CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR THE KAPA‘A RELIEF ROUTE;

KAPA‘A, WAIPOLI, OLOHENA, WAILUA AND HANAMĀ‘ULU
ISLAND OF KAUA‘I

by

K. W. Bushnell, B.A.
David Shideler, M.A.
and
Hallett H. Hammatt, PhD.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Scope of Work

The following scope of work was agreed upon to fulfill the requirements of a cultural impact assessment, as outlined by the Office of Environmental Quality Control guidelines:

1) Further background research with the goal of identifying traditional Hawaiian activities including gathering of plant, animal and other resources or agricultural pursuits as may be indicated in the historic record.

2) A review of the existing archaeological information pertaining to the sites in the study area as they may allow us to reconstruct traditional land use activities and identify and describe the cultural resources, practices and beliefs associated with the parcel and identify present uses, if appropriate.

3) Conduct oral interviews with persons knowledgeable about the historic and traditional practices in the project area and region. This includes eight formal interviews and more informal interviews plus coordination with relevant community groups.

4) Preparation of a report on items 1-3 summarizing the information gathered related to traditional practices and land use. The report will assess the impact of the proposed action on the cultural practices and features identified.

B. Methods

1. Historic Research

Research was conducted to find historic maps at the Hawai‘i State Survey Office, the Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i library and the Kaua‘i Historical Society. Historical research was conducted at the Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i Library, the Hawai‘i State Archives and the Bishop Museum where information on historic land use and past cultural traditions was sought. The Bishop Museum also provided historic photographs for the report. In an attempt to obtain more regional or local sources, historic documents were sought at the Kaua‘i Historical Society and the Kapa‘a Public Library.

2. Archaeological Review

The libraries at Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc. and the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State Historic Preservation Division were used to obtain information regarding previous archaeological and cultural studies in the Kapa‘a, Waipouli, Olohena, Wailua and Hanamā‘ulu areas. Previously identified archaeological sites are presented for each section separately and are discussed in the context of associated cultural traditions. A complete review of archaeological sites, including descriptions, ahupua‘a, settlement patterns and archaeological constraints is available in a separate archaeological assessment document (Hammatt et al. 2003).

3. Identification of Knowledgeable Informants

Hawaiian organizations, community members and cultural and lineal descendants with lineal ties to the greater Kapa‘a and Wailua areas were contacted to: (1) identify potential knowledgeable individuals with cultural expertise and knowledge of the project
Figure 1. Portion of USGS Lihu‘e and Kapa‘a Quad Maps Showing the Primary Project Area for the Kūhiō Highway Improvements Project
area and surrounding vicinity, and (2) identify cultural concerns and potential impacts relative to the project. An effort was made to locate informants who either grew up in the project area or who, in the past, used the area for cultural purposes. These included lifetime residents of Kapa’a Town and Wailua House lots, families with ties to the historic rice industries of Kapa’a, Waipouli and Wailua, and former employees of Lihue Plantation who may have lived in one of the residential camps in the study area. Other potential user groups were residents in the Kapa’a and Wailua Homesteads who have their roots in Kapa’a, Wailua and Keālia and continue to utilize the makai areas for cultural reasons. In addition, informal talk-story with community members familiar with the study area was ongoing throughout the consultation period. The organizations consulted were the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD), The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), O‘ahu and Kaua‘i divisions, the Kaua‘i/Ni‘ihau Islands Burial Council, the Royal Order of Kamehameha, Kaumuali‘i Chapter, Nā Kahu o Hikinaakalā, Friends of Lydgate Park, Kaua‘i County Council, Kaua‘i County Mayor, Kaua‘i Health Heritage Coastal Corridor Committee, Kaua‘i Historical Society, Kaua‘i Historic Preservation Commission, Native Hawaiian Historic Preservation Council, and the Malae Heiau Advisory Committee. Please refer to Table 6 for a complete list of individuals and organizations contacted.

4. Oral Interviews

Eight interviews were conducted for this assessment. Once the participant was identified, she/he was contacted and an appointment was set up to conduct the interview. For this study, one informant was interviewed in January 2003 while the remaining interviews were conducted in May and June of 2003. The informant was given the opportunity to read through the transcript and edit it. He/She then signed an “Authorization for Release” form giving permission to Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i, Inc. for the interview to be used as part of this study. Interview synopses are provided to give the reader an idea of the background of the informants. Excerpts from the interview are used throughout this report, wherever applicable. The full transcript of the interviews is appended to this report as Appendix A.

5. Report

This study documents relevant information on traditions and practices from the historic record as well as from contemporary oral sources. The report includes cultural and historic documentation of the proposed sections 1, 2, and 3, Kapa’a to Hanamā‘ulu, a summary of archaeological studies, the results of community consultation, and an assessment of traditional resources/traditional practices. The report is organized in such a way that sections II through V reflect the effort of data and information gathering. This is the information used in the final assessment of Traditional Resources/Traditional Practices reported in the Conclusions Section VI.
II. SECTION 1: KAPA‘A, WAIPOULI, AND OLOHENA

A. Natural Setting

The ahupua‘a of Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena are located on the eastern side of the island of Kaua‘i, in the old district or moku of Puna. Adjacent and to the north is the ahupua‘a of Keālia, and to the south, Wailua. Like other ahupua‘a in Puna, Kapa‘a is exposed to the northeast tradewinds and receives 40 to 50 inches of rain a year at the shore and considerably more precipitation inland. The combined area of the ahupua‘a of Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena is approximately 12,571 acres (Gay 1872 R.M. 159, Commission of Boundaries Record, Kauai, vol.1, 1873:23; Commission of Boundaries Record, Kauai, vol. 1, 1872:109).

Alluvium, colluvium and terrigenous sediments resulting from the erosion of the primary island building events in Kaua‘i history, the Waimea Canyon Volcanic Series and the Koloa Volcanic Series, are the major sources of sediment for the formation of Kaua‘i’s non-mountainous region, including Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena (MacDonald and Abbott 1970:382-384). Waipouli is located within the physiographic division known as the Līhu‘e Plain (Armstrong 1973:30). During higher sea levels, terrigenous sediment accumulated further inland as streams released their sediment loads further inland from where the shoreline had encroached. Also, reefs grew with the rising sea level, and, as the sea receded, marine sediments were created and deposited on shore by the erosion of these reefs. Both of these processes were part of the formation of the Līhu‘e Plain.

The soils of the project area reflect the original geologic sediments deposited and the erosional processes induced by climatic agents. Backshore of the sand berm in Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena are found sandy loams associated with the Mokuleia soil series (Foote et al. 1972:95). These soils consist of mostly recent alluvium deposited over coral sand and are typical of the eastern and northern coastal plains of Kaua‘i. Behind Kapa‘a Town and north of Moikeha Canal is found mixed fill. South of Moikeha Canal are Mokuleia clay loams, similar to the sandy loams fronting them. The soils found in the sand berm in Waipouli and Olohena are of the Līhu‘e Series, which are characterized as well-drained soils derived from igneous material originating in Kapa‘a’s uplands (Foote et al. 1972:82).

Historically, these ahupua‘a contained two prominent landscape features, a coastal plain with sand dunes and a large marsh. An 1872 map (Figure 2) by James Gay delineating the boundaries of Kapa‘a and adjacent lands shows that much of the makai region of Waipouli was a “swamp” that extended into Kapa‘a. This “swamp” appears to be the most prominent natural feature of the seaward end of Waipouli and Kapa‘a. The makai areas of the three ahupua‘a can be characterized as fairly flat. Kapa‘a and Waipouli both have irregularly-shaped gulches and small valleys in the uplands, through which small tributary streams run, including the Kapahi, Makaleha, Moalepe and Konohiki Streams. While some of these streams combine with other tributaries in neighboring Keālia to form Kapa‘a Stream, which empties into the ocean at the northern border of the ahupua‘a, others flow directly into the marsh areas of Kapa‘a and Waipouli (Handy and Handy 1972:394,423; Territorial Planning Board 1940:9).
Kapa’a and Waipouli Town areas are built on a sand berm with ocean on the *makai* side and marsh on the *mauka* side. The sand berm was probably slightly wider here than in other localities, but dry land was probably always at a premium.

**B. Mo’olelo of Kapa’a, Waipouli and Olohena**

The Puna district of Kaua’i is well known for two legendary chiefs, Kawelo and Mōʻīkeha. Kawelo is more closely associated with Wailua and Hanamāʻulu and Mōʻīkeha is linked to Kapa’a. Mōʻīkeha is understood to be the grandchild of Maweke, one of the principal genealogical lines from which Hawaiians today trace their ancestry (Beckwith 1970:352). Sometime between the eleventh and twelfth centuries marks the arrival of Maweke to the Hawaiian Islands. Mōʻīkeha succeeds his older brother Kumuhonua as ruling chief during the time of Maililikūkahi. Kapa’a is mentioned in traditions concerning Kawelo (Kaweloleimāku’a), the *moʻo* Kalamaʻiʻulu and the origins of the *hiʻa* *hiʻālea* fish, and the story of Lonoikamakahiki (Fornander 1917:IV:318, 704-705; Rice 1923: 106-108; Thrum 1923: 123-135; Kamakau 1976:80).

1. Mōʻīkeha

Kapa’a was the final home of the legendary chief Mōʻīkeha. Born at Waipiʻo on the island of Hawaiʻi, Mōʻīkeha sailed to Kahiki (Tahiti), the home of his grandfather, Maweke, after a disastrous flood. On his return to Hawaiʻi, he settled at Kapa’a, Kaua’i. Kila, Mōʻīkeha’s favorite of three sons by the Kaua’i chiefess Hoʻoipoikamalani, was born at Kapa’a and was considered the most handsome man on the island. It was Kila who was sent by his father back to Kahiki to slay his old enemies and retrieve a foster son, the high chief Laʻamaikahiki (Handy and Handy 1972:424; Beckwith 1970:352-358; Kalākaua 1888:130-135; Fornander 1917:IV:160). Mōʻīkeha’s love for Kapa’a is recalled in the ʻōlelo noʻeau: *Ka lulu o Mōʻīkeha i ka laulā o Kapaʻa* “The calm of Mōʻīkeha in the breadth of Kapa’ a” (Pukui 1983: 157).

The place “Lulu-o-Mōʻīkeha” is described as being situated “near the landing and the school of Waimahanalua” (Akina 1913: 5). The landing in Kapa’a was known as the Makee Landing and was probably constructed in the late 1870s, along with the Makee sugar mill. Today, in place of the old Makee Landing is part of a breakwater located on the north side of Moikeha Canal, near the present day Coral Reef Hotel (Bushnell et al. 2002:7).

In the Hawaiian newspaper *Kuʻokoʻa* published at the turn of the century, Akina (1913: 6) also tells the story of how Mōʻīkeha’s son, Kila stocks the Hawaiian Islands with the *akule, kawakawa* and ʻōpelu fish. When Kila travels to Kahiki, he seeks out his grandfather Maweke and explains that he is the child of Mōʻīkeha. When Maweke asks Kila if Mōʻīkeha is enjoying himself, Kila answers with the following chant of Puna, Kaua’i:

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Section 1 Kapa’a, Waipouli and Olohena

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Figure 2. Portion of 1872 Survey Map by James Gay, Showing Swamp Land in Waipouli
My father enjoys the billowing clouds over Pōhaku-pili,
The sticky and delicious poi,
With the fish brought from Puna,
The broad-backed shrimp of Kapalua,
The dark-backed shrimp of Pohakuhapai,
The potent awa root of Maiakii,
The breadfruit laid in the embers at Makialo
The large heavy taros of Keahapana
The crooked surf of Makaiwa too
The bending hither and thither of the reed and rush blossoms,
The swaying of the kalukalu grasses of Puna,
The large, plump, private parts of my mothers,
Of Ho‘oipoikamalanai and Hinau-u,
The sun that rises and sets,
He enjoys himself on Kaua‘i,
All of Kaua‘i is Mō‘ikeha’s

Maweke was delighted and when the boy is questioned as to his purpose, Kila tells his great grandfather he is seeking fish for his family. Maweke tells Kila to lead the fish back to his homeland. This is how Kila led the akule, kawakawa and ʻōpelu to Hawaiʻi (Fornander 1917:IV:162-163).

In another legend of Kila, Mō‘ikeha sends his son to Tahiti to slay his enemies. Upon reaching Tahiti, Kila meets his father’s aunt, Kanepohihi, in the form of a blind, supernatural rat. He introduces himself, sending his father Mōʻikeha’s greetings. Kanepohihi asks of Mōʻikeha, and Kila responds:

He is indulging in ease in Kaua‘i
Where the sun rises and sets again,
Where the surf of Makaiwa curves and bends,
Where the sun comes up over
The kalukalu of Kewa;
The stretched out waters of Wailua,  
And the entrancing favors of my mother  
Ho’oipoikalamalani  
He will live and die in Kaua’i  
(Fornander 1916:IV:162-163)

2. Ka‘iliilauokekoa

Waipouli and Kapa’a are mentioned in the legend of Ka‘iliilauokekoa, a chiefess of Kapa’a and granddaughter or daughter of Mō‘ikeha. Thomas Thrum (1907: 83-84) relates that:

[Kaililauokekoa's] greatest desire was to play konane, a game somewhat resembling checkers, and to ride the curving surf of Makaiwa (ke'eke'e nalu o Makaiwa), a surf which breaks directly outside of Waipouli, Kapa’a. She passed the larger part of her time in this matter every day, and because of the continual kissing of her cheeks by the fine spray of the sea of Makaiwa, the bloom of her youth became attractive 'as a torch on high,' so unsurpassed was her personal charm.

In the Thrum (1923:123-135) version, Kaililauokekoa is seduced by the nose flute of Kauakahiali‘i who is at the time residing in Wailua uka at a place called Pihanakalani. She travels up to Pihanakalani with her companion where she joins Kauakahiali‘i as his wife. They are found by Mō‘ikeha’s people and taken down to Kapa’a where Kauakahiali‘i is imprisoned. A boy named Kalukaluokewa takes pity on Kauakahiali‘i and sneaks through the kalukalu grass and the ahuawa rushes to bring the prisoner food and water. Meanwhile, Ka‘iliilauokekoa tells her parents of her calling by Kanikawi to the home of Kahalelehua at Pihanakalani and her encounter with Kauakahiali‘i.

3. Kalukalu grass of Kapa’a

“Kūmoena kalukalu Kapa’a” or “Kapa’a is like the kalukalu mats” is a line from a chant recited by Lonoikamakahiki. Kalukalu is a sedge grass, apparently used for weaving mats (Fornander 1917:IV:318-319). Pukui (1983:187) associates the kalukalu with lovers in “ke kalukalu moe ipo o Kapa’a”; “the kalukalu of Kapa’a that sleeps with the lover.” According to Wichman (1998:84), “a kalukalu mat was laid on the ground under a tree, covered with a thick pile of grass, and a second mat was thrown over that for a comfortable bed,” thus the association with lovers. Kaua‘i was famous for this peculiar grass, and it probably grew around the marshlands of Kapa’a. It is thought to be extinct now, but an old-time resident of the area recalled that it had edible roots, “somewhat like peanuts.” Perhaps it was a famine food source (Kapa’a Elementary School 1933: VI).

4. Pāka’a and the wind gourd of La‘amaomao (Keahiahi)

Kapa’a also figures prominently in the famous story of Pāka’a and the wind gourd of La‘amaomao. Pāka’a was the son of Kūanu‘uanu, a high-ranking retainer of the Big Island ruling chief Keawenuia‘umi (the son and heir to the legendary chief ‘Umi), and La‘amaomao, the most beautiful woman of Kapa’a and member of a family of high status kahuna. Kūanu‘uanu left the island of Hawai‘i, traveled throughout the other islands and finally settled on Kaua‘i, at Kapa’a. It was there that he met and married La‘amaomao,
although he never revealed his background or high rank to her until the day a messenger arrived, calling Kūanu’uanu back to the court of Keawenuia’umi. By that time, La’amaomao was with child but Kūanu’uanu could not take her with him. He instructed her to name the child, if it turned out to be a boy, Pāka’a. Pāka’a was raised on the beach at Kapa’a by La’amaomao and her brother Ma’ilou, a bird snarer. He grew to be an intelligent young man and it is said he was the first to adapt the use of a sail to small fishing canoes. Although Pāka’a was told by his mother from a very young age that his father was Ma’ilou, he suspected otherwise. After constant questioning by Pāka’a, La’amaomao told her son the truth about Kūanu’uanu.

Intent on seeking out his real father, Pāka’a prepared for the journey to Hawai’i Island. His mother presented him with a tightly covered gourd containing the bones of her grandmother, also named La’amaomao, the goddess of the winds. With the gourd and chants taught to him by his mother, Pāka’a could command the forces of all the winds in Hawai’i. While this story continues on at length about Pāka’a and his exploits on Hawai’i and later on Moloka‘i, it will not be dwelt upon further here. It is important to note that several versions of this story do include the chants which give the traditional names of all the winds at all the districts on all the islands, preserving them for this and future generations (Nakuina 1990; Rice 1923:69-89; Beckwith 1970:86-87; Thrum 1923:53-67; Fornander 1918:V: 78-128).

Frederick Wichman (1998:84) writes that Pāka’a grew up on a headland named Keahiahi just south of Kapa’a River. Here, Pāka’a learned to catch mālolo, his favorite fish. After studying the ocean and devising his plan to fabricate a sail, Pāka’a wove a sail in the shape of a crab claw and tried it out on his uncle’s canoe. One day, after going out to catch mālolo, he challenged the other fishermen to race to shore. He convinced them to fill his canoe with fish suggesting it was the only way he could truly claim the prize if he won:

The fishermen began paddling toward shore. They watched as Pāka’a paddled farther out to sea and began to fumble with a pole that had a mat tied to it. It looked so funny that they began to laugh, and soon they lost the rhythm of their own paddling. Suddenly Pāka’a’s mast was up and the sail filled with wind. Pāka’a turned toward shore and shot past the astonished fishermen, landing on the beach far ahead of them. That night, Pāka’a, his mother, and his uncle had all the mālolo they could eat [Wichman 1998:85].

The winds of Kapa’a and Waipouli are named in the mo’olelo of Kuapaka’a and these include the kehau for Kapa’a, the ho’olua for Makaiwa and the inuwai for Waipouli (Fornander 1917:IV:96). A kama’aina interviewed for the 50th anniversary book of Kapa’a School in 1933 (p. 28) identified the winds of Kapa’a:

…Some persons call the wind MAKANI LIHUE: That is, those who live here in Kapa’a, because the wind comes from Lihue. The wind we had on Jan. 30 was really, MAKANI LIHUE. The wind that comes from Hanalei is called MAKANI KIU which means, a very cold wind. The wind that comes from the northeast—(tradewind) is called MAKANI HOOLUA. This is the plant destroying wind…
C. Place Names and Wahi Pana of Section 1

Place names and wahi pana (“legendary place”) (Pukui and Elbert 1986:377) are an integral part of Hawaiian culture. “In Hawaiian culture, if a particular spot is given a name, it is because an event occurred there which has meaning for the people of that time” (McGuire 2000:17). The wahi pana were then passed on through language and the oral tradition, thus preserving the unique significance of the place. Hawaiians named all sorts of objects and places, points of interest that may have gone unnoticed by persons of other cultural backgrounds.

Hawaiians named taro patches, rocks and trees that represented deities and ancestors, sites of houses and heiau (places of worship), canoe landings, fishing stations in the sea, resting places in the forests, and the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place. (Pukui et al. 1974:x)

The following is a list of place names for Kapa’a, Waipouli and Olohena mentioned in this report. This list should by no means be considered complete. Place names were gathered from traditional literature (mo’olelo, chants), historical sources, maps and the Māhele records. Almost all of the ‘ili names were taken from Land Commission Award records. Sadly, none of these ‘ili names were documented on historic maps researched for this project, and their meanings and cultural associations appear to be lost and forgotten. (Pukui et al. 1974:)

Place Names of Hawai’i (Pukui et al. 1974) was used as the primary source for all place name translations. Where there were no known translations, a literal translation of the place name was sometimes made using the Hawaiian Dictionary (Pukui and Elbert 1986). The intent of the author is merely to present the available information and let the reader come to his/her own conclusions.

An attempt was made to include the proper diacritical marks for all known and generally accepted translations of place names. Making incorrect assumptions about the pronunciation and where to place the diacritical marks in a name can entirely change the meaning of a name, (e.g. pūʻāʻā: “scattered; to flee in disorder and fright”; puaʻa: “pig, pork”). Therefore, in cases where the pronunciation of a name was uncertain, diacritical marks were not used and no attempt was made to translate the name. In some cases, cultural relationships were made based on the literal translation of the root word.

One of the beauties of the Hawaiian language is the dualism in names and the double meanings—the literal meaning and the kaona or hidden meaning. It should be remembered that the true significance of a place name lies only with the people who use them and know their history.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the Place Names section for ease and efficiency. (Refer to the References section for complete citations.)

LCA=Land Commission Award
PE=Hawaiian Dictionary by Pukui and Elbert, 1986
PEM=Place Names of Hawai‘i by Pukui, Elbert and Mookini, 1974
Apopo: Land division, possibly ʻili in Kapaʻa (LCA #10907)
Awawaloa: The name of a land division, possibly an ʻili in Kapaʻa in which loʻi were cultivated (LCA #8843)
Hahanui/Kahanui: The name of an ʻili in Kapaʻa where loʻi were claimed (LCA #10564, #3554/#3599)
Kahana: The name of a land, possibly an ʻili in Kapaʻa where uncultivated loʻi were claimed (LCA 3971). Literally, “cutting” (PEM: 63).
Kaiakea/Kaikea: Name of area encompassing Kuahiahi Point. “Kaikea: White sea foam, especially as washed up on a beach; kaʻikeʻa: Station of the cross (Catholic); procession of the cross” (PE:116). The original St. Catherine’s Church was located in this area.
Kalolo/Kaloko: The name of a village or houselot in Kapaʻa Ahupuaʻa (LCA #3638, #8843)
Kaloloku: Name of swamp in back of Kapaʻa and Waipouli
Kehau: Name of wind of Kapaʻa (Fornander, 1918:V:96, 97)
Kuahiahi/Kaahiahi/Kuahiahi: Name of rocky headland at north end of Kapaʻa Ahupuaʻa; location of first Kapaʻa School (1883-1908); location of former heiau called Kuahiahi (HEN I :216) ; place where the legendary figure Pakaʻa, keeper of the wind gourd of Laʻamaomao, grew up and fished (Wichman 1998 :85).
Kupaliʻi: Name of a pond in Puna district famed in chant for the rustling of the manienie grass (HEN: 211-216)
Kupanihi: The name of a pond in the Puna district associated with Kaeo, Kaumualiʻi’s older brother (HEN:216); Name of fishpond and land in Kapaʻa claimed in LCA #3971/3243
Maeleele: The name of a land division, possibly an ʻili in Kapaʻa in which loʻi were cultivated (LCA #3638)
Mailehuna/Mailehune: Name of a hill where the present day Kapaʻa School is located. Name of a former heiau at this location (HEN:214)
Moalepe/Moalepi: Hill in the mauka region of Keʻalia (HAS, Interior Dept., Land, June 23, 1862); land division, possibly an ʻili in mauka region of Kapaʻa claimed in LCA #8247
Moikeha Canal: Canal which is traversed by two plantation era railroads near the present day Kapaʻa Public Library and the Coral Reef Hotel
Puhi: The name of a village or household in Kapaʻa Ahupuaʻa claimed in LCA #3554/3599
Waikaʻea: Canal and boat ramp in Kapaʻa adjacent to the present day Pono Kai Resort (Clark 2002:374)
Waikaeece: A place described as being located in the uplands near Nounou (HEN Placenames, Kuʻokoa, May 2, 1913)
Waimahanalua: Name of a stream and school located near the old Makee Landing near the present day Moikeha Canal (HEN Placenames, *Ku‘oko‘a* May 9, 1913). The name *mahanalua* suggests the stream was forked and fed by multiple streams which could well be the case since the backlands of Kapa‘a were swamplands fed by many streams.

Waitala: “local” name used to refer to Waika‘ea Canal (Personal communication, T. Sokei, July 28, 2003)

Ulukiu: Name of a houselot or village in Kapa‘a (LCA #8837)

**D. Early Post-Contact Period**

Very few recorded observations exist for this period in Kapa‘a’s history. George Vancouver (1798:2:221-223) examined the east coast of the island from his ship in 1793 and stated that it was the "most fertile and pleasant district of the island..." However, he did not anchor nor go ashore there due to inhospitable ocean conditions.

Kiaimakani stands out as a particularly interesting Hawaiian chief in the early post-contact history of Waipouli. In 1824, the brig, "Pride of Hawaii," owned by Liholiho (Kamehameha II), ran aground in Hanalei Bay. Hiram Bingham (1847:221-222) recorded the efforts of a great crowd of Hawaiians to pull the vessel to shore for salvage:

Kiaimakani passed up and down through the different ranks, and from place to place, repeatedly sung out with prolonged notes, and trumpet tongue... 'be quiet - shut up the voice.' To which the people responded...'say nothing,' as a continuance of the prohibition to which they were ready to assent when they should come to the tug. Between the trumpet notes, the old chieftain, with the natural tones and inflections, instructed them to grasp the ropes firmly, rise together at the signal, and leaning inland, to look and draw straight forward, without looking backwards toward the vessel. They being thus marshalled and instructed, remained quiet for some minutes, upon their hams.

The salvage efforts ultimately failed and the brig was lost. Bingham's account vividly suggests the force of personality of the chief and further betokens an authority and stature that may have been founded upon the traditional prestige of his domain, Waipouli.

Kiaimakani appears in Samuel Kamakau's account (1961:267) of the 1824 rebellion of the chiefs of Kaua‘i upon the death of Kaumuali‘i. Kalanimoku, representative of Kamehameha II, had called a council of the Kaua‘i chiefs at Waimea during which he announced

“The lands shall continue as they now stand. Our son, Kahala-i‘a, shall be ruler over you.” A blind chief of Waipouli in Puna, named Ki‘ai-makani, said, “That is not right; the land should be put together and re-divided because we have a new rule,” but Ka-lani-moku would not consent to this.

After some Kaua‘i chiefs, including Kiaimakani, rebelled against the imposed decrees:
On August 8 [1824] the battles of Wahiawa was fought close to Hanapepe. The Hawaii men were at Hanapepe, the Kauai forces at Wahiawa, where a fort had been hastily erected and a single cannon (named Humehume) mounted as a feeble attempt to hold back the enemy...Large numbers of Kauai soldiers had gathered on the battleground, but they were unarmed save with wooden spears, digging sticks, and javelins...No one was killed on the field, but as they took to flight they were pursued and slain. So Kia’i-makani, Na-ke’u, and their followers met death [Kamakau 1961: 268].

Kamakau’s singling out of Kiaimakani for special mention reinforces the impression that the chief and his ahupua’a may have shared a traditional prestige.

In 1840, Peale and Rich, with Charles Wilkes’ United States Exploring Expedition, traversed the coastline there on horseback heading north from Wailua:

The country on the way is of the same character as that already seen. They passed the small villages of Kuapau, Keālia, Anehola, Mowaa, and Kauharaki, situated at the mouths of the mountain streams, which were closed with similar sand-bars to those already described. These bars afforded places to cross at, though requiring great precaution when on horseback. The streams above the bars were in most cases deep, wide, and navigable a few miles for canoes. Besides the sugarcane, taro, &c., some good fields of rice were seen. The country may be called open; it is covered with grass forming excellent pasture-grounds, and abounds in plover and turnstones, scattered in small flocks [Wilkes 1845:69].

James Jarves (1844:157), who tracked much of the same route as Peale and Rich, noted "nothing of particular interest is met with on the road, until arriving at Anahola."

E. The Mahele Period

The Organic Acts of 1845 and 1846 initiated the process of the Mahele, which introduced private property into Hawaiian society. It is through information garnered from records for Land Commission Awards (LCAs) generated during the Mahele that specific documentation of traditional life in Kapa’a, Waipouli and Olohena come to light.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LCA Number</th>
<th>Ahupua’a</th>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>‘Ili of the Ahupua’a</th>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>Number of ‘Āpana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3243</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Honolii, Ioane</td>
<td>Kahana, Kupanihi Village</td>
<td>6 lo‘i (uncult), house lot</td>
<td>2 (2 acres, 1 rood, 1 rod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3554</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Keo</td>
<td>Kahanui Pahi Village</td>
<td>15 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>2 (7 acres, 1 rood, 17 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parcel</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Land Area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3638</td>
<td>Kapa'a</td>
<td>Huluili</td>
<td>Maeleele Kaloko Village</td>
<td>12-15 lo'i, house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8247</td>
<td>Kapa'a</td>
<td>Ehu</td>
<td>Moalepe / Noalepe</td>
<td>20 lo'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8837</td>
<td>Kapa'a</td>
<td>Kamapaa</td>
<td>Ulukiu lalo Awawaloa Uluki</td>
<td>3 lo'i, 2 lo'i, house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8843</td>
<td>Kapa'a</td>
<td>Kiu</td>
<td>Apopo Kalolo Village</td>
<td>6 (5) lo'i and kula, house lot</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10564</td>
<td>Kapa'a</td>
<td>Oleloa, Daniel</td>
<td>Hikini farm</td>
<td>fishpond, 10 lo'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3243</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Honolii</td>
<td>Kupanihi Village</td>
<td>Mahina'ai (farm), 7 lo'i (Award in Kapa'a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3560</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kauakahi</td>
<td>Pua / PuaaPuuiki</td>
<td>3 lo'i, kula (pasture), house lot (Award in Wailua)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3622</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kamaholela ni Kukaeuli</td>
<td>Makamakaole Village</td>
<td>3 lo'i and kula (pasture), house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3624</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kaumiumi</td>
<td>Pohaku Makamakaole Village</td>
<td>3 lo'i and small kula (pasture), house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3639</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kapalahua and Nalopi</td>
<td>Kekee Kanalimua Village</td>
<td>3 lo'i and uncult. kula, house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3971</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Honoli'i</td>
<td>living at Waipouli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7636</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kanaka</td>
<td>Mokuapi Makahokoloko Village</td>
<td>3 (5) lo'i, house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8559B</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kanaina, C. for Lunalilo</td>
<td>Ahupua'a of Waipouli</td>
<td>'Āpana 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8836</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>KaalihiKaua</td>
<td>Kaheloko</td>
<td>2 lo'i, kula, wauke, pig pen, house lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See 3243)
### Section 1 Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8838</th>
<th>Waipouli</th>
<th>Kahukuma</th>
<th>Pini</th>
<th>2 lo‘i, kula (pasture), and house lot</th>
<th>1 (1.5 acres, 37 rods)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8839</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kualiwa</td>
<td>Hape Mokanahala/Mokunahala Village</td>
<td>4 lo‘i and sm. kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (3 roods, 13 rods) 1 (1 acre, 1 rood, 1 rod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9013</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Nawaimakanui/Kawaimakanui</td>
<td>Naohe Uahalekakawawa</td>
<td>3 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 12 roods) 1 (1 rood, 27 roods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10146</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Mahi</td>
<td>Pau Paikahawai</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and sm. kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 17 roods) 1 (1 rood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3831</td>
<td>Olohena</td>
<td>Pahuwai</td>
<td>Kuanea</td>
<td>4 lo‘i and house lot</td>
<td>1 (2 roods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3624</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kaumiumi</td>
<td>Pōhaku Makamakaole Village</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and small kula (pasture), house lot</td>
<td>1 (3 roods, 38 rods) 1 (1 rood, 8 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3639</td>
<td>Waipouli Kapa‘alahua and Nalopi</td>
<td>Kekee Kanalimua Village</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and uncul. kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (3 roods)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3971</td>
<td>Waipouli (See 3243)</td>
<td>Honolii</td>
<td>living at Waipouli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7636</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Kanaka</td>
<td>Mokuapi Makahokoloko Village</td>
<td>3 (5) lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>2 (3 roods, 27 roods)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Land Commission Awards**

**Kapa‘a**

Documents relating to Land Commission Awards (*kuleana*) during this period show, surprisingly, that only six individuals were awarded *kuleana* parcels in the relatively large *ahupua‘a* of Kapa‘a. Five of the six received multiple parcels and show characteristic similarities. They are Keo (*LCA #3554, 3599*), Kiau (*#8843*), Kamapaa (*#8837*), Ioane Honolii (*#3971*), and Huluili (*#3638*) (See Table 1). All five had lo‘i on the *mauka* side of the lowland swamp area, sometimes extending a short distance up into small, shallow gulches and valleys. Each also had a separate house lot located on the *makai* side of the swamp, adjacent to the beach. Interestingly, the residential "village" of Kapa‘a did not exist as a single entity, but was a series of small settlements or compounds that stretched along the shoreline of the *ahupua‘a* and included (south to
north) Kupanihi (Makahaikupanihi), Kalolo (Kaulolo), Puhi, and Ulukiu. The sixth individual, Ehu (#8247), was the only person to be awarded a single parcel in the upland area of Kapa‘a at Moalepe valley, approximately five miles from the shore. In 1848, when Ehu made his claim, he was the only one living there. A few years later, according to Honoli‘i’s testimony to support Ehu’s claim, "There are no houses and no people now living on the land. Ehu found himself lonely there, all his neighbors having either died or left the land. Ehu now lives in Wailua." Ehu may have been the last person to live at and cultivate in the traditional way the far mauka region of Kapa‘a.

A check of the Foreign Testimony (F.T) for Kuleana Claims to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands (1848-50) reveals the names of three ‘auwai in Kapa‘a. Cross-referencing this information with various maps gives a general indication of their location: Makahaikupanihi, along the southern border near the shore and the settlement in Waipouli; Makea, near the current Kapa‘a Public Library on the mauka side of Kūhiō Highway; and Kapa‘a, probably along the current Kanaele Road.

Waipouli

Documentation produced during the second half of the nineteenth century creates a lively image of Waipouli. At the time of the Mahele, William C. Lunalilo (the future king) was awarded the entire ahupua‘a of Waipouli along with Kahili, Kalihiwai, Pila’a, Manuahi, Kamalomalo and Kumukumu.

A 1929 map, traced from a M.D. Monsarrat map based upon an 1886 survey, charts the disposition of the ten Land Commission Awards (LCAs) of Waipouli (Figure 3). There are 12 claims made for land and 10 are awarded (Table 1, Figure 3). These 10 claims include 16 ‘āpana, with 38 lo‘i, 10 house lots, 8 kula, 1 claim for wauke, and 1 pigpen. The lo‘i are all within or around the marshland just mauka of the shoreline. Immediately striking in the testimonies is the number of individual features, each given a name by the Hawaiians, used to define the location and boundaries of the claims. The following list presents this profusion:
Figure 3. Portion of 1929 Government Survey Map (R.M. 1660) of Waipouli, Puna, Kaua‘i Showing Kuleana Locations
Two noteworthy details emerge from this data. The first is the identification of two place names - Uhalekawaa is a "village" and Hapakio is a fishpond of the konohiki (LCA 9013), and second, the profusion of named features within a very small portion of the entire ahupua'a suggests an intense use of the makai area by what must have been a much larger population than that present by the mid-nineteenth century.

Olohena

The one LCA claimed and granted in Olohena Ahupua'a is located inland on Konohiki Stream (LCA 3831). Pahuwai, the single claimant in Olohena, had two parcels, one in Olohena ‘Ili and one in Kuanea ‘Ili. Pahuwai’s award is near the Waipouli boundary at the edge of the marshland called “Waialiali” and he was not far from his nearest neighbors in Waipouli.

2. Boundary Commission

Waipouli

Surveyors mapped the boundaries of Waipouli in the 1870s. Documents related to the survey left many clues about land use and place names. Some of these place names are especially worth noting. Kauwanawa’a is a "canoe harbour" on the shore at the southern boundary of Waipouli. Mid-way up the southern boundary is an "old pig pen Papuaa". Along the mauka half of the northern boundary is the "site of old houses Panini" and "old houses Kapukaili." The presence of the pigpen and two old house sites suggests there were populated areas within the mauka reaches of Waipouli before the nineteenth century. Areas at similar elevations in neighboring ahupua’a are known to have been foci of agricultural endeavors.

Olohena

The ahupua’a of Olohena is now divided into North and South Olohena because, during the Māhele, Kiaimoku retained the northern half of Olohena (Grant 3662) and relinquished the southern half. The southern half was subsequently granted to R. P. Spaulding as Grant 5264 (Interior Department Book 15, p.109).

In the Boundary Commission survey (1875) for Olohena, James Gay (Boundary Commission, Kauai Vol. I pp. 106-108) describes in general terms the boundaries of Olohena (the half belonging to Kamehameha III became government land). Probably around the turn of the 20th century a racetrack (shown in TMK 4-3: 1932) was built
along the shoreline, straddling both North and South Olohena Ahupua‘a (1936). TMK 4-4 shows many small grants in South Olohena; probably government lands which according to R.D. King (1942:11), principal cadastral engineer for the Territory of Hawaii, were sold during the period from 1846 to 1900.

The Wailua Boundary Commission report contains more information about Olohena than the Olohena report does -- no witnesses were called for the Olohena boundaries since the surrounding boundaries (Wailua andWaipouli) were already surveyed. The Wailua report notes that on the Wailua/Olohena boundary at approximately N 56° 33' W there is a stone shaped like a dog house, and at S 85° 0' W one goes up a spur 850 links to a narrow place called Kaea (the fifth survey point between Wailua and Olohena) where there is an old burying ground surrounded by hau and kou "where the bodies of those slain in battle were buried" (Commission of Boundaries record, Kauai, vol. 1 for Wailua 1875:32-37). When one compares the Kapa‘a Quad map with R.M. 976 and R.M. 388 (James Gay maps of Olohena and Wailua; Figures 4 & 5) this point appears to be at the Forest Reserve boundary at the Wailua-South Olohena line. The kama‘āina testimony states that the boundary at the sand beach is where "the fish were drawn in and were divided between Olohena and Wailua," and that the Blowhole and the house and God Stone of Kewalo are in "Olohuna" (Commission of Boundaries record, Kauai, vol. 1 for Wailua 1875:32-37). No other mention of Kewalo's God Stone was found. The house of Kawelo - Ching's site 41- "a little below the cave of Mamaakualono [in Wailua] - is a stone shaped like a grass house. Kawelo would be Kawelomahamahia, grandfather of Aikanaka and a king of Kauai..." (Ching 1968:23). Kewalo is possibly the same as Kawelo.

F. The Late 1800s

The sugar industry came to the Kapa‘a region in 1877 with the establishment of the Makee Sugar Company and subsequent construction of a mill near the north end of the present town. Cane was cultivated mainly in the upland areas on former kula lands. The first crop was planted by the Hui Kawaihau, a group composed of associates of King David Kalākaua. The king threw much of his political and economic power behind the project to ensure its success (Dole 1929:8-15). A train line went inland from Kapa‘a Town from the coast along the present Lehua Street alignment heading south behind Kapa‘a Town. This railroad line skirts the rice lands behind Kapa‘a Town. Another branch ran between Hauaala and Hundley Roads and the branch from behind Kapa‘a Town joined the Hauaala/Hundley railroad alignment where the proposed corridors for this project join the present Kūhiō Highway. The train line continued north to the Keālia (Kapa‘a) River. Chinese rice farmers had begun to cultivate the lowlands of Kapa‘a with increasing success about this same time. Several Hawaiian kuleana owners leased or sold outright their parcels mauka of the swampland to rice cultivators. Concurrently, the economic activity as a result of the rice and sugar cultivation sparked interest in the house lot kuleana on the makai side of the marsh for increasing commercial and residential development (Lai 1985:148-161). This land was drained and used for cane in the early 20th century before more recent urbanization of the area.
Figure 4. Portion of James Gay Map of Wailua (1872)
Figure 5. Portion of James Gay Map of Oloheha, Kaua‘i (1893)
G. 20th Century History of Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena

In the early 1900s, government lands were auctioned off as town lots in Kapa‘a Town to help with the burgeoning plantation population. Many of these lots were purchased by Portuguese and Japanese laborers who had fulfilled their contract duties with Makee Plantation. One kama‘aina interviewed for a previous project in Kapa‘a mentioned that in the 1930s and 1940s, the area north of Moikeha Canal in Kapa‘a was mostly settled by Portuguese families (W. Kaneakua in Bushnell et al. 2002:28). The Japanese were also very prominent in the 1920s and 1930s, largely replacing the Chinese merchants of the turn of the century in the Kapa‘a business sector.

Though most of the large plantation camps were located in neighboring Kea‘lia, there were a few in Kapa‘a. Many people consulted had clear memories of the plantation camps in Kapa‘a: a fairly large camp located just behind Kapa‘a Town and three smaller camps located in the hills above Kapa‘a. The large camp, Pueo Camp (Figure 6), was located adjacent to the intersection where the current Kapa‘a Bypass Road turns off of Olohena Road (Interview w/ A. Paik, 5/14/03). One Kapa‘a resident who grew up in Pueo Camp remembers the camp being quite large with between 75 and 100 people, mostly single Filipino and Chinese men with some Japanese families and a few Hawaiian and Portuguese families (personal communication w/ G. Mukai, 8/5/03). Pueo Camp is thought to be a fairly early Makee Plantation Sugar Camp built strategically adjacent to the railroad tracks which accessed the sugar fields in the upland areas of Kapa‘a. Though no one consulted knew the date Pueo Camp was established, the oldest of our informants, Mrs. Alice Paik, born in 1912, knew the camp was there before she was born (Interview w/ A. Paik, 5/14/03). Pueo camp was destroyed sometime in the 1950s. The other three camps located in the hills adjacent to or just off of Olohena Road were considerably smaller than Pueo Camp. These consisted of Stable Camp, 35 Camp and 18 Camp (See Figure 6). Two other camps in the Kapa‘a/Waipouli area were also mentioned. Aguiar camp was a residential camp for employees of the pineapple industry, and Mundon Camp was thought to be a residential camp for Lihue Plantation workers (Interview w/ G. Hiyane, 5/14/03).

Pineapple became the next largest commercial enterprise in the region. In 1913, Hawaiian Canneries opened in Kapa‘a at the site now occupied by Pono Kai Resort (Cook 1999:56; Figure 6). The Kapa‘a Cannery provided employment for many Kapa‘a residents and many of the informants for this project mentioned having worked in the cannery during some time of their lives. By 1960, 3400 acres were in pineapple and there were 250 full time employees and 1000 seasonal employees for the Kapa‘a Cannery. However, in 1962, Hawaiian Canneries went out of business due to competition from third world countries.

The Ahukini Terminal & Railway Company was formed in 1920 to establish a railroad to connect Anahola, Kea‘lia and Kapa‘a to Ahukini Landing at Hanamā‘ulu and to “provide relatively cheap freight rates for the carriage of plantation sugar to a terminal outlet” (Condé and Best 1973:185). This company was responsible for extending the Makee Sugar Company railroad line from the Makee Landing [formerly located near the present day Coral Reef Hotel] to the Ahukini Landing at Hanamā‘ulu Bay. This railroad line traversed much of the study area (Figures 6 & 7) and was in use from 1921, through
Figure 6. Aerial View of Kapa‘a, Kaua‘i, looking west, circa 1933 (Bishop Museum Archives)
Figure 7. Hawai‘i Territory Survey Map (Iao 1914) of Kapa‘a Section Showing Roads, Railroads and Camps
the take-over by Lihue Plantation Company in 1934 and until Lihue Plantation converted from railroad transport to trucking in the late 1950s (Figures 6 & 7).

Lihue Plantation was the last plantation in Hawai‘i to convert from railroad transport to trucking (Condé and Best 1973: 167). In 1955, reports came out on the dredging for coral proposed for the reef fronting Kapa‘a Beach Park (Garden Island Newspaper, September 21, 1955). This coral was to be used for building plantation roads. The dredging was later blamed for accelerated erosion along Kapa‘a Beach (Garden Island Newspaper, October 30, 1963). Today, there are several sea walls along the Kapa‘a Beach Park to check erosion. Old time residents claim the sandy beach at Kapa‘a was once much more extensive than it is now (Personal communication J. & W. Kaneakua, August 2002; G. Hiyane, May 2003). “By 1957 the company was salvaging a part of their plantation road, which was being supplanted by roads laid out for the most part on or close to the old rail bed” (Condé and Best 1973: 167). By 1959, the plantation had completely converted over to trucking.

Severe floods in Kapa‘a in 1940 led to the dredging and construction of the Waikaea and Moikeha Canals sometime in the 1940s (Territorial Planning Board 1940:7). Although the Waikaea Canal, bordering the Kapa‘a Pineapple Cannery, had been proposed as early as 1923, nothing was constructed until after the floods (Bureau of Land Conveyances, Grant 8248). A Master Plan for Kapa‘a, published in 1940, asks the Territorial Legislature for funds to be set aside for the completion of a drainage canal and for filling makai and mauka of the canal (Territorial Planning Board 1940:7).

H. Previous Archaeological and Cultural Studies of Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena

During their expeditions around Hawai‘i in the 1880s collecting stories from ka pō‘e kahiko, Lahainaluna students stopped in Kapa‘a and Keālia and gathered information regarding heiau of the region (Bishop Museum Archives (HEN I:214). Fourteen heiau were named, suggesting that these two ahupua‘a were probably more politically significant in ancient times. Unfortunately, the locations for most heiau were given as Kapa‘a/Keālia, indicating that the exact location of the heiau was not identified. Of the fourteen heiau, five are definitely located in Kapa‘a. These include Mailehuna (in the area of the present day Kapa‘a School), Pueo, Kuahiahi (the site of the first Government School in Kapa‘a—adjacent to the Kūhiō Highway near the northern boundary of Kapa‘a Ahupua‘a), Makanalimu (in upland of Kawaihau) and Kaluluomoikeha. There are no known remains of these heiau today.

Early archaeological studies in Kapa‘a focused on the mauka areas. Surveying in the late 1920s, Bennett (1931) identified many taro terraces in the foothills of the mountains as well as in Kapahi. Archaeological studies in the 1990s in this area centered along Kūhiō Highway where much construction and subsurface work was being conducted in association with the Kapa‘a sewerline construction. During an inventory survey, two buried habitation deposits were found in Kapa‘a, one between Inia and Kauwila Streets extending to the coast and the other between Wana Road and Waikaea Drainage Canal (State Sites 50-30-08-1848 and –1849) (Hammatt 1991). Radiocarbon dates from a deposit collected from Site –1849 dated from A.D. 1435 to 1665. During the actual construction of the Kapa‘a sewerline, 30 burials were found in association with the previously identified habitation deposits (Creed et al. 1995). In spite of the urban
development of Kapa‘a, large areas of undisturbed subsurface sediments remain under the streets and correspond to habitation areas. These sites are expressed as preserved prehistoric A-horizon/cultural layers with artifactual and midden materials, charcoal and soil pits. One additional archaeological study in Kapa‘a located on the south side of Waikaea Drainage Canal on the edge of the marsh identified sub-surface features associated with habitation (Spear 1992).

Archaeological studies in Waipouli are focused on a fairly narrow area along the coast. Work done adjacent to the shoreline at the Coconut Plantation Resort recorded cultural layers containing shell, midden, charcoal, fire-cracked rocks, pit features, prehistoric artifacts and human burials (Site 50-30-08-1801) (Rosendahl and Kai 1990). Data recovery work at this same site revealed the site had been in continuous occupation since AD 1500 (Toenjes et al. 1991).

A second archaeological site (Site 50-30-08-1836) in Waipouli located just north of the Coconut Plantation Resort revealed evidence of long term occupation. Studies at this site consisted of an inventory survey (Folk et al. 1991), data recovery (Hammatt et al. 2000) and preservation and burial treatment (Hammatt et al. 2002). An extensive subsurface cultural layer was documented and the site was probably in continuous use from AD 1500. The intensity of use was evidenced by plentiful midden, numerous pit features, human burials, unique artifacts such as a cache of slingstones and ornaments of social status.

In Olohena, early archaeological work focused on describing Kukui Heiau located on Alakukui Point at the ahupua’a boundary of Olohena and Wailua (Thrum 1907; Bennett 1931; Davis and Bordner 1977; Kawachi 1993). Later work involved archaeological monitoring associated with development. Extensive cultural layers and burials were recorded in North and South Olohena adjacent to the shoreline (Sites 50-30-08-791 and – 1800) (Rosendahl and Kai 1990; Perzinski et al. 2001).
### Table 2. Historic Properties in Section 1: Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena Ahupua‘a (see Figure 8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site #</th>
<th>Ahupua‘a</th>
<th>Site Type/ Name (if any)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Site Constraints</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B001</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Historic Cemetery</td>
<td>South of bend of Kapa‘a Stream, a kilometer mauka from Kūhiō Hwy</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B002</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Historic Cemetery</td>
<td>Just mauka from Kūhiō Highway, south of Kapa‘a Stream</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B003</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Kapa’a Public Cemetery</td>
<td>South of Kanaele Road, one kilometer inland of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B004</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Historic Cemetery</td>
<td>North of Apopo Road, one kilometer inland of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B013</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Historic Cemetery</td>
<td>Just mauka from Kūhiō Highway, north of the Waikaea Canal</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B014</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>All Saints Episcopal Church Cemetery</td>
<td>Just mauka from Kūhiō Highway, south of the Waikaea Canal</td>
<td>Appears to be a discrete historic cemetery</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldeo 1992:62-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>547</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>sub-surface features including a firepit and a possible house foundation</td>
<td>South of bend of Waikaea Canal, mauka of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Archaeological monitoring in the vicinity is recommended</td>
<td>Spear 1992:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>‘Inia Street, makai of Kūhiō Highway, central Kapa’a</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Jourdane 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site #</td>
<td>Ahupua'a</td>
<td>Site Type/ Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Site Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>748</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Minimal findings, a weak cultural layer (buried A-horizon)</td>
<td>South of the bend of the Waikaea Canal, mauka of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Considered no longer significant within project area</td>
<td>Hammatt et al. 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>789</td>
<td>Kapa’a/ Keālia</td>
<td>Historic Road</td>
<td>Coastal Cane Haul Road near Kawaihau Road turn off</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perzinski et al. 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>867</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>1 set of human remains</td>
<td>Kukui Street, just mauka of Kūhiō Highway, Kapa’a Town</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Creed et al. 1995:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>1 set of human remains</td>
<td>Lehua Street mauka of Kūhiō Highway, Kapa’a Town</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Creed et al. 1995:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>871</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>13 sets of human remains (Creed et al. 1995:50)</td>
<td>Inia Street, makai of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Kawachi 1994; Creed et al. 1995:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>886</td>
<td>South Olohena</td>
<td>‘Auwai, fire pit, human remains</td>
<td>Along Kūhiō Highway at entrance to Coconut Market Place</td>
<td>Archaeological monitoring in the vicinity is recommended</td>
<td>Dega and Powell 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Cultural layer and sub-surface features</td>
<td>Along Kūhiō Highway between Wana Road and the Waikaea Drainage Canal</td>
<td>Archaeological monitoring in the vicinity is recommended</td>
<td>Hammatt 1991; Creed et al. 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site #</td>
<td>Ahupua’a</td>
<td>Site Type/ Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Site Constraints</td>
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<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Cultural layer and sub-surface features; Creed et al. 1995:53 expands boundaries to incl. burial sites, -626, -867, -868 -871, and -1894</td>
<td>Along Kūhiō Highway between Inia Street and Kauwila Street extending to the coast</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt 1991; Creed et al. 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>11 sets of human remains</td>
<td>Ulu Street, just north of Kūhiō Highway, Kapa’a Town</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Creed et al. 1995:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2075</td>
<td>Kapa’a/Keālia</td>
<td>Highway Bridge Foundation (old Kaua‘i Belt Road)</td>
<td>Kūhiō Highway at Kapa’a/ Keālia River</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bushnell et al. 2002:55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2076</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Petroglyph</td>
<td>Rocky coast below former cane haul road (Site -789)</td>
<td>Preservation</td>
<td>Bushnell et al. 2002:55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2077</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Concrete steps (related to historic beach pavilion)</td>
<td>Near present Kapa’a Beach Park Pavilion</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bushnell et al. 2002:55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2078</td>
<td>Kapa’a</td>
<td>Historic Railway Alignment (2 Railroad Bridges, &amp; RR Culvert Foundation)</td>
<td>Both railroad bridges span the Moikeha Canal; the RR culvert foundation is located north of the Kapa’a Swimming Pool.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bushnell et al. 2002:55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site # 50-30-08-</td>
<td>Ahupua'a</td>
<td>Site Type/ Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Site Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>872</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Burials (4)</td>
<td>Along Kūhiō Highway in north Waipouli, lies within Site 50-30-08-1848</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Creed et al. 1995:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Subsurface cultural deposit and 5 human burials</td>
<td>Adjacent to coast, south central Waipouli, 200 m <em>makai</em> of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Rosendahl and Kai 1990; Hammatt 1991a; 1991c; Toenjes et al. 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Waipouli</td>
<td>Subsurface cultural layer</td>
<td>Along Kūhiō Highway in north Waipouli</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt 1991b; Creed, Hammatt, Ida, Masterson &amp; Winieski 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Olohena</td>
<td>Kukui Heiau</td>
<td>Alakukui Point, central South Olohena on coast</td>
<td>68 ft by 230 ft., can assume buffer of 100 feet, Further work in area indicated</td>
<td>Thrum 1907; Bennett 1931:127; Davis and Bordner 1977; Kawachi 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site # 50-30-08-</td>
<td>Ahupua'a</td>
<td>Site Type/ Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Site Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>791</td>
<td>Olohena</td>
<td>Cultural layer and burials (2)</td>
<td>Northeast end of coastal South Olohena</td>
<td>Extends inland approximately 150 ft. from the coast, archaeological monitoring in area indicated</td>
<td>Perzinski et al. 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Olohena</td>
<td>Cultural layer and burials (2)</td>
<td>Northeast end of coastal North Olohena</td>
<td>Extends inland approximately 120 ft. from the coast, archaeological monitoring in area indicated</td>
<td>Rosendahl and Kai 1990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 8. Historic Properties in Coastal Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena Ahupua‘a
A cultural impact assessment conducted for the Kapa’a-Keālia Bike and Pedestrian Path included a narrow corridor from the Waikaea Drainage Canal to Hōmaikawa’a, a small inlet beyond Keālia (Bushnell et al. 2002). Historic research of the project area, community consultation and informant interviews were combined to provide an assessment of cultural traditions, both past and present, for the affected areas. Traditional cultural practices and attitudes related to marine resources were the most significant of the cultural findings. It was discovered that the coastal areas along the proposed bike path continue to play a vital role in the Hawaiian and local community for fishing, gathering and recreation.

Almost everyone consulted who knew the study area at all talked about fishing, crabbing or gathering shellfish or limu along the shoreline adjacent to the proposed path. The alignment has been used for many years- both in Kapa’a as a trail then bike path, and also in Keālia, as a cane haul road- to access fishing and gathering grounds. Different types of fishing identified include trapping, lamalama, hooking, and shoreline casting. The fish typically caught in the nearshore areas adjacent to the proposed path include akule, moi, ‘ō‘io, ulua, pāpio, manini, weke, nenue, ūhu, moili‘i, ‘upapalu, hīnalea, and tako (squid). Informants communicated a strong tradition of gathering adjacent to the study area. Crabs such as the Hawaiian crab and the kūhonu were once common near the shoreline. On the rocky shorelines of Keālia and Kumukumu, ‘a‘ama crab was collected. Gathering limu continues to this day, although several of the informants lamented at the decline of limu over the last few decades. Varieties of limu that were once common along the Kapa’a-Keālia coastline and can still be seen are wāwae‘iole, kohu and ogo (manauea). Limu varieties which were once found, but which are now quite rare, are limu līpoa and limu ‘ele‘ele…[Bushnell et al. 2002:91].

Traditions were also collected in connection to the streams, canals and marsh areas where ‘ōpae and o‘opu were once found in abundance. Fishing for ‘oama in Kapa’a’s canals continues to be a lively family tradition during the summers. Concerns regarding the possibility of uncovering burials were also expressed during this study (Bushnell et al. 2002:92).

In summary, the archaeological research of the Kapa’a, Waipouli and Olohena areas has been somewhat skewed to development which has mostly occurred along the coast. Early 20th century archaeological studies attested to the existence of upland terraces, however subsequent studies in the 1980s found no record of upland sites. Although there is little in the way of surface archaeology of Kapa’a that has been able to withstand the test of time (with the exception of Kukui Heiau), archaeological studies have illustrated the vast potential for intact subsurface cultural layers. These cultural deposits extend throughout modern day Kapa’a Town, on the shorelines between the Waipouli Town Center and the Coconut Plantation Resort and along the coast in Olohena makai of the Coconut Plantation Cinema. These cultural deposits suggest a long occupation of the area over many centuries beginning by the late 15th or early 16th centuries. In the Olohena and South Waipouli sites, the cultural deposits seem to be somewhat limited to marine resource exploitation and habitation. In Waipouli, particular the site adjacent to
Konohiki Stream, the thick cultural layer rendered traditional artifacts representing activities such as tool manufacture for fishing, woodworking and for weapons.
III. SECTION 2, NORTHERN PORTION OF THE AHUPUA‘A OF WAILUA (INCLUDING WAILUA RIVER)

A. Natural Setting of Wailua

Wailua Ahupua‘a, located on the eastern side of the island of Kaua‘i, is exposed to the prevailing northeast tradewinds and thus experiences 40 to 50 inches of rainfall annually at the seashore (Figure 9). This increases to 75 to 100 inches in more inland (western) localities. The Wailua River and its tributaries comprise the major drainage system for the central area of the Līhu‘e basin. The Līhu‘e basin is bounded by the Hā‘upu Mountains to the south, Wai‘ale‘ale to the west and the Makaleha mountains to the north. Sea level changes in recent geologic time on this side of Kaua‘i have submerged the eastern edge of the Līhu‘e basin, resulting in the deposition of alluvium, beach and dune sand, and lagoonal clays and marls along the seaward (eastern) side of the Kālepa-Nounou Ridge through which the Wailua River flows (Figure 9).

The ahupua‘a of Wailua is situated on the old moku (or district) of Puna, but today is located in two separate judicial districts. North of the Wailua River it is in the district of Kawaihau and south of the river it is in Līhu‘e District. It is the largest ahupua‘a in both district systems, stretching from the shoreline to its mauka extent at Wai‘ale‘ale (elev. 5080 ft.), and encompassing most of the small streams and tributaries that flow into the Wailua River - the largest and singularly navigable river in the State (Handy and Handy 1972:425). Wailua Ahupua‘a contains 20,255 acres, 2,800 in Wailua Kai, and 17,455 in Wailua Uka (Commission of Boundaries Record, Kauai Vol. 1: 37).

B. Cultural History of Wailua

The most popular and literal meaning of the place name Wailua is "two waters," supposedly referring to the two main forks (north and south) that flow together to form the Wailua River. However, as Lyle Dickey (1916:15) says "this explanation never seems to occur to a native Hawaiian." Other meanings include "water pit" referring to the pools at the bottom of several waterfalls along the river's course (Damon 1931:360) and "ghost or spirit" (Kikuchi 1973:5).

Perhaps even more plausible is the explanation that Wailua comes from the name of the high chief – Wailuanuiaho‘ano. Kamakau (1976:7) states:

Wailuanui-a-Ho‘ano was born in ‘Ewa, O‘ahu, and his descendants went to Kaua‘i and to Maui, and wherever they settled they called the land after the name of their ancestor. Wailua was a song of La‘akona, ancestor of the ‘Ewa family by Ka-ho‘ano-o-Kalani. His name, Wailuanui-a-Ho‘ano, came from adding the name of his mother.

Archaeological and ethnographic evidence reinforce one another and indicate that Wailua was a religious and political center for Kaua‘i during ancient times. There were more heiau in Wailua than in other ahupua‘a on Kaua‘i (See Bennett 1931). The lower portion of the river valley, makai of Nounou ridgeline to the north and Mauna Kapu to the south, was known as Wailuanuiho‘ano (Wailuanuiaho‘ano) or alternately Wailuanuilani. There have been at least seven major heiau recorded in this
Figure 9. Photo of Mauka Portion of Wailuanuialoʻāno 1924 (Bishop Museum Archives)
relatively small area of the *ahupua'a* (Ching 1968:28). This complex of *heiau* was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1962.

A survey of traditional mythological literature indicates that Wailua is prominently associated with famous legendary and historical figures including Maui, Kawelo, Pikoiaakaala, Laieikawai, Mōʻikeha, Laʻamaikahiki and Kaʻililauokekoa (Dickey 1916; Fornander 1916-19; Kalākaua 1888; Rice 1923). A famous Oʻahu chief, Mōʻikeha (dates ca. A.D. 1340-1360 by the 20 years per generation count), according to tradition, sailed off to Kahiki and on his returns settles in Wailua, Kauaʻi, where the Puna family of chiefs welcome him. Upon the death of Puna Mōʻikeha becomes the *aliʻi nui* of Kauaʻi and remained there (Fornander 1878-85: II:53-54).

Also pointing to the great antiquity and importance of the settlement at Wailua is that the area is, in recorded traditions, the site of many "firsts." Dickey (1916:24) records claims that the first *kalo* and *ʻuala* on Kauaʻi were said to be planted by Mōʻikeha here. Mōʻikeha's hānai son, Laʻamaikahiki, brought the first temple drum to the islands and placed it at the *heiau* of Holoholoku at Wailua (Fornander 1878-85:II:62). Here also were introduced the first *hau* trees on Kauaʻi at Hihiakalahau along the river below Poliahu Heiau, and the first coconut tree in the islands at Molohua, just north of the river mouth (Dickey 1916:16,24,30).

Following are a few examples of legends associated with Wailua and “Kupua,” i.e. legendary heroes or heroines with a dual nature, being half human, half god (Beckwith 1970).

1. Kawelo

Beckwith (1970:404) suggests the legend of Kawelo is one of the most popular kupua warrior legends based on the number of recorded versions of the legend and the elaboration of the stories. Not all of the Kawelo legends will be recounted here. Rather, a short description of the legend will focus on the commonalities of the legends.

Born of chiefly status, Kawelo grows up in Wailua with his brothers. They live a sheltered life, but had a desire to leave their kapu compound to play with the other children. They escape and Kawelo challenges the other boys to a spear contest where he establishes his great skill as a spear thrower. Kawelo continues to grow, eating great quantities of food and making it difficult for his family to keep up with his appetite.

Kawelo travels to Oʻahu where he spends time becoming proficient in war games. Here, he meets his wife Kānewahinekiaoha who will later be of great benefit in his war party. He learns the arts of warfare from his father-in-law. On Oʻahu, he also embarks on a fishing adventure with Makuakeke to fish for the supernatural *uhu*, Uhumakaikai. During one of his fishing expeditions, he is visited by relatives from Kauaʻi who inform him that Aikanaka has taken over the *moku* of Kauaʻi and is depriving his family of food (other versions mention Aikanaka has killed Kawelo’s parents).

Kawelo returns to Kauaʻi hidden in a war canoe with his war party, which consists alternately of his wife, his brothers and hanai sons. Once on Kauaʻi, Kawelo engages in battle with Aikanaka’s forces using all his training and skills. His war club *kuikaʻa* is of great use in razing down Aikanaka’s troops. Kawelo dispatches his brother Kamalama and his adopted sons to wage battles at different places in the Wailua area. His wife,
Kanewahinekiaoha, helps Kawelo to defeat the giant warrior of Aikanaka, Kauahoa. Throughout the battling, Kawelo skillfully uses the art of oratory and riddling to mock and shame his rivals. In the end, this is how he finally conquers Aikanaka.

2. Pikoiakaalala

In the Fornander (1917:450-463) version of Pikoiakaalala, the kupua Pikoiakaalala is born at Wailua on Kaua‘i. Being kupua, he and his parents, Alala and Koukou and his sisters, Iole and Opeapea are rats that have the ability to turn into human beings. When Pikoi was a youth, he convinces his father to allow him to play in one of the athletic contests that the other youth of Wailua engaged in. When Pikoi wins at the game of kōieie, which involves fashioning a smooth board that will float steadily in one place on the river without being carried down by the rapids, one of the other boys becomes jealous and pushes Pikoi’s board into the rapids. Pikoi jumps in after his board and is swept out to sea where he rides the current all the way to O‘ahu. Here, Pikoi is united with his sisters who did not know of his existence. He challenges the famous sharp shooter, Mainele, in a rat-shooting contest and, combining his family connections and his skills of shooting and riddling, he is victorious. Pikoi continues to use these skills to the benefit of the mōʻī throughout the islands of Hawaiʻi.

3. Kalelealuaka

The kupua Kalelealuaka was born on Kaua‘i when his father Kaopelemoemoe was mistaken for dead on O‘ahu and taken to Kaua‘i to be sacrificed at the Kaikihanaaka Heiau at Kukui. Kalelealuaka’s father, Kaopele, would sometimes fall into trance-like slumbers for months at a time; this is how he was mistaken for dead. After he awakes on Kaua‘i at Kaikihanaaka, he meets a family who marries him to their granddaughter, Makalani. Together, they have a child, Kalelealuaka, who grows up in the shadow of his father. As a youth, Kalelealuaka challenges the chiefs of Wailua and Hanalei and, with his skill, takes both their lives and offers their corpses to the family altars. Kalelealuaka and his companion then travel to O‘ahu to continue their adventures (in Thrum 1998:74-106).

4. Kapunohu

The kupua Kapunohu grows up in Kohala on Hawai‘i Island. He secures the supernatural spear named Kanikawi from Kanikaa and makes the God Kanikaa his own. Kapunohu then moves on to O‘ahu where he defeats Kakuhihewa for his brother-in-law, Olopana. Moving on to Kaua‘i, he goes to Lā‘i where he hears of the strong man Kemamo. Kemamo and Kapunohu agree to a challenge to see who can throw the slingstone the longest distance, from Kōloa to beyond Moloa‘a. Kemamo throws his slingstone all the way to Anahola. Kapunohu throws his spear Kanikawi passing through the waters of upper Wailua at Kawelowai and Waiehu and eventually landing in Hanalei (Fornander 1918-1919: 214-224).

5. Lepeamoia

A high chief of Kaua‘i, Keahua grows up in Wailua and travels to O‘ahu to bring back a bride, Kauhao. After returning, Keahua and Kauhao are driven into the mountains of Kawaikini by an angry kupua, Akuaapehualae. Here at Kawaikini, they build a new mountain home and they have their first child, a daughter who is born in the shape of an egg. This egg is given to Kauhao’s parents who nurture it until a finely feathered chicken
is hatched. The chicken is named Lepeamoa and later transforms into a beautiful girl who passes her youth fishing and gathering *limu* on the shores of Kapalama. Meanwhile Keahua and Kauhao have a son, Kaulani, who bathes in the fountain of Waiuui and is blessed with rapid growth, great strength and beauty. Kaulani devises a plan with his parents and the people of their mountain home to kill the *kupua* Akuapehuale. He is successful in overtaking the *kupua* and thus frees the land of Wailua, enabling his father to become chief once more. From here, Kaulani travels to Kapālama to meet his sister. Invoking the help of his magic spear Koawi Koawa, he is able to find his sister Lepeamoa.

**C. Early Period Following European Contact**

Few Westerners visited Wailua in the years just after Cook's arrival, hence detailed descriptions of the area are scarce. Most of the voyagers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries landed at Waimea, on the southwestern side of the island—a location that would eventually overshadow Wailua in its royal importance because of the opportunities there to associate and trade with foreigners (Lydgate 1920).

However, in 1793, Wailua was still the "capital" of Kaua‘i and Capt. George Vancouver, who had already visited the island several times under Capt. James Cook and later on his own, knew this fact well and tried to land there in March. Although conditions prevented him from anchoring, Vancouver (1798:221-222) observed the area from off shore and gave this description:

This part seemed to be very well watered, as three other rapid small streams were observed to flow into the sea within the limits above mentioned. This portion of Attouai, the most fertile and pleasant district of the island, is the principal residence of the King, or, in his absence, of the superior chief, who generally takes up his abode in an extensive village, about a league to the southward of the north-east point of the island. Here Enemo the regent, with the young prince Tamooerrie, were now living...

Missionary Hiram Bingham (1847:220, 231) passed through Wailua twice in 1824 and visited the birthplace of King Kaumuali‘i (the pōhaku ho‘ohanau), a hōlua slide and the lower falls on the south fork of the river, but left no clues as to the size or extent of the settlement there.

In the 1820s, Debora Haakulou Kapule and her new husband, half-brother to Kaumuali‘i, Simeon Kau set off from Waimea to Wailua to set up a new mission. Mr. Whitney of the Waimea Protestant Church made the following notes (in Damon 1931:280):

On the eastern part of this island, which lies between the stations held by brethren Gulick and Alexander, there is a dense population, who have long been willing to have a teacher. In May last, Simeon Kau with his excellent wife, who was formerly the wife of King Taumualii, concluded to remove thither with all their people among whom were 16 members of this church. As they held large tracts of land in that quarter, and but little in this, they
found it much easier to support the company of people attached to them as chiefs there, than here at Waimea.

In October 1840, members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition made observations on the settlement at Wailua. They described Wailua as a “barren, sandy spot” which showed signs of former importance. They were particularly taken with the “chief woman” Deborah and commented on her enormous size and her “countenance”. They also noted her apparent wealth in the form of fishponds, and made other general comments on Wailua:

Near Deborah's residence are extensive fishponds belonging to her, which have been made with great labour: they are of different degrees of saltiness. The fish are taken from the sea when young and put into the saltiest pond; as they grow larger, they are removed into one less salt, and are finally fattened in fresh water. While our gentlemen were there, Deborah received young fish in payment of the poll-tax, which were immediately transferred to her ponds.

Deborah furnished them with a double canoe, to carry them up the river to visit the falls. Taking the western branch, they ascended it for two and a half miles. There are many good taro-patches and sugar plantations on its banks. They landed in what appeared to have been an old crater, in front of a basin, with high perpendicular bank. The low grounds along the river are extremely fertile, producing bread-fruit, sugar-cane, oranges, &c. The latter, however, are suffering from the blight, and some of the trees were covered with a black smut, produced by a species of aphid [Wilkes 1845:IV:68-69].

Debora Kupule, who remained loyal to Kamehameha, was granted lands at Wailua by Kaʻahumanu, kuhina nui or regent of the islands. Her fishpond, Akaimiki, which still exists on the grounds of the Coco Palms Hotel, was of the loko pu‘uone type. Another was said to be located just mauka of the hotel's historic coconut grove (F.T. 1848:IX:55-56; XIII:72; Kikuchi 1987:9; Lydgate 1920).

It is important to note the recording of only "about forty men" in the district. This is seemingly a major reduction in settlement from Vancouver's 1793 observation of an "extensive village." The apparent decrease in population may be attributed to the decimation of native Hawaiians by western-introduced diseases, and also by the movement of people to the Waimea area, which, by 1840, had become the center of trade and politics on Kauaʻi.

D. The Mahele Period

The ahupua‘a of Wailua was claimed and awarded to Kamehameha III during the Mahele. Subsequently fifty-one parcels totalling approximately 75 acres were awarded to twenty-seven individual claimants in Wailua (Figure 10). All of the parcels were within approximately a mile of the shore. Of the parcels on which kalo was cultivated on the north side of the Wailua River, most were watered by ‘auwai sourced in ‘Ōpaeka‘a (or Wailuaiki) Stream as shown in the Lydgate Map of 1920 (Figure 10). On the south side of the river (in or near the present Lydgate Park), three Land Commission Awards (LCAs
3403:2, 3555:2, and 3567:2), attest to the existence of house sites along the shore. The other house sites were on the north side of the river near the shore or just slightly inland.

There are 11 other ahupua'a on Kaua'i with greater numbers of LCA claims than Wailua at the time of the Mahele (1848-1853). When it was the religious, economic and social center of Kaua'i, more land would have been under cultivation, not only for lo‘i and kula, but other traditional crops (i.e. kula crops), such as wauke, noni, bananas, and timber trees. The fact that so few claimed land in Wailua at the time of the Mahele may reflect Wailua's changed status after trading ships and missionaries arrived. Communities grew up around the new social and economic centers, especially on the south side of the island, and drew people away from their former establishments.

The Wailua claims mention 53 'āpana of which 51 are awarded. These comprise more than 122 lo‘i, 5 mo‘o, 24 house lots, 8 kula (and more than a dozen pastures are mentioned by name), as well as one graveyard belonging to Josiah Kaumuali‘i, a burying place called Mahuapuoni between two house lots on the sand dunes, Debora Kapule’s royal fishponds right behind the dunes, and 3 orange trees. Over a dozen ‘auwai or ditches are mentioned as boundaries. Most of the house lots were at or near the shore, although Oliva Chapin, Josiah Kaumuali‘i and other illustrious personages had homes a bit further inland. The majority of the lo‘i and mo‘o are inland along the floodplain (Figure 10).

Almost all of the awardees originally received their land from Debora Kapule "in the days of Kaikioewa" or "in the days of Ka‘ahumanu," indicating a rather short tenancy on the land, from around 1825 or later. Kapule's claim also mentions land in Waimea that includes a heiau. In Wailua, she claims a house lot and taro patches and two fishponds. Apparently when Debora Kapule received the Wailua lands from Ka‘ahumanu, she served as konohiki for the ahupua‘a or, in her own words, the haku‘āina or landlord (N.R. 1848:IX, 55-56). She later relinquished this position to her son Josiah Kaumuali‘i (F.T.:XIII,74-75).

Stauder, Cleeland and Frazier (1976:3, 5, 6, 7, 11) have traced the genealogy of Josiah Kaumuali‘i and the title to his property in their article on the Wailua birthstones and heiau. Within the Kaumuali‘i's 17 acres, 1 acre is described in LCA 3561 as a family cemetery known as Holoholo-kū (Stauder et al. 1976:7). This 1-acre lot is bequeathed to Queen Kapi‘olani, but because she predeceases Kaumuali‘i's wife's second husband, J. Kaae, J. Kaae inherits it. "As late as 1900 the name Holoholo-kū designated a cemetery" (Stauder et al. 1976:7). Another of J. Kaae's wives, Jessie Kapaahi, inherits the cemetery from him and mortgages it as a "houselot." This redesignation in land use may have helped in the mortgage proceedings. Stauder et al. cite a Mr. Gerald Fowke who noted that late in the 1920s the property became state-owned.

Also on the topic of cemeteries - the Foreign Testimony supporting the claims of Maawe (#3302) and Nawai (#3346) mention a "burying ground" called Mahunapuoni, which today would be located on the grounds of the Coco Palms Hotel. This may be the
Figure 10. Part of Wailua Kai, Kaua‘i, J. M. Lydgate 1920 Showing LCAs and Other Land Use Features
same site as that studied by William Kikuchi (1973) when excavation for a new wing to
the hotel uncovered thirty-four burials.

The most recent document on Wailua is a study of the Mahele Documents of Wailua
by Bob Stauffer (1993), which emphasizes the various ways in which the natives were
alienated from their land.

Table 3. Mahele Land Claims and Land Use of Section 2: Wailua Portion of Ahupua’a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LCA Number</th>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>‘Ili of the ‘Ahupua’a</th>
<th>Land use</th>
<th>Number of ‘Āpuna</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3111</td>
<td>Kapule, Debora</td>
<td>Kapeleula Pakoli Kaimoki</td>
<td>house lot, 2 lo‘i,</td>
<td>1 (4 acres, 2 roods, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kawaiiki Pohoula</td>
<td>2 fishponds</td>
<td>rods) 1 (3 acres, 3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>roods, 15 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5 acres, 29 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3226</td>
<td>Chapin, Oliva</td>
<td>Kuemanu Papohaku</td>
<td>house lot, 4 lo‘i and kula</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 3 roods, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods) 1 (4 acres, 2 roods, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(32 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3238</td>
<td>Hawea / Kawea</td>
<td>Kahakoa Village Kahihei / Heikei</td>
<td>sleeping house, 1 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (36 rods) 1 (2 roods, 17</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3248</td>
<td>Hanalea/ Hanale/ Hanare/ Henry</td>
<td>claims in Nāwiliwili, lives in Wailua</td>
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<tr>
<td>3264</td>
<td>Lanikaula</td>
<td>Hio, Kamani</td>
<td>7 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>(1 acre, 2 roods, 22</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods) 1 (2 roods, 34</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3281</td>
<td>Wahine/ Wahineai</td>
<td>Kahakoa Luaiokama/ Inaiokama</td>
<td>house lot, 2 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (30 rods) 1 (1 acre, 29</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3282</td>
<td>Wahapuuu, Sera</td>
<td>Halepuola Kahakoa Village</td>
<td>2 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 (3 acres, 3 roods) 1 (14</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
</tr>
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<td>3302</td>
<td>Maawe/ Maawi</td>
<td>Kahakoa Village Puhauula</td>
<td>house lot, 6 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (27 rods) 1 (1 acre, 1 rood 20 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3303</td>
<td>Makaiki / Makaike</td>
<td>Kapalai (Waioo) Kapuaiomolohua</td>
<td>5 (1*) lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 (2 roods, 20 rods) 1 (27</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3345</td>
<td>Nakai</td>
<td>Kapalai Kahakoa Village</td>
<td>2 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 31 rods) 1 (32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCA Number</td>
<td>Claimant</td>
<td>‘Ili of the ‘Ahupua’a</td>
<td>Land use</td>
<td>Number of ‘Āpana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3346</td>
<td>Nawai</td>
<td>Kulaakapueo Makunapanone</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and 1 dry lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See also 3345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3367</td>
<td>Noi</td>
<td>Hapuupuu Kahakoa</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (2 roods, 9 rods) 1 (35 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3368</td>
<td>Nakaakai</td>
<td>Maulili Palakawai</td>
<td>3 lo‘i, house lot (also mentions a claim in Waimea, containing a heiau)</td>
<td>1 (2 roods, 22 rods) 1 (2 roods, 4 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3403</td>
<td>Pahio</td>
<td>Kapuhai Malaihauono</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 1 rood, 18 rods) 1 (1 rood, 1 rod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3405</td>
<td>Poka</td>
<td>Kaiwaiiki / Halilauhau</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 rood, 4 rods)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3406</td>
<td>Pula</td>
<td>Kapuaiomolohua Village Waioo</td>
<td>house lot, 5 lo‘i and kula</td>
<td>1 (29 rods), 1 (1 acre, 8 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3551</td>
<td>Kehenui / Kahienui</td>
<td>Noleha Palauhulu</td>
<td>house lot, 1 lo‘i, and 2 mo‘o</td>
<td>1 (1 acre) 1 (3 acres, 1 rood, 4 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3552</td>
<td>Kaula / Nakaula - died in epidemic</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3553</td>
<td>Kekalo / Kikolo left the land</td>
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<tr>
<td>3555</td>
<td>Kiaipali</td>
<td>Malaehakoa/ Meleahakoa Naliha</td>
<td>house lot, 10 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (1 rood, 7 rods) 1 (2 acres, 15 rods)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3556</td>
<td>Kekua Kapalai</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (1.75 acres, 14 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3557</td>
<td>Kaniwi / Kaniui</td>
<td>Kahakoa Lanipaa</td>
<td>house lot, 14 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (2 roods, 26 rods) 1 (2 acres, 20 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCA Number</td>
<td>Claimant</td>
<td>‘Ili of the ‘Ahupua‘a</td>
<td>Land use</td>
<td>Number of ʻĀpana</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3559</td>
<td>see 3111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3560</td>
<td>Kauakahi / Kanakahí</td>
<td>Pua / Puua Puuiki Village</td>
<td>3 lo‘i and kula (pasture), house lot</td>
<td>1 (3 acres, 1 rood, 16 rods) 1 (1 rood, 12 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3561</td>
<td>Kaumualii, Josiah</td>
<td>Papaalai</td>
<td>12 lo‘i, kula (pasture), 2 houses and grave, 8 or 10 lo‘i and kula</td>
<td>1 (17.75 acres, 28 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3567</td>
<td>Kaiapa</td>
<td>Hapuupuu</td>
<td>7 lo‘i (4 taro and 3 brush), house lot</td>
<td>2 (1.25 acres, 18 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3568</td>
<td>Kelani</td>
<td>Kawaiiki on shore Waioo</td>
<td>house lot, 5 lo‘i</td>
<td>1 (29 rods) 1 (1 acre, 3 roods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3569</td>
<td>(location index) LCA testimony lists as 3568</td>
<td>Paki Pahoula</td>
<td>3 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 (1 acre, 1 rood, 24 rods) 1 (19 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3756</td>
<td>Amara / Amala / Amaia (died)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3759</td>
<td>Alikia</td>
<td>Alalike Kauakahiuna Village</td>
<td>4 lo‘i, house lot</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3909</td>
<td>Nahinu, I</td>
<td>Kupapaupapa Pelehuna</td>
<td>4 mo‘o, a lihi (w/ 3 orange trees)</td>
<td>1 (4 acres, 16 rods) 1 (16 rods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4146</td>
<td>Kaliu</td>
<td>Kamaluokukui Kaulupalau</td>
<td>2 lo‘i and kula, house lot</td>
<td>1 (2 roods, 26 rods)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No. of lo‘i differs among Native Register, Native Testimony and Foreign Testimony*

Within decades of western contact, Wailua lost its ancient importance, and likely its population also. The ali‘i who enjoyed and benefitted from their contact with westerners spent more time in Waimea - the preferred anchorage for visiting ships. Also the complex of heiau at Wailua lost its significance after the abolishment of the kapu system. By the mid-1800s, only a small population, decimated in part by disease, existed in the Wailua
River Valley within a mile of the sea. Indigenous farmers would be displaced within decades by larger scale commercial agriculture and associated immigrant laborers.

E. Post-Mahele Period

Like most well-watered areas in Hawai‘i, rice crops began taking over former lo‘i kalo in the second half of the 1800s (Figure 11). This sharing of the land by the Chinese rice farmers and native kalo growers continued through the century. Knudsen (1991:152) visited Wailua in 1895 and wrote:

We rode through the Lihue Plantation cane fields, passed through Hanamaulu and came to the Wailua River. What a sight! The great river lay clear and placid - winding away up toward the mountains with rice fields and taro patches filling all the low lands.

By 1935, Handy (1940:67) found no kalo being cultivated. The terraces had been taken up by rice, sugar cane, sweet potato and pasture. However:

Kapa‘a, Waipouli, Olohena, and Wailua are districts which have broad coastal plains bordering the sea, any part of which would be suitable for sweet potato plantings; presumably a great many used to be grown in this section. There are a few flourishing plantations in Wailua at the present time [Handy 1940:153].

F. Previous Archaeological Research and Finds in Wailua Ahupua‘a

The following two tables outline the archaeological research (Table 3) and historic properties (Table 4) identified in Wailua Ahupua‘a. Table 3 provides a list of archaeological research conducted within Wailua Ahupua‘a, including columns for source, location, nature of study, and findings. The locations of these archaeological studies are shown in Figure 12. Table 4 is a list of known historic properties within the ahupua‘a and includes columns for state site numbers, site type, location and reference. The locations of identified sites within Wailua Ahupua‘a are shown in Figure 12. The configuration of the designated Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark is shown in Figure 13.

G. Discussion and Summary of Wailua Settlement Pattern

Before discussing the most significant sites of Wailua, we note that the importance of the area along the southern boundary of the ahupua‘a of Wailua was probably less in the total scheme of land use in traditional times and no Land Commission claims mention this area. The flatlands between the dunes and Kālepa Ridge contain swampy areas fed by springs along the base of the ridge, which may have allowed limited kalo cultivation on the margins of the marsh (Handy 1940:68). The situation here may have been very similar to that described by Ida and Hammatt (1993) in Kekaha, where any permanent habitation was at the base of the ridge near the fresh water source. The makai side of the marsh would probably not have been used for taro because the water would have been saltier and warmer, and thus less desirable for taro cultivation. The dunes between the
Figure 11. Wailua Rice Fields 1902 (Bishop Museum Archives)
Table 4. Historic Properties in Section 2 Portion of Wailua Ahupua‘a (see Figures 12 and 13)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Number</th>
<th>Site Type/Name (if any)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size/Constraints</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B005</td>
<td>Poliahu Japanese Cemetery</td>
<td>South side of Kuamo‘o Road (Poliahu Road)</td>
<td>Discrete Historic Cemetery, approx 118 burials, interments as late as 1979</td>
<td>Kikuchi and Remoaldo 1992:66-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Malae Heiau</td>
<td>South bank of Wailua River, 200 feet mauka of Kūhiō Highway</td>
<td>Part of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark - defined is area 2 acres, heiau and buffer is 9.49 acres, in State Park, Yent 2000 specifies view corridor concerns</td>
<td>Thrum 1907:40; Bennett 1931:125; Yent 1991b, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104A</td>
<td>Adze Workshopflake scatter</td>
<td>In cane field north and northeast of Malae Heiau, extending from road to marina</td>
<td>within 9.49 acre Malae Heiau and buffer parcel in State Park</td>
<td>Kikuchi 1987:1-9; see Yent 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Hikinaakalā Heiau and Pu‘uhōnua o Hauola</td>
<td>Southern side of the mouth of Wailua River</td>
<td>Part of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark - defined area 2.3 acres, in State Park</td>
<td>Thrum 1907:40; Bennett 1931:125-126; Kikuchi 1974; Yent 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Kalaeokamanu (Kalaeamanu) Heiau, aka. Holoholokū Heiau and associated pōhaku ho‘ohānau</td>
<td>North bank of the Wailua River at the base of Pu‘ukī</td>
<td>Part of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark - defined area 37,960 sq ft., in State Park</td>
<td>Bennett 1931:127; Damon 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number</td>
<td>Site Type/Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Poliahu Heiau</td>
<td>Wailua River State Park</td>
<td>Part of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark - defined area 49,140 sq ft., in State Park</td>
<td>Thrum 1907:40; Bennett 1931:127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217 (Soehren and Ching Site 10)</td>
<td>Kauhihalau agricultural site</td>
<td>South of makai portion of Wailua River, eastern quarter occupied by Wailua State Marina</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247 (Soehren and Ching Site 33)</td>
<td>Kamalau agricultural site</td>
<td>North of Mauna Kapu on flats</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 (Soehren and Ching Site 11)</td>
<td>Hauloa agricultural site</td>
<td>North of makai portion of Wailua River</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321 (Soehren and Ching Site 12)</td>
<td>‘Auwai, earthen ditch</td>
<td>Just North of Confluence of North &amp; South Forks, Wailua River (associated with sites 218 and 250) along base of valley wall in dense hau</td>
<td>Little data, length unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Soehren 1967; Ching 1968:16; Yent 1989a:7; Carpenter and Yent 1997:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325 (Ching Site 38)</td>
<td>Kamalau and Kulaina storied rocks</td>
<td>North of Mauna Kapu, at mauka end of site -247, one rock in middle of river below Poliahu Heiau</td>
<td>Site consists of two storied rocks; description insufficient for identification, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number 50-30-08-</td>
<td>Site Type/Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326 (Ching Site 39)</td>
<td>Kamalau and Kulaina storied rocks</td>
<td>North of Mauna Kapu, at mauka end of site -247, one rock in middle of river below Poliahu Heiau</td>
<td>Site consists of two storied rocks; description insufficient for identification, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329 (Ching Site 42)</td>
<td>Ahuhauli, reported home and burial ground of Kumauna/ Lono Kelekoma family</td>
<td>North of makai portion of Wailua River “near the little hillock, Ahuhauli, where the one (lone) tall coconut tree stands” (1936)</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330 (Ching Site 43)</td>
<td>Kaluamokila legendary cave through hill from N to S, south end just above water level sealed with a stone, land entrance opening is small</td>
<td>North of makai portion of Wailua River</td>
<td>Virtually no data, may only be legendary, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331 (Ching Site 44)</td>
<td>Old Rice Mill</td>
<td>North of mouth of Wailua River, just mauka of Smith’s and Doris’ old boat landing</td>
<td>Still stood in 1953, only foundations are left, testing and marker recommended, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:12-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334 (Ching Site 47)</td>
<td>Pōhaku’ele’ele Heiau (and several other sites reported by Dickey 1916:29)</td>
<td>“On the makai tip of a hill near the eastern end of the promontory between the two northern branches of the Wailua River” (Dickey 1916:14)</td>
<td>Virtually no data, some uncertainty about the location, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Dickey 1916:29; Ching 1968:14-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number 50-30-08-</td>
<td>Site Type/Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>335 (Ching Site 48)</td>
<td>Bellstone(s)</td>
<td>North of <em>makai</em> portion of Wailua River</td>
<td>Part of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark - defined area not available, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337 (Ching Site 50)</td>
<td>Hihiakalahu “the place where the first hau trees of Kaua‘i grew”</td>
<td>North of Mauna Kapu, south of Poliahu</td>
<td>A legendary <em>hau</em> tree grove, size unclear, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340 (Ching Site 53)</td>
<td>Agricultural Terraces “indicated as being in rice in 1900 and 1923”</td>
<td>North of confluence of North and South Forks, Wailua River</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342 (Ching Site 55)</td>
<td>Agricultural flat “appears as rice land on Monsarratt’s map of 1900 and Wall’s map of 1923”</td>
<td>North of <em>makai</em> portion of Wailua River</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343 (Ching Site 56)</td>
<td>Kula “indicated as <em>kula</em> land on Wall’s map of 1923”</td>
<td>South side of <em>makai</em> portion of Wailua River</td>
<td>Virtually no data, size unclear, further work in area indicated, in State Park</td>
<td>Ching 1968:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634</td>
<td>Extensive wetlands, former lo‘i area</td>
<td>North bank of Wailua River</td>
<td>130-acre, further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt et al. 1997:68,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number</td>
<td>Site Type/Name (if any)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>660</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North end of Coco Palms property, North of Wailua River mouth</td>
<td>1 historic burial, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Elmore and Kennedy 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>667</td>
<td>Linear Terrace</td>
<td>Mauka of Smith’s Tropical Paradise</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668</td>
<td>Cement slabs dated 1926</td>
<td>Smith’s Tropical Paradise</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676</td>
<td>Alignments &amp; enclosures</td>
<td>Makai end Pu‘u Kī Ridge</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677</td>
<td>two lava tubes</td>
<td>N side of Pu‘u Kī Ridge</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td>Terrace</td>
<td>Central Pu‘u Kī Ridge summit</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>Overhang rock shelter</td>
<td>SW side of Pu‘u Kī Ridge</td>
<td>Further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt &amp; Shideler 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>756</td>
<td>Terrace</td>
<td>North bank of Wailua River</td>
<td>In State Park, 30 m by 12 m, further archaeological work indicated</td>
<td>Hammatt et al. 1997:68,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>761</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North bank of Wailua River mouth</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Ida and Hammatt 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>Discontinuous cultural layer</td>
<td>N side of Coco Palms</td>
<td>Consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Dega &amp; Powell 2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 12. Historic Properties in Coastal Wailua Ahupua‘a
Figure 13. Map of the Configuration of Wailua Complex of Heiau National Historic Landmark
marshland and the sea were probably used only for human interment and temporary or seasonal fishing camps.

The Wailua River, along both shores, was the most important high-status area on Kaua‘i in pre-contact times. This area was the Royal Center where the high chiefs and chiefesses carried on their business when they were not traveling about the island(s), and where they entertained visitors. Today we see the remnant of this royal center: seven heiau (where official decision making was carried out), the Hauola Pu‘uhonua (place of refuge), the birthstones, the royal coconut grove, the bellstone and the royal fishponds. However, there are no visible surface remnants of the chiefly homes, the supporting loʻi and kula lands, the places of recreation, the burial place called Mahunapuoni (just makai of Kapule's fishponds), the fish traps and the canoe landings.
IV. SECTION 3: SOUTHERN PORTION OF THE AHUPUA‘A OF WAILUA AND NORTHERN PORTION OF HANAMĀ‘ULU AHUPUA‘A

A. Natural Setting

Section 3 includes the southern portion of the ahupua‘a of Wailua and the northern portion of the ahupua‘a of Hanamā‘ulu (Figure 14). This section is bounded to the west by Kālepa Ridge, to the east by the ocean, to the north by the Lydgate Park Area and the Wailua River and to the south by the intersection of Kapule and Kūhīō Highways in the ahupua‘a of Hanamā‘ulu.

Like the Kapa‘a and the Wailua sections, this portion of Wailua and Hanamā‘ulu is also considered within the traditional moku of Puna. However, in present day jurisdiction, Section 3 straddles the Kawaihau and Līhu‘e Districts whose boundary line is located along the Kawailoa Stream, a small stream that empties into the ocean adjacent to the Kaua‘i Raddisson Hotel. This district boundary also marks the ahupua‘a boundary between Wailua and Hanamā‘ulu.

This area shares many of the same physiogeographic characteristics as Section 1, the Kapa‘a and Waipouli areas, with an extensive coastal plain and evidence of well-developed dunes. The following is a description of the sand dunes of this area:

The dune land…extends southward from the mouth of the Wailua River. From this northern point at the river mouth, the dunes extend linearly along the shore, gradually shifting inland about 1,200 m (0.75 mi) from the river. From this inland location, the high dunes extend another 1,300 m (about 0.8 mi) to a point just north of the WGC clubhouse and 400 m inland from the beach. The dunes continue for another 1,500 m or so to the south before they gradually diminish and disappear. They are composed of soft white coralline beach sand that accumulates from east to west, blown by the prevailing wind. This is an active landform that shifts over time; however, a few episodes of stabilized surfaces, that is surfaces which have supported the establishment of vegetation and development of an A horizon, appear at variable depths throughout the dunes…In the recent past the dunes have been modified by the development of the Wailua Golf Course. Landscaping activities have been the primary agent of modification, although construction of some of the fairways, where dunes have been leveled, artificially enhanced, or cut in two, has also contributed to the changes in dune land [Beardsley 1994:13].

Marshy conditions similar to those found behind Kapa‘a and Waipouli are also present in two discrete places in Section 3, adjacent to Kaua‘i Community Correctional Center (KCCC) west of the Wailua Golf Course and adjacent to the “Pineapple Store” near the south end of the project area. The soils of Section 3 reflect similarities with Section 1 as well.

The only known permanent stream for the area is Kawailoa Stream, which has been modified and channelized to drain the marshlands located to the south as well as mauka areas. The major developments in section 3 consist of the Wailua Golf Course, KCCC
and the Kaua‘i Raddison Hotel. The remainder of the area consists of abandoned sugar cane fields and marshlands.

B. *Mo‘olelo of Wailua and Hanamā‘ulu*

Since the Section 2 discussion covered Wailua extensively, the focus of this Section 3 review will be on Hanamā‘ulu, with occasional references to Wailua. Hanamā‘ulu is especially celebrated for its association with Kawelo, legendary chief of Kaua‘i. According to the Fornander (1917:V:32) version of the legend, Kaweloleimakua was born the fourth child of Maihuna and Malaiakalani. He is raised in Wailua with his grandparents. When Kawelo was living on O‘ahu, Aikanaka took possession of Hanamā‘ulu and left the people, including Kawelo’s family, with no cultivable land and no ocean to fish. Kawelo decides to travel to Kaua‘i and take revenge on Aikanaka. On their canoe journey to Kaua‘i, Kawelo’s little brother, Kamalama, suggests they stop in Hanamā‘ulu to see the family and have some food.

*E Kaweloleimakua,*

*E pae----e, e pae----e,*

*Kama hānau a ka lapa o Puna,*

*Nā maka o Haloa i luna,*

*Ku‘u haku, ku‘u ali‘i*

Say, Kaweloleimakua

Let us land, let us land

The offspring from the cliffs of Puna,

The eyes of Haloa are looking from above,

My lord, my chief

Instead, Kawelo points them towards Wailua and Aikanaka (Fornander 1917:V:32).

One *mo‘olelo* documented by Armitage (1944) is linked to Nukole (today called Nukoli‘i), located within the study area on the coastal flats where the Kaua‘i Raddison Hotel is now situated. Once there were two brothers who lived on the flats of Nukole. One was known as Waa Waa Iki Naauao- the wise one, and the other was Waa Waa Iki Naaupo- the stupid one. One day when they went bird catching on the slopes of Wai‘ale‘ale, the wise one made an agreement with the stupid one that every bird with two holes in its beak was his while every bird with one hole belonged to the stupid one. After the stupid one realized his mistake, he complained bitterly to his mother. To help her son Waa Waa Iki Naaupo, his mother created a plan for him to get back at his brother Waa Waa Iki Naauao. The next time the two brothers traveled *mauka* to go bird catching, the stupid one lathered himself with breadfruit gum and rolled in feathers covering himself from head to toe. He then jumped out of the trees and scared his brother to such a degree that Waa Waa Iki Naauao dropped his bird bag and ran all the way home to Nukole. Waa Waa Iki Naaupo picked up the bird bag that was now his (Armitage 1944:29).

In the *ka‘ao no Kuapaka’a* or legend of Kuapaka‘a, the wind of Hanamā‘ulu was named as the *kā‘ao* (Fornander 1918:96). This wind is also considered a famous wind of Hālawa, Molokai (Pukui and Elbert 1986:108). Kā‘ao refers to the ripe pandanus fruit or *hala*.
C. Nā Wahi Pana and Place Names of Wailua/Hanamāʻulu

There are few documented wahi pana in the Section 3 area. On a tour of Kauaʻi in the 1870s, a few celebrated places in this area were recorded. One of the place names was Walio, also known as Alio, a beach area containing sand dunes (Keaweamahi 1876:6). The location of Walio is described as seaward of Kālepa Hill and Mauna Kapu Mountain. These peaks mark the north and south points of the low ridge known today as Kālepa Ridge. “Huli hoi i kai e lakee mai ana keia one nui, o ke one ka ia o Walio, a nona hoi ka mea i puanaia, ‘Huli pau ka hele i ke one o Walio’”-- “Turning seaward [we see] the crooked extensive sands, the sands it is of Walio, whose is the quotation: ‘Turn your footsteps completely to the sands of Walio.’” (Keaweamahi 1876:6)

A second wahi pana mentioned in the 1870 tour of Kauaʻi is Kahaukomo, a place described as “a robber place of old”-- “he wahi powa i ka wa kahiko” (Keaweamahi 1876:6). The account places Kahaukomo in a grove of hau trees somewhere along the road from Hanamāʻulu to Wailua (Keaweamahi 1876:6). Hau trees, naturally found in wet and humid ground conditions, would probably have grown well in the marshy areas near the present day Kauaʻi Community Correctional Center. “Old robber places” are commonly found in the literature and seem to have been scattered on all the islands. Kamakau (1992:236) explains,

Robbery and theft also were frequent crimes committed in out-of-the-way places. Certain people, called Kuʻielua, took up robbery as a profession, were known as “wild men” (hihiu), and waylaid travelers at such remote places on the highways as ‘O’opuola, ‘Akiala, Kuanu‘uanu, Hanaʻieʻie, ‘Aʻalaloloa, the cliffs of Molokai, Kahakuloa [on Maui], and so also on Hawaiʻi, Oʻahu and Kauaʻi.

This suggests Kahaukomo may have been a somewhat isolated area. The Hawaiian Dictionary (Pukui and Elbert 1986:111) defines Kahaukomo as “a lua fighting stroke. Literally, the blow enters,” which is a fitting name for such a place. The exact location of Kahaukomo is not known. The other documented place names were taken from maps, however their true spellings and meanings are unknown.


Kawaiola: The name of a stream that marks the Hanamāʻulu-Wailua Ahupuaʻa boundary as well as the present day Liʻhuʻe-Kawaihau District Boundary (1910 USGS Survey, Kapaʻa Quad). Kawaiola is denoted as a “bay in the Liʻhuʻe District of Kauaʻi, Literally, the long water” (Pukui et al. 1974:8).
Kokomo: The name of a peak of the Kālepa Ridge rising above the present day Kaua‘i Community Correctional Center (1910 USGS Survey, Kapa‘a Quad).

Nailiakauea: The name of a peak of the Kālepa Ridge located near the peak of Mauna Kapu at the northern edge of the ridge (1910 USGS Survey, Kapa‘a Quad).

Nukoli/Nukole/Nukoli´i: Name of the beach area where the Kaua‘i Raddisson Hotel is now located (1900 W.D. Monsarrat, Map of the Lihue Plantation (Southern Portion) Līhu‘e, Kaua‘i, RM 2142).

Waiu: The name of a peak of the Kālepa Ridge located just north of Kailiilihinale peak which marked the Wailua/Hanamā‘ulu boundary (1910 USGS Survey, Kapa‘a Quad). Waiu is described as a land area in the Līhu‘e District of Kaua‘i, literally female breast. A second definition is, literally, breast liquid (Pukui and Elbert 1986:380).

D. Cultural History

Very little is known regarding Hanamā‘ulu prior to the Mahele in the mid 1800s. William DeWitt Alexander, son of Waioli missionary William P. Alexander, traveling from Kōloa to the north shore of Kaua‘i in 1849 records some descriptive notes of Hanamā‘ulu including the area within Section 3:

A few miles further on we crossed the picturesque valley of Hanamaulu. This valley is prettily bordered by groves of Kukui, koa, & hala trees, and is well cultivated with taro. A fine stream flows through the midst of it, which makes a remarkable bend at this place like a horseshoe. We then traveled along the seashore at the foot of a range of hills through groves of hau, & among hills of sand. It was now after dark, but the moon shone brightly, and there was no difficulty in finding our way. About eight o-clock we arrived at the banks of the Wailua river [Alexander in Kaua‘i Historical Society 1991:121].

Another early Kaua‘i resident of missionary descent, Mary Girven Rice, noted the large Hawaiian settlements in the Līhu‘e district including in Halehaka valley, Niumalu, Nāwiliwili and Hanamā‘ulu (Rice in Kaua‘i Historical Society 1991: 47). Mrs. Rice also remarked about the heiau once located at the base of Kālepa.

Another large Heiau, one of the most interesting, was located just above the Hanamaulu mill, its stones being many of them used in the foundation of the mill. This was said to have been the Heiau for human sacrifices.

The Organic Acts of 1845 and 1846 initiated the process of the Mahele, which introduced private property into Hawaiian society. The ahupua‘a of Hanamā‘ulu was awarded to Victoria Kamamalu (Board of Commissioners 1929:3). In addition, 15 kuleana were awarded, most of them with lo‘i lands located adjacent to Hanamā‘ulu River, within the Hanamā‘ulu Valley. No kuleana were awarded within Section 3 lands of Wailua or Hanamā‘ulu.
Most of the arable land in Section 3 has been in sugar cultivation since the late 1860s. Lihue Plantation began leasing the area as part of the larger ahupua’a of Hanamāʻulu in 1863 (Damon 1931:741). At the death of Victoria Kamamalu in 1870, Hanamāʻulu was sold to Lihue Plantation for $7,250.00. A railroad running along the base of Kālepa Ridge was depicted on a 1900 map of the Lihue Plantation lands (1900 W.D. Monsarrat, Map of the Lihue Plantation (Southern Portion) Līhuʻe, Kauaʻi, RM 2142). 1892 marks the first documented railroad transport of cane by Lihue Plantation (Condé and Best 1973:165). The railroad line at the base of Kālepa Ridge was probably constructed some time in the 1890s. A second railroad line, developed by Ahukini Railway and Terminal Company, was opened in 1921. This track traversed the coastline through today’s Wailua Golf Course and the Kauaʻi Raddisson Hotel.

Long time residents and historic photographs attest to an airfield and a racetrack in the area north of Kawailoa Stream (Interview with R. Aiu, 5/15/03; Personal communication with T. Sokei 7/28/03). Also in the early part of the twentieth century, there was a dairy in the area called Nukoliʻi, just south of present day public beach access. This area was known as Nukoliʻi Dairy or Hanamāʻulu Dairy and was operated by the Līhuʻe Plantation to provide milk to the residents in Hanamāʻulu (Personal communication with T. Sokei 7/28/03). This dairy went out of operation in the late 1960s. During World War II, there was a marine camp in this general area as well, however its exact location is not known (Cooper and Daws 1985:326).

E. Archaeological Research and findings in Section 3, Wailua and Hanamāʻulu Ahupuaʻa

A complete review of previous archaeological work and historic properties can be found in the Archaeological Inventory Survey for the Kūhiō Highway Improvements, Hanamāʻulu to Kapaʻa (Kapaʻa Relief Route) Within the Ahupuaʻa of Hanamāʻulu, Wailua, South Olohena, North Olohena, Waipouli and Kapaʻa, Island of Kauaʻi. This study strives to look at archaeological sites within Section 3 in the context of cultural practices. The following table outlines the historic properties identified in Section 3, portions of Wailua and Hanamāʻulu Ahupuaʻa. The locations of these historic properties are shown in Figure 15.

Table 5. Historic Properties in Section 3: Southern Portion of Wailua and Northern Portion of Hanamāʻulu Ahupuaʻa (see Figure 14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Number</th>
<th>Site Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size/ Constraints</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50-30-08-746</td>
<td>Kālepa Road Burial</td>
<td>On Kālepa Ridge</td>
<td>Preservation of small discrete site, no buffer specified, assume minimum 50' dia. radius</td>
<td>Rosendahl 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number</td>
<td>Site Type</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/ Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-30-08-</td>
<td>Kālepa Burial Platform</td>
<td>On Kālepa Ridge</td>
<td>Preservation of small discrete site, no buffer specified, assume minimum 50' dia. radius</td>
<td>Discovered by Mr. Kaipo Akana during a field survey of damage after Hurricane 'Iniki by the Kaua‘i Island Burial Council in 1992 (Pers. comm. N. McMahon 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Pre-contact habitation deposit</td>
<td>On coast North of Hanamā‘ulu Bay</td>
<td>70 m by 10 m, Data collection and preservation recommended</td>
<td>Walker et al. 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Pre-contact agricultural wall and a terrace</td>
<td>On coast North of Hanamā‘ulu Bay</td>
<td>No further work recommended</td>
<td>Walker et al. 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Two Concrete Bridges</td>
<td>North coastal Hanamā‘ulu</td>
<td>9.4 m by 2.5 m and 6 m by 5 m. Data recovery work recommended</td>
<td>Walker et al. 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Dune Burials</td>
<td>Wailua Golf Course, Large area, not well defined, primarily seaward of Kūhiō Hwy, North of Wailua Golf Course club house</td>
<td>Minimum Number of Individuals encountered to date approx. 100, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Bennett 1931:125; Erkelens and Welch 1993; Beardsley 1994; Fager and Spear 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Number</td>
<td>Site Type</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Size/ Constraints</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>546</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>819</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>North part of Wailua County Golf Course</td>
<td>Burials understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Cox 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>Wailua County Golf Course, east of County Correctional Facility, half way to the sea</td>
<td>Minimum number of eight individuals encountered</td>
<td>Folk and Hammatt 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9357</td>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>County Correctional Facility</td>
<td>Burial understood as part of Site -103, consultation and monitoring in vicinity indicated</td>
<td>Beardsley 1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14. Historic Properties in Coastal Hanamāʻulu Ahupuaʻa
One of the most significant sites in Section 3 is the sand dune burials [Site 103] located on the north side of the Wailua Municipal Golf Course. Approximately 100 sets of human remains have been reported from the general area and this is understood to be a pre-contact and historic burial ground. Stanley B. Porteus (1962) mentions the 2,000 Polynesians, mostly Gilbert Islanders, who were brought to Kaua‘i for plantation work. Those who died were buried “in the sand dunes alongside what is now the golf course, near Kapa‘a” (i.e. Wailua Golf Course). One burial (Site –9357) has been reported from inland of Kūhiō Highway with additional burials identified on Kālepa Ridge (Sites 50-30-08-746 and –1827). An archaeological inventory survey located a habitation site in the area of Nukoli‘i [Site 1838] (Walker et al.1991:12). Analysis of a radiocarbon sample found suggests this habitation site was occupied in prehistoric times.
V. RESULTS OF COMMUNITY CONSULTATION

As partial fulfillment of the Scope of Work, consultation with organizations and the community was conducted to identify knowledgeable kūpuna and participants to be interviewed, as well as others who could inform on the history of the subject area and previous land use. The organizations consulted were the State Historic Preservation Division (O‘ahu and Kaua‘i), the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (O‘ahu and Kaua‘i), the Kaua‘i/Ni‘ihau Islands Burial Council, the Kaua‘i Historical Society, the Kaua‘i Historic Preservation Review Committee (KHPRC) and Nā Kahu Hikinaakala.

A substantial effort was made to locate 8-10 knowledgeable informants for the area between Kapa‘a and Hanamā‘ulu. Eight interviews were conducted, however, only six informants consented to the use of their interviews in the study. One informant completely declined the use of his interview and another did not wish to sign the authorization and release form, but consented to the use of the information as an anonymous source. An attempt was made to contact 54 individuals as possible leads, however, we were successful in locating only 48 of these (Table 6). These led us to the 8 knowledgeable parties that were interviewed for this project. The challenge of this study was the magnitude of the project. It was difficult to focus on a specific area given the project encompassed the entire makai portion of five ahupua‘a. Another challenge of this project was that many kama‘aina and old timers who were consulted did not have much faith that the road would be constructed. This lack of faith stems from the long planning history of the “Kapa‘a Bypass Road,” which was begun in the 1960s and has yet to materialize. The following table lists those individuals consulted for this project, their affiliation with the community, whether efforts to contact them were successful, and if they had any comments.

Y = Yes
N = No
D = Declined to comment
A = Attempted (at least 3 attempts were made to contact individual, with no response)
U = Contacted via letter, but no known phone number
S = Some knowledge of cultural practices or area
Table 6. Contacts for Cultural Impact Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Contacted</th>
<th>Personal Knowledge (Y/N/D)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abben, Judy</td>
<td>Wailua Houselots Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Some knowledge of Wailua Houselots history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiu, Pua</td>
<td>Office of Hawaiian Affairs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiu, Raymond</td>
<td>Wailua Houselots Resident; grew up in Wailua</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Interviewed May 15, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akana, Kaipo</td>
<td>Kauaʻi Archaeologist</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ako, Valentine</td>
<td>Wailua Houselot Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Interviewed January 28, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptiste, Bryan</td>
<td>Kauaʻi County Mayor</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgess, James</td>
<td>Wailua Houselot Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>“The past is history”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushnell, Andrew</td>
<td>Kauaʻi Health Heritage Coastal Corridor Committee</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bynum, Tim</td>
<td>Friends of Lydgate Park</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Concerned about splitting the Wailua Houselots community by putting in a highway. Also, concerned about ruining the character of Wailua River with second bridge. Invested in seeing cane haul road used for proposed Nāwiliwili to Anahola Bike Path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heacock, Don</td>
<td>State of Hawaiʻi, DLNR, Aquatic Resources</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Aware of native species such as ʻoʻopu, ʻōpae in Wailua River; knows of limited traditional gathering of freshwater fish; concerned about alien species taking over native species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Concerned</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helela, David</td>
<td>Nā Kahu o Hikinaakalā</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Concerned about preserving view planes between Wailua Heiau, particularly between Poliʻahu and Malae Heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiyane, George</td>
<td>Life time Kapaʻa Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Interviewed May 14, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻokano, Kemamo</td>
<td>Westside kupuna</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida, Gerald</td>
<td>Kauaʻi Archaeologist</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ito, Marlene</td>
<td>Long time Kapaʻa Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Lives adjacent to Kūhiō Highway in Waipouli and is concerned about the traffic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiu, Isaac</td>
<td>Born and raised in Waipouli</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kane, Dane</td>
<td>Born on Kauaʻi; family from Waipouli</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneakua, Beverly</td>
<td>Kapaʻa kamaʻāina</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneakua, William</td>
<td>Originally from longtime Kapaʻa family</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaʻohi, Aletha</td>
<td>West Kauaʻi Visitor’s Center; west side kupuna</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapaka, La France</td>
<td>Kauaʻi and Niʻihau Island Burial Council; Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Kauaʻi</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Made Referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapeliela, Kanaʻi</td>
<td>DLNR, State Historic Preservation Division, Burials Division</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made Referral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title/Role</td>
<td>Concerned</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauka, Sabra</td>
<td>Nā Kahu o Hikinaakalā</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Concerned regarding impact to Malae’s buffer zones and impact to present day cultural practitioners; also concerned regarding impact to cultural viewplane between heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauo, Marlene</td>
<td>Kapa‘a ‘ohana</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekua, Kehaulani</td>
<td>Kaua‘i Heritage Center of Hawaiian Culture and Arts</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Interviewed February 10, 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimoto, Ernest</td>
<td>Acting Director, Hawaiian Rights Division at Office of Hawaiian Affairs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurihara, Mildred</td>
<td>Born and raised in Wailua [originally Tokigawa]</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Tokigawa’s lived on Koki Road near rice fields of Wailua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizama, Helen</td>
<td>Long time Kapa’a resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Felt we should talk to the younger generation because they are the ones who will be affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydgate, John</td>
<td>Long time Kaua‘i family</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Concerned about potential impacts to Lydgate Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makanani, Atwood</td>
<td>Lifetime Wailua resident and cultural practitioner</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makanani, Mabel</td>
<td>Resident of Wailua Houselots since 1950s</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manea, Sally Jo</td>
<td>Long time Kapa’a resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McEldowney, Holly</td>
<td>State Historic Preservation Division</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation/Region/Other Details</td>
<td>In Favor</td>
<td>Against</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMahon, Nancy</td>
<td>State Historic Preservation Division/Kaua‘i Island Archaeologist</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Burial concerns all through Kapa‘a and Wailua; may have burial caves in uplands when considering upland routes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Carol</td>
<td>Born and raised in Wailua Houselots</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Concerned regarding the future of Wailua Houselots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moriarty, Linda</td>
<td>Raised in Kapa‘a</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukai, George</td>
<td>Lifetime Kapa‘a resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Raised in Pueo Camp [located at existing Kapa‘a Bypass]; memories of adjacent land areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muraoka, Beverly</td>
<td>Kumu Hula in Wailua</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Raised in Wailua, adjacent to Coco Palms; Interviewed May 16, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netzer, Dr. Roger</td>
<td>Long time Wailua Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Concerned regarding cultural sites along the river including gravesites, <em>heiau</em> as well as view plane between <em>heiau</em>. Concerned for residence along Wailua River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paik, Alice [formerly Morgan]</td>
<td>Lifetime resident of Kapa‘a</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Interviewed May 14, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prigge, Joseph</td>
<td>Long time Kaua‘i resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Puanani</td>
<td>Hui Ho‘okipa O Kaua‘i</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Referred to Environmental Impact Study report for “Ocean Bay Resort“ for Hanamāʻulu area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shido, Kaname</td>
<td>Life time Kapa‘a Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Owner and operator of Shido Store in Kapa‘a Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Walter Jr. “Freckles”</td>
<td>Smith Boats, Lifetime Wailua resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Concerned about second Wailua Bridge affecting so many people including Smith Tropical Gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Role and Experience</td>
<td>Y or N</td>
<td>S or N</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokei, Taka</td>
<td>Kapa’a Resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Knowledgeable about the Kapa’a and Waipouli areas; family formerly ran a dairy in Kapa’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summers, Molly</td>
<td>Hawaiian studies teacher at Kaua‘i Community College</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takamura, Ron</td>
<td>Wailua fisherman</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trembath, Healani</td>
<td><em>Alu Like, Ke Ola No Nā Kupuna</em></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waialeale, Sonny</td>
<td>Waialeale Boat Tours Owner; Kaua‘i <em>kama‘āina</em></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Did not believe road would be built in his lifetime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichman, Randy</td>
<td>Kaua‘i Historic Preservation Commission Review; OHA-Native Hawaiian Historic Preservation Council</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Expressed concerns regarding impact to Malaea, Pu‘uki‘i, cultural view plane of National Historic Landmark Wailua historic lo‘i, kalo, Wailua Houselots and Nounou, swamps behind Kapa’a and Waipouli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yent, Martha</td>
<td>Hawai‘i State Parks Archaeologist</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Expressed concerns regarding the Wailua Complex of Heiau including buffer zones and view corridors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukimura, Jiro</td>
<td>Long time Kaua‘i resident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Made referrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukimura, Joanne</td>
<td>Kaua‘i County Council Member</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Suggested Kimura take a look at old railroad alignment that runs in the back of Waipouli as possible alternative and extending Kūhiō Highway fronting Coco Palms, extending the current Wailua Bridge and extending the current Kūhiō Highway south of Wailua River</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Consultation Process

Through the consultation process, nine individuals were identified as potential informants. Of the seven who agreed to participate, one, Mrs. Alice Paik (Morgan), is from the Kapa’a Town area. Mrs. Paik lives on family land between Lehua Road and Kukui Street. Another Kapa’a resident interviewed, Mr. George Hiyane, grew up in Kapa’a along the Kūhiō Highway near the north end of town across from the present day Kapa’a Senior Center. Five individuals with ties to Wailua were interviewed, including Mr. Raymond Aiu, Mrs. Beverly Muraoka (Apana), Mr. Freckles Smith, Mr. Valentine Ako and Ms. Kehaulani Kekua. Raymond Aiu’s family was one of the first families to purchase a Wailua farm lot in the 1930s. Mrs. Muraoka grew up on the Apana homestead at the north end of Coco Palms. Although Freckles Smith did not grow up in Wailua Kai, he has spent most of his time there since boyhood as part of his family enterprise, Smith Boats. Valentine Ako was not raised in Wailua, however he has lived there for fifty years. His knowledge and awareness of cultural traditions is extensive and he is able to share his experience as a community member of Wailua House lots. Ms. Kehaulani Kekua is the kumu hula of Halau Palaihiwa O Kaipuwai and the driving force of the Kaua‘i Heritage Center. She has had a fascination and love for Wailua since she was a child.

B. Synopsis of Oral Interviews

Following is a brief biographical sketch of each person interviewed (listed in alphabetical order by last name), along with a short interview synopsis, which incorporates excerpts from the interviews and highlights key points of the interview, especially in relation to cultural practices and historic changes. The reader is urged to read the complete transcripts enclosed in Volume II of this study.

1. Raymond Aiu

Biographical Sketch

Raymond Aiu was born in 1933, making him seventy years old at the time of the interview. He is of Chinese and Hawaiian ancestry. In the late 1930s, Mr. Aiu’s parents bought a three-acre farm lot in the area known today as the Wailua House lots. There, the Aiu family raised a variety of vegetables such as bell peppers, corn, tomatoes, and peanuts. In addition, they raised chickens, pigs, ducks, turkeys and bees. During Mr. Aiu’s childhood in the Wailua farm lots, the vestiges of the rice industry were still visible in the panoramic view from behind the Aiu house. A rice mill, located just at the base of the slope marking the southern boundary of the Aiu property, was where young Raymond would obtain rice bran to feed the family chickens. Mr. Aiu has fond memories of going fishing with his Uncle Earnest Apana on the Wailua River. The children from the Wailua area would jump the train that once passed through Wailua so they could go to the movies shown at the Roxy Theater in Kapa’a Town. Mr. Aiu also has good memories of participating in the Wailua hukilau. Soon after completing high school at Kapa’a High, Mr. Aiu met and married his wife, Verlie, and they started their family, which now includes eight children and numerous grandchildren. Most of Mr. Aiu’s career experience has been in the field of communications. He began working as a microwave technician and later graduated to becoming a communications engineer with Hawaiian Telephone Company. In his retired life, Mr. Aiu has worked in accounting and enjoys spending time
Results of Community Consultation

with his grandchildren. Mr. Aiu continues to live on the same farm lot his parents purchased in 1939, sharing it with several brothers and sisters and their families. Although Mr. Aiu claims he has never been much of a student of Hawaiian culture, his lifetime of experience in Wailua and his good memory make him a valuable interviewee.

Interview Synopsis

Mr. Aiu’s Wailua roots belong to his Chinese side— from his mother’s side, the Apanas. The name Apana has an interesting origin as told by Mr. Aiu:

It’s not a Chinese word, it’s a Hawaiian word. My grandfather, Eu Bung Eu, he was cook and stablemate for Mr. Hill who owned the Coco Palms copra plantation. So Mr. Hill told my grandfather you going live on this Apana 1 or 2 or 3, I forget which one and eventually Mr. Hill gave him this acreage. But, that’s how we took the name Apana. It was the land section which he lived upon (Interview with R. Aiu, May 2003).

Much of the rice cultivation infrastructure located on the flats mauka of Coco Palms in Wailua was still in place when Mr. Aiu was growing up in the 1930s. Mr. Aiu recalls the rice mill once located below his house and how it was an important source of chicken feed for the farm.

CSH: So, who leases this out right now this pasture [looking out on the old taro and rice lands of Wailua]?
RA: My understanding is that this is state land and it’s leased to ranchers yeah.
CSH: You don’t know the ranchers— who lease this out.
RA: Ahhh—been changing hands so many times. One time was Correa. One time was Thronas. One time was Fernandez. Now this road [Koki Road], he go straight up. Try stop over here. This was Iwamoto * and right up here, right here. Oh, no more already. There’s an old rice mill. It was right here. If you walk out there you might see some machinery— it’s all gone. The building gone.
CSH: What about the rice floor? They had one concrete rice floor or was before that time?
RA: No, before that.
CSH: They had one hard, dirt floor for threshing.
RA: The mill was right here, the rice mill. They used to take the rice and husk the rice grain and you end up with brown rice and rice bran. They used to sell the rice bran to families. I used to raise chickens yeah. I used to come down here to buy the bran to feed the chickens.

The irrigation ditches that served the rice patties and formerly the taro lo‘i, were also utilized by the pioneer farmers of Wailua farm lots. In the early years of the Wailua farm lots, there was no direct access to water, so the ditch or ‘auwai, which ran along Koki Road at the base of the slope, was used by the farmers cultivating on the tablelands above.
RA: Right. So, the ditch I was telling you coming down from ‘Ōpaeka‘a [Stream] goes right down here.

CSH: Goes right along this road [Koki Road]?

RA: Right along, right over here.

CSH: Right along Koki Road.

RA: Right along here, the one that used to run down here, the ‘auwai.

CSH: Oh, right where it goes down?

RA: Yeah, right down there, but you know they bulldoze the road, they pave, they cover up the ditch. Used to run all over here, all along this, down here. When we were building our home, my mama and dad’s home. We never had water for the property yet. We used to come down here to wash rice and bring drinking water.

CSH: You had to haul ‘em up?

RA: Yeah—[laughter], bucket.

CSH: So, how long did that last?

RA: I don’t know when they brought in the water line, but not long after because the lots were already subdivided and they were putting in the water lines. They had two kinds of water because they were farm lots. There’s one main line for drinking water and there was a secondary line that came from the reservoir from the base of Nounou mountain. And that was for irrigation use. And the ditch ran all along here. ‘Cause you know, they had to water all the rice patches eh.

Since the conversion of the rice patties to pasture in the 1940s and 1950s, much of the water flow that formerly fed the ‘auwai and irrigation ditches for rice cultivation was diverted back to the ‘Ōpaeka‘a Stream. As Mr. Aiu pointed out, the abandoned irrigation ditch along Koki Road was slowly filled over the years as a result of road maintenance for Koki Road. This irrigation ditch most likely corresponds to Wailuauini, a major ‘auwai that supplied multiple networks of lo‘i kalo with water in the pre-contact and early contact days. According to Mr. Aiu, this ditch flowed on the north side of the Apana property and then into the fishponds at Coco Palms (Interview with R. Aiu, May 2003). Later, due to flooding, a new canal was excavated parallel to the water flow and was directed towards Halei‘olo Road on one side and Kuamo‘o Road on the other. The Kuamo‘o Road segment of the canal drained into the Wailua River.

Although Mr. Aiu spent time fishing alongside his uncle, Ernest Apana, in the Wailua River, his memories of the hukilau in Wailua are much more vivid. Perhaps the significance of this memory lies with the community aspect of the hukilau, which involved many families in the Wailua community.

RA: Yeah, NO. We used for catch [crab]. You been to the hukilau yeah?

CSH: You know, I’ve never been to—I’ve been to one, but not over here ever.

RA: Oh, ‘Ewa side.

CSH: No, in Lāwa‘i one time. But when I was growing up—most people tell me that by the sixties, seventies, was all pau already, hukilau.
RA: Oh, maybe before that. Remember my house, when you look over the edge [makai]. We used to live the next house up. Where the Shell Service is—right above that is Bayview. You know the Bayview Apartments? That hill used to be 30 feet higher. Right on top of the hill was what you call the kilo, the wooden tower. That’s where they used to spot the fish, the schools.

CSH: Who was the kilo, who was the spotter, the fish spotter?

RA: Different—certain Hawaiians. Aki, Smith—different time of the year would be different—Smith family, you know the family of Smith Boat. Henry Aki. Right where the Sea Shell is—

CSH: Yeah.

RA: Smith had his boathouse there, Aki had his boathouse there, right next to each other. Ben Ohai. Who else?

CSH: So they all kept their boats over there and they had like one hale for their boats?

RA: No, a locked boathouse. On top the kilo, they would look for the schools of fish. If they spotted a school of fish, they would raise their white flag to the top of the kilo and we would all see the flag. The flagman come help. He would come down in a Model T. They had to bring the row boats, they had to bring the boat down to the water. You carry these logs. You roll one log under the boat all the way down to the water. And you had to bring the net, load it on to the boat and then we wait. Meanwhile, everybody else see the flag and they come down to help huki. Plenty, all kine families, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, every kind. Of course, those days, get ring, ring telephone too, the one crank. Pretty soon, whole bunch of guys on the beach. They all have their bowl poi [laughter]. Once the school come inside, just row around the school, surround the school. 90% of the time akule. And they started way out. Then they come inside and just surround. Then everybody huki, bring the fish in. Once the fish come inside shallow enough so that people can walk right on the net and then you go with a smaller net and move to shore. Move to shore and lay all the akule on the ground in the sun. * the owner [of the boat] going take his māhele first, so much for him, so much for the help, sometimes we get two fish, sometimes we get three, sometimes we get four. Go take the beach weed---

CSH: Limu.

RA: No. The heliotrope.

CSH: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah.

RA: Make twine.

CSH: Oh, you mean the naupaka, oh the pōhuehue, the morning glory one.

RA: Yeah, that’s the one, the one they use to tie everything up one pile. Everybody go sit down in the shade and we used to dig one little sand pit, use the driftwood, build a fire and we brang down already the ti leaf and lāwahī, wrap *, build one fire and bury. My mama always had Hawaiian salt. So, that’s how we eat. Each * has a māhele.
CSH: So what were some of the main families that always went down?

RA: Normally the ones on the edge, the ones close to the beach. They could all see the flag. My Uncle [Earnest Apana], my Auntie. Whoever could see the flag.

CSH: The Apanas, the Akis.

RA: Apana, Aki, the Baptistes, the Saikis, the Hee, the Victorinos, everybody. Whoever lived close to the ridge who could see the flag. That kilo was tall, it was tall, like I said, the hill was thirty feet higher, but they graded it to build the condominium (Interview with R. Aiu, May 2003).

*Hukilau* is no longer practiced in Wailua and hasn’t been for many decades. The decline of fish, the passing away of *kūpuna* who were knowledgeable and an influx of new ideas and different ways all contributed to the loss of this tradition.

2. Valentine Ako

*Biographical Sketch*

Uncle Val is originally from Hōlualoa, North Kona. Born in 1926, he spent much of his youth with his *kūpuna* along the Kona Coast learning about fishing traditions. He left Kona in 1946 to become a merchant marine and spent many years as a sailor, eventually becoming a captain. Following World War II, Uncle Val met Elizabeth Huddy, a Kaua’i *kamaʻaina* and they were married. Uncle Val moved to Kaua’i in 1953. The Akos were one of the first families to purchase a lot in the newly formed Wailua Houselots and here they raised all their children.

Throughout his residence at Wailua in the last 40 years, Uncle Val has had occasion to make numerous observations regarding the traditions practiced at Wailua. He was also very involved with two large construction projects in Wailua that gave him a different perspective. One project was the maintenance of the Wailua Bridge and the other was the construction of the Phase II or III of the Coco Palms Resort in the late 1970s.

*Interview Synopsis*

As one of the first residents of the Wailua Houselots, Uncle Val remembers when the lower portion of the Wailua Houselots was mostly just farmlands. He recalls some of the old time families that first moved into the Wailua Houselots.

CSH: What were some of the families that lived here when you folks moved up here?

VA: The Kiʻilaus, down the other side. The Aius. These were all lands that they bought seven hundred dollars for three acres. Was all farmland.

CSH: Are they still here, the Kiʻilaus?

VA: The Aius are still here. The Kiʻilau children are still there. And that’s where Eggerking Road. It’s going to affect them, too. And then, our plumber, Tanaka. The Tanaka all plumbers. The Morgans. The Morgans were the first ones on that street, Haleilio. And then the Burgesses, is right *makai* of the Morgans. Oh, the Baptiste. You know Bryan’s dad and mom is on Eggerking Road. And then the athletic director from University of Hawaiʻi, what’s his name? He retired
already? Yoshida. Yoshida family all on down that area. My neighbor, Takashima was after, was after me. Then you go further up get the Nakamuramas (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

Many of these families still reside in the Wailua Houselots, having subdivided their farmlands, if they had them, for their children to build homes on.

The main artery leading off of Kūhiō Highway into the Wailua Houselots is Haleilio Road. This Road continues up to the base of a ridge known commonly as “Sleeping Giant”. The traditional name for this ridge is Nounou and it is a dramatic backdrop to the Wailua Houselots. When asked about Nounou, Uncle Val talked about the origin of Haleilio Road.

You know one thing, Haleilio [Road] had no significance of one doghouse. This guy, Buck Wong was the engineer at that time. He was the one gave all the names and he figure, he can be funny, ‘eh, so he go name* ‘em Hale´ilio. And everybody think get one heiau up there, no more heiau. And the name is Nounou, not Nono. Although Arthur Trask before he died he wanted them to change it back to its original name—Nounou. But as far as a heiau, there’s no more heiau up there. But, Buck Wong took the credit because he was lazy (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

Uncle Val mentioned an interesting phenomenon that occurs on a periodic basis in Wailua Kai. The phenomenon occurs when the mauka areas of Wailua receive great quantities of rain and the lowlands are flooded, however the Wailua Kai area does not receive rain. According to Uncle Val, this occurs on a yearly basis. In his interview, he comments on one of the effects of the mauka rains and the subsequent flooding at Wailua Kai.

VA: One year, the big flood up mauka, up in the mountain, never rain down here--. We heard, the original mouth was blocked. You know the water came all the way, and you know inside that lo‘i patches? The water always come inside there. Back up, yeah. They had to go open. And you know what was unique about the old days, in the fifties? You know when get big flood like that, the he‘e, right after the flood subside, the he‘e all on top the debris—the he‘e and they finally die. So the old timers used to go pick all the he‘e.

CSH: After the flood?

VA: Yeah. And you know, it was so—it was just like a holiday for us. Because you down there and you go inside the debris and you go find all the he‘e. I don’t know if it’s still there or not.

Flooding does occur periodically at Wailua Kai and others consulted for the project have also commented on the flooding at Wailua and the importance of keeping the bridges cleared of debris.

Of the multitude of traditions recorded about the Wailua River, there are a few which document the presence of a mo‘o (serpent) and a manō (shark) who live in the river. According to some versions of the legends, the mo‘o and manō are responsible for deaths that have occurred in the Wailua River and in the Wailua Bay. Uncle Val spoke of the mo‘o and the manō of Wailua River during his interview.
Well, long ago, that’s our kūpuna yeah. They had one mo‘o inside there. In fact they had one shark inside there, in the river. But that was something like a legend. They claim it’s still in there (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

Uncle Val relates that he was told the mo‘o could change into human form and belonged to Queen Deborah Kapule (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003). Uncle Val’s testimony suggests the mo‘o and manō traditions of Wailua River live on, at least in the memories of the kūpuna.

Fishing is one of Uncle Val’s great passions and he would observe fishing techniques and traditions outside his native Kona. During the interview, Uncle Val remembered the last head fisherman of Wailua, Tso Young, a Japanese man who was from an old Wailua family, the Kodama family.

CSH: And who was the head fishermen down there?

VA: Tso Young. He was brought up as a Hawaiian. He was the last fisherman that fished in Wailua. And everyone respected the man because he never included in any of the other kū‘ula. Wailua was his place. And Walter Smith was his competitor…(Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

The custom of only fishing in ones kū‘ula or one’s area or ahupua’a is an old tradition. Some older kama‘aina still only fish or gather in the areas they grew up fishing in. Even those who move away from their kula'iwi (birthplace) often return to those places to fish and gather.

Many old timers of Wailua and Kapa’a area recall the hukilau tradition associated with Wailua Bay. Over the years, many people have partaken in the hukilau and feel a sense of nostalgia when bringing up its memory. Uncle Val Ako suggests that what was done at Wailua was not a hukilau, but rather a ka‘u ‘upena. The hukilau involves using lau or ti leaves to scare fish into the net. The ka‘u ‘upena does not involve lau and is more like a surround net approach.

According to Uncle Raymond Aiu, one of the ways to call all the people together for a hukilau in Wailua was by raising a flag on the kilo i’a’s perch. The flag was a sign for people to come down to Wailua and participate in hukilau. In traditional times, Uncle Val relates that the kilo i’a would advise people of hukilau by blowing a conch shell:

And according to history, that was—when the head kilo for Wailua, when akule used to come in, he used to blow the [pūpū] so that the people in the back of Oloheana Homestead, would hear that conch shell and everybody would come down and hukilau (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

The hukilau tradition has all but disappeared at Wailua. Whether for lack of head fishermen or lack of fish, it is not know.

Uncle Val’s main cultural concern associated with the new road regards burials in Wailua. While working on the second and third phases of Coco Palms Resort construction in the late 1970s, Uncle Val witnessed the uncovering of a large number of burials.

VA: Okay, but when I wen’ go do the work, the second and the third phase.
CSH: Oh, okay, sorry.

VA: And I was in charge of all the--. like I told you, we had fourteen feet cut, I find a grave that’s down ten feet. So according to the archaeologist, Bill Kikuchi, he said if you multiply that out of four hundred years, that would give you the definite depth. That’s his version of--. From all the graves, they were buried sitting down with their knees up to their chests, up that way. And I never did dig ´em with the machine, you know. When I come across like that, I stop the machine. Even if it takes me eight hours, I dig ´em by hand, you know. I never use any implement.

CSH: So these are the buildings that are closest to the highway?

VA: And behind, they get the pallets eh, We found graves over there. And just recently we had one ho’okupu—somebody excavated the graves so they went plant ´em over there. Larry Rivera, you know all that. He was the one ask me to help him with the burial. I said, “You make sure the Burial Council. They responsible for that, not me, you know.” “But since you attended to all the ceremonies in the past,” he felt it was only out of respect.

CSH: How many did you find when you were working there?

VA: Eighty-seven.

CSH: Eighty-seven. And then the hotel gave you a piece of land to rebury it on?

VA: There is a portion right over there. That’s why the new buyers wen’ ask me, you know, the engineer, “Can we relocate those graves?” I told them, “You folks ever move [those burials], that hotel not going be there forever.” I said, “My understanding with the kūpunas was they were gonna be there forever and nobody is to exhume them again.” Because we went put one big stone with a plaque and then plant one coconut tree. I also found one helmet shell, one pūpū. That’s the biggest I ever seen in the state. But the old lady [Mrs. Guslander], you know, she mālama. Big guy, you know [the pūpū ]. And had puka… (Interview with V. Ako, January 2003).

The burials unearthed were located adjacent to Kūhiō Highway and Uncle Val’s concern is that any widening of Kūhiō Highway would bring up even more burials.

3. George Hiyane

Biographical Sketch

At 81, George Hiyane is the oldest of our informants. He was born in 1922 in Kapa‘a and, with the exception of a few brief stints, he has lived in Kapa‘a all his life. Mr. Hiyane’s father, Seiho, came from Okinawa at the age of 19 and found work at Ewa Sugar Plantation on O‘ahu. Mr. Hiyane’s mother, Otoki, was born in Ko‘olau, Kaua‘i of immigrant parents from Kumamoto, Japan. Mr. Hiyane’s parents were devoted to assimilating their children to the Territory of Hawai‘i and they made every effort to fit in, such as adopting English as their primary language, living amongst the Portuguese, eating Portuguese foods, and attending the United Church of Christ.
As soon as he was old enough, Mr. Hiyane began to work in the Lihue Plantation fields for 65¢ per day. In this way, he could help supplement his family’s income. After graduating from Kaua‘i High School, Mr. Hiyane worked to put himself through the University of Hawai‘i. He was employed for 37 years at Pacific Chemical & Fertilizer Co. and retired in 1987. Now he enjoys his morning walks and considering the world’s problems through long conversations with his friends.

Interview Synopsis

Mr. Hiyane grew up in a house adjacent to Kūhiō Highway and across from the Kapa‘a District Courthouse, which today is the Kapa‘a Senior Center. The Hiyane family lived in an area of Kapa‘a that was largely inhabited by Portuguese, as is evident in the names of his former neighbors: Correas, Viveros, Rodrigues, Silvas, Ebinger and Bettencourt (Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003). The influence the Portuguese had on the Hiyane family was significant, as described in the following passage:

We were poor (financially) but not very, very poor, only with no money. I say this because we had bread on our table, and rice when we could afford to buy it. Also, my mother raised a few head of cattle. My mother gave us butter and milk from her cow, raised in the backyard. She learned about raising cattle, milking cows, baking bread, making butter from our Portuguese neighbors who also taught her how to make grape wine and potato yeast used for bread making and how to cook great stews from “soupbones” and Portuguese leaf cabbage (Supplement to Interview with G. Hiyane, 8/25/03).

Mr. Hiyane’s understanding of 20th century Kapa‘a is quite remarkable. His 81 years in the town have helped give him some perspective on the history of Kapa‘a. Mr. Hiyane describes Kapa‘a as “not exactly a plantation town” yet still under the influence of the heavy hand of the plantation. In his interview, he comments on the power that Lihue Plantation had over Kapa‘a.

…But, their impact on Kapa‘a was quite great because Lihue Plantation, Amfac, you know they’re one of the “Big Fives” and more or less what they said goes for Kaua‘i. And they employed a lot of people and all that and Hawaiian Canneries was also owned by majority shares by Amfac…(Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003)

There were two large projects that occurred in Kapa‘a between the 1940s and the 1960s that completely changed the marsh, surface drainage and the near-shore environments. These projects were the partial filling of the marsh behind North Kapa‘a Town and the dredging of coral in the North Kapa‘a Reef to build cane haul roads. Mr. Hiyane explains that the marsh filling was partially a result of the damaging floods Kapa‘a experienced in 1939 (Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003). The source of the marsh fill was what Mr. Hiyane refers to as the “Mahelona Hill” or from the same hill where Mahelona Hospital was situated. Although the State was responsible for the draining of the marshlands, it was Lihue Plantation who would benefit from the additional sugar cane growing acreage (Supplement to the Interview with G. Hiyane,
Mr. Hiyane attributes the destruction of the beach nearest his childhood house to the construction of the drainage canals.

So, in Kapa‘a, the Senior Center location was the courthouse. That’s where the people went to vote and the district court practitioner was there. The district court practitioner was Judge Correa. The court also had prison cells. And in the back, they had stray dogs shot. At the swimming pool parking lot site, there was a beautiful, sandy beach. The drainage canal and its discharge groins destroyed this sandy beach (Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003).

The second project to dredge the reef for coral was an exclusively Lihue Plantation pursuit, the purpose of which was to secure coral to be used as the foundation for a new infrastructure of plantation roads. As with the other sugar plantations during the 1950s, Lihue Plantation was replacing the rail system of hauling cane with a truck transport system. Mr. Hiyane questions why Lihue Plantation was switching to trucking after the State invested so much money in the railroad infrastructure.

...Then, the impact on Amfac too is when they took the coral from over here. And what happened is that, they built their own sugar cane haul roads and here, I don’t know how many years prior to—-they decided to get a locomotive, hauling cane. After the State spending all this money, it’s abandoned. There’s still railroad bridges...(Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003)

The health of the marshlands and the near-shore environment was important to those who lived off those resources. The traditions of gathering from the marshlands and the nearshore reef were passed on to many immigrants and their children as ways of life and sustenance. As in the case of the majority of the families who lived in the area, the Hiyane’s depended on the marshlands and the nearshore to supplement their diets. Mr. Hiyane talked about the ‘ōpae he and the other children would gather in the irrigation ditches in the back of Kapa‘a.

CSH: And did you folks used to play in the rice paddies?

GH: No, what we used to do is play in the drainage ditch. We used to go swimming there and we used to catch shrimp, what we call ‘ōpae okay. In those days, you know we didn’t have money so we used to catch the shrimp, we used sardine cans and build a fire and cook ‘em in there, fry ‘em in there (Interview with G. Hiyane, May 2003).

Fishing and gathering also took place in the nearshore environment. Mr. Hiyane recalls that as a youth, these activities seemed like recreation, however he understood they provided food for the family as well.

I and my friends also went spear fishing in the coral reefs of Kapa‘a Beach. Sea life was plentiful there in the coral reefs. We also hooked small reef fish and took young octopus [squid]. We also harvested “night shells” and sea urchins.

Other sources of food for the family table was catching frogs, gathering lichens off hau trees, and harvesting bamboo shoots. The family also had a
fish bowl in the parlor stocked with “golden gold fishes” and koi caught in the rice paddies (Supplement to Interview with G. Hiyane, 8/25/03).

Although Mr. Hiyane’s comments regarding the types of food he and his family collected to eat were brief, they tell a picture of how significant these resources were for all who were living in twentieth century Kapa’a. The environments and ecosystems that supported the ʻōpae, the reef fish and tako, the wana and the “night shells”, the pepeiao and the bamboo shoots were very much affected by those who lived there.

4. Kehaulani Kekua

Biographical Sketch

Kehaulani Kekua is kamaʻāina to Kaua‘i; born and raised. She has lived in Kapa’a and Wailua but Anahola has always been her home. She has been a cultural practitioner all her life particularly of her family’s hula traditions which date back several generations to Ka Ulu A Lono in Wahiawa, Kaua‘i. Her grandmother, Helen Kaipuwai Palama Kapu, founded a hula school in 1945 and taught classes from Waimea all the way out to Hāʻena. She was the last kumu hula in the family until she passed away in 1987. The Halau Palaihiwa O Kaipuwai is Kehaulani Kekua’s responsibility now. She is the primary kumu hula and actively teaches students from keiki to adults. The hālau’s focus is primarily Kaua‘i hula traditions.

She worked for more than seventeen years in the hospitality industry for some of the most luxurious resort chains in Hawai‘i. However, about seven years ago, she decided that she wanted to do Hawaiian culture work full time. She was approached to do cultural and hospitality training for Wilcox Health Systems, training every level of the staff at the hospital. A short time thereafter, Kaua‘i Village (shopping center) became a client and she was asked if she could help to develop a museum as part of their special features in the shopping center. That was in addition to some consultation work helping to landscape public areas with native Hawaiian plants, signage, exhibits, etc. She recommended against a museum and offered instead, the idea of a cultural center. Basically, that is how her Kaua‘i Heritage Center project got off of the ground. The Kaua‘i Heritage Center is a Hawaiian learning center that she founded in 1998 providing cultural learning experiences to kamaʻāina and malihini alike.

Interview Synopsis

For Kehaulani Kekua:

Wailua has always been extremely significant. It continues to be. I’ve had a fascination and this love affair with Wailua forever, as long as I was a child. All of the stories, and all of the places and traditions associated with them and how they function, the heiau systems, the ridgelines, the water sources, all of that continues to be really fascinating for me. So I know that with this particular project with the Bypass will certainly impact extremely sensitive areas. I have really mixed emotions about that. In my own mind, I’m very
stubborn and and am hoping that maybe there’s a way that none of that has to happen. I wish, of course, that one of the options was just to decrease the amount of people that come and here and put a cap on how many rental cars and visitors can access the island. To me, that’s not an impossible solution. We live on a little island in the middle of the Pacific. It’s not going to get any larger. The water sources are not going to multiply. It’ll only diminish. Where the different routes go through or to is a really big concern for … From when we were *keiki*, we were always taught that Wailua is an extremely sacred place. It continues to be.

Her area of primary concern is the Wailua River valley and associated sites. She notes

On this particular island, there were two main government centers for Kaua‘i. One was in Waimea and the other was Wailua. Waimea tended to be more the political center of Kaua‘i and Wailua was always the spiritual center for Kaua‘i. Thus, we have the whole complex of the *heiau* that go from *makai* all the way up to Ka‘awako on the summit of Wai‘ale‘ale. They are ALL aligned. Not only are they aligned with each other; they are aligned with the cosmology of what’s going on in the atmosphere and around the island. So, I’m concerned about the impact on the alignment of the sacred sites, very concerned. And I don’t have the answers to how that can be avoided or dealt with in a sensitive way that it doesn’t have an impact on the site. It’s not only the physical alignment that I’m concerned with. I’m concerned with the spiritual alignment of these places. When there is too much movement – even if it’s not right in the immediate vicinity of these places, it depends on how close to the sites that these routes will go through.

Regarding Malae Heiau on the south side of the river mouth, for example, she comments:

That particular site we know of as Malaeha‘akoa – the function of the site is for oratory, study and maintenance of chiefly genealogies, oral histories, voyages and migrations, etc. It’s kind of like the state archives of the day…. That site is directly aligned with the constellation Ka Lupe O Kawelo or the Kite of Kawelo. The western name of it is Pegasus I believe, but its whole architectural design is the same shape of the constellation. So there’s that kind of up and down alignment.

Regarding Kuamo‘o Road (Route 580) and Holoholokū Heiau on the north side of the river mouth, she comments:

Kuamo‘o Road takes its take from the traditional name of the trail, Kuamo‘o-loa-a-Kāne. This was the pathway that the *ali‘i nui* and their *aloali‘i* or retainers took annual pilgrimages upon to travel all the way up to Wai‘ale‘ale. So, that’s also very, very important. That road has always been there since I was born … Route 580 should never have been allowed to go through the Holoholokū site. What we see as the Holoholokū Heiau site where the birthing stones are looks like it’s so little in size, but I imagine that it was far larger than what we see today. It’s that site that is perhaps the most significant of all of the *heiau* sites in Wailua. It is also the site that designated Wailua as the special birthing place of Kaua‘i’s chiefs….Thus,
Holoholokū is likely to be impacted by one of the proposed routes. There are houses right outside of the *heiau* walls, and there’s route 580 going up the other side. To me, personally, I strongly feel that is too much impact already…

Regarding the southern portion of the project area, south of the Wailua River valley, Kehaulani Kekua commented:

Yes. Yes, I know, there’s an old cane haul road that goes along Kālepa Ridge. Yes. I am so against any kind of further development. I was born and raised here so Kaua‘i to me now is like a huge city from what I remember it like when I was growing up. It’s just really sad because it’s come so far away from it used to be. But I think that the furthest away from Malaeha‘ekoa [Malae Heiau] is good … *Makai* of Kūhiō Highway, *makai* of Kālepa Ridge is a very culturally sensitive area. Those are known as the sand dunes of Alio and the entire coastline are concentrated burial dunes. I was always against the development of those *makai* shoreline areas for campgrounds, the Kamalani Bridge and Pavilion which is in the process of being built. Those have always been known to us as burial grounds by where the golf course is…. Anyway, I think *mauka* of the highway, that area between that and Kālepa Ridge is fine. What may have been there, may have long been erased by the plantation because those were all productive sugar cane fields for a really long time … The route that travels in front of Kālepa which is the present – the old cane haul road may be a safer option. Devise a route that stays with the cane haul road that finds its way to the Wailua Marina area and then across to the stream where you were describing, I am adamant however, that the route should not run in between Malaeha‘akoa Heiau and Wai‘ale‘ale. That would create havoc and a major disturbance of the spiritual alignment that I spoke about earlier.

Regarding the northern portion of the project area, north of the Wailua River valley, Kehaulani Kekua commented:

**KK:** I think where that Kapa‘a area is, I wouldn’t have any problem with that at all. I don’t see any strong impact on any sites in that area.

**CSH:** Have you ever heard anything about the marsh back here?

**KK:** Not really, just ---- ‘cause that’s the present temporary bypass route yeah, back there? I did some research on it some time back. I was doing a project for the Kaua‘i Historical Society but you know it was basically a wetland area. Some taro was farmed back there, but not a whole lot. I don’t know too much information on it anciently, I mean from ancient times. I would imagine taro lands and heavily populated around and nearby. Mō‘ikeha chose Kapa‘a for his personal residence. This is an indication that the land was rich with resources. And thus, a desired place for the populace. The most information that I ever came across is that it became more populated in recent times during and after the plantation era. So it was just mainly plantation homes and things like that. I don’t know too much about it other than that.

However she did have concerns for the area immediately north of the Wailua River:
See, the fear I have about that marshy area north of Wailua River that is fed by ‘Opaeka‘e Stream, is that there are a lot of fresh water springs there. Human beings are foolish to think that they don’t need the fresh water springs because we can turn on our faucet or buy bottled water for drinking. I know that putting a road through there is going to impact the water source, the greater water source for not only that immediate area...because it’s all connected somehow. I don’t have an explanation for it, but I know that it’s vitally important.

The option of improving the existing Kūhiō Highway River crossing was explored:

CSH: The other option of course is to expand the existing bridge and possibly put another lane on Kūhiō Highway. Can you tell me about the area that is sort of right near the bridge, basically the mouth of the Wailua River.

KK: The mouth of the river... Well culturally and historically, as I mentioned earlier, it’s always served as a main port of entry for the island. It’s directly due east which is why Hikinaakahālā is built where it is. There are sites within the Wailua River mouth area. There is a couple of sites, one of which are ka pae ki‘i o mahu – those large boulders in the river mouth that has the ki‘i pōhaku, the petroglyphs. That’s one of the few [petroglyphs] that we have on the island simply due to the antiquity of Kaua‘i. I also believe and know of ‘aumakua presence in the river that I’d be concerned about impacting any further. There’s a lot of stories about that area.

5. Beverly Muraoka [Apana]

Biographical Sketch

Beverly Muraoka [Apana] was born on Kaua‘i in the late 1940s. She grew up in Wailua, one of six sisters, in the 1950s and 1960s. She is of Hawaiian, Chinese and German ancestry. As a child, she was closest in age to her sister, Lovey, and spent much time with her. In many ways, Lovey would be a significant force in Aunty Bev’s life. One of the favorite Apana family pastimes was to play music, one sister with a piano, another with a guitar, pineapple ‘ukuleles and a pākini. Eventually the Apana sisters became quite well known, especially in Wailua where tourism was growing at a rapid pace and entertainers were constantly being sought. The Apana sisters began to entertain at the Coco Palms Resort and at the Wailua River boat tour companies operated by the Smith and the Iwamoto families.

Although Aunty Bev’s memories of growing up in Wailua are vivid and give her a strong connection to the place, her genealogical links to Wailua are even more powerful. From her mother’s side, Aunty Beverly traces her genealogy to Kaumuali‘i and seventeen generations to Manookalanipo. Her father, Ernest Apana, was Chinese raised by Hawaiians. He fished the waters of Wailua, the river and the ocean, supplying food for his family.

After graduating from Kapa‘a High School, Aunty Bev spent several years on O‘ahu working for the government and having a family. She returned to Kaua‘i in 1981 and built a home on her Tutu’s land in Wailua Homesteads. In the 1980s, she spent the last
years of her sister, Lovey’s, life supporting Lovey and her *hula halau*. Since Aunty Lovey’s death, Aunty Bev has carried on the *hula* tradition forming her own *halau*: Hula Halau O Nāwahine O Laukona. She continues to teach and be an advocate for Hawaiians in Wailua, Kaua‘i.

**Interview Synopsis**

Aunty Beverly Muraoka is deeply connected to Wailua on many different levels including culturally, spiritually, historically, geneologically. Her concern for the area stems from the long history her family has had in the area, both in Wailua Kai (Wailua) as well as Wailua uka (Wailua Homesteads).

My mama is Christina Apao Apana (Caroline and her husband Joseph Aki Apao). My father is pure Chinese, Earnest Apana. So we were steeped richly both in Chinese and Hawaiian cultures. We were immersed in both the Hawaiian and Chinese. My Wailua house is where we were born and we were raised there next to Coco Palms. ---So, all over there is all sacred ‘āina, all Wailua lands were for Kamakahelei, the mama of Kaumuali‘i and her husband, Ka‘eokulani. Tutu Kamakahelei’s sister is my great great grandmother. Kaumuali‘i and my Tutu and Kamakahelei and Papa Ka‘eokulani, we are the seventeenth generation from Kaumuali‘i all the way up to Manookalanipo. That’s why we take a little bit more interest in our Hawaiian. Our roots go back long ago and my Tutu Akio Ohai who adopted my grandmother, lived up here in Wailua Homesteads back of Nounou. This was her ‘āina, and I’m sorry to say my genealogy is kind of weak there, Sam Ka‘ahu—he loved my grandmother like a punahele or pet and so this was his land. He willed it all to my grandmother. My Tutu had eight children. She gave every child a portion. And you know, when there are plenty land, you can mortgage, but no can pay, so give ‘em to the bank and so on, so forth. Now, only my mama hung on to her ‘āina over the years. When I came home to Kaua‘i from Honolulu in 1981, she gave me this property and she gave my sisters that other half. So, that’s why we live up here. But, our roots go back to Wailua like Wailua River is where we used to fish because my dad used to fish (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).

Here, Aunty Bev links the family roots to the Wailua River through fishing. This is a natural association considering Wailua River provided sustenance in the form of fish, therefore it is life-giving. Some of the fish from Wailua River that provided sustenance for Wailua families were kona crab, mullet and *pāpio*. Aunty Bev mentions a special place on the river where her father would find the big mullet, the *borra*.

That’s how we had our food, kona crab, mullet or *pāpio*. We would go all the way up and the split from the Fern Grotto, then we would take the right where the shark house, we would go up there and there was a buffalo grass island we would call it. And that’s where dad used to throw net and pick up the big *borra*. *Borra* is the big mullet (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).
According to Aunty Bev, her father spent a good deal of time fishing. He would go during the day and at night, whenever his work schedule would allow it. She pointed out that fishing was a way of life; it provided food for the family. Besides the Wailua River, the other prime place to fish was in the Wailua Bay. Aunty Beverly calls this area Pahulu and describes it as being located generally between Lydgate and the condominiums on the North Wailua coast.

Oh yeah. I mean, you know, so that’s why there’s the *manō*, the guardian that stays right there at the mouth and right there by Pahulu, they call it Pahulu which is between Lydgate and that condominium. I call it ‘the best kept secret’. All that area is called Pahulu.
Figure 15. Photograph of Mouth of Wailua River, also known as Pahulu 1924 (Bishop Museum Archives)
CSH: You mean between the river and---

BM: Yeah, all this is called Wailua and Pahulu. And, all over there is excellent fishing grounds, even for pipipi, oh you go dig for pipipi and ’opihi no, wasn’t, but pipipi. Oh, and you come home, you boil ‘em up and you take your clothespin, I mean your safety pin and you dig ‘em out and you eat ‘em. And then the shells, you boil and you make soup. You throw green onion, you make miso soup, put little bit tofu. There’s your meal. You know what I mean. That’s how we survived. Daddy go catch moili‘i. When I moved to Honolulu, I go to the fish market, I ask, ‘you folks have moi?’ The guy throw down his knife, he tell me, ‘where you come from?’ ‘Why, I come from Kaua‘i’. He said, ‘yeah, I know. That’s why you can ask for moi. We no more moi. No more such thing as moi’. Moi is such a delicacy. Moi’s a special fish. So, my daddy used to catch moi and ’ama’ama, the mullet and the big borra (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).

Aunty Beverly remembers the feelings of waiting, waiting impatiently with her sisters for her father to observe the conditions of the water, then enter the water and finally to throw his ’upena, fish net. It was Beverly and her sisters’ jobs to collect the fish from the net and place them in a burlap bag, and later to clean them at home (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).

The spiritual realm is one in which many Hawaiians dwell comfortably. For Aunty Bev, this is true and she acknowledges the spirits that roam through Wailua. During her life, she has known many individuals who have witnessed ’uhane in Wailua and she considers these ’uhane ancestors coming back to walk the land.

…So, they’re still around us, even up high as here. Why? This is their ‘āina. They lived here. Why wouldn’t they come back and visit? What makes us think that we have our homes, that they didn’t trek from Nounou all the way up to Makaleha, Makaleha to Kalalea, Kalalea to Hanalei, Hanalei to Kipu, Kipu to Waimea and so on, so forth. They lived on this island. That was their mode of transportation. So, they come back and visit us. But, if you have done good, why need you fear? They’ll come to you and if you don’t hurt them, they not going hurt you, right. So, we know that our ’uhanes are here so that’s why we have to be careful how we treat them. We must respect their domains, you know. That’s what I’m trying to say about all this that if we need to go forward, we will. But, we respect the domains because nobody can now say that we were not told, that we were not warned because our people are a funny people. We can be as a calm as a summer morning or we can be as rough and unruly as a tsunami. You know what I’m saying?… (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).

Aunty Bev’s connection to spirit is also manifested through hula. Beverly and her older sister, Lovey, had very little formal training in hula. They grew up playing Hawaiian music and entertaining, but hula was a small part of this. With the exception of a few years in grade school with the famous entertainer Kutchie Kuhns, the two girls had no instruction. Aunty Beverly claims she receives her hula knowledge from her Tutu man’s family. This knowledge comes to her via ’uhane and visitations. Her late sister,
Lovey, received her *hula* knowledge from their Tutu lady’s side. Aunty Bev’s recognition of the part her *kūpuna* continue to play in her roles as *kumu hula* is a statement to her strong spiritual ties.

Aunty Bev’s cultural concerns for the Wailua area include the whole *ahupua’a* in its totality, but no one place specifically. She realizes that change is imminent and necessary. For Aunty Beverly, by respecting the ‘*uhane* and acknowledging the *kūpuna* that trod the island before us, this is how we approach the future with a clear heart. If we are to “clear the way” for a new highway or a new bridge, Aunty Bev feels the proper protocol needs to be followed.

Yes, however, if this project cannot be avoided, it has to move forward but then you have to do the proper protocol, you have to ask for forgiveness and you have to ask the consent of the *kūpuna*, wherever you start, wherever you end, and in between, and you have to have all the people involved to give their blessings. You cannot just go over and push all your machines and think you gonna just build it. It won’t work. So, this is where protocol comes in. And then, after the protocol, there’s still deeper *pilikia*, gotta come back again and do more. Sometimes the Hawaiians need to do once, twice, three times like, Father, Son, Holy Ghost. We do three things always, sun, the moon, the stars, father, mother, baby. I’m just telling what I saw in my visions and it concerned me and then more particularly when I heard about my uncle who gave his life for the building of that bridge [Wailua]. I’m certain there were others too (Interview with B. Muraoka, May 2003).


*Biographical Sketch*

Walter “Freckles” Smith Jr. was born on Kaua‘i in 1934. He grew up in Wailua, both Wailua Kai and Wailua Uka along with his four siblings. Uncle Freckles attributes his large extended family in part to his grandfather, William E. Smith, a postman of English descent who “mailed a lot of letters.” This grandfather married into the Lovell family from Anahola. From his mother’s side, Uncle Freckles claims Chinese ancestry. Uncle Freckles attended Kapa‘a School graduating from high school in 1952.

Following high school, Uncle Freckles put his childhood dream of being an animal doctor aside to work and help two of his sisters through school. He worked at the Coco Palms Hotel for eleven and a half years, ending up as the dining room manager. During this time, his parents had been building up their family business, Smith’s Boats, and Uncle Freckle’s father offered Freckles the position of president. Uncle Freckles and his family have been working with Smith’s Boats and Smith’s Tropical Paradise ever since, and have witnessed both the hey day of tourism and very lean times on Kaua‘i as well.

Uncle Freckles is well acquainted with the waters of Wailua, both the *kahawai*, the river and the *kahakai*, the ocean. As a youth, he fished with his father and others at such spots as the old Hanamā‘ulu Dairy (Nukoli‘i), Pahulu (Lydgate area) and off the reef near Kapa‘a. He has learned the *moʻolelo* of the Wailua area from his father and is passing it down to his children and grandchildren.
Interview Synopsis

In many ways, Uncle Freckles Smith’s story is the story of the rise of tourism on Kaua‘i from the 1950’s through the 1970s. Uncle Freckles credits his father with tremendous foresight, the ability to foresee the growth of tourism on the island following the Second World War. He describes how his father came up with the idea of touring the “Fern Grotto”:

My father and mother started this here in 1946 right after the war. Actually, my father and his friend, a fisherman, used to go up the river all the time. And they saw this place up there where the military, marines actually brought that to the attention to the people not knowing. How local people, they see the stuff and, ‘oh, it’s just one cave with ferns like dat’. But, these marines sort of called it the, ‘Fern Grotto’ and what we called it, ‘Evergreen Cave’. So, after the war, my father and this guy, they got together and said, ‘we should have something like this’ [business revolves around the Fern Grotto]. So, right after the terrible tidal wave, 1946, a lot of the fishing boats, akule boats all broken up. There, my father went out and he bought ‘em. He bought the akule boats just for a dollar. All broken. And just only for the title of the boat. So from there, he repaired it. He started building up (Interview with F. Smith, January 2003).

Initially, the Smith Family ran their boat operation from the north side of the Wailua River, from a piece of land owned by the Smiths. This land was later condemned and transformed into a park (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003). The Smiths slowly built up their business, much of the time relying on word of mouth. Uncle Freckles tells how the business grew:

…He bought his own engines and he started going up the river very small, very few people. It was mostly local people that cruised up with him. He used to bring down people like Andy Cummings, like that, and his group. He used to come on the boat with a big speaker and all the local people used to come by to listen to him and stuff like that---and sing. It’s just like creating the interest. But my father had a tremendous foresight. He could see what was going to be happening to the islands… I’m sorry that he died [father] before he could really see it blossom because it really blossomed after he died. Tourism was really great at that time. Busses and busses of people coming down. That time, group tours were busy (Interview with F. Smith, June 4, 2003).

Tourism has changed over the years and Smith’s Boat Tours and other companies geared to tourism have had to adapt. Uncle Freckles explains that their business has suffered as group tours have diminished and tourists have become more independent. Now tourists prefer to kayak up the Wailua River at their own pace (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003).

One of the greatest legacies of the Smith family are the legends recorded by Walter Smith in his little handbook, Legends of Wailua. Many of them are unique to Wailua River and cannot be found anywhere else. Uncle Freckles explained that his father
collected legends and would go around and talk to Hawaiians and gather their stories, later writing them down and recording them on cassettes. For instance, the story of Kawelo the fisherman, and the shark hunt:

That story is about Kawelo the fisherman, the shark hunt. The commoners used to come down, you know they’re all happy, you know ‘aloha’. He used to ask them where they going and they said they going fishing or something like that. They always came back, something happened. For some reason, they caught no fish, sharks ate all the fish or somebody missing, died and stuff like that, shark ate ‘em or something like that. And that went on for a while until somebody up there, in the village *, ‘kinda spooky, we shouldn’t tell anybody where they go’. That’s why they said that * came up. So, they ask where you going, you going ‘auwana. So, they started to say that and gee they come back and good luck and stuff like that. Finally, they wanted to test this guy, so they said---he worked in his taro patch, he always work this guy, taro patch, he used to run outside and he would ask, ‘where you going?’ They said, ‘we going fishing’, but somebody was out there watching him. And soon as they got out of sight, when he took off his cloak, there was something on his back. He dove into the water. The guy ran to the water, look for the guy, he never come up. He saw this big shark swim way out toward the ocean, and then somebody’s missing again. So, when they came back, they confronted him and they killed him, so that’s where we got the story of the little shark hut. He had a house right by the river mouth, and in the water, and on land (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003).

According to Uncle Freckles this shark god had three homes, one across the Fern Grotto on land, “a stone shaped pup tent”, one right below the river and another one at the river mouth.

Uncle Freckles also pointed out that the Wailua River and the Wailua Kai area was a place of periodic death.

There were stories---you know, this place here, every five years gets a life, between the river or Wailua area. So usually, this---every Memorial days, they get flowers and throw them on the water and stuff like that. Still do. It still happens. I don’t know where the five years is now, but that still happen---somebody make around here (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003).

This belief is echoed by Aunty Beverly Muraoka as well, and it is particularly poignant in her family given that her uncle died during the construction of the Wailua Bridge.

When asked about fishing, Uncle Freckles could name only a few fishermen who continue to fish on the Wailua River. As far as he could remember, the fish most typically caught in the river were the ʻāholehole, mullet and the ʻoʻopu. Throw nets were often used to catch big mullet in the upper river. ʻOʻopu can also be found in the upper Wailua River on the underside of large rocks.
CSH: What else did they used to fish for that—

FS: *Aholehole*, mullet----[end of Side A, cassette recording]---there’s some rocks over there that still * the mouth, so big.

CSH: Oh yeah, that big ‘o’opu?

FS: Big ‘o’opu. One time, they used to go there all the time---the Kelekoma Family. They used to go diving there a lot. They used to throw net around and get ‘o’opu underneath.

CSH: What happened to the Kelekoma’s? They’re still around yeah?

FS: Not the ones that used to go there. (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003)

Based on Uncle Freckle’s observations, the fishing traditions of the Wailua River seem to be dying. The methods his father employed for fishing on the river, particularly the “bang bang” are no longer seen today. According to Uncle Freckles, the younger generations enjoy going “holoholo” once in a while, but are not dedicated to the tradition as the old timers were.

6. Kehaulani Kekua

**Biographical Sketch**

Born in 19?? and raised on Kaua‘i in Anahola, Kehau has spent most of her life as a cultural practitioner. As the *hiapo* (first born) of four girls, she was hānai to her maternal grandmother, Helen Ka‘ipuwai Palama Kapu, a Kaua‘i kumu hula. Kehau spent much of her childhood with her Tūtū and many of her earliest memories include hearing chants, *mele* and seeing dancing. The *hula* tradition in Kehau’s family dates back several generations to Ka‘ulu a Lono who was from Wahiawa on the southwest side of Kaua‘i. Tagging along with her grandparents while they worked with one of the first tour companies on Kauaʻi, Acres Tours, Kehau learned about places through the *mele* sung by the tour operators. Kehau continues to use *mele* as a source of information and inspiration for her own life and work. In addition to her Tūtū, Kehau counts several individuals as teachers or *kumu* in her life including Uncle Joe Kahaulilio and Leina‘ala Kalama Heini, as *kumu hula*, and Hōkūlani Holt Padilla and Pualani Kanahele as *kumu* in Hawaiian spirituality and *oli* (chant) amongst other things.

After graduating from Kapa‘a High School, Kehau began work in the tourism industry. She spent the next seventeen years in the hospitality industry working for several luxurious resorts. In 19??, Kehau quit the hospitality industry after deciding her work was compromising her Hawaiian cultural traditions. Since then, she has been devoting more time to being a *kumu hula* as well as serving as a cultural resource and consultant for the community and on many important projects. She is also director of the Kaua‘i Heritage Center in Kapa‘a.
Interview Synopsis

For Ms. Kekua, her concern for Wailua arises from her love and appreciation for the place instilled in her during her youth. Her kūpuna were instrumental in passing on the sacredness of Wailua:

For me, Wailua has always been extremely significant. It continues to be. I’ve had a fascination and this love affair with Wailua forever, as long as I was a kind. And all the stories, and all the places and traditions associated with the different places and they function, the heiau systems, the ridgelines, whatever, the water sources, all of that continues to be really fascinating for me. So, I know that with this particular project with the Bypass will certainly impact extremely sensitive areas and I have really mixed emotions about that…(Interview with K. Kekua, February 2004).

Wailua’s position as a spiritual center for Kaua‘i has long been recognized and Kehau stresses this during her interview. She continually emphasizes the function of the different sites in Wailua stressing the relationship between the original function of the site and the reason for its existence. In contemplating the tradition of the royal birthing stones, pōhaku hanau at Holoholokū, Kehau traces the genealogy of the place:

…And I used to always wonder how did that tradition start you know what started---what designated Holoholokū as the * birthing site for the chiefs. And in---I have a copy of it---in that same [looking for a chant] In the Pele and Hi‘iaka story that talks about all the different winds, there is a section in here that talks about the Wailua area. Here it is right here. Here’s the English translation of it: The Hauola is the surfing wind of Kalehuahe and that’s right outside of---Kalehuahe is on the rivermouth side of Wailua Bay. The malu* is the hau-blossom scattering wind of Wailuanuihoano. The kiukehau is the wind of Holoholokū. The royal birthing stones are sacred, going to the peaks, swirling in ‘ikuā. This is an important period for the royal birthing stones. Hawai‘i of the large districts of Kea is born. Kaua‘inui of Kamawailualani is born. Wailuanuiho‘ano is born. And then the next line in Hawaiian says, Mo ka piko nā māhoe or the umbilical chords of the twins are cut. So, the first born at that particular site were twins and their names were Kaua‘inui and Wailuanuiho‘ano. So Wailuanuiho‘ano was female and Kaua‘inui was male. They were twins. And Kamawailualani is the mother. Kamawailualani is the old name for Kaua‘i---old, traditional name for Kaua‘i. If you look in Ho‘ionua* or chants that talk about the building or the peopling of the islands, like the Papa and Wakea tradition, Kamawailualani is the offspring of Papa and Wakea. So, it’s through that particular oral tradition that is very ancient that establishes why that site became important in Hawaiian culture and why it became important as a designated place for royalty to be born at (Interview with K. Kekua, Feb. 10, 2004).
Kehau spoke to other sites in Wailua as well, including the controversial Malae Heiau which she refers to as Malaeha‘ako. She suggests that the significance of this heiau lies in its function as well.
VI. CULTURAL PRACTICES OF SECTIONS 1, 2, AND 3

A. Section 1: Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena

1. Burials

The coastline between Olohena and Kapa‘a once contained extensive sand dunes that were documented in travels throughout the nineteenth century (Knudsen 1991; Alexander 1991). Most of the sand dunes were modified or destroyed at the onset of the twentieth century. This was due to the extensive use of the coastal areas for ranching, settlement, and new transportation routes like trains and roads. One of the kama‘āina consulted growing up in the 1930s and 1940s remembered when the land near his home in Waipouli was more natural, with mounds and some sand dunes (personal communication with T. Sokei, 7/28/03). Archaeological studies in the Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena areas demonstrate the widespread prehistoric use of sand as a medium for burials. Burials have been identified along the coast in Waipouli and Olohena and extending well mauka of the coastline into present day Kapa‘a Town. Cultural deposits found associated with burials in the Kapa‘a area shed light on the Hawaiian tradition of burying members of the ‘ohana in the kulaawi, or birth land.

During consultation, concerns were raised regarding the discovery of inadvertent burials along Kūhiō Highway in Section 1 (Personal communication with N. McMahon, 4/21/03). For Hawaiians, “man’s immortality was manifest in his bones…Even the bones of the living became symbols of the link between man’s progenitors and his own eventual immortality” (Pukui et al. 1972:106). Thus, the discovery of iwi (bones) is a very sensitive issue for the Hawaiian community requiring much mediation and protocol.

2. Marshlands of Kapa‘a

The areas inland of Kapa‘a and Waipouli Towns were formerly the marshlands of Kapa‘a. During the 20th century, portions of the marshlands of Kapa‘a and Waipouli were filled, drained and designated as marginal agricultural lands. Traditionally, however, these marshlands were once much more significant. Westerners may call them “swamps,” but Hawaiians who grew up in the Kapa‘a and Waipouli area knew they were fishponds (Personal Communication w/ I. Kaiu, 6/24/03). Many kama‘āina recall fishing for freshwater shrimp and gobies, the ‘ōpae and ‘o‘opu. For the Kaneakua brothers, their childhood memories of ‘ōpae are tied to the old Chinese vendors who once traversed the neighborhood selling the shrimps.

I can remember Chinese, they used to catch shrimp, fresh water shrimp in big five gallon can. They put it in there, both side and they have their stick across, walking through the little village that we were over there and used to come out and say, “‘Ōpae, ‘Ōpae” and families who want buy the ‘ōpae and they used to dig it out in a big a scoop, bowl, and was so much you know. Yeah, those were the days. Our streams used to be loaded with shrimp (Interview with J. & W. Kaneakua 8/1/02 in Bushnell et al. 2002).

For Mr. Hiyane, his experience catching ‘ōpae centered on the irrigation ditches that drained the marshlands behind Kapa‘a. “My first lessons in swimming were in the drain ditches the sugar people created to dry out their cane lands. Also in the ditches were the ‘ōpae or river shrimp. I caught ‘ōpae and cooked them with soy sauce in recycled oil.
sardine cans.” (Interview with G. Hiyane, 5/14/03). One individual who grew up in Pueo Camp adjacent to the marsh recalls frequenting the irrigation ditches in Waipouli for ʻōpae, ʻoʻopu, and pantat (catfish) that were then sold to the old Chinese men in the camp for 10¢ (Personal communication with G. Mukai, 8/5/03).

Many of the kuleana awarded in Waipouli are located on lands adjacent and within the marsh. Land commission award testimony attests to at least two fishponds located within the marsh areas, one named Hopakio, the second unnamed. Loko Hopakio belonged to the konohiki giving it some level of prestige. Mr. Sokei who grew up in a rice growing family in the back of what is known as All Saints Church in Kapʻa‘a shared some memories of his home in the 1930s that may reflect the landscape a hundred years prior. Mr. Sokei remembers the family home located on high ground above the marsh. “Back then, the land was natural, full of mounds. Rice was cultivated in fields all the way to the hills. The water level in the marsh would go up and down with the tide and when there was lots of water, one could find ʻoʻopu, ʻōpae, catfish, frogs and mud turtles for eating” (Personal communication with T. Sokei, 7/28/03). Likewise, the kuleana awards of the 1840s and 1850s present a picture of homes scattered on the edges of the marsh and on islands of high ground within the marsh. Numerous ʻauwai were constructed to irrigate loʻi kalo. Hau bush was shaped into fences to separate kuleana or physical features and fishponds were built to stock fish. For Hawaiians living in Waipouli, the marsh was an extremely productive area constituting the basis of their existence.

The notion that the marshlands were quite significant traditionally is also evident in the Hawaiian place names, particularly the wahi pana (storiied places) associated with the Kapʻa‘a/Waipouli marsh. Mākahao-Kūpānīhi was a pond, a “deep pool set aside for ali‘i to bathe in” located at the border of Kapʻa‘a and Waipouli Ahupua‘a presumably within the marsh (Lahainaluna Students Compositions, No. 15). It was here that Kaumuali‘i’s half-brother Keawe was shot to death forever defiling the waters of Kūpānīhi. Another wahi pana in this district was Kēwā. The proverb ‘ke kalukalu o Kēwā’ refers to a certain type of grass, kalukalu (used in making a very soft gauze or kapa) found growing in the marshlands of Kapʻa‘a and Waipouli (Fornander 1916:IV:162). Kēwā is the marsh area located on the lee side of the legendary surf break of Makaiwa at Waipouli (Fornander 1918:V:242).

A few individuals who were consulted mentioned an important piece of information related to the marshlands that places these wetland areas in a different light. Mrs. Paik tells the story of her father, Henry Morgan, who was working on the train tracks sometime in the 1920s and 1930s. He pulled a Hawaiian wooden image out of the marsh somewhere in the vicinity of Waikaea Drainage Canal (which did not exist at the time as a canal). The kiʻi was kept in the Morgan’s yard for a while until it was eventually donated to the Bishop Museum (Personal communication with A. Paik, 5/14/03). The presence of the image in the marsh gives the area added cultural importance just by association (Personal communication with R. Wichman, 8/19/03). Kiʻi are most often associated with the luakini or sacrificial heiau tied to the God Kū (Kamakau 1976).

B. Cultural Traditions of Section 2: Wailua

Based on the moʻolelo, the recorded post-contact history, the Mahele and Boundary Commission documents, and the archaeological sites, there is no doubt that Wailua is a
storied place with innumerable cultural traditions. The objective of this report is not to identify all the cultural traditions that have ever existed in Wailua. Rather, it is to point out those traditions that continue to play a role, however big or small, in how Hawaiians and kamaʻāina interact with land in Wailua. In this pursuit, we have approached many kamaʻāina of all ethnic backgrounds to share their stories and feelings about Wailua, as well as any concerns they may have in regards to the proposed ‘Relief Route’.

Of the three sections involved in the study, the Wailua Section (Section 2) is by far the most controversial. Many people believe this is so because this section holds the Wailua River and the issue of a second bridge rears its head. Others feel it is controversial on account of the historic heiau complex that lines the Wailua River. Still others cling to the fantasy created by the former Coco Palms Resort during the tourist boom of the 1960s and 1970s.

1. Burials

A review of the archaeological record for Wailua shows surprisingly few burials in the area. Two burials, possibly associated with kuleana land, correspond to the north bank of the Wailua River. In addition, a home and burial ground were reported for the Kumauna kuleana located near the hillock Ahuhaulii, north of the makai portion of the Wailua River. The historic record documents other burials. Mahele documents identify Holoholokū as a cemetery. Also, there is a graveyard belonging to Josiah Kaumualiʻi as well as a burying ground of Mahuapuoni/Mahunapuoni. The latter probably corresponds to the sand dune burial grounds of Mahunapuʻuone identified in land commission awards 3346:1, 3111, 3559:3, 3302:2. The sand dune burying ground of Mahunapuʻuone is thought to be on the grounds of the Coco Palms Resort, and is the site of the 1970s construction at which numerous burials were uncovered. One of our informants, Uncle Val Ako, was working on this construction project at the time, and was involved in the subsequent reinterring of the burials elsewhere on the Coco Palms property. Uncle Val expressed his deep concern regarding expansion of the Kūhiō Highway and the potential for digging up more burials adjacent to the Coco Palms Resort. Aunty Beverly Muraoaka also expressed her concern, claiming it was almost inevitable that burials were going to be found. She did not have specific information regarding the location of burials, however, she sensed from the magnitude of the project as well as her experience of the widespread distribution of burials that they would be found. Other kūpuna have also come forward to communicate their concerns regarding burials directly to the client. Their quiet determination to protect their ‘ohana is a testament to the profound significance of iwi. Hawaiians place significance on the iwi, which are regarded as a lasting physical manifestation of the departed person and spirit.

There is also the possibility of finding burials in the area mauka of Coco Palms. Based on what we know about Hawaiian interment practices, Hawaiians buried their dead on ancestral land, often in the same ‘ili and in close proximity to habitation sites. There is a good possibility that burials may exist within various road corridors, particularly those proximal to Land Commission Awards 3561 and 3264. In LCA 3561, Josiah Kaumualiʻi does claim “grave of my Makuakane” as part of his land. Two of the proposed routes span the northwest boundary of this LCA.
2. Heiau

The heiau of Wailua are physical vestiges of Wailua’s important cultural past. If nothing else, they remind the people who live in their vicinity and who pass by them everyday of Wailua’s unique spiritual place in traditional Hawai‘i. According to Kamakau (1976:132) ‘heiau were sites set aside for sacred purposes’. The Hawaiian concepts of mana (divine power) and kapu (prohibition) are deeply embedded in heiau.

Five historic sites, including four heiau, have been included in the Wailua Heiau Complex National Historic Site. Of these five sites, three of the major heiau lie directly adjacent to principal transportation routes. Poliahu and Holoholokū Heiau are just feet away from Kuamo‘o Road which leads from Kūhiō Highway up to the mauka areas of Wailua Homesteads. Malaeha’akoa, popularly known as Malae Heiau, is adjacent to Kūhiō Highway, a State Highway.

Many Hawaiians and part Hawaiians growing up in Wailua in the early and middle part of the twentieth century were taught to stay away from the heiau. Aunty Beverly Muraoka growing up in Wailua recalls being discouraged from going near the traditional Hawaiian sites by her family.

We just was told that’s the Bell Stone. We don’t go there nighttime, we don’t make no pilau, no more pilikia, stick your nose out. My papa said that, ‘unless you have business there, then it’s none of your business, get out.’ So, we hardly dealt over there plus that Holoholoku Heiau, above is the Japanese graveyard. And you know the olden days, ‘if you don’t behave, the ghost going come get you’, you know so you no like bother about that kind stuff already, so we just had let it be…(Interview with B. Muraoka, 5/16/03).

In this way, many traditional sites were forgotten. Until relatively recently, Malae Heiau was overgrown in a thicket of brush and many people, including kama‘āina were not aware of its existence. Due in part to a resurgence of the practice of Hawaiian culture, Malaeha’akoa was cleared of brush and has been used in a cultural context not only as an historic site, but as a living site—a place to perpetuate and teach culture.

Various groups, such as ‘Aha Wailuanui‘ahoano and Nā Kahu Hikina A Ka Lā, involved in maintaining the heiau, developing Hawaiian protocol and working in consort with Hawai‘i State Parks to develop guidelines for the use of Malae Heiau “oppose any future development in the area that would threaten buffers and view corridors surrounding Malae Heiau” (Malae Heiau Advisory Committee 2000). Members of the curatorial group Nā Kahu Hikina A Ka Lā, including its president, Randy Wichman, have expressed their grave concerns for the future of Malae. Mr. Wichman feels that Malae holds a unique position in that it is the only heiau on Kaua‘i that is distinctly visible from the main highway (Kūhiō). He describes Malae as being “in your face as a reminder of the pre-contact past” (Personal communication with R. Wichman, 8/19/03). Sabra Kauka, vice president of Nā Kahu Hikina A Ka Lā, expressed concern over the impact widening Kūhiō Highway will have on Hawaiian spiritual use of the site. “We use Malae for ceremonial purposes and are concerned that we will not be able to hear each other speak in normal tones” (Personal communication from S. Kauka, 8/6/03). Mr. Wichman was clear in pointing out that whichever route is chosen for the Kapa’a Relief Route it will
have an adverse impact on Malae. If the Kūhiō Highway is expanded, this will cut into the buffer zone of Malae. If a second bridge and road are built mauka, this will alter cultural view planes that link the traditional sites of Wailuanuiahoano. Many seemed to favor the viewpoint of cultural practitioner Kehaulani Kekua that “the furthest away from Malaeha‘ekoa [Malae Heiau] is good.” Others have expressed similar concerns for Malae (Personal communication from D. Helela, 1/29/03; Personal communication from M. Yent, 1/28/03).

3. Pu‘ukī (Pu‘uki‘i)

Pu‘ukī is the ridge between Kuamo‘o Road and the Wailua River. This ridge is mentioned in several land commission awards as a landmark, particularly those associated with Deborah Kapule. In legend, Pu‘ukī is linked to Kamokila or Kaluamokila, a mo‘o cave that supposedly had a land opening near Holoholokū Heiau and a submerged entrance in the Wailua River. Mr. Wichman has observed Kamokila in different places along Pu‘ukī depending on different maps (personal communication, R. Wichman, 8/19/03). Mr. Wichman expressed concern regarding the mauka side of Pu‘ukī, where three of the alternative routes are proposed. In this location of Pu‘ukī, Mr. Wichman felt there was a little known heiau that he recalled had been destroyed by the military some years ago. He also remembers there being a stone agricultural wall down in the floodplain adjacent to the Wailua River. Though he was not certain as to the exact location of the former heiau and the agricultural wall, Mr. Wichman was concerned that construction in this area of a new bridge or road structures would compromise these and possibly other undocumented traditional sites. Ms. Kehaulani Kekua expressed the view that there has already been too much impact to the vicinity of Holoholokū and Ka Lae O Ka Manu and that any further adverse impact to this area should be avoided.

4. ‘Auwai

More than a dozen ‘auwai (ditches used for irrigating taro) were identified in Wailua in the kuleana testimony during the Mahele. Most of these ‘auwai had their source from the Ōpaeka‘a Stream. The stream was split at the head of the valley into two branches, one that followed the base of Nounou and then headed makai along the base of the tablelands. The other branch follows the general direction of the present day ‘Ōpaeka‘a Stream, adjacent to the ridge that separates the wetlands from the Wailua River. The branch that followed the perimeter of the taro lands was utilized first for kalo, later for rice, then for the residents of the newly acquired Wailua farm lots and finally for ranching. In other words, this ‘auwai was functioning until possibly sometime in the 1960s. One of our informants, Uncle Raymond Aiu recalls as a youngster being sent to fetch water in the irrigation ditch below the family farmlot (Interview with R. Aiu, 5/14/03). At this time, 1930s, there were still rice farmers cultivating rice in this area. According to Uncle Raymond, this ditch flowed behind the Apana property and into the fishponds at Coco Palms. Randy Wichman identifies this ditch as Wailuanui and describes it as a major artery for irrigating the kalo lands in the back of Coco Palms. In her interview, Aunty Beverly Muraoka recalled the flooding that occurred periodically in these wetlands of Wailua. Eventually, (sometime in the late 1950s) the State dredged a canal to drain off excess water into Wailua River (Interview w/ B. Muraoka, 5/16/03). Most likely, this modified the drainage pattern of ‘auwai Wailuanui. It is not known
when the water was cut off from this ‘auwai, but over the years, grading and maintenance of Koki Road adjacent to the ditch has filled the ‘auwai (Interview with R. Aiu, 5/15/03).

5. ‘Uhane

One definition of ‘uhane is “the vital spark, that, departed from the flesh, lived on through eternity, rewarded for virtue or punished for transgressions in life. Thus ‘uhane is ‘spirit’ in the immortal sense, and the ‘soul’ of Christian concept. Or, as immortal spirit or soul, the ‘uhane might return to visit the living and so be termed a ‘ghost’” (Pukui et al. 1972:193). For kumu hula Beverly Muraoka, living in the spiritual realm is a normal part of life. Recognizing ‘uhane in your home and acknowledging them is part of paying respects to kūpuna and your own ‘ohana. Any thought of embarking on a new project requires you to present it to the whole family, including those who no longer live in the physical world.

Yes, however, if this project cannot be avoided, it has to move forward but then you have to do the proper protocol, you have to ask for forgiveness and you have to ask the consent of the kūpuna, ---wherever you start, wherever you end, and in between, and you have to have all the people involved to give their blessings. You cannot just go over and push all your machines and think you gonna just build it. It won’t work. So, this is where protocol comes in [Interview with B. Muraoka, 5/16/03].

Aunty Beverly Muraoka traces her genealogical connections to the kūpuna of Wailua Kai and Wailua Uka. She feels that an expression of protocol acknowledging and asking permission of the kūpuna should precede any change in the Wailua area. This would “open the path” for change, thus avoiding accidents and potential obstacles of a cultural nature.

6. Fishing

Fishing used to be a big part of the Wailua community. Those who have lived there for decades have witnessed the dwindling of supplies of fish as well as fisher families. One of the wonderful features of Wailua is the large freshwater river flowing into the beautiful open bay. For fishermen of the past, this has offered an array of types of fish. Fishing techniques such as “bang bang” used to be quite popular in the Wailua River. This type of fishing was used to catch āholehole and mullet (Interview w/ R. Aiu, May 15, 2003; Interview w/ F. Smith, June 4, 2003; Interview w/ B. Muraoka, May 16, 2003). One historic record mentions the ‘o’opu of Wailua to be the size of cats (Kū’oko’a Newspaper Article, Dec 1913). During Uncle Freckles’ interview, he attested to the large size of the ‘o’opu that were found in the upper river. Crabbing continues to be somewhat popular and the floats marking crab traps can often be seen in the lower river near the Wailua River Park.

The bay area of Wailua, towards what is today popularly known as Lydgate, was once called Pahulu (Interview w/ B. Muraoka, 5/16/03; Interview w/ F. Smith, 6/4/03). These were considered prime ocean fishing grounds. Several members of the community have fond memories of partaking in the community hukilau. Most of the time, akule was the catch. According to several kama‘aina, the community was alerted of a hukilau when a white flag was hoisted on the kilo, or lookout. The kilo was located on the north side of the beach on a rocky ledge which has since been partially demolished for the construction
of the hotel that now sits on the ledge. Families from the Wailua Houselots area would come down to the beach replete with bowls of *poi* anticipating a catch. After the head fishermen and his crew laid the net, everyone would wait for the signal. Following the signal from the head fisherman, everyone would help to pull in the net and would receive a *māhele*, a portion of the catch. Although no one was able to put their finger on what became of the *hukilau* tradition, the loss of this tradition leaves many with a sense of nostalgia for the past. The rise of Coco Palms Resort and the tourism industry may explain part of it. The tourism industry pulled many of the younger generation of the time away from activities such as subsistence fishing. Techniques were lost, and culturally important sites such as the *kilo* were irreversibly modified and taken over for the tourist industry. Though there are a few who still go fishing at Pahulu, we were hard pressed to find them.

C. Cultural Practices of Section 3, Portions of Wailua and Hanamā‘ulu Ahupua‘a

Of the three sections and many ahupua‘a represented in this study, Section 3 is the least developed and least populated, currently and historically. This is reflected in the sparse numbers of associated traditions as portrayed by the recorded *wahi pana*, the archaeological record, and talk story with kama‘āina. Only fishing remains a strong tradition in this area and this is limited to the coastline, away from the proposed highway corridors. The following is a discussion of the cultural practices and traditions in Section 3 gleaned from literature and from talk story accounts.

1. Burials

The coastline between Hanamā‘ulu and Wailua and that between Oloheåna and Kapa‘a once contained extensive sand dunes that were documented in travels throughout the nineteenth century (Knudsen 1991; Alexander 1991). This area of dunes was traditionally known as Walio [Alio]. The archaeological record demonstrates that sand dunes located in the general vicinity of the northern portion of the Wailua Municipal Golf Course were used as pre-historic and historic burial grounds. Sand is a common medium for interment in traditional Hawaiian burials. Many sand burials have been encountered on all the islands. Ms. Kehaulani Kekua expressed concern for the burial dunes of Alio, however, she noted that this concern was primarily *makai* of the existing Kūhiō Highway alignment. A recent cultural study of an area to the north of Kapa‘a suggests that long time kama‘āina are often aware of areas of sand dune burials and generally avoid those areas if possible (H. Lovell in Bushnell et. al. 2002:89)

Burials have also been recorded on Kälepa Ridge. Cliff burials were a well-established tradition in old Hawai‘i. Mountains, ravines and gulches were considered good places for burial and provided crevices such as *lua meki* [deep pits], *lua huna* [hiding pits] and *ana huna* [hiding caves] (Kamakau 1964:38).

2. Bird Catching

The *mo‘olelo* of Waawaaikinaauao and Waawaaikinaaupou suggests that, in traditional times, bird catching was important to people who resided at the coast such as at Nukole [Nukoli, Nukoli‘i]. The Armitage version of the legend mentions the two brothers who would go bird hunting in the *mau‘u* reaches of Wai‘ale‘ale, which marks the *mau‘u* boundary of the ahupua‘a of Hanamā‘ulu and Wailua. The uplands of the traditional *moku* of Puna with their extensive forests were no doubt teeming with bird
life. Other mo'olelo grounded in Puna such as the mo'olelo of KailiLauokekoa attest to the bounty and significance of birds in the upland home of Kaililauokekoa's lover, Pihanakalani [in Wailua uka] (Beckwith 1970:538). There is also a version of the mo'olelo of Paka'a who grew up at the northern edge of Kapa'a and was raised by his mother and an uncle named Mailou who was a bird catcher (Rice 1977:86).

Birds, such as the nene, alala, pueo, ou, omoa, oo, mamo, iiwi, apapane, akihipolena, ula, ua, akohekohe, amakihi, mu, akihialoa, naukewai, iwa were gathered for their feathers, though many were also tasty (Malo 1951:39-41). Feathers from many of the birds mentioned above could be used in fabricating lei, kahili, ahu 'ula (feather cloaks) and decorating the Makahiki idol. As with any traditional skill, there were many methods of catching birds, including several mentioned by Malo (1951:39-41): snaring, using bird lime, bird imitation, catching with the hands or pelting with stones.

Although, no one permanently lives at Nukoli'i anymore and traditional bird hunting has all but ceased, the idea that bird catching once flourished in Puna is a testament to the relationship between the mauka and makai areas, and the importance of access to mauka areas and birding locales as a source of feathers for trade and sustenance.

3. Fishing

Fishing is still popular at Nukoli'i. The fringing reef that generally extends from Kapa'a to Hanama'ulu creates fairly good conditions for throw net and dive fishing. When asked about the old Hanamaulu Dairy, Uncle Freckles Smith responded, “We used to go fishing over there” (Interview with F. Smith, June 2003). Uncle Freckles considered this a good place for reef fish and lobster. Besides the fish and lobster, Uncle Raymond Aiu recalls catching squid in this area that he remembers being called Nukoli (Interview with R. Aiu, May 2003). Other kama'aina families have been fishing in this area for generations and continue to frequent the area (Personal Communication with S. Yokotake, May 2003). In fact, it was the local users who first opposed the development of Nukoli'i when it was proposed in the late 1970s, early 1980s.

For years local Kauai people, especially from Lihue, Hanamaulu, Wailua and Kapa'a, had in small numbers gone surf casting and camping at Nukolii. They set nets just beyond the reef or cast hand-held nets inside of it. People dive for fish and lobsters; they picked squid, small crabs and limu (seaweed) from the reef. The reef had a surf break that surfers used [Cooper and Daws 1990:334].

The shoreline public access continues to be used daily by the local population, many of whom visit Nukoli'i to fish.

4. Habitation

A mo'olelo points to two brothers who lived on the flats of Nukole (Nukoli'i, Nukoli) and frequented the mauka areas to hunt for birds. One archaeological site (Site – 1838) found in the Nukoli'i area along the coast and adjacent to a marshy area yielded high concentrations of marine midden and coral fragments, suggesting it was used as a habitation site. Radiocarbon dates indicate the sites were probably used in the prehistoric period. To this day, kama'aina come to Nukoli'i to camp and fish. This tradition has been called ho'omoana and consists of families traveling to certain coastal areas, sometimes
for long periods of time depending on the season and the circumstances (often in the summer), and camping, fishing and sharing as an ‘ohana. Some families still do go camping, however, it is now illegal. This type of tradition encourages many positive cultural values, including passing on fishing methods from one generation to the other, passing on food preparation techniques, sharing mo‘olelo, reinforcing ties with extended ‘ohana, which includes the place and spiritual realms. Often times, these camping and fishing locales are passed down in the family or, in other words, the same families camp and fish at the same places every year. This tradition continues at Nukoli‘i to this day.
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A cultural impact assessment was conducted for the proposed Kūhiō Highway Improvements. Historic research of the project area was carried out to identify any cultural resources or traditional cultural practices associated with the area encompassing the proposed Kūhiō Highway Improvements. In addition, community consultation was conducted. An attempt was made to contact 54 parties regarding cultural knowledge, land use history, cultural sites and traditional Hawaiian or other cultural practices in the vicinity of the project area. Seven individuals came forward as knowledgeable informants: Beverly Muraoka, Walter (Freckles) Smith Jr., Alice Paik, George Hiyane, Valentine Ako, Raymond Aiu and Kehaulani Kekua. Although nine interviews were conducted, only seven interviewees agreed to sign their authorization and release forms. One declined to sign the release and the other agreed to the use of the information as an anonymous source. In addition to the informants, other community members shared valuable information regarding traditional land use, attitudes and practices associated with the project area.

One of the primary major concerns voiced by several kama‘āina including some interviewees was the concern that the project may impact human burials (iwi kūpuna). Based on background research, the most likely location for burials is in the sandy coastline sediments. Areas of specific concern include the coastal areas of Kapa‘a Town, Waipouli, Olohena (including adjacent to the present Kūhiō Highway), Wailua, and coastal Hanamā‘ulu. One kupuna who had witnessed the encounter of a large number of burials in the Wailua area adjacent to Coco Palms and the Kūhiō Highway expressed serious concern about uncovering additional burials if the road is to be extended there. This area is thought to correlate with a documented historic sand dune burial ground, Mahunapu‘uone. Though the sandy sediments along the coastline are of primary concern, there have been a few isolated burials inland. The potential inland burial areas include locations of former kuleana (particularly in Wailua mauka of Coco Palms) and cliffside areas including Pu‘ukī, Nounou and Kālepa. Several of those consulted indicated that the discovery of iwi (bones) is a very sensitive issue for the Hawaiian community requiring much mediation and appropriate protocol.

A second very important cultural concern identified during consultation for this project is related to the heiau of Wailua. The heiau complex is on the National Register of Historic Sites and various groups have been working closely with Hawai‘i State Parks to ensure protection of these historic properties and cultural sites. Those consulted stressed that the heiau were not just historic properties to preserve for their historic value, but also living cultural sites. Of particular concern is Malae, the heiau closest to Kūhiō Highway and the one with the most potential to be impacted. Cultural practitioners use Malae for spiritual purposes and beyond the potential direct physical effects of any new alignment, are the indirect impacts such as noise and view planes. A new highway constructed inland would impact the spiritual connection between the heiau of Wailuanuiahō‘ano.

The marshlands of Kapa‘a, Waipouli and Olohena were once a significant resource prior to Western contact. The fringes of the marsh were utilized for lo‘i kalo, and other resources including the gathering of kalukalu, a type of grass utilized for kapa. Places in
the marshes also served as fishponds. Vestiges of the cultural significance of the marshlands are retained in the mo‘olelo and ‘olelo no‘eau particular to this area. With the establishment of the sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century, the marshlands were significantly altered. Marsh areas were drained and filled to create more dryland for commercial agriculture and pasture land. Several individuals consulted and interviewed grew up fishing for ʻōpae and ‘o‘opu in the irrigation ditches which once drained the swamps. They expressed sadness at the changing of the landscape and the passing of their childhood traditions with the final draining and filling of the swamps. No further concerns regarding the marshlands were expressed other than the presumed low potential of possibly encountering habitation deposits and burials related to former LCA parcels.

Pu‘ukī is a ridge between Kuamo‘o Road and the Wailua River. The ridge is mentioned in several historic and legendary sources. One culturally active individual expressed concern that on the west side of Pu‘ukī near the location of one of the alternative routes, may be the remnants of a heiau and agricultural features. The concern is that any proposed road or bridge in this vicinity might compromise previously undocumented traditional sites.

Several of the interviewees discussed ‘auwai in the Wailua ahupua‘a. This report documents the use of the ‘auwai for irrigation and water use by the residents up until the 1960s. The ‘auwai were also utilized for a variety of activities beyond their primary irrigation purpose. The bulk of the ‘auwai have been lost through modern pasturage, disuse and adjacent road improvements. One kama‘āina expressed concern that the ‘auwai should be preserved for future generations.

One interviewee with genealogical ties to the Wailua area emphasized the importance of communicating with the ‘ohana regarding changes to Wailua. This includes asking permission of the ‘ohana, including ‘uhane (immortal spirits) for opening up the land to proposed new uses. It was stressed that this and other protocols are necessary to “open the path” for change, thus avoiding accidents and potential obstacles of a cultural nature.

Fishing and gathering along the coastline from Keālia to Hanamā‘ulu was and continues to be a vital cultural activity. In addition, there is still evidence of fishing and crabbing within the Wailua and Keālia Rivers. Although in many ways, fishing is not as easy as it once was, fishing remains one of the few cultural traditions families still feel relatively free to partake in this area. Kama‘āina consulted and interviewed indicated that most of their families had long histories of fishing at various locales. Fishing traditions have been passed down through the ‘ohana and are viewed as a way to continue or perpetuate important aspects of the Hawaiian culture. The concerns raised by a number of individuals were that any proposed construction related activities of the relief route take into account water quality and any potential negative impact on fishing resources. This is especially true in the case of the Wailua River where a new bridge is being considered.

The primary recommendation that came out of the interview process was that there should be continued consultation with concerned parties through the different phases of the relief route project. As the project continues from many alternatives to a selected alternative and final construction, concerned parties should be provided ample
opportunities to voice concerns and provide cultural input. Although most of the individuals and *kamaʻāina* consulted grew up in a time when expressions of the Hawaiian culture were discouraged, they were all aware that Wailua was a unique place for their ancestors. In talk story and consultation, many of them stressed the need to proceed on this project with caution and always with an eye for the great cultural significance, past, present and future of Wailua.
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