

E HOOLONO I KE KAI HAWANAWANA

LISTEN TO THE WHISPERING SEA



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HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE
WAIMEA TO KAWAIHAE ROAD CORRIDOR
ISLAND OF HAWAII

by
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INTRODUCTION

While this historical survey may have only marginal relevance to the archaeology of the highway corridor, it offers some clues with value for archaeologists in making interpretations about any sites in the Kawaihae and Waimea areas. Admittedly, much more research needs to be done in order to identify some of the general references made to historic and pre-historic structures with specific sites remaining today. The time allotted for this particular research project precluded such detailed investigations; it is hoped that this can be done in the future.

The main purpose of this report is to catalogue the major historic activities that were carried out in Kawaihae and Waimea, and to identify some of the individuals and organizations connected with them.

Hopefully, through this brief presentation, the *kama'aina* residents of these communities will themselves be encouraged to write down in greater detail the histories of their families and the contributions made by them to the history of each area, so that the young who follow in their footsteps will know the source of their strength. Much of the history of Hawaii's people has yet to be told.

This historical sketch was compiled with the assistance of Terrilee Kekoolani, who researched a large part of the documentation.

We wish to express our appreciation for the cooperation received from staff members of the Hawaii State Archives, the Mission Children's Society Library and the State Surveyor's Office.

We also wish to thank Mr. Edward Laau and members of his family as well as the family of the late William Akau, who were all so helpful and generous with their time and information about Kawaihae's history. Mr. Akau had been the Harbor Master at Kawaihae for many years. With his untimely death, a great deal of the history of the area and of the people who lived there has been lost. Also, we wish to thank Sam and Helen Hooke of Waimea for their enthusiasm, hospitality, patience and understanding, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Francis Ahnee of Puuwaawaa for their kind assistance, and Mr. Jack Ramos, manager of Palekoki Ranch, for permission to enter ranch lands in Waimea.

Special thanks go to Bonnie Greene and Kathleen Kelly for their careful editing of this paper, and to Kathleen for the three drawings she contributed. Also thanks to Reiko Hall and John McLaughlin for their art work which so greatly improved this presentation.

Waimea is famous for its piercing, wind-driven rains that suddenly cool the travelers who arrive in the upland plateau after a hot, dry, dusty journey from the coastal plain of Kawaihae:

"Waimea is like a spear rubbed by the wind, as the cold spray is blown by the kipuupuu rain."*

TRADITIONAL BACKGROUND

HOAPILIAHAE

It is said that in legendary times the very high chiefess Hoapiliahae founded, dedicated, and consecrated a *heiau* for women in Waimea. It was attended exclusively by young virgins. In the sanctity of the cool highland forest, they "...performed the sacred ceremonies, learning also the science of healing so that they might eventually minister to others" [Doyle 1953:42-43]. Hoapiliahae's children were named for the five rains of the *heiau*.

WAO

On a nearby ridge stood another *heiau* built "...by the great Akua Makuakua who has come from far off Kahiki." From the hillside he watched the rainbows "... and there found the beautiful goddess Wao." They lived at Hokuula. Each time Wao was ready to bear a child she returned to the Waimea hills, which were sacred to her. The *kapu* was proclaimed in her honor--the forbidden ground extended "...down across the plains to whatever place a stone happened to stop rolling when started above by her servants" [Doyle 1953:43]. Wao changed her servants into stones to guard the land during the night hours; when daylight came she transformed them back into their human forms.

PUPUALENALENA

Among the famous placenames of South Kohala, Kawaihae and Waimea are outstanding, but not alone. Puako, Kalahuihua'a, Anaehoomalu, and Kapalaoa have also made their contributions to history.

The legendary dog, Pupualenalena, lived at Puako.** Pupualenalena was able to carry out the most difficult tasks asked of him. He lived

* Proverb from a Kamehameha *mele* quoted by Henry Judd [Doyle 1953:42].

** Taken from "The Legend of Pupualenalena" [Fornander 1917(4):558-560].

with a fisherman who let him eat all the fish he wanted in exchange for 'awa from Waipio that Pupualenalena stole from a large field belonging to Hakau, high chief of Hawaii. The field was at the base of Puaahuku cliff in Waipio Valley. Hakau's men caught Pupualenalena on one of his 'awa-stealing trips, and he and his master were condemned to die. A reprieve was earned when Pupualenalena successfully stole for Hakau a shell trumpet owned by the spirits who lived above Waipio. Hakau rewarded Pupualenalena and his master by giving them a piece of land [Fornander 1917(4):558-560].

PUAKO

In another legend Puako is identified as a "...very handsome man whose form was perfect."* He fell in love with Mailelaulii, one of five sisters from Kona who were travelling together through Kohala, sightseeing. Mailelaulii's sisters did not approve of her romance with Puako because he was only a salt maker. They watched him carrying sea water and filling pools for salt making, and were worried lest he ask them to help him. They feared that, if they were required to do such work, their skins would soon "...look like the windward bark of a noni tree," so they all left Puako and they continued their sojourn through Kohala. At Kokoiki they met Hikapoloa, the chief of Puuepa and Hukiaa. He, also, was single and took Mailelaulii for his wife. His chiefly status pleased her sisters and they settled down to live in his household.

One day Hikapoloa learned that the sisters had five brothers who possessed some very rare pearlshell fishhooks with which they caught all the *aku* they wanted. Hikapoloa wanted such a fishhook and sailed to Holualoa, Kona, where the brothers lived. They were happy to give Hikapoloa, their brother-in-law, a pearlshell fishhook, and loaded his canoe with dried and fresh *aku* for their return trip to Kohala.

When Hikapoloa took the new fishhook out in his canoe to try it, he held it in his hand all day, thinking that the *aku* would jump into the canoe of their own accord. When the fish didn't, he vowed to kill his brothers-in-law, because he thought they had tricked him. Soon after, Kona experienced a prolonged drought and food became very scarce. Mailelaulii's brothers ventured to Kohala, thinking that they might prevail on Hikapoloa to provide them with food. They landed their canoe at Kukuipahu, bringing a load of *aku* with them as a gift. They were all faint with hunger from lack of food.** The chief's watchman sent them up the hill to the houses of Hikapoloa on Puuiki. As each brother entered Hikapoloa's house, he was beheaded, cooked, and eaten. When the sisters discovered the evil deed, they trapped Hikapoloa in his house by causing the *maile* and *'ie* vines to grow over it, while the rain beat down in torrents, the wind blew in a gale,

* Taken from "The Legend of Kaulanapokii" [Fornander 1917(4):560-568].

** There is no explanation of the apparently contradictory statements in the fornander text, that is, they had fish, but they were hungry from the lack of food.

and fog and mist covered the land. Hikapoloa died and the house was set on fire. The sisters collected the bones of their brothers, restored them to life, and all returned to Kona, vowing, we are told, "...never to be covered with the same *kapa* with any man or woman from Kohala" [Fornander 1917(4):568].

KAMALALAWALU

*O ke aluka koa a Kama i Waimea**
(A multitude of warriors had Kama at Waimea)

Kawaihae is famous as a landing place where Maui chiefs beached their canoes and embarked on battles against the Kohala chiefs. The Maui chief, Kamalalawalu, sent spies to Hawaii and they landed at Kawaihae. The keepers of the gods at Mailekini Heiau at Kawaihae were also serving Kamalalawalu. The spies ran around the island of Hawaii along the coast, trying to determine the size of the population. They misjudged it and, armed with this misinformation, Kamalalawalu decided to invade the island. He went to Kawaihae, but found no one there; the people had gone up to Waimea. Only those of lower Kawaihae and Puako remained. A battlefield was chosen at Waimea. Kamalalawalu's counselors said, "Waimea is not a good battle site for strangers because the plain is long, and there is no water. Should defeat be met with by the warring strangers, they will all be slaughtered..." [Kamakau 1961:58]. But Kamalalawalu paid no attention to this advice; instead, he listened to two old men of Kawaihae who purposefully misled him when they told him that:

Pu'oa'oaka is a good battlefield and will be a great help to the chief. All the canoes should be taken apart because the warriors may desire to run back to the canoes and depart in secret for Maui. The best thing to do is to cut up the canoes and outriggers, for there are canoes enough in Hawaii. When it is conquered, there will be many canoes from Kona and Ka-'u. There will be much property and wealth for the Maui chiefs [Kamakau 1961:58].

Kamalalawalu's fighting men landed their canoes at Puako and destroyed them. They went up to the grass-covered plains of Waimea.

...they looked seaward on the left and beheld the men of Kona advancing toward them. The lava bed of Kaniku and all the land up to Hu'ehu'e was covered with the men of Kona. Those of Ka'u and Puna were coming down from Mauna Kea, and those of Waimea and Kohala were on the level plain of Waimea. The men covered the whole of the grassy

* Taken from S. M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 1961:55-61.

plain of Waimea like locusts. Kama-lala-walu with his warriors dared to fight. The battle of Pu'oa'oaka was outside of the grassy plain of Waimea, but the men of Hawaii were afraid of being taken captive by Kama, so they led [Kamalalawalu's forces] to the waterless plain lest Maui's warriors find water and hard, waterworn pebbles. The men of Hawaii feared that the Maui warriors would find water to drink and become stronger for the slinging of stones that would fall like rain-drops from the sky. The stones would fall about with a force like lightning, breaking the bones into pieces and causing sudden death as if by bullets [Kamakau 1961:58-59].

The Maui men picked up the stones of Pu'oa'oaka, but they were light and killed few Hawaii men. The Maui men could not find any water to relieve their thirst. They retreated to Kawaihae, but because of the lack of canoes, few escaped with their lives. Kamalalawalu was killed on the grassy plain of Puako [Kamakau 1961:59-60].

Another version of the battle tells about how Kamalalawalu's invading army arrayed itself on top of the hill of Hokuula where, Kamalalawalu had been falsely told, there were large stones to roll down on the enemy.* From the hill Kamalalawalu watched the large armies of Hawaii warriors from all the districts gathering at Waimea to stand with Lonoikamakahiki against the Maui forces. Kamalalawalu, alarmed, asked his scout Kauhikama, why he had reported there were no people on the island of Hawaii. Kauhikama explained that he had seen houses, but that they were without occupants. "You could not find the occupants at home, for they had gone up to till the ground because it was morning, and they had gone fishing. If it were in the afternoon you went there, you would have met the men at home," Kamalalawalu's advisors replied. Kamalalawalu then chided Kauhikama, "By whom have you been taught that the house is a thing that stands without dwellers?...the house is erected, the men live therein!" [Fornander 1919 (5):448].

In this version of the story the decisive battle was fought between two generals--Pupukea representing Hawaii forces, and Makakuikalani representing the Maui forces. As soon as Pupukea killed Makakuikalani, "...instantly, Hawaii slaughtered Maui, whereupon the Mauites retreated towards the landing, but there were no canoes..." [Fornander 1919(5):450]. All Maui forces were killed when they swamped while attempting to escape in the dismantled canoes. Kamalalawalu was killed by Lonoikamakahiki.

ALAPA'I-NUI-A-KA-UAUA

Alapa'i-nui-a-ka-uaua was living on Maui when Keawe, the famous ruler of Hawaii, died.** He went to make war against Hawaii's remaining chiefs, took them captive, and became ruler of Kohala and Kona. Kekaulike, ruler

* Taken from "The Legend of Pupukea" [Fornander 1919(5):436-451].

** Taken from S. M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 1961:66-77.

of Maui, heard about Alapa'i's success and wanted to take over. He began the fight against Alapa'i in Kona, but before long Alapa'i forced Kekaulike to flee. As he retreated, Kekaulike abused the people of Kekaha (North Kona), slaughtered the people of Kohala, seized their possessions, and fled by canoe to Maui.

Toward the end of his reign, Alapa'i lived first in Waimea and then moved to Kikiako'i in Kawaihae. He was ill when he went there, and his illness became serious when he was at Kikiako'i. At the *heiau* of Mailekini, in Kawaihae, he appointed his son, Keawe'opala, to be his successor [Kamakau 1961:77].

BATTLES

Fornander reported on battles fought by Lonoikamakahiki and Pupuakea against a group of three of Lonoikamakahiki's brothers who were rebels. These battles were fought at Anaehoomalu, near the boundary of Kohala and Kona; at Wailea, not far from Wainanalii; at Kaunooa, between Puako and Kawaihae; and at Puupa and Puukohola, near the *heiau* of that name [Fornander 1969(2):120-122].

It is said that Lonoikamakahiki built a temple on the border between South Kohala and North Kona to memorialize a covenant between himself and his friend, Kapaihiahilina [Fornander 1917(4):360-362]. The temple was named Keahualono and this has been the name of that place ever since.

The battles between Lonoikamakahiki and Kamalalawalu were perhaps the most wide-ranging throughout the district of South Kohala. They are related in great detail by Fornander [1917(4):322-330, 342-350].

KAWAIHAE

Kawaihae is an ancient surfing area. The meaning of the name is "Water-of-wrath" which, it was said, derived from the fact that people fought for water from a pool in this arid area [Elbert, Ms.]. According to present residents at Kawaihae, this pool has been destroyed by recent harbor developments [personal conversation, E. Laau and W. Akau].

WAIMEA

The literal meaning of the word is "reddish water," as though it had been tinted as it drained through the *hapu* (treefern) forest or through the red soil [Elbert, Ms.].

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

PUUKOHOLA AND MAILEKINI

Kawaihae occupies an important place in the history of Kamehameha's takeover as ruler of the Island of Hawaii. Not having been able to defeat in battle the last of his serious contenders, cousin Keoua-Kuahuula (Fig. 1), Kamehameha and his supporters turned to intrigue and deceit to gain their ends [Fornander 1969(2):329-330]. Consultation with Ka-pou-kahi, a *kahuna* soothsayer from Kauai, resulted in a plan to gain prestige and power by building a new *heiau* (perhaps on the site of an old one at Puukohola).* According to the plan, Keoua would then be captured and sacrificed at Puukohola to the war god, Kukailimoku [Kamakau 1961:154-155; Fornander 1969(2):330-331].

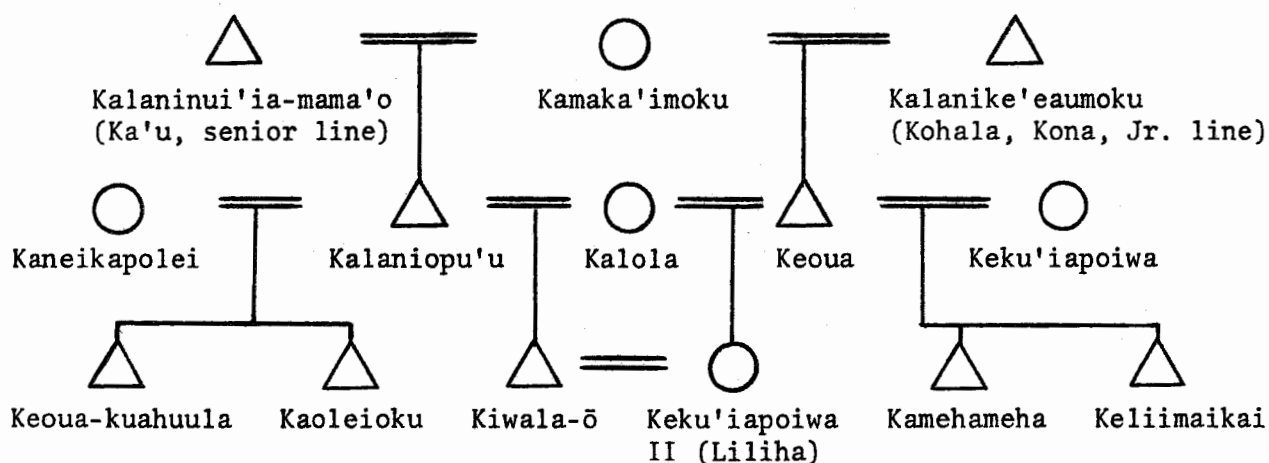


Fig. 1. GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KAMEHAMEHA I, KIWALA-Ō AND KEOUA-KUAHUULA.

An unnamed aged Hawaiian resident of Kawaihae-uka told Fornander he had assisted in carrying stones to build this *heiau*. There were "...thousands of people encamped on the neighboring hillsides, and taking turns at work..." [Fornander 1969(2):footnote, p. 328]. Every aspect of the labor was organized, the food for the multitudes, the time of work and time of relaxation. Many powerful chiefs participated in the work,

*It is said by some authorities that the original *heiau* of Puukohola was consecrated by Lono in about 1580, and that it was rebuilt by Kamehameha about 1791, and dedicated to his war god, Kaili [Kinney 1913:43].

"According to tradition...Kamehameha's work was simply one of reconstruction and reconsecration to his war god Kukailimoku, for victory over his opponents, and it is a coincidence that the same deity as Kaili, Lono's war god, presided here..." [Fornander 1917(4):324, footnote 1.].

and as each portion was completed, human victims were offered to the gods. The completion of the *heiau* structure probably took place in 1791 [Fornander 1969(2):328-329].

Before he died in 1782, Kalaniopuu had designated his son, Kiwala-ō, to succeed him as high chief of Hawaii [Kuykendall 1947:32], but Kiwala-ō was killed at Mokuohai, Kona, by Kamehameha's forces shortly after Kalaniopuu's death. Mokuohai has been called Kamehameha's first battle "for the empire of the group" [Fornander 1969(2):310].

After the death of his older brother Keoua lived in Ka'u, successfully fighting off Kamehameha's generals. Following the new strategy, Kamehameha sent Keoua's uncles, Keaweaeulu and Kamanawa, to convince Keoua that Kamehameha was offering him a truly respectful peace. Apparently trustful at first, Keoua consented to go with them, but at some point on the trip to Kawaihae he evidently suspected he was being led into a trap. His canoes landed briefly at the sacred place of Luahinewai near Kiholo. There, in the beautiful fresh-water pool, he bathed. Then, Kamakau wrote, "...after bathing he cut off the end of his penis ('*omu'o*) an act which believers in sorcery call 'the death of Uli,' and which was a certain sign that he knew he was about to die" [Kamakau 1961:156]. In a footnote Kamakau explained: "'The death of Uli' refers to death caused by the vengeance of the sorcerer, since Uli is the goddess worshipped by sorcerers. The part cut off is used for the purpose of sorcery so that those who do a man to death may themselves be discovered and punished" [Kamakau 1961:156, footnote].

By the time Keoua's canoes arrived at Kawaihae, it was clear that he expected Kamehameha's warriors would try to kill him and all his supporters travelling with him in his canoe. Probably in the hope that at least one of his family would be spared, he put his younger brother, Ka'oleioku,* into a separate canoe with other chiefs whom he expected might also be spared [Fornander 1969(2):333]. Just as Keoua was stepping from the canoe onto the beach at Kawaihae, Keeaumoku and other chiefs of Kamehameha's forces attacked him and the occupants of his canoe [Kamakau 1961:157]**. Whether or not to kill Ka'oleioku was discussed by Kamehameha and his younger brother, Keliimaikai, who is reported to have said: "Since his [Ka'oleioku's] older brother [Keoua] is dead, he [Ka'oleioku] too should die, for if you [Kamehameha] were to die, I [Keliimaikai] would die with

* Kaoleioku, according to some authorities, was the first child of Kamehameha, having been conceived while Kamehameha was still in his youth, when he and his half-brother, Kalaimamahu, were living in Ka'u with Kalaniopuu's court [Ii 1969:7; Fornander 1969(2):312, footnote]. Other evidence refutes this claim [Stokes 1934]. Kaoleioku was raised by Kalaniopuu as his son; he accepted Keoua as his older brother, and lived with him until Keoua was killed by Kamehameha's supporters at Kawaihae.

** At Kawaihae today a different version is told. Keoua is said to have been shot and killed by John Young and Isaac Davis who stood a short distance back from the water's edge below Mailekini Heiau (see this paper pp. 8-11). This area now is known as Pelekani, meaning Britain or British, because of Young and Davis' action taken there [personal conversation, E. Laau and W. Akau].

you (moepu'u)" [Kamakau 1961:157]. However, victory over Keoua and the chiefs in his canoe was so easily accomplished and so complete, that a decision was made to spare everyone else. Thus it was at Kawaihae that Kamehameha rose to power on the Island of Hawaii, the first step in the consolidation of the islands under one ruler [Fornander 1969(2):335].

JOHN YOUNG AND THE *ELEANOR*

During the 1790s, Hawaiian chiefs eagerly supplied the Western traders with food, firewood, and fresh water in order to obtain foreign goods--including metals, firearms, and gunpowder. The possession of these enhanced the status of a chief among his peers and gave him powerful advantages in battle with his adversaries; but getting these goods was not always easy. Most of the trading-ship captains were men who were singularly devoted to driving hard bargains. One such trader was Captain Metcalf of the *Eleanor* which was accompanied by a small schooner, *Fair American*, under the command of Metcalf's son. It is Metcalf who is remembered for his massacre of scores of unsuspecting Hawaiians in their canoes while trading with the *Eleanor* off Olowalu, Maui [Kamakau 1961:146; Kuykendall 1947:24].

Not knowing anything about the massacre, but himself having experienced humiliating treatment by Metcalf's crewmen while trading with the *Eleanor* off the coast of Hawaii, Kame'eiamoku vowed revenge on the next ship that came near. As luck would have it, that ship was young Metcalf's *Fair American*. Kame'eiamoku, an "uncle" of Kamehameha and high chief of Kohala, and his men captured the ship near Kaupulehu, North Kona, and killed the crew, with the exception of Isaac Davis, the mate [Kuykendall 1947:24-25; Kamakau 1961:146-147]. At this same time John Young from the *Eleanor* was on shore at Kealakekua with a party of seamen. Young became separated from his group and ventured farther inland than the others. Kamehameha detained him, fearing Young may have heard about the demise of the *Fair American* and her crew and would have informed Capt. Metcalf. Thus, along with the gunpowder, guns, and other booty from the *Fair American*, Kamehameha now had two foreigners, Young and Davis, who could help him use and maintain his armaments and train his warriors in their use [Kamakau 1961:147,161-162].

Vancouver encouraged Kamehameha and his chiefs to treat Young and Davis well and rely on them for assistance in their bid to make Kamehameha ruler of all the islands. Vancouver's treatment of Young and Davis helped to give them status [Vancouver 1801(3):204,235,283-284; (5):109-113, 115-116; see this paper, p. 29].

John Young and Isaac Davis operated Kamehameha's cannon and guns in his wars against other Hawaiian chiefs. Largely because of their help, Kamehameha was successful in conquering the islands [Kamakau 1961:151]. Their knowledge of cannon, rifles, fortifications and martial arts was probably indispensable to Kamehameha's military successes.

John Young, also known as Olohana (because of his frequent use of the bosun's call, "all hands"), was appointed Governor of the Island of Hawaii by Kamehameha in 1802 and served until 1812 [Kuykendall 1947:54; Kamakau

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in 1824 [Kamakau 1961:256; Kuykendall 1947:77,79]. At one time Kanehoa was Governor of Kauai and then of Maui [Thrum 1911:102; Stokes 1938:16]. Kanehoa later served as a member of the first Board of Land Commissioners under Kamehameha III [Kuykendall 1947:280]. John Young Jr., better known as Keoni Ana 'Opio, served Kamehameha III as a member of the committee set up to "clear the way" for the Mahele, the division of land between the King and the chiefs [Kuykendall 1947:287]. He was *kuhina-nui* (premier) of the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1845 until 1854, and a member of the Privy Council [Kuykendall 1947:262-263,265]. Under Kamehameha IV, Keoni Ana was Minister of the Interior until he died in 1857. He is buried at the Royal Mausoleum (J. Kaleipaihala Young). John Young's granddaughter, Emma Rooke, became Queen Emma when she married Kamehameha IV in 1856 [Thrum 1876:19].

There is no doubt that John Young was an important person in the history of Hawaii during the reign of Kamehameha I, and that his descendants continued to play active roles in the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kawaihae was Young's permanent residence.

THE JOHN YOUNG FAMILY AT KAWAIHAE

While both Davis and Young travelled around the islands in the service of Kamehameha, Young also had a permanent dwelling place at Kawaihae after 1799, and perhaps earlier. Because Young lived longer than Davis, who died in 1810, Young figures more prominently than Davis in the history of Kawaihae [Kamakau 1961:225,325; Apple 1969:20-24; 1971:205-207].* Freycinet wrote that by 1819 Young had been a "...resident in the Sandwich Islands for a matter of some 30 years," and that he "had witnessed and even been an actor in all of the great events originated by Tamehameha" [Freycinet 1829]. He went on to describe Young's family:

Married to a chief's daughter, he had by her six children, three boys and three girls, who are all interesting children; as for the mother, who probably was very attractive, she is now no longer young. For that matter, this family, thanks to Tamehameha's good graces, lives here in plenty; they possess several stone houses and considerable land of Owhyhi as well as on the other islands [Freycinet 1829].

Freycinet located Young's house "...at the top of a small hill which overlooks the village of Kohaihai [Kawaihae], built of stone, well ventilated and sanitary" [Freycinet 1829]. Young was ill at the time of Freycinet's visit, but he was able to communicate the essence of the political difficulties Liholiho was having at that time with the powerful chiefs who had supported his father, but who now were pressing demands for a larger share of the sandalwood and victualing trade, and for the right to keep the lands assigned to them by Kamehameha I.

* When Davis died, John Young took over the responsibility of bringing up Davis' children and he provided for them in his will, along with his own children. Davis' son, George Hueu continued to live in Kohala and became an important chief there.

1961:184]. He continued to be a close advisor to Kamehameha. He supervised the building of the fort in Honolulu for Kamehameha in 1816 [Kuykendall 1947:58], was put in charge of the guns at Kawaihae [Kamakau 1961:198], and directed the transformation of Mailekini from a *heiau* into a fort [Apple 1969:22]. He was present when Kamehameha died in Kailua [Kuykendall 1947:63], and continued to serve his son, Liholiho. He was instrumental in obtaining foreign support for the Kamehameha line and in helping the Protestant missionaries become established in the Islands [Kamakau 1961:246-247]. His devotion to the Kamehamehas earned him the right upon his death in 1835, to be buried in the Royal Mausoleum in Nuuanu, Oahu. His second wife, Kaonaeha (Mary Kuamoo), who died in 1850, is buried there with him (Fig. 2). His first wife, Namokuelua, died in Kawaihae and was buried at Waimea [Thrum 1911:100-101; Stokes 1938:16].

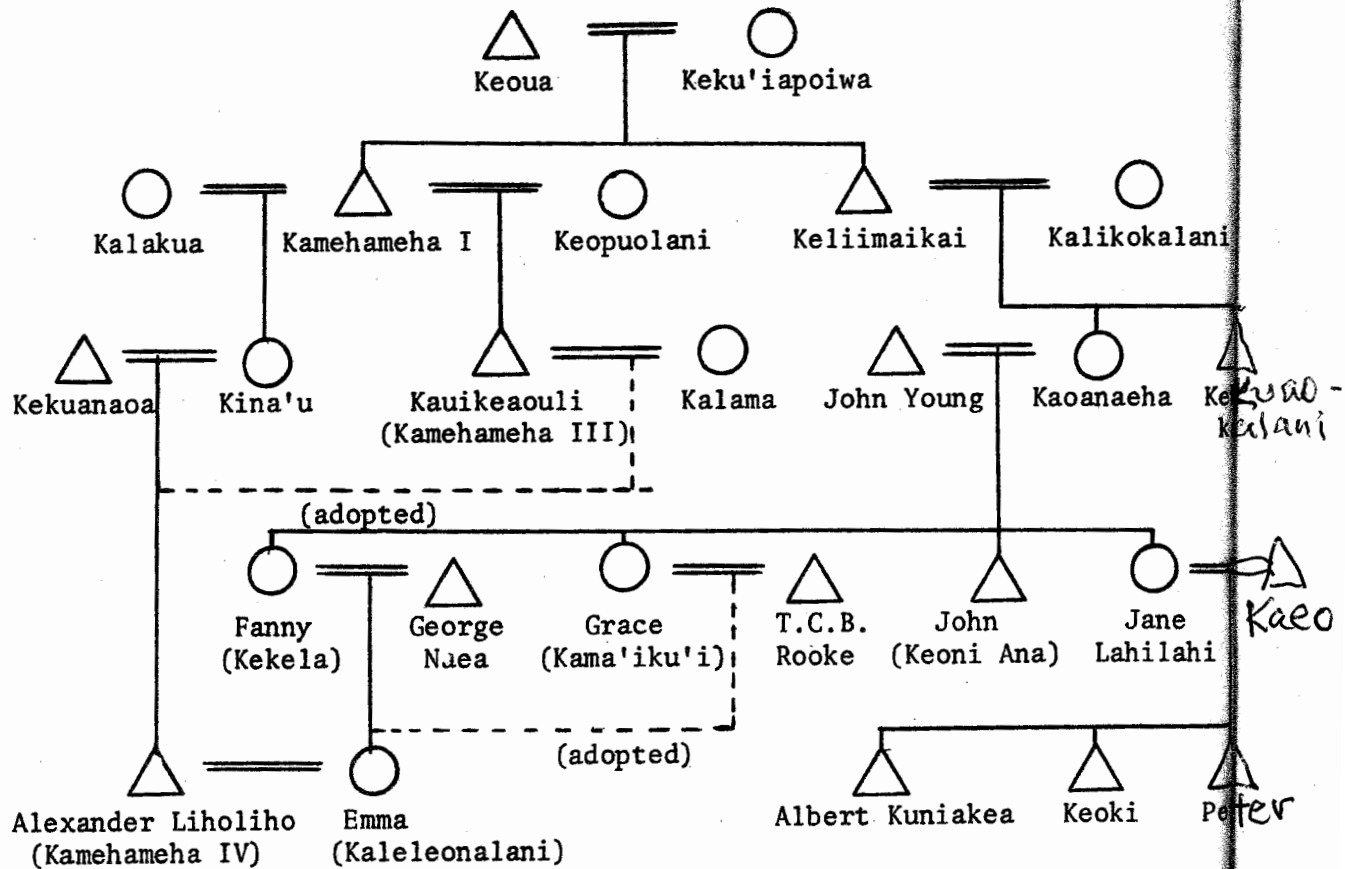


Fig. 2. GENEALOGICAL CHART SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KAMEHAMEHAS AND THE JOHN YOUNG FAMILY.

Young's children served the Kamehameha kings. James Young Kanehoa, a son by his first wife, was educated in Boston, went with Liholiho to England and served as his interpreter in an interview with King George IV

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John Young is reported to have recorded in his diary that he built four structures at Kawaihae: 1) his house; 2) a cook-house with a storage room; 3) a house for the children and their guardians (*kahu*); and 4) a storage house [Apple 1971:106,301]. At least one of them was built with "mortar and plaster made from sand, burnt coral and mixed with poi and hair, probably from goats" [Apple 1971: 206].

In 1830 Laura Judd visited John Young at his house in Kawaihae:

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.... We were sent up a rickety flight of stairs to sleep. I was afraid....Sleep was out of the question; I was afraid of the wind, which sometimes sweeps down the gorge of the mountain... [Judd 1928:36].

According to Laura Judd, Young's wife, Kaoanaeha, who was also Kamehameha's niece (see Fig. 2), preferred to live in a Hawaiian style house. Judd reported that because of her sleeplessness at John Young's adobe house she

...got up at midnight, and went down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat and comfortable. She is a noble woman. She lives in native style; one of the sons is with the king, and the daughters are in the train of the princess [Judd 1928:36].

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The earliest map that identified the site of John Young's house was L. I. Duperry's, which he made at the time of Freycinet's visit in 1819 (Fig. 3). The site is placed on a ridge back from the beach and overlooking the village. But this location is not very precise, because the gulches are neither clearly mapped nor identified. However, in 1883, Kawaihae Bay and village were mapped with great care by G.E.G. Jackson (Fig. 4). He identified two sites as John Young's: one was the "Ruin, John Young's house" on the ridge above Makahuna Gulch, and the other was "John Young's old house" at the foot of Makahuna Ridge.

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An early photograph of the ruins of the house on Makahuna ridge also shows a similar structure, down hill and closer to the ocean than the first (Fig. 5a). The distant building may have been one of John Young's, or it may have been the ruins of Rev. Lorenzo Lyons' Kawaihae home (see Fig. 4). A second photograph of the Makahuna ridge house (taken at the same time as the first) shows the Kawaihae church in the background at the right (Fig. 5b). Two additional photographs of these ruins, one taken in the early 1900s and the other in January 1974, provide a record of its disintegration over the years (Figs. 6 and 7). The present ruin has been assigned site no.

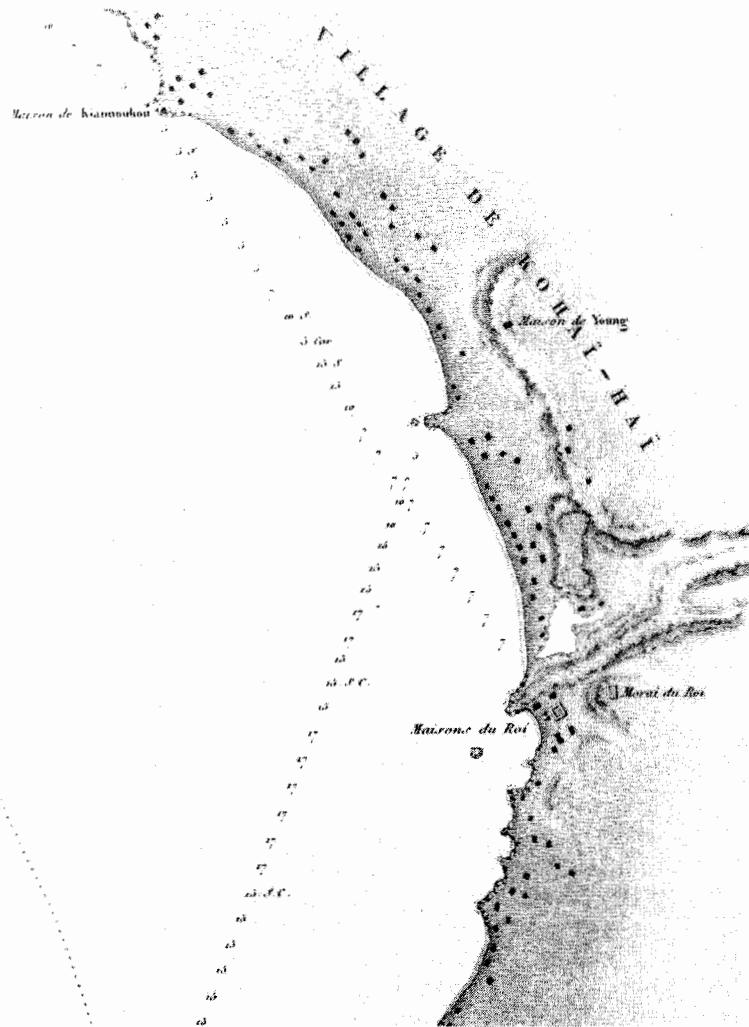


Fig. 3. PORTION OF THE "PLAN DE LA BAIE DE KOHAI-HAI" BY L. I. DUPERREY, OFFICER ON THE FRENCH EXPEDITION UNDER LOUIS DE FREYCINET, IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS IN 1819.

50-10-05-2296, and it was part of the Puukohola Heiau -4139 complex mentioned in Barrera (*Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3, p. 6). Much of which was once Young's backyard has been excavated away by recent quarry activities in that area.

William Akau said that his great-grandmother, Kamakahemali'ili'i (born about 1840), told him when he was young that the ruin visible today on the ridge above Makahuna Gulch was a "*hale kula Palani*" (Catholic school).**

* In this connection a portion of the text of a 1964 report by Lloyd J. Soehren is presented in Exhibit A, and a rough site sketch with photographs made in 1956 by Peggy Kai is presented in Exhibit B.

** As Governor of Hawaii under Liholiho, Kuakini, Kaahumanu's youngest brother, spent part of his time in Kawaihae. He was there when Missionaries Tyermann and Bennet arrived at Kawaihae in 1822. He was friendly to the Catholic missionaries and "received them affectionately" [Kamakau 1961:390]. He may have given them permission to use John Young's deserted house for a school. If so, it would have been before 1844 when Kuakini died [Kamakau 1961:391], and after Young had died in 1835. Perhaps the exact events can be determined through further research.

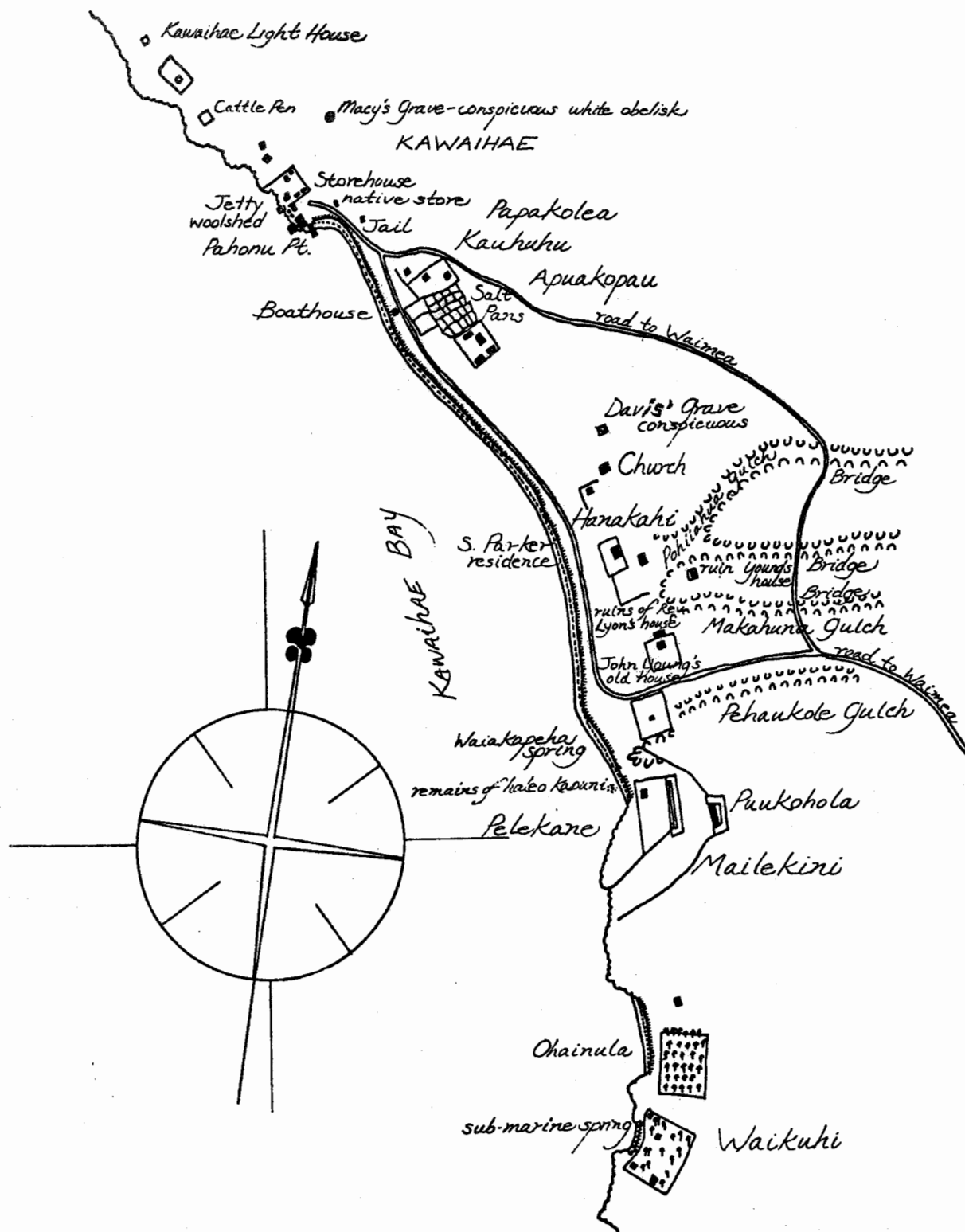


Fig. 4. PORTION OF MAP OF KAWAIIHAE BAY, HAWAII, BY GEORGE E. GREELEY JACKSON, JULY 1883, REDRAWN BY K. KELLY.

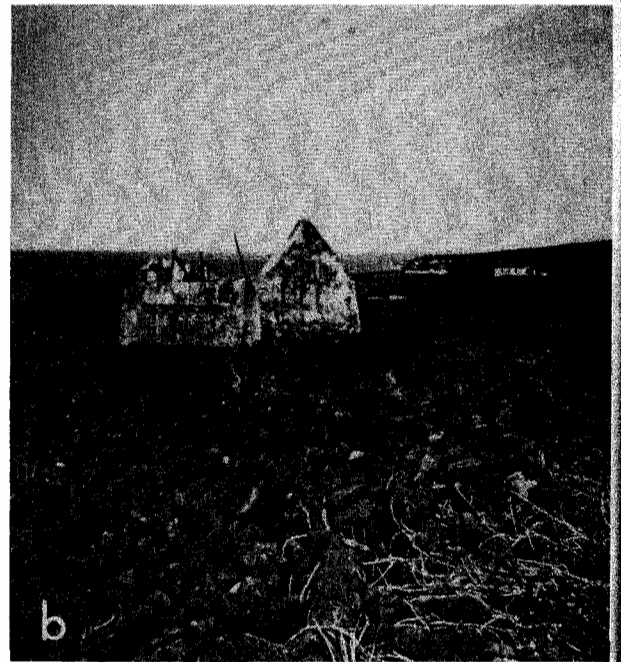
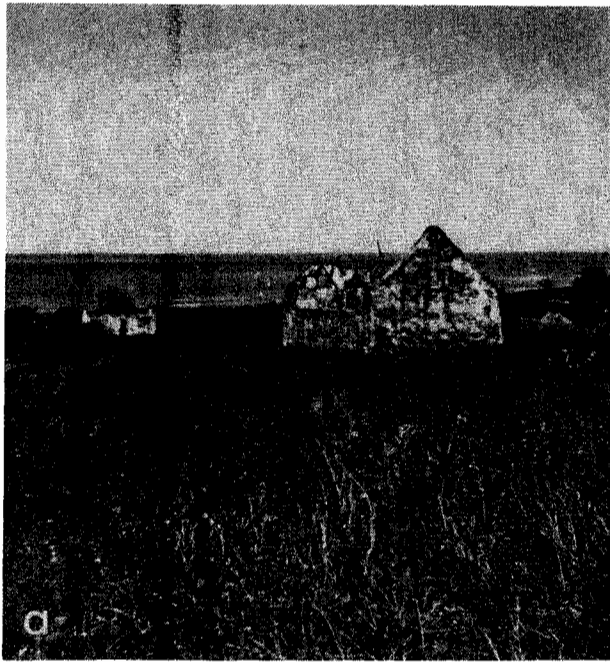


Fig. 5. EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE RUINS OF JOHN YOUNG'S HOUSE AT KAWAIHAE:
a. Shows two structures, the one in the right foreground is the main house, the ruins of which are probably those visible today; the house at the far left may be one of Young's other houses, or the ruins of a neighbor's house.
b. Shows the main house with Kawaihae Church in the background at the right.

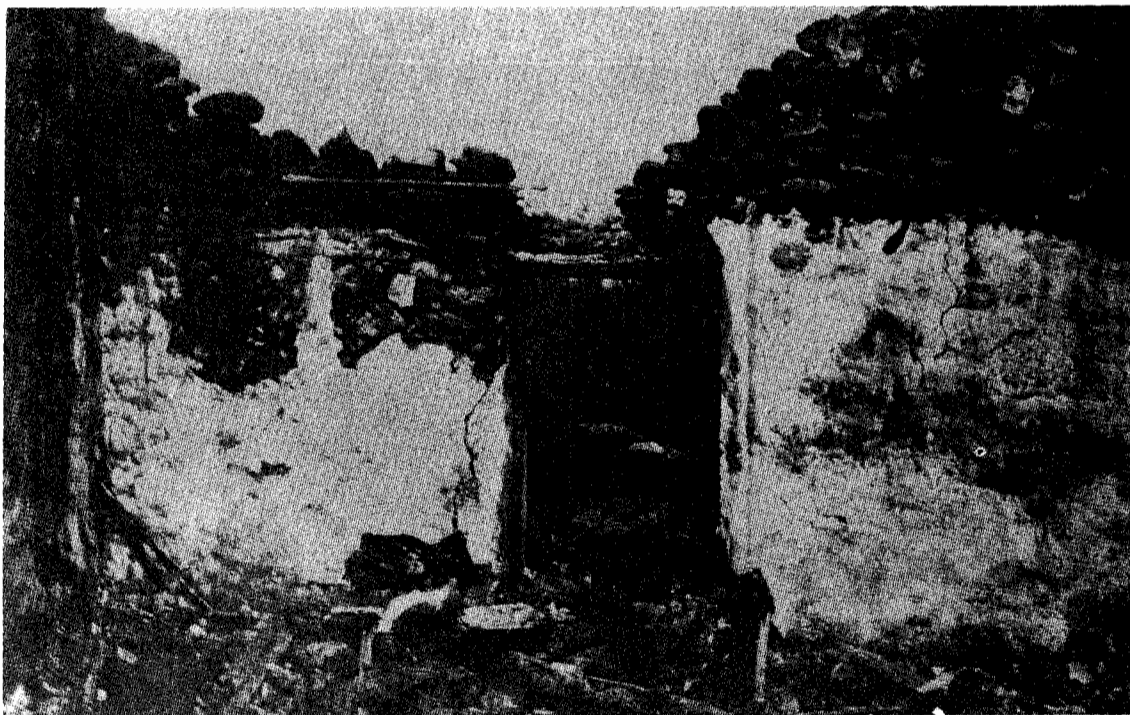


Fig. 6. THIS PICTURE WAS PUBLISHED WITH THE CAPTION "RUINS OF JOHN YOUNG'S HOUSE, KAWAIHAE, HAWAII" IN 1922. Photo by W. F. Wilson [Macrae 1922: opposite p. 48].

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Fig. 7. RUINS OF THE HOUSE ON THE RIDGE ABOVE MAKAHUNA GULCH, JANUARY 1974. Site 50-10-05-2296 is part of complex 50-10-05-4139, which includes Puukohola and Mailekini Heiau, Haleokapuni, the "King's Residence" and Kamehamaha's chair (see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3, p. 6).

Akau said his great-grandmother told him that another building located *makai* of the road, was "*hale o ke ali'i wahine*" (house of the Queen, meaning Queen Emma). This building was, Akau said, on the present site of Yamada's coral crushing business, its foundation having been buried there about 1957, when the reef was dredged and the coral was stockpiled on the site. Today the foundation is under about 8 ft of coral.

From the time he was three months old until he was about twelve years old, William Akau lived within 250 ft of the ruins of this two-story building. As a young boy, Akau used to play in its foundations. He described them as having been about 75 x 50 ft, with a ground floor and steps inside leading upstairs. There were windows, Akau recalled, on the *makai* side, but no roof, and there was a large door on the Kohala (Mahukona) end of the building. The foundations were made of stone, mud, and grass.

There is a possibility that this *makai* building was the ruin of John Young's "old house," the one described by Laura Judd as having been made of adobe and having had an upstairs. It seems, also, to agree with the location designated on Jackson's map as John Young's old house (see Fig. 4). That it once may have had some connection with Queen Emma is also not impossible, for she was John Young's granddaughter (see Fig. 2).

In 1847, Mr. French, a merchant who had an establishment at Kawaihae and in Waimea, was in possession of a "comfortable two-story stone house" at Kawaihae. It was "used partly as a storehouse and partly as a dwelling house [Allan 1848]. This could have been the old adobe house, or it could have been another structure altogether.

A map made by Loebenstein in 1903 (Fig. 8), located the site of "Old Fanny Young's H's" near the beach and back of a sand point identified as Puu-o-Kaiuoi. The house site was *makai* of the road and next to Makahuna Gulch. Fanny Young, a daughter of John Young, was the mother of Queen Emma (see Fig. 2).

A grass-thatched house photographed at Kawaihae about 1889 has been identified as the house in which Queen Emma was born (Fig. 9) [Feher 1968: 288]. Not everyone agrees today that Emma was born at Kawaihae, but if her mother lived there, as Loebenstein indicated, it is possible that Emma was born there. This could have been the house John and Kaoanaeha first lived in before John built his famous stone and mortar houses, and it was probably the grass house Kaoanaeha preferred to live in, as Laura Judd indicated, after Young built his western-style houses.

A second photograph of the same grass house on Kawaihae beach, taken at the same time as the first, indicates more precisely its location in relation to the *heiau*, Puukohola and Mailekini* (Fig. 10). Another old

* Mailekini is an old *heiau* that was transformed into a 21-cannon fort by John Young sometime between 1812 and 1819 [Apple 1969:22; Kamakau 1961: 198]. It has also been said that Mailekini was the place where Kamehameha first set to work to build his *heiau*, but he was "...told by his high priest to build his *heiau* higher and overlooking the ocean...." [Kinney 1913:45]. It was then that he built Puukohola on the hill above Mailekini.

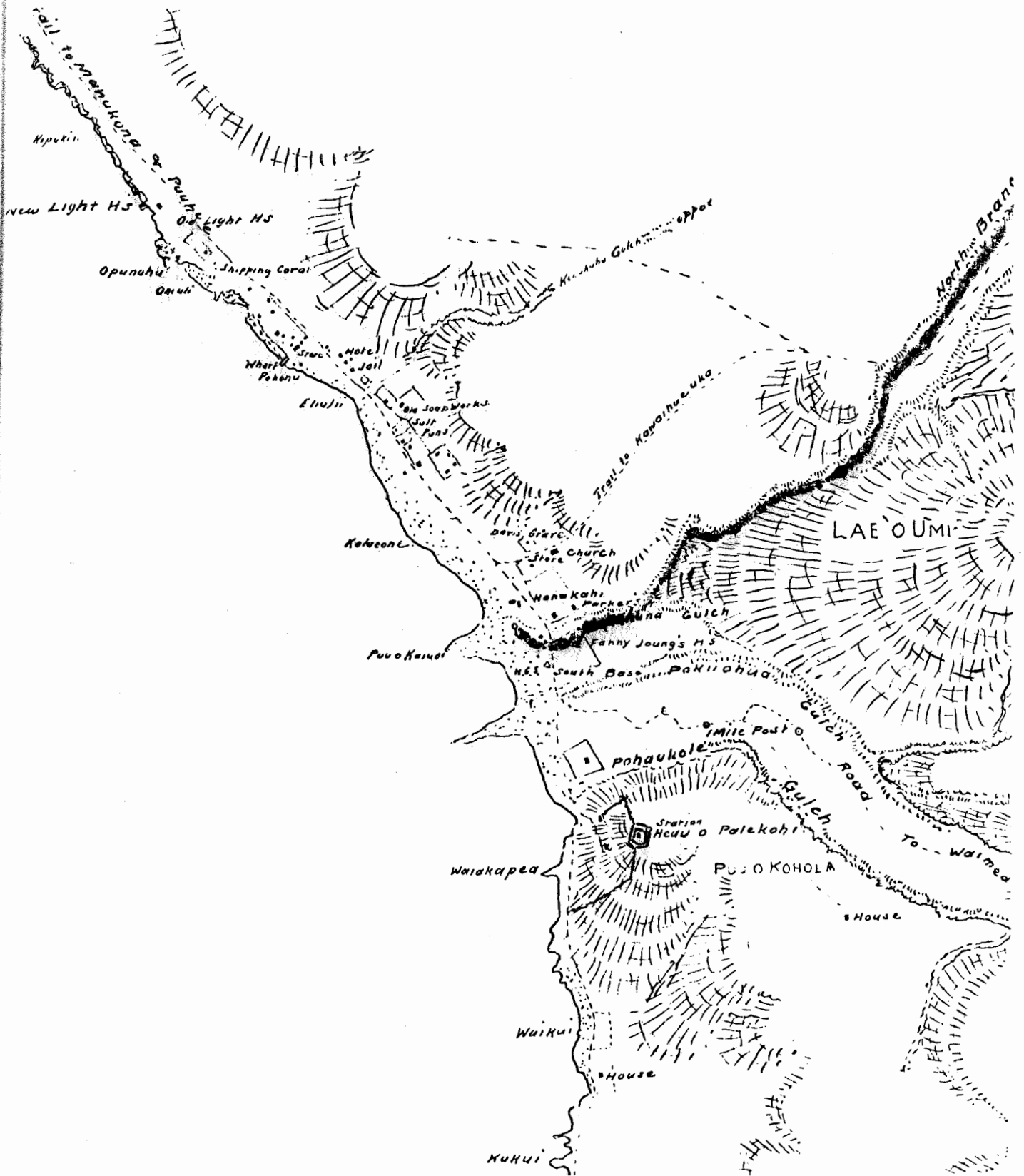


Fig. 8. PORTION OF MAP OF KAWAIHAE BY A. B. LOEBENSTEIN, 1903.



Fig. 9. PHOTOGRAPH OF GRASS HOUSE AT KAWAIHAE SAID TO BE QUEEN EMMA'S BIRTHPLACE. Photo by Brigham, 1889, Bishop Museum Collection.

photograph of Kawaihae Bay provides a good view of the *heiau* and of part of the village (Fig. 11). Identification of some of the structures has been attempted, using available maps and other photographs. The ruins of John Young's house on the hill are obvious, as are the church on the left of the photograph and the *heiau* on the right. A drawing (c. 1920) shows some of the frame buildings (Fig. 12).

THE KING'S RESIDENCE AT KAWAIHAE (Site 50-10-05-2297)

Kawaihae was not only the place where Kamehameha I became the *ali'i nui* of Hawaii Island, but also the place where Kamehameha II returned after the death of his father to seek consolidation of his forces and consecration of his leadership role. It was there that Freycinet found Liholiho in 1819, shortly after Kamehameha I's death. Duperrey's map identifies the "Maisons du Roi" (Houses of the King) near the beach just below the *heiau* (see Fig. 3). It was there that Freycinet was entertained by Liholiho, and where he visited with the Queens who were sitting in the shade of a *lanai* attached to a grass house (Fig. 13).

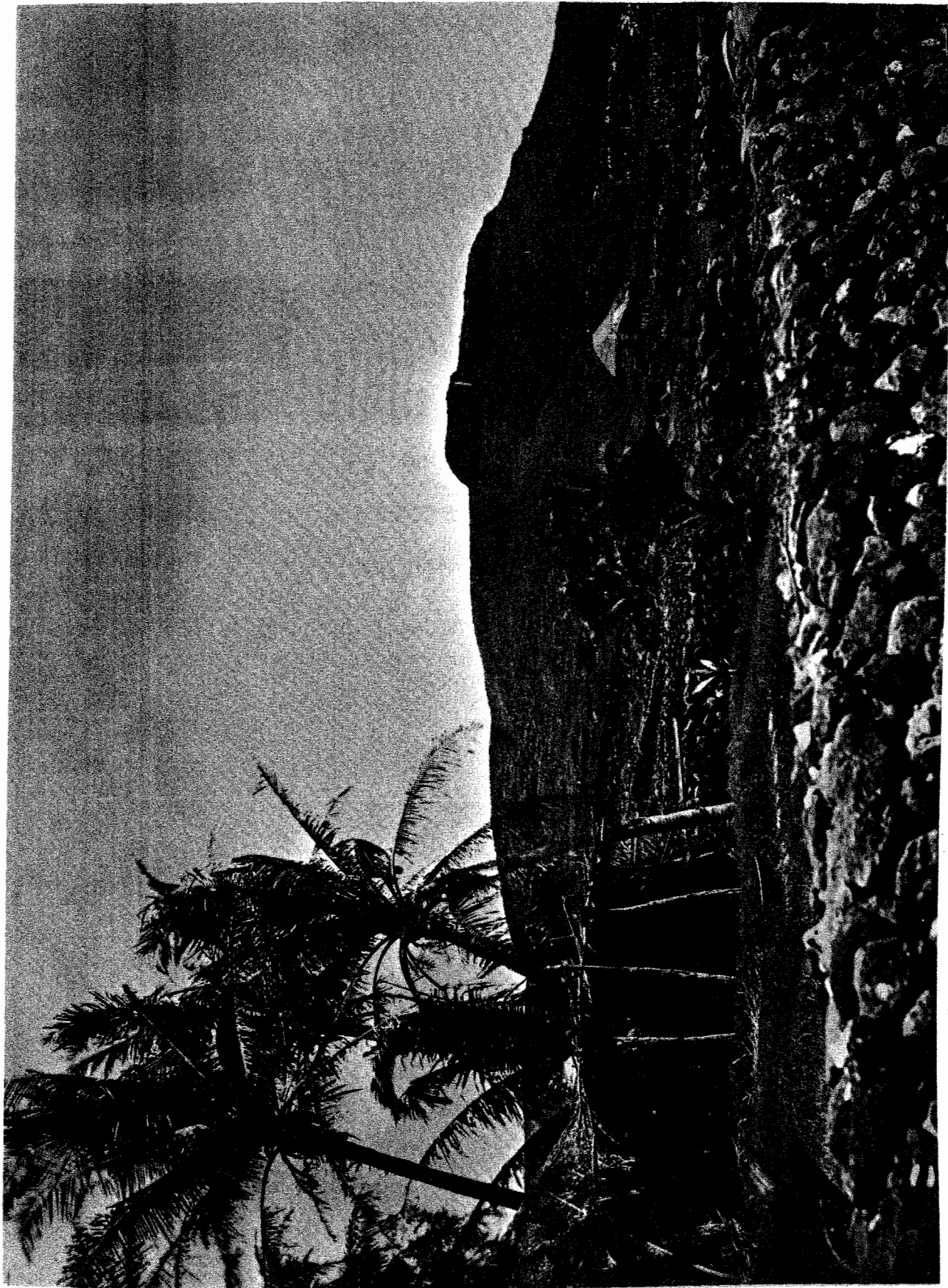
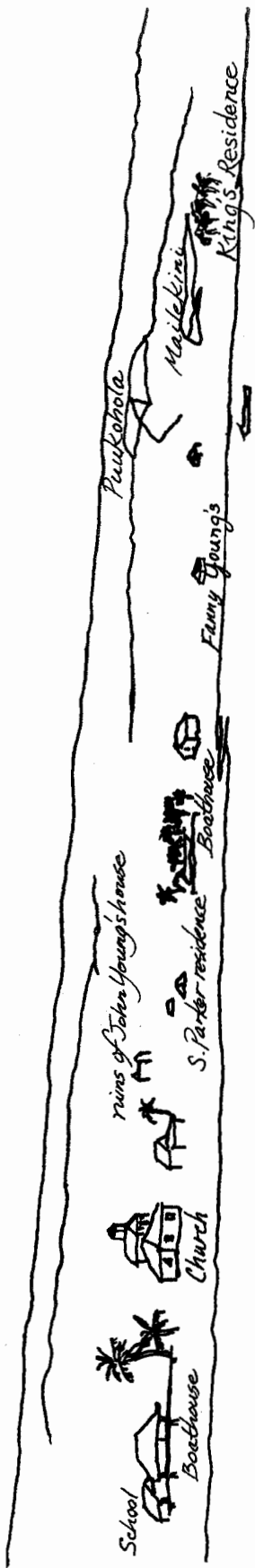


Fig. 10. QUEEN EMMA'S BIRTHPLACE ON THE LEFT, PUUKOHOLA HEIAU AT THE TOP OF THE HILL, AND THE END OF MAILEKINI HEIAU AT THE FAR RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH. Photo by Brigham, 1889.

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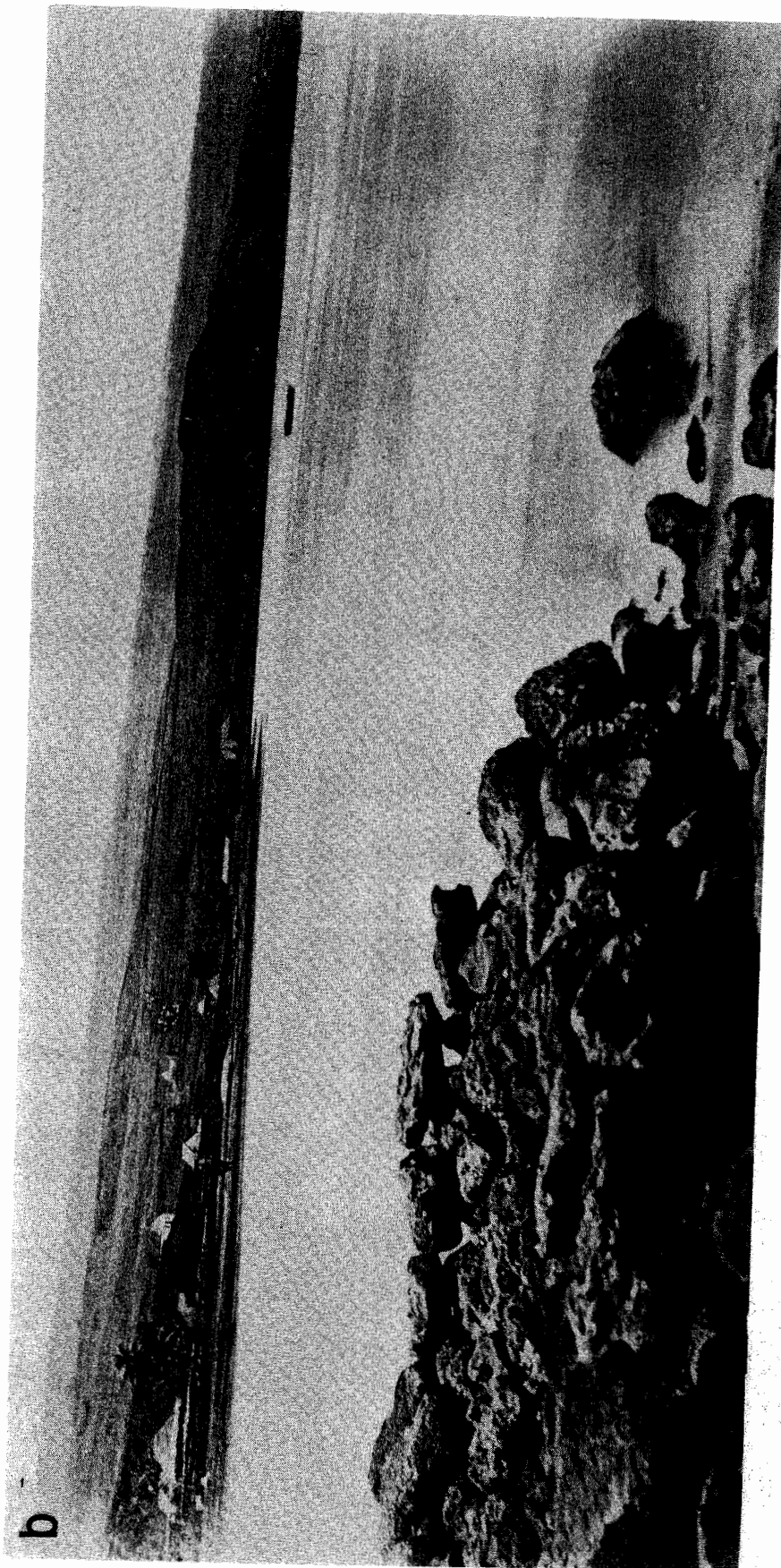


Fig. 11. EARLY KAWAIHAE BAY: a. An outline drawing identifying some of the buildings. b. The photograph taken about 1889. Bishop Museum Collection.

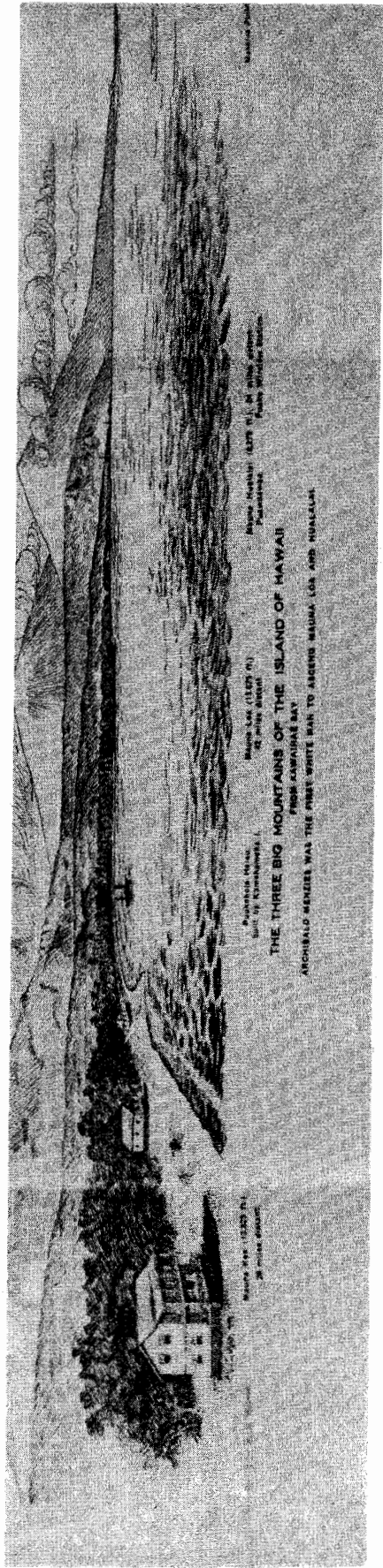


Fig. 12. DRAWING OF KAWAIHAE BAY BY W. F. WILSON, C. 1920, SHOWING A FEW FRAME HOUSES ALONG THE SHORELINE AND HEIAU IN THE DISTANCE [Menzies 1928: opposite p. 52].

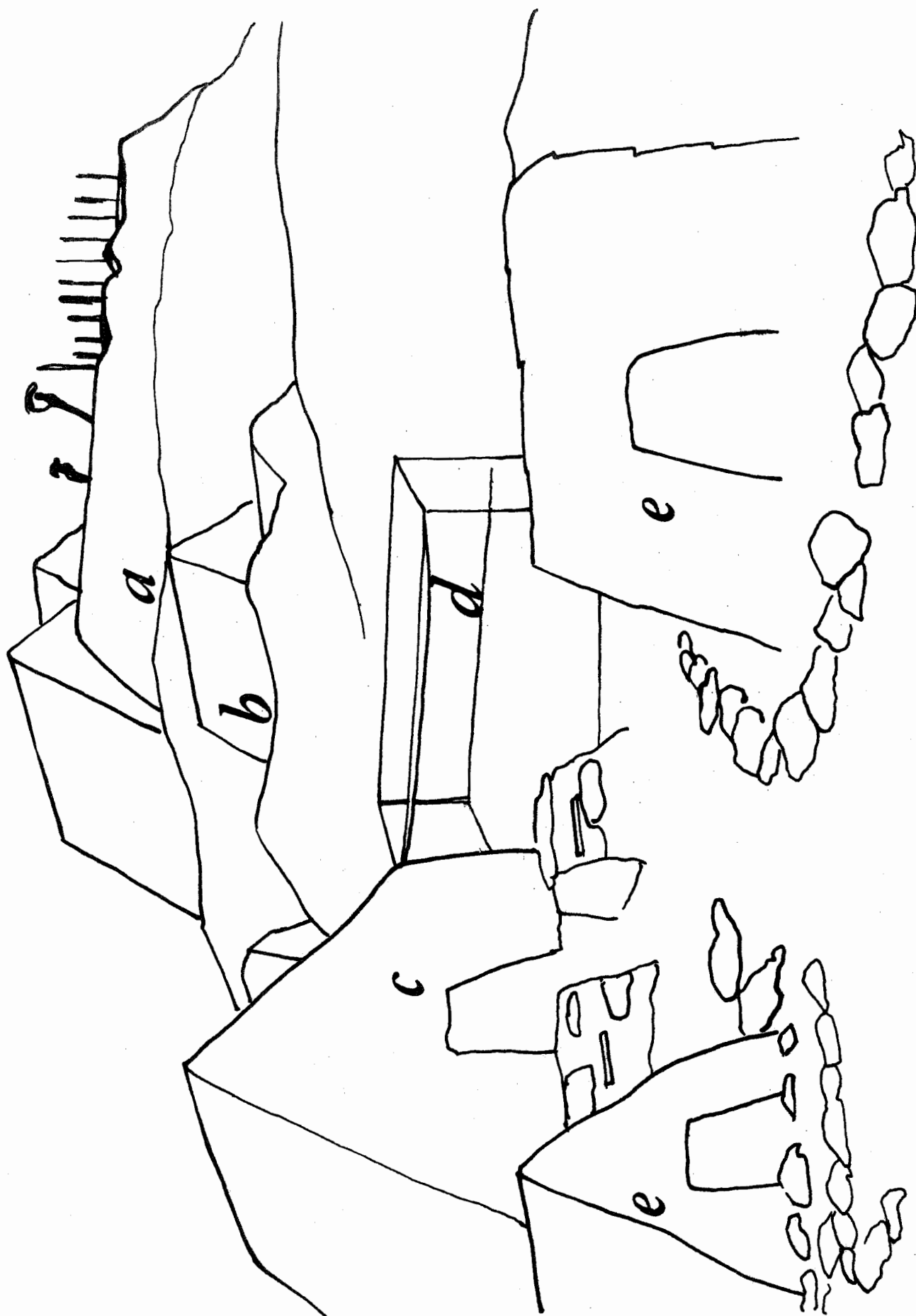


Fig. 13. SCHEMATIC SKETCH OF A DRAWING OF THE KING'S RESIDENCE AT KAWAIHAE BELOW PUUKOHOLA AND MAILEKINI HEIAU. Original drawing by L.I. Duperrey with the French expedition under Louis de Freycinet, 1819. The structures are: a. Puukohola Heiau, b. end of Mailekini Heiau, c. probably the King's house, d. the *Lanai* where

Freycinet described his landing and visit:

The monarch [Liholiho] was already awaiting me on the beach; he was dressed in the full uniform of a Captain in the British Navy, surrounded by his entire court....The King, a little in advance had his principal officers a little behind him; some of them wore magnificent red and yellow feather capes; others wore capes of scarlet cloth. Others again, wore shorter capes of the same style, but in which the two outstanding colors sometimes had touches of black. Some wore helmets. A fairly large number of soldiers, scattered here and there, because of the odd and irregular fashion of their uniforms, spread a great variety upon this strange picture....

Near to the shore, a kind of light shed had been erected for the occasion; there, the King's wives, resplendent in their youthful exuberance...made up a graceful and ravishing group, to which the continual motion of the fly-whisks, waved to and fro amongst them by their attendants, seemed to impress the picture with animation and life.

....He then asked me to come and relax in the royal house and enjoy the shade, but I asked that I first be allowed to go and salute the queens, his wives. With his consent I advanced toward them and shook their hands which they offered me freely.

The King's house, which we then entered, was but a grass hut ten to twelve feet long, and a little less in width; the flooring was padded with mats, as is the custom...[Freycinet 1829].

A photograph taken about 1889 indicates several enclosures *makai* of the *heiau* (Fig. 14). One rather large house under some coconut trees may identify the site of the King's house. Although it is said that nothing presently remains of this site, an aerial view reveals the tops of a few coconut trees among the dense *keawe* trees that grow on the beach *makai* of Mailekini Heiau (Fig. 15). Viewed from the coral stockpile, Pelekani today is a small beach--one or two coconut trees surrounded by *keawe*--with the ever-present Puukohola Heiau presiding over the whole (Fig. 16). Under the trees are platforms and stone walls that indicate former dwelling sites (Fig. 17). Further archaeological work should be done in this area and efforts should be made to identify, preserve and perhaps even reconstruct ancient structures at the "King's Residence." (Site 50-10-05-2297, part of -4139 complex; see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3. p. 6.)

Kamakau mentioned that Kamehameha I from time to time "...retired to the tabu district of Mailekini below Pu'ukohola..." [Kamakau 1961:350]. Figures 14 and 15 show stone walls emerging from the ends of Puukohola Heiau and veering toward the sea. Some of the stones in these walls were used, we were told, to build the County Road that now runs between the two *heiau*. The Loebenstein map also shows a walled-off area that matches the

Original drawing by L.I. Duperrey with the French expedition under Louis de Freycinet, 1819. The structures are: a. Puukohola Heiau, b. end of Mailekini Heiau, c. probably the King's house, d. the *makai* where Freycinet landed.

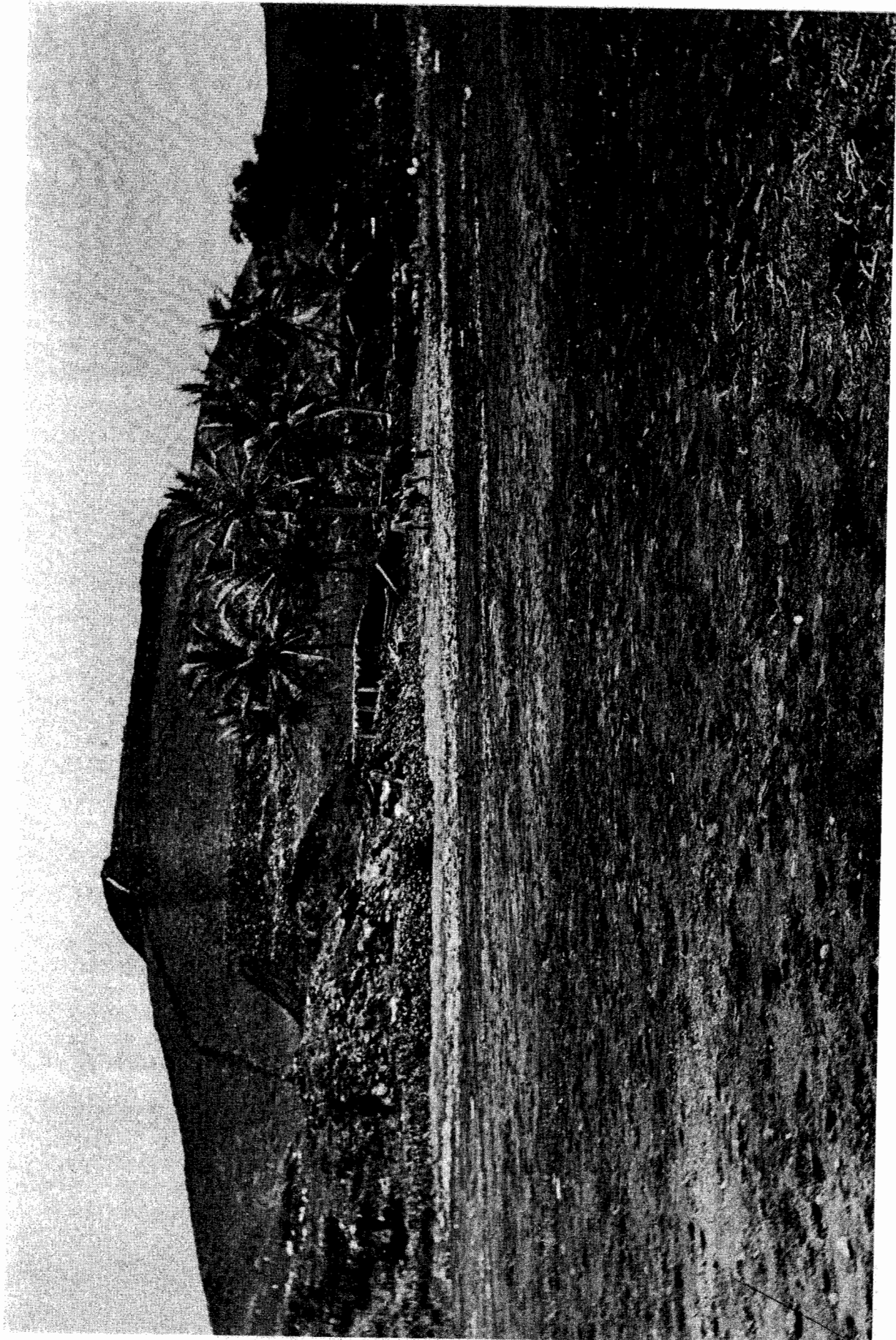


Fig. 14. THE KING'S RESIDENCE AT KAWAIIHAE, 1889. Puukohola Heiau is at the top of the hill and Mailekini Heiau, just below it (site 50-10-05-2297, part of -4139 complex). (See Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3, p. 6.) Bishop Museum Collection.

Fig. 14. THE KING'S RESIDENCE AT KAWAIHAE, 1889. Puukohola Heiau is at the top of the hill and Mailekini Heiau, just below it (site 50-10-05-2297, part of -4139 complex). (See Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3, p. 6.) Bishop Museum Collection.



Fig. 15. PUUKOHOLA AND MAILEKINI HEIAU FROM THE AIR, DEC. 13, 1972. The present site of Kamehameha's "chair" embedded in cement can be seen in the clearing below Mailekini, near the shore. Photo by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

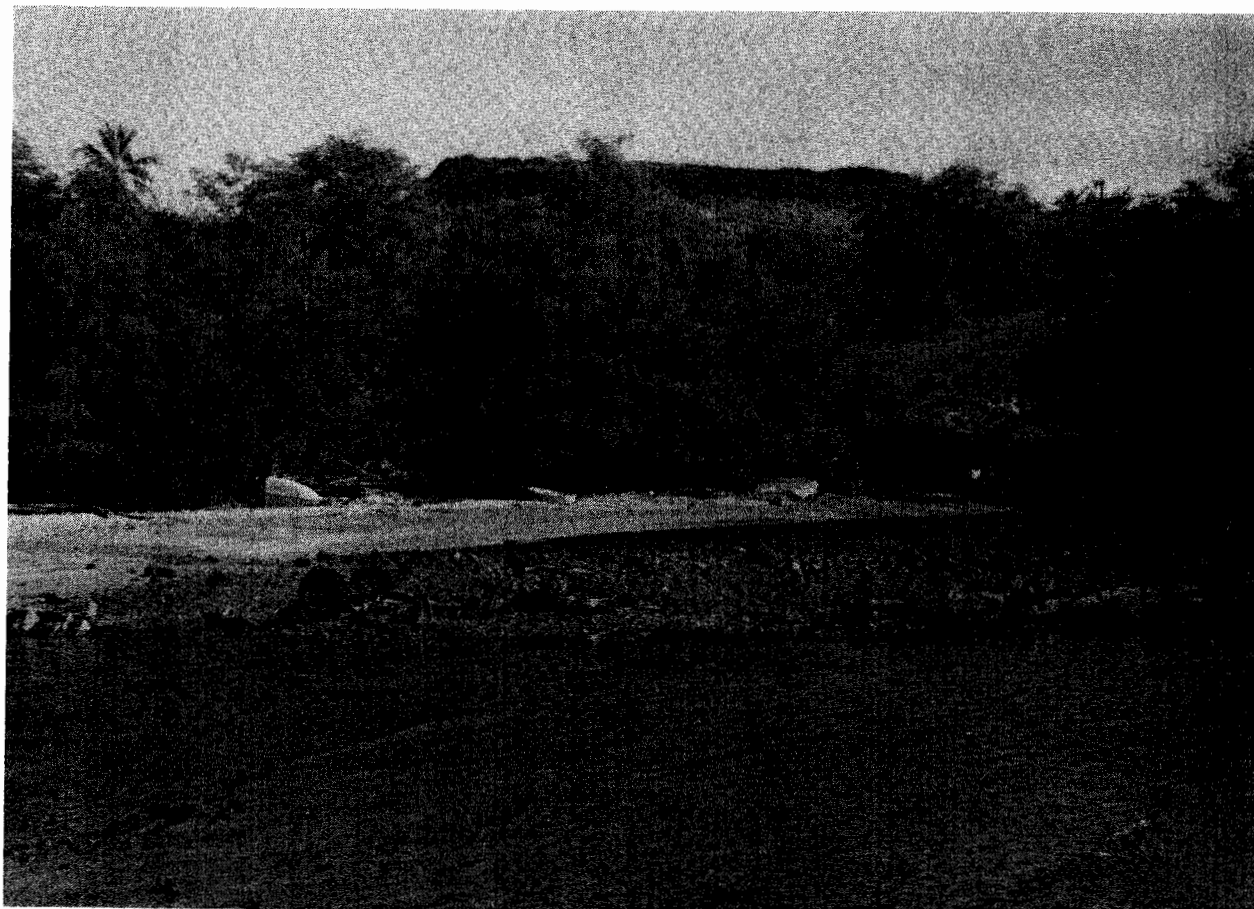


Fig. 16. PELEKANE TODAY, THE SITE OF THE FORMER KING'S RESIDENCE AT KAWAIHAE, WITH PUUKOHOLA HEIAU IN THE BACKGROUND. Mailekini Heiau is hidden in the *kiawe* trees below Puukohola. Marking the former site of the King's Residence (site 50-10-05-2297) are one or two coconut trees seen at the left of the photo. Photo taken in January 1974.

stone walls emanating from Puukohola. These walls might indicate the limits of the "tabu district of Mailekini" referred to by Kamakau (see Fig. 8) [Kamakau 1961:350]. Another explanation is that these walls were built to prevent cattle from wandering into the area.

It was most probably at the "King's Residence" where Kamamalu, daughter of Kamehameha I and Kaheiheimalie, was born, about 1802. She was Liholiho's half sister and lived in his household as his betrothed when they were children. She became his favorite wife and died, as he did, in England in 1824 [Ii 1959:70].

In Liholiho's journeys around the Island of Hawaii to the *luakini heiau* during the *makahiki* season, he began "...in Kailua, whence he went to Kawaihae, and continued from there around the island to the Hale o Keawe" at Honaunau [Ii 1959:137].

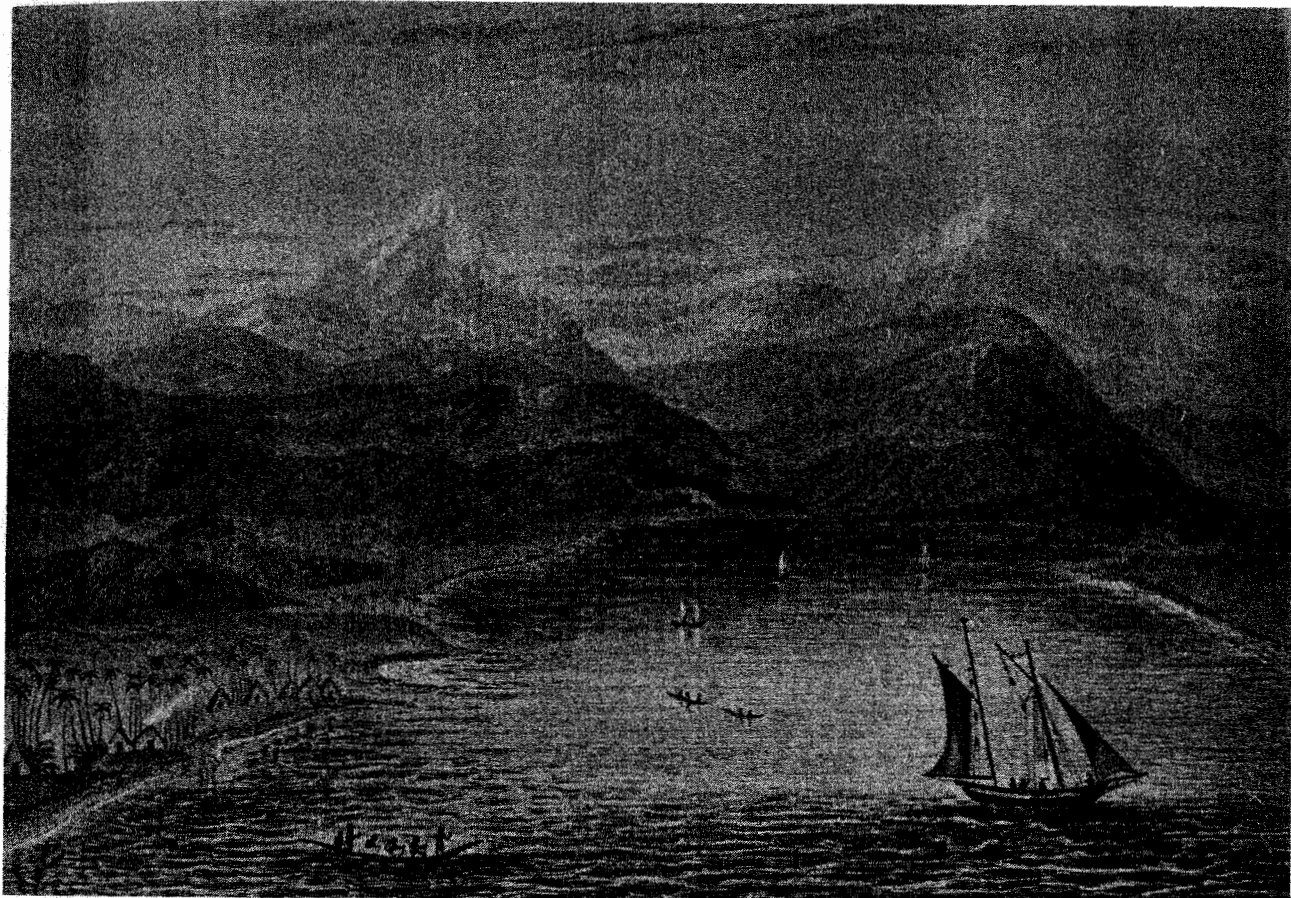


Fig. 17. KAWAIHAE BAY AS SEEN BY REV. DAVID TYERMANN IN 1822. THE HOUSES ON THE LEFT ARE PROBABLY THOSE BELONGING TO KALANIMOKU (SEE FIG. 3). Puukohola Heiau appears in the center of the drawing [Montgomery 1831: opposite p. 366].

HALE-O-KAPUNI

Hale-o-Kapuni is said to be an off-shore *heiau*, apparently having some connection with sharks [Apple 1969:17]. It is also mentioned in the story of Lonoikamakahiki as the place where "...all the chiefs...encamped," and was located "...immediately below the temple of Puukohola and Mailekini at Kawaihae" [Fornander 1917(4):324].*

*In a recent visit to Kawaihae, Eddie Laau Sr. was kind enough to point out what he remembered to have been the location of the rocks that formed the off-shore structure. We were told that the *heiau* is no longer visible, as it is covered with silt that has washed down from the coral fill. However, the denizens of the deep, once connected with the *heiau*, did put in an appearance at low tide that afternoon. There were at least three sharks in the shallow water. They swam slowly in a circular fashion with the white tips of their dorsal fins showing clearly above the surface of the water. Laau also said that he had been told that the so-called "chair" of Kamehameha was not a chair at all, but merely a high rock that Kamehameha used to rest his arm on while standing on land, watching the sharks circle in the vicinity of Hale-o-Kapuni below.

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SPRINGS AT KAWAIHAE

It is said that Keliimaikai, Kamehameha's younger brother, dedicated the bathing pool in the upland of Kawaihae called Keliialalahoolaaawai (the chief who roused to dedicate the water) [Ii 1959:59]. Also in Kawaihae was a *kapu* bathing pool called Alawai [Ii 1959:59]. Perhaps this is the pool described by Ellis [see p. 33, this paper].*

SURFING AT KAWAIHAE

The surf at Kapuailima is in Kawaihae [Ii 1959:135]. Liholiho and Gideon Laanui "...were often seen together gliding on the surf outside of Haleumiumiiole at Kawaihae and at Kapuni, outside of Kiikiiakoi" [Ii 1959:135-137].

SOME EARLY VISITORS TO KAWAIHAE

CAPT. GEORGE VANCOUVER, 1793-1794

The earliest prominent visitor who left a detailed description of Kawaihae Bay and anchorage was Vancouver. In his opinion the only thing that made this bay a desirable stopping place was its fresh water (which did not flow constantly the year around) [Vancouver 1801(3):186-197].

...the probability of procuring refreshments, from its [Kawaihae's] contiguity to the fertile, and populous western part of the district of Koaarra [Kohala] and the plains of Whymea [Waimea], lying behind the land that constitutes this part of the sea coast.... The country rises rather quickly from the sea side, and, so far as it could be seen on our approach, had no very promising aspect; it forms a kind of glasis, or inclined plane in front of the mountains, immediately behind which the plains of Whymea are stated to commence, which are reputed to be very rich and productive, occupying a space of several miles in extent, and winding at the foot of these three lofty mountains far into the country. In this valley is a great tract of luxuriant, natural pasture, whither all the cattle and sheep imported by me were to be driven, there to roam unrestrained, to increase and multiply far from the site of strangers, and consequently less likely to tempt the inhabitants to violate the sacred promise they had made...[Vancouver 1801(5):107].

* Eddie Laau pointed out a place called Waiakape'a, adjacent to Pelekane and about 20 ft from the shore, where the water wells up from under the surface. It is said to have once been warm and to have had some healing qualities that attracted many people to bathe there, in spite of its proximity to Hale-o-Kapuni and its associates.

On March 1, 1794, Kamehameha presented Vancouver with "near an hundred hogs of the largest size, and as great a quantity of vegetables as both vessels could well dispose of; with offers of a further supply if these were insufficient" [Vancouver 1801(5):108]. Kamehameha "and his queen" remained on board Vancouver's ship until the last minute before it weighed anchor and left Kawaihae. With them were "...their honest and judicious consellers Young and Davis" [1801(5):109-110].

Vancouver presented Young and Davis with testimonials of their good conduct "for the purpose of securing to them the respect and confidence of future visitors..." [1801(5):115-116].

THE BRIG *THADDEUS*, 1820

Following closely in the wake of Freycinet's visit of 1819 [see this paper pp. 10 and 18] were the American missionaries who arrived on April 1, 1820, off Kawaihae Village in the brig *Thaddeus*. There they met Kalanimoku and his wives and two of Kamehameha's widows (Kalakua and Namahana).^{*} The entire entourage went out to the ship on a double canoe, sitting on a platform between the two hulls. The canoe was "propelled with spirit, by eighteen or twenty athletic men...A huge Chinese umbrella, and the nodding *kahilis* or plumed rods of the nobility..." were being held over their heads... "they made a novel and imposing appearance as they drew near our becalmed Mission Barque, while we fixed on them, and their movements, our scrutinizing gaze" [Bingham 1847:82].

Rev. Bingham visited Puukohola Heiau with Kalanimoku and described it in considerable detail [Bingham 1847:84]. He also mentions Kalanimoku's house at Kawaihae village as "...a thatched hut or cottage in that small uninviting village." Duperrey identified the site of Kalanimoku's house on his map (see Fig. 3). The King was not at Kawaihae at this time, but living in Kailua, and the mission ship proceeded there from Kawaihae.

THE MISSION AT KAWAIHAE

The first resident missionary at Kawaihae was Elisha Loomis, a 21-year old printer, who was supported by Kalanimoku. In the summer of 1820, Loomis was given two buildings (a schoolhouse and a dwelling place) and 10 youths to educate [Mission Station Rept. 1832].

Lyons, who came in 1832 to take up residency at Waimea, wrote his first impressions of the coastal village: "Kawaihae is about as desolate a place as I have ever seen. Nothing but barrenness, with here and there a native hut" [Mission Station Rept. 1832].

^{*}Kalanimoku lived at Kawaihae as the presiding chief of the area at this time. The site of his house was recorded by Duperrey (see Fig. 3). He was Kamehameha's treasurer, overseer for dividing up the lands, and war leader [Kamakau 1961:277].

The congregation at Kawaihae varied from 100 to 400 persons, and in 1841, the population was reported to have been 726 persons (about 300 less than the previous year). Drought and other changes during those years had forced many people to move away.

It is a wretchedly poor place...the people have nothing to eat half the time....Sometimes they get one meal a day and sometimes they are entirely destitute [Mission Station Rept. 1841].

In 1846 Lyons wrote about famine among the people of Puako and Kawaihae:

Famine reigns and consequently the people suffer. They are mostly dependent on other places for vegetable production. But as there is no certainty of a regular supply, the people are often reduced to extremities [Mission Station Rpt. 1846].

By 1851, the California gold rush had affected peoples' lives in Kohala:

Kawaihae has become a port of entrance & is visited by many California vessels for supplies of vegetables, etc....California gold has been the means of increasing the wealth of the people...[Lyons, Mission Station Rept. 1851].

In 1843, the Kawaihae parish erected "a very commodious stone meeting house--which is pretty well furnished with seats...." It probably had a thatched roof. Although Lyons does not identify the precise site, it was probably not the present site of Keolahou Church ruins, but rather a site *makai* of the Government Road appearing on old tax maps as the "old church lot," adjoining the *kuleana* awarded to Keoanaeha and Puni (LCA 4522 and 4523; Exhibit C).

Churches were built by the labor of the people. Any funds necessary were raised by the people selling food from their gardens or gathering *pulu** to be sold, and so it was with the church at Kawaihae. Lyons wrote about seeing church members with donkeys and mules loaded with food they had raised, taking it to be sold for money toward the erection of the meeting houses. Other members spent weeks in the Hamakua mountains gathering *pulu* to sell to raise funds to build their church. These same people lived in "huts of the rudest construction" and yet spent all their time raising funds for their churches.

* *Pulu* is the brown, silky, fibrous covering found at the bases of the fronds on the Hawaiian treefern and in the buds at the growing tip of the trunk. It was gathered by Hawaiians under contract to furnish *pulu* to local traders who shipped it to California where it was used to fill pillows and mattresses.

This is a very self denying & soul- & body-trying work. It is a tedious work to pick it [*pulu*] & dry it, sack it & take it to the water side to be shipped. The people in some districts have to descent precipitous rocks & bluffs to get their bags of *pulu* to the shore....Besides those mentioned I might add their raising of Irish potatoes, the making of mats & salt, etc. [Mission Station Rept. 1843].

To construct a stone meeting house the people donated their labor to collect the stones, harvest coral from the bay, burn it for lime, and gather quantities of sand for the mortar. Logs for beams and braces were often hauled from the distant forests. Sometimes lumber was purchased from Boston or Honolulu, as were the nails, bolts and other building materials.

Being a seaport and also a village that had a large share of missionary-induced Christian sanctions, influences from the outside world sometimes produced traumatic experiences for the Hawaiian residents of Kawaihae. For example, a ship ran aground early one sabbath morning in 1845. Desperate to save his ship, the captain rounded up all the male population at Kawaihae and persuaded them to help him float his vessel off the reef. They worked from early dawn until after sunset and finally succeeded in saving the ship. The captain then proposed a reward for the men. Some church members were reluctant to receive money for work done on the sabbath; others thought it alright, and on Monday morning, they applied for their share of the reward.

Each individual was presented with a half dollar worth of cloth, which in narrow brown cotton amounted to only a yard and a half. As they could make no profitable use of such a small quantity, they requested that it might be doubled, which request was finally granted. This request rather displeased, not the captain, but another foreigner connected with the ship, hence he delivered over the whole company [of Hawaiians] to the constable with orders to have them tried before the magistrate for taking wages for work done on the Sabbath. There were 30 or 40 church members involved. They seemed to regard themselves in a rather sad predicament. I gave them my views and such advise as the transaction suggested. Their case was presented before the magistrate who exhibited wisdom and justice by refusing to impose a fine. This relieved the anxiety of the implicated church members [Lyons, Mission Station Rept. 1845].

During the 1853 smallpox epedemic, the remaining population of Kawaihae was nearly finished off. Lyons' remarks on his congregation at that time reveal his despair:

...I could not refrain from weeping when I entered there....It was a sad and desolate scene. In April one hundred communicants were present, many of them in the bloom of life--now [November?] there were but twenty-four, and not a youth among them.... [Mission Station Rept. 1853].

TYERMANN AND BENNET VISIT KAWAIHAE IN 1822

Sailing to Hawaii from Tahiti, the two missionaries, Rev. Daniel Tyermann and George Bennet of the London Missionary Society arrived in their two little vessels at Kawaihae Bay on March 29, 1822 (Fig. 17).^{*} They were met by "John Adams," an appellation for Kuakini, Kaahumanu's younger brother [Kamakau 1961:127]. Kuakini reported to Tyermann and Bennet that he was the governor of the island during the absence of the King (Liholiho), who was on Oahu at the time [Montgomery 1831:367]. The visitors also met "the principal chief of the district" and his wife in Kawaihae. "The house consisted of one very large apartment, having wide folding-doors at each end, but without windows. The floor was handsomely carpeted with mats." When the visitors were seated, "Both the folding-doors were then thrown open, and the natives, young and old, unceremoniously rushed in, to gaze at the strangers" [Montgomery 1831:370]. It was this voyage that brought Rev. William Ellis from the Society Islands to the Hawaiian Islands the first time. When he was here he received an invitation to return with his family and live in Hawaii, which he did for a little less than two years [Ellis 1963:iv; Kelly 1969:400].

REV. WILLIAM ELLIS AT KAWAIHAE, 1823

On his way around the Island of Hawaii in 1823, Rev. William Ellis visited Kawaihae twice. He spent some time talking with John Young, whom he described as "...an aged Englishman, who has resided thirty-six years on the island, and rendered the most important services to the late king [Kamehameha I]; not only in his various civil wars, but in all his intercourse with those foreigners who have visited the islands" [Ellis 1963:55]. Ellis also described the *heiau* called "Bukohola" [Puukohola], which he said was "built by Tamehameha about thirty years ago, when he was engaged in conquering Hawaii...." He said that it was "...dedicated to Tairi" [Ka'ili, or Ku-ka'ili-moku] for "...his occasional residence," and Ellis provided a long description of its structure [Ellis 1963:55-57].

On a second visit which took place on July 21 and 22, Ellis arrived from North Kohala by canoe. Again he met John Young and stayed at his house. The morning of the 22nd, he described the scene in Kawaihae:

^{*}One of the vessels was the *Prince Regent*, a schooner of 70 tons that was on its way as a present from the King of England to the King of Hawaii, Liholiho [Montgomery 1831:351].

Before daylight on the 22d we were roused by vast multitudes of people passing through the district from Waimea with sandalwood, which had been cut in the adjacent mountains for Karaimoku [Kalaimoku or Kalanimoku], by the people of Waimea 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.

There were 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, passed over the shoulders and under the arms, and fastened across their breast. When they had deposited the wood at the storehouse, they departed to their respective homes [Ellis 1963: 286-287].

The site of the house of Kalaimoku is identified on Duperrey's map of Kawaihae (see Fig. 3).

Ellis described a warm springs area located "...a short distance to the southward of the large heiaus" where he enjoyed a "...most refreshing bathe" [1963:287]. The springs were a little below high-water mark and had stones piled around them to enclose the water that bubbled up through the sand.

Ellis also described the making of salt at Kawaihae:

The natives of this district manufacture large quantities of salt, by evaporating the sea water. We saw a number of their pans, in the disposition of which they display great ingenuity. They have generally one large pond near the sea, into which the water flows by a channel cut through the rocks, or is carried thither by the natives in large calabashes. After remaining there some time, it is conducted into a number of smaller pans about six or eight inches in depth, which are made with great care, and frequently lined with large evergreen leaves, in order to prevent absorption. Along the narrow banks or partitions between the different pans, we saw a number of large evergreen leaves placed. They were tied up at each end, so as to resemble a shallow dish, and filled with sea water, in which the crystals of salt were abundant [Ellis 1963:28].

Loebenstein's map identifies the site of the saltpans, not far from the wharf (see Fig. 8) and Jackson's map confirms this (see Fig. 4). Informants at Kawaihae say the saltpans were destroyed by the harbor construction.

The saltpans at Kawaihae had individual names. There were one of each with the following names: Pohakuloa, Pipipi, Nuapae, Makela, Puu-opaa, Poemaka, Kaniku, Kapahukapu, Wiliwili, Kukui; and two of each named Kaulanaio and Maluhuehue. The generic name was *poho pa'akai* (depressions where salt is gathered). The statement continued, "The foregoing names are our areas of land. These names have been given to the salt depressions. These areas were taken and conveyed to the ahupua'a (Kawaihae) in the middle of the reign of Kamehameha I. There are a total of 14 of them." Signed, Puna & Manuia [LCA 10,903 Puna 10,904 Manuia, Native Register].

KAWAIHAE LANDING

An early photograph taken from the early Kawaihae landing looks back at a group of buildings which may have been the site of William French's warehouse in which he stored sandalwood, wool, barrels of salted beef, and hides waiting for shipment to Honolulu or California in the 1830s and '40s (Fig. 18). A sketch of the land he claimed at Kawaihae and which was awarded to him in 1850 [LCA 4884], indicates a building in about the same position just *mauka* of a short wharf (Fig. 19). French obtained this land from Governor Kuakini in 1838, for a place to store cargo near the Kawaihae landing [Native Testimony, Vol. 2:493].

Other buildings in the vicinity of French's warehouse at Kawaihae have been identified as a woolshed, native store, boathouse, and jail in 1883 (see Fig. 4), and a store, hotel, and jail in 1903 (see Fig. 8),, with the old soapworks and saltpans not far away.

In 1848, a writer for *The Polynesian* reported on a visit to Kawaihae at which time he and his party stayed in "...a comfortable two-story stone house, owned by William French, and used partly as a store house and partly as a dwelling house."* He continued:

The surface of the country is bleak and barren with little signs of vegetation. Kawaihae was formerly the residence of Kamehameha I, and contained quite a large population. Trade in sandalwood in former days' at trades peak, the place was much frequented by trading vessels, and quite a large business was carried on, not only in sandalwood, but in hides; but since the tabu on sandalwood, business had fallen off--the inhabitants have removed elsewhere, and the place looks lonely and desolate [Allan 1848].

Allan visited the *heiau* Puukohola, the site of the former "King's Residence," and the *heiau* Mailekini directly behind the residence.

*The writer was probably George T. Allan, an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company's Honolulu office [Thrum 1910:37].

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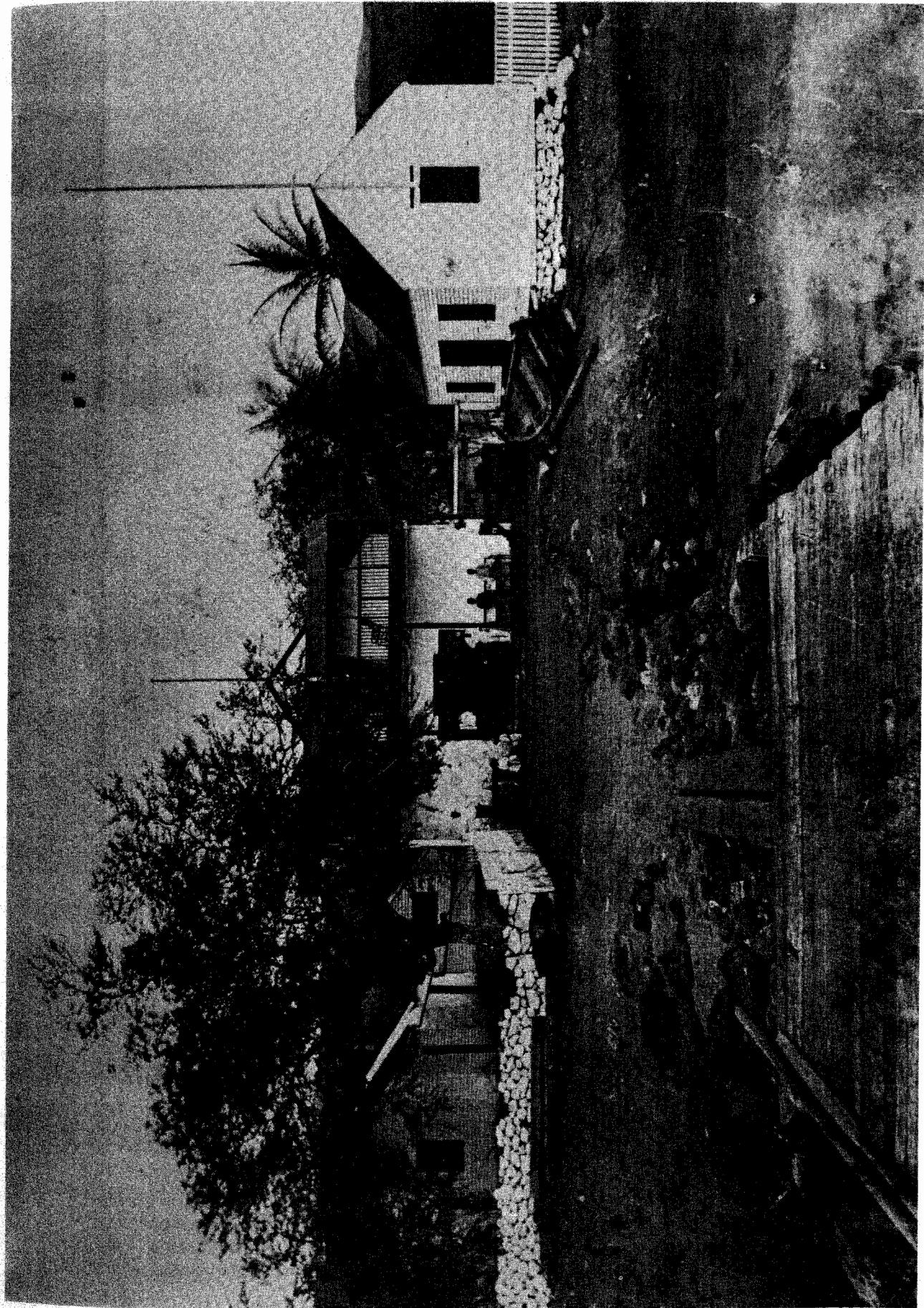


Fig. 18. BUILDINGS AT THE KAWAIIHAE LANDING. Photo probably taken in the 1880s. From the Monsarrat Collection. Hawaii State Archives

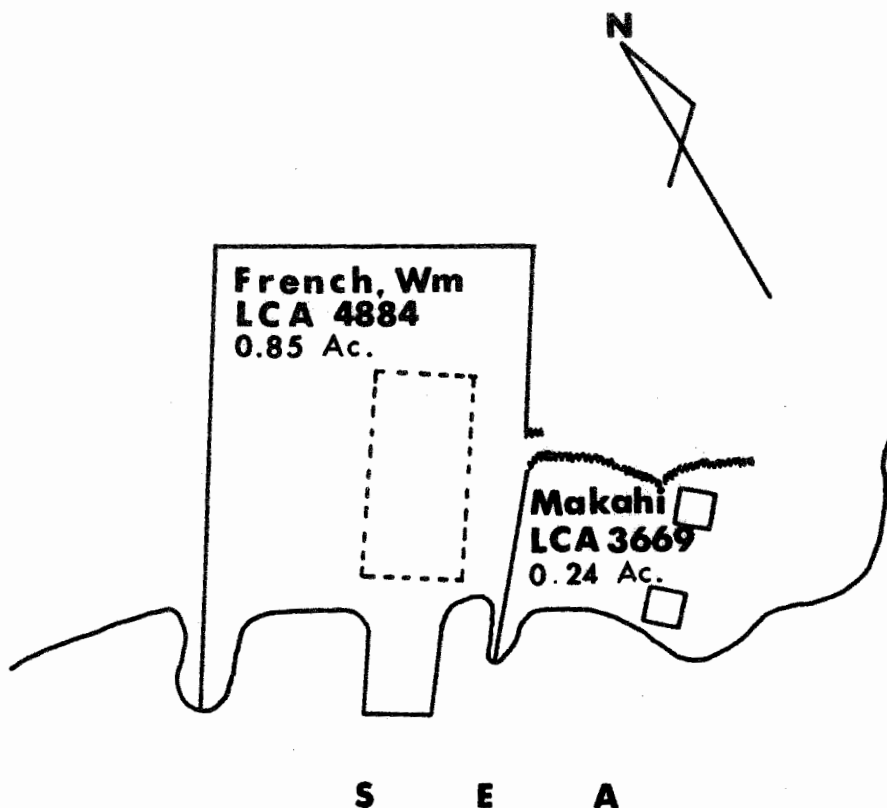


Fig. 19. SKETCH OF WILLIAM FRENCH'S LAND AT KAWAIHAE, HAWAII.
LCA 4884, awarded in 1850.

On the sea-shore stands two walls of what was probably the house for the priests, near by which, is a beautiful spring of warm water. In the rear of this, and partway up the hill, is the remains of a temple, or rather an enclosure about 250 feet long, and 100 wide... [Allan 1848].

French told Allan that Kawaihae was quite alive in the time of Kamehameha I and that the beach "...was lined with canoes for miles in length." At that time French carried on an extensive trade in sandalwood. Allan reported that the heat at Kawaihae prohibited going out of the house during the day, but that a sea breeze, "which sets in about 9 A.M., keeps the house pleasantly cool, and bathing in the evening is delightfully refreshing."

The importance of Kawaihae, as commercial activities grew, was tied to the productivity of the land at Waimea. First, food was made available for the traders, then sandalwood, salted beef, hides, potatoes for the forty-niners in California, and then in the 1860s, *pulu*. Some experts claim that the forests of Waimea, in Hawaiian times, used to grow all the

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way down to the hills just back of Kawaihae, and that because of this the climate of the area used to be quite different. Sandalwood cutting coupled with large herds of cattle roaming throughout Waimea, dratically changed the environment. In 1858 the numbers of wild cattle were estimated to be 10,000 [Doyle 1953:47].

Beckley's Boys who attend the government herd are known by the clouds of dust that constantly envelop them.... The soil is remarkably dry, and so extremely fine that water does not seem to wet it....

Even the elements were affected: Cattle destroying the forest has changed the *mumuku* [name for a strong wind at Kawaihae]. It was formerly so strong that the natives always lashed canoes to the rocks, stakes, or trees at Kawaihae [Doyle 1953:48].*

Even in the early 1800s, a visitor writes:

The tradewind is exceedingly strong, bringing with it a mist toward sunset. It rushes furiously down between the mountains which bound the valley of Waimea and become very dangerous to shipping in the bay. It is called by the natives *mumuku* and is foretold by them from an illuminated streak that is seen far inland. This is believed to be caused by a reflection of the twilight on the mist that always accompanies the *mumuku*.... [Wilkes 1845(4):217].

An analysis of the disappearance of the *mumuku* was made in 1856 and is attached at the end of this paper [see Exhibit D].

As the sandalwood and *pulu* disappeared, main support of South Kohala's economy was Waimea's cattle and this is reflected in Kawaihae in many ways (Fig. 20).

As ranching at Waimea expanded, and large ships were brought into interisland service, Kawaihae became one of West Hawaii's largest ports of call. From it and other similar ports cattle were shipped alive to Honolulu's slaughter houses. They were driven into the water, floated to the waiting ship tied by their horns to a small boat and lifted in a belly sling on to the deck of the ship.

A roadway, that runs just back of Doi's store and leads to the cattle pens, was described by Eddie Laau as the cattle road which was used in the days when cattle were driven from Waimea and held in the corral near the old wharf until ship day.

*An explanation of this phenomenon was published in 1856 [Exhibit D].

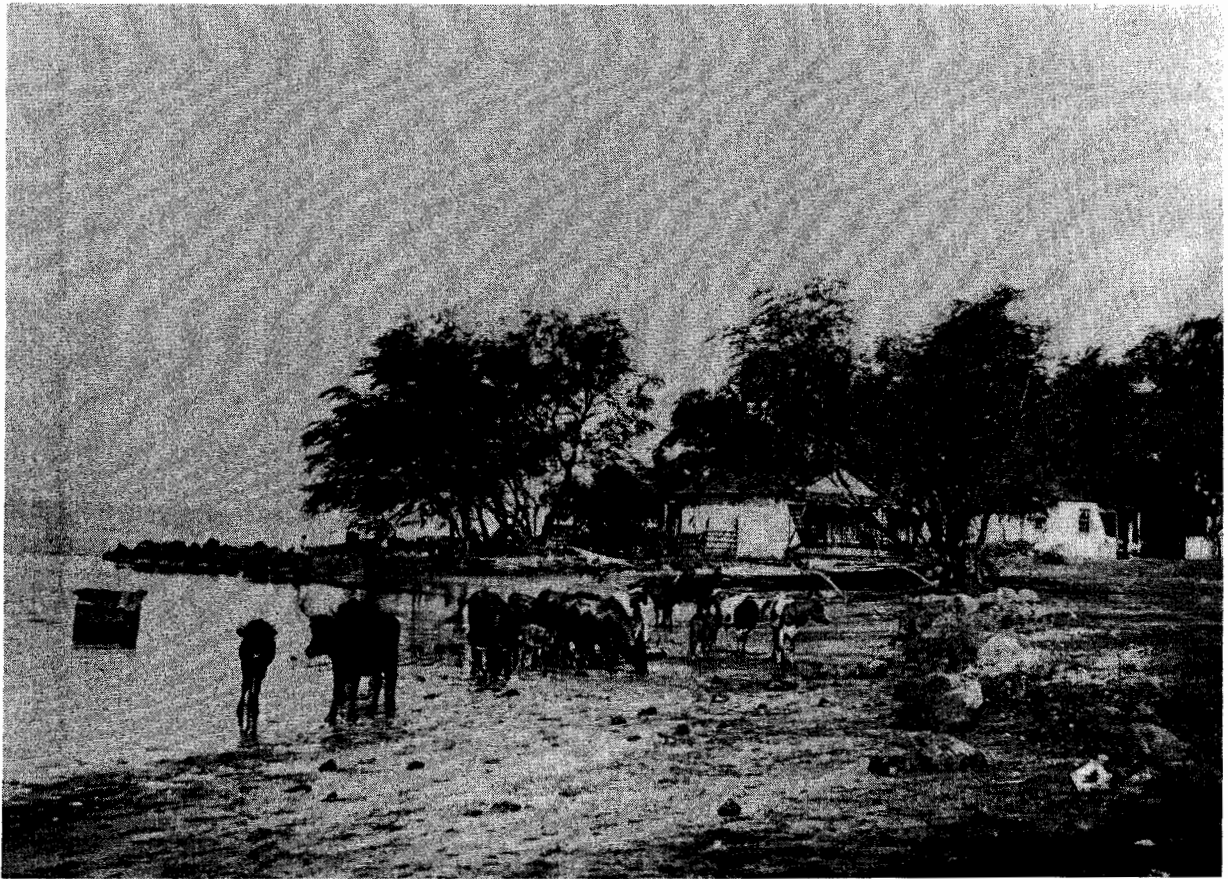


Fig. 20. A SCENE IN THE 1880s ON THE BEACH AT KAWAIHAE. Photo courtesy Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

The panorama photograph of Kawaihae Bay (see Fig. 11b) was probably taken from Pahonu Point (see Map, Fig. 8), just E of Kawaihae landing, and identified by a rocky point protruding into the bay in the foreground of the photo. The term Pahonu can be translated literally, "an enclosure for turtles." The structure on the point appears to have been man-made and could be the remains of a structure that may have served such a purpose at one time.

The church can be seen on the hill toward the left of the photograph (see Fig. 11). It was re-dedicated on January 13, 1859, and had at that time a belfry, but no bell. The cost of the new structure was \$800.

Today the church is gone. Only a few foundation stones remain. It was taken down in 1959 and the residents today say they don't know why (Fig. 21). A hundred feet or so W of the site is the old graveyard. The remains of the church site and the cemetery W of the church foundations have been assigned site no. 50-10-05-2298. The most prominent grave is a large cement tomb which William Akau identified as the grave of George Hueu Davis, the oldest son of Isaac Davis (Fig. 22). He and his siblings had been cared for by John Young after Isaac was poisoned in 1810. Hueu became a *konohiki* of the area. In the Mahele of 1848, he received the *ahupua'a* of Waikoloa in Kohala [Indices....1929:58; see this paper p.46].



Fig. 21. KAWAIHAE CHURCH, "KEOLAHOU" JUST BEFORE IT WAS RAZED IN 1959. Photo courtesy Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (site 50-10-05-2298; see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 3, p: 6).



Fig. 22. TOMB OF GEORGE HUEU DAVIS, SON OF ISAAC DAVIS, COMPANION OF KAMEHAMEHA I, PHOTOGRAPHED AT KAWAIHAE, JANUARY 1974. Harriet Akau in the background. This tomb (site no. 50-10-05-2298) was referred to as Davis' grave on Jackson's map (see Fig. 4).

The houses in Figure 20 may have been those that once belonged to Makahi, whose land (0.24 acres) was located E of French's storehouse and wharf at Kawaihae (see Fig. 19). In the text of the testimony submitted to the Land Commissioners in support of Makahi's claim, it is stated that his land was at Pahonu in Kawaihae, Hawaii. "Ua ike no au i kahi o Makahi ma Pahonu i Kawaihae, Hawaii, he pahale, ua paa i ka paia, elua hale maloko..." [Native Testimony, Bk. 4:4, LCA 3669]. It was also stated that he had received his land in 1841.

In January 1872 Lyons recorded a great storm: "All wharves swept away at Kawaihae. Such a sea not known by oldest inhabitants" [Doyle 1953:205]. Apparently the wharf was either repaired or a new one was built because in April of the following year, Kawaihae received a visit from King David Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani at which time "All Waimea went to Kawaihae" [Doyle 1953:208].

Jackson's map of the harbor and village in 1880 reflects the requirements of expanded shipping activities. He placed several landmarks on his map for guiding ships, and two of them were graves. Davis' grave is already mentioned above (site no. 2298). Macy's grave, described as a "conspicuous white obelisk" was located on the slopes behind the present harbor entrance (Fig. 23; site no. 50-10-05-2299; part of complex -6522; see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, p. 37). It is probably the grave of George W. Macy, a sea captain who was the business partner of Louzada, an early merchant at Lihue in Waimea (see this paper p.48. There are many other graves in the area (Fig. 24).



Fig. 23. RUINS OF MACY'S GRAVE, FORMERLY A "CONSPICUOUS WHITE OBELISK" USED AS A LANDMARK BY SHIPS ENTERING THE HARBOR. Eddie Laau Sr. in foreground (site 50-10-05-2299; part of complex -6522; see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 2, p. 5 and p. 37).

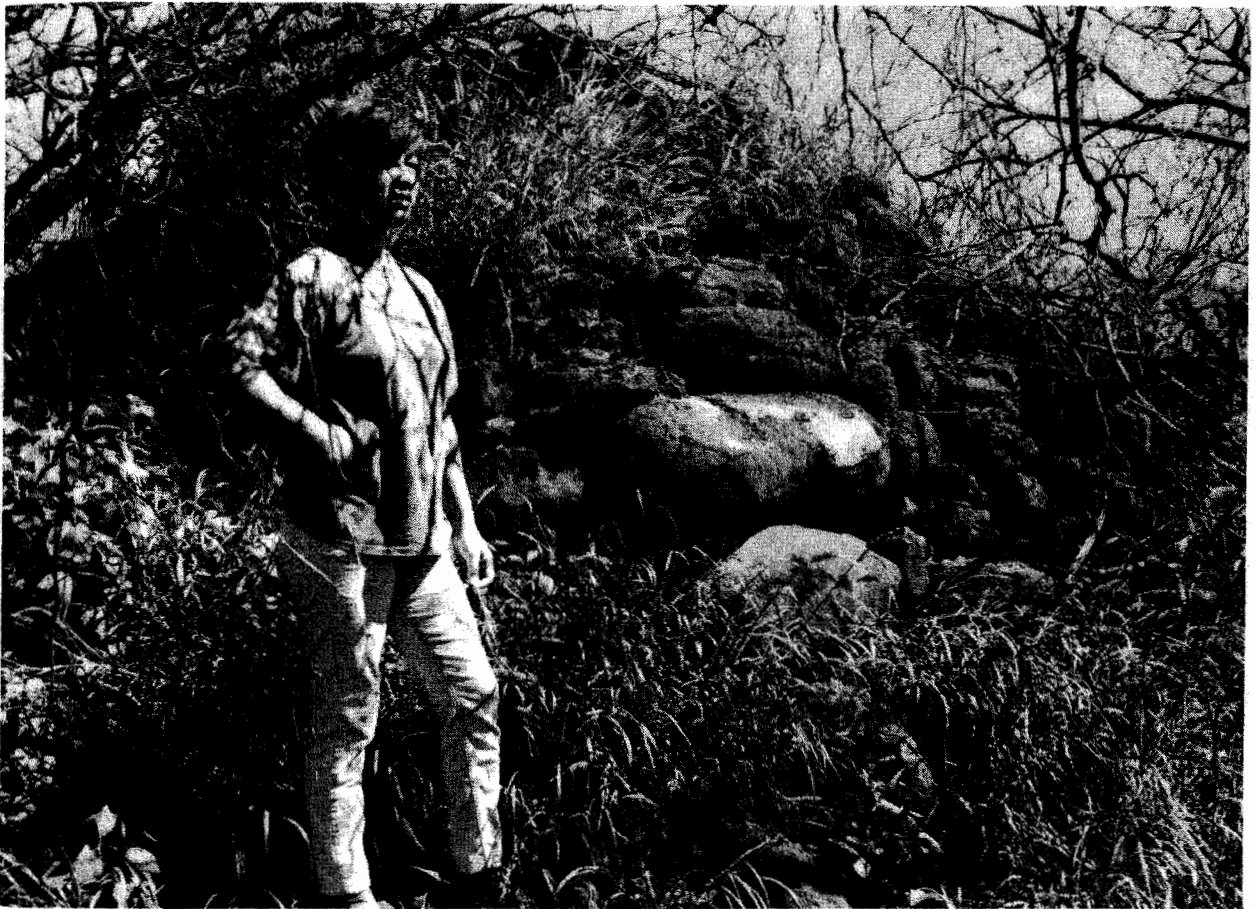


Fig. 24. ONE OF MANY UNIDENTIFIED TOMBS IN THE AREA BACK OF KAWAIHAE VILLAGE, NEAR THE "CATTLE ROAD." Naomi Laau in foreground. (Part of complex -6522, Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report p. 37, and Fig. 2, p. 5).

Today Kawaihae Bay and coastline are so changed that they are hardly recognizable as the same place the Rev. Tyermann (see Fig. 17), or even Wilson sketched (see Fig. 12). "Before" and "after" aerial photographs taken in 1950 and 1971 indicate how much of the change has been made in relatively recent times (Fig. 25a, b).

On the ground, looking from Puukohola toward Kawaihae lighthouse the contrast of changes since the 1930s can be seen (Figs. 26 and 27).

WAIMEA

Vancouver's evaluation of Kawaihae was tied to his own interests--the supplies for his ships in the way of food, water, and firewood that the area could produce. He recognized the importance of Kawaihae's connections with the fertile area of Waimea on the plateau behind Kawaihae in this regard. It was from Waimea that most of the supplies needed by the early visitors, traders, and explorers, came.

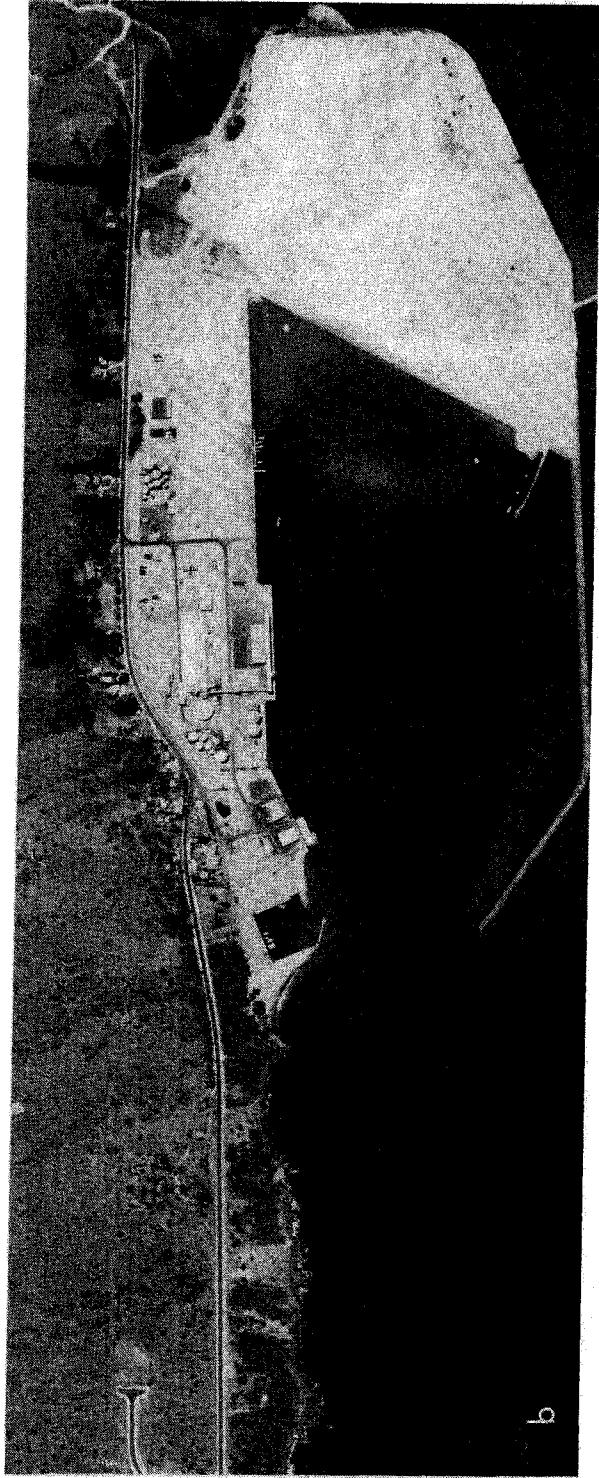
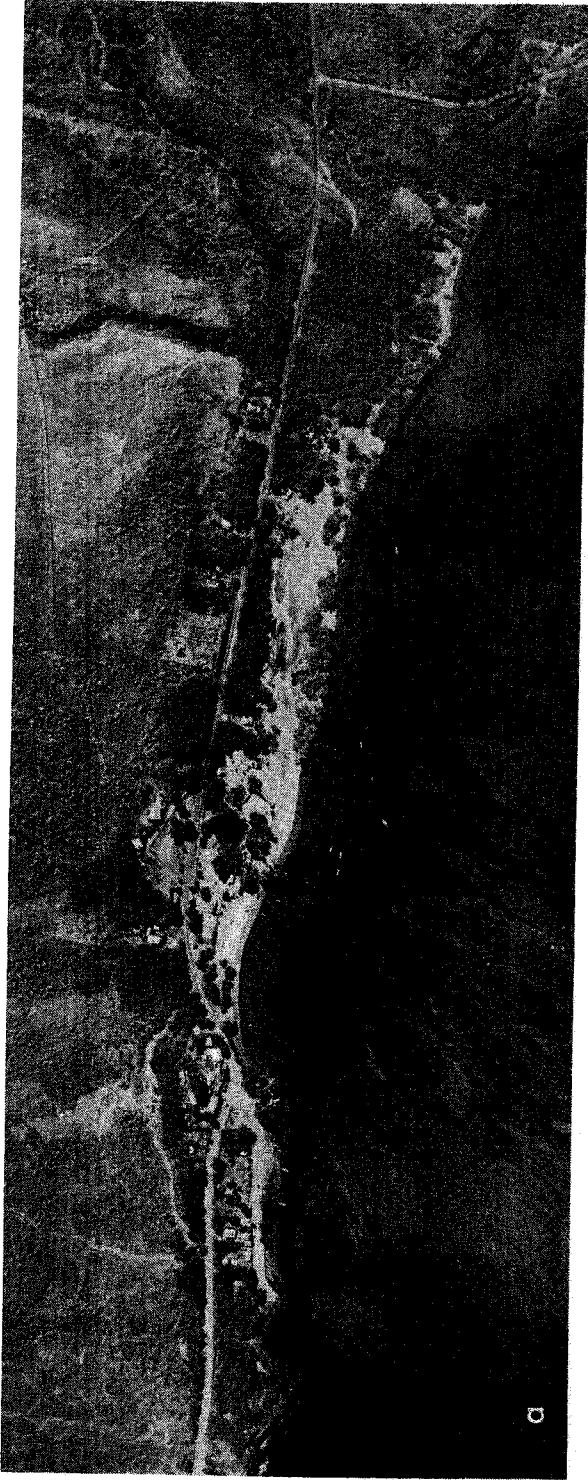


Fig. 25: AERIAL VIEWS OF KAWAIHAE HARBOR. a. 1950; b. 1971. Photos by R. M. Towill Corporation.



Fig. 26. VIEW OF KAWAIHAE THEN, C. 1930 FROM PUUKOHOLA HEIAU. Note ship anchored in bay near wharf. Photo in Bishop Museum Collection.

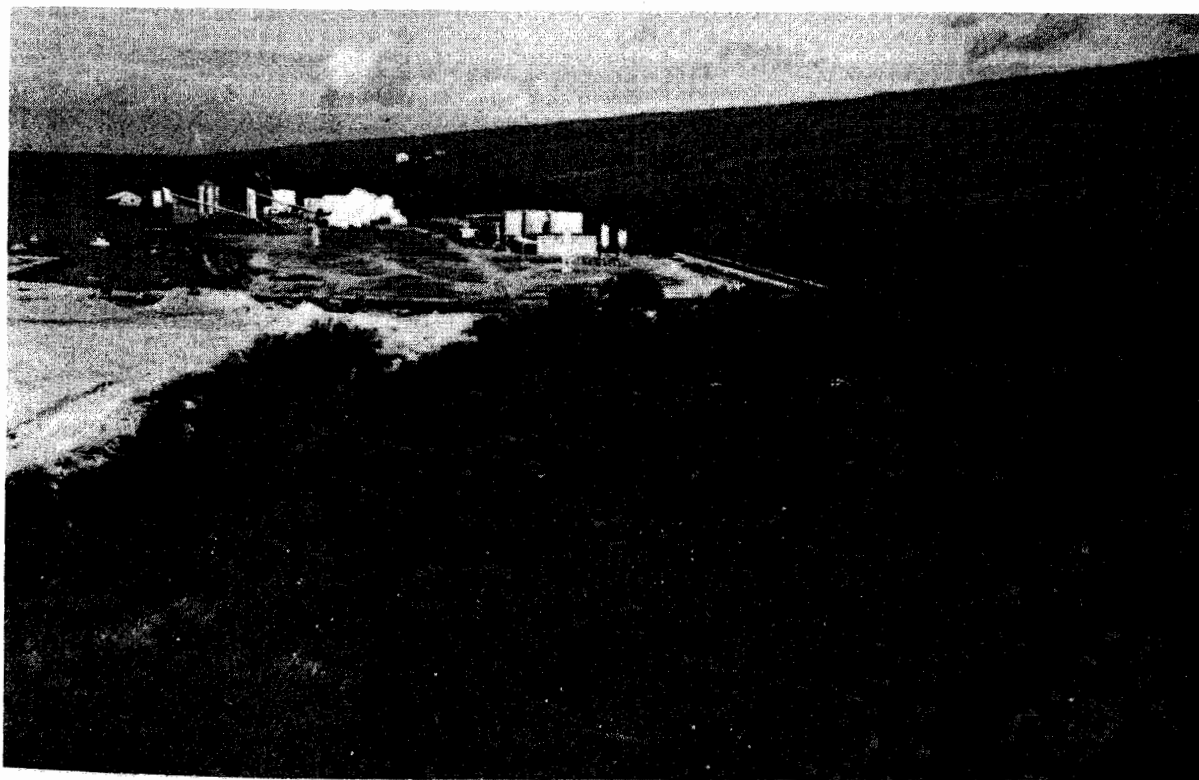


Fig. 27. VIEW OF KAWAIHAE NOW, 1974 FROM PUUKOHOLA HEIAU.

Ranching at Waimea

Vancouver introduced the original herd of cattle to the Hawaiian Islands. A *kapu* was placed on them, which prevented anyone from killing them for ten years, and their numbers increased so greatly that Waimea was turned into a veritable nightmare for Hawaiian farmers. As early as 1802 a visitor wrote: "...these animals have...become so wild, that none of the natives dare approach them; so that, ranging at their full liberty, they have destroyed the fences, trampled down the crops and done much other damage [Turnbull 1813:243]. Walls had to be built around every garden area to keep the marauders from trampling or otherwise destroying the crops. In some areas long walls were built along the entire border of a settlement, as well as around the crops.

The presence of such large numbers of cattle and their wild state moved Kamehameha I to hire a few people whom he permitted to shoot cattle. One of his bullock hunters was John P. Parker, an American who had shipped with traders in the Northwest Coast-China fur trade and finally settled in Hawaii about 1815 in the service of Kamehameha I. After 1819, Parker lived at Waiapuka in North Kohala and moved to the Waimea area about 1835, where he lived first at Puuloa and then at Mana, Hamakua. He married a Hawaiian woman and raised a family there [*Hawaiian Club Papers*, 1868]. At Mana he developed his ranch based on large herds of cattle and a large acreage over which to graze them. His home became a convenient stopping place for visitors travelling between Hilo and Waimea, and his ranch later became the world-famous Parker Ranch, the largest in Hawaii and perhaps the largest in the world for acreage.

Rev. Ellis reported Goodrich's visit to Waimea and Mauna Kea in 1823 where he camped with John Parker "who was employed in shooting wild cattle." He also saw

several herds of wild cattle, which are very numerous in the mountains and inland parts of the island.... Although there are immense herds of them, they [Hawaiians] 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 afterwards put into small barrels, which are brought on men's shoulders ten or fifteen miles to the sea-shore [Ellis 1963:291].

Another bullock catcher was a man named William Hughes. He worked for Governor Kuakini in 1831.

Capt. George Beckley's son, William was placed in charge of the King's cattle in the early 1830s and lived at Lanimaomao with the three Spaniards who were brought to teach Hawaiians how to tame and herd cattle. The three cowboys were Kossuth, Louzada and Ramon. Cattle herders were called *kahu bipi* and cowboys *paniolo*.

It was during these early days of the cattle industry that the merchants established businesses at Waimea. One of the best known was William French, an American, who had a warehouse in Kawaihae and also employed a saddlemaker, a shoemaker, and a carpenter [Olmstead 1841:233]. He employed Harry Purdy to care for his cattle in 1838 [Gr. 8, Bk. 1:12]. There was a large tallow business and Governor Kuakini in 1841 had to place a tabu on killing cattle solely for their hides and tallow [Brundage 1971:9].

Unfortunately French was connected with the F. G. Greenway Company of Honolulu; their bankruptcy took all his assets to pay off the debts [Judd 1931:22-23]. French had an interest in every type of business in Waimea. His store there was run by his son-in-law, George S. Kenway [Judd 1931:23]. At one time John Parker also worked for him.

James Fay, an Englishman, had a small-scale business in Waimea [Hill 1856:153]. While most ranchers concentrated on cattle, Fay had 700 sheep on his 173 acres of land. Wild dogs made inroads on his flocks [Hill 1856:156]. Fay also ran a tannery [LCA 589, Bk. 3:68]. One of the popular materials used in tanning leather in Hawaii was the bark of the *kukui* tree. Perhaps this was one of the reasons that the forests were depleted in the Waimea area. Although not as good for tanning as the *kukui*, the bark of the *koa* and *ohia* trees was also used. The *konohiki* demanded high prices for bark-gathering permits [Doyle 1953:50].

In 1847 William Beckley was in charge of branding the Government's cattle [Brundage 1971:9]. Salted beef was sold to the traders and whalers by the Government. By 1849 beef was being shipped as an export trade item. Beckley became very powerful in Waimea while he was in charge of the Government's land and cattle. His name appears on many of the land claims as the *konohiki* who had given the claimants permission to use the land in the first place; it also appears on many letters and documents of the Interior Department of the Hawaiian Kingdom Government at that period.

While the government was taking over a large portion of the cattle industry, participation by the common people was restricted. In 1845 Lyons comments on Beckley's influence: "Many moving from Waimea on account of change of land holders. Waimea has fallen to the hands of a half foreigner, Mr. Beckley" [Doyle 1953:138]. Within two years, Lyons indicates some of the restrictions: "The King owns Waimea, and has ordered all who have cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, pasturing on his land to pay a certain rate per head. At this new regulation the people groan--but it will wake them to buy land for themselves" [Doyle 1953:153]. Unfortunately, a very few Hawaiians had the cash to buy land.

The condition of the commoners and the discriminatory practices they experienced were described in 1845:

If any one of us become assistants of the Chiefs, his pay for the most part is in goods; the most of the dollars are for the foreign chiefs....Foreigners come on shore with cash, ready to purchase land; but we have not the means to purchase lands; the native is disabled like one who has long been afflicted with a disease upon his back...we are not prepared to compete with foreigners [Kenai 1845:119].

In the Mahele of 1848 the children of John Young and Isaac Davis received awards of large amounts of land [Indices of awards...1929:58-81]:

John Young's Children

Kamaiku (w)	Waiaka (1), Kohala, Hawaii Kalama, Kona, Hawaii Kahului, Kona, Hawaii Halawa (1/2), Ewa, Oahu
Keoni Ana (k)	Koheoopa, Kona, Oahu Owa, Wailuku, Maui Luakaha, Kona, Oahu Holili, Puako, Lahaina, Maui Haleu, Lahaina, Maui East Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawaii Kukuau, Hilo, Hawaii Halehaku, Hamakualoa, Maui Pahoa, Waikiki, Oahu
James Y. Kanehoa (k)	Ouli, Kohala, Hawaii Ulaino, Koolau, Maui Lawai, Kona, Kauai
Kaoanaeha (w)	Kamomoa, Puna, Hawaii Opuoao, Kohala, Hawaii Kaloakiu, Waipio, Hamakua, Hawaii Hoowaliohalawa, Kohala, Hawaii Kealahiwa, Kohala, Hawaii Kaupo, Kohala, Hawaii Kukuihala, Puna, Hawaii
Gini Lahilahi (w)	Waiaka (2), Kohala, Hawaii Waika, Kohala, Hawaii Pahoehoe, Kona, Hawaii Waikahekahe, Puna, Hawaii Puunoa, Lahaina, Maui
Fanny Kekela (w)	Haleu, Lahaina, Maui Kiiokalani, Kohala, Hawaii Pahoehoe, Kona, Hawaii Maunalei, Lanai

Isaac Davis' children

George Davis Hueu (k)	Waikoloa, Kohala, Hawaii Kukuau 2, Hilo, Hawaii Kiilae, Kona, Hawaii
-----------------------	--

Kale (w) Honokahua, Kaanapali, Maui
 Kapaa, Kohala, Hawaii
 Waikahekahe, Puna, Hawaii

Peke (w) Kupeke, Molokai
 Kapewakua, Lahaina, Maui
 Hianaloli, Kona, Hawaii

Purchases of Government lands at Waimea between 1846 and 1856 were made in three land areas; Lanikepu, Waiaka, and Lalamilo. Out of eleven parcels of land sold by the overnment, six of the purchasers had Hawaiian names [*Grants and Patents* 1916:99].

Grant No.	Date	Purchaser	Place	Acres
8	1846	Wm. French	Waimea	10.00
481	1850	E. Bright	Waimea	2.86
635	1851	H. Christiansen	Waimea (Lanikepu)	100.00
662	1851	Kamaikui	Waimea (Waiaka)	93.20
792	1852	Lumaawe	Waimea (Lanikepu)	50.00
793	1852	Ohiaku & Kamaikaaloo	Waimea (Lanikepu)	72.00
1070	1852	Kiai	Waimea (Lanikepu)	18.00
1157	1853	G.W. Macy & J. Louzada	Waimea (Lihue, Lalamilo)	250.00
1282	1853	Makaluhi & Kaanaana	Waimea (Lanikepu)	79.00
1283	1853	Ohiaku	Waimea (Lanikepu)	77.00
2129	1856	G.K. Lindsey	Waimea (Lalamilo)	71.00

Diseases took a heavy toll of the Waimea population, but when ownership of land was denied, the majority of the Hawaiian people, those who lived through the epidemics, were forced to move away.

Sugar Mill at Waimea (c. 1827)

The earliest manufacturers of sugar in the Hawaiian Islands were the Chinese, and one of them settled in Waimea. He had been given the name Ka Lau Ki (tea leaf) by the Hawaiians because the Chinese were the first to introduce tea drinking to the Hawaiian *ali'i*. Lau Ki set up a primitive sugar mill at Lihue in Lalamilo not far from Waimea village. He and his partner, 'Aiko (sugarcane eater) ran their mill by mule power. The cane they planted and purchased from others was the local Hawaiian variety, which was not the best for making sugar. This and other subsequent trials of Ka Lau Ki and 'Aiko in the making of sugar ended in failure [Doyle 1953: 50-51].

Potatoes for California (1849)

During the height of the California Gold Rush there were many things that Hawaii was able to furnish the exploding population of California.

Food was in great demand and each Island began growing what would sell. At Waimea the call for Irish potatoes was heard and even Hawaiian sweet potatoes were rushed to the market in California. They brought in from "4 to 5\$ cash per bbl." [Doyle 1953:153]. But the influx of cash didn't last long. By 1860 Lyons wrote: "The pulu business is becoming a failure. Demand for Irish potatoes is exceedingly small. The foreign population, on whom the natives are very much dependent for money, is constantly fluctuating, and other things render our prospects dark" [Doyle 1953:182]. The "other things" Lyons referred to include the Government Tax Collector, whom he describes:

He goes over the district and collects on the first tour--say ten dollars of the \$1600, whole sum. He has taken all the money there is. He notifies the people that he shall be around again in two weeks, and they must be ready. He makes a second and third, or fourth, or fifth, or sixth tour, collecting sometimes more, sometimes less. Meanwhile the people are working with all their might, selling their property, going off to other Islands to beg money of friends, or to sell property in time to pay the tax. Then for unpaid taxes property must be attached, and sold at auction at great sacrifice [Doyle 1953:182-183].

By 1865 Lyons was writing:

Waimea is going downwards, population diminishing, those who remain sickly. How few well bodied are left! It will perhaps not be long before Waimea becomes a desolation....Kawaihae uka potatoes are few and poor and dear. So with the Hamakua mountain potatoes also. What shall we do?....

Waipio continues to supply Waimea etc. with food. At Kohala they are commencing to make sugar, four or five tons to an acre. The mill runs day and night [Doyle 1953:199-200].

MACY & LOUZADA

The largest purchase of land was made by George W. Macy and James Louzada (Gr. 1157, 250 acres, \$150.00, July 7, 1853). The discription of the land mentions a cattle pen and a stone wall enclosure around the property. This piece of land is also known as Lihue, located in the *ahupua'a* of Lalamilo. Four years after the purchase, Lyons enters the following remarks in his diary:

Visited Puukapu. What changes in four months!
All the people are leaving in consequence of the
land being leased to Luzada and Co. A few remain.

e. Cabbages, bananas, kalo are grown. The women make kapa, catch small fish, make mats, or sew. The land holders will allow no hogs, hence all are killed. Some of the men own horses and bullocks [Doyle 1953: 163].

].
r, Macy and Louzada attempted a sugar plantation at Lihue, but they were no more successful than earlier planters. Handy mentions several places in Waimea where evidence remained in the 1930s of sugarcane cultivation and irrigation from these early plantings [Handy 1940:118; 1972:531].

In 1878 Lyons recorded that Lihue ranch lands, cattle and all, were taken over by John and Sam Parker [Doyle 1953:223].

AGRICULTURAL TERRACES

In his *Native Planters* book, Handy identifies various areas at Waimea where, in 1935, the ruins of dry and wet taro terraces could still be seen:

For 1.4 miles along the southern base of Pu'u Hoku'ula, terraces are visible under pasture and house sites, presumably formerly watered by a ditch from Waikoloa Stream. These evidently used to be more or less continuous down to and below Waiaka Stream where the road now crosses. Here in 1935 a Hawaiian planter still cultivated taro in a few terraces irrigated from Waiaka Stream flowing out of the Kohala Mountains. On the Kawaihae side of the road numerous old terrace lines could be seen. There are places in the pasture south of the road that may be traces of old terraces, lines of old walls, or ridges surviving from the era of experimental planting of cane at Waimea.

Waikoloa is a sizable stream with constant flow of water which was undoubtedly used for irrigating terraces scattered on the plains out west of the upland town of Kamuela...[Handy 1972: 531].

A map in the State Surveyor's Office gives substance to Handy's statements about the streams being used as sources of water for irrigation for taro. Presumably this was what Thurston referred to when he visited Waimea in 1823: "...the district of Waimea...soil...was fertile, well watered, and capable of sustaining many thousand inhabitants" [Ellis 1963:289]. The Survey Office map of portions of Waikoloanui, Waikoloaiki, Lalamilo and Puukapu indicates a vast network of *awai* [Hawaii Territory Survey, Walter E. Wall, 1915]. Every identified *kuleana* in Lalamilouka has a stone wall completely around it [LCA 796:2 Wm. Beckley; LCA 4185, Kanehailua; LCA 3762, Auwae, all included in Lalamilo Kuleana and Ranch

District 50-10-06-2292; Exhibit E; also see Barrera, *Archaeological Survey*, this report, Fig. 7, p. 10]. If the blue lines on this map do, in fact, represent the remains of a massive man-made irrigation or field system that did exist, then they should be carefully surveyed and analyzed before they completely disappear in the wake of commercial development which appears imminent.

U. S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION, 1840

Wilkes had this to say about the climate at Waimea, "The climate of this district is, upon the whole, unpleasant, particularly at Waimea..."

Wilkes commented that there was much timber "...of good size and quality for building" in Waimea, and that this was a famous sandalwood district from which Kamehameha I "...procured cargoes which he sold for the Canton (China) market" but that now there are "...no trees left larger than mere saplings" [Wilkes 1845(4):217]. He also stated that a type of mulberry used for making tapa "...abounds in the forests" of Waimea and is so highly esteemed that it "...is exported to other parts of the island" [Wilkes 1845(4):218].

At that time there were "three or four stores, kept by foreigners, for trade and barter" in Waimea. Wilkes credited Governor Adams (Kuakini) for the comparatively extensive development in Waimea of trade and commerce. He remarked:

In 1830, Waimea was first brought into notice by Governor Adams, who took up his residence there for the purpose of taking the wild cattle, that had become extremely numerous. While he remained in it, there was much activity and life: all trades found employment; roads were made, and ox-carts travelled a distance of fifty miles. Now, since the taboo has been laid, the place is comparatively deserted; and unless the cultivation of the soil be resorted to, it will, before many years, become a barren waste [Wilkes 1845(4):218].*

Wilkes described the differences between the prosperous days of the district under Kuakini and the less prosperous days in later times after Kuakini's removal and death when the economy failed to function.

During the period of its prosperity, many of the habitations of the natives were improved, and they advanced much in civilization. Some of them own horses and cattle, and are industrious; but the

*All wild cattle were placed under a *kapu* by the King. No one could kill them, except the King's hired cattle catchers. Because the herds were a threat to the people and their gardens, they moved away. By 1845 Lyons wrote: "People are driven to the mountains to cultivate secure from cattle" [Doyle 1953:139].

mass, who have lived on this precarious employment, and found their subsistence in that way, have become, since it ceased, more indolent than before [Wilkes 1845(4):218].

The opinion generally prevails, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands have an abundance of food, and are not exposed to any hardships; but this I found to be extremely erroneous; for, with the exception of chiefs, and those immediately connected with them, they often suffer as much as the poor of other countries. As civilization advanced this suffering seems to have increased, partly owing to the decrease of food, and partly to the diminution in the authority of the chiefs. Many were formerly obliged to labour for the chiefs, by whom they were in turn supported; these are now compelled to trust to their own resources for support, and seldom can be brought to work until they are driven by necessity [Wilkes, 1845(4):219].

Lyons wrote about some of these same things in September 1837:

Sickness has prevailed in my field--very few have escaped. Mumps and fever have prostrated some in almost every family and sometimes all in a family at the same time. It has rarely proven fatal, but it has left the body in a very feeble state. It is very dissatisfying to work upon them, so destitute as they are of all the comforts and most of the necessities of life. No comfortable home, no comfortable bed, no proper food, no kind and careful nurse, no skillful physicians, no healing medicines. But it is pleasant duty to do something for them.

Something like a famine has been raging for about a year. The common food of the people has failed and they have been compelled to resort to the use of roots such as grow wild in woods and mountains, and yielding but from the ravages of a worm that abounds in Waimea. As soon as food begins to sprout the worm commences the work of destruction. The famine does not prevail in all parts of the field. But the people are very poor. The generality of their homes are the rudest hovels. Often, on attempting to enter, the smoke of the taro oven, which occupies the most conspicuous part of the house, rushes out in such dense columns that you are obliged to retire. Sometimes they have not even a knife to use in dividing their food. Occasionally a rusty jack knife is to be seen.

These people have no money to contribute to the church. Money is very seldom seen, and the contributions they make consist principally in labor. The following will show the character of their work and benevolence. The body of a stone meeting house, some 120 feet long and 50 wide has been rebuilt; a good native school house at Waimea, and how many more houses have been built in different parts of the field I know not. Cane, potatoes, *kapas*, *malos*, *kiheis*, *paus*, etc. have been contributed. The people give of such things as they have, and not of such things as they have not [Doyle 1953:99-100].

Another visitor ten years later described two drawbacks to agriculture at Waimea:

The first arises from the swarms of grubs (worm-like larvae-beetles) that infest the district; they begin to make their appearance early in March and continue until the end of July. The second obstacle to which I refer, is the innumerable field mice, of whose ravages I was an eye-witness. However, I am told that the grubs will not injure wheat, oats or barley, and I believe that most part of all other seeds would come to maturity if planted after the first of August. The foregoing observations apply only to WAIMEA plain [Allan 1847].

THE MISSION STATION

Intending to select a site on the northern part of Hawaii, several missionaries visited the district of Waimea and "reported in favor of its occupancy" [Bingham 1847:372]. Dr. and Mrs. Judd and Mr. Ruggles went to Waimea in the early part of 1830, and the Bingham family followed that summer. They arrived at Kawaihae and "ascended at evening to the new inland station...." Governor Kuakini (also known as John Adams) was responsible for the construction of the first Mission buildings. Kuakini is also said to be responsible for the first wagon road built from Kawaihae to Waimea. This was accomplished by sentencing to this labor forty men guilty of violating the seventh commandment [Judd 1931:21].

John Ii, Bingham, Bishop, and Ruggles missionized among the Waimea residents with the assistance, not only of Gov. Kuakini, but also of Kapiolani, famous for her defiance of Pele, and Kaahumanu. Bingham reported that when Kaahumanu came to Kawaihae in September 1830, he preached there to 3,000 people "...assembled in the open air." The following day the entire party "...repaired to Waimea, and sojourning there several weeks, made the missionaries a thorough-going *family visitation*." Such support from the chiefs made it possible for the missionaries to set up and maintain a permanent mission station in this distant area.

In January 1832 Dwight and Charlotte Baldwin were sent to Waimea to begin their missionary work in Hawaii. They met John Young and his wife who received them in a grass house at Kawaihae. In Waimea they lived in a grass-thatched house and the church that was built for them was also thatched with grass and would "...hold 3,000 people" [Alexander 1953:40]. On some occasions the church was filled [Mission Station Report, Waimea, 1832]. As the population of Waimea was reported to have been only "more than 2,000" it is apparent that the establishment of a Mission Station there attracted people from the outlying districts [Mission Station Report, Waimea, 1832]. Indeed, Baldwin tells us that "Many of the people of these outdistricts have built houses at Waimea, with the intention of residing there a part of the time" [Alexander 1953:43] (Figs. 28 and 29).

On July 16, 1832, Lorenzo Lyons and his wife arrived at Waimea after spending the night of the 15th with Young at Kawaihae. Lyons then labored for forty-four years "...at his lonely mission station set in the remote highlands of Waimea, Hawaii" [Doyle 1953:v]. Lyons left what is perhaps the most complete and lengthy records of a settlement and its population of any area in the Islands. In addition he was a prolific writer and commented continually on the conditions of his "flock." Even after he retired, he lived on at Waimea until he died in 1886, fifty-four years after his first arrival there. He was buried at Imiola Church. The present Imiola Church and cemetery has been assigned site no. 7151.

Details of the history of the Mission Station at Waimea are described in the opening chapters of Baldwin's biography [Alexander 1953] and in the biography of Lorenzo Lyons [Doyle 1953].

EARLY POPULATION FIGURES

Ua hala, aole hoi hou mai. (They have gone, never to return.)*

POPULATION OF KAWAIHAE

Ellis recorded 100 houses in Kawaihae village in 1824 [Ellis 1963:288]. Averaging five persons to a house, the population was about 500. In 1835, a missionary census reported the population of Kawaihae to be 437, including 150 male adults, 178 female adults and 109 children [Schmitt 1973:27].

In the summer of 1853, the smallpox epidemic struck Kawaihae. A report on June 27, tallied 17 cases and 4 deaths, all at Kawaihae. By August 20, Kawaihae had had 39 cases and 24 deaths, with 3 currently ill and 12 recovered [Greer 1966:101]. Waimea had fewer cases but they all died. The church at Kawaihae had about a hundred communicants; after the epidemic there were only 24, and not a youth among them. The others were dead, sick, convalescent, or gone [Greer 1966:101].

* Taken from Menzies 1920:52, footnote.

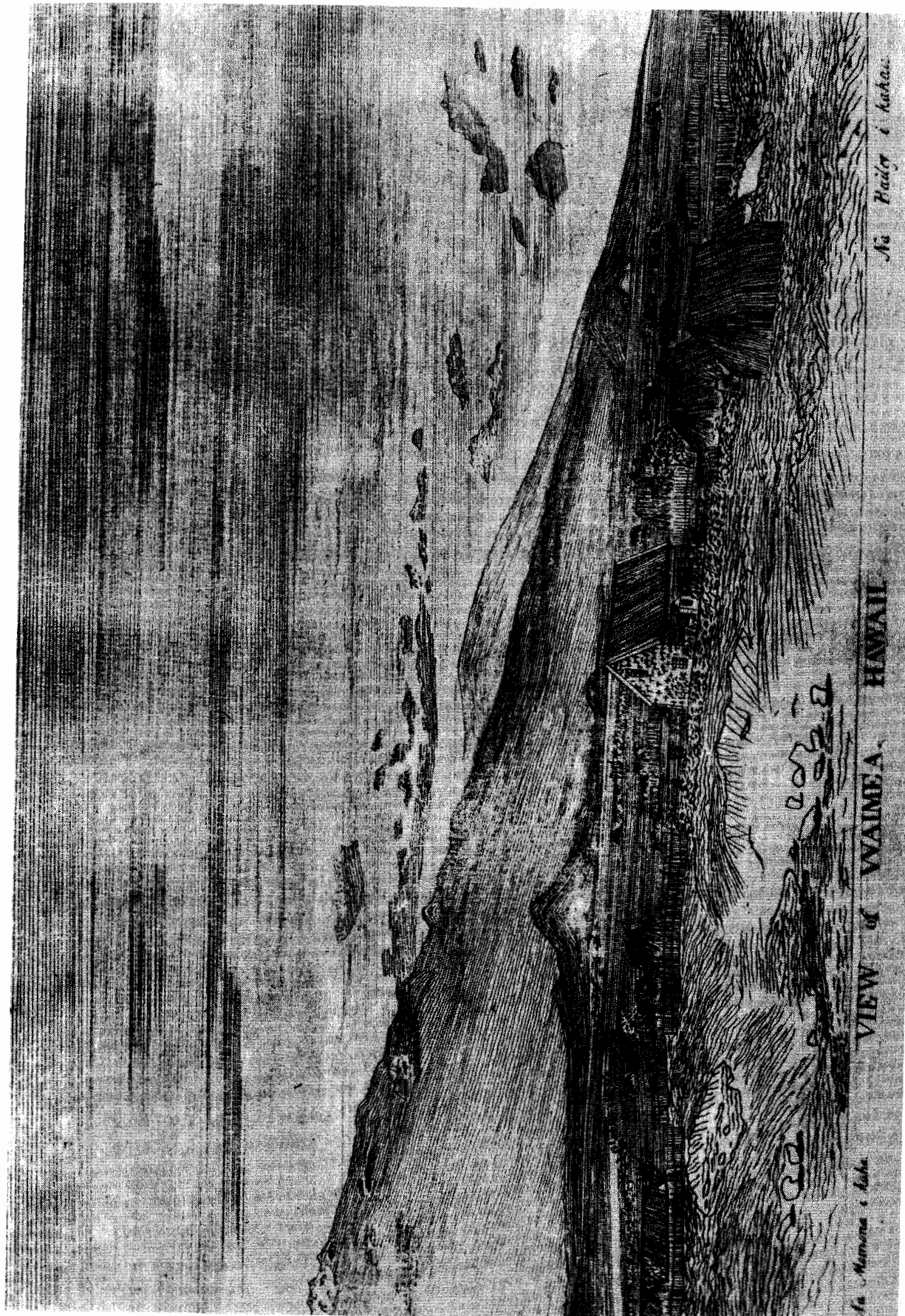


Fig. 28. THE MISSION STATION AT WAIMEA, KOHALA. A print made from a drawing by Edward Bailey. Bishop Museum Collection.

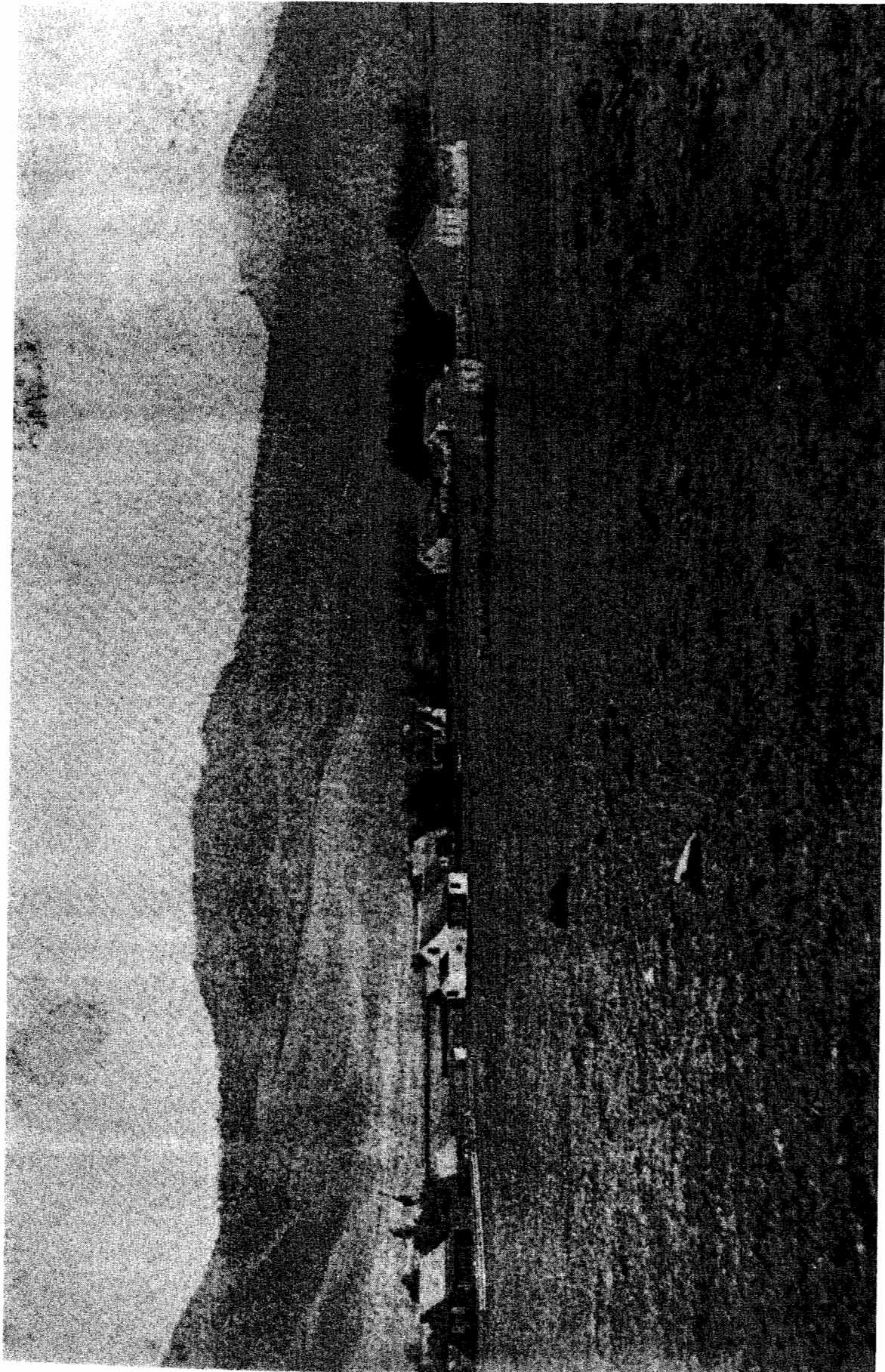


Fig. 29. A VIEW OF WAIMEA VILLAGE ABOUT 1877. At far right, Imiola Congregational Church is visible. The front gate of Rev. Lorenzo Lyons Mission Station is at the edge of the large clump of trees. Photo from Hawaii State Archives.

POPULATION OF WAIMEA

Rev. Thurston counted 220 houses scattered from the uplands of Ouli to Kalaloa, Waiakea, Waikoloa, Pukalani and Puukapu on his visit in 1823. Ellis' estimate for Waimea at that time was "probably between eleven and twelve hundred" [Ellis 1963:289].

In 1835 the population of Waimea was given as 1,396, including 500 male adults, 510 female adults and 386 children [Schmitt 1973:34]. In an 1836 report the same population figures were given, but this time they were attributed to the lands of Waimea and Puako [Schmitt 1973:36]. In an anonymous manuscript table which compared the 1832 and 1835 census totals, Waimea and Puako are listed together as containing 1,427 persons in 1832 and 1,396 persons in 1835, a decrease of 31 persons in three and a half years [Schmitt 1973:39].

While the presence of a Mission Station at Waimea may have attracted some people to establish residence there, and the possibility of jobs with those engaged in the cattle business seemed attractive, by 1837 Lyons wrote:

Some external improvement has been made--the erection of a stone cook house, store house at Kawaihae and the building of a substantial stone wall around our premises--Much has been said to natives on the subject of having better houses &c, and some improvements have been made--

The beef establishment has lost some of its charms; and the attention of the people is more directed to the cultivation of the soil--a great portion of Waimea is being surrounded by a stone wall--to form an extensive garden from which all graminivorous animals are to be excluded and which is to be cultivated by the people for their own benefit as well as that of the chiefs [Mission Station Report, Waimea, 1837:1].

Lyons in 1843 gives the "whole population of my field as follows: Waimea, 1012; Hamakua, 3830; Puako and Kawaihae, 734. Total 5,576, of whom 1,507 are children. Making a decrease in population of our hundred in two years" [Doyle 1953:122].

By 1881, travellers to Waimea from Kukuihaile wrote about a large area which "had been a very dense forest of koa and other trees, which have been destroyed by the cattle grazing there in large herds which belong to Mr. S. Parker" and the fact that Waimea, "once populous, is only a scattered village with two stores and a boarding and lodging house and coffee saloon" [Directory 1880/1881:539].

WAIMEA IN SONG

The most famous song of Waimea is entitled *Hole Waimea*. In one version it is given as a love song, in another it becomes a war song. Emerson's version is given with the songs sung to the Hula Ala'a-papa and he also mentions that it was sung in connection with the hula *ipu*. He ascribes the song to King Liholiho, son of Kamehameha I. Emerson warns the reader of the "frequent use of euphemisms and double-entendre" [Emerson 1909:69], which is so typical of many Hawaiian love songs.

A more recent version identifies the song as originally having been a name chant for Kamehameha I, in which the Kipu'upu'u are identified as a band of runners who named themselves after Waimea's icy rain. The runners were trained in spear fighting with spears they had stripped from the forests in Waimea [Elbert and Mahoe 1970:52-53].

*Hole Wai-mea i ka ihe a ka
makani.*

*Hao mai na 'ale a ke
Kipu'upu'u*

*He la'au kala'ihia na ke au
I 'o'o i ka nahele o
Mahiki.*

Wai-mea strips the spears of
the wind.

Waves are tossed in violence
by the Kipu'upu'u rains.

Trees brittle in the cold
Are made into spears in
Mahiki forest.

EXHIBIT A

SELECTION OF SITE DESCRIPTIONS FROM "AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SHORES OF OULI AND KAWAIHAE, SOUTH KOHALA, HAWAII"

by

Lloyd J. Soehren
Dept. of Anthropology
Bernice P. Bishop Museum
1964

Site E5-1

Of major historical significance, Puukohola Heiau is situated conspicuously on the brow of a prominent hill overlooking Kawaihae Bay. This imposing structure was constructed by Kamehameha upon the advice of the renowned Kauai priest, Kapoukahi, an expert in the selection of *heiau* sites. Kapoukahi recommended the restoration of the older Mailekini Heiau, just below Puukohola, and construction of the great sacrificial *heiau* Puukohola, as conditions of Kamehameha's gaining victory over his cousin Keoua Kuahuula and ascendancy over all the islands [Ii 1959:17]. Puukohola is the *pookanaka* class of *heiau* which requires human sacrifice, and was dedicated to Kamehameha's god, Kukailimoku. Rev. William Ellis, who visited Kawaihae in 1823, gives an excellent detailed description of this major *heiau* [Ellis 1963:55-57]. Other visitors, both before and after Ellis, have provided descriptions and several have left drawings and sketches of this imposing structure. The late Professor Stokes, of the Museum staff, has prepared detailed drawings based upon the early accounts and descriptions, depicting the probable appearance of this *heiau*.

"This *heiau* combines the terrace, platform and wall features in a remarkable way, the platforms, however, being internal portions. It has the appearance of being built entirely of *ala* (water worn stones), but a closer examination shows a partial veneer of *ala* stones selected with the greatest care and nicety" [Stokes Ms.:597]. A detailed description of the structure will not be presented here. Sufficient data are available to warrant a comprehensive report on this *heiau*. The current interest in the restoration of Puukohola Heiau would certainly justify, in fact require, such a report. (Fig. 30, see p. 64 this report).

Site E5-2

Near the foot of the slope below Puukohola Heiau, and just below the present County road to Spencer Park, are the massive ruins of Mailekini Heiau, restored by Kamehameha at the time of the construction of Puukohola. This *heiau* was said by Ellis [1963:57] not to have involved human sacrifice. Although much smaller, the construction of Mailekini is quite similar to that of Puukohola above. Both structures have massive stone walls on the inland side and are relatively open to the W facing the sea. Mailekini, however, has suffered considerable disturbance in its history

subsequent to its abandonment by the Hawaiians. During the 19th century, it was planned to convert the *heiau* into a fort. Probably sometime later a number of burials were placed within the enclosure, particularly at the northern end. Many of these burials appear to have been recently disturbed, probably exhumed for reinterment elsewhere. Relatively little is known of the history of functioning of Mailekini.

Site E5-3

In line with both *heiau*, and perhaps a hundred feet off shore, is the site of Haleokapuni, said to have been used by Kamehameha as a *heiau* for the feeding of sharks. Old residents of Kawaihae remember, as children, seeing the *heiau* structure which was perhaps 2 ft above the water. One informant speaks of a channel leading into the *heiau* to a larger area where the bodies were placed for the sharks. The structure has since been largely demolished by tidal waves and its ruins obliterated to a great extent by silting resulting from the construction of the nearby harbor breakwater. The site is known to many residents as the location of a *lua mano*, where sharks are known still to come to breed. According to Davies [1885:21], who visited the area in 1869, the remains of human sacrifices offered upon the altar of the nearby *heiau* were taken to Haleokapuni to be devoured by the sharks. The site is also identified on Jackson's map of 1870. No other references to Haleokapuni have yet been discovered. The structure was not seen nor its exact position determined on the present survey.

Site E5-4

Directly below Mailekini Heiau and only a few feet from the edge of the water is a large upright stone, more than 5 ft high, resembling a chair. It is popularly called "Kamehameha's stone seat" and is said to have been used by Alapai-kupalupalu-mano and also by Kamehameha as he observed the proceedings at Haleokapuni Heiau, which the seat faces.

The stone was set in its present concrete footing in 1935, but the top was broken off shortly thereafter by a truck which backed into it. An adjacent *kiawe* tree is slowly prying up the stone and will eventually upset it. The stone should be repaired by an expert mason (preferably with dowels and perhaps an epoxy-type cement) and replaced, clear of trees. The name Kikiako'i presently assigned to the stone seat is used by Kamakau [1961:77] to refer to the place where Mailekini stands.* No mention is made of the seat. Which feature originally possessed the name will probably never be determined.

Site E5-5

Near the stone chair Kikiako'i, is said to be another large stone, named *Unea*. No particulars as to its significance have been learned, nor was it identified on this survey.

*In the story of Kekuhaupio, Kikiakoi is the name of the *imu* (oven) in which Keoua's body was baked. This *imu* was said to have been on the Kohala side of Mailekini.

Site E5-6

A spring named Waiakane is said to rise in the ocean about 50 ft off shore and a little S of the *heiau* Mailekini. No traditions are known of the spring. It may be the one mentioned by Ellis [1963:287] as a warm spring, favored by natives as a bathing place.

Site E5-7

On top of the ridge between Makahuna Gulch and Makeahua Gulch, and a few yards above the highway to Kawaihae are the ruins of a stone wall structure believed to be the site of John Young's house. (John Young was an English seaman aboard the ship *Eleanor*, commanded by Capt. Metcalf. Young was captured by the Hawaiians in 1790, and subsequently became a trusted advisor and important figure in the reign of Kamehameha. At about the same time, Isaac Davis, mate of the schooner *Fair American*, under the command of Metcalf's son, was taken and also established permanent residence in Hawaii.) The commodious floor plan measures 3 x 5 fathoms inside. Although the walls are deteriorating rapidly and in many places have collapsed, they appear to have been originally c. 8 ft high. They are constructed with outer facings on either side of sizable field stones that are carefully fitted together, with the inner portion filled with rubble. In addition, the core of the wall was filled with mud and gravel and the exterior surfaces plastered with a lime mortar made from burned coral. Wooden posts, several of which still remain imbedded in the walls, were inserted to provide a point of attachment for the rafters. The roof of the house was undoubtedly thatched with grass.

Immediately to the N of the structure are the faint outlines of another stone structure of similar size and apparently having had mortared walls. On the W or front side of these two sites is an extensive and very fine pavement of small water-worn pebbles, still in excellent condition. Almost directly in front of Young's house is a platform grave.

The hydrographic chart of Kawaihae, prepared by Lt. Jackson in 1870 for the Hawaiian Government survey, shows the location of the remains of John Young's house. The same map shows, about 500 ft to the SW of that ruin, the remains of "John Young's old house" as well as, a few yards away, the ruin of Rev. Lyon's house. These structures correlate in position with site E5-15. Again on the same map is shown the site of Samuel Parker's residence, lying about 500 ft to the NW of the Young house ruins. The latter area has now been obliterated as the result of construction of the new harbor at Kawaihae.

Site E5-8

At the W side of the junction of the Spender Park Road with the Waimea-Kawaihae Road is a house platform measuring 3 x 4 fathoms oriented N and S, and paved with water-worn pebbles. The W side is about 2 ft high and is faced with small boulders. The N side is 2 ft or more in height, the E side slightly more than 1 ft high, and the S side just under 2 ft high. Some shell and coral are scattered around the site.

Site E5-9

On the S side of a small gulch and about 100 ft W of the site E5-8 is a stone wall enclosure 2 x 3 fathoms. It is oriented NW-SE, with walls 2 to 3 ft thick, and built of field and some smooth, water-worn stone. This structure is built on sloping ground. The NW end wall stands about 6 ft high on the outside but is only 3 ft high inside the enclosure. The adjoining NE wall is from 4 to 6 ft high on the outside and approximately 4 ft high on the inside. The SE end wall is nearly flush with the ground on the outside and about 2 ft high on the inside. The SW wall is about 3 ft high on both the inside and the outside. The floor of the enclosure slopes up to the S and is covered with soft dirt, with only a few pebbles and little shell or coral visible. The structure may possibly have been a small pen.

Site E5-10

This large enclosure, undoubtedly a pen for goats, has walls of field stone standing 5 ft high on the inside and 2 ft thick. The enclosure measures 42 x 46 ft and is oriented approximately N and S. The floor is dirt, with rock outcrops.

Site E5-11

At the N end of the goat pen is a well-made house floor paved with coral and small water-worn pebbles.

Site E5-12

On a rock bluff on the S side of a small gulch behind the old marine railway at Pelekane and opposite a lone coconut palm tree are several pictographs. They have been painted with a heavy white pigment, possibly white lead. They are undoubtedly modern although the style is old. Three stick figures are still distinct and several patches of the white pigment indicate that other figures have since been obliterated. Pictographs have not previously been recorded on the Island of Hawaii. The location and nature of these strongly suggests that they are of modern origin imitating an ancient style.

Site E5-13

On the N side of the small gulch opposite the pictographs is a small clearing surrounded on the N and E sides by a stone fence and bounded by the gulch to the S. The W side apparently was left open. Lumber, broken glass and china were scattered over much of the area, which is undoubtedly a modern farm or house lot.

Site E5-14

About 200 ft N of the preceding site and just S of the Old Government Road is a well, presently lined with concrete. The pit is about 10 ft sq and 8 ft deep. The top is now open but appears to have been covered with a wooden deck. This is undoubtedly one of the principal wells which served the Kawaihae area until recently and may be the same as the spring named Waiakapea, shown on Jackson's 1870 hydrographic map. A second spring serving Kawaihae was located at the present site of Doi's service station. That spring was named Ka-wai-hae, so named because people fought and argued (*hae*) like dogs over the water. It is from this spring that the land and the village have taken their name, according to old residents of the area.

Site E5-15

On the N side of the old road and a short distance from the spring are the ruins of a stone fence surrounding a large house lot. Within were seen the remains of at least one house platform, traces of others, and possibly one grave site. Considerable rubble and numerous water-worn pebbles are scattered about the entire area. Only one piece of broken china was observed. The entire area is now thickly covered with large trees.

A notation on the 1870 hydrographic chart of Kawaihae by Lt. Jackson, would identify this site as that of "John Young's old house", along side of which were the ruins of the Rev. Lyon's house.

It was from this general area that drawings of the Puukohola Heiau were made by the early voyagers. These drawings, and photographs taken many years later, show a number of house sites in the vicinity.

Site E5-16

A few yards inland from the old beach line and just S of the old road is an old style charcoal oven. It is a low dome of concrete about 8 by 12 ft. The door of the oven faces the sea. Although this is obviously a recent structure it is rather interesting to note.

Site E5-17

At the W side of the junction of Spencer Park Road with Kawaihae Road is a platform c. 1.5 ft high of rough field stones, paved with water-worn pebbles and coral. The E side of the platform has been demolished by bulldozers. This platform probably measured 3 x 4 fathoms originally, and is very similar to site E5-8, a few yards to the W. It has the appearance of a house platform, although it has been regarded by local people as a grave.

Site E5-18

Approximately 150 ft S of Mailekini Heiau and a few yards W of the County Road are traces of an old house floor indicated by a scattering of water-worn pebbles. Whatever stone structure may have been there has long since been destroyed. It is this general area which is most highly recommended as the site for the proposed historical museum.

Site E5-19

South of Kamehameha's stone chair, Kikiako'i (E5-4) and about 30 ft E of the old beach trail portions of which are still visible in this area, is a grave covered with a large slab of sandstone taken from nearby beaches. Dirt and water-worn pebbles have been piled over the sandstone slab. The structure measures about 1 x 1.5 fathoms. The S edge of the structure has been slightly eroded, exposing the hollow interior. About 30 ft farther E runs the Old Government Road, sections of which are still bounded by stone walls.

Site E5-20

South of the grave about 130 ft, and inland from a small promontory believed to be the location of Waiakane Spring (E5-6), is a late house site. The floor is in two levels with the eastern, upper section about 6 in. higher than the seaward side. The low, back wall has been laid up with mortar.

Site E5-21

At the top of a slope c. 100 ft W of the present County Road to Spencer Park and about 50 ft E of the old beach trail is a house site. Enclosed by a stone wall, it contains a house platform measuring about 19 x 21 ft and standing one foot high. The platform is paved with rubble, water-worn pebbles, and some coral. In and around the house platform were found several artifacts including a hammerstone, a grooved sinker made of coral, and a large blue bead,* indicating that the site was occupied in post-contact times. About 100 ft to the SW are traces of another old site. Consideration should be given to preserving this house site.

Site E5-24

On the E side of the County Road not far from the NE corner of Spencer Park is a house platform about 32 ft sq. It is built of field stone and stands c. 1 ft high. The floor is covered with shell fragments and coral. Several fragments of blue china were found, indicating that the site was occupied in post-contat times.

*Specimen No. Haw. 142.

Midway between the fenced farm lot and Puukohola Heiau is a small enclosure about 50 ft sq. Walls of fieldstone stand 2 to 3 ft high. Some fragments of shell and two fragments of china were noted within the enclosure, which may have been a house lot.

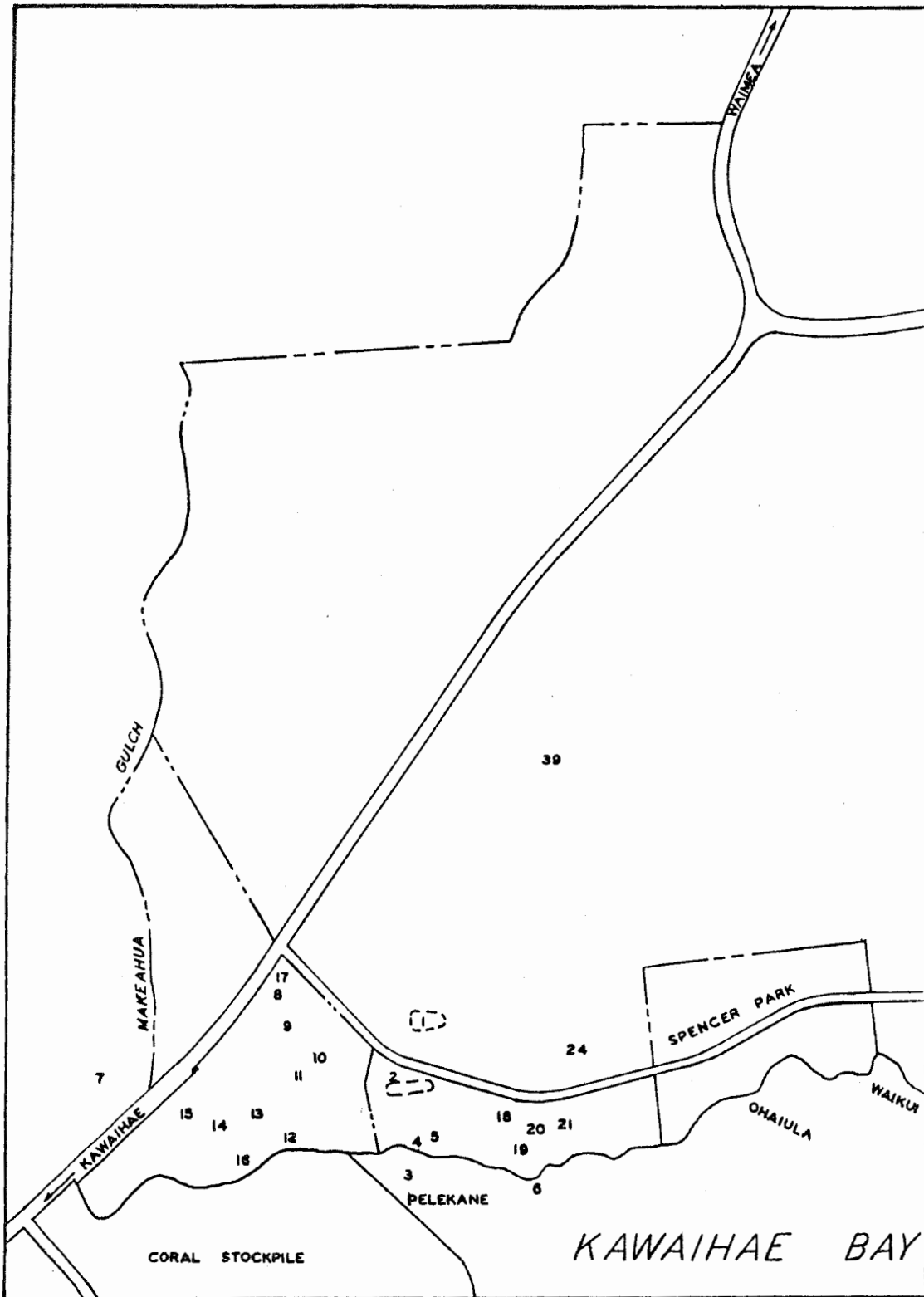


Fig. 30. PORTION OF MAP IN SOEHRN'S REPORT GIVING APPROXIMATE POSITIONS OF SITES RECORDED BY HIM.

EXHIBIT B

SKETCH OF RUINS

In 1956, Mrs. Peggie Kai visited Kawaihae and the ruins of the stone house on the ridge above Makahuna Gulch. She understood at that time that these were the ruins of John Young's house. She made a very rough sketch of the several platforms surrounding the ruins (Fig. 31) and took several photographs of which two are presented here (Figs. 32 and 33).

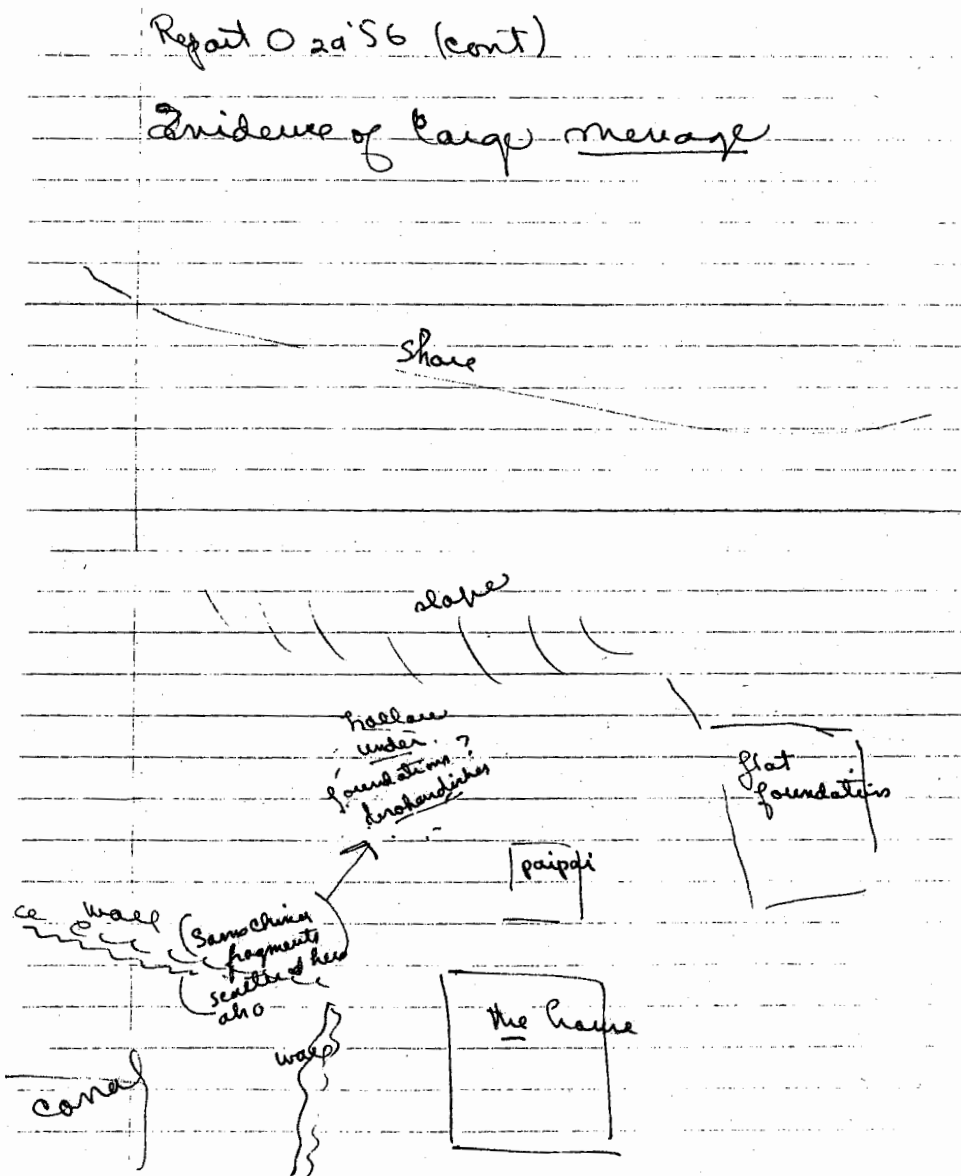


Fig. 31. SKETCH OF RUINS ON RIDGE ABOVE MAKAHUNA GULCH BY PEGGIE KAI, OCT. 29, 1956.

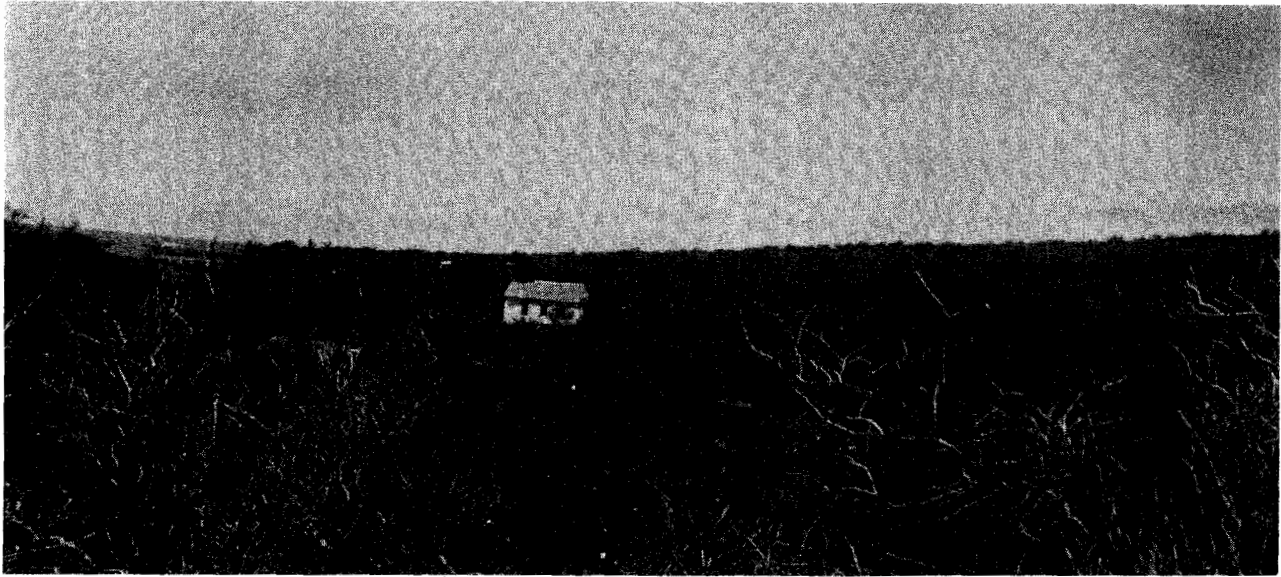


Fig. 32. KEOLAHOU CHURCH FROM THE HOUSE SITE RUINS ON MAKAHUNA RIDGE.
Photo by Peggie Kai, 1956.



Fig. 33. RUIN ON RIDGE ABOVE MAKAHUNA GULCH. Photo by Peggie Kai, 1956.

EXHIBIT C

LAND AWARDS NEAR MAKAHUNA GULCH, KAWAIHAE VILLAGE

John Young died in 1835, and the Board of Land Commissioners was not operating until 1846, about 11 years later. Consequently, no specific land award was made to John Young. There were, however, awards made for pieces of land to various people in the area around Makahuna Gulch where the houses of John Young and his family were said to have been located (Fig. 34). One of these was to Kaoanaeha, John Young's widow.

The claim of Kaoanaeha and Puna dated January 6, 1848, for a *kuleana* at Kawaihae states, in part, "These are Kaoanaeha's words. This is our old lot at Kawaihae and our old houses which were mine and my *kane's*, John Young, deceased. M. Kuamoo Kaoanaeha" [Land Commission Awards 4522 and 4523 Native Register, Vol. 8:6]. The drawing that accompanied the claim provide further information (Fig. 35).

In the testimony for Kaoanaeha's and Puna's *kuleana* on September 11, 1848, it is stated, in part, "I have seen Puna's house-lot in Kawaihae, Hawaii. Pahukanilua is the name and the boundaries are: mauka, a pasture for the government; Puako, the stream Makahuna; makai, the sea; Kohala, Pokiahua. This place had been for Kaoanaeha and Olohana. Olohana had received it from Kamehameha I and that is Koapapaa here. No one has ever objected to them to this day. Five houses and plants are there which belong to Kaoanaeha and Puna at this time." A second witness stated, in addition, "...I had seen Olohana living there at the time of the battle of Nuuanu." [Native Testimony, Vol. 4:6-7].*

In the claim for LCA 4106, Kauai stated that his interest in the land he was laying claim to came from Kaoanaeha and Olohana [Foreign Register, Vol. 8:4]. In the testimony for Kauai's *kuleana*, Puna states that Kauai's boundaries "are surrounded by our wall" and that "Kauai occupied this place through Kaahunaliiole" [Native Testimony, Vol. 4:4].

On a recent Tax Key Map (Fig. 36) an inset provides additional information about the *mauka* boundary of Kaoanaeha's *kuleana*, which appears as "Old Church Lot," probably the site of the original Protestant church in Kawaihae when Lyons first established a meeting house there. There is evidence, also, that Lyons may have had a house very close by in the claim by Kaahunaliiole for his *kuleana* on Jan. 10, 1847. He stated he had received this land in 1842 [Native Register, Vol. 8:3]. A drawing accompanying the claim identifies two boundaries as being next to "Liana's House" (Fig. 37).

In the testimony for Kaahunaliiole's claim, dated Sept. 11, 1848, it was stated that there were four houses on his lot, "three of which are for Kaahunaliiole and one for the government." The *mauka* boundary was "a government pasture; Puako, Koa and Puhaukole streets; makai, the sea; Kohala, the stream Makahuna and Liana's [Lyons'] house" [Native Testimony, Vol. 4:2].

*Translations from the Hawaiian text provided by Frances Frazier, Hawaii State Archives.

K A W A

L.C.A. 8515

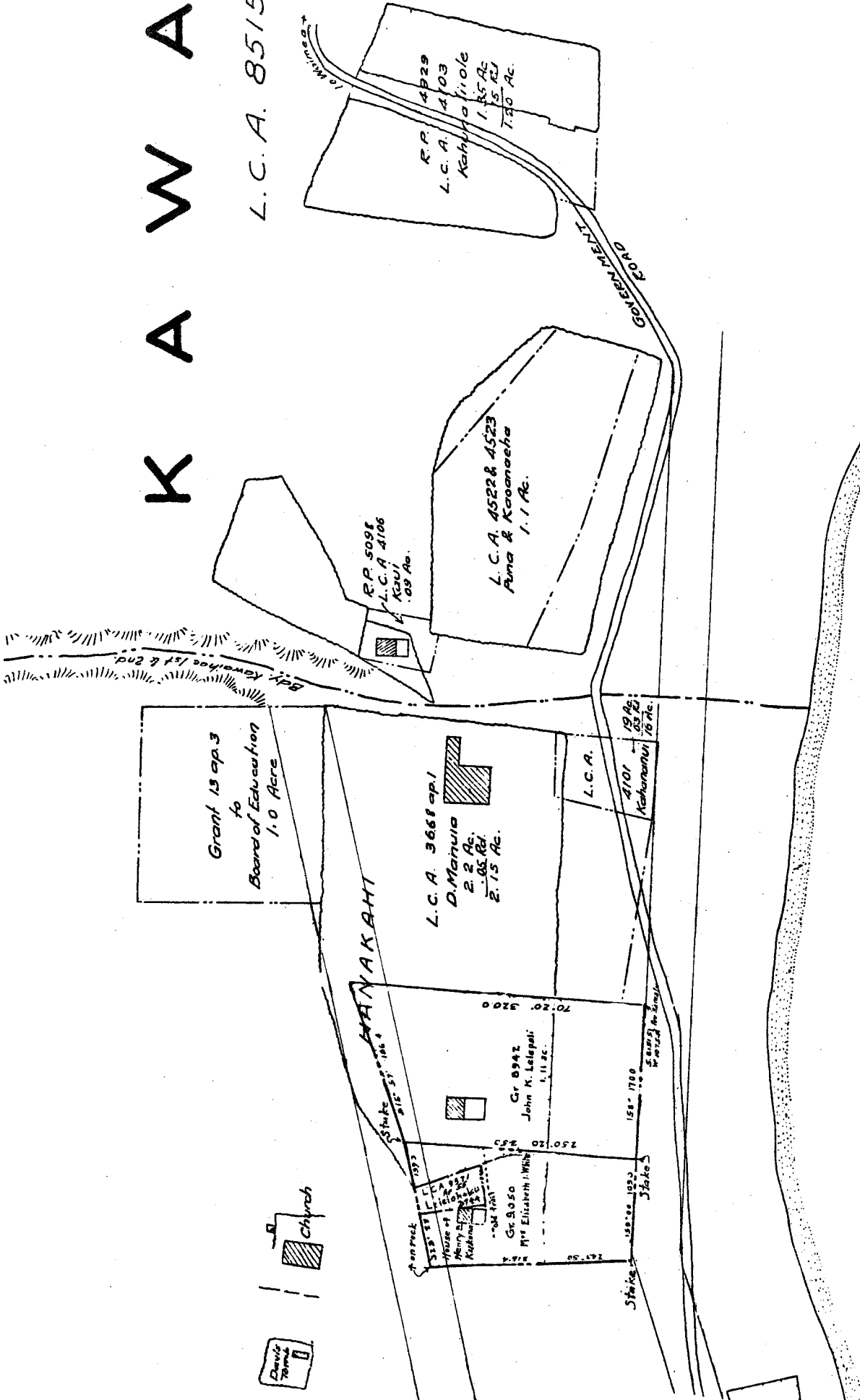


Fig. 34. PORTION OF A MAP OF KAWAIAHAE VILLAGE, S. KOHALA, HAWAII.
George F. Wright, Surveyor, 1914. Reg. Map 2690, State Surveyor's Office.

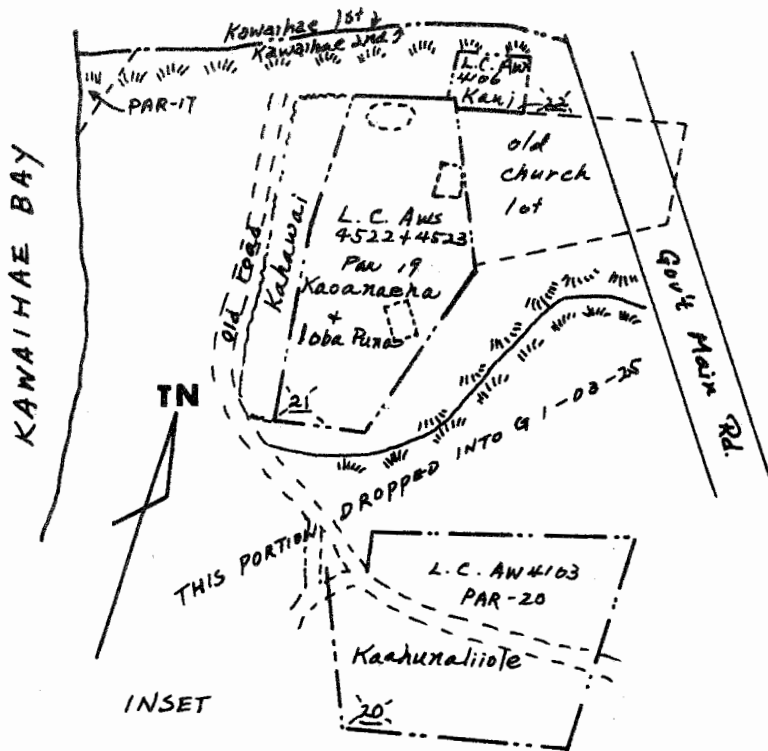


Fig. 35. DRAWING OF LCAs 4522 AND 4523 TO KAOANAHA AND PUNA, ACCOMPANYING THE CLAIM [Native Register, Vol. 8:6].

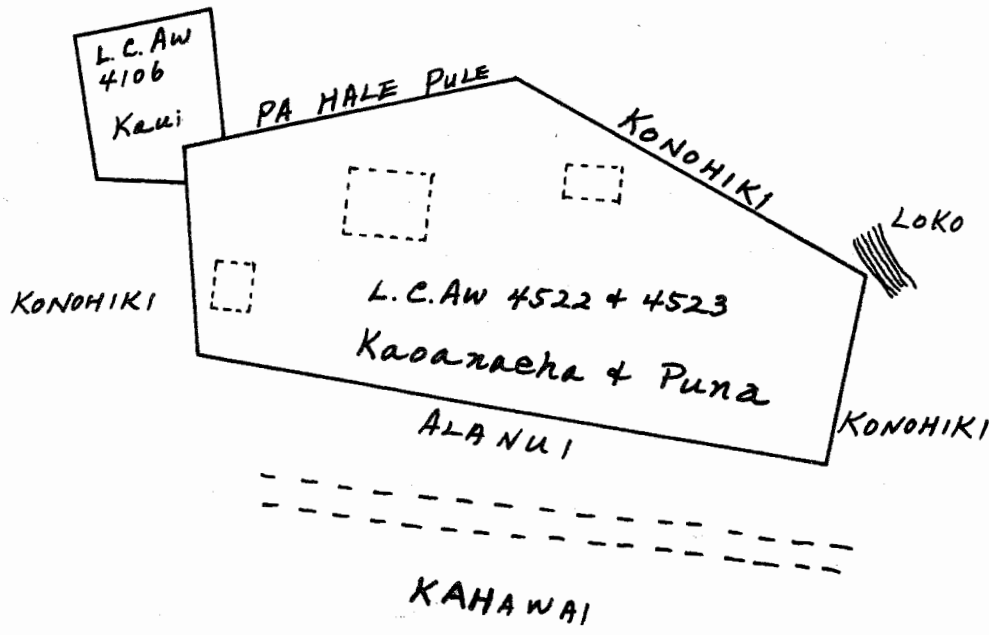


Fig. 36. PORTION OF TAX KEY MAP 6:2:01, KAWAIIHAE, SOUTH KOHALA, HAWAII, SHOWING THE INSET WITH KAOANAHA'S KULEANA AND THE "OLD CHURCH LOT."

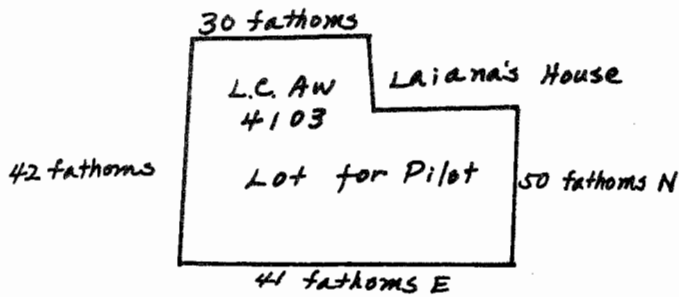


Fig. 37. DRAWING OF LCA 4103 TO KAAHUNALIIOLE, JAN. 10, 1847, SHOWING PLACEMENT OF LYONS' HOUSE [Native Register, Vol. 8:3].

A reconstruction of the area might appear as drawn in Fig. 38.

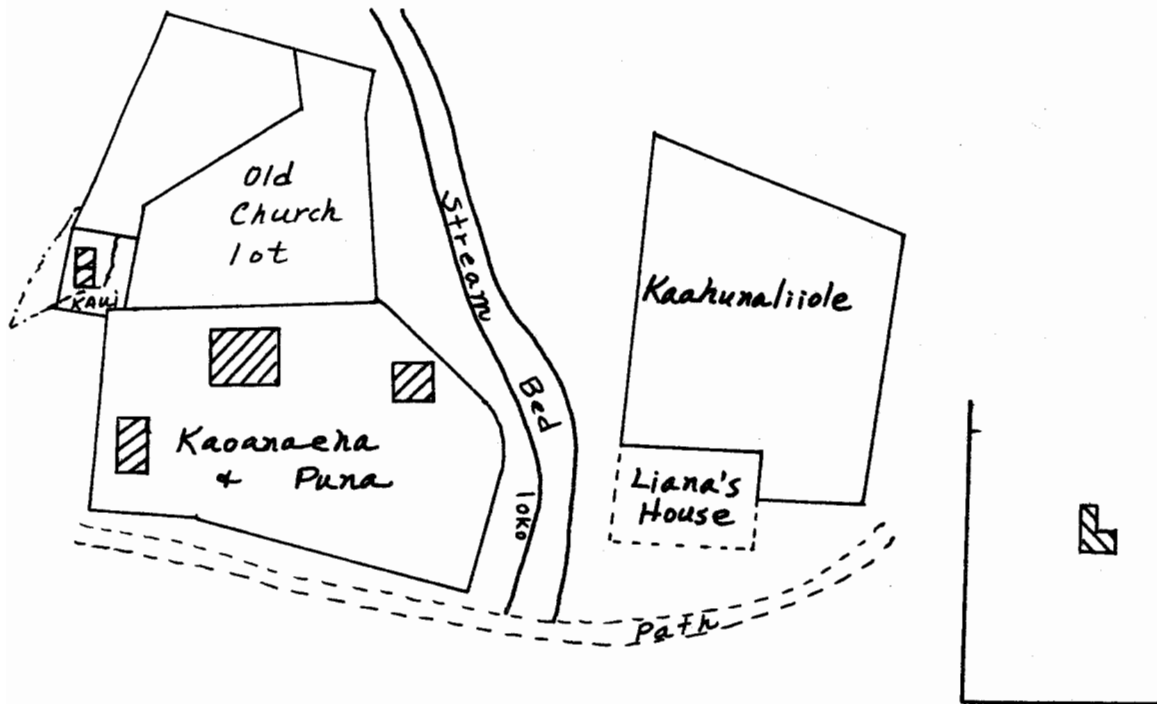


Fig. 38. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOTS SURROUNDING KAOANAHA'S *KULEANA* FROM TESTIMONY, CLAIMS RECORDS, AND EARLY MAPS.

On the western side of Makahuna Gulch in Kawaihae I, there were two *kuleana* awarded, LCA 3668 to D. Manuia, and 4101 to Kahananui. Both awardees claim they received their land from Kaoanaeha Kuamoo. Manuia's right from Kaoanaeha was dated March 31, 1847, and his claim to the Land Commissioners, Dec. 28, 1847.

In the testimony for Manuia's claim dated Sept. 11, 1848, Puna stated that he knew Manuia's place "at Koleaka in Kawaihae, Hawaii. One house-lot with 4 houses on it, 2 of which are for Manuia, 1 for Nahina and 1 for the government. The boundaries are: mauka, a government pasture; Puako, a stream named Pakiahua; makai, Kalamau's lot and the beach; Kohala, Kekua-wahine's lot. It has been enclosed. It had been from Kaoanaeha in 1840; no one has objected to this day." [Native Testimony, Vol. 4:1].

The drawing that accompanied the claim does not give much more information, but the early map of Kawaihae Village (Fig. 34) indicates that there was a School Grant (No. 13:3) *mauka* of Manuia's *kuleana*. The School Grant was made on Nov. 23, 1853, and there was no indication that there was a building on the lot at the time. C. J. Lyons was the surveyor. The size of the lot was only 1 acre.

This information appears to bear out part of William Akau's great-grandmother's statement to the effect that there was a Catholic school on the ridge above Makahuna Gulch, but the grant was made to the Board of Education, not directly to the Catholic Church. And it may be that this particular site was selected for a school site because there was a fairly substantial building on the lot already, i.e., Olohana's stone and plaster house. That Kaoanaeha was willing to give it up was understandable, because, according to Laura Judd, John Young's wife preferred her house down close to the sea. Still, the evidence appears to be circumstantial. Perhaps additional research may bring to light other documents that clearly identify the site of John Young's house.

EXHIBIT D

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CATTLE ON THE CLIMATE OF WAIMEA AND KAWAIHAE, HAWAII*

That clearing the land ameliorates the climate, is an established fact in the science of Meteorology, but in the instance now under consideration, there are circumstances which appear to render the case peculiarly interesting. In the first place, all the phenomena concerned are within comparatively confined limits, one can stand on a point of rock and include at a glance the whole theatre of operations. The time in which the change of climate has been effected is in short, and within the memory of men now living in the district, and the change itself is so palpable as to have rendered an old established custom of the natives no longer necessary. In the second place the locality being on an island within the range of the steady trade winds, it is out of the reach of the numerous complicating and disturbing causes which affect atmospheric phenomena in regions differently circumstanced. And finally the chain of causes and effects produced is more extended than appears to be the case in most other instances.

The Waimea plains may be described as an elevated Plateau, some ten miles long, four or five miles wide, and perhaps four thousand feet above the level of the sea. At each end they are bounded by a steep slope towards the sea. On one side of the plain is Mauna Kea, and on the other the Kohala range of hills. The north east trade wind blows almost directly along this plain, and being drawn, as it were, between two mountain ranges, is generally pretty strong. Kawaihae is situated on the beach at the bottom of the slope on the lee or western side of the elevated Plateau. The trade wind does not usually blow at Kawaihae; it seems, after sweeping the plains, to continue a straight course without descending the slope, leaving that place under the influence of the regular land and sea breezes. On travelling in the day time from the beach up the hill towards Waimea, we generally start with the sea breeze behind us, which continues until we get to about the brow of the rise--we then arrive at a region of calm--of only a few hundred yards in extent however--for almost immediately we are met by the cold trade wind in our faces. If the journey be made at night, we usually start with a gentle air from the land, which gradually dies away as we ascend, until reaching the brow as before, the same cold breeze salutes us, and bitter cold it often feels, on so suddenly leaving the hot region below. Two marks might be set up only a few hundred

*Sandwich Islands Monthly Magazine, February 1856:44-47.

yards from each other, which would probably for three hundred days in the year, include the debatable ground between the limits of this cold trade wind, and the warmer land and sea breezes below. There are however disturbing causes, one is the southerly wind which at certain seasons prevails over all this part of the ocean, and when prevalent annihilates for the time all the winds just alluded to. The other is the wind which we have more particularly to consider in relation to our present subject.

This is the wind called Mumuku, the tremendous gusts which occasionally sweep down the slope towards Kawaihae, whirling clouds of dust out to sea, blowing sometimes all day and night, when of course the usual land and sea breezes are destroyed. It is nearly coincident in direction with the trade wind, and also with the land breezes, that is to say the three winds, although independent of each other, all blow in the same direction. The trade wind and the southerly wind, are independent of local circumstances--but the land and sea breezes at Kawaihae and these Mumukus are peculiarly local winds, and are effected by local circumstances. The following extract from Brande's Encyclopaedia, is a succinct and easily intelligible account of the cause of land and sea breezes.

"During the day the surface of the land becomes more heated than that of the adjacent ocean, and the air over the land, in consequence of its greater rarefaction, is displaced by the denser air rushing from the sea. Hence a current, or sea breeze, beginning at the same hour in the morning, and continuing till the sun is near setting will flow from the water towards the land. At night the water remains warm, while the surface of the land cools rapidly; and hence the current sets from the land towards the water, and forms the land breeze."

The two main causes which we find adduced to account for winds and storms in general are, the difference of the temperature of the atmosphere in two regions, and the sudden condensation of vapor, by which the equilibrium of the atmosphere is destroyed--and the wind is the rush of air to restore it. It follows, therefore, that the greater this difference of temperature, or the greater the amount of vapor to be condensed, so much more violent will be the resulting winds and storms.

In the case before us then it is not difficult to perceive a very fertile cause of the Mumukus, for we have a cold moist trade wind approaching a current of air at a comparatively high temperature, for the latter although originally a sea breeze and tolerably cool, before it meets the trades, has passed over four or five miles of black lava rock heated perhaps by an afternoon tropical sun. Any cause disturbing the equilibrium of these currents would be likely to produce very violent motion. Let us

suppose one case--a strong trade wind sweeps over the plains heavily loaded with moisture, so much so that a portion falls in rain over the heated lava rocks on the slope towards Kawaihae--this suddenly cools them--the circumstances which were producing the sea breeze are reversed, the causes which produce the land breeze are in operation--the direction of the current of air is suddenly altered, whilst a steady gale is at hand, to back up the local rush of the cooled atmosphere to the now warmer regions at sea.

Fortunately these hurricanes are now not nearly so violent or frequent as they used to be some twenty-five or thirty years ago. The old residents all affirm this, and they state that formerly the Mumukus were so common and violent, that the natives made a regular practice of lashing their canoes which were hauled upon the shore to a rock, stake or tree, to prevent them being blown off the land into the sea. This practice is now given up, being no longer necessary.

But what have the cattle on Waimea plains to do with these hurricanes?

It is in the memory of many foreigners now living there, when the whole of these plains were covered with a thick wood, to the very edge of the slope. Where now hardly a tree is to be seen for miles, we were informed by an old resident, that twenty-five years ago he lost himself with his team in the weeds. He also stated that at that time there was far more rain at Waimea than there is now, which indeed might be readily inferred, as clearing the land has been almost entirely effected by the cattle. The few head brought by Vancouver in 1793 increased so rapidly, that early in the present century thousands of them were killed for their hides. At this moment they swarm in the thick jungle that covers the windward or eastern slope towards Hamakua. They are now gradually destroying this, and thousands of old dead trees both standing upright and lying prostrate, from the present boundary of these woods, and exhibit the mode in which the destruction is effected; for whilst the old trees die of age, no young ones are seen taking their places, as during the last thirty or forty years, the cattle have eaten or trodden them down.

At the present time the vapors and rain which are brought across the plain by the trade winds, are generally dissipated between Waimea village and Lihue, which latter place is something under a mile nearer the brow of the hill, and it is quite usual to notice that at Lihue the weather is fine and the sun shining, whilst at Waimea it is wet, raw and misty. This spot where the vapors now commonly terminate, is three or four miles from the debatable ground between the two winds before alluded to.

But when some twenty-five or thirty years ago, woods extended over the whole plain and to the very edge of it, close on to this debatable ground--and when rain was in consequence more frequent over this district, the vapors and cold moist atmosphere, instead of being dissipated near Waimea village, would necessarily have more frequently extended to the debatable ground; so that the peculiar condition which as we have seen are the main causes of winds, were then greatly intensified and probably at the highest pitch, and instead of a moderate Mumuku now and then as at present, these tremendous gusts must have been an almost every day occurrence. The few miles of open warmed ground and sunshine now tempers the trade wind before meeting the sea breeze, but when covered with foliage it would have had a contrary effect, by attracting the vapors.

To put the case in a few words--There is usually a much smaller difference now, in the temperature and in the moisture of the conflicting currents of air which are concerned in the formation of these wind-storms, than there was before the cattle destroyed the woods; and they are now less frequent and violent accordingly.

When the natives of different districts of these Islands tell us that their climate has altered since the white men came amongst them, we are apt to treat their statements as fanciful, and to imagine that there can be no more connection between the two, than there is in the celebrated instance of the erection of Tenderden steeple and the formation of Goodwin sands. The old natives assert that there is more rain in Honolulu now, than there was before the white men came. This is the opposite effect to the one just treated of, and is singularly corroborative of the correctness of the principle adduced; as here the old residents tell us of the time when there was hardly a tree in the lower parts of Nuuanu valley--the white people came and planted them--and now--Honolulu and a large portion of the valley presents to the view, a pretty liberal sprinkling of foliage.

The simple observation of facts by the ignorant and the savage is often more correct than that of cultivated people, and it would be well to carefully examine all their statements, and ascertain if there is not a reason for them, however absurd they may appear. For as in the present instance, what proposition seems more unlikely, than that the landing of a few head of cattle at Kawaihae, by Vancouver in 1793, should diminish the violence and frequency of the hurricanes at that place in 1856, and yet a little examination shews it to be in a high degree probable not only that there is a connection, but that it is close and easily traceable. Indeed we seem to have at Waimea and Kawaihae, a remarkably compact example, a cabinet specimen as it were, of the mutual action and reaction on each other, of earth, air, sea, men, animals and plants.

EXHIBIT E

LALAMILO KULEANA AND RANCH DISTRICT (50-10-06-2292)

A particularly site-rich area in Lalamilo, not far from Waimea Village (Fig. 39), is an important, relatively undisturbed link between the ancient and the modern life style in the rolling *kula* of South Kohala. For two of the *kuleana* we have some information:

LCA 4195 to Kanehailua.

...I have a houselot at Kaluaana in the *kula* in Waimea, Hawaii. It is a square, 20 fathoms on all sides. It has not been fenced nor is there a house, but I am thinking of fencing and building a house. I request that this place be awarded to me. The *konohiki*, William Beckley, has consented. This is my place which I have cultivated from ancient times. Kanehailua [Native Register, 1/14/1848].

In the testimony which was taken in Sept. 1848, there were three lots identified. The one that turned out to be his *kuleana* was described as "Kealanuimano with 6 garden patches, two of which have been planted with mamaki and taro. Uilama Bekele's boundaries are on all sides." [Native Testimony, vol. 4:17].

LCA 3762 to Auwae.

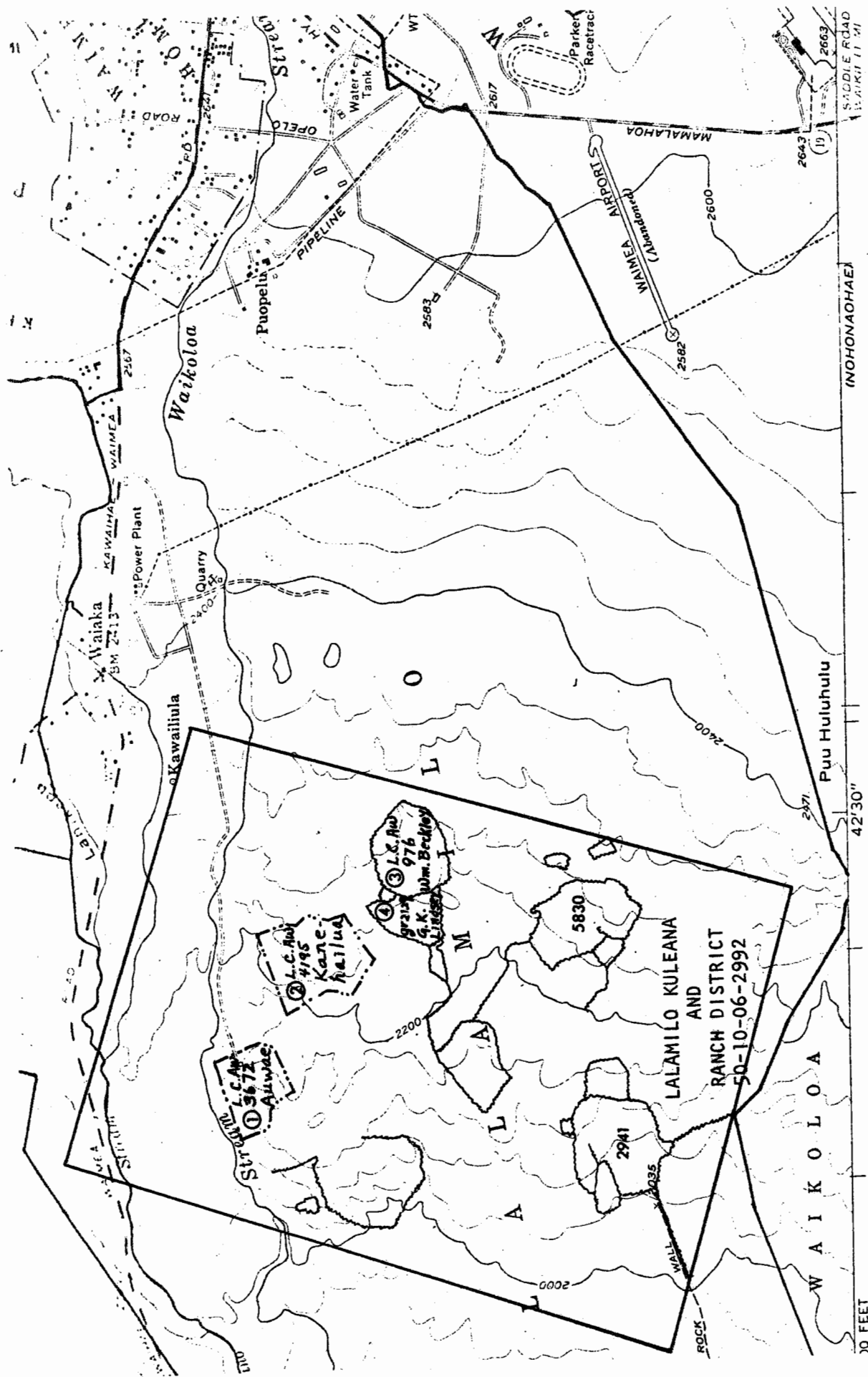
I have a house claim at Waikoloa, Alaohia, in Waimea, Hawaii....2 taro farms at Keanuiomano, in the forest, in Waimea, which I have farmed for 15 years [Native Register, 1/11/1848]

In the testimony, this lot is identified as a farm section in the *'ili* land of Keanuiomano which apparently belonged to Beckley, the *konohiki*. The main *auwai* that brings water to this *kuleana* is still very much in evidence (Fig. 40).

There is evidence today on Auwae's *kuleana* of fairly recent occupation, and until recently there was a house still standing on the property. Today, however, everything is in ruins.

Other sites in the area include many stone walls, house platforms, and the ruins of a substantial stone and mortar house (Fig. 41). Some evidence still exists of ancient sweetpotato growing in the area (Fig. 42).

Such a rich area for walled *kuleana* sites in the *kula* uplands should be studied and possibly preserved as part of Hawaii's history that will soon pass from the scene as development destroys them.



SCALE 1:24000

Fig. 39. LALAMILO KULEANA AND RANCH DISTRICT SHOWN ON U.S.G.S. MAP.

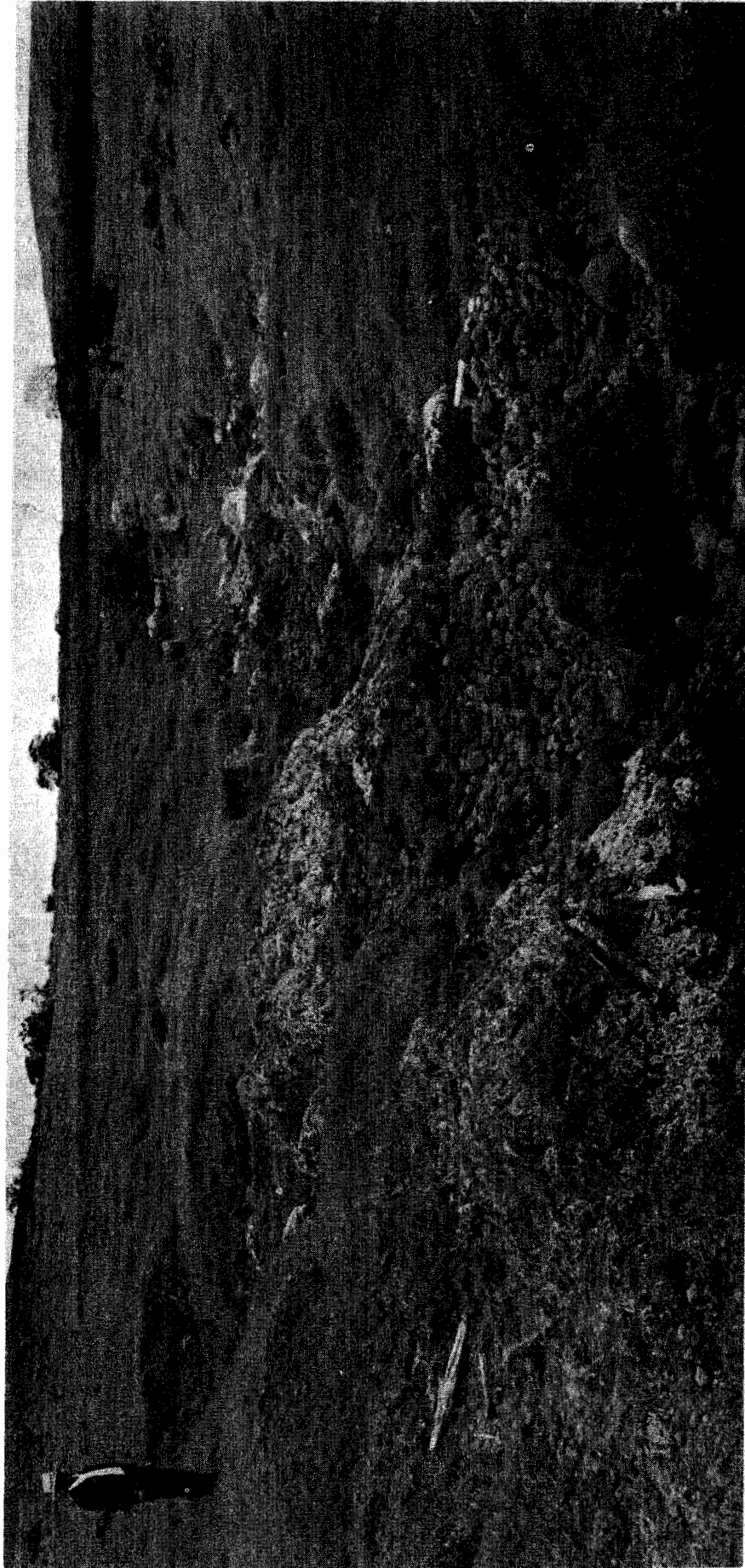


Fig. 40. THE CENTRAL WAIKOLOA STREAM THAT GOES BY AUWAE'S KULEANA CAN BE SEEN ON THE RIGHT. In the foreground is the excavated watercourse (*auwai*) that takes water to the *kuleana*.



Fig. 41. STONE AND MORTAR RUINS IN LALAMILO *KULEANA* AND RANCH DISTRICT. Mr. Sam Hooke at the ruins.

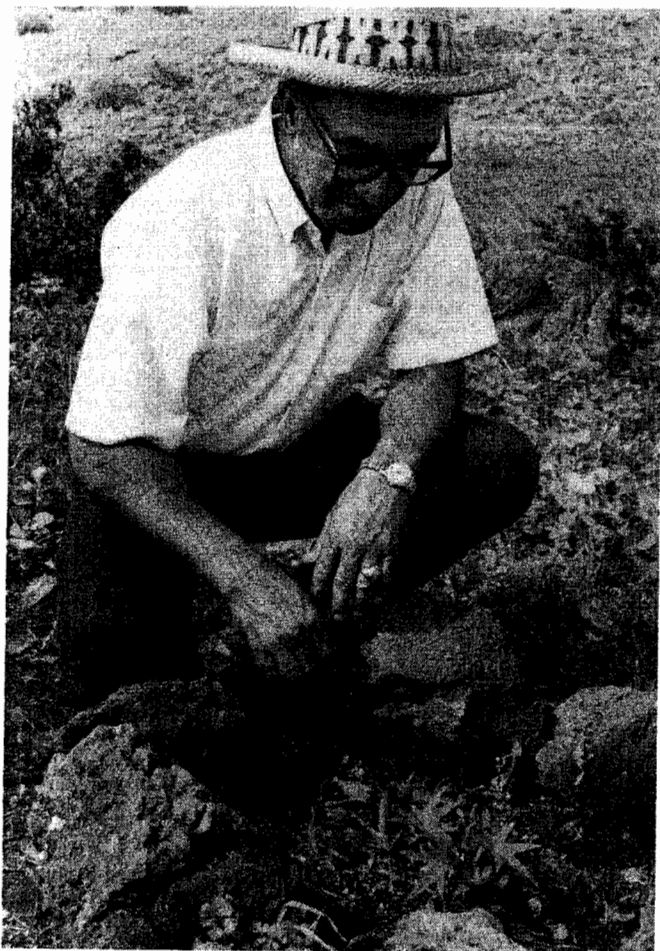


Fig. 42. SWEETPOTATO PLANT FOUND GROWING IN LALAMILO *KULEANA* AND RANCH DISTRICT by Mr. Sam Hooke.

The location of the Lalamilo *Kuleana* and Ranch District
(50-10-06-2292) is approximately as follows:

NW corner,	20°01'50" N,	155°43'24" W
NE corner,	20°01'35" N,	155°42'16" W
SE corner,	20°00'05" N,	155°42'44" W
SW corner,	20°00'17" N,	155°43'53" W

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