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 Honouliuli Internment Camp

Other names/site number Civilian Internee Stockade, POW Compounds 6, 8, and 9, *Jigoku-Dani*

2. Location

street & number One-half mile north of Highway H-1, along Honouliuli Gulch; 3½ miles west of Waipahu ☒ not for publication

city or town Waipahu ☒ vicinity

state Hawaii code HI county Honolulu code 003 zip code 96707

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 ☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official Date

Title State or Federal Agency bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official Date

Title State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is: Signature of Keeper Date of Action

☐ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain): _____

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

- ☒ private
- ☒ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal
- ☐ Tribal Lands

Category of Property

- ☐ building(s)
- ☐ district
- ☒ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
2	2	buildings
1		sites
2	14	structures
		objects
5	16	Total

Name of related multiple property listing

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

DEFENSE/military facility
GOVERNMENT/correctional facility
AGRICULTURE/irrigation facility

Current Functions

EXTRACTION/waterworks
AGRICULTURAL/storage
INDUSTRY/communications facility
VACANT

7. Description

Architectural Classification

Other - U.S. Army

Materials

foundation concrete, rock
walls wood, rock
roof wood
other concrete, rock, metal, wood

Narrative Description

Summary Paragraph

Located on the island of O‘ahu about 15 miles west of Honolulu, the Honouliuli Internment Camp contains over 130 features related to the incarceration of American civilians, resident aliens, and prisoners of war during World War II. As it was during its occupation, the site is set in a hidden gulch surrounded by agricultural fields. Contributing resources in the 122.5-acre archaeological site include two standing buildings, numerous building foundations, rock walls, fence remnants, artifact scatters, and other features. Non-contributing features at the site relate to post-war and modern use; these take up a small percentage of the site and do not detract from its overall integrity.

Narrative Description

Located north of Highway H1 and west of Kunia Road, the site of the Honouliuli Internment Camp comprises about 122.5 acres within a much larger parcel of land owned by Monsanto Hawaii. Honouliuli camp is located within Honouliuli Gulch, roughly 6 miles mauka (inland) from the coast. The gulch is about 500 to 700 feet wide at the camp location, with steep slopes bounding the floodplain. Elevation of the site ranges from 280 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) along the stream at the southern end of the site, up to 520 feet AMSL on the slopes at the north end of the site.

The project site is within the *ahupua‘a* of Honouliuli, one of 13 traditional land divisions of the *Moku* of ‘Ewa; the Honouliuli *ahupua‘a* includes the entire watershed from Honouliuli Gulch into Kaihuopala‘ai, the West Loch of Pearl Harbor. Human habitation and farming in the Honouliuli *ahupua‘a* date to at least as early as 400 A.D. It is probable that Honouliuli took its name, meaning “blue harbor” or “dark bay,” from its association with Kaihuopala‘ai.[1]

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Native Hawaiian farming and fishing culture was supplanted by foreign whaling, ranching, and agriculture. In 1877 James Campbell purchased over 40,000 acres of land in the *ahupua’a* of Honouliuli for cattle grazing and agriculture, and sugar cane production was made possible by the drilling of artesian wells. About 1916 the Waiahole Water Company completed a system of tunnels, ditches, and pipes to bring water from the windward side of O‘ahu to the drier leeward side for sugar cane irrigation. Water from the Waiahole ditch was used by the Oahu Sugar Company until the company closed, in 1994.[2] The aqueduct and the siphon visible in historic photographs of the Honouliuli Internment Camp were part of the Waiahole water system.

The Honouliuli site is still surrounded by agricultural fields, as it was during World War II. Modern developments take up only a small portion of the gulch. The Board of Water Supply, City and County of Honolulu, has three areas developed and fenced for wells and a treatment plant. The treatment plant is located where a large building is shown in historic photographs. The south end of the original entrance road has been replaced with a paved access road entering the gulch from the ridge to the east. Large satellite dishes for KITV-TV have been installed on the slope, adjacent to the new access road.

From the paved road, much of the site area appears to be a dense jungle. In contrast to the plowed farm fields above, the gulch is overgrown with vegetation, most notably invasive species such as Guinea grass (*Panicum maximum*) and haole koa (*Leucaena sp.*), with Chinese banyan trees (*Ficus microcarpa*) near the stream drainage that runs north to south through roughly the center of the floodplain. Other species observed at the site include sandalwood (*Santalum ellipticum*), monkeypod (*Samanea* sp.), sisal (*Agave sisalana*), mock orange (*Murraya paniculata*), allamanda (*Allamanda cathartica*), wild bitter melon (*Momordica charantia*), and kukui (*Aleurites*

[1] Shad Kane, “Honouliuli: The Early Settlers,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 19, 2008.

[2] Carol Wilcox, *Sugar Water: Hawaii’s Plantation Ditches* (University of Hawai‘i Press, Honolulu, 1998), pp. 98-108.

moluccana). Mr. Rodney Santiago, who leased the site for ranching from 1958 up until 2001, noted that the dense over-growth of vegetation at the site is a relatively recent phenomenon. When he used the area to graze cattle, the valley was much more open, and he said that many foundations, rock walls, and walkways remaining from the internment camp could be seen.

HISTORIC APPEARANCE

Contemporary records provide insights into different aspects of Honouliuli, from the perspectives of the military and of the internees themselves. The records include army memoranda and a blueprint, oral histories[3], internee art, and reports by the Swedish vice-consul, who inspected the camp as the authorized representative of a neutral power. Contemporary photographs were taken by R. H. Lodge, a former division overseer of the Oahu Sugar Company who became an official Army photographer. His book, *Waipahu at War*,[4] documents wartime activities that occurred on the Oahu Sugar Company land, and includes five photographs of the camp in operation. Eight additional Honouliuli photographs by Lodge were found at Hawaii's Plantation Village in Waipahu. It seems likely that Lodge's photographs were taken late in the war, when security restrictions were relaxed. The thirteen photographs provide overviews of most of Honouliuli, showing a sea of tents, closely spaced barracks, fences, guard towers, and other structures.

The Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii (JCCH) has recently obtained photographs from private collections that provide additional clues about the historic appearance of the camp. Kendall Olsen provided 21 photographs taken by her grandfather, who was an MP at the camp. The photographs provide a candid view of some of the ways the military police passed their leisure time at the camp. Elsie Hyde, whose father Koji Hashimoto had been interned at Honouliuli, provided JCCH and University of Hawaii of West O'ahu (UHWO) with five photographs taken when her family had returned to visit Honouliuli in 1948. The five photographs show that by then most of the buildings had been removed but many concrete slab foundations remained. Many of the Olsen photographs and all of the Hashimoto photographs provide enough visual information to determine where they were taken.

A U.S. Army blueprint[5] archived at Schofield Barracks focuses on the camp's sanitary sewer system, and depicts buildings, roads, boundaries between compounds, ditches, and a plantation railroad. Only features of interest to the sewer system are labeled, and the blueprint is not complete: no fences or guard towers are depicted, and some buildings visible in historic photographs are not shown. The blueprint differentiates between the existing, an authorized, and a proposed sewer system. Logically, then, the blueprint would date to sometime in the middle of the camp occupation, after the original waste water disposal system was determined no longer adequate but well before the end of the war, when new facilities would have been unnecessary. This is supported by a manhole cover discovered during archaeological survey. Depicted as part of the "authorized" system on the blueprint, the manhole cover has "Nov. 4, 1944" inscribed in it (see Feature V-9, below).

The camp was located completely within Honouliuli Gulch on land leased by the Oahu Sugar Company from the Campbell Estate. Estimates of the size of the camp vary, depending on which historical source is used. A map in *Waipahu at War*[6] depicts an Army installation in Honouliuli Gulch with a government road entering from the south. By plotting the area shown in the map with the ArcGIS® geographic information system software program, the area depicted totals about 116 acres. The U.S. Army blueprint depicts a larger area, approximately 187 acres,

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[3] See especially the collection of internee stories collected by Patsy Sumie Saiki in *Ganbare! An Example of Japanese Spirit*, Kisaku, Inc., Honolulu, Hawaii, 1983. In addition, the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'I (JCCH) has an extensive collection of oral histories regarding the internment.

[4] R.H. Lodge, *Waipahu at War: The War Record of a Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Community* (Oahu Sugar Company, Waipahu, 1947).

[5] "Honouliuli Gulch, Oahu, T.H., Prisoner of War Camp Sanitary Sewer System, prepared by Sewerage Section, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army. Dwg. No. C-204," sheets 1 and 2.

[6] Lodge, op. cit., p. 76.

but no actual boundary is delineated. The proposed National Register boundary, determined by correlating information from the map, blueprint, photographs, and on-the-ground features, encompasses 122.5 acres.

Combined, the blueprint information and historic photographs indicate there were about 175 buildings (over 60 of them in the administration area), 14 guard towers, and over 400 tents (including single and double pyramidal tents) at the camp. Discrepancies in the historic resources suggest that the number and locations of buildings and tents changed through time, likely to meet changing needs as the camp population grew.

The U.S. Army blueprint subdivides the camp into areas or compounds, designated by Roman numerals I-VIII, beginning at the north end of the site. Compounds I through V are labeled "Existing Prisoner of War Compounds" and Compound VII as "Proposed Prisoner of War Compound." The camp reportedly held about 3,000 prisoners, so if they were evenly divided, there would have been 500 prisoners per compound. Compound V was where civilian internees were held, so Compounds I through IV and VII would have housed Japanese officers, enlisted men, and noncombatants, and Korean noncombatant prisoners of war, each group separated from each other. Compound VI is identified as "Existing Guard Camp Area," and VIII as "Proposed Sewage Treatment Plant." Also delineated (but not labeled with a Roman numeral) is "Proposed Sewer Outfall Alternative A," to the south of the proposed sewage treatment plant.

The discussion below about the camp infrastructure follows the organization provided in the blueprint, north to south, compound by compound. However, characteristics of the sewer system and the security fence apply to the camp as a whole and so are discussed first. The "existing" system consists of cesspools and septic tanks that outflow into the stream. The blueprint shows eleven cesspools: one for each of the five mess halls, one for each of the four shower buildings, one for the POW dispensary, and one for a latrine in Compound VI. A latrine in Compound V shares the nearby mess hall cesspool. In both Compounds V and VI (internee and staff housing areas) showers and latrines have a separate system of two septic tanks in series.

The "authorized" sewer system replaces or supplements the Compound V and Compound VI systems. The authorized system includes two or three large septic tanks at the south end of the camp, which empty into the stream. The "proposed" system extends the "authorized" system to Compounds I-IV, and connects everything to a proposed sewage treatment plant. Interpreting the distinctions in the legend, one can guess that at the time the blueprint was drawn, the existing system (which included "water-borne latrines") was deemed inadequate, some improvements were authorized to maintain or restore hygienic safety, and additional improvements were proposed, either to further improve sanitary or environmental conditions or in anticipation of additional inmates. Structures listed as "buildings not in use" on the blueprint likely had been recently abandoned.

R.H. Lodge's photographs of Honouliuli, published in *Waipahu at War* and archived at Hawaii's Plantation Village, provide details about the infrastructure of the camp. However, the photographs depict overviews of most of the camp, but some areas are shown only from afar, so that individual tents, buildings, and other features are difficult to differentiate. Commanding Officer Lt. Springer's 1943 description of the camp provides details that help in interpretation of the photographs:

> The kitchen and mess hall for Japanese internees is equipped to feed up to one thousand internees. The internees live in prefabricated "sixteen-man" demountable barracks. All latrines have modern plumbing with hot and cold showers. A post exchange is available for the purchase of cigarettes, tobacco, and miscellaneous items for sale. There is also a tailor shop, an equipped dental office, and a dispensary for necessary medical treatment. A recreation field has been cleared and fenced in for the use of the internees ... .
>
> The prisoner of war section of the Camp has been divided into separate enclosures to take care of Japanese officers, enlisted men, and noncombatant Japanese prisoners of war. As a result of the Gilbert Island operation and the capture of Korean noncombatant prisoners of war, it has been found necessary to construct an additional enclosure to separate the Japanese from the Koreans. There are two large prisoner of war kitchens and mess halls, each with facilities to feed one thousand or more prisoners. In the prisoner of war section there are cold water showers and pit latrines. Prisoners of war live in

> pyramidal tents, usually six to eight men in a tent.
>
> All internees and prisoners of war are issued mattresses, pillows, blankets, mattress covers, and mosquito bars. ... [Internees] cultivated vegetable gardens, and grew string beans, corn, tomatoes, lettuce, carrots, beets, cabbage, radishes, eggplant, and watermelon.[7]

This description suggests that the POW compounds at Honouliuli differed from the standard plans for POW compounds described in the Department of Defense's historic context for mainland prisoner-of-war camps.[8] To conform to Geneva Convention standards, POW barracks were very similar to enlisted men's quarters. Barracks were typically 2000 square feet, and constructed of wood; mess halls were generally 64 feet by 20 feet, constructed to serve 250 prisoners.[9] There may have been logistical, climatic, or political reasons for Honouliuli's deviance from these standards.

The civilian internee compounds at Honouliuli are also very different from the ten mainland Japanese American "relocation centers" that housed civilian internees.[10] The entire Japanese American population of the mainland's West Coast was interned, so each relocation center was built to house thousands of U.S. citizens and resident aliens. Men, women, and children were housed together. In the mainland camps, residential blocks were composed of 14 standard Army-style barracks, each divided into several single rooms, each room occupied by a family. At Honouliuli, German American couples were interned together, while Japanese American men and women were separated from each other.

There was, however, at least one common characteristic at the mainland civilian internee camps and the civilian compounds at Honouliuli: internee-built gardens. In the mainland camps, internees constructed and nourished gardens and ponds to ameliorate the prison-like environment. The Swedish vice-consul's reports about the civilian internee compounds at Honouliuli in May and September, 1943, sound almost idyllic:

> The 84 Issei and 154 Nisei ... busied themselves with planting of trees and shrubs, arranging flower beds with rock borders and otherwise embellishing their surroundings with the materials at hand.[11]
>
> The lanes between the rows of cottages have been graded, and through the voluntary efforts of their occupants and nature's generous response the cottages now are surrounded by green lawns, shrubs and flowers also young trees. That portion of the compound occupied by the Japanese internees presents a particularly neat and tidy appearance both in- and out-of-doors.[12]

Oral histories belie the vice-consul's rosy portrait of the camp. For internees, the pain and humiliation of being interned were exacerbated by the physical discomfort of mosquitoes and excessive heat. According to reminiscences collected in the book *Ganbare!*,[13] the valley slopes trapped heat in the camp, and the internees called the

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[7] Springer, op. cit.

[8] John Listman, Christopher Baker, and Susan Goodfellow, *Historic Context: World War II Prisoner-of-War Camps on Department of Defense Installations*, Department of Defense, Legacy Resource Management Program, 2007.

[9] Ibid, pages 10-3 through 10-6.

[10] Jeffery Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence Lord, and Richard Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington, 2002.

[11] Gustaf W. Olson, May 1943, cited in Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1991), p. 247.

[12] Gustaf W. Olson, Letter to Colonel Erik de Laval, Legation of Sweden, dated 23 September 1943.

[13] Saiki, op. cit., page 160.

camp *Jigoku-Dani* (地獄谷), or Hell Valley. Boredom was oppressive, and many worked on gardening, landscaping, or crafts to pass the time.[14]

Historic photographs indicate that the fences surrounding the prisoner areas were composed of round posts and 15 to 20 strands of barbed wire. The posts appear to be at least 8 feet high, and are topped with inverted-triangle extensions formed of lumber. These extensions supported additional sets of barbed wire, one set angled inward toward the camp and the other set outward, to inhibit climbing. Security lights with rectangular shades are located on the end of metal poles that extend an additional 4 feet or so above the fence at intervals. Guard towers have cabs that look to have been about 6 feet square situated on towers constructed of braced lumber. There were no catwalks, and shallow pyramidal roofs extend at least a foot beyond the cab walls. Photographs show most of the towers located just outside the perimeter security fence, but one in Compound III is located further from the fence, on the slope above the main road east of the stream, and others may have been similarly placed.

Compound I - Prisoner of War Camp

This compound is located on the east side of the stream at the far north end of the camp. Here, the U.S. Army blueprint depicts a mess hall near the southern boundary of the compound, east of the main road. Just north of the mess hall, the road forks, with one branch heading northeast, the other northwest. To the northwest, near the end of the west fork of the road, is a shower building flanked on the north and south by eight pit latrines (four are noted as “to be removed” in the key). There are two cesspools, one serving the mess hall and the other the shower.

The historic photographs indicate that Compound I was divided into two separate areas. The northernmost area extends north and east from the showers and latrines; the southernmost area of Compound I extends north and west from the mess hall. The northern area of the compound, clearly visible in one photo, has two parallel fences enclosing an area estimated to be about 350 by 500 ft, with the eastern corner excluded from the fenced area because of the adjacent hillside. Two guard towers are visible at the far corners, and two more towers are likely, out of the photograph frame. The photograph shows two shower buildings flanked by four pit latrines, two on each side. Other buildings visible within this area include a large structure (estimated to be about 20 by 100 ft) and three barracks. The 120 single-peak tents and two double-peak tents visible in the photograph are distributed in two groups: there are nine rows of 11 single-peak tents each located west of the large structure, and four or five rows of tents southeast of the large structure, each row with three to five tents (some single, some double). The compound is not flat: the tents and one barracks building at the right foreground of the photograph (which would be the east side of the compound) are located on a high terrace supported by a rock retaining wall. A shack visible in the photograph to the northwest, along the stream, may have been part of the POW camp or perhaps unrelated. Given the number of tents, this part of Compound I could have housed up to 1,000 prisoners.[15]

The southern section of Compound I, on the west side of the mess hall between the stream and the road, is shown only in the distant background of other photographs, but it appears to have had approximately 26 double tents and four single tents, potentially enough for almost 450 prisoners. In the photographs there are two buildings visible north of the road.

Compound II - Prisoner of War Camp

The U.S. Army blueprint shows a mess hall, a dispensary, and a group of five buildings including a shower building, two water-borne latrines, and two pit latrines. Another shower building and four latrines are depicted on the map and keyed in the legend as “buildings not in use.” There are two cesspools, one for the shower and latrines and one for the dispensary. The mess hall cesspool is located to the south of the mess hall, within Compound III. The historic photographs show two guard towers, an additional building, over 50 single-peak pyramidal tents, and four double tents.

In historic photographs, Compound II is in the background, but it is clearly surrounded by a double fence. The

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[14] Okihiro, op. cit.

[15] Springer (op. cit.) reported that tents housed six to eight prisoners each at Honouliuli. Similar numbers are reported for branch camps by John Listman, et al. (op.cit), who estimate six or seven prisoners per tent.

Compound II mess hall is separately fenced. One of the buildings noted as “not in use” is only partially visible in any of the photographs, but the rest of the buildings depicted on the blueprint are shown; there is also an additional building south of the dispensary and a small building adjacent to the southeast corner of the mess hall. The mess hall appears to be longer in the photographs than on the blueprint. Three guard towers are visible in the photos, one west of the latrines, one just east of the Compound II mess hall, and one south of the Compound I mess hall. At least 69 single-peak tents and 12 double-peak tents are visible. The double tents flank the dispensary and continue into Compound III, suggesting these tents were for medical cases and served more than one compound.

Compound III - Prisoner of War Camp
The U.S. Army blueprint shows a group of five small buildings at the south end of this compound. Two are labeled as pit latrines and the other three buildings are likely toilets or showers, since they seem to be connected to the adjacent cesspool. As at Compound II, there is another group of five buildings (a shower building and four pit latrines) keyed as “buildings not in use.” The blueprint also depicts four barracks-size buildings on the east side of the stream, east of the road. Historic photographs place these four buildings outside of the compound fence, indicating they were used for military housing, administration, or supplies.

Historic photographs indicate this compound was surrounded by a double fence. The “not in use” buildings appear to be less regularly placed than shown on the blueprint, they are not fenced and there is an additional building at the same location. About 22 double tents and one single tent are visible, in two north-south rows. A third row of tents to the east would be located in Compound III as defined by the blueprint, but fences visible in one of the photographs indicate this row of tents was actually related to the Compound II dispensary. No mess hall is indicated in this compound, either on the blueprint or in historic photographs.

Another interesting feature in the historic photographs is the construction ditch for the pipe that takes wastewater from the dispensary in Compound II south to the septic system in Compound III. Clearly, construction continued while the camp was occupied, perhaps corroborating the inference that the blueprint dates to sometime during the camp occupation and reflects the need for better waste disposal than originally planned.

Compound IV - Prisoner of War Camp
The blueprint depicts a mess hall, a shower building, two pit toilets, two other buildings, and two cesspools. All but one pit toilet and the cesspools are east of the road, and there are no structures depicted west of the stream. However, the historic photographs indicate several additional buildings and tents: there are four barracks west of the stream, and an additional building and 30 tents, arrayed in four rows, east of the stream. The barracks, probably to house POW officers, may have been moved here from the internee compound. Other features within Compound IV visible in the historic photographs include two possible pit latrines, one on either side of the stream; two foot bridges; and two incinerators south of the mess hall. There are two guard towers, one on the west side and one at the northeast corner, and a sentry post along the road near the southern boundary of the compound. The compound is surrounded by a single fence, and divided into sub-compounds by fences between the tent area and the barracks and around the mess hall.

Compound V - Internee Area
Although the U.S. Army blueprint labels Compound V as another “prisoner of war” compound, internee art and oral history clearly identify this as the area where residents of Hawai‘i, including U.S. citizens, were imprisoned. Located on both sides of the stream between the aqueduct and the Guard Camp Area (Compound VI), the internee compound is bounded on the west by the Waiahole ditch and on the east by the main camp road. The blueprint depicts the most structures west of the stream, with three rows of buildings between the stream and the ditch. Thirty-two of these are barracks-size, three are water-borne latrines (two at the north end of the compound and one at the south end), and another, connected to the sewer system, may be a laundry building. There are three other buildings depicted, one near the north boundary of the compound as shown on the blueprint, above the ditch. Also west of the stream are depicted two septic tanks and sewer pipelines that extend the length of the compound, with branches connecting the shower and latrines to the septic system. To the east of the stream the blueprint depicts the mess hall near the southern boundary of the compound, two barracks-size buildings and a smaller building near the aqueduct, and three barracks-size buildings near the mess hall. Two septic tanks and a

cesspool are also depicted. The blueprint also shows a footbridge across the stream near the mess hall.
Four distinct areas are described in historic accounts. The area west of the stream contained the barracks for the Japanese American men. According to former internee Yoshitami Tasaka,[16] this area also included a post exchange, dispensary, guard building, barber, and carpenter shop. The area east of the stream was divided into three fence-enclosed areas, one for the Japanese American women (at the north end) one for German Americans (central), and one for the mess hall (at the south end). Doris Nye, who as a young teenager visited her German American parents in the camp, remembers that they had a tent on the east side of the stream; a post exchange and a dentist were located on the west side.

Three of Dan T. Nishikawa's drawings show views from the Japanese American men's area. One, showing several internee buildings and a guard tower, depicts the view to the north. Another, labeled "Women's Internment Camp," shows the view to the northeast, with barracks of the Japanese American women's area in the mid-ground and the Compound IV mess hall in the background. The third shows the view from the southern part of the Japanese American men's area, across the stream toward the east, framing the Compound V mess hall. Given these perspectives, Mr. Nishikawa clearly had access to the entire area of Compound V west of the stream, and views of the compounds to the north and east.

Several changes are apparent in the historic photographs, corroborating the idea that they were taken late in the camp's occupation. Six of the buildings depicted on the blueprint west of the stream were apparently removed in order to build a fence to create a separate compound in the southern portion of Compound V. This newly defined compound, with five barracks and one latrine, may have held the last 50 civilian internees. The larger compound north of the fence has ten tents in one photograph, but only eight tents in other photographs.

Buildings east of the stream were also moved: Dan T. Nishikawa's drawing of the women's internment camp, dated April 1943, shows one single-peak tent and two barracks buildings, the buildings corresponding with the blueprint. However, in the historic photographs, no buildings are visible; instead, the area has six tents. The tents may indicate that at the time of the photographs the women's compound had been converted to a POW compound. Historic records indicate that after 30 months, the women's compound at Honouliuli was needed for Japanese POWs, and the few women left were paroled.

All together, discrepancies between the blueprint and the photographs indicate there were six barracks removed from the Japanese American men's part of the compound and two barracks removed from the Japanese American women's compound. Four of these barracks may have ended up in Compound IV, as mentioned above, to house POW officers, and one may have been moved a short distance south: the blueprint shows three barracks-sized buildings within the German Americans' part of the compound, but the photographs show four.

The mess hall, which has enclosed sides in historic photographs, was also modified. Nishikawa's drawing and Nye's memory map[17] depict it as having an open-air dining room. In fact, it appears that by the time of the photographs, artists documenting real-life scenes wouldn't have had the same subjects for their work: opaque screening, apparently made of tarps or fabric, was hung on the internal division fences to block the view between the compounds. However, access between the areas of Compound V does not appear to have been greatly restricted when the photographs were taken: prisoners are using the aqueduct to cross the stream, and a second footbridge is visible about 100 ft south of the aqueduct.

In the photographs, the Japanese American men's area and the German Americans' area contain the same type of barracks, and both areas have neatly planted shrubs and trees. Internee barracks are wooden buildings on post-and-pier foundations; some of the piers appear to be of formed concrete, others simply rocks. The low-pitched end-gabled roofs are sheathed with tar paper; the roofs extend over the sides of the buildings, sheltering openings or windows that extend along the entire side under the eaves. In one of Dan T. Nishikawa's drawings, this

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[16] Yoshitami Tasaka, Memory Map, 2004, on file at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai`i Resource Center, Honolulu.

[17] Doris Nye, Memory Map, copy provided by Mrs. Nye to the authors in 2008.

opening appears screened. Most of the siding at the gable ends appears to be vertical boards estimated to be about a foot wide; some of the sides appear sheathed with the same wood, while other sides look like they are sheathed with plywood or some other composite. One barracks appears to be sided with tarpaper. One of the barracks west of the stream has a dark cross on a light background painted on the end by the door, marking the dispensary that Mr. Tasaka remembered. One building at the south end of the compound is longer than shown on the blueprint.

The photographs indicate that the larger of the two septic tanks depicted in the blueprint is an above-ground structure. A building has exposed sewer pipes on the end, a connection not shown on the blueprint. Another possible change or addition to the waste disposal system is suggested in one of the historic photographs in which a man is standing inside a small tarpaper-sided enclosure with no roof. The structure may have been a pit toilet or shower, although neither is depicted on the US Army blueprint. A double fence, or a fence and a hedge, separate the south boundary of the compound from the Guard Camp area.

The maximum Japanese American male internee population at one time is estimated to have been 340. Given 30 barracks (assuming the dispensary and at least one other barracks-sized building housed no residents), each structure could have held up to eleven or twelve internees. Mr. Tasaka remembers only eight people in his barracks.[18] Some of the features visible in the historic photographs may have been added by the internees. Variously sized stoops are visible at some of the cabins at the west gable door, and clotheslines are prominent in the "back yards" of several of the barracks. In at least two cases, a tarp or other large and flexible material has been fixed to the roofs of two adjacent barracks to create shaded areas between. The dirt road between the two rows of buildings and paths to each barracks are discernible in the photographs as lighter than the surroundings, and one of the drawings by Dan T. Nishikawa shows that paths to each building were lined with rocks. In the photographs several 55-gallon drums occur at intervals between the barracks and the road.

The differences between Dan Nishikawa's drawings, the blueprint, and the historic photographs of Compound V suggest that by the time the R.H. Lodge photographs were taken, the entire area east of the stream had been converted for prisoners of war, as well as the northern portion of the compound west of the stream. The photographs were most likely taken after most or all of the Japanese Americans and German Americans had been released.

Compound VI - Guard Camp Area

The Guard Camp area had 58 buildings, and three to five pyramidal tents (two of the tents may be double-sized). Building sizes, layout, and historic photographs indicate that the east side of the stream was the administration area and the west side was primarily housing.

The U.S. Army blueprint shows a mess hall and 15 other buildings in the ***Administration Area*** on the east side of Honouliuli Stream within Compound VI. Other than the mess hall, none of the buildings are labeled. In the "authorized" sewer system, the mess hall and one other building are connected to an existing cesspool, which would be tied into the proposed sewer system. Two of the buildings are the same size as the barracks across the stream in the staff housing and in the internee areas, but most are much larger suggesting use as offices, automotive repair and carpenter shops, and warehouses. No buildings are shown on the blueprint east of the entrance road, but five are visible in historic photographs. The historic photographs also show additional buildings as well as tents west of the road. For example, at the south end of the administration area there are three tents and three additional barracks-sized buildings (perhaps some of the eight removed from Compound V). In the central area there are four additional buildings.

In the ***Staff Housing Area*** on the west side of the stream the U.S. Army blueprint shows 36 buildings, most lining both sides of a road that parallels the stream. A road bridge and two foot bridges connect the staff housing area to the administration area on the east side of the stream. Buildings identified on the blueprint include a laundry, a dispensary, and three water-borne latrines. Based on their size, 26 of the buildings are apparently barracks or

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[18] Yoshitami Tasaka, "Memories of Honouliuli Detention Camp," *Hawaii Hochi*, January 1, 1981, translated by Ari Uchida, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii volunteer, on March 22, 2011. Translation on file at JCCH, Honolulu.

officer's living quarters. Four other buildings are unidentified; typically one could expect a post exchange or canteen, barber shop, school/library, gymnasium, theater, and chapel at a military camp of this size and type. Two of the latrines share a septic tank system and the other is connected to a cesspool. Historic photographs show three additional barracks and a tent. Small trees and shrubs grow around the barracks, and most have well-defined paths from the front door to the dirt road.

The historic context study for POW camps on the mainland reports that a high ratio of guards to prisoners was standard:

> The guard force for a branch camp of 250 POWs consisted of approximately 160 officers and men. It was composed as follows: 30 camp guards; 70 "prisoner chasers" who were the guards accompanying the POWs to and from work sites and monitoring them during work hours; 15 NCOs to oversee the guard force; seven support staff such as cooks and clerks; 33 drivers and mechanics; and five medics. Usually five officers were assigned including the camp commander, three camp officers, one supply and mess officer, one POW company commander, and one medical officer (if available). For a camp holding 500 POWs, the number increased to a total of 300 officers and men.[19]

If this ratio held at Honouliuli, one would expect over 1,000 guards and administrators for a camp of 3,000 POWs. Based on the number of barracks in the staff housing area, however, there were probably no more than 300 officers and guards.

Compound VII - "Proposed" Prisoner of War Camp

Stretching across both sides of the stream, this compound is labeled as "Proposed Prisoner of War Compound VII" on the U.S. Army blueprint. The blueprint shows no buildings, but does depict two or three septic tanks and a baseball field on the west side of the stream south of the Guard Camp housing area laundry building. A line similar to that defining the baseball field outlines a large area on the east side of the stream, possibly indicating this area was cleared for future use. Penciled in on the blueprint (and hard to see) is a sewerline that bypasses the septic tanks, crosses the stream, and follows the entrance road south. The blueprint depicts the main road as splitting within this compound, with one branch following the curve of the stream and the other cutting across the terrace to the east before rejoining the stream-side alignment.

A historic photograph shows that the proposed POW compound was indeed built. Based on roads that match the blueprint and on the terrain in the background, the photograph was taken from the top of the west slope of Honouliuli Gulch, with the view toward the east. It shows 105 tents within a single-fenced area estimated to be about 200 by 550 ft in size, given the tight spacing evident in the photograph and assuming the tents are 16 ft sq. The entrance to the fenced area is at the center of the west side; outside the fence are the two branches of the access road, what looks like a railroad car (for storage?), two double tents, and a gable-roofed building with a shed roof over the door on the north end. Inside the fenced area the tents are divided into two groups separated by an open area about as wide as a road or a firebreak. A gable-roofed wooden structure is located at the east end of the open area, between the two groups of tents. The tents are arranged in five regular rows, most rows with 11 tents on each side of the open area. The row at the southeastern corner of the fenced area, however, has only five tents, and five empty tent platforms. There are ten latrines or privies, five along the north fence and five along the south fence. In the photograph, guard towers are located at the three visible corners of the fenced area; the northeast corner is out of view, but likely had a guard tower as well. At least 150 people can be counted in this photograph, more than in any of the other historic photographs that have been found of the camp. If each tent held six to eight prisoners of war, as Lt. Springer indicated in 1943 for the other compounds,[20] Compound VII would have housed from 630 to 840 people.

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[19] Listman, et al., op. cit.

[20] Springer, op. cit.

Compound VIII - Proposed Sewer Treatment Plant
This area is noted on the U.S. Army blueprint as "proposed sewer treatment plant." No buildings are clearly depicted, however there are faint penciled-in structures and notations (possibly erased on the original). One structure next to a plantation railroad spur may be a warehouse, and another at the end of the penciled-in sewer line and railroad spur may be part of the proposed sewer treatment plant. Further south, between Compound VIII and the main highway, is an area labeled as "Proposed Sewer Outfall Alternative A." It is not known if any of these facilities were built; none is included in the area mapped as the military installation at Honouliuli in *Waipahu at War*. Neither area has been subject to archaeological survey and neither is included in the site boundary as described in this nomination.

PRESENT APPEARANCE

One hundred thirty-four features have been recorded during archaeological survey at Honouliuli, all but 16 likely associated with the World War II camp. Below, the survey results are described by compound, as designated on the undated U.S. Army blueprint. Compounds I-IV extend from the northern boundary of the site south on both sides of the stream 2,700 ft to the Waiahole Water Company aqueduct. Thirty-seven features were recorded in this area, which encompasses about 45 acres. The internee area (Compound V) lies on both sides of the stream, extending south about 450 ft from the aqueduct to the northern boundary of Compound VI, the Guard Camp Area. Twenty-seven features were recorded in the 10-acre internee area. The guard camp area (Compound VI), just southeast of the internee compound, includes the administration and the staff housing areas. Sixteen features were recorded in the administration area, which encompasses 8 acres on the northeast side of Honouliuli Stream from an abandoned chicken farm to the northwest approximately 1,000 feet. Thirty-six features were recorded in the 10-acre staff housing area, located across the stream from the administration area. Six features were recorded in Compound VII, likely the last-built prisoner-of-war compound, since it is depicted as "proposed" on the U.S. Army blueprint. Descriptions of five linear features that cross more than one compound and 14 modern features that post-date World War II follow, in separate sections.

Compound I - Prisoner of War Camp

In Compound I, situated at the far northeastern part of the site, five features have been recorded (described below) as well as three sections of displaced 2-inch-diameter water pipe, one in the stream bank (5 ft long) and two in the stream 180 ft downstream (12 ft and 6 ft long). Additional features are likely obscured by the dense guinea grass and kiawe trees.

Feature I-1: Pipe
This feature is a possible outlet pipe, which may have carried overflow from a cesspool shown on the U.S. Army blueprint 750 ft to the east. The pipe is 7 inches in diameter, extending slightly from the east bank of the stream, about 2 ft 6 inches below the ground surface. It is located just across the stream from Feature II-5, another pipe of the same diameter.

Feature I-2: Palm Tree
This feature is a tall landmark palm tree, possibly dating to the World War II era. Historic photographs show obviously planted palm trees outside of barracks in Compound V, and the palm tree in Compound I may have been planted, as well. According to the U.S. Army blueprint, it is located near what would have been the northwest corner of the Compound I mess hall.

Feature I-3: Concrete Trough Segments and Fragments
This feature consists of at least nine segments of open-ended concrete troughs and trough fragments, in four concentrations. Each trough is 36 inches long and 1 ft 1¼ inches deep. The troughs flare outward slightly, so that the bottom of each measures 1 ft 4 inches and across the open top they measure 1 ft 6 inches. The bottom of each trough slopes outward toward both sides from a raised center. At some of the ends, there is evidence of a petroleum-based seam sealant or adhesive on the interior, suggesting that the troughs were once connected end-to-end and used to convey liquid. One of the trough segments has two square outlet holes, one in each side wall at one end; one of the square holes is closed by a metal strip. A piece of shaped and folded sheet metal and other metal fragments at the feature may also be related to the troughs. The troughs and fragments are spread out

in an area about 30 ft east-west by 60 ft north-south in size, extending north from the location of a shower building as depicted on the Army blueprint.

Feature I-4: Concrete Trough Fragments
Located about 150 ft southeast of Feature I-3, this feature consists of several additional concrete trough fragments, partially buried.

Feature I-5: Garbage Incinerator
The Compound I incinerator is about 12 ft in length and over 4 ft wide and 3 ft tall, with walls of poured concrete about 4 inches thick. The concrete is broken in several places so that the brick-lined combustion chamber lies in pieces on the ground, probably from purposeful demolition at the end of the camp occupation. A heavy-gauge sheet metal frame lies alongside the concrete; it appears to have functioned as a liner for the combustion chamber, dividing the chamber into three sections. The chimney end is still lined with fire bricks, and a broken and cracked concrete collar holds a remnant of the stove pipe. Several fire bricks are stamped "DIABLO," a brand made by the Stockton Fire Brick Company of Stockton, California, from 1935 to 1942.[21] At least one is stamped with "STOC[KTON]," made by the same company from 1927 to 1942.[22] Although this incinerator is not depicted in the available historic photographs or blueprint, it appears to be similar to the two south of the Compound III mess hall photographed by R.H. Lodge.

Compound II - Prisoner of War Camp
Although much of this compound is overgrown with Guinea grass, 20 features and several artifacts were found here, including foundations for a mess hall and two shower buildings, other structural remains and debris, an inscription, and water and sewage system remains.

Feature II-1: Mess Hall Foundation
This feature is at the location of a mess hall on the U.S. Army blueprint. Oriented roughly east-west, the main slab measures 103 ft long by 45 ft 2 inches wide (4,652 sq ft). There are two extensions at the northeast corner. One, measuring almost 20 feet long and 16 ft wide (320 sq ft), extends north from the east end of the north side. The other, measuring 18 ft 5 inches by 11 ft (203 sq ft), extends to the east. The main slab has a sloping apron surrounding the slab on the long north and south sides, and a raised concrete stem wall along the west end. Both extensions have raised perimeter walls, except for a doorway between the two. Small rectangular slots along the perimeter wall of the north extension probably held anchors for the superstructure. A concrete apron and retaining wall on the west side of the north extension slab appears to have been a later modification to improve drainage. In the southeast corner of the main concrete slab, a small room measuring approximately 16 ft by 14 ft is defined by traces of partition walls. Two vertical pipe inlets and a drain in this room suggest the location of a sink. Currently, modern supplies, materials, and equipment are stored on the slab, but one artifact noted nearby is a clear glass bottle base embossed "PROP. OF C.C. BOTT. CO. / MADE IN JAPAN / N / 59." It has a painted label with "DIAMOND HE[AD] BEVERAGES" and "DIAMOND HEAD *Beverages* / CONTENTS 7 FLUID OUNCES / BOTTLED BY COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO., OF HONOLULU, LTD." The bottle was manufactured in 1959, in Japan.

Feature II-2: Shower Building Foundation
This feature is located where a shower building is shown on the U.S. Army blueprint. The foundation, with a 4-inch-wide raised perimeter, measures 16 ft 8 inches wide by at least 35 ft 3 inches long; the full length was not measured because the north end is buried, but it is likely 40 ft long, like other shower buildings at the site. The southeast corner is 1 ft 9½ inches above the ground surface. A raised concrete stem wall appears to define at least three rooms, two of them roughly 8 ft wide by 25 ft long. Only a small portion of the concrete slab floor was uncovered, but the southeast corner of the north room has a coved wall-to-floor intersection, probably to facilitate cleaning and drainage. No pipe inlets or drains were observed. A doorway opening is located along the center of

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[21] Karl Gurcke, *Bricks and Brickmaking: A Handbook for Historical Archaeology,* University of Idaho Press, Moscow, Idaho, 1987, pp. 224-225.

[22] Ibid., pp. 302-303.

the eastern room, and there is a concrete patch just north of the doorway, suggesting some remodeling or repair during the use-life of the structure. Rectangular slots measuring 1 inch by 3¾ inches by 3 inches deep occur along the perimeter walls roughly every 3 or 4 ft, apparently to anchor the superstructure.

Feature II-3: Cesspool
This cesspool, shown on the U.S. Army blueprint, was connected to shower and toilet structures. Although partially buried by sediments and obscured by vegetation, the block-lined pit appears to be similar to others recorded, with an access opening estimated to be about 2 ft square.

Feature II-4: Cesspool
This feature is marked on the ground surface by an octagonal slab, measuring 13 ft across. A concrete-rimmed opening, covered with a 2-ft-square concrete slab lid, provided access to the block-lined pit, which is over 15 ft deep. A cast iron outlet tee pipe (6-inch interior diameter, 10-inch exterior diameter) extends from the southwest wall of the pit. This feature is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature II-5: Pipe
This feature is a sewerline stream crossing, composed of a 7-inch-diameter pipe anchored in concrete protruding from the east bank of the stream. A 2-inch-diameter pipe runs parallel to the larger pipe, and a 1-inch-diameter pipe protrudes from the west bank, on the other side of the stream.

Feature II-6: Structural Debris
This feature consists of a concentration of six cobbles and a fragment of concrete, located in dense grasses.

Feature II-7: Concrete Remnant (security fence)
This feature is a piece of concrete, possibly a pulled fence post foundation. Lying on its side and partially buried, it measures about 2 ft in diameter and 1 ft 6 inches deep, around a roughly cylindrical hole that measures about 8½ by 9½ inches. The surface of the interior hole is rough with longitudinal grain, suggesting the concrete anchored a rough-cut wooden post. Historic photographs indicate that large round poles were used for the security fence, and this concrete may have been a post foundation.

Feature II-8: Structural Debris and Artifacts
Artifacts at this location include a metal stake, about 3/4 inch square in cross section, a little over a foot high, and with holes along the side. The stake is pounded into the ground under a large banyon tree. Nearby are two pieces of a rusted-out enameled metal sink basin. The sink was 20 inches in one dimension, at least 19 inches in the other; one of the fragments is partially buried. Nearby are feral tomato plants, a concentration of cobbles and boulders, and wire (barbed and smooth) hung in the banyon tree.

Feature II-9: Concrete Remnant (security fence)
This feature consists of a large fragment of concrete; one corner has a quarter-circle notch as though it was formed around a pipe or large fence post, and it may have been an anchor or foundation for the security fence, like Feature II-7 described above.

Feature II-10: Pipe and Artifacts
This 2-inch (outside diameter) water pipe is partially buried; the section above ground is 14 ft long, and ends with a T-connection. Two right isosceles triangles, of unknown function, are also present. They are formed of heavy-gauge sheet metal, with all three edges folded over about an inch. The two short sides each measure 16 inches; one side has regularly spaced holes, the other side has rivets.

Feature II-11: Rock Wall
Located just west of the stream, this dry-laid wall is composed of uncoursed basalt cobbles and boulders. Measuring about 2 ft high and about 40 ft long, the wall functions as a retaining wall for a terrace.

Feature II-12: Drill Holes
Possible quarry debris, this is an area (estimated 30 by 60 ft in size) of large basalt boulders, some with drill

holes. Most of the drill holes are cylindrical, but one is star-shaped; most are shallow, but one extends completely through one of the boulders.

Feature II-13: Depression (pit latrine location)
This feature is a large depression south of Feature II-2. It is at the location of a pit latrine depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature II-14: Inscription
Half way up the ridge on the west side of the gulch is a large red volcanic boulder with 7-inch-tall letters "W K" scratched into the top surface.

Feature II-15: Logs
This feature includes at least three logs or round posts, lying on the ground and overgrown with grass. Because of the dense vegetation, the extent of the log concentration is unknown. The logs may have been posts in the security fence, stockpiled here when the fence was dismantled.

Feature II-16: Depression (pit latrine location)
This large and deep depression is immediately south of a shower building foundation (Feature II-2); like the adjacent Feature II-13, above, it likely marks the location of pit latrine.

Feature II-17: Shower Building Foundation
Located on a terrace above the flood plain and oriented roughly parallel to a tributary of Honouliuli Stream, this concrete slab measures 40 ft long and 16 ft 9 inches wide (670 sq ft). It was only partially exposed during the site recording, but appears to be the same size and form as Feature II-2 and Feature III-4 (described below). The slab has 8½-inch-high stem walls dividing it into three rooms, the two long narrow rooms on the northwestern end with floor drains. One of the drains has a slotted metal cover with the label "S&J" within an oval inscribed in the rim.

Feature II-18: Cesspool
This feature is marked on the ground surface by a nine-sided concrete slab, measuring 11 ft 4 inches across. An off-center access opening 2 ft 4 inches square has a raised concrete rim. This feature is not depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature II-19: Depression (latrine location)
This shallow depression is located where an unlabeled building, likely a latrine, is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature II-20: Depression (latrine location)
Like Feature II-19, this feature is a shallow depression, located where an unlabeled building, likely a latrine, is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Compound III - Prisoner of War Camp
In spite of modern developments in some portions of Compound III (see Features M-2–M-5 and M-11 and M-12, below), nine features dating to World War II were recorded. Features III-1, -2, and -3, found near the northern edge of the compound, may have been associated with the Compound II mess hall. Features III-4, -5, -6, -7, -8, and -9 are located near the center of the compound, on a terrace above the westernmost modern water well. Although the blueprint lists the buildings at this location as unused, they can be seen in one of the historic photographs.

Feature III-1: Garbage Incinerator
Located just south of the Compound II Mess Hall foundation, this concrete feature is shaped like an open-ended trough, with a chimney at the closed end. The intact portion of the feature measures almost 12 ft long overall, 4 ft 3 inches wide, and 3 ft 4 inches tall. The exterior of the chimney, at the east end of the structure, measures 1 ft 10½ inches by 2 ft 3 inches. The interior of the chimney and the east end of the "trough" are lined with fire bricks

and there are three evenly spaced round holes through the south side wall. Part of the north wall of the structure has broken off, and the western end is displaced slightly. One of the historic photographs shows similar structures outside the Compound III mess hall with what appear to be tall metal stove pipes extending from the chimneys, suggesting that they functioned as garbage incinerators. Feature III-1 is now partially filled with trash, both modern (such as a 55-gallon-drum lid, glass beer bottles, and aluminum beverage cans) and older (such as lumber, wire, metal pipe, two 55-gallon drums, a jerrycan, fencing, and fragments of metal and wood). Although this incinerator is not depicted in the available historic photographs or blueprint, it appears to be similar to two located south of the Compound III mess hall photographed by R.H. Lodge.

Feature III-2: Concrete Structure
This concrete box set in the ground has a rim that measures 4 ft square (outside), the opening 2 ft 6 inches square. The box is at least 3 ft deep. An unthreaded pipe (2-inch outer diameter) enters the north wall of the box interior; a threaded pipe of the same dimensions enters the east wall. Both pipes are located near the northeast corner. Apparently part of the water system, the box may once have housed a pump. Window screening, a metal scoop, and a “Kenmore” three-burner propane metal stove were dumped into the pit.

Feature III-3: Cesspool
This feature is similar in form, materials, and construction to that described above under Feature II-4. This cesspool cover slab, however, is seven-sided, rather than octagonal, the access hatch is slightly smaller and located closer to the center of the slab, and there are three sewer pipes, instead of one, entering the side walls of the pit. The slab was partially covered with scrap lumber, and a trash can has been thrown inside. The pit is at least 11 ft deep. This feature is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature III-4: Shower Building Foundation
This feature is a shower building foundation, composed of a concrete slab 40 ft long by 16 ft 9 inches wide (670 sq ft). Like the other shower foundations recorded, the building was divided into three rooms by stem walls 3 inches to 3½ inches high above the slab floor. An exterior doorway on the southeastern end provides entry into a dressing room measuring approximately 14 by 16 ft. A 4-ft-wide doorway in the center of the interior wall of the dressing room provides access to two long narrow shower rooms, each with a drain near the far end. Vehicle parts, including truck and car rear axles, wheels, a steering wheel, gears, and tire chains, are located on and adjacent to the slab. Also found on the slab and probably related to the vehicle parts is a brass hand-pump carbon tetrachloride (CTC) fire extinguisher.

Feature III-5: Septic Tank
Less than 5 ft from Feature III-4, this small septic tank measures about 5 ft by 9 ft 3½ inches. The 2-ft-4-inch-square access opening is collared with raised concrete, and located at the center of the slab. The access cover was removed so the interior could be measured; it is at least 6 ft deep, with water at the bottom. Two cast iron pipes enter the tank from the uphill side, and there is a cast iron outlet tee on the opposite wall.

Feature III-6: Depression (latrine location)
This depression, located just southeast of the shower building foundation (Feature III-4), is 15 ft in diameter and up to 3 ft deep; there is a cinder block in the depression. Like Features III-7, -8, and -9, described below, this feature is at the location of an unlabeled building on the U.S. Army blueprint, and is likely the remains of a pit latrine.

Feature III-7: Depression (latrine location)
Just southeast of Feature III-6 and probably representing another latrine, this depression is 25 ft in diameter by 2½ ft deep.

Feature III-8: Depression (latrine location)
This depression is at the location of one of two small buildings (likely pit latrines) depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint northwest of the shower building. It measures 25 ft in diameter by 1½ ft deep.

Feature III-9: Depression (latrine location)
Located between Feature III-8 and the shower foundation, this depression is 15 ft in diameter by 1½ ft deep, and likely represents another latrine.

Compound IV - Prisoner of War Camp
Modern developments located in Compound IV may have affected some of the World War II features (see Features M-1 and M-7 through M-10, below). Both of the early-twentieth-century water systems (the Waiahole Water Company siphon and the same company's ditch and aqueduct; Features L-1 and L-2, described below) crossed this compound. Three camp-era features were recorded in Compound IV, as well as a section of concrete pipe in the stream bed. Outside the modern developed areas, this compound is very heavily vegetated, so it is likely that more features and artifacts could be discovered with additional archaeological survey.

Feature IV-1: Manhole
This feature is a concrete sewer manhole, protruding above the ground surface in a truncated cone shape. The 2-ft-diameter opening is rimmed with metal. Overall the manhole is about 2 ft 8 inches in diameter at the top (adjacent to the metal rim) and 3 ft 8 inches in diameter at the base. Inside, the manhole is about 30 inches deep from rim to concrete floor. The inside is lined with bricks, and the concrete floor has a trough connecting two pipes that open into the side wall at a 90-degree angle. One pipe is large diameter, the other smaller diameter. It is located west of the stream, adjacent to the aqueduct (Feature L-1). The lid is missing and was not encountered, but there is dense vegetation in the area. This feature is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature IV-2: Guard Tower Footings
Although there was no evidence of the footings visible on the surface, a leveled area is still present just east of the fork in the perimeter road, where one of George Hoshida's drawings depicts a guard tower. The four guard tower footings were found a few inches below the ground surface. Each footing is composed of concrete poured into a roughly circular-shaped hole, each with a rectangular posthole. Posthole sizes vary slightly, suggesting the lumber used was rough or irregular, but the posts were approximately 5 by 8 inches in cross-section. Together the four footings form a square about 6 ft on a side. A deteriorated wooden post, which measures only 4½ by 5 inches in cross section, is within the area defined by the footings, but this post is not set in concrete, and its current placement likely postdates the internment camp. A metal artifact, about 4 inches long and possibly part of a guy wire clamp or anchor, was found near the northeast footing. Also found during clearing of the feature was a beer bottle manufactured by the Anchor Hocking Glass Company sometime between 1937 and 1977; the basemark is "10 5109 2 /⚓".

Feature IV-3: Concrete Footing
Located in Compound IV about 50 ft south of the siphon and just east of the upper road, this feature is an irregular slab of concrete roughly 1 ft by 3 ft in size, with a smooth metal rod about a half inch in diameter and 7 inches long protruding from it. The rod is bent at a 90-degree angle. The function of the feature, and whether it is in situ or displaced from elsewhere, is unknown at this time.

Compound V - Internee Area
Based on historic accounts, the internee compound was originally divided into four separate areas. West of the stream was the Japanese American men's compound. East of the stream were the Japanese American women (at the north end) and the German Americans (in the middle of the east side). The mess hall, serving all three groups, was at the south end of the east side. In addition to the 27 features described below, several large flat-topped rocks (possible barracks footing piers) and a loose-capped piece of salt-glazed pipe have been noted in the Japanese American Men's compound west of the stream.

Feature V-1: Mess Hall Foundation
This feature is at the location of the Compound V mess hall on the U.S. Army blueprint. It is a large concrete slab located southwest of the current road and near the southeast corner of the internee area, just south of the German American compound. Oriented northwest-southeast, the main part of the slab measures 71 ft 2 inches by 38 ft 8 inches (2,752 sq ft). Surrounding it is a 6-inch-wide perimeter foundation/sill to support posts or superstructure. The sill is flush with the slab, and surrounding the sill is a 2-ft-wide concrete apron that slopes down to the

original ground surface, about 5½ inches lower than the top of the sill. The sloping apron suggests the walls were open to increase breezes or facilitate cleaning. In fact, a drawing done by Dan T. Nishikawa dated 6/14/1943 shows the mess hall with a gable roof supported on posts with triangular braces at the roof line. In the drawing, the north end is completely open; the west side looks to be about 80 percent open, with a wall and window at the south end. A photograph, taken later in time, shows the north end of the mess hall. By then, both the north and west facades had been enclosed with wooden board siding in the lower half and screening in the top half. In both the drawing and the photograph, the roof appears to be rolled tarpaper sheathing.

A partition wall across the southern end of the main slab is indicated by an expansion joint, the shadow of the wall base, and vertical rebar set as anchor bolts for the wall. The large room north of the partition, measuring approximately 59 ft 1 inch by 38 ft 8 inches, would have served as the dining room; the smaller room south of the partition was the kitchen, at 11 ft 6 inches wide by 38 ft 8 inches. There is a doorway, estimated to be 5 ft wide, just east of center in the partition wall. There are floor drains near both the east and west walls of the kitchen, probably indicating food preparation and dishwashing areas. The proportions of the slab correspond well to Nishikawa's drawing, which shows the southern room (the kitchen) as enclosed and the larger northern room (the dining room) as open-sided.

There is evidence of at least three separate construction or remodeling episodes. The apron surrounding the stem wall was chipped away when two additions were added. The "south extension slab" is 20 ft by 16 ft 2 inches (323 sq ft); historic photographs indicate this addition was a gable-roofed structure, shorter than the main building. Similar adjacent structures are apparent at other mess halls in the historic photographs and blueprint. The "west extension slab" at the southwest corner is L-shaped, with maximum dimensions 17 ft 4½ inches by 14 ft 8 inches (167 sq ft). The west extension slab is visible in historic photos without any building superstructure; it may have been a garbage can washing area. The two extensions do not connect, so the survey evidence does not clarify if they were built at the same time. The surface of the west extension slab is 6½ inches below the surface of the main slab; the surface of the south extension is 3½ inches below the main slab. The third remodeling episode is suggested by the floor of the west extension slab, which was chipped out and then patched so that two drains could be installed. These drains lead to a small concrete septic tank covered with a concrete slab with an entry hatch. The tank measures 6 ft 3 inches by 5 ft 6 inches.

Changes in the building configuration are also evident in the perimeter stem wall. Metal brackets spaced approximately every 12 feet around the perimeter of the slab probably tied 4-by-4-inch roof-support posts to the footing when the mess hall had open sides. Small irregular holes around the perimeter probably indicate where walls were attached to the floor when the building was enclosed. The metal brackets are now flush with the slab, either cut or broken off when the walls and posts were removed. Sometime after the building superstructure was removed, heavy machinery was used in an attempt to remove the foundation: the southern extension is broken up, and there are apparent bucket scrape marks on the part of the slab adjacent to the broken section.

On the mess hall foundation are the remains of a vehicle (Feature V-6, below), a "Seventeen Brillianteen" hair cream jar, and a bottle with a basemark of "...8907MG ... 14 ...." The bottle was manufactured by the Maywood Glass Company of California, which operated from 1930 to 1950. Tarpaper and lumber fragments, one fragment of electrical porcelain (for knob-and-tube wiring), window glass, a fire brick fragment, and an unidentified piece of heavy-gauge metal are probably mess hall remains. Two long sections of water pipe found on Feature V-1 are twisted and bent, suggesting they were pulled up out of the ground. Some of the artifacts, such as a woven rope, cow bones, and a horseshoe, are probably associated with the post-war ranching at the site. Others, such as a church-key-opened can, a light green bottle neck with a crown cap finish, and a metal nozzle from a hose, could be either war-era or later.

Feature V-2: Structural Debris

Two concrete slabs, apparently upside down, are at the location of a water borne latrine on the U.S. Army blueprint. One measures 10 ft1 inch by 9 ft 4 inches, the other 10 ft by 8 ft 5 inches. Both are about 16 inches thick.

Feature V-3: Rock Wall
This feature is a rock retaining wall along the stream bank, composed of dense basalt and vesicular basalt cobbles and boulders up to over 2 ft in length. The retaining wall is up to 31 inches high, mostly just one to two courses, and at least 40 ft long (it extends upstream into dense brush). The wall may have been constructed to stabilize the Honouliuli Gulch stream channel; historic photographs and the U.S. Army blueprint show a footbridge at this location. The wall is visible in historic photographs.

Feature V-4: Rock Alignment
This rock alignment is at least 13 ft long, composed of about 18 rocks that form a straight line for about 9 feet roughly perpendicular to the road, then curve to the north for another 5 ft. The rocks may have lined a pathway, since other rocks and concrete fragments in the vicinity may indicate a building platform. Further complicating interpretation of this feature is an overturned latrine slab (Feature V-2), which indicates the area has been subject to heavy ground disturbance.

Feature V-5: Post
This feature is a metal post set in a round concrete base. The post is hollow, 4 ft 3 inches long; the concrete is 6 inches high and about a foot in diameter. It appears as though a bucket (with nails inside) was used as the form. The feature may be from the post World War II ranching era. There is a concrete fragment 1 ft by 8 inches in size located 100 ft west.

Feature V-6: Vehicle Parts
Vehicle parts, representing at least two vehicles, were abandoned adjacent to the Compound V mess hall, including the front end of a truck; a differential with a tire and a separate gas tank; another differential; and a front axle with leaf spring and tire and steering linkages. Plate glass fragments, pieces of chrome and other metal, a license plate ("ALOHA / 63-380 / HAWAII"), and wire cable were also found. Preliminary investigations[23] indicate that the vehicle parts may date to the military camp. Feature VI-6, a garage, is located just to the south.

Feature V-7: Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
This feature is a concrete foundation, located on the artificial terrace above the barracks level of Compound V. A "water borne latrine" is shown here on the U.S. Army blueprint; historic photographs shows a rectangular building at the location. The concrete foundation measures 26 ft by at least 12 ft; overburden over a foot deep and boulders cover the western portion, estimated to be about a third of the overall slab. A stem wall, 4 inches wide and 4 inches tall, defines the perimeter of the slab. Portions of the stem wall are broken off along the northeast edge of the slab, but the wall remnants indicate doorways on each end of the building and a closet or storage room in the north corner. A channel had been chiseled into the concrete slab to drain water away from the south door opening. The larger, open portion of the slab has four toilet drains, each with four small holes where bolts held the toilet base. Bolt holes between the toilets indicate there were partitions between them. Fragments of a white porcelain toilet include the lid, which is stamped inside: "K 4541 / 81 / 9 8 42." The last set of numbers indicates the date the toilet was manufactured, that is, September 8, 1942. A deteriorated metal urinal was found in the northeast corner. Three pieces of electrical porcelain (a complete split-knob marked "KNOX[?] No. 2½", a split-knob base, and a solid spool insulator) indicate the building had electrical lights.

Feature V-8: Structural Debris
This feature consists of concrete debris pushed into a pile about 40 by 20 ft in size, now overgrown with grasses and small trees. Near the location of a water borne latrine on the U.S. Army blueprint, the debris includes slabs, some with small regularly spaced peck marks (possibly shower floors made slightly irregular to improve traction). Also in the pile are two fragments of concrete sink, one marked "... WESELY & CO / PAT. / [S]EPT 29, 1885 / [J]UNE 19, 1886."

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[23] Joseph Zdyrski, "Mystery Car," unpublished paper, Anthropology Program, University of Hawaii West O'ahu, July 21, 2010.

Feature V-9: Manhole with Inscription
This feature is an in-place manhole, with a concrete lid 2 ft 1 inch in diameter set in a concrete rim that is 3 ft 3 inches in diameter at its base, and 7 inches high. The lid has two handles made of rebar, between which is inscribed into the concrete "Nov 4, 1944." The inscription is formed from a series of small angular depressions, and may have been made with a square nail head or similar tool. This feature is depicted as part of the "authorized system" (rather than part of the "existing system") on the U.S. Army blueprint, indicating that the blueprint was drawn before that date.

Feature V-10: Rock Alignment
This curved rock alignment is very overgrown with vegetation, but is estimated to be approximately 30 ft long and composed of at least 12 large, widely spaced basalt boulders. This feature is similar to a row of large widely spaced boulders between buildings and the stream visible in one of the historic photographs.

Feature V-11: Rock Wall
Visible in historic photographs, this retaining wall made of dry-laid basalt boulders and cobbles. It is over 200 ft long, about 1 ft 6 inches to 2 ft high, and up to 2 ft wide. The northern 185 ft is well constructed and intact; the southern part has partially collapsed. Several large boulders are incorporated into the rock wall, and there is some rubble fill behind. Tomato plants, mock orange trees, and togan (winter) squash grow in the flat to the east. A second, higher, retaining wall parallels Feature V-11 in places, and a galvanized steel bucket was noted tucked under a boulder in the upper wall. Vegetation is very dense and other artifacts and features are likely.

Feature V-12: Pond (?)
This feature appears to be a small water catchment or fish pond. It was built on the terrace created by the Feature V-11 retaining wall and incorporates a large boulder that is also part of the wall. Excavated during the survey, this concrete and cobble feature measures 4 ft 1 inch by 3 ft 3 inches in plan overall, and is 1 ft 4 inches deep. It is egg-shaped, with a concrete rim, and concrete-mortared cobbles and boulders lining the concave interior and bottom. Wire mesh hardware cloth is embedded all around the rim, extending roughly 6 in. The mesh may have been embedded to exclude foliage, debris, or predators from the pond.

The only artifact in the feature fill was a large 8-sided compression nut. Nearby are a concrete block, a large animal bone, wire, a drilled boulder, and an electrical box on conduit 1 ft 11 inches long. A boot heel was found about 30 ft to the northwest. Also found nearby was a light fixture that matches lights along the security fence visible in historic photographs. It has a shade of galvanized tin, measuring 2 ft 10 inches by 1 ft 4 inches, and two sockets for bulbs at the end of a J-shaped conduit pole about 4 ft long.

Feature V-13: Posthole
This feature is a single concrete posthole. The concrete-lined post anchor is set in the ground along the Waiahole Water Company ditch. The hole for the post (now missing) is 4 by 6 inches. Most of the posts for the security fence visible in historic photographs are round, but posts for a fence that subdivided the compound appear rectangular, and could have been of 4 by 6 inch lumber.

Feature V-14: Pipe
This feature is a 1/2-inch-diameter water pipe extending vertically from the ground.

Feature V-15: Rock Wall
This feature is a large retaining wall of mortared basalt, adjacent to the entry road and visible in historic photographs. Like Feature V-16, below, this feature is within the area marked as "Compound V" on the U.S. Army blueprint, but east of the road and therefore outside of the fenced internee compounds. The wall served as a retaining wall for the ditch that feeds into the aqueduct. Measuring 225 ft long, the wall is almost 9 ft high at its south end, with eight courses of rocks about 12 by 10 ft to 11 by 15 inches in size, by 8 inches deep, and a top course of half-size rocks. At the south end of the wall there are boulders and cobbles as fill behind it. The wall decreases in height from south to north, and bends with the irrigation ditch where the ditch crosses the road. Drainage pipes have been set flush with or slightly extending from the wall at the south end. In the historic photograph, ten or eleven courses of rock are visible, indicating that the current road surface and shoulder are

higher than they were 60 years ago.

Feature V-16: Road
This feature is an old road bed about 18 ft wide, located above Feature V-15. The road is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint; now it is overgrown with vegetation.

Feature V-17: Rock Wall
Guinea grass in the Japanese American women's compound, immediately south of the aqueduct and east of the stream, is extremely dense, not only obscuring the ground surface but also impeding traverses through the area. However, a retaining wall was noted parallel to and approximately 15 ft west of (below) the road. The portion of the wall noted was composed of basalt boulders, and was about 1½ ft high. The length of the wall was not determined.

Feature V-18: Rock Wall
This retaining wall, located along the east bank of the stream, was composed of uncoursed basalt boulders and cobbles stacked two to four rocks high. Estimated to be 30 ft long, the wall has partially collapsed.

Feature V-19: Rock Wall
Located about 150 ft downstream from Feature V-18, this rock wall is similarly constructed and may be a continuation of that stream bank retaining wall. Feature V-19 is also composed of uncoursed basalt boulders and cobbles, stacked up to five rocks high. Estimated to be 40 ft long, the wall has partially collapsed. The wall is visible in historic photographs, and would have supported a pedestrian bridge at the end of the sidewalk recorded as V-20. Feature V-3, a rock wall 40 ft downstream, may also be a continuation of this retaining wall.

Feature V-20: Sidewalk
Visible in one of the historic photographs, this concrete sidewalk extends northwest 14 ft from the corner of the Internee Mess Hall (Feature V-1), turns left toward the stream for 33 ft, then makes two 45-degree angles to the right before ending not far from the stream for a total length of nearly 58 ft. Each alignment is of a different width; this non-standard construction may indicate the feature was constructed by internees or POWs after the camp was established, perhaps to alleviate muddy conditions.

Feature V-21: Concrete Slab
This small concrete slab, measuring 9 ft 6½ inches by 6 ft 4½ inches (61 sq ft), is located about 25 ft to the south of the Internee Mess Hall (Feature V-1) The slab slopes slightly toward a central drain; there is a depression adjacent to the slab to the northwest, possibly indicating the location of a cesspool depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature V-22: Vertical Pipe
This feature is a glazed clay sewer pipe, set vertically into the ground as a clean-out for the sewerline depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint. The pipe's outer diameter is 9½ inches. Two large flat rocks nearby may have been piers for one of the internee barracks, or part of a walkway border.

Feature V-23: Septic Tank
This feature is a raised septic tank, measuring 51 ft 6 in long by 11 ft 4 in wide, by up to 3½ ft above the current ground surface. The side walls are solid block for the top six courses; below that, the blocks are spaced widely so that there are small openings between the end joints. Presumably, the tank was designed so that these openings would have been below ground, but the feature can be seen as a raised flat surface in the historic photographs. An access hatch, 2 ft 3½ inches square, is located midway along the southwest edge of the top surface; the hatch has a concrete cover with two bent rebar handles. A 6-inch-diameter clean-out pipe is located near the east corner. The northern end is cracked and broken. One artifact was noted at this feature, a clear glass vinegar bottle, about 9½ inches tall and 3 inches in diameter. "*Duraglas*" is in raised lettering at the heel and on the bottom is the basemark "... 5. / 9 / E1596," signifying the Owens Illinois Glass Company and a 1945 manufacturing date.

Feature V-24: Pipeline
This 10-inch-diameter glazed clay pipe is mostly buried, but two sections are visible above ground, one at the stream and one a third of the way from the septic tank to the stream. The sewer line is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature V-25: Septic Tank
Feature V-25 is a septic tank measuring 27 ft 5½ inches long by 11 ft 4 inches wide. Partially visible in historic photographs, the concrete top was found just below the current ground surface. There are three access openings, all with concrete covers; two of them are 2 ft 3 inches square and the third 3 ft 3½ inches square. On the slab was found a "no deposit no return / not to be refilled" amber beer bottle with the basemark "*Duraglas* / 4 5. / 3," indicating the Owens Illinois Glass Company and a 1945 manufacturing date.

Feature V-26: Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
This foundation, measuring 30 ft by 16 ft 10 inches (505 sq ft), is divided into several sections or rooms by raised stem walls. The two largest rooms, on the southern end of the building, each have five toilet drains and a 3-ft-wide exterior doorway on the south end. Portions of the stem walls are broken off in the northern part of the building, but the wall remnants indicate a closet or storage room, a hallway, and a shower room 9 ft 2 inches by 11 ft 9 inches in size, with two floor drains. There appears to have been a drainage problem in the southern, latrine part of the building: five small drainage channels were chiseled into the concrete floor to carry water out two of the doors, and two drain holes were punched through the floor and the foundation wall. Numerous cow bones (all likely from the same animal) found on the slab are related to the post-war ranching use of the site.

Feature V-27: Posthole
This mostly buried rock is irregularly shaped, 18 by 24 inches in size at the ground surface. A vertical hole drilled in about the center of the rock, likely for a post, measures 1 7/8 inches in diameter. This feature would have been located among the internee barracks west of the creek and near the south boundary of Compound V. Function is unknown.

Compound VI - Guard Camp Area
The area labeled "Existing Guard Camp Area VI" on the U.S. Army blueprint included an administration area east of the stream and a housing area to the west. Numerous large and conspicuous features are still present. Forty-nine were recorded including two standing buildings, foundations, cesspools, and structural debris. According to Rodney Santiago, the two standing structures were used as a chicken farm. The buildings had been in good condition when he first started ranching in the area in the 1950s.[24] Abundant debris and trash attest to this former use (see Feature M-6, below).

Feature VI-1: Standing Building
The main building of the abandoned chicken farm was one of many buildings in the administration area. Shown on the U.S. Army blueprint, the building is partially visible in the background of historic photographs. It measures 49 ft by 20 ft 6 inches (337 sq ft). The north half of the structure has a raised concrete slab foundation, the south half has an open post-and-pier foundation with both concrete and wooden elements. Buildings of this size could have served various functions; this building has apparently been modified, but the original configuration could likely be determined through close examination.

The building has a low-pitched gable roof. The south, east, and west facades are sided with vertical tongue-in-groove boards, 5¼ inches wide; the northern facade is sided with wider composite boards. There is a large light fixture on the south end, and knob-and-tube wiring visible above a door and a window. Both openings are screened. The southern half, in the best condition, is a single room with a wood floor. The siding extends from the floor to about 6 ft high. Above the siding is 30 inches of screened area; the screen is intact in the east windows. The roof structure is composed of 2-by-6-inch rafters, and the roof is sheathed in corrugated metal. A small bathroom and shower partitioned off in the southeast corner appears to be an addition; the toilet tank lid has a

[24] Personal communication, 2008.

1948 date stamp. Plumbing pipes for the bathroom are on the exterior of the south wall. Most of the interior and exterior doors are wood with five horizontal panels; one is half wood and half screened, with the screening replacing the top three panels. The northern room, on the raised concrete foundation, is more dilapidated and the roof has partially collapsed. It was apparently last used for storage, and contains rolled asphalt roofing, corrugated roofing, lumber, and mattresses. The far north part of the structure may have been left open, as for a lanai or porch.

There are five double concrete sinks and one single concrete sink lying on the ground to the south of the building (Feature VI-16, below). Several wooden posts, both round and rectangular in cross-section, are set vertically into the ground near the structure to form a corral. In their current configuration these posts may be related more to the chicken farm or ranching than to the World War II use of the site.

Feature VI-2: Standing Building
This raised concrete foundation has been converted for use as chicken coops, possibly using materials recycled from the dismantled camp. The U.S. Army blueprint shows a large building in this area oriented parallel to the camp entrance road, with a water-borne latrine at its western end. The building is visible in the historic photographs as a large low-pitched gable-roofed building with vertical board siding; it appears to have a shed-roofed extension on the west end, although the blueprint depicts a separate small building there.

The original building's concrete foundation is 28 inches high above the current ground surface on the southwest corner, 25 ft wide, and extends to the west perhaps as much as 60 ft, although the western half is buried and was not measured. A 2-inch-by-6-inch sill is probably original. Currently on the eastern end of the foundation there is a two-room gable-roofed building, measuring 23 ft by 16 ft 9½ inches (380 sq ft) and about 10 ft tall at the gable peak. Its south room is open and divided into chicken coops, and the north room used for storage. Both rooms have doors to the west, opening to a roofed porch area. Two ramps provided vehicle access across or through this porch, once part of the building interior; one ramp is on the north side and measures 12 ft 8 inches wide and is constructed of concrete, and the other is on the south side and measures 16 ft 8 inches wide, constructed of asphalt. West of the porch are two rows of more chicken coops. There are two small slabs both with recent (1975) inscriptions, one in the "porch" area, and one to the southwest (see Feature M-6, below).

Although a vehicle ramp entrance might indicate a warehouse with a sheltered area for unloading material in the rain, the water-borne latrine shown on the blueprint suggests the building sheltered people, rather than supplies. The building may have been the military camp's fire house. At mainland internment camps, the fire houses typically were oriented parallel to a main road, with the truck entrance on the long side. Ramps providing vehicle access through the building were also common features of municipal fire houses, to facilitate rapid parking and egress. The two different ramp materials at this Honouliuli building suggest they were constructed at different times, with the concrete ramp facing the main road likely built at the same time as the original building, and the rear asphalt ramp added as a later improvement.

Feature VI-3: Generator Building Foundation
This feature is a concrete foundation, probably for a building that housed a generator. The partially buried slab measures 29 ft by at least 16 ft overall (460+ sq ft), with a raised perimeter 6 inches tall and 6 inches wide. There are three raised machine foundations on the slab, one near the center of the structure measuring 5 ft 4 inches by 16 ft 6 inches by 6 inches high, and two along the south wall, one measuring 3 ft by 8 ft by 2 ft high, and the other 30 inches square by about 2 ft tall. Pipes and electrical conduit extend from the slab surface and bolts extend from the machine mounts. Openings in the perimeter rim are visible on the east and west ends, and two trough-like drains are located in the floor from the center machine mount to the southern side. A building is visible at this location in historic photographs; it is not on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature VI-4: Building Foundation
This concrete foundation, for an unknown structure, measures 8 ft 11 inches wide by at least 23 ft long (200+ sq ft). A southeastern room just over 18 ft long is defined by the concrete stem wall. The raised perimeter is 4 inches wide, and there are at least four tie bolts along the north and east sides (one with a nut 2½ inches above the concrete). Along the south side, where the perimeter is rougher (either eroded or not as well built), there are three

pilaster-like piers of rock and concrete extending from the perimeter foundation. A stain on the floor suggests that chemicals or paint were stored in this building. Artifacts found while clearing the slab include a section of water pipe with a gate valve and a rectangular piece of sheet metal. An alignment of rocks crosses the slab near the northwestern end; the buried slab extends an unknown distance under the rock alignment to the northwest. This feature is near a mess hall on the U.S. Army blueprint and may be related to that building.

Feature VI-5: Cesspool
This feature is a concrete slab and broken pieces of concrete slab over a concrete-lined. A cesspool is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint at this location.

Feature VI-6: Building Foundation
This building location is indicated by five concrete piers and a small rectangular slab. Each pier is a pre-fabricated foundation block in a truncated pyramid shape, measuring about 10 by 10 inches at the base and 8 by 8 inches at the top, where a threaded bolt protrudes. Three of the piers line up, northwest to southeast, in an alignment approximately 40 ft long. These three piers appear to be in their original locations, although one of the piers has fallen over. A fourth pier located 10 ft to the northeast of the alignment is also likely in place. The fifth pier, about 21 ft further to the southeast, is heavily eroded and possibly moved out of its original position. However, all five piers in their current locations match the outline of an unlabeled building depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint. A historic photograph suggests this building was a long, narrow, open-sided garage. The small concrete slab is an irregular rectangle measuring 31 by 39 inches. Based on the blueprint, the slab would have been just outside the building's footprint, and may have served as a stoop or step support. Several rocks in the area appear out of place, and these may have been used as piers, also.

Feature VI-7: Structural Debris
This feature is a large pile of concrete rubble with some barbed wire.

Feature VI-8: Structural Debris
This feature is a large rubble pile, about 50 ft in diameter.

Feature VI-9: Structural Debris
This feature is a concentration of concrete rubble and corrugated metal.

Feature VI-10: Structural Debris
This features consists of over 20 dumped concrete piers.

Feature VI-11: Structural Debris
This feature is three concrete pieces.

Feature VI-12: Cesspool
Located south of VI-1, this cesspool is indicated by a partially buried slab with a 32-inch-square opening. There is a 6-inch-diameter iron pipe leading into the cesspool from the north. The cesspool is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint, but the sewer connection to the north is not.

Feature VI-13: Rock Wall
Located along the east edge of the entrance road, this partially collapsed wall is approximately 150 ft long and up to 3 ft tall, and constructed of uncoursed unmortared basalt rocks. Concrete fragments at the north end may be the remains of steps visible in historic photographs.

Feature VI-14: Rock Wall
Located below the generator slab, this wall is of unmortared basalt rock and is about 5 ft tall and 50 ft long. A water pipe extends from the north drain of the generator slab (Feature VI-3) through this wall. One rock at the north corner of the wall has five drill holes, with a pipe stuck in one.

Feature VI-15: Guy-Wire Anchor
This feature appears to be a guy wire anchor, with a heavy-gauge multiple-strand wire buried in the earth, ending with a loop created by bending a piece of solid metal and wrapping it with single-strand wire.

Feature VI-16: Laundry Tubs
Six concrete deep-basin rectangular sinks lie on the ground south of Feature VI-1 (the still-standing building from the administration area). Five are double-basin, one is single-basin.

Feature VI-17: Concrete Slab (barracks location)
This small concrete slab is near the stream, adjacent to a large Chinese banyan tree. The slab, cracked approximately in half by a root, measures overall about 6 ft 4 inches by 3 ft 6 inches (20 sq ft), with a concave depression and drain pipe in the stream-side half. The slab is about 2 inches thick. The drain pipe, 2 ft 6 inches from the edge of the slab, measures 2 inches in diameter. The slab appears to have been located at the rear of a barracks shown on the U.S. Army blueprint, and may have been a shower floor, with runoff draining directly into the stream channel.

Feature VI-18: Two Concrete Slabs (barracks location)
According to the U.S. Army blueprint both of these small concrete slabs were located at a barracks building, one at the front, and one at the rear. The larger slab, Feature VI-18a, measures 6 ft long by 3 ft 6 inches wide (20 sq ft) and would have been at the back (west) end of the barracks. Now in a small thicket of immature mock orange trees, the slab has rectangular cut-outs at each corner, as though for wooden 2-inch-by-4-inch vertical supports. The slab was apparently the floor or foundation of a small addition to the barracks building, visible in historic photographs as a shed-roofed structure with a solid lower wall and screened upper wall. Behind the slab (uphill) is a dry-laid stone retaining wall (Feature VI-44), about 3 ft tall. Feature VI-18b, located where the front of the barracks would have been, likely functioned as an entry or step support. This slab measures 3 ft by 5 ft and with diagonally scored expansion joints, and a strip of metal, less than a foot long, is attached to one of the long edges of the slab. A tree root is growing through the slab and there are other cracks as well.

Feature VI-19: Concrete Slab (barracks location)
This small, roughly rectangular concrete slab fragment measures 1 ft 9¾ inches by 2 ft 9 inches. It is set in the ground securely and appears to be in its original location, but rough broken edges on three sides indicate it was part of a larger slab. Located at the rear of a barracks depicted on the Army blueprint, it is of unknown function. Artifacts in the surrounding area include a large metal pot cover, a metal dish, sheet metal, barbed wire, copper electrical wire, common nails, and an amber beer bottle with a Anchor Hocking Glass Company basemark and a 1945 manufacturing code “8565-A / 5⚓ / 45 / 10”.

Feature VI-20: Concrete Slab (barracks location)
This feature may have been an entry stoop; according to the U.S. Army blueprint, its location would have been the front of a barracks. The roughly rectangular stepped concrete slab measures 3 ft 3 inches by 3 ft, by 3 to 5 inches thick. Stream cobbles are set in the concrete, possibly to form a decorative pattern but more likely to stretch the concrete mix. The eastern half, which would have been closest to the barracks entrance, is about 4 inches higher than the western half. However, the underside of a nearby cobble-and-concrete fragment that may have broken off from this feature is smooth concrete, possibly suggesting the stoop is upside down and therefore displaced.

Feature VI-21: Building Foundation
This feature includes a slab (Feature VI-21a), a sidewalk (VI-21b), and four piers (VI-21c), for an unknown structure. The concrete slab measures 15 ft by 40 ft (600 sq ft); the concrete sidewalk is slightly less than 4 ft wide and runs 29 ft 6 inches parallel to the slab, then continues to the east almost 5 more feet. The four concrete piers, located north of the slab, form a rectangle 3 ft by 7 ft 8 inches. Between these three areas of apparently intact concrete is a concentration of broken concrete slabs. An unlabeled structure is depicted at this location on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature VI-22: Cesspool
Depicted as a cesspool on the U.S. Army blueprint, this feature now consists of a mound, about 16 ft in diameter and 4 ft high, where building material was apparently bulldozed into the deep concrete-lined pit. The mound includes basalt rocks and concrete slab fragments, one with a raised perimeter foundation. Two plate fragments were found near the mound in 2007, one with a "United States Army Medical Department" hallmark. The other plate fragment's basemark is "TAYLOR SMITH TAYLOR / U·S·A" within a wreath and "1 43 3" beneath, indicating manufacture by Taylor, Smith, and Taylor of East Liverpool, Ohio, in 1943. Both of these ceramic marks are common at mainland Japanese American internment sites.[25] Other artifacts noted in the cesspool vicinity include a section of insulated pipe, fragments of white ware ceramics, a brown bottle base with "*Duraglas* / 6 ◁ⓘ▷ 3 / 29", and a clear beverage bottle with " 20 ◁ⓘ▷ 5" on the base. Both were made by the Owens Illinois Bottle Company; the number after the company symbol signifies the year of manufacture, so the former dates to 1943 (or 1953) and the latter to 1945.

Feature VI-23: Structural Debris (barracks location)
This feature is located at the approximate location of a barracks on the U.S. Army blueprint. It consists of a small mounded area of concrete rubble, dirt, metal water pipe, cinder block fragments, and metal sheeting. One slab noted on the surface of the mound measures 1 ft 5 inches by 1 ft 10 inches, by 5 inches thick; although displaced, a beveled edge around the perimeter indicates the slab is complete. Three bottles were found nearby, one a broken Coke bottle.

Feature VI-24: Structural Debris
Rubble at this location includes a large fragment of a concrete slab and other concrete fragments and rocks.

Feature VI-25: Structural Debris
This location consists of a concentration of concrete rubble and rocks.

Feature VI-26: Structural Debris
This feature consists of two large displaced concrete slab fragments.

Feature VI-27: Structural Debris
This feature consists of a few fragments of displaced concrete.

Feature VI-28: Structural Debris
Feature VI-28 consists of a few fragments of displaced concrete.

Feature VI-29: Structural Debris
This feature is an overturned and displaced trapezoidal concrete footing pier.

Feature VI-30: Pipe and Artifacts
The pipe at this feature is a hollow vertically set bar, located on the north side of a road trace. Artifacts in the vicinity include a drinking glass (22 ft to the northwest), a 1945 Coke bottle (40 ft to the northwest), and a whiskey bottle with the basemark of the Hazel Atlas Glass Company (⋔) and a 1944 date code (20 ft south). To the southeast about 70 ft are four "no deposit no return" beer bottles, two with the Hazel Atlas Glass Company basemark and two with the Owens Illinois Bottle Company basemark (◁ⓘ▷). All have 1945 date codes.

Feature VI-31: Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
This feature, located where a water borne latrine is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint, is a slab foundation measuring at least 16 ft by 26 ft; much of the slab is buried. Within the interior a small room, measuring roughly 12 ft by 10 ft, is defined by a raised concrete stem wall in the western corner of the foundation. There is a rock

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[25] See, for example, Jeffery F. Burton, "Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California" (*Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology* 67, 1996), and "The Fate of Things: Archeological Investigations at the Minidoka Relocation Center Dump" (*Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology* 80, 2005).

retaining wall southwest of (upslope from) the slab, and a 2½-inch-diameter pipe goes from near the slab uphill approximately 10 feet, where it connects with a 6-inch-diameter insulated pipe that extends to the southeast, parallel to and above the retaining wall.

Feature VI-32: Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
This feature encompasses a latrine/shower slab (Feature VI-32a), a sidewalk (VI-32b), and a pipe (VI-32c). A water borne latrine is depicted at this location on the U.S. Army blueprint. The slab measures 30 ft 4 inches by 17 ft (516 sq ft); it has a raised perimeter foundation, and interior rooms defined by raised stem walls. A perforated metal drain cover is still present in the slab floor, and a gate valve is located just outside the northwest corner of the building.

The longest stretch of the sidewalk is about 26 ft long and 2 ft 5 inches wide. The sidewalk bends at an obtuse angle toward the western end of the latrine/shower slab, where it joins a mostly buried slab that may have functioned as the floor for an entry porch. Northeast of the end of the long sidewalk section is another sidewalk section, about 8 ft long, that includes a step. South of the eastern end of the long sidewalk section are broken sidewalk slabs.

The pipe, located about 15 ft to the east of the building slab, extends from the sloping ground surface and extends about 12 ft northwest toward a septic tank (Feature VI-33). Artifacts at the feature include a complete one-gallon jug and several fragments of porcelain toilets scattered around the east end of the slab.

Feature VI-33: Septic Tank
This concrete feature is a septic tank shown on the U.S. Army blueprint. It consists of a buried rectangular box 10 ft long by 4 ft 7 inches wide, with a rimmed access opening about 2 ft 10½ inches square. No door or cover for the opening is present, and the feature has been partially obscured with dirt and large basalt boulders.

Feature VI-34: Septic Tank
This large septic tank, shown on the U.S. Army blueprint, is topped by a concrete slab 20 ft 6 inches by 11 ft in plan and about 20 inches higher than the surrounding ground surface. The 8-inch-thick slab lies over a concrete-block-lined pit. There is an access opening 2 ft 3 inches square near the center of the south side, and in the eastern corner is a 7¼-inch-diameter pipe set flush with the concrete, which is slightly mounded around the pipe. Sediments in the interior are of unknown depth; there is approximately 4 ft (and six courses) of concrete block between the top of the sediments and the slab roof of the structure. Most of the concrete block in the three lowest courses visible was set sideways, so that the tank was purposefully porous.

Feature VI-35: Log
A short log, about 1 ft in diameter and 1 ft 4 inches long, is attached to the ground near the Honouliuli stream. The log has a sunken hexagonal-headed bolt (and possibly metal washer) in the side. On the bolt head are the initials “PFC.” At the approximate southern boundary of the Japanese men’s compound, the log may have been associated with the security fence or a stream crossing.

Feature VI-36: Manhole
Depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint, this manhole is similar to the others in the camp system. This feature is missing its lid.

Feature VI-37: Manhole Lid
This manhole lid may have been from the manhole recorded as Feature VI-36, above, but was found about 75 ft away. It has a handle made of rebar, similar to that of Feature V-9, but without an inscription.

Feature VI-38: Water Tank Foundation
This feature, depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint, consists of a large square concrete foundation, measuring 6 ft 1 inch square in plan. Set on a slope, the flat top is 2 ft 8 inches above the ground surface on the downhill side, less than a foot above the ground surface on the uphill side. About 50 feet of a once-connected water pipe measuring 2⅜ inches in diameter is exposed on the ground surface. Water appears to have come from the northwest to the

feature (with an outlet coupling on the upslope side) and then continued down the southeast side of the foundation sheathed in metal, rubber, and green and white insulation remnants. There is no rust stain visible, but its solid construction and the adjacent water pipe indicates the foundation may have been a foundation for a water heater.

Feature VI-39: Pipe
This feature is a 1/2-inch-diameter water pipe, vertically protruding from the ground.

Feature VI-40: Pipe
This feature is a partially exposed 1/2-inch-diameter water pipe perpendicular to the stream bank.

Feature VI-41: Bridge Abutments
This feature consists of concrete bridge abutments along the stream banks. The bridge is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint. The abutment on the northeast bank is 26 ft long total, almost a foot wide, and at least 2 ft tall. The abutment on the southwest bank is slightly shorter and broken, with the southernmost section slightly displaced. The northwest (upstream) ends of both abutments angle slightly back toward their respective banks, to keep the water flow within the channel.

Feature VI-42: Road
Traces of asphalt are still visible in some areas along this road trace, which ran parallel to the stream between two rows of barracks. The largest exposed area of asphalt noted was approximately 1 by 10 ft. More of the road is likely present, and buried. The road is shown on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature VI-43: Pathway (barracks location)
This feature is a 10-ft-long pathway lined with mortared rocks, about 25 ft east of Feature VI-32 (latrine/ shower foundation). According to the U.S. Army blueprint, the pathway would have been located near the rear of a barracks-size building.

Feature VI-44: Rock Wall
This single-wythe retaining wall, about 130 ft long and 1 ft 6 inches to 3 ft high, is constructed of unmortared basalt boulders. The wall width, up to 1 ft 6 inches, varies depending on the size of the rocks. Stuck in the wall are a cow bone and a brown bottle with "*Duraglas* 2 ◁ 5 / 17" on the base; the 5 after the symbol is a 1945 date code. A large brown bottle was found nearby, with the basemark: 1 ◁ 4 / 2000;" the 4 after the symbol is a 1944 or 1954 date code. Both bottles were manufactured by the Owens Illinois Bottle Company.

Feature VI-45: Rock Wall
This linear alignment of basalt boulders is about 35 ft long; it may be a collapsed continuation of the same basalt rock retaining wall described above under Feature VI-44.

Feature VI-46: Rock Wall
This 20-ft-long retaining wall, of basalt rock, lies north of and on roughly the same alignment as Feature VI-44, and is likely a continuation. Some of the rocks appear to have been cut into trapezoidal shapes. Nearby are scattered fragments of concrete block, tires, pipe, and part of a security light fixture. The light fixture is the same type as that found at Feature V-12, and both match those visible in historic photographs.

Feature VI-47: Ditch
This short segment of shallow ditch may have been constructed to improve drainage; its location would have been between two barracks and the stream.

Feature VI-48: Foundation (?)
This mound of water-worn basalt rocks lies between a ditch (Feature VI-47, above) and the stream. Now overgrown and possibly collapsed, it may have served as a building foundation; historic photographs show a building at this location.

Feature VI-49: Laundry Building Foundation

Located near the southern end of Compound VI, the laundry was one of the largest buildings at Honouliuli, measuring 60 ft by 54 ft, for a floor area of 3,240 square ft. The south side is 4 ft 6 inches above the ground surface, but in places the slab is buried by over a foot of sediments. Only the western edge and central area of the slab were uncovered during the 2010 field work. The foundation has a 6-in-wide concrete stem wall around the perimeter, and smaller stem walls in the interior demarcating a separate room. In the main room there is a large drain trough, with its deepest section 4 ft 4¼ inches wide by 23 ft 10¾ inches long, with gently-sloping sides that drop into a deeper, steep-sided central trough which empties into a lateral rectangular drain outlet near its center. A smaller trough drain extends to the east, and measures about 12 ft by 6 inches.

Floor details provide evidence for the layout and use of the building. Two sets of four protruding bolts surrounded by a circular stain indicate the location of washing machines centered over the large drain trough. Four bolts with two conduits adjacent indicate where another electricity-powered machine was mounted, perhaps a dryer. The smaller area defined by the interior stem wall housed a toilet, as indicated by a toilet drain and mounting bolts. Other bolts and faint traces of walls suggest this part of the building was divided into smaller rooms.

A similar drain trough was found at the hospital laundry building slab at Manzanar National Historic Site.[26] At Manzanar, the trough top was lined with metal, and machine bolts indicated where washing machines had been located.

Structural or machine-related artifacts found on or near the Honouliuli laundry slab include eight heavy metal machine part fragments; twenty pieces or fragments of hardware; two 2½-inch-long common nails; seven nail fragments; a round metal gasket; the metal end of a cartridge fuse; and double-twisted electrical wire. Also related to the building's function are 68 clear glass fragments from disinfectant bottles, including two clear jug necks with handles. One metal 4-hole button stamped “U.S. ARMY” was probably inadvertently lost during laundering.

Other artifacts reflect unrelated activities. For example, five beer bottles found at the foundation probably relate to after-hours leisure; soldiers and sailors in Kendall Olsen’s historic Honouliuli photographs hold similar bottles. The bottles found at the slab include three complete amber beer bottles; all are embossed “NOT TO BE REFILLED.” One has a basemark of “8565-A / 5 / 44 / 12” and one’s basemark is “3565-A / 5 / 44 / 9” both indicating manufacture by Anchor Hocking in 1944, and the third is embossed “Duraglas / 9 / 5. / 0.”, which indicates it was made by the Owens Illinois Glass Company. An amber beer bottle base fragment has the same basemark, “…las / 6 / 22.” The fifth beer bottle is complete, of clear glass, stamped “NOT TO BE REFILLED” and with the basemark “K-4040 / / 2-6” indicating manufacture by the Hazel Atlas glass company. Food and food-serving activities may be represented by a metal can top 4 inches in diameter, and by two whiteware dish fragments, one from a bowl base and one from the body of a bowl or plate. Artifacts dating to the post-World War II use of the area include a horseshoe with nails and three .22 c shell casings.

Feature VI-50: Guard Tower Footings

The four concrete footings for this tower indicate the tower straddled the aqueduct at an outlet gate (Feature L-1d, described below). No posts remain, but the posthole impressions in the footings indicate that 4-by-6-inch lumber was used for the tower's legs, which were set to form a rectangle about 6½ by 7 feet in plan. The water gate was closed with concrete to prevent access to the aqueduct from the compound through the turnout. A date inscribed in the concrete of the gate closure, “JAN 21-1943,” may also indicate when the guard tower was constructed.

Feature VI-51: Rock Steps

The fourteen steps of this feature lead from an artificial terrace behind and above the guard barracks up to a flat area adjacent to the aqueduct. The guard tower foundations (Feature VI-50, above) are just over 16 ft to the north of, and 1 ft 4 inches higher than, the top of the stairs. Each step is formed of five to ten large rocks, most of them shaped, aligned to form a riser. Fill dirt forms the treads, and large unshaped boulders anchor the ends of several steps. Overall the staircase is 31 ft long by 8 ft 6 inches wide, and 12 ft 4 inches high from the terrace to the top of

[26] Burton, 1996, op. cit., pp. 227-229.

the steps.

Artifacts found nearby include a small corroded pocket knife (a little over 3 inches long), a beer bottle (with basemark "12 Ⓐ 44 / .31" and "NOT TO BE REFILLED" twice around the shoulder), and a fallen-over and rotted utility pole. The steps were likely built to provide easier access up the slope from the guard camp area to the guard tower. Another, smaller set of steps (Feature VI-46) is located in the same alignment, on the other side of the 30-ft-wide terrace at the base of Feature VI-51; this feature continues down to the level of the barracks.

Feature VI-52: Manhole
Located west of the creek just south of the boundary between Compounds V and VI, this manhole is about 7 ft 6 inches north of Feature VI-18b, a concrete slab.

Compound VII - "Proposed" Prisoner of War Camp
Six features were found within Compound VII, labeled as "proposed prisoner of war compound VII" on the U.S. Army blueprint. As discussed above, a historic photograph confirms that this compound was indeed used.Features VII-1, -2, and -3, however, appear to be part of the wastewater disposal system servicing Compound VI rather than integral components of Compound VII.

Feature VII-1: Septic Tank
This septic tank and VII-2, described below, are located adjacent to each other, south of the stream and east of the guard camp area. Both are shown on the U.S. Army blueprint. Although located in the "Proposed POW Compound," both septic tanks are part of the Guard Camp Area utilities. Both are constructed of formed concrete, and the top surfaces of both are about 15 to 20 inches above the ground surface. Feature VII-1 measures 13 ft 6 inches by 34 ft 6 inches, and has a 3-ft-square access hatch along the north side. A ladder into the pit is formed of bent rebar set into the concrete wall. A cover 2 ft 4 inches square with rebar handles indicates another access port on the eastern end.

Feature VII-2: Septic Tank
This septic tank measures 24 ft by 10 ft with an extension 7 ft 8 inches wide by 4 ft 8 inches long at the eastern end. There are three 2-ft-square access hatches (two with concrete covers) and one 1-ft-square opening.

Feature VII-3: Septic Tank
This feature is a circular concrete slab, part of the guard camp sewer system and located upstream of Features VII-1 and VII-2. The slab is mostly buried so its extent was not measured, but it has a 2-ft-square access opening rimmed with a 9-inch-high collar. The feature is depicted on the U.S. Army blueprint as a septic tank.

Feature VII-4: Fence Remnants
This feature consists of three metal posts, wire mesh, and pulled-up concrete post anchors. These may be associated with the Compound VII security fence or a baseball field shown nearby on the U.S. Army blueprint.

Feature VII-5: Posts
These two wooden posts, each approximately 12 inches in diameter and 10 ft high, are about 10 ft apart. The top of the east pole is cut flat, the top of the west pole is cut on two angled planes to form a pointed top. It is not known if they are associated with the POW camp. No historic photographs have been found of the vicinity of the posts, and the prisoner area that is depicted in a historic photograph is at least 1,000 feet to the south. There, the posts for the security fence look to have been 8 to 10 ft tall, and there are nine larger diameter, taller posts visible in the historic photograph along the perimeter. Even the guard towers appear to sit on structures of braced posts, but the photograph is too indistinct to assert that the tower supports are not of milled lumber. However, unless additional evidence surfaces to indicate prisoner housing at this location, it seems more likely the posts were associated with other facilities, during or after the camp's occupation.

Feature VII-6: Structural Debris
Possibly part of the security fence, this feature is a small pile of concrete rubble and segments of pipe along the edge of the original entrance road.

Linear Features

Linear features include two water conveyance systems that traverse the site and two roads that cross several compounds. Both of the water systems are part of the Waiahole Ditch Irrigation System constructed for the Oahu Sugar Company. Begun in 1914, the system officially opened in 1916, and with some modifications and expansions, it served the Oahu Sugar Company until that company's close in 1994. With tunnels, ditches, and siphons, it brought water from the windward side of the island over 20 miles to irrigate sugar cane fields on the Ewa Plains.[27] According to Wilcox, the workforce for the system, at least in the construction of the nearly 3-mile-long tunnel that traversed the Koolau Range, was composed predominantly of Japanese immigrants.[28]

Feature L-1: Ditch and Aqueduct

This feature comprises the ditch and aqueduct system that carried water through the internment camp, dipping very gradually from west to east. The concrete-lined ditch measures about 5 ft 6 inches wide overall, with the channel 4 ft 6 inches wide by at least 2 ft 6 inches deep (sediments preclude accurate depth measurement). The ditch is trapezoidal in cross-section, with the side walls sloping slightly inward so that the channel's width is slightly less at the bottom. Where the ditch crosses the road, near the aqueduct, cracks in the ditch expose cobbles used as fill or reinforcement under the concrete. Feature V-15, described above, serves as a retaining wall for the ditch. The concrete-walled ditch passes under the road; a large concrete slab visible under the east edge of the road shoulder may be part of the original road-crossing support. Seven features of the water conveyance system were recorded individually.

Feature L-1a is the aqueduct that carries the ditch water across the Honouliuli stream. Of concrete, it is approximately 170 ft long and is supported by massive piers constructed of square-trimmed basalt and mortar and set at 16-ft intervals. In cross-section, the aqueduct measures 5 ft 4 inches wide and 4 ft deep overall, with the side walls 8 inches thick and the channel 4 ft wide. The side walls are reinforced by 12-inch-wide concrete pilasters above each pier. The aqueduct is visible in historic photographs.

Feature L-1b is a concrete and rock abutment or pier with an inscribed date of "Aug 30, 1920." The pier measures 25 by 42 inches by 50 inches high. Out of plumb and tilted to the north, the abutment appears to have been originally constructed adjacent to the aqueduct as an auxiliary support near its western end. If so, its slight shift since its construction has had no obvious adverse effect on the aqueduct itself.

Feature L-1c is a concrete pipe, opening into the ditch just east of the aqueduct.

Feature L-1d is a former concrete and rock gate along the aqueduct to divert water from the aqueduct to presumed fields on the stream terrace below. Along the west edge of the site near the boundary between Compounds V and VI, the gate was permanently closed with concrete inscribed "Jan 21 - 1943" on top. A guard tower (Feature VI-50, above) was constructed above the aqueduct at the gate.

Feature L-1e is another sealed gate along the ditch, within Guard Camp Area VI.

Feature L-1f is a wooden flume over the ditch, within Guard Camp Area VI.

Feature L- 1g is an uncoursed dry-laid basalt retaining wall above the ditch to the east of the aqueduct. The retaining wall is 157 ft long, up to 21 ft high at its southern end, tapering down to ground level where it curves around toward the road. The wall slopes back into the hillside, at about a 60-degree angle.

Features L-1h and L-1i are sealed outlets located at the western border of Compound V at the aqueduct. Both of these features consist of a water discharge gate that has been permanently sealed with concrete, to prevent access from the prison area below. Feature L-1h is near the north edge of Compound V, about 500 ft north of the sealed gate at the guard tower recorded as Feature VI-50. L-1i is about 300 ft further south, or 200 ft north of the guard

[27] Wilcox, op. cit.

[28] Ibid., p. 104.

tower. No dates were observed inscribed in the concrete at either feature, but the seals were probably made at about the same time as the similar seal inscribed January 21, 1943, at the guard tower foundation (Features VI-50 and L-1d, above).

Feature L-1j consists of two boards found on the east side of the aqueduct, near the western boundary of Compound VI, the guard camp area, and about 115 ft south of the guard tower foundation recorded as Feature VI-50. One board measured 1 inch by 11¾ inches by 52½ inches long, and had a strip of galvanized metal wrapped around and nailed over each end. There are three irregular, elongated holes across the board about 10 inches from each end, which may indicate former nail holes where cross pieces were attached, but no "shadow" from a cross piece was observed. The other board was thickly entwined with vegetation, and left in place because it appeared too fragile to move without damaging it. About the same dimensions as the other board, it had more holes, and nails still present. The galvanized metal strips suggest the boards functioned as a removable gate for the aqueduct. They may have been recycled for use as a footbridge: what appears to be a small simple footbridge is visible in this general location in historic photographs taken by R.H. Lodge.[29]

Feature L-2: Ditch and Siphon

The metal pipe visible in historic photographs, now partially removed, functioned as an inverted siphon (noted as "siphon" on 1952/1998 USGS map) in the Waiahole Water Company system. The company used a total of 1.38 miles of siphons in the system completed in 1916.[30] The siphons were enclosed pipes that carried water from a ditch on one side of a valley to a ditch on the other. Siphons are laid close to the ground, so they dip down to the bottom of the valley before climbing back up. As long as the pipe's inlet is at a higher elevation than its outlet, the pressure of the incoming water keeps the pipe's contents in motion.

The siphon is 2 ft in diameter, composed of sections of riveted steel pipe. It was supported at intervals by formed concrete piers measuring roughly 48 inches high. The pipe would have fit into a half-cylindrical hollow in the pier's top, and was held down with a semi-circular heavy-gauge metal clamp with flanges that fit over bolts sunk into the concrete (Feature L-2a). Near one of the piers is a large iron rod with a turnbuckle in the middle and a hook at the end, which connects to an iron eye loop sunk into a basalt boulder.

Feature L-2b is a portion of the ditch connected to the siphon, exposed by erosion above the road recorded as L-5 (see below). Because a portion of the cut bank has eroded away, a section of what appears to be a rock wall composed of basalt boulders and mortar is visible. Located where the ditch that debouches from the siphon is shown on historic maps, this "wall" is actually the exterior of the ditch lining. The exposed section is about 10 ft long and 2 ft high; the rocks appear to have been shaped to be roughly 10 or 12 inches square. The concrete rim at the top of the ditch is level and straight; the mortar on the newly exposed face is irregular, suggesting that the rocks were set in the ditch wall to conserve concrete, and plastered over. The ditch itself has been filled with sediment, and is partially obscured by vegetation.

Feature L-3: Road

On the U.S. Army blueprint, this road traverses the west side of the gulch within Compounds II and III, north of the end of the modern road that ends at the westernmost well. Although overgrown, the road is still visible as a two-track dirt road, with asphalt pavement visible in some areas.

Feature L-4: Road

According to the U.S. Army blueprint, this feature is a segment of the original access road, which continues south, parallel to the stream, while the modern access road climbs up the slope just north of a modern electronics site (Feature M-14, below). Paved near its intersection with the modern road, the road becomes very overgrown with dense vegetation as it continues south into Compounds VII and VIII.

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[29] Jeffery F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell, *Jigoku-Dani: An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Honouliuli Internment Camp, O'ahu, Hawai'i*. Trans-Sierran Archaeological Research and Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i Research Center, 2008, Figures 2.10 and 2.11

[30] Wilcox, op. cit.

Feature L-5: Road
The U.S. Army blueprint depicts Feature L-5 as a continuation of Feature L-3, described above. From the current end of the paved road at the westernmost modern water well, this historic route travels south, to ascend the western slope of the gulch. Today the road is best defined near the top, where it intersects a modern agricultural road. Several of Lodge's overview photographs were taken from at or near this point. Lower on the slope, the road is overgrown with vegetation, but the road bed is still discernible.

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES
Post-camp historic features at Honouliuli are associated with later use of the site, including a chicken farm and ranching. Both of those operations are now defunct. The site is currently used by the Board of Water Supply City and County of Honolulu for water wells and treatment, and by KITV for communications. In addition, the Feature II-1 slab (see above) is used for provisional storage of modern and post-camp materials and equipment.

Feature M-1: Water Treatment Plant
This feature is the current Water Treatment Plant, constructed on a raised platform where the Compound IV mess hall was located during World War II. The plant includes a large treatment building, two pump houses, a tank, and an asphalt driveway and turn-around area, all enclosed with a tall chain-link fence. The current retaining wall for the platform appears to be fairly recently constructed or recently reinforced with rock and concrete, but portions of the retaining wall at the rear (northeast edges) of the platform are uncoursed dry-laid basalt rocks, possibly part of an older retaining wall constructed for the Compound IV mess hall. A brass plaque on the building reads: "Honouliuli Wells II / Board of Water Supply /1990."

Feature M-2: Well
Located on the east side of the stream within Compound III, this well site includes a pump and an asphalt and concrete driveway surrounded by a chain-link fence and a rock-and-concrete retaining wall.

Feature M-3: Well
On the west side of the stream within Compound III, this well site includes a pump, light post, and a concrete and asphalt driveway, surrounded by rock and concrete walls and a chain-link fence.

Feature M-4: Shutoff Valve and Rock Wall
West of the stream and on the north side of the road at the stream crossing, within Compound III, this feature consists of a shutoff valve bolted onto the end of a pipe that is set into a mortared-rock-lined spillway that empties into the stream. The valve reads: "TROY VALVE / TROY PA 1989" around the edge with the numbers "8 / 177423 / -1420" and the letters "BF" in the center.

Feature M-5: Road
The current access road to the wells is paved mostly with asphalt, but with several concrete sections, including where the road crosses the Honouliuli stream. The road apparently follows the alignment of the camp road within Compounds V and VI.

Feature M-6: Chicken Farm
Two buildings described under Features VI-1 and VI-2 (above) were part of a chicken farm, according to Rodney Santiago, who first started ranching in the area in the 1950s. Feature VI-1, a World War II era building, was apparently used as a residence. The building's bathroom may be a post-camp addition, since the sewer connection is not shown on the U.S. Army blueprint and the toilet tank lid has a 1948 date stamp.

Feature VI-2, a foundation from the military camp, was used for chicken coops. Parts of the building on the eastern half of the slab may be original to the camp: the vertical board siding and low-pitch gable roof match that of the building in the historic photographs. During the chicken farm occupation, one room was apparently used for storage and the other as a coop with four enclosures. To the west of the standing building there are two standing coops (3 ft by 24 ft 4 inches with eight enclosures and 10 ft 1 inch by 22 ft 2 inches with four

enclosures). These two coops are likely located on the original concrete foundation, here obscured by debris and vegetation. Two additional large coops, now collapsed, are located to the north and west. Some maintenance or modification work was done in 1975, as evidenced by two small inscribed concrete slabs. One, near the center of the west side of the standing building, measures 3 ft1 inch by 3 ft 6 inches and is inscribed "BOBBY /WILLY / LEI / BLA / "75"." The other, several feet to the south and measuring 2 ft by 1 ft 9 inches, is inscribed "MADE BY S.W.A.T. TEAM / SEPT 30 '75." The latter slab has metal and PVC pipes at its eastern edge.

The building and the coops are all within a fenced area measuring approximately 110 ft by 300 ft, enclosing an area of about 3/4 acre between the road and the stream. The fence is now mostly collapsed. Outside the fenced area, to the south of the residence, there is a 25-ft-by-50-ft corral and a cache of World-War-II-era laundry sinks (Feature VI-16).

There is abundant debris and trash attributable to the chicken farm use within and around the buildings. Trash includes typical household items such as cans, bottles, jars, all-aluminum beer cans, "Elmer's" glue, "Comet" cleanser, white plastic "Clorox" jugs, and newspapers. Among other items in the bathroom there is a jar with a paper label that reads "3½ oz / TRES FLORES / Three Flowers Brilliantine;" a similar jar (without the paper label) was found at the internee mess hall foundation (Feature V-1). Other items include a small refrigerator, a power jointer, a wheelbarrow, garden hoses, five-gallon paint buckets, a one-gallon gas can, two jerrycans, a "Havahart" animal trap, wood/lumber, sheet and corrugated metal, a child's bicycle, and a pile of about 50 small clay flower pots. Dozens of blue plastic five-gallon "Ansulite" (fire-fighting foam) containers and clear plastic one-gallon jugs are present, probably recycled for use as water or feed containers.

Feature M-7: Concrete Slab
Located between the road and the stream within Compound IV, this slab measures 16 ft long by almost 10 ft wide. The names FLORENCE, MARY, ANDREA, and DANNY are inscribed in the concrete perimeter wall stub. A small circular concrete pad lies at the corner, with two vertical pipes, and a black plastic pipe runs along the southeastern end. A roll of fencing lies on the ground nearby. Mr. Rodney Santiago noted that he constructed the slab as part of his cattle grazing operation.

Feature M-8: Loading Chute (?)
Just south of Feature M-7, within Compound IV, this feature consists of boards nailed horizontally to three posts and a tree, to partially enclose an area about 9 ft square.

Feature M-9: Corrals and Stalls
Just north of Feature M-7, within Compound IV, the two corrals and the stalls are constructed of posts, boards, and barbed wire. Overall, the two corrals measure over 100 by 40 ft, and the stalls, with metal roofing, measure 16 ft by almost 47 ft.

Feature M-10: Wood Structure
Remnants of what may have been a shade or rain shelter constructed of apparently recycled lumber is west of the stream within Compound IV.

Feature M-11: Wood Structure
This small open-sided wooden shelter within Compound III measures about 10 ft square, with a shed roof sheathed in corrugated metal. Only 5 ft tall in front and 4 ft 6 inches tall in the rear, the structure was constructed of a variety of recycled lumber and posts. The roof seems to have served as provisional storage for rebar, bolts, barbed and smooth wire, and lumber.

Feature M-12: Corral
Within Compound III, this corral is constructed of barbed wire, wooden posts and boards, metal portable fencing, corrugated roofing, and chain link fencing. Within the corral is a big feeding tank and interior division fence. The corral has a metal gate, and there is a vehicle tire on the south side of the corral.

Feature M-13: Water Tank
Within Compound V, this feature is a water tank made of heavy corrugated metal sheets riveted together. Measuring almost 8 ft in diameter and 4 ft high, the tank is likely a remnant of the post-camp ranching era.

Feature M-14: Communications Site
With one tall antenna, a small building, and satellite dishes, this communications site within Compound VI is fenced and signed "KITV - TV / No Trespassing / Area under constant video surveillance / Trespassers will be prosecuted."

INTEGRITY

The *Japanese Americans in World War II National Historic Landmark Theme Study* provides guidance on assessing integrity at internment sites. As discussed in the theme study, many of the property types associated with the Japanese American experience during World War II were quickly and cheaply built and intended only for temporary use, so the assessment of integrity must focus on recognizing whatever elements that remain.[31] Although focused on POW camps on the mainland at current military installations, the Department of Defense's *Historic Context: World War II Prisoner-of-War Camps* offers guidelines and comparisons to assess the relative integrity of Honouliuli as a POW camp. As at Honouliuli, most of the mainland POW camps were razed after the war. However, on the mainland many of the POW camps were located in existing military installations, for logistical and security reasons. After the war, the camp areas were often reused for other military activities or construction, often erasing physical traces of the POW occupation or placing the POW camp site amid modern developments.[32]

As an archaeological site, Honouliuli retains a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association. World-War-II-era features include two standing buildings, numerous structure foundations, fence remnants, artifact scatters, and other features that convey the historic significance of the site. Modern developments are minimal, and do not detract from the overall site integrity.

Location: The site is in its original location, as depicted in World War II era maps of military installations.

Setting: Honouliuli's setting, in an isolated hidden gulch surrounded by agricultural fields, remains virtually unchanged since World War II. As the theme study notes, "The isolated settings of the relocation centers affected the experiences of the residents and, it could be argued, had an effect on the experience of other Americans as well. Isolation placed the internment out of sight and out of mind for most Americans."[33] The harshness and isolation of the original setting of Honouliuli no doubt contributed to the fact that the site and its history were forgotten and ignored for decades, until researchers at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i rediscovered it in recent years.

Materials: Honouliuli retains integrity of materials in the two extant buildings, in numerous features, and in archaeological deposits. For example, the buildings still have original foundations, windows, doors, and siding, and one building even has a World War II light. Concrete foundations retain evidence of walls, partitions, plumbing, and modifications. Roads retain the layer of coral brought in as surfacing, and pathways are outlined with rock. Concrete tanks and metal and clay pipes of the sewage disposal infrastructure are still present. Conforming to the theme study's assessment of the integrity needed for National Landmark or National Register status, "these materials preserve the footprints of buildings and structures, and indicate the placement of gardens,

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[31] National Park Service, *Japanese Americans in World War II National Historic Landmark Theme Study* Draft, 2005, p. 43.

[32] Listman, et al., op cit., pp. 10-22.

[33] National Park Service, op.cit., p. 44.

sidewalks, roads, and other landscape features."[34]

Design: As the theme study notes, "design is the combination of elements that creates the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property."[35] Although properties may lack surviving buildings, design may be evident in the layout or the remains of fences or watchtowers.[36] Although the Honouliuli site is currently overgrown with vegetation, the military design and layout are evident in the still-traceable roads, massive water and sewer infrastructure, large mess hall foundations, and remnants of the security fence, as well as other features within the site.

Workmanship: The theme study notes that in the case of confinement sites, "low-quality or expedient construction may be the sense of workmanship that is important" and that workmanship can be illustrated in military standardization of plans, differences in housing between staff and internee housing, or internee-built features.[37] At Honouliuli, this expedient military-style workmanship is evident in the standardized mess hall, laundry, and other foundations; the standing buildings; the guard tower footings; and the overall layout. There are also apparent differences between staff and internee housing, with a small pond and rock-lined pathways in the internee area and more substantial barracks additions in the staff housing area. To date, no prisoner-produced landscaping elements have been found in the POW compounds; although such features may be obscured by sediments and vegetation, it is quite possible that the lack of landscaping features represents significant differences in the ways the POW compounds were used.

Feeling: To the former internees who have recently revisited the site during days of remembrance and pilgrimages, Honouliuli has integrity of feeling: the isolated setting, military design, prison-related artifacts, mosquitoes, and steep valley walls that retain heat convey the discomfort experienced when they named Honouliuli *Jigoku-Dani*, or Hell Valley. Visitor comments recorded by the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i after the 2011 pilgrimage to the site suggest that Honouliuli conveys much of that historic feeling even today. For example, one visitor wrote: " I was moved by the isolation and ruggedness of the site. The internees endured a lot." Another wrote: "I am amazed at how secluded yet proximate the site is."

Association: As the largest and longest-lived of the Hawaiian internment sites and as a prisoner of war camp, Honouliuli provides a direct and tangible link to the history of civilian internment, martial law, and the control of enemy prisoners of war during World War II.

Combined, these seven elements of integrity give a strong sense of the historic character of Honouliuli, and the events that occurred there.

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[36] Ibid., p. 44.

[37] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

Table 1. Features Recorded at Honouliuli.

No.	Description
I-1	Pipe
I-2	Palm Tree
I-3	Concrete Trough Segments and Fragments
I-4	Concrete Trough Fragments
I-5	Garbage Incinerator
II-1	Mess Hall Foundation
II-2	Shower Building Foundation
II-3	Cesspool
II-4	Cesspool
II-5	Pipe
II-6	Structural Debris
II-7	Concrete Remnant
II-8	Structural Debris and Artifacts
II-9	Concrete Remnant
II-10	Pipe and Artifacts
II-11	Rock Wall
II-12	Drill Holes
II-13	Depression
II-14	Inscription
II-15	Logs
II-16	Depression
II-17	Shower Building Foundation
II-18	Cesspool
II-19	Depression
II-20	Depression
III-1	Concrete Structure (garbage incinerator)
III-2	Concrete Structure
III-3	Cesspool
III-4	Shower Building Foundation
III-5	Septic Tank
III-6	Depression
III-7	Depression
III-8	Depression
III-9	Depression

No.	Description
IV-1	Manhole
IV-2	Guard Tower Footings
IV-3	Concrete Footing
V-1	Mess Hall Foundation
V-2	Structural Debris
V-3	Rock Wall
V-4	Rock Alignment
V-5	Post
V-6	Vehicle Parts
V-7	Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
V-8	Structural Debris
V-9	Manhole with Inscription
V-10	Rock Alignment
V-11	Rock Wall
V-12	Pond
V-13	Posthole
V-14	Pipe
V-15	Rock Wall
V-16	Road
V-17	Rock Wall
V-18	Rock Wall
V-19	Rock Wall
V-20	Sidewalk
V-21	Concrete Slab
V-22	Vertical Pipe
V-23	Septic Tank
V-24	Pipeline
V-25	Septic Tank
V-26	Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
V-27	Posthole
VI-1	Standing Building[1]
VI-2	Standing Building[1]
VI-3	Generator Building Foundation
VI-4	Building Foundation

Table 1 (continued). Features Recorded at Honouliuli.

No.	Description
VI-5	Cesspool
VI-6	Building Foundation
VI-7	Structural Debris
VI-8	Structural Debris
VI-9	Structural Debris
VI-10	Structural Debris
VI-11	Structural Debris
VI-12	Cesspool
VI-13	Rock Wall
VI-14	Rock Wall
VI-15	Guy-Wire Anchor
VI-16	Laundry Tubs
VI-17	Concrete Slab
VI-18	Two Concrete Slabs
VI-19	Concrete Slab
VI-20	Concrete Slab
VI-21	Building Foundation
VI-22	Cesspool
VI-23	Structural Debris
VI-24	Structural Debris
VI-25	Structural Debris
VI-26	Structural Debris
VI-27	Structural Debris
VI-28	Structural Debris
VI-29	Structural Debris
VI-30	Pipe and Artifacts
VI-31	Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
VI-32	Latrine/Shower Building Foundation
VI-33	Septic Tank
VI-34	Septic Tank
VI-35	Log
VI-36	Manhole
VI-37	Manhole Lid
VI-38	Water Tank Foundation

No.	Description
VI-39	Pipe
VI-40	Pipe
VI-41	Bridge Abutments
VI-42	Road
VI-43	Pathway
VI-44	Rock Wall
VI-45	Rock Wall
VI-46	Rock Wall
VI-47	Ditch
VI-48	Foundation
VI-49	Laundry Building Foundation
VI-50	Guard Tower Footings
VI-51	Rock Steps
VI-52	Manhole
VII-1	Septic Tank
VII-2	Septic Tank
VII-3	Concrete Structure
VII-4	Fence Remnants
VII-5	Posts
VII-6	Structural Debris
L-1	Ditch and Aqueduct [2]
L-2	Ditch and Siphon [2]
L-3	Road
L-4	Road
L-5	Road
M-1	Water Treatment Plant [3]
M-2	Well [4]
M-3	Well [4]
M-4	Shutoff Valve [4] and Rock Wall [4]
M-5	Road [4]
M-6	Chicken Farm [4]
M-11	Wood Structure [4]
M-12	Corral [4]
M-13	Water Tank [4]

Table 1 (continued). Features Recorded at Honouliuli.

M-7	Concrete Slab [4]
M-8	Loading Chute [4]
M-9	Corral [4] and Stalls [4]
M-10	Wood Structure [4]
M-14	Communications Site [3]

[1] Considered a Contributing Building as listed in Section 5, on page 2 of this nomination.
[2] Considered a Contributing Structure as listed in Section 5, on page 2 of this nomination; although both the ditch and. aqueduct (L-1) and the ditch and siphon (L-2) predate World War II, both were incorporated into the internment camp design. and layout. Both may have significance for their association with water development on O‘ahu and under other historic contexts, not treated in this nomination.
[3] Considered a Non-Contributing Building as listed in Section 5, on page 2 of this nomination.
[4] Considered a Non-Contributing Structure as listed in Section 5, on page 2 of this nomination.

All other features are considered as contributing elements of the archaeological site.

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

☒ **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
Property is:

☐ **A** Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

☐ **B** Removed from its original location.

☐ **C** A birthplace or a grave.

☐ **D** A cemetery.

☐ **E** A reconstructed building, object, or structure.

☐ **F** A commemorative property.

☐ **G** Less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
Asian Ethnic Heritage
European Ethic Heritage
Military and Social History
Politics, Government, and Law
Archeology-Historic/Non-aboriginal

Period of Significance
1943-1946

Significant Dates
March 2, 1943

Significant Person

Cultural Affiliation
Japanese American
German American
Japanese nationals
Korean nationals

Architect/Builder
U.S. Army

Period of Significance (justification)
The period of significance is from 1943, when Honouliuli was constructed, to ca. 1946, when it was closed. Once both a civilian internment camp and a Prisoner of War camp, the Honouliuli site embodies two different facets of World War II: the treatment of U.S. residents and citizens, and the treatment of enemy soldiers.

Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)
N/A

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph

Associated with the internment of American citizens and long-term resident aliens as well as prisoners of war (POWs) during World War II, Honouliuli qualifies for the National Register of Historic Places at a national level of significance under criteria A and D. As an internment site, Honouliuli represents the fragility of constitutional rights and the effects of martial law; as a POW camp, Honouliuli exemplifies the management of enemy troops, as the military balanced the need for national security and the need to comply with the Geneva convention. With abundant features and artifacts, Honouliuli has the potential to provide important archeological information about the administration of an internment and prisoner-of-war camp and how, in their everyday lives, people reacted to and coped with their confinement.

Narrative Statement of Significance

The Honouliuli Internment Camp meets ***Criterion A*** at a national level of significance as a property "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history." Built in 1943, the Honouliuli Internment Camp was the last, largest, and longest-used World War II confinement site in Hawai‘i. The camp was built to intern German American and Japanese American citizens and long-term Hawaiian resident aliens as well as POWs captured during military operations during World War II. As both a civilian internment camp and a prisoner of war camp, the Honouliuli site embodies two different facets of World War II: the control of U.S. residents and citizens, and the treatment of enemy soldiers. The fact that these two seemingly distinct classes of people were incarcerated at one site exemplifies the fact that the two groups were considered equivalent, in many ways.

Honouliuli is distinctive as the only Hawaiian site remaining that was built exclusively as a World War II confinement camp, and for the quantity and integrity of material remains. As an internment camp, Honouliuli is a physical symbol of the prejudice and discrimination that Japanese and German immigrants experienced, which culminated in the internment in Hawai‘i and, on the mainland, the relocation and internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans. As a prisoner of war camp, Honouliuli represents the changing course of the war, as increasing numbers of enemy soldiers and non-combatants were captured in the Pacific theater. The National Park Service's *Japanese Americans in World War II National Landmark Theme Study* identifies Honouliuli as one of the "places associated with detention" of Japanese Americans during World War II, and notes that such sites in Hawaii and Alaska are distinctive in their location in active combat zones. Honouliuli, in fact, is located less than 7 miles west of Pearl Harbor and less than 7 miles south of Wheeler Field, two of the principle targets in Japan's December 7, 1941, attack.

With archaeological features and scattered archaeological deposits throughout the area, Honouliuli qualifies under ***Criterion D,*** as well, at a national level of significance because it "may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history." The site has the potential to provide more information about the administration and operation of a POW and internment camp and how, in their everyday lives, people dealt with their confinement. Archaeological studies have documented the resurgence of Japanese American culture at mainland internment camps,[38] and Honouliuli could provide useful comparative data about material expressions of ethnicity,

[38] See, for example, Jeffery F. Burton, 1996, op.cit., and Archeological Investigations at the Administration Block and Entrance Area, Manzanar Relocation Center (Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona, 2005); Jeffery F. Burton, Laura Bergstresser and Anna Tamura, *Archeology at the Gate: Archeological Investigations at the Entrance of the Minidoka Relocation Center, Minidoka Internment National Monument* (Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, Tucson, Arizona, 2003); Richard F. Carrillo and David Killam, *Camp Amache (5PW48): A Class II Intensive Field Survey of the Granada Relocation Center, Powers County, Colorado* (Cuartelejo HP Associates, La Junta, Colorado, 2004); Sheri Murray Ellis, *Site Documentation and Management Plan for the Topaz Relocation Center, Millard County, Utah* (SWCA Environmental Consultants, Salt Lake City, 2002); Thomas K. Larson, Dori M. Penny, Michael Andrews, and James O. Rose, Cultural Resources Investigations at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyoming (Paper presented at the Society for Historic Archaeology 28th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Washington, D.C., 1995); Monique Sawyer-Lang, Recovery of Additional Information from the

confinement, and identity. Similarly, archaeological investigations at a few former POW camps on the mainland have found fairly abundant intact structural features, including concrete slab foundations, artifact caches, and POW-constructed features.[39] As the historic context prepared for mainland POW camps on military installations points out, "documentation of the positions of foundations and features can provide significant information on the size of the camp, how the camp was laid out in comparison to the standard plans, and the range of recreational activities (e.g., garden plots, special use buildings, sculptures) available to the POWs."[40] As one of the few POW camps in the U.S. where Japanese prisoners were held, Honouliuli has the potential to provide information about a distinctive characteristic of the Japanese POWs: their political and military leaders had taught them that to surrender under any circumstances was a criminal disgrace, so for them, POW status was shameful and humiliating.[41] Archaeological remains have the potential to provide clues about the ways these prisoners coped with and adapted to their unexpected status. Overall, the archaeological record can augment the archival record (and in some cases, inspire oral histories) to provide a more complete picture of how the military controlled POWs and internees, and how the prisoners responded.

Historical Background and Context

On December 7, 1941, the United States entered World War II when Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. Straus[42] describes the experience of Prisoner No. 1 of the war in the Pacific. Captured before dawn on December 8, Ensign Sakamaki Kazuo had been skipper of one of five 2-man midget submarines assigned to breach Pearl Harbor's defenses, and he was the only one of the ten to survive the suicide mission. Sakamaki was kept in Hawaii eight weeks before being transferred to a POW facility at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin.

But by the time Sakamaki became the first official prisoner of war, the army had already arrested hundreds of civilian residents of Hawaii. The legal authority for the civilian arrests in Hawaii was martial law, declared the afternoon of the attack by the Hawaiian Territorial Governor Joseph B. Poindexter, under pressure from the head of the Hawaiian command, General Walter C. Short.[43] Martial law suspended constitutional rights, turned the civilian courts over to the military, imposed blackouts and curfews, rationed food and gasoline, censored mail and news media, imposed a temporary prohibition on alcohol, realigned business hours, froze wages, and regulated currency.[44] Violations were punished summarily by provost courts or military tribunals; there was no right of appeal.

Gila River Farms Expansion Area: A Study of a Japanese-American Relocation Center (*Cultural Resources Report* 53, Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd, Tempe, Arizona, 1989).

[39] C. Andrew Buchner and Eric Albertson, *Archaeological Investigations of the POW Camp (3PU641) at Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Pulaski County, Arkansas* (Panamerican Consultants, Inc., Memphis, 2005); Steve Gaither, Charles D. Neel, Allan J. Schilz, Timothy G. Baugh, Kirsten Kahl, Jana Whaley, Myra L. McMinn, and Jennifer Fry, *Cultural Resources Inventory of 6,800 Acres and National Register Eligibility Evaluation of Eight Archaeological Sites, Camp Gruber Army National Guard Training Center, Muskogee County, Oklahoma* (Lopez Garcia Group, Dallas, 2005); John D. Northrup and W. J. Bennett, Jr., *Archaeological Investigations at the German Prisoner of War Camp Location, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas* (Fort Chaffee Archaeological Assessment Staff, 1990); Michael R. Waters, *Lone Star Stalag: German Prisoners of War at Camp Hearne* (Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 2006).

[40] Listman, et al., op. cit., pp. 10-22.

[41] Ulrich Straus, *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POWs of World War II* (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003).

[42] Ibid., pp. 8-14.

[43] Ibid, p. 69.

[44] J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii under Army Rule* (Stanford University Press, California, 1955)

While martial law provided the legal authority for civilian internment, the sociopolitical basis was more complex.[45] Widespread hysteria and paranoia followed the shock of a sneak attack on American soil: sensationalistic newspaper headlines talked about sabotage and imminent invasion, and rumors spread that the Hawaiian Japanese had cut large arrows into their fields to point aircraft to Pearl Harbor. Such stories had no factual basis, but fed the growing suspicions about residents with Japanese ancestry; Hawaiians with German or Italian ancestry also came under suspicion. In the months following the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt and the Secretary of the Navy William Franklin Knox pressured the new Hawai'ian commander, General Delos C. Emmons, to imprison all Hawai'ian residents of Japanese ancestry, confine them to one island, or remove them to the mainland.[46]

However, the wholesale incarceration of all Japanese Americans that was implemented on the west coast of the mainland was not practical in Hawai'i. Japanese Americans comprised over half of the skilled labor force and were indispensable to the economy.[47] Ninety percent of Hawai'i's truck farmers were alien Japanese.[48] Over 90 percent of carpenters and most of the transportation workers on the islands were of Japanese ancestry.[49] Moreover, incarceration of the entire Japanese American population would have consumed enormous amounts of labor and resources needed for the war effort. Mass incarceration might have turned loyal Americans into enemy sympathizers.[50] Finally, Commanding General Emmons was certainly aware that General Short's paranoia about Japanese American sabotage had led to his disastrous decision to park Army planes close together, which made them more vulnerable to aerial attack.[51] With Pearl Harbor still reeling from the tragic consequences of his predecessor's decision, Emmons had ample reason to avoid the same mistakes.

As described by Kashima,[52] General Emmons' measured response to the recommendations from Washington appears to be a model for rational and ethical bureaucratic delay. Emmons did not believe the incarceration or evacuation of all Japanese Americans was necessary, feasible, or useful, and did not make either a priority. He moved slowly and deliberately even in sending any Japanese to the mainland, raising practical problems of transportation and labor shortages. When the hysteria subsided, he was able to implement a much more modest approach to internment and removal to the mainland.

Still, immigrants and their American-born citizen children were not immune from racism or discrimination, and the military's suspicions of Japanese Americans had begun long before General Short took command of Hawai'i in early 1941. As on the mainland, those born in Japan were prohibited from becoming naturalized citizens on the basis of race.[53] Japanese in Hawai'i were seen as potentially dangerous, if the United States and Japan did go to

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[45] The social, political, and cultural context of the Hawaiian internment is only briefly summarized here; for more comprehensive treatments, see Anthony 1955, Kashima 2003, Odo 2004, Ogawa and Fox 1991, Okihiro 1991.

[46] Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003), p. 75.

[47] Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2004, p. 3.

[48] Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years 1941-1945* (Pacific Monograph, Kailua, Hawai'i, 1950), p. 173.

[49] Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), *Personal Justice Denied.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.,1982, p. 269.

[50] Odo, op. cit., p. 3.

[51] United States Army, Pacific, at http://www.usarpac.army.mil/history/cgbios/cg_short.asp.

[52] Kashima, op.cit, pp. 75-78.

[53] Brian Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present* (Facts on File, New York, 2001), p. 281.

war. Both the Army and the FBI had gathered data on Japanese Hawaiian residents in the late 1930s. The Army's plan recommended the arrest of 128 hostages, the closing of 60 amateur radio stations, and the confiscation of 23 businesses under a martial law regime; the FBI designated 338 Issei (first generation immigrants) and nine Nisei (second generation, American citizens) in Hawai'i as candidates for custodial detention.[54] Fingerprinting and registering of aliens was begun in August of 1940 under provisions of the federal Alien Registration Act;[55] some 6,000 aliens in Hilo alone were registered and fingerprinted beginning in September of 1940.[56]

An FBI memo dated December 4, 1941, listed 337 people who should be arrested at the outbreak of war, the "custodial detention list."[57] When martial law was declared the afternoon of December 7, the War Department ordered the internment of everyone on the FBI's custodial detention list. On O'ahu, the FBI and the Army carried out the arrests together, then the FBI handed the prisoners over to the military police at the U.S. Immigration Station at Honolulu, which was used as the temporary detention station. On the other islands except for Kaua'i, FBI agents made the arrests with local police.[58] On Hawai'i, internees were held at Kilauea Military Camp and at Waiakea Prison Camp; on Kaua'i, at the county jail and Kalaheo Stockade; on Molokai, in an old jail at Kaunakakai. From Maui and Lanai, detainees were taken to the county jail on Maui and a detention center at Haiku.

At first, the largest category of internees consisted of "consular agents." Most of these were volunteers on islands where the consul had no paid staff. They assisted other Japanese in filling out reports of birth, marriage, and death sent back to the emigrants' original villages in Japan. Although the FBI considered them potential agents or spies for the Japanese government, most were long-time residents of Hawai'i, and none was ever charged with espionage or sabotage.[59] In the days following December 7th the FBI and military also arrested Nisei, German and Italian nationals, and a smaller number of citizens of German and Italian ancestry, who were not on the custodial detention list.

Besides consular agents, the Japanese American internees included almost all Buddhist and Shinto priests, language-school officials, and many commercial fishermen. Some were simply leaders in the Japanese American community; one-third of them were American citizens.[60] In all, over 1,200 persons of Japanese ancestry were interned in Hawai'i.[61] The European American internees included 67 German aliens and 40 U.S. citizens of German origin or ancestry, 15 Italian aliens and two U.S. citizens of Italian origin or ancestry, and one Norwegian

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[54] Kashima, op.cit., p. 68.

[55] Allen, op cit., p. 430.

[56] M. J. Tomonari-Tuggle and Katherine Bouthillier, Integrated Cultural Resources Management Plan for Kilauea Military Camp, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Island of Hawaii, Preliminary Draft (International Archaeological Research Institute, Honolulu, 1998), p. III-49, citing Warshauer 1998: ch. 14.

[57] Kashima, op. cit. p. 71.

[58] Ibid., pp. 69-71.

[59] Ibid., p. 72.

[60] Allen, op. cit., p. 143.

[61] Dennis M. Ogawa and Evarts C. Fox, Jr., "Japanese Internment and Relocation: the Hawaii Experience," p. 135, in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress.* 1991, University of Washington, Seattle, edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano, pp. 135-138.

alien.[62] Tetsuden Kashima notes that the Justice Department was aware of potential legal problems with some of the arrests.[63]

Internees on O‘ahu were first taken to the U.S. Immigration Station in Honolulu. Internees from other islands were also brought to the Immigration Station for interrogation and hearings before being sent to Sand Island. The Sand Island Detention Station was set up on December 8, 1941, and operated for 15 months, until March 1, 1943. Vignettes of daily life for the Hawaiian internees are depicted in several first- and second-person accounts,[64] poetry, and drawings. Most narratives indicate that the first weeks of internment were the worst, because neither the internees nor their families were told what was going to happen. Fear and uncertainty were exacerbated by inadequate facilities and uncomfortable conditions: several accounts mention crowding, and that internees were held for weeks without a change of clothes.

As the weeks wore on and internees were able to communicate with family members, anxiety was partially replaced by boredom, given the very restricted nature of internee life. Internees tried to pass the time with activities – some wrote tanka or haiku poetry, composed songs, tended gardens, collected shells, and created art and jewelry from the limited items that were available to them. George Hoshida filled notebooks with drawings and watercolors. Many of these items have been collected by the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i and the Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles). Together with the written accounts, they humanize the internee story more fully than the details of statistics and government reports.

By September 1942, Sand Island held 48 male and four female Japanese citizens, two German male citizens, two Italian male and one female citizen, and 252 American male citizens and 15 females.[65] The American citizens were mostly of Japanese ethnicity, but German Americans were also present.[66] By that time, prisoners of war were also held at Sand Island, in a separate compound; they included four officers and 32 soldiers, all Japanese.[67]

The Honouliuli Camp

The following spring, internees and POWs were moved from Sand Island to the Honouliuli Internment camp. According to Lt. Louis Springer, commander first of Sand Island and then of the Honouliuli camp from March 19, 1942, until May 9, 1943, Sand Island was unsuitable for a prisoner of war or alien internment camp because, in violation of international law, it was subject to a direct attack by enemy landings.[68] Another report says that Sand Island facilities were needed for the expansion of the Honolulu Port of Embarkation.[69]

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[62] R.L. Shivers, “Internal Security; Persons Appended for Custodial Detention in Territory of Hawaii Since December 7, 1942” (Memo from Special Agent in Charge, Honolulu, to Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C., March 30, 1942), Schedule A.

[63] Kashima, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[64] See, for example, Saiki, op.cit., and interviews collected by the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i.

[65] John Rudolph Sulzer, “Detention Camp: Sand Island, Honolulu, T.H.” (Report of Visit September 9, 1942, National Archives).

[66] Doris Nye, *Internment and Abandonment* (http://www.foitimes.com/internment/Berg2.htm, 2005).

[67] Sulzer, op. cit.; William Cole, *Hawaii Links to Italy found in Middle of Sea* (USCG, Integrated Support Command, Honolulu, 2007).

[68] Lt. Louis F. Springer, “Control of Civilian Internees and Prisoners of War in the Central Pacific Area” (Territory of Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Iolani Palace, Honolulu, 1943).

[69] U.S. Army, “Chapter IX: Prisoners of War and Internees,” in *United States Army Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands during World War II, 7 December 1941 - 2 September 1945* (Office of the Chief of Military History, 1945).

Perhaps both reasons applied. The Honouliuli Internment Camp was located further inland, in Honouliuli Gulch west of the city of Waipahu. In addition, it was apparently constructed with a large potential population in mind: while Sand Island's compounds totaled about 90 acres, Honouliuli was designed to encompass up to 160 acres, with facilities for approximately 3,000 prisoners of war and civilian internees.[70] The Army cleared trees and grass in the densely vegetated valley at Honouliuli to enhance security.[71]

The camp was divided into several compounds, so that prisoners of war and civilian internees were separated, and civilian Japanese Americans were separated from German Americans.[72] Suggesting that civilian internees still outnumbered prisoners of war when the camp opened March 2, 1943, it was first called Honouliuli Internment Camp. Its name was later changed to Alien Internment Camp and still later it became POW Compound Number 6.[73] At first, POWs and enemy aliens were held only temporarily until they could be transported to mainland internment and POW camps, to comply with the Geneva convention rules to remove prisoners from potential combat zones. The interned citizens, on the other hand, were expected to remain at Honouliuli for the duration of the war, if not released. However, some interned citizens voluntarily transferred to mainland internment centers when told such a move could reunite them with family members previously sent there.[74]

It is difficult to determine the population at Honouliuli throughout its occupation. The Swedish vice-consul reported 84 Japanese Nationals and 154 American-born Japanese (i.e., U.S. citizens) at Honouliuli in May 1943, and 69 Japanese Nationals and 160 Japanese American citizens there four months later.[75] There were at least nine and as many as 25 German American citizens, including at least two women and two children. None of the official accounts available lists Italian Americans at Honouliuli, suggesting they may have been released by the time the camp opened, but Yoshitami Tasaka's "memory map"[76] does label the section of the internment camp across from where he lived as the "German and Italian" section. Yasutaro Soga, who was the editor of a Japanese language newspaper, compiled a list of 328 Japanese Americans who were interned at Honouliuli, based on his interviews with former internees.[77] Okihiro reports totals of Japanese Americans at six of the Hawaiian islands at various times during the war (see Table 2).The varying counts reflect the fluid demographics at the internment camps, as additional residents were arrested, some were transferred to mainland camps, and some were released.

The prisoner of war population at Honouliuli may have been even more fluid, given the policy to transfer POWs to mainland POW camps to remove them from potential combat zones. Most Japanese military captured were held at POW camps in Australia, New Zealand, west India (now Pakistan), and Pacific islands to the west of Hawaii.[78] According to Straus, "most prisoners captured in Admiral Nimitz's Pacific area of command "were funneled through Hawaii to permanent camps in the continental U.S. .... However, several hundred remained in

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[70] Springer, op. cit.

[71] Mike Gordon, "Wartime Stain in History Retraced in O'ahu's Brush," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 27, 2005.

[72] Nye, op. cit.

[73] U.S. Army, 1945, op. cit., p. 10.

[74] Springer, op. cit.

[75] Gustaf W. Olson, May 1943, cited in Okihiro, op. cit., p. 247; Gustaf W. Olson, Letter to Colonel Erik de Laval, Legation of Sweden, dated 23 September 1943.

[76] Op.cit.

[77] Yasutaro Soga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei* (University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2008), Appendix 4.

[78] Straus, op. cit.

Hawaii throughout the war."[79] Gwenfread Allen[80] provides a figure of 16,943 total prisoners of war and internees in Hawaii. Like Strauss, she also notes that of the combat troops who landed in Hawaii, most were sent on to mainland POW camps. She lists 4,841 Italian prisoners, 2,643 Koreans, 320 Japanese, 23 Formosans, 7 Indochinese, and 3 Chinese in Hawaiian POW camps at the end of the war. Allen lists no Okinawans in the counts, but points out that they were routinely counted as Japanese, even though neither they nor the Japanese considered them so. Straus notes that the last Japanese POWs to arrive in Hawaii were from the battle of Iwo Jima.[81] A select few of these went to Iroquois Point, others may have been sent to Honouliuli. Sources available to date have not indicated that the Italian POWs were at Honouliuli, and they may have been held at other POW camps in Hawaii.

Archival and archaeological evidence indicates that Honouliuli was expanded at some point in its occupation, and Lodge's historic photographs show a sea of the pyramidal tents that housed POWs. It is possible that many or most of the 5,400 Japanese POWs who were held in captivity on the mainland passed through Honouliuli en route either to the continental United States or home to Japan, Okinawa, and Korea. But Honouliuli was the final prison camp destination for some POWs: Yong-ho Ch'oe[82] has documented the presence of 2,700 Korean POWs at Honouliuli in December 1945. Many, perhaps most, of the Korean POWs were non-combatant laborers, unarmed and untrained but forced into the service of the Japanese Imperial Army. They were repatriated to Korea in December 1945.

Ch'oe describes how three young Korean students– Pak Sundong, Yi Chongsil, and Pak Hyŏngmu – ended up as POWs at Honouliuli. The three students had been conscripted into the Japanese Imperial Army, but because of their strong Korean nationalism, defected to the Allies and worked for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS). With the U.S. anticipating an invasion of Korea, the three trained as secret agents, but when the war ended,

> Overnight, the status of these Koreans shifted abruptly from OSS special agents to POWs. To their great dismay and indignation, they were unceremoniously put into POW uniforms once again and confined to a barbed-wire enclosure. Their bitter protests against U.S. officials for betraying their trust and cooperation--they were prepared to risk their own life for the American cause--even resorting to a hunger strike, were of no avail. They were sent to Hawaii as POWs.[83]

At Honouliuli, the three students became leaders of the Korean POWs, publishing a newsletter urging self-reliance and fostering democratic ideals. One of the men, Pak Sundong, became the inspiration for a famous character in one of Korea's greatest novels, "Thus, one of the Korean POWs in the Honouliuli camp emerged as a major figure in modern Korean literature."[84] Ch'oe also says one of the last things the three students did as POWs was to list all the Korean POWs before they were repatriated, in the last issue of their newsletter. Ch'oe concludes:

> The Korean POWs included three former college students who were drafted into the Japanese military and deserted to the Allied Powers and worked as special agents of OSS of the United States only to be

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[79] Ibid., p. 172.

[80] Allen, op. cit., p. 221.

[81] Straus, op. cit., p. 214.

[82] Yong-ho Ch'oe, "Korean Prisoners-of-War in Hawaii During World War II and the Case of US Navy Abduction of Three Korean Fishermen," in *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 34-1-09, August 24, 2009, http://japanfocus.org/-Yong_ho-Ch_oe/3266.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

> reduced to POWs at the end of the war. They also included three fishermen who were kidnapped from Korean waters and were incarcerated in the Hawaii POW camp. They too were innocent victims of immoral and illegal acts perpetrated in the name of war.[85]

By the end of August 1943, all of the German Americans had been released from Honouliuli.[86] It seems likely that by that time, the military was aware of the tenuous legal basis for the internment. Doris Berg Nye reports that her mother requested permission for an attorney to visit her in Honouliuli in June 1943. Her request was denied, but she was soon released on parole.[87] As was true for any internee who was eligible for parole, she was required to sign a statement promising not to contest the imprisonment in court. Failure to sign would result in continued imprisonment. Three other interned naturalized German American citizens pursued writs of habeas corpus in court. The military went to great lengths to avoid acknowledging this basic constitutional right first by refusing the court's order to allow two of them to appear before the judge, and then by releasing the three from custody not in Hawai'i, where they had lived before internment, but out of the court's jurisdiction on the U.S. mainland.[88]

In June 1944, the Japanese American women's compound at Honouliuli was needed for Japanese POWs, and the few women left were paroled.[89] After martial law was lifted in Hawai'i on October 24, 1944, there was no longer any legal authority to hold citizens. However, citizens could be excluded from the territory and detained pending exclusion.[90] Ogawa and Fox report that on November 11, 1944, the 67 remaining Japanese American citizens held at Honouliuli were transferred to the Tule Lake Segregation Center in California.[91] During 1945, an additional 12 American citizens of Japanese ancestry were arrested and detained pending exclusion.[92] The civilian internees were not immediately released when the war ended: eighteen alien internees from the Honouliuli Internment camp were released on September 14, 1945, a month after Japan surrendered, and three local internees (U.S. citizens who had been educated in Japan) remained in custody for some time longer.[93] At this time, security for the Honouliuli camp was provided by one or more of the companies of the 372nd Infantry Regiment, an African-American unit in the segregated U.S. military.[94]

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Susan Morrison and Peter Kneer "The Forgotten Internees," in *Hawai'i Chronicles: Island History from the Pages of Honolulu Magazine*, by Bob Dye, pp 257-265 (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996); Nye, op cit., p.11.

[87] Nye, op. cit.

[88] Anthony, op.cit. The three court cases were Zimmerman v. Walker, 319 U.S. 744; Ex parte Seifert, U.S.D.C. (Hawaii) No. 296; and Ex parte Glockner, U.S.D.C. (Hawaii) No. 295.

[89] Bertrand M. Roehner, *Relations Between Military Forces and the Population of Hawaii, 1941-1950* (Working Report, Institute for Theoretical and High Energy Physics, University of Paris, 2008); Okihiro, op. cit., p. 248; Patsy Sumie Saiki, *Ganbare! An Example of Japanese Spirit* (University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1982), p.57.

[90] Presidential Order 9489.

[91] Ogawa and Fox, op.cit, p. 136.

[92] Ibid., p. 138.

[93] Roehner, op. cit.

[94] Kelly Altenhofen, "Unit History of the 372nd Infantry Battalion and their Significant to Honouliuli Camp, HI-1945," unpublished paper, Anthropology Program, University of Hawaii West Oahu, July 21, 2010.

The repatriation of prisoners of war began in December 1945, with priority given to the sick and wounded, and to the Koreans and Taiwanese.[95] According to Allen, the Italian and most of the Korean POWs were repatriated early in 1946, Japanese and Okinawans in December 1946.[96]

Roehner reports that on January 27, 1947, the repatriation of prisoners of war had come to an end, with 3,411 Japanese, 2,600 Koreans, and 2,322 Okinawans passing through at least one of the Hawai‘i POW camps.[97] It is not known how many of these were held temporarily at Honouliuli, or when the final prisoner of war left the gulch. The last group of Okinawan POWs reportedly left Kilauea Military Camp on the Big Island on December 5, 1946.[98] Honouliuli may have been used through 1946 as well or even later, due to its more central location, for POW transfers or other military activities.

Honouliuli was dismantled and bulldozed sometime within the next two years. Records about the demolition of the camp have not yet been found, but the photographs taken by the Hashimoto family when they returned to visit Honouliuli in 1948 show that by then most of the buildings had been removed and only concrete slab foundations remained. Mrs. Gabriel Silva reported that her husband, who worked for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as a bulldozer operator during World War II, had the job of leveling the Honouliuli internment camp as well as other internment camps.[99]

Later, Honouliuli Gulch was used for farming and ranching. Mr. Rodney Santiago started ranching in the gulch in the 1950s and leased the area until 2001. Mr. Santiago made some improvements and modifications to facilitate ranching, including a corral and horse stalls. He recalls that when the area was grazed, one could see rock-lined paths and other features at the site. Buildings at the south end of the camp administration area were used as a chicken farm. The house that was part of the chicken farm was in good shape when he first visited but deteriorated during the chicken-farm use.[100]

The Honolulu Board of Water Supply constructed three wells and a small treatment facility in the gulch in 1990. The Oahu Sugar Company ended its Hawai‘i operations and left the property in 1995, and in 2006, there was a produce farm on the land above the gulch. In 2007, the Campbell Estate, which owned the property since 1877, sold Honouliuli Gulch along with the surrounding land to the agricultural company Monsanto.

In the *Japanese Americans* theme study draft authorized by Public Law 102-248, Honouliuli was identified as an internment site, and additional research was recommended to determine its significance and integrity.[101] This nomination summarizes that additional research, conducted with the assistance of the JCCH and the University of Hawaii West O’ahu.[102] Honouliuli was specifically recognized in Public Law 109-441, in which Congress authorized a $38 million grant program for the preservation and interpretation of internment sites. In addition,

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[95] Straus, op.cit, pp. 235-236.

[96] Allen, op. cit., p. 222

[97] Roehner, op. cit. Note, Roehner puts the number of Korean POWs slightly lower than Ch’oe, who has focused his recent research on the Korean POWs.

[98] Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op. cit., p. III-50.

[99] Notes from telephone interview with Mrs. Gabriel Silva, February 11, 2006, on file at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i.

[100] Personal communication with the authors 2008; Mr. Santiago interview with Kelly Altenhofen, July 14, 2010, unpublished paper, Anthropology Program, University of Hawaii West Oahu.

[101] National Park Service, op.cit., p. 91.

[102] Burton and Farrell 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2011.

Honouliuli has been identified in the National Park Service's Special Resource Study as possessing exceptional historical significance and value in illustrating the internment history, and the single best site to document and interpret the Hawaiian internment experience to the public. The current owner of the site, Monsanto Hawaii, has indicated willingness to donate the land to the National Park Service, pending completion of the Special Resources Study.

On the mainland, four sites have been set aside by the federal government to commemorate the internment of civilians in World War II: Manzanar National Historic Site in California; Minidoka Internment National Monument in Idaho; Nidoto Nai Yoni ('Let it not happen again') Memorial, Bainbridge Island, Washington; and the Tule Lake Segregation Center in California, a unit of World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument.

Although sharing some common history and themes with these sites, Honouliuli differs in four significant ways. First, it is associated with the internment of European Americans, as well as Japanese Americans. Both European and Japanese Americans were interned at other internment camps on the mainland (e.g., Crystal City, Texas), but these places have not yet been designated historic sites for their association with this episode in U.S. history. Second, civilian internment in Hawaii was authorized under martial law rather than Executive Order 9066, which authorized the relocation on the mainland. Martial law left little imprint on the landscape, so Honouliuli is a rare physical manifestation of those numerous wartime restrictions, which had a profound effect on all the citizens of Hawai'i. Internment camps loomed as a threat even to those not held for long periods of time; for example, Saiki relates the story of a terrified man dragged into a Hawaiian internment camp because a neighborhood warden accused him of violating black-out regulations.[103]

Third, Honouliuli was used concurrently as a POW camp, which broadens its association beyond the World War II home front to include the military arena, the treatment of prisoners, international policy and law, and international relations. Finally, as the *Japanese Americans* theme study points out, the experience of Japanese Americans (and presumably all other Americans as well) in Hawaii and Alaska "were profoundly affected by the fact that these territories... were the sites of active combat..."[104] Although the potential for another attack on Hawaii was very remote by the time Honouliuli opened, the site is less than 3 miles inland from the West Loch of Pearl Harbor, and less than 7 miles from the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial. In space, if not in time, Honouliuli was in a combat zone, and that proximity affected its development and informs its historic context.

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Honouliuli Internment Site is associated with all six of the specific areas of significance listed in the *Japanese American* theme study: Historic Archaeology, Politics/Government, Law, Military, Ethnic Heritage, and Social History.[105] At Honouliuli, the ways in which these topics played out often overlapped, so to reduce redundancy, the discussion below combines Military and Social History; Politics, Government and Law; and Asian and European Ethnic Heritage. Historic Archaeology is discussed last; not only does the site have the potential to provide significant information about internment and POW history, the physical remains reify the abstract concepts of the other areas of significance.

Military and Social History

As a prisoner-of-war camp, Honouliuli illustrates how the U.S. Military handled and housed an influx of prisoners of war, balancing compliance with the Geneva Convention with demands for national security when resources were scarce. Honouliuli's separate POW compounds for Korean enemy non-combatants and the stories of the three Korean students who worked for the OSS before reverting to POW status at Honouliuli reveal the antagonism between Japan and its forced allies. In addition, the large capacity of the POW compounds reflect a change in the course of the war. By the time Honouliuli was designed and authorized, the Allied forces were

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[103] Saiki, op.cit., p. 70.

[104] National Park Service, op.cit.

[105] Ibid., p. 42.

winning more battles in the Pacific, and taking more prisoners. Archaeological and archival evidence indicates Honouliuli was expanded sometime during its occupation. With one compound added and others modified to accommodate the influx of POWs, Honouliuli illustrates the changes in the U.S. war fortunes, as more and more members of the enemy military were captured in the Pacific war zones.

As an internment camp, Honouliuli is associated with an unusual aspect of military history: the control of civilians under martial law. Compared to the wholesale internment of Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland, the Hawai‘i experience is usually seen as a more measured and limited response. However, it was equally unjust and unnecessary, and perhaps even more insidious. Although the internment on the mainland was psychologically and financially devastating for the internees, the entire Japanese American population on the West Coast was directly affected. Therefore, it would have been difficult to argue that this entire population, including U.S. military veterans, the elderly, and babies, was potentially guilty of treason. In Hawai‘i, the individuals were singled out, and therefore stigmatized and treated as though there could have been a valid reason for their internment. Nye recounts a letter that her mother received, in response to her question about the rights of detained American citizens:

> ...In my opinion Uncle Sam isn’t going to room and board a person at his expense unless he has a mighty good reason to do so and your being held in detention, apparently, looks as though it was no one else’s fault but your own, and there is nothing that can be done about it but to take your own medicine.[99]

The declaration of martial law in Hawai‘i provided a way to control the entire population: one of the military’s justifications of martial law in Hawai‘i was that the local population could not be trusted.[100] As Anthony relates,

> The orders of the military governor proceeded upon the theory that after the declaration of martial law and the assumption by the commanding general of the office of military governor of Hawaii all power, legislative, executive, and judicial, vested in him; that he was not bound by the laws of the United States, the Territory of Hawaii, or the Constitution itself ... .[101]

Reviewing the General Orders promulgated under martial law, Anthony lists what it covered: not just military functions like curfew and blackout rules, but also traffic, firearms, gasoline, liquor, food, radios, the press, wireless, cable and wireless telephone, wages and employment, hours of work, the possession of currency, the collection of garbage, rent control, restaurants, bowling alleys, places of amusement, bars, establishment of one-way streets, the removal of keys from parked cars, speed limits, and the chlorination of water. Scheiber and Scheiber note that:

> The Army made criminal offenses of job switching and unauthorized absenteeism from work, with violators tried in military provost courts. These courts considered cases ranging from the most serious criminal cases to dog-leash violations. They conducted some 50,000 trials of civilians throughout the islands during the war, with a 99 percent conviction rate in the 22,000 cases on the island of Oahu in 1942 and 1943. The average trial lasted five minutes, and legal counsel was seldom at hand once it became common knowledge that the presence of a defense lawyer would ensure a harsh sentence.[102]

In *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1946 that the military tribunals established under martial law in Hawai‘i did not have jurisdiction over common criminal cases. In effect, the ruling said that although the original declaration of martial law in Hawai‘i was justified, its continuation after the immediate threat of invasion had ended was unconstitutional. Scheiber and Scheiber state,

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[99] Nye, op. cit.

[100] Anthony, op.cit., p. 79.

[101] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[102] Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, “Taking Liberties,” *Legal Affairs* 2 (May-June 2003).

> The record of military rule in wartime Hawaii is without precedent in American history. ... It also differed from the internment of Japanese-Americans because it involved a complete suspension of constitutional liberties for an entire civilian population.
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> There is abundant evidence that civilians from all ethnic groups were subjected to arbitrary and humiliating treatment. "While fighting for democracy on a dozen fronts," the Interior Department solicitor wrote in December 1942, "we have dictatorship, quite needlessly – almost by accident, in one vital part of the United States of America." That sentiment was echoed in a confidential 1946 investigation of Hawaii's wartime military courts, in which a Justice Department counsel concluded without qualification: "It's a very, very nasty unpleasant picture, and you just cannot justify it in any way."[103]

As Scheiber and Scheiber conclude, the *Duncan* decision came too late for the civilians whose lives had been so deeply affected by the Army regulations, and especially for the hundreds who had been sentenced to months or years in internment camps without the rudiments of a fair trial.[104]

The internment on Hawai'i not only prevented civilians from contributing their own skills and work to the war effort, it also diverted military personnel and resources. Such an allocation of resources in the name of national security can be explained only in terms of social history, ethnic prejudices, and the role of scapegoats or exaggerated threats as control mechanisms. Because the internment was authorized under the nearly ubiquitous reach of martial law, Honouliuli is a rare physical reminder of those regulations that controlled so much of Hawaiian life during the war, even beyond the period of time when it was necessary and legal.

Politics, Government, and Law

As a historic context prepared for the Department of Defense notes, prisoner of war camps "represent an important facet of history on the home front during World War II that remains largely undocumented."[105] As a POW camp, Honouliuli illustrates the U.S.'s attempts to comply with the Geneva convention by moving prisoners away from Sand Island, considered a potential battle zone because of its location on the coast. To meet other Geneva convention standards, scarce resources had to be allocated for the health and well-being of members of enemy forces. The good treatment of POWs was also intended to inspire reciprocal treatment of Allied forces who became POWs of Japan and Germany. However, as Straus illustrates, the Japanese military authorities tried to make suicide preferable to capture; Japan threatened its own soldiers with punishment if they became POWs, and treated captured enemy soldiers with cruelty and disdain.[106]

As an internment camp for civilians, Honouliuli is a physical reminder of the fragility of the U.S. Constitution, and the potential for the federal government to forsake civil rights. At the time, the internment of United States citizens and lawful permanent residents, without charges, without evidence, and without trial, was justified as a military necessity. Not even state legislators were exempt: as journalist Bob Dye recounts, two prominent members of the Japanese Hawaiian community were interned there during the war. Thomas T. Sakakihara was a member of the Hawai'i Territorial House of Representatives between 1932 and 1954. He was one of six house members during 1941 (out of 30) that were of Japanese ancestry and the only one of them to be interned.[107] Sanji Abe was the first American of Japanese ancestry to be elected to the Hawai'i Territorial Senate. A native of

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Listman et al., op. cit.

[106] Straus, op. cit.

[107] Bob Dye, *Hawai'i Chronicles III: World War Two in Hawai'i, from the Pages of Paradise of the Pacific* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), p. 68.

Hawai‘i and a United States Army veteran of World War I, Abe was elected in 1940. He attended only one legislative session before being interned for 19 months.[108]

Besides *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, Honouliuli is associated with three other important legal cases: two of the three German American citizens who tried to challenge the Hawaiian internment under the writ of *habeas corpus* were held at Honouliuli. The cases of Edward R. Seifert and Albert Glockner were rendered moot when the military avoided the constitutional question by releasing them, albeit on the mainland instead of Hawai‘i, where they resided.[109]

Like the relocation centers on the mainland, Honouliuli embodies the political and cultural idea that safety and security can be found only in segregation and confinement of those perceived to be dangerous mainly because they are “different.” This idea occasionally resurfaces in spite of its inconsistency with important and basic American ideals stated in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Honouliuli illustrates the story of the treatment of minority populations on the home front during World War II, as part of the general history of minorities in the United States, and as part of the history of civil rights in the country.

Asian and European Ethnic Heritage

As at the mainland internment sites, Honouliuli illustrates how easily and quickly ethnicity can be mistaken for political identity. Ethnicity has sometimes been seen as more important than long-term residency and even citizenship in American culture and politics. The U.S. continues to struggle with racism and how best to acknowledge and appreciate ethnic differences, while balancing the need for national security with the ideals of the Constitution. Sites like Honouliuli, Manzanar, Tule Lake, Minidoka, and the Nidoto Nai Yoni memorial provide the relatively safe perspective of history to consider and examine these issues. Because Honouliuli’s history includes the internment of European American citizens and the effects of martial law on all citizens, it can broaden the discussion.

Historical Archaeology

Although little remains of the extensive development at the camp, archaeological remnants of architecture and infrastructure evoke Honouliuli’s wartime history. For example, the two standing buildings at Honouliuli (Features VI-1 and VI-2) exemplify World War II military architecture in their proportions, materials, design, and details. Feature VI-1’s overhanging eaves and its siding, with the lower walls of lumber and the upper walls of screen, are well adapted to the Hawaiian climate.

The POW compounds at Honouliuli differ from the mainland POW camps described by Listman et al.; Honouliuli has characteristics of both base camps and branch camps but fits neither category cleanly. In contrast to mainland base camps, Honouliuli was built away from existing military installations, and its tents, cold showers, and pit latrines were similar to the temporary branch camps used for POWs on work assignments. However, in contrast to mainland branch camps, Honouliuli was relatively long-lived, the longest-used POW camp in Hawaii. The benign climate of Hawaii or differences in the function and use of Honouliuli may have permitted less-substantial housing.

The civilian internee compounds at Honouliuli are also very different from the ten mainland Japanese American “relocation centers” that housed civilian internees.[110] The entire Japanese American population of the mainland’s West Coast was interned, so each relocation center was built to house thousands of U.S. citizens and resident aliens. Men, women, and children were housed together in long narrow barracks that had been partitioned into several single rooms, each room occupied by a family. At Honouliuli, German American couples were interned together, while Japanese American men and women were separated from each other.

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[108] Bob Dye, “Case Sanji Abe,” *Honolulu Magazine*, November 2002, pp. 38-46.

[109] Anthony, op. cit. The three court cases were Zimmerman v. Walker, 319 U.S. 744; Ex parte Seifert, U.S.D.C. (Hawaii) No. 296; and Ex parte Glockner, U.S.D.C. (Hawaii) No. 295.

[110] Jeffery Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence Lord, and Richard Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington, 2002.

Analysis of the archaeological signatures of these design features on the landscape scale has the potential to provide new insights on Hawaii's internment history. At smaller scales, the presence of scattered trash and internee-constructed features suggests that Honouliuli may have potential to examine specific research questions; archaeological studies at the mainland Japanese American relocation centers have provided useful information about ethnicity, confinement, and identity. As the *Japanese Americans* theme study notes,

> The archeological study of properties associated with this theme study, usually relocation centers, has provided or may be expected to provide information on important research questions addressing such issues as day-to-day life in the relocation centers or the ways in which the evacuees worked to maintain their ethnic identity. Information on these questions often is not available from any other source.[111]

As a POW camp, Honouliuli has the potential to identify some of the activities of the internees, the Japanese POWs, and the Korean POWs. Archival sources suggest that the three groups had very different reactions to prisoner status, which may be reflected in the remains left at the site. For example, civilian internees reportedly improved their surroundings with gardens and landscaping. Preliminary archaeological survey results suggest the Japanese POWs did not do similar improvements, but further investigation would be necessary to confirm this, and to make informed inferences about whether the Korean POWs tried to improve their surroundings or not. While the presence of prisoner-built gardens may seem trivial, gardens at other internment sites have been shown to have profound cultural, social, and psychological roots; some have been interpreted as symbols of hope for the future and faith in one's country, others as symbols of defiance.[112] Archaeological studies may be able to elucidate similarities and differences between the compounds, and the related cultural or behavioral differences.

Finally, the archaeological remains at Honouliuli reify the other "areas of significance" discussed above. For example, remains of fence posts, guard towers, and security lights are the physical correlates of the incarceration of civilians and POWs; a small internee-constructed pond exemplifies the assertion of Japanese heritage in the face of persecution for being Japanese; the expedient yet extensive construction illustrates the manner in which the military sought to balance confinement and costs.

Conclusion

In spite of being associated with the fierce and bitter fighting of the Pacific theater of World War II, Straus[113] suggests that POW camps like Honouliuli may have left a positive legacy:

> The prison camps became the place where large numbers of Japanese encountered Americans in any number for the first time. Elements on both sides apparently felt a desire to communicate across the linguistic and cultural barriers, despite the mutual hate and disdain brought on by the war. These tentative encounters established a new pattern of discourse and understanding. A significant number of Japanese actually came out of the war genuinely appreciating aspects of the American way of life. Meetings under those exceptionally difficult circumstances were a prelude to the far broader and more meaningful encounters during the Occupation of Japan, and, eventually, to the mutually productive relationship of today.

Straus argues that the Japanese prisoners' experience in U.S. POW camps had a profound effect on Japanese - U.S. relationships and reconciliation in spite of a very bitter war. Honouliuli, then, is associated with the positive effects of individuals actually meeting, and getting to know, people from other cultures. Straus contends that the war had unforeseen effects, and that the strong economic and political alliance today between Japan and the U.S. began in POW camps.

As the site of a civilian interment camp, Honouliuli is a physical symbol of the prejudice and discrimination that Japanese and German immigrants experienced, and of the loss of civil rights during martial law. However, this

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[111] National Park Service, op.cit., p. 40.

[112] See, for example Helphand 2006.

[113] Straus, op.cit., pp. xvi - xvii.

association can leave a beneficial legacy, too. Chen and Yu[114] contend that recognition of the places where internment occurred is integral to this part of American history. Geographic place, they argue, "had long served as a secure anchor to stabilize personal identity and offer a sense of security in the face of everyday racism." Like the relocation on the mainland, Hawaiian internment caused a rupture of identity, sometimes disguised in the personal narratives that end happily with a return to home and freedom. Places like Honouliuli, with their physical remains, manifest the trauma that needs to be addressed in order to achieve personal and political change. The site of an annual day of remembrance and pilgrimage, Honouliuli has already begun to fulfill this role, through public commemoration and education.

Table 2. Number of Japanese Americans Confined in Hawaiian Internment Camps during World War II.[115]

Date	Internment Sites*						Total
	O‘ahu†	Kaua‘i	Maui	Molokai	Lanai	Hawai‘i	
Jan 1942	190	41	51	4	2	85	373
Feb	292	53	56	4	3	110	518
Sept	319	9	9			6	343
June 1943	238						238
Aug	229	1	4				234
Dec	169		1				170
Jan 1944	324						324
June	184	2				2	188
Oct	117						117
Sept 1945	25						25

* Internment Sites: O‘ahu - Honolulu Immigration Station, Sand Island Quarantine Station, Honouliuli Internment Camp (shaded cells are when Honouliuli was in operation); Kaua‘i - Wailua County Jail, Waimea undetermined location, Kalaheo Stockade (shaded cells are when Kalaheo was in use); Maui - Wailuku County Jail, Haiku Camp (shaded cells are when Haiku was in use); Molokai and Lanai - undetermined locations; Hawai‘i - Kilauea Military Camp, Waiakea Prison Camp (shaded cells are when Waiakea was used).

† O‘ahu counts include those transferred from other islands.

[114] Fu-jen Chen and Su-lin Yu, "Reclaiming the Southwest: A Traumatic Space in the Japanese American Internment Narrative," *Journal of the Southwest* 47 (2005), pp. 551-570.

[115] Okihiro, op.cit., p. 267.

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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 # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

☐ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State agency
☐ Federal agency
☐ Local government
☐ University
☒ Other
Name of repository:
Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i, Honolulu
Hawaii's Plantation Village, Waipahu
University of Hawai‘i - West O‘ahu

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned):_____

10. Geographical Data

The Honouliuli National Register Historic Site consists of 122.5 acres within Honouliuli Gulch, 3½ miles west of the city of Waipahu in Honolulu County, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i. The boundary coincides with the 116 acres shown in *Waipahu at War* as associated with the property historically, as well as 6.5 additional acres where historic features were encountered during archaeological survey. Acreage and UTM references (NAD 1983) were computed using ArcGIS® software. Most of the site is owned by Monsanto Hawaii; the Honolulu Board of Water Supply owns three small parcels within the site, 4,835; 4,356; and 17,468 sq ft.

Acreage of Property 122.5

UTM References

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A	4N	597180	2366520	M	4N	597095	2366920
B	4N	597650	2366250	N	4N	597835	2366835
C	4N	597525	2366025	O	4N	597785	2366845
D	4N	597530	2366820	P	4N	597740	2366040
E	4N	597580	2366720	Q	4N	597645	2366260
F	4N	597640	2366700	R	4N	597595	2366420
G	4N	597695	2366615	S	4N	597440	2366520
H	4N	597825	2366600	T	4N	597345	2366680
I	4N	597925	2366470	U	4N	597340	2365815
J	4N	597920	2366300	V	4N	597175	2366040
K	4N	597980	2366270	W	4N	597320	2366175
L	4N	597100	2366010	X	4N	597165	2366445

Verbal Boundary Description

The Honouliuli National Register Site boundary is delineated by a polygon whose vertices are marked by the UTM reference points listed above. With its southern boundary approximately 0.6 mile north of Highway H1, the site extends northward along Honouliuli Gulch, encompassing an area almost 6,000 ft long and 725 to 1200 ft wide. Entirely on private land owned by Monsanto Hawaii, the site extends from about the top of the gulch’s steep slopes down to the relatively flat flood plain.

Boundary Justification

The Honouliuli National Historic Register Site includes all of the areas developed for the prisoner of war and internment camp, reflecting the entire original layout and design, including prisoner of war and internee compounds, the guard residential and administrative areas, and infrastructure features such as the roads, septic system, and generator foundations. The boundary is based on the 116 acres depicted as a military installation in Lodge (1949) plus an additional 6.5 acres identified on the U.S. Army blueprint where prison-camp facilities have been confirmed by archaeological survey. With its intact setting and many contributing features, the entire site evokes both the isolation chosen for the prison camp and the infrastructure development necessary to house a dense concentration of people. The site also holds the potential for other, currently unknown resources. Modern development within the district has been minimal, and more intensive survey is likely to encounter additional artifacts and features related to the period of significance.

11. Form Prepared By

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Additional Documentation

Maps

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3. Honouliuli Sanitary Sewer System, Sheet 2.
4. Yoshitami Tasaka’s memory map.
5. Doris Nye’s memory map.
6. Honouliuli historical base map.
7. Honouliuli current conditions.
8. Honouliuli archaeological base map.
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10. Incinerator, cesspool, and concrete feature in Compound III (Features III-1, III-2, and III-3).
11. Cesspool, Compound II (Feature II-4).
12. Shower building foundation and septic tank, Compound III (Features III-4 and III-5).
13. Guard tower footings, Compound IV (Feature IV-2).
14. Mess hall foundation, sidewalk, and small concrete slab, Compound V (Features V-1, V-20, and V-21).
15. Mess hall foundation details (Feature V-1).
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18. Detail of the southern part of Compound V and the northern part of Compound VI.
19. Buildings and associated remains in Compound VI (Features VI-1, VI-2, VI-12, and VI-16).
20. Generator building foundation, Compound VI (Feature VI-3).
21. Latrine/shower building foundation, septic tank, sidewalks, and rock alignments in Compound VI (Features VI-32, VI-33, and VI-34).
22. Building foundation, concrete piers, and sidewalk, Compound VI (Feature VI-21).
23. Laundry foundation, Compound VI (Feature VI-49).
24. Guard tower footings, aqueduct, and 1943 inscription in Compound VI (Features VI-50 and L-1d).
25. Septic tanks, Compound VII (Features VII-1 and VII-2).

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1. Compound I, view to west, ca. 1945.
2. Compound III, view to northwest, ca. 1945.
3. POWs at Compound II mess hall, ca. 1945.
4. Compound IV, view to southeast, ca. 1945.
5. Compound IV and V, view to north, ca. 1945.
6. Compound V, view to east, ca. 1945.
7. Compound VI, view to southeast, ca. 1945.
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14. POW work crew at Honouliuli, Compound VI laundry building in background, ca. 1945.
15. Military housing at Honouliuli Compound VI, ca. 1945.
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18. Women's Camp, Compound V, view to northeast, April 1943.
19. Koji, Elsie, and Francis Hashimoto at internee mess hall foundation, view towards north, 1948.
20. Overview of Compound V, view towards north, 1948.
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22. Overview of Compound I, view to south, February 2009.
23. Overview of Compound III, February 2006.
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25. Overview of Compound V, view to north, March 2009.
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29. Overview showing road and rock wall (Feature V-15) in Compound V, view to north, February 2008.
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32. Building in Compound VI (Feature VI-1), view to east, February 2008.
33. Mess hall foundation in Compound V (Feature V-1), view to south, February 2009.
34. Building foundation in Compound VI (Feature VI-3), view to northwest, February 2008.
35. Latrine/shower building foundation in Compound V (Feature V-7), July 2010.
36. Latrine/shower building foundation in Compound V (Feature V-26), view to south, February 2009.
37. Shower building foundation in Compound III (Feature III-4), view to northwest, March 2009.
38. Small concrete slab in Compound V (Feature V-21), view to south, March 2009.
39. Small concrete slab in Compound VI (Feature VI-17), view to northeast, February 2008.
40. Small concrete slab in Compound VI (Feature VI-18), view to south, March 2008.
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43. Pulled concrete piers in Compound VI (Feature VI-10), view to south, February 2008.
44. Stockpiled laundry tubs in Compound VI (Feature VI-16), view to southeast, February 2008.
45. Sidewalk in Compound V (Feature V-20), view to northeast, February 2009.
46. Sidewalk at latrine/shower building in Compound VI (Feature VI-32b), view to south, February 2008.
47. Concrete bridge abutments in Compound V (Feature V-41), view to southeast, March 2008.
48. Incinerator in Compound III (Feature III-1), view to east, February 2009.
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50. Water tank foundation in Compound VI (Feature V-38), view to southeast, September 2007.
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55. Manhole in Compound IV (Feature IV-1), view to west, February 2008.
56. Manhole in Compound V with inscribed 1944 date (Feature V-9), overhead view, February 2008.
57. Rock alignment in Compound V (Feature V-4), view to southwest, February 2009.
58. Rock wall in Compound II (Feature II-11), view to south, February 2008.
59. Rock wall in Compound V (Feature V-11), view to south, February 2008.
60. Rock wall east of road in Compound VI (Feature VI-15), view to east, February 2008.
61. Rock wall in Compound VI (Feature VI-44), view to southwest, February 2008.
62. Rock steps in Compound VI (Feature VI-51), July 2010.
63. Possible ornamental pond in Compound V (Feature V-12), view to south, February 2008.
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65. Aqueduct (Feature L-1a), view to north, February 2006.

66. 1920 aqueduct inscription (Feature L-1b), view to west, February 2008.
67. 1943 ditch inscription (Feature L-1d), overhead view, February 2008.
68. Security fence light fixture found near Feature V-12, February 2008.
69. Part of security fence light fixture found near Feature VI-46, July 2010.
70. Ceramics found near Feature VI-22, September 2007.
71. Large metal pot cover found near Feature VI-19, July 2010.
72. Military button and pocket knife found in Compound VI, July 2010.
73. Non-contributing resource, water treatment plant (Feature M-1), view to southeast, February 2008.
74. Non-contributing resource, well (Feature M-2), view to north, February 2008.
75. Non-contributing resource, livestock stalls (Feature M-9), view to north, February 2008.
76. Non-contributing resource, corral (Feature M-12), view to north, February 2008.
77. Non-contributing resource, communications building (Feature M-14), view to east, February 2008**.**

Property Owners

name Monsanto Hawaii

street & number 2104 Lauwiliwili St. **telephone** 808-879-4074

city or town Kapolei **state** HI **zip code** 96707

name Honolulu Board of Water Supply

street & number 630 S. Beretania St **telephone** 808-748-5000

city or town Honolulu **state** HI **zip code** 96843

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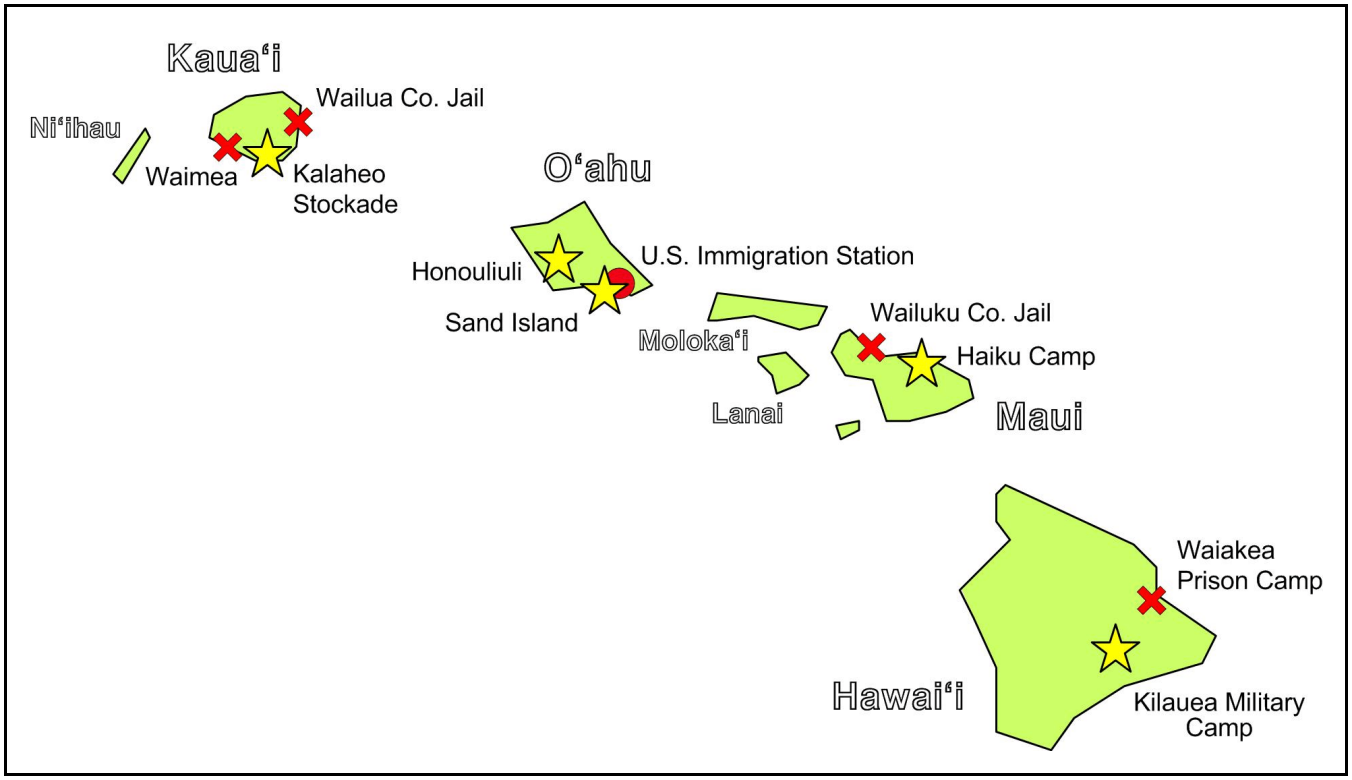
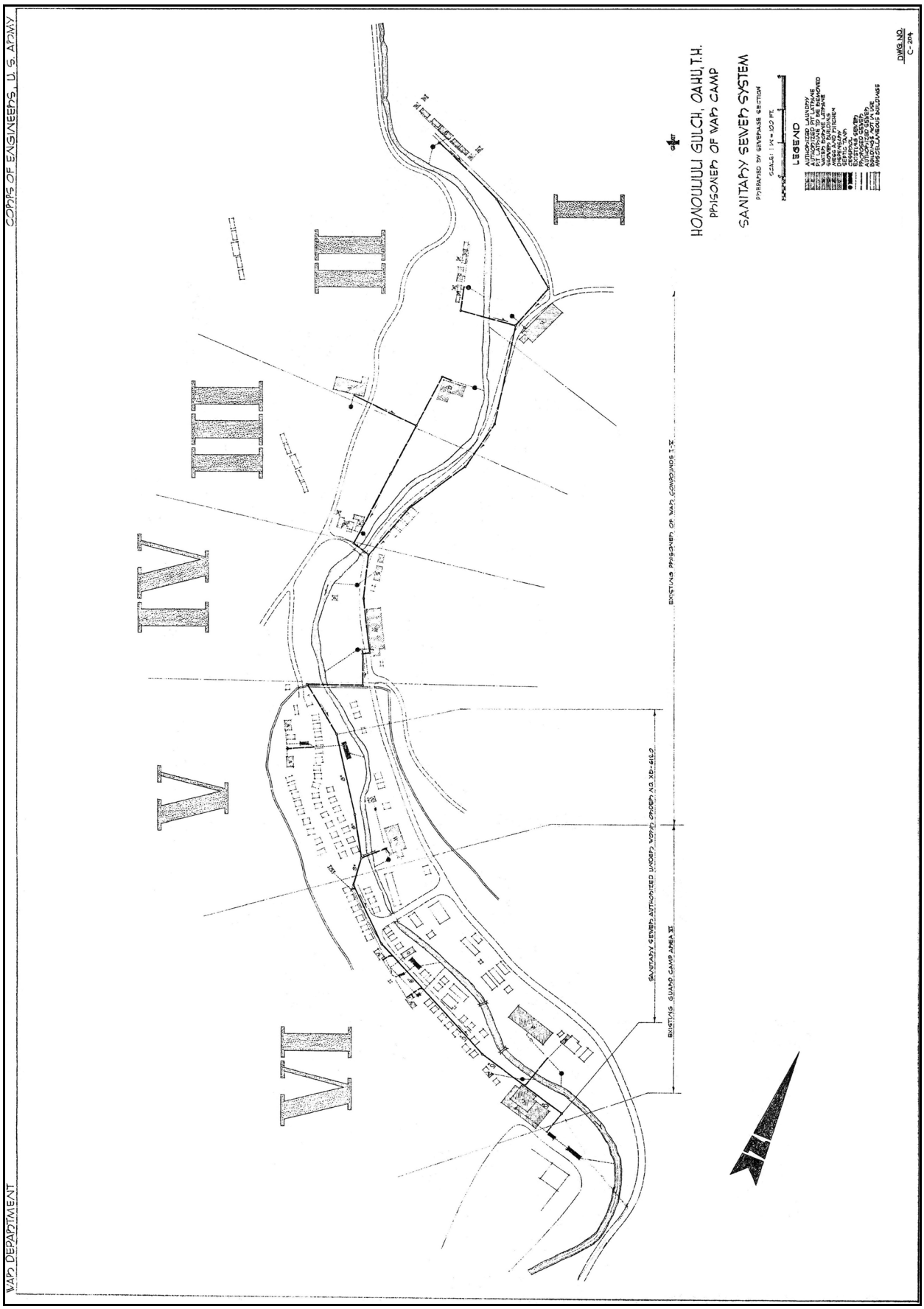
Continuation Sheet



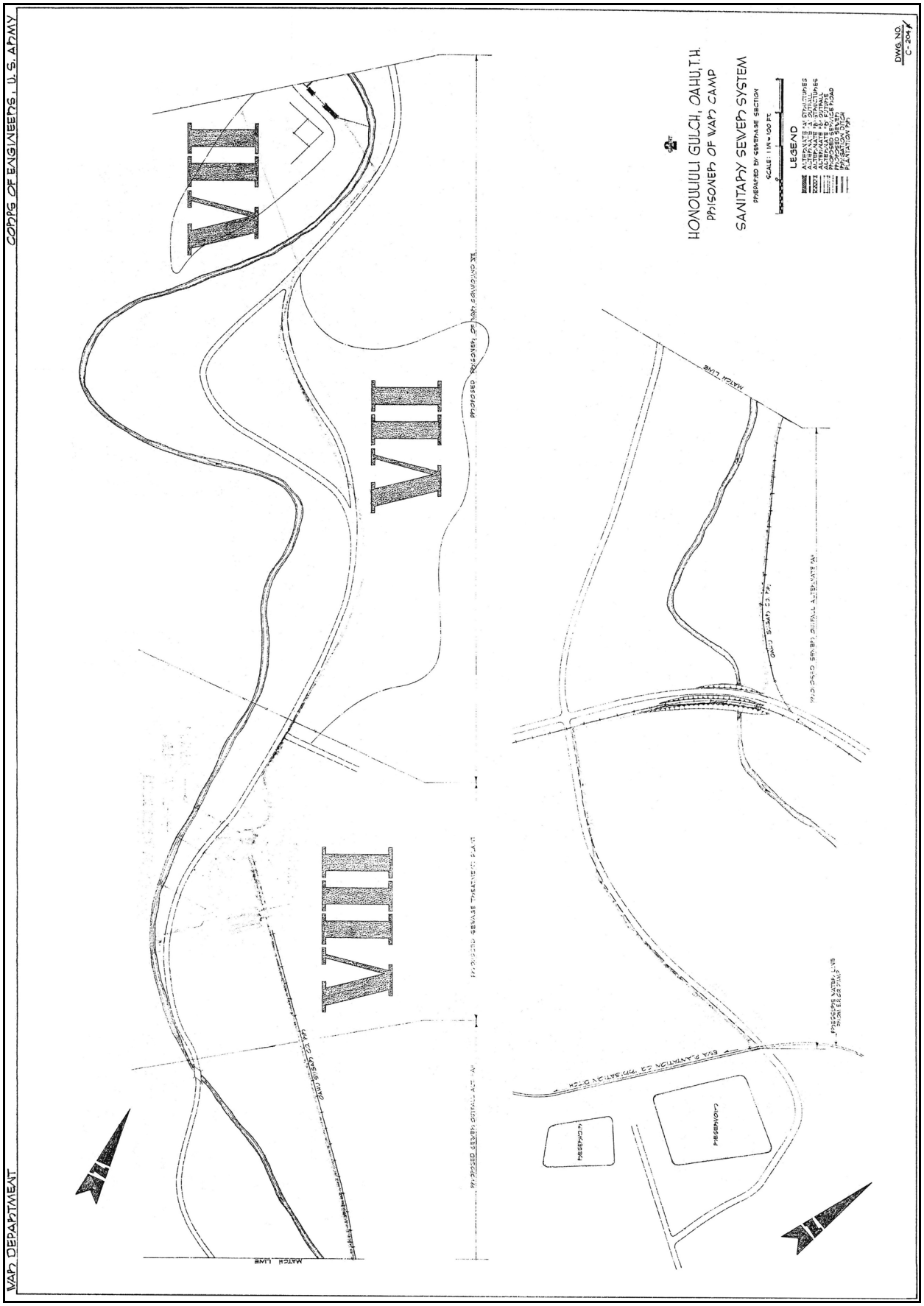
Map. 1. Honouliuli Sanitary Sewer System, Sheet 1.

Continuation Sheet



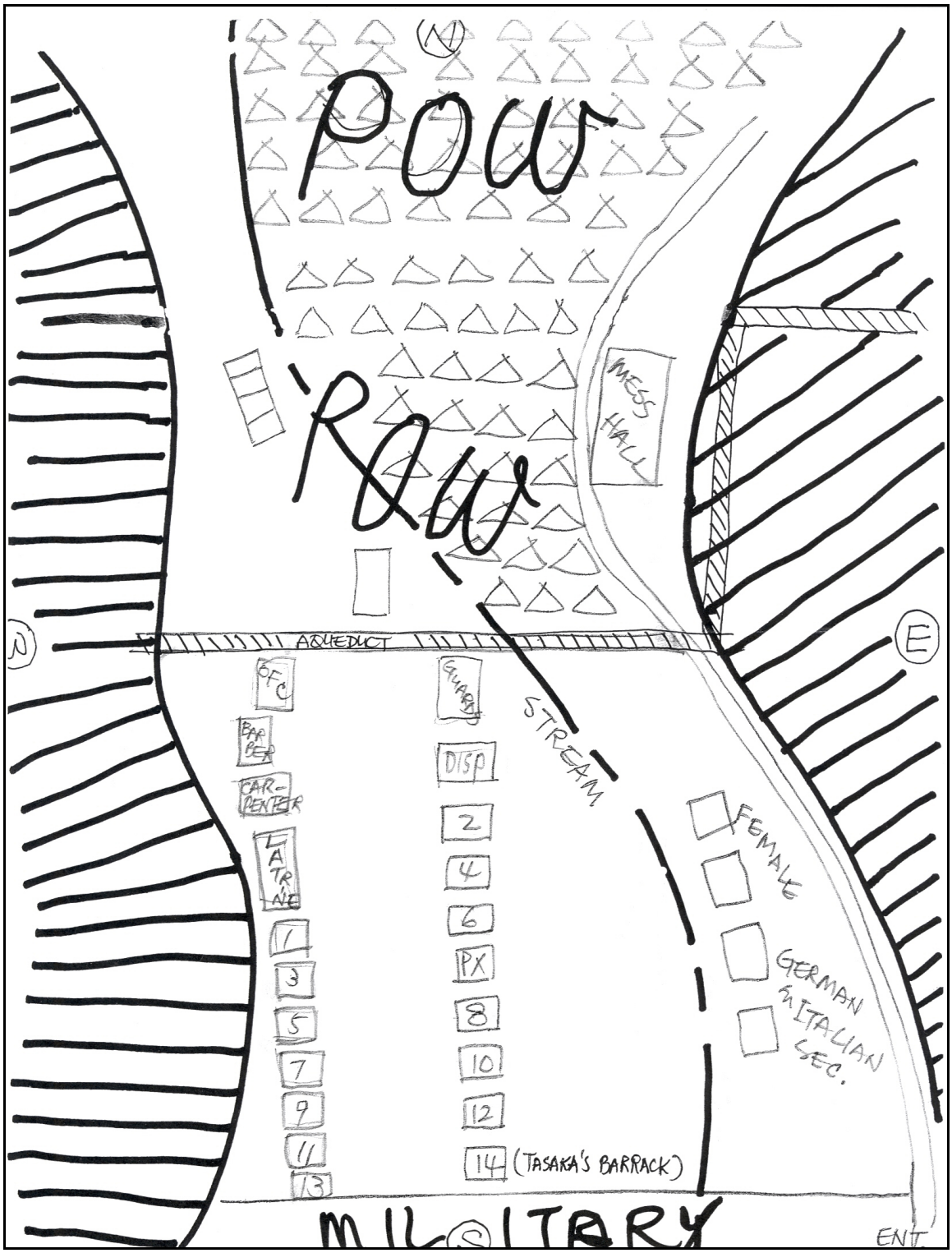
Map. 2. Honouliuli Sanitary Sewer System, Sheet 1.

Continuation Sheet



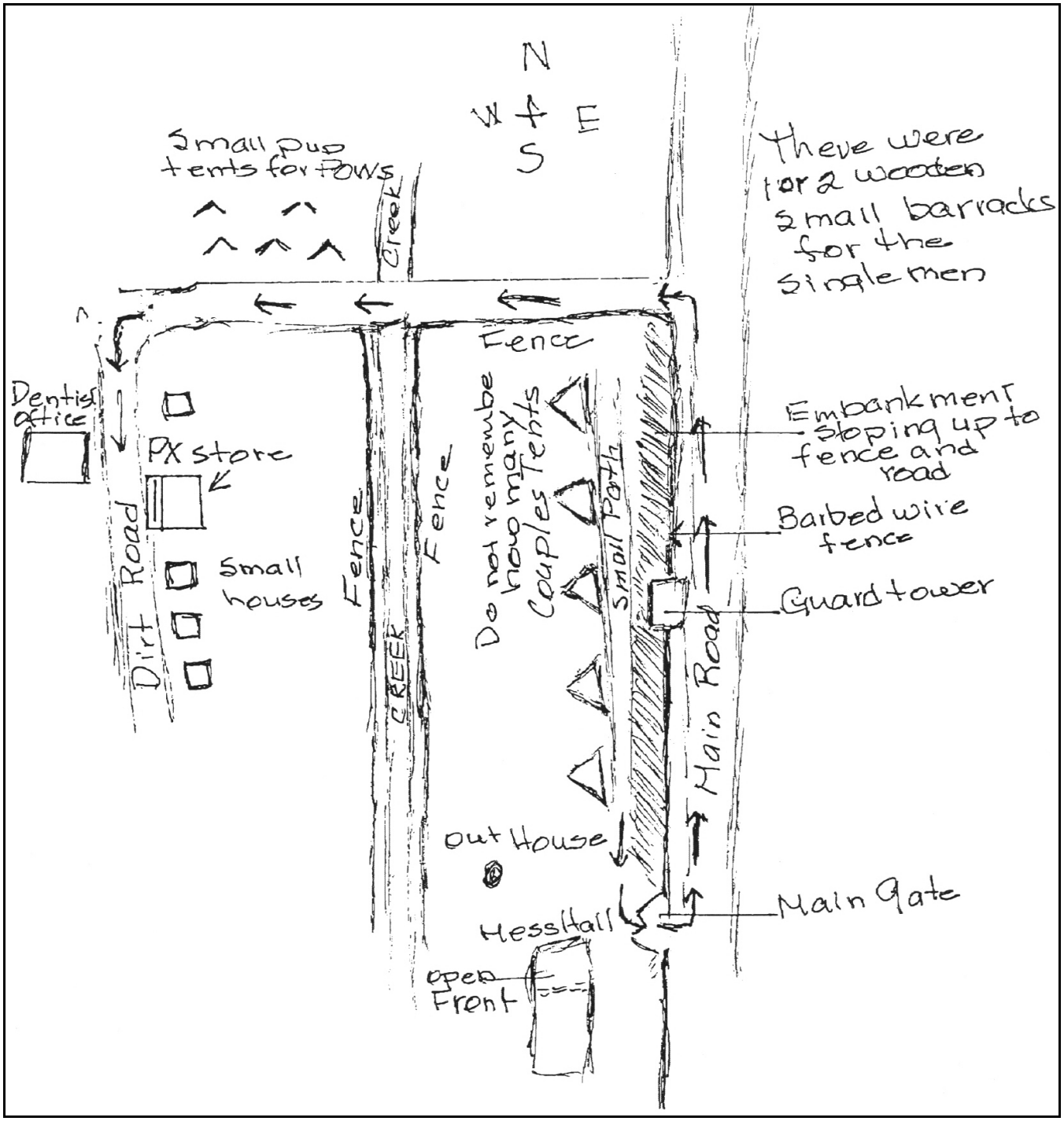
Map. 3. Honouliuli Sanitary Sewer System, Sheet 2.

Continuation Sheet



Map.4. Yoshitami Tasaka's memory map.

Continuation Sheet



Map. 5. Doris Nye's memory map.

Continuation Sheet

Map 6. Honouliuli Historic Base Map.

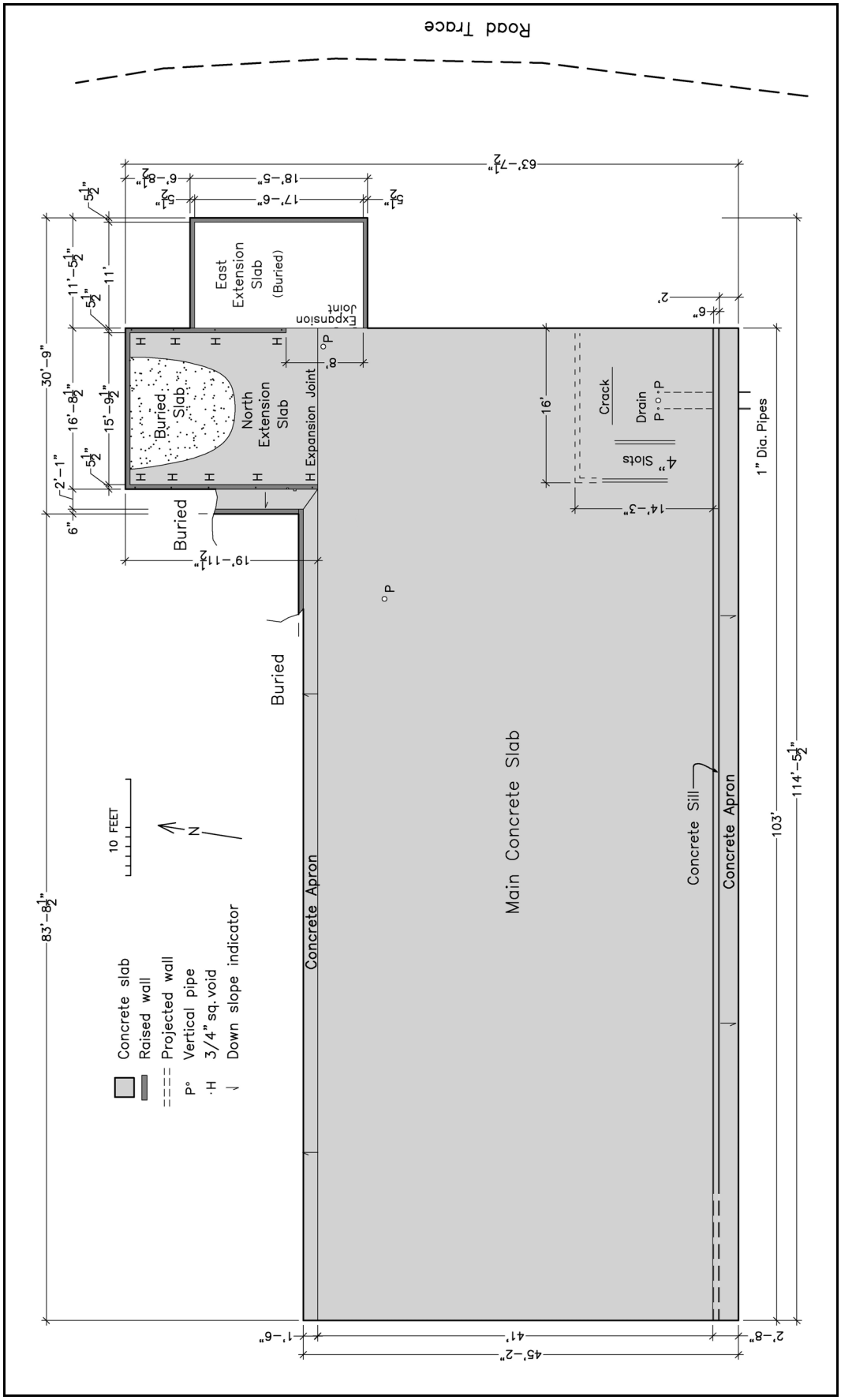
Continuation Sheet

Map 7. Honouliuli Current Conditions.

Continuation Sheet

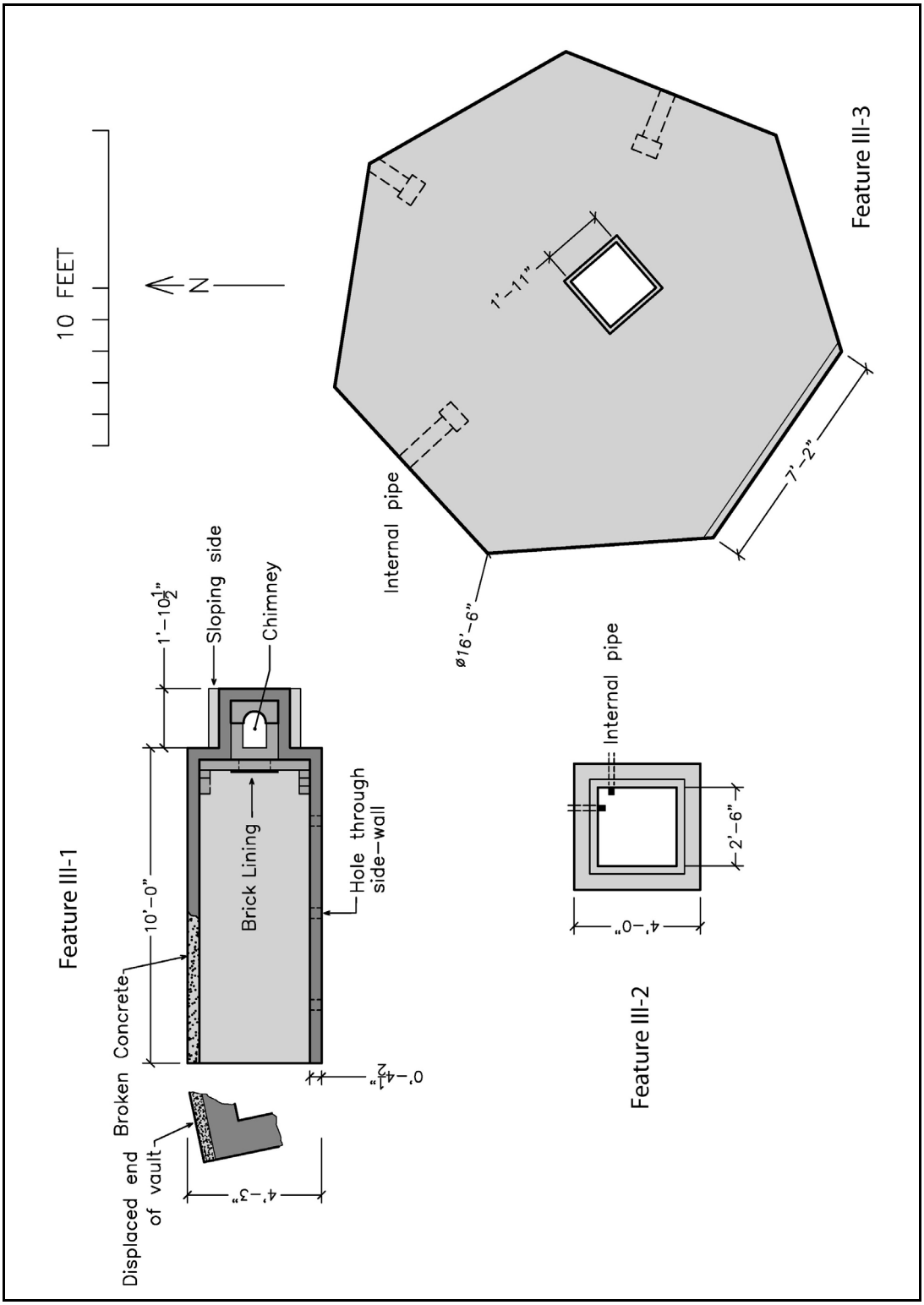
Map 8. Honouliuli Archaeological Base Map.

Continuation Sheet



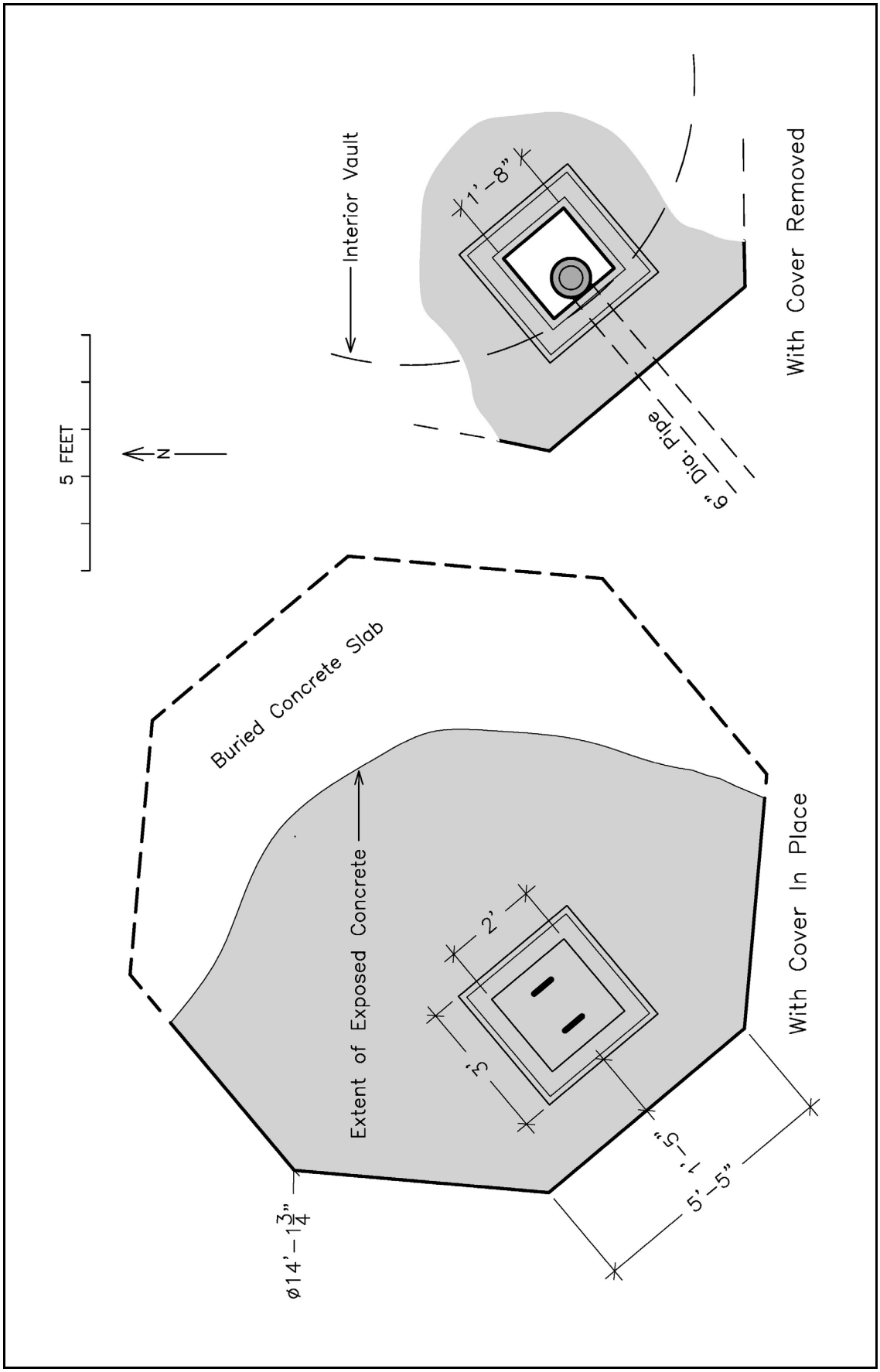
Map 9. Mess hall foundation, Compound II (Feature II-1).

Continuation Sheet



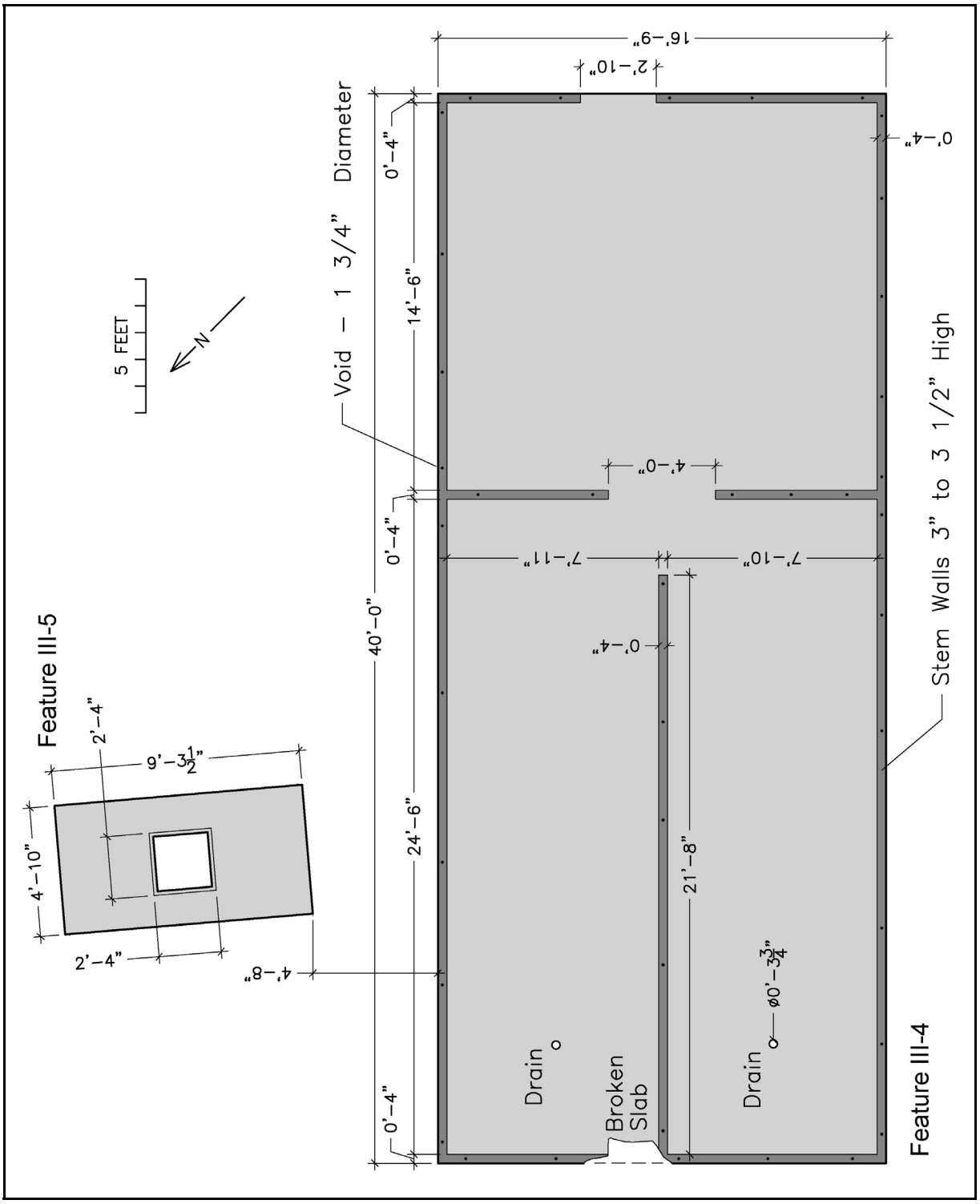
Map. 10. Incinerator, cesspool, and concrete feature in Compound III (Features III-1, III-2, and III-3).

Continuation Sheet



Map. 11. Cesspool, Compound II (Feature II-4).

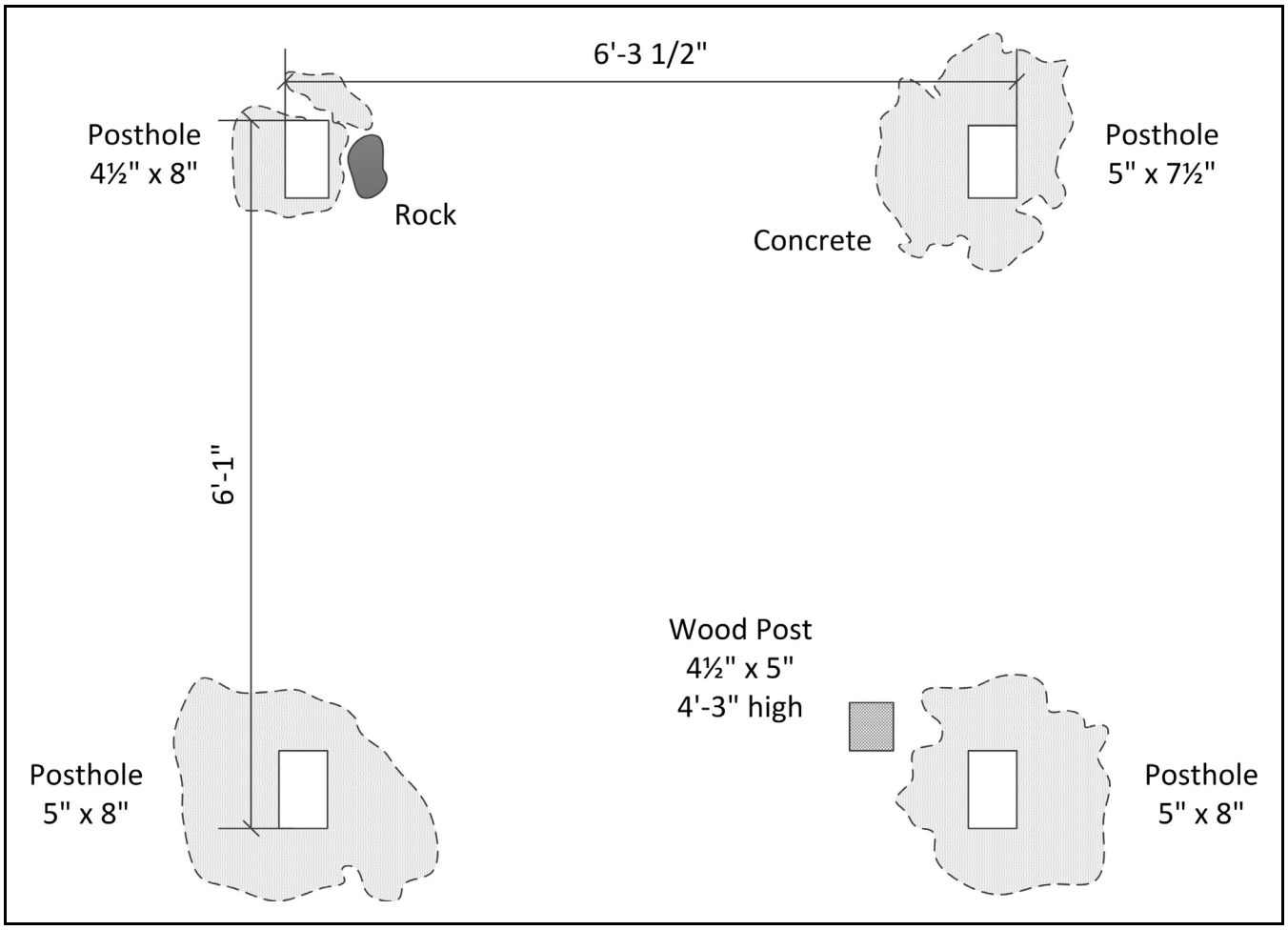
Continuation Sheet



Map. 12. Shower building foundation and septic tank, Compound III (Features III-4 and III-5).

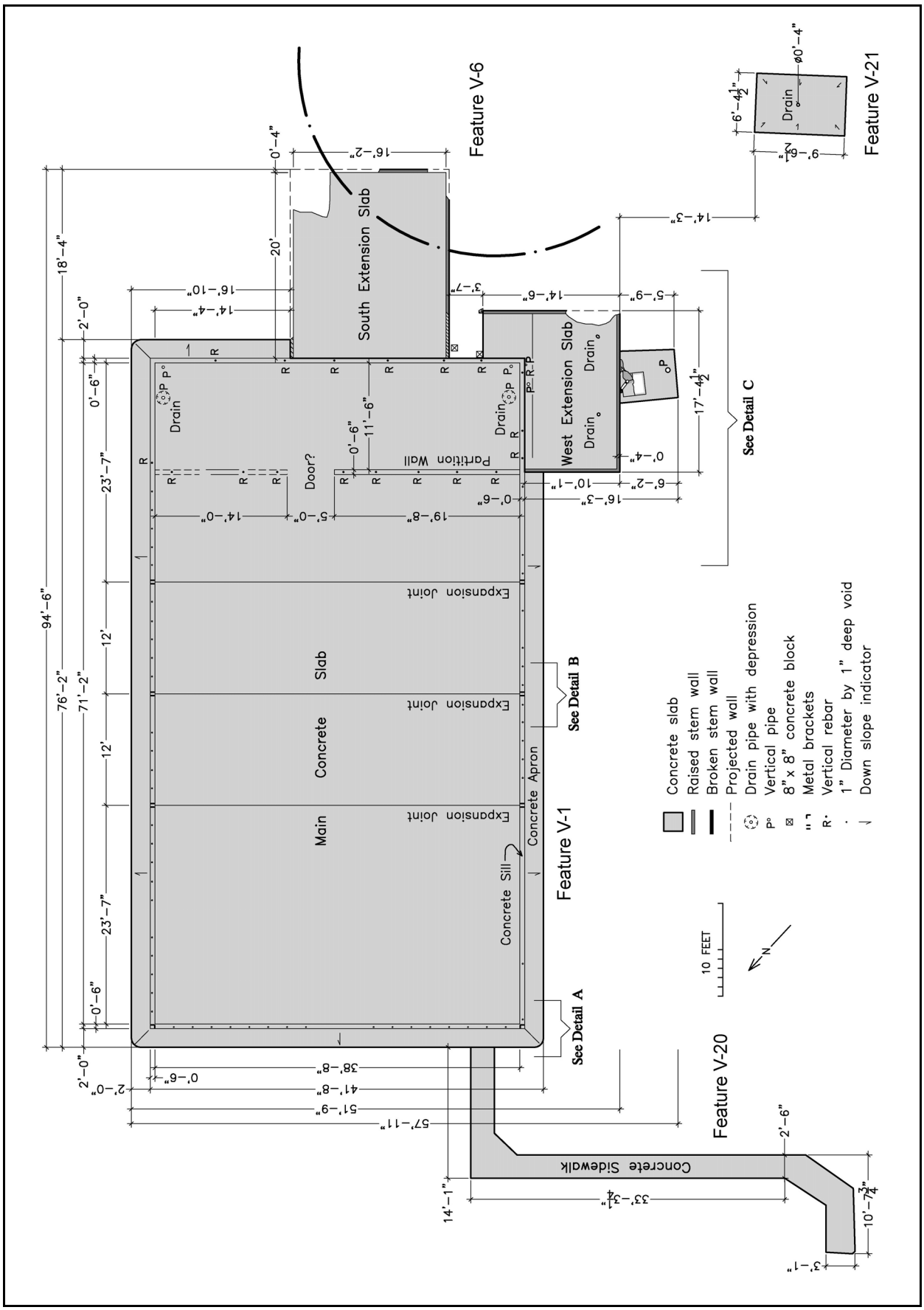
Continuation Sheet

IV-2



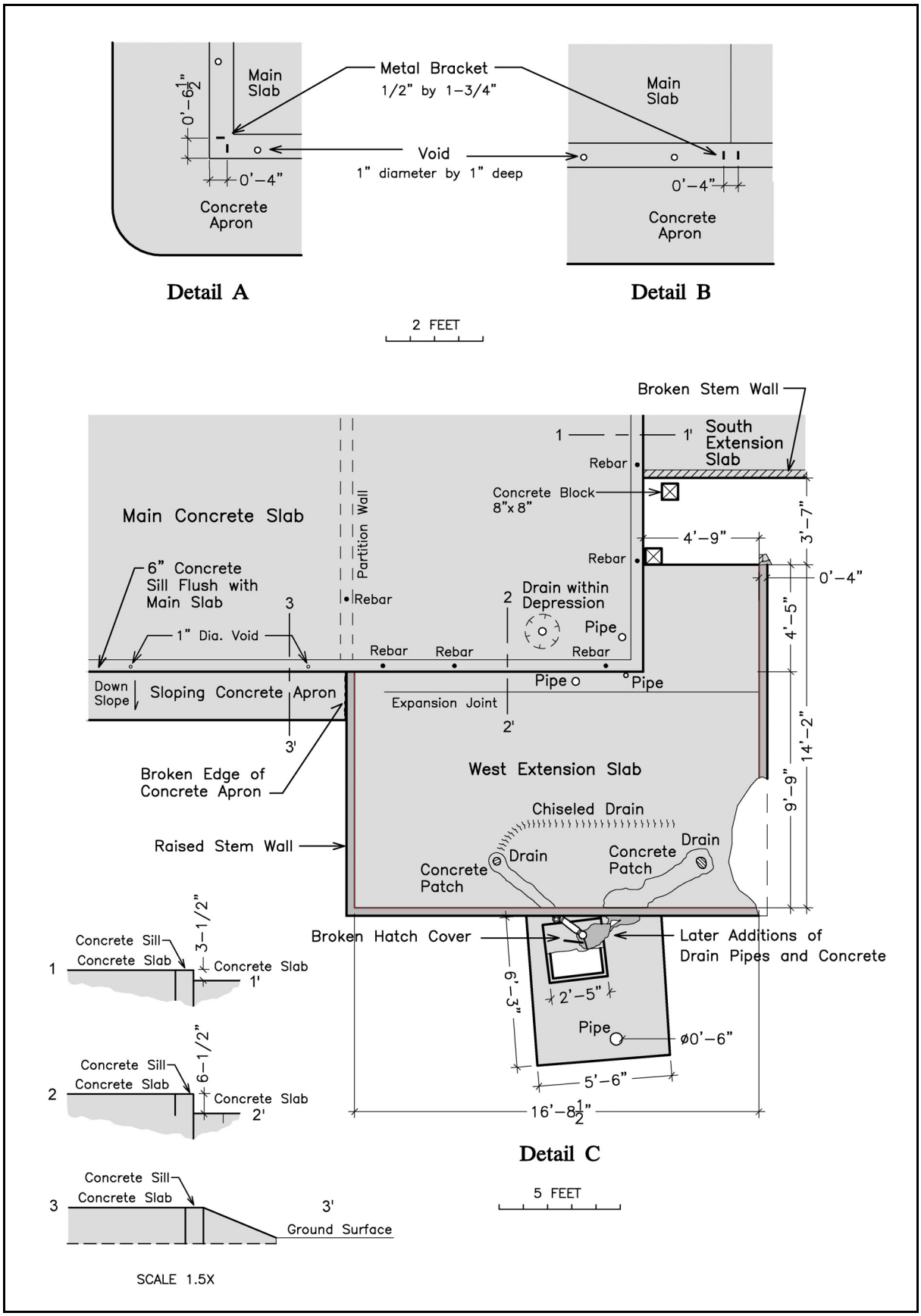
Map. 13. Guard Tower Footings, Compound IV (Feature IV-2).

Continuation Sheet



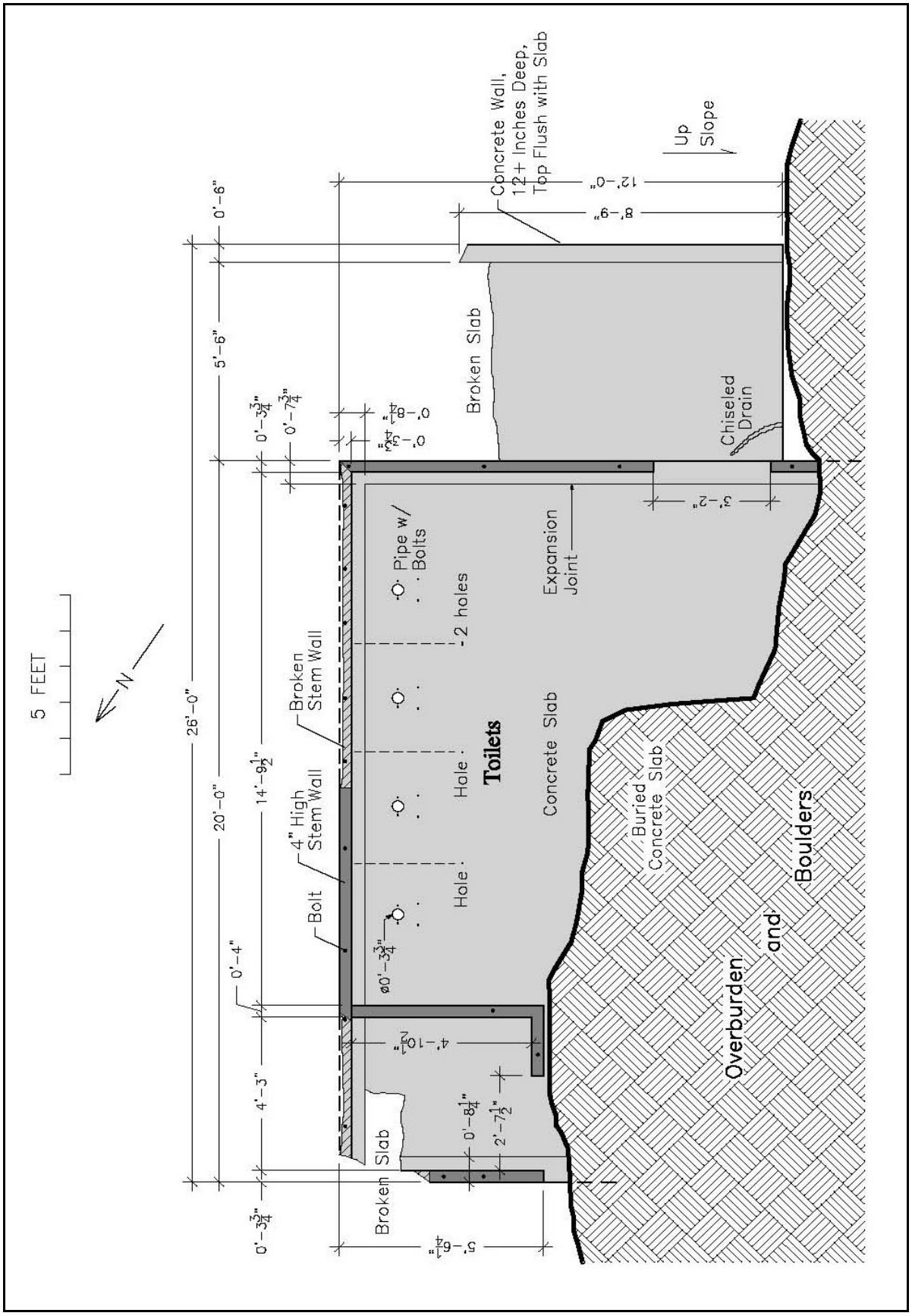
Map. 14. Mess hall foundation, sidewalk, and small concrete slab, Compound V (Features V-1, V-20, and V-21).

Continuation Sheet



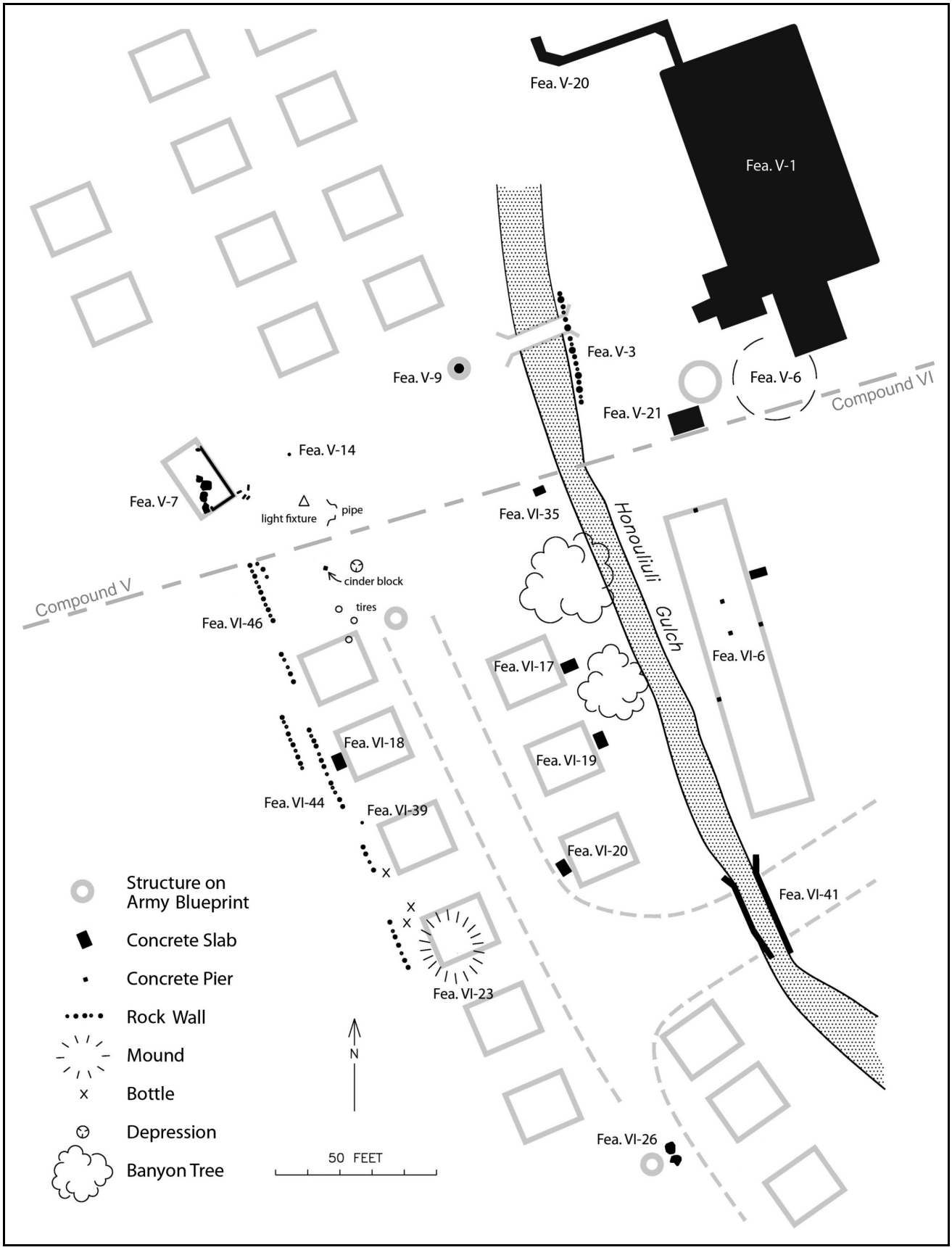
Map. 15. Mess hall foundation details (Feature V-1).

Continuation Sheet



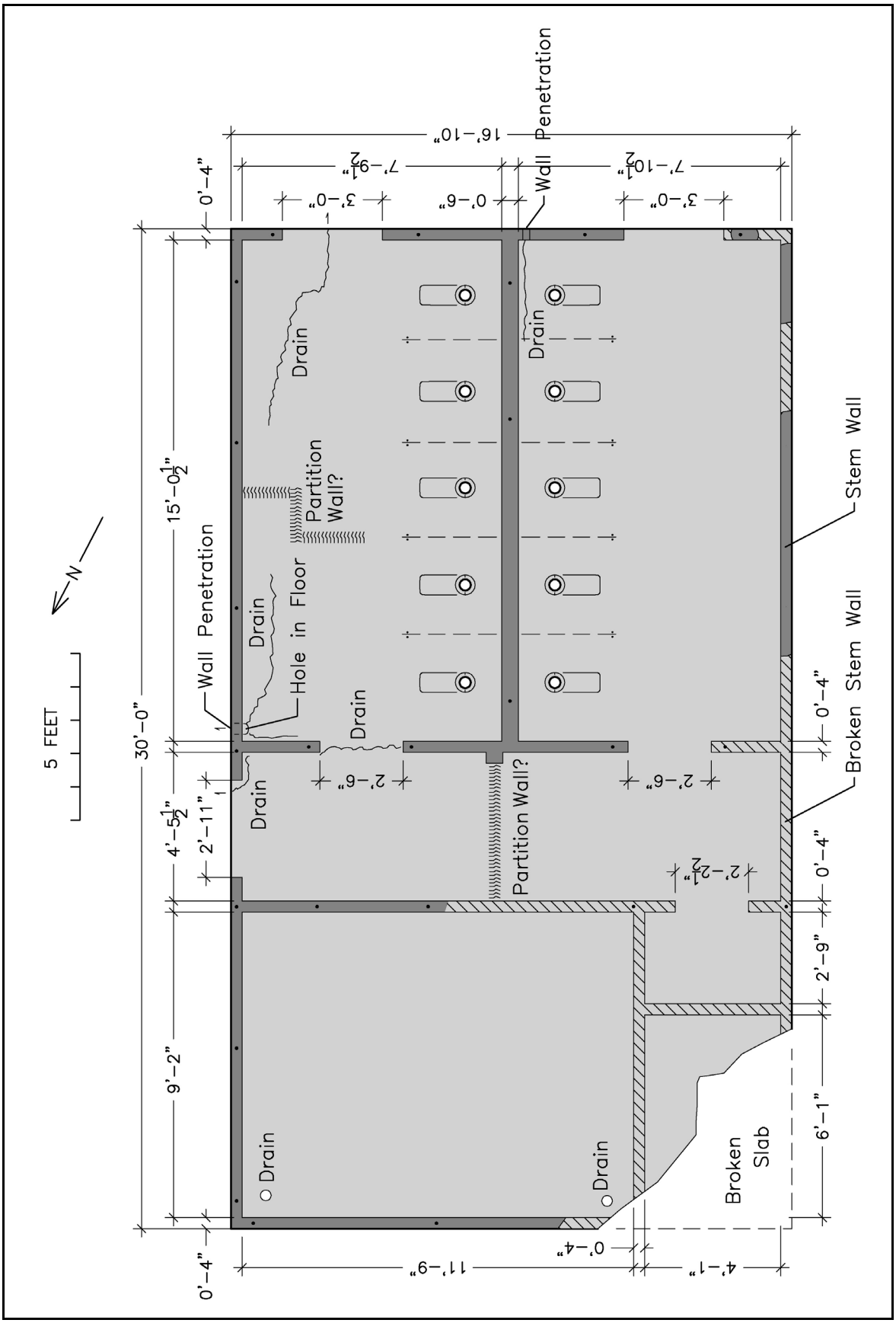
Map. 16. Latrine/shower building foundation, Compound V (Feature V-7).

Continuation Sheet



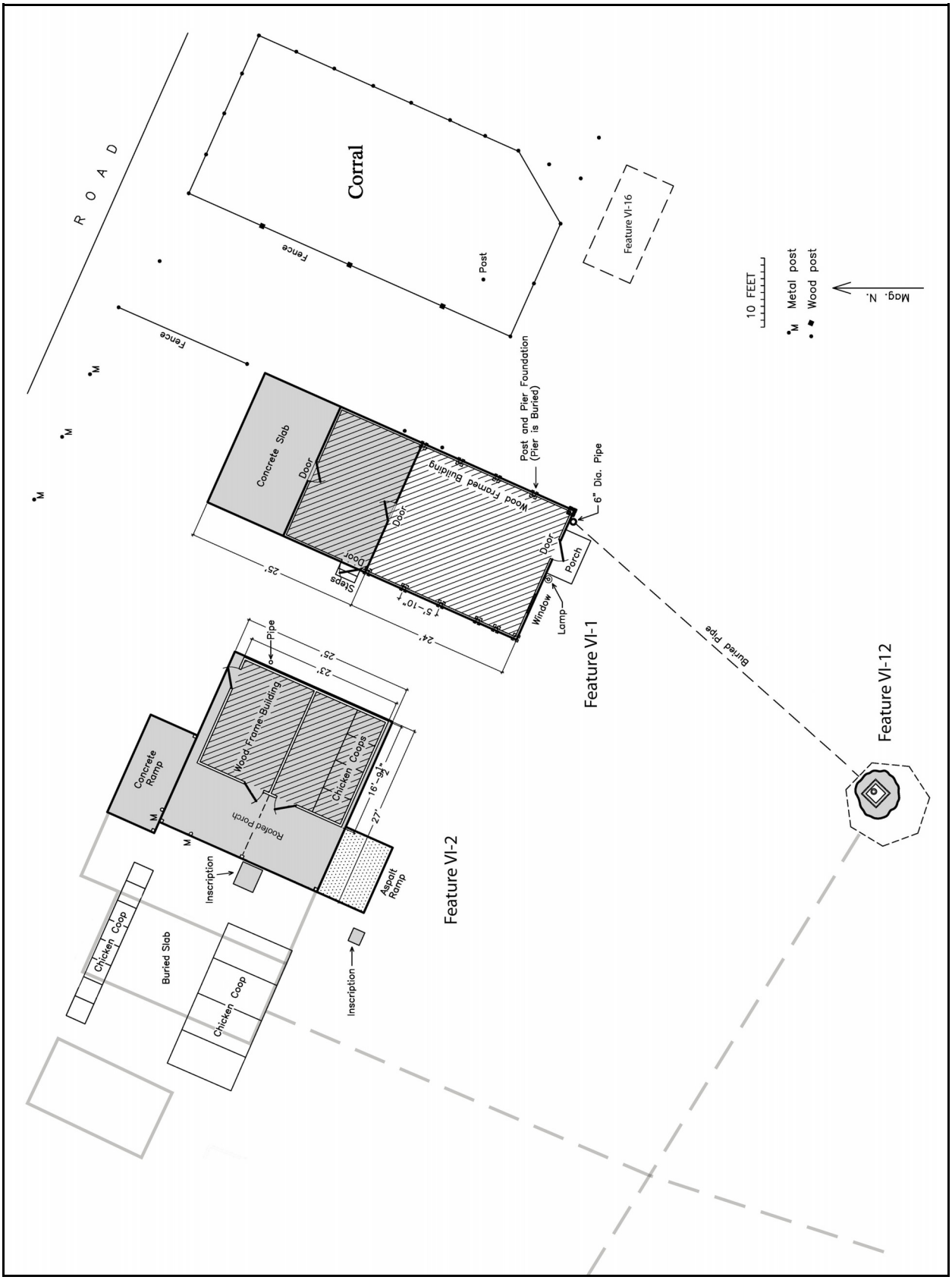
Map. 17. Detail of the southern part of Compound V and the northern part of Compound VI.

Continuation Sheet



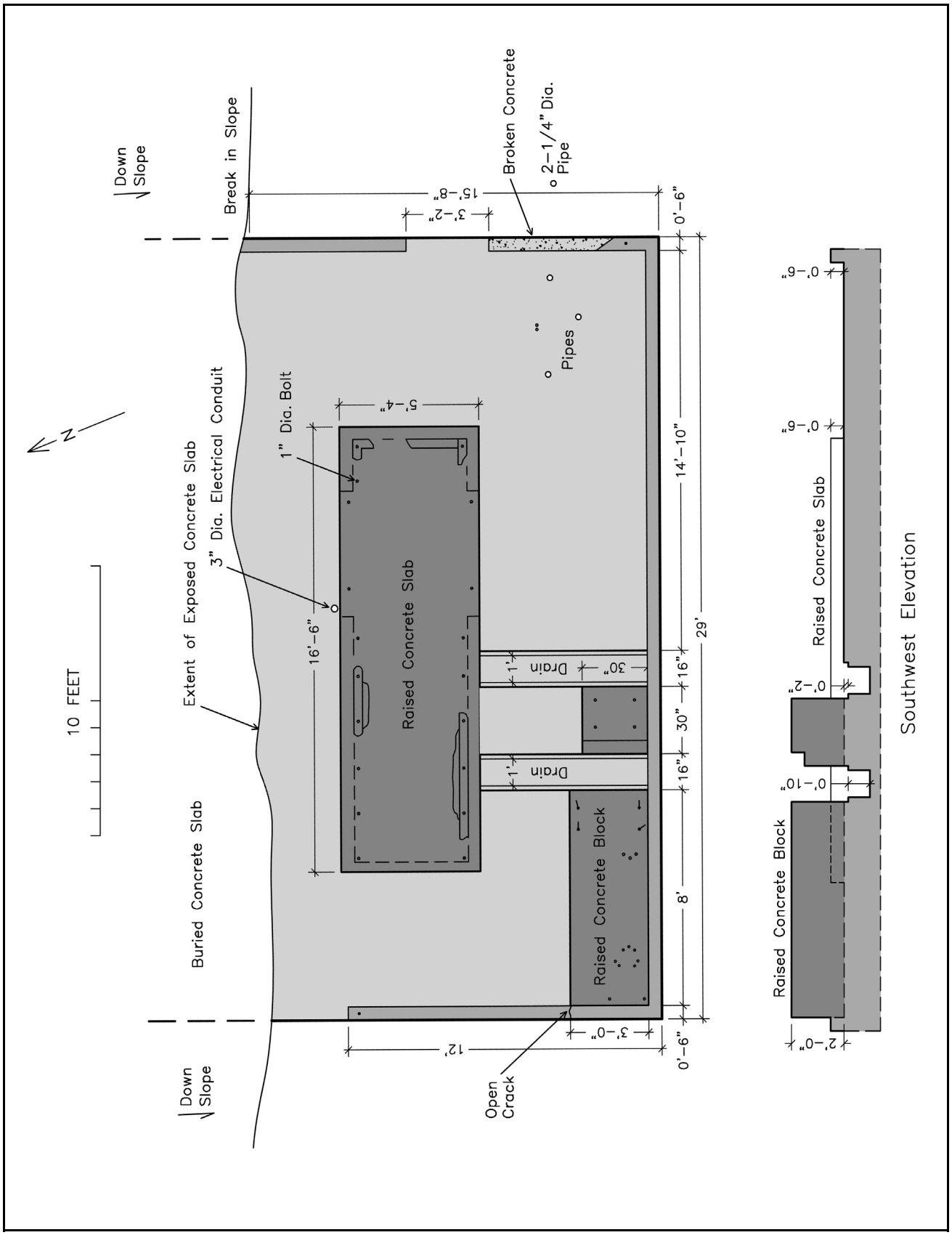
Map. 18. Latrine/shower building foundation, Compound V (Feature V-26).

Continuation Sheet



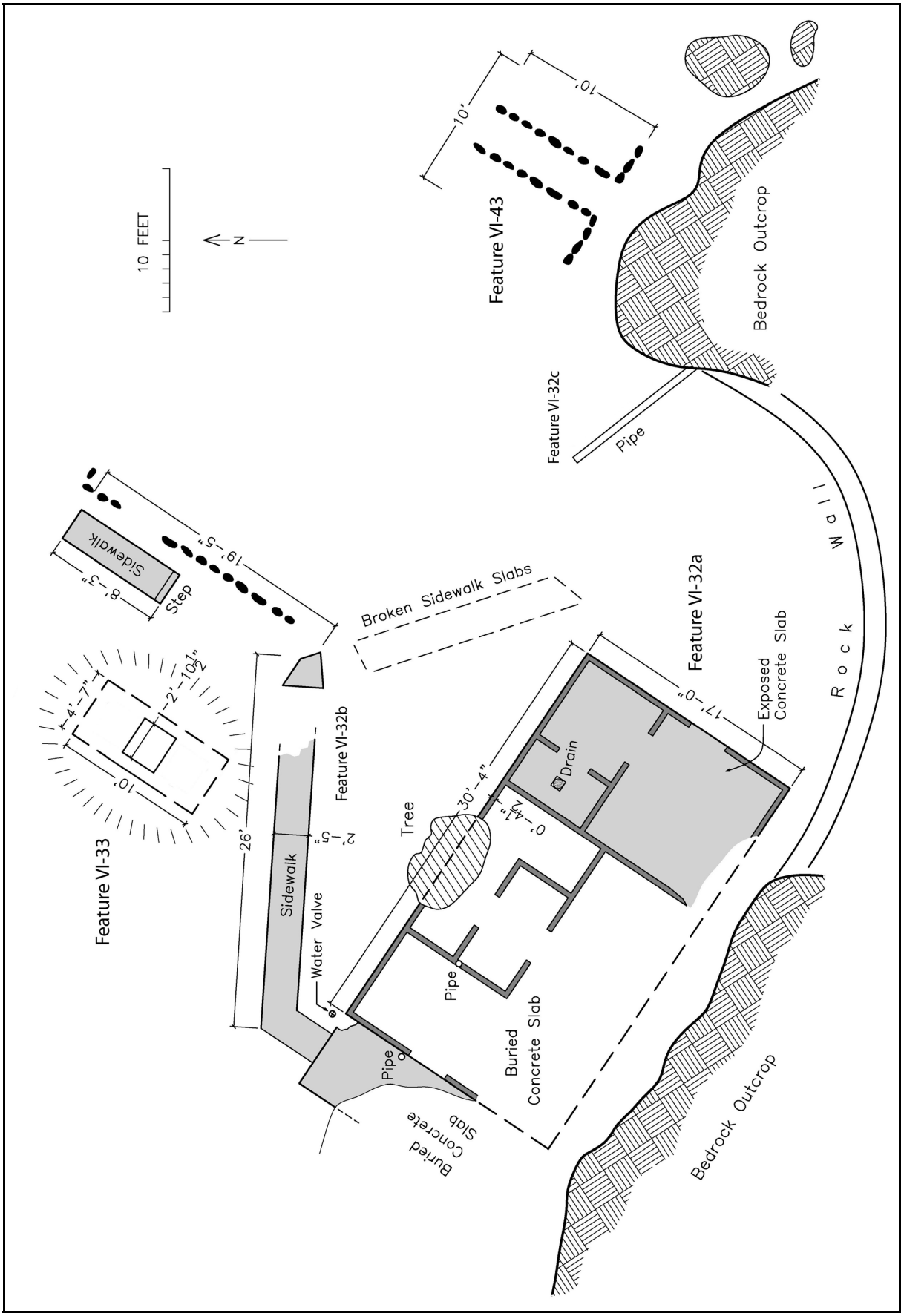
Map. 19. Buildings and associated remains in Compound VI (Features VI-1, VI-2, VI-12, and VI-16).

Continuation Sheet



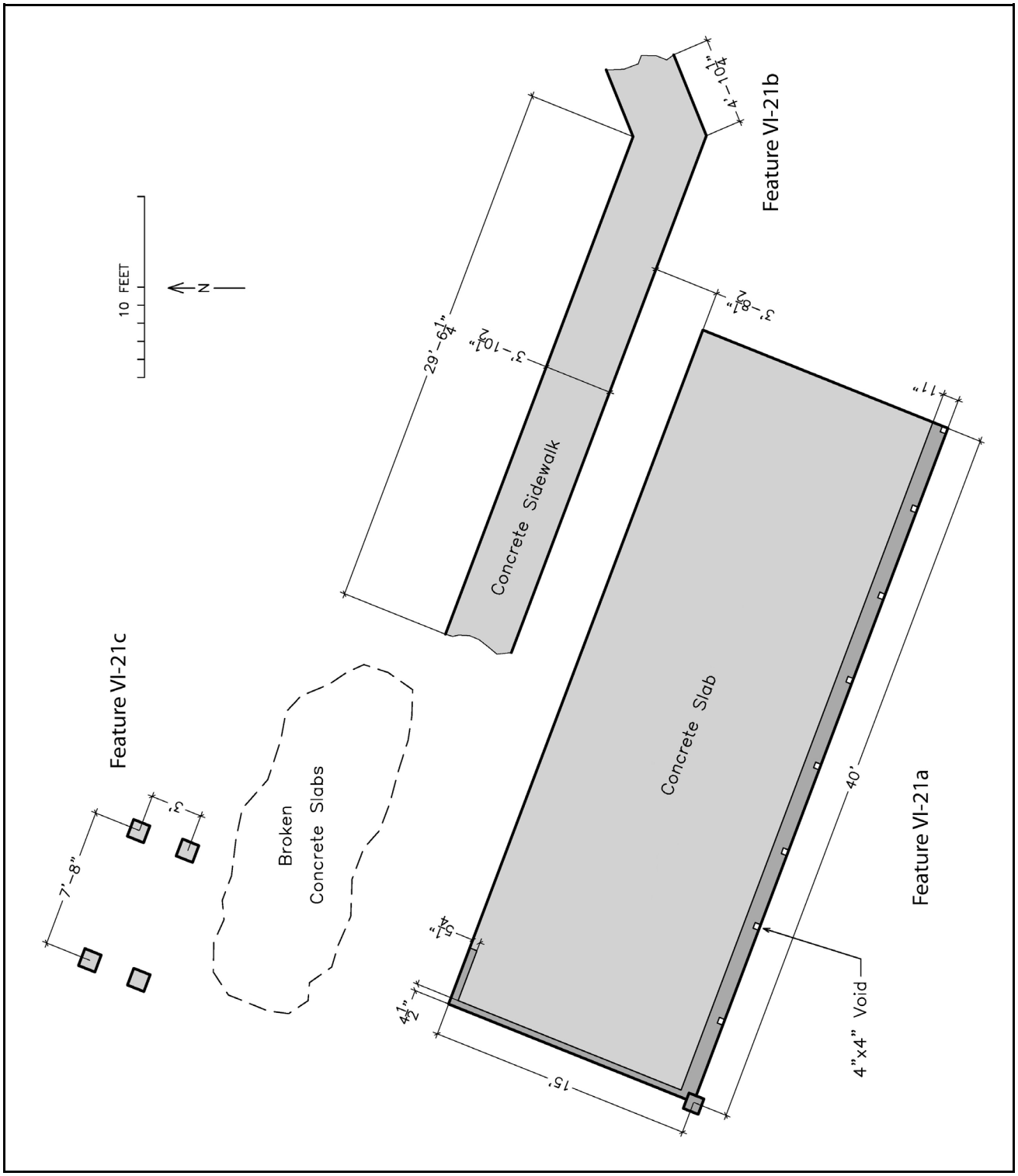
Map. 20. Generator building foundation, Compound VI (Feature VI-3).

Continuation Sheet



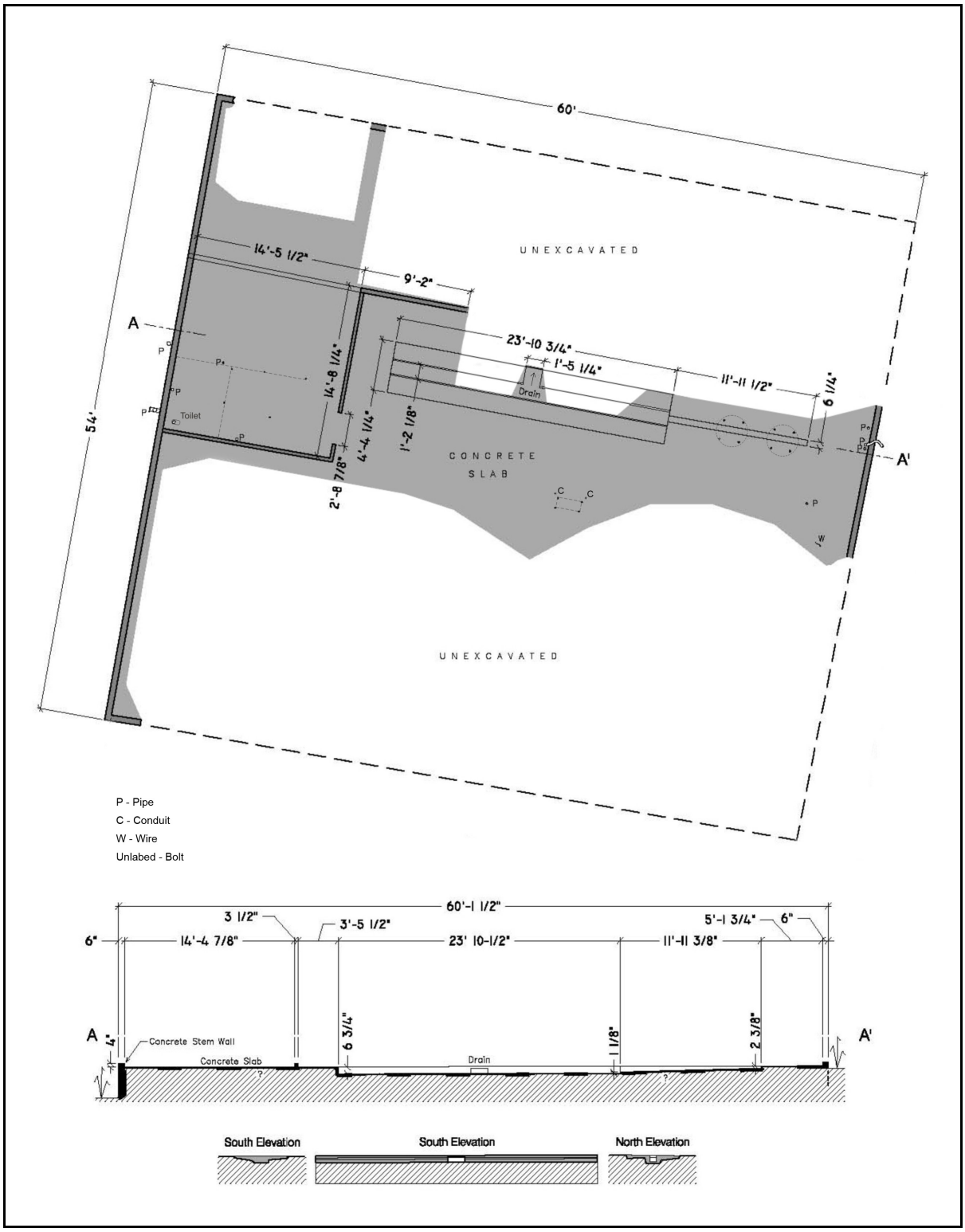
Map. 21. Latrine/shower building foundation, septic tank, sidewalks, and rock alignments in Compound VI (Features VI-32, VI-33, and VI-34).

Continuation Sheet



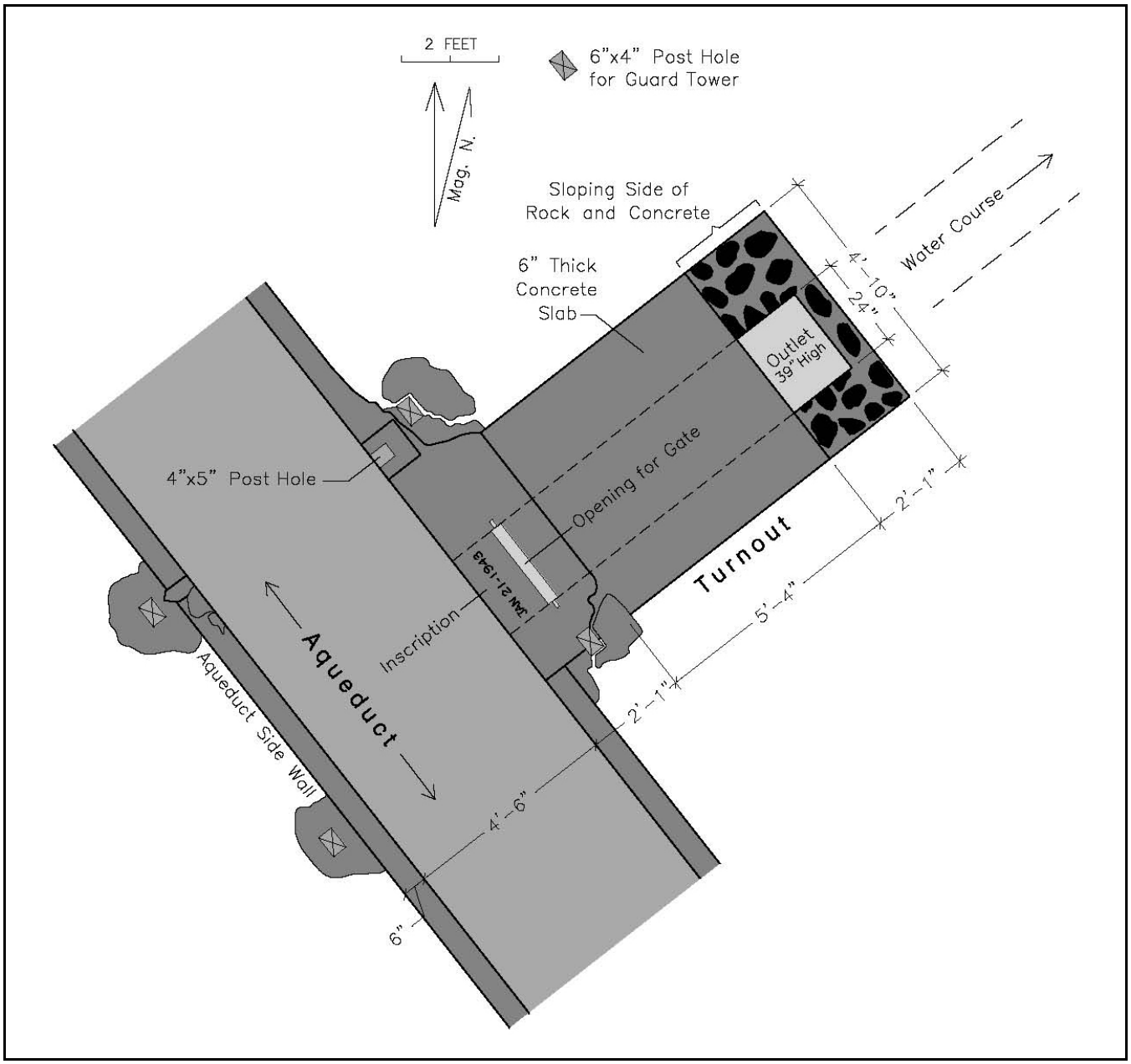
Map. 22. Building foundation, concrete piers, and sidewalk, Compound VI (Feature VI-21).

Continuation Sheet



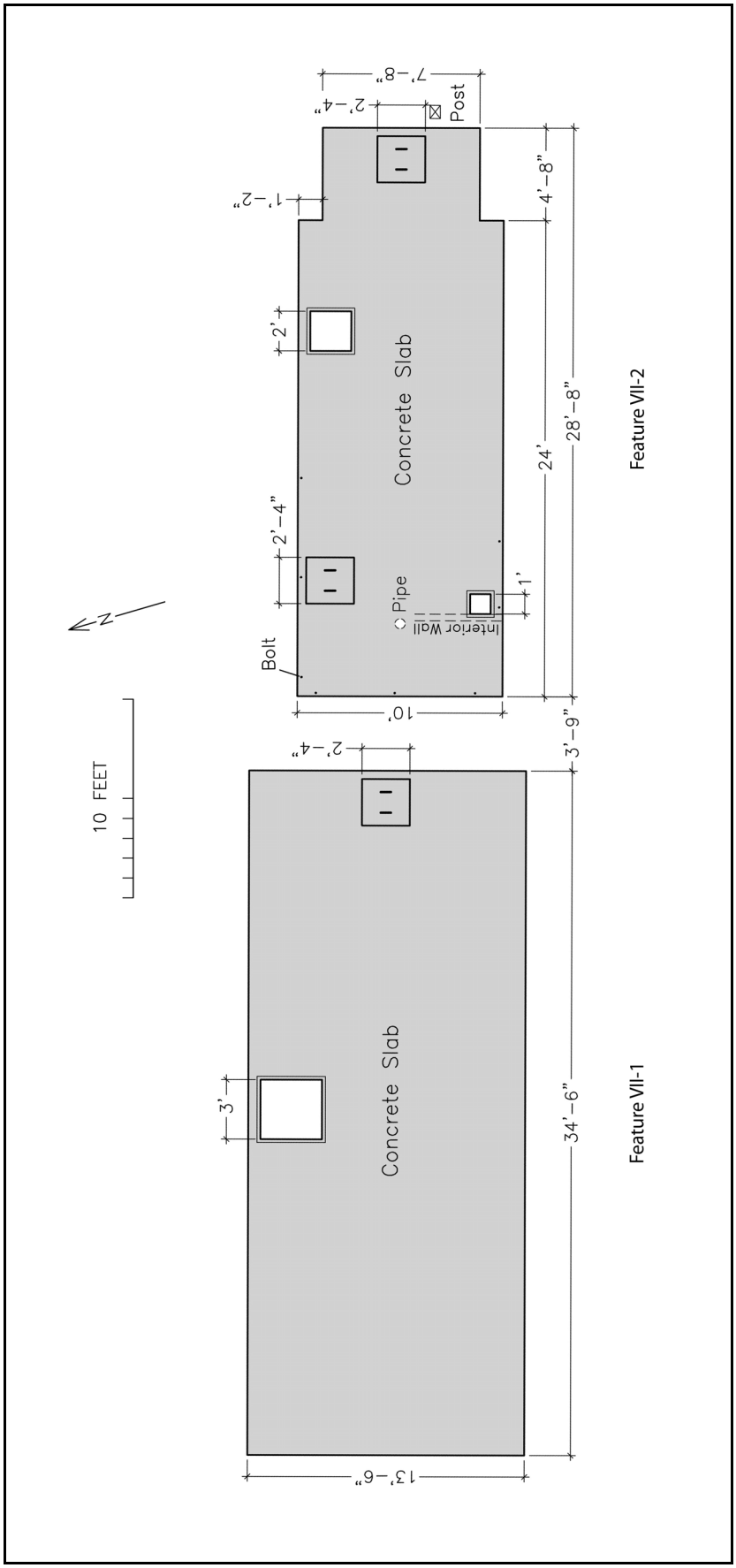
Map. 23. Laundry foundation, Compound VI (Feature VI-49).

Continuation Sheet



Map. 24. Guard tower foundations, aqueduct, and 1943 inscription in Compound VI (Features VI-50 and L-1d).

Continuation Sheet



Map. 25. Septic tanks, Compound VII (Features VII-1 and VII-2).