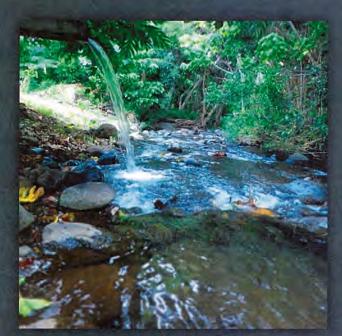
Kaulana 'o Nā Wai 'Ehā

Waikapū · Wailuku · Waiehu · Waihe'e









Presented by Hōkūao Pellegrino

www.huionawaieha.org 📑 📷





Tuesday, October 6th, 2020

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He Mele no Kāne

He ui, he nīnau E ui aku ana au iā 'oe, Aia i heaka Wai a Kāne

Aia i ka hikina a ka lā Puka i ha'eha'e Aia i laila ka Wai a Kāne

E ui aku ana au iā 'oe, Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne Aia i kaulana ka lā, I ka pae 'ōpua i ke kai, Ea mai ana ma Nihoa, Ma ka mole mai o Lehua; Aia i laila ka Wai a Kāne

E ui aku ana au iā 'oe,
Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne?
Aia i ke kuahiwi, i ke kualono,
I ke awāwa, i ke kahawai;
Aia i laila ka Wai a Kāne.

E ui aku ana wau iā 'oe, Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne? Aia i kai, i ka moana, I ke kualau, i ke ānuenue, I ka pūnohu, i ka uakoko, I ka 'ālewalewa; Aia i laila ka Wai a Kāne.

E ui aku ana au iā 'oe,
Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne?
Aia i luna ka Wai a Kāne,
I ke 'ōuli, i ke ao 'ele'ele,
I ke ao panopano
I ke ao pōpolohua mea a Kāne lā, e!
Aia i laila ka Wai a Kāne.

Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne?

Aia i lalo, i ka honua, i ka Wai hū,
I ka wai kau a Kāne me Kanaloa
He waipuna, he wai e inu,
He wai e mana, he wai e ola.

E ui aku ana au iā 'oe,

E ola no. ea!

Aia i hea ka Wai a Kāne?

A query, a question, I ask you, Where is the water of Kāne?

At the eastern gate, Where the sun rises at Ha'eha'e There is the water of Kāne.

A question I ask of you,
Where is the water of Kāne?
Out there with the floating sun,
Where cloud-forms rest on ocean's breast,
Uplifting their forms at Nihoa,
This side the base of Lehua;
There is the water of Kāne.

One question I ask to you, Where is the water of Kāne? There on the mountain peak, on the steep ridges, In the deep valleys, where the rivers sweep; There is the water of Kāne.

This question I ask of you,
Where, pray, is the water of Kāne?
There in thesea, on the ocean,
In the driving rain, in the heavenly rainbow,
In the pilled-up mist, in the blood-red rainfall,
In the ghost-pale cloud form;
There is the water of Kāne.

One question I ask of you,
Where, where is the water of Kāne?
Up in the high reaches is the water of Kāne,
In the heavenly blue, in the black piled cloud,
In the black-black cloud,
In the black-mottled sacred cloud of the gods,
There is the water of Kāne.

One question I ask of you,
Where flows the water of Kāne?

Deep in the ground, in the gushing spring,
In the duets of Kāne and Kanaloa
A well-spring of water, to drink,
A water of magic power, the water of life.
Life, O give us this life.

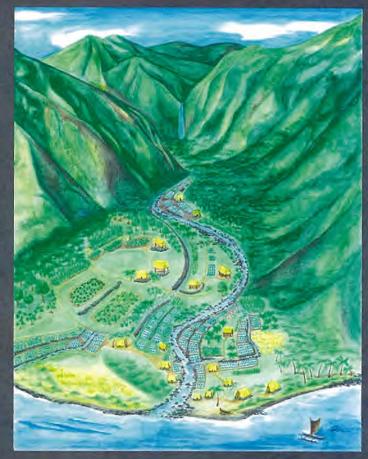




Ola i Ka Wai a Kāne – The Life Giving Waters of Kāne

A Hawaiian Perspective on Wai: "Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?" "Where is the life giving fresh water of Kane?" This question ask repeatedly in the infamous chant called "He Mele no Kāne". Some of the answers given regarding where fresh water can be found are in the mountain, the streams, in the clouds, in the springs, and so on. Here in Hawai'i, fresh water surrounds us whether it can be seen or not. Wai or fresh water was the source of all life in Hawai'i. Prior to the arrival of Westerners in 1778, Hawaiians established themselves, their families, communities, and way of life around fresh water resources. Fresh water resources included streams, springs, ponds, wetlands, and forests. Wai was important to Hawaiians for subsistence and spiritual purposes, therefore it was not wasted, mismanaged, or even owned. In regards to fresh water streams, Hawaiians relied on its mauka to makai (mountain to the sea) flow for drinking, bathing, supporting traditional agriculture and aquaculture, recharging ground water supplies, and sustained productive estuaries and fisheries by both bringing nutrients from the uplands down to the sea. Hawaiians ensured that water could be provided to all, including native stream animals such as 'o'opu, hīhīwai, and 'opae which migrate between the streams and ocean to complete their life cycles. All three species were important sources of food for Hawaiians.

Traditional Water Management & Distribution: The most important system of water distribution was from kahawai (streams) to 'auwai (irrigation ditches) and into lo'i kalo (taro patches). The design, work, and implementation of these irrigations systems were amazingly complex and required the cooperation of everyone living within an ahupua'a. The po'owai (stone dams) were always a low loose wall of stones built across a stream, only to raise water sufficiently to flow into an 'auwai. No 'auwai was permitted to take more water than what continued to flow in the stream below the po'owai. In fact, more water was kept in the stream because many people downstream depended on the fresh water for similar uses.





Pressure for Land & Water





Charting New Waters: Following 1778, foreigners who came, mostly stayed. Ali'i offered exchanges of land for services they could provide. Once ancient water systems were recognized and demonstrated the potential to be utilized for other purposes than for lo'i kalo production, both the Crown and Hawaiian Kingdom were pressured to release private lands to foreigners to pursue economic enterprises, primarily in growing sugarcane for export. Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) issued a law in 1839, "Respecting Water for Irrigation", that which haulted the diversion of water by those who were already taking more than their fair share. The law directed equal distribution, so it said.

Great Māhele: In 1848, under Kamehameha III's rule, Hawai'i's traditional system of land use underwent drastic change. Guided by foreign advisors, the king divided lands that had formerly been held in common and administered by chiefs and their konohiki, or overseers. The Māhele allocated 23% of land in the islands to the king (Crown Lands); 40% comprised Konohiki Lands to be divided among 245 chiefs; and 37% was declared Government Lands, to be awarded to commoners who worked the land as active tenants. An appointed Land Commission and Court of Claims administered the land division.

Kuleana Act: In 1850, the Kuleana Act was established which to guarantee that kuleana, or Native Hawaiian tenants" would always have access to water to be able to continue farming lands. It was also a process for fee simple ownership of land. Land tenants were required to document, survey and provide testimonies for their claims to specific parcels in order to gain permanent title via a Land Commission Award and Royal Patent.

Wilcox, Carol, Sugar Water – Hawaiian Plantation Ditches. UH Press. 1996.



Peck v. Bailey, 1866

Legal Ramifications

Awa v. Horner, 1886 BOE v. Bailey, 1876

Brewer & Co. v. Bailey & Son, 1867

Burroes v. Paaluhi, 1880

Choi v. Ung Sing & Co., 1892

Davis v. Afong, 1884

Foster, et al. v. Kaneohe Ranch Co., 1899

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. v. Claus Spreckels, Folder 1, 1897

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. v. Claus Spreckels, Folder 2, 1897

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. v. Claus Spreckels, Folder 3, 1897

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. v. Wailuku Sugar Co., 1903

Heeia Agric. Co. v. Henry, 1892

Herring v. Gulick, 1883

Horner v. Kumuliilii, 1895

Horner v. Spreckels, 1885

In re Lam Chock, 1882

In re A.S. Cleghorn, 1870

Kaalala Mill Co. v. Steward, 1881

Kahookiekie v. Keanini, 1891

Kohala Sugar Co. v. Vidal, 1878

Leong v. Irwin, 1896

Lonoaea v. Wailuku Sugar Co. (1), 1894

Lonoaea v. Wailuku Sugar Co. (2), 1894

Lopez v. Acheu, 1885

Lui v. Kaleikini, 1896

Mahoe v. Puka of Paikuli, 1882

Maikai v. A. Hasting & Co., 1884

Mele v. Ahuna, 1881

Princeville Plantation v. Chulan Co., 1882

San v. Kim. 1884

Wailuku Sugar Co. v. S.E. Kaiue, 1893

Wailuku Sugar v. H. A. Widemann & Charles C. Harris, 1876

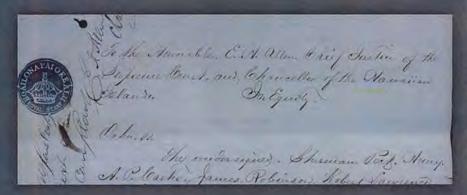
Wailuku v. Cornwell, 1896

Way v. Gulick, 1883

Willfong v. Bailey (1), 1873

Willfong v. Bailey (2), 1873

Wong Kim v. Kioula, 1882



COURT CHRONICLE.

Walluku Water Rights Cole Takes on a New Phase.

W. C. Parke, administrator of the cetate of George Synder, has had his accounts allowed and his discharge granted, by Judge Cooper, on his filing an inventory of the estate. Receipts are \$2438.75, and expenditure including commission \$716.20, leaving a balance of \$1722.55. This is turned over to the United States Consulate for the heirs, none of whom are in this country. Snyder was the lesses of Fowler's Yard lodging houses.

was the lessee of Fowler's Yard lodging houses.

Hearing of the bankruptcy of Chun Wah Sing has been continued till August 12.

This was return day for bankruptcy proceedings against S. Parker, but the hearing was continued till the diff. till the 9th.

The famous Wailuku water rights The famous Wattuku water rights case has assumed a new phase. A temporary injunction at the suit of the Wattuku Sugar Co. has been issued by Judge Cooper, forbidding S. E. Kaiue, Malu Lonoaea, Kahakuea and Pekuholo from prosecuting further, in any manner whatsoing lurther, in any manner whatso-ever, a water suit now set for hear-ing Sept. 6, before S. E. Kaiue, Com-missioner of Private Ways and Water Rights for Wailuku, wherein they are plaintiffs and the Wailuku Sugar Co. defendants. The persons enjoined are further commanded to appear in the Circuit Court at Ho-nolulu within twenty days and show cause why the injunction should not

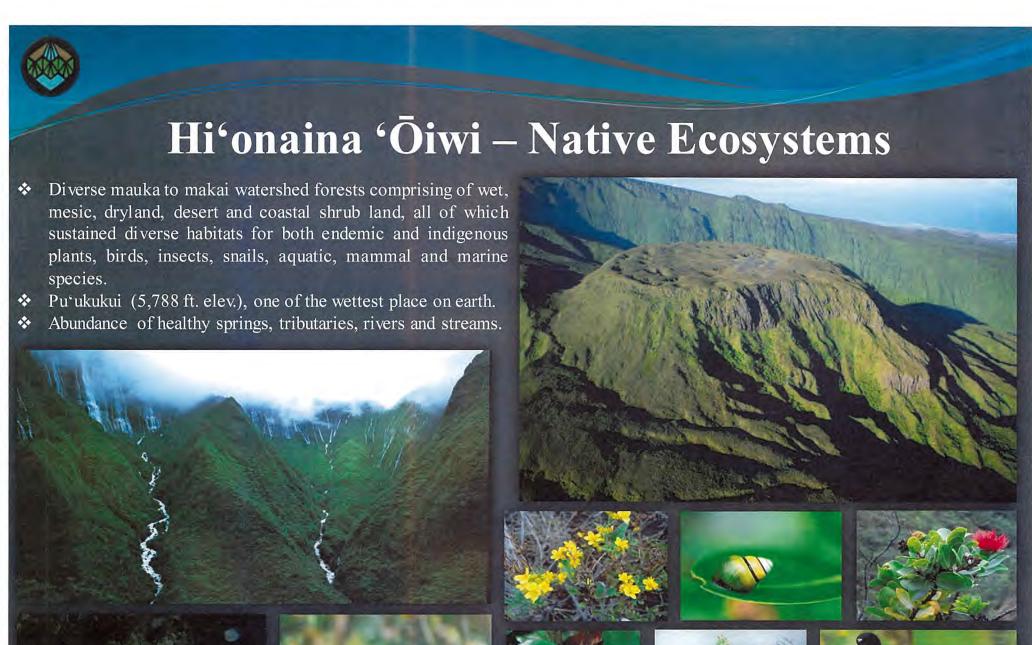
continue.

The bill of complaint alleges that Kaiue, after being disqualified of interest from hearing the case mentioned as Commissioner, and after the agreement of parties to the sub-stitution of W. H. Halstead, persists in acting as Commissioner and has fixed a day for hearing the case. It further charges Kaine and his wife with conspiring to execute a fraudu-lent deed to one C. L. Kookoo, so that he and his wife should be temporarily divested of interest in the suit in question. The bill also alleges that Claus Spreckels has induced certain kuleana holders supplied by the water in dispute to allow him and other plaintiffs in the original and other plantins in the original suit to bring a second suit, so as to avoid the hearing before W. H. Hal-stead and have the hearing instead before Kaiue, the interested party aforesaid, also that Claus Spreckels and the other plaintiffs have assumed all the expenses and control of the second water suit. In the original suit F. M. Hatch, P. Neumann and J. W. Kalua were counsel for plaintiffs, and W. O. Smith and L. A. Thurston for defendants.



Nā Palapala 'Āina no Nā Wai 'Ehā







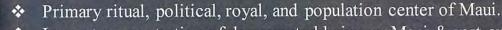








Wahi Pana – Legendary Spaces



Largest concentration of documented heiau on Maui & vast cultural resources.

Final resting place of Maui's highest ranking ali'i located in 'Īao Valley, (some interred in underwater caves within the Wailuku river).

Famous battles: Ahulau ka Pi'ipi'i i Kakanilua, Kepaniwai, Ka'uwa'upali.

Numerous composed mele (Kaulana Nā Wai 'Ehā, 'Īniki Mālie, I Waikapū ke Aloha) and legendary mo'olelo (i.e. Puapualenalena, Haumea, Māui, Kihawahine).





- Ein kekabi mau Heins a'u i lohe. No Hawaji, o Puukohola, a me Mailekini. Ko Wailuku pei: 1 Papanene, sis i Ka
- Malashaakos, sis i Paukukalo

- Lelemako.
- Leleahena Kuemana.
- Kealakaihonus, no

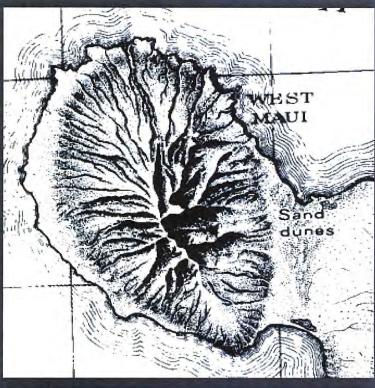
No Waikapu.

O Waikapu e oleloia nei, he wahi pana no ia i kapaia e kekahi poe o ka wa kaliiko, a laha loa mai a hiki i keja wa. mamuli o keia inoa. O keia wahi no hoi o Waikapu, he wahi ana ia aia iloko tlo o ke kahawai, ua mile paha a oi aku ka loa mai ke kulanakauhale aku. Aia ma ka aoao hema o na kahawai nei, he ana, a iloko o ua ana nci he pu, a e kani man ana oia i na wa a pau me ka ike ele na e ka lehulehu, a he makaula nae no Kauai ka mea nana i hoolohe mai i ke kani o ua pu nei, a ua imi mai oia me ka manao e loan.

Aia hoi ma ka aono hikina akau o ua kahawai la, mai kahi aku o ka pu e kani nei, a aia hoi maluna ac o ka pali, he ilio, o l'uapualenalena kona inoa, a no kona lihe no hoi i ke kani o ua pu nei, ua imi skajka oja i kahi e loga ai, aohe nac he loaa iki, oisi ua makaala loa na mea nana ua pu nei mu ke kiai ana, aka, ua hoomau no nae ua ilio nei ma ka hoomakauhi ana i wahi e loaa mi.



Pu'u One – Ao Kuewa – Loko Wai



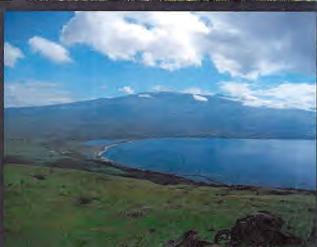
- Expansive pu'u one (sand dune) system and lua kupapa'u (burial grounds) stretching 8 miles from Waihe'e to Waikapū.
- Abundant loko wai (wetlands) & muliwai (estuaries) (i.e. Kapoho, Kaehu, Kanahā, Mau'oni, Keālia).
- ❖ Extensive kula / plains (Kula o Kama'oma'o / Waikapū & Wailuku Commons).













Māhele – Land Tenure

- ❖ Beginning in 1848-1850, the Kingdom of Hawai'i initiated the Great Māhele and awarded 600+ kuleana parcels in Nā Wai 'Ehā for cultivated farm lots ranging from 0.25 to 300 acres.
- Waikapū (133), Wailuku (243), Waiehu (100), Waihe'e (132) Total Awards = 608 Acreage: = 6,000+
- ❖ Extensive and descriptive Hawaiian language documents specifying land use via Native-Foreign Testimonies, Native Registers, Land Commission Awards, Royal Patents and Boundary Survey-Notes). Land use ranged from the cultivation of loʻi kalo, kula, ʻuala, ʻulu, wauke, hala, māla, loʻi paʻahao, loʻi poʻalima, loʻi aupuni, kō, kope as well as the construction of ʻauwai, pāhale, pā holoholona
- Nā Wai 'Ehā was a major food producer & food distributer for Maui.



Jankon na Suna Homa Alos.

Me ha onkon. He man soi huleana he 38 he delle mae ona ke kanvahi 'ku a ia wahi aku. Aia ma Svaloa he 16 loi a ma Saala ea 7 loi, a ma Sbaspala 14 soi, a ma Junia I loi ma Maikapu i Mani ke honohiki onai ka loa a ana onai i ka makahiki 1839 i ora malama mua Maikapu Dek. 24, 1847





'Auwai - Irrigation Systems



Extensive traditional 'auwai (irrigation) systems in each of the 4 ahupua'a spanning 1-3 miles long. Direct from streams and springs.
 Waikapū (4): Pālolo, Pālama, Umknown named 1 & 2
 Wailuku (3): Kama'auwi, Kalani'auwai, Kawaiola Spring
 Waiehu (2-3): Unknown name

Waihe'e (3): Unknown name

- Auwai distributed water that did not disturb natural mauka to makai streamflow connectivity. Ensured kanaka consumption, access, recreational use, gathering, aquifer recharge and promoted native aquatic life to thrive in multiple habitats (streams, springs, wetlands and lo'i kalo systems.
- * 'Auwai also fed wetlands and estuaries (i.e. Pe'eloko, Kapoho, Kaehu).





Kuleana Agricultural Lands & Food Production





- Expansion Period (1300-1600 ad): Increased development of vast wet & upland agricultural field systems within the interior valleys of Nā Wai 'Ehā.
- Nā Wai 'Ehā was the largest contiguous wetland (lo'i) kalo growing region in Hawai'i (Pukui & Handy 1935)
- Where stream / spring water resources were available, extensive 'auwai (traditional irrigation ditches) were built for transporting water to fertile agricultural lands.
- The ahupua'a of Waikapū, known as having the smallest stream in Nā Wai 'Ehā, sustained the cultivation of 1,400 documented lo'i kalo on at total of 990 acres in 1850.
- ❖ General Yield Calculation: 10,000 plants / acre x 3 lbs. / corm = 30,000 lbs. kalo / acre 30,000 lbs. kalo / acre x 3,000 acres = 90,000,000 lbs. Total/year
- Nā Wai 'Ehā was a major agricultural food hub, producer and distributer for Maui.
- Nā Wai 'Ehā which was also known for its nearshore fisheries, marine resources and a producer of some of the best pa'akai (salt) in Hawai'i.
- Mahi pono in the time of our kūpuna would have been defined as Hawaiians cultivating food on highly productive and fertile lands, best suited for their crops, while incorporating regenerative farming methods and utilizing water resources in a sustainable way, minimizing ecological impacts to streams / watersheds and other natural-cultural resources.



Ua Hānau 'Ia Ka Mahikō ma Nā Wai 'Ehā



WAILUKU PLANTATION

NEW CROP

YOW COMING IN.

For Sale by

C. BREWER & Co., agents.





BAL & ADAMS.

WAILUKU MILLS.

Sugar and Molasses!

From the above mills for sale in quantity to suit by
WALKER, ALLEN & Co., Agents.

1866. 1866. Sugar and Molasses

CROP NOW COMING IN AND FOR SALE

HC&S Grinds 106,871 Tons

Waikapu Plantation!

H. CORNWELL, Proprietor.

Sugar and Molasses

FROM THIS PLANTATION FOR SALE
in lots to suit purchasers. Apply to
519-3m GEO. C. McLEAN, Agent







Wailuku Sugar Company

Waihe'e Sugar Co. (Lewers Mill) (1862-1894)

Waikapū Sugar Co. (1862-1894)

Antoni Catalina

Syrup & Molasses

(1823)

Bal & Adams (1865-1877)

Wailuku Sugar Co.

(1862-1988)

Wailuku Agribusiness Co. (1988-2004)

> Wailuku Water Co. (2004-Curent)

E. Bailey & Sons Plantation

(1866-1884)



The Maui News

For sale: All Brewer Maui, Big Isle lands







WATLUKU WATER CO. WAIKAPU IAO WAIEHU WAIHEE

Na Wai Eha



Wailuku's sugar era is ending

It's a bittersweet decision for workers, future of the plantation

ages to calor in West Music as for an Laborate. Now that Wallady Ag in

this day Por yours a finding last for that makes the lowland college





Hawaiian Commercial Sugar Co.

Pā'ia Plantation Co. (1883-1921)

Alexander & Baldwin (1872-1883)

Ha'ikū Sugar Co.

(1858-1921)

Kīhei Sugar Co. (1899-1908)

Hawaiian Commercial Sugar Co.

(1878 - 2018)

Mahi Pono

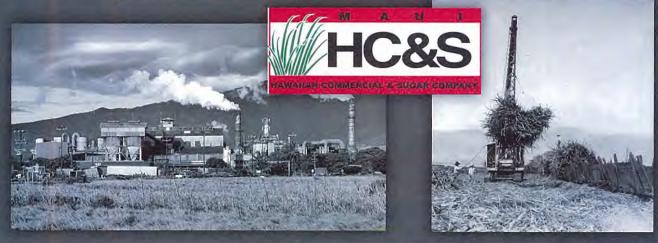
(2019 – Current)

Maui Agriculture Co. (Kalialinui, Kailua, Pūlehu, Makawao & Kula (1904-1948)











Adverse Impacts Caused by the Sugar Industry



- > Plantations recognized the value of water and began diverting streams in mid-1800s.
- Early Western businessmen grow sugarcane for processing molasses repurposing kuleana lo'i kalo lands and 'auwai (irrigation) systems in Waikapū (circa 1823)
- Large commercial scale sugar cultivation begins in Nā Wai 'Ehā (circa 1862)
- High value of stream water for expanding plantations was sought after.
- Lo'i kalo cultivation and traditional agriculture immediately and rapidly declines.
- Kuleana lands are sold to, leased or adverse possessed sugar plantation companies.
- Water rights of kuleana lands were challenged.
- Hawaiian families were dispossessed from their land by Wailuku Sugar Co.
- Existing 'auwai systems are rerouted from kuleana lands to the dry central plains a.k.a. Waikapū & Wailuku Commons (circa 1880).
- Claus Spreckels purchases Waikapū & Wailuku Commons (16,000 acres) and establishes Hawaiian Commercial Sugar Company (circa 1880).
- > Spreckels Ditch (1882) and Waihe'e Canal (1907) are built and divert massive amounts of water from Nā Wai 'Ehā Rivers and Streams with a total of over 75 mgd capacity).
- Wailuku Sugar Company & HC&S diverts uses water from all four streams. (60 mgd) No stream flow from the mountain to the ocean by 1910.
 - Decline of native aquatic and marine habitat.
 - Wailuku Sugar Co. becomes Wailuku Agribusiness in 1984. Moves to diversified crop production (pineapple and macadamia nuts).
 - Wailuku Agribusiness sells off all ag land in 2001 (6,000 acres) to developers, retains watershed and ditch system, and evolves into Wailuku Water Company in 2004.
 - Wailuku Water Company draws up water agreements starts selling water to developers, golf courses, commercial businesses, gentlemen estates, and County of Maui.
 - Wailuku Water Company banks and dumps excess diverted water excess in dry gulches and open fields in Mā'alaea (2004 & 2019)
 - > Signs of stress on 'Tao aquifer and increase salt water intrusion
 - No longer Nā Wai 'Ehā but Nā Wai 'Eha



Ka Leo o ka Lāhui – Accounts by Hawaiians

Nupepa & Ruokoa

Auwe! Pau Wahluku i ka Mahiko.—Ua hiki mai ma ko makou nei keena hana, he palapala na S. D. Hakuole, o Kula, Maui, e hai mai ana i ka pau loa o ka aina o Waituku i ka mahina i ke ko. A ke hai hou mai nei ng ke hoomaloo ia nei na loi kanu kalo e na haole, i wahi e kanu ai i ke ko. A ke makau nei oic, e pau ana ka ni ana o na kanaka oia wahi i ka ai ana i ka poi, a e ai wale agu ana no pana i ka balena oolea hoeha niho, a nakaja mahaoa mama e maona ole ana kanaka Hawaii. Oiai ua maa na kanaka i ka ai i ka poi.

PLANTATION. --- A letter by S.D. Hakuole, of Kula, Maui arrived at our office, declaring that the land of Wailuku is being lost due the cultivation of sugarcane. Furthermore, he states the current condition of once cultivated taro patches being dried up by the foreigners, where they are now planting sugarcane. Also, he fears that Hawaiians of that place will no longer be able to eat poi, and that there will probably only be hard crackers which hurt the teeth when eaten, a cracker to snack on, but does not satisfy the hunger of the Hawaiian people. Let it be known that the Hawaiian people are accustomed to eating poi.

Hakuole, S.D. "Auwe! Pau Wailuku I Ka Mahiko". Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. January 13, 1866. Translated and revised by Hōkūao Pellegrino 2007.

Nupepa & Ruokoa

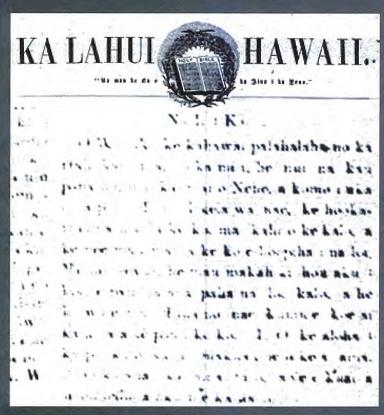
No Waikapu holookoa.—He maikai no ka noho ana o ka aina; eia nae, ua hapa ka ulu nui ana o na mea kanu, no ka uuku o ka wai, i ka ua mea he nui o ka wela o ka la i keia mau la. Ua maloo na loi kalo, nakakaka ka lepo. O ka mahiko o Waikapu nei, aohe no he maloo o ke ko, no ke kamau iki no o kahi wai, a ke maloo uuku mai nei nae ma ke kauwahi.

REGARDING ALL OF WAIKAPŪ --- Waikapū is a pleasant place to live however the plants only grow half as well because of the insufficient supply of water, due to the drought these days. Taro patches have dried up, the earth has cracked. The sugarcane belonging to the plantation here in Waikapū has not dried up because they have a little water. Only in a few places do they dry.

Kaualililehua, W.K. "No Waikapu Holookoa". Ka Nupepa Kuokoa September 21, 1872. Translated and revised by Hōkūao Pellegrino 2011.



Ka Leo o ka Lāhui – Accounts by Hawaiians



NĀ LOʻI KALO

'O Wailuku ke kahawai i pālahalaha no ka mahi kalo 'ana, no ka mea, he nui nā kau papa lo'i, mai kai mai o Nehe, a komo i uka o nā pali 'o 'Īao. I kēia wā na'e, ke ho'okama'āina maila ke kō, ma kahi o ke kalo, a ke nē mau maila ke kō e ho'opiha i nā lo'i. Me he mea la, he mau makahiki hou aku i koe, e pau loa ana paha nā lo'i kalo, a he kō wale nō. 'Elua nō na'e kumu e koe ai ka 'āina 'a'ole pa'a i ke kō. 1. 'O ke aloha i ka poi kalo, ka 'ai makuahine o kēia 'āina. 2. 'O ka 'au'a i ka 'āina taro, 'a'ole e kū'ai a ho'olimalima aku me ka haole.

THE TARO PATCHES

Wailuku is the river that is spread out for the farming of taro, because, the taro patches are many, from the ocean of Nehe, entering the cliffs of 'Īao. However in this period of time, sugar is becoming acquainted with instead of taro, and sugarcane is nagging to fill the taro patches. It is as if there are a few years left and all the taro patches will be gone and there will only be sugarcane. There are two reasons remaining as to why the land should not be filled with sugarcane. 1. Love for poi from taro, the mother food of this land. 2. The withholding of taro land, not to be sold or leased to the foreigner.

"Nā Lo'i Kalo". Ka Lāhui Hawai'i. December 21, 1876. Transcibed and Translated by Hōkūao Pellegrino 2016.



Ka Leo o ka Malihini – Concerned Visitors

Commercial Advertiser.

Table. The valleys of Warkapu, Waihee and Waiehu are becoming encroached upon by the energy of the foreigner in developing their cane bearing powers. The ancestral kalo patches are being filled up, or shut in, so that it is impossible to get to the mountains for wood, except through lands which have been leased. The right of way for their fuel, is virtually closed, unless the paikalo is sold to the lessee Does not "custom" allow the native to obtain wood for cooking, where he has always been entitled to it. and also his to leaves with which he wraps his bundies, without being clogged with a provise that he shall dispose of his produce, benefitting one party only? If the question was left to a jury of hungry natives from Walluku to Kaupo to decide, it would not be difficult to imagine the verdict. A bundle of 25 lbs. of paikalo for 25 cts. ! Shade of Kamehameha the Great !! Defend us !!!

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Egomet, Thine "Rurual Sketches of the Hawaiian Islands". Pacific Commercial Advertiser. April 15, 1863. Transcibed by Hōkūao Pellegrino 2015.



Mr. W. H. Cornwell, the enterprising manager and principle stockholder of the Waikapu plantation, has a project under contemplation, which, if successful will be another evidence of the power resulting from the careful combination and judicious manipulation of brains and capital. Below the present plantation, in the direction of Maalaea Bay, lies a tract of land consisting of several thousand acres, which only lacks water, to make it as desirable a section as can be found on the Island of Maui. The tract slopes gradually to the south coast and is almost entirely free from stones. It is thought probable that by constructing a mammoth dam across the narrow gorge leading from Waikapu Valleythe present water supply-a natural reservoir could be formed sufficiently large to contain the surplus water supply, from the upper mountain stream during the rainy season. This would make the water now going to waste during the winter months, available during the dry season, and by thus utilizing the whole, there would probably be sufficient to irrigate a much larger tract than is possible with the present available supply. The in-creased volume thus obtained, after doing service on the upper plantation, could be conveyed to the lower tract in flumes, and should it be found desirable, at any future time, to construct

mills of more pretentious proportions on the lower grounds, the cane from the upper fields could be run down in the flumes already constructed. The future growth and commercial importance of Kahuloi, our principal port of entry, is largely dependent upon the development and successful cultivation of the extensive territory lying back of it. It is therefore to be hoped that the scheme under present consideration will prove a success.

Wailuka, May 21, 1886.





WAILUKU WARBLINGS --- Mr. W. H. Cornwell, the enterprising manager and principle stockholder of the Waikapū Plantation, has a project under contemplation, which, if successful will be another evidence of the power resulting from the careful combination and judicious manipulation of brains and capital. Below the present plantation, in the direction of Mā'alaea Bay, lies a tract of land consisting of several thousand acres, which only lacks water, to make it as desirable a section as can be found on the Island of Maui. The tract slopes gradually to the south coast and is almost entirely free from stones. It is thought probable that by constructing a mammoth dam across the narrow gorge leading from Waikapū Valley – the present water supply – a natural reservoir could be formed sufficiently large to contain the surplus water supply, from the upper mountain stream during the rainy season. This would make the water now going to waste during the winter months, available during the dry season, and by thus utilizing the whole, there, would probably be sufficient to irrigate a much larger tract than is possible with the present available supply. The increased volume thus obtained, after doing service on the upper plantation could be conveyed to the lower tract in flumes, and should it be found desirable, at any future time, to construct mills of more pretentious proportions on the lower grounds, the cane from the upper fields could be run down in the flumes already constructed. The future growth and commercial importance of Kahului, our principal port of entry, is largely dependent upon the development and successful cultivation of the extensive territory lying back of it. It is therefore to be hoped that the scheme under present consideration will prove a success.

Jupiter "Wailuku Warblings". Daily Honolulu Press, May 28, 1886. Transcribed Hōkūao Pellegrino 2015.



KA LEO O KA LAHU

WAILUKU WATER.

For years past the town of Wailukn-which is situated below the sugar mill-has been receiving its water supply through the conduit ed by the thirsty Wailukuans in of an open ditch into which every abomination of dogs and other uncleanness could wallow-in fact it was no better than an open sewer As a consequence the mortality of that part of the town was high and successive medical men have for in the sweet gone-by; while another years animadverted on the state of the water supply. The Legislature mahore they might get water, of 1890 passed an act to remedy the evil. Chap. 59 of that session is entitled an act "to establish and regulate the Wailuku Water-Works." The government sent a supply of contributions of the church mispipe and a staff to Wailuku to com- sionary box, and received from Kamence work, but the Minister of Interior has been warned by the Manager of the Wailuku Sugar Company, that said company owns all the water in Iao Valley-about four miles from the town, to divert the to any heir in the flesh unless as whole water course by a ditch to be constructed on the Waiehu side of the stream.

If the people of Wailuku cannot do without water so much the worse for them, and as all the sugar plantations elsewhere claim to own teachers, claim the right to deprive all the water also, we do not see the people of the water of the hills that there is anywhere around a sugar plantation where the Wailuk i people can move to, and be any born. Verily, the missionary enbetter off.

know when the pipes were ordered. \$ int the whole of the water belongel to the plantation; and secret yery secret rum it says, that the new Minister of Finance says the Iso.

government had better let the Wailuku Plantation have all the water or they might send in a bill for a million or so for the water consumthe past in which they had no right.

What a happy people we ought to be with a minister who looks carefully to what might happen to the Treasury for water consumed tells the people to wait, in the sweet

Here is another illustration of missionary hypocrisy. The owners of this plantation came here on the mehameha III land for a living for the missionary and his successors in the missionary service in Wailuku, and never intended to go successor in the ministry, which by craft was so artfully drawn so as to enable the holder to sell it. And to-day this family, like others who came here ostensibly as Christian and valleys in which they were terprise of these islands has been The Minister says he did not characterized by every species of hypocrisy and fraud: but a day of reckoning is at hand and please remember it most ignoble Marquis of

WAILUKU WATER - For years past the town of Wailuku - which is situated below the sugar mill - has been receiving its water supply through the conduit of an open ditch into which every abomination of dogs and other uncleanness could wallow - in fact it was no better than an open sewer. As a consequence the mortality of that part of the town was high and successive medical men have for years animadverted on the state of the water supply. The legislature of 1890 passed an act to remedy the evil. Chap. 59 of that session is entitled an act "to establish and regulate the Wailuku Water Works." The government sent a supply of pipe and a staff to Wailuku to commence work, but the Minister of Interior has been warned by the Manager of Wailuku Sugar Company, that said company owns all the water in 'Iao Valley - about four miles from town, to divert the whole water course by a ditch to be constructed on the Waiehu side of the stream.

If the people of Wailuku cannot do without water so much the worse for them, and as all the sugar plantations elsewhere claim to own all the water also, we do not see that there is anywhere around a sugar plantation where the Wailuku people can move to, and be any better off.

The minister says he did not know when the pipes were ordered. That the whole of the water belonging to the plantation; and secret very secret rumor says, that the now Minister of Finance says the government had better let the Wailuku Plantation have all the water of they might send a bill for a millions or so for the water consumed by the thirsty Wailukuans in the past in which they had no right.

What a happy people we ought to be with a minister who looks carefully to what might happen to the Treasury for water consumed in the sweet gone-by; while another tells the people to wait, in the sweet ma hope they might get water.

Here is another illustration of missionary hypocrisy. The owners of this plantation came here on the contributions of the church missionary box, and received from Kamehameha III land for a living for the missionary service in Wailuku, and never intended to go to any heir in the flesh unless as successor in the ministry, which by craft was so artfully drawn so as to enable the holder to sell it. And today this family, like others who came here ostensibly as Christian teachers, claim the right to deprive the people of the water of the hills and valleys in which they were born. Verily, the missionary enterprise of these islands has been characterized by ever species of hypocrisy and fraud: but a day of reckoning is at hand and please remember it most ignoble Marquis of 'Iao.

Writer Unknown "Wailuku Water". Ka Leo o Ka Lāhui, September 7, 1891. Transcribed Hōkūao Pellegrino 2014.





KA LEO O KA LAHUI

"E Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono."

HONOLULU, SEPATEMARA 29, 1891.

Hoopii Wai o Wailuku.

Ua leta ja mai ja makou, e ka poe o Wailuku, ua hoopaa ia na Akepoka no ka hoopii ana i ka wai e hoao ia nei e lawe wale ia mai ka poe o Wailuku aku, e ka Hui (Misionari) mahiko o Wailuku. O ke ano o keia hana, oia hoi ka lawe ia ana o ka wai ma kekabi ki'o wai hou aku, malupa aku o ke kiekiena o ke ki'o wai mai kahiko loa mai, Ua lawe keia mau loio mamuli o kolaua manao kokua i na Hawaii, oiai, ua ike ia no he hana ka ka Hawaii e hoino ia ai laua, aka, aole nae laua i hopo, oiai, ua maopopo ke kumu o ka hospii, ua kukulu ia maluna o ka pono paa, a mai mua loa mai, o na kanaka kamaaina. He mau hana keia e punahele ai o Akipoka ma i ka lahui.

Another Wailnku Water Case.

We are imformed that another of those intricate water suits will be instituted by parties living in Wailuku, against the Wailuku Sugar Company. This suit will be the result of an attempt on the part of the Wailuku. Corporation, to divert the feeders to the Wailuku Water course that supplies all the taro lands of the valley, and thus rob the taro patches belonging to the tenant of its supply of water.

The water heads and springs from which the water supply is obtained are old and well-established, and have become public property. Any diversion of these old kudcana's of the people is unjust, and should be summarily sat on by the Courts of the Kingdom. We are not at all astonished at any attempt on the part of corporations to secure water, especially after a nine months drought. It is hard for money-makers, however, to preserve itself from the trials and temptations thanslves of this lustful and sincursed sphere.

1823 Walluku's first sugar mill begins operation.

1840 Kamehameha III ventures into sugar production at presentday Walluku Millyard.

1862 America's Civil War creates a sugar boom. Wailuku-Sugar Co. begins, plantations start at Waihe'e and Waikapü.

1878 Claus Spreckets acquires land and water rights in Walkapü and Walluku.

1881 Planters divert Tao Stream Into three ditches. Lawsuits follow.

1882 Spreckels Ditch starts flowing.

1894 The U.S. Congress restores a tariff benefiting Hawai'i's sugar growers. Walluku Sugar purchases Walkapū and Walhere Sugar Companies.

1901 Wailuku Sugar builds Wailhe'e Ditch and offers nearly half the water to Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. In exchange for land in Na Wai 'Eha. The two companies will battle over water rights for 20+ years.

1907 Waihe's Ditch begins lurnishing 50 million gallons a day (mgd).

1916 fao Stream floods, killing 13 and sweeping away homes, flumes and land along its banks.

1924 Walluku Sugar and HCSS resolve their long dispute, dividing up lands and water.

1947 Welluku Suger ceases its use of railroads, replaces saddle horses with pickup trucies, and begins selling its plantation homes.

1951 Walluku Sugar arranges to sell water to County of Maul for development of Kilher.

1955 Maul County's Water Board assumes management of residential water systems in Na Wal 'Eha.

1962 The U.S. Congress passes a highly favorable Sugar Act. Weilluku Sugar is 100 years old.

1978 The amended state Constitution declares: "The State has an obligation to protect control and regulate the use of Hawaii's water resources for the benefit of its people."

1979 The Central Maui Joint Venture is completed, delivering Tao (and later Walhe'e) aquifer groundwater to KThei/Walfea. In time. South Maui will consume 60 percent of Na Wal Eha water.

1984 Wailuku Sugar changes name to Wailuku Agribusiness.

1987 New state Water Code proclaims water is "for the benefit of the citizens" and calls for a new Water Commission. Wailuku Agribusiness sells 400+ acres for golf courses and agrees to deliver 4.7 mgd.

1988 Walluku Agribusiness cuts its last crop of sugar,

1997 West Maul Mountains Watersned Partnership forms to jointly protect 51,000 acres of forest reserve.

2000 Walluku Country Estates begins construction; 184 twoacre lots will consume 2 mgd from the fao-Maniania Ditch.

2000 The County of Mau refuses to purchase Walluku Agribusiness's 13,167 acres of watershed.

2003 State Water Commission designates fao a groundwater management area, requiring a water users, including the County, to apply for permits by July 2004. Earthjustice and OHA object to the County's applications and request a contested case magring.

2005 Earthjustice and OHA withdraw objections in exchange for the County's commitment to restoring stream flows. Walluku Agribusiness liquidates and transfers its assets to newly formed Walluku Water Co.

2007 Maul County Council approves a "show me the water" bill, requiring developers to prove they have long-term water

2008 The state Water Commission decides unanimously to designate Na Wat Ehs a "water management area" and requires all users to apply for permits. Walfuku Water seeks status as a public utility.

A Turbulent History



D-MM--

Petitioners want water restored to streams

Filing comes as mayor moves to tap former plantation resources

WAILUKU — Two convening groups on Mont level filed a person to the male welling to require conclusion of some as as fine someon from Wallace or Wallace, validation's Amont as

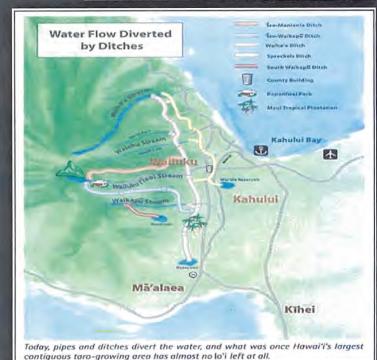
In an ambandance from the Carthrodoc time group, Hot O No Was Claused Mani Tomoroo haskes and they are solving the same Commission on Wome Resource Management to Tol-



A Fight for Maui's Water

Native Farmers Want to Reclaim Flows Long Diverted by Sugar Plantation





Maui groups petition over shrinking flow of streams

The groups want Wailuku Agribusiness to release more water into island streams By Gary T. Kubota 7/24/04

WAILUKU >> As she tends to her taro patch, Rose Marie Duey looks at the low flow of lao Stream, a level that she says has declined so much in the last 30 years that native shrimp and fish sometimes have difficulty completing their life-cycle jour-

'My little grandchildren, when they go to the stream, get so distraught," said Duey, a nae Hawaiian. "That's our Please see Water, A7

Hawalian culture: the 'opae, hihiwal and 'o'opu." Duey Is part of one of the

groups that have filed a petition have the state force Walluku Agribusiness Co. to release more of the water it diverts from Iao and other streams in Central Maul to its ditch sys-

The groups Hui o Na Wai 'Ehaand Maul Tomorrow Foundation Inc. said the state is using standards that fail to protect native stream life, Hawaiian traditional practices and other

The petition, similar to the landmark Walahole Ditch case on Oahu, which ordered more



Native Hawalian Rose Ducy is one of the petitioners who want the state to force Wailuku Agribusiness Co. to reduce the amount of water it diverts from several streams serving Central Maul.

The Maui News

Ruling awaited in water dispute

much water to return

some Meagement. By HARRY EAGAR

Leaver's sper over how draft inverses the standards pro- have broken or become one persion or near a narroway for labourist or make that over a period of seasons.

tioners who intented the review of limits for a century, and Howeston. Attacking

pored by harders differed accounter of the control for soles are big that increases for the well-being of the HAA's can remain result as a montrol of the Matter of the Matter of the Notive Harcas and the control parameters but it access. while energy plantation, but it needs to West Maul streams was Common or Water Ro. Earthuring repentation of per-

As much in 76 million pathon the screen flow standards, protest. Commercial & Super Co. General. Misse's proposal would resid in

Na Wai Eha: HC&S speaks





stream water dispute

By CHIES HAVACTON

Maul's Newspaper Since 1900

75 CENTS

Attorney: Water commission

Panel: Decision strikes a balance between values, responsibilities

By ILIMA LOOMIS, Staff Writer

The state Commission on Water Resource Management on Thursday ordered 12.5 million gallons of wa-ter per day be allowed to flow in the Na Wait Elba streams in the West Mani Mountains, about one-third of the amount that had been proposed. The commission majority said the decision represented a balance be-

tween the values and responsibilities the law required them to consider. Chairwoman Laimr Thiclers said in a statement that even if 100 percent of the water were diversel, it would still not be enough to meet demands. But contested beautings officer

But contested hearings officer Lawrence Milke, also a commission member, issued a scathing dissent ing opinion that accused the water

panells majority of protecting the in-terests of private corporations over the public arrown.

"My list lectains, the majority in-fracted in his duties under the consti-tution and the state water code as-trustee of the state's public water re-source." Mills wrote.

Reacting to the order, environ-neural groups and beat of Hawaiian contail groups and beat of Hawaiian in the protection of the state of the public flower of the stream. It dies were deeply utsupported. I me bioriwake, afterney for Eartigustics.

re to windsurf

commission's ruling, along with recent positive operating momentum at HC&S. seems to have left us with a

— Chris Renjamin

which represented the groups, said the water commission had "wited" under pressure from corporations

Officials from Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., which has argued that a loss of water could lead to the demise of the plantation, had a

to me termise of the plantanon, had a cantinuisty positive response. The Sequence of the control See WATER on Page A5

Cost still

a factor

THE MAUI NEWS - Thursday, December 25, 2014 - A3



The Maul News / MATTHEW THAYER phot

Hui O Na Wal Eha board members Lei Smith (front row from left) Ku'ulei Kuala'au, John Duey, Nani Santos, (back row from left) organization co-founder Duke Sevilla, Koa Hewahewa, Nick Harders and Hokuao Pellegrino pose in Wailuku River or lao Stream in Iao Valley. The group was instrumental in getting increased stream flow in the Na Wai Eha, the four great waters of the West Maui Mountains.

Access to water significant Hui O Na Wai Eha victory

Hui O Na Wai Eha won a settlement this stream animals will have a chance to com-year, approved by the state Commisplete their life cycles, kalo (taro) farmers have diverted water returned to the four won't have to go above the companies' digreat waters of Na Wai Eha - Wailuku versions to swim That's a significant victo-(Iao), Waihee, Waihee and Waikapu. ry in our eyes.

finally being respected," said Hii O Na Wai row Foundation, which, together with the Eha President John Duey after the settlement was reached in April. "Our native

sing on Water Resources Management, to can access the water they need and our kids

"After an intense legal battle, the law is It was also a victory for the Mani Tomor-

See WATER on the next page



Streams flow again — along with controversy and conflict



Hul members: Too little water

IN THE PARTY CO. Laws

Four streams will be flowing in settlement of Na Wai Eha State water management panel

OKs contested case agreement By EULEDA CHARD, COLUMN

See WATER on Page Ad



One year

later



Nā Wai 'Ehā Water Rights Case Timeline

Involved Parties























- 2003 Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā Founded
- 2004 Petition to CWRM brought forth by Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā and Maui Tomorrow to amend the IIFS for Nā Wai 'Ehā Streams
- 2007 Contested Case Hearing begins. Over 50 witnesses and testimonies given. Dr. Lawrence Miike is hearing officer.
- 2007 Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā petitions CWRM to desigate Nā Wai 'Ehā as a Water Management Area.
- Water Management Area Designation for Nā Wai 'Ehā by CWRM Approved 2008
- Proposed Decision by CWRM hearing officer. Waikapū: 4 mgd / Wailuku: 13 mgd / Waiehu: 3.5 mgd / Waihe'e: 14 mgd 2009 Final Decision voted upon by CWRM: Waikapū: 0 mgd / Wailuku: 0 mgd / Waiehu: 2.5 mgd / Waihe'e: 10 mgd
- Hearing officer, Dr. Milke gives dissenting opinion
- IIFS Stream Restoration for Waiehu and Waihe'e Streams (8-9-10) 2010
- Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā & Maui Tomorrow file appeal to Hawai'i Supreme Court 2010
- 2012 Hawai'i Supreme Court hears the Nā Wai 'Ehā Case (6-6-12)
- Hawai'i Supreme Court rules in favor of Hui o Nā Wai 'Ehā and Maui Tomorrow (8-15-12) 2012
- 2014 Contested Case Remand scheduled. All parties enter into negotiations.
- 2014 All parties reach an agreement and settle on new IIFS for Nā Wai 'Ehā. Settlement is approved by CWRM (May – 2014) Waikapū: 2.9 mgd / Wailuku: 10 mgd / Waiehu: 2.5 mgd / Waihe'e: 10 mgd
- 2014 IIFS Stream Restoration for Waikapū & Wailuku Streams (10-13-14)
- 2014 WWC and HC&S fail to comply with IIFS. 500 Maui community members rally for justice for Nā Wai 'Ehā (10-24-14)
- 2015 CWRM not enforcing WWC & HC&S to comply with IIFS. Maui community members rally for enforcement (2-15-15)
- 2016 WUPA (Water Use Permit App.) and IIFS Contested Case Begins (7-11-16)
- Complaint filed regarding inconsistent monitoring of Nā Wai 'Ehā streams by CWRM (8-26-16)
- 100 year flood causes major damage at Wailuku River & Waikapū Stream. WWC 'Īao Diversion severely damaged. 2016 WWC realigns stream without authorization. (9-13-16)
- 2016 County of Maui (Mayor Arakawa announces plans to purchase Wailuku Water Co. watershed lands, diversions, ditches and delivery agreements (12-2-16)
- 2017 IIFS & WUPA Contested Case Proposed Findings and Facts from CWRM Hearing Officer, Dr. Miike Released. Awaiting Final CWRM Hearing and Decision.
- 2018 CWRM installs 1st Real-Time Measuring Gauge on Waikapū Stream (1-12-18)
- 100 year flood in Waiehu, Waihe'e and Kahakuloa causes major damage (2-18-18)
- Hana'ula LLC Purchases 5,000 acres of watershed lands from Wailuku Water Co. (4-15-18)
- 2018 Mahi Pono Purchases A&B / HC&S Ag Lands and Water System 40.000+ acres (12-20-18)
- Mahi Pono begins diverting water from Waihe'e River & Wailuku River (August) 2019
- Complaint filed regarding non-compliance to IIFS of Waihe'e & Wailuku River and waste complaint in Waikapū. 2019
- Contested Case Closing Arguments & Mahi Pono Settlement (11-19-19) 2019
- Hui Waste Complaint filed against WWC for illegal dumping of surface water into Pale a ahu Gulch Waikapū (11-12-19) 2019
- Contested Case Hearing Granted for Hui vs. WWC re for Waste Complaint (6-15-2020) 2020





(1) Protect Native Aquatic Species & Habitat

Native stream animals need manka to make stream flow to survive.

- > Spawning (Mauka >> Makai / River>> Ocean)
- Upstream Migration (Makai >> to Mauka / Ocean >> River)
- > Promotes a healthy and sustainable lifestyle Important food source for Hawaiians



Hīhīwai

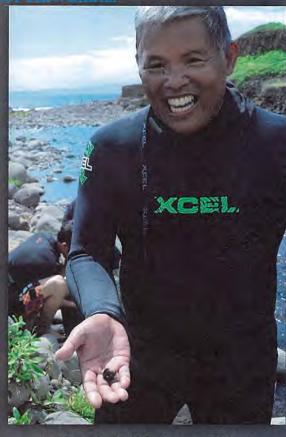


'Ōpae





'O'opu

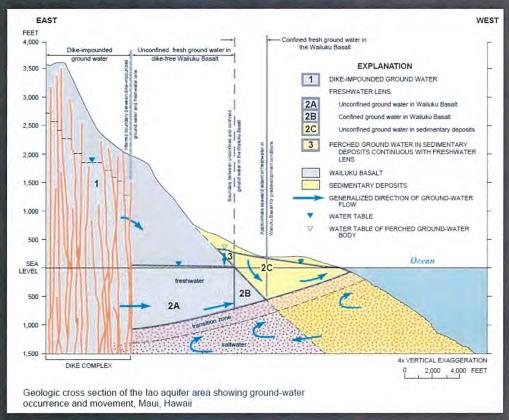


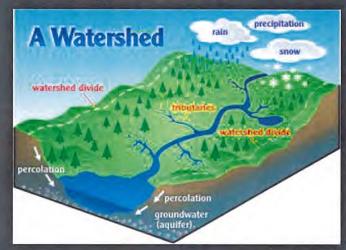
"Uncle" Skippy Hau (Aquatic Biologist)

DLNR



(2) Safeguard Ground Water Aquifer Recharge



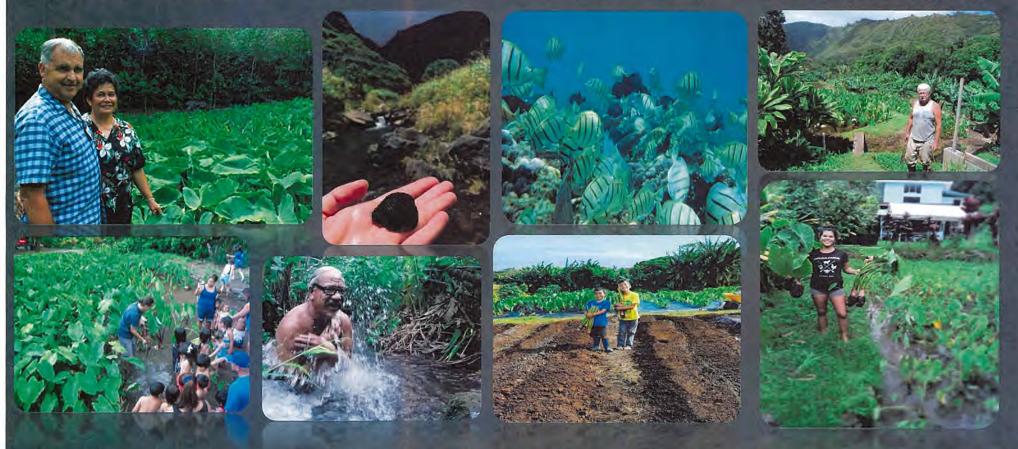




Dry Streams + Increased Pumpage = Decreased Recharge

- ✓ 'Īao Aquifer is the main source of drinking water for 75% Maui Residents and visitors.
- ✓ Potential salt water intrusion via over pumping of wells.
- ✓ Since the introduction of pumpage in 1948 and the reduction of recharge in 1980, fresh water levels have declined.
- ✓ Restored stream flow is imperative to ground water recharge as well as monitoring sustainable yields and pumpage.

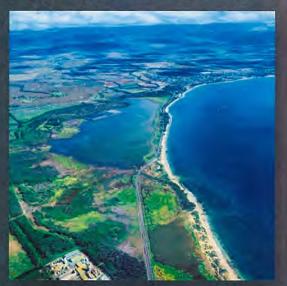
(3) Advocate for Traditional & Customary Hawaiian Rights



- O Working with Native Hawaiian families wanting return to their ancestral kuleana agricultural lands.
- o Exercising appurtenant / kuleana water rights via ancient 'auwai irrigation systems.
- o Increased restoration and cultivation of lo'i kalo and farming other traditional food crops (kalo, 'uala, 'ulu, niu, etc..).
- o Traditional gathering of aquatic species ('o'opu, hīhīwai, 'ōpae).
- o Revival of near shore & reef habitat species allow for gathering (limu, fish, etc..).
- o Revitalization of springs.

(4) Revive Native Ecosystems

(Wetlands, Estuaries, Stream Vegetation, Near Shore Fisheries)







- Revival of wetlands and estuaries due to mauka to makai stream flow.
- ☐ Riparian restoration of native plant species (along stream banks).
- Restoration of traditional inland fishponds (Keālia Waikapū, Kanahā Wailuku, Kaehu Wailuku/Waiehu, Kapoho and Paeloko Waihe'e).
- ☐ Increased native species and habitat for endangered native birds, aquatic species, and marine life.



(5) Support Aesthetic Values, Education & Research, Recreation, Public Consumption, Watersheds











- ❖ Future availability of water resources are dependent upon the actions we do now.
- Status quo is no longer acceptable.









Mahalo Nui Loa!

































He mau nīnau kā 'oukou? (Questions)