

**NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES/  
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM**

# **WARNING**

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**X RESTRICTED INFORMATION IN THIS DOCUMENT  
HAS BEEN REDACTED**

**REDACTION DATE 1/17/24 (IF APPLICABLE)**

**NOTES:**

FILE (PROPERTY) NAME: Pu'ukoholā Heiau

LOCATION (STATE/ TERRITORY): Hawai'i

LOCATION (COUNTY/ PARISH): Hawai'i

# NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 12-2015)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

## PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

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### 1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

**Historic Name:** Pu'ukoholā Heiau

**Other Name/Site Number:** Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane/Kikiako'i, John Young Homestead, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site; Puukohola Historic District; PUHE 1; PUHE 2; PUHE 3

**Street and Number (if applicable):** 62-3601 Kawaihae Road

**City/Town:** Kawaihae

**County:** Hawai'i

**State:** Hawai'i

### 2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

**NHL Criteria:** Criteria 1, 2, 4, and 6

**NHL Criteria Exceptions:**

**NHL Theme(s):**

I. Peopling Places

1. family and the life cycle
3. community and neighborhood
5. ethnic homelands
6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization

III. Expressing Cultural Values

5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design

IV. Shaping the Political Landscape

2. governmental institutions
3. military institutions and activities

VIII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

1. international relations
2. commerce
3. expansionism and imperialism
4. immigration and emigration policies

**Period(s) of Significance:** AD 1790–1835

**Significant Person(s)** (only Criterion 2): Kamehameha I; John Young; Liholiho (Kamehameha II)

**Cultural Affiliation** (only Criterion 6): Native Hawaiian; Transitional Post-Contact Hawaiian/Western

**Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder:** Kapoukahi; Kamehameha I; John Young

**Historic Contexts:** *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Odo 2017)

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

\_X Yes

\_\_\_ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 42.46 acres

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places):

Datum if other than WGS84:

Latitude: Longitude:

OR

UTM References: UTM Coordinates [NAD 83 (PA11)]

Table with 4 columns: Point, Zone, Easting, Northing. Rows A through N.

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O	5N	204,941.61	2,217,203.00
P	5N	204,943.34	2,217,132.17
Q	5N	204,902.45	2,217,104.70
R	5N	204,924.37	2,216,969.99
S	5N	204,756.30	2,216,866.81
T	5N	204,771.40	2,216,725.13

### 3. Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary is shown as a red polygon on the four maps accompanying this form.

### 4. Boundary Justification:

The boundary of the 42.46-acre Pu'ukoholā Heiau Historic District National Historic Landmark encompasses Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau, the Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau Site, the Stone Leaning Post, the John Young Homestead, and the projected location of Pelekane/Kikiako'i. It is estimated using currently available historical and archeological evidence. In addition to the historically documented "king's houses" area near Hale-o-Kapuni channel, Pelekane/Kikiako'i includes nearby features that have been dated archeologically to the late pre-Contact or early post-Contact periods, and were therefore likely historically associated with the landmark during its period of national significance. Importantly, the NHL boundary does not closely correspond to the Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site (PUHE) boundary, but is instead significantly smaller, and in one key area extends beyond the PUHE boundary into lands owned by the State of Hawai'i. This revision is recommended for two reasons: 1) the smaller NHL boundary excludes park resources that are noncontributing to the national significance of the property, such as the late post-Contact and modern stone features on the east side of PUHE, as well as the modern park facilities; 2) the portion of the NHL boundary extending into State of Hawai'i lands represents a section of Pelekane/Kikiako'i that was impacted by twentieth-century development (particularly the construction of Kawaihae Harbor), [REDACTED]

The NHL boundary is broadly marked by prominent natural or artificial topographic features in three of the four cardinal directions. To the west, the boundary follows the outline of the historical Kawaihae shoreline, which remains intact in the southwestern portion of the landmark; in the area of the coral flat associated with Kawaihae Harbor in the northwestern portion, the boundary follows the intersection of the coral flat with the largely intact, albeit possibly disturbed, slopes. The north boundary roughly follows a portion of Poki'iahua Gulch that encompasses the John Young Homestead. The south boundary follows the edge of a low, steep slope just south of the PUHE visitor center and parking lot and the modern road between Spencer Beach Park and Highway 270. The NHL boundary to the east is not linked to a major topographic feature but is instead drawn to incorporate all resources that are likely contributing to the national significance of the landmark, including a portion of the prominence on which Pu'ukoholā Heiau is built, traditionally called Pu'ukoholā or "the hill of the whale"; the east boundary excludes noncontributing resources that postdate the period of significance.

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### 5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

#### INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark represents a unique convergence of historical figures and events that shaped the post-Contact political, social, and religious landscape of Hawai'i. While the contributing resources are individually important historic properties, it is as a complex that the landmark achieves national significance. The landmark is associated with key individuals and critical events that led to the founding of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and to events that transformed the kingdom in the nineteenth century, ultimately leading to the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States. Hawai'i is the only state in the union that was entirely an independent and internationally recognized nation prior to annexation. The property is nationally significant under multiple NHL criteria:

- Criterion 1 in the areas of Ethnic Heritage/Pacific Islander, Politics/Government, and Religion, because it is the location of pivotal religious and political events during the formative years of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.
- Criterion 2 in the area of Ethnic Heritage/Pacific Islander, because of its strong association with the lives of three seminal figures in Hawaiian history: Kamehameha I, the first *ali'i nui* (paramount chief) to unify the independent polities of the Hawaiian Islands into a single kingdom, and who is arguably the preeminent figure in Hawaiian history; John Young, an expatriate advisor to the king who was a key cross-cultural liaison between Hawaiian and foreign entities in the years following Western contact, and was the focal point for the landmark area as a major international diplomatic and trading center during Kamehameha's reign; and Liholiho, Kamehameha's successor and a key figure in ending the traditional Hawaiian religious system.
- Criterion 4 in the area of Architecture, because it contains the remains of pre-Contact and early historic structures that outstandingly represent traditional Hawaiian and early Western building styles and techniques. The landmark includes the monumental Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau, which are among the few and best-preserved *luakini heiau* (large sacrificial temples) remaining in the Hawaiian Islands; it also includes the John Young Homestead, which contains the remains of traditional residences as well as the first Western-style buildings constructed in the Hawaiian Islands and thus represents the transition from traditional Hawaiian to Western architectural forms of the period.
- Criterion 6 in the areas of Aboriginal Prehistoric (pre-Contact) archeology and Aboriginal Historic archeology, because it has yielded, and will likely continue to yield, archeological information of major scientific importance about Hawaiian patterns of life during the critical transition period from pre-Contact to the historical eras, particularly at the royal residence called Pelekane/Kikiako'i.

The NHL theme "Peopling Places" is recognized at Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL due to its function as a royal center where the Hawaiian *ali'i*, including the expatriate John Young, lived and ruled. Within the relatively short time frame of the period of significance, 1790 to 1835, the landmark saw the presence of key personalities at a critical time in Hawai'i's history, and the advent of events that triggered profound social and political changes that radically altered the infrastructure of traditional Hawaiian society.

The theme "Expressing Cultural Values" is indicated by the landmark's exceptional and well-preserved religious architecture. Further, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and to a lesser extent, Mailekini Heiau, continues to express cultural significance through current activities by cultural groups (e.g., Tengan 2008) and in the ways in which living Hawaiian culture is portrayed through interpretation (Rosenkranz 2020).

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The theme “Shaping the Political Landscape” is represented by the royal center’s role as a seat of power and armed camp during Kamehameha I’s conquest of the Hawaiian Islands, John Young’s tenure as foreign agent for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, and Liholiho’s actions at the time of his succession that led to the abandonment of the traditional religious system.

Along similar lines, the theme “Changing Role of the United States in the World Community” is addressed by the role of the area as a launching point for Kamehameha’s aggressive consolidation of the islands, and then as an entry point for the foreign explorers, traders, and missionaries who sought John Young’s approval to operate within the young kingdom; this political and economic influence would eventually lead to Hawai‘i’s annexation by the United States in 1898.

### **PROVIDE RELEVANT PROPERTY-SPECIFIC HISTORY, HISTORICAL CONTEXT, AND THEMES. JUSTIFY CRITERIA, EXCEPTIONS, AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE LISTED IN SECTION 2.**

The following narrative history of the Pu‘ukoholā Heiau NHL is partially adapted from Dunbar (1991) and Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2006).

Kawaihae in general and the landmark area specifically, figure prominently in the political landscape of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hawai‘i. In the late traditional period of the eighteenth century, Hawai‘i Island was the stage for wars of conquest among six competing chiefdoms of the island: Kohala, Hāmākua, Hilo, Puna, Ka‘ū, and Kona. Kawaihae was a battleground during these conflicts, where armies from the six chiefdoms frequently clashed. Invading fleets from Maui Island also targeted Kawaihae; Apple (1969) states, as an example, that “remnants of defeated Maui war fleets, enroute home from battles, refreshed at Kawaihae and sometimes cut down coconut trees there as final acts of defiance to the Hawaii chiefs.”

By the mid-1700s, two chiefs dominated Hawai‘i Island: Alapa‘i-nui of Kohala and Kona; and Kalani‘ōpu‘u of Ka‘ū and Puna. In 1754, the aging Alapa‘i-nui, near the end of his reign and suffering from a serious illness, moved to Kikiako‘i (later known as Pelekane) in Kawaihae (Kamakau 1961): “his illness became serious, and at Kikiako‘i in the heiau of Mailekini, Kawaihae, he appointed his son Keawe-‘opala to be ruler of the island.” Hawaiian text from Kamakau (1996) adds: “ma Kikiako‘i, make ihola ‘o Alapa‘i,” “Alapa‘i died at Kikiako‘i.” The rival *ali‘i* Kalani‘ōpu‘u soon afterwards overthrew Keawe‘opala, probably at the battle of Pu‘u-ki‘i-lili at Kawaihae (Kamakau 1961). With this victory, Kalani‘ōpu‘u became the ruling chief of Hawai‘i Island.

It was during the rule of Kalani‘ōpu‘u that British Captain James Cook arrived at Kealakekua Bay in Kona in 1778, the first Westerner to make landfall in the islands. Among the entourage of Kalani‘ōpu‘u at Kealakekua were a number of young chiefs training for leadership: the sacred son of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, Kīwala‘ō; another son Keōua Kū‘ahu‘ula; and his nephew Kamehameha.

### **Struggle for Hawai‘i Island**

Before his death in 1782, Kalani‘ōpu‘u designated Kīwala‘ō as his successor and named Kamehameha as the guardian of the war *akua* (god) Kūkā‘ilimoku. Almost immediately following the death of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, disputes arose between the two chiefs, and warfare followed. Kīwala‘ō was killed and his half-brother Keōua escaped and formed an independent polity in Ka‘ū. By 1790, the island was split into two rival camps, with Kamehameha in control of the northern districts of Kona, Kohala, and a portion of Hāmākua, and Keōua in command of the remainder of Hāmākua, along with the southern districts of Ka‘ū, Puna, and Hilo.

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In the midst of the struggle for Hawai'i Island, Kamehameha launched an invasion of Maui and Moloka'i Islands, in a likely attempt to foil a budding alliance between Keōua and the Maui-Kaua'i kingdoms. While Kamehameha and the bulk of his army were occupied on Maui, Keōua invaded and pillaged the undefended lands of Waipi'o, Waimea, and Kohala. In response, Kamehameha and his army rushed back from Moloka'i and established a beachhead in Kawaihae below Mailekini Heiau. As Keōua's forces retreated to Hilo, the two armies fought twice in Hāmākua, but neither battle was decisive. Kamehameha fell back to Kohala, while Keōua resumed his clockwise movement around the island towards his home chiefdom of Ka'ū. As his army passed Kīlauea Volcano, gases from a sudden explosive eruption destroyed a large portion of his army, an event that was widely perceived as a sign that Pele, the Hawaiian volcano goddess, held Keōua in disfavor.

### Pu'ukoholā Heiau Is Built

During this ongoing stalemate, Kamehameha received instructions from Kapoukahi, a *kahuna* (priest) of the Pā'ao priesthood on Kaua'i, that by building a great *heiau* dedicated to the war *akua* Kūkā'ilimoku on the promontory called Pu'ukoholā (literal translation "hill of the whale") at Kawaihae, Kamehameha would gain victory over Keōua and eventual mastery over the Hawaiian Islands. Kamehameha ignored this advice at first, and then later considered simply refurbishing and rededicating the existing Mailekini Heiau near the base of Pu'ukoholā. As the impasse with Keōua dragged on, however, he ultimately accepted Kapoukahi's suggestion that a new *heiau* on the hill's summit would bestow the most benefits, and aggressively pursued construction.

Historical sources disagree somewhat as to the true scale of construction on Pu'ukoholā. 'Ī'i (1963) says that Kapoukahi recommended that the existing Mailekini Heiau be restored in addition to the construction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Thrum (1907) and Kinney (1913) state that Kamehameha simply rebuilt and rededicated an earlier *heiau* on the summit of Pu'ukoholā that had been present since at least the reign of the ruling chief Lono-i-ka-makahiki in the seventeenth century. Fornander (1916-1920) also characterizes Kamehameha's work as limited to the reconstruction and re-consecration of pre-existing structures on Pu'ukoholā. In any case, Kamehameha's efforts were monumental (Kuykendall 1968, based on the Kamakau and Fornander accounts):

The building of this *heiau* was a great and arduous undertaking. Priests were everywhere about; they selected the site, determined the orientation, the dimensions, and the arrangement of the structure, and at every stage performed the ritualistic ceremonies without which the work could not be acceptable to the gods. The common people came in relays from all parts of Kamehameha's dominions to carry stones for the walls and platforms of the *heiau*. The workers are said to have camped by thousands on the neighboring hillsides. Chiefs of high and low degree had a share in the labor; even Kamehameha carried stones, but his younger brother Keli'imaika'i was not allowed to do any menial labor, because it was necessary that one high chief should remain ceremonially clean in order to preside at the religious services.

During the 1870s, Fornander (1969) interviewed a centenarian Hawaiian resident who as a young man helped to carry stones used to build the *heiau*. The man recalled:

thousands of people encamped on the neighboring hillsides, and taking turns at work [...]. Every aspect of the labor was organized, the food for the multitudes, the time of work and time of relaxation. Many powerful chiefs participated in the work, and as each portion was completed, human sacrifices were offered to the gods.

Construction of the *heiau* was interrupted from March to May 1791 by a combined invasion force from Kaua'i and Maui. The hostile army raided the coasts of Kohala and Hāmākua until Kamehameha confronted them off

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the northeast, windward coast with a fleet of canoes equipped with swivel guns and small cannon. With his foreign advisors, John Young and Isaac Davis, directing artillery fire, Kamehameha and his fleet routed the invaders in the famous Battle of Kepūwaha'ula'ula (Battle of the Red-Mouthed Gun)<sup>1</sup>.

### Kamehameha Kills His Rival

In the summer of 1791, Kamehameha invited Keōua to the final dedication of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and remarkably, the rival chief accepted. Whether Keōua made this journey into clearly hostile territory willingly, resignedly, or through trickery is not clear, and is much debated by historians of Hawai'i. One speculative suggestion is that the partial destruction of his army at Kīlauea had profoundly demoralized Keōua. Whatever the reason, as he stepped ashore at Pelekane/Kikiako'i, a scuffle ensued, and Keōua (along with many members of his entourage) was killed. Keōua's body then became the principal sacrifice consecrating the new *heiau* (Desha 2000, brackets added):

Keōua's body was taken and placed in the hands of the *kahuna* of the *heiau* of Pu'ukohola. When they were finished with their work, he was offered up to consecrate the *heiau* which had been built by Kamehameha for his god as instructed by that *kahuna* from Kaua'i (Kapoukahi). His body was taken and baked in the *imu* [earth oven] on the Kohala side of the *heiau* of Mailekini. Kikiako'i is the name of that *imu* in which the body of Keōuakū'ahu'ula was baked [...].<sup>2</sup> [The purpose of this custom was] to cleanse the bones: to remove the brains and bone marrow from the bones of a beloved one who was being cleansed [...]

Perhaps Keōuakū'ahu'ula [Keōua] was baked [...] because he was an *ali'i* of the highest rank, one of the sons of Kalani'ōpu'u [...]. All the stones of that *imu* were taken away, and it was covered and hidden afterwards [...]. His bones were cleansed, and the rocks of the *imu* were gathered and hidden in the deep sea.

### Kamehameha Finds the Kingdom of Hawai'i

With the death of Keōua, Kamehameha ascended to the island kingship. He conducted a circuit of the island, a *makahiki*, to allow people to see their new king, to re-establish order at the commoner's level, and to conduct the ceremonies of the *makahiki* that would bring prosperity to the land (Desha 2000). This *makahiki* began at Kawaihae, presumably with Kamehameha in residence at Pelekane/Kikiako'i, and traveled in counter-clockwise fashion around the island. The procession was said to have been led by the steward of the Makahiki god, individuals carrying the image of the god, twelve hundred deputy stewards, and over two thousand warriors.

By 1794, Kamehameha had unilaterally conquered Maui, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i, and won O'ahu in 1795. After an initial attempt to attack Kaua'i failed, Kamehameha turned his sights on a new strategy: an armada of war canoes called the Peleleu Fleet, named after a type of large, double-hulled canoe that was modified with European-style rigging (Kamakau 1961). Based primarily at Kawaihae, Kamehameha "created a veritable naval yard... supervised by European and Hawaiian carpenters, and complete with forges and blacksmiths" (Sahlins 1992). Kamakau (1961) says it took five years to build the fleet of eight hundred canoes. For a variety of

<sup>1</sup> Kamehameha used newly introduced Western armaments and war strategies to win many of his battles. To this end, he promoted Isaac Davis and John Young—two sailors who had been captured during hostile encounters between Hawaiians and Westerners in 1790—to chiefly rank and included them among his primary advisors.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes (1991) references "an elderly local native" in locating the *imu* "on the ridge about 50 ft to the west of the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā." Both Desha (2000) and another source, Mary Low (quoted in Reinecke 1930), give the name of the *imu* as Kikiako'i (or a derivation, "Kiikiako'i").



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reasons, the attack on Kaua'i failed again, and it was not until 1810 that Kamehameha acquired the island through diplomatic avenues led by John Young.

Kamehameha apparently spent much of his time at Kawaihae during this period. His daughter Kamāmalu was born at Kawaihae in 1802, probably at Kikiako'i, "before the peleleu fleet... came to Kahuhuki on Oahu" ('Ī'i 1963:70).<sup>3</sup> From 1804 until 1812, Kamehameha lived primarily on O'ahu, leaving the island of Hawai'i under the governorship of John Young, who continued to reside at Kawaihae. In 1812, Kamehameha returned to his home island, although during the final years of his life, he resided principally at Kailua in Kona (Kuykendall 1968). He died at his residence at Kamakahonu on Kailua Bay in 1819.<sup>4</sup>

### Kawaihae After the Death of Kamehameha

When Kamehameha died, the Kona District was ritually defiled, compelling his son and heir Liholiho to move temporarily to Kawaihae in Kohala, presumably to Pelekane/Kikiako'i. At the same time, Kamehameha's favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu, announced that the female *ali'i nui* were going to break the *'ai kapu*, a fundamental tenet of the traditional religious system that prescribed eating restrictions on women. The *ali'i* Kekuaokalani who had been designated the guardian of the war god Kūkā'ilimoku, objected to breaking the *'ai kapu*. Liholiho was thus confronted with serious political challenges in the post-Kamehameha world.

While at Pelekane/Kikiako'i, Liholiho attempted to perform the sacred 'Aha ritual—probably at Pu'ukoholā Heiau—to secure the favor of Kūkā'ilimoku, but failed due to the effects of drunkenness and other dissolute behaviors on his performance. The consequence of this failure is described by Kame'eiehiwa (1992):

... having failed to secure the 'Aha and by extension Kū's *mana*, any other Ali'i Nui had the right to rise up and defeat him.

Either he could side with Ka'ahumanu and the female Ali'i Nui in making a heinous break with tradition, or he could oppose Ka'ahumanu, hoping the people would support him. Opposition to Ka'ahumanu meant a war where Kū would not be on his side because he had failed in the 'Aha ceremony.

At his inauguration as king, Liholiho ate with female *ali'i nui* and the *'ai kapu* was broken, marking the end of the traditional religious system.

A year later, American Protestant missionaries arrived in Hawai'i, and their preachings soon filled the void left by the breaking of the *'ai kapu*. Their first stop in the islands was at Kawaihae, where they sent representatives ashore to seek John Young's permission for an audience with Liholiho. Young advised the new king (then living at Kailua) to allow the missionaries ashore on a trial basis to teach reading, writing, and simple arithmetic to the high chiefs (Kamakau 1961).

From this point, although Liholiho returned to Kawaihae from time to time ('Ī'i 1963) and John Young retained his family home there until his death in 1835, the area slowly receded into the shadows of history.

<sup>3</sup> Kamāmalu was the half-sister of Kamehameha's successor, Liholiho, and was betrothed to him when they were both children, as marriages between siblings were thought to best preserve the *mana* (supernatural power) of royal bloodlines. She became his favorite wife. Both died of measles on a state visit to England in 1824.

<sup>4</sup> Kamakahonu, the residence of Kamehameha in Kailua-Kona, was designated a National Historic Landmark on October 15, 1966.

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### DISCUSSION: NATIONAL LANDMARK THEMES

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark encompasses a complex of archeological remains that reflects several NHL themes: Peopling Places; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the Political Landscape; and Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

#### Peopling Places

Pelekane/Kikiako'i and the John Young Homestead are major components of the Kawaihae royal center, an area where Kamehameha I and other Hawaiian *ali'i* lived and ruled during the late traditional and early historic periods (late 1700s to early 1800s). This was a pivotal time in Hawaiian history: Kamehameha launched his conquest of the Hawaiian Islands and contact with outside nations began to intensify. As domestic areas, Pelekane/Kikiako'i and the John Young Homestead provide insight into the daily lives of the ruling class at this crucial period, uniquely illustrating through archeological evidence the traditional mores, life cycles, and social relationships practiced by the *ali'i* at this time, as well as the increasing effects of Western customs and practices on traditional culture.

#### Pelekane/Kikiako'i

Traditions and historical accounts describe the presence of *ali'i nui* at Kikiako'i, beginning at least with Alapa'i-nui in the mid-eighteenth century, and perhaps much earlier with Lono-i-ka-makahiki in the early seventeenth century. In 1754, Alapa'i-nui was in ill health and returned to Kikiako'i at Kawaihae, a place "where he had lived and loved, the 'land of the whispering sea'" (Ī'i 1963:4). There, at Mailekini Heiau, he appointed his son Keawe-'opala to be ruler of the island.

During the landmark period of significance, Pelekane/Kikiako'i was the scene of several key events associated with Kamehameha, who is said to have "retired to the tabu district of Mailekini below Pu'ukoholā" from time to time (Kamakau 1961). Kamehameha was resident here during the construction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. It was at this place that Kamehameha's chief rival Keōua was killed, and after his sacrifice at the *heiau*, Keōua was baked in an oven near the two temples, at a location that is said to have been at Kikiako'i.

Liholiho, as Kamehameha II, was also a periodic visitor to the "king's residence" at Kawaihae. Ī'i (1963) describes Liholiho surfing at Kawaihae "at Kapuni, outside of Kiikiako'i." This association of Kikiako'i and Hale-o-Kapuni is also found in Desha (2000). Liholiho's most notable presence at Kawaihae was in 1819 after Kamehameha's death in Kona, when he attempted to perform the sacred 'Aha ritual to secure the favor of the war god Kūkā'ilimoku, but failed.

The area is now commonly known as Pelekane but the origin of use of this name is uncertain. It is clearly a Hawaiianization of "Britain or British" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:324), and local tradition ascribes the name to the actions of expatriate sailors John Young and Isaac Davis, who allegedly shot Keōua as he came ashore for the final dedication of Pu'ukoholā Heiau in 1791 (W. Akau and E. Laau, in Kelly 1974). The first known written record of Pelekane as a place at Kawaihae is on the Jackson 1883 map. The name Pelekane seems to have largely subsumed the area's traditional name—Kikiako'i.

#### John Young Homestead

The dual Hawaiian-Western character of this settlement is personified by John Young, the expatriate British sailor who became one of Kamehameha's chief advisors, a high-ranking *ali'i*, and possessor of the surrounding *ahupua'a* (land division) after being stranded on Hawai'i Island in 1790. Born into European culture, and later fully assimilated into his adopted Hawaiian society, the hybrid nature of Young's influence in the area is well

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exemplified by his homestead, which reflects the transitional nature of the period in its mix of traditional Hawaiian and Western building patterns. It is laid out in a traditional Hawaiian fashion and includes the remains of traditional Hawaiian structures, yet also contains the first Western-style buildings erected in the islands. In his diary, Young compared his Kawaihae homestead to Wales, to which Colby and Barrow (1997:24) expound:

John Young's comparison of his homestead to Wales could have been based on the siting of the compound in relation to the sea below or on the relationship between structures and pens and stone fences. It could also relate to the whiteness of the coating on the stone masonry of his structures; the roughness of the masonry; or the rectangular form and masonry gable ends. Other similarities were in the doors and windows of the houses, the pitch of the roofs, and their thatch.

The John Young Homestead was the primary residence of a figure who skillfully traversed Hawaiian and Western cultures at a time of great social and political transition. Young was regarded by both locals and foreigners as a liaison able to capably smooth out the unfolding relationships between groups from vastly different backgrounds and perspectives. He attracted a culturally diverse population to Kawaihae, which in turn created a culturally diverse landscape that is still visible in the archeological record.

### Expressing Cultural Values

Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau are rare examples of monumental *luakini heiau* that remain in good condition long after their period of active use (many other *heiau* throughout the islands have been damaged or destroyed by nineteenth- and twentieth- century development, vandalism, neglect, or natural disasters such as lava flows and earthquakes). Pu'ukoholā Heiau is the only *heiau* known to have been constructed at Kamehameha's specific command, and it was the last major *heiau* built in the Hawaiian Islands before the traditional Hawaiian religious system was abolished in 1819. Traditional use of all *heiau* in the islands ceased following this act, and many temples and shrines were subsequently dismantled.

### Heiau: Sacred Sites Described

The following discussion of the general characteristics of *heiau* is largely adapted from Dunbar (1991) and Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2006).

*Heiau* are sacred sites that are imbued with *mana* and *kapu*, the dual organizing principles of Hawaiian religion and socio-political life. *Mana* is supernatural power that is granted by the gods and passed on from parent to child, with the *ali'i* thought to possess the greatest amount. *Kapu*, an elaborate system of religious taboos, served as a de facto civil code that enforced social mores and preserved *mana*.

While *mana* and *kapu* were integral parts of the social and ritual lives of pre-Contact Hawaiians, the nature and expression of these beliefs are not precisely known. The earliest religious shrines were probably simple structures constructed by families and small communities, and dedicated to the gods of peace, health, fertility, and bountiful harvests from the land and sea. As population density increased and social organization accordingly became more complex, religious ideas and rituals likely grew in sophistication and became more closely integrated with a polity-level government to serve as a legitimizing body. Larger and increasingly complex, state-level temples were subsequently constructed for public ceremonies dedicating major events, with ceremonies sometimes lasting for days.

Prior to the breaking of the *'ai kapu* by Liholiho in 1819, there were thousands of functional shrines and temples in the islands, all known as *heiau*, but each associated with a particular social subgroup and fulfilling a specific function. The term *heiau* consequently encompasses many architectural types and subtypes, ranging in

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size from single upright stones known as *pōhaku o Kāne*, to the massive and complex polity-level *luakini*. Other typical forms included *heiau* dedicated to animal husbandry or economic activities, *heiau* for fertility, *heiau* for growth and production, fishing shrines, domestic temples, and various shrines and altars located at geographical transition points such as land boundaries and cliffs.

Stokes (1991, brackets added) describes the numerous *heiau* layouts he observed during archeological surveys in the early 1900s:

After examining about 150 *heiau* sites on the island of Hawaii, about 70 on Molokai, and several on the islands of Kauai, Oahu, and Kahoolawe, it seems to me that a man would be very unwise to attempt to draw a plan of the Hawaiian *heiau*. The endless variety in size, shape, and form puzzled me exceedingly until I reread Malo's [1951:161] description (in which he emphasizes the role of the *kahuna kuhikuhipu 'uone* [the class of priests who specialized in the design and location of structures] in temple design). The basis on which these *kahuna kuhikuhipu 'uone* worked, according to the accounts, was that if a certain form of ancient temple had caused its builder to succeed in his enterprise, it would be equally lucky for his patron. I believe that it was not merely the form but also particular features and their arrangement; otherwise, but one type of temple would have survived. Under this condition, as the work of the augurs continued, so also continued the confusion in temple plans. I attribute to the work of this profession the fact that it is almost impossible to find, today, two temple foundations alike.

Buck (1957), using early traditional sources, echoes Stokes' conclusion:

new *heiaus* were built frequently enough to create a profession of temple architects whose services were called upon when a chief wished to build a new temple. The professional architect was termed a *kahuna kuhikuhipu 'uone* because he showed (*kuhikuhi*) his proposed plan to the chief by drawing it or moulding it in sand (*pu 'u one*). Professional pride impelled him to plan something different than the work of others, though in his professional education he studied the history and form of existing historical *heiaus*. When a temple was built for a specific purpose and success followed its construction, the architect naturally attributed the success to the form of the *heiau*. In planning a new *heiau*, the architect was able to cite the form of a temple which had been successful and to advise incorporating some part of its plan in the proposed new construction. It is no wonder, then, that variations in ground plans continued to multiply. Only the reconditioning and alteration of old temples prevented them from being more numerous than they were.

The *luakini* was the largest and most complex type of *heiau* and could only be constructed and dedicated by the authority of an *ali 'i nui*; the dedication of a *luakini* by a lower-ranking chief was considered an act of rebellion. *Luakini* were intended to serve district- or polity-level political areas and were built accordingly to massive proportions on elevated geographical locations, such as hills, to project a sense of power and authority. A principal function of these *heiau* was the offering of human sacrifices to the war god Kūkā'ilimoku by an *ali 'i nui* petitioning for success in war.

*Luakini heiau* had distinguishing components, although the expressions of these components varied from *heiau* to *heiau* (Masse et al. 1991). These included an *'anu 'u*, which was a tower wrapped in white *kapa* (barkcloth) where the *kahuna* received inspiration, a semi-circular arrangement of wooden images symbolic of the gods (*ki 'i*), a sacrificial altar (*lele*), and thatched *hale* (houses) constructed on individual platforms that served

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specialized functions (e.g., drum house, oven house) (‘Ī‘Ī 1963:34-35). Refuse pits (*lua-kini* or *luapa ‘ū*), often but not always located within the oracle tower (Malo 1951), were another characteristic feature of the *luakini*; according to Buck (1957:525, brackets added), they were:

used for the disposal of decayed offerings when the offering stands were needed in another temple ceremony. Emerson, in a note to Malo’s text (1951:178), states that the name *lua kini* was derived from *lua* (hole) and *kini* [multitude, or more exactly, “forty thousand”], and that the pit gave its name to the *luakini* type of temple.

Many *luakini* components—including the wood and thatch *hale*, the wickerwork and *kapa* towers, and the wooden god images—were constructed of perishable materials far more susceptible to natural decay than the stone features and are no longer preserved in the archeological record here. Additionally, many of the more fragile and portable *heiau* components were generally removed, destroyed, or—in the case of some god images—hidden away following the abolition of the *kapu*, although many of these artifact types seemingly remained in place at both Pu‘ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau for some time after the edict.

Pu‘ukoholā Heiau was almost certainly the last polity-level *luakini* to be constructed under the traditional Hawaiian religious system, although Waha‘ula in Puna is known to have been the last *luakini* to be consecrated (in 1817) (Fornander 1969; Masse et al. 1991). Pu‘ukoholā was one of several *luakini heiau* that were associated with *ali‘i nui* during the time from Kalani‘ōpu‘u to Liholiho (‘Ī‘Ī 1963; Desha 2000). These include Kānoa at Hilo, Waha‘ula in Puna, Punalu‘unui in Ka‘ū, and Hikiau in Kona. All were used by Kamehameha and were visited by Liholiho in his circuit around the island following his rise to kingship (‘Ī‘Ī 1963). In addition, Ahu‘ena Heiau at Kamakahonu in Kailua and Honua‘ula Heiau in Waipi‘o Valley can be assumed to have been active during this time since these were royal centers associated with Kamehameha.<sup>5</sup>

### Pu‘ukoholā Heiau and Other *Luakini Heiau*

Pu‘ukoholā Heiau is perhaps most closely comparable in scale and function to another *luakini* in the Kohala district, Mo‘okini Heiau.<sup>6</sup> While Pu‘ukoholā Heiau was likely the last *luakini* constructed during the traditional era, Mo‘okini Heiau is reputedly the first, said to have been built by the legendary priest Pā‘ao following his arrival from “Kahiki” (symbolic of the place of Hawaiian origins) around AD 1100. Among many new religious practices, Pā‘ao introduced human sacrifice and walled *heiau* to the islands.

Comparative analysis of *heiau*, both in size/volume and interior features, has been carried out (e.g., Valeri 1985; Masse et al. 1991). Masse et al. (1991) compared interior features of Waha‘ula Heiau with historical descriptions provided by Malo (1951) and ‘Ī‘Ī (1963), in an effort to examine the archeological record as it might reflect critical religious values, as well as developmental episodes in the history of Hawaiian society. A similar effort for Pu‘ukoholā and Mailekini offers a research possibility that does not involve the culturally complicated consequences of excavation in a sacred locale.

Located in the Hawi vicinity on Hawai‘i Island, the platform type *luakini heiau* **Mo‘okini Heiau NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) dates originally to the fifth century and was reportedly rebuilt between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the guidance of the priest Pā‘ao. Kamehameha I used Mo‘okini Heiau

<sup>5</sup> Ahu‘ena Heiau is part of the Kamakahonu National Historic Landmark.

<sup>6</sup> Mo‘okini Heiau was designated a National Historic Landmark on October 15, 1966.

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in worship of Kūkā'ilimoku prior to transfer of the god to Pu'ukoholā.<sup>7</sup> The heiau is located adjacent to the Kamehameha I birth stone (ca. 1753) in the Kapakai Royal Housing Complex.

Mo'okini Heiau is significantly larger in plan—85 m x 42 m—than Pu'ukoholā Heiau—61 m x 33 m—but they are roughly equal in height, rising about 6 m above ground surface. While the basic organization within both heiau are comparable—evidence indicates that a *lele* altar and a *luapa'ū* were present in both heiau—they are distinguished from each other by major stylistic differences. Mo'okini Heiau, for example, has exceptionally thick, fortress-like walls—ranging from 1.8 m wide at the top of the wall to 10 m wide at the base—surrounding the heiau on all sides, obstructing views of the surrounding landscape, and creating an imposing, almost oppressive atmosphere within the interior of the temple. Pu'ukoholā Heiau, on the other hand, is constructed on a steep grade that descends via a series of step terraces towards the sea, and while the walls are high enough to block outside views of the inner court, occupants of the heiau retained unobstructed views of the surrounding landscape.

**Pi'ilanihale Heiau NHL** (designated January 29, 1964, also known as Hale o Pi'ilani Heiau) in Hana, Maui Island, is one of the largest in Polynesia. Built in multiple phases beginning in the thirteenth century, it features multiple stepped terraces, inner walls, platforms, and enclosures, commensurate with its long use as a significant multi-purpose complex.<sup>8</sup> Because of its significantly longer period of use, Pi'ilanihale as an example of the built form of a *luakini* heiau is not as directly illustrative of the late-stage platform type as Pu'ukoholā, but better reflects evolution of heiau construction from the Formation period onward.

**Honokohau Settlement NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) as a complex includes kahua (ancient house platforms), heiau, fishponds, ahu (stone shrines), lava tube shelters, and significant other resources best able to portray Hawaiian settlement, daily life, and food procurement over hundreds of years.<sup>17</sup>

The **Hokukano-Ualapue Complex NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) on the Island of Molokai similarly features six important heiaus among extensive community resources. Of these, Pakui Heiau may have been a *luakini* as well as a *pu'uhonua*. Iiiliopae Heiau, the second largest heiau in the Hawaiian Islands may also be the oldest religious site on Molokai. Constructed in the fourteenth century and serving as a fortress school for *kahuna* (priests), *luakini*, and other functions through the early nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

**Loaloa Heiau NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) near Kaupo is the largest *luakini* heiau on the Island of Maui. Dating to ca. 1730, Loaloa is associated with two other heiaus. Oral tradition ascribes its original construction to Maui *ali'i moku* Kekaulike. However, in 1802 Kamehameha I rebuilt and rededicated the heiau. In form, Loaloa is three-tiered raised platform rectangular in plan and prominently situated on a rock outcrop. Following Kamehameha's unification of the islands and with Liholiho's abolition of the kapu in 1819, resources at Kaupo declined.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> National Park Service, "Mo'okini Heiau," <https://www.nps.gov/places/mo-okini-heiau.htm> (accessed May 25, 2023). The heiau was also subsequently used by Liholiho.

<sup>8</sup> National Park Service, "Pi'ilanihale Heiau," <https://www.nps.gov/places/piilanihale-heiau.htm> (accessed May 25, 2023).

<sup>9</sup> National Park Service, "Hokukano-Ualapue Complex, HI," <https://www.nps.gov/places/hokukano-ualapue-complex.htm> (accessed May 25, 2023).

<sup>10</sup> National Park Service, "Loaloa Heiau," <https://www.nps.gov/places/loaloa-heiau.htm> (accessed May 25, 2023).

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The two-acre **Pu'uuu o Mahuka Heiau NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) in Waimea Valley is the largest heiau on the Island of O'ahu. A *luakini* heiau likely dating to the seventeenth century with eighteenth-century modifications, it features a series of low walls around a central platform. Its built form is most evocative of the Unification or early Annexation periods. Kamehameha I made use of this heiau following his conquest of O'ahu in 1795.

The **Wailua Complex of Heiaus NHL** (designated December 29, 1962) comprises four heiaus—Hikinaakala, Holoholoku, Malae, and Poliahu--as well as the Hauola *pu'uhonua* (place of refuge), and other significant resources. Holoholoku or Ka Lae o Ka Manu Heiau is the oldest on Kauai. Poliahu and Malae are both *luakini* heiau. The latter features the largest extant surviving temple platform in the archipelago in terms of surface area, although its interior walls were demolished in the 1830s for use for livestock pens.<sup>11</sup>

### Contemporary Cultural Importance

Pu'ukoholā Heiau continues to play a role in cultural activities in a modern context. Since the 1970s, there has been a lasting resurgence of interest in traditional Hawaiian culture, especially as expressed in dance, music, and fine and craft arts, as well as in traditional farming and Pacific voyaging. In education, this interest spurred the creation of formal Hawaiian Studies programs at the university/college level and Hawaiian language immersion schools in the lower educational levels. Called the Hawaiian Renaissance in its early years, this movement has also touched on politics, including issues dealing with appropriate uses of Native Hawaiian lands and Native Hawaiian sovereignty.

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL clearly represents this movement and is a cultural focus for Native Hawaiians, as well as the general Hawai'i community. The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, which encompasses most of the landmark area, partners with the cultural group, Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu'ukoholā Heiau (the Traditional Royal Court Assembly of Pu'ukoholā Heiau), to promote and use the park as a place where Hawaiian culture is perpetuated. As stated on the park webpage, it is “where efforts to bring the people of Hawai'i together in pursuit of completing Kamehameha the Great's unfinished good deeds is a primary objective” (<http://pacificislandparks.com/2014/08/09/2014-hookuikahi-i-puukohola-establishment-day-hawaiian-cultural-festival>).

Every year, the park hosts an annual Ho'oku'ikahi i Pu'ukoholā Establishment Day Hawaiian Cultural Festival, which is jointly sponsored by Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu'ukoholā Heiau and the Hawai'i Pacific Parks Association. The cultural festival opens with traditional ceremonies on Pu'ukoholā Heiau, followed by activities at Pelekane/Kikiako'i.

A highly expressive example of the cultural importance of the NHL occurred after major earthquake damage in 2006. Over a period of four years, professional architects, architectural conservators, and archeologists, master tradesmen, cultural practitioners, and volunteers came together to stabilize and restore the damaged structures at Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau, and the John Young Homestead. Master masons skilled in traditional Hawaiian building techniques provided expertise that permitted the damaged features to be repaired without diminishing their structural and cultural integrity. Protocols provided by local cultural practitioners preserved the spiritual integrity of the features. Over six hundred native Hawaiians and others from across the state, as well as the mainland United States, provided the hands-on manpower.

<sup>11</sup> National Park Service, “Wailua Complex of Heiaus,” <https://www.nps.gov/places/wailua-complex-of-heiaus.htm> (accessed May 25, 2023).



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Methods consistent with traditional Hawaiian construction practices were employed during stabilization efforts. At Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau, a traditional ladder system known as *olokea* was used in place of modern scaffolding; the *olokea* system involved lashing beams of ironwood into lattices using nylon cordage (traditional sennit cordage woven from dried coconut fibers or grass was not available in sufficient quantities). Efforts were made throughout the work at the *heiau* to facilitate the sharing of *ho'oniho* (dry-set stone masonry) knowledge among participants of all skill levels; stabilization at the John Young Homestead was similarly a hands-on experience under the guidance of technical experts.

### Shaping the Political Landscape

Without question, the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL represents a key point in the political history of Hawai'i and by extension, the United States. It was within the landmark area that decisions were made and actions were taken to create the unified Hawaiian Kingdom: the royal center served as a seat of power and armed camp during Kamehameha I's conquest of the Hawaiian Islands; it was here that John Young acted as foreign agent and representative of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and where, at the time of his succession, Liholiho initiated a progression of events that led to the abandonment of the traditional religious system.

Events during the period of national significance (1790 to 1835) were the beginning of profound changes that altered the infrastructure of traditional Hawaiian society during the nineteenth century. The formation of Kamehameha's Hawaiian Kingdom and Liholiho's abolishment of the traditional religious system were followed by the widespread conversion to Christianity among Hawaiians, the conversion of shared lands to private ownership, the adoption of Western political conventions such as a constitution and a European-style monarchy, and the mounting influence of foreign interests in local political and economic affairs. The culmination of these events was the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, and the subsequent annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898.

The creation of the Hawaiian Kingdom under Kamehameha also seems to have instilled for the first time a sense of shared nationhood among all Hawaiians, as previously they had lived in independent polities composed of single islands or districts within an island and engaged in frequent internecine warfare with other Hawaiian groups.

### Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

Crucial events during the early phases of Kamehameha I's campaign to conquer the Hawaiian Islands occurred within the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL boundaries. Kamehameha's wars of conquest could be interpreted as the first major sign of encroaching Western influence on Hawaiian political affairs, due to the significant contributions made to his military campaign by European armaments, as well as tactics provided by his foreign supporters, particularly John Young.

The landmark area later functioned as an important international diplomatic and trading center during the formative years of the Hawaiian Kingdom, when relationships with foreign nations were first being tested and elaborated. As Kamehameha's primary liaison with foreign explorers, traders, and missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawai'i, John Young wielded influence at crucial points during emerging Western contact that would shape Hawai'i's role in international affairs and facilitate Hawai'i's absorption into the American sphere of influence (Apple 1969).



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### NATIONAL LANDMARK SIGNIFICANCE CRITERIA

The Pu'ukohola Heiau NHL consists of several contributing resources, each of which is an important historic property. However, the landmark achieves national significance as a complex of resources that together represent an important period in Hawai'i's history, in which a unified kingdom was formed out of disparate chiefdoms and from which profound social and political changes occurred in the nineteenth century that led to the eventual annexation of the islands by the United States.

#### Criterion 1

The Pu'ukohola Heiau NHL is nationally significant under Criterion 1 as the location of several key events in Hawaiian history that ultimately led to the transformation of a Pacific Island culture into a Western, specifically American, society. These events relate directly to two broad themes of US history: Shaping the Political Landscape; and Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Shaping the Political Landscape: The initial phase of Kamehameha's political and military campaign to unite the Hawaiian Islands into a single kingdom took place within the landmark property. This was a watershed moment not only in the political development of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but in the creation of a shared Hawaiian ethnic identity. It is where Kamehameha, who was engaged in a prolonged war with rival chiefs for the island of Hawai'i at the time, built the massive Pu'ukoholā Heiau to fulfill a prophecy promising him rulership over the Hawaiian Islands; it is where Keōua, Kamehameha's rival for control of Hawai'i Island, was killed and sacrificed; it is where Kamehameha constructed a massive armada of canoes to attack Kaua'i (an invasion that never took place); it is where Liholiho, Kamehameha's son and successor, compromised the legitimacy of his rule by failing a key religious ritual, thus forcing him to make political compromises that would ultimately lead to the abolishment of the traditional Hawaiian religious system.

Changing Role of the United States in the World Community: The NHL area is where many foreigners—including traders and Protestant missionaries—first gained entry into the islands under the auspices of John Young, who served as Kamehameha's trade agent during the earliest years of the Hawaiian Kingdom. As a center of diplomacy and cultural interaction, it was a key entry point for Western ideas and technology during the formative stages of the Hawaiian Kingdom's relationship with foreign nations. This represents the earliest stage of Hawai'i's integration into the Western, and particularly the American, sphere of influence, culminating in annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States in 1898. Hawai'i is the only US state to have formerly been an independent country with its own monarchy, recognized as such by other world nations.

#### Criterion 2

The landmark is nationally significant in its association with the lives of three important figures in Hawaiian history: Kamehameha I, John Young, and Liholiho (Kamehameha II). These historical personalities were key players in the context of two broad themes of US history: Shaping the Political Landscape and Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Kamehameha I: Following a prolonged military and political campaign, Kamehameha became the first Hawaiian *ali'i nui* to unite the Hawaiian Islands under a single rule, and in 1795, founded the Kingdom of Hawai'i. In unifying the islands, Kamehameha ended a prolonged period of internecine warfare among independent chiefdoms encompassing entire islands or districts within an island. Kamehameha's government rose to a state level, and his dynasty of Hawaiian kings lasted until 1872. Unification may have also instilled for the first time a sense of shared nationhood among the indigenous people.

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Kamehameha lived and reigned at a critical time when the Hawaiian people, who had occupied the islands for at least five hundred years, came into sustained contact with foreign—particularly Western—nations.

Kamehameha proved exceptionally successful at utilizing newly introduced technology and knowledge to achieve political and military dominance over his rival *ali'i*, but still within the context of a traditional religious and political strategies and tactics. He was the last Hawaiian monarch to operate largely free of foreign influence, and several key choices during his reign would augur a series of profound social changes that radically altered traditional Hawaiian society during the nineteenth century.

John Young: Kamehameha was aided in his unification campaign by John Young, a marooned British sailor who became a close advisor to the king and took on a prominent role as Hawaiian *ali'i* in Kamehameha's court. Young, as well as Isaac Davis, shared knowledge of cannon, rifles, fortifications, and military tactics that gave Kamehameha an overwhelming military advantage over his enemies. They were critical to the king's major military successes. This discussion of John Young is partially based on Apple (1978) and Dunbar (1991).

John Young's rise in the service of Kamehameha was extraordinary for a British sailor of humble origins. He arrived in Hawai'i in 1789 as the 46-year-old boatswain of a fur trading vessel, the *Eleanor*, captained by Simon Metcalf. Metcalf treated Hawaiians brutally during his short stay in the islands, killing more than 100 Maui residents in violent response to the theft of a small boat, and beating one of the Kona *ali'i*, Kame'eiamoku, as the chief visited the *Eleanor*. In retaliation for this insult, Kame'eiamoku organized an attack on the *Eleanor*'s small tender *Fair American*, which was anchored alone off the Kona coast. During the attack, nearly the entire crew—including Metcalf's 19-year-old son, Thomas, who was captain of the *Fair American*—was killed, leaving only the ship's mate Isaac Davis wounded but alive. John Young was on shore trading for supplies at the time, unaware of the attack on the *Fair American*. Kamehameha, fearing retaliation by the crew of the *Eleanor* for the attack on her tender, detained Young on shore until the ship left the islands (Kuykendall 1968). Both Young and Davis were treated with respect and kindness by the Hawaiians during their captivity, and they became willing advisors to Kamehameha during his later military campaigns (Apple 1978). Young became known as Olohana, the Hawaiianization of his boatswain's call "All Hands" during battles. When Davis died in Kawaihae in 1810, Young adopted the Davis children.

Young served Kamehameha and the new Hawaiian Kingdom loyally and in many capacities, including as business agent, keeper of the royal arsenal, captain, and pilot (Kelly 1974; Apple 1978). As a close advisor and friend to the king, he "seems to have been present and involved in every event of lasting importance in Hawaii from 1790 through 1820" (Apple 1978). As Kamehameha's trade agent, he had the authority to permit or deny foreign visitors access to the islands. He was also a chief diplomat in negotiating relations between Hawaiians and Westerners. Because he was familiar with livestock and knew how to care for them, he was influential in the introduction of cattle and horses to Hawai'i. In 1793, Kamehameha welcomed British Captain George Vancouver, who brought the first cattle to the islands as a gift to the king. Kamehameha, his wife Ka'ahumanu, and John Young, were received with honors by Vancouver on board his ship (Desha 2000:361). A decade later, in 1803, Captain Richard J. Cleveland off-loaded the first horses in the islands at Kawaihae; he wrote that he chose this anchorage "for the purpose of landing the mare with foal, for which John Young was very urgent" (Henke 1929).<sup>12</sup>

Kamehameha appointed Young Governor of the island of Hawai'i in 1802, a post he held until 1812 (Kuykendall 1968; Kamakau 1961). Young supervised the building of a fort in Honolulu for Kamehameha in 1816 (Kuykendall 1968) and directed the transformation of Mailekini Heiau into a twenty-one-cannon fort

<sup>12</sup> A pictograph in Pelekane/Kikiako'i (Site 24051) may be an artistic representation of a horse and could commemorate this event.

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sometime between 1812 and 1819 (Apple 1969; Kamakau 1961). Young was present at Kamehameha's death in Kailua in 1819 (Kuykendall 1968), and continued to serve his son and successor, Liholiho (Kamehameha II).

In return for his service to the king and kingdom, Young became a high-ranking *ali'i* and was awarded extensive landholdings, including the entire *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae Hikina (now called Kawaihae 2), in which the landmark area is located. In 1804, after the death of his first wife (an O'ahu chief), Young married Ka'ōnā'eha, the daughter of Kamehameha's favorite brother, Keli'imaika'i, the same high chief who was designated to remain ceremonially clean during the construction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (see above).

Young lived at Kawaihae until he was 93 years old. In 1835, he became ill, and his daughter, Grace, had him move to Honolulu for care. He died two weeks later. Young's descendants were also prominent in the affairs of the nineteenth century Hawaiian Kingdom.

- James Young Kanehoa, Young's son by his first wife, the O'ahu chief Namokuelua, accompanied Liholiho to England in 1824 and served as the king's interpreter during an interview with King George IV (Kamakau 1961; Kuykendall 1968); Kanehoa later became Governor of Kaua'i, Governor of Maui (Thrum 1910; Stokes 1939), and a member of the first Board of Land Commissioners under Kamehameha III (Kuykendall 1968).
- John Kalaipaihala Young II, better known as Keoni Ana, was a son by Young's second wife, Ka'ōnā'eha. Keoni Ana served Kamehameha III as a member of the preparatory committee for the Mahele, the kingdom-wide reapportionment of land among the King, the *ali'i*, and the *maka'āinana* (commoners) enacted in 1848 (Kuykendall 1968). Keoni Ana also served as Kuhina Nui (roughly equivalent to Prime Minister) of the Hawaiian Islands under Kamehameha III from 1845 to 1855, and Minister of the Interior under Kamehameha IV from 1855 to 1857, in addition to numerous other government positions.
- Emma Rooke, John Young's granddaughter, married Kamehameha IV and became queen consort of the Hawaiian Islands from 1856 to 1863. In 1874, Emma became a candidate for election to the Hawaiian royal throne (in accordance with the Kingdom of Hawai'i's 1864 constitution) after King Lunalilo died without formally designating an heir, but she lost to Kalākaua. Emma may have been born on the lower portion of Young's homestead in 1836 (now under the coral flat of Kawaihae Harbor).

Liholiho: Kamehameha's son, Liholiho, succeeded to kingship when Kamehameha died in 1819. He cemented the inevitability of change when he failed the 'Aha ritual at Pelekane/Kikiako'i and Pu'ukoholā Heiau, which would have secured him the *mana* of the war god Kūkā'ilimoku and solidified his position as the successor king within a traditional Hawaiian framework. This failure eventually led to his decision to break the *'ai kapu* and thus break with the traditional religious system. This action started Hawai'i down a path that would transform Hawaiian politics and society in the nineteenth century.

As an expression of the entry of the Hawaiian Kingdom into the community of world governments, Liholiho as Kamehameha II made a state visit to England, where he met with King George IV in 1824. Unfortunately, Liholiho and his wife, Kamāmalu, died of measles while in London.

### Criterion 4

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Anthropologists and archeologists Michael J. Kolb, Ross Cordy, Valerio Valeri, and other scholars have conducted focused research on variability and evolution of trends in the Hawaiian or Kanaka Māoli heiau (temple) as an architectural form. Kolb hypothesizes four general periods of heiau construction based on in-depth fieldwork on Maui with comparative analysis extending to the rest of the islands. In Kolb's 1994 study, and comments and response to the same, areas of additional research that can further understanding of the typology are outlined as investigation into the conditions and organization of *corvée* labor, the nature of status relationships and their material expression, manifestations of consensus and social cohesion, and mechanisms of hierarchical control (Kolb et al., 1994).

Charting Maui's political evolution, the general forms of heiau evolution Kolb defines can be summarized as the pavement, terrace two-sided, terrace three-sided, platform, and enclosure types (Kolb et al., 1994, Fig. 3). The Formation period (ending around 1400) saw the rise of complex chiefdoms with open temples serving ancestral worship and public council and absent significant archeological evidence of sacrifice (Kolb et al., 1994). The Consolidation period (ca. 1400-1500) yielded increased political stratification and thus minor conflict; the period's larger temples relied on increased labor for construction and the rise of the terrace as dominant form. The Unification period (ca. 1500-1650) saw use of the terrace coupled more frequently with chiefly residential enclosures and platforms (Kolb et al., 1994). Construction still relied on substantial use of labor, and fieldwork has yielded increased evidence of avifaunal sacrifice. Kolb also references evidence of distinctive architectural features and related domestic occupation in the Unification period.

The fourth and final period of heiau construction corresponds with increased inter-island conflict and Annexation (ca. 1650-1819) (Kolb et al., 1994). The platform and, increasingly, enclosures, dominated temple construction with ample evidence of sacrificial functions related to war and agriculture. Pu'ukoholā may ultimately be considered exemplary of a discrete late Annexation phase, extending from Contact with Cook's landfall in 1778 until the 1819 breaking of the *kapu*, or abolition of religious sanctions following Kamehameha I's death. As Kolb notes: "Although Western contact exacerbated internal conflict and expanded trade, temple construction followed traditional norms at least until 1803, when all the politically important temples on Maui were rededicated under Kamehameha's reign" (Kolb et al., 1994).

As such, the ca. 1792 Pu'ukoholā Heiau is effectively the last major iteration of the Annexation period but also highly representative of the broader period's hallmarks. The monumental example is likely the result of a common practice, accretive expansion of an earlier site confirmed to be propitious. The heiau's plan features the dominant platform form as well as a sacred enclosure, intimating that ceremony had evolved from public to more private, a trend in late-period typology. Pu'ukoholā's grandeur further emphasized status, political centralization, and religious authority through ostentation. Pu'ukoholā is effectively the preeminent example of the late-phase, major polity (archipelago-wide) heiau and is a site frequently referenced with consideration of the built form of the heiau.

Further contextualizing a distinct functional subset, the war temple, Kolb and Boyd Dixon define *luakini* temples as: "physical settings where rituals were performed for the consecration of wars of conquest and the sacrificial offering of elite captives. War temples were large sancta where the supreme mediator of the supernatural, the paramount chief, conducted a series of important religious ceremonies that served to transform a successful military campaign into renewed social cohesion" (Kolb and Dixon, 2002).<sup>13</sup> *Luakini* heiau such as Pu'ukoholā typically consisted of a monumental platform of dry-laid stone construction. A *kahuna*

<sup>13</sup> Michael J. Kolb and Boyd Dixon, "Landscapes of War: Rules and Conventions of Conflict in Ancient Hawai'i (And Elsewhere)," *American Antiquity* 67, no. 3 (Jul 2002): 518.

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*kuhikuhip'one* (architect-geomancer) determined specifics of plan and site to optimize propitiousness and defensive location. Kolb's mapping of the geographic distribution of war temples further reveals that Pu'ukoholā adheres to an observable trend in their siting, being on the leeward side of the island.<sup>14</sup>

Kolb hypothesized that platforms became increasingly enclosed with walls over time at *luakini* heiau. A platform served, in conjunction with elaborate ceremonial trappings, to allow the completion of a series of ceremonial and sacrificial offerings, in this case to Kamehameha's god of war, Kūkā'ilimoku.<sup>15</sup> As Valeri described:

(...) it seems that during Kamehameha's period of conquest, his main connection continued to be, quite logically, with Kuka'ilimoku and his temples. Kuka'ilimoku reached the peak of his importance when Kamehameha built the temple Pu'ukohola, which was said to have given him control of the entire island of Hawai'i. After he sacrificed Keoua, his last important rival, in 1792, Kamehameha gradually shifted toward the Kunuiakea/Lono pole, as is testified by the fact that he resided near Hikiau, where Vancouver found him in 1793 (Vancouver 1801, 111:211) (...) During the next six years [1796-1801] Kamehameha reassumed his peaceful aspect and, significantly, lived near Hikiau again. But he also began building a great fleet in order to conquer Kaua'i. In 1801 the fleet was ready in Kawaihae (Andrews 1865:556) near the temple of Pu'ukohola where, undoubtedly, the rituals for war were performed, thereby emphasizing once again the Kuka'ilimoku pole. At the same time, however, Kamehameha marked the fact that his reign was globally shifting towards the peaceful pole (Valeri, 1982).

In listing known war temples and places of refuge (both extant and lost) throughout the Hawaiian Islands, Kolb and Dixon describe Pu'ukoholā as “a particularly illustrative example” of a *luakini* heiau.<sup>16</sup> Using the lens of sensory archeology, anthropologist Jesse Ward Stephen's research in turn focuses on Pu'ukoholā Heiau's monumentality as integral to contemporary multisensorial experience, a case study that also presents the site as the preeminent example of *luakini* heiau architectural type. Stephen concludes that Pu'ukoholā “reveals an indivisible and historically contingent entity that encompassed—but also surpassed—its constituents and in doing so catalyzed society itself” (Stephen, 2016). Pu'ukoholā Heiau embodies the major character-defining features of a *luakini* heiau in its preserved and partially reconstructed built form.<sup>17</sup> Significantly, many other

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<sup>14</sup> “The denser concentration of war sites on the leeward and dryer islands of Maui and Hawai'i coincides with ethnographic accounts such as zones of worship of the war gods Kahewila and Kulka'ilimoku, loci of the earliest and most sustained conflicts, and islands with unstable dryland productive economies (Hommon 1986:67; Kirch 1990b:336):” Kolb and Dixon, 524. See also Kolb and Dixon, 526: “Oral traditions seem to indicate to some archaeologists a more aggressive stance of the leeward chiefs and their war gods toward political competition and conquest, perhaps in their eagerness to expand from an already intensified agricultural ecosystem on the islands of Hawai'i and east Maui (Kirch 1990b) into windward polities of O'ahu and Kaua' i where food production had not yet been maximized (Earle 1980).”

<sup>15</sup> Regarding description of both anticipatory and confirmatory ritual, prior to battle and following victory, see Valerio Valeri, “The Transformation of a Transformation: A Structural Essay on an Aspect of Hawaiian History (1809-1819),” *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, no 10 (March 1982): 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> See “Table 1: List of War Temples Collected from Early Hawaiian sources,” “Table 2: List of Places of Refuge Collected from Early Hawaiian Sources,” and accompanying description of methodology, analysis, and geographic distribution, Kolb and Smith, 522-524.

<sup>17</sup> For further detailed description of the *luakini* heiau, see Kolb and Dixon, 518.

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heiau were destroyed after 1819, with surviving examples first systematically documented beginning with Stokes in the early twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

### Criterion 6

The landmark is nationally significant in the areas of Aboriginal Prehistoric (pre-Contact) archeology and Aboriginal Historic archeology, because it has yielded, and will likely continue to yield, archeological information of major scientific importance about religious ritual architecture and patterns of cultural contact and settlement at critical moments represented by the period of significance. The site retains the potential to illuminate little understood regional patterns and also present an unprecedented historical context through which to inform long-standing areas in national scholarship regarding these themes.

As domestic areas, Pelekane/Kikiako'i and the John Young Homestead provide insight into the daily lives of the ruling class at this crucial period, uniquely illustrating through archeological evidence the traditional mores, life cycles, and social relationships practiced by the *ali'i* at this time, as well as the increasing effects of Western customs and practices on traditional culture. The Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiaus' present unprecedented information potential to understand the development, construction, function, and operations of such ritual spaces as loci for creating and maintaining political power.

The archeological sites of the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL district contain unprecedented datasets which contribute to long-standing conversations within historical archeology and related disciplines concerning the processes of cultural contact. The exploration of the complex nature of cultural contact in emergent colonial contexts is among the central arenas of theorization in historical archeology. Across disciplinary history, and in conversation with allied social sciences, scholars have variously described these emergent processes as acculturation, assimilation, hybridization, creolization, ethnogenesis, entanglement, and in many cases, resistance, persistence, articulation, and survivance. In different contexts, the outcomes of these processes are seen in terms of the expression of identity, material culture, and built environment visible in archeological contexts.

The earliest of such studies approached the period of contact by narrowly drawing attention to Indigenous acculturation on the terms of settler colonial cultures. Archeological analysis of the time accounted for such changes by quantifying the direction and thoroughness of this change through indices reflecting the proportions of European and traditional material culture (Quimby and Spoehr 1951; White 1974, Cheek 1974). Rubertone (2000:430–431) and others, however, note that these notions are overly simplistic, depicting Indigenous peoples as passive participants in the European trade. Multistranded evidence assembled from archeology, oral history, ethnography, and historical documents reveals that global processes of contact were complex, heterogenous in character and temporality, and far from unidirectional. Postcolonial scholars such as Bhabha (1994) and Appadurai (1986) moreover, have pushed scholars to engage and enact Indigenous perspectives of colonialism, upending traditional narrative binaries, and salvage stories of resistance, resilience, and adaptability. Archeologists have, in turn, documented complex processes of negotiation which frequently result not in the subsumption of Indigenous cultures but rather sometimes the creolization or ethnogenesis of new hybrid cultural identities and practices (Lightfoot 1995, 2005; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2009; Voss 2008). Recent scholarship has emphasized the formative role that centuries of engagement with Indigenous communities had in creating the political and cultural landscape out of which our nation emerged (e.g., Calloway 2018; Graeber and Wengrow 2021; Witgen 2012), and more

<sup>18</sup> James L. Flexner, Mara A. Mulrooney, Mark D. McCoy, and Patrick V. Kirch, "Visualising Hawaiian Sacred Sites: The archives and J.F.G. Stokes's pioneering archaeological surveys, 1906-1913," *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8, no. 1 (2017): 64.

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generally, challenging old narratives that imply that colonial processes such as removal and erasure were inevitable and complete.

The concentration of so many significant features within a small geographic space, creates a historic ensemble nearly unmatched in the Americas with which to explore these issues—at the watershed moment when the Hawaiian people became politically united, while simultaneously encountering for the first time Western ideas, technology, and personalities that would dominate their homeland in later years. Scholars have argued for the unique character of colonial contact in Hawai'i given the largely unique political and economic context of its reception (Flexner 2014; Bayman 2009, 2010). In contrast to many instantiations of these processes, the power elite of Hawai'i carefully controlled and influenced the “character of technological change and the construction of social identity” (Bayman 2009: 130). These decisions were enacted, and presumably materially expressed, in the domestic and political sites located within the district surrounding Pu'ukoholā Heiau, from where Kamehameha and Young controlled the circulation of materials imported and exported from the Hawaiian Islands.

Archeological investigations at Pelekane/Kikiako'i and the John Young Homestead can provide insight into the daily lives of the ruling class at this crucial period, uniquely illustrating through archeological evidence the traditional mores, life cycles, and social relationships practiced by the *ali'i* at this time, as well as the increasing influence of Western customs and practices on traditional culture. Information recovered from John Young Homestead provides a rare counterexample of traditional “type sites” for colonial encounters: an undisturbed context of a western individual “acculturating” into the Indigenous culture of the Hawaiian elites (Bayman 2010).

Young's residence, which likely included a sizeable Native Hawaiian contingent including his family, comprised architectural features, artifacts, and raw materials originating from both indigenous and European sources and clearly indicative of entangled cultural practices and identities. Excavations inside Young's residence indicate activities such as lithic core reduction of basalt and volcanic glass; activities that would have provided tools vital for survival in the island's environment, and familiar to indigenous residents of the domicile (Bayman 2010:136; Durst 2001:84; Rosendahl and Carter 1988:43). In addition, Hawaiian traditional tools such as sea urchin abraders, glass flakes, and bone abraders were utilized. Non-local materials and artifacts were also identified including objects of metal (nails, screws, a fishhook, and a key), glass (beads, bottles) and ceramic tablewares and containers.

Recent scholarship in archeology and vernacular architecture has brought nuanced understanding of the temporal and material variability by which Indigenous peoples adopted Euro-American architectural materials, building forms, and conceptions of space (Carter et al. 2005; Elliot 2011; Waselkov 2019). For example, a recent edited volume by Gregory Waselkov (2019) contains case studies that chronicle the adoption of log architecture by southeastern Indigenous peoples starting in the late eighteenth century. The volume challenges the traditional view that the transition reflected by this architectural adoption was clear evidence of the rapid and wholesale abandonment of native ways of life and assimilation to American society. Individual case studies demonstrate that each material negotiation involved a piecemeal selection of elements, accompanied by realignments of deeply held beliefs and customary behaviors including social relationships, use of household space, and accommodation to other elements of daily life.

Previous excavations at the site have defined an occupation that is clearly associated with John Young and has indicated the presence of specific activity areas within the homestead complex (Rosendahl and Carter 1988; Schuster 1992; Durst 2001; Maxey 2004; and Putzi et al. 2005). The complex of features and structures within

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the John Young residence contain a zone of Indigenous and European materials and activity spaces. There is some evidence that Young's residence, to some extent, adopted the organization of a *kauhale*, the indigenous Hawaiian household complex which divided structures and spaces for various activities and gendered divisions (Bayman 2010:138). This division of activities was further nuanced by the uncommon usage of European materials including the use of whitewashed basalt stone applied in the construction of three buildings including the main residence. Even within these structures, characteristics of indigenous Hawaiian construction were adopted such as the use of a traditional *'ili 'ili* pebble floor (Bayman 2010:139). Further research is needed to establish the sequence of construction across time, and to establish whether the Hawaiian and Western influences at the site conform to a temporal or spatial patterning. Young's residence at the site extended past the removal of the *kapu* system, the gender and class prohibitions which partially structured the traditional *kauhale* spatial organization (McCoy and Codlin 2016). Further archeological research may indicate how the construction sequence of this complex of residences might reflect the presence then removal of the *kapu* system by Liholiho in 1819. Lastly, there is also a high probability for earlier cultural deposits representing pre-Contact habitation at the site. Continuing research at the John Young Homestead can better define the character of the traditional occupation of the site, with the goal of a clearer understanding of the transitional nature of the homestead from the pre-Contact to historic periods.

The Pelekane/Kikiako'i royal compound, on the other hand, represents a valuable comparative assemblage to examine an alternate setting for the selective adoption of foreign materials by the *ali'i*. A diachronic study of the cultural landscape, building features, and midden deposits present an incomparable data set to examine the measured adoption of Western customs and practices by an indigenous elite. Archeological survey has confirmed the occupation of the area beginning in about AD 1200 (Carson 2012: 398). Midden deposits from circa 1600-1790 provide some evidence of high-status feasting or ritual activity indicating the possibility of early occupation of the site by elites, possibly associated with Mailekini Heiau.

Kamehameha I and his descendants gained distinct advantage over their rivals by adopting European technology and military strategies in their efforts to conquer and maintain control over the Hawaiian Islands. Liholiho, the son and heir of Kamehameha, resided at the Pelekane royal compound during his reign from about 1819 until the abandonment of the site around 1830 (Carson 2012: 393). While historical accounts suggest his residence was of a traditional nature, a grass dwelling floored with grass mats, archeological study may add nuance to understanding the influence of European materials in the built environment of Pelekane. At least two features in Pelekane/Kikiako'i have evidence of mortaring techniques that are similar to the central building at the John Young Homestead. These may represent the contemporaneous extension of this type of architectural technique to buildings outside the homestead.

Other questions that can be addressed about the landscape surrounding or connecting the sites of the district include:

- What was the nature of settlement and activities within a royal center of this period? Are the early post-Contact 1819 images such as by Jacques Arago and Louis Duperrey, members of a French expedition under command of Louis de Freycinet, represented archeologically? Was there significant change from earlier occupation of this area (as evidenced by archeological testing, e.g. Carson 2006)?
- Was there contemporaneity or a temporal shift between the core Pelekane/Kikiako'i area west of Mailekini Heiau, and the Pelekane areas to the north and south? If settlement activities had shifted or expanded to these areas, what does it say about the continuing function of the two *heiau* through the later part of the period of national significance, particularly after the end of the traditional religious system in 1819?



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- The area north of Pohaukole Gulch and seaward of Highway 270 is included as part of the landmark, although there is little archeological knowledge of this area. Did Pelekane/Kikiako'i extend into this area? How might it have related to the John Young Homestead, which is just to the north and northeast?

### Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau

Within the anthropological study of religious and political power, archeologists have brought attention to the presence, function, and origins of monumental architecture across cultures and times. The earliest study proceeded apace with mainland studies of mounds and other monumental structures through mapping, comparative classification, and description (Reinecke 1930; Stokes 1939). Archeologists have also investigated heiau construction and form through excavation, using absolute and relative dating techniques to reconstruct building methods and construction sequences. These data have also been analyzed through intra- and cross-regional comparative frameworks (Kolb 1992, 2006). Despite decades of focused material study of these structures, persistent questions remain regarding the function and construction of heiau across time and space. These issues have been compounded by their resistance to physical classification given the tremendous physical diversity exhibited in heiau construction and function (Cachola-Abad 1996, Stephen 2016:23-24).

Beginning with Patrick Kirch, scholars began the study of Hawaiian *heiau* and other sacred sites within the context of historical developments in Hawaiian society, and in combination with ethnohistoric documentation and indigenous Hawaiian scholarship (Kirch 1985; McCoy 2014). It is known that at least by the pre-Contact era, heiau such as Pu'ukoholā had become a "loci for creating and maintaining political power" within an increasingly complex political society (McCoy 2014:73). Recent scholarship has built upon the contextualized study using non-intrusive methods such as laser scanning, lidar, and GIS, examining multisensory and phenomenological histories of these structures in the context of broader environmental, geological, and political geographies including their construction in relation to astronomical alignments or viewsheds (Mulrooney et al. 2005, Philips et al. 2015, Stephens 2016).

Despite Contact period descriptions and artistic renditions, the appearance of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau at the time they were functioning temples is uncertain. McCoy's (2014) portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) study of the Pu'ukoholā Heiau's architectural stones and Stephen's (2016) dissertation, focused on the sensory experience at the heiau, are two academic projects that have attempted to address these sites. Detailed analysis of surface features of the *heiau*, in the same manner of Masse et al. (1991), may help to define similarities and differences between the two structures, as well as aid comparison with other extant *luakini* of the time.

### SIGNIFICANT DATES

AD 1790– 1791

Kamehameha I is instructed by a *kahuna* to rebuild the *heiau* at Pu'ukoholā in order to take possession of the Hawaiian Islands. Thousands of Hawaiians, including Kamehameha himself, participate in the construction.

AD 1791

Kamehameha kills his rival Keōua at Pelekane (Kikiako'i), consolidating his rule over the island of Hawai'i. Keōua is sacrificed at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and his body is baked in an earth oven called Kikiako'i.

AD 1790– 1804

Kamehameha establishes his primary residence at Kikiako'i in Kawaihae.

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- AD 1793– 1835                      John Young occupies a homestead at Kawaihae. In 1798, he moves from the lower portion of the homestead to the upper portion, where he directs construction of what is now the present John Young Homestead.
- AD 1812                                Mailekini Heiau is converted to a fort containing twenty-one cannons to protect Kawaihae Bay.
- AD 1819                                Kamehameha I dies. Liholiho (Kamehameha II) attempts to sanctify his succession as king at Pu'ukoholā Heiau but fails. Shortly after, Liholiho abolishes the *kapu* system, and the traditional Hawaiian religious system is abandoned.
- AD 1820                                American Protestant missionaries confer with John Young at Kawaihae, prior to approaching Liholiho at Kailua for permission to begin ministry in the islands.
- AD 1835                                At the age of 93, John Young falls ill at Kawaihae and is taken to Honolulu, where he dies two weeks later.

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### 6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

#### Ownership of Property

Private:  
Public-Local:  
Public-State: X  
Public-Federal: X

#### Category of Property

Building(s):  
District: X  
Site:  
Structure:  
Object:

#### Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

##### Contributing

Buildings:  
Sites: 16  
Structures: 2  
Objects: 1  
Total: 19

##### Noncontributing

Buildings:  
Sites: 5  
Structures: 6  
Objects:  
Total: 11

DRAFT

### PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated.)

#### INTRODUCTION

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark (NHL) is a 42.46-acre historic and archeological district overlooking Kawaihae Bay on the dry, west (leeward) side of Hawai'i Island, South Kohala District, Kawaihae 2 Ahupua'a (a traditional Hawaiian land division extending from the uplands to the sea). It is located at the south end of Kawaihae, a small community approximately 35 miles north of Kailua-Kona via Highway 19.

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 29, 1962, and thus automatically listed in the National Register in 1966. The original landmark consisted of an approximately ten-acre area that focused on Pu'ukoholā Heiau. In 1973, National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination documentation for an area encompassing 76.57 acres was prepared, consistent with the 1972 establishment of the National Historic Site; the nomination incorporated Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau, Hale o Kapuni Heiau, and the John Young Homestead (Ladd 1973). In both nominations, no well-defined boundary was established. The present nomination updates the description of the landmark with archeological, historical, and cultural data that have been collected since 1973, and establishes expanded landmark boundaries (albeit not inclusive of the entirety of the National Historic Site).

As discussed above, the Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criteria 1, 2, 4, and 6 in the areas of Archeology/Prehistoric, Archeology/Historic-

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Aboriginal, Architecture, Ethnic Heritage/Pacific Islander, Politics/Government, Religion, and Social History. It is the location of key events during the unification of the Hawaiian Islands and the founding years of the Kingdom of Hawai'i; it is strongly associated with the nationally significant individuals Kamehameha I, John Young, and Kamehameha's successor Liholiho; it contains a variety of unique structures that demonstrate traditional and early historic Hawaiian architectural and construction techniques; and it has yielded and is still likely to yield archeological information about the lifeways of indigenous Hawaiians during the eras immediately preceding and following contact with foreign—particularly Western—visitors.

The Hawaiian *ali'i nui* (paramount chief) Kamehameha I occupied a major royal center in this area in 1790, during a crucial phase of the political and military campaign that culminated in his conquest of all but one of the major Hawaiian Islands, and his formation of a united Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1810. The landmark contains two monumental stone *heiau* (traditional Hawaiian temples), an extensive historic settlement area, the remains of one of the first Western-style residences in the Hawaiian Islands, and other features associated with the royal center during its active period. John Young, a marooned British sailor who became a close advisor to Kamehameha during Hawaiian unification, and who served as the kingdom's point-of-contact with foreign visitors during Kamehameha's reign, lived on a homestead in the royal center from 1793 until his death in 1835; the ruins of the upper portion of this homestead are located in the northernmost portion of the landmark.

The contributing resources to the landmark are summarized below:

- Pu'ukoholā Heiau: A massive stone *heiau* near the summit of Pu'ukoholā (“the hill of the whale”), and the most prominent structure within the landmark boundary. Kamehameha built this *luakini heiau* (temple of human sacrifice) on the advice of a famous *kahuna* (priest), who predicted that the act would gain him rulership over the Hawaiian Islands.
- Mailekini Heiau: Another large stone *heiau* near the base of Pu'ukoholā. This *heiau*, which likely predates Pu'ukoholā Heiau by centuries, was converted to a gun fortress by John Young to defend Kawaihae during the early 1800s.
- Pelekane (Kikiako'i): The area along the Kawaihae shoreline below the two *heiau* that contained a major royal center, where Kamehameha and other Hawaiian *ali'i* (chief) lived, worked, and received visitors. Keōua Kū'ahu'ula, Kamehameha's chief rival for Hawai'i Island, was killed on the beach here in 1791, and sacrificed at Pu'ukoholā Heiau.
- Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau: A stone *heiau* in the waters offshore of Pelekane that was reputedly used to feed human sacrifices to sharks. Although the *heiau* is no longer visible and has never been surveyed nor definitively photographed, its existence is confirmed by local and historical sources.
- Stone Leaning Post (or *Pōhaku o Alapa'i kūpalupalu manō*, meaning “the rock of Alapa'i who puts the shark bait out”): The fragments of a tall stone post located on the Pelekane shoreline. This stone was purportedly used by the *ali'i* (including Kamehameha) as a “seat” to oversee nearby activities, including the feeding of sharks at Hale-o-Kapuni.
- John Young Homestead (Pahukanilua): The upper portion of John Young's homestead in Kawaihae, which served as his primary residence from 1798 until his death in 1835. The homestead contains the remains of several stone buildings and structures, including the first Western-style buildings built in the Hawaiian Islands.

The excellent integrity of many of the landmark's resources, particularly Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, and the concentration of so many significant features within a small geographic space, creates a historic ensemble nearly unmatched in the Hawaiian Islands, and serves as a unique monument to the political,

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domestic, and religious lives of the native Hawaiian people—an indigenous United States population—at the watershed moment when they became politically united, while simultaneously encountering for the first time Western ideas, technology, and personalities that would dominate their homeland in later years. The period of significance for the Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Landmark is from AD 1790 to 1835.

### ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The following discussion of the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL environmental setting is largely adapted from Dunbar (1991).

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL lies at the midpoint of Kawaihae Bay, a broad indentation of the northwest coast of Hawai'i Island. It is situated at the base of the southern Kohala Mountains, an extinct volcano that is one of five overlapping volcanoes that comprise the island of Hawai'i (three of which are still active). Hawai'i is both the largest and the youngest island in the Hawaiian group, and a land of striking contrasts, containing verdant rainforests, arid deserts, parched lava flows, freezing snowstorms on mountain peaks, and the intense heat of volcanic eruptions.

#### Geology

The terrain within the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL consists of gentle, widely dissected slopes with dry, intermittently flooding channels and gulches. Pliocene and older aged basaltic flows of the Pololu Volcanic Series form the geologic foundation of the landmark area. Soil development, typically thin to nearly non-existent, is derived from a high proportion of relatively recent volcanic materials. The principal soil present is Kawaihae stony loam derived from Pahala ash deposits, which overlies the flows of the Pololu Volcanic Series. This soil has little organic content, is quite shallow, and is subject to extensive aeolian erosion. Bare rock outcrops are common in the area (Rosendahl and Carter 1988).

Due to its large and active volcanoes, Hawai'i Island is more prone to seismic disturbances than the other Hawaiian Islands, and experiences numerous small earthquakes every year. Larger earthquakes are rarer—the Kawaihae area has experienced eleven earthquakes greater than magnitude 4.0 in the last fifty years (West Hawai'i Today 2014)—but can be widely destructive, frequently causing landslides, utility failures, and structural collapses; two 2006 earthquakes off the west coast of the island, for example, significantly damaged several structures within the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL (this incident and subsequent rehabilitation efforts are discussed above). Tsunamis resulting from offshore earthquakes also threaten coastal areas such as the NHL, although historically, seismic sea waves originating in distant areas of the Pacific Ocean have posed greater dangers than those generated by local earthquakes. Although several coastal areas of Hawai'i Island have been devastated by tsunamis during the last century, the Kawaihae area has never historically been significantly impacted by such an event.

#### Climate and Hydrology

The Kawaihae area climate is arid, with fewer than 280 mm (11 in.) of rain annually, most of which falls during the six-month winter season between November and March (Giambelluca et al. 2013). The mean annual temperature is 77 degrees Fahrenheit (25 degrees Celsius). Northeast trade winds predominate most of the year; however, the winter season is marked by strong southwesterly or *kona* winds that generate much of the winter rainfall. As the Alenuihaha Channel that separates the island of Maui from Hawai'i is particularly dangerous to small craft due to the deflection and channeling of the trade winds between the mountains on these islands, the strong current, and consequent rough seas during much of the year (Fellbaum 1984; Richards and Frederick

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1885), Kawaihae, on the leeward side of the island is well placed for those preparing to cross or for observing/intercepting boats and ships crossing from Maui.

The entire western or leeward side of Hawai'i Island, from the northern tip to the southern tip of the island, lacks a single permanently flowing stream. The northern portion of the landmark is dissected by intermittent stream drainages, three of which are named: Makahuna Gulch at the northern boundary; and Poki'iahua (also called Makeahua) and Pohaukole Gulches between the north boundary and the two main *heiau*. Harbor construction has altered the original coastline so that Makahuna Gulch flows into the modern Kawaihae Harbor, and Poki'iahua and Pohaukole Gulches empty into Hale-o-Kapuni channel.<sup>19</sup> Coastline change over time is modelled by Vitousek et al. (2009).

### Flora and Fauna

Vegetation in the area consists primarily of historically introduced xerophytic exotics, such as buffelgrass (*Cenchrus ciliaris*), a perennial introduced in the 1930s that now covers much of the NHL, as well as some Guinea grass (*Panicum maximum*) and lantana (*Lantana camera*) in the moister gulches (MacNeil and Hemmes 1977). *Kiawe* (*Prosopis pallida*), introduced to Hawai'i in 1828, is the dominant tree, with *koa haole* (*Leucaena leucocephala*) present in limited amounts.

The native plants *'ilima* (*Sida fallax*) and *pololei* (*Ophioglossum concinnum*) still grow in the vicinity of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Other native species in the NHL probably present before Western contact, as inferred from early historic accounts, are *pā'ū o hi'iaka* (*Jacquemontia sandwicensis*) and *hākonakona* (*Panicum torridum*), as well as coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) trees (USDI 1989; McEldowney 1983). The National Park Service (NPS) staff is currently attempting to replant patches of native *pili* grass (*Heteropogon contortus*) near the *heiau*.

Animal life in the NHL today is limited to alien mammals such as the mongoose, rat, field mouse, and goat; tribes of wild goats often wander atop the *heiau*. Alien bird species like the white-eye, house sparrow, mynah, dove, and cardinal are fairly common, and some endemic owl species may also be present.

### HISTORIC SETTING

The following discussion of the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL historic setting is partially adapted from Dunbar (1991).

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL is located just south of Kawaihae, a small community that predates the royal center and has been closely associated with the landmark since the late eighteenth century. The dominant feature of modern Kawaihae is the large Kawaihae Harbor just north of the NHL, one of the busiest industrial harbors on Hawai'i Island. The name Kawaihae means "water-of-wrath" (Pukui et al. 1974) and is said to derive from the battles fought over the scarce water in this arid area (Kelly 1974).

The post-Contact period in Hawaii began in 1778 with the arrival of a British expedition under the command of Captain James Cook. In 1779, Cook was killed in an incident at Kealakekua Bay in Kona. His party sailed north to Kawaihae, where Captain James King recorded his first observations of the bay (Beaglehole 1967, brackets added):

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<sup>19</sup> Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle (2006) name the small cove southwest of Pelekane beach as Hale-o-Kapuni (or Haleokapuni) channel. According to NPS staff, it is commonly known as Pelekane Bay. As of August 9, 2015, the U.S. Geological Survey has no registered name for this feature.

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

At historic contact, Kawaihae appears to have consisted of a string of thatched houses extending across an approximately 3.46 km area along the shore, both north and south of the royal center (Clark 1983; Wiswell and Kelly 1978). A map made by Louis Duperrey during an 1819 expedition indicates approximately 110 to 115 buildings and structures in the area (Wiswell and Kelly 1978). In 1823, William Ellis (1979) estimated the number of houses to be around 100.

Early foreign visitors described Kawaihae in stark terms such as “desolate,” “destitute,” “barren,” “scorching,” and “oppressively hot” (e.g., Allen 1847; Bird 1974). Archibald Menzies, the naturalist for George Vancouver’s exploratory expeditions in 1792 and 1793, and one of the few early visitors to Kawaihae to venture inland, contrasted the coastal zone with the verdant, cool, and moist interior plains of Waimea (Menzies 1920, brackets added):

I traveled a few miles back [...] through the most barren, scorching country I have ever walked over, composed of scorious dregs and black porous rocks, interspersed with dreary caverns and deep ravines. The herbs and grasses which the soil produced in the rainy seasons were now mostly in the shriveled state, thinly scattered and by no means sufficient to cover the surface from the sun’s powerful heat, so that I met with very few plants in flower in this excursion. A little higher up, however, I saw in the verge of the woods several fine plantations, and my guides took great pains to inform me that the inland country was very fertile and numerously inhabited. Indeed, I could readily believe the truth of these assertions, from the number of people I met loaded with the produce of their plantations and bringing it down to the water side to market, for the consumption was now great, not only by the ship, but by the concourse of people which curiosity brought into the vicinity of the bay.

What truly set Kawaihae apart from all other coastal settlements in leeward Kohala during the late pre-Contact/early post-Contact period was the bay itself, which has long been considered one of the best harbors on Hawai‘i Island (Greene 1993). The harbor’s high quality, in addition to Kawaihae’s relative proximity to the inland Kohala Field System and the productive Waimea agricultural zone, are probably some of the major reasons why the area was selected as the primary trading port for foreign ships during the Kingdom of Hawai‘i’s earliest years (Clark 1983).

### MODERN SETTING

The Pu‘ukoholā Heiau NHL is located within the Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site (PUHE), an 86-acre area managed by the NPS since 1972. This large tract of land encompasses most of the key NHL properties and allows the NPS to preserve large portions of the surrounding landscape in a natural state while providing room for the modern improvements that serve park staff and visitors. The two major NPS facilities currently within the PUHE boundary are the Park Headquarters—a cluster of wood buildings with associated parking and lawn areas that is used for NPS activities, located in a roughly 9,100 m<sup>2</sup> (square meter) area about 75 m (meters) southeast of Pu‘ukoholā Heiau—and the Visitor Center—a stone and wood facility containing an information center, gift shop, parking area, and restrooms for park visitors, located in a roughly 6,600 m<sup>2</sup> area 175 m south

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of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Although these facilities are clearly visible when entering the park and intrude into views from Pu'ukoholā Heiau of the landscape to the south, they generally impact only the most distant views of the NHL resources from the ground. Several smaller NPS maintenance and storage facilities, as well as paved park trails and information stands, also exist within the PUHE boundary, but are minimally intrusive.

Beyond the west boundary of PUHE, and adjacent to Pelekane and Hale-o-Kapuni channel, is a massive coral flat that is part of the large Kawaihae Harbor to the north and the smaller Kawaihae Small Boat Harbor to the west. This manmade fill area, which has dramatically altered the original Kawaihae shoreline, spans a 77-acre area, almost as large as PUHE itself, and significantly impacts the historic integrity of beach views from the *heiau* and Pelekane. The eastern portion of the flat, an area of about nine acres, also covers the northern portion of the historic Pelekane area, including the lower portion of John Young's original homestead.

Spencer Beach Park, built in 1936, is a complex of wood beach park shelters, landscaped lawns, footpaths, and parking areas located south of the PUHE boundary, beginning approximately 60 m south of the Visitor Center and extending roughly 280 m south along the shoreline. The park, which is adjacent to the southern boundary of Pelekane, has altered the historic shoreline, and impacts the integrity of landscape views to the south when viewed from Pelekane and the *heiau*. The park does not impact views to the north within the NHL boundary.

The two-lane Highway 270 ('Akoni Pule Highway), which serves as Kawaihae's primary roadway, transverses the northwest portion of both the park and NHL boundaries. The highway runs just 20 m to the west of the John Young Homestead, forming a barrier that physically separates the homestead from the rest of the NHL. A thick line of *kiawe* trees (*Prosopis sp.*, introduced to O'ahu in 1828, and therefore not likely part of the landscape during the period of significance) partially isolates the homestead from the highway, but also obscures landscape views to the west and south, compromising an otherwise clear view of Pu'ukoholā Heiau from the homestead; the trees also fail to fully insulate the homestead from road noise. Views of the landscape to the north and east of the John Young Homestead are minimally impacted.

## CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL contains religious and domestic structures, habitation and farming areas, and landscape objects which together represent a major center of Hawaiian political, military, religious, diplomatic, and trade activity during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, during Hawai'i's transition from the traditional, pre-Contact era to the early historic, post-Contact era. These resources are especially noteworthy for their association with three prominent Hawaiian figures—Kamehameha I, John Young, and Liholiho, Kamehameha's son and successor—and with key events of the period of national significance: Kamehameha's conquest of the Hawaiian Islands; his formation of a unified kingdom; Young's tenure as the chief foreign agent for the new realm; and Liholiho's abandonment of the traditional religious system. The six major contributing resources to the landmark are discussed individually below. Each of the six sections begins with a detailed physical description of the resource's current condition and concludes with a summary of historical documentation of the evolution of the resource from the period of national significance to the present.

### Pu'ukoholā Heiau (contributing structure)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau is a large, multi-level structure of dry-laid, stacked basalt stones located on Pu'ukoholā rise—the "Hill of the Whale"—overlooking Kawaihae Harbor. Like other pre-Contact Hawaiian stone



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constructions, Pu'ukoholā Heiau was built using *ho'oniho* (dry-set) masonry techniques that employ gravity and contact points between unshaped *pōhaku* (stones) to bind and stabilize the larger structure.

The *heiau* is roughly parallelogram-shaped in plan, although the north and east walls bend outward moderately to follow the contours of the underlying hill, the western terraces have a seaward-curving orientation, and the high south wall is angled to provide greater stability along the slope, although earthquake damage has also exacerbated the curve here. The structure roughly measures between 58 m and 64 m north to south, and from 27.5 m and 38 m east to west. Its height above the sloped ground surface ranges from 3.4 m to 8.8 m, and its maximum height above the ocean surface is around 45.4 m.

A massive stone wall forms the east, north, and south perimeters of the *heiau* platform, shielding the interior from winds sweeping down from the uplands. Three long and narrow terraces dominate the west side of the *heiau*, stepping down the slope of the hill towards the sea. The *heiau* walls are constructed largely of boulder-sized stones stacked compactly together: the long axes of the face stones are angled into the wall, and the core stones are interlocked, contributing to the stability of the structure.

A stairway at the northwest corner of the structure, which runs between the outer northern wall and the uppermost of the three western terraces, provides access to the interior. The feature is 3 m long x 1.5 m wide and consists of eighteen stone steps. This stairway is very likely an original feature of the *heiau*, and unique in Hawaiian temple architecture.

The interior contains stone platforms and paving associated with religious and habitation activities during the active period of the *heiau*. The two platforms at the southernmost edge of the court were probably used to display *ki'i* of the *akua* (god figures representative of a multitude of deities) and an *anu'u* (tower), with the principal *ki'i* placed on the larger platform, and lesser *ki'i* on the curved platform. Like the stairway, the curved platform is a rare feature in Hawaiian *heiau* architecture. The large, ovoid area north of the platforms is a smooth, level pavement constructed primarily of waterworn stones, and probably held the *lele* (altar).

The northern portion of the inner court contains the raised stone platform that served as the foundation for the houses of the *kahuna* and the king. The platform is generally constructed of rough, dark-colored slabs of pahoehoe, although two large, roughly rectangular areas near the center of the platform are paved with finer pebbles, sand, and coral. Several lines of stones across the platform probably mark doorways and other features associated with the house structures; one such feature might have been the wood *hale malu* (rest shelter) of Kūkā'ilimoku, the war god of Kamehameha I (Kamakau 1961).

### Historical Descriptions of Pu'ukoholā Heiau

The following discussion of the historical appearance of Pu'ukoholā Heiau is partially adapted from Dunbar (1991).

Descriptions and drawings of the *heiau* were made by foreign visitors to Hawai'i during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g., Bingham 1847; Ellis 1979; Menzies 1920). Crucially, these early narratives reference original architectural features that are no longer visible on the modern *heiau* due to deterioration, environmental changes, vandalism, or the radical reconstruction of structures during early attempts to repair and maintain the *heiau* (the present integrity of the landmark resources is discussed in a later section). Similar records made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—which include photographs and archeological

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surveys—additionally document inadvertent and deliberate changes to the *heiau* over time. Collectively, these historical sources have proven an invaluable source for guiding modern stabilization and restoration efforts.

Menzies (1920, brackets added) was the first westerner to view the temple, during an active ceremonial period in 1792 or 1793:

In returning back to the waterside again, I went towards a little marae [temple], with an intention to view the inside of it, but my guides told me it was so strictly tabooed that they durst not indulge my curiosity without risking their own lives. They told me it was built about two years before in commemoration of a famous victory gained over Keoua, the last surviving issue of Kalaniopuu, who was king of the island at the time Captain Cook was killed. This unfortunate prince [...] was worsted in battle and he and eleven of his adherents were put to death near this marae. I was shown the spot on which this happened and where their bodies were interred, but their skulls are still displayed as ornamental trophies on the rail around the marae.

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

Jacques Arago, a draftsman on a French scientific expedition commanded by Louis de Freycinet, sketched Pu'ukoholā Heiau in 1819, shortly before the traditional Hawaiian religious system was abolished by Liholiho, Kamehameha's son and heir, following his father's death (Wiswell and Kelly 1978).

Missionary Hiram Bingham (1847, brackets added) described the *heiau* in 1820, when it was very likely still in a near-original state:

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

Missionary William Ellis' 1823 description (1979, brackets added) is probably the most complete of the earliest primary sources:

[...] Its shape is an irregular parallelogram, 224 feet long, and 100 feet wide. The walls, though built of loose stones, were solid and compact. At both ends, and on the side next to the

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mountains, they were twenty feet high, twelve feet thick at the bottom, but narrowed in gradually towards the top, where a course of smooth stones, six feet wide, formed a pleasant walk. The walls next to the sea were not more than seven or eight feet high, and were proportionally wide. The entrance to the temple is by a narrow passage between two high walls.

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

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

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

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

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

On the day in which he was brought within its precincts, vast offerings of fruit, hogs, and dogs, were presented, and no less than eleven human victims immolated on its altars.

These descriptions are generally consistent with the observations made by the Bishop Museum during their 1960s survey (Cluff et al. 1969). Notably, however, none of these descriptions (nor the Arago drawing) mention the low stone walls extending seaward from the north and south ends of Pu'ukoholā Heiau that are present today. However, these walls appear in Jackson's 1883 survey map of Kawaihae Bay, and in several 1880s photographs of the area. It is not clear when precisely the walls were built, or what their original function was; they may have been constructed, for example, to demarcate and control desecration of the area downslope of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, which was considered sacred (Kamakau 1961), or they may have simply been cattle walls.

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The artist James Gay Sawkins painted a panorama of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau (as viewed from the shoreline to the northeast) sometime between 1850 and 1852. His depiction of Pu'ukoholā Heiau closely resembles its modern form, with two notable exceptions: the low stone wall that projects from the northwest corner of the *heiau* today is not present in the painting (as discussed above), and a large wedge- or pyramid-shaped structure at the southwest corner of the temple does not exist today, nor has it been recorded in other historical descriptions or photographs.

Photographs of Pu'ukoholā Heiau during the 1880s show that the locking stones along the northwest corner of the wall near the *heiau* entrance—at least during this period—were white and formed a sloping line clearly visible from the coastline. An undated photograph (probably also from the 1880s) of the northwest corner taken from the upper *heiau* platform shows these white stones in greater detail, although it is not clear if the stones are limestone, lime-plastered basalt like those found at other locations in the NHL such as the John Young Homestead, or rocks encrusted by calcium carbonate, a naturally deposited mineral common in the NHL area. Oddly, no written historical description of Pu'ukoholā Heiau notes this unique feature, and the white stones were no longer present by 1906 (Stokes 1991). It is not known if this white line was an original feature of the *heiau*, if it was added during the middle or late nineteenth century, or when it was removed.

Also notable in the photograph of the northwest corner of the *heiau* are two stacked stone cairns atop the outer *heiau* wall. Again, it is not known when these cairns were constructed or what function they served. Although these cairns are not mentioned specifically in the historical descriptions of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, eyewitnesses during the *heiau*'s active period note that wooden *akua* (multitude of deities) representative images (Ellis 1979; Wiswell and Kelly 1978) and human skulls mounted on a wooden rail (Menzies 1920) were exhibited on the outer wall; it is therefore possible that the cairns in the photograph once supported these objects.

### Mailekini Heiau (contributing structure)

Mailekini Heiau is the older and smaller of the two *heiau* on Pu'ukoholā hill, located about 50 m downslope and to the west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and slightly upslope and east of the core Pelekane area. Like Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau is roughly parallelogram-shaped in plan, with the south wall bending slightly outward to match the contours of the rise. The temple measures roughly 82 m north to south and 16.75 m east to west. The height of the *heiau* ranges from 1 m to 6.8 m above the ground surface, and its maximum height above mean sea level is around 17.75 m. The name “Mailekini” translates as “many maile (*Alyxia oliviformis*) vines” (Pukui et al. 1974).

The *heiau* straddles a slight gully, causing the north and south ends of the structure to be slightly higher than the middle. The east, north, and south sides of the *heiau* are bordered by a massive wall that is paved along the top with small, waterworn basalt stones and coral fragments. Like Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the wall faces are constructed with carefully placed slabs of basalt stones angling down into the rubble-filled core.

Unlike the other *heiau* walls, the west (seaward) wall is low (1-2 m high), unusually wide (about 2 m), and almost perfectly straight. The wall is composed of stones of various shapes, sizes, and textures. A shallow ditch runs between the west wall and the interior *heiau* platform; this ditch may have been built (or modified) when the *heiau* was converted into a cannon fort by John Young during the early nineteenth century.

The southern portion of the *heiau* interior largely consists of a rock-strewn dirt floor that slopes downward towards the center of the structure. The *heiau*'s central section is paved with waterworn stones, but mostly covered by a large heap of reddish-brown basalt rubble with no clear origin or function. The northern portion of

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*heiau* was at one time the most disturbed, showing heavy wall destruction and dismantling (Cluff et al. 1969), but has since been repaired.



### Historical Descriptions of Mailekini Heiau

The following discussion of the historic appearance of Mailekini Heiau is partially adapted from Dunbar (1991).

Mailekini Heiau, which is smaller and less strongly associated with Kamehameha I than the nearby Pu'ukoholā Heiau, was perfunctorily recorded by early foreign visitors to Kawaihae. Ellis (1979, brackets added) briefly described the *heiau* in 1823:

[...] On leaving Bukohola [Pu'ukoholā], accompanied by some natives, I visited Mairikini [Mailekini], another *heiau*, a few hundred yards nearer the shore. It was nearly equal in its dimensions to that on the summit of the hill, but inferior in every other respect. It appeared to have been literally crowded with idols, but no human sacrifices were offered to any of its gods.

The presence of god images in Mailekini Heiau at this time is noteworthy because the traditional Hawaiian religion had been abolished in 1819, four years earlier. Assuming Ellis' description is accurate, it is unclear why these figures were permitted to remain in the *heiau* at this late date, rather than being destroyed or hidden.

Mailekini Heiau was adapted for use as a cannon fortress by John Young during the early post-Contact period, but beyond the mention of the fort's existence by contemporary visitors to the area, a precise description of the fortification does not exist. Archeological evidence suggests that the cannons were protected by a wood wall into which gun ports were cut, with the guns placed on planks to accommodate recoil (Apple 1969).



### **Pelekane (Kikiako'i)**

Pelekane (traditionally known as Kikiako'i) encompasses the shoreline area to the northwest, west, and southwest of Mailekini Heiau. From the late pre-Contact period and possibly earlier, it served as a royal compound for the Hawaiian *ali'i*. During the landmark's period of national significance, its most notable resident was Kamehameha I.

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The historic boundary of Pelekane has never been precisely defined and is therefore somewhat open to interpretation. Pelekane today is most closely associated with the shoreline area west and northwest of Mailekini Heiau, which encompasses the tree-covered park and beach fronting Hale-o-Kapuni channel, and includes the possible ruins of several traditional structures below and to the west of the *heiau*, including the Stone Leaning Post (see discussion below). However, analysis of historical and archeological data suggests that Pelekane occupied a much larger shoreline area, likely necessary to accommodate the large number of people who would have supported the royal family.

Duperrey's sketch, which labels the area as "Maisons du Roi" (translated here as "king's houses"), points to the center of royal residence, but also shows several structures south of Mailekini Heiau. Remnant stone features are also present along the shoreline to the southwest of Mailekini and Pu'ukoholā Heiau, extending to the Spencer Beach Park boundary. Some of these structures incorporate a coral lime plaster similar to that used at the John Young Homestead as well as other nineteenth century properties. An oral historical account that Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife, had a bathing spot in the area that is occupied by the present Spencer Beach Park (W. Akau and E. Laau, in Kelly 1974) suggests that the royal center extended at least that far south.

To the north of Mailekini Heiau, much of the historic coastline that may once have contained portions of Pelekane—including the lower portion of John Young's former homestead—has been buried by coral fill associated with Kawaihae Harbor development, although it is possible that remnant features remain preserved below the coral flat. Archeological features have also been identified during reconnaissance surveys in the densely vegetated area immediately inland of the coral flat, but they have not yet been assessed. Several stone enclosures south of Pohaukole Gulch, and roughly 80 to 180 m north of the two *heiau*, could also represent portions of Pelekane.

In sum, Pelekane/Kikiako'i includes a number of historic resources that can be grouped into four primary clusters: the core area; south of Mailekini Heiau; in and on the south side of Pohaukole Gulch; and north of Pohaukole Gulch. Table 1 lists the contributing components of the Pelekane/Kikiako'i site and includes the primary cluster in which a specific property is located. Features within Pelekane/Kikiako'i that are noncontributing to the landmark—because their construction/use fall outside of the period of significance, or they have lost their integrity due to modern alterations—are also noted.

Pelekane today contains the remnants of stacked stone platforms, walls, slope modifications, and alignments that mark the locations of the former dwellings. The core area of historic Pelekane lies around the present Pelekane beach, which runs about 100 m on a northwest to southeast axis. The mouth of Pohaukole Gulch lies at the north end of the beach, and slightly further north is the constructed coral flat of Kawaihae Harbor. Hale-o-Kapuni channel lies southwest of the beach. Immediately northeast of the beach, a 130 x 40 m area relatively clear of ground vegetation serves as an informal park, with a few benches and logs providing seating. Two species of native trees, *milo* (*Thespesia populnea*) and *niu* (coconut; *Cocos nucifera*), fill the park area; the *milo* was probably planted recently, but the coconut trees could be remnant of a grove that has existed in the area since at least the 1880s (Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle 2006). A roughly 500 m dirt road originating at Kawaihae Harbor to the north terminates along the eastern edge of the park.

There are no visible archeological features at either the beach or the informal park, although a remnant stone terrace and patches of stone paving have been identified along the west edge of the dirt road. Historically, the park area may have been located within the Pohaukole Gulch floodplain, which rendered it too unstable to

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support permanent construction; it was probably filled in with rubble and covered by stone paving during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Carson 2005, 2006).

The core area of Pelekane lies to the east of the dirt road, within an open, parallelogram-shaped area that contains several remnant stone mounds, alignments, terraces, and paved areas (Carson 2005, 2006). This area is specifically featured in many nineteenth century visual records, including Duperrey's 1819 drawing and several photographs from the 1880s. The amount and degree of activity during two centuries of nearly continuous use in this area strongly suggests that these core area surface features have been greatly impacted. However, sections of stone paving and outlines of enclosures are visible just below portions of the compacted dirt surface, and archeological testing in the core area indicates the presence of intact cultural deposits (Carson 2006).

The shoreline south of the beach and extending about 280 m to the Spencer Beach Park boundary [REDACTED] [REDACTED] that are an extension of the core Pelekane area (Sites 23966, 23970, 23971, 24398 to 24400). These features, which are apparent on the grassy expanse on both the *makai* (seaward) and *mauka* (inland) sides of the paved park trail closest to the shoreline, include the remains of several large, stacked stone walls, enclosures, platforms, and midden deposits. Artifacts found at some of the structures indicate they may date to the middle nineteenth century or earlier. For example, one platform incorporates a coral lime plaster that resembles the sort used for the Western-style structures on the John Young Homestead, implying that the platform could be contemporaneous with Young's. A fragment of Muntz metal, a type of brass alloy used to sheathe ship hulls from the 1830s onward, was found on another platform; this Western maritime artifact underscores Kawaihae's role as an important trading center during the early 1800s. Many of these features are associated with continued habitation, as well as ranching activities, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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Table 1. Recorded Components of the Pelekane/Kikiako‘i Contributing Resource Area

State Site No.	Name/Description	Cluster	Contributing	Noncontributing	Archeological Source	Map Source
02296	John Young Homestead	Pahukanilua	x	n/a	Somers 1985, Schuster 1992	n/a
02297/ 24053	Pelekane/Kikiako‘i; north portion inland of Pelekane beach	core Pelekane area	x	three long mounds (Fea. 121-123)	Barrera and Kelly 1974; Soehren 1964; Carson 2005, 2006	Duperrey 1819; Jackson 1883
02297/ 24055	Pelekane/Kikiako‘i; south portion seaward of Mailekini Heiau	core Pelekane area	x	n/a	Carson 2005, 2006	Duperrey 1819; Jackson 1883
23966	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	x	n/a	Dougherty et al. 2003; PUHE site form	n/a
23970	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	x	n/a	Dougherty et al. 2003; PUHE site form	n/a
23971	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	area outside of visitor center landscaping)	n/a	Dougherty et al. 2003; PUHE site form	n/a
24051	Petroglyphs, pictographs; six sets, of which petroglyphs are traditional motifs (Fea. 128, 129, 134), one pictograph is of a horse or other four-legged animal (Fea. 137)	in Pohaukole Gulch	four sets (Fea. 128, 129, 134, 137)	two sets of pictographs (Fea. 135, 136) apparently drawn in cement liquid from concrete production plant	Carson 2005	n/a
24052	Complex of enclosures and platforms; two enclosures with mud mortar (Fea. 61, 72), two platforms of characteristic traditional Hawaiian dry stone masonry (Fea. 67, 69), one modified slope (Fea. 124)	south of Pohaukole Gulch	two enclosures, two platforms, modified slope (Fea. 61, 67, 69, 72, 124)	features related to the concrete production plant (Fea. 59, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73-79, 125, 126)	Soehren 1964; Carson 2005	n/a
24054	Complex that includes paving underneath west exterior of Mailekini Heiau (Fea. 15),	core Pelekane area	paving, wall and modified slope (Fea. 15, 23, 24)	midden and mounds (Fea. 10-14, 16-22)	Carson 2005	n/a



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24398			x	n/a	PUHE site form	n/a
24399			x	n/a	Soehren 1964 PUHE site form	n/a
24400			x	n/a	Soehren 1964 PUHE site form	n/a
31288	Single feature site consisting of a possible historic ritual human sacrifice mound, possibly "Keoua Ka'ahu'ula Imu"	south of Pohaukole Gulch	x	n/a	PUHE site form	n/a
31290	Platform- consisting of three features (two platforms from an as-yet unknown period	south of Pohaukole Gulch	x	n/a	PUHE site form	n/a
31291	Alignment-enclosure complex consisting of nine features (seven alignments and two enclosures), the function and time period of which are currently unknown	south of Pohaukole Gulch and east side of Highway 270	area within park boundaries	n/a	PUHE site form	n/a
31292	Historic terrace-mound complex consisting of five	south of Mailekini Heiau	x	n/a	PUHE site form	n/a

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Duperrey's 1819 map of Kawaihae shows at least three buildings/structures south of Mailekini Heiau, within the general area marked "Maisons du Roi" ("the king's houses"). These could correspond to the archeological remains in this southern Pelekane area.

Inland of the core Pelekane area within and on the south side of Pohaukole Gulch are petroglyphs/pictographs (Site 24051), and several stone enclosures and platforms (Site 24052) that could also be related to the period of national significance. Situated on the dry, brush-covered, and hilly expanse north of the *heiau*, these structures could be associated with Pelekane during its active period, or may be related to later habitation, ranching, and burial activities. One such structure, for example is a 14 x 14 m enclosure built with stones bonded by mud mortar (Feature 1 of Site 24052). It has been variously interpreted as a goat pen, an armory associated with the royal residence, and a *hale pe'a* (menstrual house) that isolated "unclean" women from the sacred *heiau* and habitation areas (Carson 2005; Pukui and Elbert 1986). The use of mud mortar may indicate the influence of John Young's Western construction methods in the area during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Additionally, mud mortar and marine shell midden deposits are associated with other buildings/structures in this area, suggesting that they were also in use during the very early post-Contact period.

Three sets of petroglyphs and one pictograph are on the vertical basalt walls of Pohaukole Gulch inland of the core Pelekane area (Carson 2005). The petroglyphs are traditional Hawaiian human motifs, and while they could originate from a time previous to the period of national significance, it is also possible that they were created during the Contact/early post-Contact period. The pictograph is a horse-like figure. The first horses introduced to Hawai'i were a mare and foal that were off-loaded at Kawaihae Bay in June 1803 by American captain Richard J. Cleveland, who wrote that he anchored at Kawaihae "for the purpose of landing the mare with foal, for which John Young was very urgent" (Henke 1929:5). Other pictograph sets in Pohaukole Gulch emulate the traditional motifs, but are drawn using cement liquid, fixing their origin within the modern era.

North of the core Pelekane area, the historic Kawaihae shoreline was radically transformed during construction of Kawaihae Harbor in 1957-1958. Any pre-Contact or early historic period surface features that may have been present were destroyed or buried under coral fill. Most notable of these features is the lower portion of John Young's homestead, which he occupied from 1793 until 1798 before moving permanently to the upper portion of the parcel (the present John Young Homestead). Informal archeological reconnaissance survey of the densely vegetated area between the coral fill land and Highway 270 indicates the presence of intact, albeit possibly disturbed, built features (A. Johnson, pers. comm., 2015). A more detailed survey of this area is warranted.

### Historical Descriptions of Pelekane/Kikiako'i

Freycinet (in Wiswell and Kelly 1978, brackets added) describes his meeting with Liholiho at Pelekane shortly after Kamehameha I's death in 1819:

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

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

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

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

An 1819 drawing by Jacques Arago, a member of Freycinet's expedition, shows a cluster of inhabited grass houses, stacked stone walls, platforms, and other traditional structures against a backdrop of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau in the distance. On his concurrent map of Kawaihae, Duperrey labels these houses "*Maisons du Roi*" ("king's houses"). Land so close to the two *heiau* would have been considered *kapu* (taboo) under traditional Hawaiian law, and therefore would have been restricted to use by only the highest-ranking *ali'i* or *kahuna*.

Three photographs of the core Pelekane area in the 1880s give an indication of the condition of the area after the period of national significance. Stone walls, remnants of stacked stone structures, and a grove of coconut trees *makai* of the *heiau* may represent the remains of the royal compound in the core Pelekane area. An open-walled lean-to in the center of one of the photographs does not appear in the other two images, presumably contemporaneous images, indicating that the use of this area at this time was not static. Likewise, an unidentified and undated structure resembling a white upright stone in the foreground of one of the photographs (see the Stone Leaning Post section for further discussion of this feature) does not appear in the other photographs, suggesting that the feature had been removed or repositioned. An 1889 photograph by William Brigham that likely post-dates the three images includes a rather large house (just below and to the right of the coconut trees) that could be the reputed "King's house" built in the late nineteenth century for King Kalākaua at the same location as the house site used by Kamehameha and Liholiho (Greene 1993; Kelly 1974).

The coconut grove that appears in all photographs dating from the 1880s is shown on the 1936 County of Hawai'i Engineer's maps. It is still in existence today.

### Historical and Modern Changes to the Pelekane Landscape

Pelekane underwent significant changes throughout most of the twentieth century. During the 1920s, two coastal wagon roads were built through Pelekane in an area near Mailekini Heiau. In 1936, a paved automobile road was built through the Pelekane area (running between Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau) to link Spencer Beach Park with Highway 270; this road remained in use until 1992, and was finally removed in 2002. In the 1930s and 1940s, many farmers settled permanently in Pelekane, living in simple huts and working small fishponds, while wealthier people used the area for recreation, building boathouses along the shoreline and a dry dock among the coconut trees. For many years, an automobile repair yard operated just northwest of Mailekini Heiau, in a spot that today is considered the core area of Pelekane. During the 1960s, a concrete mixing plant operating on land east of Pelekane and north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau regularly disposed surplus liquid concrete into Pohaukole Gulch, leaving a thick crust of concrete on the stream bed that is intact to this day. The most significant change to the landscape was the construction of Kawaihae Harbor in 1957-1958, as well as the

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subsequent Project Tugboat in the late 1960s. The shoreline north of Pohaukole Gulch was radically altered by coral fill to extend harbor facilities west into the shallow bay.

Over time, the Pelekane area became a dumping ground for abandoned boats, cars, and other trash; a 1974 photograph of the Pelekane beachfront, for example, shows fragments of refuse along the shoreline and a large pile of basalt cobbles, automobile parts, and other debris in the shallows (possibly upon the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau, discussed below). The National Park Service removed all trash from the area when Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site was established in 1972, but the accrued damage to the Pelekane features during this time is unclear.

Today Pelekane is used every August for the park's annual cultural festival which includes the creation and sale of Hawaiian arts and crafts, traditional dances and games, and a procession of the royal court (USDI 1989). The historical and modern changes to the Pelekane/Kikiako'i landscape, especially its continuing use for the cultural festival, reflects the enduring connection of Hawaiians to their lands and biocultural connections. The continuing use of the Pelekane area, while not technically included within the period of significance, amplifies the importance of the site to the history of Hawaiian people. The continuing significance of the area to Hawaiian people suggest that the area could be considered a Traditional Cultural Place.

The area of the royal center retains its integrity as an archeological complex, as indicated by the presence of extant structural remains, petroglyphs, and buried cultural deposits in the core area, and intact surface features in the southern area (the area has not yet been archeologically tested for intact cultural deposits). There may also be intact structures in the northern area, which has not been systematically surveyed.

### Archeological Documentation of Pelekane

In the process of removing modern debris and dense stands of *kiawe* that had invaded the Pelekane area by the 1970s, NPS began to map the remaining surface archeological features (Gary Somers, pers. comm., 1990, in Dunbar 1991). In 2003, International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., performed an inventory survey and data recovery in the core Pelekane area (Carson 2005, 2006). NPS survey in anticipation of construction of the new Visitor Center documented features in the southern Pelekane area (Dougherty et al. 2003). An informal reconnaissance survey of the northern Pelekane area was recently carried out by park archeologist Adam Johnson (pers. comm., 2015).

Radiocarbon dates from charcoal associated with archeological structures at Pelekane indicate that they are early post-Contact in origin (Carson 2005, 2006, summarized in Tomonari-Tuggle and Tuggle 2006). However, radiocarbon dates from strata below two of the structures (Fea. 7 and 36 of Site 24053 and Fea. 5 of Site 24055) are dated to ca. 230 to 250 years BP, indicating longevity in the occupation of this area.

### **Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau**

Hale-o-Kapuni (literally "house of Kapuni" [Pukui et al. 1974]) is a submerged stone *heiau* reputedly located in Hale-o-Kapuni channel, up to 35 m offshore of Pelekane beach, and in line with Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau (Soehren 1964). Oral traditions indicate that this *heiau* was used by Kamehameha I and one of his staff chiefs Alapa'i-Kūpalupalu-manō (meaning "Alapa'i who puts the shark bait out") to feed the remains of human sacrifices to sharks, with the nearby Stone Leaning Post (described in a later section) functioning as a vantage point to view the feeding. Hale-o-Kapuni is no longer clearly visible above or below the waterline, and it has never been archeologically surveyed or clearly photographed. Historical evidence verifying Hale-o-Kapuni's existence is sparse and largely anecdotal, but a strong local oral tradition asserts the presence of the

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shark temple in the offshore waters. Due to the unverified location and condition of the *heiau*, Hale-o-Kapuni is classified as a site rather than as a structure.

Theophilus Davies, who visited Kawaihae in 1859, recounts that human sacrifices at Mailekini Heiau “were carried to a heap of stones in the ocean (a little seaward of our boat) and devoured by the sharks, the supposed deities,” apparently referring to Hale-o-Kapuni, which Davies could presumably see (Greene 1993). George Jackson includes the *heiau* in his 1883 survey map of Kawaihae Bay, drawing it as a loosely consolidated group of rocks. A panoramic photograph of Kawaihae taken during the 1880s features a rocky mound near the Pelekane shoreline that could be Hale-o-Kapuni, but this is highly speculative.

Longtime residents of Kawaihae remembered seeing as children the Hale-o-Kapuni structure rising approximately 0.6 m above the water (Soehren 1964). One local consultant recalled that the *heiau* contained a large interior area—only accessible by a channel running through the outer wall—where the sacrificial bodies were placed for the sharks. William Akau, a longtime Kawaihae resident and a former harbormaster of Kawaihae Harbor, said that before the coral flat was built west of PUHE in the late 1950s, a channel passing near Hale-o-Kapuni was one of only two access points to the Kawaihae beach area (Daniel Kawaiaea, personal communication, July 8, 2015). Another Kawaihae resident believes that amphibious vehicles training in Hale-o-Kapuni channel and on Pelekane beach during World War II may have scattered or buried the remains of the *heiau* (Greene 1993). The Hale-o-Kapuni site is still considered by many residents to be the location of a *lua manō*, an area where sharks breed.

During Pacific Ocean tsunamis, the Hale-o-Kapuni channel waters often recede dramatically, and sometimes afford glimpses of basalt stone piles below the ocean surface that could be the remains of the *heiau*. An image of the channel extracted from an 8 mm film taken during a 1952 tsunami, for example, shows a low, grey line near the shore that is distinct from the surrounding water, and seems to resemble a stone platform. Upon seeing the film image, William Akau identified the shape as Hale-o-Kapuni (Daniel Kawaiaea, personal communication, July 8, 2015).

A 1974 photograph of Pelekane beach shows a “platform” of rocks near the shoreline that could be the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni, although the copious amounts of trash dumped on and around these stones calls the actual origin of this platform into question. Photographs taken in 1976 show the same rock concentration from multiple angles, but although the car frames and other debris have been removed, the deposit does not clearly emerge as a constructed feature. The proximity of this rock deposit to the mouth of Pohaukole Gulch also suggests that the stones are runoff debris from the stream.

In a photograph taken during a 2011 tsunami, the receding water reveals large amounts of rock scattered across the length of Hale-o-Kapuni channel. There is no distinct shape or concentration that would strongly suggest the presence of an intact Hale-o-Kapuni, and while these stones may represent the remains of the *heiau*, they could also be runoff debris from the streams and gulches on the eastern Pelekane shore, or refuse dumped into the channel during Pelekane’s long history of human occupation, or a combination of these and other factors.

Divers with the NPS Submerged Cultural Resources Unit probed the sediments within the alleged vicinity of Hale-o-Kapuni in 1984, but were unable to locate any structural remains (Lenihan 1984). In 1993, personnel from the U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station (WES) attempted to locate the *heiau* using magnetic, electromagnetic, and ground penetrating radar, and identified twelve anomalous areas on land and offshore that they felt merited further investigation (Llopis and Sharp 1994). In 2013, a University of Hawai‘i

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undergraduate student sounded Hale-o-Kapuni channel using a StrataBox marine sediment imaging instrument, and identified a cluster of 16 anomalies within a 20 m x 13 m area, approximately 30 m from the old Stone Leaning Post location and in general alignment with Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, that could be Hale-o-Kapuni's location (Matadobra 2013). Most of the 2013 anomalies were detected in the same area where the rock "platform" was photographed in the 1970s.

The following theories have been proposed regarding the current state of Hale-o-Kapuni:

- Rocks from the structure may have been used in the building of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (Pukui et al. 1974), or to build and refurbish other structures near the shoreline after active use of the *heiau* ceased;
- It may have been damaged by tidal waves, or covered in silt (Soehren 1964);
- It may have been buried during the large-scale dredge and fill operations associated with Kawaihae Harbor construction in 1959 (USDI 1989);
- It may be a victim of the general subsidence of the Kona Coast (USDI 1972).

### Stone Leaning Post (contributing object)

The Stone Leaning Post is a pillar-like basalt stone—originally around 2 m high, but now broken into three pieces, the largest of which is roughly 1 m high—that is currently set on a modern stacked stone platform (approximately 2 m square, 1 m high) in the Pelekane area west of Mailekini Heiau. The stone was reportedly used as a "seat" by Kamehameha I and his staff chief Alapa'i-Kūpalupalu-Manō (see the Hale-o-Kapuni section above), who in a traditional Hawaiian manner leaned against it while sitting on the ground. The post's original location on the Pelekane shoreline would have afforded it excellent views of the three nearby *heiau*, especially the offshore Hale-o-Kapuni.

The Stone Leaning Post "is most closely associated with one of Kamehameha's staff chiefs, a rugged warrior from Maui named Alapa'i-Kupalupalu-mano, also called Alapai-Malo-iki [...] who ignored Kamehameha's edict against murder, and who, for personal pleasure, used human flesh for shark bait" (Kamakau 1961, brackets added). Soehren (1964) and Loo and Bonk (1970) attribute use of the Stone Leaning Post to both Alapa'i-Kūpalupalu-manō and Kamehameha I, who reputedly used it to watch the shark feedings at Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau.

The catching of *niuhi* (man-eating sharks, *Carcharodon carcharias*) was the dangerous sport of *ali'i*. Apple (1969) speculates that the sharks were conditioned to eat rotten flesh at Hale-o-Kapuni in order to respond more readily to the same bait offered in deep water, where they could be coaxed into position for noosing. Putrefied hog flesh was used as bait, but human flesh was preferred.

There is no known description of the stone during its period of active use, and its first historical reference is from the early 1900s (Greene 1993). Hawai'i County planning maps for Spencer Beach Park (then under construction) label the stone "Kikiakoi" in 1927 and "Kamehameha's Chair" in 1936. Traditions associating the stone with Alapa'i-Kūpalupalu-Manō were first recorded during the 1930s (Apple 1969:20).

The Stone Leaning Post was originally set on a stacked stone platform close to the shoreline, but the location and condition of this platform is no longer known with certainty, in part because many of the platform stones were reportedly used as backfill during construction of the Spencer Park pavilion in the 1930s. A historical photograph of Pelekane from the 1880s depicts what seems to be a prominent, light-colored obelisk on the shore that may be the post, but this is speculative.

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The post was set in a concrete foundation in 1935, but accidentally broken into three pieces in 1937 after a dump truck backed into it; a local legend states that the truck driver was killed in a car accident later that day (W. Akau and E. Laau, in Kelly 1974). Before the dedication of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site in 1972, the pieces were moved to a more visible position roughly 9 m further inland, and set on a newly constructed stacked stone platform. No records indicate that the post fragments have been significantly altered or further damaged since their relocation. The three basalt fragments are mostly gray in color, although all pieces exhibit brown or rust-red patches due to weathering.

### **John Young Homestead (*Pahukanilua*) (contributing site, see Table 1)**

The John Young Homestead consists of the remains of eight buildings/structures that collectively served as Young's primary residential compound from 1798 until his death in 1835. The walls of three of the structures were built using mortared stone plastered by coral lime, demonstrating a Western-style building technique not previously utilized in the Hawaiian Islands. The remaining five structures were built using traditional Hawaiian dry-masonry techniques, and the general configuration of the homestead resembles a *kauhale*, or Hawaiian household, in which separate buildings were designated for different people and activities (Bayman 2010). The homestead was essentially abandoned in 1835 after Young's death, and has since suffered significant damage due to decay, neglect, earthquakes, and accidental damage to several walls by a bulldozer.

Before 1798, Young lived in a similar residential complex in the lower portion of his Kawaihae estate, downslope and southwest of the upper portion. The place name "Pahukanilua" was associated with the lower portion by 1848, and may have applied to the upper portion as well, although this is not certain (Apple 1978). The lower portion, located near the historic shoreline, was covered by dredged coral fill during construction of Kawaihae Harbor in 1959. The probable location of John Young's original homestead, as pinpointed by historical maps (Jackson 1883) and PUHE staff, is included within the NHL boundary; although no longer visible on the surface, material remnants of this complex may remain intact below the coral fill.

The eight principal structures of the John Young Homestead are clustered at the seaward end of a low ridge in the northern corner of the landmark area. The homestead is in a remote section of the landmark near the north boundary, separated from the other resources by Highway 270. The homestead is bounded by Poki'iahua Gulch to the north, Makahuna Gulch to the south, and Highway 270 to the west.

The following descriptions of the individual homestead structural remains are adapted from archeological reports by Somers (1985) and Schuster (1992). Although these summaries do not reflect more recent impacts to the homestead—which will be detailed later in this section—they still largely depict the current state of the features.

Hawaiian-style Feature 1 (F1): F1 is a raised stone platform built on a large terrace that forms the northwestern, seaward extent of the site. The terrace retaining walls, which range in height from 0.2 m to 1.5 m, have collapsed to a great extent and are in poor to fair condition. Near the southwestern corner of the terrace, a small portion of the retaining wall's inside face appears to have been plastered. The terrace measures approximately 13 m by 16 m, and is oriented with its longer axis parallel to [Poki'iahua] Gulch, which is immediately downslope and to the north. The surface of the platform measures approximately 7 m by 11 m, and is elevated to a maximum of about 0.3 m above the surface of the terrace. The surface of the platform is divided into unequal sections; the larger central section is paved with waterworn basalt pebbles, while the northwest and southwest sections are paved with a combination of similar pebbles and scattered larger flat

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stones. F1 probably represents the raised foundation and floor for a wooden pole and thatch structure.

Hawaiian-style Feature 2 (F2): F2 is a 7 m by 10 m, *'ili'ili* (waterworn basalt pebbles) paved terrace in the southwest portion of the site. Its retaining walls, which are in poor condition, vary in height from 0.2 m to 1 m. This feature is probably residential, possibly an open working and/or eating area with an open-sided shade structure once supported by wooden posts.

Hawaiian-style Feature 3 (F3): F3 is a low, raised stone platform below and on the seaward side of F2, and adjacent to the edge of Makahuna Gulch at the southwest corner of the site. The platform measures approximately 7 m by 9 m, and has a maximum height of 0.2 m to 0.25 m. It is in poor condition overall. The surface is paved with flat stones, except for the south corner, which is clear of stones and defined only by a stone alignment. This feature was probably residential in function, [REDACTED]

Hawaiian-style Feature 4 (F4): F4 is a low pile or mound, 2.5 m by 5 m, with a maximum height of about 0.25 m to 0.3 m. Many of the cobble-sized stones in the feature are fire cracked, suggesting that the pile is an *imu* (earth oven) remnant.

Hawaiian-style Feature 5 (F5): F5 is a stone platform that abuts the southeast side of the larger platform of F1. The smaller platform measures 2 m by 4 m, and has a maximum height of about 0.3 m. The surface is paved with waterworn basalt pebbles, and has partially collapsed, leaving a shallow depression in the center. [REDACTED] constructed after the homestead was abandoned around 1835.

Western-style Structure 1 (S1): S1 is the most prominent structural feature of the site. It is a large, rectangular, stone-walled enclosure situated in the central portion of the site. The overall dimensions of the fairly well-preserved structure are approximately 6.5 m by 15 m. The walls, which stand as high as 1.2 m, are constructed of unmodified stones laid in mud mortar and coated across both the interior and exterior faces with coral lime plaster. Inside the structure, portions of a waterworn basalt pebble paving are visible beneath the rubble wall fall. This structure is generally regarded as the ruins of John Young's house (Soehren 1964; Kelly 1974).

Western-style Structure 2 (S2): S2 is the poorly preserved remnant of a large, rectangular, stone-walled enclosure located only a few meters northwest of Structure 1; the two structures have a parallel alignment. S2 measures approximately 6.5 m by 10.5 m overall. The walls, which are now fully in ruins, were constructed of unmodified stones set in mud mortar and then coated with plaster. The structure has a floor of waterworn basalt pebbles that was set in place after the interior wall faces were plastered. This structure was probably a house. [REDACTED]

Western-style Structure 3 (S3): S3 is located several meters downslope and to the southeast of S1. This poorly preserved, rectangular, stone-walled enclosure resembles S2, but is not as well



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constructed. S3 measures approximately 5 m by 8.5 m, and its walls are 0.35 m wide. S3 was constructed in the same manner as S1 and S2, and was probably also a residential structure.

Access to the John Young Homestead is currently limited to a pedestrian entryway in the west side of the steel fence alongside Highway 270. Although the metal gate at this entrance is left unlocked during park operating hours, guest access is limited by the lack of both a nearby parking lot and a clearly designated trail leading to the gate. If visitors wish to visit the homestead, they are instructed by NPS staff to park at the PUHE maintenance facility (approximately 160 m to the southeast), and to walk down a partially paved trail alongside Highway 270 to the entrance gate.

### Historical Descriptions of the John Young Homestead

John Young's unpublished log books and diary gives some insight into the appearance of the homestead during its period of active use. Several of these journal entries, which are quoted in chronological order below (Apple 1978, brackets added), are too brief to provide much substantive information on their own, but are useful when evaluated in conjunction with Duperrey's 1819 map of Kawaihae and more recent archeological data (Dunbar 1991). Descriptions of the homestead by foreign visitors are also illustrative.

#### August-December 1798 (Van Dyke n.d.)

[...] coral blocks brought by canoe from reef at Puako [an area south of Kawaihae]. Coral blocks were burnt. Mortar and plaster were made from sand, burnt coral and mixed with poi [a food derived from the kalo (*Colocasia esculenta*) plant] and hair.

[...] Have begun four buildings. My house the cook house and storage room the house for the children and tahus [guardians] and near the small temple [Mailekini Heiau; probably at Pelekane] a house for storage. My house at the small rise below the great temple [Pu'ukoholā Heiau] more suitable than the ravine which washes away with the Whymea floods [reference to Poki'iahua Gulch?]. The great one [Kamehameha] comes to use my cook house several times. I make biskits and cook a lamb. Have all enjoyed feast.

#### March 1799 (Van Dyke n.d.)

[...] I finish plastering all houses and have whitewashed the fences around the animal pens. It is as in Wales.

#### September 1799 (Van Dyke n.d.)

[Young repaired leaking roof with small sticks and *pili*, a thatching grass]

#### June 1807 (Iselin n.d.)

On the 25th we got off Toeigh [Kawaihae] in sight of Mr. Young's habitation [...] we soon went to Mr. Young's habitation, where he entertained us very hospitably during most of the night [...] Mr. Young occupies several stone buildings which are the best (save those of the King, build on the same plan but now shut) I have seen in this island.

#### August 1809 (Young 1809-1817)

Employd Building a Cooke house.

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### 1816 or 1817 (Houston 1940)

From out at sea, we could see the European built houses of John Young towering above the grass shacks of the natives.

### April 1817? (Young n.d.)

[...] the carpnr [carpenter] Employd Making a Malow [probably a *malu*, a shade or shelter, possibly for a *lanai* that was built on, around, or attached to one of the houses].

### November 1817 (Kotzebue 1821)

We now saw Young's settlement of several houses built of white stone, after the European fashion, surrounded by palm and banana trees; the land has a barren appearance [...]

### 1819 (Freycinet, in Wiswell and Kelly 1978)

[...] The house of this interesting old man, was located at the top of a small hill which overlooks the village of Kawaihae, built of stone, well ventilated and sanitary.

### 1819 (Arago 1823)

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

### 1828 (Judd 1966)

He [Young] lived in a dirty adobe house, adorned with old rusty muskets, swords, bayonets, and cartridge boxes. He gave us a supper of goat's meat and fried taro, served on old pewter plates [...]. We were sent up a rickety flight of stairs to sleep. I was afraid [...]. Sleep was out of the question; I was afraid of the wind, which sometimes sweeps down the gorge of the mountain [...]

[I] got up at midnight, and went down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat and comfortable. She is a noble woman. She lives in native style [...]

After Young's death in 1835, the upper portion of his homestead was largely abandoned. During the Mahele—the conversion of Hawaiian lands to private ownership during the mid-nineteenth century—the lower portion of the homestead was formally surveyed and awarded to Young's wife Ka'ōnā'eha and his resident land manager Puna, while the upper portion went unrecorded and unclaimed, suggesting that it was no longer in regular use by this time. There is some anecdotal evidence that Young's main house was occasionally occupied during this period; for example, by a district judge in 1853 (Bates 1854) and by a Catholic school sometime around the mid-1800s (Greene 1993).

An undated and uncredited panorama of the Kawaihae coastline, probably taken sometime during the 1880s, features both the upper and lower portions of John Young's former homestead: Young's main house in the upper portion (Feature S1), missing its thatched roof, is still mostly intact, although the buildings and structures that surrounded it are no longer standing; the lower portion is encircled by a stone wall and contains a grass *hale*

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and a grove of coconut trees. An 1882 photograph shows a close-up view of Young's main house, identical to that in the panoramic photograph. A 1920 photograph purportedly shows a substantial portion of this house (specifically the west wall containing the main doorway) still erect, although the gables have nearly disintegrated by this time, and large sections of lime plaster have fallen off the walls, exposing the stacked stones underneath.

The main house had further collapsed by the 1970s, leaving only the lower portions of the walls standing, although substantial portions of lime plaster remained intact, and several original wood support beams still embedded in the walls. A support structure was constructed around the main house at this time to minimize further deterioration, remaining in place (with periodic refurbishment) until 2006.

In 1991, a bulldozer attempting to create a firebreak in response to a Kawaihae area brush fire unwittingly drove through the center of the John Young Homestead, damaging the southeast-facing wall of Feature F1, the courtyard area west of Feature S1, and the southern and eastern portions of Feature S2 (Schuster 1992). The damaged surface was later restored and the bulldozer tracks removed. To prevent further accidents of this type, a steel wire fence was erected along the parcel boundary to restrict access to the site; this fence is still in place today. While the fence is visible from the homestead features, particularly along the north and northeast edges of the parcel, its open wire structure is minimally intrusive.

In 2006, Hawai'i Island earthquakes partially collapsed the remnant walls of John Young's primary residence (Feature S1), despite reinforcement by cement board panels and stone berms newly erected in 2005 (the support structures were also damaged). During subsequent repair and stabilization efforts from 2006 to 2011, the damaged berms and panels were carefully dismantled and replaced by stone berms constructed using *ho'oniho* masonry techniques.

### STABILIZATION AND MAINTENANCE OF CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Like all pre-Contact Hawaiian stone structures, both Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau were built using *ho'oniho* masonry techniques, which employ gravity and contact points between unshaped *pōhaku* to bind and stabilize larger constructions. Because occupation of the *heiau* during their active period was usually limited to a few *kahuna* or *ali'i* at a time, they were never designed with the structural stability to accommodate large numbers of people indefinitely. As a result, the *heiau* easily suffered damage from visitors and wildlife climbing across the walls and platforms during the nearly two centuries following their abandonment. Once regular maintenance of the *heiau* ceased, they also became susceptible to lasting damage from natural events such as earthquakes, winds, rain, and root growth. Additional disturbances caused by nearby human activities, such as traffic vibrations from the Old Spencer Beach Road, operation of a nearby quarry and cement plant, and blasting connected with Project Tugboat at Kawaihae Harbor in 1969 and 1970, further weakened the two *heiau*. Local residents recalled that during construction of the Old Spencer Beach Road that formerly ran between the two *heiau*, some of the stones from the "wing walls" of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (and possibly from the badly disturbed northern section of Mailekini Heiau) were removed and incorporated into the new road (Kelly 1974).

In 1928, portions of Pu'ukoholā's central courtyard, temple platform, and stairway were partially restored by a cultural organization called the Sons of Kamehameha (now defunct) during the sesquicentennial celebrations of Captain Cook's first contact with the Hawaiian Islands (Ladd 1974, 1986b; Taylor 1928). The restored areas

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noted during the Bishop Museum's survey of the *heiau* in the 1960s (Cluff et al. 1969) probably date to this early effort.

With the exception of the 1928 restoration work, the *heiau* were apparently largely neglected for over 180 years before the National Park Service began to manage the area in 1972. The degenerative effects of this neglect on the walls and platforms became clear in April 1973 when an earthquake further weakened the walls of both *heiau*. Emergency stabilization of the *heiau* between 1975 and 1979 (Ladd 1975, 1986a, 1986b) involved removing vegetation and rubble from inside and around the structures, and rebuilding damaged areas by hand using traditional techniques. Intrusive historic features—such as a pit atop the southeast corner of the main wall of Pu'ukoholā Heiau that was probably used as a coastal observation post during World War II, and field telephone lines that connected this observation post with foxholes and gun emplacements on the beach southwest of Mailekini Heiau—were removed (Ladd 1986b).

On October 15, 2006, two earthquakes originating off the northwest coast of Hawai'i Island (magnitudes 6.0 and 6.7, respectively) caused moderate to severe damage to several of the park's archeological and historical features, including the two *heiau* and the John Young Homestead. Pu'ukoholā Heiau suffered major collapses in ten zones, and lesser damage—including wall slumping and bulging—in several smaller areas. Similarly, Mailekini Heiau had four major collapse zones and several areas with minor collapses and bulging. At the John Young Homestead, the remnant walls of John Young's primary residence partially collapsed, despite being reinforced by cement board siding and stone berms refurbished in 2005 (these support structures were also damaged).

Repair and stabilization of the three structures began soon after the earthquakes in 2006 and continued to 2011. Survey maps of the *heiau* from the 1960s and 1970s, as well as a 3-D scan of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (Mulrooney et al. 2005), provided a baseline to assess the extent of damage. During subsequent stabilization efforts, NPS archeologists created new maps of the *heiau* detailing the results of stabilization work, and compared them with earlier maps, historic photographs, and other archeological documentation in order to evaluate the integrity of the repairs. Professional architects managed the stabilization efforts, and several master tradesmen and masons skilled in traditional Hawaiian building techniques provided expertise that permitted the damaged features to be repaired without diminishing their structural and cultural integrity. The labor force was composed of both professional masonry workers and as many as six hundred volunteers—many from the cultural group Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu'ukoholā Heiau (the Traditional Royal Court Assembly of Pu'ukoholā Heiau)—and efforts were made during the work to facilitate the sharing of *ho'oniho* knowledge among participants of all skill levels.

Using methods consistent with traditional Hawaiian construction practices, only manual labor was employed during stabilization efforts, and modern construction equipment or machinery was largely shunned. In place of scaffolding, a traditional ladder system known as *olokea* was used, which involved lashing beams of ironwood into lattices using nylon cordage (traditional sennit cordage woven from dried coconut fibers or grass was not available in sufficient quantities); the *olokea* system was also tested to demonstrate its compliance with Occupational Safety and Health (OSHA) requirements. Given the cultural importance of these structures in Hawaiian culture, the crews also followed cultural protocols provided by local cultural practitioners intended to preserve the spiritual integrity of the features.

By 2011, all major collapse areas on both *heiau* were restored, although some of these repaired areas are now slightly lighter in color than the more weathered older sections. Other damaged areas, such as the bulges along the east wall of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, could not be repaired and remain visible. At the John Young Homestead, the

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damaged berms and panels originally protecting the masonry walls of John Young's primary residence were carefully dismantled, and new stone berms reconstructed to stabilize and protect the remaining wall remnants, although reinforced shoring remains in place on the eastern wall.

### NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL boundary encompasses within a contiguous area all known historic resources that directly contribute to the national significance of the landmark. However, the physical landscape of this 42.46-acre property has changed substantially in the 180 years following the end of the landmark's period of significance, and several noncontributing resources added during the late post-Contact and modern eras remain intact and in close proximity to contributing resources, and cannot be cleanly excised from the NHL boundary. These noncontributing resources are summarized in Table 2.

The historical and modern changes to the landscape have not significantly affected the integrity of the landmark. The individual contributing resources retain the characteristics of location, design, materials, and workmanship, while the landscape as a whole, by virtue of inclusion and preservation within the national historic site, retains the setting, feeling, and association of the period of significance.

One feature complex (Site 24050) north of Pohaukole Gulch has been archeologically dated to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, postdating the landmark's period of national significance by at least a century.

A collapsed charcoal oven (Site 24401), constructed of concrete and coated with coral and lime plaster, is located near the west end of the old U.S. Army tank road (Site 31287), approximately 235 m north of Mailekini Heiau. This low, dome-shaped kiln was reportedly built by a local Japanese man during the early twentieth century in a style similar to bread ovens constructed by Portuguese plantation immigrants on the islands of Hawai'i and Kaua'i (Greene 1993). The oven collapsed during the 2006 earthquake.

Colored asphalt park trails built by the NPS for visitor use pass alongside Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau and across the Pelekane area. The trails are low, smooth, and discretely placed, but their materials and style of construction do not match the architectural styles in use during the landmark's period of significance.

An unpaved trail is routed northeast-north-northwest around Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The northwest section and a small part of the north section of the trail were built around the 1930s. The rest of the north section, as well as the northeast section of trail came into use around the 1970s and has been regularly used to access the heiau since the 1990s.

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**Table 2. Noncontributing Resources in the Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHL.**

Name/Description	Location	State Site No.
Remnant enclosing wall, terrace, two enclosures: probably dating to twentieth century, possibly related to military activity (noncontributing site)	North of Pohaukole Gulch	24050
Small area within larger Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau site (noncontributing site, see Fig. 2)	Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau site	24056
Concrete charcoal oven with stone dome (noncontributing site)	North of Pohaukole Gulch	24401
U.S. Army tank road (noncontributing structure)	North of Pohaukole Gulch	31287
Single feature site consisting of a historic (WWII) wall that rests on Site 31288 (noncontributing site)	South of Pohaukole Gulch	31289
Likely historic (WWII) military training activity complex consisting of 10 likely historic (WWII) features associated with military training activities (noncontributing site)	South of Pu'ukoholā Heiau	31295
Paved park trails (noncontributing structure)	Coast, between and around Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau	--
Unpaved heiau access trail (noncontributing structure)	Around Pu'ukoholā Heiau	--
Unpaved coastal trail (noncontributing structure)	Coast	--
Highway 270 (noncontributing structure)	NE boundary of NHL	--
Alignment of Old Spencer Park Road (noncontributing structure)	Between Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau, and just inland of coast toward Spencer Beach Park	--

An unpaved World War II-era US Army tank road (Site 31287) approximately 200-250 m north of Mailekini Heiau passes through the north portion of Pelekane, running roughly east to west between Highway 270 and the access road connecting Kawaihae Harbor to Hale-o-Kapuni channel. Other features within PUHE that are associated with US Army training maneuvers during World War II, such as foxholes and gun emplacements, are noncontributing to the landmark, and have been excluded from the NHL boundary.

Based on information from the Ala Kahakai National Historic Trail (Rick Gmirkin, personal communication, July 8, 2015), the PUHE park trail closest to the shoreline follows the same course as a pre-Contact era trail known as the Ala Loa—meaning “highway” (Pukui and Elbert 1986)—or the Kawaihae-Puako Trail, which connected all other areas of Hawai‘i Island to Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and was the likely route of the *makahiki* procession, a major ritual in traditional Hawaiian religion. In addition, the US Army tank road follows the path of another pre-Contact trail known as the Waimea-Kawaihae Trail, or the “Road to Waimea.” The portions of these trails within the NHL boundary no longer retain their historic integrity, but if they are restored at some future date to a historically accurate condition that communicates the identity for which they are significant, it is recommended that they be reevaluated as contributing components of Pelekane/Kikiako‘i.

Highway 270 is a paved, two-lane road that functions as the main automobile thoroughfare through the Kawaihae area. The highway runs generally to the east of the NHL boundary, and provides a clear topographic marker indicating the northeastern edge of the boundary. However, the highway also runs west of the John Young Homestead, intruding into the contiguous NHL boundary and creating for practical purposes a permanent physical barrier between the homestead and the remainder of the NHL.

The Old Spencer Beach Park Road, which operated in the Pelekane area from 1937 until 1992, was demolished in 2002, but its alignment remains visible across portions of the NHL landscape, particularly in aerial views. The NPS has recently attempted to restore a more natural appearance to the terrain most affected by the former

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road, most notably the area between Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, where they have replaced the level road berm with rolling hills, and planted new vegetation along the deforested alignment.

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OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

## PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

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1809-1817 Log book, 1809-1817. Ms. on file, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

### Previous documentation on file (NPS):

X\_ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)

\_\_ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 6653

2. Date of listing: Listed October 15, 1966



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- 3. Level of significance: National
- 4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A\_\_ B\_\_ C\_\_ D\_\_
- 5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A\_\_ B\_\_ C\_\_ D\_\_ E\_\_ F\_\_ G\_\_
- 6. Areas of Significance: Archeology/Prehistoric; Archeology/Historic-Aboriginal; Architecture; Ethnic Heritage/Pacific Islander; Politics/Government; Religion; Social History

<input type="checkbox"/> Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register:	Date of determination:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Designated a National Historic Landmark:	Date of designation: December 29, 1962
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey:	HABS No. HABS-539
<input type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:	HAER No.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey:	HALS No. HI-4, HI-5, HI-16

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Division  
 Other State Agency:  
 Federal Agency: National Park Service  
 Local Government:  
 University: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa  
 Other (Specify Repository): International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. (IARII)



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M.J. Tomonari-Tuggle – Senior Archaeologist  
Matthew J. Bell – GIS/GPS Specialist

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**PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK****Figures/Maps**

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**FIGURES LOG**

Figure Number	Description of Figure
1	The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark boundary, projected (in red) on a United States Geological Survey (USGS) 1:24,000 topographic map. Source: NPS, background: USGS, National Geographic Society, I-cubed.
2	A map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark, displaying the names and locations of all contributing resources. Source: NPS, background: ESRI Community Maps Contributors.
4	A map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark, displaying the noncontributing resource types near the major landmark components. Source: NPS, background: OpenStreetMap and ESRI Community Maps contributors.
6	An 1819 map of Kawaihae by Louis Isidore Duperrey (reproduced in Greene 1993). Several components of the landmark are labeled: Pu'ukoholā Heiau ("Morai du Roi," or "king's temple"), Pelekane ("Maisons du Roi," or "king's houses"), and the John Young Homestead ("Maison de Young," or "Young's house").
7	Annotated plan map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (Historic American Landscapes Survey 2009a). This map shows damage to the northern and eastern outer wall caused by earthquakes in 2006; these areas have since been repaired.
8	An 1819 drawing of Pu'ukoholā Heiau by Jacques Arago (taken from Carson 2005).
9	Photographs of the <i>heiau</i> taken during the 1880s. Note the distinct white line at the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Top photograph courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; center and bottom photographs courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
10	An early 1850s painting of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau by James Gay Sawkins. The walled compound in the left center of the image is no longer standing, and maybe John Young's first residence which some believe was the birthplace of Queen Emma. Image courtesy of the National Library of Australia, Canberra.
11	An undated photograph of the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, probably taken during the 1880s. Note the distinct rock cairns on the top of the wall, and the white rocks along the northwest corner (left side of image). Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
12	Annotated plan map of Mailekini Heiau (Historic American Landscapes Survey 2009b).
13	A panoramic view of the Pelekane area south of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau. Site 24398 and remnants of other stone walls and platforms are partially visible in the grass. View to the northeast.
14	A stone enclosure (Site 24052, Fea. 1) north of Mailekini Heiau. The walls of this structure are bonded by mud mortar.
15	An 1819 drawing of the Pelekane area by Jacques Arago (top), and a contemporary diagram (bottom) identifying the major visible structures (taken from Carson 2006). The identifications are based in part on Freycinet's 1819 description of Pelekane (Wiswell and Kelly 1978).
16	An 1889 photograph of the <i>heiau</i> and Pelekane (Barrera and Kelly 1974). The reputed "King's house built for King Kalākaua in the late nineteenth century is circled in red.
17	An aerial view of the landmark property, showing the Old Spencer Beach Park Road (center), present from 1936 to 2002 (reproduced from Greene 1993).

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18	A 1960s photograph of a concrete plant operating north of Pu'ukohola Heiau (left; Greene 1993), and a 2014 photograph of an extensive concrete deposit at the bottom of Pohaukole Gulch (right).
19	Photos from the early 1970s of trash in the waters off Pelekane beach (left; Barrera and Kelly 1974) and derelict cars in the Pelekane area (right; photograph courtesy of the National Park Service).
20	Portion of Jackson's 1883 survey map (Hawaii Government Survey Register Map 1323), showing the landmark area. The remains of Hale-o-Kapuni are circled in red.
21	An undated photograph (probably from the 1880s) of the landmark area. Hale-o-Kapuni may be visible within the area circled in red. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
22	A film frame image of Hale-o-Kapuni channel during a tsunami in 1952. The dark shape circled in red may be the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service (original film donated to PUHE by Patricia Peacock in the 1970s).
23	Photographs of a rock deposit visible in Hale-o-Kapuni channel in 1976. The stones could represent the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau, although they may also be runoff material from the nearby Pohaukole Gulch. Photographs courtesy of NPS.
24	A photograph of Hale-o-Kapuni channel taken during a 2011 tsunami. The stone debris scattered in the channel could be the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.
25	An undated photograph (probably from the 1880s) of the landmark area. The prominent landscape object circled in red could be the Stone Leaning Post. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
26	Panoramic views of the John Young Homestead. Views to the southwest (top) and east-southeast (bottom).
27	Plan map of the John Young Homestead (Historic American Buildings Survey 2009).
28	An undated (probably from the 1880s) panoramic photograph of the Kawaihae coastline. The upper and lower portions of John Young's homestead are labeled and circled in white. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
29	An 1882 photograph of John Young's main house in the upper portion of his homestead. Photograph courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
30	A 1920 photograph of John Young's main house, showing the west wall and doorway (taken from Greene 1993).
31	A photograph of John Young's main house in the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
32	John Young's main house around 1964. The original wood support beams remain embedded in a collapsed wall. Photograph courtesy of NPS
33	The superstructure built around John Young's main house in 1974 following a 1973 earthquake (left), and an exposed plaster surface of the house in 1991 (right). Photographs courtesy of NPS.
34	Views of the steel wire fence surrounding the John Young Homestead. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
35	A 1925 aerial view of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, showing extensive damage to the structure. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
36	Emergency stabilization of Pu'ukoholā Heiau during the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
37	Emergency stabilization of Pu'ukoholā Heiau during the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
38	Plan maps of Pu'ukohola Heiau (top) and Mailekini Heiau (bottom) showing areas damaged by the 2006 earthquakes. Maps courtesy of the National Park Service.

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39	Comparative images of a wall in the southern section of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, showing damage caused by the 2006 earthquakes (top), and repairs completed during emergency stabilization efforts (bottom). Photographs courtesy of NPS.
40	The east wall of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The vertical bulges in the wall were formed during the 2006 earthquakes. Photograph courtesy of NPS.
41	Emergency stabilization efforts at Pu'ukoholā Heiau following the 2006 earthquakes. Photographs courtesy of NPS.
42	The northeast corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The dark brown stones mark the last original face of the exterior north wall; the lighter sections adjacent to this face have been stabilized (Adam Johnson, personal communication, July 8, 2015).
43	John Young's primary residence (Structure S1) at the John Young Homestead. Steel bracers and cement board siding protect original portions of the eastern and southern walls from the weather. View to the northwest.

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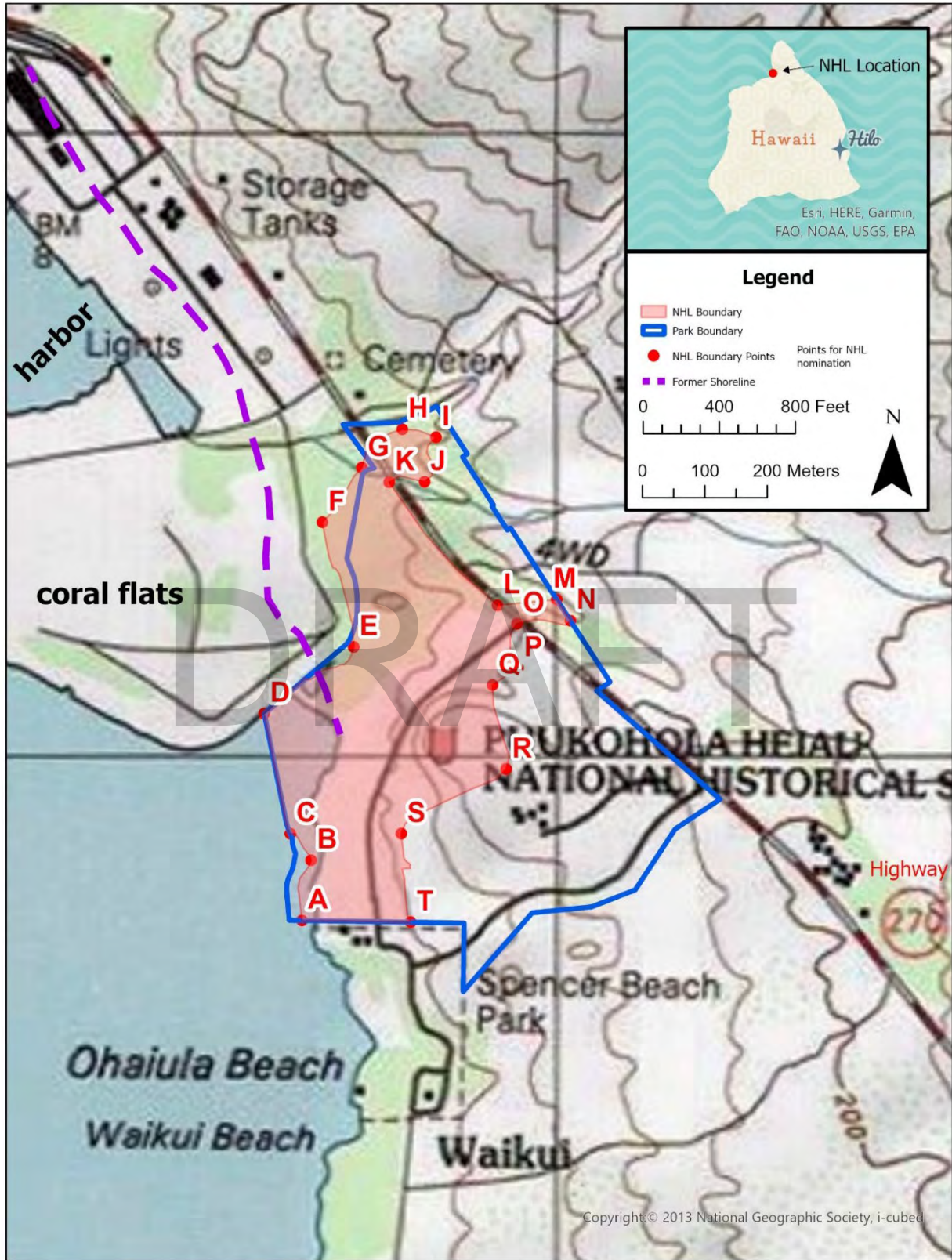


Figure 1. The Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark boundary, projected (in red) on a United States Geological Survey (USGS) 1:24,000 topographic map. Source: NPS, USGS, National Geographic Society, I-cubed.

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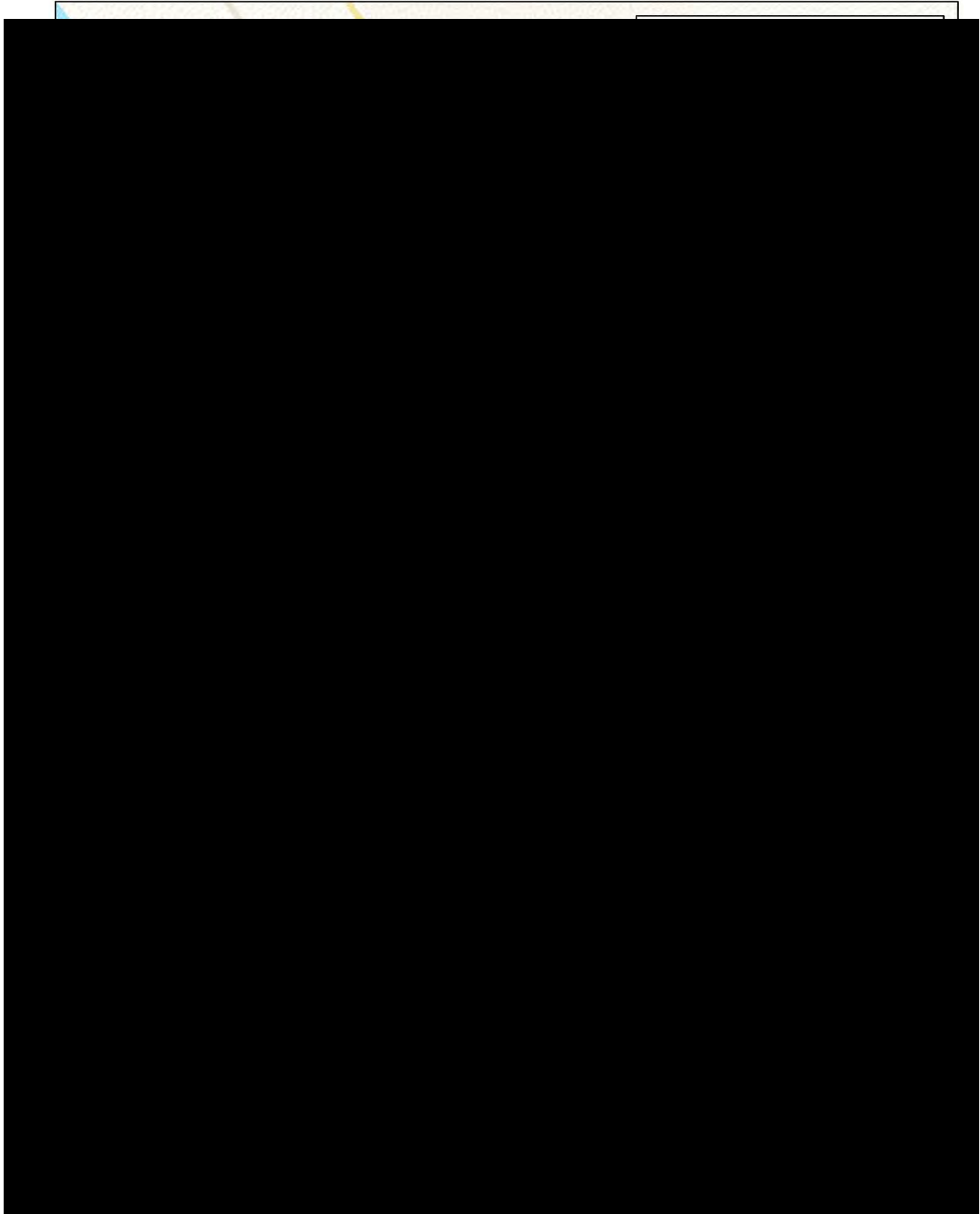


Figure 2. A map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark, displaying the names and locations of all contributing resources. Source: NPS, background: ESRI Community Maps Contributors.



# PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

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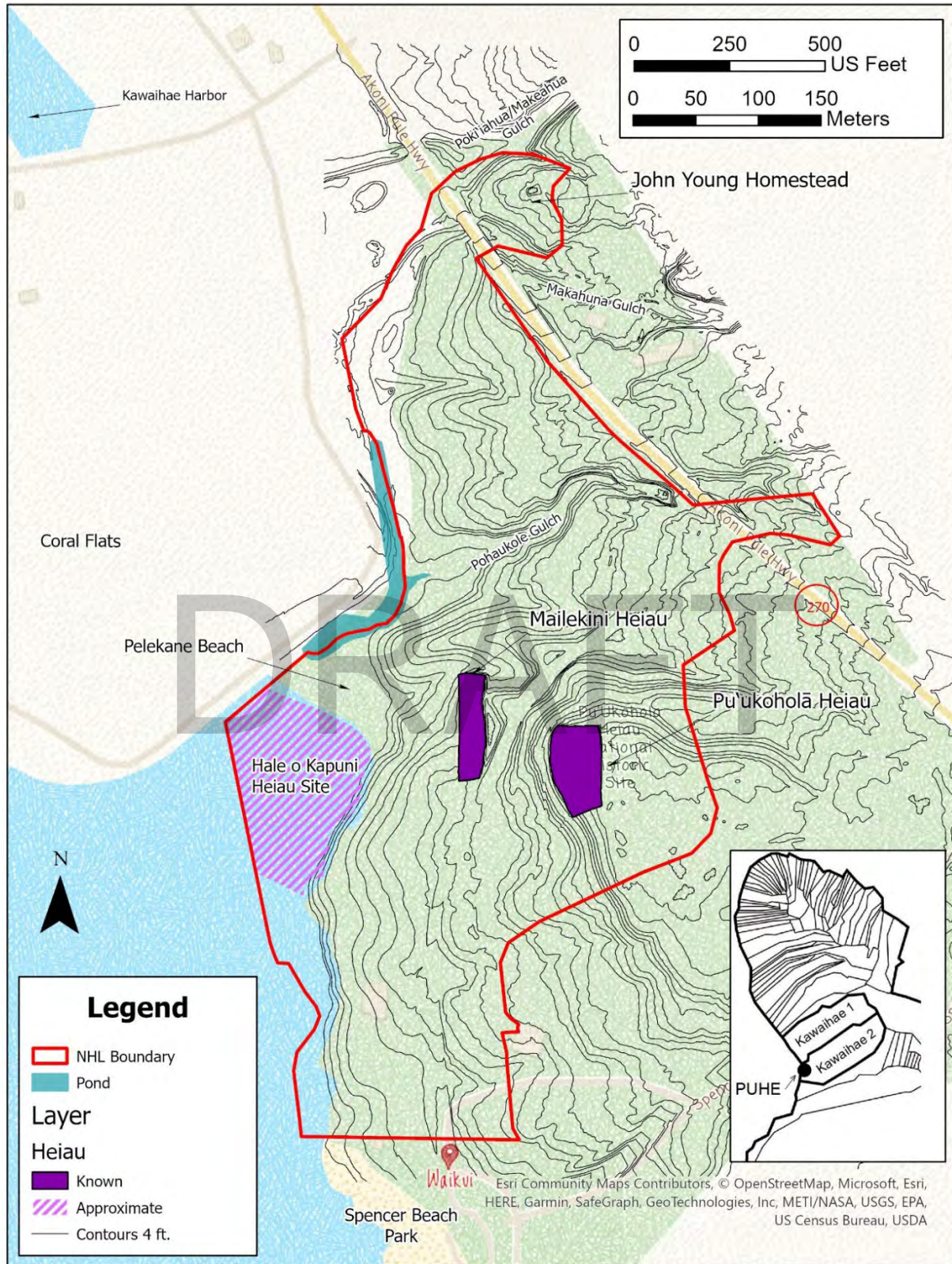


Figure 3. A map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark, displaying the names and locations of all major natural and artificial topographic features. The inset shows the location of PUHE and the NHL within the traditional land units (*ahupua'a*) of the district of Kohala. Source: NPS, background: ESRI Community Maps Contributors.



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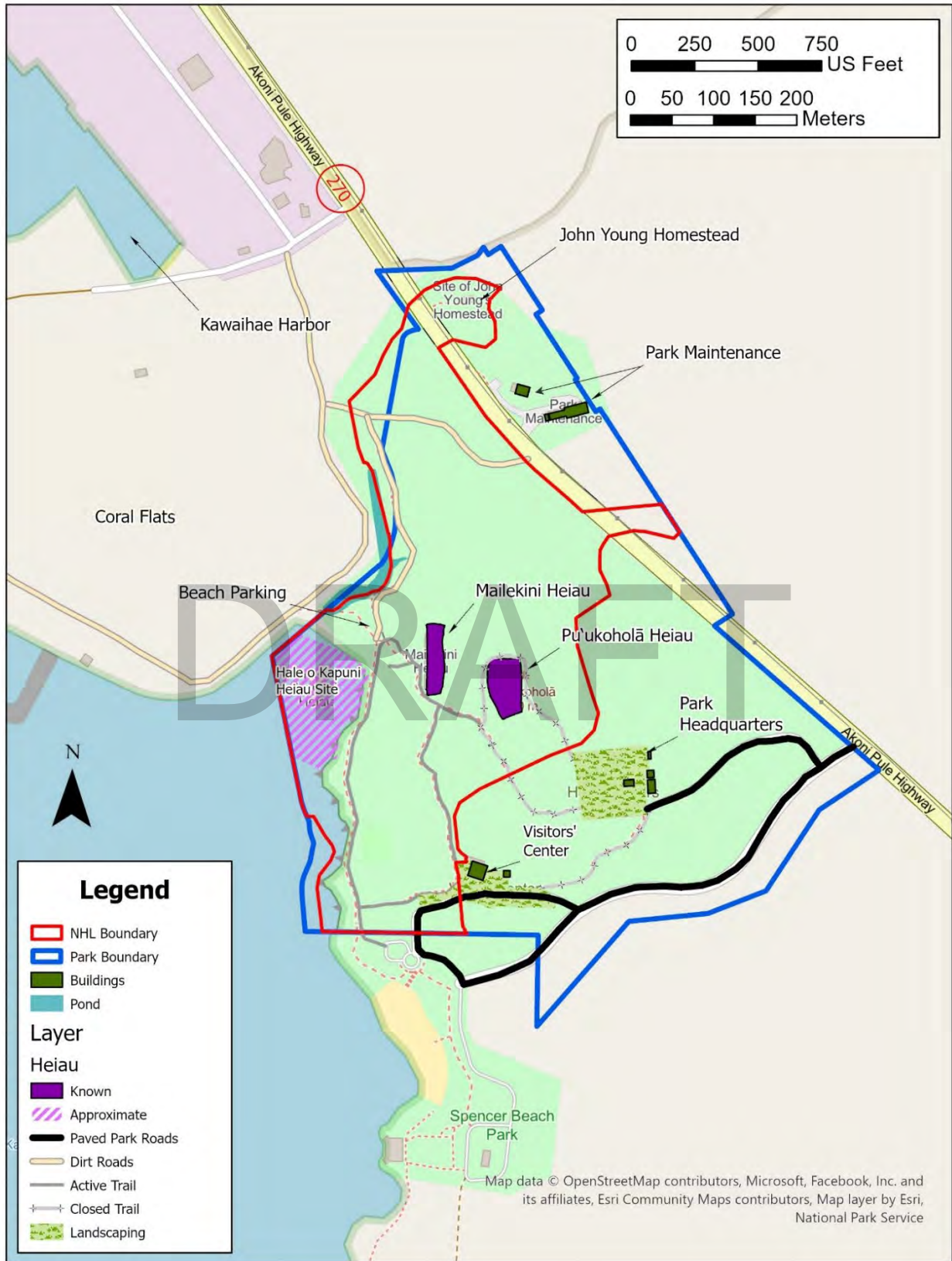


Figure 4. A map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark, displaying the noncontributing resource types near the major landmark components. Source: NPS, background: Map data OpenStreetMap and ESRI Community Maps contributors.



Figure 5. Goats atop Pu'ukohola Heiau. View to the northeast. Source: NPS.

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Figure 6. An 1819 map of Kawaihae by Louis Isidore Duperrey (reproduced in Greene 1993). Several components of the landmark are labeled: Pu'ukoholā Heiau ("Morai du Roi," or "king's temple"), Pelekane ("Maisons du Roi," or "king's houses"), and the John Young Homestead ("Maison de Young," or "Young's house").



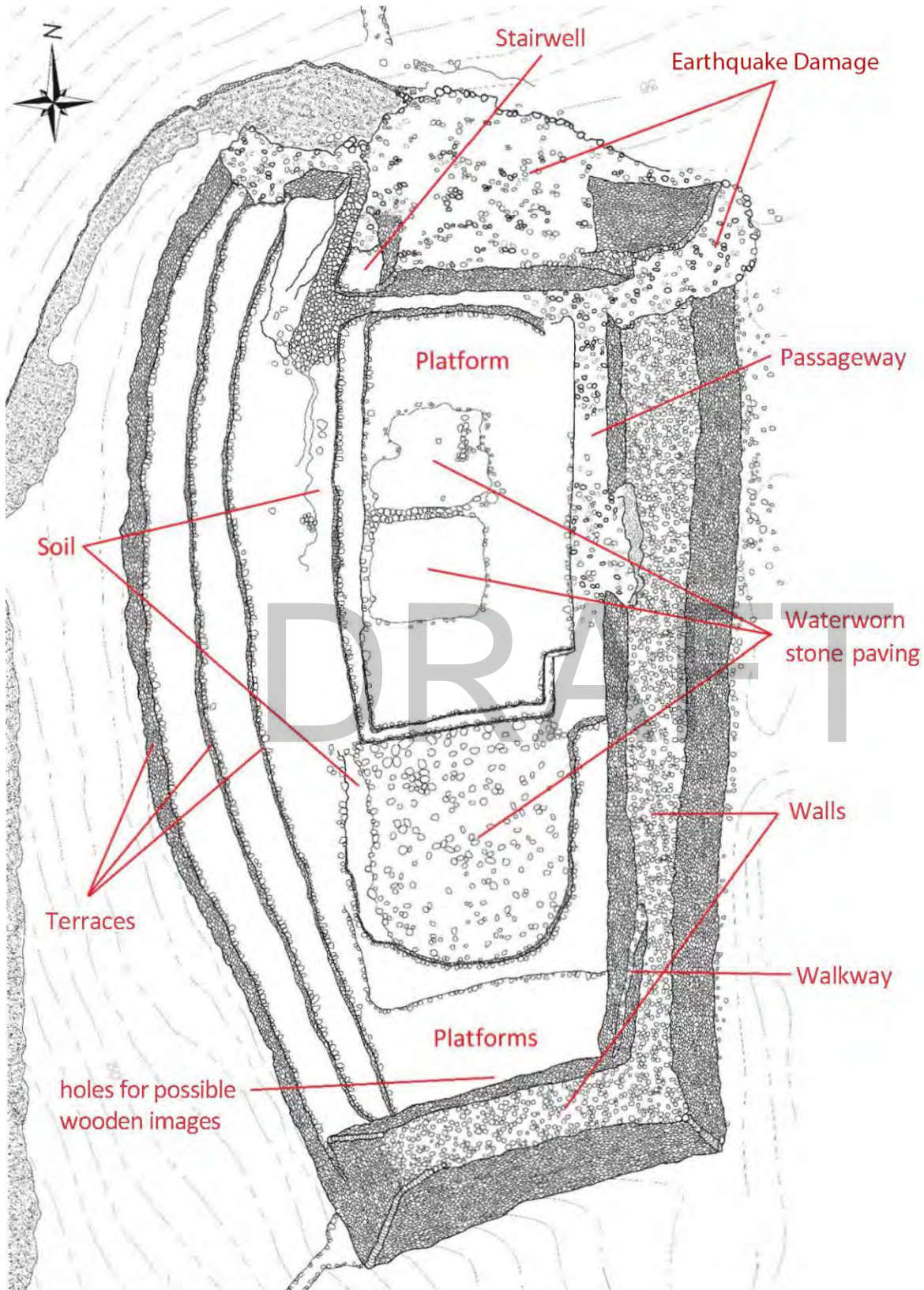


Figure 7. Annotated plan map of Pu'ukoholā Heiau (Historic American Landscapes Survey 2009a). This map shows damage to the northern and eastern outer wall caused by earthquakes in 2006; these areas have since been repaired.

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Figure 8. An 1819 drawing of Pu'ukoholā Heiau by Jacques Arago (reproduced in Carson 2005).

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Figure 9. Photographs of the *heiau* taken during the 1880s. Note the distinct white line at the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Top photograph courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; center and bottom photographs courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

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Figure 10. An early 1850s watercolor painting of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau by James Gay Sawkins. The walled compound in the left center of the image is no longer standing, and maybe John Young's first residence which some believe was the birthplace of Queen Emma. Image courtesy of the National Library of Australia, Canberra.



Figure 11. An undated photograph of the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, probably taken during the 1880s. Note the distinct rock cairns on the top of the wall, and the white rocks along the northwest corner (left side of image). Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



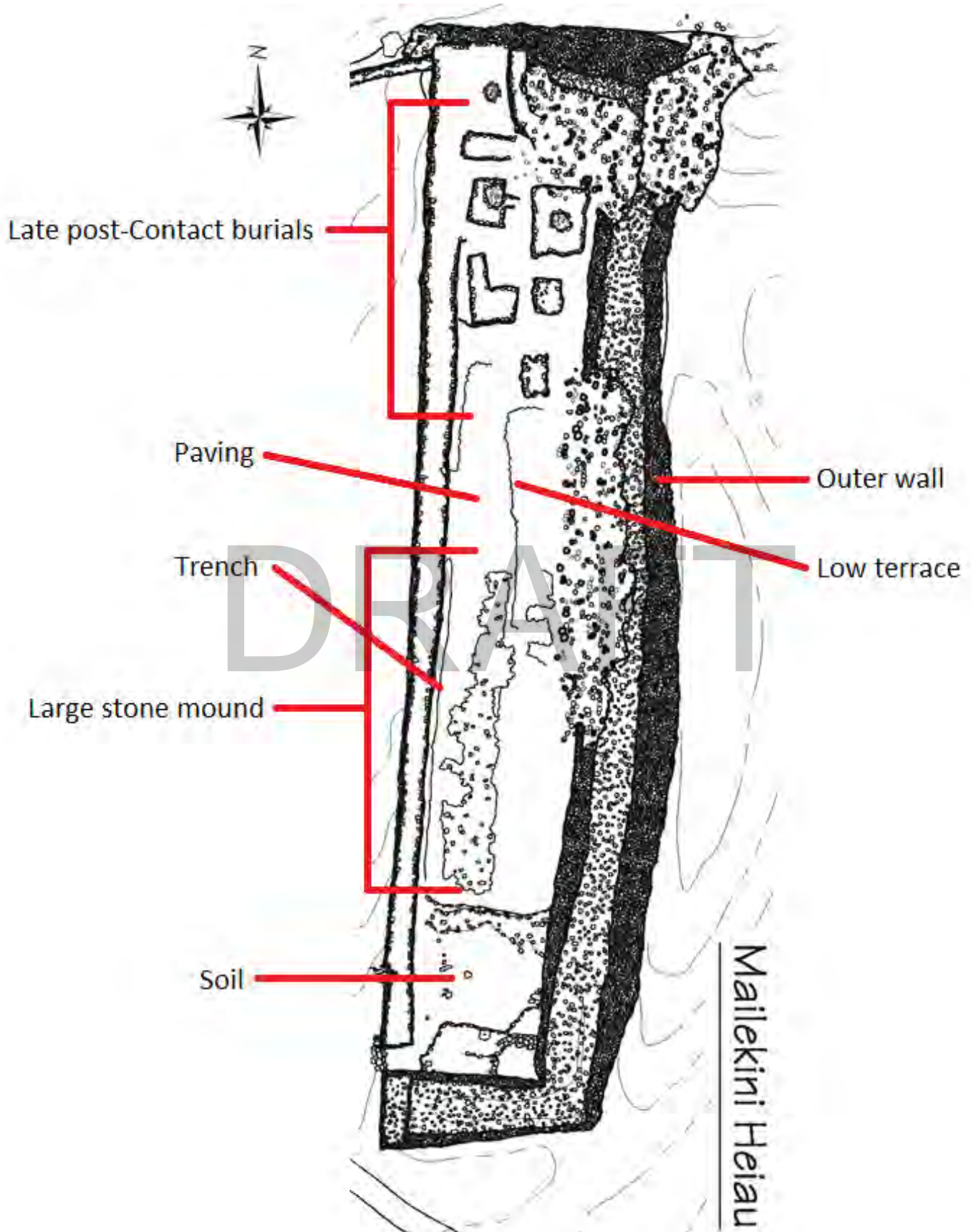


Figure 12. Annotated plan map of Mailekini Heiau (Historic American Landscapes Survey 2009b).



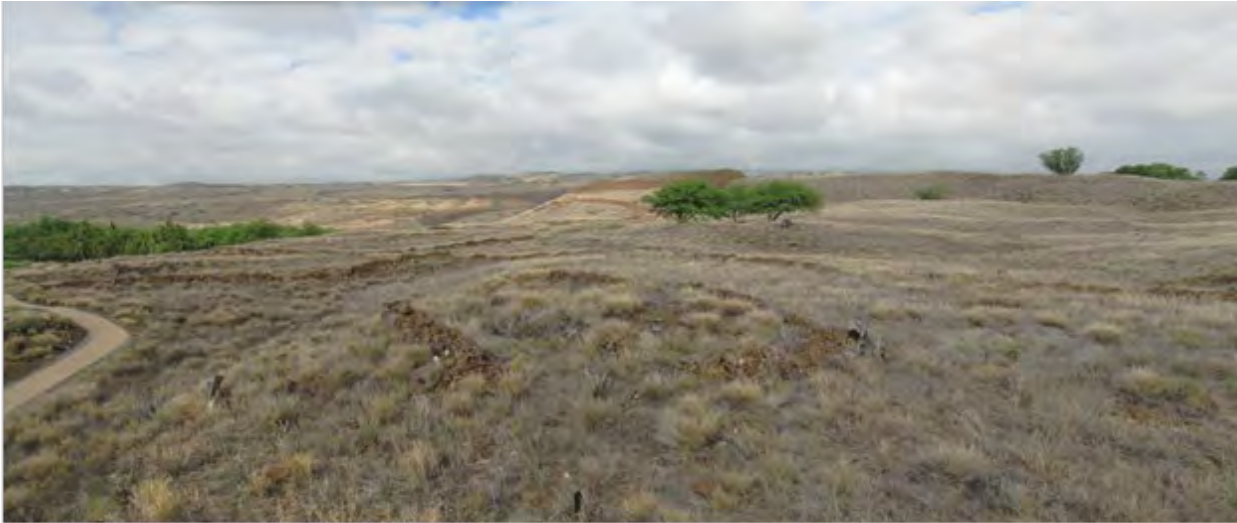


Figure 13. A panoramic view of the Pelekane area south of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau. Site 24398 and remnants of other stone walls and platforms are partially visible in the grass. View to the northeast.



Figure 14. A stone enclosure (Site 24052, Fea. 1) north of Mailekini Heiau. The walls of this structure are bonded by mud mortar.

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Figure 32. Interpretive Guide to Accompany the 1819 Illustration by du Perrey. This illustration was prepared by K. Kelly (from Kelly 1974a:22). The items shown are: a) Pu'ukoholā heiau; b) a portion of Mailekini heiau; c) the probable location of the King's house; d) the lanai where Freycinet met the Queens; and e) shelters for retainers.

Figure 15. An 1819 drawing of the Pelekane area by Jacques Arago (top), and a contemporary diagram (bottom) identifying the major visible structures (reproduced from Carson 2006). The identifications are based in part on Freycinet's 1819 description of Pelekane (Wiswell and Kelly 1978).



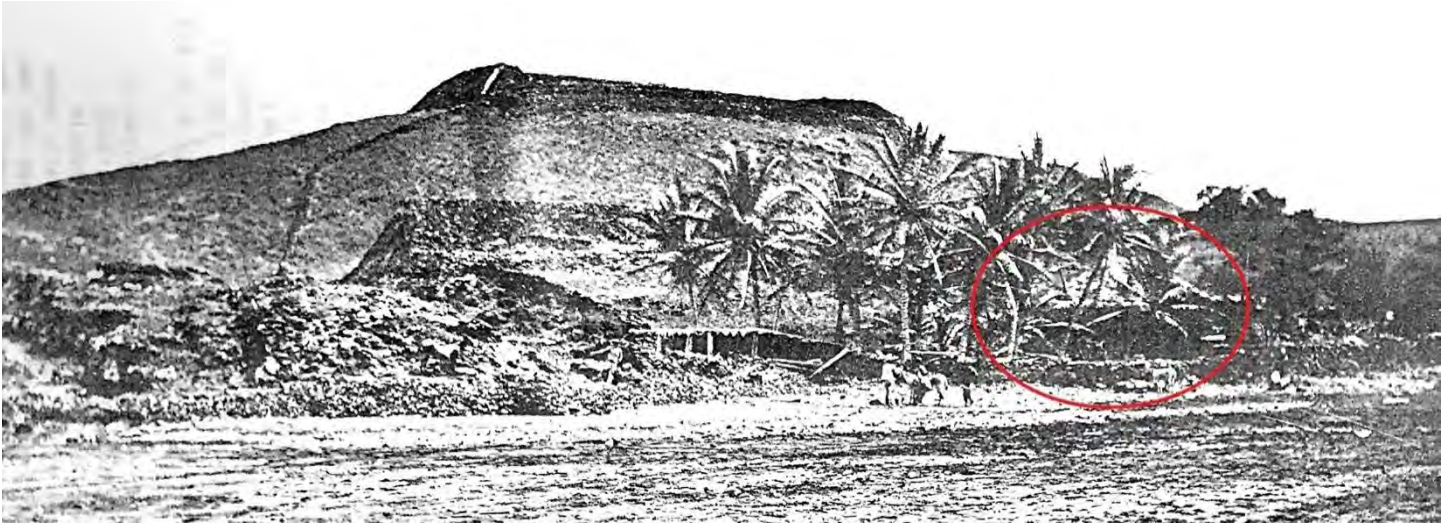


Figure 16. An 1889 photograph of the *heiau* and Pelekane (reproduced in Barrera and Kelly 1974). The reputed “King’s house built for King Kalākaua in the late nineteenth century is circled in red.

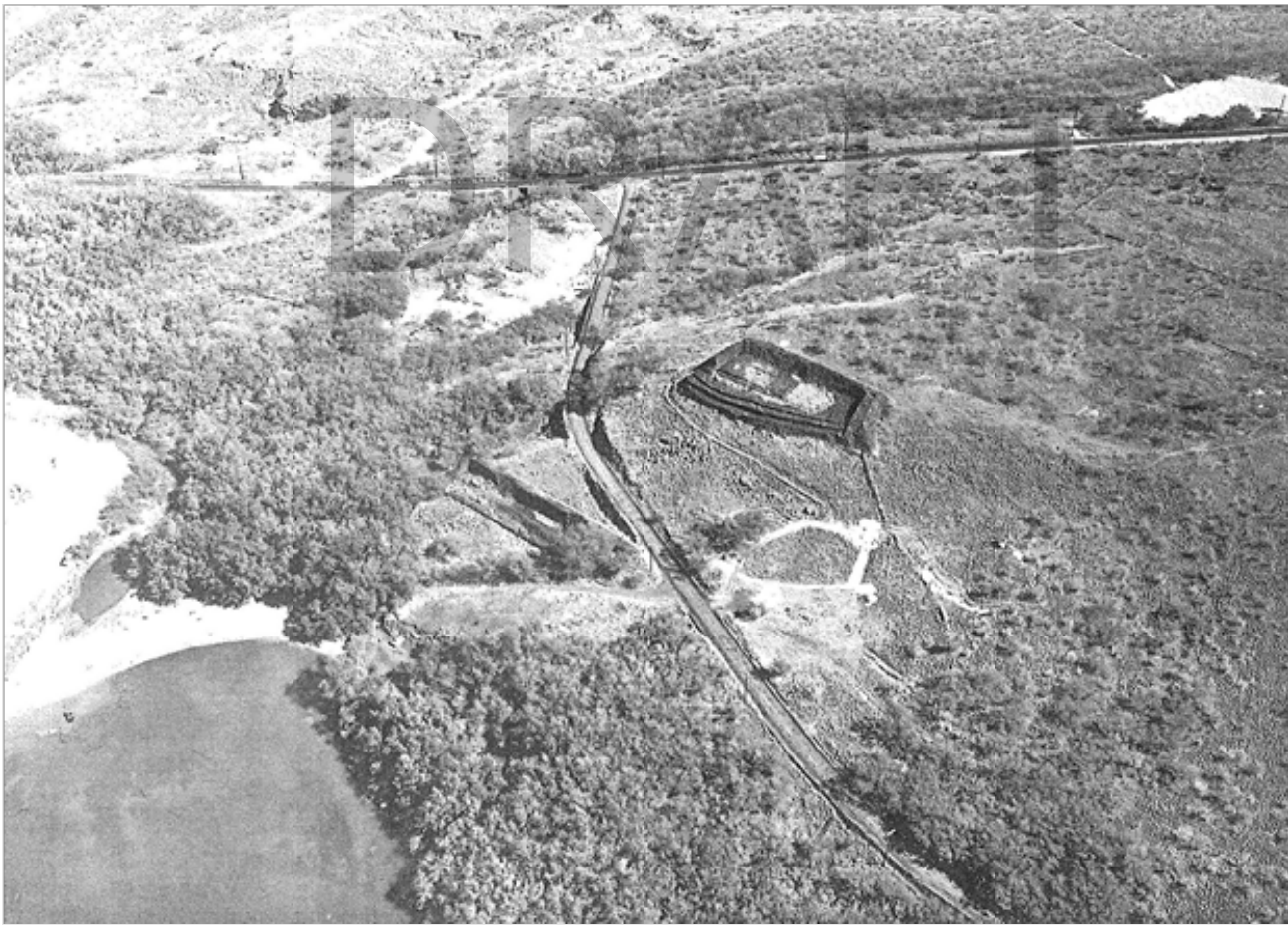


Figure 17. An aerial view of the landmark property, showing the Old Spencer Beach Park Road (center), present from 1936 to 2002 (reproduced from Greene 1993).



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Figure 18. A 1960s photograph of a concrete plant operating north of Pu'ukohola Heiau (left; Greene 1993), and a 2014 photograph of an extensive concrete deposit at the bottom of Pohaukole Gulch (right, NPS).

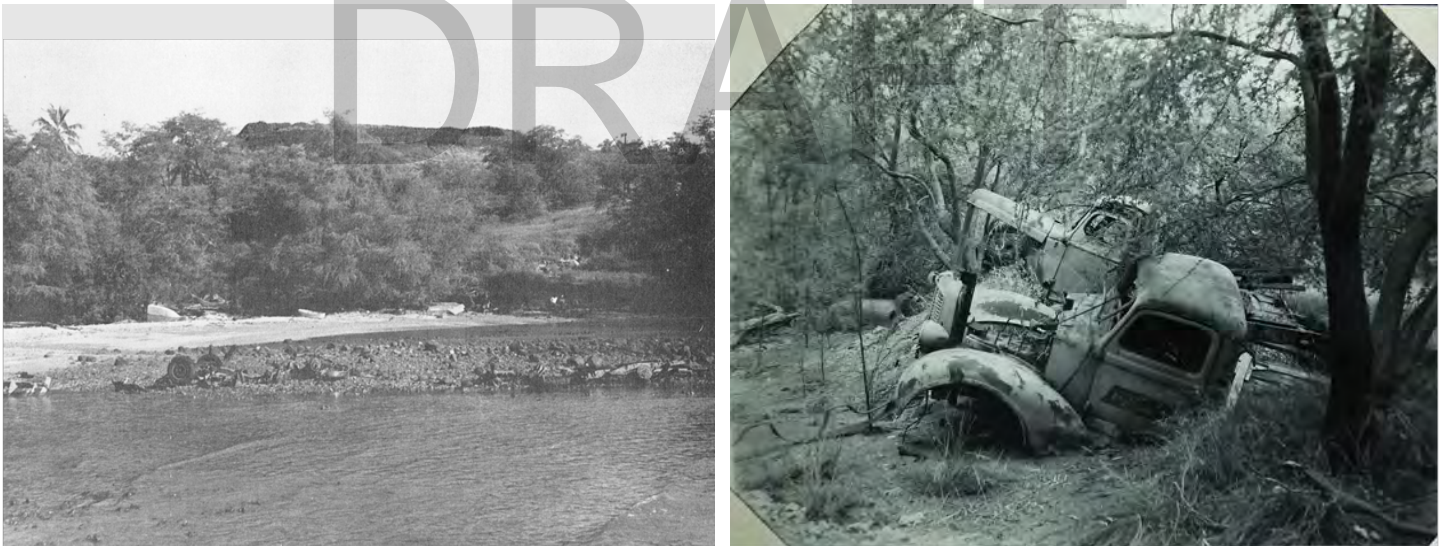


Figure 19. Photos from the early 1970s of trash in the waters off Pelekane beach (left; Barrera and Kelly 1974) and derelict cars in the Pelekane area (right; photograph courtesy of the National Park Service).



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Figure 20. Portion of Jackson's 1883 survey map (Hawaii Government Survey Register Map 1323), showing the landmark area. The remains of Hale-o-Kapuni are circled in red.



Figure 21. An undated photograph (probably from the 1880s) of the landmark area. Hale-o-Kapuni may be visible within the area circled in red. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

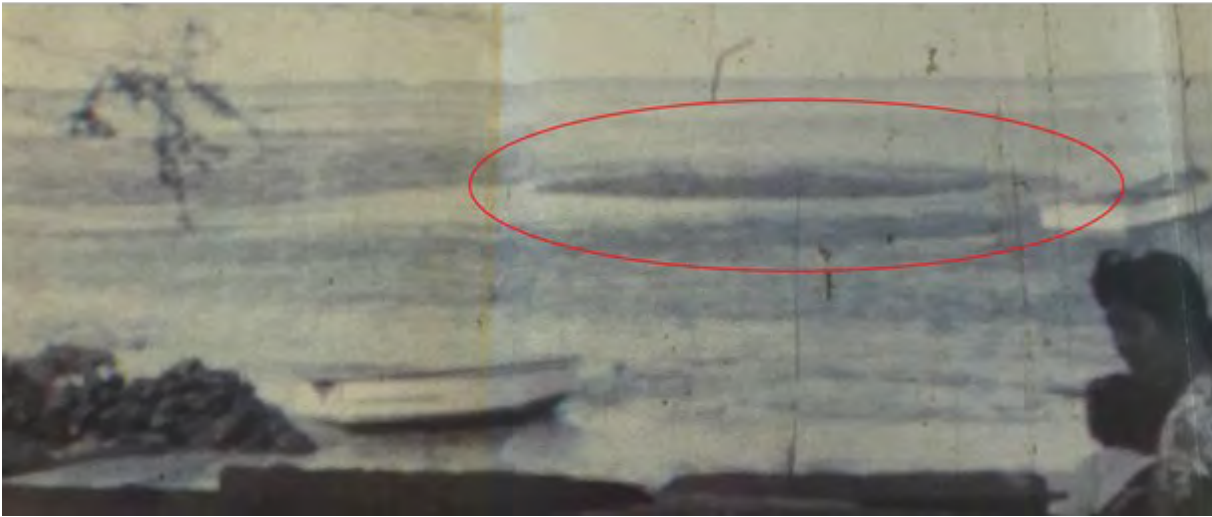


Figure 22. A film frame image of Hale-o-Kapuni channel during a tsunami in 1952. The dark shape circled in red may be the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service (original film donated to PUHE by Patricia Peacock in the 1970s)



Figure 23. Photographs of a rock deposit visible in Hale-o-Kapuni channel in 1976. The stones could represent the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau, although they may also be runoff material from the nearby Pohaukole Gulch. Photographs courtesy of the National Park Service.





Figure 24. A photograph of Hale-o-Kapuni channel taken during a 2011 tsunami. The stone debris scattered in the channel could be the remains of Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau. Photograph courtesy of NPS.



Figure 25. An undated photograph (probably from the 1880s) of the landmark area. The prominent landscape object circled in red could be the Stone Leaning Post. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

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Figure 26. Panoramic views of the John Young Homestead. Views to the southwest (top) and east-southeast (bottom).

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Figure 28. An undated (probably from the 1880s) panoramic photograph of the Kawaihae coastline. The upper and lower portions of John Young's homestead are labeled and circled in white. Photograph courtesy of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Figure 29. An 1882 photograph of John Young's main house in the upper portion of his homestead. Photograph courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.



Figure 30. A 1920 photograph of John Young's main house, showing the west wall and doorway (reproduced from Greene 1993).



Figure 31. A photograph of John Young's main house in the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS.



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Figure 32. John Young's main house around 1964. The original wood support beams remain embedded in a collapsed wall. Photograph courtesy of NPS.



Figure 33. The superstructure built around John Young's main house in 1974 following a 1973 earthquake (left), and an exposed plaster surface of the house in 1991 (right). Photographs courtesy of NPS.





Figure 34. Views of the steel wire fence surrounding the John Young Homestead. Photograph courtesy of NPS.

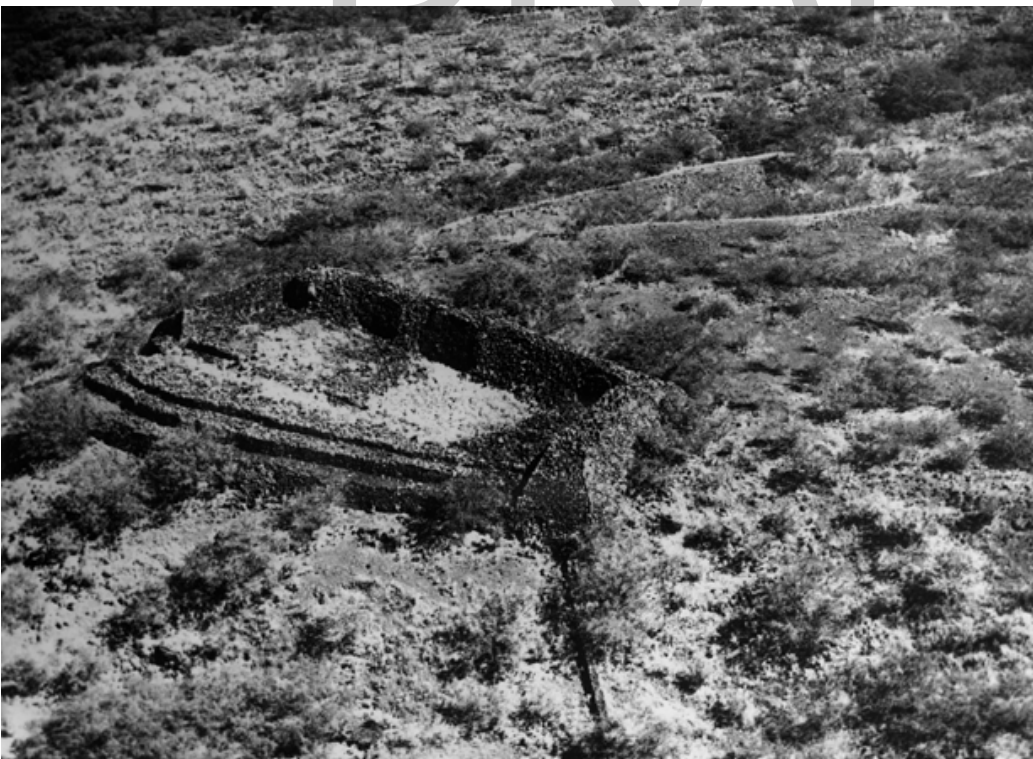


Figure 35. A 1925 aerial view of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, showing extensive damage to the structure. Photograph courtesy of NPS.

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Figure 36. Emergency stabilization of Pu'ukoholā Heiau during the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS.



Figure 37. Emergency stabilization of Pu'ukoholā Heiau during the 1970s. Photograph courtesy of NPS



# PU'UKOHOĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

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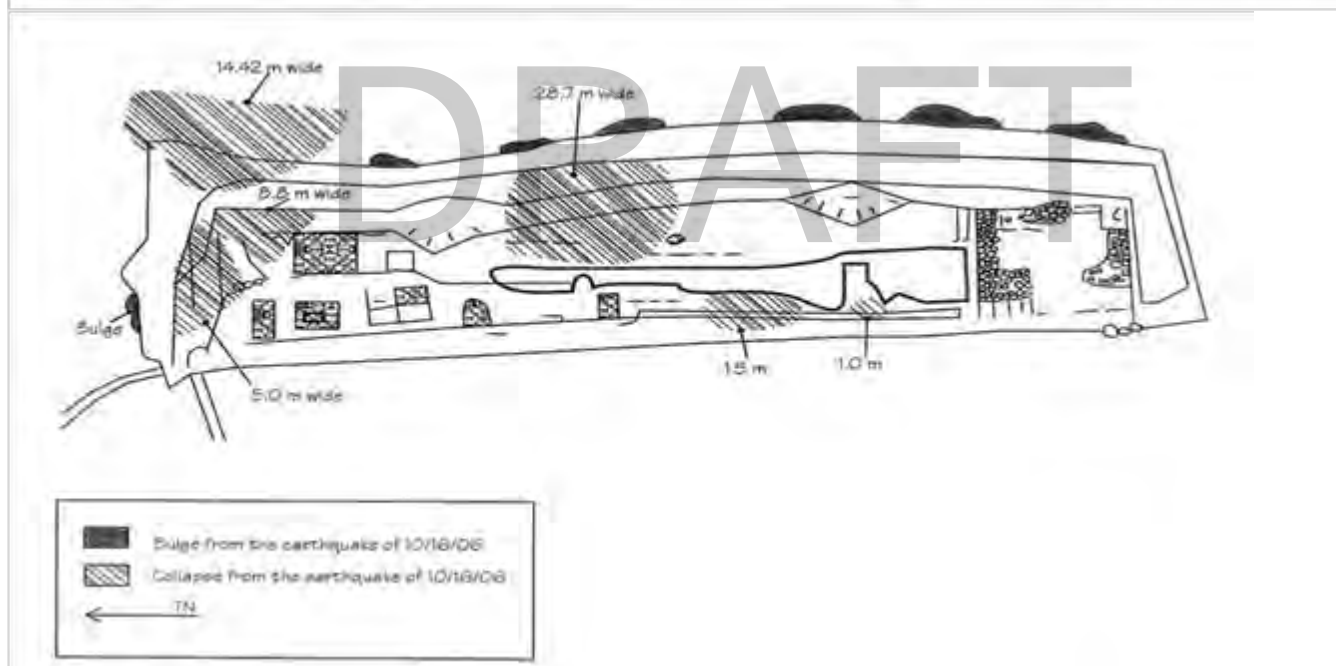
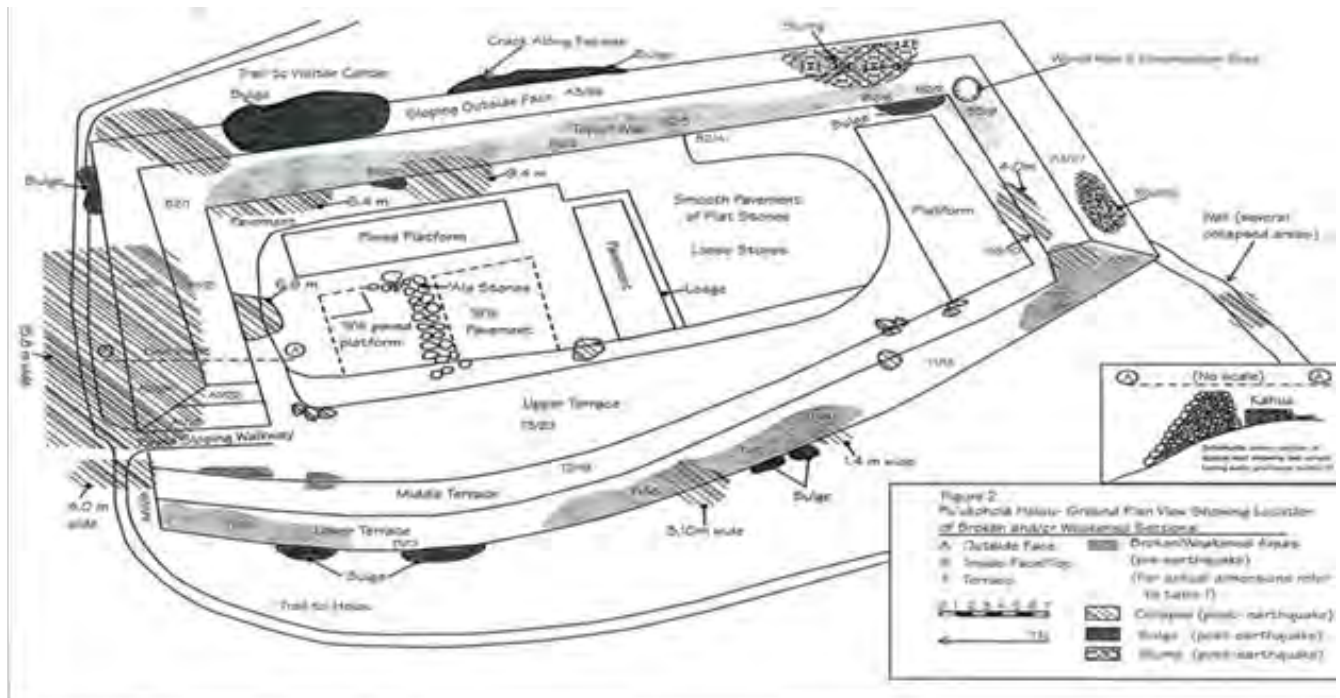


Figure 38. Plan maps of Pu'ukohola Heiau (top) and Mailekini Heiau (bottom) showing areas damaged by the 2006 earthquakes. Maps courtesy of NPS.



Figure 39. Comparative images of a wall in the southern section of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, showing damage caused by the 2006 earthquakes (top), and repairs completed during emergency stabilization efforts (bottom). Photographs courtesy of NPS.



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Figure 40. The east wall of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The vertical bulges in the wall were formed during the 2006 earthquakes. Photograph courtesy of NPS.

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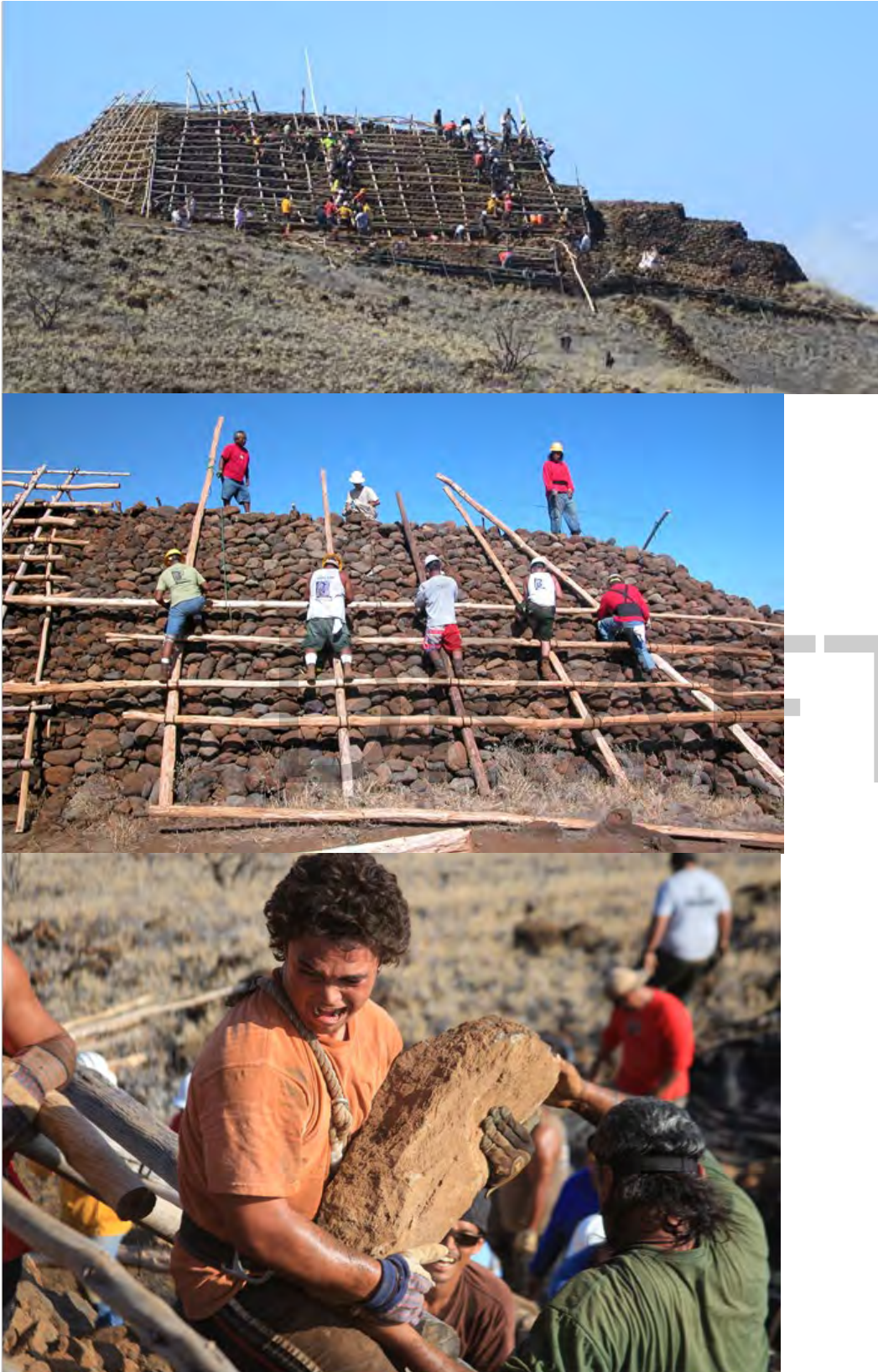


Figure 41. Emergency stabilization efforts at Pu'ukoholā Heiau following the 2006 earthquakes. Photographs courtesy of NPS.



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Figure 42. The northeast corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The dark brown stones mark the last original face of the exterior north wall; the lighter sections adjacent to this face have been stabilized (Adam Johnson, personal communication, July 8, 2015).



Figure 43. John Young's primary residence at the John Young Homestead. Steel bracers and cement board siding protect original portions of the eastern and southern walls from the weather. View to the northwest.

**PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK****Photos**

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**CURRENT PHOTO LOG**

**Name of Property:** Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Landmark  
**City or Vicinity:** Kawaihae  
**County:** Hawai'i  
**State:** HI  
**Photographers:\*** Robert A. Pacheco and M.J. Tomonari-Tuggle  
**Date of Photographs:\*** September 10 to 14, 2014  
**Location of Digital Files:\*** 2081 Young St., Honolulu, HI, 96826-2231  
**Number of Photographs:** 81

\*unless otherwise noted

Photo #1 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0001)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Administration Complex, and the Visitor Center are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the bottom right of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #2 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0002)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Administration Complex, and the Visitor Center are visible. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #3 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0003)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible in the bottom half of the photo. A small boat harbor, a portion of the larger Kawaihae Harbor, and the large coral-filled flat between the two harbors are visible at the top right of the photo. Camera facing west.

Photo #4 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0004)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The Administration Complex, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Visitor Center, Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the top right corner of the photo. Camera facing south.

Photo #5 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0005)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Hale-o-Kapuni channel, Pelekane, the Visitor Center, Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the John Young Homestead, and the Administration Complex are visible. Kawaihae Harbor and a large coral-filled flat are visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing north.

Photo #6 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0006)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The Administration Complex, the Visitor Center, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and Mailekini Heiau are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the top center of the photo. Camera facing southwest.

Photo #7 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0007)

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Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The John Young Homestead is visible at the center of the photo. Highway 270 is visible in the top half of the photo. Camera facing southwest.

Photo #8 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0008)

The landscape west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible in the bottom half of the photo. A small boat harbor (top left), a large coral-filled flat, and a portion of Kawaihae Harbor are visible in the top half of the photo. Camera facing west.

Photo #9 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0009)

The landscape west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is visible at the center of the photo. Stone wall remnants among the grass are partially visible in the bottom half of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #10 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0010)

The landscape north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. A National Park Service maintenance facility is visible in the center background of the photo. A highway bridge crossing Pohaukole Gulch is visible at the right center of the photo. Camera facing north.

Photo #11 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0011)

The landscape north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, as viewed from the tank road. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is visible at the top left of the photo, and a portion of Pohaukole Gulch is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing south.

Photo #12 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0012)

The landscape near the south end of the park. The Visitor Center is visible at the left center of the photo, and a portion of the Administration Complex's lawn is visible at the right side of the photo. A paved trail between the Visitor Center and the Administration Complex is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing west.

Photo #13 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0013)

The landscape east of the Administration Complex. A large, pre-World War II stone enclosure is partially visible in the center of the photo. A eucalyptus lumberyard northeast of Highway 270 (outside the park boundary) is partially visible in the center background of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #14 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0014)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #15 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0015)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #16 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0016)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Camera facing southwest.

Photo #17 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0017)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, northeast wall. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #18 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0018)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, east wall. Camera facing west.

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Photo #19 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0019)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, southeast wall. The bulges visible in the wall were created by seismic waves during the 2006 Hawai'i Island earthquakes. Camera facing southwest.

Photo #20 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0020)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, heiau entrance. Camera facing south.

Photo #21 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0021)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, north wall and heiau entrance. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #22 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0022)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Pahu Kapu (two crossed staffs) and a post-and-rail fence bar access to the heiau trail. Camera facing east.

Photo #23 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0023)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, southwest corner. A low stone wall extends from the corner of the heiau towards the southwest. A post-and-rail fence at the heiau trail entrance is partially visible at the bottom left of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #24 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0024)

A reconstructed 'anu'u (offering tower) near the southwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing west.

Photo #25 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0025)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau. The heiau trail descends from the northwest corner of the heiau (at the left center of the photo) towards the south, ending near the reconstructed 'anu'u (offering tower) visible at the right center of the photo. A portion of the paved park trail is visible at the bottom center of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #26 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0026)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, north wall and heiau entrance. A low stone wall extends from the northwest corner of the heiau towards the northwest, then shifts to the west towards the northeast corner of Mailekini Heiau (not pictured). A goat can be seen on the heiau wall west of the entrance. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #27 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0027)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau, southwest corner. A low stone wall extending from the corner of the heiau towards the southwest is visible at the bottom of the photo. A protruding column of "locking stones" is visible along the corner where the west (left) and south (right) heiau walls meet. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #28 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0028)

Mailekini Heiau, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is partially visible at the right center of the photo. Pelekane is partially visible at the bottom left of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #29 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0029)

Mailekini Heiau, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is partially visible at the top of the photo. Pelekane is partially visible at the bottom of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #30 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0030)

**PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK****Photos**

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Mailekini Heiau. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is barely visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing south.

Photo #31 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0031)

Mailekini Heiau, east wall, as viewed from Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing west.

Photo #32 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0032)

Mailekini Heiau, south wall. The paved park trail is visible at the bottom left of the photo. Camera facing north.

Photo #33 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0033)

Mailekini Heiau, south end. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is partially visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #34 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0034)

Mailekini Heiau. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #35 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0035)

Mailekini Heiau, partially visible at the bottom of the photo, and Pu'ukoholā Heiau, visible at the top center of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #36 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0036)

A low stone wall remnant extending from the northwest corner of Mailekini Heiau (partially visible at the top center of the photo) towards Pelekane to the west (not pictured). Camera facing east.

Photo #37 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0037)

A portion of a low stone wall extending from the northwest corner of Mailekini Heiau (not pictured) towards the northwest. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #38 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0038)

Mailekini Heiau, visible at the center of the photo, and Pu'ukoholā Heiau, visible at the top left of the photo. Low stone walls extend from the northwest corner of Mailekini Heiau towards the west (at the right center of photo) and northwest (at the bottom center of photo). A low stone wall extends from the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā Heiau towards the northwest and west (top left of photo). Camera facing southeast.

Photo #39 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0039)

Pelekane. A portion of the paved park trail is visible at the bottom of the photo. Camera facing north.

Photo #40 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0040)

Pelekane. Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini Heiau are visible at the top right of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #41 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0041)

Pelekane beach (at the top center of the photo) and Hale-o-Kapuni channel. Camera facing north.

Photo #42 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0042)

Pelekane. Hale-o-Kapuni channel is visible behind the trees at the left center of the photo. Camera facing west.

Photo #43 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0043)

Pelekane. The two banana plant pseudostems at the center of the photo were used as spear-throwing targets during a recent (ca. 2014) cultural festival. Camera facing east.



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Photo #44 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0044)

Pelekane. The cleared area in the photo foreground is currently used as an automobile road and parking area. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #45 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0045)

Pelekane beach. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #46 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0046)

Pelekane beach (at the left center of the photo) and Hale-o-Kapuni channel. Pu'ukoholā Heiau and Mailekini Heiau are visible at the right center of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #47 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0047)

Pelekane beach (at the bottom right of the photo) and Hale-o-Kapuni channel. A modern stone retaining wall, visible at the center of the photo, runs alongside an access road to a small boat harbor northwest of the park. Camera facing west.

Photo #48 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0048)

The Hale-o-Kapuni channel outlet. A portion of the paved park trail is visible at the bottom of the photo. A small boat harbor northwest of the park is visible at the top center of the photo. Camera facing west.

Photo #49 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0049)

Hale-o-Kapuni channel, as seen from Pelekane beach (partially visible at the bottom left of the photo). The basalt cobbles visible just offshore may be from Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau Site. Camera facing south.

Photo #50 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0050)

Hale-o-Kapuni channel, as seen from Pelekane beach (partially visible at the bottom of the photo). This photo roughly simulates the shoreline view as seen from near the original location of the Stone Leaning Post. The submerged Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau Site is likely located near the center of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #51 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0051)

Hale-o-Kapuni channel. Pelekane beach is partially visible at the right center of the photo. A modern stone retaining wall is visible under the trees at the top center of the photo. The submerged Hale-o-Kapuni Heiau Site is likely located near the center of the photo. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #52 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0052)

The remains of the Stone Leaning Post, displayed on a modern stone platform. The post was accidentally broken in 1937, and moved to its current location in 1972. A park information stand is partially visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #53 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0053)

The remains of Stone Leaning Post, displayed on a modern stone platform, are visible at the right center of the photo. A portion of the paved park trail is visible at the bottom left of the photo. Pelekane is partially visible at the left center of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #54 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0054)

The Stone Leaning Post, broken into three pieces and displayed on a modern stone platform. Camera facing east.

Photo #55 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0055)

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The Stone Leaning Post, broken into three pieces and displayed on a modern stone platform. The post's original location was somewhere on the opposite side of the paved park trail (visible at the center of the photo), possibly on a remnant rock cairn below the tree at center left. Camera facing west.

Photo #56 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0056)

The remains of a Western-style structure (Feature S2) at the John Young Homestead. A small portion of the structure's original coral lime-plastered wall is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #57 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0057)

The remains of John Young's Western-style residence (Feature S1) at the John Young Homestead. The east wall is being reinforced by wood panels and metal supports. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #58 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0058)

The remains of John Young's Western-style residence (Feature S1) at the John Young Homestead. The east wall is being reinforced by wood panels and metal supports. Camera facing south.

Photo #59 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0059)

The remains of two Hawaiian-style platforms (Features F1 and F5) at the John Young Homestead. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #60 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0060)

The interior of John Young's Western-style residence (Feature S1) at the John Young Homestead. Collapsed stones from the original structure have been rebuilt into berms that stabilize and protect the remnant masonry walls. Camera facing west.

Photo #61 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0061)

A remnant of the original coral lime-plastered wall of a Western-style structure (Feature S2) at the John Young Homestead is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #62 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0062)

A pile of coral lime plaster fragments near the eastern boundary of the John Young Homestead. These fragments were likely collected from John Young's primary residence (Feature S1) following wall collapses. Camera facing east.

Photo #63 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0063)

Park visitors' entrance to the John Young Homestead. The unlocked metal gate and wire fence on the left side of the photo are maintained by the National Park Service. Highway 270 is visible at the right edge of the photo. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #64 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0064)

Park visitors' entrance to the John Young Homestead. The unlocked metal gate and wire fence across the center of the photo are maintained by the National Park Service. The remains of a Hawaiian-style platform (Feature F1) are visible in the center background behind the fence. Camera facing east.

Photo #65 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0065)

The remains of John Young's Western-style residence (Feature S1) at the John Young Homestead. Camera facing east.

Photo #66 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0066)

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Park visitors' entrance to the John Young Homestead. The unlocked metal gate and wire fence at the right center of the photo are maintained by the National Park Service. Highway 270 is visible at the left side of the photo. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #67 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0067)

The remains of a Hawaiian-style terrace (Feature F2) at the John Young Homestead. Camera facing south.

Photo #68 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0068)

The west and north wall remnants of John Young's primary residence (Feature S1) at the John Young Homestead. The original masonry walls, held in place by mud mortar, are partially visible behind the constructed stone berms that stabilize and protect the walls. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #69 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0069)

The remains of a Western-style enclosure (Feature S3) at the John Young Homestead. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #70 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0070)

Stone enclosure (Site #24052, Fea. #IARII 61) north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #71 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0071)

Stone enclosure (Site #24052, Fea. #IARII 72) north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing southwest.

Photo #72 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0072)

Stone enclosure (Site #23966, Fea. #PH-25) near the southern park boundary. Camera facing northwest.

Photo #73 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0073)

A house platform enclosed by a stone wall (Site #24398, Fea. #PH-61), west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing north.

Photo #74 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0074)

Detail of a mud-mortared platform (Site #24398, Fea. #PH-62) west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Camera facing southeast.

Photo #75 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0075)

A portion of a feature complex (Site #24398) west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. A mud-mortared platform (Fea. #PH-62) is partially visible at the bottom right of the photo. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing east.

Photo #76 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0076)

A feature complex (Site #24400) west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Fragments of Muntz metal, a type of brass associated with ship hull sheathing during the nineteenth century, were found on the platform at the right center of the photo (Fea. #PH-82A). Camera facing northeast.

Photo #77 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0077)

Pictographs on the walls of Pohaukole Gulch (Site #24051). The images emulate traditional Hawaiian motifs, but are drawn using cement liquid. These resources are noncontributing to the NHL. Camera facing south.

Photo #78 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0078)

A partially collapsed concrete oven (Site #24401). The structure was built by a Kawaihae resident in the early 20th century, and is noncontributing to the NHL. Camera facing east.

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Photo #79 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0079)

A portion of the colored asphalt park trail near the Pelekane shoreline. This modern footpath is noncontributing to the NHL. Camera facing northeast.

Photo #80 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0080)

A World War II-era U.S. Army tank road. This resource is noncontributing to the NHL. Camera facing west.

Photo #81 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0081)

The entrance to the John Young Homestead (visible to left) along Highway 270 (visible to right). The modern highway physically separates the John Young Homestead from the remainder of the NHL and is noncontributing to the landmark. Camera facing southeast.



Photo #1 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0001)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Administration Complex, and the Visitor Center are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the bottom right of the photo. Camera facing northeast.



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Photo #2 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0002)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Administration Complex, and the Visitor Center are visible. Camera facing northeast.



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Photo #3 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0003)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Pu'ukoholā Heiau, Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible in the bottom half of the photo. A small boat harbor, a portion of the larger Kawaihae Harbor, and the large coral-filled flat between the two harbors are visible at the top right of the photo. Camera facing west.



**PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK****Photos**

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Photo #4 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0004)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The Administration Complex, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the Visitor Center, Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the top right corner of the photo. Camera facing south.



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Photo #5 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0005)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. Hale-o-Kapuni channel, Pelekane, the Visitor Center, Mailekini Heiau, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the John Young Homestead, and the Administration Complex are visible. Kawaihae Harbor and a large coral-filled flat are visible at the top left of the photo. Camera facing north.



**PU'UKOHOLĀ HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK**

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Photo #6 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0006)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The Administration Complex, the Visitor Center, Pu'ukoholā Heiau, and Mailekini Heiau are visible. Spencer Beach Park is at the top center of the photo. Camera facing southwest.



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Photo #7 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0007)

Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, aerial photo, dated September 19, 2011, photographed by Adam Johnson of the National Park Service. The John Young Homestead is visible at the center of the photo. Highway 270 is visible in the top half of the photo. Camera facing southwest.



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Photo #8 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0008)

The landscape west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Mailekini Heiau, Pelekane, and Hale-o-Kapuni channel are visible in the bottom half of the photo. A small boat harbor (top left), a large coral-filled flat, and a portion of Kawaihae Harbor are visible in the top half of the photo. Camera facing west.

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Photo #9 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0009)

The landscape west of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is visible at the center of the photo. Stone wall remnants among the grass are partially visible in the bottom half of the photo. Camera facing east.



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Photo #10 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0010)

The landscape north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau. A National Park Service maintenance facility is visible in the center background of the photo. A highway bridge crossing Pohaukole Gulch is visible at the right center of the photo. Camera facing north.



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Photo #11 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0011)

The landscape north of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, as viewed from the Tank Road. Pu'ukoholā Heiau is visible at the top left of the photo, and a portion of Pohaukole Gulch is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing south.



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Photo #12 of 81 (HI\_Hawaii\_Puukohola Heiau NHL\_0012)

The landscape near the south end of the park. The Visitor Center is visible at the left center of the photo, and a portion of the Administration Complex's lawn is visible at the right side of the photo. A paved trail between the Visitor Center and the Administration Complex is visible at the center of the photo. Camera facing west.