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The "Battle of Kalalau," as Reported in the Newspaper *Kuokoa*

THE 1987 *HAWAIIAN JOURNAL OF HISTORY* carried a translation from the Hawaiian of the story of Kaluaiko'olau, the leper of Kalalau Valley. Ko'olau's story was originally told by his widow Pi'ilani to John Kahikina Sheldon who published it in 1906.¹ It is a true account, publicly attested to (and legally notarized) by both Pi'ilani Ko'olau and John Sheldon.

The account includes the "Battle of Kalalau" that Ko'olau fought against the Provisional Government army, sent from O'ahu in 1893 to Kaua'i to capture him and other lepers resisting being sent into exile to the leper settlement on Moloka'i. Ko'olau's successful struggle against the Government soldiers made him and the event famous.

Pi'ilani's story covers the last years of her husband and young son, Kaleimanu (fig. 1). Ko'olau, a cowboy, trainer of horses, and expert marksman from Kekaha, Kaua'i (fig. 2), contracted the dreaded disease for which there was no cure. He agreed at first to go to Moloka'i if his wife could accompany him as a *kokua* (helper). When the authorities denied this, Ko'olau refused to be parted from her and vowed he would never be taken alive.

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Ko'olau, Pi'ilani, and their child then took refuge in the remote and rugged Kalalau Valley where the family hid for four years. Their story is one of strength, bravery, and devotion in the face of terrible hardships. First, Ko'olau and Pi'ilani had to watch their beloved son sicken from leprosy and die. After they buried him in the forest, Pi'ilani then watched her husband's decline. A month after she buried him, in 1897, she emerged from hiding.

The length of the original story precluded use of some of the material from newspapers of the day that Sheldon included in his book. The *Journal* now presents the "Battle of Kalalau" as reported by *Kuokoa*, newspaper co-edited by Henry M. Whitney and J. U. Kawainui. *Kuokoa* was the Hawaiian language counterpart of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, established and edited for many years by Whitney. The viewpoint the two papers reflected was that of the oligarchy that had overthrown Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, controlled the Provisional Government from 1893 to 1895, and ran the Republic of Hawai'i from 1895 to 1900 while awaiting American annexation.

The story was, of course, also carried by other Hawaiian language papers such as *Hawaii Holomua* and was covered by the English language *Hawaiian Gazette* as well as by the *Advertiser*. A story by *Advertiser* correspondent Frank L. Hoogs (fig. 3) mentions that a policeman, Dick Taylor, had a camera and during his off duty periods took pictures of the Kalalau valley. Some of these pictures accompany the present article.

As Sheldon reminded his readers, let it now be remembered that Mrs. Pi'ilani Ko'olau did not know of all of the events of those days because she was living in the deepest wilderness. Nor did the government know about her and her beloved partner and their child. Therefore, readers of these newspaper accounts will find differences in some portions of the story that appeared in the 1987 *Journal* and to which Pi'ilani had been an eyewitness. Therefore, in order to complete the sad story and enable readers to judge for themselves the events of that time, I have thought it appropriate to bring forth here the reports by the Government's writers.

SHOT AT KALALAU
Deputy Louis H. Stolz Killed by a Leper
Government Soldiers at Kalalau
Martial Law at Waimea and Hanalei
Saturday, July 1, 1893

To enforce the law separating lepers from well persons and also by direction of the Board of Health, therefore on the 24th day of June, 1893, Deputy Sheriff Louis H. Stolz of Waimea and the policemen Penikila and Peter Noland [Nowlein] sailed to Kalalau where 27 lepers were living, to command them to go to Kalaupapa, the site where lepers are being cared for by the government. When they arrived they stayed at the house of a certain man, not a leper, at the seashore.

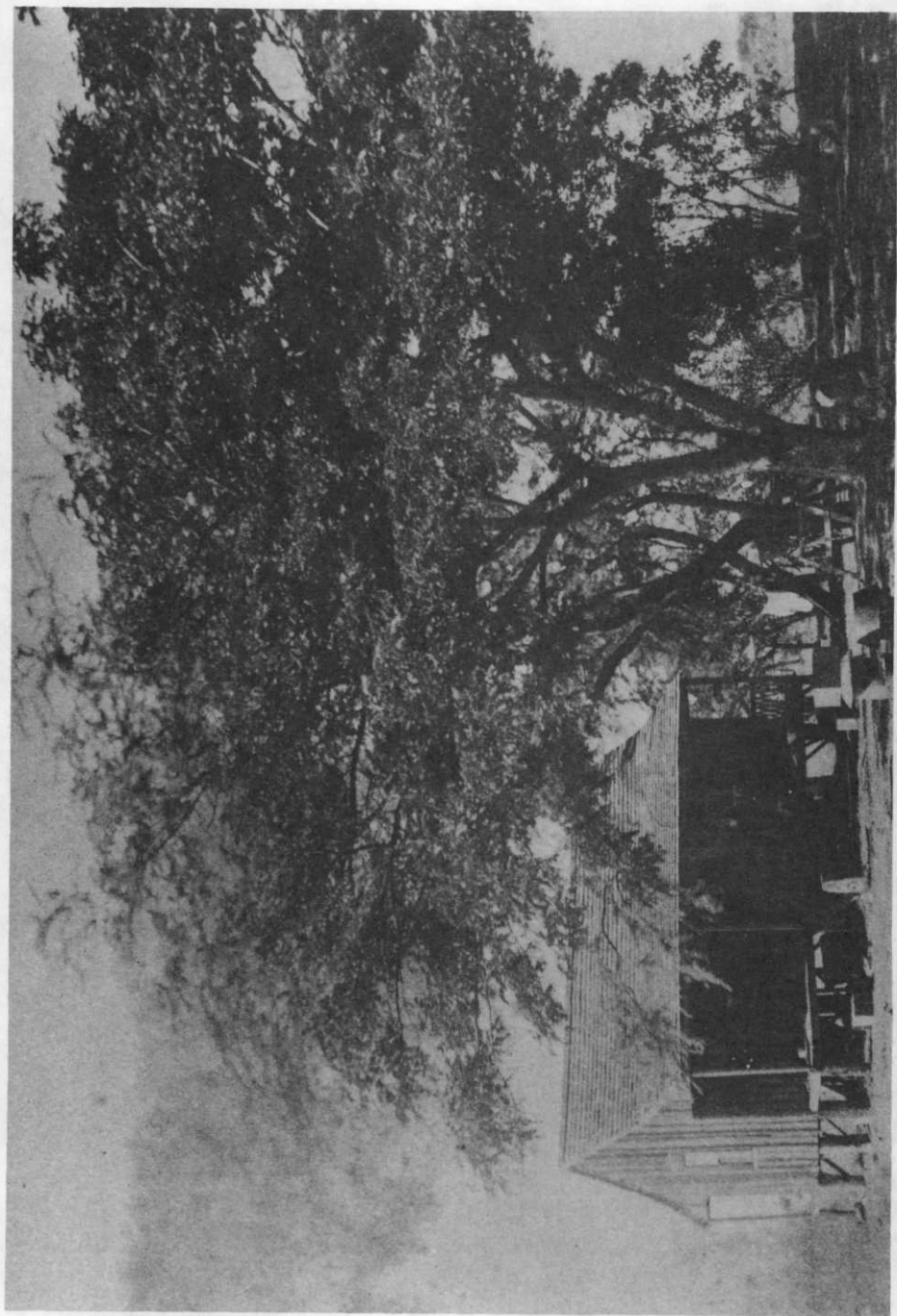
On the Sabbath there was a peaceful discussion concerning taking the lepers. Lui [Stolz] desired to take them quickly but Nowlein advised that they search again until there were many, because he had heard that the lepers were objecting to being taken to Kalaupapa. On Monday the government policemen climbed far into the valley and set up a tent. Not long after, a group of people led by Koolau descended on the tent, evicted the policemen and took the tent for themselves. Therefore the policemen returned seaward to the place where they had first stayed.

On Tuesday afternoon the lepers again descended and surrounded the house, whereas the lepers were determined to evict the police from Kalalau. They took 3 rifles, 4 pistols, and bullets, and returned inland. At that time the occupant of the house was afraid of difficulties caused by the lepers.

At 9 o'clock Tuesday night Stolz again went up in the valley and the policemen followed him at a distance. When Stolz reached the place of the lepers, Koolau shot him twice and he fell, his last words being "Give my final farewell to my mother."

The man at whose house the police had stayed went in his canoe, carrying the news to Mana. He reported to High Sheriff G. N. Wilcox, who telephoned [Deputy Sheriff W. E.] Deverill to board the Waialeale and sail to Kalalau.





The steamer Waialeale arrived at Kalalau and returned Stolz's body to Waimea, however because of lack of a doctor and a coffin the body was taken to Honolulu, accompanied by his wife who is the sister of Superintendent of Public Works W. E. Rowell.

They arrived at Honolulu at 8:30 on Thursday. A doctor and coroner examined him for cause of death. At four o'clock that afternoon, followed by the police force, his body was buried at Maemae Cemetery [in Nuuanu Valley].

GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS AT KALALAU

The Provisional Government determined on Thursday to send an army of 35 men, under Capt. W. Larsen to Kalalau to carry out the orders of the Government. When the army arrived at the site martial law was proclaimed at Waimea and Hanalei, directing all lepers to be taken prisoner within 24 hours. If the lepers failed to obey after the time given them they were to be taken dead or alive.

Between the hours of 2 and 3 p.m. yesterday the steamship Waialeale sailed by way of Hanalei taking the soldiers to the site where the lepers were causing a commotion.

EXPEDITION OF SOLDIERS TO KALALAU LEPERS TAKEN CAPTIVE KOOLAU ALONE REMAINS IN HIDING

The Waialeale Sails
Saturday, July 8, 1893

The Waialeale dropped anchor at Hanalei before 6:00 Saturday morning. Deputy High Sheriff [*sic*] Larsen and Luther Wilcox landed. The government proclamation of martial law was read and some copies were sent to Lihue, ordering the High Sheriff to advertise this at Waimea. It was explained that the trails from Kalalau to Waimea and from Kalalau to Hanalei were to be guarded by the police.

FIG. 2. The Ko'olau family home at Kekaha, Kauai, 1893. (AH photo collection.)

It was heard that twenty of the kamaaina [native-born] of Kalalau, women and children, had left Kalalau in fear and gone to Haena. The Waialeale sailed to Haena and Larsen went ashore to question them. There were fifteen women and children in a wooden house. No lepers were amongst them. A certain man named Pa said that Koolau's group were hiding far upland in the valley, that [Judge] Kauai and some people were staying at the seashore, and four lepers desired to go to Molokai. Pa agreed to return to Kalalau and show where the people were hiding but however was afraid of going far inland lest he be shot by Koolau's group, who had six rifles and six pistols.

Six men were hired to take a canoe with letters to Mana and perhaps Hanalei also. At the end of this investigation the Waialeale sailed. Capt. Larsen's admirable instruction to the men was to perform their duty but not to harm any person without reason.

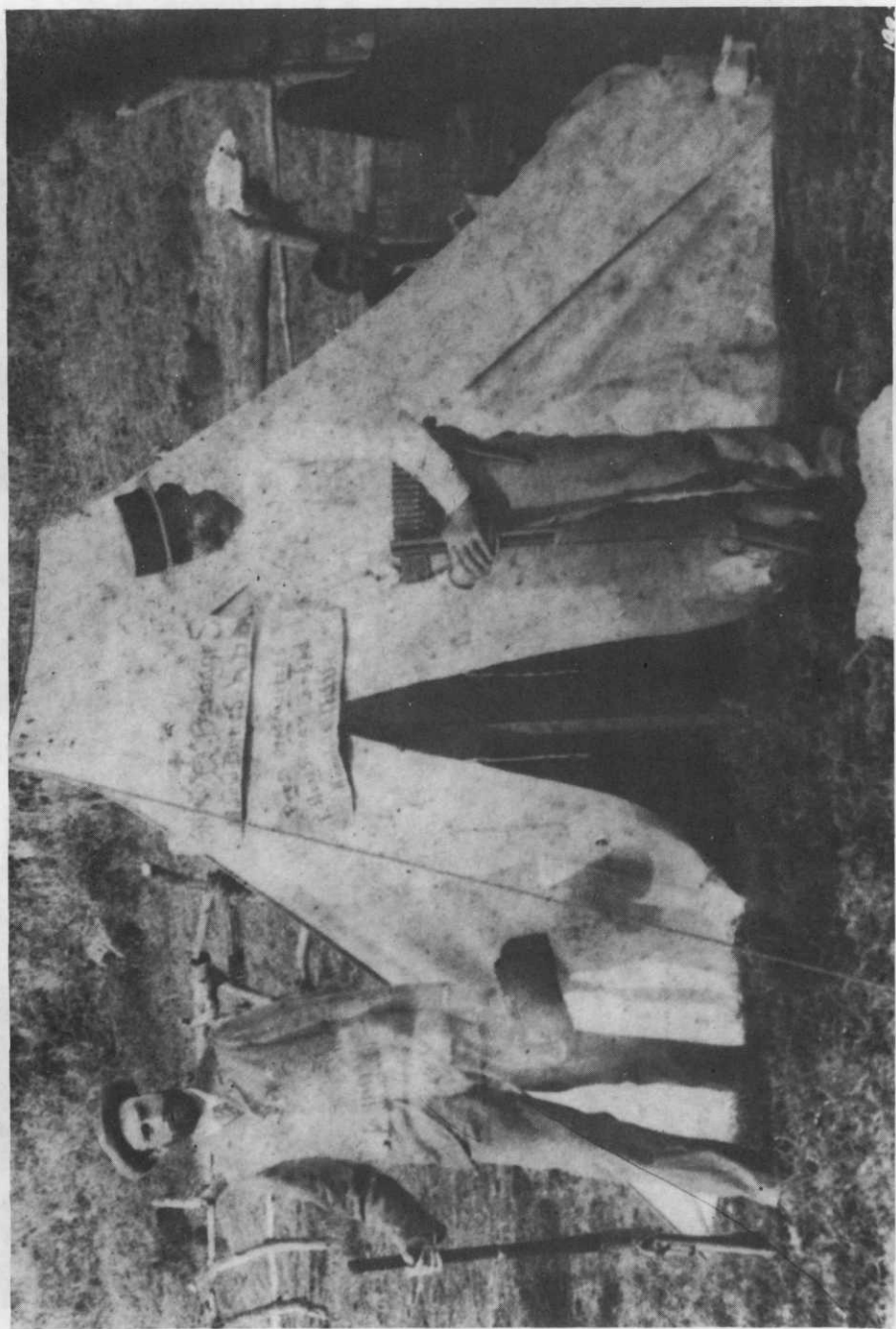
It had been thought at first that the Alii [chief] Kunuiakea should land and encourage the lepers to be taken captive of their own will. Afterwards, however, it was decided to land fifteen soldiers. The sea was very calm during the noon landing. All the soldiers were armed with rifles but were unopposed at their landing. There were only well-meaning kamaaina whose voices were heard. The remaining people and their food and baggage were then put ashore.

The baggage was taken one mile inland to the camp site, and five tents were set up. The kamaaina stayed around as though approving what was being done.

Guards (fig. 4) were stationed at various places along the stream lest the lepers escape and some policemen went to search the houses. In one house [Judge] Kauai was found hiding under a bed. There were also three lepers in a cave at the shore. That evening Wahinealoha, a person familiar with the lepers' hiding place, who had often taken food to them, was seized.

Early Sunday morning everyone aroused and partook of a meal and Larsen talked with Wahinealoha about seeing the lepers, and he was sent on horseback with two companions, to go inland and

FIG. 3. Henry E. Cooper, Provisional Government official, and Frank Hoogs, Honolulu newspaperman, with the Government Expedition at Kalalau, 1893. (AH photo collection.)



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inform the lepers there that if they did not surrender within 48 hours they would be shot.

At 9 o'clock the tents and baggage were again moved one mile farther inland. That place was called "Camp Dole."² By 9 o'clock 49 hours had passed and thereafter those who rebelled against being taken captive would be shot.

Capt. Larsen thought of bombarding the place where Koolau and family were hiding, to put fear into them. Some lepers told him that Koolau had thought of climbing up a high cliff, far inland, on a certain trail known only to the lepers.

At noon Wahinealoha returned and said he had met with the lepers and nine of them had consented to be taken captive. Koolau who had shot Stolz did not consent to be taken. There were five strong-bodied lepers hiding in the upland.

However the people who consented to be taken captive desired first to talk with Kunuiakea and Luther Wilcox who mounted horses and went inland guided by Wahinealoha. When they arrived at a narrow place where the lepers were hidden they met with one of them. After a little while all the lepers appeared, except for Koolau and his wife and child who were afraid the soldiers would take them and shoot them. Wilcox assured them that they would not be harmed but would be fed and well-treated. Therefore they all agreed to go to the shore. A certain person was sent to ask Koolau and in a little while returned to say that Koolau had absolutely refused, saying he would hide in the forest and if surrounded by the soldiers would first kill his wife and child and then himself. He absolutely refused to talk with Luther Wilcox.

The lepers who went with Luther Wilcox were very sick and weak and had almost no food. It was said that there were four lepers hiding on the Hanalei side of the stream and that they had guns. Some men were quickly sent to seek these people.

The actions of the soldiers under Lt. King were admired. Seemingly they did not know fear.

On Monday morning at 1 o'clock Reynolds, Hilbus [Hirshberg] and Mitchell climbed upland seeking Koolau under the leadership of a certain leper. It was thought Koolau would be found at dawn

FIG. 4. Provisional Government Expedition "Special Guard" in pursuit at Kalalau of "The Leper Outlaw." (AH photo collection.)

while seeking food. Those searchers had enough food for three days.

At 4:30 p.m., Tuesday, the Waialeale arrived at Honolulu. 15 lepers were brought from Kalalau, and three kokua [helpers]. The Alii Kunuiakea also returned because he had accomplished what he set out to do.

The sick people were all taken to the leper receiving station at Kalihi. The first person to come ashore was old, retired Judge Kauai who was dressed in clean garments. Some of the lepers' feet were wrapped in rags, and some had shoes. Judge Kauai was very weak and unable to walk by himself. There was also Kapahee who was famous as a swimmer in the sea. They were all taken care of at Kalihi.

The work of that expedition to fetch the lepers from Kalalau had succeeded. We hope the remaining persons will be captured without bloodshed.

On the evening of the 4th of July the steamship Waialeale brought the lepers of Kalalau who had been taken captive by the government policeman, James Kauhane and are at Kalihi. Their names and ages are as follows:

Kapahee (K), 63	J. Kauai (K), 68	Hekekia (K), 34
Pauwahine (W), 61	Keawe (K), 25	Ika (W), 7
Mele (W), 11	Hakau (K), 60	Kepola (W), 48
Kio (W), 12	Huluhulu (K), 47	Kamali (K), 60
Ailaa (W), 50	Kehuamele (K), 22	Olala (K), 15 ³

Paoa (K), 31, and Kealalaina (W), 25, were known lepers who had been taken captive by the army.

Koolau (K), the leper who shot and killed Louis H. Stolz, and his son, Kaleimanu, absolutely refused to surrender.

The lepers named Manuia (K), Meliaka (W), Nihoa (K), Kala (K) and Kaili (K) were not found, however they are in Kalalau Valley.

BATTLE AT KALALAU
TWO SOLDIERS KILLED BY KOOLAU
Saturday, July 15, 1893

The Iwalani arrived at Honolulu at 10 o'clock on Sunday

bringing Luther Wilcox and two soldiers, Johnson and Marmont. Policemen Kamana and Kimo Macy also returned.

THE STORY OF THE ACTION AT KALALAU

Kalalau, July 4. There was much wailing by the kamaaina when the lepers were taken aboard the Waialeale. After their departure Capt. Larsen ordered all the kamaaina to go inland to the camp where they were questioned as to the whereabouts of Koolau and the five lepers who were in hiding. One man said he thought the five lepers had gone to their relatives in Haena. Therefore Wahinealoha and two other persons were sent on horseback to Haena. At night they returned with Kinney, a half-white. Kinney said he thought the lepers had passed by his place.

Monday morning the howitzer was dragged up a certain hill and the east side of the upper stream was bombarded. There was much noise from the bombardment, however Koolau was not afraid and did not come down.

Four haole [white] police and Paoa stayed on Sunday night on the ridge above where Koolau was hidden. However, they did not see him.

On Monday Lt. King ascended with four soldiers on the Hanalei side of the stream. They found a grass house, but Koolau was not there. Monday evening all the police were sent to camp two miles inland. At 3:00 a.m. Tuesday, Larsen and Reynolds went to Haena by canoe to seek the five lepers. [Deputy Sheriff] Deverill said he had heard they had gone to Hanalei. The kamaaina of Kalalau who had previously gone to Haena also returned and when they arrived Larsen sent two Hawaiian men to Hanalei to seek the five lepers, Manuia and group.

At 8 o'clock Tuesday morning, not having heard from the police, Major Pratt and 15 soldiers were sent to seek Koolau's place of hiding. Far mauka [toward the mountains] they found a little camp left in haste. On inspection, eight people had slept there that night. Fish, hard poi [cooked taro], salt and two bags of taro were found.

After a search a trail was found to ascend the high cliff. Anderson and Evanston [or Evansen] agreed to go first. Anderson climbed first and called "Climb up—I have found a trace." Two shots were heard and Anderson fell down the cliff. The five soldiers behind

him flattened themselves and rolled down in the vegetation. Johnson was badly hurt in rolling. Koolau was hiding behind a certain large rock and there was also a cave behind it where his wife and son lay. He was able to shoot at every one who came near.

In a little while four lepers, Kala (K), Kaili (K), Meliaka (W) and Nihoa (K) descended with Manuia and his group. They had been found mauka of Haena, very hungry. Kinney was with them.

Wednesday July 5. At 5 o'clock Larsen and Reynolds climbed up with some kamaaina to seek Anderson's body. He had rolled down and then crawled till he was unable to go farther. He had no shirt on and some leaves had been inserted in the bullet wound. He was lying face up.

At the command of Larsen 60 or more bullets were fired at Koolau's vicinity, however he did not return fire. The soldiers near to him were ordered to descend and Reynolds and his group climbed to within 15 fathoms of Koolau's hiding place. Three of them went ahead, and two shots were fired. A bullet struck McCabe in the head and he fell dead. Hirschberg, who was behind, died at the same time from his own gun, which caught in the bushes and was fired by mistake. His neck showed powder burns.

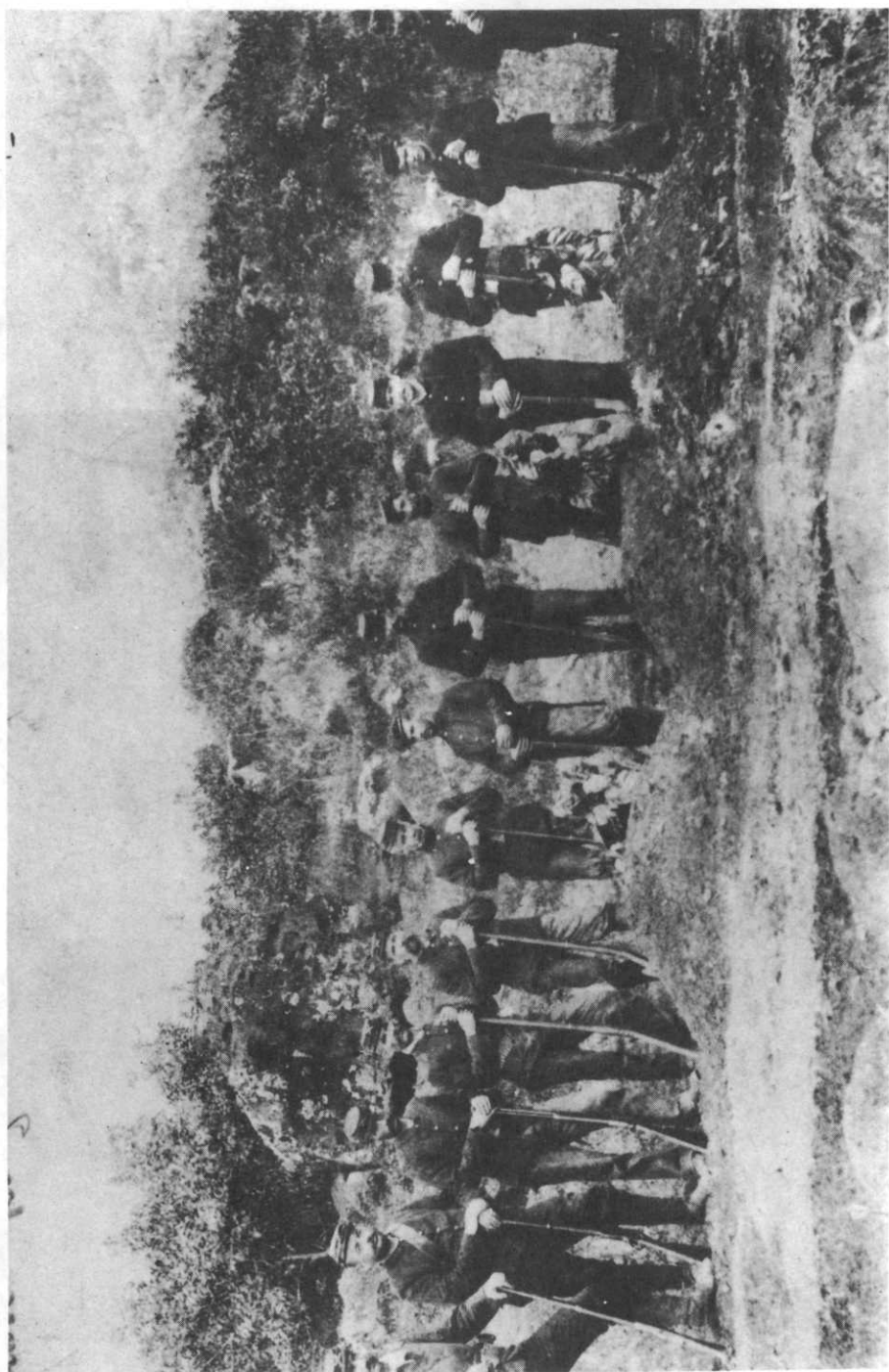
At evening the three corpses were brought to camp and they were buried, with a rifle salute by the soldiers for their dead companions (fig. 5).

Friday, July 7. Early Friday morning nineteen shells were fired at the cliff where Koolau and his family were hiding, however it was not known whether they fell close enough. The place was guarded so that Koolau and family would be unable to escape.

The soldiers began to dig a way on the cliff to enable them to fire from above. The two rifles which had been taken by Koolau from Stolz's group were found, covered with rocks.

Reynolds and six soldiers went on board the ship Iwalani to Hanalei to fetch the ten lepers who had left Koolau and gone there. Five lepers, named Paoa (K), Kalaina (W), Nihoa (K), Kala (K),

FIG. 5. Firing Squad from Company F. Hawai'i National Guard, at the Kalalau grave of the three members of the Company "shot and killed by Koolau." (AH photo collection.)



and Kaili (K) were taken, and on arrival at the wharf in Honolulu were immediately taken to the Kalihi Receiving Station.

IWALANI [RETURNS] FROM KALALAU

The steamship Iwalani left Honolulu at 4 o'clock Monday evening and arrived quickly at the battle site of Kalalau with ten more soldiers under Corporal T. King, with more food and arms, such as shells, cannonballs and dynamite.

Also sent were three galvanized containers for the bodies of the three soldiers who died at Kalalau, in order to return them to Honolulu for burial.

Capt. Ziegler of Army "A" desired to go to the battle site in person at the head of soldiers, but being held up in Honolulu with army business he was unable to go.

Also on this expedition was Atty. Gen. Hon. W. O. Smith with new boots for the soldiers.

ARMY RETURNS

On Friday morning, July 13, the steamship Iwalani arrived from the battle site at Kalalau, Kauai. The leper Koolau and his wife and son had not been found. Perhaps another search will be made for his hiding place, or perhaps he fell from the cliff. His previous hiding place, which had been blanketed by gunfire by the haole soldiers had been found. There was no sign of refuge, only a very small flat place at the edge of the cliff, protected in front by steep drops and ohia trees.

Since the place where Koolau and his family were staying had not been found, nor did the soldiers and police take any further action, therefore the Iwalani brought back the army and police sent by the government for the purpose of seizing the people who had opposed the law and killed the Deputy Sheriff of Waimea, Kauai.

Also returned were the bodies of the haole who died at Kalalau, because they gave themselves to the authority of the enslaving* government, for the sake of peace and lawfulness.

* Translator's note: I have pondered this sentence but am unable to translate it in any other way. It surely must have reflected the mixed feelings of the period.

The English language newspapers record that the lepers from Kalalau were taken to the Kalihi Receiving Station in Honolulu. Further research might show how many eventually were taken from there to the leper settlement on Moloka'i.

However, in the midst of these tragic events brought about by the forcible segregation of lepers on Moloka'i, a supreme irony occurs. An item in the daily *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, on July 25, 1893, announced the resignation of Dr. George Trousseau from the Board of Health in a letter dated July 15, 1893. Dr. Trousseau had served as a medical doctor on Moloka'i at the leper settlement and was a prominent member of Honolulu society. He had received and read a voluminous report by a commission which had made an exhaustive examination of leprosy in India, and he had its conclusions that segregation of lepers was unnecessary, but apparently had been unable to convince other members of the Board of Health that this was so.

His letter of resignation to the Board of Health ends thus:

In a letter received from one of the eminent dermatologists of the world, I translate thus: 'Read the report carefully, compare with your own observation all scientific data at your disposal and think if you (the bearer of one of the celebrated medical names [this applies to my father and not to myself] . . . of the century) can continue to support a measure which is only a relic of the ignorance and barbarism of the middle ages.'

This to me has been the last blow: hence my resignation.

Yours respectfully,
G. Trousseau.

NOTES

¹ Frances N. Frazier, "The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau, or Ko'olau the Leper," *HJH* 21 (1987): 1-41; Kahikina Kelekona, *Kaluaikoolau!* (Honolulu: Kahikina Kelekona, 1906).

² "Camp Dole," named for Sanford B. Dole, President of the Provisional Government.

³ (K) signifies *kane*, or male, and (W) signifies *wahine*, or female.