



APPENDIX N

A History Report of Waikapū



A History of Waikapū



Waikapū is shown here in the 1890's, some 30 years after sugar growers William Cornwell and Jamees Louzada formed Waikapū Plantation, which was acquired by Wailuku Sugar Company in 1894. The road shown is West Waiko Road, and the church building at right is now a private residence. Waikapu is now home to more than 1,000 Mauians and is the site of the Maui Tropical Plantation, a visitor attraction built around a tropical agricultural theme. Maui Historical Society Photo

By
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A History of Waikapū

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Ka makani kokoloio o Waikapū

"The gusty wind of Waikapū"

An 'ōlelo no'eau, or traditional saying, referred to in the song "Inikinikimālie" by James Kahale

Famed for its gusty winds and pleasant living, the land division called Waikapū originates in one of four valleys created by streams known as *Nā Wai Eha*--The Four Waters. One of those famous streams carved the steep ridges and gullies of Waikapū Valley through the West Maui volcano, transporting the mountain's core material and depositing it in an alluvial fan at the mouth of the canyon. This fan joined with those of the other three valleys -- 'Īao, Waiehu and Waihe'e -- to create an alluvial plain 13 km long. (Kyselka: 28, 36) The soil of this plain accumulated thickly near the mountain, spreading more thinly across the Isthmus formed when lava from Haleakalā pooled against West Maui. Over thousands of years, as glaciers grew in other parts of the world and sea levels dropped, broad stretches of coral reef were exposed and broken down to sand. Trade winds blew the sand onto the isthmus and formed it into ridges, which became lithified, or turned into stone, by carbonic acid released from the roots of plants growing in the sand.

By the time human beings arrived, the land of *Nā Wai Eha*, with its deep, rich alluvial soil and flowing streams, was ripe for cultivation. The new residents looked down over the sand dunes of the Isthmus, a shifting plain where inhabitants of the land believed that ghosts wandered. (Pukui: 81) Many years later, a writer would remark that "at times, the wind sweeps across this plain with great force, and clouds of sand, five hundred to one thousand feet high, move over it, presenting to the spectator on the mountains a most beautiful sight." (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 9, 1864)

Ambitious ancient farmers took advantage of the optimal growing conditions close to the streams. "Spreading north and south from the base of Waikapu to a considerable distance below the valley are the vestiges of extensive wet plantations, now almost obliterated by sugarcane cultivation," wrote E. S.C. Handy in 1934. "Far on the north side, just above the main road and at least half a mile below the entrance to the canyon, an extensive truck garden on old terrace ground showed the large area and the distance below and away from the valley that was anciently developed in terraced taro culture. On the south side there are likewise several sizable *kuleana* where, in 1934, old terraces were used for truck gardening. . . There were probably once a few small terraces on the narrow level strips of valley bottom in the lower canyon." (Handy: 497)

S.W. Nailiili, writing in 1865, offered this poetic description: "Waikapu, a district known for its majesty and splendid living, whose native songs gather flowers in the dew and weave wreaths of *ohelo* berries."

(Sterling: 91)

Though some maintain that "Waikapū" means "sacred water," others say "Waikapū" refers to a conch shell, or *pū*, once secreted in a cave "away up the stream, about a mile or more from the village," wrote W.K. Kauaililehua in 1872.

On the left side of the stream is a cave and in the cave was the conch. It sounded all the time, unseen by the public, but a prophet on Kauai listened for it and came to seek with the idea of finding it.

On the northeast side of that stream on the opposite side of the conch that sounded, on the cliff, was a dog named Puapualenalena. Because he heard it, he sought diligently to find it but he did not succeed. Those who guarded the conch were very watchful. The dog kept studying ways of obtaining it.

One day, when the owners of the conch had been "utterly careless," Puapualenalena stole the conch. "After he took it, it sounded no more to this day. It used to be heard everywhere in the islands and was annoying to some people. From this conch, the whole of the place was named Waikapū (Water of the conch). This is the legend of how it received its name. . . ." (Sterling: 93)

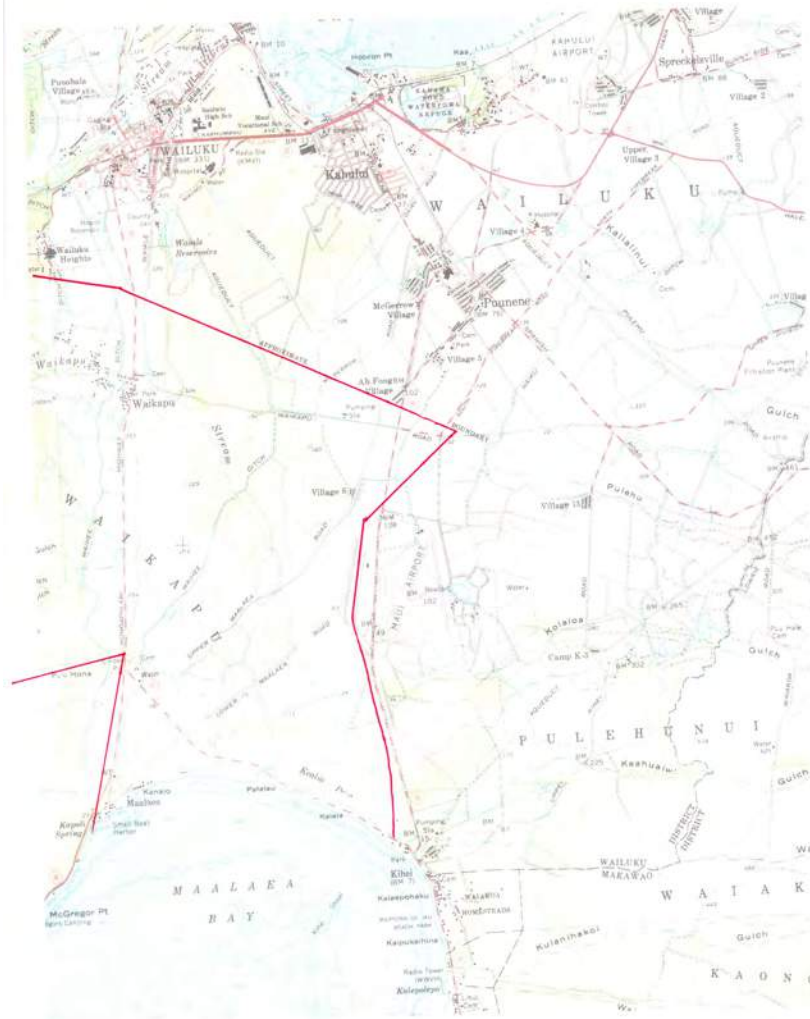
Others say the name refers to Kamehameha assembling his forces for battle by sounding a conch shell at Waikapū. (Sterling: 93) It's not clear which battle this story refers to.

The great chief Kihapi'ilani and his wife passed through Waikapū on their travels around the island, finding a crowd near a huge rock above the stream of Waikapū, an adz rock said to be the boundary between Wailuku and Waikapū. "And it remains there until this day," writer Moses Manu said in 1884. (Sterling: 94)

Kiha also visited Waikapū on the advice of two old men in Ha'ikū, who told him their sister Pao could help him:

Kihapi'ilani started for Waikapū where the prophetess by the name of Pao was living. While Kihapi'ilani was yet on the road, on his way to meet her, she predicted to those around her, saying: "There is a chief on the way here in search for some one to help him in his revenge."

When Kihapiilani arrived in the presence of Pao, a rainbow appeared at the same time. Pao then said: "My lord is swift of foot." She then greeted Kihapiilani. Kihapiilani returned the greeting. After the greetings had been exchanged, Pao invited Kihapiilani to come in, and then she asked him: "What brings my lord here on this hot day?" The chief replied: "I have come in search of someone who will cause the death of my brother Piilani, for he has treated me shamefully." Pao then replied: "There in the lowlands of Kalepolepo lives the one who will assist you in killing your enemy. You go down till you reach Kalepolepo and look for a man whose face is covered over with filth. He is the one." At the close of the directions of Pao, Kihapiilani proceeded on his way to Kalepolepo, where in time he found the man described to him and he went up to meet him. (Fornander, Vol. IV)



1954 USGS map, with approximate Waikapū boundaries marked in red

Waikapū the District

Traditionally, Waikapū is more than just the fertile valley at the base of the mountain. The district covers approximately half of the Isthmus known as Kama‘oma‘o, reaching the south shore and including the shoreline from near Ma‘alaea to Kīhei Pūko‘a. According to approximate boundary lines on a 1954 USGS map, the northern mauka boundary passes near the south end of Wailuku Heights and follows a line slanting down to a point near the bottom of modern-day Waiko Road. From there it turns sharply east, descending in a somewhat curved line to Kīhei. The eastern boundary line of the district meets the ocean at Kīhei Pūko‘a, at the eastern end of the great wetlands known as Kealia Pond. Unlike the other three streams of Nā Wai Eha, Waikapū Stream did not reach the sea. Blocked by sand dunes, it drained instead into Kealia Pond. On this makai edge of the district is a surf spot still famous today and once there were salt pans "where they make most excellent salt," according to a voyager in 1817.

(Sterling: 95)

Between the shore and the valley was Pu‘u Hele, a cinder cone formed late in the history of the West Maui Volcano. According to legend, Pu‘u Hele was one of a pair of *mo‘o* (lizards), the husband of nearby Pu‘u-o-kali. Their child, Pu‘u-o-inaina, was placed on Kaho‘olawe and later was a lover of Pele's sweetheart, Lohiau, according to *Place Names of Hawaii*. (Pukui: 203) Once 20 meters in height, Pu‘u Hele was considered an essential stop on a trip around the island, according to Theodore Kelsey. "You cannot claim a circuit of Maui unless after you have been all around, you circle the hill above Puu-hele, then climb to the top and proclaim, 'Uapuni o Maui ia'u'." (Sterling: 94)

Pu‘u Hele now is a hole in the ground, deeper than it once was tall. Its cinders were mined to make road beds, beginning in World War II, when the Navy built Naval Air Station Pu‘unēnē. (Kyselka:38 and Ashdown: 59) Today, what appears to be the remnants of the cinder cone's edges may be seen along Honoapi‘ilani Highway just mauka of the South Kihei Road intersection.

A Famous Battle

In the days when Pu‘u Hele stood tall, before cultivation and sand mining had flattened the dunes of Kama‘oma‘o, those dunes provided cover for Maui warriors in a famous battle. Around 1776, near the end of a century of warfare that frequently brought the chiefs of Maui and Hawai‘i Island into conflict, the Big Island chief Kalaniopu‘u made what turned out to be a disastrous decision. Having successfully retaken Hana (a territory long disputed by chiefs of the two islands), he landed his fleet of war canoes along the south shore at Keone‘ō‘io, Honua‘ula and Kihei. From here, he planned to attack Maui's ruling chief, Kahekili, who happened to be his brother-in-law. Kahekili's sister, Kalola, was with her husband, along with Kīwala‘ō, the son of Kalaniopu‘u and Kalola.

Though he had arrived with close to 3,000 men, Kalaniopu‘u at first gathered only 800, his most skilled warriors, the ‘Ālapa and the Pi‘ipi‘i. These young chiefs were "of equal height and were garbed in feather cloaks of various colors. They were those of whom King Kalaniopuu thought a great deal, for they were skilled in the martial arts of those days," Stephen L. Desha wrote. "I am sending you inland to Wailuku to fight the warriors of Kahekili and my word of hope to you is you will have great strength and drink the water of Iao," Kalaniopu‘u said to these warriors as he sent them into battle at dawn. The warriors' shouted response in the quiet morning betrayed their battle preparation to spies who raced back toward Wailuku to inform Kahekili that the Hawai‘i Island army was ready to march.

Alas for those young warriors, their leader had failed to heed the advice of his own kahuna, who had warned him that he should wait until the next day at high noon, and have his nephew Kamehameha lead the army. On the other side of the isthmus, Kahekili had been given a more positive prophecy: "O heavenly one, the fish has entered the sluice-gate and is surrounded by the small-meshed net." A great strategist, Kahekili had planned carefully and also enjoyed the support of additional warriors provided by his ally and nephew, Kahahana of O‘ahu. "Kahekili's warriors were roused up, joined by the Oahu warriors under Kahahana, the young Oahu chief, and these numerous warriors were stationed at the sand dunes of Waikapu and also at a place close to those sand dunes seaward of Wailuku. Kahekili's warriors hid like sand crabs in their holes awaiting the onslaught of Kalaniopuu's relatively few warriors who would move inland to Wailuku without realizing that their death was awaiting them." (Desha: 35-43)

Historian Samuel Kamakau's description of the battle is evocative:

Across the plains of Pu‘u‘ainako (Cane-trash-hill) and Kamaomao shone the feather cloaks of the soldiers, woven in ancient pattern and covered like the hues of the rainbow in red, yellow, and green, with helmets on their heads whose arcs shone like a night in summer when the crescent lies within the moon. . . . Like a dark cloud hovering over the Alapa rose the destroying host of Kahekili seaward of the sandhills of Kahulu‘u. . . . They slew the Alapa on the sand hills at the southeast of Kalua. There the dead lay in heaps strewn like kukui branches; the corpses lay heaped in death; they were slain like fish enclosed in a net. This great slaughter was called Ahulau ka Piipii i Kakanilua (Slaughter of the Piipii at Kakanilua). (Kamakau: 85)

Kahekili's forces, hidden in the sandhills on either side of the plain, allowed the warriors to advance across the plain of Kama‘oma‘o until they reached the southeastern side of a place called Kalua, close to the village of Wailuku. (Sterling: 88) The Maui warriors then attacked, slaughtering all but two of the crack warriors in Kalaniopu‘u's army. These two managed to get back to Kihei Puko‘a, where Kalaniopu‘u was confidently boasting that his warriors had perhaps already drunk of the waters of Wailuku. Grief stricken and furious, Kalaniopu‘u and his chiefs determined to try again. In response, Kahekili's men rose at dawn once more and occupied the sand hills, and again their divided forces sent down a rain of spears, javelins and other missiles on the Hawaii warriors. "The terrified soldiers were surrounded and took to flight; they were driven by Kahekili's men like leaves before a whirlwind. The plains of Kamaomao became like a fishpond through whose sluice gate the sea flooded, Kalaniopuu's men like the mullet driven by the sound of beating into the sluice gate. . ." (Kamakau: 85-88)

At last accepting that his men were surrounded and the battle lost, Kalaniopu‘u first asked his wife to go to her brother and sue for peace. Kalola refused, saying that she would be killed "for we came to deal death. If we had come offering love we should have been received with affection. I can do nothing." Instead, she told her husband to send her son, a chief of divine rank, along with the twin half-brothers of Kahekili. Kiwalao's rank was such that even the Maui warriors had to bow before him and allow him passage to Wailuku, where Kahekili magnanimously accepted their surrender. "Then Kahekili said to his followers, 'Take the fish of Kanaha and Mau‘oni and the vegetable food of Nawaieha down to Kiheipukoa.' So the two chiefs became reconciled, but Kalaniopuu's was a feigned friendship." (Kamakau: 88-89)

The next great battle in Na Wai Eha would be the decisive battle of Kepaniwai, in which Kalaniopu‘u's nephew and heir Kamehameha would defeat Kahekili's son in the valley above Wailuku in his campaign to conquer and rule all the islands. As part of the spoils of war, the conqueror parceled out land to his supporters. Waikapū was among the ‘āina given to Ke‘eaumoku, one of the four "Kona Uncles," powerful chiefs whose support had helped Kamehameha rise. (Kame‘eleihiwa: 106)

The Outside World Arrives

By this time, Western voyagers were beginning to appear regularly in the Islands as word spread of the visit by Captain James Cook in 1778.

Foreigners arrived early in Waikapū. Kamakau, describing the chief Kuakini (also known as John Adams), who "was fond of the foreigners and entertained them at meals," says "there were foreigners

Soon after the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, missionaries arrived to share the Gospel and the Western skills of reading and writing. Small schools and churches spring up everywhere around the islands. Though missionaries did conduct two censuses (one in 1832 and one in 1836, with 733 persons in Waikapū in 1832 and 709 in 1836), it is often school and church records that give us an idea of population levels at a time when few records were kept.

A report from 1834 counts individuals attending two schools in Waikapū, one with 170 *kane* and 155 *wahine* and another with 84 *kane* and 54 *wahine*. The report, printed in the mission-sponsored newspaper *Ka Lama*, laments that few children are represented in these numbers. In a report on the Wailuku Station from June 1, 1837 to June 1, 1838, missionary Richard Armstrong wrote: "From Waikapu to Waihee, there are now 5 good doby [adobe] schoolhouses." (Ms. in HMCS). In April 1841, school commissioner David Malo reported to the Legislative Council of the Chiefs held at Kaluaokiha in Lahaina that there were four schools and four teachers in Waikapū, with a total of 159 students. In his 1842 tour of schools, Malo found a total of 146 students in Waikapū. Teachers at this time were paid between 12.5 cents and 25 cents a day. (General Reports 1821-1842, HMCS) In 1852, the school agent's report found three schools, with a total of 84 students. Very likely these schools were scattered throughout the district, rather than clustered at the village we now call Waikapū.

Waikapū village was clearly well populated at the time of the Māhele, when land was divided between the king, chiefs and commoners. A map of Waikapū Plantation in the State Survey Office shows the area to be filled with the small landholdings known as *kuleana*. Though the map is not dated, it probably would have been drawn sometime between 1862, when Waikapū Plantation was founded, and 1894, when the plantation was purchased by Wailuku Sugar Company. One contemporary landowner, Avery Chumbley, says there are 32 *kuleana* within the 67 acres he owns in upper Waikapū. The old map shows that land use was similarly concentrated throughout the village area, with *kuleana* extending along the streambed far up the mountain.

The *Indices of Awards*, listing those who acquired land during the Mahele, shows some of the largest in plots in Waikapū going to *haole*. Michael J. Nowlien received 303.5 acres, William Humphries 131.3 acres and James Lozada 26.1 acres. Others with relatively large pieces include Haa (35 acres), Copp (16.94 acres), Catalina (13.61 acres), Manu (11.01 acres), John Richardson & Co. (two pieces, 8 and 6.10 acres), William Shaw (two pieces 13.6 and 6.3 acres), Anthony Silva (8.2 acres), Kepaa (9.69 acres), Kuihelani (9.4 acres), William McLane (5 acres). Maps of the time show Richardson with what looks like considerably more land than is indicated in the *Indices*. David Malo, the well-known scholar and author, also received a lot with a house and *kalo* and pasture land.

In addition to *kalo*, there was some early growing of sugar at Waikapū, perhaps by Anthony (Antonio) Sylva or by Antonio (or Antone) Catalina. One 1823 report says that Catalina made "an excellent syrup." (Girvin: 195) There was an early attempt at coffee growing around 1847, (Kuykendall: 316) and residents apparently raised cattle, whose "depredations" as they wandered the plain destroyed acres of young sugar cane. "Some of the natives have lost nearly all they had planted," J. S. Green wrote in 1846. (*The Polynesian*, October 3, 1846) Some indication of the area's agricultural nature comes also from this *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* report of a destructive storm in 1858, when:

. . . A waterspout was formed and carried to the summit of the mountains between Waikapū and Ukumehame and there discharged. The torrent rolled down on each side, bearing all before it; the branch of waterspout that came down to Waikapū uprooted huge trees and strewed them out

over the plain, dug up and removed large fields of kalo, and carried away considerable portions of arable land, leaving deep fissures and piles of stone instead. Many families, who before the catastrophe, sent food to market, were left destitute. The water came down in a body like a mighty wall fifteen or twenty feet high, with such majesty that it would not follow the windings of the brook, but rushed over whatever lay in its way, cutting its own path. Several horses and cattle were caught in its track and drowned. One dwelling house was carried off with all its contents, the inmates barely escaping with their lives. It is very remarkable that the house of Mr. Devauchelle escaped destruction. The torrent passed like a high wall on both sides of it, leaving it unhurt and strewing large boulders and trunks of trees all around it. After crossing the road in front of Mr. Antonio Sylva's house, the torrent parted and one branch rushed on to Kealia and the other hastened down to Kahului, both depositing all along their track large trunks of trees brought down from the mountain, and kalo and sugar cane from the Waikapu gardens. . . (P.C. Advertiser, 3/11/1858)

Waikapū Plantation

Waikapū Plantation was founded several years later. It was formed by a series of purchases that began when James Louzada acquired the estate of the late Circuit Court Judge John "Iaone" Richardson. Members of the Richardson family had lived in Waikapū for many years. Apparently the first resident of that name was George Richardson, who was born in Ireland and died in Waikapū in 1835, leaving a widow named Kaneole. Their son or grandson, John Richardson, is named in several places on the Waikapū Plantation map. His land became available for sale through tragic circumstances, when Richardson committed suicide at age 35 by hanging himself from a tree on his cattle range in Kula. "He had been laboring for some time under a mental aberration, caused, it is said, by domestic troubles," said the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in January 1860. Perhaps this was depression resulting from the death of his wife, Dorcas (Doreka Ilai) in 1857 and their four-year-old daughter Fanny in 1859. The newspaper said Richardson had been a member of the House of Representatives, recently promoted by the king to a seat in the House of Nobles, and was considered "one of the most promising and intelligent of his race." (P.C. Advertiser, 1/12/1860)

Louzada, a native of New York, had arrived in the Islands in 1834. (*The Friend*, December 1869: 104) His acquisition of Richardson's estate was not his first stake in Waikapū land. A copy of a March 15, 1844, deed from Charles Kanaina to Louzada, translated from Native Register, Volume I, page 175, reads as follows:

I hereby give two ilis of mine at Waikapu, Aoaokamanu and Puahinakao, to James Louzada to live on under me, as the natives of Hawaii do. If he does wrong under the law, his occupation thereof shall end. Furthermore I shall have the Thursdays and the Fridays [tax days] of the land, and he shall be responsible to me. Furthermore he shall give the tribute to the tax

collector, as formerly paid by these lands. Furthermore, *e like no me ka la me ai kahiko* [the ancient ways of the land shall be followed?] Furthermore if it comes to us that he petitions as a foreigner [does not follow Hawaiian custom] then his occupation of the land shall cease. Furthermore if the *lunas* object to this grant of land, then it shall cease and the land be returned to me.

Several years later, Louzada wrote to William Richards, president of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, regarding his application for Land Commission Award 225, for land at Waikapū totaling 26.10 acres:

Enclosed I take the liberty to transmit to Your Excellency a verified copy of a deed for the land, which I cultivate at present, given me by Ch. Kanaina Esqr. with the consent of Her Highness the late Premier. The stipulations of the deed are of such a nature, that as a new order of things is impending, I cannot feel satisfied or safe, until I ensure that the land cannot be taken from me. I have the more reasons to be anxious, as I have expended all I had, to put the land in order, and it would be very distressing to me, if I had to leave it. I have always strictly adhered to the conditions of the writing, and shall certainly still in future endeavor to show, that I am not unworthy of the favor which I respectfully beg . . .

Copies of these two documents are in the possession of a contemporary Cornwell descendant, Mark R. Walker.

In a column by Mrs. D.P. Penhallow titled "Waikapu, Maui: a Sketch" in the February 3, 1926, *Maui News* is more detail.

As with much of early Hawaiian history, so it is with Waikapu. Definite dates of events are hard to fix and the sequence of them not always clear, but as Waikapu was first in this section of Maui in war so, evidently, was it the first to produce sugar and cattle. A Spaniard named Antone Catalina made cane syrup at Waikapu in 1823, which was apparently the beginning of the sugar industry in the Wailuku District. James Louzada came over from Waimea, Hawaii, a number of years later, established a cattle business, opened a store and began cultivating cane on a large scale. The date is not definite but he erected a stone mill with oxen for motive power on the premises known as Hale-pa-laha-laha at the interest in Waikapu Valley, located on its northern slope. It is reputed that Louzada's Hawaiian wife, Kapu, lost an arm while tending the mill.

Following this mill a stream driven one was erected in 1862 near the present road to Lahaina, just north of the stream crossing. . . the store referred to was the first in the district, people going from Wailuku to make purchases there. The store building was located on the lower corner of the Pia Cockett premises and remained as a landmark until a few years ago. The cattle industry flourished and also, many fine horses were produced, horseracing being a feature of Waikapu for years. . . . Aside

from its commercial aspect, there was much of romantic interest attached to Waikapu. Kalalaua spent some of his leisure time with the Cornwells, who kept open house, and it has been featured in song and story. Its romance was of the past, which belonged to its day and age. Of this there are but slight reminders evident only to those who can picture it as it was.

Louzada's acquisition of additional land in 1862 apparently was unplanned, simply a response to a promising opportunity. According to an article in the April 9, 1864, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*:

Mr. James Louzada, happening to be in the vicinity, heard that there was to be an auction sale of the estate of the late John Richardson, and attracted by curiosity attended it. A good frame house and lot was put up for sale, but nobody wanted it. Seven hundred dollars only were bid, and Mr. L. thinking it a safe investment, took it at a few dollars over that sum, and for a few hundreds also purchased the taro lands belonging to the estate. Thus, without any intention of buying when he went to the sale, he found himself possessed, for the paltry sum of \$1,200, of a good dwelling house and some of the finest cane land on the island. He was not long in finding out that he had located over a mine destined to be as productive as a gold mine, nor in making his plans for the future. Associating himself with his brother-in-law, Henry Cornwell, Esq. [married to Louzada's sister Adelia], formerly of this city [Honolulu], he set to work to erect a mill and commence the manufacture of sugar, the natives and foreigners in the village promising to plant cane on their own lands. Two years have passed since the lucky purchase of this property occurred, and already he has sent to market some 400,000 pounds of sugar, worth perhaps \$25,000, though his mill has been in operation only about eight months.

The writer said there had been a remarkable change in the village of Waikapū since "we last rode past it" four years ago, when "there was nothing here to attract a stranger--a few thatch houses with one or two frame buildings, scattered among taro patches were all that one would notice in passing. Now a tall chimney attracts for miles the eye of the traveler and the dark smoke, growing up in clouds from its top, tells plainly of the industry, capital and enterprise that center here."

The writer told of visiting the mill to meet:

"Mr. Cornwell and his son William, who were hard at work turning cane juice into gold. The mill consists of a large building in the form of an L, on a hill slope, which facilitates the work very much. The machine is driven by a 36 horse engine, built by Mr. Henry Hughes of this city, who also constructed all the machinery used on this plantation. Everything about the mill is of Hawaiian manufacture, which can be said of but a few sugar manufacturers on the islands. The capacity of the mill is about four thousand pounds of sugar per day, though, by working nights, which is sometimes done, five thousand pounds can be got off. To obtain this product, Messrs. Louzada and Cornwell employ about seventy field and mill laborers, of whom forty are females, who are engaged on account of

the scarcity of men. . . .The land at Waikapu consisting of a gentle slope from the base of the mountain to the road, irrigated by the Waikapu river, is admirably adapted to sugar culture, producing, when well cared for, very heavy crops. The extent of land suitable for cane is limited only by the amount of water obtainable for irrigation. The proprietors of the mill have purchased land largely since they began operations and have now some 200 acres. They purchase cane from the natives, paying generally about one hundred dollars an acre for the standing crop, taking it off at their own expense. The sugar boiling department is under the charge of Wm. Cornwell, who possesses all the activity, industry and perseverance of his father and uncle. The high reputation of the sugar made at this mill is the best recommendation that a sugar-boiler can wish.



Old map of Waikapu Plantation shows mill site near Waiko Road intersection.
Map source: DLNR State Survey Office

About a mile back from the mill, and on an elevation overlooking the whole country, stands the house of the late Mr. Richardson, the sale of which we have already referred to, now occupied by Mr. Cornwell and his family. It has been much improved, by additions, and forms one of the pleasantest residences we have ever seen. From its front verandah, a most beautiful scene is had--the village and mill buildings, the plain, Kahului Bay on the left, Kalepolepo Bay at the right, and the whole of Mt. Haleakala, with its villages on its side--are all in view. Were we to select a site for a country home, it would be this charming spot in Waikapu, and we congratulate Mr. and Mrs. C. and their family on possessing so healthy and delightful a home, where in and around the dwelling every comfort and luxury is provided. The traveler, who enjoys, as did we, the pleasure of a short sojourn here, and an acquaintance with those who show such refinement and taste, and who welcome visitors with such cordial hospitality, will leave their pleasant home with many regrets. Such residences and such homes we trust will spring up in every district.

What a change has taken place in Waikapu within two years! Where were a few taro-patches, half cultivated by lazaroni, a village has sprung up, with its sugar mill and buildings, its waving cane fields and busy laborers, scattering industry, thrift and contentment everywhere. Here where a few hundred dollars worth of taro were formerly raised, forty thousand dollars' worth of sugar may now annually be made and sent to market.

A planter's life, however, is no playspell. Messrs Louzada and Cornwell and every one else engaged on the estate work hard -- up early in the morning, and late at night, they earn every dollar they receive. Although the first outlay in commencing a plantation is heavy -- and few estates are set in operation with less than forty or fifty thousand, and from that to one hundred thousand dollars -- yet when once completed, the income promises to be large, and on most plantations will amount to at least twenty-five per cent on the investment, when well managed. This estate, thus far, has cost its proprietors nearly fifty thousand dollars and it is safe to say that it will produce annually at least forty thousand dollars, at present prices of sugar."

This account, in addition to providing a detailed glimpse of life at Waikapū in 1864, also offers insights into attitude and understanding at the time. Clearly, sugar plantations were welcomed as the economic future of the Islands. The use of the word "lazaroni" in relation to Waikapū taro farmers now seems insulting; *Webster's New World Dictionary* defines lazaroni as "any of the class of homeless beggars formerly common on the streets of Naples." The writer apparently has no understanding of the fact that "a few taro patches, half cultivated" may be the remnants of a highly productive farming community devastated by imported diseases in previous decades. Or perhaps the "few taro patches" were all that was left after the destructive 1858 waterspout described above. This 1864 writer's view is in contrast to that of Gorham D. Gilman, who wrote in 1843 of a tour of Maui: "The country around Waikapu and

approaching Wailuku is quite fertile and well cultivated, and formed a pleasing contrast to the arid plain below." Gilman reported being greeted by friendly natives who offered "a tumbler of fine cool water" and "a stick of Sugar Cane in our hands to eat on the way." (MHS ms. collection)

The new plantation established a mill at the Kīhei-mauka corner of West Waiko Road, which may be seen on the old Waikapū Plantation map. The map also shows another mill east of that site and on the other side of the stream; it seems unlikely that this is the earlier mill set up by Louzada, because a *Maui News* column from 1926 (quoted below) sites the first mill at Halepalahalaha, which is higher up the hill. The site of the Waikapū Plantation mill yard continued as stables until it was subdivided for housing starting about 1955. (Chumbley) The old smokestack "which marked the site of the original Waikapu sugar mill," toppled in a Kona gale in 1918. (Silva: 32)

Not all was rosy in the early years of the Waikapū Plantation. One problem arose from the establishment by Louzada and Cornwell of a road that is now known as Old Waikapū Road. Thomas W. Everett, a Waikapū resident who served as sheriff of Maui for many years, reported in an 1866 letter:

I got Mr. Alexander to survey the Crownenburg Lot last week and likewise the Nowlien Lot Boundaries. He found that the disputed road was no part of it on the "Nowlien" land now owned by Cornwell but that after the road left the Crownenburg land it ran through Govt. land all the way into the main road leading from Wailuku to Lahaina. He found that Louzada and Cornwell had fenced in quite a piece of land into their pasture from the main road up to what I have marked on enclosed sketch Pohakoi. . . this stone "Pohakoi" was decided by the parties who settled the boundary question in 1847 or 8 to be the boundary between Wailuku and Waikapu. Consequently the Nowlien lot is in Wailuku. Cornwell has lately bought the Crownenburg lots, but Daniels has possession for three years to come. . . . there is no doubt that the parties knew of this piece of land when it was fenced up but it was probably thought it would not be missed. . . (MHS files)

This road still remains, though it is little used today. According to Avery Chumbley, the road once continued more parallel with Honoapiʻilani Highway, rather than turning down toward the highway around Kuikahi Drive. Chumbley thinks it was realigned some time around the 1930s. He is not sure why this happened, but says until that time the road was the main access to the hundreds of *kuleana* properties scattered throughout the valley.

A much bigger issue was the unclear boundary between Waikapū and Pulehunui. Much of the land of Waikapū was part of the one-twentieth of all unappropriated public lands set aside to produce income for school purposes by a law established in 1850. "During the next few years considerable acreage was sold to procure money for educational purposes." (Wist: 60) "In 1875, the Board of Education sold at auction the 'Land known as the Ahupuaa of Waikapu, saving grants hitherto made within the said ahupuaa, or sales by the Board of Education,' to Henry Cornwell, from the Government issuing a royal patent in the above terms without survey or statement of area. Mr. Cornwell afterward sold to Claus Spreckels and others the part known as Waikapu Commons." (Sterling: 95) This 1878 sale was of an undivided half interest in 16,000 acres of the Waikapū Commons from Henry Cornwell to Spreckels, who was in the process of acquiring land and water rights in order to begin what would become Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company. (Adler: 36)

This land sale was to result in problems within the next few years, as the owners of the adjacent *ahupua'a*. The original sale to Cornwell had been based on a map, with no survey or notes and just an estimate of the acreage. For \$15,050, Cornwell received "all that tract of Kula land commonly known as the Waikapu commons, extending on both sides of the Waikapu main road and embracing all the said commons land known to belong to the Hawaiian Board of Education." Subsequent to the sale, the owner of Pulehunui went to court to claim that the boundaries were incorrect. Based on testimony by "the oldest native residents" of the area, the claim was upheld, and Cornwell was "ejected." Having already sold it, he was obliged to repurchase it from the owner of Pulehunui at a cost of \$7,500. Cornwell then went to court to claim that the Board of Education was responsible for this problem, and the court agreed. (Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands)

Meanwhile, the ownership of Waikapū Plantation had changed in 1877, with the original proprietor retaining an interest but selling the remainder to his son William H. Cornwell and William's brother-in-law, George W. McFarlane. At this point, Waikapū Plantation could produce 1,000 tons annually, and if water could be brought in, it would produce 2,000 tons of sugar. (Apparently this need would be met by the first artesian well on the outside islands, drilled in 1881 at Waikapū Plantation by the McCandless brothers.) Ownership changed yet again, with the partnership known as the Waikapū Sugar Plantation Company dissolved by mutual consent to be continued thereafter by William Cornwell and George McFarlane under the firm name of Cornwell & Company. (Silva: 17, 19) Louzada had died in 1869, and Henry Cornwell was getting on in years and would die in 1886 at the age of 70. (familysearch.org)

In 1889, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported the sale of W.H. Cornwell's half-interest in the Waikapū Plantation to Spreckels. "The remaining half is held by G. W. MacFarlane and Company and probably will be purchased by the same party. Major Cornwell will continue to be the manager. . . the purchase of this plantation by such a shrewd, farseeing capitalist as Colonel Spreckels, indicates that he has firm faith in Hawaiian sugar property, and that the proposed changes in the American tariff will not ruin our sugar planters, croakers to the contrary notwithstanding," the paper said. (Silva: 22) The next year, MacFarlane sold the other half interest to Spreckels. In 1894, Wailuku Sugar Company purchased Waikapū Sugar Company, with 2,500 shares at \$42 per share. The first crop of the combined Wailuku, Waihee and Waikapū plantations in 1895 produced 4,939 tons of sugar. The survey for a railroad line to Waikapū had just been completed--this line would be 20,800 feet in length. (Silva: 24) Over the next 20 years or so, Wailuku Sugar Company would also buy up another operation, Waikapū Agricultural Company; it is not clear at this point who or what constituted this company. (Silva: 29-32)

Colonel Cornwell

Through the late 19th century, the Cornwell residence was a center of hospitality enjoyed by none other than King Kalākaua, as William Henry Cornwell's involvement in the affairs of the kingdom grew. Cornwell, born about 1842 in Brooklyn, New York, came to the Islands with his parents about 1857, according to his 1903 obituary in *Paradise of the Pacific*. Cornwell married Blanche MacFarlane, sister of G.W. MacFarlane, and the two had three children before her death at the age of 27. The obituary said that Cornwell:

" . . .grew up in the cane fields and was made manager at an early age. Throughout his whole life he was one of the most successful planters in the group. He became quite intimate with Claus Spreckels when the latter launched his great plantations on Maui, and through business dealings

with the gentleman afterwards, which involved the acquisition of water rights from the King, he got well acquainted with his Majesty, who made him a member of his staff. In 1890 he was elected noble and ever after that time was prominent in politics. On March 14, 1891, he [and others were] appointed by Queen Liliuokalani as members of her personal staff with the rank of Colonel. At the time of the overthrow of the Monarchy he was Minister of Finance in the Queen's Cabinet. After annexation Colonel Cornwell allied himself with the Democratic Party, being at the time of his death member of the National Democratic Committee. No one in the islands had a keener relish for honest racing sport than he. As an importer of superior breed of horses he was instrumental in improving much island stock for racing and general purposes." (*Paradise of the Pacific*, December 1903: 69)

Family stories shared by Cornwell's great-grandson, John Cornwell Walker of Honolulu, tell of the two-story house acquired in the original purchase of the Richardson state, its location still marked by two Norfolk pines that stood on either side of the walkway, with another pine a quarter-mile away at the site of the stables. Cornwell raised horses to race in Honolulu, and once took a winning steed to a downtown hotel and poured champagne over the horse. The king would come to visit, landing at McGregor Point, where he would be joined by other riders for a parade to Waikapū. He would stay for perhaps a week of parties and poker games, then depart, accompanied once again by an escort of horsemen. (Walker)



Two Norfolk pines mark the former site of the Cornwell home. Engledow photo 7/09

Some say that the character of "Uncle Bill Calhoun" in Armine von Tempski's *Born in Paradise* is based on that of William H. Cornwell. Though much of the story beginning on page 64 is obviously

fiction, it may be that some of the descriptions apply to the real Waikapū and the real Cornwell.

"A short distance from the sheer walls of rock which made a sort of awesome portal [to the valley], a sprawling house sat on a low hill top surrounded by Norfolk Island Pines. Purple mango trees and dark pointing fingers of Italian cypresses flanked brick walks which leaped down through terraces of gay flowers in wide steps to meet the road. A feeling of excitement poured from the house though no people were visible . . ."

Inside the house, in "a spacious room filled with pictures of racehorses and women," Uncle Bill Calhoun lay, obviously ill. But "I sensed he was a great figure. His conversation was punctuated with damns, shouts, and 'Let's hoist another!' Opened-armed, open-hearted, he seemed to embrace life as it came toward him."

A photograph of Colonel Cornwell published in the Wailuku Sugar Company's Centennial history shows a man who might very well have been this hearty, lively character, though the real Cornwell did not die a lingering death tended by a lovely young *hapa-haole* woman, but died suddenly following an attack of angina pectoris at his home in Waikapū, having married Josephine Colvin a year earlier. William H. Cornwell was buried in Honolulu, but a Cornwell family graveyard remains on the property in upper Waikapū owned by Avery Chumbley, and Chumbley says other graves that were next to the Piltz house above Old Waikapū Road (near the site of the old Cornwell house) were exhumed. These may have included the grave of George E. Richardson, brother of Judge John Richardson, who was buried in Waikapū in the "family vault."



Col. William H. Cornwell. Source: Wailuku Sugar Co. Centennial

Cornwells maintained their presence in Waikapū for at least a few years; William H. Cornwell Jr. opened a butcher shop called the Waiohuli Market in Waikapū in 1906. He left in 1907 to establish a business on the mainland. And at least one contemporary family, the Vidas, is of Cornwell ancestry.

Wailuku Sugar

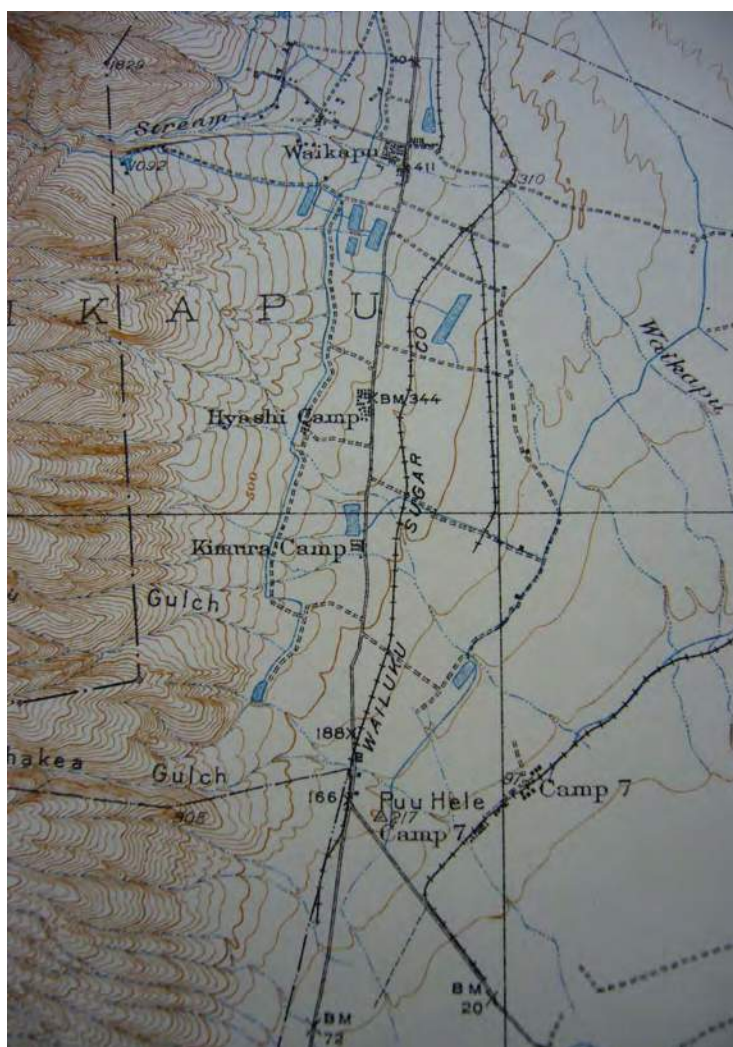
The sale of Waikapū Sugar Company to Wailuku Sugar Company brought it into a much larger operation and into the plantation lifestyle often remembered today, with workers of various ethnicities living in separate camps near their work sites. Apparently there was a camp at Waikapū village, which was enlarged in 1919 by bringing in six houses from Pu‘uhele Camp. That same year, a new dispensary was built at Waikapū. (Silva: 32) Old maps show two camps between Waikapū and Pu‘u Hele, one called Kimura Camp and one called Hayashi Camp. Graves in a small cemetery on East Waiko Road are almost all marked in Japanese, indicating that there may have been another ethnic Japanese camp nearby, but no such camp shows on maps consulted for this report. There are about 75 marked graves and more than 20 unmarked graves at this Waikapū Community Cemetery. (MHS)



Waikapu Community Cemetery. Engledow photo 7/09

The 1910 census enumerator noted specific areas as he filled in the names on each 25-line page for Census District 76, making it possible to estimate population at that time. Kimura Camp had about 60 residents; Hayashi about 100; Pu‘uhele Camp about 60; "Waikapu Plantation Camps" more than 200; "Waikapu Camp number one," 100; Waikapu Ranch Camp, 50; Waikapu Village about a dozen; "plantation camps," 50; and "Waikapu mauka camps," 50.

The 1920 count lists about 175 residents on Waikapū Road. The 1930 count lists 325 in Waikapū Village, 25 in Waikapū and an unclear number, at least 125, in Hayashi Camp.



1923 Ma'alaea Quadrangle map showing Waikapū with camps and railroads. Hawai'i State Archives

School and Church

Old maps show the parcel on the Wailuku side of the Waikapū Protestant church as a school. Whether this is the same location as the missionary schools reported in the mid-1800s is not clear, but a current Waikapū resident, Zelig Rogers Harders, says school continued to be in session there at least through the early 1940s. Mrs. Harders was attending Kaunoa School when Pearl Harbor was attacked, and her parents decided to keep her closer to home and enrolled her in the one-room Waikapū schoolhouse. A few records on file at the State Archives in the Department of Education "Reports on Numbers and Nationalities of Pupils" mention the school. In 1890, F.R. Woolsey was principal, with 29 boys and 14 girls (all "native") plus two girls who were "half caste" in first through fourth grade. Most were aged six to 15; one was older than 15 years. (262-8-19) In 1911, Zelig Rogers (Mrs. Harders' grand-aunt) was a teacher. In the term ending March 31 of that year, there were 42 pupils but only 32 seats, all in first grade. The report said 16 were Hawaiian, five-part Hawaiian, 19 Japanese and one Chinese. Most were six or seven years old; two were 11 years old and beginning school for the first time. (262-9-39) Mrs. Harders says that when her grand-aunt was teacher, she was able to fool naughty boys who plotted mischief in Hawaiian, because she herself was part Hawaiian and fluent in the language. Miss Rogers later married Patrick "Pia" Cockett, who would become a member of the county Board of Supervisors.



Waikapu Church in 2009. Engledow photo 7/09

The Protestant church in Waikapū began in 1838. Its first building was erected in 1866. Records of church growth and change may be found in the Mission Houses Museum Library, which includes minutes of the Maui Presbytery and of the Hawaii Evangelical Association. Originally, this church was part of the Wailuku parish, which included Wailuku, Waikapū, Waihe'e and Waiehu. In the minutes of the Maui Presbytery for 1869, translated by H. P. Judd, a request by members of the Waikapū congregation that it be separated as an independent church was approved. In 1870, church elder J. Kamakele reporting on the doings of the church, and the church called a new pastor, W. Kaho'okaumaha (also spelled Ho'okaumaha).

Archives of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association provide annual statistics as well as occasional insights into the life of the church and the village. In 1871, a report from the Rev. W. Ho'okaumaha says "this is a small parish but rich (fertile). There are not many members of this church, for they are a small family." Religious meetings were held on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays and not many attended during the week because they were working for the sugar planters, but "on Sundays the Hawaiians set apart that day, so they assemble in larger numbers in the church. There are some unbelievers in the parish. In the camps of the 'haole' are the chief doubters." The pastor said these would hide in their office or lie down and pretend to be sick when church members came to visit. The church building was in poor condition, and the congregation was preparing to raise a fund of \$2,000 to improve it. At this time, "there are two schools in the parish, the teachers of which are Protestant." There were a few Roman Catholics and Mormons. Apparently there was some sort of epidemic, because the pastor notes that "last March, 40 died." He was also concerned that hula teachers had come from Lahaina and unbelievers practiced the dance. "Some religious persons went to forbid that evil practice and it has ceased," and the teacher had gone back to Lahaina, he wrote.

In the Presbytery minutes of 1876, the minister reported "great activity of the church at Waikapu in rebuilding their edifice."

The statistical tables for 1870-71 shows 197 members in good standing. By 1887-88, there were only 56 members, with the Reverend S. Kaili in charge. The statistical report for 1889-90 shows that

Wailuku and Waikapū were under the leadership of the Reverend O. Nawahine, with a total of 94 on the membership rolls. Consolidation continued--in 1897-98, Wailuku, Waikapū and Honua'ula were led by the Reverend S. Kapu, with a total of 187 congregants.

In 1909, the Maui News reported that the Reverend Lincoln Benjamin Kaumeheiwa had been invited to co-pastor with the Reverend R.B. Dodge of Kaahumanu and Waikapū churches; he had been in Hana and was "a good preacher and has a good voice for singing," the newspaper said. In 1918, he was installed as pastor of Waikapū and Pu'unene churches. Church membership continue to dwindle, and by the 1940s a supply pastor preached to 27 members. In 1957, Waikapū, still listed as a "Hawaiian church," had an average attendance of 10 and was "yoked" with Kahului Union. By 1958, the church is no longer included in the annual statistical reports.

St. Joseph Mission, on Honopi'ilani Highway, served the Catholic community of Waikapū from 1900 (*Pioneers of the Faith*: 327) until it burned down in February 1997. Today it is a well-kept shrine to St. Joseph, with some graves, only three of which are marked. They are the graves of Hanna Sylva, wife of Antone, who died October 13, 1885, and of Mary Ann and George Maxwell (died 1931 and 1930).

World War II

Like others around Hawaii, the people of Waikapū endured martial law and pitched in to prepare for possible enemy attack. There also was new construction in the village with the establishment of Waikapū Station Hospital. An article in the June 17, 1942, *Maui News* describes its formal opening at a banquet held in a hospital's mess hall.

The hospital is considered an example of the speed with which defense construction has been accomplished on the island, in as much as it was not completed until last January, and now includes almost complete facilities for operation of a general hospital. . . . Major J. Mulligan asserted that the hospital could not have been built without the combined efforts of individuals present at the banquet, and asserted that he appreciated the neighborliness and assistance that had been given on the project. Staff of the hospital consists of eight physicians, ten nurses and 21 enlisted men. Facilities installed include four wards, complete surgery, laboratory, dentistry office, X-ray machine and darkroom, beside large storerooms, mess hall and quarters for the officers, nurses and enlisted men. Wards at the new hospital are so constructed that emergency wards may be organized on the ground beneath them. The surgery is located in the old Waikapu church, from which the steeple has been removed to make it less conspicuous. Now serving as a nurses cottage is the old parsonage. { According to Avery Chumbley, this site was the triangular parcel at the junction of Waiko and Old Waiko roads.]



Steps at junction of Waiko and Old Waiko roads may have led to WWII nurses cottage.
Engledow photo 7/09

An article in the August 18, 1923, *Maui News* tells of the formation of a volunteer company made up mostly of men from Waikapū.

Proficiency in the use of the bolo knife, with which the majority of its members are armed, and skill with small arms and in hand-to-hand combat is the pride of Co. E. 2nd Bn., Maui Volunteers.

The company, sponsored by the Wailuku Sugar Company, comes largely from Waikapu, where it has its headquarters, and consists largely of men working for the Wailuku Sugar Co. Most of its members are Filipino nationals.

The company is commanded by Capt. Wayne Richardson, Jr., Wailuku Sugar Co. division overseer and a graduate of Stanford University, with 1st Lt. James A. Tokunaga, former Hawaiian National Guardsman and highway maintenance foreman for the Territorial department of public works here, as executive officer and second in command.

Approximately 130 men answered the call on May 10, 1942, which deemed a volunteer company necessary at Waikapu. After considerable organizing and fundamental training, the company was under way to becoming a top-notch outfit. . . . Training primarily has been with small arms. Considerable effort and time also has been spent in training on hand-to-hand combat, bayonet defense and the use of bolo knives. Most members of the company are equipped with a bolo knife made by themselves and each man owns a hunting knife. . . . Weekly drills are

[illegible]

Waikapu Residents

22

One of the oldest families in Waikapū is descended from Kuamu, whose *kuleana* was high on Waiko Road, which was bounded on one side by David Malo and on others by John Richardson. The great-great-great-grandson of Kuamo is Glenn McLean, who lived on the property for many years beginning in 1973. McLean is the family historian, having spent much time listening to the stories of his elders as he was growing up, and he has studied history formally in recent years, learning Hawaiian and digging into archival records. McLean's grandfather Kalā Pelekai grew up on the Kuamu kuleana. His grandmother Lu'ukia Pelekai grew up on land mauka of the Maui Tropical Plantation belonging to her stepfather, Ka'a'a; there are several family graves on that parcel. Kalā and Lu'ukia married in 1916 and moved to Hāna, where Glenn McLean now lives. McLean's mother also grew up in Waikapū, but now lives in Hāna as well.

McLean said Kuamu was awarded five *apana*--three for *kalo*, one for *wauke* and one in Keokea for sweet potatoes. The Waikapū property as it now exists has shrunk by about two-thirds from the original dimensions of about 3.5 acres shown on early maps. The property has limited access to water from the Waikapū stream, through a 1-inch pipe that waters fruit trees and the native plants grown by McLean's son Luke, who now lives on the property. McLean has applied for a Commission on Water Resource Management surface water use permit in order to re-open old *lo'i* on the property.

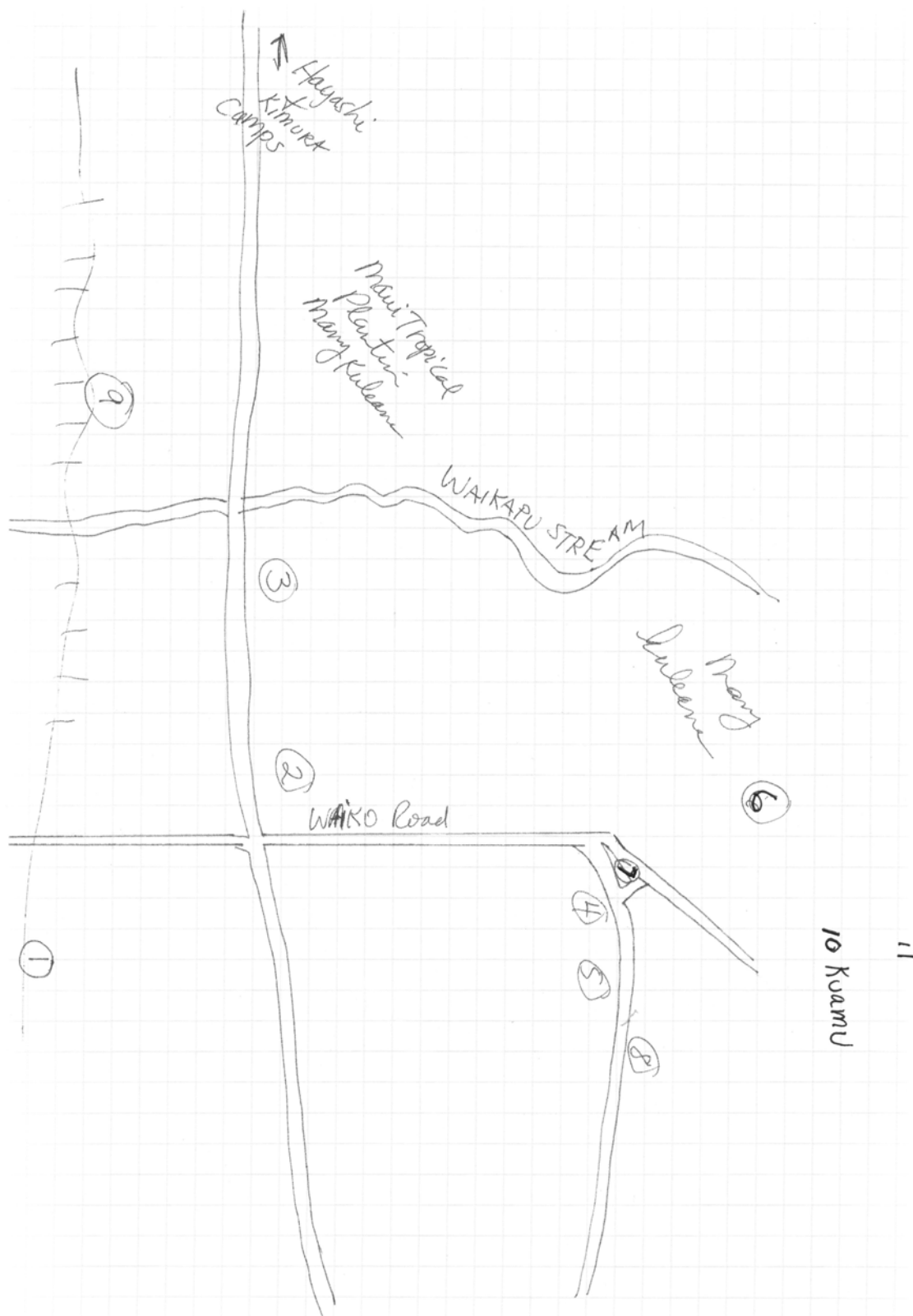
In a brief, informal conversation, McLean shared a few tidbits of Waikapū history. Some of his relatives were among many who left the village in the 1930s to move to Moloka'i and take up homestead lands there. Eddie Rogers, whose family still lives in Waikapū, once leased 5,000 acres between Waikapū and Ma'alaea for his cattle; as a young man, McLean worked for him fixing fences. Near the junction of Waiko and Old Waiko roads was a store run by Ah Fat Soong, where Rogers and other residents loved to go for bread and coffee in the morning. Another old family is the Vidas (descendants of Kate Louzada Cornwell and Daniel Rodrigues Vida, who came from Chile and married Kate in 1868). (familysearch.org) A grave on their property belongs to a Cockett, perhaps Charles, the first person of that well-known Maui name to come to the island.

Waikapu also has spawned some famous individuals, beginning with earliest recorded history. The early Hawaiian evangelist known as Blind Bartimeus was born in Waikapū about 1875 and was a noted hula performer and drummer for Hawaiian royalty. (Bingham)

More recently, it is the hometown of the late Shin'ichi Suzuki, a world-class teacher and practitioner of aikido. Suzuki was born in 1917 in Waikapū, the first in a family of ten children whose father immigrated from Japan to work in the cane fields. (Curtis)

* * * * *

Author's note: Waikapū clearly was a vital and important community in Maui's history, and its story as presented here could be greatly expanded. Due in part to time constraints, this report is based almost entirely on documentary resources, with few interviews of contemporary Waikapū residents (who are putting together their own oral history). Stories told by residents and descendants of former residents would fill in gaps and perhaps correct errors or mis perceptions found in this report. The author hopes that this report turns out to be the first draft of a comprehensive history of Waikapū.



Engledow map 7/09

Approximate locations of various sites mentioned in A History of Waikapū

1. Waikapū Community Cemetery.
2. Site of 1862 Waikapū Mill, later Wailuku Sugar stables area. This was subdivided starting 1955.
3. Old Catholic church that burned in 1997
4. Old Congregational church. Turned into a surgery during WWII; now a private residence.
5. Old school site, closed sometime after early 1940s.
6. Many kuleana on Avery Chumbley's land, and some Cornwell graves.
7. WWII nurses cottage
8. Old Waikapu Road, created in 1860s, was much-used access route between Wailuku and *kuleana* in the area.
9. Plantation railroad in this approximate area.
10. Kuamu *kuleana*
11. Cornwell home

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