

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places Registration Form**

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae (Waianae Protestant Church)

Other names/site number: Tax Map Key (1) 8-5-010:030

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: 85-946 Mill Street

City or town: Waianae State: HI County: Honolulu

Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___ national X statewide ___ local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

 X A ___ B X C ___ D

<p>_____ Signature of certifying official/Title:</p>	<p>_____ Date</p>
<p>_____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p>	

<p>In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.</p>	
<p>_____ Signature of commenting official:</p>	<p>_____ Date</p>
<p>_____ Title :</p>	<p>_____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p>

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	buildings
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	sites
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	structures
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	objects
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

 RELIGION/religious/social/
 educational institution

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

 RELIGION/religious/social/
 educational institution

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

20TH CENTURY AMERICAN MOVEMENTS

GOTHIC REVIVAL

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: Wood, concrete, vinyl, asphalt shingle

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae or Protestant Church of Wai'anae (1915) is located in Wai'anae on the leeward coast of the island of O'ahu. The church is located on a 4.63-acre site that is generally level and includes a cemetery whose marked graves date from 1917-78 as well as a modern church hall (ca. 1980). The church board has elected to designate only a small portion of the property that retains its historic integrity. It is 0.39 acres in area, includes the church building along with front, side and rear yards, is located at the southeast corner of the parcel, and excludes the cemetery and church hall (Refer to Map 10 and Section 10, Verbal Boundary Description and Boundary Justification). Consequently, the church building is a single contributing building with no other contributing or non-contributing elements to the property. Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae is a wood, single wall, cruciform, asymmetrical, two-story building with a gable roof that features a two-and-one-half story bell tower. The exterior of the building has been clad in vinyl siding which is removable and the interior of the building is remarkably intact and features exposed wood framing, wood moldings, beaded wallboard, and wainscoting. The survival of this 102-year old wood building, designed by the first Native Hawaiian architect in the archipelago, is enigmatic, given the scale of adjacent modern developments.

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Narrative Description

APPEARANCE DURING THE PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Exterior

SETTING

Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae or Wai'anae Protestant Church (85-946 Mill Street), was designed and constructed in the Gothic Revival style on a remnant site of the Native Hawaiian village of Wai'anae. When built, the church site had become incorporated into a much denser plantation town called Wai'anae Village that had been developed by the Wai'anae Company, Ltd. (WCo, operated 1878-1947), and was located 150 feet from the sugar mill. WCo's mill buildings and smokestack were demolished in 1953 and former plantation camp buildings removed at indeterminate dates afterward. Adjacent parcels were redeveloped as single and multi-family housing from the 1950s onward. A church hall (ca. 1980) and a contemporaneous paved parking lot were also added and foliage was removed from an adjacent cemetery at indeterminate dates. The site on which the church was erected is generally level, located on the mauka (mountain side) of Mill Street, across from the former sugar mill site that is located on the makai (sea side) of the same arterial, between Plantation Road and McArthur Streets (See Map 1). The building was financed by the Native Hawaiian congregation of Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae, designed by Native Hawaiian architect, John K. Waiamau, and built in 1915 by Native Hawaiian contractor Samuela Kaaumoana and his sons. At the time of its construction, the setting was Urban/Industrial and after the passage of 100 years, has changed to Suburban (Refer to Maps 1-10 and Figures 1-19 in the additional Documentation Continuation Sheets).

SHAPE AND MASSING

As originally designed and constructed, the building retains its cruciform plan and massing. It is oriented northeast-southwest, mauka-makai, has a three-bay width and five-pile depth, measures 37'-3" x 62'-6", respectively, and is 2,328 s.f. in area. The building is two stories in height, asymmetrical in composition, is covered by a gable roof, and includes an engaged two-and-one-half-story bell tower with an octagonal roof spire and finial.

FRONT FAÇADE

The front (southwest) façade is divided into three bays that are defined by stepped pilasters that function as buttresses and provide structural support as well as embellishment. Two entries, one through an end bay and another through the lower story of the bell tower, remain intact, although two original pairs of five-panel wood doors have been replaced by modern wood slab doors. They are reached by ascending painted concrete stairs that have five and seven risers each at the end bay and bell tower, respectively. The entries are located beneath a pair of arched two-light wood transoms.

The center bay is framed by two engaged pilasters and features a window bank of four, one-over-one light wood sash (with arched upper sashes), surmounted by a prominent arched four-light transom with Gothic-inspired, scroll-sawn wood mullions resembling tracery. A louvered wood vent and vented crawl space have been covered over and a sign with "Waianaeanae" is located above the entrance.

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Protestant Church," is located beneath the window bank. A wood finial is located on the top of the gable, whose parapet projects above the roofline.

REAR FAÇADE

The rear (northeast) façade is a gable end that is divided into three bays and with the exception of two pairs of one-over-one wood sash in the outer bays, as well as two individual one-over-one wood sash and a louvered vent that has been covered, the center bay is blank. The outer two bays are defined by two single-story pilasters while a pair of stepped pilasters define the central bay. The gable end is stepped at the corners, features a parapet that extends above the roofline and is surmounted by a decorative wood finial.

SIDE FAÇADES

The side (northwest) façade is divided into five bays. The center bay projects 3'-0" beyond the façade with a cross-gable that is surmounted by a finial, stepped at the corners and framed by pilasters. It is a dominant feature that defines the cross-axis of the floor plan, and reproduces the fenestration pattern of the front (southwest) façade—a window bank of four, one-over-one light wood sash (with arched upper sashes), surmounted by a prominent arched four-light transom with Gothic-inspired, scroll-sawn wood mullions resembling tracery. There is a louvered vent at the top of the gable that has been covered. The flanking side bays are fenestrated with single pairs of one-over-one wood sash. The front and rear end bays are defined by an Office (104), a Choir (105) and Chancel (106), as well as a Sacristy (107) with single one-over-one wood sash and modern wood slab entry doors, respectively.

Like the northwest façade, the side (southeast) façade is divided into five bays. The center bay projects 3'-0" beyond the façade with a cross-gable that is surmounted by a finial, stepped at the corners, and framed by pilasters. It is a dominant feature that defines the cross-axis of the floor plan and reproduces the fenestration pattern of the front (southwest) façade—a window bank of four, one-over-one light wood sash (with arched upper sashes), surmounted by a prominent arched four-light transom with Gothic-inspired, scroll-sawn wood mullions resembling tracery. There is a louvered vent at the top of the gable that has been covered. The flanking side bays are fenestrated with single pairs of one-over-one wood sash. The front bay includes the bell tower with a single one-over-one wood sash to provide light for a Sacristy (107). The rear bay is fenestrated by a pair of one-over-one wood sash and a modern wood slab entry door that provides access to the Chancel (106).

Interior

Entry into the church is made through the front (southwest) façade through a pair of modern wood slab doors, located beneath a two-light arched transom, into a Vestibule (108) after ascending five painted concrete risers. Another entry is provided in the lower story of the bell tower through a similar pair of modern wood slab doors, located beneath a two-light arched transom, into a Vestibule (100) after ascending seven painted concrete risers.

The Nave (103) is 37'-3" in width and 38'-8" in length, is divided by three aisles into two groups of seating, and has a floor that is sloped from the Vestibules (100 and 108) to the Chancel (106). The Chancel (106) measures 15'-0" x 5'-6", the Choir (105) is 15'-0" x 8'-0", and the Sacristy (107) and Office (104) are 11'-2" x 11'-6" and 11'-2" x 11'-6", respectively. The choir is elevated 5'-2" above the floor at the front of the Choir (105) and accessed by 8 risers. The

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Chancel (106) is elevated 2'-6" above the floor at the front of the Nave (103) and accessed by 4 risers. Exit from the church is made through wood slab doors located in the Sacristy (107) and Office (104).

The interior of Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae is remarkably intact and retains all of its original finish materials including: exposed wood framing, wood moldings, trim and baseboards, beaded wallboard, ceiling board, wainscoting and five-panel wood doors. It also includes cast metal vents in the ceiling as well as furnishings and fixtures from the date of its construction such as pews and oil lamps, the latter of which were electrified at an indeterminate date, along with metal hinges, escutcheons, and doorknobs for wood doors.

ALTERATIONS

Exterior

The building's original finish of vertical tongue-and-groove siding lies intact beneath a cladding of modern vinyl siding that appears to have been added in the 1990s. The bell tower's belfry, whose original fenestration consisted of louvered vents and a crenellated upper story, has been covered over and its end piers with pyramidal caps have been removed. However, it retains engaged pilasters at its corners and an octagonal roof spire with finial. Its original roof material of sawn wood shingles as well as later "Dutch Tab" asphalt roof shingles, have been replaced with modern asphalt shingles at an indeterminate date. Wood slab doors were installed at indeterminate dates as replacements for six original wood five-panel doors that were located at the front entries to the Vestibules (100, 108) as well as the Office (104) and Sacristy (107).

Interior

As indicated above, the building's 1915 interior is remarkably intact. Nonetheless, minor modifications have been made over 102 years of the church's existence. These consist of fluorescent light fixtures that appear to have been added in the 1980s as well as a sound system and signage that appear to have been added in the 2000s.

INTEGRITY

Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae remains in the same location as it did following its construction in 1915 although the setting has changed. The building's original exterior finish is concealed beneath a cladding of modern vinyl siding, however, the latter condition is reversible and fails to obscure the building's original shape and massing as well as fenestration. The building contains an outstanding wood interior that was adapted for single wall construction with only minor modifications, and maintains its original cruciform plan. Although examples of John K. Waiamau's work exist in Kalawao County (Kana'ana Hou [1915], Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement and National Historic Park), and Kaua'i County (Kilauea School [1922], Hanalei School [1926], and Kapa'a School Auditorium [1926], Kaua'i Public Schools Multiple Property Submission [MPS] #30-09-9391), this building is the only known surviving example of the architect's work in Honolulu County and contains an intact and notable pre-World War I interior. As such, the building is extremely significant as an early example of the Native Hawaiian architect's skill as well as the craftsmanship of Native Hawaiian contractor Samuela Kaaumoana and his carpenter sons.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ARCHITECTURE/RELIGION/EDUCATION
ETHNIC HERITAGE Native Hawaiian,
Euro-Hawaiian, Hawaiian-American

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Period of Significance

1912-1967

Significant Dates

1915 - Construction
1917 - Congregation separates
1956 - Congregation rejoins

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

John K. Waiamau, Architect
Samuela Kaaumoana and sons

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae (the Protestant Church of Wai'anae) is located on the leeward side of O'ahu island, on the northeast side of Mill Street between McArthur Street and Plantation Road. The congregation was originally established in 1844 and after 1915 when the church was constructed, continued to serve as the primary Native Hawaiian institution for religious, social, and educational functions in the area. The period of significance includes the year of the church's construction (1915), the congregation's schism (1917), rejoining (1956), and a 50-year terminal date (1967) per the NPS standard. The church is especially unique because it was designed by a Native Hawaiian architect, built by Native Hawaiian carpenters, financed by Native Hawaiians and Euro-Hawaiians and has been a major element of cultural continuity for the Native Hawaiian community for 102 years. Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae survived the transition from Hawaiian village to sugar mill town with the corresponding change in demographics, influx of the military during WW II, demise of the mill and concomitant loss of population after WW II, and the ultimate suburbanization of the area during the post-war period. The building is individually eligible under Criterion A under in the areas of Religion,

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Education and Ethnic Heritage at the state level of significance, as well as Criterion C, Architecture, at the state level of significance.

- **Criterion A** - The property is a representative example of a Native Hawaiian institution which employed a Native Hawaiian architect and Native Hawaiian tradesmen, for the design and construction of a building that upon completion served as the primary institution in Wai'anae for the maintenance of the Hawaiian language and culture in the face of severe demographic, social, political, and physical change.
- **Criterion C** - The property physically demonstrates the skill of a Native Hawaiian architect who modified and refined similar designs for two churches, one at Kalaupapa and one at Wai'anae, with both being executed with outstanding craftsmanship by a Native Hawaiian contractor and building crew. The church is an excellent example of early single wall, institutional construction and is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, wooden buildings left on the Wai'anae Coast of Oahu.

The period of significance is 1915-67: beginning in the year when the building was constructed in 1915 and ends in 1967—the 50-year threshold based upon the year 2017 per the NPS standard.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A

CONTEXT

Wai'anae Village and Wai'anae Town

Wai'anae is the moniker of a coastal village and town that is located in the district or moku of the same name on the leeward side of O'ahu island. The area is arid, streams with moving water are limited in number, and water supplies are most often available through springs in the more mauka (upland) regions.

Human habitation in Wai'anae has been dependent upon resources available, the technologies to collect and process the resources and social organization to collect and distribute these resources. The pre-Contact era population was concentrated in coastal settlements, which provided abundant marine and reef resources. Inland agricultural activities were defined by the ancient system of Native Hawaiian ahupua'a, kuleana, 'ili and 'āpana (parcel) land management system where lands owned by ali'i or nobles were managed by konohiki or overseers and worked by maka'aina'na or commoners. Mauka agricultural activities concentrated on taro, bananas, and sugar cane, providing sustenance from both inland and ocean zones.

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The pre-Contact population of Wai'anae Village, concentrated in Wai'anae-kai, combined with the coastal population has been estimated at 5,000 persons.¹ The post-Contact period saw this population reduced by epidemics and outmigration to 1,654 persons by 1835.² The population continued to decline and in 1855, tax collector J.W. Makalena recorded 62 Native Hawaiian males who were residing at Wai'anae-kai but did not enumerate households.

Early census records (both Missionary and Hawaiian Kingdom) often combined the coastal village (Wai'anae-kai) with Wai'anae Valley and uplands (Wai'anae-uka). In addition, those records often included Wai'anae-kai and Wai'anae-uka along with Kamaile, Makaha, Mākua, Mā'ili, and Nānākuli, preventing an accurate enumeration of the Native Hawaiian population of Waianae Village beyond the estimation that it did not exceed 200 individuals and was largely Native Hawaiian.

One period description of the Wai'anae population that was penned in 1862 by an unidentified kahu (possibly Rev. Stephen Waimalu) provided a dismal assessment. He noted that:

[T]he people with few exceptions are poor. Most of the land is either sold, or under lease to foreigners. The people are generally living [in] the old konohiki...system...The population of the district is decreasing; schools are decreasing in numbers, although the teachers are trying to do all they can for their pupils.³

The Hawaiian Kingdom census of 1878 enumerated Wai'anae-kai and Wai'anae-uka separately from Kamaile, Makaha, Mākua, Mā'ili, and Nānākuli. It recorded 190 Native Hawaiians (105 males and 85 females) living in Wai'anae-kai along with 67 Native Hawaiians (37 males and 30 females) who were enumerated in Wai'anae-uka in the same year. Two Europeans (one French and one Portuguese) and two Euro-Americans were recorded as residing in Wai'anae-kai in 1878 as well. The establishment of WCo in that year brought in a large number of foreign workers, namely 112 Chinese.⁴

Wai'anae informant Alva "Mahi" Kaiwi later recalled in an oral history interview that: "Everyone knew each other. Residents in the fishing village [Wai'anae-kai] would share fish with the valley [Wai'anae-uka] residents and the valley residents would share their crops."⁵

In 1899 in the wake of annexation by the U.S., the population of Wai'anae increased rapidly. In that year, the WCo roster of employees in that year numbered 477 individuals. They included: 27 Native Hawaiian men as day laborers; 17 Portuguese men as day laborers; 68 Japanese men as contract laborers, 64 Japanese men as day laborers; 160 Chinese men as

¹ Cordy, Ross. *An Ancient History of Waianae, Ka Moku o Waianae, He Moolelo*, Mutual Publishing Company, Honolulu, 2002, p. 45; Schmitt, Robert H. "New Estimates of the Pre-Censal Population of Hawaii" *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 80, No.2, June 1971, pp. 237-243.

² McGrath, Edward J., Kenneth M. Brewer, and Bob Krauss. *Historic Waianae "A Place of Kings."* Honolulu: Island Heritage, 1973: pp. 14, 25.

³ "Report of Waianae Station for May 1862," "Mission Station Reports," Appendix G, p. G-2, Mission Houses Museum Library, Collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

⁴ Hawaiian Kingdom Census, "Waianae-kai," "Waianae-uka," 1878.

⁵ Kaiwi, Alva Mahealanipilialoha, "Ola Nā Iwi." Kristy Perez-Kaiwi. <https://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwakiloumoku/ola-na-iwi/kaiwi> Accessed May 23, 2014.

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contract laborers, 128 Chinese men as day laborers; and 13 men of other ethnicities whose positions were not described.⁶

Three years earlier, Benjamin (B.F.) Dillingham had built an extension of the O'ahu Railway and Land Company (OR&L) to Wai'anae and along with the construction of a train depot, began a building boom that was lauded by the Euro American press.⁷ In 1899 C. Shiozawa erected a hotel and small stores and shops that lined Mill Street soon followed, as well as a Japanese Hongwanji temple and Japanese language school. A Catholic church had been erected earlier at the opposite end of Wai'anae and anticipated an increase in its members.

Alva "Mahi" Kaiwi later remembered that, "We saw this town grow, we saw everything grow. There was no town, no nothing... [After the town started, t]here was only one road in Wai'anae [Mill Street]. There were no houses; just barber shops, tailor shops, and stores in the town."⁸

The U.S. Census of 1900 provided the first complete enumerations of the populations of both Wai'anae-kai and WCo. In that year census taker O. Hillman recorded a total of 973 persons residing in Wai'anae. They included: 311 Hawaiians, 39 Part-Hawaiians, 210 Chinese, 19 Europeans and Euro-Americans, 313 Japanese, and 81 Portuguese.⁹

In 1910 two census takers recorded 1,863 persons living in what had by then become Wai'anae Town. In that year the population peaked and included: 274 Hawaiians and 40 Part-Hawaiians, 213 Chinese, 35 Europeans and Euro-Americans, 1170 Japanese, 2 Koreans, and 129 Portuguese.¹⁰

The Census of 1920 recorded 1,680 persons residing in Wai'anae Town and the beginning of a downward trend in population growth. Census taker Edward Richardson enumerated: 237 Hawaiians and 43 Part-Hawaiians, 96 Chinese, 22 Europeans and Euro-Americans, 1043 Japanese, 5 Koreans, 153 Filipinos, 80 Portuguese, and 1 South Sea Islander.¹¹

In 1930 census takers Mamoru Mokimoto and Jhary Waekewzie recorded only 983 persons residing in Waianae Town. They included: 213 Hawaiians and 56 Part-Hawaiians, 24 Chinese, 13 Europeans and Euro-Americans, 444 Japanese, 4 Koreans, 221 Filipinos, and 8 Portuguese.¹²

On the eve of World War II in 1940, there were only 950 persons who were recorded as residing in Wai'anae Town. Enumerated by a census taker, they included: 131 Hawaiians and 41 Part-

⁶ "Table of Sugar Plantation Laborers, October 31, 1899," "Waianae Co.," Thrum, Thomas G., *Hawaiian Almanac & Annual for 1899*, Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1898: 176.

⁶ *Ninety-Second Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1914: _.

⁷ "Big Hotel to be Erected at Waianae..." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 3, 1896: 6: 1.

⁸ "Kaiwi, Alva Mahealanipilialoha," Ola Nā Iwi. Kristy Perez-Kaiwi. <https://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwakiloumoku/ola-na-iwi/kaiwi> Accessed May 23, 2014.

⁹ *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Sheets 1A-21B, Enumeration District (E.D.) 33, _-, 1900.

¹⁰ *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, Sheets 1A-37B, Enumeration District (E.D.) 59, _-, 1910.

¹¹ *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Sheets 4A-38B, Enumeration District (E.D.) 64, _-, 1920.

¹² *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, Sheets 154A-164A, 12B-13B, Enumeration District (E.D.) 2-145, _-, 1930.

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Hawaiians, 24 Chinese, 85 Europeans and Euro-Americans, 446 Japanese, 3 Koreans, 213 Filipinos, 4 Puerto Ricans, and 3 Chamorros (indigenous people from Guam).¹³

In the post-war period, the downward trend reversed in Wai'anae with census totals reaching 1,078 in 1950. In 1960 and 1970 the populations of Wai'anae and Makaha were aggregated as "Wai'anae-Makaha" by statisticians, preventing an accurate enumeration.

Wai'anae Company, Ltd.

Sugar has a long history in Hawaii with active participation by both foreigners and Native Hawaiians. In 1825, John Wilkinson, an Englishman under the patronage of Governor Boki, planted 100 acres of cane in Mānoa Valley. Unfortunately, Wilkinson was only able to harvest one crop. The sugar was intended for a rum distillery, which was scuttled by the missionary-influenced Queen Ka'ahumanu.¹⁴ In 1841 Governor Kuakini of Hawai'i planted 100 acres of cane in Kohala, which was ground under contract by a Chinese mill owner named Aiko, who afterward relocated his business to Hilo.¹⁵ Later in the decade, David Malo also grew cane on lands at Olowalu and Lāhainā, which he ground in a syrup mill that he owned in Lāhainā.¹⁶ In the 1850s "Queen Kalama established a mill at Kaneohe and Kamehameha IV held majority ownership in a plantation at Wailuku, Maui that was known in the vernacular as the "King's Mill."¹⁷

The Wai'anae Company, Ltd. was organized in 1878 by Judge H. Widemann (1823-99) and Julius L. Richardson (1837-85).¹⁸ The plantation occupied lands owned and leased by J.I. Dowsett (1829-98) and other property purported to have been leased by Paul Manini, a Spanish rancher.¹⁹ G.N. Wilcox and A.S. Wilcox from Kaua'i later joined the venture and the company was incorporated on October 15, 1880 and capitalized at \$170,000.²⁰ The WCo charter was amended on January 6, 1899 and again on June 15, 1910.²¹ By 1895 at least 26 percent of its stock was owned by Native Hawaiians or part Hawaiians including American-, British-, Chinese, and German-Hawaiians, who were referred to in contemporary reports as "half-castes." The remaining stockholders included Euro-Americans as well as British and Germans.²²

¹³ *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Sheets 1A-11A, Enumeration District (E.D.) 2-193, April 1-20, 1940.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1906: 42.

¹⁸ Thrum, Thos. G. *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1885*, Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, Compiler and Publisher, 1885: 66; "Obituary," *Evening Bulletin*, May 9, 1885: 3: 3.

¹⁹ "Hawaiian Sugar Plantation History, No 23—Waianae Island of Oahu," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, August 3, 1935: _; "Waianae Developed From Ranch," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 25, 1939: _.

²⁰ Thrum, Thos. G. *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1887*, Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1886: 52.

²¹ "Articles of Association," *Territory of Hawaii, Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, Vol. 17, 1910: 13-15*.

²² "Waianae Sugar Company, Oahu," "Hawaiian sugar plantation corporations, showing amount of investment and nationality of stockholders..." "Hawaiian Islands," Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State 1895: 1102.

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Richardson was the first manager of WCo (1878-85)²³ and was followed in the position by August Ahrens (1885-97), David Center (1897-99), and Fred Meyer (1899-1931).²⁴ With the exception of Center, all of the WCo managers had married Native Hawaiian women, spoke Hawaiian and were Royalist in their politics, as well as members of Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae. The degree to which they adopted traditional Hawaiian culture is best illustrated by Ahrens, who was photographed along with his wife, their three daughters and a son during a visit from her brother, Rev. George Washington Akau Hapai in 1907. Rev. Hapai (1840-1908) was then serving as the kahu at a Native Hawaiian church in Hilo. They were shown dining in traditional Hawaiian fashion, seated on lauhala mats on the lanai of the Ahrens family home. In addition, former WCo manager Fred Meyer who served the longest tenure as manager for the company was ultimately interred in the Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae cemetery. The importance and attraction in the early years of WCo resulted in periodic visits by royalty in 1885²⁵ and 1891²⁶ and reported by the Euro-American press.

However, such amicable relations appeared to not extend to the company's Asian laborers. *Nippu Jiji* editor Yasutaro Soga noted that the plantation was a profitable enterprise but failed in the provision of adequate housing. He noted in 1905 that:

The dwellings of the laborers were filthy and unsanitary...It would be more proper to designate these dwellings as pig sties than refer to them as human habitations...Single men lodged together in the big rooms, whose bunks rose in tiers against the walls. But sometimes the single men had to live in the [smaller] rooms of the married couples...sewage overflowed within the camp[s]. And a certain unbearable foul smell hung in the air.²⁷

As a result, WCo was buffeted by labor strikes that were periodically called by angry employees. The Euro-American press reported that a strike and "near riot" occurred at Wai'anae on March 4-5, 1897 and that it involved 200 Japanese.²⁸ One hundred Chinese rioted at WCo on October 30, 1899 over the discharge of a juvenile who assaulted a luna (overseer). There were jail terms for leaders and Japanese offered their services in lieu of the Chinese strikers.²⁹ Another strike occurred at Wai'anae in 1924, involving 260 Filipino workers, and was reported in the Euro-American press as having taken place on February 17 of that year.³⁰

²³ Native Hawaiians regarded Richardson with disdain for his destruction of a heiau and reuse of the rocks for a stone wall, and attributed his sudden death in 1885 to its destruction. His obituary as printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was benign, however, and stated: "Ua make o Mr. Richardson o Waianae ma ke kulanakauhale nei mamuli o na palapu i loaa iaia a makou i hoolama mua aku ai. Hala ia kamaaina kaniko." *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. May 16, 1885: 3: 1.

²⁴ Dorrance, William H. and Francis S. Morgan. *Sugar Islands: The 165-Year Story of Sugar in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2000: 43-44; "Waianae Developed From Ranch," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 25, 1939: _.

²⁵ "Royal Party Visits Waianae Plantation," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 1885: 3: 4.

²⁶ "Queen Liliuokalani and Party Arrive on Excursion in Kaala, Hosted by H.A. Widemann," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 10, 1891: 3: 1.

²⁷ Tamura, Eileen H. *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994: 12.

²⁸ Reinecke, John E. "Labor Disturbances in Hawaii, 1890-1925: A Summary," 1967: 4; "_," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 5, 1897: _: _; March 6, 1897: _: _.

²⁹ Reinecke 1967: 5; "_," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1899: _: _; November 3, 1899: _: _.

³⁰ Reinecke 1967: 18; "_," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 17, 1924: _: _.

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Despite such challenges, WCo maintained its profitability and sugar production steadily increased from 2,500 tons in 1890 to 4,019 tons in 1900. In the four decades that followed, production was 6,614, 6,038, 7,209, and 8,295 tons in 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1939, respectively.³¹

American Factors, Ltd. acquired WCo in 1931³² and hired Robert H.A. Fricke as the new manager (1931-46). The largely positive relations that the company had with Native Hawaiians during the tenures of Ahrens and Meyer appears to have ended abruptly as a result. Within five years, WCo filed a petition in land court for adjudicated title to 1,075 acres of kuleana lands in the ahupua'a of Wai'anae and Lualualei. A multi-page public notice was printed in the *Honolulu Advertiser* with the names of 73 Native Hawaiian 'ohana and included individuals as well as hui or groups whose former land awards, Land and Royal Patents were included in the sale.³³ Parcel exclusions occurred where clear title was absent or owned or leased by the military, the Territory of Hawaii and others.

WCo was shuttered in 1946, just shy of 100 years of operations. Chinn Ho (1904-87), a self-made millionaire and entrepreneur, acquired \$1.2 million in WCo stock in 1947, liquidated its assets and demolished the mill complex. The last prominent piece of the sugar mill's infrastructure, a 125-foot smokestack that was still painted in WW II camouflage in 1953, was dropped with dynamite in that year to the cheers of a crowd of 200 spectators.³⁴

Wai'anae Military Reservation

The U.S military acquired 6,790 acres of Wai'anae-uka via proclamation for a "United States Military Reservation" signed by President William McKinley on July 20, 1899. Along with another 740 acres in Waikakalaua, the Wai'anae-uka lands were used for training purposes. An additional 6,676 acres were also acquired in Lualualei in 1930 for use as an arsenal, followed by 195 acres of shoreline and the Native Hawaiian fishing village in the same year.

In 1918 the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* announced a claim by the U.S. Army for a large section of the shoreline in Wai'anae-kai.³⁵ The military did not actively use the area until WW II. For Native Hawaiians who resided in the fishing village, it was the termination of their way of life. Informant

³¹ Thrum, Thomas G., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* 1891: 60; Ibid. 1901: 46; Ibid. 1911: 184; Ibid. 1921: 132; Ibid. 1931: 135; All About Hawaii.1939: 39; Dorrance, William H. and Francis S. Morgan. *Sugar Islands: The 165-Year Story of Sugar in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2000: 43-44.

³² " " *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 25, 1931: 1: _.

³³ The names included: Akaloa, Alealeikawai, Haawenui, Hauna, Hema, Holi, Holokau no Haupu, Hopuhopuaukele no Makea, Elemakule, Kaapuiki, Kahaleula, Kahinu, Kahonu o Pooloa, Kailikupelehiwa, Kahue, Kaili no Wainee, Kaipu, Kakio, S. Kalama, Kalawaiahoohalahala, Kaluoku no Kihewa, Kamai, Kamakai, Kamalama no Ioane, V. Kamamalu, Kamoau, Kamokuwaiole no Olaelae, Kaneele, Kanehailua, Kaopukea, Kapela, Kamuno, Kauanauoo, Kauanomano, Kauhanea, Kauo, Kawaamaole, Keahia, Keanini, Keaona, Keauhee, Kekoa no Kaapuiki, Keoiwa, Keonekapu, Keowai, Kuaana no Kamakalauhiwa, Kuheleloa, E. Kuhia, Kukanono no Wainee, Kulepe, Kumukahi, Lae, Lokoino, Mahi, Maimukanaka, Makea, Manu, Nailimae, Nakai, Nakea, Nakoalele no Kaainui, Nalu, Napoe, Nuhi, Muiea, Ohule, Olaelae, Paaluhi, Pauli, Paoa no Hawea, Palu no Kaiolohia, Ua, and S. Waimalu. "Legal Notices, Land Court, Territory of Hawaii," *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 27, 1936: _: _-.

³⁴ "Old Waianae Stack Yields to Dynamite," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 13, 1953: 1: 5-6.

³⁵ "U.S. Army Takes Over Major Portion of Waianae Shoreline," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 6, 1918: 3: 1.

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Alva "Mahi" Kaiwi recalled that his grandfather Kaua Kupihea had resided in the enclave and that:

Back then, the entire fishing village covered the area where the present day Wai'anae Army Rest Camp [is located on] Poka'i Bay. The water was clear, clean, and extended beyond [the] present day shoreline... There were no jetties or piers; just the ocean and the fishing village... When the war broke out, the army needed a place of rest and relaxation for the military. They wanted to use the fishing village area so they removed the village houses and relocated them to Loikāne Street in Mā'ili. There were 15 families affected. After the war was over, the military promised to return the fishing village to the people, but that didn't happen.³⁶

The affiliated Mākua church and its community hall as well as the lands surrounding it were transferred by executive order for incorporation into the U.S. Military Reservation at Wai'anae following the December 7, 1941 Imperial Japanese Navy attack on Pearl Harbor. Ekalesia Mākua (Mākua church) and hall were later reported as having been destroyed during live-fire training exercises that occurred during wartime.³⁷ After the conflict had ended, the war department sought permanent transfer of the 6,608 acres of government lands in Mākua that it had acquired, despite the objections of Governor Ingram M. Stainback and territorial government departments.³⁸ The U.S. Army paid the trustees of the Mākua church \$5,000 for the loss of their buildings.

The Post-War Destruction of Wai'anae Town

Chinn Ho's demolition of the WCo sugar mill presaged the destruction of the workers' camps and sparked redevelopment efforts that occurred in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The OR&L tracks were pulled up in 1948 and sold for scrap. The railroad right-of-way was transferred intact to the State of Hawaii for use as both a utility corridor and easement to widen Farrington Highway. Wai'anae Town's shops and stores that had been erected along Mill Street were bypassed and razed. Commerce moved to strip malls that fronted the realigned highway. Residential developments—ranging from single family and duplex to multi-family—were erected on WCo sites as well as newly subdivided parcels. All vestiges of the Native Hawaiian fishing village and plantation town were obliterated.

EKALESIA HŌ'OLEPOPE O WAI'ANAE OR WAI'ANAE PROTESTANT CHURCH

The year 1820 saw the first Christian missionaries arrive in the islands. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions spread the Protestant Congregationalist religious message initially at Kailua, Kona, but soon throughout Hawaii. A "Waianae Station" appears in records from 1841³⁹ although later *Annual Reports of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association* (1900-28) indicated 1844 as the year that the congregation was officially organized and 1845 as the year

³⁶ Kaiwi, Alva Mahealanipilialoha, "Ola Nā Iwi. Kristy Perez-Kaiwi. <https://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwakiloumoku/ola-na-iwi/kaiwi> Accessed May 23, 2014.

³⁷ "Cemetery Repairs Planned at Old Waianae Church," *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 25, 1956: 17: 3.

³⁸ "Army Seeks to Keep Lands Used During War; Governor Opposes," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, December 3, 1945: 3: 2-3.

³⁹ "Report of Waianae Station for May 1862," "Mission Station Reports," Appendix G, pp. G-1 - G-4, Mission Houses Museum Library, Collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

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that the first church was built.⁴⁰ A cemetery followed. The founding of the church was attributed to the efforts of Reverends Artemas Bishop and John S. Emerson. Emerson served as visiting kahu for the church in 1841, followed by Bishop (1841-48).

The missionaries organized the Native Hawaiian language into written form. By 1840, the Kingdom of Hawaii had established a government school system. By 1855, two Native Hawaiian language schools were providing instruction in Wai'anae. Today (2017), Wai'anae Elementary School continues to operate immediately mauka of the Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae.

A "Sabbath" or Sunday school appears to have been established in 1841 as well and is presumed to have continued to operate for at least 90 years. School attendance was recorded at 84 persons in 1901 and was 38 persons in 1903, exceeding the number of persons who were registered as members of the church congregation in that year.⁴¹ Statistics on Sunday school attendance were published irregularly after 1903 but were recorded as 65 in 1926, and 35 in 1942.⁴²

During the span of 1848-1898, at least five pastors served the congregation after Bishop from 1848-98. They included: Rev. Stephen Waimalu (1848-64), Rev. A. Kaoliko (1865-72), Unknown (1872-80), Rev. Joseph Kekahuna (1880-94), Rev. Enoch S. Timoteo (1894-95), and Rev. Joseph Kekahuna (1895-98). From 1898-1970 there were 16 kahu. They were: Rev. Solomon P. Kaaia (1898-1908), Rev. Moses Nakuina (1909-12), Rev. William K. Poai (1912-15), Rev. Samuel W. Kekuewa (1915-20), Rev. Henry P. Judd (1920-21), Rev. William K. Poai (1921-33), Rev. Edward Kahale (1933-35), Rev. William K. Poai (1935-40), Rev. Samuel Keala (1940-41), Rev. Luther Waiamau (1941-43), Unknown (1943), Rev. James L. Awai (1944-46), Rev. Henry P. Judd (1946-56), Rev. James L. Awai (1956-60), Rev. Edward Kahale (1960-74) and Frederick L. Meyer, Lay Minister (1970-74).⁴³

The congregation of Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae appears to have remained small and did not exceed 50 members prior to 1900. In 1901 and 1905, there were 27 and 32 members, respectively, and by 1910, the membership had more than doubled to 85 persons.⁴⁴ In the year of the dedication of the new church, there were 91 members but that number dropped to 50 within 2 years following the church's dedication. In 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935, and 1940, the membership totals were 63, 67, 65, 20, and 44.⁴⁵

The 4.98-acre site on which Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae was constructed was conveyed to the church with Land Patent (L.P.) 5959, and dated June 19, 1913. The congregation filed Articles of Incorporation with the territorial government in the same year. The parcel was later reduced to 4.63 acres from the widening of Mill Street that occurred in the 1940s.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, 1900-28: n.p.

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, 1901-03: n.p.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1926: 67; 1942: 22.

⁴³ "Report of Waianae Station for May 1862," "Mission Station Reports," Appendix G, p. G-4, Mission Houses Museum Library, Collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1901: n.p.; 1905: n.p.; 1910: n.p.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, 1920: n.p.; 1925: n.p.; 1930: n.p.; 1935: n.p.; and 1940: n.p.

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Given the assumed political leanings of the church's attendees, a substantial participation in the activities of the Hawaiian Patriotic League in 1897 would have been anticipated. However, only one family (Poe) in the congregation is known to have been among the 197 Native Hawaiians in Wai'anae Village who signed the *Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohuina* or Anti-Annexation petitions that were circulated by the organization on September 11 of that year.⁴⁶

Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae included among its members influential persons of Wai'anae including American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) descendant Charles Kekai Bailey, Sr., WCo managers Julius L. Richardson, August Ahrens, and Fred Meyer, along with their ohana, and sheriff Harry G. Poe among others. Poe also served as the church clerk from 1924-27.⁴⁷

Following the closure of Hawaiian language schools on O'ahu and throughout the archipelago by 1913 that resulted from an "English Only" law that had been enacted by the Republic of Hawaii in 1896,⁴⁸ like other Native Hawaiian churches, Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae assumed the task of keeping 'Ōlelo Hawai'i or the Hawaiian language alive. By 1917, however, the catastrophic loss was so acute that it was lamented by a writer for *Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii* who wrote, "There is no child under 15 years of age who can converse correctly in the mother tongue of this land."⁴⁹ At Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae, however, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i was spoken, taught, and written for generations. Services and sermons were delivered in Hawaiian until the last native speaking Hawaiian kahu had died and even board meeting minutes continued to be recorded in the Hawaiian language. As late as 2017, this tradition remained staunchly adhered to.⁵⁰

He Kaha Ki'i Hale Hawai'i⁵¹ or A Native Hawaiian Architect

⁴⁶ This is based on a comparison of *Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohuina, Apana o Waianae*, Sheets 785-790, September 11, 1897, and a survey of identifiable graves in the church cemetery whose family names may have been found on the petitions. More congregation members may have participated but the cemetery records and church rolls were destroyed by the congregation at indeterminate dates; Sotelo, Katherine, Board Secretary, Waianae Protestant Church, personal communication, ___, 2014. Mortuary monuments in 2016 included: Ahiena, Sol. (1867-1917), Akana, Albert A. (1896-1922), Amaka, Elizabeth (1909-24), Bailey, Sr., Charles Kekai (1886-1958), Bailey, Lily K. (1896-1959?), Dung, Kawaipio Kuhia (1861-1942), Kaahaaina, Fred Kaawaloa (1907-70), Kaleiwahea, Edward K. (1899-1960), Kaleiwahea, Salome Kekahili (1936-48), Kapela, Hililani (1884-1936), Kapela, Milia M. (1890-1961), Kekahuna, M (1867-?), Kinolau, Rebecca I. (1887-1937), Kupau, Lowell K. (1879-1927), Kupau, Kalekauheha Naoho (1856-1920), Leleo, M.K. (1858-1921), Manauwa, John (1911-42), Mapu, S. (1860-1923), Meyer, Emma? (1884-1927), Meyer, Fred (n.d.), Mokiau (n.d.), Nobriga, Reba K. (1881-1921), Nuuanu, David K. (1883-1966), Poe, George S. (1842-1924), Rodrigues, Walter Kaoliko (1914-23), Stevens, William K. (1907-63), Stevens, Edna L. (1908-?), and Wailehua, Edward M. (1892-1957).

⁴⁷ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, 1924: 67; 1925: 71; 1926: 66; and 1927: 68.

⁴⁸ Lucas, Paul F. Nahoia, "E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka 'Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 34, 2000, p. 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 9.

⁵⁰ Sotelo, Katherine, Board Secretary, Waianae Protestant Church, personal communication, ___, 2014.

⁵¹ Julie Au, trans, June 20, 2017.

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Photographs taken at the turn of the 20th century of the church building show that the original church with an addition was in need of replacement. In 1914, John Keanu (K.) Waiamau (1872-1931), produced initial and final designs as well as presumably the construction drawings for a new church building. He was the archipelago's first Native Hawaiian architect, born in Honolulu—the son of Rev. John Waiamau, kahu or pastor of Kaumakapili Church, and Poipe. From the upper class and privileged, the son of the kahu of one of the most influential churches in Honolulu, and a product of the premier educational institution of the time, Kamehameha School for Boys, his life experiences reveal the growing prejudice that Native Hawaiians were subjected to in varying degrees by the nascent Euro-American community, in advance of and following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893.

In 1891, Waiamau was a member of the first graduating class of Kamehameha School (for Boys; KSB), pursuing his coursework in an “English only” environment where the Hawaiian language was reviled and forbidden.⁵² He is presumed to have studied mathematics, geometry, and mechanical drawing as part of the school's standard curriculum.⁵³ After graduation, Waiamau worked as a clerk and then as a draftsman in the office of C.B. Ripley from that year through 1893. Ripley then paid to send him to Chicago to complete a course in architectural drawing in the latter year. The *Hawaiian Star* announced in April 1893 that: “John K. Waiamau, the accomplished young architect, is going to Chicago at the expense of his employer, C.B. Ripley to study architectural drawing.”⁵⁴ The school that he was scheduled to attend remains unknown although the only institution in the city that offered courses in architectural drawing in that year was the Art Institute of Chicago.

The *Hawaiian Gazette* also noted in April that “Samuel Keliinoi and Charles [E.] King [were] planning to visit the World's Fair” and suggested that Waiamau and another Native Hawaiian named James Pakele “meet the other boys there.”⁵⁵ The event, known formally as the World's Columbian Exposition and in the vernacular as the “Chicago World's Fair”, began on May 1 of that year and remained open through November 10. The Exposition was designed, in large part, by noted architects John Wellborn Root, Daniel Burnham, Frederick Law Olmstead and Charles Atwood as a prototype of what a city should be. Much of the architecture was designed in the Beaux Arts tradition that would spread the ideas of the City Beautiful Movement throughout America. Indeed it is likely that Waiamau would have visited the Exposition while there or at least read extensively about it.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, on January 17, 1893, a group of resident American businessmen and planters overthrew the Native Hawaiian monarchical government. Queen Lili'uokalani had yielded her crown not to resident Americans, but to the U.S. government, whose troops had been landed ashore. The Queen had appealed to Washington for her restoration, but Hawai'i had come

⁵² Tamura, Eileen H. *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994: 7.

⁵³ *The Friend*, Vol. 118, No. 6, June 1948: __: __.

⁵⁴ *Hawaiian Star*, August 18, 1893: 2: __.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 2: 6; With the exception of James Pakele, all were Kamehameha Schools alumni, Class of 1891. Twenty-three years later they were recorded in an group photograph and Waiamau, King and Keliinoi were also in attendance in Honolulu or “Ka Poe e Noho Ana Halo” or “Those Living in Distress”—Solomon Hanohano, John K. Waiamau, William O. Crowell, Charles E. King and Samuel Keliinoi,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 16, 1916: 1: __.

⁵⁶ *The Friend*, December 1928: 272.

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under the control of a provisional government established by resident Americans. Consequently, Hawaii was represented in Chicago by American interests embodied in an exhibit coined the "Cyclorama of the Volcano at Kilauea" that was largely aimed at increasing tourism (and ultimately settlement) from the U.S. mainland. Among the cyclorama investors and supporters was Lorrin Andrews Thurston, a central figure in the overthrow of the Queen.

In contrast with other national exhibits and previous Hawaiian government displays unveiled at expositions in Paris (1867, 1889), Philadelphia (1876), and Sydney (1888), the 1893 cyclorama initiated a change in how the islands were presented and viewed internationally—"from sovereign, historically-situated, and modern self-presentation to feminized, exotic, tourist curiosity."⁵⁷ The cyclorama was immensely popular with the U.S. public. Simultaneously, there was a plethora of pro-Annexation articles in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* that included jests about Queen Lili'uokalani and derisive coverage of Native Hawaiians.⁵⁸ There were also well-entrenched discriminatory customs in Chicago to which Waiamau is likely to have experienced firsthand. For whatever reason, by the time that Waiamau went back to Hawai'i, he had decided to abandon the field of architecture entirely.

Upon his return to Honolulu in 1894, the Republic of Hawaii had assumed control on July 4 of that year with Sanford B. Dole as President. Waiamau presumably noticed the daily deluge of derogatory coverage of the Queen and Native Hawaiian royalists that was published by the local American press. He did not remain in the capitol for long and before the year had ended, took a government job and retreated to the most remote Hawaiian place available—as a dispenser for the Board of Health (BoH) at the Settlement in Kalaupapa on Moloka'i.

Following one year in the latter position, Waiamau held a variety of other appointments in the enclave including: hospital overseer (1895-96), schoolteacher (1896-98), and assistant superintendent of the colony (1899-1910). He married Emma Lynn Kaimilau Lyons from Hāna at Kalaupapa in 1897 and they had five children, one of whom, Samuel K., died at the settlement in 1907 at the age of two months.⁵⁹ The surviving siblings were recorded in records as having been "discharged" between the ages of two and five years though their whereabouts after release is unknown. In 1900 the Waiamaus were recorded by census taker John T. Unea as residing in house no. 147 with a one-year-old son, John K. Jr., a niece named Kaehii Dudoit and a servant known only as Halemano.⁶⁰ However, in 1910 census taker Emil Van Lil recorded the couple as living alone in house no. 187.⁶¹

Unlike a majority of the Native Hawaiians in the archipelago, the Waiamaus did not sign the *Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohuiaina* or Anti-Annexation petitions that were circulated by the Hawaiian Patriotic League earlier in 1897. It may be conjectured that they did not sign since Waiamau was an employee of the provisional government. At least 240 men and indeterminate

⁵⁷ Kamehiro, Stacy L. "Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893." *World History Connected*. University of Illinois, 2011: n.p. http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum_kamehiro.html Accessed October 15, 2016.

⁵⁸ "Definite Belief in Demons," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1893: 6: 3.

⁵⁹ "Kalaupapa Death Register," Hawai'i State Archives, "Waiamau, Samuel K.," b. 3-29-1907; died 5-17-07.

⁶⁰ *Twelfth Census of the United States*, "Molokai," Sheet No. 8A, lines 5-9, Enumeration District (E.D.) 87, June 1, 1900.

⁶¹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, "Kalaupapa Village," Sheet No. 12B, lines 26-27, Enumeration District (E.D.) 71, April 27, 1900.

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number of women did sign their names from Kalaupapa, including their house servant Halemano.⁶² Despite 39,000⁶³ signatures indicating widespread opposition, Hawai'i was annexed as a Territory of the United States on July 7, 1898.

Waiamau received occasional mention in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and in 1904 the *Hawaiian Gazette* published sketches that he had drawn at the Settlement.⁶⁴ They included mundane scenes that stood in stark contrast with the often disturbing reports that emanated from the enclave during the period. Waiamau had his detractors, among them a group of Kalaupapa residents who signed a petition asking for his removal earlier in 1903. He also had supporters at the Settlement, who circulated a similar document asking that he be retained.⁶⁵

For reasons that remain unknown, in 1910 the couple decided to leave Kalaupapa and moved to Honolulu. By 1920 they had divorced. In that year, census taker Jane K. Hopkins enumerated Waiamau as living in a house on Kahanu Street with three of his four older children—Timothy, Benjamin, and Annie.⁶⁶ His eldest son John K. Waiamau, Jr. was living in Makawao, Maui.

Earlier in 1911, after a hiatus of 17 years, Waiamau finally returned to architecture. He worked as a draftsman for Emory & Webb from 1911-12⁶⁷, then appears to have started his own office in 1914. He was identified in the city directories as a "draftsman" from 1911-14 and then as an "architect" from 1915 onward.⁶⁸

Just as Waiamau re-entered the profession, however, he experienced insult from an unexpected source when American author Jack London wrote in his best-seller, *The Cruise of the Snark* (1911), that the "Assistant Superintendent [at Kalaupapa], Mr. Waiamau, a finely educated and able man, is a pure Hawaiian and a leper."⁶⁹ It remains unknown whether Waiamau's misidentification as a sufferer of Hansen's disease caused him problems in Honolulu or if he sought redress.

Life in the profession appears to have been financially difficult and in 1913 Waiamau sold a half-interest in an A'ala property that he and his wife owned (with Emma signing a release allowing the sale) to S. Kuba, the manager of Honolulu Carriage & Rubber Tire Co.⁷⁰

Ho'omau Kū'oko'a or Maintaining Independence

⁶² *Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohuiaina*, "Apana o Kalaupapa, Mokupuni o Molokai," September 11, 1897, Sheets 1-5).

⁶³ The petition was signed by 21,269 Native Hawaiians, or more than half the 39,000 native Hawaiians and mixed-blood persons reported by the Hawaiian Commission census for the same year.

<https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/hawaii-petition>

⁶⁴ *Hawaiian Gazette*, June 17, 1904: 5: _.

⁶⁵ "The lepers of Kalaupapa have sent a petition to the Board of Health..." *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1903: 9: 2.

⁶⁶ *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, "Honolulu," Sheet No. 20A, lines 7-10, Enumeration District (E.D.) 30, January 12, 1920.

⁶⁷ Siddall, John William, *Men of Hawaii*, Vol. 1, 1917: 267 indicated "1913" instead of "1912" but Polk-Husted city directories indicated the latter year.

⁶⁸ Polk-Husted 1911: 691; 1912: 704; 1913: 738; 1914: 684; 1915: 697.

⁶⁹ London, Jack. *The Cruise of the Snark*. New York, Macmillan Company, 1911: _.

⁷⁰ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 5, 1913: 6: 5; Polk-Husted 1913: _.

Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae

Name of Property

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County and State

Having trained under Euro-American architects C.B. Ripley, Walter Emory, and Marshall Webb, Waiamau could have utilized the potential of those previous relationships to gain employment or generate new business, but he elected instead to work either independently or with two hapa (part-Hawaiian) architects—Afong Waianuinui (W.) Heen and Solomon Kenn (S.K.) Fukumura.

Consequently, Waiamau, along with his business partners Heen and Fukumura were not unlike other architects of color such as local Chinese architect Y.T. Char and African American architects on the U.S. mainland. They chose to use their profession to provide economic opportunity, ameliorate racial prejudice, and demonstrate their equality with Euro-American colleagues. Waiamau's efforts were aptly summed up in the statement that was later penned by an unidentified HEA writer in 1916 following completion of Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae. It was "designed by a Hawaiian architect; built by Hawaiian carpenters, [and] paid for with money...contributed by...Hawaiian people."⁷¹

Waiamau's business partners had come from humble beginnings, trained in the offices of the most prestigious architectural firms in the archipelago, and had associations with the HEA. Afong Waianuinui (W.) Heen (1884-1961) had been born in Ka'anapali, Maui, the son of H.A. Heen and Mary Meheuewa, a Native Hawaiian. He had been educated at Oahu College (1899-1901), Heald's Business College (1901-02), and the University of California at Berkeley (1908-13).⁷² Solomon Kenn (S.K.) Fukumura was born on Hawai'i island, the son of a Japanese father, Toyo Fukumura, who appears to have emigrated to the archipelago in the first shipment of *Issei* (first generation) workers in 1868, and a Native Hawaiian mother named Lucia Kaha. It remains unknown what institutions of higher learning he may have attended, but he was educated and skilled enough to work for mainland-trained architect H.L. Kerr. Fukumura indicated Kerr as his employer in October 1918, when he registered for the WW I draft, in a brief hiatus prior to resuming his own practice.⁷³ Fukumura also appears to have temporarily adopted his "Kenn" surname for public listings during the rise of anti-Japanese prejudice that occurred in the archipelago and culminated in the Territorial government's failed attempt to close Japanese language schools (1919-27). In 1912 Fukumura filed building permits for residential projects under his own name with K. Hara, I. Izui, K. Segawa, Chun Kim Sut, and M. Yamada as builders.⁷⁴

Waiamau was listed in the Honolulu directories as "Heen & Waiamau" in 1913⁷⁵ and as "Fukumura & Waiamau, Architects" in advertisements that were printed in the HEA publication, *The Friend*, from 1916-17,⁷⁶ filed building permits under either "Kenn & Waiamau" or "Kenn, Waiamau & Heen" from 1916-18,⁷⁷ and was identified as an "architect" with Kenn, Waiamau &

⁷¹ *Ninety-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1915: 24; abridged from quotation.

⁷² Siddall, John William. *Men of Hawaii*, Vol. 2, 1921: 191.

⁷³ "Solomon Fukumura Kenn," Registration No. 2180, October 26, 1918.

⁷⁴ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 20, 1912: 5: 4; September 25, 1912: 13: 4.

⁷⁵ Husted 1913: 792.

⁷⁶ *The Friend*, June 1, 1916: 135; October 1, 1916: 231; April 1, 1917: 93; June 1, 1917: 141; July 1, 1917: 165.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1916: 22: 5; December 2, 1916: 20: 4.

Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae

Name of Property

Honolulu, HI

County and State

Heen in 1918.⁷⁸ Following the completion of Kana'ana Hou and Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae in the Spring of 1915, there were few large projects.

In addition, in the wake of periodic strikes that occurred in the sugar industry, there was also an increase in the number of available and affordable building contractors, and both Kenn, Waiamau & Heen as well as Kenn & Waiamau employed them. Those who are known included: G.N. Kamada, Y. Kobayashi, and K. Segawa Co. Kenn & Waiamau advertised their services in *The Friend* in 1916 under the moniker of "Fukumura & Waiamau" and one of their contractors, K. Segawa Co., used the name and title of "K. Segawa[,], Contractor and Builder."⁷⁹

Earlier in 1916, Waiamau joined eleven of his classmates for a 25-year reunion portrait that was printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Two had died. Waiamau was photographed seated in the front row, second from the left. The friends that he had met in Chicago earlier in 1893—Charles E. King and Samuel Keliinoi—were also seated in the front row, fourth and fifth from the left (Figure 5).⁸⁰ In 1922 King, along with six other KSB graduates, later chartered the Kamehameha Alumni Association (KAA), six years after the KAA Club House at 1337 Fort Street had been renovated in 1916 by Waiamau and Fukumura.⁸¹

Hawaii's involvement in World War I halted civilian construction in Honolulu and throughout the archipelago. In 1918 the last known building that the partnership had designed (along with Y.T. Char on behalf of the HEA) was dedicated—the Beretania Chinese Mission at 64 N. Beretania Street. Waiamau applied for and was hired as the Assistant Engineer for Kaua'i County and moved his family to Lihue. During his tenure in that position, he produced designs for Kīlauea School (1922),⁸² Hanalei School (1926), Kapa'a School Auditorium (1926), and presumably other buildings that unfortunately remain unidentified.

Waiamau died on October 29, 1931 and was buried in the First Hawaiian Church cemetery in Kapa'a. Notice of his passing was briefly reported in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* along with the headline, "Employee Dies," and an incorrect date of death. It read: "Word of the death of John Waiamau, assistant engineer of the county of Kauai, was received today by the territorial retirement system office. Mr. Waiamau died [on] November 1."⁸³ Sadly, *The Friend* made absolutely no mention of his passing, even though he was a KSB alumni, had served as an official at Kalaupapa for almost two decades, had worked for the HEA to raise funds for new buildings, and had designed at least two of the organization's churches. In contrast, Lorrin Andrews Thurston had died earlier on May 11 and *The Friend* provided a lengthy obituary for him beneath the title, "Distinguished Son of Hawaii Passes."⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Husted 1918: 814.

⁷⁹ *The Friend*, Vol. 74, No. 6, June 1916: 135-136.

⁸⁰ "E Hoomanao Ana Na Haumana Kahiko," or "The First Kamehameha Class Celebrates Reunion," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 12, 1916: 1: _; Julie Au, trans., June 20, 2017.

⁸¹ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June _, 1916: _: _.

⁸² "Kaua'i Places on the National Register of Historic Sites [sic]." *Kauai Historical Society Newsletter*, August/September 2016, Vol. 47, No. 7: 1.

⁸³ "Employee Dies," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 4, 1931: 15: 3.

⁸⁴ *The Friend*, Vol. 101, No. 6, June 1931: _.

Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae

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The publication eventually remedied its error in part in 1948 when it included a brief biography of him in an issue titled, "Kamehameha Schools Edition." It read: "John Keanu Waiama, '91 [w]as born on April 28, 1872. After graduation from Kamehameha, he started to work for C.B. Ripley, Architect. [He b]ecame successful in his work and in later years was County Architect for the County of Kauai."⁸⁵

He Kū Lanakila i ka Ni'ō⁸⁶ or A Crowning Achievement

The present Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae was dedicated during an event that occurred from June 26-27, 1915 and was reported in both the Hawaiian and English language press. The Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, described the ceremonies beneath the headline, "Ka Halawai Kuikawa a Ka Ahahui Euanelio o Ka Mokupuni o Oahu" or "Special Meeting of the Evangelical Conference of the Island of Oahu"⁸⁷ as well as the church building under the title, "Ka Luakini Hou o Waianae" or "The New Church of Waianae."⁸⁸ The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* also covered the dedication with a news story accompanying the headline, "Waianae Church Crowns Efforts of Congregation."⁸⁹

Nearly 300 people, comprised of men, women and children, attended the ceremony, presided over by eight ministers ("Na Kahu") of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). They included: Rev. J.K. Paele, Rev. William Kamau, Rev. H.K. Poepoe, Rev. S.W. Kekuewa, Rev. H.P. Judd, Rev. J.P. Erdman, Rev. Davis, and Rev. W.K. Poi. Three children ("Na Keiki o ka Aha i Laikini" or "The Children of the Licensed Service")—James H.S. Kaleo, C.H. Maemae, and A.S. Mahaulu—were also baptized and new members were formally accepted into the congregation. They numbered five adults ("Na Elele" or "The Delegates"): J.K. Nakila, Kaaiahua, S.H. Mapu, S.W. Kauhi, and Frank Leialoha as well as one child, A.S. Mahaulu.⁹⁰

An unidentified photographer had been hired to take a group portrait of the congregation in front of the new edifice but is recalled in the oral tradition as having arrived late.⁹¹ Consequently, he was only able to record 74 individuals who remained at the site after the event had ended (Figure 5).⁹²

⁸⁵ "A Few of the Prominent and Successful Graduates of Kamehameha Schools," *The Friend*, Vol. 118, No. 6, June 1948: 32: 1.

⁸⁶ 'Ōlelo Hawai'i is an official language of the State of Hawai'i and is used for subtitles in the narrative as well as for verbatim text that is quoted from Hawaiian language sources in deference to the congregation of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae. English translations are provided throughout.

⁸⁷ "Ka Halawai Kuikawa a Ka Ahahui Euanelio o Ka Mokupuni o Oahu," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 2, 1915: 2: 1-3.

⁸⁸ "Ka Luakini Hou o Waianae," *Ibid.*: 2: 2.

⁸⁹ "Waianae Church Crowns Efforts of Congregation," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 28, 1915: 3: 3.

⁹⁰ "Ka Halawai Kuikawa a Ka Ahahui Euanelio o Ka Mokupuni o Oahu," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 2, 1915: 2: 1-3. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* article, "Waianae Church Crowns Efforts of Congregation," reported that four children were baptized and five adults were accepted into the congregation. The numbers from two *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* articles, *Ka Halawai Kuikawa a Ka Ahahui Euanelio o Ka Mokupuni o Oahu* and "Na Hana Hoolaa," reported by J.K. Nakila, were different and have been used instead since all of the individuals were identified by name.

⁹¹ Rev. Hailama Farden, personal communication, __, 2016.

⁹² The group portrait was published in McGrath, Edward J., Kenneth M. Brewer, and Bob Krauss' *Historic Waianae: A Place of Kings*, Honolulu: Island Heritage Books, 1973: 78-79 but the date of "1913" that was provided is incorrect.

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The annual report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) that was printed at year's end praised the project. It stated that: "It is a handsome building, well furnished; designed by a Hawaiian architect; built by Hawaiian carpenters, [and] paid for with money largely contributed by the Hawaiian people."⁹³ Curiously, however, with the exception of that statement and a second article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, no mention was made of the Native Hawaiian architect who designed the new church and even the latter story failed to acknowledge the Native Hawaiian contractor and carpenters who built it. Consequently, both remained largely unidentified in both the Hawaiian and English press coverage that was published.

The sentiments of the Native Hawaiian congregation were printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in an article beneath the headline, "Ka Luakini Hou o Waianae" or "The New Church of Waianae." The news story did ultimately identify the architect. It stated:

O ka luakini hou ma Waianae e ku nei me kona nani nui i keia la he mau kapuai helu wale no ma kahi he kanawale a oi a emi iki maia paha ka mamao mai ka luakini kahiko mai, kahua hoi a ke komite kukulu hale ame na hoohanau o ka hooikaika ana iloko o na makahiki loihi i hala hope aka nei, he kii kona e nele ole ai ka haawo ana aku in na mahalo ia J. Waiamau ka opio Hawaii noeau nana i kaha ke kii no ka mea, he kilakila maoli kona kulaau, he maemae maloko a mawaho, he nani kona puoa me na ololo ma na aoao elua, he nani nan oho o ka papa himeni ame ko ka awai me na huihu[?] kukui eono e lewalewa iho ana na lakou e hoomalamalama iho ana ialoko ileko o na manawa halawai po.⁹⁴

Translated into English the text read:

The new church in Waianae stands with its great beauty today; the distance from the old church is only a few feet, around eighty give or take. The yield of the house building committee and church members was the great effort put in within these past long years; they sought out, so that it would not be neglected, to give their gratitude to J. Waiamau, the intelligent Hawaiian youth who drew the designs, because his status is one of true admiration; the inside and outside (of the church) is attractive, his steeples are beautiful with carved, shaped ridges on both sides, the pews of the choir are of beauty and the pulpit is mingled with six lights hanging above that will light the inside during meetings that take place at night.⁹⁵

The church cost \$4,604 to build and furnish and at the time of its dedication, in excess of \$4,557 had been raised by the Komite Kūkulu Hale or Church Building Committee, leaving an indebtedness of only \$46.⁹⁶ Few congregations could make such a claim. Thus, completion of a new building and its opening in June 1915 was a notable achievement for architect Waiamau, the Native Hawaiian contractor who built it, Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae, and the Native Hawaiian community of Wai'anae.

⁹³ *Ninety-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1915: 24.

⁹⁴ "Ka Luakini Hou o Waianae," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 2, 1915: 2: 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Julie Au, trans., September 12, 2016.

⁹⁶ "Hoike Komite Kukulu Hale," *Ka Nupepae Kuokoa*, July 2, 1915: 2: 2; Julie Au, trans., June 5-6, 2017.

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Post 1915 History: Ekalesia o Mākua or Mākua Church

Despite the positive publicity and celebratory atmosphere surrounding the dedication of Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae, within two years, a disagreement lasting 20 years between two factions in the church caused a schism. Evidence for the length of the dispute along with its root cause—the personality of a particular kahu—was printed in an HEA annual report in 1895. In a section that was derisively titled, “Church Work Among the Natives,” it was noted that:

Early in the year the pastor of the Waianae Church [Rev. Joseph Kekahuna] felt called upon to resign his charge. He did this reluctantly, yielding only to the strong opposition of certain parties in the church. The opposition to this able and good man was raised on purely political grounds...The Makua members of the Waianae Church...sturdily refused to yield up their claims on him as a pastor and he still serves [them] in that capacity.⁹⁷

Ekalesia o Mākua or the Mākua Church had been established in 1861 when a chapel was built and dedicated by Rev. Artemas Bishop of Wailua.⁹⁸ From the year of its opening, the kahu of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae administered to the Mākua congregation but the church was neither recognized as a separate entity by the HEA nor mentioned in the organization's annual reports.

The 1895 disagreement over Rev. Kekahuna was a prelude of things to come. By 1917, differences between the two groups were substantial enough to prompt the trustees of Ekalesia o Mākua to seek complete independence from Ekalesia Hō'olepope of Wai'anae. They filed articles of incorporation on March 26, 1917 and went to court seeking adjudication for their claim of ownership for the Mākua church property. Both the Hawaiian and English language press covered the disagreement as it became more and more public, and especially after a case was filed in circuit court. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* provided the most detailed account of events leading up to the court filing with extensive coverage.

The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* briefly reported on the case beneath the headline, “Country Churches Involved in Land Row,” with the following text:

An equity suit, seeking to cancel a land patent, has been filed in circuit court by the Makua Protestant church against the Waianae Protestant church, it being alleged that the patent was issued to the latter church through a misunderstanding. The Makua church claims that it has occupied the land in question for years and alleges that, when the patent was issued, the Waianae church made an alleged false statement in the effect that the Makua and Waianae churches were one organization.⁹⁹

Earlier in 1913 the *Star-Bulletin* had also reported that a corporate charter for the Wai'anae Protestant Church had been filed in that year and had been approved by the Territorial

⁹⁷ “Church Work Among the Natives,” *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, June 1895: 16.

⁹⁸ “Makua Protestant Church Rededicated,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 23, 1939: 18: 8.

⁹⁹ “Country Churches Involved in Land Row,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 12, 1917: 2: 3.

Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae

Name of Property

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Treasurer. The action increased the church's property value to \$20,060, including the parcel on which Ekalesia o Mākua was sited, which was assessed at \$5,000.¹⁰⁰

The case was ultimately decided eleven months later, following mediation by Judge C.W. Ashford, and reported by the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* beneath the headline, "Country Church Row Settled During Court Recess."¹⁰¹ In a decree that was later issued, the Mākua church retracted its accusation of fraud in exchange for the Wai'anae church being identified only as a trustee for, and not the owner of, the Mākua church property.¹⁰²

In 1920, two years after the property dispute resolution, the Ekalesia o Mākua was finally formally identified in the HEA annual reports as, "Waianaes, Makua," and provided with accompanying statistical data.¹⁰³ In August of the following year, its trustees requested permission from the HEA to raise funds for a new church but were denied.¹⁰⁴

Nonetheless, a building permit was issued for "Makua Protestant Church, Makua, Waianaes" for "\$3880" in November of that year,¹⁰⁵ and a mechanic's lien for \$2893.73 by "Wong Lum et als" was filed at the Bureau of Conveyances on March 15, 1922 and reported in the newspaper on March 22.¹⁰⁶ Curiously, however, no mention of the new church's completion or dedication was made in the newspaper in that or in the following year.

In 1925 proof that a new edifice had indeed been built by Ekalesia o Mākua was provided in a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* article. It noted that the committee of the O'ahu Evangelical Association or OEA (a member organization of the HEA) had recommended "[t]hat permission be granted to the Makua church of Wai'anae to solicit funds to pay the indebtedness on the church building, the amount to be in the neighborhood of \$2000."¹⁰⁷

Ekalesia o Mākua was rededicated on September 2, 1928, presumably after paying off its debt, and once more on December 2, 1939 "after many improvements and much repairing."¹⁰⁸ At the latter of the two events, members of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae were noted as being present, suggesting a warming of relations between the two congregations. They later met at Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae in 1956 and voted to rejoin.

CRITERION C

He Mo'olelo no nā Kūlanakauhale 'Elua: Kalaupapa a me Wai'anae¹⁰⁹ or A Tale of Two Churches: Kalaupapa and Wai'anae

¹⁰⁰ "Local and General," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 20, 1913: 6: 3.

¹⁰¹ "Country Church Row Settled During Court Recess," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 13, 1918: 1: 3.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*, Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1920: 70.

¹⁰⁴ "Will Not Sanction Makua Church Plans for New Structure," *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 27, 1921: 7: 2.

¹⁰⁵ "Permits Issued During the Week...Makua Protestant Church," *Honolulu Advertiser*, __, 1921: 10: 1.

¹⁰⁶ "Record of Conveyances...Makua Protestant Church," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 22, 1922: 9: 4.

¹⁰⁷ "Churches Gain in Membership Reports Show[;] Oahu Evangelical Body Meets[;]" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 4, 1925: 7: 1.

¹⁰⁸ "Makua Protestant Church Rededicated," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 23, 1939: 18: 8.

¹⁰⁹ Julie Au, trans., June 27, 2017

Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae

Name of Property

Honolulu, HI

County and State

In 1912 Waiamau produced a design for a new HEA church at the Settlement in Kalaupapa to replace an aging building that had been erected there in 1844. His two-point perspective rendering of the proposed edifice was published in the organization's annual report of that year (and in two subsequent years) along with the title, "New Church for Kalaupapa" (Figure 3).¹¹⁰ Waiamau was paid \$148 for his design and the sum appeared as a line item in the organization's list of expenditures for that year.

The HEA publication, *The Friend*, first carried Waimau's rendering in December 1912 and included the following text:

The cut on the title page was made from a drawing by Mr. John K. Waiamau, son of Rev. John Waiamau, former pastor of Kaumakapili Church. Mr. Waiamau has resided at Kalaupapa and is well acquainted with needs of that community, and the type of building suited to the winds and rains of that locality. He has had exclusive experience in an architect's office, and in the construction of buildings. The sketch is his contribution in behalf of the Kalaupapa Building Fund, which we acknowledge with grateful thanks.¹¹¹

Ultimately, his initial published design in that year was significantly more substantial than what was later built in 1915 (Figure 4). It was two bays in width and two-stories in height with a gable roof, included a one-story entry portico with cross-gable that was accessible from the front and one side as well as a single-story wing that extended from the portico to the rear of the church that was interrupted at its midpoint by a two-and-one-half-story bell tower.

The revised design ultimately erected at Kalaupapa maintained the two-story principle facade with gabled roof but eliminated the portico and wing. The two-and-one-half-story bell tower was moved to the front of the building and was covered with a double-pitched pyramidal roof. The bell tower also included a gabled roof and exposed wood truss that provided shade for an arched entry at its base. Projecting side bays with cross-gables were added, giving the church a cruciform plan, and the facades were furnished with brackets and other details that ultimately caused it to be classified it as an example of Modified Arts and Crafts Stick Style.¹¹²

Dedicated on February 21, 1915 as Kana'ana Hou or New Canaan Church, it was an exuberant vernacular composition. The building received coverage in two articles in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* beneath the headlines, "Hoolaa Luakini Hou ma Kalaupapa" or "The Consecration of a New Church at Kalaupapa" and "Hoike Kula Sabati o Kana'ana Hou" or "Sabbath School Report of the New Canaan."¹¹³ The writer of the former article provided only a brief and oblique compliment to the architect and contractor following an extensive description of the event. He noted that Theodore Richards, Treasurer for the Hawaiian Board, had exclaimed during a speech that: "Nani nō ka luakini hou" or "The new church is beautiful."¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *The Friend*, December 1912: 287.

¹¹¹ "Hoolaa Luakini Hou ma Kalaupapa," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 12, 1915: 5: 7; "Hoike Kula Sabati o Kana'ana Hou," *Ibid.*, March 12, 1915: 3: 1; Julie Au, trans., June 20, 2017.

¹¹⁴ "Hoolaa Luakini Hou ma Kalaupapa," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 12, 1915: 5: 7; Julie Au, trans., June 20, 2017.

Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae

Name of Property

Honolulu, HI

County and State

Kana'ana Hou was built quickly and recalled in the oral tradition as being completed in just six weeks¹¹⁵ by a Native Hawaiian building crew. Presumably they arrived at Kalaupapa from the port of Honolulu with wood tongue-and-groove boards for use as siding, interior wall finish and flooring, wood moldings, wood sash and doors, wood shingles, nails and miscellaneous supplies. If not brought from Honolulu, rough cut and planed lumber for framing may have been available by a Wood Sawing Plant and Splitting Yard that had been established at the Settlement in 1907¹¹⁶ and was operating from a corrugated metal building nearby.¹¹⁷

Four months later, Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae was finally completed and dedicated with similar fanfare. It was similar in plan and massing to Kana'ana Hou, though narrower in width and much more restrained in its Vernacular Gothic Revival styling. For reasons that remain unknown, it also took considerably longer to build. The HEA publication, *The Friend*, had briefly announced its groundbreaking earlier in 1914 beneath the title, "New Church Buildings," with the following statement: "Work has begun on the foundation of a \$3500 church at Waianae. John Waiamau, son of Rev. J. Waiamau, the deceased pastor of Kaumakapili Church, is the architect."¹¹⁸

He Kanaka Kūkulu Hale Hawai'i¹¹⁹ or A Native Hawaiian Builder

The contractor selected to erect Kana'ana Hou and Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae was a Native Hawaiian named Samuela Kalama (S.K. or Sam) Kaaumoana (1860-1923). Kaaumoana was born in Kipahulu, Maui and married Elizabeth Kanoelehua (Kanoë) Okahalemaumau Kaiona (1862-1953) from Kaupō, Maui. The couple moved to Honolulu in 1878, were married there in that year, and settled in Pauoa Valley. Their first child, Solomon, was born in 1879 but died in 1888 at the age of five. The couple had three more sons named, David, Sam, Jr., and Charles—all of whom later became carpenters—as well as four daughters named Kalama, Velose(?), Elizabeth, and Kamoela.¹²⁰

Kaaumoana was first listed as a "carpenter" in the Honolulu city directory of 1884 and was one of 39 Native Hawaiian carpenters who were identified in the publication in that year.¹²¹ He was

¹¹⁵ Greene, Linda W., "Exile in Paradise: The Isolation of Hawaii's Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865-Present," Historic Resource Study, Kalaupapa National Historic Park. Denver: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985: 318.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. The Wood Sawing Plant was powered by a six-horsepower gasoline engine that operated two crosscut saws as well as benches and two splitting machines.

¹¹⁸ "New Buildings," *The Friend*, Vol. LXXII, No. 7, July 1914: 154.

¹¹⁹ Julie Au, trans., June 20, 2017

¹²⁰ *Twelfth Census of the United States*, "Honolulu," Sheet 30B, lines 37-47, Enumeration District (E.D.) 5, June 21, 1900; *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, "Honolulu City, Booth Road," Sheet 35A, lines 10-17, Enumeration District (E.D.) 36, May 14, 1910.

¹²¹ Solamillo, Stanley. "Honolulu Carpenters, 1871-98," Unpublished Ms., Honolulu: Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation (HART), 2014: n.p. The 39 Native Hawaiian carpenters who were identified in the city directory of 1884-85 comprised 23% or the tradesmen listed, compared with 122 or 71% who were European or Euro-American and 10 or 6% who were Chinese. They included: Akapa, Apukai, Hopeka, Samuel Kaaumoana (Enterprise Mill), William Kahaole, Kakanelua, Samuel Kakauleo, Kaliialoa, Kamana, Sam and Samuel Kanahele, Kaoliko, J.W. Kapaa (George Lucas), Charles Kanuha, Kapule, Kaukea (George Lucas), Samuel Kauleo (N.F. Burgess), Kekaua, Koa, Jacob Koliko, Charles Komahale, Samuel Komoa, Samuel Kumukahi, Joseph Kupaa, Lonokiaki, Charles and Joseph H. Mahoe, Joseph and Samuel Mahoe (George Lucas), E.H. Mahuka, Mokuahi (George Lucas), Momona, David N.L.

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employed by Enterprise Mill, a lumber concern owned by Paul High, and described as being a "contractor and builder."¹²² Kaaumoana appears to have retained his position through 1890, after which he was identified as a "carpenter and contractor"¹²³ through 1895. He was not listed in the city or island directories from 1896-1903, but was identified from 1904-1909 as a carpenter who was employed by H.F. Bertelmann, also an independent contractor and builder.¹²⁴

In 1909 he appeared in the directories as "Samuel Kaaumoana & Co." that operated from 1909-16. Described in the 1911 city directory as "Contractors and Builders," the company offered a "Bureau of All Trades," and was based out of an office at 1026 Smith Street.¹²⁵ Kaaumoana & Co. was primarily a residential contractor and in 1916 alone, was also identified in the English language newspapers as "S.K. Kaaumoana, builder" and noted as filing for building permits to construct dwellings in the Kaimuki, Kalihi-Kai, and Kalihi-Palama neighborhoods.¹²⁶ As early as 1888, Kaaumoana and another carpenter named Thomas Andrews bid on the construction of a Superintendent's residence at Kalaupapa under the name of "Andrews & Kaaumoana" while both were employed at Enterprise Mill. Unfortunately, the contract was awarded to Kaaumoana's future employer, H.F. Bertelmann.¹²⁷

In 1915 Kaaumoana & Co. employed four of his sons, along with two relatives named Abraham and John Kaaumoana. The office had been relocated from Smith Street to Pauoa Road.¹²⁸ Despite his work with Waiamau on the Kalaupapa and Wai'anae churches, Kaaumoana filed for building permits in the following year as "S.K. Kaaumoana[,] architect and builder," suggesting that their business relationship had ended.¹²⁹ By 1916 the company also appears to have reduced its workforce and only Kaaumoana and one of his sons were identified as employees.¹³⁰ He later joined Honolulu Iron Works as a carpenter and appears to have remained employed there until his death in 1923. Kaaumoana maintained a residence for himself, his wife and children on Booth Road in Pauoa Valley, "above Pauoa church."¹³¹

Besides being a building contractor, Kaaumoana was also a political activist. In the wake of the failed Wilcox Rebellion of 1889, he became involved in the 'Ao'ao Lāhui or National Reform

Nakea, John Naukana, Moses Pahina (George Lucas), Samuel Pauau (Enterprise Mill), Samuel Po (Enterprise Mill), Puahiwa, and Samuel Puakao; Husted 1884-85: 95, 109, 134, 140-141, 144, 145, 147-148, 150-152, 160-161, 163, 169, 173, 182, 185, 191, 193, 198.

¹²² *McKenney's Hawaiian Directory*. San Francisco: L.K. McKenney & Co, Publishers, 1884: 140.

¹²³ *Directory and Handbook of the Kingdom of Hawaii*. Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1890: 210.

¹²⁴ *Husted's Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1896: 188; *Ibid.* 1898: 126; *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and Territory of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1902: 244; *Ibid.* 1903: 223; *Ibid.* 1904: 218; *Ibid.* 1907: 340; *Ibid.* 1909: 299.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 1911: 340.

¹²⁶ "Building Permits," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 19, 1916: 3: 1; September 3, 1916: 8: 2; September 7, 1916: 8: 5; November 6, 1916: 12: 4.

¹²⁷ "Tenders," *Evening Bulletin*, December 4, 1888: 2: 5.

¹²⁸ *Husted's Directory and Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1915: 350.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1916: 6: _.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 1916: 384.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 1905: 217.

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Party and was elected party chair in 1890.¹³² The Native Hawaiian organization was formed in opposition to the Euro-American 'Ao'ao Ho'oma'ema'e or Reform Party that had been organized from the membership of the earlier 'Ao'ao Mikiona or Missionary Party. It remains unknown whether he joined the Hui Hawaii Aloha 'Aina or Hawaiian Patriotic League that was formed six years later. He does not appear to have signed the organization's *Palapa Hoopii Kue Hoohuiaina* or Anti-annexation Petition although perhaps one of his relatives did. The surname "Kaaumoana" along with the age of "26" was written on line 7 of Petition 719 on September 11, 1897.¹³³ In that year, he and his wife were 37 and 36, respectively, and their eldest child was 16.¹³⁴

Kaaumoana did become a member of *Na Home Rula Kuokoa* or the Home Rule political party (1900-12) and served as delegate to the Honolulu convention in 1900.¹³⁵ He appears to have later left the party but remained active in politics through at least 1912 when he served once more as delegate to the county convention in support of Prince Jonah Kūhio Kalaniana'ole.¹³⁶ *Na Home Rula Kuokoa* disbanded after the elections of that year. In apparent attempts to discredit Kaaumoana, the Euro-American press published a number of unflattering news stories about him in 1901, 1909, 1911 and 1915.¹³⁷ He died in 1923.

No ka 'Oihana Kaha Ki'i Hale¹³⁸ or Architecture

Kana'ana Hou and Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae are two sister churches that Native Hawaiian architect John K. Waiamau produced designs for in 1912 and revised later at indeterminate dates prior to 1915. They were almost identical in massing, floor plan, and fenestration. However, they did not look alike because he made them stylistically different. Kana'ana Hou was Modified Arts and Crafts Stick Style while Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae was embellished with details associated with a Vernacular Gothic Revival Style.

Waiamau further differentiated the two designs by modifying the structural components while maintaining nearly the same dimensions to produce different effects. Kana'ana Hou (Figure 18) is two-stories in height, 34'-0" in width and 60'-0" in length, and features interior columns with exposed beams to carry the roof loads. These members interrupt the views from the Vestibules to the Chancel and Choir. In contrast, Ekalesia Hō'olepope o Wai'anae (Figure 19) is two-and-

¹³² "Ma Ke Kauoha, Hoolaha Hoopaa Inoa," "Ka Ahaiiono a Ka Lahui," January 17, 1890: 2: 1; Julie Au, trans., June 2017.

¹³³ *Palapa Hoopii Kue Hoohuiaina*, Apana o Honolulu, Mokupuni o Oahu, 1897: 719.

¹³⁴ Ages calculated from *Twelfth Census of the United States*, "Honolulu," Sheet 30B, lines 37-47, Enumeration District (E.D.) 5, June 21, 1900; *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, "Honolulu City, Booth Road," Sheet 35A, lines 10-17, Enumeration District (E.D.) 36, May 14, 1910.

¹³⁵ "Independents Name Legislative Ticket," *Honolulu Republican*, October 11, 1900: 1: 1.

¹³⁶ "No Opposition to Kuhio in Nominations Last Night for Territorial Convention Delegates," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 24, 1912: 1: 3.

¹³⁷ "News of the Courts," [Bishop & Co. vs. Samuel Kaaumoana and Kauae Kaaumoana], *Honolulu Republican*, January 20, 1901: 6: 3; "Police Officer Says He Himself Helped Burn Booth House...Prosecution Expects to Prove Sensational Array of Facts Through Kaaumoana, Booth's Defendant, and Others," *Evening Bulletin*, February 2, 1909: 1: 5-6, 4: 4; "Lewers & Cooke, Ltd. vs. Sam Kaaumoana et al," *Hawaiian Star*, February 9, 1911: 8: 2, "Court Items," *Ibid.*, July 14, 1911: 5: 3; "Mayor Thinks Kaaumoana May Have Solved Perpetual Motion," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 8, 1915: 2: 3-4.

¹³⁸ Julie Au, trans., July 10, 2017

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one-half stories in height, 37'-3" in width and 62'-6" in length. Waiamau employed roof trusses on a pair of rectangular trusses that were supported by paired pilasters at the front and rear of the Nave. This allowed for the complete omission of interior columns and the provision of unobstructed views from the Vestibules to the Chancel and Choir.

Combined with the cross-axes that were created by two projecting cross-gables that provided natural illumination as well as interior finishes that consisted largely of vertically-laid tongue-and-groove wall boards to accentuate height, the visual effects of verticality and expansiveness were much more enhanced in Ekalesia Hō'olepopo o Wai'anae than in Kana'ana Hou. Given these achievements, the interior of Ekalesia Hō'olepopo is particularly rare and significant because it retains such features as well as its original plan, original single-wall construction with exposed wood framing, and all of its original finishes, as designed by a Native Hawaiian architect and erected by Native Hawaiian carpenters in 1915.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other
- Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreege of Property 0.39 Acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude: _____ Longitude: _____
2. Latitude: _____ Longitude: _____
3. Latitude: _____ Longitude: _____
4. Latitude: _____ Longitude: _____

Or

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UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Zone: 4Q | Easting: 584335.35 | Northing: 2371615.04 |
| 2. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 3. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 4. Zone: | Easting : | Northing: |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The property to be designated is a 0.39-acre portion of State of Hawaii Tax Map Key (1) 8-5-010:030 and is nearly rectangular in shape. From the southeast corner of the property, the parcel boundary extends 170 feet along an existing fence line to the northeast corner, 100 feet to the northwest corner, 170 feet along the existing church cemetery to the southwest corner, and 100 feet to the point of origin.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries described are for the NRHP property designation for Ekalesia Hoolepopo o Waianae as approved by the church board on September 24, 2017, and whose limits exclude both the church cemetery and hall. It includes a parking lot that is located adjacent to the front (southwest) façade, the side yard that adjoins the side (southeast) facade as well as 10 foot rear and side yards that are adjacent to the rear (northeast) and side (northwest) facades.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Stanley Solamillo, Architectural Historian
organization: for Waianae Protestant Church, 85-946 Mill Street, Waianae, HI 96792
street & number: 435 Walina Street, #403
city or town: Honolulu state: HI zip code: 96815
e-mail: ssolamillo@gmail.com
telephone: 808-250-3273
date: 09.28.17

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Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

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SUMMARY OF ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Maps

- Map 1. U.S. Geological Survey, Topographic Map of O'ahu with Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1970.
- Map 2. U.S. Geological Survey, "Waianae, HI," Quadrangle. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.
- Map 3. Detail, U.S. Geological Survey, "Waianae, HI," Quadrangle. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.
- Map 4. "Map of Waianae[,] Oahu" with Protestant Church (Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae) indicated by arrow. M.D. Monsarrat, n.d. Government Survey Registered Map No. 1348.
- Map 5. "Tracing of M.D. Monsarrat's Map of 'Waianae, Oahu'" with Protestant Church (Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae) site indicated by arrow. Traced by H.E. Newton, W.L. Heilbron, and H.C. Pierce, May 1902.
- Map 6. "Waianae and Adjacent Coast, Oahu" with Protestant Church (Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae) site indicated by arrow. Surveyed and drawn by George Gresley Jackson, April 1884. Traced by H.E. Newton, July 1908. Hawaii State Registered Plat No. 2116.
- Map 7. Detail of Sheet 3 of Land Court Application 1102 (Amended), showing Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae with earlier church before it was demolished. Land Court, Territory of Hawaii, 1937.
- Map 8. Photo mosaic of lower right and upper left sections of US Geological Survey Advance Sheets, "Keana, HI" and "Waianae, HI" Quadrangles, 1929, with location of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow. magis.manoa.hawaii.edu
- Map 9. Aerial Photograph from Google Earth used to illustrate existing spatial relationships. Accessed July 18, 2017.
- Map 10. Boundaries of NRHP property designation for Ekalesia Hoolepope o Waianae as approved by the church board on September 24, 2017, whose limits exclude the church cemetery and hall.

Figures

- Figure 1. Graduation photograph of Kamehameha School for Boys (KSB) Class of 1891. Seated from left to right: John Waiamau, Sam Keliinoi, William Olin Crowell, Robert Pahau, Charles Blake, Tomas N. Hase. Standing: William Manaole Keolanui, Fred Beckley, Solomon Hanohano, William Rathburn, Sam Kauhane, Moses Kauwe, Charles E. King, W.E. Brown. Kamehameha Schools, 2017.
- Figure 2. "E Hoomanao Ana Na Humana Kahiko," or "The First Kamehameha Class Celebrates Reunion," with John Waiamau seated second from left. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 12, 1916: 1: _.
- Figure 3. Waiamau's initial design for a "Proposed Church Building, Kalaupapa, Molokai" (Kana'ana Hou) that was printed in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) publication, *The Friend* in 1912.
- Figure 4. Waiamau's final design as constructed, Perspective View of Tower and Window from Northwest, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-5.
- Figure 5. Group portrait of members of the congregation of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae at an indeterminate date during the church dedication, June 26-27, 1915.

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- Figure 6. Oblique view of rear (north) façade of earlier church with shed addition and Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae on left and smokestack of the WCo sugar mill on right, looking south (n.d.)
- Figure 7. Aerial oblique of Waianae Town looking northwest, with bell tower of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1929. USAMH No. 7421, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol. IV, Waianae 1929. De Bord Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu.
- Figure 8. Detail of aerial oblique of Waianae Town looking northwest, with bell tower of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1929. USAMH No. 7421, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol. IV, Waianae 1929. De Bord Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu.
- Figure 9. Aerial photograph of Waianae Town with Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1949.
- Figure 10. Detail of aerial photograph of Waianae Town with Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1949.
- Figure 11. Front (Southwest) façade of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae, USAMH No. 9484, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol II, Waianae Church, ca.1936-41, R.S. Waltermire Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu.
- Figure 12. Front (Southwest) façade of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae, after minor alterations had been completed (c. 1970).
- Figure 13. North Front Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-1.
- Figure 14. East Side Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-7.
- Figure 15. South Rear Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-8.
- Figure 16. Interior View to Altar Looking South, Note Koa Wood Cross and Pulpit, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-9.
- Figure 17. Interior View to Rear Looking North, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-11.
- Figure 18. Floor Plan of Kana'ana Hou. NPS KALA 491-20915.
- Figure 19. Floor Plan of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae.
- Figure 20. Photo Key Plan of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae.

Photos

- Photo Log
- Photos*
 - (See listings in photo log)

*Note that photos are also provided as high-resolution electronic files (TIFFs) complying with the National Register Photo Policy Expansion.

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Map 1. U.S. Geological Survey, Topographic Map of O'ahu with Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1970.



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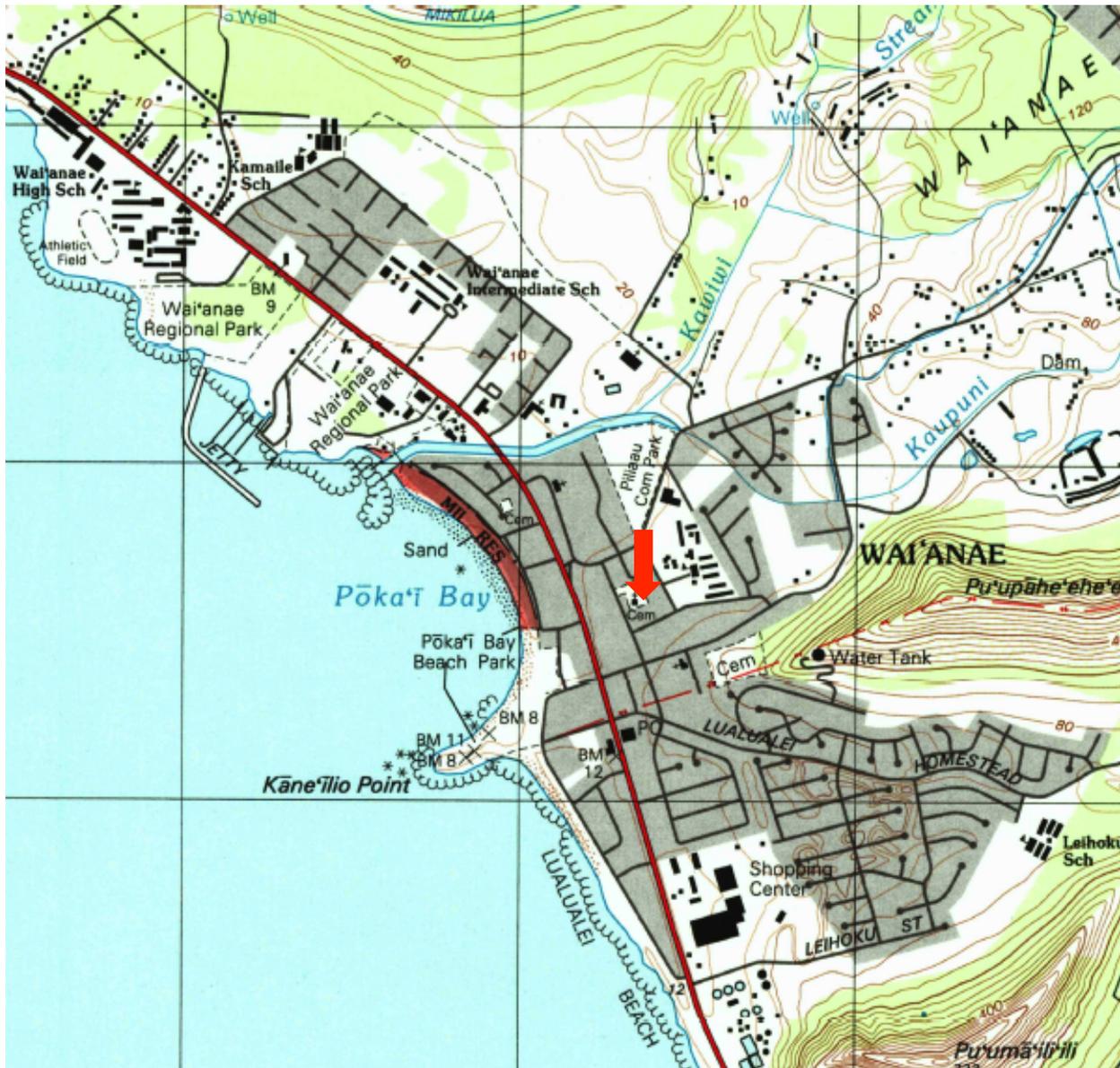
Map 2. U.S. Geological Survey, "Waianae, HI," Quadrangle. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.



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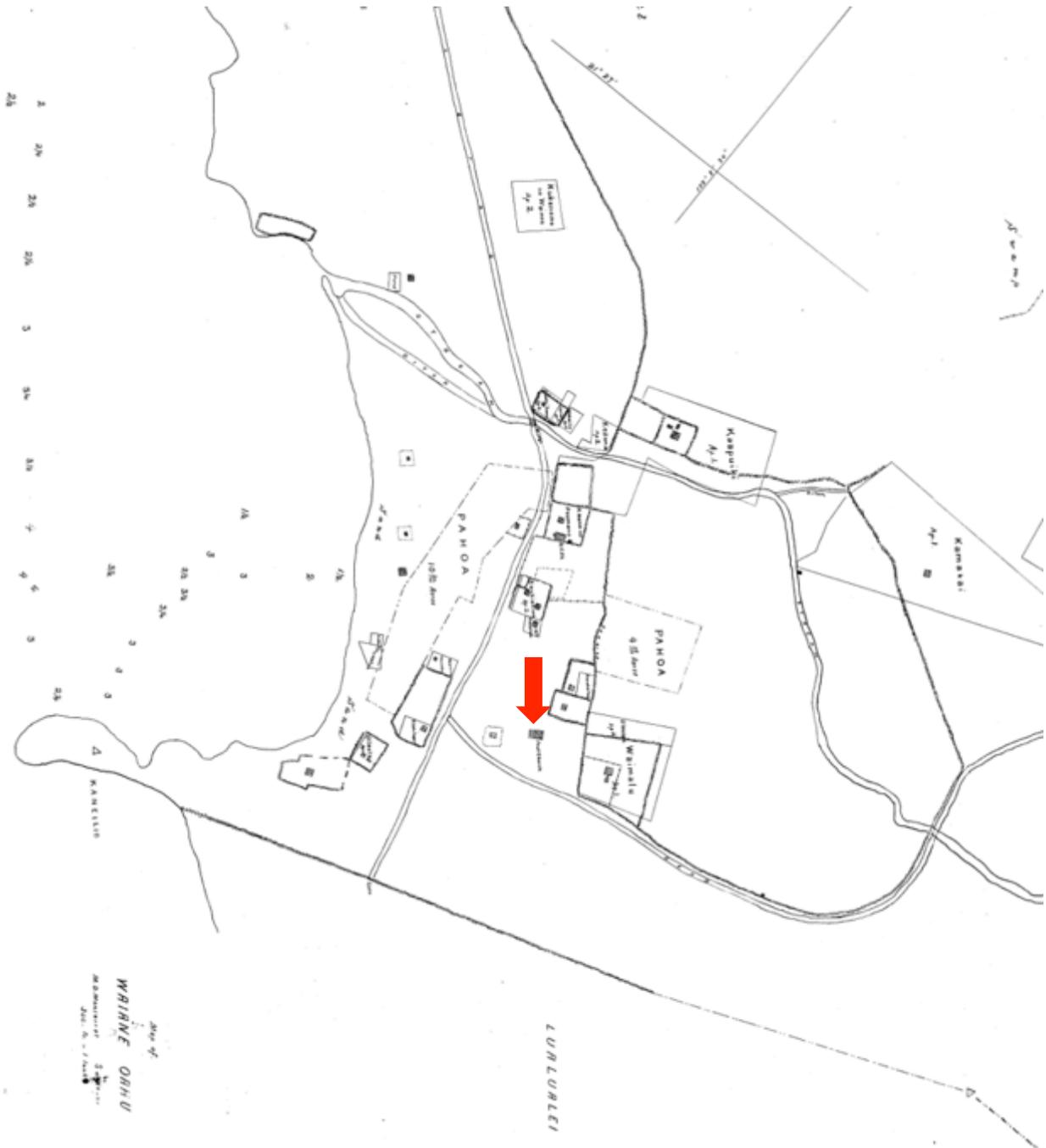
Map 3. Detail, U.S. Geological Survey, "Waianae, HI," Quadrangle. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.



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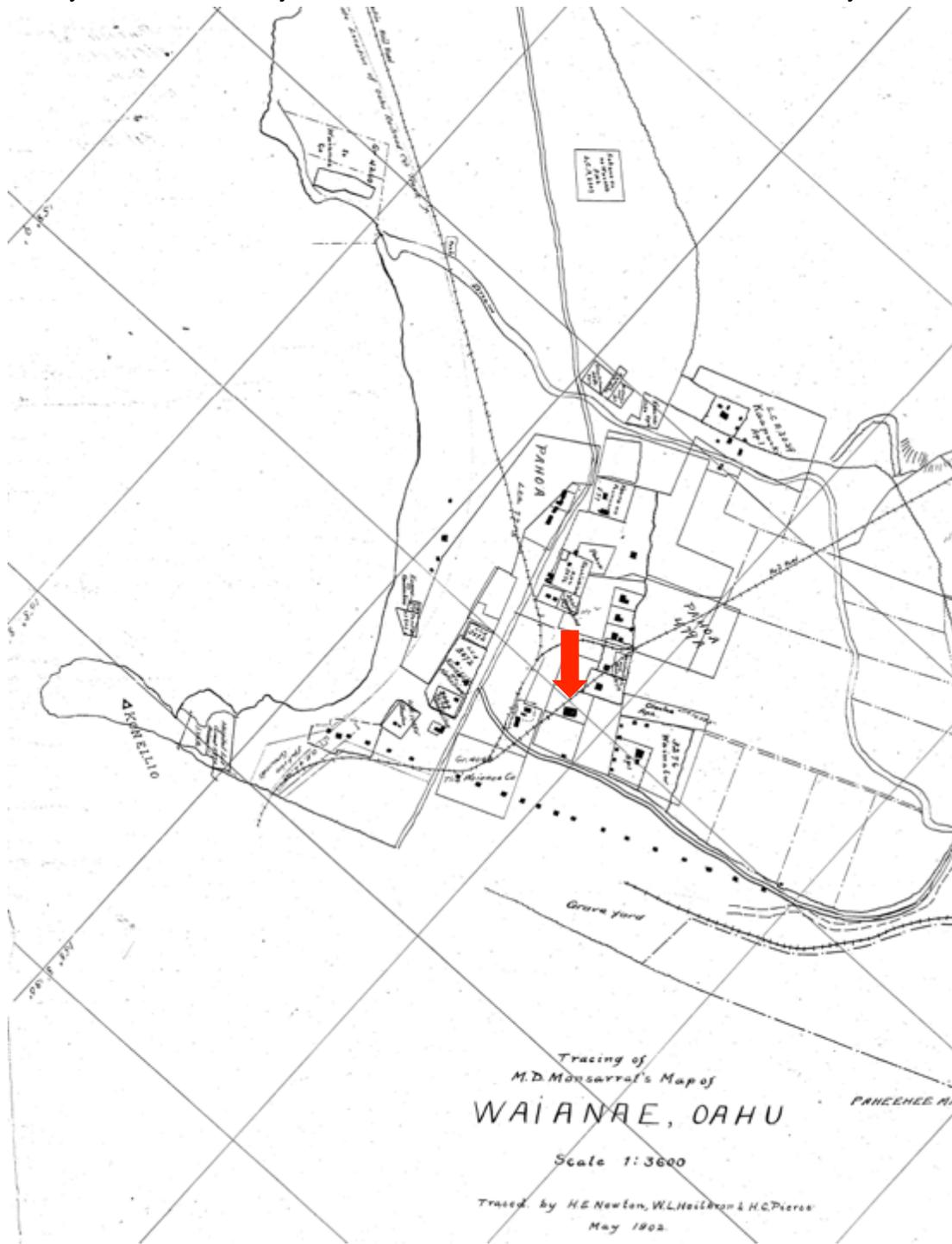
Map 4. "Map of Waianae[,] Oahu" with Protestant Church indicated by arrow. M.D. Monsarrat, n.d. Government Survey Registered Map No. 1348.



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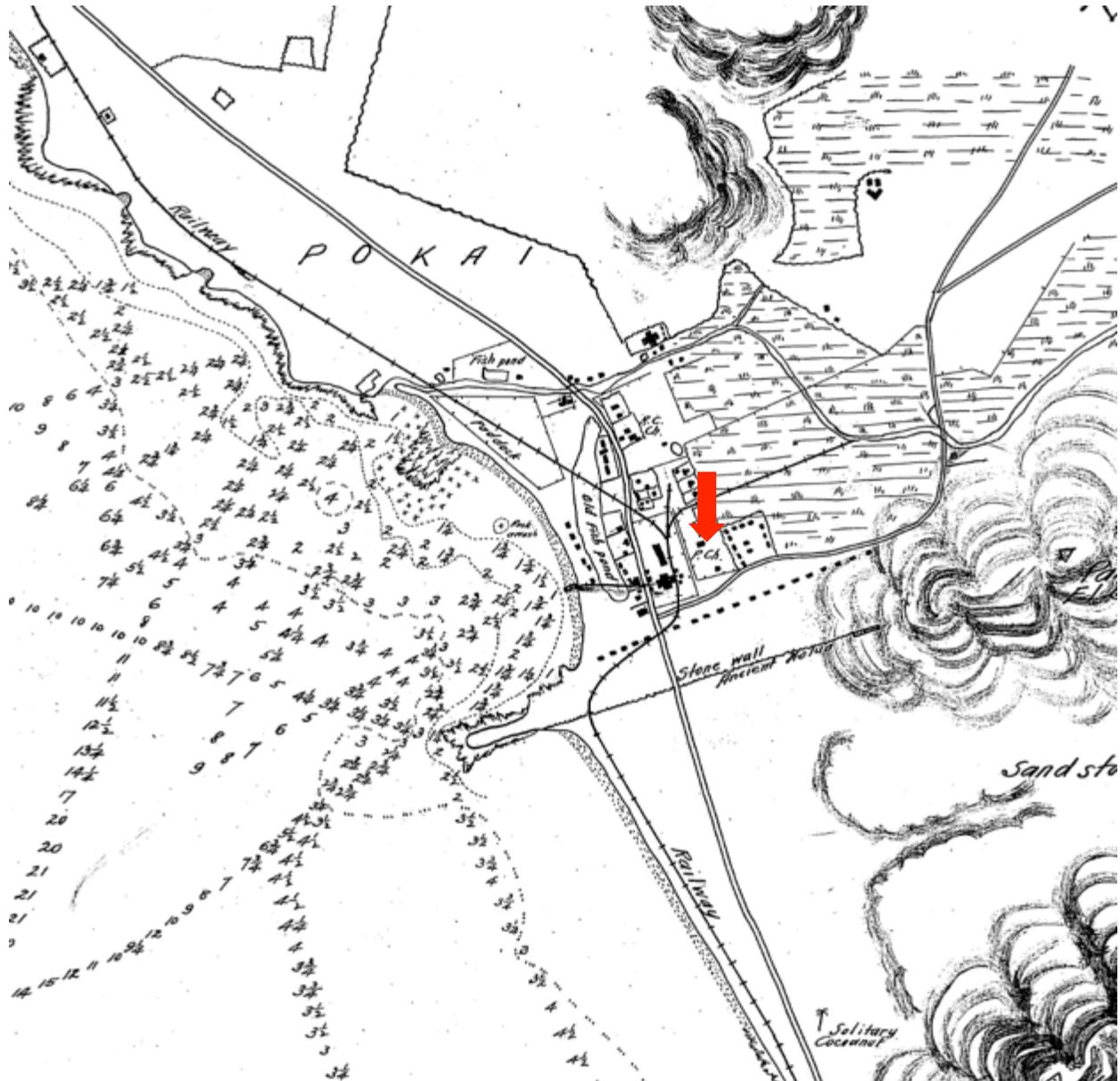
Map 5. "Tracing of M.D. Monsarrat's Map of 'Waianae, Oahu'" with Protestant Church site indicated by arrow. Traced by H.E. Newton, W.L. Heilbron, and H.C. Pierce, May 1902.



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Map 6. "Waianae and Adjacent Coast, Oahu" with Protestant Church site indicated by arrow. Surveyed and drawn by George Gresley Jackson, April 1884. Traced by H.E. Newton, July 1908. Hawaii State Registered Plat No. 2116.



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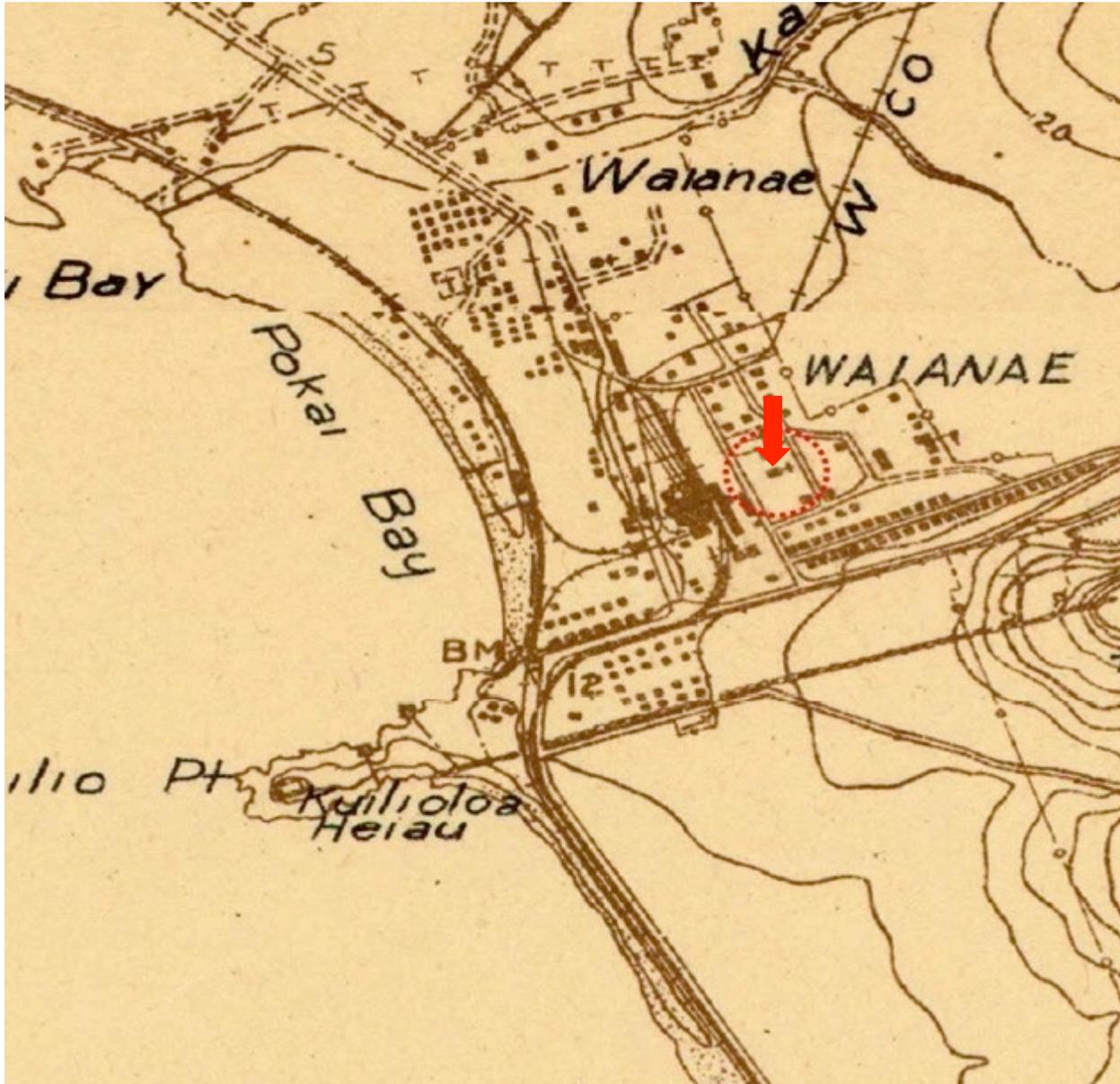
Map 7. Detail of Sheet 3 of Land Court Application 1102 (Amended), showing Ekalesia Ho'olelope o Wai'anae with earlier church before it was demolished. Land Court, Territory of Hawaii, 1937.



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Map 8. Photomosaic of the lower right hand and upper left sections of "Kaena, HI" and "Waianae, HI" US Geological Survey Advance Sheets showing Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1929.



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Map 9. Aerial Photograph from Google Earth used to illustrate existing spatial relationships. Within the rectangular Church property are the modern Church Hall on the upper left, the Cemetery on the upper right, and the 1915 Church in the bottom center. Note also the proximity of the Waianae Company Sugar Mill site on the lower left (west) and the Waianae Elementary School to the far right (east) of the Church parcel.



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Map 10. Boundaries of NRHP property designation for Ekalesia Hoolelope o Wai'anae as approved by the church board on September 24, 2017, whose limits exclude the church cemetery and hall.



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Figure 1. Graduation portrait of Kamehameha School for Boys (KSB) Class of 1891. Seated from left to right: John Waiamau, Sam Keliinoi, William Olin Crowell, Robert Pahau, Charles Blake, Tomas N. Hase. Standing: William Manaole Keolanui, Fred Beckley, Solomon Hanohano, William Rathburn, Sam Kauhane, Moses Kauwe, Charles E. King, W.E. Brown.



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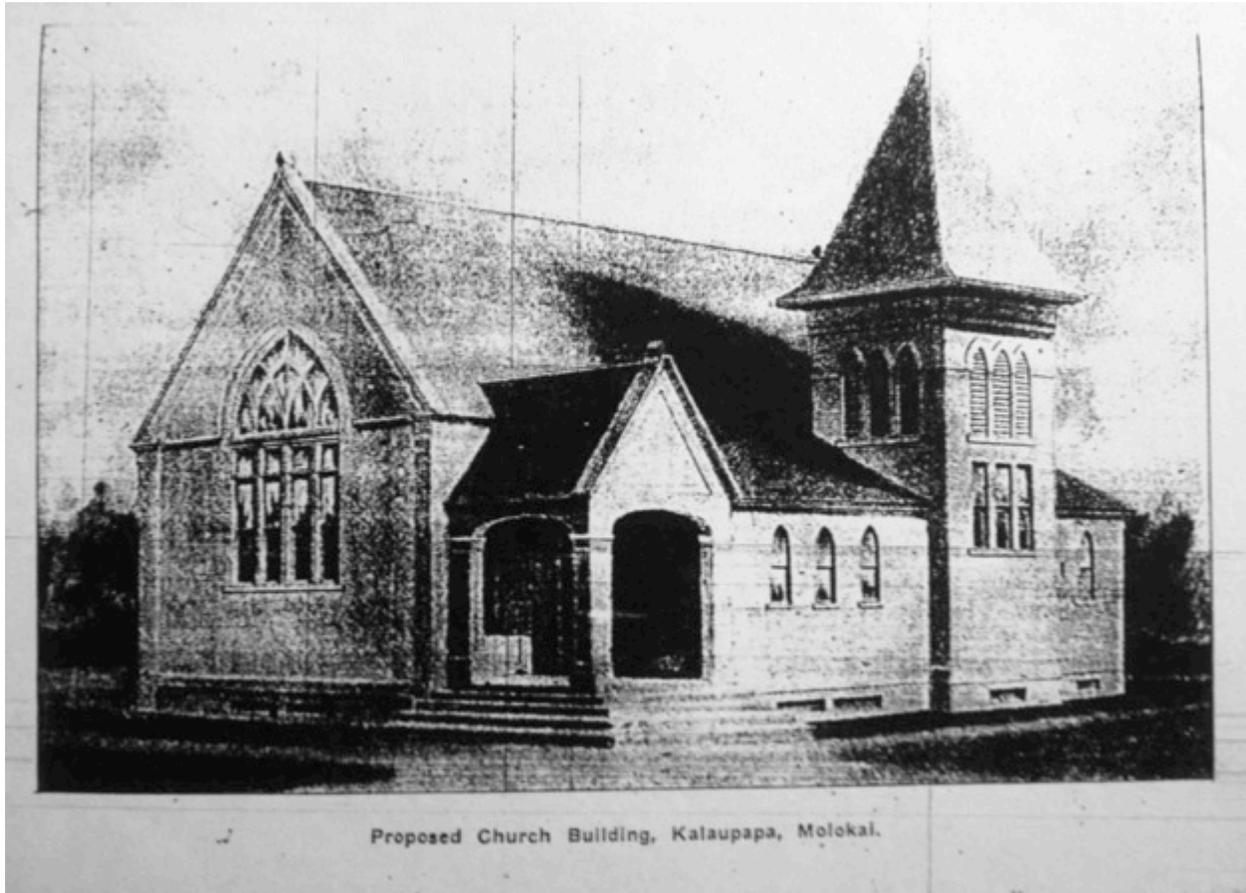
Figure 2. "E Hoomanao Ana Na Humana Kahiko," or "The First Kamehameha Class Celebrates Reunion," with John Waiamau seated second from left. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 12, 1916.



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Figure 3. Waiamau's initial design for a "Proposed Church Building, Kalaupapa, Molokai" (Kana'ana Hou) that was printed in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) publication, *The Friend* in 1912.



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Figure 4. Waiamau's final design as constructed; Perspective View of Tower and Window from Northwest, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalwao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-5.



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Figure 5. Group portrait of members of the congregation of Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae at an indeterminate date during the church dedication, June 26-27, 1915.



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Figure 6. Oblique view of rear (north) façade of earlier church with shed addition and Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae on left and smokestack of the WCo sugar mill on right, looking south.



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Figure 7. USAMH No. 7421, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol. IV, Waianae 1929, De Bord Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu



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Figure 8. Enlargement of USAMH No. 7421, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol. IV, Waianae 1929, De Bord Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu



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Figure 9. Aerial Photograph of Waianae Town with Ekalesia Ho'olepopo o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1949.



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Figure 10. Detail of aerial photograph of Waianae Town with Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae indicated by arrow, 1949.



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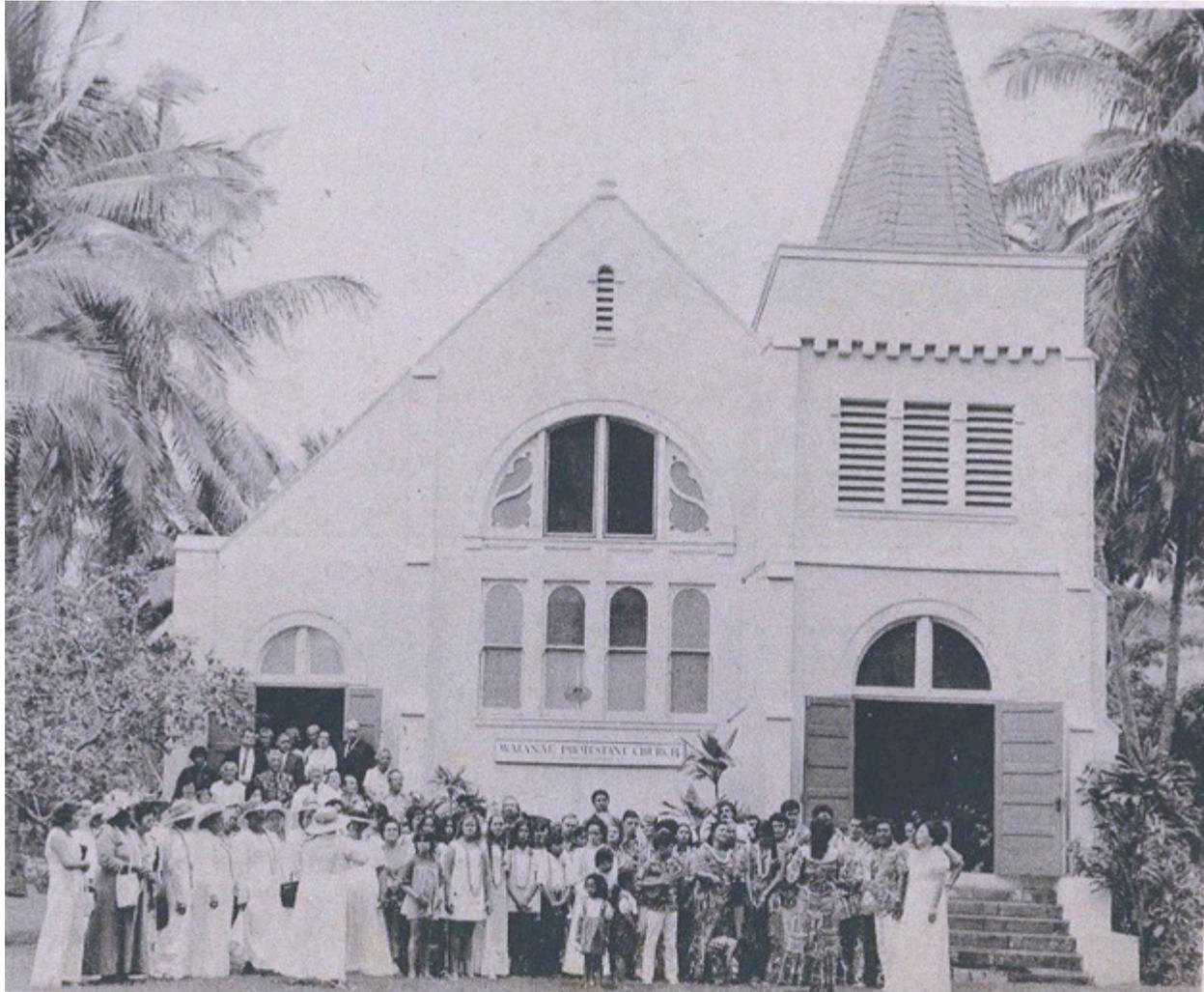
Figure 11. Front (Southwest) façade of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae, USAMH No. 9484, Hawaii Non-Military, Vol II, Waianae Church, ca.1936-41, R.S. Waltermire Collection, Fort DeRussey, O'ahu.



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Figure 12. Front (Southwest) façade of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae, after minor alterations had been completed (c. 1970).



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Figure 13. North Front Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalwao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-1.



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Figure 14. East Side Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalwao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-7.



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Figure 15. South Rear Elevation with Scale, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalwao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-8.



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Figure 16. Interior View to Altar Looking South, Note Koa Wood Cross and Pulpit, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalwao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-9.



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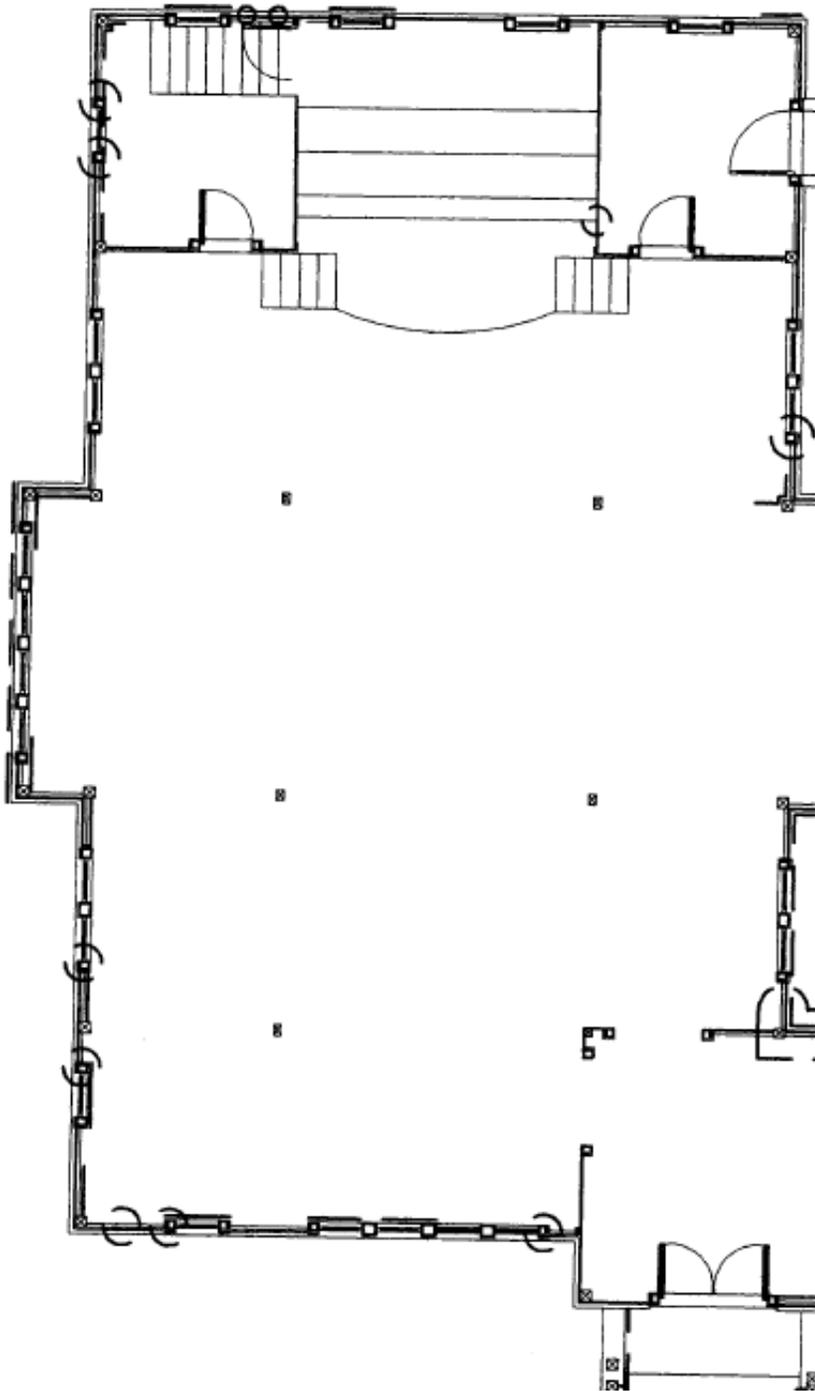
Figure 17. Interior View to Rear Looking North, Kana'ana Hou Calvinist Church, Moloka'i Island, Kalaupapa, Kalawao County, HI. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) No. 123-11.



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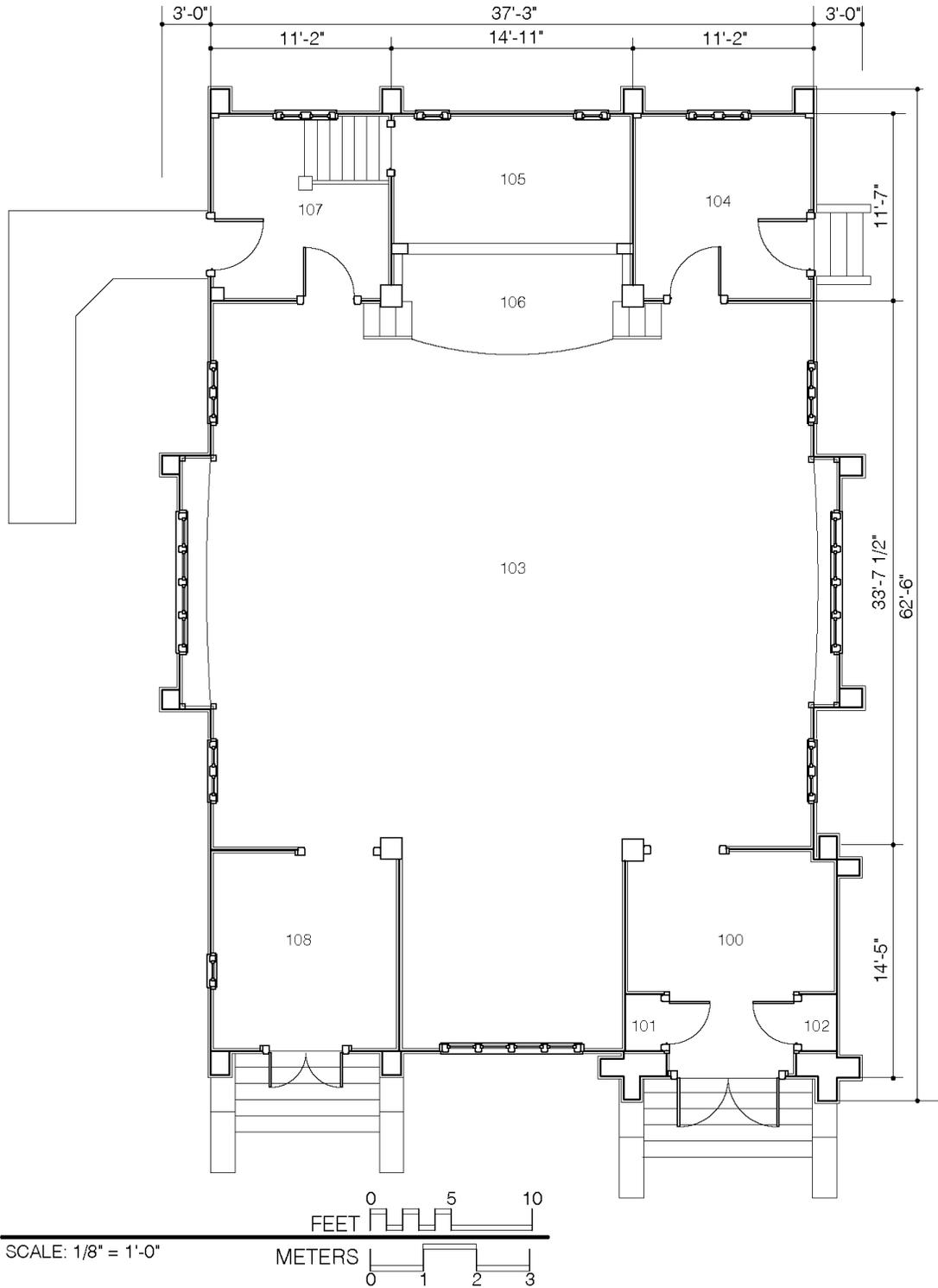
Figure 18. Floor Plan of of Kana'ana Hou. NPS KALA 491-20915.



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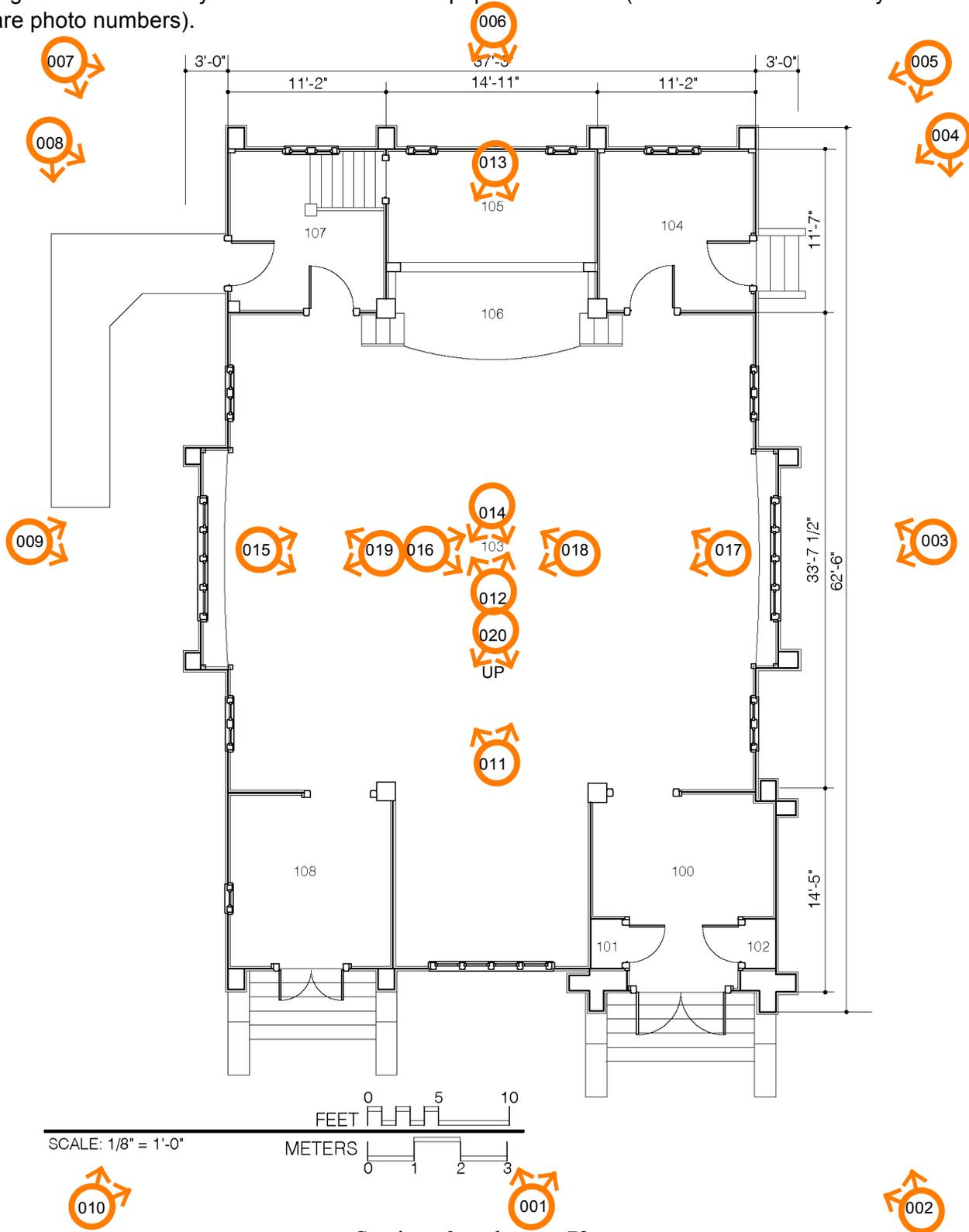
Figure 19. Floor Plan of of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae.



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Figure 20. Photo Key Plan of Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae (Numbers in directional symbols are photo numbers).



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Photos

PHOTO LOG

Name of Property: Ekalesia Ho'olepope o Wai'anae
City or Vicinity: Honolulu
County: Honolulu
State: HI
Name of Photographer: Tony Martie
Dates Photographed: September 3, 2017
Location of Original Digital Files: 435 Walina Street, Honolulu, HI 96815

Photo 001 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW001)
Front (Southwest) façade, camera facing Northwest

Photo 002 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW002)
Front (Southwest) and side (Southeast) façades, camera facing North

Photo 003 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW003)
Side (Southeast) façade, camera facing Northwest

Photo 004 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW004)
Side (Southeast) and rear (Northeast) façades, camera facing Southwest

Photo 005 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW005)
Rear (Northeast) and side (Southeast) façades, camera facing West

Photo 006 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW006)
Rear (Northeast) facade, camera facing Southwest

Photo 007 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW007)
Rear (Northeast) and side (Northwest) facades, camera facing Southeast

Photo 008 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW008)
Side (Northwest) and rear (Northeast) facades, camera facing South

Photo 009 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW009)
Side (Northwest) facade, camera facing Southeast

Photo 010 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW010)
Side (Northwest) and front (Southwest) facades, camera facing Northeast

Photo 011 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW011)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northeast

Photo 012 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW012)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest

Photo 013 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW013)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest

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Photo 014 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW014)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest

Photo 015 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW015)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southeast

Photo 016 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW016)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southeast

Photo 017 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW017)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northwest

Photo 018 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW018)
Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northwest

Photo 019 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW019)
Nave (103) Interior, detail of window, camera facing Northwest

Photo 020 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW020)
Nave (103) Interior, detail of ceiling, camera facing Southwest and upward

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Photo 001 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW001). Front (Southwest) façade, camera facing Northwest.



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Photo 002 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW002). Front (Southwest) and side (Southeast) façades, camera facing North.



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Photo 003 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW003). Side (Southeast) façade, camera facing Northwest.



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Photo 004 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaW004). Side (Southeast) and rear (Northeast) façades, camera facing Southwest.



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Photo 005 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaW005). Rear (Northeast) and side (Southeast) façades, camera facing West.



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Photo 006 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW006). Rear (Northeast) facade, camera facing Southwest.



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Photo 007 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW007). Rear (Northeast) and side (Northwest) facades, camera facing Southeast.



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Photo 008 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW008). Side (Northwest) and rear (Northeast) facades, camera facing South.



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Photo 009 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW009). Side (Northwest) facade, camera facing Southeast.



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Photo 010 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW010). Side (Northwest) and front (Southwest) facades, camera facing Northeast



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Photo 011 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW011). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northeast.



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Photo 012 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW012). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest.



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Photo 013 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW013). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest.



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Photo 014 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW014). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southwest.



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Photo 015 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW015). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southeast.



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Photo 016 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW016). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Southeast.



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Photo 017 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaW017). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northwest.



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Photo 018 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW018). Nave (103) Interior, camera facing Northwest.



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Photo 019 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaW019). Nave (103) Interior, detail of window, camera facing Northwest.



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Photo 020 (HI_Honolulu_EkalesiaoW020). Nave (103) Interior, detail of ceiling, camera facing Southwest and upward.



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

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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 100 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 Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.