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NPS Form 10-900-b

OMB No. 1024-0018

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Nat. Register of Historic Places
National Park Service

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

__X__ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a town, Hāmākua District, Hawai'i Island, Hawaii

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

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HISTORIC PRES. DIV.
DEPT. OF LAND &
NATURAL RESOURCES

Development of Honoka'a Town 1872–1960s
Plantation Architecture in Honoka'a 1880s–1945

C. Form Prepared by:

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Signature of certifying official	Title	Date
	DSHPD	4.27.16

STATE OF HAWAII
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
	6-7-2016

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.
Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

Page Numbers

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

(If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

Development of Honoka'a Town 1872–1960s
Plantation Era Architecture in Honokaa 1880s–1945

See Continuation Sheet

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

Commercial Buildings
- Simplified Italianate Revival
- Western False-front
- Lateral-running gable roof

Educational Buildings
Government Buildings
- Hawaiian Style with Double-Pitched Hipped Roof and inset entry lanai

Religious Buildings
Detached Residences and Outbuildings
Landings

See Continuation Sheet

G. Geographical Data

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

See Continuation Sheet

I. Major Bibliographical References

(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)

See Continuation Sheet

NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a — HI
Name of Multiple Property Listing — State

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).
Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 250 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Introduction

Honokaʻa Town is located on the Hāmākua Coast of the Island of Hawaiʻi in a *moku* or district of the same name and fronts two sides of an old government route to Waipiʻo Valley known as Māmane Street. The town, first settled as a stage stop in the nineteenth century, developed linearly along this arterial, and its bounds gradually extended across ten *ahupuaʻa* or Hawaiian land divisions. These *ahupua'a* include: Koloaha, Kulihaʻi, Lauka, Nienie, Papuaʻa, Nāmoku, Haina, Papaʻanui, Paʻalaea, and Kalua. Honokaʻa takes its name from the sound of the sea nearby which, translated from the Hawaiian, means "rolling [as stones] bay" (Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini. *Place Names of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1974: 49). The town is located on a narrow sloping plateau which parallels the coast at an elevation of 1,325 feet above sea level, from which the terrain slopes upward or *mauka* to the summit of the 13,796-foot volcano, *Mauna Kea,* and downward or *makai* to a rugged rocky coast below. The slopes of the coast terminate in sheer cliffs, broken by numerous deep gulches that originally carried the outflows of streams which cascaded into the sea. The soils consist of well-drained, silty clay loam developed from volcanic ash over bedrock and the area receives abundant rainfall, ranging from 60-90 inches per year, but may experience periodic drought (H. Ikawa, H.H. Sato, A.K.S. Change, S. Nakamura, E. Robello, Jr., and S.P. Periaswamy. *Soils of the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Hawaii: Soil Survey, Laboratory Data, and Soil Descriptions*. Benchmark Soils Project (BSP) Technical Report 3. Mānoa: University of Hawaiʻi, 1985: 50).

The Island of Hawaiʻi, like the other islands of the archipelago, is thought to have been settled from Kahiki, the ancestral islands of the Native Hawaiian people, in two periods—A.D. 300-600 and A.D. 1100-1250 (Kepa and Onaona Maly. "Kukuihaele-Kanahonua Vicinity, Hāmākua." Lānaʻi City: Kumu Pono & Associates, 2011: 1408-1). The Native Hawaiian population became concentrated along the windward shores of the islands where water, necessary for agricultural production, as well as fish and other marine life, necessary sources of protein, were readily available. Native Hawaiians also introduced plants such as wet- and dry-land *kalo* (taro), sweet potatoes, yams, gourds, breadfruit, coconut, *ʻawa*, *ko* (sugar cane), and *wauke* (paper mulberry). From the perennial Hāmākua streams, they harvested *limu wai* (fresh water "seaweed" or moss), shell fish such as the *wī* or *hihiwai* (grainy snail), *ʻōpae* (fresh water shrimp), and various species of fresh water fishes such as *ʻoʻopu* (gobidae; Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-2).

Hāmākua was assigned to a *moku-o-loko* or district which extended along the coast from Kaʻula Gulch in the Hilo vicinity to the Honokeʻā Valley near Kohala, then inland and upward, where it enveloped the entire summit of Mauna Kea. Its full name "*Hāmākua kihi loa"* or "Hāmākua [of] long (excessive) corners, described the many pointed cliffs, and corners of the district" (Pukui 1983: 441; Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-4). Within the *moku* were apportioned *ahupuaʻa*, which in turn were divided into smaller land units called *ʻili lele*, *kīhāpai*, *māla,* and *kōʻele* (Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-4). In traditional Hawaiian governance, land use, and practice, small land parcels were inhabited and worked by the *makaʻāinana* or "people of the land" and their extended families, who paid tribute in produce and product which was generated from the land and waters to an ascending hierarchy of chiefs. Maly and Maly (2011) described the system further when they wrote that: "[The *makaʻāinana* were managed by] appointed *konohiki* or chief-landlords, who answered to an *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa,* a chief who controlled the *ahupuaʻa* resources. The *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa* in turn answered to an *aliʻiʻai moku,* a chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district, and the *ahupuaʻa* resources also supported the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms" (Ibid.).

Waipiʻo Valley became a locus for agriculture and settlement and developed into an important *ʻaina loʻi* or *kalo* growing district. E.S.C. and E.G. Handy (with M.K. Pukui) wrote in *Native Planters in Old Hawaiʻi* (1972) that it was "the greatest wet-taro valley of Hawaiʻi and one of the largest planting areas in the entire group of islands…[Its] vast, flat valley floor was completely developed in terraces for an area about three miles long and one to 0.75 mile wide" (Handy 1972: 533). Given its agricultural bounty, Waipiʻo was also subsequently selected as the location of an ancient Hawaiian royal court.

Wetland kalo production was not restricted to Waipiʻo, but was eventually expanded southeast to Honokaʻa probably between A.D. 800-1000, along the elevated plateau that paralleled the coast. Handy wrote that, "[t]he wet taro section of the Hāmākua coast extended from Honokaʻa to Kukuihaele, where there [was] a succession of small terraces with high retaining walls, watered by Waikoekoe Stream" (Ibid.). He also noted that *loʻi* cultivation did not disappear with later European and Euro-American settlement and indicated that as late as the 1930s there were still "several of the upper terraces [in the area which] ha[d] been converted into small reservoirs, while the lower ones [were] still used for raising wet taro" (Ibid., Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-2).

Through the passage of some ten centuries, the Hāmākua region became imbued with much legend and lore. Maly wrote that it had associations with two supernatural brothers—*Ka-Miki*, "the quick or adept one," and *Maka-ʻiole*, "rat (squinting eyes)"—both of whom travelled about the island of Hawaiʻi, as well as their progenitor, "*Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka*, (the great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands). She was a reincarnate form of the goddess *Haumea* (the creative force of nature; also called *Papa* and/or *Hina*; a goddess of priests and competitors), who lived at Kalamaʻula in the uplands of Kohana-iki, Kona" (Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-4). Maly also noted that Waipiʻo was associated with "the ghost god-king *Luanuʻu* and a horde of [attendant, malevolent,] ghosts" who in one narrative were ascribed the name, "*Pōloli-ke-akua* (the god [ghosts] are hungry"; Ibid. 1408-5). The region's agricultural importance caused it to be similarly linked to the principle Hawaiian deity *Lono*—whose "attributes [of] abundant growth, billowing horizon…and rain-laden clouds [occurred] with the seasonal *kona*, or southerly storms," and whose many forms and rituals included that of the demigod, *Kama-puaʻa* (pig-child) and the annual *Makahiki* (yearly festival; Ibid.: 1408-8 – 1408-9).

Native storytellers described the district's sheer topography along the coast with poetic phrases such as: "Nā kihi o Hāmākua i ke ala ʻūlili ke kuʻukuʻu i ke kaula a Honokeʻā pale Hāmākua–The corners [many points] of Hāmākua[, land] of the steep trails, where a rope is set down for the path of Honokeʻā which is the buffer (guardian) of Hāmākua"; or "Hāmākua i ke ala ʻūlili, ke nihi ala i nā kaula pali nihinihi a ke koaʻe – Hāmākua of the steep trails, where one carefully uses the rope trail along the steep cliffs where the *koaʻe* [tropic birds] perch"; and "Hāmākua i nā kihi mamao loa mai ka hikina a i ke komohana – Hāmākua with its far reaching corners [points] stretching from east to west" (Ibid.: 1408-6).

Europeans and Euro-Americans resided in Hāmākua as early as 1834. European contact had occurred initially in 1778. Subsequently, the Hawaiian population had been decimated by disease and famine, undergone social collapse as well as wars to unify the islands into a single kingdom, suffered political and social upheaval, and ultimately was dispossessed from the lands which it had occupied for centuries. The economy of region remained principally reliant upon dryland farming with the addition of ranching before the establishment of a nascent sugar industry. The first Hawaiian church was named ʻEleʻio. It was established at Kanahonua in 1835 by Reverend Lorenzo Lyons of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) after he relocated along with his wife Betsy and their son Curtis from Waimea to the Hāmākua Coast (Maly and Maly 2011: 1408-18).

Lyons noted how travel to Hāmākua was accomplished when he wrote in correspondence to his brother in 1834 that:

> We have no roads such as you have in America, but we got to Hāmākua after a fashion. Mrs. L[yons] was drawn part of the way in a rocking chair attached to the fore wheels of a wagon; a part of the way she was carried in the same chair by natives; and a part of the way she walked. The little one [their son Curtis] was carried by a native (Ibid.).

A temporary mission church was initially built and a more permanent stone edifice was finally erected on the site in March 1859 that was later known as Kukuihaele church (Ibid.: 1408-20). The Lyons' journal of their experiences on the Hāmākua Coast noted in January 1860 that Hawaiians collected *pulu* (tree fern fiber) to be shipped to market for sale as pillow and mattress stuffing. The income from the pulu sales was used to purchase building materials for the church such as lumber and presumably, shingles, nails, windows and doors. The labor was described as "tedious work to pick it from the ferns, dry it, pack it and take it to the sea side to be shipped. Sometimes they [had] to descend precipitous rocks and bluffs to get their *pulu*" (Ibid.).

The difficulty in landing construction materials, once procured, was also described by Lyons:

> [W]hen the vessel brings the lumber, then comes the trying time! There are no harbors on the Hāmākua shore. Materials must be landed at the best places that can be found, and then only at certain times of the year. In rough weather no landing can be expected... The people have to struggle hard and work long in the water before the last board is safely on the rocks. Then they must have a hard and long pull to get the lumber in from the rocky shore up the steep precipitous paths and thence up to the site of the church... (Ibid.).

In 1841 Lyons estimated that the population of Hāmākua numbered some 3,830 persons. While residing at Waimea earlier in 1833, he had first documented the residual effects of Western contact on the natives when he wrote that, "deaths are more numerous than births. Hence the population is decreasing" (Ibid.: 1408-18). He repeated his sentiments again in 1845 when he noted during an outbreak of disease, "O my wretched, starving people! Never before [have I] had so much doctoring to do" and lamented once more in 1848 that "there [are] so many dead that there [is] almost no one to bury them" (Ibid.: 1408-20). Given the episodic outbreaks of disease such as syphilis and yaws (1779), *ōkuʻu* or dysentery (1807), leprosy (1835, 1848), measles (1848), smallpox (1853, 1881), and cholera (1895) which swept through the islands, the native population was decimated, unable to stabilize, and continued to decrease (Thrum 1897: 95-101; Pirie 1978: 85-88). The censuses of 1853, 1866, 1872, 1878, 1884, 1890, and 1896 recorded the population collapse throughout the archipelago. Native Hawaiians were enumerated as 70,036 in 1853, 57,125 in 1866, 49,044 in 1872, 44,088 in 1878, 40,014 in 1884, 34,436 in 1890, and 31,019 in 1896 (U.S. Commissioner of Labor 1916: 16).

Integration into the World Economy

A series of laws undertaken in the mid 19th century changed land tenure in Hawaiʻi. Within traditional Native Hawaiʻi, a social contract existed between the ruled and rulers, wherein the former provided labor and the latter organization and protection. If the ruled became dissatisfied with conditions, they were not tied to the land and could leave of their own volition. The right of occupancy to the land was subject to the pleasure of the King. After contact, Western ideas of private property rights and a cash economy came into conflict with this system; the outsiders' main complaint being that the possibility of uncompensated forfeiture to the *aliʻi* discouraged

investment in infrastructure and thus lost business opportunities. The introduction of a cash economy was also disruptive to Native Hawaiians' traditional access to the land and labor requirements owed by the common people to the aliʻi. The chiefs themselves were reluctant to surrender their hold on the common people provided by the ancient system. Many Native Hawaiians also feared potential economic and/or political dominance by foreigners (Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854*, p. 269-295, Honolulu, UH Press 1965).

The Royal Government sought to deal with these issues as it evolved into a constitutional monarchy. In 1839, for example, a "Bill of Rights" declared that a landlord could not dispossess his tenants without cause as defined by the government (Jon Chinen, Original Land Titles in Hawaiʻi 1961, page 8). The 1840 Constitution declared that land was no longer the personal property of the king, but managed by him for the benefits of the chiefs and people (Chinen, p8). In 1845 a Land Commission to Quiet Land Titles was set up; in 1848 the Mahele began the distribution process of lands between the King and *aliʻi*/*konahiki*; 1850 authorized the sale of lands to foreigners; and also in 1850 awards of small landholdings (*kuleana*) to Native Tenants were authorized (Chinen, p12-13).

Meanwhile, the continued mortality of Native Hawaiians in large numbers caused place names to cease being associated with native communities in favor of farms, ranches, and sugar plantations, along with their attendant immigrant populations. The Hāmākua Coast came to be known as the "Scotch Coast" reflecting the large number of *haole* (foreigners) from Britain, particularly Scotland, who settled there as planters, ranchers, or managers of sugar mills. Reflecting this tie to Great Britain, the settlers' politics were in favor of the Hawaiian monarchy.

Hāmākua was home to such Hawaiian Kingdom supporters as the Honorable Sam Parker, George Hardy, and a sugar planter named W.H. Rickard (Momi Naughton 2013: 1).

George Hardy had arrived in Waimea in 1850, opening up a blacksmith shop where the current Jacaranda Inn stands in 2014. He hunted cattle on Mauna Kea with John Palmer Parker and Harry Purdy. He also became overseer of all roads on the island and eventually owner of land in Haina.

In 1867 Hardy convinced a large group of his relations to move to Hawaiʻi, including nephew William H. Rickard, William's wife Nora and nephew Richard Thomas Rickard. Niece Anna Rickard and their mother Jane Hutchins Smith Rickard arrived in 1869. The Rickards lived initially in Waimea, Haina and Kalehua (*mauka* of Honokaʻa) before acquiring the 1883 home of George Wilfong (Willfong) on what is now Rickard Place in Honokaʻa (http://Hāmākuatimes.com/heritage-center-news-p1544-136.htm). William H. Rickard became the manager of Honokaʻa Sugar Company. As the home of the owner of the most successful plantation in the area, this residence became a catalyst for development of Honokaʻa town.

Interaction with the Native Hawaiians was intimate: Anna, for example, grew up fluent in the Native Hawaiian language and related years later that she had as a child played with Princess Kaiulani and still owned a keepsake doll given to her by the Princess. Jane Rickard was well known as a midwife throughout Hāmākua in the 1870s. William H. Rickard's ties to the Hawaiian Monarchy were such that he and Nora were personally invited to King Kalakaua's coronation in Honolulu in 1883. In 1886 Richard Thomas Rickard hosted Queen Kapiolani at the Honokaʻa house during a stop the Queen made during an around the island tour. William H. Rickard served in the Kingdom's House of Nobles in 1889 (Naughton, personal communication, December 2013).

Following the American supported overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani in 1893, a Provisional Government was formed whose members declared it as the Republic of Hawaiʻi in 1894. Although recognized by England, France, Spain, and Germany, the new government was derided by Native Hawaiians and other Royalists as the "P.G.," "Pi

Gi," or "Pi-Ki". The Royalists staged their own Counter-Revolution in 1895, an effort led in part by Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox who had organized an earlier rebellion attempt in 1889 against the "Bayonet Constitution" that curtailed the power of King Kalakaua.

Rickard was purported to have financed the 1895 operation—which included the purchase and shipment of revolvers, rifles, and grenades from San Francisco for landing in Honolulu—along with Civil War veteran Major William T. Seward. Other participants in the planning of the insurrection included: Charles T. Gulick, H.F. Bertlemann, W.H.C. Greig, Samuel Nowlein, and Carl Widemann (Amy Stillman. "History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution" In *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 23. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1989. Stillman 1989: 3; Kawika Tengan. *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawaiʻi*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press 2008: 230). Two hundred twenty Monarchist men were arrested, their leaders fined $10,000 each, and given 35-year prison sentences. Rickard was in Honolulu when the uprising took place, taken into custody, tried, convicted and sentenced to death by hanging before his sentence was finally commuted. He was released, along with participant T.B. Walker on November 28, 1895 and returned to Honokaʻa (Walker 1931: 99). Unfortunately, like Native Hawaiian activist newspaperman Joseph Nawahi, Rickard had contracted tuberculosis during confinement at "the Reef" prison in Honolulu. He died four years later at his house in Honokaʻa in 1899. As late as 2012, Rickard was still remembered in the oral tradition of the town as well as in old national songs or *mele lāhui* and held in the highest esteem (Stillman 1989: 3-25).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

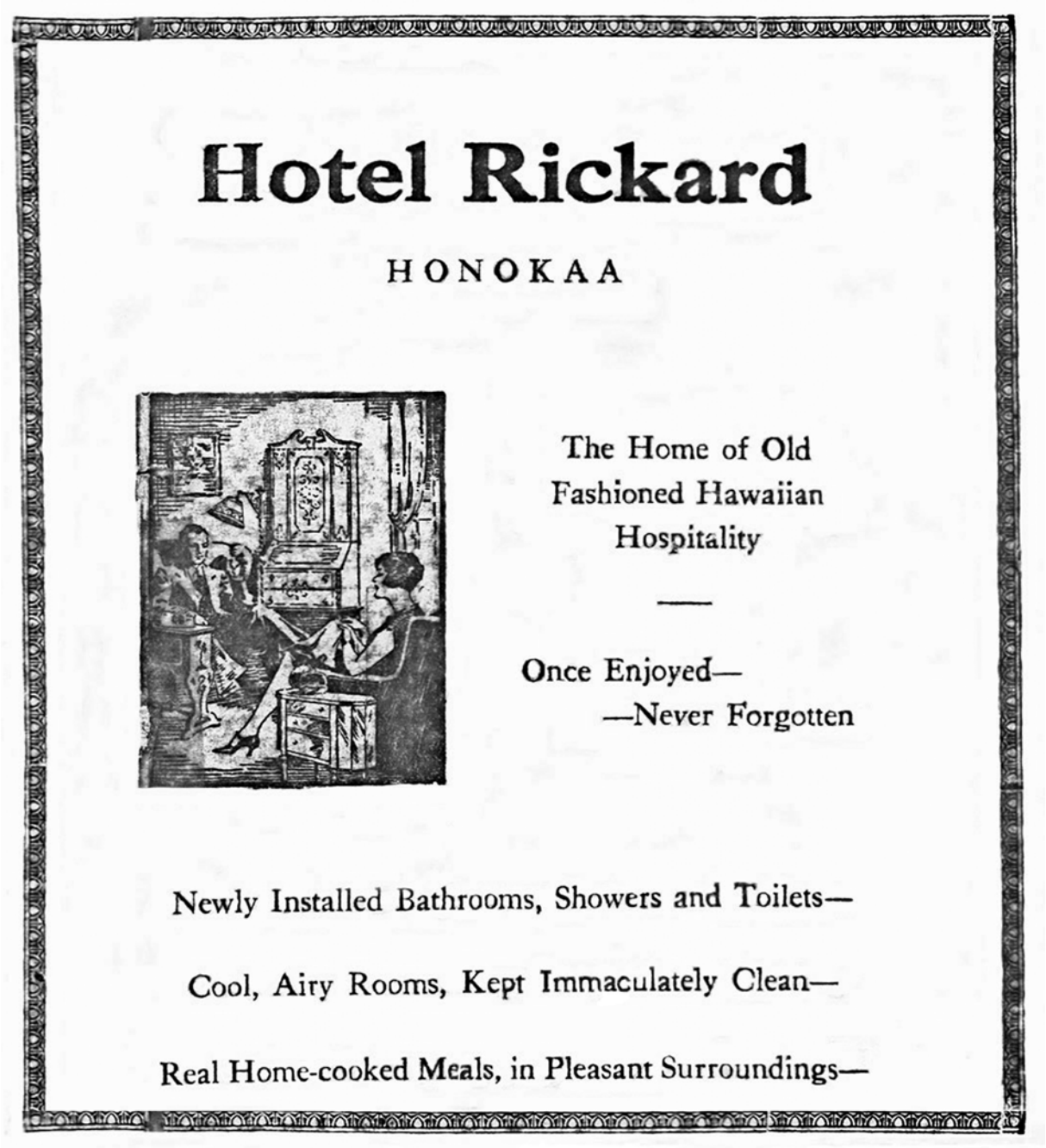
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 6

Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

William H. Rickard was instrumental in the development of Honokaʻa.



HAWAIʻI STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION From HILO TRIBUNE-HERALD
Newspaper advertisement. 1920s.

Although sugar became the dominant agricultural product of the region, there were other crops which were produced. They included vegetables as well as coffee, the latter of which was recorded in 1888 as being grown on 140 acres of land near Honokaʻa as well as on numerous small acreage farms along the Hāmākua Coast (Thomas

Thrum. *Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac & Annual*. Honolulu Press Publishing Company, 1888: 161). Life on these small farms was difficult: the editor of the *Planters Monthly* opined in 1893 that "the people are in most cases poor, and do not have the means or the knowledge of where to procure the various trees and plants that are needed to make profitable the cultivation of homesteads" (*Planters Monthly*, July 1893: 302). In order to encourage the retention of former plantation workers in agriculture, the Republic in 1895 passed a formal Land Act fashioned after the United States Homestead Act of 1862, allowing lease or purchase of Government and former Crown Lands for establishment of small farms (Hawaiʻi, Department of Foreign Affairs. The Hawaiian Islands, Their Resources, Agricultural, Commercial and Financial. Honolulu, Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1896). By 1902 there were some sixty-two farmers who were recorded in the local telephone directory as residing in Honokaʻa. Fifty-five were growing vegetables, seven were raising coffee, and they included two Euro-Americans, seven Hawaiians, fifty-one Portuguese as well as two Japanese (F.M. Husted. *Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii*. Honolulu: F.M. Husted Publishers, 1902: v.p.).

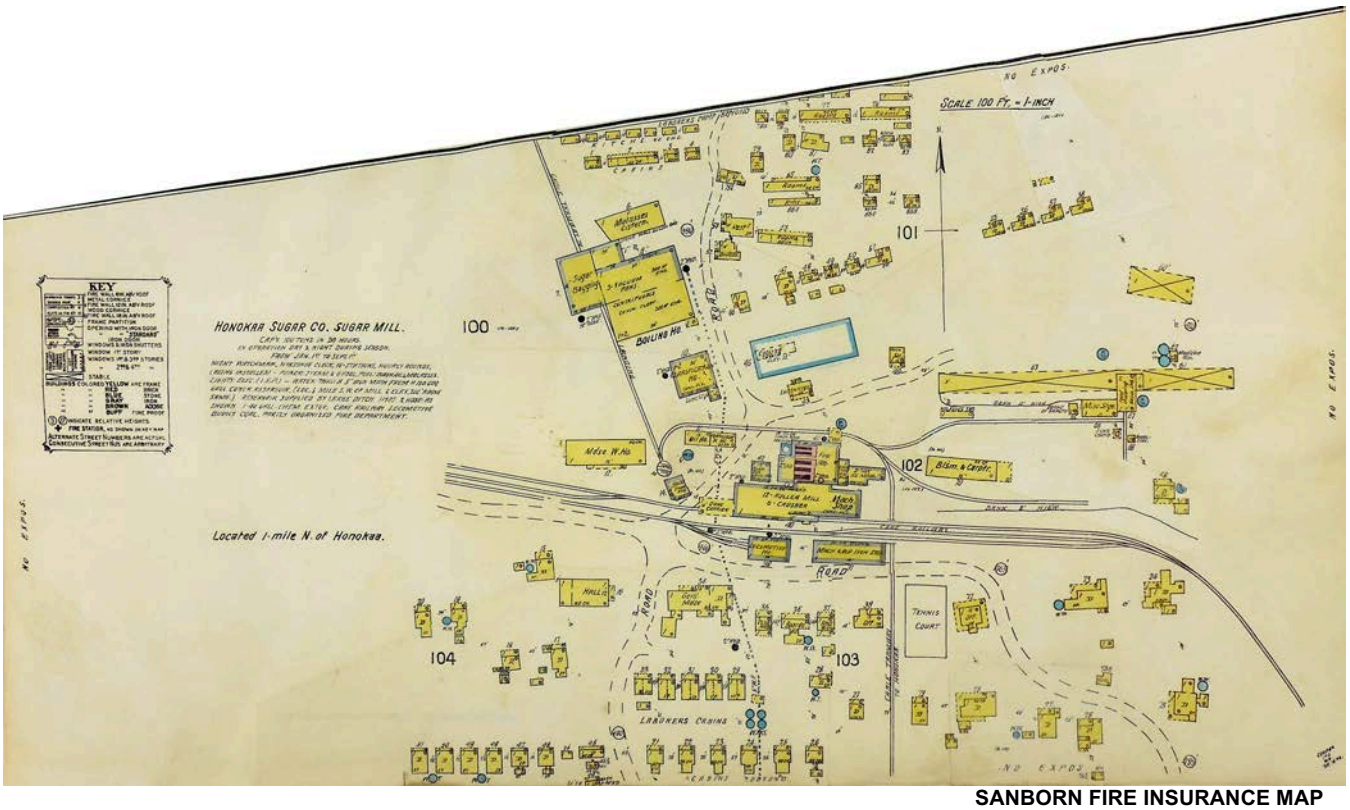
Stock ranching was also initiated. Cattle had been landed as a gift to Kamehameha I by the English sea captain George Vancouver in 1793. A *kapu* (law that carried the death penalty in this case for anyone killing the cattle) resulted in the massive propagation proliferation of these animals and the resultant destruction of much unprotected native flora. The first horses came aboard the ship *Lelia Byrd* in 1803. Mexican cowboys from California were employed by 1832 to control the wild animals and develop a ranching industry (Billy Bergin. *Loyal to the Land*, Honolulu, University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2004, p 21, 23, 32.) While the largest of the ranch business centered on Mana and Waimea (Parker Ranch, founded by John Palmer Parker in 1847), other operations closer to the Hāmākua coast included the Horner Ranch at Umikoa-Kukaiau, (established 1885) (John Horner, Adventures of a Pioneer, posted at http://www.sfgenealogy.com/sf/history/hgoe04a.htm, Parker Ranch operations at Pāʻauhau Mauka, W. H. Rickards' Kalehua Stock Ranch near Honokaʻa (Bureau of American Republics, Commercial Directory of the American Republics, Washington DC, Government Printing Office, 1897, page 978) and the De Luz slaughterhouse in Paʻauilo Mauka.

Waipiʻo Valley was transformed from *loʻi ʻaina* into a rice growing district by Chinese. They settled in the valley within ten years of their arrival to work on the sugar plantations in Hawaiʻi in 1852. Rice, initially planted for local Chinese consumption was later shipped directly to San Francisco. Waipiʻo successfully produced rice for some 60 years; rice production once was the second largest cash crop behind sugar. The industry declined because the new Japanese immigrants favored the short grain variety grown in California over the long grain version favored by the Chinese, the harsh lifestyle of hand labor in the fields, attacks by introduced pests such as the rice bird and rice borer, and a crash in the mainland market later in 1921. ("Rice in Hawaiʻi": *A Guide to Historical Resources*. Karol Haraguchi. Humanities Program of the Hawaiʻi State Foundation on Cultural and the Arts and the Hawaiian Historical Society. Honolulu, 1987.)

Honokaʻa Sugar Company

It may be conjectured that European and Euro-American visits to the vast, fertile Waipiʻo Valley caused them to envision the entire Hāmākua region as planted in vast fields of a cash crop such as sugar cane, but the vision did not materialize until 1876. In that year, an agreement between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States (known in the vernacular as the Reciprocity Treaty) allowed Hawaiian sugar to enter the U.S. mainland "duty-free" and prompted the proliferation of sugar plantations throughout the archipelago and along the Hāmākua Coast in particular. Within two years of the treaty's signing, there were three sugar plantations located within the vicinity of the village that later became known as Honokaʻa Town. They included: Honokaʻa Sugar Company (HSCo) (1878), Pāʻauhau Sugar Company (1878), and Pacific Sugar Mill (at Kukuihaele, 1879). Other companies

which were established along the Hāmākua Coast included its earliest enterprise—Kaiwiki Sugar Company (at ʻOʻōkala, 1869)—as well as the Hāmākua Mill Company (1877), Laupāhoehoe Sugar Company (1880), and Kūkaʻiau Mill Company (1887). They were accompanied by numerous independent planters who in the early years of the industry supplied cane on contract to the mills. They occasionally bought each other out as in the instance in July of 1882 when "R.M. Overend purchased the cane planting interest of J.R. Mills, at Honokaʻa for $35,000. His [acquisition] include[d] a lease of a large share of lands that suppl[ied] cane for the Honokaʻa Mill" (*Planters Monthly* 1882: 110). Unlike numerous other plantations that had been established in Hawaiʻi, Honokaʻa Sugar Company was incorporated in the year that it began operations—on May 8, 1878—by F.A. Schaefer, J. Marsden, J.F.H. Siemsen, J.C. Bailey and M. McInerny (Ibid. 1882: 95; HSPA (Hawaiʻi Sugar Planters Association) Plantation Archives n.d.: n.p.). It was initially capitalized at $200,000 through the sale of 100 shares of stock, valued at $2,000 per share (*Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* 1887: 52).



SANBORN FIRE INSURANCE MAP

1914 Honokaʻa Sugar Co. Sugar Mill

HSCo's owner and agent, F.A. Schaefer & Company, had been incorporated on July 1, 1867. Its founder, Frederick August (F.A.) Schaefer (1836-1920), had emigrated to Hawaiʻi from Bremen, Germany in 1857. Bremen was the home of a number of German immigrants who became prominent businessmen in Hawaiʻi including Heinrich Hackfeld (1815-87), Paul Isenberg (1837-1903), J. Charles Pflueger (1830-83), Conrad Carl Von Hamm (1870-1965), and J.F. Carl Hagens (1870-?). Schaefer initially worked as a clerk for the German mercantile firm of Melchers & Company, which had been formed by Gustav Melchers and Gustav Reiners in 1852 and was located in a still existent (2014) building on Merchant Street near the Honolulu waterfront. Both

Melchers and Reiners returned to Germany by 1861 and after operating the company in their absence for six years, Schaefer bought out the partners and renamed the enterprise, F.A. Schaefer & Co.

Although he was initially engaged as an importer and commission agent, Schaefer entered into the sugar industry in 1878 with his acquisition of a 500-acre plantation that had been formed two years earlier by J.F.H. Siemsen and J. Marsden and his establishment of HSCo in the same year. Shortly thereafter, he briefly advertised his company with the heading, "F.A. Schaefer & Company, Sugar Factors, Successors to Melchers & Co." and company stock was available for sale from such brokers as Ballentyne & Eakin in Honolulu as well as E. Pollitz & Company in San Francisco (*Hawaiian Star*, May 6, 1899: 4: 2). As late as February 1905, stock sales for Hawaiian securities were popular, though volatile investments on the San Francisco stock exchange with HSCo stocks reported as selling in blocks of 500 for $23.37 to $24.00 per share. One newspaper reporter wrote that, "Honokaʻa is very much in demand and there is a standing order for as much as can be purchased" (*Evening Bulletin*, February 4, 1905: 1: 4-5). In contrast, Pioneer Mill Company stocks were selling on the same day for as high as $103 per share in blocks of 1,000 and Oahu Rail and Land Company (OR&L) sold at $102.50 (Ibid.).

Earlier in 1879, Schaefer also organized the Pacific Sugar Mill which operated independently through 1913. Schaefer's success in the industry over a twenty-five year period was later substantiated when he was elected as the secretary-treasurer for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) in 1906 (*Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, December 22, 1906: 397: 1). He also expanded into real estate and rail and was on the board of directors and third vice president of B.F. Dillingham's Oahu Rail & Land Company (*Moody's Analyses of Investments* 1914: 801). Along with his wife Elizabeth (Robertson) Schaefer, and their children, he resided in a fashionable residence on Kalia Road in the vicinity of Fort DeRussy in Honolulu along with such prominent neighbors as Chun Afong and I.W. Waterhouse, and was a stockholder in other prominent concerns including the Moana Hotel in Waikiki.

In addition, Schaefer also consolidated Pacific Sugar Mill (PSMCo) operations under HSCo management in 1913, although the former was allowed to continue activities under its own name until a formal merger took place later in 1928. The latter acquisition increased the land area of HSCo to 9,000 acres and extended the company's holdings along the coast to ten miles which stretched from its southern boundary near Paʻauilo to its northern boundary in the vicinity of Kukuihaele.

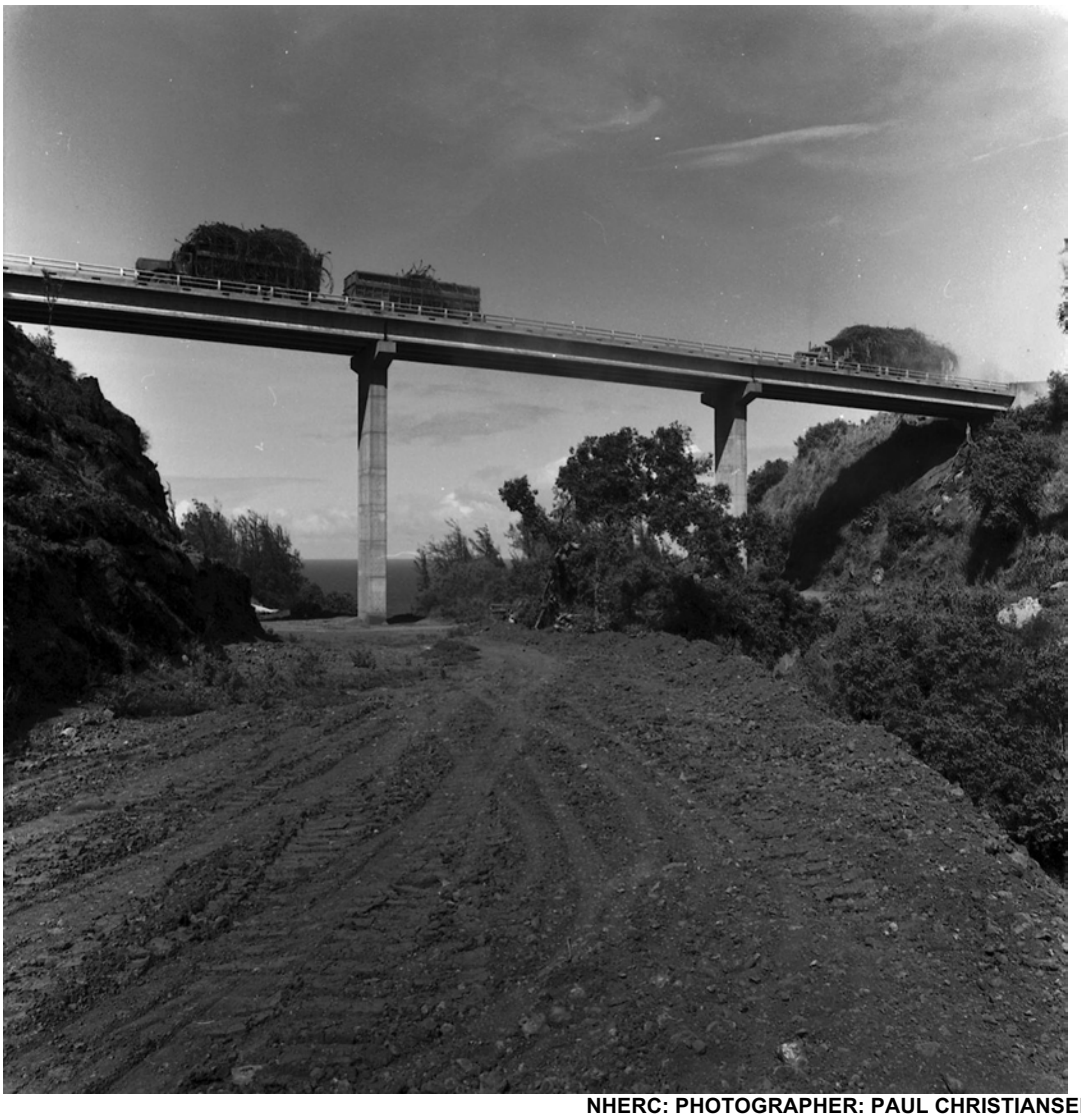
By 1919 HSCo was described in contemporary trade journals as capitalized at $3,000,000, having assets of $3,800,000, owning in fee simple 4,250 acres, and another 3,695 acres in lease (*Walker's Manual of Far Western Corporations & Securities* 1919: 348). In the following year, advertisements for its owner read, "F.A. Schaefer & Company, Limited[,] Sugar Factors, Importers, Commission & Insurance Agents," and the company occupied offices in the Kauikeōlani Building on King Street in Honolulu (Thrum 1920: 11).

HSCo's early production of sugar was 2,905 tons in 1895 (Thrum 1901: 46, *Planters Monthly* 1909: 247). Plagued with episodic drought during the next decade, from 1900-20 the company produced 8,152 tons in 1900, 7,644 tons in 1905, 9,665 tons in 1910, 8,612 tons in 1915, and 5,330 tons in 1920 (HSCo 1900: 4, Ibid. 1905: 4:, 1910: 2, 1915: 1, 1920: 2). HSCo's production resumed its pre-1920 figures with 8,535 tons in 1922 and 10,763 tons in 1925 (Ibid. 1922: 2, 1925: 2). In contrast, PSMCo's production during the same periods included 2,931 tons in 1895, 4,774 tons in 1900, 4,342 tons in 1905, 5,055 tons in 1910, 7,253 tons in 1915, 5,761 in 1920, and 8,602 in 1925 (Thrum 1901: 46; *Planters Monthly* 1909: 247; PMSCo 1911: 1, Ibid. 1916: 1, 1920: 2, 1925:2). Sugar production operations for HSCo and PSMCo were combined in 1928; and by 1935, production was 23,005 tons and 26,909 tons, and by 1940, it was 25,631 tons (HSCo 1929: 2, Ibid. 1930: 1, 1935: 2, 1940: 2). Earlier in

1924, HSCo initiated direct shipments of sugar and molasses to the U.S. mainland in exchange for fuel oil and discontinued transfers of its products via Honolulu to the mainland (HSCo 1925: 4).

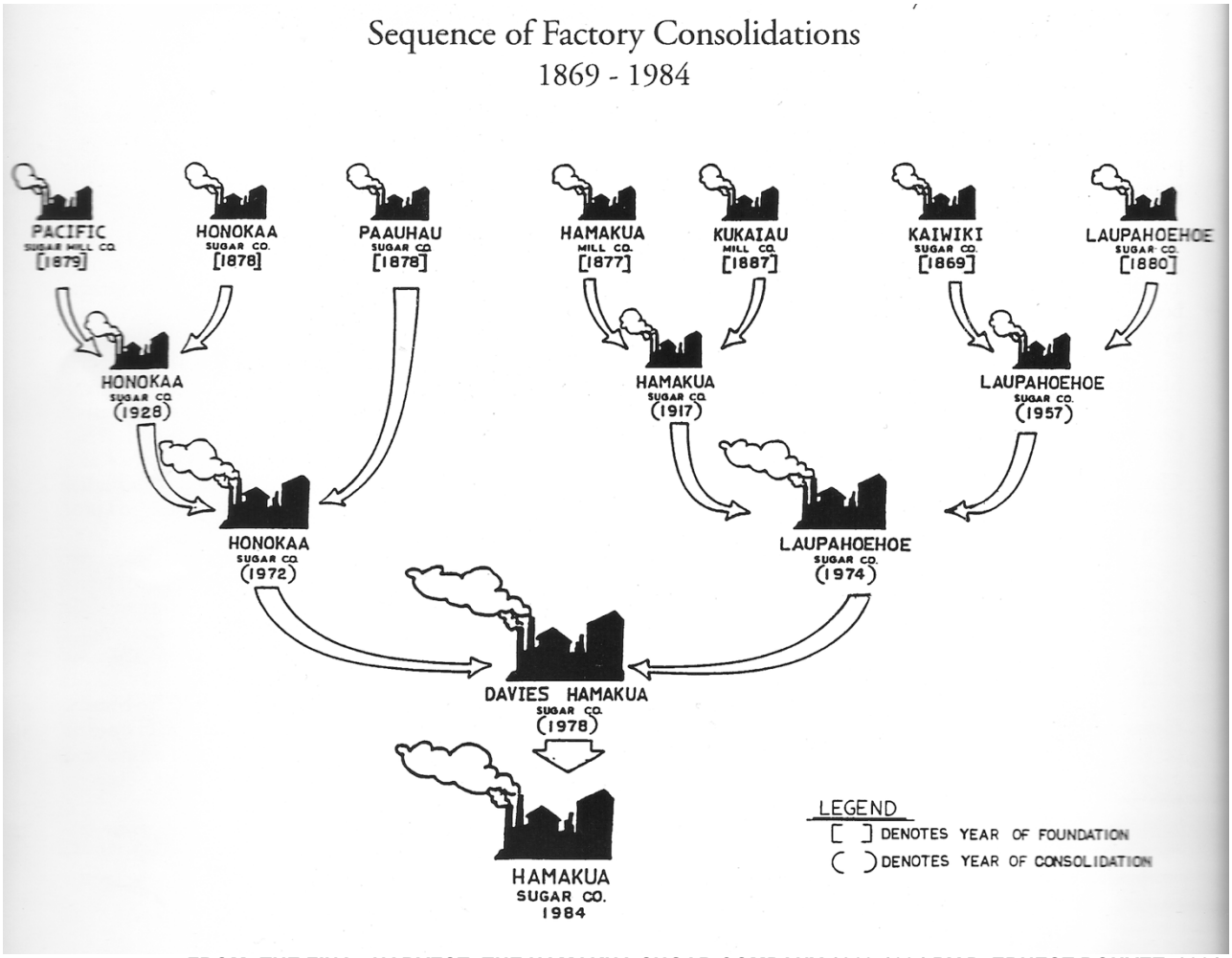
NORTH HAWAIʻI EDUCATIONAL AND RESEARCH CENTER—HERITAGE CENTER: PHOTOGRAPHER: PAUL CHRISTIANSEN

During harvest time, a portable flume conveyed sugarcane to the mill for processing. The water in the Lower Hāmākua Ditch came from Waipiʻo and Waimanu valleys, through a series of tunnels, and then was flumed to the fields.



NHERC: PHOTOGRAPHER: PAUL CHRISTIANSEN

Cane haul trucks crossing an as-yet-undeveloped roadbed below. 1950s-60s.



FROM: THE FINAL HARVEST: THE HAMAKUA SUGAR COMPANY 1869-1994 BY P. ERNEST BOUVET, 2001.
This illustration shows the many mergers of Hāmākua sugar companies from 1869-1984.

Plantation Engineering and the Landscape

Landings

Like other sugar companies which were established in the region, HSCo was isolated and reached initially by coaster or lighter, then by schooner or bark, and eventually by steamship or steamer. The nearest port was located in Hilo, forty-one miles to the southeast, and connected overland by a stage route which—depending on the season—traversed a dusty or muddy road that remained unpaved until 1927. It was preceded by a long-awaited rail line that although built by 1913 still never quite reached the town, and stopped short at Paʻauilo. Given these challenges, engineers played critical roles in the adaptation and transformation of the natural landscape of the Hāmākua Coast to provide transportation alternatives for HSCo. Getting to and from what eventually became the company's mill site was in itself a formidable challenge, as well as carrying thousands of tons of supplies, equipment, building materials, workers, and livestock. Known also by the Hawaiian name of Haina, from the

place name on which it was built, after completion, it was often referred to by the moniker of "Haina Mill" (Pukui et al 1974: 35). Its location on a rugged, rocky coast accessible primarily by sea from a landing known by the same name initially prompted the development by company engineers of a complex system of anchoring vessels and transferring cargo and passengers between ship and shore.

HAWAIʻI STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION: PHOTOGRAPHER: UNKNOWN.
Freighter moored in a triangular buoy system off Haina Landing.

Although it was later claimed that Captain William (Wilhelm) Matson (1849-1917) originally conceived of a plan to load sugar sacks by cable from seaside bluffs to ships anchored off-shore, and that the ship-to-shore cable devices employed were modeled after those in use by the logging industry in the Pacific Northwest (P. Quentin Tomich, *Perspectives on Hamakua History: Ramblings Through an Ancient Land Division of Hawaii Island.* 2008: 6), it is more likely that the precursors were developed by a Scottish engineer in California named Andrew Smith (A.S.) Hallidie (1836-1900). He is best remembered for building the San Francisco cable car motive system in 1872 but he was also the first to manufacture wire rope in California and his patented designs for wire rope trams and cableways were widely successful and employed in a variety of industries. They included: mining and

quarrying, dam and canal construction, logging, and even coaling between U.S. Navy vessels during the Spanish-American War.

As early as 1883, "Hallidie's Wire Tramway," was reported by Thrum as being utilized "on several [Hawaiʻi] plantations…where the lay of the land ha[d] been favorable…for the conveying of cane to the mills" (*Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* 1883: 60). A description of his "Wire Rope as a Suspended Carriage Way" which was published in 1882 and intended for the mining industry, accurately described the systems which were eventually adopted by HSCo and other sugar plantations for use on the Hāmākua and other Hawaiʻi Island coasts:

> [A] practical and economical method for delivering material is to extend a Wire Rope from the upper to the lower points when it is not too long for a single span, stretching it sufficiently tight to clear all points and obstructions, and on this Wire Rope to run a pulley, below which hangs a basket or box containing the rock… In many cases in sending down rock, etc., it is found better to use three pulleys, two above and one below the rope, one of the upper pulleys being in advance and the other behind the lower one. By this means the pulleys are kept in the same direction as the rope (Hallidie 1882: 23).

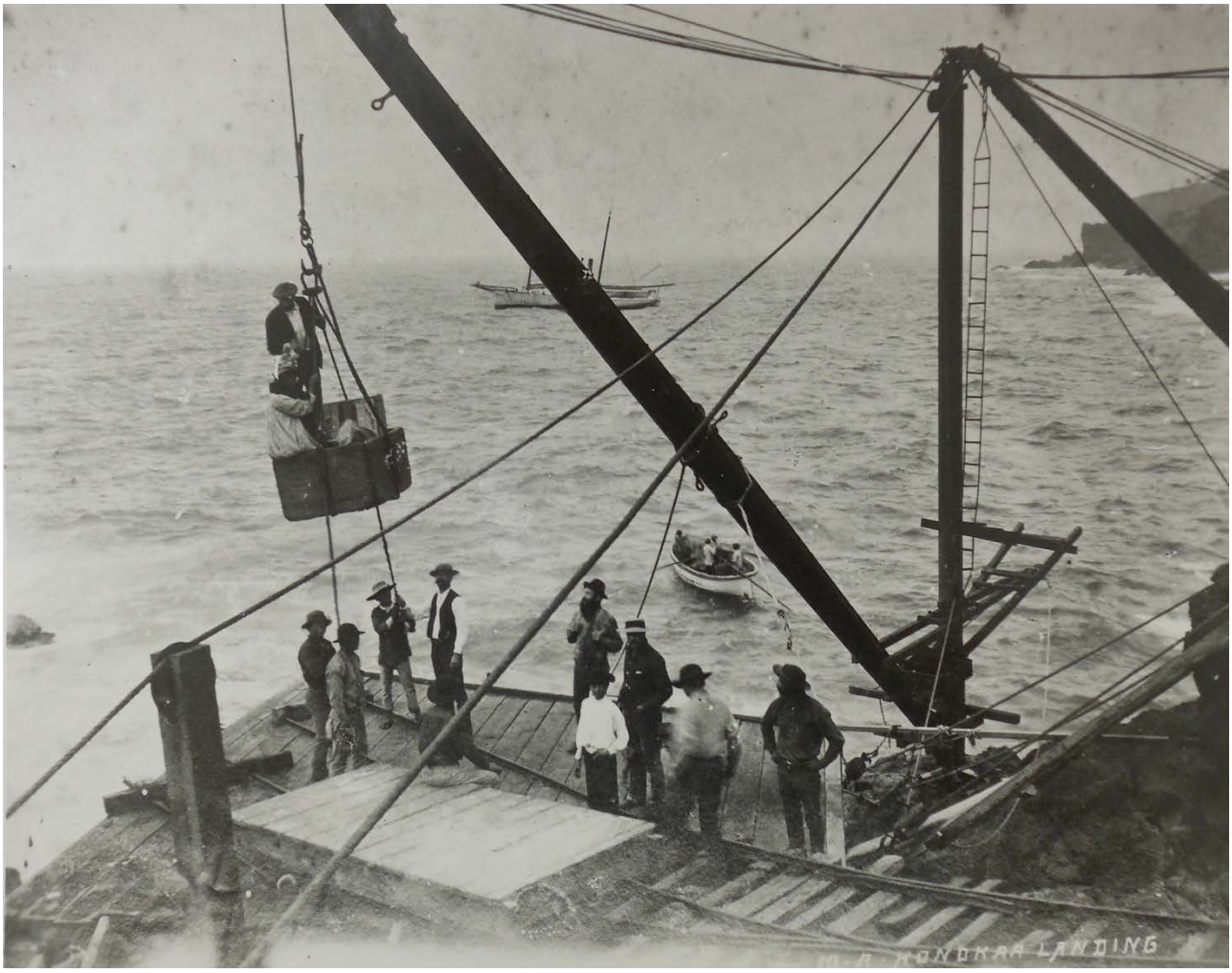
The success of Hallidie's inventions (though his patents were later acquired by California Wire Works) spawned considerable competition from other engineers like Spencer Miller and Harry N. Covell who worked for such companies as Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company of New York. From 1896 onward, Lidgerwood advertised its cableway installations in Hawaiʻi through a diverse selection of trade publications which included: *American Engineer and Railroad Journal* (1896), *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer* (1904), *Engineering Digest* (1908), and *Engineering Review* (1908). The Onomea Sugar Company landing on the Hilo Coast was featured in a Lidgerwood publication that was printed in 1904, along with a photograph and the following text:

> This most interesting cableway is used for handling cargo on a rough coast, where the vessel cannot come into a dock. Sugar, lumber, and general freight are handled, but the principle use is to take sugar, 15 or 20 bags at a time, from the warehouse at the upper end, or from tram-cars under the cable…to the dock. From the landing platform at the dock, the loads are swung over the small boats by the stationary derrick.
>
> The span is 950 feet, and the load 2 tons and upwards. The material is handled at remarkably low cost, and Mr. W.W. Goodale, General Manager of the Onomea Sugar Co. says: "It is the best method known on the Islands" (Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company 1904: 43).

The company added that, "The simplicity of our machinery and the thoroughness of our methods are illustrated by the fact that [the] plant was set up entirely by native workmen from our drawings and instructions sent by mail" (Ibid.). A second example of the company's cableway applications in Hawaiʻi was also printed in the publication of 1904. It included a photograph of an unidentified sugar company landing, along with the title, "Loading Cargo on a Rough Coast by Cableway," and the following copy:

The main cable on which the load travels is detachably connected to an anchorage extension running into the sea, at a point marked by a buoy, which buoy is taken as the centre of the ship's position. When the vessel is anchored at this point marked by the buoy, the two parts of the main cable are picked up, the ends passed between the masts and secured together and then supported by a slack cable stretched between the masts, the whole operation requiring but a short time (Ibid.: 46).

An abridged description produced later in 1915 by another trade publication noted how ship-to-shore cableways were used: "On the coast of Hawaiʻi, machinery is carried from the deck of a steamer to the top of the cliffs by means of cableways, the seaward end of the cable passing through a snatch-block on the mast of the vessel to a permanent anchor farther out to sea" (*Engineering Office Systems and Methods*, 1915: 374).



HAWAIʻI STATE ARCHIVES: PHOTOGRAPHER: RAY JEROME BAKER
Nineteenth century Honokaʻa Landing box and cable transport.

At Honokaʻa and Kukuihaele landings, main cables and guide wires were connected from the end of derricks on shore to cranes at the sterns of vessels (Ibid.: 7). Large wooden boxes (known in the vernacular as "skips") were suspended from the main cables and guide wires with cable carriages (which were often referred to as a "donkeys") and pulled between ship and shore. The skip sizes varied from those that could contain two to four men to those that could contain a draft horse, and the latter facilitated the transport of items of substantial bulk and weight. The system carried a wide range of cargo including horses and cattle, building materials, merchandise, bagged sugar and molasses, coal and other solid fuel, as well as laborers. Even in calm weather, the passage could be especially challenging for those who suffered from vertigo or hydrophobia. One unidentified

Chinese worker's recollection of his arrival at HSCo by sea in 1882 was recorded by Honokaʻa physician, Niles P. Larson, later in 1950:

> [A]t Honokaʻa wharf [sic], he was alarmed. No one [had] explained the manner of debarkation. He found himself suddenly with four others in a box. A large hook attached above was lifted by a crane of some sort, and the box was swung by it into the air and in that manner to the shore. The experience frightened him more than anything else on the trip (*Plantation Health,* October 1950: 16-21; Char and Char 1970: 78).

The HSCo cableway at Honokaʻa Landing was upgraded in 1909, completed in 1910, and appears to have been modeled after one that was used at Pāʻauhau. In the annual report for 1908, HSCo manager K.S. Gjerdrum stated that:

> The shipping of sugar and freight from Honokaʻa has always been more or less unsatisfactory and dependent upon wind and swell…I would therefore strongly urge that a Wire Rope Landing, similar to that at Pāʻauhau , be constructed so that our shipping facilities be made independent of weather conditions (HSCo 1908: 5).

In the following year, Thomas Thrum reported in *All About Hawaiʻi* that:

> Two wire rope landings, [the] machinery for which will be installed by the Honolulu Iron Works [C]o., [are] in progress for Honokaʻa and Kukuihaele, on the Hāmākua coast of Hawaiʻi, at an expenditure of some $20,000.00 (Thrum 1909: 167).

The importance of these landings is illustrated by an article in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* dated January 20, 1917 (Page 6) describing cargo arriving into Honolulu:

> Bringing 48 cabin, six way cabin, 62 deck and 12 way deck passengers from Hilo and the way ports, the interisland steamer *Mauna Kea* arrived at 7:10 this morning.
>
> Inbound freight brought by the *Mauna Kea* included two autos, 55 crates of chickens, 220 bags of corn, 16 quarters of beef, 50 cases of liquor, three cows, a calf, a motorcycle, three creates of pigs, 66 packages of fruits and vegetables, 44 hides, a tank, 28 fern stumps and 329 sundries.
>
> The *Mauna Kea's* trip report contains the following shipping items: Matson motor schooner *Annie Johnson* arrived at Hilo Thursday with gasoline; steamer *Helene* at Pāpaʻikou discharging fertilizer, will load sugar; the *Niihau* at Kukuihaele discharging lumber; the *Hāmākua* at Honokaʻa discharging freight.

Following completion, the original Honokaʻa Landing remained in operation until the wheelhouse and a sugar warehouse were destroyed by a fire of "undetermined origin" in 1927 (Tomich 2008: 94). The accident received mention in the HSCo annual report of that year beneath the title, "Honokaʻa Landing" (HSCo 1927: 5). Following that event, which terminated some fifty years of operations, HSCo transported bagged sugar and freight to and from the PSMCo landing at Kukuihaele through 1946 (Ibid.). However, an HSCo map of Honokaʻa Landing which was produced by company engineers in 1931 showed that the warehouse and wheelhouse buildings had been replaced by four fuel oil and six molasses tanks on the Hilo side of the gulch for the transfer of liquified cargo. HSCo 1931: n.p.; Condé 1975: 19). On September 27, 1955, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* ran photographs of

the pumping of 8,000 tons of molasses from Honokaʻa Landing to ships berthed offshore (SB, 9/27/1955, n.p.). A site visit on October 2013 found remnants of the rubber piping system remaining on the slope between the tank foundations and the landing itself (Ross Stephenson, 2013).

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY: PHOTOGRAPHER: UNKNOWN

1922 cane cart drawn by donkey "Hunuapo." This type of cart was used to haul cane on the narrow gauge tracks.

Railroads

Within a year after HSCo had been established, the company built a 1.2 mile shortline railroad from the Haina mill in the direction of PSMCo (Tomich 2008: 94). The road was 36" gauge and was constructed at a cost of $19,350 (Condé and Best 1973: 35). Little is known about the operations of the HSCo railroad because there are no extant annual reports which were produced prior to 1899. However, in 1890 HSCo purchased a used 9-ton Krauss locomotive dubbed *Honokaʻa* that had been manufactured by Krauss Locomotive Works (*Locomotivfabrik Krauß & Comp.*) in Munich, Germany. In 1897 the company also acquired a new 17-ton Baldwin 0-4-2T locomotive named *Mauna Kea* that had been produced by the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Pittsburgh, PA (Ibid.; Baldwin Locomotive Works Index, Vol. 20, n.d.: 268; Tomich 2008: 94). The two locomotives were in use in 1900, along with an indeterminate number of wood cane cars, on a 6.0-mile mainline track that extended from the Haina mill to the HSCo boundary with PSMCo. In 1908 HSCo purchased a "twenty-ton Baldwin locomotive," dubbed *Kawela*, along with "thirty large, steel frame cane cars and thirty-five small cane cars" (HSCo 1909: 5). Two years later, "twenty new double truck steel frame cars" were also acquired and placed into service (Ibid. 1910: 5).

Following the consolidation of HSCo and PMSCo operations in 1913, the HSCo railroad was moved from Honokaʻa to Kawela, the trackway was relocated to provide consistent 0.5 percent grades, and a number of new bridges were built (Ibid. 1914: 4). Acting HSCo manager Alex Morrison stated in the annual report of 1914 that owing to the "topography of the district…we had some heavy cutting to do…Some of the cuts are over 50 feet deep and 150 yards long. But we now have a permanent track for good and one on which we can haul cane at a reasonable cost to the factory at all times and in all kinds of weather" (Ibid.: 5).

Later in 1938, HSCo acquired a used Honolulu Sugar Company Baldwin 0-6-28T locomotive, No. 12661 (BLW 21834), named *Makuaweoweo*, which had been manufactured in 1903 (Llanso 2011: n.p.). The combined HSCo-PSMCo railroad had been expanded to 12.0 miles in length seven years earlier and included 4 locomotives, 175 steel cane cars, and 10 boxcars. HSCo operated its railroad through 1947 when it was unceremoniously scrapped at $10.00 a ton (Tomich 2008: 95).

In addition to its 36" narrow gauge railroad, HSCo also operated two cable railroads or trams. In 1905 HSCo announced to its shareholders in its annual report beneath the title, "Cable Tramway from Mill to Honokaʻa Village" that it was "installing a cable railroad in connection with [the] landing [rail]road [and that the] upper cable tramway w[ould] also haul freight up to Honokaʻa Village" (HSCo 1905: 7). The need for the tram was underscored by the statement that "during wet weather the hauling of fertilizers, seed, lime, etc. from the mill up to [the] 1,000 foot elevation [was] very expensive and at times impossible" (Ibid.). The "Upper Cable Railroad to Honokaʻa Village" commenced operations in the following year and was described as having "cheapened and improved the transportation of seed cane, fertilizers, etc. to the upper fields" (Ibid., 1906: 5). The "two Cable Tramways," "one from the landing up to the mill and one from the mill up to the Village" were noted as being "fully equipped…in perfect order and…of immense value to the Plantation (Ibid., 1907: 5).

The trams were drawn by cables from two wheelhouses that were located at both Haina mill and at Honokaʻa Village. They appear to have been operated by steam power which was produced at and supplied from the mill and village wheelhouse, respectively. Sanborn Insurance Company agents noted in 1914 that the latter was constructed of "iron," housed a "16' Hoist," a boiler with a chimney, and was supplied with water from two nearby water tanks (Sanborn Insurance Company 1914: 1). HSCo engineers described the Honokaʻa Village wheelhouse as a "Power House" for insurance purposes in 1918 and noted that it was in excess of 4,850 feet from the mill stack, twenty feet from an HSCo "Merchandise" Warehouse and 57 feet from a dwelling (Ibid., HSCo 1918: n.p.). It should be noted that although the oral tradition mentioned that the tram extended beyond the Honokaʻa Village's wheelhouse to reach HSCo upper fields, no evidence for that could be located, and the only example of a tramway extending beyond the government road in Hāmākua was operated at nearby Pāʻauhau.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Hilo Railroad Company train crosses the iron trestle bridge over Maulua Gulch. The Maulua Gulch tunnel is in the background. Railroad transportation went between Hilo and Paʻauilo. To get to Honokaʻa passengers had to go from Paʻauilo by buggy, stagecoach, or later taxi. n.d.

Water, Power, Telephone

As early as 1899, HSCo cane was grown on 5,500 of 7,567 acres of available land, of which some 3,500 acres were in excess of one mile from the mill (HSCo 1899: 7). Cut cane was initially transported in mule-drawn wagons from the fields to the mill. In order to solve the challenge of transporting thousands of tons of cut cane for grinding, however, HSCo engineers developed a system to carry harvested cane via water-fed flumes. Water was diverted from nearby streams in temporary flumes for decades but this practice was expected to be rendered unnecessary with the arrival of Hāmākua Ditch Company, Ltd. The company was formed in 1904 and incorporated on February 4 of the same year by Fred ("Harry") Lewis of Messrs. Lewis & Company, its agents. John T. McCrosson was the company's promoter, Michael M. O'Shaughnessy was the chief engineer and Jorgen Jorgenson was his assistant. Hāmākua Ditch Company's (HDCo) local bond subscribers included F.A. Schaefer & Co., HSCo, PSMCo, Allen & Robinson, H. Hackfeld, Ahrens, and Jorgenson and its purpose was to construct two lateral ditches which paralleled the coast—the Upper and Lower Hāmākua Ditches—of 23 and 24 miles in length, respectively, to provide water for irrigation and fluming.

In anticipation of the pending improvement in infrastructure, HSCo owner and agent F.A. Schaefer stated in the company's annual report of 1905 that:

> The contracts with the Hāmākua Ditch Company for the construction of an upper and lower ditch have been completed and the construction of the upper ditch at an elevation of 2000 to 2400 feet will now be commenced, and it is expected that within a year from now water will be supplied from that source. This will solve the question of transportation of cane to the mill by fluming. The lower ditch at an elevation between 920 and 1020 feet will also be under construction during the current year, and its water supply will serve for irrigating as well as fluming purposes (HSCo 1905: 2).

Unfortunately, internal disagreements among HDCo personnel which precipitated the departure of O'Shaughnessy as well as cash flow problems impacted the project and caused delays (Wilcox 1996: 148). Jorgensen was promoted to head engineer and construction of the upper ditch began in 1906. It was completed in 1907 by work crews consisting of "Japanese, Hawaiians, and Koreans, with a fair [number] of Chinese. The average monthly payrolls showed 1200 men employed [with] day labor averaging $1.00 a day" (Thrum 1909: 141-142). However, construction of the lower ditch was suspended. It was reported by the trade press in August, 1907 that it was necessary to issue "$800,000…[in] bonds for the construction of the Lower Hāmākua Ditch," that they "had been floated in London" by Col. George W. MacFarlane, John T. McCrosson, and Fred Lewis, and [that] the work of construction [would] begin at once" (*Sugar*, Vol. XIV, 1907: 368).

HDCo's efforts were unsuccessful, however, and after two years of additional delays, a new entity—the Hawaiian Irrigation Company, Ltd. (HICo)—was formed in 1909 so that construction could finally begin on the Lower Ditch in that year. The appurtenance was completed in July 1910 but water was not delivered to HSCo until one month afterward and when it arrived, the supply varied from 5,500,000 to 13,000,000 gallons per day. While the water from the Lower Ditch was welcomed, the HSCo annual report of 1910 noted that "[t]he water from the Upper Ditch ha[d] been most uncertain and unsatisfactory, varying from less than half a million (500,000) to thirty million (30,000,000) gallons daily" (HSCo 1910: 4). Two years later, for six weeks, "the Upper Ditch was practically dry" and HSCo was "put to great loss and inconvenience [by] not being able to flume the cane from [the] upper lands" to the mill (Ibid. 1912: 3-4).

Water flows from both ditches continued to deteriorate over the next two years with 137 days of less than two million gallons per day in 1913 for the Upper Ditch and 224 days of less than the contracted amount for the Lower Ditch (Ibid. 1913: 3). In 1913 owing to a lack of rain, HSCo had to purchase 5,000,000 gallons of water for three months from Pāʻauhau Sugar Plantation Company, even though prior to the opening of the Lower Ditch, HSCo had constructed three reservoirs whose combined storage capacity was "13,000,000 gallons below, and 102,000,000 gallons above the Lower Ditch." This was in addition to the construction of a number of permanent ditches, one of which actually paralleled the Lower Ditches' entire 15-mile length across HSCo cane lands (HSCo 1910: 4). Finally, in frustration, HSCo's owner, F.A. Schaefer acquired majority stock interest in HICo in 1915 in an attempt to improve delivery and predictability of water flows and initiated the reconstruction of both ditches. The cost of the Upper Ditch was $74,139 upon its completion in 1920 and reconstruction of the Lower Ditch was finished for an indeterminate amount (Wilcox 1996: 149). HICo did not renew its lease in 1948 and both ditches were transferred to the Territorial Government. They were rebuilt once more in the 1980s at a cost of $5 million (Ibid.).

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PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

The Lower Hāmākua Ditch looking to the east.

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 23

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

Another view of the Lower Hāmākua Ditch looking to the east.

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

Still another view of the Lower Hāmākua Ditch looking to the east.

Despite HSCo and the other sugar company subscriptions for HICo water and well before Schaeffer's takeover of the company, *Moody's* was reporting the extent of the company's development rights: "[HICo's] Charter gives [the] company a practical monopoly [over] the supply and distribution of mountain water for a term of 40 years from July 1, 1904; also [the] right to generate electricity from water power, and to furnish same for power and lighting purposes" (*Moody's Analysis of Investments*, Part II, 1916: 1803).

Earlier in 1903 and prior to the company's incorporation, a contemporary trade journal concurred with Moody's analysis when it suggested that although the water from the Upper and Lower Hāmākua Ditches was "a boon to the plantations on the Hāmākua Coast for it [would] mean a great increase in the capacity to produce [for] all of them…[t]he development of [electrical] power to be obtained from this great flow of water [was] also a thing to be considered." The writer concluded: "With the power that can be obtained every mill along the coast can be run[,] and all the railroads between the estates if desired" (*Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, July 11, 1903: 28).

Additional background on the project was also provided in the article:

> The Hawaiʻi [Hāmākua] Ditch Company attempted some time ago to get a franchise from Congress for the development of the water from the Waipiʻo [V]alley, but failed because of the objection of the trustees of the Bishop [E]state. Now the Hawaiʻi [Hāmākua] Ditch Company has purchased the water rights of Bishop [E]state in the valley, and the ditch company will immediately send an expert into the valley for the purpose of framing the plans to be followed by the ditch company. At the same time Eastern capitalists are to be invited to consider the plan, and the promoters believe that they will have no trouble in securing the $600,000 or $700,000 needed to develop the water supply and the power which may be secured from it (Ibid.: 27).

In 1909 the company's agency had been transferred from Lewis & Company to Theo H. Davies & Company, Ltd. and it carried a bonded debt of $170,000 that came due on December 31, 1946. The large sums solicited by the promoters of HDCo in 1903 and 1907 suggest, however, that power generation along with ditch construction were under consideration, even prior to the company's incorporation in 1904.

Honokaʻa Village was finally provided with electric service in 1926 although HSCo appears to have had power by 1916, if not earlier. In the latter year the company's improvements included the installation of one 27 1/2 kw (36 h.p.) dynamo to produce electricity (HSCo 1917: 5). In the village, however, Sanborn Insurance Company agents had noted two years earlier that lighting consisted only of gasoline or kerosene lamps and lanterns (Sanborn Map Company 1914: 1). An existing infrastructure of telephone poles was already in place and local telephone service had been provided by the Hāmākua & South Kohala Telephone & Telegraph Company since June, 1889.

The company's general manager, J. Pritchard, was described as a "Pioneer Telephone Man of Hawaiʻi" in a trade journal in 1912 and a photograph of a newly constructed telephone exchange building at Honokaʻa Village was published at mid-year (*Telephony*, January 20, 1912: 87; Ibid., May 25, 1912: 650). In August 1913, however, Pritchard's company, along with Hilo & Hawaiʻi Telephone & Telegraph Co. and the Kon-Kau Telephone & Telegraph Company were consolidated as Hawaiʻi Telephone Service with Pritchard serving as superintendant (Polk-Husted Polk-Husted Directory Company. *Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Polk-Husted Directory Company, 1915, 1920, 1925, 1930, 1934-1935, 1941-42.1930: 683).

The later installation of power lines onto existing telephone poles as well as the production and delivery of electricity to Honokaʻa followed passage by the Hawaiʻi Territorial Legislature of two bills pertaining to franchises, one sponsored by John Payne and another by M.S. Botelho, both of Honokaʻa, District of Hāmākua, County of Hawaiʻi in 1925 (*Revised Laws of Hawaiʻi*, Vol. II, 1925: 1997, 2046). Earlier in 1916, HICo's officers included: F.E. Thompson, President; J.T. McCrosson, Vice-President and Manager; A.A. Wilder, Secretary; E.H. Wodehouse, Treasurer and Directors F.E. Thompson, J.T. McCrosson, A.A. Wilder, E.H. Wodehouse, E.I. Spalding, F.M. Lewis, and C.M. Clemmons (*Moody's Analysis of Investments*, Part II, 1916: 1803).

A Dusty and Muddy Road

Honokaʻa's only overland link to Hilo, the island's nearest substantial port, was by way of a forty one-mile dirt road that was built from the southeastern coast northward to Waipiʻo Valley in 1883 (Thrum 1883: 15). Its course along the coast was precarious because of topography, landslides, and flash floods. Improvements appear to have been made after 1902 as part of the government wagon road that was intended to belt the island (*Hilo Herald-Tribune*, December 5, 1902: 4: 1). By 1903, daily stagecoach service had been established between Hilo and

Laupāhoehoe, with additional service to Honoka'a four days a week and Kawaihae two days a week (Hilo Tribune, December 11,1903, Page 6). Several attempts were made to link Honokaʻa by rail but all were ultimately unsuccessful. The nearest railhead was completed by the Hawaiian Consolidated Railway at Paʻauilo in 1913, and its terminus remained located some ten miles to the southwest (Tomich 2008: 96). The dirt road that linked Honokaʻa with Hilo and Waipiʻo was finally hard-surfaced as part of the island's belt road improvements in 1927. Paid with funds encumbered by the Territorial legislature in 1925, a section from Honokaʻa to Waimea was finally paved at a cost of $50,000 and another through Honokaʻa toward Kukuihaele was similarly upgraded for $100,000 (*Report of the Superintendant of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i for the Year Ending June 30*, 1927: 14). The paving of Honokaʻa's main thoroughfare coincided with a building boom that occurred in the town during that decade. However, in 1935, reminiscent of conditions in earlier years, the road was briefly covered in mud as a result of unseasonal torrential downpours.

Volcano Stables & Trans. Co.

TIME TABLE OF STAGE ROUTES.

This is the only line of stages making regular trips between Kau and Hilo and taking in the Volcano of Kilauea.

On Thursday and every alternate Tuesday passengers or express leaving Hilo at 7:00 a. m. are landed in either Pahala or Honuapo the same evening.

Through connections with the steamers Kinau and Mauna Loa are made both on arrival and departure.

STAGES FOR VOLCANO OF KILAUEA AND KAU

Via Hilo Railroad and Volcano Stages:

Thursday and Tuesday, when no Mauna Loa is leaving Honuapo on Wednesday.	Tuesday, when Mauna Loa is leaving Honuapo on Wednesday.	Saturday, when no Mauna Loa is leaving Honuapo on Sunday.	Saturday, when Mauna Loa is leaving Honuapo on Sunday.	STATIONS	Monday, when Mauna Loa arrives in Honuapo on Sunday.	Other Mondays.	Wednesday.	Friday.
A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.		A. M.	P. M.	P. M.	A. M.
7:00	3:00	7:00	3:00	lv..Volcano Stables..ar / Hilo.	9:45	5:45	5:45	9:45
7:30	3:30	7:30	3:30	lv.....Waiakea.....ar / Hilo R. R. Depot.	9:30	5:30	5:30	9:30
8:30	4:30	8:30	4:30	ar.....Mountain View.....lv	8:30	4:30	4:30	8:30
11:30	7:30	11:30	7:30	ar.....Volcano House.....lv	5:30	1:30	1:30	5:30
	Wed.	Fri.	Sun.		Sun.			Thu.
P. M.	A. M.	A. M.	A. M.		P. M.	A. M.	P. M.	P. M.
12:15	5:00	6:00	5:00	lv.....Volcano House.....ar	4:30	11:45	4:30	4:30
					A. M.		A. M.	A. M.
5:00	10:30	11:00	10:30	ar.....Pahala.....lv	10:30	6:00	10:30	10:30
			P. M.			Sun.		
	P. M.		12:30			P. M.		
6:00	12:30		2:00*	ar.....Hilea.....ar	9:30	2:30		9:30
7:00	2:00*			ar.....Honuapo.....lv	††			††

*Connecting with Mauna Loa. ††On arrival of Mauna Loa.

TIME TABLE OF STEAMER MAUNA LOA:

Arrives Honuapo		Leaves Honuapo	
Thursday	April 9	Sunday	April 12
Sunday	April 19	Wednesday	April 22
Thursday	April 30	Sunday	May 3
Sunday	May 10	Wednesday	May 13
Thursday	May 21	Sunday	May 24
Sunday	May 31	Wednesday	June 3

Time Table of Volcano Stables Stage for

LAUPAHOEHOE, HONOKAA AND KAWAIHAE

Every Day Except Friday.	Friday		Wedn'sd'y	P. M.	Other days
A. M.	A. M.			P. M.	P. M.
8:00	4:30	lv.....Volcano Stables.....ar		3:00	4:30
9:00	5:30	ar..... Papaikou.....ar		2:00	3:30
10:15	6:45	ar..... Pepeekeo.....ar		1:00	2:30
11:50	7:30	ar.....Honomu.....ar		12:15	1:45
				A. M.	
12:00	8:30	ar .....Hakalau lv		11:30	1:00
					M.
1:00	9:30	ar..... Honohina .....ar		10:30	12:00
					A. M.
1:30	10:00	ar..... Waikamalo.....ar		10:00	11:30
2:15	10:45	ar..... Papaaloa .....ar		9:15	10:30
3:00	11:30	ar..... Laupahoehoe.....lv		8:00	10:00
Mon. and Wed.					Mon. and Friday
P. M.					A. M.
3:00	12:30	lv.....Laupahoehoe.....ar			10:00
4:00	1:30	ar..... Ookala.....ar			9:00
5:00	2:30	ar..... Kukaiau .....ar			8:00
6:00	3:30	ar.....Pauulo .....ar			7:00
7:00	4:30	ar..... Honokaa.....ar			5:30
Tues. and Fri.					Wed. and Sat.
A. M.					P. M.
7:00		lv..... Honokaa .....ar			3:15
8:45		ar..... Kukuihaele.....ar			1:35
2:00		ar....Waimea (Kamuela).....ar			9:45
4:00		ar.....Kawaihae.....lv			7:00

On Wednesday the stage leaves Honokaa in time to connect with the Kinau at Laupahoehoe. Stages depart from Laupahoehoe for Hilo and Honokaa on arrival of Kinau.

When the weather is too rough for the Kinau to land at Laupahoehoe Wednesday the leaving time of stage from Hilo is changed to 4:00 a.m. on Thursday morning, and the Wednesday stage from Laupahoehoe to Honokaa will be held to connect with it.

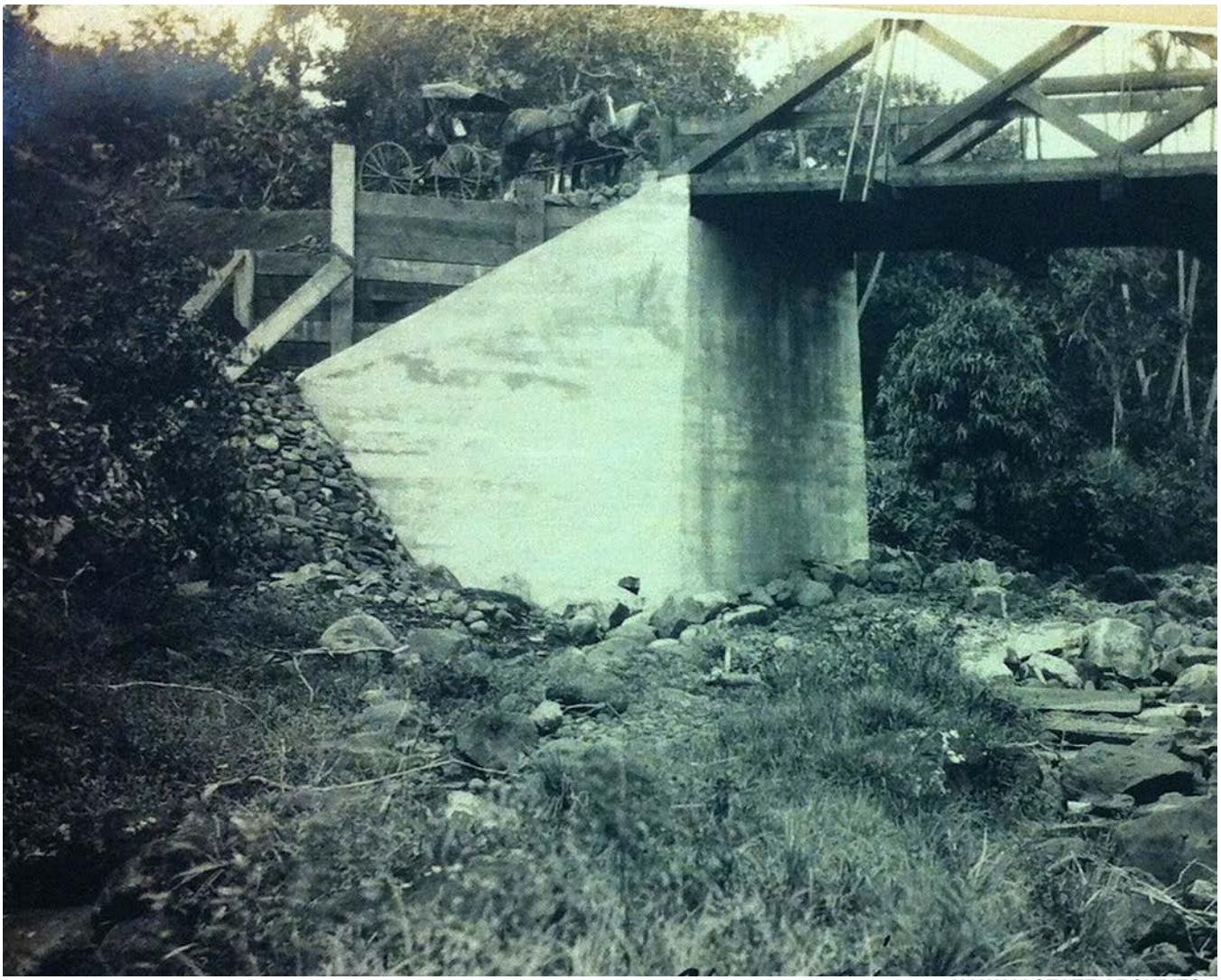
On Mondays following the arrival of the Mauna Loa in Honuapo on Sundays, the leaving time of the stage for Laupahoehoe from Hilo is changed to 10:00 a. m., and the Honokaa stage is held at Laupahoehoe to connect with it.

Aside from carrying of express matter and passengers these stages carry U. S. Mail, so patrons may rest assured of prompt connections.

C. E. WRIGHT, Manager.

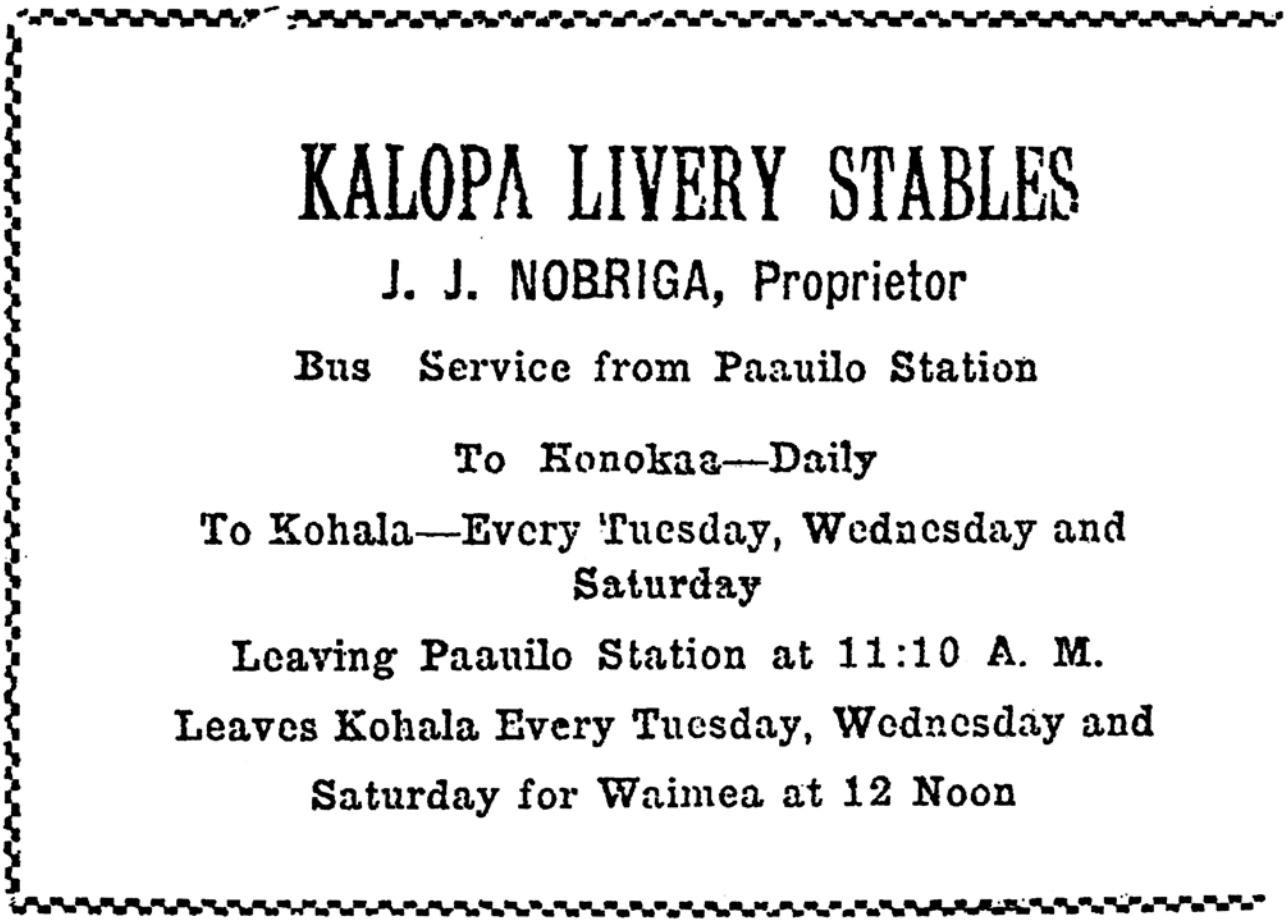
HILO TRIBUNE-HERALD

1903 Stage Schedule.



HAWAIʻI STATE ARCHIVES

ʻAleamai Bridge. 1904-05. Note buggy.



KALOPA LIVERY STABLES

J. J. NOBRIGA, Proprietor

Bus Service from Paauilo Station

To Honokaa—Daily

To Kohala—Every Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday

Leaving Paauilo Station at 11:10 A. M.

Leaves Kohala Every Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday for Waimea at 12 Noon

HILO TRIBUNE-HERALD, NOVEMBER 19, 1926

Kālōpa Livery Stables: In 1909 the Hilo Railroad began construction of a line to Honokaʻa. The rugged topography of the Hāmākua Coast made the effort very costly ($106,172.76 per mile) and the line eventually stopped short at Paʻauilo in July of 1913. The volume of traffic from the railhead to Honokaʻa was great enough to encourage local entrepreneur J.J. Nobriga of the Kālōpa Livery Stables to branch out into daily bus service between the two points by 1927.

PHOTOGRAPHER: UNKNOWN

Engine 3 shown here at the Waiakea Roundhouse in Hilo transported people and goods between Hilo and Paʻauilo daily.

MIYASAKI FAMILY COLLECTION

Paʻauilo residents meet visitors from Japan at the Paʻauilo Train Station. The young boys are wearing military style caps, possibly gifts from the visitors, ca. 1913-1915.

NORTH HAWAIʻI COMMUNITY CREDIT UNION COLLECTION: PHOTOGRAPHER: UNKNOWN

The 1935 deluge flooded Māmane Street with mud.

Plantation Labor and Immigration

Pre-1900 Immigrant Labor

Chinese

The indigenous Hawaiian population was too few in number to meet the labor needs of the growing sugar industry and the plantations which eventually were established on the Hāmākua Coast. Consequently, immigrant laborers were imported. Kaiwiki Sugar Company was the first large scale operation to employ new immigrant workers and Chinese laborers were acquired by that company from 1869-90, until they were prohibited by the passage of an "1887 Act to Regulate Chinese Immigration" which was signed into law in 1890. Prior to the passage of the legislation, Chinese labor agencies in Honolulu such as Afong & Company and Chulan & Company were paid "a sum of 25 or 30 dollars per head" by the Hawaiian government (*Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly*, 1886: 77-78).

HSCo appears to have begun hiring Chinese in the year that it opened with the majority working as contract and day laborers, under the monikers of "Contract Chinamen" and "Day Chinamen." The Chinese began arriving in the islands as plantation laborers, referred to in the pejorative as "coolies," when 180 of their countrymen disembarked from the bark, *Thetis*, in "the latter part of 1851" (Thrum 1896: 114). The commander of the vessel, Captain Cass, was under contract to the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society to deliver them at a cost of $50.00 per head, and they were committed to working for "five years at $3.00 per month, [in exchange for the costs of] their passage, food, clothing, housing, and medical attendance" (Ibid.: 115). The workers were not the first

Chinese in Hawaiʻi. They joined others who had settled in the islands as "merchants, businessmen, technicians, and skilled craftsmen" since at least 1823 (Lum 1989: 16; Glick 1936: 28). In 1851, however, the Hawaiian Kingdom joined in the worldwide trade in bonded Chinese labor which included the Transvaal, Cuba, Peru, Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Panama, Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil, and North America (Busaba Yip, PhD, and Stanley Solamillo. "Wo Hing Society Catalogue of Plaques, Couplets, and Records, Part I." Lahaina: Lahaina Restoration Foundation and Maui County Planning Department, 2009: 7).

Cass' voyage and delivery of 180 Chinese coolies in late 1851 was repeated in the following year, when he brought 100 more workers to Honolulu. From that year (generally regarded as the initiation of widespread importation of Chinese) through 1865 some 1,306 arrived, followed by 641 (1866-1874) and 25,497 (1875-1887; Morgan 1948: 190). The latter surge in immigration ultimately caused the Kingdom to enact restrictive laws on the importation of Chinese labor in 1881, 1886 and 1888.

Although loathe to accurately provide its provenance amid the xenophobia of the late 1800s, the European and Euro-American sugar industry in Hawaiʻi owed its existence to Chinese efforts on the outer islands. The first attempt to grow, harvest, and refine sugar had been made by sugar boiler Wong Tze Chun on Lānaʻi in 1802. He had arrived on a sandalwood trading ship with a rudimentary stone mill, boilers, and knowledge of the Chinese method for manufacturing sugar. Unfortunately, he was only able to produce sugar from a single harvest and abandoned the venture. Wong was followed by the Hungtai Company which erected a small sugar mill in Wailuku, Maui in 1828 and Wong Leong & Company which operated the short-lived Moanui Sugar Plantation on Molokaʻi as late as 1881 (Yip and Solamillo 2009: 7; Thrum 1881: 57).

Attaining the earlier aspirations of Wong Tze Chun and Hungtai Company, those of contemporaries Wong Leong & Company, as well as thousands of less fortunate countrymen, Chun Afong (1825-1906), Hawaiʻi's wealthiest Chinese merchant and F.A. Schaefer's neighbor in Honolulu, acquired the Metcalf Plantation in the vicinity of Hilo in 1874, then started two sugar plantations—Kaupakulua (1878) and Makahanaloa (1879; Thrum 1881: 56). He appears to have consolidated them to form Pepeʻekeo Plantation (1882) and employed 280 workers who labored under Chinese managers Lee Loy and Wong Tuck (Thrum 1878: 48; 1879: 63; 1882: 68; 1888: 88; 1889: 91; Dye 1997: 152). In 1889 their numbers had increased to 739 and included: 23 Hawaiian men identified as "day laborers," 15 Portuguese men as "day laborers," 7 Portuguese men as contract workers, 7 Portuguese women and children as "day laborers," 365 Japanese men as "contract" workers, 153 Japanese men and 48 women as "day laborers," 66 Chinese men as "contract laborers," as well as 51 Chinese men and 4 South Sea Islanders as "day laborers" (Thrum 1899: 176). Pepeʻekeo Plantation was recorded as having been capitalized at $750,000 with 7,500 shares divided among Chinese, American, British, and German investors (Ibid. 1890: 28). Afong operated the plantation for 15 years then sold the company to H. Deacon and Alexander Young in 1889.

Pepeʻekeo Plantation marked the culmination of Afong's business career in Hawaiʻi which included stints as an importer of Chinese goods and merchandise (including opium as a licensed commodity), as well as a labor contractor, real estate developer, and member of the King's Privy Council. He left Hawaiʻi for China after the 1893 overthrow, in advance of annexation and the subsequent inauguration of the American Exclusion laws, while members of his Hawaiian-born family continued to operate businesses in the archipelago. One of his sons in particular, A.F. Afong, evidenced similar success when he was elected president of the Honolulu Stock and Bond Exchange in 1915 (John William Siddall. *Men of Hawaii: Being a Biographical Reference Library, Complete and Authentic, of the Men of Note and Substantial Achievement in the Hawaiian Islands*, Vols. 1- IV. Honolulu: 1917: 16).

By comparison, the achievements of the Honokaʻa Chinese were substantially more modest. The first Chinese stores are presumed to have opened within five years of the arrival of Chinese workers and the resulting merchant community remained small. The most notable among them was Tong Lung (Char and Char 1983: 60). Tong Lung (1852-1932) was born in Sin On (Bao On), left China at the age of sixteen, and arrived in Hawaiʻi in 1868. He was first employed to work on duck ponds in Waikiki, then befriended Wong Foong and Ching Kee Fook, and together they travelled to Honokaʻa to work on an unidentified sugar plantation. They worked for eight years and, like a majority of Chinese laborers, opted to go into business for themselves instead of continuing to work on the plantation. They formed a *hui* (business group), purchased twenty-three acres of land, and grew market produce, sugar cane on contract, and raised hogs. Tong was able to find a bride for himself named Sum Foong Chung in Kowloon, as well as wives for his two friends, and the three families resided on their acreage and raised their children. Tong sold his interests in the farm in 1922, left Honokaʻa to join two sons who were attending the University of Hawaiʻi, and later purchased a home in the McCully District of Honolulu (Ibid.: 83).

The Chinese in Honokaʻa formed the Chee Ying (Chee Yuen) Society in 1896 which was a Hung Men organization that supported the efforts of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and establish the Republic of China. The society built a two-story hall and provided a cemetery for Chinese on a six-acre parcel northwest of the town in the direction of Kukuihaele in 1907. (A second cemetery was constructed across the highway.) The building was modeled after the Ket On Society hall in Honolulu which was erected at an indeterminate date after that organization had been formed in 1889. The Chee Ying Society hall incorporated a meeting hall on the first floor, a temple dedicated to Kwan Kung (Kwan Ti) on the second floor, and was similar in design to eight other Chinese halls which were erected on the outer islands from 1900-1908 (Char and Char 1983: 67; Yip and Solamillo 2009: 29). In advance of its dedication, a plaque and couplets were received, embellished with the phrase, “donated by the Ket On Society of Honolulu” (Char and Char 1983: 67). The building served the Honokaʻa Chinese community for some eighty years and a list of Chee Ying’s officers in 1929 included: Mock Chew, Leong Chung Wah, Chang Lin Uck, Lee Poo Bong, Lau On, Lo Sun Lung, Tom Yen Chung, Chun Yat Hing, Au Nin Hung, Chun Woon Tsung, Sit Lai Jong, Yan Lai Mong, Fung Loy Cung, as well as Daoist priest, Lau Foo (Ibid.: 70).

Like Tong Lung most of the Chinese eventually left Honokaʻa. HSCo’s Chinese labor force decreased by attrition over time and the company employed only 16 men, who were recorded as living in 5 houses on the plantation in a census that was conducted by the HSPA in 1927 (Helene Bartels. “The Study of the Honokaa Sugar Company Plantation.” Unpublished MS. University of Hawaii, 1928: n.p.).

Portuguese

Portuguese immigration to the Hawaiian Islands from the Azores, Canary Islands, and Madeira began in 1878 and continued through 1882 under the agency of the German firm Hoffnung & Company, until it was abruptly halted by the Hawaiian government in the latter year. Many Portuguese laborers came with their families and for many, their overseas passage was traumatic. In 1882 *Planters Monthly* reported that the steamship *Hansa* had sailed from the Azores on July 14 and arrived at Honolulu on September 9 of that year, disembarking 1,083 persons, of which fifteen men, thirteen women, one minor child, and twenty-two children who were twelve years of age or older were sent to HSCo (*Planters Monthly* 1882: 157). On the same vessel, whose immigrant laborers numbered 310 men, 320 women, 15 minor children, and 463 children above the age of twelve years, 25 had died during the passage. They included 2 women and 23 children. There were also 13 births (Ibid.). Those who survived were divided up and sent to 29 different plantations scattered across the archipelago.

Earlier on June 7 of the same year, another steamship named *Monarch* landed 830 persons at Honolulu and 5 Portuguese men, 5 women, and 17 children were sent to HSCo. Mortalities incurred during the voyage from the Port of St. Michael's in the Azores around the tip of South America, included 13 infants which occurred concurrently along with 6 births (Ibid. 1882: 74). It appears that HSCo's first Portuguese laborers came from the second of these two groups and that the population was increased by later arrivals. Although a number of Portuguese opted to become homesteaders in the Honokaʻa vicinity and grew sugarcane on contract for the company, there were 82 men, 53 women, and 142 children who were recorded as residing in 50 dwellings on the plantation when the HSPA conducted a census later in 1927 (Bartels 1928: n.p.).

As became the tradition with many other immigrant groups, many of the Portuguese left plantation employment once their contracts were completed and sought more diverse job opportunities within the towns. Unlike the majority of Chinese, however, many Portuguese chose to remain in Hāmākua. Thus while Honokaʻa in the early part of the 20th century included the Awong Store, more of a Portuguese presence is reflected in commercial buildings bearing such names as Andrade, Botelho, Ferreira, Souza, and Paiva.

Japanese

Japanese labor was initiated earlier in 1868 to, in the words of one Anglo-American of the period, "offset the numerical preponderance of Chinese plantation laborers" and was the result of a treaty that had been initiated by the Hawaiian Kingdom and Japan in 1868 (Bailey 1932: 46). On June 19 of that year, 153 workers and their family members left Yokohama for Hawaiʻi on the ship *Scioto*. The departure was not officially authorized by the Japanese government, the immigrants were unprepared for the harsh plantation conditions, and many ultimately requested repatriation. Embarrassed and angry, the Meiji government subsequently curtailed the importation of labor. (Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaiʻi 1885-1985*. 1986: 4-9.)

The ban on Japanese labor lasted for seventeen years. Finally at the behest of the sugar industry, the Hawaiian and Meiji governments reopened negotiations on immigration for Japanese contract laborers in 1885. Another treaty was signed and Japanese immigration resumed under the direct supervision of the Japanese government. On February 8 of that year, the *City of Tokio* [sic], a vessel owned by the German firm H. Hackfeld & Company of Honolulu, brought 946 laborers, the majority of whom were from Yamaguchi Prefecture, from Yokohama to the Port of Honolulu. A second party of 988 workers arrived on June 17 and a large number of this group emigrated from Hiroshima Prefecture.

In 1896 the Japanese government allowed private companies to solicit immigrants. The number of Japanese contract laborers who arrived to work in Hawaiʻi reached (depending on whether one uses Anglo-American or Japanese sources) between 22,000 and 29,000 persons, respectively (Thrum 1896: 39; Hazama 1986: 4-9). Ships plied regular routes from the Japanese ports of Kobe, Nagasaki, and Yokohama to Honolulu, bringing a few passengers in cabin while the majority travelled in steerage. Upon arrival, all passed through an immigration station at Honolulu Harbor which came to be derisively referred to in the Japanese vernacular of the day as *Senain Koya* or the "Shack for One Thousand People," then through a HSPA facility in Kakaʻako for assignment to individual plantations, before being transported across the archipelago.

Annexation of Hawaiʻi by the United States in 1898 invalidated the Kingdom's Masters and Servants Act labor contract law and brought American-Japanese tensions into the labor equation. The initial Japanese response was to temporarily limit immigration until 1901, when immigration laws were again relaxed. Japanese immigration to Hawaiʻi was ultimately curtailed in 1907 under the Gentlemen's Agreement providing an informal restriction on

immigration and the 1924 Immigration (Exclusion) Act. However, with the addition of some 14,276 women who immigrated as "picture brides" (1907-1923), a total of 140,457 Japanese came to work in the Hawaiian Islands (Oyama 1978: 17).

Honokaʻa planters acquired some of the first Japanese laborers when they arrived in 1888. In that year, HSCo was reported as employing 75 Japanese men and 8 Japanese women among a workforce of 202 individuals which also included 20 "white men," 20 Hawaiians, 15 Chinese, and 64 Portuguese" (*Report of the Inspector General of Immigrants* 1888: 19-20). In that year as well, Planters Richard Thomas and R.T. Rickard hired 15 Japanese to work along with 7 Portuguese, 2 "white men," 2 Hawaiians, and 40 Chinese (Ibid.: 19). J. Marsden acquired 15 Japanese, which in addition to 2 "white men" and 1 Portuguese, totaled 18 workers while R.M. Overend added 30 Japanese men and 12 Japanese women to his 70 workers which also included 2 Americans, 4 Hawaiians, 20 "Chinese (by the day)," 1 "Englishman," and 1 German (Ibid.).

In the following year there were four sugar companies operating in the Honokaʻa vicinity. They included: HSCo which was listed as having 222 laborers along with W.H. Rickard, as manager and F.A. Schaefer & Company as agents, as well as Richard Thomas (R.T.) Rickard, and R.M. Overend, both of whom were identified as independent planters with 52 and 74 laborers, respectively. A third planter named J. Marsden who was also an independent, employed 18 laborers and was similarly listed as operating in the Honokaʻa vicinity. All three planters ground their cane at HSCo (*Planters Monthly* 1889: 122).

In 1890 the Board of Immigration provided additional descriptions of the companies' worker populations. HSCo was noted as employing 35 Hawaiians, 59 Portuguese, 156 Japanese, 116 Chinese, 11 Americans, 8 British, and 15 workers of unidentified nativity ("Report of the Inspector General of Immigrants." In *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Immigration to the Legislature,* 1890: 18). HSCo overseers included British nationals, H.S. Rickard, William Isaacs, and a man with the surname of Williams, as well as one American named M. Foley. J. Marsden's plantation had 18 Japanese, 15 Chinese, and 1 American for a total of 34 (Ibid.: 18-19). R.T. Rickard's plantation employed 3 Hawaiians, 6 Portuguese, and 25 Chinese while R.M. Overend had 90 Japanese, 3 Portuguese, 30 Chinese, 2 Hawaiians, 1 American, and 1 worker of unidentified nationality. Marsden's overseer was a British national named J.R. Evans, Rickard had an American overseer named William Hickey, while Overend had a German national in the position with the name of Geo[rge] Tietzen (Ibid.: 19).

By 1891 the number of sugar companies had decreased to three. HSCo was still managed by W.H. Rickard, his laborers had increased to 419, and the company was still represented by F.A. Schaefer & Company as agents; H.T. Broderick was still owned and managed by the same, represented by agents of F.A. Schaefer & Company, and employed 19 laborers; and R.W. Overend, which was also owned and managed by the same, was represented by another German firm, Hackfeld & Company as agents, and employed 84 workers. Both Rickard and Overend were noted as employing at least one family member as a *luna* (foreman) – the latter, M.W. Overend, and the former, H.S. Rickard. Broderick as well as Overend continued to grow their cane on contract and sent their harvests to be ground at the HSCo mill (*Hawaiian Planters Monthly*, October 1891: 462).

In the following year, Broderick's plantation appears to have been acquired by W.H. Rickard and along with Overend's operation, its statistics were published in a report of the Hawaiʻi Board of Immigration in the same year. W.H. Rickard's sugar plantation was managed by R.T. Rickard, represented by F.A. Schaefer & Company as agents, and employed 104 employees as field workers. They included: 8 Hawaiians, 5 Portuguese, 28 Japanese, 65 Chinese, 2 Americans and 1 British national (*Hawaiʻi Board of Immigration* 1892: 17). Overend's operation

was still managed by the same, represented by Hackfeld & Company and had 78 field laborers on its payroll, 71 of whom were Japanese and 2 who were of unidentified nationality (Ibid.).

Thomas G. Thrum's *Hawaiian Almanac & Annual* for 1899 provided another detailed census of the sugar plantations throughout the archipelago and on the Hāmākua Coast. HSCo was recorded on October 31 of that year as having increased its payroll to 807 employees. They included 17 Hawaiian men identified as "day laborers," 25 Portuguese men and 12 Portuguese "minors" as "day laborers," 504 Japanese men as "contract" workers, 30 Japanese men and 132 women as "day laborers," respectively; 45 Chinese men as "contract laborers," 15 Chinese men as "day laborers," and 27 individuals of "other" unidentified nationality and job classification (Thrum 1899: 177). Neither Rickard's nor Overend's operations were mentioned in the Thrum census of that year.

Post 1900 Immigrant Labor

In 1900 along with U.S. annexation which came in the wake of the Spanish-American War (1898), occurred the demise of an aging Bureau of Immigration which had directed and financed the bulk of immigration to Hawaiʻi for nearly fifty years (1852-1900). Its methods for successfully subsidizing the importation of some 35,987 persons to the islands were suddenly deemed illegal and outlawed (Thrum 1900: 178). The agency was eventually resurrected by the Territorial Legislature in April 1905 under the same moniker, but operated with restrictions. It could only "'make suggestions,' report 'results obtained,' and provide general statistical information on immigration" (Beechert 1998: 125).

African Americans

In the intervening years, however, the HSPA lost no time in sending its agents abroad to seek out new sources of labor. It first investigated a mainland labor source that had been the subject of debate among Hawaiʻi sugar planters for decades—African-Americans from the Southeastern U.S. The most recent discussions had occurred in 1879 and 1882 when Foreign Affairs Minister Walter Murray Gibson attempted unsuccessfully to convince the Board of Immigration to import black laborers to address the labor shortage. African Americans had been arriving in the islands as crewmembers on whaling vessels (1819-1870) for decades and a number of them had decided to stay. Honokaʻa had experience with at least one of them, albeit mixed, in 1884. In that year, an African American "jailer with a bad reputation" named "Big Ben" shot and killed a Portuguese laborer from Overend's plantation during an altercation at the southeast end of town, then committed suicide to avert a trial and certain execution (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 12, 1884: 2: 4; *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 13, 1884: 10: 1).

In August 1900, John Hind (1858-1955), owner of Hāwī Mill & Plantation Co., Ltd. in nearby North Kohala, as well as an investor in PSMCo and HICo, declared in an interview in San Diego with a reporter while *en route* to New Orleans that, "a number of leading planters have decided to experiment with [N]egro labor as there are not provided a brief itinerary for Hind's trip to the South.":

> [Mr.] Hind will leave for New Orleans and make a thorough tour of the State of Louisiana and the South, studying the labor condition of the [N]egro. Another gentleman [(J.B. Collins, a chemist at Kohala Plantation)] thoroughly familiar with the South has preceded [Mr.] Hind to Louisiana. It is their present intention to employ thirty-five families at least [and] to return with them to Hawaiʻi. The pay received by those engaged in field labor is [to be] from $16 to $20 per month (Ibid.; Miles M. Jackson. *They Followed the Trade Winds: African Americans in Hawaiʻi.* Social Process in Hawaiʻi, Vol. 43. Mānoa: Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii, 2004: 59).

In November of the same year, the *Hawaiian Planters Monthly* substantiated Hind’s claim when it noted that, “It is with satisfaction to know that a trial will soon be made of [N]egro laborers” (*Hawaiian Planters Monthly*, November 15, 1900: 502). The *Honolulu Republican* echoed the latter sentiment when it printed, “A race that for generations has wrought in the cotton and cane fields of Mississippi and Louisiana should be adapted to the toil of the Hawaiian plantations” (*Honolulu Republican*, December 8, 1900: 4: 3). Unfortunately, Hind’s trip to recruit and hire thirty-five families for Hāwī Mill only appears to have netted “a dozen workers who arrived in the Spring of 1901” and within twelve months, there remained “only [five] Negro field hands earning $22 a month and quarters” (*Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawai‘i*, 1903: 23-24).

In January 1903 local planters noted the arrival of Black journalist T. Thomas Fortune to tour area plantations and investigate the potential for the unrestricted importation of black agricultural workers. Fortune had been hired by the U.S. Department of the Treasury to ascertain the possibility of African American settlement in the Philippines and the Territory of Hawai‘i when he arrived in Hilo on a 12-month tour of the country’s new possessions in the Pacific. Fortune concluded that the sugar plantations of Hawai‘i were *not* places for African American workers to seek employment or settle. In response to a query from an *Advertiser* reporter in Honolulu, he announced: “I shall not advise white or black laborers to come here under existing conditions, for it does not seem possible that they could be uplifted, could secure land, and make their own homes” (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 5, 1903: 3: 2; Jackson 2004: 66).

Puerto Ricans

Hundreds of Puerto Ricans—many of whom were of varying degrees of African, indigenous Taino, and Spanish descent—were brought to Hawai‘i under the auspices of a New York labor contracting firm, Messrs. Williams, Dimond and Co., at the request of the HSPA.

The first group of 56 arrived in December 23, 1900 in the wake of the hurricane, *San Ciriaco*, which decimated the island in 1899, and after completing a month-long, 5,677-mile trip from the Port of Guánica, Puerto Rico to the Hawaiian Islands. Their journey began on November 22 of that year with a voyage on the tramp steamer, *S.S. Arcadia*, from Guánica to New Orleans. The group continued by train via the Southern Pacific Railroad to San Francisco with a siding stop in a desert 300 miles west of El Paso, Texas, then culminated with a second voyage aboard the steamer, *S.S. City of Rio de Janeiro*, to Honolulu. The initial group of workers and their families numbered 114, including 71 men, 18 women, and 25 children. They were transported 2,246 miles across the Southern U.S., locked in two tourist sleeping cars and placed under armed guard, which prompted the escape of 58 when they reached San Francisco (Blasé Camacho Souza. “*Trabajo y Tristesa*: ‘Work and Sorrow’: The Puerto Ricans of Hawaii.” In *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 18, 1984: 156-174; 184-85; Carmen Teresa Whalen and Victor Vázques Hernández. *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005: 8). The *New York Times* carried a brief description of the journey beneath the headline, “Puerto Ricans Go to Hawai‘i” and sub-head, “Men Say They Were Kidnapped…Closely Guarded on Train” (*New York Times*, December 7, 1900: 1: 2). Following the group’s arrival in San Francisco, the *Examiner* printed a front-page photograph beneath the headline, “Threats and Force Put 66 Porto Ricans on Rio, but Fifty Others Escape” (*San Francisco Examiner*, December 15, 1900: 1: 1-5; Whalen and Hernández 2005: 9). Unfortunately, only 56 survived the trip. Four died and appear to have been buried at sea and the remaining workers and their families were sent to Pioneer Mill Co. in Lahaina following their arrival in Honolulu (Souza 1984: 185).

A second voyage in December of that year brought 384 Puerto Ricans, including 202 men, 182 women and children, first to Honolulu on December 26, 1900, and then to plantations on the island of Hawai‘i. Other arrivals of Puerto Rican workers and their families occurred on January 24, March 3 and 26, April 24, May 21, June 14, as

well as August 19 and 29, 1901 under varying conditions (Souza 1984: 165). They came primarily from southwest Puerto Rico and the towns of Adjuntas, Aguadilla, Utuado, Lares, Arecibo, Peñuelas, Yauco, Ponce, and Mayagüez (Ibid.). Puerto Rican immigration was officially suspended, however, by the HSPA in October of that year. By then there were 5,203 Puerto Ricans who had made the trip and 2,095 laborers were recorded as working on plantations in Hawai‘i in 1902 (*Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics on Hawai‘i* 1916: 18). This number increased to 3,510 when the population was enumerated by the U.S. Census in 1910. In 1919 the HSPA announced its intention to resume immigration from the “P.R.” but a group of 26 laborers in Hawai‘i issued a litany of complaints which was sent to the Puerto Rican legislature. The group stated:

> In Hawai‘i, we Puerto Ricans are abused and despised more than any race…The cost of living is high, and what we earn is not enough to clothe our families….They usurp our civil rights [constantly]…We wish and beg to be repatriated at once. We wish to advise our brothers in Puerto Rico not to emigrate to Hawai‘i, for a Puerto Rican in Hawai‘i is of less importance than a criminal in Puerto Rico (Whalen and Hernández 2005: 20).

In part, the workers’ objections ultimately prompted the legislature to call for an investigation and attempt the adoption of protective measures for its overseas laborers; the HSPA elected to not resume unrestricted immigration (Ibid.). HSCo appears to have acquired Puerto Ricans as part of its labor force from the second group which arrived in Honolulu on December 26, 1900. Although not mentioned in the annual report of that year, then manager J. Watt noted in the report for the following year that the “Puerto Ricans have improved as laborers during the past year” (HSCo 1902: 7). The company initially employed most of its workers in a contract system for growing and harvesting cane and even after abandoning that method of production in 1903, appears to have been able to retain its Puerto Rican workers over time. Consequently, 219 men, 28 women, and 53 children, were recorded as living in 22 houses on the plantation in a census that was conducted by the HSPA later in 1927 (Helene Bartels. “The Study of the Honokaa Sugar Company Plantation.” Unpublished MS. University of Hawaii, 1928: n.p.).

Koreans

Records indicate that at least sixteen Koreans were living in the Hawaiian Islands by 1902, some having traveled on Chinese passports or simply jumping ship. The United States and the Kingdom of Korea had entered into a Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1882 that allowed for Korean immigration. Several circumstances encouraged immigration to begin by 1903: economic conditions in Korea; Christian Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries who brought familiarity in Western learning and culture to the Korean people; and the desire of the HSPA to find another new source of inexpensive labor to replace Japanese workers who were demanding improved living conditions on plantations in Hawai‘i. Immigration routes went first through Japan. (Roberta Chang and Wayne Patterson *The Koreans in Hawai‘i: A Pictorial History 1903-2003* UH Press, Honolulu, 2003, 2-16).

In 1903, some 2,435 Korean laborers were brought to Hawai‘i and immigration continued through 1905. At the height of their employment in 1904 there were some 4,895 persons who were reported as working for sugar companies (*Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics on Hawai‘i* 1916: 18). By 1904, records indicate 843 Korean laborers were employed on the Big Island, most of whom were on the east side of the island (Chang and Patterson 2003, 60). In 1905, the declaration of a Japanese “Protectorate” over Korea was used by the Imperial Japanese Government to end Korean immigration to Hawai‘i .

HSCo acquired an indeterminate number of Koreans as part of its labor force at various dates. The 1914 Sandborn Fire Insurance Company map for Honoka‘a shows a “Korean School” on the Waipi’o side of what is today’s

Plumeria Street mauka of Māmane Street, documenting that there was once enough of a Korean community in Honokaʻa to support such a separate entity. However, the HSPA census conducted in 1927 shows only four remaining Korean persons, including three men and one child, residing in three houses on the plantation (Bartels 1928: n.p.).

Spaniards

In 1907, still undeterred in its quest for new laborers and buoyed by "[f]avorable reports having been received concerning the success in Cuba of Spanish laborers," the HSPA opened an office in London to recruit workers from the sugar growing region of Southern Spain (*Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 20, 1907*: 571). E.R. Stackable, former Collector of Customs for the Port of Honolulu, was the agent assigned to the London office. He communicated with Honolulu via cablegram and was assisted by E.A. Fraser. Stackable arranged passage from Malagá for "608 men, 554 women, and 1,084 children, a total of 2,246" who arrived in Honolulu aboard the steamship S.S. Heliopolis in April 1907. Another vessel, the S.S. Kumerie dropped anchor at the port with "333 men, 306 women, and 475 children, 1,114 in all" later in the same year (Ibid.). Although Stackable secured 3,360 Spanish immigrants from Malagá in that year, retention for 1907 was reported at only 733 persons. The height of Spanish employment occurred later in 1914 when some 4,895 persons were reported as working for sugar companies (*Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics on Hawaiʻi* 1916: 18). PSMCo manager A. Ahrens announced in the annual report for 1907 that Spanish workers had been hired and that "the acquisition of Spaniards was a boon to [the] plantation" (PSMCo 1907: 3) but none of them appear to have remained on the plantation to be enumerated in the HSPA census that was conducted later in 1927 (Bartels 1928: n.p.).

Filipinos

Recruiting efforts in the Philippines began in 1906 for much the same reason as had been used to favor Japanese immigration over the Chinese. This was also facilitated by the Philippine-American War, which began in Manila in 1899 in the wake of Spanish-American War, was arbitrarily declared ended in 1904, but continued unofficially in the Southern Philippine islands through a massacre that occurred in Jolo in 1917 (Solamillo 2011: 8-3). The conflict destroyed much of the economies of the provinces and left thousands of Filipinos landless, homeless, and hungry. Describing these conditions as evidence for "a pent up demand for work" in the country, the HSPA successfully advocated for and was able to acquire and import Filipinos to Hawaiʻi as contract labor. However, in contrast to the Japanese, Filipinos were defined as U.S. "nationals" due to their birth in a U.S. Territory and the new immigrants were allowed entry to the United States without restriction. They were, however, later denied opportunities for citizenship and further unrestricted in-migration by passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934) after 42,544 workers settled on the U.S. mainland and became the subjects of rampant racial violence. Despite these challenges, from 1906-1934 some 63,052 Filipinos arrived to work in Hawaiʻi (Thrum 1935: 19).

Being the most recent and largest group of immigrant laborers, Filipinos in Hawaiʻi, known in the vernacular as "*sakadas*," found themselves at the bottom of a rigid caste system. A number of them who later became indigent, ill, or homeless, suffered degradations in the press but Filipinos as a group were not subjected to the violence that their *compadres* had experienced on the U.S. mainland. In the territory, they were often stereotyped as undereducated or of questionable character. It took nearly twenty years before they formed their first organization—*Vibora Luviminda* (1924)—and initiated their first strike in the archipelago in the following year (1925). Shunned by many Filipinos afterward, three years passed before a chapter of a less aggressive organization was recorded in Hilo. It was the Filipino Federation of America or "FFA," whose office, identified as "Branch No. 12," was opened by Eugenio Y. Mabalod (Filipino Federation of America 1933: 20-21).

The FFA had been founded by the charismatic and controversial leader, Hilario Moncado (1898-1958) in Stockton, California in 1925, and had spread among the Filipino communities on the mainland. Established in Honolulu in 1928, it was immediately placed under surveillance by the HSPA but was determined to be benign, because of a "no strike" clause that was contained within the organization's by-laws. In the interim, twelve members of the organization were dispersed from its office in Honolulu to start chapters across the archipelago. "Sub-Branch No. 4" was established at Honokaʻa in 1929 by Alipio Ramelb with the assistance of FFA members Fausto Magauay, Blas Vea, and Juan Calma. It followed chapters which were also formed in the same year at Kona ("Sub-Branch No. 1"), Kohala ("Sub-Branch No. 2"), and Lahaina ("Sub-Branch No. 3"; Ibid.: 21). The founder visited Hilo in 1937 and news of his arrival was carried by the local press beneath the headlines, "Dr. Moncado to Visit Hilo," "Dr. Moncado Coming Monday," "Dr. Moncado is Welcomed on Hilo Visit," and "Dr. Moncado Delivers a Message of Peace in Hilo" (*Hilo Tribune-Herald*, June 9, 1937: 5: 7; Ibid., June 12, 1937: 1: 3; June 16, 1937: 1: 2; June 17, 1937: 1: 4-6, 11: 1-5).

A hallmark of the organization, the FFA marching band, became extremely popular after a performance at the Mid-Pacific Territorial Convention in Honolulu in 1931. Similar Filipino performance groups proliferated across the islands afterward, spawning competing Filipino and plantation company bands and orchestras as well as Filipino-owned music and clothing stores. Although far less flamboyant than the FFA, two other entities appear to have also been organized in Hilo during the 1930s but it remains unknown whether they had chapters in Honokaʻa—the Timpuyog Benevolent Society (Juan Quindara and Serafin Corpuz) and the Filipino Aid Association (Antone de Leon; Solamillo 2011: 8-20; Polk-Husted 1934-35: 552; R.L. Polk 1941-42: 801, 803, 806, 878).

It remains unknown exactly how many Puerto Rican, Korean, Spanish, and Filipino laborers arrived at HSCo from 1900-10. Despite the influx, HSCo manager R. Fursey complained in the latter year that, "Labor is getting scarcer and scarcer and unless more men come into the country the area under cultivation will have…to be curtailed" (HSCo 1910: 5). A plantation census was conducted by the HSPA later in 1927 and enumerated the worker population at HSCo. It included: 10 Hawaiians, 15 Chinese, 135 Portuguese, 252 Japanese, 4 Koreans, 257 "Porto Rican[s]," 635 Filipinos, 14 Americans, and 7 "Others" among 1,329 adults and 588 children (HSPA 1927: n.p.; Bartels 1928: n.p.).

HSCo laborers were housed in 13 camps that were scattered along the coast and in or near Honokaʻa. Camps 1-5 were located in the vicinity of the mill below the town at Haina. Immigrant workers were segregated by ethnicity into Camps 1 and 3, relegated to Filipinos; Camp 2, occupied by Japanese; and Camps 4 and 5, restricted to Portuguese (Bartels 1928: n.p.). In the HSCo annual report for 1909, it was noted that "[t]o improve quarters of all classes upon the plantation, many new houses have been built during the year, while the old camps have been thoroughly reconstructed and renovated, putting all the buildings in a general good and sanitary condition" (HSCo 1909: 5). Two years later, however, HSCo was required to repair buildings in the camps as well as provide "Sanitary Kitchens, Wash Houses, [and] Bath Houses" to comply with Board of Health regulations (Ibid. 1911: 3).

An increase in married workers prompted the company to erect "20 small cottages and kitchens" in 1915 and another twenty in the following year but the camps in which they were located remained unidentified (HSCo 1916: 3). Despite the improvements which were recorded in the company's annual reports, a study conducted later in 1928 indicated that 1,734 persons lived in 209 dwellings and that "the camp houses [were] closely built, crude buildings consisting of two 10' x 12' rooms…whitewashed" and probably dated to at least 1907 (Bartels 1928: n.p.).

HAWAIʻI STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION

Camp house in Haina. Note the shelters for the many fighting cocks in the yard. These were constructed from cast off materials.

Earlier in 1913 after a "ten-month trial" period, HSCo and PSMCo were consolidated under one management. HSCo manager A. Morrison stated that, "with all the water, labor and animals under one control, the expense of operating one mill in place of two, I am satisfied that it is a great step forward towards [sic] weathering the hard times which seem to be ahead of us" (Ibid. 1913: 5).

European and Euro-American Managers, and Immigrant Laborers

The monthly pay scale for an immigrant laborer who arrived to work at HSCo or for one of the three nearby plantations varied. At HSCo it was $12.00 (1878-80) per month for a majority of Hawaiians and some Chinese men. With the arrival of Portuguese laborers, the monthly wage for new male employees dipped to $8.00 (1881-82), was increased to $9.00 (1883-87) and gradually raised to $15.00 or $16.00 by 1886. Conversely, the monthly wage for Japanese male laborers was $9.00 and remained so until 1888 when it was gradually increased to $15.00.

By the end of that year, all male plantation laborers were paid $15.00 per month and the rate remained flat (1888-91). In 1892 a new agreement was negotiated with the Meiji government which reduced the pay scale to $12.50 for new arrivals from Japan and remained the going rate (1892-95). At the end of the latter year, all $12.50 employees were finally increased to $15.00, but new arrivals from Japan and China were still paid the entry level wage of $12.50 (1895-99). In 1899 the monthly pay for most Japanese men was increased to $15.00 while a majority of Chinese men did not see an increase to that amount until the end of the year. In 1900 the rate for all male laborers was raised to $17.50 by mid-year and increased to $20.00 by the third quarter of the same year (Honokaʻa Sugar Company, Theo H. Davies & Company, Haina, from table, "Basic Pay Scales for Honokaʻa Sugar Co.: 1876-1900," after Edward D. Beechert. "Patterns of Resistance and Social Relations of Production in Hawaii." and "Basic Pay Scales for Honokaa Sugar Co.: 1876-1900," *Sugar Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*. Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward Beechert, editors. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1985: 109).

The monthly wages for immigrant women and children over the age of ten were substantially lower than for men. Women were paid $5.00 per month (1886-88). During the same period, boys between the ages of thirteen and fifteen were paid $2.50 per month; between fifteen and sixteen, $5.00 per month, between sixteen and eighteen, $6.00 per month; and between eighteen and twenty, $8.00 per month. Girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were paid $4.00 per month and between sixteen and eighteen, $5.00 per month (*Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly*, 1886: 183).

In 1899 a photograph was taken by William S. Bryan in the Honokaʻa vicinity of three unidentified Japanese families which included two mothers with infants on their backs standing alongside their husbands (Bryan 1899: 526). The portrait attested to the persistence of poor conditions that a majority of *Issei* or first generation workers at HSCo had experienced since their arrival in 1885. Life for laborers at HSCo and other plantations on the Hāmākua Coast was characterized by long hours, low wages ($12.50 per month less three monthly installments of $5.00 for passage for new arrivals from 1892-99; *Hawaiian Board of Immigration Report* 1891: 48), high prices, and control through arbitrary use of fine or force. In addition, their lodgings were presumably also comparable to the fifty-sixty bamboo and cane thatched houses which were recorded in photographs which were taken by Hilo artist Charles Furneaux at Wainaku, Camp 2, before they were destroyed in an accidental fire in 1895 and rebuilt in wood (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 24, 1895: 6: 1). Consequently, there was a propensity for labor unrest which materialized itself in violence or strikes, the most recent of which had occurred in 1893 at PSMCo in Kukuihaele. Following an altercation in a cane field that ended with a Japanese worker drawing a knife and being shot and wounded by a German *luna*, two hundred fifty Japanese laborers struck for an indeterminate period, then marched *en masse* to attend a hastily convened trial at the Honokaʻa courthouse, but the trial's outcome went unreported (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 27, 1893: 3: 3; June 29, 1893: 2: 3).

A Lynching

Earlier in 1889, Katsu Goto, the town's first Japanese merchant of record, had attempted to intervene on behalf of a Japanese workforce at R.W. Overend's plantation, and was lynched at the southeast end of the town in an attempt to intimidate them. The atrocity cast a pall over the town, if not the region, brought public attention to the racism that was pervasive among its plantation managers, business elite and local officials, and produced heightened scrutiny from Hawaiian Kingdom as well as Meiji government authorities because of the possibility that it could halt immigration from Japan altogether.

Goto had been born Katsu Kobayakawa, the eldest of five children in 1862 to Izaemon and Sayo Kobayakawa, in Terasaka Kokufu Village, Naka County, Kanagawa Prefecture. Although the level of his formal education is

unknown, he had managed to be employed in the offices of Oiso town hall before moving to Yokohama, where it is presumed that he learned English. He took the surname of Goto from an adoptive family there in order to emigrate to Hawaiʻi because first sons were traditionally prevented from leaving Japan. He left the country aboard the *S.S. City of Tokio*, along with 944 other immigrant laborers, including 676 men, 159 women, and 110 children, and arrived in Honolulu on February 8, 1885. He was sent to work as a laborer on the Soper, Wright & Co. plantation at ʻOʻōkala on the island of Hawaiʻi. Goto appears to have been able to supplement his wages of $9.00 per month by penning correspondence for Japanese workers to their families in Japan or serving as a translator. Within two years, he acquired sufficient funds to finance travel to and education at a commercial high school in San Francisco for a younger sibling, Sekijiro Kobayakawa. Upon completion of a three-year work contract at ʻOʻōkala in 1888, he left the village for Honokaʻa (Gaylord Kubota. "The Lynching of Katsu Goto: The Tragic Fate of a Successful 'First Ship' Japanese Immigrant." Pearl City: Center for Labor Education and Research, University of Hawaiʻi, West Oʻahu, 2000: 1-2; Fumiko Kaya. *Katsu Goto: The First Immigrant from Japan.* English translation in Hawaiʻi State Archives. Kaya 1988: 7).

Goto acquired a retail license that had originally been issued to merchant Bunichiro Onome and opened a general store in a house located on Māmane Street. He is purported to have capitalized the business with the loans from 11 Japanese and acquired the accounts of some 70 Japanese workers as well as an indeterminate number of Hawaiians and Euro-Americans. His merchandise arrived via wagon from the HSCo landing at Haina along with that of Joseph R. Mills, who operated a competing general store nearby. In addition to providing a Japanese-owned store to sell goods to Japanese workers, Goto served as a translator for workers in the employ of R.W. Overend (Kaya 1988: 12-13). It may be conjectured that in less than a year, Goto's store came to function as an *ad hoc* community center for immigrant laborers and along with increasing sales and prestige caused him to be disliked by a number of prominent Euro-Americans in the town—to the point where he was forbidden to enter R.W. Overend's plantation under threat of death if he did.

On the night of October 28, 1889, Goto heeded the call to meet seven Japanese workers on Overend's plantation who had been arbitrarily fined in excess of two months wages for a fire that had occurred in a cane field. After leaving the plantation, he was accosted at the southeastern end of Honokaʻa by a small group of men, pulled off his horse, his arms and legs were bound, and his body hoisted and hung by the neck from the cross arm of a telephone pole. The corpse was discovered by George Tietsen, a Portuguese youth, at dawn on October 29, then drew a crowd of about 45 spectators, mostly Japanese laborers, before it was taken down (Allen Beekman. *The Strange Case of Katsu Goto*. Honolulu: Heritage Press, 1989: 18, 21).

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* carried the initial report of the murder on October 31 beneath the headline, "Hanging at Honokaʻa." It stated:

> A Japanese storekeeper, K. Goto, was found dead this morning [October 29] at 6 o'clock hanging [from] a cross arm on a telephone pole about one hundred yards from the Honokaʻa jail. A new two-inch rope, evidently purchased for the purpose, was used, and from all appearances no bungling hands performed that work – the dead man's hands and legs were pinioned and a genuine hangman's knot, [was] under his left ear (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 31, 1889: 3: 2).

An inquest was called later on the day that Goto's body was found. The murder of Goto, a Japanese national, threatened relations with Japan when Japanese labor was increasingly important. The publicity forced the Hawaiian Government to invest considerable resources in the case. An eight-week investigation culminated in the arrests of four suspects. They included: Thomas Steele, who was taken into custody on November 11, as well as

W.C. Blabon, Joseph (J.R.) Mills, and W.D. Watson, who were arrested on November 14, December 11, and December 28, respectively. Mills was a store and restaurant owner, the Honokaʻa post master and pound-master, as well as a notary public, auctioneer and special policeman; Steele was the head overseer for R.W. Overend; Blabon was a teamster for J.R. Mills; and Watson was a teamster for Overend and former employee of Mills (Kubota 2000: 5-7). The trial was held before a foreign jury with Chief Justice Francis Albert Judd presiding on May 8 in the Third Circuit Court in Hilo for the defendants, who by that time had acquired the moniker of the "Honokaʻa Four" (Beekman 1989: 33).

Following a week of testimony and six hours of deliberation by the jury, on May 13, Mills and Steele were convicted of second-degree manslaughter while Blabon and Watson were convicted of manslaughter in the third degree. Mills and Steele received a sentence of nine years of hard labor, Blabon, five years, and Watson, four years. Only Watson served the length of his entire term. Steele escaped from Oahu Prison on September 23, 1892 after serving only 16 months of his sentence; Blabon also escaped on December 15 of the same year after being jailed for 19 months; and Mills was pardoned on July 4, 1894 after failed escape and suicide attempts during three years of incarceration (Kubota 2000: 13).

In the interim period spanning the investigation and arrests, Katsu Goto was quietly buried in a small cemetery on the grounds of Pāʻauhau Jodo Mission, 2.4 miles southeast of Honokaʻa. His younger brother Sekijiro was present and posed for a photograph at the gravesite, which was covered in flowers (Kaya 1988: 15). In the 1960s a replacement headstone was erected, as the previous gravestone had deteriorated. On December 10, 1994 the Goto memorial was erected in Honokaʻa at the Hilo end of Māmane Street at the approximate site of the lynching.

The lynching of Katsu Goto was the only confirmed and prosecuted case of its type in Hawaiʻi. In 1889 the incident appears to have left a palpable effect that was neither lost on the workers at HSCo and PSMCo, nor on the thousands who labored on plantations across the archipelago for at least a decade, if not longer. Threats of deaths similar to Goto's are recalled as having been routinely issued by *luna* to area workers to maintain control for years afterward (Kaya 1988: 20). In 1900 on ʻŌlaʻa Plantation, a group of Koreans attempted to duplicate the hanging when they tried to lynch a Japanese interpreter (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 14, 1904: 8: 4), and on Maui four years earlier, the bodies of at least two Japanese workers were found hanging from the branches of *kiawe/algaroba* trees (a local variety of acacia) in the vicinity of Kāʻanapali but erroneously reported as suicides (Solamillo 2006: n.p.).

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

Katsu Goto Memorial at the southeast end of Māmane Street near where the actual lynching occurred.

Laborer Intimidation and Control

Within four years of Goto's death, a strike was organized and subsequent Honokaʻa worker outmigration appears to have been preferable to confronting management. The companies' annual reports during the period contained recurring complaints that there was always a shortage of laborers. Strikes at either plantation were not recorded as occurring until June 25-28 and November 5-13, 1900. No additional labor disturbances were reported for another two decades until January 19, 1920, when the largest and last all-Japanese strike occurred throughout the archipelago (Reinicke 1967: 7-8, 17, 18). This was followed by a Filipino-led strike in July 1924. The HSCo manager during the strikes of 1920 and 1924 was Walter Pierre (W.P.) Naquin (1883-1968) who supervised there for twenty-eight years (1916-44). He had been preceded by a succession of managers who included: J.G. Tucker (1878-78), J.C. Bailey (1878-80), W.H. Rickard (1880-92), John Watt (1892-1903), K.S. Gjerdrum (1903-10)—a Norwegian who "resigned his position to accept an appointment [at Los Caños plantation, Guantanamo,] Cuba" and died there shortly thereafter—and Alex Morrison (1911-15; HSCo 1910: 5; *Hilo Tribune*, December 12,

1911: 1: 2). After Naquin, the managers were Leslie Wishard (1944-55), Richard M. Frazier (1955-72), and P. Ernest Bouvet (1972-8?; Campbell and Ogburn 1989: 3).

In part, because of the length of his tenure at HSCo, PSMCo, and HICo, Naquin had the greatest impact on those companies and on Honokaʻa. He had been born in Thibodaux, La Fourche Parish, Louisiana in 1883, the son of Lovincy and Mary (Lasseigne) Naquin. He was educated at Louisiana State University (LSU), graduated with a B.S. in 1907, and started his career as a chemist for the Audubon Sugar School in New Orleans from 1907-08. While most LSU graduates took seasonal assignments at any of the fifty-five American-owned sugar mills which were operating in Cuba, forty-five located in Puerto Rico, or others which were located in Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico, Naquin opted to go instead to Hawaiʻi. He was first employed as a field chemist and agriculturist for ʻŌlaʻa Sugar Company from 1908-11, then as assistant agriculturalist for the HSPA Experiment Station in Honolulu from 1911-14. In 1915 Naquin was appointed manager of HSCo and PSMCo, as well as superintendent of HICo. He married Ethel Ambrosia Keating of Honolulu in the same year (HSCo 1915: 3; Siddall 1919: 295).

It may be that Naquin managed these three companies, whose combined populations by 1915 exceeded that of Honokaʻa itself, like a small Southern town, as his nativity, upbringing, and training might have suggested. His birthplace of Thibodaux was centrally located in Louisiana's sugar producing region, which was known in the vernacular as the "sugar bowl." The town had gained particular notoriety in 1887 for a riot involving 1,000 African American and Euro-American sugar workers who struck for a wage of $1.25 per day. It ended with the massacre of twenty-four black strikers who were "[shot] down like so many cattle" and the lynching of two black strike leaders (*Weekly Pelican*, November 26, 1887: 2). In addition, like most of his Euro-American and European classmates, Naquin's training at LSU, which produced highly skilled managers and technicians such as chemists, sugar boilers, and mechanics, did not prepare them for interactions with labor. Consequently, in Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti where their high numbers and frequency of employment from 1897 through the Sugar Crash of 1920 gained them the moniker of "sugar tramps," their employment as managers was eventually discontinued in large part because they dealt poorly with workers—both native and immigrant (Humberto Garcia-Muñiz. "Louisiana's 'Sugar Tramps' in the Caribbean Industry." In *Journal of the International American University of Puerto Rico*. Ponce: International American University of Puerto Rico 1999: n.p.).

Labor strife in Hāmākua reflected the larger context during this period of that throughout the islands. On September 9, 1924 Filipino strikers and police clashed at Hanapēpē, Kauai, resulting in 20 deaths. On August 1, 1938 police in Hilo opened fire on a multi-ethnic group of 200 strikers, injuring fifty.

Within Hāmākua, future labor organizer Pablo Manlapit learned about plantation conditions after arriving in 1910 to work at Hāmākua Mill. Taking classes at night, he worked his way out to become first a labor clerk and then a lawyer. In the 1920s he distinguished himself as a spokesman for workers, helped organized the Filipino Labor Union in Hawaiʻi and was a central figure in the strikes of 1920 and 1924. So great was his influence that, although he was not on the scene, he was implicated in the 1924 Hanapēpē violence, tried for conspiracy with 60 other Filipinos, and sentenced to 2 to 10 years at the territorial prison on Oʻahu (CLEAR Biographies of Hawaiʻi Labor History Figures: Pablo Manlapit, University of Hawaiʻi http://www.hawaii.edu/uhwo/clear/home/LaborBios.html).

Educator and labor activist John Reinecke spent four years in Honokaʻa during the 1930s and later wrote in his autobiography, *A Man Must Stand Up*, that, "under W.P. Naquin…Honokaʻa was probably the most backwardly

run plantation in Hawaiʻi." He also added that "some of the other plantations on the 'Scotch Coast' were not far behind it" (Reinecke 1993: 22). He continued:

> Physically, Honokaʻa plantation camps were a disgrace. I once asked our maid how her camp could be improved. "Burn it down," she replied. In Haina Mill camp, [there was] an open sewer that carried waste water from the mill [that] had a sickening sweet stink [that was] worse than the…smell of human dung in Chinese ditches (Ibid.).

Reinecke also recalled that:

> Mr. Naquin didn't believe in education for his workers. When an employee named Yamada sent his eldest son away to high school, the manager endured it, but when the second son followed, Naquin called in Yamada and told him: "Your sons will never come to work here. You better take them and move to town" (Ibid.).

As a teacher, Reinecke also noted that he and other educators lived in Honokaʻa but were never part of the community. He mentioned that: "[T]he haole bosses had nothing to do with us, and on the other hand, we had nothing to do with the Japanese and Portuguese workers. The Filipinos were a foreign people to us; nor did they mix much with the other working people" (Ibid.). Aspects of racial and class intolerance appeared to have been routine even among school children. Reinecke recalled that "Sometimes [Filipinos] were not allowed to buy tickets to public dances on the ground[s] that the girls wouldn't dance with them anyway" (Ibid.).

The Filipino labor activist Pedro de la Cruz (1903-1977) worked as a teamster for HSCo when he first came to Hawaiʻi in 1921 but did not remain there long. It may be conjectured that conditions there prompted him to opt instead for a transfer to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company (HAPCo) on Lānaʻi. He started with the company as a *luna*, then became a labor organizer in the 1940s and orchestrated the first strike on the island in 1951. By 1954 he was listed as a "business agent" for the ILWU, then was elected to the House of Representatives in 1959, later became Vice-Speaker, and served in that capacity through 1976.

In Honokaʻa, the responsibility of maintaining order in the town and in the nearby plantation camps fell to the camp and local police as well as the deputy sheriff of Hāmākua and the sheriff in Hilo. Since the 1880s, the positions of deputy sheriff and the sheriff in Hilo, were elected positions. The latter had been held by a variety of persons—mostly European, Euro-American and Native Hawaiian—and included: L. Severance (1880), D.F. Sanford (1885), R.A. Lyman (1890), J.W. Moanauli (1895), H.S. Overend (1900), W.M. Keolanui (1905), S.K. Pua (1910 and 1915) (Thrum 1880: 35; 1885: 88; 1890: 122; 1895: 160; 1900: 187; 1904: 243; 1911: 201; Siddall 1917: 201).

One well known law enforcement official in the early 20th century was William Joseph Rickard, son of Royalist William H. William Joseph Rickard had been born in Waimea in 1873 and was educated at Punahou and Atkinson Schools in Honolulu as well as a private school in Devonshire, England. His first job was in the offices of the hardware firm of Dayton & Hall in Portland, Oregon from 1893-95, then he worked as a freight clerk and cane weigher for Pāʻauhau Sugar Company from 1895-97. Rickard was elected deputy sheriff in 1897 but resigned after two years to pursue a ranching business and grow coffee; he was elected sheriff in 1905, but resigned because the pay was too meager. He then worked for the U.S.G.S. from 1912-13 before being appointed deputy sheriff in the latter year (Siddall 1919: 339). By 1920 the office of sheriff was again held by William Joseph Rickard. Rickard remained in law enforcement for over 20 years and was well known as he led the annual

4th of July parade through Honoka'a for about 40 years. He died in 1961. He was followed as sheriff by a string of successors, whose ethnicity diversified over time.

The deputy sheriff, camp and local police officers worked in tandem to enforce laws and ordinances and arrest law-breakers. Prisoners were held at the Honoka'a Police Station or transferred to Hilo where trials were held and sentences handed down from the court in that port city or from the Honoka'a Courthouse itself. Control of both worker and merchant populations was exercised to maximum benefit and received at least tacit, if not direct support from plantation manager Naquin.

In 2012 few residents were willing to speak openly about Naquin except for Curtis Narimatsu, a writer in Hilo, who referred to the former HSCo manager as "Naquin the Mean," recalled that he was "especially abusive[,] dictatorial[,] and ruthless," but failed to provide details (Curtis Narimatsu. "Typecasting." http://www.bigislandchronicle.com/2009/11/29/dispatches-from-curt, December 1, 2009: n.p.; Narimatsu. "Reminiscing on things past." http://curtisnarimatsu.wordpress.com/2011/05/21/reminiscing-on-things-past/, May 21, 2011: n.p. In contrast to Narimatsu's recollections, Naquin and the companies that he managed were described as early as 1935 and remembered as late as 1996 for "taking relatively good care of their employees" (McCain and Quinlan 1996: 8-2). The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* initiated the positive image when it noted in 1935 that: "In addition to the standard type of comfortable houses provided for [the] employees [sic] and its social welfare program similar to that of all territorial plantations, [HSCo] maintains a mountain home at Waimea for the use of its skilled workers" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 15, 1935, Sec. 3, 7: 2-5).

Plague, Droughts, and Range Fires

Naquin's technical expertise appears to have overshadowed whatever shortcomings he may have had with labor. This is illustrated by his adept handling of the constant threat of epidemic which eclipsed the other challenges that he experienced during his tenure on the Hāmākua Coast. Following the discovery of bubonic plague in Honolulu on December 24, 1899 and the ensuing quarantine and destruction by fire of the city's Chinatown on January 20, 1900, the disease spread rapidly to Maui and Hawai'i. On January 30 of the same year, the disease was reported in the Chinese section of the port town of Kahului and like Honolulu, the Chinese district was also burned, after the buildings had been dynamited (Yip and Solamillo 2009: 13). On February 5, 1900, the plague was identified in the port city of Hilo (Ikeda 1985: 77-78) and although it remains unclear how many buildings may have been destroyed, cases continued to occur there through 1913 (Kevin Bailey. "Plague in Paradise: A Study of Plague on Hawaiian Sugarcane Plantations." Unpublished honors thesis. Eugene, Oregon: Department of History, University of Oregon, 2007: 1).

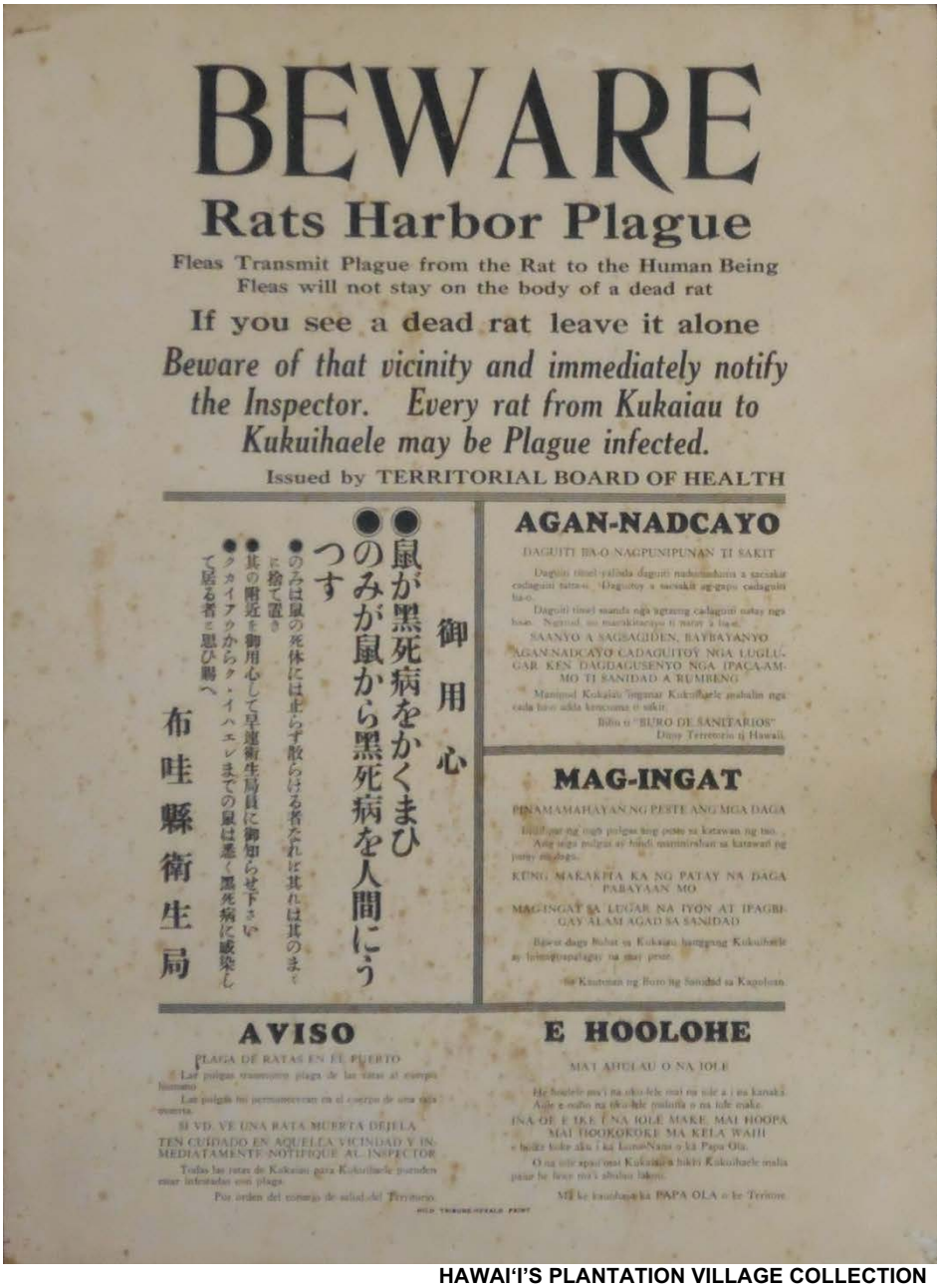
The first of a number of cases was also identified on the Hāmākua Coast at Honoka'a in 1910 and the disease continued to spread from that year onward until the infected area extended twenty miles in length from 'O'ōkala to Waipi'o and three-five miles inland from the coast. Its source was hypothesized as having been infected fleas and rats who came ashore on arriving freight shipments from Hilo "via steel cable landings" (Tomich et al 1984: 264; Tomich 2008: 201; Bailey 2007: 4). In that year, an officer of the Hawai'i Board of Health (BOH) in Hilo is remembered as having quarantined buildings in Honoka'a, held their occupants at gunpoint to prevent them from retrieving their possessions, and ordered them set ablaze (Tomich 2008: 202).

PHOTOGRAPHER: CAROL STEPHENSON

One of the Board of Health Buildings in Honoka‘a, built in the 1930s.

In 1911 the BOH opened laboratories at Hilo and Honoka‘a, the latter in a single-story wood frame building at the southeast end of the town. The Honoka‘a facility was placed under the direction of Dr. F.W. Taylor and, like its twin laboratory in Hilo, was established to “confirm plague cases[,]…compile data[,]…make epidemiological observations of plague foci, and plan…poisoning, trapping, sanitation, and educational measures” (Bailey 2007: 28). There was also a government owned cemetery nearby, where those who succumbed from the disease might be interned after the cause of death had been confirmed.

The annual report of the BOH of 1911 stated that, “Dr. Taylor w[ould] endeavor to try to trace just how far the rat-plague infection ha[d] spread along the Hāmākua coast [and] that there [wa]s an endemic foci at Honoka‘a [that wa]s shown by the sporadic cases which occurred there during the past year” (*Annual Report of the Hawai‘i Board of Health*, 1911: 43). Hawai‘i Island business consortiums such as Hilo’s Shippers Wharf Committee donated $2,564.99 to the BOH effort for “better sanitation and prevention of the disease” and the Public Health Committees of the Hilo and Honolulu Chambers provided support (Bailey 2007: 27).



HAWAIʻI'S PLANTATION VILLAGE COLLECTION

"BEWARE Rats Harbor Plague" poster. n.d.

However, since the epidemic was found to be centered in Honokaʻa, the herculean efforts of rat control and eradication on thousands of acres of cane fields fell to HSCo and its manager, Naquin, who led the program, assisted by the managers of other plantations in the vicinity. The company initiated a rat campaign in that year, "owing to an outbreak of plague in the Hāmākua District" and hired six rat catchers to work on the job full time (HSCo 1912: 4). Naquin was forced to work closely with the BOH and despite a difficult start which included a

flurry of letters between the company and the agency, managed to quickly develop a mutually beneficial relationship. In that year as well, HSCo is reported to have improved conditions at its camps. As a result, at the end of 1911, the *Hilo Tribune* extended praise to Naquin and HSCo for their efforts with an article which was entitled, "Plantation Men Are Complimented" (*Hilo Tribune*, December 12, 1911: 6: 2-3).

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

Pestilent mammal incinerator on the Honokaʻa Board of Health grounds.

Despite the company's efforts and accolades in that year, its annual report for 1911 also noted that "[a]round the camps and dwelling houses it is seldom that rats are caught in any number, but in the fields and gulches they do not seem to at all diminish" (HSCo 1912: 4). From 1915-18 HSCo rat catchers trapped 268,751 rats at a cost of $40,672 (Bailey 2007: 36). In 1916 the Board of Health reported that "the work of building-out [sic] the rat is going on steadily" but statistics indicated that HSCo still had the largest populations of rodents on the entire island. Rats trapped at the mill and nearby camps in that year alone numbered 23,828, compared with 1,162 caught in Honokaʻa Village, 2,761 at Kukuihaele Village, 9,565 at Pāʻauhau, and only 6,351 caught in all of Hilo (*Annual Report of the Hawaiʻi Board of Health*, 1916: 28).

From at least 1925 onward, rat catchers were identified in the local telephone directories and most were hired by either the Board of Health or HSCo. In the early years, they appear to have been largely Hawaiian and Portuguese, then gradually included Filipino and at least one local Chinese and two Japanese by 1941. From 1925-41 they included: G. Manuel, G. Heaukulani, P. Kaai, A. Kamauoha, C. Kaulupali, P. de Rego, M. Soares, H. Chong, M. Nakamura and J. Toko (Polk-Husted 1925: 548, 568, 577, 618, 625; Ibid. 1930: 635; 1935: 560; R.L. Polk 1941-42: 799, 827, 829, 852, 878).

Despite the efforts of HSCo and the other plantation companies along the Hāmākua Coast, from 1910-49, there were 112 individuals who contracted the disease and 109 of them died (Bailey 2007: 2). All but thirteen victims appear to have remained anonymous. Such was the case when a BOH description read, "Sep. 23, 1919, Kūkaʻiau Plantation, Japanese Male, Stableman, Kūkaʻiau Stables, Bubonic," or when a newspaper ran a brief statement beneath the title, "Big Isle Girl Dies of Bubonic Plague" that read, "Jan. 27 – A 12 year old girl died of bubonic plague in the Hāmākua district, Dr. Bernstein, health officer, has announced" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 27, 1944: 7: 5). One exception appears to have been a report that was sent from Assistant Chief Sanitary Inspector Joseph S. Caceres to Naquin in 1922 which stated that "Isau Murakami, Japanese female, 2 years, 7 months, and 18 days" expired from the plague on "August 1, 1922" (HSCo 23/3 General Correspondence In & Out, 1921-22). The others included: Dan Kapela (July 4, 1922), Kichigi Miwa (July 7, 1922), Bernaldo Bolongon (September 2, 1922), Pilipe Bolongon (September 9, 1922), Antone Pedro Benevedes (October 20, 1922), Pedro Monton (September 27, 1924), Pastor Molina (July 26, 1929), Sabastian Gargarin (July 27, 1929), Victoriano Domingo Apaoa (February 13, 1932), Francisco Abon (February 24, 1932), Seigo Matsunaga (March 5, 1943), and Nancy Kauai (April 1943; Bailey 2007: 10). HSCo finally developed a poison system that when used in tandem with trapping significantly reduced the rat population to the point where the incidence of plague finally dissipated by 1943.

Episodic droughts were also an ongoing challenge for the district and when those occurred, they caused the disease-carrying flea populations to explode. P. Bartels, HSCo assistance manager, noted in correspondence with F.A. Schaefer later in 1926 that, "[W]ith continued dry weather the plague condition in the Hāmākua District is always aggravated" (Ibid.: 6). Dry spells also placed the company's entire sugar crop at risk. In 1919 HSCo manager W.P. Naquin noted that since the company began operations in 1878 "it [had] now and then had serious droughts" which had occurred in 1897, 1904, and 1917 (HSCo 1919: 5). The droughts did not abate but increased in frequency from 1917-19, creating what Naquin called three "disastrous years" in succession (Ibid.).

Owing in part to drought conditions which were often exacerbated by large scale environmental degradation caused by fire, the danger of the latter remained a persistent challenge for HSCo, PSMCo, and other nearby sugar companies as well. Earlier in 1901 there had been a series of range fires which over a period of three months destroyed "10,000 acres of cane" and "thousands of acres of fine forest trees" (*Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, November 2, 1901: 284). Experts warned that diminished rainfall would result from such massive destruction of the watershed and HSCo, along with other HSPA-member companies on the Hāmākua Coast initiated tree planting programs from 1912 onward to avert deforestation. Despite their efforts, the continuing threat of conflagration caused the town of Honokaʻa to incur a proliferation of wood water tanks as an added precaution. Recorded on Sanborn Insurance Co. maps which were produced in 1914 and 1919, they numbered some 56 and 61 structures in the latter and former years (Sanborn Insurance Company 1914: 1-2, 1919: 1-2). By 1965, however, the number of water tanks had been reduced to eight after a public water system was finally provided for the town in November 1923 (Ibid. 1965: 1-2; Hawaiian Irrigation Co., Ltd. 1930: 8).

Land and Other Matters

HSCo acquired the use of former Crown Lands in 1893 which had become, after the overthrow and annexation, public lands of the republic, then of the territory. Its first acquisition was Honokaia which had a land area of 5,198 acres with three-fourths of a mile fronting the ocean. It extended inland eight miles to an elevation of 3,300 feet. The lower sections provided "good cane land" while the upper sections offered "good grazing land." Seven hundred and fifty acres were also under lease to HSCo at a rate of $2,776 per annum. The lease was dated April 1, 1893, set to expire on April 1, 1913, and was presumably renewed on that date. A balance of 4,400 acres was also under lease to the Parker estate at $305 per annum for grazing. It was dated October 1, 1878, dated for expiration on July 1, 1913, and renewed as well (*Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i* 1904: 57). The combined lands of HSCo and PSMCo, in lease and fee, totaled some 9,000 acres.

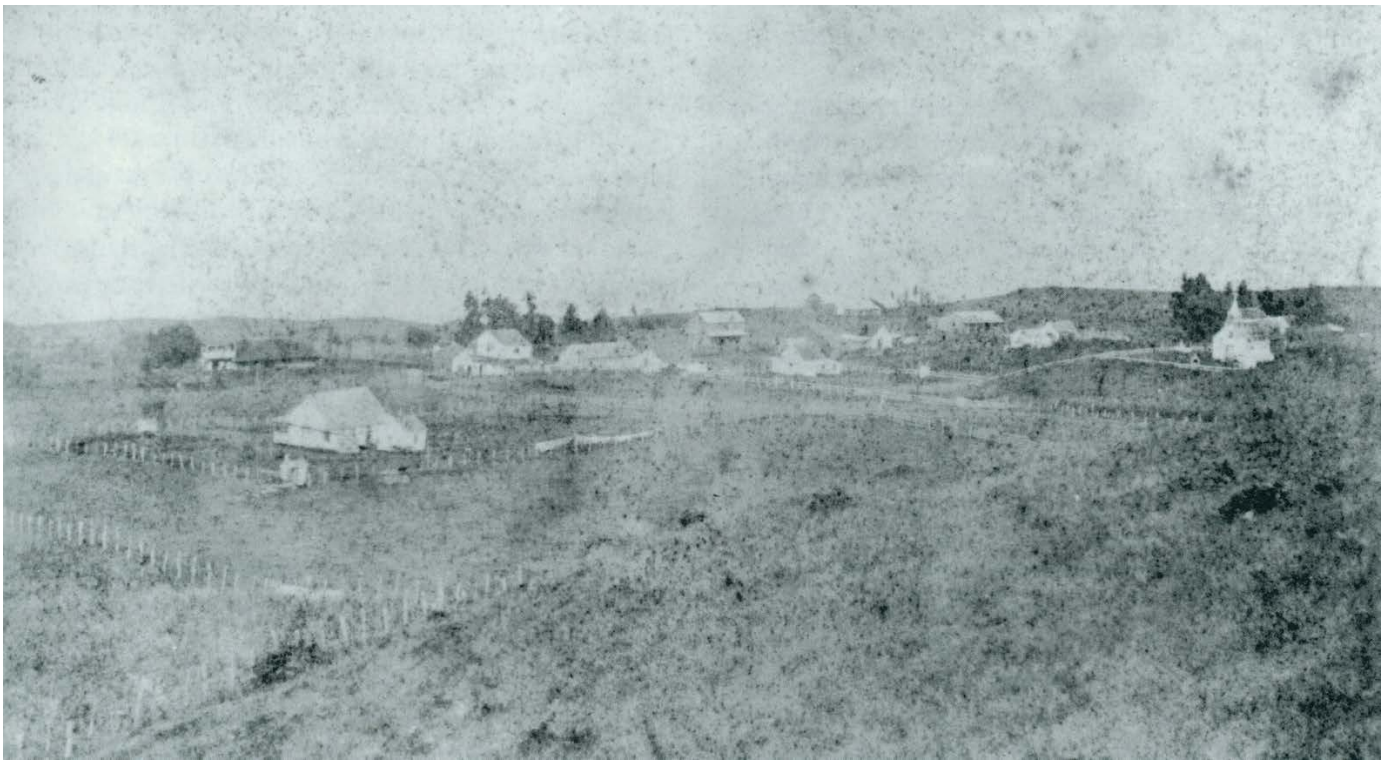
In 1926, as part of its reforestation efforts which included the planting of 30,000 Japanese Sugi trees and 25,000 Monterey Cypress, HSCo initiated the planting of Macadamia Nut trees in groves at the 1,500 foot elevation (HSCo 1931: 4). (This is the world's first recorded commercial macadamia nut enterprise.) The company had first experimented with the trees in 1916 at the 2,500 foot elevation. The trees planted in 1926 began bearing in 1934, and by 1938, the commercial value of the endeavor was realized with some 315 acres planted in trees, and 115 acres producing nuts as an adjunct enterprise to the company's sugar operations which were sold through Hawaiian Nut Company in Honolulu (Ibid. 1936: 4; 1938: 4). In 1942, HSCo reported that "the grove [was] on a commercial footing" and that the nuts were "processed in [the company's] own factory and sold at a good profit" (Ibid. 1942: 3). In that year, HSCo also announced that it would "increase the acreage in nuts" by planting "several thousand grafted trees" in "abandoned cane fields" (Ibid.: 4). By 1944 the company had 390 acres planted in macadamia trees and in the following year supplied the U.S. military with chocolate-coated macadamia nut candy (Ibid. 1944: 9).

CONTEXT #1: Development of Honokaʻa Town 1872-1960

In 1872 the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi conducted a census of Hawaiian Islands and reported that the Hāmākua Coast was home to some 1,516 persons. The Kingdom enumerated the population of the archipelago and the Hāmākua Coast in 1878 and 1884 and found 1,805 and 3,908 persons residing in the area, respectively. In 1896 the Republic of Hawaiʻi duplicated the survey of the Kingdom and similarly, did not publish separate statistics for Honokaʻa Town, only a combined population for the entire Hāmākua Coast which had increased to 5,680 persons. The census of 1900 was conducted by the U.S. Census Office and enumerated 6,919 persons living on the Hāmākua Coast but the number of residents residing in the town remained unpublished (Thrum 1887: 6; 1906: 18).

Honokaʻa was settled at an indeterminate date and was described by 1880 as "quite a flourishing village…with a court house," "where the wants of the neighborhood are met by the presence of a half a dozen stores, a butcher shop and a restaurant" (Bowser 1880: n.p.). Honokaʻa developed linearly on either side of the road to Waipiʻo (Māmane Road) and extended southwest-northeast from Ilima to Haina (Lehua) Roads. At the latter arterial, the town turned abruptly northwest toward the coast and extended southeast-northwest or mauka-makai, to the vicinity of HSCo power house, then terminated while the road followed the course of the wire tram down to the mill and the landing on the coast. The town was lowest in density at its southeast end, then parcels for a school and government buildings increased the density there. The settlement type, later identified by Glenn Kimura in "The Historical Development of Hawaiian Towns" (1976) as an "Agrarian-based Town," was a nineteenth century development pattern that was common in Hawaiʻi (Kimura 1976: 85-86). Towns of this type were

characterized by relatively low populations "not exceeding 1,500 persons, low density," and exhibited "limited or specialized function[s]" in support of ranches or sugar plantations (Ibid.: 85).



PHOTOGRAPHER: UNKNOWN

1880s. A view of the Honokaʻa "hamlet."

GARY COCKRELL PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

Honokaʻa Town 1941-45. The Honokaʻa Theatre was located on the makai side of Māmane Street. Note all automobiles have blackout headlights during the World War II years—see detail image below.

NHERC ARCHIVES

Honokaʻa Town ca. late 1940s.

Māmane Road, like the rest of its route from Hilo to Waipiʻo, remained unpaved as it extended through town and the buildings which were erected on either side of the thoroughfare were mostly wood. The unique circumstances of their having been built there may be derived from how building materials were delivered to the town. From 1882-1927, the bulk of the town's cargo—including building materials, merchandise, fuel, and manpower—came by way of the sea to Honokaʻa Landing and via cable trams up to the mill and then up Haina (Lehua) Road to the town site.

1900-10

An article in the *Hilo Tribune*, dated December 5, 1902 and titled "Windward Hawaiʻi", noted that sugar, coffee and vegetables were grown near Honokaʻa, regular steamer service was provided at the landing, and the 4th Circuit Court met regularly in town in July. Prominent business people and businesses listed were: A. B. Lindsay (general merchandise, Post Office, School Agent); Charles Williams (Attorney At Law, Notary Public); Doctors Greensfield and R. G. Curtis (Physicians And Surgeons); J. M. Moanauli (Attorney At Law) R. H. Makekau (Attorney At Law); A. J. Williamson (C.E. and Architect); Ah Foo Restaurant ("Meals at all hours. Tobascco and cigars"); Kwong Wah Chan (Merchant Tailor, Coffee Saloon and Restaurant); M. V. Holmes ("Dealer in General Merchandise and Plantation Supplies, "Fresh goods direct from San Francisco every month"); George Kaizer (Proprietor Honoka'a Stables, "Staging and Teaming at reasonable rates in Kohala, Hāmākua and Hilo Districts;

boarding a specialty, inquire for terms, contracts, etc."); Mrs. E. Hall (undoubtedly Emma Rickard Hall, advertising "Furnished rooms to let"); and William J. Rickard (Notary Public).

HSCo manager K.S. Gjerdrum noted in the company's annual report for 1903 that "it is not compulsory to buy from the plantation store, as the rule is on some plantations[. I]n fact[,] the laborers may buy wherever they please" (HSCo 1903: 6). Reflecting this *laissez-faire* attitude toward competition for employee purchases, the HSCo plantation store opened in June of that year, announced that it was "sell[ing] all staple articles at [the] lowest possible figures" (Ibid.), and vied with 20 businesses which the telephone directory from the year before identified as already in operation in Honokaʻa Town. They included: two Chinese, nine European and Euro-American, one Hawaiian, five Japanese, and three Portuguese-owned enterprises (Husted 1902: v.p.). The general merchandise stores of Kwong Yee Chong and Sam Kee constituted the Chinese-owned establishments (Ibid. 1902: 504, 532). European and Euroamerican businesses included: J. Burkinshaw's Honokaʻa Saloon, the shop and office of painter D. Bush and physician C.B. Greenfield, Emma Hall's boarding house, G.F. Hall's meat market, the offices of the Hāmākua and South Kohala Telephone & Telegraph Co., M.V. Holmes' general merchandise store, the warehouse and shop for the coffee pulper (grinder) operations of R.T. Rickard, and the office of attorney and notary Charles Williams (Ibid. 1902: 462, 477, 479, 486, 529, 545). The sole Hawaiian business listed in the 1902 directory was the office of attorney S.L. Kawelo (Ibid.: 407).

The Japanese-owned enterprises included: the general merchandise store of T. Fujitani, shops of watchmaker Hukumen, photographer K. Oshima, and tailors T. Ozuka and Sueoka, while the Portuguese businesses consisted of independent contractors such as carpenter J.T. Furtado and teamsters Manuel de Coito and John Freitas (Ibid. 1902: 466, 474) 475, 487, 522). The Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) noted in *The Friend* in 1902 that there already was a theater in the town, although it was not listed in the telephone directory of that year, suggesting that Honokaʻa was already serving as an entertainment venue for employees of the three sugar companies nearby. The publication indicated that the "Lyceum in Honokaʻa serves as the gathering place for the three communities of Pāʻauhau , Honokaʻa and Kukuihaele [and] as the building has proved too small[,] a plan is [a]foot to enlarge it" (*The Friend* 1902: 282).

In 1904 civil engineer V.E. Dove prepared a map entitled, "Title Map of the Lands of the Plantation, Survey and Map for the Honokaʻa Sugar Company." The document provided details of the landing and mill, cable tram, Overend's plantation, and a segregated section of Honokaʻa Town that was identified as "Jap. Business[es]." In the telephone directory of the same year were included 36 commercial establishments in the town of Honokaʻa. They included: five Chinese, thirteen European and Euroamerican, two Hawaiian, eight Japanese, and eight Portuguese-owned establishments (Husted 1904-1905: v.p.). The restaurant of Ah Sam, tailor shop of Chang Ching, coffee saloon of Chong Yau, general merchandise stores of Kwong Yee Chong and the Quong Wo Co. comprised the Chinese-owned establishments (Ibid.: 405, 414, 415, 450).

The European and Euro-American businesses included: H.T. Broderick's store, Emma Hall's boarding house, M.V. Holmes' and A.B. Lindsay's general stores, George Kaiser's Livery Stables and the Honokaʻa Stables, the offices of veterinarian J.C. Fitzgerald, physician C.B. Greenfield, attorney and notary public C. Williams, the Hāmākua and South Kohala Telephone & Telegraph Co. and W.G. Irwin & Co., as well as the shops of carpenter W.L. Tripp and former saloon keeper turned carpenter J. Burkinshaw (Ibid.: 411, 412, 421, 425, 426, 428, 438, 452, 467, 483). The two Hawaiian enterprises were identified as the offices of attorney J.W. Moanauli (who was also deputy sheriff), and the shop of carpenter J. Keliʻipuioli (Ibid.: 445, 460). The Japanese-owned businesses were comprised of shops for watchmakers D. Fujihara, Hukumen, and tailors T. Ozuka and Sueoka, offices for interpreter Kamimoto and photographer K. Oshima, as well as the general merchandise stores of S. Kato and Z.

Okumura (Ibid.: 422, 432, 440, 465, 466, 481). The Portuguese establishments were listed as: shops for butcher Mattias Baptisma, blacksmith C.B. Ferreira, and carpenter J.M. Ferreira, along with teamsters J. Farreu and J.J. Nobriga, drivers Abreu Bento, J.L. Camara, and the office of attorney M.T. Furtado (Ibid.: 404, 409, 412, 420, 423).

Significantly, a May 1909 map of the Hāmākua coast by T.J. Williamson shows a repositioning of roads within the district that relocated town development potential along the Hāmākua coast. Traditionally, travelers from Hilo would reach the outskirts of Kuikuihaele before turning north on a separate road to Waimea. By 1909 a new cutoff road had been constructed by the government, bypassing Kuikuihaele and connecting up to existing roads mauka of Honokaʻa. There two roads had previously been cut to provide access from the original Rickard mauka home to town near the Lyceum and to the mill. The new route to Waimea incorporated parts of these subsidiary mauka roads, accessing the original Government Road (Māmane Street) at 2013's Lehua/Plumeria and Pakalana Streets. This created two critical foci for the town, between which the bulk of later commercial development occurred.

The telephone directory of 1910 year identified some 35 businesses in Honokaʻa. They included: five Chinese, seven European and Euro-American, four Hawaiian and one Chinese-Hawaiian, fourteen Japanese, and one Portuguese-owned establishment (Husted 1910: v.p.). The Chinese-owned enterprises included: a fruit store operated by Ah Chong, Cong Chong and Mung Yat restaurants, Lin Yick and Yuen Chan general stores, and the general store of Chinese-Hawaiian C. Ahana (Ibid.: 648, 650, 664, 730, 746, 791). The European and Euroamerican businesses consisted of the offices of bookkeeper C.A. Gibb, Hāmākua & South Kohala Telephone & Telegraph Co., Hāmākua Wine & Liquor Co. store, Hotel Honokaʻa, A.B. Lindsay general store, Holmes General Store & Wholesale Liquors (M.V. Holmes Estate), and Volcano Stables & Transportation Co., Ltd. (Ibid.: 675, 678, 679, 680, 685, 731, 766, 782). Hawaiian enterprises which were identified were the shops of saddle maker Kahananui Kaʻaʻaka, building contractor Nui Kahue and carpenter W. Pau, as well as fisherman and presumably, fishmonger W. Keola (Ibid.: 694, 699, 718, 758).

The Japanese-owned businesses were identified as: confectioners M. Fugino, Kato, and Morimoto, watchmakers W. Funasaki, Fujihara, and T. Takahara, blacksmith F. Mitani, tinsmith D. Yamachika, harnessmaker G. Morita, physicians U. Taketa and K. Tokufuji, tailor K. Sasaki, the M. Kato billiard hall, the general merchandise store of H. Kato who was also a tailor, K. Wada general store, and Sentaro Kanitani Japanese Goods and Wares (Ibid.: 673, 708, 710, 721, 743, 745, 776, 783, 789). The latter store also mentioned that its inventory contained a variety of non-Japanese goods such as "Boots and Shoes, Crockery, Groceries…Cigars and Tobacco," in addition to the standard Asian products of "Rice [and] Tea" (Ibid.: 708). The sole Portuguese establishment was the office of M. Furtado, attorney, who had been elected member of the Hawaiʻi House of Representatives (Ibid.: 674).

Indeed, the population of Hāmākua was growing quickly, from 6919 persons in 1900 to 9037 in 1910 (The Hawaiian Annual, 1912. Thomas A, Thrum, writer and publisher, Honolulu, 1912, p. 18).

1911-20

By 1914 the population of Honokaʻa itself was recorded as 500 persons. In contrast to the small, segregated commercial enclave located at the northeast corner of Haina (Lehua) and Mamalahoa (Māmane) Roads that had been recorded by V.E. Dove in his map a decade earlier, the Japanese merchant community had grown and disbursed to occupy a substantial portion of the town. Atsuchi Takai prepared a census for Japanese immigrants living in Hawaiʻi under the title, *Hawai Ichiran* or *A Glance at Hawaiʻi,* which was published in 1914 by Motoshige Shinjudo in Honolulu (Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto. *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaiʻi*. Honolulu: Hawaii Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center, Bishop Museum, 1985: 72). A thematic map of Honokaʻa Town, presumably produced from fieldwork that had been conducted earlier in 1913, identified 50 businesses which were either owned by Japanese or which employed them.

The enterprises on the north side of Māmane (Mamalahoa) Road included from southeast-northwest, Suguta Hotel, Tanaka Clock Shop, Bank of Hilo, Miyachi Store, Peacock Liquor Store, Holmes Liquor and Holmes Store, an unidentified Japanese Grocery, Ikeuchi Hardware Store, and Uemoto (Western-style) Clothing Store. Along Haina (Lehua) Road, southward in the direction of the HSCo mill, there were located Hirayama Medicine Store, Nagatani Leather Goods and Candy Store, Shimura (Western-style) Clothing Store, and Kotani Travel Agency. At the intersection of Haina Road and an unidentified arterial, there were located Shitakawa and Takeuchi Stores as well as an unidentified Japanese-owned furo, Shota Store, a Japanese-owned stable, and Otani Store. Continuing west along Māmane Road from its intersection with Haina Road, there were Ozaki Shop, Mitsutani Store, Sugimura Garage, Nishimura Store, Takabayashi Store, another unidentified Japanese-owned *furo*, and Machida Store (Takai 1914: 151, Lorraine Minatoishi-Palumbo, translation, February 6, 2012). Machida Store was a Japanese-owned enterprise that was based out of Hilo and carried “drugs, optical goods, books, and stationary” as well as “perfume[s], toilet articles, Japanese curios, and wholesale confection[s]” (Polk-Husted 1915: 829). The company’s branch store in Honokaʻa appears to have been short-lived because of local competition.

On the south side of Māmane Road, traveling northeast-southwest, there were located a Japanese elementary school, Otsuka Tailor Shop, Ishida Store, Lindsey Store, Yamamoto Store, Yamashita Store, Higashi Fukuji Hospital, Eida Store, Kare Store, Oneta Store, Yoshi Store, Yoshino Store, Hirata Store, Okiryu Shop, Sugioka Travel, Tani Store, as well as Takago, Uehara, and Takahara Stores. A Japanese elementary school, located south and adjacent to the commercial district was noted as having 150 students. From the intersection of Māmane and Lehua Roads, the latter of which was the location of the Honokaʻa Hongwanji temple, there were sited from southeast-northwest, the Akiyama, Hikata, Fukuoka, and Tahara Stores as well as the Nagao Bakery and an unidentified Japanese physician’s office (Ibid.).

Curiously, however, of the fifty commercial enterprises identified by Takai, only twenty-six were listed in the commercial directory of 1915. They included: Hirata Pool Parlor, Honokaʻa Japanese Hospital (K. Tokufuji), Ikeuchi Hardware, Kuramitsu Auto Livery, Matami Blacksmith Shop, Mitani Blacksmith Shop, Miyagi Barber Shop, Morita’s Hotel Honokaʻa Club, Nagao Bakery, Ozuka Tailor Shop, Osaki Pool Parlor, Takahashi Barber Shop, and Yamashita Candy Store (Polk-Husted 1915:791, 793, 796, 833, 836, 837, 839, 841, 849-850, 872, and 886).

In contrast, the number of establishments which were identified in the 1915 telephone directory numbered some 36 directory numbers. They included: two Chinese, seven European and Euro-American, one Hawaiian, twenty-three Japanese and three Portuguese-owned enterprises (Ibid. 1915: v.p.). Chong Kee’s General Store which carried “Groceries, Fruits, Cigars, Tobacco, and General Merchandise” and Kwong Yee Chong’s General Store

(Lum Yuen) which offered a competing selection of "Groceries, Dry Goods, Cigars and Confectionary" constituted the listings for Chinese-owned establishments (Ibid.: 768, 822). However, a mainland publication, the *International Chinese Business Directory* of 1913 identified five Chinese businesses in Honokaʻa. They included: "C. Ahana, Fruits," as well as the "General Merchandise" stores of Chang Yick, Kwong Yee Ching, Lin Yick, and Sang Yuen Kee (*International Chinese Business Directory* 1913: 1557). The European and Euro-American businesses included: physician S.R. Brown, Hawaiʻi Telephone Co., Honokaʻa Wine & Liquor Co., a branch of the First Bank of Hilo, E.N. Holmes Department Store, Honokaʻa Wine & Liquor Co. (E.N. Holmes), and A.B. Lindsay's general store (Polk-Husted 1915: 757, 763, 772, 777, 786, 792, 793, 825).

The Japanese-owned businesses were: M. Akiyama and K. Morizumi, both of whom advertised themselves as "First Class Blacksmith[s] and Horseshoer[s]," another blacksmith named F. Mitani, the general stores of M. Fugimoto, T. Moriwaki, and G. Yamada, the shops of confectioner O. Fugino, auto liverymen H. Fukuoka and B.W. Kuramitsu, barbers Miyagi and D. Takahashi, baker J. Nagao, tailor T. Ozuka, and harnessmaker T. Morita, E. Faruya's Honokaʻa Soda Works Co., T. Hirata's and T. Osaki's pool parlors, K. Morita's Honokaʻa Club House which was advertised as a "First Class Hotel and Boarding House, Rates $3.00 per Day and Up," physician and surgeon K. Tofukuji's Honokaʻa Japanese Hospital, H. Ikeuchi hardware store, S. Kageyama monuments, K. Omura's Livery Stable, Auto Service and General Draying, and the office of interpreter O. Yamashita (Ibid.: 755, 779, 780, 791, 792, 793, 796, 801, 821, 833, 837, 839, 849, 850, 872, 875, 885, 886). The Portuguese establishments were listed as the shop of brick mason J.A. Andrade and the offices of attorney M. Furtado and interpreter Santiago Roman (Ibid.: 756, 780, 863).

In the same year that Takai conducted fieldwork to produce a census and thematic map for Honokaʻa, agents of the Sanborn Map Company of New York also arrived to prepare the first detailed maps of the town, the HSCo sugar mill and thirteen HSCo camps nearby, as well as the landing. Published in 1914 as well, the Sanborn maps provided detailed building information but only recorded the ethnicity of business owners for a select group of commercial establishments. Buildings which the company's agents specifically identified as Japanese-owned included: a Japanese Christian Church, a Japanese Hospital, and a Japanese language school. The Sanborn documents also recorded important features such as building footprints, addresses, and supporting infrastructure.

Māmane Road remained unpaved and the town was still serviced by one of two cable tram railways that had been built by HSCo in 1906. The first tram extended from the landing on the coast to the company's mill and the second connected the mill to a wheelhouse (powerhouse) that was located on Lehua (Haina) Road, approximately 180 feet south of its intersection with Māmane Road. There were also 56 wood water tanks which were located adjacent to a number of the town's buildings, regardless of type. The large number of water tanks was a conspicuous feature of Honokaʻa. Their presence attested to the need to collect and retain potable water which Sanborn agents noted as being "[s]upplied by rainwater from roofs" as well as provide water for fire protection (Sanborn Map Company 1914: 1-2). To that end as well, kitchens were also separated from main buildings and were identified as such on the Sanborn maps.

Along with outhouses and sheds, kitchens comprised a majority of the outbuildings in the town. Sanborn agents also noted that there was "No Steam & No Hand Engine[;] No Independent Hose Cart[; and] No Hook & Ladder Truck" for fighting fires (Ibid.). In addition, they also stated that lighting in the town was provided by "Gaso[line] & Keros[ene] lamps" which indicated an ever present fire hazard as well as an absence of electrical service even though telephones had been in use in Honokaʻa since 1882 (Ibid.).

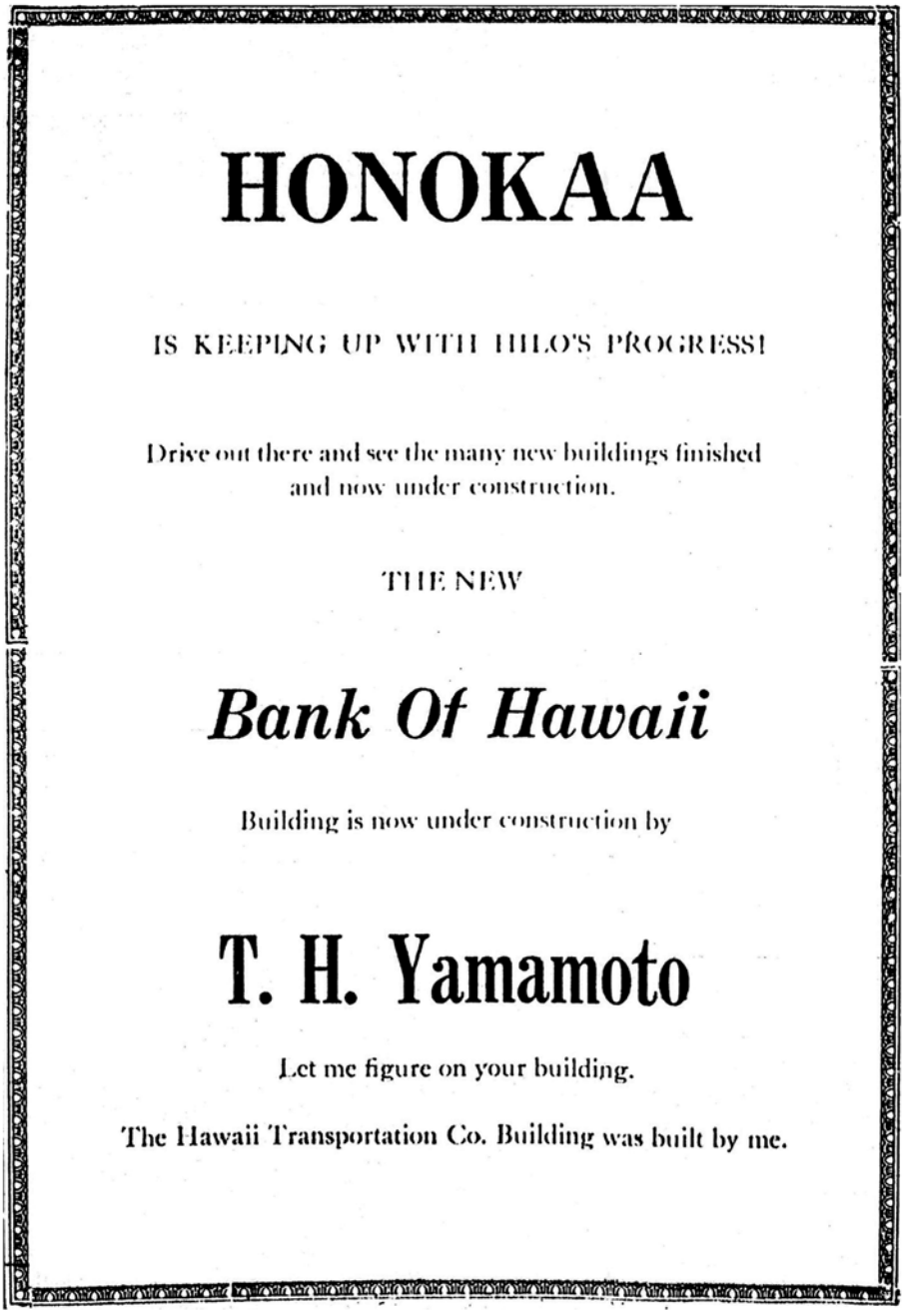
Five years later, another set of Sanborn maps were issued for Honokaʻa Town (Sanborn Map Company 1919: 1-2). HSCo lost 250 members of its work force who volunteered to serve in World War I (HSCo 1918: 5) and the greatest change for the town was the closure of alcohol-related businesses which occurred in 1919 as a result of Prohibition. The telephone directory of 1920 identified some 54 businesses in Honokaʻa. They included: five Chinese, nine European-American, four Hawaiian, twenty-nine Japanese, two Korean, and five Portuguese-owned establishments (Polk-Husted 1920: v.p.). The Chinese-owned establishments included: the restaurants of L. Ah Foo which also sold "Cigars, Tobacco and Soda Water" and C. Ah Tai, whose "First Class" establishment offered "Meals at All Hours," the general merchandise store of Chang Yuen Kee which carried "Dry Goods, Groceries, Hats, Shoes, Cigars and Tobacco," Ko Duck Wha's Honokaʻa Tailor and Clothes Cleaner," and Kwong Yee Chong Co. General Store which sold Dry Goods, Hats, Boots and Shoes, Cigars, Tobacco and Confectionery (Ibid.: 922, 924, 943, 981, 1019, 1027).

The European and Euro-American businesses consisted of First Bank of Hilo, Ltd., First Trust Co. of Hilo, Ltd., Hawaiʻi Telephone Co., HSCo store, E.N. Holmes Department Store which carried "Groceries, Dry Goods [and] Men's Furnishings," A.B. Lindsay, A.L. Moses (E.W. Bernard), People's Bank, and G. Kadooka's pocket billiard hall (Ibid.: 951, 959, 963, 972, 980, 992, 1051). Hawaiian and Korean shops included those of chauffeur H. Kawelo, Jr., painters S. Kaʻana and S. Kamai, Jr., and photographer K. Maekawa (Ibid.: 991, 1001, 1010, 1037), Kim Myung Won Merchant Tailor, who described the quality of his clothes as being the "Best of Workmanship" and competitor Nham Soon Myung, also a "Merchant Tailor," who insisted that the "Fit and Style" of his clothes were "Guaranteed" and that his "Service [was] the Best" (Ibid.: 1017, 1059).

The Japanese-owned enterprises in Honokaʻa which were identified in the 1920 telephone directory were: H. Ando's "First Class Barber Shop," where "Shampooing [was] a Specialty," M. Fujimoto General Merchandise which carried "Fine Groceries [and] Japanese Silk Goods," auto liverymen M. Harunaga and K. Omura, S. Hasegawa general store, T. Hirata general store (Mrs. T. Hirata), K. Hirayama pharmacy which stocked "Drugs, Toilet Articles, Notions, and Sundries," S. Kunitomo's Honokaʻa Bakery which sold "Fresh Bread, Pies and Cakes," K. Morita's Honokaʻa Club House whose starting rates for "First Class Hotel and Boarding House" rooms had increased to $4.00, B.U. Kuramitsu's Honokaʻa Garage which offered "Automobile Repair[s] and Supplies," T. Moriki's Honokaʻa Soda Works, B. Ikeuchi hardware, Tashiro Contracting Shop for day labor, S. Kanetani's Dry Goods which carried Groceries, Hats, Crockery and Japanese Goods," J. Kodani's Hotel Honokaʻa, S. Kunitomo's Honokaʻa Bakery, blacksmith F. Mitani, shoemaker T. Morita, T. Moriwaki and S. Yamamato general stores, G.A. Nagao confectionary, S. Nakamura who offered "First Class Furnished Rooms" that were "Clean and Sanitary at Reasonable Prices" and "Also [prepared] Meals[,] Served at Any Time," tailor T. Osaki, photographer K. Sakata, barbers D. Tahara, D. Takahashi and M. Uchimura, physician and surgeon K. Takeda of Takeda & Mito in Hilo, as well as physician K. Tokufuji and his Honokaʻa Japanese Hospital (Ibid.: 929, 961, 970, 979, 980, 981, 986, 987, 1004, 1019, 1047, 1050, 1051, 1054, 1056, 1066, 1084, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1103, 1105). The Portuguese establishments were identified as: Botelho's Garage, J.F. Costa's general store, blacksmith G.B. Ferreira, meat cutter M. Jacintho, and auto liveryman J. Moniz (Ibid.: 929, 947, 949, 958, 989, 1049, 1118).

1921-30

During the 1920s and 1930s, Honokaʻa experienced its largest construction boom with the erection of at least ten new buildings. They included: Ikeuchi Store (1920s) Honokaʻa Club (1921), Honokaʻa Public Library (ca. 1937), Hasegawa General Store (1937), Botelho Building (1927), Bank of Hawaiʻi (1927), Honokaʻa Garage (1927), Methodist Church (1927), Ferreira Building (1927) and People's Theater (1930). The number of new buildings caused the business listing for the township to increase by the end of the decade. In 1925, however, it remained at some 54 establishments although the ownership and business type had changed. They included: eight Chinese, eight European-American, one Filipino, one Hawaiian, thirty-two Japanese, one Korean, and three Portuguese-owned establishments (Polk-Husted 1925: v.p.). Ah Foo Restaurant (Mrs. L. Foo), Awong Brothers General Store (Alfred and Henry Awong), Chang Yuen Kee Dry Goods, Han Eun(?) Sung cleaners that provided clothes cleaning and repair, Ko Duck Wha's Honokaʻa Tailor shop and cleaners, Lam Chew general Store, Lin Yick Dry Goods which carried "Hats, Shoes, Groceries, and Chinese Provisions," and the office of bookkeeper Frank Aki constituted the Chinese- and Chinese-Hawaiian-owned establishments (Ibid.: 541, 542, 546, 552, 565, 572, 593, 595). The European and Euro-American businesses included: Bank of Hawaiʻi, Ltd., First Trust Co. of Hilo, Ltd., Hawaiʻi Telephone System., HSCo Store, Honokaʻa Water Works, general contractor and builder K. Irie, Lawson's Store, and Moses Stationary Co. (Ibid.: 546, 560, 572, 575, 594). Hawaiian, Filipino, and Korean stores included K. Maekawa's Honokaʻa Art Studio which advertised "Photographs a Specialty" (Ibid.: 572), barber M. Binya who advertised himself as a "First Class Barber" with "Hair Cutting a Specialty" (Ibid.: 547), as well as shoemaker Kim Hon Jay (Ibid.: 588).



HONOKAA

IS KEEPING UP WITH HILO'S PROGRESS!

Drive out there and see the many new buildings finished and now under construction.

THE NEW

Bank Of Hawaii

Building is now under construction by

T. H. Yamamoto

Let me figure on your building.

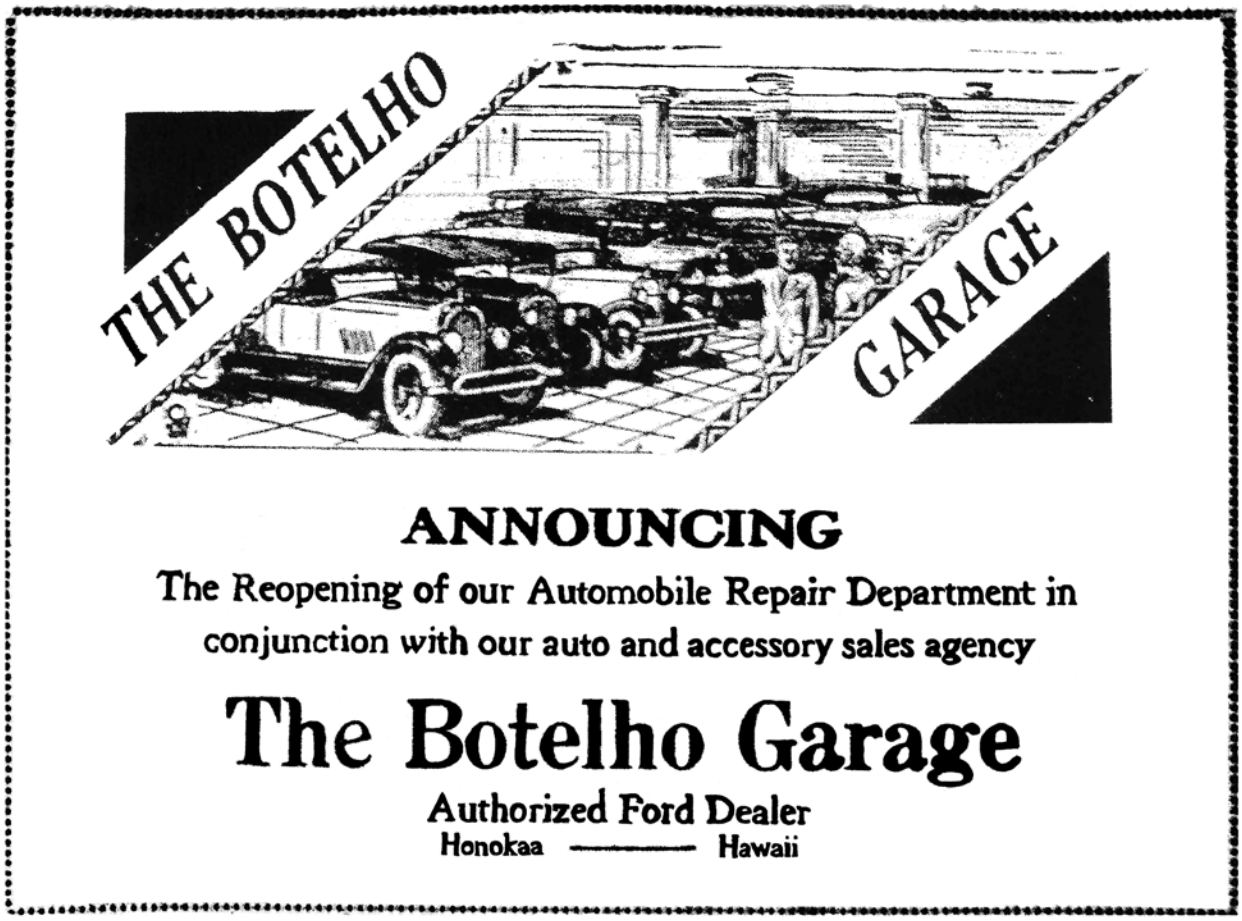
The Hawaii Transportation Co. Building was built by me.

HILO TRIBUNE-HERALD

1927 advertisement encouraging construction.

The Japanese-owned enterprises which were listed in the telephone directory of 1925 were: M. Fujimoto General Merchandise Store which continued to carry its line of "Fine Groceries, Japanese Silk Goods," as well as expand to include an auto livery, M. Fujino, "Dealer in General Merchandise, Dry Goods, Groceries, Tobacco and Cold

Drinks," H. Fukuoka's billiards hall, K. Morita's Morita Shokwai, Ltd.—a general merchandise store, I. Hamasaki's Honokaʻa Soda Works, S. Hasegawa, E. Hirata, Y. Ninomaru, Y. Shimamura, T. Takata, and M.M. Yamamoto general stores, K. Morita's Honokaʻa Club House, J. Igarashi and B.U. Kuramitsu's Honokaʻa Garage which advertised itself as providing "First-Class Auto Repair by Experienced Mechanics," M. Harunaga's Honokaʻa Theater, J. Igarashi's Honokaʻa Garage, Hāmākua Shokwai, Ltd., K. Ishisaka and S. Tanaka's billiard halls, liverymen H. Kitagawa, K. Okubo, and K. Onaga, general contractor K. Koji who advertised himself as a "Builder" with "Concrete and Stonework a Specialty," carpenter K. Kotake, M. Kotake (Mrs. M. Kotake) drugstore, blacksmith F. Mitani, confectioner J. Nagao, S.H. Nakamura's Hotel, photographer K. Sakata, barber G. Tahara, O. Yamashita's store which carried both "American and Japanese Goods, Canned Goods, Japanese Shoes, Toilet Articles, Tobacco and Cold Drinks," as well as K. Yamato's Department Store & Garage (Ibid.: 561, 562, 565, 566, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 589, 590, 591, 603, 606, 607, 609, 621, 623, 628, 630, 639, 640). The Portuguese establishments were identified as: J. Andrade's Honokaʻa Meat Market, Botelho Garage, and A. Jesus' Honokaʻa Supply Store which carried "Drugs, Toilet Articles, [a] Confectionery, Tobacco, Ice Cream and Photo Supplies" (Ibid.: 544, 572).



HILO TRIBUNE-HERALD

1926 advertisement.

The census of 1930 enumerated 1,069 persons residing in Honokaʻa (Thrum 1941: 176). The telephone directory of the same year identified some 66 businesses in the township. They included: six Chinese, seven European-American, three Filipino, one Hawaiian, forty-two Japanese, one Korean, and six Portuguese-owned establishments (Polk-Husted 1930: v.p.). The Chinese-owned enterprises included: Awong Brothers' General Store, Lin Yick's Chang Yick Store, Han Eun Sung clothes cleaners, Ko Duck Wha's Honokaʻa Tailor, Chan Yick's Lin Yick General Store and restaurant, as well as shoemaker Mon Yeong On (Ibid.: 611, 617, 631, 639, 654, 660, 663). The European and Euro-American businesses consisted of Bank of Hawaiʻi, G.N. Crabbe's Modern Dressmaking Shop, Haina Meat Market (HSCo), Singer Sewing Machine Co. (T. Hirata), mechanic B. Johnson, Honokaʻa Water Works, and the Rickard Hotel (Nora Rickard) which advertised "Modern Conveniences [and] Moderate Rates," "Special Attention Given To Tourists and Commercial Travelers," and featuring a "Golf Course, 1150 Foot Elevation and [Location] Eight Miles From the Picturesque Waipiʻo Valley" (Ibid.: 612, 621, 630, 637, 644, 685). The sole Hawaiian business was K. Maekawa's Honokaʻa Art Studio which provided "First-Class Photographers" as well as "Printing and Developing" (Ibid.: 639). Filipino and Korean stores included: N. Fernandez' Cebu Tailoring which advertised itself as "First-Class Tailors and Dressmakers," R. Herbias' billiard hall, tailors Subiaga & La Torre (E. La Torre and F. Subiaga), independent salesmen such as V. Nuesea (Honolulu Music Co. (Ibid.: 617, 658, 675, 693) as well as Kim Myung Won Merchant Tailor (Ibid.: 653).

The Japanese-owned enterprises were identified as: the office of dentist E.K. Akioka, the general stores of M. Akita, S. Hasegawa, K. Higashi, E. Hirata, U. Hirata, H. Kato, S. Kunitomo, Y. Shimamura, T. Takata, M. Ujiki, T. Yamatsuka, and Y. Yoneoka, barbers S. Ando, H. Fukuhara, and G. Tahara, dressmakers S. Fuchigami and Y. Oshima, T. Fuchigami bakery, H. Fukuoka's billiard hall, K. Higashi's Hāmākua Shokwai, Ltd. which employed door-to-door salesmen such as S. Hiromasa, I. Hamasaki's Honokaʻa Soda Works which touted itself as "The Best Soda Water Manufactured on This Side of the Island," M. Harunaga's Theater, K. Morita's Honokaʻa Club which noted that it was an "Up-To-Date Hotel [with an] American Plan," J. Igarashi's Honokaʻa Garage, B. Ikeuchi's hardware, S. Hata Shoten, K. Ishisaka's billiard hall, H. Kitagawa and K. Okubo auto liveries, carpenter K. Kotake, M. Kotake Drugs, K. Morita's Honokaʻa Club, auto trimmer T. Morita, H. Nagai vulcanizing, trucker J. Nagao, S.H. Nakamura Hotel, watchmaker K. Nishisaka, photographer K. Sakata, physician T.H. Tamura, H. Tanimoto Theater, and K. Yamato's Department Store & Garage (Ibid.: 608, 609, 626, 630, 631, 632, 635, 637, 639, 641, 642, 649, 654, 656, 669, 671, 672, 677, 678, 687, 695, 696, 697, 706). The Portuguese establishments were: J. Andrade's Honokaʻa Meat Market & Restaurant, Botelho's Garage, E. Castillo general store, A. Jesus' Honokaʻa Supply Store, dentist G. Silva, and M. Vierra Meats (Mrs. Mary Vierra) (Ibid.: 610, 614, 617, 639, 690, 701).

1931-40

During the 1930s, four new buildings were either re-built or constructed new. They included the Honokaʻa Theater (1930), Dr. Okada's Hospital (1935), the Roman Catholic Church (1935), and the Yamatsuka Building (1936). By 1935, owing to the effects of the Great Depression, the business listing for the township had decreased to 50 establishments. They included: four Chinese, eight Euro-American, four Filipino, one Hawaiian and Italian, twenty-nine Japanese, and three Portuguese-owned establishments (Polk-Husted: v.p.). Awong Brothers General Store, Han Eun Sung clothes cleaners, Ko Duck Wha's Honokaʻa Tailor, Chan Yick's Lin Yick Restaurant which advertised "Beer[,] Wine [and] Sake" comprised the Chinese-owned establishments, at least one of which was supported by an independent salesman named Leong Ah On (Awong Brothers) (Ibid.: 541, 557, 563, 581, 581). The Euroamerican businesses included Hawaiʻi Telephone System, Bank of Hawaiʻi, Hāmākua Country Club, Hāmākua Service Station (R.K. Irie) which sold "Gasoline[,] Oil [and] Tires," and offered "Auto Remodeling," HSCo Store, Hotel Rickard, office of attorney H. Van Gieson, and Singer Sewing Machine Co. (N. Hamada) (Ibid.: 545, 549, 557, 557, 557, 559, 563, 564, 615). The Filipino, Hawaiian, and Italian stores included G.

Camello's Illocano Tailor Shop, E. Castillo's music store which carried "Musical Instruments," C. Labrador's Honokaʻa Filipino Barber and a "billiard parlor," (Ibid.: 544, 545, 563), K. Maekawa's Art Studio (Ibid.: 563), and A. Gallinato's general store (Ibid.: 555).

PHOTOGRAPHER: LAURA RUBY

The entrance to Dr.Okadaʻs Hospital.

The Japanese-owned stores were: Asahi Bakery which produced "Cakes[,] Bread and Pastry," barber H. Fukuhara, Hāmākua Shokwai, Ltd., I. Hamasaki's Soda Water, the general stores of S. Hasegawa, E. Hirata, U. Hirata, Y. Shimamura, T. Takata, M. Ujiki, H. Yamato, K. Yamato, T. Yamatsuka, and Y. Yoneoka, dressmakers S. Higashi, M. Kato, and D. Nagao, tailor K. Maeda, H. Nagai clothes cleaners, V.Y. Morita's Honokaʻa Club Hotel, Igarashi and Kuramitsu's Honokaʻa Garage, K. Ishisaka's Tofu shop, K. Sakata photography, barbers T. Shiroma and G. Tahara, auto trimmer T. Morita, chauffeurs H. Kitagawa, C. Mikawa, and K. Okubo as well as independent salesmen such as H.Y. Hasegawa and T. Hirata (Ibid.: 540, 554, 557, 558, 560, 562, 563, 567, 572, 576, 583, 589, 590, 596, 604, 606, 610, 614, 619, 620). The Portuguese establishments were listed as: A.

Cabrinha's Hawaiʻi News Printshop, A. Jesus' Honokaʻa Supply Store which carried "Drugs, Confectionary[, and] Photo Supplies," and the office of dentist G.J. Silva (Ibid.: 543, 563, 607).

The census of 1940 enumerated 1,133 persons residing in Honokaʻa (Thrum 1941: 176). A memory map of Japanese-owned businesses and institutions which were operating in Honokaʻa Town in 1940 was drawn by Toshio Harunaga in 2011. He recalled the locations and identities of fifteen retail stores, offices, and institutions which were located northwest-southeast, along Māmane Road. They included: Tojiho Store, Nakashi[m]a Store, Okada Hospital, Honokaʻa Japanese language school, Ujiki Grocery Store, Sakata Photo studio, Tanimoto Theater, Tofakuji Hospital, Hasegawa Store, Kuramitsu Car Repair and Garage, Yoshikami Bakery, Oshima Hotel, Hirata store, Kotake Store, and the Hongwanji Mission, which Harunaga referred to using the vernacular as, "the Buddhist church" (Harunaga 2011:1-3). He remembered only two Chinese businesses—Awong's Department Store and an unidentified Chinese restaurant at the southeast corner of Māmane and Lehua (Kamuela) Roads (Ibid.). Among the non-Asian businesses of the town which Harunaga identified were: Andrade Bar and Restaurant, Doc Hill's office, Ho[l]mes' and Lawson's stores, Rice's store, Rice's pool hall, Bank of Hawaiʻi, dentist Silva's office, and Botelho Garage (Ibid.).

In contrast to Harunaga's memory map but in the absence of a telephone directory of 1940-41, a 1941-42 directory indicated that there were 46 Japanese-owned enterprises out of a total of 69 businesses in Honokaʻa. They were operated alongside three Chinese, six Euroa-American, seven Filipino, and seven Portuguese-owned establishments (R.L. Polk 1941-42: v.p.). The Chinese-owned enterprises included: Awong Brothers, The Vanity Box (L. Chock), whose "Beauty Specialists [provided] Permanent and Finger Waving," and Yang Oh Man Shoe Repair (Ibid.: 792, 881, 888). The Euro-American businesses consisted of Bank of Hawaiʻi, First Trust Company of Hilo, Hawaiʻi Telephone System, Honokaʻa Theatre, Honokaʻa Water Works, and Hotel Rickard (N. Walker; Ibid.: 793, 806, 883). Filipino stores included: tailors Agapito Cabras and Nicholas Fernandez, Castillo's music store, Juan Castillo's cleaners, Augustine Galinato's billiard hall, Ereneo's shoe repair, and Anacieto Munios General Store (Ibid.: 796, 798, 806, 809, 824, 849).

The Japanese-owned enterprises were identified as: dressmakers Edith Fujimoto, Nora Igarashi, Chiyoko Kato, Hyakutaro Kato, Yoshiko Kobayashi, and Dora Nagao; tailor Willard Miura; barbers Ando Susumu, Hisashi Fukuhara, and Kamado Higa; Takeko's Beauty Salon, which advertised itself as having "Beauty Specialists[,] Hair-dressers[,] and Cosmeticians,"; Fujino General Store, Hāmākua Shokwai, Ltd., Hasegawa General Store, Hirata General Store, Kaneshiro General Store, Kotake General Store, Takata General Store, M. Ujiki Store, Yamato General Store, Y. Yoneoka General Store, Kobayashi General Store, Nakashima Grocery, T. Yamatsuka Store which sold "General Merchandise[,] Crockery[,] and Furniture,"; Honokaʻa Club Hotel; Honokaʻa Garage (U. Kuramitsu), Fujimoto Super Service station, My Service Station (J. Igarashi), and Kuwaye Service Station, auto trimmer T. Morita; Honokaʻa Studio (T.S. Hori); Ikeuchi Hardware; independent salesmen Yoshio Hamasaki; Nakagawa Watch Repair; Nishihara Billiards; Hāmākua Fountain Service (Tokisuke Higashi), Ishisaka Tofu (K. Ishisaka), M. Yoshikami Bakery; Paradise Restaurant (T. Kaneshiro) which offered "American and Japanese Meals[,] Noodles[,] Cakes[,] Beer and Sake,"; People's Theatre (H. Tanimoto); photographer Kyuhachi Sakata; physician O.K. Tofukuji; dentist Edward Akioka; chauffer K. Onaga; as well as "General Contractor for Roads and Buildings," Takimoto Kazuo, and contractor George Tashiro (Ibid.: 789, 790, 808, 809, 812-13, 815, 817, 819-20, 821, 823, 828-29, 833-34, 836, 849-50, 851-52, 854, 859, 861-62, 867, 875-78, 880, 887, 889). The Portuguese establishments were: Aloha Meat Market (C.F. Mendes), M.S. Botelho auto repair (and also district magistrate), De Silva's Service Station, Lima's Radios, Moniz Liquors, George Souza Meats, and dentist George Silva (Ibid.: 789, 793, 795, 838, 848, 871-72).

KUWAYE-TOYAMA FAMILY COLLECTION

Kuwaye taxi service grew to become Kuwaye Service Station. Later the company became Coastline Express transporting goods to and from Honokaʻa to Hilo. n.d.

1941-1945

On December 7, 1941, at 7:55 a.m., the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor with carrier-based aircraft. Following the attack, the *Hilo Tribune-Herald* printed one issue of its newspaper on December 7 with the heading, "EXTRA!!!" and the following headline: "OAHU ATTACKED" (*Hilo Tribune-Herald*, December 7, 1941: 1).

Following the declaration of martial law by then Governor J.B. Poindexter and suspension of the territorial government, as well as the freezing of all Japanese assets in Hawaiian banks on December 7, occurred the widespread arrests of Japanese residents who had been identified by military intelligence and the FBI. This included: Buddhist and Shinto priests and nuns, Japanese language teachers, businessmen, members of the Japanese language press, a number of physicians, and "others" (Yasutaro Soga. *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawaiʻi Issei*. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008: 225).

Plans had been made for such a scenario by the U.S. government in the early 1930s and appear to have been prompted by annual visits to Hawaiʻi by Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) vessels. IJN training vessels and cruisers had routinely visited the Hawaiian Islands since the late 1890s and between 1897 and 1939, forty-one ships had docked at Hawaiian ports of call including Honolulu, Hilo, Kahului, and Lihue. The visits were more often than not, causes for celebration by IJN captains and crews as well as local residents—both Japanese and non-Japanese alike.

In 1937 the *Nippon Maru* docked at Hilo and its arrival was announced by the local press beneath the headline: "Training Ship Here on Visit" (*Hilo Tribune Herald*, June 6, 1937: 6: 6). The article stated:

> The Japanese training ship Nippon Maru arrived here at 10:30 a.m. Saturday for a six-day visit at this port. Commanded by Takaharu Osada, the vessel has a total of 59 crewmembers and 51 students aboard. She arrived here from Tokyo. A delegation of nine members of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, headed by Dr. E. Yoshimura, acted as a reception committee (Ibid.).

A second ship, the tanker *Ondo*, arrived at Hilo on June 8 and a celebration for the crews of both vessels was announced with headline "PERSONNELS [sic] OF SHIPS HONORED," the sub-head, "Men from Nippon Maru and Oil Tanker Ondo Entertained, At Home On Ship, Planned" and the following copy (Ibid., June 9, 1937: 3: 6):

> Both the Japanese training ship Nippon Maru and the oil tanker Ondo are now visiting in Hilo waters and the ships' personnels [sic] are being widely entertained under the auspices of the Hilo Japanese association of which Contractor Hisato Isemoto is president…The aloha reception for the Ondo personnel was held last evening at the Pacific café followed by a party for the ship's officers later in the evening at the Nippon Club…Captain T. Osada, commander of the Nippon Maru, will hold an at home aboard the vessel from 2-4 p.m. tomorrow (Ibid.).

Four years earlier, however, another visit by an unidentified Japanese ship in Honolulu prompted a different response when then President Roosevelt wrote a communication to his Chief of Naval Operations:

[E]very Japanese citizen or non-citizen on the island of Oʻahu who meets…Japanese ships or has any connection with their officers and men should be secretly but definitely identified and his or her name placed on a special list of those who would be the first to be placed in a concentration camp in the event of trouble (Soga 2008: 2; Gary Okihiro. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991: 173).

Presaging events that occurred from December 7, 1941 onward, from 1935 through 1937, military intelligence and the Department of Justice prepared lists of Japanese who should be arrested in the event of war along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which began preparing its own lists as early as 1933. All told, there were 984 local Japanese who were identified on the lists but the number was increased to well over 1,500 by 1943. Following the December 7 attack, teams of police and FBI agents were disbursed to arrest local Japanese. On the Island of Hawaiʻi, of those who received mention in the 1937 *Hilo Tribune-Herald* articles as being involved in planning the festivities for the visit by the Nippon Maru and Ondo, only one—Hisato Isemoto—appears to have been arrested (Soga 2008: 234).

Even members of the Shogyo Kumiai, an organization composed of Honokaʻa Japanese storekeepers, whose identities were noted by the local press in 1937 appear to not have been taken into custody. They included: Teiji Yamatsuka, Seshiro Hasegawa, Yuzo Oshima, Yataro Yoneoka, Masao Ujiki, Kazuo Inokoji, Kamekichi Kotake, and Denkichi Ishii (*Hilo Tribune-Herald*, July 6, 1937: 1: 7).

Arrests did occur in Hāmākua beginning on December 7, 1941, however. Giko Tsuge, the priest at the Honokaʻa Hongwanji Mission, Naokichi Tsutsui, the principal, along with an unknown number of teachers at the Honokaʻa Japanese language school, and Yoshimi Okumoto, principal of Kukuihaele Japanese Language School, along with his wife Tomiyo, a teacher, and their children were taken into custody, transported to Hilo, then Sand Island, and then to the U.S. mainland. The Okumotos were not reunited as a family until after the end of the war (Nagasawa 1998: n.p.).

Two other members of the Japanese community in Waimea—Jisuji Wakayama (businessman) and Kiyoto Izumi (Japanese language teacher)—were also arrested by authorities, Izumi on the 7th and Wakayama on the 24th. The two men were held for two months at Kilauea Military Camp at Volcano before being moved to Sand Island on Oahu and then on to Fort Ord, California (interview with Mrs. Miharu Izumi by Alvin Wakayama, August 10,1983, pages 13-14, as related by Naughton 2013).

Another Honokaʻa informant recalled two other members of the Japanese community—K. Hagiwara, owner of the Honokaʻa Dairy Farm—and an individual with the surname of Fukaura who were also arrested (Ibid. 1935: 556). The latter of the two was not identified in the Polk-Husted telephone directories and neither of them was identified in Soga's list. Consequently, it still remains unknown who, among the Japanese community in Honokaʻa, were arrested and either sent to Sand Island and the US mainland or held at Honouliuli Camp on Oʻahu.

Some of those incarcerated never would return. Joichi Tahana, of Pa'auilo Mauka, was taken but died in 1942 apparently from a stroke suffered in a relocation camp at the age of 59.

The attack on Pearl Harbor led the federal government to designate Japanese Americans as draft designation 4C ("Enemy Alien"). On January 21, 1942, Japanese Americans were removed from the Hawaiʻi Territorial Guard. This was a devastating blow to many Nisei who were indeed loyal to America. Fortunately, with the support of key local government and business leaders, the contributions of Nisei were gradually recognized and expanded. February 25, 1942 was the date that Nisei were allowed back onto military bases as laborers; the outstanding training record of the 100th Infantry Battalion in Wisconsin also illustrated the loyalty and mettle of Japanese Americans. In January 1943 the official policy of discrimination was ended and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, made up of Japanese Americans, was formed. The 442nd served with distinction during the remained of the war. Japanese Americans also contributed to the war effort in intelligence, both in the field and in the islands, employing their knowledge of the Japanese language (http://www.100thbattalion.org/history/japanese-american-units/varsity-victory-volunteers/2/).

HSCo lost an indeterminate number of workers who left for better paying war industry employment in Honolulu. In the HSCo annual report for 1941, manager Naquin acknowledged that fact when he noted that "there was a great migration of men, both skilled and unskilled, to work on the Defense Program…[and] we were faced with an acute labor shortage" (HSCo 1941: 6). Nonetheless, he concluded the report with the statement that "our country is engaged in a great struggle…and Honokaʻa and all its employees will do its share in this all-out effort" (Ibid.). Naquin retired in 1944 and was replaced by L. Wishard. From 1943-1945, Camp Tarawa was operated by the United States Marine Corps at Puopelu in Waimea (next to the owner of the Parker Ranch, Richard Smart's, home). Training facilities for the camp were on both sides of Mamalahoa Highway.

The Second Marine Division, having completed its pioneering amphibious assault in savage and bloody battle on Betio Island on the Tarawa Atoll during November 20-23 1943, was sent to the unfinished camp at Waimea to refit and recuperate. The completed base was named Camp Tarawa in honor of their victory. On February 12, 1944, members of the Second Division were invited to compete with local paniolo in a rodeo attended by 10,000 persons – a morale-boosting event. The Second Division shipped out later in the spring of 1944 for the invasions of Saipan and Tinian.

The Fifth Marine Division arrived at Camp Tarawa during the summer and fall of 1944. The Division was sent to the camp because volcanic hills of the nearby Parker Ranch simulated the most significant military feature of their upcoming objective – Mount Suribachi on the island of Iwo Jima. After leaving Camp Tarawa in January 1945, elements of the Firth Marine Division were photographed by Jose Rosenthal placing the United States flag on Mount Suribachi, an event immortalized both in Rosenthal's work and Felix DeWeldon's Marine Corps War Memorial near Arlington National Cemetery outside Washington, D.C. The Fifth Marine Division returned to Camp Tarawa in March 1945, and later became part of the American forces occupying Kyushu, Japan after war's end (Camp Tarawa Images https://www.google.com/search?q=Camp+Tarawa&hl=en&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=cRulUs3FOtXooATB0ILICw&ved=0CDEQsAQ&biw=1600&bih=796).

The management of Parker Ranch, starting with Alfred Hartwell Carter in 1937, did not want their cowboys drinking so had discouraged the development of bars in Waimea. This meant that Honokaʻa was the closest "watering hole" and general supply center to Camp Tarawa. Unlike civilian industry during the war, the military was not subject to rationing. The existence of Camp Tarawa provided a temporary economic boom for the town of "Honey Cow" (most marines had trouble pronouncing "Honokaʻa"). The merchants of Honokaʻa were happy to provide laundries, bakeries, office supplies, communications, bars, theaters, hotels, etc., to the soldiers.

LARRY IGNACIO COLLECTION

Locals and soldiers gather at the Aloha Inn in nearby Paʻauilo Town. The Aloha Inn, like the Paradise Café run by the Kaneshiro brothers in Honokaʻa Town, were special watering holes for the soldiers from Camp Tarawa.

Honokaʻa had a very active Hawai'i Rifles home guard group during World War II. Students from Honokaʻa High School also took part in the Victory Corps and went to school four days a week in order to use Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays and some holidays to work in the cane fields as so many of the regular employees were off at war.

A number of residents of Honokaʻa, HSCo and PSMCo served in World War II but their numbers, identities, and mortalities unfortunately remain unknown. One recognized hero was First Lieutenant Keichiro Yamato of Honoka'a, who on Aprill 23, 1945 on the Italian Front reorganized three infantry under fire and attacked a German battalion headquarters, killing 40 of the enemy and capturing 115 officers and men (Newspaper article; no reference.) Keichiro's family ran the Yamato Store on Māmane Street. Another Nisei hero was Herbert Y. Miyasaki of nearby Paʻauilo, who joined the Military Intelligence Service and served as the personal interpreter for General Frank D. Merrill ("Merrill's Marauders") in the Burma Campaign (Daughter Gail Miyasaki, personal communication, 2013).

World War II finally ended with the capitulation of Imperial Japanese military forces on August 15, 1945 and the *News* announced the end of the war with the headline, "JAPANESE SURRENDER!" (*Hilo Tribune-Herald*, August 11, 1945: 1: 1). The official signing of the articles of surrender did not occur, however, until September 2, 1945. As with the identities and number of servicemen and women from Honokaʻa, the exact number and identities of internees remain unknown as well. Of those confirmed internees who did return to the town after the war, the only known individual was Rev. Giko Tsuge, the pre-war priest who resided at the Honokaʻa Hongwanji Mission (R.L. Polk 1954-55: 189).

1945-1950

Returning veterans sought re-employment from their former employers, including HSCo, and along with the return of unrestricted commerce occurred the construction of new buildings, which had also been curtailed by the war. The erection of Kaneshiro Brothers Grocery (1948) was accompanied by a new housing development that was platted on the north side of the commercial district. There were no new telephone directories produced from 1941-1948.

The year following the end of the war was traumatic for the Hāmākua Coast and Hawaiʻi. A tsunami emanating from a 7.4 magnitude earthquake in the Aluetian Trench, 90 miles south of Unimak Island in the Aleutian chain, struck Hawaiʻi on April 1, 1946 at 7:00 a.m. The tsunami waves caused extensive damage along the shorelines of the Hawaiian archipelago, especially in Hilo where a 55-foot tidal wave, travelling in excess of 500 miles per hour, gutted the city's waterfront. At Laupāhoehoe in Hāmākua, the wave killed 24 students and teachers at an elementary school located on the valley's peninsula. Overall, the tsunami caused $26 million in damage and destroyed landings, roads, and bridges along the coast from Hilo to Paʻauilo, many of which were never rebuilt, and destroyed the Hawaiʻi Consolidated Railroad line. While the Hāmākua sugar plantations of Theo Davies & Company agreed to continue to use a restored railroad for shipment of sugar to Hilo, those plantations of C. Brewer & Company declined, committing to large-scale truck shipments instead. The Brewer decision meant that not enough freight would be available to finance the repair of the rail line; HCS management subsequently decided to dissolve the railroad (Mason Architects, HAER HI-94, Kawailii Bridge, 2010). The Territory compounded the access problem along the coast by first turning down an offer from the railroad's creditors to buy its infrastructure and then was forced to pay top dollar for the same materials to a middleman salvage company. Much of the Mamalahoa Highway was reconfigured and rebuilt along the much straighter railroad right of way using much of the old steel railroad bridge parts. After the tsunami, sugar and other agricultural products were transported via truck on this new highway, which caused a proliferation of automobile and trucking-related businesses in Honokaʻa. Although 50 tsunamis had been reported in Hawaiʻi since the 1800s, the 1946 tidal wave remained one of the most devastating in the history of the Hāmākua Coast.

In addition to the natural disaster, decades of laborer dissatisfaction finally culminated in a massive walkout that came to be later known as the "Great Sugar Strike." It began on September 1, 1946 and ended 79 days later. At its peak, the strike involved 26,000 sugar workers and including family members, totaled some 76,000 persons who participated in it across the entire archipelago. The walkout resulted in long sought union representation, increased wage rates as well as the number and quality of worker benefits, and forever altered the landscape of labor relations in Hawaiʻi.

The census of 1950 enumerated 1,021 persons residing in Honokaʻa. Curiously, the change in population was minimal from the 1,132 persons who were recorded as residing in the town in 1940. In nearby Waipiʻo the change was more dramatic. The valley's population dropped from 216 persons in 1940 to 95 persons in 1950 ("Hawaiʻi - Population of Cities, Towns, and Villages: 1950 and 1940," In *U.S. Bureau of the Census,* 1951: 52-8).

1951-60

In September 1951, *West Hawaiʻi News* carried an article that described Honokaʻa as "the Metropolis for the three sugar plantation communities [of] Haina, Pāʻauhau, and Paʻauilo and the ranching areas of Kaʻāpahu, Kālōpa, and Āhualoa…" (*West Hawaiʻi News,* September 17, 1951: no page). The writer continued:

> [T]he expansion of the plantation [of] Honokaʻa became the social mecca for this side of the island…The projects of the Hawaiian Irrigation Company…in 1907…and 1910 brought [even] more people to work and live here…[T]he mill shut down every Saturday [and] people came from all over the district for the weekend…There was music, and cheering, and shouting and drinking, and every Saturday night between Paʻauilo and Kukuihaele there were at least five to seven luaus going on (Ibid.).

Unfortunately, the years 1951-1960 were characterized by a steady slowing of economic activity in agricultural communities throughout the state as urban and tourist-related businesses became the engine of island employment. In Hāmākua this was no different. Business and labor leaders increasingly sought ways to increase yields and monitored production costs vis a vis competing sugar cane growing areas in the Philippines, Taiwan, and Central America and sugar beet growing areas on the U.S. Mainland in order to stay in business. Mechanization of both field and mill work at HSCo and PSMCo led to fewer employment opportunities and subsequently a smaller retail customer base in Honokaʻa, effectively "freezing" the town's infrastructure.

A new hospital was built in Honokaʻa in 1951 and was accompanied by the erection of a new Modernist Hongwanji temple (1951). Attesting to the increased importance of automobiles and trucking, three gas stations were also built in the town during the decade. They included: Onomura Gas Station (1956), Coastline "76" (1958), and Matsuo's Shell Service Station (1958).

Also unfortunate was a federal government policy of creating by-pass highways to accelerate travel between urban centers. By 1953, the Territorial Department of Transportation, Highways Division, had constructed a stretch of Mamalahoa Highway mauka of Honokaʻa, allowing around the island vehicular traffic to bypass the town. Only travelers to scenic Waipiʻo Valley from Hilo side would have reason to follow Māmane Street through town. A similar bypass project led to the destruction of nearby Paʻauilo's commercial core.

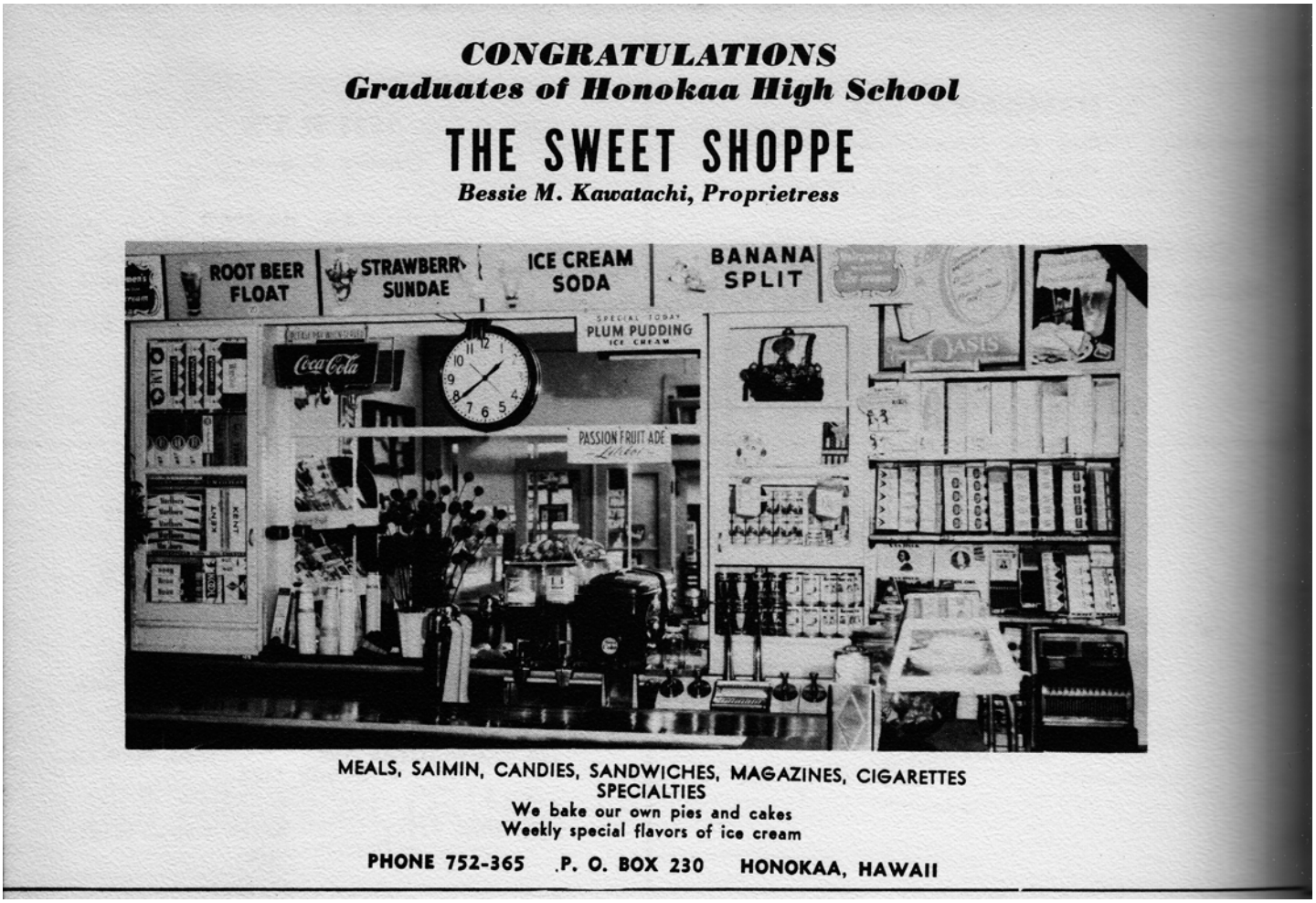
In 1955, owing to the effects of continued out-migration and general population decline, the business listing for the township had decreased to 58 establishments. The telephone directory for 1954-55 included: one Chinese, six European-American, six Filipino, forty Japanese, and five Portuguese-owned establishments (R.L. Polk 1954-55: v.p.).

There was only one Chinese-owned enterprise identified in the telephone directory—Awong Brothers, which was advertised as carrying "General Merchandise and Liquors" (Ibid.: 25). The Euro-American businesses consisted of Honokaʻa Theatre, Bank of Hawaiʻi, Fergerstrom Poultry, Honokaʻa Theater (Investors Co.), Honolulu Builders, and physician C.L. Carter (Ibid.: 26, 35, 51, 75, 80). Filipino stores included: Juan Castillo Men's Clothing, tailor Manuel Cantorna, Castillo Music Co. (E. Castillo and T. Higashi) which also sold "household appliances," Galinato's Billiards, which had expanded to include two other halls in Hilo and Kailua, barber Helacio Rebolton, and Vicente Saguid General Store (Ibid.: 34, 36, 57, 158, 161).

The Japanese-owned enterprises were identified as: Ban Travel Bureau (M. Ban), Fujimoto Super Service which offered "General Servicing of Cars, Associated Oil Products, [as well as] Bus and Taxi Service," Veterans Super

Service (T. Ishizu and K. Yamada), Hāmākua Shokwai Ltd., I. Hasegawa, K. Hasegawa, T. Kaneshiro, M. Ujiki, and T. Yamatsuka General Stores, Sweet Shoppe (B. Kawatachi), Hāmākua Soda Works (U. Myasaki), Harris Sanitary Laundry (Harris Tanaka and Aiko Tanaka), Honokaʻa Electric Shop (S. Mochida), Honokaʻa Garage (B. Kuramitsu), Igarashi's Service Station, K. Yamato General Store and Auto Repair, People's Theatre, Hotel Honokaʻa Club (T. Morita) which advertised an "Up-to-Date Hotel, Reasonable Rates[, and a] European Plan," Jimmy's Restaurant (J. Yamane) which specializ[ed] in Oriental Foods" and provided "Catering Service [and a] Bar," Nakashima Grocery, M. Yoshikami Bakery and Sporting Goods, K. Toyama Poultry, Tanaka Confectionary, Ikeuchi Hardware, Imada Watch Repair, Fujino and Nakahara Beauty Shops, barbers S. Ando and K. Higa, dentist E. Akioka, dressmaker Mimiya Harada, tailors S. Kaneshiro and W. Miura, Onomura Paints, Sakata Art Studio, contractor N. Matsumura, electrician T. Ito, T. Nagao Trucking, driver Kiyoshi Oshiro, and Century Metalcraft Corp. salesmen K. Nagao and T. Yamamoto (Ibid.: 17, 20, 26, 54, 63-65, 69, 74-78, 82, 84, 91, 94, 118, 123, 131-32, 135, 146-47, 163, 177, 182, 188, 194, 202, 204, 206). The Portuguese establishments were: A.J. Andrade Auto Repair, Correia Liquors, J.D. Souza Meats, Torres Gifts, and taxi driver Manuel Silva (Ibid.: 20, 41, 172-73, 188).

On August 21, 1959, Hawaiʻi was admitted into the union when President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Hawaiʻi Statehood Bill. The news was announced by the local press with the headline, "HAWAIʻI BECOMES FIFTIETH STATE!" and sub-head, "President Proclaims Statehood for Hawaiʻi" (*Hilo Tribune-Herald*, August 21, 1959: 1: 5-8). In the following year, the Eighteenth Decennial Census enumerated 1,247 persons residing in Honokaʻa (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1961: 13-8).



HONOKAʻA HIGH SCHOOL YEARBOOK

1958 congratulatory advertisement.

1960 and Beyond

The year 1960 began with a repeat of the Big Island experience of 1946: On May 22 of that year, another tsunami struck Hawaiʻi. Caused by an earthquake which had occurred near Conception, Chile, the tsunami made landfall at 1:04 a.m., and devastated Hilo with a 35-foot wave that caused $75 million in damage including wholesale destruction of the recently rebuilt Shinmachi (Japanese language term meaning “New Town”) mostly Japanese American suburb along the waterfront on the Keauakaha side of Downtown Hilo.

Post-War Outmigration and the Beginning of the End for Sugar Plantation Agriculture

Ironically, while sugar yields improved, the economics of sugar production along the Hāmākua Coast continued to deteriorate. Combined sugar production for HSCo and PSMCo during the war years had ranged from 15,106 tons in 1942 to 15,838 tons in 1944, and was 15,813 tons in 1945. In 1950, it was 22,241 tons, followed by 31,589 tons in 1955, 22,653 tons in 1960, and 40,949 tons in 1970 (HSCo 1942: 2; 1944: 1; 1945: 1; 1950: 2; 1965: 3; 1970: 1). Besides investment in technologies, plantation management had itself slimmed down to cut costs. In 1972 HSCo and PSMCo were merged with Paʻāuhau Sugar Co., then, along with Laupāhoehoe Sugar Co. were

consolidated in 1978 under Davies Hāmākua Sugar Co. Laupāhoehoe Sugar Co. was formed from the amalgamation of five Hāmākua mills. They included: Hāmākua Mill Co. (1887) and Kūkaʻiau Mill Co. (1887) which were joined to form Hāmākua Sugar Co. in 1917, as well as Kaiwiki Sugar Co. (1869) and Laupāhoehoe Sugar Co. (1880) which were merged in 1957. All five were consolidated under Laupāhoehoe Sugar Co. in 1974. From 1979 onward, HSCo and PSMCo harvests were combined with the production from the other sugar mills. In 1984, Francis Morgan purchased the combined operation in an attempt to preserve sugar operations along the Hāmākua Coast. Unfortunately, ecomonics worked against the effort. HSCo and PSMCo were shuttered after their last harvests on October 10, 1994 and Hāmākua Sugar declared bankruptcy (*Hāmākua Times*, November 6, 2013: n.p.).

Communities along the Hāmākua coast were devastated. Particularly among those who had known nothing else but plantation life, stories were told of small numbers of old plantation workers, who, after completing decades of work for HSCo and PSMCo, spent their retirements in small solitary shacks on the periphery of the companies' cane fields. Having never married, they lived out the remaining years of their lives alone. They would be found after their deaths and the news unceremoniously reported by the local press.

CONTEXT #2: Plantation Era Architecture in Honokaʻa, 1880s-1945

"Plantation Vernacular" is used to define a regional architectural style for buildings which were erected during the Plantation Period. They were produced by carpenters of various nationalities (using standardized lumber mostly from the Pacific Northwest) who had been trained by Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) companies and who, after leaving those companies to work as independent contractors, continued to build in the style (and make innovations to it) because they shared a common construction and building vocabulary.

The primary hallmark of the style, "single wall" construction, consisted of vertical boards which were nailed to a wood plate and sill. The vertical boards served as both the exterior and interior wall surfaces of a building. They were either of plank frame (no corner posts) or box frame (corner posts) construction, both of which were of New England origins, and were used for all classes of buildings in Hawai'i. The board and batten exterior wall finish came from the need to cover the interstices between vertical boards before the use of tongue-and-groove or shiplap boards rendered the use of vertical battens unnecessary. Imported windows and doors (designed for balloon frame construction) either projected out from the exterior wall or, if flush with the exterior wall, projected into the interior of the building.

The HSPA, under pressure from the Territorial Board of Health, standardized buildings plans and construction in 1920 and continued to use "single wall" construction with the following modifications: (a) wood posts could be used at corners (box framing); and/or (b) wood studs could be used sparingly, positioned on either sides of door and window jambs or at the intersections of interior partitions.

A variety of standardized floor plans for dwellings and barracks were produced, surmounted by hipped or gable-on-hip roofs which were commonly covered with corrugated metal. For commercial buildings, stores, and theaters, gabled or shed roofs, also covered in corrugated metal, were the most common, terminating in a vertical wood board parapet which also carried the signage of an enterprise and increased the buildings height when viewed from the street. Institutional buildings were primarily U-Plans or their derivatives.

After World War II, when the lengths of wall board were reduced by mainland manufacturers, two vertical boards were necessary to span the distance between sill and plate which made it necessary to apply a horizontal wood trim or "belt board" to cover the joint on the exterior wall surface and a horizontal wood nailer on the interior wall surface. After 1960 balloon frame construction, consisting of regularly spaced wood studs, was uniformly adopted when the building codes in Hawaiʻi were modified, but the traditional exterior cladding of vertical boards or board and batten finish, along with horizontal belt boards and hipped or gable-on-hip roofs were retained. Even in the 21st century, especially for domestic architecture, the exterior finish associated with "Plantation Vernacular," is still being produced.

The late Nancy Bannick, who is credited with single-handedly saving 15 blocks of Honolulu's Chinatown from destruction under the guise of urban renewal in the 1960s, arrived in Honokaʻa in the 1970s and became Honokaʻa's champion. In 1970 she had convinced the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) that the Māmane Street district is "a rare survivor of a once-common Hawaiian town type." Underscoring the town's importance for preservation as well as economic revitalization, the Western Regional Office of the NTHP funded a study, *Honokaʻa, Hawaiʻi: Guidelines and Recommendations for a Māmane Street Historic District* (1976) which was prepared by John Frisbee, Carol Galbreath, John Volz, Roger Holt, and Elizabeth Black. The report first documented and then determined that Honokaʻa's Māmane Street was both a historic resource eligible for federal recognition and financial assistance.

While a historic district was not established then, in 2014, owners of key properties (the Ferreira, Yamatsuka, Bothelo, Hotel Honokaa Club, Honokaa People's Theatre, Hasegawa Store, Kurimitsu Garage, Harris Laundry, 1911 Bank Building [Botelho Annex], Yamato Store, Sakata Building, Jesus Building, Ujiki Store, Kotake Store buildings) have agreed to listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places in order to "show the way" for their neighbors. These owners realize that history can provide the economic stimulus that Honokaʻa needs. Federal preservation tax incentives will be applied for once the properties are listed. Meanwhile, historic site markers, highway signage, and a book are also in the works.

Conclusion

Circumstances have provided Honokaʻa with a wealth of historical resources that can be used to improve its economy and maintain its sense as a unique community.

It retains the largest collection of early 20th century plantation single wall commercial structures in good repair that remain in the islands. These designs are virtually gone from Oʻahu and unfortunately have been copied all too often as recent false fronts.

The town illustrates successive waves of ethnic immigrants, their economic ascension, assimilation, and enrichment of the broader general culture. This is true for Native Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican and many other groups.

Honokaʻa is unique in that it wasn't a one-company town or one crop town because it had sugar, macadamia nuts, and ranching. Nowhere else in the state are so many historic industries in such close proximity, facilitating education and retention.

Honokaʻa provides lessons in history. Katsu Goto's aspirations and murder, William Rickard's support for his Queen, and the ILWU's fight for decent living conditions all illustrate the dignity of human spirit.

Hāmākua also illustrates engineering marvels, including the Upper and Lower Hāmākua Ditches, railroad tunnels, steel bridges, and coast landings.

They must be preserved.

Postscript: The Neighbor Islands provide the opportunity to both maintain our roots and choose what we want to learn from each other. While many immigrant groups have left or become thoroughly Americanized, others such as Japanese Americans and Filipino Americans have remained in Honokaʻa in sufficient numbers to preserve some of their most important cultural traditions. A good illustration is provided by a small number of descendents of those *Puertoriqueños* who had arrived in December, 1900. They had managed to retain modest aspects of their culture despite intermarriage with Chinese, Hawaiians, Euro-Americans, and Filipinos as well as assimilation. They were still present in small numbers at Kukuihaele and on the Hāmākua Coast in the 1980s. The Puerto Rican writer Victor Hernández Cruz recalled in 1984 that:

I was in Hawaiʻi once, and it was the most curious thing. I saw all these men, they were old men, and they dressed [in] *guayaberas* (traditional shirt similar in style to the Filipino *Barong*) and they looked like *jíbaros*, Puerto Rican country types. When I approached them, I realized [that] they were speaking in English. They didn't talk one word of Spanish, but their character, their personalities, their appearance were like those of Puerto Ricans. When they sang, they sang in perfect Spanish. They sang *agiunaldos* (traditional children's songs sung during the Christmas season; Jennings and Rivera 1984: 69).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The buildings and structures which will populate this multiple property nomination serve a variety of functions, each with its own form, associated styles, and historic associations. The property types include:

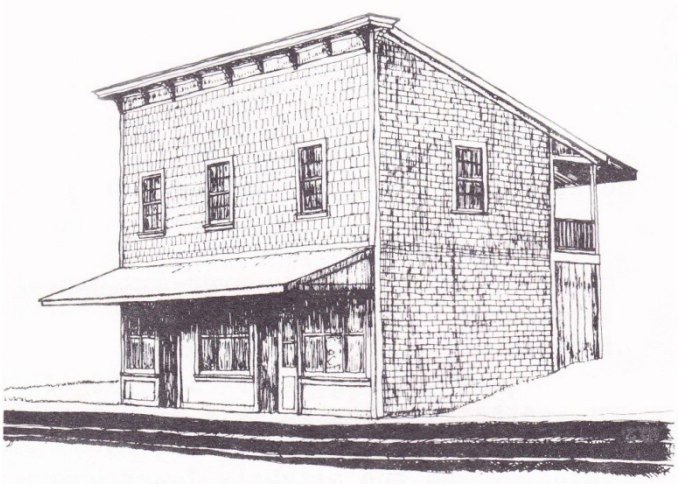
Commercial Buildings
Educational Buildings
Government Buildings
Religious Buildings
Residences
Landings

Commercial Buildings

The Commercial Building Type is defined as a building designed with commercial use at the street level, and in the case of two-storied structures, with additional commercial or other uses on the second story. Historic commercial uses include but are not limited to retail facilities that were designed to serve the general public such as clothing, grocery, and hardware stores, restaurants, automotive supplies and service, candy stores, as well as banks, offices, hotels, and theaters. Second story residential uses were often incorporated into these buildings, as well as meeting and dance halls, and professional offices for dentists, doctors, and lawyers.

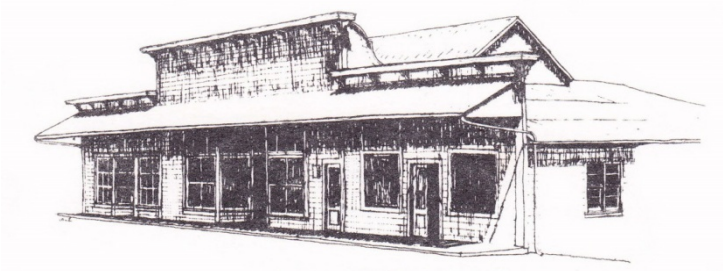
The commercial structures line Māmane Street and its concrete sidewalks. Almost all of the structures are wood frame, either one or two stories, usually with metal corrugated roofing (locally called *totan*). Shiplap siding is a common exterior wall material, as is vertical tongue and groove. Some vertical board-and-batten is also evident. Both single wall and double wall construction is employed. The stucco walled, Spanish mission revival Bank of Hawaiʻi building is a rare example of a commercial building in Honokaʻa using masonry construction.
The windows, doors, or showcases on the street level are usually protected by a pent roofed awning. Simply framed, large viewing windows display merchandise and offices within. The windows are single or multi-paned, and frequently have transoms above them and kick plates below. Entry doors may be single or double and may be flanked by simple vertical sidelights. They may be recessed or flush with the front wall.
Most of the commercial buildings adhere to three basic forms.

- Simplified Italianate Revival–typically found on two-story buildings
- Western False-front
- Lateral-running gable roof



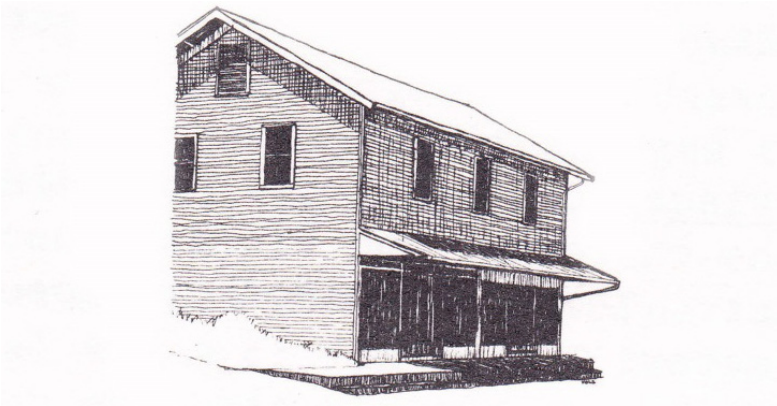
Simplified Italianate Revival (Takata Building)

Simplified Italianate Revival: This style is either one- or two-stories with an extended façade that is capped with a decorative cornice with modillion-like brackets. A shed-roofed, corrugated metal awning projects the length of the building between the first and second floors, providing protection from rain and sun for the storefronts at the ground level. Its storefronts have display windows and entries. Any second level is typically in residential use, with double hung windows set at regular intervals.



Western False-front (Honokaʻa Federal Credit Union)

Western False-front: This style is either one- or two-stories with a false front which conceals the roof form and gives the building a taller appearance. The favored way to terminate the false front is in a stepped configuration. A shed-roofed, corrugated metal awning projects the length of the building whether it be for a one or two story building. It provides protection from rain and sun for the storefronts at the first level. Its storefronts have plate-glass windows and entries. Any second level is typically in residential use, with double hung windows set at regular intervals.



Gable Roof (Souza Building)

Lateral-running gable roof: This style is two-stories, with an exposed gable roof form. The building is positioned lengthwise along the street, allowing for maximum storefront exposure. A shed-roofed, corrugated metal awning projects the length of the building between the first and second floors, providing protection from rain and sun for the storefronts at the first level. Its storefronts have plate-glass windows and entries. The second floor is typically in residential use, with double hung windows set at regular intervals.

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A and C

Commercial buildings built during the period of significance (1883–1966) in Honokaʻa are a primary reflection of the economic growth that occurred as a result of the expansion of Hawaiʻi's sugar industry, with the town supporting various sugar plantations in its proximity. The buildings have strong associations with the development of Honokaʻa as an independent, non-plantation-owned town. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A, for their association with the period of commercial development in Honokaʻa's history. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including façade compositions, proportions, and stylistic influences, which reflect the buildings' original functions and construction periods.

The commercial buildings in Honokaʻa are also significant under Criterion C for their architecture, as they represent the common commercial building styles and prevalent commercial building forms of the opening decades of the 20th Century in rural Hawaiʻi. Collectively the buildings embody the materials, designs, construction methods, and workmanship typical of their times. Additionally, some buildings may represent the work of notable architects or builders. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, a commercial building must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the commercial development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. Because of the historic nature of the town, the buildings all retain their integrity of location and setting, as well as feeling and associations. Architectural assessments thus will revolve around a building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship. From the exterior, the façade provides a commercial building with its distinctive qualities and distinguishes one building from the next. As such emphasis should be placed on the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials of the façades of the commercial buildings in Honokaʻa, rather than upon the sides and rears of the buildings. Such changes as the presence of additions that retain the scale of the building, the substitution of materials, and altered fenestration are acceptable when not on the building's primary elevation. Other integrity considerations for Honokaʻa's commercial buildings include:

1. The façades should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of its original design and architectural detailing. This is especially important for the street level elements of the façade. Doors and windows should be historic in their character; however, relocation of these elements is permissible. Also, if a façade has an overall strong sense of design and integrity, the presence of one out-of-character element, such as an aluminum door, should not be cause for ineligibility.

2. Fenestration patterns should be present, or readily discernable, on a building's second story front elevation, although in-kind window replacement (including non-wood windows replicated to appear as original wood sashes) is permissible.

3. Any upper portion of the façade should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of the building's original design and architectural style. For buildings with a strong sense of design with most all its original elements intact, the use of non-original siding should not be cause for ineligibility.

4. While not a qualifying requirement for Hawaiʻi and National Register eligibility, the preservation, restoration, and/or rehabilitation of original interior spaces (spatial arrangements, configurations, and materials) is highly recommended. However, it is recognized that functional requirements may result in interior alterations. Given this consideration, the presence of intact floor plans should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and National Registers. Similarly, the presence on the interior of original floor, wall, and ceiling materials contributes to the historic feel of a building and should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole. On the second floors, which are primarily dedicated to residential functions, the remodeling of interior spaces, especially the kitchens and bathrooms, to suit modern housing expectations should not be cause for disqualification. Removal of some original partition walls or the addition of new partition walls, and the addition of some doors should not be cause for disqualification. Nor should the refinishing of interior walls. Although the absence of original fixtures, such as doors, counter tops, cabinets, bathroom fixtures, and the like should not disqualify the building from Hawaiʻi and National Register consideration, their presence adds strength to the overall rating of integrity. Similarly, interior window openings such as transoms and hall windows contribute to eligibility.

Educational Buildings

Educational complexes consist of a number of buildings that each serve a distinctive function. These include: classroom buildings, administrative office buildings, cafeterias, gymnasiums, auditoriums, and school libraries. Also athletic fields with their bleachers are frequently also associated with these complexes. For Honokaʻa, school buildings built prior to World War II are of wood, while those dating from the post-World War II period may be either of wood or masonry construction. All buildings are a single story in height. Those dating from the 1920s utilize a classical revival style, while later buildings are more utilitarian or employ a modern style of architecture.

The 1920s classroom features a double stacked interior hallway, while later classroom buildings are single stacked and use a lanai, rather than a hallway to access the classrooms. All buildings place a high priority on cross ventilation.

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A and C

Educational buildings built during the period of significance (1883–1966) in Honokaʻa reflect the development of Honokaʻa as a town center serving the rural areas surrounding it. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A, for their association with the development of Honokaʻa. They are

also significant at the local level under Criterion A for their associations with the development and expansion of Hawaiʻi's educational system. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including building configurations and layout, proportions, and stylistic influences, which reflect the buildings' original functions and construction periods.

The school buildings in Honokaʻa are also significant under Criterion C for their architecture, as they represent the common educational building styles and prevalent forms of their times. Under the Territory of Hawaiʻi the responsibility to design and construct school complexes lay with the various counties; however, the administration of the schools was under the authority of the Territory. With the advent of statehood, the State assumed total control over the schools, including their design and construction. The school buildings in Honokaʻa reflect this history, with the earlier buildings utilizing classical forms, rendered in wood, which was typical of public school architecture on the island of Hawaiʻi. The more modern post-statehood buildings assume designs and forms found throughout the Islands. Collectively the buildings embody the materials, designs, construction methods, and workmanship typical of their place and times. Additionally, some buildings may represent the work of notable architects or builders such as Frank Arakawa, the Hawaiʻi county Engineer in the late 1920s and 1930s. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, an educational building must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. They must also reflect the general trends associated with the development of Hawaiʻi's education system. Because of the historic nature of the town, the buildings all retain their integrity of location and setting, as well as feeling and associations. Architectural assessments thus will revolve around a building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship. From the exterior, the façade provides an educational building with many of its distinctive qualities. As such emphasis should be placed on the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials of the façades of the school buildings in Honokaʻa, rather than upon the sides and rears of the buildings. Such changes as the presence of additions that retain the scale of the building are acceptable when not on the building's primary elevation. However, statewide, a number of school properties have retained a very high level of integrity, and the school grounds at Honokaʻa should also meet a similar high standard. Other integrity considerations for Honokaʻa's educational buildings include:

1. The façades should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of its original design and architectural detailing. This is especially important for the street level elements of the façade.

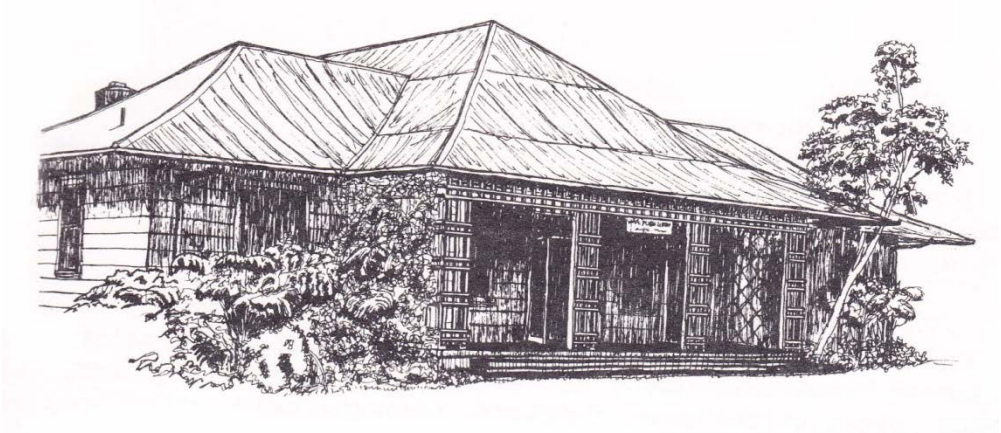
Doors and windows should be historic in their character, although the replacement of original windows with jalousie windows may be historic in their own right. In-kind window replacement is also permissible. Also, if a façade has an overall strong sense of design and integrity, the presence of one out-of-character element, such as an aluminum door, should not be cause for ineligibility.

2. The preservation, restoration, or rehabilitation of original interior spaces (spatial arrangements, configurations, and materials) is highly recommended. However, it is recognized that functional requirements may result in some interior modifications. Given this consideration, the presence of intact floor plans should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and National Registers. Similarly, the presence on the interior of original floor, wall, and ceiling materials contributes to the historic feel of a building and should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole. Removal of some original partition walls or the addition of new partition walls, and the addition of some doors should not be cause for disqualification. The modification of restrooms or cafeteria kitchens also should not be cause for disqualification. Although the absence of original fixtures, such as doors, cabinets, office and library counters, blackboards, bathroom fixtures, and the like should not disqualify the building from Hawaiʻi and National Register consideration, their presence adds strength to the overall rating of integrity. Similarly, interior window openings such as transoms and hall windows contribute to eligibility.

Government Buildings

Honokaʻa is not the seat of county government for the island of Hawaiʻi, nor has it ever been. Therefore the number of public buildings in the town is limited to a post office, police station, fire station, library, and certain government offices. The sole surviving pre-World War II buildings in Honokaʻa are the public library and the former Department of Health headquarters for public nursing services. The former is rendered in a Hawaiian style of architecture with a double pitched hipped roof, and the latter is a modest plantation style building with single wall construction and a corrugated metal hipped roof. Both of these buildings contribute to the pre-World War II historic character of Māmane Street. Post-World War II buildings are rendered in a modern style with masonry construction, with the exception of State Office Building Number 2 which follows a modern Hawaiian style with its steeply-pitched double hipped roof.

Hawaiian Style with Double-Pitched Hipped Roof and inset entry lanai:



(Honokaʻa Public Library),

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A and C

Government buildings built during the period of significance (1883–1966) in Honokaʻa reflect the development of Honokaʻa as a town center serving the rural areas surrounding it. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A, for their association with the development of Honokaʻa. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including building configurations and layout, proportions, and stylistic influences, which reflect the buildings' original functions and construction periods.

The government buildings in Honokaʻa are also significant under Criterion C for their architecture, as they embody the materials, designs, construction methods, and workmanship typical of their place and times. The library follows a Hawaiian style of architecture originally developed by C. W. Dickey in 1926, which remained popular through the 1930s. It is characterized by a double-pitched hipped roof, the use of lanai and ample windows for ventilation. The beauty of the building derived from its massing and profile rather than applied ornamentation. It bestowed a dignity and grace to the library appropriate to its role in the community. The Department of Health office building is a more utilitarian form, embracing the construction methods, materials and forms found in plantation architecture of the period, with its post and pier foundation, single wall construction and hipped corrugated metal roof with overhanging eaves and exposed rafter tails. Those buildings constructed in the second half of the twentieth century are more substantial in their use of masonry materials and reflect the modern style which predominated during this period. State Office Building Number 2 differs from the

norm as it is situated directly on Māmane Street so it strives to integrate itself with the pre-World War II government buildings on Māmane Street, while using modern materials. Additionally, some buildings may represent the work of notable architects or builders, such as H.K. Stewart, the head of the Territorial Department of Public Works during the late 1930s. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, a governmental building must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. None of the buildings have been moved, thus they all retain their integrity of location and setting, as well as feeling and associations. Architectural assessments thus will revolve around a building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship. For government buildings in Honokaʻa their massing and profile as viewed from the street is a primary character defining element. These should remain intact, with any additions being in scale and built in manner to not distract from the main building, preferably off the rear. Also, elements, such as lanai should not be enclosed. Because of the simple character of the buildings, much of their character also derives from their materials, so it is important that the original wall material is present, although individual boards may be replaced if no longer serviceable. While the roof is an important element of the building the replacement of their original materials should not be cause for disqualification so long as the roof form remains intact. The presence of historic or in-kind roof materials should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and National Registers. Other integrity considerations for Honokaʻa's governmental buildings include:

1. The façades should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of its original design and architectural detailing. Doors and windows should be historic in their character, although the replacement of original windows with jalousie windows may be historic in their own right. In-kind window replacement is also permissible. Also, if a façade has an overall strong sense of design and integrity, the presence of one out-of-character element, such as an aluminum door, should not be cause for ineligibility.

2. The preservation, restoration, and/or rehabilitation of original interior spaces (spatial arrangements, configurations, and materials) is highly recommended, especially with regard to the library with its bookcases along the perimeter of the room, with the main room serving as a reading area as well as librarian public service area. However, it is recognized that functional

requirements may result in some interior modifications, especially with regards to administrative office use. Given this consideration, the presence of intact floor plans should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and National Registers. Similarly, the presence on the interior of original floor, wall, and ceiling materials contributes to the historic feel of a building and should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole. Removal of some original partition walls or the addition of new partition walls, and the addition of some doors should not be cause for disqualification, especially when occurring in less public parts of the building. The modification of restrooms or fire station kitchens also should not be cause for disqualification. Although the absence of original fixtures, such as doors, cabinets, office and counters, bathroom fixtures, and the like should not disqualify the building from Hawaiʻi and National Register consideration, their presence adds strength to the overall rating of integrity. Similarly, interior window openings such as transoms and hall windows contribute to eligibility.

Religious Buildings

Religious Buildings in Honokaʻa are a single story in height and constructed of wood. Christian churches feature bell towers or steeples and Gothic, segmental or round arched windows. The bell tower may take the form of a corner tower or rise from the roof's ridgeline. The Buddhist temple features corner towers and cusped and ogee arches. All religious buildings have a nave, chancel, and altar. Social halls are either incorporated into the building or stand as separate structures.

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A and C

Religious buildings built during the period of significance (1883–1966) in Honokaʻa reflect the development of Honokaʻa as a town center serving the rural areas surrounding it. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A, for their association with the development of Honokaʻa. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including building configurations and layout, proportions, and stylistic influences, which reflect the buildings' original functions and construction periods.

The religious buildings in Honokaʻa are also significant under Criterion C for their architecture, as they represent the common building styles and prevalent forms of their times. Collectively the buildings embody the materials, designs, construction methods, and workmanship typical of their place and times. Additionally, some buildings may represent the work of notable architects or builders such as Charles Kohara and Frank Arakawa. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, a religious building must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. They must also reflect the general trends associated with the development of Hawaiʻi's ecclesiastical architecture. None of the buildings have been moved and thus all retain their integrity of location and setting, as well as feeling and associations. Architectural assessments therefore will revolve around a building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship. From the exterior, the steeple or bell tower, as well as the arched windows provide Christian churches with their distinctive qualities. Similarly, tri-parte, Mughal inspired façades with corner towers and centered entries, was a favored style used in Buddhist temple architecture in Hawaiʻi during the 1920s through the early 1950s. As such, when evaluating religious structures in Honokaʻa for either the Hawaiʻi or National Registers of Historic Places, an emphasis should be placed on the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials of the façades and the nave's side walls, rather than upon the back sides and rears of the buildings. Such changes as the presence of additions that retain the scale of the building are acceptable when not on the building's primary elevation. Other integrity considerations for Honokaʻa's religious buildings include:

1. The façades should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of its original design and architectural detailing. Doors and windows should be historic in their character, although the replacement of original windows in less publically visible parts of the houses of worship is allowable. In-kind window replacement is also permissible. Also, if a façade has an overall strong sense of design and integrity, the presence of one out-of-character element should not be cause for ineligibility.

2. The preservation, restoration, and/or rehabilitation of original interior spaces (spatial arrangements, configurations, and materials) is highly recommended. However, it is recognized that functional requirements may result in some interior modifications. Given this consideration, the presence of intact floor plans should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and National Registers. Similarly, the presence on the interior of original floor, wall, and ceiling materials contributes to the historic feel of a building and should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole. Removal of some original partition walls or the addition of new partition walls, and the addition of some doors should not be cause for disqualification, especially when undertaken in less publically accessible parts of the building. The modification of restrooms or kitchens also should not be cause for disqualification. Although the absence of original fixtures, such as doors, cabinets, bathroom fixtures, and the like should not disqualify

the building from Hawaiʻi and National Register consideration, their presence adds strength to the overall rating of integrity. Similarly, interior window openings such as transoms contribute to eligibility.

Detached Residences and Outbuildings

Detached residences in Honokaʻa are usually located behind the commercial buildings, ether upslope or down slope, depending on which side of Māmane Street they are located. The upslope buildings are generally a single story in height, while those on the down slope side may be one or two stories. All are constructed of wood, usually vertical tongue and groove. Roofs may be gable or hipped, with corrugated metal being a common cladding. Usually they stand on post and pier foundations, although sometimes they may have a concrete slab foundation. Some feature lanai on their façades. These may be either inset or projecting. Detached dwellings on the upslope side of commercial buildings are sometimes connected to the front buildings via an enclosed wooden walkway. The dwellings are usually devoid of ornamentation and do not follow high styles of architecture. Instead they are vernacular in their origins and frequently utilize materials, designs and methods of construction associated with buildings found on the surrounding sugar plantations.

In addition to the dwellings a number of associated outbuildings may be found on the up and down slopes of Māmane Street. These include detached garages and carports, workshops, studios, and even a former hospital. Their architectural character reflects that of the dwellings, being utilitarian and fairly modest in scale. The garages and carports may serve a single vehicle or be more communal, accommodating multiple vehicles. Sometimes work shop and garage functions may be under one roof.

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A and C

Domestic buildings built during the period of significance (1883–1966) in Honokaʻa reflect the development of Honokaʻa as a town center. They primarily housed the business owners and their families, as well as workers employed in the various enterprises. They formed a convenient relationship between work and family. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A, for their association with the development of Honokaʻa. Almost always developed either in conjunction with or in consideration of the commercial that line Māmane Street, they contributed to the density of the downtown core and through their siting and forms contribute to the historic character of the town, reflecting a recognizable planning model which emphasized the integration of work-home relationships. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including building configurations and layout, proportions, and methods of construction, which reflect the buildings' original functions and construction periods.

The residences and their associated buildings in Honokaʻa are also significant under Criterion C for their architecture, as they represent the common building styles and prevalent forms of their times. Applying the familiar building techniques and materials of the plantation to a village setting, the buildings embody the materials, designs, construction methods, and workmanship typical of their place and times. As such they are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, a residential building must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. They must also reflect the general trends associated with the development of Hawaiʻi's single wall, plantation style architecture. As part of the townscape, the buildings retain their integrity of location and setting, as well as feeling and associations. The dwellings, taken as a whole, form a pattern of living reflective of the development of Honokaʻa. As such, the residential buildings relationship to the town and to any commercial buildings also found on the property is a major consideration when assessing significance and integrity. Thus, when evaluating residential structures and their associated buildings in Honokaʻa for either the Hawaiʻi or National Registers of Historic Places, an emphasis should be placed on the integrity of location and setting. Secondarily, architectural assessments will revolve around a building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship. From the exterior, the roof, walls and fenestration provide these modest buildings with their distinctive qualities, however, despite the structures' modest characters, much latitude may be given to design and material integrity so long as integrity of location and setting are strong. A building should retain sufficient exterior integrity to convey a sense of its original design and materials. Original fenestration should be apparent and windows should be historic in their character, although the replacement of original windows is allowable, if other elements such as the roof and walls remain intact. Also, the presence of one out-of-character element, such as the windows, or door, or the re-cladding of some of the walls, should not be cause for ineligibility. Similarly, the enclosing of a lanai, if handled in a sensitive manner, is not cause for non-consideration. Such changes as the presence of additions that retain the scale of the building are acceptable, especially when they are not on the building's primary elevation.

On the interior, the preservation, restoration, and/or rehabilitation of original interior spaces (spatial arrangements, configurations, and materials) is highly recommended. However, it is recognized that functional requirements may result in a number of interior modifications. Given this consideration, the presence of intact floor plans should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole, increasing the probability of acceptance to the Hawaiʻi and

National Registers. Similarly, the presence on the interior of original floor, wall, and ceiling materials contributes to the historic feel of a building and should result in a more favorable rating of integrity for the building as a whole. Removal of some original partition walls or the addition of new partition walls, and the addition of some doors should not be cause for disqualification, especially when undertaken in less publically accessible parts of the dwelling. The modification of bathrooms or kitchens also should not be cause for disqualification. While the absence of original fixtures, such as doors, cabinets, bathroom fixtures, and the like should not disqualify the building from Hawaiʻi and National Register consideration, their presence adds strength to the overall rating of integrity.

Landings

Honokaʻa was served by two landings. These were concrete structures where cargo was loaded and off-loaded from ships anchored off shore. Structures associated with the landings included a loading area, a winch to operate a cable between the ship and shore, and ancillary buildings which supported the landings' operations. The landings are abandoned and in disrepair. All that remains of the supporting structures is foundations.

Significance Eligibility under Criteria A

Two landings served Honokaʻa during the period of significance (1883–1966), and played an important role in the development of Honokaʻa as a town center. They were the primary means of obtaining supplies from the outside world and also served as the way to transport the surrounding sugar plantations' sugar to Honolulu for shipment to California. These concrete structures are now abandoned and in varying stages of ruin with their decks, as well as the foundations of various support facilities, still readily evident. As such the landings are eligible for inclusion in the Hawaiʻi and National Registers of Historic Places at the local level as a site under Criterion A, for their association with the development of Honokaʻa. As a property type they are recognizable in their physical characteristics, including their configurations and layout, proportions, and methods of construction, which reflect the sites' original functions and construction periods.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing on the Hawaiʻi and National Registers, a landing must convey its sense of historic character through structural and associative integrity, must have documented historical significance within the contexts of the development of Honokaʻa, and must fall within the physical boundaries set in this document. These sites are in ruin, as such when evaluating these sites for either the Hawaiʻi or National Registers of Historic Places an emphasis should be

placed on the integrity of location and setting, as well as the integrity of feeling and associations. The sites’ design and materials only need to be sufficient to convey to the trained eye its location and a sense of its original character. Integrity of workmanship should be assigned a low priority.

G. Geographical Data

Maps

Map #	Name
001	USGS Map, 1995
002	Hawaiʻi Territory Survey Map, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor, n.d.
003	Hawaiʻi Territory Survey Map, Honokaʻa Area, n.d.
004	Tax Map of 4-5, Honokaʻa Area, Honokaʻa Plantation, Hāmākua, Hawaiʻi,1932.
005	Tax Map of 4-5-002, Honokaʻa Town, Portion of Paʻalea to Lauka, Hāmākua, Hawaiʻi, 1935.
006	Current Road Map of the Honokaʻa Area, 2013.
007	Haina-Honokaʻa Zone 4 Map, post 1999.
008	Honokaʻa Town Mamane Street Map Key Listing Buildings and Their Dates of Construction, Current, 2013.
009	Hawaiʻi Government Survey Reg 0335 Map of Hāmākua (Honokaʻa Section), 1879. Detail.
010	HGS Reg 0335 Map (Earliest recordings of the Government Road, Schoolhouse, and three stores), 1879. Detail.
011	HGS Map of Honokaʻa Town with Some Buildings Demarked, 1904. Detail.
012	Japanese Hand-drawn Map of Honokaʻa Town Center, n.d.
013	Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center, 1914.
014	Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 2 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center, 1914.
015	Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 3 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center, 1914.

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Section number G Page 2

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 001
Title: USGS Map of Honokaʻa
Author: US Geological Survey
Date: Dated 1995

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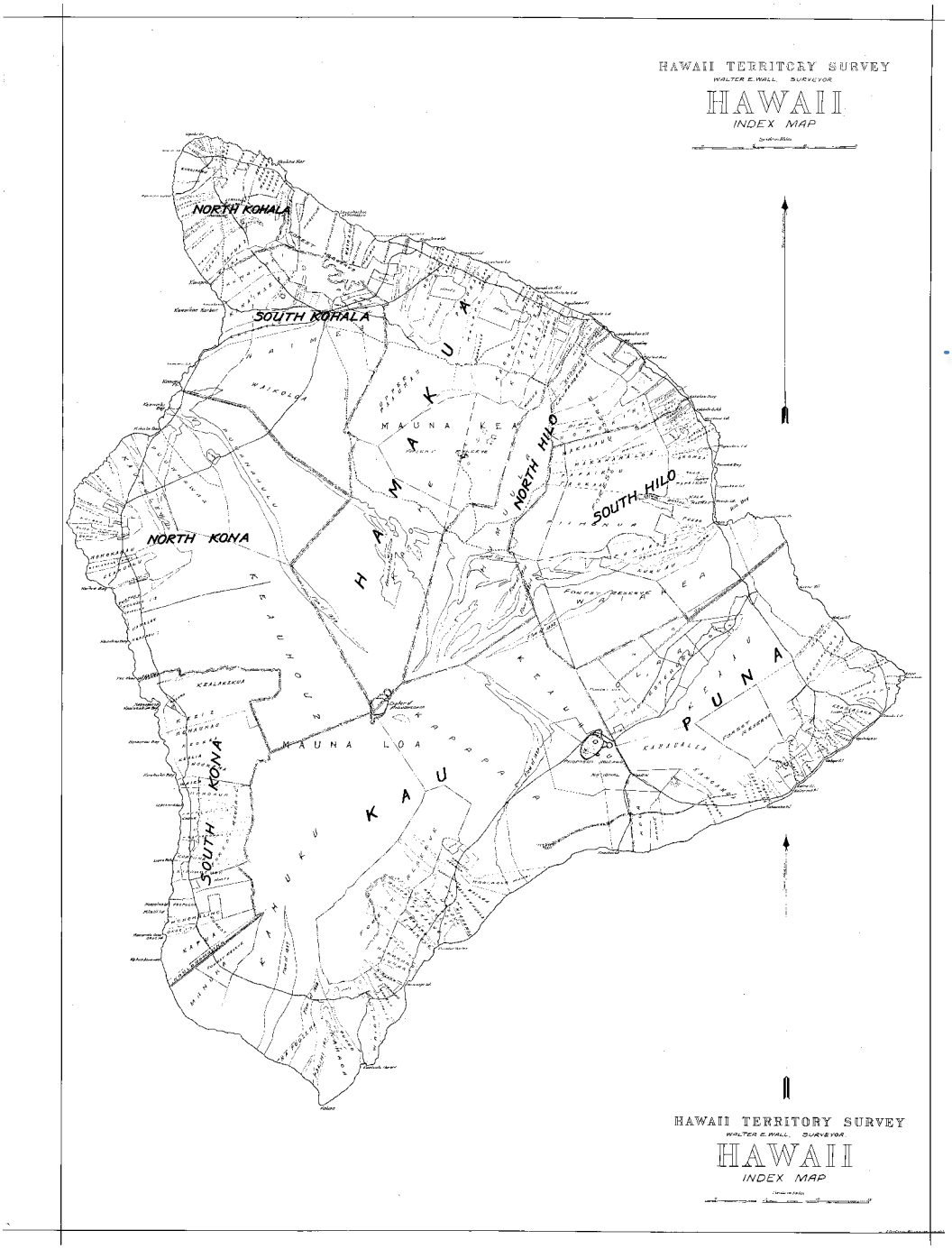
Section number G Page 3

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 002
Title: Hawaiʻi Territory Survey Map
Author: Hawaiʻi Government Survey, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor
Date: n.d.



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National Register of Historic Places
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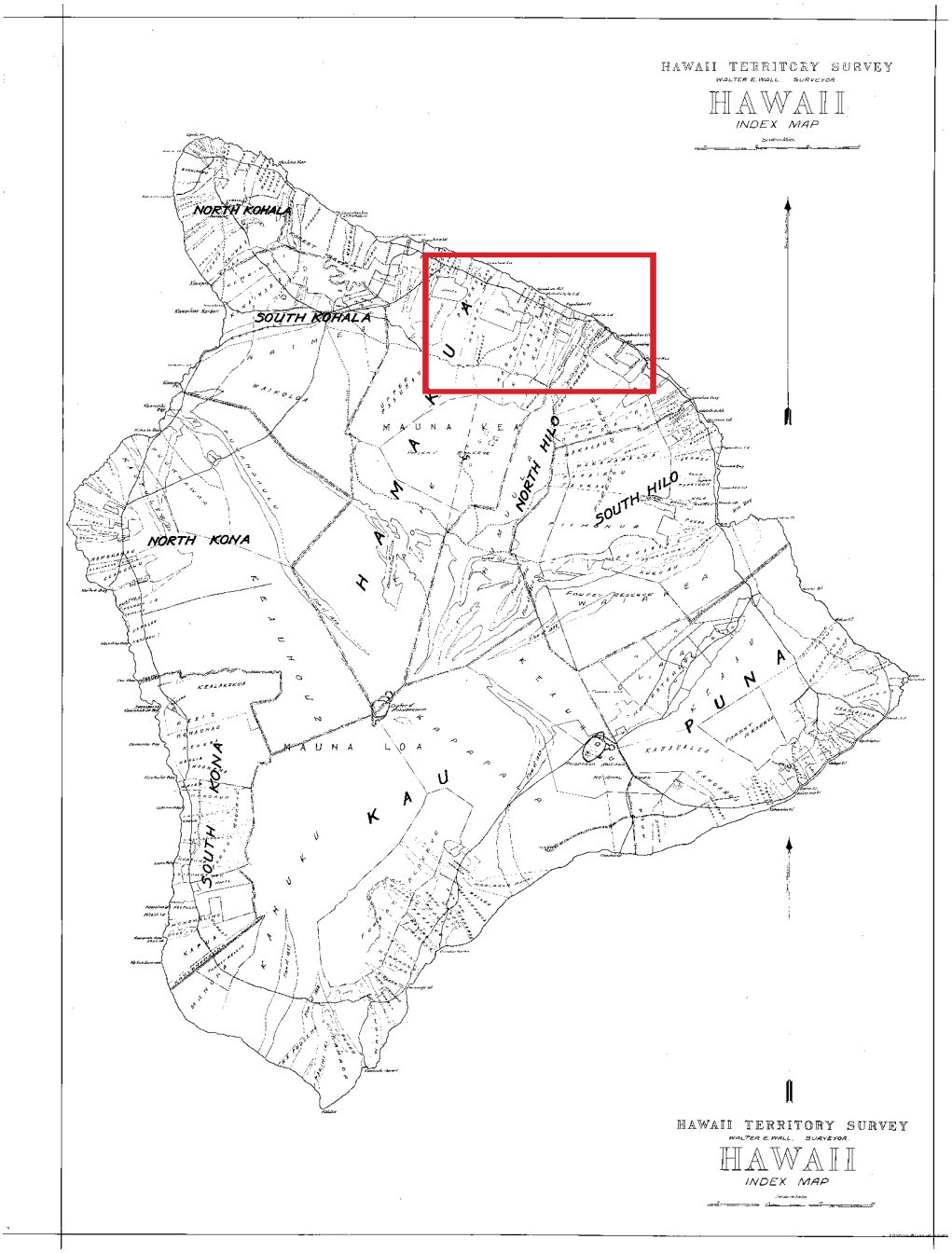
Section number G Page 4

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 003
Title: Hawaiʻi Territory Survey Map, Honokaʻa Area
Author: Hawaiʻi Government Survey, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor
Date: n.d.



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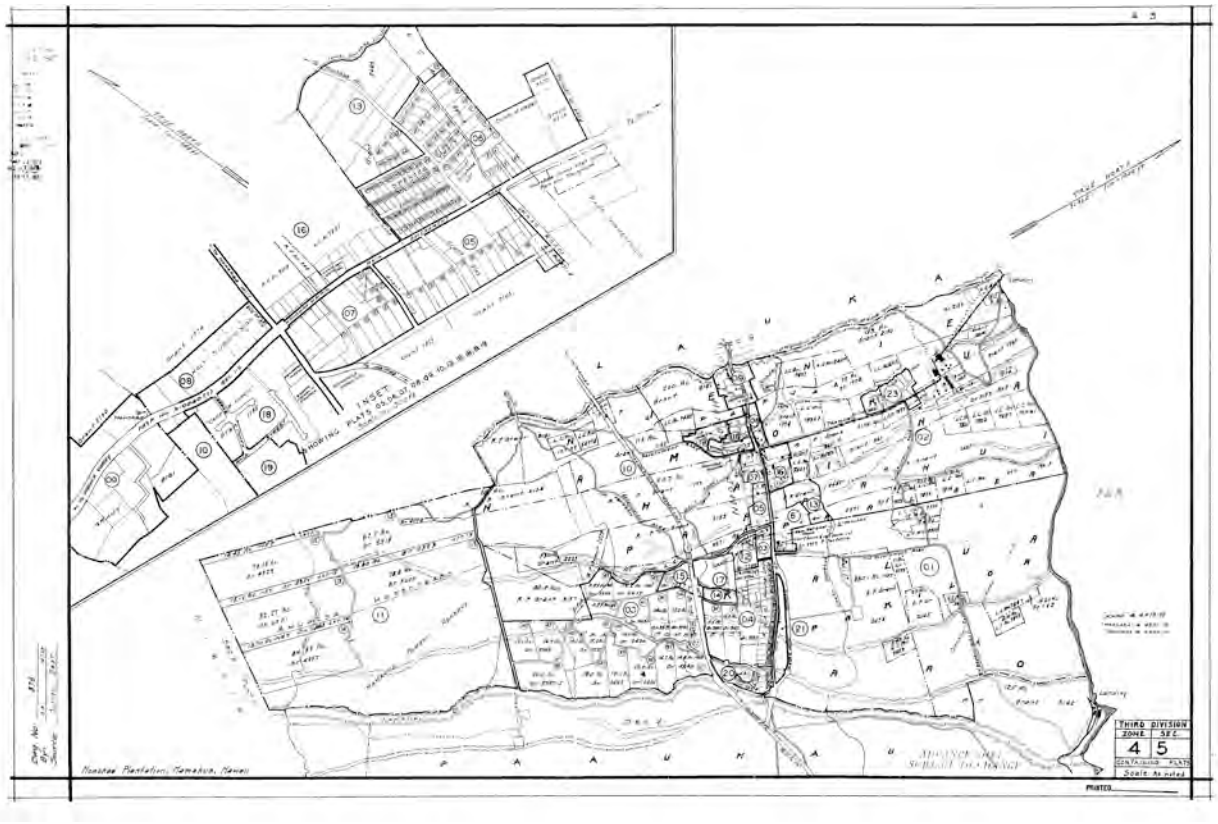
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number G Page 5

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 004
Title: Tax Map of 4-5, Honokaʻa Area, Honokaʻa Plantation, Hāmākua, Hawaiʻi
Author: Hawaiʻi Survey Department
Date: 1932.



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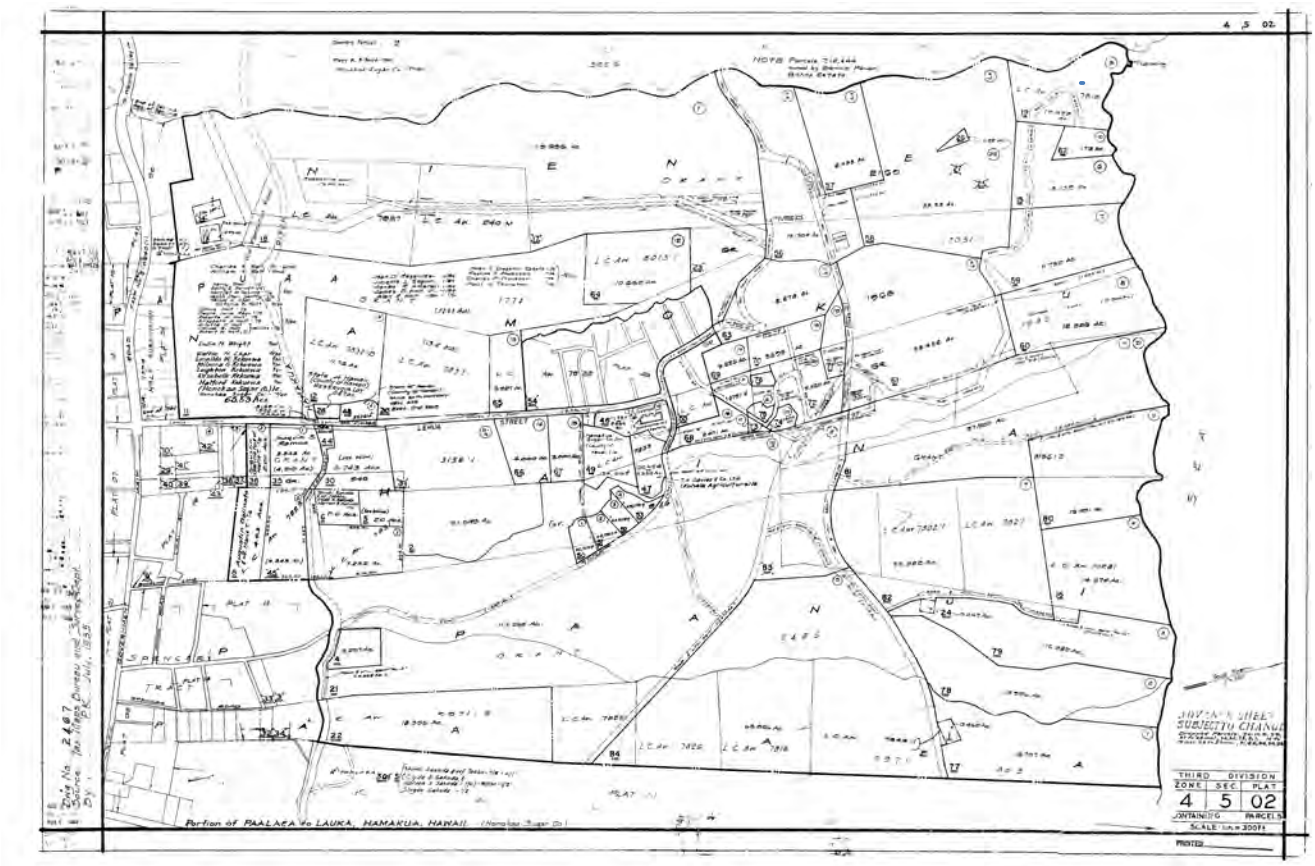
Section number G Page 6

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No. 005
Title: Tax Map 4-5-002, Honokaʻa, Honokaʻa Town, Portion of Paʻalea to Lauka, Hāmākua, Hawaiʻi,
Author: Hawaiʻi Survey Department
Date: 1935.



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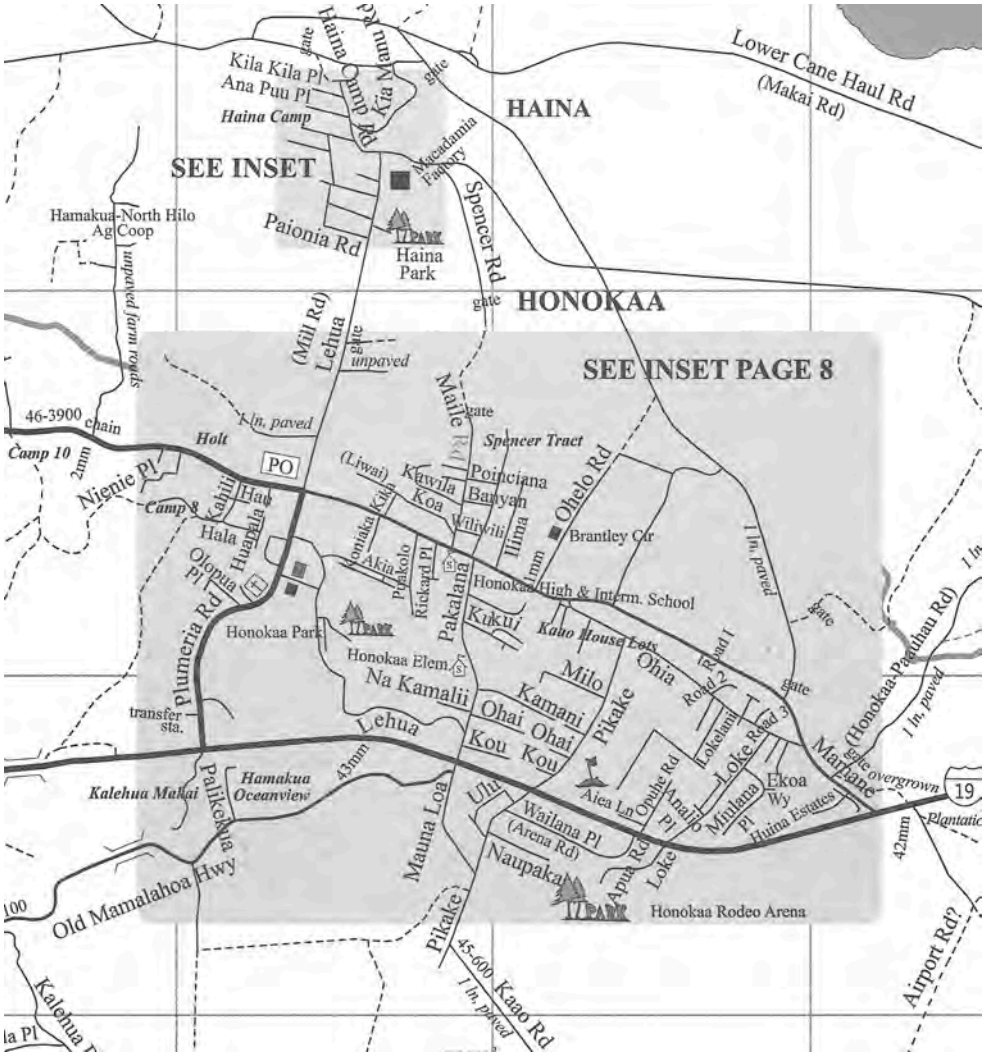
Section number G Page 7

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 006
Title: Current Road Map of the Honokaʻa Area
Author: Unknown
Date: 2013

North



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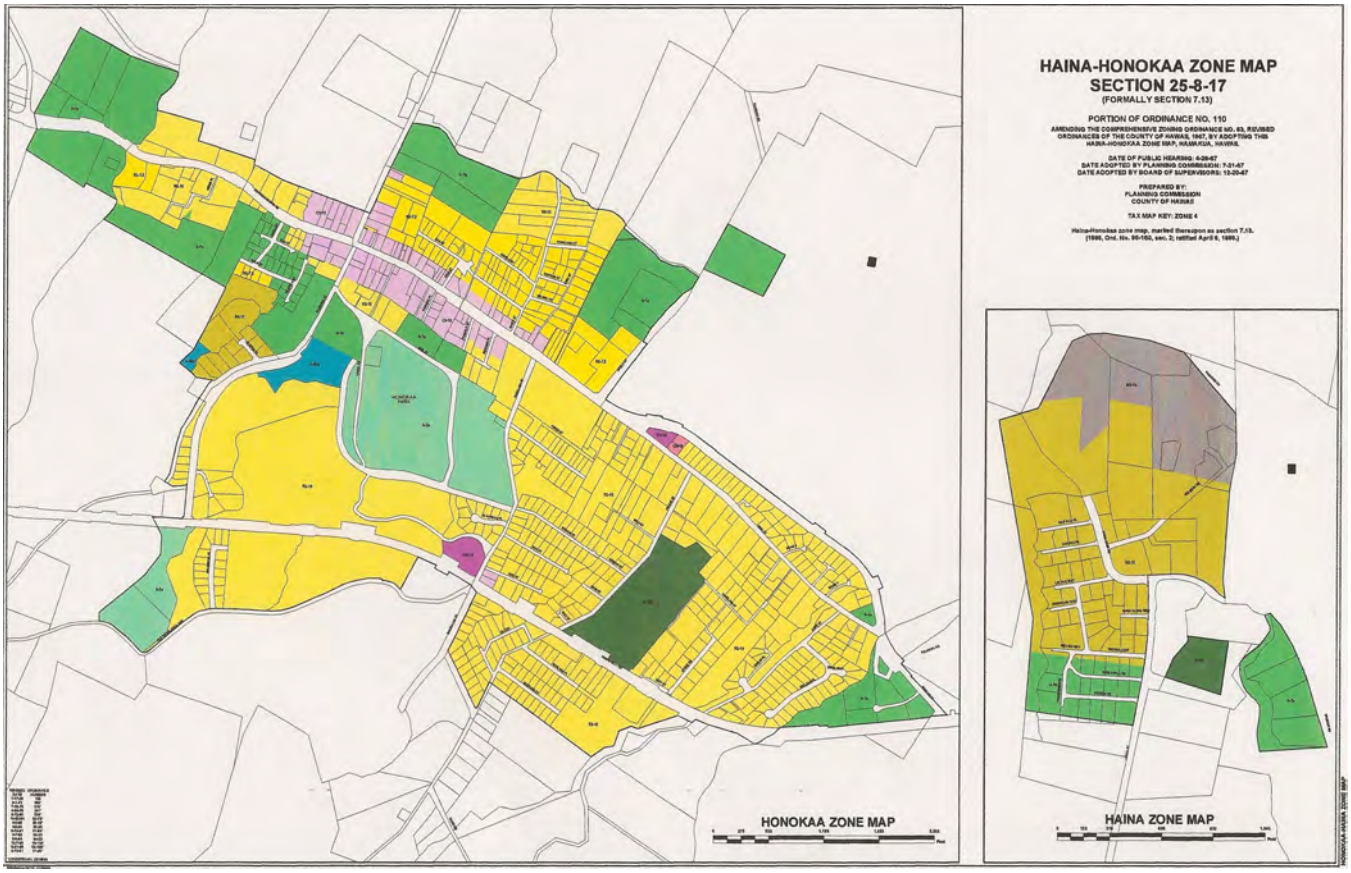
Section number G Page 8

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 007
Title: Haina-Honokaʻa Zone 4 Map
Author: Unknown
Date: post 1999
Note: Purple is the commercial zone on Māmane Street.

North



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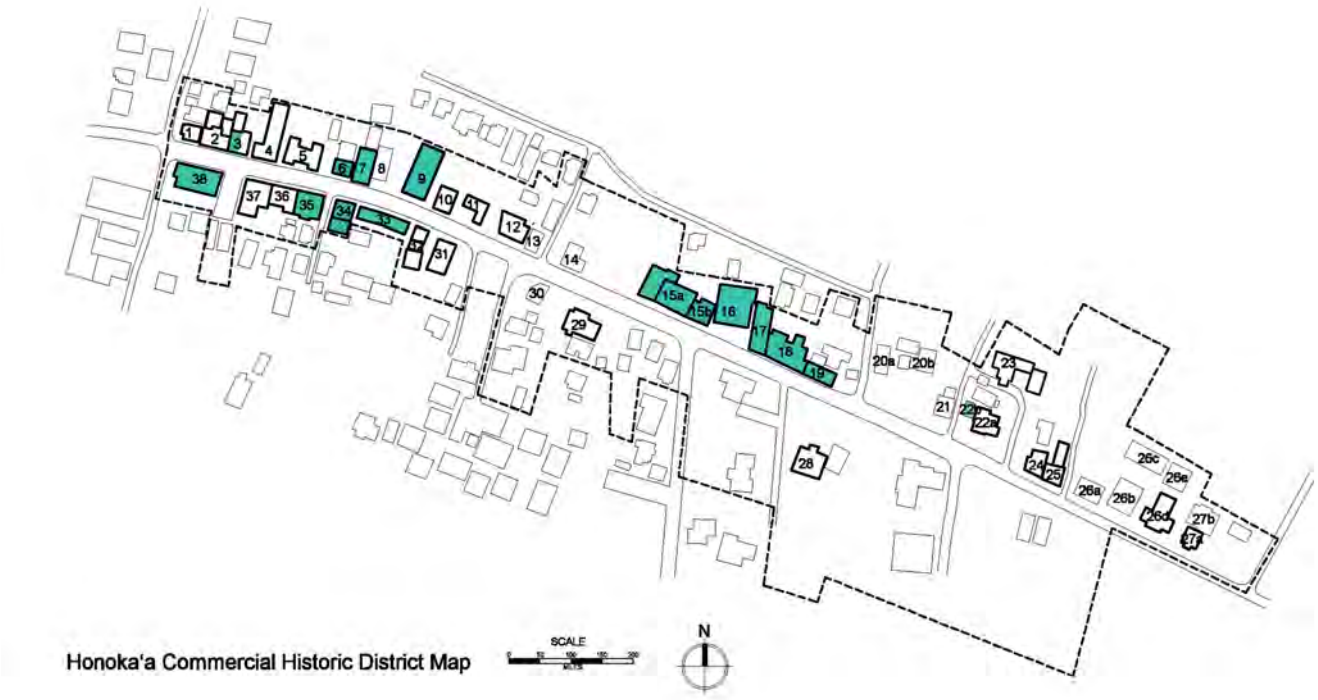
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number G Page 9

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 008
Title: Honokaʻa Town Māmane Street Map Key Listing Buildings and Their Dates of Construction
Author: Annalise Kehler
Date: Current, 2013.

HONOKAA TOWN MAP KEY



HONOKAʻA TOWN BUILDINGS MAP KEY

	A	B	C
1	**Number**	**Name**	**Construction Date**
2	1	Ikeuchi Building	1936
3	2	Andrade Building	1932
4	3a	Kotake Building	
5	3b	Hirata Building	1955
6	4	Old Doc Hill Theater	1939, 1958, 1968
7	5	Lawson/Awong/Holmes Store	1880s, 1929?
8	6	Yamatsuka Building	1930
9	7	Kiramitsu Garage	1928
10	8	Onomura Bar	1960
11	9	Honokaa People's Theatre	1930
12	10	Bank of Hawaii	1927
13	11	Ted's Garage	1958
14	12	Shen's Emporium	1959
15	13	First Hawaiian Bank	Non-Contributing
16	14	Blane's Drive Inn	Non-Contributing
17	15a	Botelho Building	1927
18	15b	Botelho Annex	1911
19	16	Hotel Honokaa Club	1931, 1948
20	17	Harris Laundry Building	1948
21	18	Yamato Building	1919
22	19	Ujiki Building	1943
23	20a	Franklin Law Office	Non-Contributing
24	20b	Franklin/Thiel Residence	Non-Contributing
25	20c	Honokaa Shingon Temple	1910? Moved ca. 2013
26	21a	Hawaiian Telephone Building	ca. 1950
27	21b	Exchange; Hawaiian Telephone	
28	22a	Akioka Dentist Office	1937
29	22b	Akioka Dentist Residence	1937
30	23	Okada Japanese Hospital	1939
31	24	Nakashima Building	1939
32	25	Fujino Building	1925
33	26a		Non-Contributing
34	26b		Non-Contributing
35	26c		Non-Contributing
36	26d	Honokaa Library Building	1938
37	26e		Non-Contributing
38	27a	Board of Health Building	ca 1930s
39	27b		Non-Contributing
40	28	Rickard Residence	1883
41	29	Methodist Church	1927
42	30	76 Station	1959
43	31	Harunaga-Tanimoto-Tashiro Building	ca 1920s
44	32	Takata Building	1914
45	33	Sakata Building	1948
46	34	Hasegawa Building	1937
47	35	De Jesus Building	1919
48	36	Souza	ca 1920s
49	37	Rice Building	1940
50	38	Ferreira Building	1927
51		Multple Property Nomination	Various

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Section number G Page 11

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
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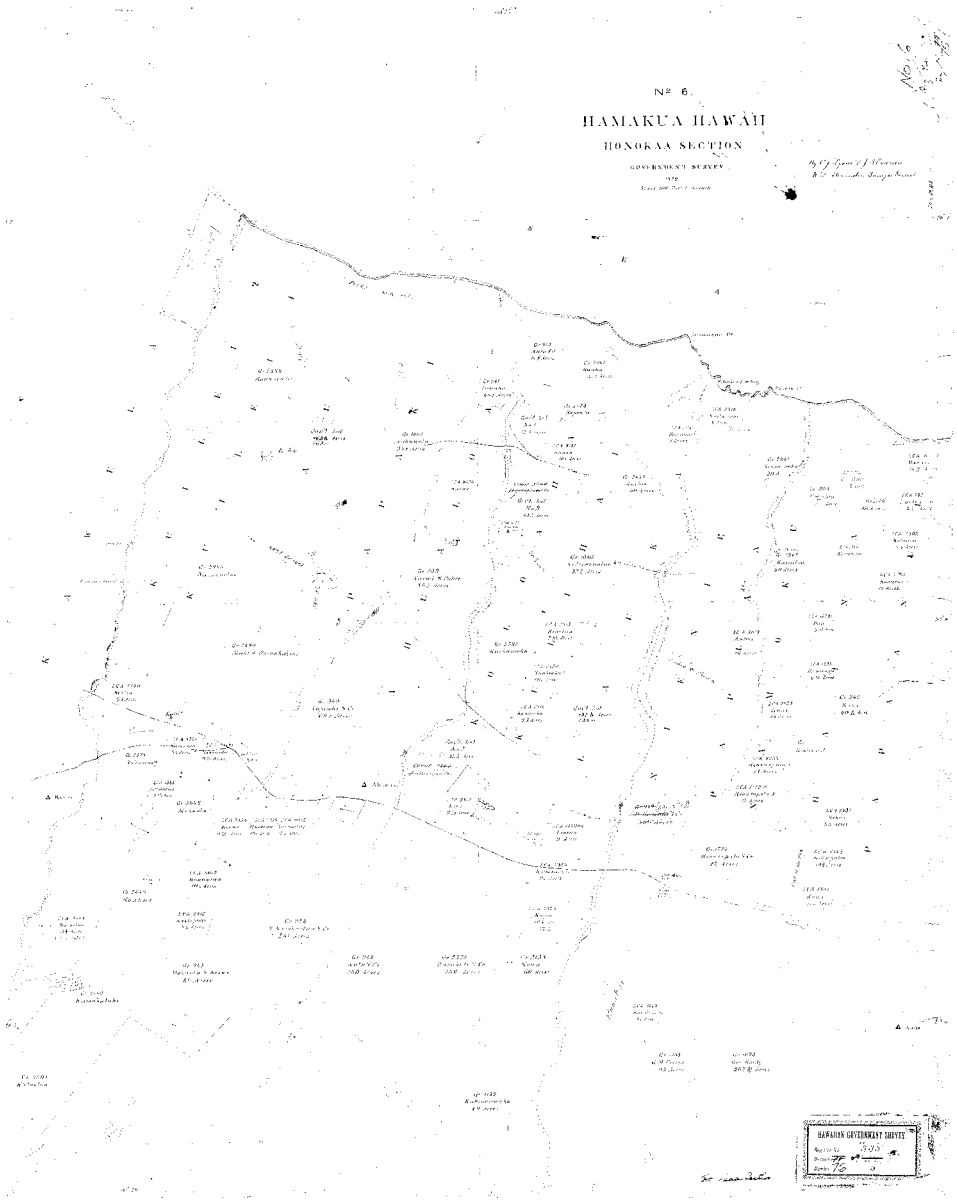
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 009
Title: HGS Reg 0335 Map of Hāmākua (Honokaʻa Section)
Author: Hawaiʻi Government Survey
Date: 1879

North



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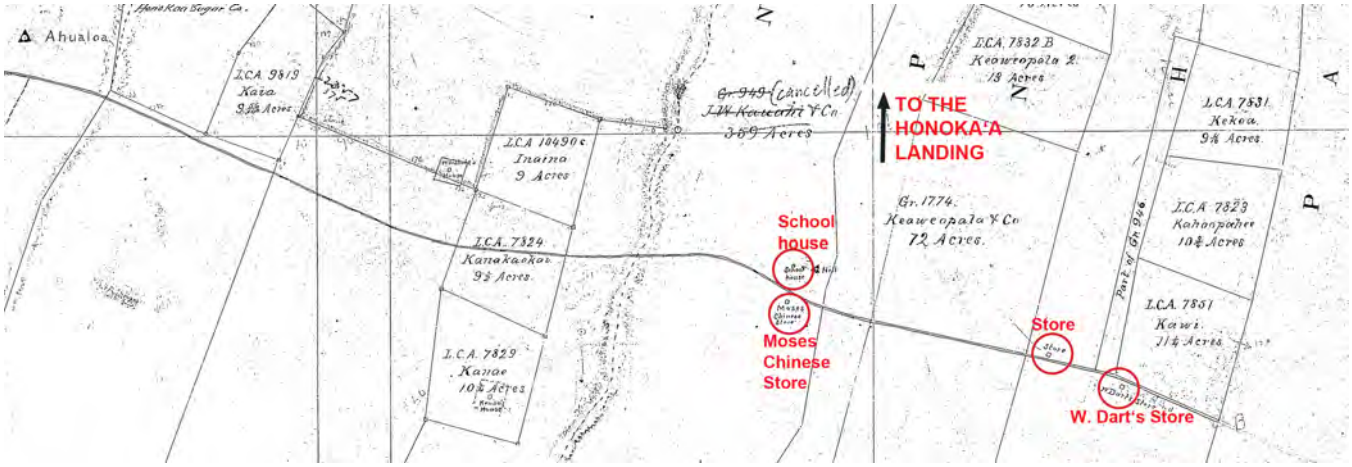
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number G Page 12

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 010
Title: HGS Reg 0335 Map of Hāmākua (Honokaʻa Section) (detail)
Author: Hawaiʻi Government Survey
Date: 1879
Note: Earliest recordings of the Government Road: red circles designate the earliest town formation: School house, Moses Chinese Store, Store, and W. Dart's Store in the nascent Honokaʻa hamlet.

North



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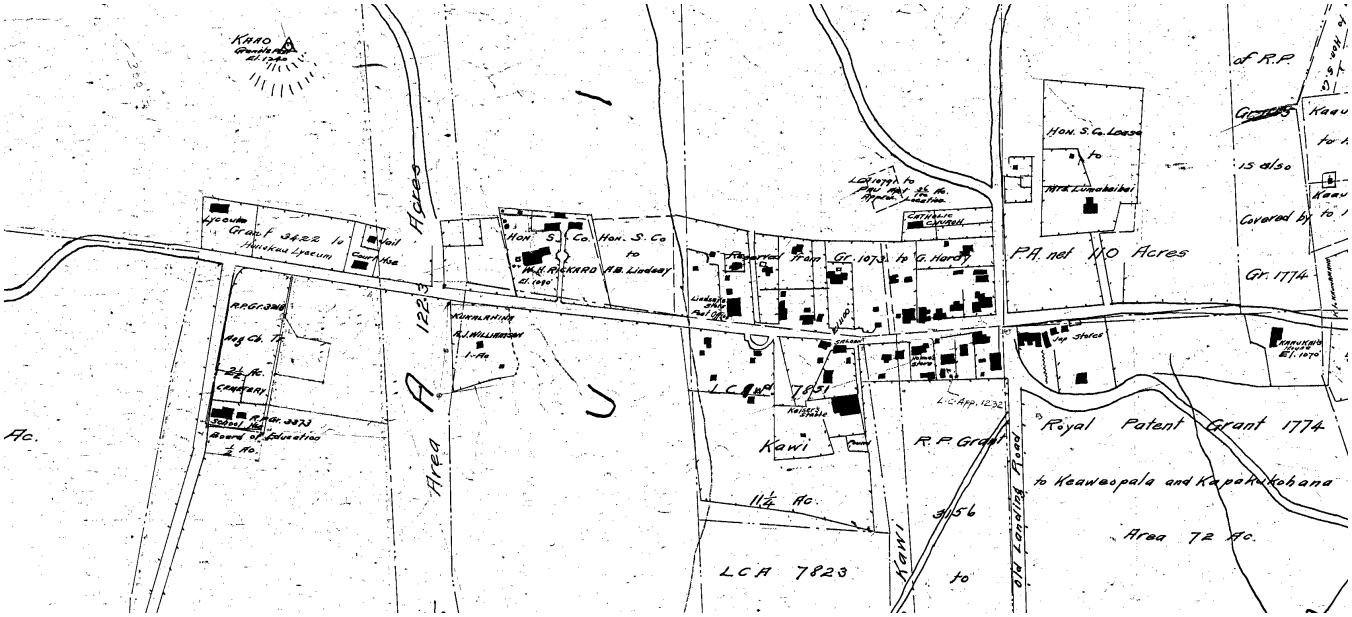
Section number G Page 13

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 011
Title: HGS Map of Honokaʻa. Detail.
Author: Hawaiʻi Government Survey
Date: 1904
Note: Some Buildings Demarked



North

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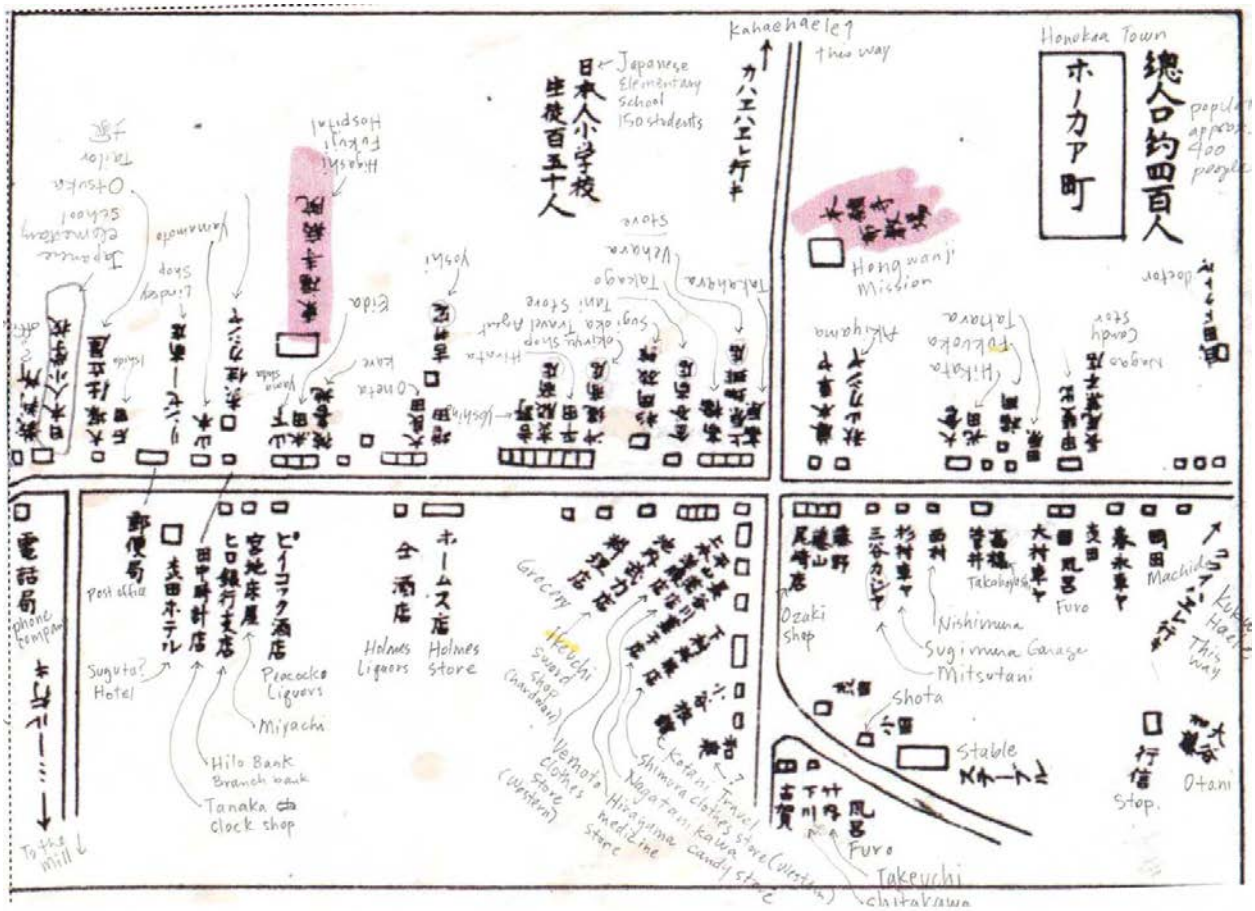
Section number G Page 14

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 012
Title: Japanese Hand-drawn Map of Honokaʻa Town Buildings
Author: US Geological Survey
Date: n.d.



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Section number G Page 15

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 013
Title: Sanborn Map, 1 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center on the Government Road.
Author: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map
Date: 1914

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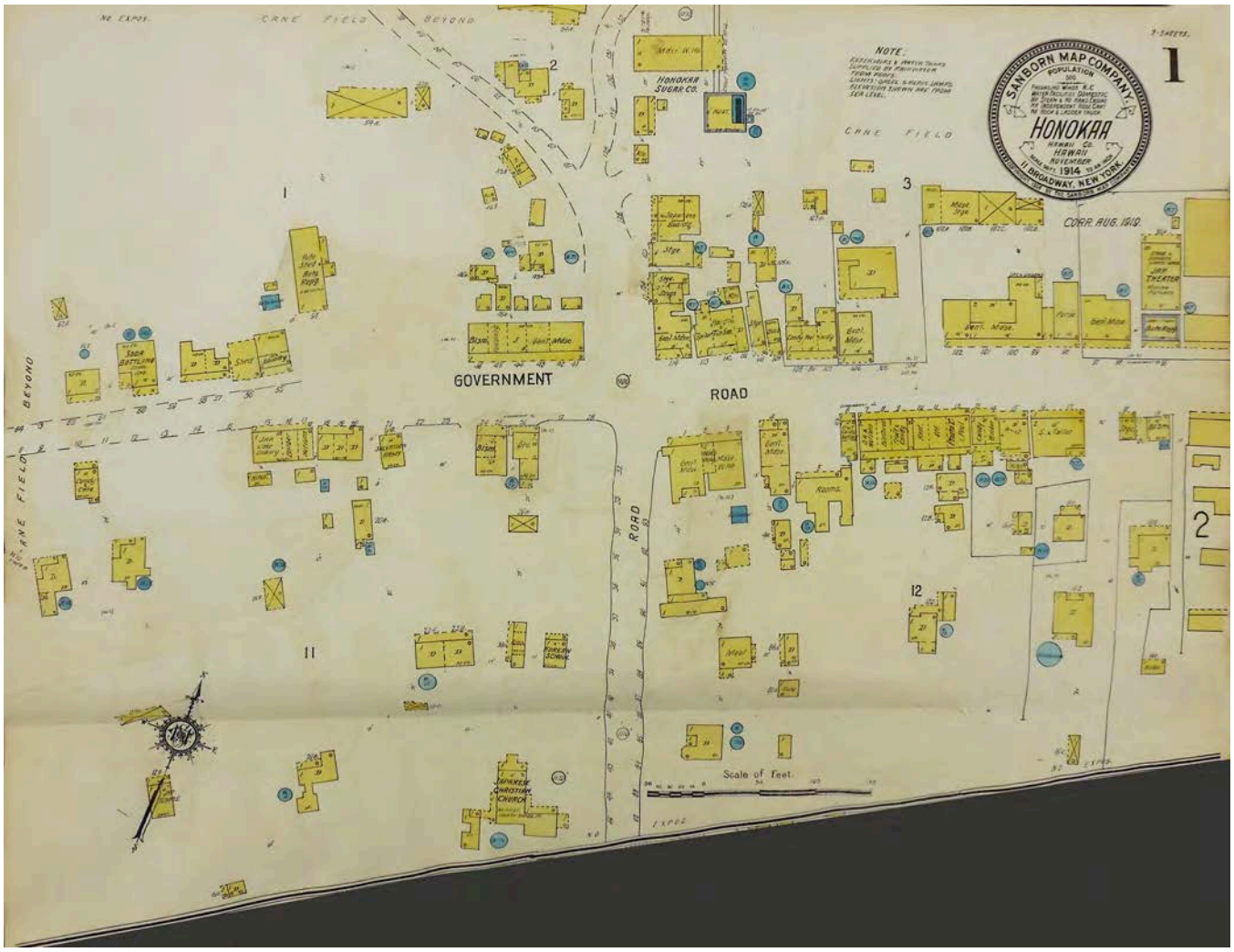
Section number G Page 16

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 014
Title: Sanborn Map, 2 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center on the Government Road.
Author: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map
Date: 1914



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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number G Page 17

Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Map No.: 015
Title: Sanborn Map, 3 of 3 Sections, Honokaʻa Town Center on the Government Road.
Author: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map
Date: 1914

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Section number H Page 1

Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of Property
Hawaii, Hawaiʻi
County and State
Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaʻa
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Information was gathered from three sources.

In 1974, the National Trust for Historic Preservation selected Honokaʻa for assistance in revitalization of its commercial district because of the large number of old buildings that had survived and had the potential as a historic district. The Trust determined that there was strong community commitment to preserve the town's cultural diversity and distinctive physical character. The Trust team included John Frisbee (Director), Carol Galbreath (Regional Planner), John Volz (Regional Architect), Roger Holt (Legal Consultant) and Elizabeth (Economic Consultant).

The Trust staff and consultants began work by spending approximately 27 working days in Honokaʻa, Hilo and Honolulu undertaking background research. Consultations were undertaken with members of the Hāmākua District Development Council, county government staff in Hilo, architects and preservationists in Honolulu, and the State Historic Preservation Office. Information collected included data on the economy of Hāmākua and Honokaʻa; attitudes toward preservation, planning and development needs; cultural requirements and technical problems of preservation.

A building-by-building evaluation of each structure was undertaken along Māmane Street from Lehua Street to the Hāmākua Civic Center. Buildings were evaluated according to appearance and style, character of the streetscape, individual integrity and condition.

The Trust team recommended that the County of Hawaiʻi establish a formal historic district along the Māmane Street business corridor in order to help preserve its historic character and enhance property values within the community. Unfortunately the effort for listing on the historic registers was not successful.

In 2010 the University of Hawaiʻi Mānoa Summer Preservation School, under the direction of Dr. William Chapman, undertook updated surveys of the Māmane Street buildings identified in the 1974 Trust report. Included were individual building condition analyses.

In 2013, members of the Honoka'a community began a new effort to re-invigorate their economy through recognition and preservation of their historic resources. A historic context report on Hāmākua and Honokaʻa was developed through research at the Hawaiʻi State Archives, State Bureau of Conveyances, Hawaiʻi State Library, Lyman Museum, North Hawaii Educational Research Center, and other sources. Information from the 1974 and 2010 studies was compiled on the Māmane Street Buildings. Oral histories were undertaken in Honokaʻa to identify businesses that had occupied the commercial spaces. A historic architect, Dr. Lorraine Minatoishi, and historians Dr. Ross W. Stephenson and Laura Ruby, in 2014 produced these documents for both the multiple property and individual building nominations.

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Bureau of American Republics, Commercial Directory of the American Republics, Washington DC, Government Printing Office, 1897, page 978) and the De Luz slaughterhouse in Paauilo Mauka.

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National Register of Historic Places
Memo to File

Correspondence

The Correspondence consists of communications from (and possibly to) the nominating authority, notes from the staff of the National Register of Historic Places, and/or other material the National Register of Historic Places received associated with the property.
Correspondence may also include information from other sources, drafts of the nomination, letters of support or objection, memorandums, and ephemera which document the efforts to recognize the property.

UNITED STATED DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: RESUBMISSION of COVER DOCUMENTATION

MULTIPLE NAME: Honoka'a Town, Hamakua District, Hawai'I Island MPS

STATE & COUNTY: ~~ARKANSAS~~ Hawai'i, Multiple

DATE RECEIVED: 04/29/16 DATE OF PENDING LIST:
DATE OF 16th DAY: DATE OF 45th DAY: 06/14/16

REFERENCE NUMBER: 64501249

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL:	N	DATA PROBLEM:	N	LANDSCAPE:	N	LESS THAN 50 YEARS:	N
OTHER:	N	PDIL	N	PERIOD:	N	PROGRAM UNAPPROVED:	N
REQUEST:	Y	SAMPLE:	N	SLR DRAFT:	N	NATIONAL:	N

COMMENT WAIVER: N

✓ ACCEPT ____ RETURN ____ REJECT 6-7-2016 DATE

ABSRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

Addressed Return Comments

RECOM./CRITEREA Accept MPS Cover

REVIEWER _____ DISCIPLINE _____

TELEPHONE _____ DATE _____

DOCUMENTATION see attsched comments Y/N

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the NPS.

August 30, 2015

Paul Lugisnan
Historian/Reviewer
National Park Service
1201 Eye Street NW (2256)
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Paul,

Please find a copy of the National Register Nomination for the Multiple Property Nomination entitled "Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaa Town, located on the island of Hawaii.

I am forwarding this copy to you as an earlier copy has somehow been lost in transit to your office.

If you have any questions, please contact me through any of the media below.

Mahalo nui loa,

Ross W. Stephenson, PhD
38 South Judd Street, Unit 24B
Honolulu, HI 96817
(808) 679-9060
rwaylands808@aol.com

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
KAKUHIHEWA BUILDING
601 KAMOKILA BLVD, STE 555
KAPOLEI, HAWAII 96707

September 4, 2015

Paul Lusignan
National Park Service
1201 "Eye" Street, 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

RE: Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaa Town
Multiple Property Nomination
Haina, Hamakua, Hawaii Island

Dear Mr. Lusignan,

I am pleased to recommend Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaa Town Multiple Property Nomination be considered for the National Register of Historic Places. **The enclosed disk contains the true and correct copy of the nomination for the Historic and Architectural Resources of Honokaa Town Multiple Property Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.** Thank you for reviewing and processing this nomination. If you have questions or concerns, please contact Megan Borthwick, Architectural Historian, at (808) 692-8029 or megan.borthwick@hawaii.gov.

Mahalo,

Dr. Alan Downer
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

64501249
Cover

NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

_____ New Submission ___X_____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a Town, Hāmākua District, Hawai'i Island, Hawai'i

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Development of Honoka'a Town 1872-1960s
Plantation Architecture in Honoka'a 1880s-1945

C. Form Prepared by:

name/title Ross W. Stephenson, PhD, Historian
organization
street & number 38 South Judd Street, Unit 24B
city or town Honolulu state HI zip code 96817
e-mail rwaylands808@aol.com
telephone (808) 679-9060 date 2014/03/20

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

[signature] Deputy SHPO 9.4.15
Signature of certifying official Title Date

Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Division
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

UNITED STATED DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: COVER DOCUMENTATION

MULTIPLE NAME: Honoka'a Town, Hamakua District, Hawai'i Island MPS

STATE & COUNTY: Hawaii, Hawaii County

DATE RECEIVED: 09/18/15 DATE OF PENDING LIST:
DATE OF 16th DAY: DATE OF 45th DAY: 11/03/15

REFERENCE NUMBER: 64501249

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL:	N	DATA PROBLEM:	N	LANDSCAPE:	N	LESS THAN 50 YEARS:	N
OTHER:	N	PDIL	N	PERIOD:	N	PROGRAM UNAPPROVED:	N
REQUEST:	Y	SAMPLE:	N	SLR DRAFT:	N	NATIONAL:	N

COMMENT WAIVER: N

_____ACCEPT __✓__RETURN ____REJECT 10-5-2015 DATE

ABSRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

See attached Comments

RECOM./CRITEREA Return

REVIEWER [signature] DISCIPLINE

TELEPHONE DATE

DOCUMENTATION see attsched comments Y/N

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the NPS.

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

The United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Evaluation/Return Sheet

Property Name: Honoka'a Town, Hamakua District, Hawai'i Island MPS Cover

Reference Number: 64501249

Reason for Return

The Multiple Property Cover Document for Honoka'a Town, Hamakua District, Hawai'i Island MPS is being returned for substantive revision.

The Cover provides an excellent context for the history and physical development of the area, touching on the economic and cultural themes that are reflected in the built environment. However, the usefulness of the document as a vehicle for evaluating the National Register eligibility of resources related to the theme is hampered by an inadequate discussion of the significance of the various property types and a complete lack of registration requirements for the property types.

Section F, where the associated property types are to be listed and described, is also the place where the significance of each property type is discussed as it relates to the themes identified in Section E. It appears that the property types are limited to seven building types, based on their historic functions (Commerce/Trade, Domestic, Religion, etc.).

In order to make this MPS Cover a useful document each property type needs to have:

A general description (which is provided for the commercial buildings and somewhat addressed for domestic buildings).

A statement of why and how the property type is significant in relation to the theme(s) identified in Section E. These statements of significance should address which of the criteria for evaluation might be applicable.

Registration requirements that address what physical features are essential in evaluating the individual eligibility of the property type. This would include a discussion of the typical character-defining features of the property type, and a judgement of which and how many of these characteristics must be present to meet the threshold of historic integrity based on the applicable Criterion. (For example, in evaluating a commercial building under Criterion C, the integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling are of prime importance. Under Criterion A, location, setting, feeling, and design are most important. Criterion A allows for a longer period of significance, and changes during that period of significance can be considered significant. Criterion C has a shorter period of significance, usually based on the date of construction and including and architecturally significant changes.)

You may wish to revisit the National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*, particularly pages 14-18 for more detailed guidance.

The two nominations that were submitted under this Cover have been accepted because they stand on their own merits. They will not be formally associated with this Cover document until such a time as an amended Cover is resubmitted and accepted.

We appreciate the opportunity to review this Multiple Property Cover Document and hope that you find these comments useful. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. I can be reached at (202) 354-2275 or email at <James_Gabbert@nps.gov>.

Sincerely,

Jim Gabbert, Historian
National Register of Historic Places
10/7/2015

David Y. Ige
GOVERNOR OF HAWAII

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
KAKUHIHEWA BUILDING
601 KAMOKILA BLVD, STE 555
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April 27. 2016

LOG NO: 2016.01006
DOC NO: 1604MB35

Paul Lusignan
National Park Service
1201 "Eye" Street, 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

RE: Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a Town MP National Register Nomination
Papaanui Ahupua'a, Hāmākua Moku, Island of Hawai'i

Dear Mr. Lusignan,

I am pleased to recommend Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a Town Multiple Property Nomination be considered for the National Register of Historic Places. **The enclosed disk contains the true and correct copy of the nomination for the Historic and Architectural Resources of Honoka'a Town Multiple Property to the National Register of Historic Places.** Thank you for reviewing and processing this nomination, contact Megan Borthwick at Megan.Borthwick@hawaii.gov or (808) 692-8029 if you have questions or concerns about this nomination.

Mahalo,

Alan S. Downer, PhD.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
Administrator, State Historic Preservation Office