Archaeological and Cultural Impact Assessment of Cultural Resources at Kahului Harbor

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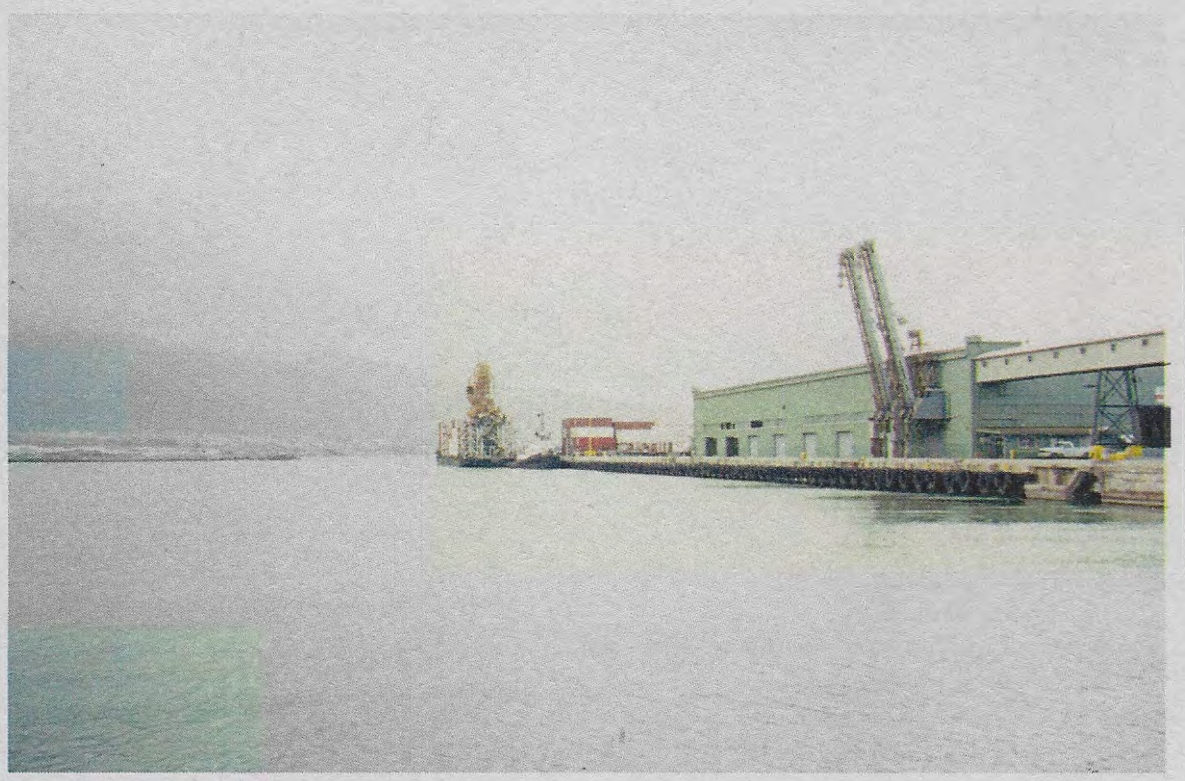

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II. KAHULUI HARBOR—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the traditional era, Kahului Bay formed part of Maui's prosperous Na Wai 'Eha region; today it is the site of Hawai'i's second-most-important industrial port. Kahului Harbor's development could be seen as the story of how two key Territorial-era industries, transportation and plantation agriculture, brought each other to prosperity. The port's most rapid expansion took place during the first three decades of the 20th century, but it continues to play a part in Maui's commercial and industrial growth.

During the reign of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, a village of 26 pili grass houses graced the Kahului shoreline. A century and a decade later, a showcase of post-World War II urban planning spread inland from the same shore. Through tidal wave, plague, fire, political upheaval, industrialization, and spasms of civic improvement, Kahului was frequently and energetically reborn. Throughout the process, but especially from 1900-1931, town fathers doggedly built up the harbor—each milestone (a new wharf, a deeper channel) celebrated with one anxious eye on the next pressing need.

Kahului, dwarfed by its neighbor Wailuku and long outshone as a port by Lahaina, grew in the 20th century into the second most important harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, with a port infrastructure that sometimes surpassed even Honolulu's in sophistication. One could see that process as the result of tidal forces of industrial growth, but one could almost as easily see it as the brainchild of one man—Henry Perrine Baldwin, key owner of the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company and its subsidiary, the Kahului Railroad Company. The railroad funded the first 10 years of intensive harbor construction, and was one of the main government contractors thereafter. The company also owned much of the land under Kahului town and kept a firm grip on its development.

BEFORE SUGAR

Written sources leave behind little more than random snapshots of the traditional Hawaiian era and the early years of foreign contact. Kahului—whose name probably means "the winning"[1] (Pukui et al. 1974:67)—is located on the north coast of the Wailuku *ahupua'a* on the Maui isthmus. Its once dry and sandy hinterlands merged toward the northwest with an extraordinarily fertile area traditionally called Na Wai 'Eha or "the four waters," after four streams of windward West Maui: Waikapū, Wailuku, Waiehu, and Waihe'e (Handy and Handy 1972:496).

Na Wai 'Eha was one of Maui's most productive agricultural areas and home to one of its two major population centers. The bay was a rich source of seafood, with a major fishpond—actually two adjacent ponds, named Kanahā and Mau'oni—near its eastern shore. The Kahului shore was once lined with coconut trees (Tomonari-Tuggle and Welch 1995:13).

The area around Kahului Harbor was likely a Hawaiian settlement during prehistoric times, probably a village primarily of fishermen who would have used the shore of the bay to launch their fishing canoes and collect shellfish from the coastal flats. This way of life continued into the early historic

[1] "Winning" here probably carries the sense of "prize" or "spoils," not of the act of victory itself.

period. Based on the account of a native Hawaiian of "considerable age," a writer at the turn of the century described the area (*Paradise of the Pacific*, September 1900, in Silva n.d.:10):

> The shores of Kahului harbor, from Waihee Point to Haiku, were surrounded with the grass huts of the fishermen and of those connected with the innumerable war canoes of the king. Myriads of cocoanut trees lined the beach from Kahakuloa to Wailuku.

Archaeological sites uncovered near Kahului Harbor support this documentation. Cultural deposits (Sites 3119, 3120, 5070) and buried human remains (Sites 3139, 3120, 4211, 5071, 4211) have been found within the beach sand.

Each of the four regions of Na Wai 'Eha had its own special breeze; Wailuku's was named Makani-lawe-malie or "the wind that takes it easy" (Sterling 1998:62). The names of the four streams that define the region are said to have less peaceful meanings, recalling past battles. One of the meanings attributed to Wailuku is "water of destruction," after a legendary battle where men fought with owls (Sterling 1998:63, 74).

Around 1781 chief Kahekili of Maui (who had a residence, Kalanihale, at Wailuku) was attacked by the Big Island chief Kalaniopu'u, whose forces pushed north from Mā'alea Bay on Maui's south shore, but were repulsed at Wailuku.

As tensions rose before the invasion, both chiefs had built *heiau* (temples) to enlist their war gods' support. Kalaniopu'u relied on crack troops called the Alapa and Pi'ipi'i, and Kahekili commanded "chiefs, fighting men, and left-handed warriors whose slingshots missed not a hair of the head or a blade of grass." Kalaniopu'u's men took heavy casualties in two stunning defeats—both likened to schools of mullet being lured or chased into a pond—before he gave up the invasion (Kamakau 1992:85-87).

Nine years later an even more famous attack on Kahekili—led by Kamehameha the Great, who had begun his campaign to consolidate the islands under his own rule—began with a landing at Kahului. Kamehameha's huge fleet of war canoes, some with swivel guns mounted, is said to have filled the bay. A cannon named Lopaka and two trusted foreign advisors, John Young and Isaac Davis, were key to Kamehameha's victory; "[h]ad they fought face-to-face and hand-to-hand, as was the custom," Kamakau asserts (1992:148), "they would have been equally matched." Two days of fierce fighting later, Kamehameha had chased Kahekili's troops up 'Īao Valley to defeat. The valley's red-stained waters became choked with the bodies of fallen warriors; the battle is remembered as Kepaniwai or "the damming of the waters" (Sterling 1998:81, Speakman 1987:53, Clark 1989:7, Bartholomew 1994:5, Kamakau 1992:148-149). "There was great slaughter, but mostly among commoners," Kamakau (1992:148) remarks of the battle. It was a rout for the Maui king, but not a permanent one. Kamehameha would have to fight for Maui again.

Early in the 19th century those wars ended and by mid-century Maui was already home to a handful of foreigners. But a visitor touring the isthmus' north shore on his way to Haleakalā (Gorham 1843:16) could still pick out the site of old battles by the scattered bones and skulls visible on the surface—remnants, he believed, of Kamehameha's campaign.

The lush region was the setting for scenes not only of war but of peace and reconciliation. After Kalaniopu'u's 1781 defeat, there was some bickering among his court about who should be sent to sue for peace. His wife Kalola was a sister of the victorious Kahekili, but she refused to lead the peace party (Kamakau 1992:88), saying,

> It will not do any good for me to go, for we came to deal death. If we had come offering love we should have been received with affection. I can do nothing.

In the end, the elite chief Kiwala'o led the peace mission, his sacred status so high that even the troops of the winning side had to fall to the ground as he passed by. Once they reached Kahekili in Wailuku, the messengers who came with Kiwala'o begged, "grant us our lives." As Kamakau tells it, Kahekili was quick to reconcile, saying

> There is no death to be dealt out here. Let live! Let the battle cease. ... Take the fish of Kanahā and Mau'oni and the vegetable food of Nawaieha...

to the camp of the defeated where his sister waited (Kamakau 1992:88)—giving voice to his generosity in victory as well as to the natural abundance of his home region.

Kahului is also remembered as the site of a peaceful meeting between the 16th century chiefs Keawe-nui-a-'Umi of Hawai'i and Kiha-a-Pi'ilani of Maui (Kamakau 1992:42). In peaceful times, the nearby waters off Wailuku were a favorite surfing spot for the chiefs (Tomonari-Tuggle and Welch 1995:15).[2]

Just east of Kahului Harbor are the remnants of Kanahā fishpond, now a wildlife refuge. The pond may have been built as early as the 1500s with renovations in the 1700s (Tomonari-Tuggle and Welch 1995:15-16). Kanahā was separated from another fishpond, Mau'oni, by a dividing wall. The building of the ponds has been attributed to the early 16th century Maui chief Kiha-a-pi'ilani (Pukui et al. 1974:83, Sterling 1998:88)—the same chief who, with his father, Pi'ilani, is said to have built the Alaloa or long road encircling Maui (Duensing 1998:xiii). But they might also have been built by the 18th century chief Kapi'ioho'okalani (Bartholomew 1994:132, Sterling 1998:87-88).

The latter version[3] relates a stirring adventure that calls up echoes of another island's legendary warriors: King Arthur and his knights. In this case, however, the hero of the quest is a young O'ahu chiefess of high and sacred rank. Her father, Kapi'ioho'okalani, ruled O'ahu and half of Moloka'i and was related to Maui *ali'i* (royalty) as well. He began to build the fishponds but was killed in battle; the Maui king Kamehamehanui continued his work, placing a very strict *kapu* (taboo) on the dividing wall between the two ponds.

Meanwhile, the dead king's daughter, Kahamaluihi, whose home was on O'ahu, traveled to Maui to find her brother, Kanahaokalani. The sacred young chiefess traveled incognito through Maui, and had a number of adventures, including marriage, as she continued to search for her brother. When she arrived near the fishponds her dead father had begun, a crowd had gathered to greet Kamehamehanui, who was approaching in a grand procession. As the king drew near, Kahamaluihi stripped off her *pā'ū* (skirt) and stepped onto the *kapu* center wall between the fishponds. "Around her waist was flying the *pola* [flap] of a white *malo* called the *malo kea*.[4]" The crowd waited in shock to see what punishment the audacious young woman (who had still not revealed her identity) would receive. But the king recognized her and embraced her, saying "I have mourned for you; welcome, cousin," and acknowledged the high rank that

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[2] Tomonari-Tuggle and Welch cite Kamakau and I'i in giving the following names for chiefly surfing spots: Kehu, Ka'akau, Kaleholeho, Kaakau-pohaku, Paukukalo.

[3] For this version of the story, Sterling drew on 1923 interview notes in the Bishop Museum's anthropology collection. The story was given to a researcher by Puea-a-Makakanallii, Mrs. Rosalie Blaisdell, in 1923.

[4] According to Pukui and Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary*, the *malo kea* is "an epithet for a female priest enjoying masculine privileges and exemption from female taboos."

entitled her to tread on the wall where he had placed a *kapu*. Kamehamehanui invited Kahamaluihi to name the fishponds. She named the one closer to the sea Kanahā, in honor of her brother, and the one inland Mau'oni—the alias under which she had traveled in disguise.

A visitor traveling east from Wailuku in 1843 described "a small fresh or brackish water a few rods only from the sea"—possibly the remnants of Kanahā or Mau'oni. He remarked that cattle drank from it and sometimes people used the water too, as "mountain water is some miles off"; at the nearby seashore he saw fishermen at work, fish nets drying, and a few cottages (Gorham 1843:15-16).

Kanahā and Mau'oni provided Hawaiians with mullet during seasons when ocean fishing was *kapu*. The pond was fed by freshwater streams and also had an outlet to the sea; mullet were seen there into the early 1900s. Eventually, dredge materials from Kahului Harbor filled in part of the pond and blocked its outlet to the sea (Bartholomew 1994:132); sadly, by 1907 the "stench from Kanaha pond" was listed as one of the main drawbacks of Kahului's location (*Maui News* December 31, 1947:38).

Before the Europeans came, Na Wai 'Eha contained the "largest continuous region of wet taro cultivation in Hawai'i" and supported the second largest population center on Maui (Bartholomew 1994:127). This concentration of human strength and natural abundance has been suggested as one reason for Maui's success in pre-contact power struggles, greater than might be expected from the island's relative size (Duensing 1998:xiii). But as shipboard diseases swept the islands, "all areas except Lahaina were devastated" (Bartholomew 1994:28). A time-limited search of the archives turned up no details on the fate of the once-thriving Hawaiian community of Na Wai 'Eha.

In 1837 the missionary Richard Armstrong, stationed at Wailuku, described in his journal a tidal wave that wiped out a village of 26 grass houses on the Kahului shore. Strong swimming and quick thinking enabled all but two of the villagers to survive—Armstrong wrote admiringly of the rescue work he witnessed or heard about—but the villagers' homes and belongings were swept inland and smashed into a small lake, possibly Kanahā fishpond.[5]

During the mid-19th century Great Mahele,[6] the *ali'i nui* Victoria Kamāmalu was granted most of the lands around the harbor. In 1876 Kepoikai, the father of Senator A.N. Kepoikai of Wailuku, lived on the beach toward the Wailuku end and owned the fishing right at Kahului (*Maui News* March 3, 1900:2). Numerous smaller grants were parceled out farther inland and westward during the Mahele (Jackson 1881, Unknown 1881), but not within the area under study here.

Hawaiians were among the residents of the impoverished, crowded Chinatown neighborhood that was burned down during Kahului's bubonic plague scare in 1900. Other than that, the original inhabitants of this part of Na Wai 'Eha seem to have left little trace in the written records of the bustling port community that replaced them. It would be tempting to think of that 1837 grass-house village as the precursor to modern Kahului. But only a lengthy and detailed search of archival and Hawaiian-language sources could uncover whether any link between the two exists.

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[5] Armstrong's journal entry for that event was reprinted by the *Maui News* in 1937 for a today-in-history column. Given time constraints it was not possible to find the original document or journal entries for the days and weeks after the event.

[6] This was the legal process, initiated in 1845, that turned Hawai'i's traditional land system into a system of European-style fee-simple ownership.

CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY

A Chinese man built the first sugar enterprise on Maui, a mill at Wailuku, in 1823; an early rum distillery was put out of business after missionaries complained to Hawai'i's powerful queen and regent, Ka'ahumanu (Best 1978:29). Small sugar plantations sprang up after that in the area around Kahului Bay. But it took foreign access to land ownership after the Great Mahele—and the 1876 reciprocity treaty with the United States (which guaranteed a better American market for Hawai'i sugar)—to turn the crop into a major focus of the Hawaiian economy.

Sugar cane is a thirsty crop, and its growth in the hinterlands of Kahului expanded rapidly after Claus Spreckels and Henry Baldwin acquired land and water rights and built the Hāmākua and Spreckels "ditches" to irrigate the once-arid region. For a century that gloried in industrial progress, these engineering marvels stretching across rugged, gorge-crossed terrain were monumental achievements indeed. As Osorio points out (2002:185), we know too little to say what effect this irrigation system had on the lands where the water originated and the people who lived there.

In 1878, through his friendship with King Kalākaua, Claus Spreckels secured a lease of 40,000 acres of land, among which was a portion of Wailuku *ahupua'a*. In 1882, he acquired fee simple title to all of the *ahupua'a* through Grant 3343 (Kennedy et al. 1992a:12). That same year, Spreckels founded the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company (HC&S), which quickly became the largest and best-equipped sugar plantation in the islands (Kuykendall 1967:60). The Spreckelsville Mill, actually four mills in one complex, was located just to the northeast of the present Kahului Airport, near the intersection of Old Stable Road and Hana Highway.

Maui sugar growers had to move their product to market, often across similarly rugged land. Some tried to ship directly from small docks on their property, but that was a dangerous process and a number of ships were lost. The open roadstead at Lahaina offered little shelter (Bartholomew 1994:79-80). As the need for better port facilities grew, Kahului Bay began its metamorphosis into a deep-draft international harbor. The port, the sugar plantations, and the railroad helped each other grow from modest beginnings into major Maui industries.

Railroads were coming into being across the islands; Hawaiians soon invented a word for the new mode of transportation: *ka'a ahi* or "fire wagon" (Bartholomew 1994:79). Kahului Railroad built its first line from a starting point on the beach at Kahului (Best 1978:14), where the company's headquarters were also located (Clark 1989:7), to Wailuku; its first locomotive was named after Queen Emma. It was built by Thomas Hobron, a former sea captain turned merchant (Clark 1989:7), who already owned both trans-Pacific and inter-island shipping lines (Hungerford 1963:71). Even before the line to Wailuku was finished, a portion of it opened for business on Monday, July 21, 1879, the Hawaiian Gazette reported a week later, carrying 14 tons of freight and 150 passengers a day.

Within a year of its founding the railroad had built an engine house, yards and a station at Kahului; most of the construction was of wood. The terminus continued to grow rapidly (Best 1978:31). After the Kahului-Wailuku track was laid, the narrow-gauge railroad expanded eastward to Ha'iku and beyond, building tall, "spidery" trestles to cross the deep gorges (Hungerford 1963:69) in another marvel of Victorian engineering. Shipping magnate Samuel G. Wilder acquired the railroad in 1884; and in turn sold it in 1899 to a group of businessmen led by Baldwin.

THE TOWN

The beginnings of the city of Kahului are imperfectly known; a key player in the town's early development—the Kahului Railroad Company—lost its early records in the tidal wave of 1946 (Best 1978:29); and the *Maui News* did not begin publication until 1900.

Kahului town got its start in the 1860s as a supplier to neighboring Wailuku; shipping soon became its major focus. By the end of the 19th century it had a warehouse, stores, wheelwright and blacksmith shops, a custom house, a saloon, and Chinese restaurants (Bartholomew 1994:132).

The *Maui News* recalled in a turn-of-the-century retrospective that the very first western-style building was a warehouse built by Thomas Hogan near the beach in 1863; a business known as Kimble's store went up in the same area a decade later; and in 1876, William Goodness built and ran a wheelwright/blacksmith shop "just back of where the Kahului Saloon [which moved to Wailuku after the 1900 bubonic plague] recently stood." That same year, a tidal wave flooded the town and "covered the whole flat back of Kahului." By 1879, there was a small landing for the use of sugar planters (Clark 1989:7) and a new custom house was built in 1882 (*Maui News* March 3, 1900:2). By 1900, Kahului town covered 20 acres of flat and poorly drained land along the shore (*Maui News* March 3, 1900:2).

Several events came together around 1900 to accelerate Kahului's development. Hawai'i became a United States territory in 1898. Baldwin and his associates bought the railroad and began making plans for the port. And the bubonic plague swept through the Hawaiian Islands at the turn of the century, taking 70 lives (Kuykendall and Day 1961:190) including several in Kahului.

The plague struck Honolulu, the hardest-hit Hawaiian city, in December 1899; the first suspicious death in Kahului was that of Ah Tong, a "wash house Chinaman," who died on February 4, 1900. It was several more days before a case developed with clear symptoms of the plague. When it did, Sheriff Baldwin quarantined the city, an order that was soon backed up by the Board of Health, and ordered a detention camp set up at the Kahului racetrack.

By Monday the 12th, the camp was ready. "Over 200 Chinese, [Japanese] and natives were fumigated and dressed in new suits, and at two o'clock the procession quickly moved out to their new quarters," the then-weekly *News* reported on February 17. Their old neighborhood—from the Kahului saloon to the custom house—was immediately dynamited and burned. The breeze was blowing from the sea, which helped keep the blaze contained. Frightened Chinese in neighboring Wailuku asked a missionary to help them store their meager possessions, in case the same thing happened to them (Turner 1920:9)—but Wailuku was spared.

The last plague victim in Kahului appears to have been Miss Julia English, sister of the harbor pilot, who died less than a month after Ah Tong. Authorities seemed confident that she would be the last casualty, although dead rats carrying the plague were still found occasionally.[7]

A proposal to burn down the entire town of Kahului gained serious support—including from the Wailuku-based *Maui News* (March 3 and 10, 1900). In the end, a less drastic measure was chosen.

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[7] Oddly, the quarantine of Kahului doesn't seem to have begun until well into March, the month after the last victim apparently died. The purpose of burning was to exterminate rats, which were known to spread the disease, although the full mechanism of contagion was not yet understood.

Kahului was surrounded by a rat-proof corrugated iron wall;[8] residents moved to temporary housing outside the town limits; and no one was allowed inside the wall except for the rat-catchers. Moving these more well-to-do residents took a little longer: It wasn't until March 24 that the *News* announced, "Kahului is now without a resident." By that date, the last plague-infested rat corpse had also been found. Near the harbor, some industrial buildings were renovated in an attempt to dig out the last of the contamination.

A quick search of the records found conflicting indications of when the Kahului quarantine was completely, officially lifted. Once the worst was over, concern seems to have waned gradually as other events competed for public attention. By early May at the latest, the crisis was clearly over (*Maui News* May 5, 1900).[9]

Camp Wood, where the Chinatowners had been quarantined, was kept open as housing for plantation workers (*Maui News* July 28, 1900:3). Cheerful reports of the former internees' clean little homes and promising new jobs alternated with fund-raising appeals for the destitute; it's not clear how many quarantine survivors fit into which category. A Wailuku missionary recorded that as soon as the quarantine was lifted, hundreds of people "of various nationalities flocked to Wailuku, in need of food, and clothing. A very forlorn lot, having lost their all by the burning of their homes" (Turner 1920:9).

By July 19, 1900 the *News* was cheerfully reporting that "[i]t seems quite like old times at Kahului once more. The rat proof fences have all been taken down ... Business is booming, and there is the making of a live little town, if," the newspaper qualified, "the owner will permit it." Ownership of the land underneath the town and harbor was still highly centralized. As the newspaper had described it near the end of the plague crisis (April 28, 1900):

> At present, Kahului is nothing more than a private store, wharf, and railroad of the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company, who practically own all the town.[10]

The newspaper called on the company to build workshops and stores and then offer them for sale or lease in order to attract a diverse business community. HC&S would soon come forward with its own vision for municipal growth, but Kahului would remain a one-owner town for a long time to come.

The real metamorphosis for the city began seven years later, in 1907, when a cycle of long-term leases came up for renewal. Baldwin and his associates took the opportunity to push for an early version of urban renewal.

On June 8, 1907 the *News* reported, "The Kahului Railroad Company is filling in the low lands in and about Kahului and will in time raise the level of the entire town site." It was hoped this would help

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[8] Inside the fence on the east side of town were a lumber yard, the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company store, various warehouses, and the Kirkland, Church and Filler residences. From there the wall ran parallel to the Wailuku road, to a spot near the detention camp, from where it extended to the beach, leaving a cottage belonging to a Mr. Ball outside the quarantine (*Maui News* March 10, 1900:3). Unfortunately, no map found to date is detailed enough to pinpoint these exact spots. A man by the last name of Ball was manager of the Kahului Saloon, which moved to Wailuku near the end of the plague crisis.

[9] Kahului seems to have learned from its plague experience. In 1911 diphtheria, scarlet fever, and smallpox swept through nearby towns on Maui, but Kahului implemented house-to-house inspections and escaped without a casualty (*Maui News* December 31, 1947). Twenty years later, the Territory passed new plague regulations and inspected all its harbors for compliance; Kahului Harbor got high marks for both work procedures and physical facilities (*Maui News* July 23, 1932).

[10] At that point, Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company had only recently passed into the hands of Baldwin and his associates.

with the mosquito problem. The town's other problems included an insufficient water supply and sewage system (*Maui News*, December 31, 1947:38); these had been among the reasons for the frequent calls, during the plague, for burning down the town and relocating it on healthier ground inland.

The company met with its leaseholders on June 13, 1907, asking them to surrender their leases. New lots were being laid out "in the most modern lines" (*Maui News* June 15, 1907:1); when this process was complete, tenants would have to reapply for leases. By October, work was well underway, the *News* reported on the 5th: "Buildings have been removed and Pu'unēnē Avenue now extends to the sea"; the harbor was being dredged and "the beach lots have all been staked out." The lots would be offered in pre-paid, long-term leases; the company still held on to control of the land.

A generation later, a "land expert" touring Maui in 1930 apparently had nothing but praise for the way Kahului town was run—by the Kahului Railroad Company, which still owned almost all the land under the business district. "As soon as leases expire, the owners must replace old structures with new ones in accordance with specifications approved by manager William Walsh of the Kahului Railroad Co.," the *News* explained. The land expert, C.L. Mattfeldt, also gave the company high marks for its emphasis on fire safety, "parks, beauty, civic pride," and sanitation, and noted that leases seemed to be based on the tenant's ability to pay. "The town is under the absolute control of Mr. William Walsh, who instead of being autocratic is the most popular and best liked man in Kahului!" the expert and the newspaper enthused. The railroad company kept a private police force in Kahului, to supplement the public force's efforts to preserve order (*Maui News* May 7 and 10, 1930).

Early in World War II Kahului was shelled, twice, from enemy submarines in the bay. The first attack, at dusk on December 15, 1941, was recorded on Maui in thick black headlines:

SUB SHELLS KAHULUI! *DAMAGE SLIGHT No Injuries*

Two shells fell harmlessly into the harbor. Four rounds hit the Maui Pineapple Company cannery, doing some damage to the roof and smokestack. One fell on the driveway of the Maui Vocational School, another in a waste lumber pile on Pier 1, and one broke a few windows at the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer building. None of the damage was considered major. Some frightened Kahului residents started to flee, but police and Boy Scouts persuaded them to return home (Allen 1950:59, *Honolulu Star Bulletin* December 16, 1941, *Maui News* December 17, 1941).

The second attack on Kahului, on December 31, took place after General Order No. 14 established wartime censorship in Hawai'i and therefore received limited coverage (Maui Historical Society 1992:1). The *News* did, however, mention in its first edition of 1942 that Maui police, navy and marine forces, as well as "HC&S Co. cowboys," were patrolling on horseback to prevent looting. The death toll from the attacks: one unfortunate chicken (Bartholomew 1994:149).

Though Kahului Harbor remained relatively unscathed, men did lose their lives at sea near Maui during the war—including four who died during an attack on the Matson freighter *Lahaina* and 24 when the Army transport *Royal T. Frank* came under fire (Bartholomew 1994:149).

Maui saw extensive construction to accommodate U.S. military needs during World War II—including naval air stations at Kahului and Pu'unēnē and the huge Camp Maui on the slopes of Haleakalā—but apparently very little at the harbor itself. The Army, Navy, and Marines trained "all over the island" (Bartholomew 1994:146); the Marines seem to have found a special place in the hearts of the islanders, who christened them "Maui's own." When the Marines Fourth Division returned to the island

after their victory at Iwo Jima, "the Maui community turned out en masse at Kahului Harbor to welcome their warriors home" (Bartholomew 1994:146-147).

THE HARBOR

A number of ports on Maui developed before Kahului, with a variety of wharves and landings. However, Kahului was the first Maui port with a structure to which ships could directly moor, rather than anchoring offshore and transferring their freight and passengers by lighter (Rush 1957:41).

Early construction on Kahului Bay included a scattering of buildings, early railroad facilities, at least one wharf, an "unfinished jetty" noted in 1881, and a "fishery" (Monsarrat 1879; Jackson 1881; Howell 1896) (Figs. 3. and 4, Photo 1). But as noted earlier, development of the harbor began in earnest under Baldwin's leadership just after the turn of the century. Railroad and port depended on each other to provide service to the merchants of the port town and the plantations around it. As the railroad expanded eastward, the harbor grew to accommodate ever larger and deeper-draft vessels; its most intense period of development would cover the first three decades of the 20th century.

In its original condition, the bay was exposed to the prevailing northeast trade winds and to the occasional severe storm coming directly from the north (Clare and Morrow 1930:73). A high priority at the turn of the century was a breakwater to slow the heavy seas entering the harbor from the northeast. Baldwin's Kahului Railroad Company built the original eastern breakwater on top of the eastern reef, which already gave the bay some natural protection (Williams 1909:130). At first they used huge rocks cleared from the canefields; later, a company quarry supplied the project. The company also dredged the harbor and built a wharf, moorings, and buoys (Hungerford 1963:20, *Maui News* December 12, 1931).

By mid 1900, plans were afoot to rebuild the harbor and downtown areas—enlarging two (apparently already existing) wharves, building new depots and workshops, and erecting a new hotel near the wharf. "There will be a lower and upper balcony extending around three sides of the hotel, and the side next to the sea will extend out into the water, supported on piles," the *Maui News* reported, continuing in a burst of post-plague optimism: "No more shanties are to be built at Kahului, but neat and commodious cottages will be erected as needed."

The hotel was under construction by November, and the "old wharf" was renovated and lengthened (*Maui News* July 28, November 3 and November 10, 1900). Baldwin hired an engineer to survey the harbor in 1901, and asked the pilots and captains that worked for him to record tides, winds and currents to have the information ready when the time for building came (*Maui News* August 23 and December 12, 1931). Work on the breakwater began in 1905 (*Maui News* December 12, 1931). By 1908 the company had built two small wharves (Rush 1957:41, Nakayama 1987:108). Early harbor development apparently did not spoil the beauty of the bay—a 1910 article called it "bathing of the best and a splendid beach" (Clark 1989:7).

By 1910 the harbor (Fig. 5) had reached a number of milestones—an 1,800-foot breakwater protected the harbor from the eastern side, and on it stood a 40-foot-tall lighthouse; the harbor had been dredged, and the new 200-foot pile-and-timber Claudine Wharf could accommodate vessels with up to 25-foot draft.[11]

[11] Russian workmen contributed greatly to the building of the Claudine Wharf, the *Maui News* reminisced in a 1947 retrospective (December 31:38). The Russians "proved to be good workers but of wandering disposition," the *News* recalled, many leaving for San Francisco and others for the drinking life.

But repeated problems such as storm damage to the breakwater led to increasing conviction that harbor development was a task too big for any one company to handle. The federal government took over responsibility for the harbor itself in 1910; the territorial government later took charge of the wharves; but the Kahului Railroad Company remained in the picture as a major building contractor.

Construction of a western breakwater began in 1917 (see Fig. 5); five years later, work began on a long-awaited new wharf to accommodate larger vessels (Photo 2). Pier 1, as it was called, went up along the eastern breakwater. The 500-foot-long concrete structure was turned over to the Territory of Hawaii in August 1923.

The freight conveyor system it needed in order to be truly effective was not finished until later; but a festive visit by the Matson steam liner *Maui*, carrying an excursion party from the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in October 1923, celebrated its opening. The vessel docked smoothly in spite of rough weather; passengers had to walk about 1,000 feet to the waiting cars because the roadway approach was still under construction, but nobody seemed to mind. In a major boon for the harbor, the Los Angeles Steamship Company announced in the summer of 1924 that it would make the new pier at Kahului a regular stop for two of its steamers, the *City of Los Angeles* and the *Calawaii.*

The first visit of the *City of Los Angeles* was a public relations disaster for the harbor and its new wharf. Carrying 112 passengers, the liner arrived on July 28 in a stiff wind and had a terrible time maneuvering its way to the dock and mooring securely—in spite of help from two local vessels, the *Leslie Baldwin* and the *Makaiwa.* Eventually, the cruise ship's passengers had to be taken off by small boat and landed, humiliatingly enough, on the old Claudine Wharf. The last passengers got to shore around 5 p.m., which didn't leave much time for sightseeing. It took the *City of Los Angeles* three and a half hours to dock, with all the help the harbor could provide. Leaving the next day, the ship fouled its anchor on old steel cables lying on the harbor floor, fouled its propeller on a buoy, and hit a sandbar on the way out of the harbor. The harbor floor was "disordered," fumed Captain Paulson, who refused to use the dock again.

Two weeks later the somewhat smaller *Calawaii,* arriving in better weather and piloted by Kahului harbormaster E.H. Parker, docked without problems—as a crowd watched in suspense from the shore. Two weeks later, Parker brought the *City of Los Angeles* in without a problem, too, despite a "usually stiff trade wind blowing broadside on" (*Maui News* July 30, August 13, and August 27, 1924).

By the end of 1924, the harbor was becoming congested and the nearly new Pier 1 was already being labeled "inadequate" by the business community (*Maui News* December 20, 1924). Freight was piling up on the wharves, the Claudine Wharf was becoming increasingly unsafe but remained in use, and the planned opening of a new cannery promised to bring even more pressure—and opportunity—to the harbor. The *City of Los Angeles* continued to periodically call off visits to the port due to safety issues; and steamers were lining up at sea waiting for a chance to unload their freight.

The Claudine Wharf was less than 15 years old and the new Pier 1 was scarcely broken in, but already commerce was outstripping the harbor's ability to accommodate it. In 1927, the railroad company's manager, William Walsh, called the Claudine "dangerous to life and property" (*Maui News* March 27, 1927) and complained that Maui was losing business because of the harbor's inadequacies. Two months later, the Claudine was demolished; it had apparently remained in use up to the end, in spite of its hazardous condition.

A new, larger wharf (Pier 2) was already under construction, being built from the sea end in toward shore. It stood in approximately the same place as the Claudine Wharf, but extended farther out to

sea; because its construction began at the seaward end, both old and new structures existed side by side for awhile.

The new wharf's first official customer was the *Mauna Kea* on December 2, 1927; but impatient customers had for some time already been dumping their freight on the unfinished structure and going back across the harbor to complete their paperwork. Two years later, Pier 1—the original deep-draft structure, built along the eastern breakwater—was extended to double its original length. By 1930, although improvements were still incomplete, the congestion had eased. The *News* ran the headline *Pilikia Pau* (the trouble is over) over its report that the harbor, dredged to a minimum depth of 35 feet and a maximum width of 1,455, was now safe for larger vessels; that the two new piers could accommodate two ocean liners, an oil boat, inter-island steamers and lumber carriers; and that a freight conveyor system was planned for the Pier 1 extension, similar to the one that already existed on the first half of the pier.

By August 1931, the *News* was celebrating the successful end of 30 years of harbor development—a well dredged harbor; one pier for large vessels, with the most sophisticated freight handling system in the Islands, a smaller pier for inter-island vessels, and in between "abundant anchorage for sampans and the mosquito fleet" (Fig. 6). On September 16, the paper reported with pride and excitement, the harbor coped smoothly with its busiest day ever, moving five ships in and out right on time with "no interruption, no hurry or flurry," only "ordered activity." By December, the crowning touch: Both east and west breakwaters were repaired, lengthened, complete at last.

During the preceding 30 years, the builders and users of Kahului Harbor had often given voice to restlessness and dissatisfaction, driven by the rapid industrial and commercial growth enveloping Maui and the pressures that growth put on the island's only commercial port. At a Harbor Board meeting in August 1923, the commissioners had no sooner taken official possession of the new Pier 1 than they turned to discussion of new construction projects (such as replacing the Claudine Wharf). Little more than a year after it was built, the Maui Chamber of Commerce was already calling Pier 1 inadequate. A harbor dredging project in 1925 came so soon after the last project that the dredger was still in the bay and didn't have to be called back. (*Maui News* August 31, 1923, December 20, 1924, January 10, 1925, October 4, 1930).

But for a moment in 1931, the federal, territorial and private enterprises, the cruise ship captains and freight handlers, the sugar and pineapple plantation managers, cannery owners, fishermen, lighthouse tenders—and perhaps most of all William Walsh, superintendent of the Kahului Railroad Company, who had been involved with the project from its start—could celebrate a goal achieved and a project completed satisfactorily enough to gladden even the most demanding civic booster.

EPILOGUE

The last major construction milestone at Kahului Harbor was probably the 40,000-ton bulk sugar plant built by the Kahului Railroad Company in 1942—the first of its kind in the islands. Kahului once again outstripped even Honolulu in port technology for a brief while.

By then the nation was at war—a war with a Pacific theater that deeply involved the hearts of Maui's people as they turned thousands of young *malihini* (off-islanders) into "Maui's own," sent them to now-legendary battles, and lined up at Kahului Harbor to welcome the survivors home.

During World War II, the U.S. government annexed land at Kahului for the construction of the 18th Service Battalion camp of the U.S. Marine Corps and Naval Air Station, Kahului. Following the

war, the airport was turned over to civilian authorities, and other facilities were dismantled or abandoned. Historic archaeological sites found near Kahului Harbor reflect these events, and include Kahului Railroad berm (Sites 3112), Kahului Railroad buildings (Site 1607), an historic deposit (Site 3119) and the former 18th service Battalion camp of the U.S. Marine Corps (Site 4232).

Additions continued to be made to the harbor facilities, but no major changes followed the war. The State improved and expanded the Pier 1 wharf in 1955 and the Pier 2 wharf in 1963. The original sheds on these wharves, put up in the 1920s, were demolished, removed, or modified; and new sheds or shed extensions were built in 1955, 1970, and 1973. The most significant change was the construction in 1979 of Pier 3, a new wharf paralleling the shore northeast of Pier 2.

After the war, at about the same time as the more famous Levitts were building their affordable housing units on the East Coast, a model city grew inland from old Kahului under the direction of the respected urban planner Harland Bartholomew. Unlike Levittown, Dream City's homes were designed to take advantage of Pacific tradewinds, and were built to attract plantation workers rather than returning veterans. The aim was "eliminating the traditional landlord tenant relationship of the companies and their employees ... to achieve a more stable and happier plantation company" (*Paradise of the Pacific*, December 1948:116).

The old landscape of plantation camps and small rural stores would fade as Wailuku and Kahului expanded inland and towards each other. As tourism boomed, it would change even more. But in the restless heart of this ever-re-invented community, the pace of change had slowed a bit—change that had brought Kahului Harbor in the space of a generation, in the time span of one man's career, from a nearly pristine bay to a state-of-the-art industrial harbor.

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

In the documentation on Kahului Harbor, the names of the main harbor structures changed over time and depending on author, and can be confusing. The Claudine Wharf, completed in 1910, was the first wharf for which there is extensive documentation. It could only accommodate smaller ("inter-island") vessels. The term *Pier 1* almost always refers to the wharf next to the east breakwater, which could accommodate larger ("trans-Pacific") vessels and had the most sophisticated freight handling equipment. It was built in two phases. In original sources, *Pier 2* sometimes refers to the extension (second phase) of Pier 1, sometimes to the new, large-vessel dock that eventually replaced the Claudine Wharf, and more rarely, to the Claudine Wharf itself, while *Pier 3* is sometimes used to refer to the newer, larger structure at the site of the old Claudine Wharf.

For ease of reading, this chapter has used *Pier 1* to refer to the pier along the eastern breakwater and *Pier 2* for the structure that replaced the Claudine Wharf.

The words *wharf* and *pier* are used interchangeably by most writers on Kahului Harbor and this chapter has followed that practice.

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