UKUMEHAME

CULTURAL-HISTORICAL BRIEF

PREPARED FOR
BROOKFIELD RENEWABLE

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INTRODUCTION

This cultural-historical brief traces the genealogy of Kaheawa Wind Power's wind energy generation site and the surrounding ʻāina (land) through two significant time periods, Yesterday and Today. The site is located in an area known as Kaheawa Pastures, which occupies the dry, rocky eastern half of Ukumehame. Famous for its wind and its pali (cliffs), this has traditionally been a place where few people lived. Nevertheless, it was unavoidable terrain in the journey between Wailuku and Lāhainā, and for that reason, Ukumehame has long been significant.

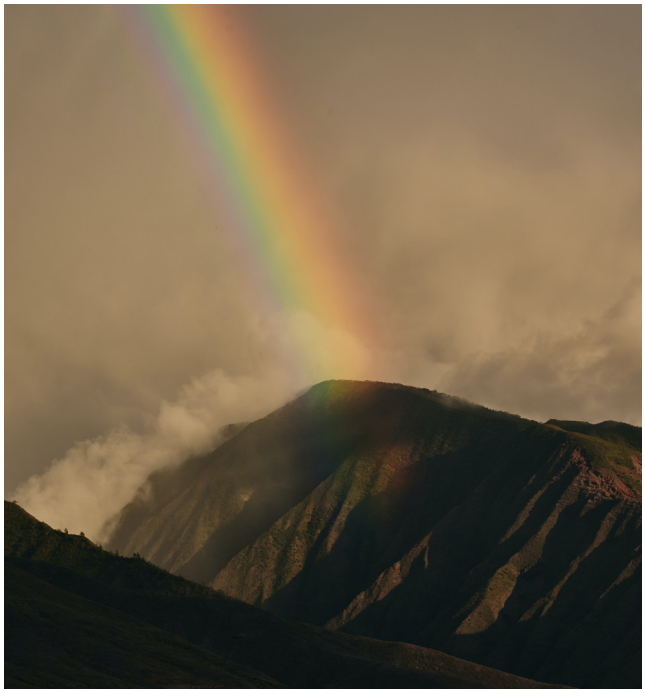
This brief begins with a basic overview of the ʻāina, as preserved in traditional names and ʻōlelo noʻeau (Hawaiian proverbs). Next, it presents the moʻolelo (stories) of Yesterday, which give us a view of the traditional relationship between ʻāina and kānaka (people) that informed the cultural history of this region. The second half of this brief provides an overview of events from the last century that laid the foundation for the Ukumehame of today, closing with a view towards Tomorrow and the issues shaping the area's future.

METHODOLOGY

This cultural-historical brief was prepared by DTL, a Hawaiian strategy studio that strives to utilize methodologies that align with Hawaiian values, traditions, and ways of gathering, organizing, and interpreting information. A core component to this work is the documentation of a moʻokūauhau—a genealogy of people and place—with the intention that it strengthens stakeholders' connection to the cultural history of a particular place so that they may be more effective in their work, equipped with a better understanding of their kuleana (responsibility or duty) to Hawaiʻi and its people.

The approach for this cultural brief is based on a methodology called Tomorrow's Ahupuaʻa. Tomorrow's Ahupuaʻa is built upon the fundamental relationship between ʻāina and kānaka that's at the heart of traditional Hawaiian land management models. For Native Hawaiians, the importance of this relationship is told in the Kumulipo, one of the oldest and most widely acknowledged cosmogonic genealogies recounting the birth of the islands, chiefs, and people and their interdependence. Our methodology strives to bring back the balance between ʻāina and kānaka in modern contexts.

THE LAND AND ITS FEATURES



In the Hawaiian worldview, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. This belief permeates all aspects of Hawaiian beliefs and practices—even today. Its origin can be seen in one of the principal creation stories, a chant known as the Kumulipo, which orders the origin of plants, animals, and humans along a shared, unbroken chain. It's this conception of humankind's existence that gives rise to mālama ʻāina, a core feature of the Hawaiian cultural value system that is expressed through the care and stewardship of the environment and its natural resources.

Similarly, the various forms of the natural environment, both animate and inanimate, are believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. From the heavens and volcanoes, to the forests and the planting fields, to the shoreline and ocean depths—not to mention the winds, rains, clouds, stars, and the many useful living things—all have some connection to a complex pantheon of akua (gods), kupua (demigods), and ʻaumakua (deified ancestor gods). These gods and deities are the subject of moʻolelo (stories) that the Hawaiian people told and retold across generations.

One such moʻolelo depicts the Hawaiian islands as being born to two gods: Wākea (the expanse of the sky) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands), also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea born time and time again). In an ancient oli (chant) which tells this origin story, Hawaiʻi Island is first to be born, followed next by Maui:

Hanau o Maui he moku, he aina,	Maui was born an island, a land,
Na kama o Kamalalawalu e noho.	A dwelling place for the children of Kamalalawalu.

(Fornander 1880:2-3)

A review of the cultural and historical genealogy of any project site begins with a basic understanding of palena, or "place-boundaries." The Hawaiian scholar, Dr. Kamana Beamer, explains that this concept of palena involves "a particular type of boundary, one created in a specific context, which defines a place that has unique functions." The sections below provide an overview of our focus area, along with the names and sayings that speak to the historical functions or characteristics of these places.

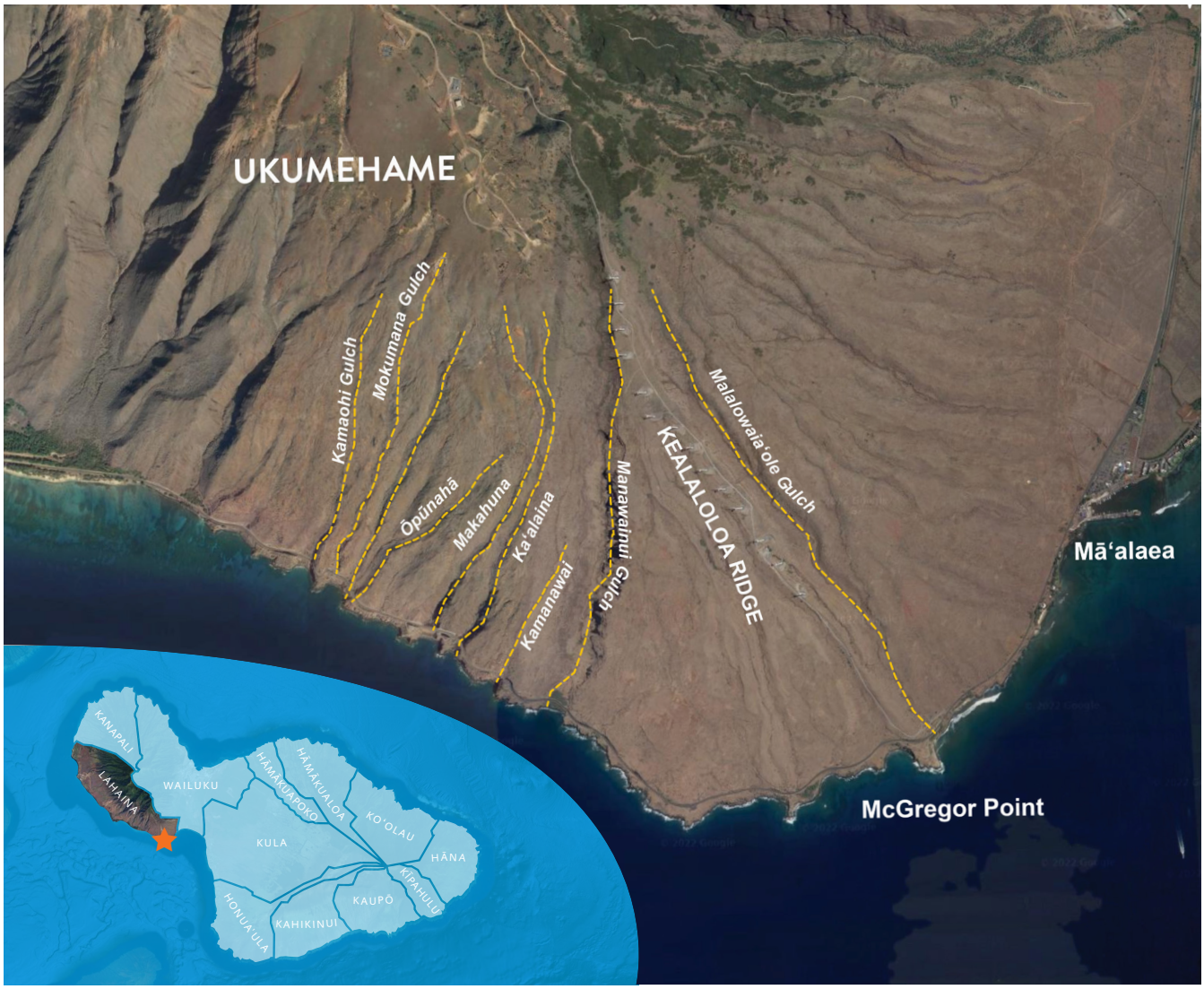
TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN LAND DIVISIONS

The Hawaiian Islands were settled between A.D. 900 and 1200, and the long period of voyaging between Hawai‘i and central Eastern Polynesia ended in circa 1400. The lush and well-watered windward sides of the islands were settled first. Eventually, as populations grew, the early Hawaiians fanned out and populated the dry leeward lands like those of Lāhainā and Kā‘anapali. What these districts lacked in wai (fresh water), they made up for in their sheltered coves, abundant fisheries, and forested uplands.

The first major delineation of land boundaries on the island of Maui occurred during the rule of Kaka‘alaneo between circa 1500-1530 and was overseen by a kahuna named Kalaihaohi‘a. This resulted in the creation of large land divisions called moku (districts), which were further broken down into subdistricts that were managed by agents of the ruling chiefs. Maui is divided into twelve moku: Hāmākuapoko, Hāmākualoa, Ko‘olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, Kaupō, Kahikinui, Honua‘ula, Kula, Wailuku, Kā‘anapali, and Lāhainā.

Moku are comprised of subdistricts called ahupua‘a, and ahupua‘a are further subdivided into parcels of land known as ‘ili ‘āina and mo‘o ‘āina. There are exceptions, but the classic ahupua‘a is a large, wedge-shaped slice of land with borders running from the mountain peaks to the nearshore fisheries and generally following prominent landforms—ridge lines and valley walls, for example. By design, an ahupua‘a contained everything its residents needed to sustain themselves: medicinal plants, hard woods, and freshwater from the uplands; vegetable and fruit crops from the cultivated midlands; and fish, seaweed, and salt from the sea.

West Maui is formed by a range of mountains called Mauna Kahālāwai. The three moku of West Maui are Lāhāina, Kā‘anapali, and Wailuku. The project site is located in the



ahupua'a of Ukumehame, which is part of the Lāhainā moku. A relatively large ahupua'a, Ukumehame occupies some 11,040 acres at the southernmost part of West Maui leading into Mā'alaea Bay. To the west is the ahupua'a of Olowalu, and to the east is the ahupua'a of Waikapū, which is part of the Wailuku moku. The coastline extends for a distance of approximately 12 miles, beginning at a place called Kapoli, a once prominent freshwater spring, on the boundary between Ukumehame and Waikapū. Much of the land is rocky and carved up by gulches and ravines, the largest of which is Ukumehame Gulch, a steep and narrow canyon that, at lower elevations, opens up to a gently sloped kula (plain) that was locus of traditional farming and settlement in the ahupua'a.

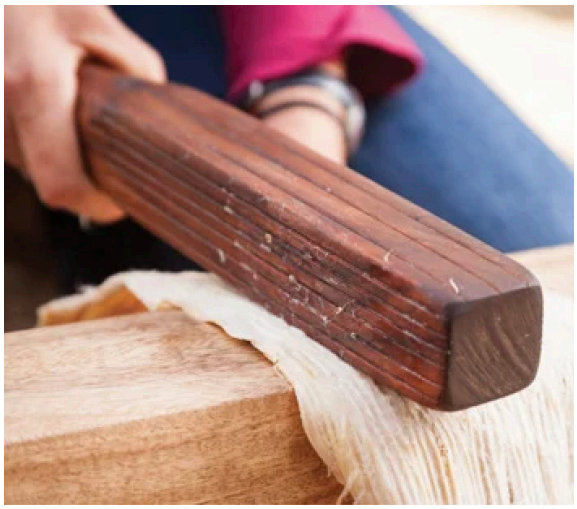
TRADITIONAL NAMES

In ancient Hawai‘i, the practice of naming places was widespread, and virtually all aspects of the land and sea could be identified by name. From beaches, bays, ocean channels, and points to hills, plains, valleys, mountains, and ridge lines, many of the place names we know today have ancient origins. Names were often inspired by the characteristics of the land. They could be literal or metaphorical in their description, or they might be commemorative of a person or event having some relationship to the land. Most names contain traces of information about the cultural significance of a place, so they provide a natural starting point when looking at the history of Hawaiian places.

Lāhainā translates to mean “cruel sun” (lā-hainā). It’s said to be named for the droughts that would sweep over the land. There’s also another more specific story about a bald-headed chief from Kaua‘ula Valley in Lāhainā who once cursed the sun by shouting, “He kū ho‘i kēia o ka lā hainā!” (What an unmerciful sun!), and the words “lā hainā” are what stuck.

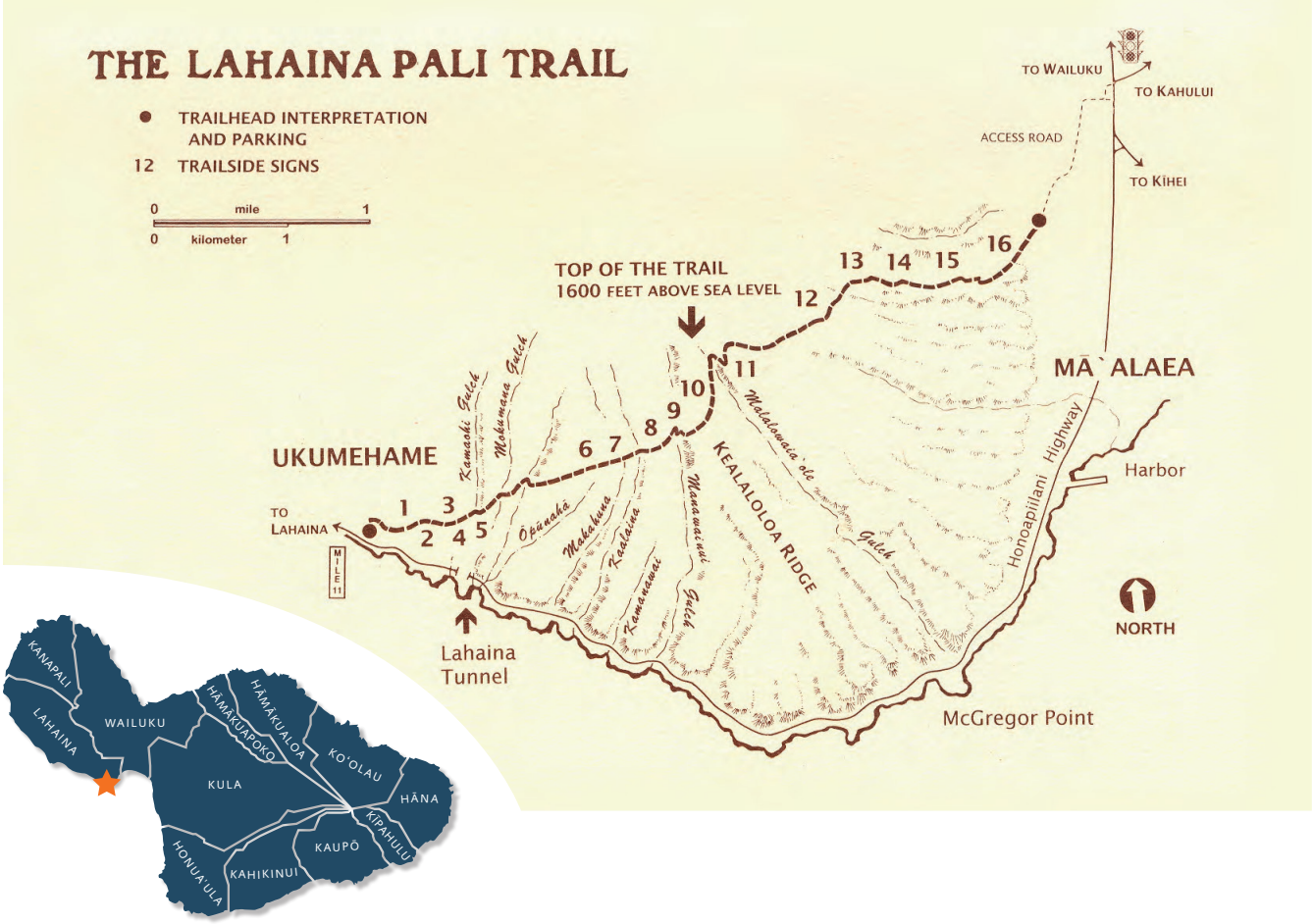
Another name for the town of Lāhainā is Lele. “Lele” describes a jumping, flying, or leaping motion, and one explanation for the name is that Lāhainā is where the ali‘i would come for short visits, so there’s this island-hopping quality to the name Lele. This reflects Lāhainā’s historical status as a seat of governance and a natural gathering place for those in power.

Ukumehame is the name for the ahupua‘a and the narrow gulch that borders Olowalu. It has also been spelled as “Ukumahame.” Ukumehame translates to mean, “(to) pay (in) mehame wood.” Mehame is a native hardwood that was used to make the anvils for beating kapa and preparing olonā for cordage. The traditional name for this section of shoreline is Pāko‘a, which translates to mean “coral fence.”



Kapa anvils were often made of mahame wood

A distinctive feature to the Ukumehame coastal region is the section of rocky sea cliffs between Mā‘alaea and Pāpalaua. A traditional name for this section of coastline is ‘A‘alaloloa, meaning “long path of rough lava.” It was traversed by an ancient foot trail that formed part of Ke Alaloa (The Long Road), a paved footpath that encircled Maui’s east and west ends at a length of approximately 138 miles. The project was started under the chief Pi‘ilani in circa 1516 and completed by his son and successor Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani. The pathway improved travel, trade, and communication, and the collection of ho‘okupu (taxes) during the Makahiki season.



The trail climbs to an elevation of 1,600 feet and crosses an area called Pōhakuloa. Heading in the direction of Māʻalaea, it traverses several gulches—Kamaohi, Mokumana, Ōpūnahā, Makahuna, Kaʻalaina, Kamanawai, and Manawainui—before it reaches its midpoint at Kealaloloa Ridge and descends to Māʻalaea. The trail fell into disuse when a curvy, single-lane dirt road was carved out along the foothills. Over the years, the road was widened and straightened until it was replaced in the early-1950s with the current highway.

A noted feature along the ʻAʻalaloloa coastline is McGregor Point, named after Captain Daniel McGregor, a Scotsman who immigrated to Hawaiʻi in the late-1800s and hauled cargo between the islands. The story goes that one night, his ship was caught in a storm while en route to Māʻalaea from Olowalu when he happened upon sheltered cove where he was able to drop anchor. When daylight came, the boat was unharmed, and Captain McGregor and his crew were surprised to find themselves right up against the side of a sea cliff. Other boats began to use this little inlet as a safe harbor in cases of emergency. Eventually, the government built a wharf there, and McGregor Point became an official landing. The wharf has since been dismantled, but the 20-foot lighthouse that was erected in 1915 still stands today.

ŌLELO NOʻEAU: TRADITIONAL PROVERBS AND WISE SAYINGS

Like traditional place names, ʻōlelo noʻeau (traditional proverbs and wise sayings) are another way by which the history and characteristics of Hawaiian places have been recorded and preserved. These expressions were often contained in mele (songs), oli (chants), and kanikau (lamentation chants that commemorate the deceased). In 1983, Mary Kawena Pukui published a volume of close to 3,000 ʻōlelo noʻeau that she had collected over a period of decades. For each, she provides a literal translation along with some usage remarks that help us understand context and the deeper meaning being conveyed.

While there are no ʻōlelo noʻeau that directly reference Ukumehame, there are several for Olowalu. Historically, Olowalu was the more populated district, but the two were closely interconnected—due in part to their proximity, their similar environments, and their relative distance from Wailuku and Lāhainā. The ʻōlelo noʻeau that Olowalu inspired allude to its gusty winds and hot climate, characteristics that Ukumehame share.

ʻAʻohe umu moʻa i ka makani.	No umu can be made to cook anything by the wind. Talk will not get the umu [another word for imu, or underground oven] lighted and the food cooked. This saying originated in Olowalu, Maui, where it was very windy and hard to light an umu. (Pukui 1983:25)
Ka makani haʻihaʻi lau hau o Olowalu.	The hau-leaf tearing wind of Olowalu. A gusty wind. (Pukui 1983:157)
Konohiki lua ka lā i Olowalu.	The heat of the sun rules in Olowalu. Said of one who permits the heat of anger to possess him. Olowalu, Maui, is known for its warm climate. (Pukui 1983:199)
Olowalu ihu pāpaʻa.	Crusty-nosed Olowalu. Disparaging expression for the people of Olowalu, Maui, where the wind is said to blow into the nostrils, drying the mucus into crust. (Pukui 1983:273)

Neighboring Waikapū was also known for its wind. It is described in this next ʻōlelo noʻeau as kokololio, or a "sharp, swift wind gust."

Waikapū i ka makani kokololio.

Waikapū of the gusty wind.

Refers to Waikapū, Maui. (Pukui 1983:319)

This final ʻōlelo noʻeau relates to a woman named Kaiaʻupe who was a notorious thief that lived near the ʻAʻalaloloa trail that travelers used to trek across Ukumehame's sea cliffs. As Pukui explains below, Kaiaʻupe would seduce her victims near a cliff's edge before kicking them to their death, which gave rise to an expression remarking on one's misfortune.

Ka ʻai a Kaiaʻupe.

The stroke of Kaiaʻupe.

Said when one is lured and suffers the consequences. Kaiaʻupe was a noted female robber who lived near the cliff trail of ʻAʻalaloa, Maui. She would entice a man to lie with her on the edge of the cliff, and then kick him off with her foot. This expression came to refer to any kind of treachery. (Pukui 1983:139)

YESTERDAY

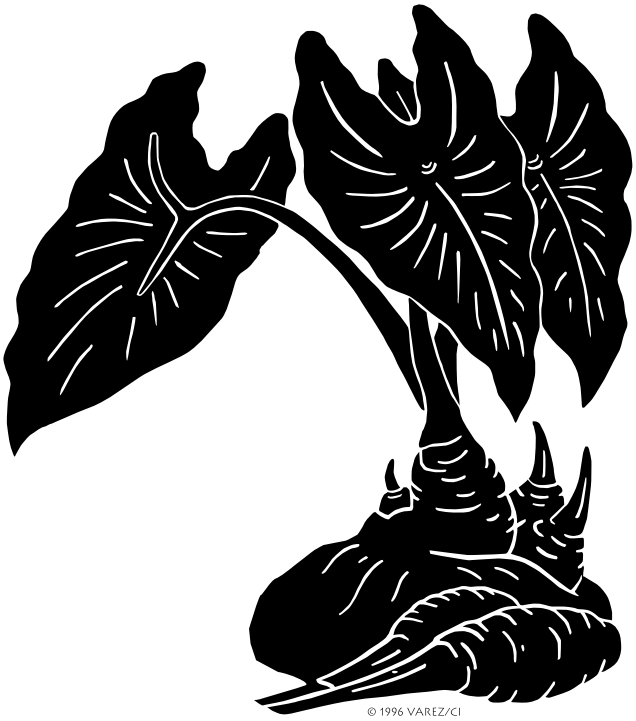
Despite being located on Maui's dry, leeward side, the district of Lāhainā achieved a high state of cultivation and status in ancient Hawai'i. Famously shaded by groves of 'ulu (breadfruit) trees, Lāhainā is often depicted in historical accounts as a picturesque village favored by the ali'i. Ukumehame is some distance from Lāhainā, and there is evidence that along with Olowalu, it comprised a distinct district of its own prior to its integration into the moku of Lāhainā.

MĀLAMA 'ĀINA: CARE FOR THAT WHICH FEEDS

The traditional Hawaiian economy was a subsistence economy. Growing, gathering, hunting, fishing, and making things for oneself and one's 'ohana, supplemented by practices of gifting and exchange, defined the economy of pre-contact Hawai'i.

In Hawai'i, more so than anywhere else in Polynesia, planting and farming evolved into a highly sophisticated and systematic practice that played a central role in the development of culture and society. The backbone of Hawaiian society were the planters, who prepared, planted, and harvested their own plots and lived in extremely close contact with the natural world around them. In Hawaiian thinking, the land was the chief, and man was its servant. Man needed the land, but the land had no need for man.

Kalo (or taro) was the Hawaiian people's crop of choice—superior to 'uala (sweet potato), mai'a (banana), and 'ulu (breadfruit), food crops that factor more heavily into traditional diets in other



parts of Polynesia. Kalo was grown throughout Polynesia, Melanesia, and South-East Asia, but it was cultivated with an unmatched level of intensity and skill in Hawai‘i, where there were at least several hundred varieties adapted for the various localities, soils, and terrain.

Growing kalo in a flooded lo‘i was the preferred method of cultivation, and in various parts of the Lāhāina district, including Ukumehame, there was enough water available to support lo‘i cultivation, as documented by the anthropologists E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, who collaborated with the preeminent expert on all-things-Hawaiian, Mary Kawena Pukui. Here are their observations of Ukumehame and Olowalu in the 1930s:

> Southeastward along the coast from the ali‘i settlement [of Lāhāina] were a number of areas where dispersed populations grew taro, sweet potato, breadfruit and coconut on slopes below and in the sides of valleys which had streams with constant flow. . . . Ukumehame had extensive terraces below its canyon, some of which were still planted with taro in 1934; these terrace systems used to extend well down below the canyon. ‘Olowalu, the largest and deepest valley on southwest Maui, had even more extensive lo‘i lands both in the valley and below. (Handy 1991:492)

Mālama ʻāina is the concept that captures the basic duty at the heart of the relationship between people and the land. To mālama ʻāina is to take care of and look after the land, to maintain it in a condition that sustains humankind, who needs it for their survival. The word "ʻāina" is defined as "land," and it tends to be used in the broadest possible sense of the word, encompassing not merely the physical land itself but the life-sustaining essence of its nature. In fact, it is a compound word comprised of verb "ʻai" and "na" that together mean "that which feeds." It's common today to frame the concept of ʻāina in these larger, existential terms.

THE LEGEND OF KANIKANIAULA AND THE FIRST FEATHER CLOAK

ʻAhuʻula is the name for the Hawaiian feathered cloaks that were worn by the highest ranking chiefs, and The Legend of Kanikaniaula recounts the story of how the practice came to be established with the very first ʻahuʻula. It was given to a 16th century chief named Kakaʻanaleo from a member of his court whose name was Eleio. Eleio was a kūkini, or runner of great speed. Kūkini were employed by chiefs to quickly transmit messages or goods from one place to another. Eleio was also a trained kahuna and possessed certain supernatural powers, including the ability to return a wandering spirit to its body.

The story begins with Eleio making his way along the ʻAʻalaloloa through Ukumehame on his way to Hāna to collect awa for Kakaʻanaleo to enjoy at dinner. This version of the story was published in English in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser on August 18, 1883 and signed by Kaili.

> Soon after leaving Olowalu, and as he commenced the ascent of Aalaloloa, beyond Olowalu, he saw a beautiful young woman ahead of him. He naturally hastened his steps, intending to overtake such a charming fellow-traveler; but do what he would, she kept always just so much ahead of him.

The woman was the spirit of a chiefess named Kanikaniaula, who took Eleio on a chase from Ukumehame to Kahikinui before finally asking Eleio for his help in bringing her back to life. She promised that in exchange, she would give him a half-finished feather cloak, among other valuable things. With the help of Kanikaniaula's ʻohana, Eleio performed a series of rites and rituals that successfully revived Kanikaniaula's lifeless body. Overjoyed, her family insisted that Eleio take Kanikaniaula to be his wife. Having gotten sidetracked in his errand to collect awa from Hāna for the king, Eleio knew that he would likely be sentenced to death upon his return to Lāhainā, so he instead asked that they finish the cloak so that he could present it to Kakaʻanaleo as a gift and perhaps spare him his life.

Kanikaniaula and her family got right to it and quickly finished the cloak. Eleio then set off back to Lāhainā along with Kanikaniaula. When Kakaʻanaleo set his eyes on the ʻahuʻula, he was astonished. It was a thing that no one had ever seen before. Eleio's life was spared, and when asked where the cloak had come from, Eleio introduced Kanikaniaula to Kakaʻanaleo, who made her his wife and the queen of Maui.

THE OLOWALU MASSACRE OF 1790

One of the most infamous events to occur in this region of West Maui is the Olowalu Massacre of 1790. At the time, Olowalu was under the rule of a high chiefess named Kalola, who was the daughter of Kekaulike, Mōʻī (supreme ruler) of Maui during the 1700s. Her brother was Kahekili, the famous warrior king who came to control seven of the eight Hawaiian islands and paved the way for Kamehameha's eventual unification.

The massacre itself resulted in the brutal murder of more than a hundred Hawaiians at a village located in Olowalu. This event was precipitated by a series of incidents involving the British-American captain Simon Metcalf and the crew of a fur trading ship called Eleanora, which anchored in Honuaʻula near Makena in 1790. Kalola and her husband Kaʻopuiki were there when the Eleanora first docked at Honuaʻula. They went out to greet the foreigners and offer goods to trade, at which point Kaʻopuiki took notice of a smaller boat, called a cutter, tied to the Eleanora's stern. The boat was constructed with highly coveted nails and other metal parts.

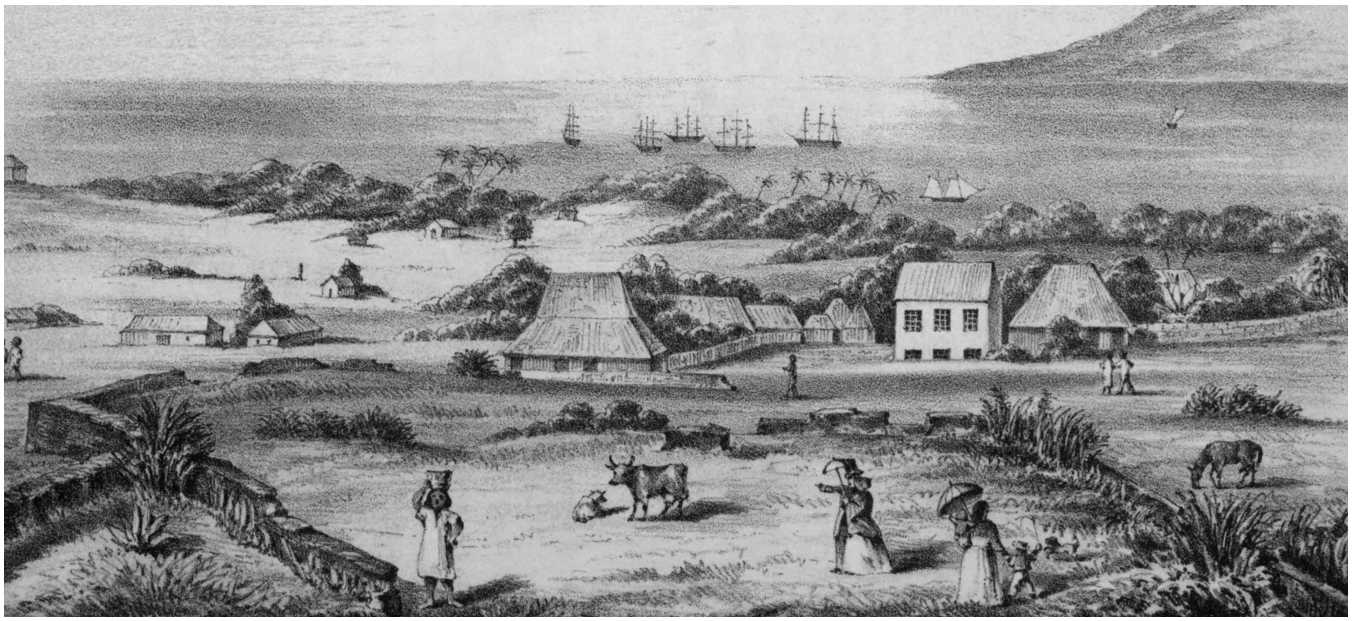
That night, Kaʻopuiki and some others snuck out to the ship and cut the smaller boat loose. Sleeping inside was one of Metcalf's crewmen, who was killed during the mission. Realizing that the boat was missing, Metcalf sent out a search party but found nothing.

The next day, several more canoes came out to the Eleanora with pigs and fruit to offer, and Metcalf fired on them, killing and wounding several Hawaiians. The next day, according to an officer's account, "four or five thousand people" gathered at the shoreline, "all armed with slings, spears, and arrows" ("Americans at Otaheite" 1792:318). A battle ensued, with the boat firing its cannons at the beach and likely killing and wounding many. A crew went to shore and set fire to the village and heiau, and any survivors eventually fled mauka to avoid being shot at.

After that, the Eleanora left Honuaʻula and headed north. The officer wrote, "We had been under way about an hour and a half, with a light breeze, when the natives in canoe alongside, informed us that the chief of the people that had stolen the boat, lived behind a point, to the northward, we then hauled our wind, went round the point and came to anchor" ("Americans at Otaheite" 1792:319).

The next day, Kaʻopuiki came aboard the ship and offered to return the boat, which had been stripped for its metal parts, and the boat's keeper, who was dead, in exchange for a reward. Kaʻopuiki later returned with just the boat's keel, angering Metcalf. Sensing danger, Kalola declared a kapu forbidding anyone from making contact with the ship. It lasted three days, and when it was over, hundreds of villagers paddled out to the Eleanora in the hopes of trading with the crew. Presenting a friendly demeanor, Metcalf managed to corral the canoes along one side of his ship, and once they were packed tightly together, he ordered his crew to fire the guns. It was a scene of carnage, with at least a hundred dead and a hundred wounded. The historian Samuel Kamakau describes the aftermath:

> Even those who swam away were shot down. John Young was an eyewitness on board the ship and has testified to the great number who were killed at this time. At noon that day the Eleanor sailed, and the people went out and brought the dead ashore, some diving down into the sea with ropes and others using hooks; and the dead were heaped on the sands at Olowalu. Because the brains of many were oozing out where they had been shot in the head, this battle with the ship Eleanor and her captain was called "The spilled brains" (Kalolo-pahu). It was a sickening sight, as Mahulu and others have reported it; the slaughtered dead were heaped upon the sand; wives, children, parents, and friends came to view and mourn over their dead; and the sound of loud wailing arose. (Kamakau 1992:146)



LĀHAINĀ'S WHALING PERIOD

Hawai'i's whaling period began in circa 1810, lasted for much of the 19th century and peaked in 1846. Whaling ships used Hawai'i as a stopover between the United States and Japan, where whales were hunted primarily for their blubber, which was processed into whale oil and used for heating, lighting, and as an industrial lubricant. Each spring and summer, hundreds of whaling ships would arrive and spend months at a time in Lāhainā and Honolulu, their crews resting and stocking up on food and other supplies.

Whaling ship crews hailed mostly from New England, and their desire to eat foods that were familiar influenced what some farmers planted on Maui and O'ahu. Most notably, the American whalers' appetite for white potatoes led to its extensive cultivation in Kula, where it grew especially well. In fact, the ready supply of white potatoes on Maui, among other fruits and vegetables, is one reason why whaling ships preferred Lāhainā over Honolulu. Here's an excerpt singing Lāhainā's praises from an article published in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser newspaper on February 12, 1857:

> To whale ships no port at the islands offers better facilities for all their business (with the exception of heavy repairs) than does Lahaina. As it is on this island, and but a short distance that the extensive potato fields are located that have furnished an almost inexhaustible supply for many years, and also the large sugar plantations from which the best sugar and molasses are procured, and fine herds of cattle which dress up better, than any beef slaughtered for market that can be produced on the group.

THE MAHELE

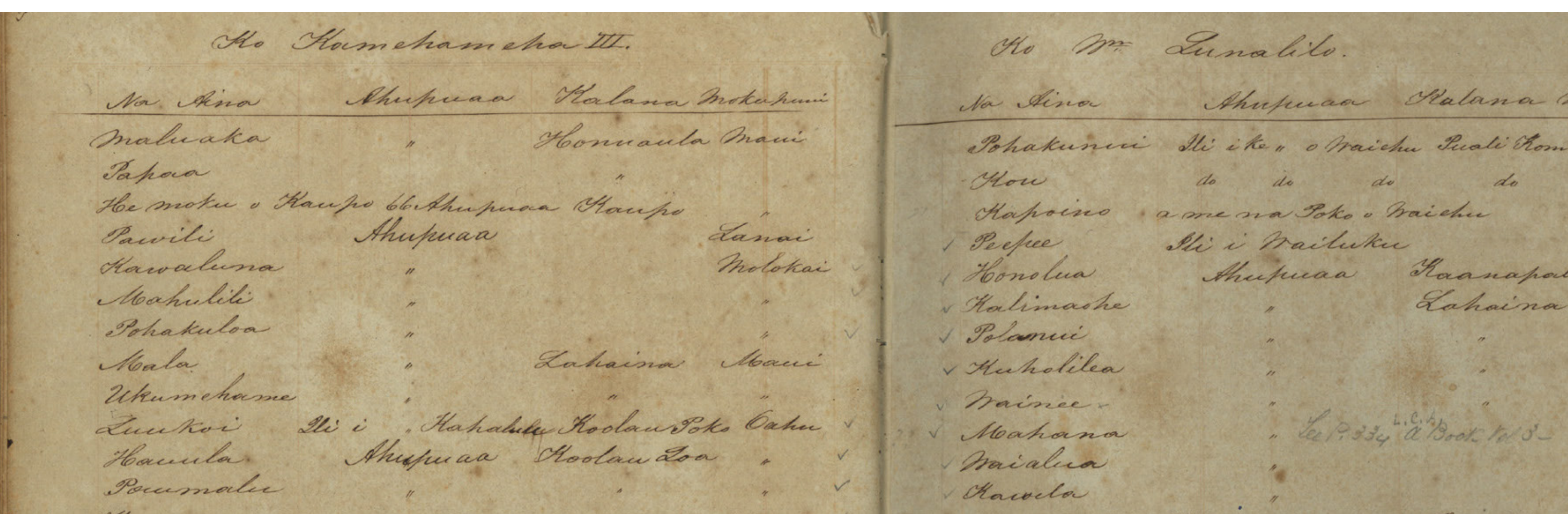
The Mahele (also known as the Great Mahele), which transformed the centuries-old communal land tenure system into one of private ownership that mirrored those found in the United States and Europe, is one of the most consequential events in Hawaiʻi's history. It has been theorized that one reason for King Kamehameha III's decision to privatize land was to preserve his and his subject's interests in their lands should the Hawaiian Kingdom fall to a foreign power like the United States, England, or France. By creating a system foreign governments would recognize, the hope was that the Hawaiian people would not be dispossessed. Unfortunately, the Mahele process itself was flawed and left the great majority of Hawaiians owning less than one percent of land in Hawaiʻi. And the fact that land could be bought, leased, and sold drove the dispossession that Kamehameha III may have hoped to prevent.

The Mahele was a multi-step process that began in 1845 and effectively ended a little more than five years later. The actual dividing up of the land began in 1848. It was initiated by a process of recognizing the respective property interests of King Kamehameha III and more than 240 chiefs and konohiki (ahupuaʻa managers). In what's called the Buke Mahele (Mahele Book), the chiefs and konohiki surrendered all interests in any lands the King wanted to retain, and he did the same with any lands that they wanted to retain. The aliʻi and konohiki claims were typically for entire ahupuaʻa or smaller, whole subdivisions within an ahupuaʻa.

At this phase in the Mahele, the ahupuaʻa of Ukumehame was surrendered by a high chief (and future king) named William Charles Lunalilo, who was then still a minor and under the guardianship of his father Charles Kanaʻina. It was claimed by King Kamehameha III, whereby it became part of the inventory of Crown Lands.

Crown Lands were regarded as a distinct classification of property, separate from lands held by the government. They belonged to the sovereign, who could treat them as his or her private property, but their inheritance was limited to successors to the throne. Government Lands

The Buke Mahele



Kamehameha III, who initiated the Mahele and came to own Ukumehame as part of his Crown Lands

were established to provide for the needs of the general population; Crown Lands were part of the personal domain of Kamehameha III and evolved into a resource designed to support the Hawaiian sovereign, who in turn supported the Native Hawaiian people.

After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and Queen Liliʻuokalani's dethroning in 1893, the Crown lands were seized by her usurpers, who hastily formed the so-called Republic of Hawaii. The lands were combined with the Government Lands and then "ceded" to the U.S. shortly after Hawaiʻi's annexation in 1898. When Hawaiʻi became a state in 1959, the U.S. transferred the Crown and Government Lands to the newly established State of Hawaiʻi, after retaining hundreds of thousands of acres for itself, which is how the State came to hold most of the land in Ukumehame. Although the State's management of Crown Lands is virtually indistinguishable from its other publicly held lands, the future status of the Crown Lands remains an open question, given their importance in the pursuit of self-governance and political sovereignty by the Native Hawaiian people.

TODAY

Land privatization set the stage for two of the forces that have most dramatically shaped Hawaiʻi over the last 150 years: sugar and tourism. The influence of these two industries has been especially pronounced in West Maui, where Amfac, one of the Big Five companies of Hawaiʻi's Territorial Period, helped to define the plantation model of industrial agriculture at Pioneer Mill and then laid the groundwork for a pivot into resort development. Both sugar and tourism have brought complex economic, social, environmental, and cultural change to West Maui, which are explored in the Today section.

Lāhainā Mission Station

The early days of sugar harvesting

KING SUGAR

As the whaling industry began to recede, sugar soon emerged as Maui's next growth engine. It has proved to be the single most consequential crop in the modern history of Hawai'i, whose labor and resource demands transformed the status of people, land, water, and power.

Kō, or sugarcane, arrived with the first Polynesian settlers; it was one of two dozen "canoe crops" that provided the essential building blocks of life in early Hawai'i. Ōpū kō (clumps of cane) were generally found around homes, in garden plots, and along the banks of lo'i kalo (taro ponds). It was a subsistence crop for the Hawaiians, who used it for a wide range of applications: from food, to decoration, to medicine and ceremony, even the formulation of tattoo ink. Dozens of native varieties of kō developed over the centuries of pre-contact cultivation in Hawai'i.

It wasn't until circa 1823 that members of the Lāhainā Mission Station began to process sugar from native sugarcanes for their household use. The first sugar operations on Maui were started in the 1820s in Wailuku and Waikapū. Many of these early ventures were owned and operated by Hawaiians, often with the cooperation or assistance of the chiefs. In Lāhainā, Hawaiian planters grew sugar and ran small mills as early as 1837 and continued into the early-1850s. These were not the factory-like plantations of the 1900s. The technology was simple, the workforce small and seasonal, and the sugar was produced mostly for domestic consumption.

The industrial sugar boom didn't really get its start until the legalization of land sales to foreigners in 1850 and the introduction of a new cane variety from the Marquesan Islands in 1854. It was brought to Lāhainā by an American whaler named Captain Pardon Edwards, and this new variety was thereafter known by its new home: Lāhainā. Lāhainā cane proved to be well-suited for industrial-scale production. It grew fast, rooted deeply, produced more juice, and was less susceptible to rats than any of the Hawaiian varieties. By the 1870s, it was grown to the almost total exclusion of all other varieties until commercial hybrids emerged.

Approaching Olowalu and its sugar mill

Sometime in the late-1860 or early-1870s, King Kamehameha leased the Crown Lands of Olowalu and Ukumehame to an that he had some interest in called the West Maui Sugar Co., venture failed to last more than a few years. The fledgling industry's fortunes improved in 1875, when Hawai'i and the a free-trade agreement that removed tariffs on Hawaiian entering the U.S. market. A year later, two men named Philip and Goodale Armstrong founded the Olowalu Plantation and began operations on leased Crown Lands in Olowalu and Ukumehame. A mill and wharf were constructed at the headlands of Olowalu's shoreline, and sugarcane was planted across the low flatlands near the sea with water drawn from the Olowalu and Ukumehame streams. A six-mile railroad system was built to haul the cane.

Relative to the other major sugar producer in West Maui, the Pioneer Mill Company, Olowalu Plantation was a small operation that Pioneer Mill later acquired in 1931. Pioneer Mill was started by James Campbell, who was born in Ireland, ended up in the South Pacific through the whaling trade, and had been in Lāhainā for a decade before going into the sugar business that would turn him into one of Hawai'i's wealthiest businessmen and largest landowners.

Sometime between 1860 and 1861, Campbell opened his very first mill, a crude processing facility powered by mules. He produced sugar from his own cane along with cane from other growers in Lāhainā. Campbell was later joined by two men named Henry Turton and James Dunbar, and they operated briefly under the name of Campbell & Turton. In 1865, Dunbar left the company, and the plantation became known as Pioneer Mill Company. Ownership of the plantation and mill changed hands several times before it came under the ownership of a German immigrant and businessman named Paul Isenberg, a partner at H. Hackfeld & Co., and Mr. C. F. Horner, the plantation manager. They incorporated the Pioneer Mill Company on June 29, 1895.

Throughout the early-1900s, the plantation continued to expand, developing land and water resources, and enhancing its planting, harvesting, and milling operations. It acquired as much land as it could, and when the land couldn't be bought outright, it entered into leases.

Pioneer Mill purchased Olowalu Sugar Company's assets in May of 1931, and on December 31, the company was disincorporated. Its mill was dismantled the following year and shipped to the Philippines.

Kāʻanapali, Maui, 1950

DESTINATION MAUI: TOURISM TAKES OVER

During World War II, the U.S. military used Hawaiʻi as a major training, staging, and supply base for its Pacific command, and the military population on Maui outnumbered locals by four-to-one. After the war, Maui saw its population shrink as the sugar and pineapple industries began scaling down and opportunities on Oʻahu and the U.S. mainland drew residents, younger ones in particular, away. This prompted a search for new sources of industry that led to the pivot towards tourism.

At the time, Maui was not on many visitors' itineraries. In fact, in the 1950s, it was the least visited island, and one of the biggest barriers to capturing a greater share of the Hawaiʻi visitor market was Maui's lack of hotel accommodations. There was the 66-room Maui Palms Hotel in Kahului, the 10-room Pioneer Inn in Lāhainā and not much else.

In 1953, Amfac (the parent company of Pioneer Mill) hired the Honolulu planning and engineering firm of Belt, Collins & Associates to conduct a study that looked at the feasibility of a planned destination resort on four hundred acres of its beachfront land in Kāʻanapali. The story goes that three years later, the company's board of directors held a lūʻau near Puʻu Kekaʻa (Black Rock) where the decision was made to venture into tourism using an entirely new visitor resort development model. In a radical departure from the Waikīkī model, Kāʻanapali would be less dense and more exclusive, characterized by lush, green, open vistas; designated pockets of shopping, dining, and leisurely activities; and beaches that felt private and privileged guest access.

Kāʻanapali Beach Resort, 1967

From a 1960s-era marketing brochure

The master plan was completed by Donald Wolbrink, and construction began on a lot leased by Sheraton Hotels in 1961. This would become the cliff-hugging, 200-room Sheraton Maui, which opened with great fanfare on January 23, 1963. Guests arrived in Kahului on a specially chartered United Airlines DC-8, the first instance of a direct commercial flight between the mainland and a neighbor island. Within a span of just five years, Kāʻanapali boasted a 7,200-yard golf course, a shopping center, and five hotels with over 1,000 rooms: Hilton's Hale Kāʻanapali, Sheraton Maui, Royal Lahaina, Kāʻanapali Beach Hotel, and the International Colony Club. The Maui Surf followed in 1971, then the Hyatt Regency Maui in 1980, and Maui Marriott in 1982.

As one of the first master-planned resorts, Kāʻanapali has proven to be one of the most successful. It draws half-a-million visitors annually and consistently ranks as one of the most desirable destinations on the planet. All of this success has come at a cost, felt most sharply by West Maui residents in the form of traffic congestion, a shortage of affordable housing, crowded beaches and trails, pollution, and strain upon limited water and energy resources. Overtourism has become the hot button issue facing the visitor industry globally, and on Maui, efforts are underway to enact laws that would reverse the tide and reduce the number of guest arrivals.

HAWAIʻI'S CLEAN ENERGY FUTURE

In 2008, the State of Hawaiʻi partnered with the U.S. Department of Energy to form the Hawaiʻi Clean Energy Initiative (HCEI), a long-term, collaborative effort to transform Hawaiʻi's energy ecosystem and, in the process, create a model for other states to follow. This laid the groundwork for a set of energy goals and policies designed to reach one of the most ambitious energy targets in the nation: by 2045, one hundred percent of the electricity in Hawaiʻi is to be produced by renewable energy sources.

With its abundance of wind, sun, and former sugarcane land, West Maui is certain to be an essential part of the development mix needed to reach the state's energy goals. Although a good thing for Hawai'i and the fight against climate change, renewable energy doesn't necessarily translate into community support. Wind and solar farms use up land that might otherwise help alleviate Hawaiʻi's housing shortage or the state's dependence in imported food. They can be unsightly and disrupt a community's way of life or do harm to native bird and bat populations. And the cost savings often promised to consumers may not always pan out.

When the first phase of Kaheawa Wind Power was built in 2006, it saw very little community opposition, but since that time, a hostility towards renewable energy development, and wind turbines in particular, has taken hold. A clear example of this is the Nā Pua Makani wind farm in Kahuku along Oʻahu's North Shore. The Public Utilities Commission's approval of the project in 2014 made it the third wind project in the area, and as word made its way through the community, resistance met it from the start. It wasn't simply a matter of aesthetics or harm to the native bat population, the development's proximity to homes and schools set off health and safety concerns, and flaws in the regulatory approval process sent Nā Pua Makani down a long and litigious path. The community's opposition culminated in a monthlong standoff in 2019 whereby residents of Kahuku and their supporters locked arms to prevent delivery trucks from transporting turbine parts.

Kealaloloa Ridge in Ukumehame is a far less controversial site than the foothills of Kahuku; nevertheless, Nā Pua Makani's disastrous rollout underscores the importance of incorporating meaningful community engagement into a renewable energy project's development at the outset.

TOMORROW

The Tomorrow's Ahupuaʻa methodology embraces the complexity and interdependency of our island ecosystems and of the interactions of people and nature across time. It's an approach that confronts the question of how we got here so that we we're better equipped for the future. "I ka wā ma mua, ka wā ma hope," goes a traditional Hawaiian proverb, "through the past is the future."

A central goal of this practice is to better understand any valuable cultural, historical, or natural resources that may exist at the project site so that they can be protected and preserved for Hawaiʻi tomorrow.

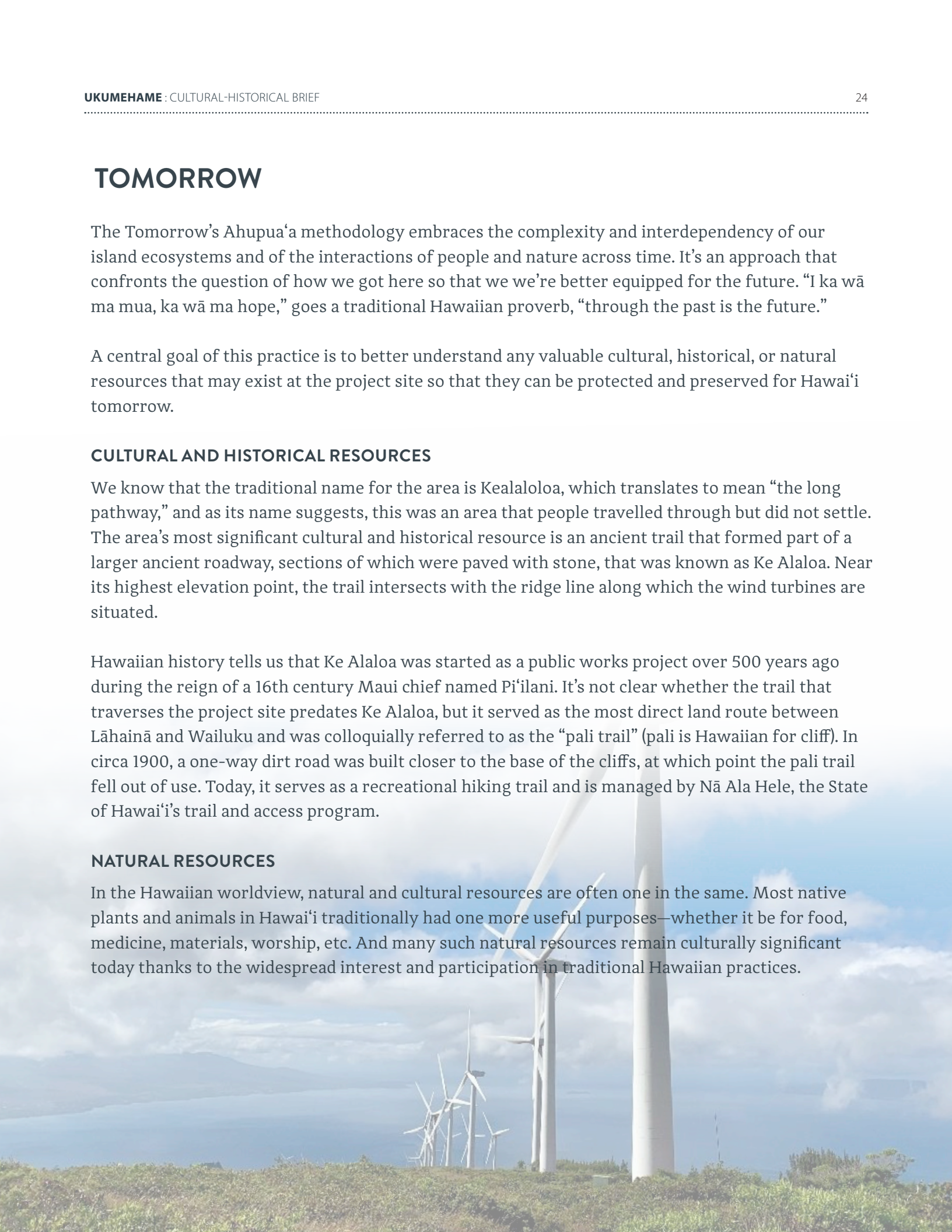
CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL RESOURCES

We know that the traditional name for the area is Kealaloloa, which translates to mean "the long pathway," and as its name suggests, this was an area that people travelled through but did not settle. The area's most significant cultural and historical resource is an ancient trail that formed part of a larger ancient roadway, sections of which were paved with stone, that was known as Ke Alaloa. Near its highest elevation point, the trail intersects with the ridge line along which the wind turbines are situated.

Hawaiian history tells us that Ke Alaloa was started as a public works project over 500 years ago during the reign of a 16th century Maui chief named Piʻilani. It's not clear whether the trail that traverses the project site predates Ke Alaloa, but it served as the most direct land route between Lāhainā and Wailuku and was colloquially referred to as the "pali trail" (pali is Hawaiian for cliff). In circa 1900, a one-way dirt road was built closer to the base of the cliffs, at which point the pali trail fell out of use. Today, it serves as a recreational hiking trail and is managed by Nā Ala Hele, the State of Hawaiʻi's trail and access program.

NATURAL RESOURCES

In the Hawaiian worldview, natural and cultural resources are often one in the same. Most native plants and animals in Hawaiʻi traditionally had one more useful purposes—whether it be for food, medicine, materials, worship, etc. And many such natural resources remain culturally significant today thanks to the widespread interest and participation in traditional Hawaiian practices.



The native animal species that have been impacted by the wind turbines at Kealaloloa are well documented. A habitat conservation plan for the project site that was approved in January 2006 covers four federally-listed animals, including Hawai'i's only native land mammal, the 'ōpe'ape'a (Hawaiian hoary bat or *Lasiurus cinereus semotus*) along with three bird species, the 'ua'u (Hawaiian petrel or *Pterodroma sandwichensis*), the 'a'o (Hawaiian shearwater or *Puffinus newelli*), and the nēnē (Hawaiian goose or *Branta sandvicensis*). Two of the species, the 'ōpe'ape'a and the nēnē, appear in the epic Hawaiian creation chant Kumulipo (described briefly above), and Pukui states that the 'ua'u "is considered by some an 'aumakua" (Pukui 1986:362). Efforts to monitor their numbers and minimize takings must continue.

Native plant restoration efforts, which started at the time of the turbines' construction in 2005, deserve continued support to ensure the proliferation of the following culturally significant plant species:

- 'A'ali'i (*Dodonaea viscosa*) is indigenous to Hawai'i and is used today primarily in lei-making. It was also used for making a red dye, and the wood was used for making smaller hand tools and weapons.
- 'Ōhi'a *(Metrosideros polymorpha)* is an endemic plant that was one of the most important woods in Hawaiian culture and used in hale (dwellings) and canoe construction. Its flowers and buds are used in lei-making, and the plant itself has a significant spiritual connection to the practice of hula.
- Ko'oko'olau *(Bidens amplectans)* is small shrub with over a dozen native species whose leaves were used to make a medicinal tea that treated throat and stomach ailments.
- 'Akia (*Wikstroemia oahuensis*) is commonly seen in landscaping today, though it is rarely seen growing in the wild. The plant was pounded and mixed with fish bait, and when ingested by fish, it put them in a stupor that made them easier to catch. The mashed plant parts were also used in Hawaiian sorcery.
- Pili (*Heteropogon contortus*) is an indigenous grass that was used to thatch the roofs and walls of traditional Hawaiian dwelling.
- Wiliwili (*Erythrina sandwicensis*) is an endemic tree and a key species in Hawai'i's dryland forests. It nearly went extinct when an invasive gall wasp from East Africa, now the target of eradication efforts, caused large numbers of the tree to die off. Its wood is prized for its exceptionally light weight and was used to make canoe outriggers and surfboards. Its seeds were used in lei-making.

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