



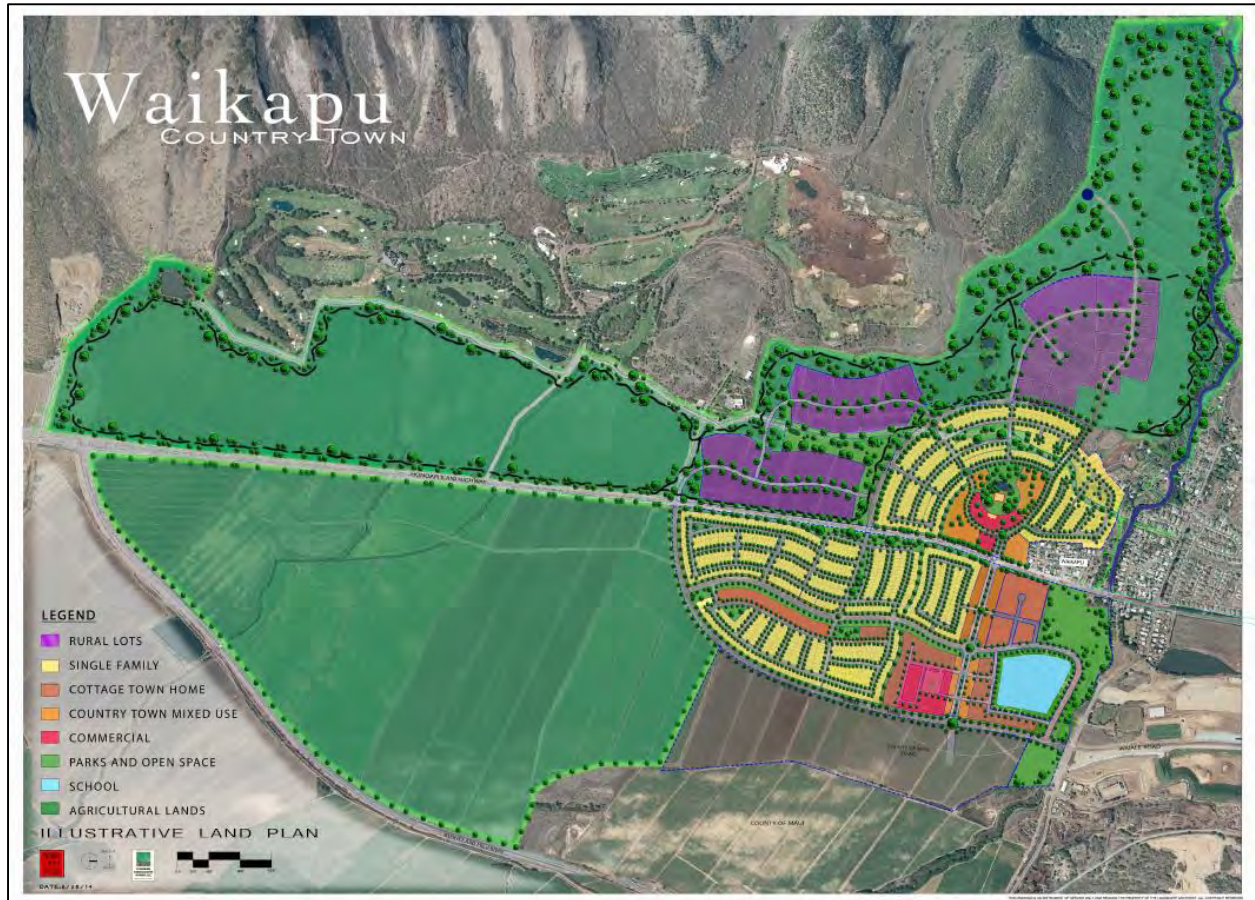
# **APPENDIX F**

## **Cultural Impact Assessment**



# Cultural Impact Assessment For The Waikapū Country Town Development Waikapū, Maui, Hawai‘i

(TMK: (2) 3-6-05:007 por., (2) 3-6-05-007, (2) 3-6-04:006, (2) 3-6-04:003 por.)



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## ABSTRACT

On behalf of Planning Consultants Hawai‘i, LLC of Wailuku, Hōkūao Pellegrino sub-contracted by Hana Pono, LLC has prepared the following Cultural Impact Assessment for the proposed Waikapū Country Town Development. Hana Pono, LLC began the initial efforts of this report in May of 2013. Archival research and interviews were conducted throughout the duration of the report and was completed in January of 2014.

Included in this document is information on the methods of the archival review and the interviews which form the core of the Cultural Impact Assessment. The individuals interviewed maintain knowledge of and ties to the Waikapū area. Brief biographical information is provided on each individual.

Information compiled for this document suggest that Waikapū has a long and rich cultural history and representation of traditional cultural practices, and that must be considered during the proposed Waikapū Country Town Development. These include practices around cultural site preservation, natural and cultural resource management, Hawaiian agricultural resources, water resources, the land divisions and place names within and surrounding the project area, and the spiritual essence of the resources found within the Waikapū ahupua‘a. Interviewees agree that cultural site, natural resources, and traditional and customary practices must be maintained throughout the proposed development projects. They also agree that the community should have an integral role in the ultimate planning of how these resources shall continue to be managed, preserved and perpetuated during and after the completion of the proposed project, as to avoid over-exploitation of larger cultural and natural resources found within the ahupua‘a of Waikapū and its surrounding environmental and cultural landscape.



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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Hana Pono, LLC, under contract to Planning Consultants Hawai‘i, LLC conducted the Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) for the proposed Waikapū Country Town Development in Waikapū. The project area consists of approximately 1,290.625 acres of land. The area of concentration is located within the ‘ili (subdivision) of Aikanaha (‘Aikanahā), Kaumuilio (Kaumu‘ilio), Luapueo, Koolau (Ko‘olau), Kaloapelu, Ahuakolea (‘Āhuakōlea), Kaopala (Ka‘ōpala), Kaalaea (Ka‘alaea), Kamauhalii (Kama‘uhāli‘i), Pikoku (Pikokū), Olohe (‘Ōlohe), Loaloa, and Waihalulu, in the ahupua‘a (land division) of Waikapū, moku (district) of Wailuku (Nā Wai ‘Ehā), mokupuni (island) of Maui. These aforementioned historical parcels of lands and place names are situated within the current town of Waikapū and south of the Waikapū Stream. The proposed development consists of the following Tax Map Keys which include (2) 3-6-05:007 por., (2) 3-6-05-007, (2) 3-6-04:006, (2) 3-6-04:003 por.

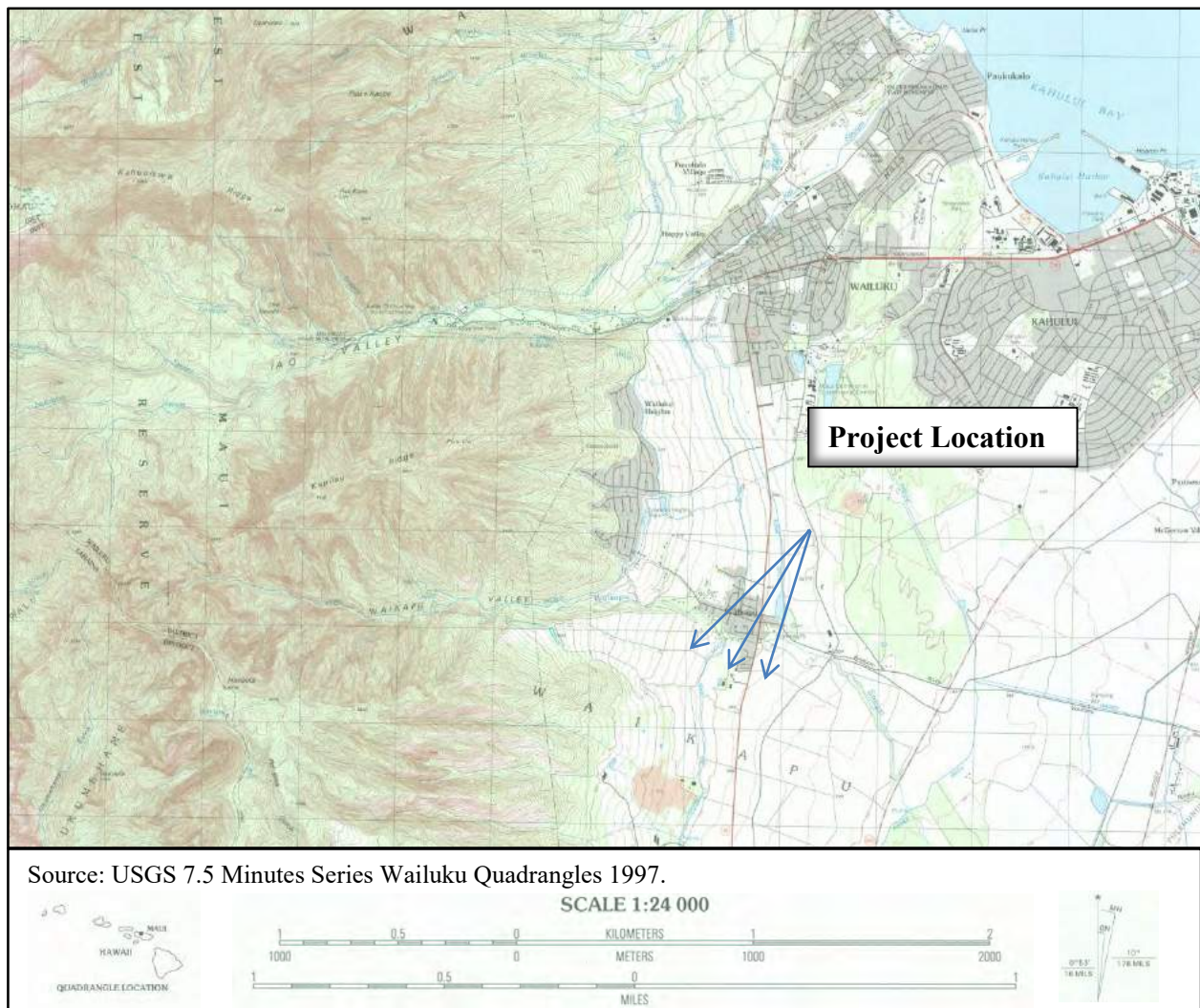


Figure 1. Project location map.

## 1.1 GUIDING LEGISLATION FOR CULTURAL ASSESSMENTS

This report is intended to accompany an Environmental Impact Survey compliant with Chapter 343 HRS, as well as fulfilling the requirements of the County of Maui Planning Department and the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) with respect to permit approvals for land-altering and development activities. Articles IX and XII of the Hawai‘i State Constitution, other state laws, and the courts of the state require the promotion and preservation of cultural beliefs, practices, and resources of Native Hawaiians and other ethnic groups. Specifically, the document will address potential effects on the Hawaiian culture, cultural landscapes, and traditional and customary rights of Native Hawaiians.

Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts established by the Hawai‘i State Office of Environmental Quality Control (OEQC 1997) emphasize the importance of examining the various types of cultural practices and beliefs associated with a particular location. These may include “subsistence, commercial, residential, agricultural, access-related, recreational, and religions and spiritual customs” (ibid. 1997). OEQC does not differentiate between manmade traditional cultural properties and natural properties which may have traditional cultural significance. Therefore, the entirety of the project area, whether modified or natural, is the subject of this inquiry. These Guidelines also amend the definition of “significant effect” to include adverse effects on cultural practices.

OEQC further suggests the methodology to be followed in the preparation of a Cultural Impact Assessment. These are enumerated as drawn from the “Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts” (OEQC)

1. A discussion of the methods applied and results of consultation with individuals and organizations identified by the preparer are being familiar with cultural practices and features associated with the project area, including any constraints or limitations which might have affected the quality of the information obtained.
2. A description of methods adopted by the preparer to identify, locate, and select the persons interviewed, including a discussion of the level of effort undertaken.
3. Ethnographic and oral history interview procedures, including the circumstances under which the interviews were conducted, and any constraints or limitations which might have affected the quantity of the information obtained.
4. Biographical information concerning the individuals and organizations consulted, their particular expertise, and their historical and genealogical relationship to the project area, as well as information concerning the persons submitting information or interviewed, their particular knowledge and cultural expertise, if any, and their historical and genealogical relationship to the project area.
5. A discussion concerning historical and cultural source materials consulted, the institutions and repositories searched, and the level of effort undertaken. This discussion should include, if appropriate, the particular perspective of the authors, any opposing views, and any other relevant constraints, limitations or biases.
6. A discussion concerning the cultural resources, practices and beliefs identified, and, for resources and practices, their location within the broad geographical area in which the proposed action is located, as well as their direct or indirect significance or connection to the project site.

7. A discussion concerning the nature of the cultural practices and beliefs, and the significance of the cultural resources within the project area, affected directly or indirectly by the proposed project.
8. An explanation of confidential information that has been withheld from public disclosure in the assessment.
9. A discussion concerning any conflicting information in regard to identified cultural resources, practices and beliefs.
10. An analysis of the potential effect of any proposed physical alteration on cultural resources, practices or beliefs; the potential of the proposed action to isolate cultural resources, practices or beliefs from their setting; and the potential of the proposed action to introduce elements which may alter the setting in which cultural practices take place.
11. A bibliography of references, and attached records of interviews which were allowed to be disclosed.

## **1.2 SCOPE**

The intent of this assessment is to define information related to the practices and beliefs of native Hawaiians within the project region. It shall also identify traditional, historical, or other noteworthy practices, resources, sites, and beliefs attached to the project area in order to analyze the impact of the proposed development on these practices and cultural features. Information was also collected by interviewing and consulting with lineal descendants, kūpuna, and long standing residents who have in-depth knowledge of this area. “The geographical extent of the inquiry should, in most instances, be greater than the area over which the proposed action will take place. This is to ensure that cultural practices which may not occur within the boundaries of the project area, but which may nonetheless be affected, are included in the assessment. An ahupua‘a is usually the appropriate geographical unit to begin an assessment of cultural impacts of a proposed action, particularly if it includes all of the types of cultural practices associated with the project area. In some cases, cultural practices are likely to extend beyond the ahupua‘a and geographical extend of the study area should take into account those cultural practices.” (OEQC, Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts, Nov. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1997)

## 2.0 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

While the study of focus is limited to portions of the ahupua‘a of Waikapū that lie within the current Waikapū Town vicinity, in an effort to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the current study area, this report will examine the entire ahupua‘a of Waikapū and its relationship to neighboring ahupua‘a within the larger context of Wailuku (Nā Wai ‘Ehā) moku. As there have been some previously reported cultural studies in the ahupua‘a of Waikapū, this current study shall bring forth new documentary materials that have not been previously, or widely reported, as every source of archival-historical information for Waikapū could be located was investigated. Archival-historical literature from both Hawaiian and English language sources was reviewed and translated, and includes an extensive examination of the Hawaiian land tenure through Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCAw.) records from the Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory periods; and topographical accounts. This study also includes multiple Native Hawaiian accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated by Hōkūao Pellegrino) as well as historical records authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors and tenants of the ahupua‘a of Waikapū.

Extensive archival-historical sources researched for the purpose of this assessment were gathered from collections of the Hawai‘i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, Bureau of Conveyances, State Historic Preservation Division, Bishop Museum Archives, Maui Historical Society, University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa Hamilton Library, private family history collections and on-line databases such as Papakilo and Kīpuka. Records represent findings from research conducted by the author for the specific purpose of this study, as well as materials collected by him over the last 10 years. This assessment includes many references not previously cited, and in some cases not previously translated from their original texts, until the present time. Among the vast amount of historical resources used for this document, an index and compilation of 450 pages of Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division Records from 1848-1860) associated with lands contained in the project area was completed.

Ethnographic interviews and field visits were conducted with knowledgeable individuals. Those interviewees that had participated in the study were either born and raised in Waikapū, is a current land owner in Waikapū, and/or has extensive knowledge of the ahupua‘a and cultural resources of this area. Additionally, these oral interviews reflect the recollections of many native Hawaiian families with generational links to the ahupua‘a of Waikapū. Individuals completely understood that conducting the interviews was for the purpose of completing a Cultural Impact Assessment for the Waikapū Country Town Development.



### **3.0 CULTURAL-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF HAWAIIAN CULTURAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND AND RESOURCES**

The purpose of this section is to explain how Hawai‘i’s land and resources were utilized by Hawaiians. This includes the origin of the islands, settlement and population expansion, traditional Hawaiian beliefs and practices that pertain to managing land and resources.

#### **3.1 CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF ISLAND FORMATION AND HABITATION**

Hawaiians viewed cultural and natural resources one and the same. The formation of the pae ‘āina (Hawaiian Islands) and the life that came forth on the land is based on genealogical accounts. All forms of Hawai‘i’s natural environment was considered as life. This includes but is not limited to such things as the lani (heavens), mauna (mountains), awāwa (valleys), kahawai (streams), kula (open plains), ‘a‘a (lava fields), manu (birds), holoholona (animals), i‘a (fish), and kahakai (ocean). All forms of life both animate and inanimate were and continue to be believed by Hawaiians as embodiments of their akua (gods and deities). One of many ko‘ihonua (genealogical accounts) in Hawai‘i speaks to that of Wākea (expansive sky, sky father) and Papahānaumoku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands, mother earth), also known as Haumeanuihānauwāwa (Great Haumea who is born over and over again). These two gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the Hawaiian Islands. As the account continues, the birth of the island of Maui is described as occurring. Following the birth of all of the islands, Wākea and Papa who are the parents of the islands, are also noted as the mother and father of Hāloanakalaukapalili (long stalk, quivering and trembling kalo leaf). Hāloanakalaukapalili was a keiki alualu (stillborn child). Thus, he was buried outside of his parent’s house and from his earthen grave grew a kalo (taro). Papahānaumoku became pregnant again and gave birth to their next male child who was also called Hāloa (long stalk or breath of life). Hāloa who was a healthy human is credited as being the progenitor of the Hawaiian people. It was through these genealogical ties, that Hawaiians had a strong relationship with their land resources.

#### **3.2 MODERN PERSPECTIVE OF COLONIZATION AND HABITATION**

Cultural anthropologists, archaeologists and historians alike describe the Hawaiian Islands as being inhabited based on settlement patterns throughout Polynesia by means of wa‘a kaulua (double hull canoes) navigating throughout the Pacific Ocean. Archaeologists conclude that Polynesians arrived in Hawai‘i via the Marquesas and Society Islands by ca. 400 A.D.. Reoccurring long distance voyages were generally thought to be taking place by the 13<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Cordy 2000).

Initial settlement in Hawai‘i took place along the ko‘olau (windward) shores. These areas encompassed vast water resources from perennial streams due to abundant rainfall. Streams gave way to highly productive agricultural lands in which crops such as kalo (taro) could grow. The ko‘olau region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed and near shore fisheries that were enriched by the nutrients from streams allowing for the development of inland and coastal fishponds. Hawaiians established kauhale (groups of homes) and thriving communities that engaged in subsistence farming and fishing.

As the ko‘olau region became more populated and crowded by A.D. 800 to 1000, Hawaiians started to expand to more remote kona (leeward) areas. Although these lands did not encompass vast water resources such as those found in the ko‘olau, leeward areas provided sheltered bays, expansive fisheries, and agriculture. Some of the most fertile soil in the islands are in the forested uplands which provided sufficient rainfall for growing crops such as ‘uala (sweet potato), kalo (taro), ‘ulu (breadfruit), and uhi (yams). The upland forests also proved to be important for the gathering of natural resources such as wood for tools, house construction, and weapons, plants for lā‘au lapa‘au (herbal medicine), as well as the bird feathers used in the creation of ‘ahu‘ula (cloaks and capes) for the ali‘i (chief and chiefess). The land divisions and districts of Honua‘ula, Kahikinui and Kaupō are examples of inhabited areas located on the leeward slopes of Haleakalā.

### **3.3 EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN LAND TENURE**

Following the settlement and expansion period which occurred between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Hawaiians began to develop a sophisticated and complex system of land, water, and resource management practices. Sustainability was the basis for which this comprehensive land system was developed. Hawaiians upon their arrival in the islands realized the resources that surrounded them were finite, therefore establishing a system which included very detailed laws around the use and management of the land and resources was imperative. Therefore, lands were divided beginning with the large land mass such as a moku (district) all the way down to a mo‘o ‘āina (small strip of land). Each division had a name and defined boundaries. Knowledgeable individuals and groups of people within these divisions were trained to retain the knowledge of these divisions, and such knowledge was carefully passed on from generation to generation.

Land was held in trust for the akua (gods), by the ali‘i and mō‘ī (chiefly class) and by kahuna (priests) who interceded with the akua (Creed). In turn, they provided for those ranking below them. Ali‘i and mō‘ī in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century established island governors known as Kuhina Nui who then chose regional ali‘i and konohiki (land managers) to oversee the management of resources in each ahupua‘a. Konohiki would establish rules and regulations specific to that region while providing land to maka‘āinana (commoners) for use of farming, fishing, gathering, and housing. At the time of a passing, the land was generally reverted to the ruling chief of that ahupua‘a and was redistributed as needed. The ahupua‘a system was a detailed system whereby land was managed from mauka to makai (mountain to the sea).

It was common for Hawaiians to make divisions of lands following mountain ridges, the bottom of ravines, the center of a stream or river, a shoreline, and so on. Oftentimes, a boundary line was defined by a line of growth of a certain type of tree or grass, and maybe sometimes only by a stone. This complex system was revered and understood in great detail by Hawaiians. When Westerners arrived in Hawai‘i, the traditional land system made it challenging when they were creating areas to live and developing communities.

After Hawai‘i was united by Kamehameha I, there were no changes in the traditional land system. As the supreme ruler of the Kingdom, he owned all of the land and was privileged to choose the tracts of land that he wanted for himself and to delegate the rest to the care of his loyal chiefs. Lesser chiefs such as Konohiki were given the opportunity to own and manage ahupua‘a. The last in line were the maka‘āinana (working class), most of whom were farmers and fishermen who

lived on plots of land at the pleasure of their chiefs. They paid taxes with a portion of the products grown on their land and caught from the sea.

Lands in Hawai‘i were divided by the following terms and descriptions provided below.

**Pae ‘Āina:** This land division means group, cluster of land. It refers to all of the Hawaiian Islands together; Hawai‘i Pae ‘Āina. Until Kamehameha I unified the archipelago under one rule, the people thought and spoke of them as individual island chiefdoms since they were divided politically. Pae ‘Āina continues to be referred to as an archipelago of the Hawaiian Islands today.

**Mokupuni:** This land division means island and referred to an entire island as a political land division which was ruled by a high chief (ali‘i nui). The ruler of a mokupuni might have also been called an ali‘i ‘ai aupuni or ali‘i mokupuni. Their reign may have included more than one island or just part of one island. For example, at the time of Captain Cook’s visit (1778-1779), the island of Maui (except for Hāna), Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i and Kaho‘olawe were under the rule of Kahekili. Today, mokupuni is commonly known as an island.

**Moku:** A moku is a large district within a mokupuni and was traditionally ruled by the ali‘i ‘ai moku. This chief was appointed by an ali‘i nui. Today, moku continue to mean district and many still follow the same boundaries as they were in the time of the Kamehameha’s and the Hawaiian Kingdom. There are 12 moku on the island of Maui (Wailuku, Kā‘anapali, Lāhainā, Hāmākuapoko, Hāmākualoa, Ko‘olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, Kaupō, Kahikinui, Honua‘ula, and Kula). Although Maui is not the largest island in Hawai‘i, it consisted of the most moku out of any island. Moku varied in size, usually in the thousands of acres.

**Ahupua‘a:** Nearly every ahupua‘a was a tract of land extending from the summit of the mountain to the sea and on to the outer edge of the reef. If there was no reef in that particular ahupua‘a, the boundary would extend into the sea a distance that would be around a mile and a half by our present-day measurement. Ahupua‘a literally means a pig’s head carved of kukui wood that was placed on an altar of stones to mark a certain boundary line. Ahupua‘a ranged in size from 50 acres to over 100,000 acres. The ahupua‘a of Waikapū in the moku of Wailuku was roughly 16,000 acres. These land divisions have various plant zones from the rainforest down to the coast, providing most of the needs of the communities within it. Other resources found within an ahupua‘a range from streams, fertile agricultural lands for planting food crops and plants for medicine and material goods, wetlands, fishponds, sand dunes, and stone quarries for adze making. The activities of the people within the ahupua‘a were under the direction of an appointed chief known as an ali‘i ‘ai ahupua‘a, or konohiki. There was a constant sharing of food and useful products between families and the families paid taxes to their ali‘i ‘ai ahupua‘a or konohiki in the form of their handcrafts and the products cultivated from their farms or caught from the sea.

On the island of Maui, there is a unique situation in the moku of Lāhainā whereby the ahupua‘a are segregated and do not run continuously from mauka to makai. Rather, you may find three of the same ahupua‘a names in different regions of the moku. For example, the ahupua‘a of Polanui can be found in the upper mountain region, in the plains, and another near the shoreline. There are more ahupua‘a in the moku of Lāhainā than any other moku in Hawai‘i, surpassing 70. Understanding the ahupua‘a system of Lāhainā is one of the most complex and fascinating cultural features of Maui.

**‘Ili:** ‘ili are small strips or subdivisions of land found within an ahupua‘a. Like the ahupua‘a, these lands also had specific names which were usually connected to a particular plant, cultivated crop, geological feature, or a particular activity. An example of this is on Maui would be the ‘ili of Lo‘iloa which is found within the valley of ‘Īao in the moku of Wailuku. Lo‘iloa consisted of numerous lo‘i kalo for which this name represents. Sometimes ‘ili run mauka to makai and are called ‘ili pa‘a or a fixed land section. If ‘ili consisted of detached pieces of land, it was known as ‘ili lele or lele which means that they jump around. This also means that ‘ili with the same name could be along near the coast, another in the valley, and a third section in the upland forest. There were also ‘ili kūpono or shortened to ‘ili kū, which were subdivisions within an ahupua‘a yet independent of it and its chief. Anything that these lands provided went directly to the ali‘i nui.

**Other Land Terms of Importance:** There were even smaller parcels of land that were found within ahupua‘a and ‘ili. These lands were also of great importance and usually referred to cultivated plots of land. The mo‘o was the next in size to the ‘ili and was set aside for cultivation only. Inside of a mo‘o were even lesser tracts of land called paukū which were also set aside for cultivation. The patches of land cultivated by the common farmer for their chief or landlords were called kō‘ele. During and after the time of the Māhele of 1848, farmers worked only on Friday’s for their landlords and these patches became known as Po‘alima, meaning Friday. The smallest unit of land was called a kīhāpai, and was cultivated by a tenant-farmer for himself and his family. Other small plots of lands for farming were lo‘i, māla, and kula.

### **3.4 IMPACTS ON HAWAIIAN LAND TENURE DUE TO GREAT MĀHELE**

**Māhele Nui (Great Māhele):** The foreign population greatly increased during the early years of King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), around the 1820s. At the same time, the Hawaiian population was decreasing mainly due to introduced diseases and psychological conditions. Many foreigners put pressure on the chiefs and Hawaiian Kingdom to provide them land to establish port towns, stores, businesses, schools, and churches particularly in Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo. Foreigners began to demand the right to own land outright. Some of them saw the possibilities in types of agriculture, such as growing sugar cane, which would require large tracts of land in order for them to profit.

In 1848, Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) introduced the Great Māhele which divided the lands for the first time and allowed individuals to own the lands that they lived or worked on. The Great Māhele or “not so Great Māhele” as it is sometimes known, divided the lands into Crown Lands (King’s Lands), Government Lands, Konohiki Lands, Fort Lands, School Lands, and Kuleana lands. Approximately 1,000,000 were reserved by Kamehameha III as Crown Lands, 1,500,000 acres were given by the king to the government and people, and less than 30,000 acres of kuleana land was awarded to the native tenants. Kuleana lands were considered some of the best land for cultivation of kalo and other crops. Kuleana lands also had specific rights to them, especially as it pertained to water from streams and ‘auwai. The awarding of these lands brought to an end the ancient system of land tenure in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Māhele which was thought of by the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to be the best solution for their citizens to own land, it has also created a multitude of challenges regarding ownership that continues to exist up until today.



**Kuleana Lands:** The final enactment of the Māhele process included the determination of land interests for the Maka‘āinana (commoners who were usually farmers and fisherman). The Kuleana Act was authorized by the Land Commission on August 6<sup>th</sup> 1850. The role of the Land Commission was to award fee simple title to hoa‘āina (native tenants) for their plots of land. The tenant farmer could apply for his own plot of land which was called kuleana. Kuleana lands could come from lands of the mō‘ī (king), aupuni (government) or ali‘i (chiefs). Hoa‘āina were not required to pay a commutation tax since the konohiki of the ahupua‘a or ‘ili / ‘ili kūpono in which the kuleana was located, was responsible for the commutation. If the kuleana owner died and had no heir, the kuleana reverted back to the owner of the ahupua‘a or ‘ili / ‘ili kūpono.

Kuleana lands were some of the most fertile and richest lands in Hawai‘i due to their high productivity of food crops based on the natural resources surrounding them (i.e. streams, irrigation ditches, springs, etc.). Restrictions on kuleana lands included that kuleana could not include the land in which a hoa‘āina had actually cultivated plus a house lot no more than a .25 acres. Another restriction was that hoa‘āina were required to pay for a survey of the lands as well as bring forth two witnesses of the surrounding area to testify to the tenant’s right to the land. These testimonies which were called Native and Foreign Testimonies, provided some of the most extensive knowledge-base of that particular parcel being claimed by the native tenant. This included documenting lo‘i kalo, other forms of farming plots, salt ponds, house sites, springs, rivers, ‘auwai, burials, etc...)

It is estimated that 8,205 awards were given by the Land Commission, 7,500 awards involved kuleana lands. Only 26 percent of the adult male native population of that time received kuleana lands. The 26 percent equated to only 28,600 acres of land which is much less than one percent of the total land. One of the main reasons why so little kuleana claims and so little kuleana awards were secured is due in most part to the lack of understanding of the laws or lack of money to pay for surveys. Others felt that to claim land was an act of betrayal to the chiefs or they feared reprisal from the chiefs. Many Hawaiians were unable to support themselves in a cash economy system as well as their departure from rural lands and community to find jobs in the cities. One other major reason the hoa‘āina received so little land was that kuleana grants were severely limited by the “really cultivated” clause of the act.

The Kuleana Act of 1850 also protected the rights of tenants to gain access mauka to makai and the ability to gather certain materials from that ahupua‘a. However, the Kuleana Act did not allow hoa‘āina to exercise other traditional rights, such as the right to grow crops and pasture animals on unoccupied portions of land in an ahupua‘a.

### **3.5 FOLLOWING THE GREAT MĀHELE**

After the Land Commission dissolved in 1855, 1.5 million acres of land had been distributed to the ali‘i or konohiki, another 1.5 million acres had been set aside as aupuni / Government Lands, approximately 1 million acres had been retained by the mō‘ī / king, and only 28,600 acres had been claimed by the maka‘āinana / hoa‘āina under the Kuleana Act.

The rights of Hawaiians and their connection to the ‘āina began to diminish while the rights of Westerners were increasing concurrently. In 1846 an act was authorized for Government Lands under the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to be sold. Within just about four years, over 27,000 acres of land

had been sold, establishing a precedent for alienating Hawaiian lands. In 1850, another landmark decision was made in which any resident of Hawai‘i and regardless of citizenship could convey land. These changes set the precedence for extensive amounts of land and title to be transferred from Hawaiians to Westerners.

#### **4.0 SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF WAILUKU (NĀ WAI ‘EHĀ)**

The moku (district) of Wailuku (also poetically known as Nā Wai ‘Ehā) contained four ahupua‘a (land divisions). Starting from the south to the north, the four ahupua‘a are described as Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, Waihe‘e. These ahupua‘a traditionally provided mauka (mountain) to makai (shoreline) access for Hawaiians. This in turn provided households, communities and individuals resources to maintain self-sufficiency and to grow thriving populations. Archaeological and historic evidence substantiates the significance of Nā Wai ‘Ehā and populations that grew beyond the shorelines of Mā‘alaea in Waikapū, Kahului in Wailuku, Ka‘ehu in Waiehu, and Kalae‘ili‘ili in Waihe‘e.

“Kaulana ‘o Nā Wai ‘Ehā” “Famous are the Four Great Waters of Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, and Waihe‘e.” this well-known saying attests to the traditional, historical, and cultural significance of the four ahupua‘a within the moku of Wailuku and the abundance of fresh water resources that it provides. Wailuku or Nā Wai ‘Ehā, was once the largest continually cultivated lo‘i kalo (wetland kalo) growing region in all of Hawai‘i (Handy and Handy 1972). It also served as the primary ritual, political, and population center of Maui (Tengan 2004). The vast water resources of Mauna Kahālāwai (West Maui Mountains) supplied these four streams with the life giving waters of Kāne. This allowed the Hawaiian population of this area to develop expansive irrigation and agricultural systems unique to Hawai‘i. The rich history of Nā Wai ‘Ehā, is directly linked to the abundance of wai. Hawaiians thrived for hundreds of years and for many generations in this region by farming wetland kalo, fishing in natural and manmade inland fishponds, gathering native stream life such as ‘o‘opu, hīhīwai, and ‘ōpae, and collecting drinking water from pūnāwai (springs). Large populations solely depended upon water availability for their food sources. In the ahupua‘a of Waikapū, over 1,400 lo‘i kalo were documented via Māhele records from the 1850s. The current Wailuku Town according to Handy and Handy (1972) is constructed on old lo‘i kalo terraces, that were once fed by ‘auwai (irrigation ditches) with water drawn from Wailuku Stream. Large and expansive ‘auwai in Wailuku such as Kama and Kalani were modified for reuse when commercial sugarcane companies were established. Photographs document the extent of these lo‘i kalo in Wailuku even 100 years after the introduction of commercial sugarcane companies. In Wailuku, only about 1% of the original lo‘i kalo terraces exist and the extent of these are found in the upper reaches of ‘Īao Valley.

Given the extent of viable traditional agriculture prior to western contact, it is not surprising that a sizable population base would have resided in the area. Both Wailuku and the broader West Maui are associated with a number of ali‘i suggesting the central nature of Nā Wai ‘Ehā as a political power (Kirkendall 2011). Nā Wai ‘Ehā was home to the royal compound of Maui for many of Maui’s ali‘i. Kaka‘e was one of Maui’s notable ali‘i whom the famed “‘Īao Needle” is named after. He was the brother of Kaka‘alaneo and resided in the valley just south of ‘Īao at a place called Ka‘alāholo. The ruling chief over most of Maui when Captain Cook arrived in 1778 was Kahekili,

whose home was in the ahupua‘a of Wailuku (Kamakau 1992). Kalaniopu‘u controlled the windward districts (Beaglehole 1967).

Nā Wai ‘Ehā boasted the largest amount of heiau (religious temple) which stresses upon the relationship Hawaiians had with water and land resources. Where large populations existed due to extensive agricultural sites, religious structures were needed to pay homage to Lono, god of fertility and agriculture. There were a total of 36 heiau that were documented in Nā Wai ‘Ehā alone (Tengan 2004). These surveys were done in the early 1900s which was 120 years after western contact. It is likely that there were more heiau however with the onset of the sugar industry, many were plowed under to make way for sugarcane fields.



Figure 1. 1<sup>st</sup> Wailuku Sugar Co. Mill and lo‘i kalo terraces in foreground circa 1865 (Bishop Museum)



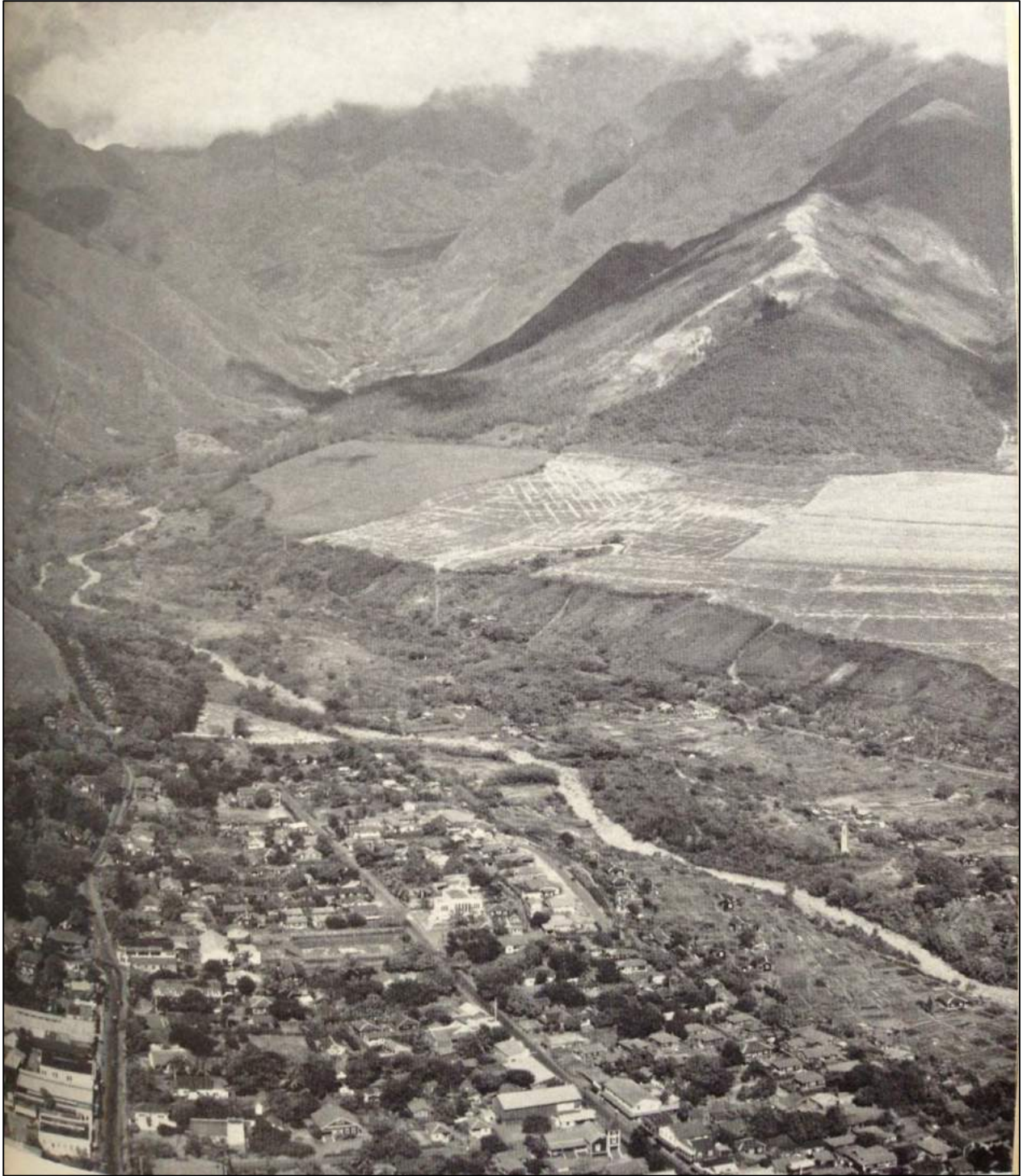


Figure 2. Aerial view of Wailuku Town, stream and remnant lo'i kalo terraces in 1940 (Stearns)



## 5.0 INTRODUCTION TO WAIKAPŪ

Waikapū is the first of four ahupua‘a (land divisions) in the moku (district) of Wailuku, poetically known as Nā Wai ‘Ehā (Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, Waihe‘e). This district is located within the southern portion of the West Maui Mountains range named Mauna Kāhālawai (Ashdown). Waikapū is known for its gusty wind named Kokololio. Waikapū i ka makani Kokololio (Waikapū of the gusty wind) (Pukui #2911)

### 5.1 MEANING OF NAME

Waikapū means “waters of the conch”, which was named after a sacred conch that was blown in the upland reaches of the valley by Hawaiians of that district. The name of Waikapū is described in detail from a Hawaiian Language Newspaper (Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a) dated September 21, 1872 and titled Nō Waikapū (Concerning Waikapū).

#### Nō Waikapū

‘O Waikapū, e ‘ōlelo ‘ia nei, he wahi pana nō ia i kapa ‘ia e kekahi po‘e o ka wā kahiko, a laha loa mai a hiki i kēia wā, ma muli o kēia inoa. ‘O kēia wahi nō ho‘i ‘o Waikapū, he wahi ana ia, aia i loko lilo o ke kahawai, ua mile paha a ‘oi aku ka loa mai ke kulanakauhale aku.

Aia ma ka ‘ao‘ao hema o ua kahawai nei, he ana, a i loko o ua ana nei he pū, a e kani mau ana ‘o ia i nā wā a pau me ka ‘ike ‘ole ‘ia e ka lehulehu, a he makāula na‘e no Kaua‘i ka mea nānā i ho‘olohe mai i ke kani o ua pū nei, a ua ‘imi mai ‘o ia me ka mana‘o e loa‘a.

Aia ho‘i ma ka ‘ao‘ao hikina ‘ākau o ua kahawai lā, mai kahi aku o ka pū e kani nei, a aia ho‘i ma luna a‘e o ka pali, he ‘īlio, ‘o Puapualenalena kona inoa, a no kona lohe nō ho‘i i ke kani o ua pū nei, ua ‘imi ikaika ‘o ia i kahi e loa‘a ai, ‘a‘ohe na‘e he loa‘a iki, ‘oia i ua maka‘ala loa nā mea nānā ua pū nei ma ke kia‘i ‘ana, akā, ua ho‘omau nō na‘e ua ‘īlio nei ma ka ho‘omakauli‘i ‘ana i wahi e loa‘a ai.

A no ka mana‘o paha o ua mau mea nei nāna ka mea kani, ‘a‘ohe kupua e lilo ai o kā lāua milimili, no laila, ua ho‘ā‘o lāua ma ka ho‘ohemahema li‘ili‘i ‘ana, ‘a‘ohe na‘e he lilo. Akā, i loko na‘e o ka lā i lilo ai iā Puapualenalena, ua palaka loa lāua ma ka ho‘omana‘o ‘ana. A no ka lilo ‘ana o ua pū nei iā Puapualenalena, mai laila mai ke kani ‘ole ‘ana a hiki i kēia lā.

Ua lohe ‘ia kona leo ma nā wahi a pau o kēia mau moku, a ua lilo ia i mea ho‘ouluhua i ka mana‘o o kekahi po‘e. A no kēia pū mai i kapa ‘ia ai ka inoa holo‘oko‘a o Waikapū. ‘O ia ihola ka mo‘olelo no kahi i loa‘a mai ai kēia inoa. He wahi mākā‘ika‘i nui ia nō ho‘i kēia e nā malihini e makemake ana e ‘ike.

#### Concerning Waikapū

The Waikapū now being discussed, is a legendary place named by some of the ancients, and has remained until this time. This place, Waikapū, has a cave away up the stream, the distance perhaps a mile or more from the village.

On the southern side of the river, is a cave, and inside of this cave is a pū, or conch, and it sounded all the time unseen by the people, and it was a makāula, or prophet, from Kaua‘i that was the one who heard the sound of this pū, and came to seek it with the idea of obtaining it.

On the northeast side of the stream, on the opposite side of the conch that sounded above the pali, was a dog, Puapualenalena was his name, and because of hearing this pū, he sought diligently to find it, but did not succeed because those who guarded the pū were very watchful. But, this dog kept studying ways of obtaining it.

And because perhaps the keepers of the pū believed that no supernatural being would succeed in taking it away, they then tried to be a little careless, yet it was not taken. But the day Puapualenalena did get it away, they had been utterly careless. And since Puapualenalena took the pū, it sounds no more to this day.

It used to be heard everywhere in these islands and was annoying to some people. From this pū, the whole of the place was named Waikapū, Water of the Conch. That is the story of how this place got its name. It is a place greatly visited by strangers who wish to see it.

(W.K Kauaililehua, Nupepa Kuokoa, 9-13-1872) (Translated by Elspeth Sterling, Revised by Hōkūao Pellegrino)

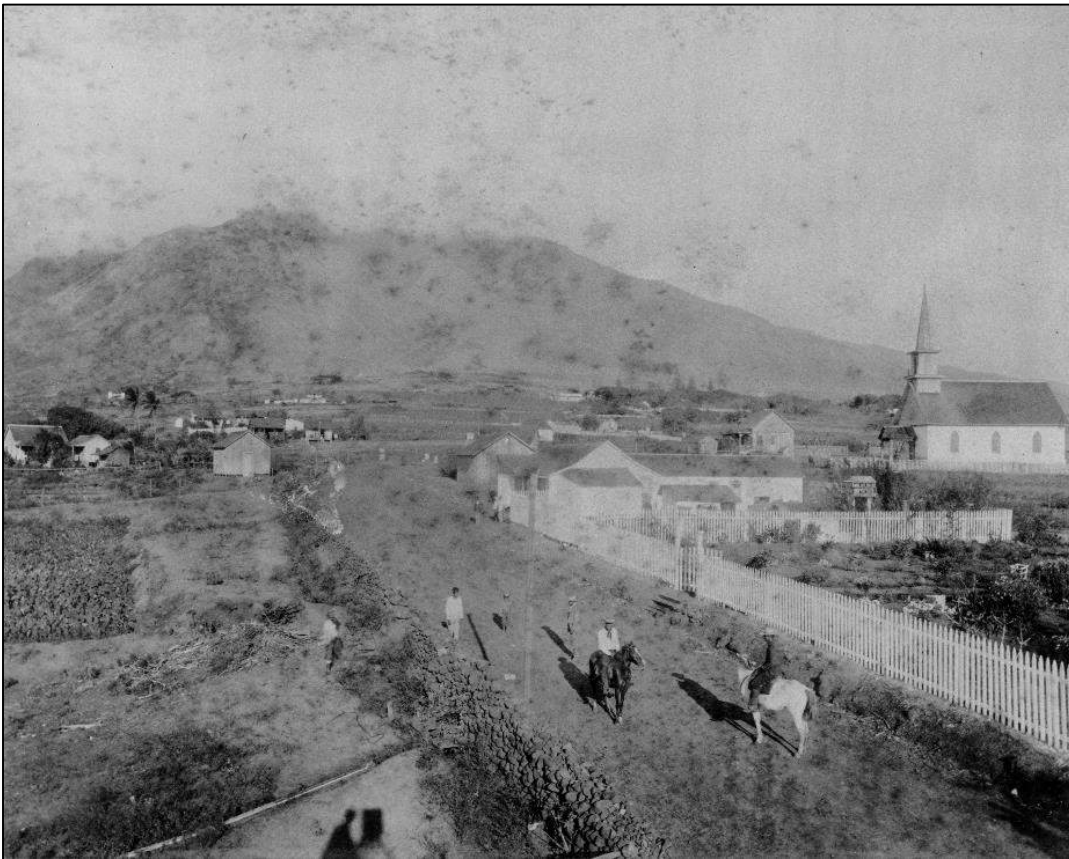


Figure 3. Waikapū Town along Waikō Road with Waikapū Protestant Church in background circa 1890 (Bishop Museum)

## 5.2 CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BOUNDARIES

The traditional palena ‘āina (boundaries) of Waikapū originate from the highest peak on Hana‘ula which stands at 4,456 feet in elevation (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini). The boundary extends downward to a ridge known as Kalapaoka‘ilio, located slightly above Wailuku Heights Development followed by Pōhāko‘i, which is situated south of Ku‘ikahi Road and the Honoapi‘ilani Highway Intersection. It subsequently moves east to Ka‘ōpala located at the Central Maui Baseyard, travels south to Kīheipūko‘a near Keālia and the Sugar Beach Condominiums, and westward to Kapoli Spring adjacent to Buzz’s Wharf Restaurant. The traditional boundary then veers north to a once famous cinder cone known as Pu‘uhele and finally returns westward by means of four additional cinder cones (Pu‘uhona, Pu‘ulū‘au, Pu‘umoe, and Pu‘uanu) on the Hana‘ula mountain range. (See Figure 3 for description)

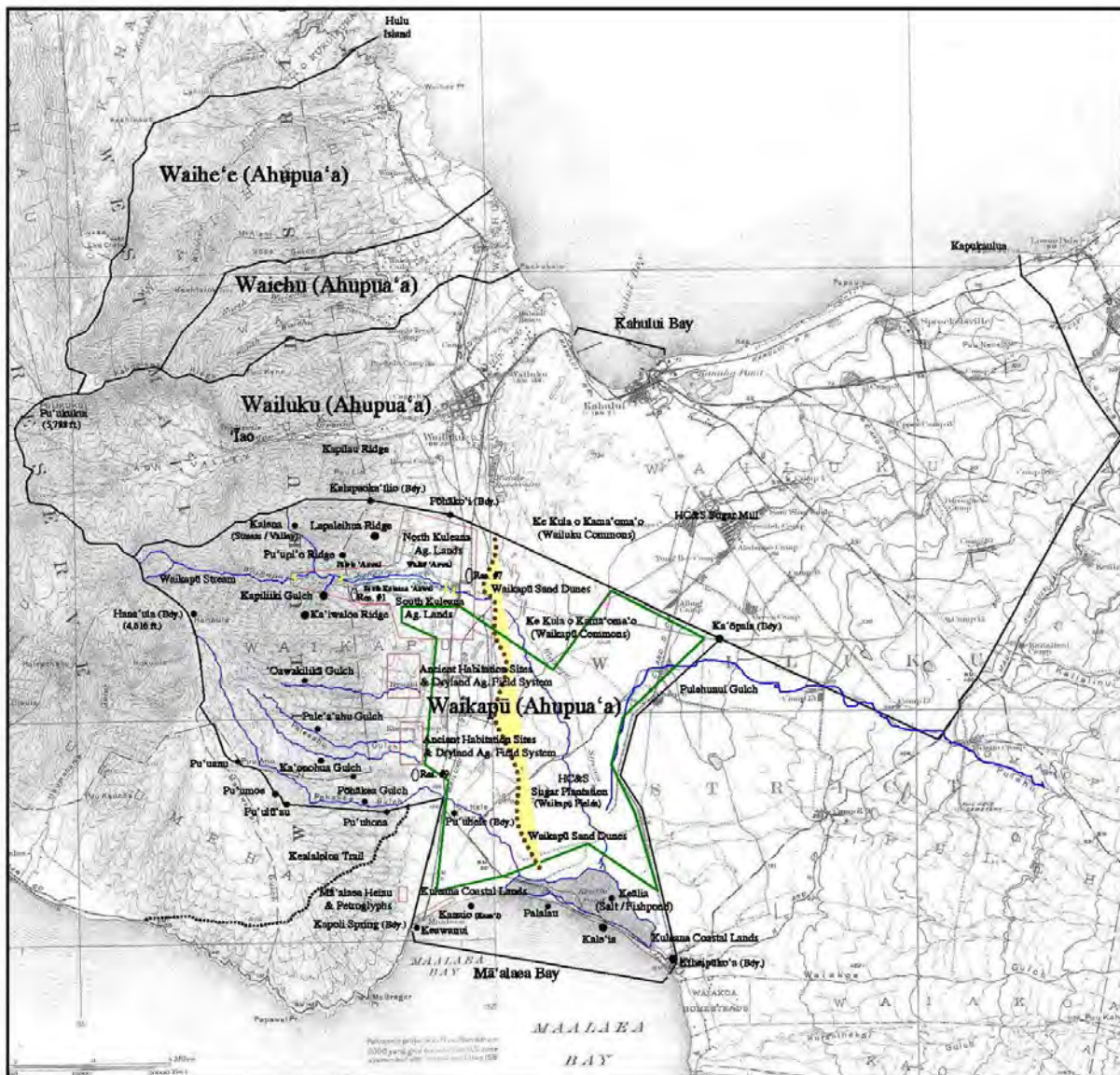


Figure 4. Palapala Hi‘onaina ‘Ōiwi o Waikapū (Cultural Landscape Map of Waikapū) (Hōkūao Pellegrino 2013)



## 6.0 CULTURAL AND NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The natural environment of Waikapū is very diverse. It was historically and currently is an integral component of the cultural landscape. The total land mass of Waikapū, the southernmost ahupua‘a in Nā Wai ‘Ehā consists of 15,684 acres from mauka to makai (mountain to the sea). Waikapū is situated between latitudes north 20°47’30” and south 20°52’30”, west 136° and east 156°27’30”m and can be located on the U.S.G.S. 7.5 minute series topographic maps of Mā‘alaea and Wailuku Quadrangles on Maui. The boundaries (fig. 4) are defined by historical map references and boundary commission determinations established in the mid to late 1800s.

### 6.1 KAI (COASTAL REGION)

The coastal region of Waikapū is located at Mā‘alaea Bay. This area is expansive and historically provided an abundance of fish and other marine resources for Hawaiians living along the shore and inland (Interview: William Garcia). There were a number of fisheries documented on historical maps (see figure 4). On the western portion of Mā‘alaea was an ancient fishing village which included fishing ko‘a (fishing shrines), kauhale (housing compounds), tool making sites, heiau (ceremonial centers), and ki‘i pōhaku (petroglyphs). At the center of this fishing village was once a fresh water spring named Kapoli. Kapoli was used as a boundary point between the ahupua‘a of Waikapū and the ahupua‘a of Ukumehame, Lāhainā. Between the boundary of Kapoli Spring to the West and Kīheipūko‘a on the east, was Keālia, once Maui’s largest wetland. An ancient inland fishpond and famous salt ground were located in and around Keālia. On the western edge of Keālia was a pu‘u (cinder cone) named Pu‘uhele. This pu‘u was culturally significant due to the spiritual connection it had with the people of Waikapū as well as it being a significant traditional boundary marker. (Sterling)

#### **Kapoli and Waikui Spring**

There were three big rocks in front of Kapoli Spring used by Old Hawaiians when placing the piko of a newborn child in an empty hollow and then placing a stone on top of it. The people believed that this would ensure that the child would always be with the mother and will not desert the parents during their lifetime. Kapoli Spring accompanied a pūnāwai (pond) and the entire place around the spring (which was about the size of a small courtroom) is what is called Kapoli. Just beyond the Waikapū boundary is the ahupua‘a of Ukumehame, where there was another spring called Waikui that had less water in it than Kapoli Spring. These are the only two springs along the coast of Waikapū that were known. During the high water, salt water invaded Kapoli Spring. Kapoli Spring also varied in terms of size; in the spring it was larger and in the summer and fall, it became smaller.

(Kamaka Kailianu - Boundary Commission Hearing No. 230. 1935)

#### **Notes on Mā‘alaea**

Inez Ashdown, a well-known Maui informant, reported in 1971 that she was shocked to find the Mā‘alaea village stones carried away by the original Harbor contractor in 1952, after she had surveyed and marked over 40 cultural sites for preservation. The piko stone and adze sharpening stone in front of Buzz’s Wharf



restaurant are the only remnants of the ancient village. Kapoli Spring was covered up by the harbor's restrooms and cesspool. The harbor was built by a culture that had just won a war against mighty nations and then declared war again, but on the natural and cultural environment.

(Inez Ashdown, Notes on Mā'alaea, 1971)



Figure 5. Mā'alaea Bay circa 1918 (Bishop Museum)

Winslow Walker who studied archaeological sites on Maui, notes an unnamed heiau and petroglyphs located “a quarter-mile from the village of Mā'alaea at the base of the foothills of the West Maui Mountains.” It is hard to decipher whether Walker is referring to the ancient Hawaiian village that once existed at Mā'alaea or to the historic wharf and related structures which were built at a later time. Both sites however are identified by State site numbers 1441 and 1287. The following describes in further detail the cultural features that Walker observed and noted in the Mā'alaea coastal region.

### **Habitations in Mā'alaea**

Walker located house and shelter sites at Mā'alaea (1931). He described their location near about two miles west of Mā'alaea village to McGregor's point, there are house and shelter sites....in great number above the road. At least forty-five were noted. It seems that Walker uses Mā'alaea Village to refer to the historic wharf, commercial buildings and native houses shown on Jackson's 1883 government survey. The wharf, although dilapidated, was still present in 1902 and the construction of the present harbor begun in the 1950s (Joerger and Kaschko, 1979), presumably in the same location. The southern portion of Walker's house and shelter sites was grouped under State of Hawai'i site number 50-50-09-1441 and called the McGregor Point C-Shapes during the 1973 state-wide inventory survey, while the northern portion of these same sites is called the Mā'alaea Complex and assigned site number 50-50-09-87 (DLNR 1973). It would appear that no dating has been done at this complex of sites.

## **Ko‘a**

Walker also described a ko‘a or fishing shrine at Mā‘alaea (1931) which was likely destroyed or buried or may be part of the Mā‘alaea Complex but is not relocated by anyone else. Walker explains “One of the most interesting ko‘a found was the one near the ancient village on the slopes above Mā‘alaea Bay. It has the shape of a horseshoe 8 ½ feet long. A semicircular wall 2 feet high and the same in thickness encloses a platform of rocks not more than one foot above the ground. The flat area of this platform is 6 feet wide and consists of a row of small stones set on edge. Chunks of coral were strewn over the platform and in one corner a quantity of fish bones and shells were found. This is the only ko‘a site on West Maui which can be recognized with any certainty, through doubles there were many more which have now been destroyed” (p. 61 photo B.M. 14705) (Walker 1931:58)

## **Petroglyphs**

There are 2 State sites 50-6-09-1169 with 8 petroglyphs and 50-50-09-1199 with 10 petroglyphs. Walker assigns the heiau a field number (#1) and it is the only archaeological site located on his survey map. He also provides a scale drawing of the heiau and its spatial relationship to numerous petroglyph boulders. The heiau had not been assigned individual state site numbers and are not specifically noted in the inventory survey although it is possible that one or both are inadvertently included in State site no. 50-50-09-1287. The petroglyphs have received greater attention since Walker’s survey and have been notated in a number of publications.

## **Grinding & Piko Stones**

There are 2 cultural stone features that were documented in the village of Mā‘alaea. The first being State site no. 50-50-09-1286 which was a hoana or grinding stone and State site no. 50-50-09-1440 which was a piko stone. The two boulders with known cultural significance are at Mā‘alaea Harbor near the current Buzz’s Restaurant. The hoana was a stone in which ko‘i or adzes were sharpened on the other being a depository for the piko or umbilical cords of newborn children. During the Boundary Commission testimony indicates placing the piko of a child “would ensure that the child will always be with the mother and will not desert the parents during their lifetimes”. The grindstone was initially removed from the ocean during the construction of Mā‘alaea Harbor. It is unclear where the piko stone was originally located. There was a piko stone described in the Boundary Commission testimony as originally located at Kapoli Spring. This may likely have been one in the same.



**Figure 6. Mā'alaea Petroglyphs in 2004 (Landraff)**



**Figure 7. Hoana grinding stone in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**

The 'ili of Keālia was a significant cultural and natural resource for the ahupua'a of Waikapū. It was Maui's largest wetlands spanning over 500 acres. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife) Keālia literally means salt encrustation and was known for making excellent salt by Hawaiians and for trading with early explorers. (Sterling) Keālia is the name and site of a former loko i'a pu'eone or inland fishpond. At one time, it was probably full of awa (milkfish) and 'ama'ama (mullet). Keālia was fed by intermittent and perennial streams from both Mauna Kahālāwai and Haleakalā, a watershed spanning 56 square miles. Waikapū Stream was the main source of fresh water for Keālia followed by Pale'a'ahu and Pōhākea intermittent streams from Mauna Kahālāwai. (U.S Fish & Wildlife) There was one intermittent stream from Haleakalā which fed Keālia. There are numerous references for the name of the stream which derived from the Pūlehunui ahupua'a in the moku of Kula. In an 1870 Waikapū-Pulehunui boundary dispute, the names of the stream that fed Keālia from Haleakalā was referenced as either Pūlehunui, Ka'ōpala, or Kailinawai. These names derived from native tenants from both Waikapū and Pūlehunui ahupua'a.

There were numerous kuleana land claims in the 'ili of Keālia on the southeast and southwest boundaries; that of Kapoli, Mā'alaea and Kīheipūko'a. There was a total of 22 mo'o pa'akai (salt lands/ponds) that were claimed during the Māhele. Pa'akai or salt was an important part of the Hawaiian diet and was used to cure fish and preserve foods. When early explorers, missionaries, and whalers arrived in Hawai'i, salt became an important resource for trading.

### **Salt Pans at Keālia**

Feb. 1, 1817, we now made sail towards Mowee (Maui), our ship, as usual, full of natives. Next morning we passes Morokenee (Molokini), and made sail up Macherey (Mā'alaea) Bay; Here we lay until the 6<sup>th</sup>, and took on board a great quantity of hogs, salt, and vegetables. This bay is very deep and wide, and nearly divides the island, there being but a narrow neck of land and very low, keeping the two parts of the islands together. There is good anchorage; and the only danger arises from the trade winds, which blow so strong at times as to drive ships out of the bay with two anchors down; it lies N.E. and S.W. and is well sheltered from every other wind. The neck of land is so low, and the land so high on each side, that the N.E. trade comes through like a hurricane. ON this neck of land are their principal salt-pans, where they make most excellent salt. Our next station was in Lehina (Lāhainā) roads. This beautiful village has the appearance of a find garden, laid out with the greatest taste in fish-ponds, taro (kalo) patches, cane patches, groves of bread fruit and plantain trees, so delightfully arranged that nothing can surpass it. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, the brig, full of hogs and natives, got under way from this romantic spot, bound for Woahoo (O'ahu).

(P. Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific. Narrative of Several Trading Voyages From 1813 to 1818*)





**Figure 8. Portion of Keālia Wetlands circa 1890 (Bishop Museum)**

Currently, Keālia is no longer an active fishpond nor a permanent wetland mainly due to a number of human impacts. Since the mid to late 1800's, Waikapū Stream has been diverted almost entirely for sugar cultivation. The redirection of stream flow has shrunk the size of Keālia down to less than 100 acres. The water that exists in Keālia is provided by two wells that are pumped daily along with intermittent rainfall. Waikapū Stream along with the intermittent streams only reach Keālia in torrential rain events, in which stream water flows over and beyond sugar plantation diversions. Keālia is currently managed by U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services as a native bird sanctuary and is home to a number of endangered native birds species and other native species that utilize the wetlands annually. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife)



**Figure 9. Aerial shot of the Keālia Wetlands in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**



**Figure 10. Palalau estuary located south of Keālia Wetlands in 2011 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**



**Figure 11. Waikapū Stream flowing out into Mā‘alaea Bay via Keālia Wetlands 2011 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**

## 6.2 KULA (PLAINS REGION / ISTHMUS)

Prior to Western contact, the isthmus or plains located between Mauna Kahālāwai and Haleakalā were called Ke Kula o Kama‘oma‘o or Kama‘oma‘o. (Pukui) Following Western contact, they were called the Waikapū Commons. It was the largest desert plains in Nā Wai ‘Ehā. It included a prominent sand dune system that extended from Waikapū to Waihe‘e. The sand dunes served as a final resting place for a multitude of iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones) who once lived in this region. The sand dunes of Nā Wai ‘Ehā and especially those in the ahupua‘a of Waikapū were key battle ground areas prior and during the time of Kamehameha I. (Sterling) There were noted trails that Hawaiians would utilize within Kama‘oma‘o from Waikapū to the moku of Kula or Honua‘ula and its many ahupua‘a. (Government Survey Maps) There were no documented land claims in the Kama‘oma‘o portion of Waikapū. Other than the expansive sand dune system, intermittent and perennial streams flowing from Mauna Kahālāwai and Haleakalā into Keālia, Kama‘oma‘o was dry, desolate, and was likely a forest of native shrubbery. There were numerous Hawaiians who had kuleana land claims in both Waikapū and Kula (Creed). The claims noted wetland kalo cultivation in Waikapū and ‘uala cultivation in Kula. Kama‘oma‘o was also known as a leina a ka ‘uhane, or a leaping off place for Maui where the soul after death found its way to the afterworld. This would be similar to that of the leina of Pu‘u Keka‘a in the moku of Kā‘anapali. It seems that Kama‘oma‘o was a place to pass through rather than a place of residence or activities. Kama‘oma‘o was later called the Waikapū Commons when it was utilized by the Waikapū Sugar Company under William Cornwell and Hawaiian Commercial Sugar Company under Clause Spreckels. The famed Pu‘uhele (Traveling Hill) existed on the outskirts of Kama‘oma‘o on the way to Mā‘alaea. It was an important vantage, boundary and later survey point for Waikapū.

### **Ke Kula o Kama‘oma‘o**

The worst fate that can befall a soul is to be abandoned by its ‘aumakua and left to stray, a wandering spirit (kuewa) is some barren and desolate place, feeding upon spiders and night moths. Such spirits are believed to be malicious and to take delight in leading travelers astray; hence the wild place which they haunt on each island are feared and avoided. Such are the plains of Kama‘oma‘o on the island of Maui. . . . (Beckwith 170:154)

### **Legend of Pu‘uhele – The story of a hill that moved over Maui and helped to win a war**

Schoffers (atheists) will say the old Hawaiian predictions are mere superstitions, while a modern “malihini” might murmur “What a lotta bunk!” The “kama‘āina” looks wise and listens, for he knows of too many predictions and legends which have come true, and therefore he cannot be an unbeliever.

Many years ago there was a cinder hill at the junction of the Kīhei and Wailuku roads. It could be seen from all points and so some people would translate the name of it, “Pu‘uhele,” as “starting point.” The fact that this hill was also the pointer for the old horse trail from the plain across the West Maui Mountains to Olowalu and thence to Lāhainā, also made this translation feasible. Another translation was “moving hill,” since “pu‘u” means hill, and “hele” means to go or move. Some

thought that the name was given to the hill because cinders have a way of shifting, but the old legend has it that some ancient “kahuna” or native priest, predicted that one day Pu‘uhele would move over to the island of Maui.

Another idea was that perhaps Pu‘uhele was not actually a dead volcanic cone, but would someday erupt and its lava would pour out over the plain between West Maui and Haleakalā.

What actually happened to Pu‘uhele was in all probability never thought of by anyone prior to World War II, and if the predicting Kahuna could have seen the men of the Navy, C.B.s. Army and Marines while they blasted and used bulldozers and cranes and all the rest of their construction machinery, he might have thought that he himself was “seeing things.”

“But, his prediction came true, as Hawaiian predictions have a way of doing, for the cinder cone from Pu‘uhele have been hauled by truckloads to every district of Maui!”

They went into the macadam (asphalt) on which the radar station at the Summit of Haleakalā is located; into the roads of the NCD Base a Kama‘ole; the roads of NAS Pu‘unēnē and Kahului; helped to make passable many of the roads leading into Army and Marine camps all over the Plain and on the mountain slopes from Waikapū to Hāna, and Mā‘alaea Bay.

Pu‘uhele was once the Survey Point for central Maui but the cinder cone land mark is now a huge pit with mounds of unwanted rock and soil piles around it, and fence enclosing all, with a gate sign saying “kapu.”

Some time the cinder vein must come to an end, and the old residents of Maui hope that the pit will be filled in and smoothed over, and that the authorities may remember the past kindly by placing a marker there to say that this was the site of Pu‘uhele, the hill that moved all over Maui, made a legend come true, and helped to win a War.

(Inez Ashdown, Maui News: 2-13-1946)

### **Pu‘uhele**

Pu‘uhele, is a hill at Waikapū, Maui that was roughly 65 feet tall. You cannot claim a circuit of Maui unless after you have been all around, you circle the hill of Pu‘uhele, then climb to the top and proclaim, “Ua puni o Maui ia‘u.”

(Theodore Kelsey Collection, Place Names, Hawaiian Ethnographical Notes, I:819)

Pu‘uhele is no longer a pu‘u (hill) rather it is an abandoned open pit mine over 100 ft. deep. The old access road enters at the southeast corner and proceeds along the east and north edge to the bottom of the pit. This cone has been quarried for cinder since the 1940’s to such an extent that only a deep pit remains in place of the former pu‘u.

(Folk and Hammatt, 1992:24)



### **Some Noted Battles of Hawaiian History – Battle of Waikapū Common**

When Kalani'ōpu'u had made all preparations for renewal of the war with Maui, already referred to, his army consisted of six divisions, each known by an individual name; two regiments of nobles, called 'Ālapa and Pi'ipi'i, and a life guard composed of members of the royal family, called Keawe, and had as his high priest Holoae, with the celebrated war-god Kā'ili (Kūkā'ilimoku?).

Kahekili was well advised of these preparations of Kalani'ōpu'u and sought to be prepared to cope with his adversary whenever the attack should be made. He had as his aid the O'ahu King, Kahahana, and his predecessor's high priest Kaleopu'u. Fornander gives the following graphic account of this tragic event:

“In 1776, Kalani'ōpu'u embarked his forces and landed them without resistance in the Honua'ula district, from Keone'ō'io to Makena. Plunder and spoliation marked his arrival, and the country people fled to the woods and mountain ravines for shelter. Taking part of his forces around by water, Kalani'ōpu'u landed again Kīheipūko'a, near the Keālia or salt marsh between Kalepolepo and Mā'alaea. The landing being effected early in the day, it was resolved to push forward at once, and on to Wailuku, where Kahekili was residing, became the war-cry of the day. The detachment of regiment known as 'Ālapa, mustering eight hundred men, was selected for this hazardous expedition, and with high courage they started across the isthmus of Kama'oma'o, now known as the Waikapu Common, determined, as the legend says 'to drink the water of Wailuku that day.' This regiment was considered the bravest and best of Kalani'ōpu'u's army, every man in this ranks being a member of “la haute noblesse” of Hawai'i. They are said to have all be of equal stature and their spears of equal length; and the legend represents their appearance- with their feather cloaks reflecting the sunshine and the plumes of their helmets tossing in the wind – as a gorgeous and magnificent spectacle.

Little did this gallant troop apprehend the terrible fate that awaited them. Little did Kalani'ōpu'u know the wily warrior with whom he was contending, Kahekili distributed his forces in various directions on the Wailuku side of the Common, and fell upon the Hawai'i *corps d'armee* as it was entering among the sand-hills south-east of Kālūa ('ili), near Wailuku. After one of the most sanguinary battles recorded in Hawaiian legends. And deeds of valor that await but another Tennyson, the gallant and devoted 'Ālapa were literally annihilated; only two out of the eight hundred escaped alive to tell Kalani'ōpu'u of this Hawaiian Balaclava, and the only prisoner brought alive to Kahekili was Keawehano, a chief of Hilo, and he died of his wounds before he could be sacrificed at the heiau by the victors. This battle is called the Ahulau ka Pi'ipi'i i Kakanilua – A slaughter of the Pi'ipi'i warriors at Kakanilua.

When in the evening of that day, the news of the battle brought to Kalani'ōpu'u at Kīheipūko'a, where he and the royal family and the main body of his army were encamped, consternation and sorrow filled his mind at the loss of his gallant eight

hundred. A council of war was called in the night. In that council it was resolved to march the entire army of onto Wailuku the following day, and by a hold attack, retrieve the fortunes of the previous day.

Kahekili had not been idle during the previous night. Distributing his own forces and the auxiliary O‘ahu troops, under the O‘ahu kind, Kahahana, among the sand-hills, from Waikapū to Wailuku, which skirts that side of the common, and stationing a reserve force at the turn of the Waikapū Stream, he awaited the approach of the enemy coming from the Keālia salt ponds. Long and severe was the contest, but again the Hawai‘i army was beaten back with fearful slaughter; but, although victorious, the battle must have cost Kahekili dearly, for it is not mentioned that the pursuit of the fleeing remnant of Kalani‘ōpu‘u army was ever very close or protracted.”

Conditions of peace were subsequently negotiated with Kahekili by Kiwala‘ō the tabued heir and son of Kalani‘ōpu‘u and nephew of Kahekili, whereupon Kalani‘ōpu‘u returned to Hawai‘i. The defeat and humiliation so rankled in his mind that a year later he embarked again with force and attacked various points of Maui, but only to meet with reverses in nearly his entire circuit of the island, and which culminated in the capture of the fort Ka‘uiki (Hāna), already given.

(Thomas G. Thrum, *Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual*, 1889)

### **Waikapū Battle**

Later in the same century, during the reign of Kahekili, at a time when King Kalani‘ōpu‘u of Hawai‘i was warring with Maui, a Hawai‘i warrior named Kekūhaupi‘o took a stand, “at Kamā‘alaea (Mā‘alaea) on the ridge of Pu‘uhele,” where he fought the Maui warriors. This single event was probably part of the battle spoken above when Kalani‘ōpu‘u landed his magnificent army on the other side of Mā‘alaea at Kīheipūko‘a and sent his men across the plains of Kama‘oma‘o in order to engage the fierce warriors of Kahekili in the Wailuku area.

(John Papa ʻĪi, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 1959)

Hewahewa koa o ka moku ‘ilima: The deranged warrior of the ‘ilima thicket (jokingly given to Kekūhaupi‘o after his fight at Pu‘uhele with the Maui warriors during Kalani‘ōpu‘u war against Kahekili in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

(William Folk, Hallett Hammatt, *Archaeological Surveys at Mā‘alaea*, 1989)

Waikapū is also connected with the battle of Kepaniwai which took place around 1790. Smith Wong recounts that “Kepi‘i‘āina claimed the mountains to Waikapū, hid, and prepared to throw boulders down on the advancing enemy” However, the warriors of Kamehameha were victorious and moved on to conquer O‘ahu and the rest of the islands.

(Smith Wong 1992:A3)

Samuel Kamakau describes the death procession to ʻĪao valley in Wailuku in 1793 that commenced in Waikapū. A number of ʻili (subdivision) and other important place names were notated in this Waikapū reference.

...Haleki'i in Kukahua. There Kekaulike died, and the sound of lamentation for the dead arose. Then, fearing the arrival of Alapa bent on war, the chiefs cut the flesh from the bones of Kekaulike in order to lighten the load in carrying the body to 'Īao (for burial). Placing the remains on a canoe, they sailed and landed at **Kapoli** in **Mā'alaea** and thence went to **Pu'uhele**, to **Kaluamanu**, to **Waikapū**, to **Wahanemaile (Wahinemaile)**, to **Kaumu'ilio**, to **'Aoakamanu**, to **Pu'uelinapao**, to **Kaumulanahu**, to **Kapōhako'i**, to Kālua, to Kekio, to Kama'auwai, to Kahua, to Ka'ilipoe, to Kalihi, to Kalua'oiki, to Kihahale, stopped at 'Ahuwahine, laid him down at Lo'iloa, and put him away at Kapela. It was in the month of March, 1736 that Kekaulike died (bold letters used to emphasize Waikapū names). (Samuel Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i. 1992)

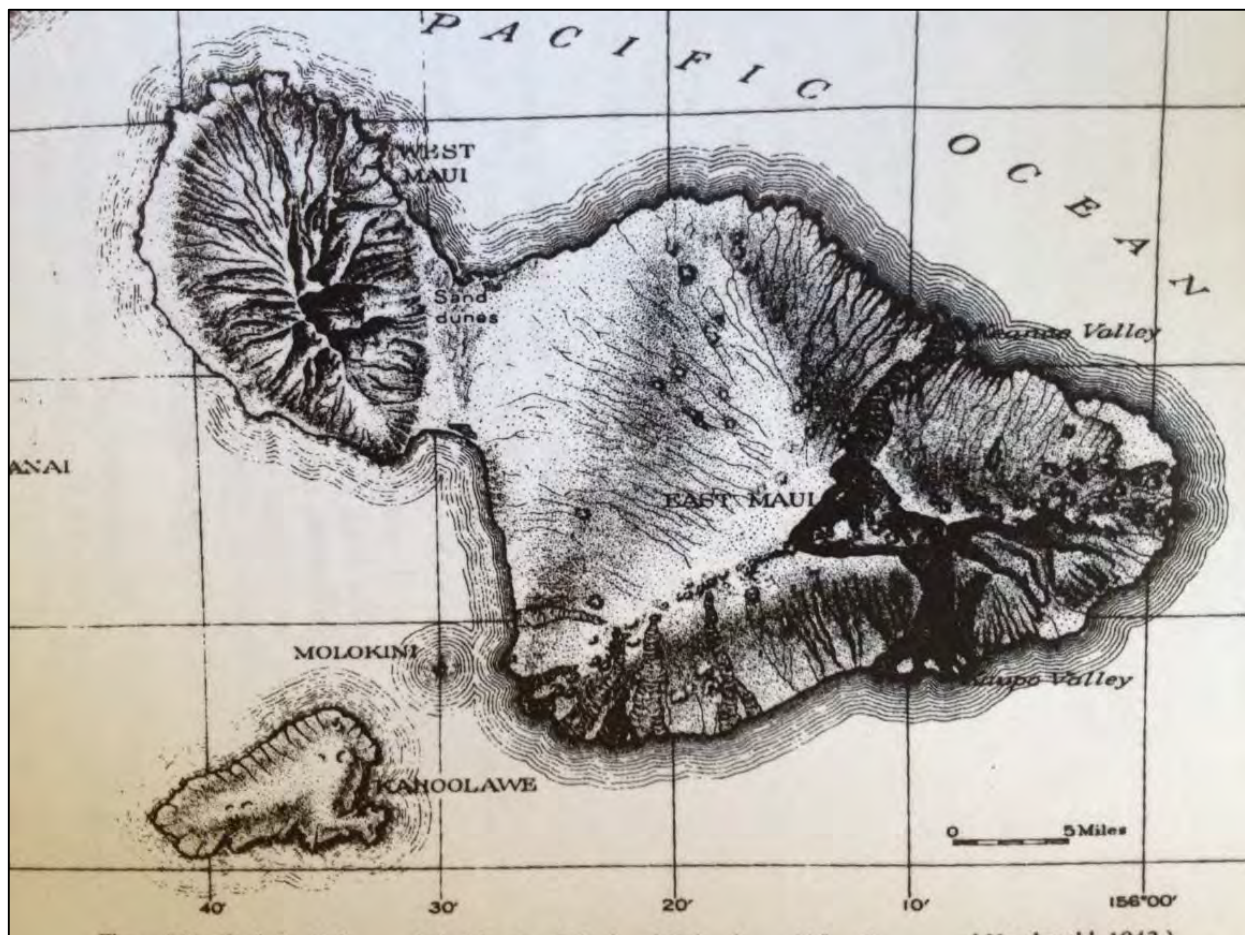


Figure 12. (Map showing Nā Wai 'Ehā sand dune system across the Kama'oma'o Plains (Stearns)

Upwards of the culturally significant cinder cone known as Pu‘uhele, there are four additional cinder cones along the boundary of Waikapū going up towards Hana‘ula Mountain Range; Pu‘uhona, Pu‘ulū‘au, Pu‘umoe, and Pu‘uanu.

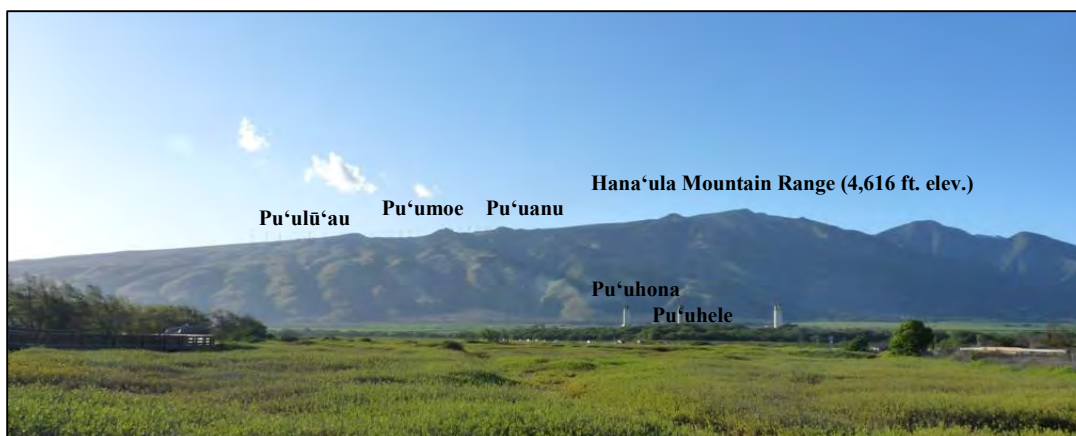


Figure 13. Hana‘ula Mountain Range with associated cinder cones (Hōkūao Pellegrino 2011)

### 6.3 UKA (UPLAND REGION)

The uka or upland section of Waikapū encompasses both the Hana‘ula mountain range (4,616 ft. elev.) located on the south side of Waikapū Valley and the Kapilau mountain range (4,426 ft. elev.) on the north side of Waikapū Valley. Waikapū Valley divides both Hana‘ula and Kapilau. The mountainous and valley area is comprised of the most extensive amount of cultural sites and features in all three regions. There are four gulches with intermittent streams within Hana‘ula; Pōhākea, Ka‘onohua, Pale‘a‘ahu, and ‘Oawakilikā, followed by Waikapū valley and its perennial stream. (see figure 4.)

Cultural resources found within the uka region include house and temporary habitation sites, agricultural sites (both wetland and dryland cultivation), ‘auwai irrigation ditches, heiau, burials, trails, caves, petroglyphs, and stone walls. A number of these cultural sites were claimed by Hawaiians during the Māhele. Majority of all cultural sites are located in and around Waikapū valley and stream and are associated with intensive lo‘i kalo cultivation. It is likely the heiau or ceremonial sites were dedicated to Lono (one of the four main Hawaiian pantheon gods) as a means to increase production and rainfall. The land and soil in Waikapū are rich and fertile. The Waikapū Stream provided a constant source of fresh water that once fed over 1,400 documented lo‘i kalo on and estimated 800 acres of land.

#### 6.3.1 WATERSHED

Within the Waikapū watershed lies an abundance of wai (water). The mean annual rainfall in the upper reaches of Mauna Kāhālawai near Pu‘ukukui (5787 ft. elev.) is close to 354 inches compared to that of Waikapū Town, which has an average of 20 inches (Creed 1993). On the Kama‘oma‘o Isthmus and near the shore of Mā‘alaea, 16 inches of rain falls annually (Creed 1993). The rainfall in March is the wettest period in the mountains where it is, however, always wet; December and January are the wettest months for Waikapū Town. While May to September there is almost no



rainfall. The climate changes radically from desert-like conditions at the shore to the tropical rainforest of the upper valley. Traditional Hawaiian agriculture adapted to such land and water conditions until large-scale introduced plantation agriculture cultivation needed more water than the Waikapū Stream could provide.

The upper regions of the Waikapū watershed had an abundance of endemic and indigenous plants which were utilized for various cultural purposes by Hawaiians of this ahupua‘a. The dryland forested areas were dense with koai‘a (*Acacia koa*), ‘a‘ali‘i (*Dodonaea viscosa*), and alahe‘e (*Psydrax odorata*). All of these tree species would have been used for house construction. The stems of the olonā (*Touchardia latifolia*), a wet forest native plant would have been used for making cordage. Other native plants of importance that were commonly found in the Waikapū watershed was ko‘oko‘olau (*Bidens spp.*) and māmaki (*Pipturus albidus*), used for lā‘au lapa‘au (medicinal purposes). In the low lands of Waikapū, dry gulches, and entrance of Waikapū Valley is wiliwili (*Erythrina sandwicensis*) which was used to make papa he‘e nalu (surfboards).



Figure 14. Dense native koai‘a forest area located near project site in 2010 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)

### 6.3.2 WATER RESOURCES

Waikapū Stream was and continues to be an important cultural resource and part of the cultural landscape. Waikapū Stream flows on average of 3-4 MGD (Million Gallons per Day), which classifies it as a small perennial stream (USGS). It flows continuously above the diversions located in the stream built by the former Wailuku Sugar Company. Thousands of years ago and prior to Hawaiian colonization, Waikapū Stream flowed northeasterly and into Kahului Bay. This flow

created a narrow break in the coral reef which was later used by ships to enter safely into the Kahului harbor in the early 1800's. (Stearns) For at least the last two thousand years, Waikapū Stream has flowed through the plains of Kama'oma'o and into the wetlands of Keālia. Mauka (mountain) to makai (sea) flow allowed Keālia to swell with water and then empty into Mā'alaea Bay. The Waikapū stream was an important resource which allowed Hawaiians of Waikapū to develop an extensive complex of wetland kalo. This enabled them to sustain and grow their community. According to oral accounts and scientific data, Waikapū stream contained native stream life such as the 'o'opu and 'ōpae. (Oki, Wolff, Perreault) Gathering and eating these aquatic species helped feed the pre and post contact populace of Waikapū.

Most references to the water resources of Waikapū, mention that of Waikapū Stream only. The ahupua'a of Waikapū consisted of a very unique watershed in which it received stream flow from both Mauna Kahālāwai and Haleakalā mountain ranges. Perennial and intermittent streams all flowed into the wetlands at Keālia which then flowed out into Mā'alaea Bay through the muliwai (estuary) of Palalau. Waikapū Stream is the only perennial or year round stream in Waikapū. Intermittent streams south of the Waikapū Stream derived from gulches; 'Oawakilikā, Pale'a'ahu, Ka'onohua, and Pōhākea. The intermittent streams originating on Haleakalā were Pulehunui (see section on Keālia). When rain is heavy enough, all streams and gulches will flow and enter Keālia and flow out into Mā'alaea Bay.

Because Waikapū Stream was the only perennial stream, it was the only stream that sustained stream life, such as 'o'opu and 'ōpae. (Oki, Wolff, Perreault) It is not known whether hīhīwai inhabited this stream. At the lower reaches of stream and within Keālia Pond, awa (milkfish) and 'āholehole (mullet) could be found. It was and also is a place which consisted of a great number of native birds such as 'auku'u (night heron), ae'o (stilt), and 'alae ke'oke'o (coot). (U.S. Fish and Wildlife) Wai was a valuable resource in Waikapū which provided a thriving habitat for native stream life, native birds and insects, brackish water fish, limu (seaweed), and reef life.

Waikapū Stream experienced some of the earliest impacts and changes due in part to the establishment of Maui's first sugar plantation; Waikapū Sugar Company, started by James Louzada and Henry Cornwell. Diversions built by Wailuku Sugar Company disrupted the Waikapū Stream and cut off the mauka to makai stream flow to Keālia. Native stream life began to decline and the wetlands of Keālia which depended upon the stream flow started to stagnate and dry up. The only time in which Keālia swells with water is if it rains heavily in that vicinity or torrential rains occurs in the mountainous region where flash flooding occurs and flows over all three major diversions.

Waikapū Stream is currently 100% diverted due to the highest diversion. Water that flows below the diversion enters via a small tributary named Kalena, which flows at a rate of 0.5 mgd. (Oki, Wolff, Perreault) Historically there were many kuleana lands in the vicinity of Kalena. In an interview conducted in 2003, the late Solomon Viela shared a story about the tributary known as Kalena. This name can be found on maps dating as far back as 1888. Solomon Viela talked about his childhood days in the 1930s and 40s and how he spent time in the area of Kalena, where his kūpuna (elders) resided and farmed at that time.





**Figure 15. Waikapū Stream above highest diversion in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**



**Figure 16. Waikapū Stream being cut off at highest diversion in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)**





Figure 17. Kalena Tributary flowing into dry Waikapū Stream below dam diversion in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)



Figure 18. Lowest Waikapū Stream diversion located along Honoapiʻilani Highway in 2012 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)

### 6.3.3 PRE-CONTACT HAWAIIAN AGRICULTURE

The interior portion of the Waikapū watershed allowed for extensive traditional pre-contact ‘auwai (irrigation systems) which irrigated vast amounts of land for kalo cultivation. The Waikapū Stream once flowed mauka to makai (mountain to the sea) through the plains of Kama‘oma‘o, into the



Keālia fishpond / wetland / estuary, and emptied into Mā‘alaea Bay. Hawaiians also utilized the fresh water resources of the Waikapū Stream for lo‘i kalo (wetland taro) cultivation. Ancient ditches called ‘auwai were built to bring a portion of stream water into traditional kuleana farm lands. This network of ‘auwai would allow a percentage of stream water to be diverted, put into irrigated lo‘i kalo terraces, and return to the stream following. Konohiki (land managers), luna wai (water superintendents) and mahi‘ai (farmers) worked together by ensuring water efficiently flowed in and out of lo‘i kalo. The water was then immediately returned to the stream to ensure no negative impact would occur on the stream resources as well as those farms utilizing the water below. A conservative estimate confirms that at the time of the Māhele of 1848, over 1,400 lo‘i kalo were under cultivation throughout the Waikapū ahupua‘a on a total of about 800 acres.

The origin of kalo was and continues to be a fundamental aspect of the Hawaiian culture and the genealogy of the Hawaiian people. At one time, there were over 400 varieties of kalo, however with the decline of kalo cultivation, only 84 traditional heirloom varieties continue to exist. Farming kalo was accomplished utilizing two methods; lo‘i (flooded field / patch) and māla (non-flooded upland garden that received sufficient moisture from rainfall). Both styles produced high yields. In Waikapū, lo‘i kalo was the dominant method of farming due to the once abundant fresh water resources of the Waikapū Stream.

By the early 1900s however, the cultural landscape had increasingly changed due to impacts of the sugar plantation and the amount of water resources used grow this export crop. A visitor to Waikapū in the late 1860s wrote, “the vestiges of extensive wet kalo plantations, are now almost obliterated by sugar-cane cultivation; a few here and there are preserved in plantation camps and under house and garden sites along the roads. The waters of this great stream, now utilized for irrigating a great acreage of sugarcane, was formerly diverted into lo‘i.” The decline of kalo cultivation was prevalent throughout Waikapū and Nā Wai ‘Ehā and elsewhere on Maui. Waikapū no longer was a thriving and self-sufficient ahupua‘a. Sugarcane production in Waikapū used these same ‘auwai systems, cemented them over, and diverted stream water away from kuleana lands and into reservoirs. The plantation system directed water away from the stream rather than the efficient system of agriculture that Hawaiians practiced. Sugarcane cultivation in Waikapū destroyed most of whatever traditional lands and ditches lay within, as plowing and land clearing left no traces of former traditional agricultural use.

In 2013, fewer than 15 lo‘i kalo on a total of 2 acres of kuleana land are in cultivation compared to the 1,400 lo‘i kalo that were under cultivation 160 years ago. The lack of water in the Waikapū stream forced many Hawaiian families to stop cultivating kalo. Many kuleana lands were adverse possessed or purchased for a minimal amount by the sugar plantations in order to gain access to traditional irrigation ditches and fertile lands for the thirsty cash crop. Descendants of the original kuleana farm land owners in Waikapū make up less than 1% of the residences.

Currently, there are ongoing efforts in the Waikapū ahupua‘a to revitalize the water resources of the Waikapū Stream and to restore those remaining kuleana lands with lo‘i kalo. The community members in Waikapū are once again trying to return to a self-sufficient ahupua‘a that it once was.

## **Agriculture**

Waikapū is land bound. The waters of its great stream, now utilized for irrigating a great acreage of sugar cane, formerly was diverted into lo‘i and its overflow was dissipated on the dry plains of the broad isthmus between West and East Maui.  
(E.S.C. Handy, *Hawaiian Planter*: 1930)

Taken altogether in terms of areas cultivated and number of communities, Maui certainly ranked last. In comparison with other islands, it must have had a smaller population. There were two areas, however, in which population was concentrated. One was in “the Four Wai” (streams) – Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, Waihe‘e – the four largest streams and lo‘i areas on windward West Maui, which were contiguous. The other was Lāhainā.  
(E.S.C. Handy, *Hawaiian Planter*: 1930)

Taro terraces - Kahakuloa to Waikapū  
Sweet potato - coastal throughout; lower Wailuku and Waikapū  
Banana - valleys and wet coasts throughout, median forest zones up to 3,000 feet elevation  
Wauke - valleys and damp kula lands in western Maui  
Olonā - median forest zone throughout  
‘Awa – interior wet valleys and lower forest zones throughout  
(E.S.C. Handy, *Hawaiian Planter*: 1930)

This section, with its abundant stream that has cut its canyon deep into western Maui’s second highest range, gives its name to the last of “The Four Streams.” Spreading north and south from the base of Waikapū to a considerable distance below the valley are the vestiges of extensive wet plantations, now almost obliterated by sugar-cane cultivation; a few here and there are preserved in plantation camps and under house and garden sites along the roads. Among these gardens there are a few patches of dry Japanese taro. Far on the North side, just above the main road and at least half a mile below the entrance of the canyon, an extensive truck garden on old terrace ground shows the large area and the distance below and away from the valley that was anciently devolved in terraced taro culture. On the south side there are several sizable kuleana where terraces are now used for truck gardening. In the largest of these are few old patches are flooded and planted with Hawaiian wet taro, and there is some dry Japanese taro. Several terraces are used as ponds planted in lotus for their edible seed. There were probably once a few small terraces on the narrow strips of valley bottom in the lower canyon.  
(E.S.C. Handy, *Hawaiian Planter*: 1930)



Figure 19. 'Auwai system along Waikō Rd. which fed numerous lo'i kalo circa 1900 (Maui Historical Society)

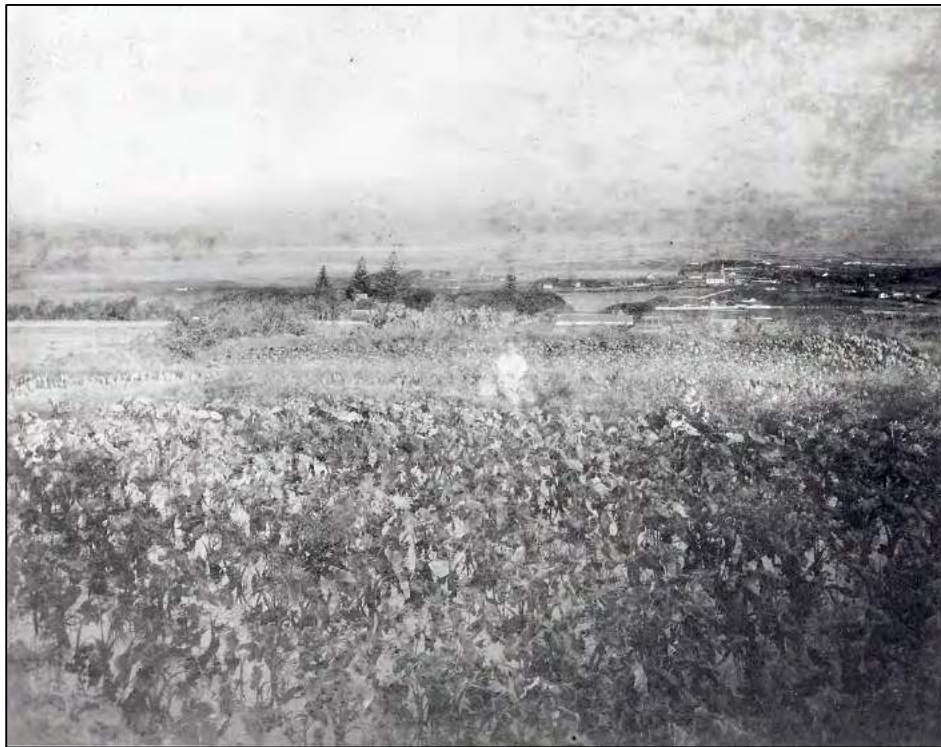


Figure 20. Lo'i kalo above Waikapū Town near edge of Wailuku Heights circa 1890 (Bishop Museum)

### 6.3.4 OTHER CULTURAL SITES OF SIGNIFICANCE

Archaeological records for the Waikapū ahupua‘a provides important data that describes pre-contact settlement patterns and timelines. There has been numerous archaeological surveys conducted as early as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thrum and Stokes were specifically interested in documenting the remains of heiau. Walker’s survey set out to document the everyday types of human endeavors, such as habitations and fishing shrines, as well as clarify and expand the previously recorded data. Handy and Handy described their contemporary (1930s) agricultural systems and describe the information they gathered of the traditional agricultural methods and knowledge. These early records provides us with the only information we have of sites that have since disappeared. Since carbon dating was not available before the 1950s, the earliest record of sites since then has to be compared with what remains to estimate times of origin. Folk and Hammatt, Kennedy, and Brisbin et.al. have conducted recent archaeological studies in Waikapū and although the percentage of total area surveyed for archaeological purposes is probably very slim, a vast and rich distribution of life is shown by what has been found.

#### **Upland Agricultural Field System and Settlement**

Prior to the 1991 establishment of the current King Kamehameha and Kahili Golf located just south of the Waikapū Valley, were remnants of a pre-western contact Hawaiian settlement. It included habitation, heiau, and agricultural sites. Alan Haun (PHRI 1989) registered four sites in his interim Waikapū Partners Golf Course study, and he dates them from the 15<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in one case from the 17<sup>th</sup> century into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Majority of these sites were obliterated due to the construction of the Golf Courses, however some sites still remain and are visible. It is thought that this settlement and associated cultural features may have been utilized prior during the early settlement of the Waikapū Valley. The agricultural system that was analyzed prior to construction was thought to have been one of the largest dryland field system in Nā Wai ‘Ehā. During the Māhele of 1848, there were no claims connected to this area and no accounts of Hawaiians living in that area. It is likely that this area was abandoned when Hawaiians moved further north and into settled in Waikapū Valley where water resources were more readily available for more intensive farming.

Thrum’s study deals exclusively with heiau and he reported the presence of four in Waikapū, two in village area and two at or near the shore but he saw only portions of the larger village one. Neither was carbon dated before it was destroyed by the plantation.

#### **Heiau**

Two heiau were reported as at Waikapu, formerly, one below the road abreast of Thomas Everett’s of large size, and one below the Catholic Church, a small structure working probably in conjunction with the larger one. Portions of the large one was said to be still seen, but the small one was all destroyed. The names of these were forgotten. Unfortunately no evidence was found in confirmation of this report nor anyone who had knowledge thereof. The same relates to an alleged



heiau, each, formerly at Pu‘uhele, at Mā‘alaea, at Kīhei and at Kalepolepo, of small size, and a larger one at Kula‘ihakoko, but no one else seems to have heard of them (Thrum 1909-1918:59)

Since the ahupua‘a of Waikapu has sheltered valley, shoreline, and open country it possibly had all the types of houses Walker describes:

Maui houses were of two types. In the sheltered valleys, where there was abundant vegetation, the houses were built of light pole frames thatched with pili grass. The house was built on a stone pavement to raise it slightly above the level of the damp ground. Matting covered the floor, but in the sites by the shore pebbles and coral were, in general, substituted for the stone paved floor. Only five of these grass houses are still to be seen on Maui, and none of them are inhabited. In the open country exposed to driving wind and rain, houses were built with thick stone walls and only the roofs were of grass (Loc. Cit.:68).

LCA 432 (Sylva) Mahuka testifies in 1847 that on the land there are 2 mud houses and a grass house built by “that person” (Sylva?). So while no grass houses were still in use in 1931 when Walker did his inventory, there were still grass houses in use at the time of the Mahele. Keoni Kewini also notes the presence of a pili grass house on LCA 76.

Waikapū was the southernmost ahupua‘a and was adjacent to the ahupua‘a of Ukumehame in the moku of Lāhainā. Hawaiians that needed to travel in both directions utilized an ancient trail named Kealaloloa. (see figure 3.). It was also known as the Lāhainā Pali Trail.

Lāhainā Pali Trail descends towards the subject property from the heights of the Kealaloa Ridge. This trail “...is an illustration of 19<sup>th</sup> century craftsmanship, which in a sense (given the fact that the trail was built less than 50 years after Western contact) is an extension of traditional Hawaiian craftsmanship adapted to new circumstances”

(Kennedy and Trimble 1992)

Kennedy in 1992 conducted a survey at 1070 to 1100 feet above sea level and saw several caves near the vertical slope across the stream channel which lay to the south. These caves have not been surveyed and there is no record yet encountered of their use.

The pu‘e one (sand dune) system of Waikapū was also extensive. Prior mention describes the sand dune system beginning in the northern most ahupua‘a of Waihe‘e in Nā Wai ‘Ehā and ended just shy of Keālia (see figure 11.). Most of all of the sand dune system has been destroyed. The only remnant portions of the sand dunes in Waikapū is where the current Japanese / Hawaiian cemetery is located on East Waikō Road. There is a reference in Grant 2747 to Eugene Bal in the 1850s that there were ancient Hawaiian burials in that portion of the sand dune.

## 7.0 WAIKAPŪ SUGAR PLANTATION HISTORY

The first accounts of growing sugar cane by foreigners in Waikapū was Antone Catalena in 1823. Reports say that he made an excellent syrup from the cane produced on his land. Waikapū Plantation was founded several years later. It was formed by a series of purchases that began when James Louzada acquired the estate of the late Circuit Court Judge John “Ione” Richardson. The Richardson family were long time Waikapū residents. Apparently the first resident with that name was George Richardson, who was born in Ireland and died in Waikapū in 1835, leaving a Hawaiian widow named Kaneole. Their son or grandson, John Richardson, is named in several places on the Wailuku Sugar Plantation map. His land became available for sale through tragic circumstances, when Richardson committed suicide at age 35 by hanging himself from a tree on his cattle range in Kula. According to an 1860 Pacific Commercial Advertiser article, “He had been laboring for some time under a mental aberration, caused, it is said, by domestic troubles,” This was depression resulting from the death of his wife, Dorcas (Doreka Ilai), in 1857 and their four-year-old daughter Fanny in 1859. The newspaper said Richardson had been a member of the House of Representatives, recently promoted by the king to a seat in the House of Nobles, and was considered “one of the most promising and intelligent of his race.”

James Louzada, a native of New York, had arrived in the Islands in 1834. He acquired Richardson’s estate but was not his first stake in Waikapū land. A copy of a March 15, 1844, deed from Charles Kanaina to Louzada, translated from Native Register, Volume I, page 175, reads as follows:

I hereby give two ‘ili’s of mine at Waikapū, ‘Ao‘aokamanu and Puahinakao, to James Louzada to live on under me, as the natives of Hawai‘i do. If he does wrong under the law, his occupation thereof shall end. Furthermore I shall have the Thursdays and the Fridays [tax days] of the land, and he shall be responsible to me. Furthermore he shall give the tribute to the tax collector, as formerly paid by these lands. Furthermore, e like nō me ka lā me ‘ai kahiko (the ancient ways of the land shall be followed) Furthermore if it comes to us that he petitions as a foreigner (does not follow Hawaiian custom) then his occupation of the land shall cease. Furthermore if the lunas object to this grant of land, then it shall cease and the land be returned to me.

In a column by Mrs. D.P. Penhallow titled “Waikapū, Maui: a Sketch” in the February 3, 1926, Maui News provides more details about the evolution of the Waikapū Sugar Plantation.

As with much of early Hawaiian history, so it is with Waikapū. Definite dates of events are hard to fix and the sequence of them not always clear, but as Waikapū was first in this section of Maui in war so, evidently, was it the first to produce sugar and cattle. A Spaniard named Antone Catalina made cane syrup at Waikapū in 1823, which was apparently the beginning of the sugar industry in the Wailuku District. James Louzada came over from Waimea, Hawai‘i, a number of years later, established a cattle business, opened a store and began cultivating cane on a large scale. The date is not definite but he erected a stone mill with oxen for motive power on the premises known as Halepālalahala at the entrance to Waikapū Valley, located

on its northern slope. It is reputed that Louzada's Hawaiian wife, Kapu, lost an arm while tending the mill.

Following this mill a steam driven one was erected in 1862 near the present road to Lāhainā, just north of the stream crossing . . . the store referred to was the first in the district, people going from Wailuku to make purchases there. The store building was located on the lower corner of the Pia Cockett premises and remained as a landmark until a few years ago. The cattle industry flourished and also, many fine horses were produced, horseracing being a feature of Waikapū for years. . . . Aside from its commercial aspect, there was much of romantic interest attached to Waikapū. Kalākaua spent some of his leisure time with the Cornwells, who kept open house, and it has been featured in song and story. Its romance was of the past, which belonged to its day and age. Of this there are but slight reminders evident only to those who can picture it as it was.

(February 3, 1926, Maui News)

James Louzada's acquisition of additional land in 1862 apparently was unplanned, simply a response to a promising opportunity.

Mr. James Louzada, happening to be in the vicinity, heard that there was to be an auction sale of the estate of the late John Richardson, and attracted by curiosity attended it. A good frame house and lot was put up for sale, but nobody wanted it. Seven hundred dollars only were bid, and Mr. L. thinking it a safe investment, took it at a few dollars over that sum, and for a few hundreds also purchased the taro lands belonging to the estate. Thus, without any intention of buying when he went to the sale, he found himself possessed, for the paltry sum of \$1,200, of a good dwelling house and some of the finest cane land on the island. He was not long in finding out that he had located over a mine destined to be as productive as a gold mine, nor in making his plans for the future. Associating himself with his brother-in-law, Henry Cornwell, Esq. [married to Louzada's sister Adelia], formerly of this city [Honolulu], he set to work to erect a mill and commence the manufacture of sugar, the natives and foreigners in the village promising to plant cane on their own lands. Two years have passed since the lucky purchase of this property occurred, and already he has sent to market some 400,000 pounds of sugar, worth perhaps \$25,000, though his mill has been in operation only about eight months.

(April 9, 1864, Pacific Commercial Advertiser)

It was further expressed that a great deal of change in the village of Waikapū occurred since "we last rode past it" four years ago, when "there was nothing here to attract a stranger--a few thatch houses with one or two frame buildings, scattered among taro patches were all that one would notice in passing. Now a tall chimney attracts for miles the eye of the traveler and the dark smoke, growing up in clouds from its top, tells plainly of the industry, capital and enterprise that center here." The visit to the mill was further explained:

Mr. Cornwell and his son William, who were hard at work turning cane juice into gold. The mill consists of a large building in the form of an L, on a hill slope, which facilitates the work very much. The machine is driven by a 36 horse engine, built by Mr. Henry Hughes of this city, who also constructed all the machinery used on this plantation. Everything about the mill is of Hawaiian manufacture, which can be said of but a few sugar manufacturers on the islands. The capacity of the mill is about four thousand pounds of sugar per day, though, by working nights, which is sometimes done, five thousand pounds can be got off. To obtain this product, Messrs. Louzada and Cornwell employ about seventy field and mill laborers, of whom forty are females, who are engaged on account of the scarcity of men. . . .The land at Waikapū consisting of a gentle slope from the base of the mountain to the road, irrigated by the Waikapū river, is admirably adapted to sugar culture, producing, when well cared for, very heavy crops. The extent of land suitable for cane is limited only by the amount of water obtainable for irrigation. The proprietors of the mill have purchased land largely since they began operations and have now some 200 acres. They purchase cane from the natives, paying generally about one hundred dollars an acre for the standing crop, taking it off at their own expense. The sugar boiling department is under the charge of Wm. Cornwell, who possesses all the activity, industry and perseverance of his father and uncle. The high reputation of the sugar made at this mill is the best recommendation that a sugar-boiler can wish.

About a mile back from the mill, and on an elevation overlooking the whole country, stands the house of the late Mr. Richardson, the sale of which we have already referred to, now occupied by Mr. Cornwell and his family. It has been much improved, by additions, and forms one of the pleasantest residences we have ever seen. From its front veranda, a most beautiful scene is had--the village and mill buildings, the plain, Kahului Bay on the left, Kalepolepo Bay at the right, and the whole of Mt. Haleakalā, with its villages on its side--are all in view. Were we to select a site for a country home, it would be this charming spot in Waikapū, and we congratulate Mr. and Mrs. C. and their family on possessing so healthy and delightful a home, where in and around the dwelling every comfort and luxury is provided. The traveler, who enjoys, as did we, the pleasure of a short sojourn here, and an acquaintance with those who show such refinement and taste, and who welcome visitors with such cordial hospitality, will leave their pleasant home with many regrets. Such residences and such homes we trust will spring up in every district.

What a change has taken place in Waikapū within two years! Where were a few taro patches, half cultivated by Lazaroni, a village has sprung up, with its sugar mill and buildings, its waving cane fields and busy laborers, scattering industry, thrift and contentment everywhere. Here where a few hundred dollars worth of taro were formerly raised, forty thousand dollars' worth of sugar may now annually be made and sent to market.



A planter's life, however, is no playspell. Messrs Louzada and Cornwell and everyone else engaged on the estate work hard--up early in the morning, and late at night, they earn every dollar they receive. Although the first outlay in commencing a plantation is heavy--and few estates are set in operation with less than forty or fifty thousand, and from that to one hundred thousand dollars--yet when once completed, the income promises to be large, and on most plantations will amount to at least twenty-five per cent on the investment, when well managed. This estate, thus far, has cost its proprietors nearly fifty thousand dollars and it is safe to say that it will produce annually at least forty thousand dollars, at present prices of sugar."

(April 9, 1864, Pacific Commercial Advertiser)



Figure 21. Early Waikapū Map showing Waikapū Sugar Mill (DLNR Survey Office)

## 7.1 SUGAR PLANTATION AGRICULTURE HISTORY

Specified below is a detailed timeline of the establishment of the Waikapū Sugar Company, its evolutions and final demise.

- 1823** Cane syrup and molasses was made by a Spaniard named Antone Catalena.
- 1828** Small wooden mill worked by oxen was established by Antonio Silva.
- 1847** Coffee was planted for the first time in Waikapū.
- 1848** Great Māhele Land Division was imposed by King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli). Foreigners and Hawaiians for the first time were allowed to own land that they were cultivating and living on.
- 1857** Henry Cornwell and family from Long Island New York arrived in Hawai‘i.
- 1860** James Louzada originally from New York City moved from Waimea, Hawai‘i to Waikapū, Maui and began cultivating sugarcane on a larger scale. He erected a stone mill with oxen for motive power on an ‘ili (subdivision) named Halepālahalaha, situated near the entrance of the Waikapū Valley. It was reputed that Louzada’s Hawaiian wife Kapu, lost an arm while tending the mill.
- 1862** Waikapū Plantation is formally started by James Louzada and his brother-in-law, Henry Cornwell. They purchased 1,000 acres from the late John Richardson for \$1,200. One of the first steam-driven mills in Hawai‘i was erected at the plantation by Honolulu foundry James Hughes. William H. Cornwell (16), son of Henry Cornwell also became interested in the sugar business. Waikapū plantation changed ownership a number of times. The Macfarlanes became interested and eventually formed a corporation. It later passed into the control of Wailuku Sugar Company in 1894.
- 1862** Wailuku Sugar Company was established by James Robinson & Co., Thomas Cumming, J, Fuller and C. Brewer & Co.
- 1863** Waikapū Plantation sent its first sugar (200 tons) to market. It was worth \$25,000.
- 1864** About 200 acres of land were cultivated in sugarcane. The Waikapū Sugar Plantation also purchased sugarcane from native kuleana lands at \$100.00 per acre. The land suitable for irrigating sugarcane was limited by the amount of water available in the Waikapū Stream.
- 1866** Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) arrived in Waikapū and stayed with the Cornwell Family.
- 1868** Henry Cornwell cultivated 300 acres of sugarcane out of his 1,000 acres of good agricultural land. Water used in irrigation was not sufficient to assure cultivation of more than 300 acres at a time profitably. Yields averaged four to five tons of sugar per acre.



Figure 22. William H. Cornwell

**1877** Waikapū Plantation owned by Henry Cornwell was sold on February 24<sup>th</sup> for \$175,000, with the original proprietor retaining an interest. The purchasers were William H. Cornwell (son) and George W. MacFarlane. Waikapū Plantation was capable of producing 1,000 tons annually. If more water was brought in to these lands, 2,000 tons of sugar could be produced.

**1878** Claus Spreckels who arrived in Hawai‘i in 1876 from California paid Henry Cornwell \$20,000 for an undivided half interest in the Waikapū Commons Lands. It totaled roughly 16,000 acres. At about the same time, Spreckels leased from the Hawaiian Kingdom the adjacent Wailuku Common Lands, for 30 years, at \$1,000 per year. This area was about 24,000 acres all together. Both land and water rights were also involved.

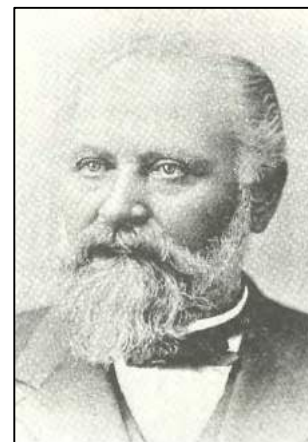


Figure 23. Claus Spreckels

**1878** Ha‘ikū Ditch was complete and led to other large and important ditch projects in various parts of the islands. The most important of which was that of HC&S Co. for the irrigation of their large projected sugar plantation upon the Waikapū Common, Maui.

**1879** The co-partnership that existed between the undersigned and known as Waikapū Sugar Plantation Company was dissolved by mutual consent, and it was continued by W. H. Cornwell and George W. MacFarlane under the firm name of Cornwell & Company (H. Cornwell, W. H. Cornwell and G. W. MacFarlane).

**1880** Waikapū Proprietors, W. H. Cornwell & G. W. Macfarlane owned 20,000 acres. 600 acres were under cultivation and suitable for sugar planting, provided that artesian wells proved to be a success on Maui, which it was confidently expected to be the case. Manager W. H. Cornwell Jr., Agents, G. W. Macfarlane & Co., estimated yields for the season at 900 tons. The capacity of the mill was 8 tons. There were 130 men employed and 200 yoke of oxen. The plantation was believed to be one of the richest and most valuable in the Hawaiian Islands.

**1881** First outer island artesian well was drilled at Waikapū Plantation by McCandless Brothers.

**1882** HC&S Co. established a new plantation on the Waikapū / Wailuku Common Lands. Claus Spreckels obtained outright title to the Waikapū Common lands.

**1889** Waikapū Plantation produced 900 tons of sugar.

**1889** “Spreckels Buys Waikapū Plantation.” The sale of the half interest in the Waikapū Plantation, owned by Major W. H. Cornwell, was purchased by Col. Claus Spreckels. It was reported that the figure for the half interest was about \$120,000. The remaining half was held by G. W. MacFarlane and Company, and was probably purchased by the same party. Major Cornwell continued to be the manager. Waikapū was an incorporated company, 2,500 shares at \$100.00 each. The crop for the current year was about 1,000 tons. The purchase of the plantation, by capitalist Col. Spreckels, indicated that he had a firm faith in Hawaiian sugar property, and that the proposed changes in the American tariff would not ruin sugar planters.

- 1890** The sale of the one-half interest in Waikapū Plantation was made by George W. MacFarlane to Col. Claus Spreckels, the latter having previously purchased the other half from the Cornwell Estate in July.
- 1891** Waikapū Plantation produced 1,000 tons of sugar.
- 1892** A lawsuit regarding cane grown on land known as Waikapū Commons was instituted by Col. Claus Spreckels of HC&S Company. The defendant in the case was Col. George W. MacFarlane of Waikapū.
- 1893** Waikapū Plantation produced 534 tons of sugar.
- 1894** Wailuku Sugar Company purchased Waikapū Sugar Company in February. The purchase included 2,500 shares at \$42.00 per share. It was difficult to bring cane from Waikapū to the Wailuku mill, therefore Manager Charles B. Wells was authorized by the board of directors to make the best terms possible with HC&S Co. to grind the Waikapū cane.
- 1894** Waikapū Plantation produced 786 tons of sugar.
- 1895** The first crop of the combined Wailuku, Waihe‘e and Waikapū plantation produced 4,939 tons of sugar.
- 1895** Wailuku Sugar Company completed a survey for a railroad line to Waikapū. This line would be 20,800 feet in length. Claus Spreckels gave Wailuku Sugar Company a warranty deed for the rights-of-way it needed for a railroad line toward both Waihe‘e and Waikapū for \$600. Wailuku Sugar Company considered the purchase of W.H. Cornwell lands in Waikapū, known as the ‘ili of “Aikanaha”.
- 1901** The Wailuku Sugar Company directors offered HC&S Co. 5/12 of Waihe‘e Ditch water (6. p.m. to 4 a.m.), in exchange for all of their lands at Waikapū, Mā‘alaea and Wailuku in July. HC&S Co. was to pay 5/12 of the expense of maintaining the new ditch.
- 1904** James W. Taylor, civil engineer for Wailuku Sugar Company, arrived to superintend the construction of a large ditch (Waihe‘e Ditch) from the head of Waihe‘e Valley to the Waikapū lands in September.
- 1905** Construction of the Waihe‘e Ditch commenced; this was the direct result of an agreement to exchange land and water rights between the Wailuku Sugar Company. The final settlement, after years of litigation, was the following division of the water: 7/12 to Wailuku Sugar Co. and 5/12 to HC&S Co. James Taylor made the survey for the Waihe‘e Ditch which cost \$160,000 and delivered 50 million gallons of water per day.
- 1907** On May 15, the new Waihe‘e Ditch was opened. It was witnessed by representatives of Wailuku Sugar Company and HC&S Company, citizens of Wailuku and neighboring towns and the first party of Congressmen from Washington, who were visiting the islands.
- 1907** Wailuku Sugar Plantation worked on the tunnels and ditches in development of the water supply for its fields, from ‘Īao and Waikapū Valleys.
- 1910** New plantation cottages were built and the spur track at Waikapū was extended another half mile.
- 1912** Wailuku Sugar Company directors voted to purchase 9,995 shares in the Waikapū Agricultural Company, Ltd. which represented an investment of about \$50,000.



- 1914** The lower branch railroad line at Waikapū was extended 1,800 feet.
- 1915** Kona storm hit the plantation from Waikapū to Waihe‘e.
- 1916** Severe storm struck Maui in January; 30 inches of rain fell and severely affected the Wailuku Sugar Company.
- 1916** Wailuku Sugar Company board of directors voted for an option to extend the present lease of the lands of the Waikapū Agricultural Company, and that Wailuku Sugar Company dispose of up to 51% of the stock it owned in the Waikapū Agricultural Company.
- 1918** “Storm Brings Down Old Waikapū Smokestack” The old smokestack which marked the site of the original Waikapū sugar mill, and for many years was a conspicuous and picturesque landmark, topped over in a Kona gale storm on Monday night (Nov. 18<sup>th</sup>). The mill was one of the first sugar mills on Maui and had a capacity of 40 tons of sugar per year. The Waikapū plantation by that time was part of the Wailuku Sugar Co. holdings.
- 1919** Two new dispensaries were built, one at Waikapū and the other at Waihe‘e.
- 1919** The main camp at Waikapū was enlarged by bringing in six houses from Pu‘uhele Camp.
- 1921** 2,365 feet of the upper Waikapū Ditch was lined with Armco Iron flume to overcome excessive seepage losses in the ditch.
- 1921** Wailuku Sugar Company directors approved in August the purchase of 5,100 shares of the capital stock of Waikapū Agricultural Company, Ltd., which was held by various outside owners, at \$10.00 per share. On September 1<sup>st</sup>, the Waikapū Agricultural Company was sold to Wailuku Sugar Company.
- 1933** A new intake was constructed for the Everett Ditch on the north side of Waikapū Valley.
- 1934** An agreement between Wailuku Sugar Company & HC&S Co., permitted the transportation of excess water to Waikapū reservoirs for night storage.



Figure 24. W.S.Co. workers fluming cane by Reservoir #1 in 1940 (W.S.Co.)

**1947** Wailuku Sugar Co. ceases its use of railroads, replaces saddle horses with pickup trucks, and began selling its plantation homes.

**1949** Wailuku Sugar Plantation Co. Directors visit Waikapū

**1955** The old Waikapū stable area was subdivided for house lots.

**1959** Sugar beet plants were grown in experimental plots at Waikapū.

**1972** Everett Ditch was abandoned due to a landslide which buried the intake

**1984** Wailuku Sugar Company dissolves and becomes Wailuku Agribusiness Co. (subsidiary of C. Brewer) and starts planting pineapple and macadamia trees.

**1988** Wailuku Agribusiness Co. harvested last sugar cane.

**1990** Wailuku Agribusiness begins liquidating portions of Waikapū lands to HC&S for further sugarcane production and large developers.

**2005** Wailuku Agribusiness Co. becomes Wailuku Water Company and started selling water that was diverted from plantation ditch systems in Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, and Waihe'e Streams (Nā Wai 'Ehā)

**2005** Earthjustice and OHA on behalf of Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā and Maui Tomorrow petitioned Hawai'i State Water Commission to return diverted Nā Wai 'Ehā Stream water back into the streams since Wailuku Water Company was no longer using the water for sugarcane, pineapple, or macadamia trees.

**2007** Nā Wai 'Ehā Contested Water Rights Case begins on Maui.



**Figure 25. W.S. Co. Board of Dir. visit Waikapū in 1949 (W.S.Co.)**



**Figure 26. Preparing Waikapū Subdivision for house lots in 1955 (W.S.Co)**

- 2008** The Hawai‘i State Water Commission unanimously designates Nā Wai ‘Ehā Streams a Water Management Area. Wailuku Water Company seeks status as a public utility co. under the PUC and was later denied.
- 2009** Contested Case Hearing Officer proposed specific amounts of water to be returned to the streams or Interim In-stream Flow Standards (IIFS). Waihe‘e (10 mgd), Waiehu (3.5 mgd), Wailuku/‘Īao (13 mgd), and Waikapū (4 mgd).
- 2010** Water Commission makes final decision and rejects Contested Case Hearing Officer’s proposed Interim In-stream Flow Standards (IIFS) leaving two out of four streams dry. Restored stream flow amounts were Waihe‘e (10 mgd), Waiehu (2.5 mgd), Wailuku/‘Īao (0 mgd), Waikapū (0 mgd).
- 2011** Hui o Nā Wai ‘Ehā and Maui Tomorrow appeal final decision and requests restoration of all four streams.
- 2012** Hawai‘i Supreme Court hears case and finds that the Hawai‘i State Water Commission, Wailuku Water Company and HC&S failed to protect the rights of kuleana lands and Native Hawaiians who utilize stream water for traditional farming as well as protecting native stream life. The Hawai‘i Supreme Court asks Hawai‘i State Water Commission to vacate their decision and to revisit the case.



**Figure 27. Waikapū Sugar Company with Waikapū Valley in the background circa 1890 (Bishop Museum)**



## 8.0 WAIKAPŪ TOWN AND COMMUNITY

In the early 1900s, besides Waikapū being the home to one of the earliest sugar plantations, the town grew substantially. This was due to early plantation camps such as Kimura, Pu‘uhele, Hyashi, Japanese and Filipino Camps. There were two open air theatres in Waikapū, both being near the old Furokawa and Sakamoto Store. A famous horse race track was situated where the current Waikapū Garden subdivision is. In the ‘ili of Kuaiwa towards the top of West Waikō Road, was the old Ah Fat Chinese Store, known for good coffee and ‘ono saloon pilot crackers. Along the old Waikapū Government Road was the Waikapū Protestant Church built in 1866 and Waikapū Elementary School established in the 1890s. The Protestant Church along the Old Waikapū Government Road was turned into a hospital facility during World War II. Near the end of the old Waikapū Government Road was an ancient boundary site, marked by a large hoana (grinding stone). A Mormon Church was located on the old Keanini-Enos kuleana land of Noho‘ana. The Rogers family who were also long time Waikapū kama‘āina raised cattle, pigs, chickens and built a slaughter house near the Waikapū Stream in the ‘ili of Kuaiwa and Pilipili.

At the top of West Waikō Road was the former Cornwell Estate which King Kalākaua would frequent during his visits in the 1800s. He rested there and at times gambled too. Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) also paid a visit to the Cornwell family in Waikapū in the mid 1800s and fell in love with the quaint village lifestyle. The Vida ‘ohana are long time Waikapū residents who descend from the Shaw and Cockett family genealogy. They have perpetuated a very important cultural practice of raising pigs. Maui’s first airport was built in 1929 near the coast of Mā‘alaea but later condemned in 1938 because of its unsafe conditions. The present Maui Electric Company plant in Mā‘alaea is situated on the old airport.

Today in 2013, the cultural and natural landscape has dramatically changed in Waikapū. The thriving fishing village at Mā‘alaea has now turned into a harbor, condominiums, and a shopping and recreational center. The once flourishing Kapoli Spring has been covered over by a public restroom. Keālia Wetlands do not swell with the water from the once flowing streams of Mauna Kahālāwai and Haleakalā. The 65 ft. cinder cone famously known as Pu‘uhele has been excavated and scattered throughout Maui. It is now used as a dumping ground for construction waste. Majority of the sand dunes have been plowed under for sugarcane cultivation or built upon for development. Sugarcane still grows throughout the Waikapū ahupua‘a utilizing a large portion of the fresh water resources from Waikapū Stream. The prominent lo‘i kalo complexes that



Figure 28. Ancient Waikapū ‘auwai restoration in 2004 (Hōkūao Pellegrino)

once dominated the Waikapū landscape are now fragmented in and around housing developments and commercial agricultural ventures.

Efforts are being made by the Waikapū Community Association members and residents to perpetuate the rich cultural history of Waikapū. It is an active community group that are trying to bridge the country lifestyle with the many newcomers who are calling Waikapū home, in an effort to continue the cultural and historical identity of this ahupua‘a.

## 9.0 TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN USES AND PRACTICES IN PROJECT AREA

The proposed Waikapū Country Town Development is situated in the ‘ili (subdivisions) known as ‘Aikanahā, Kaumu‘ilio, Luapueo, Ko‘olau, Kaloapelu, ‘Āhuakōlea, Ka‘ōpala, Ka‘alaea, Kama‘uhāli‘i, Pikokū, ‘Ōlohe, Waihalulu, Kama‘ūhāli‘i. It is known that these lands were being utilized by Hawaiians prior to Western contact and settlement in Waikapū – TMK (2) 3-6-05:007 por., (2) 3-6-005-007, (2) 3-6-04:006, (2) 3-6-04:003. One pre-contact account of this area is that of the burial procession of King Kekaulike in the mid 1700s. The ‘ili of Kaumu‘ilio was specifically referenced during that procession.

The most noted accounts of the lands within the project area came during the Māhele of 1848 kuleana claims. Because these lands were situated adjacent to the Waikapū Stream, numerous habitation and agricultural sites were established. According to the Indices of Māhele Awards in this area of Waikapū, there were a total of 74 ‘āpana (parcels) of lands claimed. In these claims made by Hawaiians and a few non-Hawaiians, the overall use of these lands were for cultivation of wetland and dryland kalo. Almost every Native and Foreign Testimony, provided evidence that these lands were used for some form of agriculture. (see specific parcel details in the Index of Māhele Lands Awarded in Project Area) Many of these lands also included ‘auwai or irrigation ditches, which were used to feed their lo‘i kalo and other crops. The Waikapū Stream was the main source of fresh water for these lands. House sites were also claimed in numerous parcels which would indicate that many Hawaiian families resided near or at their farm. Two known burial grounds were specified in two separate land claims on lands owned by the developer of this project, however they are outside of the project region.

The surrounding area of Waikapū contained land claims and uses similar to that of the project region. This included over 100 land claims. There were heiau or ceremonial sites probably associated with agriculture in a few of the adjacent lands. Unfortunately, many of them have been destroyed and/or there is little or no information about them. It is likely that those that lived within the project area prior to western contact did utilize them for religious purposes.

Further detail on each of the land claims made during the Māhele within the project area can be found within the Index of Māhele Lands Awards.



Figure 29. Ancient lo‘i kalo situated within the ‘ili of Noho‘ana directly across project area (Hōkūao Pellegrino)

## 10.0 CURRENT USES AND TRADITIONAL PRACTICES IN PROJECT AREA

The Waikapū Sugar Company and successors, Wailuku Sugar Company, HC&S, Maui Land & Pine, Wailuku Agribusiness and Wailuku Water Company have drastically impacted the cultural landscape of the project area for well over 150 years. Almost every Māhele claim awarded in the project area and their traditional uses has been obliterated by sugarcane and pineapple cultivation. The only remaining intact Māhele kuleana lands on this parcel of land are those found along the Waikapū Stream, and one such parcel of land is being utilized in its traditional form which is the upper most kuleana parcel awarded to Kupalii (LCA 3546). It is currently being leased and managed by Hui Mālama o Waikapū where a few of the lo‘i kalo have been restored as well as a native dryland koai‘a forest. Other lands adjacent to the project area are also being revitalized and used as they once were during the Māhele. These kuleana lands are inhabited and cultivated by Eassie Miller Jr. and ‘ohana, Kauihou-Crabbe ‘ohana, Alves ‘ohana and Smythe ‘ohana. These adjacent project land owners are continuing to practice their traditional and customary rights by accessing kuleana water via ‘auwai, cultivate lo‘i kalo and maintaining cultural sites such as family cemeteries. Directly across the Waikapū Stream and in close proximity to project area are the Riyu, Pellegrino, Soong, Dickson, Roger and Harders ‘Ohana, whome also practice their traditional and customary rights by accessing kuleana water via ‘auwai, cultivating lo‘i kalo and other traditional crops for cultural practices.

The Waikapū Stream is an important culture resource that plays an important role in the current traditional practices of this area. During the interview process, both Eassie Miller Jr. and Wally Rogers mention gathering ‘o‘opu and ‘opae which are both native aquatic species from the Waikapū Stream. Because of the current diversions and lack of mauka to makai connectivity, this cultural resource has drastically diminished and Waikapū residents are no longer able to gather from the stream to sustain their families anymore. The water that does flow in the stream is minimal and is has a great impact on the traditional and customary practices of lo‘i kalo and other crop cultivation for subsistence purposes.

Waikapū Valley is another cultural resource which is used for traditional gathering of lā‘au lapa‘au or medicinal plants as well as native plant and tree seeds used for propagation by Hui Mālama o Waikapū and other kama‘āina of Waikapū. Traditional varieties of kalo and mai‘a (banana) grow in areas throughout the valley and families still gather them as a food source. Olonā (*Touchardia latifolia*) is an endemic plant highly prized for preparing traditional fiber material. Members of Hui Mālama o Waikapū have consistently gathered material over 20 years for making cordage.

The kuleana lands that were claimed in the project area were impacted by plantation at a very early period of time, therefore many kama‘āina of Waikapū have no recollection of specific traditional practices other than sugarcane cultivation and cattle grazing in the project area. There are however 3 kuleana lands still owned by descendants of the original claimant Ehunui (L.C.A. 2499 and Grant 1513) found within the project area. Although they were utilized for commercial sugarcane and pineapple production, the lands may possibly be in jeopardy or directly impacted by the development.



Hawaiian informants that were interviewed for this project remembered cultural practices on kuleana lands being cultivated around the project area but no accounts of traditional practices on the land actually being proposed for development. For this specific reason, one must rely on the historical accounts made within the Māhele claims to gain a better understanding of traditional and uses and practices of these lands.

## **11.0 ORAL INTERVIEWS**

Ethnographic interviews and field visits were conducted with knowledgeable individuals. Those interviewees that had participated in the study were either born and raised in Waikapū, is a current land owner in Waikapū, and/or has extensive knowledge of the ahupua‘a and cultural resources of this area. Additionally, these oral interviews reflect the recollections of many native Hawaiian families with generational links to the ahupua‘a of Waikapū. Individuals completely understood that conducting the interviews was for the purpose of completing a Cultural Impact Assessment for the Waikapū Country Town Development.

Interviews were conducted, in order to demonstrate who, where and how traditional cultural practices are taking place in and around the specific project area. These interviews are an integral component of a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA). The methods used follow the Office of Environment Quality Control guidelines for assessing cultural impacts. The purpose of the CIA is to identify traditional cultural practices which could potentially be compromised by proposed development projects, and to comply with the Hawai‘i State Department of Health Act 50.

The CIA guidelines state that project properties as well as surrounding property areas, shall be studied to determine the potential for significant and/or adverse effects on cultural practices of the community and State from the proposed construction or development. Furthermore, these guidelines also recommend personal interviews be conducted with knowledgeable informants and traditional cultural practitioners, concerning the cultural practices identified for the area.

On April 26<sup>th</sup> 2000, Governor Ben Cayetano signed Act 50 into law. The following CIA investigations are intended to satisfy Act 50, which has the stated purpose to:

- (1) Require that environmental impact statements include the disclosure of the effects of a proposed action on the cultural practices of the community and State; and (2) Amend the definition of “significant effect” to include adverse effects on cultural practices.

In order to perform the CIA/CIS investigation, attempts were made to contact various individuals that were knowledgeable of the Waikapū ahupua‘a and project area specifically. Many ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) terms are used throughout the report. The depth of the Hawaiian language is such that, often, much is lost in translation to English. In order to understand the depth and breadth of the Hawaiian language, many terms were left in their Hawaiian form, translated and placed in parentheses.

### 11.1 Faith Fukuko Epp (Mother) & Dawn Pualani Naomi Mahi (Daughter)

**Biographical Overview:** Faith Fukuko Epp and Dawn Pualani Naomi Mahi have genealogical ties to Waikapū on their paternal side of the family through their father and grandfather Joseph Puleloa. The great grandfather of Joseph Puleloa (deceased) was Ehunui who received two kuleana parcels of land in the Māhele of 1848 (LCAw: 2499, R.P. 4070 AP 1 &2) and Grant 1513. Although, both were born and raised on the island of O‘ahu, they currently own the two kuleana parcels of land in Waikapū, Maui which are situated within the boundaries of Waikapū Properties LLC. These lands are currently TMK: (2) 3-6-05:009 (0.06 acres) and TMK: (2) 3-6-05:010 (0.5 acres).

HP: What is your full name?

FE & DM: Faith Fukuko Epp and Dawn Pualani Naomi Mahi

HP: When were you both born?

FE & DM: I was born on December 21, 1959 (Faith Epp) and I was born on November 22, 1980 (Dawn Mahi).

HP: Where were you born?

FE & DM: We were both born in Honolulu, O‘ahu.

HP: What ethnic background are you?

FE: I am Japanese and Hawaiian

DM: I am Japanese, Latino and Hawaiian

HP: Where were your parents born?

FE: Waikapū, Maui and Pepe‘e keo, Big Island

DM: Honolulu and Los Angeles, California

HP: Do you have any siblings? Where were they born?

FE: I have 1 brother and he was born in Honolulu.

DM: I have 1 half sister and she was born Honolulu.

HP: What language did your parents and grandparents speak?

FE: My dad spoke Hawaiian, Japanese and English; Mom spoke Japanese and English

DM: My Mom spoke Japanese and speaks English, Dad speaks Spanish and English

HP: Do you currently live in Waikapū or have you lived in Waikapū before? If so, beginning in what year to what year?

FE & DM: No.

HP: Do you have a genealogical connection to Waikapū? If so, how and through whom?

FE: Yes, my father Elijah (Dawn's grandfather) was born in Waikapū. He was full Hawaiian. His mother Ka'ailā'au was born on the land as well and was given land there from Mahi, her father. I am adopted, however, there are other descendants of this genealogical line through my father's brother.

HP: What part of Waikapū were you and/or your family raised in? (Waikō Road, Plantation camps, near Honoapi'ilani highway, Waikapū Valley, etc..)

FE: My father Elijah was born and raised where there is currently an empty field ma uka of the Maui Tropical Plantation, close to the Waikapū stream.

HP: Did your parents, grandparents, relatives tell you any stories about Waikapū?

FE: Not many stories except for some family stories that don't relate to the 'āina.

HP: What were some important landmarks that you remember in Waikapū (stores, churches, cemeteries, schools, plantation camps, sugar mills, heiau, farms, houses, etc...)?

FE & DM: We are pretty sure that Elijah our father/grandfather, was Mormon and attended the Mormon church that used to be in Waikapū across the Waikapū Stream from the project area.

HP: What are the names of some family members that grew up around the area that you lived?

FE: Elijah Kaleikauikawekiu Mahi (Kaulei), his parents were Emily Ka'ailā'au Mahi from Waikapū and Lui Kaulei from Hāna.

HP: Do you still have family living in Waikapū. If so, who and where do they live?

FE: No! Our family hasn't lived on the land since Elijah's childhood, however we still own the parcels of land and pay the taxes.

HP: Do you remember kuleana lands, sugar cane, ranching, and/or taro patches, etc...in this area?

FE & DM: We don't know, but in our genealogy Elijah was born and raised in Waikapū and his

parents were plantation laborers in the area

HP: Currently there is large scale development being proposed on the south side of Waikapū Stream in and around the current Maui Tropical Plantation and both sides of the current Honoapiʻilani Highway. Please see 2 page attachment to email. Ma uka of the Honoapiʻilani Highway 80 rural/farm lots, 253 single family homes, 100 cottage/town homes, a commercial business area and parks and open spaces are being proposed. Makai of the highway are 700 single family homes, 300 cottages/town homes, 35 country town commercial business, parks, and open spaces, and a school.

HP: What are your thoughts about the scale of this project? Do you feel that it will have an impact on known / or unknown cultural sites?

DM: I feel like this is a large scale project that will irrevocably change Waikapū. We are currently in the process of researching our genealogy and understanding our ties to Waikapū. My understanding is that our family's kuleana land lies inside the area slated for development. We still pay taxes on the property. I am not sure the extent of the development or its effects, but I feel like this development could reduce or destroy our potential ability to reconnect to the land where our ancestors were born and lived their lives. If we were able to live on the land again we would want to do so in a manner that respects the agricultural past of our ancestors and the current resources of the ʻāina. The stream by our property hardly seems to flow and I know there is a water shortage on Maui. How can this development be a good idea?

HP: Do you think that this development will change the character of Waikapū? If so, how?

DM: From what I've experienced in Waikapū it has a rural, small community feel. From the description of this large-scale development that community feeling will be obliterated.

HP: If there are cultural sites in the area to be developed, should they be preserved?

DM: Cultural sites should be preserved. So much of the land's historic characteristics have been destroyed by modern ag practices and housing development, anything that is left deserves to be preserved for the generations to come.

HP: Is there anything else that would like to share about Waikapū and/or anything related to this development?

FE & DM: We appreciate the opportunity to provide some small comments regarding this area and its history, and our family's connection to Waikapū.



## 11.2 Waldemar “Wally” Frank Rogers

**Biographical Overview:** Waldemar “Wally” Frank Rogers is a part Hawaiian resident of Waikapū who was born, raised and currently lives directly across the lands of Waikapū Properties LLC and the Waikapū Stream. He and his family (Rogers and Harders) own over 25 acres of land on the north side of the Waikapū Stream on kuleana lands they received at the time of the Māhele of 1848. Their family continue to farm their lands traditionally with lo‘i kalo and other food crops that utilize water directly from the Waikapū Stream via a kuleana ‘auwai (irrigation ditch).

HP: What is your full name?

WR: Waldemar F. Roger

HP: What does the F. stand for?

WR: Frank

HP: What year, when were you born?

WR: September 13, 1944. I am 70 years old.

HP: Were you born here in Waikapu?

WR: No, I was born in Wailuku, The hospital by St. Anthony, Malulani Hospital

HP: What is your ethnic background

WR: I am English, Hawaiian, Portuguese, French, that’s all I can remember. There could be some Irish in there too, I don’t know. I think my mother had some Irish, but I’m not sure.

HP: And your mother and father, what were their names and where were they born?

WR: Edmond H. Rogers is my dad, he was born on Maui.

HP: Was he born here in Waikapu?

WR: That I don’t know. And then my mom we know was Wynona Church and she was born on Maui too. But she went to school in Honolulu, O‘ahu for a couple of years.

HP: And you went to school on Oahu? So where did you start off school?

WR: Wailuku Elementary, Kaunoa School, and then Punahou for High School.

HP: Did all three of your siblings go to Punahou?

WR: All three. But they said don't tell anybody you went to Punahou, because I was such a bad student. I don't tell anyone I went there.

HP: What are your siblings names?

WR: Edmond Jr. Rogers and Zelig Harders (Rogers). They might call her Elizabeth as her official name. I only know her as Zelig.

HP: Did your parents and grandparents speak any other language, other than English?

WR: I don't think so, they may have spoke a little Hawaiian, but I don't think so.

HP: You currently live in Waikapū. How long have you lived in Waikapū? Did you live anywhere else, besides when you went to school on Oahu?

WR: Yeah, I went to school (college) in California for a couple of years and lived in Scandinavia for a year.

HP: Were you in the military?

WR: Yeah, during Vietnam. I was in the National Guard Call Up. I was in Wahiawa for 10 months and Vietnam for another 10 months.

HP: Where did you live following Vietnam

WR: When I came back from Vietnam, I moved to New York. I went taking Photography school I went to. And that's where I met this guy from Scandinavia and he was going back and I didn't like New York. So I thought...

HP: What year was that in?

WR: In 1971 maybe. My timeline is not good anymore. It was around 1971

HP: Following your trip to Scandinavia, you came back to Maui. Did you live in Waikapū? Were your parents still alive?

WR: Yes, they were alive and I moved back to Waikapū and started the piggery.

HP: Where was the piggery located?

WR: Where Funai Nursery is now.

HP: Wasn't slaughter house located here by the stream?

WR: The slaughter house was right there, just to the left of that mango tree. And then the road, there used to be a big hill up here before. And when Grandpa built this subdivision he

grated it all down. And then the dirt road to come down, came right by this 'ulu tree. So it came right where my deck is. That's where the road came in. Then there was a house probably right over here. On the bank, they had pigs over here. But that was a long time ago. Oh and they had pigs over here too, this side. And then the rest of it was all Okinawans. They were growing vegetables.

HP: So they were leasing or renting from your parents?

WR: Yeah, they were renting. It was like two dollars a month or something in those days. And because these Okinawans didn't have any money. Everything they grew, they ate. What extra than they would sell. Basically, so they could survive.

HP: Were there any markets in Waikapū? Or did they go to Wailuku Town?

WR: I don't know if you remember Sakuma. No, Sakuma was probably. I think he was here when you were small. But he was right across from Aunty Pat's. That's where he was. There was a house there. He had one of those old Model T Fords with the small little box on the back. When he would go to Wailuku He would take it to that old market. On Vineyard Street, when you go by Good Shepard Church. Just in the back there, there was a market there. That's where he used to sell all his stuff. Cause I remember he never had enough room in the back. He would put it all in burlap bags. He put it all on the flared fenders and tie it to the fenders. He was the most comical thing. But back then wasn't that funny, cause that's how it was and you would see him going about 5 miles per hour, *bububububu*. But what they didn't eat they sold. They all had few pigs. They had the meat and then the extra pigs, they would sell them.

HP: Who besides yourself worked at the slaughter house?

WR: I was small when the slaughter house was there.

HP: Was it there before you went off to Vietnam? And then when you came back you worked there?

WR: The slaughter house was gone way before that. I don't know when they took that down.

HP: When you moved back in the 70's it was gone?

WR: Was long gone. Even when I was at Punahou. I would say it was gone in the 50s.

HP: But your mom and dad started the slaughter house?

WR: Yeah

HP: Were your grandparents born and raised here in Waikapū?

WR: No

HP: What was their names?

WR: I never knew them. They were all gone by the time we were kids. Except I knew my dad's mother. She was a Rego. I don't know, she could've been born on Maui.

HP: You have all the genealogy?

WR: Yeah Zelig would know.

HP: Did your parents ever tell you any stories about Waikapū, related to the names or names of the mountains, ridges?

WR: No

HP: When you were growing up what were some of the important landmarks in Waikapū? Stores, churches cemeteries.....?

WR: They used to have the church with the big steeple (Waikapū Protestant Church). And they had Waikapū School. When I was small kid, the school was still there, but they didn't use it.

HP: What happened to it? They just tore it down?

WR: They tore it down. Was a nice little school. Had a nice playground in front.

HP: Do you remember how many classrooms?

WR: I think maybe there were three or four classrooms. It was all just one building. I don't know if you've seen a picture of it. It had like a nice little veranda in the front. I don't know what they did for lunch. I don't know if they had to bring their own lunch. I don't think they had a cafeteria.

HP: There was a cemetery too, right by the church?

WR: Yeah, there is.

HP: Do you remember any other cemeteries in this vicinity?

WR: There is one up by Avery Chumbley's place. The Cornwell Family. That's the only ones I know of in this area. Oh, and the Vida's have a cemetery too on their property.

HP: Were there any plantation camps in Waikapū when you were growing up, that you can recall?



WR: No, only across the highway (East Waikō Road). That was plantation before in the old days.

HP: Were there any names for those plantation camps?

WR: I don't know. Flo Nakama would know.

HP: By that time when you were growing up, the Waikapū Sugar Mill was already closed. No remnants?

WR: Oh yeah. But somebody told me there was a dairy up here too. I said what, I never heard of no dairy. Some guy came and was looking for some bottles from this dairy. I said what?

HP: Above Avery Chumbley's side?

WR: I'm not exactly sure. I think it was where Mike Erwin lives. Down below the McLean's place. I think it was in there. That is what somebody was telling me. But I have no idea. That was the first I ever heard about some dairy. Some Portuguese family was running it. I don't know who would remember. I think it was probably even before Zelig's time that dairy was there. Maybe Zelig might remember.

HP: Other than the piggery and slaughter house, were there any other farms that you can remember in Waikapu at the time? Like even on our property?

WR: When I was a kid they were still growing taro. I don't know if Enos family themselves. I think they leased it out to maybe two or three different guys who just had a couple plots. Each one they had their goats and pig pen. It was all, you know.

HP: What about up above? There was sugar cane up all around Waikapū at that time when you were growing up.

WR: They just had the luna's houses up there, where Randy Piltz and them live. That was all the housing that was up there. That was all for the plantation. And then where Avery Chumbley lives on that side, that was there too. But it was all for the bosses, all the lunas and the guys who were running the departments.

HP: Do you remember any farming across the river on the south side?

WR: The only thing I remember is sugar. Just sugar across the river. It was total, 100% sugar.

HP: Was the Shimizu Family farming?

WR: Yes, right where they are, exactly the same

HP: Was Uncle Bolo Riyu farming as well?

WR: He was farming too. He gave up after a while and his brother came. Who is living up there now?

HP: Uncle Bolo's wife still lives there, Katherine Riyu. Dustin Vegas is now farming kalo on her land

HP: What were some of the things you did in your past time while growing up?

WR: We were lucky. We never got stuff from the store. We would get a ball but maybe that was it. We had horses, the stream, the pūnāwai, we would go fish inside. There was goldfish in there. You could see the gold on the top of the water. There was tilapia too. We went hiking up the stream. We would make tin boats from metal roofing. I think back at how much fun that was. We used to make our own pop guns from the bamboo. We would chase each other on horses and "pop pop" at each other. My dad used to come with a new skin ball each year. It was like four or five bucks. He said if we lost the ball tomorrow, boy you would have a long way. We used to play in the yard by the ditch. It was all pasture on this side. If you hit the ball over the ditch, a long one, we would spend hours looking for the ball. We used to tape the ball just to make it last throughout the year. There was no such thing as "Dad I lost the ball". He wouldn't go and buy another one. He would say... "tough shit boy". That's how it was back in the day. When your parents said something, that was it. There was no negotiating. It was a done deal. That's how it was with my dad. Kid's look at me today like we are nuts. When the ball rolls down the street now, the kids just let um roll down the road.

HP: Was there any stores when you were growing up in Waikapū?

WR: Furokawa Store is on the Wailuku side of the street where 808 Café was. Sakamoto Store was after the bridge. Before my time there was an open air theatre across the street. There were two. One next to Furokawa store and one across the street. We used to walk down. No more street lights at night in those days. When we went home, it was dark, so we used to run.

HP: How many people could the theatre hold?

WR: There were bleachers, so maybe 200 people?

HP: What did they sell at Furokawa and Sakamoto Store?

WR: Furokawa had much more. They both mostly dry goods, snacks, candy. No food there! Can goods and snack stuff.

HP: What are some of your fondest memories of Waikapū?

WR: I think remembering how good we had it. In those days, you would see other kids with toys, bicycles, and you know....we would get kind jealous. At this point in my life, I look at it now and I think we had it better.

HP: Did you family have any special traditions in Waikapū?

WR: We always had the imu for New Years. The main house where Cindy Padget and family lives was where the party's were. We had the kālua pit by the side of the house near the kitchen and the 'ulu tree is today. It's all filled in now. We used to have to go down to the beach to pick up the rocks for the imu. Ted and Zelig got married there. We had a number of weddings there over the last 50 years.

HP: As we move more specifically towards questions regarding the development project? What cultural and natural resources do you remember? Specifically cultural sites in Waikapū, such as heiau, wind names, 'auwai, streams, taro patches, springs, fishponds, etc..

WR: I don't know too much.

HP: What was Mā'alaea like when you were growing up?

WR: We used to go fishing down there all the time when we were kids.

HP: What did you go fishing for?

WR: Whatever kine fish, manini, weke. We used to ride our bikes to Mā'alaea because it was all downhill. Then we would call grandpa to come pick us up in his truck. It wasn't easy getting back home to Waikapū on the bike with the strong winds.

HP: Was the harbor built yet when you were young?

WR: The main jetty was built.

HP: There used to be a spring there, do you remember anything about Kapoli spring?

WR: I remember somebody telling me there was a spring. A freshwater spring under the water.

HP: Do you remember any of the families that lived down in Mā'alaea?

WR: Jimmy Ono ran a store, Mā'alaea Store. Kono or Kano, a Japanese family lived there. The Nagamine's that lived up at the farm knew all those guys and would call them before we went fishing to see what the water was like. There weren't many people living down there. It was basically the pier and Jimmy's Mā'alaea Store. There weren't any condos.

HP: What about Keālia?

WR: I don't remember anything about Keālia. We drove past it when we went to Kīhei, but we never really paid attention to it.

HP: Do you know of any heiau?

WR: I don't know about any heiau here in Waikapū that existed in my time.

HP: Have you heard of Hana'ula?

WR: No.

HP: Back of the valley, where Everett Ditch starts? Does the name Kalena Stream ring a bell?  
How about a ridge named Kaiwaloa across from Reservoir #1 on the Mā'alaea side of  
Waikapū Stream?

WR: No

HP: Do you remember any natural disasters in Waikapu during your lifetime?

WR: Not since I was born. The worst storm I can remember was in 1980. They said it wasn't  
really a hurricane but it sure felt like one.

HP: I heard about that and remember my parents saying boulders crossed the road.

WR: I don't know about that. I've never seen this river overflow. I had the house we are  
currently living rented out at the time to two single girls. They were really scared during  
the this storm. There was a lull for 2-3 hours and then it came back again. The houses  
were shaking.

HP: What was the Waikapu stream like when you grew up? Was it flowing, diverted by  
plantations, did it only flow at certain times?

WR: Back when I had the pigs in the 70s, it was the same problem. We couldn't get enough  
water. At night, they took 100% of the water. During the day they let a quarter of it go.  
Sometimes it was so low, the water wouldn't get down here until noontime. I used the water  
to clean my pens. It would take a lot of water to flush all of my pens out. I had a little  
lagoon I used to pump water to flush all the pens out, but the lagoon had to be pretty full to  
get enough water.

HP: What did you do to get more water if the stream wasn't flowing?

WR: Once in a while, I would call them. But they completely controlled the water.

HP: What was the stream like back then compared to today?

WR: Today, this is more water than we used to get.

HP: Do you remember the dams growing up?



WR: When we were kids we really didn't pay attention to the dams. I remember where the ditches were, but I never knew their names.

HP: Everett ditch?

WR: Is that the one that goes to the top of Wailuku heights? When we were kids it was always flowing. The other one above the pūnāwai and another flume where they could cut the water off and let it go back to the stream. The one I used to open was down below. There was a road- water could go back down or to the fields. There was a chute back to the stream. That is the one they would open to give us water. Even in those days it was hell to get water.

HP: Remember any of the workers' names?

WR: The only man I used to deal with was a short little chubby Japanese man, friendly. He's still around. Sometimes, I used to go around 5:30 and drive up there to pull the gate. I only needed the water 2-3 times a week to wash the pens. When you would come out in the morning there wasn't one drop in the stream. It was bone dry.

HP: When did they start to release more water?

WR: As long as the company was controlling it, it didn't matter how much volume there was. They only gave you some during the day. One day the guy came and asked me, How come you opening the gate? I told him, by the time you give me water it is 4 or 5:00. How am I supposed to do my work? You don't own the water. You supposed to let the water run 24 hours. I am not afraid of Wailuku Sugar. After that, it got a little better. In the olden days, the plantation used to intimidate everyone. They never had a right, but they just took over the water.

HP: Do you remember any native stream life?

WR: I remember some 'o'opu, very few. All inside the river here. But once they started completely cutting off the water from the stream, there was no more.

HP: When did you help with the pig pens?

WR: After my grandpa was retired, that's when I took care of the water.

HP: Who would help you clean out the po'owai or care for the 'auwai?

WR: I used to have to go clean out the 'auwai, usually by myself. Once in a while Bolo would come around to help. Shimuzu would come out and help sometimes. Back then everyone would spray herbicide, so the banks would stay clean. But when I started taking care of the banks, I knew the herbicide was bad and you could get it in trouble, so I would keep it clean by hand. Back then there was no more weedwacker, only sickle.

HP: What was growing on the neighbors' lands.

WR: Shimuzu was farming taro. Bolo started farming. Soongs never used their property. The Tom's had water rights too, but they used to rent it out. Had to clean it from Bolo's all the way to the Rosario's.

HP: Did the water always go down by Aunty Pat's property?

WR: Always went through Aunty Pat's.

HP: Was there sugar cane after Aunty Pat's?

WR: As far back as I can remember there were only houses I remember.

HP: The sugar company never maintained the 'auwai?

WR: Not when it came through private property.

HP: Do you remember the ditch on that side?

WR: The ditch came right through those trees there. I never knew those guys. That side of that stream, we never really went.

HP: How big was the 'o'opu you used to catch?

WR: Small kind. Don't remember which kind. Had 'opae too, but I don't remember seeing any.

HP: Large scale development, where the current Maui Tropical Plantation is. After looking at the development map, do you remember anything else in this area?

WR: No, I don't remember anything.

HP: Is it true that your family scattered their ashes by Reservoir 1?

WR: A little trail All the ashes go down the stream. Grandma Rogers was the first one, then Aunty Pat, my sister, and brother-in-law will go all at one time. Aunty Darlene's mother and father are up there too. It is one certain area we go and we scatter the ashes and throw flowers. That is where we will all end up. As long as they don't cut off access, as long as the ditch is there, we can get there. It is a beautiful spot.

HP: Do you have any thoughts about the impact of the project?

WR: There is no question that there will be an impact. It looks like it is pretty thought out, but I still rather see trees besides that. From what I understand, not in my lifetime, both sides of the road will be developed all the way down. But even when I was a little kid they only

had Wailuku Heights with only two roads. When I was little we used to ride horses up there. I used to tell people it would be all houses one day and look now.

HP: Do you feel like this development will affect your family's way of life?

WR: The traffic and maybe some convenience store, so we don't have to run to Wailuku. I don't think it will do us any good. I don't see any benefit for us.

HP: If there could be some benefit, like a resource or something in return? Mike's been talking about putting water back into the stream, since he is drilling wells.

WR: Putting water back would be better. But you have to give and take. I won't see the change.

HP: Is there anything else about Waikapu that you'd like to share?

WR: Just lucky we live here, very fortunate.

HP: What year did you go to Oahu for high school?

WR: I started in eighth grade and graduated in 1963. I was at Punahou for five years.

HP: And how many years were you away from Hawaii?

WR: Came back in 1971 or 1972, so 13-14 years.

HP: When did your dad subdivide this area?

WR: I don't remember the timeline. But I remember them working on it.

HP: Was the land subdivided for rentals?

WR: All subdivided and sold for lots. He kept some and gave each of his children a plot.

HP: When did you meet Aunty Darlene?

WR: We've been together for 27 years.

HP: Well I appreciate your time. Mahalo nui!

### 11.3 Muriel Kaohulani Enos Prager

**Biographical Overview:** Muriel Kaohulani Enos Prager was born and raised in Waikapū on kuleana land that her family received at the time of the Māhele of 1848 through her great great grandfather Kuolaia (L.C.Aw. 3110, R.P. 3152, AP. 1 &2) and great great grandfather Nahau (L.C.Aw. 3340, R.P. 3115, AP. 1-3), and Kalawaia (L.C.Aw 3103, R.P. 3127, AP. 1) A portion of these lands are owned by her daughter Dalani Kaye Prager (Kauihou) and granddaughter Ka‘iulani Kauihou-Crabbe. These lands are currently situated on the south side of the Waikapū Stream, adjacent and surrounded by Waikapū Properties LLC and found within TMK (2) 3-6-05-014 (0.48 acres), TMK (2) 3-6-05-066 (0.04 acres) and TMK (2) 3-6-05-067 (1.26 acres).

HP: What is your full name?

MP: Muriel Kaohulani (Enos) Prager

HP: When were you born?

MP: I was born on Dec 10, 1932

HP: Where were you born?

MP: I was born at Malulani Hospital in Wailuku, Maui

HP: What ethnic background are you?

MP: I am Hawaiian, Portuguese, Caucasian.

HP: Where were your parents born?

MP: My mother, Emily Aulani Wilson was born in Makawao and my father Arthur Kamaka Enos born in Waikapū on the land that you live on currently.

HP: Do you have any siblings? Where were they born?

MP: I have 4 sisters, 1 brother. They were born in Wailuku and Waikapū

HP: What language did your parents and grandparents speak?

MP: On my paternal side, my grandma spoke only Hawaiian, Dad also spoke Hawaiian but encouraged the kids to only speak English. He said that as people came to Hawaii from around the world they would most likely speak English. On my maternal side, everyone spoke English.

HP Do you currently live in Waikapū or have you lived in Waikapū before? If so, beginning in what year to what year?



MP: I lived in Waikapū at the ‘ili of Noho‘ana from 1937 to 1943.

HP: Do you have a genealogical connection to Waikapū? If so, how and through whom?

MP: My fathers side of the family, Enos and Keanini families was the Waikapū connection. Nahau Keanini received the Land Commission Award to the ‘ili of Noho‘ana in Waikapu. His daughter Ella Kaohulani Keanini married Huakini Enos Jr. They were my fathers parents.

HP: What part of Waikapū were you and/or your family raised in? (Waikō Road, Plantation camps, near Honoapi‘ilani highway, Waikapū Valley, etc..)

MP: They lived off Waikō Road, the Noho‘ana kuleana land.

HP: Did your parents, grandparents, relatives tell you any stories about Waikapū?

MP: There was an airplane that crashed in the mountains, and Dad knew the terrain there so they went to rescue the person. There was a Chinese family that lived in back of their house. Our family would go cut an ironwood tree for Christmas.

HP: What were some important landmarks that you remember in Waikapū (stores, churches, cemeteries, schools, plantation camps, sugar mills, heiau, farms, houses, etc...)

MP: There was a Mormon church on our property. According to my mother’s account, “My Husband’s parents lived near the Waikapū Church. In fact, the property that the Church is on, was their property and they gave it to the Church to build that chapel on. In about 1966 we heard that the Church was going to sell it. So we wrote to the mission president and asked if we could buy it, and so we have bought the church. The chapel still stands on the property. (this was in 1981 when this interview was done with my mother – Emily Enos) There is a family cemetery next to the church as well.

HP: What are the names of some family members that grew up around the area that you lived?

MP: Nahau Keanini/Kalua Kailianu Hoopii -- Ella, Lulu, Alice, Arthur, Kuikuiehu Keanini Huakini Enos Sr./Kahalea -- Alai, Huakini Jr, William, John, Joseph, James, Sarah Enos Huakini Enos Jr./Ella Kaohulani Keanini -- Arthur, Edmond, John Enos Huakini later divorced Ella and married her sister Lulu, but then divorced her and remarried Ella.

HP: When you grew up in Waikapū, what kinds of things did you do in your pastime?

MP: I worked in the taro patch and played by the river when it wasn’t raining.

HP: Did you go to school in Waikapū? If so, who were some of your classmates and/or teachers?

MP: No, I went to school in Wailuku, ‘Īao for kindergarten, and then Kaunoha until 8th grade Mrs. Huffy in kindergarten, Mrs. Kennedy in 6th grade at Kaunoha, an English standard school, was only school you could chose to go to Maui High or Baldwin High after.

HP: Describe a typical day in the life of the family when you were growing up in Waikapū?

MP: We worked in the taro patch, cared for the farm animals, pigs, chickens. On Saturdays we would go pick a certain weed in the cane fields to feed the pigs and then go to family land at Mā‘alaea to get kiawe beans to feed the animals. This was before the war. After PH a plane landing was build in front of the Mā‘alaea house. We would water the garden and tend our vegetable patches.

HP: What are some of your fondest memories of Waikapū?

MP: Christmas was a fun time. We would make cookies and candy and go with dad to get Christmas tree, make ornaments for it and make presents for each other. Mom was so creative and the older sisters would make the meal, younger kids would do dishes, sit and listen to the radio, dad would play saxophone and mom play piano while the 6 kids would sing. Dad would play sax as the kids would fall asleep. There was always music in the house. Dad had a swing band and played for the service men during the war.

HP: Do you still have family living in Waikapū. If so, who and where do they live?

MP: Only you folks that live on the land.

HP: Were there any cultural sites and/or resources that you were aware of in Waikapū (Example: heiau, archaeological sites, winds ‘auwai, streams, taro patches, kuleana lands, burial sites, caves, fishponds, springs, fishing grounds, etc....) If so, could you briefly describe where they were located and if they were in use at that time that you grew up in Waikapū?

MP: Auntie Alae was a kahuna lā‘au lapa‘au who often cared for the family using traditional herbs. She lived up the road past the church.

HP: Do remember any Hawaiian place names in Waikapū? (Example: Kalena, Hana‘ula, Keālia, Mā‘alaea, Kapoli, Kaiwaloa, etc.....)

MP: We had family land at Mā‘alaea

HP: Do you remember any natural disasters in Waikapū? (Example, floods, storms, hurricanes, tsunami)

MP: Just during heavy rains, the river would flood and it was hard to cross over the board that lay across the river.

HP: What was the Waikapū Stream like when you were growing up in Waikapū? Was it

flowing? Was it diverted by the sugar plantation? Did it flow only at certain times?

MP: The stream always flowed, don't remember it being dry or how much water was necessarily in it.

HP: Do remember any 'auwai (traditional irrigation ditches – used for taro farming, etc..)?

MP: Yes, they were all intact and active in and around our land.

HP: Did you go down to the stream or use the 'auwai? If so, what for?

MP: Yes, for the taro patches.

HP: Did you or your family ever gather anything from the Waikapū Stream or 'auwai for food? If so, do you remember what it was? (Example: 'o'opu, 'ōpae, hīhīwai, etc...)

MP: We used to get hīhīwai, 'o'opu, and snails from the taro patch

HP: Currently there is large scale development being proposed on the south side of Waikapū Stream in and around the current Maui Tropical Plantation and both sides of the current Honoapi'ilani Highway. Mauka of the Honoapi'ilani Highway 80 rural/farm lots, 253 single family homes, 100 cottage/town homes, a commercial business area and parks and open spaces are being proposed. Makai of the highway are 700 single family homes, 300 cottages/town homes, 35 country town commercial business, parks, and open spaces, and a school.

HP: Do you remember kuleana lands, sugar cane, ranching, and/or taro patches, etc...in this area?

MP: My family had large taro patches that were only for family use, not sold.

HP: If do not currently live in Waikapū, what age were you when you moved away?

MP: I was age 10 when I left but I always went back to visit family until I left to go to college

HP: What was your reasoning for leaving Waikapū?

MP: We moved because my family moved to Wailuku...mom was café manager for 'Īao school and we lived at the big house in Wailuku on Vineyard Street. This house was torn down.

HP: If there are cultural sites in the area to be developed, should they be preserved?

MP: This issues need to be handled appropriately.

HP: If you currently live in Waikapū or have land, how will this project affect you and your

‘ohana, as well as your land and resources?

MP: I am no sure!

HP: Is there anything else that would like to share about Waikapū and/or anything related to this development?

MP: I loved living there in Waikapū, surrounded by food. My dad loved to fish at Mā‘alaea. W had big farm with the extended Enos family, dads brothers and their families.



#### 11.4 Dalani Kaye Prager (Kauihou) Tanahy

**Biographical Overview:** Dalani Kaye Prager (Kauihou) was born and raised in San Diego, California. Her mother is Muriel was born on kuleana land that her family received at the time of the Māhele of 1848 through her great great grandfather Kuolaia (L.C.Aw. 3110, R.P. 3152, AP. 1 &2) and great great grandfather Nahau (L.C.Aw. 3340, R.P. 3115, AP. 1-3), and Kalawaia (L.C.Aw 3103, R.P. 3127, AP. Dalani and daughter Ka‘iulani Kauihou-Crabbe currently own the above kuleana parcels of land. These lands are currently situated on the south side of the Waikapū Stream, adjacent and surrounded by Waikapū Properties LLC and found within TMK (2) 3-6-05-014) (0.48 acres), TMK (2) 3-6-05-066 (0.04 acres) and TMK (2) 3-6-05-067 (1.26 acres). Dalani and her daughter Ka‘iu have worked closely with Waikapū Properties LLC to secure these aforementioned lands while deeding one of the parcels to them. They are currently in the process of moving back to Maui and restoring the traditional lo‘i kalo agricultural sites situated on their land along with the kuleana ‘auwai (irrigation ditch) which once fed their taro patches.

HP: What is your full name?

DT: Dalani Kaye Prager (Kauihou) Tanahy

HP: When were you born?

DT: I was born on July 22, 1961

HP: Where were you born?

DT: I was born in San Diego, California.

HP: What ethnic background are you?

DT: Hawaiian, Portuguese, Caucasian

HP: Where were your parents born?

DT: My Mother, Muriel K. Enos was born in Wailuku, Father, Daniel B. Prager was born in San Diego

HP: Do you have any siblings? Where were they born?

DT: I have 2 sisters and 1 brother-San Diego.

HP: What language did your parents and grandparents speak?

DT: They spoke English.

HP: Do you currently live in Waikapū or have you lived in Waikapū before? If so, beginning in

what year to what year?

DT: No

HP: Do you have a genealogical connection to Waikapū? If so, how and through whom?

DT: My grandfathers side of the family, Enos and Keanini families. Nahau Keanini received the Land Commission Award to Noho‘ana in Waikapū. His daughter Ella Kaohulani Keanini married Huakini Enos Jr. They were my father’s parents.

HP: What part of Waikapū were you and/or your family raised in? (Waikō Road, Plantation camps, near Honoapi‘ilani highway, Waikapū Valley, etc..)

DT: Our ‘ohana lived along waikō road on your ‘āina of the Noho‘ana kuleana land.

HP: Did your parents, grandparents, relatives tell you any stories about Waikapū?

DT: Unfortunately not too much

HP: What were some important landmarks that you remember in Waikapū (stores, churches, cemeteries, schools, plantation camps, sugar mills, heiau, farms, houses, etc...)

DT: We had heard about the property but were more familiar with the family house in Wailuku

HP: What are the names of some family members that grew up around the area that you (mom) lived?

DT: Nahau Keanini/Kalua Kailianu Hoopi‘i==Ella, Lulu, Alice, Arthur, Kuikuiehu Keanini Huakini Enos Sr./Kahaleauea===Alai, Huakini Jr, William, John, Joseph, James, Sarah Enos Huakini Enos Jr./Ella Kaohulani Keanini===Arthur, Edmond, John Enos Huakini later divorced Ella and married her sister Lulu, but then divorced her and remarried Ella.

HP: Do you still have family living in Waikapū. If so, who and where do they live?

DT: Yes, you.....Hōkūao Pellegrino and your family at Noho‘ana

HP: Currently there is large scale development being proposed on the south side of Waikapū Stream in and around the current Maui Tropical Plantation and both sides of the current Honoapi‘ilani Highway. Please take a look at the 2 page map. Mauka of the Honoapi‘ilani Highway 80 rural/farm lots, 253 single family homes, 100 cottage/town homes, a commercial business area and parks and open spaces are being proposed. Makai of the highway are 700 single family homes, 300 cottages/town homes, 35 country town commercial business, parks, and open spaces, and a school.

HP: Do you think that this development will change the character and cultural features of Waikapū? If so, how?

DT: I think so, it will add more urban/suburban sprawl.

HP: If you currently live in Waikapū or have land, how will this project affect you and your ‘ohana, as well as your land and resources?

DT: We have bought our moms interest in the family land in Waikapu and own in in partiality with Mike Atherton. We are currently trying to obtain control over the entire property to hold for our family, since it is still kuleana land.

HP: Is there anything else that would like to share about Waikapū and/or anything related to this development?

DT: I was never really aware of this particular property until my mom inherited it from her mom. When we first went to see it there was no way to access it and it was all overgrown. She was not able to see the property, the way she remembered it, since she had moved away to go to college. She has been able to visit Noho‘ana now that your family has cleared and restored it. When she inherited it, it was also owned by Wailuku Sugar, then Avery Chumbley, and now Mike Atherton. I told her to continue to pay the taxes on it and wait and see what will happen. Even though it’s not within the development, that property specifically is not in the development path because it is right along the river. I hope to be able to work out something with the developers to be able to utilize the land somehow.

HP: Mahalo for your time.

DT: Mahalo nui!

## 11.5 Florence Kamie Nakama

**Biographical Overview:** Florence Kamie Nakama was born and raised in Waikapū. Her family is Japanese and worked for the Wailuku Sugar Company while living a portion of her life in the Japanese Plantation Camp. She currently lives along South Waikō Road. Florence has an expansive knowledge base of the post-contact historical sites within Waikapū that are mainly associated with the Wailuku Sugar Plantation era.

HP: What is your full name?

FN: Florence Kamie Nakama

HP: When were you born?

FN: April 14, 1939

HP: Where were you born?

FN: In Wailuku, the Manulani Hospital.

HP: What are your ethnicities?

FN: Okinawan

HP: Where were your parents born?

FN: My father was born in Okinawa. My mother was born on Oahu, but was taken back to Okinawa. She returned to Hawaii after she married my father. I think she was 17.

HP: When did they move to Maui?

FN: They moved to Lahaina first to work in the plantation. Then he moved here to Waikapū. He worked for Wailuku Sugar.

HP: What did he do for the company?

FN: My father used to do the watering. He was like a ditch man or an irrigation specialist. I can't remember the name for it. Depending on that he would get paid more or less.

HP: Did they live in this house?

FN: This house was rebuilt, but they lived in this area in the plantation camp. I can't remember the year, but it was when Wailuku Sugar Company was selling the land.

HP: What was the name of the plantation? Was it Hiyashi? Or Kimura



FN: I can't remember the name. Hiyashi Camp was later and down by nuber 8 pūnāwai. I don't know Kimura. It must have been before.

HP: Was this considered a camp?

FN: Yes, maybe it was called Waikapū Camp or Japanese Camp.

HP: Do you have any siblings?

FN: I have a brother and a sister. My sister lives on Oahu and my brother in Waiolani, Edgar.

HP: What languages did your parents speak?

FN: They spoke Okinawan, but when they moved here they lost it. When they moved here, they spoke mostly Japanese. My father would speak English more than my mother.

HP: Did you learn to speak both languages?

FN: No, my father said we didn't have to go to Japanese school because it was an English speaking world. There was no sense, even though I wanted to.

HP: What were some of the things that you recall about Waikapū?

FN: Across the way was a pasture, where Waikapū Park is. Where the houses are now there used to be gardens. The families could raise vegetables and grow things

HP: Were there any stores nearby?

FN: Furukawa store was the first store before the river and Sakamoto store was where the gift or dress shop or something.

HP: Where were the open air theaters?

FN: The theater I know was the one that showed regular films. People came from all over because people smoke, since it was an open-air theater. It was where Bob and Winnie live, the two story house. They said across the street was a Japanese theater that the Sakamotos used to run, but I never went there. Next to that, the Sakamotos also had a service station. It was only a gas station, they didn't fix cars.

HP: Was the St. Joseph's church still there?

FN: Yes, but it was farther down. At the dirt road, there used to be a bar. I don't remember the name. Naokis used to be there too. And then across, next to Sakamoto store was a barber shop, a pool hall, and a liquor store. I don't remember who owned the liquor store, but Barbara Sakuma used to work there. The Sakuma family used to live across from Patty's

place. Barbara was the youngest of the family.

HP: Where do they live now?

FN: I think they are all gone. I don't know if the grandchildren recall that place because they are so much younger?

HP: Was there anything up Waikō Rd. beside the Waikapū Protestant Church? Do you remember the Mormon Church?

FN: There was a Mormon Church next to the Tom's house, where Greg Chow's house is now. Those were his grandparents. And the Enos lived down there.

HP: Do you remember the Enos?

FN: I remember Ku'u lei, Maile, and Viola. I remember those three, but the rest, I'm not sure.

HP: Were they farming in that area?

FN: Yes, the Matsui family used to farm on your property. I think all of the children are gone. The Matsui family is related to Howard Nakamura's wife. She was a Matsui from Ma'alaea, but they are cousins I think.

HP: When you were growing up, this area was all sugar cane? Was Maui Tropical Plantation all sugar back then?

FN: The Maui Tropical Plantation area was all sugar. There was a road going up to another reservoir up there, Reservoir 1.

HP: Do you remember any other Hawaiian families that lived around here?

FN: Not really. There was a man named Fege, he was a veteran I think. His grave is around here.

HP: Do you remember a Solomon Vierra or Viella? He grew up at the top of Waiko Rd.

FN: I remember the Kai'liponis and the Richards family. They were at the top of the road.

HP: Were they farming back then?

FN: I don't think so. I remember my father and Mr. Oshiro used to work for Eddie Rogers. I think they used to have cattle up there. They used to work for him part time.

HP: Do you remember any archeological sites or cultural sites, like heiau?

FN: No heiau. Just the graveyard down there.

HP: I know majority of the graves are Japanese, but was there any Hawaiian graves?

FN: The man I mentioned earlier, named Fegi. I don't know if it was his first name or last. He was a veteran. Too bad, Mr. Sakamoto would put flags and flowers on his grave because he was a veteran. Another family that used to do that too, maybe the McLean family would do that. And other families did that too, there several.

HP: What did you do to past time in Waikapū growing up?

FN: We used to go down to the river, it was a big thing. I used to go down and catch fish.

HP: Do you remember what kind of fish?

FN: Guppies, I guess.

HP: What was the stream like when you were growing up?

FN: There was more water, that's for sure. We used to have to be careful.

HP: Where did you used to go.

FN: We would just stay on this side. They had a lot of plum trees. We used to climb and pick the plums and put them into jars with sugar and shake them up.

HP: Was that reservoir always there?

FN: Yes, that is where we learned to swim in the reservoir. It was like a swimming pool. We weren't supposed to go down there. We used to catch frogs because there used to be grass down there. We would use a red piece of fabric to catch them. Some people would eat it. Only once, I tried fried legs in Honolulu. It was a delicacy.

HP: What was Mā'alaea like back then? Was the harbor there?

FN: I think it was there, but not as built up as it is today.

HP: Any families that you knew down there?

FN: Only the Matsui and Nakagawa. Their family were fishermen. The Ono family used to run that store.

HP: Did you ever go to Keālia?

FN: Not really.

HP: Do you remember Pu‘uhele, the hill? Was it there?

FN: It was, the people were using it for something. They dug it up for something. There was gravel there.

HP: Do you remember any native stream life?

FN: Oh yeah, ‘o‘opu and ‘opae. We used to catch it, but never ate it. The ‘o‘opu were kind of small, 3-4 in. Then later we found out when we went to lū‘au, we were eating it all along. My concern is the stream it used to be flow much more than it is. The stream had a side stream on the other side of the park. I don’t know where it was diverted, it used to flow into #5. The main stream used to go to Ma‘alaea, but not the side stream. Especially if it rained, the river would be full. The river always had water.

HP: Do you remember any natural disasters?

FN: I remember the road got washed away. I think John Yoshizawa’s car or truck got stuck in there.

HP: Did you go to Baldwin?

FN: I went to Baldwin, then 4 years at Washington State. I spent 1 year on Moloka‘i teaching, my first year teaching. By then, I had lost my father, so only my mother was living here. My brother was still in school then.

HP: When did you move back here?

FN: In 1962 I moved back and taught at Kīhei Elementary. I retired from Lihikai. Kīhei was a small community. The first two years I taught two grades. Then it turned into teaching on grade only.

HP: So you basically lived in Waikapū your whole life?

FN: Yes

HP: What were some of the first big changes you saw in Waikapū?

FN: It was the homes that came up here. Some of the homes came from Hiyashi Camp.

HP: When was Waikapū park built?

FN: Earlier than the 80s. Too bad it is such a small park.

HP: Was it built because of the plantation?

FN: I guess so. The county should’ve bought that park down there.



HP: What are your thoughts about this project? This will probably be the largest project because they are looking over 1,000 homes.

FN: There will be a park right? And this is all towards Mā‘alaea?

HP: Yes, there will be a school here, single-family homes, a county park, rural lots (showing her on the map)

FN: Well people are looking for places to live.

HP: Will it change the character of Waikapū?

FN: Not anymore than what has already happened/

HP: Anything you‘d like to see preserved?

FN: When they do all this, where is the water going to come from?

HP: I know they were talking about using well water and not surface water.

FN: They always say it is going to be affordable, but even that is expensive. If we want local people to stay too, we have to make it so that they can find a place to live.

HP: Do you remember anyone growing taro?

FN: Only the Enos, that‘ s it. The Tatsumis used to garden up there where the Shimuzus were.

HP: Do you know any other cemeteries, like the Cornwell cemetery?

FN: I‘ve just seen it. It is more by Avery‘ s property. Didn‘ t Cornwell have a mill?

HP: He started the first Waikapū Sugar Mill.

FN: Across there used to be a stable. There were horses that they used to carry the sugar. I think Wailuku Sugar owned them.

HP: Did you ever ride horses?

FN: Not there. I think that is where the trucks used to park. It was like their base yard. I don‘ t recall the mill there.

HP: Any other memories of Waikapū that you can recall?

FN: You know further up, the road by Maui Tropical Plantation, before #1 punawai. There were homes over there. The Otsumora family, Oka family, and one more family used to garden

over there. The area used to be full of gardens.

HP: Did you ever know the Mahi or Puleloa family? Joseph Puleloa?

FN: There was an Adams family. They used to live where the Vidas are. The Vidas had the piggery. The Rosarios were up there too, I think.

HP: Were there any dairies in Waikapū?

FN: Wailuku Sugar used to deliver, but it came from Waihe'e. This whole area was sugar. The land was strictly used for sugar cane.

HP: When did the fields go to pineapple?

FN: When Wailuku Sugar closed, I guess. Wasn't it Maui Pine that started leasing the land?

HP: How about the old Waikapū school?

FN: Which one? There was one over here. I don't know what happened to the one by the church. It was a new building. I used to walk up there all the time to go to school. It went up to third grade. Then I went to Wailuku Elementary. Mrs. Tom was a first and second grade teachers. Mrs. Tokonaga taught 3<sup>rd</sup>. Mrs. Tokonaga was Donald Tokonaga's wife. Sarah Jean's mother-in-law. She has since passed. Greg's grandmother. There was a larger baseball park down there too. The Watanabe family used to live there and they were Japanese teachers. There were two classrooms. The Japanese school was an English speaking school too, the boyscouts would use it also. Then later they built the school up there. It was a nice building. They had a big building that was like a play area. I don't know why or when they got rid of it. My brother went straight to Wailuku Elementary, by that time the school was closed.

HP: Do you remember the horse race track?

FN: No, I didn't know about that. But a lot of people don't remember the school and a good size ball park.

HP: Anything else you'd like to share?

FN: If we can get places for our people to live. The way Spencer homes makes the people live for 10 years, that would be good, so they can't turn around and sell it right away.

## 11.6 Eassie “Ace” Archibald Moliola Miller Jr.

**Biographical Overview:** Eassie “Ace” Archibald Moliola Miller Jr. was born on Maui and raised mainly in Kahului (NASKA). He lived a portion of his childhood in Wailuku on lands that were passed down to him and extended family that were received at the time of the Māhele of 1848 to Kaaa (L.C.Aw. 3105, R.P. 3154, AP. 1) and Keawe (L.C.Aw. 3520, R.P. 3135, AP. 1). These lands are currently situated adjacent to Waikapū Properties LLC on TMK (2) 3-6-05:019 (3.404 Acres) and TMK (2) 3-6-06:026 (8,650 Sq. ft.). These aforementioned lands are currently being traditionally being cultivated in lo‘i kalo (taro patches) fed by the Waikapū Stream via the South Waikapū Kuleana Ditch.

HP: What is your full name?

AM: Eassie “Ace” Archibald Moliola Miller Jr.

HP: Is Archibald a family name?

AM: Yes. When I went to a family reunion, there were 13 Archibalds.

HP: When were you born?

AM: 1952

HP: Where were you born?

AM: It says Malulani Hospital in Wailuku.

HP: What ethnic backgrounds are you?

AM: Basically, Hawaiian and Caucasian. My last name is German.

HP: Where were your parents born?

AM: My mom was born here on Maui in Waikapū and my father on Kaua‘i?

HP: What were your parents names?

AM: My mother’s name was Beatrice Hussey and my father’s name was Eassie Miller.

HP: Do you have any siblings?

AM: I have like 10 siblings. I am the oldest of 4.

HP: Did your parents or grandparents speak any other languages than English?

AM: Mostly Hawaiian. They only spoke secretly in Hawaiian, so we couldn't understand.

HP: You were born in Wailuku, but where were you raised?

AM: I was raised in NASKA (Naval Air Station Kahului)

HP: Did you ever live in Waikapū?

AM: Yes, up Waikō Rd., when I was age 7-9. I lived right across from the old Protestant Church. I was staying with my Aunt Ku'ulei with my mother, when my parents were getting a divorce. This was the old Enos property that you live on today.

HP: Where did you move to after that?

AM: Back to NASKA, then I went to Kamehameha Schools. I started there my freshman year and graduated in 1970.

HP: What did you do after you graduated?

AM: I went to Cal-Poly in graphic arts. I used to work at Ace Printing here on Maui when I moved back.

HP: Your genealogical ties to Waikapū were through which parent?

AM: My mother's side, my grandfather signed it over to her.

HP: What was your grandfather's name?

AM: Albert Hussey. He established himself here. It was a big clan of them. He moved from Kailua.

HP: Did he marry into the Ka'a'a family?

AM: Yes, my grandma was a Ka'a'a.

HP: Are either of your parents alive?

AM: No, they have passed.

HP: Did your parents ever tell you any stories of this place? Who was living on this land?

AM: No one. My grandfather built this house with me in 1978. Only the old house was here. Joe August was living in that older house. He is a retired judge here on Maui.

HP: What year was the older house built in?

AM: In the 1920s.

HP: Who lived in it before Judge August?

AM: I don't know. My grandfather's sister, Beatrice Kailiponi married David Kailiponi who was the executive of the property. We would only come up here to visit.

HP: Was anyone farming the land back then?

AM: Yes, but not much kalo.

HP: Was this all in sugar cane?

AM: Yeah, it was all sugar.

HP: When did it become pineapple?

AM: In the 1980s, I was in the mainland.

HP: Was this when you were at Cal Poly?

AM: No, I went to Cal Poly in 1971, 1972 and then I came home.

HP: What year did you move back to the mainland?

AM: I moved back up around 1981 and moved back around 1991.

HP: Did you move back to Waikapū?

AM: No

HP: Do you have children?

AM: One son, Kilohana, he is the financial guy at MCC. He is 33.

HP: Is your family Mormon?

AM: Yes, my family is all Mormon.

HP: Do you remember anyone farming up here?

AM: There were farms everywhere. All of the Japanese families had gardens. They knew what they were doing, all natural.

HP: What did you do when you came up to Waikapū?



AM: We would play in the river.

HP: Any traditions that you had here?

AM: First, we had to visit the graves.

HP: Do you remember any cultural or agricultural sites?

AM: No, as a small kid you can only do certain things.

HP: The know the names of the ridge Kuaiwa and the mountain here named Hana‘ula. Did anyone talk about place names with you?

AM: No, but there are so many stories. The meaning of Waikapū is known as this to one person and something else to another.

HP: Do you remember any natural disasters?

AM: We used to have bad Kona storms. Trees would fall down.

HP: When you came up here did you use the old road?

AM: We used to go behind Makimoto’s house. They lived here for a long time.

HP: What was the stream like?

AM: It was way better. It had plenty more water. No one was taking it like they are now.

HP: Was your ‘auwai always flowing?

AM: Yes, it was coming from Reservoir #1. I don’t like that it is coming from #1, it’s not coming in to the taro patches as clean like the stream.

HP: The reservoir was built before the 1900s?

AM: Yeah or even before that. The plantation needed the water.

HP: Do you remember any stream life?

AM: Oh yeah, the river had plenty of ‘opae. The stream was different before. There were more holding ponds. The water had to be 4ft deep or more for them to live, it couldn’t be shallow.

HP: Do you remember the stream going down to Kealia?

AM: Yeah, it mixed with the ocean.

HP: Did you used to go fish there?

AM: Oh yeah, if we weren't at NASKA, we were at Mā'alaea. The very first restaurant going toward Mā'alaea was where my grandparents' house was. There was a Japanese family and then Jimmy's store. That is it.

HP: Do you remember Kapoli Spring?

AM: No, the only freshwater came from the river.

HP: What are your thoughts on this project? Do you feel it will impact your life here or resources?

AM: I think Coach (Mike Atherton) is educated enough to do something the right way. He tries to do what he says. Where will you put all of that sewage?

HP: Go between here and Wailuku?

AM: Here and Wailuku Terrace. I keep the water flowing and keep the kalo for a cultural aspect here. My kupuna are happy. The taxes were zoned ag, losing equity??

HP: What is the total acreage of this kuleana?

AM: 3.8 acres and it goes all the way to the stream. I have another two pieces, about 10,000 ft. attached, past the graves.

HP: Mahalo nui for your time.

## 11.7 Walette Pualani Lyn-Fah Garcia Pellegrino

**Biographical Overview:** Walette Pualani Lyn-Fah Garcia Pellegrino was born and raised in Wailuku. She moved to Waikapū 46 years ago and lives adjacent to kuleana land that was received at the time of the Māhele of 1848 on the north side of the Waikapū Stream directly across land owned by Waikapū Properties LLC. Walette's son Hōkūao Pellegrino (author of CIA), daughter in-law Alana Ka'ōpūiki-Pellegrino and family live on their family kuleana land that was first claimed by Kuolaia (L.C.Aw. 3110, R.P. 3152, AP. 1) Nahau (L.C.Aw. 3340, R.P. 3115, AP. 1). These lands are currently being farmed with lo'i kalo and other crop cultivation by her entire family on lands known as Noho'ana. They receive water via the north kuleana 'auwai (ditch system) which begins 3 properties above theirs. Walette is a retired U.H. Maui College Professor.

HP: What is your full name?

WP: Walette Pualani Lyn-Fah Garcia Pellegrino

HP: When were you born?

WP I was born on November 5th 1940.

HP: Where were you born?

WP: I was born at Malulani Hospital, Wailuku, Maui.

HP: What ethnic background are you?

WP: Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, French, English

HP: Where were your parents born?

WP: My father (Walter Frank Garcia) was born in Wailuku; mother (Elinor Kyau Ho Garcia) born in Honolulu.

HP: Do you have any siblings? Where were they born?

WP: I have none.

HP: What language did your parents and grandparents speak? Parents spoke English.

WP: My paternal grandmother spoke Hawaiian and English; paternal grandfather spoke English. Maternal grandmother and grandfather spoke Chinese.

HP: Do you currently live in Waikapū or have you lived in Waikapū before? If so, beginning in what year to what year?

WP: I have lived in Waikapū since 1968 at 1420 Kilohi Street.

HP: Do you have a genealogical connection to Waikapū? If so, how and through whom?

WP: My Great-great-grandfather (Edward Hubbard Bailey) and spouse (Emale Kane Bailey) had land in Waikapū.

HP: What part of Waikapū were you and/or your family raised in? (Waikō Road, Plantation camps, near Honoapi‘ilani highway, Waikapū Valley, etc..).

WP: I was raised in Wailuku with many visits to Waikapū because of family connections. Have resided in Waikapū since 1968.

HP: Did your parents, grandparents, relatives tell you any stories about Waikapū?

WP: Yes. Mainly about the families of Waikapū; the Protestant church; the Mormon Church.

HP: What were some important landmarks that you remember in Waikapū (stores, churches, cemeteries, schools, plantation camps, sugar mills, heiau, farms, houses, etc...)

WP: There were taro patches and Mormon church on West Waikō Road; Waikapū stream; ‘auwai or open ditches adjacent to Waiko Road; open air theatre on main highway; many small mom-and-pop stores on highway; liquor store which my grandfather used to run; old rock walls on Waikō Road; plantation manager’s home on Waikō Road; old Protestant Church on Government Road (attended services, luau, parties there) with cemetery adjacent to it; Edmund Rogers house; Quonset huts; St. Joseph Church; plantation dispensary; Filipino clubhouse.

HP: What are the names of some family members/friends that grew up around the area that you lived?

WP: Edmund and Winona Rogers; Arzaga family; Uncle Leonard Sonny Gomes; Minnie Gomes; Uncle Tula and Aunty Helen Enos; Rosario family.

HP: When you grew up in Waikapū, what kinds of things did you do in your pastime?

WP: I did not live in Waikapū as a child but visited often because of the Enos and Ah Nee families. We would also drive from Wailuku to the open air theatre. Wearing our pajamas, we’d sit on bleachers or rocks, battling mosquitos while the old movies played. One of my uncles helped with a liquor store that my grandpa Garcia was involved in; I would come to Waikapū with my father to the store and hang out.

WP: After we moved here in the 60’s, we remembered places like the Snakepit, the Hot Dog Show, Furukawa Store which became Waikapu Stop, Isenberg’s sign shop, and other small businesses. The plans for the original Maui Tropical Plantation property were discussed by

the community because what was proposed did not seem appropriate for the plantation town—kind of a theme-park/Disney type with Moomin characters (European version of menchune).

HP: Did you go to school in Waikapū? If so, who were some of your classmates and/or teachers?

WP: No.

HP: What are some of your fondest memories of Waikapū?

WP: Playing with the Enos children (Wilford Brother Enos Jr; Ku‘ulei Enos). Spending time at the liquor store with my father. Going to the Protestant church for services and lū‘au. Pig pens. The terraced taro patches next to the stream. In fact, when we moved to Waikapū in the 60’s, I could not figure out where the taro patches had gone, only to find out that after the Enos families left Waikapū, everything was overgrown and only an old wooden house remained. When we were privileged to purchase the two acres from the Keanini Partners in the early 2000s who are family to me, we began to restore the old taro patches and found the rock walls which delineated them as well as other markings which confirmed what I remembered from my childhood.

HP: Were there any special traditions in your family that took place in Waikapū?

WP: Family gatherings.

HP: Do you still have family living in Waikapū. If so, who and where do they live?

WP: The descendants of Edmund and Winona Rogers reside in the family home and adjoining homes.

HP: Were there any cultural sites and/or resources that you were aware of in Waikapū (Example: heiau, archaeological sites, winds ‘auwai, streams, taro patches, kuleana lands, burial sites, caves, fishponds, springs, fishing grounds, etc....) If so, could you briefly describe where they were located and if they were in use at that time that you grew up in Waikapū?

WP: I remember the terraced taro patches on Waikō Road next to the Waikapū stream. The ‘auwai (open ditch) running next to Waikō road. Burial sites on the Protestant church property and family plots.

HP: Do remember any Hawaiian place names in Waikapū? (Example: Kalena, Hana‘ula, Keālia, Mā‘alaea, Kapoli, Kaiwaloa, etc.....).

WP: Keālia Pond, Mā‘alaea, Pu‘uhele.

HP: Do you remember any natural disasters in Waikapū? (Example, floods, storms, hurricanes, tsunami’s).



WP: Whenever it rains hard in the mountains or storms, the stream rises, the rocks move, the banks erode. If there are landslides upstream, the stream turns brown and affects the water coming into the lo'i from the 'auwai.

HP: What was the Waikapū Stream like when you were growing up in Waikapū? Was it flowing? Was it diverted by the sugar plantation? Did it flow only at certain times?

WP: As a child, I was not aware of diversions, etc. However, I do remember playing in the stream. It was primarily when we moved to Waikapu that we became aware of the diversions, stream flow, impacts, etc.

HP: Do remember any 'auwai (traditional irrigation ditches – used for taro farming, etc..)?

WP: The 'auwai ran and still exists next to West Waikō road; at certain points, it flows underground and then resurfaces, returning to the stream down the road.

HP: Did you go down to the stream or use the 'auwai? If so, what for?

WP: Primarily to play as a child. Now, as a source of water for the loi`.

HP: Did you or your family ever gather anything from the Waikapū Stream, valley or 'auwai for food? If so, do you remember what it was? (Example: plants for lā'au lapa'au, 'o'opu, 'ōpae, hīhīwai, etc...).

WP: Tī leaves. We would see a few 'opae in the stream too as a child. Now we use the stream, valley and 'auwai as resources for the lo'i or other cultural uses.

HP: Currently there is large scale development being proposed on the south side of Waikapū Stream in and around the current Maui Tropical Plantation and both sides of the current Honoapi'ilani Highway. Mauka of the Honoapi'ilani Highway 80 rural/farm lots, 253 single family homes, 100 cottage/town homes, a commercial business area and parks and open spaces are being proposed. Makai of the highway are 700 single family homes, 300 cottages/town homes, 35 country town commercial business, parks, and open spaces, and a school.

HP: After looking at the map and development plan, what can you recall of this area historically and when you were living in Waikapū? What do you remember of this area?

WP: Our family has seen the area change from sugar cane surrounding the entire plantation town to pineapple, and now concrete and houses.

HP: Do you remember kuleana lands, sugar cane, ranching, and/or taro patches, etc...in this area?

WP: Yes, I remember the taro patches on upper Waikō Road; sugar cane which surrounded our

home. When Wailuku Sugar would do a burn, we would have to close all the windows and doors or leave the area. You could see the fire visibly and very close.

We learned that our family (paternal side) still has a piece of kuleana land next to the Waikapū stream that was surrounded by Wailuku Sugar cane production. It is adjacent to the proposed project. Our concern is to gain and retain access to the kuleana piece.

If you do not currently live in Waikapū, what age were you when you moved away? Did not reside here as a child but visited often because of family. Have lived here at 1420 Kilohi Street since 1968. Edmund Rogers had told my father, Walter Garcia (related through both paternal and maternal sides), that if my husband and I moved home to Maui, he would sell us land in Waikapū. He graciously did and we built our home with a life-time friend, Gary Andrade Sr.

HP: What are your thoughts about the scale of this project? Do you feel that it will have an impact on known / or unknown cultural sites?

WP: Any kind of development impacts an area in different ways. I expect the developer to be cognizant of that and to work with the community and cultural/historical resource people to minimize negative impacts.

HP: Do you think that this development will change the character of Waikapū? If so, how?

WP: Again, any kind of development bringing changes to a location. There will be an increase in the density of what was a small plantation-style community where families lived for generations. Increases in traffic and noise will occur unless controlled by external and internal features. The developer must make a real effort to enhance rather than negatively change the character of this small town.

HP: If there are cultural sites in the area to be developed, should they be preserved?

WP: Absolutely, yes, and the people of the community should be consulted closely to determine the kinds, locations, and significance of those sites. It would be unique and respectful for the developer of this major project to recognize the value of this special community. This could be done by having a center which provides the history of Waikapū, not only for the visitors to the MTP but to its residents. Additionally, cultural sites should be clearly marked so that no damage is done to them.

HP: Are there any natural resources in the project area that may be disturbed and or impacted (Example: native forests, native animals, native plants, streams, rivers, native stream habitat, etc...).

WP: The Waikapū River, its off-shoot streams and `auwai may be impacted by the project. Water as a resource for the current and future restoration of lo'i kalo must be focused on. There needs to be on-going discussion as the landscape changes throughout the

development as well as after the place is settled.

HP: What kinds of cultural traditions and practices are occurring in and around the development project. (i.e. kalo farming, native gathering, habitat restoration, ceremonial, burials)?

WP: Kalo farming is increasing as families work to grow their own food; restoration of native forests and plants; ceremonials. I am not aware of burials although that does not mean it does not or could not occur.

HP: Do you partake in any of the above cultural practices? If so can you briefly describe them?

WP: Yes, kalo farming and growing of native plants for medicinal, cultural, restoration purposes. cultural educational and agricultural programs for the community.

HP: If you currently live in Waikapū or have land, how will this project affect you and your ‘ohana, as well as your land and resources?

WP: We live across the Waikapū River from the project area so our major concerns are for the river itself and how our kalo farming may be affected.

HP: Is there anything else that would like to share about Waikapū and/or anything related to this development?

WP: We have provided testimony in many venues regarding the proposed development. As long as the developer is willing to continue the dialogue with the people of Waikapū and ensures that he will continue to engage them and to respect their input as the project moves forward, the Waikapū Country Town could be an example of a project that is mutually beneficial to both the developer and the Waikapū community.

## 11.8 Keahi Bustamente

**Biographical Overview:** Keahi Bustamente was born on O‘ahu in 1980 and lived on Moloka‘i until 1988 at which time he moved to Waikapū, Maui. Keahi lived on kuleana land originally claimed by Nauahi (LCA 3342) in the ‘ili of Kuaiwa (Kua‘iwa). Keahi grew up playing in the Waikapū Stream and north kuleana ‘auwai. He spent many of his younger years and adult life hiking throughout the Waikapū Valley and studying the unique native flora and fauna of Waikapū. He has been involved in the conservation field for over 15 years and was the former Maui Coordinator for PEPP (Plant Extinction Prevention Program of Hawai‘i). Keahi is currently the Field Crew Supervisor for Leeward Haleakalā Watershed Partnership. His work includes collaborating with large landowners whose land is in conservation, manages field crew members and volunteers, and ensures an overall protection of rare and endangered native plant and animal species along the entire leeward slopes of Haleakalā.

HP: What is your full name?

KB: Keahi Bustamente

HP: When were you born?

KB: I was born on January 25 1980.

HP: Where were you born?

KB: I was born on O‘ahu but lived on Moloka‘i. My mother had to give birth to me on O‘ahu.

HP: What ethnic background are you?

KB: Hawaiian, Filipino, Caucasian

HP: Do you currently live in Waikapū or have you lived in Waikapū before? If so, beginning in what year to what year?

KB: I moved to Waikapū in 1988 and moved to Hawaiian Homes in Waiehu a few years after I graduated from Baldwin High School which was around the year 2000.

HP: Do you have a genealogical connection to Waikapū? If so, how and through whom?

KB: Not that I am aware of, however my ‘ohana was very close with many of the lineal descendants of Waikapū.

HP: What part of Waikapū were you and/or your family raised in? (Waikō Road, Plantation camps, near Honoapi‘ilani highway, Waikapū Valley, etc..).

KB: I was raised just behind the old Waikapū Protestant Church ruins which is now a million

dollar home. I believe the piece of land or ‘ili that I lived on was called Kua‘iwa and was originally claimed by a man by the name of Nauahi.

HP: Did your parents, grandparents, relatives tell you any stories about Waikapū?

KB: Not that I can recall, my understanding and knowledge of Waikapū comes from years of exploring, research and learning from my colleagues in the natural resource management field. I am aware of the story of how Waikapū received its name as well as other important stories surrounding cultural sites such as Keālia and Pu‘uhele. I grew up hearing about the effects of stream diversions on taro farmers and that there once were aquatic species such as ‘o‘opu in the stream prior to dewatering the stream.

HP: What were some important landmarks that you remember in Waikapū (stores, churches, cemeteries, schools, plantation camps, sugar mills, heiau, farms, houses, etc...)

KB: I clearly remember the taro patches that were cultivated on Uncle Bolo and Auntie Katherine Riyu’s kuleana property above and across Waikō Road near the Waikapū stream. I also remember the ‘auwai which ran through those historical properties and how it flowed back to the stream by Auntie Pat Federcel’s house. I knew of the Protestant Church ruins which was located just above our house. I believe it was built in the 1800s. I used to play in the cane fields and pineapple fields with my friends growing up and remember seeing old plantation relics and cemeteries on the north side of the Waikapū Stream. I also spent a lot of time hiking in the Waikapū valley and seeing numerous stone walls which I believe were remnant taro patches and terraces and other archaeological sites. I clearly remember the stream diversions and how the stream was always stagnant and had a foul stench below which I believe was from the lack of flow and build up of organic material from surrounding trees.

HP: What are the names of some family members/friends that grew up around the area that you lived?

KB: I grew up around Auntie Zelig and Uncle Ted Harders property and had close friends like Dustin Vegas, Justin Locke, Gavin Taylor, Luke McLean, Kenny Yamanoue and you... Hōkūao Pellegrino. We played sports such as baseball together and rode our bikes everywhere, especially in the cane and pineapple fields. The openness of the area allowed us to greatly appreciate and respect our rural and country living surroundings. Now that I understand and value the importance of the upper reaches of the valley, I see the need to keep its pristine nature intact.

HP: When you grew up in Waikapū, what kinds of things did you do in your pastime?

KB: As mentioned before, I spent most of my time playing outside, riding bike, playing in the Waikapū Stream and North Kuleana ‘Auwai. Like I said in the last question, we explored a lot and learned to appreciate the remaining natural and cultural landscape that we were blessed to grow up around.



HP: What are some of your fondest memories of Waikapū?

KB: I loved hiking into the Waikapū Valley just as much as I do today. Because of my work in the natural resources field and my co-management of leased land owned by the developer of this Waikapū Country Town project, I have become intimately tied to this place and the natural and cultural resources that currently exist. I feel a strong kuleana to protect what is left of the natural and cultural landscape of Waikapū. I am lucky that I can do this via my full time work and work through the efforts of Hui Mālama o Waikapū.

HP: Were there any cultural sites and/or resources that you were aware of in Waikapū (Example: heiau, archaeological sites, winds ‘auwai, streams, taro patches, kuleana lands, burial sites, caves, fishponds, springs, fishing grounds, etc....) If so, could you briefly describe where they were located and if they were in use at that time that you grew up in Waikapū?

KB: Because of my extensive years of research via historical documents, maps, exploring and my work, I am aware of most sites which include cultural sites like lo‘i kalo, house sites, Keālia wetlands, Mā‘alaea fishing grounds. I have also hiked most ridges and mountain tops in and around Waikapū for my conservation work, therefore I have experienced Waikapū’s most precious natural and cultural resource, wai.... on all levels. I have seen the sources of the stream. I completely understand the cycle of water and watersheds in this area and how they work. I have seen the impact on cultural resources not so much by development but invasive species of plants and animals which are becoming more and more common in the Waikapū Valley.

HP: Do remember any Hawaiian place names in Waikapū? (Example: Kalena, Hana‘ula, Keālia, Mā‘alaea, Kapoli, Kaiwaloa, etc.....).

KB: I am familiar with most place names in Waikapū, to many to name. But I am most aware of place names found within this development due to my working in and around this area for many years. The place in which we lease from Waikapū Properties LLC is called Loaloa and was claimed by two people by the names of Charles Copp and Kupalii (Kupali‘i). These lands were strictly used for kalo cultivation and the adjacent slopes for gathering native koai‘a for traditional uses and likely other native plants used for lā‘au lapa‘au, Hawaiian medicine.

HP: What was the Waikapū Stream like when you were growing up in Waikapū? Was it flowing? Was it diverted by the sugar plantation? Did it flow only at certain times?

KB: I remember all of the diversions in Waikapū, they used to suck the entire stream dry. Never did I see the water flowing mauka to makai. I remember 3 specific diversions, one in the upper regions which I believe is a cement dam which diverts water into Reservoir #1. I know of the Waihe‘e Ditch which is adjacent to the development project I think and lastly the one by the bridge near the Honoapi‘ilani Highway. Waikapū is a dead stream from my perspective.

HP: Do remember any ‘auwai (traditional irrigation ditches – used for taro farming, etc..)?

KB: I clearly remember the north and south kuleana ‘auwai. I remember an old ‘auwai back in the valley on the north side but I don’t know if it has a name. The only reason I believe it is an ancient ‘auwai are because of extensive archaeological sites found around the ditch.

HP: Did you go down to the stream or use the ‘auwai? If so, what for?

KB: As a child I would wade in both the Waikapū Stream and ‘auwai along Waikō Road. There was never enough water to swim in the stream for my friends and I to actually swim in but we did enjoy what was there at that time. I don’t seem to see much of a difference today, whereby the stream is more like a small creek versus an actual stream with a strong flow. I know that Waikapū Stream is an important cultural resource but it sad that even for recreational use such swimming, it doesn’t seem that it is possible.

HP: Did you or your family ever gather anything from the Waikapū Stream, valley or ‘auwai for food? If so, do you remember what it was? (Example: plants for lā‘au lapa‘au, ‘o‘opu, ‘ōpae, hīhīwai, etc...).

KB: I don’t remember my family gathering anything specifically from the stream but for many years now, I have gathered native plants for lā‘au lapa‘au or Hawaiian medicine such as ko‘oko‘olau and māmaki both of which are native plants that grow adjacent to the Waikapū Stream and used for making teas. I also gather seeds from this area and propagate them for outplanting in the same location. We in the conservation field have a very strict policy about seed gathering and outplanting, both of which I follow pretty religiously. The seeds have also been used for storage and propagation, especially that of the rare and endemic Hawaiian noni which supposedly cannot be found anywhere else in Hawai‘i, but Waikapū. I have only seen a handful of these plant growing in the upper reaches of the Waikapū valley and watershed.

HP: Currently there is a large scale development being proposed on the south side of Waikapū Stream in and around the current Maui Tropical Plantation and both sides of the current Honoapi‘ilani Highway. Mauka of the Honoapi‘ilani Highway 80 rural/farm lots, 253 single family homes, 100 cottage/town homes, a commercial business area and parks and open spaces are being proposed. Makai of the highway are 700 single family homes, 300 cottages/town homes, 35 country town commercial business, parks, and open spaces, and a school.

HP: After looking at the map and development plan, what can you recall of this are historically and when you were living in Waikapū? What do you remember of this area?

KB: Wow! This is quite extensive. I have been fully aware of the project from day one but to be honest, I didn’t know the full extent of the project. The project areas was in pineapple fields for the most part and my friends and I used to ride our bikes through them. We used to go to the Maui Tropical Plantation on occasion with my family. The upper region of the project

was where I used to gain access into the valley. This is still the case since I co-manage lands leased from the developer for native habitat restoration. I am very curious as to how we as Hui Mālama o Waikapū and the developer can proactively and collaboratively work together to ensure the protection of the valley and native plant species.

HP: Do you remember kuleana lands, sugar cane, ranching, and/or taro patches, etc...in this area?

KB: Yes, I remember the many stone wall terraces along the embankment of the Waikapū Stream which I now opened by the developers. I do also remember some ranching going on above Reservoir #1 but I can't remember the guys name who used to ranch up there. The lands that we manage under Hui Mālama o Waikapū are former kuleana lands and our plans and goals have been to restore and preserve the archaeological sites and native plants on-site.

HP: What are your thoughts about the scale of this project? Do you feel that it will have an impact on known / or unknown cultural sites?

KB: I am very concerned about the impacts of this development on the Waikapū Stream and taro farmers who rely on that water resource. I know that most of the water diverted are for the lands of the developers at this point, but have heard that they may possibly be some changes in their use of surface water. My hopes are that they stop using surface water and find other sources such as ground water as long as it doesn't have any adverse effect on the sustainable yield and surface water. I am highly nervous about the accessibility into the valley via any commercial or recreational activities such as hiking or trails. Waikapū is the home to so many endemic and indigenous native species of plants, animals, insects and land snails. I don't want to see further disruption to the natural flow of life caused by invasive species. Access into the valley could cause expanded damage to its native dryland and mesic forests, the forests that our group is working hard to protect.

HP: Do you think that this development will change the character of Waikapū? If so, how?

KB: There is no turning back after this development. In my eyes, a great deal of the character of Waikapū has to do with its natural resources which to us as Hawaiians is also a cultural resource. What we don't want is a rampant amount of people who gain access into the Waikapū valley and stream causing more negative effects on the native population of plants and animals. You can already see this happening as we speak. There needs to be some sort of clear protection or a line to delineate where those future residents and their visitors or friends can hike and/or have access to the valley or not. Many of the native species in Waikapū are sensitive and fragile, especially those in the upper watershed and native dryland forest.

HP: If there are cultural sites in the area to be developed, should they be preserved?

KB: No doubt about it. Protect all cultural sites in and around developed area along with serious

restrictions to the inner part of the valley as to further protect the archaeological sites, cultural sites and natural resources.

HP: Are there any natural resources in the project area that may be disturbed and or impacted (Example: native forests, native animals, native plants, streams, rivers, native stream habitat, etc...).

KB: My concentration and perspective in all of this would be greatly centered around the natural resources and native habitat found within the Waikapū Valley. Currently a great deal of the native dryland forest, if not all of it, has currently been overrun by non-native and invasive species. Protecting the further decimation of these species fall on the developers and land owner to ensure that no expansion of diseases and or invasive species will end up getting into the valley by increased human traffic. One helpful way of further preventing these issues is to restrict access into the valley. This is extremely important because of the conservation efforts by Hui Mālama o Waikapū as well as that of West Maui Watershed Partnership. The dominant dryland forest trees such as koai‘a, wiliwili and alahe‘e of Waikapū have basically all but disappeared except for the area in which we are protecting as a hui. It is critical that these efforts are able to be continued and supported by the developer. Much of the Waikapū watershed is dominated by invasive species which form monotypic stands that inhibit the growth of other species. In steep areas, like the ones inhabited by *Macaranga tanarius*, this leads to erosion, runoff and potentially little groundwater recharge. *Casuarina*, which makes up a large percentage of the alien forest in Waikapū, is known for its inability to allow recharge and for the runoff it creates. Stands of *Casuarina* are also known to have low infiltration and low transpiration rates. We are losing our native forest at an alarming rate, and little of the true endangerment of our watershed is known by those outside the conservation world. In my opinion, we may see a 20-30% loss of remaining native forest in Waikapū to invasive species within my lifetime. As species like *Macaranga*, *Casuarina*, and others invade and become the forest, groundwater recharge will decline and runoff will increase. I would like to see land cover data and other models be improved and watershed health should be a factor in the calculation of available water for future use. The native forest go hand in hand in regards to the output of our invaluable cultural resource, wai. The name Waikapū alone along with the other three streams in Nā Wai ‘Ehā are clear evidence of the abundance of water the once existed in these ahupua‘a.

HP: What kinds of cultural traditions and practices are occurring in and around the development project. (i.e. kalo farming, native gathering, habitat restoration, ceremonial, burials)?

KB: I would have to say that wetland kalo farming in the lower reaches of the valley and adjacent to the project development is a major cultural resource and traditional practices that are currently ongoing and plan to continue into the future. As for the cultural traditions in the valley.

HP: Do you partake in any of the above cultural practices? If so can you briefly describe them?

KB: Yes, kalo farming and growing of native plants for medicinal, cultural, restoration purposes.

We as Hui Mālama o Waikapū run a volunteer restoration and education program and have partnered with many different schools on Maui and non-profit organizations which have provided man power, grant funding and tools to assist in our efforts. We share the importance of respecting cultural resources in Waikapū whether it be archaeological site stabilization, native plant habitat restoration and traditional wetland kalo farming. Gathering of native plants for medicinal purposes has been occurring with lineal descendants of families in this are such as you (Hōkūao Pellegrino), Luke McLean, and the Rogers-Harders Family. I can recall that the Rogers-Harders families have scattered the ashes of their ‘ohana in the valley on multiple occasions, very close to the development project on hand.

HP: If you currently live in Waikapū or have land, how will this project affect you and your ‘ohana, as well as your land and resources?

KB: Although I no longer live in Waikapū, I spend a great deal of my time here during and after work, especially in the upper reaches of the Waikapū Valley during conservation work. To me practicing my culture and working on the land through conservation efforts is one and the same. You cannot talk about ‘āina or land without talking about cultural traditions. I am concerned about the future of our efforts and the ability to protect the valley, land and stream which are all cultural resources. What reassurances are going to be put in place to ensure that our work has not been done in vain.

HP: Is there anything else that would like to share about Waikapū and/or anything related to this development?

KB: I appreciate the fact the one of the developers has given us (Hui Mālama o Waikapū) this opportunity to protect these important cultural sites and native landscapes on their property. I look forward to having more open an clear discussions with Waikapū Properties LLC during the approval process to ensure minimal or no impact will occur on the work being conducted by our Hui as well as the overall protection of the Waikapū valley and cultural resources found within or adjacent to the property.



## **12.0 CONCLUSION: SYNTHESIS OF ARCHIVAL, LITERARY, AND ORAL ACCOUNTS**

The purpose of this project was to investigate the impact that the Waikapū Country Town development will have on the cultural practices and customs of the project area and surrounding lands through archival, literary, and oral accounts. This report provides a detailed understanding of Nā Wai ‘Ehā as a moku and the overall cultural resources found within the ahupua‘a of Waikapū pre and post-Western contact.

Waikapū has a long and rich cultural history and a strong representation of traditional cultural practices. Although many of these practices lay outside of the project site as described within the report, consideration should be taken on behalf of the developers to ensure the preservation and continuation of these practices and traditions. As conveyed throughout this extensive report, these cultural practices include cultural site preservation, natural and cultural resource management, Hawaiian agricultural resources, water resources in the Waikapū Stream and ‘auwai, land divisions and traditional place names within the project and surrounding area, and the overall spiritual essence of cultural resources found within the this ahupua‘a. The report also discusses prior impact to the project area due mainly to commercial sugar cultivation.

Interviewees agree that those cultural sites, natural resources, and traditional and customary practices must be maintained throughout the proposed development projects while being sensitive to those found in the surrounding area. They also agree that the community should have an integral role in the ultimate planning of how these resources shall be managed, preserved and perpetuated during and after the completion of the proposed project, as to avoid over-exploitation of larger cultural and natural resources found within the ahupua‘a of Waikapū and its surrounding environmental and cultural landscape.

There continue be identifiable cultural practices that exist within the project area and surrounding land. The possible types of cultural practices and beliefs that are subject to this assessment include Hawaiian subsistence and residential agriculture on kuleana lands. These lands utilize the Waikapū Stream which is a valuable cultural resources. Intricate irrigation systems built prior to western contact continue to purposely be maintained and utilized. There are also projects in the mauka portion of the developer’s land that are being utilized for cultural site and native habitat restoration, while providing a traditional access point into the Waikapū Valley for gathering of lā‘au lapa‘au (medicinal plants) and native seed gathering.

The surrounding lands as identified through oral and archival accounts are also considered traditional cultural properties or kuleana lands. These historic lands are associated with traditional practices and beliefs that have been in use prior to the Māhele of 1848. The surrounding traditional cultural properties are associated with events that have made an important contribution to the broad pattern of the Hawaiian culture while yielding information important for research on prehistory or current historical practices. The traditional agricultural practice and cultural / natural site restoration have an important value to the native Hawaiian people, the Waikapū community, and even other ethnic groups found in these islands by enhancing cultural identity and well-being.

### 13.0 POTENTIAL CULTURAL IMPACTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this study has shown that the Waikapū Country Town (TMK: (2) 3-6-05:007 por., (2) 3-6-05-007, (2) 3-6-04:006, (2) 3-6-04:003 por.) may have an indirect impact on the cultural practices and resources found within the Waikapū Community. According to the development map that was provided, it is evident that there will be no direct impact on cultural sites, practices and traditions. However, the concerns of the community and those that have been interviewed for this project are greatly concerned about how the development may impact cultural properties and resources found within the developer's properties and surrounding lands.

#### 13.1 Mahi Kuleana Parcels

One significant impact that has been identified in this report are the two kuleana lands privately owned by the Mahi family (LCAw: 2499, R.P. 4070 AP 1 &2 to Ehunui) and (Grant 1153 to Ehunui). Although, both were born and raised on the island of O'ahu, they currently own the two kuleana parcels of land in Waikapū, Maui which are situated within the boundaries of Waikapū Properties LLC. These lands are currently TMK: (2) 3-6-05:009 (0.06 acres) and TMK: (2) 3-6-05:010 (0.5 acres). These small kuleana parcels were once directly within the confines of the development project, however have since been modified to go around these two parcels of land. The Mahi family has expressed that they would like to preserve their lands even though they may have been impacted by prior sugar plantation cultivation. In the oral interviews provided by the Mahi Family, they have voiced their concerns about the need to keep these lands in their family while working with the developer to seek a solution that will work to the benefit both parties.



Figure 30. Arrows pointing towards 2 Mahi Parcels of land situated within the lands of Waikapū Property LLC

## 13.2 Waikapū Stream

Another potential impact that has been shared throughout this document and within interviews both for this project and within the community, is the need to protect and restore the Waikapū Stream. Surface water from the Waikapū Stream is a valuable cultural resource which was and continues to be utilized by descendants of those original kuleana land claimants. The Waikapū Stream which has had numerous impacts mainly due to the sugar and pineapple industry has now become a heated topic throughout Maui and State wide. One of Hawai‘i’s largest water rights cases (Nā Wai ‘Ehā) which began in 2003 directly addresses the issues surrounding surface water, especially that of Waikapū Stream. In May of 2014, The State Commission on Water Resource Management requested that of the 4 mgd flowing the Waikapū Stream above the diversions, 2.9 mgd of surface water would need to be returned via the IIFS (CWRM Interim Instream Flow Process). The community along with many kuleana farmers who depend on the stream for cultivating crops continues to have discussions with the land owner and developer in order to establish a long term water use plan for both surface and groundwater. Currently, Waikapū Properties LLC uses surface water via Wailuku Water Company diversions and delivery systems for the following purposes; Maui Tropical Plantation which is a commercial agritourism business, lands leased to Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company for cultivating 2,000 acres of sugarcane, and lands leased to organic and conventional agribusinesses on roughly 400 acres of land that surround the Maui Tropical Plantation. One of the project developers has had open discussions with neighboring kuleana land owners as well as with members of the Waikapū Community Association about their current water uses and system and plans to minimize their reliance on surface water and shifting to ground water. Although the upper South Waikapū Intake Stream Diversion does not derive on the developers land, a major portion of the former plantation delivery system, Reservoir #1 and South Kuleana ‘Auwai is situated on their land. A portion of water situated in the reservoir via an 8” pipe that feeds into an ‘auwai or open ditch then travels 2,000 plus feet below to what are known as the “south kuleanas” or kuleana lands situated on the south side of the Waikapū Stream. Major issues surrounding sedimentation runoff and plantation material ending up into the Waikapū has derived from the developers land. This includes problems with the South Kuleana ‘Auwai or open ditch due to sporadic maintenance and management in which water spills over the ridge and causes large amount of sedimentation to enter the Waikapū Stream. Large rain events have also caused sedimentation runoff and plantation material to flow into the Waikapū Stream. And lastly, underground surface water deliver lines which have broken time to time have caused large amounts of sedimentation into the Waikapū Stream. All three examples can and have caused major disruptions in the cultivation of wetland kalo for both north and south traditional kuleana farmers. The community and especially kuleana kalo farmers on both the north and south side of the Waikapū stream have encouraged an the land owner on numerous occasions about their responsibility to managing surface water and runoff issues that affect the stream, stream habitat and many neighboring land owners who rely water as an important cultural resource.

## 13.3 Ground Water

The uses of Ground Water is going to play a major role in the ability for Waikapū Properties LLC to develop their lands. As stated above, Waikapū Properties LLC currently uses surface water from

the Waikapū Stream. It has been shared on numerous occasions to the Waikapū Community Association that their goal is to minimize their dependency on surface water and to utilize the 4 ground water wells that were drilled on the property beginning in 2012 for the development project and agricultural initiatives. The sustainable yield for the Waikapū aquifer is 3 mgd. With the inclusion of these 4 development and agricultural project wells along with all other documented wells in the Waikapū aquifer, the total amount that could potentially be pumped is 3.362 mgd. (Waikapū Well Aquifer List) This exceeds the sustainable yield for Waikapū and has raised many questions in the community about the potential impacts on the Waikapū Aquifer. Since the drilling of the four wells by Waikapū Properties LLC, there have been additional requests by other neighboring developers to drill wells in the Waikapū aquifer for their own projects. This too, has brought a heightened level of attention and concern by the Waikapū community as to the protection of the Waikapū aquifer and whether there is a significant threat to the sustainability of this public trust resource. Another concern voiced by members of the Waikapū Community is the impact of surface water stream flow and pumpage of ground water via the project wells and other wells in use in Waikapū.

### **13.4 Kuleana Agricultural Lands Adjacent to Waikapū Stream**

The center or core of the Waikapū Country Town project is situated on former kuleana agricultural land, as noted throughout the study and via Māhele land claims. A vast majority of these kuleana lands were used for cultivating wetland kalo and included extensive ‘auwai or irrigation systems, both of which relied heavily on the accessibility of fresh water from the Waikapū Stream. A decent amount of the 1,400 cultivated and documented lo‘i kalo at the time of the Māhele derived on what is now the current project site. The only intact remnant agricultural sites on lands owned by Waikapū Properties LLC, are those found along the Waikapū Stream. These lands are not included in the project site. The upper most kuleana agricultural site is leased by Hui Mālama o Waikapū and are in the process of being restored and farmed under wetland cultivation. What has been more discerning in regards to the impact on kuleana agricultural lands are those whose lands are adjacent to the Waikapū Properties LLC. Many lineal descendants of original Māhele claimants continue to access water from the Waikapū Stream via traditional ‘auwai or irrigation systems in order to cultivate wetland kalo on their ancestral land. The cultivation of kalo is an important traditional and customary right protected under law in Hawai‘i. Although the current development project does not impede on their cultural rights to cultivate kalo, kalo farmers have shared their concerns about the accessibility of stream flow via their ‘auwai and the quality of water. As shared in Section 13.2, the quality of water is extremely important for kalo cultivation and minimizing any impacts to the actual Waikapū Stream and ‘auwai systems was greatly encouraged.

### **13.5 Native Dryland Forest and Watershed**

As mentioned by Keahi Bustamente’s interview, native plant and animal habitats in Waikapū, especially those found within the valley are invaluable cultural resources. He along with Hui Mālama o Waikapū would like to see these areas be protected not just for the sake of their efforts but for preservation of sensitive sites as pointed out in his interview. A major concern and cause of greater negative impact to the forest is accessibility and the potential for more invasive species to impede on the remaining native dryland and mesic forests. It was made clear that there is a

symbiotic relationship between the native forest habitats and Waikapū water resources whether they be ground or surface water. Further degradation to native plant species and habitats are a huge concern when discussing water resources in the Waikapū ahupua‘a. Although the development project will not have a direct impact on the natural and cultural resources related to native forest habitats, indirect impacts via human accessibility by future residents and others from the development could cause further damage to the forest by bringing in additional invasive species and diseases.

### **13.6 Inadvertent Finds (Artifacts & Burials)**

Due to the fact that the development will take place on former cultural sites found within prior kuleana lands, there may be the potential of inadvertent finds such as artifacts and burials during the implementation phase of the project. It is highly recommended that if any cultural features (i.e. artifact, burials, etc..) arise through any portion of the project implementation phase, that the developer will comply with state laws and work in accordance with archaeologists on a site monitoring or preservation plan. It is further recommended that they stay in close communication with the Waikapū Community as many of these kuleana cultural lands once belonged to Hawaiian families, many of whom have decedents that continue to live in Waikapū

### **13.7 Final Recommendations**

It is evident that the developer is open to communicating with the Waikapū Community at large and those land owners whose lands may be impacted adjacent to the subject property. Because of the concerns about neighboring cultural properties and resources, it is recommended that the developer continue to have genuine discussions with the Waikapū Community and provide current information and/or changes regarding the development plan. In addition, the community would also like to provide input on how to incorporate traditional cultural practices and knowledge within the development plan in order to maintain the unique traditions and practices of Waikapū and its identity. Although there have been prior impacts within the subject area made by the sugar industry, the Waikapū County Town development will be the largest development project to take place in Waikapū. Overarching sentiments provided by the community is that they would like the developer to be open to their concerns and to work directly with them on any issues that may arise in order to find positive solutions and an overall benefit to the Waikapū community at large



#### **14.0 Indices of Māhele Awards and Māhele Documents Associated with Waikapū Country Town Development Project (Records Obtained and Compiled by Hōkūao Pellegrino)**



Awardee	'Ili (Subdivision)	Land Commission Award	Royal Patent	'Āpana (Parcel)	Grant	Acres	Description of Cultural & Natural Resources via Native and Foreign Testimony and Survey Notes	Surveyor
Kupalii	Keana	3546	3151	2		1.2	- Kula - Kalo paukū - Kukui & wiliwili - Borders Waikapū Stream	E. Bailey 5-5-1852
Charles Copp	Papala	236-1	498	2		1.0 (est.)	- Lo'i kalo (unspecified amount) - Borders Waikapū Stream	Ioane (John) Richardson
Napailoi	Kaloaloo / Loaloo	10481	3131	4		0.66	- Lo'i kalo (unspecified amount) - Borders Waikapū Stream	E. Bailey 4-23-1852
Opunui	Loaloo	3224	4115	6		0.27	- Lo'i kalo (unspecified amount) - Borders Waikapū Stream	E. Bailey 6-25-1852
Keaka (W)	Olohe	3549	3122	3		1.0 (est.)	- 3 lo'i kalo - Borders Waikapū Stream	Unknown
Keaka (W)	Olohe				1511	0.2 (est.)	- Lo'i kalo (unspecified amount) - Borders Waikapū Stream	Unknown
Kupalii	Mokahelahela / Makaelelu	3546	3151	3		1.0	- 1 house lot	E. Bailey 5-5-1852
Kamakaipoaa / Kamakaipuaa	Kamauhalii	6385	None	2		1.94	- Lo'i (unspecified amount) - Borders Waikapū Stream	E. Bailey 4-15-1852
*Nahau*	Olohe	3340	3115	2		0.8	- Mo'o kula - 1 house lot - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 4-11-1852
Joseph Sylva	Waihalulu			3	1844	487.0	- 'Auwai watercourse - Pens - Stone walls - Native claims retained - Gulch	E. Bailey 4-10-1855
Joseph Sylva	Waihalulu			2	1844	9.52	- Stone walls - Multiple house lot	E. Bailey 4-10-1855
Joseph Sylva	Waihalulu & Paalae			1	1844	22.36	- Native claims retained	E. Bailey 4-10-1855
Napailoi	Waihalulu	10481	3131	2&3		1.3	- 8 lo'i kalo - Kula - 1 house lot	E. Bailey 4-23-1852
Napailoi	Paalae	10481	3131	1:1		0.54	- Kalo paukū - Kula - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 4-23-1852
Napailoi	Paalae	10481	3131	1:2		0.19	- Kalo paukū - Kula	E. Bailey 4-23-1852
Napailoi	Paalae	10481	3131	1:3		0.1	- Kalo paukū - Kula	E. Bailey 4-23-1852
Hakiki	Waihalulu	2577	4948	4		0.2	- 4 lo'i kalo - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 8-14-1852
Kaaha	Olohe	2394	3138	1		1.36	- Kalo paukū - Pūhala - 2 house lots - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 6-21-1852
Nalei	Olohe	10460	None	2		0.07	- 2 lo'i kalo - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 4-16-1852
*Ehunui*	Olohe			1513		0.07 (est.)	- Unknown	Unknown
*Ehunui*	Olohe	2499	4070	1		0.8	- Kalo paukū - Po'alima - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 6-25-1852
*Ehunui*	Pikoku	2499	4070	3		1.3	- 7 lo'i kalo - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 6-25-1852
Awardee	'Ili (Subdivision)	Land Commission	Royal Patent	'Āpana (Parcel)	Grant	Acres	Description of Cultural & Natural Resources via	Surveyor

		Award					Native and Foreign Testimony and Survey Notes	
Kamaipuaa / Kamakaipoaa / Kamakaipuaa	Pikoku	6385	None	1		0.17	- Kalo paukū	E. Bailey 4-15-1852
Koa	Pikoku	3528	3155	1		3.90	- 2 house lots - Kalo paukū - Kula - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 8-27-1852
Koa	Pikoku				1708	0.1 (est.)	- 1 lo'i kalo - 'Auwai watercourse - 2 burial plots (Maxwell)	E. Bailey 9-9-1854
Hakiki	Olohe	2577	4948	2		0.25	- 7 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 8-14-1852
Mohomoho	Kamauhalii			1	1711	0.08	- 1 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 9-8-1854
Mohomoho	Kamauhalii			2	1711	0.04	- 1 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 9-8-1854
Ihu	Kamauhalii			1	1712	0.09	- 1 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 9-15-1854
Opunui	Kamauhalii				1704	1.94	- Unknown	E. Bailey 9-9-1854
Mataio	Kamauhalii	3020	3140	2		2.65	- Kalo paukū - Kula - House lot	E. Bailey 4-15-1852
Keawe (W)	Punia	3520	3135			2.54	- 2 kalo paukū - Kula	E. Bailey 4-15-1852
Makuakane	Punia	2522	3125			1.83	- Kalo paukū	Unknown
Kekua	Kamauhalii	5551	3150	1		0.42	- Kalo paukū	E. Bailey 6-25-1852
Kekua	Kaalaea	5551	3150	2		0.1	- 2 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 6-25-1852
Kekua	Kamauhalii				1518	0.15 (est.)	- Unknown	Unknown
Kamohai	Kaalaea	3527	3156	3		0.2	- Kalo paukū - Kula mo'o	E. Bailey 8-18-1852
Naanaa	Punia	3337	3136	1,2,3		1.1	- Kalo paukū - Lo'i kalo - House lot	E. Bailey 4-14-1852
Ihu	Kaalaea			2	1712	0.07	- 1 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 9-15-1854
Kaai	Kaalaea			2	2069	0.18	- Unknown	Unknown
Opunui	Kaalaea	3224	4115	5		0.32	- Kula	E. Bailey 6-25-13
Naanaa	Kaalaea	3337	3136	4		0.45	- Kalo paukū	E. Bailey 4-14-1852
Poepoe	Kaalaea	2609	3124	1,5		0.98	- Kalo paukū - 'Uala kula - House lot	E. Bailey 8-27-1852
Kaai	Kaalaea	5774	4014	2		2.76	- 6 lo'i kalo - 'Auwai watercourse	E. Bailey 3-?-1852
Kaai	Kaalaea			1	2069	10.46	- Unknown	Unknown
Wahinealii	Kaalaea	11022	3142	8		0.6	- House lot	E. Bailey 4-15-1852
Mahoe	Ahuakolea	10160	3148	1		1.99	- Kalo paukū	E. Bailey 4-16-1852
Kamohai	Kaalaea	3527	3156	2		0.2	- Kalo paukū	E. Bailey 8-18-1852
Keakini	Kaalaea	5324	6374	3		0.56	- 1 lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 4-24-1852
Kaneae	Kaloapelu	8874	3130	1		0.29	- Lo'i kalo	E. Bailey 8-26-1852

Awardee	‘Ili (Subdivision)	Land Commission Award	Royal Patent	‘Āpana (Parcel)	Grant	Acres	Description of Cultural & Natural Resources via Native and Foreign Testimony and Survey Notes	Surveyor
Haawahine	Kaloapelu	491	3139	2		0.2	- 1 lo‘i kalo	Unknown
Kamohai	Kaloapelu	3527	3156	1		0.25	- Lo‘i kalo - Kula mo‘o	E. Bailey 8-18-1852
Mahuka	Kaloapelu	462	None	1		0.29	- 6 lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 2-11-1853
Haawahine	Kaloapelu	491	3139	1		0.2	- 4 lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 8-?-1852
Kaneae	Kaloapelu	8874	3130	2		0.87	- Lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 8-26-1852
Haawahine	Kaloapelu	491	3139	3		0.13	- 2 lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 8-?-1852
Eugene Bal	Kaloapelu			1	2747	0.72	- Unknown	E. Bailey 3-12-1861
Charles Copp	Luapuaa	236	498	1		16.5	- Unknown	E. Bailey ?
John Crowder	Ko‘olau	416	41	1		7.4 (est.)	- ‘Auwai watercourse	J. Richardson 2-2-1847
John Crowder	Aikanaha	416	41	2		1.5 (est.)	- House lot	J. Richardson 2-2-1847
John Crowder	Aikanaha				2904	0.57	- House lot	E. Bailey 6-6-1861
E.W. Gleason	Aikanaha				1674	1.8	- Dry lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 7-20-1853
Haa	Aikanaha	455	324	2		1.8	- Sugar cane	J. Richardson 3-11-1850
Kaai	Kaloapelu	5774	4014	4		9.9	- Lo‘i kalo - Kula	E. Bailey 3-?-1852
Kaneae	Kaloapelu	8874	3130	3		0.8	- Lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 8-26-1852
Mahuka	Kaloapelu	462	None	2		0.09	- 5 lo‘i kalo	E. Bailey 2-11-1853
Keakini	Kaloapelu	5324	6374	2		1.82	- 3 lo‘i kalo - Kula - House lot	E. Bailey 4-24-1852
Eugene Bal	Kaloapelu				2342	2.73	- 2 house lots	E. Bailey 2-23-1857
John Boardman	Ahuakolea				2960	23.5	- Reservoir - Stone Walls	E. Bailey
John Boardman	Ahuakolea				3043	4.5	- Reserved rights of natives	Unknown
Henry Cornwell	Unknown				3152	1,200 (est.)	- Board of Education lands - Reserved rights of natives	Unknown
Haa	Aikanaha	455	324	1		33.2	- Sugar cane	J. Richardson 3-11-1850
Eugene Bal	Aikanaha			2	2747	129.8 (port.)	- Potential house lots - Burial sites	
Poonui	Kaumuilio	411	None			3.53	- Lo‘i kalo - House lot	Unkown

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