Kahoʻolawe Island Conveyance Commission
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Kahoʻolawe Place Names

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THE PLACE NAMES OF KAHO'OLAWE

A Study of Those Place Names Known from the Island of Kaho'olawe

Prepared for the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission
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"It was the same from Hawaii to Kauai
- no name was given without some reason."

(Samuel Kamakau 1976:7)
An Executive Summary

In giving a name to a piece of land, whether it be an island, a hill or a rocky headland, the inhabitants of ancient Hawai'i were placing a part of themselves on the landscape. The names which the native peoples of these islands used to identify the world around them were shaped by the world within them; by their customs, their beliefs and their gods. These names often reveal as much about the people themselves, as about the places to which they refer. For place names reflect the way in which the ancient Hawaiians viewed their island home, and today, centuries later, they provide windows through which we can look back into the past and see the world again as they saw it, through a Hawaiian perspective.

When the first voyagers came to these shores from lands far to the south, the islands had no names. The landscape was empty. In giving names to these vacant lands, in investing them with life, the early Hawaiians, who were not yet themselves Hawaiian, made these islands their own. In the centuries to follow, these place names served as cultural reference points, helping each succeeding generation to find and define itself.

One need only to listen to the ancient mele, the traditional poetry of these islands, to appreciate the important role which place names (and the remembrances they evoke) played in Hawaiian culture. For place names were a reaffirming link, not only to the land itself, but to all the events, both legendary and historic, which had taken place on that land and to the ancestors who had lived on and were now buried within it. Today, as in the past, these Hawaiian language place names serve not only to help us orient ourselves in the physical world, but also in the temporal world. They provide reference points in our own search to
understand the vast complexity that was and is traditional Hawaiian culture.

In ancient Hawai‘i, as throughout the world, the reasons for choosing a specific place name were be immensely varied. The name chosen might reflect the physical characteristics of the place, it might recall some event which occurred there, or it might refer to the god or gods which invested that spot.

The meaning of a particular Hawaiian place name might have been evident to all, or understandable only to those intimately familiar with the place and its history. Often times a single place name carried more than one meaning. In addition to its easily discernible descriptive meaning, a place name might also possess a kaona, a hidden meaning. The use of kaona in place names, as in Hawaiian poetry, reveals the great depth and complexity of the language. In ancient times, the naming of a place was not a task to be undertaken lightly, for the Hawaiians recognized the power inherent in a name. As one of their proverbs expresses it; I ka ʻolelo no ke ola, i ka ʻolelo no ka make, In the word is life, in the word is death.

Today, unraveling the true meaning of these place names is often extremely difficult, if not impossible. The main problem stems from the fact that Hawaiian was originally an oral language. It was never meant to be written down. When the early missionaries committed the Hawaiian language to paper they had the unenviable task of transforming a language of sounds into a language of symbols.

As a result, the peculiarities of Hawaiian grammar make it possible for what appears in print as a single word to possess a variety of meanings, depending upon the way in which it is pronounced. The manner in which we deal with this problem today is through the use of diacritical marks, symbols such as the glottal stop (ʻokina), which are used to indicate the sound of a letter. Thus the word ʻio refers to the Hawaiian hawk, while ʻiʻo means meat or flesh.
Up until the latter half of this century, however, most Hawaiian words were written without these all important diacritical marks. As a result, it is often impossible when examining old maps of the islands or reading through early accounts, to determine the true pronunciation, and thus the true meaning, of a place name. In areas where native speakers survive and have continued to use and pronounce traditional place names, this does not present a problem. Over the past two centuries, however, Hawai‘i's population, as well as her landscape, have undergone immense changes. Not only have innumerable place names been lost, but often when place names have survived, the elder inhabitants of an area have died or moved away, leaving no one who remembers or understands the original meanings of these names.

Such has been the case on the island of Kaho‘olawe, whose last native residents departed their ancestral home in the early years of this century. As a result, almost all of Kaho‘olawe's place names have come down to us from maps and written accounts, rather from the mouths of those living on, and familiar with, the island. The difficulties inherent in attempting to reconstruct the original pronunciation of the island's place names, and hence their original meaning, is overwhelming. We will probably never be able to decipher the true meaning of many of these names.

The problem of understanding Kaho‘olawe's place names is further complicated by the simple proliferation of names and their variants. Though there are relatively few place names known from Kaho‘olawe when compared to the other islands in the chain, there exists a great deal of variation within the names we have. It is not unusual, for instance, to find three different names for the same bay, or five different spellings of the same name. The reasons for this again stem from the fact that in most cases our main sources for these names were not the islanders themselves, who had little use for maps or written documents, but government officials and other visitors to the island.
The likelihood that a visitor might confuse or misquote a place name is quite high, particularly if he was not a native speaker. This error would then have been incorporated in any map he might draw or account he might write of the island. Such mistakes could, and have, been perpetuated on subsequent "official" maps of the Kaho'olawe.

There is also the question of new or variant names. In places like Kaho'olawe where the original name of a place is not always known, it is understandable for people to assign their own names to places they visit or use. Thus we have three different names for the large bay which lies along Kaho'olawe's eastern coast. We have the original Hawaiian name, Kanapou (or Keanapou); the name assigned to it in 1904 by a visiting cartographic survey vessel, Beck's cove; and the name it is referred to by local Japanese fishermen, Obake bay. Though, in this case, it is easy to distinguish the traditional name of the bay from later non-Hawaiian names, there are times (particularly when a new name was given by Hawaiian speaking cowboys working for the Kaho'olawe Ranch) when such choices are not so clear cut.

Before we can hope to properly translation even a few of Kaho'olawe's place names, we need to determine as best we can which are, in fact, the island's true and traditional names. It is for this reason that the following study was initiated.

The principle aim of this study has been to reconstruct the history of Kaho'olawe's place names. Whenever possible, each name (or variant there of) has been traced back to the point at which it first appeared in print, either on a map or in a document. This "original source" has then been investigated and assessed as to its relative reliability. In some cases the place names we possess have been written down or relayed to a knowledgeable native speaker by residents or former residents of the island. Such sources are probably our most reliable. They can be trusted far more than names noted by short term visitors.
Often, on examining the genealogy of a place name, it is possible to see how that name has changed through time. Occasionally a name has become contracted, such as in the case of Keana Keiki (literally "child cave), the name associated with a long sandy beach near the island's western end. The earliest record we have of this name is from a rough sketch map drawn some time around 1889. On this map the name is written as "Keana a ke keiki" ("the cave of the child"). In repeated usage the "a ke", or "of the", appears to have dropped out, leaving the name as we know it today. This process of contraction is not uncommon among traditional Hawaiian place names.

In other cases, names appear to have undergone changes in spelling. An example of this is Kuheia, which first appears, as "Kuheia" in the report of a visit to Kaho'olawe written in 1857 by Paul Nakaolelua, the then governor of Maui. The name was apparently told to him by "old residents of the island". Around 1911, Christian Conradt, then ranch manager on the island, gave the name of the bay as "Kuheeia". At the suggestion of Inez Ashdown, the daughter of a later ranch manager, geographer Lee Motteler used this spelling when helping to compile the 1984 U.S.Geologic Survey map of Kaho'olawe. Thus we have, on our most up to date and commonly used map of the island, a spelling which appears to date, not from traditional sources, but from the ranching period.

Such changes in the spelling of place names often result in a subsequent change in their meaning. For while Kuheia has been translated literally as "stand entangled", Kuheeia has been said to mean "where the fish run".

Another facet of this study has been to determine when a certain place name came into use. Was it a traditional Hawaiian name, or a name introduced some time during the historic era? It appears that the majority of Kaho'olawe's place names can be dated to one of three distinct periods. The vast majority of the names known for the island are
traditional, meaning essentially that they were in use by the Hawaiian residents dwelling on Kaho'olawe during the 19th century, and were probably passed down to them by their parents and grandparents. These names are found in chants and legends, in the accounts of early Hawaiian visitors to the island, and on maps which recorded information taken from knowledgeable informants. All of these names are, understandably, in the Hawaiian language.

The next group of place names can be referred to as historic names. They are those given to locations on the island by unknowledgeable visitors or by individuals involved with or working for the various stock ranches which operated on the island between 1858 and 1941. Since, for much of this time, Hawaiian was still the recognized language of the isles, and most of the individuals working on the ranch were Hawaiians brought over from neighboring islands, many of these new place names were Hawaiian ones.

It is often impossible to tell whether a place name recorded by a visitor to the island in the 1920s or 30s is a traditional name being noted for the first time, or a newly created name. In some instances, however, the inclusion, within the name, of the Hawaiian word for an introduced plant or animal allows us to date it to the ranching period. Such is the case with the names Lua Makika, "mosquito pit", and O awa panini, "cactus gulch".

A few of these historic names are English ones. Like their Hawaiian counterparts, they often refer to the use to which an area had been put, such as Smuggler's cove (which was a known transshipment point for opium smuggling in the 1890s), or to an individual associated with the place, such Conradt's cove (named for the one time owner and manager of the stock ranch which had its headquarters in that bay).

The final group of place names are modern names, those which have come into use since the U.S. Navy's occupation of the island in 1941. The majority of these are names given to points or bays by the commercial and sport fishermen who
frequent the island's offshore waters. They are, for the most part, names of convenience assigned to localities whose traditional names were unknown. These names may refer to recognizable landmarks which act as aids to navigation (as in Water tank bay, another name for the first bay east of Kaulana, formerly the site of two old redwood tanks used during the ranching period for storing water brought over from Maui), or they may recall some scrap of modern history (as in Tickman bay, a current name for Honokoa bay, where the boat of a man named Tickman ran aground in the 1920s).

Other groups recently involved with Kaho'olawe have also contributed names to the list. The Navy has added Klein's gulch, named for one of the island's former Naval commanders. Even the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, who have strenuously attempted to revitalize and bring back into use the island's traditional names, have occasionally helped to perpetuate new ones.

The original Hawaiian name of the small gulch just north of Hakioawa bay has been lost to us. For easy reference, archaeologists conducting a survey of the island in the late 1970s began referring to it as Hakioawaiki, "little Hakioawa". Ohana members who were working on the survey picked up the name, and it has continued in use ever since. It is a touch ironic to note that one of the earliest maps we have of the island, and one which appears to have been drafted with the aid of a local informant, gives the name "Hakioawa iki" to the land section to the south of Hakioawa, directly opposite the bay which now bears that name.

In one instance a modern name has come in to being as a result of the need to describe a newly created physical feature on the landscape. Sailor's Hat, is the name recently given to a large crater on the island's southwest coast which was created in 1965 by the explosion of 500 tons of dynamite in the simulation of an atomic blast. By documenting the relative age of these various place names we may be able to avoid mistaking a newly invented name for a traditional one.
The results of this study have been presented two forms. The first is a gazetteer, listing the place names presently known from Kaho'olawe (of which we have well over a hundred), their variations and the dates and sources of these variations. Each entry is prefaced by a brief note describing the location of the place and the type of physical feature it represents. This preface also includes a sketch of the name's history and an analysis of its pedigree.

The version of the place name which has been chosen to head each entry should in no way be construed as the proper or "correct" place name. It represents merely a suggestion as to what appears to be the most historically accurate version of that name. In this gazetteer, modern names are listed in the same manner as more traditional names. Their recent origins, however, are noted in the preface which describes each entry.

No attempt has been made, within this gazetteer, to provide a definitive translation of any of the place names. As W.D. Alexander wrote in his 1902 collection of Hawaiian Geographic Names, "It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes which many of them have evidently undergone."

A list of previous known translations has, however, been included with each entry as an aid to understanding its range of possible meanings. It must be remembered that these past translations have often been attempted by individuals unfamiliar with the island and its topography. They are therefore only translations of the words themselves with no regard for that place's geographic position or its possible relationship to historic events. The final determination as to the proper meanings of these place names, if such a task is possible, must be left to a fluent native speaker who is also familiar with the topography and history of Kaho'olawe.

In addition to the gazetteer of place names, this report includes a chronological listing and description of the
various maps drawn of the island of Kaho'olawe. Each entry includes information as to who drafted the map, when it was drawn and, if possible, what sources they drew upon for their place names. A listing of the various place names found on each map is also provided.

All of this has been undertaken in an attempt to illuminate the history of Kaho'olawe's place names. It is hoped that with this knowledge in hand, we can begin to identify and bring back into common usage the island's traditional names. By returning these names to the land we may come to better understand of what Kaho'olawe meant to its early inhabitants, and to see again the island through their eyes.
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KAHO'OOLAWE GAZETTEER

The following gazetteer provides an alphabetical listing of those place names known to be associated with the island of Kaho'olawe. This list endeavors to be all inclusive, recording not only those names which have been traditionally linked to the island, but also those of more modern origin.

In some cases these place names refer to tradition land divisions ('ili) or ancient fishing grounds (ko'a), and are identified as such. Most names, however, belong to topographic features such as hills, headlands, craters or bays. In many cases the first or second word of a Hawaiian place name identifies the type of physical feature to which that name belongs (for example, Puhi o Halona appears to be the blowhole [puhi] of [o] Halona, while Pu'u o Moaulaiki is the hill [pu'u] of [o] Moaulaiki). A list of Hawaiian terms for the various types of topographic features is provided in Appendix A of this report.

In certain instances, a descriptive English term, such as "Bay" or "Gulch", has been found attached to a Hawaiian place name. In this gazetteer, such terms have been retained only if they occur in all of the references found for a particular place name, or if there is no Hawaiian alternative recorded (the only exception to this is the name "Cave of Kunaka" whose Hawaiian alternative "Luakunaka" was introduced within modern times).

The vast majority of the place names encountered in early maps and documents are written without diacritical marks (such as glottal stops; 'okina) which might aid us in deciphering their meaning. Some contemporary cartographers, particularly Lee Motteler, have felt justified in adding these marks. To do so, however, presupposes that we know the true meaning of the place name. This is certainly not the case for most of the names from Kaho'olawe. For this reason, diacritical marks have been excluded from the Gazetteer,
except in cases where the first mention of a place name includes those marks. (the only exception to this rule is the word pu'u, as in Pu'u o Moaulanui, where the definition of the term is relatively well established; see Appendix A)

An explanatory note has been attached to each of the place names listed below. This note identifies the type and location of the physical feature to which the place name belongs (if that information is known). It then goes on to describe the primary source from which that name has been taken. In most instances this source is a map of the island, but in some cases our first written record of a place name has been found in a legend, a letter or a government document. This introductory note also provides an outline of the known history of the place name, and gives an explanation as to why a certain variant of that name has been chosen for use in the gazetteer.

To assist in tracing the history of these place names, each entry also contains a chronological listing of the name as it has appeared over time. This list begins with the first known mention of the name, and then catalogues the various versions which have made their appearance on subsequent maps and documents. Each name included in this list is followed by a reference to the map or document in which it was found. If a reference is prefaced by an asterisk (*), that indicates that it has been taken from a documentary source. These documentary sources are either listed in the Bibliography, or, if they are unpublished manuscripts, described in the text. In most cases, references to place names found in documentary sources after 1900 have not been included unless they provide the first mention of a name, or of a particular variation of that name. References lacking an asterisk (*) refer to maps listed in the "Kaho'olawe Map Chronology", which is included as Appendix B of this report.

No attempt has been made to provide translations for the place names listed below. Such an undertaking lies well
beyond both the scope of this report and the expertise of its author. In an attempt to aid future translators, however, the author has appended, at the end of each entry, a listing of the various translations which have so far been provided for that place name.
Ahupu ('Ili)

The boundaries of this land division, as they are shown on the circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe (Doc.1126 undated-a), appear to stretch along the northern shore of the island from about the point of Makaalae, or just east of it, to somewhere east of Ahupu. As with all of Kaho'olawe's 'ili, Ahupu's land borders extend inland to the rim of Lua Moaula.

On his 1977 map of the island, Lee Motteler has, for some unknown reason, divided this land division in half, creating the 'ili of "Ahupuiki" and "Ahupunui". There does not appear to be any historical precedent for subdividing the 'ili of Ahupu in this manner.

First Mention:
Ahupu - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Ahupu - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Ahupuiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ahupunui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Ahupu
As early as 1857, when Paul Nahaolelua and Ioane Richardson undertook a survey of Kahō'olawe on behalf of Lot Kamehameha, they noted that; "There is only one brackish water which is accessible seen by us, at Ahupu harbor, this brackish water being on the North West of said Island." (Nahaolelua & Richardson, letter of 12/7/1857 in the Hawaii State Archives, Interior Dept. Land File: page 2)

The identification of the name "Ahupu" with a harbor on the northern coast of Kahō'olawe is reiterated by William F. Allen who visited the island a year later on behalf of its new leasees. Allen writes; "The Island on the North Side is rocky, but as you follow the shore along to the South West you find several small places where there is a small sand beach, and on [sic] good sized harbour, where a small vessel could run in and anchor protected from the wind by the high land, this is called Ahupu". (Allen, letter of 5/31/1858 in the Hawaii State Archives, R.C. Wyllie Private Collection: page 1)

The first map on which this place name appears is the circa 1889 sketch map of Kahō'olawe held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) On it, "Ahupu bay" is placed between "Kalama bay" and "Kuhei bay". The rough nature of this map, however, makes it impossible to determine the precise location of "Ahupu bay".

On his 1917 map of Kahō'olawe, J. Kauwekane makes reference to "Ahupu nui" ("large Ahupu", to distinguish it from nearby "Ahu pu iki", "little Ahupu"), assigning this place name to the large bay approximately half way between Makaalae and Kuheia. (Kauwekane 1917a) In this he agrees with C. Conradt, who gave it that location on his circa 1911 map. (Conradt undated) Kauwekane's "Ahupu nui" appears to be the "Ahupu" bay mentioned by both Nahaolelua & Richardson and Allen.

Cartographers from 1917 onwards have followed Kauwekane's example, attaching this place name to the largest of the bays lying between Kii and Kaukamoku. Most, however, have dropped the descriptive "nui", referring to it simply as "Ahupu" (some have added the term "Bay" for clarification). There appears every reason to believe that the place name "Ahupu" was used traditionally to refer to this large but sheltered bay.

First Mention:
Ahupu - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:2)

Chronology:
Ahupu - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:2)
Ahupu - 1858 (*Allen 1858:1)
Ahupu bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
ahupu nui - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Ahupu B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kuhei Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Ahupunui Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Ahupu Bay - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Ahupu nui - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Ahupu nui - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Ahupu Bay - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Ahupu Bay - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Ahupu Bay - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Ahupunui - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Ahupu Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Ahupu - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Ahupu Bay - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Ahupu Bay - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Ahupu Bay - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Ahupu Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Ahupu Bay - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Ahupu Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Ahu pu Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Ahupu Bay - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Ahupu Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ahupu Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Ahupu Bay - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
Ahupu Bay - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Ahupu Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Ahupu Bay - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Ahupu Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Ahupu Bay: bay and gulch on western shore; literal meaning is to heap together." "Ahupu Nui: bay on w. shore: literal meaning is large Ahupu." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Ahupu, Shells brought together in a pile; altar of shells." (From letter to "Angus", no date in Bishop Museum Archives)

"Ahupu, altar of payment." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
"Ahu-pu, Shell altar, to the north coast." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)

"Ahupu has many meanings... We were satisfied to accept the Trumpet Altar. Ahu can mean an altar. Pu can mean a squid, he'e or octopus, and there were many along that coast and in Ku He'eia, but The Conch-shell (pu) trumpet seemed poetical. After all, the sounds there often sounded like warriors were blowing their pu-trumpets." (from page 3 of the list of place names included in Ashdown's 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, a copy of which is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)
"Ahu-pu also means an altar of shells". (Ashdown 1979:50)
Ahupu Gulch

It is only with the U.S. Geological Survey's map of 1926 that we have a distinction being made between "Ahupu Bay" and "Ahupu Gulch". (U.S.G.S. 1926) Such a distinction does not appear to have been made by the kama'aina of Kaho'olawe who most probably referred to both as "Ahupu" or "Ahupu nui".

**First Mention:**
Ahupu Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

**Chronology:**
Ahupu Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S., 1926)
Ahupu Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Ahupu Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Ahupu Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Ahupu Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ahupu nui Stream - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Ahupu Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Ahupu Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Ahupu Gulch - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Ahupu Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Malia Lisquara: "Ahupu Bay: bay and gulch on western shore; literal meaning is to heap together." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Ahu pu iki

The name "Ahu pu iki" is given by J. Kauwekane to the small bay and gulch lying immediately west of Ahupu. It appears among the place names he recorded on the 1917 map of Kaho'olawe sent him by the Charles Judd of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry. (Kauwekane 1917a) Knowing Kauwekane's reputation as someone well acquainted with the island of Kaho'olawe, it would seem safe to assume that this may have been the traditional name for the bay, or at least the name that was in common usage among the island's residents in the years prior to 1910.

Additional evidence for the existence of this name comes from a 1911 Hawaii Territorial Survey map of Kaho'olawe annotated by former ranch owner Christian Conradt. (Conradt undated) Although he operated a stock ranch on Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906, Conradt does not appear to have been greatly familiar with the island. His map is marred by minor errors in the spelling and location of place names. He locates the bay of "ahupu iki" well west of where it appears on Kauwekane's map, giving this name to the bay which Kauwekane later refers to as O awa palua. (see O awa palua) It would seem reasonable to suggest that, in this as in other cases, Kauwekane is the more reliable source, and that Conradt, although he was familiar with the place name itself (probably having heard it used by his ranch hands) was not aware of its precise location.

First Mention:
Ahu pu iki - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
Ahu pu iki - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Ahupu iki - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Ahupu iki - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Ahupuiki Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ahupuiki Bay - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Ahupuiki Bay; bay and gulch on w. shore; literal meaning is small Ahupu." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown:
Ahupuiki Gulch

Although the U.S. Geological Survey map of 1926 does not include the place name Ahu pu iki, it does identify "Ahupuiki Gulch". (U.S.G.S. 1926) It was the first map to do so, and most subsequent maps have followed its example. This distinction between a bay and its adjoining valley or gulch does not appear to have been made by the residents of Kaho'olawe, who, if we can trust J. Kauwekane, referred to both in this instance as "Ahu pu iki". (Kauwekane 1917a)

First Mention:
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ahupuki Stream - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Ahupuiki Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:

Malia Lisquara: "Ahupuiki Bay; bay and gulch on w. shore; literal meaning is small Ahupu." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Ahupunui (Fishing Ground)
The fishing ground of "Ahupunui" is included among the almost one hundred deep sea fishing grounds listed by A.D. Kahaulelio in his 1902 article on Hawaiian fishing lore published in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. (Kahaulelio 1902:28; April 4, 1902) Kahaulelio states that this area was used in "ku-kaula" fishing, long line fishing for "ulaula, opakapaka, aholehole, hahanui, ukikiki." (Kahaulelio 1902:19; March 14, 1902) The similarity between the name of this fishing ground and the name of the bay situated on the north coast of Kaho'olawe would suggest that the "Ahupunui" fishing ground may have been situated somewhere off Ahupu' bay. It would probably have been located in water "from 50, 60 to 70 fathoms deep". (Kahaulelio 1902:19; March 14, 1902)

First Mention:
Ahupunui - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Chronology:
Ahupunui - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Previous Translations:
None
Aikupau

The first mention we have of a place known as Aikupau is in an article entitled "Kahoolawe; An Early Place of Banishment", written by Thomas Thrum and included in his Hawaiian Almanac and Annual of 1903. In describing an escape attempt undertaken by some of the former convicts confined to Kaho'olawe, Thrums states that; "Fifteen of the number, good swimmers, were chosen for the venturesome trip, and their return was to be looked for with a food supply in six days, or be considered drowned, or captured. These deliverers prepared for their errand in the month of February, 1841. Before starting they procured a wiliwili log to which they fastened a rope and with a stone anchored it out at a depth of fifteen fathoms where the tide ran swiftly, as a buoy, that on its indication of the tide running towards Maui would be the time to start. Meanwhile they held old-time devotions at an altar called Aikupau, then set out to swim across." (Thrum 1902:121)

Thrum's source for this name appears to have been "a venerable native writer of this city [Honolulu], formerly of Honouaula, Maui, who testifies of his own knowledge not only of the existence of the penal settlement of Kahoolaws [sic] about the year 1840, but one also at Lae-o-kaena, Lanai; the former island being designated for the men, and the women being banished to the latter place. He states he knew whereof he spoke, for his own mother was among the parties sent there." Thrum gives no indication as to who this "venerable native writer" may have been. He goes on, however, to state that; "The narrator claims to have been born in 1832 at a place on Maui that had much to do with Kahoolawe, being right opposite it, and these things were freely talked of among the people." (Thrum 1902:120-121). "Honouaula", the narrator's birthplace, is most probably Honua'ula, a district of east Maui which lies directly across the Alalakeiki channel from Kaho'olawe.

Our next mention of this place name is found on one of J.F.G. Stokes undated maps of Kaho'olawe, probably drawn at some time following his first visit to the island in 1913. (Stokes undated-c) On this map, the name "Aikupo" is penciled in up near the top of the island, off the coast to the west of Læ o Kukui. Its location seems to be very approximate. The style in which the name is written corresponds with that of a note in the upper right hand corner of the map which provides the name of three local informants who appear to have been former residents of Kaho'olawe. These individuals are "Nahoikeika", "Awaloa" and "J. Kauwakane". We know from Stokes' notes, both on this map and in his fieldbooks (Stokes 1913:II:5,3), that Awaloa died before Stokes was able to talk with him, and that Nahoikeika "Knew little as he was young when he left [Kaho'olawe]." It seems probable, therefore, that Stokes learned of the place name "Aikupo" from "J. Kauwakane".
In 1917, J. Kauwekane (Stokes had misspelt his name), a
resident of Kanahena, Makena, Maui, whose father had been "a
kamaaina on Kahoolawe" and who himself was "very well
acquainted with that island" (from a letter on file in the
Hawaii State Archives; Board of Agriculture and Forestry,
Division of Forestry, Box 34, Charles S. Judd, Kahoolawe,
1913-1920), recorded a number of place names on a map
provided him by the Territorial Board of Agriculture &
Forestry. (Kauwekane 1917a) Among these names was "Aikupou",
written in along the coast between Lae o Kukui and Hakioawa.
We can only assume that this is roughly the correct location
of the place name (the remains of a small Hawaiian settlement
have been discovered in this area). What particular physical
feature this name refers to is, at present, unknown. It is
also not known which of the three versions of the name;
"Aikupau", "Aikupo" or "Aikupou", is the more correct.
All later references to this place name appear to have
been taken from one of these above mentioned sources;
(unknown undated) and (Motteler 1983:4) from Kauwekane,
(McAllister 1933:57) and (Motteler 1983:4) from Stokes.
In her private papers on file at the Bishop Museum
Archives, Inez Ashdown says of "Aikupo" that "It's between
Lae o ka ule (sometimes called Pohaku ule because it's a rock
off shore, standing in the sea) and Kohe o Hala." (from an
undated "letter to "Angus"). Why Ashdown places "Aikupo"
this far south along the coast is unknown. At present, no
evidence of an "altar" or other possible religious structure
has been discovered along this stretch of cliffs.

**First Mention:**
Aikupau - 1902 (*Thrum 1902:121)

**Chronology:**
Aikupau - 1902 (*Thrum 1902:121)
Aikupo - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Aikupou - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Aikupou - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Waiaki Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Aikupou - 1929? (unknown undated)
Aikupo - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)

**Previous Translations:**
Lahilahi Webb: "Aikupo: To-eat-while-going. Unknown place on
the north tip of the island." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Aikupou. According to Thrum's Hawaiian
Annual: 1903 in February 1841 prisoners on Kahoolawe under
the banished chief Kinimaka made offerings at an altar
located at Aukupau prior to travelling to Maui." (Napoka
1983:1)
Inez Ashdown: "Aikupo, Meal eaten at night. It's between Lae
o ka ule (sometimes called Pohaku ule because it's a rock off
shore, standing in the sea) and Kohe o Hala." (From an undated
letter to "Angus", with the preface "Translations, as we used them:"
"Aikupo between Kanapo'u and Hakioawa (Night-eating-place)." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
Aleale

Near the western headland of Kaho'olawe rises a sea-stack linked to the land by a narrow causeway. This promontory is shown clearly on a circa 1913 sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn by J.F.G. Stokes. (Stokes undated-c) Next to it has been written in the name "Aleale". As with the other previously unknown place names included on this map, the name "Aleale" may have been given to him by J. Kauwekane, the son of a former resident of the island.

On a somewhat similar map (Stokes undated-b), Stokes has mistakenly labeled the feature as "Puu Koae", which is the name of the nearby islet. Stokes corrects this mistake on his 1917 map, referring to the tor again as "Aleale". (Stokes 1917) It is by this name that it is known on all subsequent maps.

On his 1983 map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler has attempted to suggest a pronunciation of the name by adding two 'okina (glottal stops); "'Ale'ale". (Motteler 1983) Though he may be correct, there is no direct evidence to suggest that the name was traditionally pronounced in this manner.

First Mention:
Aleale - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)

Chronology:
Aleale - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Puu Koae - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Aleale - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Aleale Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Aleale - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Aleale - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Aleale - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Aleale - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Aleale - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Aleale - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Aleale - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
' Ale'ale - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
' Ale'ale - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Aleale - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "'Ale'ale. 'ale'ale. lit. to ripple." (Napoka 1983:1)
Malia Lisquara: "Ale'ale: land section, s. coast area; literal meaning is ripple." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Ale-ale, Rippling water...a round promontory on Kanapo'u Bay, but actually in reference to the water of the bay. (From an undated letter to "Angus" on file in the Bishop Museum Archives)
Black Rock

"Just offshore from Kealaikahiki Point is a small rock island commonly called Black Rock. It is an important landmark for fishermen passing the area, as it marks the point and also the outer edge of the shallow Ku'ia Shoal." (Clark 1989:127) This name appears to be of relatively modern origin and may, like most of the other names provided by Clark, have been assigned to the feature by passing fishermen. It is possible that another name for "Black Rock" may be "Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki", but this needs to be investigated. (see Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki)

First Mention:

Chronology:

Previous Translations:
None
Cave of Kunaka

The "Cave of Kunaka" first appears among the place names recorded on an early sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn some time around 1889. This name has been written in at a spot along the island's southern shore, though the lack of detail on the map makes it difficult to determine exactly where. The location of the "Cave", just inland of the islet of Pu'u Koae, suggests that it may lie somewhere along the western fringe of Kamohio bay. Only two sizeable caves are known to exist in this area. Both were discovered by J.F.G. Stokes during his 1913 archaeological survey of Kaho'olawe.

One of these caves is a deep, low ceilinged shelter within which Stokes found parts of a canoe. This cave, which lies near the head of the bay, is now identified as Site 307. Not far from this broad shelter cave lies a similar, though slightly smaller overhang known as Site 306. Immediately adjacent to the Site 306 cave Stokes discovered a series of stone faced terraces which appeared to form part of an ancient religious site. Atop these terraces Stokes unearthed an array of religious artifacts including a carved wooden image, a series of waterworn stones swathed in kapa and the remains of numerous offerings, many of them wrapped in ki leaves. Excavations undertaken within the cave itself revealed the presence of numerous fishhooks in various stages of manufacture, as well as other evidence of human occupation. This led Stokes to suggest that the site had originated as an overnight fishing camp, but through the years had grown into an important fishing and fishhook maker's shrine. (McAllister 1933:17) The presence of iron nails shaped into fishhooks as well as an offering of tobacco wrapped in sail canvas gave evidence that the shrine had been in use during the early historic period. Considering the obvious importance of the Site 360 shrine, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the place name "Cave of Kunaka" may refer to the cave associated with this site.

All of our other references to the cave appear to be taken directly from Document 1126. In his 1983 "Kahoolawe Place Names", Nathan Napoka gives the name of this site as "Cave of Kanaka or Luakunaka." (Napoka 1983:1) He cites Stokes 1917 map (Stokes 1917) as the source for the name "Cave of Kanaka". This appears, however, to be a misreading of Stokes' handwriting. The alternative name, "Luakunaka", seems to be Napoka's attempt to provide a Hawaiian rendering of "Cave of Kunaka", replacing the English "Cave" with the Hawaiian luna.

First Mention:
Cave of Kunaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Cave of Kunaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Cave of Kunaka - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Cave of Kunaka - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Cave of Kunaka - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Cave of Kunaka - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kunaka - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kunaka Cave - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kunaka Cave - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Kunaka Cave - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Cave of Kanaka - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:1)
Luakunaka - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)
Kunaka Cave - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Kunaka: To-stand-shaking. Cave on Kamohio bay." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Cave of Kanaka or Luakunaka. lit. cave of the man or cave where one trembles with fear." (Napoka 1983:1)
"Lua-kunaka, lit. cave where one trembles with fear. See Cave of Kanaka." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Kunaka cave and Kamohio Koa are both located in the bay of Kamohio. Kunaka cave has a literal meaning of the shivering cave and the Kamohio Koa is a fishing shrine set up there to bring good luck to all that fished there." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Hakioawa

"Hakioawa", the name for the bay and gulch resting almost midway between Lae o Kukui and Lae o ka Ule, is among the most generally accepted of Kaho'olawe's place names. In all the early maps and documents which make mention of this name, there are only two variant spellings; "Hakiawa" (Conradt undated) and "Hakioana" (Emory 1916).

Neither of the authors of these two maps were native to the island, and both are known to have used spellings of place names which are at variance with those provided by kama'aina informants. Although Christian Conradt operated a stock ranch on Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906, the apparent inaccuracies present on his circa 1911 map of the island (Conradt undated) suggest that he was not very familiar with its place names. On this map, Conradt attaches the name "Hakiawa", not to Hakioawa bay itself, but to a bay just south along the coast, O awa wahie.

In drafting his own map of Kaho'olawe, Kenneth Emory appears to have taken his place names almost directly from Doc.1126, a circa 1889 sketch map of the island. (Doc.1126 undated-b) He has, however, managed to spell a number of these names incorrectly, including "Hakioana", which on the original was spelt "Hakioawa". Putting aside these two variants, there appears ample evidence to suggest that "Hakioawa" was the traditional name for this bay.

In examining J. Kauwekane's map of Kaho'olawe, it almost appears as if he had written "Hakioawa" as two words, "Haki" and "oawa", but this is uncertain. (Kauwekane 1917)

In addition to its Hawaiian name, Hakioawa also possesses two English names. The first of these appears on an undated sketch map drawn by J.F.G. Stokes, an archaeologist at the Bishop Museum. (Stokes undated-b) This map shows the routes Stokes traveled around and across the island during his first visit to Kaho'olawe in 1913. The place name "? Hakioawa B or Olga" has been written in on this map next to O awa wahie bay, which lies just down the coast from Hakioawa. It is apparent that Stokes simply mislocated this place name, mistaking the prominent bay of O awa wahie for nearby Hakioawa. The name "Olga" appears to be derived from the name of the four masted schooner Olga which ran aground on the northeastern coast of Kaho'olawe on May 25, 1906. It would appear from Stokes' notation that the Olga was wrecked at or near Hakioawa bay. This is supported by a similar notation which appears among the names added to a copy of the 1917 Board of Agriculture and Forestry map. (Dranga? undated) Among these names, which may have been supplied around 1925 by T.T. Dranga, is the note "wreck of the Olga" written in along the northern headland of O awa wahie bay, which the author of these names also mistook for Hakioawa.

Hakioawa's second English name was given it more recently by visiting hunters and fishermen. As John Clark states in his book The Beaches of Maui County, "Hakioawa is
commonly known to fishermen and hunters as Big Gulch, for the large gulch that runs down to the shoreline."(Clark 1980:134)

**First Mention:**
Hakioawa bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

**Chronology:**
Hakioawa bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Hakioawa - 1902 (*Thrum 1902:119)
Hakioawa - 1907 (*Thrum 1907:238)
Hakiawa - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Hakioawa B. - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:6,9,13)
Hakioawa B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Hakioawa B or Olga - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Hakioawa Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Hakioana Bay - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Hakioawa Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Hakioawa - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Hakioawa - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Hakioawa Bay - 1925 (Dranga? undated)
Hakioawa - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Hakioawa - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Hakioawa Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Hakioawa - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Hakioawa - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Hakioawa - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Hakioawa - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Hakioawa - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Hakioawa Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Hakioawa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Hakioawa - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Big Gulch - 1980 (*Clark 1980:134)
Hakioawa - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Hakioawa - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Lahilahi Webb: "Hakioawa: Land-slide (?). Gulch and small bay on northeast coast."(McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Hakioawa, Hakiawa. Haki-o-awa, lit. breaking of (the) harbor. According to Beckwith's Hawaiian Mythology the fist demigod 'Ai'ai set up an altar (Ku'ula) on a bluff looking out to sea here."(Napoka 1983:1)
Malia Lisquara: "Hakioawa: bay and coastal area n. area, where the fish demigod Ai'ai set up an alter (Ku'ula) on a bluff looking out to sea; literal meaning is breaking of the harbor. A Heiau is also located there that ancient legend called Hale of Papa; which means the house that is forbidden."(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Ha-ki-o-a-wa...Literally, the place where the 'Awa was prepared and offered to God and His spirits in
thanksgiving and in supplication. It also has the idea of God breathing His Ha or life-giving breath, upon the offerings to remove the dregs and cleanse the people and the land etc. (from a letter to Captain C. Crockett, U.S. Navy, dated 1977 and held in the files of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office: page 5)

"...in one sense, the name means where the awa was prepared and offered by the Kahuna." (from "For Annie Rogers from Inez Ashdown", a list of Kaho'olawe place names dated 1976, a copy of which is on file at the Bishop Museum Archives)

"Hakio'awa. Point of Bittrt [sic.] Harbor" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 3)

"Hakioawa, Spying Harbor" (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 5)

Hakioawa iki ('Ili)
This land division lies to the south of the 'ili of Hakioawa nui. Though its boundaries are very uncertain, it seems, from the lines drawn on the Doc. 1126 map (Doc. 1126 undated-a), to extend from the rim of Lua Moaula down to somewhere south of O'awa wahie, then along the coast past Kalua o Kamohoaii, and back up to the crater rim. First Mention:
Hakioawa iki - 1889? (Doc. 1126 undated-a)
Chronology:
Hakioawa iki - 1889? (Doc. 1126 undated-a)
Hakioawaiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Previous Translations:
None
Hakioawaiiki

The place name "Hakioawaiiki", which is presently used to refer to the small bay which lies just north along the coast from Hakioawa, appears to be of relatively recent origin. The traditional name for this bay cannot be found on any maps, nor is it known from oral sources.

When, in the late 1970s, archaeologists conducted an island-wide survey of Kaho'olawe's ancient sites, they discovered the remains of a small fishing community situated along the shores of this bay. For convenience sake, they began referring to the area as "Hakioawaiiki", which means "little Hakioawa". Members of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, who were working on the survey with the archaeologists, picked up the name, and it has continued in use ever since. The background behind this name was noted by Lee Motteler in his article "Place-Name Research On Kaho'olawe". (Motteler 1983:4)

"In fact, one must be aware of the tendency to invent names or to adopt names for the sake of convenience where a name is lacking. An example of the latter is the name used for the small bay just to the north of Hakioawa (the usual landing place on Kaho'olawe during the 'Ohana access). Apparently once referred to as "Little Hakioawa," in their enthusiasm to use Hawaiian, 'Ohana members have altered the name to "Hakioawaiiki". While this serves to differentiate that bay from Hakioawa, it is confusing and misleading because there is documentation that Hakioawaiiki was the name of the 'ili (land division) next south, and by inference probably the name of the smaller of the two gulches that meet at Hakioawa (the larger being Hakioawanui)." (Motteler 1983:3-4)

The "documentation" which Motteler refers to is the Doc.1126 map on file in the Hawaii State Survey Office (Doc.1126 undated-a), which gives the name "Hakioawa iki" to the land section just south of Hakioawa. There is, however, no evidence to support Motteler's "inference" that the smaller of the two gulches running into Hakioawa was known as "Hakioawaiiki".

First Mention:

Chronology:

Previous Translations:
None
Hakioawa nui ('Ili)
This 'ili, or traditional land division, consists of a triangular wedge of land whose base extends along the coast from about Lae o Kukui (the northernmost tip of Kaho'olawe) to somewhere south of Hakioawa bay. The apex of this triangle lies inland at Lua Moaula. Like all of the other 'ili known from Kaho'olawe, "Hakioawa nui" first appears on an undated sketch map of the island labeled Doc.1126, which is presently held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-a) Since the Doc.1126 map comprises only a very rough sketch of Kaho'olawe, it impossible to determine the precise boundaries of this or any of the other named 'ili.

In compiling his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler apparently based the land divisions shown on that map upon those found in Doc.1126. (Motteler 1977a) The 'ili boundaries drawn by Motteler are purely conjectural, and represent his own interpretation of where those borders might have lain.

**First Mention:**
Hakioawa nui - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

**Chronology:**
Hakioawa nui - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Hakioawanui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Hakioawa Point

This place name has been used to refer to the southern headland of Hakioawa bay. It first appears among the names added in pencil to a copy of Rhodes' 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe held at the U.S. Department of Commerce. (L.M.Z. undated) A pencil notation on the map reads "Old Hawaiian Datum. Adopted as standard June 1926, L.M.Z.", suggesting that the penciled in names may have been added some time around 1926. The only other instance of the name Hakioawa Point being used is on a 1954 map of the island produced by the U.S. Navy (U.S.N. 1954). Since both of these maps date from the late historic period, it seems likely that the place name "Hakioawa Pt." was a term of convenience brought into use by Europeans long after the departure of the island's native inhabitants.

First Mention:
Hakioawa Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)

Chronology:
Hakioawa Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Hakioawa Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Hakioawa Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

Previous Translations:
None
Hale Mua Heiau

The "Heiau", or Hawaiian religious site, marked on the undated map held at the Hawaii State Survey Office (Dranga? undated), appears to be archaeological Site 350, first described by J.F.G. Stokes in 1913.(Stokes 1913:I:6) This site is a large stone walled enclosure situated atop the southern ridge of Hakioawa valley. The author of this map (who may have been the malacologist T.T. Dranga) appears to have had access to Stokes notes or heard about the site from someone who had accompanied Stokes on his visit to the island.

Lee Motteler, who includes "Hale Mua Heiau" within his list of Kaho'olawe place names, seems also to be referring, in this case, to Site 350 (though it is possible that he may be using this name to refer to Site 358, a nearby religious structure). The term hale mua, or men's house, was applied to this structure in the late 1970s. At that time it was believed that the site might have served as a communal men's house for the Hakioawa settlement. In more recent years, however, this assumption has been called into question, and at present there is a general reluctance to assign any specific functional label to the site.

First Mention:
Heiau - 1925? (Dranga? undated)

Chronology:
Heiau - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Hale Mua Heiau - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)

Previous Translations:
None
Hale o Papa Heiau

In 1913, J.F.G. Stokes recorded the presence of what appeared to be an ancient religious structure, a possible heiau, situated among the dunes which rest against the northern slope of Hakioawa gulch. (Stokes 1913:I:9) This structure (Site 560), which was found to contain a number of human burials, matches the location of the "Heiau" marked on the 1926 U.S. Geologic Service map of Kaho'olawe (U.S.G.S. 1926). The identification of this site as a hale o Papa, a temple dedicated to the worship of the Hawaiian mother goddess, appears to have been based upon statements made by Harriet Ne (Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana 1980:D-20) and Inez Ashdown (Ashdown 1976:3). Lee Motteler was the first cartographer to refer to the site as a hale o Papa (Motteler 1977a), and that name has continued in use ever since. There remains, however, a question as to whether or not this site possesses the attributes commonly associated with a hale o Papa. On a 1978 U.S. Navy map of Kaho'olawe, this site appears to be refer to by the name "HEIAU KAULANA". (Raposo 1978) Where the military obtained this name is unknown. It certainly does not appear in any of the literature regarding Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Heiau - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Heiau - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Heiau - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Heiau - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Heiau - 1970s? (Tax Key undated)
Hale o Papa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Hale o Papa Heiau - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Heiau Kaulana - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Hale o Papa Heiau - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Hana Kanaia

"Hanakanaia", the broad, sand fringed bay which rests at the southwestern end of Kaho'olawe has, over the years, been mired in more controversy than any other of the island's place names. The majority of this controversy, however, has proven to be of relatively recent origin.

The first map to make mention of this bay, the 1905 map of Kaho'olawe drafted by a survey crew from the U.S.S. Patterson, refers to it by an English name, "Smuggler's Cove". (Rhodes 1905) The men of the Patterson were unfamiliar with all but one of the island's traditional names ("Kealahikihiki Pt."). They therefore used current English language names (such as "Conradt's Cove"), or when these were unavailable, invented their own names ("Beck's Cove") for the island's major physical features. The name "Smuggler's Cove" derives from the fact that in the late 1800s this bay appears to have been used as a trans-shipment point by opium smugglers.

Ships smuggling opium into the islands would drop anchor in the bay's sheltered waters and land their cargo on its sandy beach. Here the opium would be transferred to smaller craft which would carry it to the more populous islands of the chain. The fact that, at that time, Kaho'olawe was all but uninhabited, made it a perfect spot for these illicit activities. In June of 1898, John Hake (or Haake), Captain of the Schooner Labrador, was arrested on Kaho'olawe for the crime of unlawfully importing opium. He was sentenced to eighteen months hard labor and a fine of $500.00. (from documents dated 5/29/1900 on file in the Foreign Office & Exchequer File in the Hawaii State Archives).

We first encounter a Hawaiian name for this bay among those place names provided by Christian Conradt to the Bureau of Forestry & Agriculture some time around 1911. (Conradt undated) Conradt held the lease for Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906. His place names are often similar to, but differ slightly in spelling from, those provided by native Hawaiian sources, suggesting that he probably heard them second hand. In this case the name he uses for the bay, "Hanakanaea (Sand beach)", differs in only one letter from "Hana Kanaia", the name given it in 1917 by J. Kauwekane, whose father had been a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe. (Kauwekane 1917a) It would appear that Conradt attempted to reproduce the "i" sound of the last syllable by spelling it "naea", while Kauwekane use the more accepted "naia".

Conradt's version of this place name, however, was adopted by the U.S. Geological Survey for its 1926 topographic map of Kaho'olawe, causing it to be accepted as the "official" spelling. "Hanakanaea" appears on all subsequent maps of Kaho'olawe up until the 1970s. At that time a further element of confusion was introduced into the place name controversy.

In the 1970s we find another, quite different, name being applied to the bay. This name comes from Inez Ashdown,
whose father held the lease of Kaho'olawe from 1917 until the
island was appropriated by the U.S. Navy in 1941. In her
later years Ashdown took it upon herself to bring together
and translate the island's place names, as she remembered
them. Regrettfully, her various writings reveal internal
inconsistencies which cast a shadow of doubt upon the
veracity of both her names and translations.

On page 12 of her annotated copy of Gilbert McAllister's
Archaeology of Kahoolawe, Ashdown makes reference to
McAllister's use of the term "Hananakanea" by noting that;
"This name should be Honu ka naena rather than Hana-ka-naia.
The former, more ancient name has to do with the turtle
(Honu) who guards the burial caves. In latter, with the
Porpoise or naia which protect people & mother whales &
calves." (a copy of Ashdown's annotated text is on file in the
Archives of the Bishop Museum)

This "more ancient name" appears to have come to Ashdown
from the cowboys who worked on her father's ranch. As she
says in her 1976 manuscript list of "Kahoolawe Place Names"
(a copy of which is also held at the Bishop Museum Archives);
"Next comes "Hana ka Naia" which, if you figure the Porpoise
do work to protect whales, should be Hana o ka Naia [which
roughly translates as "work of the porpoises"). Actually,
according to the old panioilo working with us, it should be
Honu ka nae nae. This cave, point & Bay between Waikahalulu
is where Ai'ai set up the ko'ala and blessed this area for the
Honu (turtles) to lay their eggs, and for kohola (whales) to
be safe. Honu, the sacred turtle, protects the cave also.
The paniolo knew an oli (chant) about Ka nae nae and it was a
prayer or Keahea (call) to Ke Akua (God) and to 'aumakua
(ancestral spirits) whose form seen is the Honu. There also
is a certain hula, Hula Honu" done to this chant. One time
Jack Aina chanted and danced it. He also made Ezrol "Poli"
von Temski the Kahu of the cave. Aina took Poli by
moonlight and took him into the cave and blessed him to take
care on [sic] it and its priceless ancestral contents." (page
2)

From these two passages we might assume that the ancient
name of Hanakanaia was "Honu ka nae nae". However, in a
similar passage taken from her 1979 book Recollections of
Kaho'olawe, Ashdown slightly alters this "more ancient name".
"Hana-ka-naia is the name of one portion of the south end of
the island, the place where the Nai'a, or porpoises are his
[the whale's] companions playing in the surf or guarding the
mother whales when they hanai, or give birth, there on the
broad sand beaches during their winter visit here. But my
cowboys claimed that the proper name is Honu-kana'i, meaning
where the sacred turtle guards this land which will return to
its heirs some day." (Ashdown 1979:50)

Not only does Ashdown appear confused about the proper
name for this physical feature, but she seems equally muddled
as to where the feature is located. On the map which
accompanies McAllister's text, Ashdown has added notations
which would seem to indicate that "Honu Kanaenae" is the name for the point which forms the eastern promontory of Hanakanalia bay. (Ashdown undated) A dotted line joins the name "Honu Kanaenae" to this headland while another links it to a note which reads; "This cave & point is where the turtle (honu) protects the cave. The chant (kanaenae) was a prayer or eulogy to God & ancestors ('aumakua) whose form or emblem is the turtle-".

This use of the name "Hana Ka Naia" for the bay itself and "Honu Kanaenae" for its eastern headland seems to be supported by a rough sketch included by Ashdown in her 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, a copy of which can be found at the Hawaii State Historical Society. (Ashdown 1977) On this map Ashdown has written the name "HONU KANAEH" with an arrow running to it from the eastern promontory of the bay. A second arrow runs from the bay itself to the name "HANA KA NAI'A".

Within the letter, however, Ashdown mentions "Hana o ka Nai'a and Honu-ka-nae-nae Bays... These are the long white-sand beaches between Lae Kohola (Whale Point, and Lae Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (The lane to and from the horizon. Kahiki is horizon, not necessarily Tahiti.)" (page 2 of her place name list) While her letter does not give a precise location for "Lae Kohola", she does include "Na Lae Kohola" in her list of place names, inserting it between Honokoa and Ahupu'a Bays. We can only conclude from this that Ashdown is applying the names "Hana o ka Nai'a and Honu-ka-nae-nae" to the beaches of Keana a ke Keiki and Kaukaukapapa.

To further confuse matters, in a 1975 letter to Jane Silverman Ashdown includes two sketch maps; one of Kaho'olawe as a whole and the other of its western end. In the first of these, Ashdown draws an arrow from the words "Honu Ka Naia and Honu Ka Naena" to an area of the island's southwest coast. (Ashdown 1975a) On the second map, however, she draws a line from the note "Honu ka rae nae wrongly spelled on maps as Hana ka naia if about the Naia, then this Hono ka naia" to a spot on the island's northwest coast.

Confused? Not surprising. Ashdown's many and often contrary references to this physical feature give us no real clue as to which of the names she offers; "Hana ka naia", "Honu ka nae nae", "Hono ka naia" or "Honu-kana'i", might be considered its true name. She also effectively muddies the waters as to the location of this feature. The logical result of this confusion can be seen in the place names contributed by Lee Motteler to a series of maps published over the last two decades.

On his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, Motteler, obviously following Ashdown, gives the name of the sandy bay on the island's southwest coast as "Honukanaenae Bay". (Motteler 1977a) He also labels the eastern headland of this bay as "Honukanaenae". In his revisions to this map, however, Motteler crossed out the name "Honukanaenae Bay" and altered it to read "Honokanaia". (Motteler 1977b) Motteler explained this change in his 1983 article entitled "Place-Name Research
on Kaho'olwe". "The greatest controversy in Kaho'olawe place names revolves around the correct name for the bay, beach, and locality at the west end of the island, where the Navy has its main headquarters. The Geological Survey's 1926 map calls it Hanakananea, which everyone familiar with the island now seems to agree is erroneous. Ashdown in 1976 offered [as an alternative] Honukananea and Hanakanai'a, preferring the former (which was duly recorded on the 1977 Navy map). In her contact with the USGS more recently, she preferred the latter, which was accepted (without the glottal stop, or hamzah, of course). Most recently, Mitchell [Harry Kunih Mitchell] has offered Honokanai'a, and the Hono- prefix is more in keeping with the form used on Maui, Lana'i and Moloka'i for "bay" than is Hana- (see discussion in Place Names of Hawaii, Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini: Appendix, page 246)." (Motteler 1983:4).

When, however, one examines the reference cited by Motteler, a very different picture unfolds. In their book Place Names of Hawaii, authors Pukui, Elbert and Mookini state that both prefixes, Hana- and Hono-, carry the meaning "bay, place". (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:245) The use of one or the other of these prefixes is based, therefore, not on meaning, but on cultural and chronological relationships. To illustrate this, they present the following table showing the relative frequencies of these prefixes in the place names of the various Hawaiian islands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwest Hawaiian Islands</th>
<th>Hana-</th>
<th>Hono-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni'ihau</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaua'i</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'ahu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka=ho'o-lawe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molokai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La=na'i</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii'i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this table shows, the prefix Hana- is most commonly found in place names from the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, Ni'ihau, Kaua'i and Oahu. The alternative, Hono-, is far more common among the islands to the south, particularly Hawaii'i. Interestingly, Kaho'olawe lies at the dividing line, with one known Hana- (probably Hana Kanaia) and one Hono- (probably Honokoa).

The authors go on to state that; "Hana- is the older form and is cognate with Hana- and Haka- in the Marquesas, Hanga- on Easter Island, Fa'a- in Tahiti, Whanga- in New Zealand, and Faga- (phonetically fanga-) in Samoa. This does not mean that the northwesternly islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau were settled first, but only that they have been more
conservative. At one time the only form may have been Hana-. Somehow a change of -a-a to -o-o may have begun on Hawai'i and moved gradually northwest." (Pukui et al. 1974:246).

The use of prefix Hana- might suggest, therefore, either that the name "Hana Kanaia" is a very old one, or that it reflects some link between Kaho'olawe and Oahu or other of the northwestern islands. By altering the name of this bay to be "more in keeping with the form used on Maui, Lana'i and Moloka'i", Motteler would be in effect wiping away whatever story this name may have to tell us about Kaho'olawe's past.

It would seem that with all of the contemporary controversy regarding the true name of this bay, the most advisable course of action would be to return to our most reliable early source. This would logically be J. Kauwekane, who we know to have been "very well acquainted with" Kaho'olawe, and who most probably grew up there. Being both a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe and a native speaker of the Hawaiian language, Kauwekane would have been more likely to provide the true spelling of the name than would Christian Conradt, a haole rancher. For this reason we have chosen here to retain the name "Hana Kanaia".

First Mention:
Smuggler's Cove - 1905 (Rhodes 1905)

Chronology:
Smuggler's Cove - 1905 (Rhodes 1905)
Hanakanaea (Sand beach) - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Smugglers B. - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:8)
Hanakanaea Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Waikahalulu - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Smugglers Cove - 1917 (Iao 1917)
Hanakanaea Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Hana Kanaia - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Hana Kanaia - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Hanakanaea - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Hanakanaea - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Hanakanaea - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Hanakanaea - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Hanakanaea - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Hanakanaea - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Hanakanaea - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Hanakanaea - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Hanakanaea - undated (Tax Key undated)
Honu Ka Nai'a - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Honu ka nae nae - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Hana Ka Nai'a - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Honukanaenae Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Smuggler Cove - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Honokanaia - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Hanakanaea - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Smugglers Cove - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Hanakanaea (Smugglers Cove) - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
Honokanaia'a - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Honokanai'a - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Hanakanaea - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Honokanaia - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Hanakanaea: Tired-of-work. Sandy beach and small bay on southwest coast." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Hanakanae'a. Hanakanai'a, probably a shortened form of hanakanaenae, lit. a resting bay. Also called Smuggler's Cove."
Malia Lisquara: "Hanakanaea: coastal and bay area, western region; meaning and pronunciation uncertain. Another spelling has it as honukanaenae; lit. meaning is to chant the praise of the turtle or to humbly ask in prayer for the turtle." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Hana-ka-nai'a.. Work of the porpoise which protec [sic.] whales" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 3)
"Hono-ka-naia, Bay of the na'i, or porpoise." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 6)
"Honu-ka-naenae.. Tired.. Turtles and whales, protected by the porpoises, are very tired here after laying eggs and calving." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Hapuulili

This name makes its appearance on an undated map presently held in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Dranga? undated) The presence of the name "Dranga" on the map's back flap suggests that the place names found on it may have been provided by T.T. Dranga, a naturalist who collected land snails on Kaho'olawe in 1925. If so, they would reflect those names in common usage during the late ranching period. On this map, the name "Hapuulili" has been written in immediately east of Makaalae and appears to refer to the small gulch and bay located there. There is evidence to suggest, however, that Dranga, or whomever added the place names to this map, meant the name "Hapuulili" to refer to the bay and gulch of Ahu pu iki.

On this same map can be found the name "Hapuunui Gulch". This name has been written just inland of "Ahupuu Bay", suggesting that "Hapuunui" may have, at that time, been used as an alternate name for "Ahupunui". This is supported by the statements of David Pedro, the son of ranch manager Manuel Pedro, who spent much of his childhood on Kaho'olawe. In a recent interview, Pedro indicated that he grew up using the term "Hapunui" to refer to Ahupu. (Pedro 1991:16 & 18)

It seems reasonable to suggest that during the late ranching period the bay and gulch of Ahu pu iki ("small Ahu pu" - Pukui & Elbert 1971:189) were at times referred to as "Hapuulili" ("little Hapuu"). The individual who placed this name onto the undated map now held at the Survey Office, however, does not appear to have been very familiar with the island and seems to have mislocated "Hapuulili" (Ahu pu iki), placing it far to the west of its true position.

First Mention:
Hapuulili - 1925? (Dranga? undated)

Chronology:
Hapuulili - 1925? (Dranga? undated)

Previous Translations:
None
Hapuunui Gulch

This place name appears on only one of the numerous maps drawn of the island of Kaho'olawe. That particular map, which possesses neither date nor author's name, is held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Dranga? undated) The presence of the name "Dranga" on the map's back flap suggests that the place names found on it may have been provided by T.T. Dranga, a naturalist who collected land snails on Kaho'olawe in 1925. If so, they would reflect those names in common usage during the late ranching period.

On this map the place name "Hapuunui Gulch" has been written just inland of "Ahupuu Bay", which has been given as the name of the sand fringed bay to the east of Makaalae (O awa palua). The association of this name with "Ahupuu Bay" might suggest that "Hapuunui" may have, during the late ranch period, been used as an alternate name for "Ahupunui". This is supported by the statements of David Pedro, the son of ranch manager Manuel Pedro, who spent much of his childhood on Kaho'olawe. In a recent interview, Pedro indicated that he grew up using the term "Hapunui" to refer to Ahupu. (Pedro 1991:16 & 18)

We know from other reliable sources, however, that Ahupu is not the name for this small cove, but of a much larger one further east. (see Ahupu) The individual who placed the name "Hapuunui Gulch" onto the undated map now held at the Survey Office does not appear to have been very familiar with the island of Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Hapuunui Gulch - 1925? (Dranga? undated)

Chronology:
Hapuunui Gulch - 1925? (Dranga? undated)

Previous Translations:
None
Honokanao
To the west of Wai Kahalulu lies a shallow gulch running inland from the coast near the present lighthouse station. During the late ranching period (sometime in the 1920s or 30s) a 400,000 gallon cement cistern was built halfway up this gulch. The location of this reservoir was marked on the 1926 U.S. Geologic Survey map of Kaho'olawe and labeled "Tank".(U.S.G.S. 1926) When geographer Lee Motteler drafted his 1977 map of the island, he identified this site as "Honokanao (tank)".(Motteler 1977a) Where Motteler obtained this name is at present unknown. No mention of it has yet been found in the private papers of Inez Ashdown, which served as the primary source for so many of the place names introduced by Motteler. When, at some later date, Motteler undertook to revise his 1977 map, he deleted this particular place name.(Motteler 1977b) Once again, we do not know why.

First Mention:
Honokanao (tank) - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Chronology:
Honokanao (tank) - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Honokanao - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Honokanao - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:1)

Previous Translations:
**Honokoa ('Ili)**

The coastal boundaries of this land division, as they are traced out on the circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe (Doc.1126 undated-a), appear to run along the northern shore of the island from Læ'o Kealaikahiki to about the point of Makaalae or a little to the east of it. As with all of Kaho'olawe's 'ilī, Honokoa's inland borders extend upwards to the rim of Lua Moaula. Though, on his 1977 map of the island, Lee Motteler has attempted to more precisely delineate these boundaries (Motteler 1977a), the rough nature of the original map makes any such attempt tentative at best.

**First Mention:**
Honokoa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

**Chronology:**
Honokoa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Honokoa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Honokoa

In December of 1875, King David Kalakaua made a brief visit to the island of Kaho'olawe. The King was accompanied on this trip by a reporter from the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii*. In an article recounting the events of the visit, this unnamed reporter wrote; "At 4:30 a.m. (dawn), the steamer left Lahaina bearing to the east slightly south on Kahoolawe where there is a harbor; and at 7 a.m. we entered the harbor of Honokoa, which is near the famous cape to the south, Kealaikahiki (this name appears much in the ancient traditions of Hawaii)." (*Ka Lahui Hawaii* 12-23-1875:2:c.2)

This is the first mention we have of the bay of Honokoa, which, even as late as the King's visit in 1875, was occupied by a small Hawaiian community.

The bay was noted again on a circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe (Doc.1126 undated-b), and although J. Kauwekane did not include the bay among his many place names, he did refer to its eastern headland as "Lae o honokoa".(Kauwekane 1917a) Thus we possess strong evidence from a number of reliable sources (at least two of them native speakers) as to the authenticity of this place name.

The only variation on this name occurs among the writings of Inez Ashdown. On page three of her "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe", an undated manuscript held at the Maui Historical Society, Ashdown lists; "Hono-koa Point and Hono-kou Bay (ko-u) To look in all directions from the ko'a". Why Ashdown refers to the bay as "Hono-kou" is unknown. Elsewhere in her writings she employs the more common spelling, "Honokoa".

In addition to its traditional Hawaiian name, the bay also possesses an English one. John Clark, writing in his book *The Beaches of Maui County*, remarks that; "Honokoa is popularly known among local fishermen as Tickman Bay, for a man by that name whose boat was wrecked there in the 1920s." (Clark 1989:127)

First Mention:
Honokoa - 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii* 12/23/1875:p.2, c.2)

Chronology:
Honokoa - 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii* 12/23/1875:p.2, c.2)
Honokoa large bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Honokoa B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
? Honokoa B - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Honokoa Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Honokoa Bay - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Honokoa Bay - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Honokoa Bay - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Honokoa Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Honokoa - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Honokoa Bay - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Honokoa Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Honokoa Bay - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Honokoa Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Honokoa Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Honokoa Bay - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
Honokoa Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Honokoa Bay - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Honokoa Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Tickman Bay - 1989 (*Clark 1989:127)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Honokoa Bay also Honokoa Point and Hanakoa Point. Hono-koa, lit. brave bay." (Napoka 1983:1)
Malia Lisquara: "Honokoa: point and bay, s. western shore; literal meaning is brave bay and point." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)
Inez Ashdown: "Hono-koa Point and Hono-kou Bay (ko-u) To look in all directions from the ko'a" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
"Hono-koa, two meanings: The bay of soldiers, said to refer to the time Kalaniopuu of Hawaii rested his troops there while attacking King Kahekili's forces of Maui, before the enemy went to Honokohau, Maui, for taro etc.; and Bay of the Ko'a, or fish-watching station, as there was one here. There was a pa-pohaku here, too, attributed to the soldiers." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kavena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
"Hono-koa, usually translated as Bay of Soldiers, actually means Abounding Fulfillment, there near Ahupu Bay, in reference to a good catch of fish." (Ashdown 1979:50)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Honokoa...Bay and point, Kaho'olawe...Lit., brave bay." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:49)
Honokoa (Fishing Ground)
This name appears among the almost one hundred deep sea fishing grounds listed by A.D. Kahaulelio in his 1902 article on Hawaiian fishing lore published in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa. (Kahaulelio 1902:28; April 4, 1902) In these ko‘a lawaia Kahaulelio, his father and his father before him fished with long lines for "ulaula, opakapaka, aholohole, hahanui, ukikiki." (Kahaulelio 1902:19; March 14, 1902) Since Kahaulelio describes these fishing grounds as lying "between Lanai, Kahoolawe, Ukumehame and Lahaina" (Kahaulelio 1902:26; March 28, 1902), it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the "Honokoa" fishing ground mentioned in his list may have been situated somewhere off Honokoa bay. It would probably have been located in water "from 50, 60 to 70 fathoms deep". (Kahaulelio 1902:19; March 14, 1902)

First Mention:
Honokoa - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Chronology:
Honokoa - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Previous Translations:
None
Honukanaenae

On the most recent U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe a small, sandy bay to the southeast of Lae o Kealaikahiki has been labeled "Honukanaenae". This name appears to have been given to the bay by geographer Lee Motteler. Motteler learned the name "Honukanaenae" from Inez Ashdown who, in various of her unpublished maps and papers, offers it as an alternative name for the nearby and much larger bay of Hana Kanaia. (see Hana Kanaia below) Motteler himself attaches the name "Honukanaenae Bay" to this larger bay on his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe. (Motteler 1977a) In his revisions of this map, however, he crosses it out and replaces it with "Honokanaia". (Motteler 1977b)

Later, however, on a 1982 map which Motteler assisted the Defence Mapping Agency in producing, the name appears further west along the coast attached to a small, sandy cove. It has retained that position on every map subsequently published. Why Motteler chose to use "Honukanaenae" as the name for this small bay west of Hana Kanaia is unknown. There is certainly no precedent for it on any previous maps, and no evidence exists to suggest that "Honukanaenae" may have been the traditional name for this bay. It appears that Motteler, finding himself with an extra place name, simply attached it to the nearest un-named feature.

First Mention:

Chronology:
Honukanaenae - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Honukanaenae - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Hoponui
On his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe (Motteler 1977a), Lee Motteler apparently uses this place name to refer to the 600,000 gallon cement cistern which was built on the floor of Ahupu'ulu gulch some time in the late ranching period. (Stearns 1940:129) Where he obtained this name is unknown.

First Mention:
Hoponui (tank) - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Chronology:
Hoponui (tank) - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Hoponui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
None
Hula Kao

The place name Hula Kao originates from a 1911 Hawaii Territorial Survey map of Kaho'olawe onto which has been added a number of place names accompanied by the note "K.P. Emory June 1916". All but one of these additional names appear to have been taken from the Doc.1126 map held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) Only "Hula Kao" is not present on this earlier map. This place name has been written on the slope just inland of Puhi o Kohe o Hala.

Kenneth Emory, who was an archaeologist at the Bishop Museum, visited Kaho'olawe in May of 1916 as a member of a goat hunting expedition organized by C.S. Judd of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry. (Maui News 5/26/1916:1:c.1) Emory spent less than a week on Kaho'olawe and it is not known whether he had the opportunity to talk with anyone knowledgeable about the island. The source of the name "Hula Kao" is unknown. It may, however, have been a name given during the hunt, as one of the definitions of kao is "Goat". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:120) This, however, is purely conjecture.

First Mention:
Hula Kao - 1916 (Emory 1916)

Chronology:
Hula Kao - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Hula Kao - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Hula Kao - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Iiiliiloa
Our primary source for this place name is Document 1126, a sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn some time around 1889 and presently on file in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) On this map, the name "Iiiliiloa" has been written in along what appears to be the eastern shoreline of Kamohio bay. The crudeness of the map, however, makes it difficult to determine exactly what physical feature the name is meant to refer to. All subsequent maps which contain this place name appear to have adopted it from the Document 1126 map.

The eastern edge of Kamohio bay is flanked by high, weathered cliffs. At the foot of these cliffs lies a narrow strand formed of waterworn cobbles and pebbles. Since one possible definition of 'ili'ili is "Pebble, small stone" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:92), it may be this feature to which the name is referring.

First Mention:
Iiiliiloa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Iiiliiloa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Iiiliiloa - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Iiiliiloa - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Iiiliiloa - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Iiiliiloa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
'Ili'ililoa - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Iiiliiloa - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "'Ili'ililoa. 'Ili'ililoa, lit. long stretch of 'ili'ili stone pebbles." (Napoka 1983:1)
Malia Liskoaru: "Iiiliiloa: coastal and water area of south part of island that is said to have very much small stones and pebbles, this is where the literal meaning of much small stones comes from." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Liskoaru", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Kahuahale o Kamohalii
This place name is first encountered on a rough sketch map of Kaho'olawe presently held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) The Document 1126 map is filed between two documents, 1125 and 1127, both dated 1889. It would appear, therefore, that the sketch may have been drawn somewhere around that time. We know for certain that it was drafted before 1913, for J.F.G. Stokes makes reference to it in the field notes he recorded during a visit to Kaho'olawe in that year. In these notes he specifically mentions Kahuahale o Kamohalii. "Leaving smugglers bay [Hanaka'aia], we went to the S. point [Lae o Kealaikahiki], & then struck inland trying to locate the Kahuahale of Kamohoalii, noted by Joe Emerson on map." (Stokes 1913:1:9)

Stokes' statement would seem to suggest that the Document 1126 map may have been drawn by Joseph Emerson, a surveyor for the Hawaiian Government and also a noted collector of Hawaiian lore. Having been born and raised in the islands, Emerson was fluent in the Hawaiian language. He is known to have spent a great deal of time in the more remote districts of the outer islands talking to and gathering information from older Hawaiians. If Emerson did indeed draft this map of Kaho'olawe, it would appear he did so with the help of a knowledgeable local informant.

The Document 1126 map is little more than a rough outline of the island onto which a number of place names have been added. The site of "Kahuahale o Kamohalii" is marked by a square placed in the center of the western third of the island. Since no internal landmarks are recorded on the map, it is impossible to determine the exact location of this place name. Stokes, though he searched for the site, does not appear to have found it. At least he makes no mention of its discovery in his notebooks. Even today, we do not know whether the name applies to a natural feature of a human build structure.

Inez Ashdown (Ashdown undated-a) places its location near the hill which Lee Motteler has since referred to as "Pu'u Kahua". (Motteler 1977a - see Pu'u Kahua) It is uncertain, however, as to whether Ashdown possessed any special knowledge of the site's true location.

Among his "Kaho'olawe Place Names", Nathan Napoka includes "Kahuahole", translating it as "Ka-hua-hole, lit. the peeled fruit." (Napoka 1983:2) Napoka's cites Stokes' 1917 map (Stokes 1917) as the source for this name. This appears, however, to be an error on Napoka's part, for Stokes' map makes no mention of "Kahuahole". It seems likely that Napoka simply misread Stokes' rendering of "Kahuahale Kamohalii".

First Mention:
Kahuahale o Kamohalii - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Kahuahale o Kamohalii - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Kahuahale of Kamohoalii - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:9)
Kahualale o Kamohalii - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kahualale o Kamohoalii - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kahualale o Kamohalii - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Kahualale Kamohalii - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kahualale o Kamohalii - 1925? (Dranga undated)
Kahualale-o-Kamohoalii - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Ka hua Hale o Ka Mo'oiakai - undated (Ashdown undated)
Kahualale o Kamohoalii'i - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Kahualhole - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:2)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Kahualale-o-Kamohoalii: Foundation-of-the-houses-of-Pele's-brother. Place on the western part of the island." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Kahualhole. Ka-hua-hole, lit. the peeled fruit." (Napoka 1983:2)
Kaka

Within the Archives of the Bishop Museum rests a handwritten Hawaiian manuscript which makes mention of a place on Kaho'olawe known as "Kaka". (HI. K.8) Though this document possesses neither author's name nor date, it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of the document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also survives in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) One section of this manuscript enumerates the various fishing grounds ("Na Ko-a lawaia") of Honuaula, Maui. It makes mention of a number of physical features used in triangulating the location of these fishing grounds. Among these are prominent landmarks on the island of Kaho'olawe, including "the hills of Kaka".

"IV. Kalawa is another fishing ground. The sand of Nihomole is one of its landmarks. When it appears on the left hand side of Pahee-o-Lono Point at Molokini that is the upper mark. When the ridge on the eastern side of Kalawa Point, ["na Ka lae o Kalawa"] on the southern side of the hills of Kaka ["puu o Kaka"] appear close to the cliff of Kaule ["ka pali o Kaule"], that is its lower landmark.

"V. Pohaku-ula is another fishing ground. The stone called Pohaku-ula is one of its landmarks. When it appears on the southern point of Molokini, at Pahee-o-Lono that is the upper mark. When the hills of Kaka ["Puu o Kaka"] appear over Kaule Point ["Ka lae o Kaule"], that is the lower landmark."

"VIII. Koa-hau is another. When the hill of Keoneoio appears above Puu-olai that is its upper landmark. When the hills of Kaka on Kahoolawe [Puu o Kaka i Kahoolawe"] appears above (in line with) Pahee-o-Lono Point on Molokini, that is the lower mark."

Our first indication as to where "the hills of Kaka" may have been located comes from a circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) On this map the place name "Kaka" has been written just inland and to the north of "Lae o Kaka". Two small marks, one at "Lae o Kaka" and the other about half way up the coast of the peninsula between "Lae o Kaka" and "Halona cape", seem to mark the extent of "Kaka". This map would appear to suggest that a section of the cliffs edging the peninsula which forms the eastern foot of Kaho'olawe may formerly have been known as "Puu o Kaka" or simply "Kaka". In attempting to determine the precise location of "Puu o Kaka", it might be useful to take a boat out into the Alalakeiki channel to observe what part of the peninsula can be seen "over Kaule Point" or "above (in line with) Pahee-o-Lono Point on Molokini".

First Mention:
Kaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Kaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Puu o Kaka - undated (*HI. K.8)
Kaka – 1916 (Emory 1916)
Kaka – 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kaka – 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
**Malia Lisquara:** "Kaka: point and land area s. east area; literal meaning is to hew (shape)." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)


Ka lae o Kalawa

The place name "Ka lae o Kalawa" appears but once in the known literature of Kaho'olawe. It is found in a handwritten Hawaiian manuscript resting in the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (HI. K.8) Though this document possesses neither author nor date, it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of the document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also survives in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) One section of this manuscript enumerates the various fishing grounds ("Na Ko-kalawaia") of Honuaula, Maui. It makes mention of a number of physical features used in triangulating the location of these fishing grounds including several prominent landmarks on the island of Kaho'olawe. Among these landmarks is "Ka lae o Kalawa". The document states that:

"IV. Kalawa is another fishing ground. The sand of Nihomole is one of its landmarks. When it appears on the left hand side of Pahee-o-Lono Point at Molokini that is the upper mark. When the ridge on the eastern side of Kalawa Point, ("na Ka lae o Kalawa") on the southern side of the hills of Kaka ("puu o Kaka") appear close to the cliff of Kaule ("ka pali o Kaule"), that is its lower landmark."

Analyzing this passage, it would appear that "Ka lae o Kalawa" rests on "the southern side of the hills of Kaka", and that it possesses a ridge on its "eastern side". This description could refer to "Lae o Kaka" itself or it could be applied to one of the smaller promontories on either side of it. To gain a better understanding of where exactly this point is situated, it would seem advisable, not only to visit the area and determine which ridge can be seen from the "cliff of Kaule", but also to have the entire passage retranslated by a Hawaiian speaker who had visited that area and could thus better interpret the meaning of the paragraph.

First Mention:
Ka lae o Kalawa - undated (*HI. K.8)

Chronology:
Ka lae o Kalawa - undated (*HI. K.8)

Previous Translations:
None
Kalama

This name applies to a spot along the southern coast of Kaho'olawe somewhere between Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea. The specific physical feature to which it refers is unknown. The rough nature of the circa 1889 sketch map on which this name first appears (Doc.1126 undated-b), makes it impossible to say for certain whether the name belongs to a point, a bay or a blowhole.

One later cartographer recorded the name as "Kalama Pt.", attaching it to a small promontory lying almost midway between Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea. (L.M.Z. undated) From that time on, every map of the island has done the same. Since we do not know the original source for the names recorded on this undated map (L.M.Z. undated), we cannot be certain whether "Kalama Pt." represents a true identification of the feature to which the name belongs, or whether the author of the map simply attached the name to the most convenient promontory.

The appearance of the name "Kalauia" on a 1916 map by Kenneth Emory (Emory 1916) appears to be simply a misspelling of "Kalama", with Emory mistaking the handwritten "m" on the circa 1889 map (Doc.1126 undated-b) for a "ui". More recent authors (McAllister 1933:57 & Motteler 1983:4) have perpetuated this error. It is interesting to note that even Inez Ashdown includes the nonexistent "Kalauia" among her list of Kaho'olawe place names. In a letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960, a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society, Ashdown writes, "K-a-lau-i'a, the place where the lau of fish of a catch was divided among the people there." (page 5)

Here Ashdown has taken a what we know to have been a mistake, accepted it as genuine and proceeded not only to break it down into what she believes to be its component parts, but to provide a detailed translation for it. If we did not know the background behind this misspelt place name, we might naturally accept that this was indeed the place where fish caught in seine nets were divided among the people. Such an interpretation, based solely upon the composition of a place name, without the support of any documented cultural information, can be incredibly misleading. Particularly when, as in this case, the place name itself is incorrect.

It becomes evident, from this example, that Ashdown compiled her lists of place names, not only from "what was taught to me from 1908 at Ulupalakua and 1916 by Eben Parker Low, Louis von Tempski and Jack Aina and other paniolo." (Ashdown's 1976 "Kahoolawe Place Names" in the Bishop Museum Archives), but from names recorded on existing maps. One can only wonder how many of Ashdown's detailed descriptions of cultural practices carried out at various places on Kaho'olawe are based on nothing more than her own personal interpretations of these place names.

First Mention:
Kalama - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

**Chronology:**
Kalama - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Kalama - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kalauia - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Kalama - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kalama Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kalama - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kalama - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kalama - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kalauia - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kalama - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kalama Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Ka-lau-i'a - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)
Kalama - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kalama - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kalauia - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kalama - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kalama - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kalama - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Nathan Napoka: "Kalama. Ka-lama, lit. the torch." (Napoka 1983:2)
Malia Lisquara: "Kalama: coastal section, s. central area; literal meaning is the torch." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
"Kalauia: coastal area s. central area; possible literal meaning is the tip of leaves." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Ka-lau-i'a, the place where the lau of fish of a catch was divided among the people there." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kavena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960, a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)

**Pukui, Elbert & Mookini:** "Ka-lama. Coastal section, south central Ka-ho'olawe..." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:74)
Kalama Bay

A circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe presently on file in the Hawaii State Survey Office marks a point along the island's northern coastline, between Honokoa and Ahupu'a bays and labels it "Kalama Bay." Given the crudeness of this sketch, it is impossible to determine exactly where "Kalama bay" is located. J.F.G. Stokes' undated map drawn, we assume, sometime around 1913 tentatively places it immediately to the west of Makaalae. (Stokes undated-b) On this map the name "? Kalama B" has been written in at the sand fringed bay between Makaalae and Kii (a bay which other sources refer to as O awa palua), then crossed out and moved west. Inez Ashdown, on her annotated copy of Gilbert McAllister's map moves it back to a position between Makaalae and Kii. (Ashdown undated) She does not give her reasons for this.

Since our primary source for this place name is unclear as to its exact location, and subsequent maps seem uncertain as to where it belongs, it would appear best (until such time as further evidence surfaces) not to attempt to link the name "Kalama" to any specific bay. All we can say at present is that "Kalama bay" lies somewhere between Honokoa and Ahupu'a.

First Mention:
Kalama bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Kalama bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Kalama B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
? Kalama B - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Ka Lama - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)

Previous Translations:
None
Kalua o Kamohoalii

J. Kauwekane, whose father was said to have been a resident of Kaho'olawe and who himself was known to be quite familiar with the island, can be considered one of our most trustworthy sources of the Kaho'olawe's place names. It is he who first mentions the name "Kalua o Kamohoali", including it among the place names on his 1917 map (Kauwekane 1917a). He locates this place name near the northern end of Kanapou bay, where the northerly running cliffs suddenly veer to the east. The term "Kalua" suggests that this name may refer to a pit or cave, possibly a sea cave cut into the base of the cliffs. Kamohoalii is the name of a legendary shark god closely associated with the island of Kaho'olawe. A number of sea caves pock the cliffs in this area, some formed by the ceaseless action of the waves, and others created more recently by U.S. Navy torpedo bombs. Which, if any, of these lua may be "Kalua o Kamohoalii" is at present unknown.

First Mention:
Kalua o Kamohoalii - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
Kalua o Kamohoalii - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Kalua o Kamohoalii - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Kalua-o-Kamohoalii - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kalua o Kamohoali'i - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kalua o Kamohoali'i - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Kalua o Kamohoali'i - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kalua o Kamohoali'i - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Kalua o Kamohoalii - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
At Kanapou Bay, feature not known." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Kaluaokamohoali'i. Ka-lua-o-Kamohoali'i, lit. the hole of Kamohoali'i. Kamohoali'i was the chief of the shark gods and brother of Pele. The name Ka-mohoali'i means the chiefly chosen one." (Napoka 1983:2)
Inez Ashdown: "Ka-Lua the deep underwater cave where the shark god lives at Kanapo'u." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society:page 5)
Kamohio

Neither the Hawaii Government Survey map of 1886 (Wall 1886) nor Document 1126 (Doc.1126 undated-b), two of our earliest sources of place names for Kaho'olawe, give a name to this deep cut bay on the island's southern coast. The first mention we have of the bay is in the field notebooks of J.F.G. Stokes who conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of Kaho'olawe in 1913. In his notebooks Stokes refers to this inlet as "Puu Koae Bay", taking that name from the rocky islet which lies off the bay's western headland. (Stokes 1913:I:14)

On one of his early sketch maps of Kaho'olawe, Stokes has written the name "Waikalahulu" next to the bay but, realizing his error, later crossed it out. (Stokes undated-a) It is on another of Stokes' maps, however, that we first encounter the name "Kamohio" associated with the bay. (Stokes undated-c) In the upper right corner of this map Stokes has written in the names of three kama'aina of Kaho'olawe from whom he attempted to learn something of the island. The first of these individuals, "Nahoikeika", Stokes describes as "formerly of Kaho'olawe", but goes on to say that he, "Knew little as he was young when he left." Another former resident of Kaho'olawe, "Awaloa", died two weeks before Stokes arrived in Makena to interview him. (Stokes 1913:II:5) The third individual mentioned on the map, "J. Kauwakane" (correctly spelled Kawekane), was the son of a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe and was said to be "very well acquainted with that island." (Letter from Charles S. Judd to J. Kauwakane dated October 18, 1917, in the Hawaii State Archives, Board of Agriculture and Forestry, Division of Forestry, Box 34, Charles S. Judd, Kahoolawe, 1913-1920) Kauwakane may have been the source for some of the place names, such as "Kamohio", which appear for the first time on this map.

In 1917 C.S. Judd provided Kauwakane with a map of Kaho'olawe, asking him to "place on it in pencil at the proper point the name of any or all of the points, bays, hills and valleys that you know and return the map to me in the enclosed stamped envelope." (Letter from Charles S. Judd to J. Kauwakane dated October 18, 1917, in the Hawaii State Archives, Board of Agriculture and Forestry, Division of Forestry, Box 34, Charles S. Judd, Kahoolawe, 1913-1920) Although the map which Kauwakane returned to Judd (Kauwakane 1917-a) does not include a name for the bay itself, it does give "Lae o Kamohio" as the name for the bay's eastern headland.

Given its source, the name "Kamohio" appears to be the most reliable name for this deep bay on Kaho'olawe's southern coast. The only recent variation on this name comes from Inez Ashdown who often, in her personal papers, refers to the bay as "Kamohia". She does not, however, provide any explanation for this alternative spelling.

First Mention:
Puu Koae Bay - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:I:14)

Chronology:
Puu Koae Bay - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:I:14)
Waikalahululu - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kamohio - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kamohio Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kamohio Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kamohio Bay - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kamohio Bay - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kamohio Bay - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kamohio Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Kamohio - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kamohio Bay - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Kamohio Bay - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Kamohio Bay - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kamohio Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Kamohio Bay - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Kamohio Bay - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kamohia - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Kamohio Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kamohio Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kamohio Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kamohio Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Kamohio: bay, s. coast area, a large fishing koa (shrine) is here that was excavated in 1913 literal meaning is the place of gusty winds." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Kamohio - Ka = the. Mohio = a draft or gust of chilling wind."
"Kamohia.. name of the wind which scatters things..
Careless" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kahoolawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
"Ka= the; mo, short for mo'o (in reference to genealogy or mo'o-ku-au-hau and ancestral spirits or 'aumakua); and hia, in reference to fish such as Bonito etc; or to Desire, or Need (as desire to reach perfection on the Alaloa or Pathway of life on earth or to hia-moe, sleep need; So, Ka-mo'o-hia refers to the delight of the people who named this shrine who were honoring the Creator and their Ali'i ancestors of the mo'okauahau for all inherited gifts to them." (From a paper entitled "1/27/76. Ashdown...working on the sites list for Kahoolawe for Tony's map on which Annie Rogers is working now...", held among the Inez Ashdown papers at the Maui Historical Society."
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Ka-mohio. Bay, south coast of Ka-
ho'olawe. A large fishing shrine here, excavated in 1913, is
described by McAllister 1933b:13)." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini
1974:82)
Kamohio Ko'a

This place name is of clearly modern origin. It refers to the ancient religious site which lies at the foot of the cliffs flanking the western edge of Kamohio Bay. This shrine, also known as Site 360, was rediscovered and excavated in 1913 by J.F.G. Stokes. A detailed account of that excavation can be found in the second volume of Stokes' Kaho'olawe field notes on file in the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (Stokes 1913:II) The traditional name of this shrine is unknown (although it may have been the "Cave of Kunaka", see above).

On two of her hand drawn maps of Kaho'olawe, both contained within a 1975 letter to Jane Silverman, Inez Ashdown refers to this site alternately as "Kamohia Shrine" (Ashdown 1975a) and "Kamohio Shrine" (Ashdown 1975b), taking its name from the name of the bay in which it rests. In the text of this letter, a copy of which is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office, she mentions it as "Kamohia". (page 4) Why Ashdown chooses at times to use the spelling "Kamohia" is not known.

Lee Motteler appears to have followed Ashdown's lead in giving a name to this site. Motteler has, however, chosen to use the Hawaiian term ko'a, to distinguish the site as a fishing shrine. The names "Kamohio Ko'a" or "Kamohio Koa Site" can be found on all those maps which Motteler provided place names for. (Motteler 1977a, D.M.A. 1982 & U.S.G.S. 1984)

First Mention:
- Kamohio Shrine - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)

Chronology:
- Kamohio Shrine - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
- Kamohia Shrine - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
- Kamohio Koa Site - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
- Kamohio Ko'a - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)

Previous Translations:
- Malia Lisquara: "Kunaka cave and Kamohio Koa are both located in the bay of Kamohio. Kunaka cave has a literal meaning of the shivering cave and the Kamohio Koa is a fishing shrine set up there to bring good luck to all that fished there." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
- Inez Ashdown: "Ka = the; mo, short for mo'o (in reference to genealogy or mo'o-ku-au-hau and ancestral spirits or 'aumakua); and hia, in reference to fish such as Bonito etc; or to Desire, or Need (as desire to reach perfection on the Alaloo or Pathway of life on earth or to hia-moe, sleep need; So, Ka-mo'o-hia refers to the delight of the people who named this shrine who were honoring the Creator and their Ali'i ancestors of the mo'okuauhau for all inherited gifts to them." (From a paper entitled "1/27/76..Ashdown..working on the sites list for Kaho'olawe for Tony's map on which Annie
Rogers is working now...", held among the Inez Ashdown papers at the Maui Historical Society.
Kanapou ('Ili)
The 'ili of Kanapou covers a relatively small wedge of land just inland of Kanapou bay. From the lines drawn on the circa 1889 map which first shows this land division (Doc.1126 undated-a), its borders appear to run along the coast from midway down the Pali o ka Lapa Kea to the beach at the head of the bay, and from these two points inland to the rim of Lua Moaula. On his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler has taken the liberty of expanding the boundaries of this 'ili to include almost all of Kanapou bay. (Motteler 1977a)

First Mention:
Kanapou - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Kanapou - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Kanapou - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Kanapou

A single broad bay rimmed with sheer cliffs occupies much of the eastern coast of Kaho'olawe. This bay is one of the most prominent of the island's physical features, and as a result was one of the first to have its name appear on maps. Our earliest known reference to the name of this bay occurs on a 1839 map drafted by a Hawaiian named Kapohoni and printed at the Lahainaluna seminary as part of an atlas of the world. (Kapohoni 1839a) On this map the name of the bay is written as "Kanapuu". In that same year the seminary printed a quite similar map, but on this version the name was spelt "Kanapua". (Lahainaluna 1839) This confusion in the spelling of the name suggests that the authors of these maps were unfamiliar with the island of Kaho'olawe and its place names.

Two commercially produced maps of the Hawaiian islands, printed in London in 1843, give the spelling of this bay as "Kanapau". (Wyld 1843 & Arrowsmith 1843) It is likely that this is simply a misspelling of the name as it occurs on the earlier Lahainaluna map.

An alternate spelling of this name comes to us from among the traditional legends recorded in Abraham Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore. Though not published until the early 1900s, these legends and mythic tales were collected during the later half of the 1800s. They were gathered from knowledgeable native Hawaiians. In the three legends which make reference to the bay we find it spoken of as "Keanapou". So far this spelling has been found nowhere else. If one accepts that these legends are of ancient origin, then it seems possible that "Keanapou" may have been the original name for the bay, and that the currently used name, "Kanapou", is simply a contraction of this earlier form.

We encounter the name "Kanapou" for the first time in a letter written in 1857 by Paul Nahaolelua and Ioane Richardson (presently on file in the Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Land File). This letter, dated December 7th, 1857, is addressed to Lot Kamehameha, the brother of the reigning King, Kamehameha IV. It presents the results of a survey of the island of Kaho'olawe conducted by Richardson and Nahaolelua (who was at that time Governor of Maui). In this letter they mention that; "another brackish water is at the East side of said Island, at Kanapou, the well where Kalaepuni was murdered." (Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)

Every map printed after 1857 has given the Hawaiian name for this bay as "Kanapou". There exists, however, an alternative English name for the bay. It first appears on a topographic map of Kaho'olawe drafted by crew members of the U.S.S. Patterson who surveyed the island and its surrounding waters in 1905. (Rhodes 1905) On this map the bay of Kanapou is labeled "Beck's Cove". Interestingly enough, the legend of this map indicates that one of the survey crew was named "H.L. Beck". It seems probable that, not knowing the traditional name for the bay, the members of the survey party
evoked the age old explorer's prerogative of naming the bay after one of their own. This name, though seldom found on maps, is used commonly today by members of the U.S. Navy detachment stationed on Kaho'olawe.

Kanapou is probably the only place on Kaho'olawe to possess, not only an English and a Hawaiian name, but a Japanese one as well. As John Clark explains in his book *The Beaches of Maui County*, "Kanapou is commonly called Obake Bay by charter and commercial fishermen. Obake is the Japanese word for ghost, and the bay was so named by local Japanese commercial fishermen who fished here for akule and opelu. Kanapou is subject to extremely abrupt changes in ocean and wind conditions. Calm waters in the bay often will suddenly be devastated by large waves, powerful currents, and strong winds that seem to come out of nowhere, creating unexpected hazards for any boat caught in the area. The bay was called Obake for this reason." (Clark 1980:134)

**First Mention:**
Kanapuu - 1839 (Kapohoni 1839a)

**Chronology:**
- Kanapuu - 1839 (Kapohoni 1839a)
- Kanapua - 1839 (Lahainaluna 1839)
- Kanapau - 1843 (Wyld 1843)
- Kanapau - 1843 (Arrowsmith 1843)
- Kanapou - 1857 (*Nahoolelua & Richardson 1857:3)
- Kanapou B. - 1886 (Wall 1886)
- Keanapou - pre 1887 (*Fornander 1918:V:1:202-203)
- Keanapou - pre 1887 (*Fornander 1918:V:1:220-221)
- Kanapou Bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
- Beck's Cove - 1905 (Rhodes 1905)
- Kanapou Bay - 1906 (Newton, 1906)
- Kanapou Bay - 1911 (Podmore 1911)
- Kanapou Bay - 1913 (Forbes 1913)
- Kanapou B. - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:5,11)
- Kanapou B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
- Kanapou B - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
- Kanapou Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
- Kanapou Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
- Kanapou - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
- Kanapou - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
- Kanapou Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
- Kanapou Bay - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
- Kanapou Bay - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
- Kanapou Bay - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
- Kanapou - 1929? (Unknown undated)
- Kanapou - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
- Kanapou - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
- Kanapou Bay - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
- Kanapou Bay - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
- Kanapou Bay - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
- Kanapou Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
- Kanapou Bay - 1965 (Kiingensmith 1965)
Kanapou Bay - 1970s? (Tax Key undated)
Kanapou Bay - undated (Ashdown undated)
Kanapou Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kanapou - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Beck Cove - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kanapou Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Beck Cove - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Obake Bay - 1980 (*Clark 1980:134)
Kanapou Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kanapou Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Kanapou: The-port-of-Kana (?) Bay on the east coast." (McAllister 1933:57)
Malia Lisquara: "Kanapou Bay: bay east coast area; possible literal meaning is the tenth ridge by the bay." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Kana-pou.. (po'u) Drenched" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 3)
"Kanapo'u(not pou) refers to a ridge like a fish hook for ulua fishing. Po'u means drenched, where Chief Kana, and we, too, were drenched in the rough seas there." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 5)
Kaneloa

The name Kaneloa first appears among the place names added to a copy of the 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe held at the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration. These names appear to have been placed on the map some time around 1926 by an individual with the initials "L.M.Z." What the source of these names may have been is as yet unknown.

"Kaneloa" has been written in at the mouth of the intermittent stream which runs into the sea to the west of Aleale. It is possible that the name refers to the cliff edged bay sheltered by Puu Koae, although most maps, from the 1926 U.S. Geological Service map onwards, have taken it to refer to the gulch through which the stream flows. (see Kaneloa Gulch)

In the Archives of the Bishop Museum is a xerox copy of an edition of McAllister's Archaeology of Kaho'olawe which was owned and annotated by Inez Ashdown. In a note found on page 57, Ashdown states that this place name should be, "Kanaloa not Kaneloa. Kanaloa was the very ancient god-name of Kahoolawe, referring to when he visited there with Kane. There is a hidden water spring so named there, that comes up out of the sea." As usual, Ashdown gives no source for her statement.

On page 46 of this same text, in addition to her numerous margin notes, Ashdown has added a number of place names to McAllister's map of Kaho'olawe. (Ashdown undated) Among these names is "Waikahalulu nui" which Ashdown has linked with a dashed line to the bay immediately west of Kamohio. This is the only instance we have of this place name being used. None of Ashdown's other maps of the island include it. Where Ashdown obtained this name is unknown.

First Mention:
Kaneloa - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)

Chronology:
Kaneloa - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kanaloa - undated (Ashdown undated)
Waikahalulu nui - undated (Ashdown undated)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Kanaloa not Kaneloa. Kanaloa was the very ancient god-name of Kahoolawe, referring to when he visited there with Kane. There is a hidden water spring so named there, that comes up out of the sea." (From page 57 of Ashdown's annotated copy of McAllister's Archaeology of Kahoolawe, held in the Bishop Museum Archives)
Kaneloa Gulch

This place name, first used on the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe (U.S.G.S. 1926), appears to have been derived from the copy of the 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe held at the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration. (L.M.Z. undated) Though, on the earlier map, the name "Kaneloa" was written along the coast (see Kaneloa), the cartographers working for the U.S.G.S. chose to use it as the name for the gulch which runs from the southern slope of Pu'u o Moaulanui down into the sea west of Aleale.

This name, "Kaneloa Gulch" was retained up until the 1970s when Lee Motteler altered it to read "Kanaloa Gulch". Motteler mentions this change in his 1983 article, "Place Name Research on Kaho'olawe". "Two spelling changes already accepted by the Geological Survey for its new map are Lae o Kukui (for Lae o Kuikui, or Ku'i'ku'i, the northermost point of Kaho'olawe) and Kanaloa Gulch (for Kaneloa Gulch, after the god Kanaloa, most frequently associated with Kaho'olawe in Hawaiian mythology)." (Motteler 1983:4)

Motteler appears to have based his decision to change the name on the statements of Inez Ashdown, who felt that the place name should read, "Kanaloa not Kaneloa. Kanaloa was the very ancient god-name of Kahoolawe, referring to when he visited there with Kane. There is a hidden water spring so named there, that comes up out of the sea." (from page 57 of Ashdown's annotated copy of McAllister's Archaeology of Kaho'olawe, in the Archives of the Bishop Museum) Where exactly this "hidden water spring" is located, Ashdown does not say. Nor does she tell us the source for her use of the name "Kanaloa", as opposed to "Kaneloa". It seems possible that Ashdown based this change, not on any specific knowledge of that particular place name, but on the fact that one of the ancient names of the island was Kanaloa, and therefore the name of the gulch "ought to be" Kanaloa.

First Mention:
Kaneloa Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Kaneloa Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kaneloa Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kanaloa - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1977 (Motteler, 1977)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kanaloa Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Kanaloa gulch: gulch, s. central area; literal meaning is gulch of the god Kanaloa." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Kanaloa not Kaneloa. Kanaloa was the very ancient god-name of Kahoolawe, referring to when he visited there with Kane. There is a hidden water spring so named there, that comes up out of the sea." (from page 57 of Ashdown's annotated copy of McAllister's Archaeology of Kahoolawe, in the Archives of the Bishop Museum)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Kane-loa. Gulch, south central Kahoolawe...Lit., tall Kane." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:84)
Kanuku

A version of this place name is first encountered among the penciled in names on the 1886 Hawaii Government Survey map drafted by W.A. Wall. (Wall 1886) On this map, the name "Kunaka" has been written in along the coast in the vicinity of Wiliwilipeapea. It will be remembered that "Kunaka" is also the name of the land division encompassing nearby Kamohio bay. (see Kunaka ('ili)) The penciled names which occur on Wall's 1886 map often appear somewhat out of place ("Halona Pt." being located down by Lae o Kaka and "Waikahalulu" over near Kamohio). The possibility exists, therefore, that in placing this name on the map, its author was making reference, not to a specific physical feature, but to the land area known as "Kunaka". In doing so he may simply have displaced the name slightly from the place in which it appears on the circa 1889 'ili map. (Doc.1126 undated)

J.F.G. Stokes included the name "Kunaka" on one of his very rough sketch maps of Kaho'olawe drawn some time after his visit to the island in 1913. He placed it along the south coast about halfway between "Kalama" and "Wiliwilipeapea", but later crossed it out. (Stokes undated-a)

Lee Motteler, in contributing names to the 1982 Defence Mapping Agency map of Kaho'olawe, identified a small promontory on the south coast just east of Wiliwilipeapea as "Kanuku". (D.M.A. 1982) This seems to be nothing more than a misspelling of the name as it appears on the 1886 map. At present there exists no direct historic evidence linking the place name to this particular headland. Motteler appears to have chosen it simply because it seemed the most likely candidate. The erroneous spelling and highly questionable placement of this name has been perpetuated on the most commonly used contemporary map of the island. (U.S.G.S. 1984) It would seem best, given the dubious parentage of the place name "Kanuku", to avoid using it altogether.

First Mention:
Kunaka - 1886? (Wall 1886)

Chronology:
Kunaka - 1886? (Wall 1886)
Kunaka - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kalauia - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kanuku - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Kaohe

The place name "Kaohe" is first found among the names recorded by J. Kauwekane on a 1917 map of Kaho'olawe. It is inscribed on the southeastern slope of Pu'uk o Moaulanui, inland and to the northwest of Kanapou beach. Considering Kawekane's familiarity with the island, it does not seem unreasonable to accept this as a traditional name, or at least one which was in use among the natives of the island in the later half of the 19th century.

Inez Ashdown takes it upon herself to correct Kauwekane, stating in a 1960 letter to Mary Kawena Pukui, a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society, that the name should be read "Ka-ohi (not ka-ohe) of legend, a chief was held there but escaped his enemies. Here is where the later government prisoners used to watch the two currents before diving in and swimming to Maui." (page 5)

She repeats this assertion in her annotations to Gilbert McAllister's *Archaeology of Kaho'olawe*, a copy of which is in the Bishop Museum Archives. "Kaohi - not ohe. Legend says a chief was held there but escaped. The later (?) govt prisoners used to watch the currents from there & dive in & swim to Molokini. No bamboo on Kaho'olawe." (page 57)

In saying "No bamboo on Kaho'olawe", Ashdown is referring to the fact that the word ohe may be translated as "bamboo". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:254) No reference can be found to Ashdown's statement that; "Legend says a chief was held there but escaped."

In the early 1840s government prisoners confined at the bay of Kaulana did escape the island by swimming to Molokini and then on to Maui, but none of the early accounts relating this incident make mention of them watching the currents from "Kaohi". They simply state that; "These deliverers prepared for their errand in the month of February, 1841. Before starting they procured a wiliwili log to which they fastened a rope and with a stone anchored it out at a depth of fifteen fathoms where the tide ran swiftly, as a buoy, that on its indication of the tide running towards Maui would be the time to start." (Thrum 1902:121)

Given Kaohi's location on the slope above the cliffs of Pali o ka Lapa Kea, it seems unlikely that it would have been chosen as the place from which to watch this wiliwili log. It is certainly a goodly distance from the point along the island's northeast shore which lies closest to Molokini, and which would have provided the shortest crossing of the Alalakeiki channel.

**First Mention:**

Kaohe - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

**Chronology:**

Kaohe - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Kaohe - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kaohe - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kaohi - undated (*Ashdown undated:57)
Ka-ohi - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)
Kaohi - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaohi/Ka'ohe - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)

**Previous Translations:**

**Lahilahi Webb:** "Ka'ohe: The-bamboo. On the elevation which
overlooks Kanapou Bay, feature not known." (McAllister
1933:57)

**Nathan Napoka:** "Ka'ohe. Ka-'ohe, lit. the bamboo." (Napoka
1983:2)

**Inez Ashdown:** "Kaohi - not ohe. Legend says a chief was held
there but escaped. The later[?] govt prisoners used to watch
the currents from there & dive in & swim to Molokini. No
bamboo on Kaho'olawe." (from Ashdown's annotated copy of
McAllister's *Archaeology of Kaho'olawe*, a copy of which is in
the Bishop Museum Archives; page 57)

"Ka-'ohe (not ka-ohe) of legend, a chief was held there but
escaped his enemies. Here is where the later government
prisoners used to watch the two currents before diving in and
swimming to Maui." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui
dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her
papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 5)
Kaukamaka Gulch

This is a case in which we do not know the primary source for a place name. "Kaukamaka Gulch" first appears on the 1982 Defence Mapping Agency map of Kaho'olawe as the name for the deep cut gulch which runs inland from Kanapou. (D.M.A. 1982) The names printed on this map appear to have been provided by geographer Lee Motteler, who also provided the place names for the most recent U.S. Geologic Service map of the island. (U.S.G.S. 1984) Where Motteler obtained this particular place name is unknown. As far as we can determine, no previous map or document records this name. It is interesting to note that almost directly across the island lies the bay of Kauka Moku. One cannot help but wonder whether some name transference may have occurred.

First Mention:

Chronology:
Kaukamaka G1 - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kaukamaka Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Kauka moku
Northeast along the coast from Ahupu lies a sand fringed bay which J. Kauwekeane, on his 1917 map of Kahoʻolawe, labels "Kauka moku". (Kauwekeane 1917a) Later cartographers have joined these two words, referring to the bay as "Kaukamoku". At present we possess no alternative names for this feature, and, considering Kauwekeane's apparent knowledge of the island, it would seem likely that this may well have been the traditional name of the bay.

**First Mention:**
Kauka moku - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917a)

**Chronology:**
Kauka moku - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917a
Kauka moku - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917b
Kaukamoku - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kauka moku - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Kaukamoku - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Kaukamoku - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaukamoku - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kaukamoku - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Lahilahi Webb: "Kaukamoku: In-the-upland. Gulch on north side of the island." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Kaukamoku. Kau-ka-moku, lit. place (on) the island. Also name for a gulch, Kaukamoku Gulch." (Napoka 1983:2)
Malia Lisquara: "Kaukamoku: gulch, n. central area; literal meaning is place on the island." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoʻolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Kaukamoku Gulch

Why the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe identifies "Kaukamoku Gulch" but does not mention the bay of "Kauka moku" is not known. (U.S.G.S. 1926) A number of other maps drafted since that time have included both the name of the gulch and that of the bay. This would appear to be unnecessary, for in earlier times both were probably referred to simply as "Kauka moku".

First Mention:
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kaukamoku - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kaukamoku Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Kaukamoku: In-the-upland. Gulch on north side of the island."
(McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Kaukamoku. Kau-ka-moku, lit. place (on) the island. Also name for a gulch, Kaukamoku Gulch." (Napoka 1983:2)
Malia Lisquara: "Kaukamoku: gulch, n. central area; literal meaning is place on the island." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Kaukukapapa
This place name is first found among those printed on Harold Stearns' 1939 geologic map of Kaho'olawe. (Stearns 1939)
Although we do not know for certain where Stearns obtained this name, it is highly likely that he learned of it from Jack Aina who served as Stearns' guide during his 1939 trip to Kaho'olawe. Aina had for many years been foreman of the Kaho'olawe ranch. Stearns attaches this place name to the white sand beach just north of Keana a Keiki.
Within more recent years, fishermen frequenting Kaho'olawe's offshore waters have given an alternate name to this stretch of sand. "In the middle of the beach a point of rock splits the beach into two halves. This division is responsible for the beach's popular name, Twin Sands Beach." (Clark 1989:127) (check reference)

First Mention:
Kaukukapapa Beach - 1939 (Stearns 1939)

Chronology:
Kaukukapapa Beach - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Kaukukapapa Beach - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Kaukukapapa Beach - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
*Twin Sands Beach - 1989 (*Clark 1989:127)

Previous Translations:
None
Kaulana ("Ili)

On the circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe entitled "Kahoolawe is an ahupuaa divided into ilis as per map", the land division of "Kaulana" is situated between the 'ili of "Papaka" and "Waaiiki". (Doc.1126 undated-a) On its companion map, however, "Kaulana bay" has been written in between "Kuhei bay" and "Papaka bay", with "Waaiiki bay" lying to the east of "Papaka bay". (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Since, on almost every other map we possess, the bay and gulch of Papaka lies to the east of Kaulana, rather than to the west as shown on the 'ili map, it seems probable that, in drafting this map, its author accidentally reversed the names of these two land divisions.

Due to the rough nature of this map, the boundaries of the 'ili of Kaulana are difficult to determine. They appear, however, to encompass little more than the Kaulana watershed itself. It would seem that the inland borders of this land division stretched down from the rim of Lua Moaula to the two headlands enclosing Kaulana bay. Its seaward boundary appear to have extended along the shores of the bay.

First Mention:
Kaulana - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Kaulana - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Kaulana - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Kaulana

Around the headland to the east of Kuheia lies a sand fringed bay which bears the name "Kaulana". The name of this bay is well documented, for it appears on a number of the early maps of Kaho'olawe. Its can first be found among the place names added in pencil to the Hawaii Government Survey map of the island completed in 1886. (Wall 1886)

In an article entitled "Kahoolawe An Early Place of Banishment" published in the Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1903, Thomas Thrum describes Kaulana as having been the site of a penal colony which was established on the island during early years of the 18th century. "...the men were sent to Kaho'olawe, among whom was the Maui chief Kinimaka who was designated as superintendent of the exiles. The work he assigned them was the erection of houses of stone and dirt (adobe) at a place called Kaulana, a small bay, where with some residents they numbered 80 or more." (Thrum 1902:121)

Both knowledgeable Hawaiian informants such as J. Kauwekane (Kauwekane 1917a) and ranch residents such as Christian Conradt (Conradt undated) have included "Kaulana" among their list of Kaho'olawe place names, always attaching it to the crescent bay east of Kuheia. The only deviation from this has been among the names provided by Inez Ashdown.

On page 3 of a list of place names included in her 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett (a copy of which is in the files of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office), Ashdown seems to agree with our other sources when she writes that; "The gulch by the house has the name of Kaulana." However, on her 1975 map of Kaho'olawe sent as part of a letter to Jane Silverman, Ashdown refers to it as "Kaulana Pt and Bay". (Ashdown 1975) This is probably nothing more than a spelling error.

A touch more confusing is the notation, on Ashdown's copy of Gilbert McAllister's 1933 map of the island, identifying this bay as "Kaipapau Bay, Kanaloa lived here, Here is a well". (Ashdown undated) This note appears to correspond to a statement in her undated manuscript of "Kahoolawe Place Names", held at the Bishop Museum Archives, which reads; "Where we had the 10 000 gal redwood tank in the next gulch on Maui side of Ku Heeia is Kaipapa'u Bay where Kanaloa (the god or man) lived and here was the old stone-paved well." The valley of "Kaulana" did at one time possess a stone lined ranch well (Stearns 1940:130), but the "10 000 gal redwood tank" Ashdown refers to is most probably one of the two such tanks located in nearby Papaka gulch (Stearns 1940:129). Papaka is located two gulches on the Maui or eastern side of Kuheia. "Kaulana" contained no such tank. It is apparent that Ashdown is confused in her memory of the place. She certainly gives no indication as to where she learned this place name.

On page two of her 1975 letter to Jane Silverman, a copy of which is held at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office, Ashdown writes that; "The bay east of Hilu kea [the
eastern headland of Kuhea] is Kaipapau where Kanaloa dwelt." This statement would again seem to link "Kaipapau" with the bay of Kaulana, possibly suggesting that "Kaipapau" may have been an alternative (ranch period?) name for Kaulana. However, given Ashdown's apparent confusion as to the true location of "Kaipapau", it might be best to treat this name with caution. At present the most likely candidate for the traditional name of this bay remains "Kaulana".

**First Mention:**
Kaulana - 1886 (Wall 1886)

**Chronology:**
Kaulana - 1886 (Wall 1886)
Kaulana bay - 1889? (Doc. 1126 undated-b)
Kaulana - 1902 (*Thrum 1902:121)
Kaulana - 1911? (Conrad undated)
Kaulana B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kaulana Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kaulana Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kaulana - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917a)
Kaulana - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917b)
Kaulana Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kaulana - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kaulana - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kaulana - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kaulana - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kaulana - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kaulana - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kai papau Bay - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Kaulana Pt and Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kaulana Bay - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Kaulana - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaulana - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kaulana - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kaulana - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Kaulana - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Malia Lisquara: "Kaulana: coastal and gulch area n.east area; literal meaning is landing, as in boat." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Kaulana Gulch

The use of the term "Kaulana Gulch" appears to have been introduced by western map makers to distinguish the bay of Kaulana from the gulch which runs inland from it. This distinction does not seem to have been made by native Hawaiian speakers, such as J. Kauwekane, who appear to have used the place name "Kaulana" to apply to the bay, beach and gulch. (Kauwekane 1917a)

First Mention:
Kaulana Gulch - 1913 (Stokes undated-b)

Chronology:
Kaulana Gulch - 1913 (Stokes undated-b)
Kaulana Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kaulana Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kaulana Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kaulana Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kaulana Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaulana Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kaulana Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Kaulana: coastal and gulch area n.east area; literal meaning is landing, as in boat."(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Ka-ho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Kaulana-nui

In 1977, Inez Ashdown sent a descriptive list of Kahoʻolawe place names as part of a letter addressed to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy. A copy of this letter is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office. In this document, Ashdown mentions that; "The gulch by the house [the ranch house at Kuheia] has the name of Kaulana, and its tributary is Kaulana-nui that runs into the bay of that name from Kealia, Lua Makika, and Keahua-lalo areas." (page 4 of list) In this passage Ashdown appears to associate the name "Kaulana-nui" with the larger branch of the intermittent stream which feeds into this gulch. She does not, however, give any indication as to whether this was a name she and other ranch personnel gave to the stream or whether it was a more traditional name they had learned from the island's former residents. It seems more likely that it was the former.

First Mention:

Chronology:

Previous Translations:
None
Kaulana Point

Since it makes its first appearance on a 1954 map of Kaho'olawe drafted by the U.S. Navy, this place name would seem to be of modern origin. It would appear that, not knowing the traditional name for the western headland of Kaulana bay, the makers of this map simply transferred the name of the bay to the name of the promontory, calling it "Kaulana Pt." There is no known precedent for this name. There is also no evidence to suggest that Inez Ashdown had any special knowledge as to the name of this headland when, on a 1975 sketch map of the island, she labeled it "Kaulama Pt and Bay". (Ashdown 1975a)

First Mention:
Kaulana Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)

Chronology:
Kaulana Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Kaulama Pt and Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kaulana Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

Previous Translations:
None
Kealaikahiki ('Ili)
This is by far the largest of Kaho'olawe's traditional land divisions. Its coastline stretches from the western edge of Kamohio bay all the way to Lae o Kealaikahiki. Its interior boundaries run from these two points inland to the rim of Lua Moaula. Thus its land area encompasses almost the entire southwestern quarter of the island. The granting of so extensive an area to a single 'ohana may have been due in part to the fact that much of the land contained within the borders of this 'ili is dry grassland unsuitable for agriculture. This 'ili does, however, possess some excellent fishing areas, as well as one of the island's largest sand beaches. Its boundaries were first laid out on a circa 1889 sketch map entitled, "Kaho'olawe is an ahupuaa divided into ili as per map". (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Among the place names added in pencil to the Hawaii Government Survey map of 1886 is the name "Kealaikahiki" written in along the south coast at about the location of Hana Kanaia. (Wall 1886) Since this map already possessed the name "Kealaikahiki Pt", inked in next to the western tip of the island, it appears possible that whomever added the penciled in name may have using it to identify the land division of "Kealaikahiki" (the same appears to have been the case for the adjacent place name "Kunaka").

In 1977, Lee Motteler attempted to trace the borders of "Kealaikahiki" onto an up-to-date topographical map of Kaho'olawe. (Motteler 1977a) His suggested boundaries are, however, highly conjectural.

First Mention:
Kealaikahiki - 1886 (Wall 1886)

Chronology:
Kealaikahiki - 1886 (Wall 1886)
Kealaikahiki - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Kealaikahiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Keana a ke Keiki

We possess two known primary sources for this place name; an undated sketch map of Kaho'olawe possibly drawn some time around 1889 (Doc.1126 undated-b), and a 1917 Board of Agriculture and Forestry map with place names added by J. Kauwekane, a native Hawaiian familiar with the island. (Kauwekane 1917a) The earliest of these two maps marks a spot just northeast of "Kea'ila Kahiki cape" (Lae o Kealaikahiki) and labels it "Keana a ke Keiki". (Doc.1126 undated-b) The rough nature of this sketch map makes it impossible, however, to determine what particular topographic feature this name refers to.

On Kauwekane's map, the place name "Keana Keiki" has been penciled in opposite a point along the coast just north of Lae o Kealaikahiki. This point appears to lie at or near the place where the shoreline dips in to the east after running almost directly north from the headland. One possible translation of ke ana is "the cave". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:130, 22) It seems plausible, therefore, that this place name may refer to a (as of yet undiscovered) cave situated along this stretch of coast.

From these two maps, it would appear that "Keana a ke Keiki" was probably the original and more complete version of this place name. With everyday usage "Keana a ke Keiki" became shortened to "Keana Keiki". This process of contraction is not uncommon among traditional Hawaiian place names.

Most maps printed after 1917 attach the place name "Keana Keiki" to the promontory along the coast to the north of Lae o Kealaikahiki. (Motteler 1977a) It has also been used at times to refer to the first of the two broad, white sand beaches which lie north of this promontory. Judging from Kauwekane's map, such usage would appear to be erroneous.

First Mention:
Keana a ke Keiki - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Keana a ke Keiki - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Keana a ke Keiki - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Keana a Keiki - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Keanaake Keiki - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Keana Keiki - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Keana Keiki - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Keanaake keiki - 1925? (Dranga undated)
Ke anakeiki - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Keanaakekeiki - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Keana Keiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Keana Keiki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Keana Keiki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Keana Keiki - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Keanaakekeiki: Cave-of-the-child. Sandy beach on the west coast." (McAllister 1933:57)
**Nathan Napoka:** "Keanakeiki. Ke-ana-keiki, lit. the child's cave." (Napoka 1983:2)

**Malia Lisquara:** "Kean Keiki: cave on the western shore of island; literal meaning is the children's cave." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)
Keone'uli

Geographer Lee Motteler first used the place name "Keoneuli" to refer to the sandy beach at the head of Kanapou bay. (Motteler 1977a) It appears that he obtained this name from the personal papers of Inez Ashdown. In an undated document simply entitled "Kaho'olawe", held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum, Ashdown writes of a fishing shrine which is situated at, "Kanapo'u Bay, e. end of isle on slope south of the sand beach called Keone'uli (Dark sands, or The Land of Uli the sorceress. This is a Ko'a Ku Ula Kai with 2 terraces and low stone walls." (page 1) It would appear from this passage that Ashdown considered "Keone'uli" to be the name for the beach at Kanapou. Her source for this name is unknown.

First Mention:
Keone'uli - undated (*Ashdown undated:1)

Chronology:
Keone'uli - undated (*Ashdown undated:1)
Keoneuli - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Keoneuli - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Keoneuli - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Keone'uli (Dark sands, or The Land of Uli the sorceress."
(From an undated document entitled "Kaho'olawe", held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum)
Kii

The first mention we have of this place name comes from among the notations made by J. Kauwekane on a 1917 map of Kaho'olawe provided to him by the Board of Agriculture and Forestry. (Kauwekane 1917a). Kauwekane's father had been a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe, and he himself appears to have been well acquainted with the island. Kauwekane wrote the name "Kii" above a broad headland on the island's north coast, between O awa palua and Ahu pu iki. All subsequent maps possessing this place name appear to have taken it directly from Kauwekane's map.

The Hawaiian word ki'i, though commonly translated as "image", and often used in connection with wooden images, can also be used to refer to petroglyphs. (Pukui & Elbert 1971:136) In the late 1970s, archaeologists working on Kaho'olawe discovered a number of petroglyphs carved into cliff faces at a small bay half a kilometer east of this headland. (Site 121) It is not known whether this place name was in any way derived from or associated with these petroglyphs.

First Mention:
Kii - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
Kii - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Kii - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kii - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Kii - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ki'i - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Ki'i - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Kii - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Ki'i. lit. take or fetch." (Napoka 1983:2)
Malia Lisquara: "Kii: shore on n. western part of island; literal meaning is the image." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 2)
Inez Ashdown:
Ko'ele

Our only source for this place name is Inez Ashdown who, in a 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett, then military commandant for Kaho'olawe, wrote; "Ko'ele Bay...This comes between Lae Kaka and Lae o Ku-aka-'Iwa or Point where one watches for the 'Iwa Bird's shadow that warns of approaching storms... This Bay was reserved for the chiefs and is next to Kamohio fishing shrine; and the Point across Ko'ele Bay is Lae or Pu'u, Ko-a-e." (Ashdown's Notes to Capt. Crockett, on file in the State Historical Preservation Office:page 5).

Ashdown's description of "Ko'ele Bay" is somewhat confusing, for she first describes it as lying along the island's south coast between Lae o Kaka and Lae o Kuakaiwa. She then goes on to explain that it is next to "Kamohio fishing shrine" (Site 306), which lies within Kamohio bay on the opposite side of Lae o Kuakaiwa. Her further statement that "the Point across Ko'ele Bay is Lae or Pu'u, Ko-a-e."
seems almost to suggest that she is equating "Ko'ele Bay" with Kamohio bay. Since she does not include Kamohio among the place names listed in this letter, it appears possible that in this instance she is using the name "Ko'ele" to refer to the bay she elsewhere speaks of as "Kamohio" (Ashdown 1975 manuscript "Shrines of Kaho'olawe" page 12 in Maui Historical Society) or "Kamohia" (Ashdown undated-b). Where Ashdown obtained this name, and how reliable her source for it may be, is unknown.

First Mention:
Ko'ele - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:5)

Chronology:
Ko'ele - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:5)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Ko'ele Bay. Ko'ele is probably a variety of large tough opihi." (Napoka 1983:2)
Kohola Bay

Among the place names included in a 1977 letter sent by Inez Ashdown to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, is "Kohola Bay". Ashdown places "Kohola Bay" on a list of Kaho'olawe place names attached to the letter, inserting it between "Honokoa Bay" and "Ahupu Bay". She mentions it in conjunction with "Na Lae Kohola", the headlands which she says flank Ahupu bay.

"Na Lae Kohola and Kohola Bay...Here again we see reference to the Whales, and this is said to have been the burial ground for those which die. Sometimes we would find palaoa (ivory) here. We surmised that like the Koloa area of Oahu, whales did die in Kohola Bay, too." (this is taken from page 3 of the list of place names included with the 1977 letter, a copy of which is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)

Since Ashdown makes no further reference to this bay, we have no way of determining its true location. From the placement of "Kohola Bay" within Ashdown's list of place names, it would appear that she may be using this name to refer to Ahupu iki or one of the smaller bays to the west of Ahupu. This, of course, is only speculation. It seems highly unlikely, given Ashdown's penchant for providing confusing and often contradictory information, that we will ever be able to determine whether or not this is indeed a truly traditional name.

First Mention:
Kohola Bay - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:3)

Chronology:
Kohola Bay - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:3)

Previous Translations:
None
Kuheaia ('Ili)
The precise boundaries of this land division are uncertain, but they appear to run from the rim of Lua Moaula seaward to somewhere west of Kuheaia bay, along the coast to the headland which separates Kuheaia from Kaulana, then back inland to the starting point at the crater rim. The borders of this 'ili were first mapped out on a circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe. (Doc.1126 undated-a) On his 1977 map of the island, Lee Motteler provides his own interpretation as to where these boundaries should be.

**First Mention:**
Kuheaia - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

**Chronology:**
Kuheaia - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Kuheaia - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Kuheia

Lying along the island's northern coast just west of Kaulana, this sheltered bay has over the years been known by a greater variety of names than almost any other place on Kaho'olawe. The earliest document we possess which makes reference to it is an 1857 letter from Paul Nahaolelua and Ioane Richardson to Lot Kamehameha containing the report of a survey which they had undertaken on Kaho'olawe. In this letter, the original and an English translation of which are on file at the Hawaii State Archives, Nahaolelua and Richardson write that: "These things are growing at the seashore; at a place called Kuheia, things planted by the old residents. An ohai [monkeypod] tree of mana, 24 feet high and 2 feet in circumference, there is also growing there tobacco, pineapple, laau kau, calabash gourd vine". (Nahaolehua & Richardson 1857:3) In the translation to be found at the Archives this place name has been written as "Kahueia", but on examining the original letter it becomes clear that the name is actually "Kuheia" (although it may possibly have been written as "Kuhei a", the original letter needs to be examined by a native speaker to help resolve this question).

On the circa 1889 sketch map which shows the various place names of the island, this cove appears to have been labeled "Kuhei bay". (Doc.1126 undated-b) Its companion map, however, which names the island's various land divisions, gives the name of the 'ili in which it rests as "Kuheia", thus returning to Nahaolehua and Richardson's version of the place name. The first of these maps also marks the area as possessing a "Landing", suggesting that by this time it had become the center of ranching operations on the island.

The existence of the ranch headquarters at "Kuheia" resulted in the bay being known by a variety of English names. In 1905, the U.S. Navy surveyors from the U.S.S. Patterson referred to it as "Conradt's Cove" after Christian Conradt who held the lease for Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906. (Rhodes 1905) Conradt himself, on his circa 1911 map of the island, called the bay "Kuheia (Conradt's Cove)". (Conradt undated) This ranch period spelling, "Kuheeia", was adopted by Inez Ashdown and as a result of her influence has appeared on many of the modern maps of the island. (Ashdown 1975, U.S.G.S. 1984, etc.)

In a list of place names held among her private papers at the Maui Historical Society and simply entitled "Ashdown... 1948", Ashdown asserts that; "The Bay and area where we had our home, the warehouse, landing, and bunkhouses and blacksmith shop, etc., is Ku-he'e-i'a, where the schools of fish run... Not Kuheia as on maps." Ashdown appears to have learned this version of the place name from Eben Low, who ran the ranch on Kaho'olawe before her father, Angus MacPhee. "This [place name] is misspelled on maps. Uncle Eben Low named his one sampler for it, and he knew language. Kuhe'eia means like "when the fish run"; or if you think another way, "the octopus stands firm [sic] here and drives away the
fish." He'e is to race or run; hee is octopus. Ku is to rise or to stand firmly. I'a is any kind fish."("Kaho'olawe Place Names" on file in the Bishop Museum Archives:page 1)

It would appear that the use of the name "Kuheeia", as opposed to "Kuhei", was initiated during the time that Christian Conradt ran sheep on Kaho'olawe, and that its use was continued by each of the subsequent ranch managers (the name of this bay was recorded as "Kuhei" on a map possibly attributable to T.T. Dranga who visited the ranch in 1925 - Dranga? undated). Despite Ashdown's protestations, "Kuhei" was probably the more traditional form of the name. It was certainly the one known to J. Kauwekane whose father had been a kama'a'ina of the island in the later years of the 19th century. (Kauwekane 1917a)

In more recent times, the bay has been known by the name of another occupant of the ranch. In this case, however, that individual was the ranch foreman rather than its owner. In his book The Beaches of Maui County, John Clark remarks that; "Kuheeia Bay is known to local fishermen as Pedro Bay." (Clark 1989:130) Manuel Pedro was the ranch foreman and sole permanent inhabitant of the island for the last years of the ranching period.

First Mention:
Kuheeia - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)

Chronology:
Kuheeia - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)
Kuhei bay - 1869? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Conradt's Cove - 1905 (Rhodes 1905)
Kuheeia (Conradt's Cove) - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Kuhei B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
? Kaulana Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Kuhei Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kuhei Bay - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Conradt's Cove - 1917 (Iao 1917)
Kuhei Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kuhei - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Kuhei - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kuhei Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kuhei - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Kuhei - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Kuhei - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Conradt's Cove - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Kuhei Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Kuhei - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Kuhei - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Kuhei - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Kuhei - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kuhei Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Kuhei - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Ku Hee ia - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kuheeia Bay - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Kuheeia Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kuhei Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kuhe'ea Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kuheeia Bay - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Kuhea - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Kuheeia Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Pedro's Bay - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:4)
Pedro Bay - 1989 (*Clark, 1989)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Kuheaia: To-shout. Bay on the north coast." (McAllister 1933:57)
Malia Lisquara: "Kuheaia: north central bay and coastal area; literal meaning is to stand entangled." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Ku-he'e-i'a. The harbor bay" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
"Ku He'e-i'a Bay... This Bay of the Squid and fish was where we anchored in Home Harbour, where stood the house, warehouse,; and, mauka, the house for the foreman and the blacksmith shop, etc., used for ranch work... Ku means to anchor, and many other things too. E'IA means here We just called it the changing-color bay where fish and squid (octopus) live." (Ashdown's "Notes for Capt. Crockett" in a letter dated 1977 on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office: page 7)
"Ku-he-e-i-a Bay refers to this action of fish running in all directions with fright." (An unpublished article entitled "Kaho'olawe" held among Ashdown's private papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)
Kuhe'eaia means like "when the fish run"; or if you think another way, "the octopus stands firm [sic] here and drives away the fish." He'e is to race or run; hee is octopus. Ku is to rise or to stand firmly. I'a is any kind fish." ("Kaho'olawe Place Names" on file in the Bishop Museum Archives: page 1)
Kuia Shoal

In September of 1840 the ships of the United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes, dropped anchored in Hawaiian waters. Wilkes' flagship the "Vincennes" remained in Hawai'i until April 1841, exploring and mapping the various islands of the Hawaiian chain. In the last few months of their stay, the man of the Exploring Expedition visited Lahaina, Maui, then residence of the reigning monarch, Kamehameha III. In addition to mapping the Lahaina roadstead which was, at that time, one of the busiest whaling ports in the Pacific, Wilkes set out to chart the rocks and shoals lying off the western end of the island of Kaho'olawe. Lae o Kealaikahiki, once an important landfall for Polynesian voyagers sailing to and from southern Polynesia, was now considered a navigational hazard, for its surrounding shoals posed a danger to ships approaching Lahaina from the Kona coast. In his journal recounting the events of the expedition, Wilkes described this survey.

"It has been mentioned, that on our passage from Hilo we had not found the shoal said to exist off Kahoolawe. Receiving authentic information that it really existed, I determined to send two boats, under the command of Lieutenant Budd and Passed Midshipman May, to seek for and examine it. The king, learning my intentions, volunteered to send his yacht along with them. The yacht and boats set out on this expedition, on the 17th of March, with a pilot who knew the ground.

On the same day we took leave of our kind friends, and at noon got under way and stood for Kahoolawe, to pick up the boats under Lieutenant Budd. Owing to the light wind, we did not succeed in reaching the point till late, where we found the king's schooner and the two boats about to enter upon the examination. We, therefore, lowered all the boats and sent them to search for the shoal. It was soon found, and proved to be much nearer the point of the island than was anticipated. It lies a mile and a half off the point, and has one and a half fathoms of water on it. We fixed bearings, by noting which, it may be avoided. Vessels may pass within two miles of the point with safety; but as it is difficult to estimate the distance, it will be better to pass the point at three miles distance, as nothing is lost by so doing. It is remarkable, that this is the only shoal around the Hawaiian Islands that is hidden from the navigator; and even this is situated so near the land that it can scarcely be deemed dangerous." (Wilkes 1845, Vol. IV:257-58)

In a later publication [check reference] Wilkes refers to these rocks by the name "Kuia Shoal". "The southwest point (Kealaikahiki Point) lies at 156° 42' west longitude, latitude 20° 31' north. A berth of five miles should be given to this point; off it lies Kuia Shoal, 1 1/2 miles distance, on which there is but 1 1/2 fathoms water." (Wilkes 1861:293)
Since Wilkes undertook this survey with the assistance of "a pilot who knew the ground", it seems likely that the name by which he refers to the shoals in his report was the name in common use at that time of his survey, and may well have been the traditional name for these shoals.

**First Mention:**
Kuia Shoal - 1841 (*Wilkes 1861:293)

**Chronology:**
Kuia Shoal - 1841 (*Wilkes 1861:293)
Kuia Shoal - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Ku'ia Shoal - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Ku'ia Shoal - 1989 (Clark 1989:127)

**Previous Translations:**
Malia Lisquara: "Kuia: Shoal, n. Kaho'olawe; literal meaning is obstruction. A shoal is a sandy elevation of the bottom of a body of water." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Ku'ia. Shoal, northern Kaho'olawe...Lit., obstructed." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:120)
Kula o Huina

Our first and only source for this place name is Inez Ashdown who, in an undated (and apparently unpublished article) written some time around 1977, stated that; "In the kingdom of Maui, now the County of Maui since 1905, the places of punishment were Kula o ka maʻo, the central plain of Maui; and the flat named Kula o Huina at Kahua on Kahoʻolawe between Puʻu Moiwi and the Bay of Waikahalulu in the land area set aside as Moʻo-aliʻi." This same passage can be found in her 1979 book Recollections of Kahoʻolawe. (Ashdown 1979:47) At present we possess no evidence, either from traditional narratives or from historical documents, which suggest that this inland area of Kahoʻolawe served as a place "of punishment" during the precontact period.

First Mention:
Kula o Huina - 1977? (*Ashdown undated:1)

Chronology:
Kula o Huina - 1977? (*Ashdown undated:1)
Kula o Huina - 1979 (*Ashdown 1979:47)

Previous Translations:
None
Kunaka ('Ili)
The 'ili of Kunaka appears to encompass the shores of Kamohio bay from about Lae o Kuakaiwa to around Aleale. Its boundaries run inland to meet at the rim of Lua Moaula. The map on which the borders of this land division first appear is a circa 1889 sketch of the island entitled "Kahoolawe is an ahupuaa divided into ilis as per map". (Doc.1126 undated-a)

First Mention:
Kunaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Kunaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Kunaka - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Lae Hanei (or Hanai)

Inez Ashdown includes this name among those mentioned in an undated manuscript entitled "Map and Place Names of Kahoolawe", a copy of which is held at the Maui Historical Society. (page 3) "Lae Hanei (or Hanai)" is listed between "Maka-alae" and "Ahupu", suggesting that it lies along the island's northern coast somewhere between these two points. Ashdown gives no further indication as to its location. The translation which she provides for this name reads; "Adopted point, or point of adoption." We have no way of knowing where Ashdown obtained this name. As far as we know, it does not appear on any maps or in any other documents related to Kahoolawe.

First Mention:
Lae Hanei (or Hanai) - 1970s (*Ashdown undated:3)

Chronology:
Lae Hanei (or Hanai) - 1970s (*Ashdown undated:3)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Lae Hanei (or Hanai) Adopted point, or point of adoption." (from an undated manuscript entitled "Map and Place Names of Kahoolawe", a copy of which is held at the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Lae Hilu Kea

"Lae Hilu Kea" is one of the names which Inez Ashdown gives to the eastern headland of Kuheia bay. The other name which she attaches to this promontory is "Lae Kalama".

In a 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ashdown states that "KuHeeia is Maui side of Ahupu and the 2 lae are Hilukea to East, and Hilu'ula to West." On this same list, Ashdown identifies the western headland of Ahupu bay as "Ka Lama Pt".

On page 3 of her "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe", an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society, Ashdown apparently contradicts her previous statement when she writes, "Ku-he-e-ia.. The harbor bay where our houses stood.. Its arms: Ka-lama point where Kalani is buried; and Lae Olohi'a. They have ko'a."

Which, if either, of these two names is the true name for the point is not known. Lee Motteler, in adding Ashdown's place names to the latest U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe, has chosen to use "Lae o Hilukea". (U.S.G.S. 1984) Our own feeling is that both names are highly questionable.

First Mention:
Hilu kea - 1970s (Ashdown undated)

Chronology:
Hilu kea - 1970s (Ashdown undated)
Lae Hilu Kea - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae o Hilukea - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae o Hilukea - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lae o Hilukea - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Hilukea - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Lae o Hilukea - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Laehilukea. Lae-hilu-kea, lit. white hilu (fish) point. Easternmost point of Kuheia Bay, also the site of a fishing koa or shrine." (Napoka 1983:2)
Inez Ashdown: "Hilu-kea and Hilu'ula, strange quiet.. eery stillness.." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Lae Hilu ula

This promontory appears to bear two names; "Lae Hilu ula" and "Lae Olohi'a", both of which, however, possess somewhat dubious credentials. As with the place names "Olohia" and "Kai Olohi'a", "Lae Olohi'a" appears first in the writings of Inez Ashdown. On page 3 of her "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe", an undated manuscript held at the Maui Historical Society, Ashdown writes, "Ku-he-e-ia... The harbor bay where our houses stood... Its arms: Ka-lama point where Kalani is buried; and Lae Olohi'a. They have ko'a." This quote would seem to suggest that one of the headlands flanking Kuhea bay (possibly the western promontory) was named "Lae Olohi'a". Further evidence for this comes in a letter which Ashdown wrote to in 1977 to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, now on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office. "Out of nowhere, in Ku He'ea Bay, a relative of Jack Aina was killed instantly by a kai pele or tidal wave. Aina did the ceremonies required and the young man was buried on Lae Olohi'a, that Point to the lefthand of the Bay as you enter there. Lae Olohi'a and its Bay of Olohi'a mean Peace and tranquility." (page 3)

In her other writings, however, Ashdown states that "KuHeeia is Maui side of Ahupu'a and the 2 lae are Hilukea to East, and Hilu'ula to West. (Ashdown's 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives). On this same list, Ashdown adds to the confusion by identifying the western headland of Ahupu bay as "Ka Lama Pt" (which she had elsewhere mentioned as the eastern promontory of Kuhea bay). Given these discrepancies, it is practically impossible to determine which if either of these is the proper name for the promontory.

In preparing his maps of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler has chosen to accept the names of these two promontories as given in Ashdown's 1976 list of place names, with a slight modification, referring to them as "Lae o Hilu'ula" and "Lae o Hilukea". (Motteler 1983)

First Mention:
Lae Hilu ula - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)

Chronology:
Lae Hilu ula - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Hilu'ula - 1975 (*Ashdown 1976)
Lae Olohi'a - 1970s? (*Ashdown undated:3)
Lae Olohi'a - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:3)
Lae Olohi'a - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae o Hiluula - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lae o Hilu'ula - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Hilu'ula - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Laeolohia - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)
Lae o Hiluula- 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Laehilu'ula. Lae-hilu-'ula, lit. red hilu (fish) point. Westernmost point of Kuhea Bay, also the site of a fishing ko'a or shrine." (Napoka 1983:2)
"Laeolohia. Lae-olohia, lit. point where the water ebbs and flows." (Napoka 1983:3)

Inez Ashdown: "Hilu-kea and Hilu'ula, strange quiet.. eery stillness.." (Ashdown: "Map And Place Names Of Kahoolawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

"Lae Olohi'a and its Bay of Olohi'a mean Peace and tranquility." (in 1977 to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, now on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office: page 3)

"The opposite arm of the bay [Kuhea], to the westward is Lae Olohi'a...Olohi'a, in this case, refers to trouble there because of unpredictable waves which sometimes crash toward the shore like a Kai o Pele or tidal wave caused by under-ocean volcanic activity." (Ashdown 1979:47)
Lae o Halona

The southern headland of Kanapou bay appears to bear the name "Lae o Halona". Reference to this name can be found on the Hawaii Government Survey map of Maui produced in 1886 (Wall 1886). Among the place names which have been added to this map in pencil at some unknown date is "Halona Pt.", written in at the southern tip of the broad fishhook of Kanapou. A similar name is provided by the circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe (Doc.1126 undated-b), which refers to this headland as "Halona cape".

Our only significant variation from this name is provided by Christian Conradt, who on his circa 1911 map of Kaho'olawe labels the feature "Kanapou Pt." (Conradt undated).

It is not until Kenneth Emory's map of 1916, however, that we encounter the full Hawaiian name of "Ka Lae o Halona", which roughly translates as "the point of Halona" (Emory 1916). We do not know whether Emory heard this version of the place name from a local informant, or whether he took it upon himself to "Hawaiianize" the name.

Beginning with the publication of the first U.S. Geological Service map of Kaho'olawe in 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926), we find the "Ka" ("The") dropped from "Ka Lae o Halona", leaving us with the name as we have it today.

First Mention:
Halona cape - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Halona cape - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Kanapou Pt. - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Halona Pt. - 1913 (Forbes 1913)
Halona Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Halona cape - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kanapou Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Ka Lae o Halona - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Halona Pt. - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Halona Cape - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Halona Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lae o Halona - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lae o Halona - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Lae o Halona - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Lae o Halona - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Halons[?] Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lae o Halona - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Lae o Halona - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Lae o Halona - undated (Ashdown undated)
Halona Pt. - undated (Ashdown undated)
Lae o Halona - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae o Halona - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Halona - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Halona Pt. - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lae o Halona - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lae o Halona - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Halona - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lae o Halona - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Lae o Halona: Cape-of-Halona. Cape south of Kanapou bay on the east coast (Halona: Useless-water-trough)." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Laehalona. Lae-o-halona, lit. vista point, or peering point." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Lae o Halona: point s. east area; literal meaning is the peering place." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'oiawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Lae Halona. Place of peering" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Halona...Point, southeast Ka-ho'olawe...Lit., peering place." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:39)
**Lae o Honokoa**

The earliest name we possess for the eastern headland of Honokoa bay is "Hanakoa Pt". This name appears among those provided by Christian Conradt, who ran stock on Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906. (Conradt undated) Despite his familiarity with the island, Conradt's place names are often slightly at variance with those provided by other more knowledgeable sources. In this instance he seems simply to have replaced the word "Hono" with "Hana", an understandable change considering that both can be translated as "bay" (see Hanakania above).

J. Kauwekane, writing in 1917, uses the more accepted, and probably the more traditional, form of the name, giving it as "Lae o honokoa". (Kauwekane 1917a) This spelling has been retained by every subsequent map maker with the exception of Inez Ashdown, who gives the name as "Lae Hono kou". (Ashdown: undated-b) Her reasons for this are unknown.

**First Mention:**

Hanakoa Pt - 1911? (Conradt undated)[?]

**Chronology:**

Hanakoa Pt - 1911? (Conradt undated)[?]
Honokoa Pt - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Honokoa Pt - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Lae o honokoa - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Lae o Honokoa - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Lae o Honokoa - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Honokou Pt - 1970s? (Ashdown undated-a)
Lae Hono kou - 1970s (Ashdown undated-b)
Lae Hono kou - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Lae Hono Kou (or Koa) - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Honokoa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae o Honokoa - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lae o Honokoa - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Honokoa - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Lae o Honokoa - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**

**Nathan Napoka:** "Honokoa Bay also Honokoa Point and Hanakoa Point. Hono-koa, lit. brave bay." (Napoka 1983:1)

**Malia Lisquara:** "Honokoa: point and bay, s. western shore; literal meaning is brave bay and point." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)

**Inez Ashdown:** "Hono-koa Point and Hono-kou Bay (ko-u) To look in all directions from the ko'a" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

"Lae Hono-Ko'u where the idea is to look in all directions lest evil befall". (from page 3 of a list of place names included in Ashdown's 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett, a copy of which is in the files of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)

**Pukui, Elbert & Mookini:** "Honokoa... Bay and point, Kaho'olawe... Lit., brave bay." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:49)
Lae o Kaka

The southern tip of the peninsula which forms the southeastern corner of Kaho'olawe bears the name "Lae o Kaka". This name first appears on a circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe which seems to have been drafted with the assistance of someone familiar with the island. (Doc.1126 undated-b) Two other early maps, however, label this cape as "Halona Pt.". On the first of these, the name has been roughly pencilled in near the lower end of the peninsula. (Wall 1886) The pencilled names which appear on this map are, in several cases, mislocated, and the possibility exists that this name was also slightly misplaced. In preparing the 1911 Hawaii Territorial Survey map of Kaho'olawe, G. Podmore seems to have made the same (apparent) mislocation, assigning the name "Halona Pt." to the island's southeastern tip. (Podmore 1911) We possess abundant evidence to suggest that "Lae o Halona" marks the northern, and not the southern, tip of this peninsula. (see Lae o Halona) Subsequent maps prepared with the assistance of individuals familiar with Kaho'olawe, such as J. Kauwekane (Kauwekane 1917a), give the name of this southeasternmost as "Lae o Kaka".

Variations from this name occur in the maps of J.F.G. Stokes (Stokes undated-b, Stokes undated-c & Stokes 1917), who appears to have simply perpetuated the mistake initiated by Podmore, and Kenneth Emory who seems to have misspelt the name as it appeared on the circa 1889 map. (Emory 1916). A similar error mars the penciled additions to the 1929 U.S. Geologic Survey map of the island. (Unknown undated) The unknown author of these additions appears to have copied them from a copy of Kauwekane's 1917 map. (Kauwekane 1917b) On this first copy the name of the point has been spelt "Lae o Kaku ?a", indicating that whomever transcribed the names had difficulty reading Kauwekane's handwriting. The unknown author of the second map chose to accept the first (misspelt) version of the name, changing the printed wording on his map to read "Lae o Kaku". This perpetuation of simple spelling errors reveals the dangers inherent in relying too heavily on the names found on a map without first investigating that map's origins.

Our most recent alternative to "Lae o Kaka" can be found among the modifications added by Inez Ashdown to the map in Gilbert McAllister's Archaeology of Kaho'olawe, a copy of which can be found in the Bishop Museum Archives. (Ashdown undated) Among the changes made by Ashdown is the addition of "Koko" after the printed name "Lae o Kaka". Ashdown explains this alteration in a 1976 manuscript list entitled "Kahoolawe Place Names", which is also kept at the Bishop Museum Archives. On this list she notes that; "Halona area goes on to what now is spelled Lae o Kaka but we called Lae Koko because of two reasons. 1= Blood flows when childbirth occurs; and 2, when King Kalanopuu (Kalaniopu'u) did his
bloody work at Kaupo etc he and his warriors also killed people and did other sins here."

We know from historic accounts (Fornander 1969:II:156 and Kamakau 1961:89) that around 1778 the warriors of Kalaniopu'u, ali'i nui of the island of Hawai'i, raided on the island of Kaho'olawe. Where they landed, however, is not known. It seems unlikely that Kalaniopu'u’s troops would have chosen the rugged cliffs of Lae o Kaka as their point of attack.

In an undated letter to "Angus", also held at the Museum Archives, Ashdown again refers to, "Lae o Kaka", the place where the men watched for the right current, and swam to Molokini and on to Maui. It is also referred to as Lae o Koko, in regard to that headland appearing bloody. Ka'ka' pronunciation means Point where the sea breaks angrily and dashes over the forehead of the island." In reference to Ashdown's statement that "Lae o Kaka" was "the place where the men watched for the right current, and swam to Molokini and on to Maui", see the above note concerning Kaohoe.

It would appear that, although Ashdown and her family may have referred to this point as "Lae o Koko", most of those familiar with the island knew it as "Lae o Kaka".

**First Mention:**
Halona Pt. - 1886? (Wall 1886)

**Chronology:**
Halona Pt. - 1886? (Wall 1886)
Lae o Kaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Halona Pt. - 1911 (Podmore 1911)
Lae o Kaka - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Halona Pt - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Halona Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Lae o Kaka - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Lae o Kaka - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Halona Pt. - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Lae o Kaka - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Lae o Kaka - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Lae o Kaku?a - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Lae o Kaka - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kaka Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lae o Kaka - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lae o Kaka - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kaku - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Lae o Kaka - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Lae o Kaka - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Lae o Kaka - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kaka Pt - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lae o Kaka - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Lae o Kaka - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Koko - undated (Ashdown undated)
Lae o Kaka - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae o Kaka - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Kaka - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kaka Pt - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lae o Kaka - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Kaka - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**

*Lahilahi Webb*: "Lae o Kaka: The-cluster-of-capes. Cape on the southeast coast of the island. Probably refers to three points that jut into the water within a distance of 1000 feet." (McAllister 1933:57)

*Nathan Napoka*: "Laeokaka. Also called Kaka, Lae-o-kaka, lit. point of the hewing. Also called Halona." (Napoka 1983:3)

*Malia Lisquara*: "Kaka: point and land area s. east area; literal meaning is to hew (shape)." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

*Inez Ashdown*: "Lae o Kaka.. To strike, as a baked breadfruit to remove, flay, the skin" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

"Halona area goes on to what now is spelled Lae o Kaka but we called Lae Koko because of two reasons. 1= Blood flows when childbirth occurs; and 2, when King Kalanopuu (Kalaniopu'u) did his bloody work at Kaupu etc he and his warriors also killed people and did other sins here." (Ashdown’s 1976 manuscript list entitled "Kahoolawe Place Names", on file at the Bishop Museum Archives)

"Lae o Kaka', the place where the men watched for the right current, and swam to Molokini and on to Maui. It is also referred to as Lae o Koko, in regard to that headland appearing bloody. Ka'ka' pronunciation means Point where the sea breaks angrily and dashes over the forehead of the island." (Ashdown’s undated letter to "Angus", held at the Bishop Museum Archives)


Lae o Kalama

On her annotated copy of McAllister's 1933 map of Kaho'olawe (Ashdown undated), Inez Ashdown links the place name "Ka Lama Pt." to the western promontory of what she refers to as "Ka Lama", the sand fringed bay east of Makaalae. (see O awa palua) In her 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", however, a copy of which is kept at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ashdown remarks that; "There are 2 lae (Points) at Ahupu... Ka Lama Pt is to the south side of Ahupu and the other Pt is Na Kohola (The whales) or Ke Ala Kohola".

No mention of the place name "Ka Lama Pt." has yet been found on any earlier maps. Given the absence of such supporting evidence, it is impossible to determine which, if either, of Ashdown's statements is correct.

In adding place names to his various maps of Kaho'olawe published in the late 1970s and early 80s, Lee Motteler has followed Ashdown's 1976 statement, identifying the western headland of Ahupu bay as "Lae ka Lama"

First Mention:
Ka Lama Pt. - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)

Chronology:
Ka Lama Pt. - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Lae o Kalama - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae ka Lama - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae ka Lama - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Laekalama. Lae-ka-lama, lit. torch point." (Napoka 1983:3)
**Lae o Kaule**

At the northern end of Kanapou bay stands a steep and rocky headland. From the seaward end of this promontory there extends a thin tongue of stone, from which rises a large natural monolith. This promontory appears to have been known since ancient times as "Lae o Kaule". Our first reference to this place name comes from a circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe which appears to have been drafted with the assistance of someone intimately familiar with the island. (Doc.1126 undated-b) On this map, the point is referred to as "Kaule cape".

We encounter this name again in a handwritten document presently on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (HI. K.8) Written in Hawaiian, this manuscript possesses neither author's name nor date, though it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of this document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also rests in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) A section of this manuscript lists the fishing grounds ("Na Ko-a lawaia") of Honuaula, Maui. Among the physical features used to locate these fishing grounds are prominent landmarks on the island of Kaho'olawe, one of which is "Ka lae o Kaule", "Ka lae o Kaule", "the point of Kaule", and "ka pali o Kaule", "the cliff of Kaule", are mentioned in three distinct passages in this document.

"III. Keahua is another. The sands of Nihomole is one of its landmarks, when it appears to be at Pahee-o-Lono Point at Molokini on the eastern side of the island. That is the upper mark. Pohaku-olu is the other mark, close to Kaule Point ("Ka lae o Kaule") at Kohe-o-Hala, the blowhole, that is the lower mark."

"IV. Kalawa is another fishing ground. The sand of Nihomole is one of its landmarks. When it appears on the left hand side of Pahee-o-Lono Point at Molokini that is the upper mark. When the ridge on the eastern side of Kalawa Point, on the southern side of the hills of Kaka appear close to the cliff of Kaule ("ka pali o Kaule), that is its lower landmark."

"V. Pohaku-ula is another fishing ground. The stone called Pohaku-ula is one of its landmarks. When it appears on the southern point of Molokini, at Pahee-o-Lono that is the upper mark. When the hills of Kaka appear over Kaule Point ("Ka lae o Kaule"), that is the lower landmark."

Subsequent map makers have used these same names (or variations of them; "Ka Ule Cape" (Stokes 1917), "Lae o Kaule" (Kauwekane 1917a), "Ule Pt." (L.M.Z. undated), etc.) to refer to this promontory. To date only two alternatives to this place names have been offered, both by contemporary authors.

In one of her private letters held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum, Inez Ashdown refers to. "Lae o ka ule (sometimes called Pohaku ule because it's a rock off shore, standing in the sea". (from an undated letter to "Angus")
She uses this name on her 1977 sketch map of Kaho'olawe where she labels the promontory "LAE And POHAKU ULE". It is obvious from this notation that Ashdown feels the monolith itself should be referred to as "Pohaku Ule", while the point is "Lae o ka Ule". The use of the name "Pohaku ule" appears to be restricted to Ashdown and Lee Motteler who adopted that name from her. (*Motteler 1983:4)

In his annotated list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", Nathan Napoka writes that Lae o ka Ule was "also called Laeovanahaoa; or phallic stone point." (Napoka 1983:3) He does not, however, state his source for this name. Considering the recent, and somewhat uncertain, origins of these alternate names, it seems safest to fall back on what appears to be the most traditional name for this point, "Lae o Kaule".

**First Mention:**
Kaulu cape - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

**Chronology:**
- Ka lae o Kaule - undated (*HI. K.8)
- Ka lae o ule - 1917? (Conradt undated)
- Kaule cape - 1912? (Stokes undated-a)
- Kaule cape - 1917? (Stokes undated-c)
- Kaule (lae) - 1916 (Emory 1916)
- Ka Ule Cape - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
- Lae o Kaule - 1917 (Kauweke 1917a)
- Lae o kaule - 1917 (Kauweke 1917b)
- Kaule Cape - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
- Ule Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
- Lae o Kaule - 1929? (Unknown undated)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
- Ule Pt. - 1954 (L.M.Z. undated)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1970s? (Tax Key 1970s?)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
- Lae and Pohaku Ule - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
- Ule Pt. - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
- Ule Point - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
- Laeovanahaoa - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
- Pohaku Ule - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
- Lae o ka Ule - 1984 (U.S.G.S., 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Lahilahi Webb: "Lae o ka Ule: The-projecting-cape. Cape on the eastern coast (Ule: Penis)." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Laeokaule. Lae-o-ka-ule, lit. cape of the penis also called Laeonanahoa; or phallic stone point." (Napoka 1983:3)

Malia Lisquara: "Laeoka Ule: point, n. east area; literal meaning is point of the penis." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 1)

Inez Ashdown: "Lae o ka ule.. Male private parts" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kahoolawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 3)

Kohe o Hala means the female-organ of generation producing abundantly; ule is the male organ of reproduction. La'e is a land-point, or a forehead.

Lae o Kealaikahiki

"Lae o Kealaikahiki" is probably the most well known of Kaho'olawe's place names. It is also the first of the island's place names to have found its way onto a map. The reasons for this are two fold. The name "Lae o Kealaikahiki" refers to the westernmost tip of Kaho'olawe, whose rocky shoals were known and avoided by western navigators as early as Captain Cook.

"At ten we discovered several patches of shallow water, for stood right before the wind in order to avoid them, after which we resumed our former course again. This shoal-water was occasioned by a spit or bank, which ran in a S.W. direction from a small island called Kaowra'vee [Kaho'olawe], nearly adjoining to Moe'whee [Maui]." (Ellis 1969:II:123-4)

In the earlier precontact period, however, "Lae o Kealaikahiki" possessed a very different navigational significance. At the time when large, double-hulled sailing canoes still undertook the long voyage between Hawai'i and the islands of southern Polynesia, "Lae o Kealaikahiki" served as an important navigational mark and guide post.

The adjoining channel running between Kaho'olawe and Lana'i also bears the name "Kealaikahiki". Its name has commonly been translated as "the pathway to Kahiki" or "the pathway to distant lands" (ke "the", ake "path", i "to", Kahiki "any foreign country" - Pukui & Elbert 1971:130,15,87,104). This is because, in those ancient times, vessels sailing west through this channel were borne along by its swiftly flowing current and given a gentle push to start them on their journey southward. "Lae o Kealaikahiki" was therefore their departure point on this journey. The promontory also served as the arrival point for many canoes traveling up from the south. As historian Abraham Fornander tells us, "... in the time of Ku Nui Akea, came Tahiti nui from Tahiti and landed at Ka-la-e-i-Kahiki (the southwest point of Kahoolawe, a cape often made by people coming or going to Tahiti." (Fornander 1919-1920:VI:281)

Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore is scattered with references to legendary voyagers who arrived at or took their departure from Lae o Kealaikahiki. The same is true for the writings of other early historians such as David Malo (Malo 1951:7) and Samuel Kamakau (Kamakau 1991:112). It is not surprising, therefore, that when, in the 1830s, the students of Lahainaluna seminary set out to draft the first locally produced maps of the Hawaiian islands they identified the westernmost tip of Kaho'olawe as "L. Kealaikahiki". (Kalama 1834)

The "L." found on this and other Lahainaluna maps is probably an abbreviation of the Hawaiian word lae which means "Cape, point, promontory." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:175) The name as taken from these maps could thus be read "Lae Kealaikahiki". Although Fornander gives us the alternate form "Ka-la-e-i-Kahiki", he is the only author to do so. All
other early maps or documents, including those written in Hawaiian (Ka Lahu'i Hawai'i 12/23/1875:p.2, c.2), use some form of "Kealaikahiki".

We first encounter the form "Ka lae o Kealaikahiki" in a handwritten document presently on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (Hi. K. 8) Written in Hawaiian, this manuscript possesses neither author nor date, though it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of this document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also rests in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) A section of this manuscript lists the fishing grounds ("Na Ko'a lawaia") of Honu'aia, Maui. Among the physical features used to locate these fishing grounds are prominent landmarks on the island of Kahoolawe, one of which is "Ka lae o Kealaikahiki".

IX. Na-ia-a-Kamahalu is another one. When Hoaka, which is in the upland of Kahoolawe on the western side appear to be in line with the cape of Ke-ala-i-kahiki ("o Hoaka pili alai uha o Kahoolawe ma ka a aoa[?] o Komohana i uka pono o Ka lae o Kealaikahiki,"), that is the upper mark. When the hill of Keoneoio appears to be in line on the seaward side of Puu-olai, that is the lower landmark."

Interestingly, it is another Hawaiian document, also concerned with fishing grounds and fishing traditions, A.D. Kahuaulelio's "He Mau Kuhikihi No Ka Lawaia Ana" published in the Hawaiian language newspaper Nupena Kuo Koa from February 28th 1902 to July 4th 1902 (a typescript of the original text, as well as a translation into English by Mary Pukui, are preserved in the Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes Collection at the Archives of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum), which gives us an alternative name for the point. When listing the visible landmarks which formed the limits of the deep sea fishing grounds lying between Lanai, Kahoolawe, Ukumehame and Lahaina on Maui, Kahuaulelio mentions "the cape of Paki (the same as the cape of Kealaikahiki) on Kahoolawe" (the original Hawaiian reads "ho lo pololei a ka Lae o Paki (oia ka Lae o Kealaikahiki) ma Kahoolawe"). (Kahuaulelio 1902:17 - 14 in the Hawaiian; March 7, 1902)

It would appear from this statement that "Lae o Paki" was an alternate name for "Lae o Kealaikahiki". We find "Lae Paki" listed among the place names added to the 1886 Hawaii Government Survey map of Kahoolawe. (Wall 1886) It has been written in just above "Kealaikahiki", possibly indicating that it is another name for that point.

The origins of this name are unclear. Inez Ashdown states that; "Some claimed Lae Paki was named for the time Kalanihelema'iluna Paki went from Kohala to Oahu on his surfboard to plot the war strategy for his cousin, the great Pai'e'a Kamehameha I who restored peace by 1810. I always had doubts about this because Paki went from Kohala to Keawa-kapu on Maui, and then to Hanauma Bay on Oahu, and it seems far out of course to travel over to the s.w. tip of Kanaloa (Kahoolawe). (from Ashdown's list of place names sent
to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy in 1977, a copy of which rests in the files of the Hawaii State Historical Preservation Office:page 2. Whether or not this is true cannot at present be determined. It is hoped that more information, particularly from oral traditions, may be forthcoming to help elucidate the origins of this name.

Despite the existence of this alternate name, "Kealaikahiki" appears to have remained the dominant and most commonly used name for the island's southwestern tip. On the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe the name appeared as "Lae o Kealaikahiki". (U.S.G.S. 1926) This has been the generally accepted form in use ever since. The spelling of this name as it appears on the most recent U.S. Geological Survey map, "Lea o Kealaikahiki", is obviously a misspelling. (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**First Mention:**
L. Kealaikahiki - 1834 (Kalama 1834)

**Chronology:**
L. Kealaikahiki - 1834 (Kalama 1834)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1836 (Kalama 1836)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1839 (Kapohoni 1839a)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1839 (Lahainaluna 1839)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1839? (Lahainaluna undated)  
C. Kealaikahiki - 1840 (A.B.C.F.M. 1840)  
Ke-ala-i-Kahiki - 1840s (*Malo 1951:7)  
 Kealaikahiki Pt. - 1841 (Wilkes 1841)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1843? (Lahainaluna undated)  
Cape Kealaikahiki - 1843 (Lahainaluna 1843)  
L. Kealaikahiki - 1843? (Lahainaluna undated)  
Cape Kealaikahiki - 1843 (Dibble 1843)  
C. Kealaikahiki - 1843 (Wyld 1843)  
C. Kealaikahiki - 1843 (Arrowsmith 1843)  
Ka-laie-i-Kahiki - pre 1887 (*Fornander 1919-1920:VI:281)  
Kealaikahiki - 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii 12/23/1875:p.2, c.2)  
Kealaikahiki - 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii 12/30/1875:p.4, c.2)  
Ka lae o Kealaikahiki - undated (HI. K.8)  
Kealaikahiki Pt - 1876 (Giles 1876)  
Kealaikahiki Pt - 1886 (Wall 1886)  
Lae Paki - 1886 (Wall 1886)  
Lae i Kahiki cape - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated)  
Lae o Paki - 1902 (*Kahauluelio 1902:17)  
Lae o Kealaikahiki - 1902 (*Kahauluelio 1902:17)  
Lae o Kealaikahiki - 1902 (*Kahauluelio 1902:29)  
Kealaikahiki - 1902 (*Alexander 1902:375)  
Kealaikahiki Pt - 1905 (Rhodes 1905)  
Kealaikahiki Point - 1905 (Pratt 1905)  
Kealaikahiki Pt. - 1906 (Newton 1906)  
Kealaikahiki Point - 1911 (Podmore 1911)  
Kealaikahiki Pt. - 1913 (Forbes 1913)  
Kealaikahiki - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:F:) [?]  
Kealaikahiki Pt - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)  
Kealaikahiki Cape - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)  
[?] Kealaikahiki cape - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Kaelaiahiki Point - 1917 (Iao 1917)
[?]Lae Paki - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
[?]Kaelaiahiki Point - 1925? (Drang undated)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1933 ("McAllister 1933:58)
[?] 1939 (Bryan 1939)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kealaakahiki Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kealaakahiki Pt - 1970s? (Ashdown undated-a)
Ke ala i Kahiki - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Lae Keala-I-Kahiki - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a) [?]
Kealaakahiki Pt. - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1983 ("Motteler 1983:5)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Lae o Kealaakahiki - 1984 (Motteler 1984)

*Previous Translations:*

David Malo: "When Kila was grown up he in turn sailed on an expedition to Tahiti, taking his departure, it is said, from the western point of Kahoolawe, for which reason that cape is to this day called Ke-ala-i-kahiki (the route to Tahiti).(Malo 1951:7)


Nathan Napoka: "Kealaakahiki also called Lae o kealaakahiki. Ke-ala-i-kahiki, lit. the way to foreign lands." (Napoka 1983:2)

Malia Lisquara: "Lae o Kealaakahiki: point, west area; literal meaning is the point of KealaiKahiki." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

Inez Ashdown: "Ke-ala-i-kahiki, the road to, or from, Kahiki, the horizon or a far off place. Point named by Hawaii-loa, and also the name of the channel between Kahoolawe and Lanai." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
"Lae Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (The lane to and from the horizon. Kahiki is horizon, not necessarily Tahiti.)" (Ashdown's 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, a copy of which can be found at the Hawaii State Historical Society: page 2 of her place name list) Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Lae-o-Kealaakahiki. Point, west Ka-ho'olawe. Lit., point of Ke-ala-i-Kahiki."(Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:127)
Lae o Kuakaiwa
This place name first appears on the circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe found in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) Since this document is only a rough sketch map of the island, we cannot be certain exactly what physical feature the name refers to, but from its relative position it would appear to belong to the eastern headland of Kamohio bay.

On his 1917 map of Kaho'olawe, J. Kauwekane identifies this same headland as Lae o Kamohio. (Kauwekane 1917a) All subsequent maps appear to have taken the name for this point from one of these two sources. It is impossible at this time to say for certain which of these two names is the more correct. The possibility exists that both were in use by the inhabitants of the island.

On her 1975 sketch map of the island, Inez Ashdown follows the example of earlier maps and writes the name "Lae o K aka iwa" next to the promontory marking the eastern headland of Kamohio bay. (Ashdown 1975a) On her 1977 sketch map, however, she attaches the name "LAE o KUAKAIWA" to a promontory which she has drawn halfway between Lae o Kaka and the eastern headland of Kamohio bay. (Ashdown 1977) Her reasons for this change are unknown.

First Mention:
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Chronology:
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
? Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Lae o Kamohio - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Lae o Kamohio - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Lae o Kuauhina - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kuakaiwa Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Lae o Kamohio - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kuakaiwa Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Lae o Ku aka iwa - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kuakaiwa Pt. - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lae o Kuakaiwa - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Lae o Kuakaiwa: point, s. central area; possible meaning is point of the ninth generation." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Lae o Ku-aka-iwa, Point of the Iwa bird shadow" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Lae o Kukui

Lae o Kukui forms the northernmost tip of the island of Kaho'olawe. In early maps and documents this promontory is referred to alternately as "Kuikui" or "Kukui". This may be explained by the fact that "kuikui" is an "Old form for kukui, candlenut, light (commonly used on Niihau)." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:161) Native Hawaiian speakers familiar with the island (Kahauelio 1902:17 and Kauwekane 1917) use the term "Kukui" and it is for this reason that Lae o Kukui has been chosen here as the slightly preferable form. In actuality it is probable that both pronunciations may have been used in referring to this feature.

First Mention:
Kuikui Pt. - 1886? (Wall 1886)

Chronology:
Kuikui Pt. - 1886? (Wall 1886)
Lae o Kukui - 1902 (*Kahauelio 1902:17)
Kukui Pt. - 1911 (Podmore 1911)
Kui Kui Pt. - 1911? (Conrad undated)
Kuikui Pt. - 1913 (Forbes 1913)
Kuikui Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kuikui Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Kuikui Pt. - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kuikui Pt. - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Lae o Kukui - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Lae o Kukui - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kuikui Point - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Kuikui Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lae o Kukui - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lae o Kukui - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Lae o Kukui - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Lae o Kukui - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Lae o Kukui - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Lae o Kukui - 1935 (*Coulter 1935:76)
[?] - 1939 (Bryan 1939)
Lae o Kukui - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kuikui Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lae o Kukui - 1970s? (Tax Key undated)
Lae o Kukui - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae o Kukui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Cape Kuikui - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lae o Kukui - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Kukui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lae o Kukui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lae o Kukui - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Lae o Kukui: Cape-of-the-pounding-(surf)-or-strongly-blowing-(winds)." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Laekokukui also called Kuikui Point. Lae-o-kukui, lit. point of light. (kuikui is a variant of kukui, candlenut or light)." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Lae o Kukui: point, n. east area; literal meaning is point of the candlenut or light." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

Inez Ashdown: "On the opposite side of Hakioawa is Lae o Kukui which may have had Kukui trees at some time, but in this case refers to Light and Intelligence from the Wana'a (Dawn) of Inspiration." (Ashdown, 1977, Letter to Capt. Crockett)

"Lae o Kukui.. Point og [sic.] Light" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Lae-o-kuikui. Point, northeast Ka-ho'olawe. (Kuikui is a variant of kukui, candlenut or light.)" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:127)
Laeokukui (Fishing Ground)
"Laeokukui" is to be one of the hundred or so "ku-kaula" fishing grounds (fishing grounds of "from 50, 60 to 70 fathoms deep" - Kahaulelio 1902:19) lying between Lanai, Kahoolawe and Maui, which are listed by A.D. Kahaulelio in his series of articles in the Hawaiian language newspaper Nupepa Kuo Koa. (Kahaulelio 1902:28) Ku-kaula was a type of long line fishing used to catch ulaula, opakapaka, aholehole, hahanui and ukikiki. (Kahaulelio 1902:19) Given the name of this fishing ground, It seems reasonable to suggest that "Laeokukui" was situated somewhere off Lae o Kukui on Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Laeokukui - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Chronology:
Laeokukui - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:28)

Previous Translations:
None
Lae o Mano
We know of only one map on which this place name appears, a sketch of Kaho'olawe drawn in 1975 by Inez Ashdown and included in a letter to Jane Silverman. (Ashdown 1975a) The rough nature of Ashdown's map makes it difficult to be certain exactly which physical feature is being referred to. It appears, however, that the name "Lae o Mano" applies to the western headland of Kamohio bay. It is not know from what source Ashdown learned this name.
First Mention:
Lae o Mano - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Chronology:
Lae o Mano - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Previous Translations:
None
Lae o na Kohola

"Lae o na Kohola" is the name given by Inez Ashdown to the two headlands which flank the bay of Ahupu. Among the annotations she has added to her copy of Gilbert McAllister's Archaeology of Kaho'olawe (a copy of which is on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum) is the notation; "The 2 Lae here are na Lae o Kohola or whale". (Ashdown undated) Ashdown clarifies this statement on her 1977 sketch map of the island with the note; "2 lae at ahupu are Kohola, na lae Kohola". (Ashdown: 1977)

In the list of place names which accompanied this map (sent in a 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett) Ashdown included not only "Na Lae Kohola", but "Kohola Bay". Her reference to these names reads; "Na Lae Kohola and Kohola Bay...Here again we see reference to the Whales, and this is said to have been the burial ground for those which die. Sometimes we would find paleoa (ivory) here. We surmised that like the Koloa area of Oahu, whales did die in Kohola Bay, too." (this quote has been taken from page 3 of the list of place names included with the 1977 letter, a copy of which is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)

In her 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", however, a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ashdown contradicts these statements by remarking that; "There are 2 lae (Points) at Ahupu...Ka Lama Pt is to the south side of Ahupu and the other Pt is Na Kohola (The whales) or Ke Ala Kohola because the whales going to "Hanaka naia" (as it now is spelled) is where the calves are born on that beautiful white sand beach and the Naia (Porpoise) guard the whales from sharks and other dangers."

No other earlier maps or documentary sources provide names for the two promontories which flank Ahupu bay.
Ashdown is our only source for these. Her own confusion, however, as to which of the names she provides is the true name for each headland cannot help but cast a shadow of doubt on the authenticity of all the names she suggests.

In compiling his various maps of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler has followed Ashdown's 1976 statement, labeling the western promontory of Ahupu "Lae ka Lama", and its eastern headland "Lae o Na Kohola". First Mention: na Lae o Kohola - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)

Chronology:
na Lae o Kohola - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Na Lae Kohola - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
na lae Kohola - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae o Na Kohola - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae o na Kohola - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lae o Na Kohola - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae o Na Kohola - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Lae o Na Kohola - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
lit. the point of the whales. Names for the two outermost points of Ahupu Bay." (Napoka 1983:4)

Inez Ashdown: "Na Lae Kohola and Kohola Bay...Here again we see reference to the Whales, and this is said to have been the burial ground for those which die. Sometimes we would find palaoa (ivory) here. We surmised that like the Koloa area of Oahu, whales did die in Kohola Bay, too." (From the list of place names included in Ashdown's 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett, a copy of which is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office: page 3)
Lae Paki

Although early maps and documentary sources appear to support A.D. Kahuaulelio's assertion that; "the cape of Paki [is] (the same as the cape of Kealaikahiki) on Kahoolawe" (Kahuaulelio 1902:17; March 7, 1902), later authors have attempted to place it elsewhere. In his list of Kahoolawe place names, Gilbert McAllister refers to "Lae Paki" as a "Cape on the west coast." (McAllister 1933:57). McAllister may have misread earlier maps and assumed that the two names, "Lae o Kealaikahiki" and "Lae Paki", refer to two different physical features.

Inez Ashdown appears to have made the same mistake, thinking that because the name "Lae Paki" was written in directly above "Kealaikahiki" on Wall's 1886 map, it referred to a place along the coast to the north of that point. (Wall 1886) On her various sketch maps of Kahoolawe drawn, for the most part, in the 1970s, Ashdown attaches this place name to a headland situated roughly midway between Kaukaukapapa and Honokoa.

Lee Motteler follows Ashdown's example and, on the various maps to which he has contributed, assigns the place name "Lae Paki" to a point along the island's northwest coast.

Considering what we know from Kahuaulelio and other reliable sources, it would appear that the "Lae Paki" marked so definitively on the most recent U.S. Geological Survey map of the island (U.S.G.S. 1984) is a fabrication, and that the name more correctly belongs to the island's western tip.

First Mention:
Lae Paki - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)

Chronology:
Lae Paki - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
Lae Paki - undated (Ashdown undated)
Lae Paki - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae Paki - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Lae Paki - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lae Paki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lae Paki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lae Paki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Lae Paki - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Lae Paki: The-cape-that-dashes-to-pieces (probably because of the shattering of the water). Cape on the west coast." (McAllister 1933:57)
Nathan Napoka: "Laepaki. Lae-paki, lit. point where the water splashes." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Lae Paki: point on west coast of island; literal meaning is point of the splashing." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)
Inez Ashdown: "Lae Paki (pa and ki, or spitting chewed coconut to calm the sea... (To calm wild passions.)" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

"Some claimed Lae Paki was named for the time Kalanihelema'iluna Paki went from Kohala to Oahu on his surfboard to plot the war strategy for his cousin, the great Pai'ea Kamehameha I who restored peace by 1810... I always had doubts about this because Paki went from Kohala to Ke-awa-kapu on Maui, and then to Hanauma Bay on Oahu, and it seems far out of course to travel over to the s.w. tip of Kanaloa (Kaho'olawe). (from page 2 of Ashdown's list of place names sent to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy in 1977, a copy of which rests in the files of the Hawaii State Historical Preservation Office)"
Laepaki (Fishing Ground)

This name comes to us from the writings of A.D. Kahaulelio, a native of Maui who fished the waters around Kaho'olawe for much of his life. In 1902 Kahaulelio published a series of articles in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Nupoea Kuokoa* which he entitled "He Mau Kunikuhi No Ka Lawai Ana". (*Ka Nupoea Kuokoa* from February 28th 1902 to July 4th 1902, a typescript of the original text, as well as a translation into English by Mary Pukui, are preserved in the Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes Collection at the Archives of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum). In these articles Kahaulelio described the various deep sea fishing grounds which lay in the waters between Maui, Lana'i and Kaho'olawe. Among these was a fishing ground he referred to as "Laepaki".

"The fishing ground called Laepaki (Kealaikahiki) is five miles distant [another possible translation is "five miles further"; previous to this Kahaulelio has been speaking of fishing grounds which lie "From Launiupoko to Papawai Point"], from fifteen to twenty fathoms deep, that is the shallowest one. Three miles straight out, on the seaward side of Laepaki we used to fish. It is only fifteen fathoms deep. The sea floor and the fish swimming to and fro are plainly visible and that is one of the most productive of the three [deep sea] fishing grounds of Kahoolawe." (Kahaulelio 1902:30; April 4, 1902)

[the original Hawaiian reads; "a o kela koa lawai'a o Laepaki (Kealaikahiki) he mau mile 5 ka mamao, he 15 a 20 anana ka hohonu, a ola paha kahi papau loa holo pololei i kai, he e kolu mile ka mamao mawaho oia Laepaki a makou i lawa'ia ai, he 15 wale no anana ka hohonu, a he ikeia iho no ka papaku olalo, a me ka i'a i ka holoholo ae, a o ke pookela ia o ka i'a o na koa lawai'a ekolu o Kahoolawe." (Hawaiian text, page 25)]

Judging from Kahaulelio's previous statement mentioning "the cape of Paki (the same as the cape of Kealaikahiki) on Kahoolawe" (Kahaulelio 1902:17; March 7, 1902 - see Lae o Kealaikahiki), it would appear that the fishing ground of "Laepaki" most probably lay three miles off the westernmost tip of Kaho'olawe. This ground would have been used for Ku-kaula fishing, a type of long line fishing used to catch ulaula, opakapaka, aholehole, hahanui and ukikiki. (Kahaulelio 1902:19)

**First Mention:**
Laepaki - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:30*)

**Chronology:**
Laepaki - 1902 (*Kahaulelio 1902:30*)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Lua ka Ulua (Fishing Ground)

Among the notations which Inez Ashdown has added to her personal copy of Gilbert McAllister's 1933 map of Kaho'olawe, is the note, "Lua ka Ulua deep sea area for fishing". (Ashdown undated) On this map, Ashdown locates this deep sea fishing ground off the north coast of Kaho'olawe in the waters to the northwest of Kuheia bay. In her 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", however, a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ashdown states that; "There are 2 lae (Points) at Ahupu. The sea along this coast is called as Lua ka ulua with [sic], on the 2 points having 1 ko'a each, point to the deep sea fishing off here." This passage would seem to suggest that "Lua ka Ulua" lay closer to Ahupu bay.

Lee Motteler, on his 1977 map of the island, places "Lua ka Ulua" off the coast north of O awa palua. (Motteler 1977a) On a later map he moves it to a spot off the coast about half way between Ahupu and Kuheia. (Motteler 1983) Ashdown provides us with no indication as to what type of fishing was conducted at "Lua ka Ulua", though one might assume that ulua were the primary fish caught there.

First Mention:
Lua ka Ulua - 1970s (Ashdown undated)

Chronology:
Lua ka Ulua - 1970s (Ashdown undated)
Lua ka Ulua - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lua ka Ulua - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lua ka Ulua - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
None
Lua Kealia Lalo

This place name refers to a broad but shallow crater which lies in the western interior of the island. It first comes to us from among the place names provided some time around 1911 by Christian Conradt, who three years before had held the lease on the island of Kaho'olawe. (Conradt undated) Conradt refers to this caldera as "(crater) Kealia Lalo". This can be roughly translated as "lower Kealia", distinguishing it from "(crater) Kealia muna" (probably a misspelling of "luna" or "upper Kealia"). This distinction of upper and lower "Kealia" has been continued on most maps down to the present day. The only major variant on this name, "Kealialolo Crater", found on the circa 1925 map of the island (Dranga? undated), appears to be a spelling error. On many of these later maps the term "Lua" has also been added to identify the feature as a crater.

Our one known local source for this name, J. Kauwekane, refers to the crater simply as "Kealia wai" (Kauwekane 1917a), suggesting that at one time the crater held water, something we know from documentary sources to have been true as late as the 1930s. (Stearns 1940:130) Although we have used here the most commonly encountered form of this place name, "Lua Kealia Lalo", there is an argument to be made for replacing it with Kauwekane's "Kealia wai".

First Mention:

(crater) Kealia Lalo - 1911? (Conradt undated)

Chronology:

(crater) Kealia Lalo - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Crater Kealia Lalo - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kealia wai - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Kealia wai - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kealialalo Crater - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Lua Kealialalo - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lua Kealialalo - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lua Kealialalo - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kealia wai - 1929 (Unknown undated)
Lua Kealialalo - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Lua Kealialalo - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Lua Kealialalo - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kealialalo Crater - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lua Kealialalo - 1977 (Motteler 1977a) [?]
Kealialalo Crater - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lua Kealialalo - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lua Kealialalo - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Lua Kealialalo - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:

Lahilahi Webb: "Lua Kealialalo: The-pit-of-the-low-swampy-
land. Depression in the west central part of the island." (McAllister 1933:58)

Nathan Napoka: "Luakealialalo, Kaalia. Lua-ke-alia-lalo, lit.
west salt pond. Also known as Pu'ukahua." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Lua Kealia-lalo; land section with a pit in west central area; literal meaning is the lower pit of the salt encrustation." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "Kealia-luna and Kealia-lalo refer not to salt marshes but to li'a or yearning which the "lost spirits" feel in their state of remorse and despair while awaiting forgiveness." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

Lua Kealia Luna

This volcanic crater, which rests on the northeastern slope of Puu o Moaulanui, is one of two such craters on Kaho'olawe bearing the name Kealia. The second lies towards the western end of the island, and is commonly known as Lua Kealia Lalo.

While one of our primary local informants, J. Kauwekane, referred to this feature simply as "Kealia" (Kauwekane 1917-a), most other sources use the term "Kealialuna", "upper Kealia", in order to distinguish it from "Kealialalo", "lower Kealia".

It seems probable that the name found on Christian Conradt's circa 1911 map, "Kealia muna", is simply a misspelling of "Kealia luna", but of this we cannot be altogether certain. (Conradt undated)

Although Kauwekane (Kauwekane 1917a) is probably our most reliable source for this place name, we have chosen not to use his "Kealia", but have retained the use of the suffix "luna", as have the majority of recent maps, in order to help distinguish between the two similarly named craters. We have also adopted the use of the descriptive "Lua" ("crater") to identify the type of physical feature referred to. This decision is a questionable one and should be subject to change if necessary.

First Mention:
(crater) Kealia muna - 1911? (Conradt undated)

Chronology:
(crater) Kealia muna - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Kealia - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Crater Kealia Luna - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kealia Luna - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Kealia - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Lua Kealialuna - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lua Kealialuna - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lua Kealialuna - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Kealia - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Lua Kealialuna - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Lua Kealialuna - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Lua Kealialuna - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Kealialuna Crater - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Kealia - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Kealia - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lua Kealialuna - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kealialuna Crater - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lua Kealialuna - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lua Kealialuna - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lua Kealialuna - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lua Kealialuna - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:

Malia Lisquara: "Lua Kealialuna: Land section with a pit, in the n. eastern area; literal meaning is the upper pit of the salt encrustation." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "Kealia-luna and Kealia-lalo refer not to salt marshes but to li'a or yearning which the "lost spirits" feel in their state of remorse and despair while awaiting forgiveness.." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

Lua Keaualalo

Among the names which Inez Ashdown added to her personal copy of Gilbert McAllister's 1933 map of Kahoolawe is "Keua lalo" which she places somewhere north of Pu'u o Moaulanui, possibly using it to refer to Lua Kealia Luna. (Ashdown undated) On a 1975 sketch map of the island, Ashdown uses a somewhat similar name, "Kea ula lalo", placing it in approximately the same location. (Ashdown 1975a) In 1977, on a map sent to Captain Crockett of the U.S. Navy, she labels roughly this same area as "Kea'ua Lalo". (Ashdown 1977) This 1977 map, however, also contains the place name "Kealia" (for Lua Kealia Luna?), making it unclear exactly what physical feature the name "Kea'ua Lalo" refers to.

In providing place names for the 1982 Defence Mapping Agency map of Kahoolawe, Lee Motteler appears to have taken Ashdown's name, added the identifier "Lua" and attached it to a small crater on the opposite side of the island, just southwest of Lua Kealia Lalo. (D.M.A. 1982) Why he has done this is not altogether clear. It would almost seem as if Motteler, faced with an overabundance of place names in the northeast corner of Kahoolawe, borrowed some of these names and attached them to unnamed features in the island's western third. Needless to say, such unsubstantiated juggling of place names can only result in inaccuracy and confusion, particularly when the name in question appears on the current government authorized map of Kahoolawe. (U.S.G.S. 1984)

First Mention:
Keaua lalo - undated (Ashdown undated)

Chronology:
Keaua lalo - undated (Ashdown undated)
Kea ula lalo - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kea'ua Lalo - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lua Keaualalo - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lua Keaualalo - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Lua Keualuna

On one of Inez Ashdown's sketch maps of Kaho'olawe, which she sent in a 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, appears the place name "KEA'UA UKA". (Ashdown 1977) Ashdown has written this name just above "MOA'ULA-IKI", and it is not clear what physical feature the name refers to.

When helping the Defence Mapping Agency to compile their 1982 map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler took this name, and altering it to read "Lua Keualuna", moved it across the island to the site of a small depression immediately west of Lua Kealia Lalo. (D.M.A. 1982) Motteler's reasons for doing this are unknown. Given this somewhat dubious history, it would seem best to treat this place name with a goodly degree of caution.

First Mention:
Kea'ua uka - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Kea'ua uka - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lua Keualuna - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
None
Lua Moaula

This place name refers to the caldera of Pu'u o Moaulanui, the remnant shield dome volcano which originally formed the island of Kaho'olawe. (Stearns 1940:144-6:Fig.30-34) At present, the most commonly used name for this crater is "Lua Makika".

The earliest reference we have to the crater of Pu'u o Moaulanui is from a map of Kaho'olawe drawn some time around 1889 on which the caldera is labeled "Moaula pit (lua)". (Doc. 1126 undated-b) Since this is, at present, the oldest name we possess for the crater, it has been tentatively accepted as the most traditional.

The name "Lua Makika", which translates literally as "mosquito pit" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:135), appears, like the mosquito, to be a post-contact introduction. Mosquitoes are not native to the Hawaiian islands, but were introduced some time in the early 1800s. The name "Lua Makika" does not appear on maps of the island until some time around 1925, well into the ranching period. (Dranga? undated) At that time the crater was known to occasionally hold standing water, particularly after a heavy rain. Such standing water would have served as a breeding ground for mosquitoes, a characteristic which appears to have given the crater its name. Inez Ashdown remarks that; "When the rain water was deep and stayed a long time the Lua Makika (Mosquito Hole, literally) lived up to these names." (this quote is taken from page 7 of a 1977 letter to Capt. Crockett, a copy of which is presently held in the files of the Hawaii State Historical Preservation Office)

Despite her talk of standing water and mosquitoes, Inez Ashdown's has elsewhere argued that the name "Lua Makika" is of ancient origin. In an undated manuscript entitled "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe", held at the Maui Historical Society, Ashdown explains that; "Makika.. Refers to a blight but usually is translated as Mosquito hole. Lua means many things other than pit or hole. In this case the reference is to spirits; ma, to gathering; and ki-ka to humble or lowly. Here is the Plain where spirits not observant of the Kanawai Akua have to wait a helpful 'aumakua who will take the spirit to eternal award after its "purgatory." (page 2)

In another reference, this time in a 1960 letter to Mary Kawena Pukui, Ashdown refers to; "Ma-Ki-ka, leader of the opelu-fishing men. Ma, as he and his company." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society:page 6) Neither of these translations appears very convincing. This is particularly true since, as is often the case, Ashdown's definitions would seem to contradict each other. Does "Makika" refer to a gathering of humble spirits, or was it the name of the fisherman? Ashdown's documented unreliability leads us to believe that it was probably neither.
In his 1983 paper "Place-Name Research On Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler indicates that Ashdown was not the only one to accept an ancient origin for the name "Lua Makika". "Further controversy that Makika means "mosquito" and is therefore a recently introduced name has apparently been rejected, and the 'Ohana [the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana] now prefers Lua Makika to another suggested variant (Lua Moa'ula) for the crater itself." (Motteler 1983:4) Motteler does not, however, provide any explanation as to why the translation of "Makika" as "mosquito" was rejected.

At present there appears little substantial evidence to suggest that the place name "Lua Makika" dates from the pre-contact period. As a result, we have chosen to refer to the caldera of Pu'u o Moaulanui as "Lua Moaula" rather than "Lua Makika".

**First Mention:**
Moaula pit (lua) - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

**Chronology:**
Moaula pit (lua) - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Moaula pit - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kaluamakika Crater - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Lua Makikoe - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Lua Makika - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Lua Makika - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Lua Makika - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Lua Makika - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Lua Makika - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Lua Makika - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Lua Makika - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Lua Makika - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Lua Makika - 1970s? (Tax Key undated)
Makika - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Makika - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Lua Moaula - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Lua Makika - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Makika Crater - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Lua Makika - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
Lua Makika - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Lua Makika - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Lua Makika - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Lua Makika - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
Lahilahi Webb: "Lua Makika: Mosquito-hole (modern). Depression in the east part of the island." (McAllister 1933:58)

Nathan Napoka: "Lu makika. Lua-makika, lit. mosquito pit. The highest point on Kaho'olawe 1,477 feet high." (Napoka 1983:3)

Malia Lisquara: "Lua Makika: the highest point, 1,477 ft. hi., on the island, is the eroded remnant of the crater of a shield volcano; literal meaning is the misquito pit." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from
Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "Makika... Refers to a blight but usually is
translated as Mosquito hole. Lua means many things other
than pit or hole. In this case the reference is to spirits;
ma, to gathering; and ki-ka to humble or lowly. Here is the
Plain where spirits not observant of the Kanawai Akua have to
await a helpful 'aumakua who will take the spirit to eternal
award after its "purgatory."" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of
Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical
Society: page 2)

"Ma-Ki-ka, leader of the opelu-fishing men. Ma, as he and
his company." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated
27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at
the Maui Historical Society: page 6)

Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Lua-makika. The highest point
(1,477 feet) on Ka-ho'olawe, the eroded remnant of the crater
of a shield volcano. (MacDonald and Abbott 377.) Lit.,
mosquito pit." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:135)
Makaalae

We possess only one known original source for this place name. That is the 1911 Hawaii Territorial Survey map of Kaho'olawe to which place names have been added by Christian Conrad at some unknown date. (Conrad undated) Conrad had held the lease of Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906, and therefore might be assumed to be somewhat familiar with the island. His place names, however, are often at slight variance with those provided by native sources such as J. Kauwekane. In this case, neither Kauwekane nor any of our other reliable sources make mention of "Makaalae". It appears first on Conrad's map. As a result, there exists the possibility that this name may date from the ranching period. All subsequent maps to include the name, with the possible exception of (L.M.Z. undated), appear to have taken it either directly or indirectly from Conrad. Inez Ashdown (Ashdown undated), and later Lee Motteler (Motteler 1983), attempt to break down the name into what they believe to be its component part. We do not, however, possess any direct evidence to support such a break down.

First Mention:
Makaalae - 1911? (Conrad undated)

Chronology:
Makaalae - 1911? (Conrad undated)
Makaalae - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Makaalae - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Makaalae - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Makaalae Pt. - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Makaalae - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Makaalae - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Makaalae - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Makaalae - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Makaalae Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Makaalae - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Makaalae - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Maka alae Pt. - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Lae Maka alae - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Lae Maka alae - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Maka'alae - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Makaalae - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Makaalae - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Maka'alae - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Maka'alae - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Makaalae - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Maka'alae: coastal area on n. west shore of island; literal meaning mudhens eyes."(from a manuscript list
of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)

**Inez Ashdown:** "Maka-alae, or Mudhen bird Point..." (Ashdown "Map and Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)

**Pukui, Elbert & Mookini:** "Maka-'alae. Area on northwest Kaho'olawe...Lit., mudhen's eyes." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:139)
Makakilo
The first and only mention we have of this place name is on a sketch map drawn by Inez Ashdown and attached to a letter she wrote in 1977 to Captain C. Crockett, then the Naval commander on Kaho'olawe. (Ashdown 1977). On this map, Ashdown has written the name "MAKAKILO" just inland of the bay of Hakioawa. A note referring this place name rests in the upper right corner of the map. It reads; "1 MAKAKILO, 2 MAKALII, 2 structures for Stars & astronomy". We have yet to encounter this place name on any other maps or documents related to Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Makakilo - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Makakilo - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
Makalii
This place name is first encountered on a 1977 map held among the private papers of Inez Ashdown. The map was attached to a letter Ashdown wrote to Captain C. Crockett, then the ranking Navy officer on Kaho'olawe. On this map, the name "MAKALII" has been written in on the slopes to the southwest of Hakioawa bay. A barely legible note tuck ed up in the right hand corner of the map reads; "1 MAKAKILO, 2 MAKALII, 2 structures for Stars & astronomy". No other maps or written accounts appear to mention this place.

First Mention:
Makalii - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Makalii - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
Naalapa ('Ili)

Sandwiched between the 'ili of Kanapou to the north and Kunaka to the west, this land division comprises the southeastern corner of the island of Kaho'olawe. Though its boundaries are indistinct, it appears to stretch from the southern cliffs of Kanapou bay down and around the coast almost to Lae o Kuakaiwa. Its inland borders run back to the rim of Lua Moaula. Naalapa first appears on an undated sketch map drawn some time around 1889 which bears the legend "Kahoolawe is an ahupu'a divided into ili as per map". (Doc.1126 undated-a) Lee Motteler includes "Naalapa" among the 'ili shown on his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Naalapa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Naalapa - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Naalapa - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Na Ko'a Lua (Fishing Ground)

This place name comes to us from a 1977 sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn by Inez Ashdown and attached to a letter she wrote to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, who was at that time the officer in charge on the island. On this map, Ashdown shows two "KO'A" (fishing shrines) resting one at either end of "KANAPOU BAY". The first lies to the north near "LAE and POHAKU ULE", the second to the south about half way along the coast between the head of the bay and "LAE o HALONA" which marks the bay's southern headland. From each of these "KO'A" a dotted line extends out into the waters of the Alalakeiki channel. These lines meet at a point labeled "apex of NA KO'A LUA". This would appear to be an offshore fishing ground, for the Hawaiian word ko'a means both "Shrine" and "Fishing grounds". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:144)

Such offshore fishing holes were usually located by triangulating from two points along the shore, often these points were marked with small fishing shrines. This seems to be what Ashdown is suggesting here, that the two ko'a at either end of Kanapou bay were used to locate a fishing ground situated offshore about halfway between them. The name for this fishing ground would appear to be "NA KO'A LUA". This name, however, which translates roughly as "the fishing ground hole", may have been more of a descriptive term rather than a true place name. None of our other sources of traditional fishing lore related to the island make mention of this offshore ko’a. On her map, Ashdown marks the location of three other similar offshore fishing grounds, one off the southeast end of the island, one off Kamohio bay and one off Hana Kanaia. None of these others, however, are given names.

First Mention:
Na Ko'a Lua - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Na Ko'a Lua - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
Na One 'lua

The only reference we have to this place name is from a 1977 sketch map of Kaho'olawe sent by Inez Ashdown in a letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy. (Ashdown 1977) Along the left hand edge of this map has been written the note; "2 white sand beaches are Na One 'lua". An arrow extends from this note to a spot on the south coast of Kaho'olawe just west of Hana Kanaia. The rough nature of the sketch makes it impossible to determine the precise location of these "2 white sand beaches", but it would appear that Ashdown is referring to the two stretches of sand which lie towards the western end of Hana Kanaia bay.

First Mention:
Na One 'lua - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Na One 'lua - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
O awa palua

On the north coast of Kaho'olawe, between Makaalae and Kii, lies a sand fringed bay fed by two roughly parallel gulches. Over time this bay has been assigned a number of different names by different maps. The most reliable of these, however, appears to be "O awa palua".

Our first reference to this bay comes from a circa 1911 map annotated by Christian Conradt. (Conradt undated) Conradt, who ran stock on Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906, identifies the bay as "ahupu'i ki". Given what we know from other sources, Conradt appears to have mislabeled the bay, mistaking it for one situated further east along the coast. (see Ahu pu iki)

On one of his undated map of Kaho'olawe, drawn, we assume, sometime around 1913, J.F.G. Stokes follows Conradt's example and identifies the bay as "Ahupuiki Bay". (Stokes undated-c) On another of his undated maps, Stokes initially gives this bay the name "? Kalama B", but later crosses out that name and moves it further west along the coast. (Stokes undated-b) Stokes then relabels the bay "Ahupu B.". Again, given what we know from other sources, this name appears to be erroneous.

Our only really reliable name for this bay comes from among the place names added to a Board of Agriculture and Forestry map by J. Kauwekane. (Kauwekane 1917a) Kauwekane is known to have been "very well acquainted" with Kaho'olawe, and as a result the names he provides are treated here as accurately reflecting the place names in use during the late 1800s. Kauwekane assigns the name "O awa palua" to this bay and gulch. The possible translation of this name ("oawa, "valley" and palua, "double, twofold" - Pukui & Elbert 1971:253,288) seems to correspond well with the area's physical features.

First Mention:

ahupu iki - 1911? (Conradt undated)

Chronology:

ahupu iki - 1911? (Conradt undated)
? Kalama B. - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Ahupu B. - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Ahupuiki - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Ahupuiki Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Ahupuiki Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
O awa palua - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Oawa palua - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Ahupuu Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Oawa palua - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Ka Lama - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Oawa palua - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
'Oawapalua - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:

Nathan Napoka: [?] "'Oawapalua. 'Oawa-palua, lit. double gulch. (Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Oawapalua: land area next to Kii; literal meaning is the two passages." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho’olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "O-a wa pa llua, the bloody lei, trampled into the earth wa, forever, or for eternity. A chief was beheaded here. His name was Palua, which meant he could have mana, or spiritual power, to halt spirits. If you are polite and respectful when you see him, he keeps the kuoua, or mischievous spirits, from harming you." (Ashdown’s letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
O awa panini

To the west of Kuheia lies a sheltered bay which J. Kauwekane on his 1917 map of Kaho‘olawe refers to as "O awa panini" (Kauwekane 1917a). Since "Panini" is the Hawaiian name for the introduced prickly pear cactus (Opuntia megacantha) (Pukui & Elbert 1971:314), it seems likely that this place name dates from the early historic period. Panini was first noted as growing on Kaho‘olawe in 1850 (Perkins 1854:158-168) and thus would have been present on the island during Kauwekane's boyhood. Since panini is also the name for, "A variety of sweet potato" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:315), there exists some possibility that the name dates from an earlier period.

In her 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ashdown refers to this bay as "Kai Olohia", stating that; "KuHeeia is Maui side of Ahupu‘a and the 2 lae are Hilukea to East, and Hilu‘ula to West. The little gulch to west of Heeia is Olohia so we also called that tiny bay as Kai Olohia. It means tranquil, or a place where you accept your trials in life and commune with God for acceptance & peace of mind." As a preface to this list, Ashdown has written, "Place names on Kahoolawe (according to list sent; plus what was taught to me from 1908 at Ulupalakua and 1916 by Eben Parker Low, Louis von Tempski and Jack Aina and other paniolo." This would seem to suggest that "Kai Olohia" may have been the commonly used name for the bay during the late ranching period. Whether it has more traditional roots is at present unknown.

As almost always seems to happen, however, Ashdown's other writings appear to contradict, or at least confuse, this initial statement. Not more than a year later, in a letter to Captain C. Crockett, who was naval commander on Kaho‘olawe at that time, Ashdown wrote; "Kai Olohia, where the windmill and well and water trough were, and where we built a 5,000 gallon tank. We would fill the sampan with water at Kihei, Maui, and before dawn when all was calm and no wind, run in there as close as we could, then pump the water out of the hold into the tank. This kept us from needless worry regarding drought etc.. A kai-Pele (tidal wave) destroyed the well of long standing and killed one of our men. He is buried on Loe Olohia." (this letter is on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)

In this statement, Ashdown appears to be confusing the three bays of "Kai Olohia" (which, as far as we know, possessed no ranch structures), Ahupu‘a (where there once stood a windmill and well - Stearns 1940:130), and the bay east of Kaulana (where Ashdown's father built a water trough and two 10,000 redwood tanks to hold water shipped over from Maui - Stearns 1940:129). With this degree of confusion as to the location of the ranch structures which existed on Kaho‘olawe during her childhood, it is difficult to put much trust in Ashdown's memory for place names and their locations.

First Mention:
O awa panini - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

**Chronology:**
O awa panini - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Oawa panini - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Oawa panini - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Kai Olohia - 1970s (Ashdown undated-a)
Kai Olohia - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Kai Olohia - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
'Oawapanini - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

**Previous Translations:**
Nathan Napoka: ""Oawapanini. 'Oawa-panini, lit. cactus (Opuntia Megacartha) gulch. (Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Kai Olohia: bay n. cental [sic] area; literal meaning is tranquil sea."(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kah'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lissquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "The little gulch to west of Heeia is Olohia so we also called that tiny bay as Kai Olohia. It means tranquil, or a place where you accept your trials in life and commune with God for acceptance & peace of mind." (Ashdown's 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives: page 1)
"Kai Olo hia or tranquil sea (peace of mind - acceptance)" (Ashdown undated-a)
"Olohi'a refers to the bay's name, fish surfing and going in all directions"(Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kah'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
"Oawapanini, Pa-ni-ni, where the last lava flow turned the earth to liquid, the liquid lava of eternity. Wahine ai'a can never die, and she visits there with Ka-mo'o-ali'i, her brother." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
O awa wahie

"O awa wahie" appears to be the name of a small bay which lies just south of Hakioawa and is usually strewn with tangles of driftwood. J. Kauwekane, who is our primary source for this name (Kauwekane 1917a), was a native Hawaiian whose father had been a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe. Kauwekane seems to have been quite knowledgeable about the island and may well have grown up on Kaho'olawe. There appears every reason to look upon Kauwekane as a reliable source of traditional place names for the island, or at least of place names as they were known to the native inhabitants of Kaho'olawe in the latter half of the 19th century. In 1917, Kauwekane added the name "O awa wahie" to a map supplied him by the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, attaching it to the bay just south of Hakioawa. (Kauwekane 1917) Subsequent maps which make mention of "Oawa wahie" all appear to have taken Kauwekane as their source.

This bay is identified somewhat differently on maps produced by two other individuals. One of these, J.F.G. Stokes, visited Kaho'olawe in 1913. On at least two of his sketch maps of the island, he identifies this bay as "Hakioawa". It is apparent from reading his field notes (on file at the Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3 .15 & .16), however, that Stokes simply mislocated this place name, mistaking the bay of O awa wahie, which appears so prominently on the map, for nearby Hakioawa. A similar mistake appears among the names added to a copy of the 1917 Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry map. (Dranga? undated) Among these names, which may have been supplied some time around 1925 by T.T. Dranga, is "Hakioawa Bay", which has again been written in at O awa wahie. Dranga (or whoever added these names) also identified this bay as the site of a "Heiau". Since the heiau to which he is referring stands on the cliff above the bay identified by Kauwekane as "Hakioawa", it seems probable that, like Stokes, Dranga was also misled by the map.

First Mention:
O awa wahie - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
O awa wahie - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Oawa wahie - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Oawa wahie - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Oawawahie - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
'Oawawahie - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Oawawahie - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "'Oawawahie. 'Oawa-wahie, lit. firewood gulch." (Napoka 1983:4)
Inez Ashdown: "O-a-wa-wa-hi'e.. The bitter desolation of nothing to eat but wood, referring to the starvation for eternity O-a-wa-wa-hie." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Olohia

In her 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives, Inez Ashdown states that; "KuHeeia is Maui side of Ahupu and the 2 lae are Hilukea to East, and Hilu'ula to West. The little gulch to west of Heeia is Olohia so we also called that tiny bay as Kai Olohia. It means tranquil, or a place where you accept your trials in life and commune with God for acceptance & peace of mind." As a preface to this list, Ashdown has written, "Place names on Kahoolawe (according to list sent; plus what was taught to me from 1906 at Ulupalakua and 1916 by Eben Parker Low, Louis von Tempski and Jack Aina and other paniolo." The above quotation would seem to suggest that the name "Olohia" may have been used during the late ranching period to refer to the gulch immediately west of Kuheia. Whether this name has more traditional roots is at present unknown. Another, very different, name for this gulch and its adjoining bay has been provided by J. Kauwekane. On his 1917 map of Kaho'olawe, Kauwekane has identified the bay to the west of Kuheia as "O awa panini". This name, however, may also be of historic origin. (see O awa panini) At present we are unable to say what the traditional name for the bay and gulch may have been.

First Mention:
Olohia - 1976 (*Ashdown 1976:1)

Chronology:
Olohia - 1976 (*Ashdown 1976:1)
Olohia Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Olohia Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "The little gulch to west of Heeia is Olohia so we also called that tiny bay as Kai Olohia. It means tranquil, or a place where you accept your trials in life and commune with God for acceptance & peace of mind." (from Ashdown's 1976 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", a copy of which is held at the Bishop Museum Archives)
Pali

The place name "Pali" appears on only two maps of Kaho'olawe. The first, and obviously the source of this name, is that copy of the 1911 Hawaii Territorial Survey map of the island which includes "Names by C.C. Conradt". (Conradt undated) On this map, the word "Pali" has been written in beneath the line of cliffs stretching from Lae o Kaka to Lae o Kuakaiwa. Conradt, it will be remembered, held the lease for Kaho'olawe and ran livestock on the island from 1903 to 1906.

On one of his undated sketch maps of Kaho'olawe (Stokes undated-c), J.F.G. Stokes includes "Names in Ink furnished by C.C. Conradt to Bureau of Forestry & Agriculture". These place names correspond with those found on Conradt's map. Among the names Stokes includes is "Pali". He clarifies the use of this place name when, above the name "Pali", he writes "General Name from Puu Koae to Hakiawa".

Since the Hawaiian word pali means "Cliff" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:287), it would appear that the name "Pali" may have been used as the generic term for the steep cliffs which guard Kaho'olawe's southern and eastern shores. Whether this was a term of convenience adopted during the ranching period, or a much older and more traditional name is not known.

First Mention:
- Pali - 1911? (Conradt undated)

Chronology:
- Pali - 1911? (Conradt undated)
- Pali - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)

Previous Translations: None
Pali o ka Lapa Kea

We possess two early sources for this place name. Both are among the most reliable we have for the island of Kaho'olawe. The first (Doc.1126 undated-b) gives this name as "Pali o Kalapakea". The second (Kauwekane 1917a) refers to it simply as "Lapa Kea". The way in which the core of this name has been broken down on Kauwekane's map suggests that the more extended or elaborate version might be written as Pali o ka Lapa Kea. It is this version of the name which we have accepted for use here.

Down through the years there have been a number of variations in this name. Most appear to be the result of the misreading of earlier maps. On Emory's 1916 map of Kaho'olawe, the name of this place appears as "Pali o Kalaupakea". Since all but one of Emory's names are taken directly from Doc.1126, it seems likely that this is simply a misspelling. We can be somewhat less certain in judging Ashdown's variations on the name; "Pali o Kalapa" (Ashdown undated-a), "Pali o Kalapu" (Ashdown 1975) and "Pali o Ka Lapa (Ashdown 1977)". The internal inconsistencies which exist between Ashdown's names cast a shadow on their accuracy.

In his 1983 manuscript list of "Kaho'olawe Place Names", Nathan Napoka refers to this area as Lapakea or "Paliolapakea", citing (Kauwekane 1917a) and (Stokes 1917). (Napoka 1983:3) As has been noted, Kauwekane employs the term "Lapa Kea", while Stokes (copying from Doc.1126) uses "Pali o Kalapakea". Neither source uses the name "Paliolapakea", which appears to be simply a misreading on Napoka's part.

First Mention:
Pali o Kalapakea - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
- Pali o Kalaupakea - 1916 (Emory 1916)
- Lapa Kea - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
- Lapa Kea - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
- Lapa Kea - 1929? (Unknown undated)
- Lapa Kea - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:57)
- Pali o Kalapa - undated (Ashdown undated)
- Pali o Kalapu - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
- Pali o Ka Lapa - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
- Pali o Kalapakea - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
- Pali-o-lapa-kea - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Lapakea also Paliolapakea. Pali-o-lapa-kea, lit. cliff of the white ridge." (Napoka 1983:3)
Inez Ashdown: "La-pa (accent on last syllable) (not lapa, ridge)... It was here that the heat of the sun was held... Paa... because your vision becomes blurred with mirages from the shimmering heat." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
Papaka ('Ili)
The circa 1889 map of the "ahupuaa" of Kaho'olawe shows the 'ili of "Papaka" as lying to the west of the 'ili of "Kaulana". (Doc.1126 undated-a) However, on almost every other map of Kaho'olawe that we possess, including the companion to this circa 1889 map (Doc.1126 undated-b), Papaka bay is shown as resting to the east of Kaulana bay. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the author of the "ahupuaa" map may have made a mistake and reversed the positions of these two 'ili. As a result of this reversal, one cannot be certain as to the precise boundaries of the 'ili of "Papaka", but it would appear to include the watersheds of the two gulches lying east of Kaulana.

In marking this traditional land division onto his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler has divided the 'ili of "Papaka" in half, separating it into the 'ili of "Papakanui" and "Papakaiki". (Motteler 1977a) There is no historic precedent for this split, and one can only wonder as to the reasoning behind Motteler's decision.

First Mention:
Papaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Papaka - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Papakanui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Papakaiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Previous Translations:
None
Papaka

This place name poses a bit of a problem. On the circa 1889 map of the island, the name "Papaka bay" has been written opposite a mark on the island's northeast coast somewhere between "Kaulana bay" and "Waiaiki Bay". The lack of detail on this map, however, makes it impossible to tell exactly which bay this name refers to.

Our next reference to it appears on a 1911 map of the island to which names have been added by Christian Conradt, the former owner of the Kahoolawe Ranch. (Conradt undated) Conradt places the name "Papakanui" next to a bay on the northeast coast, two sandy bays east of Kaulana. When J. Kauwekeane, a native Hawaiian familiar with Kaho'olawe, inscribed names onto a map given him by the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry, he placed the name "Papaka" next to this same bay.

It is J.F.G. Stokes who, on his circa 1913 map of the island, first appears to move the name "Papakanui Bay" from the bay marked by Conradt and Kauwekeane to the slightly larger bay lying just to the west. (Stokes undated-c) Stokes may not have intended this, however, for he has written the name "Papakanui Bay" immediately above the larger bay, but adjacent to the smaller one. Which of the two bays he is referring to is uncertain. We know that in 1917 names from this map were copied onto a new map by cartographers from the Board of Agriculture and Forestry. (Stokes 1917 - this is mentioned in a letter from C.S. Judd to J.F.G. Stokes dated October 5, 1917 and held in the Stokes collection at the Bishop Museum Archives) It seems likely that whomever copied the map simply assumed that "Papakanui Bay" applied to the westernmost of these two bays. Every map from 1917 onwards have followed this practice and assigned the name "Papaka" or "Papakanui" to the first bay east of Kaulana. A question remains, however, as to whether it might be more correct to follow Conradt and Kauwekeane in assigning this name to the bay which is now commonly referred to as "Papakaiki".

The existence, within the westernmost of these two bays, of two 10,000 gallon water tanks built during the late ranching period (Stearns 1940:129), appears to account for that bay's contemporary English name. In his 1989 book The Beaches of Maui County, John Clark writes that; "Papaka Nui, "large drops", is known to fishermen as Water Tank Bay. There were formerly three water tanks in the bay area that were constructed while Kaho'olawe ranch was still in operation. The crumbling remains of two of the tanks can easily be seen from a boat offshore." (Clark 1989:131) As far as can be determined, there were only two tanks built within the bay, and not three as Clark suggests. These tanks were constructed of redwood staves, and although in an advanced state of collapse, they could hardly be described as "crumbling".

**First Mention:**

Papaka bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
**Chronology:**
Papaka bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Papakanui - 1911 (Conradt undated)
Papaka B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Papakanui Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Papakanui Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Papaka - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Papaka - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Papaka Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Papaka - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Papakanui - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Papakanui - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Papakanui - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Papakanui - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Papakanui - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Papakanui - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Papakanui - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Papakanui - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Papakanui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Papakanui - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Papakanui - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Papakanui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Papakanui - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Water Tank Bay - 1989 (*Clark 1989:131)

**Previous Translations:**
Nathan Napoka: "Papakanui also called Papaka. Papaka-nui, lit. large drops." (Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Papaka Nui: coastal area and gulch, n.east area; literal meaning large Papaka.(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Papakaiki

Our primary source for this place name is a copy of the 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe onto which have been added, in pencil, a number of place names. (L.M.Z. undated) These names appear to date from some time around 1926. We do not know precisely who recorded these names, or where he obtained them. On this map, the place name "Papakaiki" has been written in next to the sandy bay which lies two bays to the east of Kaulana. "Papakaiki" can be translated literally as "little Papaka" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:91), and probably refers to the fact that this bay is somewhat smaller than its western sister. The place name "Papakaiku" has been used to identify this bay on almost every map published since that time.

Prior to 1926 we are given four names for this bay. The first is by Christian Conradt, the ranch manager who controlled the Kaho'olawe lease from 1903 to 1906. On his circa 1911 map, Conradt referred to this bay as "Papakanui" (Conradt undated). J. Kauwekane, on his 1917 map of Kaho'olawe, placed the name "Papaka" next to this same bay. Considering the relative reliability of Kauwekane's names, it seems possible that "Papaka" may indeed be the true name for the bay. (see Papaka)

Kenneth Emory, on a 1916 map of Kaho'olawe, labels this feature as "Kaulaua bay". (Emory 1916) "Kaulaua" would appear to be a misspelling of Kaulana, the name for a bay situated further west along the coast.

Our fourth early name for this bay is by far the most intriguing. It comes from J.F.G. Stokes who conducted archaeological investigations on Kaho'olawe in 1913. On one of the sketch maps of the island which Stokes drew at about this time, he referred to this bay as "Lark B." He later appears to have crossed out this name and replaced it with "? Papaka B". (Stokes undated-b) Now Lark was the name of a vessel owned by John Jacob Astor which was wrecked on the shores on Kaho'olawe in 1813. (Irving 18_:II:235-239) None of the existing accounts of the wreck indicate where exactly the ship came ashore, but if Stokes' notation can be trusted, it would appear that the Lark grounded on or near the shores of this bay.

Whether the traditional name of this bay was "Papaka" or "Papakaiki" remains, at present, uncertain. Until such time as we can determine who added the penciled in place names on the circa 1926 map, and what his source for those names may have been, this problem will have to remain unsolved.

One final name for this bay has come to us from a more contemporary source. According to John Clark, "Papaka Iki, "little drops", is known to fishermen as Santos Bay. In 1965 two cousins, Rodney and Herbert Santos, were anchored at Papaka Iki. During the night their boat broke her mooring and was wrecked on the beach in shore. After the men had been stranded for some hours, another fishing boat picked them up." (Clark 1989:131)
First Mention:
Papakanui - 1911 (Conradt undated)

Chronology:
Papakanui - 1911 (Conradt undated)
Papaka B - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Lark B. - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
? Papaka B - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Kualua bay - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Papaka - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Papakaiki - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Papakaiki - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Papakaiki - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Papakaiki - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Papakaiki - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Papakaiki - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Papakaiki - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Kaulana Bay - 1970s? (Ashdown undated)
Papakaiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Papakaiki - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Papakaiki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Papakaiki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Papakaiki- 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Santos Bay - 1989 (*Clark 1989:131)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Papakaiki: The-small-flat-surface. Bay and
gulch on the north coast." (McAllister 1933:58)
Nathan Napoka: "Papakaiki. Papaka-iki, lit. small
drops."(Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Papaka Iki: coastal area and gulch, n.east
area; literal meaning small Papaka. (from a manuscript list of
"Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on
file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Papa-kai-ki, Of the earth mother, where she
established the curse on Hine so she could not visit her
child, Ka-ho'o-lawe." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui
dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her
papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Papaka Iki. Coastal area and gulch,
northeast Ka-ho'o-lawe. Lit., small Papaka."(Pukui, Elbert &
Mookini 1974:179)
Papakaiki Gulch

The use of the term "Papakaiki Gulch" appears to have been introduced by the U.S. Geological Survey cartographers in an attempt to distinguish the bay lying two bays east of Kaulana from the gulch which runs inland from it. Such a distinction was probably not made by the island's native residents.

First Mention:
Papakaiki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Papakaiki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1983 (^Motteler 1983:5)
Papakaiki Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Papaka Iki: coastal area and gulch, n.east area; literal meaning small Papaka.(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Papakaiki Point
This name has recently been used to refer to the western headland of the bay lying two bays east of Kaulana. We can find no reference earlier than 1954 to this promontory being known as "Papakaiki Pt.". It would appear, therefore, that this is a modern place name created by simply applying the name of the bay to its western headland. What the traditional name for this feature may have been is unknown.

**First Mention:**
Papakaiki Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)

**Chronology:**
Papakaiki Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Papakaiki Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Papakanui Gulch

It is only with the U.S. Geological Survey map of 1926 that a distinction is made between "Papakanui" and "Papakanui Gulch". (U.S.G.S. 1926) Such a distinction does not appear to have been made by the kama'aina of Kaho'olawe. Though we are not certain what name the island's resident inhabitants gave to this bay and gulch lying east of Kaulana, it seems likely that they used the same name to refer to both.

First Mention:
Papakanui Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

Chronology:
Papakanui Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Papakanui Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Papakanui Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Papakanui Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Papakanui Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Papakanui Gulch - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Papakanui Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Papakanui Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Papaka Nui: coastal area and gulch, n.east area; literal meaning large Papaka." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 1)
Papakanui Point

As with "Kaulana Pt.", the use of this place name appears to be of modern origin. Though we do not possess an alternate name for the western promontory of the sand fringed bay lying to the east of Kaulana, there is at present no historic evidence to suggest that it bore the name "Papakanui Pt.". This place name appears for the first and only time on the 1954 U.S. Navy map of Kaho'olawe. (U.S.N. 1954)

First Mention:
Papakanui Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)

Chronology:
Papakanui Pt. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Papakanui Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

Previous Translations:
None
Pohaku Koma

This name makes its first and only known appearance in a 1983 list of Kaho'olawe place names prepared by Lee Motteler. (Motteler 1983:5) It has been placed between "Lae o na Kohala" and "Lua ka Ulua", suggesting that the physical feature to which it refers may have been located in the vicinity of Ahupu' bay. Motteler himself provides no indication as to the location of this place name, nor as to the type of feature to which it belongs. It is possible, however, that since pohaku is Hawaiian for "Rock, stone" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:334), the feature to which the name refers may have been a large stone.

Although Motteler does not reveal his source for this place name, indications are that it may date from the historic period. Evidence for this rests in the use of the word "Koma" which appears to be a Hawaiian form of the English word "Comma". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:164) No other alternative meanings appear to exist for this word. Thus "Pohaku Koma", the "Comma Stone", may refer to a rock shaped like a comma. This is, of course, purely conjecture, and further efforts should be made to identify the source of this name and to determine whether it may indeed have been a traditional place name.

First Mention:
Pohaku Koma - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Chronology:
Pohaku Koma - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
None
Pohakumanu

The ranch manager Christian Conradt, who held the lease of Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906, is our first and only original source for this place name. It appears among the names he added to the 1911 Hawaii Government Survey map of the island. (Conradt undated) All later maps which include this name appear to have copied it from Conradt's map. Where Conradt himself obtained this name is uncertain. It is also uncertain exactly what physical feature the name refers to, though the inclusion within the name of the word "Pohaku" might suggest that it referred to a rock or large stone. (Pukui & Elbert 1971:334) Conradt identified this feature as lying just west of Lae o Kuikui. Since "Pohakumanu" does not appear among the names recorded by those individuals known to have been familiar with the island's traditional names (J. Kauwekane, etc.), it is possible that it dates from the early ranching period.

First Mention:
Pohakumanu - 1911? (Conradt undated)

Chronology:
Pohakumanu - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Pohakumanu - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Pohakumanu - 1933 (McAllister 1933:58)
Pohakumanu - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Pohakumanu - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Poha-ku-manu, the flash of light of the great bird of Ku." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
Pohaku olu

We cannot be altogether certain what physical feature this place name refers to. The only mention we have of this name is in a handwritten document presently on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (HI. K.8) Written in Hawaiian, this manuscript possesses neither author's name nor date, though it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of this document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also rests in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) A section of this manuscript lists the fishing grounds ("Na Ko-a iawaia") of Honuaula, Maui. Among the physical features used to locate these fishing grounds are prominent landmarks on the island of Kahoolawe. One of those mentioned is "Pohaku olu", which is described as being "close to Kaule Point at Kohe-o-Hala, the blowhole".

The Hawaiian word pohaku means "stone" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:334), and along the shoreline just to the north of Lae o ka Ule is a pinnacle of stone rising from the foot of the cliff. There is, of course, no way of knowing for certain whether or not this may have been the "Pohaku olu" mentioned in the article. Whatever physical feature this place name refers to, however, it must have been prominent enough to have been plainly visible from the waters off Honuaula, Maui.

First Mention:
Pohaku olu - undated (*HI. K.8)

Chronology:
Pohaku olu - undated (*HI. K.8)

Previous Translations:
None
Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki
This place name first appears in print in Lee Motteler's 1983 article "Place-Name Research On Kaho'olawe". (*Motteler 1983:5) In this article Motteler provides no location for the name. Six years earlier, however, Motteler had written "Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki" on the revised version of his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, drawing a line which linked this name to a cluster of rocks located offshore and just southwest of Lao o Kealaikahiki. (Motteler 1977b) Motteler's source for this name may well have been Harry Kunihile Mitchell, but at present this is uncertain. Judging from the location given by Motteler, this feature may well be the "Black Rock" described by John Clark in his book Beaches of Maui County. "Just offshore from Kealaikahiki Point is a small rock island commonly called Black Rock. It is an important landmark for fishermen passing the area, as it marks the point and also the outer edge of the shallow Ku'ia Shoal." (Clark 1989:127) Motteler's "Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki", although it lies "Just offshore from Kealaikahiki Point", does not mark "the outer edge of the shallow Ku'ia Shoal." For this reason these two names have been kept separate here. This question, as to whether or not "Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki" and "Black Rock" are two names for the same feature, might be resolved by interviewing fishermen and others familiar with the waters off Kaho'olawe.

First Mention:
Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)

Chronology:
Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeeikahiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Pohaku Po'okanaka Kuhike'eikahiki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
None
Puhi Anenue

The place name "Puhi Anenue" would appear to refer to a spot, most probably a blowhole, situated along the south coast of Kaho'olawe between Wai Kahalulu and Hana Kanaia. It is first given to us by J. Kauwekane, and is included among the place names on his 1917 map of Kaho'olawe. (Kauwekane 1917a) All subsequent references to it appear to have been taken from this map.

In a 1960 letter to Mary Kawena Pukui, Inez Ashdown refers to this place as, "Puhia-ne-nui, And [sic] upside-down waterfall, or blowhole water making rainbows from the rudder or paddles of a canoe." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6) It is not clear exactly how Ashdown comes up with this translation, or why she varies from Kauwekane's spelling by altering "nue" to "nui".

On his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe, geographer Lee Motteler uses Kauwekane's name for this feature. (Motteler 1977a) During his subsequent revisions to this map, however, Motteler has attempted to break down the name into what he believes are its component parts: "Puhi a Nanue" (nanue is a variant form of nenue, the Hawaiian name for the pilot fish (Kyphosus fuscus)). (Motteler 1977b) This practice of altering an established place name to better correspond with what one believes that name might possibly have meant often serves to obscure rather than elucidate the true meaning of the name. As in other such cases, Motteler's tampering with the island's place names has resulted in a recently "invented" name being included on the most recent and widely used map of the island. (U.S.G.S. 1984)

First Mention:
Puhi anenue - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
Puhi anenue - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Puhi anenue - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Puhi Anenue - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Puhienanue - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Puhia-ne-nui - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:6)
Puhi anenue - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Puih a Nanue - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Puih a Nanue - 1982 (D.M.A. 1982)
Puih a Nanue - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Puih a Nanue - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Puih a Nanue - 1984 (U.S.G.S., 1984)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Puhia-ne-nui, And upside-down waterfall, or blowhole water making rainbows from the rudder or paddles of a canoe." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Puhi o Halona

Somewhere along the southern shore of Kanapou bay, just west of Lae o Halona, there once existed (and may still exists) a puhi or blowhole. The first mention we have of this blowhole comes from a circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) This rough sketch of the island shows a mark along the coast immediately west of "Halona cape", next to which has been written "Puhi stopped by Kalaikini".

Legends exist from both Maui and the big island of Hawaii telling of the demigod Kalaikini's efforts to stop up the blowholes of those islands. While no such legend exists for Kaho'olawe, it would appear from this note that Kalaikini visited the island and succeeded in stopping up the blowhole at this location.

Either Kalaikini was not completely successful in his endeavor, or the tale of his exploits were still circulating among the kama'aina of the island in the late 1800s, for among the place names recorded in 1917 by J. Kauwekane we find "Puhi o halona". (Kauwekane 1917a) This name has been written in next to Lae o Halona.

These two maps are the only primary sources we possess for this place name. Since, however, both documents can be considered highly reliable, there seems every likelihood that a puhi of this name once existed in the vicinity of Lae o Halona.

**First Mention:**
Puhi stopped by Kalaikini - 1889 (Doc.1126 undated-b)

**Chronology:**
Puhi stopped by Kalaikini - 1889 (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Puhi stopped by Kalaikini - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Puhi - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Puhi o halona - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Puhi ohalona - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Puhi O Halona - 1929? (Unknown undated)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Puhi o Kohe o Hala

On the hand drawn sketch of Kaho'olawe which rests in the Hawaii State Survey Office, and which appears to date from sometime around 1889, can be found the place name "Kohe o Hala". (Doc.1126 undated-b) Beneath it is written the notation "Puhi Kalaikini tried to stop".

Kalaikini is a figure from Hawaiian legend, a kupua or demigod, who was renowned for traveling throughout the islands stopping up puhí ("blowholes"). His exploits have been recorded by Kilinahi Kaleo (Thrum 1923:68), Jules Remy (Remy 1868:34-35) and Martha Beckwith (Green 1928:15). Though no mention can be found in the traditional literature of Kalaikini ever having visited Kaho'olawe, the notation on this map suggests that there may once have existed a legend, now lost to us, telling of Kalaikini's journey to Kaho'olawe and of his attempts to stop up the blowholes of that island. The presence of this note, written in directly beneath the place name "Kohe o Hala" also suggests that "Kohe o Hala" was most probably the name of the "Puhi Kalaikini tried to stop".

Further evidence that "Kohe o Hala" was the name of a blowhole can be found in a handwritten document presently on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (HI. K.8) Written in Hawaiian, this manuscript possesses neither author's name nor date, though it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of this document, done by Mary Kawena Pukui, also rests in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200) A section of this manuscript lists the fishing grounds ("Na Ko-a lawai'a") of Honuaula, Maui.

Among the fishing grounds described in this article is Keahua. The article states that; "III. Keahua is another. The sands of Nihomole is one of its landmarks, when it appears to be at Pahee-o-Lono Point at Molokini on the eastern side of the island. That is the upper mark. Pohaku-olu is the other mark, close to Kaule Point at Kohe-o-Hala, the blowhole ["Kohe o Hala i ke puhí"], that is the lower mark."

In identifying this same feature on his 1917 map (Kauwekane 1917a), J. Kauwekane refers to it as "Puhi o Koheohala". All three of these early sources indicate that there was (and still may be) a blowhole situated along the coast between O awa wahie and Lae o ka Ule, and that the name of this puhí was Kohe o Hala.

First Mention:
Kohe o Hala - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Kohe o Hala - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Kohe o Hala - undated (HI. K.8)
Kohe o Hala - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Kohe o Hala - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Kohe o Hala - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Kohe o Hala - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Puhi - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Puhi o Koheohala - 1917 (Kauwekanegi 1917a)
Puhi o Koheohala - 1917 (Kauwekanegi 1917b)
Kohe o Hala - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1926 (U.S.G S. 1926)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1929 (U.S.G S. 1929)
Puhi o Koheohala - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1970s? (Tax Key undated)
Kohe o Hala - undated (Ashdown undated)
Kohe o Hala - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Kohe o Hala - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Kohe o Hala - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Kohe o Hala - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Kohe o Hala - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Puhi Koheo Hala - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Puhi Kohe o Hala - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**

**Lahilahi Webb:** "Puhi Koheo Hala: The-strutting-blow-hole.
East coast, probably a blowhole."(McAllister 1933:58)

**Malia Liguara:** "Puhi Koheo Hala: coastal area n. east area;
possible meaning missing show-off."(from a manuscript list of
"Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Liguara", on
file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

**Inez Ashdown:** "Kohe o Hala means the female-organ of
generation producing abundantly".
"Lae Kohe o Hala or Error of the private parts of Hala. Also
called Lae Koko, Blood"(Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of
Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical
Society; page 3)

"Puhipa Kaheo Hala, the blessed, or blessing, of the white,
cool mist of the blowhole there."(Ashdown's letter to Mary
Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held
among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)

"Puhi-kohe-o-hala= Puhi: a blowhole or place of expulsion;
fig. to steal something, like virginity; to set afire
actually or emotionally; to burn.
Puhi is the fig. name for any stranger. In the story
translated by Kahu Edward Kapo'o, a stranger raped Hina there
(foreigners raped this land). A name for Hina in this story
is I-nai-na of Kohe-ma-lama-lama which is the ancient name
given the island. At Lae Halona the Kahuna or Chief,
Kanaloa, is in love with Inaina and he peered and saw what
happened. He goes there. The Puhi is going away, careless
and proud. The Kahuna blesses (hala) Inaina to remove the
'fire of shame' and the pain of physical and emotional ills.
His prayers to the deities or 'Aumakua transform Puhi into
Pohaku Ulule (stone penus [sic]) there by Kanapou Bay, by the
Pali o ka-lapa below the land of Kaki'oawa where they offered
and drank the 'awa to the Akua in thanksgiving [sic]."(From a
single page list of place names entitled simply
"Kahoolawe...", held among the papers of Inez Ashdown at the Bishop Museum Archives.)
Punapuna

The place name "Punapuna" first appears on one of J.F.G. Stokes' undated maps of Kaho'olawe, probably drawn at some time following his first visit to the island in 1913. (Stokes undated-c) The name is penciled in up near the northeastern corner of the island, immediately west of "Kuikui Pt." The style of handwriting in which this place name is written corresponds with a note in the upper right hand corner of the map which provides the names of three local informants who appear to have been former residents of Kaho'olawe. These individuals are "Nahoikea", "Awaloa" and "J. Kauwakane". We know from Stokes' notes, both on this map and in his fieldbooks (Stokes 1913:II:5,3), that Awaloa died before Stokes was able to talk with him, and Nahoikea, "Knew little as he was young when he left [Kaho'olawe]." It seems probable, therefore, that Stokes learned of the place name "Punapuna" from "J. Kauwakane". It is interesting, however, that Kauwekane (Stokes had misspelt his name) did not include "Punapuna" among the place names he recorded on the 1917 map provided him by the Territorial Board of Agriculture & Forestry. (Kauwekane 1917a) Precisely what topographic feature this place name refers to is not presently known.

First Mention: Punapuna - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)

Chronology: Punapuna - 1913? (Stokes undated-c) Punapuna - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "Puna-puna, a hidden spring that made your desire for water seem like sand in your mouth."(Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Puna Wai

On a 1977 sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn by Inez Ashdown and attached to a letter she wrote to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy can be found the name "PUNA WAI". A line has been drawn from this name to an "x" on the coast just inland of Kalua o Kamohoalii. Since the term "punawai" means "Water spring" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:328), it seems likely that Ashdown is indicating the presence of a freshwater spring at this point along (or back of) the cliffs. Whether "Puna Wai" is a traditional place name, or simply a descriptive term is unknown.

First Mention:
Puna Wai - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Puna Wai - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
Punawai Honu (or Huna)

On her 1975 sketch map of Kaho'olawe, Inez Ashdown records the place name "Punawai Honu or Huna". (Ashdown 1975) She draws a line from this name to a point along the cliffs just east of the head of Kanapou bay. It seems likely that this place name refers to a brackish water spring, for one possible translation of "Punawai" is "water spring". (Pukui & Elbert 1971:355)

In a letter to Jane Silverman dated October 12th 1975, and presently on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office, Ashdown writes; "It seemed that the paved trail at Hakioawa [built during the ranching period] was far easier travel toward the water spring at Kanapou, Puna Wai Honu."

On her 1977 map of the island Ashdown makes no mention of "Punawai Honu or Huna", but identifies a spot at the head of Kanapou as "PUNA PEE". (Ashdown 1977) Whether this is an alternate name for the same spring, or an entirely different water source is unknown. It is also impossible to say whether these are traditional names or names given by Hawaiian cowboys working for the cattle ranch owned by Ashdown's father, Angus McFee.

We know from legendary accounts (Fornander 1918:V:1:202-203 & Kahaulello ms.:100-103; June 27, 1902) and historic records (Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3) that a well existed in the valley of Kanapou from ancient times up until the early 1900s. None of these early documents give a name to the well. It is not known whether Ashdown's "Puna Pee" may refer to this water source.

In her 1979 book Recollections of Kaho'olawe, Ashdown mentions a water spring at Kanapou which could either be "Punawai Honu", "Puna Pee" or possibly "Wai o Kanaloa" (see below). "At Kanapo'u Bay, which faces Maui and "Alala-keiki Sea, we found one of these springs, a Wai-o-Kane a me Kanaloa. Perhaps we might have drilled there and located an endless spring of potable water, as did the ancient time seafarers." (Ashdown 1979:50)

**First Mention:**
Punawai Honu or Huna - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)

**Chronology:**
Punawai Honu or Huna - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Puna Pee - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Pu'u Kahua

The designation of this small hill, situated to the east of Lua Kealia Lalo, as "Pu'u Kahua" appears to be an attempt on the part of geographer Lee Motteler to place on the map a name found in the writings of Inez Ashdown.

Ashdown's manuscript list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", written in 1976 and presently on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum, includes the statement; "From Moiwi [Pu'u Moiwi] a stream flows in rain time into Waikahalulu Bay. It passes by Ka Hua and the heiau Hale o Moo'ali'i..."  

In a 1977 letter to Captain Crockett, then U.S. Naval commander in charge of Kaho'olawe, a copy of which is held at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office, Ashdown wrote; "The stream [Waikahalulu] flows down from Pu'u Mo'ili (pu 'umo iwi) or where the Heiau (Hale o Ka-mo'o-ali'i) stands. Here are kept the treasures (bones) of the ancestors, and the smaller heiau of Ka Hua, The Egg."

Using the rough directions provided in these quotes, Motteler designated the small hill resting between Pu'u Moiwi and Lua Kealia Lalo as the site of Ashdown's "heiau of Ka Hua". He altered its name, however, to "Puu Kahua". (Motteler 1977a) If any ancient structure once stood atop of this hill, no trace of it remains today. At some time during the United States Navy's stewardship of Kaho'olawe, the summit of "Puu Kahua" was bulldozed and a spotting tower and helicopter landing pad were built atop it. The site is referred to today as "Landing Zone Eagle".

It is not clear where Inez Ashdown herself obtained the name "Ka Hua". It seems likely, however, that she took the name from "Kahuahele o Kamohalii", a place name recorded on the circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe. (Doc.1126 undated-b) Reading back over Ashdown's statements, it would appear that, for some unknown reason, she chose to divide the original place name into "Kahua" and "hale o Kamohalii", considering each to be the name of a separate site. At present we possess no evidence, other than Ashdown's statements, to suggest such a split.

First Mention:
Puu Kahua - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)

Chronology:
Puu Kahua - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Pu'u Kahua - 1983 (*Motteler:1983:5)
Puu Kahua - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)
Landing Zone Eagle - Current Navy usage

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: [?]
Inez Ashdown: "Kahua.. The Foundation." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 2)
Pu'u Kamama

During his 1939 geological survey of Kaho'olawe, Harold Stearns recorded a scattering of place names which had never before appeared on any map of the island. Though we are unsure as to Stearns' source for these names, it seems likely that he obtained them from Jack Aina, the one time ranch foreman who served as his guide during the survey. (Stearns 1940:122) Among these names, which appear on Stearns' 1939 map of Kaho'olawe, is "Pu'u Kamama". (Stearns 1939) Stearns has used the name to refer to the small cindercone lying to the southwest of Lua Kealia Lalo. In placing names on the 1984 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe, Lee Motteler identified the crater of this pu'u as "Lua Keaualalo". (U.S.G.S. 1984)

First Mention:
Pu'u Kamama - 1939 (Stearns 1939)

Chronology:
Pu'u Kamama - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Pu'u Kamama - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Pu'u Kamama - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)

Previous Translations:
None
Pu'u Koae

Off the south coast of Kaho'olawe, just west of the bay of Kamohio, lies a small islet whose weathered cliffs rise steeply from the sea. At present we possess two different names for this island; "Pu'u Koae" and "Kahoolawe lii lii".

The name "Pu'u Koae" first appears on a circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe, which appears to have been drafted with the assistance of someone familiar with the island. (Doc.1126 undated-b) A small "x" resting in the sea to the south of the "Cave of Kunaka" marks the location of this place name. Given its position, offshore and to the south of the main island of Kaho'olawe, it seems certain that this "x" signifies the islet.

Two other early maps, (Conradt undated) and (Kauwekane 1917a), also refer to the islet as Pu'u Koae ("Puukoa'ea" and "Puu Koae" respectively). The place names contained on the first of these maps were provided by Christian Conradt who leased Kaho'olawe for cattle ranching in the years 1903 to 1906. Those found on the second were given by J. Kauwekane whose father had been a kama'aina of Kaho'olawe, and who appears to have been quite familiar with the island. The use of this name on all three of these early maps suggests that, at least during the later years of the 19th century, the islet was commonly known as Pu'u Koae.

We first encounter the name "Kahoolaweliiili" among the place names added to a copy of Joseph Iao's 1917 tracing of Kaho'olawe. (Dranga? undated) Though the source and date of these place names is unknown, they appear to have been placed on the map some time around 1925, possibly by the naturalist T.T. Dranga. If Dranga is indeed the author of these place names, he most probably learned them from individuals involved with raising stock on the island.

Another mention of the place name "Kahoolawe lii lii" comes to us from an article entitled "A Week-End on Kahoolawe" written by Jeanne K. Skinner and published in the Paradise of the Pacific for June 1933. Skinner took a tour around the coast of Kaho'olawe aboard the sampan Kahoolawe Maru, captained by "Mr. Yamauchi, and his crew, Mr. Saffery". (Skinner 1933:16) While cruising Kaho'olawe's south coast she notes that, "A small island presented itself, sheer on all sides, and cut off from the main land by, a few yards of blue water. Mr. Saffery called it 'Kahoolawe lii lii,' or 'Kahoolawe's baby,' but the map calls it Pu'u Koae." (Skinner 1933:18)

Both of our sources for the place name "Kahoolawe lii lii" date from the late ranching period, suggesting that this name may have evolved at that time as an alternative to the older, and apparently more traditional, "Pu'u Koae". This, of course, is only conjecture, and the name may indeed be older than we suspect.

First Mention:
Pu'u Koae - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Pu u Koae - 1889? (Doc. 1126 undated-b)
Pu ukoae - 1911? (Conradt undated)
Pu u Koae - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:1:10)
Pu u Koae - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
? Pu u Koae - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Pu u Koae I. - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Pu u Koae - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Pu u Koae I d. - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Pu u Koae - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Pu u Koae - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Kahoolawe 11111111 - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Pu ukoae - 1926? (L.M. Z. undated)
Pu u Koae - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Pu u Koae - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Pu u Koae - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Kahoolawe 11111111 - 1933 (*Skinner 1933:18)
Pu u Koae - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Pu u Koae - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Pu u Koae - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Pu ukoae I. - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Pu u Koae - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Pu u Koae - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Pu u Koae - undated (Ashdown undated)
Pu u Koae - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Pu u Koae - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Pu ukoae I s. - 1978 (Reposa 1978)
Pu ukoae Island - 1980 (29th Eng. 1980)
Pu 'u Koae 'e - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Pu 'u Koae 'e - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Kahoolawe 'iili'i - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:4)
Pu u Koae - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Lahilahi Webb: "Pu u Koae: The-hill-of-the-pos'n-bird. Small island off the south coast."
(McAllister 1933:58)
Nathan Napoka: "Pu'uko'a'e. Pu'u-ko'a'e, lit. tropic bird hill. Hill in south central Kahoolawe 626 feet high. Also called Kahoolawe 'iili'i'.
(Napoka 1983:4)
"Kaho'olaweli'ilii'i. See Pu'uko'a'e, Kaho'olawe-li'ilii'i. lit. small Kaho'olawe. In Skinner article which appeared in the Paradise of the Pacific, June, 1933 an informant, Mr. Saffery also calls the island Kaho'olawe'ili'ilii'i." (Napoka 1983:1)
Malia Lisquare: "Pu'u Koae'e: islet, 13 acres, 378 ft. elev. off the s. central area; literal meaning is the tropic bird hill."
(from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquare", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Pu'u Koae'e. Bosun bird point" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society:page 3)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Pu'u-koa'e...Islet (13 acres, 378 feet elevation), south central Ka-ho'olawe...Lit., tropicbird hill." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:199)
Pu'u Kolekole

Our only source for this place name is the geologist Harold Stearns, who visited the island of Kaho'olawe in 1939. In his book *Geology and Ground-Water Resources of Lanai and Kaho'olawe, Hawaii*, Stearns includes a map of Kaho'olawe showing a number of names which had not previously been recorded. (Stearns 1940:120) Among these is "Pu'u Kolekole", used to identify the cindercone resting on the northeastern flanks of Pu'u o Maualani, just south and inland of Hakioawa bay. On page 122 of his book, Stearns acknowledges his indebtedness "to Manuel Pedro, the only resident [of Kaho'olawe], and to Jack Aina, the guide, who were helpful in many ways and who furnished valuable information regarding the history and water supplies of the island." (Stearns 1940:122) It is likely that one of these two, probably Aina, also provided Stearns with the place names found on his map. Jack Aina had been a ranch hand on Kaho'olawe since 1917. It is not known whether he was related to any of the island's former residents. The place names he provided may have been traditional names, or they could have been names given to these features by Hawaiian speaking cowboys working for the ranch.

**First Mention:**
Pu'u Kolekole - 1939 (Stearns 1939)

**Chronology:**
Puu Kolekole - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Puu Kolekole - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Puu Kolekole - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4*)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Pu'u lai

Among the Kaho'olawe place names recorded in 1917 by J. Kauwekane is "Puu lai". (Kauwekane 1917a) Kauwekane has attached this name to a small hill lying northwest of Wai Kahalulu bay. Knowing Kauwekane's familiarity with the island, there appears no reason to doubt the authenticity of this name.

The name "Puu Lai" also appears on a copy of the U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe to which a number of place names have been added by an unknown individual. On this map, "Puu Lai" has been attached to the small hill on the slope northeast of Wai Kahalulu. Since all but one of the names added to this map have been taken directly from Kauwekane's 1917 map, it seems likely that whoever transcribed these names simply misplaced the location of "Puu Lai".

First Mention:
Puu lai - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)

Chronology:
Puu lai - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Puu lai - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Puu Lai - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Puu Lai - 1983 (Motteler 1983:5)
Puu Lai - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Pu'ula'i. Pu'u-lai, lit. peaceful hill." (Napoka 1983:4)
Pu'u Moiwi

This place name comes to us relatively late in the Kaho'olawe map chronology. It first appears on a copy of the Coast and Geodetic Survey's 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe to which have been added in pencil a number of place names. (L.M.Z. undated) Also penciled in on the map, apparently in the same hand, is the note, "Old Hawaiian Datum. Adopted as standard June 1926, L.M.Z." It appears likely that the map's penciled in place names were also recorded by "L.M.Z." some time around 1926. Where "L.M.Z." (or whomever) obtained these place names is as yet unknown.

On this map the name "Pu'u Moiwi" has been written in at the site of a low hill near the center of the island. Atop and around this hill are known to be situated a number of workshop areas where, in ancient times, fine grained basalt stone was shaped into adzes. Prior to 1926, the only map we know of which assigned a name to this hill was J.F.G. Stokes' 1917 map of the island. (Stokes 1917) This map identifies the hill as "Kealia Lalo". This is apparently a mistake, for we possess strong evidence to suggest that "Kealia Lalo" is the name of the broad crater which lies further to the west. (see Lua Kealia Luā) All subsequent maps have accepted L.M.Z.'s name for this pu'u. It would be interesting to discover from whom the author of the circa 1926 map learned this place name.

First Mention:
Kealia Lalo - 1917 (Stokes 1917)

Chronology:
Kealia Lalo - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Puu Moiwi - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Puu Moiwi - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Puu Moiwi - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Puu Moiwi - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Puu Moiwi - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Puu Moiwi - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Puu Moiwi - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Puu Moiwi - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Moiwi - 1970s (Ashdown undated-b)
Puu Moiwi - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Moiwi - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Puu Moiwi - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Puu Moiwi - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Puu Moiwi - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Puu Moiwi - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Puu Moiwi - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Moiwi or Pu'umo'iwi. Pu'u-mo-iwi, lit. Hill of cut (mo is short for moku) bone." (Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Puu Moiwi: hill, 1,161 ft. hi., central area of island; literal meaning is the bone cut hill." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "Pu'u Moiwi. Mo is short for moku meaning island or ship; or for mo'o, meaning ancestry, lizard etc.. This is the place of ancestral spirits which come to aid souls of the repenting descendants.. Sometimes, as when descendants are disobeying the Kanawai Akua the 'aumakua cause death by drowning or other unnatural causes so as to prevent the descendant from being bad example to others, especially younger people." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

"Mo'i-wi (a hill) The famine of the king. Kalaniopuu remarked on the desolation and famine of that place as he looked around." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 6)

"Mo'o-iwi, the twitching eyes of the mo'o (lizard)." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society; page 6)

Pu'u o Moaulaiki

On the northwestern slope of the broad dome of Pu'u o Moaulanui stands a small cindercone. A number of early maps refer to this smaller pu'u as "Moaula", giving it essentially the same name as the larger peak. Not surprisingly, this has resulted in a great deal of confusion.

Our first mention of the cindercone appears to come from a newspaper article describing King Kalakaua's visit to Kaho'olawe in 1875. The unnamed author of this article writes that, "When breakfast was finished, the King and his entourage prepared to mount eight horses and rode upland to the flat plains which present a broad view from mountain to sea - 300 acres - a standing hill and such; several deep valleys on the north and on the south were seen. When one turns and looks toward Molokini, there is one high hill, namely the hill of Ulapuu [the original Hawaiian is "oia hoe ka puu o Ulapuu"]." (Ka Lahui Hawai'i 12/30/1875: p.4, c.2)

Since the King landed at the bay of Honokoa on Kaho'olawe's northwest coast, he and his party would have ridden into the uplands somewhere near Lua Kealia Lalo. From this vantage point, if one looks to the northeast, towards the islet of Molokini, the cindercone of "Pu'u o Moaulaiki" stands out in bold relief against the sky line. The neighboring summit of Pu'u o Moaulanui possesses too gentle a slope to be easily distinguished from this angle. It seems probable, therefore, that "the hill of Ulapuu" mentioned in the Ka Lahui Hawai'i article was the cindercone of "Pu'u o Moaulaiki". We cannot be certain as to whether the visiting reporter may have heard the name incorrectly (puu and ula, the components of "Ulapuu", are also components of "Puu Moaula") or whether this was simply an alternate name for the hill.

Our first indication that the cindercone bore the name "Moaula" comes only a few years later. In 1879, when the Hawaii Government Survey was mapping the island of Maui, one of its surveyors visited Kaho'olawe and set up a transit station "On the summit of a conical rocky hill in the west central part of the island of Kahoolawe called Moaula." This station was marked by "an iron pile & cairn of stones."(taken from a single page manuscript housed in the Archives of the Bishop Museum - SC Stokes, Gr.2, Box 2-13)

The "Moaula" survey station appears on the 1880 Hawaii Government Survey map of Maui as a small triangle labeled "KAHOOLawe 1428". (Dodge 1880) The recorded elevation of this peak, 1428 feet, matches that of the cindercone of "Pu'u o Moaulaiki" (which we now know to be 1444 feet).

Further evidence that the cindercone formerly carried the name "Moaula" can be found on an undated sketch map presently held at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) This map clearly shows "Puu o Moaula", with a triangular transit station mark atop it, lying to the northwest of "Moaula pit (lua)", the crater of Pu'u o Moaulanui. Since this map appears to have been drawn
sometime around 1889 with the help of someone familiar with
the island, there seems little reason to doubt that "Puu o
Moaula" was the current name for the pu’u.

In retelling the tale of Puualaki, first related to him
by his grandparents, A.D. Kahaulelio, a fisherman intimately
familiar with the island Kaho'olawe and its surrounding
waters, spoke of "the prophet ["maka’ula"] Moaula, and that is
the little hill standing on Kahoolawe and that is the only
mountain of that land." (Kahaulelio 1902:100) It is not
certain, however, whether Kahaulelio is referring here to
Pu‘u o Moaulanui of "Pu‘u o Moaulaiki".

It is only in the 1970s, however, that Inez Ashdown, in
an attempt to differentiate between the two Moaulas,
identified the smaller cindercone as "Moa'ula-iki" ("little
Moa'ula"). (Ashdown 1975b) This distinction was continued by
Lee Motteler, who, on his 1983 map of Kaho'olawe, referred to
the smaller peak as "Pu‘u Moa'ulaiki". (Motteler 1983)
Considering the usefulness of this distinction, we have felt
it advisable to continue the usage of "Moaulaiki", modifying
one of the earliest versions we possess of this place name,
"Puu o Moaula" (Doc. 1126 undated-b), to read "Pu‘u o
Moaulaiki". Since this decision reflects convenience of
usage rather than historic accuracy it should be reviewed
and, if necessary, altered.

First Mention:
Ulapanu – 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii 12/30/1875:p.4, c.2)
Chronology:
Ulapanu – 1875 (*Ka Lahui Hawaii 12/30/1875:p.4, c.2)
Moaula – 1879? (*Unknown undated:1)
Kahoolawe 1428 – 1880 (Dodge 1880)
Puu o Moaula – 1889? (Doc. 1126 undated-b)
Kahoolawe, 1428 – 1905 (Rhodes 1905)
Kahoolawe – 1906 (Newton 1906)
Kahoolawe – 1911 (Podmore 1911)
Kahoolawe – 1913 (Forbes 1913)
Puu o Moaula – 1913 (?Stokes 1913:5,10)
Puu o Moaula – 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Moaula – 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Moaula Hill – 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Puu o Moaula – 1916 (Emory 1916)
Moaula Hill – 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Puu Moaula – 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Moaula – 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Moaula – 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Moaula – 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Moaula – 1933 (?McAllister 1933:58)
Moaula – 1939 (Sears 1939)
Moaula – 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Moaula – 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Hoaula – 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Moaula-iki – 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Moaula iki – 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Moaula – 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Pu'u Moaulaiki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Pu'u Moaulaiki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Moaula - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Puu Moaulaiki - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**

*Lahilahi Webb:* "Moaula: Red-chicken. The second highest point on the island." (McAllister 1933:58)

*Nathan Napoka:* "Moaula. Moa-'ula, lit. red chicken. It is 1,444 feet high hill in the central area of Kaho'olawe." (Napoka 1983:4)

*Inez Ashdown:* "Moaula. Sacred Chickens (People now say Red Chicken.. Red is a color donoting [sic.] sacredness. Ulu'ula means red color." (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kahoolawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society; page 2)

*Pukui, Elbert & Mookini:* "Moa-'ula. Hill (1,444 feet high), Ka-ho'olawe: meaning not certain. Lit., red chicken."
Pu'u o Moaulanui

The gently sloping dome of this remnant shield volcano covers most of the eastern half of Kaho'olawe. Its summit, at an elevation of 1477 feet, forms the highest point on the island. Surprisingly, a great deal of confusion still exists as to the true name of this peak. This confusion results primarily from the fact that it shares the same name as the small cindercone perched on its northwestern flanks. While some early maps refer to the island's summit as "Moaula" (Wall 1886, Kauwekane 1917a), others assign that name to the cindercone (Doc.1126 undated-b, Conradt undated). Over the years this duplication of names has resulted in a great deal of confusion as cartographers have sought some means of differentiating the two peaks.

Perhaps the earliest name we have for Kaho'olawe's highest hill is that encountered on the Hawaiian Government Survey map of 1886. (Wall 1886) While the map, as it was originally drawn, does not give a name to this summit, penciled in notes, apparently added at some later date, label it as "Hanaula or Moaula". Since the remainder of the place names penciled onto this map correspond to names known from other reliable sources, it seems likely that they were originally collected from a kama'aina informant familiar with the island.

Another kama'aina informant, J. Kauwekane, whose father had been a resident of Kaho'olawe, refers to this peak on his 1917 map as "Moaula". (Kauwekane 1917a) It is on a slightly later map, drawn during the ranching period, that we first encounter the name "Pu'u o Moaula", literally "the hill of Moaula". (Drangà? undated)

In the 1920s, map makers at the U.S. Geological Survey gave the name "Moaula" to the small cindercone on the slope of the volcano and identified the higher summit as "Lua Makika". (U.S.G.S. 1926) The U.S.G.S. cartographers were obviously unfamiliar with the meanings of the Hawaiian place names they used on their map, for lua, the first word of "Lua Makika", means "pit" or "crater" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:196), hardly an appropriate title for the island's highest point. The name "Lua Makika" more properly belongs to the caldera which rests at the center of this pu'u. (see Lua Moaula) Despite this obvious error, the names printed on the 1926 U.S.G.S. map have continued in common use up to this day.

In order to differentiate between these two peaks, Inez Ashdown, on her copy of Gilbert McAllister's 1933 map of Kaho'olawe, added the adjective nui ("large") to the name of the main hill, labeling it "Moaula nui". (Ashdown undated) She also, on a different map, uses the term "Moaula-uka" or "Upper Moaula". (Ashdown 1977) Lee Motteler apparently followed Ashdown's example, for his 1977 map of Kaho'olawe identifies the peak as "Moaula Nui". (Motteler 1977a) He later altered this to read "Puu Moaulanui". (Motteler 1977b) On an even later map, Motteler used the name "Moaulanui" to
refer to the hill, and "Pu'u Moa'ulanui" to refer specifically to its summit. (Motteler 1983).

To avoid possible confusion, we have chosen to continue making this distinction by referring to the main hill as Pu'u o Moaulanui, which roughly translates as "the hill of large Moaula", and calling the cindercone Pu'u o Moaulaiki, roughly "the hill of little Moaula". These names are based more on convenience of usage than on historical precedent, and thus should be subject to review and possible alteration.

First Mention:
Hanaula or Moaula - 1886 (Wall 1886)

Chronology:
Hanaula or Moaula - 1886 (Wall 1886)
Moaula - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917a)
Moaula - 1917 (Kauwekane 1917b)
Puu o Moaula - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Moaula - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Moa'ula nui - undated (Ashdown undated)
Moa'ula-uka - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Moaula Nui - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Puu Moaulanui - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Pu'u Moa'ulanui - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Moa'ulanui - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Pu'u Moa'ulanui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Moa'ulanui - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:4)
Puu Moaulanui - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Malia Lisquara: "Moaula Nui: hill, 1,444 ft. high in the east central area of island; meaning not certain." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 2)

Inez Ashdown: "At the summit of Kaho'olawe..Pu'u Moa'ula, Hill of the Red Rooster..The hill's name refers to the island as a sacred fighting-cock Warrior..Note the bare, eroded, wind-swept earth..1919. (Inez Ashdown's personal photo collection, copy in State Historical Preservation Office, p.8).

"Mo'a-ula, in this case Mo'a, cooked red in the sun heat, rather than "red chicken"." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Sailor's Hat
This place name is of clearly recent origin. It has not, however, replaced a more traditional name, for the physical feature to which it refers was not created until the later half of this century. In 1965 the U.S. Navy exploded 500 tons of dynamite at a point on the south shore of Kaho'olawe in an attempt to simulate an atomic blast. This explosion left a massive crater 50 meters in diameter and more than 15 meters deep which rapidly filled with sea water. The site, situated to the east of Hana Kanaia, has since come to be known as "Sailor's Hat" or "Sailor's Cap". The crater appears to have been given its name by members of the Naval detachment stationed at Hana Kanaia.

First Mention:
Sailor's Hat - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)

Chronology:
Sailor's Hat - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Sailor Hat - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Sailor's Hat - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Sailor's Cap - Alternate current Navy usage

Previous Translations:
None
Waaiki ('Ili)

Waaiki appears to be one of the smallest of the traditional land divisions on the island of Kaho'olawe. It lies near the northeastern corner of the island, and, like most of Kaho'olawe's 'ili, forms a rough pie wedge running from the uplands to the sea. The boundaries of this 'ili are first shown on a circa 1889 map of Kaho'olawe entitled "Kahoolawe is an ahupua'a divided into ili as per map". (Doc.1126 undated-a). Exactly where these boundaries lie, however, is difficult to determine due to the rough nature of this map. Lee Motteler, on his 1977 map of the island, shows them as extending from the rim of Lua Moaula down to a point near the western headland of Waaiki bay, from there along the coast to about Lae o Kukui, and then back up to Lua Moaula. (Motteler 1977-a) It must be remembered that Motteler's boundaries are only approximations, and that the precise borders of this 'ili cannot be determined from the information we possess at present.

First Mention:
Waaiki - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Chronology:
Waaiki - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-a)
Waaiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977-a)

Previous Translations:
None
Waaiki

Our primary source for this place name is a rough sketch map of Kaho'olawe drawn some time around 1889. (Doc.1126 undated-b) This map appears to have been drafted with the assistance of someone familiar with the island. The majority of the map's place names correspond with those provided by native speakers who had lived on or visited Kaho'olawe (J. Kauwekane, A.D. Kahaulelio, Paul Nahaoelua, etc.). There seems every reason, therefore, to suggest that the names encountered on the circa 1889 map are the traditional names for some of the island's various physical features. If this is indeed the case, then we can suggest that one of the small bay and gulch lying towards the northern end of the island was originally known as "Waaiki Bay".

Where exactly this bay was located remains uncertain. The circa 1889 sketch map of Kaho'olawe is too rough to pinpoint the precise location of "Waaiki Bay". It appears to lie somewhere between "Papaka bay" and "Hakioawa bay". The next map which attempts to locate the bay is a copy of the 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe onto which have been added, in pencil, a number of place names. (L.M.Z. undated) These names appear to date from some time around 1926. We do not know precisely who recorded these names, or where he obtained them. On this map, the place name "Waaiki" has been written in next to the third sandy bay east of Kaulana. The name "Waaiki" has been attached to this bay on almost every map published since that time.

In her "Kahoolawe Place Names", a manuscript list of place names held in the Bishop Museum Archives, Inez Ashdown states that; "Waaiki is mauka in Papakanui." On her various maps of Kaho'olawe, she shows "Waa iki" as lying inland of Loe o Kuikui, somewhere near Lua Kealia Luna. (Ashdown undated-a, Ashdown 1975, Ashdown 1977) In one case she labels the third bay east of Kaulana as "Papaka nui" (Ashdown undated-a), but on her other maps she uses that name to refer to a bay further west. Why Ashdown believed that the name "Waa iki" referred to some feature inland instead of along the coast is not known. Clearly the circa 1889 map referred to it as "Waaiki Bay". However, until such time as we can determine who added the penciled in place names on the circa 1926 map, and what his source for those names may have been, the question of whether he correctly located the site of "Waaiki Bay" will have to remain unanswered.

First Mention:
Waaiki Bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Waaiki Bay - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Waaiki B - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Waaiki - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Waaiki - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Waaiki - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Papaka - 1929 (Unknown undated)
Waaiki - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Waaiki - 1947 (J.S.G.S. 1947)
Waaiki - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Papaka nui - 1970s? (Ashdown undated-a)
Wa'a-iki - 1970s? (Ashdown undated-a)
Waa iki - 1975 (Ashdown 1975)
Waa Iki - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Waaiki - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Waaiki - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Wa'aiki - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Wa'aiki - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Waaiki - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Wa'aiki. Wa'a-iki, lit. small canoe." (Napoka 1983:4)
Malia Lisquara: "Wa'aiki: Coastal area, bay, and gulch, n.east area; literal meaning is small canoe." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kahoolawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society:page 1)
Waaiki Gulch

The use of the term "Waaiki Gulch" appears to have been introduced by the U.S. Geologic Service cartographers in an attempt to distinguish the sand fringed bay west of Lae o Kukui from the gulch which runs inland from it. Such a distinction was probably not made by the island's native residents.

**First Mention:**
Waaaki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)

**Chronology:**
Waaaki Gulch - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Waaaki Gulch - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Waaaki Gulch - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Waaaki Gulch - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Waaaki Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Waaaki Gulch - 1978 (Raposia 1978)
Waaaki Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Waaaki Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
*Malia Liscoura:* "Wa'aiki: Coastal area, bay, and gulch, n.east area; literal meaning is small canoe." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Liscoura", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)

Waaiki Point

This name appears for the first time on a 1980 photo map of Kaho'olawe produced by the U.S. military. It has been printed across the eastern headland of the sandy bay which lies to the west of Lae o Kukui. We can find no reference to this name prior to 1980. It would appear, therefore, that this is a modern place name created by simply applying the name of the bay to its western headland. What the traditional name for this feature may have been is unknown.

First Mention:
Waaiki Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

Chronology:
Waaiki Point - 1980 (29th Engr. 1980)

Previous Translations:
None
Wai 'Awa

This place name appears only in the writings of Inez Ashdown. In her 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett, who was then Navy commander on Kaho'olawe, Ashdown stated that; "Moa'ula nui and Moa'ula-iki, and the main hills above Luamakika, and southward of s.w., maybe, is Pu'u Moiwi. Streams ran also from here to Hakioawa and Kanapou and were named simply as Wai 'Awa. Maybe the 'Awa did grow there long ago.." (from page 4 of the list of place names included with the letter, a copy of which is presently on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office)

It would appear from this statement that Ashdown considered the place name "Wai 'Awa" to refer to those streams feeding into the bays of Hakioawa and Kanapou. As usual, Ashdown provides us with no source for this place name. No other known map or document makes reference "Wai "Awa".

First Mention:
Wai 'Awa - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:4)

Chronology:
Wai 'Awa - 1977 (*Ashdown 1977:4)

Previous Translations:
None
Wai Honu Gulch

Where Lee Motteler came up with this place name is unknown. As far as we can tell, it does not appear among the names included within Inez Ashdown's private papers, which provided the primary source for many of the new names introduced by Motteler. The possibility exists that Motteler felt this would have been the logical name for the gulch which ran inland from the small bay on the island's southwest coast; a bay which he labels "Honukanaenae". (D.M.A. 1982) Given the controversy surrounding the name "Honukanaenae" (see Honukanaenae and Hana Kanaia), it seems best to treat the place name "Wai Honu Gulch" with a godly degree of caution.

**First Mention:**
Wai Honu Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)

**Chronology:**
Wai Honu Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Wai Honu Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Wai Honu Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

**Previous Translations:**
None
Wai Kahalulu

Our first reference to Wai Kahalulu comes in the form of a letter written in 1857 by Paul Nahaolelua and Ioane Richardson. This letter, dated December 7th, 1857, is addressed to Lot Kamehameha, the brother of the reigning King, Kamehameha IV (six years later Lot would himself be crowned Kamehameha V). Lot had commissioned Nahaolelua (who was at that time Governor of Maui) and Richardson to conduct a survey of the island of Kaho'olawe. They were to visit the island and report on its condition, resources and its suitability for stock raising. (Letter from Lot Kamehameha to Paul Nahaolelua dated November 10th, 1857 on file in the Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Letter Books: 7A: 51)

Nahaolelua and Richardson's letter in reply (presently on file in the Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Land File) presents the results of their survey. In this report, they state that; "...the old residents informed us, that there is another brackish water on the south-east side of said island (Kaho'olawe), it is in a bad place under the cliff at a place called Waikaalulu". (Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)

Nahaolelua and Richardson appear to be referring here to the cliff-rimmed bay which cuts into Kaho'olawe's southern shoreline west of Kamohio. Even today, a muddy, brackish water pool can be seen resting at the foot of the cliffs near the head of this bay.

Though Nahaolelua and Richardson refer to this place as "Waikaalulu", most later sources spell the name as "Waikahalulu" (Wall 1886) or "Wai Kahalulu" (Doc. 1126 undated-b & Kauwekane 1917a), adding an "h" between the two "a"s. Since at least one of these later sources, Kauwekane, is known to have been well acquainted with the island of Kaho'olawe, we may assume that "Wai Kahalulu" is probably the proper spelling of this place name. The separation of the place name into the components "Wai" and "Kahalulu", may also help to suggest the name's true meaning.

Several alternatives to this place name do exist, but these appear for the most part to have resulted from the misreading of earlier maps. Both Forbes (Forbes 1913) and Stokes (Stokes 1913: I: 12 & Stokes undated-b), use the number "33" to refer to the bay. Their use of this numerical designation, though puzzling at first, becomes clear when one examines the 1905 bathymetric chart of the waters surrounding Kaho'olawe. (Pratt 1905) On this chart the depth in fathoms for the center of the bay of Wai Kahalulu is marked as "33". This 1905 chart was known to both Forbes and Stokes, and appears to have been used by Forbes as the base from which he traced the map shown in his 1913 report. (Forbes 1913) It would appear that during their 1913 visit to Kaho'olawe, neither Forbes nor Stokes knew the traditional name of the bay. Needing some means of referring to it, they simply
transformed the bay's depth into its name, calling it "33 bay".

On one of his sketch maps of Kaho'olawe, Stokes writes the name "Kealaikahiki" next to this bay, but appears later to correct himself by adding "Waikahalulu". (Stokes undated-a) On his 1916 map, Kenneth Emory makes a similar mistake by misreading Document 1126 (Doc.1126 undated-b) and labeling the bay "Wiliwilipeapea". (Emory 1916)

Where Christian Conradt derived the name "Lua Puhi" is uncertain, but he appears to use it to refer to this bay on his circa 1911 map of Kaho'olawe. (Conradt undated) It is possible that he may have been confusing the name of the bay with that of the nearby blowhole, Puhi Anenue.

In his 1983 list of Kaho'olawe place names, Nathan Napoka mentions a place named "Laepuhi", referencing it back to Conradt's map. (Napoka 1983:3) There is, however, no "Laepuhi" on Conradt's map, only "Lua Puhi". It is apparent that Napoka has misread Conradt's name for the bay.

**First Mention:**
Waikaalulu - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)

**Chronology:**
Waikaalulu - 1857 (*Nahaolelua & Richardson 1857:3)
Waikahalulu - 1886 (Wall 1886)
Wai Kahalulu - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Lua Puhi - 1911? (Conradt undated)[?]
33 - 1913 (Forbes 1913)
33 Bay - 1913 (*Stokes 1913:I:12)
Kealaikahiki - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Waikahalulu - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
33 - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Lua Puhi - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
33 - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1913? (Stokes undated-c)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1916 (Emory 1916)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Wai Kahalulu - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917a)
Wai Kahalulu - 1917 (Kauwekeane 1917b)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1925? (Dranga? undated)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1926? (L.M.Z. undated)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1926 (U.S.G.S. 1926)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1929 (U.S.G.S. 1929)
Wai Kahaluu - 1929? (Unknown undated)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1933 (McAllister 1933)
Waikahalulu - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1939 (Stearns 1939)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1940 (Stearns 1940a)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1947 (U.S.G.S. 1947)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1954 (U.S.N. 1954)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1965 (Klingensmith 1965)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1970s (Tax Key undated)
Waikahalulu iki - undated (Ashdown undated)
wai ka ha lulu Bay - 1975 (Ashdown 1975a)
Wai kaha lulu - 1975 (Ashdown 1975b)
Wai Kahalulu Bay - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1978 (Raposa 1978)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:4)
Laepuhi - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)
Waikahalulu Bay - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

* Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Waikahalulu Bay. Wai-ka-halulu, lit. water (of) the roaring or waterfall." (Napoka 1983:4) "Laepuhi. Lae-puhi, lit eel point." (Napoka 1983:3)
Malia Lisquara: "Waikahalulu Bay: large bay, south coast area; literal meaning is water of the roaring." (from a manuscript list of "Place Names of Kaho'olawe" labeled "from Malia Lisquara", on file at the Maui Historical Society: page 1)
Inez Ashdown: "Waikahalulu... Roaring waters" (Ashdown "Map And Place Names Of Kaho'olawe" an undated manuscript in the Maui Historical Society: page 3)
Pukui, Elbert & Mookini: "Wai-ka-halulu...Bay, south Ka-ho'olawe...Lit., water [of] the roaring." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini 1974:222)
Waikahalulu Gulch

It would appear that when a native Hawaiian speaker, such as J. Kauwekane, recorded a place name like Wai Kahalulu, he was using that name to refer both to the bay and to the valley or gulch that ran inland from it. It is only in the late historical period that we begin to encounter maps which make a distinction between "Waikahalulu Bay" and "Waikahalulu Gulch". The first published map to do so was the Defence Mapping Agency's 1982 topographic map of Kaho'olawe. Their source for this name appears to have been Lee Motteler, who may himself have obtained it from Inez Ashdown. Given the relatively recent origin of this place name, it would seem best to exclude it from any map of Kaho'olawe which was intended to include only the island's traditional names.

An alternate name for at least one portion of this gulch has also come into use relatively recently. The term "Klein's Gulch" is presently used by members of the U.S. Navy to refer to a deep erosion gully which intersects the island's main road to the east of "Puu Kahua". This gully appears to form part of the stream system which eventually flows into the bay of Wai Kahalulu. The name, "Klein's Gulch", refers back to a former naval Captain stationed on Kaho'olawe during the early 1970s. At present this gully is used as a dumping place for scrap metal collected off the surface of the island.

First Mention:
Wai ka ha lulu Stream - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Wai ka ha lulu Stream - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)
Waikahalulu Gulch - 1977 (Motteler 1977b)
Waikahalulu Gulch - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Waikahalulu Gulch - 1984 (U.S.G.S., 1984)
Klein's Gulch - Current Navy usage

Previous Translations:
None
Wai Lalo

On a sketch map of Kaho'olawe sent by Inez Ashdown as part of a 1977 letter to Captain C. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, Ashdown has written the note, "Lae Paki has a Spring named WAI LALO". (Ashdown 1977) She locates this spring just inland of the promontory which lies halfway between Kaukaukapapa and Honokoa. Ashdown identifies the promontory as "Lae Paki". As of yet we have been unable to discover any further references to this place name or to the spring to which it refers.

First Mention:
Wai Lalo - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Chronology:
Wai Lalo - 1977 (Ashdown 1977)

Previous Translations:
None
Wai o Kanaloa

This place name comes to us from a letter written by Inez Ashdown to Mary Kawena Pukui and dated 27th March, 1960, a copy of which is held among Ashdown's papers at the Maui Historical Society. In this letter she writes that; "Kanaloa was an ancient name of the island [Kaho'olawe], and he was the god who visited there with Kane and made the hidden water spring, Wai o Kanaloa, that comes up out of the sea at Kanapou' u area." (page 5)

Ashdown does not tell us where exactly this brackish water spring bubbles up from the sea bed, but it would appear that it was located somewhere in Kanapou bay. She also provides us with no indication as to where or from whom she learned this place name. There does exist, of course, the possibility that "Wai o Kanaloa" is simply another name for the spring which Ashdown elsewhere refers to as "Punawai Honu (or Huna)" or "Puna Pee" (see above).

To further confuse the matter, Ashdown speaks of a "hidden water spring" apparently named Kanaloa which "comes up out of the sea" to the west of Kamohio bay. In a note on page 57 of her annotated copy of McAllister's Archaeology of Kaho'olawe (on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum) Ashdown states that the place name Kaneloa, situated to the west of Kamohio bay, should be, "Kanaloa not Kaneloa. Kanaloa was the very ancient god-name of Kahoolawe, referring to when he visited there with Kane. There is a hidden water spring so named there, that comes up out of the sea." One can only wonder whether this is a different spring, or whether Ashdown has simply confused the location of "Wai o Kanaloa".

**First Mention:**
Wai o Kanaloa - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)

**Chronology:**
Wai o Kanaloa - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)

**Previous Translations:**
Inez Ashdown: "Kana-loa was an ancient name of the island, and he was the god who visited there with Kane and made the hidden water spring, Wai o Kanaloa, that comes up out of the sea at Kanapou'u area." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui, dated 27th March, 1960, a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
Wai puna pe'e

On a 1975 sketch map of Kaho'olawe, Inez Ashdown marks a spot which appears to lie just east of Kuheia bay. She labels this area with the notation, "well is Wai puna pe'e". (Ashdown 1975a) In her letter to Jane Silverman, which accompanies this map, she clarifies this by stating that: "The stone paved well east of the big house where we lived at Ku heeria is Waipuna pe'e". (A copy of this letter is held at the Hawaii State Historical Preservation Office: page 2)

We know from the writings of geologist Harold Stearns that there formerly existed a stone lined ranch well, built by R. Von Tempsky probably some time in the 1890s, within the neighboring valley of Kaulana. (Stearns 1940:130) From Ashdown's map, however, it does not appear that she is referring to this well for she marks "Kaulama [Kaulana] Pt and Bay" as lying to the east of "Wai puna pe'e". There is at present no archaeological or documentary evidence to suggest that a "stone paved well" ever existed within the valley of Kuheia.

**First Mention:**
Waipuna’pe’ – 1975 (Ashdown 1975)

**Chronology:**
Waipuna’pe’ – 1975 (Ashdown 1975)

**Previous Translations:**
*Nathan Napoka:* "Waipunape'e, Wai-puna-pe'e, lit. hidden spring water. Name for stone paved well on the eastern side of Kuheia." (Napoka 1983:4)
Wiliwilipeapea

Like so many of Kaho'olawe's place names, "Wiliwilipeapea" makes its first appearance on the undated sketch map of Kaho'olawe found in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc.1126 undated-b) On this map it has been written in along the south coast, midway between Kalama and Wai Kahalulu. It is difficult to determine from the handwriting whether the name has been written "Wiliwilipeapea" or "Wili wili peapea". Later cartographers, led by J.F.G. Stokes, have assumed that the name refers to the eastern headland of Waikahalulu bay. Though this assumption seems logical enough, the rough nature of the original map from which the name has been taken makes it impossible to be certain.

Nathan Napoka, in his 1983 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names" (Napoka 1983:3), gives this name as "Laewiliwilipe'a'ape'a", adding the prefix "Lae" to indicate his belief that the name applies to the headland. As has been said before, there is no direct evidence for this.

First Mention:
Wiliwilipeapea - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)

Chronology:
Wiliwilipeapea - 1889? (Doc.1126 undated-b)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1913? (Stokes undated-a)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1913? (Stokes undated-b)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1917 (Stokes 1917)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1933 (*McAllister 1933:58)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1977 (Motteler 1977a)
Wiliwilipe'a'ape'a - 1983 (Motteler 1983)
Wiliwilipe'a'ape'a - 1983 (*Motteler 1983:5)
Laewiliwilipe'a'ape'a - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)
Wiliwilipeapea - 1984 (U.S.G.S. 1984)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Laewiliwilipe'a'ape'a. Lae-wiliwili-pei'ape'a, lit. cape of entangled wiliwili or Erythrina sanwicensis trees." (Napoka 1983:3)
Place Names, Location Uncertain

Hoaka

Our only reference to this place name comes from a handwritten Hawaiian manuscript presently held in the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (HI. K.8) Though this document possesses neither author's name nor date, it appears to have been composed some time in the late 1800s or early 1900s. An English translation of the document, completed by Mary Kawena Fukui, also survives in the Museum Archives. (HEN I:199-200)

One section of this manuscript enumerates the various fishing grounds ("Na Ko-a lawaia") of Honuaula, Maui. It makes mention of a number of physical features used in triangulating the location of these fishing grounds. Among the physical features used to locate one of these fishing grounds is "Hoaka".

"IX. Na-ia-a-Kamahalu is another one. When Hoaka, which is in the upland of Kahoolawe on the western side appear to be in line with the cape of Ke-ala-i-kahiki ("o Hoaka pili aiai uha o Kahoolawe ma ka a aoao[?] o Komohana i uka pono o Ka lae o Kealaikahiki,"), that is the upper mark. When the hill of Keoneoio appears to be in line on the seaward side of Puu-olai, that is the lower landmark."

"Hoaka" would appear, from this description, to rest somewhere in the western interior of Kaho'olawe. Since we do not know the type of feature to which this place name refers (the authors of this document obviously took it for granted that their readers would know what "Hoaka" was), it is difficult to suggest where to place it.

We do know that "Hoaka" must have been a relatively prominent feature, possibly a hill, which could have been seen from a canoe adrift in the Alalakeiki channel. It would also have been situated in such a way that it could be lined up with Lae o Kealaikaniki. Our best way to relocate this place would therefore be to take a boat out into the Alalakeiki channel and see what prominent physical feature(s) on the western side of Kaho'olawe can be visually aligned with Lae o Kealaikahiki.

First Mention:
Hoaka - undated (HI. K.8)

Chronology:
Hoaka - undated (HI. K.8)

Previous Translations:
None
Ku-na-na

The papers of Inez Ashdown provide our first and only source for this place name. In a 1960 letter to Mary Kawena Pukui, Ashdown wrote, "Ku-na-na, to be puzzled. It was here that the revenue officers always lost sight of Alfred Devereal, or Devereaux, I am forgetting names these days." (a copy of this letter is held among Ashdown's papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5) Ashdown repeats this statement in an undated letter to "Angus" on file in the Bishop Museum Archives. "Ku na'na' = To be puzzled. I think the name refers to Alfred Deverells "puzzling" the revenue men." (page 1)

According to Ashdown, Alfred Deverel was an opium smuggler who used the isolated island of Kaho'olawe as a transshipment point. "In 1918 we went to Kaho'olawe aboard the "Heelai Mari", with my "Uncle" Eben Low who had brought us to the islands in December of 1907. He had been running a sheep ranch on the island, but the Territorial government had changed its policy and he was giving up the place. As he steered his ship through Ke-ala-i-Kahiki channel toward Ku Heelai Bay where his house stood, Uncle Eben told us many stories about his island. I remember particularly the one about Alfred Deverel of Hawaii (I think that's how his name was spelled). It seems that Alfred ran an opium ship for Hung Tai, a Chinese man at Kihei, Maui. It was a work ship, but they handled opium for those people who used it as others use tobacco, in those days. The Revenue Cutter could never catch Alfred and his ship, and he had quite a reputation as a wild scamp, but most likeable.

Then something went wrong so that a young crewman saw Alfred hiding away a part of the opium money. Alfred killed him, and his ghost haunted the island ever after. Alfred went to Kihei and the Chinese confronted him with the story that Alfred had hidden away about a hundred thousand dollars in gold and silver, and he should have shared it with Hung Tai. Alfred laughed and asked what could be done about it, since none knew the hiding place. Hung Tai smiled, asked him to eat, and then Alfred died, poisoned. No one had ever found the hidden gold and silver." (Ashdown's letter to Pukui: pages 1 & 2)

The truth behind this yarn is difficult to disentangle. In June of 1898, John Hake (or Haake), Captain of the Schooner Labrador, was arrested on Kaho'olawe for the crime of unlawfully importing opium. He was sentenced to eighteen months hard labor and a fine of $500.00. Two years later, in June, 1900, Hake was granted a pardon. (from documents dated 5/29/1900 on file in the Foreign Office & Exchequer File in the Hawaii State Archives). Alfred Deverill, on the other hand, is listed in the 1894-5 Honolulu City Directory as "rancher, Kahoolawe". (Husted 1894-5:371). He appears to have been the manager of Kaho'olawe ranch for at least a few of the years during which it was owned by the Kynnersly Brothers and Randall von Tempsky. Many of our earliest photographs of
the island were taken by Deverill or by members of his family (these photographs are housed at the Bishop Museum Archives). Whether Deverill ever smuggled opium is problematic. It would appear that, in the interests of a good story, Eben Low (who was himself something of a "wild scamp") attributed Hake's exploits to an individual whose name he was more familiar with and proceeded to embellish on them a bit.

Where or what "Ku-na-na" may have been, if indeed it ever existed, remains a mystery.

**First Mention:**

Ku-na-na - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)

**Chronology:**

Ku-na-na - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:5)

**Previous Translations:**

Inez Ashdown: "Ku-na-na, to be puzzled." (Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 5)
Laehinahina

Nathan Napoka includes "Laehinahina" within his 1983 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names". (Napoka 1983:3) Though he gives no indication as to the location of this lae, he describes it as being among the, "Names supplied by Inez Ashdown in various letters to the State Hist. Pres. Office." (Napoka 1983:5) At this time we have been unable to uncover any mention of "Laehinahina" within Ashdown's papers.

First Mention:
Laehinahina - 1983 (Napoka 1983:3)

Chronology:
Laehinahina - 1983 (Napoka 1983:3)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Laehinahina. Lae-hinahina, lit. point where hinahina (Heli-tropium anomalum var. argentelum) grows." (Napoka 1983:3)
La-la-o

Our only mention of this name comes in a letter from Inez Ashdown to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960, a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society. As part of a list of Kaho'olawe place names included with this letter, Ashdown mentions, "La-la-o, the accompanying, because the heat insisted on going along with you."(page 6) Since this list is roughly alphabetical, it is impossible to determine where on the island the feature bearing this place name would have been located. Ashdown's description of the name gives us neither its location nor any idea as to the physical feature to which it refers.

First Mention:
La-la-o - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:6)

Chronology:
La-la-o - 1960 (*Ashdown 1960:6)

Previous Translations:
Inez Ashdown: "La-la-o, the accompanying, because the heat insisted on going along with you."(Ashdown's letter to Mary Kawena Pukui dated 27th March, 1960 a copy of which is held among her papers at the Maui Historical Society: page 6)
Luaokaolua

Nathan Napoka, who includes "Luaokaolua" within his 1983 list of "Kahoolawe Place Names", gives no indication as to where he obtained this name, nor does he associate the name with any particular physical feature. (Napoka 1983:3) The place name "Luaokaolua" does not appear on any of the known maps of Kaho'olawe, and has not yet been found in any historic reference to the island.

First Mention:
Luaokaolua - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)

Chronology:
Luaokaolua - 1983 (*Napoka 1983:3)

Previous Translations:
Nathan Napoka: "Luaokaolua, Lua-o-ka-olua, lit. your (two) pit." (Napoka 1983:3)
Conclusions & Recommendations

The various documents which comprise this report do not, in themselves, provide an answer to the riddle of Kaho'olawe's place names. They exist simply as tools to help us better understand the origins and evolution of these names. With these tools at our disposal, however, we can begin the process of identifying the island's traditional names and bringing those names back into common usage.

This report is but the first step in that process. The background research has been done. The names have been collected and their pedigrees traced. What is needed now is the assistance of a small group of experts; native Hawaiian speakers and individuals familiar with the island of Kaho'olawe, who can attempt to translate and interpret these place names.

The organization best suited to oversee this next stage of research would appear to be the Hawaiian Board of Geographic Names. By supplementing its own staff of experts with individuals possessing a detailed knowledge of Kaho'olawe's physical topography, the Board could easily put together a team capable of reviewing, assessing and interpreting the island's place names.

It would be the task of this team to separate out place names of clearly modern origin from those which possess more traditional roots. They would also be responsible for selecting the "most traditional" version of a particular place name. Such work would not be easy. Even more difficult would be the task of endeavoring to provide translations for these names. In many cases not enough information exists to even attempt such a translation. In other instances, however, it may be possible, by reviewing the elements of a place name and visiting the physical
feature to which the name belongs, to suggest the most likely meaning for that name.

Only when this task has been completed, and we possess a reliable list of the traditional place names of Kaho'olawe, can the existing maps of the island be revised and updated. Only then can the correct place names be substituted for the many erroneous names which crowd our present maps. With this accomplished, we will have begun the process of bringing these names back to life, and of restoring them to their rightful place on the land.
Appendix A

A GLOSSARY OF HAWAIIAN GEOGRAPHIC TERMS

ana: "Cave, grotto." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:22)

Hana-: "Bay, valley (only in place names, as Hanalei, Hanapepe)." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:52)

Hono-: "Bay, gulch, valley (as a part of place names such as Honolulu; Honokohau...)." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:74)

'ili: "Land section, next in importance to ahupua'a and usually a subdivision of an ahupua'a." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:91)

ko'a: "Fishing grounds, usually identified by lining up with marks on shore. Shrine, often consisting of circular piles of coral or stone, built along the shore or by ponds or streams, used in ceremonies as to make fish multiply." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:144)

lae: "Cape, point, promontory." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:175)


lua: "Hole, pit, den, cave, mine, crater." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:195)

'oawa: "Same as awaawa, valley." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:253)

pali: "Cliff, precipice; steep hill; full of cliffs." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:287)

pohaku: "Rock, stone, mineral." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:308)

puhi: "a blowhole." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:322)

puna: "Spring (of water)." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:327)

punawai: "Water spring." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:328)

pu'u: "Any kind of a protuberance from a pimple to a hill; hill, peak, mound." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:330)

Wai: "Place names beginning with Wai-, river, stream." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:349)
Non-Geographic Terms

heiau: "Pre-Christian place of worship" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:60)

iki: "Small, little" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:91)

kahua hale: "House foundation or site." (Pukui & Elbert 1971:106)

lalo: "Down, downward, low, lower, under beneath" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:177)

li'ili'i: "small, little" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:189)

luna: "High, upper, above, over, up" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:198)

nui: "Big, large, great, important" (Pukui & Elbert 1971:250)
Appendix B

KAHO'OOLawe MAP CHRONOLOGY

The following is a chronological listing of the charts and maps which concern themselves with the island of Kaho'olawe. An attempt has been made to include all of the maps drawn specifically of the island itself, as well as a number of early maps showing the entire Hawaiian chain. Those maps of the Hawaiian chain which, though they include Kaho'olawe, do not provide any new or interesting information concerning the island, have been omitted.

The date preceding each entry is the date, as far as can be determined, at which the map was drawn, not necessarily the date of its publication. In many cases additional information, such as place names, have been added to a pre-existing map. In such instances, the date of the additions (when known) and not of the map itself, is the date given. Place names have been listed according to their location on Kaho'olawe, beginning in the northeast and moving clockwise around the island.

The notation added in parenthesis at the end of each entry is the reference for the map. It serves as a shorthand key by which someone scanning the "Kaho'olawe Gazetteer", or other listings, may refer back to the map.
1779
"CHART of the SANDWICH ISLANDS". From the atlas of Captain James Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, published in 1784. (Cook 1784: III:1) This chart is attributed to Lieutenant Henry Roberts. It shows the course taken by Cook's ships past the western end of Kaho'olawe, labeled here as "TAHOOROWA". Although the entire island is shown, only its western end, that portion seen from Cook's vessels, can be can be considered as possessing any accuracy of detail. (Roberts 1779)

1786
"CARTE DES ILES SANDWICH, Assujettie aux Observations faites a bord des Fregates Francaises la Boussole et l'Astrolabe, pour les parties qui ont ete visitees par ces Fregates, et aux Observations du Capitaine Cook pour les autres parties de cet Archipel.". From the atlas of Jean Francois de Galaup La Perouse's *Voyage de La Perouse Autour du Monde*, Publie Conformement au Decret du 22 Avril 1791, et Redige par M.L.A. Millet-Mureau, published in 1797. (La Perouse 1797:Atlas:Pl.13) This chart appears to have been drawn by La Perouse's hydrographer Bernizet. It shows the entire Hawaiian chain with a dotted line tracing the route of La Perouse's vessels past "MOWEE" (Maui), "Morokinne" (Molokini), "TAHOOROWA" (Kaho'olawe), "RANAI" (Lana'i) and "MOROTOI" (Mo'orea). On this map the entire island of Kaho'olawe is shown; the eastern half having been surveyed by La Perouse's expedition, and the western half being taken from the earlier chart of Captain Cook's voyage (Roberts 1779). (Bernizet 1786a)

1786
"CARTE DES PARTIES DES ILES SANDWICH, qui ont ete visitees au mois de Mai 1786 par les Fregates Francaises la Boussole et l'Astrolabe, Assujettie aux Observations faites a bord de ces Fregates.". From the atlas of Jean Francois de Galaup La Perouse's *Voyage de La Perouse Autour du Monde*, Publie Conformement au Decret du 22 Avril 1791, et Redige par M.L.A. Millet-Mureau, published in 1797. (La Perouse 1797:Atlas:Pl.13) This chart appears to have been drawn by La Perouse's hydrographer Bernizet. It shows "Partie de WOAHHOO" (Oahu), "MOROTOI" (Mo'orea), "RANAI" (Lana'i), "Partie de L'ILE MOWEE" (Maui), "Morokinne" (Molokini), "Partie de TAHOOROWA" (Kaho'olawe) and "OWHYHEE" (Hawaii'i). Only the northeastern portion of Kaho'olawe has been drawn in. A dotted line traces the route of La Perouse's vessels around the southeastern tip of Maui, through the strait between Maui and Molokini, down the Kealaihiki channel separating Kaho'olawe and Lana'i then north through the Kaiwi channel. (Bernizet 1786b)
1791
"Hope's Track Among the Sandwich Islands". From Joseph Ingraham's *Journal of the Brigantine Hope*. (Ingraham 1971: facing page 82) This chart is taken from Ingraham's manuscript journal of the voyage of the trading ship *Hope*, which visited the Hawaiian islands in 1791. The chart, which was drawn by Ingraham himself, shows the course of the *Hope* as it passed twice through the island chain. On the first of these visits, the vessel skirted the east coast of Kaho'olawe, passing between it and Molokini on the 25th of May, 1791. On its second visit, the *Hope*, sailing from Hawai'i to Oahu, edged the island's southern coast before rounding its west end on the 10th of October, 1791. Ingraham identifies the island as "Tahoorowa", but does not provide any internal place names. A photostat of the chart can be found in the collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society [MS 919.69 In4]. Ingraham's original manuscript is held at the Library of Congress. (Ingraham 1791a)

1791
"Views of islands of Hawaii". From Joseph Ingraham's *Journal of the Brigantine Hope*. (Ingraham 1971) This drawing, done by Joseph Ingraham, includes two coastal perspectives of Kaho'olawe, as seen from the northeast and the northwest. The island is labeled as "Tahoorowa". A photostat of this drawing can be found in the collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society [MS 919.69 In4]. Ingraham's original manuscript is held at the Library of Congress. (Ingraham 1791b)

1792-93
"A CHART of the SANDWICH ISLANDS as Surveyed during the Visits of His Majesty's Sloop DISCOVERY and Armed Tender CHATHAM Commanded by GEORGE VANCOUVER Esq. in the Years 1792 1793 & 1794 and prepared under his immediate inspection by Lieut. Joseph Baker." From George Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, published in 1798. (Vancouver 1798: Pl. 15) This chart, drawn by Joseph Baker, shows the route of Vancouver's ships around the western tip of Kaho'olawe (dated "March 6 1792") as well as their later course between Kaho'olawe and Maui (dated "March 30[?] 1793"). On this map the island is labeled "TAHOOROWA". (Baker 1792-93)

1827
"This map appears as the frontispiece to the third edition of William Ellis' *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii or Owhyhee*, published in 1827. (Ellis 1827: frontispiece and facing page 41) The island is referred as "Tahurawe", and there are no internal place names shown. (Ellis 1827)
1834
"NA MOKUPUNI o HAWAIINEI, Kulanui Lahanaluna, Na Kalama i Kakau, 1834." A small map engraved and printed in 1834 by Kalama, a student at the Lahainaluna seminary. It identifies the island as "KAHOOLAWE" and gives the place name "L. Kealaikahiki" to the island's westernmost tip. This would appear to be the first map to employ the currently accepted spelling of Kaho'olawe. It is also the first to identify one of the island's place names. A copy of the map is in the possession of the Hawaii Mission Children's Society Library [No. L63]. (Kalama 1834)

Undated (possibly 1834)
"NA MOKUPUNI O HAWAIINEI". This undated map, engraved and printed at Lahainaluna seminary, shows the island of "KAHOOLAWE", and gives "L. Kealaikahiki" as its only place name. The map was probably drawn some time in the 1830s. It strongly resembles the 1834 map drafted by Kalama. (Kalama 1834) A copy of this map is in the collection of the Hawaii Mission Children's Society Library [No. L62]. (Lahainaluna undated)

1836
"NA MOKUPUNI o HAWAIINEI, Kulanui Lahanaluna, Na Kalama i Kakau, 1836." A map engraved and printed in 1836 by a Hawaiian student at Lahainaluna by the name of Kalama. It shows "KAHOOLAWE" as well as "L. Kealaikahiki" [Lae o Kealaikahiki]. A copy of this map is in the Bishop Museum Archives [Lahainaluna Oversized Prints]. (Kalama 1836)

1838
"A MAP OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, According to the latest Surveys, Na Kalama i kaha, LAHAINALUNA, 1838". A wall map drawn and engraved by a student at Lahainaluna named Kalama. This map shows the districts of the various islands (distinguished by being shaded in different colors), as well as the names of their internal ahupua'a. The island of Kaho'olawe is labeled "KAHOOLAWE", and possesses no internal names (suggesting it was considered a single ahupua'a). Kaho'olawe is colored yellow, as is the adjacent district of Honuaula on Maui, a suggestion that there may possibly be some connection between them. One almost illegible copy of this map rests in the Hawaii State Archives, the other in the Royal Geographical Society, London [Pacific Oc.-Dist. Hawaii Islands, 1838 D.188]. (Kalama 1838)

1839
"NA MOKUPUNI O HAWAI, LAHAINALUNA, 1839, Na Kapohoni i kaha". This map, drawn by a Hawaiian named Kapohoni, is included in He Mau Palapala Aina, A Me Na Niele E Pili Ana (Atlas and Questions Pertaining Thereto), an atlas of the world printed at Lahainaluna in 1840. The island of "Kahoolawe" is shown on Kapohoni's map, as well as the place
names "Kanapuu" [at the large bay on the island's east coast] and "L. Kealaikahiki". In the accompanying text, "He Mau Niele No Ka Palapala Honua", Kahoolawe is mentioned on page 5 in the following questions: "No Kahoolawe. Ai mahea o Kahoolawe? He mokupuni nui anei?" (roughly translated as "Where is Kahoolawe? Is it a big island?"). The atlas appears to have been compiled by Lorin Andrews. Three copies of this atlas are on file at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library [H 912, M44, m^f]. One of these is hand painted with Kaho'olawe colored yellow, and the neighboring Honuaule district of Maui painted a dark green. (Kapohoni 1839a)

1839
"NA MOKUPUNI O HAWAII, LAHAINALUNA, 1839, Na Kapohoni i kaha". This map is included in He Mau Palapala Aina, A Me Na Niele No Ka Hoikehonua No Na Kamalii (Certain Maps and Geographic Questions For Children), this is a reduced version of the 1839 Lahainaluna atlas. The map shows only "KAHOOLawe" with no other place names. In the accompanying text are the same two questions as in the larger atlas. Three copies of this atlas are on file at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library [H 912, An2m]. (Kapohoni 1839b)

1839
"NA MOKUPUNI O HAWAII NEI, LAHAINALUNA 1839". This map, engraved and printed at Lahainaluna school, identifies "KAHOOLawe", as well as "L. Kealaikahiki" and "Kanapua" [at Kanapou bay]. A copy of this map is in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library [No. L64]. (Lahainaluna 1839)

1840
This untitled map appears in a small atlas entitled Maps of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. (A.B.C.F.M. 1840:) It shows the islands of "MOLOKAI", "LANAI", "MAUI" and "KAHOOLawe". The author of this map is unknown, and it appears to have been based upon one of the earlier Lahainaluna maps. The only place name shown is "C. Kealaikanihi" [Lae o Kealaikahiki]. (A.B.C.F.M. 1840)

1841
"MAP OF THE HAWAIIAN GROUP OR SANDWICH ISLANDS BY THE U.S. Ex. Ex. 1841". From the frontispiece of the fourth volume of Charles Wilkes' Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, published in 1845. (Wilkes 1845:IV:frontispiece) This map of the islands, compiled during the U.S. Exploring Expedition's visit to Hawai'i, shows both the island of "KAHOOLawe" and "Kealaikahiki Pt." It is not known who drafted this particular map. It was Wilkes' belief that the results of the Expedition's survey's owed their existence to
all members of the Expedition, and thus no names were attached to individual maps. (Wilkes 1841)

1841
"Map of the Hawaiian Islands". This map is published in James Dana's *Geology*, which comprises Volume X of the *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Dana 1884:X:fac ing page 155). It would appear that the map, which shows the entire Hawaiian chain as well as an enlarged inset of Oahu, was drawn by James Dana and based upon the official chart of the voyage. The island of Kaho'olawe is referred to on this map as "KAHOOLawe". No individual place names are shown. (Dana 1841)

1843
"Map of the Hawaiian Islands, Lahainaluna, 1843". This map, engraved and printed at Lahainaluna, shows the island of "KAHOOLawe" and gives as its only place name "Cape Kealaikahiki". A copy of the map is in the Bishop Museum Archives [Lahainaluna Drawer-Prints Oversized]. (Lahainaluna 1843)

Undated (possibly 1843)
"Ka Pae Aina o Hawaii". This map, engraved and printed at Lahainaluna, shows the main islands of the Hawaiian chain. "KAHOOLawe" is colored in blue, and "L. Kealaikahiki" is shown. A copy of this map rests in the Bishop Museum Archives [Lahainaluna #16]. (Lahainaluna undated)

1843
"Map of the Hawaiian Islands". This map comprises the frontispiece of Sheldon Dibble's book *History of the Sandwich Islands*. (Dibble 1843:frontispiece) It appears to have been copied from one of the earlier Lahainaluna maps. Dibble's map gives the name of the island as "KAHOOLawe", and shows the place name "Cape Kealaikahiki". (Dibble 1843)

1843
"THE SANDWICH ISLANDS Compiled from various Surveys by JAMES WYLD, GEOGRAPHER TO THE QUEEN & TO H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, Charing Cross East, LONDON". This map was compiled by a commercial cartographic firm in London, and the information appearing on it was drawn together from various sources. The place names which appear on this map were probably taken from one of the early maps printed at Lahainaluna seminary. These names include; "TAHOORawe", "C. Kealaikahiki" and "Kanapau" [at Kanapou bay]. A copy of this map appears in Gary Fitzpatrick's book *The Early Mapping of Hawaii*. (Fitzpatrick 1986:144-145) (Wyld 1843)
1843
"THE SANDWICH ISLANDS from various Official Documents
Compiled by John Arrowsmith, London, Pub. Nov. 7th 1843 by
John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square". This map, printed in
London in 1843, was compiled from various charts made of the
island by early voyagers. The presence of the two place
names "C. Kealaikahiki" and "Kanapau"[at Kanapou bay] suggest
that Arrowsmith had access to one of the maps printed at
Lahainaluna seminary, of to a source which had taken the
names from those maps. The similarity between this map and
James Wyld's map published in the same year suggests that one
was probably copied from the other. On Arrowsmith's map the
island is identified as "TAHOORANE", with its two place names
being "C. Kealaikahiki" and "Kanapau"[at Kanapou bay]. A
copy of this map can be found at the Hawaii State Archives
[MAP G4382 1843 .A7, line 188, No. 3.](Arrowsmith 1843)

1876
"MAP OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, Compiled from various Surveys
by W.D. ALEXANDER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT
SURVEY, C.J. LYONS AND M.D. MONSARRAT ASSISTANTS, DRAWN BY H.
GILES, HONOLULU. FOR THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION,
1876. SCALE 1/360,000. J.L. SMITH, MAP PUBLISHERS, 27 South
Sixth St. Philadelphia." This is one of the earliest printed
maps completed by the Hawaii Government Survey. At that time
the government had not yet undertaken a survey of Kaho'olawe,
and so the appearance of the island is based on a large
degree on early navigational charts and on the maps produced
at the Lahainaluna seminary. A legend printed at the bottom
of this map indicates that the "AUTHORITIES" used in
preparing it were, for "HAWAII, MAUI and its surrounding
Islands, Partial Trigonometrical Survey as above
["Trigonometrical Survey by the Hawaiian Government"] [a
small portion of the map has flaked away making it impossible
to read the beginning of the next word]...oisances and the
Maps of Vancouver, Wilkes, The American Mission, East Hawaii
by J.M. Lydgate, [here again a part of the map has flaked
away]...er Assistant Surveyor, North Hawaii by C.J. Lyons." On
this map of the main islands of the Hawaiian chain, the
island of Kaho'olawe is labeled "KAHOOLawe" and its only
place name is "Kealaikahiki Pt". A flaking and badly
deteriorated copy of this map is held at the Hawaii State
Archives [MAP G4382 1876 .H38 .S9].(Giles 1876)

1880
"HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY, W.D. ALEXANDER SURVEYOR GENERAL,
GENERAL MAP OF THE ISLAND OF MAUI, As Surveyed to March 1st
1880, Scale 1:60000, 5000 FT PER INCH, APRIL 1880, FRANK S.
DODGE". This map does not show the island of Kaho'olawe
itself, but includes a survey station mark (A) labeled
"KAHOOLawe 1428". Evidence suggests that this survey station
was situated atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki. Mention of it appears in
the "1st Draft of Report for Apr. 1. 1876." written by W.D,
"I propose to carry on to completion the survey of the island of Maui, including the districts of Kipahulu, Kaupo & Kahikinui & the greater part of West Maui. At the same time I wish to occupy a few primary stations, viz, three on Molokai, and one on Kahoolawe, with the 12 inch theodolite, so as to complete the chain of triangles which connects together Oahu and Hawaii." (this draft report comes from the files of page 17) Some time between the writing of this document and the completion of the 1880 map, a surveyor visited Kaho'olawe and set up a transit station "On the summit of a conical rocky hill in the west central part of the island of Kahoolawe called Moaula." This station was marked by "an iron pile & cairn of stones." (this quote is taken from a single page manuscript housed in the Archives of the Bishop Museum - SC Stokes, Gr.2, Box 2-13) Two further unnamed survey stations also appear on this map; one to the northeast (possibly atop the rim of Lua Kealia Luna) and southeast (possibly on the cliffs south of Kanapou bay). These are mentioned in another of Alexander's reports when he states that; "Accordingly in April & May I reconnoitered those districts, selected stations, set signals, etc, and was then engaged in the field work till the end of October 1879. A series of triangles was measured, including three stations sighted to on Kahoolawe," (page 7) The original and apparently the only copy of this map is held at the Hawaii State Survey Office [Reg. 1264, 4-20]. (Dodge 1880)

1886
"HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, MAUI SECTION, Reduced from F.S. Dodge's Map of Maui, M.D. Monsarrat's Map of Molokai, and J.F. Brown's & M.D. Monsarrat's Map of Lanai, Lat. & Long. from F.S. Dodge Map of Maui, Scale 1:120000, Map By, W.A. WALL, 1886". The island of Kaho'olawe has been drawn in very roughly on this map. With the exception of Kanapou, none of the islands numerous bays are shown. The same is true for most of its other coastal features. Hachure marks give a general idea of the island's topography, but individual internal features are almost impossible to discern. The only inked in place names present on this map are the survey station atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki, which is labeled "Kahoolawe", and "Kealaikahiki Pt." marking the island's western tip. A set of additional names has, however, been penciled onto the original. These penciled in names include; "Kuikui Pt."[near the island's northeastern point], "Kanapou B."[at the large bay on the island's east coast], "Halon Pt."[written down near Lae o Kaka]; "Waikahaulu"[in the area of Kamohio bay], "Kunaka"[in the area of Wiliwilipepea], "Kealaikahiki"[on the south coast about where Hanakanaia might be], "Lae Paki"[written in just above the inked name "Kealaikahiki Pt."], three small crosses appear to mark the position of Kuia Shoal], "Kaulana"[on the north coast about where Kaulana should be], "Hanaula or Moaula"[written in the island's interior south of the "Kahoolawe" survey station, possibly at the location of Pu'u o Moulanui], "Lae Mamamo" [location
Uncertain, this place name is written in the middle of the Alaakuliku channel with an arrow who endpoint is uncertain], "Submarine forest" [in the waters of the Alaakuliku Channel between Kaho'olawe and Molokini], "Kahunu" [highest point on Molokini], "Pahoe o Lono" [eastern point of Molokini]. In the lower right-hand corner of this map is the handwritten note, "Maui (Lahaina) L.M.Z." These last three letters appear to be initials, possibly those of the informant who provided the place names, or the individual who added them to the map. None of the surveyors working for the Hawaiian government at that time (or later for the Territory) possessed these initials. We do not know when these notes were added to the map, though a map possessing similar initials appears to date to around 1926. (L.M.Z. 1926) Penciled in names taken from Wall's map were used by J.F.G. Stokes on a map drawn around 1913 (Stokes undated), suggesting that these names were added to the original map some time between 1886 and 1913. Wall's map containing these penciled notes can be found in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Reg. 1272, 4-20). (Wall 1886)

Undated (possibly 1889)
"Kahoolawe is an ahupuaa divided into ilis as per map". On this small, hand drawn map of Kaho'olawe, the island has been divided into 12 land divisions ('ili). Beginning in the northeast and moving clockwise around the island, these 'ili are; "Hakioawa nui", "Hakioawa iki", "Kanapou", "Naalapa", "Kunaka", "Kealaikaniki", "Honokoa", "Ahupu", "Kuhea", "Papaka", "Kaulana" and "Waaiki". Both this map and the following one are labeled "Doc. 1126" and are held in the Hawaii State Survey Office. The outline of the island which forms the base for these maps was apparently traced directly from the 1886 Hawaii Government Survey map. (Wall 1886) Both maps are kept in the same envelope in the Survey Office's document file. This envelope, labeled "Doc.1126", is filed between document envelope 1125, which contains a sketch dated 1889; and document envelope 1127, which contains a map dated 1889 (the date written on the cover of this envelop is 1890). This would tend to suggest that the Document 1126 maps date from sometime around 1889. A blueprint copy of this "ili" map is held at the Bishop Museum Archives (HPF 2:8:11 Kehoolawe). (Doc.1126 undated-a)

Undated (possibly 1889)
This hand drawn, but untitled map of Kaho'olawe is apparently a companion to the above mentioned 'ili map. It is drafted in the same hand on a similar scrap of waxed linen. Instead of presenting the island's internal land divisions, this map records its various place names. These place names include; "Hakioawa bay" [on the northeast coast], "Kohe o Hala" and directly beneath it the notation "Pahi Kalaikini tried to stop" [halfway between "Hakioawa bay" and "Kaule cape"], "Moaula pit (lua)" [Lua Moaula], "Kaule cape" [on the coast
just above Kanapou Bay], "Pali o Kalapakea"[at the northern
corner of Kanapou bay], "Kanapou Bay", "Puhi stopped by
Kalaikini"[at a mark on the coast just west of "Halona
cape"], "Halona cape"[at the southern headland of Kanapou
bay], "Kaka"[just inland and north of "Lae o Kaka"], "Lae o
Kaka"[at the southeastern corner of the island], "Lae o
Kuakaiwa"[along the coast west of "Lae o Kaka"],
"Iliiliiloa"[along what appears to be the eastern shore of
Kamohio bay], "Cave of Kunaka"[on the coast opposite "Puu
Koae"], "Puu Koae"[marked by an + lying off the south coast],
"Kalama"[written in near the center of the south coast],
"Wiliwilipeapea"[possibly written as "Wili willi peapea", 
situated just east of "Waikahalulu"], "Waikahalulu"[possibly 
written as "Wai Kahalulu"], "Keala i Kahiki cape", "Kahuahele
o Kamohalii"[marked by a "situated in the western interior
of the island, north of "Waikahalulu"], "Keana a ke
Keiki"[along the north coast somewhere between "Keala i
Kahiki cape" and "Honokoa large bay"], "Honokoa large bay",
"Kolama bay", "Ahupu bay", " Kuhe`i bay" and directly beneath
it a square labeled "Landing", "Kaulana bay", "Papaka
bay"[slightly west of the northeastern tip of the island],
"Waaiki Bay"[slightly east of the northeastern tip of the
island] and "Puu o Moaula" [written in above a small hill
with a A atop it, probably Pu'u o Moaulaiki]. The names
occurring on this map were copied by J.F.G. Stokes onto a map
of Kaho'olawe which he drafted sometime around 1913.(Stokes
undated-a) This would seem to indicate that the original map
was drawn some time prior to that date. In the notebooks
which recount Stokes' 1913 visit to Kaho'olawe (kept at the
Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3 .15 &
.16) is the following passage. "Leaving smugglers bay [Hana
Kanaia], we went to the S. point, & then struck inland trying
to locate the Kahuahele of Kamohoalii, noted by Joe Emerson
on map." Since the Document 1126 map appears to be the
original source for the place name "Kahuahele o Kamohalii"
(no other maps, prior to 1913, have been found to contain
it), Stokes' comment would seem to suggest that this sketch
map may have been drawn by Joseph Emerson. Emerson, a fluent
Hawaiian speaker, was a government surveyor and a well known
collector of Hawaiian lore. Like its companion map, this
sketch is labeled "Doc. 1126" and is kept in the files of the
Hawaii State Survey Office.(Doc. 1126 undated-b)

1905
"DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, COAST AND GEOFETIC SURVEY,
G.H. TITTMANN SUPERINTENDENT, KAHOOLAWE ISLAND, TERRITORY OF
HAWAII, J.F. PRATT, ASST. CHIEF OF PARTY, U.S.S. PATTERSON,
1904-5, Scale 1/20,000, Planetable Survey by H.W. Rhodes,
Asst., H.L. Beck, Aid and J.W. Maupin, Aid., Inked and
 lettered by J.W. Maupin, Aid, Register No. 2698.". This is,
as far as we know, the earliest detailed topographic map of
Kaho'olawe. It was completed in 1905 by a survey party from
the U.S.S. Patterson. An account of the survey is recorded
in a handwritten report entitled "Kahoolawe Island, Territory of Hawaii, Planetable Survey Executed Season of 1904-5", presently held in the files of the U.S. Department of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Data Control Section in Rockville, Maryland. (Pratt 1905) As well as giving elevation in 20 foot contours, this map also shows the location of the numerous transit station used during the survey (these stations are listed at the back of the survey report). Each of these stations possesses a name given by the surveyors. Some of these names reflect the physical features in the area; "Knoll", "Talus", "Shelf", etc.. Others seem to reflect the weather conditions at the time; "Blow" (for the peak of Pu'u o Moaulani), "Cloud", etc.. Still others seem to indicate things seen; "Goat", "Kid", "Vine", "Crab". Transit station "Kahoolawe, 1428" is situated atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki. The only place names printed on this map are "Beck's Cove" [Kanapou bay, possibly named for H.L. Beck, a member of the survey party], "Smuggler's Cove" [Hana Kanaia], "KEALIKAHILI PT." [at Kea o Kealaikahi] and "Conrad's Cove." [at Kuhea bay], beneath which is written in small print "F.W. (Private)". The word "Light", written in above the eastern headland of Kuhea bay, does not seem to be linked to a transit station, and may indicate the presence of a navigational aid (the notation "F.W. (Private)" may apply to this light). At the bottom of the map is printed: "Kahoolawe 20' 34' 4."72 156' 35' 21."11", which appears to be the latitude and longitude of the transit station atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki. A photo reproduced copy of this map rests in the Hawaii State Survey Office [Reg. No. 2726, Vault, Case 10-50], as well as in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1904-C5.] (this copy has been reduced slightly from the original). The Bishop Museum copy was probably the one referred to in a pair of letters from C.S. Judd of the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry to J.F.G. Stokes at the Museum. "Honolulu, Sept. 24, 1917. Dear Stokes: After a diligent search at the Gov't Survey Office they have been unable to find the tracing of the topographic map of Kahoolawe (J. F. Pratt 1904-5, U.S.C.& G.S. #2698, Scale 1:20,000), a print of which you showed me recently, and said that if a print were available they would make a tracing of it so that more prints could be made. Since this seems the only way in which to obtain additional prints, I would like very much to borrow the print you showed me. Would you mind leaving it at my office on your way to or from work someday soon? Very cordially yours, C.S. Judd" "Honolulu, October 5, 1917. Dear Stokes: A tracing of the topographic map of Kahoolawe has been made from your blueprint and is now in the survey office [(Iao 1917)]. I have secured prints from this and shall soon send one up to J. Kauwakane in the effort to get the proper names of places [(Kauwekane 1917a)]. I have also placed on one of these prints (possibly (Stokes 1917)) the names as shown on your white paper tracing (possibly (Stokes undated-c)). This I am through with now as well as with your original
topographic print. These I have done up together with two extra prints from the new tracing which you may like to have. I have left this package on the table in my office and if it is not too much trouble, I should like to have you call for it. I wish to thank you exceedingly for the assistance you have rendered me in this matter... Very sincerely yours, C.S. Judd". These letters are among the papers of J.F.G. Stokes presently held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (Rhodes 1905)

1905
"DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, O.H. Tittmann, Superintendent, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, ALALAKEIKI CHANNEL, AND, SOUTH COAST OF KAHOOLAWE, Surveyed by J.F.Pratt, Assistant, Chief of Party., 1904-5, Scale 1/60,000, Plotted and inked by Field Party, Verified by H.I.Simons., Title by C.R.Thompson., Register No. 2726., R.J.Christman, Draftsman." In the lower left corner of the chart is a small table labeled "Statistics"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Vessel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Steamer Patterson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>J.F.Pratt, Assistant, In charge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>O' VI</td>
<td>Launch &quot;Vixen&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
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<td>A.L.Giacomini, W.O.</td>
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<th>WC.</th>
<th>Angles</th>
<th>S'dg.</th>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>Vessel</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>41:0</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>193:3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dates shown on this table would suggest that the survey upon which this chart is based was conducted by the U.S.S. Patterson between the 3rd and 23rd of February, 1905. A further notation entitled "Notes" indicates that; "The soundings are expressed in fathoms and show the depth at mean lower low water, the plane of reference." This notation goes on to give a table of tides taken at "Conradts Cove, Kahoolawe I." This chart appears to be the hydrographic equivalent (Register No. 2726.) of Rhodes' topographic map (Register No. 2698.). The only place name printed on this chart is "KEALAIKAHIKI POINT". Though none of the internal topographic features of the island are shown, the chart does give the locations of Rhode's transit stations. The depth, in fathoms, at the center of Waikahalulu bay is given as "33". This may have been the reason why the bay is identified as "33 Bay" in J.F.G. Stokes' field notebooks (Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3 .15 & .16), as well as on maps of the island by Stokes (Stokes
undated-b) and Charles Forbes (Forbes 1913). A photo reproduced copy of this chart rests in the Hawaii State Archives [R12 Kahoolawe-1904-5]. (Pratt 1905)

1905:
"HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor.
KAHOOLAWE, Scale 1 inch = 10,000 Feet, Traced from Govt. Survey Reg. Map No. 1272 [Wall, 1886]. W. Heilbron -- Mar. 1905." Along the bottom of this map has been written the note "Public Lands Lease No. 115B to C. Conradt, dated Jan. 1, 1863, term 50 yrs., expires Jan. 1, 1913. Annual rental $250.00". The map appears to have been traced directly from the Hawaii Territorial Survey map of 1886. (Wall 1886) In addition to the "Kahoolawe" survey station (which is most probably situated atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki), the map includes place names for "Kanapou Bay" and "Kealaikahiki Pt." It is possible that this map may have been drafted to accompany a lease or some other legal document related to the rental of Kaho'olawe. A copy of this map is on file at the offices of the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission. (Heilbron 1905)

1906:
"HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor.
KAHOOLAWE, Scale 1 inch = 40000 Feet, Traced from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 1272 [Wall 1886]. H.E. Newton. October, 1906. Andrew B. Graham Printing Co. Photo-Lithographers, Washington, D.C." This map shows the island as it appears in Wall's 1886 map, but at a much reduced scale. In addition to the "Kahoolawe" survey station (which is most probably situated atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki), the map includes place names for "Kanapou Bay" and "Kealaikahiki Pt." It was published as Map #2 in the appendix to the Report of the Governor of the Territory to the Secretary of the Interior, 1906, a copy of which is on file in the Hawaii State Archives. (Newton 1906)

1911
"HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY, Marston Campbell-Surveyor, ISLAND OF KAHOOLAWE, Scale 1 inch = 5000 feet, Traced from U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Reg. Map No. 2726.[(Pratt 1905)], by G. Podmore Mar. 1911: Topography from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 1272.[(Wall 1886)]" This Hawaii Territorial Survey map of Kaho'olawe is based primarily on the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey's 1905 hydrographic chart of the waters around Kaho'olawe (Pratt 1905). The place names printed on this map include "KUKUI Pt.", "Kahoolawe"[marking the transit station atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "KANAPOU BAY", "HALONA Pt."[at Lae o Kaka] and "KEALAIKAHIKI Point". It also shows and names some of the transit stations from the 1905 survey. The original of this map is in the Hawaii State Survey Office [Vault, Case 10-50]. A blueprint copy is held at the Hawaii State Archives [3002 G4382.K3C2 1911 .H38.S9 117.2, KA-4]. (Podmore 1911)
Undated (possibly 1911)
"HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY, Marston Campbell-Surveyor, ISLAND OF KAHOOLawe, Scale 1 inch = 5000 feet, Traced from U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Reg. Map No. 2726. [(Pratt 1905)], by G. Podmore Mar. 1911: Topography from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 1272. [(Wall 1886)]. This copy of the 1911 Territorial Survey map includes additional place names written in with an orange grease pencil. A note in the lower right hand corner indicates that these are "Names by C.C. Conradt". Christian C. Conradt held the lease for Kaho'olawe from 1903 to 1906 and raised livestock on the island during that time. It appears likely that Conradt provided these names to the Bureau of Forestry & Agriculture, for on a later map, apparently copied from this one by J.F.G. Stokes, is the notation "Names in Ink furnished by C.C. Conradt to Bureau of Forestry & Agriculture". The place names supplied by Conradt include; "Kui Kui Pt." [the printed name "Kukui Pt." has been crossed out], "(crater) Kealia muna" [at Lua Kealia Luna], "Hakiawa" [written in down the coast near O awa wahie], "Kalae oka ule" [at Lae o ka Ule], "Moaula" [written just below the "Kahoalawe" transit station, possibly indicating Pu'u o Moa'ulaiki], "Kanapou Pt." [at Lae o Halona], "Pali" [written below the cliffs between Lae o Kaka and Lae o Kuakaiva], "Puukoa'e" [Pu'u Koae island], "Lua Puki" [written in at Waikahalulu bay], "Hanakaneae (Sand beach)" [at Hana Kanaia], "(crater) Kealia Lalo" [at Lua Kealia Lalo], "Hanakoa Pt." [eastern headland of Honokoa bay], "Makaalae" [written next to the prominent peninsula on the north coast between Honokoa and O awa palua], "ahupu iki (Pump)" [at the sandy bay just east of Makaalae], "ahupu nui (old wind mill)" [at Ahupu bay], "Kuheea (Conradt's Cove)" [Kuheia], "Kaulana", "Papakainui" [at second bay east of Kaulana] and "Pokahumanu" [written in just west of Lae o Kuikui]. This map is in the Hawaii State Archives [2982 G4382.K3 1911 .H38.S9 117.1-KAH-4]. (Conradt undated)

1913
"Map of Kahoolawe compiled from Government survey. The craters are added in their approximate positions, and the cliff outline has been changed to conform with field notes taken on the island. Coastline x U.S.C & G Survey, Topography x Hawaiian Territ Survey". This map of Kaho'olawe is contained in Charles N. Forbes' Notes on the Flora of Kahoolawe and Moiokini. (Forbes 1913:11) It shows the survey stations used in compiling the 1905 map of the island, but does not name them. It is probable that Pratt's hydrographic chart (Register No. 2726; Pratt 1905) rather than Rhodes' topographic map (Register No. 2698; Rhodes 1905) was used as the base for Forbes' map. The only place names given on this map are; "KUKUI Pt.", "KANAPOU BAY", "KAHOOLawe" [probably the site of the survey marker atop Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "HALONA Pt." [southern headland of Kanapou bay] and "KEALAIKAHIKI Pt." A tiny "33" has been written in at Wai Kahalulu bay. This is
the same designation used for the bay in the fieldnotes of J.F.G. Stokes' who accompanied Forbes on his 1913 trip to the island. (Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3.15 & .16) The name "33" probably derives from the depth sounding for the bay shown on the 1905 U.S. Coast and Geodetic chart. (Pratt 1905) (Forbes 1913)

1913
"Unnamed Heiau on Kahoolawe - South side of Hakioawa Valley, in feet Scale 1":4ft". This survey map shows the outside dimensions of an archaeological site situated on the southern ridge of Hakioawa gulch. (Site 350) The map was probably drawn by J.F.G. Stokes and is based upon a rough sketch contained in the field notebook recording his first visit to Kaho'olawe. (Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3.15 & .16 - Stokes 1913:I:1) This map is in the Bishop Museum Archives [Roll 6]. (Stokes 1913a)

1913
"Kahoolawe Heiau, South side of Hakioawa Valley". A survey map, probably drawn by J.F.G. Stokes, showing the outside walls and internal features of Site 350, an apparent religious structure situated on the southern ridge of Hakioawa gulch. It appears to have been based upon the rough sketch contained in Stokes' field notebook. (Bishop Museum Archives, Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3.15 & .16 - Stokes 1913:I:1) This map is held in the Bishop Museum Archives [Roll 6]. (Stokes 1913b)

Undated (possibly 1913)
This untitled map consists of a pencil tracing, apparently done by J.F.G. Stokes, of a section of the Hawaii Government Survey map of 1886. (Wall, 1886) Stokes' tracing shows the outline of the island of Kaho'olawe, as well as that of Molokini and the adjacent coast of southeast Maui. At the bottom right corner of the map has been written "Scale 1-120,000" and directly beneath it "1886"; indications that it was indeed traced from Wall's 1886 map. Two sets of place names are distinguishable on Stokes' tracing. The first of these, written faintly in pencil, seem to have come directly from the 1886 map and include most of the names recorded on that map in pencil (apparently by "L.M.Z.") These names are; "Kahoolawe"[written in above the island], "Kuikui Pt."[at Lae o Kukui], "Kanapou B", "Halona Pt"[at Lae o Kaka], "Waikahalulu"[written in at Kanohio and later crossed out], "Kunaka"[written in along the south coast between "Kalama" and "Williwipapea" and later crossed out], "Kealaikahiki"[written in along the south coast west of "Kunaka"], "Kealaikahiki Pt", "Lae Paki"[written just above "Kealaikahiki Pt"], "Kealia"[written in between "Puu o Moaula" and "Moaula Pit"], "Submarine forest"[situated offshore between Hakioawa and Molokini island] and "Molokini", as well as "Puu Olai", "MAKENA" and "MAALAEA" on Maui. A number of place names have also been printed on the
map in much darker pencil, these all appear to come from the
undated sketch map in the State Survey Office (Doc. 1126
undated-b) These names are: "Hakioawa B", "Kohe o Hala" and
directly beneath it the notation "Puhi Kalaikini tried to
stop", "Moaula pit" [Lu Moaula], "Kaule cape", "Pali o
Kalapakea", "Puhi stopped by Kalaikini", "Halona cape", "Lae
o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Cave of Kunaka", "Puu Koae",
"Kalama", "Wiliwilipeapea" [written in script],
"Waikahalulu" [written in script], "Kahuhale o Kamohalii",
"Keana a ke Keiki", "Honokoa B", "Kalama B", "Ahupu B",
"Kuhei B" and directly beneath it a square labeled
"Landing" [Stokes has penciled in "Old" above "Landing"],
"Kaulana B", "Papaka B", "Waiki B" and "Puu o Moaula". These
are all in approximately the same location as they appear on
the "Doc. 1126" map. Stokes' tracing is presently held in
the Bishop Museum Archives [HPF 2:8:11 Kahoolawe]. (Stokes,
undated-a)

Undated (possibly 1913)
"KAHOOLawe, Scale 1"-5000', Coastline x U.S.C.G. Survey,
Topography x Hi Territ." This is a tracing of the island of
Kahoolawe, apparently taken from the 1911 Territory Survey
map. (Podmore 1911) It was most probably drawn by J.F.G.
Stokes. This map corresponds in general appearance to the
map found in Charles Forbes' Notes on the Flora of Kahoolawe
and Molokini, and may have been drawn about the same
time. (Forbes 1913) Like Forbes' map, this sketch shows the
survey stations used in compiling the 1905 map of the island
(Rhodes 1905), but does not name them. A number of place
names have been added to the map, as well as a series of
lines running around and across the island. These lines
probably mark the routes followed by Stokes on his first
visit to the island in 1913. Place names written on this map
in pen include: "Kahoolawe 1427" [probably the site of the
survey marker atop Pu'u o Moaluaiki], "Kanapou B", "Halona
Pt" [at Lae o Kaka, as on the 1911 Territory Survey
map. (Podmore 1911)] , "33" [at Wai Kahalulu bay; this is the
designation Stokes uses in his field notebooks for the bay,
it comes from the depth of that bay shown in the 1905
bathymetric chart (Pratt 1905)]. Further place names,
written in pencil include: "Kuikui Pt" [Lae o Kukui], "?
Hakioawa B or Olga" [at O awa wahie], "Moaula" [written in over
"Kahoolawe" and probably indicating Pu'u o Moaulaiki] "? Lae
o Kuakaiwa" [at the eastern headland of Kamohio bay], "Puu
Koae" [written in at Aleale], "? Puu Koae" [at Pu' u Koae
island], Wiliwilipeapea" [apparently at the eastern headland
of Wai Kahalulu bay], "? Honokoa B" [at Honokoa], "? Kalama
B." [just west of Makaalae], "Ahupu B" [at the sandy bay
between Makaalae and Ahupuikii. "$ Kalama B" has been written
in below it then crossed out], "Kuhei Bay" [at Ahupu bay], "$
Kaulana Bay" [at Kuhei bay], "Landing" [at Kuheia bay],
"Kaulana Gulch" [at Kaulana, in a slightly different style and
possibly written in later], "$ Heiau" [at the first bay east
of Kaulana] and "? Papaka B"[at the second bay east of Kaulana, "Lark B" has been written in then crossed out]. This appears to be a companion map to Stokes' field notebooks which recount the events of his two visits to Kaho'olawe in 1913. These notebooks are on file at the Archives of the Bishop Museum (Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3 .15 & .16). This tracing is also held at the Bishop Museum Archives [HPF 2:8:11. Kahoolawe]. (Stokes undated-b)

Undated (possibly 1913)
"KAHOOLawe, Scale 1"=5000', Names in Ink furnished by C.C. Conradt to Bureau of Forestry & Agriculture". This map appears to have been traced by Stokes from the 1911 Territory Survey map.(Podmore 1911) In the upper right corner of this map are written the names and residences of three of Stokes' informants. These names are; "Nahoiikeika, Olowalu, formerly of Kahoolawe. Knew little as he was young when he left. There was a big cave at ahupu' bay." [this note is paraphrased from a passage in Stokes' field notebooks which reads; "In the evening I hired a machine to go to Olowalu to see Nahoiaka [Nahoikeika?] who once belonged to Kahoolawe. He said he knew little of the island being young when he left. He said that there was a big cave at Ahupu B." (Stokes 1913:II:3)] , "Awaloa of Makena" [Awaloa is mentioned in Stokes' field notebooks in the passage, "Arrived at Makena at 12 and enquired for Kamaina of Kahoolawe. Was told that Awaloa, the only Kahoolawe man had died two weeks before. We interviewed Mrs Awaloa, who knew nothing." (Stokes 1913:II:5)] and "J. Kauwakane, Kanahena, Makena PO." [not mentioned in Stokes' field notebooks. Stokes appears to have misspelled his name, which is Kauwekane]. Though Nahoikeika [or Nahoiaka] remembered little of the island and Awaloa had died two weeks before Stokes' visit, Kauwekane appears to have provided C.S. Judd with a number of the island's place names [see (Kauwekane 1917)]. Three of the names which appear on this map are written in the same style as the note referring to Stokes' informants. These names are mentioned below. The place names written on the map in ink appear to have been taken from Christian Conradt's circa 1911 map of Kahoolawe.(Conradt undated) They include; "Kuikui Pt", "Hakiawa" [written in at O awa wahie and later altered to read "Hakioawa Bay"], "Ka Lae o Ka Ule" [altered to read "Ka Ule cape"], "Crater" and beneath it "Kealia Muna" [altered to read "Kealia Luna", a Δ indicating a possible transit station is shown here], "Moaula" [altered to read "Moaula Hill, El.[?] 1427. ft", the presence of a transit station mark (Δ) would suggest that this is Pu'u o Moauliik], "Kanapou Bay", "Kanapou Pt" [written in at Lae o Halona and later crossed out], "Hala Pt" [written in at Lae o Kaka], "Pali, General Name from Puu Koae to Hakiawa" [written in along south coast between Lae o Kaka and Lae o Kuakaiwa and later crossed out], "Puu Koae" [altered to read "Puu Koae I."], "Lua Pahi" [written in at Wai Kahalulu and later crossed out, above it was written "33", then over that "Waikahalulu Bay"],
"Hanakanæa (Sandy Beach)" ["(Sandy Beach) has been crossed out and "Bay" written in after "Hanakanæa"], "Crater Kealia Lalo" [originally marked by an inked circle, Stokes has drawn a line from this name to new penciled circle further east], "Hanakoa Pt." [at the eastern headland of Honokoa, over both "a"s have been written "o"s to form "Honokoa"], "Makaalae"[a dotted line links this name to the prominent headland east of Honokoa], "Ahupuiki (Pump)" ["(Pump)" has been crossed out and replaced by "Bay", both are written in at the sandy bay east of Makaalae], "Ahupunui (Old windmill)"["(Old windmill)" has been crossed out and replaced by "Bay"], "Kuheeia (or Conradt's Cove)" [altered to read "Kuheia Bay"], "Kaulana" [crossed out and replaced by "Kaulana Bay"], "Papakanui" [situated two bays east of Kaulana, it has been crossed out and "Papakanui Bay" written in below it] and "Pohakumanu" [located just west of "Kukui Pt" was later crossed out and replaced by "Pohakumanu" (no change in spelling), written in across the island's northeastern tip]. Place names written in pencil, probably by Stokes, consist of two styles, those carefully lettered in, and those written roughly in script. The first type include; "Kohe o Hala"[at the promontory north of Lae o ka Ule], "Kamonio Bay"[at the deep bay on the south coast west of Lae o Kuakaiwa], "Cave of Kunaka"[on the western shore of Kamohio bay], "Kealaikahihi Pt" [at the western tip of the island, "Pt" has been crossed out and "Cape" written in] and "Kahuahale o Kamohiaili"[in the interior northeast of Hana Kanaia]. All but one of these appear to be taken from Doc. 1126 (Doc.1126 undated-b). This is, however, the first mention we have of the place name "Kamohio Bay". It is uncertain as to where Stokes learned this name, though it could possibly have been from one of his informants. Those place names written in roughly in script, similar in style to the list of informants, include; "Aleale"[at the promontory immediately west of Kamohio bay], "Aikupe" [its location appears to be uncertain, for it is written in above and just east of "Papakanui Bay"] and "Punapuna" [immediately west of Lae o Kukui]. This is the first appearance of these place names on any map. They may possibly have been given to Stokes by one of the three informants listed at the top of his map, most probably by Kauwekane. In addition to its place names, the map also contains a series of numbers scattered across it. These may possibly mark archaeological sites, for they seem to correspond to sites mentioned in Stokes' first field notebook.(Stokes 1913:I) This map is presently held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum [HPF2:8:11 Kaho'olawe].(Stokes undated-c)

1916
"HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY, Marston Campbell-Surveyor, ISLAND OF KAOOLAWE, Scale 1 inch = 5000 feet, Traced from U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Reg. Map No. 2726., by G. Podmore Mar. 1911: Topography from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 1272." This is a blue print copy of the 1911 Hawaii Territorial
Survey map. (Podmore, 1911) Additional place names have been added in ink with a note at the bottom reading "K.P. Emory June 1916". Kenneth Emory was at that time an anthropologist with the Bishop Museum. An additional note in pencil in the map's upper left corner indicates that "Most of K.P. Emory names from a map in the Survey office - see Mr. King." The map referred to appears to be the Document 1126 place name map held in the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Doc. 1126 undated-b) However, not all of the names found on Doc. 1126 are present. Of those that are, some have been misspelt and others "Hawaiianized". An additional name, "Hula Kao", which is not found on the Doc. 1126 map, has also been included. Emory visited Kaho'olawe in May of 1916 as part of a goat hunting expedition. (Maui News 5/26/1916:1:c.1) The list of names recorded by him includes: "Papaka Bay"[along the coast east of Lae o Kukui, about the location of Aikupau], "Waaiki Bay"[at Hakioawa], "Hakioana Bay"[apparently a misspelling of Hakioawa, located at O awa wahiie], "Kohe o Hala" and directly beneath it the notation "Puhi Kalaikini tried to stop"[on coast north of Lae o ka Ule], "Hula Kao"[marked by an + and situated inland on the slope northwest of Lae o ka Ule and southwest of Puhi o Kohe o Hala. This place name is not mentioned on the Doc. 1126 map], "Kaule (lae)"[Lae o ka Ule], "Pali o Kalaupakea" [apparently a misspelling of "Kalapakea", at the northern cliffs flanking Kanapou bay], "Puhi (stopped by Kalaikini)"[just west of Lae o Halona], "Ka Lae o Halona"[eastern headland of Kanapou bay], "Kaka"[on slope above the cliffs between Lae o Halona and Lae o Kaka], "Lae o Kaha"[apparently a misspelling of "Kaka", at southeastern tip of island], "Iliililoa"[at eastern promontory of Kamohio bay], "Cave of Kunaka"[at head of Kamohio bay], "Puu Koae"[offshore from Kamohio], "Kalauia" [an apparent misspelling of "Kalama", written at the bay along the south coast east of Wai Kahalulu], "Wiliwilipeapea"[at Wai Kahalulu bay], "Waikahalulu"[at Hana Kanaia], "Kahuahale o Kamohalii"[situated inland, northwest of Hanakanaia], "Keana a Keiki"[at broad bay just northeast of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Ahupu Bay", "Kuhei Bay"[at Kuheia, Emory draws in what appear to be four ranch houses here], "Kaulaua bay"[apparently a misspelling of Kaulana, written two bays east of Kaulana] and "Puu o Moaula" [written in beneath the "Kahoolawe" transit station, probably indicating Pu'u o Moaulaiki]. Pencil lines drawn onto the map appear to indicate the route (both sea and land) of a visit to Kaho'olawe. This may have been Emory's visit of 1916. If this is true, Emory and his companions appear to have landed at Kuheia and proceeded along the coast to the cliffs above Kanapou, before returning, via Puu o Moaulaiki, to Kuheia. A side trip, by sea, appears to have been taken to Hanakanaia. This map is in the collection of the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-?-H2]. (Emory 1916)
1917
"KAHOOLawe, Hawaiian Islands, Scale 1:20,000, Contour Interval 20-100 ft., Datum Mean High Water, J.F. Pratt 1904-5, U.S.C.&G.S. 2698, Area 43.86 Sq. Mi., Tracing by Jos. Iao-1917." This is a tracing that Joseph Iao did of the 1905 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of Kaho'olawe. (Rhodes 1905) C.S. Judd, then head of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, borrowed J.F.G. Stokes' copy of Rhodes' 1905 topographic map and had Iao make a copy of it. As Judd says in a letter to Stokes, "A tracing of the topographic map of Kaho'olawe has been made from your blueprint and is now in the survey office." (this quote is taken from Judd's letter to Stokes dated October 5th, 1917, a copy of which is on file among Stokes' papers in the Bishop Museum Archives) The names appearing on Iao's tracing include; "Smuggling Cove" [at Hana Kanaia], "Kaelaikihiki Point." [a misspelling of "Kealakahi"], and "Conradt's Cove" [at Kuheia bay]. The original of this map rests in the State Survey Office [Case 10, hole 50]. A blue print copy is held at the Hawaii State Archives [117.5-KAH-3], and another in the Bishop Museum Archives [Kaho'olawe maps, unnumbered]. (Iao 1917)

1917
"KAHOOLawe, Hawaiian Islands, Scale 1:20,000, Contour Interval 20-100 ft., Datum Mean High Water, J.F. Pratt 1904-5, U.S.C.&G.S. 2698, Area 43.86 Sq. Mi., Tracing by Jos. Iao-1917." This is a blue print copy of Iao's tracing. Added to the map in pencil are numerous place names and a penciled note which reads, "Sept. 1917, Known names by J.K. Stokes [probably J.F.G. Stokes, these names are in green pencil], Uncertain " " [these uncertain names by Stokes are in yellow pencil]." This is most probably the map which C.S. Judd mentions in a letter he wrote to Stokes on October 5, 1917. "Dear Stokes: A tracing of the topographic map of Kaho'olawe has been made from your blueprint and is now in the survey office [(Iao 1917)]. I have secured prints from this ...I have also placed on one of these prints the names as shown on your white paper tracing". (these letters are kept among the papers of J.F.G. Stokes presently held at the Archives of the Bishop Museum). The "white paper tracing" referred in Judd's letter to appears to be Stokes' undated sketch map of Kaho'olawe. (Stokes undated-c) All of the place names which appear on this map in green pencil, the "Known" place names, seem to have come from Stokes' sketch. Not all, however, of the names present on Stokes' map were transferred to this one. Those place names written in yellow pencil and labeled "Uncertain" appear to have been taken from another of Stokes' undated sketch maps. (Stokes undated-a) The green pencil place names include; "Kuikui Pt." "Waiaiki Bay" [at approximately the location of Aiupaul], "Kealia Luna", "Hakioawa Bay", "Kohe o Hala", "Ka Ule Cape", "Moaula Hill" [Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Kanapou Bay", "Halona Pt." [at Lae o Kaka], "Kamohio Bay", "Cave of Kunaka", "Aleale", "Puu Koae Id.", "Waikahalulu Bay", "Hanakanaea Bay", "Kealia Lalo" [at
Pu'u Moiwi], "Honokoa Pt." [at eastern point of Honokoa bay], "Makaalae", "Ahupuiki Bay" [at O'awa palua bay], "Ahupunui Bay", "Kuhei Bay" [Kuheia], "Kaulana Bay" and "Papakanui Bay" [at first bay east of Kaulana]. All of these names are in roughly the same location as they appear on Stokes circa 1913 sketch map. (Stokes undated-c) Those "uncertain" names written in yellow pencil include; "Puhi" [written directly below "Kohe o Hala" and probably identifying it as a blowhole], "Pali o Kalapakea", "Puhi" [at Lae o Halona], "Halona Pt." [slightly south of the southern headland of Kanapou bay], "Kaka" [inland, as marked on Doc. 1126 undated-b], "Lae o Kaka" [immediately below what had been previously marked as "Halona Pt."], "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Iliilioa", "Kalama" [along coast just east of Wiliwilipeapea], "Wiliwilipeapea", "Lae Paki" [written just above "Kealaikahiki Point"], "Keanaake Keiki" and "Kahuahale Kamohali" [written in the western interior of the island, just below the hill marked by "See" transit station]. This map is held at the Hawaii State Archives [2983 G4382.K3 1917 .H38.F6 117.7-KAH-3]. (Stokes 1917)

1917
"KAHOOLawe, HAWAIian ISLANDS, SCALE 1:20,000, CONTOUR INTERVAL 20-100 FT., DATUM MEAN HIGH WATER, J.F. PRATT 1904-5, U.S.C.&G.S. 2698, AREA 43.86Sq. Mi., Tracing by Jos. Iao-1917." This is a blue print copy of Iao's tracing. Added to the map in pencil are numerous place names which correspond to those found on a similar blue print held at the Bishop Museum Archives which is labeled, "Names contributed by J. Kauwakane, of Keoneoio, Maui, Nov, 1917, to Board of Agriculture & Forestry". In a letter to J.F.G. Stokes dated October 5, 1917, C.S. Judd, then head of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, wrote; "A tracing of the topographic map of Kahoolawe has been made from your blueprint and is now in the survey office. I have secured prints from this and shall soon send one up to J. Kauwakane in the effort to get the proper names of places." (this letter is on file among Stokes' papers in the Bishop Museum Archives) In an October 18th letter to Kauwekane (Judd had spelled his name incorrectly), Judd wrote; "I understand that your father was a kamaaina on Kahoolawe and that you are very well acquainted with that island. Now, I am very anxious to find out a lot of the names for the different places on Kahoolawe and hope that you will be able to help me out. For this purpose I am enclosing a large map of the island and would be very much obliged to you if you kindly place on it in pencil at the proper point the name of any or all of the points, bays, hills and valleys that you know and return the map to me in the enclosed stamped envelope." Kauwekane apparently did as he was requested and returned the map along with the note; "Your letter & map of Kahoolawe rec'd. & I have marked the places I know except some places." (this exchange of letters is on file in the Hawaii State Archives, Board of Agriculture and Forestry, Division of Forestry, Box
34, Charles S. Judd, Kahoolawe, 1913-1920) It appears that this map may well be the copy sent by Judd to Kauwekane, the one on which he wrote down those place names known to him. The names which appear on this map have been written in pencil in a handwriting which seems to match Kauwekane's. The map has also been folded, suggesting that it may have been sent through the mails. The penciled in names include "Lae o Kuku"[at the northeastern tip of the island], "Aikupou" [situated along the coast just east and south of Lae o Kuku], "Kealia" [at Kealia Luna], "Hakoawa" [there may be a break between "Haki" and "oawa", this name is written in at the largest sand fringed bay on the northeast coast], "O awa wahie" [at the bay south of Hakoawa], "Moaula" [at Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Kahe" [on the southeastern slopes of Pu'u o Moaulanui, inland and to the northwest of Kanapou beach, just inland of "Lapa Kea"], "Puhi o Koheohala" [north along the coast from Lae o ka Ule], "Lae o Kaule" [the northern headland of Kanapou bay], "Kalua o Kamohali" [at the northern bend of Kanapou bay], "Lapa Kea" [along the northern cliffs of Kanapou bay], "Kanapou", "Puhi ohalona" [near Lae o Halona], "Lae o Kaka" [at the island's southeastern tip], "Lae o Kamohio" [at the eastern headland of Kamohio bay], "Puu Koa" [the islet offshore from Kamohio], "Wai Kahalulu" [the deep-cut bay west of Kamohio], "Puu lai" [at the small hill just northwest of Wai Kahalulu], "Kealia Wai" [at Lua Kealia Lalo], "Puhi anvenue" [at the most prominent headland between Wai Kahalulu and Hana Kanaia], "Hana Kanaia" [at the broad bay east of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Keana Keiki" [at or near the place where the shoreline dips in to the east after running almost directly north from the Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Lae o honoko" [the eastern headland of Honokoa bay], "O awa palua" [the sand fringed bay east of Makaalae], "Kii" [written in along the coast opposite the broad headland situated between O awa palua and Ahu pu iki], "Ahu pu iki" [the bay immediately west of Ahupu], "Ahupu nui" [Ahupu], "Kauka moku" [the sand fringed bay east of Ahupu], "O awa panini" [the bay immediately west of Kuheia], "Kuheia" [the deep bay on the north coast east of Ahupu], "Kaulana" [the sand fringed just east of Kuheia] and "Papaka" [written in just above the second bay east of Kaulana]. This map is presently in the Hawaii State Archives [2984 G4382.K3, 1917, H38, .F6 117.6]. (Kauwekane 1917a)

1917
"KAHoolawe, Hawaiian Islands, Scale 1:20,000, Contour Interval 20-100 F., Datum Mean High Water, J.F. Pratt 1904-5, U.S.C.G.S. 2698, Area 43.86 Sq. Mi., Tracing by Jos. Iao-1917." This is a blue print copy of Iao's tracing. Added to the map in pencil are numerous place names and a penciled note under the legend which reads, "Names contributed by J. Kauwakane, of Keoneoio, Maui, Nov, 1917, to Board of Agriculture & Forestry". This appears to be J.F.G. Stokes' copy of Kauwekane's 1917 map. It differs from Kauwekane's original in that there is one omission ("Kealia"), and that the spelling of a few of the place names vary slightly.
These differences probably result from errors made during transcription. For the most part the place names found on this map are positioned very much as they appear on the original. The names added include "Lae o Kukui", "Aikupou", "Hakioawa", "Oawa wahie", "Puihi o Koheohala", "Lae o Kaulie", "Kalua o Kamohoalii", "Lape Kea", "Kanapou", "Puihi ohalona", "Kaohe", "Moaula"[at Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Lae o Kaku ?a", "Lae o Kamohio", "Puu Koa'e", "Wai Kahalulu", "Puu lalii", "Kealia wai", "Puihi anenu", "Hana Kanaia", "Keana Keiki"[at bay immediately north of Lae o Kealaiakaniki], "Lae o Honokoa", "Oawa palua", "Ki'i"[a line has been penciled in along the coast below this name, suggesting that it refers to the entire peninsula], "Ahupu iki", "Ahupu nui", "Kauka moku", "Oawa panini", "Kuhea", "Kaulana", "Papaka"[at second bay east of Kaulana]. This map is presently in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1904-P6]. (Kauwekane 1917b)

Undated (possibly 1925)
"KAHoolawe, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, SCALE 1:20,000, CONTOUR INTERVAL 20-100 FT., DATUM MEAN HIGH WATER, J.F. PRATT 1904-5, U.S.C.&G.S. 2698, AREA 43.86 Sq. Mi., Tracing by Jos. Iao-1917." This is a blue print copy of Iao's tracing to which a number of place names have been added. On the back outer edge of this map has been written the notation "P.H.944, Dranga [crossed out], Kahoolawe Is., 9-95 [crossed out], 10-50, P.H.944". The abbreviation "P.H." stands for pigeon hole, and the numbers associated with it appear to refer to the map's former storage area. The name "Dranga", however, may well refer to naturalist T.T. Dranga who collected land snails on Kafo'olawe in 1925 (reference to his collecting trip can be found in the Bishop Museum Malacology Notebooks, on file at the Malacology Department of the Bishop Museum). It is possible that the place names marked on this map were added by Dranga at some time following his visit to the island. These names and the notes associated with them indicate some passing familiarity with Kafo'olawe, particularly with the ranch and its headquarters at Kuhea. Most are known names, though some are new. Some, such as "Hap uu nui Gulch", appear to have come into use only during the late ranching period. It seems likely that Dranga (or whoever annotated this map) gathered these names from ranch personnel, possibly the same ones who had accompanied J.F.G. Stokes on his 1913 visit (note the inclusion of the "Heiau" at Hakioawa which was recorded by Stokes). Noted on this map in black pen are the names; "Kukui Point", "Waaiki Bay"[at Hakioawa], "wreck of the Olga"[marked at the northern headland of "Hakioawa Bay" which has been written in at O awa wahie], "Hakioawa Bay"[at O awa wahie], "Heiau"[on the southern promontory of "Hakioawa bay", probably site 350], "Puu o Moaula"[written across the northwest crest of Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Kaluamakika Crater"[Lua Moaula], "Kohe o Hala"[at the cove south of the headland where the southeasterly running coastline bends south], "Kaulie Cape", "Pali o Kalapakea"[east-west running cliffs at the north edge
of Kanapou bay], "KANAPOU BAY", "Halona Cape", "Lae o Kaka", Lae o Kuahawa" [at eastern headland of Kamohio bay], "Kamohio Bay", "Puu Koae" [written next to the small hill at the top of the cliffs just west of Kamohio bay], "Kahoolawelili" [at Puu Koae islet], "Waikahalulu Bay", "Kealialolo Crater" [Lua Kealia Lalo, possibly a misreading of the name as it appeared on Conradt's circa 1911 map (Conradt undated)], "Reservoir" [in the gulch west of Pu'u lai and Waikahalulu, near the 500 ft. contour. A 400,000 gallon cement cistern was built in this gulch during the Baldwin & McPhee era. (Stearn 1940:129)], "Kahualale o Kamohalii" [in the interior north of Hana Kanaia], "Hanakanae" [Hana Kanaia], "KEALAIKAHIKI POINT" [the printed name "Kaelaikahiki" has been crossed out and "Kealaiakahiki" written in above it], Keanaake keiki" [at the deep-cut bay between Kaukaukapapa and Honokoa], "HONOKOA BAY", "Makaalae", "Hapuulili" [written immediately east of Makaalae], "Ahupuu Bay" [at O awa palau bay, between Makaalae and Kiil], "Hapuunui Gulch" [inland of "Ahupuu Bay"], "Reservoir" [in "Hapuunui Gulch"], "Kuuhuei Bay" [Kuuhelia], "Landing" [eastern part of "Kuuhuei Bay", possibly indicating the landing area for boats visiting the ranch], "houses" [marked by 3 squares, probably houses, one down on shoreline (the haole house) and two inland slightly to the southwest (the paniolo houses), there are also 3 circles, probably water tanks, up by the inland houses], "Kaulana Bay" [at Kaulana], "Old well" [back of Kaulana bay], "Papaka Bay" [first bay east of Kaulana], "Water Tank" [on eastern headland of "Papaka Bay"]. This map is on file in the Hawaii State Survey Office [Case 10, hole 50]. (Dranga? undated)

Undated (possibly 1926)
"DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, G.H. TITTMANN SUPERINTENDENT, KAHoolawe ISLAND, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, J.F. PRATT, ASST. CHIEF OF PARTY, U.S.S. PATTERSON, 1904-5, Scale 1/20,000, Planetable Survey by H.W. Rhodes, Asst., H.L. Beck, Aid and J.W. Maupin, Aid., Inked and Lettered by J.W. Maupin, Aid, Register No. 2698." This is an additional copy of the 1905 topographic map of Kaho'olawe. (Rhodes 1905) Onto this map has been penciled a grid of latitude and longitude lines. Beneath the printed notation "Kahoolawe 20° 34' 4.72 156° 35' 21.11", has be written "20° 34' 04.508 156° 35' 22.071 Old Hawaiian Datum Adopted June 1926". A further penciled note reads "Old Hawaiian Datum. Adopted as standard June 1926, L.M.Z." The letters "L.M.Z." appear to the initials of whomever approved the use of these coordinates. They may well be the same initials as those noted on the Hawaii Government Survey map of 1886. (Wall, 1886) An arrow runs from this note to the intersection of latitude 20° 35' and latitude 156° 32'. A number of place names have also been added to this map. It seems likely that these names were added about the same time as the pencil notations, possibly in 1926. These place names correspond closely, though not exactly, with the names
printed on the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe, and it seems possible that this may have been used as a preliminary map in the production of the 1926 U.S.G.S. map. The place names added to this copy of the 1905 map include: "Kuikui Pt.", "Hakioawa Pt." [at the southern headland of Hakioawa Bay], "Ule Pt." [Lae o ka Ule], "Lau Kealialuna", "Lua Makikoe" [an apparent misspelling of "Lua Makika", at Lua Moaula], "KANAPOU BAY", "Halona Pt.", "Kaka Pt.", "Kuakaiwa Pt.", "Kamohio Bay", "Aleale Pt.", "Puukoae I.", "Kaneloa" [at the mouth of the steep gulch just west of Kamohio], "Puu Moiwi" [at the site of the low hill near the center of the island], "Kalama Pt." [a small promontory lying almost midway between Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea], "Waikahalulu Bay", Lau Kealialalo", "Hanakananae" [the beach at the east end of Hana Kanaia], "Honokoa Bay", "Makaalae Pt.", "Ahupu Bay", "Kaukamoku" [at the sand fringed bay east of Ahupu], "Kuheia", "Kaulana", "Puu Moaula" [at Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Papaka" [the first bay east of Kaulana], "Papakaiki" [the second bay east of Kaulana], "Waaiki" [the sandy bay west of Lae o Kukui].

This map is presently held in the offices of the U.S. Department of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Data Control Section in Rockville, Maryland [reference code CG243-92-67]. It will, however, soon be transferred to the National Archives. (L.M.Z. undated)

1926

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 920-N-III-E/2-PART OF, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR, C.T. BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, MAUI COUNTY, MAKAWAO DISTRICT, KAHOOlage QUADRANGLE, KAHOOlage, HAWAII, Scale 1/31,680, Contour Interval 10 feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by Bishop Moorhead, Control by U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and Hawaiian Territorial Survey, Surveyed in 1926, Advanced Sheet Subject to Correction." This appears to have been the draft copy of the U.S. Geological Survey map published in 1929. It contains more topographical detail than the 1929 map and is of a larger scale. The place names printed on it, however, are the same. The U.S. government surveys of the Hawaiian islands were carried out between 1909 and 1930. "The names appearing on maps and quadrangles of the earlier surveys were not established as carefully as those which appear on later maps and quadrangles. Mr. A.O. Burkland, in charge of the survey in its later years, took particular care regarding nomenclature." (Coulter 1935:7) The place names listed on this map include; "Lae o Kuikui", "Hakioawa", "HEIAU" [an open square seems to mark the location of Site 560 at the northern edge of Hakioawa valley], "Lau Kealialuna", "Puei Koheo Hala", "Lae o ka Ule", "Lua Makika" [Lua Moaula], "Kanapou Bay", "Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Kamohio Bay", Aleale", "Puu Koae", "Kaneloa Gulch" [the gulch running inland to the west of Kamohio], "Kalama" [a small promontory lying almost midway between Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea], "Puu Moiwi" [at the site of the low hill near
the center of the island], "Waikahalulu Bay", "Tank"[in the
gulch west of Pu'ulu lai and Waikahalulu, near the 500 ft.
contour. A 400,000 gallon cement cistern was built in this
gulch during the Baldwin & McPhee era.(Stearns 1940:129)],
"Lua Kealiaalo", "Hanakanaea"[Hana Kanaia], "Lae o
Kealaikahiki", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaalae", "Ahupuiki
Gulch"[the gulch immediately west of Ahupu], "Ahupu Bay",
"Tank"[towards the back of Ahupu gulch], "Ahupu Gulch",
"Kaukamoku Gulch"[the gulch running inland from the sand
fringed bay east of Ahupu], "Kuhea", "Moaula"[at Pu'ulu o
Moaulaiki], "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch"[the gulch running
inland from "Kaulana"], "Papakanui"[the first bay east of
Kaulana], "Tank"[on the northeast headland of "Papakanui"
bay], "Papakanui Gulch"[the gulch running inland from
"Papakanui"], "Papakaiki"[the second bay east of Kaulana],
"Papakaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Papakaiki"],
"Waiaki"[the sandy bay west of Lae o Kukui] and "Waiaki
Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Waiaki"). This map also
marks the location of the various ranch buildings and
associated water tanks which existed at that time. It shows
a fenced corral back of Kuhea and a trail running from
"Waiaki" along the coast to "Ahupu Bay", as well as the light
station on the coast west of Wai Kehalulu. Copies of this
map are held in the Hawaii State Archives [Kahoolawe-1926 No.
118, copies 1 and 2 G4382-K3-1929-U5], and in the Bishop
Museum Archives [G4386, K3, 1926, U5 Copies 1 and an
unnumbered copy]. (U.S.G.S. 1926)

1927
"KAHOOLAWE SOUTHWEST POINT LIGHT STATION, ISLAND OF
KAHOOLAWE, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, Scale: 1"=300', S.L.K.
12/8/27". This is a detailed map of the area on Kaho'olawe's
southwest coast set aside for a lighthouse under Executive
Order 308. Attached is a letter detailing the boundaries of
this area. The map is in the possession of the Hawaii State
Survey Office [C.S.F. 4904]. (S.L.K. 1927)

1927
"MAP OF PROPOSED DITCH & STORAGE, ISLAND OF KAHOOLAWE, July
1927, R.L. 3/27/30". The map shows a proposed ditch and
flume feeding into the natural reservoir of Lua Kealia Lalo.
Notations on the map give the dimension of the reservoir as,
"Depth 11ft, Area 60 acres, Approx. capacity 35.0 million
gallons". Attached to the map is a letter, dated 1952,
describing the size and location of the island of Kaho'olawe.
The construction of the proposed ditch and flume appears
never to have been undertaken. The map and its accompanying
letter are in the Hawaii State Survey Office [SF.
11,526]. (R.L. 1927)
1929
"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR, C.T.
BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, (MAUI COUNTY),
KAHOOLawe QUADRANGLE, Scale 1/62500, Contour Interval 50
feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by Bishop Moorhead,
Control by Hawaiian Territorial Survey and U.S. Coast and
Geodetic Survey, Surveyed in 1926, KAHOOLawe, HAWAII, Edition
of 1929." This is the 1929 edition of the U.S. Geological
Survey map of Kaho'olawe, a draft of which was printed in
1926. It is on a slightly scale and contains less
topographic detail than the 1926 map, but is are otherwise
identical. This map contains the following place names: "Lae
o Kuikui", "Hakioawa", "HEIAU"[an open square seems to mark
the location of Site 560 at the northern edge of Hakioawa
valley], "Lua Kealialuna", "Puhu Koheo Hala", "Lae o ka Ule",
"Lua Makika"[Lua Moaula], "Kanapou Bay", "Lae o Halona", "Lae
o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Kamohio Bay", Aleale", Puu Koae",
"Kaneloa Gulch"[the gulch running inland to the west of
Kamohio], "Kalama"[a small promontory lying almost midway
between Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea], "Puu Moiw"[at the site
of the low hill near the center of the island], "Waikahalulu
Bay", "Tank"[in the gulch west of Pu'u lai and Waikahalulu,
near the 500 ft. contour. A 400,000 gallon cement cistern
was built in this gulch during the Baldwin & McPhee
era. (Stearns 1940:129)], "Lua Kealialalo", "Hanakanaea"[Hana
Kanaia], "Lae o Kealakahiki", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaale", "AhuLite Gulch"[the gulch immediately west of Ahupu], "Ahupu
Bay", "Tank"[towards the back of Ahupu gulch], "Ahupu Gulch",
"Kaukamoku Gulch"[the gulch running inland from the sand
fringed bay east of Ahupu], "Kuhea", "Moaula"[at Pu'u o
Moaulaiki], "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch"[the gulch running
inland from Kaulana], "Papakanui"[the first bay east of
Kaulana], "Tank"[on the northeast headland of Papakanui
bay], "Papakanui Gulch"[the gulch running inland from
Papakanui], "Papakaiki"[the second bay east of Kaulana],
Papakaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Papakaiki"],
"Waaiki"[the sandy bay west of Lae o Kukui] and "Waaiki
Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Waaiki"]. This map also
marks the location of the various ranch buildings and
associated water tanks which existed at that time. It shows
a fenced corral back of Kuheia and a trail running from
"Waaiki" along the coast to "Ahupu Bay", as well as the light
station on the coast west of Wai Kahalulu. A copy of this
map is in the Hawaii State Archives (118.5-KAH-2 G4382-K3-
1929-U5). Another rests in the Bishop Museum Archives
[G4382-K3-1929-U5-Copy 213]. (U.S.G.S. 1929)

Undated (possibly 1929)
"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR, C.T.
BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, (MAUI COUNTY),
KAHOOLawe QUADRANGLE, Scale 1/62500, Contour Interval 50
feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by Bishop Moorhead,
Control by Hawaiian Territorial Survey and U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Surveyed in 1926, HAHOOALWE, HAWAII, Edition of 1929." To this copy of the 1929 U.S. Geological Survey map have been added in pencil a number of place names. All but one of these, "Conradt's Cove", have been taken from J. Kauwekane's 1917 map. (Kauwekane 1917a) There are, however, some minor modifications in the spelling and locations of Kauwekane's names. No date is given for the addition of these place names, nor is there any indication as to who placed them on the map. The place names added to this map include; "Aikoupou" [along the coast half way between Lae o Kukui and Hakoawa], an arrow shows that Hakoawa should be moved down the coast to Oawa wahie, "Oawa wahie" [opposite a small promontory along the coast to south of its accepted position], "MOAULA" [at Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Kaohe" [on the southeastern slope of Pu'u o Moaulanui, above the northern cliffs of Kanapou bay], "Puhi o Koheohala" [an arrow runs from this name to a spot just north of the printed name "Lae o Ka Ule"], "Lae o Kaule", "Kalia o Kamohoalii", "Lapa Kea", "Kanapou" [at the head of the bay], "Puhi o Halona" [adjacent to Lae o Halona], "Kaku" [written in just below the printed name "Lae o Kaka"], "Lae o Kamohio" [at Lae o Kuakaiva], "Wai Kahaluu", "Puu Lai" [at a small hill on slope northeast of Wai Kahalulu], "Kealia wai" [Lua Kealia Lalo], "Puhi Anuenue" [an arrow runs from this name to the third promontory west of Wai Kahalulu], "Ke anakeiki", "Lae o Honokoa" [eastern headland of Honokoa bay], "Oawa palua" [large bay west of Ahu pu iki], "Kii", "Ahupu iki", "Ahupunui", "Kauka moku", "Oawa Panini" [bay west of Kuheia], "Conradt's Cove" [at Kuheia], "Papaka" [just west along the coast from Lae o Kukui]. This map is presently held in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1929-05-Copy 1]. (Unknown 1929?)

1931

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 920-N-III-E/2-PART OF, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR, C.T. BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, MAUI COUNTY, MAKAWAO DISTRICT, HAHOOALWE QUADRANGLE, KAHOOALWE, HAWAII, Scale 1/31,680, Contour Interval 10 feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by Bishop Moorhead, Control by U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and Hawaiian Territorial Survey, Surveyed in 1926, Advanced Sheet Subject to Correction." On this particular copy of the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map the island's vegetation areas have been shown by shading with colored pencil. "Windswept red dirt" areas are shown in red shading, "Pili grass, etc." in yellow shading and "Algaroba (kiawe) trees" in green shading. A note below this legend indicates that the shading was done "By E.H. Bryan, Jr., in 1931." Bryan visited Kaho'olawe in 1931 as part of a Bishop Museum expedition to the island. This map also contains inked in notes of rain gage locations; "Rain gage #50" at the ranch houses above Kuheia bay, "Rain gage #51" at the southern end of the floor of Lua Kealia Luna, "Rain gage #52" along the southwest edge of Kaulana
gulch just northeast of Pu'u o Moaulaiki, "Rain gage #53" at the upper, north edge of Lua Kealia Lalo. Faint penciled in notes appear to indicate the existence of "Wiliwili" trees on the heights above Wai Kahalulu bay, and "Kiawe" trees on the slopes of a knoll south west of Lua Kealia Lalo (at transit station "End"). This map is held in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1929-U5-Copy 3]. (Bryan 1931)

Undated (possibly 1931)
"KAHOOLawe, VEGETATION TYPES, FROM ORIGINAL MAP, BY E.H. BRYAN, JR. (FIELD WORK OF FEB. 1931)—,ON FILE B.P. BISHOP MUSEUM, 22-83 NONCOMMERCIAL FOREST LAND (KIAWE), 33 GRASSLAND (PILI GRASS), 36 NOT CLASSIFIED, 99 ERODED". This map shows the distribution of various vegetation types on the island as recorded by E.H. Bryan who visited Kaho'olawe in 1931. No place names are to be found on the map. It is presently held in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-.K3 K1-1931?-B6]. (Bryan undated)

1933
"Sketch map of Kahoolawe showing location of Sites 1-50. Based on the map published by the U.S. Geological Survey, 1929." This is Figure 18 in Gilbert McAllister's Archaeology Of Kahoolawe. (McAllister 1933:46) The "sites" referred to are archaeological sites located by McAllister during his 1931 visit to the island, as well as by J.G.F. Stokes back in 1913. The place names shown on this map include; "Lae o Kuikui", "Hakioawa Bay", "Lae o ka Ule", "Kanapou Bay", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Kamohio Bay", "Moaula"[at Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Puu Moiwi", "Waikahalulu Bay", "Hanakananae"[Hana Kanaia], "Honokoa Bay", "Ahupu Bay" and "Kuhea Bay". (McAllister 1933)

1939
"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 920-N-III-E/2-PART OF, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR, C.T. BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, MAUI COUNTY, MAKAWAO DISTRICT, KAHoolawe QUADRANGLE, KAHoolawe, HAWAII, Scale 1/31,680, Contour Interval 10 feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by Bishop Moorhead, Control by U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and Hawaiian Territorial Survey, Surveyed in 1926, Advanced Sheet Subject to Correction." To this copy of the 1926 Territorial map have been added notes in various colored pencils. A legend in the upper right hand corner indicates that those names which are written in light green pencil are from "Podmore's tracing of #2726, 1911". (Podmore 1911) These include; "Kukui Point", [the printed name "Kanapou" has been underlined in light green pencil], [the printed name "Moaula", at Pu'u o Moaulaiki, has been underlined in light green pencil]. Those names penciled in orange include "Names by C.C. Conradt"; names give by Kahoolawe Ranch owner Christian Conradt and found on a copy of the 1911 Territory Survey map in the
Hawaii State Archives. (Conradt undated). These consist of; "Kuikui" [at Lae Kuikui], "Hakiawa" [at Hakioawa], [the printed name "Lae o Ka Ule" has been underlined in orange pencil], "Kanapou Pt." [at Lae o Halona], "Pali" [along cliffs halfway between Lae o Kaka and Lae o Kuakaiwa], [the printed name "Puu Koa" has been underlined in orange pencil], "Lua Puhu" [at Wai Kahalulu bay], [the printed name "Hanakananae" has been underlined in orange pencil], [the printed name "Lua Kealialalo" has been underlined in orange pencil], "Hanakoa" [at Honokoa bay], [the printed name "Makaalae" has been underlined in orange pencil], "Ahupuiki (pump)" [at Ahi pu iki bay], "Ahupunui (old windmill)" [at Ahupu bay, the handwriting is difficult to decipher and the name may be spelt "Ahupanui"], "Kuheia (Conradt's Cove)" [at Kuheia], [the printed name "Moaula", at Pu'u o Moaulaik has been underlined in orange pencil], [the printed name "Kaulana" has been underlined in orange pencil], [the printed name "Papakanui" has been underlined in orange pencil], "Pohakumanu" [immediately west of Lae o Kuikui]. Place names written in dark green pencil refer to those "Names known by J.F.G. Stokes Sept. 1917". These appear to be the names marked "certain" on Stokes' map in the Hawaii State Archives (Stokes 1917). These include; "Kuikui Pt.", "Waaiki Bay" [first sandy beach east along the coast from Lae o Kuikui], [the printed name "Hakiawa" has been underlined in dark green pencil], "Kealia Luna" [at Lua Kealia Luna], [the printed name "Puu Koheo Hala" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Lae o Ka Ule" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Kanapou" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Hanakananae" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Kahohala Kamohali" [in the island's interior halfway between Hana Kanaia and Honokoa], "Lae Paki" [written in immediately above the printed name "Lae o Kealaikahiki"], "Keanaake Keiki" [at the headland immediately south of Kaukaupapa], [the printed name "Honokoa" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Makaalae" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the written name "Ahupuiki" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the written name "Ahupunui" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Kuheia" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Moaula", at Pu'u o Moaulaik, has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Kaulana" has been underlined in dark green pencil], [the printed name "Papakanui" has been underlined in dark green pencil]. "Names Uncertain, Sept. 1917", written in yellow pencil, include those labeled as
"uncertain" on Stokes' map. (Stokes 1917) These include; "Pali o Kalapanea" [at northern edge of cliffs flanking Kanapou bay], "Puhi" [written in below "Lae o Halona], "Kaka" [inland just southwest of Lae o Halona], "Halona Pt" [at the rounded headland just south of Lae o Halona], [the printed name "Lae o Kaka" has been underlined in yellow pencil], [the printed name "Lae o Kuakaiwa" has been underlined in yellow pencil], "Iliililoa" [along coast just west of Lae o Kuakaiwa], [the printed name "Kalama" has been underlined in yellow pencil], "Wiliwilipeapea" [at the eastern headland of Wai Kahalulu bay]. A line marked in red pencil also appears on this map. The legend indicates that it marks the "Route Jan. 7, 1939", which appears to be the route of a trip taken around Kaho'olawe by E.H. Bryan in 1939. There are also some notes in black pencil. These include routes marked with dates from Bryan and McAllister's trip in 1931, as well as the locations of "Wiliwili" trees and other plants such as "scaevola" and "Ipomea", "Light", "Good Airplane Landing Field", "Cistern", "Shack", "Fence", "tank", "Rain gage" and other ranch structures, caves, "log", "piles of rocks", a set of numbers which do not appear to be archaeological site numbers, etc. Judging from the numerous creases and the smudges of dirt on the map, it was probably a copy taken into the field by the 1939 Bishop Museum expedition to Kaho'olawe. This map is in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1929-U5-Copy 2]. (Bryan 1939)

1939
"Geologic map of Kahoolawe showing wells, rain gages, reservoirs, and resistivity stations. Geology by Harold T. Stearns, 1939". (Stearns 1940:120) The place names shown on this map include "Hakioawa", "Lua Kealialuna", "Puu Kolekole" [at the small cinder cone south of O awa wahie], Lua Makika" [Lua Moaula], "Moaula" [at Pu'u o Moaulaik], "Kanapou Bay", Kamohio Bay", "Puu Koae", "Puu Moiwi", "Waikahalulu Bay", "Lua Kealialalo", "Puu Kamama" [at the small hill in the interior just southwest of Lua Kealia Lalo], "Kauakapapa Beach" [the second sandy beach north of Lae o Kealaiakahiki], "Ahupu Bay" and "Kuhea". Stearns indicates in the text of his report that his guide on Kaho'olawe was Jack Aina, a cowboy working for the Kaho'olawe ranch, and it appears possible that Aina may have provided him with many of the place names on his map, especially those which are not known from any previous map. (Stearns 1940:122) On the page opposite this map is an aerial photographic mosaic of the island ("PLATE 13, AERIAL MOSAIC MAP, Of, KAHOOLawe, Photo by 18th Air Base Photo, Laboratory, A.C. Wheeler Field, T.H."). (Stearns 1939)
1940
"Map of Kahoolawe showing the character of the surface."
This map is Fig. 26 of Harold T. Stearn's book Geology and
Ground-Water Resources of Lanai and Kahoolawe,
Hawaii. (Stearns 1940:123) It shows areas marked "STONY
LAND", "DUST BOWL" and "DUST CAP". The place names shown on
this map include "Hakioawa", "Lua Makika" [Lua Moaula],
"Kanapou Bay", "Kamohio Bay", "Puu Koae", "Waikahalulu Bay",
"Ahupu Bay" and "Kuhea". (Stearns 1940a)

1940
A sequence of maps showing the geological history of
Kaho'olawe is included as Figures 30 thru 34 in Harold T.
Stern's book Geology and Ground-Water Resources of Lanai and
Kahoolawe, Hawaii. (Stearns 1940:143-46). No place names are
shown on these maps. (Stearns 1940b)

1947
"UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, U.S. GEOLOGICAL
SURVEY, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR,
C.T. BAILEY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS, HAWAII, (MAUI
COUNTY), KAHOOLawe QUADRANGLE, Scale 1/62500, Contour
Interval 50 feet, Datum is mean sea level, Topography by
Bishop Moorhead, Control by Hawaiian Territorial Survey and
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Surveyed in 1926, KAHOOLawe,
HAWAII, Edition of 1929, reprinted 1947." This is a reprint
of the 1929 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe.
Nothing appears to have been changed or updated since
the printing of the earlier map. The 1947 map contains the
following place names: "Lae o Kuikui", "Hakioawa", "HEIAU"[an
open square seems to mark the location of Site 560 at the
northern edge of Hakioawa valley], "Lua Kealialuna", "Puhi
Kohee Hala", "Lae o ka Ule", "Lua Makika" [Lua Moaula],
"Kanapou Bay", "Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o
Kuakaiwa", "Kamohio Bay", "Aleale", "Puu Koae", "Kaneloa
Gulch" [the gulch running inland to the west of Kamohio],
"Kalama" [a small promontory lying almost midway between
Aleale and Wiliwilipeapea], "Puu Moiwi" [at the site of the
low hill near the center of the island], "Waikahalulu Bay",
"Tank" [in the gulch west of Pu'u lai and Waikahalulu, near
the 500 ft. contour. A 400,000 gallon cement cistern was
built in this gulch during the Baldwin & McPhee era. (Stearns
1940:129)], "Lae Kealialalo", "Hanakanaua" [Hana Kanaia], "Lae
o Kealaikahi", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaalae", "Ahupuiki
Gulch" [the gulch immediately west of Ahupu], "Ahupu Bay",
"Tank" [towards the back of Ahupu gulch], "Ahupu Gulch",
"Kaukamoku Gulch" [the gulch running inland from the sand
fringed bay east of Ahupu], "Kuhea", "Moaula" [at Pu'u o
Moaulaiki], "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch" [the gulch running
inland from "Kaulana"], "Papakanui" [the first bay east of
Kaulana], "Tank" [on the northeast headland of "Papakanui"
bay], "Papakanui Gulch" [the gulch running inland from
"Papakanui"], "Papakaiki" [the second bay east of Kaulana],
"Papakaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Papakaiki"], "Waaiki"[the sandy bay west of Lae o Kukui] and "Waaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Waaiki"]. This map also marks the location of the various ranch buildings and associated water tanks which existed at that time. It shows a fenced corral back of Kuheia and a trail running from "Waaiki" along the coast to "Ahupu'u Bay", as well as the light station on the coast west of Wai Kahalulu. A copy of this map rests in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-K3-1929-U5]. (U.S.G.S. 1947)

1954
"ISLAND OF KAHOOLawe, Scale 1:65,000, M61, ENG. DIV. HUSARPAC. 8-54". This map, produced by the U.S. Navy, shows the topography of the island using hachures. It also shows the courses of intermittent streams in blue. The place names found on this map include; "Kukui Pt.", "Hakioawa Pt."[at the southern headland of Hakioawa bay], "Ule Pt."[Lae o ka Ule], "Kealialuna Crater", "Lua Makika"[Lua Moaula], "Kanapou Bay", "Halona Pt.", "Kaka Pt.", "Kua Kaiwa Pt.", "Kamohio Bay", "Puukoae I.", "Kalama Pt.", "Waikahalulu Bay", "Hanakananae", "Kealaikahiki Pt.", "Puu Moiwi", "Kealialalo Crater", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaalae Pt.", "Ahupu'u Bay", "Kuheia Bay", "Moaula"[at Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Kaulana Pt."[at the western headland of Kaulana bay], "Papakanui Pt."[the western headland of the bay just east of Kaulana], "Papakaiki Pt."[the western headland of the bay two bays east of Kaulana]. A copy of this map is held in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382, K3, 1954, H6]. (U.S.N. 1954)

1965
"ISLAND OF KAHOOLawe, HAWAII FOREST TYPE-MAP, KAHOOLawe QUADRANGLE, COOPERATING AGENCIES; PACIFIC SOUTHWEST FOREST & RANGE EXPERIMENT STATION - FOREST SERVICE - U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, DEPARTMENT OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES - STATE OF HAWAII - FORESTRY DIVISION, (LAND USE - FOREST TYPE - DENSITY & SIZE CLASS), (see legend separate), Map compilation by J. Klingensmith, 1965., Aerial photo interpretation by N. Honda, 1964., Year of aerial photography: 1954., (Scale: 1:30000)". This U.S. Forestry Service map shows the vegetation existing on Kaho'olawe as of 1954. Place names present on this map include; "Lua MAKIKA"[Lua Moaula], "KANAPOU BAY", "LAE O HALONA", "LAE O KAKA", "KAMOHIO BAY", "PUU KOAE", "WAIKAHALULU BAY", "LAE O KEALAIKAHIKI", "MAKAALAE", "MOAULA"[at Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "PAPAKANUI"[at the first bay east of Kaulana], "PAPAKAIKI"[at the second bay east of Kaulana]. Two copies of this map are presently held at the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382, K3K2, 1964, H2]. They were a gift from the Forest Service Experiment Station. (Klingensmith 1965).
Undated (possibly 1970s)
"KAHOOLawe & MOLOKINI, MAKAWAO, MAUI, SECOND DIVISION, ZONE 2, SEC. 1, PLAT 01, CONTAINING 5 PARCELS, SCALE: 1in = 5000 ft., ADVANCE SHEET SUBJECT TO CHANGE". This tax key map shows the ownership of the various parcels of land which make up the islands of Kaho'olawe and Molokini. It appears to have been drafted some time in the 1970s, and reflects the land ownership at that time. Most of Kaho'olawe is listed under the ownership of the "United States of America, (Secretary of the Navy), Pres. Exec. Order. No. 10236 [this is the Presidential Executive Order which placed the island under military control], NAVAL RESERVATION, 28,776.7 Ac." A small parcel of land lying along the south coast between Wai Kahalului bay and Hana Kanaia bay is labeled "United States of America, 23.3 ac., KAHOOOLawe S.W. POINT LIGHT HOUSE, Pres. Proclamation No. 1827 - (2-3-26)". This land was set aside in 1926 for the construction of a light station to aid navigation. Interestingly, the islet of Pu'u Koae, which lies just off the south coast of federally owned Kaho'olawe, is designated as belonging to the "State of Hawaii, 13.0 ac. " The place names found on this map appear to have been taken from the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe. (U.S.G.S. 1926) They include; "Lae o Kuikui", "Hakioawe", "Heiau" [situated on the northern side of Hakioawa gulch, this is apparently Site 560], "Puahi Koheo Hala", "Lae o Ka Ule", ""LUA MAIKIA ""[Lua Moaula], "Kanapou Bay", "Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakaiwa", "Kamohio Bay", "Aleale", "PUU KOAE", "Kanoiola Gulch", "Kalama", "Waikahalulu Bay", "Hanakanea" [Hana Kanaia], "Lae o Kealaikahiki", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaala", "Ahupuiki Gulch", "Ahupu Bay", "Ahupu Gulch", "Kaukamoku Gulch", ""HOAULA" '[apparently a misspelling of Moaula", at Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Kuhea", "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch", "Papakanui", "Papakanui Gulch", "Papakaiki", "Papakaiki Gulch", "Waaiki", "Waaiki Gulch". A copy of this map can be found in the tax key map books held at the Hawaii State Library [Second Tax Division, Counties of Maui & Kalawao, Map Volume Zones 1 - 2]. (Tax Key undated)

Undated (possibly 1970s)
"Sketch map of Kahoolawe showing location of Sites 1-50. Based on the map published by the U.S. Geological Survey, 1929." This is a copy of Gilbert McAllister's 1933 map of Kaho'olawe. It is taken from Inez Ashdown's annotated copy of McAllister's Archaeology of Kahoolawe. (Figure 18 in McAllister 1933:46) A number of names have been added to this map, apparently by Ashdown. These names include: "Kohe o Hala" [at the promontory north of Loe o ka Ule], "Keaua lalo" [this name has been written in between Loe Kealia Luna and Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Makika" [near Lua Moaula], "Kealia Moaula nui" [this appears to be at the site of Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Pali o Kalapa" [a line connects this name with a section of cliffs at the northern corner of Kanapou bay], "Lae Halona" [at Loe o Halona], "Halona Pt" [at the broad promontory
between Lae o Halona and Lae o Kaka], "Koko"[written in after "Lae o Kaka", probably to suggest that it should really be "Lae o Koko"], [the printed name "lae o Kuakaiwa" has been underlined], "Puu Koa'e"[Pu'u Koa'e islet], "Waikahalulu nui"[a dashed line links this name to the inlet just west of Pu'u Koa'e], "iki"[written in after the printed name "Waikahalulu Bay", possibly suggesting that it might better be "Waikahaluluiki Bay"], "Ka hua Hale o Ka Mo'oalii"[located inland at the small hill just east of Lua Kealia Lalo], "Honu Kanaena"[a dotted line links this name to the eastern point of Hana Kanaia bay], "Kealaikahiki Pt"[a line joins this name to the promontory just north of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Lae Paki"[written in at the prominent headland west of Honokoa], "Honokou Pt"[the eastern headland of Honokoa bay], "Maka alae Pt", "Ka Lama Pt."[the western headland of the first sandy bay east of Makaalae], "Ka Lama"[written near the first sandy bay east of Makaalae], "Ahupu nui"[a dotted line seems to link this name to a stretch of the coast east of Kauka moku], "Lua ka Ulu"[marked by a single large dot lying offshore to the northwest of Kuheia, a note following this name reads "deep sea fishing area"], "Wind Mill"[a line has been drawn from this name to a spot on the coast between Kauka moku and Kuheia], "Kai Oloahia"[a line connects this name to the western headland of the bay immediately west of Kuheia, though it may refer to the bay itself. A note at the top of the map reads, "Kai Olo hia or Tranquil sea (peace of mind-acceptance)"]], "Hilu ula"[the western headland of Kuheia bay], "Hilu kea"[western headland of Kuheia bay. The note which includes these two names reads, "2 Lae-E is Hilu kea W is Hilu ula".], "Kaipapau Bay"[a line joins this name to Kaulana bay. The accompanying note reads, "Kanaloa lived here Here is a well"], "Kaulana Bay"[a dotted line links this name to the second bay east of Kaulana], "Papaka nui"[a line runs from this place name to the approximate area of the sand fringed gulch west of Lae o Kukui] and "Wa'a-iki"[written inland and south of Lae o Kukui] A copy of Inez Ashdown's annotated Archaeology Of Kaho'olawe, which includes this map, is kept among her private papers at the Archives of the Bishop Museum. (Ashdown undated)

1975
"Map of Main Points". This rough sketch map of Kaho'olawe was drawn by Inez Ashdown and included as part of an annotated list of the island's place names headed, "Kaho'olawe - 10/12/75 - for Jane Silverman, by request." It appears to have been sent as part of a letter to Silverman. The map includes the following place names: "Lae o Kukui"[at the island's northeast point], "HAKIO AWA"[opposite a sizable bay on the northeast coast], "Kohe o Hala"[adjacent to a promontory north of "Lae o ka Ule", "Lae o ka ula"[possibly the northern headland of Kanapou bay], "Kea ula lalo"[in the vicinity of Lua Kealia Luna], "Makika"[written next to "Puu Moaula, and probably representing Lua Moaula], "Pali o
Kalapu"[opposite the northern coast of Kanapou bay, possibly a misspelling of Pali o Kalapakea], "Kanapou Bay", "Punawai Honu or Hana"[linked by a line to a dot on the southern shore of Kanapou bay], "Lae o Halona"[written near the southern headland of Kanapou bay], "Lae o Kaka"[opposite the peninsula which forms the southeastern corner of the island], "Lae o Ku aka iwa"[at the eastern headland of Kamohio bay], "Kamohio Shrine"[an arrow points from this name towards the interior of Kamohio bay], "Lae o Mano"[the western headland of Kamohio bay]. "wai kaha lulu Bay"[a three headed arrow points from this name to a broad stretch of coast extending from Kamohio to Wai Kahalulu], "Puu Moiwi"[marked by a dot at the center of the island], "Honu Kanaia"[a three headed arrow points from this name to a stretch of coast which apparently lies east of Haru Kanaia], "Ke ala i Kahiki"[the island's western tip], "Light House"[marked by an arrow running to a point along the coast between Lae o Kealaikahiki and "Lae Paki"], "Lae Paki"[a promontory approximately half way between Lae o Kealaikahiki and Honokoa], "Lae Honokou"[an arrow reaches to this name from Honokoa bay], "Lae Maka alae"[a headland between Honokoa and Ahupu], "ahupuiki stream"[a dotted line running down to near "Ahupu Bay"], "Na Lae Kohola"[a line extends from this name to both headlands of "Ahupu Bay"], "Ahupu Bay"[an arrow points from this name to a large bay about halfway along the north coast], "40000 gal cistern"[linked by an arrow to a spot just inland of "Ahupu Bay"], "wind mill"[just inland of "Ahupu Bay"], "ahupuuni stream"[a dotted line running from a point along the coast east of "Ahupu Bay" to "Puu Moaula"], "Lae Hilu ula"[a line links this name to the western headland of "Ku Hee ia"], "Ku Hee ia"[probably Kuheia bay], "Houses"[inland of "Ku Hee ia"], "Lae Hilu Kea"[an arrow links this name to the western headland of "Ku Hee ia"], "well is wai puna pe'e"[joined by a line to a point just east of "Lae Hilu Kea"], "Puu Moaula"[written below a dot to the west of "Makika" and apparently indicating Pu'u o Moaulaki], "Kaulama Pt and Bay"[an arrow runs from this notation to a bay drawn in east of "Ku Hee ia", possibly Kaulana], "Tank"[marked by a dot just east of "Kaulama Pt and Bay"], "Papaka nui"[a line drawn from this name appears to extend into the interior south of "Kaulama Pt and Bay", but it may only indicate a point on the coast east of "Kaulama Pt and Bay"] and "Waa iki"[written inland and south of Lae o Kukui]. A copy of this map and the accompanying text are held in the files of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office. (Ashdown 1975a)

1975

This sketch map of the western half of the island of Kaho'olawe is also included in Inez Ashdown's letter to Jane Silverman dated "10/16/75", a copy of which is held at the Hawaii State Historical Society. The place names found on this map include; "Kealia"[marked by a circle at the far eastern edge of the map, east of "Moiwi"], "Moiwi"[marked by
a dot in the island's interior towards the eastern end of the map], "Kamohio Shrine"[a line runs from this name to an unrecognizable spot along the south coast], "Puu Koa'e"[marked by a dot off the south coast], "Wai kaha lulu"[a deep bay on the south coast east of what appears to be Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Horu ka nae nae wrongly spelled on maps as Hana ka naia if about the Naia, then this Hono ka naia"[a line links this note to a broad bay immediately south of "Lae Paki"], this bay appears to lie north and east of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Lae Paki"[joined by an arrow to a point which appears to lie between Lae o Kealaikahiki and Honokoa], "Light House"[situated just inland of "Lae Paki"], "Na Lae Kohola"[linked to an arrow to a spot on the coast east of "Lae Paki"], "Lae Hono kou"[written next to an area of the coast between "Na Lae Kohola" and "Lae Maka alae"], "Lae Maka alae"[between "Lae Hono kou" and "Ahu pu Bay"], "Ahu pu Bay"[joined by a line to a deep bay on the north coast at the eastern end of the map]. This rough map also shows the location of a number of "streams". A copy of this map can be found in the files of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office. (Ashdown 1975b)

1977
This is a rough map of Kaho'olawe apparently drawn by Inez Ashdown. It was attached to a 1977 letter which she sent to Captain C.B. Crockett of the U.S. Navy, who was at that time officer in charge on the island. The map contains an abundance of place names, as well as numerous notes on their meanings. It also gives the locations of various archaeological sites. The place names written on this map include; LAE O KUKUI", "WAA IKI"[written within a circle located inland and south of Lae o Kukui], "HAKIO'AWA"[at a large bay on the northeast coast], "HEIAU"[lines running from this name point to two squares, one on each side of "HAKIO'AWA" gulch. These appear to represent sites 560 and 350.], "MAKAKILO"[situated inland and slightly to the southwest of "HAKIO'AWA"], "MAKALII"[situated immediately southeast of "MAKAKILO". A note in the upper right hand corner of the map reads, "1 MAKAKILO 2 MAKALII 2 structures for Star's astronomy"], "KEA'UA LALO"[written in the islands northeast interior, to the north of "MOA'ULA-IKI"], "KEALIA"[in the island's interior, northeast of "MOA'ULA-IKI"]. A note at the bottom of the page reads' "Kealia means any swampy place. 2 "lakes up here during & after rains streams flowed from these areas"], "KEA'UA UKA"[situated between "KEALIA" and "MOA'ULA-IKI". It is not clear what physical features "KEA'UA UKA" or "KEA'UA LALO" refer to], "MOA'ULA-UKA"[situated inland, south of "MOA'ULA-IKI", possibly at Pu'u o Moauncan], "KOHE O HALA"[written along the coast adjacent to the southeast headland of "HAKIO'AWA"], "LAE and POKAKU ULE"[along te coast south of "KOHE O HALA"], "PUNA WAI"[an arrow points from this place name to a spot on the cliffs near the north end of Kanapou bay], "PALI O KA LAPA"[written along the northern cliffs of Kanapou bay],
"KANAPOU BAY", "apex of NA KO'A LUA"[an apparent fishing ground situated offshore of Kanapou bay], "PUNA PEE"[a line has been drawn from this place name to an X at the beach area of Kanapou bay], "LAE O HALONA"[at the southern headland of Kanapou bay], "LAE O KAKA"[at the southeast corner of the island], "LAE O KUAKAIWA"[at a promontory shown halfway between Lae O Kaka and the eastern headland of Kamohio bay], "KAMOHIA"[at Kamohio bay], "MOIWI"[marked by a dot at roughly the center of the island, a note towards the bottom of the page reads, "should be Mo'o iwi meaning ancestral "bones" or "treasures" - literally, lizard bones"], "WAH KAHALULU BAY & Stream"[linked by an arrow to Wai Kahalulu bay], "Wai ka halulu"[written in along the length of the stream running into Waikahalulu bay], "HONO KANAE'AE"[linked by an arrow to the eastern headland of Hana Kanaia bay], "HANA KA NA'I'A"[an arrow joins this name to what appears to be Hana Kanaia bay], "Na One 'lua"[this place name is found in a note which reads, "2 white sand beaches are Na One 'lua". An arrow has been drawn from this note to western end of what appears to be Hana Kanaia bay, suggesting that the beaches referred to are those at Hana Kanaia], "LAE KEALA-I-KAHIKI"[at the island's western end], "LAE PA-KI"[linked by an arrow to a promontory on the coast between "LAE KEALA-I-KAHIKI" and "LAE HONO KOU (or Koa)"], "WAH LALO"[situated just inland of "LAE PA-KI". An associated note reads, "Lae Paki has a spring named WAH LALO"], "LAE HONO KOU (or Koa)"[an arrow has been drawn from this place name to a point west of Makaalae], "MAKA'ALAE"[written along the island's north coast slightly east of "LAE HONO KOU (or Koa)"], "Na lae Kohola"[the note in which this place name is found reads, "2 lae at ahupu are Kohola Na lae Kohola"; lines then point to the two headlands flanking "AHUPU BAY"], "AHUPU BAY"[at a large bay on the island's north coast], "Cistern"[situated near the mouth of "AHUPU BAY". A note at the top of the map reads, "400,000 gal cistern built, AHUPU"], "AHUPU NUI"[this name has been written inland of "AHUPU BAY" and appears to refer to the gulch or the stream feeding into it], "KUHEEIA BAY Headquarters"[this appears to be Kuheia bay where the ranch headquarters formerly stood. The map shows the location of four "Houses", a "Wharehouse" and a "Trail" which runs inland from the ranch], "MOA'ULA-IKI"[marked by a large dot in the northeastern interior of the island, slightly northeast of "MOA'ULA-UKA"], "KAULANA BAY"[situated just east of "KUHEEIA BAY", an associated note reads, "Kaulana Bay has the stone-paved well"] and "PA PAKANUI"[written just inland of the coastline to the south of "KAULANA BAY"]. This map and its accompanying letter are on file at the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office. (Ashdown 1977)
1977
"KAHOOLAWE ISLAND, WITH 'ILI LAND DIVISIONS, SUGGESTED BY LEE S. MOTTELER, Drawn by J.E. Wallace 6 April 1977, Scale 1:25,000, From U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office Charts No. 19C02 and 19C03. Hawaiian Place Names Added and Revised to Reflect Changes Suggested by Lee S. Motteker, Geographer, Pacific Science Info. Center, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 13, 1977." This is a 1977 Navy map of Kaho'olawe showing the topography of the island as well as the depths of its offshore waters. Onto this map have been added the names and approximate boundaries of the 'ili land divisions shown on the Doc. 1126 map in the Hawaii State Archives. (Doc. 1126 undated-a) Motteker has, however, taken some liberties in transcribing this information from the original map. He has added two 'ili ("Ahupuiki" and "Papakaiki") which did not appear on the original, and has modified the names of some of the other land divisions. The 'ili listed on this map include (running clockwise around the island from the northeast); "HAKIOAWANUI," "HAKIOAWAIKI," "KANAPOU," "NAALAPA," "KUNAKA," "KEALAIAKIHII," "HONOKOA," "AHUPUUKI"[this name does not appear on the original 'ili map], "AHUPUNU"[Doc. 1126 gives this name as "Ahupu"], "KUHEIA"[Doc. 1126 records the name of this 'ili as "Kuhea"], "KAULANA"[Motteker has altered the location of this 'ili to correct what is an apparent error in the Doc. 1126 map], "PAPAKANUI"[Doc. 1126 gives the name of this 'ili as "Papaka"], "PAPAKAIKI"[this name does not appear on the original 'ili map] and "WAAIKI". A number of other place names have also been added to this map. They include; "Lae o Kukui", "Hakioawa Bay", "Hakioawa"[situated offshore, just south of the lettering "Hakioawa Bay"], "Hale o Papa"[printed across the southern edge of Hakioawa gulch, probably marking site 350], "Oawawahie", "Kohe o Hala", "Lua Kealiialuna", "Moaula Nui'[at Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Lua Moaula", "(Lua Makika)"[printed beneath "Lua Moaula", apparently as an alternate name], "Hula Kao'[at the hill just inland of Lae o ka Ule], "Lae o ka Ule", "Kalua o Kamhoalii", "Pali o Kalapakea", "KANAPOU BAY", "(BECK COVE)"[printed beneath "KANAPOU BAY", apparently as an alternate name], "Keoneuli'[the beach at Kanapou bay], "Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Kaohi'[on the slope south of Pu'u o Moaulanui, inland of Pali o ka Lapa Kea], "Kaka'[on the slope just south of Lae o Halona], "Lae o Kuakaiwa'[the eastern headland of Komohio bay], "Iliiliiloa'[along the eastern shore of Komohio bay], "KAMOHIO BAY", "Kunaka Cave"[printed near the back of Komohio bay], "Komohio Ko'a"[printed near the back of Komohio bay], "Aleale", "Puu Koae", "Kanaloa Gulch"[the gulch just west of Komohio], "Kalama'[printed beneath the prominent headland west of Aleale], "Kalaulua'[at the slightly smaller promontory west of "Kalama"], "Wiliwilipeapea'[the eastern headland of Wai Kahalulu bay], "WAIAAHALUULU BAY", "Puu Lai'[the small hill northwest of Wai Kahalulu], "Puhui Avenue"[written beneath the third prominent headland west of Wai Kahalulu bay], "Honokanao (tank)"[situated inland, within the gulch
west of Wai Kahalulu], "Honukanaenae"[at the eastern headland of Hana Kanaia bay], "HONUKANAENAE BAY"[at Hana Kanaia bay], "(SMUGGLER COVE)"[printed beneath "HONUKANAENAE BAY"], apparently as an alternate name], "Lea o Kealaikahiki", "Kuia Shoal"[the shoals west of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Keana Keiki"[at the first major headland north of Lae o Kealaikahiki], "Lae Paki"[the northern headland of the deep bay between Kaukaupapapa and Honokoao], "Honokoao Bay", "Lae o Honokoao"[the eastern headland of Honokoao bay], "Makaalae", "Oawapala"[at the bay immediately west of Kii], "Kii", "Lua Ka Ulua"[off the coast north of O awa palua], "Lua Kealialalo", "Puu Kahua"[at the small hill east of Lua Kealia Lalo], "Ahupuiki Bay", "Ahupuiki Gulch", "Puu Moiwi", "Lae ka Lama"[the western headland of Ahupu bay], "Ahupu Bay", "Ahupu (Site)"[the beach area of Ahupu bay], "Hoponui (tank)"[along the stream inland of the beach at Ahupu], "Ahupu Gulch", "Lae o Na Kohola"[the eastern headland of Ahupu bay], "Kaukamoku"[at the second bay east of Ahupu], "Kaukamoku Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Kaukamoku"], "Kai Oloha"[the bay immediately west of Kuheia], "Oloha Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Kai Oloha"], "Lae o Hiluulu"[the western headland of Kuheia bay], "Kuheia Bay"[Kuheia], "Kuheeia (Site)"[the shore area at Kuheia], "Lae o Hilukea"[the eastern headland of Kuheia bay], "Moaula Iki"[Pu'u o Moaulaiki], "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch", "Papakanui"[the first bay east of Kaulana], "Papakanui Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Papakanui"], "Papakaiki"[the second bay east of Kaulana], "Papakaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Papakaiki"], "Waaiki"[the sandy bay west of Lae o Kukui], "Waaiki Gulch"[the gulch running inland from "Waaiki"] and "Pohakumanu"[situated immediately west of Lae o Kukui]. Five unannotated copies of this map are on file in the Archives of the Bishop Museum [G4382-.K3-1977-N2]. (Motteler 1977a)

1977

"KAHOOLAWE ISLAND, WITH 'ILI LAND DIVISIONS, SUGGESTED BY LEE S. MOTTELER, Drawn by J.E. Wallace 6 April 1977, Scale 1:25,000, From U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office Charts No, 19C02 and 19C03. Hawaiian Place Names Added and Revised to Reflect Changes Suggested by Lee S. Motteler, Geographer, Pacific Science Info. Center, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 13, 1977." This appears to be Motteler's personal copy of the 1977 U.S. Navy map of Kaho'olawe. Onto it he has marked in red felt pen some place name changes and additions. The only change he has made in the 'ili boundaries is to slightly modify the alignment of the border between "HAKIOAWANUI" and "HAKIOAWAIKI" so that it runs down the central ridge of Hakioawa gulch. Among those place names which have been altered are; "Hale o Papa [changed to read "Hale o Papa Heiau"], "Moaula Nui" [altered to read "Puu Moaulanui"], "Laa Moaula" [crossed out], "Honokanao Tank" [crossed out], "Puhi anvenue" [altered to read "Puhi a Nanue"], "Honukanaenae" [crossed out], "HONUKANAENAE
BAY" [crossed out and altered to "Honokanaia"], "SMUGGLER COVE" [crossed out], "Hoponui (tank)" [crossed out]. Place names which have been added to the map include "Puu Kolekole" [at the cinder cone south of Oawa wahi], "Waikahalulu Gulch" [the gulch running inland from Waia Kahalululu bay], "Puu Kamama" [a hill to the southwest of Lual Kealia Lalo], "Sailors Hat", "Pohaku Pookanaka Kuhikeiakahiki" [an arrow runs from this name to a cluster of rocks rising from the sea just southwest of Lw6 o Kealaikahiki], "Wai Honu Gulch" [the gulch running inland from the small sandy bay to the east of Lwe o Kealaikahiki] and "Kaukaukapapa Beach" [the second of the broad sandy beaches north of Lwe o Kealaikahiki]. This map is held in the Archives of the Bishop Museum [G4382-K3-1977-N2-Copy 2]. (Motteler 1977b)

1978
"U S NAVAL AIR STATION, BARBERS PT., OAHU, HAWAII, GENERAL DEVELOPMENT MAP, EXISTING AND PLANNED PRE-M DAY, AERIAL TARGETS, KAHOLLAWE IS, DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, NAVAL FACILITIES ENGINEERING COMMAND, DRWN. W. RAPOSA, FEC DWG. NO. 1312492." This map, produced by the U.S. Navy, shows the location of the various bombing targets it had on the island as of the late 1970s. It also shows the roads, structures and other support facilities built by the Navy. Among the listed amendments and corrections to the map are, "ADDED NAMES OF AREAS" dated "2-25-76", "ADDED ARCHAEOLOGICAL AREAS" dated "8-30-77" and "ADDED ENTRY PROHIBITED" SIGNS" dated "11/1/78". The last additions to this map appear to have been made in 1978. For the most part, the locations of the place names printed on this map correspond with those found on the 1929 U.S. Geological Survey map of Kaho'olawe. These names include: "CAPE KUIKU", "HEIAU KAULANA" [situated on the northern side of Hakioawa gulch, possibly site 560], "HAKIOAWA", "PUHI KOHEO HALA", "ULE PT.", "KEALIALUNA CRATER", "MAIKIA CRATER" [Lu'a Moaula], "KANAPOU BAY", "BECK COVE" [at the head of Kanapou bay], "HALONA PT.", "KAKA PT.", "KUAKAIWA PT.", "KAMOHI O BAY", "ALEALE", "PUUKOAIE IS.", "KANEOA GULCH", "PUU MOIW", "KALAMA", "WAIAHALULU BAY", "KEALIALALO CRATER", "SAILOR HAT", "HANAKANAE" [at eastern headland of Hana Kanaia bay], "SMUGGLERS COVE" [at Hana Kanaia bay], "KALAIKAIKI PT.", "HONOKOA BAY", "MAKAALAE", "AHUPU'IKI GULCH", "AHUPU BAY", "AHUPU GULCH", "KAUKAMOKU GULCH", "KUHEIA BAY", "MOAULA" [at Pu'unu Moaulaiki], "KAULANA", "KAULANA GULCH", "PAPAKANUI", "PAPAKANUI GULCH", "PAPAKAIKI", "PAPAKAIKI GULCH", "WAATI", "WAATI GULCH". A copy of this map is on file at the Hawaii State Survey Office. (Raposa 1978)
1980
"KAHOOLawe TRAINING AREA, HAWAII PHOTOMAP 1:25,000
(APPROXIMATE) EDITION 4-29, SHEET KAHOOLawe, THIS IS A SEMI-
CONTROLLED PHOTOMAP POSITIONED BY THE BEST AVERAGE FIT TO A
1:62,500 SCALE HYDROGRAPHIC CHART. FEATURES AND RANGE DATA
MUST BE CONSIDERED AS DISPLACED FROM ACTUAL POSITION,
Prepared under the direction of the Engineer, USARPAC by the
29th Engineer Battalion (Base Topographic) in 1971.,
Semicontrolled mosaic prepared from Nov. 1971 aerial
photography. Supplementary Data provided by Pacific
Division, Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Pearl Harbor,
Hawaii 96860 As of 11 Sept. 80, PRINTED BY-29TH ENGR BN (T)
11-80, STOCK NO. KAHOOLAWETRNG04". This aerial photo map of
Kaho'olawe was prepared by the U.S. military to assist in its
training on the island. It shows, in red, the location of a
number of bombing targets, as well as roads, helicopter
landing zones and other elements of infrastructure. Also
printed in red are the numbers and positions of the numerous
archaeological sites discovered during the 1976-80 island
wide archaeological survey. The place names which appear on
this map vary little in their location from those found on
the 1954 and 1978 U.S. Navy maps of the island. (U.S.N. 1954,
Raposa 1978). These names include: "Kukui Point",
"HAKIOAWA", "Hakioawa Point"[at the southern headland of
Hakioawa bay], "Kealialuna Crater", "Lua Makika"[Lua Moaula],
"Ule Point", "Kenapou Bay", "Halona Point", "Kaka Point",
"Kuakiaiwa Point", "Kamohio Bay", "Puuokae Island", "Kaneloa
Gulch", "Puu Moiwi", "Kalama Point", "Waikahalulu Bay",
"Kealialalo Crater", "Hanakanaea (Smugglers Cove)",
"Kealaihakiki Point", "Honokoa Bay", "Makaalae Point", "Ahupu
Bay", "Ahupu Gulch", "Kuheia Bay", "Moaula"[at Pu'u o
Moaulaiki], "Kaulana Point", "Kaulana Gulch", "Papakanui
Point", "Papakai Point", "Papaiki Gulch", "Waaiiki
Point"[the point east of "WAATKI"] and "Waaiiki Gulch". A
copy of this map is kept in the files of the Bishop Museum
Archives [Kaho'olawe drawer]. (29th Engr. 1980)

1982
"KAHOOLawe, HAWAII 1:50,000, EDITION 1-DMA SERIES W733
SHEET 5619 II, Prepared by the U.S. Geological Survey for
publication by the Defence Mapping Agency
Hydrographic/Topographic Center, Washington, D.C., MAP
INFORMATION AS OF 1982". This map, prepared by the
U.S. Geological Survey for the Defence Mapping Agency, is
essentially a smaller version of the 1984 U.S.G.S.
topographic map of the Kaho'olawe. The place names printed
on this map appear to have been provided by Lee Motteler, for
they match closely those found on Motteler's 1977 map of the
island. (Motteler 1977). These place names include: "Lae o
Kuku", "Hakioawa", "Hale o Papa Heiau", "Oawahahie", "Pahi
Kohe o Hala", "Lua Kealialuna", "Lua Makika", "Puu
Moaulanui", "Lae o ka Ule", "Kalua o Kamohaalii", "Pali o
Kalapakea", "Kanapou Bay", "Kaukamaka Gulch", "Keoneuli",
"Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o Kuakiaiwa", "Iliiliiloa","

1983
"KAHO'OLANE, PACIFIC SCIENTIFIC INFO CNT 1983". This map of Kaho'olawe, drawn by geographer Lee Motteler, was published as part of an article entitled "Place-Name Research on Kaho'olawe" which was printed in the February, 1983 edition of Ka 'Elele. (Motteler 1983:4-5) In the article, Motteler explains his reasons for including certain of these names. At the end of the article he provides a list of Kaho'olawe place names gleaned from a variety of sources. Many of these are taken from the private papers of Inez Ashdown. A number of the names in this list do not appear on the map. Those place names shown on the map include: "Lae o Kukui", "Hakioawa", "Oawawahie", "Kohe o Hala", "Lua Kealialuna", "Pu'u Moaulanui" [at the peak of Pu'u o Moaulanui], "Luu Makika" [at Lua Moaula], "KOA'ULANI" [printed across the north slope of Pu'u o Moaulanui, and apparently indicating the entire hill], "Lae o ka Ule", "Kalua o Kamo halo'i'i", "Pali o Kalapakea", "Kanapou Bay", "Keoneuli", "Kaukamaka G1" [the stream gulch running into Kanapou bay], "Lae o Halona", "Lae o Kaka", "Lae o Kuaka'iwa", "'Ililiiloa", "Kamohio Bay", "'Ale'ale", "Pu'u Koae", "Kanaloa Gulch", "Kalama", "Wiliwilipe'aapel", "Waikalalulu Bay", "Waikalalulu Gulch", "Pu'u Moiwi", "Lae Kealialalo", "Puhi a Nanue", "Honokanai'a", "Wai Honu Gulch", "Lae o Kealaiakahiki", "Keana Keiki", "Lae Paki", "Honokoa Bay", "Lae o Honokoa", "Maka'ale", "Kii", "Ahupuiki Bay" [the bay immediately west of Ahupu], "Ahupuiki Gulch", "Lae ka Lama" [the western headland of Ahupu bay], "Ahupu Bay", "Ahupu (Site)" [at the mouth of Ahupu gulch], "Ahupu Gulch", "Lae o Na Kohola" [the eastern headland of Ahupu bay], "Kaukamoku", "Kaukamoku Gulch", "Pu'u Moaulaiki", "Lua ka Ulua" [written offshore of Kaukamoku], and probably denoting a fishing ground, "Kai Oloha" [at the bay immediately west of Kuheaia], "Lae o Hilu'ula" [at the western headland of Kuheaia bay], "Kuheaia
Bay", "Kuhe'eia (Site)" [at the mouth of Kuheia gulch], "Lae o Hilukea" [at the eastern headland of Kuheia bay], "Kaulana", "Kaulana Gulch", "Papakanui", "Papakanui Gulch", "Papakaiki", "Papakaiki Gulch", Wa'aiki", "Wa'aiki Gl". (Motteler 1983)

1984

Copies of this map are on file at the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-.K3-1984-U5]. They are also available from the U.S. Geological Survey. (U.S.G.S. 1984)

1984
"KAHOOLawe, HAWAIi, 1:25 000-scale metric, topographic map, 8.5 x 15 MINUTE QUADRANGLE, GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, PROVISIONAL EDITION 1984, PRODUCED BY THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN COOPERATION WITH STATE OF HAWAIi, CONTROL BY...USGS, NOS/NOAH, COMPILED FROM AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN...1977-78, FIELD CHECKED...1982. MAP EDITED...1984". This is a black line copy of the 1984 U.S. Geological Survey topographic map of Kaho'olawe (U.S.G.S. 1984) with corrections added in red felt pen, probably by Lee Motteler. On this map the place names "Lua Keaualuna" and "Lua Keaualalo" have been circled in red, and the "Lea" of "Lea o Kealaikahiki" has been circled and corrected to read "Lae". No other corrections are apparent. This map is presently on file in the Bishop Museum Archives [G4382-.K3-1984-U5-Copy 2]. (Motteler 1984)
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