

MAUI ISLAND HISTORY



Key events and decisions throughout Maui's history have had a significant influence on the formation of the island's settlement patterns and landscape. These events and decisions and subsequent land use patterns have influenced the challenges and opportunities at present and will influence as well as future island generations as well. Understanding the decisions and events that have led to the accomplishments and challenges of the past provide valuable lessons that aid decision making and priority setting. These lessons equip us with essential tools for achieving a desired future for Maui.

MAUI'S EARLY HAWAIIAN LANDSCAPE

Prior to western contact, Hawaiians did not believe in the private ownership of land. A unique system, utilized throughout Hawaii, divided land into ahupua`a, land divisions running from the mountains to the sea that were administered by each district ali`i. Hawaiian society was separated into distinct classes, from chief to laborer, each with its own defined duties and responsibilities within the ahupua`a.

In 1786, Captain Jean Francois de Galaup de La Perouse was the first outsider to set foot on Maui's shore and interact with the Hawaiians. In the following years, missionary work, the whaling industry, and flourishing trade of diverse goods brought American and European immigrants to the island. By the mid 1800's, the island's population was dispersed throughout the land from east to west.

With much of the island remaining arid and inhospitable, the towns of Hana, Makawao, Wailuku, and Lahaina housed the majority of the population. Diversified agriculture rapidly expanded during the 1840's and 1850's to support the transient and resident population.

Having no resistance to introduced Western diseases, the Hawaiian population suffered significantly with the arrival of foreigners. Maui's population dropped dramatically subsequent to Western discovery and inhabitation. Regardless of the influx of new groups of people, the population steadily decreased.

Table II - 1: Maui's Population 1831 – 1878

Year	Population ¹
1831	35,062
1850	21,047
1860	16,400
1878	12,109

THE GREAT MAHELE

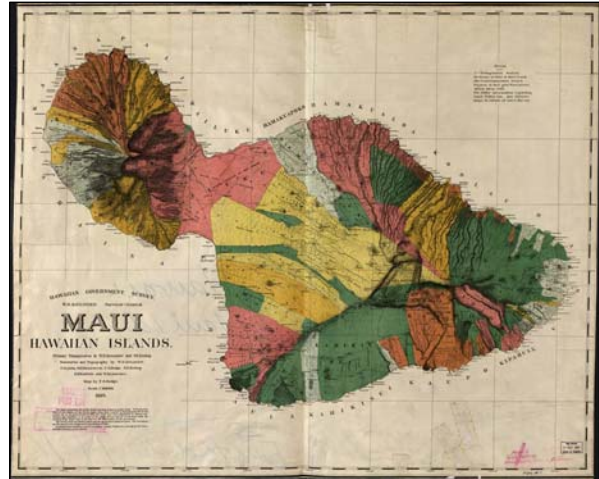
The concept of land ownership was introduced by Westerners that recognized a great opportunity in the vast Hawaiian Islands and were becoming increasingly frustrated with the land tenure system. In 1848, Kamehameha III, under pressure from foreigners, set into motion a series of events that altered the distribution of land in Hawaii.

¹ Schmitt, Robert C. 1977. *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*. The University Press of Hawaii. Honolulu, Hawaii.

The Great Mahele, or land division, established a land commission and provided the means whereby land claims could be presented to the commission and adjudicated. As part of the Great Mahele, the Kuleana Act of 1850 allowed the Land Commission to award small parcels of land to commoners for subsistence.

The intent of the Great Mahele and the Kuleana Act was to protect lands from foreign acquisition and provide native Hawaiians with the security of landownership. However, there existed a disconnect between the king's intentions and the actual events that ensued as a result of the Great Mahele.

Living for hundreds of years with the self-sufficient ahupua'a land tenure system and communal subsistence economy, Hawaiians, particularly commoners, were unaccustomed to the concept of fee simple ownership of land. This unfamiliarity with a new concept of landownership, coupled with numerous legal and logistical constraints, led to foreign acquisition of large amounts of land intended for native Hawaiians. Many Hawaiian families were required to leave lands they had cultivated for generations and move to populated towns such as Wailuku and Lahaina.



MAUI GOES FOR SUGAR



Chinese laborers harvesting sugarcane, n.d.

Following the events of the Great Mahele, Hawaiian land became available for private ownership and capitalist development. Between 1836 and 1861 there was an initial flurry of sugar planting and refining throughout Hawaii; however, lack of capital and an adequate market forced many planters out of business.

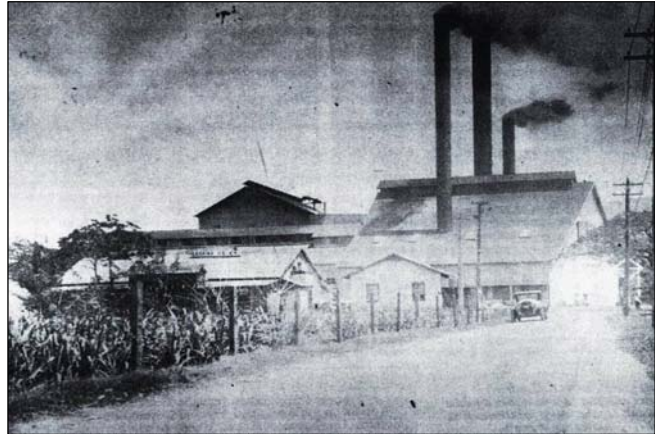
In 1850, an indentured labor system was established through the Masters and Servants Act, which supplied plantation workers from foreign markets². From 1860 to 1865, the Hawaiian sugar industry received an additional boost created by the American Civil War. During this time, the Louisiana sugar supply ceased, giving Hawaii a larger share of the market.

² Lal, Brij V., Murno, Doug, and Beechert, Edward D. 1993. *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*. University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu, Hawaii.

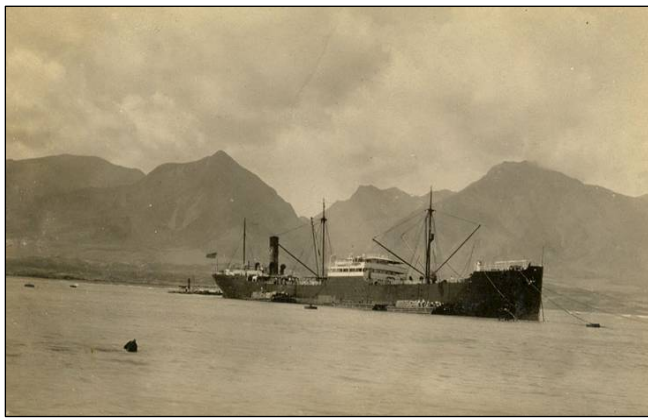
In 1876, with the signing of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty, the islands received the final catalyst necessary to drive the Hawaiian sugar industry into the future. The treaty with the United States allowed for duty free admission of Hawaiian sugar, resulting in a substantial increase of profits for island growers. With this economic boost, growers immediately began increasing cultivation of sugarcane. On Maui, acres cultivated in sugarcane expanded from 5,080 in 1867 to 12,000 in 1880, an increase of 136 percent³.

Maui's Historic Sugar Plantations:

- Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company (HC&S) (Puunene) (*still in operation*)
- Maui Agricultural Company (Paia)
- Pioneer Mill Company (Lahaina)
- Wailuku Sugar Company (Wailuku)
- Kaeleku Sugar Company (Hana)



Pioneer Mill, Lahaina, 1920



Ship in Kahului Harbor, 1933

The entrepreneurs Samuel T. Alexander and Henry P. Baldwin were involved in the first sugar operations on Maui and eventually obtained the majority of the market. Construction of the Hamakua irrigation ditch, which delivered water from East Maui's expansive watershed to the arid plains of Central Maui, secured the future of sugar cultivation for Alexander and Baldwin. The development of rail and ocean transportation also greatly influenced the growth of the sugar industry on Maui.

Rail systems linked the fields, processing facilities, and harbor, allowing for efficient movement of sugarcane and refined sugar. Ocean transportation provided the vital connection between the islands and the world market.

The cultivation of sugarcane has had a long-lasting effect on Maui's landscapes and water supply development. The sugarcane industry has also dramatically influenced the social and cultural development of Maui. With the massive growth of the industry, the need for labor also grew,

³ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

resulting in the importation of workers from places such as Japan, China, the Philippines, Korea, Portugal, Spain, and Puerto Rico. In the early 1900's, each of Maui's sugar estates contained multiple plantation camps that housed the immigrant workers.

The self-sufficient camps were comprised of schools, stores, churches, recreational facilities, and medical centers. Plantation camps, often named for their ethnic inhabitants such as "Portuguese Camp" or "Hawaiian Spanish Village", perpetuated the cultural traditions of each group, which in turn has had a profound influence on modern day Maui.

MAUI'S GOLDEN PINEAPPLE

Historically Maui's second largest industry, pineapple, has also played a large role in forming Maui's modern day landscape. The pineapple industry began on Maui in 1890 with Dwight D. Baldwin's Haiku Fruit and Packing Company on the northeast side of the island. West Maui was also cultivated with pineapple in the early 1900's by Baldwin Packers. Within just thirty years, the pineapple industry grew steadily; by 1930, over 28 percent of Maui's cultivated lands were dedicated to pineapple⁴. Today, Maui Land and Pineapple Company remains as the sole pineapple grower on the island with pineapple fields dotting Maui's landscape.



CATTLE RANCHING AND THE PANIOLO

Hawaii has a strong historical connection to cattle ranching. Hawaii's ranching history began in 1793 when Captain George Vancouver brought cattle from California as a gift for King Kamehameha I. In 1830, King Kamehameha III summoned vaqueros of Mexican, Indian, and Spanish descent from Vera Cruz to teach the Hawaiians how to handle horses and herd cattle. The Hawaiian cowboys, or paniolo, learned herding techniques quickly, and by 1836 bullock hides became a valuable Hawaiian export, second only to sandalwood⁵. As the cattle ranching industry grew on Maui, multiple ranches dominated the less-fertile upper elevation lands that were left uncultivated. Cattle ranching eventually grew into Maui's third largest industry next to sugar and pineapple. With ranches from Maui's past persisting into present day, cattle ranching

⁴ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

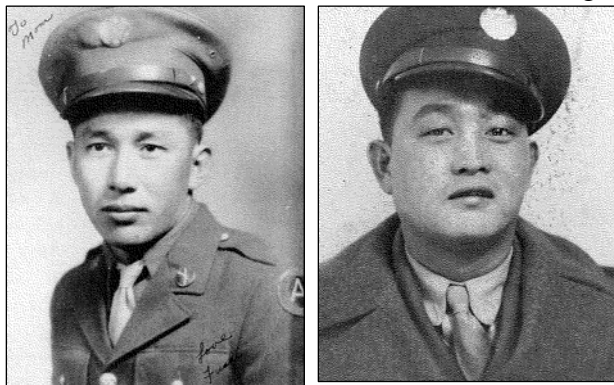
⁵ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

and the paniolo have had a long-lasting effect on the lifestyle and settlement patterns of numerous Maui communities.

1942 – 1950: WORLD WAR II, THE AUTOMOBILE, AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

World War II signified a transition period for Maui. The war brought new immigrants, and most importantly, rapid investment in infrastructure to serve the military. Roads, harbors, and airports were built, dramatically altering the character of Maui and paving the way for future events.

During the war years, the military population on Maui reached approximately 200,000, resulting in soldiers, sailors, and marines outnumbering local residents four to one⁶. The military presence



Barney Hajiro and Kaoru Moto, Maui born Nisei soldiers who served in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, both earned the Medal of Honor.

stretched across the island from the Navy's Demolition Training Station in Kihei to the Fourth Marine Division's Camp Maui in the Kokomo area. Remnants of Maui's military past dot the present day landscape and have left an indelible mark on the island's character.

Much of Maui's ethnically diverse population enlisted and fought in the war, including Japanese Americans. At the conclusion of the war, returning Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) soldiers gained new respect and equality on Maui and in the

United States at large. With the signing of the Servicemember's Readjustment Act (or GI Bill) in 1944, returning soldiers of all ethnicities found themselves eligible for low-interest loans, education, and career training programs funded by the Veterans Administration.

The end of World War II brought about significant change for the sugar and pineapple industries. With rapid mechanization of these industries, rise of unionization, expanding employment opportunities, and growth of private land ownership, plantation camps became a thing of the past. With the camps becoming dilapidated and increasingly expensive to maintain, plantation owners began to look elsewhere for business opportunities.

1950 – 1970: NEW TOWN PLANNING AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE VISITOR INDUSTRY

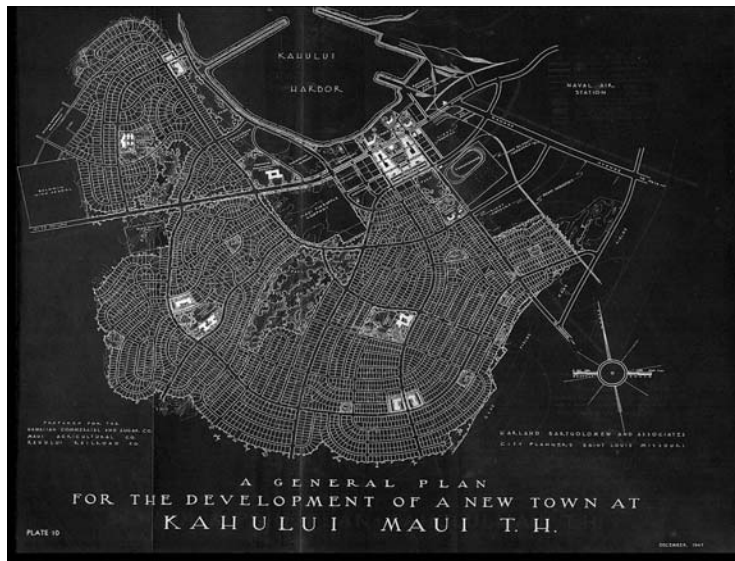
Maui's post-war decades are marked by an economy shift from sugar and pineapple to a new crop: visitors. With the emergence of new towns, resort destination areas, and community

⁶ Bartholomew, Gail. 1994. *Maui Remembers: A Local History*. Mutual Publishing. Honolulu, Hawaii.

planning, Maui began a new chapter in its rich history, which laid the groundwork for the evolution of the present day island.

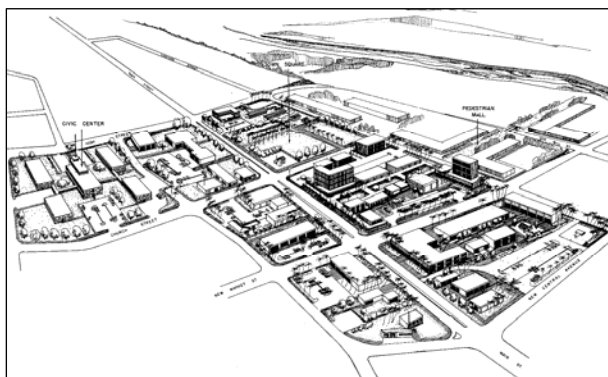
Development of the “Dream City” Kahului in Central Maui

The demand for single family homes was on the rise due to several factors. These include: the increasing prosperity of plantation workers, returning opportunity endowed GIs, mechanization of the sugar industry, and the closure of plantation camps. Such demand gave birth to a new and sustaining market.



Dream City Plan, 1947

HC&S took hold of this market and hired Harlan Bartholomew in 1947 to prepare a master plan for a community on the sugarcane fields surrounding Kahului harbor that would become known as “Dream City”.



Proposed Wailuku Business Area, Community Planning Inc., 1962

This large-scale master planned community offered the means to realizing the growing dream of home ownership for plantation workers and other Maui residents. Beginning in 1950 and continuing to 1963, fee simple house and lot packages were sold at a price ranging from \$6,600 to \$9,200⁷. Over the next two decades, Kahului and Wailuku continued to grow and centralize the island’s population. In 1962, Community Planning Inc. prepared the region’s first general plan. The plan identified Kahului as the dominant trade and service center, with large modern subdivisions and segregation of

⁷ Smith, Wayne. 2005. ‘Dream City’, *Maui Weekly*, 5 May.

land uses, resulting in a “pleasant and appealing community”. On the other hand, Wailuku was identified as a blighted area with dilapidated structures, narrow streets, and incompatible mixed uses, the combination of which was viewed as a “detriment to business and to the livability of the neighborhood”.

The plan made two major recommendations. To address the blighted nature of Wailuku, the plan recommended a complete urban renewal project for the area, that if implemented would have resulted in a drastically different city than we have today. The other key element of the plan, which was implemented and has left a long-lasting impression on the area, was the establishment of a new street pattern that emphasized greater roadway capacity and enhanced vehicular circulation throughout the whole Kahului-Wailuku metropolitan area⁸.

Community planning in Central Maui continued in 1972 with the preparation of a second general plan conducted by Eckbo, Dean, Austin & Williams. The 1972 plan came to many of the same conclusions as its predecessor. The plan also warned of the potential negative affects of current piecemeal planning, and recommended that the County should draft an island-wide general plan. Finally, and most significantly, the plan identified an affordable housing “crisis” and recommended major expansion of residential use in the area through the implementation of two Project Districts⁹. This plan, its predecessor, and the “Dream City” development have all shaped the growth and evolution of the area and marked the modern era of population centralization in the Kahului-Wailuku region.



Kahului, 1950



Kahului, 1977

Rise of Tourism and the Resort Destination Area

With the decline of the sugar and pineapple industries, improvements in all modes of transportation technology, burgeoning Oahu and mainland U.S. economy, and statehood, Maui

⁸ Community Planning, Inc. September 1962. *Urban Planning: Wailuku-Kahului*. Prepared for County of Maui, Traffic and Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

⁹ Eckbo, Dean, Austin & Williams. October 1972. *The Wailuku-Kahului General Plan*. Prepared for County of Maui, Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

lost 24 percent of its population from 1940 to 1960¹⁰. Many residents, particularly younger generations, left Maui in search of employment on Oahu and the mainland. In 1959, the *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui*, prepared by Community Planning Inc., identified two options as potential solutions to reversing the downward population trend. Maui could either expand and diversify its agricultural base, or capture a greater share of Hawaii's tourist industry. Throughout the previous decades, Maui experienced marginal levels of tourism; however, the lack of visitor facilities prevented the growth of the industry. In 1956, Maui attracted only five percent of Hawaii's visitors and received only one percent of their expenditures¹¹.



Shoreline near Makena, 1970s

Inspired by Oahu's success in the tourism industry, local business and political leaders began to plan Maui's tourism future. In 1961, Kaanapali became the first resort destination area in Hawaii, setting a precedent for tourism development statewide. The resort destination area trend continued to grow on Maui with the subsequent development of Wailea and Kapalua.

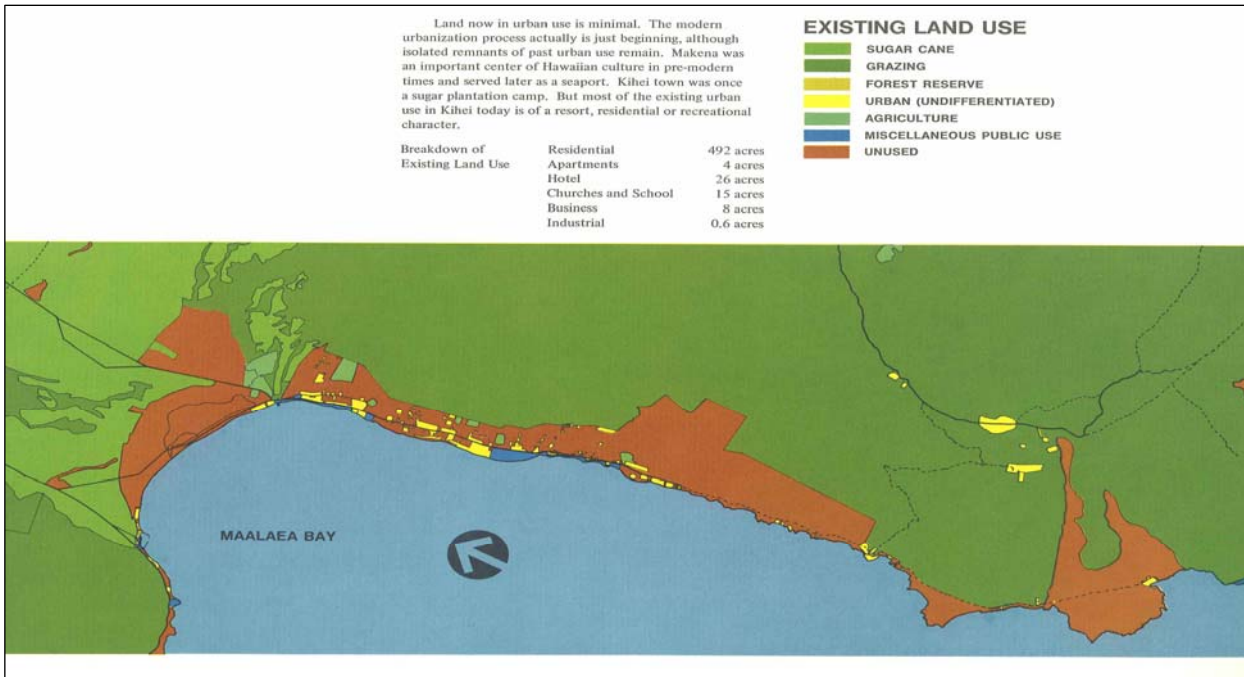
With the birth of the tourist industry, Maui's population and economy began to rebound. Resorts and other visitor services provided employment for Maui's population and attracted new residents. Tourism quickly became the island's strongest industry and has had a notable impact on Maui's population, culture, economics, infrastructure, and land use patterns.

Kihei 701 Plan

With Maui's population and economy growing as a product of the newly established visitor industry, business and political leaders began to look toward the sparsely populated and primarily agricultural Kihei region as the island's next residential, resort, and employment center. In 1970, Maui County planning staff and a consultant jointly prepared the *Kihei Civic Development Plan* to provide a long-range plan to guide development of the region through 1990. The plan was partially funded by an urban planning grant from the Federal government under the provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954.

¹⁰ Community Planning, Inc. and R.M. Towill Corporation. July 1959. *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui*. Prepared for County of Maui, Planning and Traffic Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

¹¹ Community Planning, Inc. and R.M. Towill Corporation. July 1959. *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui*. Prepared for County of Maui, Planning and Traffic Commission. Wailuku, Maui.



Existing Land Use Map, Kihei Civic Development Plan, 1970

The Kihei 701 plan identified the region’s expansive white-sand beaches, spectacular views, mild climate, and vast open space, as ideal characteristics for fostering a mixed community of residents and visitors along Maui’s south shore. With a population of approximately 1,600 in 1970, the region was characterized by diversified agriculture, mauka grazing lands, open space, homestead development, and dirt roads. At this time, only one hotel existed in the region, the Maui Lu, offering 100 visitor units¹². The plan identified this region as significantly underutilized and introduced a future vision for the area. The plan’s vision provided for extensive visitor accommodations and residential units that would transform the region into a massive economic engine.

Key components of the plan have had a long-lasting affect on the Kihei area and Maui at large. These are the design of a linear oriented community dependant on a single roadway and the identification of Wailea as a potential major resort community. The plan proposed a significant amount of development, all feeding onto South Kihei Road, without an infrastructure grid system to support the induced large volume of traffic. This inadequate roadway system coupled with the establishment of a linear pattern of single-use commercial, residential, and hotel zoning across the entire region set the foundations for an automobile-dependant region with transportation problems and urban sprawl conditions.

¹² Kobayashi, Noboru. February 1970. *Kihei Civic Development Plan*. Prepared for Maui County Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

Table II - 2: Kihei Region Population 1970 – 2005

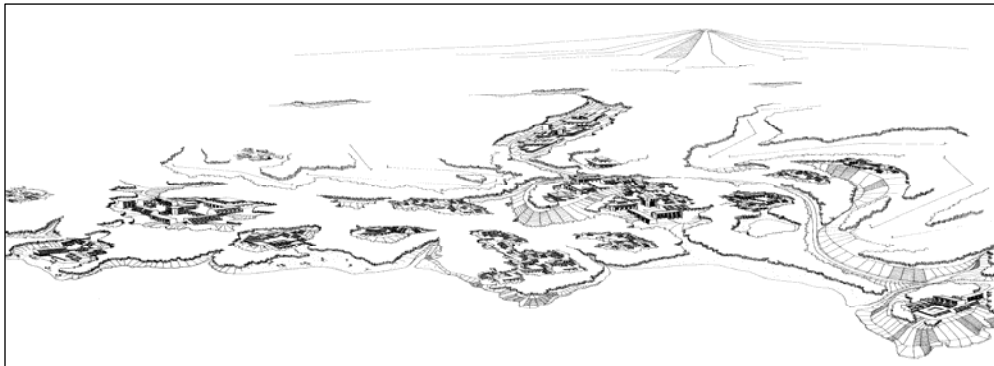
Year	Population ¹³
1970	1,636
1980	7,263
1990	15,365
2005	25,609

With the designation of Wailea as a major resort community, and other hotel and residential land use designations throughout the Kihei region, the 701 plan set the stage for massive real estate speculation and development. Although no population drive existed behind the proposed large-scale regional development, the plan induced mass purchase and development of land that signified the brink of the real estate boom on Maui. The Kihei region experienced rapid growth in the three and a half decades following the plan. By 2005, the population reached over 25,000 and the average daily visitor population neared 20,000¹⁴.

Wailea Concept Drawing, Kihei Civic Development Plan, 1970

1970 – 2000: THE REAL ESTATE BOOM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MAUI LANDSCAPE

The strategic shift from an agricultural based economy to a tourism based economy signified the beginning of the next chapter of Maui’s diverse history. With the growing number of resorts and increased marketing of the island, Maui’s visitor industry grew stronger and the resident population began to rebound. The visitor industry filled the job gap that the mechanization of the sugar industry created. The mass departure of residents greatly slowed and immigration escalated, resulting in a growing demand for housing.



Wailea Concept Drawing, Kihei Civic Development Plan, 1970

¹³ Maui County Planning Department. June 2006. *Socio-Economic Forecast: The Economic Projections for the Maui County General Plan 2030*. Wailuku, Maui.

¹⁴ Maui County Planning Department. June 2006. *Socio-Economic Forecast: The Economic Projections for the Maui County General Plan 2030*. Wailuku, Maui.

The visitor industry experienced a significant surge beginning in the late 1970's and continuing through the early 1990's as a result of off-shore investments. Mainland U.S. and Japanese resort companies viewed Maui's burgeoning visitor industry as a surefire business investment, and began developing large, world-class resorts in Wailea and Kaanapali.



Resort in West Maui, 2005

During this surge of construction, hotel visitor units increased in both Wailea and Kaanapali. The introduction of direct service from Los Angeles to Maui in 1983 by United Airlines also created a key boost for the island's visitor industry. Maui's popularity quickly grew among U.S. vacationers, and in 1993, and for the next 12 consecutive years, *Conde Nast Traveler* voted Maui the "Best Island

in the World", clenching the attention of vacationers across the globe. In 2000, visitor arrivals on Maui surpassed 2,200,000¹⁵. As visitation increased and more people became attracted to the unique qualities of Maui, immigration also steadily grew. Maui's scenic beauty, natural environment, vibrant culture, and strengthening economy drew new residents from other islands, the mainland U.S., and other countries.

As anticipated in early plans, the development of a strong visitor industry proved to greatly enhance Maui's economy and population. Between 1970 and 1990, the island experienced a considerable population increase, virtually erasing the fears caused by the decline in the 1950's and 1960's. This rapid population growth has had a strong impression on the island's racial and age demographics, cultural traditions, lifestyle, and built environment.

Table II - 3: Maui's Population 1960 – 2000

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population¹⁶</u>	<u>% Change</u>
1960	35,717	-
1970	38,691	8
1980	62,823	62
1990	91,361	45
2000	117,644	23

As Maui's population grew, so did the urban footprint on the island's landscape. Settlement patterns expanded rapidly, spreading out from existing population centers. Maui began to experience "planned urban sprawl" as agricultural and rural lands were released in a contiguous manner of urbanization. Central, South, and West Maui have grown significantly in the last

¹⁵ Maui County Planning Department. June 2006. *Socio-Economic Forecast: The Economic Projections for the Maui County General Plan 2030*. Wailuku, Maui.

¹⁶ State of Hawaii, Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism. 2005. *The State of Hawaii Data Book*. Honolulu, Hawaii.

three decades with the birth of new subdivisions and visitor accommodations. With the steadily increasing demand for housing, home prices have risen dramatically, out-pricing many local families and creating a pressing need for affordable housing.

Upcountry Maui has also been impacted by the increasing population. The region's cool climate, rural setting, and spectacular views make for a desirable place to live. As a result, the area has experienced growth in the residential market since the 1970's. In particular, the traditionally agricultural Kula area has experienced growth in rural residential development, gentleman estates, and real estate speculation. The gradual urbanization of Upcountry has led to multiple challenges including incompatible land uses, water shortages during periods of prolonged drought, and a loss of the areas traditional rural character.

2000 – 2030: GUIDING MAUI'S FUTURE; CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Studying the past provides us with an understanding of the decisions and actions that have led to current challenges and opportunities, and allows for better decision making as we charter a preferred future. Maui is blessed by a vibrant host culture, an ethnically diverse population, unique native ecosystems and species, and spectacular scenic beauty. However, the rapidly growing resident and visitor population, together with the subsequent development this growth brings, would jeopardize Maui's unique identity. Strategic steps should be taken to plan for this growth. Residents' quality of life and the vitality of the visitor industry depend on long-range planning that balances growth with community and environmental needs.

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