁹² Festive examinations and exhibitions were held at selected places like Kailua on Hawai'i so that everyone could see the excellent progress the Hawaiian pupils had made.

By 1837 the northern district of Hawai'i could report 155 schools, with over 5,010 scholars and 10,000 books ranging in subject from the "Child's First Lessons" to the New Testament.⁹³ The educational system produced many practical benefits as well. As the Hawaiians learned to read and write, they also learned that they were being exploited by the traders and sailors and were able to revalue their products accordingly. They also learned a number of useful new crafts. Although the Hawaiian school system fell upon hard times following the death of Ka'ahumanu, revitalization of missionary efforts coupled with legislative reforms led to additional emphasis on, and support for, education by 1850.

Levi Chamberlain, an American missionary, played a major role in the early development of Hawaiian schools. In addition to the missionary teachers, administrators actively supported the Hawaiian school system. One of these men, the Reverend William Richards, accepted a post with the Hawaiian government in 1838. He was responsible for the adoption of vocational training in the school curriculum and for the introduction of English as a medium of instruction.⁹⁴ His common sense and compassion worked to further the educational system through legislation.

E. Changes in Government

Kamehameha II made few formal changes to the government of the islands following his father's death and the abolition of the *kapu* system. The land still belonged to the king, though held by the chiefs. Distinguished chiefs were appointed as governors over the different islands and districts, which still paid the king tribute. Commoners worked for a chief who in return supported them in their old age. Priests still enforced the laws and collected revenue for the king.

However, beneath this veneer of normalcy, the old type of government had begun to crumble. Liholiho was caught between two worlds. The Hawaiian people had begun to adopt Western mores, customs, and vices, and their traditional religious and moral precepts were breaking down. Because Liholiho did not know how to rule under the new system of law espoused by the

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.

missionaries, his decisions were often swayed by foreign friends with their own self-serving agendas.⁹⁵

Kamehameha II was ill-equipped to deal with these opposing forces. Forced to make choices, he tried to placate the missionaries while also accommodating the traders and merchants. Unfortunately, he dismissed many of his father's shrewdest advisors, depending instead upon foreign companions.⁹⁶ Heavy drinking clouded many of his decisions. When he died in London in 1824, he left a troubled monarchy struggling to deal with the changes that had swept across the islands.⁹⁷

Between 1825 and 1840, changes in the Hawaiian government were largely influenced by foreign ideas and the American missionaries. Conversion of Hawaiians such as Keopuolani and Ka'ahumanu to Christianity swiftly paved the way for changes in the lives of ordinary Hawaiians. For example, Ka'ahumanu, once the favorite wife of Kamehameha, possessed more power and property than any other Hawaiian woman.⁹⁸ Following her conversion to Christianity, she rigidly enforced many of the religious dictates of the missionaries among her people. During the 1820s, these dictates were established as laws, enforced by the missionaries but resisted strongly by the foreign traders and merchants. Boki, the royal guardian and tutor of the young king, challenged Ka'ahumanu's leadership, but was diverted from attempts to depose her and died on a sailing trip seeking sandalwood.

Following Ka'ahumanu's death, Hawaiian leaders attempted unsuccessfully to regain native Hawaiian control of the islands and return to the old ways. Foreigners, especially the American missionaries, continued to influence the Hawaiian government.

F. Development of a Hawaiian Constitution

By the 1830s there was a growing sentiment among the Hawaiians for more self determination. After two decades of Christian instruction, Hawaiian leaders "were forced to consider in earnest a fundamental reconstruction of the government of the kingdom."⁹⁹

As the numbers of influential foreigners in the community continued to increase, so did questions as to their rights to property and a place in the community. Imperialistic pressures from various foreign nations raised the question of Hawaiian independence, and the Hawaiians turned to the

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.

missionaries for guidance. After failing to secure teachers of the science of government from New England, the American Missionary Board released one of their members, William Richards, to aid and advise the Hawaiian government.¹⁰⁰ Between 1839 and 1852, men like Richards, Gerritt P. Judd, R. Armstrong, R.C. Wyllie, Lorrin Andrews, William Lee, and John Ricord were joined by a group of well-educated Hawaiians in helping King Kamehameha III (Kamehameha III) formulate major changes in the Hawaiian government.

Over the next few years, the government announced a policy of religious toleration (1839), declared a policy of human rights for the king's subjects (the 1839 Hawaiian Magna Carta), placed elementary schools under the management of the government, and developed and adopted a national constitution (1840) that provided for a legislative system. A series of organic acts were passed. The first of these provided for appointment of an executive cabinet (administrative department heads). One of John Young's sons (Keoni Ana) had been the premier and now became Minister of the Interior. The other cabinet members were Euro-Americans with interests in Hawai'i. The executive cabinet joined the four governors of the islands to constitute a Privy Council, replacing the council of chiefs. Laws were passed to create a civil service and an independent judicial system. These documents began the separation of power into the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches of government, an idea new to the Hawaiian culture.

One of the most important changes was revision of the Hawaiian land tenure system.¹⁰¹ Foreigners using or holding Hawaiian lands were very anxious to secure title to them. Resident merchants saw future opportunities for large-scale agriculture and capital investments and viewed the land tenure system as a roadblock to progress.

By mid-century, the native autocracy had given way to a more liberalized form of government under the newly adopted democratic constitution. Unfortunately, the constitution (which was intended to help native Hawaiians) and the 1850 land law were all too often manipulated to the advantage of the fiercely competitive foreign business and commercial interests and land-hungry foreigners.

G. Changes in Food Production

During Kamehameha's reign, fertile soils, astute agricultural practices, and a stable population provided for a fairly healthy native economy – one that could support both the *maka'ainana* and the large numbers of priests and chiefs. During the 1820s, as traders and chiefs alike demanded more goods, and as cities like Honolulu expanded, there were tremendous demands upon local farmers to produce increased supplies of food, wood, and water. Numerous vessels, sent by the government in Honolulu, came to the busy ports of Kailua and Kealahou Bay on a monthly basis seeking provisions.

Some of the chiefs responded by planting more land to crops like sweet potatoes, melons, and taro, while European-operated gardens supplied other foods. By 1825 the Kona Coast was

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.

producing large quantities of food. Yet because of the abolition of the *kapu* system, there were fewer ways for chiefs to regulate production. Also these increased production demands occurred at the time of a general exodus of native peoples away from the small farming villages to the larger cities; continued sandalwood cutting was also drawing workers away from their farms. Several authors suggest that the influence of the foreign missionaries also affected food production. That is, many of the workers "were obliged to quit their work, and to repair to the nearest auxiliary [missionary] school so frequently during the day" that food production suffered.¹⁰² Missionary prohibitions against working on the Sabbath also reduced the amount of time and energy an individual farmer could give to the land. The missionaries, on the other hand, blamed the problem partially on foreigners whose "horses and cattle desolate the land and prevent cultivation, and the people are famished."¹⁰³ They also suggested that the foreigners had neglected to teach the natives agricultural skills and that the moral decline during Liholiho's reign (fostered by the foreigners) had contributed to diminished taro production.¹⁰⁴

By 1830 many new varieties of produce were being cultivated across the islands. While taro, yams, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, plantain, bananas, fish, and mulberry trees (for *kapa* cloth) comprised the major food crops, fruits and vegetables introduced for trade had gradually found their way into native gardens. Cabbages, onions, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers, beans, radishes, and melons had become abundant, but were cultivated "almost exclusively, for the refreshment of ships, and the tables of foreign residents."¹⁰⁵ As a result, more and more land had to be developed to support new products. Yet the people had little incentive to produce more goods. Perhaps two-thirds of their produce had to be given to the chiefs, and any unauthorized increases in stock or plantings were likely to be taken in tax or tribute as well.¹⁰⁶ Missionaries suggested that the commoners were so poor they seldom tasted meat, living almost exclusively on taro and salt.¹⁰⁷

By 1831 attempts were being made to develop large-scale farming operations to produce sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton, spices, flax, hemp, and beef cattle. Fearing undue influence upon their parishioners, the missionaries steadfastly opposed the expansion of foreign commercial and agricultural interests in the islands. Instead they tried to help the native people by fostering a variety of commercial agricultural enterprises, including sugar mills, cloth making, and production of corn meal.¹⁰⁸ These attempts were generally unsuccessful because of the lack of capital. In the end, the missionaries agreed to work with trader P.A. Brinsmade, who had religious leanings.

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 I. White, 1830), pp. 76-77.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

107. *Ibid.*

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

In 1835 or 1836, Brinsmade and partners William Ladd and William Hooper (operating as Ladd and Company) received support from the missionaries in obtaining a long-term lease from King Kamehameha III. This lease included cane land, a mill, water power, and road building privileges. As changes in land tenure and government occurred, other companies began to lease or acquire sizeable parcels of land for large-scale agricultural production.¹⁰⁹

By mid-century, major social, political, and economic changes had "caused the rapid demise of the traditional Hawaiian landscape."¹¹⁰ Shortly after that time, the whaling trade began to decline, lessening the demand for a variety of agricultural products. Specialized plantation agriculture was introduced, and Western tools, foreign indentured laborers, and new forms of land ownership and economic and agricultural practices began to replace traditional farming methods. The plantation system did not utilize the *'ohana-ahupua'a* economic units in the traditional manner, encouraging instead the emigration of workers to the upland plantations or into cities.

H. Changes in Trade Patterns

1. Sandalwood Trade

In America, the Panic of 1819 made it difficult for traders to obtain specie for the China trade. However, because the Hawaiian chiefs had become enamored of items of foreign manufacture, the islands provided an open market for goods like rum, clothing, cloth, and furnishings.¹¹¹ Foreign traders shipped these goods to the islands, exchanging them for sandalwood, which continued to be in demand in the Canton ports. (Sandalwood was a desirable cash crop in Hawai'i because it could be harvested year round and did not have to be irrigated or cultivated.) Between about 1810 and 1820, the major item of Hawaiian trade was sandalwood; this trade continued at an accelerated rate following Kamehameha's death. Although Liholiho should have inherited all of Kamehameha's lands, the chiefs wanted the revenue from the sandalwood. By persuading the king to give them control of the royal sandalwood monopoly, they effectively removed any regulation of the harvest or sale of the wood.

Liholiho's taste for foreign luxury goods continued to grow, including such large and expensive items as schooners and brigs. Soon most of the Hawaiian royalty began to purchase goods on credit, against future sandalwood income, and the Hawaiian economy became overextended.¹¹²

Part of this problem derived from the traditional cultural system, which had little provision for such credit arrangements. As Samuel Kamakau explains, the chiefs bought ships and turned their

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.

debts in to the king, and he in turn gave them to the government. The king's friends were among the worst offenders, declaring:

Let us run up the debt and make the chiefs and commoners work; they are no friends of ours, so let us get what we can while our lord is alive.¹¹³

The increasing scarcity of the trees and the growing demands of the king and his chiefs for trade goods led to the harvesting of large quantities of immature timber, which brought lower prices. The royal domain was stripped of sandalwood to gratify the tastes of its upper class, encouraged by easy credit.¹¹⁴ The Hawaiians' huge sandalwood debt was renegotiated several times as merchant traders continued to charge inflated prices for trade goods, leading the king and the chiefs into owing more sandalwood than they could deliver.¹¹⁵ Eventually traders sought the aid of their individual governments in collecting these monies, but it was years before the Hawaiian national debt was retired.¹¹⁶ It is estimated that over 100,000 piculs (over 13 million pounds) of the fragrant lumber, worth more than a million dollars, was stripped from the mountains and hills of Hawai'i during the first thirty years of this trade. The unpaid debts contracted in the time of Kamehameha I and II (including interest) may have reached as high as \$200,000, of which most was owed to American merchants.¹¹⁷ By the mid-1830s, supplies of sandalwood were virtually exhausted, and other commodities such as salt, coconut oil, and beef cattle had begun to take its place.

The sandalwood trade exacted a heavy price in human life and health and in ecological damage. In 1823 the Reverend William Ellis described the transport of sandalwood from the adjacent mountains to the beach at Kawaihae by "between two and three thousand men; carrying each from one to six pieces of sandalwood, according to their size and weight. It was generally tied on their backs by bands made of ti leaves."¹¹⁸

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.

2. Effects on Society

Lacking food and suffering from an excessive workload, many laborers died, contributing to the general decline in the Hawaiian population. As the labor force was drawn away from the fields and fish ponds, less time and energy were devoted to subsistence crops. Society was turning to a market economy, and the new foreign trade articles and luxury goods quickly became necessities, particularly for Hawaiian leaders. Eventually this situation created a large negative trade balance. Changes in the patterns of trade resulted in a number of impacts upon the native culture. As the chiefs increasingly incurred debts for imported luxury goods, they imposed additional taxes and expectations for service upon their tenants. For example, in 1831, an additional tax of one picul (133.33 pounds) of sandalwood was levied on each individual. The wood was to be brought from the mountains and deposited with the authorities at Honolulu; those who failed to comply with this tax were fined a sum of four dollars.¹¹⁹ The Hawaiian historian David Malo wrote that the "chiefs seem to have left caring for the people . . . and [the people] are more oppressed at the present time than they ever were in ancient times."¹²⁰ The raising of cash crops left less for the well-being of the individual tenant farmer, resulting in increased numbers of poor and homeless. The landholders also spent more and more time away from the land as they dealt with the foreign traders at Honolulu or other port cities. Thus, the power of the *konohiki* grew, again resulting in increased oppression of the commoners.

3. Whaling Industry

The whaling industry had a major effect upon Hawaiian commerce and trade. As the Northwest fur trade decreased and sandalwood supplies and values dropped, the whaling industry began to fill the economic void. Frozen out of traditional hunting areas by the Europeans, American whaling ships began to sail farther and farther into the Pacific. In the autumn of 1819 the first whalers (the *Balena* [also known as the *Bellina* or *Balaena*] of New Bedford and the *Equator* of Nantucket) dropped anchor in the Hawaiian Islands. A year later, Captain Joseph Allen discovered large concentrations of sperm whales off the coast of Japan. His find was widely publicized in New England, setting off an exodus of whalers to this area. These ships might have sought provisions in Japan, except that Japanese ports were closed to foreign ships. So when Captain Allen befriended the missionaries at Honolulu and Lahaina, he helped establish these areas as the major ports of call for whalers.¹²¹

Within a few years, dozens of whaling ships were calling at the Sandwich Islands. Because the islands were centrally located – close to summer whaling in the north and winter hunting near the Equator – they were a logical choice for the Pacific base of operations. The friendly natives and mild climate of the islands especially appealed to the whalers after their long voyages aboard cramped, dirty, evil-smelling ships.¹²² Twice a year (spring and fall) the northern Pacific whalers

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.

put ashore at Honolulu and Lahaina for up to three months at a time, taking on large quantities of fresh provisions, fruit, and vegetables.¹²³ Supplies of clothing, sail, and other items were stocked for the ships' stores. Several hundred sailors from the ships went ashore during each visit, demanding additional supplies and entertainment.

The number of American whalers and trading ships in Hawai'i reached its zenith in the 1840s and 1850s. By that time many of the larger mercantile houses of the American East Coast were operating in the Pacific, and a whole range of service and commercial industries began to flourish in the major port towns to serve the whalers and traders. Many of these commercial agents and traders had purchased land at Honolulu and Lahaina with profits from the sandalwood trade. As that trade diminished, they turned their attention to the whalers. The traders purchased the whalers' bills of exchange and stored their whale oil. Because local supplies were inadequate to service the whaling ships, the traders imported goods from Boston and shipped whale oil and whalebone there in return.¹²⁴ By 1831 stores belonging to the "several respectable American merchants" on O'ahu contained "all the necessary articles of American manufacture, the productions of the China market, wines, and almost every article of sea store."¹²⁵

The income from these retail outlets amounted to perhaps \$100,000 per year.¹²⁶ There were also numerous other businesses in Honolulu, including two hotels, two billiard rooms, and ten or twelve public houses selling spirits. Ships chandlers, shipyards, and warehouses took in large profits. The shipyards at Honolulu were especially important to the whalers, for there ships could unload their cargoes and be repaired and refitted for another six months of whaling. The whalers' voyages could be prolonged for as many as four years without having to return to home port.

The Hawaiian rulers made several abortive attempts to continue their monopoly on the sales of island products. For example, an 1823 order reserved the right of vegetable sales to the Hawaiian governor. But these trade restrictions were generally ineffectual because the agents and traders kept insisting on a free market and because local supplies were inadequate to meet the whalers' needs.¹²⁷ Also, after 1824 foreign merchants largely controlled prices, making large profits and adding to the drain on the Hawaiian resources and native economy.¹²⁸

The 1840 discovery of another whaling ground off the coast of Siberia caused a dramatic increase in whaling ship visits to the island ports. Many of the firms established during that period continued in business into the twentieth century. The whaling industry had another aspect. Simpson suggests that, although the sandalwood trade enriched a few Yankee traders and some

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.

Hawaiian chiefs, whaling was "the first capitalistic venture which truly involved the Hawaiian people."¹²⁹ Increased revenue came from fees and import duties charged on whale products. Many Hawaiians worked in the shipyards and warehouses. In addition, thousands of Hawaiians shipped out as seamen aboard the whaling ships, so many that the crews were often half Hawaiian. Many of these sailors, through death or emigration, failed to return to the islands, profoundly changing the face of Hawaiian society. The American Civil War, the discovery of petroleum, and the decimation of the whales ended the reign of the whalers in the Pacific by about 1876. Whaling had been "an economic force of awesome proportions in these Islands for more than forty years,"¹³⁰ enabling King Kamehameha III to finally pay off the national debts accumulated in earlier years.

4. Honolulu Becomes Major Distribution Center

Not only foreigners stimulated trade. The island chiefs filled their houses with luxurious silk and velvet furnishings and clothing. Expensive cut glass and silver plate were purchased as presents for the king or for a favored wife. (Meanwhile, the missionaries, who could not afford the high prices charged by the merchants or by the chiefs, continued to rely upon gifts of food from their native parishioners or produce from their gardens. The alternative choice was even less palatable: they had to suffer eating stale salt beef and pork and sea biscuit.¹³¹) By the mid-1820s, Honolulu had become a major redistribution point, as imported goods and locally produced items were repackaged, stored, broken up, or sold, both for local consumption or to refurbish ships' stores. Trading establishments imported goods for the natives, collected vessel cargoes, and maintained a supply of ships' goods.¹³²

I. Conflicting Values and Foreign Relations

The first two decades after the arrival of the missionaries were a crucial period in Hawaiian history. Conflicting values and ambitions led to confrontations among the various factions – the missionaries, the native leaders, the traders, the whalers, and the representatives of foreign governments.¹³³

The missionaries (and those Hawaiian leaders who had converted to Christianity) were affronted by the ongoing drunkenness and prostitution occurring at places such as Honolulu. And they were firmly convinced that the natives could not be successfully converted to Christianity unless their private lives underwent reform. So, despite instructions from the American Board to refrain from interfering in local political affairs, the missionaries sought to impose their own strict moral code on both the Hawaiians and foreigners and issued a number of commandments for the larger

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.

community. As one writer reports, the laws regarding the Sabbath were particularly onerous – the natives "were not even allowed to smoke or cook any meals on Sunday."¹³⁴ When criticized by the merchants, the missionaries suggested that because the traders' interests lay in making a profit, they were "only mildly concerned with the welfare of the Hawaiian people among whom they lived."¹³⁵

In turn, the traders were convinced that the presence of the missionaries, especially those at Honolulu, interfered with enterprise, private business, and profits. The whalers and traders especially resented attempts to restrict their lives – especially when the rules forbade work on the Sabbath, drinking, or prostitution. They retaliated by attacking the missionaries, accusing them of meddling in the affairs of commerce and government. These two divergent viewpoints led to conflicts between the groups, and there was a great deal of competition for the support and favor of the Hawaiian leaders. Serious violence directed at the missionaries flared up several times in the mid-1820s and again in 1852.¹³⁶

At first, the Hawaiian government under Liholiho continued the policy established by Kamehameha, that is, its leaders regarded the British as the protectors of the Hawaiian kingdom. Once American missionaries began to influence the Hawaiian leaders, much of the British advantage was lost.¹³⁷ At the same time, the British, American, and French consuls and naval officers opposed many of the commandments issued by the missionaries and came into conflict with the Hawaiian government by trying to expand and protect their own financial and political interests.

J. Great *Mahele*

Perhaps the most important of the reforms that the Hawaiian government undertook during the 1830s and 1840s was the Great *Mahele*, or division of lands. The *Mahele* provided a basis for modern land titles by changing the old feudal tenures to allodial (absolutely independent) modern land titles in the islands.

Following the death of Kamehameha, Kamehameha II reassigned a few properties to his intimate friends but failed to carry out the traditional redistribution of lands. Generally, he allowed current landholders to continue to occupy their land, possibly due to the combined influences of Ka'ahumanu and the landed interests of the chiefs. Gifts of land were also made by individual chiefs and by the king to foreigners, but with the tacit understanding that the gift could be revoked at any time.

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.

Following Kamehameha II's death in London in 1824, the Hawaiian government faced increasing demands for land from island chiefs and from assertive foreign traders and merchants. Used to owning land in fee simple, foreigners had begun to object to the right of the king and his chiefs to dispense land at will and to evict foreigners as they pleased. Before 1820, most foreign residents were common sailors, men who conformed to native customs. After 1820, foreigners arriving in the islands were often "men of higher status in life" who had little regard for native traditions and who "began to deal with their property like they would do in their homelands."¹³⁸ For this reason, earlier disputes over moral laws and sandalwood debts gradually shifted to dissension over land and property rights.

The land tenure system with its self-sufficient *ahupua'a* and communal subsistence economy had, for a long time, worked well for the Hawaiians. Although the chiefs controlled the land and extracted food and labor from the commoners who farmed the soil, "everyone had rights of access and use to the resources of the land and the sea. . . . The people were sustained by a tradition of sharing and common use."¹³⁹ The system reflected the islands' social stratification, from the ruling chief down to the lowest commoner. Production and consumption patterns had been partially regulated through the *kapu* system. However, once that started to deteriorate, the subsistence economy was easily breached by foreign intervention, and the land tenure system became dysfunctional. The political division of labor among men and women, commoner and chief, was no longer sanctified, and ceremonies such as the *Makahiki* ceased to have much meaning within the political system. In a land ruled by one leader, the redistribution of land became irrelevant because a need no longer existed to periodically divide the chiefdom's territory.¹⁴⁰

The breakdown in the land tenure system began during the early trade with foreigners. At that time, the chiefs and priests controlled trade, while the commoner had to supply ever-increasing amounts of produce. The farmers' labor increased, not only to produce more food, but to help gather firewood, water, and sandalwood for the traders. Most early nineteenth-century Euro-American visitors held a simplistic view of Hawaii's land tenure system, complaining that it was backward and oppressive, resulting in "a nation of shirks."¹⁴¹ The missionaries also criticized the system and lobbied for changes, noting that its existence kept the people poor and "forbid cheerful industry."¹⁴² William Richards noted that the elder chiefs' objections to proposed land reform centered around loss of control over their subjects.¹⁴³ Under pressure to change the system, Kamehameha III and his chiefs, assisted by their Euro-American advisors, reviewed national land tenure policy. To correct some of the problems plaguing the Hawaiian kingdom, they issued the Hawaiian Bill of Rights in 1839, followed shortly by the first constitution. That document acknowledged that

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.

though all the land belonged to King Kamehameha I, "it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had management of the landed property." This was the first formal acknowledgement by the king that the common people had some form of ownership in the land, aside from an interest in the products of the soil.¹⁴⁴

Within five years a land commission (The Board of Commissioners To Quiet Land Titles) had been established to begin reform of the Hawaiian land system. The stated intent of the reform was to facilitate land acquisition by the poorer classes, allowing them to derive a "proper reward for their industry," and to encourage population growth.¹⁴⁵ Eventually the chiefs and *konohiki* joined Kamehameha III in supporting the Great *Mahele*, beginning in the 1840s.¹⁴⁶ The *Mahele* was an agreement on the "separation and identification of the relative rights of the king, the chiefs, and the *konohikis*" with regard to the lands within the Hawaiian Islands.¹⁴⁷

At first consideration, the *Mahele* would seem to have been the culmination of the sweeping cultural changes that occurred following the death of Kamehameha. However, one author notes that

long and undisturbed possession of their lands by chiefs was a preparation for the development of a sentiment favorable to permanent individual rights in land . . . and may be regarded as the seed germ of the system of land tenures which afterwards developed.¹⁴⁸

Suggesting that the idea of hereditary transmission of estates originated with Kamehameha, Dole notes that from about 1795 until 1839, there appears to have been a growing tendency to allow descent of lands from parent to child.¹⁴⁹ Also, as land occupants became increasingly secure in their landholdings, there were more land transactions, both as gifts and sales.

The Great *Mahele* did not convey land, but established a land commission and provided the means whereby land claims could be presented to the commission and adjudged by them. The king, still concerned over foreign control of Hawaiian lands, then signed instruments that divided his land into two portions. One part, "the Crown Lands," he retained; the rest, "Government Lands," went to the chiefs and the people. The third act of the Great *Mahele*, commonly known

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.

as the Kuleana Act of 1850, enabled the Land Commission to award small parcels of land to commoners for subsistence purposes.¹⁵⁰

The Great *Mahele* was followed by legislation that allowed the sale of lands in fee simple to resident aliens and authorized the award of *kuleana* to commoners. Some say that the Great *Mahele* stands out in Hawaiian history as an extraordinary example of altruism, for the Hawaiian aristocracy peacefully relinquished many of their hereditary rights and privileges for the good of the people. Others point out that there existed a vast gulf between the provisions of the law and actual practice; that is, the laws and their administration proved inadequate to protect commoners' rights. Indeed, all too often the laws

permitted and intensified the oppressive control over commoners either by chiefs or foreigners who quickly gained ownership and control over large tracts of land. . . . Basically, history shows that the chiefs prevailed.¹⁵¹

As it became evident that the Great *Mahele* had not achieved its stated goals, government holdings were used to provide land for commoners. According to Kelly, this too was a failure, and only a few parcels were actually sold to Hawaiians.¹⁵² Many of the *kuleana* lands that commoners received in the 1850s were later lost. The list of reasons is lengthy: natives received lands that lacked firewood or were too rocky and poor to farm, a number of *kuleana* were sold by unscrupulous land agents before the farmers could get a survey, the land commissioners delayed getting notices to landholders, prices were out of reach for commoners, or foreigners evicted legitimate *kuleana* owners without due process.

K. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The reign of Kamehameha III 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.

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 *alii*, 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.

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 Kalākaua, 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 Kalākaua 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.

Kalākaua'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

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.

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

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.

WEST COAST OF THE ISLAND OF HAWAII

by
Linda Wedel Greene

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, Kealahou, and Hōnaunau 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

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

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.

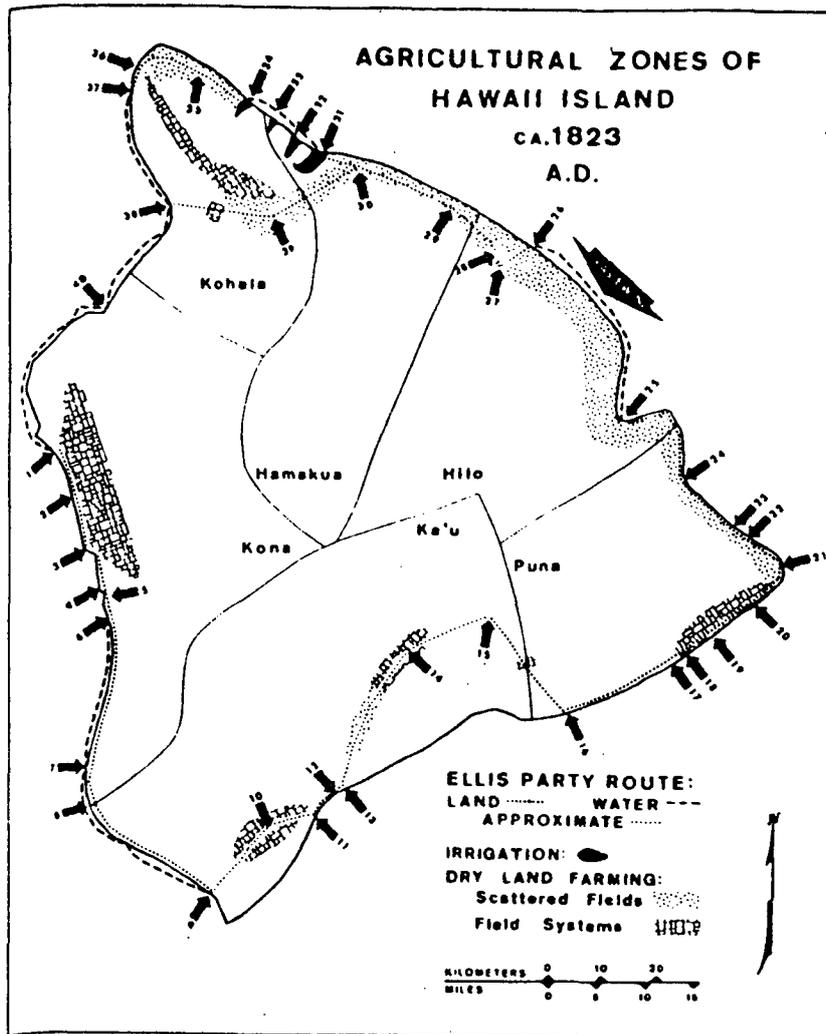
2. T. Stell Newman, "Cultural Adaptations to the Island of Hawaii Ecosystem: The Theory Behind the 1968 Lapakahi Project," in Richard J. Pearson, ed., *Archaeology on the Island of Hawaii*, Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series, No. 3 (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 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.



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. Keau;
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.

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

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-Kawaihae Road Corridor (Section III)*, Hawaii State Archaeological Journal 71-1 (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, Division of State Parks, 1971), p. 33.

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

D. Political History

Initial settlement on the island of Hawai'i probably occurred in its windward valleys by A.D. 300 to 500, with the population slowly moving to suitable, less-crowded sites on the leeward coast over the next few hundred years. (South Point [Ka Lae], however, has one of the earliest Carbon 14 dates in the islands.) Ancient land districts on the island of Hawai'i consisted of Puna, Hilo, Hamakua, Kohala, Kona, and Ka'u, which were traditionally autonomous chiefdoms.¹⁴

By the 1400s, dual seats of power existed on the windward and leeward coasts. The "Kona" chiefs governed Kohala, Kona, and Ka'u, while the "I" chiefs controlled Hamakua, Hilo, and Puna.¹⁵ The first chief to unite the island of Hawai'i was 'Umi-a-Liloa, whose father had been "supreme" ruler of the island with his court located in Waipi'o Valley, Hamakua. 'Umi subsequently moved the seat of power from the windward to the leeward side of the island at Kona. All this probably took place sometime during the early 1400s to the early 1600s.

'Umi reportedly established the principle of division of labor among his people, designating specialists in various crafts as well as in professions such as government and land administration, religion, and industry. Possibly he instituted this system in response to the increasing population and a need to increase work efficiency and resource utilization. The economic and social problems inherent in swift population growth continued, however, and kept the political situation

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'uho'ona o Hōnaunau 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, *Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae 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.*

unsettled long after 'Umi's death. Tradition implies that the period from 1500 to the mid-1700s consisted of continual attempts to wrest power from 'Umi's descendants. These cycles of conquest and re-conquest finally ended with Kamehameha's unification of the Hawaiian Islands in the early Western contact period.¹⁶ The earlier chiefdoms evolved into the six districts of Kamehameha's kingdom.¹⁷ Despite the further subdivision of Hilo, Kohala, and Kona into northern and southern portions, the original district boundaries of Hawai'i Island exist today, probably due to their natural separation by certain physical barriers.¹⁸

E. Settlement Patterns

A variety of ethnographic materials exist for West Hawai'i, primarily because it was the ancestral seat of a powerful line of hereditary chiefs, including Kamehameha, and because many Europeans who left behind journals and logs investigated the Kona and Kohala districts in the late 1700s and the 1800s as they paid their respects to the ruling power in the islands.

Sea captain George Dixon, for instance, master of the *Queen Charlotte*, described the country next to the sea in West Hawai'i as crowded with villages protected from the scorching heat by the spreading branches of coco palm and mulberry trees. He noted cracks and crevices along the coast filled with humus and sown with vegetables and other plants. As did many other observers, he mentioned the large lava tubes that formed caves along the coast, many of which were used for habitation or for refuge.¹⁹

Factors such as terrain and climate determined settlement patterns on the west coast of Hawai'i. As Dixon noted, most of the population chose to live in small villages on non-agricultural land near the shore or clustered around bays where the air was warm and dry. Fish and marine resources were nearby and plentiful. These coastal dwellers also cultivated the moist uplands, which they reached by trails several miles long.²⁰ The seaward slope became a mixed agricultural zone, with breadfruit planted on the lower slopes and large sweet potato and dry land taro plantations established in the higher elevations that received more rain.²¹ With the demise of the breadfruit plantations, small fields of crops were planted in those areas and enclosed with low stone walls concealed by sugarcane. Plantains and bananas were sometimes planted in the lower reaches of the rain forest.²² Upland forests contained a small number of people, in

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.

temporary villages, who hunted birds, harvested timber and bark, and logged sandalwood.²³ Fish and other marine resources from the coast, plus crops and wild plants harvested from the higher slopes, supplied all the food, shelter, and clothing needs of people on the west coast of Hawai'i.²⁴

F. Subsistence Patterns

Intensive agricultural activity comprised an important aspect of life on the western side of Hawai'i Island; the Kona and Kohala field systems were in use before European contact. The Kona field system was quite large, extending from Kailua to south of Hōnaunau. The Kohala field system stretched along the west flanks of Kohala Mountain. Both are "patterned networks of elongated rectangles lying as a band parallel to the coastline."²⁵ Earth and rock ridges built to enclose the fields cause the patterning effect. The fields behind Kona consisted of four agricultural zones: sweet potatoes and paper mulberry planted just above sea level grew well but not abundantly; breadfruit trees, sweet potatoes, and paper mulberry did well in the area above that, while sweet potatoes and dryland taro were cultivated in the next higher zone; plantains and bananas grew on the heights. The rectangular fields characterize the two central zones. The raised borders of the fields supported sugarcane and ti. The Kohala field system was probably about the same, though we have few descriptions, but without the breadfruit trees. Studies of the Kohala area have disclosed a complex system of cultural features, including dwelling and salt manufacturing sites along the coast, and agricultural features comprising rock cairns possibly used for growing specialized crops such as gourds. In addition, rocky, asymmetrical garden areas possibly housed taller plants such as bananas, while enclosures of stacked rock of various shapes kept animals from crops and prevented wind damage.²⁶

G. Kona District

1. Pre-European Contact Period

The Kona District, significant in Hawai'i's development during both prehistoric and historic times, includes most of the western coast of the island of Hawai'i. Dormant Hualalai volcano towers above the shoreline in North Kona, while South Kona includes the still-active Mauna Loa. The Kona Coast is covered with barren lava flows broken only occasionally by fertile patches of land. These successive streams of lava, which have cascaded over the cliffs into the sea and then solidified, contain numerous caves. The coast's warm, dry climate and fertility made it a favorite residential area of Hawai'i's chiefs. And wherever the ruling chief had his home, a large group of houses for the commoners and members of the royal entourage could also be found. Because

23. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

24. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau*, 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.

the high chiefs of Kona lived at Kailua, it became a thriving settlement.²⁷ As mentioned, when foreign visitation began, the Kona District was probably the most densely populated area in the Hawaiian Islands.²⁸ Many ancient traditions and mythological personages were associated with Kona, such as the god Lono, who supposedly introduced the primary plant foods such as taro, sweet potato, yams, sugarcane, and bananas to the Hawaiians. In addition, the *Makahiki* festival and other rituals for invoking rain and fertility centered in Kona.²⁹

2. European Contact Period

The death in 1782 of the chief of Hawai'i, Kalani'opu'u, who had greeted Captain Cook at Kealahou Bay, left his son Kiwala'o and his nephew Kamehameha in competition for control of the western half of the island. The battle of Moku'ohai in Kona decided the contest for Kamehameha, who then had to fight his cousin Keoua for control of the entire island in 1791. Kamehameha finally became chief of Hawai'i Island after the death of Keoua at Kawaihae. Four years later Kamehameha conquered Maui, Moloka'i, Lana'i, and O'ahu, and ultimately received Kaua'i by cession in 1810.³⁰

The changing political situation and the growth of international trade in the years following Cook's arrival somewhat changed the status of the Kona Coast in terms of its political and social role in Hawaiian life. As stability gradually returned to political affairs, the king and his chiefs began concentrating more on interaction with trading and whaling vessels and foreign emissaries, which was easier in the better harbors of Honolulu (O'ahu) and Lahaina (Maui).³¹

In addition, with the overthrow of the ancient *kapu* system in 1819, the Hawaiian people as a whole, and their government, began a course of rapid change. Although deregulation and lack of guidance characterized most of Hawaiian society at that time, the Kona Coast remained relatively stable, socially and economically, from the 1820s to about 1852, despite the fact it had been the scene of the *kapu* abolition.

Several factors contributed to this condition: first, King Kamehameha II and his court moved their place of residence to Honolulu shortly after the abolition; second, the many chiefs who continued to live along the coast near Kailua provided some leadership for the population there, which resulted in continuous immigration from other districts by people seeking the security offered by the presence of these chiefs and the pleasures and amenities of urban life stimulated by the presence of a continuing throng of foreign visitors; third, the agricultural importance of the area, which possessed two good harbors and a productive inland region, and the influx of trading and whaling ships seeking fruit, vegetables, and meat in addition to firewood and fresh water, provided

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.*

an impetus for the continuation of planting and harvesting despite the lack of the former religious cycles; and fourth, the arrival of the missionaries at Kailua and the spread of their teachings provided a steady influence on Kona Coast society.³²

3. North and South Kona

a) Historical Descriptions

The Kona District comprises two subdivisions, North and South Kona. The first stretches from just north of Kealakekua Bay to 'Anaeho'omalū, while the second includes the lands from the bay south to Kamoi Point. In 1823 the Reverend Ellis described Kona as

the most populous of the six great divisions of Hawaii, and being situated on the leeward side, would probably have been the most fertile and beautiful part of the island, had it not been overflowed by floods of lava. It is joined to Kohala, a short distance to the southward of Towaihae [Kawaihae] bay, and extends along the western shore between seventy and eighty miles, including the irregularities of the coast.

The northern part, including Kairua [Kailua], Kearake'kua [Kealakekua], and Honaunau, contains a dense population; and the sides of the mountains are cultivated to a considerable extent; but the south part presents a most inhospitable aspect. The population is thin, consisting principally of fishermen, who cultivate but little land, and that at the distance of from five to seven miles from the shore.³³

Traveling along the coast, Ellis

passed through the villages thickly scattered along the shore to the southward. The country around looked unusually green and cheerful, owing to the frequent rains, which for some months past have fallen on this side of the island. Even the barren lava, over which we travelled, seemed to veil its sterility beneath frequent tufts of tall waving grass, or spreading shrubs and flowers.

The sides of the hills, laid out for a considerable extent in gardens and fields, and generally cultivated with potatoes, and other vegetables, were beautiful.

The number of heiaus, and depositories of the dead, which we passed, convinced us that this part of the island must formerly have been populous. The latter were built with fragments of lava, laid up evenly on the outside, generally about eight feet long, from four to six broad, and about four feet high. Some appeared very ancient, others had evidently been standing but a few years.³⁴

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.

William Bryan also commented on the numerous stone *heiau* worthy of notice along the Kona Coast. He observed that these temples, usually located near the shore, were numerous in densely populated regions on all the islands; on Hawai'i, however, the region between Kailua and Kealahou had a particularly heavy concentration of them.³⁵ Early explorers, traders, and visitors described some of the temples around Kailua, while investigation by a variety of scholars has turned up the sites of many others. Notable among the Kona *heiau* are Hikiau, the temple at Kealahou Bay where Captain Cook was worshipped as the god Lono, and 'Ahu'ena, adjacent to Kamehameha I's royal residence at Kailua. Hale-o-Keawe, the ancestral *heiau* and mausoleum of the Kamehameha dynasty, is located in Pu'uuhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park.

Commodore Charles Wilkes of the 1838-42 U.S. Exploring Expedition states that the inhabitants of the Kona Coast in 1840 planted sweet potatoes, melons, and pineapples among the lava rocks during the rainy season. Staple foods there consisted of sweet potatoes and upland taro, while yams were raised to supply ships in port. People also cultivated sugarcane, bananas, breadfruit, and coconuts. Irish potatoes, Indian corn, beans, coffee, cotton, figs, oranges, and grapes had been introduced from the West but were not grown in any quantity. Breadfruit grew two miles inland, and taro above that. A lively trade flourished between the southern and northern ends of the district, with those residing in the less fertile northern portion bartering fish and manufactured salt for food and clothing from the south.³⁶

b) Settlement Patterns

Archeologist Paul Rosendahl states that most of the ethnohistorical data pertaining to North Kona available today references the lands between Kailua and Hōnaunau. North of Kailua-Kona, inland to Napu'u and along the coast to 'Anaeho'omalu, lies an area of broad lava fields called Kekaha, a word that describes a dry, sunbaked land. This area is veined with both recent (1800-1, 1859) and ancient rugged lava flows that restrict foot travel to laboriously built trails. Because travel north between Kailua and the important port of Kawaihae in the Kohala District appears to have been mainly by canoe rather than along these coastal trails during both the prehistoric and historic periods, there are few descriptions available of this northern coast area.³⁷ However, some assumptions can be made concerning settlement patterns in the area between Kailua and 'Anaeho'omalu.

According to Rosendahl, ancient occupation of North Kona took place in three main zones: the narrow, arid coastal strip; the sloping, barren middle zone composed of volcanic materials; and the upland zone utilized for agricultural purposes. The probable pattern of aboriginal settlement

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 Anaeho'omalu 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.

between Kailua and 'Anaeho'omalu consisted of small fishing hamlets located along the shore, often near fishponds and around bays. Their inhabitants were involved in deep-water and in-shore fishing and the gathering of other marine resources. In addition, they produced salt and raised fish in ponds. Agricultural pursuits involved only small coconut groves planted around villages and fishponds and limited raising of sweet potatoes and bananas in small, sandy beach areas and in whatever tiny patches of soil could be found on the surface of the lava flows.

More people lived in scattered hamlets in the uplands, where they extensively cultivated dryland taro and sweet potatoes. Other crops included breadfruit, bananas, paper mulberry, ti, and sugarcane. The middle barren zone, Rosendahl suggests, supported temporary use by travellers between the uplands and the coast. In addition, natural caves in the zone might have been used as residences by those engaged in longer-term marine exploitation activities or other specialized pursuits such as hunting. They might also have been utilized for refuge or as burial sites.³⁸ Devastating measles, whooping cough, diarrhea, and flu epidemics in the mid-nineteenth century drastically affected the population of North Kona.³⁹

South Kona exhibits the same three types of habitation zones: coastal (maritime activity, limited agriculture); transitional, or middle (temporary habitation); and inland (large-scale agriculture).⁴⁰ Early visitors to the islands frequently mentioned the coastal area south of Kealakekua Bay down to Hōnaunau. Members of Capt. James Cook's expedition mentioned sweet potatoes growing in small enclosures protected by low stone walls and additional cultivation of sugarcane, bananas, and breadfruit trees. Archibald Menzies, visiting the area between 1792 and 1794 with Capt. George Vancouver, described the stretch of coastline south of Kealakekua Bay as "a dreary naked barren waste" broken only by a few coconut groves near the villages. He noted, however, small fields higher up on the plains near the woods that were heavily cultivated with taro and ti. The Reverend William Ellis commented that about two miles inland from Hōnaunau, population was dense and fields well cultivated. All these accounts seem to agree that the *mauka* (toward the mountains) lands were primarily agricultural and heavily occupied. A trail system linked the coast and the uplands. One author states that land utilization in this area "had to be efficient enough to support the many high chiefs, their retainers, priests and craftsmen who resided at Kaawaloa, Napoopoo, Ke'ei and Honaunau at the time of Cook's arrival."⁴¹

c) Towns and Sites

The town of Kailua, Kona, is one of the most historically significant areas in Hawai'i. Long the residence of Hawaiian chiefs, it is also the site of Kamakahonu, the parcel of land containing King Kamehameha's principal residence and court. This was the king's home during the last years of his life; this is where, following his death, his successor Liholiho overthrew the *kapu* system. And this is the point where the missionaries landed, pleased to find that their work of abolishing the old religion had been accomplished for them. Kamehameha returned here in 1812 from Honolulu,

38. Rosendahl, *Archaeological Salvage of the Ke-Ahole 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.

O'ahu, where he had spent the previous few years, accompanied by his family and a vast array of chiefs and retainers.⁴² This area has been described in great detail by visitors and explorers to the island who stopped here to pay their respects to the Hawaiian ruler. The Reverend William Ellis described Kailua in 1823:

The houses, which are neat, are generally built on the sea-shore, shaded with cocoa-nut and kou trees. . . . The environs were cultivated to a considerable extent; small gardens were seen among the barren rocks on which the houses are built, wherever soil could be found sufficient to nourish the sweet potato, the water melon, or even a few plants of tobacco. . . .⁴³

Hōnaunau, a land division south of Kailua, is another very famous spot, containing within its boundaries a place of refuge, and Hale-o-Keawe, where twenty-three of Kamehameha's family were interred, including a son. William Bryan also visited that site; by the time he saw it, a portion of the structure, which occupied six or seven acres of a low, rocky point on the south side of the bay, had been destroyed some years previously by tidal waves. At Kealakekua Bay, another famous locale in South Kona, Bryan noted the monument to Captain Cook.⁴⁴ That harbor supported two settlements – Ka'awaloa on the north side, the scene of Captain Cook's death, and Kealakekua (Nāpo'opo'o) on the south. The cliffs above Ka'awaloa contain numerous burial caves. Hikiāu Heiau, on which Cook established his observatories, is on the shore of Kealakekua Bay. These were good-sized settlements, Kealakekua containing more than one thousand structures by the late 1700s.⁴⁵ Kalani'opu'u, king of Hawai'i Island at the time of Cook's arrival, lived in this area. In ancient times, local chiefs travelled along the coasts by canoe and established temporary residences at certain sites for purposes of business or pleasure. Kealakekua Bay supported many temporary shelters erected by the residents for visiting chiefs.⁴⁶ Temporary structures were also needed for storage of utensils and tools, for shelter during rains, and for security during *kapu* periods. Additional shelters were also needed by those attracted to the village by the presence of foreign ships and by those serving the high chiefs and their foreign guests. Thus both Ka'awaloa and Nāpo'opo'o by 1779 held not only permanent structures for the king and those who came to visit or to serve him, but also temporary complexes for visiting chiefs and structures for their supporters.⁴⁷

After the government moved to Honolulu, it sent monthly vessels to the ports of Kailua and Kealakekua Bay to acquire the produce of their upland fields.⁴⁸ According to Anthropologist Dorothy Barrère, most foreign ships arriving at Hawai'i Island moored in the better-protected

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.

Kealakekua Bay. Only a few traders and whalers anchored at Kawaihae in Kohala or at Kailua. Wherever they landed, however, all captains had to obtain Kamehameha's permission to supply or refit their ships.⁴⁹

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'ukoholā 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

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.

George Vancouver, on his way to Kealahou 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

52. Richard J. Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: John Owen, 1842), 1:59.

53. Doyle, *Makua Lajana*, 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 1820. Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona*, p. 7.

54. Bates, *Sandwich Island Notes*, pp. 335-36.

55. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei*, p. 52.

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

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.

or no cultivation or habitation in the drier portion of the Waimea Plain close to the slopes of Mauna Kea.⁶⁰

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 'Anaeho'omalu.⁶⁴

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.

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

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.

SITE HISTORIES, RESOURCE DESCRIPTIONS, AND MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Pu'ukoholā Heiau
National Historic Site

Kaloko-Honokōhau
National Historical Park

Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau
National Historical Park

Chapter VII. Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site

A. Setting of the Park

1. Village of Kawaihae

The terraces of Pu'ukoholā 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

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.



Illustration 25. Kawaihae landing, probably 1880s. Monsarrat Collection. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, 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 call'd 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'ukoholā], to the S.E. of the beach, from whence we had about two miles to walk. . . .

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.

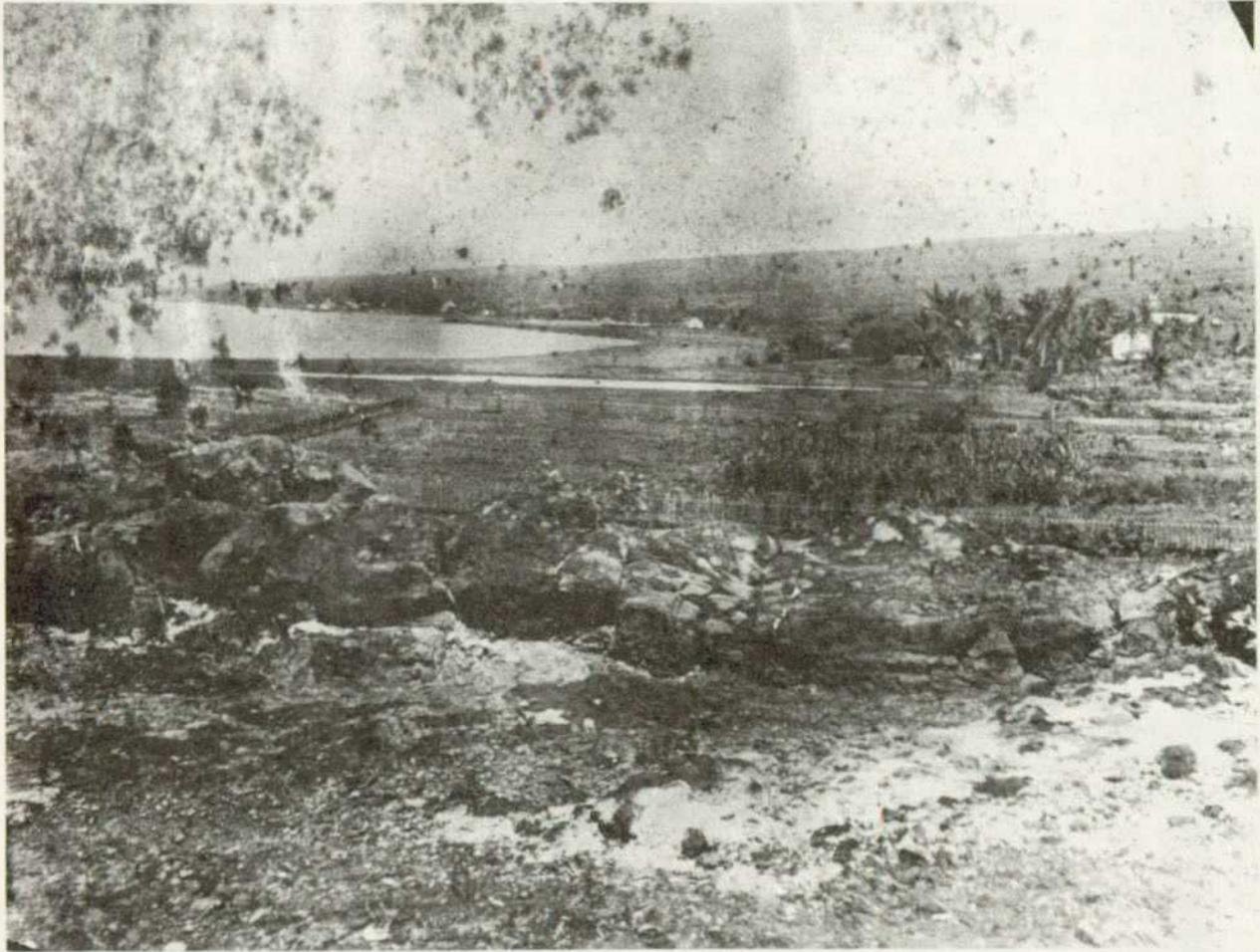


Illustration 26. Kawaihae Bay and village, ca. 1880s. Taken from Pu'ukoholā Heiau toward landing, supposedly from site where Keoua sacrificed. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

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

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:

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

7. Cleveland, *Narrative*, 1:25.

8. Iselin, *Journal of a Trading Voyage*, p. 72.

9. Arago, *Narrative*, p. 101.

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

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

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.

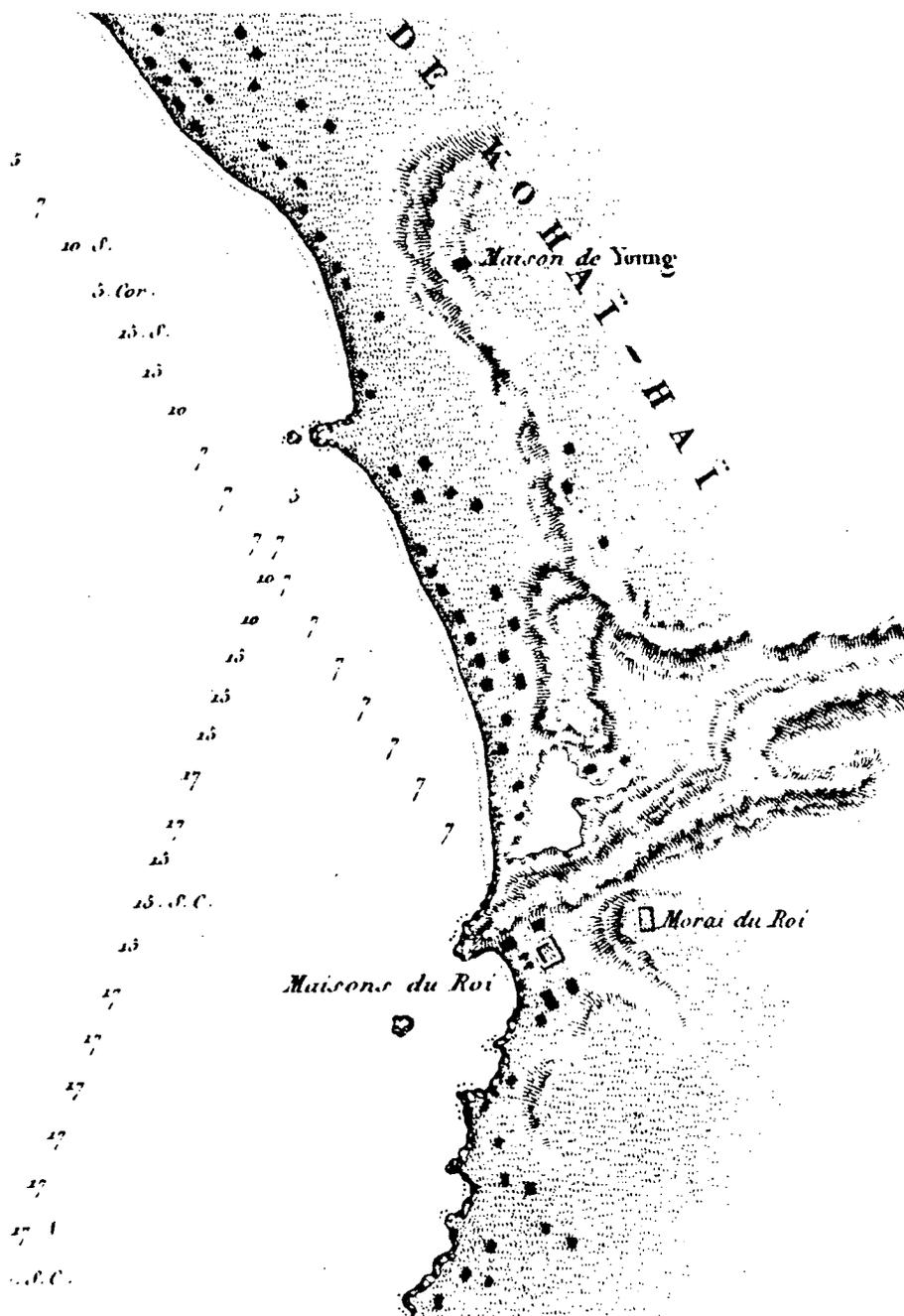


Illustration 27. De Freycinet sailed from Kailua to Kawaihae to visit the new king, Kamehameha II. The above is a detail of the chart "Plan de la Baie de Kohai-Hai" drawn by Capt. L.I. Duperrey of the French Royal Navy, 1819. Note the houses of the king in the Pelekane area, John Young's residence, and the two *heiau*. Figure 24 in Kelly, *Hawaii in 1819*, p. 104.

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,

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.

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'ukoholā 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

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.

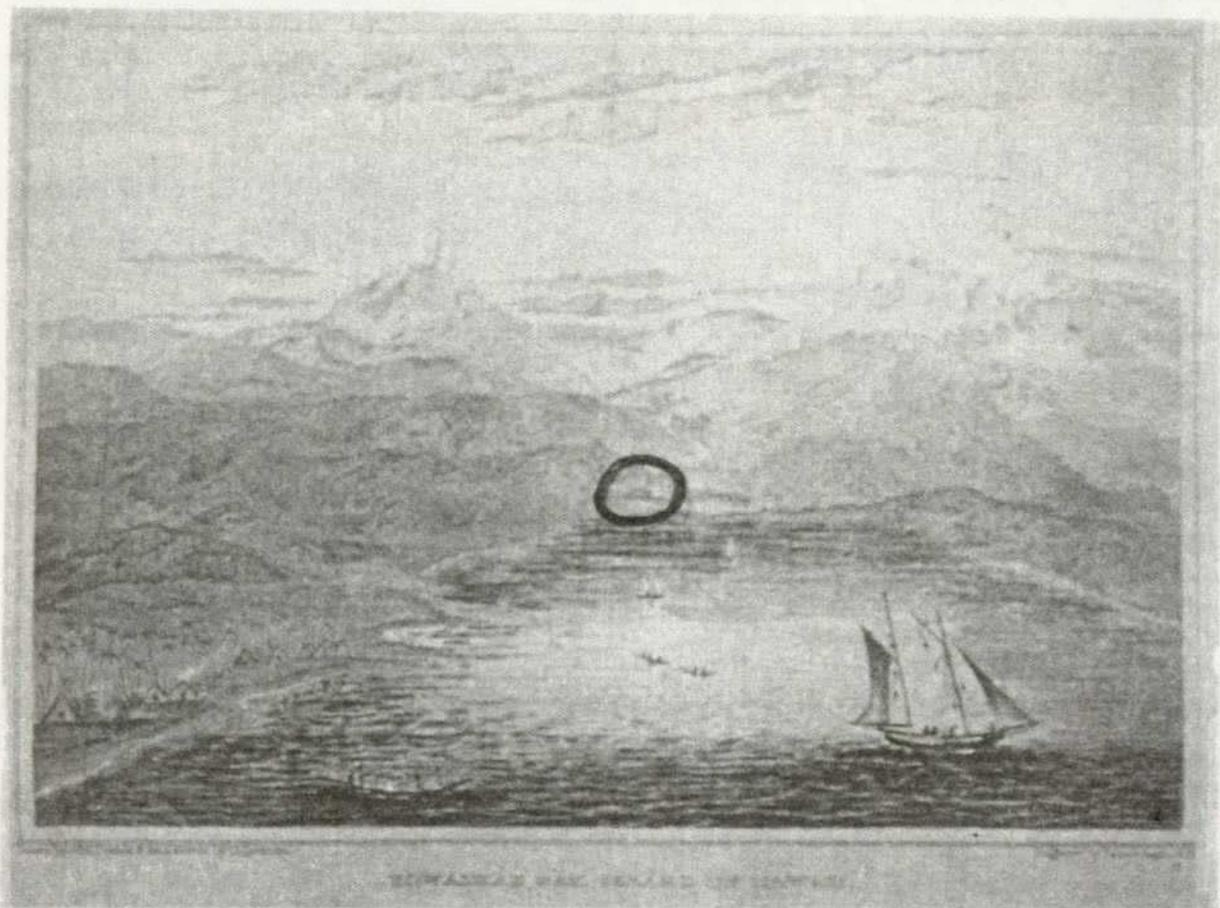


Illustration 28. Kawaihae Bay, drawn by Daniel Tyerman of the London Mission in 1822. Pu'ukoholā Heiau appears near the shore behind the bay in the center of the picture. From Tyerman and Bennet, *Voyages and Travels*, facing p. 97.

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

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'ukoholā 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

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 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.

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 III 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

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

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.

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 personages who happened to be in the area.³⁸

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.

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

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'ukoholā 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

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.

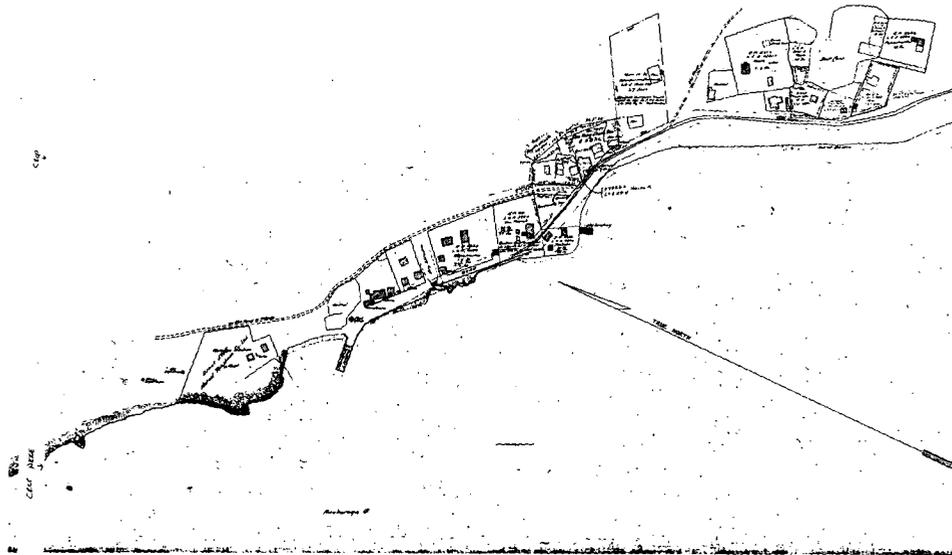
42. Isabella L. [Bird] Bishop, *The Hawaiian Archipelago . . . Six Months Among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands* (London: John Murray, 1875), p. 218.



Illustration 30. Photo of Kawaihae landing, ca. 1889, showing Pu'ukoholā 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.

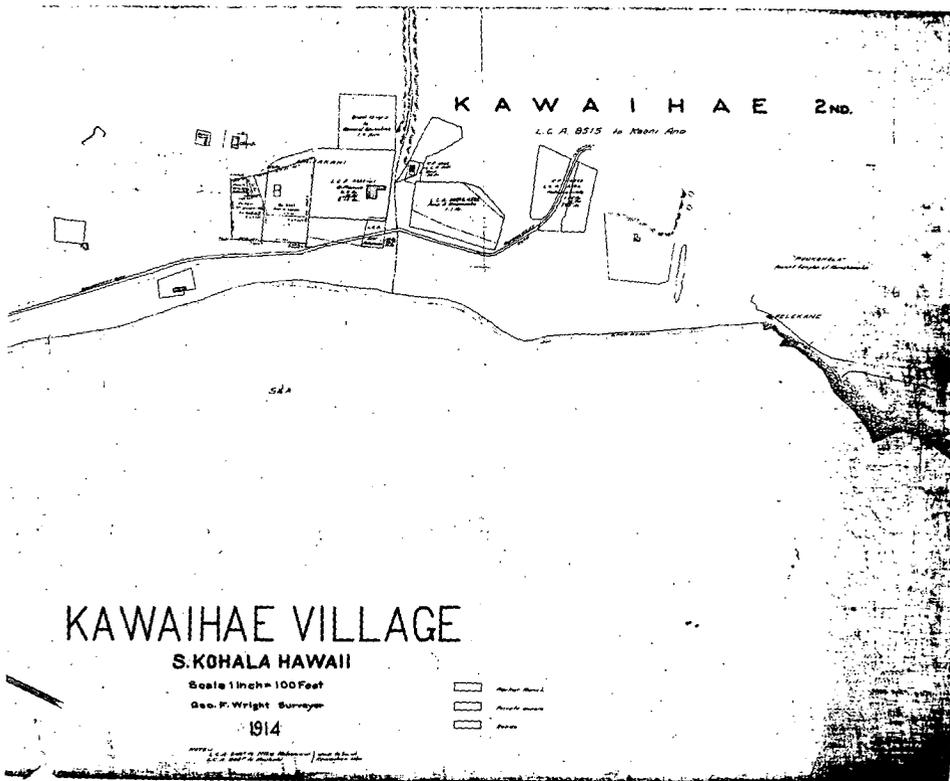
KAWAIHAE 1st.

GOVERNMENT - PLAN.



KAWAIHAE 2nd.

L.C. A. 8515 In Memory Area



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'ukoholā 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

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.



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

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'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau – still stand quietly by the sea. The history, appearance, and significance of these structures will be discussed in the next section.

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'ukoholā 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.

B. Pu'ukoholā Heiau

1. Traditional Construction History

a) Hawai'i Island Politics at European 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 Kū-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'ōhai, 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.

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

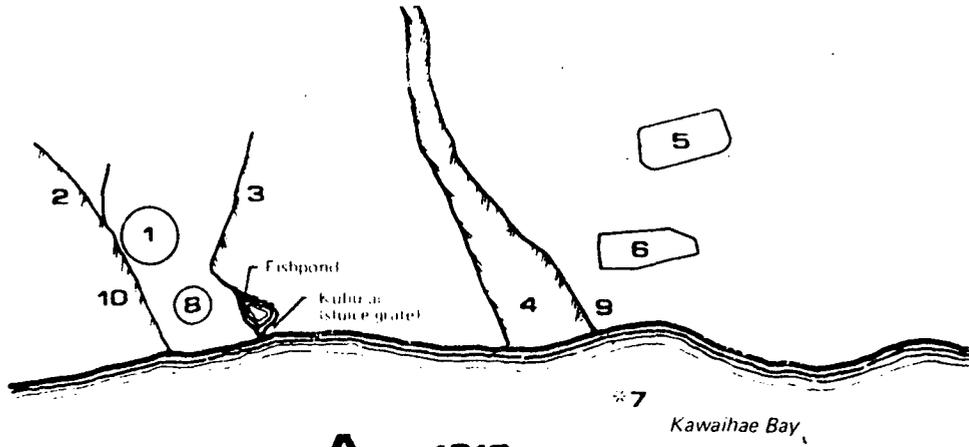
50. S. Lee Seaton points out a significant aspect of this conflict:

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.

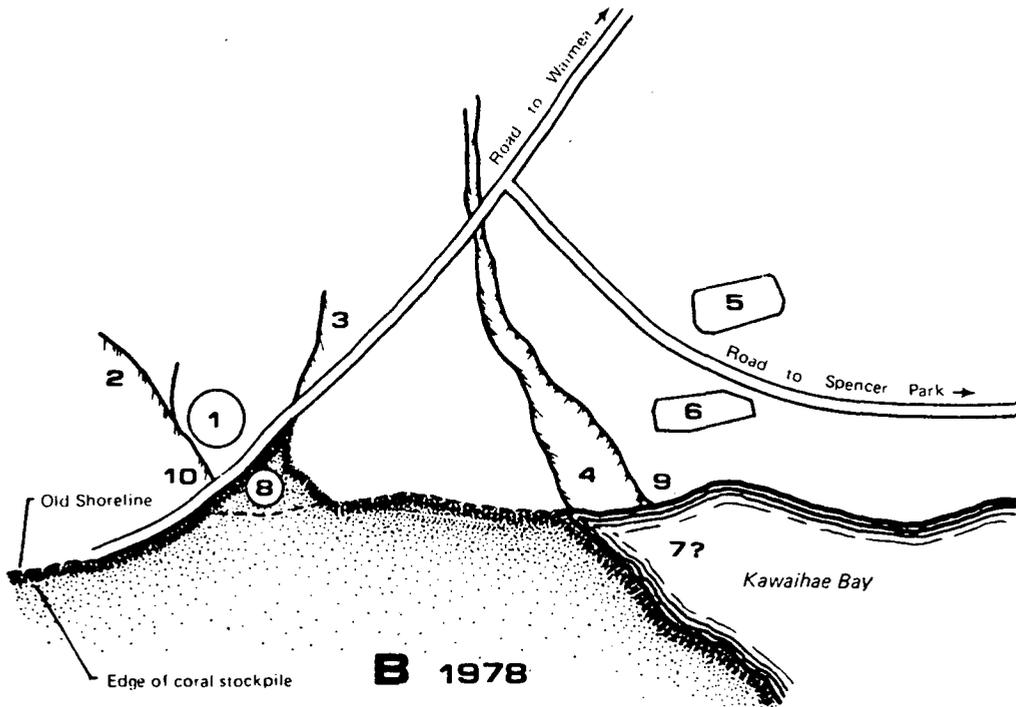


Illustration 34. Aerial view to southeast of Kawaihae Bay after harbor modification. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers photo, 1969.



A ca. 1819

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 John Young Homestead (upper portion) | 6 Mailekini Heiau |
| 2 Makahuna Gulch (modern name) | 7 Haleokapuni Heiau |
| 3 Makeahua Gulch (modern name) | 8 Pahukanilua: John Young Homestead (lower portion) |
| 4 Pohaukole Gulch | 9 Pelekane |
| 5 Pu'ukoholā Heiau | 10 Hanakahi |



B 1978

KAWAIIHAE FEATURES AND LOCATIONS



Figure 2

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.

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.

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'ukoholā ("hill of the whale") near Kawaihae and rededicated it to honor Kū-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 Puukoholā, 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'ukoholā] 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'ukoholā. 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:

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 Kapoukahi believed that *both* the restoration of Mailekini Heiau and the construction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau were necessary to win Kū-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.

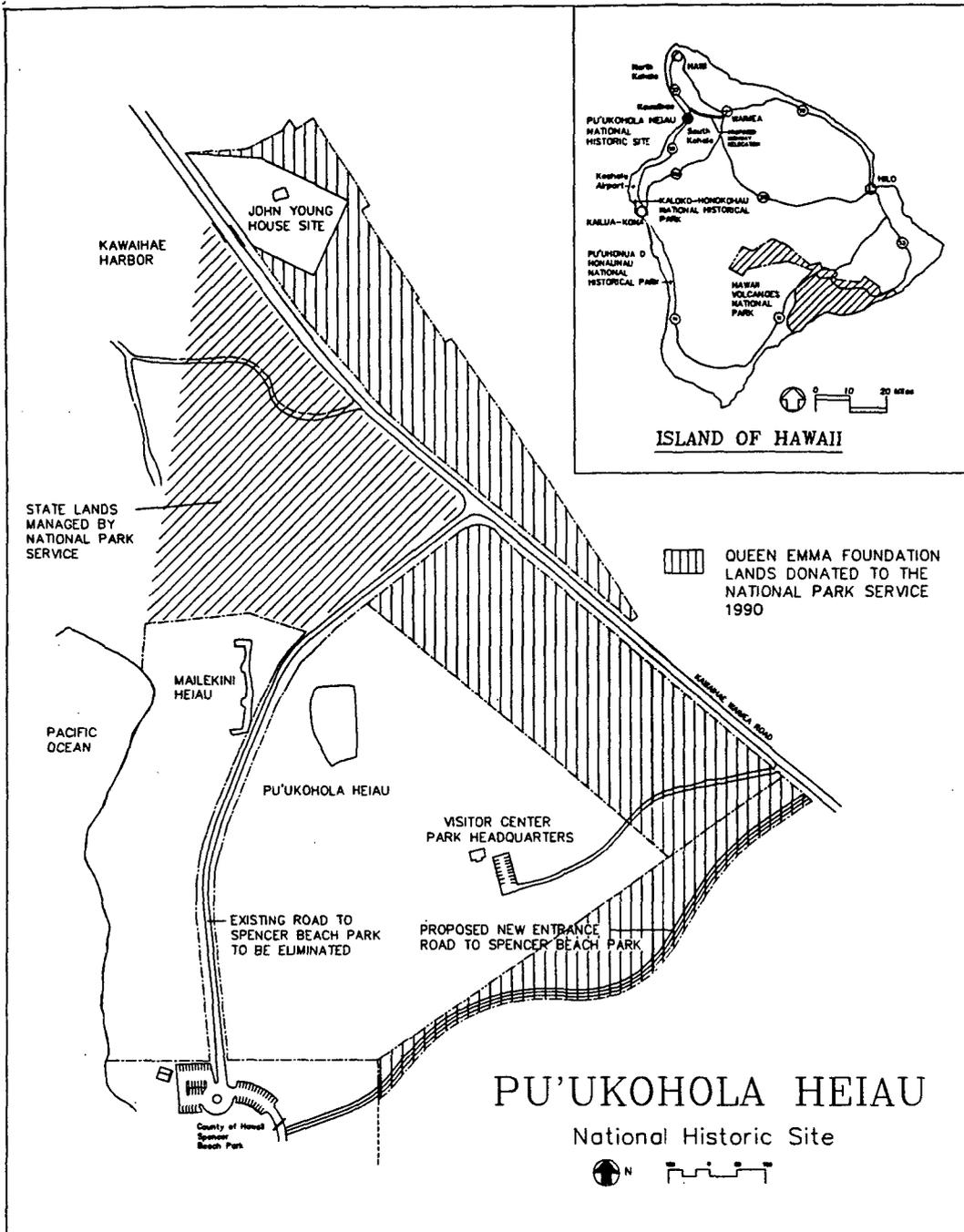


Illustration 36. Site plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS. From *Development Concept Plan*.

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'ukoholā Heiau is a new structure or a renovation of an older, abandoned temple. According to Hawaiian mythology, the original temple of Pu'ukoholā was consecrated by the god Lono about 1580.⁵⁷ Fornander gathered some data on this subject from native accounts:

A revolt occurred 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

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 Pu'ukoholā, 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.

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-koholā 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'ukoholā 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

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'ukoholā.



Illustration 37. View to southeast of Pu'ukoholā Heiau from coral stockpile. NPS photo, 1989.

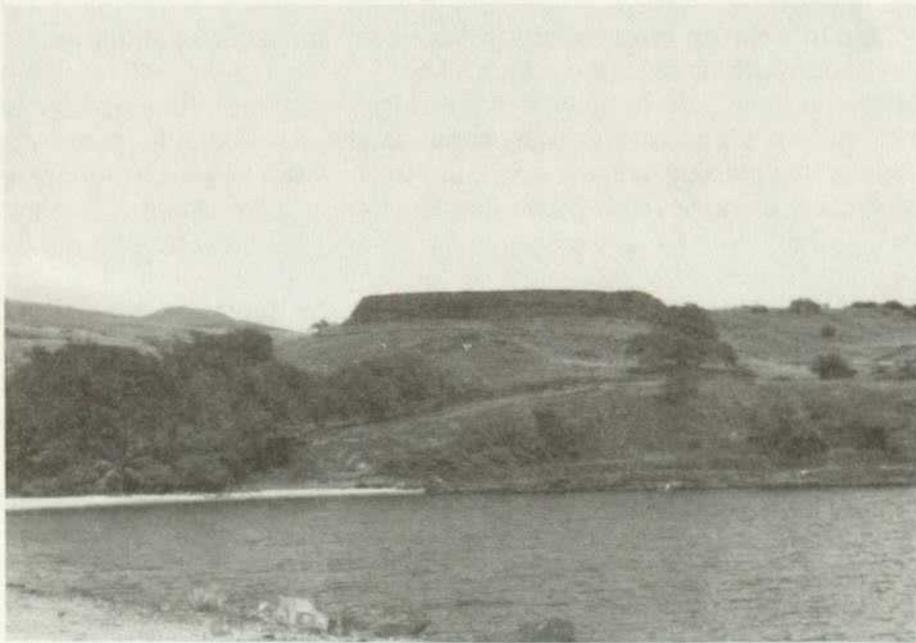


Illustration 38. View to east of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Note Marlehini Heiau midway between shore and Pu'ukoholā. Pelekane area to left. NPS photo, 1989.

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'ukoholā 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 Kū-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 Hawaii'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'ukoholā 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

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'ukoholā 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 occurred so close together in time that Kapoukahi's prophecy seemed to have been fulfilled, assuring Kamehameha's undivided supremacy over the island. Taylor, "Pu'ukohola," p. 7.

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 remainder 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

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 Kaoleioku 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'uhoanua o Hōnaunau 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'ukoholā later in this chapter.)

70. *Account of the Polynesian Race*, 2:329.

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.

2. Historical Descriptions

a) Introductory Remarks

Considering that there were foreigners in the vicinity, and that the construction process for Pu'ukoholā Heiau must have been quite impressive in terms of the number of people and the rituals involved, the paucity of firsthand accounts of this event or of the structure's appearance at the time of construction is disappointing. Because this was considered a very sacred temple, however, there really existed no opportunity for detailed Western observances until after the abolition of the *kapu* system.

b) Archibald Menzies, 1792-94

The first Western account we have of Pu'ukoholā Heiau is that of Archibald Menzies of the Vancouver expedition. It is important because he viewed the structure soon after its construction while it was still being used for ceremonial purposes and thus was still regarded with fear by the common people:

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.

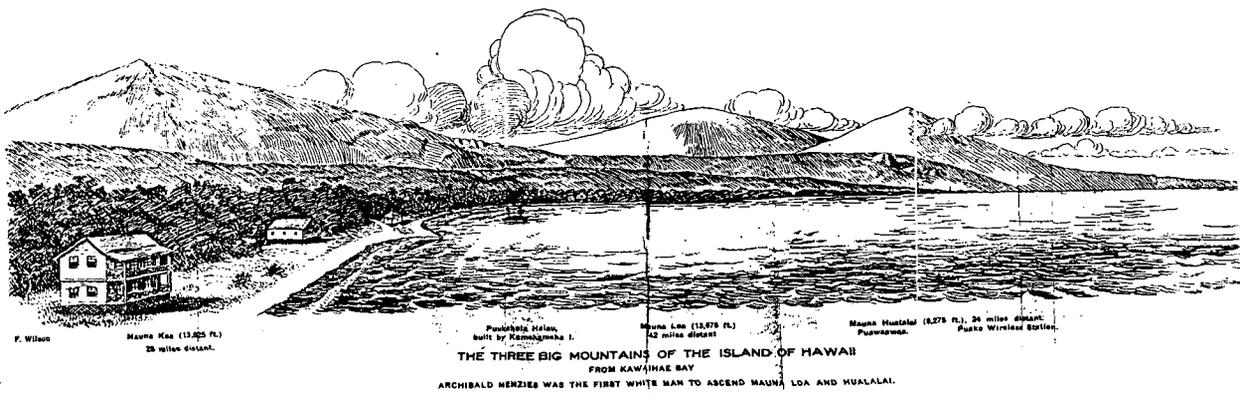


Illustration 39. Kawaihae Bay, from sketch drawn by W.F. Wilson, ca. 1920. From Menzies, *Hawaii Nei*, opp. p. 52.

In returning back to the waterside again, I went towards a little marae [temple], with an intention to view the inside of it, but my guides told me it was so strictly tabooed that they durst not indulge my curiosity without risking their own lives. They told me it was built about two years before in commemoration of a famous victory gained over Keoua, the last surviving issue of Kalaniopuu. . . . he invaded Kamehameha's territories, but meeting with a strong opposition from Keeaumoku and other chiefs, he was worsted in battle and he and eleven of his adherents were put to death near this marae. I was shown the spot on which this happened and where their bodies were interred, but their skulls are still displayed as ornamental trophies on the rail around the marae.

This marae is situated on the summit of an eminence, a little back from the beach, and appears to be a regular area of fifty or sixty yards square, faced round with a stone wall of considerable height, topped with a wooden rail on which the skulls of these unfortunate warriors are conspicuously exposed. On the inside, a high flat formed pile is reared, constructed of wicker work, and covered either with a net or some white cloth. There were also enclosed several houses in which lived at this time five kahunas or priests with their attendants to perform the ritual ceremonies of the taboo, which had been on about ten days.⁷³

Although it is difficult to understand how Menzies could describe this as a "little" temple, his description is probably a good indication of the *heiau's* original appearance. Note that he does not mention wooden images, which were usually an integral part of the furnishings of a *luakini* and the carving and erection of which have been described in the accounts of this temple's construction.⁷⁴ Because during this time Kamehameha was still in the process of reconquering and subjugating the other Hawaiian Islands, it would appear that the twelve skulls of those who dared oppose him were being displayed as a warning to others and as a sign of Kamehameha's patronage in military matters by Kū-ka'ili-moku.

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'ukoholā. 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 Nāpo'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 *morai* 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.

c) Samuel Patterson, 1804-5

The next description, although scanty in comparison, is by the American seaman Samuel Patterson, who chronicled his travels in a merchantman during the period 1800 to 1817. He noted about 1804 that the Hawaiians

have a very extraordinary one [temple] on the island of Owhyhee, at Toahoi [Kawaihae] bay, which is very large, and the roof covered with human skulls, the white appearance of which, is discoverable at a great distance; but otherwise it is like unto the others.⁷⁵

What sort of "roof" Patterson is referring to is unclear, although presumably he simply means that the skulls were positioned on the platform or on the walls surrounding the platform area.

d) Otto von Kotzebue, 1816-17

During 1816-17, Otto von Kotzebue, commander of the *Rurick*, led a Russian expedition in search of a northeast passage that visited Hawai'i in the course of its travels. His description of Kawaihae Bay adds little, except to note that "We saw here several morais, which belong to the chiefs of these parts, and may be recognized by the stone fence, and the idols placed in them."⁷⁶

e) Louis de Freycinet, 1819

In 1819 an official French scientific and political expedition commanded by Captain Louis de Freycinet visited the islands shortly after the death of King Kamehameha. Jacques Arago, the ship's artist, left a very descriptive journal which is highly useful for some types of information:

On a hill opposite to that on which the house of Mr. Young is built, there is a very large *morai* enclosed by a stone wall about four feet high. The statues seen here are colossal, and regularly placed; I have counted above forty of them. The earth is covered with pebbles, evidently thrown there by design, although I have not learned the motive. A native who accompanied me related that on the board which was placed in the middle of the enclosure, were exposed the dead bodies of those who had been strangled, or stoned to death; that the place was tabooed for all the inhabitants, except the high priest, who repaired thither daily to consult the entrails of the victims. M. Rives [French adventurer who became Liholiho's secretary] afterwards confirmed what I had been told on these subjects. . . .⁷⁷

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.



Illustration 40. Drawing of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini *heiau* by L.I. Duperrey, 1819. The royal compound includes the king's residence with adjoining *lanai* and probably huts for retainers. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

This indicates that Pu'ukoholā Heiau was used regularly up through Kamehameha's lifetime for religious services and that human sacrifices were a part of those services. Sometime between 1804 and 1819, it appears, the skulls of Keoua and his followers were removed and the customary wooden images became the dominating feature. This might have occurred around 1810 when the chief of Kaua'i acknowledged Kamehameha as supreme ruler, completing the formation of the island kingdom. At that time the warning symbolized by the skulls and the warlike atmosphere they generated would no longer have been necessary.

f) Missionaries Hiram Bingham, Henry Cheever, 1820

In 1820 Protestant missionaries arrived in Hawai'i on board the brig *Thaddeus*. They landed first in Kawaihae, knowing that was one of the favorite residences of King Kamehameha as well as the home of John Young, known to all sea captains as one of the king's trusted and very influential advisors – someone whom it would pay to have on their side. Learning upon their arrival of the death of Kamehameha and the abolition of the old religion, the missionaries were eager to proceed to Kailua for an audience with the new king. During their brief stay in Kawaihae, however, they had time to briefly reconnoiter. Missionary Hiram Bingham stated that:

The next morning [April 2] . . . I made my first visit on shore, landed on the beach near where Keoua and his companions had been murdered, and called on Kalanimoku at his thatched hut or cottage in that small uninviting village. With him, I visited Puukohola, the large heathen temple at that place. . . . Built on a rough hill, a little way from the shore of the bay, it occupied an area about 240 feet in length, and 120 in breadth, and appeared as much like a fort as a church. On the ends and inland side of the parallelogram, the walls, of loose black stone or fragments of lava, were 15 feet high, 10 feet thick at the bottom, and 5 at the top. On the side towards the sea, the wall consisted of several terraces on the declivity of the hill, rising from some 20 feet below the enclosed area, to a little above it. The frowning structure is so large and prominent, that it can be distinctly seen with the naked eye, from the top of Maunakea, a distance of about 32 miles.⁷⁸

This description is also found in a journal of the Sandwich Island mission begun on board ship and possibly co-authored by Bingham, who adds in that document that the terraces "made convenient places for hundreds of worshippers [*sic*] to stand while the priest was within offering prayers and sacrifices of abomination."⁷⁹ Whether Bingham was told that people stood on the terraces during services or simply assumed that the terraces were used in that way is unknown. He continues:

In this enclosure [of Pu'ukoholā] are ruins of several houses burnt to the ground, the ashes of various wooden Gods, remains of cocoanuts and other like offerings, the ashes and burnt bones of many human visitors, sacrificed to demons. At the foot of the hill is a similar enclosure [Mailekini Heiau] 280 feet in length and 50 in

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.

breadth, which had been used for the sacrifice of various beasts and plants, &c. The walls and areas of these open buildings, once tabooed and sacred, are now free to every foot, useless and tumbling into ruins. . . .⁸⁰

According to this account, therefore, Pu'ukoholā Heiau was destroyed and abandoned at the time of the abolition of the *kapu* system by Liholiho just as were others throughout the islands. This account also suggests that Mailekini was not the scene of human sacrifices. Despite Pu'ukoholā Heiau's significant personal importance to Kamehameha, it would seem that his son did not view it with any particularly strong attachment, and certainly the usefulness of the *heiau* was over. However, when Liholiho returned to Kawaihae after the death of his father, he reportedly reconsecrated the *heiau* at Pu'ukoholā, following the traditional method of announcing one's new role as leader. Missionary Henry Cheever, sailing by the west coast of Hawai'i Island, mentioned: "We passed in the afternoon the Bay of Kawaihae, and saw the huge *heiau* which Kamehameha II. went to consecrate at the death of his father. . . ."⁸¹ Because this was the structure that supposedly provided Kamehameha with the power to become king, perhaps this ritual was seen as necessary to pass on the former ruler's power to his son. Marion Kelly speaks of Kawaihae as "the place where Kamehameha II returned after the death of his father to seek consolidation of his forces and consecration of his leadership role."⁸² Kawaihae and Pu'ukoholā Heiau appear to have retained some of their former spiritual and political significance at least immediately following Kamehameha's death, but having performed this last service in sanctifying Liholiho's role as king, the *heiau* structures were destroyed with the abolition of the *kapu* system.

g) Reverend William Ellis, 1823

The account of Pu'ukoholā Heiau considered the most informative of these early sources is that by the Reverend William Ellis. Although very lengthy, it is presented here in its entirety because of the wealth of construction details. Much of the data on ritual ceremonies and procedures interspersed with the physical description was probably supplied by Ellis's native guides, who should have had a good knowledge of what went on at the site in more recent times. William Ellis was part of a delegation of Honolulu missionaries that made a tour of the island in 1823 to look for suitable locations for mission stations. Others in the group included Asa Thurston, Artemas Bishop, and Joseph Goodrich. While staying at Kawaihae, Ellis visited the temple of Pu'ukoholā:

Its shape is an irregular parallelogram, 224 feet long, and 100 wide. The walls, though built of loose stones, were solid and compact. At both ends, and on the side next the mountains, they were twenty feet high, twelve feet thick at the bottom, but narrowed in gradually towards the top, where a course of smooth stones, six feet wide, formed a pleasant walk. The walls next the sea were not more than seven or eight feet high, and were proportionally wide. The entrance to the temple is by a narrow passage between two high walls. . . .

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

81. Cheever, *Island World of the Pacific*, p. 188.

82. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea*, p. 18.

The upper terrace within the area was spacious, and much better finished than the lower ones. It was paved with various flat smooth stones, brought from a considerable distance. At the south end was a kind of inner court, which might be called the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple, where the principal idol used to stand, surrounded by a number of images of inferior deities.

In the centre of this inner court was the place where the *anu* was erected, which was a lofty frame of wicker-work, in shape something like an obelisk, hollow, and four or five feet square at the bottom. Within this the priest stood, as the organ of communication from the god, whenever the king came to inquire his will; for his principal god was also his oracle, and when it was to be consulted, the king, accompanied by two or three attendants, proceeded to the door of the inner temple, and standing immediately before the obelisk, inquired respecting the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, or any other affair of importance. The answer was given by the priest in a distinct and audible voice, though, like that of other oracles, it was frequently very ambiguous. On the return of the king, the answer he had received was publicly proclaimed, and generally acted upon. . . .

On the outside, near the entrance to the inner court, was the place of the *rere* [*lele*] (altar,) on which human and other sacrifices were offered. The remains of one of the pillars that supported it were pointed out by the natives, and the pavement around was strewn with bones of men and animals, the mouldering remains of those numerous offerings once presented there.

About the centre of the terrace was the spot where the king's sacred house stood, in which he resided during the season of strict tabu, and at the north end, the place occupied by the houses of priests, who, with the exception of the king, were the only persons permitted to dwell within the sacred enclosure.

Holes were seen on the walls, all around this, as well as the lower terraces, where wooden idols of varied size and shape formerly stood, casting their hideous stare in every direction. *Tairi*, or *Kukairimoku*, a large wooden idol, crowned with a helmet, and covered with red feathers, the favourite war-god of *Tamehameha*, was the principal idol. To him the *heiau* was dedicated, and for his occasional residence it was built.

On the day in which he [*Kū-ka'ili-moku*] was brought within its precincts, vast offerings of fruit, hogs, and dogs, were presented, and no less than eleven human victims immolated on its altars. And, although the huge pile now resembles a dismantled fortress . . . it is impossible to walk over . . . without a strong feeling of horror. . . .⁸³

83. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, pp. 71-73.

h) Reverend Artemas Bishop, 1826

In November 1826 the queen regent Ka'ahumanu, residing on O'ahu, visited the island of Hawai'i for about two months. The Reverend Artemas Bishop accompanied her when she stopped at Kawaihae:

When we arrived . . . she ordered the canoe to put ashore about twenty rods this side of the usual landing place. It was the place of her husband's [Kamehameha] former residence. The walls of his houses were standing, while every thing within and without was going to decay. She took a melancholy satisfaction in contemplating these ruins, and in pointing out to me the very places where Tamehameha used to sit, and where he slept. Directing my attention to the crumbling walls of a large *heiau*, [temple,] on an eminence, she said, "There is the spot where my husband used to worship his gods, and where many a human victim has been sacrificed. Let us ascend and see the place." "But," said I, "did you never go there?" "No," she replied, "it would have been death for any woman to approach its sacred precincts." So we ascended together, and when we had reached the top, and had taken a full view of the whole place, (a good description of which is given in the "Tour of Hawaii," [by Ellis]) she stopped short, lifted up her hands, and looking upwards, said "I thank God for what my eyes now see . . . *Hawaii's gods are no more.*" She then showed me the holes in the wall, where the carved images of Tamehameha's gods once stood, and gave me their several names as we passed along. She then pointed out the altar where human and other sacrifices were offered. . . . She also described the dimensions of the buildings, which formerly stood in this immense enclosure, and added, – "But they were all destroyed in one day."⁸⁴

i) John Kirk Townsend, 1834-37

John Kirk Townsend, an American ornithologist, embarked on a journey that included Hawai'i during the years 1834-37. Anchoring off Kawaihae, he went ashore, visited John Young's widow, and also took a look at Pu'ukoholā Heiau. He noted, probably based on local information, that it had not been used as a temple since the abolition of the *kapu* system:

The heiau is built of stones laid together, enclosing a square of about two hundred feet. The walls are thirty feet high, and about sixteen feet thick at the base, from which they gradually taper to the top, where they are about four feet across. In the centre, is a platform of smooth stones, carefully laid together, but without any previous preparation, raised to within ten feet of the top of the wall.⁸⁵

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.

Townsend states that victims were sacrificed on this platform, "the gods standing around outside in niches made for their accommodation."⁸⁶

j) James Jarves, 1837-42

James Jarves published a history of the Hawaiian Islands in 1843 in which he described Pu'ukoholā as being

two hundred and twenty-four feet long and one hundred feet wide, with walls twelve feet thick at the base. Its height is from eight to twenty feet, two to six feet wide at the top, which, being well paved with smooth stones, formed, when in repair, a pleasant walk. The entrance was narrow, between two high walls. The interior is divided into terraces, the upper of which is paved with flat stones. The south end constituted an inner court, and was the most sacred place.⁸⁷

k) Gorham D. Gilman, 1844-45

Gorham D. Gilman, in his journal of a trip to Hawai'i during 1844-45, visited Kawaihae and

Being provided . . . with a guide I walked to the old temple – It was one of the most famous as well as the largest of the old kings [*sic*] temples and like the fish pond at Kiholo cost a great deal of labour. It stands on the brow of a hill, overlooking the bay, and is some 75 or 100 feet above high water mark. Many a poor victim has been sacrificed [*sic*] to appease the anger of their gods. The holes where the Idols stood are distinctly visible [*sic*] the one in the center was very large and was seen at a great distance – immediately below this is a smaller one [Mailekini] – which likewise contained their gods. . . .⁸⁸

l) Account, 1847

In June 1847 a party of men voyaged to Hawai'i to visit Kilauea caldera. On the way they landed in Kawaihae Bay:

After dinner, I took a stroll along the beach, and attended by a throng of natives, visited the *heau* [*sic*] or temple erected by Kamehameha I, during his residence here. It stands on an eminence, about one quarter of a mile from the village, fronting the sea. On the sea-shore stands [*sic*] two walls of what was probably the house for the priests, near by which, is a beautiful spring of warm water. In the

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.

rear of this, and part way up the hill, is [sic] the remains of a temple [Mailekini], or rather, an enclosure about 250 feet long, and 100 wide. The walls are built of small stones, and are about 30 feet thick at the base, and 20 feet at the top, and from 15 to 20 feet high; the side, fronting the sea, circular. Inland from this, and on the summit of the hill, about 300 feet above the level of the sea, is another similar enclosure, but of larger dimensions. The walls have fallen down in some places, but the outlines of the compartments inside the temple, are still visible. It is divided into apartments distinguished by the floor being raised or depressed. The floor is paved with small pebbles from the sea beach. Traces of a passage underground, are visible, though it is difficult to tell whether the two temples were connected by this passage. It has the appearance of an old fort, and might, perhaps, have answered this purpose. . . .⁸⁹

This is the first mention of an underground passage on Pu'ukoholā, although it possibly simply refers to a lower walkway or passage in the platform area or along the east wall that some observers mistook for an underground passage that had formerly been covered over.

m) Samuel S. Hill, 1848

Samuel S. Hill, English author and traveler, arrived in Hawai'i on the *Josephine* in 1848 and visited Kawaihae's archeological sites:

The famous remains we were about to visit, consist of portions of the anciently principal *heiaus*, or temple of idolatrous worship, throughout the islands. . . . Of the once famous temple, in which were so lately celebrated the idolatrous rites of a cruel and barbarous religion, there is in reality but little more remaining than serves to confirm the accounts given by the earlier English navigators, and by many of the islanders still alive, concerning the ancient practices.

This *heiaus* [sic] consisted either of two departments, one of which was on a step of the rise of the land above the other, or of two distinct temples built and occupied at different epochs. After mounting from the beach about thirty or forty feet, we arrived at the first temple [Mailekini], or part of a temple, where we stood amidst a mass of rude, unhewn stones, among which nothing was distinguishable that might serve to throw any light upon the ancient usages of the priests and people. In front of it are still to be seen the remains of two small stone houses, which had been respectively the residences of Kamehameha I. and King Liholiho [Kamehameha II].

After climbing a pathless steep to a further elevation of about two hundred feet, we came to the later constructed *heiaus* [sic], or better conserved portion of the remains, where our guide now became very useful in explaining the character of what was here distinctly to be seen. The building appears to have been about 150 feet in length, and about 100 in breadth. Three walls of loose stones, of 15 or 20 feet in height, form the inner side and the two ends, while the outer side, at the edge of the steep, appears to have been open to the sea. There is no appearance

89. "Rambles in Hawaii," by a Metropolitan, Chapter I, *The Polynesian* (Honolulu) 4, no. 37 (Jan. 29, 1848): 1.

of the temple having been covered. Besides the exterior walls, others remain, by which the building is divided into four unequal departments, with the character of which our friend was perfectly familiar. One large department, forming the centre, comprises two-thirds of the whole area, and the three other departments form a chamber at each end, and a narrow space within the longer of the outer walls. This latter portion seems to have been the place within which the god Kaili, to whom this temple was especially dedicated, and a number of inferior deities, stood exposed to the view of the people. Only a single pedestal, however, now remains, upon which it is well known formerly stood the principal god of Kamehameha I., Punkohula [Kū-ka'ili-moku]. . . . The spaces at the ends seem to have been occupied by the priests. That at the southern end is divided into narrow chambers, or gloomy cells, where the priests are said to have chiefly resided, and from which they issued only when the whole area of the grand department of the temple was filled with the worshippers of the idols before whom they practised their abominable rites, and at whose altars they offered their sacrifices of human victims. Part of an altar here remains, upon which they habitually burned these victims. But beneath the temple, out of the direct line, a projecting rock marks the spot upon which Kamehameha sacrificed to his god, the famous chief Keoua. . . .⁹⁰

This account seems to suggest that a large number of worshippers could be found in the temple during certain rites. Whether or not these attendees spilled over onto the terraces is not known, although the missionary accounts presented earlier also mentioned this possibility. This account also suggests low standing walls within the interior dividing the platform into separate areas used either for ritual purposes or for priests' quarters.

n) Charles-Victor Crosnier de Varigny, 1855

Charles de Varigny provides what he states is an account of a visit to Pu'ukoholā Heiau in 1855, but one needs to be careful in reading it because he confuses several bits of data with the construction of Mo'okini Heiau in northern Kohala. He states that the *heiau* about a mile from Kawaihae "is the largest and most intact still in existence in the archipelago. Its length is 350 feet, its width 150. The walls are 50 feet thick at the base, 8 at the top, and not more than 20 high." He continues,

In the northeast corner of its precincts, open to the sky, lies an enormous flat stone on which the victims were killed. It was there that they were dissected, the bones stripped of their flesh, picked clean, then tied in bundles and buried among the rocks which formed the foundations. At a short distance from this stone one notices several others of the same shape, with a shallow incised griddling, on which the flesh was burned. These stones have vitrified surfaces, a result of the fierce heat.⁹¹

90. S[amuel]. S. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1856), pp. 147-50.

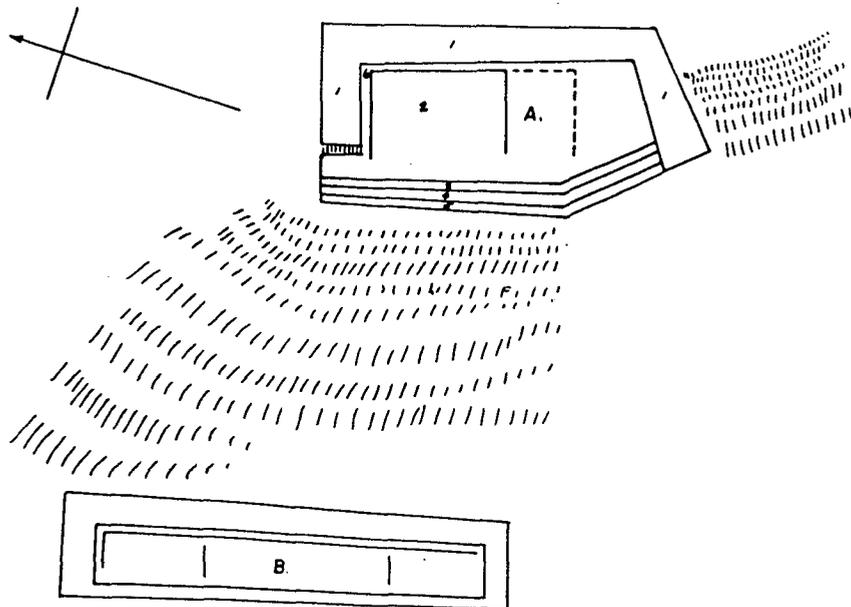
91. Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands*, p. 95. Archeologist Helene R. Dunbar of the NPS Interagency Archeological Services in San Francisco believes this description is of the *holehole* stone at Mo'okini Heiau. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Mookini Heiau National Historic Landmark nomination form, 1990, by Helene R. Dunbar, in files, Western Regional Office, NPS, San Francisco.

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

P.H. 646

Surveyed by Lyons

COPIED FROM C.J. LYONS

1853

by M. Rosendahl

43

C. J. Lyons 1853

Illustration 41. Ground plans of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau. Sketch by M. Rosendahl from 1853 survey by C.J. Lyons. Map 2 in Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 43.

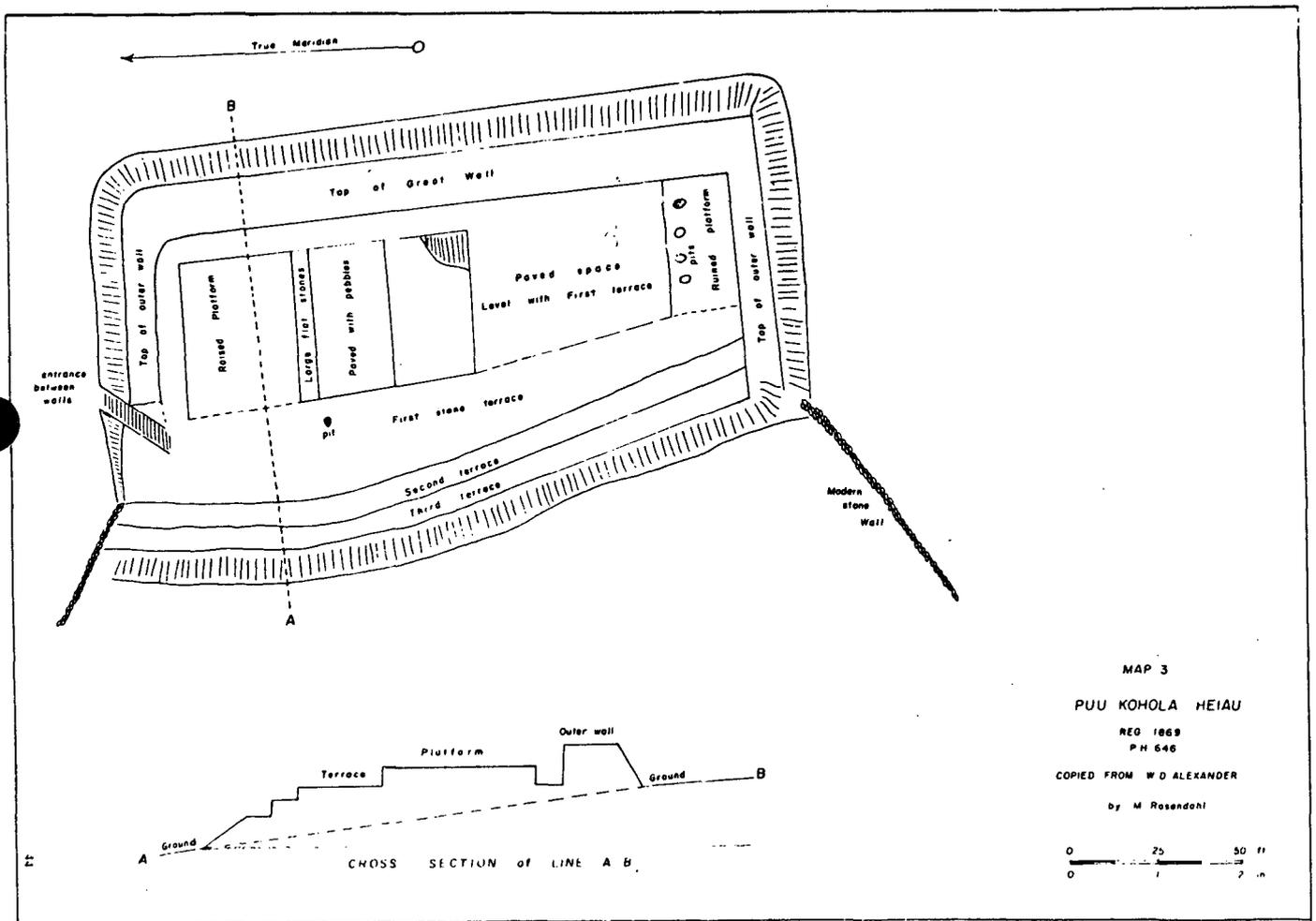


Illustration 42. Ground plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau copied by M. Rosendahl from W.D. Alexander 1869 survey. Map 3 in Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 44.

o) Lady Jane Franklin, 1861

Lady Franklin, widow of the renowned Arctic explorer Admiral Sir John Franklin, visiting Kawaihae in 1861, went to see Pu'ukoholā Heiau and described it as

a semicircular wall of rough stones about twenty feet high. The area is roughly paved and within it are the places used for sacrifice: that in the middle, a cavity filled in with loose stones, was for the human sacrifices; in front of it, that for beasts; to the left, for fruits. Immediately in front and a little below the level of this sacrificing area was a more closely paved terrace on which the highest Chiefs placed themselves; lower still was another for the inferior Chiefs; and lowest of all, the common people assembled.⁹²

This certainly provides an explanation for the three terrace levels, but again it is difficult to know whether this information is accurate. The grandson of Isaac Davis accompanied Lady Franklin on this visit to the *heiau*, but whether he supplied the details on its construction and use is unclear.

p) Clara K. Whelden, 1864

The wife of the master of the whaling bark *John Howland*, out of New Bedford, Massachusetts, passed through Kawaihae Bay in 1864, but noted only that

Near the church are the remains of the place where they formerly had their savage feasts. From the ship it looks like an enclosure made of stones and rocks, and at first I thought is [it] was a Fort.⁹³

q) Isabella Bird, 1873

Isabella Bird, traveling in Hawai'i in 1873 for her health, so benefitted from the climate that she stayed for nearly seven months. During that time she traveled around on horseback exploring local sites. Her description of Kawaihae was quoted earlier, but she also visited the nearby *heiau* on Pu'ukoholā, which stood "gaunt and desolate in the thin red air," entering it through a narrow passage between two high walls. Describing the structure as an irregular parallelogram, 224 feet long and 100 feet wide, she added that

At each end, and on the *mauka* side, the walls, which are very solid and compact, though built of lava stones without mortar, are twenty feet high, and twelve feet wide at the bottom, but narrow gradually towards the top, where they are finished with a course of smooth stones six feet broad. On the sea side, the wall, which has been partly thrown down, was not more than six or seven feet high, and there were paved platforms for the accommodation of the *alii*, or chiefs, and the people

92. Korn, *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.

in their orders. The upper terrace is spacious, and paved with flat smooth stones which were brought from a considerable distance, the greater part of the population of the island having been employed on the building. At the south end there was an inner court, where the principal idol stood, surrounded by a number of inferior deities. . . . Here also was the *anu*, a lofty frame of wickerwork, shaped like an obelisk, hollow, and five feet square at its base. Within this, the priest, who was the oracle of the god, stood, and of him the king used to inquire concerning war or peace, or any affair of national importance. . . .

On the outside of this inner court was the *lele*, or altar, on which human and other sacrifices were offered. . . .

The only dwellings within the *heiau* were those of the priests, and the "sacred house" of the king, in which he resided during the seasons of strict *Tabu*. . . .⁹⁴

Much of this information was probably gained from Mrs. Bishop's companions and merely repeats the interior arrangement described by Ellis and other earlier visitors. Whatever fact it was originally based on, the information had been passed down that the temple terraces were for the accommodation of observers of the ceremonies within.

r) Frank Vincent, Jr., ca. 1875

Traveler Frank Vincent, Jr., mentioned Pu'ukoholā Heiau in his 1870s travelogue but provided nothing new in terms of a description. He did state that "Human sacrifices were offered in this temple as recently as the early part of the present century" – a fact he was undoubtedly told by local residents.⁹⁵ However, that observation seems to be corroborated by Jacque Arago's statement that human sacrifices were practiced as late as 1809.

s) John F. G. Stokes, 1906

In 1906 the Bishop Museum of Honolulu sent John F. G. Stokes to Hawai'i Island to conduct archeological research on temple remains. The work was part of a research design for Hawaiian archeology, focusing on recording and making plan drawings of temple structures on the various islands to document changes in construction style. Stokes noted that Pu'ukoholā Heiau incorporated terrace, platform, and wall features, all with a partial veneer of *ala*, or waterworn stones. The walls on the north, east, and south were composed entirely of slightly rounded *ala*, while their narrow upper surfaces were paved with flat *ala*. The terraces to the west were filled in with rough stone like that found nearby, but faced with rounded *ala* and paved with flat *ala*. "Choicer" stones had been used for the large area of low pavement just to the south of the middle of the *heiau*. A large platform containing several divisions, suggesting house sites, occupied about one-third of the interior in the northeast quarter of the structure, rising about 4½ feet above the

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.



Illustration 43. View to southeast of Pu'ukoholā Heiau showing structures along the shore between the temple and Kawaihae. Photo by W.T. Brigham, 1889. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

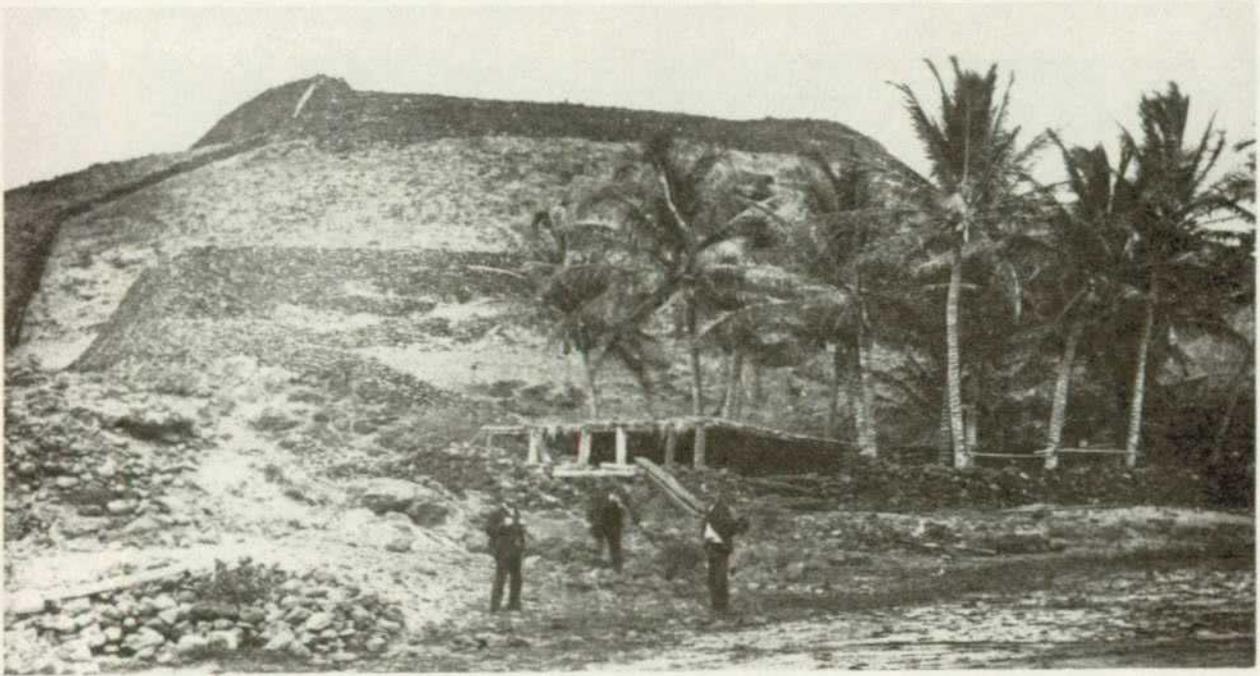


Illustration 44. Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau, n.d. (ca. 1889). Courtesy Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

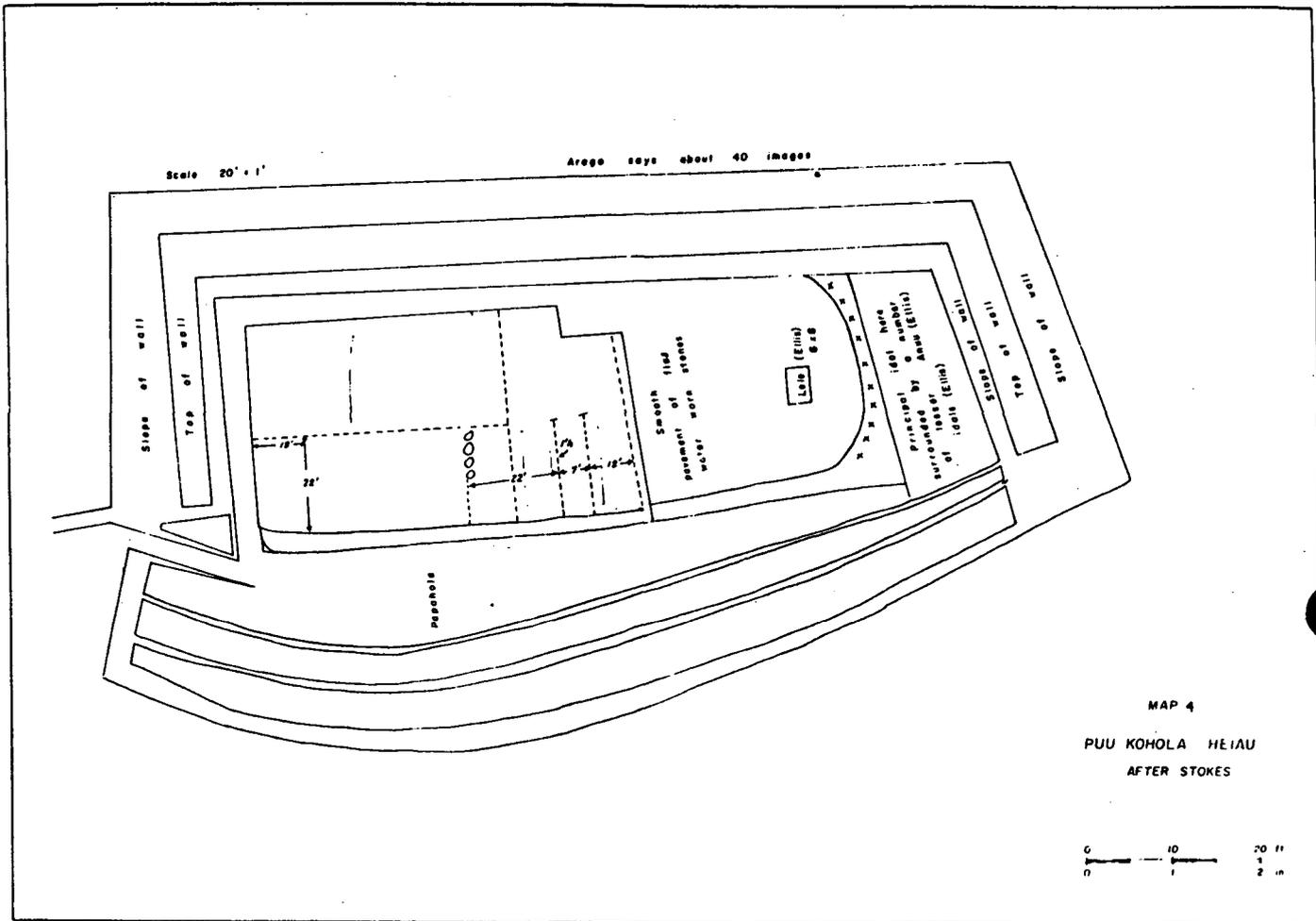


Illustration 45. Ground plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau after John F.G. Stokes, 1906. Map 4 in Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 45.

floor. It was faced with *ala* stones and roughly paved with stones on the east and south; smooth coral fragments covered the northwest half. In the middle of the platform, leading in from the west, was a roadway of flat *ala*, two stones wide, ending in a single large *ala* convex on its upper surface. A ledge 2 feet high and 2½ feet wide ran around the west side and south end of this platform.

Another platform at the southern end of the *heiau* stood three feet high; also paved with *ala* stones, it appeared to have been disturbed. Five pits existed in the platform, one in the southeast corner and the others forming a rough line near and parallel to the northern face of that platform. A local informant told Stokes the pit to the west was the *lua pa'u* and the *lele* had stood near it, on the western edge of the platform. Stokes was not sure, however, if these were ancient or modern pits because of the amount of disturbance.

Below this last platform and the low, smooth pavement described earlier, Stokes found a heap of loose stones in a sort of crescent form, which he did not think had been a later intrusion. On the eastern edge of the highest terrace to the west lay a strip of earth five feet wide, only a few inches below the level of the terrace pavement. Passages north and east of the main interior platform, between it and the outer walls, had been filled in by fallen stones. He did not think these had originally been paved.

The entrance to the top of the *heiau* was over a stone pavement inclining upward and to the south-southwest. East of the entrance a bench had been built into the slope of the west end of the northern wall, about 2½ feet above the terrace pavement – a niche for a "guardian idol" he ventured. The *heiau* was constructed so that, although the west side was open, one could not get a close view of interior proceedings from the outside.

According to local information, Stokes noted, the smooth *ala* pavement was for dancing; also, a stone idol used to stand on the middle terrace and a wooden one on the lower terrace.⁹⁶ Stokes also mentioned that an elderly local native had told him that the body of Keoua had been cooked in an underground oven located on a ridge about fifty feet west of the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.⁹⁷ In another group of notes, Stokes described the two small walls stretching from the corners of Pu'ukoholā to the southwest and northwest, the latter beginning just east of the entrance. He suggested these delineated the limits of the sacred ground connected with the temple in ancient times.⁹⁸ In other miscellaneous information, he noted that the terraces, three in number, bulged outward, following the contours of the ground. The lower two were narrow, but the upper one broadened out as the main floor of the *heiau*. He also said that small idols had been found hidden within the structure and conjectured that the pits in the south end could have resulted from digging for other hidden statues. But he believed that the four pits arranged in a line could have been enlargements of holes for large idols.⁹⁹

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 Hawaii: 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.

Stokes's plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau placed the *'anu'u* and *lele* according to Ellis's description. The site of the drum, or king's house, he placed on the south projection of the main platform. He also inserted other traditional temple structures, such as the *hale mana*, *waiea*, *hale umu*, and guardhouse. The large, long *mana* he placed on the east side of the platform, with the stone path leading to it. He added a wooden fence on the upper terrace, believing this explained the strip of earth and loose stones dividing the upper terrace lengthwise. This fence would help define the limits of the sacred portions of the temple, a necessity if there were *ali'i* or commoners standing on these terraces.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps this is the fence on which Kamehameha displayed the skulls of Keoua and his followers.

t) Thomas Thrum, 1908

Thomas Thrum, in his *Hawaiian Annual for 1908*, states that

The most familiar of all heiaus of the islands is the famous one at Kawaihae, named Puukohola, from its being on the travel route of so large a portion of residents and visitors, and figures prominently in history in connection with Kamehameha's supremacy. It is generally referred to as the last heathen temple erected, but on this point there are evidences otherwise.

The earliest descriptive account given of this celebrated heiau is that of Ellis from his visit in 1823, at which time it was doubtless in perfect order, being then only 30 years since its completion by Kamehameha, and but four since its disuse.¹⁰¹

u) Gerard Fowke, 1922

Gerard Fowke, representing the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., performed some archeological work in Hawai'i in 1922, during the course of which he examined Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Not much new information was gleaned from his reconnaissance, however:

The "Great Temple" built by King Kamehameha I is on a bluff 100 feet high, separated from the beach by a low level space 100 yards wide. This flat contains many stone structures, but their number, design, and character can not be ascertained on account of the almost impenetrable growth of algaroba. One of them is a rectangle [Mailekini Heiau] about 50 by 150 feet, the walls high and thick; probably it is an older temple. There is some modern work here, because in one place a wall is cemented, perhaps by ranchmen.

The "Great Temple" measures 80 by 200 feet on the outside, 50 by 150 feet inside, longest north and south. The two ends and the side toward the land are nearly intact and from 10 to 20 feet high according to the surface of the ground. At the north end, inside, is a platform 80 feet north and south by 45 feet east and west, the four walls carefully and regularly laid up, the space within them filled with

100. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

101. Thrum, "Heiaus of Kohala," in "Tales from the Temples. Part II," pp. 64-65.

large stones, and the surface leveled with beach pebbles. It ends 4 feet within the wall next the sea, the top of this wall being on a level with the bottom of the platform. At the south end is another platform 40 feet east and west by 20 feet north and south, abutting against the east and south walls. A step or terrace 6 feet wide extends the full length of its north side. It has a less finished appearance than the platform at the north end. The central space, between the two, is paved with large stones which apparently pass under both platforms and extend from the foot of the east wall nearly to the west wall, a slight ditch separating it from the latter. The west wall stands below the top of the slope, and its outer face is from 10 to 20 feet high, in three platforms each 8 feet wide. On the slope below are several structures a few feet square formed by two parallel rows of stones with a cross wall at the lower ends, the cellar-like space thus inclosed being filled with pebbles to a level with the top of the walls.

From the northeast [southwest?] and northwest corners long walls extend northwest and southwest toward the beach. Their outer ends are lost in the thicket.¹⁰²

v) Oral Interview, 1919-20

These are the few historical accounts of Pu'ukoholā Heiau that provide any type of detailed description of the structure. In addition, an oral interview between Rose Fujimori and Solomon Akau mentions a large A-frame of a former grass house facing the ocean, with a door facing sideways, on top of the *heiau* on the 'ili'ili ca. 1919-20. Nothing of its origin or use is known, but it was certainly a later addition that might account for some of the disturbance noted by Stokes.¹⁰³

3. Modern Description

In 1969 the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, at the request of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, conducted a detailed archeological survey of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau prior to proposed construction work on the Kawaihae small boat harbor. This resulted in feature documentation that was published in the Hawaii State Archaeological Journal 69-3. Because of the length of the description of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the reader is referred to that work.¹⁰⁴

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'ukoholā 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 Archeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, Kawaihae, South Kohala, Hawaii Island," in Deborah F. Cluff, William K. Kikuchi, Russell A. Apple, and Yoshiko H. Sinoto, *The Archeological 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.]

Between 1975 and 1979, Edmund J. Ladd, NPS Pacific Area Office archeologist, supervised emergency stabilization activities on the *heiau*. No archeological excavations were undertaken, but the site was mapped and observations on prehistoric construction techniques recorded.

From the descriptions of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau through the years, it is apparent that little if any preservation work has been done on them, at least formally. In 1928 the "Sons of Kamehameha," a now defunct organization, are thought to have partially restored segments of the central platform and courtyard areas in honor of the sesquicentennial celebration of the European arrival in the Hawaiian Islands, but that work was not documented.¹⁰⁵ The records show little change in the structures, however. The question of how often they were used during Kamehameha's time and how long after the abolition of the *kapu* system will be addressed in the Analysis and Recommendations Section later in this report. It appears, however, that little local repair work was done and perhaps was not really needed because of the sturdy initial construction. The majority of the grass structures on top of Pu'ukoholā were destroyed around 1819 according to historical accounts, and any that escaped the conflagration would have deteriorated quickly with disuse. It would appear that the temples, after abandonment, were little visited except for occasional sightseers and probably local residents who might have continued limited veneration of the area.

By the time Pu'ukoholā Heiau came into NPS hands in 1972, some portions of the interior back wall had collapsed. A year later a large section on the northwest, above the entrance onto the platform, also collapsed, in addition to a smaller segment on the southeast wall.¹⁰⁶

The construction method used on Pu'ukoholā Heiau was characteristic of early Hawaiian architecture, involving stacking stones

one on top of another in two outside veneer facings with an inward batter (slope) from base to top for stability. The space between the two veneer facings was filled with rubble – stones of various sizes, shapes, and forms not used in the face. The lower the wall or structure, the less batter, in general. The Hawaiians did not use mortar. The stones in this and other Hawaiian stacked stone structures were held together only by friction.¹⁰⁷

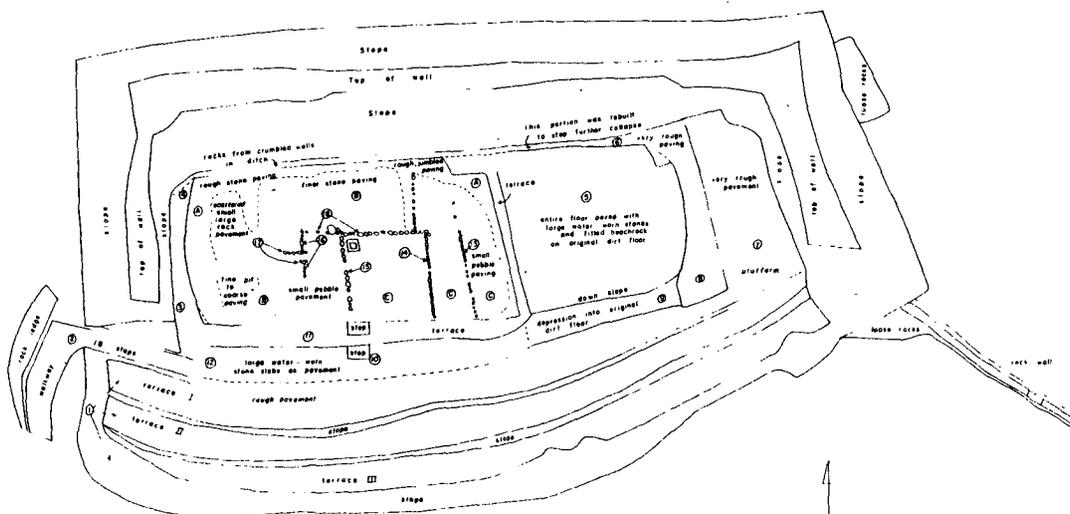
The integrity of the structure has been impaired over the years due to natural deterioration, earthquake activity, vibrations, rain and wind erosion, and human visitation. Weaknesses in the structure are caused by the material used, consisting of rounded boulders, some of which are very large, some small, some waterworn, some angular; the topography, which consists of the brow of a rounded ridge; and the method of construction outlined above, involving stacking of rocks with no mortar.¹⁰⁸

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.



MAP I
 PUU KOHOLA HEIAU
 KAWAIIAE, HAWAII
 SURVEYED IN AUG, 1969
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURFACE SURVEY
 FOR BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
 UNDER DIRECTION FROM
 U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS
 SKETCH MADE BY Wm. H. HANCOCK
 REDUCED AND ADAPTED TO ENGINEERS' MAP
 BY M. ROSSIGNOL
 SCALE 1" = 20'

Illustration 46. Floor plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau based on 1969 archeological surface survey. Map 1 in Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 38.

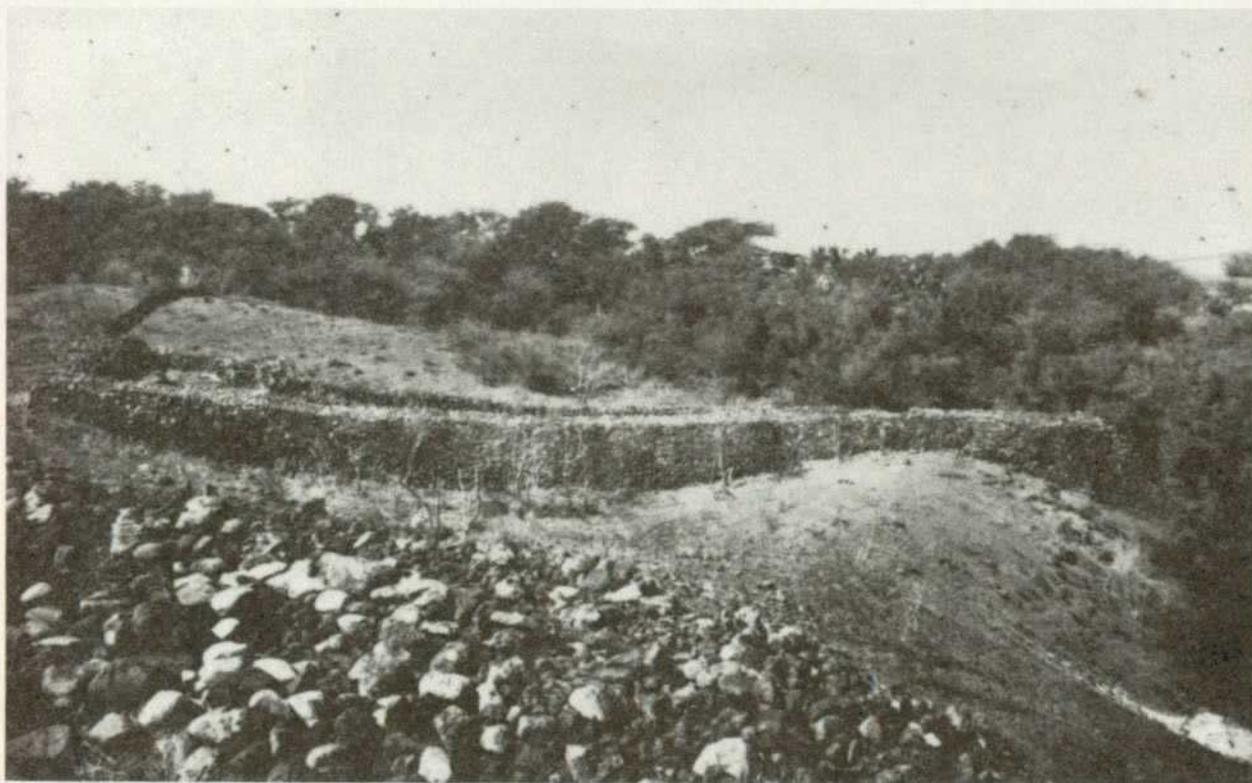


Illustration 47. View west of Mailekini Heiau, taken by J.F.G. Stokes in 1906. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Following are excerpts from Edmund Ladd's 1975 description of Pu'ukoholā Heiau:

The back of the structure is anchored to the flat-top portion on the ridge . . . while the front and sides are built over and down the slope with the front terrace. . . . The line of the lowest terrace blends into the hill side and the lines of each succeeding terrace form and lay in conformity to the hilltop terrain without creating any harsh lines against the smooth slope on the "hill of the whale."

The temple site (the platform, the *kahua*) is enclosed on three sides by a massive wall. . . . In cross section . . . it forms an irregular trapezoid. The inside face forms a more nearly vertical profile as compared to the outside which forms a nearly 45-degree slope. The fourth side is open and faces toward the ocean descending in three terraces from the upper terrace level, which forms the courtyard platform. The front follows the contour of the slope. . . .¹⁰⁹

During stabilization work, Ladd found a pit on top of a wall that he surmised served as a coastal observation post during World War II. It had been connected, via field telephone lines buried along the top of the *heiau* walls, with foxholes and gun emplacements on the beach south of Mailekini Heiau. The lines and the lumber used to line the observation pit were removed and the pit infilled with stones.¹¹⁰ All major broken areas of Pu'ukoholā were cleared, stabilized, and restored during this project. The structure stands today as it was described by many early visitors, consisting only of a massive temple platform surrounded on three sides by high walls with descending terraces toward the sea. The pole and thatch structures that were noted historically in the temple area are gone. Wing walls extend toward the sea from the northwest and southwest corners. Occasional offerings are still made here.

C. Mailekini Heiau

1. Traditional Construction History

Little is known of Mailekini Heiau, located on the slope between Pu'ukoholā Heiau and the coast. Similar in construction to that of Pu'ukoholā, with massive stone walls inland and open to the sea on the west, it is, however, smaller in size. Archeologist Edmund J. Ladd stated that "Mailekini temple site is an older site probably representing the inter-chiefdom and inter-district or island warfare of the period prior to 1790. It is a temple site undoubtedly built by the district ruling chief."¹¹¹ It is in connection with one of the early South Kohala chiefs that the *heiau* is mentioned in the early literature, as the location where the aging Alapa'inui, governing Kohala about 1760, conducted ceremonies transferring his rule and lands to his son Keawe'opala.¹¹²

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 Kalani'opu'u. Apple, "History and Significance of South Kohala," p. 3.

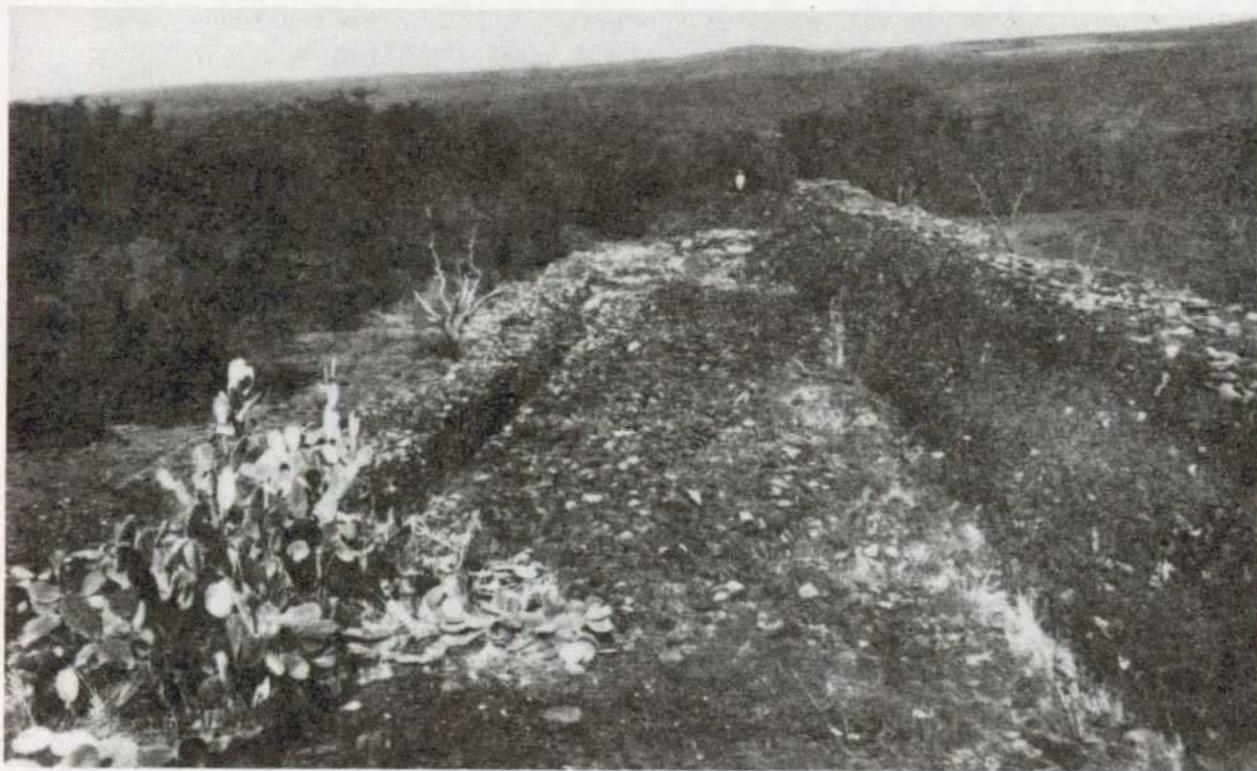


Illustration 48. View north of Mailekini Heiau taken by J.F.G. Stokes in 1906. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

As mentioned previously, several authors believe that Kamehameha first began restoring Mailekini in response to Kapoukahi's prophesy, but later moved work higher up the hill.¹¹³

Dwarfed by the magnificent structure looming over it from above, Mailekini Heiau was little noticed and only briefly mentioned, if at all, by visitors in the historical period. Whether it was functioning up until the time of Kamehameha's construction of the present Pu'ukoholā Heiau is unclear, although early references seem to indicate that it was already abandoned and unused by that time. Isaac Iselin, supercargo on the *Maryland*, at Kawaihae in 1807, mentioned noticing "two remarkable 'morays,' built by Tamaahmaah during his two years' stay at this place. . . ."¹¹⁴ This could have been merely an assumption on his part or might suggest that Kamehameha I had performed some work on Mailekini, although it is fairly certain that it had been originally constructed long before.

2. Mailekini Becomes a Fort

Although Kamehameha's rule over the Hawaiian islands seemed secure, his major rivals having been killed or thoroughly subjected, he was undoubtedly aware that threats to his power could arise at any moment. In addition, the increasing presence of Europeans might have made him uneasy and mindful of the vigilance he would need to keep both his subjects and arriving foreigners in line. Influenced by his exposure to European military strategy and Western weapons of destruction, Kamehameha decided to build forts with mounted guns to protect his major ports. Reinforced by a navy, these safeguards would hopefully ensure the longevity of his reign. De Freycinet noted that

During the reign of Tamehameha, cannons, guns, and other firearms from Europe were introduced to the Sandwich Islands, and there was a fairly large number of them when we visited these parts. There was an excellent battery consisting of twenty-two 22-calibre cannons, all on naval mounts, in Kayakakoua [Kaleakekua] near the northern landing of the bay, and two small copper mortars located in front of Princess Keohoua's house. . . . There were also several cannons, of which we could not learn the number, located on the beach of Kohaihai [Kawaihae].¹¹⁵

About 1812, Kamehameha sent cannons, obtained from traders, to Kawaihae Bay to be mounted under the charge of John Young. Marion Kelly notes that about 1816, Gov. John Adams transported seven guns from Kawaihae to O'ahu, probably for the use of the fort there. Apple states that by 1819 Young had installed twenty-one ship's guns on the foundations of Mailekini Heiau, where they guarded the king's residence nearby as well as the harbor.¹¹⁶ As de

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.

Freycinet neared the anchorage of Kawaihae on his journey in August of that year, he "saluted the Sandwich Islands flag with eleven guns, which were answered in equal number by a battery mounted on shore near the royal residence."¹¹⁷ The exact number of guns on the *heiau* is unclear. De Freycinet says later that, upon landing to pay his respects to King Kamehameha on the beach, he "advanced in the direction of the King, who grasped my hand with cordiality and told me, through M. Rives, that he would salute me with seven guns."¹¹⁸

Jacques Arago also talked about Mailekini Heiau, stating that

Immediately below this monument [Pu'ukoholā] is a fort, pretty regularly built, and mounting twenty-two guns. It commands the town and the bay; and although surmounted itself by the *morai*, there is no danger of an enemy's attempting to possess himself of this height, so great is the reverence of the people for the religion of their fathers.¹¹⁹

This description implies that some type of construction work was involved in setting up this "fort," although the extent of these modifications is unclear. According to Arago, the fortifications at Kamakahonu in Kailua consisted of "twenty odd guns of small caliber, protected by casemates, or sheds covered with coconut leaves."¹²⁰ The Reverend William Ellis described the ruined *heiau* of Ahu'ena at Kailua in 1823, noting that after the abolition of the *kapu* system, the governor converted the structure into a fort by widening the stone wall next to the sea and placing cannon on it.¹²¹ When guns were added to Mailekini Heiau, its religious functions moved to a nearby enclosure in the Pelekane area. Arago noted that

the name of Temple is given to a small spot enclosed by a hedge of cocoa-nut tree branches: in the middle are two huts; one of these serves as a residence for the priest, in the other are deposited the offerings with which the idols are presented; these are consecrated, and suspended on the branches of a banana-tree planted in the enclosure, or from the top of a high pole.¹²²

The extent of the garrison at Kawaihae is unclear. Arago describes the fortifications at Kamakahonu, stating they were manned by five or six warriors, without uniforms and carrying guns on their shoulders, whose sentry duty consisted of pacing from one end of the fortifications to the other. Their "tour of duty" lasted fifteen minutes.¹²³ Kamehameha had a good-sized military contingent at Kawaihae, according to de Freycinet:

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.



Illustration 49. View south over burials in disturbed northern section of Mailekini Heiau platform, taken by J.F.G. Stokes in 1906. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 50. Burials at north end of Mailekini Heiau. NPS photos, 1989.

The monarch was already awaiting me on the beach; he was dressed in the full uniform of a captain in the British Navy. . . . The King . . . had his principal officers a little behind him; some of them wore magnificent red and yellow feather cloaks; others wore cloaks of scarlet cloth. Others again wore shorter capes of the same style. . . . Some wore helmets. A fairly large number of soldiers, scattered here and there, lent an air of great variety to this strange picture because of the odd and irregular fashion of their uniforms. No order, no uniformity of appearance and movement existed amongst them; each one carried his gun as it was convenient to him or as it was most comfortable.¹²⁴

Some of the king's soldiers must have been manning the fort in order to fire the salute to de Freycinet.

3. Historical Descriptions

a) Reverend William Ellis, 1823

In 1823 the Reverend William Ellis, after viewing Pu'ukoholā,

visited Mairikini, another heiau, a few hundred yards nearer the shore. It was nearly equal in its dimensions to that on the summit of the hill, but inferior in every other respect. It appeared to have been literally crowded with idols, but no human sacrifices were offered to any of its gods.¹²⁵

No explanation is provided for his assumption that there had once been many idols at Mailekini Heiau. If taken literally, his description implies that there was some physical evidence of this, either in the form of numerous niches or of a few remaining images. It is interesting to note that Ellis stated in regard to Ahu'ena Heiau in 1823:

The idols are all destroyed, excepting three, which are planted on the wall, one at each end, and the other in the centre, where they stand like sentinels amidst the guns, as if designed by their frightful appearance to terrify an enemy.¹²⁶

The relationship between Mailekini, Pu'ukoholā, and Hale-o-Kapuni heiau is unclear, either in terms of a physical or ceremonial connection. Whether human sacrifices took place at Mailekini in the pre-European contact period is unknown. Perhaps Mailekini was in some way connected with the shark *heiau*, with human sacrifices being made at Mailekini and the bodies then being deposited in the water for the sharks to devour. Hale-o-Kapuni appears also to be an ancient structure. Hawaiian mythology as recorded by Fornander and presented in the section on Pu'ukoholā history indicates that a *heiau* on Pu'ukoholā was the site of a sacrifice during the time of Lonoikamakahiki. It is generally assumed that this refers to a *heiau* on top of the hill predating

124. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819*, p. 14.

125. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, p. 73.

126. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819*, p. 118.

the present one rather than to Mailekini. Possibly Mailekini, if not actually used for human sacrifices itself, was connected in some way with rituals at the temple on the hill.

b) John Kirk Townsend, 1834-37

John Kirk Townsend, a naturalist visiting Hawai'i between 1834 and 1837 collecting natural history specimens, also stopped to see Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini. He described the latter as the place to which the bodies of dead chiefs were carried prior to interment. There they lay in state for a certain period of time, according to their rank, before their flesh was stripped off and tossed into the sea and their bones deposited in caves or subterranean vaults.¹²⁷ Presumably he was told this by a native guide or other local informant.

4. Later Descriptions

a) John F. G. Stokes, 1906

Stokes described Mailekini as being probably older than Pu'ukoholā and affected by more internal changes, particularly recent burials in the north end of the interior.¹²⁸

b) Thomas Thrum, 1908

In his *Hawaiian Annual* for 1908, in which he compiled a list of *heiau* sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands, Thomas Thrum described Mailekini as being 270 by 65 feet in size, with a low perpendicular wall in front, a heavier, sloping one in back, and no internal features except graves.¹²⁹ Little is known about these graves that appear to have been added around the turn of the century. Located primarily at the northern end of the interior area, many have been disturbed, possibly due to exhumation of remains for reinterment elsewhere.¹³⁰ A local resident, Solomon Akau, remembered going to Mailekini in the early 1920s with his great-grandmother to decorate a grave, although he did not know whose it was.¹³¹

c) Deborah Cluff et al., 1969

Although Lyons mapped Mailekini Heiau in 1853, the only detailed description and mapping of its features is presented by Cluff et al. as a result of their 1969 survey work prior to construction

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'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, in park files, p. 9.

of the Kawaihae small boat harbor. Their observations in full may be found in that document; the following general remarks are taken from their work:

The site is bordered on the mauka (east), north, and south sides by a high, massive wall (1), the top of which is paved with small, water-worn basalt and coral rocks. . . .

The makai [seaward] side of the heiau is bordered by a low wall of well patinated rocks of various shapes, sizes and textures. . . . Whereas the north, south, and east walls are very high and massive, the west wall is low. . . . It probably derives from a separate period of construction from the other sides. . . .

Between the makai wall and the interior platform of Mailekini is a ditch. . . . Whether or not this feature functioned as a ditch is uncertain. . . . Another possibility is that this section was so constructed, or altered, when the heiau was converted into a fortress with the installation of cannon by John Young in the early 19th century. . . .

The interior of the site can be roughly divided into three areas: the south, central, and north sections. . . . The south sector consists basically of a dirt floor which slopes downward toward the center. . . .

Abutting on the south wall are two mounds. . . .

The remains of a small enclosure . . . are found in the southeast corner. . . .

Primarily, a long concave pavement covering the natural terrain forms the central section of the heiau. . . .

Feature 12 is a line of stones found while clearing the rubble. This could be an indication that a structure once stood at that spot. . . . Three possible graves were found in the central section of Mailekini. . . .

The northern part of Mailekini is the most disturbed area.¹³²

Eleven possible grave sites not shown on Lyons's 1853 survey but noted by Stokes in 1906 were documented during this survey within the temple platform area – two in the southern section, three in the central portion, and six in the northern section. The contents of two of the burial chambers had been removed, either through vandalism or for reburial. Both features contained wooden coffin fragments. The characteristics of all grave features indicated late use (historic period) of the *heiau* by local residents as a burial ground:

132. Cluff et al., *Archaeology of South Kohala*, pp. 54, 57-60, 62, 64.

Normally such activity in a temple area was taboo, but it seems that whoever buried the corpses in this heiau was sure of the demise of the old Hawaiian gods, and thus, the impotency of the consequences of breaking the sanctity of such a sacred place.¹³³

D. Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau

1. Shark Heiau

Submerged just offshore below Mailekini Heiau are the ruins of what is believed to have been another temple, which local lore relates was dedicated to the shark gods. The ancient Hawaiians believed in animal helpers and protectors, half god and half human, who relayed their counsels through the lips of some medium who became for the moment possessed by their spirit. These 'aumakua were served and worshipped by particular families, this duty being passed down through the generations. Martha Beckwith points out that "On the coast, sharks are the particular object selected for veneration."¹³⁴

In her discussion of 'aumakua, Beckwith states that sometimes specific individuals are worshiped, such as particular sharks that are recognized as individuals and are expected to calm the seas or provide bountiful catches for their keeper, and sometimes all the species of a class are venerated as being representative of the 'aumakua.¹³⁵ She quotes Joseph S. Emerson as saying that each locality along the coast of the islands had a "special patron shark whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance were well known to all frequenters of that coast."¹³⁶ Shark gods were invoked with specific prayers, and temples were erected for their worship. According to Emerson there were several well-known shark gods worshiped at various places in the islands. Among these were *Uukanipo*, two great sharks who were twin brothers, and another called *Kaaipai*, all of whom lived at Kawaihae. The first two lived at *Kamani* and were regularly fed. When the king wished to see them, their keeper hung two bowls of 'awa from a forked stick to attract them. *Kaaipai* was kept by a couple living at *Puako* in Kawaihae who often went hungry because the taro plant did not grow there. Their shark would capsize boats carrying food and take the cargo to his cave. He would then appear in a dream to the couple and tell them where to find it.¹³⁷

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.

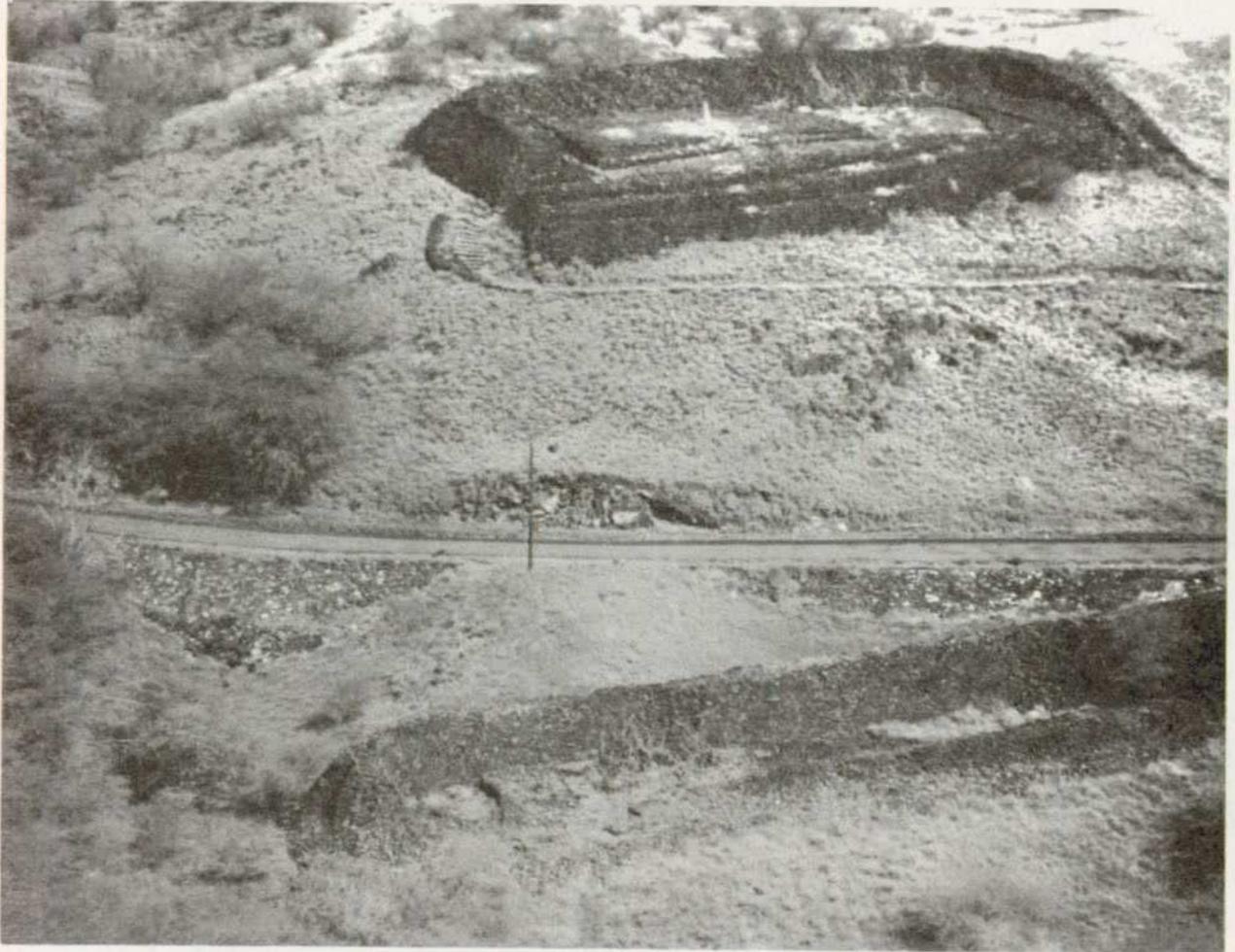


Illustration 52. Aerial view of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau. Date and original source of photo unknown, possibly ca. 1970.



Illustration 53. Cultural remains at Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS. Top left: walled enclosure, Pelekane area. Bottom left: beach trail. Top right: learning sone. Submerged site of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau in water offshore. NPS photos, 1989.

2. Historical Descriptions

a) Abraham Fornander

Fornander mentions Hale-o-Kapuni in connection with the legend of Lonoikamakahiki's battles as being a camping spot "immediately below the temple of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini at Kawaihae."¹³⁸

b) Theophilus Davies, 1859

Theophilus Davies arrived off Kawaihae in 1859, passing in the water beneath a "sacred enclosure" about twenty yards square and formed by a massive stone fence five feet high (probably Mailekini Heiau). A large stone formed its altar, he said,

and here the bleeding victims were placed before the gods until they became offensive, when they were carried to a heap of stones in the ocean (a little to seaward of our boat) and devoured by the sharks, the supposed deities.¹³⁹

The reader assumes from this description that Davies actually saw a pile of rocks in the water. This *heiau* is identified on Jackson's 1883 map.

c) Oral Tradition

The presence of Hale-o-Kapuni is well known to local inhabitants:

When the tide was real low, big boulders use [*sic*] to come out, and it's all build [*sic*] up of big boulders see, so you know it's man made. And around the side area is all deep and it's anywhere's [*sic*] from low water mark 5 feet. About 8, 9 feet when high water mark. . . .

It was built under water purposely. . . .

It's all sand around so that time when the University kids came I told him you go get the spear, poke it all over. When shallow it means the heiau, when he get deep it's off the heiau. They found it right outside there. . . .¹⁴⁰

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.

An informant pointed out to Marion Kelly the location of the *heiau* structure, now covered by silt washed off the coral stockpile area nearby.¹⁴¹ Anthropologist Lloyd Soehren stated that, as children, older residents of the area remembered seeing the *heiau* rising about two feet above the water. One person remembered a channel leading into a larger area within the temple where the bodies were placed for the sharks.¹⁴²

This area is known to be frequented by sharks, perhaps as a result of having been lured there in ancient times. This *heiau* has never been located or documented through underwater archeology. Tidal wave activity and the silting resulting from harbor construction activities have covered any features in this area. One Kawaihae informant stated that during World War II, amphibious equipment landed in the water and on the beach and may have obscured or scattered remains of the *heiau*.¹⁴³

E. Stone Leaning Post (Leaning Rock of Alapa'i, Alapai'i's Chair, Kamehameha's Chair)

Pohaku o Alapai ku palupalu mano, "the rock of the chief named Alapa'i of the one who puts the human shark bait out," originally stood in the shade of a large keawe tree on the shore below Mailekini Heiau. Historian Russell Apple has stated the object was actually more of a leaning rock because the early Hawaiians did not sit in chairs as Europeans do but sat on the ground. The stone was set into a concrete footing in 1935; a truck that backed into it in 1937 broke off the top. It was restored by the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club for the dedication of the national historic site in 1972.¹⁴⁴ During that process, the rock was moved more into the open but farther back from the sea. It is now in three pieces and stands on a foundation.

One early account said that King Kamehameha sat there while his staff compiled the tally of the latest fishing expeditions, and that somewhere near the stone might have been the spot of Keoua's murder.¹⁴⁵ Apple states that although referred to as Kamehameha's Chair, the rock is by local tradition more closely associated with one of Kamehameha's staff chiefs named Alapa'i Kupalupalu Mano who liked to use human flesh for shark bait and watched from this point as sharks entered Hale-o-Kapuni to devour the food offerings put out for them. Apple points out that the rock's location would be ideal for observing activities in the water around the *heiau*. He also notes that catching sharks was a sport indulged in by high chiefs and conjectured that perhaps

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'ukoholā 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.

the animals were conditioned to rotten flesh in the offshore temple so that they could be enticed with it into the deeper water and easily noosed.¹⁴⁶

F. Pelekane (King's Residence)

1. Significance

"Pelekane" refers to the ancient royal compound on the shoreline immediately northwest of Mailekini Heiau. The word is a Hawaiianization of "Britain" or "British," and according to some Hawaiian informants the name was given to the area because it was thought that John Young and Isaac Davis murdered the high chief Keoua here as he landed on the shore below Mailekini Heiau for the dedication of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.¹⁴⁷ The area consisted of the royal residence and probably some housing for other members of the nobility that comprised the royal court. It is important then, not only as the residential site for generations of Big Island ruling chiefs, but as the site of the murder of Keoua and Kamehameha's assumption of the kingship of the Hawaiian Islands. It was reportedly here that Liholiho agreed to share the profits of the sandalwood trade with his high chiefs if they would agree to his ascension to the throne.

2. Historical Descriptions

a) Louis de Freycinet, 1819

Pelekane was also the landing spot for foreign ships, such as de Freycinet's, during the European contact period. De Freycinet visited the new king, Liholiho, in residence at Kawaihae after his father's death. He described the royal house as

but a grass dwelling 10 to 12 feet long and little less in width; the flooring was padded with mats, as is the custom in the Sandwich Islands. Considering everything, one could not compare this royal habitation to anything better than the shepherds' huts of certain provinces in France, built for the purpose of occasional shelter.¹⁴⁸

b) Jacques Arago, 1819

Jacques Arago was less generous in his description of the same:

A miserable hut, built of straw, from twenty-five to thirty feet long, and from twelve to fifteen feet broad, the entrance to which is by a low and narrow door; some mats, on which several half-naked giants are reposing . . . two chairs . . . walls

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.



Illustration 54. Pelekane area, showing stone features. NPS photo, 1989.

made of cocoa-tree leaves, well sewed together; the roof made of sea-weed, much neglected . . . such is the palace of the monarch of the Sandwich Isles. . . . An immense number of soldiers armed with muskets, walking rapidly backwards and forwards in front of this noble dwelling, to the sound of a bell, which one of them rings at intervals; some guns pointed towards the sea, and a flag hoisted on the top of a long pole, indicate the residence of a King.¹⁴⁹

c) Madame de Freycinet, 1819

Madame de Freycinet, who accompanied her husband on his journey, kept a journal as well as writing many letters about their experiences. She briefly describes some of the other structures in the royal complex at Kawaihae, first noting that the king

awaited Louis [her husband] on the beach, opposite his home. . . . His wives were not far away, under a sort of shelter, built near the shore. . . . He [Liholiho] then proposed a glass of wine which was accepted; but which had to be taken by going to another hut distant about a gunshot from the other, and which without question was the eating house. . . . My husband having gone to take his leave from the King, returned to the house of the Minister [William Pitt, Liholiho's Prime Minister], which was close to the beach. . . .¹⁵⁰

d) L. I. Duperrey, 1819

L.I. Duperrey of the de Freycinet expedition drew the king's residence and related structures on the beach, even showing the lanai or "light shed" under which the king's wives reposed. These structures are referred to as "Maisons du Roi" in the compound area shown on his map "Plan de la Baie de Kohai-hai" made in 1819.

e) Miscellaneous Resources in Area

Illustration 44 (ca. 1889) shows a rather large structure west of Pu'ukoholā standing in the shade of several coconut trees on the beach. It appears to be some sort of shelter or enclosure – possibly part of the royal compound? A local informant mentioned that in the Pelekane area, around the coconut trees, stood a fairly large beach house that he thought had been built for King

149. Arago, *Narrative*, pp. 89-90.

150. Houston, "Madame de Freycinet in Hawaii – 1819," p. 26.

Kalākaua, constructed in a manner very different from most Hawaiian homes.¹⁵¹ (David Kalākaua became king in 1874.)

A spring, "Waiakane," reportedly exists in the water about fifty feet offshore a little south of Mailekini Heiau. This may be the spot mentioned by Ellis as a favorite bathing place of the local residents.¹⁵² Other sites Soehren mentions in the Pelekane area include an old marine railway, several pictographs, stone fences surrounding modern house lots, a concrete-lined well that once served the Kawaihae area (possibly the spring named Waiakapea on Jackson's 1883 map), and an old charcoal oven, consisting of a low concrete dome about eight by twelve feet with a door facing the sea.¹⁵³ A local informant said that this "kiln" (Illustrations 55 and 56), constructed with a burnt coral and lime plaster, was built by a Japanese man, lori, who cut wood in this area with the permission of the Parker Ranch.¹⁵⁴

The trail that passes through Pelekane on toward Spencer Beach Park is part of the old, six-foot-wide King's Trail encircling the island.¹⁵⁵

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 Hawaii*, 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'ukoholā 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'uho'oua o Hōnaunau 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.

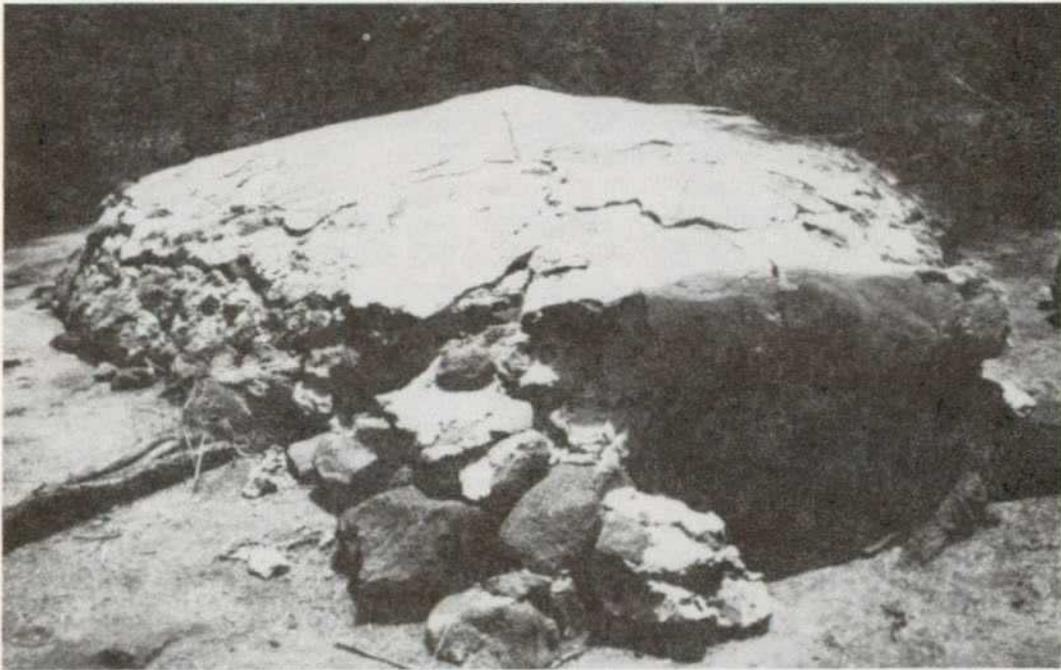


Illustration 55. Door of charcoal oven in Pelekane area.



Illustration 56. Side view of charcoal oven in Pelekane area. NPS photos, 1989.

In the 1920s the Parker Ranch constructed a wagon road through the Pelekane area past Mailekini Heiau to a charcoal kiln inland of 'Ohai'ula Beach, where Spencer Beach Park is now located. This used to be a toll road for locals who found it provided easier access to the beach than the shoreline trail. The collier, the afore-mentioned lori, evidently built a second, improved road later, leading over toward the pavillion at Spencer Beach Park.

Fishermen and some hog raisers also moved into the area, living by the 1930s and 1940s along the beach in raised, temporary huts thatched with grass or coconut supplemented with odd bits of lumber, with tin or iron roofs and lanais, and with small fishponds in between. People also came just for the weekend, including wealthy *haole* (whites), who erected boat houses and dry-docked their boats in the area of the coconut trees. The marine railway must have been built about that time for repairing these boats. This occupation resulted in a variety of junkyards, fences, pig pens, and abandoned refuse in the area, most of which has been cleaned up. In the 1960s a concrete mixing plant stood immediately inland of Pelekane. Surplus liquid concrete resulting from the cleaning and flushing of the delivery trucks each day flowed down into the Pelekane area and can still be seen today.¹⁵⁶ Only a few trees mark the Pekelane area, which is surrounded by *kiawe*. Seeds of that plant arrived in the islands in 1828; its dense, thorny growth has obscured the platforms and stone walls delineating the former palace grounds. (*Kiawe* is now managed by prescribed burns to reduce growth and clear the historical scene.)

G. Stone Walls Associated with Pu'ukoholā Heiau

Early photographs show stone walls veering seaward from the northwest and southwest ends of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Reportedly some of these stones were used in construction of the county road running between Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau. Walls that appear to be delineating boundaries appear on George E. Gresley Jackson's 1883 map of Kawaihae Bay. A.B. Loebenstein's 1903 map of Kawaihae shows these walls also. Kamakau mentions that Kamehameha occasionally retreated to the "tabu district of Mailekini below Pu'ukoholā."¹⁵⁷ Perhaps these walls outlined that sacred district. Or, Marion Kelly surmises, they might have been built as cattle enclosures.¹⁵⁸

As mentioned earlier, during his stay at Kawaihae, the Reverend William Ellis enjoyed a "refreshing bathe" in some warm springs a short distance south of the two *heiau*. He described the springs as rising on the beach a little below the high water mark. At low tide the water bubbled up through the sand and filled a small cistern constructed of stones piled close together

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.



Illustration 57. "King's Trail," portion from Kawaihae to Kiholo, n.d. Photo from C.S. Bond Trust, Kohalo, Hawai'i. Courtesy Hawaii Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.



Illustration 58. Concrete batch plant on state land in Pelekane area; Pu'ukoholā Heiau in background. Photo by Bob Wenkam, 1969. In NPS Pacific Area Office files, Honolulu.

on the side towards the sea, creating a small bathing place.¹⁵⁹ Local informants mention a similar structure, or Queen's Bath, in the area of Spencer Beach Park. In an area called Puhapahaleumiumi, where Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife, used to live, and which was restricted to the use of women, was a round stone cistern six feet in diameter in which Ka'ahumanu used to bathe. It was reportedly not the same place as the warm spring. Nearby lay the stone walls or foundations of Ka'ahumanu's house. A tidal wave has since destroyed this bathing area.¹⁶⁰ Whether or not this area was included in the boundaries delineated by the stone walls of Pu'ukoholā Heiau is unclear.

H. World War II Military Remains

A tank road runs through the Pelekane area that was used for transporting tanks from the harbor to the Pohakuloa maneuvers area on the slopes above. There are also within the national historic site foxholes or gun emplacements from this period. Archeologist William Bonk, conducting surveys in North and South Kohala, mentioned finding a roughly circular, walled enclosure that could have been either a fisherman's shelter or a small gun emplacement, "many of which were constructed along this coast during World War II."¹⁶¹ (Recent archeology in connection with road surveys indicates some C-shaped structures were World War II "home guard" rifle pits.)

I. Other Resources

Soehren found a number of other cultural features in the area of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. These include house platforms paved with water-worn pebbles, stone wall enclosures (goat pens?), stone fences surrounding house lots, grave sites, and house site delineations.¹⁶² Numerous stone walls, thought to be cattle enclosures dating from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, are visible along the road to the visitor center. The number of cultural remains left indicates that a dense population once lived in this area.

Illustration 75 is an undated photo believed to have been taken possibly as early as the 1880s. The large church on the right-hand side of the picture appears to be standing on a ridge somewhere above present Spencer Beach County Park. This may or may not be within the

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'ukoholā Heiau are found in Soehren, "Selection of Site Descriptions," pp. 60-64.

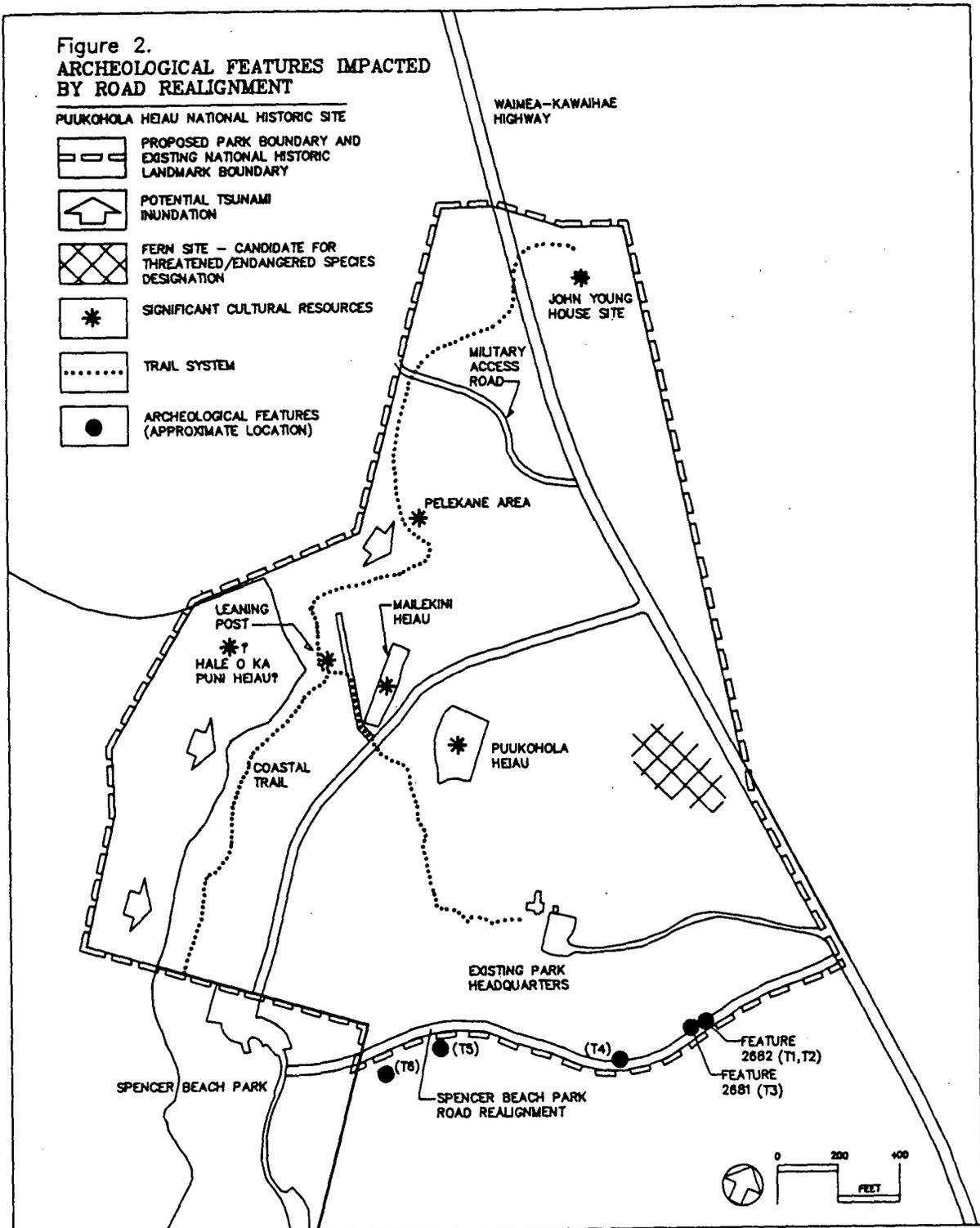


Illustration 59. Drawing of important features within Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS. Figure 2 in Carter, *Archeological Excavations of Six Features*, p. 3.

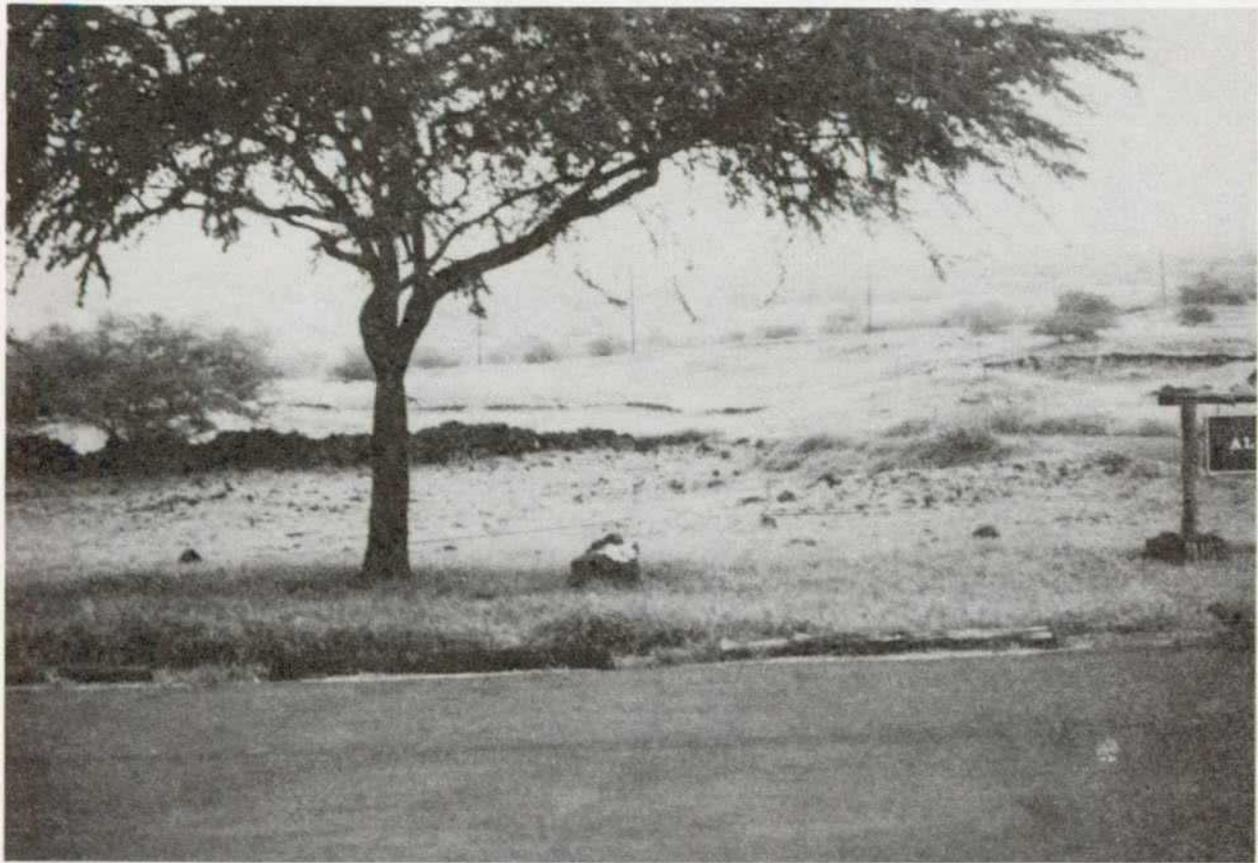


Illustration 60. Example of later stone wall features within Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS – possibly animal exclosures. NPS photo, 1989.

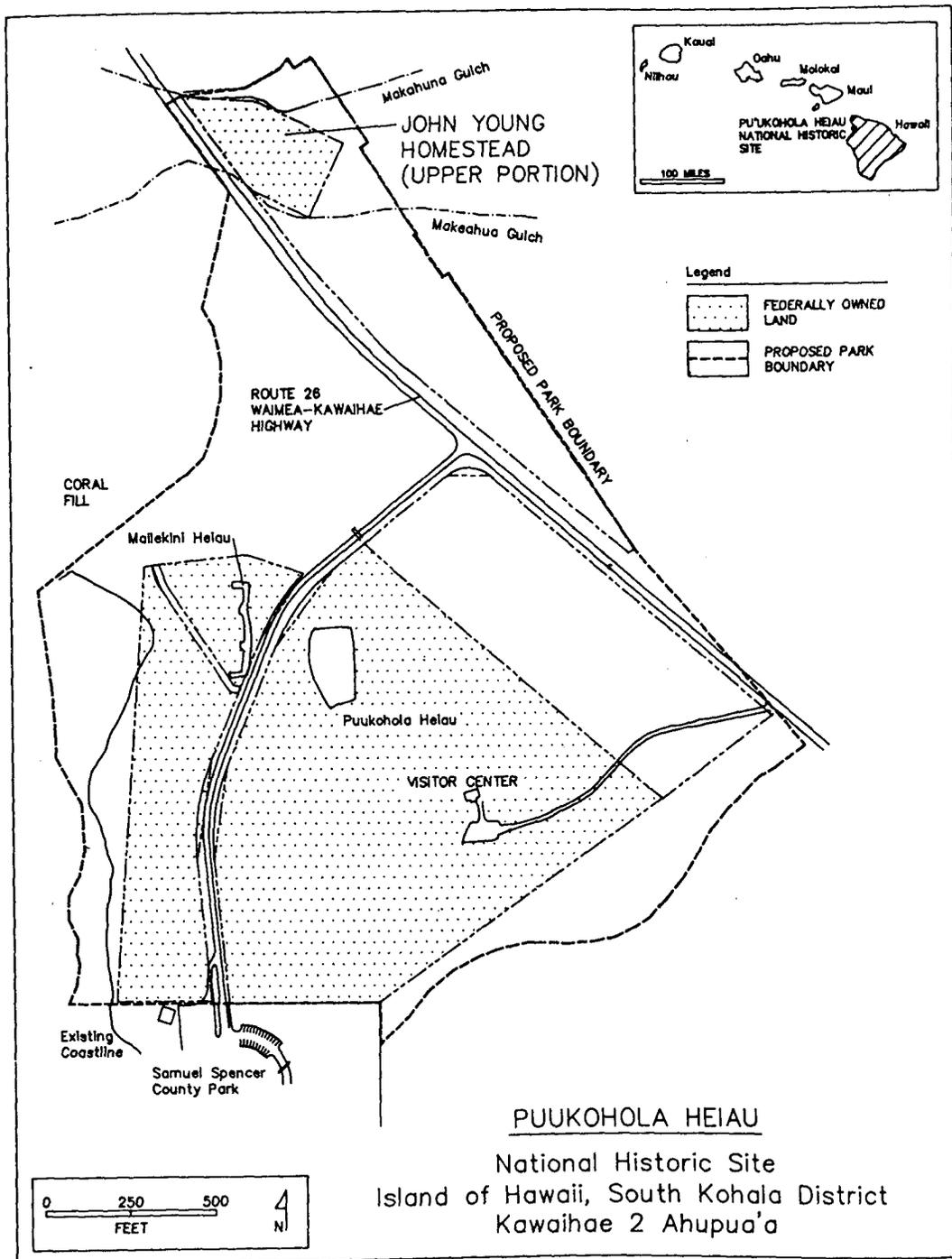


Illustration 61. Location map of John Young homestead (upper portion). Figure 1 in Rosendahl and Carter, *Excavations at John Young's Homestead*, p. 2.

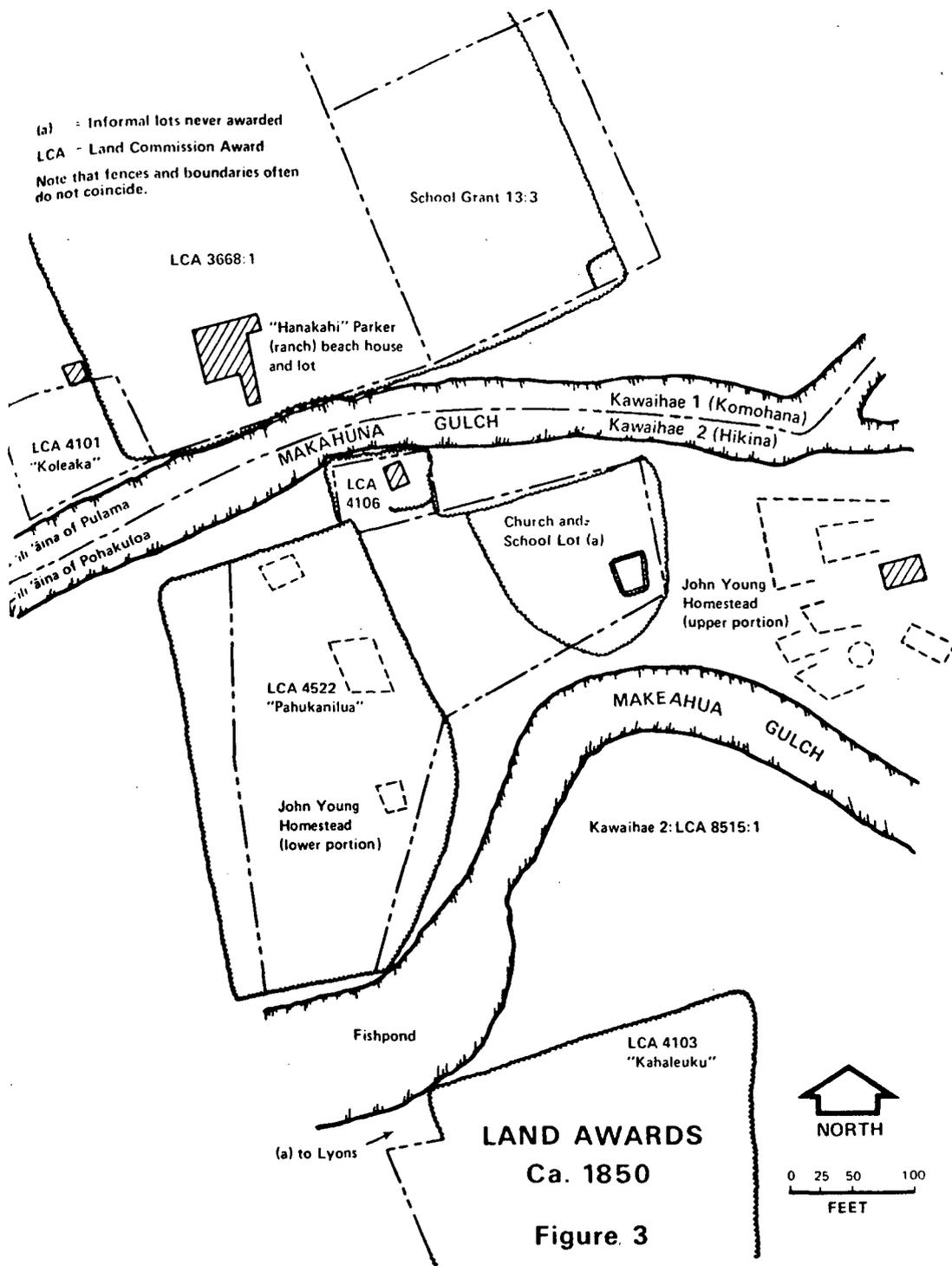


Illustration 62. Land awards in area of John Young homestead, ca. 1850. Figure 3 in Apple, *Pahukanilua*, p. 13.

present park boundaries. A structure does appear in this location on Jackson's 1883 map, but it is not identified. Clara Whelden, in her description of Pu'ukoholā Heiau noted earlier, stated the temple was near a church, but did not elaborate further on that structure.

J. John Young Homestead

1. Lands Given to John Young by Kamehameha

John Young received properties from Kamehameha in accordance with the ancient custom of a victorious chief distributing conquered lands among his loyal supporters for services rendered.¹⁶³ After the battle of Nu'uānu on O'ahu, further land distributions were made, including the *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae 2 (East Kawaihae) to Young. Sometime prior to 1827, a segment of Kawaihae 1 was included in Young's property in recompense for the murder of one of his men by an agent of the king.¹⁶⁴ The lands given to prominent early foreigners such as Young, Davis, and Don Francisco de Paula Marin were generally acknowledged to belong to them in as full and legal a sense as the king's land belonged to him.¹⁶⁵ In the early 1820s the Reverend Tyerman noted that "Mr. Young occupies so much land that his contribution [taxes to the king for use rights of the land] amounts to a hundred dogs per annum."¹⁶⁶

Young's Hawai'i Island property included three estates at Waiakea in the Hilo district and one in Puna district. These properties were scattered, as were those given to other high chiefs, as Kamehameha sought to impede the possible consolidation of a rival's resources. In addition to having a residence in the area of Kamehameha's court at Kealakekua Bay for his use when conducting business there, Young established a permanent residence on his plantation at Kawaihae. At the time of his death, Young possessed twenty-nine estates on Hawai'i Island, five on Maui, one each on Lana'i and Moloka'i, and two on O'ahu. His possession and use of these lands continued to be endorsed by succeeding rulers after Kamehameha's death, with more formal legal recognition of the family's interest in these lands resulting finally from the *Mahele* of 1848. Although Young had died by the time of that land division, his property was awarded to his wife and children, including the children of Isaac Davis that he had adopted. According to Apple, "Young's service to Kamehameha was considered to be so great that Young's heirs did not have to pay commutation for their mahele awards."¹⁶⁷

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 Bennet, *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.

2. Kawaihae Land Divisions

One of the *ahupua'a* Kamehameha gave his prime minister Kalanimoku, who has been mentioned previously in connection with the early history of Kawaihae, was that known as Kawaihae Komohana, now referred to as Kawaihae I. This became Kalanimoku's principal residence and he its resident chief. Upon his death in 1827, the throne reclaimed his property, which became a part of the crown lands. The Young family homestead was Kawaihae Hikina (Kawaihae 2), containing Pu'ukoholā Heiau.¹⁶⁸

The boundary between Kawaihae Komohana and Kawaihae Hikina underwent various changes. When these lands were first awarded to Kalanimoku and John Young, both were good friends and both in the service of Kamehameha. At that time the boundary between the two properties lay along Makahuna Gulch, which carried a considerable amount of water. At some time during this period, a staff chief under Kalanimoku murdered a staff chief loyal to Young. As compensation, Kalanimoku suggested moving the boundary to add a considerable portion of his land to that of Young. Accordingly the boundary moved north to Kauhuhu Gulch, also a flowing stream most of the time. By the 1870s, however, the functional local boundary had reverted to the traditional one of Makahuna Gulch. Older residents who cared having died, and memories of the earlier agreement having faded, the boundary was formally changed back to Makahuna Gulch in 1903.¹⁶⁹

3. Pahukanilua

a) Boundaries

Little information on Young's homestead has been found, with only a few references in his unpublished diary and in the writings of foreign visitors. Other data comes from boundary commission reports of the kingdom and archeological survey work.

According to Menzies, by 1793 both Young and Davis had received plantations from Kamehameha on which they were raising hogs and vegetables.¹⁷⁰ Pahukanilua, fronting Kawaihae Bay a short distance north of Pelekane, comprised the sacred residential area of the high chief John Young and his family, just as the latter was the site of the sacred enclosure of the Kamehameha family.¹⁷¹ Young's homestead there historically included two portions: a lower one that lies outside the present park boundary and is covered with dredged coral fill from harbor construction activities and an upper one, owned by the National Park Service, containing the ruins of his last permanent home.¹⁷²

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 Pōhakuloa, which was the northernmost *'ili 'aina* of Kawaihae Hikina. Pahukanilua is the place-name that referred in 1848 to the lower portion of Pōhakuloa on which Young's house stood, and it is assumed it

b) Lower Portion

Land Commission Award testimonies in connection with the *Mahele* in 1848 indicate that Young lived on the lower portion of his homestead in 1795, evidently moving higher up the slope within the next few years.¹⁷³ Young's second wife, Ka'oana'eha, continued to live in a Hawaiian-style house, although its precise location is uncertain. As will be discussed later, some structures built in the traditional style were constructed around Young's house on the upper portion of his homestead, but whether his wife moved up there or continued to live in the beach area is unclear. This author favors the latter theory, both because she tended to follow traditional Hawaiian customs and lifestyles and on the basis of the 1828 description by Mrs. Judd that follows.

A local informant, William Akau, stated that his great-grandmother told him that a building near the beach in which he had played as a child had been the house of Queen Emma, the high chiefess Emma Rooke, granddaughter of John Young through his daughter Fanny. The house was located on the current site of a coral crushing operation, its foundation having been buried when the reef was dredged and the coral stockpiled. According to Akau, this was a two-story building, about seventy-five by fifty feet, with steps inside leading to an upper story. Its foundations were of stone, mud, and grass. Kelly theorizes this may have been the ruins of Young's old house in which the missionary wife Laura Judd stayed. Its location corresponds to the site Jackson designated on his 1883 map as "John Young's old house." Its connection with Queen Emma is uncertain, although according to Apple, Emma collected rent for a house in the lower portion of Pahukanilua in 1861.¹⁷⁴

Queen Emma's mother, Fanny Kekela Naea, owned a residence at Lahaina, Maui, but also maintained one at Pahukanilua, shown as "Fanny Young's HS" on the A.B. Loebenstein 1903 map of Kawaihae. Tradition holds that Queen Emma was born at Kawaihae – a ca. 1889 photograph of the beach area at Pahukanilua (Illustration 63) shows a grass-thatched house identified as that in which Queen Emma was born. Could this have been Ka'oana'eha's native-style house, and perhaps the earliest home of the Youngs? The structure appears in another

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 Pōhakuhoa 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 Pōhakuhoa 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'uano 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 retrodde 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.



Illustration 63. Kawaihae grass house often referred to as Queen Emma's birthplace. Photo attributed to W.T. Brigham, 1889. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

picture (Illustration 43) that shows its position relative to Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Apple notes testimony presented in 1848 during application for a Land Commission Award that mentions five houses and planted areas in Pehukanilua, on property originally belonging to Olohana (John Young), that now belonged to Ka'oana'eha and her companion Puna.¹⁷⁵ Structures historically in the Young enclosure in Pahukanilua were gone by the 1950s when harbor dredging operations took place.¹⁷⁶

c) Upper Portion

(1) Early Maps of Homestead

The earliest map identifying the site of John Young's house is that of L. I. Duperrey, made in 1819, which shows a "Maison de Young" on the first set of ridges overlooking Kawaihae and the bay, some distance north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The 1883 George Jackson map delineates in better detail a "ruin, Young's house," above Makahuna Gulch, and "John Young's old house" at the foot of Makahuna Gulch.

(2) Young's Accounts of Construction Activities

Young's diary records the construction of permanent structures on the upper portion of his property beginning in 1798 with the importation of coral blocks from nearby reefs that were burnt and mixed with sand, poi, and animal hair to form mortar and plaster. Young describes constructing three Western-type buildings on this bluff: his residence, a cookhouse and storage room, and a house for the children and their guardians. He also constructed a storage house "near the small temple" (Mailekini Heiau?). He noted that this higher location was more suitable than the lower elevation, which had been subject to flooding from a ravine, possibly Makeahua Gulch.¹⁷⁷

Young recorded in March 1799 that he had plastered all the houses and whitewashed fences around his animal pens. A mention of leaks in that year might suggest that his mortared and plastered buildings were covered with thatched roofs. His diary notes only a few other improvements, such as another cookhouse built in 1809 and a shelter or lanai evidently attached to one of the houses in approximately 1817.¹⁷⁸

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.



Illustration 64. Kawaihae landing, showing two-story adobe structure. Photo attributed to A.A. Montano, ca. 1882 (Monsarrat Collection). Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

(3) Description by Isaac Iselin, 1807

Young entertained Isaac Iselin, supercargo on the *Maryland*, and some companions at his home in 1807, Iselin noting that "Mr. Young occupies several stone buildings, which are the best (save those of the king, built on the same plan but now shut) I have seen in this island."¹⁷⁹ Alexander Ross, clerk on the *Tonquin*, during a stop at the islands in 1811, recalled that Governor John Young,

received us kindly, and with every mark of attention peculiar to an Indian Chief; showed us his wife, his daughter, his household, and his vassals – a strange assemblage of wealth and poverty, filth and plenty. . . . He is now about sixty years of age, shrewd and healthy . . . but more Indian than white man.¹⁸⁰

(4) Descriptions by Crew of *Rurick*, 1816

Naturalist Adelbert Chamisso aboard the *Rurick* stated about 1816 that "From out at sea, we could see the European built houses of John Young towering above the grass shacks of the natives."¹⁸¹ Otto von Kotzebue, commander of the ship, from Kawaihae Bay noticed the barren appearance of the land but noted an oasis of sorts, "Young's settlement of several houses built of white stone, after the European fashion, surrounded by palm and banana trees. . . ."¹⁸² De Freycinet, who visited an aging and ill John Young in 1819 and discussed with him Liholiho's political difficulties following the death of his father, found him in his house

at the top of a small hill that overlooks the village of Kohaihai. It was built of stone and was well ventilated and sanitary.

.....

this family, thanks to Tamehameha's good graces, lives here in plenty: they possess several stone houses and considerable land on Owhyhi as well as on the other islands.¹⁸³

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.

(5) Description by Arago, 1819

Jacques Arago adds further information:

The house of Mr. Young is unquestionably the most considerable, or rather the only passable one at Toyai. It is situated on an eminence, whence the prospect extends to a great distance over the sea, and towards the interior of the island. . . . On a hill opposite to that on which the house of Mr. Young is built, there is a very large *morai* [Pu'ukoholā Heiau]. . . .¹⁸⁴

(6) Description by Laura Judd, 1828

Although most visitors viewed Young's small complex as far superior to the nearby native huts, as least one visitor preferred the latter. Laura Fish Judd, wife of Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, who arrived in Honolulu in 1828 with the third missionary company, was among several of this group entertained by John Young at his Kawaihae home:

He [Young] had married a native woman of rank, has a fine family of sons and daughters, and is considered a chief. He lived in a dirty adobe house, adorned with old rusty muskets, swords, bayonets, and cartridge boxes. He gave us a supper of goat's meat and fried taro, served on old pewter plates, which I was unfortunate to see his servant wipe on his red flannel shirt in lieu of a napkin. . . . We were sent up a rickety flight of stairs to sleep. I was afraid, and requested Dr. Judd to look around the room carefully for concealed dangers. . . . Sleep was out of the question; I was afraid of the wind . . . and got up at midnight, and went down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat and comfortable. . . . She lives in native style. . . .¹⁸⁵

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.



Illustration 65. Left half of stereoscopic ambrotype identified as "first house of stone built by John Young during time of Kamehameha I in Kawaihae." Photo by A.A. Montano, ca. 1882 (Monsarrat Collection). Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Illustration 66. Right half of stereoscopic ambrotype identified as John Young's Kawaihae residence. Photo by A.A. Montano, ca. 1882 (Monsarrat Collection). Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

(7) Missionary Descriptions

The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons stayed with Young on his way to man the mission station at Waimea. He and his companions "took lodging in a native house with Mr. Young. . . ." ¹⁸⁶ Which structure he is referring to is uncertain. Either of Young's stone houses would have been more substantial than the common "native" style. In a later (1871) published reminiscence of this trip to Waimea, Lyons recalled that "The grayheaded old man, Mr. Young, received us kindly into his stone house with thatched roof. The house still stands but in dilapidated state and unoccupied." ¹⁸⁷ Sereno Bishop, visiting the Lyonses at Waimea in 1836, stated that he had enjoyed the hospitality of the "aged" Mr. Young at Kawaihae, although this visit must actually have taken place at the end of the previous year, shortly before Young's death. Bishop recalled that

A coffin was suspended under the ridge of the house. It was the old chief's [Young's] habit, whenever he went to Honolulu, to provide himself with a new coffin, in order to be so far in readiness for the change which was approaching. I trust that he was otherwise not unprepared. ¹⁸⁸

Illustration 65 is purportedly a picture of the Young homestead. If so, the structure seen near the beach below it might be either his old house as shown on the 1883 map or the ruins of the Reverend Lyons's home. The other view of the ruins (Illustration 66) shows the Kawaihae Church in the background to the right. ¹⁸⁹ Illustration 67 is supposedly a picture of the house ruins ca. 1920.

(8) Use of the Homestead After Young's Death

In 1853 George Washington Bates visited Kawaihae and noted that Young's house was still standing and tenanted by a district judge, a former teacher at the Oahu Charity-School. ¹⁹⁰ It is probable that this house was not utilized immediately after Young's death, its furnishings being distributed among family members and the structure closed. In fact, Apple surmises that the entire upper portion of the homestead was probably abandoned in 1835. Under a program of Land Commission Awards that lasted from 1846 to 1855, certain small pieces of land within *ahupua'a* such as house lots and garden plots were given formal boundaries and awarded to their tenants.

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.

The still-occupied lower portion of the John Young homestead was awarded in this way, making its ownership not only legally distinct from the *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae Hikina surrounding it, but separating it completely from the abandoned upper portion of the homestead.¹⁹¹

The early maps show a lot for a church between the upper and lower portions of the Young homestead. It is believed this was the location of a church/school building from about 1834 to 1859, a location that would have required Young's approval as resident chief and possessor of the land. The earliest grass church there was replaced in 1843 with a larger stone-walled structure. The last Congregational church in Kawaihae was built in 1858 in a different location, on a hill farther north overlooking the bay and was razed in 1959.¹⁹² William Akau's great-grandmother told him that the ruins known today as those of John Young's house were once a Catholic school. Kelly suggests a Catholic school might have occupied the upper homestead structures after Young's death, when a pro-Catholic governor of Hawai'i Island, Kuakini, was in power.¹⁹³ Apple found no evidence of a Catholic presence at Kawaihae or specifically in this area, although John Young II might have permitted a Catholic school in the vacant Young homestead structure.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps this question is related to the tenancy of the house by the former schoolteacher whom Bates noted in 1853.

The only other structure shown on maps of this area during Young's time period is the house of the Reverend Lorenzo Lyons, used when he visited Kawaihae to preach or to catch a boat to leave the island. Young must also have authorized his residence.¹⁹⁵ A fishpond existed in the Pahukanilua area from about 1819 through 1848, fed by the fresh waters of Makeahua Gulch, with access to salt water and fish via a sluice grate. This would have been of the *loko wai* type, producing mullet and milkfish.¹⁹⁶ (See Duperrey 1819 chart, Illustration 27.)

Upon the death of John Young, the crown confirmed the retention of Young's lands by his heirs. Apple points out that "This was royal recognition as early as 1834 that certain people and families had gained some interests and rights in lands assigned them for service to the crowns of the Kamehameha dynasty."¹⁹⁷ From 1835, the year Young died, until her death in 1850, Young's wife remained resident chiefess of Kawaihae 2, probably continuing to reside on the lower portion of the homestead where she had lived since her marriage. Title then passed to John Young, Jr., who left it to his niece, Queen Emma. At her death in 1885, the *ahupua'a* passed to the trustees

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.

of the Queen's Hospital (now Queen's Medical Center). They, in turn, donated acreage to the National Park Service to enable establishment of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site.¹⁹⁸

4. Structural Remains

a) Upper Portion of Pahukanilua

The John Young complex, situated on a low ridge north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, consists of the surface remains of eight major structural features. The ruins are bounded on the west by state highway 26, by Makeahua Gulch on the south and Makahuna Gulch on the north, and on the east by an old quarry. The grouping consists of five Hawaiian-style (constructed using traditional Hawaiian construction techniques) features and three Western-style (non-traditional) structures. The former include terraces, platforms, pavements, and a stone mound of dry-laid masonry, while the latter comprise standing walls or remnants of walls built of stones set in mud mortar and covered with coral lime plaster. All these remains lie at the seaward end of the ridge; quarrying activity *mauka* may have destroyed more features at that end.¹⁹⁹ Excavation of Western-style Structure 2 took place in 1978 under the direction of NPS Archeologist Paul Rosendahl, formerly of the Bishop Museum.

A brief description of the remains on the upper portion of the John Young homestead follows:

Hawaiian-style Feature 1: This is a stone platform built on a large terrace (approximately forty-three by fifty-two feet) that comprises the northwestern portion of the site. The platform surface is divided into unequal sections paved with waterworn basalt pebbles (*'ili'ili*) in the central area and with a combination of these and larger flat stones elsewhere. This feature is thought to be related to residential use, the platform probably being the foundation and floor of a pole and thatch structure.²⁰⁰

Hawaiian-style Feature 2: This large paved terrace (approximately twenty-three by thirty-three feet) is paved with *'ili'ili*. Several possible postholes are present. This is also thought to be a residential feature, possibly a working or eating area covered by an open-sided shade or other shelter structure on wooden posts.²⁰¹

Hawaiian-style Feature 3: This low stone platform seaward of and below Feature 2 lies on the southwestern corner of the site next to Makeahua Gulch. The surface of this platform (approximately twenty-three by twenty-nine feet) is paved with flat stones, except for the southern corner, which is defined by a stone alignment. This is thought to be either a residential or burial feature.²⁰²

198. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

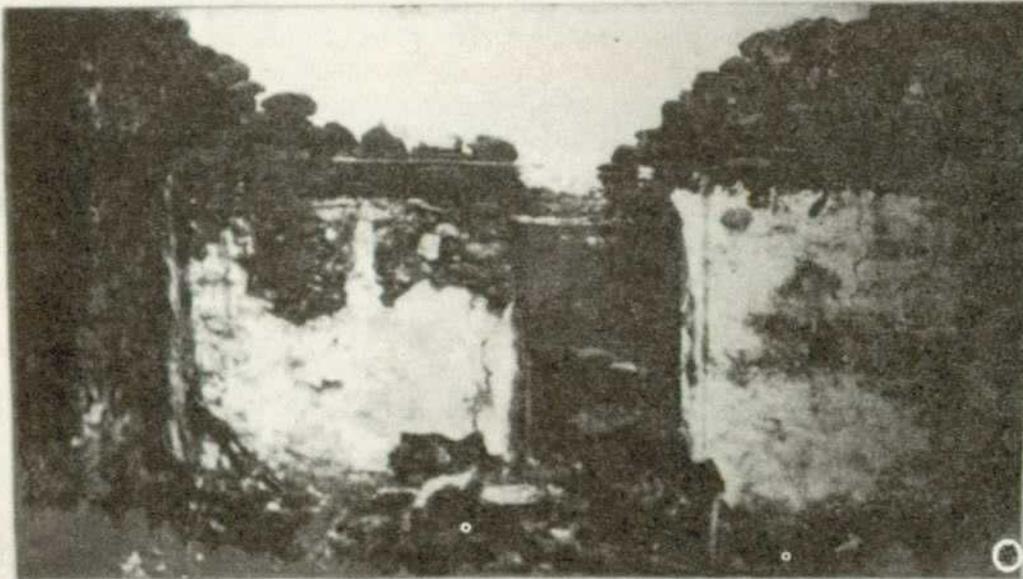
199. Rosendahl and Carter, *Excavations at John Young's Homestead*, p. 11.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

201. *Ibid.*

202. *Ibid.*

W. F. Wilson, photo



RUINS OF JOHN YOUNG'S HOUSE, KAWAIHAE, HAWAII

Illustration 67. Ruins said to be those of John Young's house, ca. 1920. Photo by W.F. Wilson in Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands*, facing p. 48.

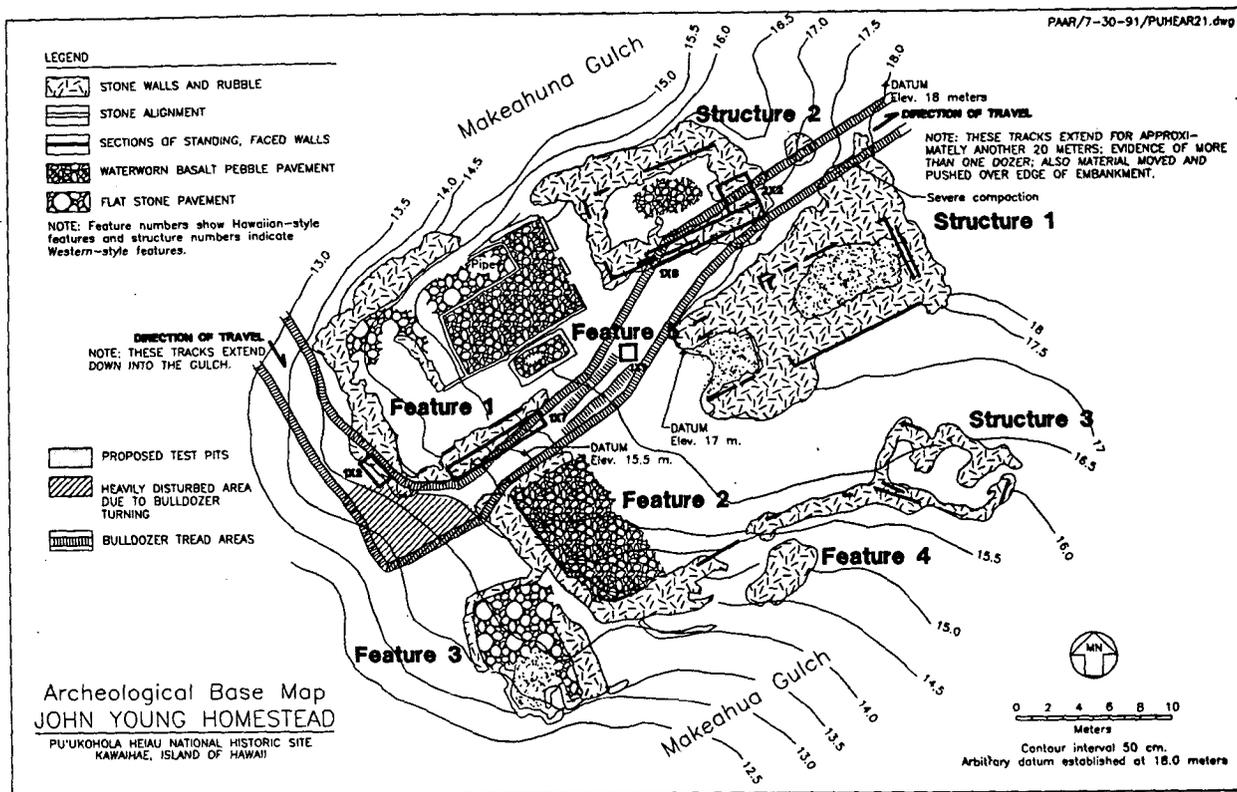


Illustration 68. Archeological base map, John Young homestead, 1991. In NPS Pacific Area Office, Honolulu.

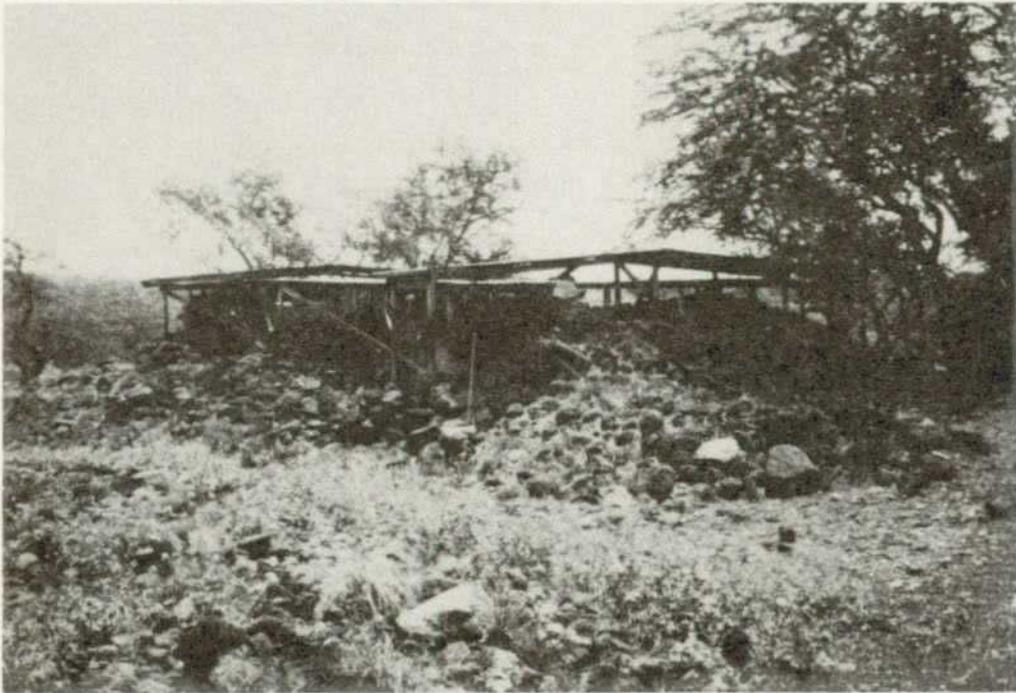


Illustration 69. Western-style Feature I, John Young homestead. NPS photo, 1989.

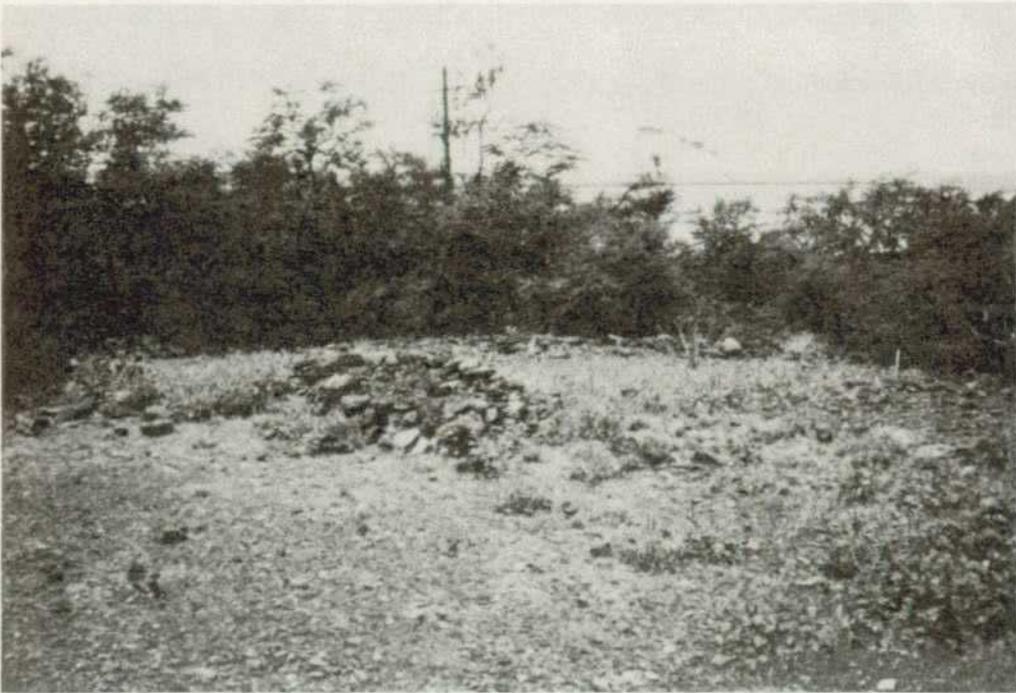


Illustration 70. Site of Hawaiian-style structures, John Young homestead. NPS photo, 1989.

Hawaiian-style Feature 4: This is a low mound of cobblestones (approximately eight by sixteen feet) on the southeast edge of the site. Because many of the stones appear to have been exposed to fire, this feature might have been an earth oven, or *imu*.²⁰³

Hawaiian-style Feature 5: This stone platform (approximately seven by thirteen feet) abuts the platform of Feature 1 on the southeast. Paved with *'ili'ili* and containing a shallow depression in its center, this is thought to be a burial feature added sometime after abandonment of the complex on Young's death.²⁰⁴

Western-style Structure 1: This is the most prominent structural feature in the complex, comprising a large, rectangular, stone-walled enclosure in the center of the site. It measures approximately twenty-one by forty-nine feet overall. Its walls are constructed of rough stones laid in mud mortar covered on the interior and exterior surfaces with coral lime plaster. Existing walls are about four feet high. The interior of the structure appears to have been paved with *'ili'ili*. Because of its size and prominence within the complex, this is thought to have been John Young's principal residence.²⁰⁵

Western-style Structure 2: This consists of the remains of another large, rectangular, stone-walled enclosure northwest of Structure 1. Measuring approximately twenty-one by thirty-four feet, this structure also had walls of unmodified stones laid in mud mortar with plastered surfaces. The central interior floor was of *'ili'ili*.²⁰⁶

Western-style Structure 3: Located downslope and southeast of Structure 1, this rectangular, stone-walled enclosure (approximately sixteen by twenty-eight feet) is similar to Structure 2, but in very poor condition. Its walls were constructed in the same manner as those of 1 and 2.²⁰⁷

Portable artifacts recovered during archeological excavations at this site from both interior and exterior areas of structures and the general surface area of the site included traditional Hawaiian items as well as introduced Western goods. The former comprised such things as tools and ornaments made from local materials, while the latter included such items as metal and shell buttons, gun parts, nails, hardware, a stone writing slate, glass bottles and beads, and ceramic tableware.²⁰⁸

In interpreting their findings, the archeologists believed that the "cook house and storage room" Young was building in 1798 actually comprised two separate structures, with Structure 2 serving for storage. Excavation of that ruin produced a variety of glass, ceramic, and metal items for both

203. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 15.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

205. *Ibid.*

206. *Ibid.*

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 18.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 49.

personal and utilitarian use. No evidence was found supporting the building's use for cooking.²⁰⁹ No other archeological data exists to interpret the function or use of the other structures and features in the complex. The remains of what appears to have been an earth oven (Hawaiian-style Feature 4) may be the cookhouse Young referred to. Western-style Structure 3, because it is built in a style consistent with the main house, could have been a residence for the children and their "guardians." Hawaiian-style Feature 2 could have supported the *malu* (shelter) constructed in 1817. If Young's wife's native-style structure was on the upper portion of the homestead, it could have been Hawaiian-style Feature 1, which shows construction techniques consistent with traditional Hawaiian practice.²¹⁰

The NPS has stabilized the larger Western-style structure on site with supporting walls and has covered it with galvanized roofing to protect the exposed plaster.

b) Lower Portion of Pahukanilua

Marion Kelly notes a site west of the coral stockpile area and north of Pelekane, on the north side of the old road and a short distance from Waiakapea Spring consisting of the ruins of a stone fence surrounding a house lot. The lot contains at least one house platform, with possible traces of others, and a possible grave site. Rubble and waterworn pebbles are scattered about. This appears to correspond with the site labeled "John Young's old house" on Jackson's map.²¹¹

K. Significance of Resources Within Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site

1. Establishment of the National Historic Site

In June 1929 the Order of Kamehameha unveiled a bronze plaque commemorating the site of the temple of Pu'ukoholā, the first formal commemoration of its importance in Hawaiian history in modern times. Pu'ukoholā was designated a national historic landmark on June 10, 1966. Finally, on August 17, 1972, the President of the United States signed Public Law 92-388 (92nd Congress, H.R. 1462) authorizing establishment of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site. This unit of the National Park Service contains some outstanding cultural resources of great significance to the Hawaiian people.

Pu'ukoholā is one of the most famous *heiau* in the islands because of its historic connections with Hawaiian social, political, and religious systems. Its importance is due especially to its association with King Kamehameha, the leader who molded the Hawaiian Islands into a unified political, social, and cultural entity. The national historic site also includes the Mailekini and submerged Hale-o-Kapuni heiau, the ancient royal courtyard of Pelekane, and other evidences of early Hawaiian occupation, such as prehistoric and historic house sites and grave sites and standing and buried ruins of other features of human occupancy.

209. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

211. Kelly, *Listen to the Whispering Sea*, p. 62.

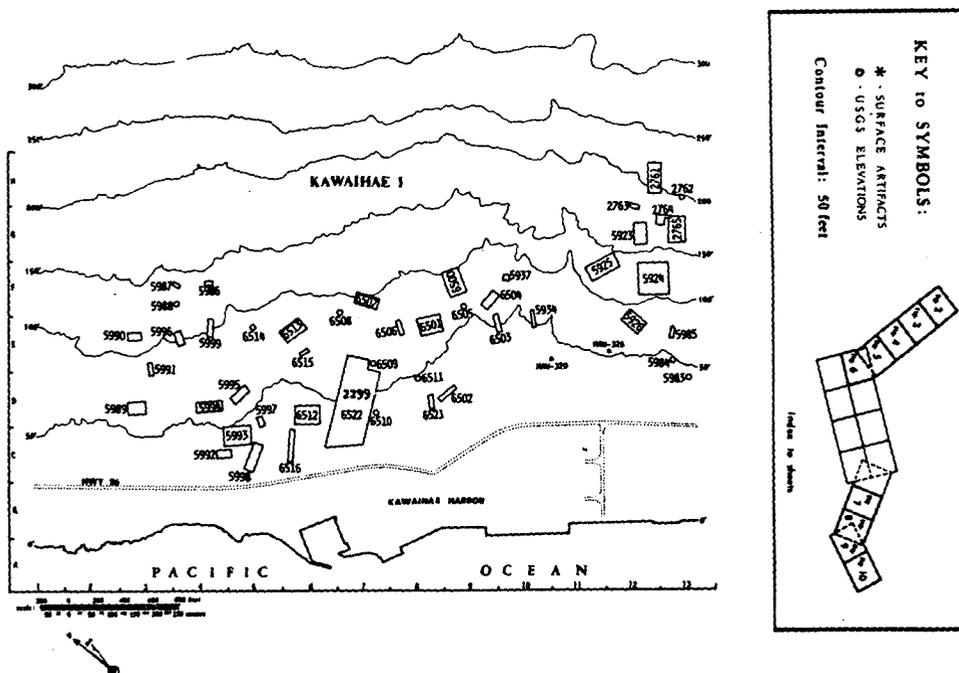


Fig. 2. LOCATION OF SITES IN KAWAIHAE 1. (Contours show elevation above mean sea level.)

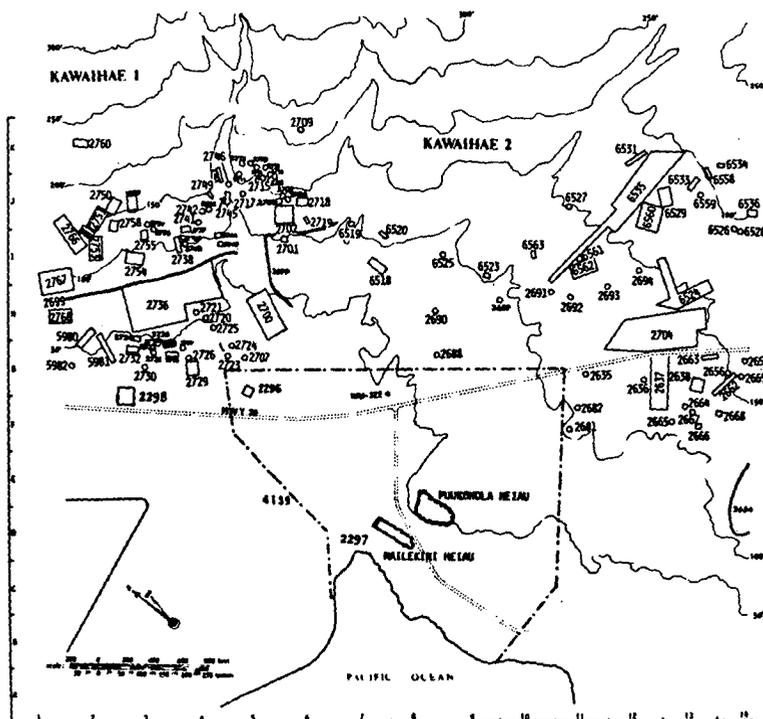


Fig. 3. LOCATION OF SITES IN KAWAIHAE 1 AND 2. (Contours show elevation above mean sea level.)

Illustration 71. Location of archeological sites in Kawaihae 1 and 2. Figures 2 and 3 in Barrera, "Archaeological Survey of the Waimea to Kawaihae Road Corridor," pp. 5-6.

Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini are among the largest and most conspicuously located of the remaining *heiau* ruins on Hawai'i Island and are also the most accessible. They are especially interesting because references to them and to activities in Kawaihae and the surrounding area exist in both ancient Hawaiian mythology and in historical documents. Another extremely important component of the site is the homestead of John Young, the English advisor to Kamehameha who was instrumental in the latter's rise to power and continued thereafter to promote the interests of the Hawaiian people in every way he could.

The variety of resources present makes the park an ideal location in which to interpret Hawaiian religious practices, architectural styles, construction techniques, political activities, and lifestyles, in both prehistoric and historic times. The purpose of designating the area a national historic site was to preserve a vignette of both prehistoric and historic Hawai'i through restoration and stabilization of selected historical features and their settings.²¹²

2. Pu'ukoholā Heiau

The two most impressive structures, and the ones most visible upon entering the park, are the *heiau* platforms of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini. Pu'ukoholā is considered the most important structure associated with the founding of the kingdom of Hawai'i by Kamehameha. According to tradition, its construction was originally undertaken to invoke the help of Kū-ka'ili-moku, Kamehameha's war god. The temple attained more power and accelerated Kamehameha's ascendancy to the throne when, due to a set of fortuitous circumstances not yet completely understood, its first sacrificial victim proved to be Kamehameha's chief political rival. Probably religious activities ceased at Pu'ukoholā upon the abolition of the ancient religious system in 1819, and its platform structures were destroyed at that time.

The west coast of Hawai'i Island contains some very historically significant *heiau*, such as Hikiau at Nāpo'opo'o; Ahu'ena at Kailua; Hale-o-Keawe at Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau; and Mo'okini farther north up the coast in Kohala District, one of the first *luakini* built by the high priest Pa'ao. Pu'ukoholā is one of the most imposing of these ruins and is considered the last major *heiau* constructed on Hawai'i Island and in the entire chain.²¹³ It is also significant as a type specimen of a *hale o Ka'ili*, a temple associated primarily with the feathered war god Kū-ka'ili-moku.²¹⁴

Pu'ukoholā Heiau is considered a highly significant cultural site because it is the only structure in the islands *directly* associated with the founding of the Hawaiian kingdom. It is the spot from which Kamehameha, having established his supremacy by the sacrifice of his chief rival on the temple altar, launched his final successful effort to conquer the rest of the Hawaiian Islands.²¹⁵

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.



Illustration 72. View toward coral stockpile from Pu'ukoholā. Mailekini Heiau lies halfway down the hill and the site of Hale-o-Kapuni is beyond, in the water near shore.



Illustration 73. View to north along platform of Mailekini Heiau.



Illustration 74. View to south along platform of Mailekini Heiau. Note disturbed burial area at north end. NPS photos 1989.

3. Mailekini Heiau

Mailekini's time of construction and early use are conjectural because its time of major significance was during the prehistoric period when records were not kept – during the early period of warfare between the chiefs of Hawai'i Island and between them and the rulers of the other islands in the chain. It appears to have been one of the primary temples of the ruling chiefs of Kohala and was thus, in addition to being a significant religious and political symbol, a highly-sought-after prize for rival powers. Historical documentation indicates that little if any religious activity took place at Mailekini during the historical period. Its use in conjunction with religious activities at Pu'ukoholā has been hinted at but never substantiated. In the early 1800s Kamehameha ordered it fortified to protect the royal residential area and the militarily strategic bay at Kawaihae. The precise date of dismantlement of the structure is not known, although, as noted earlier, there is an indication that in the year 1816 some of the cannon were removed by Gov. John Adams (Kuakini), who was instructed to take seven "great guns" from Kawaihae to O'ahu.²¹⁶ Years later, around the turn of the century, the local populace began using Mailekini as a cemetery.

4. Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau

The submerged *heiau* site of Hale-o-Kapuni is a tantalizing resource because its presence is suggested both by Hawaiian oral tradition and by local informants as well as by very scant statements by some early foreign visitors. Any remains of the structure are assumed to be buried under silt resulting from harbor construction activity. This site would be very significant in the cultural history of the area, but to date the precise extent of its remains, the period of its use, and the rituals connected with it are unknown. Traditionally thought to have been dedicated to the shark gods, its significance would lie in its illustrating a different kind of deity worship than that at Pu'ukoholā, one concerned with placating the *'aumakua* spirits. It is thought to also predate Pu'ukoholā, but its relationship to that structure and to Mailekini is unclear.

5. John Young Homestead

The John Young homestead is a significant part of the story of the development of modern Hawai'i, for Young was responsible for much that occurred, and the directions its leaders took, in its formative years. Historian Russell Apple states that the homestead of John Young is nationally significant because of its association with a man and events important in the founding and early decades of the Hawaiian kingdom. It is also significant as the place of origin of a chiefly Hawaiian family.²¹⁷ John Young took part in, or witnessed, every event of social, religious, and political significance from Kamehameha's rise to power through his establishment of the Hawaiian kingdom, a period spanning the years 1790 through 1820.

During that time he functioned as Kamehameha's most important military, diplomatic, and economic advisor, in addition to serving as governor of Hawai'i Island. He was responsible initially for providing the technical expertise in the use of firearms and the basics of military strategy that

216. Kelly, *Hawai'i in 1819*, fn. 49, pp. 114-15.

217. Apple, *Pahukanilua*, p. 6.

enabled Kamehameha to conquer his enemies and unify the Hawaiian Islands. Apple has observed that Young, as a transplanted foreigner, had no friends or family connections in the islands and therefore placed his loyalties on the side of his benefactor, the king, from the beginning. He was entrusted by Kamehameha with resources that in the hands of native chiefs could have been amassed and turned against the king. These resources over which he had charge included warriors, agricultural lands, and military and naval equipment and stores. Young's second marriage, to a niece of the king, further strengthened their ties.²¹⁸

After establishment of the kingdom, Young, as Kamehameha's chief economic advisor and business agent, supervised the regulation of Hawaii's commercial intercourse with the world, directing all the special economic ventures of the king, such as the sandalwood business, facilitating foreign trade by acting as liaison between sea captains and the Hawaiian government, and ensuring fair treatment for all parties. Young's home became an important social and business center, a focal point of activity in the early years of the kingdom. There he entertained visiting sea captains, traders, explorers, foreign dignitaries, and missionaries. Socializing mixed with serious discussion as much of the governmental foundation for the kingdom was laid. Young even mentioned that in the earliest days, "The great one [Kamehameha] comes to use my cook house several times."²¹⁹

Young was instrumental in gaining goodwill and support for the Kamehameha dynasty through sage diplomatic advice to a leader untutored in the political realities of a foreign world. By all these means, Young succeeded in minimizing the difficult and often confusing pressures of acculturation on Hawaiian society. After Kamehameha's death, Young's influence waned, although he continued to be held in high esteem by the new monarch, his adopted countrymen, and European and American visitors until his death. Due to his influence, American missionaries were allowed to land soon after the *kapu* abolition, initiating a strong American influence in the islands that ultimately led to statehood.

The homestead's importance also stems from its architectural significance: it contains the first-known examples of Western-style structures built in the Hawaiian Islands. This group of buildings reflected both European and Hawaiian architectural styles. Although the main house on the upper portion was plastered-over stone with mortar, other houses nearby were of native construction and were possibly where his wife, his children, and their servants lived.²²⁰ Probably the more permanent quality of these structures as compared to the traditional Hawaiian thatched huts appealed to Kamehameha, for Apple notes that later a few Western-style structures were built in some of Kamehameha's various palace complexes – at Kailua-Kona, Honolulu, Lahaina, and Kealahou Bay.²²¹ As early as 1929, talk arose about establishing the Young house and the area around it as "The John Young Park," a plan reportedly favored by the governor.²²² The structural remains of the homestead were included within Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site

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.

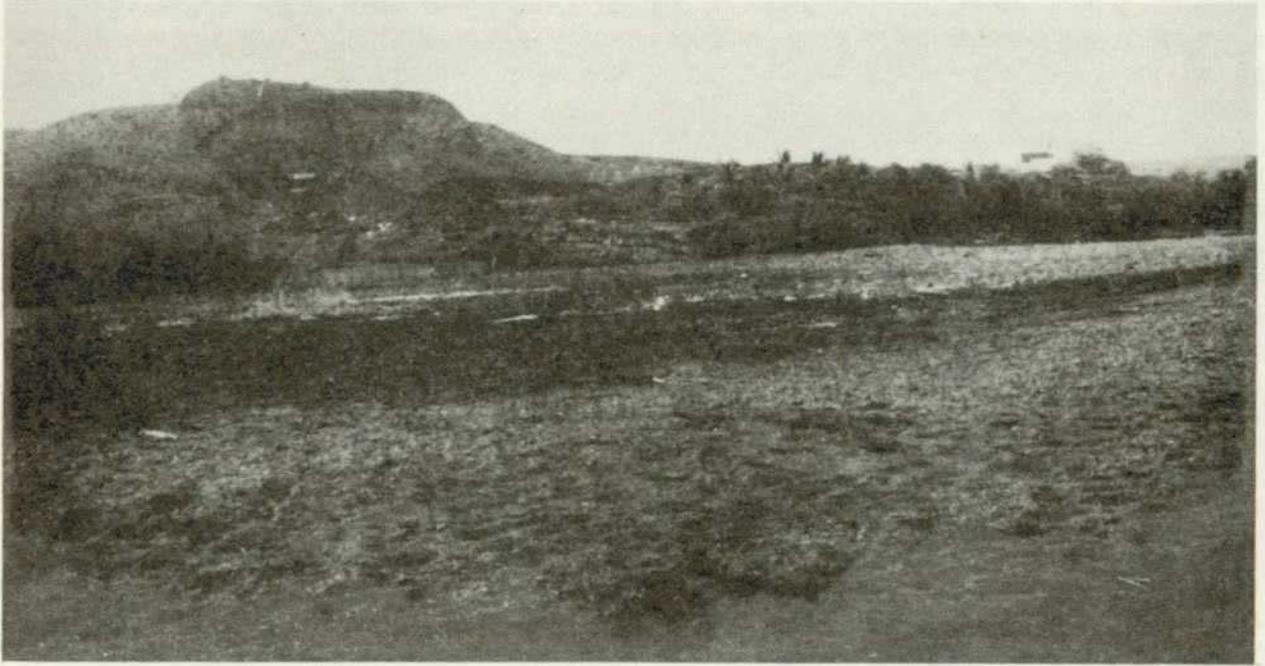


Illustration 75. View to southeast of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau. This undated photo, showing what appears to be a church to the right, might date from the 1880s. Courtesy Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu.

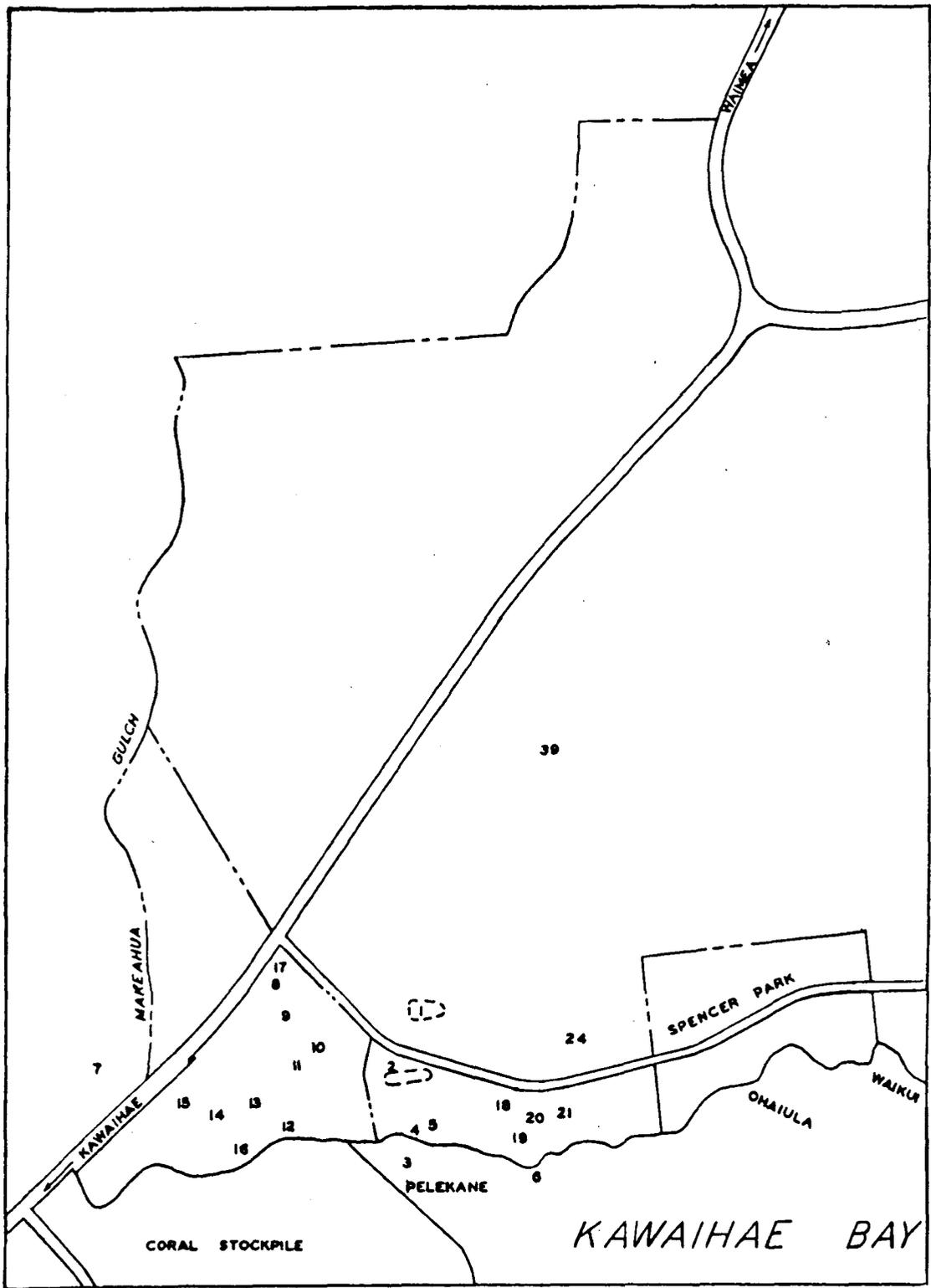


Illustration 76. Sites recorded by Soehren in the vicinity of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Figure 30 in Kelly, "Historical Survey of the Waimea to Kawaihae Road Corridor," p. 64.

in 1972. The complex is also listed in the National Register of Historic Places. It is a unique archeological site related to early Hawaiian history, although much information on it is still lacking.

6. Other Resources

Other resources in the park include a number of archeologically rich sites connected with aboriginal Hawaiian occupation of the area. The only other structures besides the *heiau* within the park that have been found in early pictures include thatched houses in the Pelekane area and the church located to the south near Spencer Beach County Park.

In 1964 Lloyd Soehren conducted a reconnaissance survey of the lands in the vicinity of the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel. His survey, which included the park area, found fishermen's stone-walled shelters or campsites, animal enclosures with fieldstone walls, house floors and platforms, stone-enclosed cultivation sites, an old beach trail, graves, and house lots with artifactual remains. Within the park specifically, he noted, in addition to the three *heiau*, Kamehameha's stone seat, the conjectural location of the Waiakane Spring, the Young homestead, and, in the Pelekane area, house platforms, stone walls, animal pens with stone walls, house floors, modern pictographs, house lots, a concrete-lined well, the possible site of Young's "old house," and an old-style charcoal oven, as well as the old beach trail running along the ocean, a gravesite south of the stone chair, and later house sites in the area along the shore and inland near Spencer Beach Park.²²³ Many of these remains are significant as indications of extensive agricultural activity, especially east and south of the *heiau*. They tend to support the contentions of older local residents that in aboriginal times there were more water, more rainfall, and more springs. The house sites and stone wall enclosures appear to be post-European in date, but evidence of earlier temporary campsites is present.²²⁴

In 1980 Soehren published the results of a survey of a portion of land in Kawaihae 2 extending from the shore inland to the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway and from Waiulaula Stream north to the Waimea-Kawaihae highway. Although not within the park, the features he found are of interest in illustrating the type of activity in the immediate area of the *heiau*. Soehren found agricultural features in the form of garden plots surrounded by stone fences and traces of irrigation ditches, which are thought to have supported sweet potato and watermelon crops until after World War II. He found evidence of habitation sites ranging from temporary campsites, or C-shaped windbreaks, to fenced house lots supporting temporary houses. Soehren suggests that some of these windbreaks in the area, of which there are many on the Kohala slopes, might have been used by the work force building Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Soehren also found military foxholes (or rifle pits) from World War II in the area, characterized by low fieldstone walls, C shapes, and floors about a foot deep. Several lie on the slopes back of Spencer Beach Park, but most are along the high ridge on the north side of Waiulaula Stream. In some cases the military adapted aboriginal features to this use. The remains of temporary houses found were probably used by upland

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.

families journeying to the ocean to make salt and to dry fish. Most of those house sites had been occupied in historical times as well, and some into the 1900s.²²⁵

The analysis presented by Dorothy Barrère relative to archeological findings in the Waimea-Kawaihae area is that early occupation there probably resulted from periodic movements back and forth through the area related to exploitation of upland forest and marine resources. In the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, there appears to have been longer-term seasonal use and perhaps some permanent occupation with limited raising of crops such as plantains, bananas, and taro in small garden plots. In time more intensive agricultural activity began as more land was cleared and residential sites became permanent in the late prehistoric to early historic period. The presence of the royal compound at Pelekane would probably have drawn people to the area and provided impetus for construction of homes and food production. The focus on trade in the late 1840s and early 1850s in the Kawaihae-Waimea area concentrated on increased production of potatoes for a short while. Meanwhile, introduced cattle became a big problem, resulting in the construction of rock-walled exclosures. The settlement pattern here, as shown in early photographs and as suggested by surface remains around the *heiau*, was one of dispersed residential complexes with associated agricultural plots or fields.²²⁶

L. Contributing and Non-Contributing Elements

This national historic site was established to restore and preserve the historically significant Pu'ukoholā temple and the property of John Young (eight features). Other resources in the park identified as contributing to the significance of the site include Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and the submerged site of Hale-o-Kapuni. This writer also believes the stone leaning post on the beach is part of this socio-politico-religious complex because of its traditional association with Hale-o-Kapuni and its function related to the shark-oriented facet of ancient Hawaiian religion. Its precise role in religious ritual in the area and its relationship to the nearby *heiau* is unclear, but it is thought that it is connected with religious activities at this place.

Some caution should be used in dealing with the archeological remains of aboriginal occupation that are found in the area. Some of the earliest features might be important remains of early Hawaiian society; some of the prehistoric shelter sites, for instance, might be linked to activities

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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, on file in the Pacific Area Office, NPS, Honolulu.

at Pu'ukoholā or Mailekini heiau. The beach trail seems to follow the route of the early King's Highway along the Kona Coast and is therefore significant as an indicator of ancient travel and communication networks.

Structures not related to those events that the park was established to commemorate and not considered significant include the county road running between Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau, the utility line and poles, the dirt tank road used by the military to transport military equipment and troops for training exercises at Pohakuloa Military Camp twenty-five to thirty miles inland, the World War II gun emplacements, and the NPS interpretive trail. The historic-period kiln in Pelekane and the historic-period graves, house sites, and other archeological features in the Pu'ukoholā viewshed, although not directly linked to the significant historical events at the site, are important because they provide information on early land use patterns and lifestyles on the island of Hawai'i. The modern oracle tower erected in front of Pu'ukoholā is important because it confirms continuing use of the site as a place of worship.

M. Threats to Resources

The abolition of the *kapu* system and the consequent setting aside of the aboriginal caste system left little meaning to, or need for, the ancient ceremonies in *heiau*. Although, as a consequence, the temples and their images were burned and destroyed and other sacred places lay idle and neglected, it is highly probable that the Hawaiians continued to avoid these early shrines and that "the sense of a *kapu* place continued."²²⁷ As time passed, new generations and other racial groups decided the old superstitions could be disregarded and freely appropriated stones from the structures for other building purposes. Constance Cumming documented the use of *heiau* for building materials for the erection of village churches during the great revivals of 1838 to 1842, for instance.²²⁸ She also noted at one point

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.²²⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century, it was being lamented that "there are no good heiaus near Honolulu, the best of them having been torn down, with extraordinary imbecility, and used for paving streets."²³⁰ Some of these structures were even turned into stock pens. Nor did this type of vandalism cease in an age when people should have known better. It has been said that the stone walls emerging from the ends of Pu'ukoholā Heiau toward the sea, and possibly stones

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.

from Mailekini, furnished some of the building material for the county road running between the two *heiau*.²³¹

Now Hawaiian *heiau* are recognized as important sources of information on early lifestyles and religious practices, and many have been set aside by the State of Hawai'i and other preservation agencies. Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini are very fragile because of the construction method used, involving stacked boulders with no masonry or mortar. They will always be susceptible to natural deterioration, earthquake and construction activity, and overuse by human traffic. Emergency stabilization work was performed on both *heiau* in the 1970s and both structures are now kept clear of vegetation and closed to the public to prevent needless wear and tear on historic fabric.

Highway 26 and the power and water line paralleling it intrude on the park's historic scene. Other threats to the area's visual and structural integrity include the massive waste dump of coral spoil from the Kawaihae deep harbor dredging that lies behind a retaining wall directly in front of the two *heiau*, obstructing the historical view toward the sea and from the water toward the temples; proposed additional development of the harbor area that might impact the Hale-o-Kapuni remains and the Pelekane area; continuing use of the unimproved road within the park boundary running from the shore between the Young homestead and Mailekini Heiau to transport military personnel, vehicles, and supplies; proposed commercial, residential, and industrial land development inland of Kawaihae Harbor near the park boundaries; expansion of camping facilities at Spencer Beach County Park; and potential development south and east of the park by Mauna Kea Properties for resort and residential uses. The old Spencer Beach access road between Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini *heiau* has been closed. The new access road runs south of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and is the south boundary of the historic site.

Threats will always come from unexpected sources. In 1991, county of Hawai'i firefighters driving down through Makahuna Gulch to the highway drove a bulldozer through the John Young Homestead site, missing the main house but damaging parts of others.²³²

N. Management Recommendations

1. Analysis of Pu'ukoholā Heiau

a) Original or Rebuilt Structure

Tradition holds that the present *heiau* on the "hill of the whale" overlooking Kawaihae Bay is located on the site of an earlier temple structure. Folklore centering around one of King Lonoikamakahiki's battles with his enemies on Hawai'i, at Kawaihae, as recounted by Fornander, mentions Mailekini and Haleokapuni and alludes to Pu'ukoholā as a strategic point that the rebels hoped to occupy. There is a brief mention of a temple at Pu'ukoholā, but no physical description.²³³ Fornander makes two references to human sacrifices on the hill. First, he states

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.

that the rebel forces encamped at Haleokapuni, who planned to occupy Pu'ukoholā and shower rocks down on the forces of Lono, "would not ascend Puukohola unless a man on the side of Lonoikamakahiki should be slain; then only would Puukohola be scaled for human sacrifices."²³⁴ He also relates that "This battle of Lonoikamakahiki at Puukohola was named the Kawaluna, because of the night strategy successfully executed by him on that occasion. Kanaloapulehu, having been made prisoner, was killed and laid upon the altar (lele)."²³⁵ We can only surmise that this means the altar of a temple on top of the hill. After winning his battles, Lono conducted religious services at certain temples in thanks and celebration; one of these observances was held at Pu'ukoholā.²³⁶

This prominence is certainly an ideal location for a temple, one that would give such a structure great visibility and significance, factors that would not be overlooked by Hawaiian chiefs from the earliest times. In addition, Kawaihae has always figured prominently in Hawai'i Island history and was a natural location for thriving religious activity and more than the usual number of religious structures. In addition to its high political status as a periodic residence of the king and the royal family, Kawaihae must surely have been respected as the seat of great spiritual power due to the presence of three *heiau* on its shoreline (although probably all three were not in use at the same time). As Stokes pointed out, it is an accepted theory that trained seers, or temple designers, studied ancient temple sites and *heiau* construction details and closely followed the design of those that had brought earlier rulers great success in war and in other endeavors aimed at maintaining the welfare of the people and the power of their rulers. The variety of forms and the individual character exhibited in Hawaiian *heiau*, he felt, was an indication of incorporating various features that were successful in several different temples.²³⁷ Certainly Lono, having won an important battle and sacrificed a rebel leader there, considered Pu'ukoholā a propitious spot, as evidenced by his religious ceremony at the site after his victories over the rebels. This could indicate an earlier temple structure that Lono, as the victor, was reconsecrating and rededicating to his gods, having come into control of all of Hawai'i Island, or it might have belonged to him originally, as a chief of Kohala, and he was merely giving thanks.

Cluff et al., when documenting the features of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, stated that between the first terrace and the pavement area they found a depression or ditch (Feature 9) which appeared to them to be a portion of an earlier *heiau*.²³⁸ There has been no large-scale archeological investigation of Pu'ukoholā Heiau to support or disprove the contention of an earlier structure on the site.

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.

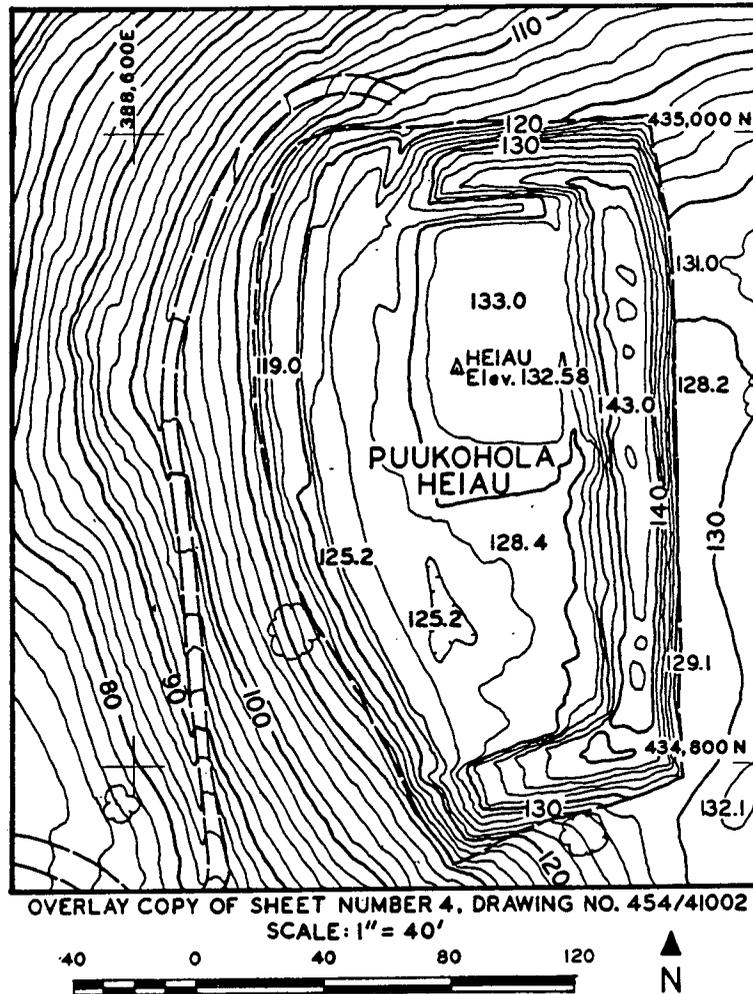


Figure 1. Topographic map of Pu'ukohola showing outline of heiau.

Illustration 77. Map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau site showing how structure conforms to topography of hillside. Figure 1 in Ladd, *Ruins Stabilization*, p. 4.

Dorothy Barrère suggested that this writer check the original Hawaiian text of Samuel Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* to determine the language he used in describing the construction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. This text appears in a newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in a series of articles by Kamakau entitled "Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I." The purpose was to find whether Kamakau used the word "kukulu" or the word "hoala" in referring to the erection of a temple at Pu'ukoholā. It was found that he used the former, which connotes "new construction," rather than the latter which refers to the "reawakening" of an earlier site.²³⁹ So the question remains controversial as to whether this temple was the first construction on site, raised for this particular purpose – Kamehameha's final triumph over his enemies – or whether it was a reconsecration of an earlier temple structure. Without archeological investigation, this question cannot be definitively answered.

b) Extent of Use

Another question that is extremely difficult to address due to the dearth of documentation is that of the *heiau's* extent and duration of use. Dorothy Barrère believes that this structure was erected for the sole purpose of insuring Kamehameha's victory over his enemies and that it was probably not used as regularly as other *luakini* temples after that time. It may instead have been used only on certain highly important occasions related to Kamehameha's wars of conquest.²⁴⁰ She and others have pointed out that after the elaborate ceremonies connected with the building and consecration of a *luakini* for success in a particular enterprise, such as a significant battle, had been completed, it was not unusual for the structure to be abandoned, although its site might be used and reconsecrated many times thereafter. It was traditional for a ruler to maintain at least one functioning *luakini* near his place of residence. During Kamehameha's final years on Hawai'i Island (1812-19), he visited six of them ceremoniously each year: Hikiau in Kona, Punalu'u in Kau, Wahaula in Puna, Kanoa in Hilo, Honuaula of Waipio in Hamakua, and Mo'okini in Kohala. These visits involved reconsecrations of these temples to the major gods to maintain *mana*. In addition, the ruler observed the monthly worship periods in these structures.²⁴¹

Historian Russell Apple, on the other hand, believes that Pu'ukoholā continued to be used for human sacrifices until the *kapu* abolition in 1819. He thinks that the flammable structures on the temple platform were burned at that time or left to rot. Some of the statues were probably hidden.²⁴²

Captain Vancouver reached Kawaihae Bay in February 1794 during a *kapu* period that was to continue for the next week. The king, who had traveled with him from Kealakekua, had to go

239. S. M. Kamakau, "Ka Moololo 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 Mo'okini over Pu'ukoholā 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 Pu'ukoholā 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.

ashore to attend to religious duties.²⁴³ During this time the king and all the provincial chiefs remained in retirement. It seems highly probable that these religious activities took place in or around Pu'ukoholā Heiau. On that same trip, Menzies added that the *heiau* had been built about two years earlier and was still so "strictly tabooed" that his guides would not dare let him view the interior. It was apparently still being used for religious activities, and Menzies specifically mentioned several houses within the enclosure for the priests who were performing the rites associated with the *kapu* ceremonies in effect during the time of his visit. Of course, Kamehameha had not yet unified the islands, and so he might still have been attempting to gain powerful *mana* from veneration at this particular temple. But it also appears it was being used in connection with some of the traditional Hawaiian *kapu* rites.²⁴⁴

By the time de Freycinet visited Kawaihae in 1819, after Kamehameha's death, Pu'ukoholā Heiau was open to his inspection. Jacques Arago, who accompanied de Freycinet, stated in his narrative published in 1823:

I think I have already told you that human sacrifices were still in practice as late as ten years ago [1809]. It was Tammeamah I. who caused the abolition of this barbarous custom. . . .²⁴⁵

He follows this statement with a discussion of the Hawaiian religious system, and in talking about the priesthood mentions:

The private houses of the priests are never tabooed; and in that of Toyai [Kawaihae], belonging to the high priest, I never have seen any luxury beyond those enjoyed by the common people. The apartments of his wives are close at hand. . . . As to the small temples inclosed within the morais, they are tabooed for every body; and he who should attempt to violate their sanctity would be punished in the most exemplary manner. . . .²⁴⁶

It is a little difficult to interpret whether Arago is speaking in general terms or of specific "small temples" within Pu'ukoholā and/or Mailekini heiau. If the latter, this would suggest that the temples at Kawaihae were still viewed as sacred structures and off-limits to the common people. Certainly his mention of the residence of the high priest there, either in Pelekane or on the Pu'ukoholā temple platform, suggests on-going religious activity and significance to the area. This activity might not have involved human sacrifices for the last few years, but have been connected with periodic agricultural and other subsistence-related ceremonies performed by the king and his ruling chiefs.²⁴⁷ As Barrère et al. have stated, the ruling chief, and later the king, was responsible for maintaining the goodwill of the most powerful gods for the benefit of his subjects

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.

and the welfare of his kingdom. He accomplished this by observing four monthly worship periods in the state (*luakini heiau*).²⁴⁸

Although many visitors in the years after the temple's abandonment lamented the number of human sacrifices that had taken place at Pu'ukoholā, the only testimony that contains much credibility is that of John Young, who told the Reverend Lorenzo Lyons that he had seen there "many a human victim sacrificed."²⁴⁹ Frank Vincent, Jr., mentioned in his 1870s-period travelogue that human sacrifices took place at Pu'ukoholā at least into the early 1800s, but the source of his information or its veracity is unknown.²⁵⁰

The New England missionaries visited Pu'ukoholā soon after the death of Kamehameha, the Reverend Hiram Bingham stating that the temple contained the ruins of several houses that had been burnt as well as the ashes of the idols and remains of past offerings. As mentioned in an earlier section, the queen regent Ka'ahumanu told the Reverend Artemas Bishop in 1826 that all the buildings in the enclosure were destroyed in one day, presumably soon after the end of the *kapu* system.

Pu'ukoholā Heiau probably was used for religious rituals beyond the year and purpose of its initial construction, even though the dedicatory sacrifice of Kamehameha's chief rival psychologically, if not in reality, ensured his supremacy in the eyes of most of the inhabitants of the islands. In other words, the temple had to a great degree fulfilled its purpose immediately. Kamehameha's position was not totally secure for another twenty years, however, and during that time he may have felt the need for continuing ceremonies to gain *mana* from Kū-ka'ili-moku. Whether or not there were further human sacrifices is conjectural. Given Kamehameha's growing awareness of European mores, there were probably no more than were necessary to keep his subjects respectful of the traditional rights and authority of the *ali'i* and especially of the unassailable power of the paramount chief. It is also possible that Kamehameha conducted consultations with his subordinate chiefs within the sacred enclosure of Pu'ukoholā while in residence in Pelekane. Affairs of state had to continue, and the temple location would have provided privacy for deliberations and encouraged spiritual influences from the *mana* of the gods.

In his description of Pu'ukoholā Heiau in his *Hawaiian Annual* for 1908, Thomas Thrum stated his belief that Ellis's description was probably very accurate as to the structure's original appearance because it was only thirty years old (this would make its completion date 1793) and had been abandoned for only four years (implying it was used up until 1819).²⁵¹ The historical accounts

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.

of early visitors seem to indicate without question that religious activity continued in the area up to the time of the abolition of the *kapu*. From the account of Ka'ahumanu and the missionaries, it seems certain that the structures on the *heiau* were destroyed soon after Liholiho's edict. After that time, visitors and natives were allowed into the temple grounds, indicating a distinct change from its previous very sacred character. Probably some native people, especially the older occupants of the area, continued to venerate the structure, and limited private ceremonies or leaving of offerings undoubtedly continued in secret. John Mulholland mentions that a Catholic priest once erected a church on top of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, but that most of the local people refused to attend it. It had to be rebuilt elsewhere.²⁵²

c) Original Appearance

Because the legislation connected with the establishment of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site mentions restoring the *heiau*, one of the most important questions this study has addressed is the determination of the number, type, and physical layout of buildings, images, and structures on the temple platform. The major problem that exists in this regard is the lack of detailed early descriptions, drawings, or photographs. This is to be expected, of course, because while Pu'ukoholā was used by the *ali'i*, it was not open to public view – not to the common people and certainly not to foreigners. Abolition of the *kapu* system removed the structure's sacred status and allowed open visitation by those who might chronicle its appearance, but by then the structures had all been destroyed. In addition, these early visitors, many of them missionaries, were less concerned with details of its construction and appearance than with diatribes on the pagan and bloody rites they were sure had been conducted there.

These scanty accounts and limited archeological evidence are our only reference points in determining its appearance. Through these means we cannot easily determine the original appearance or the physical evolution of the structure, and historical sources do suggest that the *heiau's* appearance changed over time. Important questions then arise relevant to reconstruction: first, to what time period would we want to restore the structure, and can we determine what and where its main architectural components were at that time, and second, should any restoration efforts be thoroughly substantiated by documentary or archeological evidence or would it be permissible to restore the structure to a conjectural appearance, one that is probably similar but not necessarily identical to its original condition?

The following are some of the most important facts concerning Pu'ukoholā's appearance that have been gleaned from historical accounts and archeological surveys:

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'ukoholā platform in the 1920s, which was removed several months later? Akau interview by Fujimori, January 12, 1979, pp. 2-3.

(1) Archibald Menzies, 1792-94

structure about two years old
structure being used for religious activities
skulls of Keoua and his followers displayed "as ornamental trophies on the rail
around the marae"
structure "of fifty or sixty yards square, faced round with a stone wall of
considerable height, topped with a wooden rail on which the skulls. . . . are
conspicuously exposed"
"On the inside, a high flat formed pile is reared, constructed of wicker work, and
covered either with a net or some white cloth. There were also enclosed
several houses in which lived at this time five kahunas or priests with their
attendants. . . ."

Note: There is no mention of wooden images. It is difficult to tell if the stone wall or the temple platform was topped with a wooden rail. Most early *heiau* illustrations show a fence on the platform area rather than on the surrounding walls.

(2) Samuel Patterson, 1804-5

structure "very large, and the roof covered with human skulls, the white
appearance of which, is discoverable at a great distance; but otherwise it
is like unto the others."

Note: Meaning of the word "roof" is uncertain. Menzies clearly describes the skulls as placed on a rail.

(3) Otto von Kotzebue, 1816-17

notes stone fence around the "morais" and idols standing inside

(4) Jacques Arago, 1819

large structure enclosed by stone wall about four feet high
"colossal," "regularly placed" statues, 40+ in number
board in middle on which sacrificial bodies placed

(5) Reverend Hiram Bingham, 1820

structure was parallelogram with fifteen-foot-high walls on ends and inland side of
loose black stone
walls were tapered, ten feet thick at bottom, five feet thick at top
on side toward sea, several terraces rose for about twenty feet from below
enclosed area to a little above it

in enclosure were "ruins of several houses burnt to the ground, the ashes of various wooden Gods, remains of cocoanuts and other like offerings, the ashes and burnt bones of many human visitors, sacrificed to demons"

(6) Reverend William Ellis, 1823

shape is irregular parallelogram
walls at both ends and on *mauka* side were twenty feet high, twelve feet thick at bottom narrowing to six feet at top
walls on sea side were seven or eight feet high and "proportionally" wide
entrance was by narrow passage between two high walls
upper terrace spacious and paved with flat, smooth stones
at south end was inner court (sanctum sanctorum) where principal idol stood surrounded by numerous inferior deities - Kū-ka'ili-moku was large wooden idol crowned with helmet and covered with red feathers
in center of inner court was 'anu'u, lofty wickerwork frame shaped like obelisk, hollow, four to five feet square at bottom
mentions king proceeding to door of "inner temple" (sanctum sanctorum at south end) and standing before obelisk to inquire of priest respecting will of gods
on "outside," near entrance to inner court, was altar on which sacrifices offered - Ellis saw remains of one of pillars supporting it
in center of terrace was location of king's house
at north end were houses of priests
holes in walls all around center terrace as well as on the lower terraces where wooden idols of various sizes and shapes once stood

(7) Gorham D. Gilman, 1844-45

mentions holes where idols stood being distinctly visible, "the one in the center was very large and was seen at a great distance"

Note: Presumably Gilman is referring to a large idol that had been placed either in the center of the row of idols in the southern section or in the center of the platform area.

(8) Account, 1847

states the walls of the structure had fallen down in some places, "but the outlines of the compartments inside the temple, are still visible"
"It [top enclosure] is divided into apartments distinguished by the floor being raised or depressed"
"Traces of a passage underground, are visible" (this might refer to the depressed passage along the east wall)

(9) Samuel S. Hill, 1848

"three walls of loose stones, of 15 or 20 feet in height, form the inner side and the two ends, while the outer side, at the edge of the steep, appears to have been open to the sea."

"There is no appearance of the temple having been covered."

"Besides the exterior walls, others remain, by which the building is divided into four unequal departments. . . ."

"One large department, forming the centre, comprises two-thirds of the whole area, and the three other departments form a chamber at each end, and a narrow space within the longer of the outer walls. This latter portion seems to have been the place within which the god Kaili . . . and a number of inferior deities, stood exposed to the view of the people. Only a single pedestal, however, now remains, upon which it is well known formerly stood the principal god. . . . The spaces at the ends seem to have been occupied by the priests. That at the southern end is divided into narrow chambers, or gloomy cells, where the priests are said to have chiefly resided. . . . Part of an altar here remains. . . . beneath the temple, out of the direct line, a projecting rock marks the spot upon which Kamehameha sacrificed to his god, the famous chief Keoua."

(10) Charles-Victor Crosnier de Varigny, 1855

mentions "enormous flat stone" in northeast corner of enclosure on which he was told victims were killed

nearby he saw several other stones "with a shallow incised griddling, on which the flesh was burned. These stones have vitrified surfaces. . . ."

Note: This description possibly refers to Mo'okini Heiau.

(11) John F. G. Stokes, 1906

noted terrace, platform, and wall features

large area of low pavement just south of the middle of enclosure

large platform rising about 4½ feet above floor covered about one-third of interior in northeast quarter of structure and contained several divisions suggesting house sites – in middle of platform was roadway two stones wide leading in from west and ending at large *ala* – ledge ran around west side and south end of platform (this corresponds with Varigny's account of seeing large stone in northeast corner)

noted another platform at south end standing three feet high – were five pits, one in southeast corner and others forming rough line near and parallel to north edge of platform

told by informant the pit to west was *lua pa'u* and *lele* stood near it on west edge of platform

on east edge of highest terrace to west lay strip of earth five feet wide a few inches below level of terrace pavement (perhaps this is where idols stood?)

were passages north and east of main interior platform between it and outer walls that were filled in by fallen stone
entrance to top of *heiau* was over stone pavement inclining upward and to south-southwest – east of entrance was bench built into slope of west end of northern wall about 2½ feet above terrace pavement, possibly, he ventured, a niche for "guardian idol"
according to local informants, a stone idol stood on middle terrace and wooden one on lower terrace

Note: Stokes observed that although the west side of the temple was open, the size of the steps and steepness of declivity meant that a person sitting or standing on the steps could probably not clearly see activities on the platform. This would be especially true if, as Ellis stated, there had originally been a low wall on the seaward side or a wooden fence as Stokes himself believed. This makes it questionable that many people actually sat or stood on the terrace levels during ceremonies. However, there would have been few other places for a large number of observers to situate themselves. It also seems highly unlikely that commoners would be allowed on any of these terraces as some early writers have suggested.²⁵³ In support of Stokes's analysis of the niche next to the doorway, an early description of a *heiau* at Pu'uepa in Kohala District mentions

A few niches, once occupied by roughly-hewn idols, were still visible in the sides of the walls. In the northeast corner of the interior was a niche more perfectly formed than any of the others: it is said to have been the place occupied by the guardian deity of the temple.²⁵⁴

Stokes's final plan placed the *'anu'u* and the *lele* in locations conforming to Ellis's description. He placed the drum, or king's, house on the south end of the main platform. In addition he added other traditional temple structures (*hale mana*, *wai'ea*, *hale umu*, and guardhouse). He placed the long *mana* on the east side of the main platform with the stone path leading to it. He also added a wooden fence on the upper terrace bordering the strip of earth, believing that this might have defined the limits of the sacred portions of the temple, perhaps for people sitting on the terraces. The skulls of Keoua and his followers might have been placed on a railing in this location, making them highly visible from a distance.

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'ukoholā'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'ukoholā 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.

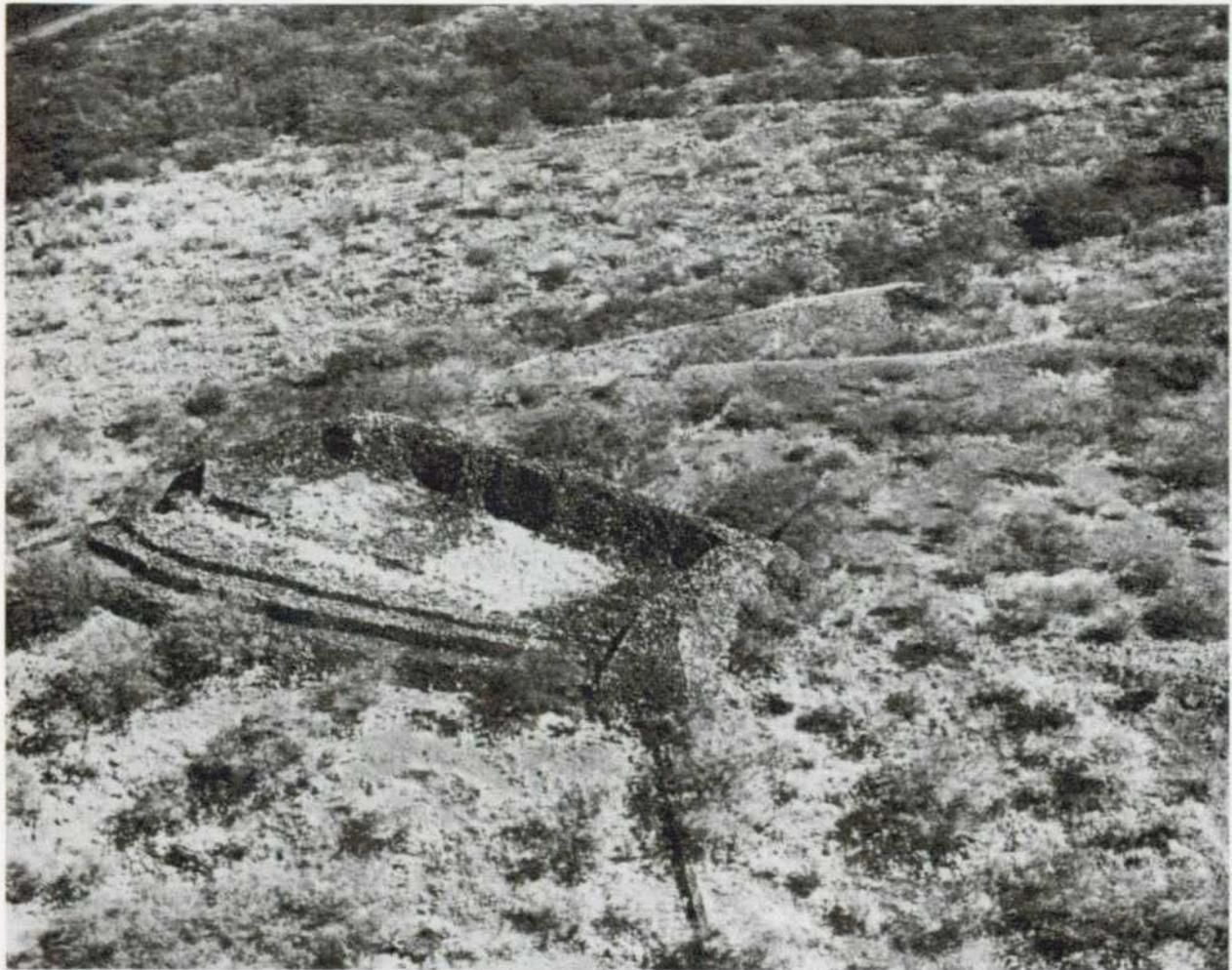


Illustration 78. Aerial view of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, 1925, by 11th Photo Section, Air Service, U.S. Army. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

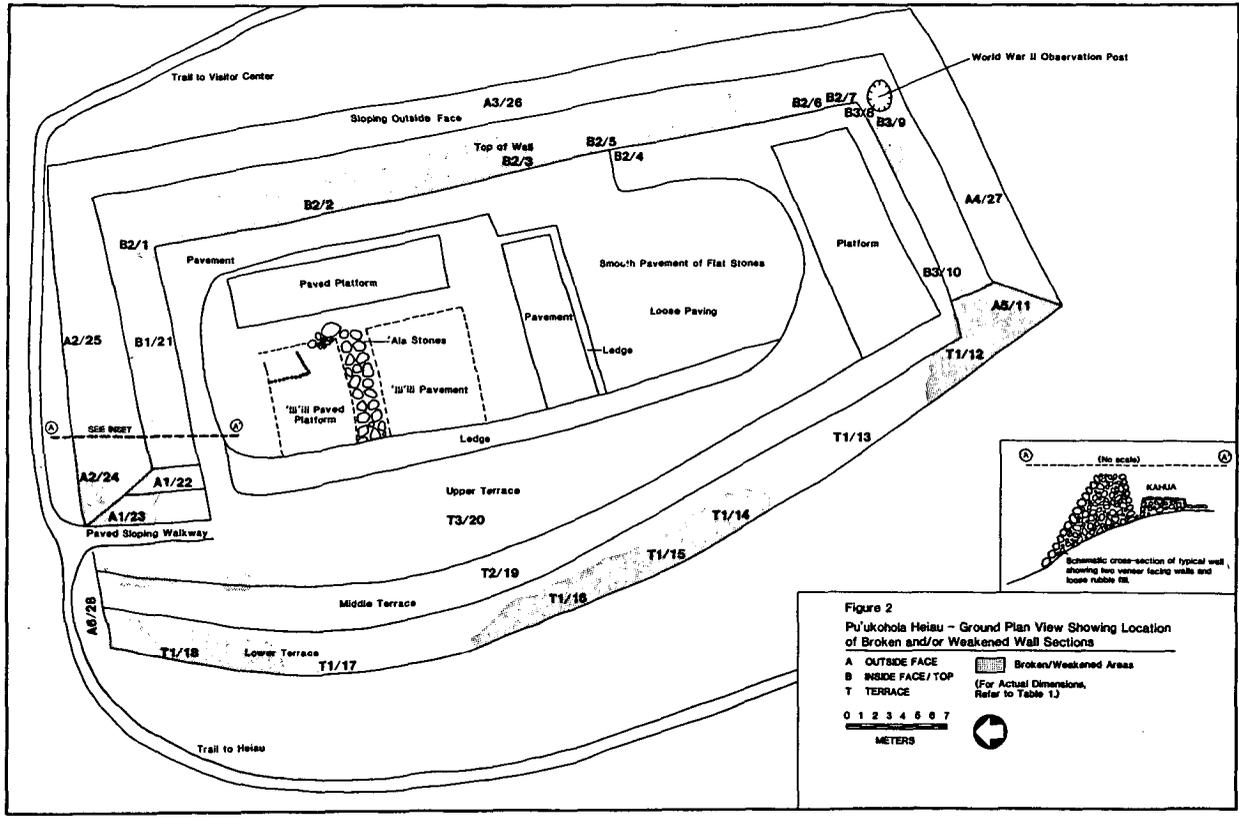


Illustration 79. Ground plan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau prior to stabilization work by the National Park Service. Figure 2 in Ladd, *Ruins Stabilization*, p. 6.

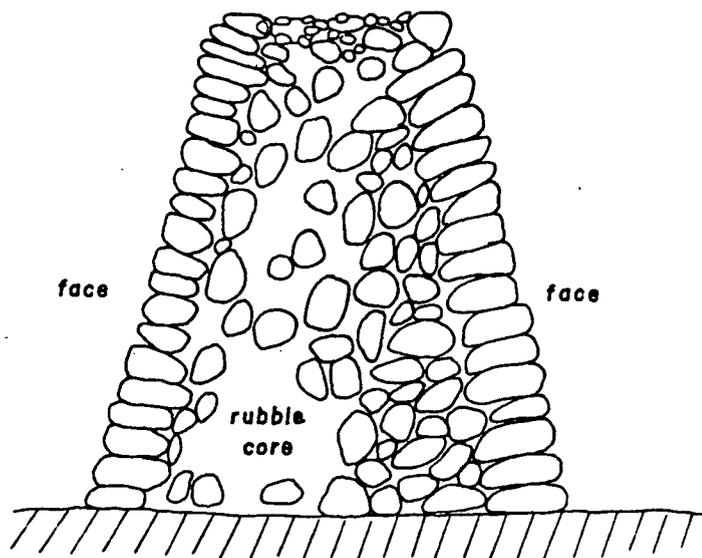


Figure 1. Puu Kohola Heiau: Schematic diagram of typical cross-section.

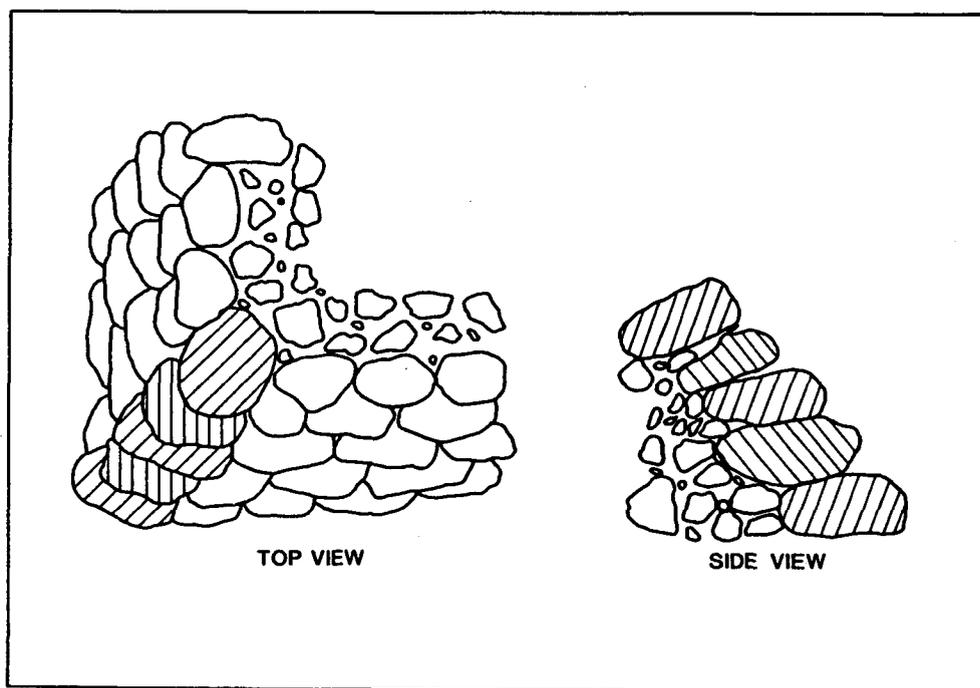


Figure 5. Top and side view of typical corner (see Plate 18 for photo).

Illustration 80. Construction techniques for walls and corners of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Figure 1 in Kikuchi and Cluff, "Archaeological Survey of Puu kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau," p. 39, and Figure 5 in Ladd, *Ruins Stabilization*, p. 14.

(12) Gerard Fowke, 1922

mentions platform at north end, "the four walls carefully and regularly laid up, the space within them filled with large stones, and the surface leveled with beach pebbles"

at south end was another platform abutting east and south walls – a step or terrace six feet wide extended the full length of its north side – it had a less finished appearance than platform at north end

central space between two platforms paved with large stones

west wall stood below top of slope and consisted of three platforms each eight feet wide

on slope below platforms were "several structures a few feet square formed by two parallel rows of stones with a cross wall at the lower ends, the cellar-like space thus inclosed being filled with pebbles to a level with the top of the walls"

long walls extended northwest and southwest from corners of *heiau* toward beach

Note: An interesting observation here is that concerning the structures on the slope below Pu'ukoholā. Their purpose is unclear. Recent archeological surveys of the area located two small platforms on the slope below the *heiau*.

(13) Cluff et al., 1969

site composed of four main groups of features: massive, high wall; three terraces; two platforms and pavement area in southern section of site; and platform in northern section

wall bordered site on east, north, and south sides

believed some sections of walls were re-worked

believed terrace area probably rebuilt

south end contained platform abutting south and east walls – was another platform below that one to the north – thought higher platform was repaved and raised in height at some time and that lower platform was probably height of original one - curved edge of lower platform unusual in Hawaiian *heiau* (reconstruction?) – surfaces of both platforms were rough

adjacent to and north of platforms was extensive pavement area of large stones between first terrace and pavement area was depression or ditch, possibly portion of earlier structure visible here – conjectured terrace added on here to earlier structure, just adjacent to, but separate from, pavement area of newer structure, leaving gap in which portion of earlier structure appeared in the north section of the top was raised platform with associated features – between it and north wall was a ditch – ditch continued on east side, partially filled with stones fallen from wall

fronting west edge of northern platform was paved, sloped area – believed its pavement older than that of three terraces – appeared related to larger pavement area to south between platforms – thought this sloping area part of older structure pre-dating present Pu'ukoholā Heiau

step ran along western and southern edges of platform (also noted by Stokes) – allowed access to top of platform

several lines of stones on platform – two were parallel lines that might have been part of doorway into structure – thought some platform areas were reconstructed – this logical place for *ohi'a* wood shelter for Kū-ka'ili-moku image – structures on platform appeared to have had lengths running east-west with first structure at northern end and another just south of it
noted internal stairway running along first terrace in northwest corner of *heiau* – eighteen steps of stones later cemented into place – part of original structure – believed this feature unique in Hawaiian temple architecture
local informant stated Kamehameha Lodge filled in the pit Alexander showed on his map west of the stairway, in which offerings were supposedly discarded – Lodge probably performed some of the reconstruction work noted
modern additions to site were concrete steps on sea side of northern platform and concrete monument with bronze plaque giving history of site and designating it as National Historic Landmark

Note: In regard to the pit that Alexander showed on the first terrace level in front of the northern platform, Lady Franklin on her visit to the *heiau* in 1861 mentioned seeing a cavity filled in with loose stones for human sacrifices, with another for animals and another for fruits. Immediately in front and a little below the level of that sacrificial area, she noted, was a terrace for the chiefs to stand on. The location of a pit there corresponds with some of the early descriptions of the usual components of a *luakini*, which will be presented later.

This discussion of remains of an earlier structure is confusing. Cluff states that the ditch the survey crew noted between the first terrace and the pavement area "looks suspiciously like a portion of a possibly earlier *heiau* on which Kamehameha I supposedly built Puu Kohola." She also states "The floor of this ditch is of dirt and its slope indicates (i.e. *is*) the natural slope of the terrain on which the site was constructed." This sounds, however, as if she did not actually note the remains of a physical structure between the present *heiau* and the natural terrain. Although, as she says, none of the early drawings show this feature, it might be the earthen strip Stokes noted on the east edge of the highest terrace.

(14) Edmund J. Ladd, 1986

temple site enclosed on three sides by massive wall – fourth side open facing sea
descending in three terraces from upper terrace level that forms courtyard platform
no description of features in report, but ground plan map shows same general features as others: large platform in southern end, smooth pavement of flat stones just south of center area, and larger platform in northern sector containing several areas of pavement and stone walkway

**d) Traditional Plans and Furnishings of *Luakini*
According to Native Historians and Other Scholars**

(1) David Kalākaua

Oral traditions of ancient Hawaiian religious customs suggest that a specific method of construction was used in building *luakini* and that specific types of structures were associated with them.

David Kalākaua, who became king of the Hawaiian Islands in 1874, wrote that the surrounding walls of this type of temple were often ten feet thick and twenty feet high, composed of unhewn, mortarless stone. They grew increasingly narrow from the base upward. Within the courtyard formed by this imposing enclosure could be found a small stone or wooden temple referred to as the *luakina* (house of sacrifice). The *lele*, or altar, consisting of a raised stone platform, stood in front of its entrance. This inner temple was sacred to the priests, and within it was the *'anu'u*, the wicker enclosure within which the priests communicated with the gods. Around the walls of this small temple hung charms and god images. Images of the principal gods stood beside the entrance to this "sacred apartment," and lines of stone and wooden idols surmounted the outer and inner walls. Other buildings within the larger sacred enclosure included those used by the high priest and his assistants and one for the ruling chief, or king, some distance away, which he used when consulting the high priest or as a refuge in times of war. A *kapu* staff, or elevated cross, stood on each side of the entrance to the outer enclosure and near it was a small walled structure in which humans were sacrificed.²⁵⁵

This "sacred apartment" that Kalakaua describes appears to be an enclosed structure of some sort, although if it contained the *'anu'u*, it must have been roofless. Maybe he is alluding to a stone or wooden fence surrounding the tower. Ellis, in describing the procedure the king followed when consulting the gods at Pu'ukoholā, said that he, accompanied by his attendants, "proceeded to the door of the inner temple, and standing immediately before the obelisk, inquired respecting . . . any other affair of importance." Ellis stated the altar at Pu'ukoholā was located outside the entrance to the inner court, which agrees with Kalākaua's arrangement.

255. Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, pp. 44-45. Kalākaua 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'ukoholā: 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'ukoholā. 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.

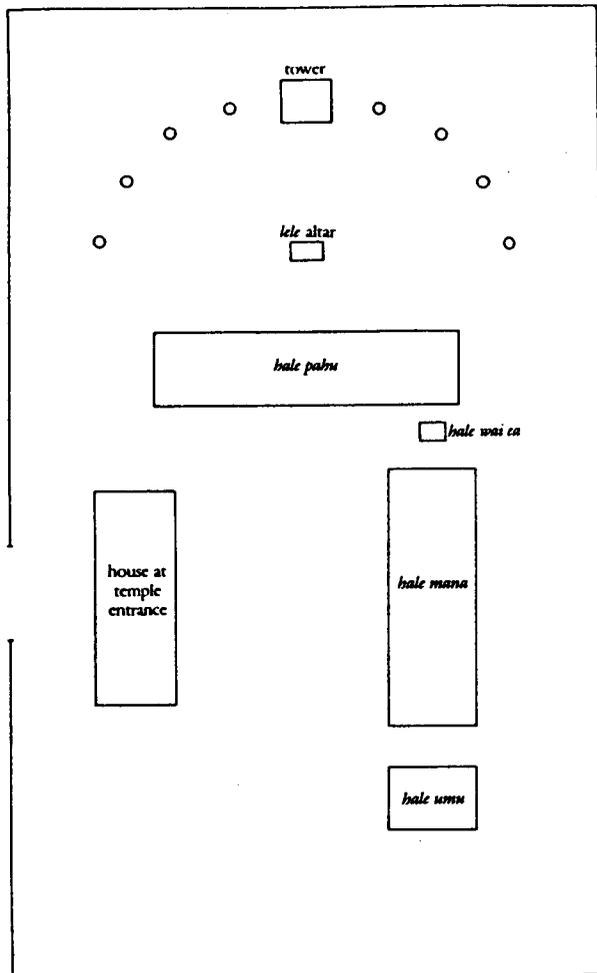


Fig. 5. Plan of the inner court of a *luakini* temple according to Malo (MS, 164). This is a tentative reconstruction, since Malo's text is not completely clear.

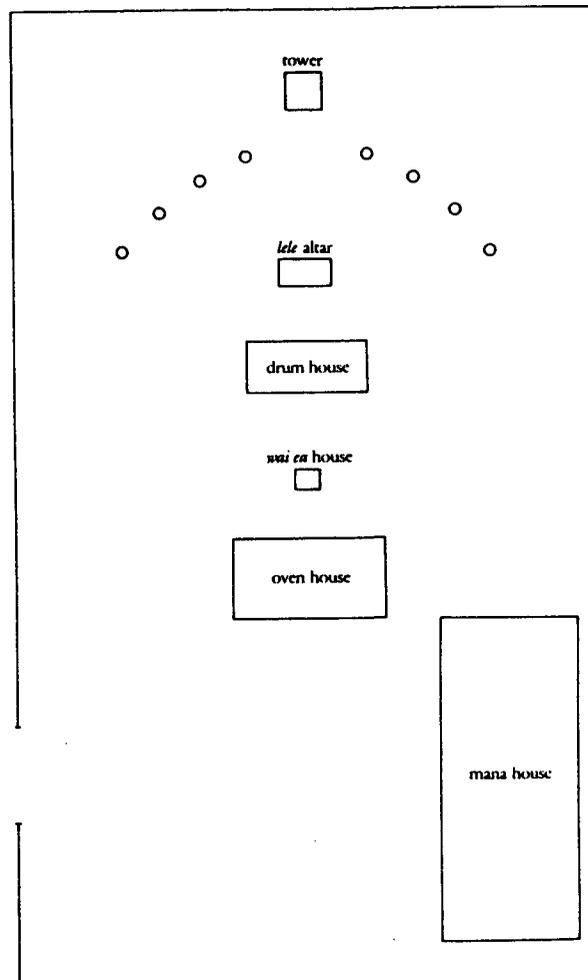


Fig. 4. Plan of the inner court of a *luakini* temple according to 'I'i (1963, 33-35).

Illustration 81. Plans of *luakini*-inner courts according to David Malo and John Papa 'i'i. Figures 5 and 4 in Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, pp. 241-42.

(2) David Malo

The information on *luakini* David Malo provides mentions a stone wall enclosing the temple proper. At the rear of the enclosed court stood the oracle tower (*lan'anu'u*), a tall framework covered with white cloth with a small entrance on one side. A fence surrounded it. Beneath it was the *luakini*, or sacrificial pit into which the remains of the victim were thrown. In front of this, arranged in a semicircle, were figures of the presiding gods, with Kū-ka'ili-moku in the central position. In front of this row of figures lay a pavement of pebbles and the altar – a frame structure on which offerings were laid (note that Ellis talked of seeing one of the pillars that had supported the altar at Pu'ukoholā). Next to the altar, toward the front of the temple, stood the *hale pahu* (drum house). Beyond this was the *hale mana*, a large structure containing the portable figures of the war gods. The doors of these houses faced the altar. Beyond them was another house standing close by the entrance to the enclosure, possibly a guardhouse through which one entered the temple. At one end of the *mana* was a small structure (*wai'ea*) in which the sacred symbol, the coconut fiber cord intertwined with seaweed, was kept. At the other end of the *mana* stood the oven house where feasts were prepared for the priests during the war rite. Malo also mentioned that outside the temple enclosure on the north was a level pavement whose outer borders were marked by *kapu* signs in the form of crosses indicating the limits of the holy ground. On the south outside the enclosure was the *hale papa*, where women of chiefly rank assembled at a certain time during war ceremonies to perform purification rites.²⁵⁶

(3) William Davenport

William Davenport, in his discussion of *luakini*, states that the usual temple of this type consisted of an oblong series of open terraces surrounded by a massive stone wall and containing a few interior enclosures. Davenport also states that the most sacred part of the temple, which would have comprised the oracle tower, the images, and the altar, had to be oriented toward the sunrise or the north.²⁵⁷ (This confusing question of orientation of structures will be discussed later.)

(4) Samuel Kamakau

Samuel Kamakau speaks of *heiau po'okanaka*, "heiaus of human heads" (a reference to sacrifices and perhaps to the custom of displaying the skulls of victims), which were very large and called *luakini*. These, he said, were constructed on hills, ridges, and headlands, or on level ground between the seashore and the mountains on former temple sites. Many of these earlier sites dated from the time of conflict between the chiefs of Hawai'i and Maui and were known to the *po'e kuhikuhi pu'uone* (temple designers). In discussing construction, Kamakau speaks of the pebble pavements associated with the foundations of the various houses inside the *heiau*. His discussion of images is somewhat confusing. He seems to describe images both inside and outside the *heiau* (or possibly inside and outside the platform area). He says that those outside the north (or right) wall or enclosure were male and those outside the south (or left) wall were female. He then states that these carved images formed a wooden enclosure or fence outside of the *heiau*, while

256. Edward Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1927), pp. 174-75.

257. Davenport, "Hawaiian Feudalism," p. 25.

the lines of images inside were more skillfully carved. Thrum seems to think Kamakau was talking about two rows of images within the *heiau*. He believed Kamakau meant that the principal image on the right side of the "enclosure" of images on the temple pavement was a male figure and that on the left was a female. Those images facing within, that is, the line of inside images, were more carefully carved than those of the outward row.

Relative to the four or five houses within the *heiau*, Kamakau states that the oven house was the largest – a shed-like structure for baking offerings. The "house to revive life" (*wai'ea*, used in the 'aha ritual) stood in front of the oracle tower. Between the *mana* house and the *hale pahu* was the altar. At another altar below the *mo'i* image in the *mana* house were burned the sacrifices for the atonement and absolution of sins.²⁵⁸ Kamakau also stated that outside the "first" pavement, by the fence, was the refuse pit. Directly in front of it was the *mana* house, which faced the pavements. In front of its door stood the altar made of scaffolding.²⁵⁹ This is interesting because William Alexander stated that Pu'ukoholā had a refuse pit in the area of the first terrace next to the northern platform area, which would have been immediately in back of a fence if Stokes is correct in his assumption that there might have been a fence along the top terrace to define the sacred limits of the temple courtyard.

(5) John Papa I'i

John Papa I'i offered this information: the *hale pahu* was enclosed on the side and back walls, but the front was supported on posts, like a lanai. It faced the 'anu'u tower and the row of idols in front of that structure, with the altar in between. The largest house was the *hale mana*, a very long structure with its front and door facing the entrance of the *heiau*. The *hale umu* stood on the left side of the *hale mana* as one faced the interior, extending forward of it a little with its front and door toward the back of the *hale pahu*. The small *hale wai'ea* stood between the *hale umu* and the *hale pahu*. Two images stood in front of this hut, on either side of its opening.²⁶⁰ This description of a *luakini* was followed by Paul Rockwood in depicting the *luakini* Waha'ula Heiau in Puna, Hawai'i (Illustration 13).

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 Kamakau 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.

(6) William Alexander

William Alexander stated, based in large part on Ellis's description of Pu'ukoholā, that the configuration of a *luakini* included: an inner court at the south end where the main idol stood surrounded by other deities; an oracle tower in the center of the court; an altar supported by posts near the entrance to the inner court; a sacred house for the king's use during periods of *kapu* in about the center of the terrace; houses of the priests at the northern end; a drum house in front of the altar with its door facing it; the *mana* house beyond with its door facing the altar; the small *wai'ea* house at the end of the *mana* house; the long *hale umu* (oven house) at the other end of the *mana* house; a *lua pa'u* pit, a receptacle for the bones of the victims, somewhere in the *heiau*; wooden idols of varying shapes and sizes crowning the outer walls; and a *Hale o Papa* in the outer court.²⁶¹

(7) Wendell Bennett

Wendell Bennett's 1930s doctoral dissertation provided a long list of features that, from historical documentation and archeological records, he found to have been associated with Hawaiian *heiau*. These included:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Houses | 15. Fences |
| 2. Terraces | 16. Platforms |
| 3. Altars | 17. Related Structures |
| 4. Oracle Towers | 18. Trees |
| 5. Pits | 19. Rooms |
| 6. Entrances | 20. Chambers |
| 7. Steps and Paths | 21. Towers and Spires |
| 8. Uprights | 22. Stones for Umbilical Cord |
| 9. Sacrificial Stones | 23. Causeways |
| 10. Graves | 24. Petroglyphs |
| 11. Springs and Ponds | 25. Tunnels and Trenches |
| 12. Pens | 26. Platform-like End Walls |
| 13. Ovens and Fireplaces | 27. Depressions |
| 14. Idols | 28. Miscellaneous |

Bennett pointed out that house foundations, platforms, and terraces were the most common features. He stated that "minor features," including trenches and chambers (such as are found at Pu'ukoholā), were possibly construction techniques rather than formal components of this type of structure.²⁶²

261. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, pp. 43-44.

262. Table II, in Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiaus*, p. 8.

(8) Valerio Valeri

One of the most complete discussions of *luakini* temples and their furnishings is found in Valerio Valeri's book, *Kingship and Sacrifice*. In this book the author specifically addresses some of the problems encountered in trying to determine Pu'ukoholā's original appearance. His discussions are useful in shedding light on some of that *heiau's* more confusing aspects.

Valeri agreed with other students of Hawaiian *heiau* architecture that "The extraordinary structural variety of the temples [*luakini*] makes it hard to generalize concerning their plans and dimensions."²⁶³ He discerned, however, usually a fixed infrastructure of courts or stone platforms and a wooden superstructure of houses and miscellaneous features that varied according to the type of rites being performed. He mentions some additional components of *luakini* temples, information on which he acquired from a number of sources, that might have relevance to Pu'ukoholā's original configuration. These include:

a ledge on the walls of some temples used as seating by those observing the rites;

large stones at some distance from the temple on which the victims were killed before being brought into the temple;

Polynesian ovens either outside the temple or within the enclosure used to cook corpses of victims to hasten decomposition;

Lua (pits) where the remains of victims were thrown, sometimes inside the *'anu'u* tower and sometimes outside this "inner temple;"

tombs sometimes found within enclosures, either of *ali'i* or of priests who officiated in temple ceremonies;

a level pavement lying outside the "inner temple" enclosure on the right or north side – crossed sticks at its end marked the external limits of the *heiau* – according to Valeri, the majority of the audience probably stood on this pavement to watch the rites; and a

Hale o Papa used by noblewomen during some rites, lying on the left or south side of the temple on a special platform²⁶⁴

Valeri believes that the most important wooden superstructures of the temple consisted of:

the *paehumu*, a fence separating the temple or its inner precincts from the exterior – it could have been only an invisible barrier, but was usually a fence of planks and poles on which images were carved. (This type of enclosure would have been what Stokes envisioned on the top terrace of Pu'ukoholā) – often the heads of victims were fixed on top of the poles that were part of the *paehumu* –

263. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, pp. 235-36.

264. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

near an entrance in the *paehumu* were two crossed poles guarding the way to the sacred areas – sometimes these were statues;

the tower, or 'anu'u, located at one end of the sanctum sanctorum – all the statues and houses were oriented relative to it – a second tower, or *opu*, could have been situated on the side opposite the 'anu'u, but was probably a rare structure because European observers did not note them in *luakini*;

houses, four of which existed in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple: *hale mana* (largest, containing small images and cult paraphernalia, feather gods when they were brought into the temple for certain rites, and possibly tombs of nobles and priests), *hale pahu* (drum house between *mana* house and *lele* altar), *hale wai'ea* (smallest house), and *hale umu* (where temple fires were lighted) – the orientation and type of wood used to build these houses was dictated by the nature of the temple – their construction was an important part of the inauguration ritual;

altars, any place where sacrificial offerings were made, ranging from the pavement or a level terrace in front of the images to the oracle tower itself – the *lele* was an elevated wooden structure ranging from a scaffold to a simple pole on which offerings were hung; and

images, both fixed and mobile²⁶⁵

Valeri also discusses the location of *luakini*, noting that war temples were often built next to battlefields, as at Pu'ukoholā. Although usually they were not erected in the midst of populated areas, they were often found near royal residences, as on Hawai'i Island at Kealakekua, Kailua, Hōnaunau, and Kawaihae, and on elevated locations.²⁶⁶

Valeri valiantly attempts to deal with the question of location of the oracle tower at Pu'ukoholā, an especially intriguing problem of orientation when trying to postulate furnishings and layouts. As mentioned earlier, Malo stated that if the front of the *heiau* faced west or east, the 'anu'u was located at the 'akau (north) end of the temple; if it faced north or *hema* (south), the tower was found to the east. Kamakau also said the 'anu'u tower was located on the 'akau side of the temple. In the first case, 'akau means north and *hema* south; according to Kamakau's usage, 'akau means right and *hema* left. Valeri points out that the Hawaiians use two systems of orientation, one referring to an east-west axis, the other based on a land-sea opposition. Using the first system, the observer always faces west so that his right corresponds with north and his left with the south. Using the land-sea axis, 'akau and *hema* change depending on the observer's position. Malo appears to use the absolute orientation system ('akau meaning north and *hema* south), while Kamakau's references seem to be to the right and left. But it is unclear whether right and left are from the standpoint of an observer facing the entrance of the temple from the outside or facing the entry door from the inside, though Valeri thinks the latter is the case as borne out

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.

by comparisons with accounts of known temple layouts.²⁶⁷ If true, this would mean that Kamakau is in agreement that the tower was to the north in a west-facing temple.

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, which faces west, seems to disprove these statements, however, because early accounts and the archeological evidence indicate that the tower was at the south end. Valeri explains the seeming discrepancy in the oracle tower location at Pu'ukoholā by suggesting that this southerly orientation was used because Keoua, whose death Kamehameha sought by building the temple, lived in Ka'u, to the south of Pu'ukoholā. Possibly the altar upon which Keoua was to be sacrificed, and the tower that was always located next to it, were oriented toward the direction of the enemy.²⁶⁸ He continues,

The temples of Kona that are known to us and the Pu'ukoholā temple, taken together, suggest a broader principle, however. In all these temples the main image and the tower are on the side toward the mountains, that is, the direction from which both the god and the enemy are supposed to come.²⁶⁹

e) Comparative Historical Descriptions of *Luakini*

(1) George Vancouver, 1792-94

One of the structures noted during Vancouver's visit to Hawai'i Island was Hikiau Heiau at Kealakekua Bay. Because skulls also comprised part of its furnishings, its description is presented here:

Adjoining one side of the Square was the great Morai, where there stood a kind of steeple [*'anu'u*] that ran up to the height of 60 or 70 feet, it was in square form, narrowing gradually towards the top where it was square and flat; it is built of very slight twigs & laths, placed horizontally and closely, and each lath hung with narrow pieces of white Cloth. . . . next to this was a House occupied by the Priests, where they performed their religious ceremonies and the whole was enclosed by a high railing on which in many parts were stuck Sculls [*sic*] of those people, who had fallen victims to the Wrath of their Deity. . . . In the center of the Morai stood a preposterous figure carved out of wood larger than life representing the . . . supreme deity. . . .²⁷⁰

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.

(2) Louis de Freycinet, 1819

Louis de Freycinet also visited Hikiau Heiau and compared it to Pu'ukoholā:

The one [temple] of Riorio in Kayakakoua was surrounded by a simple square palisade in the center of which were twelve hideous idols of gigantic proportions. . . . Next to them rose the light wooden obelisk-like structure that we mentioned earlier and then a small terrace surrounding a wooden platform, which was supported by two stakes driven into the ground. This platform is where they sacrifice men and animals to these terrible deities. . . . A rather large number of rocks, piled here and there without any seeming order, covered the ground. . . . In the center, as well as to the extreme right of the enclosure, stood wooden huts covered with palm leaves. One of these was reserved for the king during certain ceremonies and others for the priests. . . .

He continues:

At Kohaihai [Kawaihae], the heiau [sic] located on a nearby elevation had a rock enclosure, properly secured and so high that it could be taken for a fortress wall. We did not go inside, but we were told that its arrangement was similar to the one we had seen.²⁷¹

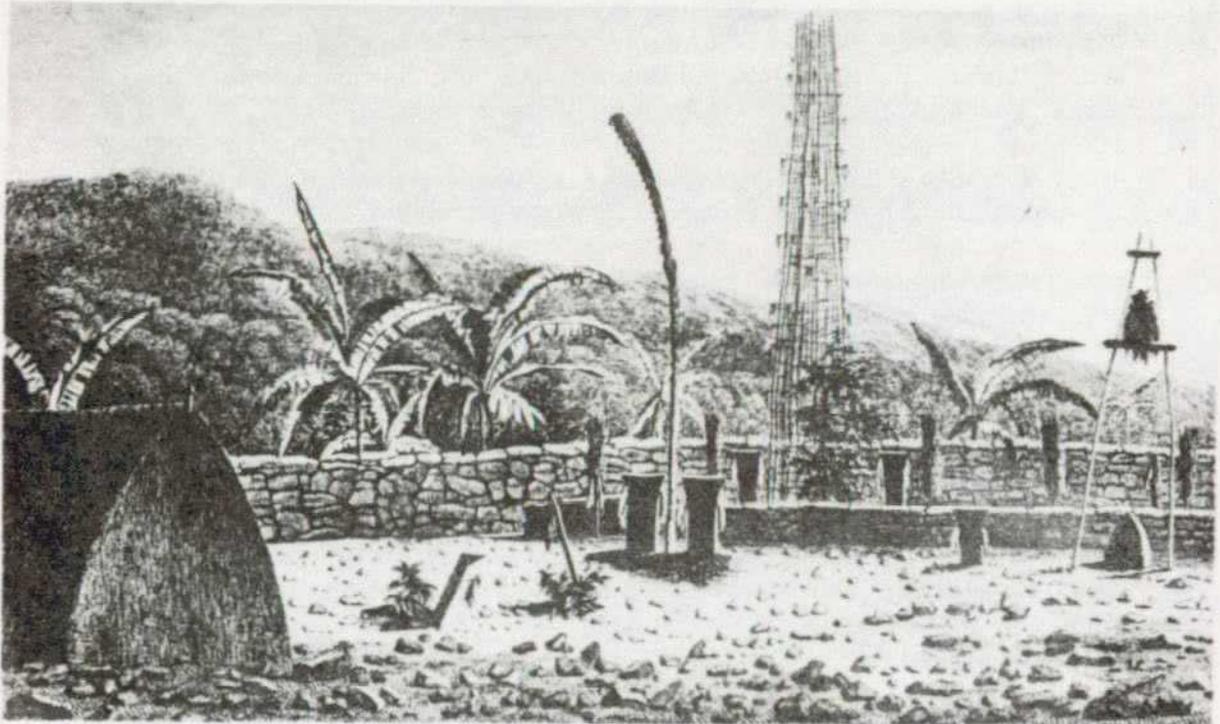
f) Illustrations of *Luakini*

A few engravings of early Hawaiian *heiau* do exist, although none of Pu'ukoholā Heiau have been found. Illustration 82 is an engraving by John Webber of the Cook expedition of a *heiau* at Waimea, Kaua'i, executed sometime after Cook's arrival there in January 1778. Note the large pavement area with the sacred slab images and towers on one side and the buildings on the other. Note also the low interior wall on the platform, similar to the type of division that might have been used at Pu'ukoholā.

Illustration 83 shows Kaneaki Heiau in the Makaha Valley of O'ahu on the Waianae Coast, whose restoration was completed in 1970. A terrace and platform temple was first constructed on this site about 1545. It underwent six alterations, becoming ever larger and more sophisticated. Tradition says that in 1795 Kamehameha ordered that Kaneaki be transformed into a war *heiau* to insure his final conquest of Kaua'i (Kaena Point nearby points directly at that island). Supposedly those who started restoring the temple in the 1940s used Pu'ukoholā as a model for the placement of the houses and idols. Bishop Museum staff supervised the restoration. The picture depicts a low terrace in the foreground from which observers watched the ceremonies, the large *hale mana* for the priests on the upper platform alongside the smaller *hale pahu*, with an altar on pole legs between them. Behind the altar is the god figure flanked by two prayer towers. These structures were reconstructed on the basis of postholes found in the stone platform.²⁷²

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): 1.



Temple (*beiau*), sketched by J. Webber, Captain Cook's artist

Illustration 82. Interior of a large *luakini* at Waimea, Kaua'i, drawn by John Webber on Cook's third voyage in 1778. Note the high 'anu'u tower, the offering stand, the tall central post image, and the five slab images with *kapa* streamers attached at the sides. From Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 4: Pl. I.

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 hale, or sacrificial altar, and directly behind it a ki'i, or god figure. The ki'i is flanked by the ana'u - prayer towers.

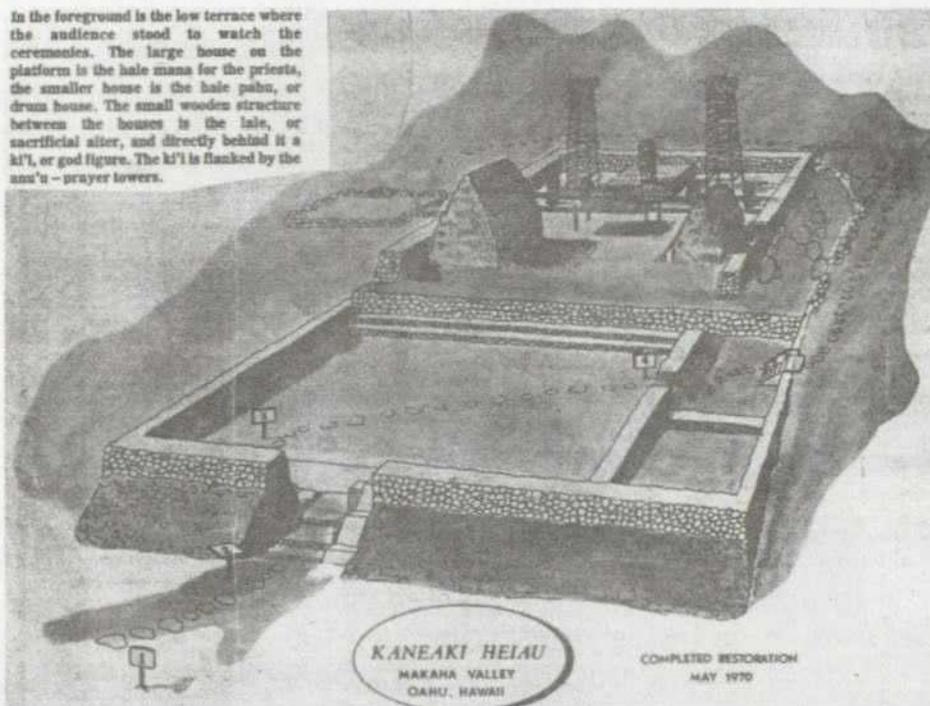


Illustration 83. Kaneaki Heiau on O'ahu, Hawai'i, as restored in 1970. From Wiig, "Kamehameha's Last War Temple."

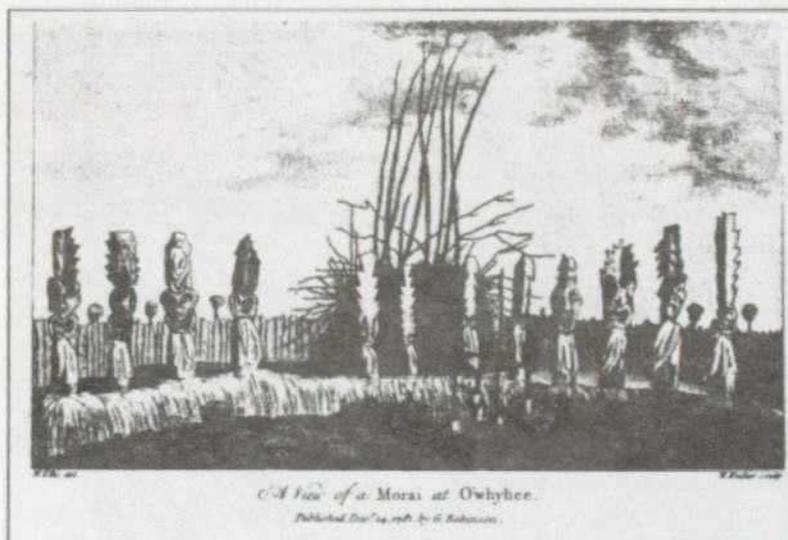


Plate 3. Main images in Hikiu temple, Kealakekua, island of Hawai'i, as they were in 1779. From Ellis 1782, 2:181.

Illustration 84. Row of images on Hikiu Heiau, Kealakekua, Hawai'i, 1779. From Ellis (1782), 2:181; Plate 3 in Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*.

g) Variability of *Heiau* Styles

A number of possibilities exist for placement of structures on Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Variables relate to the number, type, and arrangement of structures and houses on the platforms; the location of idols and the altar; and the presence of fences or interior walls. This writer believes so many possibilities exist relative to the original appearance of the temple that at best only a conjectural restoration would be possible.

As many authorities have pointed out, probably no two *heiau* in the Hawaiian Islands were exactly alike. Kamehameha, a very powerful chief on his way to becoming ruler of all the islands, might have believed that some aspects of temple construction were flexible. On the other hand, because he remained basically faithful to the ancient religion, he probably followed many of the traditional religious dictates. As Reverend Gowen stated relative to the construction and consecration of Pu'ukoholā, "We may be certain that whatever elements of impressiveness Kamehameha could impart were there. At the same time there were some special features of which we are at present ignorant."²⁷³ Although there were certain basic structures that were placed on this type of *heiau*, they were not always placed in the same position relative to each other, although there were certain prescribed rules set by traditional ritual dictating the various structures' relationship to each other and to other structures on the platform. How closely Kamehameha adhered to these rules is not known. He might have changed configurations of structures or added or deleted items for his own reasons; he probably would not have altered things arbitrarily.

h) Known Features of Pu'ukoholā Heiau

There are a number of details relative to Pu'ukoholā's original appearance that can be substantiated both from the historical accounts and from surface surveys, although no in-depth archaeological study providing definitive on-site evidence has been accomplished:

1. the entrance to the platform was at the northwest corner of the structure, presumably the present opening
2. the large temple platform area was enclosed on the east side and the north and south ends by high walls
3. there are suggestions of a low wall on the seaward side and possibly a wooden fence stretched north-south along the top terrace delineating the platform's sacred boundaries – wooden fences were often used in conjunction with stone walls and were often an integral part of the *heiau* structure – this one probably was about four feet high with human skulls affixed to the wooden pales²⁷⁴
4. the large platform on the north end of the courtyard probably held at least three structures

273. Gowen, *Napoleon of the Pacific*, p. 197.

274. Shimizu, "Architectural Analysis of Hawaiian *Heiau*," p. 19.

3. Mu = 74

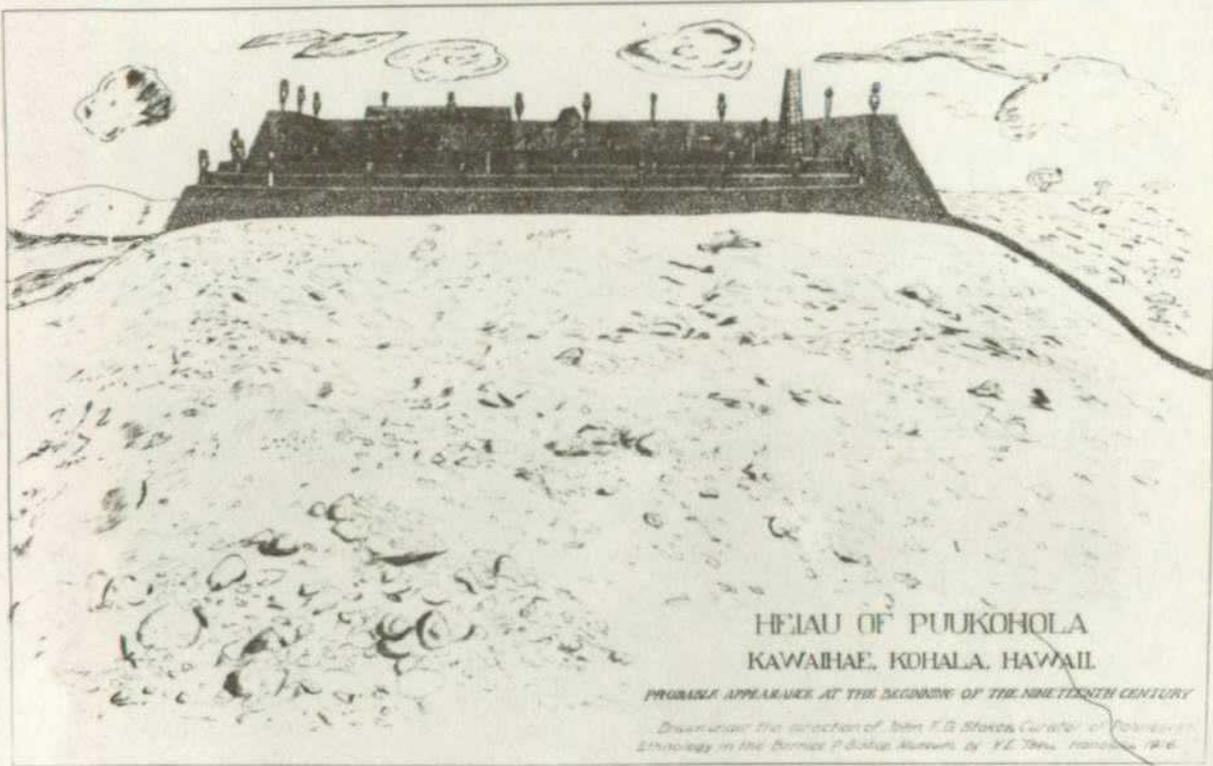


Illustration 85. Conjectural 1916 drawing under the direction of J.F.G. Stokes of Pu'ukoholā Heiau's appearance ca. 1800. This shows two large structures on the north edge of the northern platform area with a smaller shelter perpendicular to them toward the middle of the platform. Images and the oracle tower are located on the south end. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 86. Conjectural drawing of appearance of Pu'ukoholā Heiau as a functioning *luakini* by the Hawaiian artist Herb Kawainui Kane, 1978. NPS photo.

5. the pavement area south of the northern platform was the area of offerings – there appear to have been two pits inside the temple, one near the principal altar, the other close to the northern platform
6. south of this large pavement area was another platform, possibly the location of the oracle tower and several images – this might originally have been divided into compartments, or cells, as Samuel Hill described, that were later covered over, as Cluff suggests
7. the major image stood either in the southeast corner or in the center of the southern platform with possibly another one near the center of the northern platform – lesser images were arranged in the lower southern platform section either facing the major image in the southeast corner or facing toward the altar and the large pavement area on either side of the major image – there were probably additional images in front of the *hale mana* and on each side of the *hale wai'ea* – in addition there could have been a guardian image in the niche at the entrance and other images arranged along the top of the wall surrounding the platform, in niches around the walls, and on the terraces – it is unclear whether these large images were on the *heiau* walls from the beginning, because only skulls are mentioned in the earliest accounts – however, wooden images seem to have been an integral part of the dedication of a *luakini* – in terms of style, the fixed images throughout the temple would have been a mixture – some carved on poles, others in the round, others carved on slabs
8. originally skulls were displayed on a wooden railing described as being either on top of the temple walls, at the east edge of the first terrace, or on the roof of a structure – this writer tends toward the hypothesis that there was a wooden fence in front of the sacred area on the first terrace as Stokes indicates in his drawing and that the skulls were displayed on it, as was done on other *heiau* (according to Valeri, the skulls of sacrificial victims were put on a *paehumu* pole because, as the most important part of the body, they stayed in the temple with the gods)²⁷⁵
9. the terraces comprised a series of platforms that, due to the slope of the hill, were necessary to keep the top platform area level – this writer questions whether those with permission to attend the rituals sat on these because of their size, the awkwardness of getting on and off them, and because they appear to have had images placed on them (according to Thrum, in some instances at least, commoners not allowed in the temple itself could watch the rites from the tops of nearby hills).²⁷⁶

275. Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, pp. 338-39.

276. *Ibid.*, fn. 2, p. 385.



Illustration 87. Entrance to Pu'ukoholā Heiau at the northwest corner of the structure. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 88. Raised platform at north end of temple area, walkway on north edge circling around along the east wall, and paved platform area in front (west edge). NPS photo, 1989.

Pu'ukoholā's rites may have been too important to allow commoners to watch them. The stone wing walls extending from the northwest and southwest corners of the temple probably marked the limits of the temple's sacred space. Just as the enclosure on the platform marked the sacred boundaries of the "inner temple," these walls would have marked the area outside the temple *kapu* to women and possibly commoners.²⁷⁷ Therefore, there would have been no opportunity for individuals other than those participating in the rites to watch the ceremonies from the area toward the beach.

One or two aspects of Pu'ukoholā Heiau are unusual. One is the entrance, which seems to be a unique feature of this *heiau*. Usually the terraces of these structures were made to ascend or descend and functioned as the entrances to the platform area. At Pu'ukoholā they are too massive and high to serve as steps; therefore the need for another entrance. As discussed in the section above, the location of the oracle tower is a puzzle. Ellis's description of the oracle tower on the south end and the statement by archeologists that the northern platform seems better finished, as if for a housing area, both indicate that the *'anu'u* stood at the south end. Valerio offers some interesting explanations for its not being in the northern part of the temple as Malo directs. Again, intensive archeological work might help clarify its location.

2. Treatment of Resources

a) Introductory Remarks

Some of the land included within the boundaries of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site is owned by the State of Hawai'i and some was owned by the Queen's Medical Center, a private, non-profit organization. The Queen Emma Foundation, of which the medical center is a part, donated 34.3 acres to the National Park Service in 1973, a major step toward establishment of the park. It donated another 26.5 acres of land to the NPS in 1986 to be used for expansion of the park and relocation of the visitor center and road in order to return the landscape surrounding the *heiau* to a more authentic appearance.²⁷⁸

Any structures that might have originally stood on top of Pu'ukoholā Heiau are gone. These are thought to have included thatched houses, prayer towers, altars, and wooden images, all probably destroyed soon after the abolition of the *kapu* system. Only the large platform area and dark, massive rock foundations remain. The enabling legislation (86 Stat. 562) establishing the park requires the National Park Service to "restore and preserve in public ownership the historically significant temple associated with Kamehameha the Great . . . and the property of John Young." To complement the *heiau*, the surrounding land was also to be restored to a more appropriate setting. Other actions suggested included stabilizing Mailekini Heiau and interpreting John Young's house.²⁷⁹

277. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

278. "Queen Emma Foundation Donates Land at Pu'ukoholā 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 Puukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, in the State of Hawaii, and for other purposes." This act does not specify a restoration date for Pu'ukoholā Heiau.



Illustration 89. Pu'ukoholā Heiau platform area looking north. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 90. Rear (east) wall of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Note floral offerings. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 91. Pu'ukoholā Heiau platform area looking south. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 92. Pavement of large stones, view toward south end of Pu'ukoholā Heiau platform area. NPS photo, 1989.

Future management activities include relocating the state highway into the park and the county road dividing the *heiau*. Road cuts would be obliterated and filled, along with any other scars, to return some sense of the area's original topography. Existing power, water, and other utility lines would be relocated. The coastal trail would become the major interpretive trail and wayside exhibits would be provided. Introduced vegetation would be removed and native shrubs and trees reintroduced. New development away from the historic scene would include a parking lot, administrative offices, and a visitor contact site providing reception and orientation services.²⁸⁰

b) Management Options

(1) Preservation and Stabilization

A large number of physical remains of the ancient way of life still exist within the state of Hawai'i, including temples and shrines, agricultural field systems, trails, slides, fishponds, and habitation and grave sites. The stone foundations and walls of these sites remain, although the perishable resources of grass, wicker, and wood are long since gone. It is the NPS's primary responsibility to preserve and interpret significant resources within its park units.

Having identified the outstanding significance of the resources in Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, how then could they best be preserved, managed, and interpreted? So far, NPS management practices have consisted of stabilization and preservation efforts in an attempt to prevent further deterioration of walls and foundations. The park's enabling legislation states that these properties will be restored and preserved. This would presumably allow for placing structures on the platform of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and rebuilding the houses and associated outbuildings on the upper portion of the John Young homestead.²⁸¹ Proponents of this idea believe that the two sites cannot be interpreted adequately without the visitor being able to see complete physical structures, even if they are only as we imagine them to have looked. Archeologist Lloyd Soehren, for instance, suggested that because of the monumentality of the ruins and the pre-eminent significance of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau, they should be preserved and perhaps restored along with clearing and landscaping the area around them. These actions would be, he stated, "a magnificent monument to ancient Hawaii and its rulers."²⁸²

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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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.

National Park Service policy defines varying levels of treatment for the management of significant cultural resources in its park units. These include preservation, stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction. These policies, as well as a variety of other factors, including economics and maintenance problems, proposed uses, and the direction of interpretive programs, need to be thoroughly studied and analyzed in order to make informed and appropriate decisions about the treatment of significant, irreplaceable historic structures and cultural landscapes.

NPS Management Policies state that

the fundamental question of which treatments will best provide for the preservation and public enjoyment of particular cultural resources will be decided through planning. No treatment project will be undertaken unless supported by an approved proposal, plan, or report appropriate to the proposed action. The significance of the resource, its condition, its interpretive value, its research potential, and the availability of data will all be weighed in determining the appropriate treatment. . . .

As a basic principle, anything of historical appearance that the National Park Service presents to the public in a park will be either an authentic survival from the past or an accurate representation of that which formerly existed there. Reconstructions and reproductions will be clearly identified as such.²⁸³

In regard to the treatment of archeological resources, NPS-28 (Cultural Resources Management Guideline) states that

Archeological resources will be left undisturbed unless intervention can be justified based on overriding research, interpretation, site protection, or park development needs.²⁸⁴

Guidelines for preserving historic and prehistoric structures of archeological significance state that "all structures and objects will be protected against natural and human agencies of destruction and deterioration whenever practicable" and that "preservation will maintain the existing form, integrity and materials of the resource." The guidelines also order that "significant archeological sites and structures will not be rehabilitated, restored, or reconstructed."²⁸⁵

But the archeological resources we are dealing with here are also historic structures. The guidelines in the Stewardship section under Management of Historic and Prehistoric Structures address standards to be used in evaluating proposed projects impacting those resources. Applicable standards state that:

283. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Management Policies, 1988, Chapter 5:5.

284. Section D, Stewardship, under Management of Archeological Resources, in "NPS-28, Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Release No. 4," Draft, February 1993, Chapter 6:92.

285. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

Each historic structure is recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features from other structures, are not undertaken.²⁸⁶

Obviously preservation of the existing foundations at these sites would be the treatment having the least impact on their integrity as ruins of significant prehistoric and historic structures:

Preservation maintains the existing integrity and character of a historic structure by arresting or retarding deterioration caused by natural forces and normal use. It includes both maintenance and stabilization.²⁸⁷

This type of action ensures visitor safety while protecting the site for future study and visitor education by retarding natural and human erosion.

(2) Restoration and Reconstruction

Restoration refers to accurately putting back features and details of a historic structure that are gone but that are known to have been in place on that structure at its original construction or at a specific point in its history. NPS Management Policies state that a structure may be restored to an earlier appearance if (1) restoration is essential to public understanding of the cultural associations of a park, and (2) sufficient data exist to permit restoration with minimal conjecture.²⁸⁸

Reconstruction, however, "entails reproducing the form, features, and character of a non-surviving historic structure, or any part thereof, as it appeared at a specific time and place." Policies state that a structure may be reconstructed if it is "essential to public understanding of the cultural associations of a park established for that purpose," and if "sufficient data exist to permit reconstruction . . . with minimal conjecture." The policies also state that "generalized representations of typical structures will not be attempted."²⁸⁹

The question of the ethics and merits of NPS restoration projects has been a source of intense debate among NPS professionals in a variety of disciplines since the mid-1930s. Although today NPS policy is fairly explicit in regard to this question, every professional within the organization has his or her own personal opinion about the appropriateness of such a measure. In addition, the pressures exerted by local communities, politicians, and other outside interests can often result in a much different practice. In reality, then, NPS policy on this issue is subject to the discretion of agency managers on a case-by-case basis. However, there are certain aspects of this management problem that advise caution in considering reconstruction.

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.

First, significant archeological resources are not to be tampered with unless there are *overriding* research, interpretive, site protection, or park development needs. Basically proponents of reconstruction believe that most visitors would be unable to visualize the form, scale, texture, and position of structures on top of Pu'ukoholā, its overall awe-inspiring appearance, or the historical and architectural significance of the Young homestead, from merely looking at foundation ruins. The argument is that in order to be instructive of past Hawaiian lifeways, religious traditions, and historical events, these resources must appear as they did during the historical period. Some might argue, however, that models, dioramas, drawings, films, and other interpretive devices could fulfill that purpose. Certainly the sight of thatched structures and an array of wooden images or skulls on the platform of Pu'ukoholā would be an impressive sight, but it could be argued that a well-executed large-scale model and/or several smaller dioramas, paintings, or other imaginative devices in a visitor center could serve as comprehensive interpretive exhibits and adequately convey the story of the cultural traditions, associations, and appearance of the area.

Two other major concerns arise when considering actions affecting resources in the park. The integrity of remains would be severely compromised with the addition of structures on top of Pu'ukoholā – with the attendant impact on the platform surface – or the reconstruction of walls to enclose the Young homestead. Both actions would require more in-depth archeological excavation work first in order to retrieve any information that might be lost or acquire additional information to help locate original structures and features. This would be especially necessary at the John Young homestead to gather more information on structural details and determine when each structure was used and how. Another concern deals with long-term maintenance of reconstructed thatched huts and adobe walls. Preservation of grass and wicker structures and numerous wooden images would be expensive and time-consuming (and there do exist in the islands other *heiau* reconstructions for public view and interpretation). The history of preservation of adobe walls had been a long, arduous, and unsatisfactory one for NPS preservationists. In addition, reconstruction, involving removing or covering the original remaining wall material and adding new fabric, can hardly be justified as part of our mission of preservation of authentic historical structures and fabric. The question of what to do with the homestead is certainly thought provoking. Total excavation would leave an important archeological record exposed to the vicissitudes of vandalism, earthquakes, and weathering. Burying the resources, as has been done at some archeological sites, does not benefit the visitor because it precludes meaningful interpretation. The other alternative is that the site not be excavated further, but interpreted as is.

The primary and most important factor influencing the decision on reconstruction of the *heiau* structures is a lack of substantive documentary or visual data to support this activity. The question of authenticity is an important one for the Park Service to consider. The significance of Hawaiian *heiau*, "the ancient Hawaiians' highest architectural achievement," has only recently been realized.²⁹⁰ There still exists little in-depth analysis of this type of structure.²⁹¹ By the time interest in *heiau* arose, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, much firsthand knowledge of these structures had been lost through the death of the generation that had participated in the construction of these temples or witnessed their ceremonies. The absence of a written language

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.

prior to the 1820s also resulted in much loss of information.²⁹² The lack of similarity in *heiau* construction and placement and number of structures has been noted elsewhere in this report. Byron Shimizu points out in his study that the fact that *heiau* were usually abandoned after the dedicatory ceremonies until their reconsecration for another crisis, and that their inferior images were no longer regarded with respect, as noted by early visitors, shows that in many cases the physical form of the temple was secondary in importance to the rituals conducted therein. He believes this lack of imposed formal restrictions allowed for great flexibility and innovation in temple layout design.²⁹³

Unfortunately, we have little information to date on the number and extent of structures on top of Pu'ukoholā, and we have no idea about structures on Mailekini prior to its use as a fort. Nor do we have any historical pictures of the Young homestead complex or any evidence other than what has been learned through limited archeological excavation. In addition, there have undoubtedly been changes over the years on all sites that we have absolutely no record of, relating to periodic maintenance or replacement of structures while they were in use. The appearance of Pu'ukoholā as it was built, before the assassination of Keoua, would be conjectural; its appearance after the sacrifice of Keoua would include his skull and those of his followers as part of the *heiau* furnishings; later descriptions mention numerous images on the walls and terraces. A reconstruction could either address the high point of the structure's development, the time of its greatest historical significance – the sacrifice of Keoua and the dedication of the temple – or its appearance in 1823, thirty years after that event and after a multitude of changes might have taken place. It would be especially difficult to determine the appearance of structures on the Young homestead at any particular point in time.

Three non-native Hawaiian scholars have stated in the past their own ideas on *heiau* restoration. Thomas G. Thrum in 1905 believed that there was too little evidence in most remaining *heiau* to convey a clear idea of the original plan, thus advising against restoration:

Such a course would not detract from its historic value; in fact a deeper interest ever prevails over well kept ruins than can be maintained on false restorations.²⁹⁴

John F. G. Stokes, former curator of Polynesian Ethnology at the Bishop Museum, wrote the Honolulu Superintendent of Public Works in 1915 in regard to a statement of the latter that he wanted to "put the old temples back as near as I can to their original shape. . . ."²⁹⁵ Stokes was in full agreement with Forbes's plan to erect a protective iron fence around each *heiau*, but added,

I am convinced, from the number of *heiau* sites I have examined and measured (practically all those on Hawaii and Molokai, and others of the Group) and the

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.

study made on the subject, that it would be a serious mistake to make attempts at restoration of any kind. . . .²⁹⁶

Stokes admitted that the presence of structures on top of the stone *heiau* platforms would provide a graphic impression of Hawaiian religion and society that one could not easily obtain from a ruin. But he also emphasized the known dissimilarities in individual *heiau* and the lack of substantive data in the form of pictures and firsthand accounts. He guarded against tampering with a single stone in Hawaiian temples for fear of entirely changing an original wall or platform configuration. He recommended instead interpreting with signs as much information as was available, such as the name of the *heiau*, its builder, and the gods worshipped within it, if known.²⁹⁷

As recently as the 1960s, Dr. Kenneth Emory stated,

The pattern of the *heiaus* was varied as to the plan of the enclosure or platform on which the structures stood and also as to the position of these structures. Therefore, it is now difficult to reconstruct the appearance of a *heiau* from the ruins which survive. . . .²⁹⁸

NPS Bureau Historian Barry Mackintosh has said on the question of restoration:

The Service is basically in the preservation business. It is also in the interpretation business, but it is supposed to be interpreting original, genuine things that it is preserving, not its own handiwork.²⁹⁹

Mackintosh believes, as do many professional historians, that people acquire more sense of an association and communion with the past from viewing an actual physical remnant of history than from gazing upon a modern rendition of it.³⁰⁰ In a sense expanding on this theory years earlier, NPS Architect Albert Good stated in the 1930s that:

the faint shadow of the genuine often makes more intelligent appeal to the imagination than the crass and visionary replica. . . . for a group to materialize largely out of thin air its arbitrary conception of what is fitting and proper is to trespass the right and privilege of the individual to re-create vanished or near-vanished things within his own imagination.³⁰¹

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.

A New York State archeologist, finally, adds another perspective to the problem by posing the following question:

Also, one might ask why original, authentic historic structures should be preserved if historic structures can be reconstructed and if the reconstructions are as good as (maybe better than) the originals. What do reconstructions teach the public about preservation and the value of saving real, original structures?³⁰²

This writer believes there are valid points on both sides of this question. One of the primary purposes of this historic resource study was to determine if there was sufficient historical data to reconstruct Pu'ukoholā Heiau and the John Young homestead site with a high degree of accuracy. No descriptions or drawings of the sites at the time of their original construction were found. Only scanty accounts of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and its appearance have been found, as is also the case with Mailekini Heiau. Whether more detailed ethnographic research would add much enlightenment on this question is not known. Young's home is particularly lacking in historical data. Interpretation of the homestead has to be based on a limited historical record. There is no specific information on the precise location or appearance of structures and a problem exists differentiating between physical development on the upper and lower sections of the homestead. Although archeology has found some answers, some will never be ascertained, making it difficult to interpret specific physical remains or their use. Work accomplished to date has helped define Young's integrated Western-Hawaiian lifestyle to some extent, but gaps remain. We have no precise idea of the cultural landscape at either site – only vague generalities at one or two points in the historical period.

The park's enabling legislation calls for restoration of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and the John Young homestead. NPS managers will have to decide if that course of action is essential to public understanding of the site and if sufficient historical data is available to enable an authentic reconstruction of this particular temple. Care should be taken that restoration/reconstruction would not delve into aspects of Hawaiian religion that some native Hawaiians might not want made public.

(3) Interpretive Options

What other interpretive options are available? The Park Service has experimented with various ideas at other sites, including locating reconstructions at a distance from the original site, an action that would not be appropriate in this park because the topographical locations of these structures are so closely interwoven with their significance. In other places attempts at "ghost reconstruction" have been made, using a skeletal framework to suggest the form and outline of structures. This alternative also would be less than satisfactory because the configuration of temple buildings – their textures and materials – are vital aspects of their traditional architectural significance and religious associations. Outlining on the *heiau* platform or the homestead site the locations of specific structures, which would be tied in to interpretive exhibits at the visitor center, would not work well because of the restricted access to the platform level of Pu'ukoholā. It might be more satisfactory at the homestead site, but would be a distracting intrusion on the historic ambience.

302. Paul R. Huey, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, in *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 1 (1990): 2.

Whatever decision is made should aim at preserving surviving prehistoric and historic fabric and archeological resources. At Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site the Park Service has stewardship over three different types of *heiau*, a microcosm of prehistoric and historic Hawaiian religious practices and political processes – an amazing interpretive opportunity. An expanded interpretive program, using data presented in this report and formulated cooperatively with native Hawaiian scholars, could be a stimulating aspect of a park visit and provide a wealth of information on early Hawaiian religion and aboriginal Hawaiian society. Whatever the Park Service finally decides, it must bear in mind the uniqueness of these resources and its responsibility not to degrade their integrity or detract from their many cultural, interpretive, and educational values.

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'ukoholā 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 culture."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'ukoholā originated with Kamehameha or was rebuilt over an earlier structure. If Pu'ukoholā 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

303. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, pp. 259-60.

304. *Archaeology of South Kohala*, p. 3.

305. Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, p. 264.

in the centuries before European contact. Architectural studies can also help assure the accuracy of stabilization and reconstruction efforts.³⁰⁶

Pu'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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'ukoholā 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.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

Temporary stabilization actions at the John Young homestead have included erecting a plywood 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.

Chapter VIII. Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park

A. Setting

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

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 potatoes, watermelons, and even some tobacco. The last eruption prior to their visit had been in 1801, that outflow from Hualālai 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-Honokōhau 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

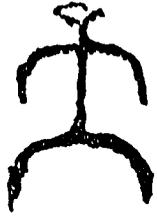
1. Marion Kelly, *Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o. Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko and Kuki'o Ahupua'a, North Kona, Hawaii*, Report 71-2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1971), pp. 2-3.

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.

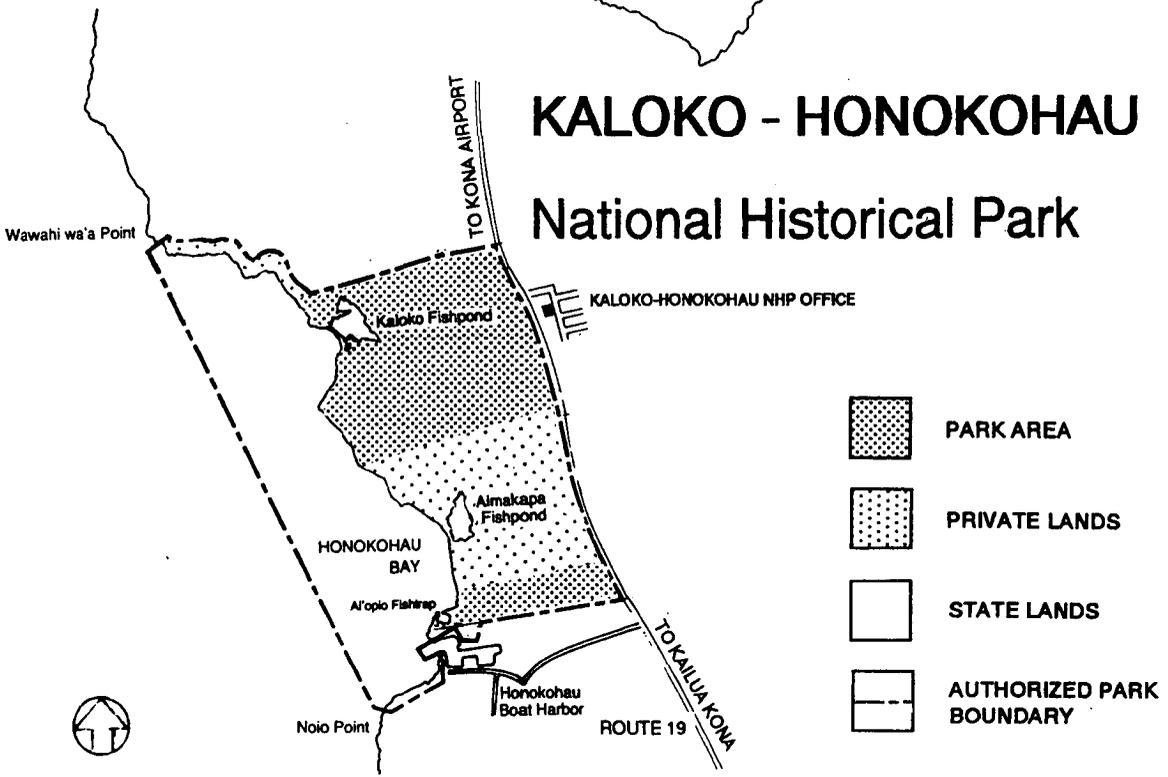
3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

4. Renger, "Human Adaptation," p. 202.

United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service



KALOKO - HONOKOHAU National Historical Park



Map not to scale

Illustration 93. Map of Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, Hawai'i.

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 *makahā* (sluice gates). The third feature, a fishtrap, was formed by arcing a stone wall from the shoreline out to a protruding point of land.

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-Honokōhau 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 Honokōhau 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 Kealahou, 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'makapā 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 *Mahale* 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 Honokōhau-nui, containing the large 'Aimakapā Fishpond. W.P. Leleiohoku, heir of Kuakini, Ka'ahumanu's brother, received the smaller 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap in Honokōhau-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

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.

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 Māmalahoa 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-Honokōhau

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.

coast: that of Kealiihelepo on the east edge of Kaloko Fishpond and those of Kalua and Beniamina between 'Ai'ōpio and 'Aimakapā fishponds in Honokōhau.¹⁷

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 Hualālai and Mauna Loa. Small-scale coffee operations also existed around Kaloko and Honokōhau 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 Honokōhau village

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.

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 Honokōhau 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-Honokōhau 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 Honokōhau shoreline around 'A'iōpio Fishtrap.

A final development spurring further activity in the area occurred 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 Honokōhau 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.

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.

C. Social and Political Structure of the Prehistoric Community

The number of recreational and ceremonial structures that remain in the park, especially in the vicinity of 'Ai'makapā Fishpond, suggest intensive use of the area by *ali'i*. Reportedly the armies of Kamehameha, who housed his court a short distance south in Kailua, rested and refreshed themselves at Kaloko-Honokōhau during long marches.³⁰

Archeologist Ross Cordy has formulated some interesting societal data in his studies of prehistoric social change, postulating that two social rank echelons were present at Kaloko. Only commoners resided there between A.D. 1050-1100 and 1400-1450, with an overlord probably living elsewhere in the district. The upper (high chief) echelon was present sometime between A.D. 1450-1500 and 1600-1650. Cordy also believes that Kaloko was a discrete community with identifiable boundary features, including unoccupied buffer zones to the south and north between it and the houses of neighboring settlements. A religious cairn site ("Queen's Bath" area) marked its southern border. He believes that other features, such as an internal trail network between permanent sites and the presence of a major temple and a cemetery, also indicate a community entity at Kaloko.³¹

Two researchers recording the oral traditional and social history of the Kaloko-Honokōhau area under the auspices of the Bishop Museum gathered information on the *kahuna* hierarchy that ruled there during ancient times. According to that information, the high priest Pa'ao brought in a king named Pili to set up a new regime to replace the chaotic one Pa'ao found on the island. This was the beginning of the religious hierarchy that characterized Kaloko-Honokōhau. Establishing his residence on a hill overlooking Kawaihae, Pili ruled Kohala and Kona through chiefs stationed at Kawaihae, Honokōhau, and Palemano Point, Ke'ei. Communication in times of danger or conflict consisted of signal fires that could be seen over long distances. These chiefs governed activities in their respective areas and maintained communications with their high chief.

Makakilo, the chief at Honokōhau, ruled North Kona from his base of operations at Pu'uoina Heiau. He also directed fishing operations. His home was reported to be on the first terrace of the *heiau*, closest to the ocean. A connection between the *heiau* and fishtrap is suggested by the fact that, in connection with his supervision of fishing activities, he reportedly held fish in the pool prior to distribution. Mano succeeded Makakilo, establishing his residence on the second terrace of Pu'uoina. The next *kahuna* chief, Kaumanamana, lived on the top level of the *heiau*. Kanaka-leonui his successor, set up his base at Keauhou and commuted to Honokōhau to direct activities there from the bluff above 'Aimakapā. Another famous ruling chief was Kekuaokalani, the highest-ranking *kahuna* on Hawai'i at the time of Kamehameha's birth, and the same person who, left as guardian of Kū-ka'ili-moku by Kamehameha, lost his life opposing Liholiho's abolition of the *kapu* system.³²

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.

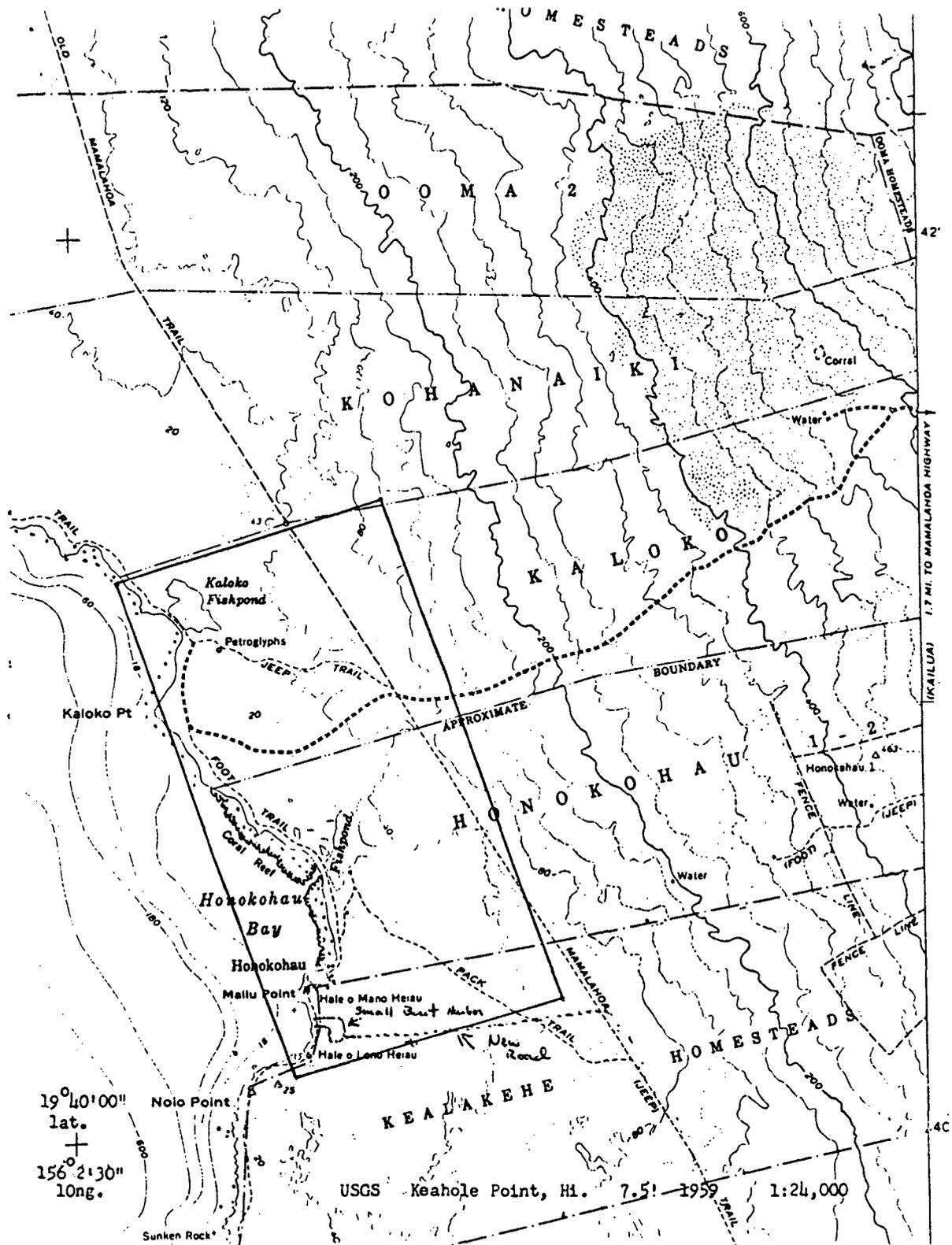


FIGURE 23. Map of Honokohau-Settlement Complex.

Illustration 95. Map showing boundaries of Honokōhau Settlement area from National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination form, 1970.

D. Relationship of Prehistoric Kaloko with Neighboring *Ahupua'a*

Robert Renger explored the relationship that might have existed between Kaloko and the neighboring *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau and Kohanaiki. He concluded that because the distribution of archaeological sites between the three areas was not continuous, there was probably not much interaction between them. This might have been because in early times usually only *ali'i* had much mobility across *ahupua'a*, although numerous trails between the coast and uplands signify considerable interaction *within* the *ahupua'a* by the common people. Renger theorized that only with increasing population decline in the Kaloko area was there more interaction along the coast between Kaloko and Kailua.³³

In consonance with this line of thought, another report suggests that the name Honokōhau Settlement on the national historic landmark form is misleading. Its writer points out that although strong social and kinship ties existed between people in the same *ahupu'a'* living on the coast, inland, or between these two areas, social ties were much weaker between people living in different *ahupua'a*, even if they were located next to one another on the coast. Because the area of Honokōhau Settlement National Historic Landmark included the coastal sections of three separate *ahupua'a* – Kaloko, Honokōhau, and Kealakehe – it would not have comprised a single integrated settlement, but three habitation areas that constituted the coastal portions of inland-coastal cultural complexes. And within these, there probably would have been closer social ties between the *makai-mauka* people within the same *ahupua'a* than between the coastal people of the different *ahupua'a*.³⁴

E. Summary of Prehistoric Development

Briefly then, research suggests that although originally established as an outlier settlement of another community, Kaloko possibly had become a unified community after A.D. 1200-1300. The coastal village was composed of several residential groups, within which one household was probably dominant in certain activities, such as religious observances. In addition to this low-level, horizontal division of authority, a hierarchial pattern of authority existed in the form of a chief who exercised control over the political and religious functions of the community. Prior to and after A.D. 1490-1610, this chief lived elsewhere in the district; during that time period, however, he apparently resided in Kaloko. No exact population figures for the settlement are available, but it probably supported from 60 to 100 people. In Kaloko, as in other *ahupua'a*, agricultural activities took place in the uplands while marine exploitation supplemented by the artificial raising of fish occurred along the shore. In other areas, these pond fish were intended only for chiefly consumption; it is uncertain if this was the case at Kaloko. Drinking water was available in brackish pools near the settlement, which were linked to the households by a trail system.³⁵ These same generalities probably hold true for the Honokōhau coastal settlement area as well.

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'imakapā 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.

F. Historical Associations

1. Earliest Reference to Kaloko-Honokōhau Area

Samuel Kamakau presents the earliest traditional reference to this region when recounting a secret trip made by a spy of the chief of Maui to investigate the west coast of Hawai'i. When asked where he had gone and what he had seen, the spy reported, among other things, visiting "large inland ponds" at Kaloko and Honokōhau.³⁶ According to genealogical calculations by Marion Kelly, this probably occurred in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, testifying to the antiquity of these fishponds.³⁷ Historically Kaloko's closest ties were to the Kona chiefs and particularly to Kamehameha's court at Kamakahonu in Kailua-Kona, a village that was probably dependent on the pond for supplemental food and on which the later caretakers of the pond depended for cash sales of fish.³⁸

2. Use as Burial Ground for *Ali'i*

The Kaloko-Honokōhau settlement area contains burial places for the dead. It is also characterized by a number of secret caves and lava tubes that figured prominently in early Hawaiian folklore as the burial place of high-ranking *ali'i*. As described in an earlier section of this report, funeral rites connected with the death of ruling chiefs of Hawai'i involved complex initial ceremonies that prepared the body for afterlife, followed by secret burial of the bones. These were entrusted to loyal followers whom the deceased had previously designated. Burial took place at night to prevent disclosure of the hiding place and desecration of the remains, which might result in transference of the deceased's *mana* to an enemy.

3. Traditional Burial Site of Bones of Kamehameha

An early traditional reference to the area in the late eighteenth century mentions the burial in a hidden cave at Kaloko of Kahekili, the ruler of Maui. However, the most significant burial ceremony traditionally reported to have taken place there is that of Kamehameha, although there is no firm proof of this event. His bones were supposedly transported by canoe from Kailua to Kaloko, where the bearers of the royal remains met the man in charge of the secret burial cave, and together they placed the bones in the same depository used for Kahekili.³⁹ Kamakau presents a description of this burial place, relating:

Kaloko [pond] is another famous burial pit; it is at Kaloko, in Kekaha, Hawaii. [In a cave that opens into the side of the pond] were laid Kahekili, the ruler of Maui, his sister Kalola, and her daughter, Keku'iapoiva Liliha, the grandmother of

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.

Kamehameha III. This is the burial cave, *ana huna*, where Kame'eiamoku and Hoapili hid the bones of Kamehameha I so that they would never be found.⁴⁰

Kamehameha's burial place has been a subject of long conjecture, and will probably never be identified beyond doubt. On the basis of traditional sources, however, and on the basis of a lack of any solid evidence for an alternative site, it is thought to be at Kaloko.

In 1887 King Kalākaua designated a man named Kapalu, who had guided him to a burial cave at Kaloko in which he supposedly beheld Kamehameha's bones, as overseer and keeper of the "Royal Burial Ground" at Kaloko. A year later Kalākaua wrote that he ordered Kapalu to retrieve the bones, which the king took to Honolulu and deposited in the Royal Mausoleum in Nu'uano Valley.⁴¹ There is some question as to whether the bones were authentic and differing accounts exist as to what happened to them in later years. Barrère, in commenting on the Kamehameha burial question, states:

it is obvious that conflicting stories were given by informants named and unnamed since the early 1820s. The earliest stories were no doubt purposely misleading; the later ones are mainly versions of the earlier, with the embellishments to be expected in the retelling of oral traditions. If, despite vehement denials, the bones Kalakaua obtained at Kaloko and deposited in the Mausoleum in Nuuanu were indeed those of Kamehameha, they were spirited away from there before March of 1918, and this story too becomes but another version of the tale of the bones.

Let those who will, profess knowledge of the hiding place of the bones of Kamehameha – "The morning star alone knows. . . ."⁴²

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 Kamehameha 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.

4. Association with Kamehameha II

Another early reference to the Kaloko area states that after Liholiho's meeting with the *ali'i* at Kawaihae shortly after his father's death, when discussions were held to resolve political and economic issues plaguing the kingdom, the young heir went to Honokōhau to consecrate a *heiau*. Because he was intoxicated, however, the ritual was considered imperfect. It was immediately after this incident that he returned to Kailua and abolished the *kapu* system.⁴³

G. Description of Resources

1. Fishponds

Fishponds are impressive examples of native prehistoric engineering/technological achievements and comprise one of the many effective techniques Hawaiians used in adapting to a sometimes hostile environment. On the North Kona Coast most of the land is covered with lava that has not yet decomposed to the degree that it produces enough soil for large-scale agriculture. The dry and bleak environment of the Kekaha region between Honokōhau and 'Anaeho'omalu was somewhat ameliorated by the presence in ancient times of nineteen major fishponds. Enabling a larger population by bolstering food resources, these ponds became the focal point of settlement and social organization in the area.⁴⁴

Very few fishponds exist on Hawai'i Island, because many are being filled in to create more land for housing developments. The two at Kaloko-Honokōhau, therefore, comprise some of the park's most significant and unique resources. Kaloko is a *loko kuapā*, or walled fishpond, formed by sealing off a small bay. 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap was built by constructing a stone seawall arc from the shore to form an enclosed body of water. It is considered a fishtrap rather than a fishpond because it lacks a sluice gate. 'Aimakapā Fishpond is a lagoon formed behind a barrier beach.

Kaloko Fishpond and 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap are the only remaining large Hawaiian aquacultural structures with extensive ancient foundation remains in place in relatively good condition. In addition, many prehistoric and historic sites associated with them and their use are present.⁴⁵ 'Ai'ōpio is the only fishtrap on the island of Hawai'i, and in addition to its good state of preservation, is a significant example of one aspect of prehistoric fishing technology.⁴⁶

One of the general settlement types identified for the Hawaiian Islands is referred to as an agglutinated pattern. This pattern is characterized by high population density, a grouped community, clustered residential sites, and clear boundary delineations between the cluster and sites outside it. Agglutinated sites tend to be found along the shore in coastal areas with sandy beaches and safe canoe anchorages that offer good fishing and surfing possibilities – in other

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.

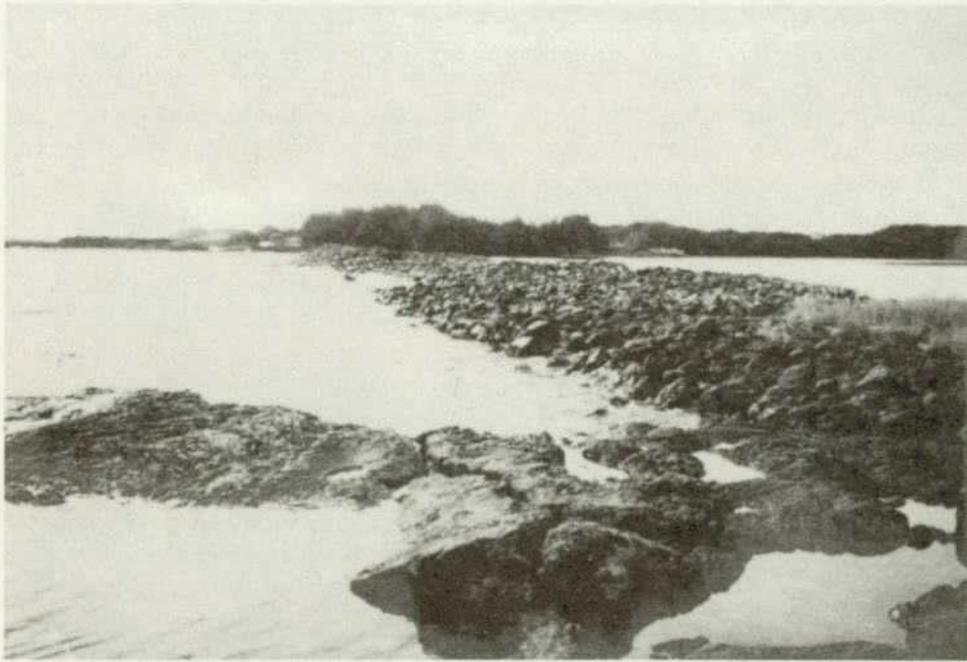


Illustration 96. Kaloko Fishpond seawall, view to north. Pond is to right. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 97. Kaloko Fishpond, view north. Entrance to sea is to left. NPS photo, 1989.

words, generally idyllic settings.⁴⁷ They also are often associated with people of high status. The Kaloko, 'Aimakapā, and 'Ai'ōpio sites are all representative of the agglutinated settlement pattern. All three exhibit a density of habitation features and the presence of temples and shrines, as well as canoe and net sheds supporting fishpond maintenance and harvest. These sites did not support a very large population, however, probably indicating that the pond harvests were not generally available for public use.⁴⁸

a) Kaloko Fishpond

Kaloko is one of the largest surviving Hawaiian fishponds and is thought to have been, if not a major source of food, at least a dependable source of fish for the community in times of need. Robert Renger's analysis of data on Hawaiian fishpond utilization has convinced him that this pond did not play a major role in the prehistoric subsistence economy of the area, but was important as an indicator of social status.⁴⁹ The present pond was originally a natural embayment that was cut off from the sea by means of a manmade seawall. The entire pond covers about eleven acres. Secondary walls in the pond form three separate areas in which fingerlings were raised or in which different species of fish were segregated.⁵⁰

Kaloko's smaller secondary pond walls are still well preserved. Although several sections of the original Hawaiian seawall have either been destroyed or modified, enough segments of the main wall and its foundations remain to provide some indication of the original fishpond construction.⁵¹ This pond and its seawall are considered an excellent example of the high degree of engineering skill attained by the ancient Hawaiians. Kaloko possesses the largest and thickest manmade seawall on Hawai'i and is the island's best and most impressive example of a *loko kuapā* type pond.⁵²

The Hawaiian word *kaloko* means "the pond." Although most fishponds had their own specific names, as do 'Aimakapā and 'Ai'ōpi'o Fishtrap, Kaloko Fishpond has always been referred to by this generic term that also refers to the *ahupua'a* in which it is located, which may indicate its antiquity and importance. Kikuchi and Belshe suggest that Kaloko was constructed after 'Aimakapā because its more massive construction would have required a well-established social and labor organization. It has a much less significant cultural assemblage associated with it, the habitation sites found near the coast and inland from this pond and the canoe shed sites at the

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.

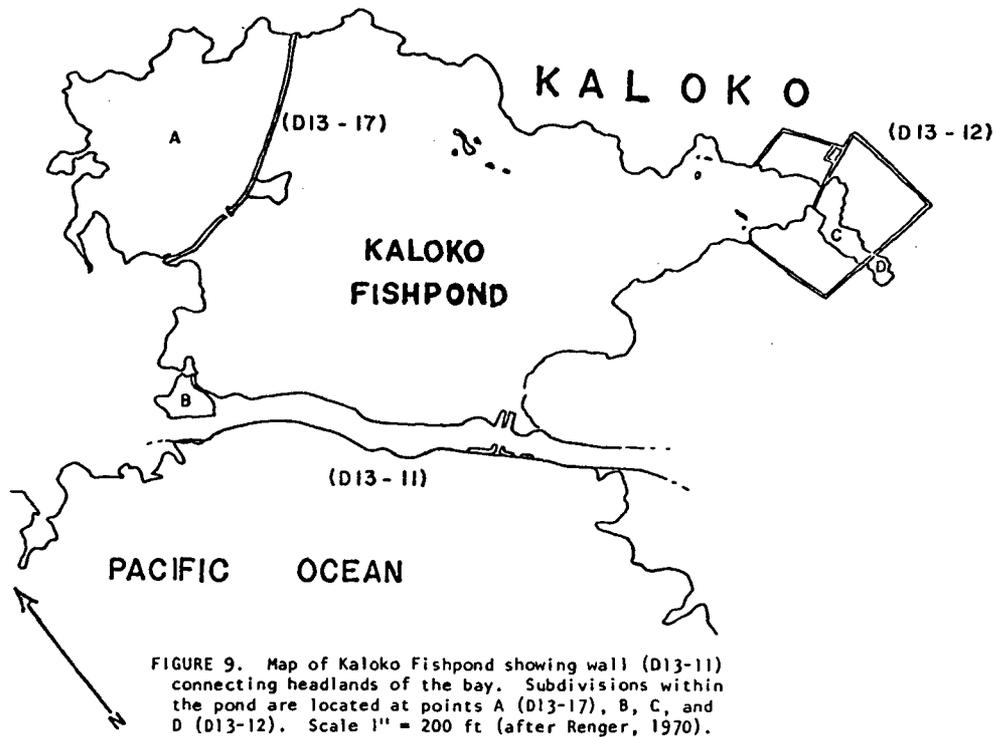


Illustration 98. Map of Kaloko Fishpond, showing subdivisions. Figure 9 in Kelly, *Historical Survey of Kaloko*, p. 19.

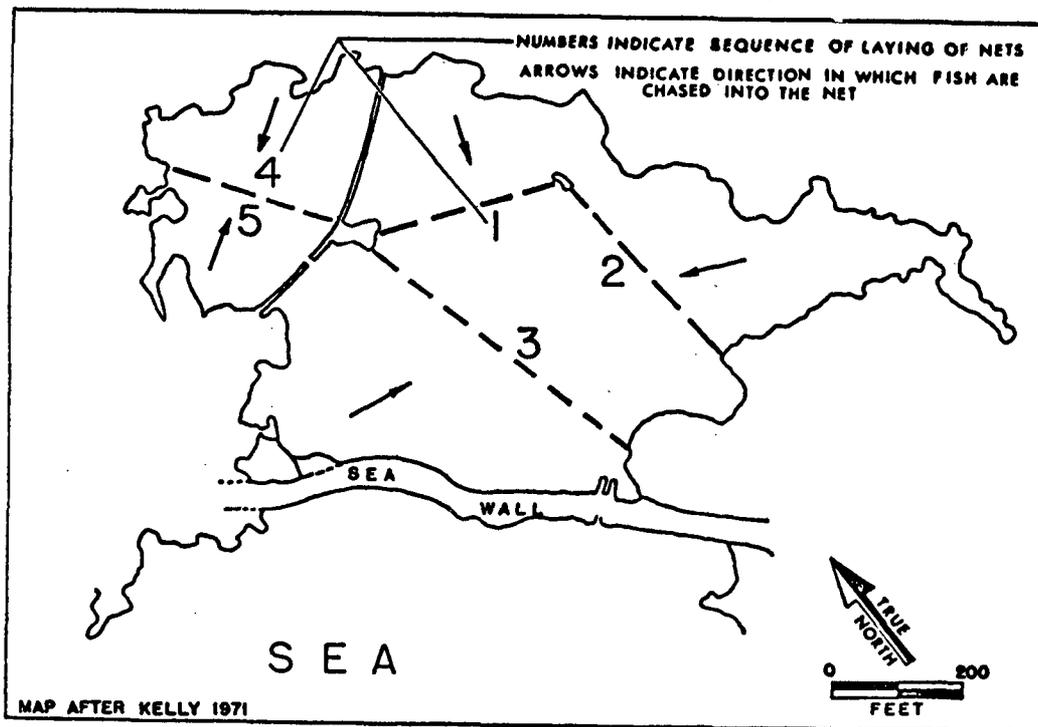


Fig. 35. Placement and Progression of Fishnets, Kaloko Fishpond

Illustration 99. Map of Kaloko Fishpond, showing placement and progression of fishnets for harvesting. Figure 35 in Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 132.

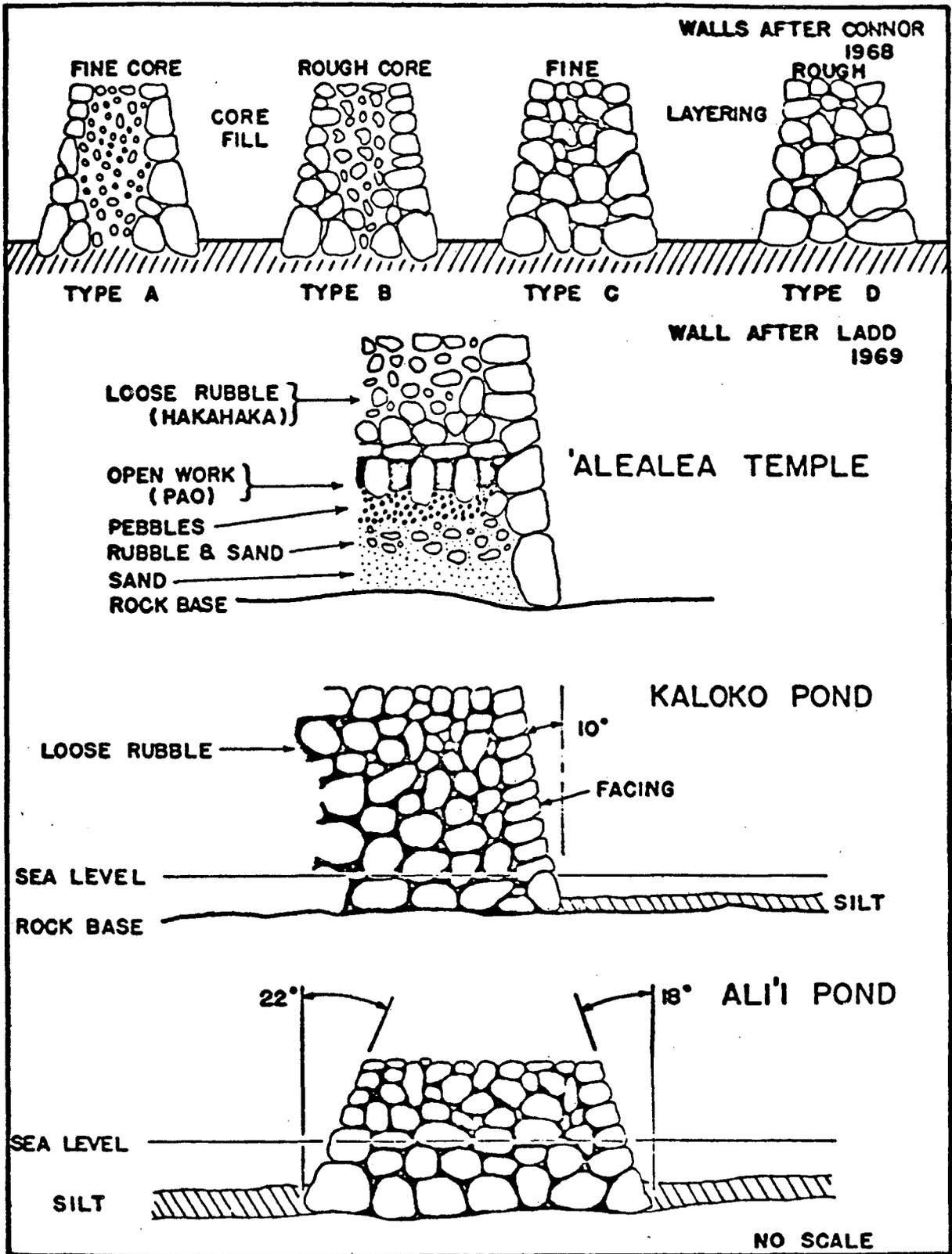


Fig. 27. Wall Construction

Illustration 100. Techniques of ancient Hawaiian fishpond wall construction. Figure 27 in Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 53.

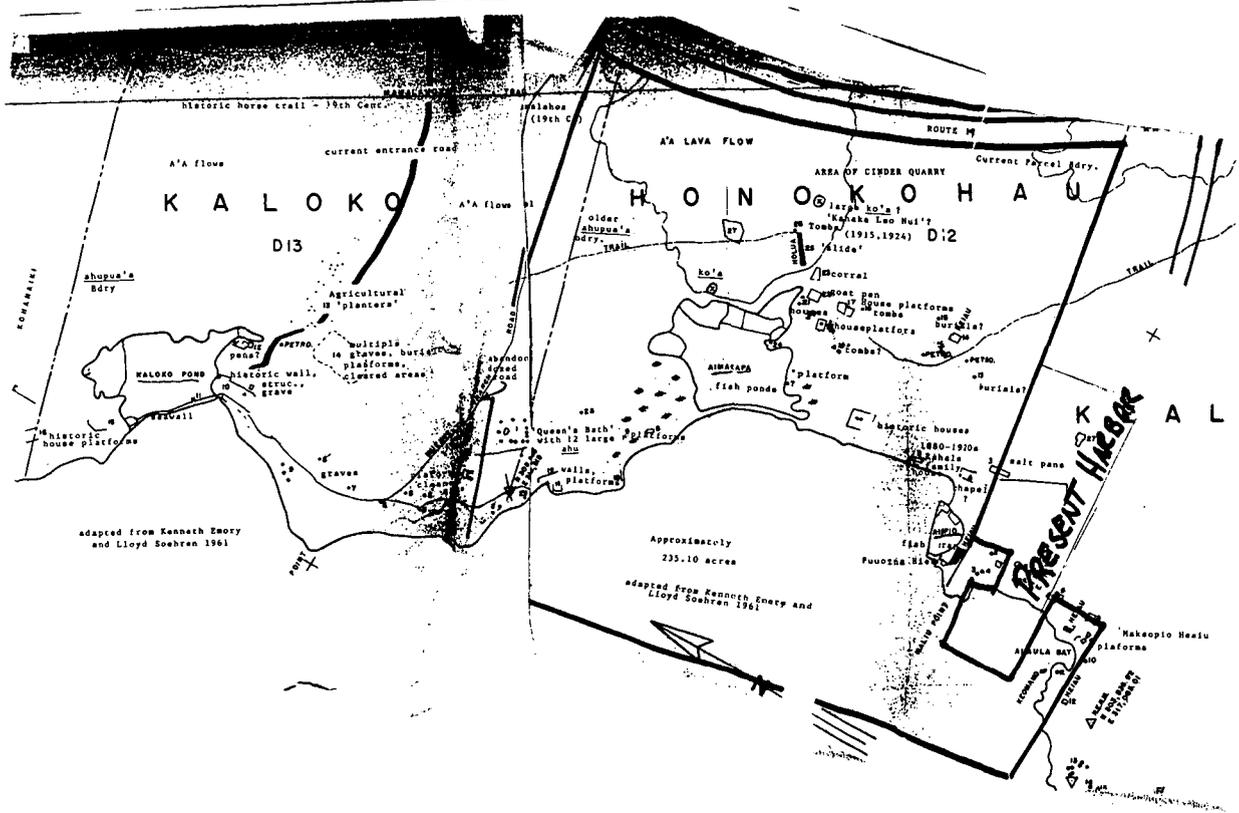


Illustration 101. Emory and Soehren map of Kaloko-Honokōhau-Kealahou area with additional notations by NPS Western Regional Archeologist Roger Kelly. One of the concrete tombs near the *holua* is dated "1924"; the other is inscribed "W.P. Kahale, born Dec. 3, 1857, died Oct. 15, 1915." There are several other grave depressions nearby. From figure 1 in *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, p. 2.

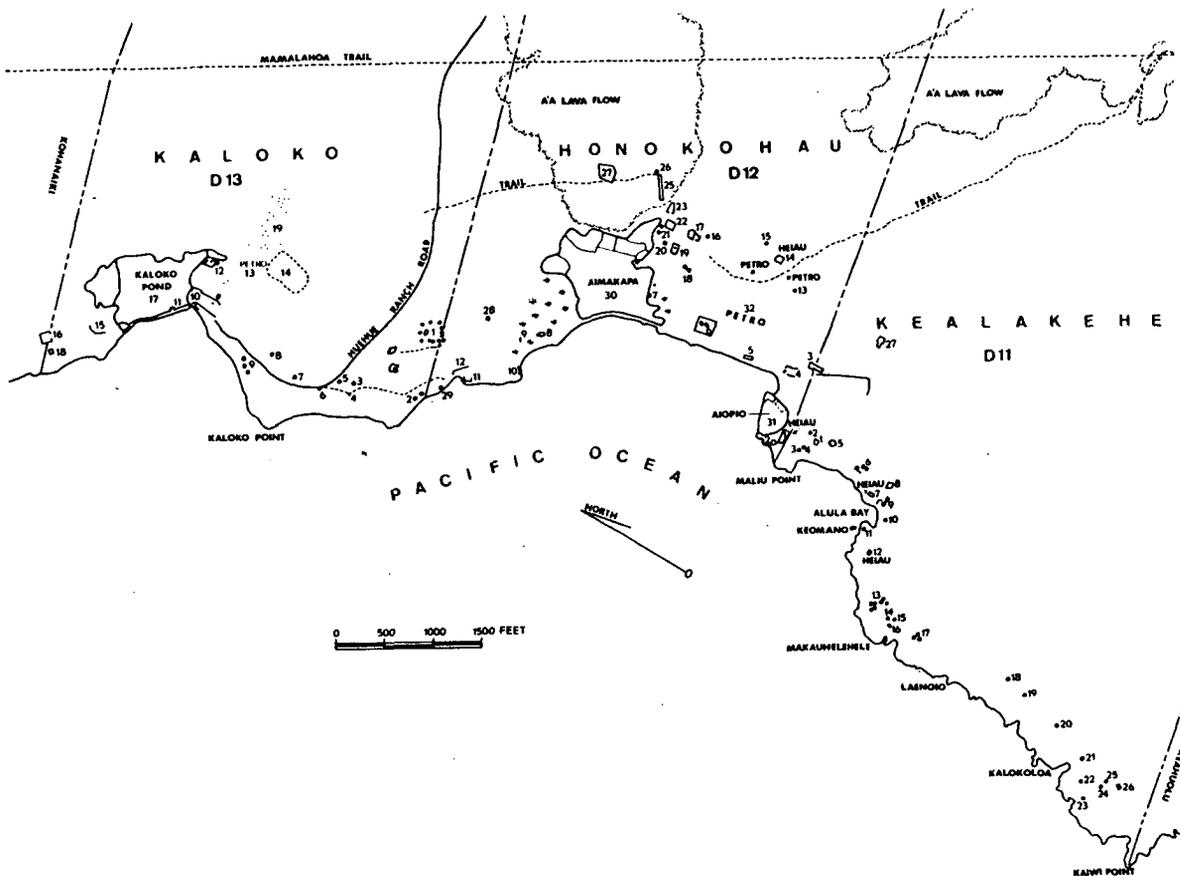


Figure 1. Detailed Map of site locations in Coastal Area of Honokohau, and Kealakehe, N. Kona, Hawaii.

Illustration 102. Archeological sites along the Kaloko-Honokōhau-Kealakehe coastal area. Figure 1 in Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, p. 2.

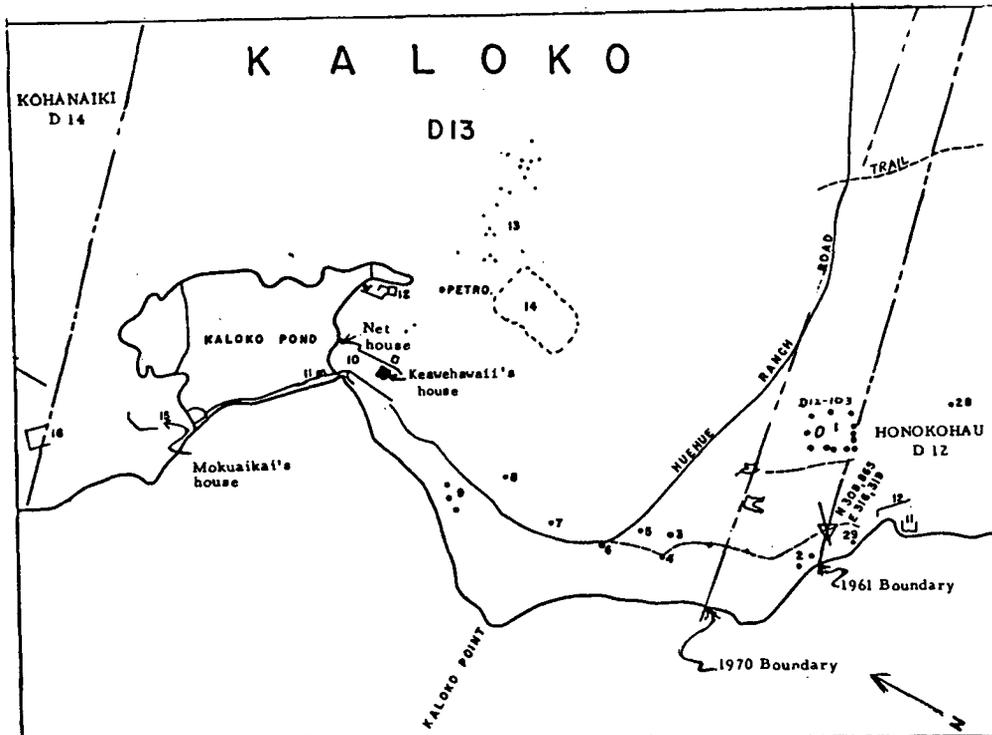


FIGURE 11. Map of coastal area of Kaloko Ahupua'a between Kohanaiki and Honokohau, showing location of site D12-103 (a cluster of large *ahu*), Kaloko Fishpond, house sites, and the changing boundary between Kaloko and Honokohau.

Illustration 103. Detail of archeological sites along Kaloko coast. Figure 11 in Kelly, *Historical Survey of Kaloko*, p. 26.

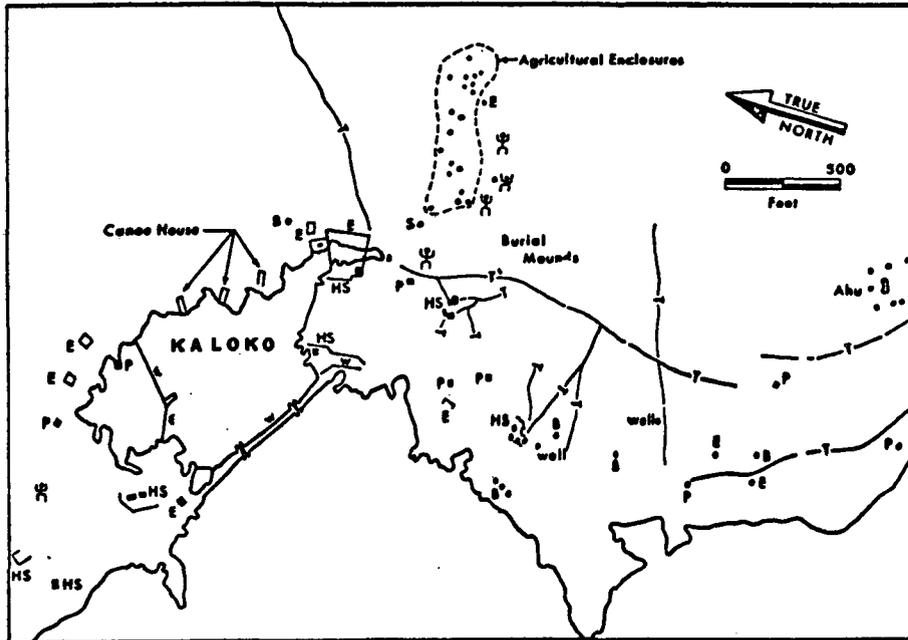


Fig. 40. Archaeological Sites Associated with Kaloko Fishpond

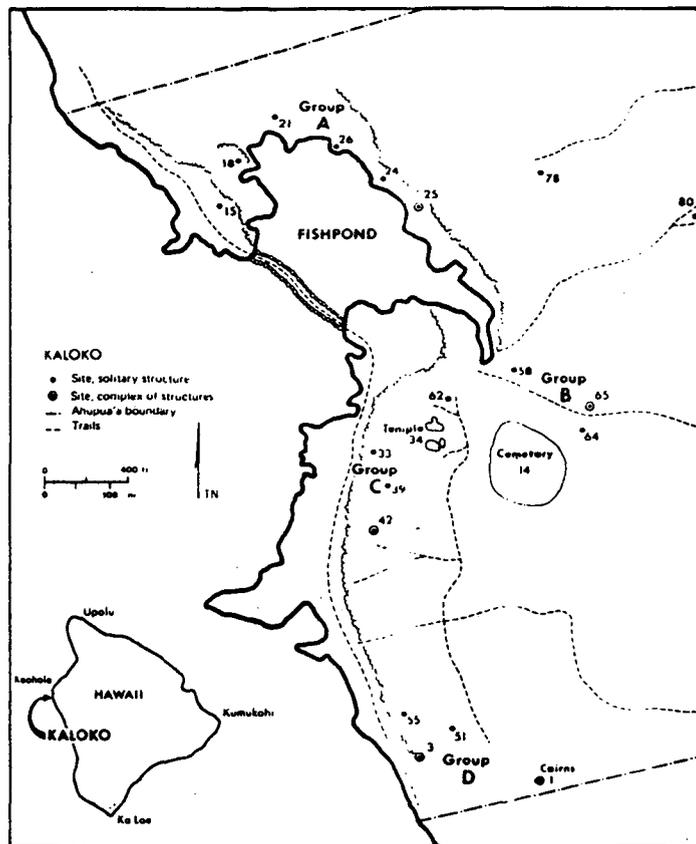


FIGURE 12. Kaloko: location map of prehistoric permanent structures

Illustration 104. Archeological sites around Kaloko Fishpond. Top: Figure 40 in Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 178. Bottom: Figure 12 in Cordy, *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change*, p. 129.



Illustration 105. Habitation site east of Kaloko Fishpond. NPS photo, 1989.

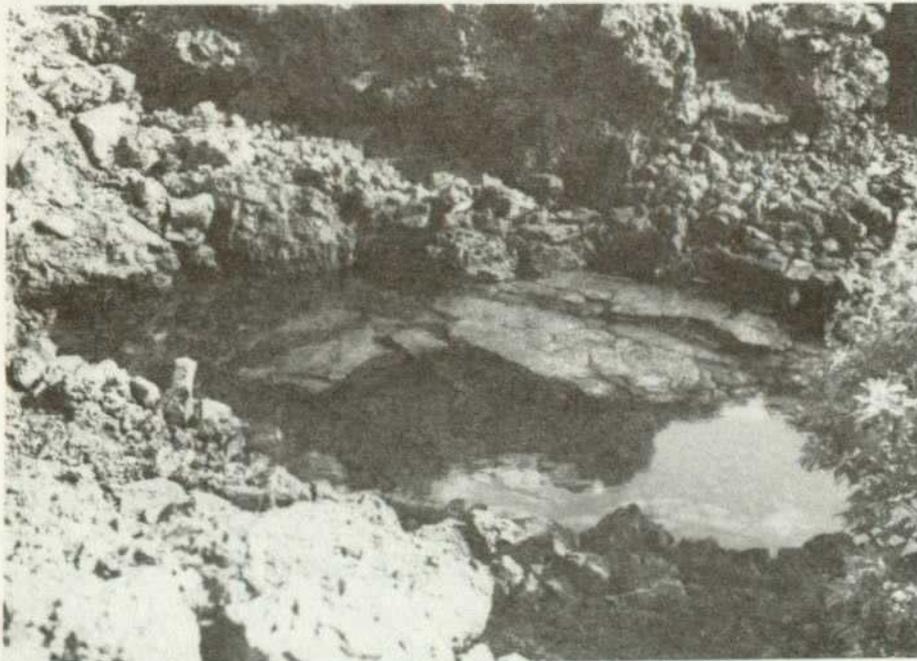


Illustration 106. "Queen's Bath." NPS photo, 1989.

edge of the pond suggesting a small population primarily tending to maintenance of the pond and harvesting of its products.⁵³

Evidently from the time of the Great *Mahele* through its ownership by King Kalākaua and Queen Kapi'olani, Kaloko Fishpond's caretaker served as an agent of the ruling chief of the *ahupua'a*. By 1860, fish from the pond were being sold for cash, perhaps supplementing the overlord's coffers. Later the Huehue Ranch leased the pond to caretakers.⁵⁴

In her historical study of the Kaloko area, Marion Kelly traced the chronology of a continuing succession of Kaloko Fishpond caretakers and lessees through the early 1960s and also provided information on how the pond was fished and the experience of living near it. These residents periodically performed repair work on the walls of the pond and were responsible for developing some of the house sites surrounding it. In fact, many of these sites can be attributed to specific individuals or families.⁵⁵

Kaloko Fishpond is highly respected by the Hawaiians as the burial place of Kamehameha's remains, which were interred during a ritual ceremony conducted in the traditional secret manner. It is also revered as the burial place of other high *ali'i* as well as of deceased respected ancestors. In addition, religious activities of the *kahuna* hierarchy that ruled here have long been associated with the area. These religious and cultural ties are very sacred to native Hawaiians. As the reputed burial place of the greatest of all Hawaiians – the king whose life and achievements still influence modern thoughts, attitudes, and emotions – the pond has overriding historical and cultural significance to Hawaiians.⁵⁶

Some native Hawaiians think the pond is *kapu* because of a *mo'o* (lizard) or spirit guardian that protects it and its resources from abuse. It is thought that if the pond is treated badly, its *mo'o* will be angered and shower bad luck on those responsible. If the pond is well cared for, the *mo'o* will be benign and cooperate in fishing activities.⁵⁷ Kelly's informants have told her the *mo'o* is female, one person having reported seeing a "mermaid"-like figure sitting on a rock in the pond.⁵⁸

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 than 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.

b) 'Aimakapā Fishpond

'Aimakapā, the larger of the fishponds, comprises about fifteen acres. It is a *loko pu'uone* type pond, a large natural water area trapped behind sand dunes. It was originally much larger, including another fifteen acres that are now marshland. A stone-lined channel cut through the beach once formed the sluice gate by which seawater entered the pond. 'Aimakapā also has secondary walls, forming at least six compartments for separating fish.⁵⁹ The pond is intact, though somewhat overgrown. It still contains *awa* (milkfish) and is an important wildlife refuge for native and migratory birds. Numerous sites along its shores indicate intensive human activity, particularly use by *ali'i* for recreational and ceremonial purposes.⁶⁰

The nearby *hōlua* is one of eight surviving in Kona, others existing at Ka'ūpūlehu, Keauhou, Hōnaunau (2), Kēōkea, Ki'ilae, and Okoe. It and the one at Keauhou allowed two contestants to compete simultaneously. The slide is a narrow built-up stone track covered with grass to create a slick sledding surface. The sled itself was a narrow piece of wood on which the contestant threw himself full length, attempting to remain on the track all the way to the bottom. It is said that only *ali'i* participated in this sport. The takeoff and runway to the brow of the *a'a* flow are well preserved, but the lower section of slide has been cannibalized for stones to construct two corrals on the flat below. At the head of the *hōlua* is a graveyard, while house sites and tombs are found at the base of the hill supporting the slide. Scattered petroglyphs may be seen throughout the area, as well as ancient *heiau* remains on the *pāhoehoe* plain.⁶¹

A platform close to the Māmalahoa Trail might have been used as a gathering place for meetings and/or ceremonies. On a high point behind 'Aimakapā stands a large stone, called *Kanaka Leo Nui*, meaning "man with a loud voice." Tradition says that in ancient times the chief by that name stood on this stone while directing fishing activities off the coast.⁶² This pond is thought to have been in existence prior to the fifteenth century A.D.⁶³ There also appear to be remains of an old unnamed fishpond seaward of the present coastline, *makai* of 'Aimakapā Fishpond, that are visible in the water.⁶⁴

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 *hōlua* near 'Aimakapā.

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 'Aimakapā 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 'Aimakapā. 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. 'Aimakapā 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'omalū. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

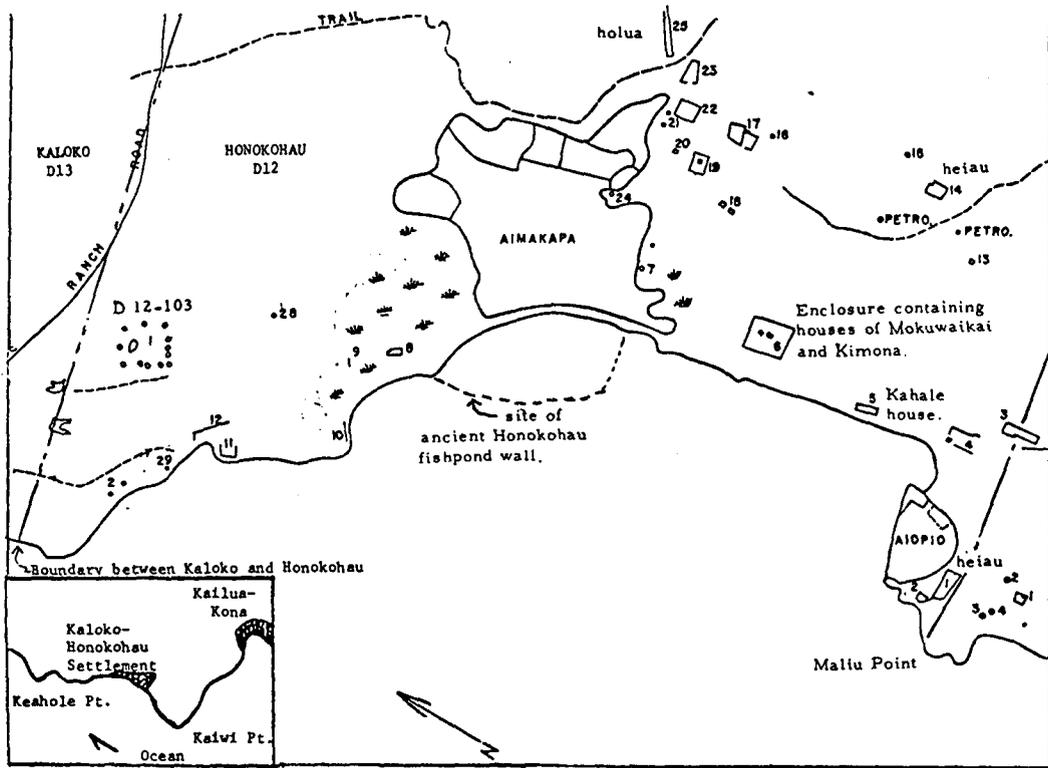


Fig. 39. MAP OF HONOKOHAU AREA. The monumental *ahu* and "Queen's Bath" are at left of photo (Site D 12-103). The ruins of an old fishpond wall *makai* of Aimagapa Fishpond are shown.

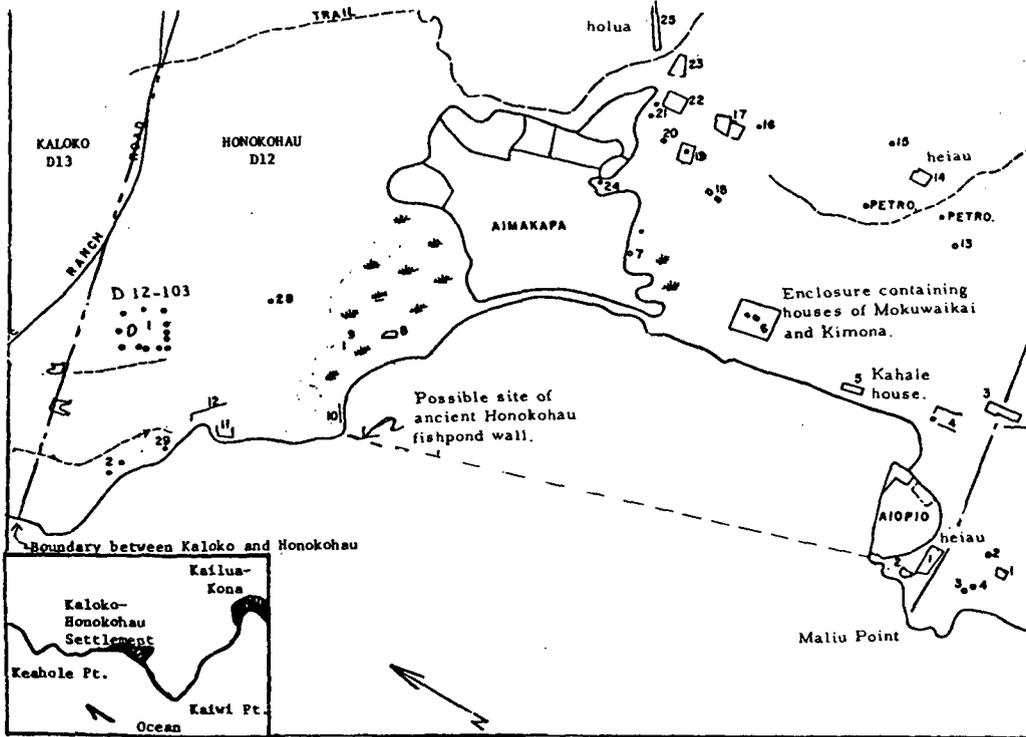


FIGURE 10. Map of coastal area of Honokohau Ahupua'a between Kaloko and Kealahou, showing fishponds, house sites, and cluster of *ahu* (D12-103).

Illustration 108. Sketches showing possible locations of ancient fishpond wall southwest of 'Aimakapā Fishpond. Top: Figure 39 in Rosendahl, *Archeological Salvage of Ke-ahole to Anaehoomalu Section*, p. 110. Bottom: Figure 10 in Kelly, *Historical Survey of Kaloko*, p. 20.



Illustrations 109-111. Top: remains of sluice gate for 'Aimakapā Fishpond. Middle: possible remains of another fishpond or some other type of structure in sea west of beach near 'Aimakapā Fishpond. Bottom: view to southeast of 'Aimakapā Fishpond. NPS photos, 1989.

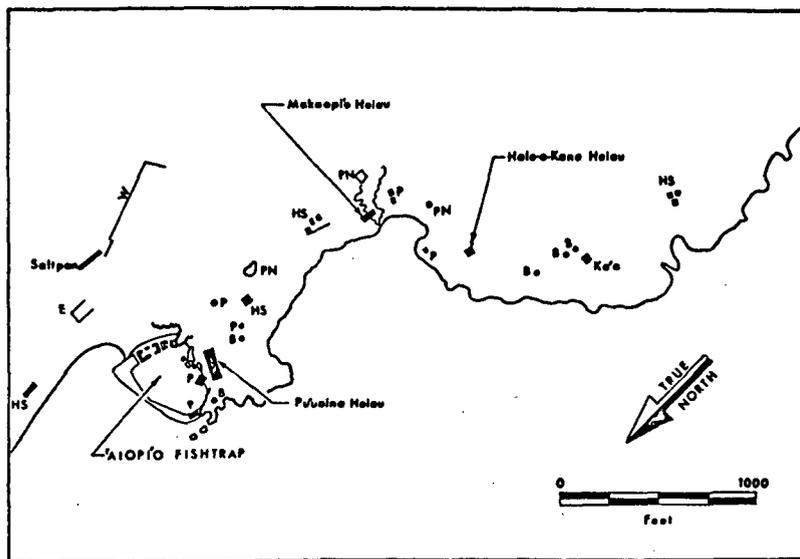
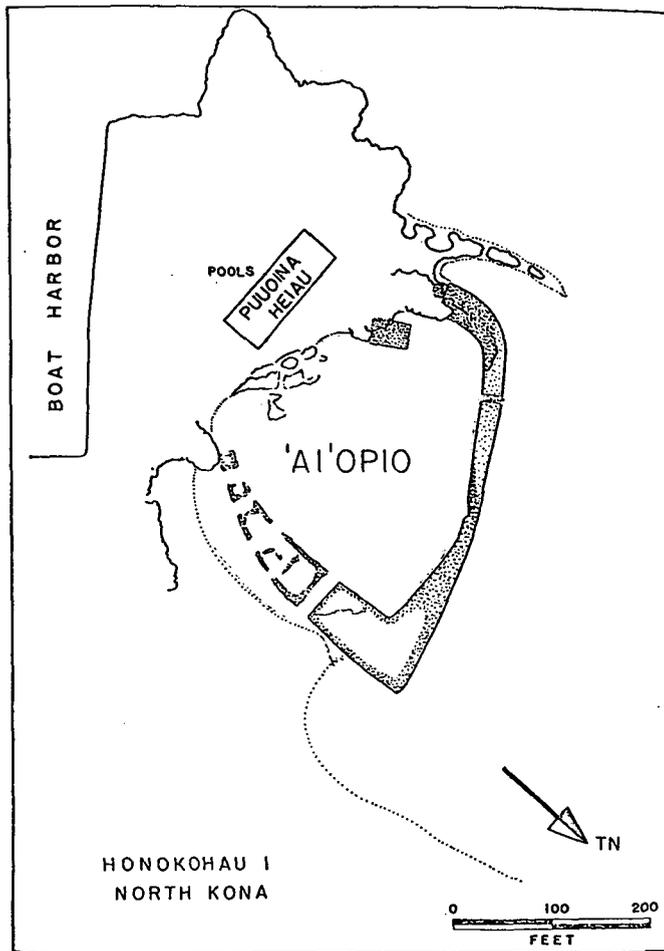


Fig. 39. Archaeological Sites Associated with 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap

Illustration 112. 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap and associated archeological sites. Top: From Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B12. Bottom: Figure 39 in Kikuchi, "Hawaiian Aquacultural System," p. 177.

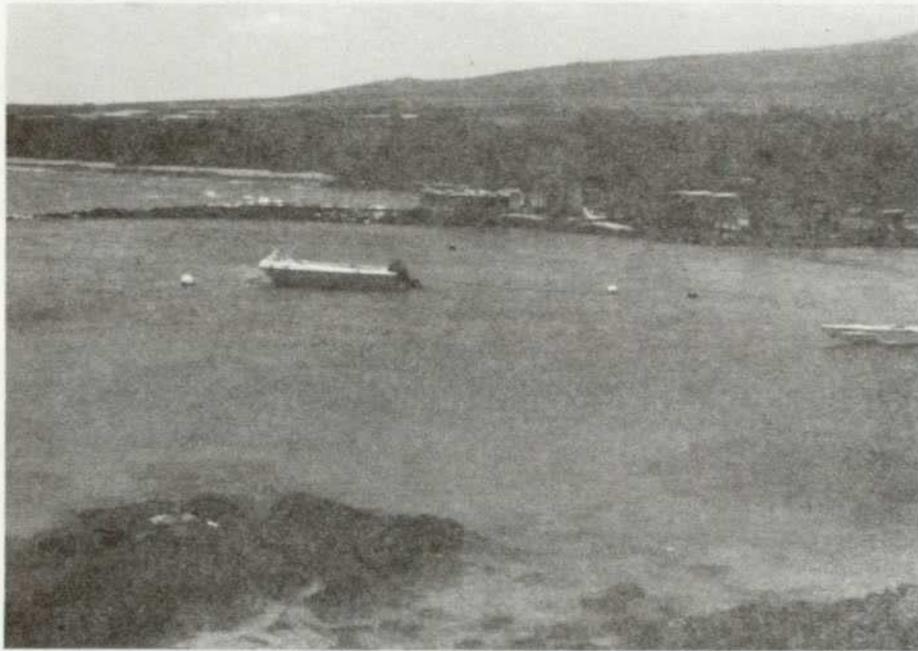


Illustration 113. 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap, view to north showing encircling stone wall and fishermen's huts. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 114. View from Pu'u'oina Heiau toward 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap. NPS photo, 1989.

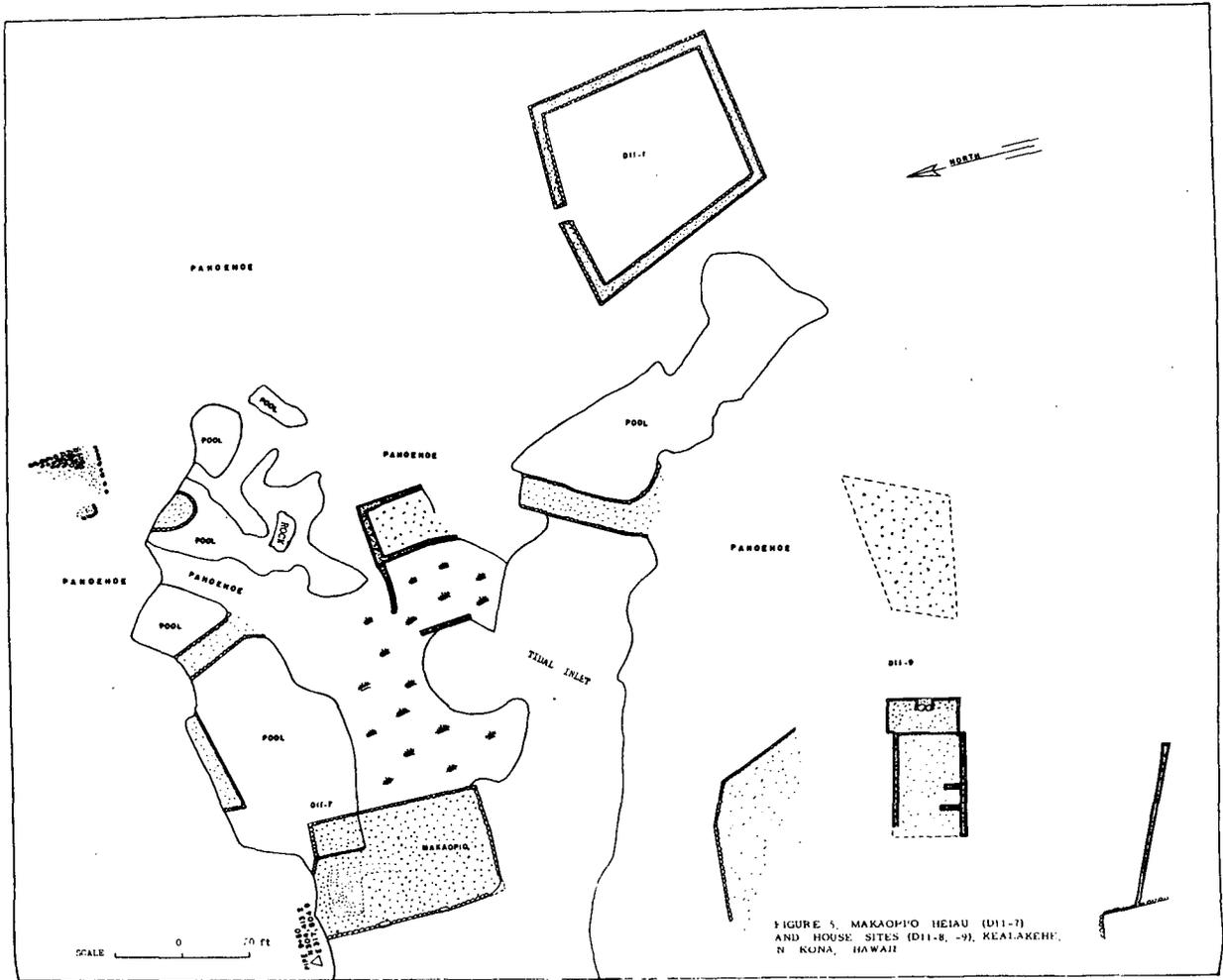


Illustration 115. Maka'ōpio Heiau and associated features. Figure 5 in Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, p. 10.

According to tradition, chiefs directed the activities of Kaloko-Honokōhau inhabitants by issuing hand or flag (*kapa*) signals to their subordinates from high places such as the bluff above 'Aimakapā Fishpond.⁶⁵

c) 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap

'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap is almost two acres in size and roughly circular in shape. Its seaward side is separated from the ocean by a manmade stone wall, while its other sides are bordered by rocky lava headlands and the sandy beach. Fish entered the pond at high tide through a narrow channel in the seawall; it has no sluice gate. Four rectangular walled enclosures within the pond along the shoreline were probably used either as holding pens for netted fish or as lanes in which the fish were netted.⁶⁶ Kickuchi and Belshe have suggested that, because of their proximity to each other, 'Ai'ōpio might have played a supporting role in the management of 'Aimakapā Fishpond, possibly providing its fish supply.⁶⁷ House sites can be seen around the pond area, while inland are large concrete salt pans and the remains of frame houses, indicating occupancy of this area into the twentieth century.⁶⁸

2. Heiau

Other important resources within the park and nearby vicinity are the several *heiau* located between Wawahiwa'a Point in Kohanaiki and the Alula Bay area in Kealakehe. The two most important of these are Maka'ōpio (Hale-o-Lono) on Alula Bay and Pu'u'oina (Hale-o-Mano) south of 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap.⁶⁹

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 Honokōhau ponds once formed a single, large pond, whose wall stretched from the west end of 'Ai'ōpio north to the headland about 800 feet beyond the present northernmost limits of 'Aimakapā Fishpond. *Historical Survey and Background of Kaloko*, p. 18.

68. Kikuchi and Belshe, "Examination and Evaluation of Fishponds," p. B10. See Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, pp. 15-19, for detailed descriptions of features in the 'Ai'ōpio 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'ōpio Fishtrap. Along the shoreline are the houses and church of the Honokōhau 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.

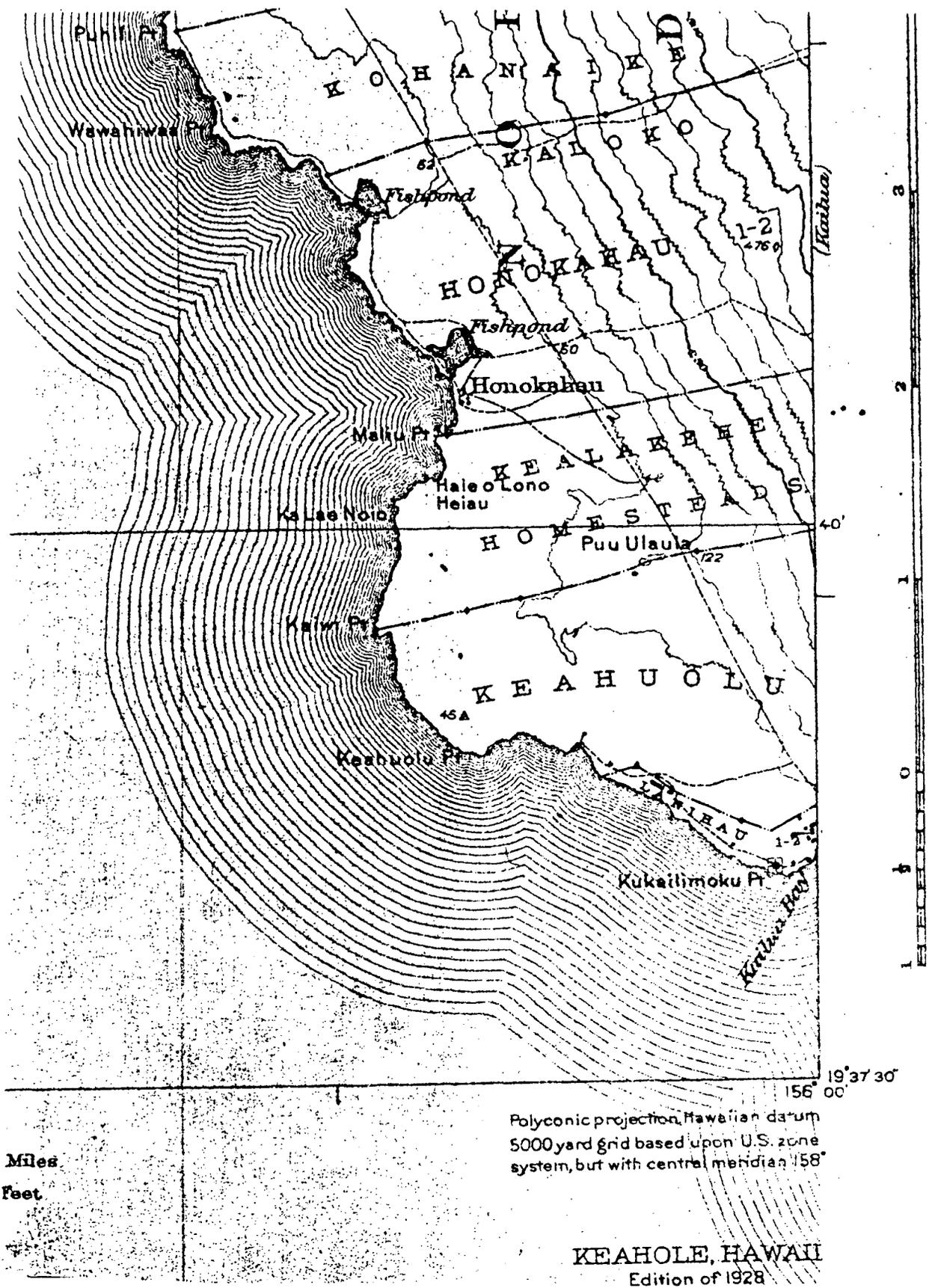


Illustration 116. Map of Keahole, Hawai'i, 1928. Note houses and church in Honokōhau Settlement. Courtesy Hawaii State Library, Honolulu.

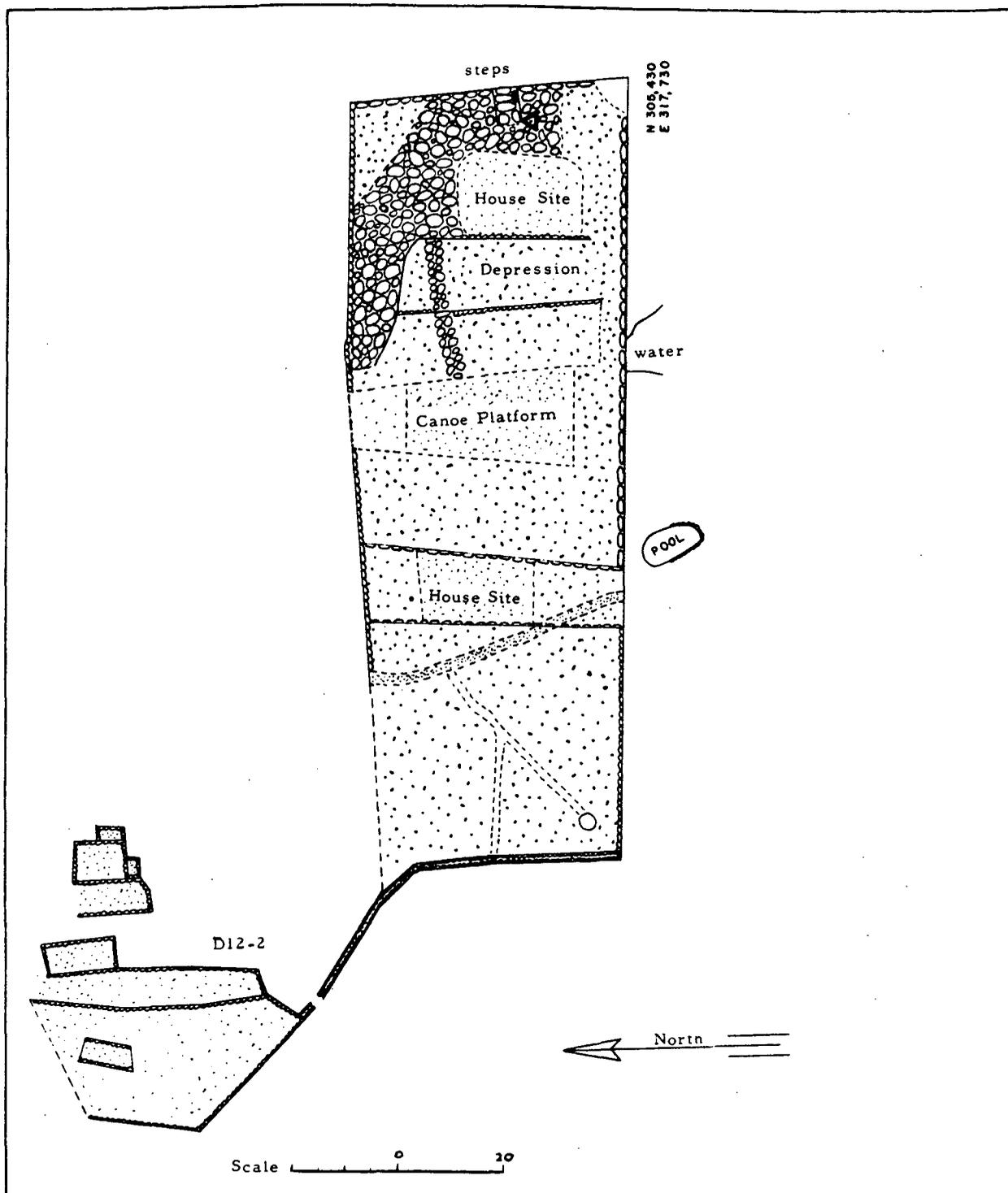


FIGURE 7. PUUOINA HEIAU AND BURLALS (D12-1, -2), HONOKOHAU, N. KONA, HAWAII

Illustration 117. Pu'u'oina Heiau and associated features. Figure 7 in Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, p. 16.

a) Maka'ōpio Heiau

The fisherman's *heiau* known as Maka'ōpio, a Hale-o-Lono class of *heiau*, is a low rectangular platform built out into a shallow, ponded area. Its outstanding features are two great upright stone slabs, measuring over six feet five inches in height, that rise above the pavement perpendicular to the seaward face. The stones, one of which bears a petroglyph of a man about twenty-four inches high, may have represented fishermen's gods. Also present is a small *ko'a* (fishing shrine) comprising a large, smooth stone (*ku'ula*) standing on a platform.⁷⁰ Nearby are ancient house sites, petroglyphs, and bathing pools.

b) Pu'u'oina (Hale-o-Mano) Heiau

Pu'u'oina temple, sometimes referred to as Hale-o-Mano, stands just inland from Maliu Point and measures about 50 by 145 feet. It is considered the finest example of a platform *heiau* in Kona. Oral tradition states that this was an operations and dwelling area for warrior priests.⁷¹ Standing on the south shore of Honokōhau Bay, at the south side of 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap, the *heiau's* huge waterworn boulders form an impressive structure. Some appropriation of stones for construction of a fence has taken place, and stone from the north side has been used to build nearby houses. Steps are located in the structure's east wall. The surface of the temple is divided into several segments, including raised platforms, a paved depression, and an area of waterworn boulders. Some later alterations are apparent in the structure. Found on the surface level at the east end are a house platform and a canoe platform. The *heiau* may have utilized the small brackish pool on its south side in connection with its ceremonies. Northwest of the *heiau* is a large burial platform and just north of the graves a platform ruin lies in the water. The seawall of 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap begins at the *heiau's* northeast corner. Another small platform ruin exists in the water a few yards east. Another platform, on which a hut has been erected, is located at the east end of the seawall.⁷² There is no known documented relationship between the fishtrap and this temple, although oral tradition presented earlier did identify the trap as a holding area supervised by the chief living at Pu'u'oina.

It is thought that Pu'u'oina was an important base of operations for those governing Honokōhau and North Kona. Its importance derived from its location near the ocean and the 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap, which facilitated directing the community's important fishing activities.⁷³

70. *Ibid.*, p. 49. According to local informants, Maka'ōpio 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.



Illustration 118. Pu'u'oina Heiau, east end. Area of walled fishtrap enclosures is in foreground. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 119. Fishermen's huts at west end of Pu'u'oina Heiau. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 120. South wall of Pu'u'o'ina Heiau. Note differences in wall construction. NPS photos, 1989.



Illustration 121. Maka'ōpio Heiau, view east. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 122. Maka'ōpio Heiau, view southwest. NPS photo, 1989.

3. Graves

The significance of grave sites scattered throughout the Kaloko-Honokōhau area was discussed earlier. Grave features in the park consist of burial cists, graves bordered with stones, pit burials, burials in natural depressions in the *pāhoehoe*, platform tombs, and graveyards and cemeteries. To disturb such sites would be a great sacrilege.

4. Trail Systems

Historian Russell Apple describes four major types of Hawaiian trails: Type A are single-file prehistoric paths; Type B came into use after European contact and the introduction of horses. They were a modification of Type A trails, with curbstones and causeways; Type C were two-horse wide and built in straight lines between major points, cutting off the small coastal settlements. The Māmalahoa Trail, a straight, curbed, cut-and-fill path, is a good example of this type. They were commonly built by labor forces conscripted by the island governors during the mid-nineteenth century. With the introduction of wheeled vehicles, Type C trails were modified, widened, and realigned into Type D trails.⁷⁴

In prehistoric as well as historic times, trail networks were important adjuncts to the Hawaiian social and economic systems. They served both as major routes between specific land units and social groups and as internal networks of lesser trails for transportation and communication within an *ahupua'a*. The earliest trails were designed only for foot traffic because the people had no draft animals or wheeled vehicles. They were not particularly smooth, flat, or easy to follow. Sometimes they meandered, based on the availability of rocks for marking the route. Residents of an *ahupua'a* built trails running *mauka-makai* as soon as they settled into an area to facilitate food gathering and goods exchange. These goods were transported by sling nets or carrying poles.

Major commercial trails between *ahupua'a*, villages, and towns running on the contour of the island along the coast were a necessity and were quickly incorporated into the overall trail system. Other major routes were built over the mountain ranges to connect communities on opposite sides of the island. One very important trail, the King's Highway, borders the Kona Coast and is still visible from the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway between Kawaihae and Kailua. It was used for commerce, troop movements, carrying messages, collecting taxes, and other government activities. It was considered very safe for travel, being specifically under the auspices of King Kamehameha I's "law of the splintered paddle," which directed that any traveler could use the highway without fear of being molested.⁷⁵ It led from Kawaihae to Kiholo, upslope to Huehue, and down again to Kaloko, Honokōhau, Kealakehe, and Kailua.⁷⁶

The trails of Kekaha reflect various stages in the development of the region, as relations were established between coastal and inland villages and between coastal settlements. Several

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.

examples exist within this park of the most ancient footpaths of the area, comprised either of steppingstones of smooth waterworn cobbles brought from the seashore and placed three to four feet apart or of flat lava slabs laid over the rough *a'a* flows. White coral pebbles that reflected moonlight marked some paths for night travel. Other paths across *a'a* flows consisted of simple, worn, trough-like depressions formed by feet crushing clinkers into a pebble-sized bed. In some places these trails were modified in historic times for animal travel and thus some of their earliest integrity lost. Where no old foot trails existed to be modified, new horse trails were built in historic times, mainly for commercial purposes.⁷⁷

In Kaloko-Honokōhau the residents built a system of *mauka-makai* trails to travel and communicate with extended family members and friends. Other routes traversed the coast laterally to transport food and other goods to neighboring *ahupua'a*. Several trails are found in the Kaloko-Honokōhau area, mostly short footpaths comprising a local trail system, used both in the prehistoric and early historic (pre-1840) periods. Some prehistoric trails modified with curbs have been identified here, as well as new, probably post-1840, straight curbed trails.⁷⁸ Although a *mauka-makai* exchange system was used for many products, the produce of Kaloko and the other fishponds would not have been available for exchange and use by commoners. The public Māmalahoa Trail and the ancient coastal trail were two major routes around the island, leading south to Kailua-Kona and north to Keāhole. In early times the coastal trail would have facilitated transportation of fish from this area to Kamakahonu – Kamehameha's court and primary political and economic center in Kailua – which probably consumed most of the products from the ponds in the area. The coastal trail ran right by 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap.⁷⁹

These trails are an important component of the park's cultural landscape, providing data on the linkages between communities. They comprise a record of local movement and sometimes include associated features such as small cairns placed as markers along the routes or petroglyphs (especially where smooth lava is found) that serve as pictorial signatures of people who passed by. Often caves or small walled shelters are found that served as resting places along longer trails. The Māmalahoa Trail is one of the most significant resources in the park, but all the trails are important in illustrating early communication, transportation, and commercial networks. Their importance to the prehistoric Hawaiian subsistence economy cannot be overlooked, because they were the lifelines for food exchange. They were a direct result of the belief that everyone had access rights to the products of the land and ocean for their sustenance.

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 Māmalahoa 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.

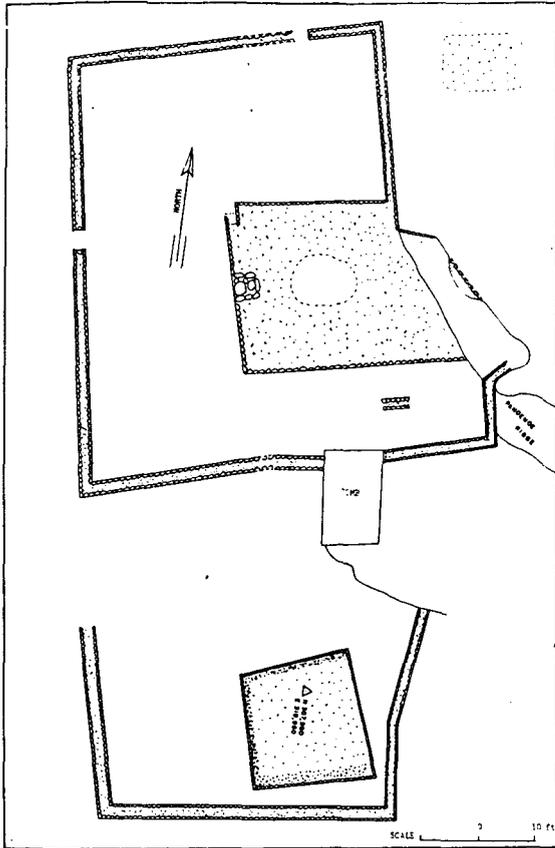


FIGURE 9. HOUSE SITES (D12-17), HONOKOHAU, N. KONA, HAWAII

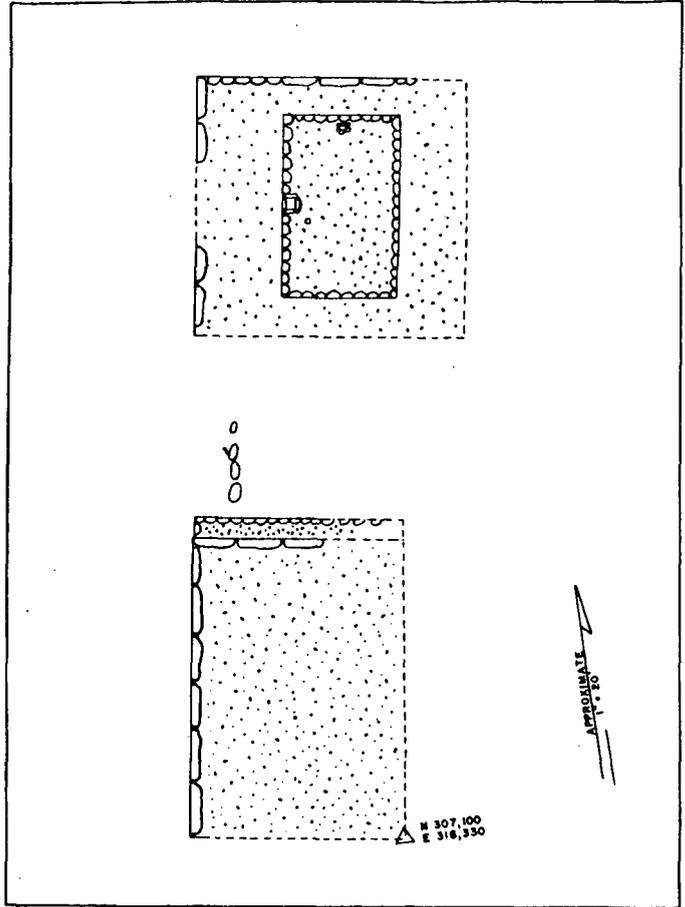


Figure 10. Burial platform (D12-18), Honokohau, N. Kona, Hawaii

Illustration 123. Examples of two types of features found in the Honokōhau area. Figures 9 and 10 from Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, pp. 22, 24.

The early Hawaiian trail system made this type of utilization possible within the land unit.⁸⁰ Along the leeward coasts these trails can still be seen and indeed many are still used today by fishermen and campers.

5. *Ahu* (Cairns)

Near the boundary between Kaloko and Honokōhau is a feature referred to as the "Queen's Bath." The site includes twelve lava mounds arranged in a rectangular form around a brackish pool hidden in the extremely rough *a'a* lava flow. Seven cairns in the southwest corner of the rectangle stand out because of their size and construction. They are graduated in height from ten feet to five feet, while the other mounds are smaller and more irregular in shape and construction. Each of the seven large structures is carefully faced with rough lava and all seven are crumbled on one side, possibly as a result of people climbing them. At the north end of the rectangle is an anchialine pond that has been modified into a bathing pool. A barely discernible trail leads to it from between the two largest cairns and continues on north. The sides of the pool have been cleared and leveled and the water lined with smooth lava blocks to form a sort of rectangular underwater bathtub. Smooth slabs have been set around the sides as seats. At the east end of the pool the lava was excavated to form an enclosure walled on three sides, the side facing the pool being open. Probably it was covered over and used as a bathing shelter.⁸¹

A traditional story is that "the queen" bathed here while guards on top of the cairns stood watch for intruders. Some traditions say she came by canoe to a landing nearby and was carried over the rough lava to the secluded and guarded pool in which smooth stone ledges had been placed for her comfort.⁸² One local informant stated years ago that the pool was the private bathing place of Kamehameha, who stationed his guards by the *ahu*. Others have suggested these cairns are boundary markers.⁸³ Kelly recounts that one early ruler, Umi, used *ahu* like these as a way of taking census, requiring the population of each of his districts to erect an *ahu* to which each person living in that district contributed one stone. She knew of no such practice at Honokōhau, however.⁸⁴ One informant stated that when she and her family stayed at Kaloko for weeks at a time, they bathed in this pool.⁸⁵

80. U.S. Department of the Interior and Study Commission, *Draft Environmental Statement*, p. 51; Tuggle, "Hawaii," p. 172.

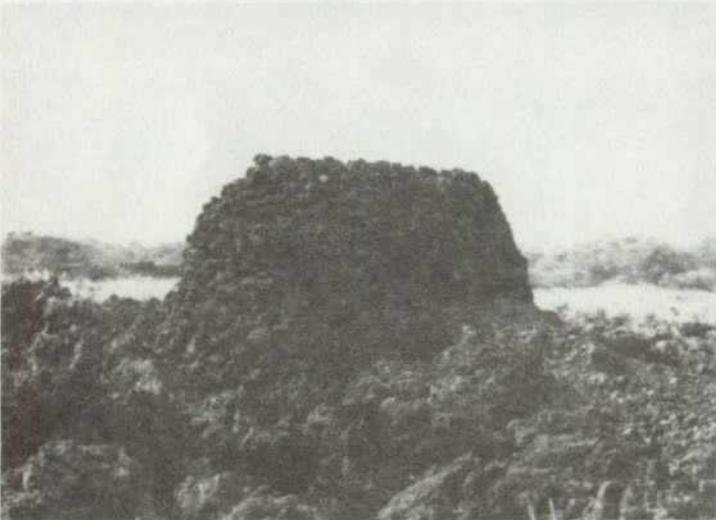
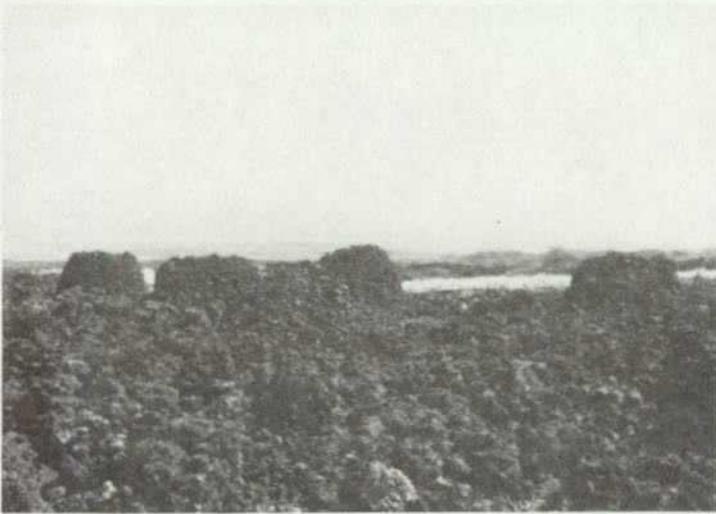
81. Description of Sites, (D13) Kaloko, in Emory and Soehren, *Archaeological and Historical Survey, Honokohau Area*, pp. 28-29.

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.



Illustrations 124-26. Top: distant view of *ahu* surrounding "Queen's Bath." Middle: close-up view of an *ahu*. Bottom: anchialine pond referred to as "Queen's Bath." NPS photos, 1989.

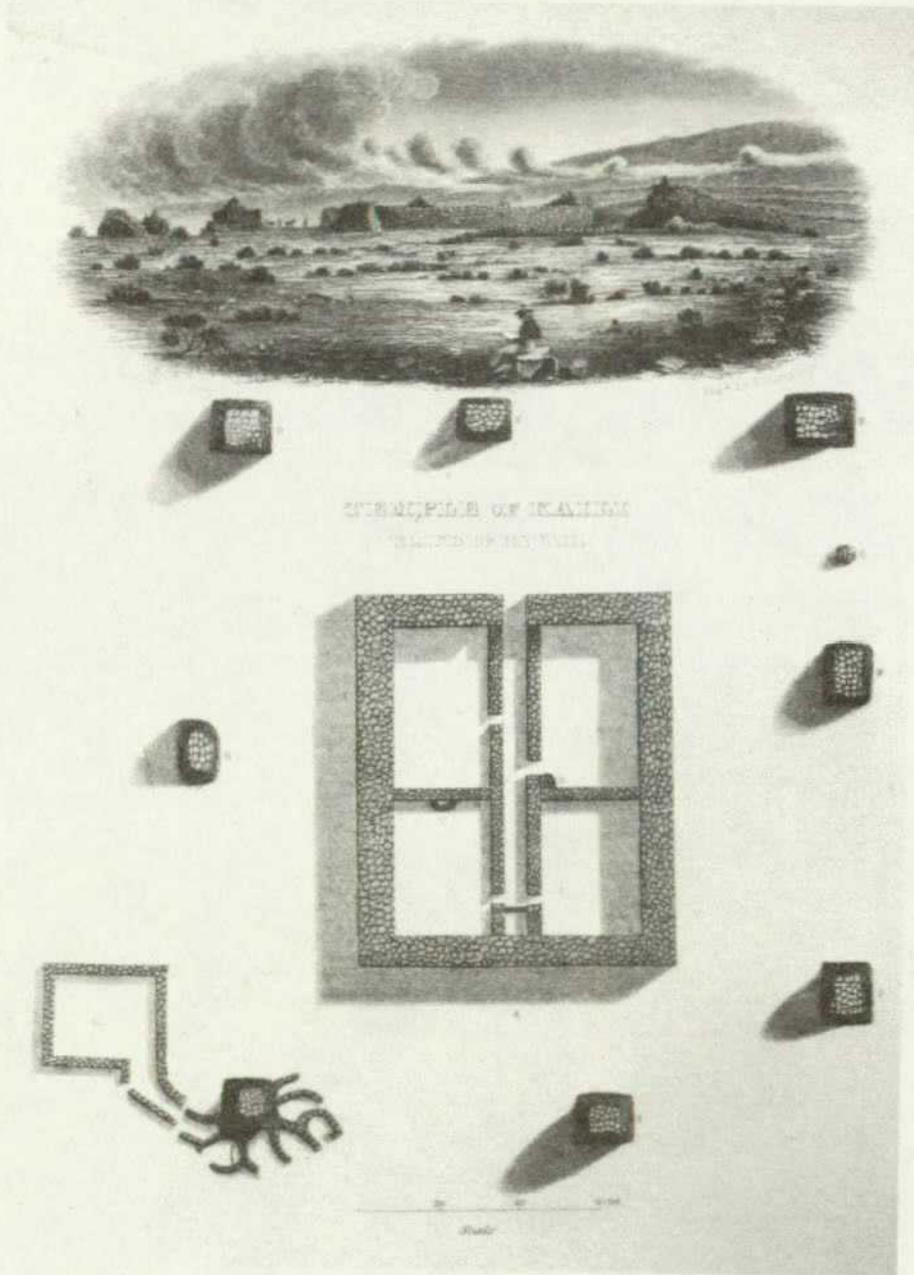


Illustration 127. *Ahu* surrounding the temple of Kaili on the island of Hawai'i. From Wilkes *Atlas* (1845), facing p. 100.



Illustration 128. Agricultural enclosure near road to Kaloko Fishpond. NPS photo, 1989.

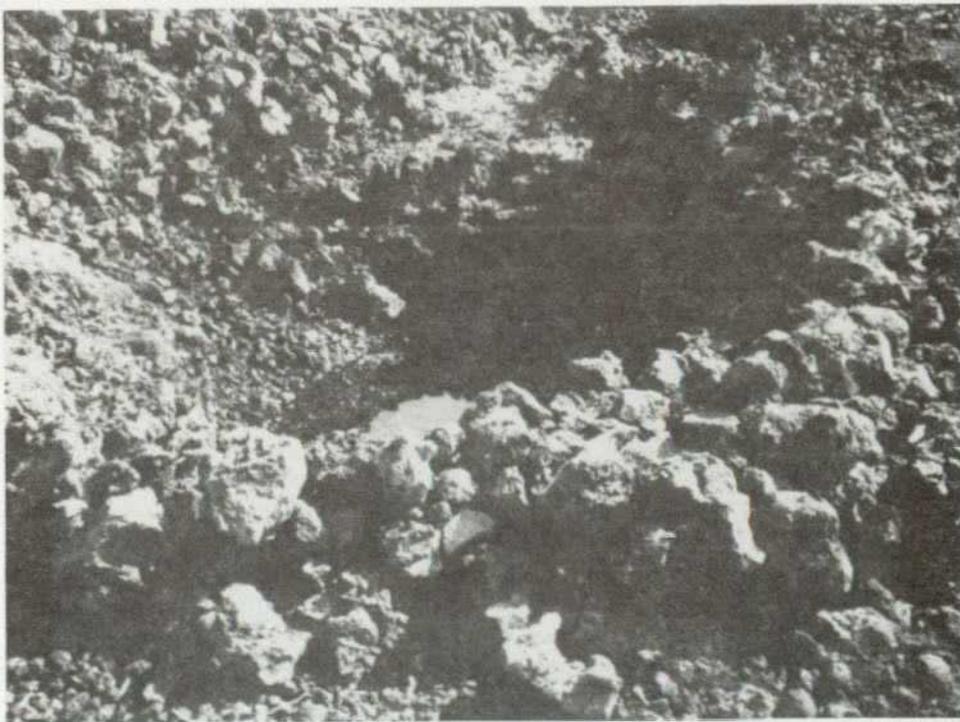
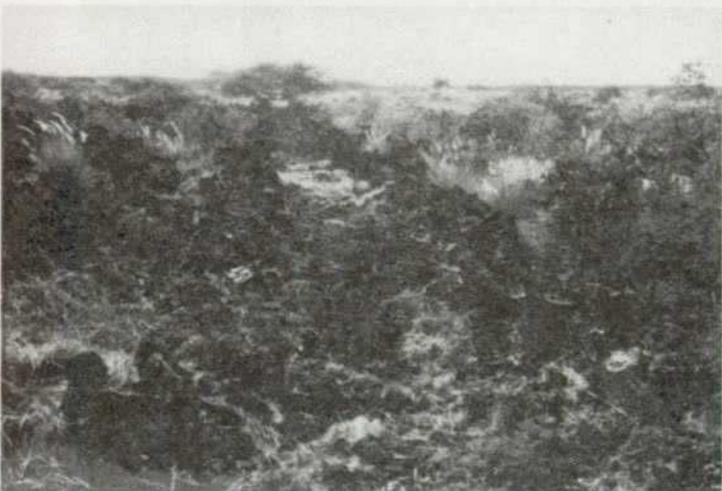
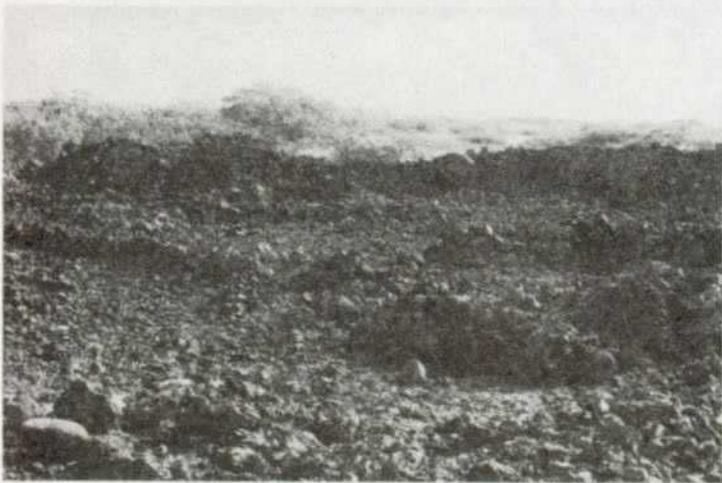


Illustration 129. Semicircular stone-walled enclosure, Kaloko area. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustrations 130-32. Significant cultural resources, Kaloho-Honokōhau NHP. Top: petroglyphs. Middle: village site. Bottom: Māmalahoa Trail. NPS photos, 1989.

The evidence for this pool actually being used as a bathing place for a "queen" in ancient times is tenuous. Cordy and his colleagues surmise that this complex has religious significance, perhaps as an *ahupua'a* shrine, but this may never be known with certainty.⁸⁶ The pool is used today by many people for bathing. Ongoing archeological survey work indicates the entire pool may be manmade.

H. Significance of Resources and Establishment of a National Historical Park

In 1962 the Honokōhau Settlement area, including Kaloko Fishpond, was designated a National Historic Landmark.⁸⁷ Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park was authorized on November 10, 1978, encompassing about the same area as the landmark. It was established to preserve important aspects of traditional native Hawaiian culture and land use patterns in a location that contained numerous significant prehistoric and historical sites illustrating those activities. The fact that the area was preserved as a complete entity denotes the value accorded the entire grouping of structures in illustrating early Hawaiian lifeways. The area possesses strong cultural and religious associations in connection with ancient Hawaiian burial rituals, particularly those for *ali'i*. One very personal aspect of this close association with the dead – a unique characteristic of Hawaiian culture – concerns this being the traditional burial place of Hawai'i's most famous ruler, King Kamehameha I.⁸⁸

The hundreds of virtually intact archeological sites in the park and surrounding area include *heiau*, fishponds, *ko'a* (fishing shrines), individual house platforms as well as complexes of structures, a *hōlua* (toboggan slide), several *papamū* (*kōnane* game boards), burials, petroglyphs, stone cairns, animal enclosures, more than 100 stone enclosures serving as agricultural planters, several *ahu* (stone mounds serving either as altars, shrines, or security towers), lava tube shelters, canoe landings, salt pans, and a *mauka-makai* trail network. There are more significant sites within this area, both in terms of number and physical condition, than anywhere else along the Kona Coast from Kailua to Ke'āhole Point.⁸⁹ Because little use of the land here has been made since early times, it is possible to gain a fairly reliable impression of the pattern of early settlement.

The resources of Kaloko-Honokōhau possess esthetic, cultural, historic, economic, scientific, and emotional values for the Hawaiian people. The discussions centering around establishment of this park emphasized that it was necessary to view and evaluate its fragile resources through a sensitive and sympathetic understanding of the culture that had shaped them. Although many details of the Hawaiian religion, language, crafts, and other cultural aspects were recorded upon the creation of a written language, there is much tradition that was not recordable, but that is

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 'Aimakapā 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.

intangible, a part of the personal and private Hawaiian cultural makeup that is transmitted best through expressions, action, and the spoken word. It is clear that the significance of the resources in this area must be judged not only in the context of their obvious importance to the study of early Hawaiian culture but also in relation to their emotional value, their relationship to prevailing cultural attitudes that have been shaped by the experiences of the past.⁹⁰

The hundreds of archeological sites identified in the park to date indicate prehistoric and historic occupation of the area by a large population, both *maka'ainana* (commoners) and high *ali'i* (chiefs). A very active religious-political center, its economic life, based in large part on its fishponds, was geared toward supporting the social and political status of the Kona chiefs. The remains illustrate maritime aspects of early Hawaiian culture, encompassing subsistence activities, residential patterns, social interactions, and religious practices, in addition to artistic achievements and recreational pastimes. The concentration of resources in Kaloko-Honokōhau provides direct evidence that a larger population existed here than elsewhere along the coast, probably because of the presence of the fishponds, which are the only resources of this type left between Kailua and Ke'āhole Point.⁹¹ The park is valuable to archeologists for the study of the activities of pre- and early-contact Hawaiians and changes occurring in subsistence patterns and land ownership over time. For native Hawaiians, this is a sacred place, a place where revered ancestors lived and died.⁹²

Future plans are to create an environment in which to educate Hawaiians about their culture; to stabilize selected, significant historic remains; to preserve fishponds; and to manage and interpret these cultural resources in a meaningful and sensitive way to the public. The primary interpretive effort will address numerous aspects of the Hawaiian culture, including language, subsistence interactions with the land and sea, aquaculture, family systems, religious beliefs, and ancient dances, crafts, and other cultural activities.⁹³

I. Archeological Research Accomplished

1. Honokōhau Area

In 1969 the Lanikai Corporation contracted with the Bishop Museum for a survey of the Honokōhau area within the landmark where the company planned commercial development. Deborah F. Cluff conducted this reconnaissance of the seaward portion of Honokōhau, mapping and recording features. The following is some of the detailed information on resources she provided that enlarges on the descriptions presented earlier in this section.

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.

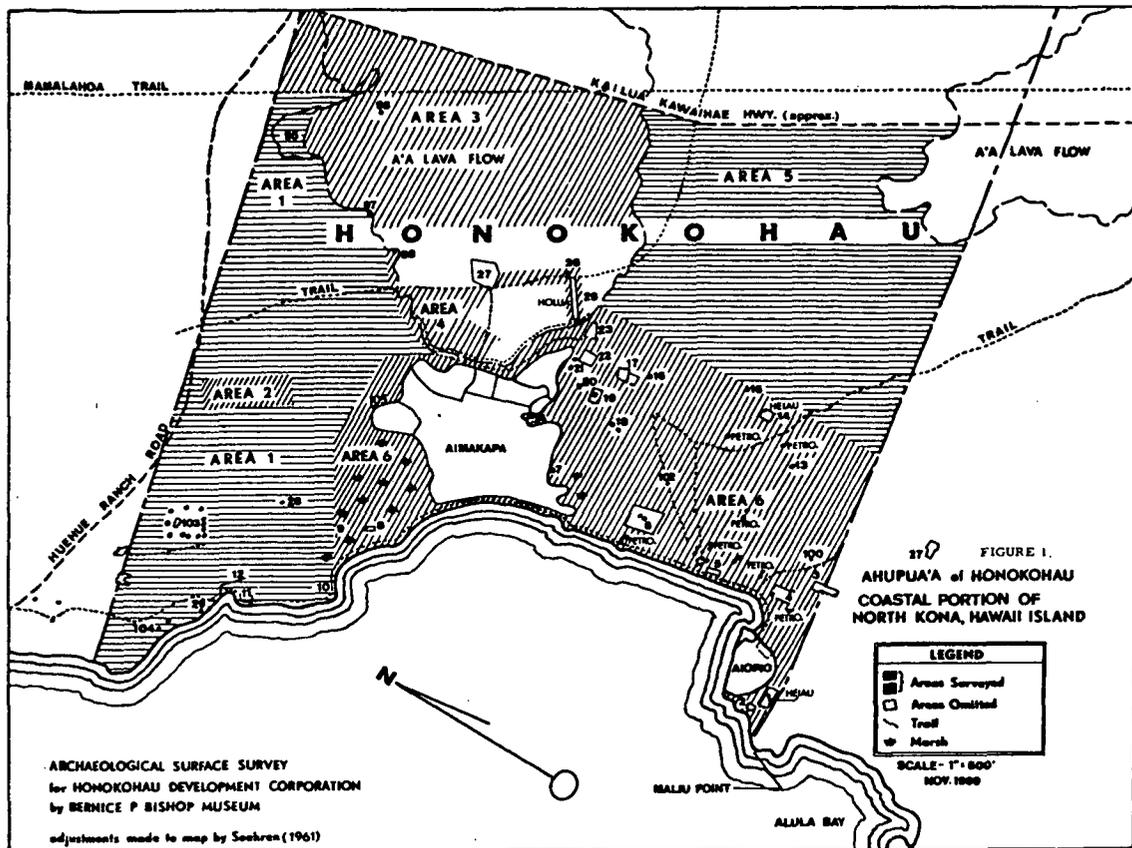


Figure 1. Map of Honokohau Coastal Area, N. Kona, Hawaii, showing location of Areas 1-6, and of sites surveyed.

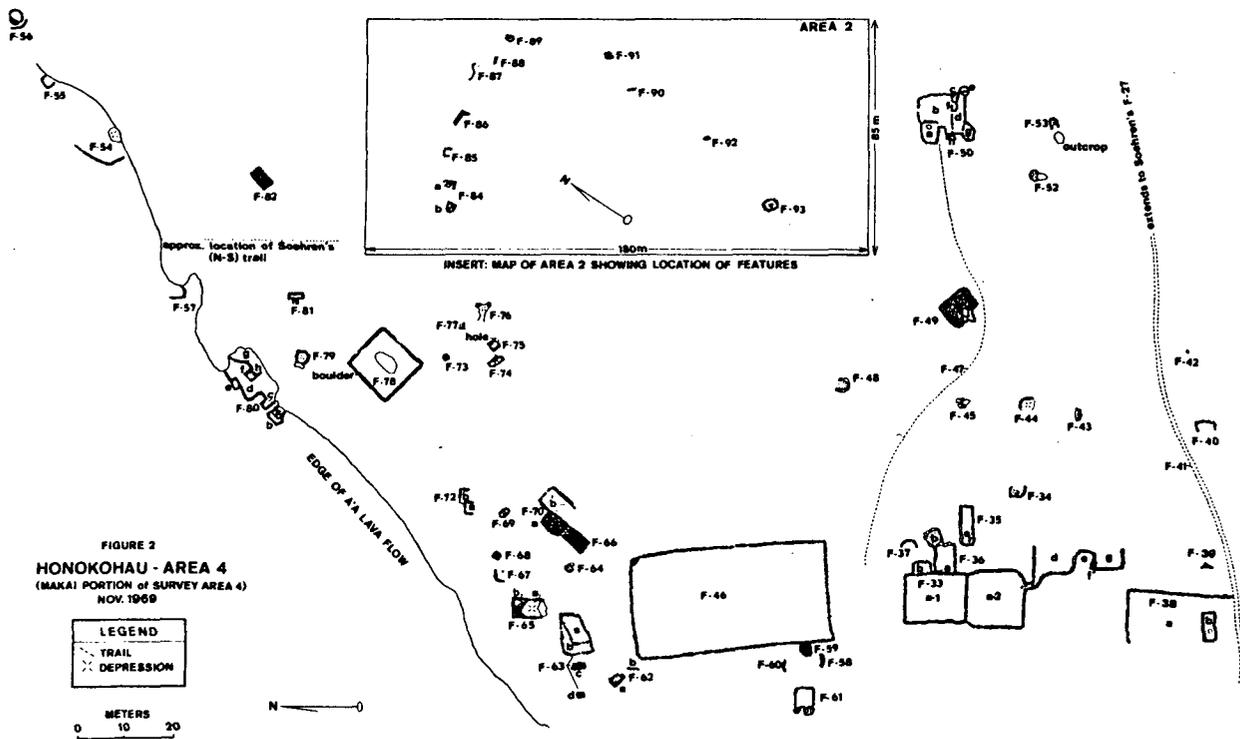


Figure 2. Map of Area 4 and Insert Map of Area 2, showing location of sites surveyed.

Illustration 133. Honokōhau coastal area surveyed for archeological sites in 1969. Figures 1 and 2 in Cluff, *Archaeological Survey of the Seaward Portion of Honokohau #1 and #2*, pp. 4, 6.

Cluff noted 'Aimakapā Fishpond as a large and still functioning body of water surrounded by marsh and dense groundcover with a stretch of sandy beach on the west. She believed the area surrounding the pond offered potential for archaeological research on the adaptation of the aboriginal Hawaiians to the land and its various resources.⁹⁴ She mentioned finding numerous sites, including paved footpaths, rock shelters, walls, scattered graves, monumental *ahu*, a burial ground, walled enclosures, platforms, and the *hōlua*.

The area lying between 'Aimakapā Fishpond and 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap and continuing east from there she found to be very important historically and archaeologically. Its features were more elaborately constructed and suggested more permanent occupation. Architectural styles indicated a culture in the process of change, as evidenced by the find of a cement tomb in the shape of an early grass house. She also found numerous petroglyphs depicting figures and objects common in prehistoric Hawai'i as well as Western motifs such as European ships and rifles.⁹⁵ Cluff wrote that 'Aimakapā Fishpond, with its population of birds, its petroglyphs, its *heiau*, house platforms, *hōlua*, *papamū*, trails, bait cups carved in *pāhoehoe*, and burial ground, all located in one general area, provided a unique opportunity to view numerous components of an ancient Hawaiian village.⁹⁶

Cluff summarized that her findings substantiated that the region was important in both prehistoric and early historic Hawai'i. The importance of Honokōhau's coastal portion lay in its fishponds. Her survey showed extensive use of the available land, including placement of shelters and burials on the rugged *a'a* beds and of crude shelters as well as better constructed house platforms and a *heiau*, bait cups, *papamū*, and petroglyphs on the *pāhoehoe*. These areas contain information on many of the activities of early Hawaiian culture – especially house construction, religious ceremonies, and burial practices. Some of the small enclosures she found appeared to have been used for horticulture, although she believed the primary reliance for food rested on marine resources. The social system was well established, Cluff surmised, with commoners living in the barren *a'a* and *pāhoehoe* areas, while royalty utilized the flat region close to the fishponds and near the *heiau* and *hōlua*. The most recent occupation had been around the ponds where petroglyphs depict historic objects and cement was used in wall and grave construction.⁹⁷

2. Kaloko Area

a) Robert Renger's Work

In 1970 the Bishop Museum began work in the Kaloko area of the landmark under a contract with the Kona Coast Company (Huehue Ranch). The data was to be used in planning for a major hotel and residential complex at Kaloko. Robert Renger conducted the archeological reconnaissance of the area around and including Kaloko Fishpond.

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 Honokōhau, pp. 7-14.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

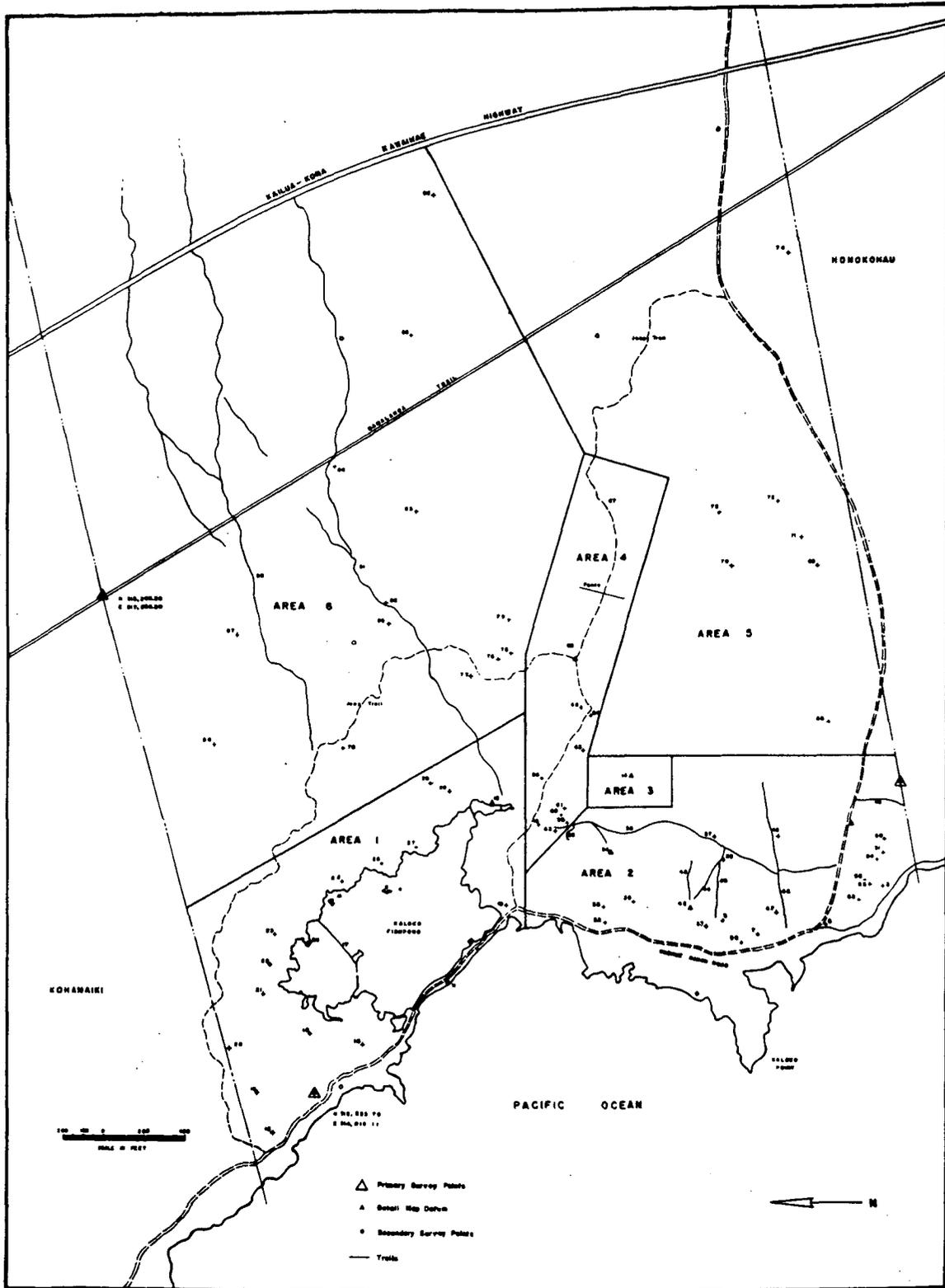


Fig. 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE COASTAL PORTION OF KALOKO.

Illustration 134. Archeological sites along coastal Kaloko. Figure 1 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 4.

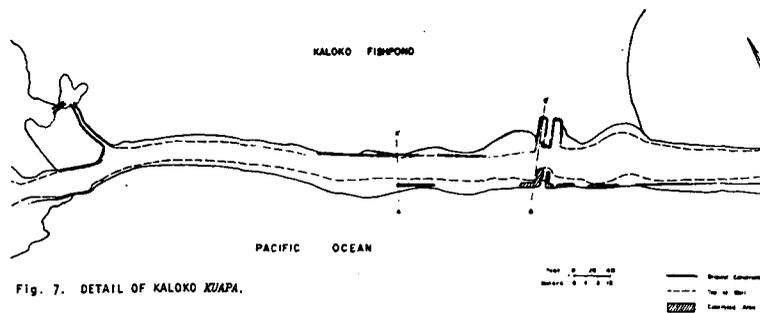


Fig. 7. DETAIL OF KALOKO KUAPA.

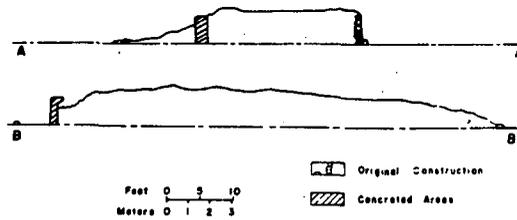


Fig. 8. MAKAI-MAUKA CROSS SECTIONS OF KALOKO FISHPOND KUAPA.

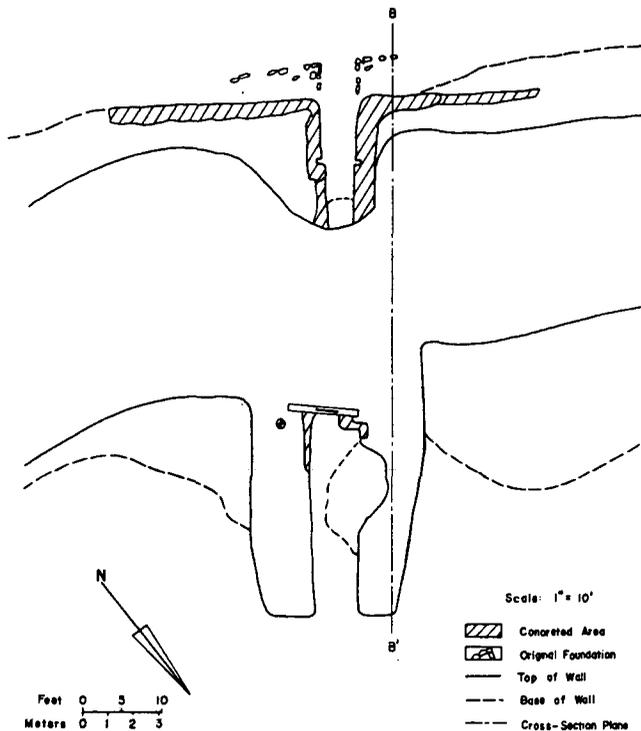


Fig. 9. DETAIL OF MAKABA IN KALOKO FISHPOND KUAPA.

Illustration 135. Kaloko Fishpond features. Figures 8 and 9 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, pp. 9, 11.

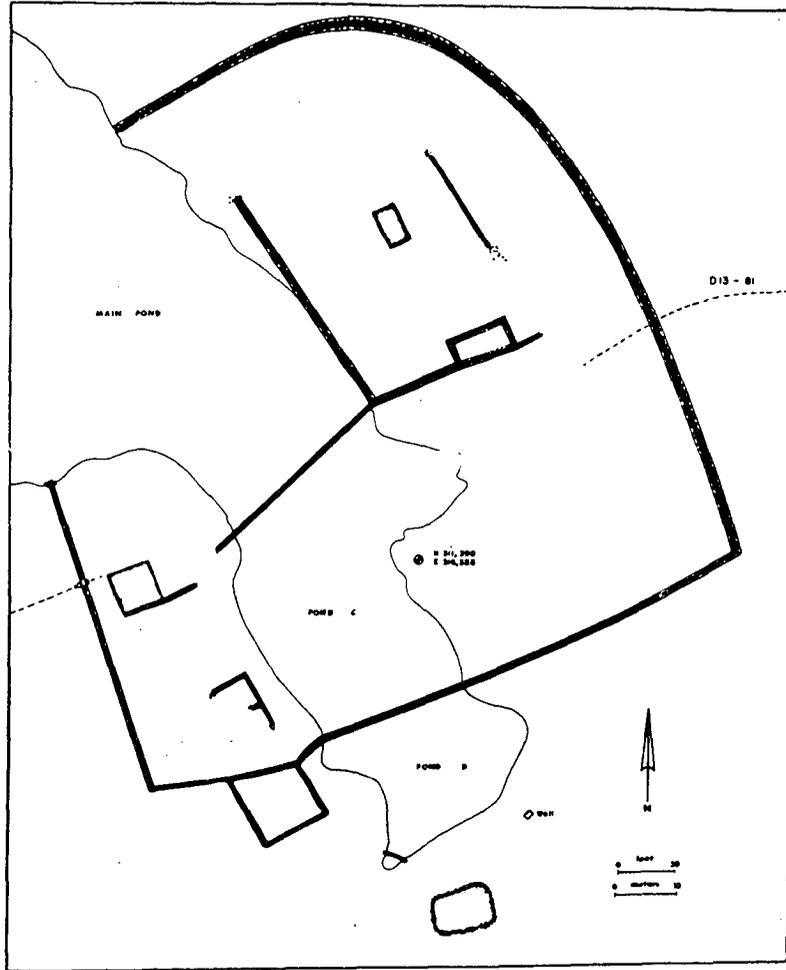


Fig. 10. MAP OF SITE D13-12, KALOKO.

Illustration 136. A walled-structure complex comprising a house platform unit on the southwest side of Kaloko Fishpond joined by walls with a larger complex on the east side of the pond arm. Figure 10 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 12.

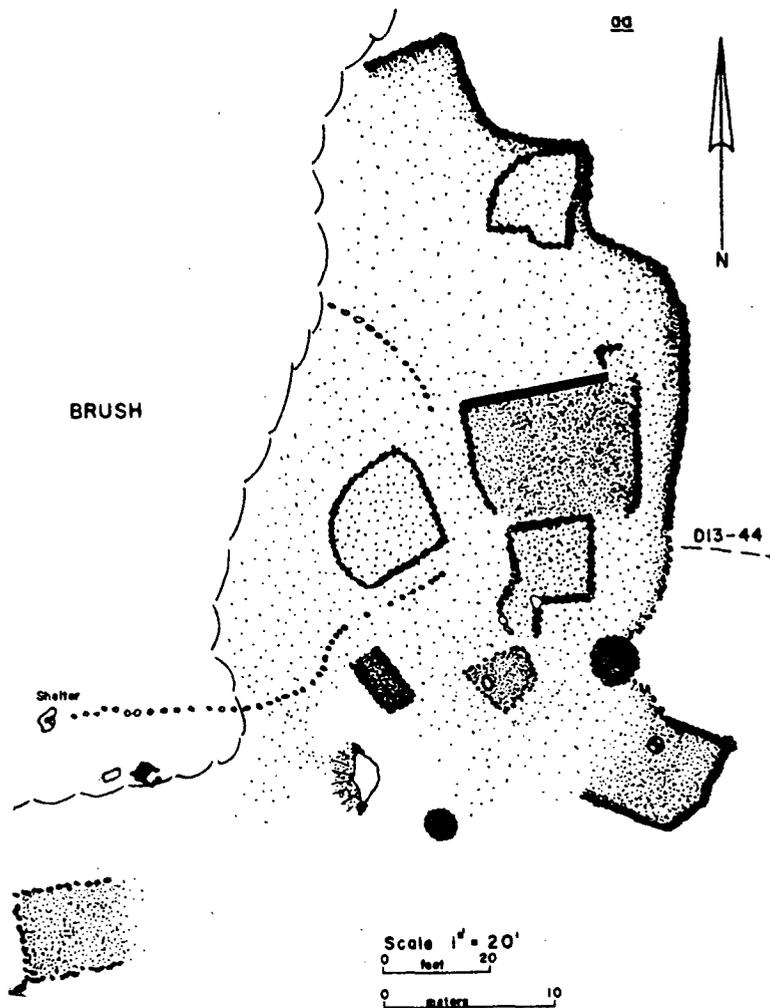


Fig. 17. MAP OF COMPLEX IN SITE D13-42, KALOKO.

Illustration 137. A large complex of enclosures, platforms, *ahu*, level areas, hearths, and slab and tube shelters. Figure 17 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 20.

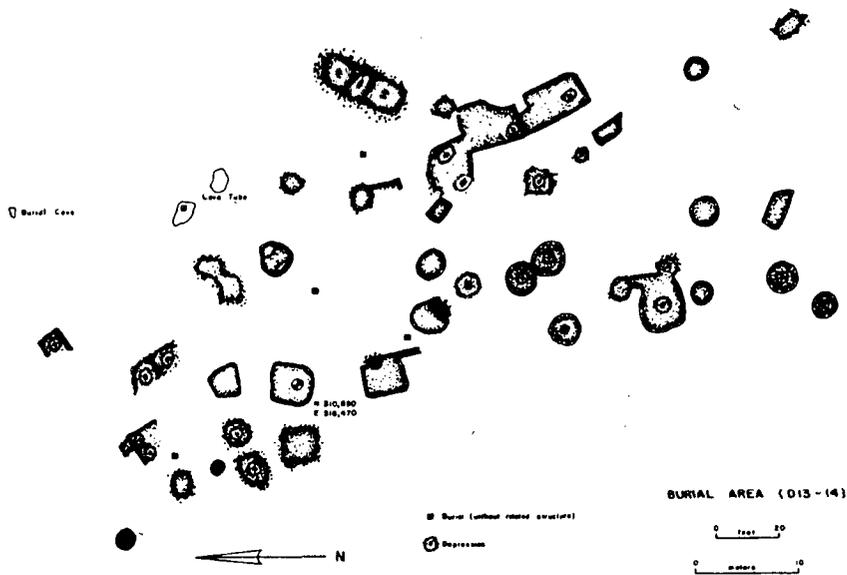


Fig. 18. MAP OF BURIAL AREA, SITE D13-14, KALOKO.

Illustration 138. Burial area in Kaloko. Figure 18 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 23.

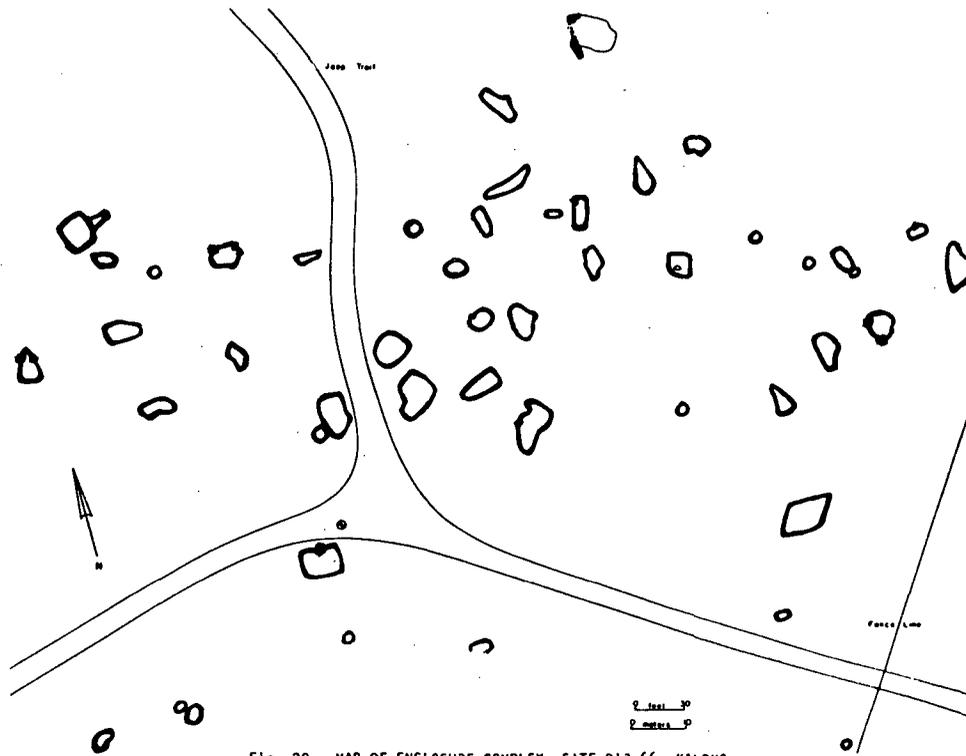


Fig. 20. MAP OF ENCLOSURE COMPLEX, SITE D13-66, KALOKO.

Illustration 139. Large *makai* enclosure complex in Kaloko. Figure 20 in Renger, *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 25.

Renger found at least three trails running *mauka-makai* and several sources of fresh water in the first area surveyed, encompassing the northwest corner of Kaloko *ahupua'a* and the area immediately around the fishpond. The pond itself consisted of five elements: a primary seawall facing on the ocean and the main pond area and four secondary pond walls built of faced lava fill and of varying widths.⁹⁸ Other sites recorded in the pond's vicinity included a walled area containing a coconut grove and the remains of a frame house and another frame structure – a fisherman's shack (net storage house – no longer extant) – on the edge of the fishpond. Fishermen and picnickers have impacted this area. The main pond seawall showed evidence of three different techniques in construction, repair, and modification.⁹⁹ Other features nearby included a house-platform complex on the southwest side of the pond arm, a house compound surrounded by a three- to four-foot-high wall on a knoll overlooking the fishpond, a second house complex, segments of a coral-paved *mauka-makai* trail, a *papamū*, walled enclosures, possible canoe house sites, platforms, and enclosures.¹⁰⁰

Renger found, in the area along the coast south of Kaloko Fishpond, two major trails paralleling the coast and one running *mauka-makai*. There were also several secondary trails connecting the structural complexes with main trails and wells. Most sites there occurred along the *mauka* edge of the low sand dunes on the edge of the *a'a* and ranged from crude slab shelters to very large paved platform complexes. Several small steppingstone trails led into the dense brakes along the edge of the *a'a*. Within the brakes Renger found several tube shelters and a possible pen structure. He assumed that other features were probably covered by undergrowth. Individual sites comprised house enclosures; platforms; wells; trails; a lava tube shelter and enclosure; a large complex with enclosures, platforms, *ahu*, leveled areas, hearths, slab shelters, and a tube shelter; circular enclosures; and other individual tube shelters.¹⁰¹

A smaller surveyed portion inland of the area described above contained a large quantity and high density of features, mostly burials. Renger found more than ten well-built platforms, several leveled areas, *ahu*, and two caves with more than thirty burials between them, many disturbed. The ground was composed of rough ridges of *a'a* forming a plateau overlooking the coast. One of the caves contained seven people buried intact in an extended position – the only instance found in the area of this form of burial practice. The other cave contained seventeen secondary burials, a post-contact coffin burial, and a possible bundle burial.¹⁰²

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.

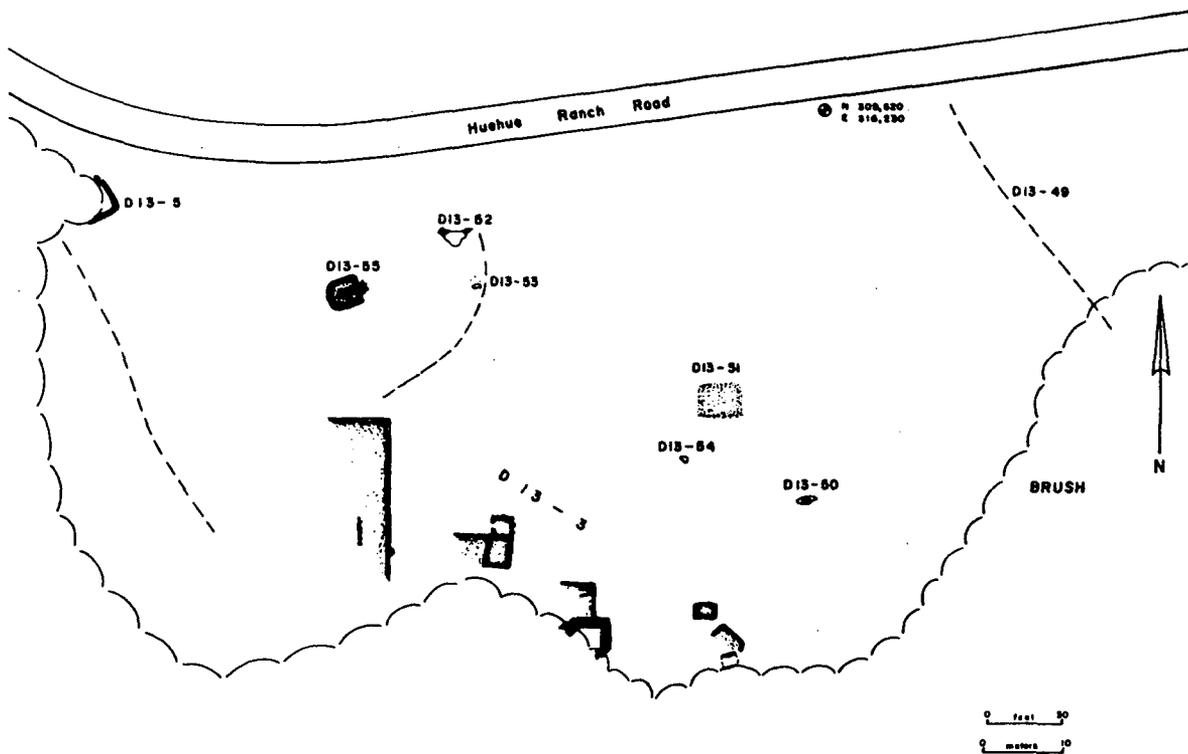


Fig. 16. MAP OF SW SECTION OF KALOKO AREA 2.

Illustration 140. Surveyed section of Kaloko containing a square platform, a slab shelter, a level paved area, a tidal water well, an *ahu*, and a stepping-stone trail. Figure 16 in Renger, *Archeological Reconnaissance of Coastal Kaloko and Kukio I*, p. 19.

The next section surveyed was the northern edge of the *a'a* flow covering the southern half of Kaloko. There Renger found doorless enclosures, petroglyphs, a few house floors, and four tube shelters.¹⁰³ More than fifty small enclosures, about three feet high, exist there, their walls constructed of *a'a* chunks. A jeep trail runs *mauka-makai* down the entire length of the area, seemingly following the path of an earlier trail.¹⁰⁴ (This is probably the jeep trail constructed to take fish to market, maybe an earlier donkey trail.)

Another area surveyed, in the southern half of Kaloko, was composed of rough *a'a* running *mauka* from the burial plateau. The *mauka-makai* jeep trail, Huehue Ranch road, and Māmalahoa Trail all cross the northern portion of this area. Archeological sites there consisted of one burial, six enclosures, and one possible house foundation.¹⁰⁵

The last area surveyed comprised the entire northeast corner of coastal Kaloko, bisected by the Māmalahoa Trail. In addition there were two major *mauka-makai* trails found, one of which forked just *mauka* of the Māmalahoa Trail. Indications existed that these were still used by fishermen and horsemen. Archeological features included two low platforms, several *ahu*, two stone circles, several enclosures, and two wall segments.¹⁰⁶

In summary, Renger stated that the density and variety of features in coastal Kaloko provided many good illustrations of the types of environmental adaptation practiced by early Hawaiians. The high concentration of features, the density of the shell midden, and the number of artifacts found along the coast and around the fishpond indicated to Renger that the people exploited their maritime and fishpond resources intensively. He theorized that many of the small enclosures found were constructed for dry-land horticulture, while major trails running *maukai-makai* provided access to vegetables and other resources on Hualālai. The types of structures he found and their distribution provided him with some indication of social conditions there in early times. The presence of carefully constructed, massive structures and complexes around the fishpond and on the *pāhoehoe*, for instance, suggested to him that the *alii* lived in those areas.¹⁰⁷ The simple shelters and platforms on the *a'a*, however, were probably residences of commoners. Society within the settlement must have been based on a hierarchical social system, he explained, because the size of the *kuapā* across the mouth of the fishpond would have necessitated a considerable labor force over an extended period of time for its construction. Controlling and supporting with food and shelter such a sizeable body of workmen would have required a stable and well-organized social system. More recent occupation of the area had also centered around the fishpond and focused on use of marine resources.¹⁰⁸

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

**b) New Study by Ross Cordy, Joseph Tainter, Robert Renger,
and Robert Hitchcock**

The new study of Kaloko *ahupua'a* recently completed by Ross Cordy et al. presents the results of recent fieldwork in the coastal Kaloko area. It contains some revised site descriptions, records additional major features at previously recorded sites, reclassifies known sites, and provides data on some completely new sites. The authors identify fifty-eight sites in the Kaloko coastal zone, comprising twenty site types, plus five inland-oriented trails.¹⁰⁹ According to their findings, sites used during the nineteenth century include the coastal cross-*ahupua'a* trail, Kaloko Fishpond, and several sites around it, including walled residential lots with associated trail branches, a residential complex, solitary houses, and miscellaneous walled structures. None of the sites, excluding the fishpond, the shoreline trail, and some of the walled house lots, was in use by the 1880s to 1900s. Only one house lot at a time was occupied, presumably by the pond's caretaker.¹¹⁰

J. Contributing and Non-Contributing Elements

All archeological features, the fishponds, and the trail system are significant park resources. There are, in addition, natural and cultural elements that do not contribute to the significance of the area. Alien vegetation, such as *kiawe*, exists within the park. Wooden cabins hug the shore in Honokōhau *ahupua'a*, and several modern jeep roads cross the settlement area. A paved secondary road provides public access from the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway to the Honokōhau Harbor, while a narrow, unimproved road leads from the major highway to Kaloko Fishpond. The physical remains of early Hawaiian culture inside the park, however, remain essentially untouched today.¹¹¹

K. Threats to Resources

As with other previously undeveloped areas along the Hawaiian coastline, Kaloko has undergone its share of planning for resort, recreational, and housing purposes. Construction of houses has taken place *mauka* over the last few years, and it was the possibility of resort development starting on the coast that caused the concern, discussion, and study leading to establishment of the national park. Now another resort/development phase is underway. Construction of houses is going forward in the uplands at the same time industrial structures and warehouse facilities are spreading out along the *mauka* side of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. Consideration is being given to expansion of Honokōhau Harbor, with plans being drawn for more resorts, condominiums, and other recreational facilities along the coastline north of Kailua. Viewed within this context, "Kaloko and Honokōhau as a national historical park may well soon be the only

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 Honokōhau 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.

remaining sizable enclave in the Greater Kailua region where the coastal archaeological remains of past centuries can be viewed as a whole."¹¹² This situation, of course, greatly increases the park's value.

Of particular concern, then, are the possibilities of uncontrolled use of the area and the loss of significant resources that are still in private ownership. Many of the Filipino fishermen living in the area of 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap, for instance, have established houses on top of ancient *heiau* platforms. The presence of a nude bathing area along the coast near the "Queen's Bath" attracts many visitors who picnic, fish, swim, and participate in other water-related activities. This type of use will undoubtedly increase, especially with expansion of the harbor facilities, and poses a potential threat to this fragile and unique environment.

L. Management Recommendations

This section has attempted to stress the significant research, interpretive, and educational value of cultural resources within Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP. Because of the scarcity of fishponds in Hawai'i, those in this park should without question be preserved to illustrate the original character, type of land use, and cultural landscape of the area. In addition, they provide information on the techniques of aquaculture, which might be modified and put into use today or at the very least be a means of passing on knowledge of ancient engineering skills to the present generation to help in comprehension of their cultural heritage. These resources provide lessons in environmental adaptation as well as structural engineering. Kaloko would be a major interpretive feature if restored as an authentic fishpond after studies to determine its original form and components.

All archeological features in the park should be preserved, preferably in their present state. The variety of features, their location in one area of the coast, and the amount of historical documentation and archeological survey results available make this an ideal interpretive and educational area. Many of the features around 'Aimakapā Fishpond and 'Ai'ōpio Fishtrap are unique. Even though little documentary evidence exists, and no historical descriptions of the area have been found, these remain a valuable model from which to gain information and form hypotheses about the Hawaiian heritage. All resources can contribute to providing a holistic view of early Hawaiian lifeways.

Several house platforms and Maka'ōpio Heiau, located in the vicinity of Honokōhau Harbor on state land, should be interpreted. The NPS is trying to work out a cooperative agreement with the state to restore this heiau. The state could plan for this area a unique park setting within which significant resources could be preserved, providing an unusual educational opportunity for harbor users.

Currently, vegetation in the park consists of grasses, exotic thorn trees, and shrubs covering the ancient *pāhoehoe* lava flow. Behind this, spreading up toward Hualālai, is the more recent covering of *a'a* lava. A Cultural Landscape Report should be programmed to determine the types of plants and shrubs originally present and the changes in vegetation over the years. This report would help determine a treatment plan (removal/control) for introduced alien species and for native plant maintenance. Any clearing of the pond and shore areas will undoubtedly uncover

112. Cordy et al., *An Ahupua'a Study*, p. 580.

more archeological resources, possibly enabling more accurate dating of pond construction and adding to the research value and educational opportunities of the park.

It has been recommended that 'Aimakapā Fishpond be preserved as a wildlife refuge. Two species of native waterbirds found there are federally listed as endangered species; 'Aimakapā provides an important habitat for them. It has also been recommended that if Kaloko is restored as a fishpond, concessions should be made to foster waterbird use there as well. Because endangered waterbirds are present in the Kaloko wetlands, the Endangered Species Act will have some affect on the kind of activities that can take place there. Planned non-native vegetation removal should be considered a high management priority for wetland habitat restoration.¹¹³

Later sites, such as the salt pans, house ruins, and foundations of the Honokōhau community church around the fishtrap are also important educational tools because they illustrate changing land use and habitation patterns. These features resulted from a variety of economic, social, and political pressures and should be retained as showing continuing adaptation by residents of the area, both native Hawaiians and immigrant ethnic groups, to meet subsistence needs.

Preservation and stabilization of significant archeological resources in the park, such as the fishponds, the village site, the tombs and associated structures near the hōlua, and the *heiau*, is an NPS management responsibility. The NPS should be intent on preserving the present appearance of these ruins and interpreting pre-European contact and historical values at each site. The full-range of activities in the area by early populations can be transmitted clearly and well through interpretive devices that do not affect the integrity of the ruins or their research value in the future.

It is recommended that development within the park be held to a minimum to preclude intrusion on the area's visual integrity and destruction of the prehistoric and historic scene. Necessary facilities for visitor use could ideally be restricted to areas outside the park boundaries, except for interpretive devices needed to explain the area's significance, essential facilities such as restrooms and designated picnic areas, and whatever minimal structures are needed for visitor and resource protection in what will undoubtedly become a high-use visitor area. (A draft General Management Plan is now in press that defines development plans for the park.)

M. Further Research Needs

Fishponds and associated archeological sites are valuable educational resources. Kaloko-Honokōhau is an especially important area because

Near other fishponds, in districts and areas traditionally and historically classified as being settlements of nobility and as serving as court areas, any such archeological remains have been destroyed, leaving little or no evidence of the settlement patterns which once existed.¹¹⁴

113. Marie Morin, Research Assoc., to Frances Kuailani, Supt., Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP, Nov. 25, 1992, in DSC files.

114. Apple and Kikuchi, *Ancient Hawaii Shore Zone Fishponds*, p. 58.

This frequent lack of associated archeological sites has made dating fishponds very problematical. The presence of so many house sites and other structures near the ponds in this park that can be surveyed and tested give this area added significance. Much archaeological work and documentary research focusing on the park area has been accomplished in the last thirty years, resulting in extensive knowledge of the location and nature of sites and of the historical background of the Kaloko area in particular.

The archeological significance of this area lies in its high research potential due to the density of sites and to the broad cross-section of Hawaiian culture that they represent. Studies to date have provided significant details about the culture along this important section of the Kona Coast and about ancient Hawaiian society in general. Kaloko-Honokōhau particularly offers an opportunity to gather data on the sea-related aspects of early Hawaiian culture. Studies on the structures here and their spatial distribution can provide data on their functional uses and on the social interactions of the community. The cultural deposits could help in organizing the sequence of adaptations to the environment and help refine our present chronology of Hawaiian occupation of the islands.¹¹⁵

The interpretive value of cultural resources in this park is unique in the islands. The resources here are in such close proximity to each other and in such good condition that they can be interpreted with minimum effort. The park area exemplifies early Hawaiian coastal settlements that supported typical subsistence and social activities, although this area also sustained an active religious/political component associated with the presence of *ali'i*. Nowhere else on the Kona Coast does such a diversity of sites exist, including habitations illustrating residential patterns and social hierarchies, petroglyphs providing a glimpse of ancient communication forms and motifs, *heiau* and burials exemplifying religious and supernatural beliefs, fishponds exhibiting a specialized subsistence technique, and a feature like the *hōlua* that represents royal recreational activity.¹¹⁶

Cordy et al., in their new report, suggest that further study of the Huehue Ranch operations that moved into Kaloko beginning in 1906 would be appropriate relative to location of buildings, walls, roads, and associated evidence of ranch operations.¹¹⁷

Basic data collection, mapping, and documentation of features should continue as new sites are found. An Archeological Base Map is needed as are available for the other two parks in this study. In addition, funding should be sought for a Park Administrative History documenting circumstances leading to the park's establishment, land acquisition procedures, and planning efforts to date. An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment and an ethnohistory should also be programmed.

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.

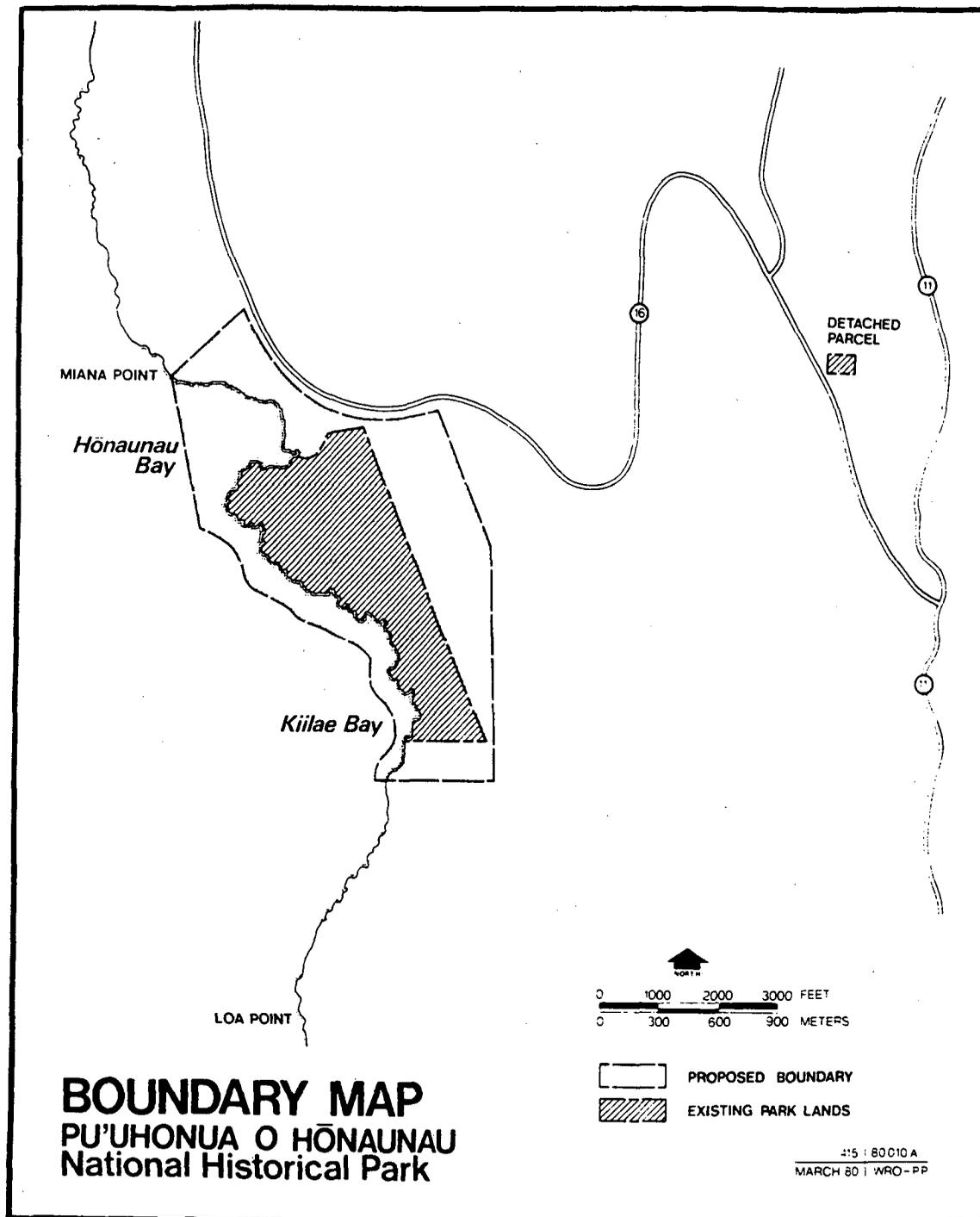


Illustration 141. Boundary map, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Hawaii.

Chapter IX. Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park

A. Setting

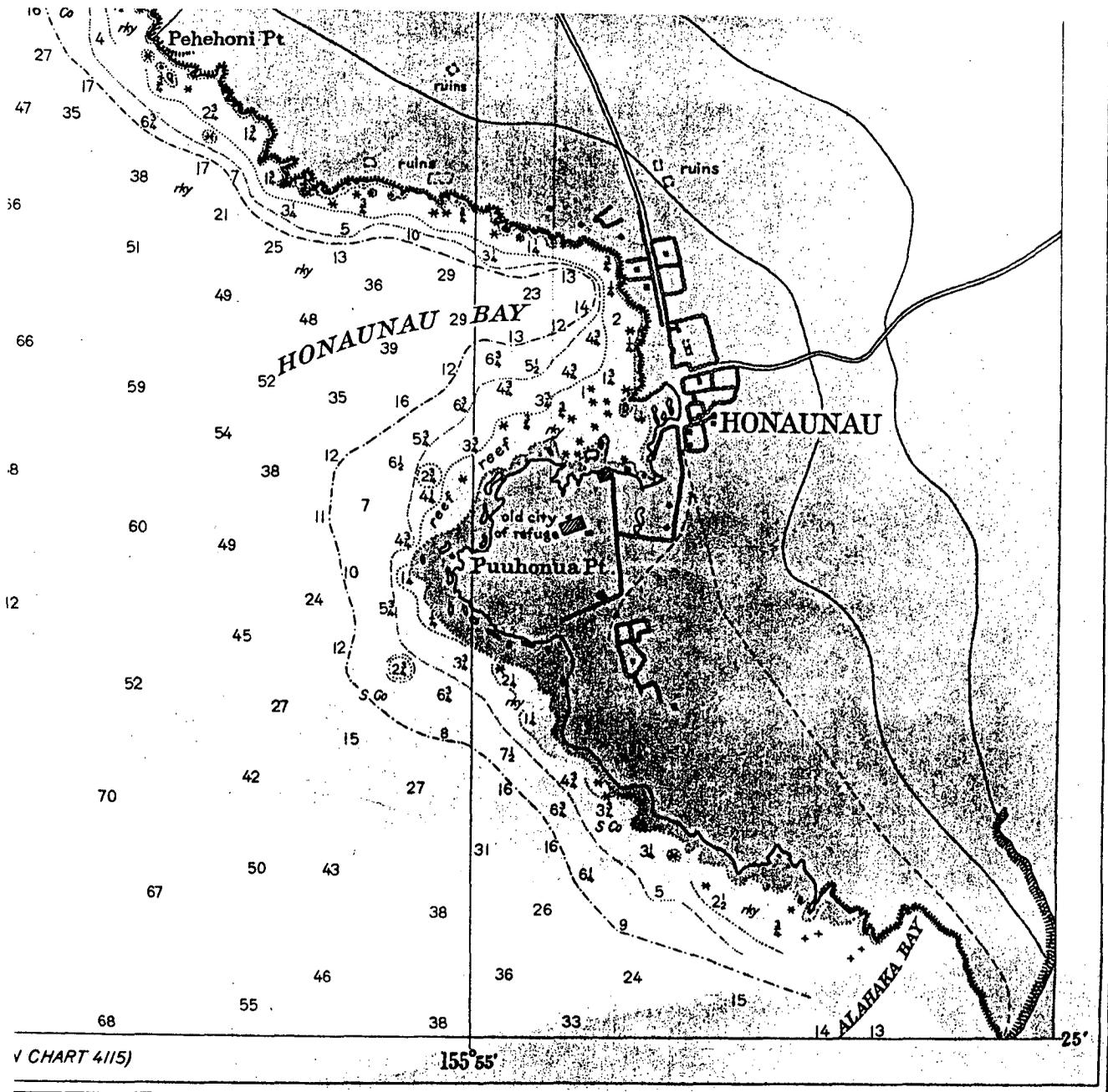
Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau, "Place of Refuge of Hōnauhau," is located in the *ahupua'a* of Hōnauhau, in South Kona, on the west coast of the Island of Hawai'i. The present park includes the coastal portions of three ancient land divisions: Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Kī'ilāe. It lies about midway between the larger 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 Māmalahoa Highway. It consists here of a large flat tongue of *pāhoehoe* lava flanked by three bays, Hōnaunau to the north and Alahaka and Kī'ilāe to the south. In the vicinity of Hōnaunau 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 Hōnaunau 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.

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 *pāhoehoe* lava jutting into the ocean and forming the southwest wall of Hōnaunau (Ke Awa) Bay. Within the curve of the bay nestles the small village of Hōnaunau, 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 *pili* grass used for thatching houses, pandanus, *kou*, *kamani*, and *noni*, with cocconut 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 Nāpo'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.

1. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau*, p. 70.



(Kealakekua Bay to Hōnaunau Bay)

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Illustration 142. Portion of chart showing soundings, Kealakekua Bay to Hōnaunau Bay, Island of Hawaii, n.d. Note delineation of pu'uhonua, royal compound, house lots, and various "ruins." Courtesy Hawaii State Library, Honolulu.

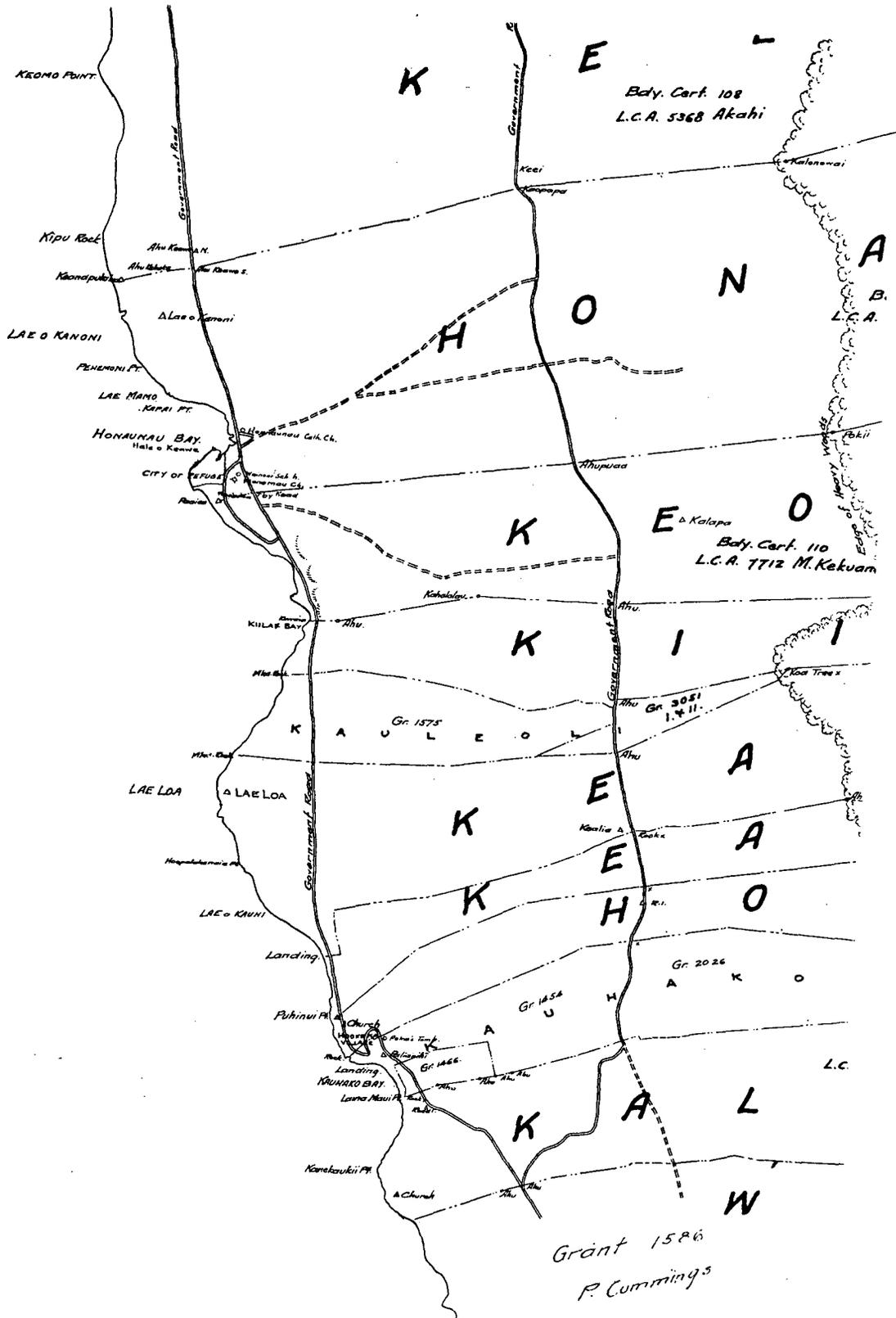


Illustration 143. Detail of "Honaunau (Section), South Kona, Hawaii." W.A. Wall, 1895-96. This shows some of the structures and the road system around the "City of Refuge."

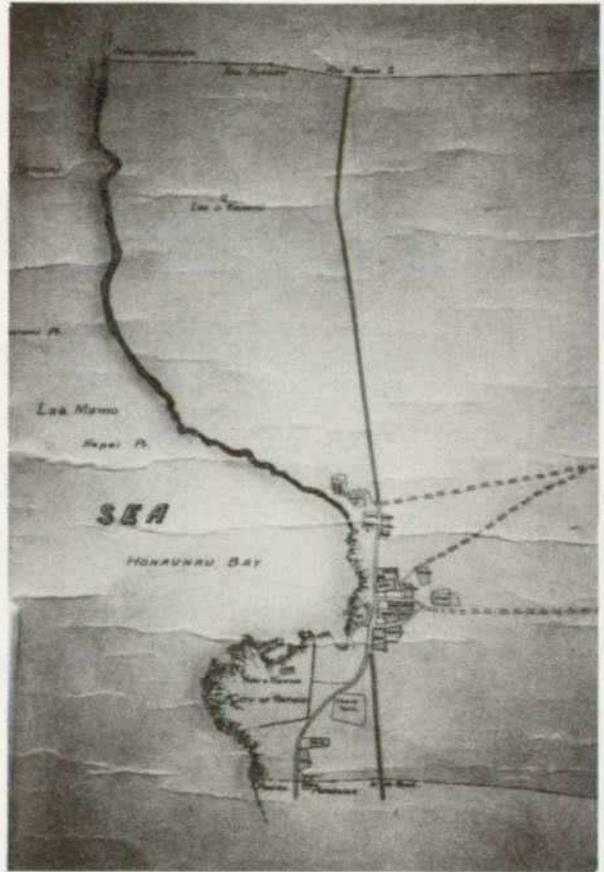
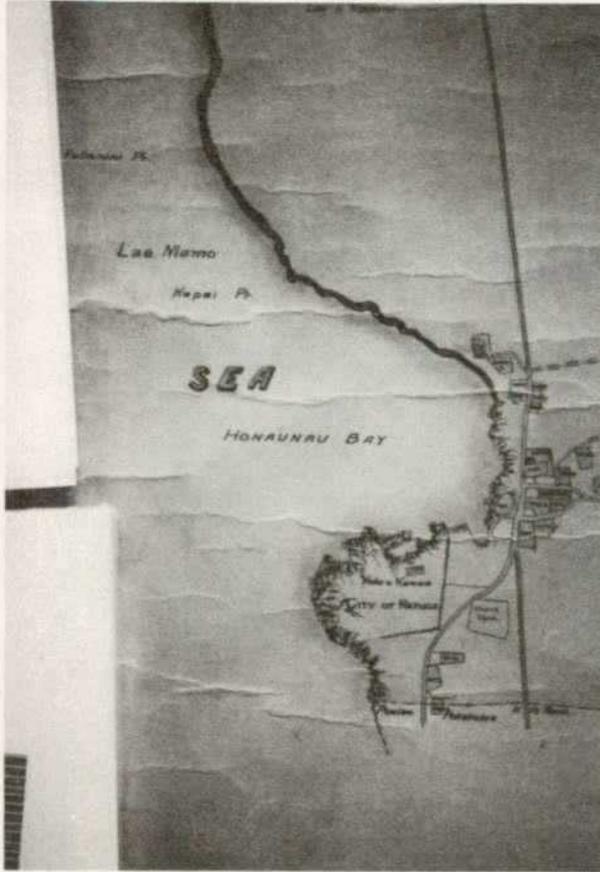


Illustration 144. "Map of Hōnaunau, South Kona, Hawaii." W.A. Wall, 1906. This shows some of the *kuleana* and road systems in the area. Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

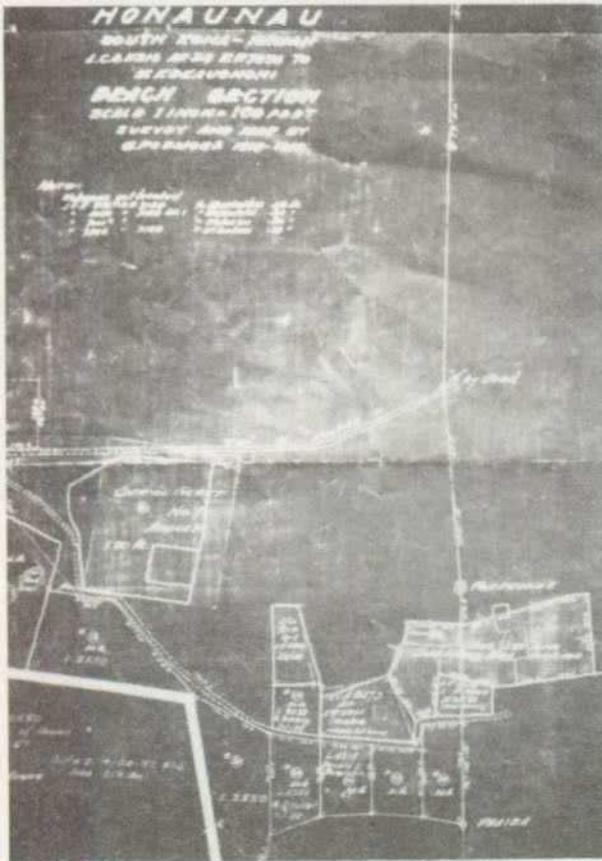
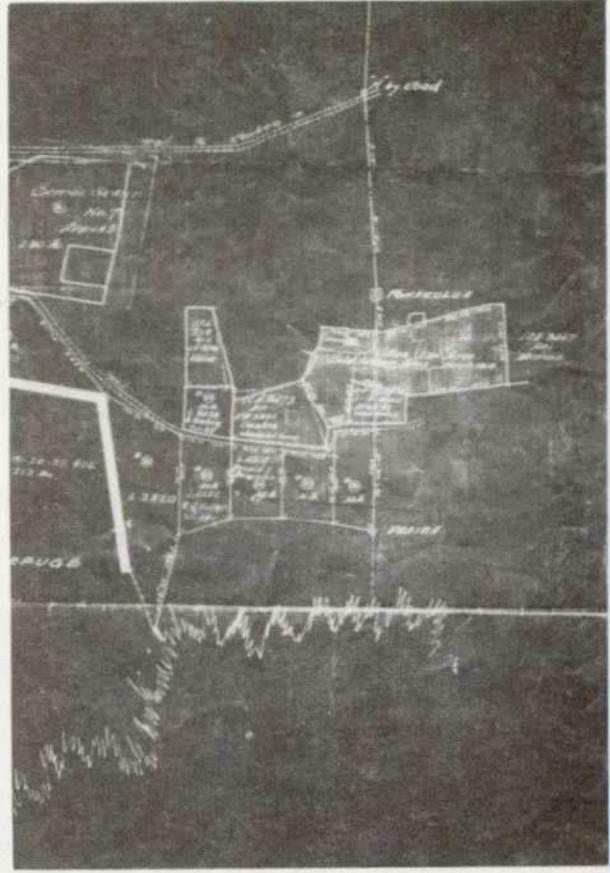
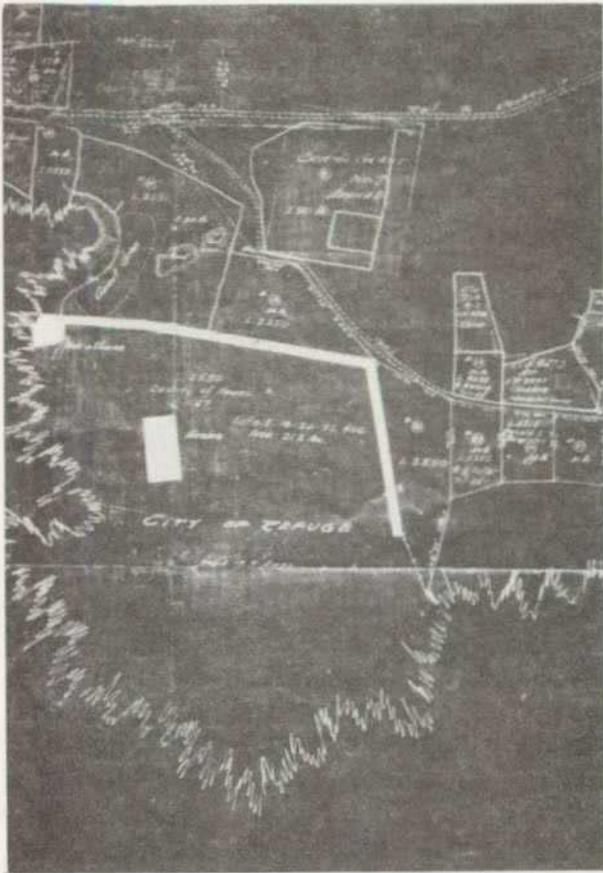


Illustration 145. Portions of "Honaunau, South Kona—Hawaii, Beach Section," G. Podmore, 1918-19. This shows *kuleana* around Hōnaunau Bay and the *pu'uhonua*. Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

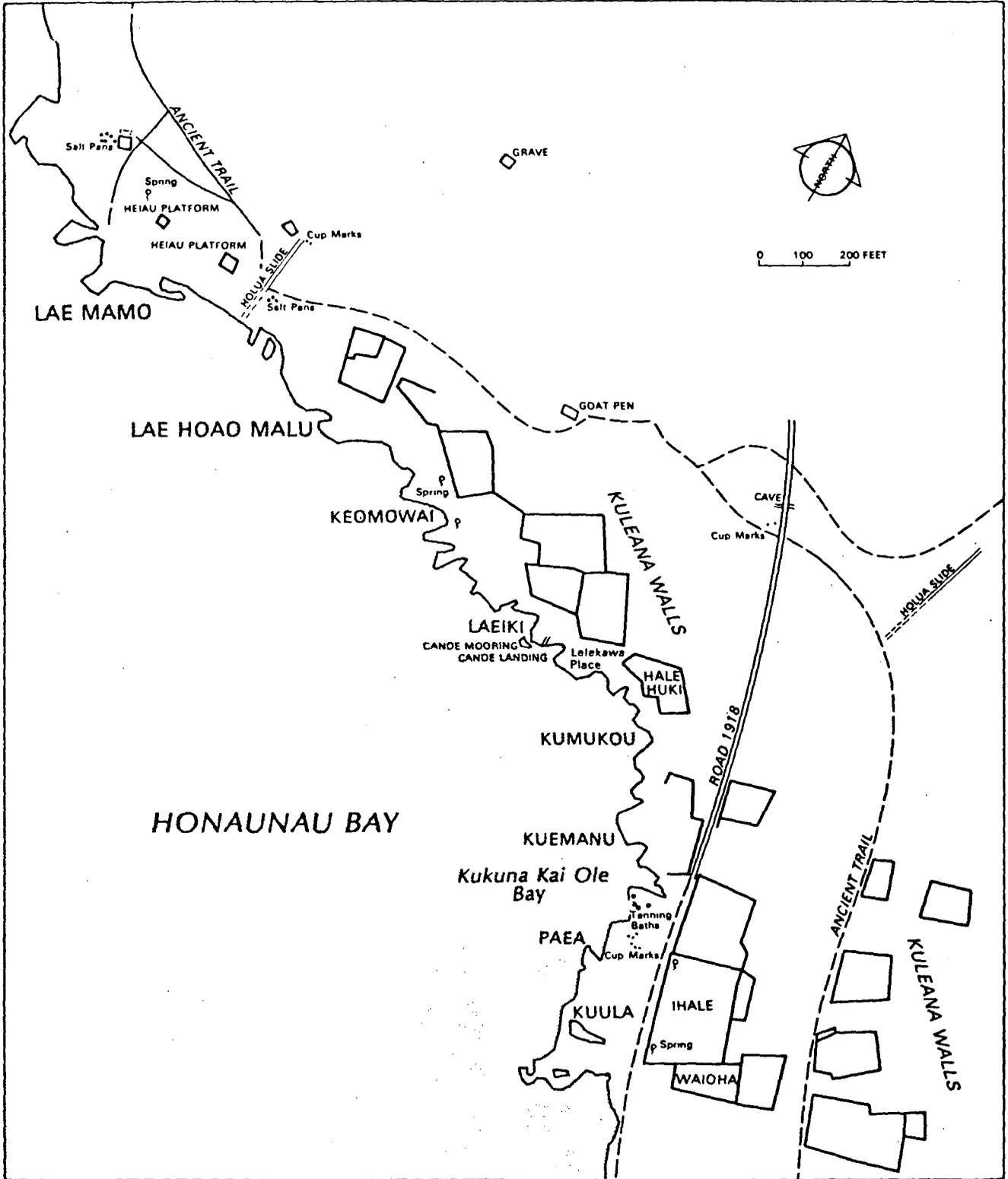


Fig. 14.1. HŌNAUNAU BAY AREA (After Stokes 1919).

Illustration 146. Drawing showing significant prehistoric and historic sites along the coast of Hōnaunau Bay, 1919. Figure 14.1 in Stokes, "Features Pertaining to Early Hawaiian Life," p. 212.

The area between Kealakekua and Hōnaunau bays is renowned as the Moku'ōhai 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'ukoholā Heiau.

Immediately south of the refuge, in Kēōkea, 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 *hōlua*, 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 *pāhoehoe* 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.

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 *pāhoehoe* 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 *kōnane* stone (*papamū*), 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 Hōnaunau its great sanctity. The entire area surrounding the complex was densely settled in aboriginal times and is now replete with significant archeological remains.

2. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 8: Hōnaunau Village and Vicinity Under Hawaiian Culture," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, pp. 93-94.

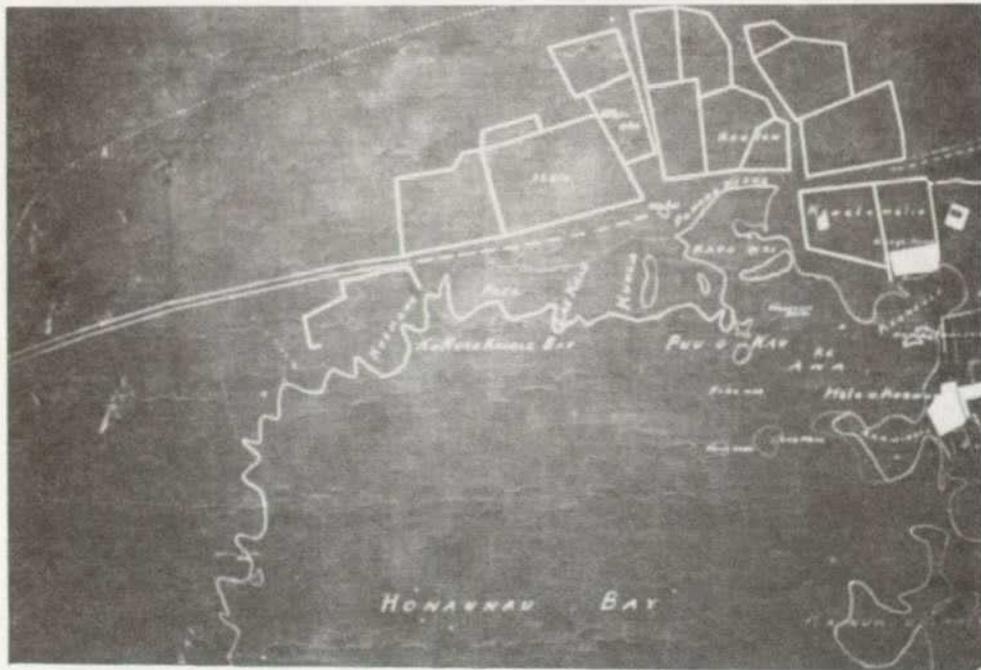
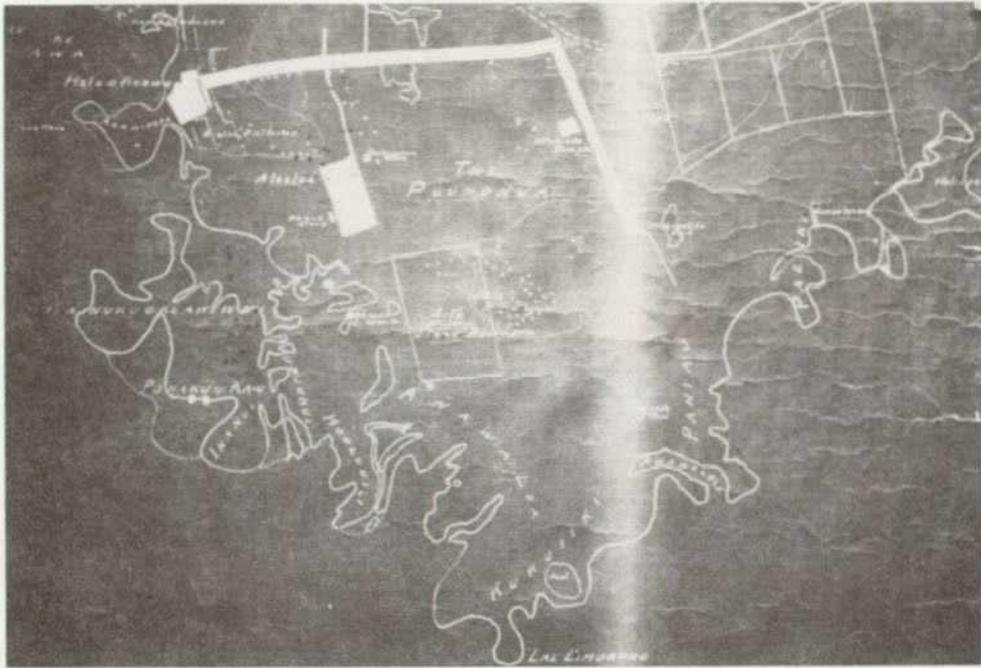


Illustration 147. Portion of map "Honaunau, South Kona-Hawaii, Beach Section at Low Tide. Historical and Archaeological Remains," by John F.G. Stokes, 1919. Courtesy Kona Historical Society, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

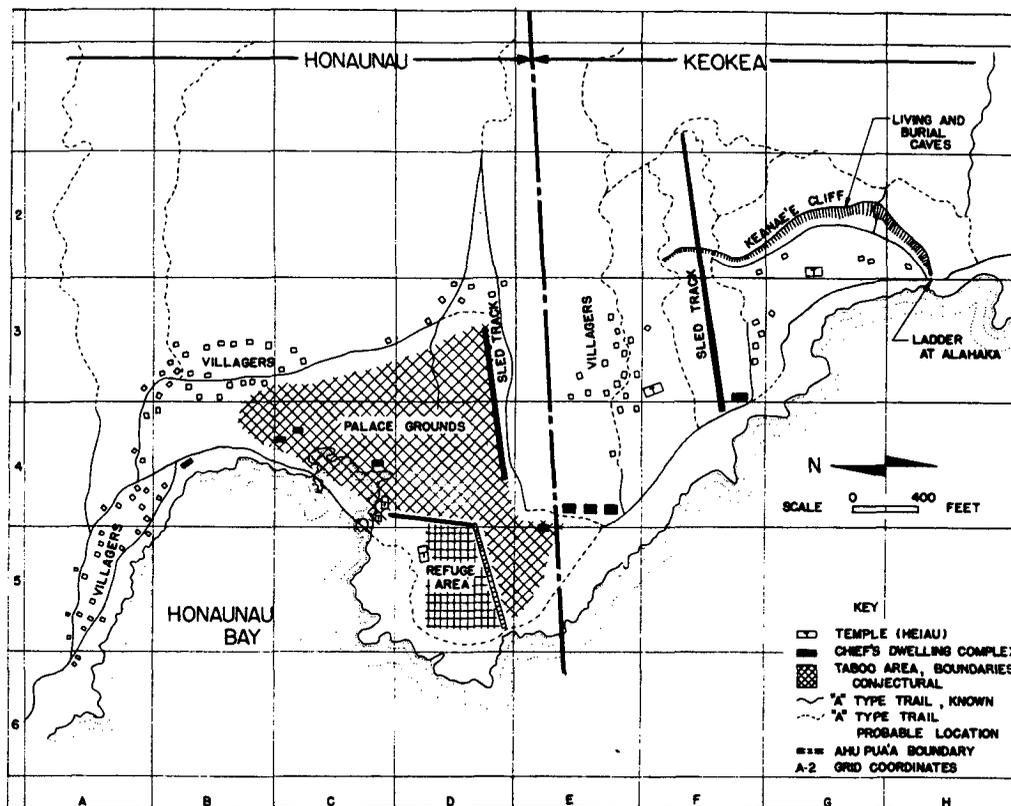


FIGURE 6.—Plan of a portion of Honaunau and Keokea, about 1750.

Illustration 148. Plan of Hōnaunau area, showing settlements, Palace Grounds, and refuge area, ca. 1750. Figure 6 in Apple, *Trails*, p. 13.

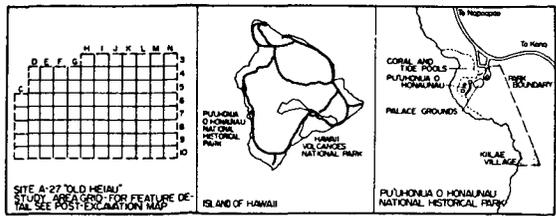
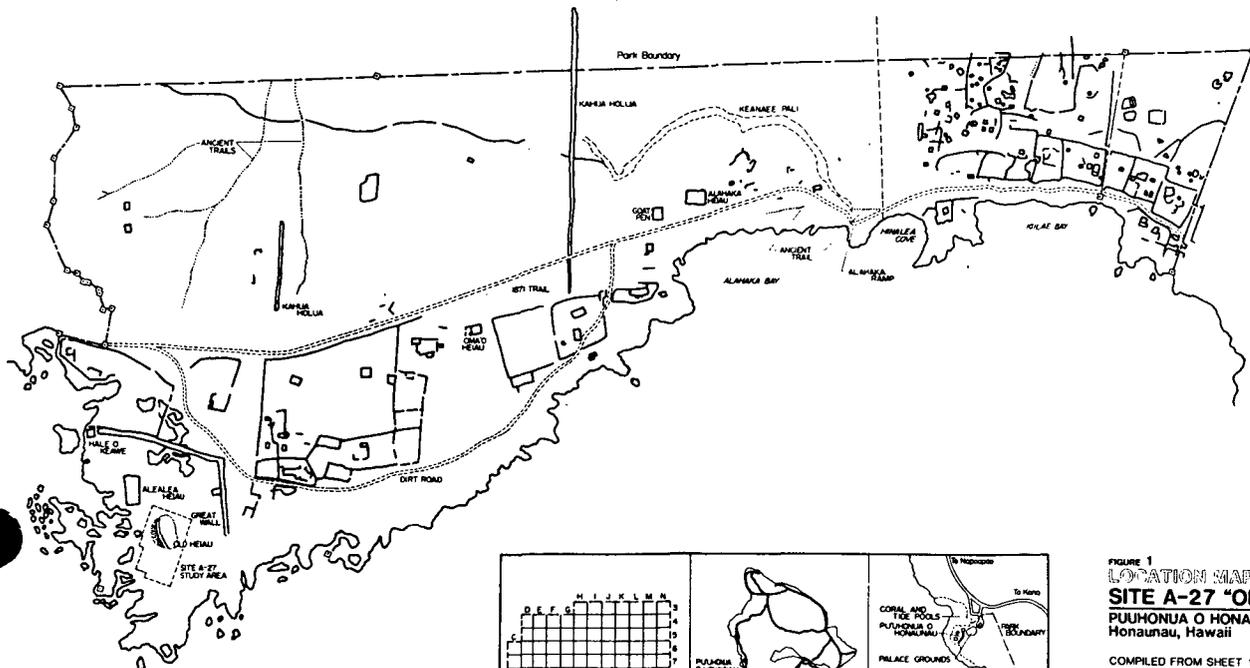


FIGURE 1
LOCATION MAP
SITE A-27 "OLD HEIAU"
 PU'UHONUA O HONAU'AU NHP
 Honaunau, Hawaii
 COMPILED FROM SHEET 1 OF 5, DRAWING
 NUMBER NHD-CR 2050 2052, MAY 1964.
 STUDY AREA BASE MAP 415-82004.
 NORTH
 0 200 400
 FEET

Illustration 149. Map showing extent of resources at Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau, including Ki'ilae Village to the right. Figure 1 in Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27*, p. 3.

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.

C. Development of Hōnaunau Ahupua'a

As described earlier in this study, the sheltered, temperate Kona Coast of Hawai'i became an ideal settlement area for the early Polynesian peoples who migrated to the Hawaiian Islands. The calm waters of Hōnaunau Bay provided abundant fish and other marine resources, while its gentle upland slopes offered conditions conducive to the growth of abundant crops of taro, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, and later, breadfruit. Also available were stands of hardwood trees for constructing residences and religious structures and for manufacturing canoes. Much of Hōnaunau Bay's attraction lay in its sheltered sandy beaches where canoes could easily land. A number of brackish springs, actually tide pools in which fresh water from rain and natural seepage accumulated on the surface of the salt water, provided a dependable water supply. It is not surprising the cove quickly became a favorite residence of Hawaiian royalty.

The refuge was an important part of Hōnaunau, the traditional seat of the chiefdom of Kona. The ruling chief and his court occupied the area at the head of Hōnaunau Bay and along the shore to the south. Lesser chiefs and commoners serving the court and priests resided on the north shore of the bay, toward the mountains, and possibly at Kēōkea and Ki'ilae villages to the south. All residences were basically one-room, wooden framework, thatched-roof structures. The chief's complex would have consisted of several houses.

The ancient village of Hōnaunau was the ancestral home of the Kamehameha dynasty, serving in ancient times as a major Hawaiian religious and cultural center.³ In 1823 William Ellis noted that "Honaunau . . . was formerly a place of considerable importance, having been the frequent residence of the kings of Hawaii, for several successive generations."⁴ When King Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku of Kona, Kamehameha's great-grandfather, died about 1650, his bones were placed in a temple constructed on a platform next to the refuge. His *mana*, inherited from his ancestral gods, and that of his descendants became the power protecting the refuge at Hōnaunau. The structure in which his remains reposed, the Hale-o-Keawe, became a royal mausoleum, holding the bones of several more of Kamehameha's ancestors and thereby endowing the area with extreme sacredness and the refuge with powerful guardian spirits.

Although the canoe traffic of ancient times moved easily in and out of the small harbor of Hōnaunau Bay, the water was not deep enough to accommodate the European and American trading ships that began arriving in Hawai'i late in the eighteenth century. For that reason Kamehameha and other *ali'i* anxious to initiate social and economic interaction with foreigners moved to other harbors, such as Kailua and Honolulu.⁵ This was the beginning of the decline in Hōnaunau's importance, which increased with the abolition of the *kapu* system in 1819, at which

3. Russell A. Apple, "City was a Refuge by Columbus' Day," *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (June 11, 1965): C2.

4. William Ellis, *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1825), p. 84.

5. *Ibid.*

time the benefits of absolution and forgiveness provided by places of refuge became unnecessary. Hōnaunau over the years declined in population as it changed in character from a royal residence of kings, a religious and political center, and a refuge site to just another seacoast village that gradually lost inhabitants to the upland sections in the 1840s as happened in other places.

In the Great *Mahele*, the *ahupua'a* of Hōnaunau went to Miriam Kekau'onohi, a granddaughter of Kamehameha. She took as her second husband Levi Ha'alelea, a descendant of the Kona chiefs, who inherited Hōnaunau when she died. After his death, the administrator of his estate sold the land at auction in 1866 to W. C. Jones, agent for Charles Kana'ina, the father of King Lunalilo. Because Jones never paid for the land, Charles R. Bishop bought it in 1867 as a present for his wife, Bernice Pauahi. Six years after her death, Bishop deeded Hōnaunau to the Trustees of the Bishop Estate who leased the portion occupied by the refuge to S.M. Damon. In 1921 the county of Hawai'i leased the *pu'uhonua* and the adjoining picnic area from the Bishop Estate for use as a county park. In 1959 the federal government obtained 165 acres, including the ancient refuge, from the Trustees for the establishment of a national park. Part of the land was from the *ahupua'a* of Hōnaunau and part from Kēōkea. Kamehameha III had granted the *ahupua'a* of Keokea to Kekuanaoa in 1848; his daughter, Ruth Ke'elikolani, acquired it upon his death in 1868. At her death in 1883, the land went to her cousin Bernice P. Bishop.⁶

D. Places of Refuge

1. Types

In ancient Hawai'i, during times of war, old men, women, and children from surrounding districts fled to places of safety, either in the mountains, in caves, or to *pu'uhonua* to await the outcome of the conflict in safety and to escape reprisal if their warriors met defeat. William Ellis noted that

Each party [involved in battle] usually had a . . . natural or artificial fortress, where they left their wives and children, and to which they fled if vanquished in the field.

These fortresses were either eminences of difficult ascent, and, by walling up the avenues leading to them, sometimes rendered inaccessible; or they were extensive enclosures, including a cave, or spring, or other natural means of sustenance or security.

The stone walls around the forts were composed of large blocks of lava, laid up solid, but without cement, sometimes eighteen feet high, and nearly twenty feet

6. Kenneth P. Emory, "Report 9: Hōnaunau in Transition to the Present," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, 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 Cushingam, 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.

thick. On the tops of these walls the warriors fought with slings and stones, or with spears and clubs repelled their assailants.

When their pari [fortress] was an eminence, after they had closed the avenues, they collected large stones and fragments of rock on the edges of the precipices overhanging the paths leading to the fortification, which they rolled down on the heads of their enemies.⁷

Pu'uhonua translates literally as *pu'u* (hill), *honua* (earth). Possibly the word pertained originally to a fortress on a hill, which is also implied by Ellis's quotation above and one from Samuel Kamakau presented a little later in this section. The term is also applied to cave refuges, which were actually large lava tubes into which small groups of people fled from a pursuing enemy. Sometimes stone walls across the entrances allowed only one person at a time to enter, in a stooped position, providing defensive advantage for those inside.⁸ Places of refuge were a necessary adaptation because of the particular culture of the early Hawaiians, regimented as it was by the *kapu* system of prescribed behavior, and preoccupied as its leaders became in achieving power and authority – pursuits that frequently dictated conflict and wars.

2. Origins

According to the historian Marion Kelly, the Hawaiian concept of asylum and its various elements evolved as a natural outgrowth of institutions and cultural patterns that already formed an established part of Polynesian society. These arrived in Hawai'i as part of the general pool of cultural knowledge and were elaborated upon and refined to conform with evolving Hawaiian beliefs related to the supreme sacredness and inherited power of ruling chiefs.⁹ As Kelly states,

It is apparent from the material available that the Polynesian concept of a place of refuge is rooted in the inherited powers of the high chief. This is to be seen in the custom of declaring very high chiefs to be *pu'uhonua*, of declaring certain lands belonging to chiefs with powerful mana to be *pu'uhonua*, and of placing the bones of deified ancestors in temples connected with specific sites which were thereby designated *pu'uhonua*.¹⁰

Anthropologist Kenneth Emory's views supported this statement. He determined that the sanctity of a place of refuge related directly not only to the inherited sacred power of the chief who established it but also to his ability to maintain political control of the district.¹¹

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 Hōnaunau*, 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.

3. Historical Associations with Hebraic Cities of Refuge

Early European visitors to Hōnaunau, trying to place the Hawaiian term *pu'uhonua* within a context they could understand, used the term "city of refuge" for this area. Although it little resembled the cities of refuge in Jerusalem, because it was neither a city or even a settlement and because protection was granted to *both* the innocent and the guilty, the name clung to the site through succeeding generations of visitors and scholars. A "logical" conclusion of this misnomer was that the Hawaiian people must have descended from one of the lost Hebrew tribes.¹² Abraham Fornander dedicated a paragraph in his first volume on the Polynesian race to "Cities of Refuge," sacred areas that he noted had often been discussed as "another instance of Hebraic influence upon the customs and culture of the Hawaiians."¹³ Even King Kalākaua, in describing the two "Pu'uhonua," or places of refuge, on Hawai'i Island, went so far as to venture that their existence suggested "a Polynesian contact with the descendants of Abraham far back in the past, if not a kinship with one of the scattered tribes of Israel."¹⁴

4. Use Within Hawaiian Culture

Access to the *pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau* would have been gained by land from the south or by swimming into it from the north. The presence of the palace complex just east of the refuge prohibited entry from that side; the *kapu* system ordered immediate death for a commoner who set foot or cast a shadow on a royal residential area.

The *pu'uhonua* was a place that was always open, and anyone who reached it was assured of protection no matter their class or type of infraction. A large, enclosed refuge such as the one at Hōnaunau was considered extremely safe not only because of the physical barrier of the surrounding wall but also because the presence of a *heiau* within or near the walls assured the protecting influence of guardian deities. Fleeing to one of these places was the only escape from death for a criminal, vanquished warrior, or *kapu* violator. These designated sacred sites offered the chance to be purified by a *kahuna pule* for one's sins and to resume life in the community free of the fear of punishment.

Kelly, in describing the interrelationship in a *pu'uhonua* between spiritual *mana* and personal safety, suggested that

Much more important than physical protection was the supernatural protection and sanctity of the surrounding area. Thus, each *pu'uhonua* site was closely associated with a *heiau*. The *heiau* of the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau at the time of European contact was Hale o Keawe. This association with religious structures indicates that a *pu'uhonua* as that at Hōnaunau was not merely a place of physical refuge, but more specifically a sanctuary. In a thatched house on one of the *heiau* platforms were kept the bones of deceased high chiefs, now deified. This was not a burial, but rather a deification. Hawaiian burials per se were quite different. The powerful

12. Kelly, "Concept of Asylum," pp. 140-41.

13. Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, 1:118.

14. Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, p. 46.

mana of these deified chiefs continued after life to surround the area and to afford protection to anyone entering the enclosure. The sanctuary at Hōnaunau was under the protection of the deified chief Keawe, and the one at Waipi'o Valley under Liloa.¹⁵

De Freycinet described Hawaiian *pu'uhonua* enclosures in 1819 in some detail:

They offer an inviolable refuge to the fugitive culprits who are fortunate enough to attain their limits while fleeing from public persecution or just reprisal. Several large openings, some facing the sea and others facing the mountains, make the entry fast and easy at all hours for all those who get there. There, a murderer, a man who violated the tabou or failed in some of its religious observances, a thief, or even an assassin find protection and security, as soon as he has managed to cross the threshold of one of the gates. In times of war, a white banner, flying at all times from an extended pole at each extremity of the enclosure, informs all combatants – friend or foe – forced to escape the blows of the conquerors that for them the place is an assured port of safety. The priests guarding it and serving the refugees would immediately put to death any desecrating intruder who was daring enough to follow beyond its sacred limits a person under the protection of Keave [Keawe], the tutelary deity of these inviolable retreats. . . .

The enclosure contains houses for the priests and for those who are enjoying the rights of refuge. Some leave after a lapse of time set by custom; others return to their usual domicile after the cessation of hostilities, having nothing to fear from then on.¹⁶

Constance Cumming had been told that, having crossed the threshold of the refuge and attained sanctuary, "The first act of the fugitive was to give thanks in presence of the image of Keave, and he was then allowed to rest in one of the houses built specially for refugees, within the sanctuary. . . ."¹⁷

This concept of providing places of safety was recognized throughout the Hawaiian Islands, resulting in a functioning *pu'uhonua* in each district throughout ancient times. Designated *pu'uhonua* changed over time with changing policies. The refuge at Hōnaunau was the largest walled one in Hawai'i and is thought to have been the most continuously used. Today it is also the best preserved. Established by the Kona chiefs in prehistoric times, it functioned into the historic period.¹⁸

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.

5. Use During Reign of Kamehameha

After consolidating his power, Kamehameha abolished most of the old *pu'uhonua*, distributing them to his war leaders, and established new ones. Only Kaua'i, never the scene of Kamehameha's conflicts, retained all its original refuges. Kamakau states that prior to Kamehameha's rise to power there had been *pu'uhonua* on Hawai'i Island in Kohala, Hamakua, Hilo, Puna, and Ka'u. But when the Kona chiefs gained ascendancy, only the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau was kept, either because the Kona chiefs were supreme or because the land was so dry it was of little other use.¹⁹

Samuel Kamakau also discussed the fact that not only places but people were considered *pu'uhonua*:

The king was called a *pu'uhonua* because a person about to die could run to him and be saved; so also were called his queen (*ka Mo'iwahine*) and his god. They were sacrosanct, and therefore their lands were sacrosanct, and were *'aina pu'uhonua*, lands of refuge. Some fortifications (*pu'u kaua*) were *pu'uhonua*, when they were close to those about to be captured in battle.²⁰

Designation as a *pu'uhonua* was applied to high chiefs because of their position as rulers, a position supported by the *mana* or sacred power they had inherited from their ancestors and that gave them the right to spare lives or extend mercy.²¹

As ruling chief, Kamehameha

converted the lands of his favorite wife [Ka'ahumanu] and of his god into *pu'uhonua* lands to save persons who had done some wrong [that is, violated some kapu], had shed blood without cause, or who had killed a man unintentionally. Ka'ahumanu herself was at times a *pu'uhonua*, when a lawbreaker who ran to her was saved from death. Kamehameha was also a *pu'uhonua*. A lawbreaker who had killed another unintentionally ran straight to Kamehameha, and his pursuers could not shed his blood; the king released the lawbreaker.²²

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.

E. Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau

1. Early Descriptions by Europeans

Early accounts of the pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau consist primarily of descriptions of the Hale-o-Keawe and/or brief mention of the dimensions and configuration of the Great Wall. In the historic period a number of early European visitors and missionaries saw, were impressed by, and even tried to depict on paper, the thatched mausoleum of Hale-o-Keawe and its associated refuge. Because this temple was left to deteriorate after other religious structures had been destroyed, it afforded a final view of the relics, and a parting reflection on the *kapu*, that had comprised such an essential part of the ancient Hawaiian religion. These early accounts provide our only historical picture of the remains of the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau.

a) Cook Expedition, 1779

The first known visit by Europeans to the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau was by some of Captain Cook's officers in March 1779. Lieutenant James King recorded that

In a bay to the Southward of Karakaooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward; the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives called *Maeē* [*mō-ī*]; and round it placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the *Eatoos* [*Akuas*] of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of *whattas* [*hakas*], on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.²³

b) Archibald Menzies, 1793

The second recorded sojourn in the area was a brief one, on February 28, 1793, by Archibald Menzies, botanist of the Vancouver expedition, who arrived in the village of Hōnaunau at the tail end of an exploratory expedition into the uplands behind Kealekekua Bay. He and his companions

arrived in the afternoon at a village by the seaside called Hōnaunau, about two leagues to the southward of Kealakekua Bay. As we approached it, the natives came out in great crowds to meet us. The young women expressing their joy in singing and dancing, from every little eminence, to entertain us, while the men received us with a clamorous welcome and an officiousness to serve us that would have been troublesome and teasing had they not been kept in good order by John Smith and the natives who accompanied us, who exercised their authority by

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.

clearing an avenue before us wherever we went. They took us to a large house which was tabooed for the king, with a number of smaller houses contiguous to it for sleeping in and for his attendants when he comes to the village. We were told that he has a set of houses kept for him in the same way in every village he is likely to stop at round the island, which, when he once occupies or eats in, cannot afterwards be used by any other.²⁴

After a soothing massage, and after contracting with the inhabitants to provide water for their ships, Menzies and his companions spent an uneventful night in the village. Little interested in ethnography, Menzies seemed unimpressed by the presence of the refuge or its meaning in Hawaiian culture. He mentions only that during the night, "in a large marae close to us we now and then heard the hollow sounding drums of the priests who were up in the dead hour of the night performing their religious rites."²⁵

c) John Papa I'i, 1817

John Papa I'i, a participant in, and observer of, Hawaiian public affairs as a companion of Liholiho, stated that Kamehameha's son regularly visited the Hale-o-Keawe during his journeys to various *luakini* as his father's representative in those rituals necessary to replenish their *mana*. Liholiho would begin this series of prescribed visits in Kailua, proceed up the coast to Kawaihae, and then continue on around the island, finally stopping at Hale-o-Keawe. The following is the only eye-witness account of an official state visit to the Hale-o-Keawe, made in 1817, and of the accompanying rituals:

The person whose writing this is [I'i] often went about them [places of refuge on the various islands]. He has seen the Hale o Keawe, where the bones were deposited, standing majestically on the left side of Akahipapa lava flat. The house stood by the entrance of a wooden enclosure, its door facing inland toward the farming lands of South Kona. The house was good-looking inside and out. Its posts and rafters were of *kaui* wood, which, it is said, was found in the upland of Napuu. It was well built, with crossed stems of dried ti leaves for thatching. The compact bundles of deified bones were in a row inside the house, beginning with Keawe's bones, near the right side of the door by which one went in and out, and extending to the spot opposite the door.

At the right front corner of the house, heaped up like firewood, were the unwrapped bones of those who had died in war. In that heap were the bones of Nahiolea, father of Mataio Kekuanaoa. Ii saw his own father remove his tapa shoulder covering and place it on a bundle among the other bundles of bones. He must have done this after asking the caretaker about all of them. When Ii saw his father's action he asked, "Have we a near kinsman in this house?" His father assented. There are still some people who have relatives in this house of "life". . . .

24. Menzies, *Hawaii Nei*, p. 86.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 87.



The Depository of the Kings of Hawaii, adjoining the Place of Refuge at Honaunau.

London, 1823, sold by G. Fisher, 30, St. Paul's Church-yard, Strand, W.C.

Illustration 151. Lithograph of Hale-o-Keawe from William Ellis's tour around the Island of Hawai'i in 1823. Courtesy, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

After Liholiho had finished his visit to the house, a pig was cooked and the gathering sat to worship the deified persons there. Then the chief and those who went into the house with him ate together. After the eating was finished, the kapu was removed. . . .²⁶

d) Reverend William Ellis, 1823

The first detailed description of this "city of refuge" by a foreigner was penned by the Reverend William Ellis while visiting the area on his tour of the island with representatives of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Very interested in learning all he could about Hawaiian society and religious beliefs, and already acquainted with many aspects of the culture and able to speak the language, he immediately realized the significance of the *pu'uhonua*. He was less impressed by the village of Hōnaunau, which then contained about 147 houses. Despite the large number of dwellings, the only accommodations he and his companions could find consisted of a mat spread on the ground in an open canoe shed. There they passed their nights, beset by "swarms of vermin" and "the unwelcome intrusion of hogs and dogs of every description." Because Ellis was feeling the effects of indigestion, thought to have been caused by drinking the brackish water along the coast, he and his party tarried in the area for another couple of days while he recuperated. During that time his companions examined the surrounding countryside. Inland two to four miles they found a prosperous population living comfortably in comparison to those on the coast. Breadfruit trees, cocoanuts, and prickly pear thrived in large groves.²⁷

By this time, the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau had been abandoned for four years. Ellis and his companions were quite impressed by the Hale-o-Keawe, although they were unable to understand why it had not been destroyed during the general destruction attending the abolition of the *kapu* system. Ellis's description of the structure is lengthy but irreplaceable in providing some idea of its original appearance:

The principal object that attracted our attention, was the Hare o Keave, (the House of Keave,) a sacred depository of the bones of departed kings and princes, probably erected for the reception of the bones of the king whose name it bears, and who reigned in Hawaii about eight generations back.

It is a compact building, twenty-four feet by sixteen, constructed with the most durable timber, and thatched with ti leaves, standing on a bed of lava that runs out a considerable distance into the sea.

It is surrounded by a strong fence of paling, leaving an area in the front, and at each end about twenty-four feet wide. The pavement is of smooth fragments of lava, laid down with considerable skill.

Several rudely carved male and female images of wood were placed on the outside of the enclosure; some on low pedestals under the shade of an adjacent

26. I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, pp. 137-39.

27. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, pp. 123, 129.

tree, others on high posts on the jutting rocks that hung over the edge of the water.

A number stood on the fence at unequal distances all around; but the principal assemblage of these frightful representatives of their former deities was at the south-east end of the enclosed space, where, forming a semicircle, twelve of them stood in grim array, as if perpetual guardians of "the mighty dead" reposing in the house adjoining.

A pile of stones was neatly laid up in the form of a crescent, about three feet wide, and two feet higher than the pavement, and in this pile the images were fixed. They stood on small pedestals, three or four feet high, though some were placed on pillars, eight or ten feet in height, and curiously carved.

The principal idol stood in the centre, the others on either hand; the most powerful being placed nearest to him: he was not so large as some of the others, but distinguished by the variety and superior carvings of his body, and especially of his head.

Once they had evidently been clothed, but now they appeared in the most indigent nakedness. A few tattered shreds round the neck of one that stood on the left hand side of the door, rotted by the rain and bleached by the sun, were all that remained of numerous and gaudy garments, with which their votaries had formerly arrayed them.

A large pile of broken calabashes and cocoa-nut shells lay in the centre, and a considerable heap of dried, and partly rotten, wreaths of flowers, branches of shrubs and bushes, and fragments of tapa, (the accumulated offerings of former days,) formed an unsightly mound immediately before each of the images. . . .

We endeavored to gain admission to the inside of the house, but were told it was tabu roa, (strictly prohibited,) and that nothing but a direct order from the king, or Karaimoku [Kalanimoku], could open the door.

However, by pushing one of the boards across the door-way a little on one side, we looked in, and saw many large images, some of wood very much carved, others of red feathers, with distended mouths, large rows of sharks' teeth, and pearl-shell eyes.

We also saw several bundles, apparently of human bones, cleaned, carefully tied up with cinet [sennit] made of cocoa-nut fibres, and placed in different parts of the house, together with some rich shawls and other valuable articles, probably worn by those to whom the bones belonged, as the wearing apparel and other personal property of the chiefs is generally buried with them. . . .

Adjoining the Hare o Keave to the southward, we found a Pahu tabu (sacred enclosure) of considerable extent, and were informed by our guide that it was one of the pohonuas [*pu'uhonua*] of Hawaii, of which we had so often heard the chiefs and others speak. There are only two on the island. . . .

This had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, the others facing the mountains. . . . Happily for him [the one seeking refuge], those gates were perpetually open; and as soon as the fugitive had entered, he repaired to the presence of the idol, and made a short ejaculatory address, expressive of his obligations to him in reaching the place with security.

Whenever war was proclaimed, and during the period of actual hostilities, a white flag was unfurled on the top of a tall spear, at each end of the enclosure. . . . It was fixed a short distance from the walls on the outside, and to the spot on which this banner was unfurled, the victorious warrior might chase his routed foes; but here, he must himself fall back; beyond it he must not advance one step, on pain of forfeiting his life.

The priests, and their adherents, would immediately put to death any one who should have the temerity to follow or molest those who were once within the pale of the pahu tabu; and, as they expressed it, under the shade or protection of the spirit of Keave, the tutelar deity of the place.

In one part of the enclosure, houses were formerly erected for the priests, and others for the refugees, who, after a certain period, or at the cessation of war, were dismissed by the priests, and returned unmolested to their dwellings and families. . . .

We could not learn the length of time it was necessary for them to remain in the puhonua; but it did not appear to be more than two or three days. After that, they either attached themselves to the service of the priests, or returned to their homes.

The puhonua at Hōnaunau is capacious, capable of containing a vast multitude of people. . . .

The form of it was an irregular parallelogram, walled up on one side and at both ends, the other being formed by the sea-beach, except on the north-west end, where there was a low fence. On measuring it, we found it to be 715 feet in length, and 404 feet wide. The walls were twelve feet high and fifteen thick.

Holes were still visible in the top of the wall, where large images had formerly stood, about four rods apart throughout its whole extent.

Within this enclosure were three large heiaus, two of which were considerably demolished, while the other was nearly entire. It was a compact pile of stones, laid up in a solid mass, 126 feet by 65, and ten feet high.

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. . . .

We could not learn how long it [*Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau*] had been standing, but were informed it was built for Keave, who reigned in Hawaii about 250 years ago.

The walls and heiaus, indeed, looked as if it might claim such antiquity; but the house of Keave and the images must have been renewed since that time.²⁸

Ellis and his companions found the refuge, signifying clemency and empathy with the plight of the common people, a refreshing change to the deserted "heathen" temples and abandoned altars that conjured up vastly different pictures, those of "human immolations and shocking cruelties."²⁹ Many of the later visitors to the area based their descriptions on this account by Ellis, adding few other relevant details or observations.

e) Andrew Bloxam, 1825

Two years later, in 1825, the British frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Captain (Lord) Byron, came to Hawai'i to return the bodies of Kamehameha II and his queen, Kamāmalu, who had succumbed to measles during a royal visit to England the previous year. On board ship were Naturalist Andrew Bloxam and Botanist James Macrae. During their sojourn in the islands, these men visited a number of ports and sites of interest. In addition, Byron was more than willing to serve as an ally to the Hawaiian high chiefs in their efforts to promote Christianity by removing all sacred objects from the Hale-o-Keawe. Liholiho's death had resulted in Kauikeaouli's ascendancy as Kamehameha III. Because the new ruler was underage, Kalanimoku served as regent and co-ruler with Ka'ahumanu. Both were new converts to Christianity, Kalanimoku specifically giving Byron permission to remove articles from the temple.³⁰ On the morning of July 15, 1825, Bloxam reported that

a large party consisting of Lord Byron and several of the gunroom officers went in the boats to visit the only perfect remaining morai on the islands. It is about three miles south of Karakaikooa [Kealakekua], close to the shore in a small sandy bay and near a grove of coconut trees. Karaimoku had given permission to Lord Byron to visit it and take out any curiosities he chose. No white person had heretofore been allowed to enter the threshold, it is strictly guarded by a person who had the care of it. It is tabooed from the natives, as it contains the most precious relics – the bones of most of their former kings. We were accompanied by Kuakini and Naihe, the two principal chiefs. The morai [Hale-o-Keawe] is built like a large native thatched hut, thirty by fifteen feet, with a very high roof and one low door. It is placed in a square paved with large stones and surrounded with thick wooden stakes and palings. Outside this fence are ranged without order or regularity about twenty wooden idols rudely carved and of various uncouth forms, most of which are now fast rotting and decaying. In the interior of the palisades on one side is erected a kind of stage, about fourteen feet high, of strong poles on which the offerings were formerly placed. At the bottom lay a considerable number of decayed coconuts. We entered the building itself by a small wooden door about two feet high arched over at the top, the only light the interior received was from this, and a few holes in the delapidated [*sic*] roof. Before us were placed two large

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 126-28.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

30. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 27.

and curious carved wooden idols, four or five feet high, between which was the altar where the fires were made for consuming the flesh of the victims. On our left were ranged ten or twelve large bundles of tapa each surmounted by a feather or wooden idol, and one with a Chinese mask, these contained the bones of a long succession of kings and chiefs whose names were mentioned there. The floor was strewn with litter, dirt, pieces of tapa, and offerings of every description. In one corner were placed a quantity of human leg and arm bones covered over with tapa. In two other corners were wooden stages, on which were placed quantities of bowls, calabashes, etc., containing shells, fishhooks, and a variety of other articles; leaning against the wall were several spears, fifteen or sixteen feet in length, a small model of a canoe, two native drums and an English drum in good preservation. This, one of the chiefs took with him. In the sides of the building were stuck several small idols with a calabash generally attached to them, one of these we opened and found the skeleton of a small fish, it was therefore probably the offering of a fisherman.

The natives and chiefs who were with us seemed to have but little regard for anything there, and willingly granted whatever we were desirous of taking. The only one who seemed to grieve at the loss of so many apparent treasures was the old man who had charge of them. He was, however, soon consoled by presents of knives, scissors an old suit of clothes, etc., given by several of us. Near the morai is a large enclosure surrounded by a stone wall, formerly a place of refuge, where all persons were esteemed safe who fled there in time of war, or had committed any great offence. . . .

We each of us took away some memorial of the place and reached the ship a little before dinner.³¹

This account does not mention the images within the enclosure that Ellis noted nor those on the fence. Byron's account, presented later, however, does mention images within the courtyard. Bloxam added to the significance of his visit by making sketches of the exterior of the Hale-o-Keawe and of its interior arrangement.

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.



IDOL FROM HALE-O-KEAWE
Presented to Bernice P. Bishop Museum by Henry Roly Bloxam.

Illustration 152. Image removed from Hale-o-Keawe and later presented to the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, by Henry Bloxam. From Bloxam, *Diary*, facing p. 60.

Ground plan of the Morai or Hale o Keawe

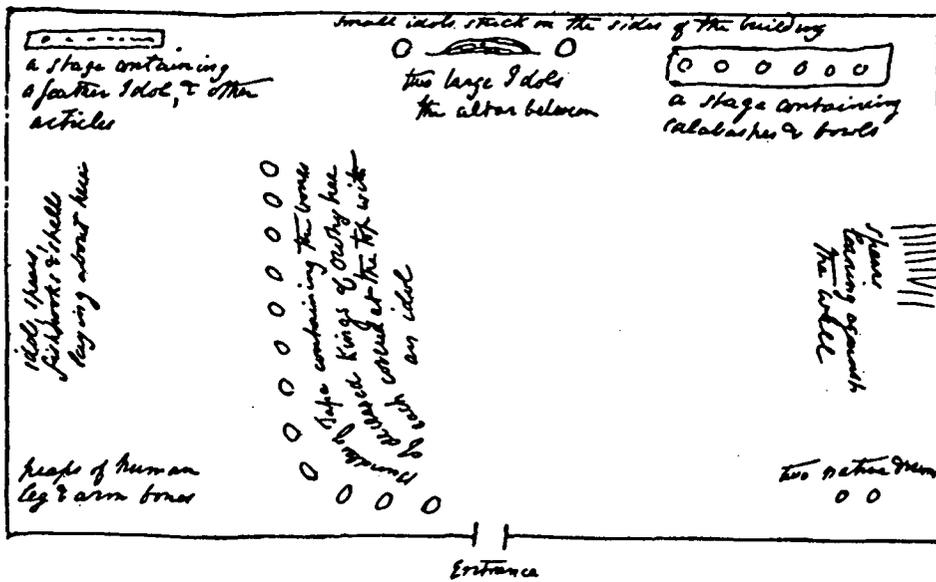


Illustration 153. Andrew Bloxam's drawings of the exterior appearance and interior arrangement of Hale-o-Keawe. From Bloxam, *Diary*, p. 75.

f) Reverend Rowland Bloxam, 1825

The Reverend Rowland Bloxam, Andrew's uncle, added a few details on the Hale-o-Keawe's interior furnishings:

On one side were arranged several feathered deities protruding their misshapen heads through numberless folds of decayed tapa. Under these folds were deposited the bones of the mighty kings and potent warriors who had formerly hailed these idols as their penates. . . after the party had viewed this holy place for some time, our rapacious inclinations began to manifest themselves and after his lordship [Byron] had taken what he thought proper, the rest began to take an ample sanctuary regardless of the punishment attending such shameless sacrilege. Two immense though beautifully carved gods that stood on each side of the stone altar were immediately plucked up and sent down to the boats. I succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreahoo (Kaleiopuu), a beautiful spear and a few other articles within my reach. All the other visitants were equally piously inclined. Having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to the ship laden with the spoils of this heathen temple.³²

g) Lord G. A. Byron, 1825

Lord Byron's account of this trip provides additional information of interest and importance:

Kuakini and Nahi accompanied us to the royal morai in the neighbourhood, which had, till now, been considered sacred. After rowing along the coast to the southward for a short time, we came to a pretty creek called Honaunau, where the morai, overshadowed with cocoa-nut trees, stood. The exterior appearance of the building itself does not differ from that of the grass houses of the native chiefs. It is surrounded by a palisade formed of the trunks of palm-trees, and the court within the palisade is filled with rude wooden images of all shapes and dimensions, whose grotesque forms and horrible countenances present a most extraordinary spectacle. Most of these idols are placed in the same attitude; one, however, was distinguished by a greater degree of skill in the carving: it had a child in its arms. There were also a number of poles with carved heads in various parts of the court, and, immediately in front of the morai, and outside of the palisades, there was a kind of sentinel deity of a very grotesque shape. On entering the morai we saw on one hand a line of deities made of wicker-work, clothed in fine tapa, now nearly destroyed by time, and adorned with feathered helmets and masks, made more hideous by rows of sharks' teeth, and tufts of human hair; each differing a little from the other, but all preserving a strong family likeness. Under these the bones of the ancient kings of the Island are said to be deposited; and near them the

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, "Hōnaunau Village and Vicinity," p. 100. See this report for a discussion of what happened to images taken from Hale-o-Keawe.

favorite weapons of deceased chiefs and heroes, their ornaments, and whatever else might have been pleasing to them while alive.

As the idolatrous worship of these things is now at an end, Karaimoku takes every occasion to do away the remembrance of it, taking care not to shock the feelings of the people too violently. He had given directions, that as the English officers were desirous of taking some of the ancient gods, and other articles deposited in the morai, to show in Britain what had been the worship and the customs of their Hawaiian brethren, the guardians of the place should permit them to remove whatever they pleased.

We could not wonder that the old man, who had long been the priest of the temple, and was now the guardian of its relics, showed some signs of regret at this final destruction of the gods of his youth. This man was the son of the high-priest of Captain Cook's times.³³

The two high chiefs accompanying Byron, Kuakini (governor of the island of Hawai'i) and Na'ihe (chief of South Kona and guardian of the Hale-o-Keawe), were somewhat disturbed by this looting of the temple, but remained silent. They did, however, prevent removal of the bones.³⁴

h) James Macrae, 1825

Botanist James Macrae, not a member of the first tourist party off the *Blonde*, visited the *pu'uhonua* the next day:

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.



Illustration 154. Sketch of Hale-o-Keawe by Robert Dampier, artist with Lord Byron on the H.M.S. *Blonde*, 1825. Artistic license shows in the background scene, but the structure is definitely the mausoleum. From Byron, *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, facing p. 199.

Went to see the morai [Hale o Keawe] on the other side of the island. On our way met the old priest in his canoe coming on board. He alone is entrusted to enter the morai, and we accordingly took him back with us. We found the morai was on the east point of a small bay surrounded by huts standing under a thinly scattered grove of coconut trees, but with no signs of cultivation about. As we were about to enter the morai the old priest, who had on a straw hat and cotton shirt, took both of them off, and only left his maro on. On entering we only found an empty filthy hut with quantities of human bones in heaps under mats at each end of the hut, many of the bones not yet dry and disgusting to the sight. In the middle were several effigies of the deceased chiefs, tied to a bundle of tapa cloth containing the bones of each person whom the effigies represented. Most of the effigies were made of wood, but the one representing the late Tamahamaah [inaccurate] was substituted by a mask of European manufacture and was more finely dressed than the others. The party with Lord Byron that had visited here the day before, had taken away any memorials of the morai that could be taken, so we asked the old priest to be allowed to take some of the ancient weather beaten carved figures outside.

The morai is a small thatched hut fenced round with sticks to the height of 6 feet, kept together by two rows of bars. Fixed in the lava ground at the entrance front stand upright several various sized wooden rudely carved hideous figures, in representation of their former gods. These they now set but little value upon, and are rarely met with in the huts of the natives.³⁵

The *Blonde's* artist, Robert Dampier, contributed to this documentation by sketching the Hale-o-Keawe, producing a rather stylized rendering of the structure against a background more closely resembling Kealakekua Bay to the north. An engraving made from that drawing accompanied the formal report of the voyage and is a valuable source of information on the appearance of the structure. It should be noted that because the crew of the *Blonde* removed many of the Hale-o-Keawe images, they have been preserved in a number of private collections and museums both in the United States and Europe and provide an important record of early Hawaiian religious art that might otherwise have been lost.

i) Laura Judd, 1828

The next foreign visitor who left an account of the *pu'uhonua* was Laura Fish Judd. She came to Hawai'i Island in 1828 in company with her missionary/physician husband, Gerrit P. Judd, who was part of a committee exploring a site for a health station on the nearby mountain slopes. The failing health of many of the pioneer missionaries had become a source of concern, and it was believed that a station in the bracing mountain atmosphere might be good for them (Waimea in North Kohala was later selected). During Mrs. Judd's residence at Ka'awaloa she visited the temple at Hōnaunau accompanied by Na'ihe and Kapi'olani:

35. James Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825* (Honolulu: W.F. Wilson, 1922), pp. 71-72.

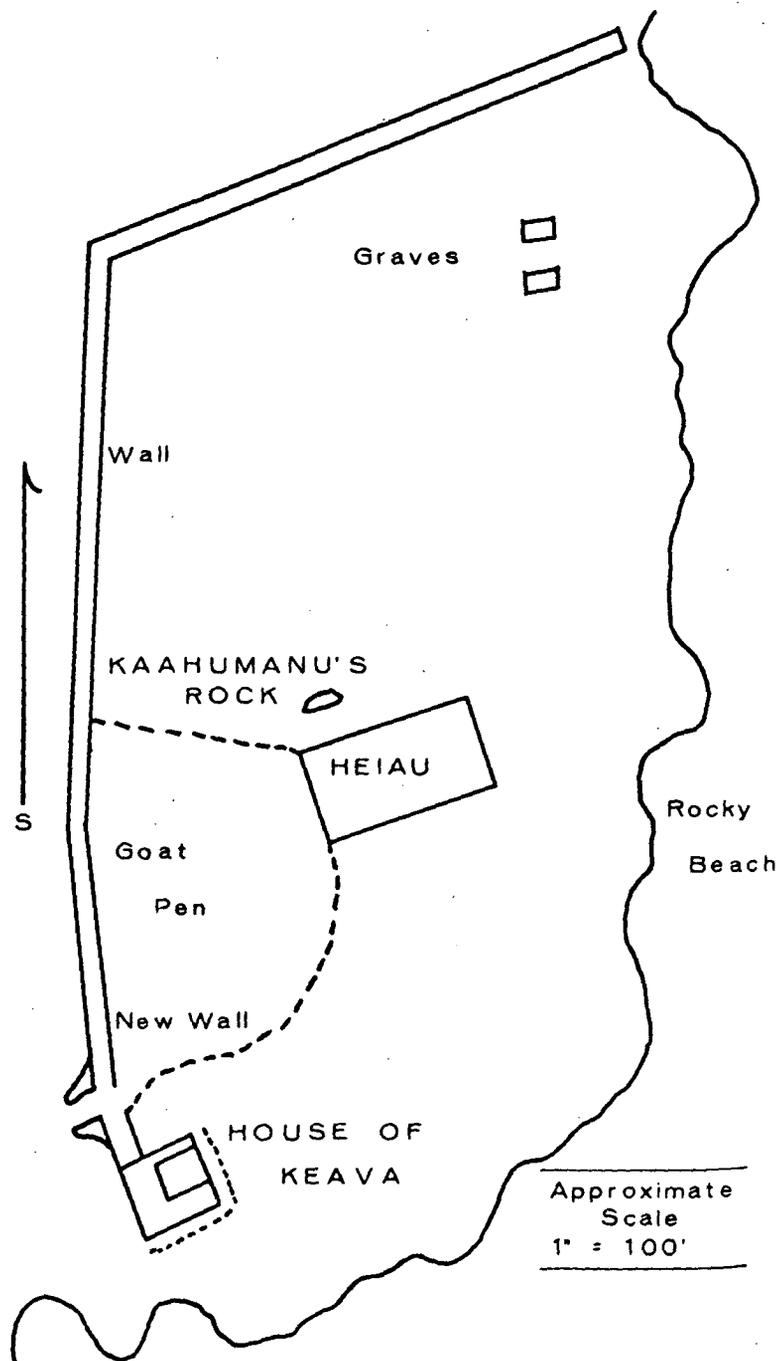


Fig. 1. Chester S. Lyman's map of the Pu'uhonua at Honaunau in 1846.
 (Redrawn from a copy in Apple 1965-1966.)

Illustration 155. Redrawn Chester Lyman 1846 map of the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. Figure 1 in Ladd, "Hale-o-Keawe Temple Site," p. 174 (taken from Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study").

It was then surrounded by an enclosure of hideous idols carved in wood, and no woman had ever been allowed to enter its consecrated precincts. Our heroic Kapiolani led the way, and we entered the enclosure. It was a sickening scene that met our eyes. The dead bodies of chiefs were placed around the room in a sitting posture, the unsightly skeletons mostly concealed in folds of kapa, or rich silk. The blood-stained altar was there, where human victims had been immolated to idol gods. Fragments of offerings were strewn about. Kapiolani was much affected and wept, but her husband was stern and silent. I thought he was not quite rid of the old superstition in regard to women.

A few months after our visit [probably early 1829] Kaahumanu came and ordered all the bones buried, and the house and fence entirely demolished. She gave some of the timber, which was spear-wood (*kauila*), to the missionaries, and told them to make it into canes and contribution boxes, to send to their friends.³⁶

j) Later References to the Site

Chester Lyman, a Yale University scientist visiting Hawai'i, sketched the *pu'uhonua* in 1846, his map showing that the area between the Great Wall, the Hale-o-Keawe, and the northeast end of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau was fenced off as a goat pen. Lyman writes that on December 2, 1846,

We reached Honaunau a little after 12, and first made a survey of the remains of the old Pahonua [*sic*] or City of Refuge. The walls are yet quite entire, and the stone foundation of the 'House of Keawe' with most of the wooden palisade which encompassed it on the west and north sides. The whole platform on which the house stood we found to be 50 feet by 50—The house, 24 feet wide, occupying the west side.

We measured the wall from the entrance at the south end of the platform of the house, and found the east side to be 600 ft. and the southern 400. Mr. Ellis gives the length at 715, which must have been measured from the extreme northern limit of the foundation of the house at the water's edge. . . . This wall is 15 ft. thick and 12 ft. high.³⁷

English author Samuel Hill visited Hōnaunau in the late 1840s and found a village containing about forty huts with not more than 100 residents. He described the *pu'uhonua* enclosure as having walls only three to four feet high and being full of coconut trees.³⁸ The village and refuge ruins also rated only slight mention from George Bowser who, while compiling a directory of the Hawaiian kingdom in the early 1880s, noted at Hōnaunau only

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.

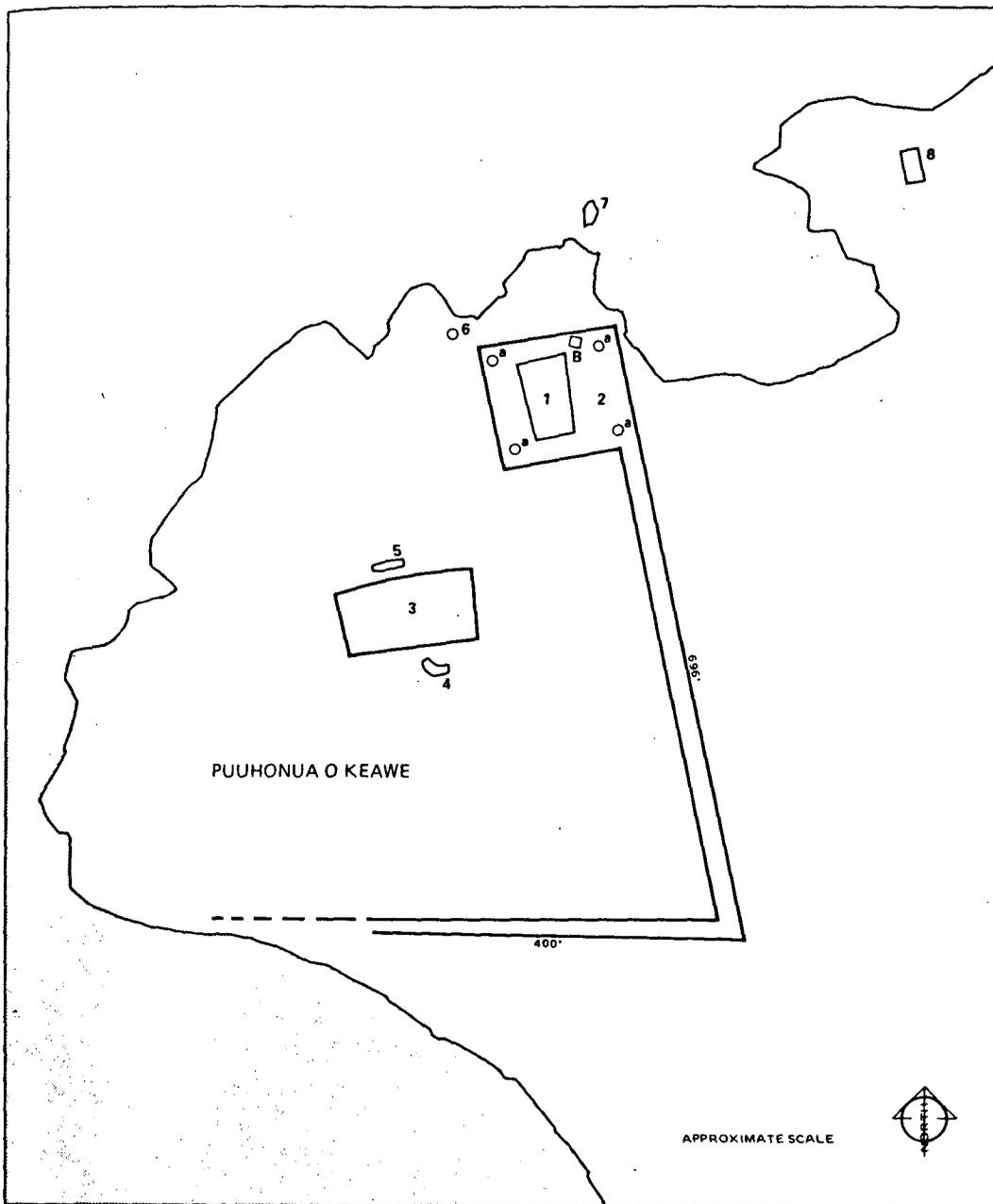


Fig. 9.2. SKETCH MAP OF RUINS AT HŌNAUNAU, WITH SOME FEATURES DESIGNATED (After D. H. Hitchcock 1889). (1) Hale o Keawe; (2) heiau, about 100 ft square, partly washed away, about 6 ft above sea level; (3) heiau, 125 by 60 by 8; (4) stone, 6 by 10 by 2 ft, front end is propped up, Ka'ahumanu; (5) Keoua's 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.

Illustration 156. Redrawn D. Harvey Hitchcock 1889 map of the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. Figure 9.2 in Emory, "Transition to the Present," p. 113.

about fifteen native houses and a Roman Catholic Church. . . . Here are the remains of an old heeiau [*sic*], or native temple, and also of the other of those cities of refuge, of one of which, at the other extremity of the island, I have already given some notice.³⁹

D. Harvey Hitchcock, a Hilo artist, sketched the refuge area in 1889 and depicted many of the major structures and features.

2. Early History

a) Original Chronology of *Pu'uhonua* Development

Information on the erection of structures at *Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau* has come primarily from ancient Hawaiian oral traditions, early European travel accounts, oral history from residents who once lived in the area, and archeological fieldwork from the early 1900s to the present time. Samuel Kamakau made the following statement concerning the setting aside of the refuge and construction of the *Hale-o-Keawe*:

It is said that Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai built these *pu'uhonua* 300 or 400 years ago, when the chiefs of Kona, Hilo, and Ka'u were warring all over Hawaii. . . . Some people say that it was in the time of Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku, the grandfather of Kalani'opu'u, 200 or 300 years ago, and that this Keawe built these *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau. But in the time of this Keawe there was peace; . . . [Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai] was the one who built the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau, and the house to contain the caskets of the chiefs (*hale ka'ai*). Because Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku became supreme and had been encased in a sennit casket like Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai and placed in the *pu'uhonua* house built by Keawe-ku-i-ka-ka'ai, the house was called *Hale-o-Keawe*.⁴⁰

Abraham Fornander stated that Kanuha, son of Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku built the *Hale-o-Keawe*.⁴¹

A chronology of the establishment of the *pu'uhonua* and construction of the various *heeiau* and other features within it has been subject to change and revision over the years. Anthropologist Dorothy Barrère first attempted in 1957 to determine the prehistoric use of the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau, a project hampered by the lack of much traditional knowledge. Several sketchy oral traditions, her own genealogical studies, and archeological data accumulated to that time convinced her that the refuge had undergone three main phases of construction. These began with the erection of the open platform temple now referred to as the "Old Heiau," which she thought probably provided the initial protective *mana* for the refuge. Next came 'Ale'ale'a Heiau

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 Hōnaunau," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, p. 122.



Illustration 157. Interior of the *pu'uhonua* o Hōnaunau, ca. 1890. Identified as view from 'Ale'ale'a platform looking southeast. Ka'ahumanu Stone in foreground. Note churchyard to left as shown on Wall 1906 map. Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

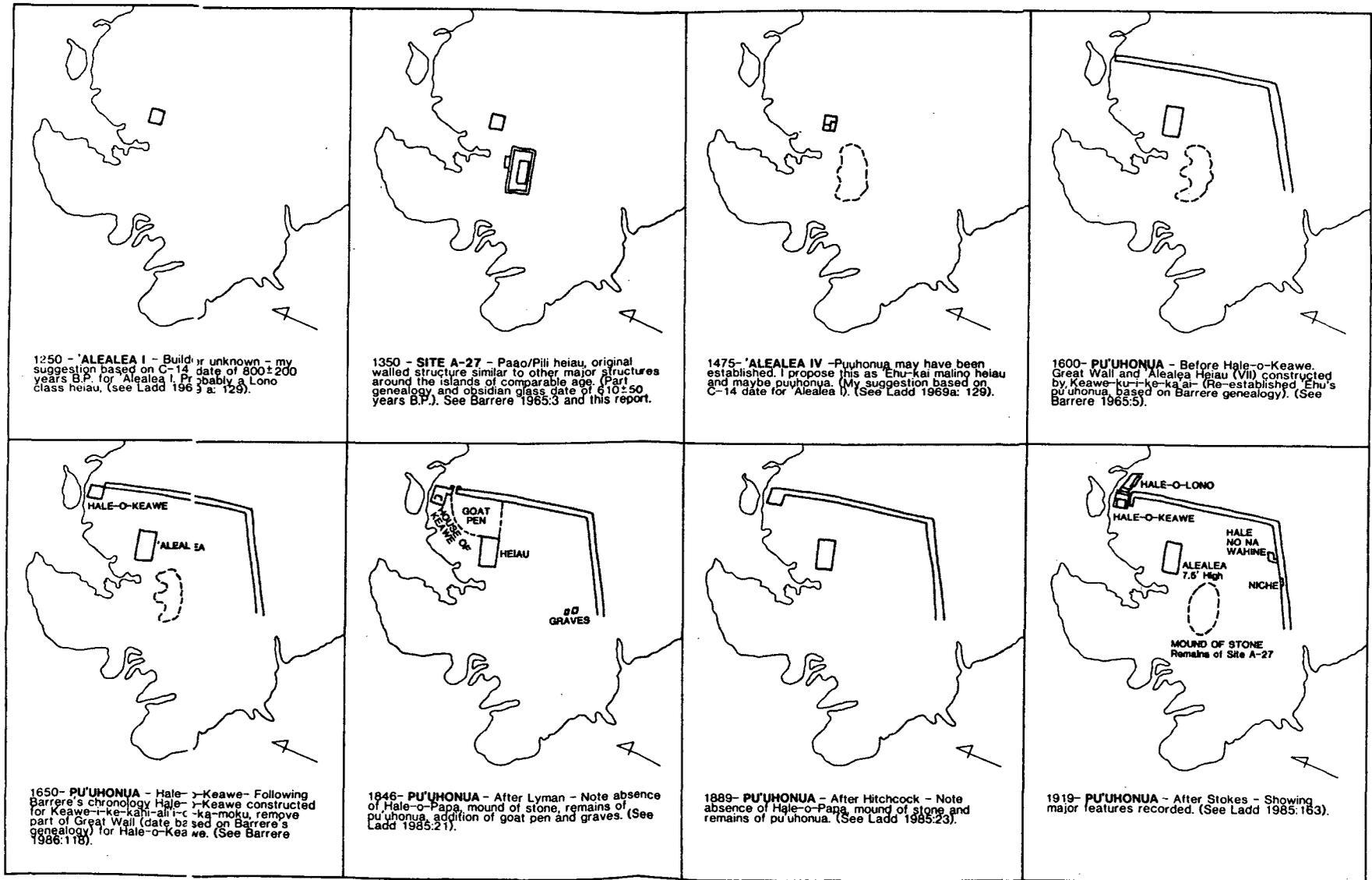


Figure 33. Suggested Chronology for Pu'uhonua o Honaunau

Illustration 158. Conjectural chronology of the development of the pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. Figure 33 in Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27*, p. 83.

and finally Hale-o-Keawe. Barrère surmised that the Great Wall had been built during either the first or second phase of construction.⁴²

Barrère found it extremely difficult to determine when the original *pu'uhonua* had been set aside, although her genealogical work deduced that the first chief who would have held uncontested control over his kingdom and thus would have been in a position to establish and maintain the sanctity of the refuge was 'Ehu-kai-malino, the ruling chief of Kona and a contemporary of Liloa, the supreme chief of the island. Both men were active about 1475 A.D. If 'Ehu had established a *pu'uhonua* at this time it probably would have been primarily intended for *kapu* breakers, because there was no inter-chiefdom rivalry in progress that would have necessitated a war refuge. Barrère theorized that the first *heiau* took form at this time in association with the *pu'uhonua*.⁴³

Open to conjecture was the question of what happened to the refuge under 'Umi, Liloa's son, who inherited his supreme power. As new ruler, he could either have abolished the *pu'uhonua* completely or have reaffirmed its sanctity. The next mention Barrère found of the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau surfaced four generations after 'Umi, after the line of inheritance of the Kona chiefs had been firmly established through 'Umi's descendants. One tradition states that it was Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai, a son of Keakealani-kane, ruler of Kona, Kohala, and Ka'u three generations after 'Umi, who built the *pu'uhonua* and Hale-o-Keawe. Other traditions state the latter was built for Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku, living two generations after the other Keawe. Archaeological evidence at that time indicated that the eastern segment of the Great Wall originally ran north to the water's edge and that a portion of it had been removed for construction of the Hale-o-Keawe. On the basis of what was known at that time, Barrère believed it was possible to accept both traditional explanations – that Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai had reconstructed the old *pu'uhonua* by building the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau platform, and maybe the Great Wall, and that the Hale-o-Keawe was built for Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku, Kamehameha's great-grandfather, in a later period, ca. A.D. 1650.⁴⁴

b) New Archeological Data Forces Revisions to Chronology

After Barrère had developed this chronology, important new information came to light through the excavation of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau in 1963. That work showed that this structure had passed through seven developmental stages, described as 'Ale'ale'a I-VII. On the basis of those findings, NPS Archeologist Edmund Ladd, of the Pacific Area Office, revised the construction chronology in several respects. He theorized that sometime prior to A.D. 1475, the "Old Heiau" and stages I to III of the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau were built, the *pu'uhonua* possibly being in existence at that time. (*Heiau* could exist independently of a sanctuary, but a sanctuary would not be viable without an associated *heiau* to add spiritual protection.) About A.D. 1475, Ladd believed, 'Ehu-kai-malino added stage IV onto 'Ale'ale'a III. At that time he could have reaffirmed an existing *pu'uhonua* or might have established the original one. About A.D. 1500 'Umi possibly reaffirmed the earlier *pu'uhonua* by adding stages V and VI to 'Ale'ale'a. Ladd theorized that about A.D. 1600, Keawe-

42. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

ku-i-ke-ka'ai reaffirmed the *pu'uhonua* by building stage VII of 'Ale'ale'a around stage VI. Ladd then suggested that in A.D. 1650, 'Ale'ale'a VII was abandoned when the Hale-o-Keawe was built for Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku.⁴⁵

On the basis of the new archeological evidence, Barrère also took another look and revised her chronology, tossing out some basic assumptions she had made earlier and suggesting that the "Old Heiau" had been constructed by Pili-ka'aiea, the new ruler Pa'ao installed in the islands, in the thirteenth century; 'Ehu-kai-malino had then constructed 'Ale'ale'a I at the same time he established the *pu'uhonua*, about A.D. 1425; 'Umi then enlarged 'Ale'ale'a in stages II, III, and IV and possibly constructed the Great Wall, ca. A.D. 1500 (based on Apple); Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai further enlarged 'Ale'ale'a in stage V ca. A.D. 1625 (Apple); and then Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku enlarged 'Ale'ale'a in stage VI in ca. A.D. 1675 (Apple). Barrère added a new twist by suggesting that Kamehameha enlarged 'Ale'ale'a in stage VII sometime between 1793 and 1803 and then constructed Hale-o-Keawe between 1813 and 1819.⁴⁶

Supporting her theory on the refuge's longevity, Barrère cited a traditional legend from very ancient times describing what rites a priest followed after a refugee entered the *pu'uhonua* o Hōnaunau. The legend validates later stories of the area's being an ancient place of refuge, of the inviolability of its *kapu*, and of the presence of guards to enforce its sanctity and of *kahuna* who performed religious rites and ceremonies. It is known that during the Battle of Mokuōhai in 1782, men, women, and children of the camps of both sides took refuge in this *pu'uhonua*. In addition, Reverend Ellis noted an account of the area serving as a refuge for warriors retreating from that battle after the death of Kiwala'o.⁴⁷

Further data from the archeological work on the "Old Heiau" conducted during 1979 to 1980 appeared to show that stage I of 'Ale'ale'a predated the "Old Heiau" and might even be 200 years older than originally thought. In a final effort to clarify the sequence of events, Ladd conjectured that 'Ale'ale'a I had been built ca. A.D. 1250 by an unknown person; 'Ale'ale'a II and III were added ca. A.D. 1250-1475 by another unknown builder; the "Old Heiau" was then constructed ca. A.D. 1350, influenced by the teachings of Pa'ao and Pili; 'Ehu-kai-malino added 'Ale'ale'a IV ca. A.D. 1475 and also established the *pu'uhonua*; 'Umi added 'Ale'ale'a V and VI ca. A.D. 1500 and also possibly reaffirmed 'Ehu's *pu'uhonua*; Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai added 'Ale'ale'a VII ca. A.D. 1600, when the Great Wall was constructed; and finally Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku built the Hale-o-Keawe by removing a portion of the Great Wall ca. A.D. 1650.⁴⁸

45. Edmund J. Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27: Archeology at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau 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 of her 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 Hōnaunau 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.

3. Later History of the *Pu'uhonua* and of Hale-o-Keawe

The *pu'uhonua*, as indicated, was not needed as a sanctuary after the abolition of the ancient Hawaiian *kapu* system. The Hale-o-Keawe was spared destruction at that time possibly because of its special status and its extreme sacredness due to its connection with the Kamehameha dynasty and its function as the repository for the ancestral bones of the reigning family. Russell Apple has theorized that possibly Liholiho himself, in agreement with Ka'ahumanu, decided to retain the repository of his famous ancestors' bones as a "royal mausoleum of the Kamehameha dynasty."⁴⁹

Despite the acculturation taking place in Hawai'i at that time, many continued to adhere to the old traditions. Although worship at the old temples and of the old gods was almost impossible with their destruction after 1819, the fact that Hale-o-Keawe still existed provided opportunities for relic worship and placement of offerings to ancestors. Ka'ahumanu and others who had converted to Christianity considered this a pagan and objectionable practice and probably an embarrassment.⁵⁰

Therefore, threats to the structure's existence arose with the visit of the regent Ka'ahumanu to the Hale-o-Keawe in 1829. Ka'ahumanu was a strong convert to Christianity and steadfastly resolved to completely sever Hawaiian ties to the old religion by getting rid of this last vestige of "paganism." Missionary Hiram Bingham recounted that

The regent visited the place not to mingle her adorations with her early contemporaries and predecessors to the relics of departed mortals, but for the purpose of removing the bones of twenty-four deified kings and princes of the Hawaiian race, and consigning them to oblivion. But at that time she thought Naihe was wavering in respect to their removal, and Kekauluohi, whose father's bones were there, she thought still cherished an undue veneration for them; and Boki she feared would treat her with abuse and violence if she should disturb the house or remove its mass of relics. But when she saw it *ought* to be done, she determined it *should* be done: and in company with Mr. Ruggles and Kapiolani, she went to the sacred deposit and caused the bones to be placed in large coffins and entombed in a cave in the precipice at the head of Kealakekua Bay. In doing this she found an expensive article of foreign manufacture, comparatively new, placed near the bones of the father of Kekauluohi, and which appeared to have been presented as an offering since the date of the prohibition of the worship of idols.⁵¹

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 Kapi'olani and 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.



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

Illustration 159. Woven sennit caskets thought to belong to Kings Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki. The braid has been woven around their skulls; the torso holds the rest of the skeleton. Mother-of-pearl is used for accent. From I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, p. 156.

The removal of the bones took place in late December 1828 or early January 1829, and at least partial destruction of the house occurred soon thereafter.⁵² The deified bones were removed from Hale-o-Keawe and placed in two large coffins, or wooden boxes, which were secretly interred in Hoaiiku cave in the Ka'awaloa cliffs at Kealakekua Bay, where they remained for almost thirty years. Sometime afterwards (ca. 1836?) the Hale-o-Keawe's surrounding fence was dismantled and its sacred timbers and perhaps part of the palisade were used in construction of a government building in Honolulu. According to Professor W.D. Alexander, in January 1858 Kamehameha IV toured the windward islands in the British sloop *Vixen* commanded by Captain Meacham. Arriving at Ka'awaloa, he ordered the keeper of the royal burial cave to unseal it during the night and allow the coffins from Hōnaunau to be loaded on board ship. Transported to Honolulu, they were entrusted to the protection of Governor Kekuanaoa, who was also official guardian of royal tombs. In 1865, after completion of the royal mausoleum in Nu'uauu, the coffins were carried there during the night in a torchlight procession and laid to rest.⁵³

Missionary Levi Chamberlain had been present at the removal of the bones from Hale-o-Keawe and listed the names of the chiefs whose bones went to Ka'awaloa. Barrère, after studying the list and genealogies, discovered that possibly as many as sixteen of the chiefs were direct descendants of one chiefly mating. She concluded, therefore, that Hale-o-Keawe was primarily the depository of bones of one family descended from Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, whose son was the first hereditary ruler of Kona. The earliest interments in the house were probably designated for deification as ancestral gods for the next generations. Not all descendants of the family were placed there, notable exclusions being that of women, because this was a *heiau*, and of priests, a class that could not be deified.⁵⁴

52. Barrère, "History and Function of the *Pu'uhooua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 131.

53. William D. Alexander, "The 'Hale o Keawe,' at Hōnaunau, 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 Kamāmalu. The tomb's function was replaced in 1865 by the Royal Mausoleum at Nu'uauu. *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 Hoaiiku 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'uhooua* and the Hale o Keawe," p. 136, states that nowhere is there a written record of these coffins having been removed to the Nu'uauu 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'uhooua* 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.

Several questions concerning the Hale-o-Keawe remain unresolved. After being emptied of relics, and after souvenir pieces of *kaui* wood had been given to the missionaries, what happened to the structure? It appears to have remained standing, possibly by intention on the part of Ka'ahumanu, who either believed that the removal of relics had so decreased its power among the people that it no longer posed a threat to Christian beliefs or who left it to Na'ihe to destroy. Na'ihe continued as guardian of the bones secreted in the cave in the Kealakekua cliffs until his death in 1831, and he might have managed to procrastinate on the house's destruction until Ka'ahumanu's death that same year.⁵⁵

Missionaries Ephraim W. Clark and Levi Chamberlain saw the Hale-o-Keawe still standing in February 1829 as they passed in a canoe by Hōnaunau Bay, and the Reverend John D. Paris noted it again in 1841. Yale astronomer and surveyor Chester Lyman, visiting in Hawai'i, noted in 1846 the walls "yet quite entire," the stone foundation of the Hale, and remains of the wooden palisade.⁵⁶ Henry Cheever stated about 1850 that only a fence of posts remained on site, and Samuel Hill about the same time spoke of a few stakes remaining as well as the temple refuse pit.⁵⁷

A series of earthquakes beginning in 1868 and resulting tidal waves (tsunami) probably aided the obliteration of the temple platform and any associated structures. Damage through neglect and natural forces, plus sinking of the land over time, had basically cleared the site of the temple by 1902 and dramatically changed the coastline.⁵⁸

Questions concerning Hale-o-Keawe still await definitive resolution. We can only make educated guesses about who built it and when and where the bones of its original inhabitants now finally rest. The presence of associated structures, such as quarters for temple priests and for caretakers of the royal tomb or shelters for the refugees, has not been conclusively determined through either documentary research or archeological fieldwork to date.

4. Early Study, Restoration, and Archeological Efforts

The first effort to preserve features of the *pu'uhonua* began after the Bishop Estate acquired the property in the late 1880s. S. M. Damon leased the property from the estate and financed restoration work on the primary structures, severely damaged by tidal waves or high surf, in 1902. Surveyor Walter A. Wall supervised these attempts to repair and restore the 'Ale'ale'a and Akahipapa *heiau* and parts of the Great Wall.⁵⁹ Other than drawing a plan of the refuge, Wall did not professionally document the nature or extent of his work. Comparison of photos of the Great Wall before and after 1902 show little difference in its appearance, indicating only minor repairs at that time.

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.

In 1919 Horace Albright, then Field Assistant to the Director of the NPS, visited the *pu'uhonua* and instantly recognized its archeological, historical, and cultural values. He suggested it should be a national monument, preserved just as were cliff dwellings and other cultural sites because of its interest and educational benefits.⁶⁰

Also in 1919 John F.G. Stokes, then curator of Polynesian Ethnology at the Bishop Museum, undertook the first formal archeological fieldwork at the site by investigating the ruins and attempting further repair and restoration of the *pu'uhonua* and the Hale-o-Keawe. He mapped the complex and carried out excavations and restoration of several structures, concentrating on the Hale-o-Keawe, the Great Wall, and the sandy beach within the *pu'uhonua*, and also digging some exploratory trenches in the mound of the "Old Heiau."⁶¹ He found human burials common in the beach sand inside the refuge and just outside the southern arm of the Great Wall. In the course of that work, Stokes conducted many on-site interviews with local Hawaiians, finding that even by that time, reliable information on the area prior to the overthrow of the *kapu* system was scant.⁶² He restored the Hale-o-Keawe stone platform and repaired walls. The county of Hawai'i finally leased the site as a park to preserve the area pending further action affording the site national recognition. In 1949 several officials of the NPS, including Regional Historian V. Aubrey Neasham, completed a comprehensive historical survey and analysis of the City of Refuge, also recommending its recognition as a national monument or a national historic site to preserve and interpret it for future generations.⁶³

In 1952 Henry P. Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey began a project to locate, examine, and record the historic sites in Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Ki'ilae from the seashore to 2,500 feet upland. This involved recording all features of legendary and historical interest, sketching archeological remains, and preparing an account of their findings. In the course of that project they studied materials in the Bishop Museum, interviewed elderly residents of the Hōnaunau area, compiled a descriptive map of the *pu'uhonua*, and wrote a series of articles in the *Hilo Tribune Herald* describing features in the refuge and its vicinity. In 1956 Kekahuna compiled an interpretive map of the Ki'ilae ruins. This effort succeeded in furthering the movement for establishment of a national park.

In 1956 Stokes came out of retirement to help the Bishop Museum Department of Anthropology produce a major two-volume report, *The Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawaii*, which it prepared for the NPS and which contains the heretofore unpublished work of Stokes as well as ethnohistoric studies by Dorothy Barrère and Marion Kelly. Dr. Kenneth P. Emory supervised the surveying, inventorying, and mapping of resources and the collecting of traditional and historical data on the City of Refuge and its surrounding area. His contributions are also included in the report. This document, the basic data source for the park, was reproduced in one volume in 1986.

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 Hōnaunau," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, p. 86.

63. Hayes, "City of Refuge," p. 19.

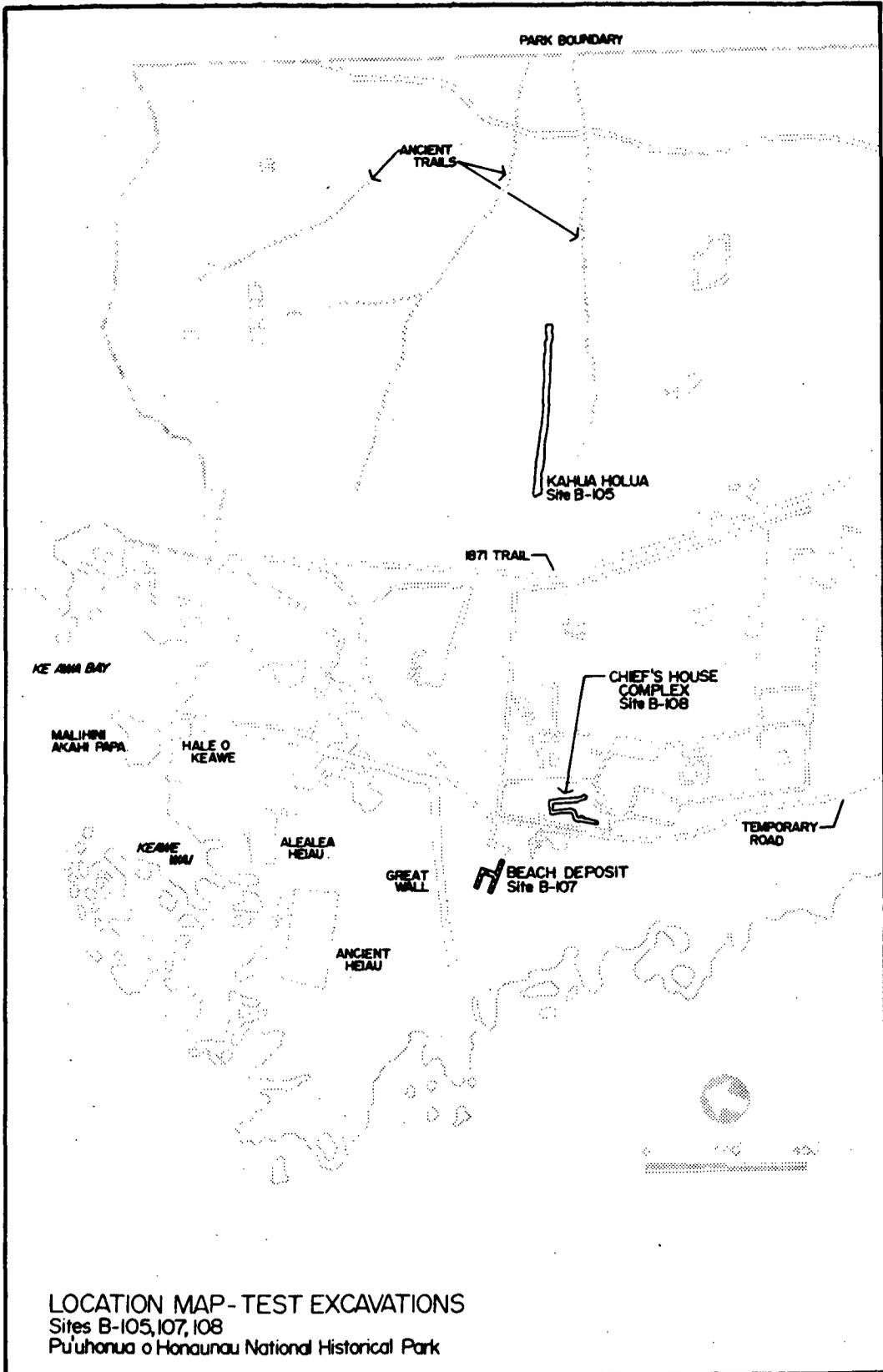


Figure 1. Location Map, Test Excavations

Illustration 160. NPS test excavations, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP, 1968. Figure 1 in Ladd, *Test Excavations*, p. 2.

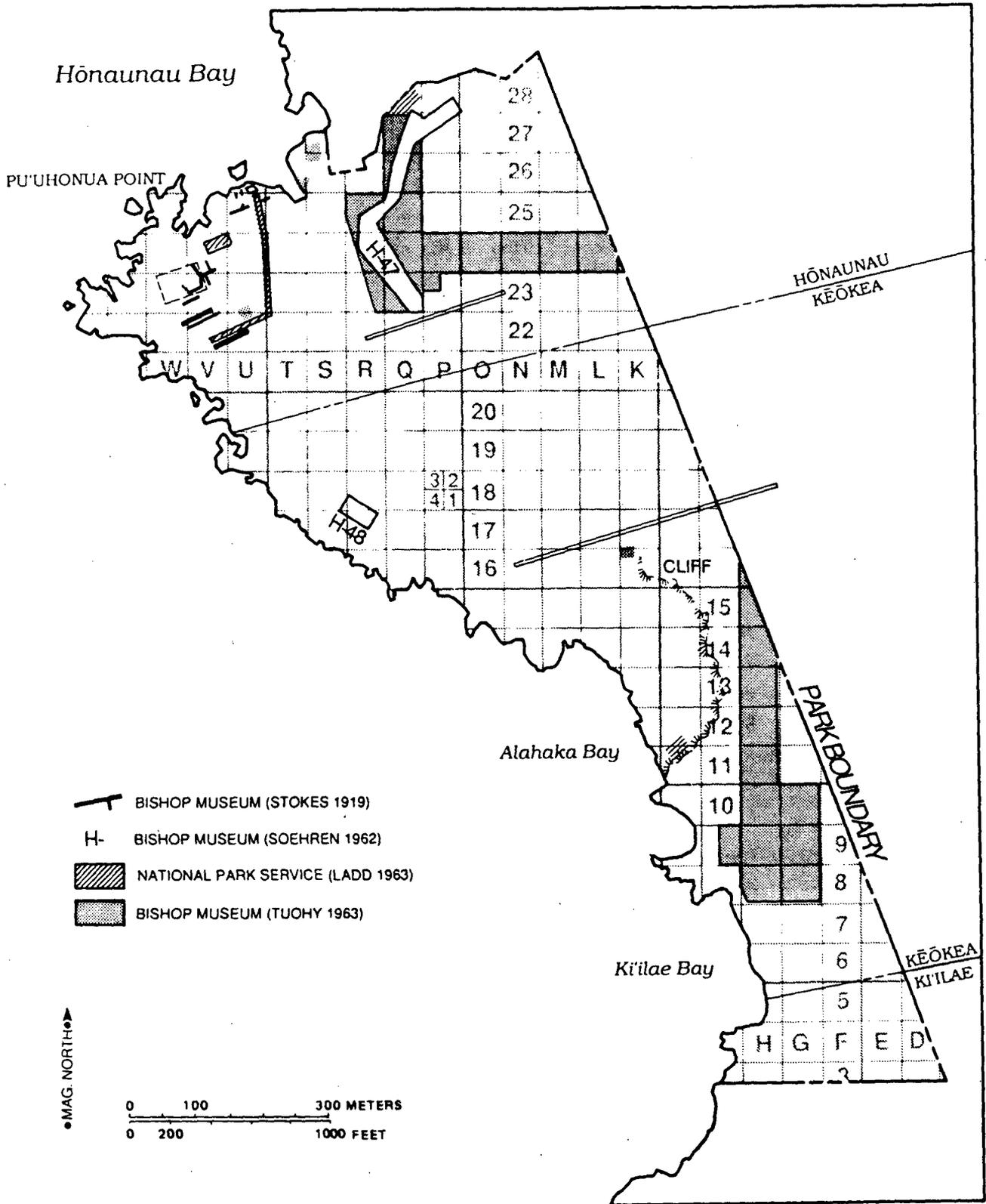


Fig. 2.2. PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT CITY OF REFUGE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (after Tuohy 1965).

Illustration 161. Archeological excavations at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP, 1919-63. Figure 2.2 in Tuohy, "Salvage Excavations at City of Refuge," p. 75.

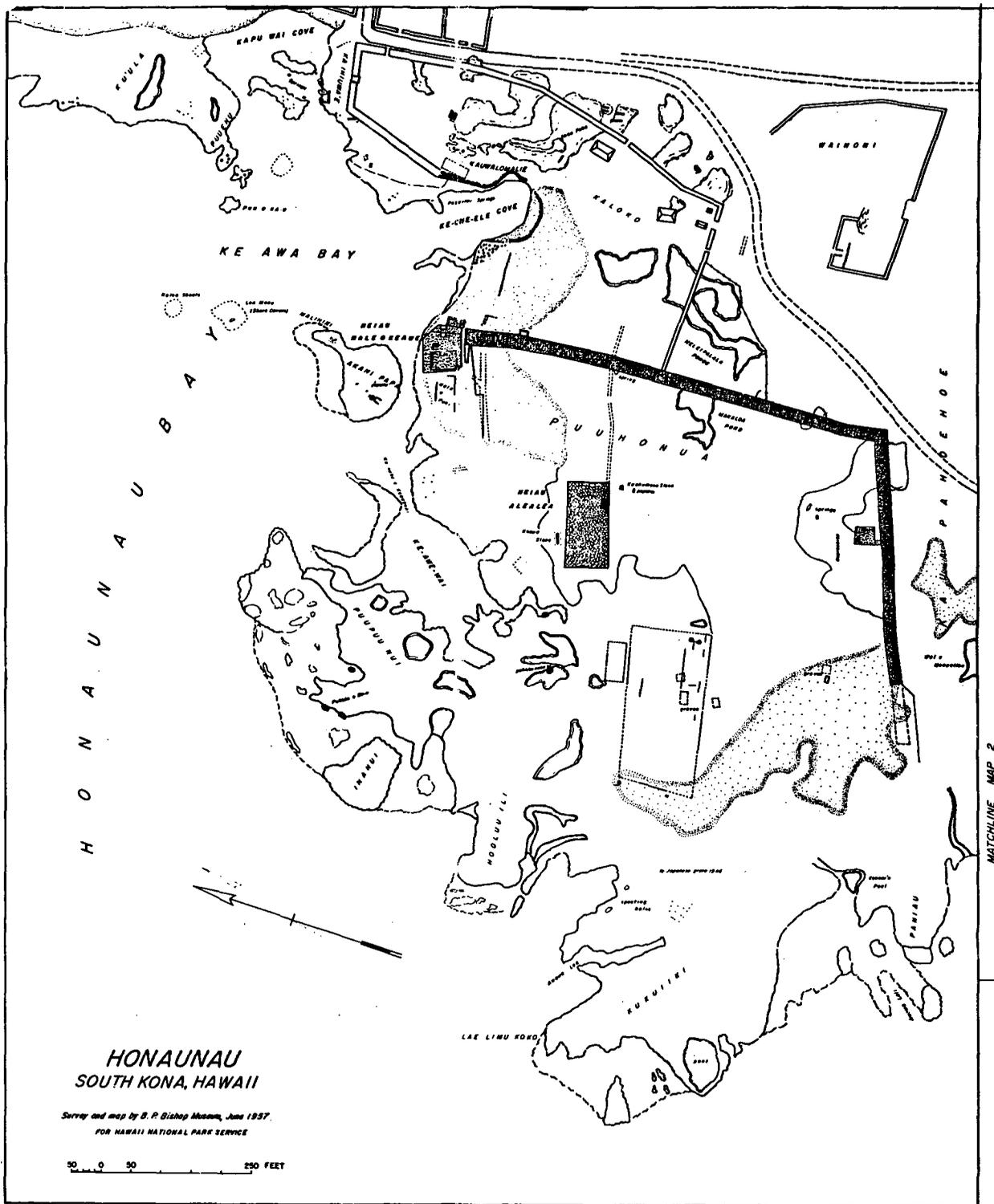


Illustration 162. Map 1, "Honaunau," showing *pu'uhonua* area and associated features. Survey and map by Bishop Museum, 1957. From Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i."

After establishment of the national park, the NPS began a long-range restoration program, including additional research. It initially contracted with the Bishop Museum in 1962 and 1963 to conduct further archeological excavations at the new park. This work was intended to build upon that accomplished by Bryan and Emory in 1957 on the area's natural and cultural history. Although Robert N. Bowen briefly surveyed caves in the Keanae'e Cliff in 1957, Lloyd J. Soehren of the Bishop Museum began the first modern excavations at Hōnaunau in 1962 by conducting test excavations in two areas where the NPS planned construction of public facilities. The sites Soehren tested included an arc-shaped area around the base of *pāhoehoe* flows inland from the 1871 trail, between the "Holua Hōnaunau" and the north boundary of the park. Features there were threatened by planned construction of public and administrative facilities in the area inland of the *pu'uhonua*. The other area he surveyed was part of the coral sand dune extending from the southern end of the Great Wall nearly to the foot of Keanae'e Cliff at Alahaka. The portion tested was in Kēōkea at Pele'ula.

Park Archeologist Edmund Ladd followed this work with extensive tests between the park entrance road and some of Soehren's sites early in 1963 and also conducted other investigations that year in connection with stabilization efforts at the horse ramp in Keokea, at the Great Wall, and at 'Ale'ale'a Heiau.⁶⁴ Donald Tuohy also carried out excavations in 1963, along a proposed road right-of-way within the park boundaries leading from the park entrance toward Ki'ilae Village. This work included areas adjacent to the proposed roadway and others threatened with destruction both from natural causes and increased public use.⁶⁵

Since 1961 the NPS has overseen stabilization and restoration of the Great Wall and the 1868 Alahaka ramp, restoration of the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau stone platform, restoration of the Hale-o-Keawe platform and reconstruction of its temple images.⁶⁶ A base map locating the Alahaka-Keanae'e ruins came out in 1963. Alahaka and Oma'o *heiau* have been cleared of vegetation, mapped in detail, and stabilized. Historian Frances Jackson completed a historical study of Ki'ilae Village in 1966, and archeological base maps completed in 1968 show the major walls and stone structures there. Test excavations were conducted at Site B-105 (*holua* sled track), B-107 (beach deposit), and B-108 ("Chief's House Complex") in 1968. In 1980 the "Old Heiau" was excavated.

F. Description of Resources

Pu'uhonua Area

1. Palace Grounds

The royal palace grounds are located in the vicinity of Keone'ele Cove, inland from the *pu'uhonua*. Once filled with numerous grass huts, the area still contains evidence of chiefly occupation, including He-lei-palala pond, fed by underground springs, which held fish for royal consumption, and a *papamū* stone for playing *kōnane*, a game similar to checkers. This constituted a sacred

64. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua O Hōnaunau*, 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 Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Hawaii, 1991, p. 7.



Illustration 163. Refuge area enclosed by Great Wall. NPS photo, 1989.

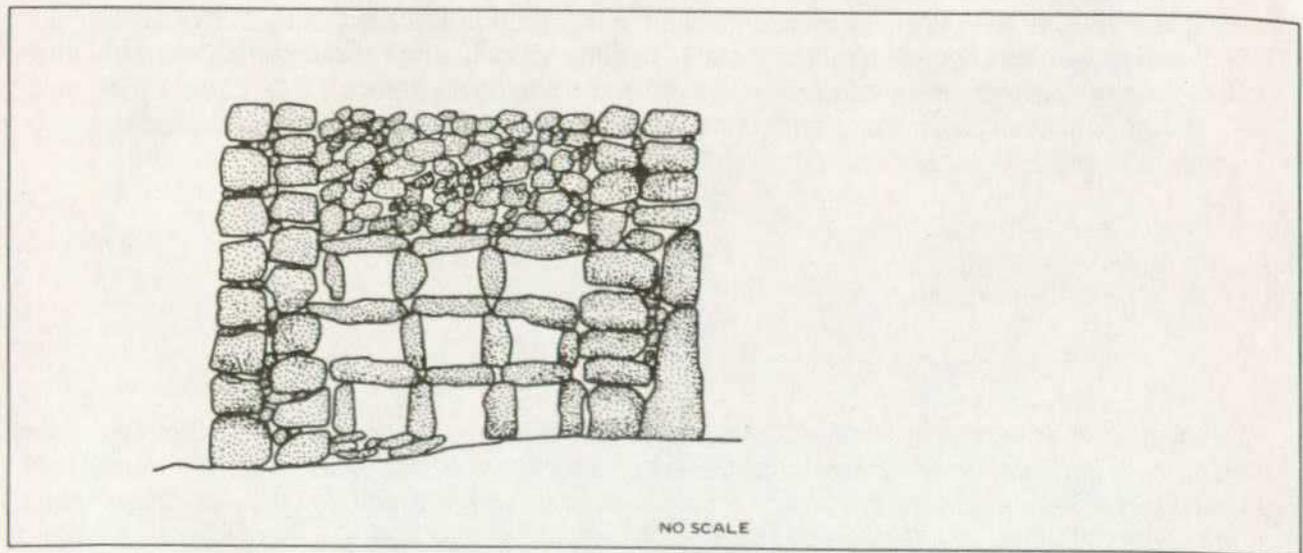


Fig. 13.8. SCHEMATIC CROSS SECTION OF GREAT WALL OF PU'UHONUA, SHOWING OPEN PAO CONSTRUCTION.

Illustration 164. Cross-section of Great Wall showing *pao* construction (three tiers bridging space between outer and inner walls). Figure 13.8 in Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 70.



Illustration 165. Fishpond in Palace Grounds. NPS photo, 1989.

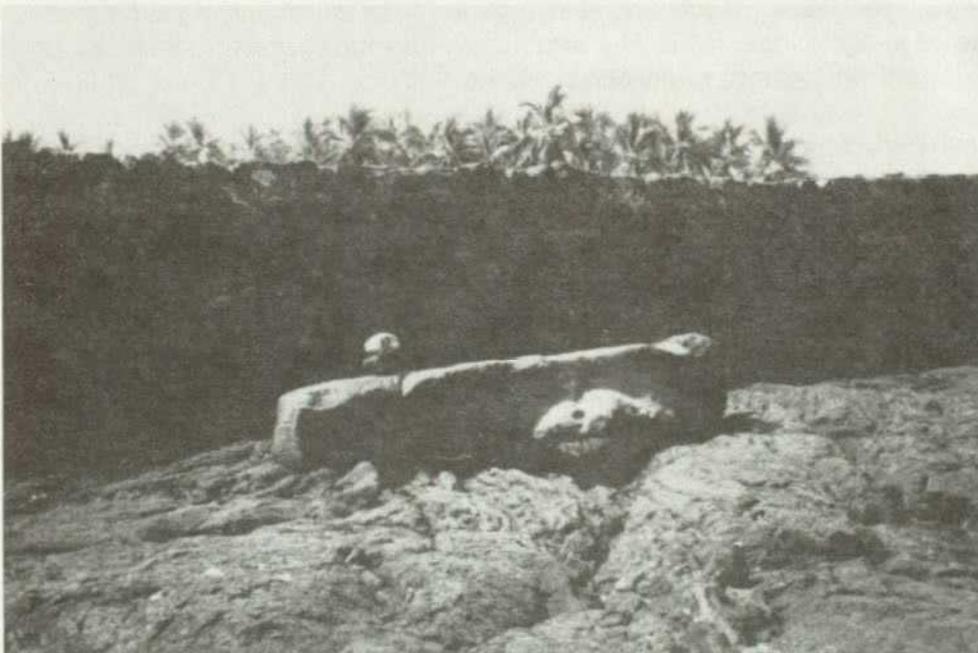


Illustration 166. Keoua Stone. NPS photo, 1989.

area in ancient times and commoners could not walk across it or even cast their shadows upon it without risking death. Keone'ele Cove was the spot for landing royal canoes and was *kapu* to commoners. The royal residential area was separated from the refuge by the eastern segment of the Great Wall. Another tongue of lava, called Ka-ule-lewalewa, adjacent to Keone'ele Cove on the west, shows a line of four vertical holes along its eastern border. These were probably for a row of images that acted as guardian sentinels for the mausoleum.⁶⁷ (The palace grounds and other features noted within the *pu'uhonua* may be seen on Map 1.)

A local informant in 1919 provided information that the royal precincts comprised Lots 18-20 and part of 22 (see Podmore 1918-19 map). The house platform on Lot 19 at the edge of the bay was the site of part of King Keawe's "palace" (Kauwalamalie), probably the reception hall, with living quarters nearby. Two other house platforms were found at that time, in Lots 18 and 20. The former held a grass house in 1888 and on the latter in 1919 stood an old wooden house inhabited by the caretaker of the grounds. The informant stated that this house of Keawe's was the site of the 'awa party at which Kamehameha broke relations with Kiwala'o. (Kamehameha had arrived in Hōnaunau to mourn and pay respects to his dead uncle Kalani'opu'u and to perform the 'awa ceremony for his cousin Kiwala'o to purify him from contamination caused by association with the corpse.) Lots 20 and 22 contain the royal fishponds. Between 1860 and 1870 (probably ca. 1867), Lot 18 was the site of a coconut "planting bee" and luau held by Bernice P. Bishop, as chiefess of the land. (Stokes believed this was not just an ordinary planting of a coconut grove, but involved the ceremonial taking possession of the land by the new owner.) At that time the lot was the village gathering place. The enclosing walls on Lots 18-20 were modern (within the previous seventy years). However, this informant did mention an ancient boundary line there that was regarded as very sacred; any commoner whose shadow fell on it was killed. Stokes found many holes in the solid *pāhoehoe* that might have supported *kapu* sticks.⁶⁸ (As late as 1919 people in the Hōnaunau area could remember being told that while the *kapu* system was in effect, the common people had to detour around the royal precinct, passing along the shore in the morning and around back of the village in the afternoon hours to insure that their shadows did not fall upon that sacred ground.)⁶⁹ According to this same 1919 informant, a building on Lot 19 in this area served as a school ca. 1830. The structure had a framework of *ohia* logs bound together with coconut rope and was covered with ti leaves.⁷⁰

The National Park Service removed several early stone walls from the royal compound area in 1963.

67. J.F.G. Stokes, "Report 14: Features Pertaining to Early Hawaiian Life in the Hōnaunau Bay Area," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, p. 223.

68. "Puuhonua at Honaunau, City of Refuge," notes said to be from interview of Ma'inui by Tom White, recorded by Francis Cushingam, 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, "Hōnaunau Village and Vicinity," p. 93.

70. "Puuhonua at Honaunau," notes, p. 1.

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.



Illustration 167. Old lavatory, bathhouse, and caretaker's house at Pu'uhoŋua o Hōnaunau. Part of area taken by Territory of Hawaii for U.S. Government to preserve as City of Refuge. From Devine et al., *Appraisal Report*, p. 17.

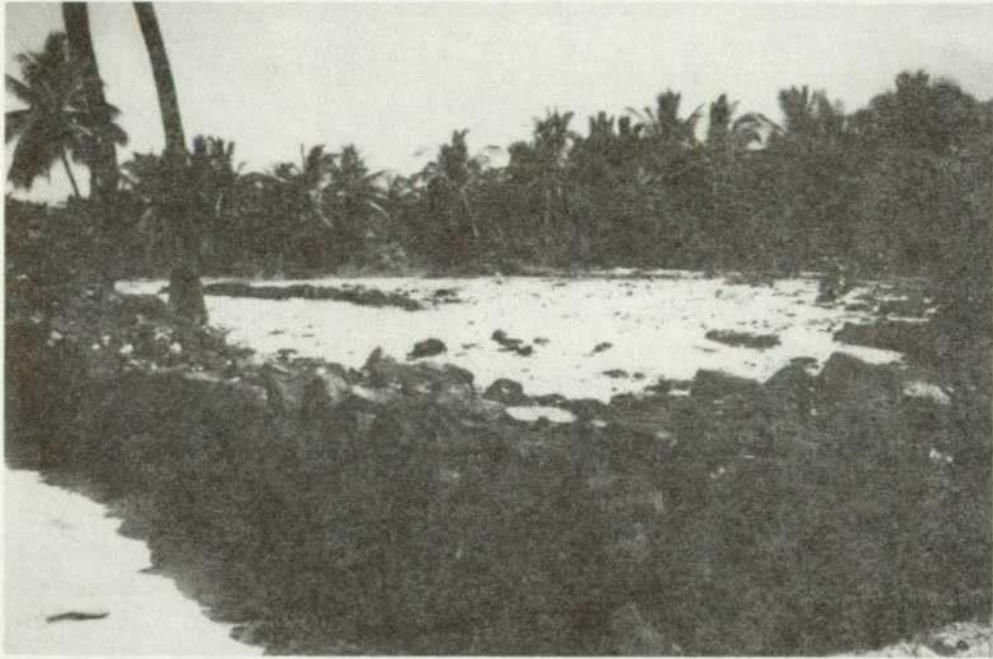


Illustration 168. Corner of Great Wall, looking into refuge area. NPS photo, 1989.

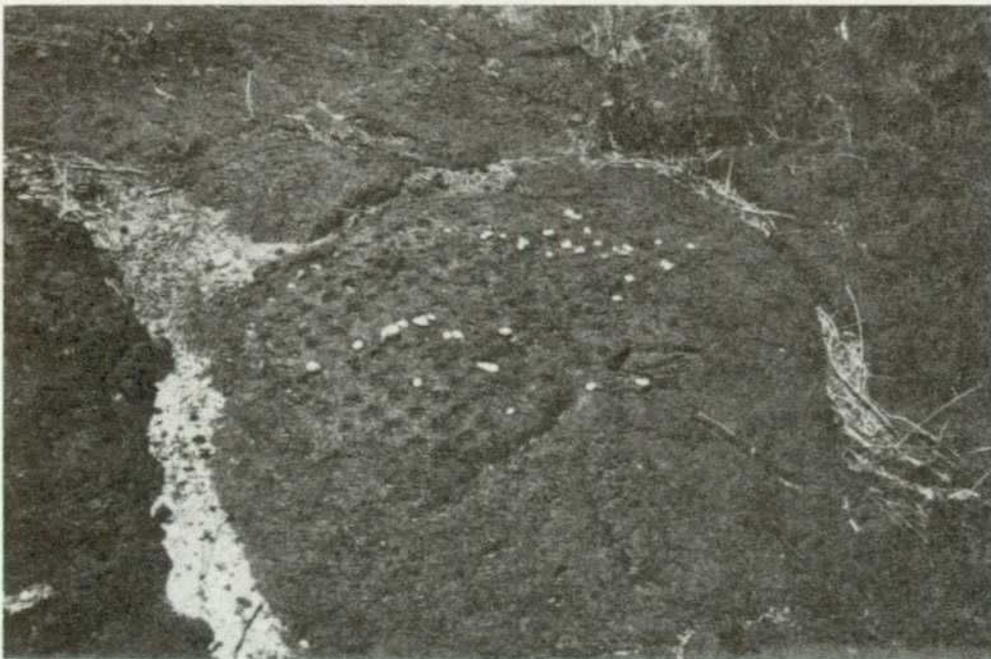


Illustration 169. Kōnane board in refuge. NPS photo, 1989.

2. *Pahu tabu* (Sacred Enclosure), Great Wall

a) Early Descriptions

The Reverend William Ellis described the refuge enclosure as being "of considerable extent" in the form of an irregular parallelogram. Walls enclosed one side and both ends, with the other side open to the beach. A low fence ran across the northwest end. Ellis's party measured the wall and found it to be 715 feet long and 404 feet wide, with walls 12 feet high and 15 feet thick. Ellis saw holes in the top of the wall that had supported large images spaced about four rods apart along the entire extent.⁷¹ A 1966 study by Apple and Macdonald of the shoreline area just north of the Great Wall confirmed that a dryland access route to the refuge had existed. It is now submerged during periods of high tide. Their study showed the water there had risen about one foot per century.⁷²

Samuel Kamakau describes the Great Wall as follows:

The famous *pu'uhonua* of Hōnaunau in North Kona had the walls of a fortified heiau (*pa kua heiau*), made of large rocks placed on top of each other. Its two walls made an angle (*huina pa'ewa*) between Hōnaunau and Keamoali'i. One wall was a furlong (*kesadia*, or *kekakia*) and 19 fathoms (*anana*) long, and the other 67 fathoms long; the height was 2 fathoms, and the breadth, 2½ fathoms.⁷³

Thrum further elaborates upon the writings of Kamakau, stating that:

Hōnaunau . . . was a stone walled enclosure resembling a fort, with a kind of temple within. Perhaps only male persons were rescued by this place of refuge at South Kona. Hōnaunau was a celebrated puuhonua, its stone walls having the nature of a war temple with large stones placed on top of others. It had a cornered shape, two sides being built of stone which were between Hōnaunau and Keamoalii, and on the makai side was the rocky seashore, and a large stone called Keoua. There were two temples within the stone walls, one situated on the northeast corner adjoining the tomb called Haleo-keawe . . . and one at the end, facing North Kona, the (women's heiau) temple of Akahipapa.

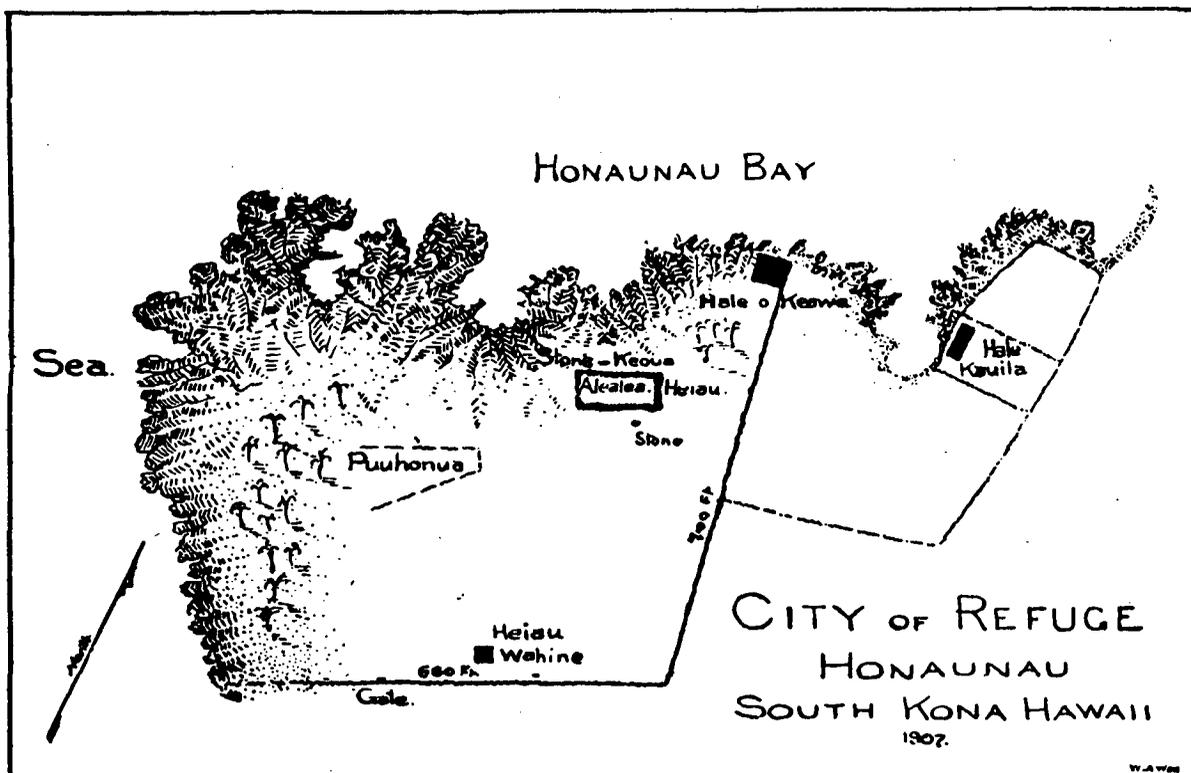
Haleokeawe was sheltered by a surrounding fence of carved wooden images, and on the north side was the bottomless pit (lua pau) where you enter the enclosure. Carved images also graced the main walls of the enclosure toward Keamoalii and Keokea.⁷⁴

71. Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, pp. 126, 128.

72. Theresa K. Donham, "Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey, Hale-o-Ho'oponopono Project Site, Land of Hōnaunau, 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.



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

Illustration 170. Plan of "City of Refuge, Honaunau," drawn by W.A. Wall in 1907. From Neasham, *Historic Sites Survey Report, Place of Refuge*, p. 37.

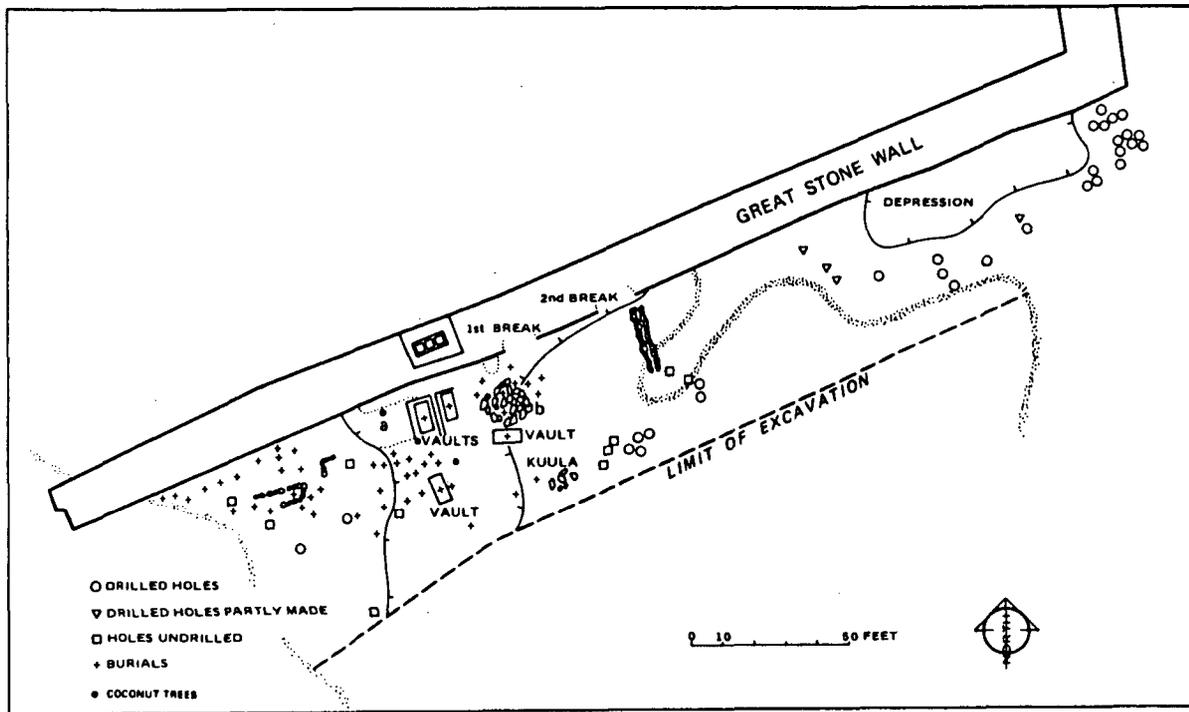


Fig. 13.40. PLAN OF SOUTH WALL OF THE PU'UHONUA AT HŌNAUNAU (After Stokes 1957). (a) unexcavated area; (b) rough pavement.

Illustration 171. Plan of south wall of *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau, after Stokes, 1957. Figure 13.40 in Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 207.

b) Construction Details

The local informant quoted earlier gave Stokes the following information in 1919 in regard to the *pu'uhonua* and the process of forgiveness:

From Lot 19, where Keawe dwelt, a trail formerly led through lot 20 and the ground now occupied by the young cocoanut grove, between the Hale O Lono and Keawe's cocoanut house, and arrived at an entrance at the northern end of the mauka wall of the Puuhonua – the situation of the present entrance. Thence it continued a few feet to the Kauila gate of the Hale O Keawe [opposite its door], which Keawe and his family alone used. The entrance which preceded the present one to the Puuhonua was on a level with the ground, not raised as now, and the northern end of the mauka wall originally extended full height to the line of this entrance. (There is now a bench made in the end.) The original entrance passed between the end of the mauka wall and the Hale O Keawe and continued in a straight line past the chief's platform. The low wall at present on the south side of the passage opposite the chiefs' platform is modern according to Mainui [the informant, said to have been born ca. 1823]. Another wall running to the s.w. from the end of this wall, was ancient. The entrance here referred to was not for people under the rank of chief, and was closed by Kauila rail set up on a line of the mauka wall and the Kauila gate to the Hale O Keawe.

The refugees' entrances were two, different from those previously mentioned – they entered by the beach either on the north or on the south. The latter was also their point of departure after being pardoned. Refugees approaching the Puuhonua from the north, passed along the tidal Pāhoehoe Flat makai of Lots 10 and 11 and swimming reached another flat of Pāhoehoe north of the Hale O Keawe and stretching out towards that first mentioned. On the outer point of the second flat was an idol, on reaching which the laws of the place regarded the fugitives as saved. After landing, they entered the Puuhonua, passing to the west of Hale O Keawe and to the northeast and east of Alealea Heiau. The procedure from there on was not definitely stated. On the south stood another idol a little to the south of the former west end of the wall which extended almost to the sea. The pursuers were compelled to abandon the chase when the fugitives reached the imaginary line between this idol and the wall's end. To this same place, the pardoned men were escorted and delivered to their friends. The idols were of wood or of stone. Guards were always patrolling the boundaries, to enforce the refugee laws.⁷⁵

Measurements taken during archeological work by Archeologist Edmund Ladd showed the wall to be 17 feet thick, 12 feet high, and almost 1,000 feet long – an L-shaped structure enclosing an area of about five acres. The north wall that existed in Ellis's time is gone. Part of the north end was rebuilt to accommodate construction of the Hale-o-Keawe. The wall forms two sides of the enclosure, which is open to the sea on the other sides. As with all Hawaiian masonry structures, notably the *heiau* described earlier in this report, the *pu'uhonua* enclosure is composed of two outward facing walls with a central core of rubble fill. The wall material comprises uncut, mortarless, basalt blocks that fit together with the smoothest surfaces of the stones facing outward. The stones used on the outside veneer wall were probably specially selected for their

75. "Puuhonua at Hōnaunau," notes, pp. 4-5.

smooth surfaces and were probably collected nearby. Small stones were used for the infilling, or chinking, between the large rocks, and the rubble core between the two outside walls is comprised of broken, more irregular, stones. In the wall at the north end are some very large boulders, many of them weighing more than 1,000 pounds. They must have been moved to the site with great difficulty, possibly with the use of wooden pry bars, rollers, and skids. The foundation of the wall rests on solid *pāhoehoe* primarily, although several sections are built over sandy areas or sinks. The wall's structural weakness results not only from a weak foundation in several places, but also from its mortarless construction.⁷⁶

c) Restoration Efforts

A great deal of restoration work has been accomplished on the Great Wall. By 1902, more than eighty years after abandonment of the *pu'uhonua*, the wall lay in ruins. Archeological evidence indicates that several hundred feet of the west end of the wall were destroyed by tidal waves. As mentioned, S.M. Damon, a trustee of the Bishop Estate, commenced repairing this structure and the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau and 'Akahipapa ("women's *Heiau*," Hale o Papa) at his own expense. W.A. Wall supervised the reconstruction of the wall, basing his work on known facts and oral traditions of local informants. No official records of this project were kept, although Stokes attempted to gain some knowledge of the level of work accomplished by talking with Wall years later and with some of his workmen in 1919. In addition, Wall drew a plan of the refuge and related sites that was reproduced in *The Hawaiian Annual for 1908*.

d) John F.G. Stokes's Observations

In 1919 Stokes and a Bishop Museum crew began excavation work and limited restoration of the stone platform of Hale-o-Keawe and repair of the Great Wall. A diagram by the Reverend A. S. Baker in 1921 shows the details of structures at that time.⁷⁷ Stokes made several observations in the course of his work on the Great Wall. He believed, for instance, that the south wall had probably originally extended out onto the flat west as far as the sea, with an opening somewhere along it. More than 100 feet of the west end of the south wall that had been destroyed by tidal waves had been restored in 1902, but the wall was moved slightly north of the original line during restoration. By comparing photographs taken in 1889 and 1919 of the middle part of the outer face of the east wall, it was apparent that the 1902 reconstruction had taken a foot or two in height off the original wall. Stokes also determined that the north-running wall continued through the platform of the Hale-o-Keawe, suggesting that at one time it extended clear to the water's edge. The platform of the Hale-o-Keawe merely incorporated the base of that wall in its construction. (Dr. Emory inserted a comment into Stokes's written notes on the Great Wall that a break in the east wall close to the north end for an entrance had been installed prior to 1846 and may have been one of the original entrances that Ellis mentioned.) Stokes measured the

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.

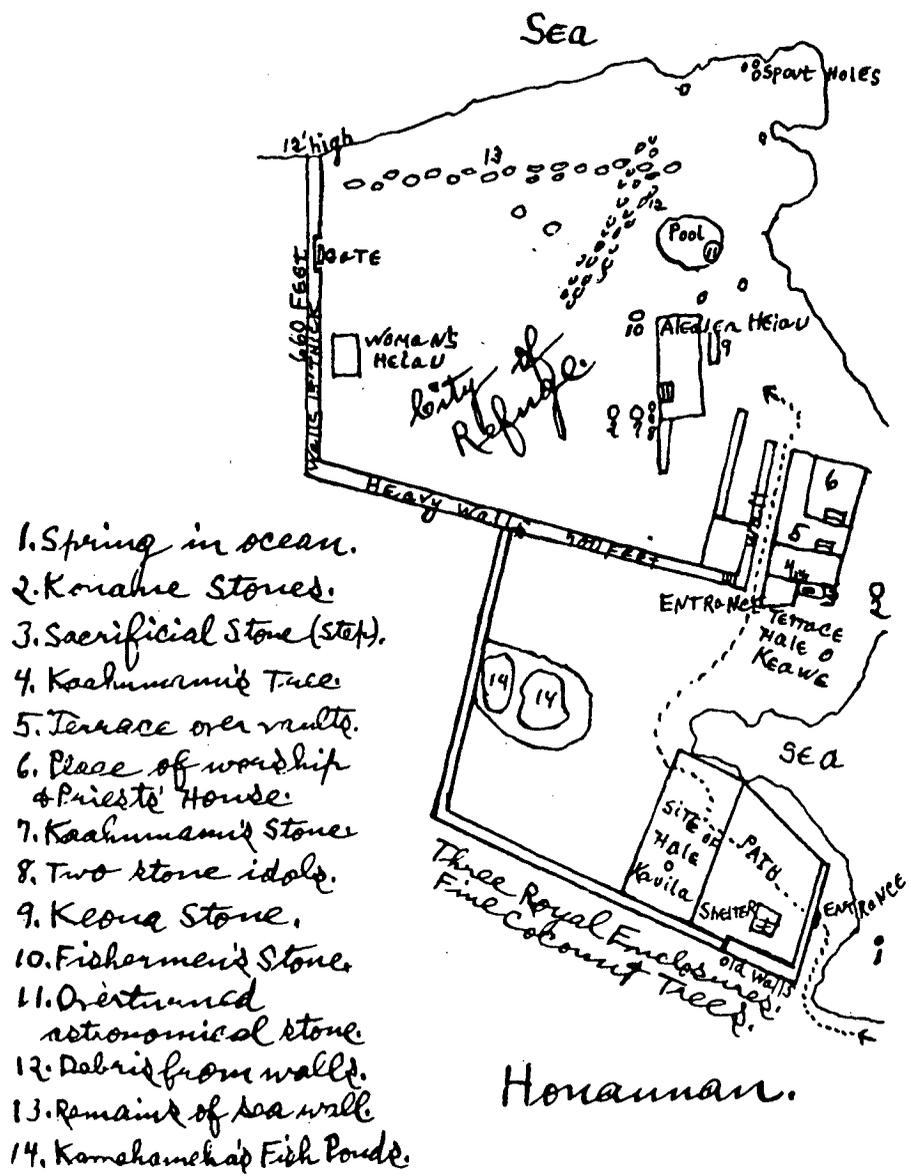


Illustration 172. Albert S. Baker's plan of "City of Refuge," 1921. From Baker, "How to Spend a Day in Kona," p. 104.

largest stone in the outer (east) facing of the north-running wall and found it measured 6½ feet high, a little more than 5 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. For most of its course, the east wall rested on bare lava; those sections that had collapsed by 1902 were on soft ground.

Where the interior of the wall had been exposed either by collapse or removal of stones, Stokes found a remarkable feature. This was *pao*, a hollow construction technique that saved labor and materials and was invisible behind the solid facades. This caverned, honeycomb construction was accomplished by laying several tiers of lava slabs or columns across the space between the outer and inner retaining walls. This technique has only been found at Hōnaunau, where it was also used in the platform of Alahaka Heiau to the south. It takes advantage of the properties of the local lava rock, which is fragmented, and probably comprised a later development of the construction technique used in the stone chambers or vaults of house and burial platforms in which a row of slabs a foot or two apart are bridged over with other slabs. Although Ellis stated that he had seen holes along the top of the wall for images, none have been noted by excavators. According to native tradition, stones for the Great Wall came from Paumoa and Alahaka in Keokea *ahupua'a* to the south. Most of it could certainly have come from nearby sources in the vicinity of the refuge where the lava surface is broken and from which pieces appear to have been appropriated. There are few loose stones in the vicinity, indicating they were used for building purposes.⁷⁸

Although we do not know precisely *when* the Great Wall was built, in terms of *how* it was built, Stokes noted that

Our examination, as far as it goes, brings out a probability that there were at least seven units of construction, or seven groups of workmen engaged in building these walls, and that the groups worked simultaneously. In this connection, what my Hawaiian informants said about the building of the wall by the men impressed for the work from the *ahupua'a* land sections extending 4 mi to the north and 5 to the south, is highly interesting and seems probably true. The number of *ahupua'a* land-sections within these miles is nine. With such a labor force working simultaneously, it does not seem impossible for the great wall to have been erected in five days, each of the nine or so groups erecting a section in a day.⁷⁹

78. J.F.G. Stokes, "Report 13: Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, 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.

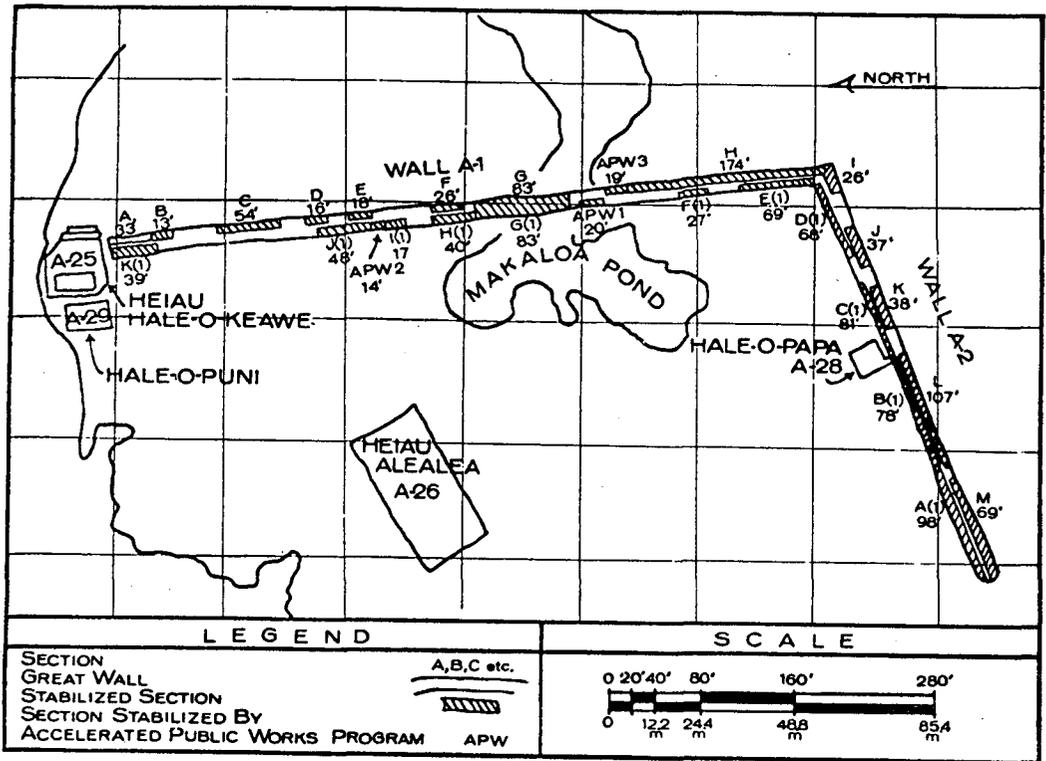


Fig. 1. Diagram showing 1963 stabilized sections of the Great Wall, City of Refuge National Historical Park, Honaunau.

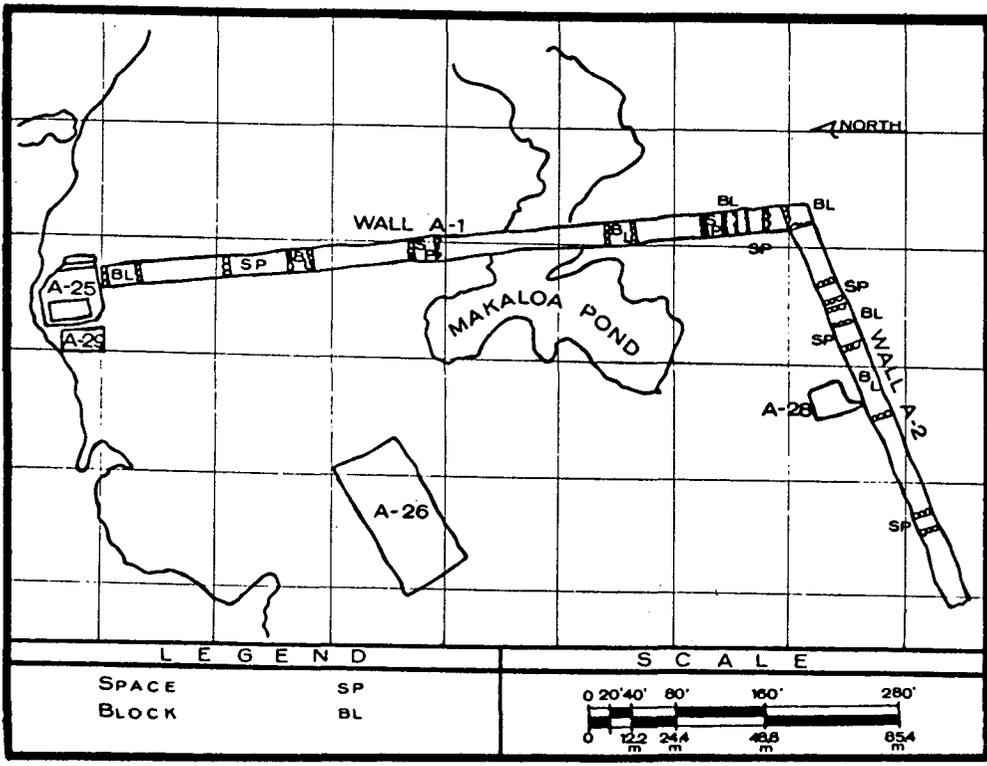


Fig. 2. Diagram showing cross walls in the Great Wall that form construction blocks and spaces. (Other cross walls are not shown.)

Illustration 173. Diagrams showing stabilized sections and cross walls of the Great Wall. Figures 1 and 2 in Ladd, "Great Wall Stabilization," pp. 132, 138.

e) Later Stabilization Efforts

In the earlier stabilization work on the Great Wall, Wall's men had tried to utilize the same construction techniques used originally. Because dry-laid core fill construction does not withstand heavy use or remain stable without periodic upkeep, new methods were tried in 1963 to preserve the original appearance, make the area safe for visitor use, and insure minimum future maintenance. During this project, nearly eighty percent of the wall was rebuilt. Although slightly modified, the finished wall closely resembled the original. The single outside face of the wall gained additional support through construction of an inward facing wall. Carefully selected long header stones laid in the wall with their ends towards the face of the wall reinforced the outside and inside faces.⁸⁰

The 1963 stabilization work located three burials in the Great Wall, those of an adult and two children. Because many bones were missing, it was thought the burials had been washed out by high seas, with some of the bones then being retrieved from the beach area and reburied in the walls after the 1919 restoration work. These are considered intrusive burials.⁸¹

Archeologist Lloyd Soehren, in noting the extreme thickness of the wall, suggested that this might have constituted an effort to protect refugees within the enclosure from the "radioactivity-like *mana* of high chiefs whose living quarters were located just inland from the sanctuary."⁸² Marion Kelly suggests also that, despite the protection afforded by the sanctity of the area, "the presence of this heavy wall could be interpreted as evidence that a certain degree of physical protection was necessary as insurance against intruders."⁸³

3. Hale-o-Keawe

a) Early Descriptions

John Papa I'i, who frequently saw the Hale-o-Keawe while it was still functioning, provided the firsthand description of the structure and associated ceremonials presented earlier. Ellis's account, the most detailed historical description of this carefully built house, thatched with ti leaves, surrounded by a fence, and protected by guardian deities in the enclosed courtyard and vicinity, remains the primary source of information on the early appearance of this structure. Additional descriptions by Bloxam and Macrae of the *Blonde*, along with sketches made by members of that party, provide important information on the appearance of the building and its surrounding courtyard. The furnishings of the Hale-o-Keawe removed by crew members of the *Blonde* included such relics as carved wooden images, spears, calabashes, and other items of lesser importance to the Hawaiians than the bones of their ancestors. Although a very important temple

80. Ladd, "Great Wall Stabilization," pp. 136, 139.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

82. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonu o Hōnaunau*, pp. 72-73.

83. Kelly, "Concept of Asylum," p. 138.

because of its association with Kamehameha and his ancestors, the Hale-o-Keawe was fairly small (fifty feet square) compared to other temple complexes.⁸⁴

Because so little information is available, many questions remain about the Hale-o-Keawe. These include the number of times it was rethatched, how often the frame was replaced, and what additions or alterations were made over the years. Apple believes the temple described by early visitors such as Ellis was one that Kamehameha renovated about 1812. This was the temple the NPS later reconstructed in 1967 and 1968 and represents, he thinks, the most elaborate state of the mausoleum. In addition, it might differ from its 1812 appearance if some of the sacred images from other destroyed temples had been added to it after 1819. Apple supports this conjecture by pointing out that the well-carved image with a baby in its arms that Lord Byron saw in 1825 was not mentioned by Ellis in 1823 even though it was a most unusual form.⁸⁵

b) Function

As mentioned earlier in this report, the bones of ancient royalty were always carefully guarded and usually concealed secretly in caves. Exceptions to this practice involved the establishment of royal mausolea – special buildings for the care of royal remains that were guarded by keepers. Some additional protection was ensured by their association with places of refuge. Coverings for the remains consisted of fiber caskets, possibly with shell identification tags attached.⁸⁶ Early descriptions of these burial places indicate that not all bones were prepared in the same manner, some being put in woven fiber baskets, others wrapped in *kapa*.⁸⁷ The process of interment in these places consisted of encasing the bones of deified chiefs in woven, sennit caskets that were moulded over the skull. These were given pearl-shell eyes and the entire object was placed in bundles in the Hale.⁸⁸ The Hale-o-Keawe symbolizes one method of Hawaiian burial practices, the one reserved for high *ali'i* corpses being deified. Bones of lesser chiefs were kept there also but received little preparation and were stacked in a corner of the temple.⁸⁹

The Hale-o-Keawe definitely served as a *heiau*, the bones it contained being objects of veneration and its having in addition a hereditary guardian and all the other accoutrements found at a state temple, including images, offerings, altars, a refuse pit, and a palisade.⁹⁰ If it had been merely a resting place for family bones, there would be remains of women present. The supernatural protection provided by deifying the chiefs whose bones it contained ensured the sanctity and inviolability of the refuge for all time. The erection of the Hale-o-Keawe, also called Ka-'iki-'Ale'ale'a ("the little 'Ale'ale'a"), probably resulted in discontinuance of the use of 'Ale'ale'a as the

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, "Hōnaunau Village and Vicinity," pp. 104-5.

89. Soehren and Tuohy, *Archaeological Excavations at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau*, p. 212.

90. Apple, "Pre-Restoration Study," p. 23.

pu'uhonua heiau. After that time, according to modern-day informants, 'Ale'ale'a became a structure that the chiefs used for recreation rather than as a sacred ceremonial place.⁹¹

The last deification of a chief at Hale-o-Keawe is said to have been that of a son of Kamehameha, named Kaoleioku, and occurred in 1818.

c) Traditional Stories Surrounding the Hale-o-Keawe

Kamehameha is linked to the Hale-o-Keawe in several ways, both as its builder, as Barrère suggests, and as a suppliant to this source of great *mana* for the Kamehameha dynasty. Some traditional stories describe secret nightly visits by Kamehameha to the Hale-o-Keawe. One mentions his landing in the bay and entering the room containing the sacred bones of Keawe. The guardian of the temple saw him, and, by exclaiming at his presence, precipitated Kamehameha's hasty retreat. A similar tale tells of Kamehameha, possibly sometime in the 1770s before he had gained power, disturbing the temple guard, who was stretched sleeping across the doorway, during a possible attempt to steal Keawe's bones, possession of which would mean possession of Keawe's *mana* or strength.⁹²

d) Human Sacrifices

Another question concerning the Hale-o-Keawe is whether human sacrifices were a part of deification ceremonies there. Indications are that both voluntary and involuntary sacrifices took place. Professor W. D. Alexander stated

As we learn from a memorandum made by Mr. Chamberlain, "At the setting of every post and the placing of every rafter, and at the thatching of every 'wa' (or intervening space), a human sacrifice had been offered." Human sacrifices had also been offered for each chief whose remains were deposited there, at each stage of the process of consecration, viz., at the removal of the flesh, at the putting up of the bones, at the putting on of the tapa, at the winding on of the sennit, etc.⁹³

This implies that the priests supervising the construction of the Hale-o-Keawe determined there should be no doubts about the sanctity of these premises. It has been stated that as many as eighty-four human sacrifices went into this building, the idea being that the more sacrifices made, the greater the structure's importance and sacredness, the greater the feeling of *kapu*, and the more protection extended to the refuge.⁹⁴ Barrère points out that this number of sacrifices

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 Hōnaunau, 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.

seems highly implausible because the dedication rites of a *luakini*, the most exacting ritual, required only a few.⁹⁵

Barrère believes that traditions suggest that sacrifices were made here prior to Kamehameha's rule, that they were offered but not required. The first sacrifice in prehistoric times that traditional sources mention was that of Keawe 'Ai, a relative of King Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku who offered to die at the time of construction to provide added *mana*. Laura Judd relates an account she heard of a sacrifice probably in the late 1780s or early 1790s of a small boy, a favorite servant of Kapi'olani, as retribution for her breaking *kapu* by eating a variety of banana forbidden to women. A priest supposedly strangled the child on the altar of the Hale-o-Keawe.⁹⁶ Upon the death of Kalani'opu'u, ruling chief of Hawai'i Island, in 1782, sacrifices might have been made while his body lay in state at Hōnaunau prior to deposition in the Hale-o-Keawe.

In addition, anyone pursuing a refugee into the *pu'uhonua* was killed, whether by priests and their adherents, the king's executioner, or the king's soldiers is unclear. It would make sense that any bodies acquired in this way would be sacrificed to Keawe and his ancestors and descendants as retribution for violation of their protection.⁹⁷ Apple has concluded from his studies that the bones of these human sacrifices were among those kept at the Hale-o-Keawe, that the offering of human sacrifices to the deified chiefs was a way of propitiating them in addition to prescribed prayers and other rituals.⁹⁸

Another historical account states that one of the events leading to the battle of Moku'ōhai involved Kiwala'o, heir to the government after Kalani'opu'u's death, sacrificing some of Kamehameha's followers on an altar at Hōnaunau, perhaps as his late father's companions in death.⁹⁹ Kamakau states that Kamehameha authorized Hale-o-Keawe and the *pu'uhonua* as a place for human sacrifices, probably early in his career, immediately after winning the battle of Moku'ōhai.¹⁰⁰

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 Hōnaunau 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.

The Reverend Henry Cheever, visiting the area in 1849, stated

The last human sacrifices are said to have been made at this place in 1818. One man was then sacrificed for putting on the malo, girdle of a chief, one for eating a forbidden article of food, one for leaving a house that was tabu and entering one that was not, and a woman was put to death for going into the eating-house of her husband when intoxicated. On the authority of natives, former kings have immolated eighty victims at once, as in the days of Umi, whose blood-thirsty god, after one of his victories, kept calling from the clouds, "Give, give," until the priest and himself were all that remained of his train.¹⁰¹

One of the indications of human sacrifices and other offerings are the refuse pits associated with *luakini*. Samuel Hill made the first historical reference to such a feature here, noting "a cavern imperfectly covered by an enormous block of lava, but in which, we were informed, still remained the bones of several of the ancient kings of the island."¹⁰² Hitchcock, who sketched a plan of the refuge in 1889, identified that cover and commented on the deep hole beneath the stone that was one foot thick, six feet in diameter, and contained bones. This stone appears on the topographic map made by Wingate in 1966. During the 1902 restoration, a large flat stone lying at the water's edge was thought to be the cover of the bone pit and to have formerly sat level with the pavement of the main platform near its eastern edge. During the 1902 work, an arched cavity was found containing human bones.¹⁰³ Other human bones were found in the northern side of the platform in 1902, and others were taken from the northwest corner of the platform about 1960.¹⁰⁴ Local informants stated that this refuse pit was used to rot bones, after which they were cleaned and hung in bundles from the roof of the Hale-o-Keawe. One informant stated these were the bones of sacrificial victims, not of chiefs.¹⁰⁵ Apple points out, however, that the base of the east wall of the *pu'uhonua* extended under the platform built in 1902 and that human bones have been found in other portions of the Great Wall and in similar cavities in the 'Ale'ale'a Heiau platform. Again, these are considered intrusive, historic-period burials.¹⁰⁶

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.

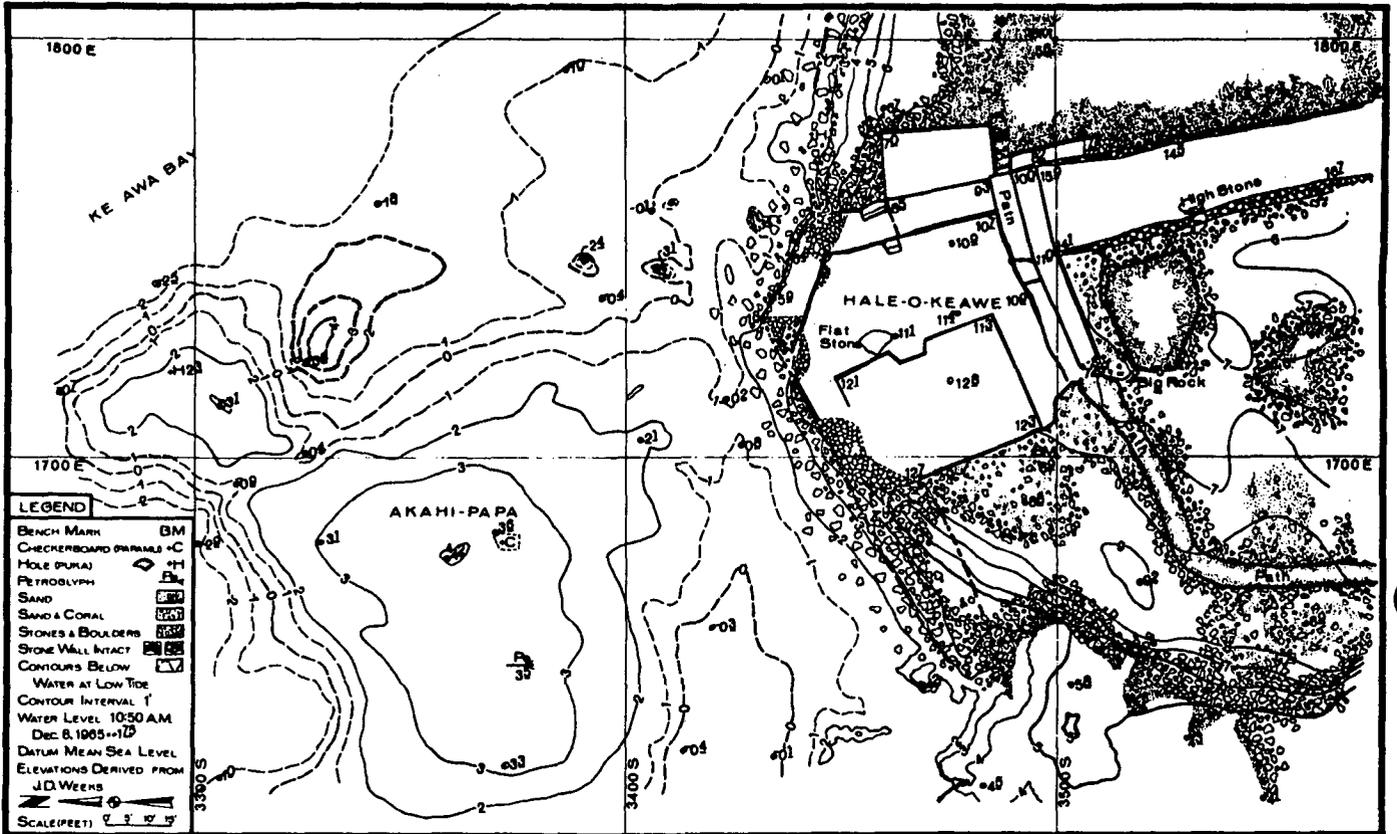


Plate III. Hale-o-Keawe platform and vicinity, City of Refuge National Historical Park.

Illustration 174. Ground plan of Hale-o-Keawe platform and vicinity. Plate III in Ladd, "Hale-o-Keawe Temple Site," p. 166.



Illustration 175. Reconstructed Hale-o-Keawe, showing courtyard images and offering tower. NPS photo, 1989.

e) Hale o Lono

His 1919 informant mentioned to Stokes that on Lot 20 *mauka* of Hale-o-Keawe there existed a house referred to as "Hale o Lono." It stood on a low platform about twenty-one feet from the *mauka* wall of the refuge and extended east for about fifty feet. Its width was about twenty-five feet. According to this person, tidal waves had destroyed the platform many years earlier. He described the Hale-o-Lono as being a portion or continuation of the Hale-o-Keawe platform. At the time of that interview, he said the site was on the waterfront, partly encroached upon by a recently planted coconut grove. The house on the platform had been of *ohi'a* posts with ti leaf covering. It had a lanai on the front facing the sea on the north, as well as four doors in the front, four in back, and one at either end. South of this structure was a small house where Keawe kept his coconuts.¹⁰⁷

f) Decline of the Mausoleum

After 1829, maintenance of the Hale-o-Keawe ceased and it was left to the ravages of decay and natural forces. The structure had disappeared by 1851. Tidal waves and high seas over successive years damaged the masonry platform as well as the adjacent *pu'uhonua* walls. By 1902 those actions had reduced the platform and nearby area to a heap of rubble. The 1902 restoration work is considered fairly inaccurate, based solely on limited and questionable oral information. Hawai'i County crews performed further repair and maintenance work in the vicinity of the platform after the county leased the refuge as a park in the 1920s.¹⁰⁸

g) The NPS Undertakes Reconstruction of the Mausoleum

In 1963 the NPS decided to reconstruct for the first time a building associated with ancient Hawaiian culture. No guidelines or precedents existed for such a project. The major problem revolved around trying to build an authentic thatched house, a structural style virtually unknown to modern-day Hawaiians. Data gathering included a literature search for structural data in the Bishop Museum in an attempt to find specific data on the Hale-o-Keawe as well as general information on Hawaiian structures. Specific construction details needed for the temple were supplied using the general body of information about Hawaiian structures that had been assembled.¹⁰⁹

The federal government funded several studies to learn more about Hale-o-Keawe, its physical development and its purpose. One was the *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau* mentioned earlier, done in 1957 under contract to the Bishop Museum. Park Service employees also undertook a number of studies. Russell Apple analyzed both ethnohistorical and historical data for a pre-restoration study in 1966, and Edmund Ladd conducted a pre-salvage report in 1969, having completed excavations and restoration on the platform in 1967. Ladd discovered the original dry masonry platform side and top, which he restored, plus adjacent features. He found

107. "Puuhonua at Hōnaunau," notes, pp. 1, 6.

108. Apple, *Hawaiian Thatched House*, p. 247.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

that Wall had fortunately not disturbed any of the underlying foundations of the prehistoric structure but had actually protected them by adding platforms to the side, front, and top.¹¹⁰

Although there had been disagreement among early visitors as to the actual size and location of the temple platform, Ladd found outlines of the original platform and its upper surface and was able to establish the approximate dimensions and orientation of the temple on it. The Ellis drawing was selected as the truest depiction of the structure. The complete restoration of the complex included the ti leaf thatched temple, carved images, an elevated altar, and a wooden palisade. This work, combined with Ladd's restored platform, seawalls, and nearby terrain resulted in a major interpretive feature at the park. The surface restoration project began August 28, 1967, and ended June 28, 1968.¹¹¹

At the same time a small model of the Hale was built in 1968 to show the public how the temple was constructed. Over the next few years, the wooden images and palisades deteriorated to the extent that a second reconstruction was needed by 1982. That project included a new framework for the temple, rethatching with dried ti leaves, recarving of images, and replacement of the palisade.¹¹²

4. Hale o Puni

Stokes mentioned a pile of rubble immediately west of the Hale-o-Keawe that, when cleared, revealed edges of a rectangular platform. Some informants told him that was the site of the priests' quarters.¹¹³ Notes from Stokes's interview with a local informant suggest that *makai* of the Hale-o-Keawe terraces there formerly existed a large stone platform fenced with *kaula* posts "of such a height that they obscured the view of the Hale O Keawe from the west." The posts supposedly kept the platform stones in position. Chiefs and their families used the platform for social activities (possibly as entertainment structures where boxing or wrestling, for instance, could be watched by an audience seated on the surrounding ground).¹¹⁴

5. "Old Heiau" ("Ancient Heiau")

The Reverend William Ellis in 1823 briefly mentioned the presence of three large *heiau* within the *pu'uhonua*, two being "considerably demolished" and the other "nearly entire."¹¹⁵ It has been assumed that the latter was 'Ale'ale'a Heiau, raising the question of whether the "Old Heiau" originally comprised one or two structures. Stokes recorded that

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 Hōnaunau," notes, p. 2.

115. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, p. 127.

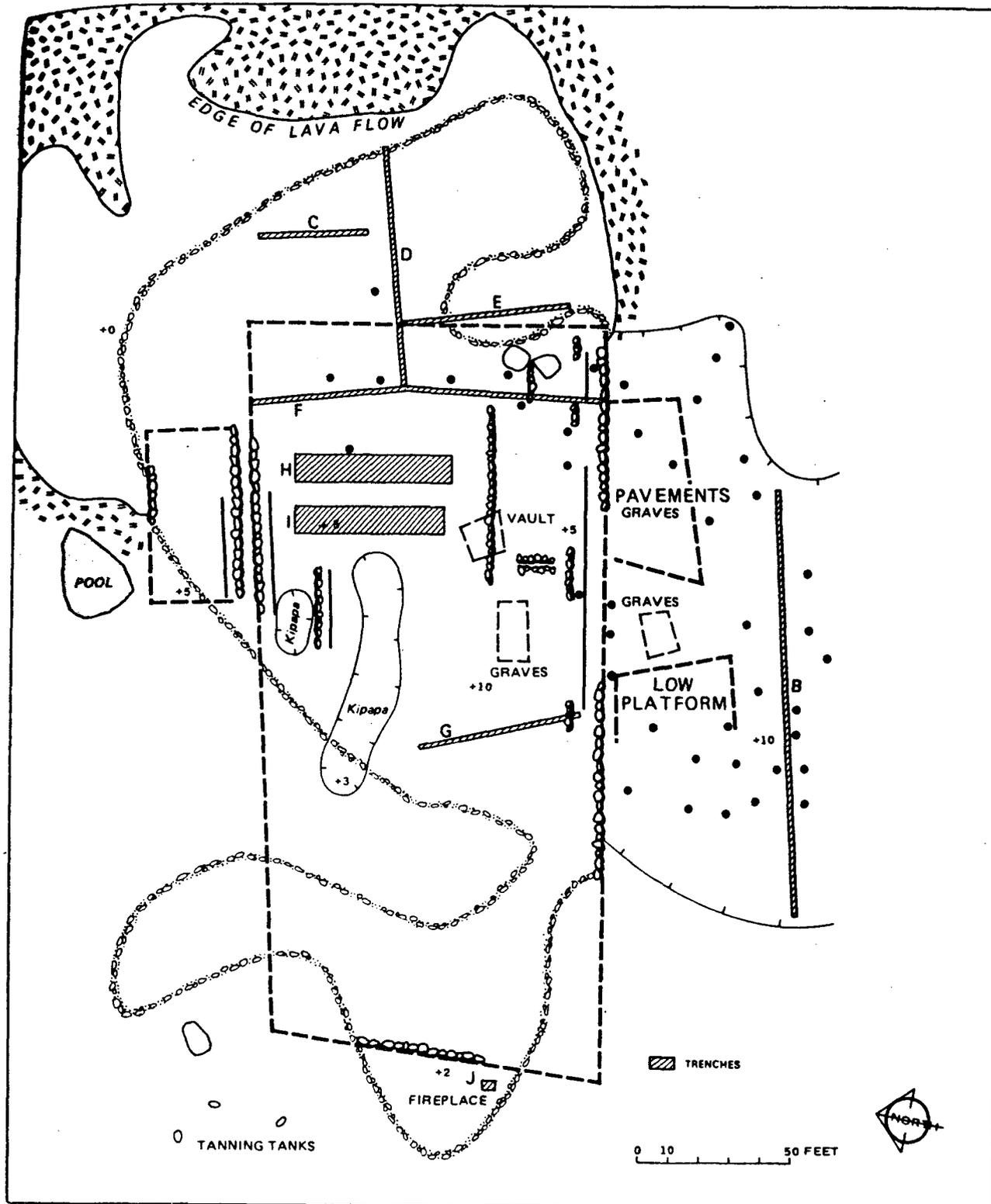
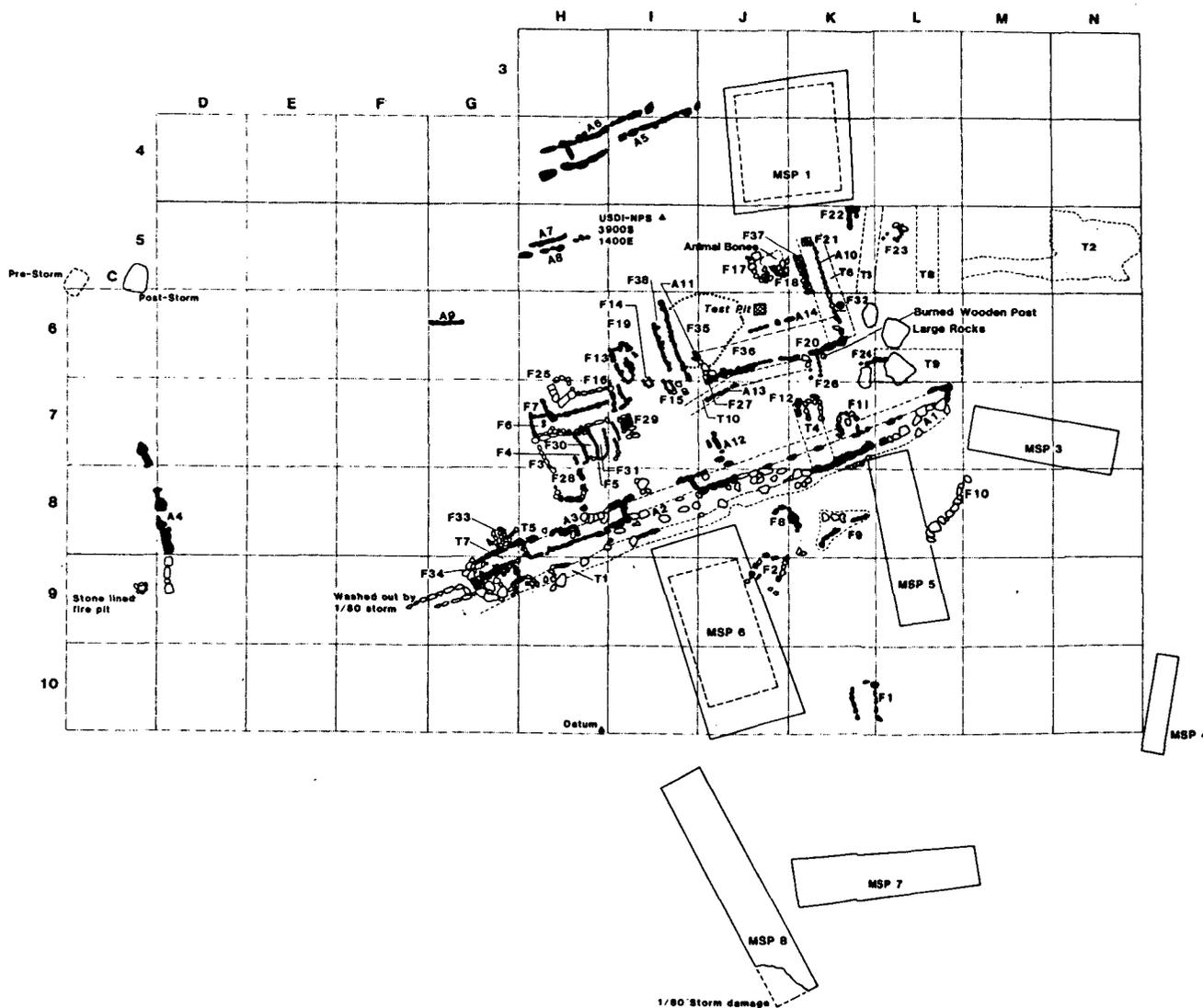


Fig. 13.12. PLAN OF RUINS OF OLD HEIAU WITHIN THE PU'UHONUA AT HŌNAUNAU. (B-I) trenches made in 1919 to determine structure of ruins and underlying ground; (J) ancient stone-lined fireplace; (+ numbers) heights above mean sea level; (•) coconut trees.

Illustration 176. Plan of ruins of "Old Heiau." Figure 13.12 in Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the Pu'uhonua Area," p. 175.



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
POST EXCAVATION
SITE A-27 "OLD HEIAU"
 PUUHONUA O HONAUNAU NHP
 Honaunau, Island of Hawaii

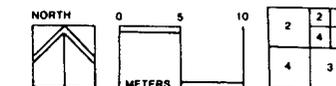


Illustration 177. Post-excavation surface of the "Old Heiau." Figure 8 in Ladd, *Excavations at Site A-27*, p. 21.

West of Alealea heiau lay a vast heap of loose rocks, stones, and pebbles in a trilobed area. . . . The heap extends over an area having a maximum width of 175 feet . . . and a length of 325 feet. . . . The form of the pile suggested the effects of successive tidal waves coming from the southwest and northwest.¹¹⁶

While investigating the ruins at Hōnaunau in 1919, Stokes subsequently made test excavations in the "Old Heiau" mound in an attempt to determine the original plan and configuration of the structure. This endeavor met with only limited success. Stokes did conclude that at least one large platform, 110 by 320 feet, and possibly a smaller one to the north, 28 by 60 feet, had once stood on the site.¹¹⁷

It was originally thought that this platform was the oldest structure in the *pu'uhonua* and that some of its stones later were used for construction of the 'Ale'ale'a temple. Later archeological excavations, however, have suggested that one of the first stages of 'Ale'ale'a might be the earliest temple site associated with the refuge.¹¹⁸ The "Old Heiau" was also constructed using the typical Hawaiian method of dry-laid unmodified blocks of lava rock. Stokes in 1919 performed some inspection of surface features.¹¹⁹ During World War II, the Hawai'i Home Guard, stationed on the nearby beach, may have modified the structure to some extent.¹²⁰

The "Old Heiau" apparently lay neglected after its initial abandonment. Gradually the walls and platforms fell and covered the foundations of the entire structure, turning it into a pile of rubble and sand through which could be seen only dimly sections of walls, foundations, and pavement. In 1975 it was noted that surf and high waves during periods of turbulent seas constantly pounded the rubble mound. These activities, combined with visitor impacts, were causing the structure to lose its information potential at an alarming rate. Consequently it was decided to speed efforts to collect data and artifacts to support the park's interpretive programs and to preserve the structure through stabilization.

The National Park Service, under the supervision of Edmund Ladd, mapped and excavated the "Old Heiau" site from September 1979 to September 1980. Relatively few artifacts were found, none of which provided much information on the site. Features found that appeared to have been original included wall faces; an interior platform facing; remnants of stone pavements; indications of a second, smaller, interior platform showing areas of *pao* construction; and walls of another, smaller enclosure north of the main one.¹²¹

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.

Ladd determined that the site comprised two walled enclosures, the larger one containing two smaller platforms.¹²² He believed the form of the site to be similar to that of a *luakini* – a walled enclosure containing terraces, platforms, and other structures. He noted that it was similar in size and shape to that of Mo'okini in Kohala District and that its internal features, such as the possible raised interior terrace found, appeared similar to those thought to have been present at Pu'ukoholā.¹²³ In addition, radiocarbon dates corresponding to the construction period of the earliest *luakini* in Hawai'i; the predominance of pig faunal remains, indicating dedication rites associated with a *luakini*; and the finding that the first construction stage of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau probably pre-dated the "Old Heiau," suggesting the latter's construction on a site formerly built upon by the "people of old," all persuaded Ladd that his theory was correct.¹²⁴ While 'Ale'ale'a might be older, it is better preserved because it continued to be used, while the "Old Heiau" was abandoned and severely impacted by surf action.¹²⁵

6. 'Ale'ale'a Heiau

As apparent from the earlier discussion on chronology of the Pu'uuhonua o Hōnaunau, several theories exist as to which rulers built which structures and when. According to Barrère's revised chronology of the Pu'uuhonua o Hōnaunau, 'Ehu-kai-malino constructed 'Ale'ale'a ca. A.D. 1425, possibly at the same time he established the refuge. Wall partially restored the temple foundations in 1902. As mentioned, the Reverend William Ellis in 1823 saw within the refuge enclosure three *heiau*, only one of which was in a good state of preservation. This is thought to have been 'Ale'ale'a, which was described as "a compact pile of stones, laid up in a solid mass, 126 feet by 65, and ten feet high."¹²⁶ Kenneth Emory stated that a massive tidal wave destroyed the entire northwest corner of the restored 'Ale'ale'a Heiau. Studies in 1963 showed the platform to be structurally weak and in a condition leading to eventual collapse. Stabilization of the structure was needed for public safety reasons as well as for preservation purposes. The ensuing stabilization project led to some fascinating and unexpected discoveries.¹²⁷

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'uuhonua* 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, Hōnaunau: 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'uuhonua* Area," p. 181.

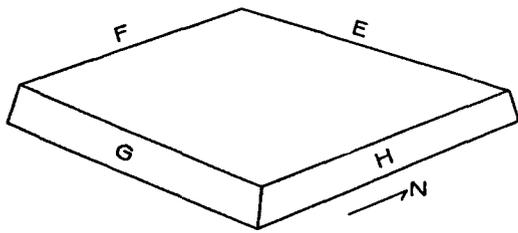


Fig. 2. 'Alealea I

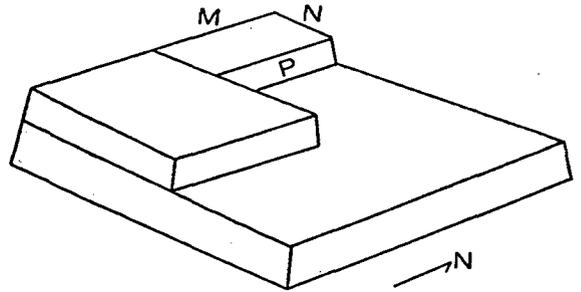


Fig. 4. 'Alealea III

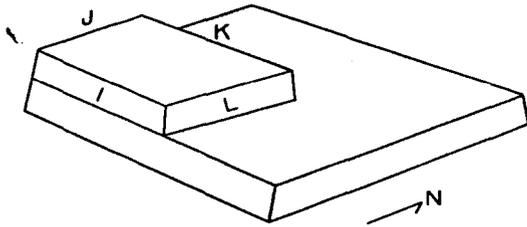


Fig. 3. 'Alealea II

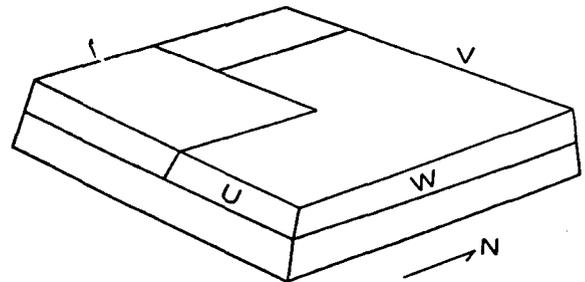


Fig. 5. 'Alealea IV

Illustration 178. (two pages) Conjectural periods of growth and modification of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau. Figures 2-8 in Ladd, " 'Alealea Temple Site," pp. 106, 108, 112, 114.

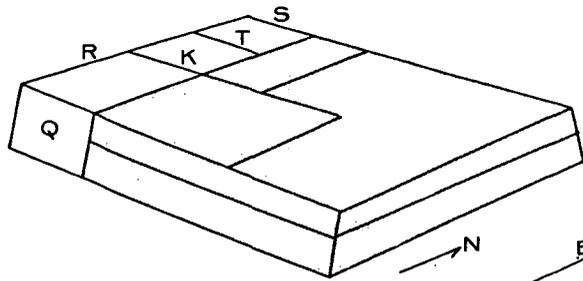


Fig. 6. 'Alelea V'

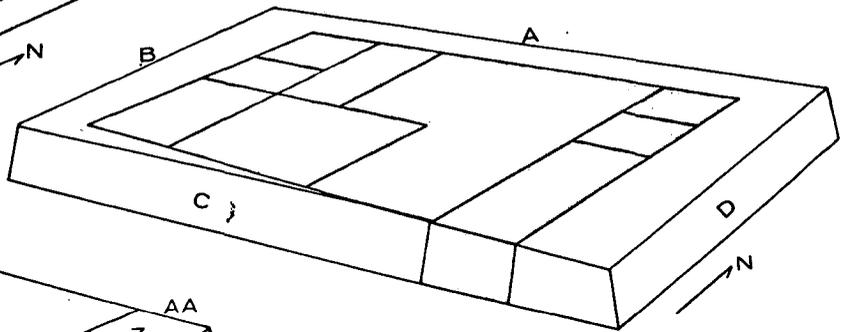


Fig. 8. 'Alelea VII'

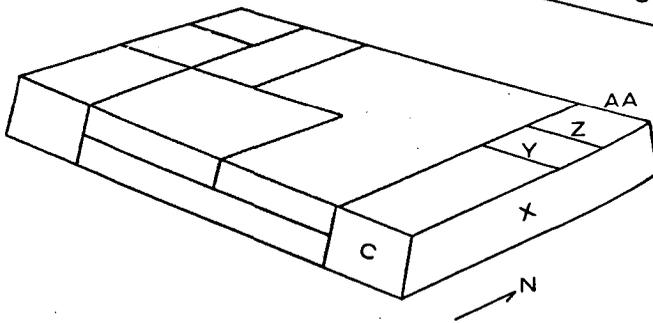


Fig. 7. 'Alelea VI'

Illustration 178. (continued)

In 1965 Edmund Ladd completed a report on salvage work at the 'Ale'ale'a temple site, "the first time a temple of this size was . . . systematically examined in Hawaii."¹²⁸ The most amazing find of the project was that of several "inner *heiaus*" within the main structure.

Ladd found the temple to be a large, nearly rectangular platform measuring 127 feet long and 60 feet wide, with an average height of 8 feet. Building material consisted of unmodified basalt lava rocks, dry-laid, with the smoother surface of the stones on the exterior face. The fill, of openwork construction (*pao*), comprised loose rubble and sand. The same basic construction method was used on the interior platforms, with a few important variations resulting from the different developmental time periods.¹²⁹

The periods of growth and modification of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau are thought to be:

'Ale'ale'a I

This first phase of construction comprised a low, rubble-filled, nearly rectangular platform measuring about 72 by 52 feet and 4 to 5 feet high. The platform is about ninety percent intact. Prehistoric human burials ("bundle" burials in slab-lined crypts) intrude in the south end of the structure's east face.¹³⁰

'Ale'ale'a II

This modification to the original structure included the addition of an elevated platform, measuring 25 by 40 by 3½ feet, at the southwest corner of the lower platform.¹³¹

'Ale'ale'a III

This second modification added a narrow, elongated platform extending north from 'Ale'ale'a II.¹³²

'Ale'ale'a IV

This L-shaped addition abutted stages II and III, creating another flat-topped platform on top of 'Ale'ale'a I.¹³³

128. Ladd, "Alealea Temple Site," p. 101.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 107.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

133. *Ibid.*

'Ale'ale'a V

During this stage of construction, the builders extended the platform west, toward the ocean, by adding a section about 21½ feet wide by 51 feet long.¹³⁴

'Ale'ale'a VI

At this time, the platform was extended east by an addition measuring 20 feet wide by 54 feet long. Several intrusive crypt-type burials were found in this section. The completion of this stage resulted in a nearly rectangular, flat platform about 105 feet long, 54 feet wide, and 8 to 9 feet high.¹³⁵

'Ale'ale'a VII

This is the structure that Ellis noted in 1823 and that stands today. With its additions, it measures 127 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 8 feet in height. Wall restored the west face of this stage in 1902.¹³⁶

Ladd noted that five burials were found in the 'Ale'ale'a platform, all of the "bundle" type. All the crypts, either circular or rectangular in form, are intrusive. Other features found included an *imu* (cooking pit) and two areas of pig and human bones.¹³⁷

As stated earlier in the section on chronology of the *pu'uohonua*, the discovery of the various stages of construction of this *heiau* challenged previous theories on the developmental history of the refuge and its associated structures. Still Barrère attempted to explain these stages within the framework of the recorded traditional history of the chiefs of Hawai'i Island. She then compiled a lengthy discussion of the history of the refuge complex based on the new information Ladd had acquired through his archeological work. An expert at genealogical dating, Barrère's theories on 'Ale'ale'a Heiau bear considerable weight.

She believes the six "inner *heiaus*" Ladd referred to were modifications or changes to one temple platform that

should be viewed as the site of a family *heiau*, and its imposing structure a monument to the increasing power and prestige of the family in succeeding generations.¹³⁸

The various construction phases, she continued, were instances of enlargement and embellishment.

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 Hōnaunau Complex Relative to the Modifications of 'Alealea Platform," February 1965, typescript, 9 pages, in files, Pu'uohonua o Hōnaunau NHP, p. 2.

Barrère's chronology of development of *pu'uhonua* structures has been outlined earlier; it will be elaborated upon briefly here. The history of the Kamehameha family suggested to Barrère that the following persons were responsible for the different phases of 'Ale'ale'a temple construction:

'Ehu or 'Ehu-kai-malino – 'Ale'ale'a I

'Umi – 'Ale'ale'a II-IV

Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai – 'Ale'ale'a V

Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku – 'Ale'ale'a VI

(Barrère believes the possibility also exists that Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai was responsible for both stages V and VI and that Kamehameha ordered the final enlargement seen today.)¹³⁹ In the course of her discussion, Barrère mentions the "Ancient Heiau" in the refuge, suggesting that the Tahitian chief Pili-ka'aiea, whom the high-priest Pa'ao established as ruler of Hawai'i Island, whose family line eventually culminated in Kamehameha, and whose family is so closely associated with the Hōnaunau complex, might have built that structure under his benefactor's direction as a first step in establishing his rule over the island. (Pa'ao is the person generally credited with instigating the construction of large, rectangular *heiau* such as the "Old Heiau.") Even if constructed by a descendant of Pili, Barrère believes the temple still probably dates from at least the thirteenth century. Its abandonment might have resulted from destruction by tidal waves or a change in family leadership.¹⁴⁰

'Ehu, father of 'Ehu-kai-malino, was the founder of the 'Ehu family from which the later Kona chiefs were descended. Because prior to 'Ehu's time, the residence of the ruler of Hawai'i Island had either been in Kohala or Waipi'o, Barrère doubts that the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunua was established any earlier. The traditional concept of a refuge associated it either with the ruler himself or his residence, and because neither was present at Hōnaunau before 'Ehu, Barrère believes the refuge was established within traditional times. Her chronology suggests that 'Ehu may have been the one who declared the refuge and built 'Ale'ale'a I to provide its sacred protection, although she tends to the belief that his son 'Ehu-kai-malino, ruling chief of Kona in Liloa's time and into 'Umi's reign, probably established it and the associated *heiau* of 'Ale'ale'a I.¹⁴¹

If we accept this assumption, we can find in it a reason for the abandonment of the "old" heiau other than that of tidal wave destruction. The old heiau would have been built for the gods whose favor kept the family in power; this new one was for the gods who ensured the sanctity of the *puuhonua*.¹⁴²

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

After wresting Kona and Kohala from 'Ehu-kai-malino and uniting the island under his rule, 'Umi-a-Liloa moved his place of residence from Waipi'o, Hamakua, to Kona. Barrère believes that during his long, peaceful reign, this man, described as being very religious, might have decided to reaffirm the *pu'uhonua* at Hōnaunau and was probably able to command the men and muscle needed to enlarge 'Ale'ale'a in stages II, III, and IV, and may even have constructed the Great Wall around it.¹⁴³ Tracing the history of the ruling family, Barrère credits the chiefess Keakamahana, a descendant of 'Umi, who became ruler of Hawai'i, with ordering enlargement V, a project carried out by Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai. When conflict broke out between branches of the family after Keakamahana's death, Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku restored harmony and became acknowledged chief with supreme control. He might have decided to enlarge 'Ale'ale'a in stage VI.¹⁴⁴

The conflict and wars upon Keawe's death were ended by Kamehameha's assumption of power. Barrère believes 'Ale'ale'a might have continued to be used as the *pu'uhonua heiau* during Kamehameha's reign and that he continued the tradition of modifying the platform (Stage VII), possibly in the peacetime period after the death of Keoua in about 1791. The *heiau* functions may have been transferred from 'Ale'ale'a to Hale-o-Keawe in the last years of Kamehameha's reign, after he had returned to Hawai'i Island to live, between about 1813 and 1819. 'Ale'ale'a's function then changed from a family monument to a meeting place for relaxation and leisure pursuits.¹⁴⁵

A local informant stated that this *heiau* was constructed by a chief named 'Ale'ale'a and that it was used as courts of pardon for refugees. Chiefs were judged at the *mauka* end of the *heiau* and commoners at the *makai* end. The entrance to the structure was on the south side toward the east end.¹⁴⁶ It has also been suggested that this was the temple in which the refugees offered thanks to the gods for their escape from death. A later informant, in 1957, said 'Ale'ale'a had been a place where doctors (*kahuna lapa'au*) grew medicinal plants used in caring for wounded refugees from battle.¹⁴⁷

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 Hōnaunau," 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.

7. Keoua Stone

The early Hawaiians often gave names to special stones. On the north side of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau lies a large stone, partially dressed, measuring 13½ feet long and 2½ feet wide and thick. Found in 1919 lying with one end abutting the *heiau* platform, it was moved ten feet east where it fit within a space delineated by six postholes drilled in the lava, apparently its original location. Posts inserted in the holes might have supported a coconut leaf canopy, which would have ensured a shady resting spot. Tradition states that Keoua, the high chief of Kona and accredited father of Kamehameha, slept on this while his men were out fishing. A concavity at one end is supposed to be where his head rested, while his feet almost reached the other end, making him almost equal to the stone in height.

Stokes suggests that this stone might have been one of those described in a Kamakau tradition concerning King 'Umi, who, while ruling Hawai'i Island, requested his relatives and retainers to dress large lava blocks for use in construction of a mausoleum for him. He died before the structure was built. Stones thought to be some of these unfinished lava blocks have been found in several places on the island; this might be one of them.¹⁴⁸

8. Ka'ahumanu Stone

South of the southeast corner of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau is a large, undressed, rough stone, 11 by 6 by 3 feet, supported on blocks of stone about 1½ feet above ground. It is called the Ka'ahumanu Stone because tradition states that Kamehameha's favorite queen, after quarreling with her husband, fled to Hōnaunau and hid beneath the rock. Reconciliation followed when her dog barked, revealing her hiding place to her pursuing husband.¹⁴⁹

9. Hale o Papa (*Heiau No Na Wahine*)

Near the middle of the south wall of the *pu'uhonua* was a rectangular stone platform, 25 by 30 by about 3 feet high, attached to the inner face of the south wall by a low wall. Workmen in the 1902 restoration period resurfaced this platform. Stokes believed that less precise construction methods suggested a later period of construction or that the structure was of minor importance. Evidently one of Stokes's informants told him this was a women's *heiau*, although Kekahuna showed it on his 1952 interpretive map as a platform for the menstrual house of the chiefesses. Emory believed it was a women's *heiau*, as would normally be part of a complex such as this.¹⁵⁰ Barrère, on the other hand, believes that this structure was erroneously called Akahipapa through an early misinterpretation of translation. She believed that rather than a *heiau*,

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 Hōnaunau," notes, p. 3.

it might well have served as a place of seclusion for chiefly women. Only the stone platform remains today.¹⁵¹

10. Miscellaneous Resources

a) 'Akahipapa Flat

This flat is a tongue of lava off the north side of Hale-o-Keawe, and is accessible from the shore at low tide. It is the place where refugees landed after swimming to the refuge from across the bay. Tradition says a tall spear flying a white flag stood in the area, marking the entrance to the refuge; some say this marker was an idol instead. It could also have been the tree trunk Dampier depicts in his sketch near the end of the flat. Found on the flat's surface are three fish net tanning tanks, a large petroglyph, and rows of depressions for *kōnane* games.¹⁵² Refugees seeking the safety of the *pu'uhonua*, upon reaching Pu'u-o-Ka'u point across Keawa Bay from Akahipapa Flat, would dive into the water and try to reach the flag (or idol) and thus be assured of sanctuary.¹⁵³

b) Shelf in South Section of the Great Wall

A shelf or bench measuring about twelve by seventeen feet built into the south wall of the refuge is traditionally said to have been connected with shark fishing. The body of a dead person or a pig was left to decompose under the shelf for several days before it was taken out to sea to use for attracting sharks.¹⁵⁴

c) Walled Enclosure Within the Sanctuary

On his sketch map of the refuge area, Chester Lyman showed a wall extending from an entrance in the Great Wall on the north around to 'Ale'ale'a platform and then back to the wall. He referred to this as a goat pen. Another stone wall extended from the southeast corner of 'Ale'ale'a to the Great Wall, the western half of which, about six feet wide, appeared ancient, while the eastern half appeared more modern. This wall was evidently removed during later landscaping activities. Stokes stated that in 1919 a wall with a branch formed part of an enclosure along the line Lyman indicated from the entrance. Although Stokes was told that the wall was used to contain refugees for various purposes, it appeared that it was actually part of goat and calf pens belonging to former Hōnaunau residents.¹⁵⁵

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.

d) *Kōnane* Stone

Twelve feet southwest of the Ka'ahumanu Stone lies a basalt block two feet wide, 2½ feet long, and one foot thick. Rows of holes pecked in its upper surface (9 by 11 rows) are positions for black and white pebbles used in the checker-like game of *kōnane*. This game stone is called a *papamū*.¹⁵⁶ This might have been utilized by refugees to pass the time while they remained within the refuge under the protection of the priests. Stokes referred to this as the *papamū* of Ka'ahumanu, presumably because of its proximity to the Ka'ahumanu Stone.

e) Petroglyph

This male figure was carved into a rock within the enclosure.

f) *Pohaku Nānā La* (Stone for Looking at the Sun)

This rock, located a few yards west of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau and partly submerged in a pool of water, was used in a children's game. Part of the rock rested on the edge of the pool and the other either projected over the pool or was submerged in the water, forming an underwater tunnel. (Possibly the stone was dislodged into the pool by a tidal wave.) If the sun was in just the right location, by a combination of refraction in the water and the effect of the shadow cast by the stone, a child diving through the tunnel with his eyes open could see the sun looking like a bright, glowing green ball or, as Barrère has said, a blue pearl.¹⁵⁷

g) Spring

This spring existed just south of the spot where the wall from 'Ale'ale'a met the eastern portion of the Great Wall. In 1919 this spring, filled with stones by tidal wave action, was cleared.¹⁵⁸

h) Makaloa Pools

Located in the southeast part of the enclosure, these pools have *makaloa* sedge growing in them that was used in the production of mats.¹⁵⁹

A tidal wave later destroyed the wall. "Puuhonua at Hōnaunau," 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 Hōnaunau," notes, p. 3.

158. Stokes, "Archaeological Features of the *Pu'uhonua* Area," p. 197.

159. *Ibid.*

i) Kekuai'o Pool

Evidently this pool was used to catch fish by drugging them. The nearby surface of the lava shows evidence of heavy battering of quantities of the *'auhuhu* plant, which was used to stun fish. In tidal pools such as this, the pulverized plant was put in cracks in the rock, its narcotic effects forcing the fish out in a dazed condition. Another method of capturing the fish involved stretching a net across an indentation in the reef and thrusting the poison into holes or cracks in the reef face. As the sap dissolved, the fish broke for the open water and were caught in the net.¹⁶⁰

j) Artificial Concavities in the Lava

In several places both inside and outside the refuge these artificial cavities of varying sizes and shapes can be found, along with natural ones partly shaped. Some served as tanning baths for fish nets, some as basins for dying *kapa* for fishnets, and some were used as mortars for pounding salt, seaweed, bait, or sea urchins to get rid of their spines and shells. Others appear to be postholes for images, flagpoles, or *kapu* signs, while others may be boundary markers. Seventy-five feet south of Hale-o-Puni is a cluster of eighteen holes in a rectangular formation, thought to be for a group of warning images or an offertorium.¹⁶¹ Five other concavities lie to the northwest near the water's edge, possibly serving as supports for warning images or flags that would be visible to refugees entering from the north. Stokes suggests that when Ellis referred to a low fence in the northwest part of the refuge, he might have been looking at the bases of these weathered images.¹⁶² Other areas showing possible concavities for figures of some type are found north of the northwest corner of 'Ale'ale'a Heiau, facing Keawewai inlet, and at the head of Awawaloa inlet.¹⁶³

k) Stone Image Named Hawa'e

K.P. Emory noted a cove a few feet south of Lae Limukoko (see Map 1), at the bottom of which he found a stone formation resembling a pig. Possibly this is the stone image named Hawa'e for a god worshipped in ancient times. Tradition says that wooden images of this god, known for his *mana* and helpfulness toward worshippers, were so heavy that they could not be transported easily and were kept in secret caves in the mountains of Kona. Stone images were substituted for worship, one of which, twenty plus feet in height, was supposedly kept in a sea cavern on the seaward side of Hale-o-Keawe. It is said that Chief 'Ehu, who possessed the prerogative, or *kapu*, of drowning people who were prisoners of war or who had broken a *kapu*, would lower his victim, weighted with a large stone, into the water at the edge of the cavern. When dead, the victim was lowered farther and tied to the stone image.¹⁶⁴

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 199.

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

164. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

l) Cup Marks

Along the south side of the south wall of the refuge are numerous cup marks in the lava bed that supported images or stakes. Another group of concavities opposite the midpoint of the south wall also exist. An informant mentioned seeing a wooden image standing in this area, about three feet high, marking the southern limit or entrance of the asylum.¹⁶⁵

m) Fisherman's Shrine (*Ku'ula*)

Several feet southwest of the bench in the south wall of the refuge lay at one time a large natural stone surrounded by smaller stones that was identified as a fishing shrine to the god *Ku'ula*. It no longer exists.¹⁶⁶

n) The Beach Site (Site B-107)

This residential site is located south of the Great Wall in a sandy ridge extending along the coast. In this sand dune on the beach Ladd found occupation sites that he judged to be periodically inhabited in pre-contact times, probably by fishermen. Remains of this particular site consisted of remnants of stone walls in the form of a nearly square enclosure, with a platform in evidence at the juncture of two of the walls.¹⁶⁷

o) Burials

Donald Tuohy excavated numerous monument burials – burials indicated on the surface of the ground by stone terraces, mounds, or platforms – in the 1960s in the parking lot area inland of the Great Wall. The remains themselves were often interred in a lava crevice below the monument. This type of burial was commonly used in the historical period, resulting in construction of stone-walled crypts.¹⁶⁸

Tuohy relates that salvage excavations such as these have disclosed six methods of body disposal practiced in the Pu'uuhonua o Hōnaunau area. These include traditional monument, burial, cist, cave, and house methods, all used in prehistoric times, as well as the historic practice of placing a coffin in a mortarless stone vault.¹⁶⁹ This is in addition to the treatment of bodies of the high *alii*, which were placed in woven fiber caskets in the Hale-o-Keawe. Already mentioned are the remains of at least five individuals placed in pits or vaults in the upper rock fill of 'Ale'ale'a

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'uuhonua 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'uuhonua o Hōnaunau*, p. 212.

platform. Tuohy notes that Stokes earlier discovered that the sandy beach near the southern wing of the Great Wall served as a burial ground. There bodies were placed in pits in the sand or, in one case, in an underground mortarless stone vault.¹⁷⁰

A concrete tomb lies sixty feet north of the end of the south wall. Adjacent to it is a pavement probably marking graves. Lyman's 1846 map shows two graves in this location. Just south of the "Old Heiau" platform lay a graveyard indicated by pavements; within the *heiau* platform were two vault burials.¹⁷¹

Adjacent to the west end of the south wall was an area used at one time as a burial ground. Some burials may have been pre-European in origin, others were of more recent date.¹⁷²

Inland Hōnaunau and Keamoali'i

Kenneth P. Emory conducted a detailed archaeological survey of the inland areas of the *ahupua'a* of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Ki'ilae and discovered some very interesting features, which will be discussed next.

1. Animal Pens, Graves, and Trails

Inland from the *pu'uhonua* and south of a road leading to the uplands, Emory found little except for several animal pens, platform graves, and trail segments. The two areas of graves found (Map 3) consisted on the east of a group of fifteen graves marked by rectangular stone piles and on the west of five rectangular platforms varying from 2½ to 4 feet high. West of them were two enclosures being used as pig pens in 1957. Emory also discerned the traces of ancient trails through the area. The south branch of the trail running inland he thought appeared to have been remodeled for horse travel. He could note traces of the earlier steppingstones. Stokes had suggested that where the north branch of the trail crossed the uplands road, another trail led south to connect with the 1871 highway in the vicinity of Wainoni, but Emory could find no trace of it.¹⁷³

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 Keamoali'i of Hōnaunau, Kēōkea, and Ki'ilae," in Bryan and Emory, *Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau*, 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.

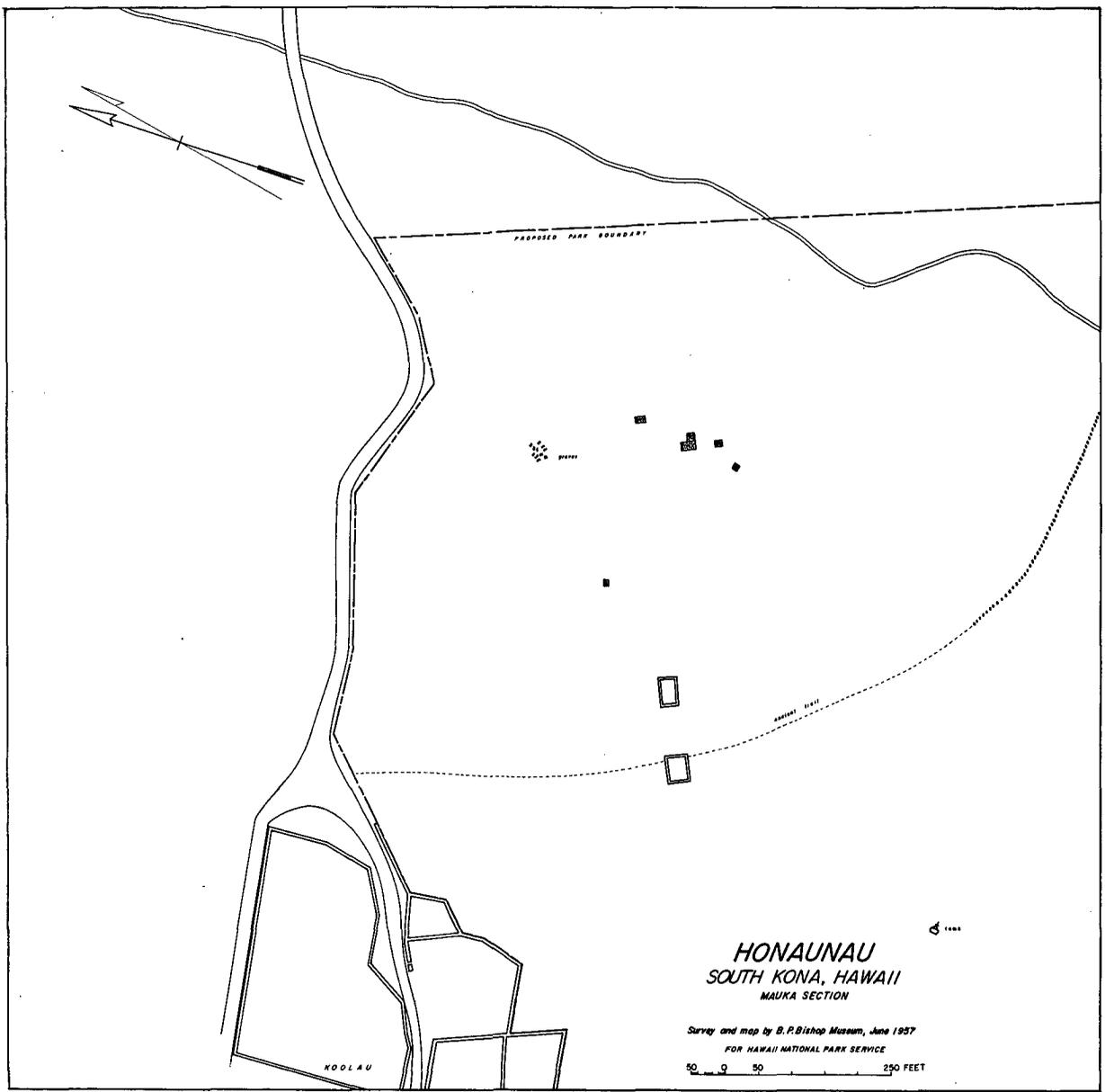


Illustration 179. Map 3, "Honaunau . . . Mauka Section." Survey and map by Bishop Museum, 1957. From Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i."

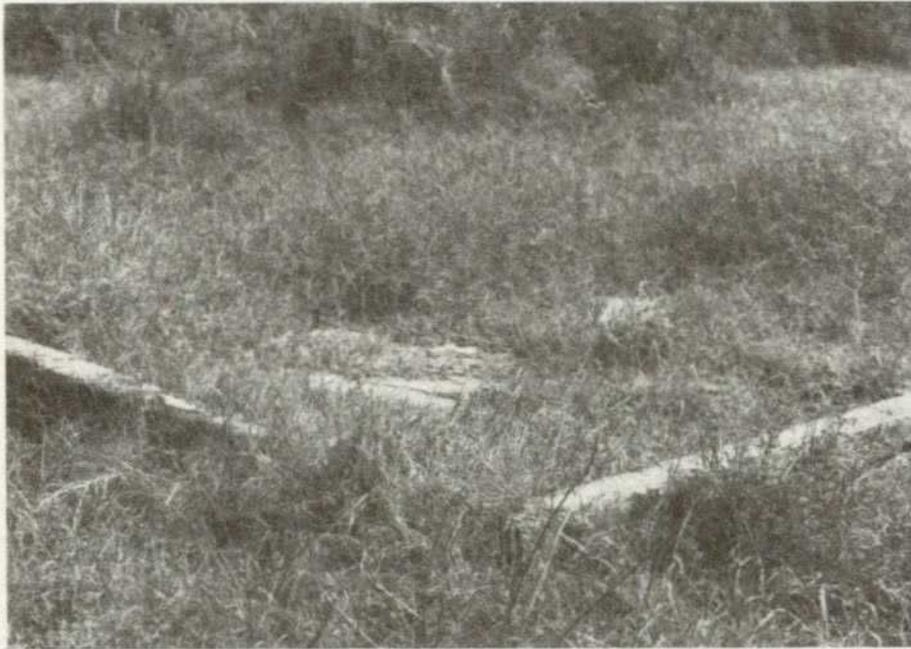


Illustration 180. Concrete salt pans along shore, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 181. Animal pen, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP. NPS photo, 1989.

2. Hōlua

This slide (Map 4), which Emory thought appeared to be incomplete and possibly designed only for practice runs, is an important park resource as an illustration of royal pastimes in aboriginal and historic-period Hawai'i. The chiefly sport of *hōlua*, consisting of coasting or sliding downhill on a sled, without benefit of snow or ice, has been alluded to previously. The Reverend Hiram Bingham presents a highly descriptive account of this leisurely pursuit, fraught with intense excitement, high expectations, and not a little danger:

A broad, smooth furrow is made from the height, down a steep declivity, and extended a distance on the plain, less and less inclined. This furrow is lined or smoothly covered with a thin layer of grass, to prevent too much friction. The gambling part, and the excitement of the game, is much like that of a foot or horse race. The game is thus performed. In the presence of the multitude, the player takes in both hands, his long, very narrow and light built sled, made for this purpose alone, the curved ends of the runners being upward and forward, as he holds it, to begin the race. Standing erect, at first, a little back from the head of the prepared slippery path, he runs a few rods to it, to acquire the greatest momentum, carrying his sled, then pitches himself, head foremost, down the declivity, dexterously throwing his body, full length, upon his vehicle, as on a surf-board. The sled, keeping its rail or grassway, courses with velocity down the steep, and passes off into the plain, bearing its proud, but *prone* and headlong rider, who scarcely values his neck more than the prize at stake. Gliding with accelerated velocity for a time, then more and more slowly, it at length stops, and another quickly succeeds in the same track. The party that reaches the greater distance the greatest number of times, wins the prize, or takes up the wager. Much time was spent in such games before the introduction of schools for the elevation of the nation.¹⁷⁴

Lucien Young, a lieutenant on board the USS *Boston* stationed at Honolulu during the period of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1892-93, also mentioned the sport in his notes on his travels. He stated the sled runners were

from twelve to fourteen feet long, and two or three inches deep, made of hard wood, highly polished, and curved at the forward end. They were set up about four inches apart and fastened together by a lot of cross-pieces, on which two long tough sticks were fastened and connected by wicker-work.¹⁷⁵

The base of the *hōlua* course, carefully aligned down the steep, natural incline of a hill and extending onto the level plain below, consisted of rocks overlaid with packed earth and then layers of *pili* or some other grass. Runners of the sleds were coated with *kukui*-nut oil to make them slippery and increase their speed.¹⁷⁶ De Freycinet was told that the tracks Kamehameha built were sown with fine grass, which, when dried out by the hot sun, enabled the sport to

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.

commence.¹⁷⁷ E.S.C. Handy describes the tracks as about eighteen feet wide and ranging from 150 to several hundred yards in length. He also notes that this sport was practiced only in Hawai'i and New Zealand, but the latter's sleds were more like toboggans. Only one complete ancient sled exists, in the Bishop Museum in Honolulu.¹⁷⁸

Other *hōlua* exist in the Kona area. The Keauhou Bay *hōlua* on the west coast of Hawai'i Island is the largest and best preserved resource of this type in the state. Extremely long (nearly 3,000 feet) as well as very steep and wide, it "served as the 'Olympic Games' *hōlua* of the Hawaiian people."¹⁷⁹ The structure has been designated a National Historic Landmark. In areas where natural grassy hillsides did not exist, specially constructed elevated, causeway-type runways were built over hilly, rocky terrain, such as that found in areas of the Kona Coast.¹⁸⁰

Five *hōlua* have been identified in the Hōnaunau area, two of them outside the park on the north shore of Hōnaunau Bay. Stokes found one near Miana Point in 1919 that he thought had been a practice slide. He reported the location of another one, since lost, near the head of the bay behind the village. The remaining three are all within the park. One is a small slide in the village of Ki'ilae that was discovered in 1966 and whose upper end extends outside the park boundaries. About 300 feet long, the track varies from five to eight feet in width and has a 10 to 15 degree slope. The longest slide is located in central Kēōkea near the north end of the Keanae'e *pali*. Measuring more than 1,200 feet long, the track reaches more than fifteen feet in width at the upper end. The steepest point has a 20 to 30 degree slope. The 1871 trail crosses the lower end of the slide, which had a long slope toward the ocean, while the upper end extends outside the park boundaries. The third one, which Stokes also found in 1919, is located near the boundary of Kēōkea and Hōnaunau *ahupua'a*, behind the refuge.¹⁸¹

Edmund Ladd excavated and stabilized this last *hōlua* in 1968. He found it to be well preserved, with a length of almost 580 feet and a width varying from 5 to 15 feet. The slide was built like a roller coaster, with dips. The archeologists found grave platforms abutting the base of the slide's side walls. At its lowest end, about 80 feet from the 1871 trail, another grave feature was found.¹⁸² Ladd concluded that Ellis did not refer to or describe these slides near the *pu'uhonua* because they had not yet been constructed. He deduced from Malo that the game was most popular between 1793 and 1840, probably extending into the 1830s as a sport enjoyed by both commoners and chiefs after 1819. He believes the *hōlua* in the park were built after 1823 and used until the 1830s, after which time the side walls were utilized as parts of grave platforms. He concurred with Emory that the slide might not have been finished originally.¹⁸³

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.

3. House Lots

At Wainoni (Map 1), east of the ponds near the refuge, Emory found a paved house site in an area set aside for a school in the 1850s and supporting a Protestant church in 1889. South of Wainoni (Map 2) a wall paralleled the 1871 trail before turning west to connect with some *kuleana* walls Stokes found in 1919. Within the large area enclosed by the walls, Emory noted an old spring (Keone'ele) used for watering cattle and another one (Kolea) noted in 1919 but now obliterated. Also in this area were ancient terrace platforms, house platforms, walls, graves, and other remnants of house lots. On the shore at Pae'iki, Emory found several *papamū* and a canoe landing.¹⁸⁴ The reader is referred to Emory's report for more details on landownership in this area.

North Kēōkea *Ahupua'a*

1. Boundary Markers, Platforms, House Lots, and Graves

Near the shore on the boundary line between Hōnaunau and Kēōkea (Map 2), Emory found a petroglyph that he surmised might have been a boundary marker. Walking east along the boundary he found a large stone platform, possibly originally a foundation for houses but serving then as a cemetery and containing one concrete tomb and two other platforms. A little farther east was a natural lava column, named Pohakuloa, that functioned as a boundary marker. Much farther inland (Map 4), across the 1871 trail, and just to the south of the *ahupua'a* boundary, Emory noted a high wall circling a lava outcrop and forming an oval enclosure. Kekahuna believed this to be a sweet potato plot enclosed to prevent goats entering. Several hundred feet south of that was a stone platform lying against a lava bank containing a small cave in which a child's skeleton was found.¹⁸⁵

Returning to the shore and proceeding inland again, Emory noted several house lots, the first one just east of the old beach road being that of Unea Akana (noted on Map 2 as "Maile Aona"). The site held the stone and plaster walls of an old house, a concrete cistern, a pavement marking an ancient house site, and a pig pen. To the south was the lot of Clara De Mello with a modern dwelling, two cattle pens to the east, as well as a wall connecting with the wall parallel to the 1871 trail. A concrete trough there was dated 1945. A windmill had been erected over a well (Waikulu) and nearby were an abandoned redwood water tank and pumphouse. (According to Frances Jackson, the De Mello family was paying taxes in Kēōkea by 1900, evidently for property along the coast including a saloon, some animals, some banana land, and improvements.) South of the De Mello lot lay remains of an ancient house platform and an animal pen. Inland were

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.

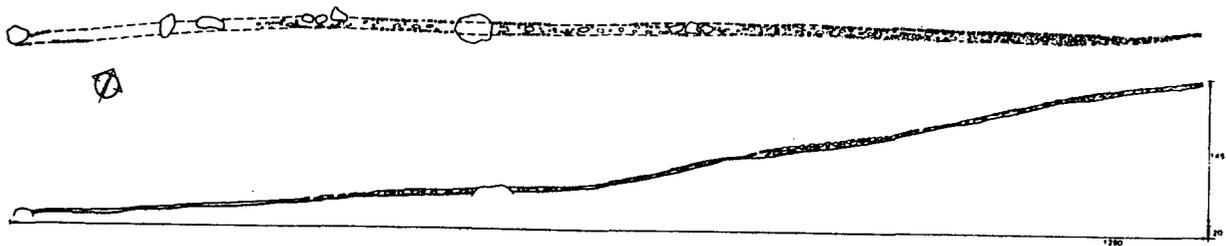


Fig. 15.8. THE LONG HŌLUA SLIDE AT KĒŌKEA (After Emory 1957).

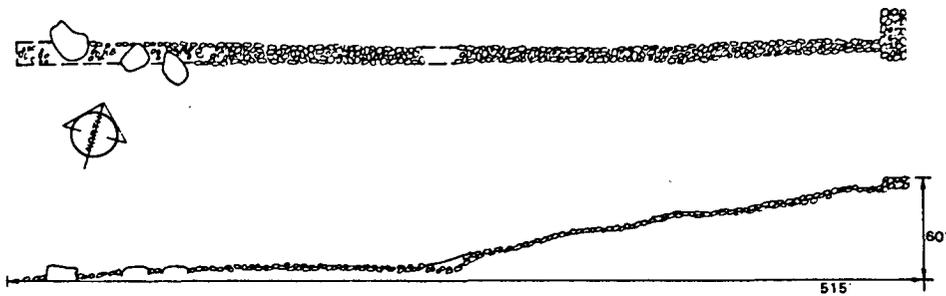


Fig. 14.5. RUINS OF SHORT HŌLUA SLIDE BACK OF HŌNAUNAU (After Stokes 1957).

Illustration 183. *Hōlua* in Pu'u'honua o Hōnaunau NHP. Top: Figure 15.8 in Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 236. Bottom: Figure 14.5 in Stokes, "Early Hawaiian Life," p. 220.



Illustration 184. View of De Mello beach house from beach road. From Devine et al., *Appraisal Report*, p. 30.

graves and wall remains. A house platform near the 1871 trail that also had animal pens had been used in 1945 by the U.S. Army as a firing range.¹⁸⁶

2. Oma'o Heiau

Emory described this *heiau* platform he found in 1957 (Map 2) as

50 by 60 ft, filled with heavy stones, and remarkable for the natural rock column which rises 10 ft above the pavement midway between the sides at the north end. The column is of lava, and has been roughly shaped into rectangular form. It occupies the position of the *lananu'u* (oracle tower) of *heiaus*, and would seem to have served the same purpose. The surface of the platform is now in rough condition, but smaller stones were observed at the south end, a facing across the platform at 20 ft from the north end and 1 ft higher, and a short section of facing along the west side framing a rough mound on its west, which may be a burial mound.

A pit in a jog at the northwest corner may have been a sacred refuse pit, or a pen, or the enclosure of a well. Naluahine, 95 years of age, gave us as the name of this heiau, Ma'o, which he said was the name of a bird, later he called it 'Oma'o. Panui, of equal age, knew of the *heiau*, but said he did not know the name, and doubted if Naluahine really did. . . . Stokes, in 1906, noted this Keokea structure, but obtained no information about it.¹⁸⁷

The platform actually measures 62 feet by 45 feet.¹⁸⁸ Oma'o is smaller than Alahaka, but is composed of larger rocks. Its builders used the rocks of a volcanic squeeze-up as the basic building foundation for the solid rock platform. Alahaka, built with *pao* construction, has a longer, wider, and higher platform built with smaller rocks. Whether this difference is a result of different construction periods is unknown. Pacific Area (NPS) Archeologist Gary Somers suggests it is likely that the materials available in the immediate vicinity, that is, large squeeze-up rocks for Oma'o and columnar basalt for Alahaka, determined construction techniques.¹⁸⁹ Altogether seven features were identified on the *heiau*, with the dominant feature being the basalt megalith, or natural rock column, that was apparently shaped from a lava squeeze-up or pressure ridge.¹⁹⁰ The megalith occupying the position of the *'anu'u* makes this *heiau* unique. It is clearly visible from the 1871 trail and offers numerous possibilities for interpretation, especially in comparing its construction to that of Alahaka.

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.

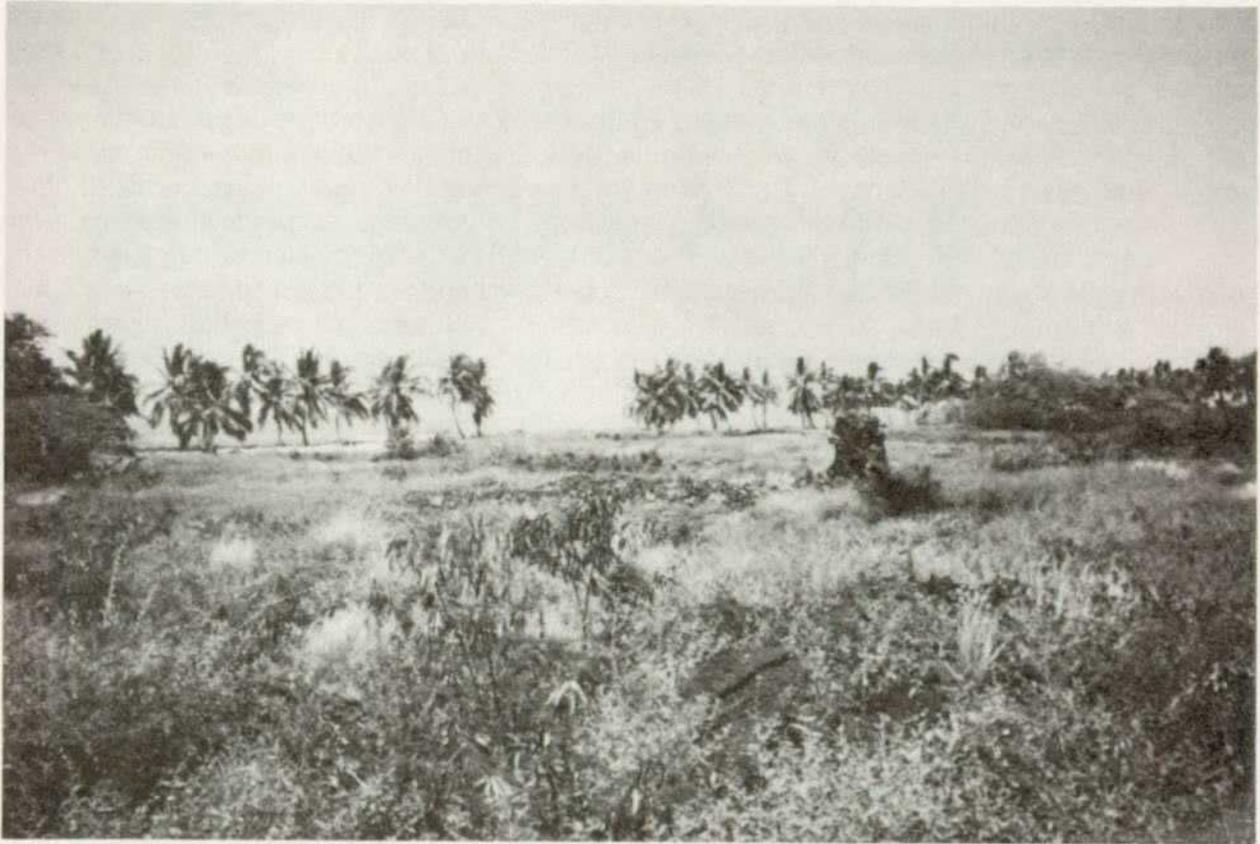


Illustration 186. Oma'o Heiau, view to northwest. Note basalt megalith. NPS photo, 1989.

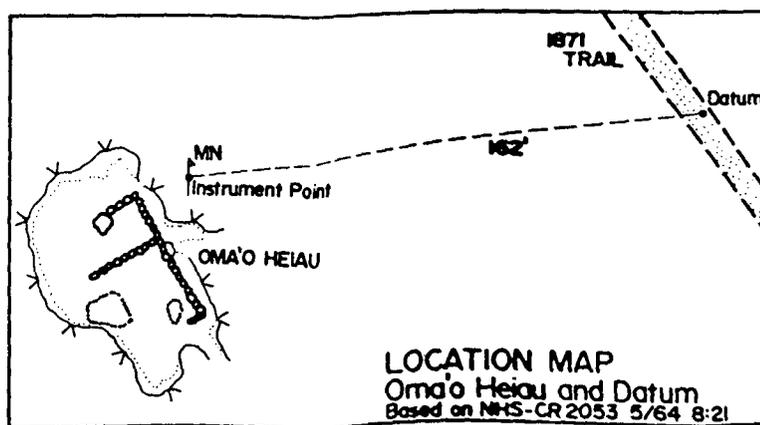
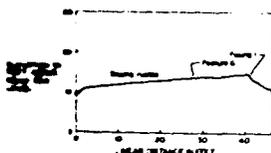
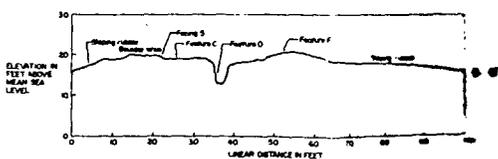
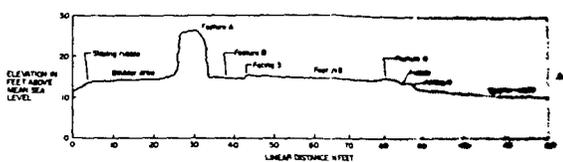
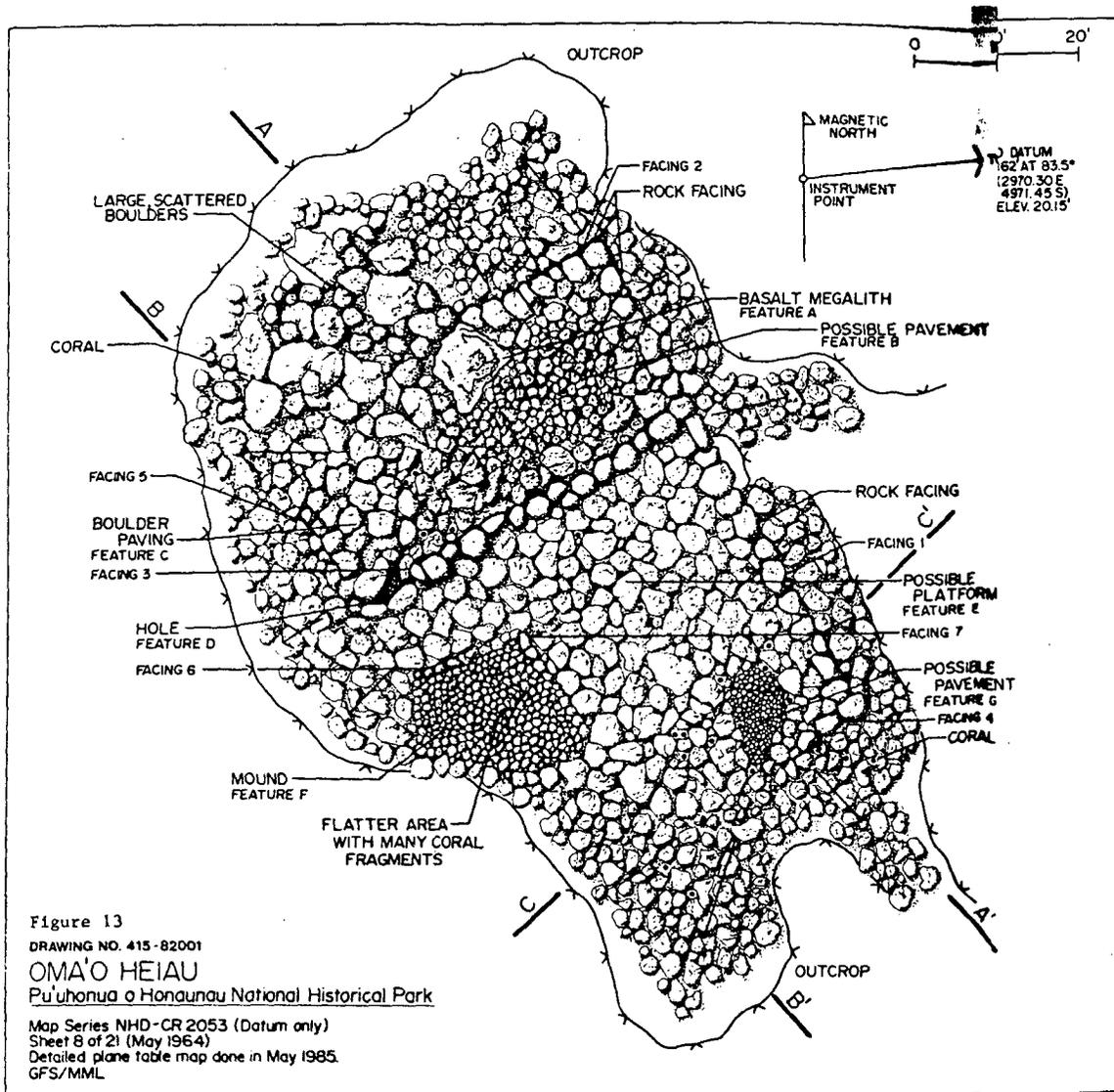


Illustration 187. Ground plan of Oma'o Heiau. Figure 13 in Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau*, p. 21.

South of Oma'o Heiau Emory noted the walls of a large enclosure that contained only one small paved house platform.¹⁹¹

Central Kēōkea Ahupua'a

1. House Lot

Returning to the shore from Oma'o Heiau, Emory found a large modern enclosure with attached corral in its southeast corner (Map 5). Surrounded by the enclosure were a terraced house platform, a well, and concrete salt vats, which can still be seen today.¹⁹² Just to the west, near the shore, lay a rectangular stone platform probably originally a fishermen's shrine. Emory stated the adjoining platform and enclosure might have been quarters for a *kahuna pule*.¹⁹³

2. Keawe House Site

Southeast of this enclosure lies Keawe's House Site (Map 5), an important resource both because of its age and because it shows the layout of a chief's residence, including spaces for a *hale mua* where the men ate and worshipped; a *hale noa*, the family sleeping house; and a *hale 'aina*, where the women ate. Remains of a canoe shed lie between two of the house platforms, probably used for storage. Artifacts found showed some historic-period use of the site. One informant told Emory that the occupant of the site in the 1870s had built the large goat pen northwest of Alahaka Heiau. Another told Emory this was originally the residence of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi (Keawe I), and was later occupied by Kiwala'o. Just south of the complex is a small rectangular platform identified as a fishermen's shrine.¹⁹⁴

'Ilio Point contained an indentation on its southern edge. In about eight feet of water Emory found a stone formation resembling a dog. An informant told him its name was Kēōkea, hence the name of the *ahupua'a*, although this is questionable. The formation is connected with Hawaiian legend.¹⁹⁵ From Ki'i Point the shore curves in to form Alahaka Bay. A lava arch here is referred to as Ka-wai-o-Pele (the water of Pele). A trail leading from the end of the beach road east toward the 1871 trail passes between the north end of Keawe's House Site and the south wall of the enclosure to its north. Between these house sites and the 1871 trail, Emory found the foundation remains of a stone and mortar chapel and another *papamū*.¹⁹⁶

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.

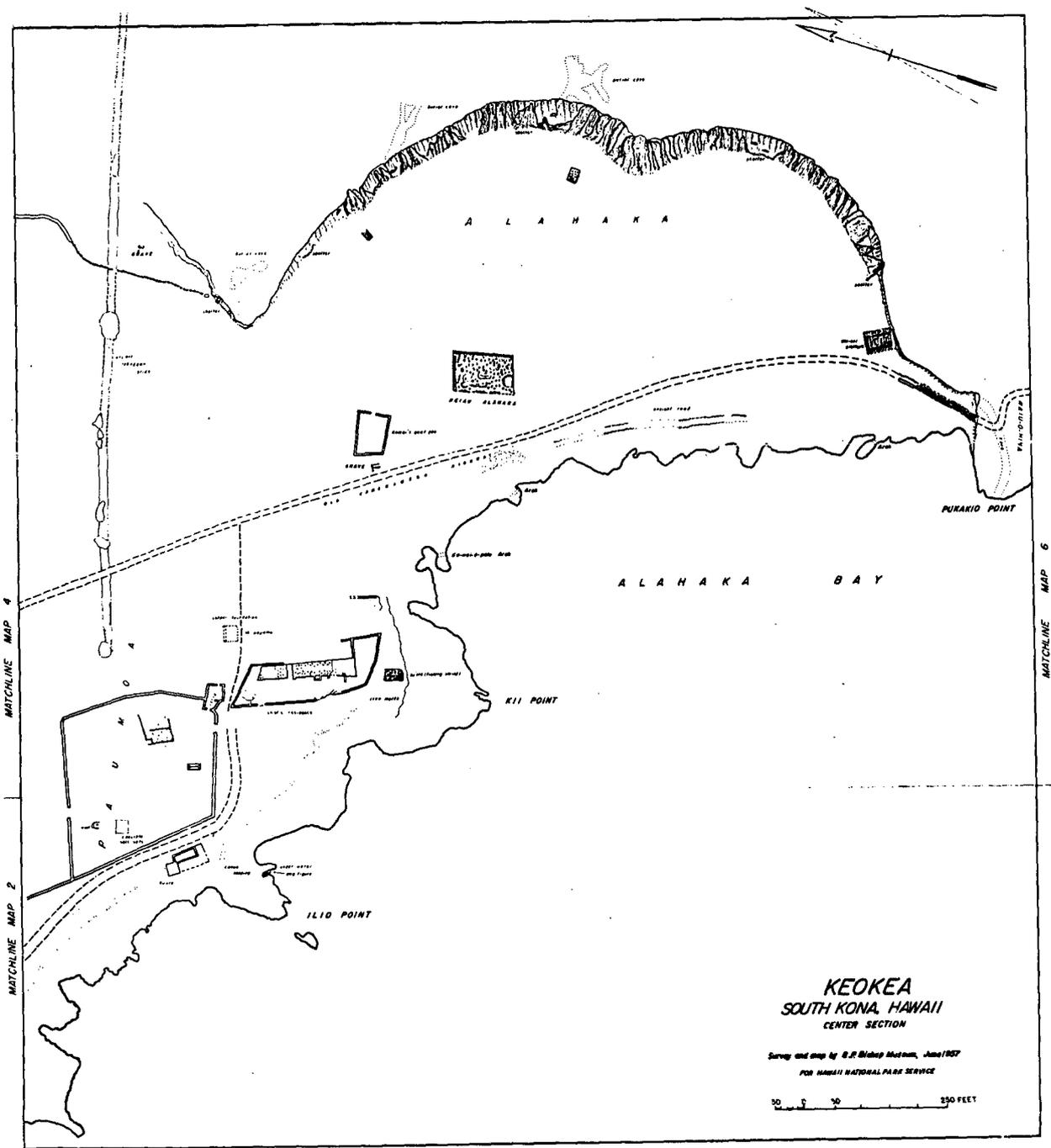


Illustration 188. Map 5, "Keokea . . . Center Section." Survey and map by Bishop Museum, 1957. From Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i."

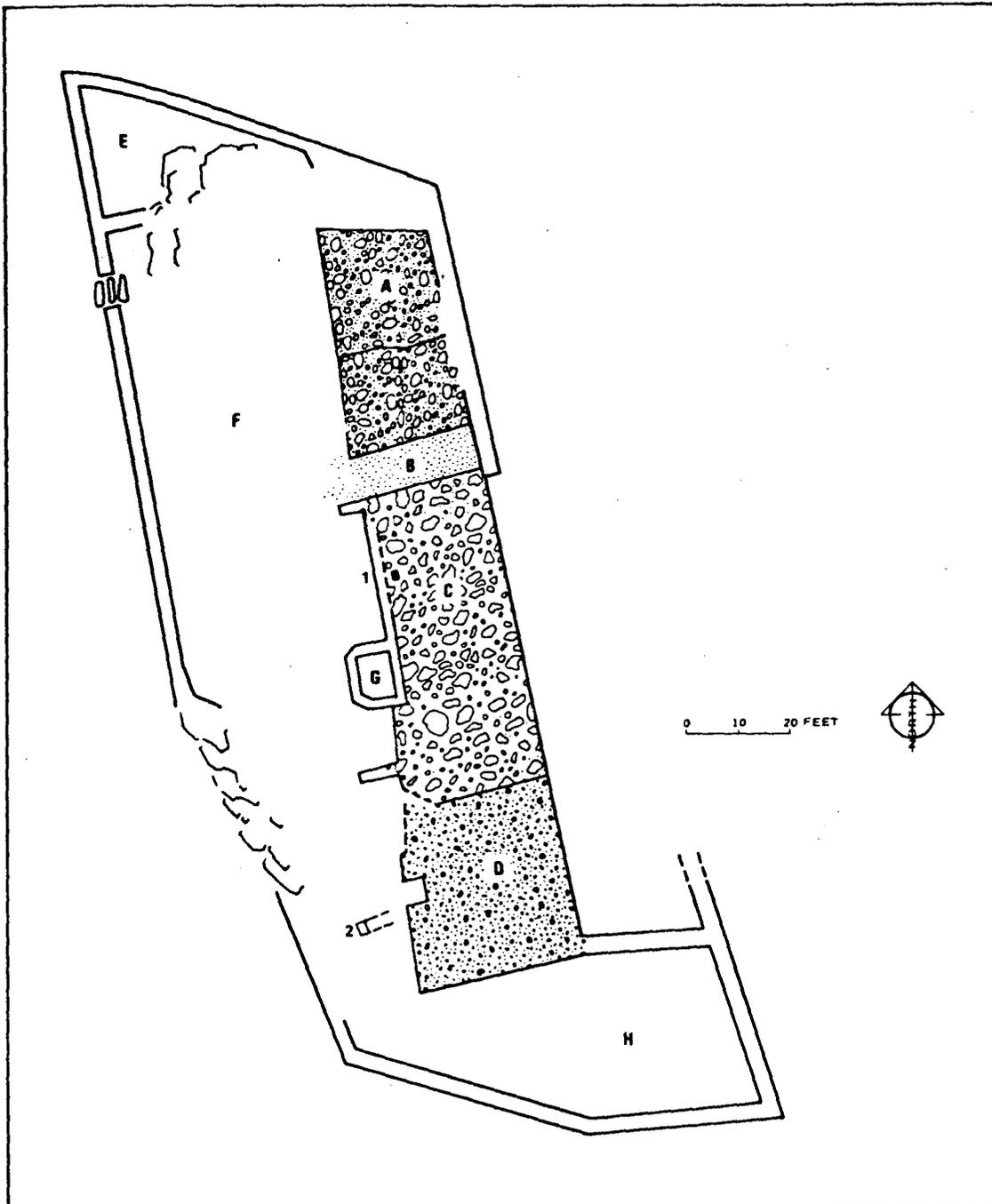


Fig. 15.3. PLAN OF DWELLING SITE OF KING KEAWE, PAUMOA, KĒŌKEA (After Emory 1957). (A) platform paved with pebbles, probably the location of the women's eating house (*hale 'āina*), the north section is higher and more finely paved than the south; (B) corridor between platforms, sanded, probably place 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.

Illustration 189. Ground plan of King Keawe's House Site. Figure 15.3 in Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 231.

3. 1871 Trail

a) Remains

This trail (Map 5) runs from the end of Hōnaunau Bay to the south end of the Keanae'e Cliff, which it ascends by the stone Alahaka ramp, and then continues south toward Ho'okena. Through the park the raised bed of the trail is about ten feet wide and paved occasionally with coral, sand, and pebbles. Emory was sure the trail was modified to accommodate horseback travel, but noted remnants of an earlier alignment at its southern end approaching the Alahaka ramp. (High surfs from Hurricane Waiki demolished this section in September 1992.) This route is referred to on Land Commission Awards of 1853 as *Alanui Aupuni* (Road of the Government).¹⁹⁷

b) Hawaiian Trail System

A short discussion of the early Hawaiian trail system was presented earlier in the Kaloko-Honokōhau section of this report. The author will repeat only that early routes on Hawai'i Island were built for foot traffic in the pre-horse days. Canoes were used for interisland and intervillage coastal travel, while trails within the *ahupua'a* provided access between the uplands and the coast. An ancient coastal trail circumvented the island. Ladd likens the situation to a wagon wheel, the mountains being the hub, the seacoast the rim, and the *mauka-makai* trails the spokes.¹⁹⁸

Smooth, waterworn slabs of rock served as steppingstones over rough places. Causeways were not common features of Hawaiian trails until historic times. Prehistorically they were used occasionally to cross low spots. Usually they indicate modification or construction in historic times. With the introduction of horses, old trails were accommodated to their use and new trails were also constructed. Modifications to existing ancient foot trails consisted of adding curbstones; new construction entailed building straighter trails marked with curbstones or "two-horse" curbed trails.¹⁹⁹

c) Types of Trails in the Park

Russell Apple's extensive study of trails has been previously cited in this report. He has designated five types of Hawaiian trails, all of which are represented within this park:

Type A (foot trails), prehistory to 1819

Type AB (modified trails for horses closely following the prehistoric foot routes; usually with curbstones and ramps added), 1820-1840

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.*

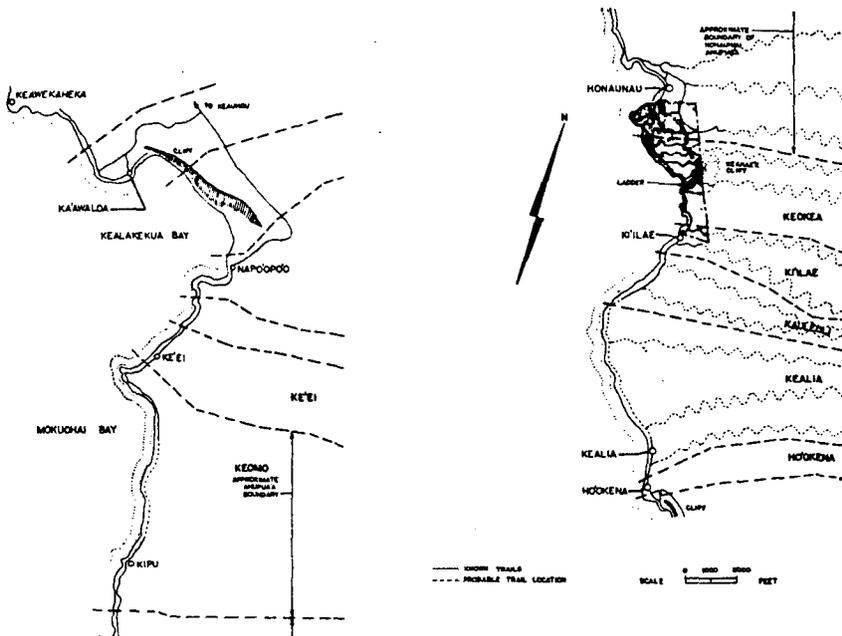


FIGURE 7.—Type "A" trails, about 1750, used for foot traffic only. Numerous coast-inland trails and *ahupua'a* have been omitted. Shaded area represents the present location of the City of Refuge National Historical Park. Left, upper half; right, lower half.

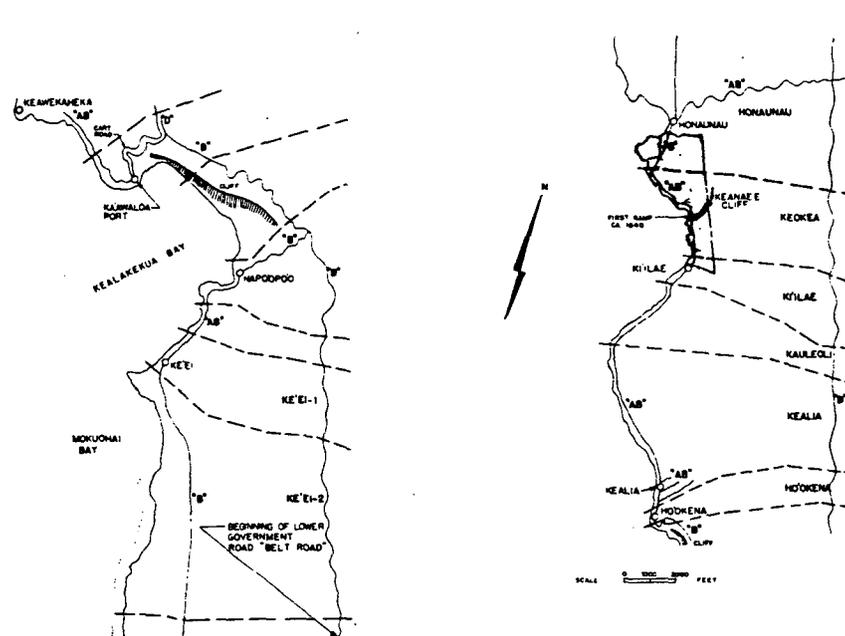


FIGURE 8.—Type "AB" and "B" trails in the Hōnaunau area used for foot and horse traffic by 1850 (this date is given instead of 1840 because with so little documentation for this early historical period in Hawaii to go on, estimates made in this paper of the time when changes took place may have been 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.

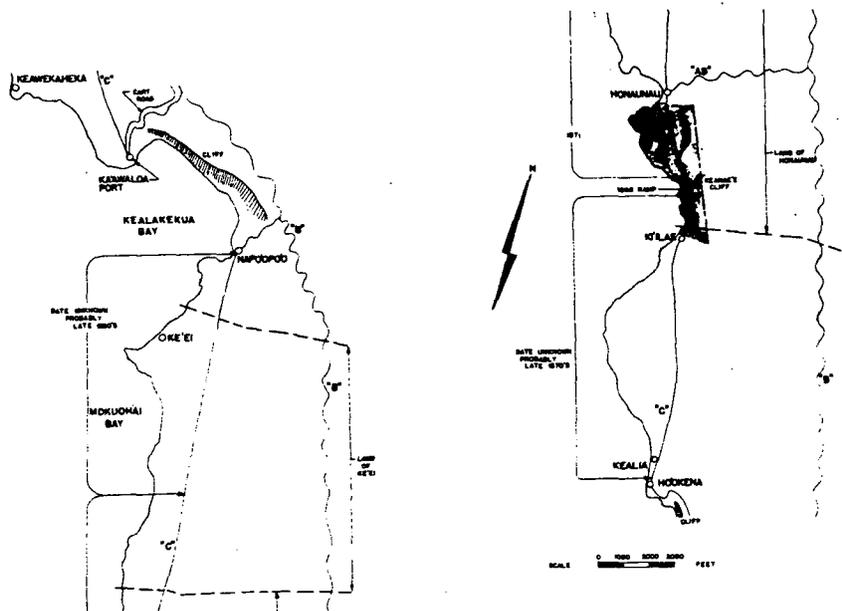


FIGURE 9.—Type "C" trails in use about 1875 for foot and horse traffic. Shaded area represents present location of the City of Refuge National Historical Park. Left, upper half; right, lower half.

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

Type B (new horse trails – one- and two-horse width with curbstones), 1820-1840

Type C (new two-horse trails – wider and straighter with curbstones), 1841 to 1918

Type D (Type C improved for wheeled vehicles), after 1918.²⁰⁰

During his archaeological investigations at Hōnaunau in 1919, Stokes mapped and discussed several Type A trails within the present park boundary. Many of them either have been obliterated or are so well covered by vegetation that later searchers could not find them.²⁰¹

d) Trails Around the *Pu'uhonua*

Before the abolition of the *kapu* system in 1819, the early foot trail system in the Hōnaunau area, which was a semi-permanent home of the Hawaiian kings, had to be modified to honor the requirements of its prohibitions. As mentioned, the southern shore of Kapuwai Cove and particularly Keone'ele inlet were part of the royal palace grounds. This forced commoners going south to detour around this area, passing along the shore in the morning and behind the village later in the day to prevent their shadows from falling on sacred ground. Apple surmises that the "morning" trail used by Hōnaunau residents was probably the same route used by people seeking refuge, who had to swim across Hōnaunau Bay from Puu o Ka'u and then veer over to the shoreline. Travelers going south then swung around the west end of the *pu'uhonua's* south wall. (Originally, it is said, this wall reached clear to the sea and contained wide entrances facing south. Probably the shoreline path would have used one of those entrances.)²⁰² Apple believes that these early foot trails must have routed travelers around the top end of the *hōlua*, because commoners would not have been allowed to cross royal sled tracks. By means of aerial photos, he thought he could distinguish some early trail locations on the upper slopes.²⁰³

e) Beach Trail System

Apple found remains of the original prehistoric foot trail along the beach, which had been modified for horse travel probably between 1820 and 1840. The trail follows the shore just above the high tide line. This led Apple to believe that the present beach road south of the *pu'uhonua* lies on top of, or very close to, the prehistoric alignment. This AB trail, susceptible to inundation by high seas, was probably abandoned after 1871 when the inland trail was improved.²⁰⁴ Stokes had also found parallel trails leading to the Alahaka ramp, and Apple also located them. One was the older, curbstone-lined beach trail (AB), found by Apple to be much impacted by heavy seas, lack of use, and heavy grazing by cattle and goats. Next to it lies the curbed, two-horse 1871 trail

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.

(Type C), often incorrectly referred to as the "Old Kamehameha Highway," the "King's Trail," the "King's Highway," and the "government trail."²⁰⁵

Apple believes that after the abolition of the *kapu* system and its associated strict rules of behavior, the *pu'uhonua* area no longer served as part of the beach trail system. Instead commoners crossed the beach around Kapuwai Cove, turned inland of the Great Wall, and joined the prehistoric foot beach trail near the *ahupua'a* boundary between Hōnaunau and Kēōkea, approximately the route of an existing road.²⁰⁶

f) Trails Change to Accommodate Horse Travel

The introduction of horses to Hawai'i in 1803 precipitated other changes to the trail system. Apple thinks that probably Kuakini, Governor of Hawai'i Island from 1819 to 1844, who was very aggressive in building roads with prison labor, took the initiative in modifying A trails into AB trails for horse travel. This often involved throwing out the steppingstones and adding curbstones, probably at the suggestion of John Young. (Curbstones enabled animals to follow a path without the rider's constant guidance.) In addition, new B trails were constructed, designed to accommodate horses and following a more direct line from point to point rather than following along the coast. These AB and B trails were used for only a short period and were replaced by C trails that were designed specifically for horses.²⁰⁷

g) Inland Trail Ascends Keanae's Cliff

Both the AB beach trail and the later C trail from Hōnaunau led toward the lowest point of the Keanae's Cliff, referred to as Alahaka, just north of Ki'ilae Village. According to local tradition, in prehistoric times travelers had to use a ladder at this point to ascend the cliff and continue on south. Apple found documentary evidence indicating that the earliest ramp there, probably much narrower and steeper than the present one, was built between 1820 and 1840 under the direction of Governor Kuakini. The ascent was made wider and more substantial (its present form) in 1868, having been the scene of numerous accidents.²⁰⁸ At the top of the ramp, Apple noted traces of the long abandoned prehistoric foot trail that took off from the ladder. The later B and C trails veered to the right at the top of the ramp.²⁰⁹

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.

h) Inland Trail Improved

Wheeled vehicles did not enter Hōnaunau until 1918, travel in that area continuing to be by horses, mules, and donkeys as well as by foot. Although the area remained somewhat isolated due to the lack of a cart road, better trails continued to be built for mounted traffic.²¹⁰ In 1866 Mark Twain traveled a "road" from the *pu'uhonua* to the Keanae'e Cliff, probably the B and AB trail system south begun after abolition of the *kapu*. He described the route as a "raised macadamized road of uniform width . . . paved with flat stones. . . ." Saying its construction was attributed to Kamehamea, he likened it to ancient paved Roman highways, although he did not describe it as the straight roadbed that came later. Apple surmises that either just the AB portion or both the AB and B portions of the trail were in the condition described in the mid-1860s.²¹¹

Shortly after Twain's visit, the Alahaka ramp was repaired to its present state. Between 1850 and 1863, construction began on a type C trail from Nāpo'opo'o, on the south shore of Kealakekua Bay, that would join an earlier type B trail on into Hōnaunau Bay. From there, the route south would have involved following the B trail inland of the *pu'uhonua* to its intersection with the coastal AB trail, which could be followed to the Alahaka ramp and on south. Probably none of the B or AB sections of this trail system were in as good shape or as suitable for mounts as the newer type C section near Nāpo'opo'o. It was evident that the Nāpo'opo'o C trail needed to be extended straight through to the improved Alahaka ramp. The new section of road from Hōnaunau Bay to the ramp was completed in 1871, and the AB trail leading to the ramp was abandoned. Apple believes that the entire project in 1871 consisted of building this section of new road from Hōnaunau Bay to the ramp and improving the B trail north out of Hōnaunau to meet the Nāpo'opo'o C trail. This C trail within the park has a built-up causeway over a low area just inland of the Great Wall, which the Park Service has restored. The road runs straight from the causeway to the Alahaka ramp and then in a generally straight line to Ho'okena, bypassing coastal settlements.²¹²

i) Stabilization Work on Alahaka Ramp, 1963

Edmund Ladd performed the archeological excavations and Gordon Vivian did the stabilization work on the Alahaka horse ramp in 1963. This project consisted of rebuilding a portion of trail near the top of the ramp that had collapsed and been washed away during earthquake activity in 1951.²¹³ Ladd found no evidence of the ca. 1840-period ramp. He surmised it was probably a short, narrow, steep incline to the first ledge, arriving level with the opening of a large lava tube, and that the remainder of the ascent involved scrambling from ledge to ledge to the top. A former county supervisor told Ladd this was known as the "One Foot Out Trail." Cowboys feared the

210. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

211. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 56-57, 68.

213. Ladd, "The 1868 Alahaka Ramp," p. 192.



Illustration 191. View to south along 1871 trail. NPS photo, 1989.

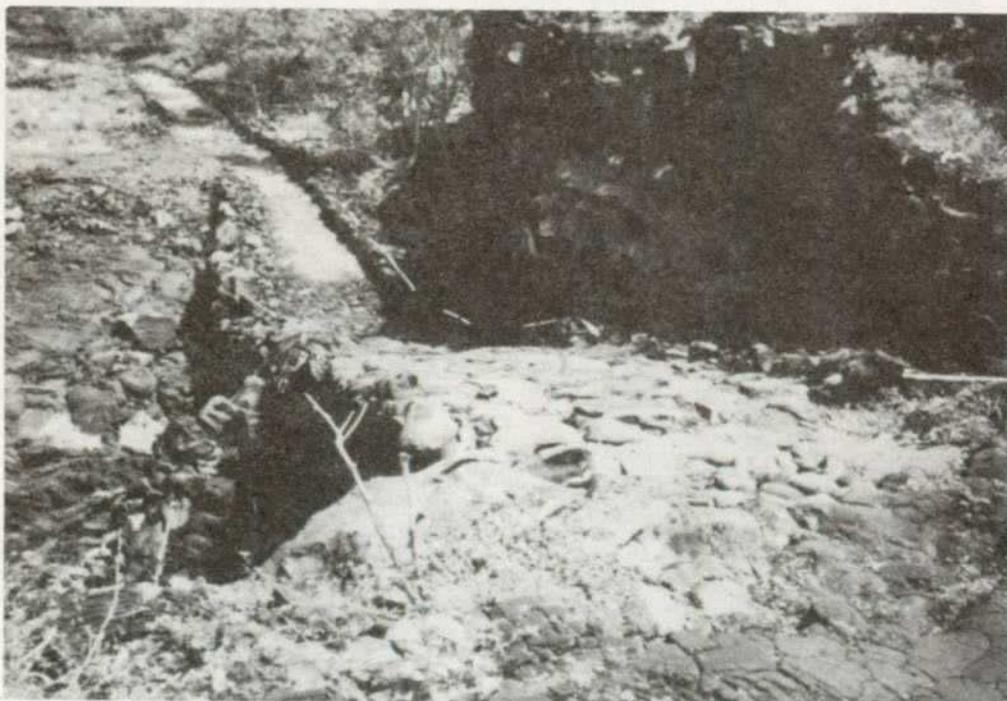


Illustration 192. View of 1871 trail from top of Alahaka ramp. NPS photo, 1989.

hazards associated with the trail and always kept one foot out of the stirrup so they could jump off if their horses were in danger of falling.²¹⁴

4. *Hōlua*

As mentioned earlier, the longest *hōlua* in the park (1,290 feet) terminates behind a house platform in the Paumoa area (Map 5). Its beginning point is outside the park boundary back of the *pali*, and the 1871 trail crosses its lower section. Emory found the upper part of the slide almost intact and the traceable boundaries of the lower stretch.²¹⁵

5. Keanae'e Cliff Burial Caves and Shelters

Another area of interment in the park is the Keanae'e Cliff section (Map 5), which contains several caves used for disposal of bodies. Emory noted three major burial caves and several shelters. William Ellis, proceeding on his 1823 journey after a restless night in a leaky house at Keokea inhabited by a group of boisterous natives intoxicated on 'awa, was extremely impressed by the "singular appearance of the lava:"

As we passed along this vaulted avenue, called by the natives *Keanae'e*, we beheld a number of caverns and tunnels, from some of which streams of lava had flowed. The mouths of others being walled up with stones, we supposed were used as sepulchres.

Mats, spread upon the slabs of lava, calabashes, etc. indicated some of them to be the habitations of men; others, near the openings, were used as workshops, where women were weaving mats, or beating cloth. Some, we also saw, used as storehouses or depositories of sandal wood.²¹⁶

The first shelter site Emory mentions is at the north end of the cliff where it begins to recede. There the mouth of a lava tube forms a large natural shelter reached by two entrances. The floor of the shelter was paved with waterworn stones, and various artifacts and animal bones indicated its early use. A small, walled-off lava tube leading from it held the ancient skeletal remains of at least twelve persons. Farther around the bend to the south, Emory found a small shelter with a platform and wall in front. Farther south he found another shelter behind a small, primarily natural, platform. Above this was a twelve-foot-deep cave containing five infant burials in gourd containers. A small stone cairn stood above the cave near the edge of the cliff.

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.



Illustration 193. Alahaka Heiau remains. NPS photo, 1989.

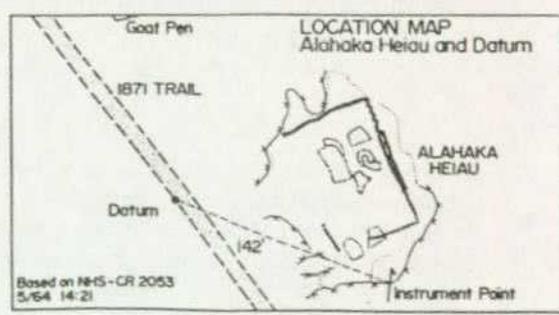
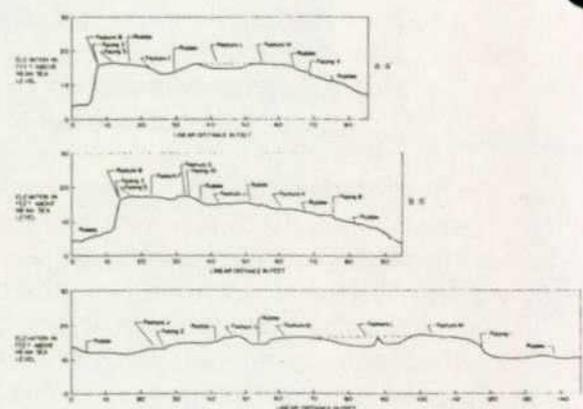
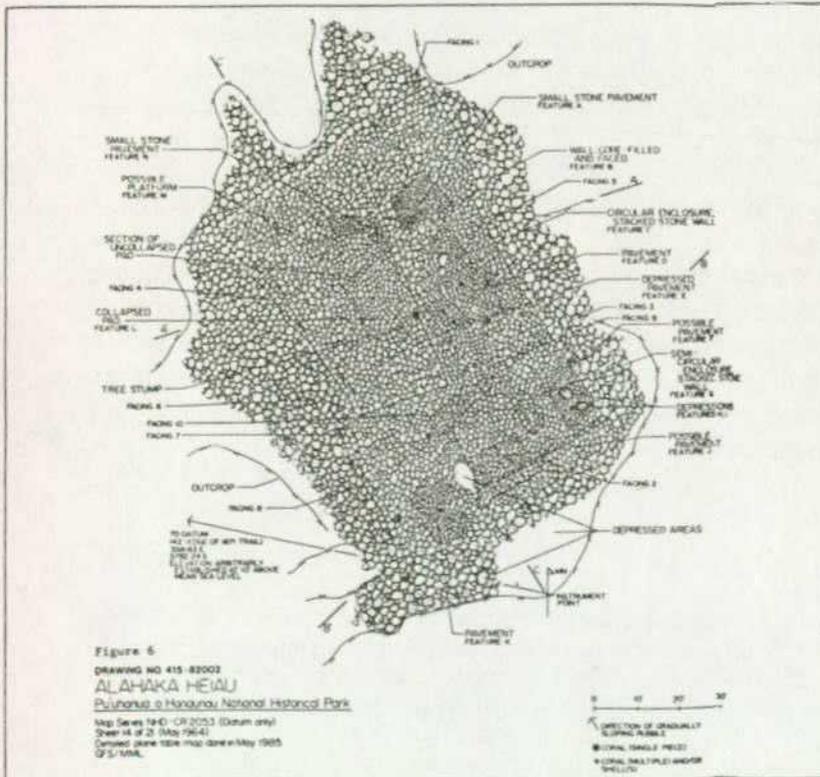


Illustration 194. Ground plan of Alahaka Heiau. Figure 6 in Somers, *Mapping and Stabilization of Alahaka and Oma'o Heiau*, p. 8.

Emory found two other important burial caves, one where the cliff began to dip lower that consisted of a walled entrance leading into a wide tube in whose walls shelves had been built. The burials of at least twelve individuals laid on the shelves dated from prehistoric to historical times. Southwest of this cave was one thought to have originally contained prehistoric burials but whose heavy use up until the turn of the century seemed to have obscured earlier evidence. Modern coffins there had been burned, the cave showing signs of intrusion and vandalism. Emory noted that natural shelters all along this cliff, formed by arching lava flows, offered ideal workshop areas because the shade and dampness facilitated working with plant materials. At the upper end of the Alahaka ramp, a shelter opening in the cliff leads into a lava tube called Waiu-o-Hina. One hundred sixty feet long, two to six feet high, and varying in width from ten to fifteen feet, it emerges in a hanging entrance in the cliff about thirty to forty feet above the ocean at Pukakio Point.²¹⁷

Within the first few years of the park's establishment, archeological field excavations and salvage projects took place in connection with the park's long-range planning and development program. Recovered skeletal material was initially placed in a shed in the park. This was acceptable neither to preservationists nor to the public concerned about ancestral remains. Another solution was sought that would meet the requirements of safe, permanent storage as well as the emotional needs of the Hawaiian people.

In 1966 a shelter cave in the Keanae'e Cliff, identified as Cave C58, was decided upon as a repository for skeletal material. Previous occupation in front of the cave was evidenced by several low stone terraces, a low stone fence, burned areas, and scattered animal bones.²¹⁸ Salvage work on the site suggested that the shelter predated the European contact period, functioned as a workshop, and was abandoned soon after Ellis's visit.²¹⁹

6. Alahaka Heiau

The best known *heiau* within the park are the four located in the *pu'uhonua* enclosure: the "Old Heiau," 'Ale'ale'a Heiau, Hale-o-Keawe, and Hale-o-Papa, all of which have been investigated archeologically.

Two other *heiau* exist in Kēōkea *ahupua'a* that are very important although little studied – Oma'o Heiau, previously described, and Alahaka Heiau (Map 5). In 1985 NPS Pacific Archeologist Gary F. Somers and Cartographer M. Melia Lane cleared vegetation from the structures and mapped them. Stabilization work on Alahaka consisted of rethinking the wall and stabilizing the loose rubble at the base of the breaks to prevent slumping.

217. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," 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.

During his 1930 survey of Hawaiian structures along the west coast of Hawai'i Island, John Reinecke found at Alahaka a platform measuring about 95 by 60 feet surrounded by vertical walls from 5 to 7½ feet high. No individual platforms or other divisions could be seen on the surface. Reinecke surmised that many of the platform stones had been taken to construct a large goat pen that stood 110 feet northwest of the platform. In terms of construction techniques, Reinecke observed that

The lava in this neighborhood is of columnar basalt and the vertical walls have been built by laying the columns on their side, with the original fracture outward. . . . Thinner columns were used in the form of bridgework and hanging pavements to fill the interior of the platform. . . . For the completion of the floor or hanging pavement, it may be said that other horizontal columns were laid side to side at right angles to and flush with the horizontal stones resting on the uprights. The finish was then added, in the form of small stones which filled in the cracks and covered the stone beams to the depth of 3 or 4 inches.²²⁰

Reinecke was given the name Heiau Walahaka for this structure.²²¹

Emory, working in the park in 1957, noted that

Lying within the amphitheater formed by the cliffs of Alahaka is the stone platform of an ancient *heiau*, 60 by 90 ft, and at its highest point above the surrounding lava floor, 8 ft high. It is remarkable for its facing of carefully fitted lava stones with a flat, vitreous surface exposed in the face of the wall, and for its *pao* (vaulted) construction. All through the greater part of the platform, glimpses into the hollow underpinning may be had, where the pavement has been torn up perhaps by curiosity seekers, perhaps for stones to build the goat pen 150 ft northwest. The southern end was lower, and distinct divisions in the pavement were originally present.²²²

Stokes was told in 1906 that this was not a *heiau* and therefore only looked at it from a distance; in 1919, however, an elderly former resident of the Kēōkea beach area stated that it had functioned as a Hale o Lono, an agricultural temple, not requiring human sacrifices.²²³ Henry Kekahuna found the name 'I-maka-koloa, that of a famous Hawaiian chief, associated with the structure.²²⁴

220. John E. Reinecke, "A Survey of Hawaiian Sites: Kailua to Kalakupuaa, Kahaluu-Keauhou-Onouli (2) to Honalo (Kualanui Pt.), Kaawaloa-Hōnaunau 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 Keamoali'i," 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.

Emory believed that Alahaka was probably contemporaneous with 'Ale'ale'a because both had the same *pao* type of construction.²²⁵ If this similarity in construction indicates a contemporary time period, then Alahaka may date from ca. A.D. 1500. 'Ale'ale'a III and IV, attributed by Barrère to 'Umi, who dates from that time period, illustrate *pao* construction also.²²⁶

This *heiau* has good interpretive potential because it has more integrity than many of the structures in the park that have been restored or reconstructed or that are in complete ruin. Its good state of preservation and easy access via the 1871 trail make it a good place to interpret *heiau* construction and classifications.

7. House Platform at Base of Alahaka Ramp

Still visible today are the remains of an ancient house platform that Emory noted (Map 5) where the 1871 trail turns to mount the ramp up the cliffside. The ruins comprise one platform on top of a larger one. Reportedly the person living there served as a guard (for the burials?) or possibly as a tollkeeper for the road or was the one who helped travelers ascend the ladder to the top of the cliff.

8. Fisherman's Shrine

A fisherman's shrine once stood at the edge of the cliff overlooking the sea on Pukakio Point. Originally there was a pair of gods here, but both have been stolen. The last one taken was a 2½-foot-high carving of natural stone with a human face. Only the hole for the stone remains.

South Kēōkea

1. Outskirts of Ki'ilae Village

After mounting the Alahaka ramp, Emory passed back of Pukakio Point and Hinalea Cove and headed through the outskirts of Ki'ilae Village. The village site stretches southward from the Alahaka horse ramp on the 1871 trail in the south Kēōkea *ahupua'a*, along the cliffs through Ki'ilae *ahupua'a*, to the park boundary and beyond. Emory's account of his findings will be presented later, but first this report will provide some background material on the settlement.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

226. *Ibid.*, p. 17.



Illustration 195. Site of fisherman's shrine on the edge of the cliff at Pukakio Point. Only a hole in the rocks remains. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 196. Concrete tomb at Ahu homestead along the path to Ki'ilae Village. NPS photo, 1989.

2. Ki'ilae Village

a) Research Accomplished and Types of Remains

Numerous abandoned Hawaiian village sites can be found in the remote coastal areas of the Hawaiian Islands. Ki'ilae Village was one of the last isolated coastal villages where a few Hawaiian families chose to live a more traditional way of life rather than try to adjust to Western ways. After Emory's work, study concentrating on the village began with Russell A. Apple's interviews of former residents in 1963 and 1964 and continued with NPS archeological excavations by Edmund Ladd. Research and interviews conducted in 1965 by Historian Frances Jackson under contract with the NPS resulted in an oral history of Ki'ilae Village and life there. Ladd completed archeological maps of the village in 1968 that show all the major walls and stone structures.

Today the village site comprises a multitude of house lots, a few on the *makai* side of the "main street" 1871 trail and a vast number northeast of this on the *mauka* side of the trail. Remains consist of stone walls, house platforms, graves, animal pens, and other structures and features.

b) Anchorages

This village is located in the coastal section of two *ahupua'a* along the edge of Ki'ilae Bay. Some of the village is in south Kēōkea, but more is contained in Ki'ilae. Ki'ilae Bay is one of three anchorages in the area and the best developed. Alaihi Cove in Ki'ilae Bay is deep and sheltered. At its northern end a lava ledge somewhat protected a landing area equipped with a ramp and rollers. Canoes were stored on a flat on the south side of the point. The bay was deep enough for small steamers and whalers to use. The steamers landed there to unload lumber and other goods in exchange for salt and hides. Most of the year the natural rock shelf along the edge of the cove could be used to load and unload passengers and freight.²²⁷ The missionary Cochran Forbes described the event of landing there in 1836:

After taking some refreshment we left for Hōnaunau, and on our way stopped at Kilaue which, as many other villages, is perched upon high rocks almost inaccessible from the sea unless when smooth. In attempting to spring on the rocks, I unhappily stepped just as a surf raised the canoe some four or five feet from its position and of course missed my calculation, when having to *descend* instead of stepping up, I fell prostrate on the rocks and should have rolled into the sea had not one of the natives caught me & supported me till I recovered enough to sit erect. The shock was so great as to quite deprive me of all power for a time tho' no bones were broken.²²⁸

Other canoe landings existed on either side of Halakahi Point and at Popa'a Cove. These are not known to have had ramps or rollers and were probably used only by small fishing canoes.²²⁹

227. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 245.

228. Forbes quoted in Jackson, "Ki'ilae Village," pp. 8-9.

229. Jackson, "Ki'ilae Village," pp. 75-76.

c) Early History

Kamehameha gave the *ahupua'a* of Ki'ilae to John Young as a reward for his faithful service. After his death, his children and those of Isaac Young, whom he had adopted after their father's death, shared in the distribution of his various properties. In 1848, when land ownership was being registered during the Great *Mahele*, the Privy Council approved the Ki'ilae lands passing to Davis's son, George Hueu.²³⁰ He lived primarily at Waimea, but remained the taxable owner of Ki'ilae at least until 1893. By 1902 Lucy Peabody, the granddaughter of George Hueu Davis and the High Chiefess Kaha'anapilo, was listed as land owner with the notation that the *ahupua'a* had been let to the Ki'ilae Land Co. In 1905 Peabody was still listed as owner, having an agent, Edgar Henriques, with offices in Honolulu. Peabody died in 1929. No *kuleana* awards were registered for the house lots in Ki'ilae *ahupua'a* that were part of the village, although a few are listed for Ki'ilae villagers in Kēōkea *ahupua'a*. Most of the people in the village were squatters, but evidently established some sort of tax arrangement with Peabody until her death.²³¹

It is unclear when the village first began, because it is not mentioned in legends, chants, or oral history and appears infrequently in historical records. This would have been, in many respects, a good place to live in early Hawai'i. Within easy access were the fishing grounds of the ocean, while fields *mauka* could be reached for procurement of supplemental food items. Water was not a major problem, with brackish wells located nearby and potable water available from the uplands. The village was also within reasonable walking distance of the large religious and cultural center of Hōnaunau. It is not unreasonable to assume that the area was inhabited from early times.

d) Later History

No frame houses had been built in Ki'ilae or Kēōkea by 1889. According to the 1890 tax records, Ki'ilae and Kauleoli *ahupua'a* immediately to its south supported eight landowners between them. Livestock consisted of cattle, horses, donkeys, and dogs. The land was used for pasture and as house lots. A year later the first Japanese resident was listed; Chinese had been present since 1871. By 1892 John H. Ahu paid taxes on land and some type of store. The village only had one other house that was taxed.²³² Kēōkea had more crops, some animals, and several taxable houses.²³³ The Ahus had become the major taxpayers in Ki'ilae by 1896, owning several houses and assorted livestock. Nine other Hawaiians and five Chinese were also taxpayers in Ki'ilae. Kēōkea showed the wealth distributed more widely.²³⁴ During the last two years of the century, Ki'ilae had seventeen taxable residents, including eight Chinese and two Japanese.

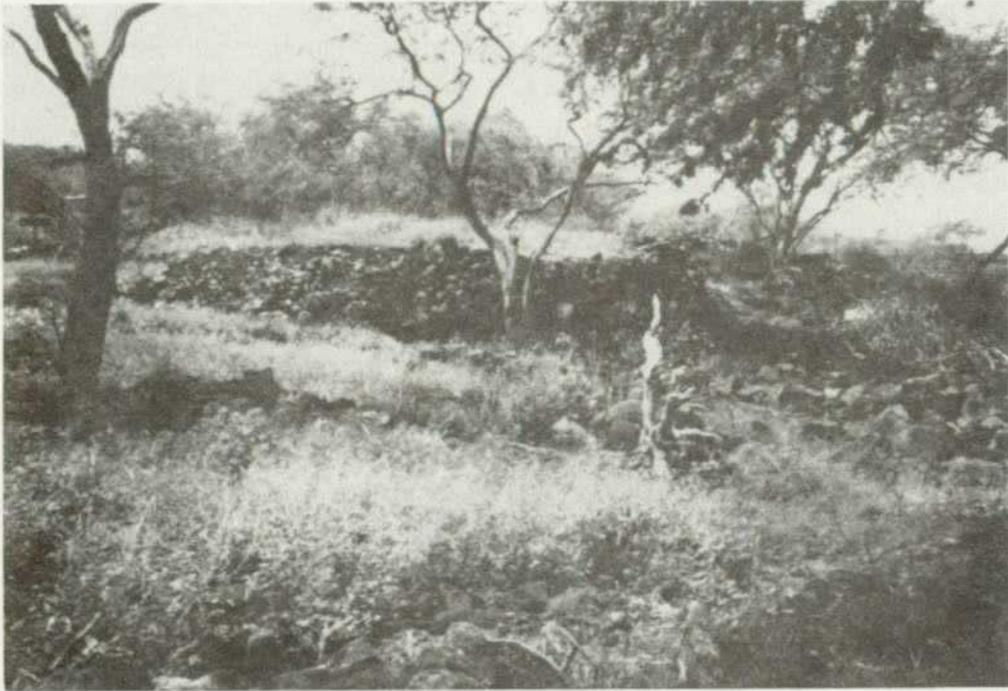
230. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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.



Illustrations 199 and 200. Walls at site of Kī'ilae Village. NPS photos, 1989.

Kēōkea contained a larger number of Orientals, listing several as "tramps." By 1906 depopulation of the coast had occurred, with only three taxable persons living in Ki'ilae and few in Kēōkea.²³⁵

Former residents of the area provided Frances Jackson with miscellaneous information on life in Ki'ilae Village and surrounding areas. By the turn of this century, about one hundred people lived in Ki'ilae Village, comprising ten extended families. Kealia *ahupua'a* to the south had the highest coastal population at this time; the landowner of Kēōkea *ahupua'a* to the north, the Bishop Estate, meanwhile, had permitted people to build shacks on the beach there. A great change occurred in the area between 1890 and 1900 with the construction of houses of *ohi'a* wood, measuring about twenty-two feet square. A *mauka-makai* trail system served Ki'ilae, connecting the upland agricultural area of the *ahupua'a* with the coastal village. The cross trails in Ki'ilae, located at several levels to connect various houses in the *kula* gardens, were later bulldozed during McCandless Ranch activities *mauka* of Ki'ilae. Both economic and decorative plants grew in the village.²³⁶ Its paths remained fairly clear of vegetation due to constant use and animal grazing, except for low lantana and some *kiawe*. These trails have since become overgrown with a thick vegetative cover.

e) Houses and Furnishings

House lots were usually completely enclosed by stone walls. By means of a large stone on either side of the wall, access to the interior of the lot was gained by stepping up and over the low wall; sometimes gates were used. House yards contained both decorative and economic plants. Specific areas, sometimes walled, were designated for garbage collection. Washing took place in the sea or on the house *lanai*. The presence of several house platforms in the lots today suggest they were occasionally rebuilt. Three types of houses stood on the platforms – the old-style grass house with thatch sides either all the way to the floor or down to a low stone wall that formed the lower portion of the walls; more modern lumber houses with a tin roof, either built on the platform or over a cellar, as at the Ahu site; and a "transitional" house type that had thatch walls and a tin roof over either lumber or log framing.

Evidently the building of traditional grass houses in the village ended in the early 1900s. Some informants stated that by 1900, houses *mauka* of the trail were of *pili*, while those *makai* were of lumber and one was grass with a tin roof. Frame houses had an A-shaped roofline with tin roofs that shed water into a pipe or gutter leading into a cistern, barrel, or other type of water storage facility. The "better" houses had glass windows, no curtains, and wood floors. Others just had pebbled pavement floors covered with grass and mats. Lumber and nails were store-bought. Both the lumber and grass houses contained only one large room with door space (no doors) with no windows or with windows permanently open, shuttered, or glassed. The typical grass house *mauka* of the trail was about twenty-two feet square with a door at least thirty inches high, thatched with *pili* over peeled *ohi'a* log purlins. The one "transition" house mentioned had *pili* sides and a tin roof and was constructed on a level house platform about three feet high.

Houses had few furnishings other than mats, although some had rough-sawn lumber tables or benches. *Kukui* nuts or kerosene lanterns supplied light. Valuable possessions were stored in

235. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

236. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

calabashes and hung in a corner near the roofline. Other storage items consisted of carved wooden containers and gourds. Fishing equipment, a valuable subsistence-gathering item, was carefully stored in special containers. Two other essential items were a *poi* board and stone pounder. The former was stored in the house or just outside in the yard leaning against a wall; the stone was hung in a net in a corner of the house.²³⁷

f) Water Supply

Ki'ilae Stream, which passed through Kēōkea next to the Ki'ilae boundary, only accumulated enough water to run during periods of very heavy, constant rainfall. The well mentioned earlier, *wai ku'i o Kekela*, south of the village, provided brackish water used in washing and cooking. The well was divided by a stone wall into two sections, one side for drinking, the other for washing and bathing. Later, when a platform was constructed to hold pump machinery, the stone wall was removed. Two sources of fresh water were the cistern at the Ahu house and water carried down from *mauka*. *Mauka* water was brought to the beach in five-gallon kerosene tins, fitted two to a side into a pack frame laid over a donkey. The lumber houses with tin roofs usually had a catchment arrangement of barrels that could supplement the *mauka* supply. The Ahus filled their cistern with water from the roof or water transported from *mauka* on donkeys. Water in wells and cisterns was raised by means of a rope with pail attached. The first pump used was the one the McCandless Ranch installed at the Kekela well. Water from Hōnaunau was brought in gourds and calabashes and sometimes glass bottles.²³⁸

g) Economy

Fishing, usually from a canoe, provided the main source of livelihood for Ki'ilae villagers. At the top of the Alahaka ramp, as mentioned, was a *ku'ula* (stone god) for attracting *opelu*. Wires strung between trees and bushes enabled the drying of nets, which were also spread on the rocks when wet. After fishing, the canoes were brought ashore and stored above high tide lines. At Ki'ilae they were carried nearly to the top of the cliff if the weather appeared very stormy. As mentioned, canoe landings were available in three places – at the north side of Ki'ilae Bay at Alaihi Cove, and on the south side at Halakahi Point and Popa'a Cove. Halakahi Point also had a depression back of the landing in which fish could be piled before drying on the adjacent rocks.

Offshore fishing for *opelu* was a major source of income; they were sold fresh door to door or dried and sold to stores. Other fish caught were *ahi* and squid. Some of the older men participated in shore fishing only, one gentlemen fishing Halakahi Point with a *koa* wood spear with metal point. Bamboo poles and lines were also used, and some diving was done. Other food came from the *kula* (uplands) and *kalo* (taro) gardens, to which frequent trips were made to tend the fields and bring products home. These upslope fields above the Government Road received a steady supply of rain and provided sweet potatoes, yams, pumpkins, and squash, as well as sugarcane, papaya, and bananas. Higher up were the dryland taro fields that were harvested, with large quantities of this product brought back in gunny sacks by donkey. Money from selling

237. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.

238. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.



Illustration 201. View north of Ki'ilae Village site. NPS photo, 1989.



Illustration 202. Salt pan at Ki'ilae Village. NPS photo, 1989.

fresh fish went for the purchase of necessary store articles, such as fishline and hooks, garden tools, cotton fabric, blankets, kerosene lanterns and fuel, lumber, and tin, all transported by donkey. Sometimes dishes were bought, as well as utensils, supplemental food supplies such as rice and flour, and tobacco. The small general stores often had a Chinese or Japanese owner. "Plantation" stores also enjoyed some of the local trade.²³⁹

h) Livestock and Other Animals

Most families at Ki'ilae used a donkey to carry goods; they were not used for personal transportation. One informant stated that none were kept at Ki'ilae village, although they were found at Hōnaunau and Kealia settlements. Another area resident remembered donkeys being kept at the beach tethered along the trail *mauka*, where food was carried to them. A few families had horses for riding. There are no references to keeping goats for either meat or milk, although ranchers used mules to round up wild goats for their hides, which were sold in Honolulu. There are no references either to keeping cows for milk. Pigs, which evidently ran wild and foraged, were found near the beach and also farther inland. According to one informant, the walls around the houses served to keep out pigs. Only a few chickens were kept. Most families had pet dogs.²⁴⁰

i) Food Preparation

Meals for the Ki'ilae villagers consisted mainly of sea resources, a few vegetables, sometimes meat or fowl, and store-bought items. Fish was eaten fresh or dried. Fresh beef was rare, although fresh and dried goat and dried donkey meat were common. Infrequently pig was eaten, but evidently little fowl was utilized. Food items were eaten either raw, raw but dried or salted, boiled in a pot with water, or cooked directly on the fire, on a hot rock, or on a grill arrangement. Vegetables were cooked in an *imu* or by roasting in a fire. Also cooked in the *imu* were taro, squash, bananas, sweet potatoes, and *ulu*. Papaya and other fruits were eaten fresh. As mentioned, taro was harvested in large quantities to last a family a week. Other vegetables were harvested as needed. Starchy store-bought foods supplemented the taro and *ulu* poi. Condiments included seaweed, roast *kukui* nuts, honey from wild hives, and salt, the latter being obtained from salt cups along the beach. Cooking facilities included a simple, open rock fireplace, possibly with a grill; hot stones; the *imu*; and for more acculturated families, kerosene and wood-burning iron stoves.²⁴¹

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.

j) Society and Culture

Ki'ilae Village, in the later period, at least, constituted primarily a loosely interrelated group of people who lived in the same area and owed some sort of obligation to the landowner, Lucy Peabody, or her agent, Henriques. It was not actually a social or political unit. Just what the landowner-tenant arrangement involved is unclear. The tenants appear to have had little association with government officials other than schoolteachers (an 1895 map shows a school site in Ki'ilae Village). With a general lack of enforcement of rules and regulations, only the church exerted some influence. The first South Kona Protestant mission station had begun eight miles north of Ki'ilae Village at Ka'awaloa, on the north shore of Kealakekua Bay; it later moved to the south shore at Nāpo'opo'o. Another station started in 1834 at Kealia, two miles south of Ki'ilae Village, but its isolated lifestyle precluded a resident missionary. The nearest churches were at Puka'ana, near Ho'okena; Ho'okena Catholic Church; Nāpo'opo'o and Hōnaunau Protestant churches; and the Mormon church at Kealia. Games and recreational sports were minimal, but included races into the water at Halakahi Point, baseball, marbles, and some playing of the ukulele. Medical aid consisted of home remedies and neighborhood specialists. Mortuary practices included cave and ground burials with the bodies wrapped in mats. The Ahu yard contains a vault burial. In regard to working patterns, most family groups seemed to work independently of others, each member doing his share. Fish hauling might involve larger groups.²⁴²

k) Decline of Village

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the population of Ki'ilae Village was definitely in decline. The improved belt road around the island, which provided access to trade centers, effectively isolated the shoreline settlements, causing much of their population to move inland nearer to the road and the *kula* garden areas. They returned to the shore and their traditional beach lands occasionally, but only to visit or fish. Those who stayed concerned themselves primarily with fishing, farming remaining only a minimal activity, and were more concerned with retaining the old way of life than changing to the new cash economy. One woman born in the village in 1913 remembered that the only residents then were members of her immediate family, seven individuals of three generations.²⁴³ However, although resources still existed in the sea and farming could still take place upland, the Western economic system almost required a money-making job. The last family left Ki'ilae Village by the 1930s. The last frame house in the village, built by the Ahu family, and later moved into by the Kahikinas, was dismantled and rebuilt near Hōnaunau Bay, where it stands today. The grass houses simply disintegrated, leaving only stone platforms and other surface indications of individual house lots and improvements.²⁴⁴

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.

I) Individual Sites

Frances Jackson associated four house lots with individual owners with the help of some of her informants:

(1) Kahikina House Lot

This was located on Halakahi Point and was the house site of several of the informants. It contains a platform paved with *'ili'ili*. The former residents disagreed about whether the original structure had been *pili* grass or lumber with a tin roof. It had comprised one room with a door in the middle of the wall facing west. Cooking took place outside the house in a ring of stones. Eating transpired on the platform in front of the house. The walled area back of the house served as the garbage dump. The yard was walled, with access over the top, and contained a yellow plumeria, monkeypod trees, and other plants.

(2) Ahu House Lot

According to an informant, John Ahu was a "Pake"-Chinese (meaning a foreigner or possibly that he was part white) and formerly a whaler. After the Ahus moved away, the Kahikina family moved into their house. (Frequently after a family abandoned their land and improvements, the house, if in good shape, was appropriated and occupied by remaining individuals.) This wooden house with tin roof was built (ca. 1890s?) over a slight depression that formed a cellar. Cooking took place north of the house next to the concrete grave vault. The vault, which the NPS has repaired, was built for the remains of the father of John Ahu, Jr. A large kettle for whale blubber was kept on the southwest side of the house. A concrete-lined cistern held the water supply. Steps from the house platform lead down to the Ki'ilae landing, but some are damaged. The site was walled, but the back of the house platform opened to the trail *mauka*. This house was rebuilt north of Hōnaunau Bay in the 1930s.

(3) Pipi House Lot

This residence, located in the lot next to the Ki'ilae-Kēōkea boundary, was a wood house according to one informant, although others stated only *pili* houses existed *mauka* of the main trail in the 1890s. This site had been recently occupied, as evidenced by modern artifacts.

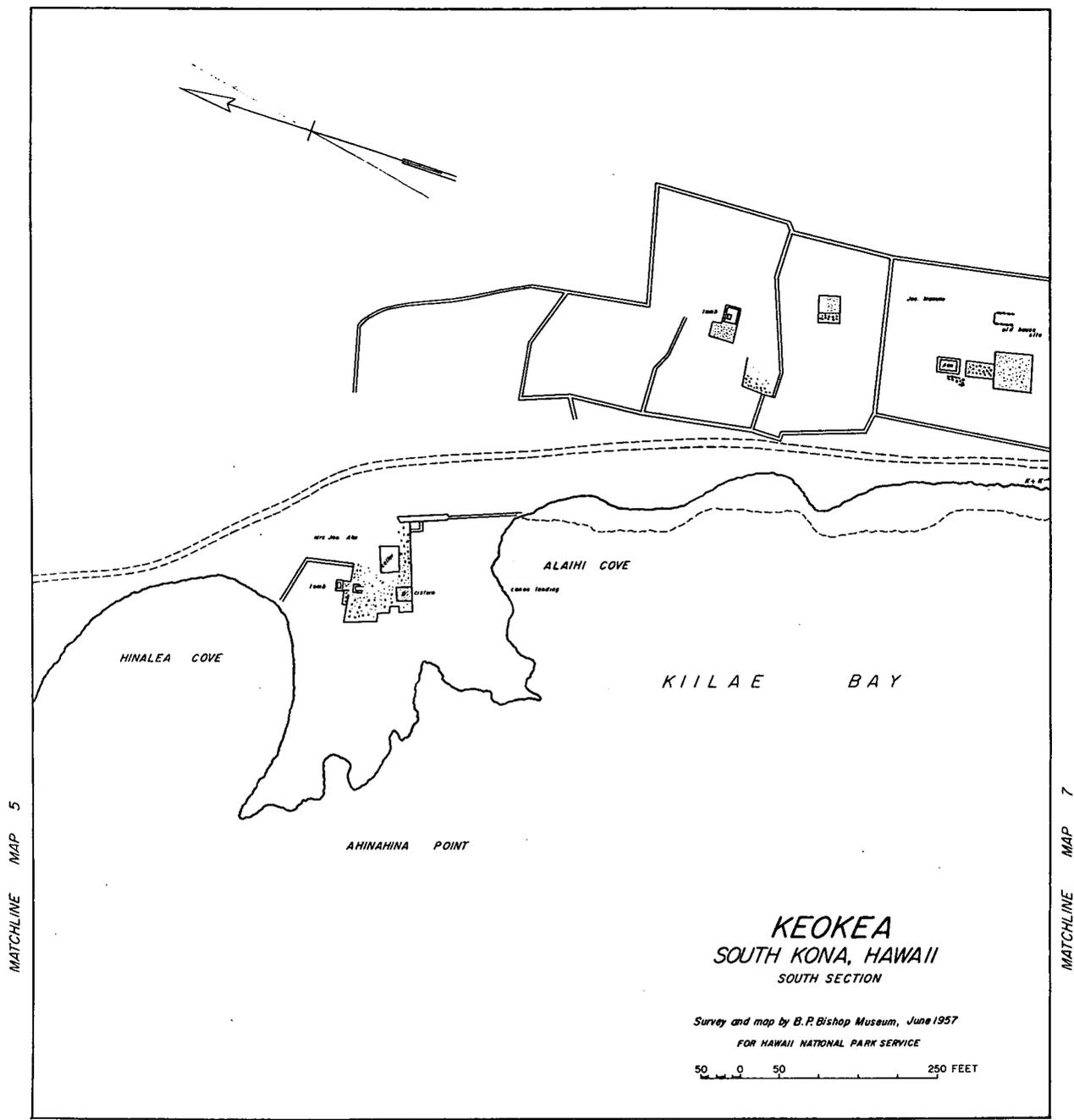


Illustration 203. Map 6, "Kēōkea . . . South Section." Survey and map by Bishop Museum, 1957. From Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i."

(4) Manunu House Lot

This high stone platform held a *pili* house that was evidently still occupied ca. 1913. Artifacts suggest recent occupation.²⁴⁵

m) Kenneth P. Emory's Fieldwork

Emory noted several interesting features as he walked along the cliff toward Ki'ilae Village in 1957 (Map 6). On the outskirts of the settlement he identified numerous house lots enclosed by stone walls. Before reaching the boundary line between Kēōkea and Ki'ilae *ahupua'a*, Emory recorded five house lots on the *mauka* side of the trail. Little was evident on the first two, but the third contained two old house platforms and a concrete tomb. The fourth contained a typical house platform, while the last one, abutting the boundary, had supported a more modern establishment as shown by later historical-period artifacts. Also on the property, however, were signs of ancient paving and the foundation stones of an old house. This lot had been in family ownership since 1819.²⁴⁶

The chiefess Kekela-o-ka-lani, mother of Kamehameha IV's wife Queen Emma, lived at Ki'ilae Village in the early to mid-1800s. Her house platform (Map 7) stood just above the well, *mauka* of the main road. Emory believed it to be one of the finest remaining examples of an early Hawaiian house foundation, with a paving of large, flat, waterworn stones and beach pebbles.²⁴⁷ An ancient legend connected with the well states that a couple found out about the water available here by watching their dog going into a certain cave and then reappearing with wet fur. Kekela directed that the cave be enlarged until water was reached, and the residents accomplished this by pounding through the rock to the spring. Emory and his party explored the Cave of the Dog ('Ilio Cave) leading from the well and found it to be a refugee cave with three entrances inland. The passage into the uppermost eastern entrance had been artificially narrowed by a stone wall. It is outside the park boundary.²⁴⁸

Other features noted by Emory in this part of Ki'ilae Village included two small structures east and south of Kekela's house site that Henry Kekahuna had labelled as *heiau*, one named Pua-hala and used to increase the food bounty and the other used as an astronomical temple. Emory believed the one farther south might have been a *ko'a*, or fisherman's shrine.

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 Keamoali'i," p. 244. This site still contains the house foundation and a cistern.

246. Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i," p. 245.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 248.

248. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-48.

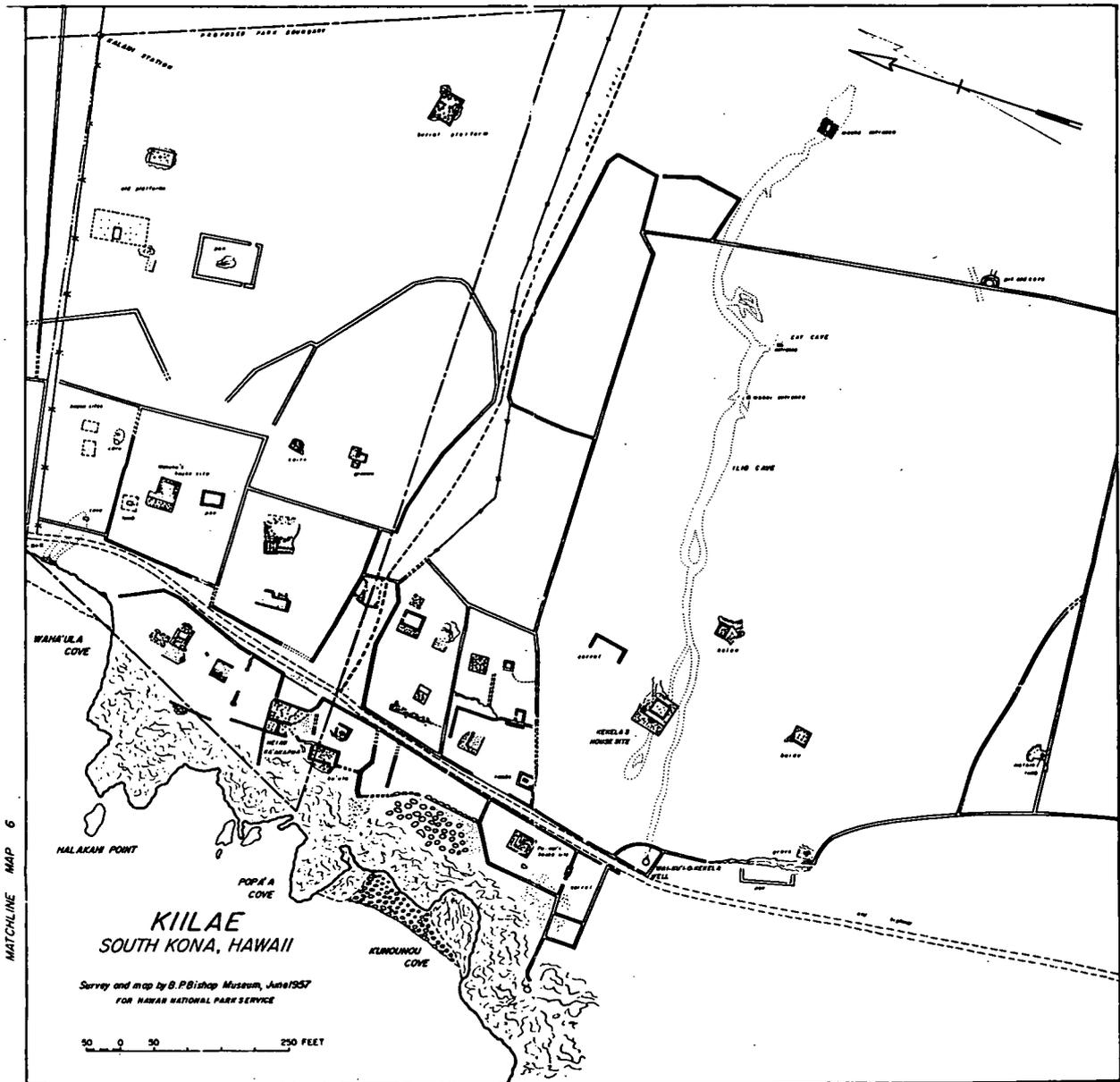


Illustration 204. Map 7, "Kiilae." Survey and map by Bishop Museum, 1957. From Emory, "Hinterland and Keamoali'i."

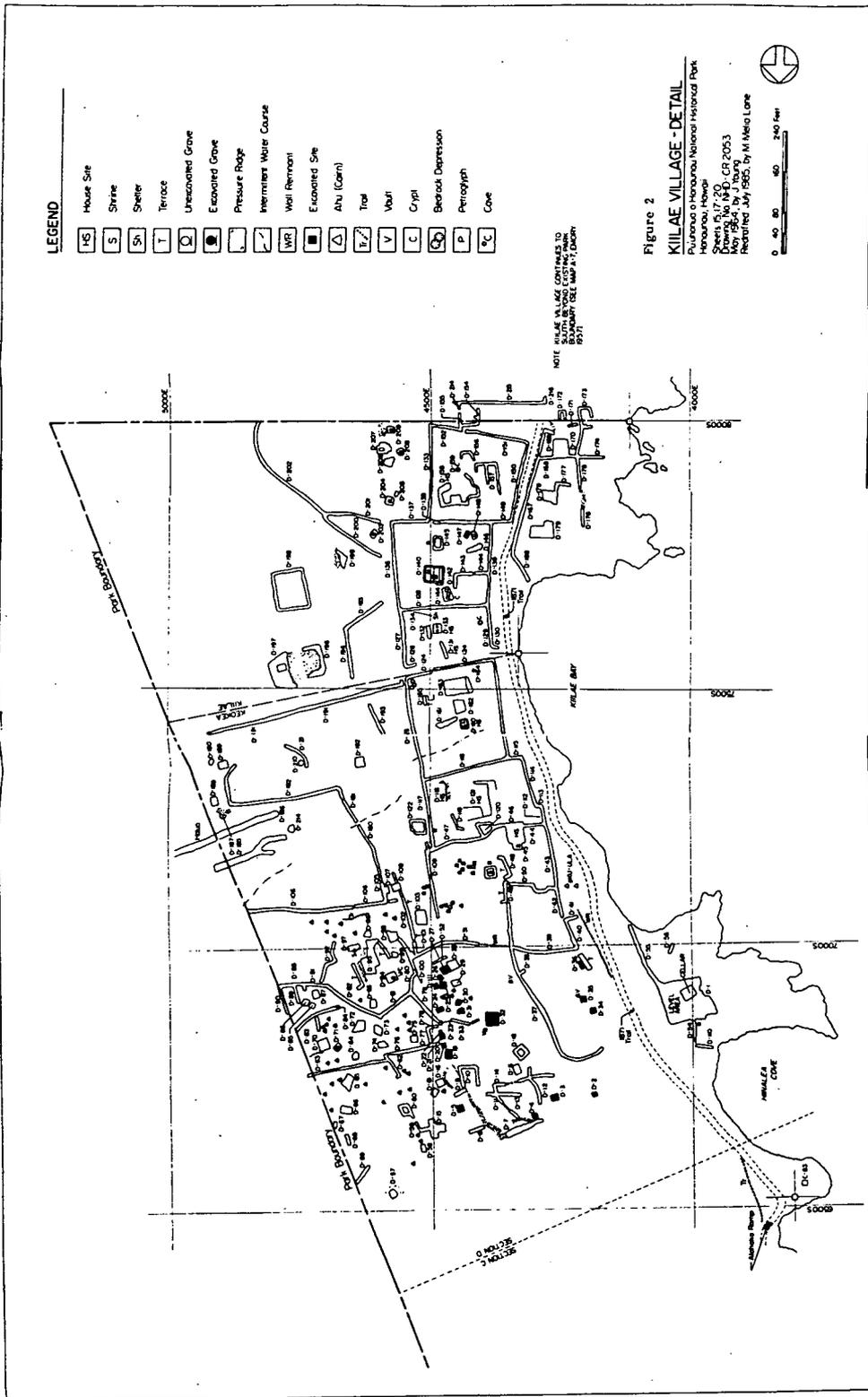


Illustration 205. Archeological site plan of Kiilae Village. Figure 2 in Ladd, *Kiilae Village*, p. 7.

Across the highway from the well and proceeding north (Map 7), Emory noted Pa-wai's house site with a *poi* pounder in front; an ancient terrace faced with heavy boulders; another small enclosure fronted by a paved terrace that Kekahuna called a *ku'ula* (fisherman's shrine); a platform with an upper terrace and a pathway on a lower terrace of waterworn slabs, which was given the name Heiau Ka'akapua by Kekahuna's informant; an artificial basin for watering stock; and other remains of ancient house platforms, some occupied into historic times. Turning east inland and crossing the road, Emory followed along a wire fence marking the boundary line. South of the fence he found house pavements, a small cave shelter, and finally a rough pavement Kekahuna designated as Kumu-ko'a Heiau, where men received advanced training for the priesthood. East of this was a smaller platform named Kole-aka Heiau by Kekahuna, who was told priests here received preliminary training before advancing to Kumu-ko'a. Nearby to the southeast was a burial platform.²⁴⁹

Coming back down the *mauka* Ki'ilae trail toward the main road (Map 7), Emory passed large walled pasture enclosures. On the north were a group of three small platforms rising in two tiers and marking recent graves; through a gate were a pen and a house site. Across a wall to the north was an ancient platform paved with waterworn stones and rising in three terraces. The lower platform had most recently supported a frame house. To the north of that was the frame house site of Manunu (mentioned also by Jackson), with an old platform similar to that of the residence of the chiefess Kekela. It had a concrete tomb on its north side. South of the *mauka* Ki'ilae trail, Emory found in the first lot an enclosure behind a paved terrace, which Kekahuna was told was a *kapa*-making shrine (*heiau kuku-kapa*). Also in this lot were two paved areas and, facing on the main road, a two-level house foundation facing a wide terrace. The next lot to the south contained in its *mauka* half a rough platform and two small pens, and in its *makai* half, separated by a stone wall, an old two-level house platform. Concrete tombs in the southwest corner of the enclosure were not identified.²⁵⁰

n) Edmund J. Ladd's Fieldwork

The test excavations that Edmund Ladd performed were done because a portion of the village was slated for restoration. It was hoped the archaeology would provide insight into total occupation patterns and the extent and duration of occupation. In addition the crew intended to examine some of the house compounds in detail to acquire data to guide restoration. Ladd rediscovered many of the sites the Bishop Museum found in 1957 and discovered many more that had been covered by dense vegetation. Twelve sites representing a cross-section of type sites in the village were selected for excavation or study, including house platforms, house enclosures, grave sites, and midden areas. Attempts were made only to sample each site.²⁵¹

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.

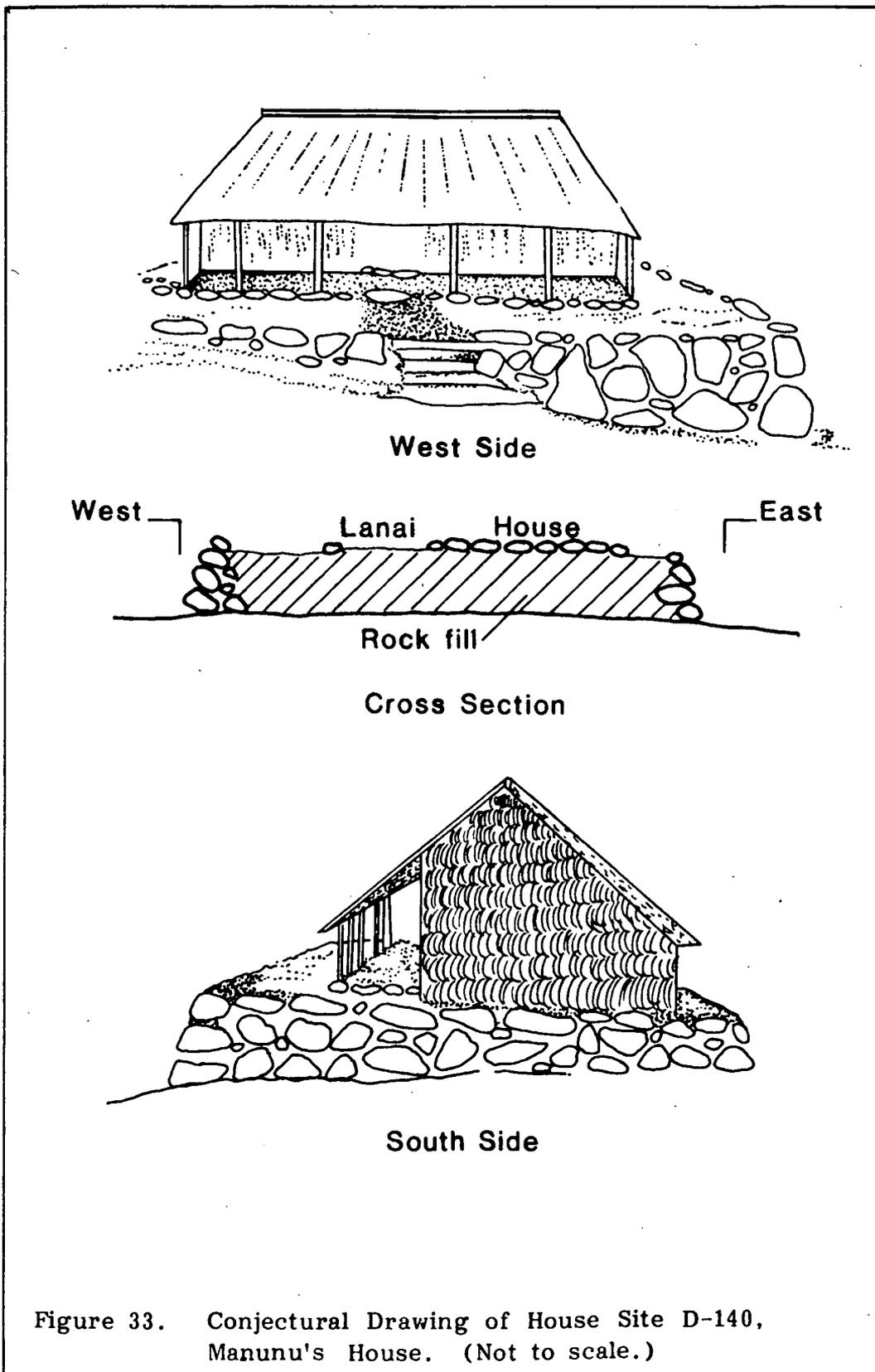
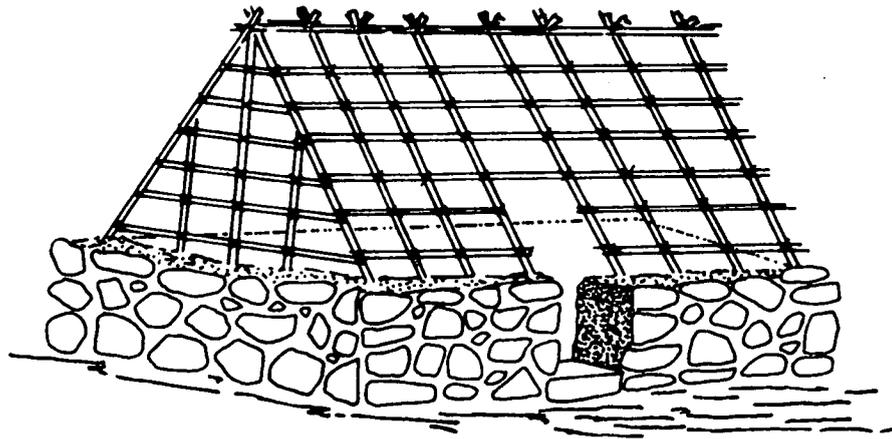
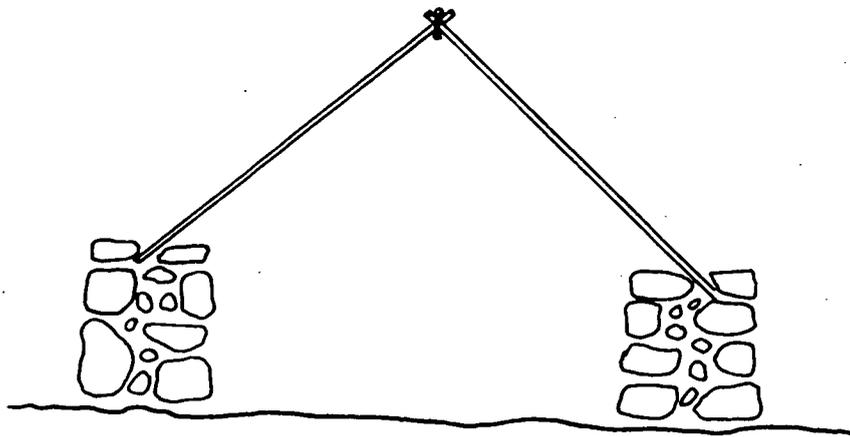


Illustration 206. Conjectural drawing of House Site D-140 (Manunu's House), Ki'ilae Village. Figure 33 in Ladd, *Ki'ilae Village*, p. 50.



Side View



End View

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

Illustration 207. Conjectural drawing of House Site D-160, Ki'ilae Village. Figure 30 in Ladd, *Ki'ilae Village*, p. 46.

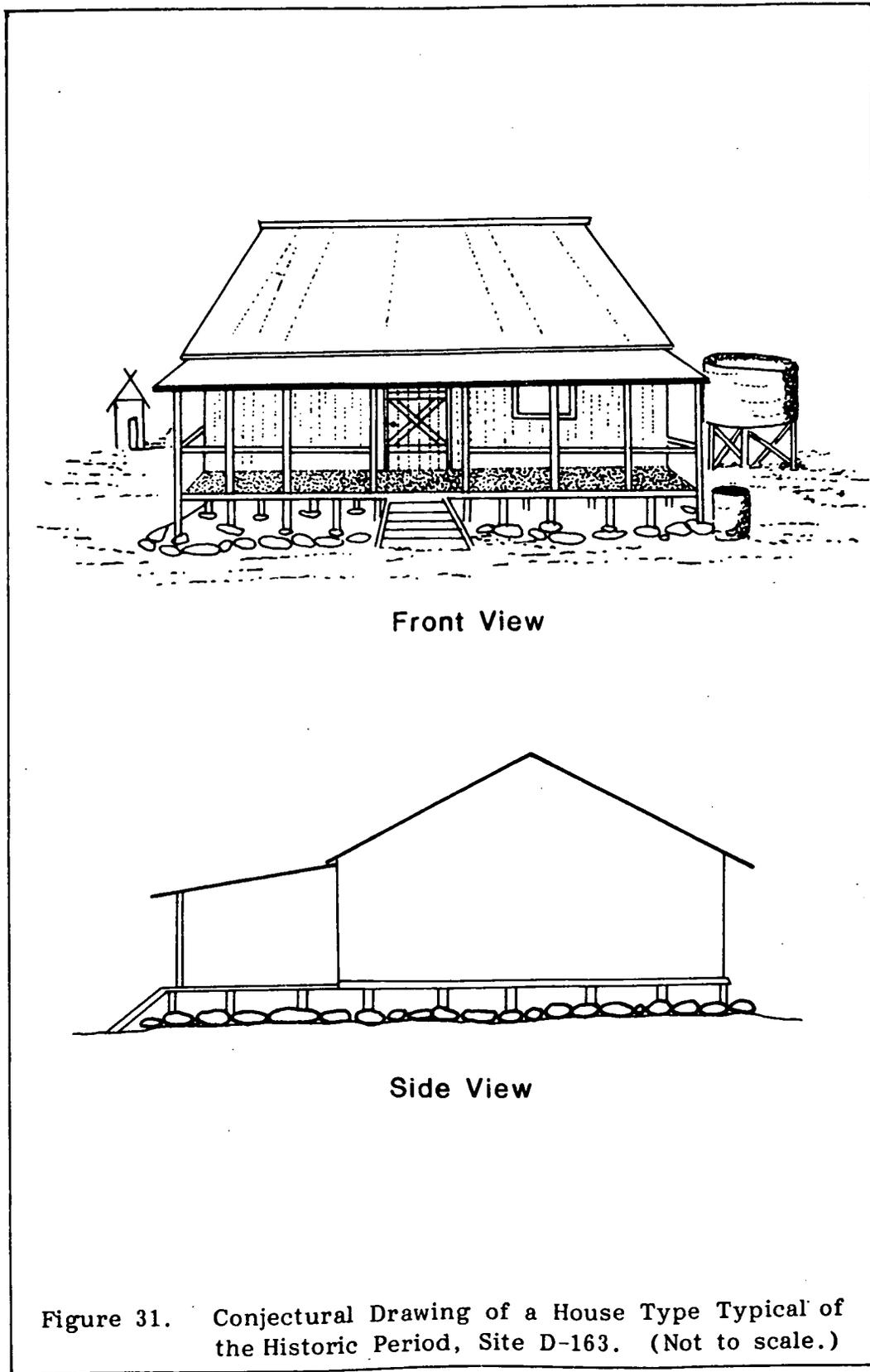


Illustration 208. Conjectural drawing of typical historical-period house (Site D-163), Ki'ilae Village. Figure 31 in Ladd, *Ki'ilae Village*, p. 47.

One of Ladd's most important finds was a *hōlua* in the Kēōkea *ahupua'a* about 240 feet north of the Kēōkea-Ki'ilae boundary line. The slide, almost 300 feet long and about 6 feet wide, extends outside the east boundary of the park. Its walls are fairly well preserved in some sections, but most of the surface paving stones are missing.²⁵² Ladd has suggested that this sport was in vogue between 1793 and 1840, and that the use of stone tracks was a late development of that period. It should be noted that none of the interviewees mentioned this slide, suggesting that its use may go farther back in time.

Ladd found that the house compounds, or *pa hale*, between the 1871 trail and the ocean and those closest to the Kēōkea-Ki'ilae *ahupua'a* boundary were in the best state of preservation, with nearly intact boundary walls between lots. The area farther north and *mauka* of the trail was more chaotic, containing a jumble of short wall sections, terraces, platforms (some of which were grave sites), and animal pens. Many different grave types were represented in Ladd's sampling. He found the largest number of graves toward the north end of the village, indicating this area might have been used as a cemetery after abandonment of the house lots there.²⁵³ Two house enclosures, one in Kēōkea and the other in Ki'ilae (Manunu house site), were cleared of vegetation and their features located and mapped as being typical of the house complexes in the village.

The first lot excavated lies just *mauka* of the 1871 trail and just north of the Kēōkea-Ki'ilae *ahupua'a* dividing line. Excavations there seemed to bear out Jackson's oral history that only *pili* houses existed *mauka* of the trail in the 1890s.²⁵⁴ Structures in that complex included three house sites, three grave sites, two possible graves, and a possible garden terrace. The second lot had been identified by the Bishop Museum in 1957 as Manunu's house site. That complex included a goat pen, a possible grave site, an "ancient" stone platform, possibly for a *pili* house, and several concrete grave crypts. The house sites sampled were classified as the platform type with lanai (site D-140), an ancient style also used into modern times; the walled, or enclosure, type (D-160), also an ancient form used into modern times; and the platform type without a stone platform (D-162 and 163), which is a purely modern style.²⁵⁵ Ladd's conclusion, based on artifacts found, house types, and grave sites, was that Ki'ilae Village was not that old, possibly having been settled as early as the late 1700s, but more likely not until the early 1800s.²⁵⁶

252. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

256. *Ibid.*

G. Significance of Resources and Establishment of a National Historical Park

Planning for the acquisition of land in the area and the setting aside of the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau as a national park began as early as the late 1940s. The City of Refuge National Historical Park was established on July 1, 1961, pursuant to an Act of Congress approved in July 1955 (Public Law 177, 84th Congress, 69 Statute, 376) after a decade of dedicated study and planning by a wide variety of interested private individuals, the Trustees of the Bishop Estate, institutions such as the Bishop Museum, and the National Park Service. The area set aside contained the ruins of the ancient *pu'uhonua* and the village of Ki'ilāe. It was referred to as the City of Refuge in accordance with the name bestowed by William Ellis.

Most visible and impressive of the cultural resources is the *pu'uhonua*, enclosed on two sides by a massive stone wall, one of the largest stone constructions in the islands.²⁵⁷ The primary visitor attraction is the reconstructed Hale-o-Keawe. In addition there are palace grounds, royal fishponds, stone platforms for the houses of chiefs, ancient trails and roads, canoe landings, burial caves, *heiau* temple platforms, house sites, cave shelters, *hōlua*, stone walls, and other typical aboriginal Hawaiian structures representing an extended time span. Within the *pu'uhonua* are two early temple sites, the Keoua and Ka'ahumanu stones, the remains of a Women's Heiau, petroglyphs, and a spring.

This park is considered one of the most significant archeological and historical complexes in the islands.²⁵⁸ The adjoining village of Hōnaunau served as the cultural and religious center of the Kona District and eventually of the entire island until its *ali'i* moved to Kealahou Bay. In addition, this was the early seat of the paramount chiefs of western Hawai'i Island descended from 'Umi and Liloa and was the ancestral home of the Kamehameha dynasty.

Within the park's 180 acres stretching southward for about three miles from Hōnaunau Bay are archeological and historical structures and features dating from pre-European contact times to the early 1920s and representing almost all phases of early Hawaiian religious, social, economic, and political life.²⁵⁹ The park is especially dedicated to protecting archeological structures and features associated with the ancient Polynesian practice of asylum. The park's significance stems from the fact that "the archeological remains document various aspects of ancient Hawaiian culture which gave rise to a sophisticated and elaborate socio-political-religious system long before Captain James Cook rediscovered these islands in 1778-79."²⁶⁰ The lands around Hōnaunau illustrate a now-extinct way of life – the highly-structured society of aboriginal Hawai'i that began disappearing with Cook's arrival in Hawai'i and whose demise was speeded by the abolition of the *kapu* system. That lifeway included the concept and practice of refuge as well as a belief in the god-like status of chiefs and kings, a belief that reached its climax on the Kona Coast as an elaboration of an earlier Polynesian culture. The sites and features in the park also illustrate the rise of one chiefly family to power, their tie to the Kamehameha dynasty resulting

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.

in their being rather well recorded in early historical times. The cultural landscape of the park reflects Hawaiian society as depicted by early European visitors, retaining much of the flavor of its ancient setting and purpose.

Excavation and study of park resources has already added much valuable information to regional studies on the archeology and history of Hawai'i Island because all groups of Hawaiian society, including commoners, priests, chiefs, and royalty, took part in activities there. Also contributing to the research significance of these resources is their excellent state of preservation. The *pu'uhonua* has survived almost intact compared to similar sites on the island and elsewhere in Hawai'i. This park is an extremely significant component of our national park system.

In February 1976 the Statewide Association of Hawaii Civic Clubs requested a name change from City of Refuge NHP to Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP. Upon agreement by the Regional Director, State Director, and Superintendent, the name was changed when Congress passed and the President signed the National Parks and Recreation Act on November 10, 1978.²⁶¹

H. Contributing and Non-Contributing Elements

Generally, there is no historical significance attached to structures, roads, buildings, or other features built within the boundaries of this park since 1926. Exceptions are the reconstructed Hale-o-Keawe, the stabilization work on pre-existing structures, features developed for interpretive programs, and the "modern" housing sites at Ki'ilae Village, where transition periods as reflected by architectural patterns are an integral part of the site's significance.²⁶²

The Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau area was recorded by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings in 1962. That survey recorded 321 significant archeological and historical features within the boundaries of the historic district. Fifteen of them are listed separately on the National Register of Historic Places inventory form as being major archeological and historical structures and features. The following descriptions are given on the form:

Hale-o-Keawe – temple mausoleum for ruling chiefs of Kona; served as major temple for *pu'uhonua* in historic times; house and associated images restored in 1967;

Pā pu'uhonua (Great Wall) – marks boundary of refuge, over 1000 feet long, 12 feet high, and 18 feet wide; reconstructed in 1902 and 1963-64;

'Ale'ale'a Heiau – first of its type and class excavated in Hawai'i; excavated and stabilized in 1963; had six structural modifications;

Ancient Heiau ("Old Heiau") – although originally thought to be the oldest temple on site, there is now some evidence that 'Ale'ale'a was constructed earlier; little known about this structure; portions excavated by Stokes in 1919; [NPS conducted excavations here in 1979 and 1980];

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.

Chief's House Site (Thompson House Site) – excavated in 1968; one of two sites identified as chief's residences; composed of several contiguous platforms for men and women's eating and sleeping houses, as well as cook house; occupied from prehistoric to modern times;

Keawe's House Site – several contiguous stone platforms with low wall around ruin; evidence of later use; fisherman's shrine (*ku'ula*) associated with it; coastal trail runs between site and ocean; associated with one of high chiefs of Kona;

Oma'o Heiau – probably Lono class; only temple making use of natural feature – lava squeeze at one end of platform probably used as 'anu'u (prayer) tower; constructed of lava chunks with rubble fill;

Keanae'e Heiau – also called Alahaka Temple; located in Kēōkea in center of village complex of surface dwellings and cave shelters; measures 60 by 90 feet and is about 8 feet high; classed as Lono-type agricultural temple;

Hōnaunau Hōlua – stabilized in 1968;

Kēōkea Hōlua – longest and best preserved of tracks; over 1000 feet long and from 5 to 12 feet wide;

Ki'ilae Hōlua – located in ruins of village; is small, 300 feet long and from 5 to 8 feet wide;

Alahaka Ramp – point in Keanae'e Cliff at which in prehistoric times ladder provided access to top of cliff; reportedly gatekeeper helped people and stone platform nearby is his house site; ca. 1848 a ramp built to accommodate horse travel, later modified ca. 1871; ramp and cave shelter behind it excavated and stabilized in 1963;

1871 Trail – sometimes called "King's Highway" – built ca. 1871 for horseback travel; portion in park reconstructed;

Ki'ilae Village – Thriving village in 1823 and abandoned by 1926; was village patterned after old traditions, using "modern" methods and techniques; some thatched houses with corrugated tin roofs and glass windows; several tested house sites; contains famous spring of Queen Emma's mother (not within existing park boundaries);

Keanae'e Shelters – numerous caves that Ellis noted being used as dwelling and work areas in Keanae'e *pali*.²⁶³

There exist numerous "lesser" features in the area, including canoe-mooring holes; basins used for dyeing fishnets or for evaporating salt; mortars used for pounding salt, seaweed, and the like; *kapu*-stick holes; *papamū*; and other resources that are excellent illustrations of early lifeways and that are crucial parts of a complete interpretive story.

263. *Ibid.*

I. Threats to Resources

1. Sea Action

The ocean is immediately next to the *pu'uhonua* and its related features, constantly hammering them with high surf, carving the shore, rolling in huge basalt boulders, creating tidal pools, and forming beaches. Several tidal waves have been recorded in historic times that have wrought various changes in the *pu'uhonua* area. In addition, the low-lying lava flats at the head of the bay and along its south side are often covered at high tide and very susceptible to sweeping tidal wave action during storms. Tidal waves have been held responsible for destruction of the "Old Heiau" platform, the northwest corner of the 'Ale'ale'a platform, and the west end of the south Great Wall; for filling in fishponds, springs, and pools; for destruction of the Hale-o-Keawe foundation; and for breaking down the northern end of the Great Wall.

Elderly Hawaiians who spoke to Stokes referred to the *Kai mimiki o Naihe* (tidal wave of Naihe) that wreaked great havoc on this area. Although Naihe was the ruling chief of South Kona and guardian of the *pu'uhonua* until his death in 1831, most of the *pu'uhonua* destruction appears to have occurred after 1846, none of it being suggested in Chester Lyman's drawing. Emory believed the tidal waves were associated with Naihe because of an ancient surfing chant that mentions him in connection with "great waves." Stokes found that two destructive tidal waves (*tsunami*) hit the island of Hawai'i after 1846, one in 1868 and the other in 1877. The latter was especially severe, causing great damage all over the islands. Emory believed that both these tidal waves did the damage ascribed to the "tidal wave of Naihe." Another tidal wave in 1946 broke down part of the Hale-o-Keawe platform and nearby walls.²⁶⁴

2. Exotic Vegetation and Animals

Other problems for park management involve the control of exotics, both plants and animals. The 1991 Statement for Management says that the NPS objective is "to restore and maintain the historic scene of the Pu'uhonua, Palace Grounds, and house complexes in the park to the year 1819." To further that goal, there have been efforts to kill the heavy vegetation that comprises mostly imported, exotic varieties. This nonnative flora needs little moisture and thrives on barren land in fertile, humus-filled cracks and flats in the *pāhoehoe* outcrops. In order to return the area to its early condition as a barren landscape supporting only a few endemic plants, shrubs, and trees, the NPS must continue to remove exotics. Some clearing of these has been carried out in the past in Kēōkea and Ki'ilae, resulting in the extermination of a tangle of exotic trees, shrubs, vines, and grasses. In the course of this work, numerous archeological features have been exposed. This clearing work is a continuing battle, but an important management activity. Vegetation tends to break down fragile resources in addition to hiding important ones from view.

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 Hōnaunau 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.

3. Visitor Recreational Activities

The refuge and the nearby *heiau* are sacred to many present-day Hawaiians. The NPS must have sensitivity to the conflicts between public use, the sanctity of sites, and respect for Hawaiian beliefs. The NPS has committed to allowing fishing, swimming, and picnicking to continue, the only uses in the park not related to its historical qualities. A threat potential does exist from these activities to living things in the bay, including the coral. The same is true of visitor use of Hōnaunau Bay. Boats anchoring there not only affect the historic scene but destroy coral beds. No state or federal control exists concerning the anchoring of boats in Hōnaunau Bay. Therefore, they sometimes anchor in the midst of the coral gardens and destroy pieces of this fragile resource. Resultant garbage and sewage also pose a problem.

Traditional religious practices will be ensured (via compliance with the Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1978 and the Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1991). The NPS should increase visitor awareness of these values related to certain structures.

4. Unprotected Related Resources

The original setting aside of land for the park did not include sufficient area to protect all cultural resources associated with the refuge and surrounding ancient land uses. Resources outside the present park boundary, such as the top of the long *hōlua*, are threatened by natural deterioration and by commercial development unless cooperative preservation agreements can be worked out with landowners. The important archeological sites around Hōnaunau Bay, which are closely tied to the refuge's history, are also constantly threatened by development.

5. Park Development

Any type of park development affects its resources. When the area at the park entrance was being cleared for a parking lot in the 1960s, for instance, about thirty graves were found, dating from the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition, numerous petroglyphs had to be avoided.

J. Management Recommendations

1. Further Archeological Surveys

No further archeological surveys appear to be needed in this park. Any new site features found, of course, need to be recorded (such as locations of new *kōnane*, *papamū*, etc.) Petroglyphs should be noted also to further document this resource in this part of Hawai'i Island. So far, the dominant motif in the park is a human figure with widespread arms and legs. Interpreted originally as aboriginal boundary markers, all petroglyph locations need to be noted to determine if this holds true. The further study of these is also important in comparing intra- and interisland design elements.

2. Treatment of Resources

The *heiau* in the park need no further stabilization at this time, but the NPS should institute a program of periodic checks to ensure there is no slumping of walls and to monitor the regrowth of vegetation. If sites are kept clear of vegetation, future stabilization needs will be minimal. Preservation at Ki'ilae Village should consist of monitoring vegetation growth and stabilizing weakened walls. Identification, plotting, measuring, and recording of intact areas at Ki'ilae Village has been accomplished, along with some stabilization. This type of detailed mapping and photographing to identify weaknesses, broken areas, and preservation treatment has been accomplished at many areas in the park.

Proposals have been made to restore and reconstruct such resources as the *hōlua* track and the chief's house complex as well as Alahaka Heiau. It has been assumed that a detailed study of alignments and original surface pavements would enable a reasonably good restoration. The suggestion has been made for a partial or full restoration of the slide nearest the visitor center to illustrate the royal sport of sledding. Because this is thought to have been only a practice slide, improving it might be contrary to its original appearance. The NPS should consider only performing preservation treatment through stabilization and repair, using interpretive devices in the visitor center to explain this sport. The park's Statement for Management says that "partial or full restoration of the slide nearest visitors to explain this unique and dangerous sport may need to be done in the future to satisfy interpretive needs."²⁶⁵ Interpretive needs, however, may be addressed satisfactorily through visual or other means in the visitor center or on site without impacting the resource's integrity.

Preservation and stabilization of ruins rather than restoration or further reconstruction should be stressed. Preservation combined with imaginative interpretation and limited development will not only protect resource integrity but will provide for enhanced visitor enjoyment of the ancient structures in the park. Appropriate literature, guide service, and museum presentations can do much to enhance the pre-historic and historical values of the site.

3. Preservation of Resources Outside Park Boundary

The NPS is exploring the realignment of boundaries in an effort to adequately preserve and protect the highly significant cultural and scenic values found in a wide area around the park. Future preservation hopes include acquiring (possibly by lease) lands east of the park for an entrance road and parking and for administrative, interpretive, and sanitary facilities. The administration/maintenance complex now rests on prime historical lands and should be relocated. The NPS also needs to look at the area around Hōnaunau Bay that supported the residences of the court, lesser chiefs, and common people when this was a large cultural, religious, and political center. Additional lands to the south around Ki'ilae Village need preservation in order to retain intact the story of this settlement's transition from early to modern times. All these sites are related to the *pu'uhonua* as part of a complete Hawaiian cultural center.²⁶⁶

265. Statement for Management, Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park, p. 8.

266. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The 1977 Master Plan for the park proposed a boundary expansion of 204 acres of land and 112 acres of intertidal and water area. These 204 acres included the 61 acres between Hōnaunau Bay and Highway 160, north of the present park boundary, containing important Hawaiian cultural sites, including those comprising the support village for the palace grounds and the *pu'uhonua*. Lloyd J. Soehren of the Bishop Museum, while studying that area for the state in 1967, found it contained archeological features and historical associations comparable to those on the south shore of the bay included within the national park. It has been estimated that the northern shore of Hōnaunau Bay comprises about one-third of the total complex of the ancient village of Hōnaunau. The inclusion of the seashore lands on both ends of Hōnaunau Bay would create a self-contained physical entity that could be more easily protected from adverse uses on adjacent land and water areas and from the changes current residents are making on the land. An NPS study is currently ongoing to analyze the feasibility of protection of these adjacent lands by lease or cooperative agreement to protect them and to provide a buffer for the land and resources within the park.

A portion of the *ahupua'a* lands east of the *pu'uhonua* also need to be protected in order to preserve a variety of resources, including grave sites, house sites, walls, the upper reaches of two of the *hōlua*, possible prehistoric subsistence gardens, and other features not yet mapped or studied.²⁶⁷ An area of twenty-five acres adjacent to the southern boundary includes the site of the home of Queen Emma's mother (John Young's daughter), the spring used by villagers of Ki'ilae, two *heiau*, and a cave system used by the Ki'ilae villagers. All these features are on land owned by the McCandless Ranch.²⁶⁸

Most of these lands remain relatively undisturbed by modern development. Individually none of their resources is as outstanding as the Great Wall or the Hale-o-Keawe, but collectively they would be invaluable in the overall interpretation of the cultural history of the Hōnaunau area. Their importance also lies in their potential for adding to our research knowledge of the prehistory of the Kona area.²⁶⁹

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.

GLOSSARY

a'a - rough, clinker-type lava

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

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; Kū, controlling agricultural productivity, politics, and the power behind war; and Lono, god of rain, agriculture, and fertility

alā - 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

'aumākua - 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

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

hula - reverent 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 *'aumākua* 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

kānaka - 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

kauwā - 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

kōnane - 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

kuapā - 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

Kū-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 Kū 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

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

maka'āinana - 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*

pāhoehoe - 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

papamū - kōnane 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'ukoholā - 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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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

