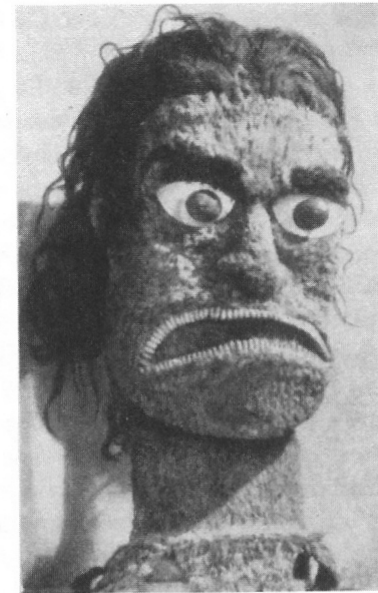
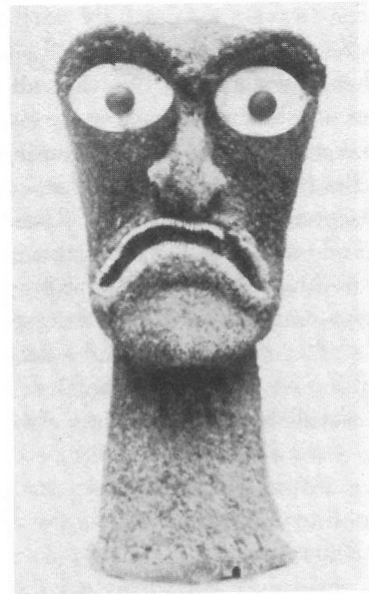


# Hawaiian Battlefields Then and Now

Waimea  
Community  
Association

Tom Wolforth  
March, 2006



*Examples of feather images in (top) Dominion Museum, Wellington, and Bishop Museum and (bottom) in British and Berlin Ethnographic museums.*



# Hawaiian Battlefields Then and Now

- Introduction to the battles on the island of Hawai'i
- Current status of archaeological exploration of Hawaiian battlefields
- Some battles around Waimea
- The battle at Pu'u'owā'owaka
- Can battlefields be identified?
- Can battlefields be preserved?
- The National Register of Historic Places



# Hawai'i is no stranger to conflict

From Papa and Wakea to

Kamapua'a, Pele, and Hi'iaka.

From the rise to power of Pili to

The power struggles of 'Umi.

From a century of Kona vs. Hilo to

The death of Captain Cook.

From the conquest of Kamehameha to

The rebels of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Statue of Kamehameha I. Honolulu.





There were different kinds of conflict



*W. K. K. K.*  
1940





In different settings

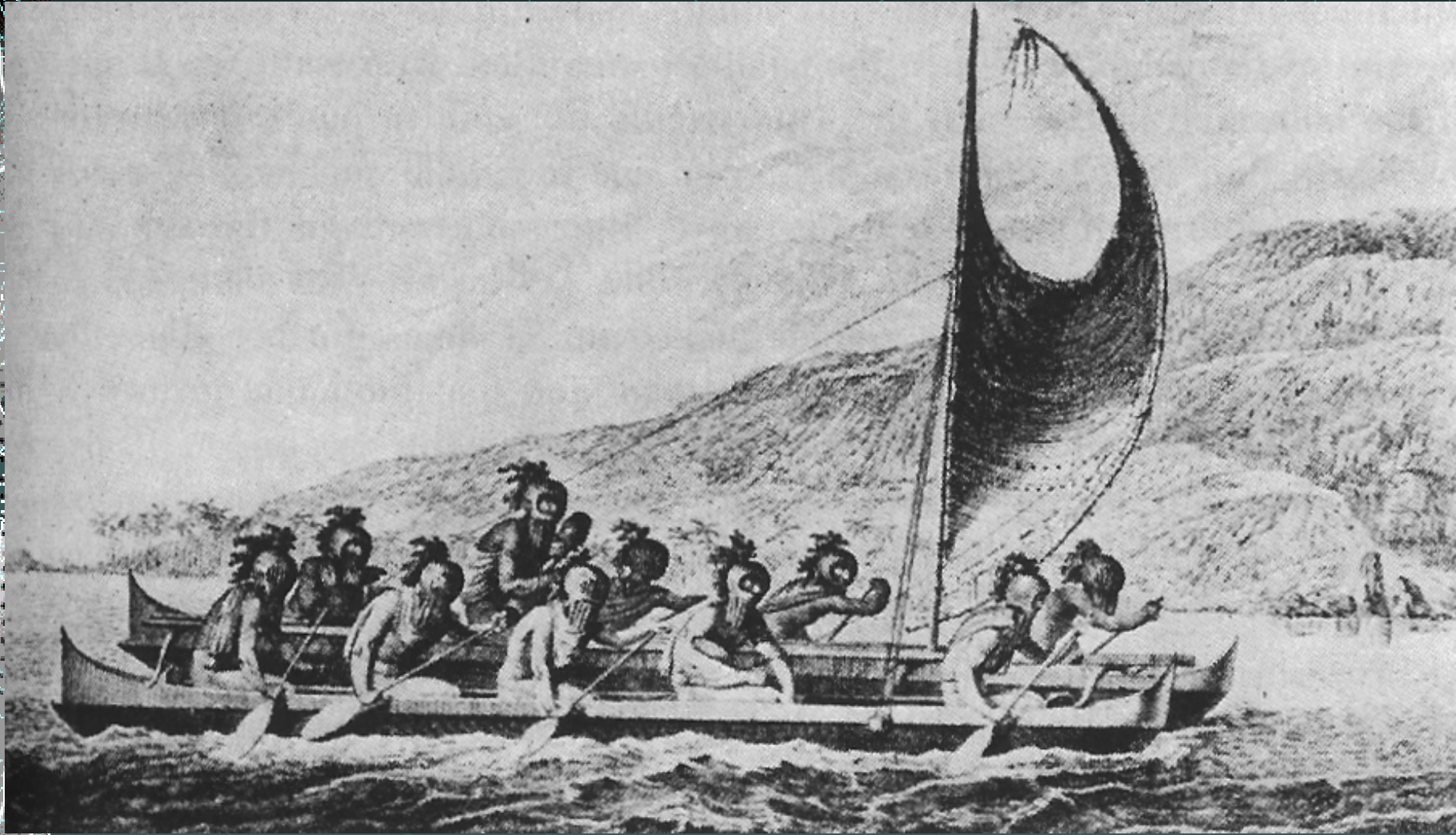




The battles were recorded in chant,  
genealogies, mele, and maybe in stone

From *Spirit of Place*, by Lee and Stasack (1999:52)





Modes of war were witnessed by foreigners after 1778, and written down by native scholars.



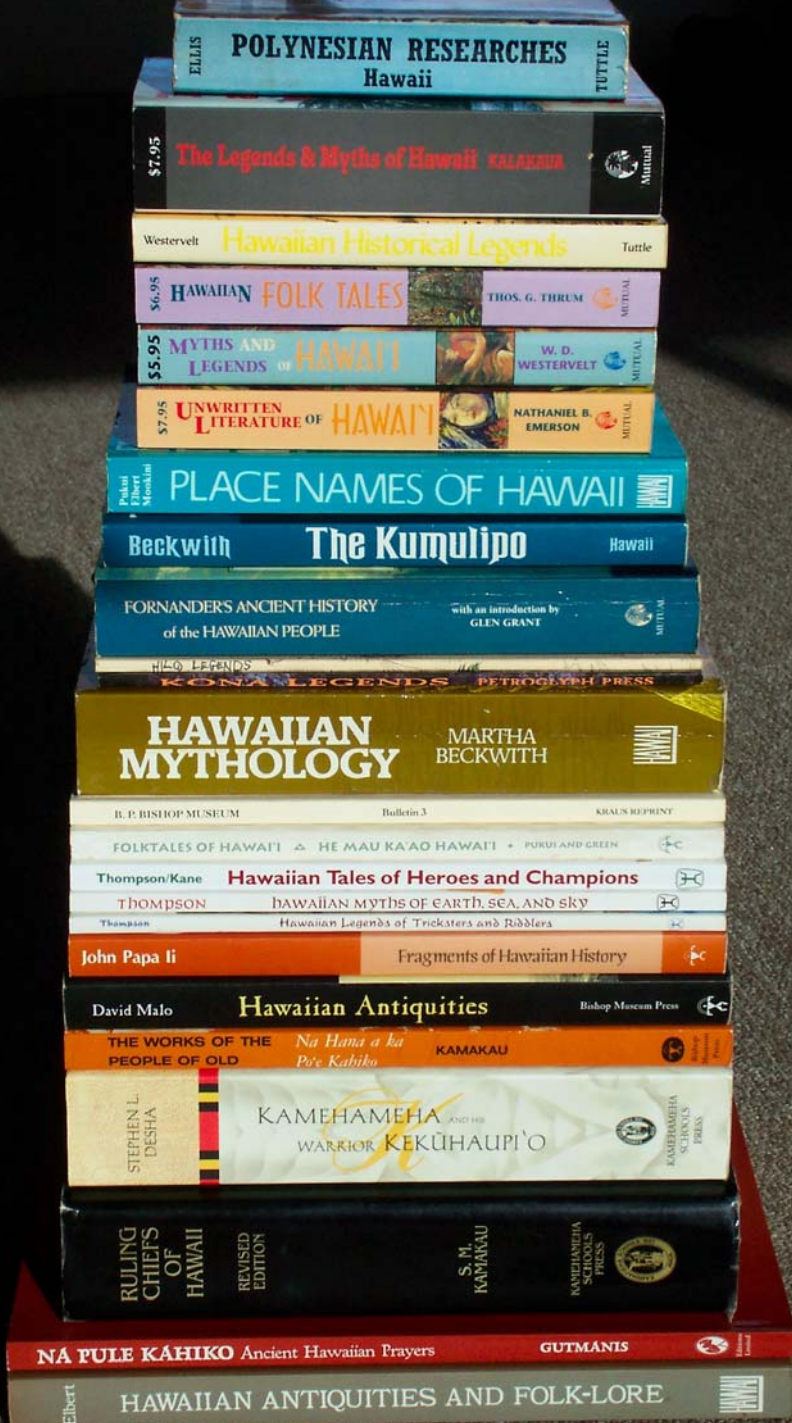


*By courtesy Paradise of the Pacific*

## LANDING OF WARRIORS

*From Hawaiian Historical Legends, by Westervelt (1977:134)*





## Database with:

- Location
- Chronology
- Type of warfare
- Groups and individuals
- Battle name
- Ancillary activities
- References



men drank 'awa constantly. It was understood that theirs was a wealthy lord.

Kanaloa-kua'ana's old priests and aged counselors passed urine like water, a sign of a chief without wealth. Therefore the old men went to urinate in his presence, and Kanaloa-kua'ana noticed how clear it was and asked, "What do you mean by coming to my presence to urinate?" The old men replied, "What was our urine like? What was its appearance, O chief?" The chief said, "I do not know what your urine is like." They answered, "Your priests, counselors, and people have clear urines because they drink copiously of water. That is because you are a poor chief. The urine of the chiefs, priests, and counselors of a wealthy chief is yellow through drinking 'awa and eating rich foods. Their lights never go out at nights." [Their nights are spent in enjoyment.] The chief said, "What must I do?" "Make war on 'Umi-o-ka-lani and take the whole kingdom to yourself." This advice of the old men started a war between Kanaloa-kua'ana and 'Umi-o-ka-lani, the sons of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi. The battle lasted a long time, and Kanaloa-kua'ana won the victory in the big battle at Pu'uwa'awa. Kanaloa-kua'ana had the whole of Kona and Kohala, districts of the island of Hawaii.\*

\* *Ke Au 'Okoa*, Jan. 12, 1871.



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\* *Ke Au 'Okoa*, Jan. 12, 1871.



his half sister Keakea-lani, the daughter of Iwi-kau-i-ka-ua by Ke-aka-mahana. To this union was born a daughter, Ka-lani-kau-lele-ia-iwi.

After Iwi-kau-i-ka-ua left Hawaii, a war began among the chiefs of Hawaii. There was much fighting between the chiefs of Kona and Hilo, but neither was defeated. The chiefs of Kona desired Hilo, Hamakua, and La'a because of the *mamo* and 'o'o feathers, the war canoes, and fine tapas such as the 'o'uholowai, 'eleuli, pala'a', and kalukalu of Waipi'o. The chiefs of Hilo in turn desired warm food and drinking water, and tough and tender fish. Those were the wealth of Kona. The war lasted through several centuries.

It was said that the cause which started the war between the chiefs of Hilo and Kona was the cruel treatment of Kua'ana, chief of Hilo, by the chiefs of Kona. He was the son of 'I by Ho'o-lei-ali'i, a chiefess of Hana. Kua'ana was taken captive by the chiefs of Kona, pushed up and down in the sea at Kawaihae, and barely escaped with his life. He was seen by Palena, a Kohala chief, who said to the chiefs of Kohala and Kona that were forcing Kua'ana under water, "Be careful with the offspring of 'I, lest later the tough root of 'I crawl hither." Palena let Kua'ana escape by canoe, all by himself, and the wind blew the canoe until it landed on Maui. Kua'ana sought his mother, Ho'olei-ali'i, after his life was saved and found her at Hamoa in Hana.

The news of the cruel treatment of Kua'ana, a chief of Hilo, by the chiefs of Kona was heard by those of Hilo, and they prepared for war. Kuahu'ia, son of Kua'ana, was the chief war leader there. Kua'ana



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# Archaeologists have not invested effort to identifying battlefields

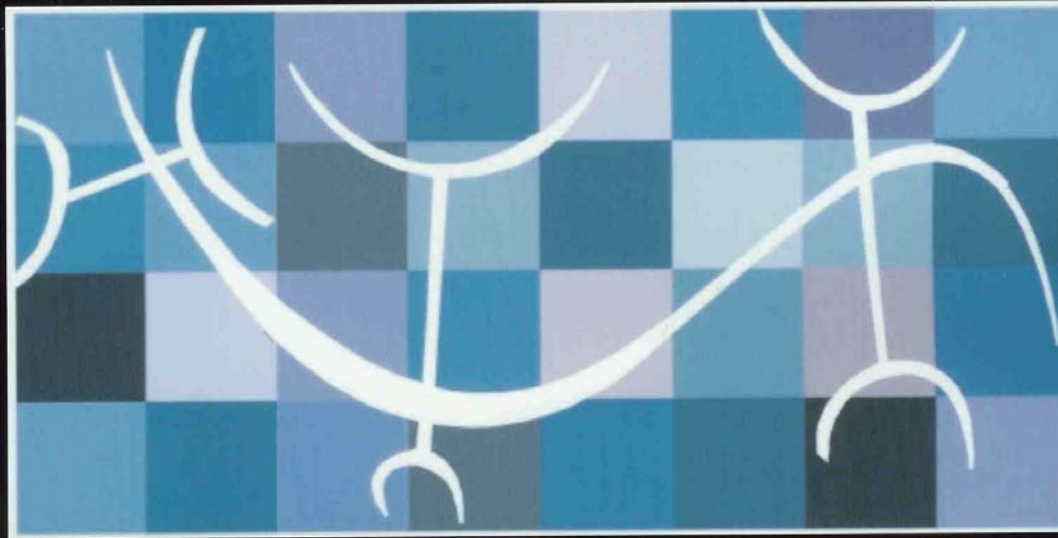
- To date archaeologists have relegated battlefields to that type of site that “doesn’t leave any evidence” .
- Archaeology may be able to provide the details for specific battles.

Kūkā`ilimoku at the Bishop Museum



# *The Reñaca Papers*

**VI International Conference on  
Rapa Nui and the Pacific**



**VI Congreso Internacional  
Sobre Rapa Nui y el Pacífico**

*Edited by*

**C. M. Stevenson**

**J. M. Ramírez**

**F. J. Morin**

**N. Barbacci**

**Easter Island Foundation**



# What kinds of evidence?

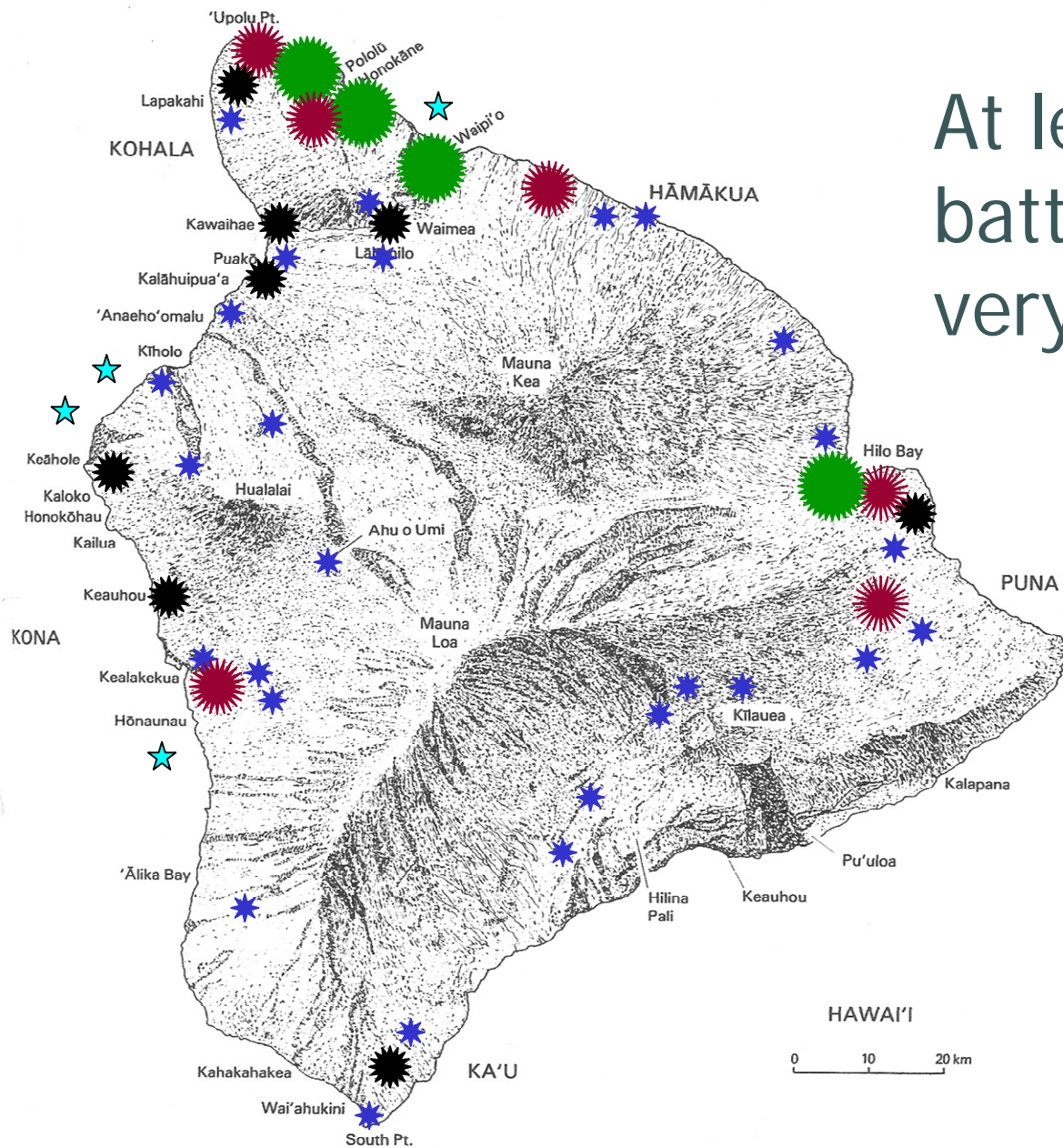
- Treatment of the dead.
- Movement to and from battle field.
- Housing and feeding of invading and defending troops.
- Weapon production, maintenance, use, discard.
- Kapu arrangements for commoners, warriors, high ali'i.
- Ceremonial activity and items.






**Kamehameha I statue in Kapa'au**



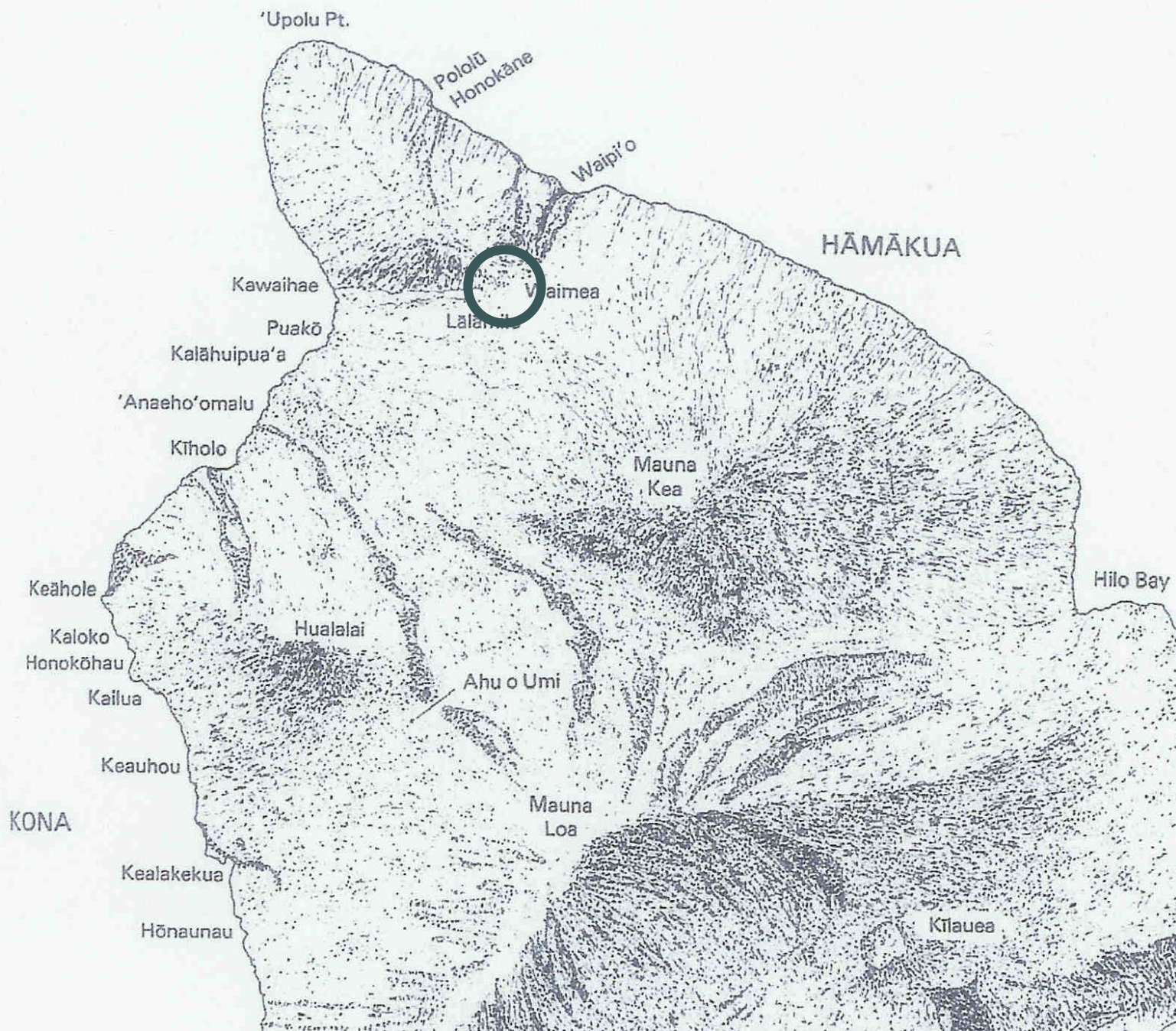


At least this many battles, and likely very many more.



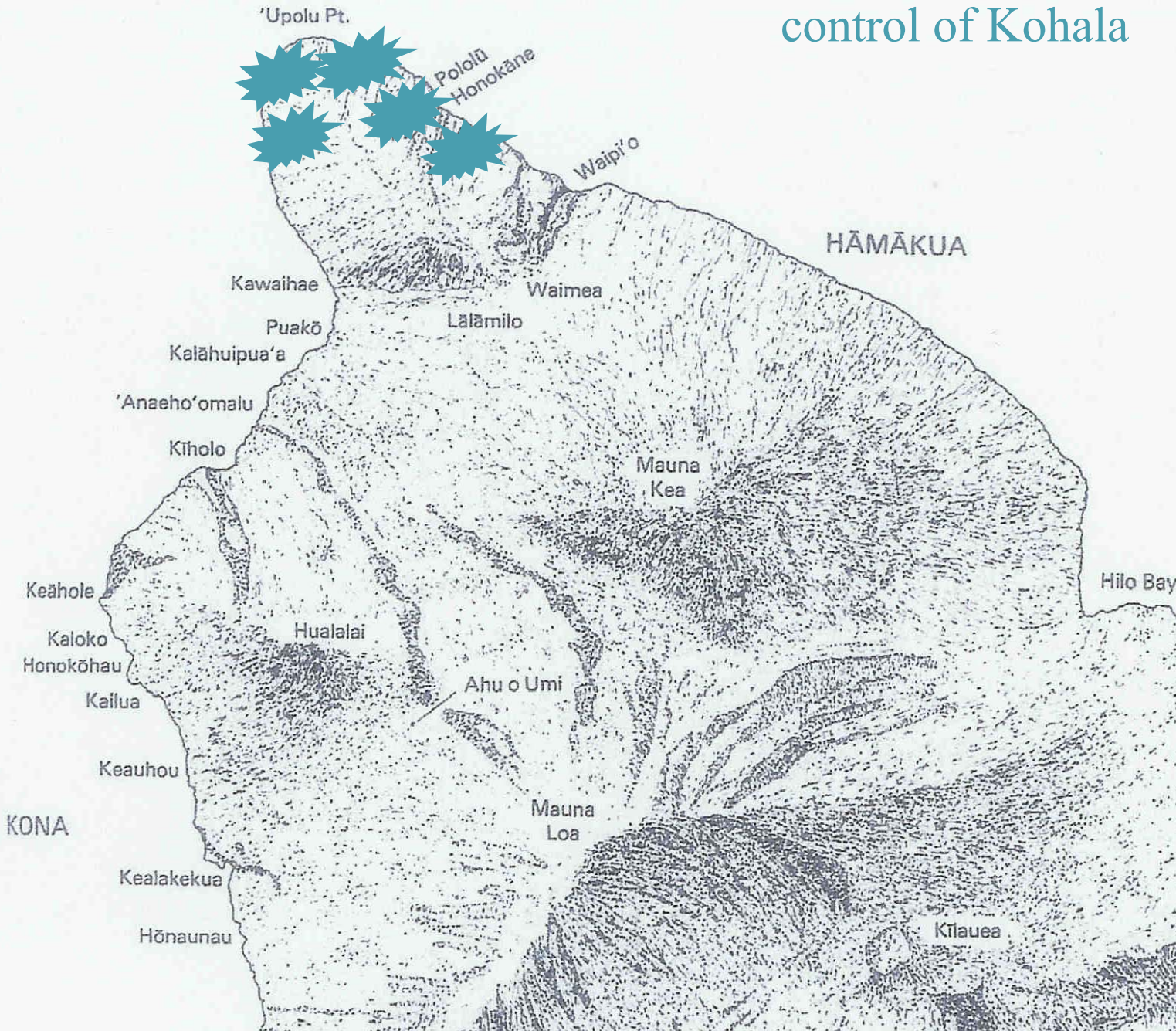
-  1
-  2
-  3
-  4
-  1 at sea







# Early battles for control of Kohala

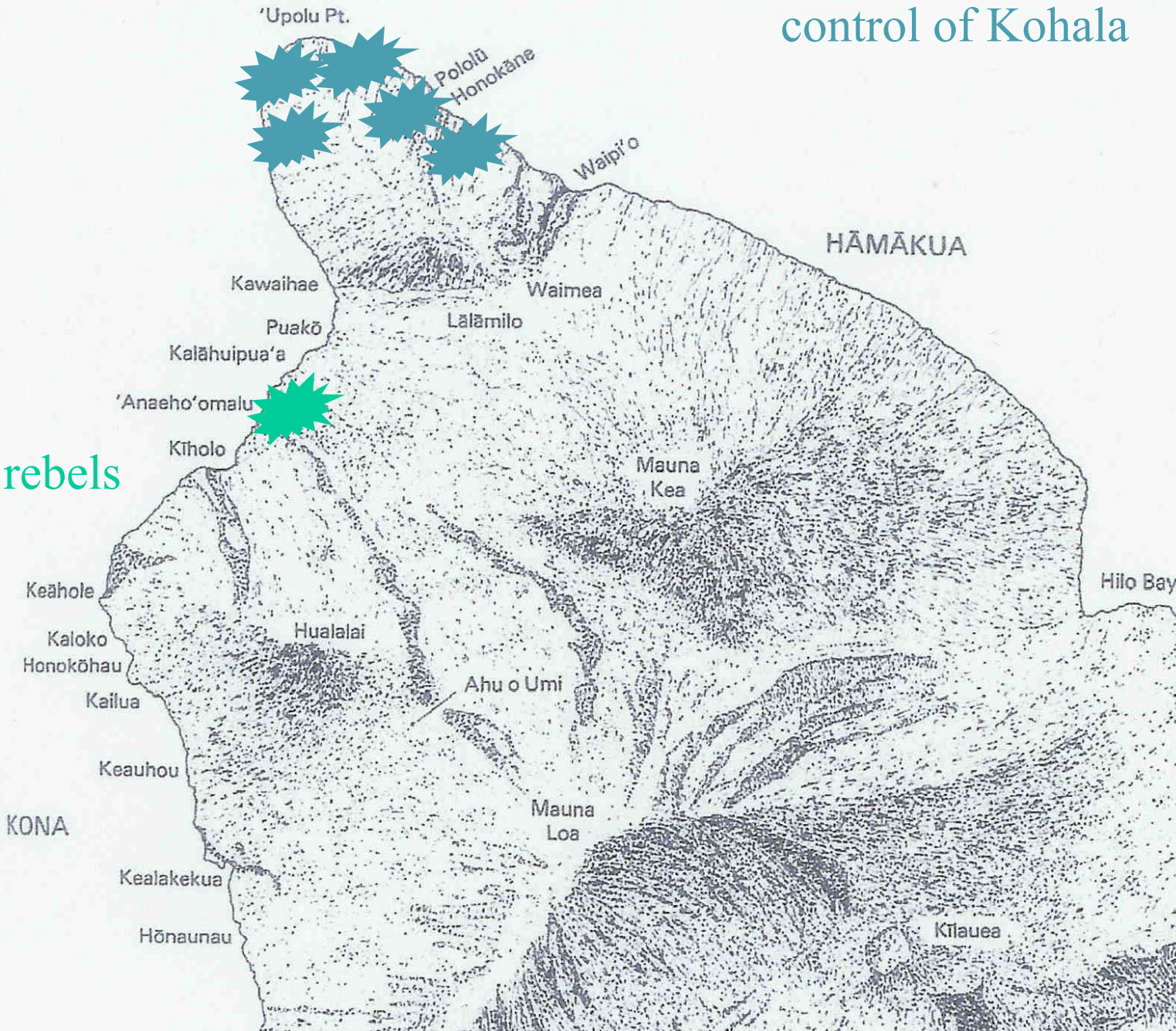




# Early battles for control of Kohala



Kalapana rebels

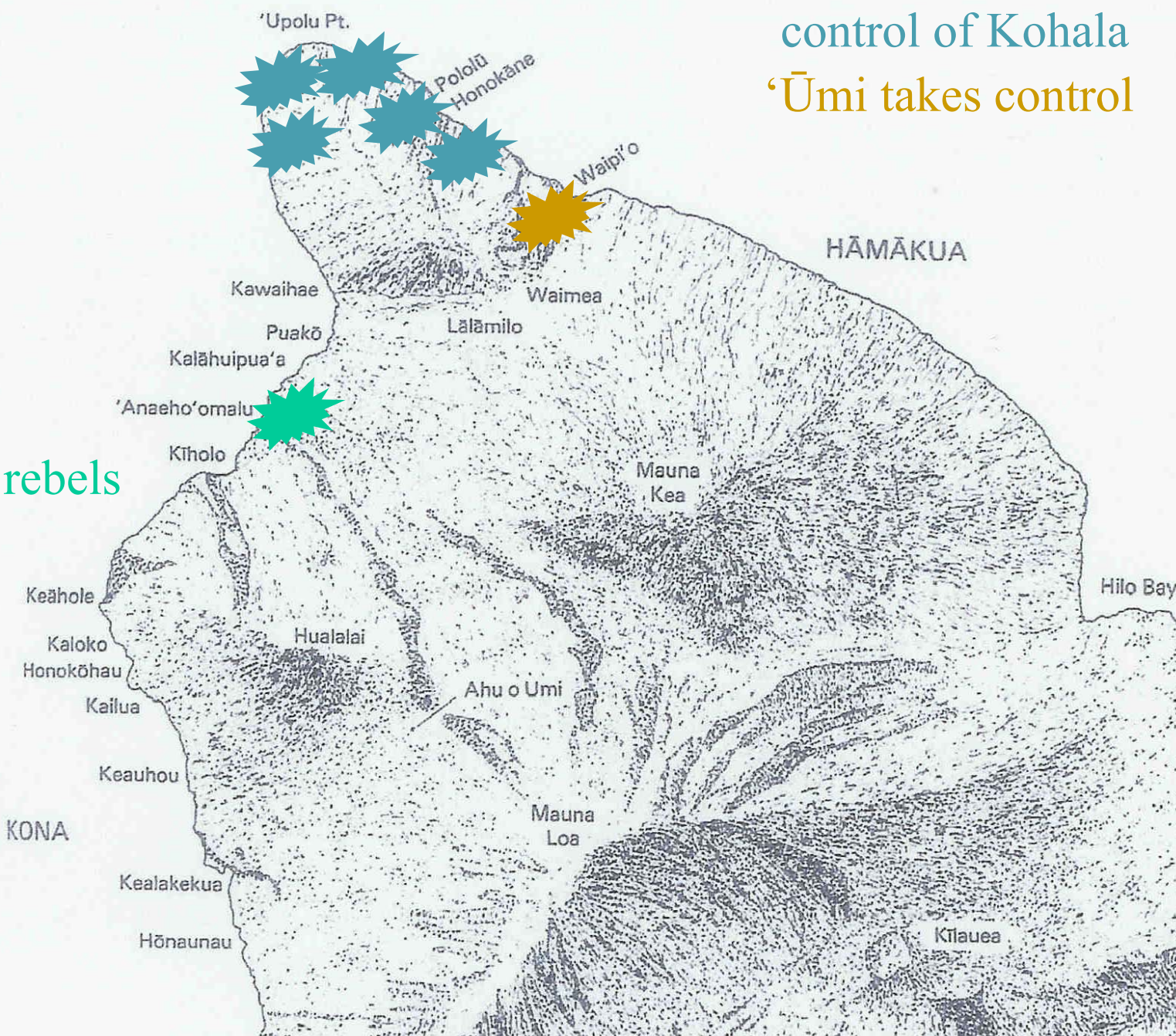




Early battles for control of Kohala  
'Ūmi takes control



Kalapana rebels

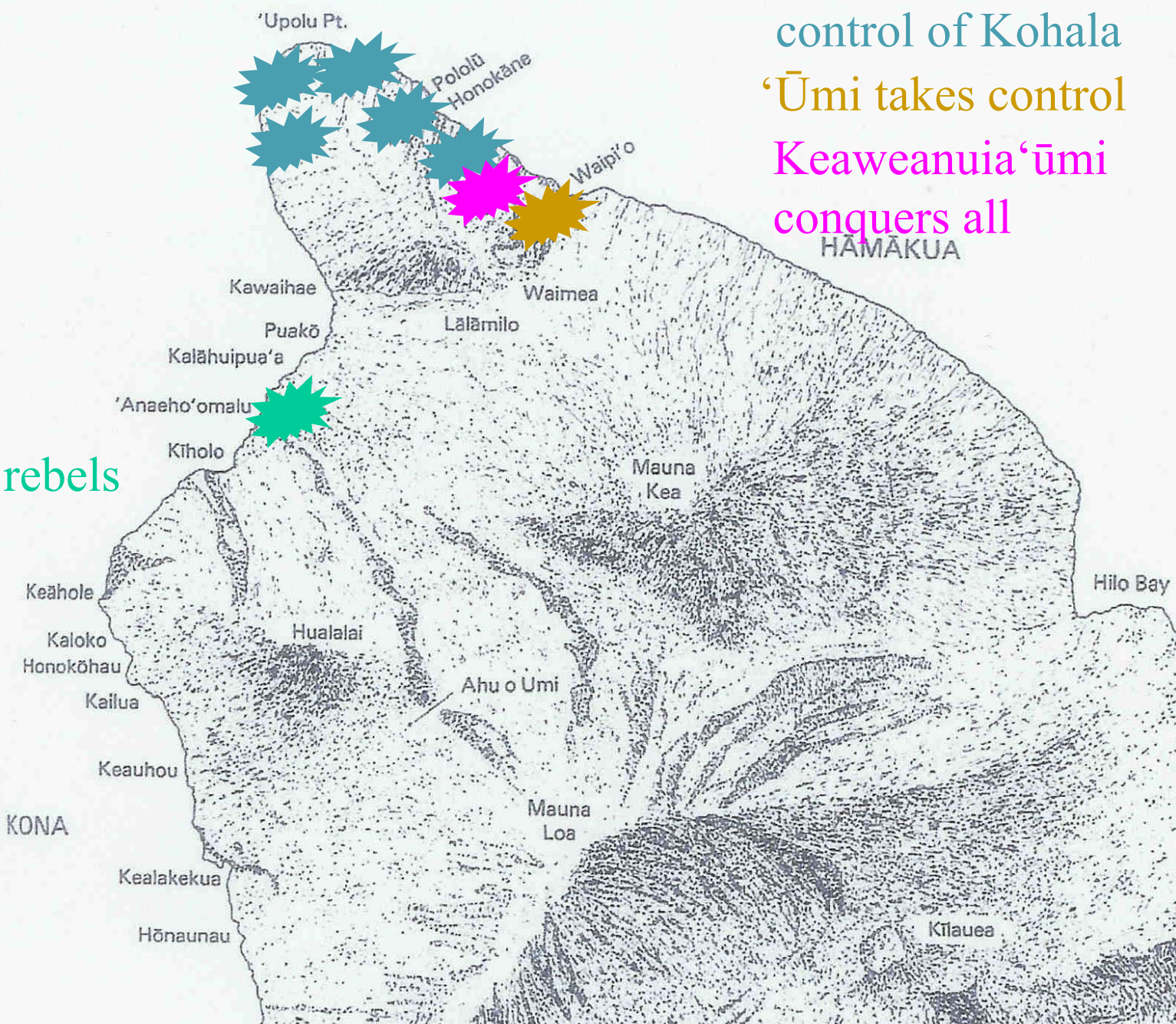






Early battles for control of Kohala  
‘Ūmi takes control  
Keaweanuia ‘ūmi conquers all

Kalapana rebels

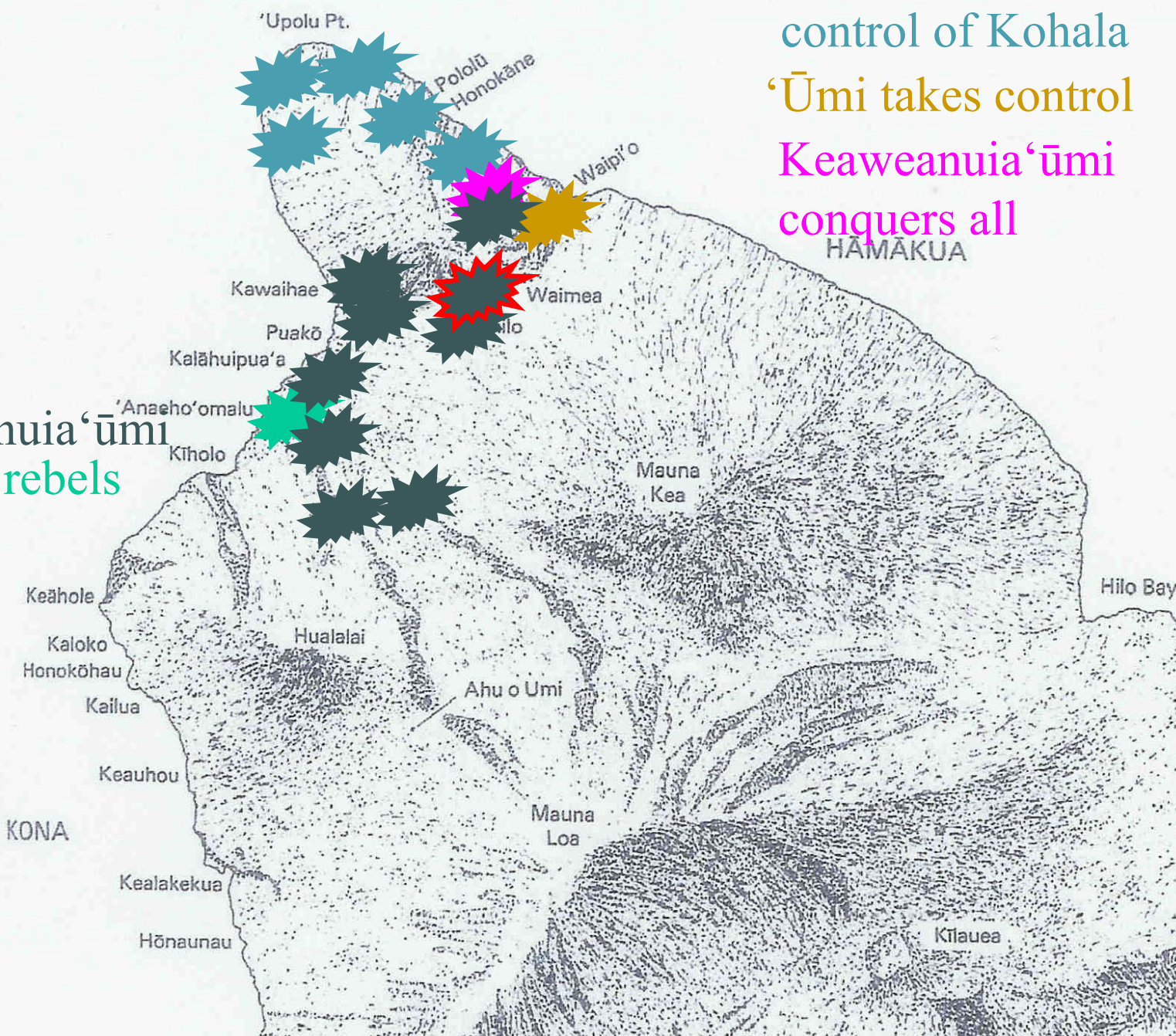






Sons of  
Keaweanuia 'ūmi  
Kalapana rebels

Early battles for  
control of Kohala  
'Ūmi takes control  
Keaweanuia 'ūmi  
conquers all



KONA

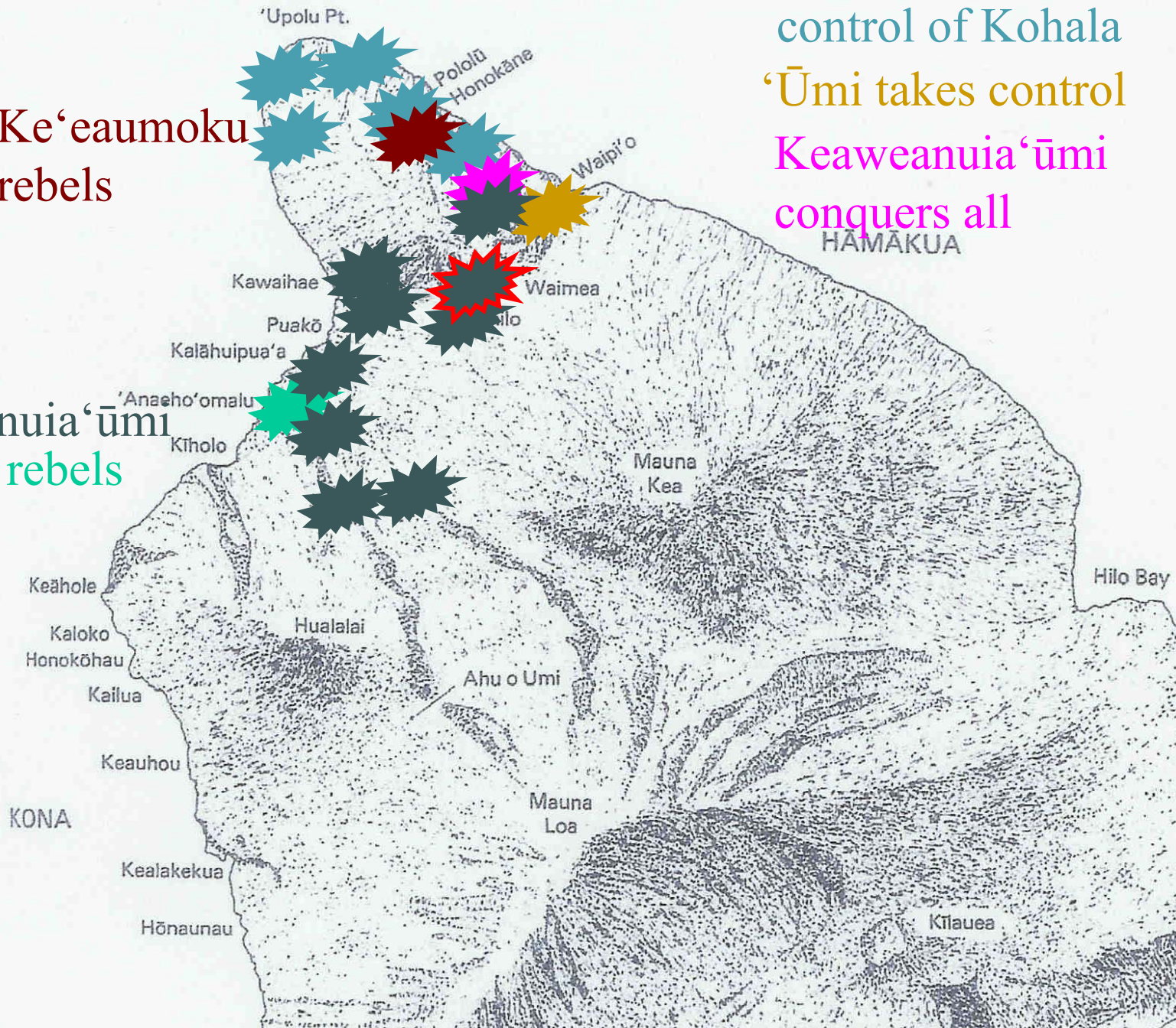




Ke'eumoku rebels

Sons of Keaweanuia'ūmi Kalapana rebels

Early battles for control of Kohala  
'Ūmi takes control  
Keaweanuia'ūmi conquers all





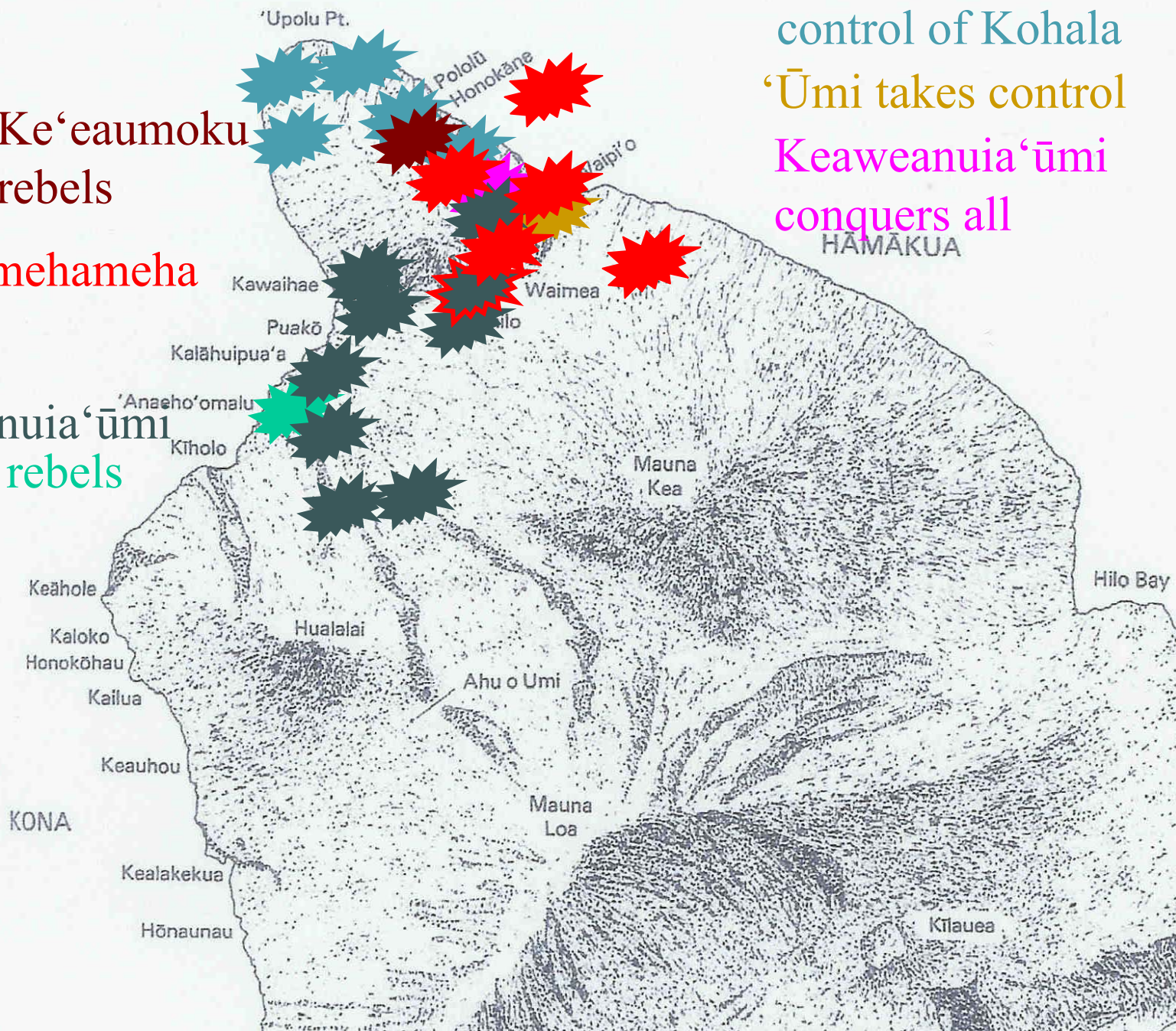


Ke'eumoku  
rebels

Kamehameha

Sons of  
Keaweanuia'ūmi  
Kalapana rebels

Early battles for  
control of Kohala  
'Ūmi takes control  
Keaweanuia'ūmi  
conquers all







FAIR AMERICAN









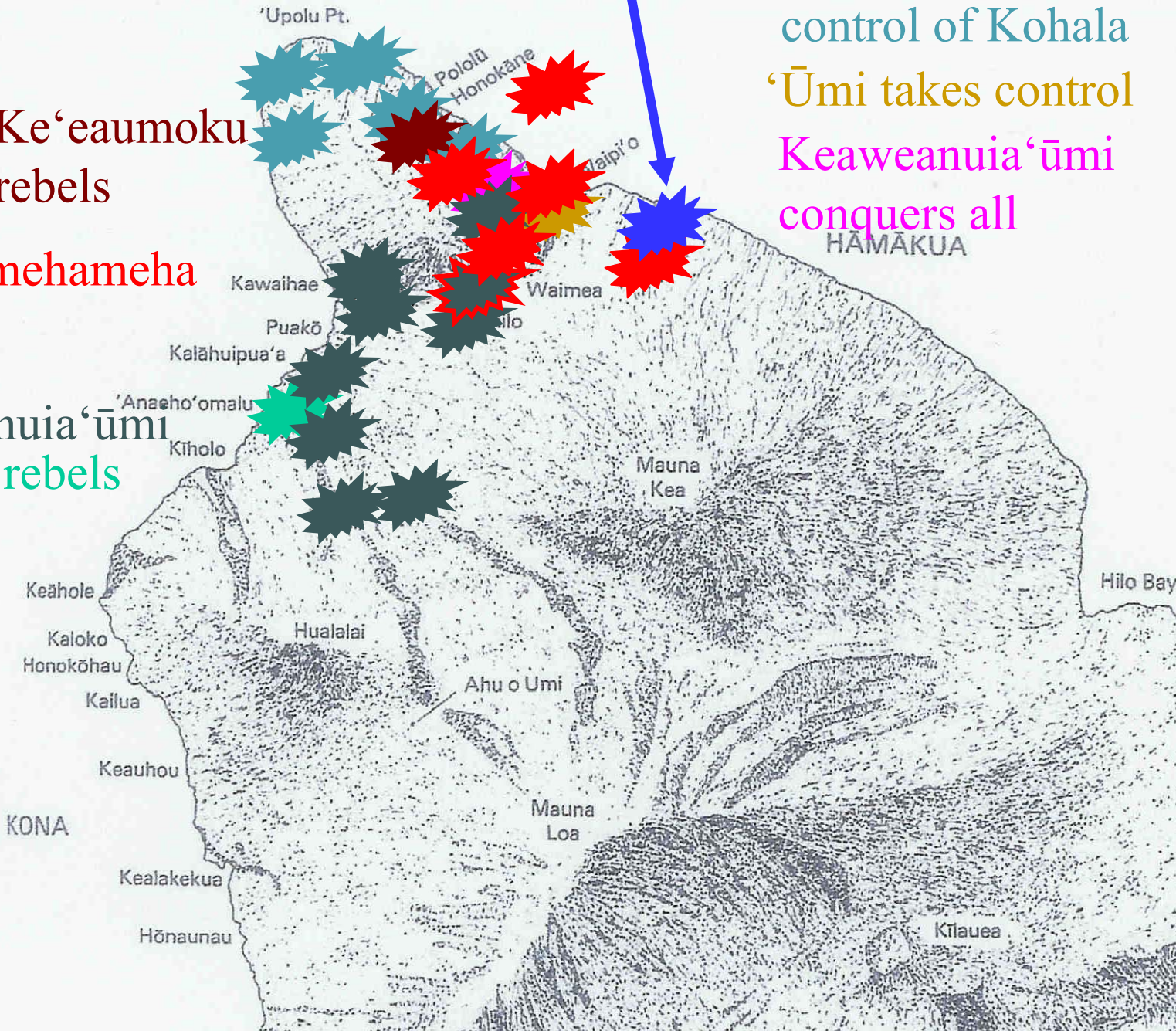
# The last Hawaiian battle

Early battles for control of Kohala  
'Ūmi takes control  
Keaweanuia 'ūmi conquers all

Ke'eumoku rebels

Kamehameha

Sons of Keaweanuia 'ūmi  
Kalapana rebels





# Lonoikamakahiki

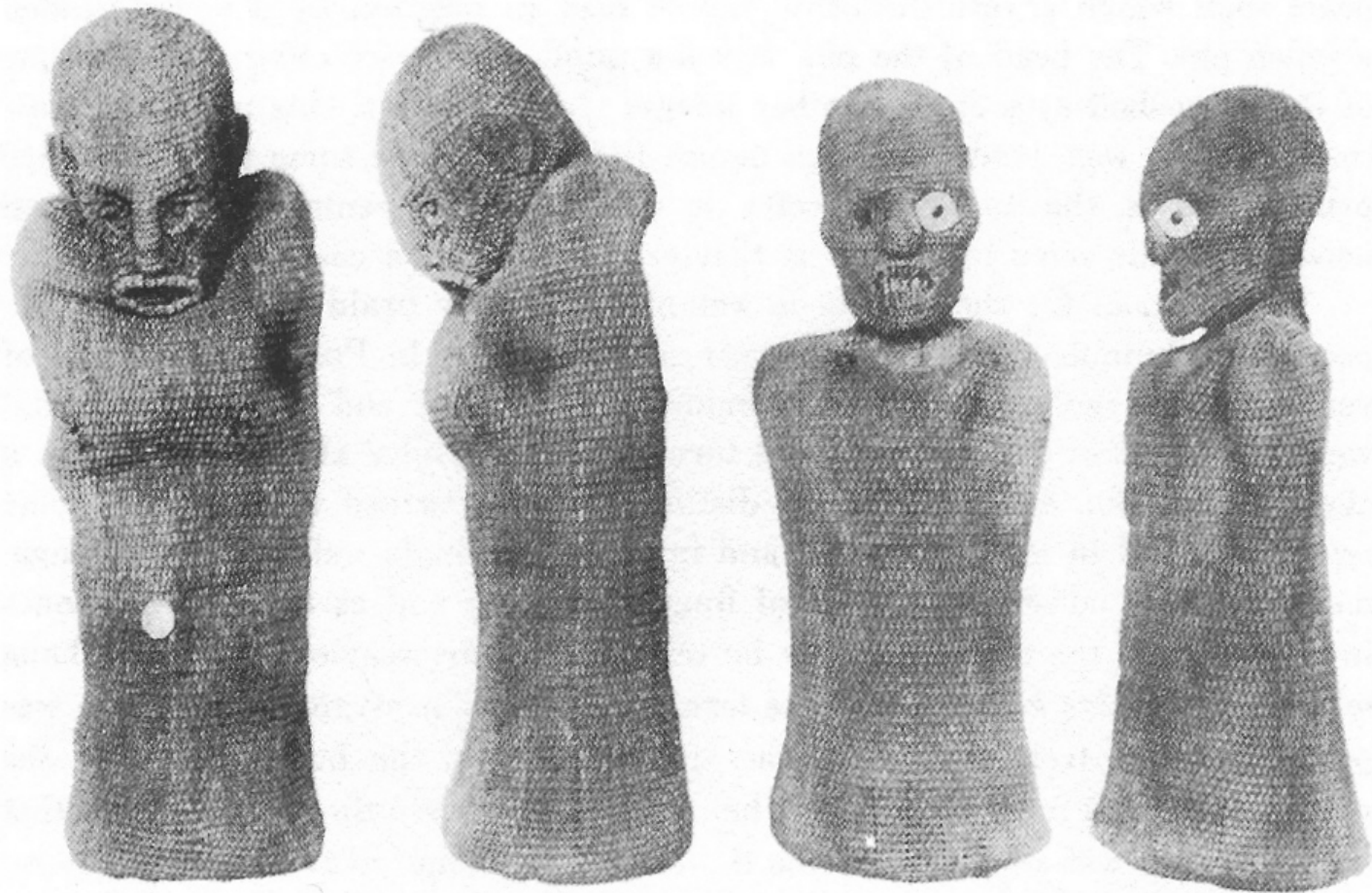
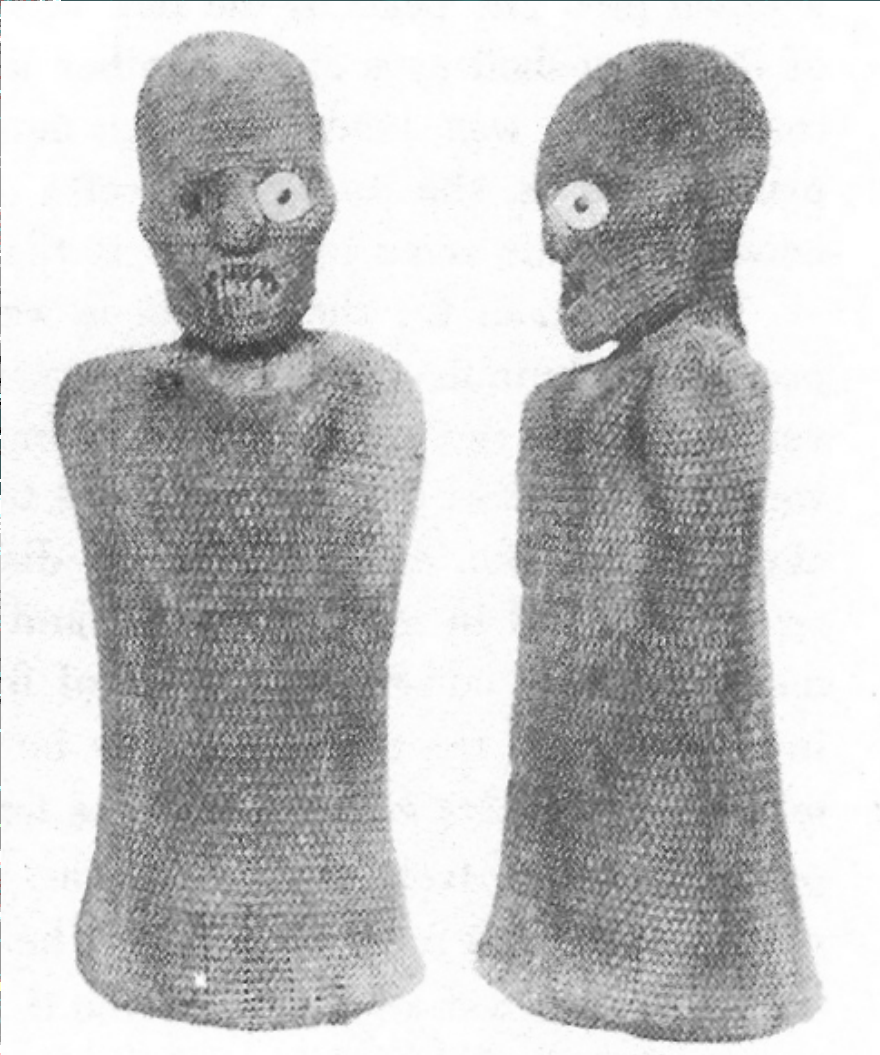


FIGURE 347.—Caskets of woven sennit, front and side view: left, Liloa; right, Lonoikamakahiki.



# Lonoikamakahiki



- Grandson of 'Umi.
- Son of Keaweanuia'umi.
- Greatgrandfather to Keakealaniwahine.
- Ancestor to Kamehameha.
- Celebrated as devout ruler, warrior, in romance, and travel.



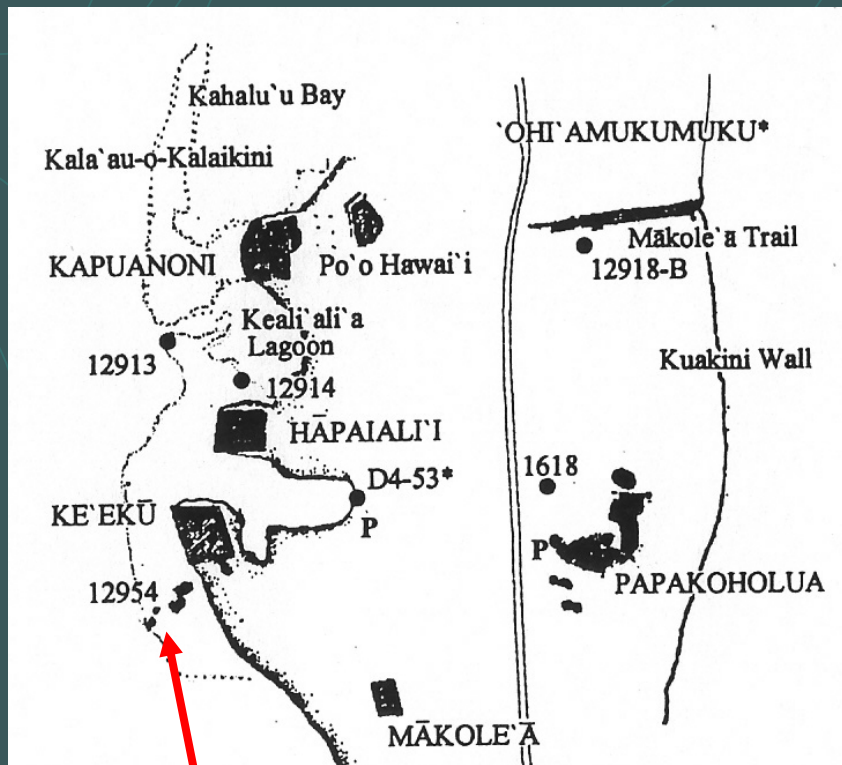
# Kamalālāwalu

- “Maui o Kama”
- Petroglyph commemorating his sacrifice at Ke‘ekū Heiau after defeat from Lonoikamakahiki.
- Ke‘eku Heiau ancient luakini heiau associated with near successful attempt by Kalaunui‘ōhua to conquer all Hawaiian islands.





# Kamalāwalu

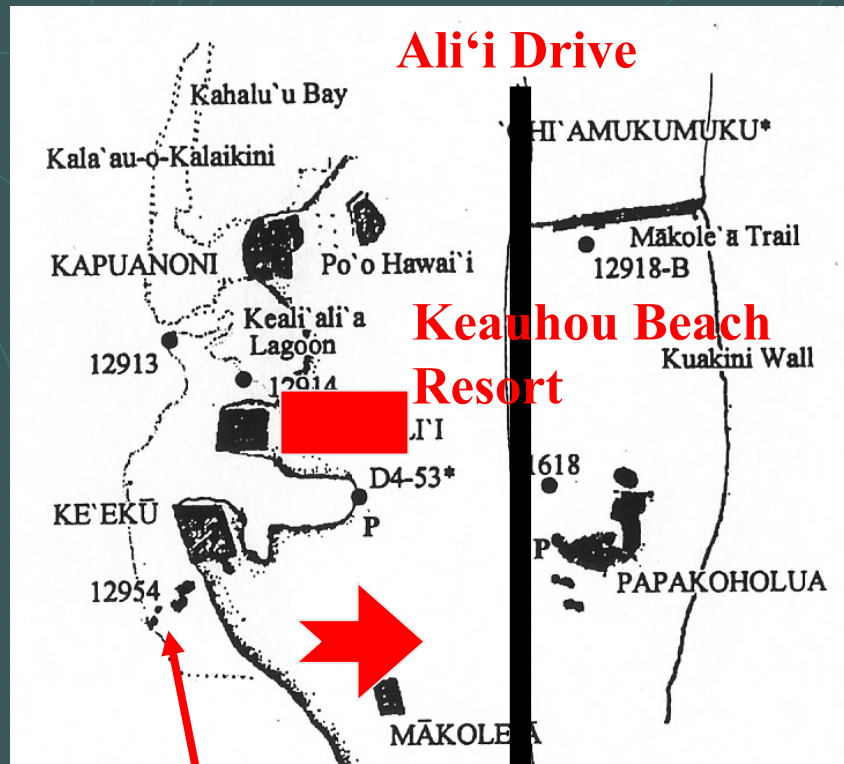


Petroglyph is underwater  
except at very low tide





# Kamalālāwalu



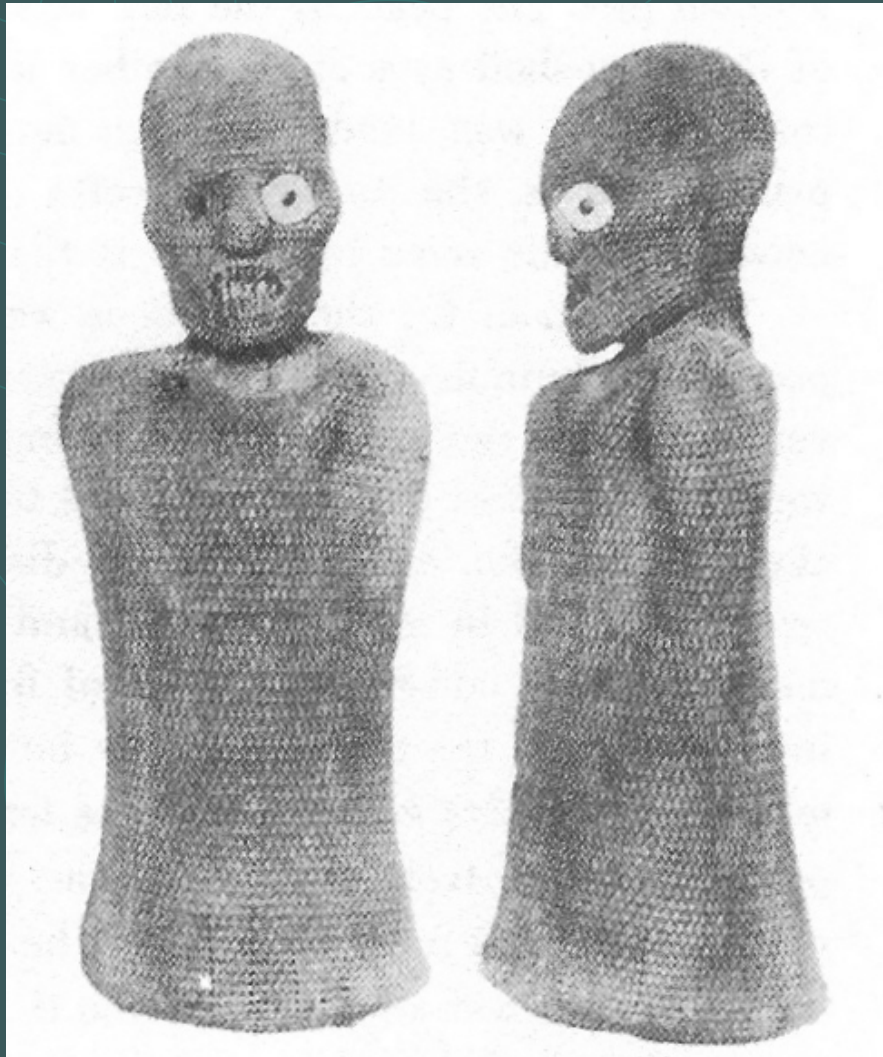
Petroglyph is underwater  
except at very low tide





# Lonoikamakahiki

# Kamalālāwalu





**Kamalāwalu leads  
Maui invasion against  
Lonoikamakahiki**

1650 (Cordy 2000)

**Pu'u'owā'owaka**

**Hökū'ula**

**Small local Waimea force  
attacks Maui army to delay  
their advance**



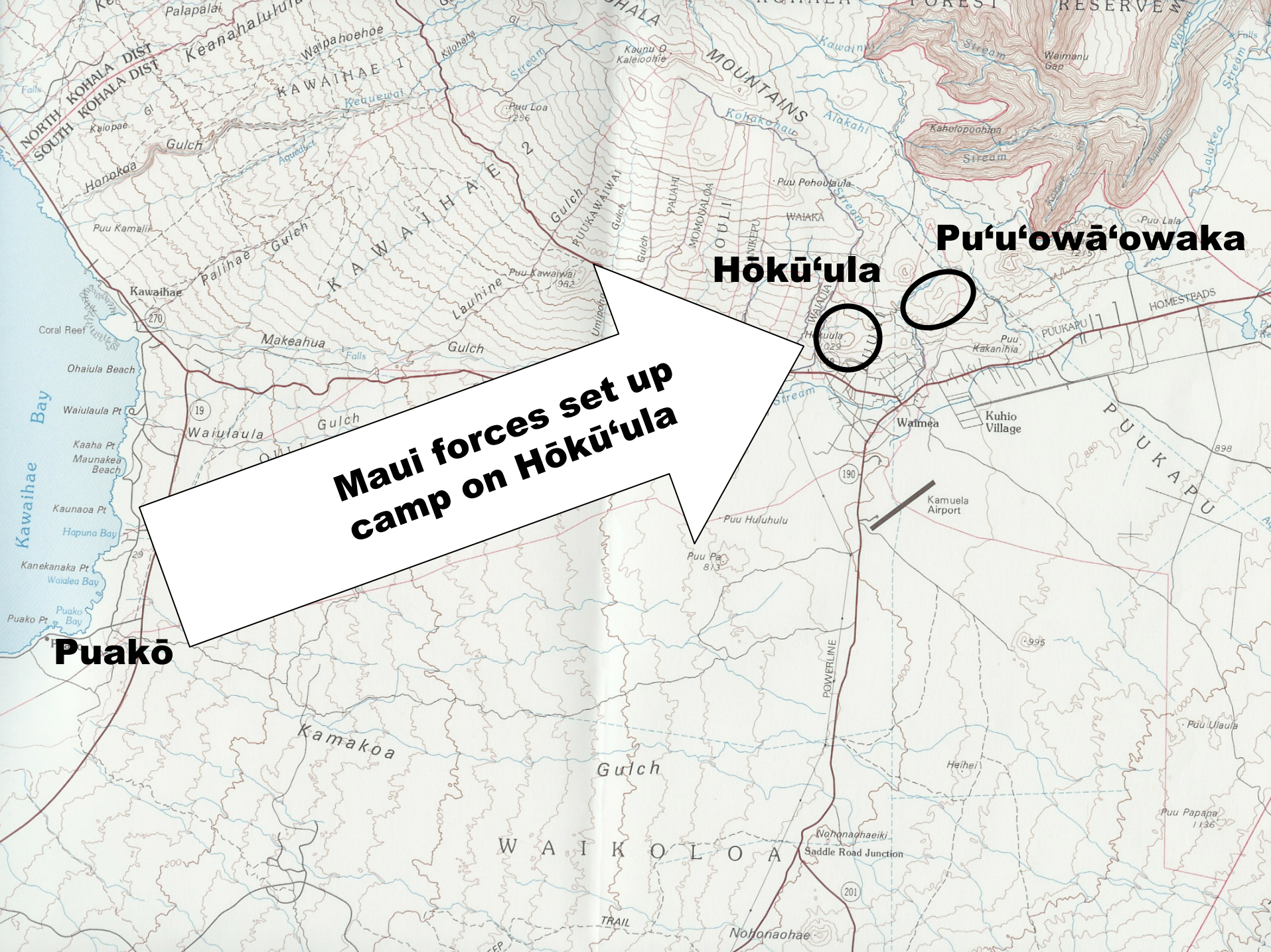
**Huge Maui army led by  
Kamalāwalu lands  
along South Kohala coast**

(Elbert 1959)

(Fornander 1996)

(Kamakau 1992)





**Maui forces set up  
camp on Hōkū'ula**

**Pu'u'owā'owaka  
Hōkū'ula**

**Puakō**



**"Battlefield of  
Pu'oa'oaka"**

96,000

160,000

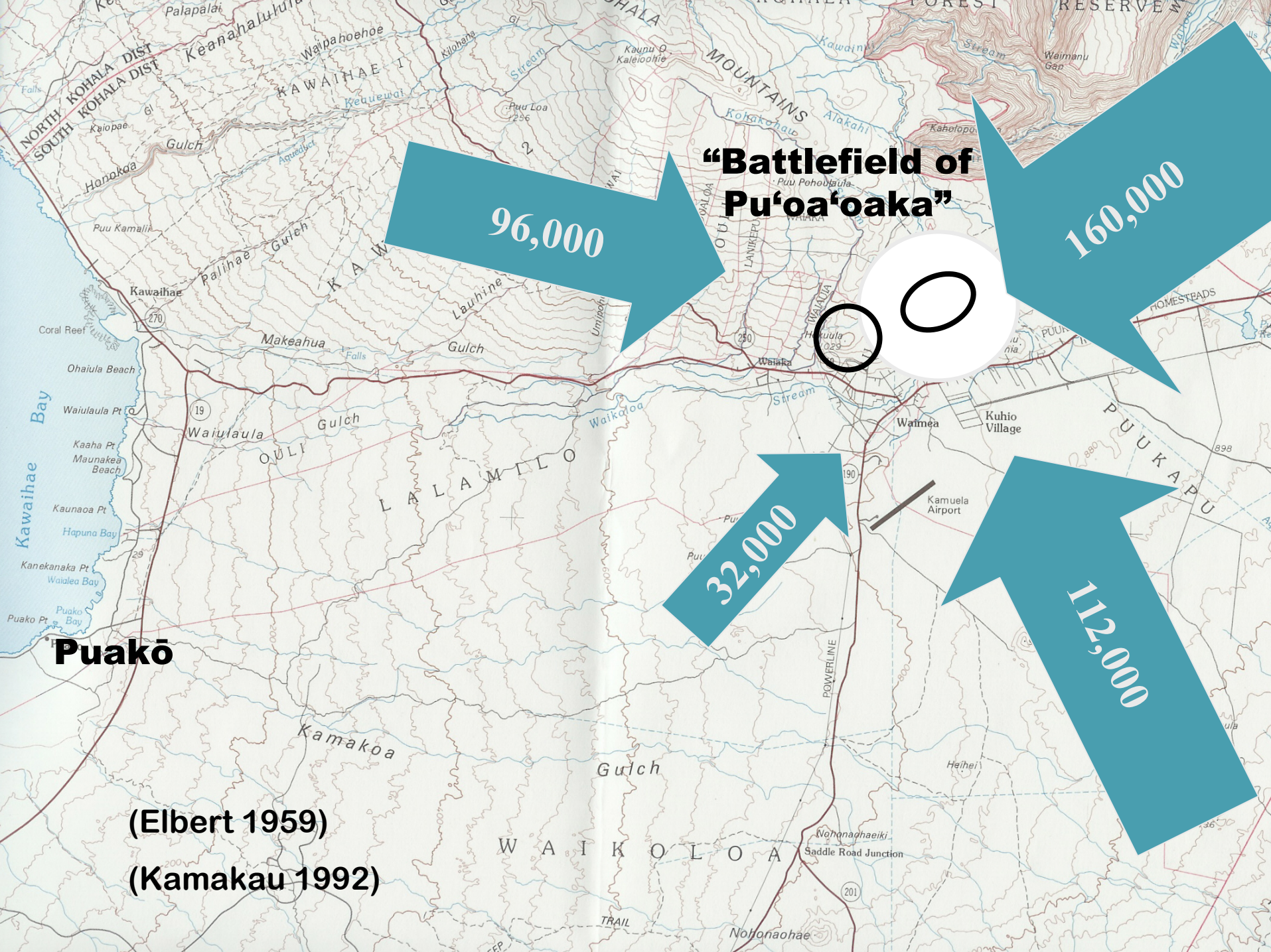
32,000

112,000

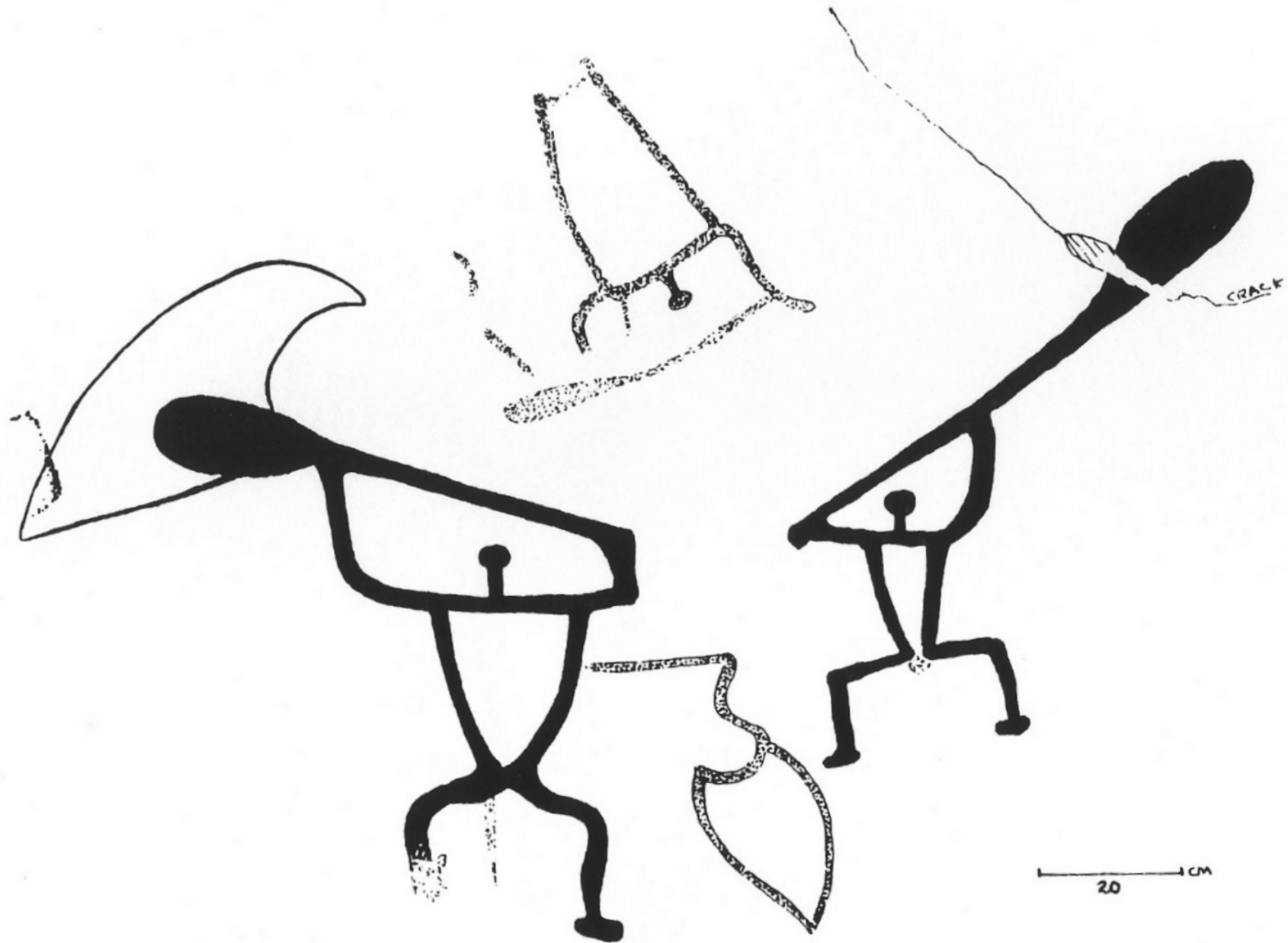
**Puakō**

(Elbert 1959)

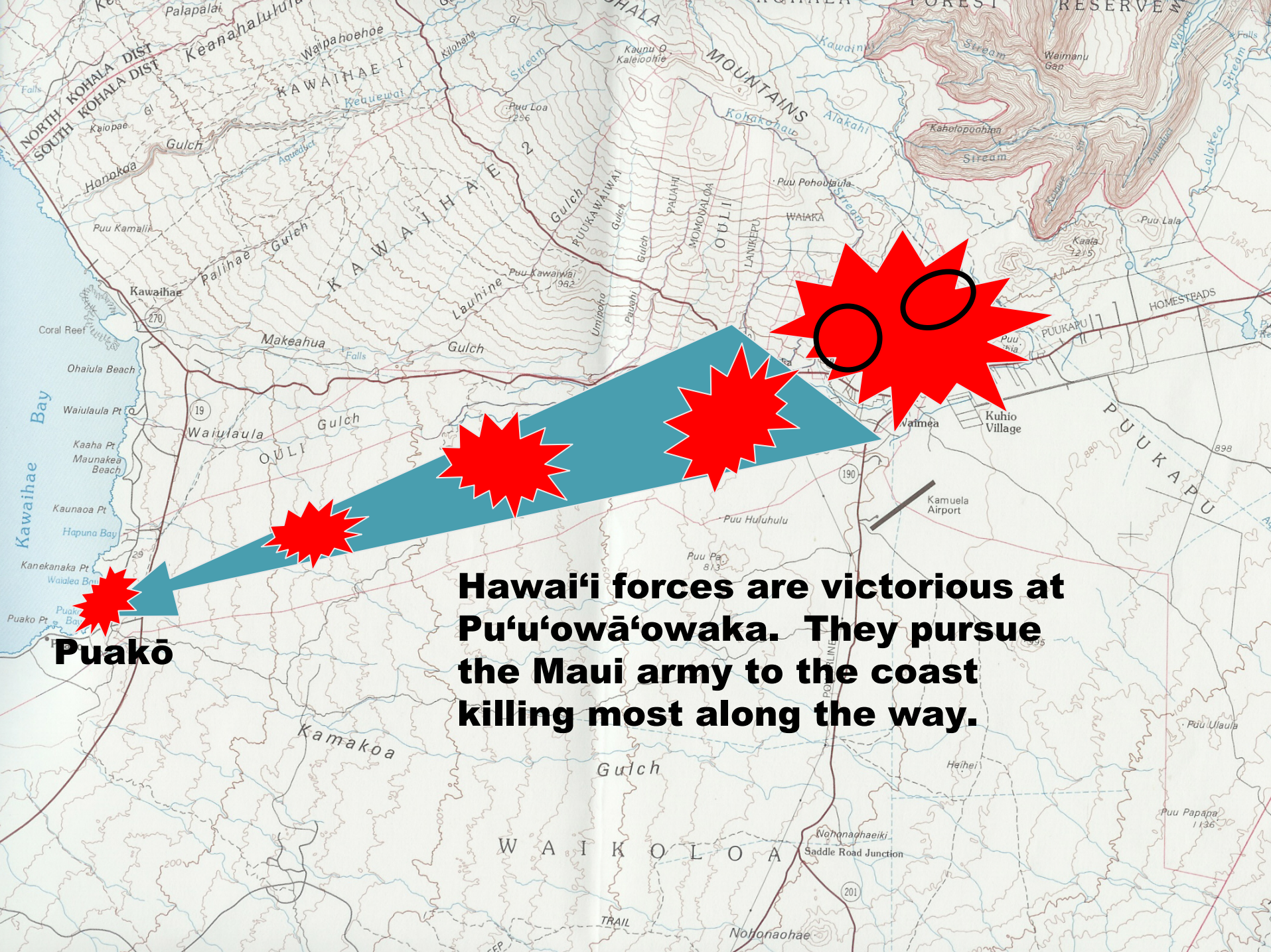
(Kamakau 1992)











**Puakō**

**Hawai'i forces are victorious at Pu'u'owā'owaka. They pursue the Maui army to the coast killing most along the way.**







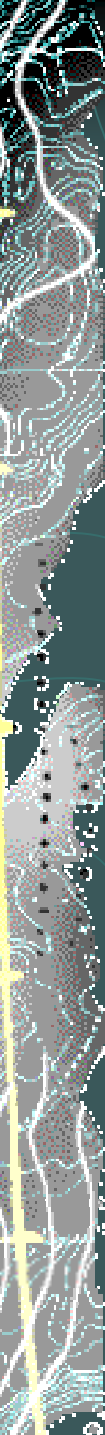
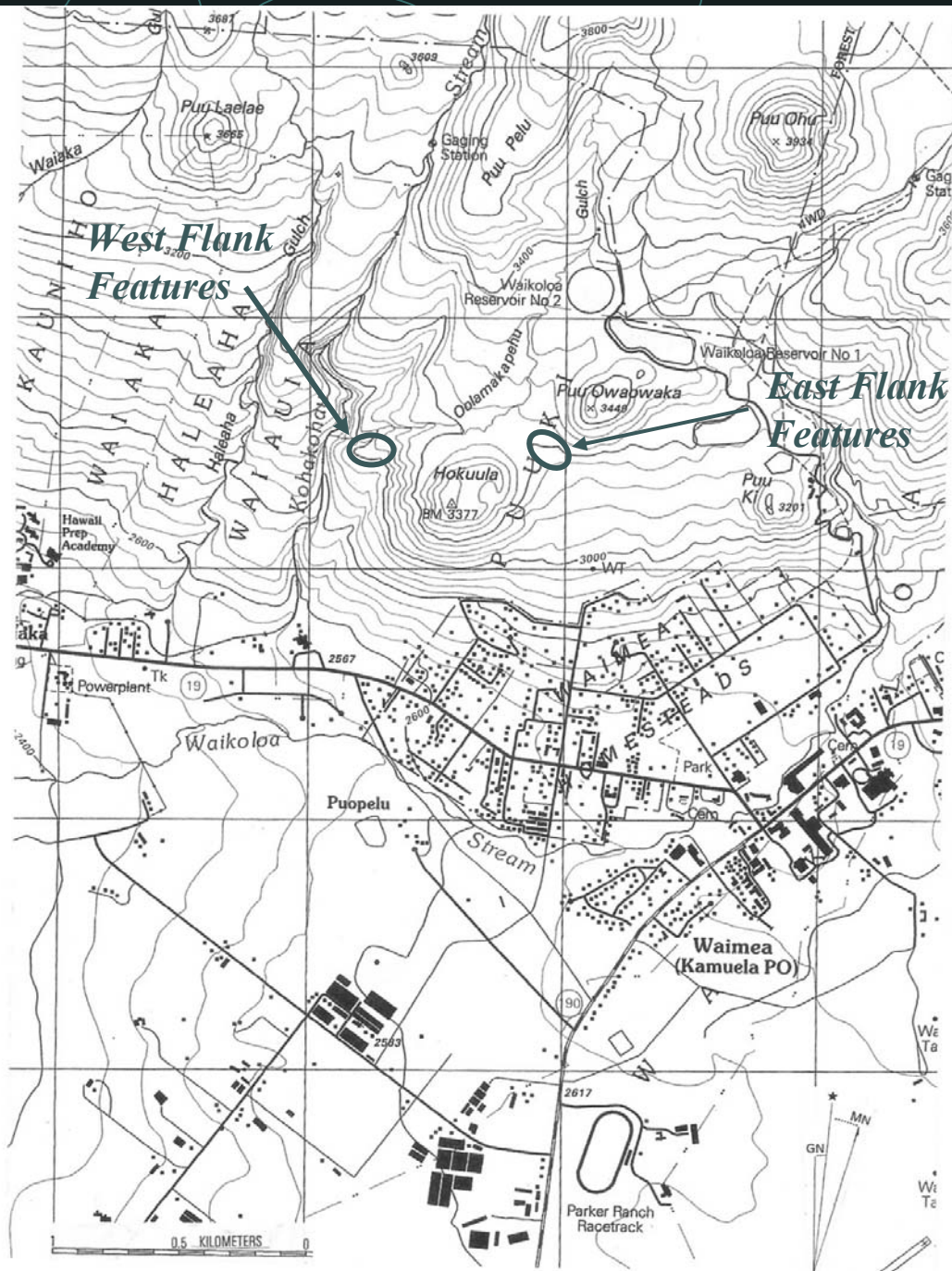
**Hōkū'ula**



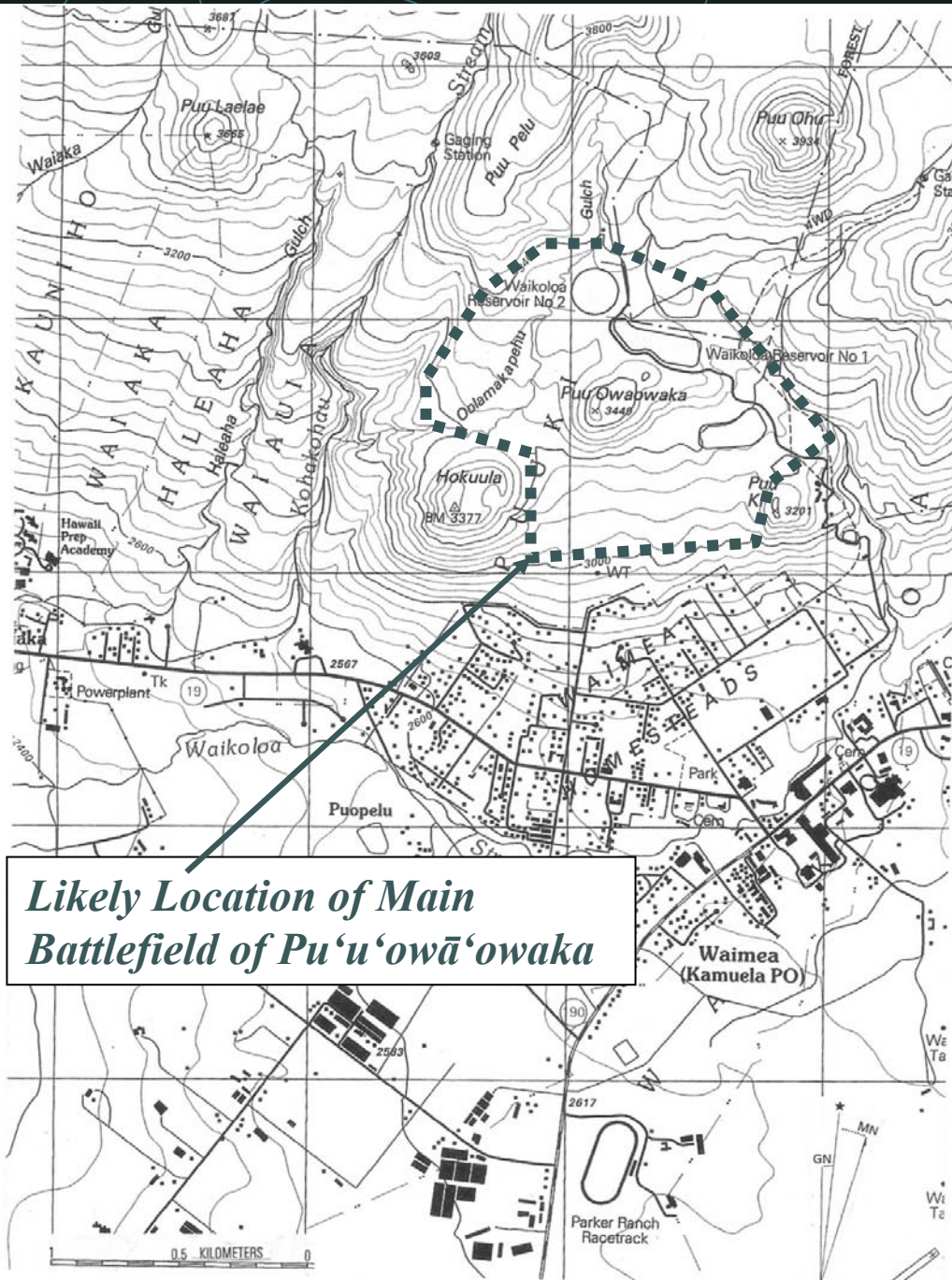
**Pu'u'owā'owaka**













# NATIONAL REGISTER BULLETIN

Technical information on comprehensive planning, survey of cultural resources, and registration in the National Register of Historic Places



U.S. Department of the Interior  
National Park Service  
Cultural Resources  
Interagency Resources Division

## GUIDELINES FOR IDENTIFYING, EVALUATING, AND REGISTERING AMERICA'S HISTORIC BATTLEFIELDS





# The Number of Battlefields on the Mainland on the National Register of Historic Places

War Period	Time Period	#	%
Colonial Wars	1564 to 1783	<b>62</b>	26
Civil War	1861 to 1865	<b>82</b>	35
Native American Wars	1866 to 1900	<b>21</b>	9
Other	Various	<b>70</b>	30
TOTAL		<b>236</b>	100

\*Compiled from Andrus (1992:4).







# Hawai'i is no stranger to conflict

But those places are not being preserved.

Only a few of the places of the turbulent struggles for power in the Hawaiian islands are precisely located on the landscape.

Archaeological methods can contribute to locating them.

Communities can insist on preservation and assist in preserving them.







# The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)

- Established in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and amended several times since then.
- It establishes modes of recognition for places of significance in the history of the nation.
- Identifies places that must be considered prior to destruction or alteration by construction.



# National Historic Preservation Act

```
graph TD; A[National Historic Preservation Act] --> B[Listed on the NRHP]; A --> C[Determined to be eligible for listing on the NRHP]; B --> D["NRHP committee  
Secretary of Interior"]; D --> E["Nice plaque  
Tax breaks  
Show off to friends"]; C --> F["State Historic Preservation Officer  
(SHPO = SHPD)"]; F --> G["Agencies must consider  
the effect that their  
undertakings will have"];
```

Listed  
on the NRHP

NRHP committee  
Secretary of Interior

Nice plaque  
Tax breaks  
Show off to friends

Determined to be  
eligible for listing  
on the NRHP

State Historic  
Preservation Officer  
(SHPO = SHPD)

Agencies must **consider**  
the effect that their  
undertakings will have



# When an agency has an undertaking

They must find  
all historic places

Consult with  
concerned parties

Evaluate significance

Consider the effect the  
undertaking will have

Decide what to do next





# NHPA of 1966 does not mandate preservation of significant sites

The agency decides to:

Mitigate adverse effect  
to the properties

Consult  
Alter project  
Preserve places

Proceed with project  
no matter what

They document that they  
followed procedures,  
then bulldoze away






REPEAT:

There is nothing in the NHPA that demands, requires, insures, stipulates, etc. that sites have to be preserved





The NHPA of 1966 only tells agencies that they have to consider the effect that their undertaking (project) will have on historic places

- The only penalties that the NHPA hands out is if the agency does not follow the steps of finding, consulting, evaluating, and considering.
- Once that is done, the NHPA has no more teeth.
- It is up to the community to make its self heard during the consultation process (Mauna Kea telescopes, for example).



A vertical strip on the left side of the slide shows a topographic map of the Waimea area. It features contour lines, a yellow line representing a road or path, and several small yellow squares marking specific locations. The map is partially obscured by the dark background of the slide.

# Relevance to Waimea

- If a property is on the NRHP BEFORE an undertaking starts, then there is no excuse for agencies to ignore it. They SHOULD plan in their development with that in mind!
- Having a NRHP property already known at a place is extremely rare.



# Relevance to Waimea

- Usually places are not identified as significant until the agency has hired archaeologists to go out and find them.
- And 99.9% of the time, the agency has already designed their project before they hire the archaeologists.
- This is the essence of the ubiquitous problems in this kind of work: development always **FINDS OUT LATE IN THEIR PROCESS** that they have sites to deal with. They are then more inclined to dig in their heels, and find ways to minimize their alterations.



# State preservation regulations (Chapter 6E) are similar to the federal ones (NHPA of 1966)

- Getting sites LISTED on the NRHP brings them to the attention of everyone BEFORE development process is set in motion.
- It is more difficult to fight for the preservation of a site that only gets LISTED, because by that time the development is already well underway.

# He lā koa, he lā he`e

*“A day to be brave,  
a day to flee”*

In life, there is  
triumph and defeat.

In war, there is  
winning and losing.

‘Ōlelo No`eau

Pukui (1983:79)

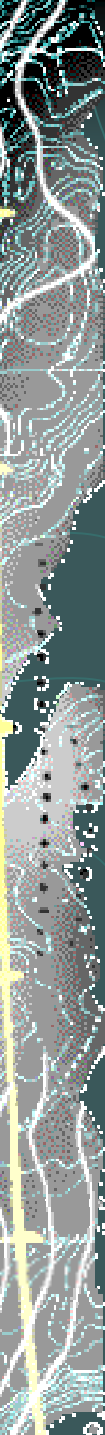
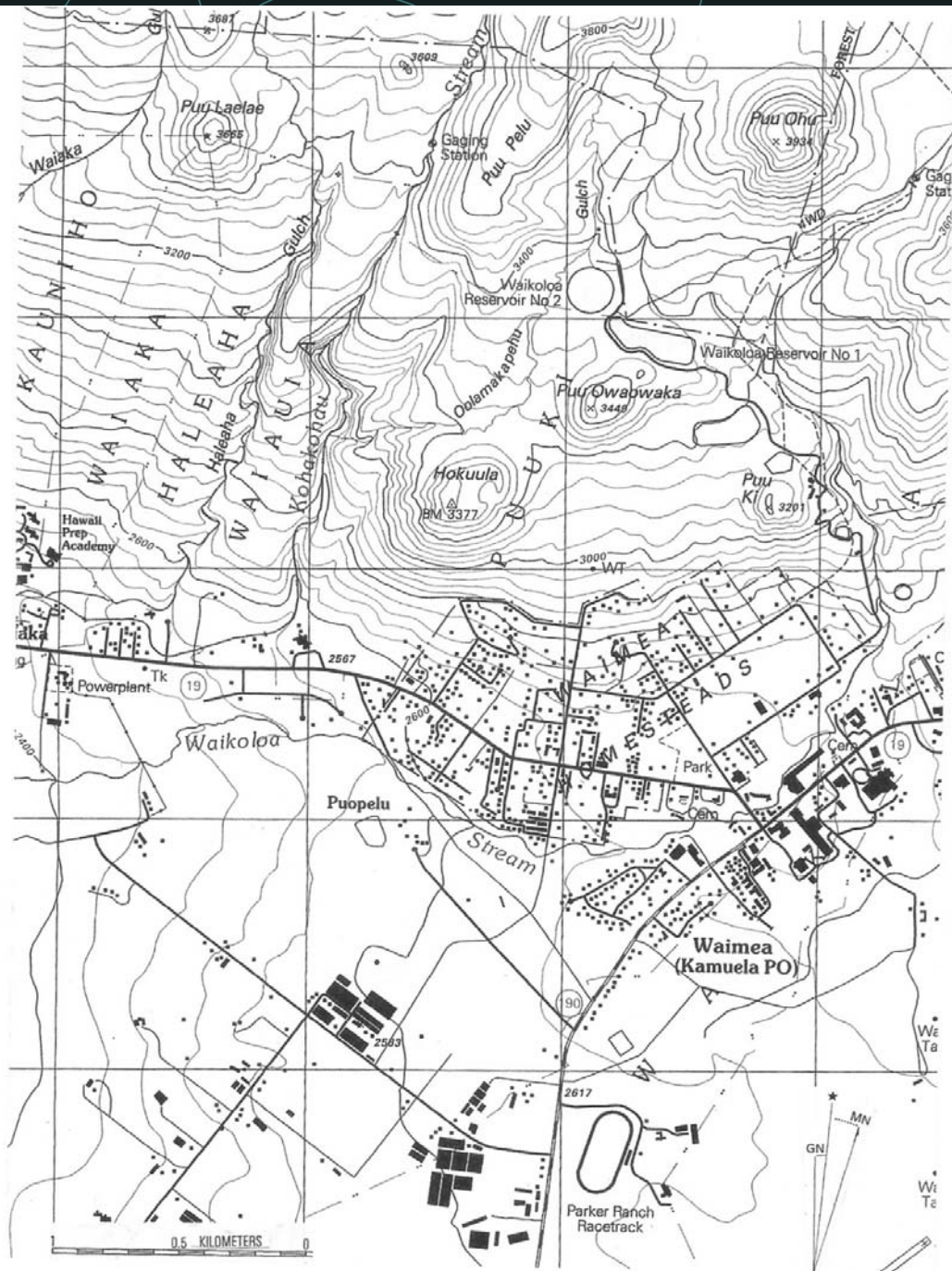
Thank you.  
Questions?

Statue of Kamehameha I. Honolulu.

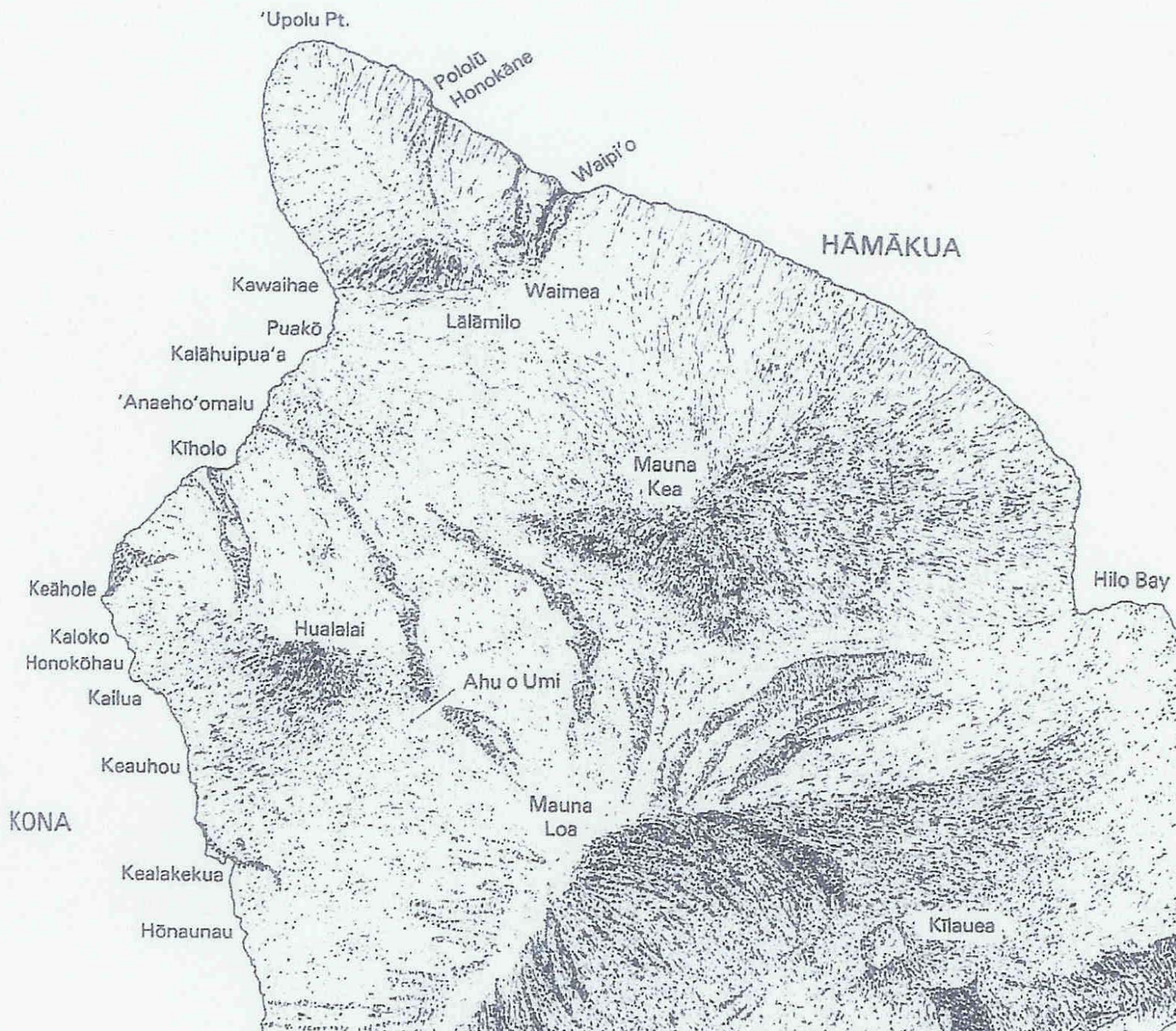












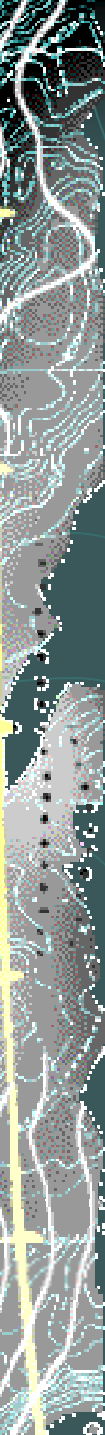
*"Johnny, if a boy dies for his country the glory is his forever, isn't it?"*

Confederate soldier Will Pope's dying words to his friend Johnny Green, Shiloh battlefield, Tennessee, April 7, 1862. <sup>1</sup>

*"Through those motels and fried-chicken stands, Pickett's men charged. The first line faltered in the Burger King parking lot and regrouped next to the Tastee Freeze."*

Tour guide standing on Cemetery Ridge, pointing to the west of Gettysburg National Military Park, 1991. <sup>2</sup>





‘A‘ole e ku ka ikaika i kēia pakela niu; ke pō‘ai mai nei ka ‘ohu ma uka, ma kai, ma ‘o a ma‘ane‘i.

*One cannot show his strength against such odds; the rain clouds are circling from the upland, the lowland, and from all sides.*

Said by Maheleana, a warrior of Kualī‘i, when he saw his small company surrounded by the enemy.

In Mary Kawena Pukui’s *‘Ōlelo No‘eau* (1983 page 26)