

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY

The Ethnographic Survey (oral history interviews) is an essential part of the Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) because they help in the process of determining if an undertaking or development project will have an adverse impact on cultural properties/practices or access to cultural properties/practices. The following are initial consultant selection criteria:

- ❖ Had/has Ties to Project Area
- ❖ Known Hawaiian Cultural Resource Person
- ❖ Referred by PBR Hawaii and/or Kapalua Land Development Staff
- ❖ Referred By Other Cultural Resource People

The consultants for this CIA were selected because they met the following criteria: (1) consultant grew up, lives or lived in Māhinahina-Kahana; (2) consultant is familiar with the history and *mo'olelo* of Māhinahina-Kahana or Kā'anapali in general; (3) consultant referred by Hawaiian Cultural Practitioner(s); and/or (4) consultant referred by Staff of PBF-Hawaii and/or Kapalua Land Development. Copies of signed “Consent” and “Release” forms are provided in Appendices G and H.

Research Themes or Categories

In order to comply with the scope of work of this cultural impact assessment, the ethnographic survey was designed so that information from consultants interviewed would facilitate in determining if any cultural sites or practices would be impacted by the implementation of the proposed *Pulelehua* project. To this end the following research categories or themes were incorporated into the ethnographic instrument: Consultant Background, Land Resources and Use, Water Resources and Use, Marine Resources and Use, Cultural Resources and Use, and Anecdotal Stories. Except for the ‘Consultant Background’ category, all the other research categories have sub-categories or sub-themes that were developed based on the ethnographic raw data or responses of the consultants. These responses or clusters of information then become supporting evidence for any determinations made regarding cultural impacts.

Consultant Background

Each consultant was asked to talk about their background; where they were born and raised, where they went to school and worked, and a little about their parents and grandparents. This category helps to establish the consultant’s connection to the project area, their area and extent of expertise, and how they acquired their proficiency. In other words, how the consultant met the research consultant criteria.

The consultants either grew up, live, and/or work in the project vicinity. Two consultants grew up in West Maui and one consultant spent his summers in West Maui while growing up, then later moved to West Maui. One consultant is a member of a family that has lived and fished the waters of Māhinahina-Kahana for several generations. Two of the consultants live and/or have family ties to lands in Māhinahina-Kahana. [An additional person was informally interviewed as he was cleaning fish caught in the channel between Māhinahina and Lana`i.]

There is always a danger of not allowing the consultant’s “voice” to be heard; of making interpretations that are not theirs; and of asking leading questions. To remedy this, the “talk story” method is used and allows for a dialogue to take place, thereby allowing the consultant to talk about a general topic in their own specific way with their own specific words. All of the excerpts used are either in the exact words of each consultant or paraphrased to insert words that are “understood” or to link sentences that were brought up as connected afterthoughts or additions spoken elsewhere in the interview. The following excerpts in “Consultant Background” provide a summary of each consultant, as well as information about

‘their parents and grandparents. Last names are used to identify quotes for two consultants; the third consultant preferred to use a pseudonym. The last name is also used for the consultant at the beach.

Table 1. Ethnographic Consultant Demographics (2013).

Interviewee	YoB	Ethnicity	Connection to Project Area	Birthplace	Reside	Cultural Expertise
Wesley Nohara	1954	Japanese	Work-MLP	Lahaina	Pukalani	Land history
Pohaku	1953	Pt. Hawn	Fish/Limu	O‘ahu	Māhinahina-Kahana	Fish/Limu
Ken Sadang	?	Pt. Hawn	Live-Fish/Gather*	Lahaina	Māhinahina-Kahana	Fish/Limu/Opihi
James ‘Bobo’ Nalei‘eha	?	Pt. Hawn	Live-Fish	Lahaina	Māhinahina-Kahana	Fishing
YoB=year of birth			*Gather=Limu/Opihi/Crab			

Wesley Nohara. My name is Wesley M. Nohara. Born in Lahaina, October 16, 1954. Raised in the Honolua Camp which is now the heart of Kapalua Resort. Went to school at Honokahua School, elementary school, which is right where the Ritz Carlton is today. And attended Lahainaluna High School, graduated 1972. And attended the University of Hawaii at Hilo in 1973, and graduated from UH Mānoa in 1979. Lived and worked in West Maui in this Napili area, generally, my whole life. In the last year I moved to Hali‘imaile, where now I reside at Pukalani, and work at the Hali‘imaile Plantation [Retired 2010 (Nohara 2017)].

My parents were born and raised in Lahaina as well, both of them. Both lived also in the Honolua Camp. Interestingly, they were both next door neighbors in the old Honolua Camp. Got married, resided at the Honolua Camp. Both worked for, back then, the Baldwin Packers, which is the company before merging with Maui Pineapple Company. My grandparents on my father’s side both worked for the plantation since the early 1920’s. Plantation, meaning the pineapple company. Also, my grandfather was born in Lahaina town in the early 1900’s and worked for the sugar company that was in Kaua‘ula Valley. And, I believe, in the early 1920’s moved to Honolua Camp and since then worked for Maui Pine...well Baldwin Packers. And retired, I think, in the early 1960’s.

On my mother’s side, my grandfather and my grandmother immigrated to Hawaii from Japan. They worked for the pineapple company, Baldwin Packers. Gosh, I don’t remember...my grandfather died in the 1940’s...something like that. And my grandmother died in the late ‘60s. They both worked and lived in the old Honolua Camp as well. So my family heritage is pretty much in West Maui, but specifically here at the Honolua area. We call it Honolua Camp because the plantation is called Honolua Plantation but really the village was probably properly named Honokahua Camp. Honokahua Village. It is right where Honolua store is today, which is pretty much the heart of Kapalua Resort. Honolua store is the plantation store that supplied much of the day-to-day needs that the residents needed. Back then people didn’t have a whole lot of money, so you didn’t buy too much from the store. You grew a lot of your own things, like vegetables and raise chickens and ducks... and whatever else...you did fishing. You pretty much lived a very inexpensive lifestyle. It was a very slow ...but for the most part a good lifestyle. Most of us played... a lot of recreation ... made our own things ... obviously there was football and basketball, an important part of our recreational life. But things that most people don’t realize ... stuff like climbing mango trees, make your own slingshot, make your own kite and make your own toys basically. Most of us couldn’t afford to buy new toys; you had to make your own things.

Dirt roads, old plantation houses, pretty much everybody knew each other and often there would be gatherings--community gatherings--and everybody would show up for those. As I would imagine, it was fairly typical of most plantations, be it sugar or pineapple, it’s a pretty tight community.

My grandfather was born, I believe, about 1901 or 1902 in Lahaina, and was raised in Kaua`ula Valley. My grandmother, I'm not sure if she was born in Hawai`i but if she wasn't as a real young child she was already in Hawai`i. I'm not sure where her side of the family roots go back to. My Grandfather Nohara, his father and mother immigrated to Hawai`i to work for the sugar company, as most people's grandparents they actually came from Japan. I'm not sure what prefecture. I think they were from Niigata, but I may be wrong. They worked for Pioneer Mill Sugar Company. My grandfather was born in the early 1900's and I believe upon birth, his mother died. They had just moved from Japan. Work was difficult, lifestyle was difficult. And for a single parent, my great-grandfather could not support an infant and work. So he actually moved back to Japan and left my grandfather to be cared for by hanai parents, the Nohara's. My great-grandfather's name was really Takahashi. So my grandfather was adopted by the Nohara's who lived in Lahaina town. So Nohara is really an adoptive name. They lived on Lahainaluna Road...the junction of Lahainaluna Road and Waine`e. And I guess they were family friends of my great-grandfather and they agreed to adopt and take care of my grandfather. There are some other members of that family. They would be step-siblings of my grandfather. I lost track of that section of the family.

1969 I started working as a fourteen year old in the pine fields doing manual work, meaning picking pineapples. I did that until I graduated from high school in 1972. In 1973 I started as a truck driver on a part-time basis working my way through college. In 1979 I came back to work as a management trainee doing first-line supervisory work and learning all the different job functions in management. In 1982 I became a harvesting supervisor, in 1986, I may be off by a year or so, I did field establishment which is basically planting and tractor work. In 1987 I did a short stint with field maintenance, which is the growing of the crop...spring. In 1988 I became plantation superintendent, which is basically the manager of the West Maui Honolua Farm here And I did that from 1988 until 2001 when I became plantation manager for all of the farms of Maui, which is pretty much where I'm at now [Nohara] [Retired 2010 (Nohara 2017)].

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Pohaku: I was born on Oahu, 1953. Raised in Oahu in Mānoa Valley until 1965. Went to Maryknoll Grade School. Moved to Maui in the summer of 1965; my parents retired from working in the State office. We moved to Maui, to my grandmother's property. I continued education at Kam III School, and on to Lahainaluna, graduated in 1972. I have lived on this property for the past thirty-eight years. My Mom was born in Pa`ia, and my Dad was born in Wailuku on Maui. My Dad's family moved to Oahu, I don't know exactly what year, they lived on Hassinger Street. My Dad had family in Lahaina so he used to come up every summer. In the old days, how the families knew other families, he was brought up with a young girl that he was attracted to and somehow they met and that's how they got together. This be my grandmother's property, we used to come up every summer and spend the summers on Maui. The story I got was she [grandmother] bought it [the land] at an auction when the previous owners didn't pay their land tax at that time. She bought it an auction for ... cheap. They built the house down here. They owned five acres which was across the street and this road didn't go through here. The road was *mauka*. So a lot of the ocean side properties were bigger. And then I don't know how they decided, but the government said they were coming in and were going to put a new road in and it dissected the property. That's why the property's split up. Or else this would be five acres beach front. The road was level...well not level but it came up on a hill...but because it's built on a turn it's hard to see on the other side...so they came in and made the road further down. So this wall ... the road was right on the other side of this wall instead of being down ... so when they did that they planted the cactus to keep people out. In those days there was hardly anybody out here. My grandmother was the principal of Honokohau School and she's in the book on, 'Here's Maui'. And then she was a school teacher at Kamehameha III grade school. She passed away in 1956. My older brothers and sisters remember her more than me. I have two brothers that live here on the same property, and two sisters that live on Oahu.

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Kenneth Sadang. I was born here in Maui, in Lahaina. We used to have our own hospital, called Pioneer Mill Hospital. And that's where most of the people were born that lived down here in Lahaina. Was raised in Kahana, western Maui, one of eight children. I'm the second youngest from the eight. The land that we have, that we were raised on and we still have, was swapped way back in my grandfather's day. We had some land up in Kapalua and then we go fishing there we cross over this piece of property that we have now. And D. T. Fleming, I think, at that time had ownership on that property and he wanted to grow fruits. So he asked my grandfather if he wanted to swap land. And that's how we got it. We were a very close family because all of our aunties and uncles live right in that area. From where we are, I don't know how far that is ... all the way up to the creek, Honokowai, that's our family lot. My Mom's brothers and sisters all had that piece of property from our grandfather, they divided it equally. And the place that we are at, that's my Mom's property. So that's how we got that. In the beginning they were living up by Puukolii. There was a camp up there. The land was divided amongst the children and they moved down there over fifty years ago. Maybe sixty, I'm just guessing.

My dad was an immigrant from the Philippines, and when he came to Maui they provided homes [at Pukolii] for the workers. And he was assigned to that area, and then he was match mate to my Mom...they had eight children. You know how they do that just like the Japanese did. My mom (Nani) is Hawaiian ...my grandmother was Kamakanahinu. And she was from the Big Island of Hawaii. I asked him a long time ago how did they come to Maui. They said that at that time they had this big bowl then they put all the names inside, I don't know how they did that, and then when they pull the name that's the island that you go to. And they went from the Big Island to Moloka'i and from Moloka'i to Maui. I don't know how true that is. My grandmother's side is Kamaka, Nahinu, and Nalei'eha. And my grandfather's was Nalei'eha; the four lei of the Island....

After we were born [father died] she remarried to Palakiko. Harry Palakiko. And the Palakiko, I think was in Lahaina. I can't think of the name, but up in the mountains...Kaua'ula, yeah! And they still have that piece of property now my cousin them lives there. She was married to Peter Nalei'eha, then he passed away, then she married Harry Palakiko. Everybody was here [grew up] in Kahana. It was a big property. Way back then, there was the Honokawai School. The grade school was in Honokawai. The eighth grade school was closed down, so we were moved to Kam III school in Lahaina. And then the ninth year we were all up in Lahainaluna, and graduated from there. I went to Oahu, worked over there, did a couple of jobs and then moved back home. Now I'm working for a water company; private water system for Kā'anapali. It used to be Kā'anapali Water and then it got bought out by Aqua Source, a mainland outfit and now it's owned by California Water.

My dad (Villiriano) worked for the plantation [Pioneer Mill Company]. So when he first started he had a horse to go work and his job was ...first he was a luna and then he became a ditchman. His job was to open up all the [ditch] gates early in the morning to let the water go down to the flumes to irrigate the fields. And you have all the laborers over there adjusting the water for the cane. So that's what he does. Wakes up early in the morning, he goes way up in the mountains and he opens up all the [ditch] gates, let the water go down, flow down into the flumes for the people taking care of the fields. And then in the afternoon he goes and shut all the valves. And that was his job. When he got a jeep, then he started taking us up there [Māhinahina mauka]. And that's how we got really familiar with that area. He retired in 1966 at the age of 67 or 68. He went over his age. He came here when he was about twenty something years old. I think he got married when he was about twenty-five...got married to my mom. When our parents passed away, they just handed down the property... there are five owners over there now...me, my sister Be-bop, and my brothers Joe, Filimon and Lorraine [Sadang].

Photo 12. Sadang brothers Joe and Filimon.

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Photo 13. South end of eroding Sadang property.

James “Bobo” Nalei`eha. “Bobo” is related to Mr. Sadang. He was with his crew at Pohaku Park or “S-Turns” next to the Kahana Iki drainage [*makai* of Lower Hono`api`ilani Road] cleaning fish they caught in the channel between Māhinahina-Kahana and Lana`i.

Photo 14. Fishing crew cleaning their akule catch.



Land Resources and Use

Land resources and use change over time. Often evidence of these changes are documented in archival records. Occasionally cultural remains are evident on the landscape and/or beneath the surface. However oral histories can give personal glimpses of how the land was utilized over time and where the resources are or may be. Oral histories also provide indications of cultural practices. The project area and vicinity was once leased to the Pioneer Mill Company for a number of years, before reverting back to Maui Land & Pineapple Company. The most dominant historic use of the land in the project area was sugar cane cultivation and railroad tracks, then pineapple and an airstrip.

Māhinahina-Kahana Neighborhood.

There wasn't a whole lot of development (*makai*); there were a few homes in Māhinahina area along the lower Honopiilani Road ... there were a few homes along there ... but for the most part there wasn't a whole lot of houses there. There definitely wasn't resort development. The area called Kahana Keys and all that, I believe there was only one house in there, the Ley family; they had one house there. I think that's about it until you get down by Kahana where there were other homes and families, like the Nalei'eha's and the Lara's. Those have been there...further down by Kahana side, those families have been there quite sometime. Robinson. Billie Robinson was my classmate.... Their families have been there a long time. They're *makai* of the Lower Honoapiilani Road. The Smith family has been there a long time too... The Aluli's...those homes have been there a long time [Nohara].

It was, compared to now, there was no traffic lights, no traffic on the roads, and was real slow. Our neighbors...each property on this area...they were big properties...a couple acres each property...they had one house and it was spread out. No traffic. Nalei'eha house. Palakiko's. Amoku Pali was over there... And out here we just had...one family was here and one across the street and then had the Smith's family over here...which they had like one or two houses on that big property. We had Thompson that was further down ... they had like one big property. Aluli came late sixties [Pohaku].

The one right next [to our's] is the Nakoa clan. Because Nakoa, then Nalei'eha, goes all the way up to the creek, or the *kahawai*. And then above that, or past that, are the Tomlinson's and the Smith, and the Robinson [Sadang].

Māhinahina Camp Life.

The [Māhinahina] camp was quite a big camp from what I understand. In those days, each place had a camp for the workers so they didn't have to travel to go to work. And that's how we get the Haole Camp in Lahaina...that was the supervisor'slived in Haole Camp at the end of Front Street. We had the Pump Camp, because they had the water pump in that area. Different camps based on the area they were. But they did have villages too. They had Spanish Village, Filipino Village....and the reason why they kept everybody segregated...to control the masses ... so they can say, 'You know what the Japanese said about you guys?'... and then, 'Yeah, you know what the Hawaiians...'. So they did that so nobody would come together and be strong. So they separated everybody. There were no interracial marriages. It was forbidden...stick to your own kind. But you know how that goes. Slowly [change]...that's why when you go to a party you get Hawaiian food, Japanese food, Filipino food ... it's all together now. But as far as I remember this was all cane fields. All the way to Māhinahina to that bridge. There was two houses right there before the bridge. From there on to the other bridge over here, that was all cane fields...on the *mauka* side. *Makai* side we still had a lot of houses but was big lots with single houses; a lot of families. Next to the Sadang's, we had the Nalei'eha's. That was one family that was down here next to Sadang...where those two condos are. Aluli's came in the late sixties; they moved from Oahu to come up here.... And then after that was all pineapple fields all the way to Napilihau Road. Had just the old houses next to the road and pineapple fields in between--up to Kapalua--

well Honokahua and Honolua Pineapple. They had one big camp in Honolua, Honokōhau...all the area is all forgotten yeah [Pohaku].



Photo 15. Remains of Māhinahina Camp.

I don't know when that came out [Māhinahina Camp], but that was originally for supervisors. And you can still find like lemon trees and things like that in here [gully next/north of camp]. That road on the left when you go to the pineapple field on the main road, then you can see the trees that are still hanging over there [Sadang].

Pulelehua Project Area.

Well, today it's Field 8, Field 2 and Field 22 of Maui Pineapple Company [Nohara].

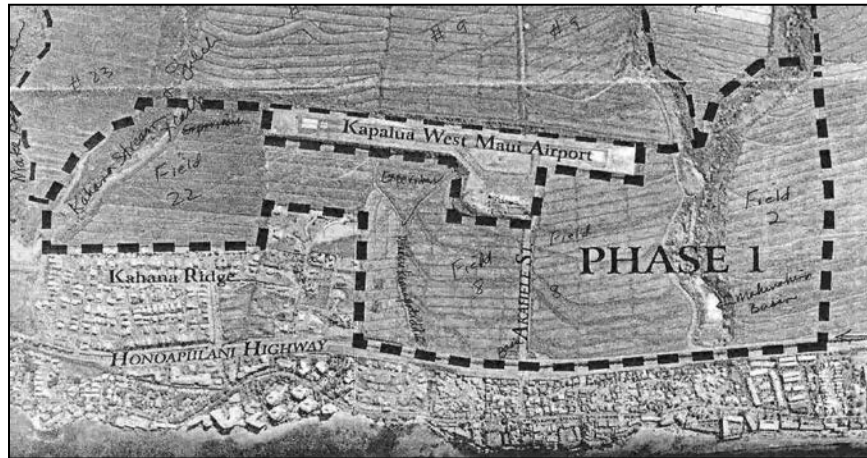


Figure 7. Former pineapple fields now the proposed Pulelehua (MLP 2004).

Māhinahina Offset Lease.

All of those lands were part of the Māhinahina offset lease. We had, I believe, a three way agreement between A&B, Amfac, and Maui Pineapple Co. to exchange lands between Haiku, and Hamakuapoko, and here at West Maui. And, I believe, A&B took back the Hamakuapoko lands to go back to sugar cane as they needed more lands, because technology changed to drip irrigation and they could now farm more acreage with the same amount of water. So they then took back the Hamakuapoko fields from Maui Pine, which is by...right above Ho`okipa. So today much of those lands are sugar cane, and in doing so Maui Pine needed to compensate for those lands, so they took back in increments...the lands from here which is the Napili area marching on to the south end of Māhinahina. So we took back in increments from Amfac and from Pioneer Mill. And I believe A&B ...ah Amfac then took back lands from Haiku area. It was like a three-way...everybody took back lands from each other. At some point all the lands were taken back and the Māhinahina offset lease was abolished. It was no longer needed [Nohara].

The area right below field twenty-two ... some fifty acres or so...a good chunk of that, I believe, was our lands that we settled through Quiet Title that went to a group of Hawaiians who laid

claims to other parts of the lands. We gave the lands to this group of Hawaiians who then sold it to a developer, who then developed what is now Kahana Ridge. But that also was, at one point, sugarcane. The only place that is called Kahana Hui, and those are the two acre lots, those were somebody's land...who was that? ...I believe some investor who developed those two-acre parcels that never sold for quite some time, just sat there. Today most of it is starting to be developed on those two-acre parcels. That was not part of that settlement with us. And then there's a sliver of land on the other side of Māhinahina Gulch that is field two ... it's a strange way of the lands, boundaries ... I guess that's the way it is ... it abuts the larger track of land that used to be DLNR but they settled with DHHL, Department of Hawaiian Home Lands. They have a huge track of land that is now field One, Two, Three, Four, and Five. So our landlord for that piece is Department of Hawaiian Home Lands [Nohara]

Train Tracks to Highway.

There was Māhinahina Road that intersected with the Lower Honoapiʻilani Road. Because there was no Honoapiʻilani Highway back then, it was all sugar cane. In fact, where the Honoapiʻilani Highway is today, there was actually part of the Cane Haul Road that we used to haul pineapples on. There was a road there that we called the Track Road. And the Track Road was really a road that was built over the old train tracks. There used to be a train that ran all the way from Kapalua all the way to Māla Wharf that hauled pineapples from our fields at Kapalua all the way to Māla. And we had a cannery right at Māla, and the wharves were used to load ships to haul big cartons off. We needed the Māla Wharf because that can be...Pali Highway was not a road that you would reliably haul things out of West Maui. So there was a train track that became a road today, it's a highway [Nohara]

Māhinahina Road to Māhinahina Camp.



Photo 16. Akahele Road.

The road that goes to the airport, is called Akahele. It was really Māhinahina Cane Haul Road that went straight up to the houses, or call Māhinahina Camp. When the airport was constructed, it blocked the road. So to get up to the houses you had to go around the south end of Field 8. And then it loops back and ties into Māhinahina Rd and goes straight up. Māhinahina Road used to go through from the sugar cane field straight up [Nohara].



Photo 17. Airport entrance.



Photo 18. Remnants of the bamboo forest.

There's a bamboo forest up there [by Māhinahina Camp in Kahana Iki Gulch]. I don't know who planted it [Pohaku].

Māhinahina Gulch.

Māhinahina. There is some, although it's fairly arid, there is some signs of cattle pasture. I believe even today, somebody up there...Alvin Panlasigui has a lease with us and he raises cattle in that gulch. Most of that is rocky [Nohara] [Alvin Panlasigui no longer leases land; MLP leases to Kaonoulou Ranch just mauka of Pulelehua (Nohara 2017)].

Kapalua West Maui Airport.

I'm not sure what time...but I believe it was Maui Land & Pine that built the airport right there and at some point leased it to Hawaiian Air. I believe sold it at some point and somehow it went back to the State of Hawai'i. That airport wasn't always ... I remember when that was all cane field [Nohara].

Photo 19. Kapalua West Maui Airport, former Māhinahina sugar cane lands.



Māhinahina Rock Storage/Crusher.

There is a field site where some of the rocks from the sediment retention basin were stored on the side of the airport. There's a rock quarry ...actually a rock crusher...a rock crushing unit there that's leased to Greg Ibara [Nohara] [Rock crusher was removed (Nohara 2017)].



Photo 20. Rock Quarry Crusher.



Photo 21. Rock Storage area.

Sugarcane & Post Sugarcane Eras .

That side [Māhinahina-Kahana] was always sugarcane prior to 1986.... How far back, I would have to check the records. I know that when I worked in the fields in, there was already sugarcane. When driving to high school on the bus, that area was all sugarcane. My guess would be at least to the early '60s, maybe earlier, that the area was in sugarcane [Nohara].

After they closed out [sugar cane] most of them [workers] went to hotel working because that's all you had. Either you work on the plantation or you work in the hotel. That was the only work available. Most of the stores were all privately owned, family type. Very few hired outside workers. Either your Mom, your children, or your relative, who owned the store, was going to work in it. My Dad was working for the sugar plantation and my Mom was a housewife. She took care of all of the chores for the home [Sadang].

Pineapple Lands.

Most recently, I believe, according to the records the first planting of pineapple was about 1986, so prior to that it was sugarcane.... I used to drive pineapple trucks as well as some of the field equipment, and those [Akahele-Māhinahina-Main Haul Road] were roads that we used to use to get to pineapple. Pineapple was limited to Māhinahina Camp *mauka*, below that was all sugar cane.... Between the Honoapiʻilani Highway and Lower Honoapiʻilani Road near Akahele, that intersection, we had a truck dispatch that we used to have to stage our pine haulers there. It was like a depot. Today it's all houses [Nohara].

Māhinahina Aloe Farm.

You know the Māhinahina area, according to my Mom; they used to have an aloe vera farm in that area. So evidently we farmed aloe vera at the Māhinahina area [Nohara].

Maui Land & Pineapple Diversifies.

Well...probably just recently we were almost strictly pineapple. Our endeavors to diversify have been more in line with resort and development, as well as shopping centers. We tried a few other crops, not very successful. We're now looking into reviving a diversified ag, diversified business segment that will enhance our resort commercial site as well as pineapples. But we're just starting that process of diversified ag.... I believe there's some discussion about some horses and horse riding, where exactly I don't know. Bobby Brooks, he's our diversified guy; that's his job to come up with some means of diversifying ... not only agriculture, but other land uses that ties in agriculture but other land uses that ties in agriculture and resort and developments [Nohara] [All MLP Ag operations were shut down in 2009 (Nohara 2017)].



Photo 22. Pineapples in Field 2.

Photo 23. Fields *mauka* of Project area.



Kahana Gulch.

I did a bit of walking through the Kahana Gulch. Kahana has two gulches that merge at the sediment retention basin, flood control basin called Kahana Dam.... There are some large mango trees in the gulch indicating that there was probably some form of residence there. It is now a floodplain because of the basin. There's quite a bit...it's actually a flat bottomed gulch on the Kahana Nui side. They have signs of pasture, someone was raising animals in there. On the Kahana Iki, there's mostly *haole koa* and a few other trees. I've not gone through Kahana Iki very much, so I'm not sure what's in there [Nohara].



Photo 24. Lower Kahana Gulch from Kahana Ridge.

You have to remember too, this is all cane field. So they already have road going alongside the *kahawai* and all along the place. Because you have the big trucks and you could go and harvest the field. There's always road in there. But when we walked through the *kahawai* it was kind of old already. We went for mangos, plums ...just play.... We never pay attention [to other things] because we only went up there for apple mango, sugar mango ... they don't have it anymore. Sugar mangos are extremely sweet. They look like common mango and when they are ripe they're yellow [Sadang].

Kahana Area Camp

Well, you know when you are young kids...we played in Kahana Gulch, Honokawai Gulch...typical kids. In fact, right above you know where they have that catch basin right by Kahana, that Kahana Stream, there used to be a camp over there before. Did you know that? They called it Mailepai One, Mailepai Two. You know where the highway is now...that used to be the old plantation road. Where the old plantation road was there's a separation, they call it Mailepai One and Mailepai Two. Right in this area, this is Kahana Stream, right around this area there used to be a camp over here. It was a little camp. It wasn't a big camp. And you know where we live, where our home is...it's way up...the service station...and that complex there used to be a farm up there. A nice farm [Sadang].

West Maui Lifestyle.

[Poi] Yeah, it was ono. We always had poi in the house. In those days you could let it spoil for three days and it was perfect! Nowadays, poi gets rotten before it spoils. We used to get our poi from the store, but the taro that they used was from Maui Taro Shop, I think was the name. Maui poi. But the taro was from Honokohau Valley that Vicki Andrews and Sunny Andrews did the lo'i ... did the taro in the valley. And they only had the two of them and one helper. They had a lot of acreage of taro. It's about eight miles north of here. Honokohau Valley. I can show you a map of that. So they were the main growers of taro on this side of the island. I don't think Kahakaloa had any taro at that time...it was a long time ago. It just got re-established again with Dukelow and some of those guys who are doing taro farming. A lot of the young guys are trying to do taro now ... the *auwai* is still there [Pohaku].



Photo 25. Honokōhau Stream still flowing into the Bay.

Local Domestic Flora.

My Dad couldn't plant any vegetables in the yard. Orders from Mom! That was all flowers. She had nothing but flowers in there; plumeria, orchids, you know pretty plants like daisies. Of course, a lot of mango trees, mountain apple, lychee, grapes, and avocado [Sadang].

Local Wild & Domestic Fauna.

There are a few pigs. For the most part the areas that we want to protect are pig-free. We have a program to build fences and we have snared or trapped the pigs to get rid of them where we don't want them. We allow pig hunting down in the lower areas to put pressure on the pigs where it ... not that we want them, but they're not as constant. We have been very successful in the pig management on our portions of the land [Nohara].

My cousin, Raymond, used to go hunting for pigs and goats. Right up the road in Kahana Gulch. They still may [have pigs and goats], I'm not sure. Too much noise now. We raised pigs.... Back in those days either you work or you no eat--that was the theme--so you gotta work. And they teach you everything, from cleaning the fish, to feeding the pigs and chickens, and gathering all the food for them. That's how I know this area real well, because they used to have *honohono* grass and pig grass. And that was our job--to go follow our Dad and collect all the food for our pigs--all in the ditches. In the ditches they had a lot of *honohono*...you know what that is, right? The *honohono* grass and the one we call pig grass; it's a low growing, thick like your finger size. And we boil it in the 55 gallon drum. We used to have a lot [of pigs] in Kahana. You know where they have the big net house down at the beach? That used to be our pigpen. And right in the back of that where they have the condo that was all *kiawe* trees. That's where we used to get all our wood to heat up the food for the pigs. There was a pigpen, a chicken pen, and we raised ducks, and in the back of the house on the north end, we raise vegetables....cause that was part of our diet. And my Dad who was the type to share what he had, so I think at the most eight to twenty pigs. Then when they give birth, we raise them up so much then we would eat, and we shared it. Oh, those days they had parties every month! And everybody raised pigs over there. My aunties, my uncles, everybody! Every time we go shopping my Dad, he goes for rice, matches, canned goods, things like that...but as far as meat, we had our own poultry, we had our own fish...its right there. So we depended on the environment where we lived. And the seaweed, is right that [Sadang].

My son-in-law goes hunting [*mauka*] for pigs and stuff. I believe he goes on legal land, not private property [Pohaku].

West Maui – The Old Days.

The old days, like even Lahaina Town, you could park your car, leave all you groceries, don't lock it, nobody's going to touch it. Your house, you can leave it open, no one is going to break in. All stores close at five in the afternoon, nothing was open on Sunday's. No shopping centers. Just had the stores on Front Street, which were all local stores. It wasn't a tourist town yet. In those days you only had the Sheraton Hotel and Royal Lahaina. Kā'anapali Beach.... And that was it. There weren't that many rooms and they weren't that busy because costs to fly here was expensive. So that controlled how many tourists we had. Out here we had no condos yet because all the families were still living on their land. There was no traffic, nobody out here, you could drive on the road and see two cars maybe, or three cars.... Lahaina was small where everybody knew everybody. Everybody knew the families, so that if you got in trouble everybody knew about it. One of the other families would tell somebody, 'Eh, I saw your kid doing something...' So everyone would help [Pohaku].

We surf, went to town, hung out here [Kahana] on the property-- couldn't drive yet. Pretty short day; swimming, playing in the ocean, whatever. In those days we didn't have a phone in our house, we didn't have a radio, we didn't have a TV because the reception was--only had like three channels in those days, 6, 4, 9 and 13, which was kind of foreign, and then if you're out here you had to get your signal from Oahu which was kind of slow. 'Cause the summers up here we didn't have any TV, no radio, and the phone was in the yardman's house that used to take care of the property when we weren't here--so if we had a call he would have to come call somebody. You'd have to walk to his house...so it was kind of nice...it was boring [Pohaku].

Water Resources and Use

The Hawaiian word for fresh water is *wai*; the Hawaiian word for wealth is *wai wai*. This is because of the value the ancient Hawaiians placed on fresh water. For the sugar industry water was a crucial resource and a lot of effort was employed and strategies used in order to get it to the fields.

Irrigation water.

[Above Māhinahina Camp] was still pineapple. Those fields, Field 14, 13, 12, 15 and 16, those were pineapple as opposed to sugar cane. I believe the reason for that was there's the Honolua Ditch that intersects at about the 700 foot elevation. And sugar cane needs a lot of water, and so they grew sugar cane gravity feed from the ditch which is right by the Māhinahina houses, Māhinahina Camp down, so they took the water out of the ditch and irrigated the field lands down below. If they were to grow sugar cane *mauka* they would have to pump...back then everything was furrow irrigation so they didn't have the technology to pump; they didn't use drip irrigation so sugar cane was limited to below the ditch. They used flumes...water flowed through gravity and open-ditch systems. Māhinahina. Above the basin there are some flumes, irrigation flumes; Pioneer Mill used those flumes to move irrigation ditch water across from one field to another [Nohara].



Photo 26. Remnant sugar cane flume.

Domestic Water.

It's all well water. It's cleaner yeah. When they had the sugar cane, pineapple fields, they spray and all that chemical goes in the surface water. Now they have well water. They have holding tanks, after you bring it out of the ground they have holding tanks and then it goes ... they

disinfect it and then go to the tap, and the resorts. Any place outside of Kā'anapali Resort is county water. Like over here this is Kapalua, this is private water, it's not owned by the County. They have their own water system. It's maintained by Kapalua Water Company. [Kahana-Māhinahina] it's all County. The only private water system we have on the West Side is Kā'anapali and Kapalua. Anything run outside of that is run by the County. They put the treatment [Māhinahina Water Treatment Plant] because they collected surface water. [That's] domestic water [Sadang].

Gulch Basins.

Māhinahina Basin. Of the gulches...there is that big gulch, Māhinahina, between that sliver of parcel...that parceled land that is next to DHHL...and Field 8 there's a retention basin, a very large basin. I'm not sure what year we built that ... I think it was about ten or fifteen years ago. That's a project for soil conservation. I'm working with the West Maui Soil & Water Conservation District; the County of Maui; NRCS, which is the US Federal Government Soil Conservation Service; and I believe the State of Hawaii, the DLNR. They jointly acquired the lands through Maui Land & Pine. Maui Land & Pine donated the land to the County of Maui. They used federal funds to build that basin to capture storm water, to settle out mud and sediments before entering the ocean. The main reason is for flood control, to protect people's homes and property. I remember going to High School in the late '60s, early '70s, there was a house that was nearly washed away down straight below Māhinahina. Big water and big floods, and property damage was very threatening to those homes. Since then we've built the basin and a concrete channel to reinforce, so today it's not an issue. The basin is doing its job for public safety, as well as capture soil sediments [Nohara].



Photo 27. Māhinahina Basin.

Kahana Basin. I did a bit of walking through the Kahana Gulch. Kahana has two gulches that merge at a sediment retention basin...flood control basin called Kahana Dam. But the main gulch, which is to the north side of...there's a split and it's called Kahana Nui and on the south side it's called Kahana Iki, and they merge at the Kahana Basin. The basin also was built to the West Maui Soil & Water Conservation District [Nohara].



Photo 28. “S-Turns” Basin .

Pohaku Kā'anapali Gulch Basin. Pohaku Ka'anapali Gulch, which is between that Kahana Nui subdivision area, there's a sliver of Field 22 that goes down, and Field 8 there's a basin that we built using federal funds, what was then the algae bloom monies. Those were monies that were appropriated by Senator Inouye. I believe channeled through EPA for addressing...there was a bad algae bloom in West Maui. I believe it was 1989 or 1990, and there was enough public outcry requesting that something be done. Senator Inouye heard the cries and allocated several million dollars for a study, as well as come up with programs to help address this algae problem. We formulated an algae advisory committee, which I sat on, and we did a lot of research work and heard recommendations. One of it was to implement a sediment retention basin in Pohaku Kā'anapali. Maui Pineapple Company was hired through the District West Maui Soil & Water Conservation District to actually construct this basin, and we did build this basin and it's still there today [Nohara].

Gulch Streams.

Māhinahina. As far as I know, definitely Māhinahina is not a perennial stream. Kahana had been...way up into the top end of Kahana ...generally it does not flow ... there might be a spring or two way, way up. I'm talking about 1500, 2000 feet elevation. The Kahana Iki is definitely a much shorter gulch. The Kahana Nui, I believe, is not a perennial stream. There are signs of an old diversion that looks like it goes back to the early 1900's, that's no longer active in Kahana. My understanding is that diversion was given up because the water was unreliable ... tied in to... in other words when the water came it meant it was raining and when you need the water it went dry [Nohara].

Kahana. The one here by Kahana, the reason it did flow and that was part of our fun on the weekend.... When we were growing up, yeah, [it flowed] when we were little. I don't know when it stopped. You don't pay attention when you grow up because you're not doing that anymore. You find different activities. [Now] only when rain [Sadang].

Honokohau-Honolua Ditch.

The early...late 1800's there was already some discussion between Pioneer Mill and, back then, we were called the Honolua Ranch, for agricultural water for sugarcane. Back then we weren't even in pineapple. There was a little bit of agriculture and cattle and some other diversified tree crops, particularly coffee. We didn't need a lot of irrigation water for our agriculture, but sugar needed. So they knew there was quite a bit of water up north in some of the valleys that they wanted to bring south, as in the case of most of the irrigation ditches in Hawai'i today. Move water from the wet side of the island to the dry side of the island. We began discussions with Honolua Ranch about investing and constructing a ditch system to move water primarily up Honokohau Valley up north and moving it south to where they would use it for sugarcane. The first ditch system was constructed, I believe about 1901 or 1902, and it was called the Honokohau

Ditch. It was, I believe, about 11 or 12 miles long of open ditches and flumes and hills and tunnels. It was a gravity system and because they ran most of it along side slopes of gulches and ridges, it meandered up and down all over the sides to move the water south. It was a very expensive and unreliable system because it was prone to breakage from fallen boulders and trees or whatever that would hit the flumes and they would have to send people up there to go fix it. So back at about 1912 they went back and reconstructed a parallel ditch system which was pretty much totally underground. It was about seven or eight miles of underground tunnels to replace the Honokohau Ditch. It ran from Honokohau Valley underground all the way to Māhinahina. At that time they renamed the ditch, Honolua Ditch so not be confused with the old Honokohau Ditch. Interestingly enough, where the ditch comes back out at Māhinahina, from there on it still retains the name Honokohau Ditch. The Honokohau Ditch begins at parts of Māhinahina and goes all the way to Kanaha Valley in Lahaina above the Cannery Shopping Center. So that section of the ditch is called....still called today Honokohau Ditch. But the section above Pulelehua, which is underground, about the 700 foot elevation, is known today as the Honolua Ditch. That's the camp [Māhinahina] right here. Houses is right there. It's underground. There are areas in the gulches where you can really see it ... you can see the water flowing. It's right next to the house [Māhinahina Camp] actually. Either side you can actually see where it comes out from underground and becomes an open ditch, and that's where the Honokohau Ditch begins. The Board of Water Supply has built a huge reservoir and water treatment plant that draws water as it comes out of ... the transitional location from Honolua Ditch to Honokohau Ditch they have built a water treatment plant [Nohara].



Photo 29. Portion of reservoir seen north of Kahana Iki.



Photo 30. West Maui Mountains in background.

Pu`u Ku`kui Watershed.

West Maui Mountains, and the peak is called Pu`u Kukui. The highest point, rather, is called Pu`u Kukui. I believe the name is Mt. Kahalawai, or something like that. I've been to Pu`u Kukui many times. The least expensive would be to walk. It's not an easy hike and it is not accessible as we closed it off because we don't encourage people to go there. We have programs to protect that whole upper watershed because it's of huge importance to our environment, and economically because that's where our drinking water comes from. Over the years there were pigs and uncontrolled hikers have gone up ...they've actually damaged the watershed and introduced non-native weeds that actually compete and threaten to destroy our ... basically it's wherever you have our drinking water. Reliability of it, the natural function of that watershed the way Mother Nature intended it to work...non-native animals and weeds have threatened it. So we protect it by closing it off. You can walk or another way is to helicopter ... people have flown in. Basically, Puka Camp Road or Māhinahina cut across. This field right above the Board of Water, that's Field 12, used to go to an area called Ha'ela'au, which has a cabin. That's the highest you can drive up and then from there is all walk [Nohara].

Marine Resources and Use.

The sea can be a great resource to people with access to its bounty. Most of the consultants benefited from the resources of the nearby coastal environs. Many went fishing there or had family members who went fishing or gathering, or just enjoyed the beach.

Fishing Ohana.

And we're all fishermen...my uncles...everybody. As long as you reach the age of two or three years old, they throw you in the water. And they were mainly akule fishermen ... all our uncles and aunties...our Uncle George was the captain. Those days we all had a bongo number and that would indicate your fishing license. And we were just helpers...children making trouble, yeah! That was like a tradition and it still exist today. But now my brother, Filimon, he's the commercial fisherman. And he used to work for the plantation and his dream was always to be a fisherman, a full-time fisherman and now that's what he does. His main fishing is akule, and if when there's no more akule running he goes to reef fishing to sustain him and his family, like everybody else. Everybody has a job, and that's his job. And when we have time, we join in because that's how it used to be way back. A lot of our uncles and aunties and cousins, we all had jobs as we grew up...when Uncle George needed help...in those days they're working in the pineapple field they just drop everything...everybody leaves their job, then they go fishing. And they accepted that those days, they accepted that, but not now. Anyway, the tradition still carries on [Sadang].



Photo 31. Mr. Sadang's son Jacob helps Uncle Filimon.

Kahawai-Ocean Connection.

In that area [Māhinahina- Kahana], there was always water flowing through the *kahawai*. It played a very important role in the area where we grew up because it brought in all the mullet, the seaweed, the octopus, and believe it or not, lobsters were on the shore. We used to just walk on the shore at night and harvest lobsters! Our Dad taught us how to fish and he taught us how to respect the ocean. Like the old days, it was a sustain ... like raising pigs and chickens. The ocean was the same thing. You treat it just like that. You take things to sustain your day. We played a lot in the kahawai. Because it's there's always water in there. As I was telling you earlier, that fresh water plays a lot on the ocean. Because that's when certain kind green limu grows when all the fresh water comes down. And all the single fish, like mullet, aholehole, manini...they all come and feed when the fresh water comes down. As so does the seaweed [like the fresh-salt water mixture]. It plays a pretty big roleI don't know how many people know that but we know because we grew up with it...it's not a study through a book, it's like life! And when they shut off the water and the water stop flowing, it's a drastic change! You still have mullet and things like that because they always come home, fish are like that. But mullet's plentiful. Like us, wherever we grow or you move out, or you hang out there, it's not going to change. Even though fish aren't human, I guess we all react the same [Sadang].



Photo 32. (L) *Limu* on Māhinahina-Kahana area beach. Photo 33. (R) Kahana Iki drainage borders Māhinahina.

Algae Bloom.

It's interesting, that algae bloom since '89, by the time we formulated the algae committee, most of the algae was already gone. So a scientist and experts were trying to formulate their reasoning for what caused it. I believe the final outcome/statement was that it was a combination of a whole bunch of things. There are actually two types of algae. The first algae was a green filamentous algae, green hairy long strands; it was called *Cladophora* (*Cladophora Sericea*). It has been around a long time. The theories behind that range from that there were warm ocean currents that moved to the islands that up-welled nutrients or something changed in the temperature of the water to sediments that may, I guess, change the ocean environment, to over-fishing--that we killed the fish that normally would control the algae-- to higher inputs of fertilizers, to agriculture run-off, to ejection wells and sewer cesspools that would inject nutrients into the ground water and cause elevated nutrient levels. Then there was another alga, red algae that is very spotted, it doesn't grow on sand base, it has to grow on rocks. It's called *Hypnea* (*Hypnea Musciformis*). And *Hypnea* is an introduced algae--a weed basically. It was brought into Hawai'i and released; actually somebody brought it into Hawai'i for business, to create agar-- it's a gelatin. And I believe, they brought the wrong one and it escaped into the wild in Kane'ohe Bay and eventually it reached every island today. It hooks on to other algae, it's parasitic, and it actually attaches to it. Algae

have a root structure base designed to handle tidal energy wave action, but when this *Hypnea* attaches to a regular weed and it extends it out maybe another five, six, seven inches, all of a sudden that wave action will rip out the other algae then you have huge piles of algae buildup along the coastline. It will build up and start to smell and rot, and the people were complaining about it. It was not good for business, it wasn't good for tourists, and all the recreational users were complaining about it...residents were complaining about it. The breakdown or rotting of the algae would create more nutrients, so therefore it would make it even worse. The *Hypnea* is a different problem, it was an introduced species. The Alga Committee recommendation was that all land uses seems to have contributed to the buildup of algae. *Hypnea* was an introduced weed, but there are enough nutrients already there, and plus whatever people add in to the ocean exacerbates the growth of the algae weed and further enhances the problem. Recommendation was better practices by agriculture, by golf courses, by municipal waste water management, by residents, educating people about proper things to do and things not to do in your watershed like drop things down storm drains, dump oils, over irrigate, use excess amounts of fertilizers, those kind of things [Nohara].

Limu or Seaweed

The common one [*limu*], is *ogo*. But right there you have the long rice *limu*, the *ogo limu*, the *lipepe'e*, the chop chop-- like a long black hair it grows about that tall [about 8" long], sometimes longer. Cause you only harvest what you're going to eat, so if you're not going to eat often, then the thing just grow wild. [Taste like] strong iodine. [Mix with food], mostly with opihi, with crab ... just like that. You just boil it. Add a little spice to that and you got a salad--pepper and salt, tomato. Comes from right in front here [Sadang].

Photo 34. *Limu* on rocks-low tide.



Fish, Squid & Turtle.

Māhinahina-Kahana Fishing.

Had a lot more fish. My Dad...he used to catch ulua, papio, everyday during the summers. `Oama by the hundreds. He used to throw nets, because it was legal in those days to throw net on the water. Just throw blind and you catch a couple hundred, easy. Tons of `opae. Before we used to go fishing bamboo, you go get your bait first and you get your scoop net and you go around a couple of rocks, check out the limu. We used to have more than one if we need to go pole fishing. And then you go pole fishing you catch your fish...and the rules here are what you catch, you clean and you eat. So you catch your fish in the morning, you clean them and my Mom would cook it for lunch. And whatever `opae you have left, you eat them instead of throwing them back in. We used to lay net almost every night, if the weather was nice....parallel to the beach. We used to catch all kinds of fish. It was plenty...lots of fish. `Oama's. Tons of `oama's.Oama, we freeze some for future bait. We keep some live for live bait right away. And then we take so much of it, depending on how much we catch, and my Mom would deep-fry it. So deep fried `oama and poi that night for dinner! Nehu. We get a lot of nehu. `O`ama. You know you sit down here you see all kind of action. Big splashes. You go, 'Oh, what was that!' Could be barracuda. My brother went diving or go look for squid with the squid box. Lay a net, bamboo fishing. My Dad would go with the `ulua pole...and that was every day [Pohaku].



Photo 35. Pohaku's front yard with view of Molokai sunset.

Kahana-Molokai Fishing.

The stories that I heard ...my grandfather and his glass-bottomed canoeused to paddle from our property here to Molokai. I never heard of him going to Lanai, but they have family in Lanai and Molokai so I would think he probably would [Pohaku].

Fishing Makai of Pulelehua.

The *makai* [side of Pulelehua] is basically an area that we know as “S” turns. There's a park there called Pohaku Park, which is fairly recent. It was donated by Maui Land & Pine to the County of Maui. That whole area from Kahana to S-turns was not a very desired recreational location for the most part. It was heavily inundated by sediments. Before the construction of the sediment and catchments basins, Kahana Bay, particularly, was a very, very turbid, dirty ocean front. Not to say it wasn't of value. That area of Kahana was known for its *`opae*, salt water shrimp, and *nehu*, which is a small fish that fishermen use for bait. Since the ocean has cleared up, my understanding is that it's hard to find *nehu* and *`opae* anymore. So, somewhat, building sediment retention basins have cleaned up the water drastically-- quality and sustainability of the marine life -- but that area people used to catch *tako*, octopus, fishing-- today people use that area for surfing. Way back when, no one used to surf there, as far as I knew. I know my father folks used to do some netting--used to catch *akule* out there--migratory mackerel. I remember surrounding *weke* fish. I did some diving for octopus out there. I did some surfing out there; I know that I see people surfing out there. My dad used to cast from the shoreline for various types of fish, so fishing was a recreational activity along that coastline there. They used to gather *limu*, *ogo* [Nohara].



Photo 36. Fishing off “S-Turns” at Pohaku Park.

Division of Labor.

[Women did] pretty much the same, but not as much the heavy duty stuff. Everybody kind of did a little bit of everything when I was growing up. You know *kapu* say the man can only do this or women can only do this, but then the change was happening already. Well, [women did] the cooking and stuff, take care of the family--the kids. The men would go and gather. Give protection, be warriors. The women did more of the building of the *hale*, because they were more particular on how it was set. They had the more patience, they had a better touch for it. My sisters had their own families, so their kids would come up--they were busy working. We pretty much do everything, whatever needs...clean the net, clean fish...go fishing...[girls too]. Yeah, what you catch, you clean [Pohaku].

I don't think so [no difference between men and women]. I think all our relatives do what they could do. Because my aunties, they dive, they went lobster diving. They don't like to go work with nets, but yet they could. They throw net; they do mostly shore line fishing. When they go *hukilau* everybody's involved. But it's usually the men is the one that stay out in the ocean and work the net. The women they do lunch, take care the children. help with the mending--you know the net. Because those days the akule net, even now, they're about fifty to sixty feet tall and they usually run about 1800 to about 2000 feet long. So that's a lot of work when they get snagged on the coral. But when they go akule fishing, in those days there was so much fish so you would just wait for the fish to just settle on the sand. Because there's no boats to run them over or people swimming over it. When the fish come in there's just no interruption. Schools of fish was big those days! Oh, my goodness! [Cleaning fish] that was everybody's job [Sadang].

Backyard Marine Resources

We get people who think this [ocean front yard] is a park. We get haole's that rent those two big houses, like three thousand, four thousand a month kind of deal. They come over here with their kayaks and they land on the beach and then my son-in-law's dog starts barking, and then they leave. Always something going on. We had to put the rocks in because it was getting too much erosion. We used to lay net across the bay going to the beach. They had enough nets to do that. [Catch] all kind--lobster, slipper lobster, all kind fish. Easy to lay net summer time because miles of water, no storm yeah. The reef kind of goes out, turns, and then it goes out at an angle. And we would go down on the rocks and make [wana/poke] and [clean] them in the salt water [Pohaku].



Photo 37. Beach area of Pohaku's front yard.

Commercial Fishing.

My uncle, he was a commercial fisherman--Uncle George. He had his own *hukilau* nets, his own akule nets, he owned his own boat. The plantation before they used to spray chemicals on top of the sugar cane to dry up the leaves so that they could burn it, and they used the double-winged airplanes. That's what they used to spot akule too. Everybody worked together in the community. It didn't matter what kind of business you had, they just utilized what they got and they work out things together [Sadang].

Turtle & Tiger Shark Connection.

We have had a couple turtles wash up dead. All tumors. Ugly. We call the Fish & Wild Life. They came and turn it over and hit the stomach and said, 'Oh, this thing never eat long time.' But now that we get more turtles, we get more tiger sharks. That's what tiger sharks eat. In the old days, we never had too many turtles. Never had tiger sharks [Pohaku].

Because now they cannot harvest turtle, there's a lot; a lot of turtles. And there's a lot of sharks! More than before! I'm not just saying that. We have dinner, potluck, family gathering and we're sitting there and we're watching these sharks come up to the shoreline; you can almost touch it without touching the water...that's how close they come. And that used to be a rare occasion! All I know is there's more sharks and there's more turtles. [Turtle] one of their food. Sharks eat fish is their diet too yeah [Sadang].

Turtle as Food.

Turtles--that used to be our diet. It's good food. They make good steak. That was one of my jobs, to clean turtles. You know the bottom ...they have glands on the four corners and when you cut on the soft shell, you watch for the four corners and just go along side the line on the soft shell and you peel that off...and it takes everything off. First, you cut the neck off, that's what I do...cut the neck off and follow the shell...the soft part...and that's all edible, the soft part ...and you peel it off...you're taking the back...and it's all fat around here...on the edge of the shell...turtle fat [Sadang].

Turtle as Medicine.

That's medicine you know. I don't know how they prepare it. But I remember this boy, Darrell Johnson, he lives in Wailuku, and they use this turtle oil to help this skin rash on his face and on his body. I don't know how they prepare it. But they used it daily, rub it on him...I don't know if they mixed it or cooked it or something...but I know the...you know the Mahi family...they talk about that medicine...they're the one who prepared it...and they used the oil...and completely cured him [Sadang]

Monk Seals

We had the monk seal visit us a couple of times over the last couple of years. Just one. I would think it's the same one. Sometimes we get thirty foot waves out here too [Pohaku].

There's a Hawaiian monk seal that comes every year. I think the month of February or March. Just one monk seal. It's a big one. I think it's the same one everybody sees over here. He comes in, right in our bay, and he passes by our house and just before the rock wall, he goes on the shore sometime, or he just goes past by [Sadang].

Work Not Recreation

Those days [ancient] you didn't go down the beach to go swim and go play. You went down the beach to go gather your food, not to go swimming. You had to be ali'i [to go surfing]. Like the mountains, you don't go to the mountains just to go hiking--everything had a purpose...what you did [Pohaku].

Whales

Yeah, [whales come in] but because of the reef they're kind of maybe another forty yards outside of the swell where it's a little bit deep. But at nighttime we hear them slapping the water. Can hear them splashing during the day. I saw one splash, way outside, it was a huge splash...and then about a few seconds later then I heard it. When the whale season starts they migrate through the channel, they're all going down. And then when they start leaving, you see them all going this

way and back out. You see whales all the time before it was popular to go whale watching [Pohaku].

Whales getting closer to shore. They used to hang around in the blue water, then the green water. And they look like their almost 30 feet long [Sadang].

Whales

Not in that area because it's mostly sand. You know how the place looks now [Sadang beach house]...we lost over sixty feet of beach rocks at the end of the property and the rest was all sand about sixty feet out. But now it's like ten feet...twenty feet. So `opihi came from "S" turn or about...you know where the Robinson's live, from there head up north. Like I say right in front of our house is just sand...so there's no rocks for `opihi to grow on or *pipipi* [Sadang].

Photo 38. Pipipi on rock.



Neighborhood Beaches.

It all depends on the season. Summer usually have more sand...that's ocean activity ...kind of northwest ... winter we get a lot of the big waves, currents... so we loose a lot of the sand during the winter. And as the seasons change the sand comes back in the summer. And it's that way every year. Some years a little bit more, some years a little bit less. But we never put in rock walls or stuff...just left it natural. There's more erosion now, much like the whole world, I think. The water levels is higher. We had unusual very high tides at a time when we had a big north swell that caused a lot of erosion, which is not too often at all that we have that situation. So, very unusual [Pohaku].



Photos 39 - 41. South, west, north views of Kahana Beach



Photos 42 - 44. South, west, north views of Māhinahina fronting a condo.



Photos 45 - 47. South, west, north views of Honokōwai Beach

Cultural Resources and Use

This category represents Traditional Hawaiian cultural resources and practices and other ethnic resources and practices. The Traditional Hawaiian cultural resources and practices, includes the pre-contact era, as well as cultural practices after contact. Cultural Resources can be the tangible remains of the ancient past or the traditional *wahi pana* or sacred places, or any cultural gathering place. One of the most significant traditional Hawaiian cultural resources are the *heiau* or places of worship. Other places of great significance for all cultures are the burial places of loved ones. Unfortunately with the massive transformation of the landscape as a result of the many western industries [i.e., provisioning, sandalwood, sugar, tourism, urban development] coupled with the secretive nature of ancient burial practices, most of the ancient burial places are unknown or forgotten and are easily disrupted and disturbed by subsurface activity.

Māhinahina-Kahana

I haven't paid much attention to that. I haven't seen any petroglyphs or bones...I haven't noticed [house sites]. Because there are some mango trees in Kahana Nui, I think ... and I believe I heard that there were some residents, actually homes there at one time, but I haven't seen them. Whenever you build a basin of that size like the ones in Māhinahina and Kahana, there is I believe an environment assessment process that you go through which includes archeological studies. I would believe that there would be an archeological study for Kahana Basin and Māhinahina Basin either accessible through the County of Maui or to NRCS [Nohara].

The only Hawaiian stuff that we were told about was in the Kahana Gulch. That would be right where the highway is, just above the highway, if you look up on the hill, some of the property over there is owned by the Smith family. Also a woman looked for it, but there's some Hawaiian burial ground and some of them is like--oh, this is way back though--some of them the graves were like a regular grave in the ground and some of them were up in the like a cliff. You know how the Hawaiians used to bury their ... in the rocks. And if you are walking in towards the mountain it's on the left side. When we were little, they were showing us, but now I can't [remember]. We used to go up there because there was...there used to be an old house and church in there. They were way back ... Because way back, there were people living inside the gulch. And I know one of the families are the Smith's because their children were planning to come back and build a home in there. But they needed to build a water tank [Sadang].

Anecdotal Stories.

Consultants usually have many stories to share. However, some of these stories are not always germane to the research categories. Yet they are too precious not to share as they give a broader view of life in the area, usually in an earlier time period.

Childhood Games.

Bows and Arrows. But we had time to play! Common games. Depends what’s on television, in those days’ lots of cowboys and Indians. That’s the kind of game we played. We made bows and arrows from kīawe trees, you know the roots? Made the bows out of that, and then we had our own feathers from the chickens. You now the common koa [*haole koa*], we put the straight stick, take off the skin and then split one end; because the inside is hollow, it’s just right for the feather--the bow fits right in--and we get our Mom’s sewing thread and we tie both ends to keep the feather intact and we just sharpen the end! And we shoot each other like that. That time we had the ‘Running of the Arrow’ the show on TV, black and white. We put a rag on the end, then we shoot the arrow as far as we can, then you have to run and you chase it. Because that’s what we had. But if you go in Lahaina, they use the date tree because they have that natural bend. That’s one of the games [Sadang].

Chase and Marbles. Chase-master, playing with marbles--fire hole. It’s like a “T” or a plus +. At each point there’s a hole and in the middle there’s another hole. There’s five holes. And you draw the line wherever you want...in back of that...five feet away...ten feet away...and the first one [marble] in the hole can progress to the middle...go left or right...go back to the middle ...go to the end and reverse the hole...and once you’re finished reversing to the beginning, then you’re the “king”...so you can prevent anybody from progressing. [And there’s] the ring...your marble goes out of the ring, the next person starts [Sadang].

Project Thoughts/Concerns.

Most of the consultants expressed at least one concern about the project and/or the problems that may ensue. The primary concern that indirectly involves a cultural practice was runoff into the ocean, but also about chemical seepage. Other issues involved the airport, additional traffic and population.

Airport Issues

I know that it was an issue, people didn’t want the airport noises and lengthening of the runway...they don’t want big jets to come through or helicopters. That still echoes till today [Nohara].

Run-off Issues

Runoff from the airport is a serious problem. You know when you build an impervious, hard surface like that--it’s paved--generally you get heavy runoff. The water has to go somewhere and there really isn’t subsurface drains as far as I know, to handle the bulk of the runoff so it goes straight down, that’s why the basins play such a major role. Pohaku Kā’anapali Basin handles a bunch of it, but what it has to handle from the airport it probably needs to be enlarged. Especially if they build more homes there in that area they would have to deal with runoff. The other two basins Kahana and Māhinahina, I think, were more able to handle what’s already there [Nohara].



Photo 48. Māhinahina drainage to ocean.

We fish all inside here, Māhinahina-Kahana to Lana`i and run-off is a problem. Runoff hurts fishing, kills *limu*; from there once the *limu* goes, the fish and `ōpae. *Limu* and moi and mullet all need fresh underground water, not run-off dirty water or water contaminated with chemicals from sugar cane and pineapple [Nalei`eha].

I think that's the only concern, to me. Cause when you talk about the ocean, somebody has to mess it up before...because the ocean is natural...the only way it's going to be messed up is by humans. And what can humans do? They can over fish it ... or they can kill it by chemicals [Sadang].

But man, the ocean is dying. I don't know what the problem. As they say the fisherman is fishing it out. I don't think so. They've not fools. Like I say, the coral--you can tell a live coral from a dead coral--all in the Honokawai area all dying off. All the coral there are dying off. Parts of Kahana are beginning to die off. Up in this area, right by Alaeloa are dying off. Right here by Napili Bay is alright so far. You know most of the houses that are going to be built over there [Pulelehua], the sewer is controlled because it goes to a sewer lines. Just think there no was....everything else gets controlled...except the yard; that we cannot control [Sadang].

Water Issues

Some of them [auwai] has changed over the years, but they cannot get enough water. Because who controls the water? Maui Land & Pine. It's a double sword out there. They say they need more water because the taro is getting rotten in the warm water. But they're not growing enough taro to justify the amount of water they need. So a lot of land has been bulldozed and they're building houses instead of growing the taro. In my family I think I have about 12 acres out there that's in taro; the lo'i--some has been reverted back to taro and some is not really doing anything right now. It's just lands. I'm trying to get people to work the land, but it's hard. There's no more water [Pohaku].

Nobody does that [dry land taro] really...too much dry land because the whole issue's the water. If you go dry land, then they can cut the water. Because that's [Honokohau] the last river that's alive yet. They had so many run-ins with Maui Land & Pine, and with Wes...and I keep telling these guys that Wes just works for them ... so he's got to do what they tell him to do. And the State ...I think it was something to do with the Kauai issue on the water ... who owns the water? ... it was supposed to have been the people own the water or the State owns the waters ... so we don't know why Maui Land still controls it because they made the dam ... or they're controlling the dam ... or they sell the water to Maui County. And that's the water that goes to Lahaina. So they'd rather divert the water to Lahaina than have the water run out the ocean and waste, but you're not really wasting because with that fresh-water, you can get *weke* and all. The *moi* and all that happens, so transitions there. It's kind of like a no win situation. So it's a whole other ball game, Honokohau Valley [Pohaku].

Traffic/Overpopulation Problems

Well, my concern was from when Kahana Ridge came in because now we're adding more cars to the road, more people. And when you have more people, everything else increases. You get people that you don't know that move here, that may attract other kinds of people that usually wouldn't be here if those types of people weren't here to begin with. That was a big concern. Of course when you get more people, you gotta to provide. So then you have a McDonalds, you have these convenience stores. Well, it's good and it's bad. It's good because you don't have to drive to Lahaina to go to a store--it's down the street. It's bad because in order to have that kind of store in your neighborhood, that means you have to have enough people to support it or else they wouldn't be able to make something like that. Same with all these condos. The roads in the old days was no shoulders, no sidewalk. Cause nobody walked. Nobody jogged because that was like recreation, nobody had time for that. Then as the condos came in, the tourists came... 'Oh, we need sidewalks, we can't walk over here!' or 'The roads too bad!' So they repaired the road, they made the sidewalks. Not for the locals, it's for all the haoles. And then when you repave the road...because the road's so smooth now ... your traffic speed limit goes up. Before they paved it in '73...'74... it was so bad that you had to drive slow. Once they paved it, the traffic increased, speed increased--you can just sit here and listen to the cars go by. It's fast. Nobody's cruising any more. Everyone is in a rush to go somewhere. If you want to go that fast, go the highway. We told at the meetings, who are the sidewalks for? The tourists. Well, we say we've got a highway with a wide shoulder,

a 15' shoulder, they should be walking up there and jogging up there. Not on the low road. Cause to put in a sidewalk; you gotta condemn the land. So that means taking away land from the local people, that's all they have left. Of course, they're going to pay you, but they're taking. For who? The haoles. A big development is good and bad. It comes down to whose it for? Who are you trying to reach out for? Who is it going to benefit? The locals? The locals that live here now or people that are moving to Maui from other islands [Pohaku]?

They took all these camps, they condemned them, they shut them down, they gave everybody new houses up Lahainaluna. One road, too many schools up there, two lanes, too much traffic--it's crazy everyday. All day it's crazy. That's the kind of planning the County has been doing. So we was telling them we want four lanes. Well, Kihei got four lanes and we're still waiting. We say we want the bypass. They're still studying it. I don't know what there is to study. It's the way they plan stuff and it takes them so long to do stuff, by the time they do it, it's obsolete. Missed its point and cost so much money and it doesn't work. It's government [Pohaku]!

Development/Outsider/Traffic Issues

We still got a lot of good country that's not developed yet. I like to see things less developed, less concrete. It's almost impossible to stop development, but it's possible to limit the type of development and the impact. If there's something for the locals to benefit from, then that's good. Kahana Ridge, there's local people up there, but when you look at the price of a lot and you still got to make a house, you're talking \$500,000 or more--to \$750,000. You can't afford it, so who comes in? The rich people. The non-residents. They come in, they buy it. They got their nice Mercedes. They come in, they got their money.... 'We don't like how this place is. We want to change it to how we want it.' So that brings a (disgruntled local?) 'Haole's go home!' Instead of coming here and saying, 'I'm an outsider. You're the local, you show me how I'm supposed to treat the `aina and adapt to this lifestyle.' Versus their bringing their lifestyle and they want everybody else to adapt to their style. Those are the people that really don't get along with the locals. Versus if you get an outsider that comes in and says, 'Well, I don't really know. Please teach me.' People will take 'em in and say, 'OK. This is how we do stuff and this is why we do stuff.' And this is what you got to be aware of, your neighbor. And who you're hurting and who you're not going to hurt; and who you're providing for. And it comes back to what is aloha. Is it just a word? But it's actually genuine concern of your neighbor, family, friend, to where you go out of you way to do something, and not expect anything in return. That is true aloha. Give what you can and help what you can. Nowadays people, you go help them or they come help you...they want you to return the favor...they expect it...but that's not how it is [Pohaku].

It should be giving and not expect to receive. But this is the way the County wanted to go ... to have a tourist income when they decided to give these developers the permits to build. In those days, you only had "x" amount of hotel rooms, you had "x" amount of plane seats empty coming in. So you couldn't really fill them up. So they decided what if we make more hotels...we could fill up the small hotels. If we added more rooms, we'll make more money. OK. So then who's going to work the hotels? So then we've got all these other people coming in to work the hotels. No place for these people to live. So then you have this whole problem of housing. And they're making hourly wages, so they they're not making a lot of money. Then you get the tourists who come here to visit and never leave [Pohaku].

You get more and more and more [tourists], and then the roads don't get adjusted to the amount of cars and the traffic. Basically, all you have to do is go on Lahainaluna Road...that intersection...in the morning...between 7:00 and 8:00...and between 1:30 and 2:30 ... and see the traffic they've created. That's everyday! So where's everybody going? There's no accident! Its one stupid light causing the back up...it's backed up to the Pali. You know 15 or 20 miles away, it's backed up bumper to bumper. It's ridiculous! The whole problem I see, the history of this island is West Maui, Lahaina, has always been the stepchild of Maui County. West Maui, Lahainaluna High School, never gets the recognition. We get the junk stuff. Our gym is the low bid gym and it's falling apart [Pohaku]

Diminishing Open Spaces

I remember growing up everything was separated; we had Honokowai--houses separated by cane fields; then Kahana--just a few houses separated by cane fields; and then as you got further north you had pineapple. Few houses next to the road and then separated again by pineapple. So every community, every area had their own store, their own school--it was separated. Now when you drive through it's all connected—Lahaina--there's no open area now [Pohaku].

Everybody wants like North Beach, Kā'anapali, they agreed to have that one time share that's going in right now. And then they're going to use the whole other area as park. Well, that's not what I heard they're going to do. They're going to develop more of that land. That's prime location for a park. We don't need more condos, more time share. Enough! They can't fill them up as it is now. Because the developers are not from here, they come in, develop something, sell it, make their money, and leave [Pohaku].



Photo 49. Limited open spaces.

Swimming Pool/Illegal Dumping Issues

Swimming pools. We've seen a lot. They put swimming pool water in the ocean. It should go in the sewer line... but they put em all in the ocean. Some guys they go the easy way out. Sometimes you see the water just turn color [Sadang].

Future References.

I was thinking more about who else you could ask. I don't know if he's willing to do an interview, they guy who has been around a long time is Hideo Kurose. Hideo Kurose was like the plantation superintendent, like the manager of this farm two generations before me. He actually was a supervisor for my Mom, when she worked in the fields. He's been around a long time. He's still alive. He lives down the road here. He knows a lot about the area and history. I haven't talked to him in a long time, so I'm not sure how sharp his mind is. I know that he...just a few years ago his mind was still very sharp. He might be a good resource for you. I know that every now and then I send people to talk with him because you're not the first to do these cultural assessments [Nohara] [Hideo passed away (Nohara 2017)].



Photo 50. Akule nets being cleaned and hung to dry.

2017 Akahele Gate Access

About a month ago I met with the Gorilla Foundation. They have a long term lease with MLP. They had plans to build a research facility to house Gorillas directly mauka of Pulelehua at about the 1400 ft elevation. They also have an easement to access through Pulelehua via the Akahele Gate. Other people who use the Akahele Gate for access are Kā'anapali Land Management Co., Board of Water Supply, Maui Electric, Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), Maui Land & Pine (MLP) and Kaonoulou Ranch (Nohara 2017). [NOTE: Based on my 2004 access I believe Mr. Nohara is referring to the North-facing gate off of Akahele Road; there is a Taxi "stand" there.]