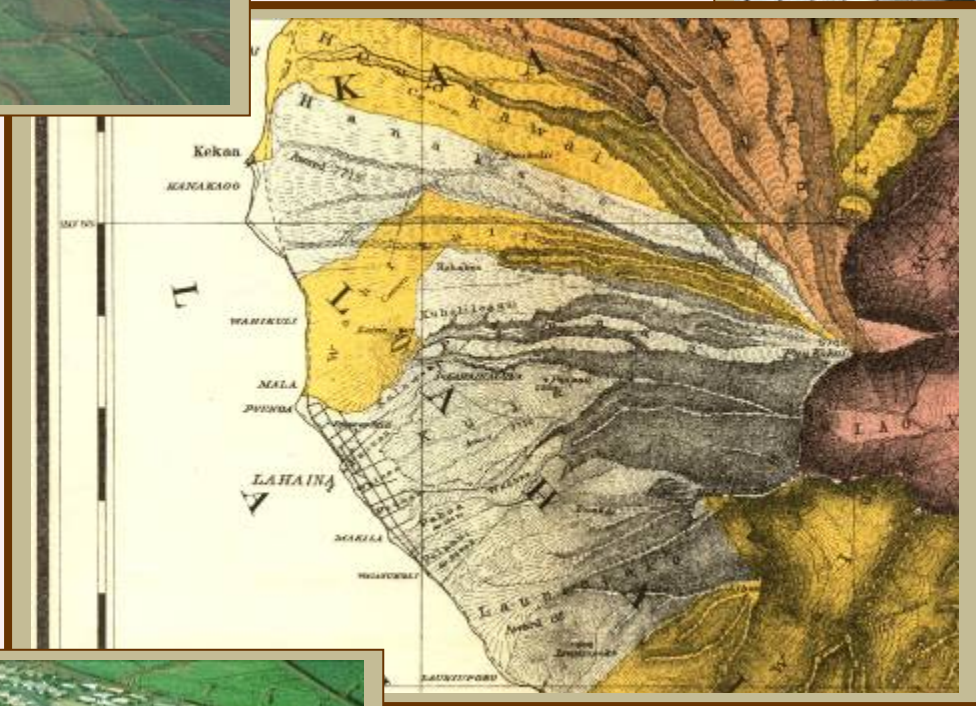


**VOLUME I (Part 1):
HE WAHI MO'OLELO NO KAUA'ULA
A ME KEKĀHI 'ĀINA O LAHAINA I MAUI**

**A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS AND
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KAUA'ULA
AND OTHER LANDS OF LAHAINA, MAUI**



Kumu Pono Associates LLC

*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents ·
Māhele 'Āina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records ·
Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development*

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JUNE 1, 2007

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the request of Rory Frampton (Mākila Land Company), and Ulalia Woodside (Kamehameha Schools-Land Assets Division), *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, conducted a detailed study of archival and documentary literature, and oral history interviews for lands of the Kaua‘ula-Mākila vicinity in the Lahaina District on the island of Maui. Initially, it was believed that the study would focus on two *ahupua‘a* (native land divisions), Kaua‘ula and Mākila. But upon initiating research, we learned that a unique system of land divisions (*ahupua‘a* and *lele*) occurs in the section of Lahaina in which Kaua‘ula and Mākila are found, associating them to numerous lands of the larger middle Lahaina region. Instead of two *ahupua‘a*, we found that some twenty-five traditional land divisions were associated with the study area. Typically, *ahupua‘a* extend from ocean fisheries to a location on the upper mountains, with well-defined boundaries on all sides. But in the section of Lahaina that extends from Launiupoko to Wahikuli, the *ahupua‘a* were divided into various parcels, spanning different elevational zones, and occurring in detached pieces. These “*ahupua‘a*” range in size from a few acres, to thousands of acres. Also, the *ahupua‘a* do not run in contiguous parcels from sea to mountain, as is the normal configuration of lands in Hawai‘i, but appear as “*lele*,” or detached parcels with portions of other lands between them.

As a result of this unique system of land divisions, this study includes detailed accounts covering the *ahupua‘a* (in alphabetical order) of — Alio, Halaka‘a, Haleu, ‘Ilikahi, Kalualepo, Kamani, Kaua‘ula, Kaulalo, Ko‘okā, Ku‘ia, Launiupoko, Mākila, Pāhoa, Paunau Iki & Paunau Nui, Pola Iki & Pola Nui, Pua‘a Iki & Pua‘a Nui, Pūehuehu Iki & Pūehuehu Nui, Pu‘unau Iki & Pu‘unau Nui, and Waine‘e Iki & Waine‘e Nui (with selected references to Aki, Kelawea, Puakō, Wai‘anae, Waiokama and other lands of Lāhaina).

We also find, that as a result of this unique system of land division and management in Lahaina, that the people of the land shared familial ties and practices across several land areas. We believe this form of land division was tied to the traditional system of water development—in such ‘*auwai* (water channels) as ‘*Auwai o Pi‘ilani*, ‘*Auwai a Wao*, ‘*Auwai o Ku‘ia*, and later in the Lahainaluna Ditch—as a means of dispersing the wealth and resources of the land among the large chiefly and commoner populations of the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region. This being in comparison to most other chiefly localities throughout Hawai‘i, where *ahupua‘a* boundaries were more carefully guarded and stewardship of resources was tied to particular lands.

Research for the study was compiled from indexes and documents collected by the authors over the last 30 years. More specifically for this study, historical literature, archival records, historical maps and documents were researched between November 2005 to May 2007, in the collections of the: Hawai‘i State Archives, Survey Division and Bureau of Conveyances; Amfac-JMB Hawaii Collection in the University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa, Hamilton Library-Special Collections; University of Hawai‘i-Hilo, Mo‘okini Library-Special Collections; A.B.C.F.M. Collection of Houghton Library-Harvard; *Hale Pa‘i*—the Lahaina Restoration Foundation; Maui Historical Society (on-line collection resources); Ulukau—Hawaiian Digital Library; Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum; and Mākila Land Company.

In addition to the various components of documentary research, oral history interviews with individuals descended from traditional and historical residents of the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region were conducted during the same period. Interviewees ranged in age from their 40s to 80s, and included representatives of families with ties to *kuleana* lands of the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region, and individuals who had worked in various facets of the Pioneer Mill Company’s plantation and ranching operations.

The combined records span the period from antiquity—the period of settlement and naming of lands in the Lahaina region—to the present-day. Significant accounts originally recorded in the Hawaiian language, many never before translated into English, are included in this study (some with the original Hawaiian texts also given). The documentation covers: land tenure; features of the cultural landscape (*wahi pana*); practices of native Hawaiian residency and land use: transitions in land tenure from *kuleana* and subsistence practices, to the development of the sugar plantation and ranching interests;

development of land and water resources; and detailed documentation on the history of land ownership in the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region.

In preparing this study, we chose not to repeat or cite every historical reference previously cited in archaeological and cultural studies of the region. Instead, we have attempted to provide readers with access to primary (first-hand) documentation that has not been widely read or available. The documentation is lengthy, and often in the form of texts as originally recorded by participants in the history being described. Many of the citations, including letters, journals and native language accounts have not been viewed in well over 100-plus years. By bringing these records into one collection—particularly those documenting who the native residents were, the practices associated with the land, and the evolution of the sugar interests in the Lahaina region—readers have access to significant accounts that will be helpful in planning resource management and stewardship-educational programs. The goal also being to provide readers with cultural and historical information that has time depth and integrity to the culture and history of the land and people.

The sections of the study are generally presented in chronological order, with the older periods and earliest forms of documentation given first, followed by later accounts. We have prepared introductions to the primary sections of the study, identifying the nature and sources of information, and linking types of information to particular families, business endeavors, and localities.

The documentation found in the study provides readers with rich accounts of native lore—how lands came to be named—and traditional practices of residents on the land, spanning the centuries. There are also detailed descriptions of the origin of land tenure and residency (spanning the period of the late 1700s to the 1940s), including the names of hundreds of families with traditional ties to the land (those whose *kūpuna* are buried in the land); cultural features such as residences, cultivating grounds (both wet land and dry land), *heiau* (ceremonial sites), *‘auwai* (irrigation channels), and trails; and transitions in land use from that of traditional subsistence practices to the development of land, water and human resources necessary to maintain sugar plantation interests.

Acknowledgements

The voices of *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* are among the most precious resources handed down to us from our past. While the historical and archival records help us understand how we came to be where we are today, the voices of the elders give life to the history, and demonstrate how practice and history are handed down and made. Indeed, since undertaking this study, interviewee, Sonny Waiohu has passed away, and other interviewees are in failing health.

To each of the *kūpuna* and *kama‘āina* who shared their recollections and history in this study, we extend our sincerest appreciation and *aloha*—

(in alphabetical order)

Charles Bonnett; Hymie Felicilda; Herbert and Dorothy Kinores; John Paul Kapu; Kalani Kapu; Ke‘eaumoku and U‘ilani Kapu; Kekai Kapu; Lani Kapu-White; Charles Robert Lindsey; Edwin Robert Naleilehua Lindsey, Jr.; Roselle Flora Keli‘ihonipua Lindsey-Bailey; Charles Makekau; Kenneth Nohealani Sharpe; Anthony J. Vierra; the late Sonnie Waiohu; and Wilama Waiohu

Also, in preparing this study, we were extremely fortunate to have the benefit of gaining access to many historical records, and having the support of individuals responsible for both archival and land resources. These people include, but are not limited to —

Rory Frampton, Arlene Torricer, and owners and employees of the Mākila Land Company; Ulalia Woodside and Trustees of the Bishop Estate-Kamehameha Schools;

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To all of you, we extend our sincerest — *Aloha and Mahalo a nui!*

Wahi mai nā kūpuna, “A’ohe hana nui ke alu ‘ia!”

Māua no me ke aloha kau palena ‘ole — Kepā a me Onaona Maly.

O ka mea maika’i mālama, o ka mea maika’i ‘ole, kāpae ‘ia
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)

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VOLUME II

Mo‘olelo ‘Ohana—Oral History Interviews (2005-2007)

INTRODUCTION

At the request of Rory Frampton (Mākila Land Company), and Ulalia Woodside (Kamehameha Schools-Land Assets Division), *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, conducted a detailed study of documentary literature and oral history interviews for lands of the Kaua‘ula-Mākila vicinity in the Lahaina¹ District on the island of Maui (*Figure 1*). While the primary lands of interest to the present study are the *ahupua‘a* of Kaua‘ula and Mākila, the unique system of land division and descriptions of boundaries in the Lahaina District (see section on Land Tenure and the *Māhele ‘Āina* below), led us to include documentation for more than twenty *ahupua‘a*, most of which in both ancient and historic times were in-part watered by Kaua‘ula Stream, whose headwaters and watershed are in Kaua‘ula Ahupua‘a.

The lands which make up the study area comprise a noteworthy cultural landscape—extending from mountain peaks to near-shore fisheries—including a significant traditional agricultural field complex and sophisticated engineering system of *‘auwai* (ditches and causeways) used to irrigate large tracts of land in Lahaina which would have otherwise had no water. Additionally, since ca. 1860, large tracts of land in the study area were integrated into the extensive operations of businesses which became the Pioneer Mill Company as either fee-simple or leasehold interests, with thousands of acres cleared for cultivation of cane, or used as a part of a ranching operation. The last sugar harvest of the Pioneer Mill Company took place in 1999 (cf. Dorrance and Morgan, 2000).

Mākila Land Company is a successor of the Pioneer Mill Company holdings, and the Kamehameha Schools, is owner of portions of the lands leased to and surrounded by the lands of the former Pioneer Mill Company. Both partners in commissioning this study seek to better understand the traditional and customary practices, lore and history of the lands for which they are responsible, and seek to develop means of stewardship of cultural and natural resources with the help of this study, and families who are traditionally associated with the land.

Approach to Conducting the Study

Over the last forty years, Lahaina has undergone significant changes—the community and lands have evolved from an agricultural and fisheries based economy, to one of resorts and housing developments. As a result, many historical and archaeological studies have been commissioned, and large collections of historical documentation have become available. Much of the information has been cited from a limited number of primary sources, then repeated over the years, and subsequently embellished by interpretations of archaeological findings. Admittedly, with each successive cultural study, more information has been brought to light, thus increasing the knowledge base and opportunities for understanding the pre-history and early historical periods of life in the Lahaina District.

In light of the significant body of research conducted over the last forty-plus years, we chose not to repeat all that has been previously reported, and reference readers to such documents as: “Archaeology of Maui (Ms. Walker, 1930); “Sites of Maui” (Sterling, 1998), with its’ numerous citations; “Moku‘ula: Maui’s Sacred Island” (Klieger, 1998); Archaeological Inventory Survey – Kaua‘ula Development Parcel. Lands of Pūehuehu Iki, Pāhoa, and Pola Nui, District of Lahaina, Island of Maui” (Rosendahl, 2000); and the “Kaua‘ula Cultural Impact Assessment–Ahupua‘a of Pāhoa and Polānui, District of Lāhaina, Maui Island, Hawai‘i” (Orr, 2003), for additional documentation.

Instead, in this study, we have endeavored to provide readers with access to a class of information that had not been widely available. The historical narratives which we have cited, come from accounts written by native Hawaiian residents of Lahaina, as well as those recorded by foreign residents and

¹ Lahaina, traditionally pronounced “Lāhainā” with emphasis on the first and last letter a. See historical accounts of the meaning of this place name in this study.

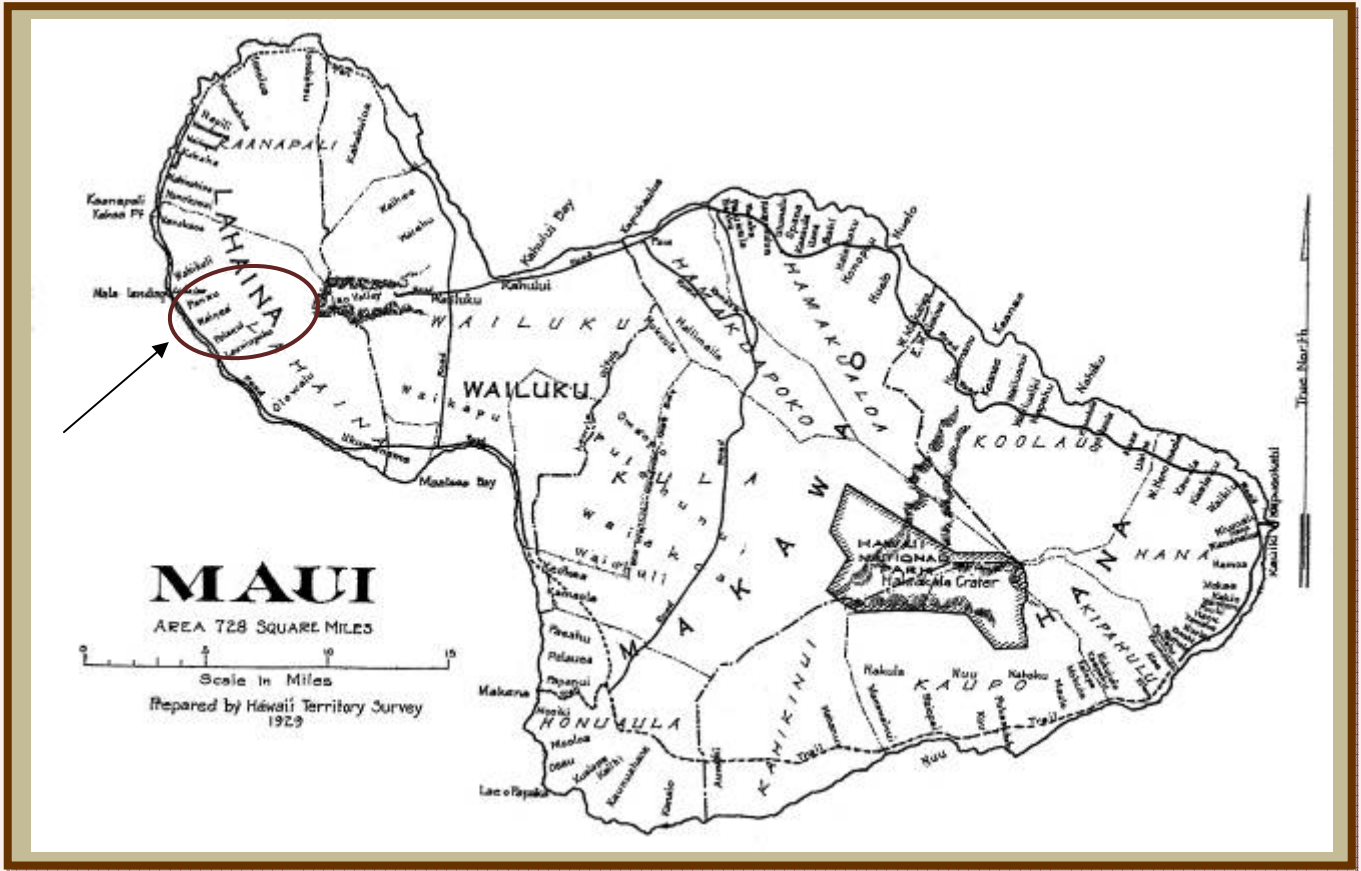


Figure 1. Island of Maui (1929) – Detail of Lahaina and Other Major Districts of Maui. Area from Launiupoko to Paunau indicated in Oval (Reduction of Territorial Survey Map)

visitors. We also include detailed documentation of land and water use; transitions in and tenure (including the complete records of the Land Division of 1848-1855); and a fairly comprehensive land and water history of the Pioneer Mill Company (ca. 1860 to 1940).

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation’s “Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review” (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, “Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties” (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai’i State Historic Preservation Statute (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5, 2002); and the November 1997 Guidelines for Cultural Impact Assessment Studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

Documentary Resources

In an effort to further our understanding of the cultural-historical resources in the larger Kaua‘ula-Lahaina vicinity, the authors conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Research and interviews were conducted over the course of about one and one half years, between 2005 to 2007. As a result, the documentation herein, brings a wide range of historical references (though not exhaustive) into one manuscript, with written accounts dating from the 1820s and oral historical accounts dating from the 1920s. This study along, with others as noted above, offers readers a detailed overview of native traditions of the land, traditional and historic residency, travel, and use of resources in the Kaua‘ula- Lahaina region.

Literature

The documentation from historical literature, was researched in collections of the—Hawaii State Archives; State Survey Division; Bureau of Conveyances; Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum; the A.B.C.F.M. Collection at Harvard; Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library; the Lahaina Restoration Foundation (Hale Pa‘i at Lahainaluna); University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa, Hamilton Library and University of Hawai‘i-Hilo, Mo‘okini Library; Mākila Land Company; and in private collections. The records represent findings from research conducted by the authors specifically for this study, as well as materials collected by them over the last 30 years.

While in no way exhaustive in scope, this document includes many references not previously cited, and in some cases not previously translated from their original Hawaiian texts, until the present time. Among the historical resources cited, are—important land documents recorded by native residents from the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division of 1848-1855); letters of the missionaries in Lahaina (1820s to early 1900s); records of the Bureau of Conveyances (1854 to the 1930s); testimonies and records of the Boundary Commission (1861 to 1918); and the writings of several Hawaiian scholars and non-native historians.

Oral History Interviews

The oral history interviews conducted as a part of this study, reflect the recollections and thoughts of several native families with generational ties to lands of the Kaua‘ula- Lahaina region (descendants of *Māhele Awardees*); and also include interviews with a small group of *kama‘āina*—individuals who lived upon and worked the lands from the 1920s to the 1990s. The interviews (in *Volume II*) demonstrate continuity in knowledge of the land and practices and beliefs associated with the land, over time. The interviewees describe the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region, and the relationship of neighboring lands from sea to mountains. They also express a deep cultural attachment² with the landscape and resources which sustain them.

The oral historical component of this study was conducted between November 2005 to June 2007. In that time, seventeen interviewees participated in ten formal interviews, with additional follow up discussions to clarify interview content and receive releases of the same. The interviewees ranged in age from their 40s to late 80s, and they shared recollections gained from personal experiences dating back to the nineteen-twenties. As a result, the interviews include important documentation about the landscape, traditions, customs, and historic land and water use in the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina region.

² “*Cultural Attachment*” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources etc., that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September 1995).

Summary of Findings

The cultural landscape as valued in the present day, is a product of three primary periods — (1) the creation of the natural environment, which in the Hawaiian mind represents the *kinolau* (myriad body forms) of the gods and creative forces of nature, and spans all time; (2) the more than 1,000 years of native Hawaiian spiritual affiliation with their environment, and adaptations in residency, resource management and sustenance; and (3) the period of almost 200 years since 1820, when an entirely different world-view of the relationship with the natural environment, use of resources, and consumption of the same, was introduced to the Hawaiian Islands.

Following an extensive review of native lore, and historical documents written by both native and non-native authors, we find—as no surprise or new revelation of knowledge—that the landscape of the Lahaina region is indeed a storied one. Traditions of the lands of the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina vicinity, touch on the godly and supernatural, and span the Hawaiian experience. The relationship and affiliation of traditional people for the environment—the cultural attachment to place—remains integral to the well-being of the Hawaiians who are of the land. While we find that some facets of the traditions, practices and beliefs of old, as described in early Hawaiian writings, are more fragmented today than in earlier times, the spirit of place, the “gut” feelings remain strong. Among the interviewees, who shared some of their history and experiences, we find a deep passion for, and desire to perpetuate knowledge and respect of place. The Hawaiian families and many of the older generation residents (non-Hawaiian by genealogy), do not see the land as a commodity. It is a living thing, a part of the family. They wish to see the history remembered (accurately), the environment cared for, and for future generations to experience something of what these Lahaina lands were like in earlier times.

While everyone acknowledged that change occurs, most of the interviewees spoke of the importance of sharing history and working in partnership—*‘ohana*, land owners, agencies and organizations—to help protect the things that are, and have been valued by generations of residents in Lahaina. Several interviews contain suggestions for community-land owner based stewardship programs in the Kaua‘ula-Lahaina vicinity. There is a belief that together, a good model of resource stewardship and education can become a way of life.

In the Lahaina region, the *kula kahakai* (near-shore lands) were thickly populated, chiefly residences and places of worship dominated the landscape. There were also found across this landscape, fishponds, taro pond fields and groves of selected trees of importance in various facets of Hawaiian life. On the *kula* (gentle sloping flat lands) that extend behind the coastal region and reach to the valleys and mountain slopes, were found extensive agricultural fields planted in both wet land and dry land methods. The primary valleys behind Lele or Lahaina included Kahoma, Kanahā and Kaua‘ula. From these valleys flowed streams of life-giving water. The natural stream alignments were modified and extended in ancient times, with large and small *‘auwai* (irrigation channels) constructed to feed thousands of *lo‘i kalo* (taro pond fields) in which the primary food crop of the Lahaina region residents was grown. Over the centuries, a sophisticated system *‘auwai*, *lo‘i kalo*, and *loko i‘a kalo* (fish and taro ponds) was engineered, and extended across the otherwise arid *kula* lands, down to the near-shore settlements.

At least two notable *‘auwai*, which span several *ahupua‘a* between Kaua‘ula and Kahoma, are described in native lore, and are roughly datable by the chiefs associated with them. The earliest *‘auwai* in the Lahainaluna vicinity, is known as *‘Auwaiawao*, and is reportedly named for the Chiefess Wao, sister of Kaululā‘au, who ruled a portion of Maui in ca. 1390. The second *‘auwai* is known as *‘Auwai o Pi‘ilani*, and is reportedly associated with the King, Pi‘ilani, who ruled Maui and the neighboring islands in ca. 1450 (both Pi‘ilani and his son Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani, are associated with many public works projects around Maui, that were of benefit to the larger population of the island). The *‘Auwai o Pi‘ilani* has its headwaters in the Kaua‘ula Stream and irrigated lands along both side of the stream, with waterways extending to at least the *‘ili* of Pi‘ilani in the *ahupua‘a* of Paunau, below Lahainaluna.

It appears that throughout its' history, Lahaina has played an important role in the history of Maui and the neighboring islands of Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe, with Lahaina serving as the chiefly center. At various times throughout Hawaiian history, there are also accounts told of battles between chiefs of Maui and other islands. Some of the traditions relay how *heiau* (temples and ceremonial places), such as Wailehua, which was formerly situated on the shore of Mākila, was built. Other accounts describe battles in which the very water flow of Kaua'ula, Kanahā and Kahoma, was blocked so that no food could be procured.

The first documented foreign visitation to the Lahaina region occurred in 1793. Traveling across the *kula* lands and up to the mountain pass, overlooking the Wailuku District, writers of the time commented on the rich landscape, observing that it was extensively cultivated. Waterways were engineered to transport water across dry lands, making them fertile fields, capable of supporting the population. In between 1800 and 1820, the numbers of foreigners taking up residency in the Hawaiian Islands grew slowly. It was not until 1823, that the "introduction" of the gospel was made at Lahaina. In May 1823, the highest ranking *ali'i* of the islands accompanied a party missionaries to Maui, and took up residence in Lahaina. Through the missionary letters and journals, we learn more about the native population and practices of land, water and fisheries management in the region. Of particular interest to the history of the land, are reports that irrigated fields were spread across Lahaina, and that there was a prescribed system of water usage enforced, in that the planters, on every fifth day, had a right to the water necessary to care for the taro pond fields.

One alarming fact in these early decades of the 1800s, is that as the western presence grew in the islands, the native population declined. This was true in Lahaina as well, where unnumbered Hawaiians died. Thus, as the social, political, religious and land use systems of the Hawaiian people were undergoing radical changes, the population was also declining. This meant that once productive lands were un-peopled, and that knowledge of place, slowly, but steadily began to fade as well.

In the years between 1820 to the 1860s, the lands of the Kaua'ula-Lahaina region, were controlled by several high chiefly lineages, including the King, who until 1849, retained the *ahupua'a* of Kaua'ula as a personal land. These *ahupua'a* were in turn managed on behalf of these high *ali'i* by *konohiki* (overseers, or land managers), and the *hoa'āina* (native tenants), resided upon the land at the prerogative of the chiefs. By 1850, the land system in the islands evolved into one allowing fee-simple ownership of land. In this time, we find that some 425 individuals claimed "*kuleana*" (personal property rights) in the region from Launiupoko to Paunau (Kahoma). The records also name many more individuals as residents of the lands than made claims for *kuleana* (the reason for this latter fact is not clearly stated). Of the total claims, only 286 were awarded, leaving at least 139 claims, and thousands of small parcels across the land which were not awarded, and unaccounted for. The process of confirming *kuleana* often led to the consolidation of *'āpana* (parcels) within claims. Rather than awarding large numbers of small parcels spread across various environmental zones—from shore to mountain slopes and deep in the valleys, as traditionally used—surveyors, who were unprepared to process all the claims, received permission to consolidate awarded lands together, thus making for fewer parcels to be surveyed. This practice also freed up larger, consolidated tracts of land for the *ali'i* and *konohiki* awardees of entire *ahupua'a*.

As an example, at the time of recording the land claims, more than 1,700 *lo'i* were claimed, and residences extended from the near shore to the deep valleys. But because of the system of confirming and surveying *kuleana* lands, many traditional places of residency and agricultural usage were abandoned. This is an important fact in the modern day, as one cannot simply rely upon the records of awarded parcels as being an indicator of where cultural features will occur on the landscape. The results of this process, provides us with the answer as to why more features are found during archaeological investigations, than are often expected upon a given landscape.

Diverse land use activities and crop cultivation still remained important in the Hawaiian system through the middle and later 1800s. But, we also find that conflicts in land tenure and land use were arising. In

the 1820s, agricultural crops were being diversified, and introduced livestock were allowed to roam large tracks of land. These “food” items were being raised to supply the growing numbers of foreign ships which were finding safe harbor in the lee of Lahaina. By the 1830s, serious efforts were underway among missionary families to process sugar for table use, and to support expanding agricultural interests. In 1842, the ancient *'auwai* system extending from Kaua'ula to Lahainaluna was being modified into the Lahainaluna ditch. The ditch was completed in 1847, to facilitate the planting and instructional efforts of Lahainaluna School.

In 1849, it was reported that the finest sugar in the islands could be found in Lahaina. Interests in development of business opportunities, led to the establishment of the Lahaina Sugar Company in 1861. A year later, in 1862, the Pioneer Sugar Mill was founded. At the time much of the sugar was cultivated by native families on shares, but within ten years, small *kuleana* and larger tracts of land were being purchased and leased by the mill operators, and plantations were forming.

The Pioneer Sugar Mill operations evolved, buying out other competitors. And eventually nearly all of the available land in the Lahaina District, and large volumes of water were developed into the operations of the Pioneer Mill Company, Limited. This plantation drew water from the various Lahaina valleys, and larger volumes of water from the Ka'anapali District into cultivation and processing of sugar at the Mill which became the heart of Lahaina Town. Mill operations spanned 138 years, from 1861 to 1999. The plantation changed the face of Lahaina. Even in the late 1860s, we find accounts in local newspapers, both lauding the development and questioning the impacts of the same on the Hawaiian people and lands. By the late 1890s, many native families had given up their own *lo'i kalo* and agricultural lands in sale or lease to the Pioneer Mill Company. Water was an issue, and litigation between native tenants and Pioneer Mill, and the Territory of Hawai'i and Pioneer Mill led to agreements prescribing the rights of access to water for *kuleana* land owners and plantation use. Several native families continued working their *lo'i kalo* at places like Kaua'ula, Paunau and Kahoma, through the 1940s. But after 1940, almost no *lo'i kalo* were maintained—this was in part a result of lack of water, and the aging, elder population. Younger generations of the time, generally conformed with the western economic approach of maintaining jobs which provided paychecks, rather than tending the land as their *kūpuna* had.

Since the closure of Pioneer Mill Company in 1999, there has been a growing interest among native families of the region to reclaim *kuleana* and water resources—to sustain families by working the land. There is also a deep passion for the history and cultural-historical resources of the Kaua'ula-Lahaina region. We find that there is a rich legacy in these lands and among the people of the Kaua'ula-Lahaina region. The challenge now before everyone who is associated with these lands is to ensure that the legacy lives, and that there can still be maintained a sustainable manner of life through the future generations.