

# Notes on the Family Haneberg/Schwoon

Martin Lottermoser

Version 1.23 (2023-06-06; corresponding to the German version 2.30 of 2022-12-19)

## Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Motivation</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>The Parents</b>	<b>2</b>
2.1	Johann Gerhard Haneberg (1799–1875) . . . . .	2
2.2	Catharine Schwoon (1814–1899) . . . . .	4
2.3	Marriage and Family . . . . .	4
<b>3</b>	<b>Emma Haneberg (1838–1916)</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Heinrich Haneberg (1840–ca. 1932)</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Johanne Haneberg (1843–1889)</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Adolf Haneberg (1846–1931)</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>August Haneberg (1850–1927)</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Armin Haneberg (1853–1921)</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Eugenie Haneberg (1857–1912)</b>	<b>25</b>

## 1 Motivation

While collecting data on my ancestors and some of their closer relatives including their descendants, I've come across some information which can not really be understood by itself but should be presented in a larger context, or which might be stated with precision but where one should also point out how frail the support for that statement is.

In addition, it is surprising what can nowadays be found via the Internet, particularly about persons who have lived in the USA. However, in case of secondary sources quite a lot of claims must be discarded, even in case of non-anonymous sources or those which, based on their type, one could expect to have been subjected to adequate quality control.

In particular for the family of my great-great-grandparents Haneberg/Schwoon I've now accumulated so many data that a coherent presentation seemed worthwhile. What follows is therefore a description of what I could gather about that family.

## 2 The Parents

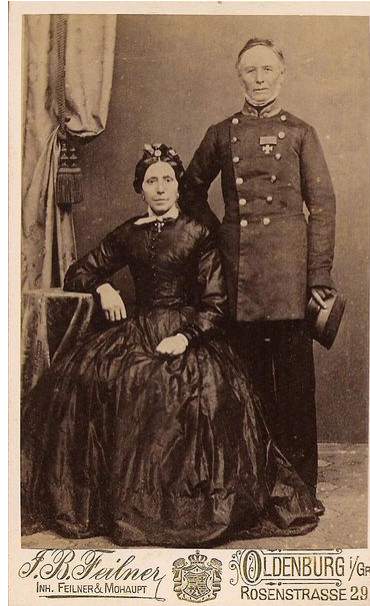


Figure 1: Catharine (née Schwoon) and Johann Gerhard Haneberg. Note the cross of the medal of honour on his uniform.

### 2.1 Johann Gerhard Haneberg (1799–1875)

Johann Gerhard Haneberg was born on 1799-07-30, presumably on his parents' farm near Kroge ("Bauerschaft<sup>1</sup>" Ehrendorf, parish of Lohne, district of Vechta, prince-bishopric of Münster) about 6 km SSE of Lohne. His parents were the "Kötter [smallholder]" Johann Heinrich Roenbeck (1761–1826) and his wife Maria Elisabeth Krogmann (1763–1837). As was common at the time, Johann Heinrich Roenbeck's surname had changed to Haneberg, his mother's birthname, when he took over the smallholding connected with the name (probably at the latest on the death of his maternal step-grandfather in 1791). That farm was located near what is now the junction of the street "Am Hanenberg<sup>2</sup>" with the "Diepholzer Straße" east of Kroge; the farm's and hence the family's name therefore were obviously derived from the farm's location. The family belonged to the Catholic faith; I know of 10 children.

Johann Gerhard was the second-eldest son and did not inherit the farm<sup>3</sup> but first became a soldier. He was a "Feldwebel<sup>4</sup>" in the 5th company of the 1st Infantry Regiment at Oldenburg<sup>5</sup> when on 1833-09-01 he married Tide Margaret(h)e/Margaretha Hauerken there; she was born 1807-01-29 at Elsfleth. The two already had a son, Emil Adalbert Wilhelm (1831–1844), and the daughter Ottilie (★1833) was born a bit more than a month after the wedding. A few years later another son followed, Wilhelm Heinrich Johann (★1836); Johann Gerhard was still a Feldwebel in Oldenburg at that time.

<sup>1</sup>A Bauerschaft (literally "farmership") was an administrative entity within a parish, consisting essentially of farms only.

<sup>2</sup>I'm no etymologist, but a possible meaning is "on rooster hill". The earliest name-giving ancestor I know of with reasonable certainty (17th century) was also called "Hanenberg" in a document, his successors then "Haneberg".

<sup>3</sup>In 1884 Johann Gerhard's nephew Johann Heinrich Haneberg (1840–1926) sold the smallholding and, with wife and children, emigrated to Kansas (USA).

<sup>4</sup>The translation according to present usage would be "sergeant", but not only is that confusing because the rank "Sergeant" also existed at the time (lower than a Feldwebel), it is also my impression that "Feldwebel" then was not only a rank but especially a position, namely the one called "Kompaniefeldwebel" (company sergeant major) in today's German forces.

<sup>5</sup>The prince-bishopric of Münster was dissolved with the "Reichsdeputationshauptschluss" of 1803; the districts of Vechta and Cloppenburg fell to the duchy of Oldenburg ("Oldenburger Münsterland").



Figure 2: Neighbourhood of Bockhorn and Varel (1904). The arrow points to Steinhausersiel which is not labelled on this map.

Presumably soon afterwards his military career ended, because from 1837 on the *Oldenburgische Staats-Kalender* [Oldenburgian State Almanac] also listed the personnel of customs offices and named him as “Einnehmer [collector] Haneberg”<sup>6</sup> at the “Gränz-Steueramt 1r Cl. [border tax office 1st class] Ellenserdammersiel”, about 7 km northwest of Varel on the Jade bay; the harbour there was mostly used for shipping clinker bricks. Shortly afterwards his wife died on 1837-11-25 at the birth of another child, Carl Tideus Diederich (1837–1851).

Apparently Johann Gerhard stayed in this post uninterrupted until his retirement while the designations changed: from 1848 on the office was spelled “Grenz-Steueramt” and in 1863 it became a “Nebenzollamt 1. Classe [subsidiary customs office 1st class]”. In most of these years he was the only person listed at the office, but around 1860 an assistant was mentioned as well and there are indications that such an assistant also existed at other times.

On 1856-01-17 (at the age of 56 years) he was awarded the “allgemeine Ehrenzeichen zweiter Classe [general medal of honour 2nd class]” associated with the “Großherzogliche Haus- und Verdienstorden des Herzogs Peter Friedrich Ludwig [grand-ducal<sup>7</sup> house order and order of merit of the duke Peter Friedrich Ludwig]”. The reason is unknown, but I assume that it was simply for long-time solid service.<sup>8</sup> In May 1871 the Grand Duke bestowed

<sup>6</sup>From 1832 onwards, non-commissioned officers with an impeccable service record of at least 12 years received preferential treatment when entering the civil service.

<sup>7</sup>The Congress of Vienna had elevated the duchy of Oldenburg to a grand duchy as a sort of consolation prize, but the regent of the time ignored that. Only his successors from 1829 onwards used the new title.

<sup>8</sup>I’ve also asked myself whether he could have distinguished himself on some particular occasion, but all the plausible candidate



on him the title “Rentmeister [rent master]”, and on 1873-01-31 he was awarded the general medal of honour 1st class; at that time he was already 73 years old.

Shortly after that, on 1873-05-01, he was pensioned, and a bit more than two years later, on 1875-08-18, Johann Gerhard Haneberg died in Varel at the age of 76 years; the cause of death was given as old age.

## 2.2 Catharine Schwoon (1814–1899)

Catharine Schwoon was born on 1814-04-20 at Kranenkamp (“Bauerschaft” Steinhausen, parish of Bockhorn) west of Varel in the duchy of Oldenburg. She was a daughter of the “Brinksitzer<sup>9</sup>” and carpenter Johann Hinrich Schwoon (1768–1837) and his wife Margarete Uhlhorn (1770–1845). The family followed the Protestant faith; I know of 9 children.<sup>10</sup>

Catharine died as a widow on 1899-06-21 at Varel; she was 85 years old.

## 2.3 Marriage and Family

Johann Gerhard Haneberg (38 years old) and Catharine Schwoon (24 years old) married on 1838-06-08 at Bockhorn, half a year after the death of his first wife.

The couple had 7 children, the first a bit more than 5 months after the marriage.



Figure 3: Harbour of Ellenserdammersiel (presumably around 1910); on the left the former customs house<sup>11</sup>

In 1843 a tax office building (later called a customs house) was erected at the harbour of Ellenserdammersiel. The Hanebergs moved into that as one of two families, but the conditions seem to have been fairly cramped because already during construction Johann Gerhard Haneberg asked for the addition of a second bedchamber. The house had a number of quality deficits which led to quarrels concerning repairs; nevertheless it was only demolished in 2018.

Some confusion arises because the location for some family events is designated as Steinhausersiel instead of Ellenserdammersiel; Steinhausersiel is situated not quite a kilometre from Ellenserdammersiel. There are, however, indications that the name “Steinhausersiel” was earlier sometimes used to refer to Ellenserdammersiel in

---

events I found (Oldenburg joining the German Customs Union, the settlement in the Bentinck succession quarrel which led to Oldenburg completely obtaining Varel and Kniphausen, and the building of the customs office at Varel harbour) had already happened in 1854, and then he should have been awarded the medal a year earlier. In addition I would have expected that evidence of exceptional professional abilities would have resulted in advancement and therefore a change of location.

<sup>9</sup>The literal translation would be someone sitting on the brink and is actually apposite but does not explain much. What is meant is the edge of the village, and houses there were late additions to the settlement (in this region after about 1600?). A Brinksitzer had even less land than a Kötter.

<sup>10</sup>Several (possibly all six) of Catharine’s brothers had won the contract for building the first sea lock at Varel around 1845 and managed to complete it within a year instead of two years as planned. From that they became sought-after sluice builders in the neighbourhood of the Jade bay.

<sup>11</sup>This photograph was kindly made available by Mr. Rüdiger Buhl.

other contexts as well, therefore this difference should not be given much weight. One should also not think of these places as closed settlements at the time; there existed just a number of houses in the neighbourhood of the respective “Siel [sluice]”.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 Emma Haneberg (1838–1916)



Figure 4: Emma Blühdorn, née Haneberg

Emma Margarete Gerhardine Haneberg was born on 1838-11-23, presumably near Ellenserdammersiel.

In October 1882 (at the age of 43) she emigrated to Hawaii, accompanied by her brother Armin (aged 29; see section 8); in this the two were following their brothers Adolf and August (see sections 6 and 7).

An emigration to the Kingdom of Hawaii (“Sandwich Islands”) might seem unusual from today’s point of view, but the Hanebergs were far from being the only people from Northern Germany to do that at the time. This was mainly due to a captain and merchant named Hinrich Hackfeld (1816–1887) from Almsloh near Delmenhorst who settled in Honolulu in 1849 and started trading; in 1862 he returned to Germany and established himself in Bremen as well. The firm “H. Hackfeld & Co.” he and a brother-in-law founded on Hawaii became one of the largest trading houses on the islands until the German owners were dispossessed in the First World War and the assets of the firm were transferred to a new company owned by the US-American competition. The customers of H. Hackfeld & Co. were initially mostly whaling ships, but later the firm started to offer comprehensive services (credit, shipment, marketing) to the emerging sugar cane plantations in some of which the firm or its members held shares. This was done while keeping in contact with Germany; starting in 1857 the firm even maintained a number of sailing ships travelling mostly in the Pacific but also between Bremen and Honolulu. While the core of the firm’s employees originally consisted of family members, at later stages young merchants were typically hired directly from Bremen. This was not restricted to the needs of the firm itself: from 1880 on, H. Hackfeld & Co. had a license to recruit contract labourers for Hawaii’s sugar cane plantations; apparently, this was only relevant for a short time, but in 1883 it was so successful in Germany that the firm chartered the steamer *Ehrenfels* to carry 800 passengers<sup>13</sup> (labourers and their families) directly from Bremen to Honolulu in a voyage taking two

<sup>12</sup>On a copy of a detailed map of 1842 I counted 7 houses at Ellenserdammersiel and 4 at Steinhausersiel.

<sup>13</sup>A census of December 1884 determined the kingdom’s entire population to consist of 80,578 persons; 43% of those were born in foreign countries. This one ship therefore had increased the population by about 1%.

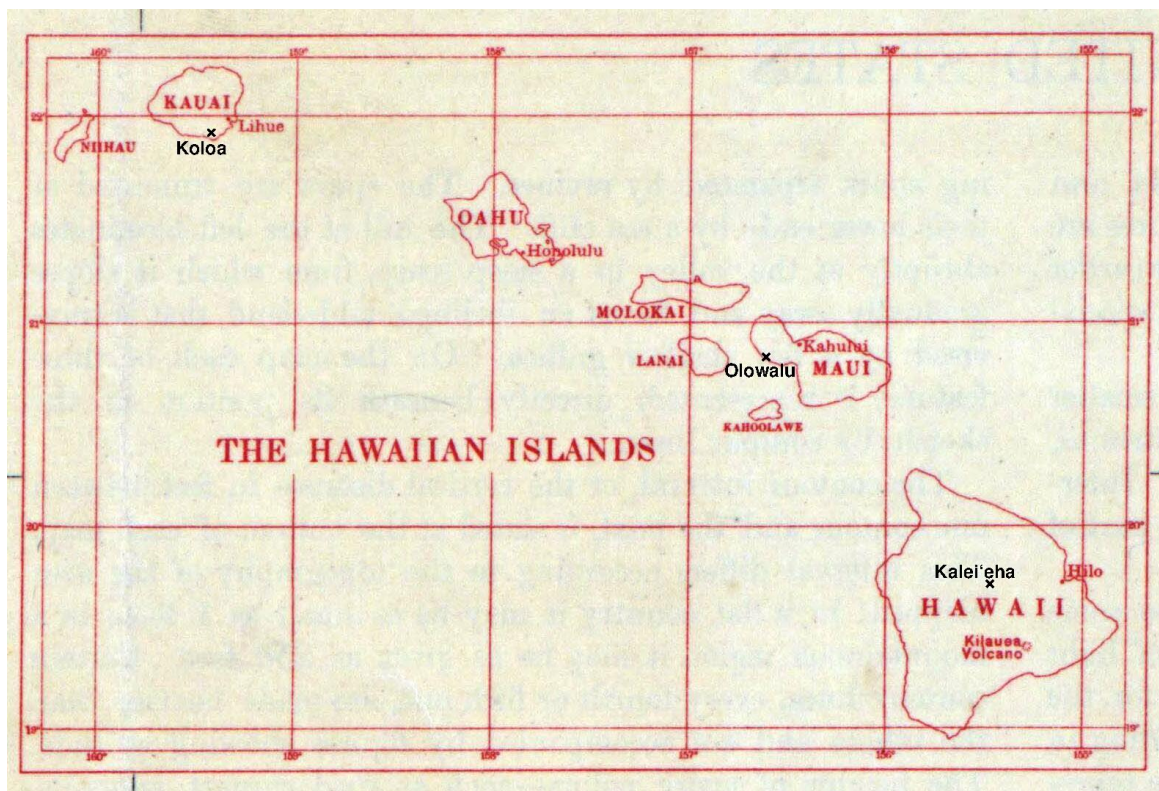


Figure 5: Southeastern part of the Hawaiian islands. From Kaua'i to the island of Hawai'i the distance is about 600 km.

months; mostly through an outbreak of the measles, 30 children and 3 adults died on this voyage. Most of the German emigrants seem to have ended up near Lihue on the island of Kaua'i, where from 1885 at the latest there even was a German church which held services in the German language until well into the 1960ies.

Emma and Armin left Bremen on 1882-10-25 on board of the express steamer *Elbe* of the shipping line Norddeutscher Lloyd. The voyage led via Southampton to New York where the ship arrived on the 6th of November; however, the passenger list submitted there describes Emma as Armin's wife and gives her age as 38 which was probably a confusion with her year of birth. On the 27th they reached Honolulu on the island of O'ahu with the steamer *Zealandia* from San Francisco (as "A Haneberg, Miss Haneberg"), and on the 4th of December they left Honolulu (now as "A Haneberg and sister") with the *C. R. Bishop* in the direction of Kaua'i.<sup>14</sup>

Emma spent the next few years probably at Kōloa on Kaua'i where her three brothers worked (see section 6); I presume they all shared a household.

In July 1887 Emma's brother August (see section 7) took over the management of a sugar cane plantation at Olowalu on the island of Maui. Possibly in connection with that Emma met Friedrich Wilhelm Blühdorn, born in Germany in February 1844 and more than 5 years younger than her. He was a blacksmith by profession and had also been living on Hawaii since 1882. An address book for 1884 showed him at Spreckelsville on Maui as an employee of the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company, and in 1888 he was listed at Lihue on Kaua'i with the Lihue Plantation Company.<sup>15</sup> The two finally married at Olowalu; Emma was 50 years old at the time. A newspaper from Honolulu reported on the occasion as follows:

<sup>14</sup>On the *Elbe* as well as on the *Zealandia*, Johann Wilhelm Pflüger (1835–1908), a brother-in-law of Hinrich Hackfeld and the Russian vice consul at Honolulu at the time, travelled back to Honolulu with his family. That might have been coordinated; but while Emma and Armin travelled second class on the *Elbe* (at least not steerage), the Pflügers used the first class.

<sup>15</sup>For place names I use the current Hawaiian spelling (e.g., Lihue), for names of organizations derived from place names the spelling from the time of the organization (e.g., Lihue Plantation Company).



“A most enjoyable event took place at the residence of Mr. A. Hanneberg, Olowalu, Saturday, Sept. 28, 1889. Miss Emma Hanneberg, sister of the manager, was united in marriage to Mr. Wilhelm Bludorn. The bride was attired in white silk beautifully trimmed with Spanish lace. The bride was given away by her brother, who was also the best man.<sup>16</sup> Miss A. Doherty was bridesmaid. The ceremony took place on the veranda, which was beautifully decorated for the occasion.”

In the address book for 1890 we can find two addresses for Wilhelm Blühndorn: one in Līhu‘e without an employer and one in Olowalu with the Olowalu Sugar Company which owned the plantation.

Afterwards the couple seems to have moved back to Kaua‘i: starting in 1892, address books list Wilhelm only at Līhu‘e. The first US census carried out in Hawaii<sup>17</sup> shows them both still there in June 1900. Her entry states that she has borne no children, he is described as a blacksmith and is said to be a naturalized citizen and able to speak Hawaiian. However, again there are some errors: it is claimed that they have been married for 12 years and her date of birth is given as “Nov. 1849” and her age as 50.<sup>18</sup>

At some time between 1903 and 1904 the two moved to Honolulu. A few years later and after a farewell party even mentioned in the newspapers they then left Hawaii on 1908-05-19 with the steamer *Hilonian* for San Francisco in order to return to Germany; from 1909 onwards Wilhelm appeared with varying addresses and the designation “Privatm. [private citizen]” (presumably in today’s sense to be interpreted as “Privatier [a man of independent means]”) in the address books of Bremen. Wilhelm Blühndorn finally died, at the age of 72, on 1916-04-16 at the St. Joseph-Stift [St. Joseph’s Hospital] in Bremen, Emma three months later — also in Bremen but at home — on 1916-07-27 at the age of 77 years.

## 4 Heinrich Haneberg (1840–ca. 1932)

Hugo Heinrich Haneberg was born 1840-12-18 at Ellenserdammersiel.

Like his father he first became a non-commissioned officer in the Grand-Ducal Oldenburgian Infantry Regiment. This regiment did not fight in the Second Schleswig War of 1864, but it did take part in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 in which Oldenburg sided with Prussia. However, the troops only left Oldenburg after the battle near Königgrätz and were therefore merely involved in minor fighting; it is known that Heinrich (in the 7th company of the regiment) was present in the encounter at Werbach (near Würzburg) on 1866-07-24.

He had then achieved the rank of Feldwebel when in October 1869 at Oldenburg the banns were published for his approaching marriage to Helene Elise Friederike Lübbers, born 1848-09-26 at Rallenbüschen near Varel. Over the years the two had at least 9 children: Eugen (1870–1967), Hugo Heinrich (1872–1955), Anna Catharine/Katharina (1876–1931, married name Windecker), Emma Hermine (1880–1880), Helene Margarethe (“Grete”, 1882–1915), Auguste Friederike (1883–1883), Emma Hermine (1887–1967, married name Klotz), Friedrich Armin (1888–1888) and August Gerhard (1891–1914). The two eldest sons later emigrated to the USA as well and lived permanently or for some time, respectively, on Hawaii.

But first Heinrich’s regiment took part in the Franco-German War of 1870/71. The *Geschichte des Oldenburgischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr. 91* [History of the Oldenburgian Infantry Regiment No. 91<sup>19</sup>] (Eduard von Finckh; Berlin, 1881) recounts how on the forenoon of 1870-08-16 and as part of the battle of Mars-la-Tour the 7th company of the regiment came under heavy enemy fire on an exposed hillside near Vionville:

<sup>16</sup>The writer presumably became confused here: the text goes on to list an “A. Hanneberg” also among the *guests*, which is fairly certain to refer to her brother Armin. But then it is to be expected that the two brothers would have divided the duties. The third brother (Adolf) had probably already left Hawaii at this time (see section 6).

<sup>17</sup>In 1893 the Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown by planters of US descent who, with the assistance of the US envoy and US marines, deposed the queen of the time, established a “Republic of Hawaii” in 1894, and in 1898 were able to achieve the desired annexation by the USA, though only after a change in the office of the US president. The “Territory of Hawaii” became a regular US state finally in 1959.

<sup>18</sup>That was her age at her marriage. Had there perhaps been a misunderstanding when asking for her age and had the year of birth then been calculated from the age? In other data collected by the same census agent we can find similar presumptive errors; see page 19.

<sup>19</sup>Of course Oldenburg did not have 91 infantry regiments but only one. The change of name originated in a treaty of 1867 between Oldenburg and Prussia by which Oldenburg adopted Prussia’s military regulations; the numbering sequence encompassed all regiments of Prussia and its allies.



Figure 6: Heinrich and Helene (née Lübbers) Haneberg. The child is presumably the son Eugen.

“Bereits beim Vorgehen ward Hauptmann Behncke durch einen Schuß in den Fuß außer Gefecht gesetzt und bald darauf auch Lieutenant Röhrßen schwer verwundet. Lieutenant v. Wedderkop übernahm die Führung der 7. Kompagnie. Neben ihm fiel der Vizefeldwebel Bunnemann. Feldwebel Hahneberg, gleichfalls verwundet, blieb bei der Kompagnie; er und die Sergeanten Borgmann und Bulling übernahmen die Führung der Züge; . . .”

[“Already during the advance Captain Behncke was put out of action by a shot in the foot, and soon afterwards Lieutenant Röhrßen was heavily wounded as well. Lieutenant von Wedderkop took command of the 7th company. The Vizefeldwebel Bunnemann fell at his side. Feldwebel Hahneberg, also wounded, stayed with the company; he and the sergeants Borgmann and Bulling took command of the platoons; . . .”]

During this encounter therefore all three platoon leaders of the company became unavailable (one dead, one wounded, one had to take command of the company) and needed to be replaced. The book also tells us that Heinrich’s wound was a bullet through his left hand, that he was among the first four soldiers of his regiment to receive the Iron Cross 2nd class on 1870-08-30 (on the same day the son Eugen was born at Oldenburg), and that (on 1870-09-06) he was also awarded the Oldenburgian general medal of honour 2nd class with swords. Finally, he distinguished himself during an encounter near Saint-Jean-sur-Erve (between Le Mans and Laval) on 1871-01-15.

When the hostilities ended, the regiment stayed in France but relocated successively to the East. In late autumn 1871, at that time stationed near Nancy in Lorraine, the regiment permitted soldiers’ families to join them and the son Hugo was born in July 1872 at Wölferdingen (today part of the town of Sarreguemines) in Lorraine.

The regiment returned to Oldenburg in 1873, but I presume that before that Heinrich transferred to another unit because the shoulder marks in figure 6 are definitely not those of the IR 91 and the regiment never was in Alsace where that photograph was taken.

In contrast it is certain that Heinrich lived in Alsace after his military service: in 1880 and 1885 the census found him with his family — including his mother-in-law — as a railway station master at Steinburg (now Steinbourg) near Zabern (Saverne), all the family’s children born from 1880 to 1891 were born at Steinburg, and from 1908 until 1914 address books then showed Heinrich as a retired station master living in Straßburg (Strasbourg).

At the outbreak of the First World War, the youngest son Gerhard was a student of the faculty of jurisprudence and government at Straßburg University; in November 1914 he was heavily wounded as an infantry lieutenant



during the First Battle of Ypres and died in a field hospital shortly afterwards. I also found an indication that at the beginning of the war a “Krankwt. [hospital orderly] Haneberg” belonged to a field hospital of a division used in the defence of Straßburg, hence the early death of the daughter Margarethe claimed to have happened in 1915 might also have been due to the war.

In 1919/20 the French state expelled all persons of German descent from Alsace-Lorraine; presumably Heinrich und Helene were among these because beginning in 1921 the address books for Frankfurt am Main show Heinrich in the “Landhaussiedelung [country house settlement]” Buchschlag (about 10 km south of Frankfurt) at the same address as the family of the daughter Anna which had already resided there for some time; from 1926 onwards he then lived in the same house as the family of the daughter Hermine at Lübeck. There are claims that he died at Lübeck on 1934-11-12, but he was already no longer listed in the address book for 1933 and instead his wife was shown as a widow. Helene is said to have died on 1936-04-19, also at Lübeck, at the age of 87.

## 5 Johanne Haneberg (1843–1889)



Figure 7: Johanne Freudenberg, née Haneberg

Johanne Haneberg was born on 1843-09-09 at Ellenserdammersiel.

At Bremen on 1866-03-16 (22 years old) she married the merchant Johann Hermann Freudenberg, born 1832-08-03 at Bremen, who was 11 years older; he was the owner of the firm *Henr. Rogge & Co.*<sup>20</sup> at Bremen.<sup>21</sup> The couple had two children, Johanne Catharina Emma (1867–1936) and Hermann Johann Gerhard (1871–1939).

Johanne died on 1889-08-18 at Bremen at the age of 45 years, her husband three years later on 1892-09-30, also at Bremen, at the age of 60 years.

<sup>20</sup>Presumably this firm was founded by the merchant Henrich Levin Rogge (1818–1858) who, among other endeavours, engaged in trade between Bremen and the Levant.

<sup>21</sup>Catharine Haneberg had a second-degree cousin, Melchior Schwoon (1809–1874), who was a merchant and British vice consul at Bremerhaven. I do not know whether there was any contact between the two families, but if that was the case, the couple might have become acquainted through this connection.

## 6 Adolf Haneberg (1846–1931)



Figure 8: Adolf and Marie (née Thien, later Oetjen-Thien<sup>22</sup>) Haneberg

Adolf Haneberg was born at Ellenserdammersiel on 1846-12-21.

He was the first of the Hanebergs to emigrate to Hawaii. How that happened has not been handed down in our family, but there are some suggestive clues. For that and for Adolf's further career it will help if we first look at another German (besides Hinrich Hackfeld, see section 3) who became well-known in Hawaiian history.

Paul Isenberg (1837–1903) was born as a pastor's son at Dransfeld near Göttingen and was educated for a career as a farmer. In 1858 and through a brother, living at Hannover [Hanover], of the co-owner of a Hawaiian firm founded by Germans, he was called to Hawaii in order to manage a cattle ranch on Kaua'i. In 1861 he married a daughter of the manager and co-owner of a sugar cane plantation near Līhu'e; after the death of his father-in-law in 1862 he became the manager of that plantation. In 1867 his wife died and left him with two children. He travelled to Germany in 1869, met and married the daughter of a Bremen merchant, and returned with her to Līhu'e where they raised more children. Paul Isenberg extended his possessions substantially, and in 1874 the King of Hawaii appointed him to one of the 15 seats in Hawaii's upper house (House of Nobles). In 1878 the family returned to Germany and finally settled in Bremen. However, Isenberg still visited Hawaii every few years, acquired shares in H. Hackfeld & Co. in 1881, and later became the president of that firm. He finally died in Bremen.

In connection with Adolf Haneberg it might possibly be significant that Isenberg was at Bremen in 1869 and that he married the daughter of a merchant from there which will have resulted in a number of social events. Three years before, Adolf's sister Johanne had married the Bremen merchant Johann Hermann Freudenberg who presumably engaged in overseas trade, and it is plausible that the Freudenbergs moved socially in Bremen's merchant circles. I do not know whether Adolf had intended to establish himself commercially in Bremen, but my (rather speculative) hypothesis is that Adolf Haneberg and Paul Isenberg met, either professionally or socially, at Bremen in 1869 and that Adolf — just 22 years old at the time — then decided to emigrate to Hawaii.

I've come to this hypothesis because it is documented that Adolf Haneberg and Paul Isenberg became business partners in 1871 on the island of Kaua'i. When the then owner of the Koloa Plantation, one of Hawaii's oldest sugar cane plantations (in Kōloa almost 20 km from Līhu'e), intended to sell, it was offered to Isenberg. Isenberg

<sup>22</sup>Presumably through the acquisition of a farm the family name changed (in 1882?) from Thien to Oetjen-Thien.

wanted to take only half and offered the other half as well as the management of the plantation to a certain John Newton Wright (1830–1901), who in turn proposed that he would only take a quarter and that the remaining quarter should be taken by Adolf Haneberg who would continue as the sugar boiler. (A book on the history of the plantation states that Adolf had come to Koloa around 1869.) In that form the business was concluded in December 1871, with Isenberg being said to have advanced his partners their share of the total price of 35,000 dollars. Koloa in the following years became the first Hawaiian sugar cane plantation to be large-scale commercially successful and therefore stands at the beginning of the subsequent rise of the sugar cane industry starting with a treaty of 1875 which abolished US import duties on Hawaiian sugar; Adolf's brothers August and Armin later worked on Koloa as well.

Paul Isenberg and Adolf Haneberg sold their shares in Koloa at the end of 1877, but after an attempt of the new owners to transfer the plantation to a company established for that purpose had failed, Adolf bought three eighths of the shares back. At the session of incorporation for the new Koloa Sugar Company in May 1880, John Wright, who now also held three eighths of the shares, was elected president of the company, Adolf was elected vice president, and the third partner became secretary.<sup>23</sup> When Wright sold his shares for 125,000 dollars<sup>24</sup> in the middle of 1882 and left Koloa, Adolf became the president and stayed in that rôle until September 1884. In 1883 Adolf sold a third of his shares to his brother August (see section 7) and finally the remainder in 1886 in equal parts to Isenberg and the Hackfeld company.

Independent of these variations of ownership, Adolf seems to have stayed at Koloa continuously during these 17 years. (The widow of a former subordinate later described Adolf as “a rather reticent, but very fair man”.) From 1869 to 1875 he was the sugar boiler and from 1871 to 1886 the manager of the sugar mill; in 1884 the latter job brought him the same salary as for the manager of the plantation. Incidentally, due to the historical significance of Koloa, the ruin of the sugar mill was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1962, and in 1985 even a monument for the sugar industry was erected near that place.

In March 1882 Adolf Haneberg participated in the founding of the “Planters’ Labor and Supply Company” at Honolulu. He also belonged to a committee of 9 men which, in October of that year, in the name of that organization formulated a protest to the King against members of the government having declared that it was legitimate for the king to personally influence parliamentary elections and parliamentary votes.

While still at Koloa, Adolf also became associated with the Olowalu Sugar Company. It had been founded in 1881 to operate a sugar cane plantation at Olowalu on the island of Maui. In 1883 it changed hands such that now four German-born merchants each held a quarter of the shares; Adolf Haneberg was one of the four. (Remember that Adolf had sold a third of his shares in Koloa to his brother August in the same year.) In May 1883 Adolf was elected vice president of that company; one of the other four became president. While Adolf seems to have held his shares for longer, the other shareholders apparently sold a significant part of theirs rather quickly because in October 1883 another group had the majority; one of these new shareholders (Daniel R. Vida (1835–1890)) took over the management of the plantation in November. In the following year (May 1884), Adolf was again elected as vice president, but not in the next (August 1885), although he was still — as was the manager — listed on the board of directors. After that he was apparently no longer personally engaged in Olowalu, but both his brother August (section 7) and his nephew Eugen (page 7) later became managers of that plantation.

The land of Olowalu was considered to be difficult to cultivate because it was very stony, but it was also said to be rather fertile. This led to a technically advanced and intensive cultivation; in 1882 even a short railway line had been built to connect the fields with the sugar mill. In spite of that, the firm still needed more than ten years before becoming economically successful. At that time, more precisely in 1893, there were two “A. Haneberg” among the shareholders, one with 25.7% of the shares (the largest single share) and the other with 2.2%.<sup>25</sup>

The next firm Adolf Haneberg was associated with, as far as I know, was located another island further. In 1876 a certain James W. Gay (1841–1893), presumably from New Zealand, had taken a lease from the government

---

<sup>23</sup>I have no knowledge of Hawaiian corporate law of the time, but according to newspapers from that era the shareholders usually elected a president and a vice president (presumably always from their own ranks) as well as a secretary, a treasurer and an auditor. The actual running of the company (a task for the position we nowadays often call chief executive officer) was independent of that and the duty of a “manager”. In later years some firms also established a board of directors which at least comprised president, vice president and manager.

<sup>24</sup>That means that from 1871 to 1882 the value of shares in Koloa increased almost tenfold.

<sup>25</sup>This is not the only point where one might wish that Johann Gerhard and Catharine Haneberg would not have chosen first names starting with the same letter for three of their sons.



on an area called Humu‘ula, south-east from Mauna Kea on the island of Hawai‘i (“Big Island”), and operated a sheep farm there. In 1882 he obtained a loan from Paul Isenberg, and in 1883 the rights for Humu‘ula were transferred to the newly-founded Humuula Sheep Station Company (HSSC) with Gay, Isenberg and a certain Johann Conrad Menke (1859–1885) from Bremen holding shares. Menke died in October 1885 at the age of 26 years on Humu‘ula through a gun-shot wound<sup>26</sup>, and in June 1886 H. Hackfeld & Co. announced a public auction for his 40% of shares to be held at Honolulu on the 12th of July. This was apparently unsuccessful because on the 13th of July H. Hackfeld & Co. announced another auction, this time to be held on the 16th of August. I presume that then Adolf Haneberg acquired these shares, because in October he was elected president of the HSSC for the following year, a brother-in-law of Isenberg became vice president, and Adolf’s brother Armin was elected as the auditor. (Remember that Adolf sold his last remaining shares of Koloa in 1886, and half of those to Isenberg.) In 1887 Gay withdrew entirely from the firm, Adolf again took the office as president and Armin that of the auditor, but in addition Armin was also elected as vice president and appointed to be the main manager of the HSSC (see section 8). In the following year (November 1888), August Haneberg (section 7) replaced Adolf as president.

Beginning with 1888 I have no evidence that Adolf was still on Hawaii, but an A. Haneberg left Honolulu on 1888-07-03 with the steamer *Australia* in the direction of San Francisco. The only fact which is certain is that Adolf returned to Germany where, 45 years old and on 1892-03-03 at Varel, he married Marie Elise Oetjen-Thien (born on 1866-04-19 at Borgstede), called “Mimi”, who was almost 20 years younger than him. On the occasion of his marriage he was described as a “Proprietär [owner]”, which I interpret to mean that he became wealthy on Hawaii and returned to Germany to subsist on his fortune. This is supported by the fact that in January 1885 he, together with his brother-in-law Hinrich Friedrich Rütther (see section 9) and two other investors, proposed the founding of a bank at Varel for which the four had already subscribed to almost half of the intended capital of half a million marks; I found no indication of what became of this venture.

Adolf and Marie seem to have had no children and lived at Varel where Adolf finally died in August 1931 at the age of 84 years. Marie followed him just a few months later, around the turn of the year 1931/32; she was 65 years old.

## 7 August Haneberg (1850–1927)

August Haneberg was born on 1850-05-20; some sources state that his birthplace was Steinhausersiel but more likely is Ellenserdammersiel. I do not have information on his education or early employment; a photograph of him in uniform taken at Metz shows that he served in the army, and for someone with his birth date compulsory military service normally started on 1870-01-01, therefore he probably served during the Franco-German War.

At the age of 27, August followed his brother Adolf and emigrated to Hawaii together with a first cousin once removed, August Christian Gramberg (1859–1938, 19 years old at the time): on 1878-04-10 August, described as a “Handlungsgehilfe [commercial clerk]”, was released from Oldenburg’s citizenship at Varel, on the 14th the steamer *Donau* of the Norddeutscher Lloyd departed from Bremen, and on the 29th the two reached New York as steerage passengers aboard that ship; on arrival they were both described as merchants. They probably left San Francisco on the 13th of May with the *City of Sydney* and arrived at Honolulu on the 21st; this is to be assumed because the same voyage was also taken by the scientific traveller Count Reinhold von Anrep-Elmpt (1834–1888) who, in his book *Die Sandwich-Inseln oder das Inselreich von Hawaii* [The Sandwich Islands or the Island Realm of Hawaii] (Leipzig, 1885), wrote the following concerning a ride to Kōloa on Kaua‘i in early July 1878:

“Zur Nacht wurde ich gastlich von A. Haneberg, dessen Bruder ich auf der „City of Sydney“ kennen gelernt und der hier angestellt ist, nach echt deutscher Art und Weise empfangen und aufgenommen, was mir höchst angenehm war, da hier kein Gasthaus vorhanden ist.”

---

<sup>26</sup>Officially this was ruled to be an accidental death, but from the descriptions in the newspapers of the time a suicide seems extremely likely.



Figure 9: August Haneberg, Mary Keala Kalai and Henriette (née Hartwig) Haneberg

[“For the night I was hospitably received and made welcome in typical German manner by A. Haneberg whose brother I had met on the ‘City of Sydney’ and who is employed here; I found that extremely agreeable as there is no inn at this place.”]

He was, however, not particularly impressed by Kōloa: “Weder der Ort noch die Zuckerrohrplantage weisen auf System und Ordnung [neither the settlement nor the sugar cane plantation exhibit system and order], ...”<sup>27</sup>; entirely different was his opinion on Isenberg’s plantation at Lihū’e: “Die Plantage macht in allen ihren Zweigen den Eindruck einer geregelten Verwaltung, sie trägt den Stempel der Gediegenheit und Vollkommenheit — das vollständige Gegentheil der von Kolóa. [In all its branches the plantation gives the impression of a regulated administration, it carries the stamp of solidity and perfection — the total opposite to that of Kolóa.]” A few pages later he also called the treatment of Asian workers by the Europeans (by which he apparently meant the descent and not the birthplace) “fast sklavenartig [almost slavlike]”, expressed himself extremely critical in that respect and attributed the behaviour to US-American influence. But back to August.

Following his brother Adolf, August started his employment at Kōloa. An address book for 1880 showed the brothers with the identical designation “Hannaberg A.” on the Koloa Sugar Plantation, one as “sugar planter” with the addition “partner Koloa Sugar Plantation” (hence Adolf) and the other as “engineer and sugar boiler” which probably also referred to Adolf; August is instead said to have worked as an overseer. August Gramberg, incidentally, almost immediately in August 1878 had to face a trial for an assault with a knife, but was found not guilty; the address book for 1880 showed him as an overseer on a plantation at Ele‘ele, some kilometers west of Kōloa; in 1884 he was listed as a butcher on Koloa<sup>28</sup> and in 1885 he married his first wife there.

When the Koloa Sugar Company bought another plantation in September 1881, August was appointed as the manager for that, and in 1883 he bought from his brother a share of an eighth in the Koloa Sugar Company. In 1884 he and two partners formed the Kaluahonu Company which leased land from the Koloa Sugar Company, raised sugar cane on it and had that sugar cane processed by Koloa. This firm was apparently rather profitable and in 1890 was bought up by Koloa.

<sup>27</sup>Note that this occurred after Isenberg and Adolf sold their shares in Koloa and probably before Adolf became a shareholder again.

<sup>28</sup>I have extreme difficulties not to draw a connection from that to the trial of 1878.

August stayed at least until 1884 as manager for the subplantation of Koloa and also later did not become manager of the Kaluahonu Company. Instead, in the middle of 1887, he moved to Maui in order to take over the management of the Olowalu plantation in which his brother Adolf held shares (see section 6). I do not have an explicit contemporary statement for that, but in June 1887 a newspaper reported a rumour that the then manager of Olowalu, Daniel R. Vida (see page 11), would take over other duties and would be replaced by a German; on the 2nd of July Vida and his wife arrived at Honolulu from Maui, and on the same day Adolf and August Haneberg reached Honolulu from Kaua'i; on the 6th Vida, Adolf and August left Honolulu together in the direction of Maui and returned on the 10th. On the 11th Vida, his wife and "Ad Haneberg" left Honolulu in the direction of Maui and Hawai'i. I do not have any proof of August's departure, but I conjecture that he left Honolulu as a deck passenger in the direction of Kaua'i on the 12th; he is not listed among the cabin passengers. On the 18th at the latest an "A Haneberg" reached Honolulu from Kaua'i and August Haneberg registered at a hotel there; on the 19th an A. Haneberg left Honolulu for Maui. At the end of July the Inspector General of Immigrants found an "A. Heneberg" managing Olowalu, and at the end of August Daniel Vida arrived with wife and children from Maui at Honolulu in order to settle there.

Strictly interpreted these facts merely tell us that one of the two Hanebergs became the manager at Olowalu. From the steamer voyages mentioned above it is even possible that initially Adolf and August both were at Olowalu. We should not ignore, however, that the passenger lists from Honolulu merely give us the *direction* from which these people arrived at Honolulu or in which they departed, and that the steamers in the direction of Maui often continued to Hawai'i, where Adolf in the previous year had bought a share of Humu'ula and where the management changed in this year. But there is one silver lining in this darkness: when August registered at a hotel in Honolulu in the middle of December 1887 he gave Maui as his place of residence. We can therefore be certain that at least August was at Olowalu, but Adolf might have been there as well. Who of the two would have been the official manager in that case can't be decided because in most cases (e.g., in the address book for 1888) we merely find that an A. Haneberg was the manager at Olowalu. It is only in the address book for 1890 that the manager's name is fully spelled as "Haneberg August". In spite of that I am of the opinion that August was the manager from the start because, as he had already managed a plantation, there was no reason to first teach him his job.

In March 1888 "A. Hanneberg" was appointed as one of three members of the road board for the District of Lahaina on Maui (Lāhainā was a large settlement next to Olowalu). He stayed in that rôle at least until January 1891, but in the election of February 1892 "Aug. Haneberg" obtained the smallest number of votes among the 8 candidates for the road board.

In November 1888 August took over the position of president of the Humuula Sheep Station Company (HSSC; see page 12) from his brother Adolf. He remained president until the firm was sold in the year 1900.

In September 1889, Emma married at Olowalu (see page 7).

Newspaper reports on the annual meeting of the Olowalu Sugar Company in October 1891 stated that the board of directors consisted of president, vice president and A. Haneberg. Finally, in 1892 the address book again listed August as the manager at Olowalu (as "Hanneberg August"), and in a shooting contest of Lāhainā's rifle club with 16 participants at the end of November he won a silver cup for the highest score over the ranges of 200 and 500 yards.

There is, however, some contradicting evidence concerning the description above:

- A Hawaiian address book for 1888 contains two entries for Haneberg or similar: A. Haneberg as the manager at Olowalu on the island of Maui and "Hanaberg August, sheep ranch, Hilo District, post office Waimea" on the island of Hawai'i, an entry which is almost certain to refer to Humu'ula.
- There nowadays still exists a journal of work done at Humu'ula, containing entries at least from July 1890 to August 1892, apparently written by someone entitled to give orders, and which several modern sources claim to have been authored by August Haneberg. I have not seen a reason given for that claim, and even with the large amount of extracts from the journal publicly available I was not able to reproduce that conclusion myself.
- Some modern sources claim that August and his younger brother Armin together were the (day-to-day) managers of Humu'ula from about 1890 onwards.

The last two points are fairly certain to be false. From newspaper reports we know that at the annual meetings of the HSSC in October 1887 and again in November 1888, Armin was appointed as the manager for HSSC's



main station at Kalei'eha, and according to official records in August 1891 he stated in front of a commission (concerning boundaries) that he was the lessee of Humu'ula and had been there for about 4 years. That establishes that Armin was the manager in that period. The journal's author mentions being present at the meeting of the commission and lists the witnesses; the last name given is "Armin Haneberg", without the author indicating what his own rôle was. It is therefore clear that the author either preferred a detached style of writing or that he was not part of HSSC's upper management; the assumption that August was the author and that he participated in the management of Humu'ula is in my opinion untenable because his presence at the meeting should then have been mentioned in the official records, in particular as he was HSSC's president at the time. In addition the journal covers a period during which August lost the election for the road board of the District of Lahaina, so he obviously was living on Maui at the time. The address books for 1890 and 1892 mention August at Olowalu, Armin only appears in the book for 1892 and as manager of the Humuula Sheep Station Company on Hawai'i. The assumption that August was participating in the day-to-day management of both, Olowalu and Humu'ula, seems to me to have been impractical for that era. Also none of the contemporary sources I found ever mentioned more than one Haneberg on Humu'ula. I therefore conclude that Armin was the sole manager of Humu'ula, and I also think it likely that he was the journal's author.

This leaves as the only oddity the entry for August on Hawai'i in the address book for 1888. The simplest explanation is that the entry was wrong and should have named Adolf or Armin. But if the entry was right, the conclusions derived from it depend on to which of the three brothers the remaining entry referred. If it was also August, a possible assumption is that August took over Olowalu only in 1888 and that he assisted Armin on Humu'ula before that; the address book might just have caught him during the move. This does not agree though with August belonging to the party travelling to Maui in July 1887 or with him stating to be living on Maui in December of that year. As I do not know how the authors of the address book got their data, it is also possible that the entry at Humu'ula merely documents a short visit of August who, because of his responsibility for Olowalu, wanted to remain reachable via mail while helping Armin or preparing himself for his new rôle as HSSC's president. (I do not know of passenger lists for voyages between Maui and Hawai'i.) The variant that the A. Haneberg at Olowalu was in reality Armin is not tenable because the newspapers from that period tell us that he managed Kalei'eha at the time. One might also conjecture that Adolf stayed longer on Hawaii than I assumed in section 6, that he managed Olowalu during that period, and that August only took over in 1888 after being in Humu'ula; but that again does not agree with the connection between August and Maui proven already for 1887. The to me most plausible assumption is therefore that the entry merely documents a short visit and that August otherwise resided in Olowalu.

In spite of that August obviously took part in Humu'ula's business, but in my opinion he did that mostly financially. I do not know the order of events, but in the middle of 1893 August held 30% of HSSC's shares, Armin had 40%, and the remaining 30% belonged to August Gramberg.<sup>29</sup> These three were still the only shareholders when the firm was sold in 1900.

I presume that August Haneberg played a significant part in Olowalu becoming profitable from 1893 onwards. At the end of 1896 he engaged a firm for boring wells at Olowalu, and in July 1897 he even ordered the building of a small hydroelectric plant for powering water pumps.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>A description of the connection between August Gramberg and Humu'ula requires a slightly expanded treatment. When Armin took over the management of Kalei'eha in October 1887, August was appointed as the manager of another HSSC station, called Waikalua (not to be confused with Waikōloa near Waimea), which was presumably located at a pond of that name on Humu'ula's eastern border; the same happened in the following year. The address books for 1888 and 1890 show him as a stockraiser with post office 'Ō'ōkala which can be found on the northeastern coast of Hawai'i in the immediate neighbourhood of Humu'ula. However, in 1890 he married his second wife at Kealia on Kaua'i, his first son was born in 1891 at Honolulu, the second 1892 at Kealia, and an address book for 1892 shows him as a stock overseer "Granberg A" at Kealia and as a foreman "Gransberg August" at Honolulu. Presumably in December 1892 the family then moved to the island of Hawai'i; an address book for 1894 shows August there as the manager of a ranch at Honomalino on the southwestern coast where the third son was born in 1895. Finally, an address book for 1896 lists him as HSSC's manager, in October of that year he was elected as vice president for the ensuing year, and he stayed in both positions until the firm was sold in 1900. (His first daughter was then born in 1897 on Humu'ula.) August Gramberg therefore apparently in the beginning spent about two years together with Armin on Humu'ula, switched to other jobs at the time of his second marriage, and returned at the latest in 1896 as the manager.

I do not know at which point before the middle of 1893 he acquired shares in Humu'ula, but the earliest entry I know of in the Humu'ula journal occurred a bit more than a quarter of a year after August Gramberg's marriage, hence these notes might have been started in order for Armin to account for his management to his fellow shareholders after August had left.

<sup>30</sup>Of course this was then also used for lighting. A newspaper article from May 1899 (hence after the marriage of August and

However, this success was also accompanied by a disproportionately harsh treatment of his workers. Labourers on the sugar cane plantations on Hawaii (at that time mostly Chinese and Japanese) engaged themselves for several years and could not easily get out of their contract (“indentured labor” or “contract labor”); for the duration of the contract they were therefore largely at the mercy of their superiors. They could, however, complain, and in this case they did. In June 1897 therefore a representative from the Bureau of Immigration visited Olowalu and reported to his superior as follows:

“When I arrived there, the manager, Mr. Aug. Hanneberg, was several miles away in the fields, and I had been there fully two hours before he returned. . . .

. . . The book speaks for itself, and proves on every page that the men’s complaint is not without foundation. The manager admitted he docked the men for working slow; it was the law, and he would do it. . . .

. . . I asked two of them, before the manager, if he had ever kicked them, and they replied, through the interpreter, that not only had he kicked them, but others, too. Mr. Hanneberg denied their statements, but admitted to me he had pulled the men out of their quarters for various reasons and pushed them around. . . .

. . . Two Hawaiians told me they had worked on the plantation, but had left, as the manager was a very hard man to work for.

The laborers’ quarters are the filthiest I have ever been in; in fact the whole plantation is in need of a cleaning up. . . .

The treatment of sick laborers on the plantation is such that it practically amounts to cruelty. Near the beach, a good distance from the men’s quarters, is a room about 12 by 12<sup>31</sup> used as a hospital. The laborers call it the jail. I found in it at the time of my visit 5 Chinese and 4 Japanese laborers, all sick. The room was in a filthy condition. These sick men have to leave their quarters early in the morning, when the whistle blows, and go to the hospital, remaining there all day until the evening whistle blows, when they are allowed to return to their quarters. . . . I questioned Mr. Hanneberg on this matter, and he said that if the men were allowed to stay in their quarters their friends visited them, and there were other reasons given by him.

This is not the first time that complaints have been made against Olowalu. The place is isolated, and I think that there is a good deal going on on the plantation that is not heard of. Some time ago I talked to Mr. W. G. Irwin<sup>32</sup> and Manager Hanneberg about the complaints made by the laborers. The manager should be made to understand that he must keep his hands off the laborers; must be less severe in his system of docking; must keep the laborers’ quarters in better condition, and, above all, must put an end to the confinement in hospital. If he is not willing to do so then no more contract laborers should be allowed to go to Olowalu.”

Finally, in April 1900 the labourers at Olowalu (but not only there) went on strike, and in addition filed a suit as a test case in order to be paid immediately at the end of the month instead of with two weeks’ delay. (A newspaper of the time quoted August as stating that it was a “physical impossibility” for the bookkeeper — then presumably his nephew Eugen — to do this faster, which, depending on whether he himself believed it or not, sheds a rather dismal light on either his administrative abilities or his character.) The suit was successful, after three weeks a compromise was reached with August paying about 1000 dollars to the workers<sup>33</sup>, and the strike was terminated, but shortly afterwards August relinquished the management of Olowalu.

This might have been intended to be temporary during a voyage to Germany begun in June 1900 but it became permanent. As at the same time the sale of the Humuula Sheep Station Company with its lease on almost 250,000 acres was finalized (according to a newspaper for 75,000 dollars and some shares, which was said to have been the biggest land transaction on the island until then) and as I have not found any indication that August

---

Henriette) noted full of admiration that the manager’s residence was “the most brilliantly lighted house on Maui”, with a staggering number of 50 electrical lights.

<sup>31</sup>Presumably to be interpreted in feet, i.e., 3.7 m × 3.7 m.

<sup>32</sup>William G. Irwin (1843–1914) was the president of the Olowalu Sugar Company at the time.

<sup>33</sup>In order to put this in perspective, in 1884 the manager of the enormously successful Koloa Plantation received a salary of 3000 dollars per year.

took on another paid position afterwards, he apparently at the age of 50 had earned enough in order to retire. This is supported by a newspaper report on Olowalu from 1901 which in an aside mentions that August had left “after amassing a considerable fortune”. Following this description of his professional career we can therefore now turn to his family life.

**Otto Haneberg (1889–1901).** Otto Haneberg was born 1889-07-16 on Maui and died 1901-09-29 at the age of 12 in a hospital at Honolulu from meningitis; he had attended a Catholic boarding school there. Newspaper reports from Honolulu described him at his death as “Otto Haneberg, son of E. Haneberg, bookkeeper of Olowalu plantation”. August’s nephew Eugen (1870–1967, see page 7) worked indeed from his arrival on Hawaii in 1895 until the sale of the plantation in 1931 at Olowalu and did that at least some of the time as the plantation’s bookkeeper. As the temporal constraints, however, preclude Eugen from having been Otto’s father, there must have been some confusion here. The best we can deduce from these reports is therefore that Otto was considered to be the son of a Haneberg who was connected with Olowalu.

Starting with the year of Otto’s birth, we can also exclude Eugen’s brother Hugo (1872–1955, see page 7) as a possible father because he came to the USA in 1894 at the earliest and even later to Hawaii. Adolf could have been the father as he still might have been on Hawaii in 1888, but if he indeed returned to Germany in July 1888 (see section 6), he also is exonerated. Armin in turn was staying on the island of Hawai‘i from the end of 1887 onwards in order to manage Kalei‘eha; in addition he seems to have never been associated with Olowalu. August on the other hand had lived at Olowalu starting in 1887 and had managed the plantation until the year before, therefore in my opinion he is the most likely candidate. Other (modern) sources also consider August to be Otto’s father.

I do not know the identity of Otto’s mother, but we do know from Otto’s entry in the census of 1900 that she was not of Hawaiian descent and had been born in the USA.<sup>34</sup>

**Mary Keala (1870–1935).** Mary Keala (full name Mary Keala Kalai<sup>35</sup>) was Hawaiian, was — according to some sources — born on Kaua‘i 1870-06-18<sup>36</sup>, and bore numerous (13?) children during her life.

Collected from all the sources I found, the following children have been attributed to her: Otto (see above), Johanne (1890–1951, married name Correa), Louis Lukela (“Luke”, 1892–1973), Emma Kahaunani (1893–1953, married name Desha), Henry Alexander (1895–1927), George Louis (1897–1982), Ida Margaret (1899–1971, married name Waters), Abbie (1903–1977, married name McCarl), Maraia Hookano (1907–1942, married names Nishimura and Naope), Cecilia (1909–1997, married names Hattori, Rowe and Kaiwi), Francis Thomas (1912–1996) and Mary Keala (1915–1991, married name Silva).<sup>37</sup> Of these 12 persons, all 8 born until 1903 are, in some source or other, listed with the surname Haneberg and often also explicitly with August Haneberg as their father. But probably he was only the father of 5 of them: Otto, Johanne, Emma, Henry and George.

<sup>34</sup>A possibly productive direction of search arises from the wedding of Emma Haneberg which happened about two months after the birth of Otto at Olowalu. As mentioned on page 7 her bridesmaid was a certain A. Doherty; three sisters of her were present on the occasion as well. But a bride normally selects her bridesmaids from among her friends and her relatives. Annie Elizabeth Doherty (birth dates given vary between 1869 and 1876 with 1875 as the most plausible date; she died in 1950) was then presumably 14 years old while Emma was 50, hence “friend” looks a bit unlikely; did she therefore count as a relative? Both of her parents were born in Ireland, at least the mother emigrated to the USA in 1860, the two eldest sisters were born in California, and apparently the family moved to Hawaii in 1869. At the census of 1900 the widowed mother then stated that she had borne 10 children of which 5 were still alive (apart from the four daughters present at the wedding there was also a son). Was Otto’s mother therefore a sister of Annie Doherty, born between 1860 and 1869 in California, who died shortly after giving birth?

In this context it is noteworthy that, as of 2017, two databases concerning marriages on Hawaii, compiled by the largest of the Mormon churches, claimed that Annie’s sister Mary (1861–1944), who with her husband was also present at Emma’s wedding, had married on 1888-10-04. That statement is false (the wedding happened already on 1887-10-13), but the specified date lies nine and a half months before the birth of Otto. So, did someone perhaps associate a wedding with the wrong sister?

<sup>35</sup>Originally, family names were unusual on Hawaii; they were also unnecessary because it was apparently common practice to give children names which were unique for their time and environment. But from 1860 onwards there existed a legal requirement in the Kingdom of Hawaii which led to children typically receiving an English first given name, a Hawaiian second given name, and the father’s or mother’s (only or family) name as the surname.

<sup>36</sup>At least the place I consider with considerable scepticism, although it was even mentioned in a newspaper on the occasion of her death. More about that below. In addition there are also divergent claims for the year of birth.

<sup>37</sup>Evidence on the birthnames of these children (Haneberg, Ukauka, Kaalepo, or McShane) is hard to find and the claims concerning this matter are often contradictory. I have therefore omitted all birthnames here.



As described above I consider Otto to be a son of August. But he was no son of Mary Keala because on the occasion of the census of June 1900 it was recorded that his mother was born in the US and not on the Hawaiian Islands and that his race was “Ca.” (Caucasian) instead of “P.H.” (part Hawaiian). This agrees with Mary Keala stating on the same occasion that she had borne 7 children of which 6 were still living. The six were obviously Johanne, Luke, Emma, Henry, George and Ida, but Otto died only more than a year later and can’t therefore have been the seventh child.

Concerning the other four children I can in contrast refer to August Haneberg himself. In his will he set up a trust and wrote about the intended distribution of the proceeds as follows<sup>38</sup>:

“(c) To pay the balance of the net income of my said trust estate in equal shares to my four adopted children, being the children of Mary Keala, namely to Johanne Haneberg Correa, Emma Desha, Henry Haneberg and George Haneberg, as long as they respectively shall survive, and to the surviving issue of such of my said four adopted children as shall die before the termination of this trust, . . .”

I am not aware that he did anything similar for the other children of Mary Keala. Hence August only considered these four as his children, and the fact of adoption<sup>39</sup> together with an absence of any indication for a divorce makes it practically certain that claims in some present-day secondary sources that August and Mary had been married are based on invention.

Of course there is a certain piquancy in that Luke (1892–1973), who used the surname Ukauka, was born between Johanne (1890–1951) and Emma (1893–1953). In connection with Luke’s first marriage a source identified his (obviously legal) father as “Lino Ukauka”, and there was indeed, from 1890 until about 1902, an overseer L. Ukauka Poepoe (1839–1909) at Olowalu whom the address books of the time usually list as “Ukauka” or “Ukauka L”. But strange are then Luke’s statements in census years from 1910 onwards that his father was born in Germany; a similar situation though with fewer contradictions exists for Ida (1899–1971), whose conception however — assuming a pregnancy of average duration — happened more than three weeks before August’s return to Hawaii after an absence of more than three months. In addition Emma, in contrast to her other adopted siblings, also used the surname Ukauka at least 1910–1912.<sup>40</sup> I have no entirely satisfactory explanation for these discrepancies and to me a convincing resolution seems only possible by DNA analysis; but if we assume that August’s judgement was sound, one of the possible hypotheses is that Mary Keala and August met around 1889 on Maui, that they were separated for some time around 1891, that they reunited in 1892, and that the relationship terminated at the latest in the middle of 1898 when August left Hawaii for a quarter of a year.

In the census of June 1900 Mary Keala was listed as “Kalai, Keala” in the District of Lahaina in the neighbourhood of Eugen Haneberg and his wife (therefore presumably at Olowalu), together with the four younger Haneberg children (Otto was at boarding school); all four children (including Emma) were recorded to have a German-born father, and Mary’s occupation was stated as “Nurse”<sup>41</sup>. Luke and Ida were not in the household<sup>42</sup>,

<sup>38</sup>The will is quoted in a legal decision of 1971. After the death of a grandson of August in 1969, the testamentary trustee petitioned for a judicial decision on whether the two children from that grandson’s first (divorced) marriage, who had been adopted by their stepfather, were entitled to income from the trust. The court concluded that they were. An appeal against that decision was raised in the name of the four minor children from the second marriage (hence presumably by their mother). The quote is from this second trial which concluded that the adoption did not change the relationship between the children and their great-grandfather. This incident also suggests that, 40 years later and even after the Great Depression, the fortune bequeathed by August generated enough income that a quarrel seemed worthwhile in order to decide whether a twentieth of that income (that was this grandson’s share) should be divided into 4 or into 6 parts.

<sup>39</sup>I don’t know when he adopted Henry and George, but Johanne and Emma were only adopted as adults on 1913-07-11 (four months after the death of his wife Henriette). Johanne was even already widowed, had a daughter, and married again two months later.

<sup>40</sup>In contrast, claims that August was also the father of Abbie (1903–1977), whose marriage license was likewise issued with the surname Ukauka, need not be considered seriously because they appear only in some secondary sources and because August was in Europe at the relevant time (see below). However, these provably false claims should remind us that statements on August’s paternity do not necessarily have to be true; in addition August’s fortune might have been a strong motivation for inventing such claims.

<sup>41</sup>That might stand for “wet nurse”. Had that perhaps been her job for Otto after the death of his mother? Remember that from the same census we know that, besides the children known to us, Mary had borne another child before that date.

<sup>42</sup>From today’s point of view this seems strange and possibly even callous, but on Hawaii there had developed a different concept of family (“ohana”) than usual in European-dominated cultures. This included the aspect that children did not necessarily grow up with their natural parents but could be informally adopted by others (“hānai” children); in particular grandparents seem to have done that occasionally with their grandchildren.

but I found entries elsewhere in this census which probably refer to them: south of Līhu‘e on Kaua‘i (where L. Ukauka Poepoe lived before 1890 and where he died in 1909) there was recorded a 70-years-old Hawaiian widow named Paamoku in whose household four adopted children lived (all with Hawaiian parents), among them a 9-year-old boy Lukela and an almost one year old girl Leinani; another adopted son (14 years old) was listed as Kalani, and we can later find a Matthew Kalani Ukauka (1886–1959) on Kaua‘i. However, the dates of birth, accurate to a month, given in the census are 12 months or, in the case of the girl, one month too early to fit to Matthew, Luke and Ida — which could have been caused by a single misunderstanding (rounding up instead of rounding down of the age) in answering the questions, provided the year of birth was calculated from the age.<sup>43</sup>

Interestingly enough, I later learned that there is said to be a tradition among Luke’s descendants that he was a natural son of August but was raised on Kaua‘i by his *maternal* grandparents and later adopted their name. I couldn’t trace the source of that statement further than Luke and I do not know of any proof for the claim. Evidence against it, though, does exist; for example, the record for Mary’s second marriage (see below) tells us that her father’s name was Kalai Kaae (hence not Ukauka) and that her mother’s name was Kaai (therefore not Paamoku); in the census of 1900 Luke is described as an adopted son and not as a grandchild, and the presence of Kalani on the same occasion points towards Luke’s (at least legally) *paternal* relatives. I found no entirely convincing explanation for this discrepancy either, but any attempt at explanation based on the assumption that the information handed down in Luke’s family corresponds to the truth seems to me to be facing a considerably challenging task.<sup>44</sup> I also came across a claim by a granddaughter of Ida that Mary Keala had been born at Hulē‘ia on Kaua‘i; that place was located in the area where the census recorded the children, L. Ukauka Poepoe died at Hulē‘ia in 1909, and Kalani Ukauka and his wife sold property there in 1912. It is not impossible that this was in addition the birthplace of Mary Keala, but to me it seems more plausible that that statement originated from the same paternal/maternal-relatives substitution as above; that contributes to me being sceptical concerning claims that Mary was born on Kaua‘i.<sup>45</sup>

In later census years, both Luke and Ida can again be found with Mary Keala, and in 1915 Luke also served as best man at the marriage of his half-brother Henry Haneberg.

Mary Keala married Samuel Kaalepo (★ca. 1875) on 1907-04-21 at Honolulu and after his death<sup>46</sup>, also at Honolulu, on 1918-01-14 Bert McShane (1887–1965) who was more than 16 years younger than her; she died on 1935-05-26 at Honolulu at the age of 64 years.

**Henriette Hartwig (1859–1913).** Henriette Dorothea Hartwig was born on 1859-06-13 at Bremen (one of her brothers became a director of a bank at Bremen) and arrived at Honolulu 1898-12-05 onboard the steamer

<sup>43</sup>Remember that in this census and in the same area there were recorded incorrect data also for Emma Blühdorn; see page 7. The census agent was the same in both cases; 23 years old at the time, he later became a planter and politician, and not a particularly trustworthy one.

<sup>44</sup>Some insight into Luke’s convictions can be gained from the fact that for almost 10 years (1921–1931) he served as the secretary for the Central Committee of the Republican Party of Hawaii. Even today Hawaiians still associate this party with the planters who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. We can therefore assume that Luke did not much care for his Hawaiian ancestry (undisputed on his mother’s side). This agrees with that, at least from 1913 onwards, he for practical purposes replaced his legal given names “Louis Lukela” with “Luke Louis” (visible, e.g., in address books and newspapers). Also both of his wives were of Portuguese descent without any Hawaiian ancestors.

<sup>45</sup>It should not be taken particularly seriously because the connection is only based on similarity of names, but Annie Doherty’s (see footnote 34) mother Mary Burns (1823–1913) had a second husband, Antone Sylva (1803?–1887), and in 1889 an Antone Silva (ca. 1858–1923) married a Dinah Kealakai (ca. 1868–1920) on the island of Hawai‘i. (In 1887 Annie’s sister Mary as well did not marry on Maui but in Hilo on Hawai‘i where there existed a larger Catholic community.) That could ultimately mean that Mary Keala Kalai belonged to the Dohertys’ relatives by marriage, and what could be more natural than Otto’s grandmother, after the death of her daughter, choosing a wet nurse for her grandson from among her relations?

<sup>46</sup>A married Samuel Kaalepo (★1881) from the area of Lāhainā, living in the same quarter in Honolulu as Mary Keala did during the census of 1910, died there on 1915-10-01 at the age of 34 years. A man with the same name as his father was in the census of 1900 recorded in the District of Lahaina on the same sheet as a watchman of the Olowalu Sugar Company who later married a woman with whose niece the married Eugen Haneberg apparently had a son out of wedlock in 1906. This was therefore probably someone with whom Mary Keala was at least acquainted. In addition it is worth mentioning that in the same census and after L. Ukauka Poepoe and his servant a household was listed with an adopted son named Samuel P. Kaalepo, born January 1885. The dates of birth of these three Samuel Kaalepos (ca. 1875, 1881, 1885) do not fit together and the geographical coincidence seems to me insufficient to disregard that. But at least it is documented that she was described as a widow on the occasion of her second marriage.

*Coptic* from San Francisco. A week afterwards (on 1898-12-12), at St. Andrew's Cathedral<sup>47</sup> she at the age of 39 married August Haneberg who was 9 years older than her and had arrived at Honolulu from Maui on the preceding day.

Amusing as it would be to simply conclude from these events that Henriette and August must have been enormously quick of decision, it would not be convincing; there must have been some previous history which is not known to me. But there is one possibly relevant detail: half a year before, August had left Honolulu on 1898-06-10 in the direction of Vancouver, almost 4 months later on the 1st of October an A. Haneberg arrived from San Francisco at Honolulu, and on the 4th an A. Haneberg departed from there in the direction of Maui. Why he travelled and where he spent these months I could not discover; in view of the marriage though I consider it likely that he visited Germany.

On the day after the marriage the couple left for Olowalu and settled there, but in the census of June 1900 they were recorded twice, once at Olowalu and once in the household of Armin and Helene (see section 8) at Honolulu. They left Honolulu on the 13th of June in the direction of San Francisco and travelled to Germany where Henriette gave birth to a stillborn son on 1900-10-07 at Varel.<sup>48</sup> Apparently August and Henriette stayed in Germany for some time because they arrived at New York from Bremen only in May 1903; they gave Cassel<sup>49</sup> as their last place of residence.

A quarter of a year afterwards (in August 1903) the couple returned to Hawaii from San Francisco. A few weeks later Henriette went into hospital for two and a half months, but at the end of July 1904 they celebrated the dedication of their remodelled "Villa Henrietta" in the Nu'uauu Valley near Honolulu; among the guests were Armin, Helene and a brother of Helene. A month after that August travelled to Maui and returned after a week in the company of a child; already in the 12 months before that, an A. Haneberg had left Honolulu in the direction of Maui about every second month and had returned mostly about a week and a half afterwards; on a 4-days' visit in March 1904 he had been accompanied by his wife. Based on later events my guess is that the child was August's son Henry (then 9 years old) and that from this time onwards he mostly grew up with August and Henriette.

On 1904-10-08 at Honolulu, August became a US citizen.

In early May 1905 August and Henriette left Honolulu by steamer in the direction of San Francisco in order to spend the summer on the West Coast; they were not accompanied by a child. During that stay August initiated the purchase of a three-storey house in Oakland (California) in June 1905, and at the end of September the couple returned to Honolulu.

In the following January August also acquired a property in a newly-developed area in the northwestern part of Honolulu. At the census of 1910, Mary Keala and her family were living in exactly that area.

Finally, in May 1906 August, his wife, his son and a maid left Honolulu in the direction of San Francisco in order to settle at Oakland. However, the designation of the fourth person as a maid is dubious, because August's daughter Johanne (15 years old at the time) had travelled from Maui to Honolulu in early March 1906, she was staying with her father at Oakland at least in November 1907 and in spring 1908, and she returned at the age of almost 19 to Honolulu from San Francisco in April 1909.

At the census in the middle of April 1910 August was living at Oakland with his wife Henriette and son Henry (14 years old at the time); George (13 years old) was staying with mother, step-father and half-siblings at Honolulu as were his sisters Emma and Johanne; the latter married there on April the 16th. August and Henriette were not present at the wedding; instead they again left for Europe shortly after that. In October they arrived at New York from Southampton (without Henry).

In March 1912 the couple visited Hawaii for a week; they were accompanied by Henry who then stayed there.

On 1913-03-09, at the age of 53 years, Henriette died at Oakland from heart failure.

<sup>47</sup>The cathedral's organist playing on this occasion had also been the representative of the Bureau of Immigration who had reported on the situation of Olowalu's labourers in the preceding year.

<sup>48</sup>A modern source which erroneously considers Otto Haneberg as a son from a marriage between August and Mary Keala states that the two married on the day of the birth of Otto. The same source also claims that August and Henriette married on 1899-08-09 at Lāhainā. It is therefore possible that there had already been a miscarriage about 9 months after the marriage.

<sup>49</sup>Until 1926 that was the official spelling for Kassel.

**Elizabeth Wicke (1864–1950).** Elizabeth Marie (or Maria Elisabeth) Wicke was born 1864-11-03 at Honolulu as a daughter of German-born parents. Together with two elder sisters she might have been operating a small boarding house at Honolulu when at the end of March 1914 her engagement with August Haneberg (who was 14 years older) was announced; this was reported to be a big surprise for their friends.

August (63 years old) and Elizabeth (49 years) married shortly afterwards in Honolulu on 1914-04-05 or 1914-04-07, and in May when travelling by ship from Honolulu to San Francisco they exhibited such a gaiety among the young people that it was even mentioned in a Californian newspaper, which in addition estimated August's fortune to be one million dollars.

As with Henriette, August lived with Elizabeth at Oakland, but now interrupted by occasional extended visits to Hawaii. When his health started to deteriorate, the two moved back to Honolulu in March/April 1927 where August then died on 1927-08-11; he was 77 years old. While a newspaper from Oakland on this occasion mentioned only Johanne, Emma, Henry and George as his children, newspapers from Honolulu also listed Luke Ukauka among the sons but not Ida among the daughters; I do not know who was the source of that statement.

Elizabeth stayed on Hawaii, later lived with one of her sisters and finally died in Honolulu on 1950-09-02 at the age of 85 years.

## 8 Armin Haneberg (1853–1921)



Figure 10: Armin and Helene (née Bartels) Haneberg

Armin Haneberg was born 1853-09-02, probably at Ellenserdammersiel. Nothing is known of his education or a military service, but we do know that he later worked for the Grand-Ducal Oldenburgian Railway, around 1876 at Brake, first as an unskilled labourer and then as “Stationseinnehmer [station collector]” (i.e., the station's treasurer), and from about 1877 to at least 1879 he was Stationseinnehmer at Varel. On 1882-05-01 he entered temporary retirement as a Stationseinnehmer, and, on his own application and effective the 1st of November, he was then permanently retired.

But already in October 1882, at the age of 29 and together with his sister Emma, Armin emigrated to Hawaii via Bremen, New York and San Francisco (see section 3); on arrival at New York he was described as a merchant.

Initially he worked for the Koloa Sugar Company on the island of Kaua'i, just like his brothers Adolf and August; during his time there he was the bookkeeper of the Koloa Plantation. His interests were not limited to that,



though, because in June 1886 he submitted a US patent application for a better feeding mechanism handling already partially crushed sugar canes in sugar mills; the patent was granted in December.

In October 1886 he was elected auditor of the Humuula Sheep Station Company (HSSC; see page 12) on the island of Hawai'i for the ensuing year; his brother Adolf was the president. Armin apparently also acquired HSSC shares rather early, because, when the original owner of the firm withdrew from the business in 1887, Armin in October of that year was in addition elected as vice president and he was also appointed as the manager of HSSC's main station at Kalei'eha, in the first two years assisted by August Gramberg (see the footnote on page 15) who presumably had also acquired a number of shares at the time.

Armin's work at Humu'ula seems to have been rather successful; besides raising sheep the firm also started horse breeding, and a participant of a geodetic expedition to the summit of Mauna Kea in the summer of 1892 was impressed by the station:

“Barbed wire fences showed that we were approaching civilization, and at last we came in sight of the Kalieha Sheep Station with its neat buildings, its water tanks and telephone lines, and general air of thrift, all testifying to the energy and foresight of its manager, A. Haneberg, Esq.”

In the middle of 1893 it was recorded that Armin held 40% of HSSC's shares; the remainder was held in equal parts by his brother August, who had also in November 1888 taken over the office of president from Adolf, and August Gramberg.

In November 1895 Armin was for the last time elected as HSSC's vice president but he did no longer take the auditor's rôle as well. I do not know at which time he also relinquished the management, but in October 1896 August Gramberg was elected as vice president and an address book for the same year showed him as HSSC's manager (see page 15). Armin continued to hold shares in HSSC until the firm was sold in 1900.

Armin now entered the employ of H. Hackfeld & Co. who had acted as agents for HSSC. When the Hackfeld firm foreclosed on a mortgage for the Hilo Portuguese Sugar Mill Company in Hilo on the island of Hawai'i at the end of January 1897, Armin was empowered to receive all the assets of the firm for H. Hackfeld & Co., he was appointed as the manager, and he stayed in that position until January 1898. But already by the middle of 1897 it became known that Armin, as bookkeeper together with a leading member of Hackfeld's staff, would establish a new branch at Hilo.

Presumably shortly afterwards Armin met Adele Maria Helene Bartels, born 1868-01-29 at Köln [Cologne] and hence 14 years younger than him. She had emigrated to the USA in 1886 (i.e., at the age of 18), possibly first lived with an elder brother near Boston (Massachusetts), and seems to have moved to Hawaii already in 1889. I was so far unable to find out what she did there, but in 1895 at the latest she was living in or near Kōloa on Kaua'i: in early October 1895 a “Miss H Bartels” arrived in Honolulu from Kaua'i, at the end of the month “Miss Helen Barbels” left Honolulu on board of a barque in the direction of San Francisco, and in May 1896 “Helene Bartels, of Koloa, Kauai” returned to Honolulu from San Francisco on the same ship.<sup>50</sup> Presumably Helene and Armin missed meeting in Kōloa and became only acquainted through her brother Paul Heinrich Bartels (1874–1946) who had been working for his elder brother near Boston before he moved to Hawaii in March 1898 for reasons of health; an address book for 1898 shows Paul as a clerk for H. Hackfeld & Co. in Hilo and Helene in

---

<sup>50</sup>If we search the newspapers of that time for further articles where she might have been mentioned and look for people from the neighbourhood of Kōloa in that context, we find two possible employers, both born in Germany: Anton Cropp (1853–1913), shareholder and 1882–1900 manager of Koloa Plantation, and August Dreier (1841–1908), partial owner and the manager of a plantation at Ele'ele (post office Koloa). For example, in October 1889 a “Miss Bartlet”, the Cropp couple, and the family Dreier arrived at Honolulu from Kaua'i, and when Helene travelled to Honolulu from Kaua'i in early June 1899, not quite two months before her marriage, both the Cropp and the Dreier couples were on the ship as well. More plausible seems to me to be August Dreier, because that family (parents and 4 children, aged from about 6 to 1) departed Hawaii in July 1895 and returned from Germany in November 1896. If Helene was employed in the Dreiers' household, this might have been a chance to visit three of her brothers near Boston and would therefore explain her absence in 1895/1896. (One of the brothers had a young family with two children at the time. The third child, a daughter, was born in 1900 and was given the name “Helene”. The same incidentally also happened to her brother Paul's daughter in 1907.) A possible hypothesis seems to me to be therefore that Helene worked as a nanny for the Dreier family (the Cropps had no children). This agrees with that Helene came to Hawaii in the year following the birth of the eldest Dreier child, that August Dreier was an unusually active supporter of the Catholic Church and that Helene almost certainly belonged to that faith, and that she became a member of the Hawaii Humane Society and, at least 1914–1916, chaired the committee for children's welfare of that organization.

Kōloa. Helene and Armin were finally married at the end of July 1899 (presumably on the 27th) by a Catholic priest at Honolulu in the house of H. Hackfeld & Co.'s treasurer. At the census in June 1900 they were living in a house belonging to a couple visiting Europe at the time (the husband was the manager of a store which was part of the Hackfeld firm), in the next few years they were residing in a hotel annex on Waikīkī beach, and at some time between 1905 and 1910 they moved into a large and well-known hotel in the centre of Honolulu.<sup>51</sup>

From December 1901 onwards H. Hackfeld & Co. employed Armin as an auditor for its customers (mostly sugar cane plantations), starting with the Koloa Sugar Company; for example, in the newspapers of the year 1903 I found notices referring to this for a total of 9 firms, in 1917 the number was 19. This entailed a certain amount of travelling; address books and newspapers of the time often described him as a “travelling auditor” for H. Hackfeld & Co.

Helene, on the other hand, seems to have usually stayed at Honolulu. The society pages of the newspapers of the time occasionally mentioned her (usually in connection with bridge afternoons) and less often Armin as well. For example, when the German light cruiser *Condor* visited Honolulu in September 1905, the resident Germans organized a number of events for the crew of the *Condor*. The last of these (with about 60 guests) was an evening bathing party in the moonlight on the beach of Waikīkī, followed by dinner and dancing till after midnight; the hosts on this occasion were Helene and Armin.

In January 1907 Armin and four of his colleagues from H. Hackfeld & Co. (including Helene's brother) bought by auction for something more than 30,000 dollars assets connected with the cultivation of rice from an insolvent estate which Armin had been liquidating since July 1906; the five created the Kaneohe Rice Mill Co. at Honolulu from that. My guess is that Armin was president and manager of this firm from the start, but I only have evidence of that from a few years afterwards.

In March 1909 Armin and Helene left Honolulu to travel to Europe via San Francisco; among other places they visited Rome. In early October they arrived at New York from Bremen, and at the beginning of November they returned to Honolulu.

Armin continued to work as a travelling auditor for H. Hackfeld & Co. However, the following extract from a newspaper report of December 1911 (concerning the condition of roads on Maui) shows that the circumstances of his employment were not quite as dry as one might expect for an auditor from today's point of view:

“A couple of weeks ago, Mr. Hanneberg, Auditor for the Kipahulu Sugar Co., in trying to wade through the Wailua stream, almost got swept over the bluff at Wailua falls. He fortunately with the aid of a rope thrown to him by a Japanese auto driver, who was waiting for him on the other side of the stream got pulled over in safety.”

Kīpahulu is enclosed by mountains and could in earlier times be comfortably reached only from the sea. I presume that Armin (58 years old at the time) was returning from there and, because of the condition of the roads in the rainy season, had initially to proceed on foot.

In September 1914 he was in the same area again exposed to danger. This time the incident even made it to the title page of the local newspaper:

**“A. Haneberg Wins Exciting Race By Sea  
Pursued Claudine From Hana to Lahaina By Sampan and Automobile—Made Will  
Before Starting Hazardous Trip**

A. Haneberg, traveling auditor for H. Hackfeld & Company, had an exciting and strenuous race on Wednesday from Kipahulu to Lahaina to catch the steamer Claudine. Owing to a breakdown of his automobile as he was returning from an official visit to Kipahulu, he missed the Claudine at Hana, although the vessel was held for over two hours for him.

The urgency of his getting back to Honolulu on Thursday was such that Mr. Haneberg finally chartered a Japanese power<sup>52</sup> sampan, and although the sea was unusually rough, he put off to chase

<sup>51</sup>An advertisement for this hotel claimed in 1910: “The handsomest, most luxuriously furnished and completely equipped Hotel west of Chicago, comparing favorably with the best in Eastern States.”

<sup>52</sup>My guess is that this meant that the boat had no sail and had to be propelled by oars.

the Claudine to Kahului<sup>53</sup>, only to find upon arriving at this port, that he had again missed the Inter-Island boat by about half an hour. However, it was a comparatively simple matter to run over to Lahaina by automobile, where he finally overtook her.

Old timers around Hana declare that the sea was so rough that Mr. Haneberg was urged not to attempt the sampan voyage. That he recognized something of the danger is evidenced by the fact that he executed his will before leaving.”

It is not known why he so urgently wanted to be at Honolulu on the next day. It could have been connected with the outbreak of the war, but as the incident happened on his 61st birthday he might just have wanted to reach a delayed birthday party planned for the subsequent day.

When the USA entered the First World War, the shares in H. Hackfeld & Co. owned by German citizens (more than two thirds of all the shares) were treated as enemy property, and after these shares had been seized at the end of January 1918, Germans were removed from the firm. Armin, who was not a shareholder, was dismissed from Hackfeld on 1918-03-31.

More than three years later Armin died on 1921-11-20 at Honolulu after having been ill for a month; he was 68 years old. At this time he was still president and manager of the Kaneohe Rice Mill Co. and presumably still a German citizen. A report of his death was even distributed by Associated Press.

Helene survived her husband by almost 40 years. She visited Germany in 1930 and 1938<sup>54</sup>, moved from Honolulu to San Francisco<sup>55</sup> shortly before the first voyage or between the two, resided in a hotel there as well, sent CARE packages to the family of her nephew Eugen R  ther (see section 9) after the war, and finally died in a hospital at San Francisco, two weeks after a fall in which she broke her hip, on 1960-09-14 at the age of 92 years. Two weeks later her ashes were interred at Armin’s side in Honolulu.

---

<sup>53</sup>From H  na to Kahului along the coast it’s about 40 km.

<sup>54</sup>Her nephew Eugen R  ther wrote on this occasion: “Ihre Lebensfrische, ihre G  te u. Anteilnahme haben sie uns zu einer besonders lieben Verwandten gemacht. [Her joy of living, her kindness and her sympathy have made her a particularly dear relative to us.]”

<sup>55</sup>She was not alone in that. Because of, among other reasons, the actions of a few Germans and German-born US citizens who had disregarded the initial neutrality of the US, Hawaii during the war years developed a pronounced anti-German hysteria, though on Kaua’i this is said to have been somewhat limited. As a consequence, affected persons moved to more tolerant regions of the US or omitted any behaviour connected with their German roots. Thus German social and cultural life disappeared from Hawaii, which might also have resulted in even more people leaving.

## 9 Eugenie Haneberg (1857–1912)



Figure 11: Hinrich Friedrich and Eugenie (née Haneberg) Rütter

Eugenie Haneberg was born on 1857-12-10; the birthplace is usually stated as Steinhausersiel, but family tradition claims that she was born in the customs house at Ellenserdammersiel.

On 1884-10-10 (at the age of 26) at Varel she married the widowed merchant Hinrich Friedrich Rütter (born 1853-10-22 at Varel). The couple had four children: Karl Friedrich Heinrich (1885–1945), Olga Adele (1886–1970, married names Lange and Kaeser), Heinrich Johann (1888–1985) and Eugen Armin (1892–1962). The family lived at Varel.

At Varel on 1912-06-26, the 20th birthday of her son Eugen, Eugenie committed suicide by gas, according to tradition because her husband cheated on her. She was 54 years old.

Her husband died on 1929-12-12 at Varel at the age of 76 years.

## Legal Information

Copyright © Martin Lottermoser, 2016–2023  
 Greifswaldstrasse 28  
 38124 Braunschweig  
 Germany  
<http://home.htp-tel.de/lottermose2>

This document may be used under the rules of the Creative Commons License “Attribution — NonCommercial — NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)”:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed>