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HONOLULU'S FIRST ELECTRIC RAILWAY

by

Manuel G. Jardin

An electric railway that once operated on Pacific Heights in the early 1900's is now history, and only a few living persons remember its operation. A record of this enterprise appeared in Thrum's Annual for 1900, which said of Charles S. Desky and his real estate developments:

The Kaimuki addition and Pacific Heights tracts are attracting a number of selectors, and desirable residences are in course of construction in both of these sections....Main roads and streets have also been constructed, and the Pacific Heights enterprise promises Honolulu its first electric road in the course of a few weeks, to be followed by the construction of an elegant hotel, plans of which are completed. 1

Additional information about the building of the electric railway came in the Hawaiian Gazette of November 13, 1900:

The installation of the Pacific Heights electric railway during the past week deserves more than passing notice. It marks the opening of a new era for Honolulu in more ways than one.

It is the first electric passenger road in Hawaii. As such it is the forerunner of a system which before many months, will stretch out from the City center in every direction....

Mr. Desky is to be congratulated upon the successful inauguration of a large enterprise for one man to undertake to handle. The community should show their appreciation of his pluck by liberally patronizing the road, at the same time they will be getting more than they pay for.

The actual date of the first passenger run of the cars may have been on November 30, 1900, for the Honolulu Advertiser of that day in 1940, quoting from "our files of 40 years ago", said: "Today regular trips will be made over the Pacific Heights electric railway. The fare is five cents each way."

On November 8, 1900, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported:

The gong of the electric street car will now be heard regularly on the new Pacific Heights road.

Yesterday Mr. Desky, promoter of Pacific Heights suburb, had the satisfaction of taking a ride in the first electric car to make the trip up and down the track.

The system is the forerunner of a network of electric railroad tracks which will soon traverse many of the most important streets of the city.

There was no trouble in making the round trip, either with the cars themselves or in the application of the electric current.

A regular time schedule will be established shortly.

—in a letter to the editor of the HHR dated March 29, 1965, Mr. Jardin says: "The Jardin family lived in lower Pauoa from 1896 to 1902, when we moved to Upper Nuuanu. The home was probably no more than 50 yards from the powerhouse, and I remember very clearly being aboard on the first passenger run in November, 1900."
And on November 21, 1900, the Advertiser carried a more detailed article on the subject. It began thus: "The Pacific Heights electric railway was running last night and quite a crowd enjoyed the novelty of a ride in the handsome cars...." Mr. Desky was reported as saying that the decision to build an electric railway was the result of economics and an expediency for the residents of the Heights.

The passenger cars had been built by the Holman Car Co. of San Francisco and were equipped with two No. 49 thirty-five-horsepower motors each.

Mr. Desky continued:

On November 7th, a little less than six months after start of construction, the first car was run over the line for a distance of about two miles....About midway on the line we have a turnout, which allows of the passage of cars ascending and descending....

Although the road is still incomplete, the demand for pleasure riding has already taxed the capacity of the cars, and it would appear that at least two or possibly three more would be required to meet the demand upon the road....

The steam power equipment came from the firm of C.C. Moore & Co., San Francisco.

As stated before, the road has not been thrown open to the public, although a great many have availed themselves of the very moderate cost of travel, five cents each way, which low rate of fare, I hope to be able to maintain, so as to make Pacific Heights a popular and attractive place of resort, as well as of residence....

We shall endeavor to run every half hour afternoon and evenings and all day Sunday. The lighting up of the Heights in the evening will indicate that the cars are being operated, and people may ride over the road until 9 o'clock.

The Hawaiian Annual for 1901 gave further information about the venture:

To C.S. Desky belongs the credit of establishing Honolulu's first electric road in connection with his Pacific Heights property.

It is now in successful operation, having a well appointed electric plant, supplying light to his tract and Kaiulani Boulevard. The road will likely be connected later with the Rapid [Transit] system.

This latter concern is progressing, their power house and car shed being in course of construction, with the machinery all on the ground. The laying of street rails began early in November.2

The following year the same publication reported: "Another pleasant drive to a commanding point is around Punchbowl, an extinct volcano some 500 feet high, just back of the city, or, a trip by the electric cars up Pacific Heights slope, between Nuuanu and Pauoa Valleys, to the site of Desky's proposed hotel at an elevation of about 800 feet."3

The power house which provided the electric power for the trolley cars was a substantial structure. It stood at the foot of Pacific Heights Road and junction of Booth Road, where the present mauka section of the overpass of Pali Highway and Pauoa Road is. The power house was on the pali side of the street, and the car shed (or station) was on the opposite side, adjacent to Booth Road. The two electric trolley cars were of the early Rapid Transit variety, with open sides and running boards. Of approximately 30-passenger capacity, they employed a single operator.

Mr. Desky was a vigorous and energetic man who early envisioned a spur of the road across the Nuuanu Stream, down to the junction of Nuuanu and Bates Streets.

Records at the Archives of Hawai'i dated March 20, 1901, give the legal opinion of the then attorney general, E.P. Dole, to Governor Sanford D. Dole, relative to the
application of Charles S. Desky for permission to cross certain public lands for the purpose of connecting his electric railway with Nuuanu Street. The application was "...to purchase or lease a strip of land about 840 feet in length and 30 feet in width, beginning upon Nuuanu Street, near the terminal of the Hawaiian Tramways line, and extending to the Nuuanu Stream, along the lines indicated..." The opinion of the attorney general concludes: "I think it might be wise, if it is practicable, to seek a decision of the Supreme Court rather than to rely solely upon the opinion of the Attorney General."

Construction of the spur had a double purpose--first, as a convenience for the residents of Pacific Heights, and second, to attract more passengers for the scenic ride. In time the addition, 840 feet long, was built. It started a short distance above the power house, crossed the Nuuanu Stream and came down to Nuuanu Street opposite Bates Street. Before long a dance pavilion was put up at the top of the Heights; here dancing was held twice weekly, usually on Wednesday and Saturday nights. The eves of recognized holidays were also dance nights.

This article would be incomplete did it not include mention of Charles W. Booth, who at one time was the owner of nearly all of Pauoa Valley and Pacific Heights. Mr. Booth contributed much to the legend of Pacific Heights and Desky's electric railway. He built a lovely mansion on the Heights. It was later destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt, and Booth continued to live there. The Advertiser of July 26, 1910, carried an obituary noting that Charles W. Booth, born in Hawaii, had died suddenly at his Pacific Heights home the day before.

And on October 1, 1924, the Honolulu Advertiser printed this short account of the passing of Mr. Desky in San Francisco:

Charles S. Desky, once prominently identified with real estate in Honolulu, who built the Progress Block and other buildings, was found dead in his bed in a hotel opposite the Stewart Hotel, San Francisco, about a week ago....

Desky left here about seven or eight years ago after a residence of more than a quarter of a century.... He purchased Pacific Heights from the late Charles W. Booth, laid it out into building lots and built an electric railway up the slopes to the site he proposed for a modern hotel.

The railway was a tourist attraction. On steamer days the cars were always loaded with sightseers. The road, however, fell into disuse and finally was taken out.

The exact date of the shut-down of operation of the electric railway appears to have been unrecorded. No official paper can be found other than this small item obtained from the Hawaii Department of Regulatory Agencies: "It was a very old partnership known as the Pacific Heights Electric Railway Co., Ltd. The corporation was formed on January 4, 1902, and was dissolved on December 15, 1915, for non-filing of corporation reports." The few people who still remember the operation of the electric railway say it was discontinued toward the latter part of 1906.

It is the general belief that the trolley cars of Honolulu Rapid Transit ran before those of Mr. Desky, but official records show that the Pacific Heights cars were in operation on November 21, 1900, while the first Rapid Transit trolley made its initial run on Hotel Street on Saturday, August 31, 1901.

During the early boom of Pacific Heights and the electric railway, someone perpetrated a hoax on the public that added further excitement. Several gallons of black, crude oil had been spread around the base of a rock cropping in a slight depression to give it the appearance of an oil field. Word then got out that OIL had been discovered on the Heights, and literally thousands from all parts of Honolulu came to see.
As in many hoaxes, the disappointed victims were ashamed to admit their culpability and so encouraged others to visit the spectacle. It was several weeks before the joke died down, and even then only a few would confess that the affair was a fraud.

The reader may wonder what Pacific Heights looked like before Mr. Desky started building his electric railway. That part of the slope toward the city was gentle, with many patches of guava trees, kalu bushes and stands of cactus (panini). There were no large or tall trees up to the summit until where the kukui nut, ohia and koa trees started along the ridge to the Ko'olau range.

Cutting of Kaiulani Drive (also called Kaiulani Boulevard) but now known as Pacific Heights Road, was a manual pick-and-shovel operation as power shovels, bulldozers and other modern road equipment had not yet been designed. Blasting with dynamite was the order of the day, and the pick-and-shovel crew did the rest, even loading the horse-drawn trucks and dump carts. Steam rollers were coal-burning but quite efficient.

"With the gradual building of residences on the Heights, it was natural to have trees—mostly ornamental and wind breakers. Most of the pine trees along the slope toward 'Uu'auu Valley came some years before the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, but the latter helped in the reforesting of that part of the Heights as we see it today.

It is almost impossible to pinpoint the former locations of the power house, the Booth residence and the dance pavilion, since almost the entire Heights has been built up as Mr. Desky envisioned it—a residential district of scenic loveliness. The short drive up the slopes of the site of Hawaii's first electric railway will be a rewarding experience for anyone who is interested in the history and beauty of Honolulu.

NOTES

2. "Retrospect for 1900," p. 176. What is now Pacific Heights Road was originally called Kaiulani Drive, and was a little over two miles long.

A LEGEND OF KAIMUOA HAWAIIANS IN AMERICAN SAMOA

by

William Pila Kikuchi

In 1962, while working in American Samoa for my Master's thesis from the University of Hawaii, I received information that throws new light on the activities of the Hawaiian ship Kaimiloa in American Samoa. On one of my field trips in the area, I visited Aunu'u, an island a mile off the eastern end of Tutuila, the political and economic center of American Samoa. On Aunu'u, my guide and talking chief, Salavue'a of Leone village, took me to the guest house of our host. When the host learned that I had been born and raised in Hawaii, he began a story in Samoan which took at least twenty minutes to tell. From what little Samoan I knew, I gathered that it concerned the history of the island of Aunu'u, political intrigues, and the Hawaiians. My guide repeated the story to me in English in a much-abbreviated form. It is this version of the legend that I present here, without vouching for the
accuracy of what was related to me. The remarks in parentheses are mine.

The Legend

The story begins when the Hawaiian ship Kaimiloa, having finished her business at Upolu, Western Samoa, set sail for Tutuila. The vessel stopped at Leone in the western district of Tutuila, where the crew bartered some of her stores to get supplies for the return voyage to Hawaii. (There are still two or three old cannons on the village malae, or ceremonial meeting grounds; they were traditionally used to announce the arrival of church officials in the district) On August 19, 1887, the ship went to Pago Pago, where more trading was done. Two Hawaiians, Aniani and Mahelona, deserted the ship, but not before a supply of rifles and four cannons had been traded. A third Hawaiian, a storekeeper named Manoa, was a resident of Aunu'u. A search was made for the two deserters, but was abandoned, and the Kaimiloa returned to Hawaii. Meanwhile Tutuila, as well as Upolu and Savai'i, was undergoing a period of political unrest. Tutuila was divided into two factions corresponding to the two main districts: the western district, run by Tuitele; and the eastern district, under Le'Iato. Le'Iato's claim to control was hotly disputed by several of the eastern villages; the followers of Le'Iato attacked Aoa village in a dawn raid. The attackers came from over the mountains and by sea and caught the Aoa people by surprise, managing to kill many before they were repulsed. The survivors fled. Joined by sympathizers from other villages, they went to Lepeu village, where Chief Pakele accepted them. He had heard, however, that they might have been pursued, and fearing a raid on his own village, he asked the survivors to leave so that the lives of innocent people would be spared. The refugees then fled to Fagatogo (now often confused with Pago Pago village) and from there by canoe to Aunu'u, where they asked for and received asylum. The chiefs of Aunu'u realized that the pursuers would attack their own people as well as those in flight. They prepared for battle.

The island has but one boat landing, an opening in the reef. A single wall of coral was reinforced with blocks of the same material and cemented with lime mortar. Four ramparts were built, which evidently housed the cannons got from the Kaimiloa. The three Hawaiians--Aniani, Mahelona, and Manoa--played a vital part in the establishment of the defenses and the manning of the guns. The cannons were fixed in place and aimed at the landing and the path of the invaders.

When the attackers stormed Aunu'u, they were astonished to meet a hail of rifle and cannon fire. Their canoes and men were blown out of the water, and many of the floundering warriors who survived the cannons were slain by rifles. The remnants of the attackers retreated to Tutuila, either in canoes or by swimming.

Because of this victory, in which the Hawaiians played so large a part, Aunu'u was never again threatened by invaders. The Hawaiians remained on the island, eventually married Samoan women, and sired many offspring. Today many of the islanders claim some Hawaiian blood. Parts of the stone wall that figured in the battle can still be seen. Buck describes it as a pa tua, or war defense wall.3

NOTES

During the smallpox epidemic medical problems were both plentiful and baffling. The terror-stricken Hawaiians were, according to one observer, "...just superstitious and ignorant enough to be unmanageable...", with the result that--it was claimed--hundreds died because they bathed in the sea or sat in the wind to cool fever. Dr. Lathrop reported deaths of convalescent patients who destroyed their lives by bathing, overeating, and drinking, and there are numerous assertions of a similar nature. The practices of Hawaiian doctors, or kahuna, reaped censure. In August Mr. Bishop demanded that the R.C.P.H. prohibit all Hawaiian medical practice. This the commissioners refused to do, lest there be retaliation against foreign physicians on the ground of their losing so large a proportion of their patients. Bishop was authorized, however, to ask the judge to send out a crier to proclaim it tabu to bathe or apply cold water or any other medication except oil under penalty of $5.00, to be sued for in the name of the Royal Commissioners of Public Health.

Physicians debated the best method of immunization. Wylie (a doctor) and others favored inoculation with virus taken from a smallpox victim. Judd headed the group preferring Charles Jenner's method of vaccination with cowpox. Those choosing inoculation did so because of shortages of vaccine and variation in its quality. Both Judd and Hillebrand experimented with vaccinating cows in the former's cow pen. Judd reported no results; Hillebrand, however, wrote that his cow vaccinations had taken in all but one case, and in four pretty severely.

The art of medicine itself held pitfalls: A man was sick but refused to see a doctor; the people of that district believed the physicians were poisoning them. Otherwise, how could they tell so accurately how long the sick would live? It was suggested that medics refrain from making such predictions.

Confusion arose in the reporting of cases. In one instance Dr. Lathrop was asked not to report cases which had been visited by any other doctor; Lathrop replied that it was only through courtesy that he had made any reports at all to the "Royal" commissioners.

But worst of all, physicians had to be content with pitifully inadequate remedies. Gleanings from various letters and reports furnish this list of curatives: olive oil, camphorated brandy, camomile flowers, thoroughwort (boneset), madeira wine, extract of colocynth, castor oil, epsom salts, and "Dove's powder"--possibly Dover's powder, a compound of ipecac and opium. In August a reputed "miracle cure" found its way to Honolulu, sent to a merchant and shipowner by one Dr. Larkin of the English Royal College of Surgeons. The prescription: a grain of powdered foxglove (light green leaves only) or digitalis, mixed with an equal amount of sulphate of zinc, to be taken internally in sugar or syrup solution, one tablespoon every other hour. Unfortunately, the nostrum proved of little value. Honolulu physicians did get good, but minor, results from painting the outside of patients' throats with tincture of iodine to relieve the sore throat attending smallpox.

As the dead were hurried to their makeshift graves, their mats, tapas, clothing and other possessions accumulated into a great mass of contaminated articles and filth, scattered about in all quarters of Honolulu. It became clear to some at least that the city could not stamp out the smallpox until this rubbish was destroyed. The approaching whaling season would bring a great flow of people from outer areas and islands; the newcomers would have to live in infected houses.
Accordingly, on August 22, the R.C.P.H. appealed to the district inspectors to help purify their districts. All clothing, mats, bedding, etc. used by the sick should be burned, and other articles purified by washing, fumigating, painting or whitewashing. Mats were to be sunk in the sea if necessary, old houses pulled down, and those infected and worthless burned. A large house "not much infected" might be rethatched. If people refused or neglected to cooperate, the marshal should be notified. This official or the prefect of police would furnish needed supplies.

The work began at once; by the end of August there had been much demolition and "purification." But this brought problems. Relocation was one. A community of little thatched huts mushroomed just beyond Punahou School to help meet the need. There were other similar housing projects and those infected and worthless burned, and those needed had to be paid for their loss—a heavy drain on slim resources.

The cleanup was begun none too soon. The first whaleship of the season, the Polar Star, anchored at Honolulu on August 24, a few days later than the average over the previous eight or nine years. B.F. Angel, the U.S. consul, at once busied himself with "sanitary measures" to protect the health of the whaling fleet. With the nod of the R.C.P.H., he issued a circular to masters of American vessels. Crew members who had not had smallpox or varioloid were to be vaccinated. Unprotected seamen were to be kept aboard their vessels for at least eight days after arrival. At the shipmaster's request, any physician desired would board ship and vaccinate for a fee of 50 cents a man, when the total number of patients amounted to ten or more. After the fifth day, the doctor would come again to revaccinate those whose pustules had not begun to form. And on the eighth day, or at the doctor's word, the men could go ashore.

Late in October false rumors of smallpox in Honolulu were rife on the windward islands, but they apparently did not disturb commerce seriously. At the end of the month, 106 ships rode in Honolulu harbor—35 whalers, 13 merchant vessels, 6 coasters and 2 men-of-war. The year 1853 closed without a single case of smallpox among the sailors. Angel's regulations must have been relaxed; Parke later told of sending ships' crews to Dr. Hoffmann to be vaccinated.

A political quarrel that raged during the climax of the epidemic put the times even farther out of joint. On July 16, the Polynesian printed "A Physician's" letter. What could and would be done to prepare Honolulu for the whaling fleet, he asked. The prosperity of the islands was at stake, but apathy prevailed. Would not the government act more efficiently? Was it waiting for help from the foreign residents? If so, let them help. There should be 50 men as energetic as Marshal Parke and his police. "Physician's" remedy was to: (1) divide the islands into small districts; (2) set up committees, with at least one man for each district; (3) purify or destroy all contagious matter; (4) provide suitable accommodations out of town for the diseased. The Polynesian's reaction was guarded: It was unaware of any lack of disposition to service on anyone's part; the "united wisdom" of the foreign community might, however, suggest something.

This was the genesis of the foreign residents' meetings of July 18 and 19. The second became overtly political when Dr. Lathrop, supported by several others, introduced resolutions calling for the dismissal of Judd and Armstrong. Although the meeting adjourned without action, a sustained campaign launched by the two ministers' political foes bore fruit when the entire cabinet resigned on September 3; all were reappointed except Judd. An interesting sidelight was this: On the night of Thursday, September 8, a victory meeting of Judd's opponents convened at the court house. Prominent were Drs. Newcomb and Lathrop. The group voted to have a Saturday-night procession to the king's residence to show appreciation of the cabinet change. On the night set, a large torchlight parade, with band and banners, marched through Honolulu's main streets. The town was illuminated, guns fired, and speeches made.
The affair was reported to be the first of its kind in the city.25

But to regress: A meeting of foreigners on July 20 resolved to petition Kamehameha III to dismiss Judd and Armstrong on the basis of certain charges, which ran thus: These ministers controlled both influence and patronage in the government; they had, however, failed to use the means at their disposal to protect the people from smallpox, and were also guilty of letting the epidemic be introduced in the first place.26 The alleged neglect really involved two major points: (1) careless or even criminal handling of the Charles Hallory affair, and (2) bungling of vaccination procedures.27 A long, hot controversy followed.

In detail, the charges against the two ministers were: (1) Armstrong furnished useless vaccine;28 (2) although he became superintendent of vaccination when the Charles Hallory appeared, no one was able to carry out the work, no system was used, and there was no competent examination of those vaccinated. Armstrong's appointment had been made despite the physicians' recommendation that a systematic vaccination be undertaken by dividing Honolulu into as many districts as there were doctors, and proceeding until the whole population had been vaccinated. A nominal fee--10 cents a head--would have been charged, and Judd had agreed to it; however, he failed to support the fee later, and the plan fell;29 (3) no alarm was sounded until Drs. Lethrop and Hillebrand sent in communications; by then it was too late;30 (4) after receiving the physicians' report during the Charles Hallory crisis, Judd suppressed it, and it never reached the privy council;31 (5) the R.C.P.H. had not operated efficiently, and the vaccinating done by those other than doctors had been inferior;32 (6) the ministers had let smallpox be introduced for a price; Judd got $2,000 for allowing the Charles Hallory to enter.33 The Weekly Argus, avowed political enemy of Judd, was the sounding-board for the expression of anti-ministerial sentiment.34

A prompt and vigorous rebuttal met these allegations: (1) Quarantine precautions had been adequate; the Charles Hallory was cleansed and fumigated before being allowed in the harbor; the smallpox victim aboard her was in isolation for five weeks, and spent only two days in Honolulu just before the vessel sailed; the smallpox did not appear until six or seven weeks after the Charles Hallory left; no smallpox had appeared on the islet Kahakaaulana until about the middle of July; if this ship was indeed responsible, neither Judd nor Armstrong could be held accountable, since the foreign physicians had been consulted and measures taken in agreement with their recommendations;35 (2) statistics proved that vaccination done by physicians was neither more nor less effective than that performed by others, thus clearing Armstrong of blame;36 (3) documents reproduced in the Polynesian proved that Judd had indeed transmitted the physicians' advice to the privy council;37 (4) furthermore, the council had adopted the physicians' advice, and Governor Kekuanaoa carried it out;38 (5) no one really knew how the smallpox had entered, and it could not be settled, but time and place were against transmission from the Charles Hallory;39 (6) vaccination was generally considered a safeguard, though not effective in every case, and all physicians had found many in Hawaii not protected by it; failure, however, was not chargeable to the vaccinator, as no great skill was needed; medically, it was hard to explain the shortcomings of vaccination;40 (7) Armstrong's agents and the physicians all used the same vaccine;41 (8) the epidemic was a chastisement of God;42 (9) not only had Judd received no payment for his actions concerning the Charles Hallory; he had reaped plentiful abuse from both foreigners and Hawaiians for keeping the vessel out;43 (10) the petition requesting Judd's and Armstrong's ouster, which purported to have an overwhelming number of signatures, was actually a fraud. Ninety-five per cent of the Hawaiian "signatures" were false, and less than twenty-five per cent of the foreign signers were Hawaiian citizens;44 (11) the charges were vague or beneath notice;45 (12) the leaders of the movement against the ministers were two or three physicians and a few disappointed office-
seekers, plus their friends, who allied themselves with the anti-missionary and anti-
temperance elements in Honolulu. 46

But well before the hassle had ended, Judd cut his official connection with the
campaign against the epidemic. On August 22 he resigned from the R.C.P.H.; Prince
Alexander Liholiho succeeded him and also replaced Rooke as president. 47 H.U.
McCoughtry became secretary and treasurer in place of J. Hardy, resigned. 48

On Saturday, July 23, the Rev. S.C. Damon was on the street. He passed a
saloon. In front stood a red handcart loaded with two corpses; inside stood the
operator with his cup of cheer. 49 Death was already commonplace, and so were the
carts that clattered daily through streets with their grisly burdens. Burying was
an arduous and disgusting but necessary chore. The whole police force was put under
the control of the R.C.P.H. during the epidemic, and by the end of June was princi-
ally occupied in attending the sick and digging graves. 50

When the smallpox broke out there were four white (?) prisoners in the fort
sentenced for terms of two years. Decades later T.G. Thrum recalled James Robinson,
known as "three-fingered Jack", who got his freedom and a solid cash gift when it
was all over; a "reckless Irishman"; and a "big darky". 51 By authority Parke of-
ered them pardons if they would work at burying. All four had had smallpox, and
they accepted. They labored under the orders of George Graham, who had charge of
the dead cart. Often burials took place at night. Later, when two dead carts were
required, Peter Jordan, one of the prisoners, was assigned to the second. Complaints
alleged that Jordan demanded payment from Hawaiians for performing his duty. 52

H.S. Swinton helped Graham supervise burials. 53 Another assistant was W.H.
Coles, a constable, who dug graves and buried when he could get no aid. Coles, a
tough and valuable man, knew the Hawaiian language and habits well; he also had some
skill in medicine. Wai'alea, Ko'olau and Kailua were his bailiwick. 54

On July 18, the R.C.P.H. issued a notice: Since it was hard to get help with
the burying, all able-bodied men recovered from the smallpox or already completely
exposed, would be at the call of the commissioners, sub-commissioners, police, or
their agents, to assist in this work without pay. The penalty for refusal: a fine
of not more than $25.00 or imprisonment for not more than six months. 55

The notice roused opposition, but the Polynesian explained that the police
could not get needed help in some cases at a distance from town. Men who had been
nursed and cured refused to bury dead neighbors; the Honolulu police were busy in
the city and could not go two or three miles out to work. 56

From June 26 to July 22, government people buried 532 corpses in Honolulu, an
average of 19 a day; 57 by July 26 the total had risen to 663. 58 Between July 28 and
September 2, the number of burials under the direction of the R.C.P.H. by police and
others in Honolulu and environs totaled 349, with the whole number being 1,012. 59
Among those laid to rest at public expense were 51 constables--50 Hawaiians and one
foreigner--who died in line of duty. 60

On October 22, the New Era and Weekly Argus--renamed after Judd's resignation--
noted that the yellow dead carts no longer traveled Honolulu streets, and that the
king had pardoned the prisoners-turned-gravediggers.

A bizarre police case had occurred in August, when one Popoki had left her
husband unburied for six days, without reporting his death or asking for help in
burying him. The event, the first of its kind, resulted in a $25.00 fine under the
common nuisance act, and a warning that similar crimes in the future would bring
heavier penalties. 61

From the hospital on Queen Street doomed patients could view their last earthly
home. The government smallpox cemetery filled the pesthouse enclosure, and as the
weeks passed it became a stinking horror. By the middle of October, at least 1,000
cadavers jammed the yard. Bodies were packed close; in the later stages of the
epidemic graves were dug just wide enough to admit the corpse lying on its side. In
many places the sandy earth had settled, with promise of even more sinking to come
with the rainy season—and graves averaged only three feet deep. Often not more
than six inches separated one grave from another; when a new pit was dug, a nause-
ating stench rose from it. The smell of decomposed animal matter was everywhere.
A doctor at the hospital predicted that the kona winds of winter would fan a "pest-
ilential, putrid vapor" all over town. He asked the R.C.P.H. to bring in earth to
provide cover. But the commissioners questioned the legality of such an expend-
titure.

Honolulu was the focus of the epidemic. But other places on Oahu suffered as
much, if not more. Nowhere did the smallpox take a more frightful toll than at Ewa.
After the scourge the Rev. Artemas Bishop reported more than 1,200 dead—of a pre-
epidemic population of only 2,800. Only the vaccinated escaped, and most of them
had varioloid. The disease was said to have come in this way: A young woman of
Kalauao visiting in Honolulu caught smallpox; she hurried home and called her friends
and relatives from all over Ewa to say last goodbyes. They came, kissed her, went
home, and died. The young woman herself recovered, Fear of hospital led many
victims to flee and hide with friends, further spreading the sickness. And at the
start worthless vaccine was used. When good vaccine could be got, it was available
in small amounts only. Smallpox became general in Ewa early in July. Bishop had
stayed clear of it up to this time; when he visited an infected house, he stood out-
side, to windward, and gave prescriptions to the inmates.

On July 25, Dr. F. Clapp reported for duty in Ewa; Bishop became his assistant.
They began visiting about 100 sick daily; most of the latter were without any solace
or care, lying helpless on the ground. The cases in Ewa were scattered; it was
impossible to visit everyone, but Bishop hired George Crocker at $1.50 a day to
interpret and help in other ways. An impostor went to Marshal Parke and drew sup-
plies, supposedly for Bishop; Bishop suggested a written letter of credit to go with
each messenger. He ordered rice, pia (arrowroot), sugar, tea, and medicines, in-
cluding oil and wine. Some things arrived, but in sad shape; four precious bot-
tles were broken; more oil was needed at once.

Meanwhile the kahunas were busy. Some patients insisted on having them.
Bishop accused the native medics of concealing as many sick as possible in order to
kill them for their money. He arrested at least two for murder, and asked for dis-
cretionary power to cope with the problem.

For a while it was hard to find anyone to bury the dead, but a few were hired
at high pay. Sometimes friends did the work, and many of these caught the disease
and died. Immediate burial was the rule; a hasty grave was dug near the place of
death, the body rolled in its clothes and mats, and hurried to the pit without cere-
mony. For three months there were no funerals and no mourners. Sometimes a short
prayer was muttered, but seldom. At the height of the epidemic, from 20 to 30 died
daily. Bishop himself came down with a light case, having been vaccinated when
young.

Waialua was much luckier; the district had less smallpox mortality than any
other on Oahu. The Rev. J.S. Emerson reported only 201 deaths. As government
agent for Waialua and Ko'olauloa, he got a doctor's help part of the time, and
spent the rest working among the sick with the aid of his wife. There was no hospi-
tal. Emerson vaccinated, threw together a place for segregation of patients, and
went from house to house. Mrs. Emerson kept food ready at home—toast and gruel for
those who could not take the Hawaiian diet.

Doubtless part of their good fortune came from the Waialuans' own pluck. On
July 4, their district judge called the people together. At the meeting a set of
rules was drawn up. They were to have the force of law during the emergency:
1. All outsiders were asked to stay away for two months;
2. No one with smallpox or exposed to it could enter. Anyone on the way would have to stop at designated spots. If he failed to do so, his horse, saddle and bridle would be sold at auction to build hospitals for the sick;
3. Houses would be built to "entertain" patients and those suspected of carrying disease. The latter would be quarantined fourteen days;
4. Anybody coming from a "sick house" or infected place would have to bring along a certificate from a doctor or from Marshal Parke showing he was clean. Otherwise, anybody feeding or lodging him in Waialua would be fined $20.00;
5. Chinese peddlers were to stay out for two months; anybody buying from or harboring them would get the same fine;
6. Houses would be built and a watch kept at the designated spots. Each man was to do his share--one day and night a week. If food was called for, each should give a half-dollar's worth a month;
7. It would be death for all wandering dogs "...and all dogs from Honolulu as they come down and all dogs that are accustomed to be seen in the arms of women or to sleep with human beings all such we will kill if seen out of the house of the owner. Watch dogs such as stay at home and sleep out of the door do not come under this law."
8. An executive committee was set up;
9. Any resident of Waialua refusing to do his part would be fined five-fold the original demand and in case of continued refusal fined $5.00;
10. The rules applied to vessels as well.
This was indeed quarantine, but the commissioners of health refused to sanction the fining of travelers through Waialua. They must have been shocked to learn that some Waialuans had proposed stoning, whipping, or plundering. Emerson replied that "...When I communicate to them [the people of Waialua] your views as expressed by Mr. Hardy I presume they will be quiet, & take things as they come along." By this time three or four cases of smallpox had appeared in Waialua, each at least three miles from the other. Emerson called for vaccine on July 19, and three days later informed Rooke that the supply was gone, that sickness was growing, and that the last batch of vaccine had been "perfectly inert"; Emerson knew of only one good vaccination case in the preceding two months.

Meanwhile the Waialua regulations had resulted in a court case. Mr. James Robinson, going through Waialua to his place at Halemanu, found himself at one end of a bridge and two determined Hawaiians--Ku'umanu and Kuoha--at the other. The Waialua justice had ordered the men to barricade the bridge. But in court it came out that the R.C.P.H. had forbidden such roadblocks. Kuoha, the assistant, was freed; Ku'umanu got a $2.00 fine.
Waialua shared a common problem: a shortage of nurses. Emerson wrote that one little girl of ten or eleven stood by her mother, ready to do what she could for the sick. Nearly everybody else was afraid. Lack of care spelled doom for many. The people built a house 60 feet long for a hospital, but it was largely a wasted effort.
Reports from other sections of Oahu are sketchy. Little can be said about the stretch from Diamond Head to Koko Head. One list, made in the middle of August, shows a total of 39 cases, with 15 deaths, 17 recoveries, and 7 still sick.
Scattered returns for Ko'olaupoko (reaching from Waimanalo to Kualoa, inclusive) suggest much suffering and death. S.S. Spencer, writing on July 11, reported smallpox and asked for medicines. He had called on the sick woman and found 30 Hawaiians visiting in the house. He prescribed extract of colocynth (a powerful cathartic) to open the patient's bowels, olive oil to anoint her pustules, and tea "...hearing that water was a bad thing." A Mr. Webster also had a case at Kaalaea...
and wanted medicines, too. Spencer desired a "few instructions" for giving the remedies to be sent with them. 86

On July 24, Prince Liholiho gave a general account: Cases: Kualoa, 2; Waikane, 4; Waihoaole, 6; Kaalaea, 3; Heeia, 4; Kailua, many, with 92 already dead and nearly all others sick. No medicine on hand. Mr. Webster appointed to attend the sick at Kaalaea. Intends to appoint Msgr. Martial, the French priest, to care for those at Heeia, Kaneohe, Nokapu and Kailua. Martial has been tireless in his efforts. Wants a doctor to attend the sick at Ko'olaupoko. Will go tomorrow morning to Kaneohe and Kailua to find out the number of cases and help as best he can. Has spent the day looking for the madman that escaped on Webster's land, but failed. The man is probably dead in the bush. 87

The same day J. Watts was touring Kailua. He found a "...greater mortality than any could imagine possible in so short a time." Residents reported 80 or more dead. The only remedy available was castor oil, and that 20 miles distant from Watts' sleeping place. Twenty had died in houses on the beach before Watts arrived. The Hawaiian luna-kanawai (judge or magistrate) was "...a miserably contemptible fellow..." afraid of the smallpox. He hid from Watts after the latter had visited the sick, "...his wife running to the beach two hundred yards distance." Watts promised to stay if he could have medicines, which he named. 88

Liholiho had asked for a doctor, and Felix LeTellier and G.P. Judd got short assignments in Ko'olaupoko. LeTellier was a doctor of the faculty of Paris and a former surgeon major in the French army. He kept offices on Union Street in Honolulu. 89 As conditions of accepting the work, he stipulated: (1) that the sick should be gathered in a "spacious and airy" building and well provided for; (2) he should live nearby; (3) he should be given a Hawaiian-French interpreter; (4) he should have a horse. 90 He also wanted authority to hold the cured for a specific time so they could attend patients. 91 The pay suggested by the government was $200 a month, with an interpreter to be furnished from the French mission. 92

Early August found Rooke approving the conversion of the Catholic chapel at Kailua into a hospital, provided the congregation agreed. Dr. LeTellier had asked for this, and also for the use of the Protestant chapel at Waikane. But Waikane already had a hospital cared for by E. Kalili. By this time the commissioners of health were responding to Ko'olaupoko's needs; LeTellier was promised quick delivery of all his requirements. 93 Martial had given the Catholic church in Heeia for hospital use, and Liholiho recommended that the Kaneohe church be converted to serve patients in Kailua, Kaneohe, and nearby places. 94

More than 100 people lay sick in Ko'olaupoko; by August 4, mortality had climbed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Recovered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kailua</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimanalo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneohe</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heeia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neawa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nupia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokapu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New cases continued to show up all over the district. 96 At the end of 1853, Kalili, health officer at Waialae, made a summary report: In the stretch from Kahalu'u to Kualoa, from June 1 to December 30, 211 had died and 191 recovered. 97

Doctors' services apparently ceased in the middle of September. LeTellier was let go, and when Judd submitted his bill, the R.C.P.H. hesitated over it. They agreed at last to pay, but sent Judd word that funds were so low that he could not be kept on. 98

Indeed, financing the fight against smallpox brought one crisis after another.
The R.C.P.H. got an initial appropriation of $10,000 to carry on their work. This sum melted with frightening speed. On Monday, August 1, the privy council scheduled a special meeting for the fourth to consider raising more money. On Wednesday the third, F. Funk wrote to Chairman Rooke: At the outbreak of the smallpox during the previous session of the legislature, such panic prevailed among the representatives that probably not a quorum would convene if the king called a special session to vote funds. The only course was to borrow some $20,000. Although it was desired to hold to the letter of the constitution, the cabinet should have enough confidence in the house of representatives to contract for the needed loan. The school tax should be applied to suppressing the epidemic, and schools suspended until the disease was conquered. Money appropriated for the building of a new prison could be similarly applied.

Advice was in order. When the privy council gathered on Thursday, it read a statement from the commissioners: $7,978.69 had been paid out already, and an estimated $1,000 more was due for payment, not counting money owed for the services of Honolulu doctors. The R.C.P.H. foresaw need for another $10,000. But the council did not want any money drawn from the treasury, nor would it let the commissioners incur any debt. R.C. Wyllie read a proposal to get a loan of not more than $20,000 by authorization of the king, the cabinet, and the privy council, pledging the government's faith to repay in one year out of the revenues of 1854. But Chief Justice Lee questioned the constitutionality of this, since only the legislature could borrow and spend money. On A.B. Bates' suggestion, it was decided to raise $10,000 on the personal responsibility of the king, cabinet, and council. Accordingly, all present signed a note for payment of that amount in one year without interest, in case the legislature should fail to come through. On August 6, Judd laid the note before the R.C.P.H. The Hon. Hudson's Bay Co. was to advance the money on September 5; however, it would charge interest at 12 per cent a year from that date.

The relief was temporary. On September 12 the R.C.P.H. presented a report to the public: They had first tried isolation, vaccination and the appointment of sub-commissioners to prevent the spread of smallpox; finding it useless to try to protect Oahu, they had then concentrated on sparing the outer islands. Hospitals had been built on Oahu, however, and furnished with everything needed to receive all the sick who could be persuaded to enter them. All medical men, and other intelligent people willing to help had either volunteered or been hired. Whenever nurses could be got they had been employed. A band of prisoners had been devoted to burying the dead, and these men highly deserved the king's merciful consideration. Since the sick had been strictly forbidden to go to the kalo patches for food, tea, sugar, rice, arrowroot, etc. had been supplied; but some abuse had accompanied their distribution. A great item of expense had been the reimbursement of those whose infected houses had been destroyed, and still heavier calls for this purpose were expected. In order to purify the town for the approaching whaling fleet, considerable money would have to be spent, as even a few cases among the crews might start a panic and injure business. And since the sailors went everywhere, all possibly infected places would have to be destroyed. Also, the clothing of those discharged from hospitals had to be burned, and new garments supplied. In addition, 50 native and one foreign constables had died in line of duty, requiring burial at public expense. Thus far the commissioners had spent nearly $18,000. Their question: Did the king want to discontinue supplying food on Oahu, and furnish medicines only? The privy council named E.H. Allen, Liholiho and Asher B. Bates to consider the report; after study, they saw no other way than to go on providing medical treatment, food and clothing. The R.C.P.H. and its agents would have to keep a keen watch for abuses. The committee also recommended: (1) destroying grass houses and clothing
as necessary, with compensation; (2) setting up a most thorough system of vaccination and inoculation; (3) raising of another $10,000 by private security of the king and privy council, again in the belief that the legislature would get them off the hook at its next session. The council agreed, and the minister of finance was authorized to negotiate a joint and several note, payable to bearer in one year with interest. Embarrassment followed: The note was promptly lost or mislaid; Wyllie advertised for it in the Polynesian, offering a "handsome" reward, and cautioning everybody against receiving it.

Strict economy was now the rule. The R.C.P.H. were concerned when, in the middle of September, Hillebrand gave notice that he expected pay if he continued to vaccinate, since he was neglecting his private practice. Medical service in Ko'olaupoko was cut. Subcommissioners got letters urging care; they were to prevent as far as possible the free supplying of food and clothing to those able to fend for themselves.

On September 17, Armstrong offered to the commissioners the $1,000 appropriated to him for free medicines to be given to sick Hawaiians, but when the secretary applied for it, Armstrong balked. His reason: The act creating the R.C.P.H. did not give them power to spend money for any medicines other than those used in treating smallpox, whereas the $1,000 was to be used against all kinds of diseases.

A week after Armstrong's offer, the cabinet decided that, after all, money in the treasury would have to go for smallpox. A check on September 24 showed $26,266.00 in the public till. To keep a tight rein on finances, a report system began. The R.C.P.H. chairman, now Liholiho, submitted a weekly letter to the king in council:

**Letter of October 3:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cash on hand</th>
<th>$1,799.17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid and unaudited bills on hand</td>
<td>3,339.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated bills next fortnight</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated amount needed next fortnight</td>
<td>2,040.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Smallpox reported spreading rapidly in remote Oahu and in Kona, Hawaii.

**Letter of October 10:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cash on hand</th>
<th>$1,071.89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid and unaudited bills on hand</td>
<td>3,081.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated bills next fortnight</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated amount needed next fortnight</td>
<td>2,569.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parke was absent, so bills could not be audited.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Letter of October 17:**

| Received October 14 from E.H. Allen | $3,500.00 |
| Cash on hand | 2,313.40 |
| Unpaid bills on hand | 824.48 |
| Estimated expenses next fortnight | 1,300.00 |

Attention called to Hildyard's report on the bad situation at the smallpox cemetery; legality of using money to cover graves with earth questionable.

**Letter of October 24:**

| Cash on hand | $2,153.40 |
| Unpaid bills on hand | 984.98 |
| Estimated amount needed next fortnight | (not including unpaid bills) not over 500.00 |


Letter of November 7:
Cash on hand $758.16
Unpaid bills on hand 1,007.73
Estimated amount needed next fortnight, not over 1,000.00

Letter of November 14:
Cash on hand $1,400.51
Unpaid bills on hand 758.33
Estimated amount needed next fortnight, not over 500.00

Letter of November 21:
Cash on hand $1,386.01
Unpaid bills on hand 761.83
Funds on hand expected to last next fortnight.

Letter of November 28:
Cash on hand $1,178.02
Unpaid bills on hand 642.58
Estimated amount needed next fortnight 500.00

Letter of December 5:
Cash on hand $1,184.02
Unpaid bills on hand 1,528.96
Have drawn on minister of finance (E.H. Allen) for 500.00
Estimated expenses for December not over 750.00

Letter of December 12:
Cash on hand $548.44
Unpaid bills on hand 1,202.99
Expenses for December will not exceed $750.00, about half for vaccination.

The letter refers to a resolution passed by the privy council on December 5, asking the R.C.P.H. not to apply to the council for any more money until the meeting of the next legislature, and to present a "minute and detailed account" of all expenditures. This would be given to the legislature to relieve privy council members of their personal responsibility for past appropriations. The R.C.P.H. had been asked, too, to frame a bill for compulsory vaccination. Liholiho's reply: For some time expenses had been held as low as possible, being limited to supplying medicines and non-medical attendance to the sick, and to vaccination. Subcommissioners had been ordered to keep down their outlays to a minimum, and had done so. The R.C.P.H. would not have to ask for more money, as it still had $4,000 left of the privy council's last joint note for $10,000. The commissioners believed it would be more convenient to delay a detailed accounting until they could wind up affairs with the subcommissioners; anyhow, accounts would have to be kept open until the commission was dissolved.

Letter of December 19:
Draft drawn December 16 on minister of finance for $1,500.00; this amount expected to pay all bills to January 1, 1854

Letter of January 16, 1854:
Cash on hand $620.95
Unpaid bills on hand 381.92
Outstanding debts probably not in excess of 600.00
The actual expenses of the R.C.P.H. as reported to the legislature totaled $20,115.84, or the sum of the two notes signed by the king and privy council plus interest to May 1, 1854. This was of course in addition to the legislative appropriation of $10,000 in 1853. "An Act for the Relief of His Majesty and the Members of the Privy Council," approved April 29, 1854, redeemed the notes. On April 28, the legislature addressed a circular letter to all physicians, asking for their claims. Lathrop wanted $2,500, Newcomb $2,800, and Hillebrand $2,500. Drs. Ford, Hoffmann, Hardy, Rooke, and Judd replied that they had no claims. But the legislative committee on claims reported demands for payment illegal, since the R.C.P.H. did not have the power to promise pay. On July 19, however, a committee of the whole did pass a resolution thanking all foreigners, Hawaiians, and medical practitioners who had helped during the epidemic.

Meanwhile, Rooke had forwarded to the minister of finance the best statistics he could get concerning the ravages of the smallpox. He calculated the total expenses at somewhat less than $2.50 for each case, including all precautionary and quarantine costs, printing, etc. His figure must have been based on detailed accounts of the R.C.P.H. as they were included in the commissioners' printed report of March 20, 1854, to the minister of finance. But the report itself is apparently beyond reach, having become a mysterious casualty of some unknown act, committed more than a century ago. On January 31, 1857, Wyllie expressed his wonder: "Would you believe," he wrote to W.L. Lee, "that the Printed Report of the Royal Commissioners of Health...can nowhere be found?"

The crisis that produced the R.C.P.H. passed with the smallpox. On March 20, 1854, the commissioners, having surrendered all books and accounts, requested Kamehameha III's leave to resign. At the same time they pointed out the need for a permanent board of health to guard against epidemics and supervise sanitation. The same day the privy council passed a resolution of thanks for the commissioners' "...long, arduous, and gratuitous labors."

That should have been that. But early in July, Dr. Pelham reported smallpox at Aleamai, Hawaii. The king then announced his refusal to accept the commissioners' resignation. Rooke at once voiced their chagrin at having duties imposed on them which they had no means of carrying out; he also informed the house of representatives that, if it wanted the commission to continue, it would have to vote
funds.123

The smallpox changed Honolulu in many ways—some trivial, some tragic. Celebration of Restoration Day (when Admiral Thomas restored Hawaiian sovereignty after Paulet's seizure of the islands) was omitted;126 school enrollment dropped;127 the Weekly Argus suspended publication late in July when editor Abraham Fornander came down with smallpox (his father and mother-in-law had died of the disease);128 ownerless horses, mules and cattle roamed the city and its environs;129 there was a long-continuing need to care for destitute smallpox sufferers, some of them driven forth by their relatives (the privy council authorized Marshal Parke to care for them until a permanent board of health should be established);130 the awarding of allodial land titles was postponed because of the great number of deaths.131 The police suffered especially, of course, because of their close contact with the epidemic. The king himself was deeply affected; about the middle of October, 1853, Mrs. A.S. Cooke entered in her journal that he had been incessantly drunk for several weeks. His "paramour", she wrote, had died of smallpox, and he had hardly been sober since.132

Spiritual results appear to have been meager. In many places the people were roused to fasting and prayer that lasted for days or even weeks, the time being spent mostly in religious exercises, but in other localities a stupor of gloom and despair seized the populace.133 The Rev. Lowell Smith complained that during the smallpox "...popish and Mormon priests did their best to persuade our sick and dying church members to support them. A few in their extremity assented to the entreaties of these lying prophets; but, so far as I know, they all died without an exception. The mortality among the popists and Mormons was very great."134 He continued:

The epidemic was not the means, so far as I know, of causing one backslider to return, or one impenitent sinner to forsake his sins and put his trust in Christ. And several church members, who had the smallpox and barely escaped death, have renounced all attachment to Christ and his gospel, and have gone after the beast and false prophet.135

Nor were secular activities free from discouragement. Business slumped. As many of Honolulu's working class died, the cost of labor rose sharply. Domestic help demanded $40.00 a month, and was hard to get at any price. Wives of foreigners found themselves performing household drudgery previously relegated to servants.136 Supplies and native produce became likewise both scarce and dear.137

But it was the awful tsunami of death which swept Oahu that will forever mark 1853 as one of the most tragic of years. A preceding section of this paper traced the epidemic's havoc to early July. But this was just the beginning:138

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NEW CASES REPORTED</th>
<th>DEATHS REPORTED</th>
<th>TOTAL CASES</th>
<th>TOTAL DEATHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 9</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 16</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 23</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>2,342</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 30</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2,886</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 6</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3,183</td>
<td>1,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 13</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3,546</td>
<td>1,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 20</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>3,959</td>
<td>1,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases in Honolulu proper, August 12 - 103)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases in Honolulu proper, August 20 - 63)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4,495</td>
<td>1,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases remaining in Honolulu, August 27 - 45)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4,831</td>
<td>1,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 9</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5,049</td>
<td>1,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases in Honolulu, September 9 - 13)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Hawaii Historical Review - October, 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NEW CASES REPORTED</th>
<th>DEATHS REPORTED</th>
<th>TOTAL CASES</th>
<th>TOTAL DEATHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 17</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5,303</td>
<td>1,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases in Honolulu, September 16 - 14, most in the outskirts of town and convalescent)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 23</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cases in Honolulu, September 23 - 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5,411</td>
<td>1,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no new cases or deaths in Honolulu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 8</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5,651</td>
<td>2,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5,686</td>
<td>2,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no new cases in Honolulu proper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5,767</td>
<td>2,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(with exception of 4 cases, all more than 5 miles from Honolulu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 29</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no cases in Honolulu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 5</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>6,015</td>
<td>2,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Honolulu and vicinity clear. All except a few Oahu cases were in Waianae and Ko'olauapoko. Report embraced a period of a month in one district, not previously reported)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6,049</td>
<td>2,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6,083</td>
<td>2,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6,126</td>
<td>2,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6,162</td>
<td>2,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>2,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,249</td>
<td>2,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6,280</td>
<td>2,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 1854</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,285</td>
<td>2,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21</td>
<td>no new cases or deaths reported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28</td>
<td>no new cases or deaths reported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[The reason for discrepancies between cases and deaths reported and total cases and deaths: Figures for outer islands were omitted from this listing of cases and deaths reported; these figures therefore show the situation on Oahu only]

Nearly all the victims were Hawaiian. On June 24, Severance noted that there had been very few cases and no deaths among the haoles. On July 16, four new cases and one death among foreigners were reported. Dr. Hoffmann's statistics from the government hospital showed:

- Week ending July 29 - one new case and one death (foreigners)
- Week ending August 4 - two new cases and one death
- Week ending August 12 - four cases discharged as cured.

Joseph Ryder, a seaman, died on July 27; William Bragg, 24, a Pennsylvanian and a policeman, died August 2; Peter Brothers, 53, a Dane resident in Hawaii for 28 years, died August 22; Jose Sylvada of Fayal, a cooper, died August 26 at the smallpox hospital. There were probably others, but the evidence is clearly against any significant haole mortality. Early in October, Mrs. Cooke's journal noted that only three or four foreigners had died, "...and those among the low and vicious." The Chinese apparently kept to themselves. The Rev. S.C. Damon observed two cases late in July among these people "...who, report says, take care of their cases without foreign medical aid."
Just how many died will never be known. One thing seems clear: The figures of the R.C.P.H. were too low. Marshal Parke listed 11,081 cases and 5,947 deaths on Oahu. Where the commissioners' reports indicated a mortality rate (overall) of nearly 36 per cent, Parke's statistics for Oahu showed a rate of nearly 54 per cent. But there were many other estimates. The September, 1853 issue of The Friend (the copy for which was made up before the epidemic ended) declared that the total number of deaths would "...certainly not fall short of 2,000 out of a population of not over 18 or 20,000 [on Oahu]." At the end of August, Consul Angel maintained that between 3,000 and 4,000 had died. And after it was all over, Mrs. Lowell Smith wrote that "Not less than 5,000 have died on this one island [Oahu] during the past summer."

At the height of the epidemic, the Polynesian printed census figures:

| Population of seven inhabited islands | 84,165 |
| Deaths during the last year | 4,320 |
| Births during the last year | 1,422 |
| Number of foreigners | 1,787 |

The newspaper predicted at least 5,000 smallpox deaths.

In January, 1854, the Honolulu press published vital statistics and census results. Statistics for 1853 for the First District indicated 3,759 deaths and 191 births. This district, about 14 miles long, extended from Maunalua on the east to Moanalua on the west, and supported--it was estimated--about 10,000 people. Of the deaths listed, some 2,800 were attributed to the smallpox. A census taken at the time set the population of Oahu's Kona district (Honolulu included) at 11,355--1,169 of them foreigners--at the end of 1853. The 1850 census, generally regarded as reliable, had shown a population of 14,484 in the same area. The three-year population loss was thus 3,129.

The minister of public instruction took this 1853 census, which gave a total population of 73,137, including 2,118 foreigners. His report to the 1854 legislature compared deaths (8,026) with births (1,513) and estimated the number of smallpox fatalities to have been between 5,000 and 6,000.

After the last rotting corpse had become clay in that putrid lot on Queen Street, the tiresome affair of claims dragged on. Despite the first opinion of the house of representatives' select committee that the claims were illegal, the delicate matter refused to die. The petitioners had waived all recourse at law, depending on the government's generosity. The house had investigated and debated at length time and again. Opinions clashed sharply. And the passage of time brought uncertainty into arguments.

The committee at last recommended, and the house passed, an award for Dr. Lathrop. Later, using the amount as a maximum, the legislature approved payments for: Hillebrand, $1,200; Hoffmann, $1,000; Ford, $900; Hardy, $875; Newcomb, $600; and Smythe, $300. This was in June. But the 1855 appropriation bill as approved in August by the king contained no such provisions--only the commissioners investigating the claims got $200.

The house of nobles in its 1855 session had appointed two commissioners "...to take evidence on all claims against the Government, on account of services rendered during the prevalence of the Small Pox, and to report to the Legislature of 1856."

Kessrs. J.F.B. Marshall and Clouston were named, but the latter declined; M.C. Monserrat replaced him.

Then a joint resolution set up an overall commission on claims. Both the nobles and the representatives had taken evidence, but Lot Kamehameha instructed Marshall, the commission's chairman, to have his group hear all the evidence themselves, and to report the amount they believed each claimant should get. Marshall was to disregard all prior action of the legislature; his commission had a free hand.
The commission met on December 27, 1855. Its members were Marshall, Monserrat, Benjamin Pitman and J.W. Makalena. The first item of business was to receive claims filed in response to an advertisement in the Polynesian. These were:


Kauai - Dr. G.W. Smith, Kaho'okui, and J.P. Bond

Maui - Drs. Hutchinson and Dow

The commission heard testimony through January, 1856; in February it made up estimates of amounts to be allowed claimants, and in March prepared a report of proceedings and of awards for the legislature. On April 7, 1856, it met in the rooms of the chief justice, who made statements about Marshal Parke's special services; it then revised the amount granted him, and finally closed its report.

The first question raised in the hearings was: Were claims justified?

Rooke: Thought no mention of pay was made by any doctors until they heard Lathrop had made a claim; believed Hoffmann was the only doctor employed directly by the R.C.P.H.; Ford was hired as government health officer and paid for it; considered those doctors who were paid for medicines well paid.

Parke: Understood at the time that doctors were working gratis, but supposed that at some future time the government would probably pay them something; thought Ford, Hillebrand, Lathrop, and Hardy should get the same amounts; when he found a bad case he usually mentioned it to the first doctor he met and asked him to look after it.

Ford: Doctors hired to visit hospitals or as ship boarding officers had been paid when they presented bills; doctors presenting bills for medicines had been paid, too.

Armstrong: Talked to several doctors when the disease started; it was understood at that time that if medicines were paid for, the doctors' attendance would be freely given; never heard doctors say anything about their pay except at the first, when it was said that if they were paid for their medicines, they expected no more; never understood any doctors were working for the R.C.P.H. in such a way as to entitle them to make demands for pay; had heard Kamehameha III say the doctors deserved the nation's gratitude for their free services; Armstrong, with many others of the foreign community, had spent most of his time caring for the sick.

To help settle the question, a commission member went over the R.C.P.H. books, which had been surrendered by Rooke. Next, the commission framed a series of questions to be put to claimants, especially physicians; Hoffmann, Hillebrand, Ford, Hardy, Smythe and Lathrop handed in answers by the middle of January.

Testimony began on January 18. It bore directly, of course, on the merits of the several claimants. Unrelated but interesting facets of the testimony are these:

1. After the smallpox was over, Peter Jordan and the other three white prisoners got their pardons on condition that they leave the kingdom. The others compiled, but Jordan refused to go; instead, he had been pressing a claim for pay since 1854. Jordan asserted that when he took the job of burying the dead, he was led to believe the government would pay him well.

2. Pa'aluia, a convicted forger, kept accounts; he was Parke's clerk in Honolulu fort, although under sentence of two and one-half years at hard labor. During the smallpox, he took food and bedding to the sick, not being afraid of the disease. He had been pardoned.

3. Parke reaped high praise. He had been a hard and constant worker; no one, including the physicians, had done more for the sick; he had gone to great trouble to make the Hawaiians obey the rules of the vaccination office; he had been the only
member of the R.C.P.H. to act personally in caring for the sick; many times he had given Hawaiians money from his own purse. 172

4. Hillebrand had earned the respect and gratitude of the Hawaiians; he continued his work after the other doctors had ceased to attend, even after the whaling fleet began to come in. 173

So much for the labors of the commission on claims. It was wasted effort. The legislature of 1856 did not even consider the matter; the whole claims question was indefinitely postponed. Later correspondence indicates that it became a subject of diplomatic negotiation between the Hawaiian government and the United States. 174 Marshal Parke did recoup his private expenditures of money advanced to help the sick, apparently. The 1858-1859 appropriation bill passed by the legislature granted him $800. And with this the great smallpox epidemic of 1853 was—for practical purposes—finished business. 175

NOTES


2. Report, G.A. Lathrop, July 22, 1853. BH July 12-25, 1853. AH. The dire effects of exposure to wind and water have been emphasized strongly. But Dr. W.L. Arnold, in a letter to the writer dated November 23, 1864, says: "...it is actually highly questionable at best, and probably quite wrong; it is barely possible that there might have been a score or two, the outcome of whose illness was so much in doubt that this made a crucial, or indeed any, difference. It may even have been good for them."

3. McCouhtry to Bishop, August 5, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.


8. A. Bishop to W.C. Parke, August 11, 1853; S.S. Spencer to Booke, July 11, 1853; J. Watts to Parke, July 28, 1853. BH August 9-24, July 1-11 and 26-31, 1853. Dr. H.L.

Arnold, Jr., again comments: "...[it would pay] by implication an undeserved compliment to modern medicine and its practitioners [to] speak of the 'pitifully inadequate' remedies which they [physicians of 1853] had to be content with. Until 1963, we had no better ones, and even now, the one remedy which is effective against smallpox is not available in Hawaii and I doubt that one physician in a hundred here could give you its name. I couldn't."


11. S.C. Damon to R.C.P.H., August 1, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.

12. S.C. Damon, August 22, 1853. BH August 9-24, 1853.


14. Polynesian, August 27, 1853; Minutes, January 28, 1856, p. 30; The Friend, September, 1853, p. 61.

15. Ethel C. Damon, op. cit., p. 143.

16. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.

17. Polynesian, August 27, 1853.

18. Angel to W.L. Marcy, No. 1, August 30, 1853.


20. Polynesian, October 29, 1853.

21. Ibid.

22. Angel to Marcy, No. 6, December 31, 1853.

23. Minutes, January 18, 1856, p. 9.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. *Polynesian*, July 30 and August 27, 1853.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. Also, August 13 and September 10.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
42. *Polynesian*, July 20, 1853.
43. Ibid.
44. *Polynesian*, August 20, 1853.
45. Ibid.
46. Severance to Hardy, No. 88, August 15, 1853; Laura Fish Judd, op. cit., pp. 175-176.
48. Ibid.
49. S.C. Damon, letter, July 26, 1853. BH July 26-21, 1853.
50. Minutes, January 21, 1856, p. 15; *Polynesian*, July 2, 1853.
52. Minutes, January 21, 1856, p. 17.
53. Ibid., p. 15.
54. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
55. *Polynesian*, July 22, 1853.
56. Ibid.
58. Jotted note on a scrap of paper. Ibid.
62. W.J. Hildyard, from Government Hospital, October 16, 1853. BH September-December, 1853.
63. Liholiho to the king in council, October 17, 1853. Folder 1.
64. Missionary Herald, L, No. 5 (May, 1854), p. 152.
67. Bishop to Parke, August 2, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853; same, August 11, 1853. BH August 9-24, 1853.
68. Bishop to Parke, August 2, 1853.
69. Bishop to Parke, August 11, 1853.
70. F. Clapp to Parke, August 18, 1853. BH August 25-31, 1853 (misfiled).
71. Bishop to Parke, August 11, 1853; Clapp to R.C.P.H., July 29, 1853.
73. Ibid.
75. Ibid., pp. 180-181.
76. Regulations Adopted in *Waialua in Respect to the Small-pox*. BH July 1-11, 1853.
77. J. Hardy to J.S. Emerson, July 6, 1853. BH July 1-11, 1853.
78. J.S. Emerson to Rook, July 6, 1853. BH July 1-11, 1853.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
84. Dr. A.C. Bonstat to Cooke, August 15, 1853. BH August 9-24, 1853.
85. S.S. Spencer to Cooke, July 11, 1853. BH July 1-11, 1853.
86. Ibid.
87. Liholiho to Cooke. BH July 12-25, 1853.
88. Watts to Parke, July 28, 1853. BH July 26-31, 1853.
89. Polynesian, July 9, 1853.
90. Letellier to Judd, July 20, 1853. BH July 12-25, 1853.
91. C.C. Harris to R.C.P.H., July 21, 1853. BH July 12-25, 1853.
92. Ibid.
93. Cooke to S. Spencer at Kahalu'u, August 6, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
94. Liholiho to Cooke, August 6, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
95. Ibid.
97. Interior Department, December 30, 1853. AH.
98. Extract, September 20, 1853.
99. F. Funk to T.C.B. Cooke, August 1, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
100. R.C.P.H. to King in Privy Council, August 4, 1853. Folder 1.
101. PCP, August 4, 1853, p. 251.
102. Ibid.
103. Extract, August 6 and September 6, 1853.
104. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
105. Report filed in Folder 1: see also PCP, Vol. 7, September 12, 1853, p. 301.
106. Extract, September 15, 1853.
107. October 15, 1853.
108. Extract, September 15, 1853.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., October 1, 1853; Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1850-1854, September 17, 1853, p. 321, and October 8, 1853, p. 335. AH.
112. All letters filed in Folder 1. Authorized by privy council in PCR, Vol. 7, September 26, 1853, p. 311.
113. R.C. Wylie to Dr. J. Fott-Smith, October 24, 1853. Folder 2.
114. Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III...Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1854 (Honolulu: 1854), p. 6.
115. G.A. Lathrop to the Committee of Representatives, May 1, 1854, and to the Nobles and Representatives, April 29 and August 4, 1854; H. Hillebrand to the Committee of Representatives, April 30, 1854; T. Newcomb to Committee of Representatives, April 29, 1854, BH January-September, 1854.
116. Letters filed as above.
117. "C. Parke, op. cit., p. 60.
118. Ibid.
119. T.C.B. Cooke to F.H. Allen, April 10, 1854. Finance Department, April-December, 1854. AH.
121. Folder 3; also, BH January-September, 1854.
122. Polynesian, March 25, 1854.
123. T.C.B. Cooke to John Gaskin and to Speaker of House of Representatives, July 3, 1854. Folder 3.
125. PCR, Vol. 9 (December 15, 1854-December 17, 1855), January 8, 1855, p. 47.
128. Polynesian, July 30, 1853.
129. Weekly Argus, September 7, 1853.
130. T.C.B. Cooke to Kuhina Nui, April 23, 1854. Folder 3; PCR, Vol. 8, April 24, 1854, p. 155.

134. Ibid., p. 341.

135. Ibid.

136. Mary Dillingham Frear, op. cit., pp. 208, 210, 213; Angell to Harcy, No. 6, December 31, 1853.

137. Ibid.

138. Figures are official statistics of the P.C.P.H. as printed in the Polynesian. Dates are those of publication.

139. Severance to Harcy, No. 84, June 24, 1853.

140. Polynesian, July 16, 1853.

141. BH July 26-July 31, August 1-August 8, August 9-August 24, 1853.

142. The Friend, September, 1853, p. 65.

143. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.

144. Polynesian, August 27, 1853.

145. Polynesian, September 3, 1853.


147. S.C. Damon to R.C.P.H., July 26, 1853. BH July 26-31, 1853.


149. Angell to Harcy, No. 1, August 30, 1853.

150. Mary D. Frear, op. cit., p. 208.

151. July 16, 1853.

152. Polynesian, January 7, 1854.


154. Polynesian, February 25 and April 15, 1854.


156. Ibid.; Legislative File, Session Bills, 1855, Appropriation Bill for 1855. AH.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid.

159. Lot Kamehameha to J.C. Konsarrat, November 10, 1855. Interior Department Letter Book No. 6 (June 12, 1852-June 12, 1857), p. 339. AH.

160. Ibid.; Clouston to Lot Kamehameha, September 25, 1855.

161. Lot Kamehameha to J.F.B. Marshall, Chairman of the Commissioners, Small Box, February 21, 1856. Interior Department Letter Book No. 6, p. 365.

162. Minutes, December 27, 1855, p. 1 and December 31, 1855, p. 2.

163. Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

164. Ibid., pp. 1, 2.

165. Ibid., p. 2.

166. Ibid., January 3, 1856, p. 3.

167. Ibid., January 28, 1856, pp. 33-34.

168. Ibid., January 3, 1856, p. 3.

169. Ibid., January 5, 1856, p. 3 and January 17, 1856, p. 4.

170. Ibid., January 21, 1856, p. 16; Peter Jordan to House of Nobles, August 5, 1854. Folder 3.

171. Minutes, January 23, 1856, p. 21 and January 25, 1856, p. 22.

172. Ibid., pp. 22-25.

173. Ibid., p. 25.


175. 1858-1859 Appropriation Bill. Legislative File, 1858-1859 Appropriation Bill and Amendments.

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MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN HAWAII BEFORE 1870

by

Robert C. Schmitt and Rose C. Strombel

The recent enactment of a stricter law on divorce and remarriage brings to mind the treatment that his subject received in Island legislation before 1870. The new law prohibits remarriages for one year after a divorce decree if the couple has minor children.\(^1\) Compared with earlier legislation, the 1965 law seems mild indeed.

When the American missionaries arrived in 1820, they discovered Hawaiian marriage customs to be quite informal:

...except for the people of superior rank, there was very little in the way of ceremony connected with marriage. Divorce consisted merely in quitting and either party was free to terminate the arrangement at will, but there was some sentiment against changing wives frequently... A man might have two or more wives and, at the same time, each wife might have two or more husbands.\(^2\)

The first Christian marriage in the Islands took place on August 11, 1822, when Hiram Bingham officiated at the wedding of Thomas Hopu and Delia.\(^3\) Hoapili, Governor of Maui, and Kalekua were married in the Christian manner in October, 1823.\(^4\) Christian marriage was soon made compulsory. Hoapili, making a tour of Maui in 1826, publicly outlawed the old form on that island.\(^5\) On November 5, 1827, James Ely wrote from Kaawaloa, Kona: "The rulers of this district have declared that, in future, marriages shall not be accounted valid, unless solemnized by a minister of the Gospel. Offenders are punished by being made to work on a public road."\(^6\)

This law was soon extended to all islands of the Kingdom. Kaahumanu said:

If a man and woman are agreed to live together as man and wife, and there is nothing in the way to render it illegal, then let them marry in accordance with the word of God.

But those persons who are united according to the former customs of this country, and are still living together... their union is hereby confirmed anew in the same manner as those who are married.

But from the present time all persons are prohibited from uniting together according to the former customs, it is proper to marry.\(^7\)

Kauikeaulani (Kamehameha III) discussed marriage in his "Law Against Licentiousness," proclaimed on September 21, 1829:

It is not proper that one man have two wives nor one woman two husbands, whatever man or woman shall do so is guilty by this law.

If a man or woman have cohabited they are by this law made man and wife but if later they cohabit with others it is a crime....

This is proper that the marriage of a man with a woman be perpetual, if they wish to marry, but if the union be forbidden it will not be proper to marry, let them make known their intention to the teacher and let their names be both written in the marriage certificate, so they will be observing the laws of the present time.\(^8\)

Christian marriage was soon accepted by the people. On June 28, 1831, the missionaries wrote:

Five or six years ago the Christian form of marriage was unknown on the islands. Nor was there any other form that could not be sundered at
any moment by the will of the parties. The breaking of the marriage contract, such as it was, was a thing of the most common occurrence, leading to great misery and great moral pollution. Now, probably few persons who would be called respectable on the islands, residing within a day's journey of any of the stations, can be found living together as heads of families, who have not been solemnly married in the Christian manner. Instances are rare when the marriage contract is grossly violated.  

The law requiring persons with more than one spouse to choose one and discard the rest did not seem to stir much protest. According to Dibble, "Less difficulty was experienced, than might have been supposed, in carrying this regulation into effect."  

Occasional misdeeds were dealt with firmly. William Richards, writing from Lahaina on April 14, 1828, was able to recall only two "violations of the marriage laws" out of the 1,500 he had solemnized in the Islands. One man who had forsaken his wife and married another was "sentenced to make 160 fathoms of road three fathoms wide. The marriage was also pronounced unlawful, and the woman, on giving satisfactory evidence that she was innocent, received liberty to marry again." Richards added: "One instance has also occurred in which a woman, having persevered in the most criminal violation of her marriage vows, was, according to law, sentenced to a year's confinement in irons. Her husband, on applying for a bill of divorcement, received it."  

Every effort was made to enforce domestic tranquility. A law approved on November 12, 1840, contained this provision:  

If two married persons do not live happily together, but quarrel often and become famous for the same, and also disregard their marriage vows, they shall then be brought to trial, and being convicted of the charge as specified above, they shall both be confined in irons. They shall be confined separately, not together, and shall be confined at night only, and in the morning shall be set at liberty, to go where they please, but at night shall be confined again, and shall be confined every night until they cease quarreling.  

Laws on adultery were particularly stringent. Kauikaouli's "Law Against Licensiousness," for example, stated:  

But if he is caught again in adultery he shall pay three hogs to the husband of his paramour, and three to the Governor who shall set apart a portion for the King, if not hogs then something else of equal value.  

If a woman commit adultery and her husband be displeased his case is the same as that of the wife of an adulterous husband, and the woman shall pay five dollars for the King and five dollars for the Governor, and five dollars for the wife of the man with whom she had connection; or if not money then property of equal value and her paramour shall be fined in the same manner. And if they have connection four times it shall be at the discretion of the king to take away their land.  

In an effort to combat illiteracy, the rulers of Hawaii withheld marriage licenses from persons who could not read. An 1835 ruling by Hoapili, Governor of Maui, denied licenses to the illiterate on that island. On May 21, 1841, Kamehameha III signed an act that stated: "...nor shall a man who is unable to read and write marry a wife, nor a woman who is unable to read and write marry a husband. But this edict does not apply to those who were born previous to the reign of Liho-liho."

A later section of the same set of laws noted:
It is important that parents should have so much sincere regard to the welfare of their children as to influence them to attend to instruction. For if they are unable to read, they can neither marry husbands nor wives.

Another evil is that the officers give certificates of marriage to those who cannot read. The officers should carefully examine the law and withhold certificates from all who are ignorant of reading.

These laws were repealed on July 10, 1850.

The American missionaries were meanwhile formulating their own policies regarding marriage. In 1826 they resolved "...that an aggrieved party justly complaining of adultery, or wilful desertion...may, by consent of the proper authorities, be married to another..." and "...that the deserting party cannot contract a new marriage...until the deserted is known to be fairly divorced.

In 1831 they resolved:
That the marriage of unprincipled foreigners with native females is highly to be deprecated.
That we do not consider to marry any foreigner, unless he offer satisfactory evidence that he has no wife in any other part of the world, and unless he exhibit a written certificate from the Governor, that he has permission to reside permanently on the islands, and unless he has actually been a quiet resident, engaged in some regular employment, at least one year.

The first laws regarding divorce were proclaimed by Kaahumanu: "A man cannot cast off his wife at pleasure. A woman cannot cast off her husband at pleasure." Legal grounds for divorce always included adultery. Kauiaeaouli's "Law Against Licentiousness" provided that:
If a man sleep with a woman and his wife be displeased and wish to be separated she may apply to the Governor who shall grant a divorce and they shall be separated. If the wife wish to leave him and marry again she may but the guilty husband shall not be at liberty to marry again until the death of his first wife.

This law was reworded in 1835 in the following form:
And if the husband of the adulterous wife, or wife of the adulterous husband desires to be separated for life on account of disgust arising from frequent adultery and bad conduct, let a bill of divorcement be given and let them separate; but the adulterous person shall by no means marry again till the death of the party forsaken.

The grounds for divorce were enlarged in 1840. The new law permitted a woman to apply to the Governor for permission to remarry if her husband sailed away and was not heard from for four years or longer; if he returned, however, "...the new husband must be put away." Banishment to another island for a period of four years or more made a man "legally dead" and gave his wife the opportunity to apply for permission to remarry. An attempt on the life of one partner by the other was likewise grounds for divorce; only the intended victim could remarry. Adultery was accepted as grounds only if one partner was convicted of the offense and the other was "of unblemished character."

The divorce law was revised again by the Statute Laws of 1845-1846. Grounds were limited to adultery, although the Governor could award a legal separation for habitual ill treatment, habitual drunkenness, and non-support. In 1853, however, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court wrote that "...the statute of 1846 has not been fully understood or acted upon, a great number of divorces having been granted for causes other than adultery; and until within the last year, if not up to the present day, the Governors have been guided by the law of 1840."
The law was accordingly rewritten. On November 2, 1853, jurisdiction was transferred from the Governors to the Courts, and desertion or imprisonment over five years as well as adultery were accepted as legal grounds for divorce. The guilty partner still could not remarry until the death of the innocent one.26 This last provision was tempered in 185927 and abolished entirely in 1866.28 Grounds were further liberalized in 1870.29 Thereafter Hawaii residents faced far fewer restrictions on marriage, divorce, and remarriage.

NOTES


5. Ibid.


7. The First Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Issued from Time to Time, and Compiled and Published in 1842, Chapter X, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., The Fundamental Law of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1904), p. 45. Kaahumanu was kuhina-nui of the Kingdom; she died on June 5, 1832.

8. Typed translation in files of the Archives of Hawaii. Also filed in the archives is the original printed document, No Ka Moe Kolohe (Oahu: September 21, 1829). See also the untitled broadside (sometimes called the "Cow Proclamation") dated Oahu, October 7, 1829, also filed in the Archives. The English version of the latter is quoted in full in C.S. Stewart, A Visit to the South Seas..., Vol. II (New York: John P. Haven, 1831), p. 154.


10. Sheldon Dibble, loc. cit.


13. No Ka Moe Kolohe, op. cit. (reference 8).


16. Ibid., Chapter LII, p. 131.


19. Extracts from the Minutes of a General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Held at Honolulu, June 1831, p. 16.

THE ROYAL SLIDE AT KEAUHOU, KONA, HAWAII

by

Lloyd Soehren

On March 20, 1964, the great holua slide above Keauhou Bay in North Kona, Hawaii, was dedicated as a Registered National Historical Landmark. Recent research into the all too scanty history of this monumental sledding track has produced several items of interest. Although most of them derive from single sources, largely secondary, which so far cannot be confirmed, they are still credible and are here summarized.

The slide itself is by far the largest existing in the islands today, if not the largest ever constructed. It is presently over 3,000 feet long but was undoubtedly much longer originally. The lower end has long since been destroyed, largely to provide building material for nearby stone fences, and the exact extent is unknown. The structure is built up as much as fifteen feet high in some places, and varies greatly in width from thirty to perhaps sixty feet over its course. Its upper end is estimated to be ninety feet wide. Save for its immense size, it is typical of built-up slides, such as those at City of Refuge National Historical Park and Puu Hinahina, South Kona. According to Maol, the surface of such slides was covered with hard packed dirt and then with a layer of grass. Midday was said to be the best time for sliding, for the heat of the sun made the grass slippery.

Such a tremendous structure could have been erected only by a powerful and wealthy chief. According to the Rev. A.S. Baker it was built by Kamehameha for his son Kauikeaouli, born to Keopuolani at nearby Keauhou Bay in 1814. At that time, Kamehameha was at the height of his power and well able to undertake such a project.
which would enhance his own prestige as well as his son's. The circumstances of Kauikeauli's birth might well have inspired a monument of such magnitude: The apparently stillborn infant was brought to life by the priest Kapihe, while Kapihe notes no such connection, he does refer to the slide of Kaneaka (Ka hoolua o Kaneaka) at Keauhou. This is the only known reference to a name for the slide. Whether it applies to the slide itself or to a land division (perhaps an 'ili) on which it stands is uncertain. The name is not recorded in the Mahele records, nor does it appear on any of the early maps of the area.

Another name associated with the slide is that of the hill at which it commences. This hill is called Pu'u-o-Kami-iafo (Hill-with-compressed-sugar-cane-leaves), perhaps descriptive of the covering of the slide, by Henry Kekahuna. Kami was the name of the successor to John Papa II as administrator of Kauikeauli's household. Whether there is any relationship between the name of the person and the name of the hill is unknown. As in the case of the name Kaneaka for the slide, no confirmation has yet been found for Kekahuna's statement, although it is fully credible.

Kekahuna has also recorded that formerly there was a kind of watch-tower (Ui-maka, from ike-ka-maka) near He'eia Bay from which signals were given for the simultaneous beginning of sled riding and surf riding contests. At He'eia is the surf called Ka-ulul (the growth, or the inspiration) commemorated in the song, "He'eia", composed for Kalakaua. Both sports were enjoyed by the ali'i, and such an arrangement would appeal to their love of competitive sports. Too, a sled ride was commonly followed by a ride on the surf.

The credibility of this story is augmented by contrasting it with a commonly-heard statement that the great slide terminated at Keauhou Bay, and that the contestants rode their sleds into the water. Such a claim is manifestly absurd for several reasons. First, the slide itself, although the terminus has been destroyed, is clearly directed toward He'eia Bay, not toward Keauhou Bay. This can be seen on aerial photographs and also on the United States Geological Survey topographic map. Second, the object of the sled riding was to make the greatest distance. Were all contestants to terminate their ride, after sailing over the cliff at the head of Keauhou Bay, in a great splash, no one would outdistance another, and therefore no one would win over another. The common practice of placing bets on the outcome of the contest would also be rendered fruitless. Third, the chiefs of Hawaii were not otters.

Such a fable might conceivably have arisen from faded memories or the garbling of tradition handed down over the generations since Keauhou was a royal abode. That it is only a fable has been demonstrated above, I hope conclusively.

NOTES

6. Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a, December 28, 1868. In Kamakau, p. 242, ka hoolua o Kaneaka is translated "the slide at Kaneaka".

KAHUNA LAPA'AU

by

Larry Kimura

In the annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for 1944, Dr. Nils P. Larsen in his article, "Medical Art in Ancient Hawaii," wrote: "Hawaiians were taught by foreign teachers to look with horror on much of Hawaiian culture. Few people will ever believe that there could be anything intelligent in the old heathen culture. How can we develop more tolerance?" An aspect of Hawaiian culture treated abusively today is Kahunaism. Most people are ignorant of the importance of the Kahuna to ancient Hawaiians. The word Kahuna is often—but incorrectly—associated with trickery, mental suggestion, and black magic. But a Kahuna was an expert in his field, a professional. Did he pray people to death? Did he heal the sick? In either case he played a central role in Hawaiian society.

The most highly respected Kahuna was the Kahuna Lapa'au, a medical priest with a pharmacopoeia of hundreds of prescriptions made up from herbs. Science today is investigating his ancient skills. It may be that some of the herbs he employed have modern applications, as do many plants used in antiquity.

I know through experience that the ancient skills of the Kahuna Lapa'au can be applied effectively today. I broke my left arm just below the elbow when I fell from a horse. X-rays showed that the two broken ends of the bone threatened to pierce my flesh. After anesthesia I found myself lying on a bed with a cast all the way up my arm. The cast remained there for some five months. When it was removed, the doctors discovered that the bones had set unevenly, causing an unnatural curve in my arm. I then visited a well-known Hawaiian physician, or Kahuna Lapa'au. He diagnosed the trouble by just touching and feeling the fractured area. Placing my arm in what seemed to be a wrestler's hold, he broke the fracture again and reset the bones. Next, a herbaceous poultice was applied to the area and bandaged; then my arm was put in a sling. Throughout this whole procedure I felt very little pain. I visited the Kahuna once a week for six weeks to have the poultice changed. On the sixth visit he told me that my bones had healed correctly, and his treatment was over. Today my forearm looks as natural as before the fracture; this was made possible without the aid of X-rays and other modern medical techniques.

Before designating a child for training as a Kahuna Lapa'au, Hawaiian parents carefully studied the youngster's behavior. If a child showed great sympathy in any situation of distress, whether in comforting a crying baby or trying to soothe his parents when they seemed upset, he was regarded as having the "healing spirit." Then perhaps the parents would send their child to the best Kahuna Lapa'au of their community. If after a couple of weeks the Kahuna also felt that the youngster had the right spirit to become a healer, he would so inform the parents. The child would then live with the Kahuna and learn about medicinal plants and how to prepare them. The symptoms of each disease, the methods of treatment, and the results to expect were carefully taught. The island where each disease originated was also taught, e.g., it had appeared at this particular place on Niihau, and such were the sacrifices and prayers to offer when addressing the gods. Appropriate clothing had to be
worn when treating the disease, and the proper remedy learned and applied. Also, the names of the gods of healing, from remote times, were to be memorized.7 Ma'i Ola (life bringer) was the special god of the medical profession. Kahunas also prayed to female deities: Keuka Ho'iola Ma'i (healer) and Ka Pu Alaka'i (leading force). Another god was Kamiki, or swift one. One finds different names of the many deities on each island.8 After the Hawaiian medical student had become—in his tutor's opinion—a qualified Kahuna Lapa'au, the young doctor was sent out to practice on his own.9

Treatment of a patient began with a diagnosis of his ailment. The chief method of diagnosis was exploring the symptoms by touch. The Kahuna usually started with the digestive tract, because before the arrival of foreign diseases many of the native disorders affected this region. Another method consisted of merely looking at the patient. We still have doctors who have this uncanny eye and who need neither the help of a careful examination, nor X-rays, nor laboratory reports to make a diagnosis.10 If the ailment involved in any way the digestive organs, certain foods were then forbidden, as the Kahuna saw fit, and after the patient had agreed to this restriction and any others, the Kahuna applied his treatment.

The process of treating a patient was always accompanied by certain prayers and sacrifices to the proper deities. If the cause of the disorder could not be found by physical examination, the Kahuna turned to divination in search of a possible supernatural cause. Doctors today would probably assign a psychological cause and give the patient sugar pills, but among the Kahuna Lapa'au, prayers to the gods and an analogy of the patient revealed the problem. Then the Kahuna would give his client psychological advice. This whole act of divination on the part of the Kahuna was just as effective as sugar pills are today.11

Remedies were given with some relation to five. The Kahuna might prescribe a remedy to be taken five times a day, or once a day for five days, and so on. The use of the number five is probably the result of keen observation, since star fish have markings of five, many flowers have five petals, and the number five is significant in other forms of nature. It seemed logical that if the gods used five in nature, then man should.12 The position of the body was also important, especially when drinking a cure which affected the digestive system. Five basic positions were assumed in the following order each time the patient took his remedy: Lying on the stomach, lying on the left side, lying on the right side, lying on the back, and standing upright.13

The skills of the ancient Kahuna Lapa'au were effective, and many of their medicinal applications still make sense.14 Doctors Larsen and Tambah, who have done extensive research on ancient Hawaiian medicine, would agree that what little Hawaiian medicine is used today produces successful results.

Soon after Cook's discovery of these islands in 1778, foreign diseases killed thousands of Hawaiians. The population dropped from an estimated 300,000 in 1778 to 134,750 in 1823, just forty-five years later. In 1900 the Hawaiian population was down to 28,718.15 The medical lore of ancient Hawaii proved to be an insufficient defense against the onslaught of alien diseases. And Western medicine for Western diseases came to the islands slowly. In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the islands their first nine missionary doctors. Gradually foreign doctors dominated Hawaii's medical field.16 The ancient medical skills and knowledge of the Kahuna Lapa'au are now dead. They cannot be revived, but deserve a kinder fate than oblivion.

NOTES

1. The Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the
The idea of printing in the Hawaiian Islands was evidently conceived even before the missionaries left Boston, for in the first missionary company was a printer, Mr. Elisha Loomis, and a press. "The first printing press at the Hawaiian Islands was imported by the American missionaries, and landed from the brig Thaddeus, at Honolulu, in April, 1820. It was not unlike the first used by Benjamin Franklin, and was set up in a thatched house standing a few fathoms from the old mission frame house, but was not put in operation until the afternoon of January 7, 1822."1 The sheet printed was the first 8 pages of a Hawaiian spelling book. The number of copies was 500.2 From 1822 to 1834 all the printing for the Hawaiian Islands was done in Honolulu. From 1822 to 1827, under the supervision of Mr. Loomis, the printing office, with its badly worn press and limited type, confined itself to printing elementary lessons in Hawaiian, decrees of the King and chiefs, and small jobs for various ship captains and merchants. The eleventh item printed by the Honolulu press, according to Mr. Howard M. Ballou, was "...a handbill prepared by Captains Clasby and Paddack for those masters and officers of ships who were ready to agree to prohibit females from visiting their ships for the purpose of prostitution. It was signed by the masters and officers of four whaling ships lying at Lahaina, viz., the Hydespe, the Thames, the Enterprise, and the Aurora."3

In January, 1827, Mr. Loomis left the Hawaiian Islands because of bad health and also in order that he might publish some of the translated Bible in America, as the small press in Honolulu could not do the heavy printing. The supervision of the
printing press was left to Mr. Bingham and the various Hawaiians that Mr. Loomis had taught. In March, 1828, Mr. Stephen Shepard, who had volunteered his services as a printer, arrived with the third company of missionaries and brought with him from Boston the second press with additional type and supplies.

We have set up the press brought out by the Parthian, & have worked of [sic] one form of twelves upon it. We find it to be an old press, but does possible [sic] work. It is of a small size, and of insufficient power, although much superior to the old one—We have two presses, such as they are, & should be able to use 600 or 700 Reams of paper a year...4

The second press was shortly found to be inadequate, due to an increasing demand for the palapala (writing of any kind). This sudden increase was brought about by the steady persistence of the missionaries in teaching the Hawaiians to read their own language, the eagerness of the natives to learn to read, and the establishment of books as a form of currency by the missionaries. The latter was brought about by a regulation made at the General Meeting of 1828, whereby the missionaries were permitted to sell books for cash or to barter them for services from the natives. Previously to this the missionaries had had only cloth as a means of barter to entice the Hawaiians to work for them.

Therefore, no sooner had the second press been set up and put into operation than a third was requested by the Hawaiian missionaries. At the time of this request Mr. Shepard said, "If the Committee decide to send an iron press for the printing of the Scriptures, one of the presses now here might be sent windward."5

With the arrival of the Wells printing press in 1832 (the two previous ones were Ramage presses of different sizes), the printing of books and more complicated matter was done in greater abundance.

It was probably this heavy printing demand that did not allow the contemplated move of a press to an outside island right away.

The High School at Lahainaluna had been established and the demands for printed material for this school made it very evident that the new printing office should be located at Lahainaluna. The directors of the High School made the following recommendation in 1833:

The Directors recommend that the principal devote special attention to the subject of preparing studies, availing himself of the aid of his best pupils both in arranging and communicating them, & that the missionaries, who are able, wherever they are stationed, hold themselves in readiness at the request of the Principal to assist in preparing books, tracts, maps, drawing & other means of improvement for the benefit of the school, and that on the arrival of another press for the Mission one of the Ramage Presses now at the office be sent to the High School and put in working order with a small font of type which may be the most conveniently spared sufficient at least for one form to facilitate the preparation of studies, books, tracts, handbills, cards, diagrams &c. particularly for striking off proofs, schedules, &c, for the immediate use of the classes, it being understood that copies of such productions as are likely to be more generally useful shall be sent up to the printing committee of the mission to be printed at discretion for the benefit of select, station & other schools in the islands.6

The students of Lahainaluna were at first selected from among those who had shown the most promise in the lower schools, and the primary purpose of teaching them was that they in turn might go out and teach others. After teaching during the first three years at Lahainaluna, Mr. Andrews, the Principal and founder, had this to say in regard to the lack of school books: "It is the opinion of the principal
that four months out of ten have been lost to the scholars for want of books. For want of books the scholars cannot study out of school, and if the school hours be lengthened the principal has no time for the preparation of proper studies of the school, much less to prepare books."

In August of 1833 a building was started to house the press due to arrive from Honolulu. "In December, the press had arrived with types paper &c though the building for the office was not finished nor my own home nor study." About the middle of January a native printer arrived from Oahu & commenced unpacking the type & putting them in the cases though the office was not yet finished. About the 22 of Jan. the office was finished & on the 23 the press was set up."

The first book put to press was a translation of Worcester's Scripture Geography....On the third of February the first sheet of the Geography was worked off. We soon found our press to be a poor one. Our types also were of two kinds mixed together some longer than others & which did not know until the experiment taught us. By separating however we made better work afterwards. Several of the scholars expressed a desire to work in the office which they were allowed to do after they had made themselves printing sticks, for we had but one iron one in the office for several months, and even now we have not a supply. For the first six weeks or two months we did all our press work even the News paper without a frisket.

The office, though exceedingly beneficial to the school, brought with it a host of cares that lay heavily upon me. Though I had worked considerable in a printing office at different times in former years, yet I never supposed that I understood the business. I never served an apprentice ship I had never even made up a form. I had worked only as a compositor & press man. Hence I felt very awkward for I soon discovered that our Hawaiian printer knew much more of the business in detail than I did, I found it good exercise however to work the press which I did for several hours twice a week at least.

NOTE: Following is a rough list of the works printed at Lahainaluna from 1834 to 1846. Months of specialized research would be required to make it complete and accurate. It is meant to serve as a working list and as a basis for further research. Numbers given are for documentation and do not necessarily denote the order in which they were printed.

L.1 Worcester's Scripture Geography. He hoikehonua no ka palapala hemolele, he mea ia e akakai 'i ke ano o na wahi i haiia mai ai ma ka olelo a ke Akua. January, 1834. 99pp, 16mo, 200 copies. Trans. by Thurston. /A geography of the Bible, giving explanations concerning the places which are mentioned in the Word of God./


On the fourteenth of February we published the first Hawaiian Newspaper ever printed at the Sandwich Islands. Of the style in which it was got up I say nothing as we had but one sort of type & those had once been so much worn out as to be thrown aside, as had also our press. We called the paper, Ka Lama Hawaii, that is, the Hawaiian Luminary.

Its object was, first, to give the scholars of the High School the idea of a Newspaper—to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical. Secondly, to communicate to
then ideas on many subjects directly & indirectly, such as we should not put into sermons nor into books written formally for the nation. Thirdly, it was designed as a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose. The last page has been almost exclusively devoted to their use. Previously to this they had commenced writing composition as a regular exercise in school. The paper has thus far been exceedingly interesting to the scholars. They have read it with avidity & such parts as were designed for that purpose have been recited as other school books. The cuts were engraven on wood as also the title by Dr. Chapin. It was designed merely for the school & has not been extensively circulated beyond it.11

Later Andrews wrote:

The Lama Hawaii was continued for the most part regularly from July 25th to December 25th making eleven numbers. In addition to fourteen already printed,7 it was then with reluctance on the part of the Principal and the scholars discontinued. The circumstances of the school however, and the want of means in the office, rendering such a step necessary, were, the great & increasing want of books, the preparation and printing of which required all the time & means that could be devoted to it. The want of means consisted in the fewness of types in the office; far too few for conducting a weekly periodical together with the printing of necessary books.12

The list of works printed continues:

I.4 Constitution of Marine Temperance Society, and other handbills. 1834. 4pp. 200 copies.

I.5 Geometry. Ke anahonua. Oia ka mea e ike ai. Ke kumu o ke ana aina a me ke holo moʻoku. He mea ia e pono ai ke kulanui. 1834. 122pp. 45pp. woodcuts, copper plates. 8vo. 1500 copies. By L. Andrews. /Geometry. Teaching the principles of surveying and of navigation. Useful for the High School./ The first 48 and then the first 64 pages were bound and issued prior to the completion of the whole work. Half pages are inserted opposite pages 67 and 75. A preliminary edition of 200 copies of the first form of 8 pages was printed prior to the annual meeting in June, 1834.

I.6 Natural History of Animals (translated from Comstock). He moolelo no na holoholona wawne eha. He olelo ia e hookaka i i ke ano o na holoholona eha wawae, a me ko lakou wahi noho ai, a me ke lakou hana ana. ua pai pu ia na kii o na holoholona a mau i hoakakaia o ke kii kekahi mea e akaka loa ai ke ano. 1834. 192pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. Translated by Richards. /A History of the Quadrupeds. An essay on quadrupeds, their dwelling places and their habits. The pictures of all the animals spoken of, are printed with the text; a picture is of much assistance to explain the meaning./

I.7 Index to Holy Writ. He kuhikuhi no ka palapala hemolele; he mea ia e pono ai na haumana o na kula Sabati. 1834. 61pp. 8vo. 200 copies. /Index to Holy Writ. Useful for Pupils of the Sunday School./

I.8 Huliano (Union Questions), Vol. I. O ka huliano, he olelo niele no ia e hoakaka ai ke ano o ka palapala hemolele. He mea ia e pono ai na kula Sabati. Paki I No ke moolelo no Jesu a me kana mau hana mana. 1835. 156pp. 16mo. 1200 copies. Translated by Dibble. /Searching into the meaning. Questions explaining the meaning of Holy Writ. Useful for Sunday Schools. Vol. I. The Story of Jesus and His Miracles./

I.9 Ikemua (First Reading Book for Children). O ka ikemua, he palapala ia e ao aku ai i na kaniakai i ka heluhelu ana a me ke ano no hoi o na olelo a lakou e heluhelu ai. 1835. 12mo. 48pp. 1000 copies. Translated by Dibble; cuts
engraved by Dr. Chapin. First lessons, teaching the children reading and the meaning also of the words read.


L.11 Moomolelo Ekalesia (Church History). Ka moomolelo no ka ekalesia o Iesu Kristo. Ko laakou Haku e ola; mai ka wa o ko Iesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou. 1835. 95pp. 12mo. 500 copies. By J.S. Green. History of the church of Jesus Christ. Our Savior’s deliverance. From the birth of Jesus down to the present year of our Lord 1835.


L.20 Directions for writing. Ke Kakaaulima he mea ia e pono ai na kula. 1835. 4 pp. 12mo. 500 copies. Pemanship, a publication for the good of the schools.

L.21 Scripture Questions. 1836. 64pp. 16mo. 1200 copies.

L.22 II Chronicles. Ohianaalii II. 1836. 72pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. Translated by Green.


L.28 Sermons. 1836. 144pp. 12mo. 500 copies.


L.30 Shipping List. 1835-1836. 1p. 4to. 400 copies.

L.31 Circular of Shipmasters. 1835-1836. 1p. 4to. 100 copies.

L.32 He papaioa no na Kahu, a me na Kuu, a me na haumana o ke Kulanui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1836. 4pp. Names of the trustees, teachers and scholars of the High School of Hawaii in Lahainaluna, Maui.

The minutes of the general meetings for 1835 noted that "...a second hand Ramage Press was received and set up in July last [1834] by Mr. Rogers." 13 It is not clear to the writer of this paper whether this press was one of the two original Ramages or a newly acquired one. In June of 1835 there was still a Ramage press at Honolulu used as a proof press.
All the printing before June of 1835 was done under the direction of the teacher at Lahainaluna (who knew little about how to operate the press) and a Hawaiian printer trained in Honolulu.

"At the General Meeting in June, 1835, Mr. E.H. Rogers was located at Lahainaluna to take charge of the printing office..."14 With the arrival of a full-time printer and the expansion of the printing and engraving work, it became evident that the temporary building that the presses were in was much too small, and in July Mr. E. Clark wrote to Chamberlain, "If we can do anything more this year after putting up the school house, we shall probably begin upon a printing office."15

Due to the great amount of building being done at Lahainaluna and Lahaina, the printing office did not get started for some eighteen months. At the General Meeting of the missionaries in June of 1836 it was decided: 

4. That the Printing Office at Lahainaluna be regarded as a new establishment of the mission; and that its expenses be placed to the printing department of the mission. 5. That in printing works of general interest at that press, the editions be so large as to supply, in some measure, the immediate wants of the several stations."16 It would seem by this that a printing establishment at least comparable to that in Honolulu was to be set up at Lahainaluna. More type and another press were received. "In regards to the Super royal press written for by the Gen. Glover, I would say, that upon further consideration and consultation with Mr. Rogers, who received one last spring..."17

To house this more elaborate printing establishment, the "Hale Pai" printing office was started in January, 1837.

"A building for engraving, printing &c which we are just commencing will cost a considerable sum. We must have more buildings also for our school before long if we continue to take boys... Our building expenses will stand high this year even without the office."18 The brethren at Honolulu seemed to think that the Honolulu printing office was elaborate enough and that a second printing establishment was not called for, to which Mr. Clark replied:

We feel somewhat embarrassed by your letter, & the report which Mr. Burnham brings from Cahu. If all the brethren on Cahu were united in the opinion that it is not best to go on with the office &c, we ought perhaps to stop until we can get the voice of the mission again expressed in view of present circumstances. This I have proposed, but there are difficulties in the way. The work is commenced & all things are ready to go on with the work.

With regard to the plan of the house, I am fully satisfied that it is a judicious & economical plan considering the business to be carried on in the house. I understood Mr. Andrews request at the Gen. Meeting, to be for permanent accommodations for carrying on engraving, &c from the vote of the mission, I supposed they were so far satisfied with the experiment as to think it expedient to carry on the business permanently [sic] just as much as we do our printing. If the mission have now altered their opinion, we, of course, must alter our plans. But how shall we know? It seems from Mr. Burnham's statement that some, if not all, of the brethren on Cahu have altered their minds. But it seems to me they have done it with a very partial knowledge of the subject. I have not the least suspicion that the Board or the Mission will think it best to give up the business of engraving when the subject is fairly presented before them. If the business is to be carried on, we must have rooms to do it in. I am satisfied the plan we fixed upon is the best we can adopt for a permanent arrangement, or for successfully carrying on the business. You estimate the expense I think too high. The whole building can not, I think, cost over $2000. In that case
not more than $500 should be charged to the engraving as the expenses of the building will not be increased more than that amount by the addition of the rooms for engraving.

Besides Mr. Rogers said when the plan was made out, that he should probably want the whole building for printing & binding in a few years, & he has proposed once or twice to have it enlarged ever since the walls were commenced. He has only 36 feet by 18 in which to carry on the type setting & press work, & the same room below for the folding, binding & storing paper &c. This is little room enough, if we do no more work than we have done for a year or two past. But however well satisfied we may be with regard to going on with the office &c, we should not wish to do it in opposition to the voice of the mission. The office &c is not for ourselves, but for the mission... Mr. Clark writes on about adhering to rule of economy, then continues:...

Mr. Burnham says you thought the lumber &c for the office should come out of the grant to the High School. I suppose that is settled by the resolution of the mission recorded on page 7th of the last minutes [sic]. It is the printing committee here that consult & direct about building the office, & not the High School Committee. But enough on this subject. The building went on. Clark to Chamberlain, March 24, 1837: "Our other buildings covered with ti leaf do well. We hope to save most of the ti leaf for the printing office so that there will not be very much waste." In a list of the expenses of Lahainaluna, ending May 1, 1837, the following was noted: "Building for printing office & bindery up to May 1, 1837 $1,200." In that same month "...the committee of superintendence of the High School would present the following recommendations in reference to future operations of the school, 4. That $1,000 be laid out, if necessary, in completing the printing office, bindery &c." In June of 1837 a circular arrived from Boston, telling of the financial recession in the United States and how the Mission must retrench and spend only about half the amount they had budgeted for the coming year. "The walls of an office for printing, binding and engraving, were also being put up when the circular arrived. The circular put a stop to the work of building, and very much crippled the operations of the seminary." This circular left the director of the high school in a quandary as to what to do. "...Shall we stop short with the printing office &c &c? It is now nearly covered, the glass is set, the floors are plained [sic] ready to lay down & the inside work is got out, doors made &c. You must tell us whether you will pay any bills from this time onward for that work. "I am glad for one to have the Board tell us what we may do & what we may not do. Then the responsibility of not doing comes upon them & not upon us..."

On August 30, 1837, a special meeting was held in the Seamen's Reading Room in Lahaina of the missionaries of the windward islands, and it was agreed, "...that the sum of $100 be appropriated to finishing the printing office at Lahainaluna so far as to be occupied." The building was eventually finished in 1837, and the printing went on. The list of works printed continues:

L.34 Geographical Questions (2nd ed.). 1837. 44pp. 12mo. 1000 copies.
L.35 Kumu kahiki. Ke kumu kahiki oia ka mea e ao ai i na hua a me ka hockui a me ka heluhelu ana i ka olelo Beretania. 1837. 36pp. 12mo. 500 copies. By L. Andrews. /The foreign primer designed to teach the letters and the spelling and the reading of the English language./

L.36 Hawaiian English Grammar. He pililelelo no ka olelo Beretania. 1837. 40pp. 8mo. 300 copies. By L. Andrews. /A grammar for the English language./

L.37 For the Monthly Concert. /1836-1837/. 16pp. 12mo. 400 copies.

L.38 Duty of the present generation to preach the gospel to the heathen. /1836-1837/. 12pp. 12mo. 400 copies.


L.40 I have a message from God to thee. /1836-1837/. 12pp. 12mo. 400 copies.

L.41 Disobedience to the Savior's last command. /1836-1837/. 36pp. 12mo.

500 copies.

L.42 Shipping List. /1836-1837/. 500 copies.

L.43 Church covenant (in Hawaiian). 1837. 4pp. 12mo. 30 copies.


L.45 Biblical Chronology and History. O ka hoikemanawa a me ko kuhikuhi no ka moolelo hemoolele. 1837. 216pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. By Dibble. /Chronology and index to Sacred History./

L.46 Astronomy. O ke aholoku; oia ka mea e akaka'i ke ano a a la a me ka honua, a me na hoku. 1837. 12pp. 12mo. 2000 copies. By E.W. Clark. /Astronomy: that is, an explanation of the nature of the sun, the earth and the stars./

L.47 The Little Philosopher (by Abbott). O ke akeakamai no na kamalii. Oia ka mea i hoike mai i ke ano o na mea i ike makaia. 1837. 39pp. 12mo. 2000 copies. By E.W. Clark. /Philosophy for children. A thing which shows the meaning of common knowledge./


L.49 He wahi manao kumu no na mea nui maloko o ka ke Akua Oleo. Na Davida Malo. 1837. 32pp. 32mo. 2000 copies. By David Malo. /Some instructions about the great things in the Word of God./

L.50 Church covenant for Mr. Hitchcock. 1837. 16pp. 32mo. 200 copies.

L.51 He papaioa no na kahu a me na kumu, a me na haumana o ke kulanui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1837. 4pp. 200 copies. /Names of the masters, teachers and scholars of the High School of Hawaii in Lahainaluna, Maui./

L.52 Ke kanawai no ka hoole ana i ka Pope. December 18, 1837. 6pp. (Hawaiian and English; signed by Kamehameha III). /An ordinance rejecting the Catholic religion./

L.53 Catalogue of Female Seminary. 1837. 100 copies.

L.54 Algebra (by Colburn). He hoailona Hely. 1838. 44pp. 8mo. 500 copies. By Bishop.

L.55 Matematika. 1838. 168pp. 8mo. 1000 copies. By Clark, Armstrong, and Alexander. /Mathematics, embracing geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, surveying and navigation./


L.57 Hawaiian History. Ka moolelo Hawaii. I kakahui e kakahi naa haumana o ke kulanui, a i hooponoponoia e kekahi kumu o ia kula. 1838. 116pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. Revised by Dibble. /Hawaiian history. Written by certain of the pupils of the high school. Revised by a teacher of the school./
L.58 Church Covenant for Molokai. 1838-1839. 16pp. 32mo. 300 copies.

L.59 Tract on Experimental Religion. He mau niau no ka poe e noonoo a hana i ka iho. 1838. 11pp. 12mo. 3000 copies. [Some questions for people who meditate in themselves.]

L.60 O ka hale o o ka hope o ka heluna u. No na kumu wale no keia palapala. 1838. 87pp. 32mo. [Key to the Supplement of Mental Arithmetic. Designed for Teachers only.]

L.61 O ke kuhikihi no ka moolelo hemolele. 1838. 204pp. 12mo. [Instruction concerning Sacred History.]


The Master Engraver: showing how to draw pictures. Useful for the High School.


L.64 Gallaudet's Mother's Primer (in English). 1838. 250 copies.

L.65 Instructions to Missionaries to Sandwich Islands. 1838. 250 copies.


L.67 Ka palapala honua no ka poepoe. Kalama Kepohoni i kakau. 1839. 11 5/8 x 19. [The map of the globe, drawn by Kalama Kepohoni.]

L.68 Questions on Geography. 1838. 14pp. 1000 copies.


L.70 Circular of female seminary, Wailuku. 1840. 3pp. 4mo. Copper plate.


Maps and questions concerning the same. The sphere: Hawaii, ocean lands, North America, the U.S. America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa.


L.73 Sermon preached at Lahainaluna October 18th, 1839, on the death of Mr. Charles McDonald. 1840. 31pp. 8vo. By L. Andrews.

L.74 He niau no ka palapala honua. 1840. 12pp. 13 maps. 4vo. 1000 copies. By Andrews.

L.75 He papainoa no ka hau, a me na kumu a me na haumana a ke kulanui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1840. 4pp. 200 copies. [A catalogue of trustees, teachers and pupils of the High School of Hawaii, at Lahainaluna, on Maui.]

L.76 He papainoa no na hau, a me na kumu a me na haumana o ke kula kaikamahine, ma Wailuku i Maui. 1840. 200 copies. [4pp?] A catalogue of the trustees, teachers and pupils of the Girls' School at Wailuku on Maui.

L.77 Natural theology by T.H. Gallaudet. Hoike Akua. He palapala ia i hoike ana na na mea i nanaia ia no he Akua, he mana Ioa kona a me ka ike kupunaha. 1840. 178pp. 13 copper plates. 500 copies. Translated by Dibble. [Theology. A book showing from the creatures that there is a God, that He is almighty, and omniscient.]

L.79 /Laws about pasturing cattle at Maui./ November 6, 1840. Broadside.
100 copies.
L.80 /Laws regulating meeting of chiefs./ 1840. 1p. 50 copies.
L.81 Ka Lama Hawai. January, 1841. 2 nos. 8pp. 500 copies.
L.82 /Catalogue of the Seminary./ 1841. 300 copies.
L.84 He mau haawina no ka olelo Beretania. 1841. 40pp. 200 copies. By L. Andrews.
L.85 Ka moolelo no ka ekalesia o Jesu Kristo. Ko kakau haku e ola'i; mai ka wa o ko Jesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou i ka makahiki o ka haku. 1841. 340pp. 2nd ed. 12mo. 2000 copies. By J.S. Green. History of the Church of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, from the time of his birth till the times we live in, in the year of Our Lord 1841.
L.86 Keith's Study of the Globes. O ka huipoeso he mea ia e ao ai i kekahi ano o ka honua nei, a ma na mea i ike mai ma ke aouli. 1841. 80pp. 200 copies. Translated by L. Andrews. The globe; it is something for teaching about this earth and some things seen in the sky.
L.88 Shipping List. /1840-1841/ 1p. 4mo. 160 copies.
L.89 Algebra. /1840-1841/ 96pp. 8mo. 1000 copies. (Revised by Mr. Clark).
L.90 Logarithms. /1840-1841/ 16pp. 8mo. 1000 copies. (Mr. Clark).
L.91 Keith on the Prophecies. /1841/ 12pp. 12mo. 600 copies. By Mr. Hitchcock.
L.92 Church Covenant. /1840-1841/ 1p. 16mo. 500 copies. By Mr. Hitchcock.
L.93 Articles of shipping men (for the chiefs). /1840-1841/ 1p. 360 copies.
L.96 Ka hoikohonua a me na palapala aina no ka olelo a ke Akua. 1842. 4mo.
L.97 Compendium of Ancient History. Ka palapala hoohalike i ka moolelo kahiko; e apo ana i ka olelo pokole o ka moolelo o na lahui kanaka kahiko. 1842. 76pp. 12mo. Translated by J.S. Green. Publication concerning Ancient History embracing a short talk on the history of mankind.
L.98 Reading Book. Ka ao heluhelu; he buke ia e ao ai i na haumana e helu-helu. 1842. 340pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. By Andrews and Green. Instruction in reading; a book teaching the pupils how to read.
L.100 /Quarantine Laws/ 1842.
L.102 Circular of the Seminary (in English). /1841-1842/ 1p. 50 copies.
300 copies.
L.105 Questions on Chronology. /1841-1842/ 12pp. 200 copies.
L.106 Shipping List (in English). /1841-1842/ 4pp. 100 copies.
L.107 Instructions to Parents. /1841-1842/ 12pp. 24mo. 1000 copies.
L.103 Temperance Map by G. Wiltberger. 1843. 16pp. 18mo.
L.109 Ao kiko oia ke ao ana i ke kau ana i na kiko a me ka hookomo ana i na hua nui ma ka olelo. 1843. 24pp. 12mo. 200 copies. /Punctuation; instructions in the placement of punctuation and the use of capitals./
L.110 Scripture Charts (with questions). 1843. 3pp. 6 copper-plates. 1500 copies. By Dibble.
L.111 O ke koku no ko Hawaii poe kamalii e ao ana i ka olelo Beretania. 1843. 104pp. 8mo. 400 copies. By Andrews. /Aid for Hawaiian children in learning the English language./
L.112 History of the Sandwich Islands--Dibble. 1843. 451pp. 12mo. 600 copies.
L.113 O na mole o ke anahonua (translated from Legendre). 1843. 108pp. 8vo. 1500 copies. Translated by W.P. Alexander. /Fundamentals of geometry./
L.114 Na haawina mua o ka hocilona helu, a me ka anahonua, ka anahuinakolu, ka ana aina, a me kumu holohomoku. 1843. 160pp. 1000 copies. /First lessons in algebra, and geometry, trigonometry, surveying and navigation./ Note: Algebra translated from Bailey by A. Bishop.
L.116 Ka papainoa o na kahu a me ka kumu, a me na haumana, o ke kulanui ma Lahainaluna. August, 1844. 4pp. /Catalogue of the trustees, teachers and pupils of the high school of Lahainaluna./
L.117 Dictionary. He hoakakeolelo no na huaolelo Beretania i mea koku i na kanaka Hawaii e ao ana i ka olelo. 1845. 184pp. 8vo. 600 copies. /A dictionary of English words; something to assist the Hawaiians in learning that language./
L.118 Ka hocilona helu. 1846. 158pp. Translated by Bishop. /Algebra by Bailey./

In 1843, the first paper money engraved in the Hawaiian Islands was printed at Lahainaluna. It was printed for the use of the High School and had hardly been circulated before it was counterfeited by two students at Lahainaluna who were caught and expelled from school. The design was changed and made more complicated and less susceptible to counterfeiting by Mr. Bailey, and in 1844, $200 were printed for the Wailuku Seminary and $450 for Lahainaluna (black printed for Lahainaluna and orange-red for Wailuku).

Denominations were: 3¢, 1/16 dollar, 1/8 " hapua
6¢, 1/4 " hapaha
12¢, 1/2 " hapulua
25¢, l " hookahi dala
50¢, $1.00

The money was printed on small, heavy paper squares measuring 1 3/8 x 1 1/16" in size.

In 1844, Mr. Andrews left Lahainaluna and the printing and engraving declined until these activities finally ceased in 1846. The report of the General Meeting, 1846 (Report of Lahainaluna Instructors) noted that "...Our press has stood still, most of the time since our last general meeting, having been employed to do little more than finish the English-Hawaiian Dictionary (compiled by Rev. Andrews). During this period a Lithographic press has come to hand—presented to the seminary by Mr. A.J. Stansbury of Washington City."

They recommended that all printing and binding be done at Honolulu. The Mission authorized the removal of the press at Lahainaluna in 1846. This was the end of printing until 1870, when another lithographic press was received by the instructors at the school in order to print several illustrations of natural philosophy; this work was completed that year.
NOTES

4. Shepard to Evarts, December 5, 1828, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Cited hereafter as HMCS.
5. Shepard to Evarts, June 5, 1828. HMCS.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. Andrews to Anderson, October 1, 1834, in Missionary Letters, Vol. 6, p. 1868. HMCS.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 1869.
11. Ibid.
15. Clark to Chamberlain, July 31, 1835. HMCS.
17. Hall to Anderson, October 6, 1836. HMCS.
18. Clark to Chamberlain, January 23, 1837. HMCS.
19. Clark to Chamberlain, February 18, 1837. HMCS.
20. Clark to Chamberlain, March 24, 1837. HMCS.
24. Clark to Chamberlain, August 5, 1837. HMCS.
25. Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Lahaina, August 30, 1837, in Minutes of General Meeting, Vol. I.

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HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
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Special thanks go to Dr. Donald D. Mitchell of the Kamehameha Schools for his valuable help in proofreading the Hawaiian titles in "Lahainaluna Printing,"
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THE EDITOR NOW HAS IN HAND A THOROUGH INDEX TO VOLUME I OF THE HAWAII
HISTORICAL REVIEW. THIS WORK, RECENTLY COMPLETED BY ELSPETH F. STERLING,
WILL SOON BE READY FOR DISTRIBUTION. PLEASE PLACE ORDERS NOW. THE PRICE,
POSTPAID: FIFTY CENTS.
THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KAMEHAMEHA V — A DOCUMENT

by

Richard A. Greer

Kamehameha V died unexpectedly in Honolulu on December 11, 1872—his fortieth birthday. Just the day before a meeting, called to consider the king's health, had heard a serious but not critical report from the royal physician, Dr. Ferdinand William Hutchison. In 1872, Hutchison was already a long-time Hawaii resident; he had been a member of the board of health, the privy council, and the house of nobles, and at the time of Kamehameha's death he was minister of the interior. Georges Trousseau, consultant, was a French doctor recently arrived in the islands. He had subsequently a distinguished medical career in Hawaii.

The minutes reproduced below form an unusual and interesting record, providing as they do some insight into the practice of medicine nearly a century ago.

Honolulu, Tuesday, December 10, 1872

Illness of His Majesty

By request of Dr. Hutchison, Messrs. Charles R. Bishop and Charles C. Harris, Privy Councillors met all the members of the Cabinet, at the office of the Minister of Finance, at 1 o'clock p.m.

Dr. Hutchison explained that he had called the gentlemen together to consider the subject of His Majesty's health, about which he had some anxiety. It was known to the gentlemen, that for eight or nine years, in fact, ever since His Majesty's accession, he had had troubles which required surgical treatment. At first, these were quite frequent; but, afterwards, they occurred more rarely, and for quite an interval, he had but little trouble. Some months ago, upon the occasion of a dinner in honor of the English Bishop, recently arrived, His Majesty found himself too unwell to be present, and since that day (in July last) His Majesty has not left the precincts of the Palace. He got better. The abscess was almost healed up. Only a slight discharge recurred. Dr. H. advised a change, and advised His Majesty to go to Molokai; and, if not, then to Waikiki, as he said he preferred the beach. At all events, Dr. H. hoped he would make a move. Just afterwards, during the prevailing influenza, His Majesty took a severe cold, which made his removal less practicable. As he was getting better of the cold, he desired Dr. H. to look at what he called his wound, (the abscess on the buttock) and Dr. H. found that it had not healed as well as he had hoped. Upon opening it, he observed that matter was evidently forming. He observed this about ten or twelve days ago, and about a week ago it burst. It is now doing well. A few days ago, however, Dr. H. was alarmed by a swollen appearance and shortness of breath, which he attributed to the King's corpulence, as the effect of want of exercise. A day or two later, in consequence of what was said by attendants as well as the peculiar manner of the King's lying on one side, he insisted upon seeing what was the matter, and became satisfied of the existence of dropsy. Now the question was, what caused the dropsy? Dr. H. was inclined to attribute it to a general corpulent habit, for he made various examinations as to the condition of the heart, and other parts and found no trouble. He then gave him
strong purgatives. They acted partially at the time; but, for three days, there had been no discharges, notwithstanding the powerful physic he had administered. He also gave a diuretic, without result. He then consulted Dr. Trousseau, who agreed with him in the use of a violent purgative, and suggested that it be given once in two hours, but Dr. H. thought once in four hours, sufficiently often. Dr. Trousseau then visited the King, by request of Dr. H., and personally investigated the case. He agreed with Dr. H. that he saw no symptoms of disease, except the dropsical indications. He insisted that His Majesty required active exercise. The only unfavorable symptom noticed today was an albuminous condition of the urine, which might indicate disorder of the kidneys. Dr. H., in fine, stated that although he considered His Majesty's condition, such as to cause anxiety, he did not believe him to be in immediate danger, and did not think of anything more which could be done at once. Still he would be glad of any suggestions as to the course to be pursued.

There ensued an irregular conversation, but it appeared to be the concurrent opinion of all present, that Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Trousseau should continue to visit His Majesty, as they had done, and that Dr. H. would report the condition of His Majesty to the gentlemen from day to day. It was agreed by all that it was desirable to avoid notoriety as to His Majesty's condition, not only because some of the rumours to which it would give rise, might be reported back to the King, but because an alarm might be excited for which there was no present occasion.

The gentlemen separated, to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow, to hear Dr. Hutchison's report, and it was requested that Dr. Trousseau might also attend.

This record of the meeting is kept in pursuance of an understanding expressed while the gentlemen were together by

Stephen H. Phillips
Atty Genl.

Note by S.H.P.
The above was reduced to writing immediately after the gentlemen in attendance separated. In view of its importance, and in accordance with what I thought the desire of my colleagues, I entered it on the Cabinet records. On the succeeding night His Majesty suffered somewhat, & between 4 & 5 o'clock a.m. on the next morning, had a severe attack from which his attendants feared he would not rise. He did rally however, and all about him were temporarily encouraged, but things took a fatal turn just after 10 a.m. in the 11th Dec. and at 20 minutes past 10, His Majesty died, as will appear by the official record on the next page.

Honolulu, Dec. 11, 1872

Death of His Majesty Kamehameha V

His Majesty, Kamehameha V. departed this life, in his ordinary bed-room, within the precincts of Iolani Palace, on Wednesday, December 11, 1872. (being his birth day) at 20 minutes past ten o'clock in the forenoon.

His Majesty had just attained the age of forty two (42) years, and the immediate cause of his death was asphyxia.

The Attorney General was present at the decease of His Majesty; and the Minister of the Interior, arriving a few minutes later, assured himself of the fact of death, by a personal view of the body of His deceased Majesty....
NOTES
4. Ibid., p. 330.

LAHAINALUNA ENGRAVING

by

Larry Windley

The art of engraving in the Hawaiian Islands owes its beginning and its con-
tinuance almost entirely to one man—the Rev. Lorrin Andrews. Almost from the day
he first started teaching at Lahaina in 1828 he recognized the need for a graphic
addition to the meager supply of school books being printed for the Hawaiian pupils.
In December of 1828 he wrote to Chamberlain, the Secular Agent for the Mission: "I
want very much a set of copy plates for my schollars. How shall we get them? Can
they be cut on wood? If they could, would they be copper plates?" 1 Mr. Andrews
obviously knew little about the art of engraving or about how to produce illustra-
tions for his teaching, but his determination to achieve something in this field is
seen in a letter to Chamberlain in May, 1829: "I hope soon to draw some maps with
the names of places changed to Hawaiian, and I think there are some schollars here
who would soon be able to draw their own maps." 2

After getting the first class started at Lahainaluna in 1831, he immediately
renewed his efforts to produce an illustrated map. In July, 1832, he wrote to
Chamberlain: "...if you have any hard wood for making wood cuts or can procure any
please send me some. ... I shall never rest until I have a better way of making maps
than drawing with a pen." 3 Evidently Chamberlain was not able to supply him with
the hard wood he desired, so he wrote to Mr. Ruggles on Hawaii: "Has Kapiolani any
solid piece of sandalwood of considerable size to engrave wood cuts on or perhaps
small maps. ... I am about to try if I can get some good timber." 4

Not only was the lack of the proper type of wood a hindrance to Mr. Andrews' endeavor to print pictures, but his own lack of skill in this art was also a con-
stant drawback. In June of 1833 Dr. Alonzo Chapin was assigned to Lahaina, and be-
cause of his wife's bad health he moved up to Lahainaluna and agreed to help Mr.
Andrews at the high school. Dr. Chapin's steady hands and his sharp surgical in-
struments were immediately put to work on Andrews' project. In August, 1833, Mrs.
Chapin wrote to her mother: "I have lately undertaken to draw pictures for Husband
to engrave, for the use of the School here. ... I sent you his first attempts. It was
printed without a printers press, or printers ink, by merely blacking the cut, with
such material as could be obtained....." 5 On the same subject Dr. Chapin noted:
"...I have...spent a good deal of time in making maps, and have just finished a set
to accompany Worcester's Scripture Geography [printed at Lahainaluna in January,
1834], now translating by Mr. Thurston. They are on a large scale, and are for the
high school. I am now making some cuts to accompany a work on animal history for
all the schools." 6 The animal cuts were first featured in the Ka Lama Hawaii news-
paper but were later used in a Hawaiian version of Comstock's The Natural History of
Dr. Chapin evidently attempted to teach some of the Lahainaluna students the art of engraving and even after he left Lahaina in June, 1834, Mr. Andrews encouraged this art among his more talented students; in November, 1834, he wrote to Chamberlain: "I send you a specimen of the very first proof sheet of an engraved map. It is the first effort. Taken by a native from an English copy (the infant school map of the globe) engraved entirely by a native (Kawaiolopo) & printed by him chiefly." This first attempt was probably very much like the prints made from the original copper plates found in February, 1930, and now at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

From the beginning, Mr. Andrews got very little support in his attempts to establish the art of engraving among the Hawaiians. Some of his colleagues, having no faith in his belief that the Hawaiian could learn this rather complicated art, made the suggestion that the necessary cuts be made elsewhere, to which Mr. Andrews replied: "As to engraving, I think we can better have it done here under our own inspection than in China. That it can be done here is certain in my opinion; that it will be done here soon depends on our exertions." It seems that only Mr. Andrews was willing to make this exertion, and in 1835 and 1836 he had pupils at work on engravings whenever he could get copper. A November, 1836, report of the high school said this about engraving:

It was stated last year that some incipient efforts had been made towards engraving. These efforts have been continued. It should be remembered that both teacher & pupils have groped their way in the dark to arrive even at the commencement of the business. A set of copy slips for writing was the first effort of importance; next a map of the Hawaiian islands. For some time past a Hawaiian Atlas has been in hand & is nearly finished, containing the following maps Viz. the Globes, North America, South America, the United States, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Hawaiian Islands & the Pacific. It is evident that if the business is to be carried on so as to be of any benefit to schools generally, some considerable expense must be incurred for fitting up a shop for engraving & a room for printing. Hitherto, everything has been done at the greatest disadvantage. Some means for prosecuting the business have lately been received from the Board. These crude attempts were a great satisfaction to Mr. Andrews, and he was very proud of the work of his boys. In November, 1837, he wrote to his brother, John: "Inside of this [letter] is the [diploma] of our High School.... The engraving was made by one of our boys at the school."

The report of the high school in 1837 says: "There has been very great improvement made in cutting but a new press will be necessary as the great failure is in printing." In his book, Scenes and Scenery, Mr. James J. Jarves had this to say at the close of 1837: "Their proficiency in copper engraving at the High School is really remarkable. Good maps, charts, and pictures are engraved every year, and with a considerable degree of improvement upon the last."

The ability of the Hawaiians to engrave and draw maps was quickly brought to light by different writers. A beautiful example of the type of map made at Lahainaluna is one of the original ones, made in 1835 by Kalama, and now retained in the...
A commodious room in the printing office is devoted to the engraving department. Three scholars are engaged in graving, devoting the same hours to this business, which the other scholars spend in labor. They are almost entirely self-taught, and, to a great extent, having made their own tools. The press was made on the ground. And thus far, they have been obliged to use common sheathing copper, instead of a material prepared expressly for the purpose.  

Despite the progress made in engraving, the missionary brothers were of little help to Mr. Andrews in this venture to teach a worthwhile occupation to the Hawaiians. He wrote to Chamberlain in September, 1839: "I am setting out for the fourth time to get an Atlas for schools. I say fourth time, for I have been sadly disappointed four times in the brethren taking away my best engravers just as they got able to do tolerable work."  

It was probably the interest shown by commercial firms and the lack of interest shown by the other members of the Mission that prompted Mr. Andrews to suggest in 1840 that the engraving department be sold out to him to be his own private project. The mission would pay for the maps, etc., needed for the schools, and other engravings would be offered for sale in Hawaii; this way Mr. Andrews hoped to continue the art without its being a financial burden to the Mission. His first attempts to produce prints for sale were noted in the June 6, 1840, issue of the Polynesian:  

Several views of Hawaiian scenery have been handed us by Mr. Andrews, of the High School, Lahainaluna. They are of Lahaina, Kailua, Kaahiwaloa, and other places—executed on copper, by the scholars of that Seminary. They are said to be accurate, by judges, and certainly manifest strong native talent for the art, which more instruction and better materials to work upon, would develop into proficiency, and produce engravings which would not disgrace a boudoir in the United States.  

In the August issue it was announced that these prints were for sale by the mercantile firm of Peirce & Brewer (the forerunner of G. Brewer & Co.).  

This decision of Mr. Andrews to make the engraving department his private property was to cause him many headaches and cause many of his brethren to take a firm stand against him. His greatest problem was the "common stock" way of life that the missionaries had adopted. The mission was perfectly willing to have Mr. Andrews take over the engraving department and relieve the school of a certain part of the expense, but he could not be permitted to receive any extra compensation for this under the common stock system. Mr. Chamberlain wrote to him in February, 1841:  

...as you received of the mission a support equal to what your brethren received, any avails of engraving would be over and above what your brethren receive and make your support disproportionate with theirs....I am well aware that you have caused to be placed to your debit on our books the cost of the apparatus, and by so doing you have doubtless deprived yourself & your family of some comfort & enjoyment and you ought to receive from the engraving or some other source, an equivalent for your privation. I would most cheerfully award it to you; but you have no right to receive more than your brethren, because you have the engraving under your care....
It was about this time that Mr. Andrews applied to the ABCFM for his honorable dismissal from the Mission. He gave as his reason for leaving the fact that there was no provision made for the education of his own children (he did not approve of the recently-opened Punahou School). But his secondary reason must have been his inability to operate the engraving department under the existing system.

While waiting for his dismissal from the mission, Andrews consented to continue to teach and supervise the printing office in exchange for the use of the mission house at Lahainaluna that he lived in.

Mr. Andrews attempted to keep his engraving department going through all this disturbance, but hard luck and poor financial support were his constant companions: "I have not been able to try the ink because my presses are all broken & I have no means of mending them. The presses & fund failed together... But to speak plainly, the business seems to drag. There is little or no call for engravings..." 18 Despite all the disappointments he kept the engraving going and eventually put out his Atlas and sold it to many of the Brethren. He of course had depended on doing the engraving for the high school and was very disappointed with the High School Committee, led by Mr. Emerson, when they decided not to accept his bid for the high school engraving business (which he considered very low), but rather to send to the mainland for a new engraving outfit and do their own engraving. Not all the teachers at Lahainaluna agreed with this decision, and Mr. Clark had this to say on the subject:

I do not know what will be the fate of the plan proposed... The Directors will, at least, have the satisfaction of feeling that they have done the best they could to supply our schools with maps. It will be with those, who overthrow this plan (the plan for Andrews to do the engraving), to devise a better, or bear the responsibility of the school's not being furnished. 19

Without the school's support, Mr. Andrews still kept the engraving going. He wrote in March, 1844:

But to cut this matter short, I am willing to do any way that is right. I was provoked when I understood how Mr. Emerson had managed the business. I expect, partly for my own amusement, & partly for the accommodation of foreigners to keep up a small establishment of engraving; even if the mission should not wish any of my engravings. If I had the means I would open a book or rather stationary [sic] store at Lahaina not expecting a profit of much amount but for the accommodation of natives... 20

There is no evidence to show that engraving was ever done again at Lahainaluna after Mr. Andrews moved to Lahainawaena in 1841, with one exception. Mr. Andrews had printed a series of Hawaiian money to be used by the students at Lahainaluna. In the Lahainaluna Faculty Records it was noted for January 8, 1844: "In view of the fact that our money has been counterfeited by Kahiona & George (?) - Mr. Andrews engraver Voted to call in all our paper money & destroy it - & seek some other device by which to pay the Scholars. Voted to Expell Kahiona for counterfeiting - & to send off George from Lahainaluna." 21

In 1844 Mr. Andrews continued his engraving while serving as Seamen's Chaplain for Lahaina, but in August or September of 1845 he was chosen as a judge of the court of Honolulu by the governor, to act in cases involving foreigners. For this job he had to move to Honolulu, and this separated him from the engravers he had taught at Lahaina. His work as judge demanded so much of his time that he finally had to give up his lifetime struggle to promote engraving in the Hawaiian Islands. His son, Mr. Robert Andrews, says that he finally pounded up the plates he had preserved so carefully, to be sold as scrap copper.
Mr. Howard M. Ballou made a search in 1921 for any copper plates that might still be in existence. He stated: "The only chance of any of the original plates being yet somewhere in existence is that a few were purloined by boys playing in Mr. Andrews' cellar." 22

The writer of this article has so far seen only two Lahainaluna copper-plate engravings, one at the Bishop Museum and one at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. Mr. Robert Van Dyke tells the writer that he has the copper-plate engraving of the Lahainaluna money.

Following is a list of known prints of Lahainaluna engravings, and their present locations. This list is by no means complete; it is only a starting point for additional research. Numbers given are for documentation and do not indicate the order in which the engravings were printed.

**LAHAINALUNA ENGRAVINGS AT THE ACADEMY OF ARTS - HONOLULU**

### Sketches

| LE-1. | Female figure draped (Greek) | Pikao |
| LE-2. | Heads of man and child | Pikao |
| LE-3. | Sketch of dissection of a deer | |
| LE-4. | The appearance of the three hills formed by the late eruption on the coast at Nanawale bearing East by North one mile distant, July 9th, 1840 | |
| LE-5. | Drawings of cup, sugar bowl, and other dishes | Bailey and Kapeau |
| LE-7. | Female Seminary, Wailuku | 1840 |
| LE-8. | Oahu Charity School | Kepohoni |
| LE-10. | House, garden, and street | Kalama |
| LE-11. | Sketches to illustrate taxidermy | Pikao |
| LE-12. | Mounted skeleton of bird and mammal | Pikao |
| LE-13. | Butterfly and butterfly net | |
| LE-15. | House with mountains in rear | |
| LE-16. | House with mountains in rear | |
| LE-17. | Missionary Seminary, Lahainaluna | Momona |
| LE-18. | Maui from the anchorage at Lahaina | Kalama |
| LE-19. | Maui as seen from Nunulu, Hawaii, 35 miles distant | Nuuanu |
| LE-20. | Hawaiian costume | Momona and Bailey |
| LE-21. | Alphabet in script | |
| LE-22. | View of a stream of lava as it entered the sea at Nanawale, East part of Hawaii, June, 1840 | Kaleohano and Nuuanu |
| LE-23. | Geometrical figures | S.P. Kalama |
| LE-24. | Meetinghouse and school house at Kaneohe | Nuuanu and Bailey |
| LE-25. | Lahainaluna | Bailey and Kepohoni |
| LE-26. | Mission houses, Honolulu | 1837 |
| LE-27. | Kamehameha I (portrait) | Kepohoni |
| LE-28. | Diploma of the Lahainaluna Seminary | |
| LE-29. | Genealogical tables, Biblical (from Adam to the Messiah) | |
| LE-30. | " | " |
| LE-31. | " | " |
| LE-32. | " | " |
LE-33. Lahaina as seen from Lahainaluna.
LE-34. View of the country back of Kailua. Miss Thurston
LE-35. View of the Bay of Kaawaloa. Miss Thurston and Kepohoni
LE-37. Fish.
LE-38. The night-blooming cereus. Kepohoni and Mrs. P. P. Andrews
LE-40. Honolulu as seen from the foot of Puowaina Punch-bowl hill. 1837. E. Bailey and Kalama
LE-41. View of Kailua, Hawaii. Miss Thurston and Kepohoni
LE-42. Buildings at foot of steep hills, Iao Valley, and Wailuku, Maui.
LE-44. Hana, Maui.
LE-45. Grave of Mr. McDonald.

**HA note:** Detail of Lahainaluna (unlabeled) - LE-10.

**Maps**

LEM-1. Africa... 1836. Kamai
LEM-2. Africa. Kepohoni
LEM-3. Africa and Asia. Kepohoni
LEM-5. South America. Wahineiki
LEM-6. South America... 1836. Kepohoni
LEM-7. South America and Europe. Kepohoni
LEM-8. United States of America. Kepohoni
LEM-9. United States of America... 1836. Kepohoni
LEM-10. Atlas (of 5 plates with 8 maps). Kepohoni
LEM-12. Canaan and Judea. L. Kepohoni
LEM-14. The earth as known to the Ancients. Pikao
LEM-15. Europe. Kepohoni
LEM-17. Hawaiian Islands... 1836. Kalama
LEM-18. Hawaiian Islands... 1837. Kalama
LEM-19. Hawaiian Islands... 1843. Kalama
LEM-20. Kauai and Niihau. Kepohoni
LEM-23. Comparative height of mountains. Kepohoni
LEM-25. North and South Pacific Ocean. Kalama
LEM-26. World—Eastern and Western Hemispheres... 1836. Kalama
LEM-27. World—Eastern and Western Hemispheres... 1839. Kalama and Kepohoni
LEM-28a. Temperance map. C. Wiltberger, Jr. and L. Andrews
LEM-28b. Temperance map. C. Wiltberger, Jr. and L. Andrews
ENGRAVING PRINTS AT BISHOP MUSEUM

Sketches

LE-46. Kamamalu (portrait).
LE-47. Old Chamberlain house.
LE-49. View of Waimea, Hawaii.
LE-50. View of Kaluaaha, Molokai.
LE-51. Lahainaluna paper money, 6 values, from .03¢ to $1.00, inclusive.
LE-52. Punctuation marks (illustrated and explained in Hawaiian).

Maps.

LEK-29. Hawaiian Islands...1839.
LEK-30. World—Eastern and Western Hemispheres...1834.
LEK-31. South America.
LEK-32. Asia...1837.
LEK-33. Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ.

*Wooden New England type of house — unlabeled

Anatomia he pala pai ia e hoike ai i ke ano o ko ke kanaka king. [Anatomy: A Book Showing the Explanation of Man's Body: Printed at Oahu. "The engravings were copied from Smiths Anatomy for School and done on Copper at the Seminary."

NOTES

2. Andrews to Chamberlain, May 9, 1829. HMCS.
3. Andrews to Chamberlain, July 31, 1832. HMCS.
4. Andrews to Ruggles, January 2, 1833. HMCS.
7. Ibid., p. 145.
8. Andrews to Chamberlain, November 5, 1834. HMCS.
11. Andrews to brother John, November 24, 1837. HMCS.
13. James J. Jarves, Scenes and Scenery, 1843, p. 178. HMCS.
15. Andrews to Chamberlain, September 5, 1839. HMCS.
16. Polynesian, June 6, 1840.
17. Chamberlain to Andrews, February 4, 1841. HMCS.
18. Andrews to Hall, April 4, 1841. HMCS.
19. Clark to Chamberlain, February 26, 1844. HMCS.
20. Andrews to Chamberlain, March 30, 1844. HMCS.
21. Lahainaluna Faculty Records, 1835-1877. HMCS.
22. Howard M. Ballou, "Lahainaluna Copper-Plate Engravings," 1921 (?). Copied by B. Judd from the original typescript, 1932. HMCS.
CORRESPONDENCE ON THE KALAKUA COINAGE

by

Jacob Adler

Record Group 104 in the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C., contains a number of interesting items about the Hawaiian silver of 1883, the Kalakaua coinage. Since these items are not too well known in Hawaii, I have summarized and annotated them below.

King Kalakaua's premier, Walter Murray Gibson, seems to have been the principal person behind the scheme to have Claus Spreckels appointed agent to get the coinage done in the United States. Businessmen in Hawaii complained that the Kingdom was being flooded with silver—$1,000,000 worth. In a famous lawsuit, Sanford Ballard Dole, Walter O. Smith, and William R. Castle tried to have it declared illegal. This failed, and the coinage circulated until annexation in 1898. It was by far the most important coinage ever undertaken by the Kingdom—and the most controversial.

For ready reference, the principal persons in the correspondence below are listed here:

Charles E. Barber, engraver at the Philadelphia Mint.
Horatio C. Burchard, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.
E.P. Burton, Superintendent, San Francisco Mint.
H.A.P. Carter, Hawaiian Minister at Washington, D.C.
James P. Kimball, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.
F.P. Low, Manager, Anglo-Californian Bank of San Francisco and former governor of California.
R.E. Preston, Acting Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.
A. Loudon Snowden, Superintendent, Philadelphia Mint.
Claus Spreckels, sugar king of California and Hawaii, agent of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

1.* Burchard to Spreckels, January 26, 1883. U.S. can do the coinage under a law of January 29, 1874. San Francisco Mint can do the work, but dies have to be made at Philadelphia Mint. Spreckels should furnish designs as soon as possible. Cost estimated at not over 1-1/2 per cent.

2. Spreckels to Burchard, March 23, 1883. Coinage to be $1,000,000 in silver, dollars, halves, quarters, and one-eighth dollars, same weight and fineness as U.S. coins. Rough general designs enclosed these show full face of King Kalakaua—later changed to profile.

3. Burchard to Spreckels, April 4, 1883. Requests evidence that Spreckels is the authorized agent for Hawaii. Full face of Kalakaua not suitable. Engraver wants profile.

4. Burchard to Snowden, April 10, 1883. Requesting return of designs left with Charles E. Barber, together with suggested changes.

5. Barber to Snowden, April 12, 1883. Recommends profile of king for obverse. Suggests alternative designs for reverse. Cost of 8 hubs to be $2,000 or $1,800, depending on design.

6. Snowden to Preston, April 17, 1883. Discussion of designs sketches apparently included in letter, but not in file.

7. Barber to Snowden, April 20, 1883. On design and cost of 8 hubs for four coins.

*Numbers assigned by editor with author's permission.
8. Snowden to Preston, April 20, 1883. Cost of 8 hubs $2,000, or $1,800 for alternative design on reverse.
10. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 6, 1883. Quoting cost of $2,000 for 8 hubs.
11. Preston to Spreckels, June 6, 1883. Is dime or 1/8 dollar wanted? "Please inform me also if the inscription 'Akahi Dala! should not read 'Akahi Kala! as I understand there is no 'D! in the Hawaiian tongue."
12. Preston to Snowden, June 8, 1883. Profile photo of Kalakaua enclosed. Copy of Spreckels' authorization from Hawaiian Finance Minister J.M. Kapena enclosed. Carter has approved designs.
14. Barber to Snowden, June 11, 1883. Returns designs with desired changes.
15. Preston to Spreckels, June 13, 1883. Designs enclosed. "The obverse profile of Kalakaua will be used for all; the full coat of arms can be placed only on the dollar; the half and quarter will have the shield, and the eighth dollar a wreath and crown." Designs not in file.
16. Spreckels to Preston, June 14, 1883. Amount for each coin: $500,000 in dollars; $300,000 in halves later changed to $350,000; $125,000 in quarters; $75,000 in dimes later changed to $25,000. "The inscription 'Akahi Dala! is perfectly correct, it is intended to be a translation of dollar."
17. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 20, 1883. Designs for coinage should be returned as soon as possible.
18. Spreckels to Preston, June 20, 1883. Designs being returned. "They will make handsome coins."
19. Snowden to Preston, June 23, 1883. Work going forward on obverse profile of King. Work to begin on reverse when designs approved.
20. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 25, 1883. Requests approval of designs.
21. Preston to Burton, June 25, 1883. Requests cost estimate for coinage so contract can be drawn up with Spreckels.
23. C.M. Gorham, Coiner, San Francisco Mint, to Burton (n.d.). On costs for coining $1,000,000 in silver.
25. Alex Martin, Melter and Refiner, S.F. Mint, to Burton, July 16, 1883. On costs of coining.
26. Burton to Burchard, July 17, 1883. Estimated costs for $1,000,000 in Hawaiian silver: general, $800; assay, $500; melt and refine, $4,400; labor, etc. in coining department, $11,800. Total, $17,500.
27. Barber to Snowden, September 4, 1883. Engraver Barber has finished hubs on own time. Estimates one pair of dies needed per 150,000 coins.
28. Snowden to Preston, September 5, 1883. Sends 2 proof-sets. Engraver's bill, $2,000, to be paid by Spreckels. Dies to cost $10 a pair. "The dies have more than met my expectation, and I think you will agree...are as near perfect as may be...I think Mr. Barber is to be congratulated, not only upon the rapidity with which the work has been executed but upon the character of the work itself."
29. Preston to Snowden, September 7, 1883. Acknowledging 2 proof-sets. These to be sent to Spreckels together with engraver's bill sets included dollar, half,
quarter, and one-eighth dollar, not the dime. J. A. 7


31. Preston to Burton, September 7, 1883. Requests that contract with Spreckels be prepared.

32. Preston to Spreckels, September 8, 1883. Two proof-sets have been sent to Spreckels, engraver's bill $2,000 enclosed. Burton instructed to draw up contract with Spreckels. "I am highly gratified at the manner in which the Engraver has prepared these dies. While the design is elaborate, it is well brought out in all its details, and the coins in appearance are equal to those of any nation in the world."

33. Snowden to Preston, September 8, 1883. Requests prescribed weights of coins.

34. Preston to Low, September 13, 1883. Acknowledges Low's September 6, that Spreckels has asked Low to supply silver for coinage. Working dies will soon be sent to San Francisco Mint.

35. Burton to Burchard, September 22, 1883. Contract between U. S. and Spreckels to be drawn up on his return from Hawaiian Islands.

36. Burchard to Spreckels, September 26, 1883. Acknowledges payment of $2,000 for four pairs of hubs, $200 for 10 sets of dies.

37. Burchard to Snowden, October 23, 1883. Instructs Snowden to send 20 pairs of dies (5 sets for each of four coins) to Superintendent, San Francisco Mint.

38. Burchard to Burton, October 23, 1883. No coins to be struck until contract with Spreckels approved. After use, dies not to be delivered to anyone without authority of Hawaiian Minister to U. S. Carter.

39. Barber to Snowden, October 24, 1883. Dies have been sent to San Francisco Mint: obverse 5, reverse 5, for dollar, half, quarter, and eighth dollar [total, 40 pieces].

40. Telegram, Burchard to Spreckels, October 25, 1883. Dies sent but cannot be used until contract approved.

41. Burton to Burchard, October 29, 1883. Encloses signed contract between U. S. and Spreckels. The U. S. "in consideration of the sum of Seventeen thousand five hundred dollars in gold coin...agrees to and with Spreckels to furnish copper for alloy and coin with dies...from silver bullion to be furnished by Spreckels certain silver coins" amounting to $1,000,000.

42. Burchard to Spreckels, November 14, 1883. San Francisco Mint has been authorized to go ahead with coinage.

43. Low (for Spreckels) to Burchard, December 3, 1883. Hawaiian government now wants dime instead of 1/8 dollar, so all coins will be same weight, fineness, and denomination as U. S. coins.


45. Telegram, Burchard to Low, December 12, 1883. Dies for dime to be furnished upon official notice of change from Hawaiian government.

46. Burchard to Snowden, December 12, 1883. Go ahead on dies for dime, pending official notice from Hawaiian government.

47. Preston to Low, December 21, 1883. Acknowledging Low's December 14, enclosing authority for change from 1/8 dollar to dime. Philadelphia Mint has been instructed to ship dies for dime as soon as possible.


49. Barber to Snowden, January 26, 1884. Hubs are finished for making dies for dime.
50. Burchard to Spreckels, January 29, 1884. Encloses engraver's bill for $500 for hubs, and for inspection two pieces struck from the dies.

51. Burchard to Snowden, February 18, 1884. Transmits Spreckels' draft for $500. Hold dies for dime until official notice of change received from Hawaiian government.

52. Burchard to Spreckels, February 21, 1884. Dies for dime being sent to San Francisco Mint.

53. Burchard to Burton, February 26, 1884. Five pairs of dies for dime have been sent. Requests return of dies for 1/8 dollar.

54. Burchard to Spreckels, February 26, 1884. Bills Spreckels $50 for five pairs of working dies for dime.

55. Burchard to Low, March 7, 1884. Answering Low's letter of February 27 about re-coining miscellaneous silver coins into Hawaiian coins. Says formal request must be made by accredited representative of Hawaiian government. Nothing came of this. Only the authorized total of $1,000,000 was coined.

56. Burchard to Low, March 7, 1884. Low has asked reduction in dimes from $75,000 to $25,000 and increase in halves from $300,000 to $350,000. Change must be requested by Spreckels as authorized agent of Hawaiian government.

57. Low to Burchard, March 15, 1884. Tells him that Spreckels has written note to increase halves by $50,000 and reduce dimes by same amount.

58. Burchard to Spreckels, March 22, 1884. Acknowledges Spreckels' request to increase halves and reduce dimes. Final total was: $500,000 in dollars; $350,000 in halves; $125,000 in quarters; $25,000 in dimes. Overall total, $1,000,000.

59. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, April 19, 1884. Time for completion of coinage has been extended to June 29, 1884. Actually completed about June 1, 1884. J.A.


62. Kimball to Carter, May 23, 1888. Defaced dies have been delivered to Carter for disposition. The dies are in the Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu. J.A.

THE POPULATION OF NORTHERN KAUA'I IN 1847

by

Robert C. Schmitt

The census of population conducted in northern Kauai during the spring of 1847 occupies a unique and important place in the demographic history of Hawaii. Despite its significance, however, it remains, more than a century later, unpublished and virtually unknown.

The chief shortcoming in 19th century Hawaiian demographic statistics was their lack of adequate detail on age by sex. The 1850 enumeration, the first relatively complete count covering all islands of the Kingdom, presented data for only four broad age groups. The following census, taken in 1853, showed statistics for only two groups, "under 20" and "over 20". As late as 1896, the Hawaiian Census
was using unwieldy 15-year class intervals for the population over 15. It was not until publication of 1900 U.S. Census tabulations for Hawaii that reasonably detailed statistics on age became available for the Islands. This lack of adequate data on age seriously handicaps demographic analysis of Hawaii in the 19th century.

The only exception occurs in the little-known 1847 census of Northern Kauai. This enumeration—represented only by a 12½ by 16-inch handwritten table filed in the Archives of Hawaii—reported population by sex for nine age groups, for each of twenty-three land divisions in Hanalei and Kawaihau Districts. It thus provides our only detailed knowledge of the population structure of Hawaii more than a century ago.

Findings of this census are summarized in the accompanying tables. The first presents population totals for each of the "lands" (ahupuaa) listed in the handwritten tabulation. Table 2 reports age by sex for the district as a whole.

Admittedly, several aspects of these tables are not entirely clear. A number of land divisions are not mentioned—Honopu (west of Kalalau), Pohakuao, Hanakoa, Hanakapiai (east of Kalalau), Namahana (east of Kaliihiwai), Kaakaanui (west of Moloe), Aliomanu (north of Anahola), and Kamalomalo (north of Kealia). Their omission may have been caused either by lack of human settlement or failure to recognize them as distinct ahupuaa. Conversely, data are shown for two divisions (Hoomaikawaa and Kumukumu) now included in Kealia ahupuaa. Class intervals for age run "from 5 to 10", "from 10 to 20", "from 20 to 30", etc., thus creating a question as to the treatment of persons of exact age 10, 20 or 30.

Other problems are even more serious:

1. How accurate are these age statistics? Romanzo Adams, the pioneer sociologist and leading authority on early Hawaiian demography, wrote that "the age data are not to be relied upon in the earlier censuses." The detail shown in the 1847 count may thus be illusory and misleading.

2. Was Northern Kauai representative of the Kingdom as a whole, or did it differ sufficiently from other districts to be useless as a model of population structure?

3. Can any confidence be placed in the birth and death statistics compiled as part of the population count? The Minister of Public Instruction, commenting on the incompleteness of the 1847 census on most islands, noted: "The returns of births and deaths are generally most defective..." For Northern Kauai, the 1847 count indicated a 7.4 per cent increase over the 1846 census of the same area, yet reported a natural decrease of 1.5 per cent. Did this apparent discrepancy stem from underenumeration in 1846, double-counting in 1847, underregistration of births, overstatement of deaths, or in-migration?

4. The 1847 data seem most useful if Northern Kauai is treated as a "closed population" in which age and sex composition are not influenced by in- or out-migration; yet such an assumption may be unrealistic. Newspapers of the period report heavy influxes of Neighbor Island residents (particularly young women) into Honolulu. One article stated: "Other parts of the islands are almost entirely drained of females from ten to twenty years of age."

The 1847 census, the first taken in Hawaii under the auspices of the Department of Public Instruction, was planned with considerable care. Mindful of the failure of earlier counts entrusted to the tax officers, the Minister of Public Instruction printed detailed (and surprisingly sophisticated) instructions for the enumerators. Field work was to begin on January 4, 1847 (the Northern Kauai tabulation is dated "Spring of 1847"). In spite of these preparations, only Kauai, Lanai, Niihau, and parts of Maui, Oahu and Kauai were satisfactorily canvassed.
Age statistics were confined to Kauai.

The questions raised in the foregoing paragraphs must invariably limit the conclusiveness of any analysis based on the 1847 census. Even so, such an analysis offers considerable insight into 19th century Hawaiian population structure.

Coverage of the census extended from Kalaealua on the west to Kealia on the east. It thus embraced all of the ancient districts of Na Pali, Haleleia and Koolau and part of Puna. Boundaries of these districts were shifted in 1859, 1878, 1880, 1886 and 1887. At present this area includes all of Hanalei Judicial District and about half of Kawaihau.9

One of the most striking features of the 1847 census is the high average age indicated for the population. The median was 33.2 years for males, 33.0 years for females, and 33.1 for both sexes combined. Among closed populations, such high medians are commonly found only where birth rates have remained at exceptionally low levels for many years.

A second noteworthy feature is the relatively high sex ratio, approximately 109 males per 100 females. The ratio is especially high under 10 years of age and past 60, but falls below 100 for ages 10 to 20 and 30 to 40. This pattern differs strikingly from the normal, in which male births outnumber female births by five per cent or so, producing a slight surplus of males that eventually disappears as a result of higher male death rates throughout the life span. Major deviations from this typical pattern may be attributed to female infanticide, warfare, abnormally high maternal mortality, or differential migration.

(It should be noted that an even higher sex ratio—123.1—was found in the 1846 census of the same area, "as taken by Mr. Bothell". The earlier count classified the population as "men", "women", "boys" and "girls". Between 1846 and 1847, males increased 1.4 per cent, while females increased 14.7 per cent.10

Birth rates indicated by the 1847 count were extremely low. The crude rate was only 14.5 per 1,000 population, less than one-third the rate usually found in primitive, rural societies with limited knowledge of contraceptive techniques. The Northern Kauai rate is particularly surprising in view of the relatively high proportion of females (about 46 per cent) in the childbearing ages of 15 to 44. Births per 1,000 women in this age span numbered 66. Children under 5 per 1,000 women 15 to 44 numbered about 476, likewise an indication of very low fertility. Although under-registration may have been a significant factor in this low birth rate, the age and sex distribution of the population generally corroborates its low level. Continence, contraception, abortion and sterility are possible explanations. The latter might well have resulted from the high incidence of syphilis in Hawaii following the first white contacts.

Death rates were high but not unusually so for an underdeveloped, rural area of the period. Deaths numbered 79, for a crude rate of 29.3 per 1,000 population. Inasmuch as there were only 39 births during this period, natural decrease was 40, or 1.5 per cent. (Both birth and death rates computed above were based on vital events reported for 1846 and the population enumerated in early 1847.)

The census compiled data on blind and deaf persons as well as on total population. The blind numbered 17, or 0.6 per cent of the population; deaf persons numbered 9, or 0.3 per cent.

Several broad conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis: 1. The population of Northern Kauai—and probably most of the Kingdom—contained many persons in their forties and older, but relatively few under 20. The much broader age groupings used in the 1850 census tend to confirm this impression. The low proportion of younger persons probably resulted from a prolonged period of low fertility and high infant mortality.
2. Males greatly outnumbered females. Although maternal mortality and differential migration were unquestionably contributing causes, female infanticide may well have been the most important factor. According to Adams, infanticide was quite common from 1819 to 1825 and 1832 to 1836.  

3. Birth rates were extremely low, probably because of sterility resulting from syphilitic infection among many Hawaiians.

4. Death rates were moderately high. According to Adams, the years from 1836 to 1848 provided a period of relative social and demographic stability. A series of epidemics drove mortality rates to appalling levels in 1848-1849 and again in 1853.

5. The population was small and widely dispersed through areas now unpopulated. An example is Kalalau, now uninhabited, but with 190 residents in 1847.

NOTES

1. For a bibliography of these censuses, see the Hawaii Department of Planning and Research, The Censuses of Hawaii, 1500-1960, Research Report 25, July 11, 1962, pp. 4-6.
2. "Census of Kauai, District No. 3, from Kalalau to Kealia, as taken Spring of 1847."
3. Names of the modern ahupuaa were taken from U.S. Geological Survey maps. The same land divisions are shown on State tax maps, except for omission of one of the two areas (the western one) named "Papaa."
4. Romanzo Adams, untitled and undated typescript in the files of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii, p. 106 (and again on p. 451).
6. Editorial in The Polynesian, January 10, 1846. Also see the letter from "A Friend to the Native" in the issue of January 24, 1846 and the article in the issue of January 9, 1847.
7. Circular printed in Hawaiian (December 1, 1846) and typewritten English translation, both in Archives of Hawaii file, "Census - 1846."
8. See reference 5.
10. The 1846 census was cited on the same handwritten table as the 1847 census (reference 2).
12. Ibid., p. 121.
Table 1. POPULATION OF NORTHERN KAUA'I, BY AHUPU'A: SPRING 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahupu'a*</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalalau</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haena</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wainiha</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumahai</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikoko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waipa</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiala</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanalei</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalihikai</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliihiwai</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilauea and Kahili</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikakula</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaa</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pila'a</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waipake</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepu'li</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko'ola</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaa</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anahola</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'omaikawa</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumukumu</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kealia</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Listed from west to east. Two different areas are named "Papaa". See text and footnote 3 for further comment.

Table 2. AGE AND SEX, FOR NORTHERN KAUA'I: SPRING 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percent Distribution</th>
<th>Males per 100 Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>2,698</td>
<td>1,406</td>
<td>1,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 20</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 40</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 50</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 60</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 to 70</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 70</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WILLIAM MILLER AND HIS OPPOSITION TO THE TREATY OF 1854*

by

Dixie Lee Born

Editor's note: In 1852 and 1853 the question of annexing Hawaii to the U.S. was brought to the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. Hawaii reacted with interested discussion, which became serious following a devastating smallpox epidemic and resulting political agitation in the summer of 1853. During 1854 an annexation movement developed strength, negotiations began, and a treaty of annexation was drafted. Complex maneuvers ensued. But the annexation cause was faltering when Kamehameha III died on December 15, 1854. His death doomed any chance that annexation might have had.

One of the most vigorous protests against annexation was delivered by William Miller, Consul-General for Great Britain. He was not the sole cause of the annexation scheme's eventual failure, nor even the most significant one, but he did play an important part. In his role of opponent to the proposed treaty he represented the position of France and Britain, for it was to their advantage that the Islands not fall into the hands of the United States.

Miller seems to have had a rebuttal or an alternative to every possible reason for annexation. Some have referred to his protests as "tirades" or "harassments." Obviously, his statements and actions appealed to the emotions and fears of his listeners. Most expressive of Miller's opposition was the speech which he gave before the king and privy council on September 18, 1854. This concentrated his views, aired at different times during the year, on the matter at hand.

More than once in 1854 the king and some of his chiefs indicated that they wanted to know Miller's feelings about the idea of annexation then being encouraged by so many Americans. The consul responded; at times he pointed out what would happen if Hawaii were annexed and, these being poor alternatives, he suggested ways in which Hawaii could improve herself without coming under the wings of a foreign power.

In January, Miller had warned the king that by consenting to annexation he was, in fact

...placing his Power and his Sovereignty, as well as the Islands, at the Will, not of his Native Subjects, but of individuals who appear to be, now, more anxious for their own worldly interests than for the well being of his Kingdom.

He maintained that as long as the king, Prince Liholiho and the chiefs remained faithful to themselves and did not sign away the independence of Hawaii, they would be able to depend upon the support of "...the Naval Forces, in the Pacific, not only of Great Britain, but also.../no doubt/...of all other Maritime Nations having Treaties with the Hawaiian Government, against unjustifiable aggression."4

The most effective way to keep the independence of the Islands Miller summarized thus: Introduce simplicity into the courts and modify some of the existing laws—in particular the one regarding moe kolohe (adultery), for it was unequally enforced and "...beyond all calculation demoralizing to the Natives and Police.

*This is part of a paper produced by Mrs. Born in May, 1964, for Dr. C.H. Hunter's course in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii.
Officers as well as vexatious and unendurably unjust to Foreign Seamen and others.5 There should be strict accountability in all government departments, especially in the public treasury. Receipts and expenditures should be published monthly. In addition, there should be abolition of all favoritism in the sale and management of the crown lands, imposition of a moderate land tax, and dismissal of some of the "useless" officers. A suggestion with special appeal was that if the ports were declared free ports, their population would, before too long, increase "...to a Million of People..." and rank with some of the existing sovereign European states.6 One of the Hawaiians' greatest worries was their ever-decreasing numbers.

As for the French menace that had continued to plague Hawaii since 1848, Miller assured the king that

...if any application had been made by Your Majesty and Chiefs for British Protection, the British Flag would instantly have gone up; just as it will now, if Your Majesty and the chiefs ask for it, to resist the aggression of any Foreign Power. But, I have never received any such application; and both in 1849 and 1851 I assured Your Majesty that you had nothing to fear from France, notwithstanding the acts of some of her officers....I expect the frigates Amphitrite and Artemise in a few days and in about three weeks, the two admirals.7

Not only here, but clearly throughout his presentation to the king in September, Miller defended Great Britain, expressing his distaste at the United States' secret negotiations and denunciations of Miller's home government:

...I can not understand how the United States Government, in view of the solemn assurances they have made referring to the declaration by the U.S. that it would not allow any of its citizens or officers to use measures to induce annexation,7 could authorize their Commissioner here to make any secret Treaty, contradictory to those assurances.8

Miller had made a point of reminding the group of the "generous and disinterested" course pursued by the British government toward the Islands and that independence had been advocated since the time of Cook and Vancouver.9 He supported this by calling to attention a reply made by the king on July 31, 1850. As for himself, Miller said that he shared the British view and that he had "...no power to enter into any secret negotiation; the course of My Government is open, straightforward and honest. It has been eminently so, to Your Majesty and predecessors throughout all times; and England is your oldest friend.10

But this love had gone unrequited. Miller alluded to the publication

...in the native language, edited by the secretary of the Minister of Public Instruction of the grossest lies, libels and calumnies...against the British Government, and against myself. Had the Editor not been a government officer, I would have thought nothing of them for under a Free Press, an Independent Editor has a right to criticise public men and public measures; but the Editor referred to, though nominally discharged, was always about the Government offices and was assisted in his Editorials and communications, full of lies and libels, by the Secretary of another of Your Majesty's Ministers. For these reasons, I sent extracts to the British Government. I have the more reason to complain of such attacks that the official organ of Your Majesty's Government is hostile to British Interests, entirely under the influence of the American party and that no contradiction of such lies, libels and calumnies could be made through that organ....11

In rebuttal, Miller asserted:
...I beg to assure you that there exists no Government more honourable than the British; the Ministers of the Queen of England are all men of rank and integrity; and their official subordinates have to act courteously truly and honourably else they would lose their character and their standing in Society.12

Miller had been made aware, in letters from San Francisco, of the attempt on the part of certain Americans and others there, to circulate terrifying accounts of filibusters, in order to alarm the king. In his protests he tried to convince Kamehameha III that there was no truth in any of it, and that the reports were mere efforts to frighten the Islands into annexation.13 Miller pointed out that two frigates were on watch and ready for action should the need arise. And a man from California, accused fore-agent of the filibusters, had come to Miller with assurances that certain rumors were untrue. Said the consul to the king: "I can assure you that Your Majesty is in no danger...There is no person safer in the Kingdom...without a single soldier or a single gun...not a Foreigner who would touch a hair of Your Majesty's head."14

Miller reiterated his willingness to protect the Islands should Kamehameha be really alarmed, but he continued to protest alienating the kingdom "...without necessity and without consulting the Representatives of other Foreign States..."15 which wished well to the king and his people. He furthermore reminded the crown that the constitution did not permit alienation of sovereignty unless under clearly stated circumstances not then obtaining. He referred to the 36th article, which alluded to the kingdom as if it were the king's property, but also spoke of the chiefs and people, presumably never intending that they should be disposed of as if they were private property.16

Another fact called to attention was that the number of non-American foreigners living in Hawaii equaled the total of Americans. And many among the latter opposed annexation of the Islands to the United States.17

In a public oration on July 4, 1854, U.S. Commissioner David L. Gregg had attacked in unmeasured terms British institutions, especially the colonial system and the law of primogeniture.18 Miller's refutation asked the king and chiefs to consider how annexation would affect the people. Using California as his example, the Britisher inquired:

"...does that state afford any evidence of Good Government? Is not the whole land full of Murderers, Thieves, Robbers and Squatters, unpunished—
to an extent unknown in any other country? The City of San Francisco alone is upwards of $3,000,000 in debt—the taxation on property is enormous while its value is rendered null by Squatters. Yet we hear eloquent harangues about the Area of freedom, and all that sort of stuff, without saying one word of the area of Slavery, or Squatting, of Fillibusterism [sic], and of Lynch-law the great blots of American Institutions.19

Miller said that he would not think of bringing up such a matter had not the representative of another foreign state decried British institutions. He said that in Great Britain primogeniture was a good thing, and that it had given stability to the nation by producing a continuous line of men born to wealth and independence. These men had the time to educate themselves for high positions as statesmen. Neither clerical nor legal men in Great Britain were thought competent to frame or carry out laws. Nor were merchants among the statesmen of Great Britain, and that was the reason "...the latter were of such high character, so honourable, so pure and incorruptible."20

Taxation was another topic. Should Hawaii be annexed as a state, expenses of the state would have to be taken from internal taxes, for the federal government
would receive the duties on foreign products.²¹

Miller was discussing subjects close to the concerns of the Hawaiians. Perhaps illustrating this best was the slavery question—one carrying with it much emotional, social, economic and political dynamite, not only in the United States, but throughout the world. One of Miller's strongest reasons for opposition was this very question, which he and others continued to bring up throughout 1854. He said to the king:

...Supposing that no serious obstacles existed to carrying out the Scheme of annexation, I should recommend you to consider well, if there would be a probability, or even a possibility, of these Islands becoming a Slave State, and to bear in mind always that the Sandwich Islands are situated to the South of 36°50' North Latitude, the Missouri Compromise Line.²²

If slavery never came to Hawaii, but if she were annexed to or became a state of the United States, delegates or representatives would be sent back to Washington, D.C. It was asked, what would be the reaction in the U.S. to the "dusky-skinned" natives? In their travels, would they go "...unannoyed and with perfect liberty through the Southern States...", or if they went through the North, where slavery did not exist, what would be their treatment aboard American steamboats and in railroad cars? They would be pointed out everywhere they went, "...and Wealth could not compensate for such degradation."²³ The king was advised to look into these questions very carefully and to determine "...if after all, Native Members [were] sent to Congress would [they] really be allowed to take their seats in the Senate and House of Representatives?"²⁴

The consul elaborated his argument. He referred to Charleston, South Carolina, saying that even British subjects going there from the West Indies who were not "quite white" were jailed at night. Despite Britain's opposition, the practice continued.²⁵

Personal touches also were added. On his way back to Europe from Peru in 1839, Miller was in the capital of Mexico; he related this experience:

...the American Resident Minister there, aware that I intended to proceed up the Mississippi and through the United States, asked me one day what I was going to do with a brave and faithful attendant, I had then with me, who had about equal portions of Spanish, Indian, and African blood in his veins, and a corresponding complexion. I answered, 'Why, take him with me, to be sure, he is an old Soldier, he is a free man, and in my service.' The Minister rejoined, 'Take my advice and do no such thing, unless you wish to see your attached Servant thrown into jail every night you remain in a Slave State. Were you to come to my town—Natchez [sic] and I happened to be there at the time, whatever my Private or Official position might be, I could not help you.' I had in consequence to part with my trust worthy follower who had served me several years, and given many proofs of devotedness and bravery in moments of great peril, and I shall ever mourn his death which occurred at Guayaquil whilst he was striving to get back to his own Country.²⁶

Miller set forth yet another, but less moving, incident:

...While at Washington another Foreign Resident Minister said to me, 'Some short time ago I went to Richmond, the Capital of Virginia, in my own Carriage, my Coachman being a Man of Colour. Soon after my arrival there, in the Evening, the Governor waited upon me, and very courteously expressed his extreme regret that the Laws of the State rendered it indispensably necessary that my Coachman should be sent to jail, in consequence of his being a freeman of colour and not belonging to the State.
The Governor was so civil and displayed so much Gentlemanly feeling, that I could not do less than submit; indeed, I could have done nothing else, but I determined never again to set my foot in Virginia.27

He re-emphasized the point to the king: "...Remember that in whatever part of the world slavery exists there will necessarily be kidnapping of persons who are not perfectly white; and some Fathers who will sell their own progeny."28

Miller then told how he had given much of his life and blood to the freeing of "men of colour" in South America:

It fell to my lot at Lima, in 1830, to liberate several old Soldiers, men of colour, who after fighting in the Battles which gave to their country her Independence, were discharged from the Peruvian Service, but afterwards kidnapped and again cruelly plunged into Slavery. I put a stop also to many others being kidnapped. I at the time held a high Post, both military and civil, and it would appear almost incredible were I to relate to you all the difficulties I had to surmount to obtain and secure the liberty of those Veteran Soldiers.29

Especially effective was his last sentence: "...I, however, look back upon my persevering and successful efforts on that occasion with as much, if not more, satisfaction than I do for any act I ever performed during a long military career in favour of Freedom."30

It is clear that Miller throughout his protest sought to discuss subjects that would appeal to the feelings and desires of the Hawaiians.31 Did the consul really believe that Hawaii would become a victim of slavocracy? It is hard to say. The dominant motive of his opposition to the United States and the treaty of 1854 appears to have been the interest of Great Britain in keeping the Islands independent. Just as Louis Emile Perrin represented the interests of France, and Gregg those of the United States, so did Miller uphold the British position. All the great powers saw strategic, economic, and political reasons for maintaining a foothold in the Islands and for keeping them free. It was a time when they were seeking spheres of influence in the Far East and the Pacific areas, as is evidenced by the efforts of Great Britain and France throughout this period to obtain a tripartite agreement.32

Independence was the aim, at least for the time being. Hawaii was too distant, and with the limited means of communication and transportation, it would have been difficult for any of the powers to take and keep the archipelago without operating at a deficit. And yet they objected to any one of them seeking exclusive control, for this would prejudice the interests of the others.

Although Miller's hostility was not the main cause of the treaty's rejection, the consul-general did play an important and colorful role in the agitation which led to procrastination and final defeat.33 He dwelt upon issues crucial at the time, and that were of both personal and patriotic significance to the Hawaiians.

NOTES


4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Verbal Communication to the King in Presence of His Ministers and Privy Council, September 18, 1854. F.O. 58/79 (above), pp. 244-248, 433-434. A typed copy of this communication is in the Archives of Hawaii.
8. Ibid. 10. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 14. Ibid. 16. Ibid.
9. Ibid. 11. Ibid. 13. Ibid. 15. Ibid. 17. Ibid.
18. W.D. Alexander, op. cit., p. 9; Memorandum of December 10, 1854.
19. Verbal Communication of September 18, 1854.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Memorandum of December 10, 1854.
23. Memorandum of January 22, 1854.
25. Ibid. 27. Ibid. 29. Ibid.
26. Ibid. 30. Ibid.

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THE HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW SOLICITS MANUSCRIPTS DEALING WITH ANY ASPECT OR ERA OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY. PREFERENCE GIVEN TO THOSE SHOWING EVIDENCE OF WORK WITH UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIALS.
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THE JOURNAL OF PACIFIC HISTORY

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THE EDITOR DIRECTS YOUR ATTENTION TO A RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS PRESS:

RICHARD A. GREER, DOWNTOWN PROFILE: HONOLULU A CENTURY AGO. IT INCLUDES A MAP OF HONOLULU IN 1869, A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN AND ITS DOINGS THAT YEAR, A DIRECTORY OF THE DOWNTOWN AREA, AND AN INVENTORY OF RELEVANT PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE B.P. BISHOP MUSEUM AND THE ARCHIVES OF HAWAII. PRICE WHEN ORDERED DIRECTLY FROM THE KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS STORE, KAPALAMA HEIGHTS, HONOLULU, HAWAII: $1.25 per. PLUS MAILING COST.
IN THE SHADOW OF DEATH

by

Richard A. Greer

The summer and fall of 1853 will forever be counted as one of Oahu's most tragic periods. Thousands perished as their flesh, eaten with smallpox, turned into masses of stinking putrefaction. Panic ruled; desperate crowds piled onto little interisland coasters, fleeing stricken Honolulu. But death sailed with them.

How was it with the outer islands, thus exposed to the horrors of the pustulant plague? Niihau, with an 1850 population of 714, escaped entirely; so did Molokai, the mid-century home of 3,450 people, and Lanai, with its 600-odd residents.\(^1\) Natural isolation, plus vaccine brought in from Kauai, saved Niihau; Molokai owed its salvation to a similar but lesser isolation, and to a toughly-enforced quarantine.\(^2\) Dwight Baldwin went from Lahaina in July to vaccinate everybody on Lanai who needed it—and Lanai, too, was off the interisland mainstream.\(^3\)

In Honolulu, the king appointed Royal Commissioners of Public Health at the outbreak of smallpox in May. At once they named sub-commissioners:

- Kauai: J.F. B. Marshall, E.P. Bond, and J.W. Smith, M.D.
- Maui: F.H. Treadway, J.R. Dow, M.D., and D. Baldwin, M.D.
- Hawaii:
  - Hilo and Puna: B. Pitman, J.H. Coney, and C.H. Wetmore, M.D.
  - Kau: the Rev. H. Kinney
  - North and South Kona: F. Cummins, J. Fuller, and the Rev. J.D. Paris
  - Waimea and Kawaihae: Dr. Nicholl, Mr. Humphries, and Mr. Macey

Their commissions read thus:

Honolulu, May 20th, 1853

Sir:

You are appointed a commissioner to act with _ and _ for _ under the Royal Commissioners of Public Health agreeably with an Act passed the Legislature 16th May instant.

Your obedient Servant

J. Hardy
Sec. to the R.C. of P.H.\(^4\)

Nearly four months later—on September 12—the R.C.P.H. took a backward look: Finding it useless to try to protect Oahu, they had concerned themselves with sparing the outer islands, they reported.\(^5\) What does the record show?

Smallpox struck Koloa, Kauai, on June 5. The victim recovered, but by June 27 there had been 9 cases and 1 death at Hanalei, on the opposite side of the island.\(^6\) Meanwhile, nearly everybody on Kauai had been vaccinated as the fight began.

It was a pinchpenny battle. Early in July the R.C.P.H. at Honolulu were clamoring for an exact account of expenses. Chairman Marshall held them off: Expenses were still mounting; communication was slow; Hawaiians were not furnishing proper vouchers.\(^7\) And further instructions were needed. Were Marshall's crew to stop preventive measures, or continue them at their own expense? Should they act under the authority and orders of the R.C.P.H., as they had done? The answer was: Go ahead, but raise as much money locally as possible; the $10,000 allotted to the R.C.P.H. could not meet needs. The Honolulu commissioners enclosed a petition to be referred to the people of Kauai. It proposed certain smallpox regulations; if these were
approved, Kauai would be expected to enforce them.  

Regulations were passed; Marshall asked the R.C.P.H., if it approved, to sign the notice and have 400 or 500 copies printed—mostly in Hawaiian—for circulation in Honolulu and on Kauai. He wrote that it would be "inexpedient" to prohibit vessels from coming to the island, but added that the going to and fro of Hawaiians was "...a great and unnecessary evil and risk." Expenses incurred to June 30 totaled $35.00—conditionally—including purchases of houses to be paid for in case they were occupied by smallpox victims.  

Despite the new regulations, vessels continued to bring passengers bearing permits signed by S. Porter Ford, M.D. and his aide, Kahanaumiaiki. In the middle of August two cases broke out in new and distant localities, the victims having landed from the Pau under permits from Dr. Ford. Up to this time the Kauai subcommissioners had been able to keep the smallpox within its original limits, even though 7 of the 8 deaths recorded had been of people who had brought the disease from Oahu. Marshall urged that the Kauai regulations be strictly enforced; Ford and Kahanaumiaiki should stop giving permits.  

Meanwhile morbid and vital statistics had been accumulating, though slowly;  

Report of July 13—Total number of cases on Kauai from the start: 16; total number of deaths: 5; no new cases reported in the past 8 days; cases at Hanamaulu, Waialii and Waimanu.  

Report of July 23—Total number of cases from the start: 19; total number of deaths: 6; the smallpox did not seem to spread; of 3 new cases, 2 were from Oahu; one had died—he bathed and died soon.  

Report of July 28—Total of cases to date: 23; total of deaths to date: 7.  

Report of August 16—Since report of August 1, there had been 2 new cases and 1 death, both at Ko'olau.  

Report of September 3—Since last report, 4 new cases and 2 deaths.  

The R.C.P.H. asked for final summaries from all islands in January, 1854. Marshall compiled: There had been 29 cases and 10 deaths on Kauai. The smallpox had generally taken a mild form; most of the deaths were believed caused by the "...imprudence and mismanagement..." of the patients and their friends. Two died just after bathing, and a third after having himself rubbed all over with red peppers when the eruption appeared. Seven of the sick caught smallpox in Honolulu, but the disease spread in only two instances. One died at Waialii, and about a dozen cases resulted. The same happened at Ko'olau. Marshall listed the reasons for Kauai's good fortune: (1) About three-fourths of the adult population had been vaccinated several years before; (2) people exposed to smallpox did not contract it; (3) care had been taken to perpetuate good virus by vaccinating healthy children at the start; (4) Kauai's population was rather scattered, so police regulations could be carried out.  

Kauai suffered more. But there was one bright spot: In 1842, Dwight Baldwin had spent 6 or 8 months vaccinating the people, immunizing some 2,000 of about 3,500 (presumably then living in and around Lahaina), and at different times in later years vaccination had been continued. Some reservoir of immunity apparently remained. Baldwin got first-hand experience at the epidemic's source; On June 6, 1853, he traveled to Honolulu and saw there the yellow flags—signs of infection—multiplying as the disease spread. Fortunately, he observed, its victims were "...almost entirely among the vile."  

Baldwin returned to his Lahaina home on June 11. Drs. Dow and F.W. Hutchison were already vaccinating. Baldwin helped; he also warned the people, riding from point to point and urging that no one be allowed to land from boats under any circumstances. There had already been some trouble. On June 8 Dow had written to
the R.C.P.H. to ask whether the charge for examining coasting vessels should be paid by the vessels or by the government. Thus far the former had paid, with resulting ill feeling, as some said no such fee was required at Honolulu.20

Maui observed its day of fasting and prayer—proclaimed by the king—on June 15.21 And still the smallpox held off. On the twenty-first Baldwin went to Kipahulu; the next day Dow reported all clear as before.22 Then on Thursday (the twenty-third) Baldwin went to Kenui's section of Lahaina and examined arms. Of 400, he found 65 needing vaccination or revaccination. Just as he had nearly finished, a messenger reported a case of smallpox. Dow went, and found a woman—"a vile"—sick near the king's palace, and makai of Baldwin's meeting house. She had come from Oahu 12 days before. The yellow flag went up in Lahaina for the first time.23

Fear and rage swept the town. There had been thus far 3 cases of smallpox in the harbor, and once a ship bearing the disease had turned back to Honolulu. Maui citizens blamed the R.C.P.H.—who, they said, had let vessel after vessel come to scatter people all over the island. Already, reports ran, 3 smallpox sufferers from Oahu had been landed at Kipahulu.24

As soon as the sick woman was discovered, townsmen—both native and foreign—held a mass meeting. They resolved to ask the R.C.P.H. to forbid anybody to embark for Maui, and to stop landing of freight and passengers from Oahu.25 While they met, J.S. Green was writing from Makawao; he reported no smallpox but a need for vaccine. A little had been sent from Lahaina four weeks before, and missionaries had been vaccinating.26

Lahaina's problem got fresh emphasis that same Thursday night when a ship from Oahu brought another 12 passengers. Determined that they should not mix with Lahainans, Dow and Baldwin spent most of Friday morning looking for a quarantine house. Baldwin then wrote to Honolulu, begging a stop to the stream of travelers, and after that occupied 3 hours vaccinating at Timoteo's apuna (district).27

As early as June 8, Lahaina's residents had been collecting materials for a smallpox hospital.28 The spot picked for it was the "north coconut grove" at Mala. A rowboat was used to transport patients from Lahaina.29 The first case—the one found on June 23—made the trip on Saturday night, June 25. With her went 6 or 7 others living in the same house. The sick woman had varioloid only; she recovered without transmitting the disease to anybody else.30

A "real" case of smallpox came to light on Sunday, June 26. It was a young woman from Oahu, living on a back street in a thick cluster of houses. Her illness had been concealed for several days. The problem: How to get her safely out of town. Dow got a boat, Baldwin emptied the narrow road, and the sufferer walked through back streets by the chapel and down to the skiff, which took her to Mala. The rest of that Sunday all 3 Lahaina doctors spent vaccinating.31 On the very day (Wednesday, June 29) that Dow reported these 2 cases—plus 7 others at Kipahulu—a ship from Oahu landed 80 people at Lahaina.32 And that night the young woman at Mala died.

Meanwhile, the R.C.P.H. had penned their reply to the Maui petition: There would be no embargo on passengers from Oahu; the commissioners felt that they had done all they could by appointing agents and instructing them to allow none to sail unless on urgent business and protected by vaccination. Also, there was a boarding physician at Lahaina who could refuse landing permission to any who appeared to have smallpox. The commissioners did agree to approve any quarantine rules that Maui might want.33

Vaccination went on continuously. Baldwin, Dow and Hutchison worked through Lahaina, Olowalu and other areas; missionary Edward Bailey immunized Wailuku and Makawao.34 And the smallpox confined itself to Lahaina and Kipahulu. All was quiet
during the first week of July. But from the seventh to the thirteenth, Dow noted 16 new cases, 1 in Lahaina and 15 in the neighborhood of Kipahulu and Hana. At Kipahulu, 6 had died. The Lahaina case was a man from Oahu living in Kuakamauna's yard; he had varioloid only, and none took the disease from him. Chairman Treadway of the Maui sub-commissioners now pronounced Lahaina healthy and free from smallpox—and so well vaccinated that he predicted there would not be enough cases to leave any infection behind. To this the editor of the Polynesian in beleaguered Honolulu rejoined that Lahaina might get its turn later.

But it never did, really. Various reports show developments to the latter part of August:

For the week ending July 20: 1 new case at Lahaina and 1 at Keahakuloa. No deaths.

For the week ending July 27: 3 new cases on Maui. Six deaths—1 at Lahaina, 5 at Kipahulu.

Summary (about August 1): 7 cases to date in Lahaina—3 smallpox (2 died and 1 recovered) and 4 varioloid. Two of the 7 were at Lahainaluna, and 6 were from Oahu. The seventh—and the first "home" case in Lahaina—was a little girl with light varioloid. She lived a little way back from the seamen's hospital and had slept with a woman from Oahu. From the girl another took it and was concealed for a week in a house. When this latter case came to light, the house was burned, as had been proclaimed. All patients had been taken at once to the smallpox hospital in the coconut grove about 1½ miles north of the business part of Lahaina. And the town's entire population had been vaccinated several times. Drs. Dow and Hutchinson had done most of the work, sometimes meeting the people at their school houses. In the past Hawaiians had vaccinated, but the practice had been dropped. The status of Baldwin's field was: Molokai free of smallpox and all vaccinated; Wailuku, Waiehu and Waianae free and all vaccinated; Honolulu, Kaua, Makawao and Hamakua free, with vaccination progressing. But smallpox was spreading at Kipahulu and Hana, and other districts in that part of the island were unprotected.

For week ending August 10: 8 new cases on Maui, no deaths.

Chief Justice W.I. Lee made a smallpox inspection tour in August. He reached Lahaina on the thirteenth, and reported the disease in complete control. Lee credited it to this: Whenever a case appeared, all people living in and around the yard were sent to the hospital and inoculated. Not one case had been lost through inoculation.

For the week ending August 24: 6 new cases, 3 deaths.

A hospital report, dated about August 15, and made by F.W. Hutchinson, the doctor in charge, showed: cases to hospital since June 25—19. Seventeen boys sent to Lahainaluna from Honolulu had been confined together since their arrival. Vaccination failures (when they occurred) were blamed on skin infections or rupture of vesicles from carelessness or scratching. Hutchinson added that there should be a proper vaccination establishment, and—to support its work—a law compelling vaccination. He suggested that the government apply to the Royal Jennerian and London Vaccine Establishment for scabs (which he called the only method for transporting in warm climates). At this place the best quality scabs could always be got.

Baldwin's summary for Lahaina, dated August 25: Hundreds had landed every month from Oahu, yet only about 20 had developed smallpox. Five, all from Oahu, had died. Baldwin credited vaccination. Later he wrote: Twenty-two times smallpox had been brought in from Oahu, yet only 6 or 7 (including a woman and a little girl from Lahaina) had died.

But there were complaints. S.M. Kamakau, the Hawaiian scholar and author, sent a letter to the R.C.P.H. accusing Maui officials of concentrating on Lahaina and
neglecting other parts of the island. The R.C.P.H. let Treadway and his colleagues know about this, "trusting" that the best provision would be made for those sick at Kipahulu and elsewhere.50

The Maui sub-commissioners hired Dr. John Rae to vaccinate in the eastern districts. He traveled from Makawao through Kula to Honaula, then around the south to Hana and back north to Hamakua. Following his tour he burst into the columns of the Polynesian with a long and critical report of affairs on Maui;51 He had too little vaccine, and the commissioners could not supply it; of the four doctors on Maui, two were in Lahaina; medical men should be sent to other localities; though the sick were often abandoned through fear, many could be saved; the government was obligated to help the Hawaiians, who now depended on it for salvation.

Others challenged these Raevings: The Polynesian had always understood that the Maui sub-commissioners were energetic and vigilant; if Rae would show them their shortcomings, they would be remedied. After all, the ministers of government were not those empowered by law to look after details. And the R.C.P.H. had delegated all of its power to the sub-commissioners at the start.52

At the end of September, Baldwin made his own tour through East Maui, retracing Rae's route. On his return he reported 63 dead at Hana, 27 at Kipahulu, 15 at Kaupo, 2 at Kahikinui, and 2 in the vicinity of Makawao.53 Meanwhile—on September 19—he had reported on matters at Lahaina: Sixty-three people had been inoculated by Mr. Hutchinson; 31 had no after-effects, while 5 took light cases of smallpox; there had been a total of 25 cases (11 at Lahainaluna, all from Oahu; 6 at Lahaina, shortly after landing from Oahu; 1 case from Hawaii; 7 "home cases"; and 7 deaths (5 of people from Oahu and 2 of Lahaina residents). Eleven of the 25 cases had been severe.54 At the time of reporting there were no cases, not even in the hospital. Nor had there been any new smallpox sufferers since August 27, when a fatal case developed.55 For the past six or seven weeks Baldwin had been vaccinating from 1 to 6 newborn babes each week. All of the vaccinations had taken.56

Alarms and reports continued. Dow had sent one man to the hospital with a "big crop of mosquito bites."57 "Unprincipled foreigners" passing through to Hawaii grumbled when Maui authorities tried to prevent their landing.58 Vessels kept bringing visitors—and smallpox—from Oahu, and Mauians kept writing letters of protest.59 Occasional cases appeared up to January, 1854, and vaccine proved unreliable at times.60

Treadway made a final report on March 8, 1854. There had been 280 cases and 124 deaths on Maui. Hana had been hardest hit. But Lahaina had felt the protecting hand of Providence. Two years after the epidemic, the church there voted to tear down and rebuild Hale Halawai. The new structure commemorated Lahaina's escape; it was named Hale Aloha.62

The overall picture on Hawaii is not as clear; the size of the island required several sets of sub-commissioners, and the quality of their reporting varied widely. But there was much suffering.

At Hilo and Puna, Wetmore, Pitman and Coney started to work as soon as they received their appointments. But it was too late. About ten days before the R.C.P.H. letter arrived, a schooner brought smallpox from Honolulu. A case turned up 8 or 10 miles from Hilo, and by June 13 another was rumored some 30 miles away, and 7 more about 15 or 20 miles distant.63 Wetmore vaccinated 700 or 800 people, and hoped to serve a much larger number the following week. Meanwhile Hiloans were putting up a large pesthouse on a little uninhabited island in Hilo Bay. In town the yellow flag was flying.64

By July 1, Honolulu rumors told of a terrible epidemic at Hilo, but a letter from there dated June 24 listed only 2 mild cases.65 On June 27 the Hilo-Puna
Agents met. They resolved: (1) to hire two or more people to attend the hospital (George Coleman, a foreigner, was employed at $2.00 a day); (2) to appoint a boarding officer who would also attend the sick in the hospital and do general duty (a Mr. Barnes was hired at $2.00 a day); (3) to send agents through Hilo and Puna supplied with good vaccine and instruments for vaccinating (Burenapa did this for Hilo, and John Ho'oei for Puna); (4) to put up a house on Cocoanut Island for hospital attendants and as a depot for supplies (Mr. Coney superintended the building).

Four days later they decided to build a house at Puhonua to receive sick foreigners, and on July 3 they accepted Dr. John Pelham's plan to prevent the spread of smallpox. Mr. Louis Paris was appointed to take charge of the infected gulch of Kahalii; Pelham, after seeing his scheme fully established, would go on to Laupahoehoe and take control there. Dr. Patterson of Honolulu was to be hired as physician at Kahalii, with Paris helping him as interpreter. On July 5, Mr. Mayor was engaged to carry out Pelham's plans at Puna, at a wage of $1.00 a day and expenses.

This date—July 5—marked the first time the commissioners had met as a whole. Dr. Wetmore's home was the scene. The group resolved to: (1) buy a house already built at Puhonua, and (2) from that week (if there were no smallpox outbreak in Hilo) to put a 12-day quarantine on coasting vessels coming from a port where smallpox was known to exist. The commissioners visited several houses at Puhonua, but the occupants would neither rent nor sell them; they then decided to build a hospital for foreigners "...on the third hill of (illegible)," for which purpose Mr. Reed was employed and started to work at once. This was on July 6.

Meanwhile the smallpox had been ravaging a 20-mile district between Laupahoehoe and Kahalii. By July 1 there had been 78 cases and 14 deaths. Pelham was the only doctor available; Charles Wetmore was down with varioloid, but had nearly recovered. Wetmore was the one who had called the Hawaiians together to arrange for a hospital. Choosing one of their number as overseer, they had put up a house 58x15 feet between Saturday and Tuesday night. Ironically, Wetmore was the first to occupy it.

The sub-commissioners met again at Wetmore's on July 9, when they considered the best means of carrying out the plans of Pelham and Burenapa. They adopted the latter's proposal for Kahalii and chose him to put it into effect. Patterson would be the physician and Paris the interpreter, as before agreed. Pitman asked to be banker and treasurer for the sub-commission, furnishing money until some definite arrangements could be made. He was to discover whether Messrs. Lyman, Austin and others would be willing to advance funds.

On the eleventh a Hawaiian, Ioe, was hired at $1.00 a day to help George Coleman at the Cocoanut Island hospital. If and when a case of malignant smallpox was isolated there, his pay would rise to $1.50 a day.

Pitman now reported to the R.C.P.H. He wrote that the sub-commissioners could not meet the requirement of weekly reports; agents were not sending in communications, and the Hawaiians were so afraid of the epidemic that they sometimes refused to carry messages. He forwarded the resolution concerning quarantine of coasting vessels, with this note: On the evening of July 10, the schooner Kulimanu had arrived; no case of smallpox having yet appeared in Hilo, the ship was quarantined. Two visits before, this vessel had brought the first case of the sickness to Hawaii; therefore, "...her arrival has been regarded by the natives with feelings of no friendly character." In all, 96 cases and 23 deaths were on record, and the smallpox was still confined to Maupahoehoe and Kahalii. But there had been no report since June 30.

Agents of the sub-commission had been vaccinating rapidly in all sections.

Another meeting on July 14 heard that Lyman, Austin, Worth and Mills had refused to advance money, for one reason or another. Pitman agreed to put up cash,
providing he was repaid in current silver coin at a premium of 3 per cent. The conditions were accepted. Austin asked to serve as secretary, and the sub-commissioners then resolved to: (1) bring in 2 schoolboys and instruct them in treating smallpox; (2) pay Dr. Pelham, for his "arduous services", $2.00 a day; (3) pay Dr. Patterson and Louis Paris $1.50 a day each; (4) instruct Pitman to call in all bills and pay them with the approval of the commissioners. 76

By July 26, there had been 120 cases (12 of them varioloid) and 75 deaths. Hilo proper still had not experienced a single case, the epidemic yet being limited to its original locations. The smallpox had nearly run its course at Kahalii, where there had been no case since about July 16. Pelham came down with smallpox on July 17, and received the special thanks of the sub-commissioners for his labors. 77 Burenpa at Kahalii and Pelham at Laupahoehoe got orders to satisfy themselves of the eradication of the smallpox by death or recovery, then to destroy all infection by burning or fumigation and raise the strict quarantine. 78

From this point the record becomes even more sketchy. By August 22 there had been 3 deaths at the hospital, a mile from Hilo, where Wetmore stayed. 79 A few days later Wetmore was writing about paying assistants for the month of June 18–July 18. He suggested $5.00 a piece; they wanted $8.00 for their work of vaccinating, examining arms, etc. 80 The sub-commissioners asked permission to destroy pulu exposed to smallpox, but the R.C.P.H. turned them down to save money; sun and air would disinfect the stuff. 81

By the middle of October there was no smallpox in Hilo or its vicinity. The port was declared safe for shipping; indeed, the first whaler of the season had arrived more than a month earlier, on September 5. 82 Puna was clean by November 11, but at this time a convalescent case burdened Hilo, where disease had re-appeared, evidently. 83 It is clear, though, that the town suffered little; minutes of the missionaries' general meeting noted that "...probably no community of the same size on the Islands ...suffered less from the prevailing epidemic the last year." 84

Titus Coan made a final estimate of mortality. There had been, he wrote, some 150 deaths at two points in Hilo district and one in Puna. A day of fasting and prayer ushered in the epidemic. A day of thanksgiving marked the end of the plague. Collections netted $400.00. 85

Kau district was luckier—or more vigilant. The epidemic, though expected, did not appear. The Rev. H. Kinney, sub-commissioner, summarized affairs late in July: Having got no vaccine from Cahu, he sent to Dr. Wetmore at Hilo for some. It was none too soon. Refugees from disease-stricken sections rushed to Kau for safety. But makaliki (guards) posted at various spots turned away strangers and quarantined returning residents. On the whole they worked pretty faithfully, some standing duty for two weeks. If the guards were to be paid, Kinney recommended a wage of not more than 25 cents a day, perhaps less. 86

He did manage to get good virus after some time, taking it from young people. The seventh and eighth days after vaccination. Most adults had been vaccinated a few years previously, and with almost no exception, the Kau people underwent immunization from 2 to 5 times. Kinney did most of the work himself; not having full confidence in Hawaiian assistants. Two boys had been handed over to the judge for refusing to give virus from their arms; they were fined $2.00 each. Others fed through the judicial mill were people from Cahu who ran away from their assigned quarters. 87

With vaccination done, the makali were withdrawn; however, they and others were told to be watchful, and to report all strangers at once. As late as February 1, 1854, no case of smallpox had yet occurred. But VD was on the increase, especially among the young. Many were enfeebled for life, or hurried to the grave. Most women who went to Cahu came back diseased, according to Kinney. 88
Smallpox invaded Kona early in June in the person of a woman carried up from Honolulu by the Ha'ialilio. It was the usual story: She settled in a cluster of houses, there was much visiting from near and far, and by the time the case was identified it was too late to check the disease's spread. Sub-commissioner P. Cummings viewed the patient. What he saw convinced him that she did indeed have smallpox. And he was experienced; earlier, 22 cases had broken out aboard a ship he commanded.

A doctor came, but he just looked at the woman's face and left the house without making any examination. He did, however, confirm Cummings' diagnosis. A day-and-night watch was mounted over the five houses involved, and a man hired to provide them with food, water and wood. The victim was not very sick, having a good appetite and being able to leave her quarters to answer "calls of nature".

By June 20 there had been 11 cases, 5 of them fatal; 9 of the cases and 4 of the deaths had been in one family. A month later the Rev. J.D. Paris, reporting from South Kona, wrote of many deaths. In some instances, whole families had been cut off. The common schools were shut down, and Paris was busy vaccinating.

It was not until the second week in August that J. Fuller, at Kealakekua, received a note—dated June 20—making him a sub-commissioner. A few days later he got a second message; both he and Paris had been replaced for neglect of duty. The new officials were Captain Cummings and Governor Kapeau. Fuller returned his commission to Honolulu, remarking that he knew both the informer and his motives, but pledging to continue the fight against smallpox. The chief danger, wrote Fuller, was the arrival of ships from Honolulu.

Cummings was angry. Kapeau, he heard, had written to Honolulu, charging Cummings with negligence and Fuller and Paris with complete inactivity. If not satisfied, the R.C.P.H. could appoint somebody else. But if no one had done anything, how was it that the smallpox had not spread more?

This was in the middle of August. To date, Cummings knew of 112 cases and 69 deaths in his district. At the time there were only 2 new cases. He wrote: "I think it could be stopped if we could prevent any more importations." To the south there had been 73 cases and 41 deaths, but no new patients for more than a month, and no cases within 3 miles of the bay.

Cummings regretted the firing of Fuller and Paris, as he needed somebody to consult. And a wide area had to be covered: "Persons have been landed from the Ha'ialilio at 7 different villages who have died with the smallpox the distance between the two farthest villages is from 30 to 35 miles..." At the first 2 villages struck by smallpox there had been 84 cases and 45 deaths.

The R.C.P.H. had not acknowledged Cummings' reports, and for this reason he decided to quit writing them for a time. Anyhow, outside help had been worthless: Sherman has not yet landed to have him landed here would cause a riot; I shall try to have him landed at Kailua with the Doctor. Hope the Dr. will meet expectations. I do not think he done the first thing for any person sick with the S.P. before he went to Honolulu....I cannot forget that Herrick an M.D. in practice should remain in the district some 2 months and never visit or prescribe for one person sick with the sm Pox during the whole time.

A reply from the R.C.P.H. tried to placate Cummings: Reports were not usually acknowledged except in a general way in the Polynesian; Cummings' agency had been very satisfactory; Gov. Kapeau had been appointed to act with Cummings because the two were in constant communication; when the doctor was employed, the R.C.P.H. had taken it for granted that he was competent and that his services were absolutely required, but Cummings and Kapeau could fire him. Herrick had taken tea, rice, sugar and bread sent up by Marshal W.C. Parke, and more would be furnished on order.
To the north, in Kohala, the Rev. E.H. Bond struggled with typical problems. At the start he faced trouble: He needed good vaccine matter. Several Hawaiians had returned from Honolulu, a large proportion "vaccinated" with spurious stuff. Also, Hawaiians from Honolulu were "immunizing" scores with matter from old ulcers or any suppuring wound, assuming people that it made no difference. This, wrote Bond, should be a penal offense.99

Bond was glad that the R.C.P.H. had tabooed the departure of unvaccinated people from Oahu. But he was soon convinced that the enforcement lagged. Informers told him that returning Kohalans had "scarified their own arms with a needle" or something similar and had thus passed inspection. Bond warned: "Such expedients will...be resorted to if they can be."100 Since June 10, 2 shiploads of passengers had come from Oahu—some from houses actually infected with smallpox. Not one person had had any official business. From 50 to 80 were landing every week or two. They scattered at once to escape notice, and could not be tracked down.101

So the smallpox came. On June 27, Bond reported 2 cases imported under sanction of Kanaumaikai's /sic/ signature, and "...another shipment of the disease doubtless in individuals with certificates from the native you have empowered to give them. For they have certificates, but no genuine vaccination!"102 Fresh infection came every few days, some of it from Kawaihae. Passengers from Honolulu landing there and finding the plague already raging, came up into the southern part of Bond's district.103

On Friday, July 1, Captain Namaile of the Kalaikini, belonging to Kalalumui of Kohala or Honolulu, Oahu, brought 3 passengers from Hana, Maui to Mahukona. The people had no permits. The sub-luna at Mahukona ordered them back to Hana in accordance with R.C.P.H. rules. But they insisted on landing, and while the sub-luna was on his way to report to Bond, the ship sailed, contrary to orders.104 When the R.C.P.H. learned of this, they ordered Namaile to be prosecuted before Judge C.C. Harris.105

The first case in Kohala had been brought in via Kawaihae by a girl from Honolulu. She came to be treated by a Hawaiian doctor who guaranteed a cure. Dr. James Wight took over the case at once; the house was declared ho'okapu and a guard of constables put on watch around the clock. At the time vaccination was just starting in Kohala. The other residents of the house were vaccinated and quarantined.106

The girl died on July 4. Just before this, a man and his daughter came from Honolulu. They sickened in 8 or 10 days, and the man died on July 14. In the house where the first case lodged, 6 died and 3 recovered. Four other people, friends of the first patient, entered the house secretly, though warned. Three of them died.107 Bond blamed 2 or 3 deaths on cold bathing recommended, against instructions, by Hawaiian doctors.

In the north sector, 12 died. Another 13 died in the extreme south, just bordering on Kawaihae. Dr. Wight made the 14-mile trip down there two or three times; capable Hawaiians did the rest. Bond credited a scarcity of water in the south with saving many lives.108

The last fatality occurred on August 2, bringing the total to 25. There had been little public excitement, and no violence, though in the place adjoining Kawaihae there had been a tendency at first to what Bond called "fanatical movements" and a threatening attitude toward the guarding constables. After several Hawaiian doctors had died, the people were more willing to submit to the care of foreigners. During the epidemic, Bond and Wight were busy vaccinating; eventually they immunized a large part of the population 4 times. Expenses totaled $14.00; $5.00 for horse hire for Wight; $2.50 for burying the dead; $6.50 for activities during June.110

The sub-commissioner relayed these stories:
A Hawaiian doctor in the south found a puddle of dirty water; he then prescribed daily baths for his patients. After several days of this, a cow drank the water, took smallpox, and died. Not a single life was saved until the doctor himself expired.\textsuperscript{111}

A man, trying to go to his father, fled the smallpox hospital at night with his wife. She died in the woods about a mile away. He, "...a horrible mass of putrefaction...", struggled on another 4 or 5 miles to his father's house. But it was in vain. At the son's approach the family ran away. A guard watched the dying man until he breathed his last the next day.\textsuperscript{112}

Although Bond had been writing since June 20, the R.C.P.H. got no word from him until August 3, when all his reports were delivered together. McCoughtry, then the secretary, replied the same day: Dr. Wight would be entitled to whatever pay Bond thought reasonable; the doctor should make up a list of needed medicines; meanwhile, Dr. Hoffmann of Honolulu would send remedies being used in that city, in value not to exceed $25.00; the R.C.P.H. was sorry that Bond had found it so hard to enforce quarantine, but the same troubles had beset every place where there had been an attempt at enforcement.\textsuperscript{113}

On August 24, Bond reported the smallpox definitely conquered "...by the blessing of God upon our efforts," and Dr. Wight opposed to receiving pay. The doctor was to visit Honolulu. Would the R.C.P.H. give him medicines? Hoffmann had sent nothing.\textsuperscript{114}

Kawaihae and Waimea had their own sub-commissioners. Smallpox struck early—on June 3—with a case so malignant that the resulting corpse had to be buried in a coffin, rather than a mat.\textsuperscript{115} Dr. Nicholl was called away on June 6. And up to the time of Chairman Humphreys' first report (June 27) the district had been without vaccine, medicine or doctor. The sub-commissioners had furnished everything from their own pockets. Casualties to that date included 17 cases and 4 deaths, all at Kawaihae. Although there was no doctor nearer than Kohala or Hamakua, vaccination was going on freely, using lymph from arms, or, more generally, scabs. A grass house, a halau (canoe shed) and some matting had been burned, and additional expense incurred for digging graves. The question was, would the owners be compensated? The number of constables had been increased, and they would be required to dig graves in the future.\textsuperscript{116}

But the constables deserted their posts and ran away. Humphreys replaced them with two convalescents, at the wage of $5.00 a month each. These employees both nursed and buried. Humphreys himself took a boat to Puako to vaccinate there—another $5.00 spent. But at Puako he met "...violent opposition and absolute refusal on the part of the natives...", and had to turn back after nearly an hour's fruitless parley.\textsuperscript{117}

From the last week in June to July 23, 33 cases resulted in 19 deaths. Utter destitution faced the sick. So much clothing had been burned that scarcely any remained. Humphreys asked for calico, denim and new mats. His modus operandi was this: Two patients were lodged under one mat shed. Here they could help each other a bit. Then, when death emptied the shed, it was burned.\textsuperscript{118}

Judge Lee, touring the islands, wrote on August 15: "This morning we landed at the Godforsaken port of Kawaihae." He added that his ship brought 2 cases of smallpox, which had broken out the day before, and that he expected more cases before reaching Hilo. Lee reported Humphreys doing good service at Kawaihae; disease had come to both Waimea and Hamakua. North Kohala was making a good fight, but the smallpox was slowly eating its way up from the shore. Lee continued: "All find fault with you \(\sqrt{\text{R.C.P.H.}}\) for allowing vessels to leave Oahu and scatter death wherever they touch."\textsuperscript{119}
As soon as he landed at Kawaihae, Lee got a note advising him not to go on, as he would be put in quarantine for 14 days. The judge felt such strict measures justified because, as he wrote, "Several villages have escaped the Small Pox on this island, by stowing away every man who makes his appearance..." Puako, three miles from Kawaihae, was one such place. Lee feared, however, that disease would steal in from Waimea.

To August 20, Humphreys noted at Kawaihae 39 cases and 24 deaths, with 3 currently ill and 12 recovered. The two most recent cases had been passengers landed from Lee's ship, the Kekauluohi. Humphreys renewed his plea for denim—4 pieces—and for some 50 to 100 mats at 25 cents each. There was still no doctor. Humphreys, who was collector for the port, and Judge Johnstone were caring for the stricken.

Kawaihae had suffered much indeed. Of the original population of 150, 40 or 42 fell ill, and 28 or 29 died. In April, 1853, the church there had 100 communicants; after the epidemic there were only 24, and not a youth among them. The others were dead, sick, convalescent, or gone. The timely arrival of rice and other supplies from Honolulu did relieve some misery.

Observers described the epidemic's impact: Panic ruled when the smallpox appeared. Many fled their homes and took to the woods. In all parishes crowds gathered for prayer and exhortation. School and work were abandoned; the people seemed obsessed with the idea that they must pray or die. They thought that hundreds were perishing in Honolulu because of their sinful ways.

Eventually smallpox came to 4 places in the district. Some tried to help the sick and dying, but most "...seemed divested of every particle of humanity." The nearest relatives were left to suffer, starve, die and rot unburied. In Kawaihae, at the height of the sickness, the people sat in apathy. Part of their village had been burned; a yellow flag flew over nearly all the houses left standing.

Lorenzo Lyons, who vaccinated and helped in other ways, had these stories to tell:

A man thought he would show his bravery. A stranger had passed through, broken out with smallpox, and slept in a cave near the brave one's house. When the stranger left, the other entered the cave and rolled around in it. He took sick, died, and lay unburied for several days. His wife soon followed him in death.

A helpless, sick child and its pet pig were abandoned in a house. The child recovered from smallpox but starved to death, shunned and deserted by all. Neighbors then burned down the house over its pitiable tenants.

Statistics gleaned from reports vary in completeness and reliability. But those available indicate an overall mortality of about 51 per cent. Tabulated, they show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>CASES</th>
<th>DEATHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilo and Puna</td>
<td>300†</td>
<td>150 (about)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kau</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Kona</td>
<td>112*</td>
<td>69*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kona</td>
<td>73*</td>
<td>41*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohala</td>
<td>50†</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawaihae and Waimea</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>887</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As interpreted from Cummings' report of August 17. Not included are the 84 cases and 45 deaths listed as occurring in the first 2 villages infected. It is
assumed that these figures are included in those given for North Kona. Brackets indicate figures interpolated, assuming a mortality rate of 50 per cent. Districts reporting both cases and deaths noted 536 and 273, respectively, or a mortality rate of .509.

It appears, then, that the outer islands had in comparison to Oahu: (1) a much lower rate of infection, but (2) possibly a higher rate of mortality among the infected. Isolation, quarantine, and vaccination accounted for the first; a presumably inferior level of care could have been responsible for the second.

What of the Royal Commissioners of Public Health? Had they really spared Oahu's sister islands? The evidence indicates otherwise. A strict taboo on interisland shipping, imposed on the day when smallpox was first discovered in Honolulu, could have been effective. But the policy of letting people—supposedly vaccinated—flee Honolulu at will had its inevitable consequence. Whatever immunity the outer islands enjoyed resulted, it seems, from their location and their own programs of vaccination and quarantine.

NOTES

4. Polynesian, May 21, 1853. Spelling of names is given as it appeared in the newspaper. Correct spellings are: Cummings, Humphreys, and (elsewhere) Hutchison.
5. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
15. Smith to Hardy, September 3. BH September-December.
17. Alexander, op. cit., p. 232; Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
22. Ibid., p. 233; J.R. Dow to R.C.P.H., June 22. BH January-June.
24. Ibid., pp. 233-234.
Dow to Hardy, June 8.
30. Ibid., pp. 234, 236.
31. Ibid., pp. 234-237.
32. Dow to R.C.P.H., June 29. BH January-June; Alexander, op. cit., p. 235.
33. J. Hardy to Noku, June 27. BH January-June.
37. Ibid.
40. Baldwin in the Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
42. Baldwin in Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
44. W.L. Lee to R.C.P.H., August 15. BH August 9-24.
46. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.
47. Ibid.
49. Alexander, op. cit., p. 239.
50. R.C.P.H. to Sub-Commissioners at Lahaina, August 6. Folder 1.
51. P.H. Treadway to R.C.P.H., March 8, 1854. Folder 3; Polynesian, September 24, 1853.
52. Ibid.
54. Polynesian, October 1, 1853.
55. J.H. Dow in Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
56. Polynesian, October 1, 1853.
57. Alexander, op. cit., p. 238.
58. Ibid.
59. Polynesian, November 19 and December 24, 1853.
60. P. Hutchison to T.C.B. Rookoe, October 6, 1854; P.H. Treadway to R.C.P.H., March 8, 1854. Folder 3.
61. Folder 3.
63. C.H. Wetmore to J. Hardy, June 13. BH January-June.
64. Ibid.
65. Polynesian, July 2, 1853.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. E. Pitman to J. Hardy, July 1. BH July 1-11.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. E. Pitman to J. Hardy, July 11. BH July 1-11.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
78. "Proceedings..."
82. Polynesian, October 15, 1853.
83. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 2 (February, 1854), p. 58.
85. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 6 (June, 1854), p. 165.
87. Ibid.
89. P. Cummings to J. Hardy, June 10. BH January-June.
90. Ibid.
91. P. Cummings to J. Hardy, June 20. BH January-June.
93. J. Fuller to J. Hardy, August 16. BH August 9-24.
94. P. Cummings to W. C. Parke, August 17. BH August 9-24.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. J. Hardy to P. Cummings, August 24. BH August 9-24.
99. E. Bond to R.C.P.H., June 20. BH January-June.
100. E. Bond to Gentlemen, June 24. BH January-June. Letter received August 3.
101. Ibid.
102. E. Bond to Gentlemen, June 27. BH January-June. Letter received August 3.
103. Ibid.
104. E. Bond to R.C.P.H., July 4.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. E. Bond to Gentlemen, July 30. BH January-June. Misfiled?
111. Letter of February 13, 1854.
112. Ibid.
114. E. Bond to Gentlemen, August 24 and 25. BH August 9-24.
115. Wm. Humphreys et al. to R.C.P.H., June 27. BH January-June.
116. Ibid.
117. Humphreys to J. Hardy, July 23. BH July 12-25.
118. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
122. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
123. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
124. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 6 (June, 1854), pp. 166-167.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
Statistics on crime in Hawaii were first compiled in 1838, a decade after the initial appearance of a printed penal code and only four years after establishment of the earliest Island police force. Such statistics at first appeared only sporadically. By 1853, however, crime data were being collected, tabulated and published on a regular and more or less comparable basis. This fifteen-year period of statistical development is the subject of the present paper.

Criminal law, a police force, and modern courts were introduced in Hawaii during the 1820's and 1830's. Long before the first white contact in 1778, laws had been enacted by the Hawaiian kings and preserved by custom. Both civil and ecclesiastical courts existed during this period. It was not until December 8, 1827, however, that a written penal code was proclaimed. Trial by jury was introduced about the same time.1 The first police force in the Kingdom was organized in Honolulu in 1834.2

Statistical records of crime—or at least of criminal convictions—first became available early in 1839. According to an article by P. Kanoa, published (in Hawaiian) in Ke Kumu Hawaii on January 16, 1839,

On the first day of January, in the year of Our Lord 1839, the magistrate made a computation of the number of those who had been sentenced according to law for their acts of disobedience.

Of the whole number of those sentenced, some were of Great Britain—some of whom were adulterers, some rioters, deserters, mutineers and thieves. Another part were Americans, whose doings were like the others; adultery, lewdness, theft, riot, desertion.3

Kanoa's tabulation showed a total of 522 convictions for the City of Honolulu during 1838. Data were given for nine kinds of offense. Adultery was the most common cause for conviction, accounting for almost half of the total offenses. Only four persons were convicted of manslaughter, most serious (by modern standards) of the nine offenses listed. These totals included both natives and foreigners; no effort was made to classify offenders by nationality, age, sex, or other characteristics. Detailed information appears in Table 1.

Similar statistics were compiled (but left unpublished) for 1839. A brief handwritten report, in Hawaiian, is preserved in the State Archives.4 This report includes a tabulation of the number of convictions, for each of seven offense categories, in Honolulu during 1839. Totals are shown separately by nationality of the offender. Of 866 convictions, 451 were for either adultery, prostitution, or pimping. Greater detail is given in Table 2.

Statistics are next available for 1845. Written in Hawaiian and apparently never published, this tabulation is filed in the State Archives.5 Coverage was extended for the first time to the entire island of Oahu. Separate data were reported for each of five judicial districts, and for foreigners separately from natives.
Twenty-five distinct offenses were listed, some of which (such as "killing swine", "fast riding", and "drinking sour potatoes") sound rather quaint to modern ears. Six, including the most frequent ("adultery and fornication", with 312 convictions), had to do with sexual and marital offenses. Murder and other major crimes were not listed. Total convictions for the year numbered 1,058. Table 3 presents additional information.

Statistics for 1846 were limited to "cases in the Police Court of Honolulu" for the last six months of the year and "offenses punished" in the Inferior Court during the first eleven months. Both series appeared in the Polynesian.6 The Police Court data listed fifteen separate offense categories; so did the Inferior Court, but not the same fifteen. The latter series presented statistics separately by sex. As in earlier tabulations, some of the crimes had a quaint sound: "reviling language", "working on the Sabbath Day", "heathenish practices", "driving cattle through the streets", "furiously riding in the streets of Honolulu", "refusing to do duty as servants", "secreting seamen", and "riding another's horse secretly", among others. Of 548 convictions, 300 were for sexual offenses, chiefly fornication. The report added:

Of the 121 cases reported for six months in the police court, at least 90 were participated in by natives, which would make an average of 607 cases above, among a native population of about 10,000, for 1846.

Setting aside the predominant vice of the natives, the table of morality is greatly in favor of the females....Great as has been the improvement in the social and political relations of the natives, their standard of morality is still exceeding low, though crimes are rare. A man and woman were hung in August for murder—the second case in Honolulu for six years. House breaking is not frequent.

Coverage was extended to the entire Kingdom in the report of the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, submitted by H. Sea to John Ricord (then Attorney General) on April 1, 1847. This report, written in English and now filed in the State Archives, contained a long narrative and seven statistical exhibits.7 The latter included tabulations for the twelve-month period ended April 1, 1847 on civil suits heard in the Superior Court, criminal cases tried in the Police Court and Inferior Court, persons committed or fined, and prison inmates. The narrative was later published in the Polynesian; excerpts from the exhibit tables, in Jarvis's history.8 Major crimes remained rare; as noted by Jarvis, "There have been but five executions for three murders for ten years.9 Adultery, fornication, and whoredom continued to account for most of the convictions, some 832 out of a total of 1,518. Other offenses, less common, included "attempting to pray to death", "pollution of a stream by human bones", "blasphemy", "driving cattle carelessly through the streets", "cutting off the tails of cows", "drinking awa", and "lying". In Honolulu, 829 persons were fined a total of $9,501.73. Average fines ranged from $0.12 (for "crowding in the streets") to $500.00 (for "selling spirits to natives"). Detailed statistics are listed in Tables 4, 5 and 6.

Reporting of data on crime finally achieved stability with publication of the First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, submitted by William L. Lee to the 1853 Legislature. This report contained 1852 statistics on criminal convictions, by offense, for each island of the Kingdom. For two islands, Oahu and Hawaii, tabulations were published by judicial district. Both Maui and Kauai reported acquittals as well as convictions. Data were shown by sex for Kauai and nationality for Oahu. Convictions totalled 2,948, chiefly for drunkenness (1,114) and fornication or adultery (730). Other offenses included such items as "planting awa", "attempt to scuttle a ship", "profanity", "furious riding", and "demolishing house". Totals by offense are cited in Table 7.
Statistics on crime or criminal convictions thereafter appeared regularly in the reports of the Chief Justice. Terminology, format, and analytic detail were gradually improved. Minor moral infractions were reported less frequently, although colorful or exotic items continued to appear on occasion; examples from the 1850's and 1860's included "Sunday quarrelling", "lewd conversation", "violating fish taboo", "dastardly conduct", "ki drinking", "giving birth to bastard children", "practicing hoomanamaha", "hula without license", "anaana or sorcery", and "out after bell ringing", among others.10

Throughout this period, unfortunately, crime statistics were limited to court records of the number of convictions, and nothing was compiled or published on either the number of crimes known to the police or persons arrested but released without a trial. It is thus impossible to judge the true extent of crime in the Islands during the 19th century. A low total for any category of offense may indicate either that few such offenses were committed, the police were unable to apprehend the offenders, or that the prosecutor could not obtain a conviction.

Interpretation of these totals is further complicated by the lack of a suitable population base for the computation of meaningful rates. Many of the persons convicted in Honolulu courts were sailors, residents of rural Oahu, and others not included in the population of the city. The number of such non-residents in town at a given time fluctuated widely. Even if this difficulty could be resolved satisfactorily, it would still be necessary to improvise estimates for most of this period from inadequate census totals.

Notwithstanding these problems—serious as they appear to the sociologist and social statistician—the early statistics on crime in Hawaii offer much useful information. Their great potential value to historians and students of Hawaiian culture warrants much closer study than they have received in the past.

NOTES


5. Archives of Hawaii, Folder on "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1845."


10. Various annual reports of the Chief Justice, 1854 to 1868.
### TABLE 1
**CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: 1838**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanawai (offense)</th>
<th>Ka helu ana (Number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepehikanaka (manslaughter)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moekolohe (adultery)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aihue (theft)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hookamakama (lewdness)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhauha (riot)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoopunipuni (false witness)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuka (desertion)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weawea (seduction)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olohane (mutiny)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>522</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Translation from The Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1839), p. 234. Moekolohe has also been translated as "fornication"; aihue as "larceny"; hookamakama as "prostitution"; uhauha as "spendthrift"; hoopunipuni as "perjury"; and weawea as "pimping" (see Table 3). Source: Article by P. Kanoa in Ke Kumu Hawaii, January 16, 1839.

### TABLE 2
**CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: 1839**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moekolohe (adultery and fornication)</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hookamakama (prostitution)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoopunipuni (perjury)</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U Hauha (spendthrift)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aihue (larceny)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weawea (pimping)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiaaina (?)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huihui (total)</strong></td>
<td><strong>846</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Translation by Archives of Hawaii (see Table 3). For alternate translation, see Table 1. Source: Manuscript translation in Folder, "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1839-1842" in Archives of Hawaii.

### TABLE 3
**CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE ISLAND OF OAHU: 1845**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moekolohe (adultery and fornication)</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U Hauha (spendthrift)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puei Lii (rape)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aihue (larceny)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weawea (pimping)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poe hana Lapati (working on the Sabbath)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepehi puaa (killing swine)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inu uwala (drinking sour potatoes)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoopunipuni (perjury)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pili waiwai (gambling)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mea kokua i ka hewa (aiding to commit crime)... 8
Hookamakama (prostitution).......................... 100
Mea kuamumu (profanity)......................... 18
Hele hokei i ka po (disturbing the quiet of the night) 182
Haalele kane (deserting husband).................... 4
Poe holo nui (fast riding).......................... 40
Poe hakaka (assault and battery).............. 30
Poe epa (forgery)..................................... 3
Poe hoopai poino (unjust punishment)........... 3
Poe lulumu (crowding)............................... 6
Hoala oelo hilahila e hoomokekoloke eia (seduction) 4
Limaika (assault)...................................... 1
Ola rama (drunkenness).............................. 24
Haole hou pahi (stabbing with a knife)............ 2
Huna haole mahuka (concealing deserters)........ 3

Hui ana apau ka poe i pili i ke Kanawai 1,058

Source: Manuscript tabulation and typewritten translation in Folder, "Courts Miscellaneous, 1845" in Archives of Hawaii.

**TABLE 4** RETURN OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED BEFORE THE INFERIOR LOCAL JUDGES (NATIVE) OF HONOLULU: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Offence</th>
<th>Number of Persons Fined</th>
<th>Amount of Fines</th>
<th>Average Fine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adultery &amp; illicit intercourse (moe kolohoe)</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>$2112.00</td>
<td>$19.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whereadum (hookamakama)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>1466.00</td>
<td>8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night walking</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>651.00</td>
<td>13.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviling &amp; abuse</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy in the streets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working &amp; singing on the Sabbath</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast riding in the streets</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting &amp; brawling</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposing constables in execution of duty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowding in the streets</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing false money</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheating</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>74.00</td>
<td>24.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempting to pray to death</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution of a stream by human bones</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing the Sabbath</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping house of ill-fame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasphemy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

471 | $1629.87 | $9.83

Source follows Table 6.
### TABLE 5  RETURN OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED AT THE POLICE COURT, AT THE TOWN OF HONOLULU: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Offence</th>
<th>Number of Persons Fined</th>
<th>Amount of Fines</th>
<th>Average Fine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fornication</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>$756.00</td>
<td>$6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>$1839.36</td>
<td>23.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>$256.00</td>
<td>5.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$195.00</td>
<td>21.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out after hours (sailors)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>$110.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast riding through the streets</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>$56.00</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing the public peace</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>$44.00</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling spirits to natives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$1000.00</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bribery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-fulfillment of contract</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-attendance as jurymen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contempt of court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying instruments of death</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>8.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the Sabbath</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing missiles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters of ships taking away natives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbouring deserters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving cattle carelessly through the streets</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving bribes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trespass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soliciting to whoredom</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting as pimp</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resisting constables in execution of duty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband ill-treating wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance of Sabbath</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting off tails of cattle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescuing prisoners, etc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting mob to riot, etc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** 358  $4871.86  $13.61

Source follows Table 6

### TABLE 6  A RETURN SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED ON THE ISLANDS OF OAHU, MAUI, HAWAII, AND KAUAI: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fornication</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out after hours (sailors)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast riding through the streets</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing the peace</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling spirits to natives</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offense</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bribery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-fulfillment of contract</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contempt of court</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying instruments of death</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the Sabbath</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing missiles with intent to wound</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters of ships taking away natives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbouring deserters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving cattle carelessly through the streets</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving bribes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trespass</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soliciting to whoredom</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting as pimps</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposing constables in execution of duty</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbands ill-treating wives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting and brawling</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing the Sabbath</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting off the tails of cows</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescuing prisoners from constables</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting mob to riot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night walking</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviling and abuse</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowding in streets</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing bad money</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheating</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempting to pray to death</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polluting stream with human bones</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping house of ill-fame</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasphemy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night rioting</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking prison</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessories to crime</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking away</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riding horses secretly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables for apprehending wrongfully</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slander and conspiracy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives deserting husbands</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prowling about at night</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband deserting wife</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisting prisoners to escape</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7 CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HAWAII: 1852

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>1,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking away</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fornication and adultery</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illicit cohabitation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodomy</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault and battery</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving stolen goods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profanity</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violating the Sabbath</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idolatry</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furious riding</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common nuisance</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smuggling</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling spiritous liquors without license</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distilling spiritous liquors</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross cheating</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other offences</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A PROJECT TO MICROFILM HAWAIIAN NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED PRIMARILY BEFORE 1900

by

Janet E. Bell

Do most historians who have used and grudgingly appreciated complete files of newspapers or of any other serial materials on microfilm realize the extent of the preliminary work and the problems involved in the process? Our experiences here in Hawaii in trying to put newspapers on microfilm are not unique but are, perhaps, interesting. They date back to the period when, long before there was any thought of preserving newspapers by a mass copying process, people were making bibliographies of Hawaiian serials.

which was published in the Hawaiian Historical Society's Annual Report, contained titles and brief histories of Hawaiian newspapers.

From time to time librarians made other lists of newspapers from their library holdings; e.g., Cynthia Geiser, University of Hawaii Library in the 1930's; Maude Jones, Public Archives, 1940; Margaret Titcomb, Bishop Museum Library, 1953; and Willowdean Handy, Hawaiian Historical Society Library, 1953. Mrs. Handy's compilation, "Newspapers Published in Hawaii, Survey of the Hawaiian Historical Society, Analysis of the Files in the Collection, Their Relation to Holdings of Other Honolulu Libraries and to the Total Production in Hawaii" was, at the time it was completed, the most comprehensive inventory available, with approximately 156 titles.

Dr. Charles Hunter of the University of Hawaii's History Department worked for years on a card file of all known Hawaiian newspaper titles, primarily before 1900. Dr. Hunter's file, with brief historical notes as well as dates, was compiled from many sources, including all of the above lists. He searched for the titles of lesser-known periodicals in Thrum's annuals, city directories, The Friend, etc. He also wrote to the Library of Congress, the American Antiquarian Society, the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, and the California State Library for data on their holdings. With approximately 200 entries, this card file is to date the most complete compilation of Hawaiian newspaper titles.

The main by-product of all the foregoing bibliographical work is the microfilming of the newspapers to preserve on film what is rapidly vanishing or deteriorating through use, theft, mutilation, climatic conditions, and bugs. So far the filming has been a fairly haphazard affair, beginning in the early 1950's, when the Honolulu Advertiser had its files copied by a professional microfilm photographer. The Advertiser, under its various titles, and The Polynesian, erroneously included as one of the Advertiser's predecessors, were done without collating; but as they represent the longest consecutively-published newspapers, they have proved very useful on microfilm, even with some issues missing (for information on locating missing issues of The Polynesian, see the appendix). Microfilming of The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, which was instituted shortly thereafter, does not include its predecessors, The Honolulu Star and The Evening Bulletin, since the copying went back only to July 1, 1912, when the two papers were combined.

In 1953, the next step in this business of microfilming newspapers was a joint project in collating by the University of Hawaii History Department, the Hawaiiana section of the Hawaii Library Association, the University of Hawaii Library, and other libraries with newspaper holdings. The Hawaiiana section members worked out a collating check sheet with columns for the information needed concerning dates, volumes, numbers, pages, size, frequency, condition, editors, publishers, and languages in which the newspapers were published. The collating and recording on the check sheets were done by anyone available and willing, from Dr. Hunter to student helpers from the University of Hawaii Library and the History Department.

Through the efforts of Dr. Carl Stroven, then the University of Hawaii Librarian, money for a limited amount of microfilming was obtained from the library's funds. This was augmented by funds from various other sources, which included several small foundations' grants made to the Hawaiian Historical Society.

The first project was to film the newspapers published in Portuguese, these being needed for reference by Mr. Leo Pap, a scholar who was doing a book on the Portuguese in the United States. Although the initial holdings were very incomplete, and advertising in local newspapers produced only a few more issues, the project was considered a fair beginning and very useful to Mr. Pap.

Next, as a preservative measure, newspapers in the worst condition were microfilmed. These were mostly in the Hawaiian Historical Society Library and had to be
transported to the University, where the camera was. Some of the papers were still rolled, just as they had been when thrown on lanais many years before. They were unrolled, unfolded, and filmed; and that was the end of them, as was expected. Other newspapers, bound too tightly to be photographed properly, had to be cut apart. In some cases the cooperating libraries whose bound volumes had been cut wanted the papers rebound. This all contributed to making the project expensive.

This period of microfilming did not succeed in completing more than approximately thirty newspaper titles because of moving the University of Hawaii Library to the new Sinclair Library building. At the Sinclair Library the microfilm camera was on the ground floor, while the microfilm librarian was on the third floor and unable to supervise anyone filming the newspapers. Only a few more newspapers have been reproduced since then, and those mostly through the services of the Public Archives.

In 1964, Mr. James Hunt, State Librarian, organized a committee to continue the work of microfilming the newspapers. This group consisted of representatives from the State Library, the University, and the Archives. Four copies of Dr. Hunter's card file were Xeroxed by Mr. Hunt's office and the Archives so that the State Librarian's office, the Archives, and the Hawaiian and Pacific Collections of the Library of Hawaii and the Sinclair Library at the University could use it and add to it.

The Hawaii Library Association's Hawaiian section is now working to complete this card file for use in microfilming and perhaps in the eventual publication of a bibliography of Hawaii's newspaper titles. The project includes collating the newspapers still not finished and completing the microfilming of all local newspapers. Some day, perhaps, this will be accomplished, and historians needing to work with newspapers will find complete sets on microfilm available in one place and be happy, eyestrain notwithstanding.

Appendix

The completion of the filming of The Polynesian, except for one issue, is an interesting example of how much is involved in hunting for missing issues. Rumor had it that there had been a volume 20 but that all its issues had been "destroyed by the missionaries!". In 1953 the University of Hawaii Library initiated a project to find these missing issues, first using local library lists. The Bishop Museum had nos. 1, 4, 9 and 18, and these were microfilmed. Additional numbers were found by using the 1961 edition of the Library of Congress Union List of Newspapers. The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, was able to supply nos. 2, 5-8, 10-17, 19-31, and 35-41, on microfilm. The Massachusetts Historical Society had only the December 5, 1863 issue, and this consisted of only one sheet. Because this contained news of Kamehameha IV's death, we wondered if it were an extra and therefore complete, but had no way of proving it. After much correspondence, and even searching in the Mitchell and Turnbull libraries in Australia and New Zealand, we finally gave up, with all but four issues accounted for, one of these being the incomplete one-sheet issue mentioned above. In 1965, the State Archivist, while looking for something in the Kamehameha IV Probate File, ran across some stray copies of The Polynesian. After checking her records, she found to her surprise and joy that these were copies of the missing nos. 32-34. The one which we had thought might be only a one-sheet extra actually had four pages. Copies of nos. 32-34 were also found in 1965 in a collection of Admiral Thomas' papers bought in Australia by the Hawaii State Library. So of the 41 issues of vol. 20, dating from May 2, 1863, to February 6, 1864, we have only no. 3 (May 16, 1863) left to find. Anyone knowing of a copy should contact either Miss Agnes Conrad (the State Archivist) or the writer of this paper.

Contributors: Robert C. Schmitt, our frequent and valued contributor, is a statistician with the Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development.

Janet E. Bell is curator of the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection at the Gregg M. Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.
HYGIENE AND SANITATION AMONG THE ANCIENT HAWAIANS
O. A. Bushnell........................316

OUR CONTRIBUTORS........................336
In the course of gathering material for a History of Infectious Diseases in Hawaii, I have been surprised to learn that, among the numerous published and unpublished works about these islands which I have read, not one of them gives a complete description of sanitary practices among the Hawaiians in the time before the arrival of Captain Cook's expedition in 1778. As a matter of fact, very few people have paid any attention at all to the unromantic details of the business of living even in the years since the islands were discovered. There are many references, of course, beginning with Captain Cook's own Journal, to the difficulties of finding drinking water for visiting foreigners and to the different methods by which water was collected and transported to ships; and in these, as well as in descriptions of the Hawaiians' domestic arrangements and of the novel landscape in which they lived, are found suggestions of the means by which the natives themselves obtained this precious commodity. But none of these narratives gives any information about the methods by which the natives disposed of their personal and domestic wastes. Not until 1880 when, aroused by the nation's dying, Walter Murray Gibson wrote his Sanitary Instructions for Hawaiians, did any writer have the courage to discuss in print the indecencies of living. By that time civilization had come to the islands with such thoroughness that Gibson was able to commend to the remaining natives the practices and proscriptions which the rest of the world had adopted. After the hundred years of their exposure to the gifts and maladies of foreigners the few Hawaiians who had survived the experience had all but forgotten the ways of their ancestors. And, to judge by the hortatory tone of Gibson's book, they were disinclined to trouble themselves to preserve themselves from extinction by following the new ways of their conquerors.

Reasons for this lack of information on hygiene and sanitation are not hard to find. In the first place, it is probable that the Hawaiians were so secretive about some aspects of their personal hygiene that the peering, prying, note-taking visitors simply did not have the chance to observe them and therefore had nothing about them to record. The alternative possibility must be considered also: if the natives were not secretive, then their "rites of cloacina" must have been so similar to those of the visitors as to be obvious and therefore not worth recording. The Hawaiians' code of taboos was such that, interestingly enough, both explanations are tenable: on one day the whole population could be shockingly, outrageously "indecent", even to sailors who were not easily shocked; and on the next day that same population could be so perversely modest as to leave those same sailors abashed and frustrated. The sailors could hardly be expected to know that the edicts of the priests, rather than an instability of the people, accounted for these extremes in their behavior.

A second reason, and a good one, lies in the very nature of the subject: it is somewhat of an indecent one to most people, or at least it was so in those times, before the era of impertinent advertising in which we live today, and many a visitor must have chosen to ignore it as being too gross for his attention. Or—even worse to one who searches the literature for such morsels of knowledge as these!—if a visitor was enough of an ethnographer to put his observations into notebooks, all too often the genteel editor who converted them into a Narrative for publication
squeamishly eliminated "indelicacies" from the finished account. The prudish old maids of either sex who edited the journals of the great exploring expeditions of the 18th and 19th centuries were notorious, even in their day, for their zeal in shielding readers at home from the earthiness of life in the South Seas. One has only to compare the journal kept by Cook on his first voyage to the Pacific with the so-called "Official Account" hack-writer Hawkesworth contrived from it, to see how little of Captain Cook and how much of Doctor Hawkesworth was presented by England to an eager public. And one has only to compare the manuscripts of the letters and journals written by Protestant missionaries serving in Hawaii with the scraps and snippets that were permitted to be published by the churchmen in the home office in Boston, or by their descendants in Hawaii, to understand how deserving of a kahuna's curse were those officious puritans who insisted on being censors instead of editors. Many missionaries were excellent reporters of all of the aspects of the strange and savage land which they had come to save for Christ, and they were as detailed in their observations as any scientist could wish. But the effects of emasculating scissors and prim blue pencils are all too evident; and the comparisons are hurtful, in every case, to the published accounts. They make one wonder whether the bowdlerized works are worth reading. The books certainly do not do justice to the missionaries whom they are meant to praise.

In any event, regardless of the reasons for the persistent silence upon the matter in literature, the subject of sanitation is an important one in the history of a people as well as to a historian of its diseases. An account of it ought to be a matter of record, if only to add a missing detail to the picture of a fascinating people who lived in a far-off time. Even now it may be too late for us to be certain that we can reconstruct completely, or correctly, the hygienic practices of a race whose descendants today have almost no knowledge of their past.

My information has been obtained from publications in the history, legends and traditions, religious beliefs, and material culture of Hawaii; from unpublished manuscripts, in English and in Hawaiian, stored in the collections in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu; from an interview with Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui, a member of the staff of the Bishop Museum, who has shared with me some of her great fund of knowledge about the ancient times; and from my own small store of experience gained during a lifetime in Hawaii.

Traditions, as even a novice historian knows, are exceedingly unreliable bases upon which to reconstruct a people's past; and Polynesian traditions, as Sugg so devastatingly illustrates (and as everyone who has lived among the island people can testify) are notoriously unreliable sources of evidence, not only for the history of two thousand years ago but also for the remembrance of events which happened last week. The reports of many of the foreign visitors, uninformed, uncritical, imaginative, and gullible as they were, are scarcely more dependable. It would be presumptuous of me, then, to claim that this account of hygiene and sanitation among the ancient Hawaiians, which has drawn so heavily upon such suspect sources of information, presents the true and complete picture of this part of their life before the arrival of the Europeans.

Even the most impeccable of traditions, however, cannot remember as far back as the time of the first people to settle in Hawaii. Ethnologists prefer to put more faith in fishhooks, linguistics, and radiocarbon datings—although there is mounting evidence that these, too, can be as unreliable as gossip, and that the clues obtained from them can only be as dependable as are the people who collect them. Although dates for the first settlements in Hawaii have not yet been established, according to Emory et al., pioneer expeditions from central Polynesia probably reached Hawaii about 2,000 years ago.
The sanitary practices of those earliest inhabitants are beyond our ability to reconstruct today. Because of their isolation, and the consequent conservatism of their culture, we can suspect that the Hawaiians did not change their thoughts as easily as they might have changed their handiwork. It is probable that the kapus which governed the sanitary behavior of the Hawaiians in the 18th century, at the time of their discovery by the English, were pretty much the same as those which were imported by their ancestors, upon the first arrival in Hawaii Nei. During the intervening centuries, these kapus may have been elaborated in details, of course, or been simplified, but in their principles they show a remarkable relationship with the codes of behavior which governed the lives of the inhabitants in the rest of Polynesia and in parts of Melanesia.5

The kapus of hygiene, then, would appear to be of very ancient origin, remnants of a remote past, perhaps of the ancestral home-land itself. When the pioneer colonists made their first voyages across the beckoning sea those beliefs, and the taboos which sustained them, were so thoroughly inculcated in the people that they were never forgotten, and were never left behind, not even by the sea-farers who, many generations later, reached the distant islands of Hawaii.

These kapus are excellent illustrations of "religious sanctions" as Radcliffe-Brown defined them; those "motive in the individual for the regulation of his conduct in conformity with usage" in his community.6 By observing these sanctions the individual Polynesian gained the approbation of his gods and of his fellows, the while he avoided the consequences of their disapprobation. Even more significantly, as we shall see, these particular sanctions of sanitation were invoked and were continued through the successive generations of the Polynesian dispersion; and, whether or not they were intended to do so, they could not fail to play a great part in the survival of the society of which the individual was a member.

The kapus, moreover, may offer clues to an understanding of the psychology of the Polynesians, if the psychoanalytic approach to anthropology and to history proposed by Norman O. Brown should prove to be a valid one.7 Brown's fascinating work, relating Occident culture and history (as well as the neuroses of the Occident's people) to the Freudian concepts of sexuality—most especially to those expressions of the psyche which are influenced by the oral and anal functions of the body—and to the attendant mechanisms of repression and sublimation, is both revealing and unnerving. It is not for me, however, to venture into this esoteric realm in an attempt to extend psychoanalysis to the Hawaiians. I leave that problem to abler exegetes than I.

THE NATIVE SCENE. In this paper my concern is with those aspects of the ancient Hawaiian culture which we might call, in today's terms, personal hygiene and community sanitation, especially as they are related to the disposal of personal and domestic wastes and to the supply of potable water. To help us understand how the Hawaiians dealt with these problems, we need to know something about the world they lived in.

Fortunately for them, their eight great islands and the encircling sea gave them plenty of space to live in. They were not so numerous, or so afflicted with human enemies, that they were forced to huddle together in cities or in fortress-towns, as their kinfolk in New Zealand, Tonga and the Marquesas were doing. In Hawaii each family lived upon or near the land it cultivated. Usually the cluster of grass-houses which formed a household, a kauhale, sheltered the members of a single family. The minimum number of structures in a kauhale was four: an eating-house for the males, a hale mua, which was also the meeting place for them and their family gods; a separate eating-house for the females and infant boys, the hale laina; a house for the women in their times of menstruation, the hale pe'a; and a
sleeping-house, the *hale noa*, the "house freed of taboos", where the whole family met in social converse and where they slept.

Wealthy families could build other structures around the basic four: a *hala*, or canoe house, to shelter the precious canoe; a *hale papaia*, for storing tools and crops; a *hale kuku* where women could sit as they made the paper-bark cloth, *kala*; a *hale kahumia*, a cookhouse for use in inclement weather; and others of this utilitarian sort.8

A *kauna* was established in a place chosen by a consultant authority, whose recommendation of site and orientation was thought to assure health and good fortune for the family which would live there. Because his selection of a site was performed for the sake of each family which sought his advice, this consultant was not required to fit the new *kauna* into a planned pattern with respect to the neighboring households.

The result of such personalized placement of homes was a happy degree of freedom, if not of actual disorder. When a number of families chose to raise their *kauna* in the same neighborhood, a kind of casual straggly village would grow up. There was no well-defined grid of streets, no city-planner's prescribed and inflexible lay-out, such as is the curse of cities and suburbs today. In a society where too often they were required to conform to strict kapus upon things of the spirit, the Hawaiians were sensible enough to be as unconforming as possible in matters more worldly.

In many places, especially in less fertile districts, it is probable that each of the hardy families which chose to subsist there was not hedged around by neighbors. These self-sufficient folk, like their counterparts in other nations, lived in isolation, unhindered by gossips, priests, and—for most of the time—by tax-collectors. In more comfortable districts, where populations were greater, small aggregations of *kauna* were inevitable. These were villages, in every respect, and they were called *kulana-kauna*, "places of many households".

Often the inhabitants of a village or of neighboring villages, were members of a clan, united by common interests and loyalties growing out of ties of "blood, marriage, or adoption".9 They were governed by a hierarchy of authorities progressing from the elders of the clan, through the priests of the local deities, to the sub-chiefs and, ultimately, to the over-lord chiefs of the district. Such a clan, in the phrase of Handy and Pukui, was "the expanded and all-inclusive family". The Hawaiian name for it was *kohana*, the "off-shoots" of a family stock.

There were places, however, where the provident gods were so generous that great numbers of people could be supported in a relatively small area. In such sites, where the soil was rich, the water of life unfailing, the inexhaustible sea but a short step away, the *kulana-kauna* nui, the towns and cities of ancient Hawaii, were established. Waimea, on the island of Kauai, was such a place; the southern coast of Maui, between Kipahulu and Hana, was another; and on Hawaii the deep and lovely valley of Waipio, the green curve of Waiakea, the bosom of Hualalai above the bay of Kealakekua, the fetch of the bay itself, supported large populations.

The Englishmen who sailed with Captain Cook were the first to give us descriptions of those village-towns. In his Journal Cook wrote of the events at Kauai, in 1778, when he and his company were approaching the newly-discovered island: "...We passed several villages, some seated upon the sea shore, and others up in the country; the inhabitants of all of them crowded to the shore and on the elevated places to view the ships...Their houses," he said later, after he had gone ashore to see them, "are not unlike oblong corn-stacks...they have low walls and a high roof consisting of two flat sides inclining to each other and terminating in a ridge, like the thatched houses of England."10
John Ledyard, Corporal of Marines with Cook, tells of habitations near Kealakekua Bay, such as today, confronted by that barren waste, we can scarcely imagine: The Town of Kireekakooa is about a mile and a half in length, but narrow and of an unequal breadth, and...contains about 1100 houses, some reckon 1300 including some detached buildings. It is situate along the shore within a few rods of the water, and is in general very compact, and as the houses in those places stand so as to create a breadth there are a number of little streets that intersect each other very happily though they do not seem to have been the effects of much design, and a very agreeable and uncommon circumstance to be found among these rude sons of nature, was, that these little avenues were generally paved...The inside of the house is without partitions above or below, the ground within being hard and dry is covered with thick coarse grass, dried plantain and palm-tree-leaves, over which they spread large well-wrought mats, which makes the house cleanly, and gives it an air of elegance and comfort, and as they have no chairs, tables, beds and such kind of furniture there is room enough...There are cocoanut and other trees interspersed artificially among the houses all over the town, and in about the middle of it there is a level course for running and other exercises, which is very beautifully skirted with trees from end to end, and is kept very clean.

PERSONAL HYGIENE, Kapus and Mana. The kapus which were established by the priests for the disposal of body wastes had a double concern: the protection of the mana, the spiritual power, of the person from whom the wastes were derived; and respect for the mana of all of the gods, both great and small, in all of their manifestations, who resided in the earth, the water, the air, and the sea. Out of respect for the gods, the Hawaiian refrained from polluting their abodes. Out of fear for himself, he was most careful to keep his body's parts, or its wastes, and his personal possessions from falling into the hands of the dreaded sorcerer, the kahuna ana'ana, or into the keeping of an enemy who would give them to the sorcerer to use in his fell ritual.

One of the basic tenets of the Polynesian religion exalted the male principle and subordinated to it the female principle. The mana of males, accordingly, was much greater than that of females; and the higher the rank of the male the greater was the mana he bore. Because the male principle was the vital generative force, the mana of the male genitalia was especially great; and the parts of a man's body, the dejecta which issued from him, the clothing which he wore—especially the loincloth which covered the sacred organs—all partook of his mana. The divine force which resided in him was uniquely his, the gift of the gods and of his ancestors since the beginning of time, and it was his to guard. If he should let it be weakened, by breaking one of the kapus, or by permitting those portions of him which were separable from his person to fall into the possession of evil spirits or of evil men, then the greater mana of angered gods, or the enhanced mana of the sorcerer—kahunas who added to their power by capturing portions of his, could visit upon him any or all of the misfortunes known to gods and man. Offenses against the gods, whether they were committed knowingly or unwittingly, were even more serious crimes. Hunger, poverty, disease, and death were only some of the afflictions which could be sent by vengeful deities or caused by the curse of the sorcerer.

Wherever the Hawaiian went, whatever he did, the gods were watching him: his personal gods, the iaumakua, were there; the guardian gods of his clan were there; and, for all he knew, the four great gods, Kane, Ku, Lono, and Kanaloa, were there also, with their cohorts of "the forty gods, the four hundred gods, the four thousand gods", to take their places if they should be called away, if they should nod.
And on earth, especially if he were a man high in station or rich in enemies, more than likely there would be a sorcerer, too, watching him, or a furtive envious adversary, waiting for the chance to steal from him some of his mana.

With such a police system, such a host of big brothers and spiteful men to spy on them, the Hawaiians probably were the most docile, the most lawful, the most terrorized nation on earth. Rare, indeed, could have been the individual who, out of thoughtlessness or rebellion, broke a kapu of any kind. If he did commit such a crime he did not go unpunished for long: if the priests did not catch up with him his own weakened mana, as nagging as a Freudian compulsion, as unrelenting as any Calvinist conscience, made him pay the penalty the offense demanded. When, in his code, his sin was mortal, he was quite capable of lying down on his mat to die.

The strength of this hold of the gods upon the people—or, better, of the heavy rule of the chiefs and the priests who imposed the kahus in the name of the invisible gods—was so great that it was not broken until more than a hundred years after the English voyagers brought to the islands the first evidences that there were other and greater forces of good and of evil than the manifold gods of the ancient times.

Yet, repressive as was the theocracy which ruled the Hawaiians, we must admit that the effect of its kapus relating to hygiene must have been salutary. No doubt the rewards of obedience to the laws of cleanliness were taken for granted by the people. But the consequences of disobedience were always present to frighten them into compliance, and their dread of the subtle punishments of the body or of the spirit was the goad that made them good. Because of this fear it is unlikely that there was such a functionary as a sanitary inspector type of kahuna among the priestly ranks, numerous and varied as they were. With the kahuna ana'ana around, there was no need to invent the sanitary inspector: each person became his own most careful bodyservant and bodyguard. An alternative explanation, on the other hand, must concede that the kahuna ana'ana might have been a latter-day perversion evolving out of the sanitary inspector priest of earlier societies.

The kahuna ana'ana, with his dark arts, was a priest whose mana was so great that it could command the mana of other persons. According to most of the accounts left to us by native historians—who, perhaps, are guilty of protesting too much—there were not many of these sorcerers among the priesthood at any time. It is possible, moreover, that in many places where sorcerers were thought to be at work they did not exist in reality. The power of suggestion, potent enough in sophisticated communities such as those in the American culture of today, was quite able to conjure up the effects of sorcery without the agency of sorcerers in the primitive cultures of Polynesia.

Apparently the other kinds of kahunas did not approve of sorcerers or their accomplishments, and they attempted to suppress or ridicule their practices. In consequence the sorcerers went underground, so to speak, becoming all but nameless, and they practiced their black magic in secret. If anything, this recourse helped to increase the fear with which the community regarded them, and enhanced their awful hold upon a susceptible mind, if only because no one could be sure which of his neighbors might be evil magicians. The sorcerers, enjoying this state of affairs, were careful to keep their anonymity. But, excellent psychologists that they were, they never failed to use the most potent weapon in their armament of maleficence: they always managed to let their victims know when they were chosen to be the subjects of the ana'ana.

Once he was aware that he was the target of a sorcerer's baleful attention the victim could fight back, if he felt that his virtue was strong enough to endure a combat; or he could seek the aid of another sorcerer, if he could find one willing
to help him; or, if he was the kind of man who gave up easily, he could submit to his doom. When his offense, whatever it might be, was small, he suffered a comparable misfortune; when, in his arraignment of himself, his crime was great, he went into a rapid decline, and, within a few days, he died. "Prayed to death," the foreigners said, when they learned of these things, filled with shock and indignation and disbelief, and hoping, despite themselves, that such an end would never come to them.

A sorcerer was aided in achieving his dire effects if he could use as bait, as maunu, for the evil spirits a part of his victim's person, or of his possessions, which held some of his mana. The flesh and blood and bones of an individual were rarely available, of course, except when he was wounded or killed; but his loin-cloth, his urine, feces, hair, nail parings, sputum, nasal discharges, semen, even the sweat of his brow and the scurf of his skin, could serve as bait in the sorcerer's rites. For this reason everyone who had cause to fear the punishment of the gods or the enmity of men lived in concern for the conservation of his mana and was forced to take continuous precaution to prevent any portions of it from falling into the clutches of a sorcerer.

When a man needed to relieve himself he went off into the bush or into the wasteland, apart from the others of his household or village; and there, as a Jew was enjoined to do by the Mosaic Laws, he dug a hole and buried in it the portions of himself that were so indubitably his, together with the leaves or small stones or wisps of grass with which he cleaned himself when he was done. Because, even in the time of his need for privacy, he was well aware of the watching gods, he protected himself, front, flank, and rear, as it were, with a prayer of apology to the resident spirits for his action. This deference was enough, apparently, to placate them. In general, they were a tolerant lot in the face of his need. After all, he could comfort himself, they had made him what he was, a poor thing in need of such coarse ventings. Perhaps, too, Papa, the goddess of Earth, was kind, as mothers are, because she knew that her exigent children had nowhere else to go.

But the Hawaiian did not fear his gods nearly as much as he feared his fellow men; and, because all too frequently he was the witness of the power of men, he carefully covered the cat-hole he had dug and all traces of his visit, in order to hide its secrets from the searching eyes of the kahuna ana'ana.

Others of his personal wastes were not casually thrown away; they were buried, as carefully as was his excrement, or they were burned. Nor were they cast into the sea, or into streams, pools, swamps, taro-patches, or other accumulations of fresh water. Water was the gift of Kane, the paramount god; taro, the most sacred of plants, was another of the manifestations of Kane, the Giver-of-Life, from whom all mankind were descended. A man did not pollute the dwelling places of such a mighty ancestor.

It appears that every male, of high birth or low, sooner or later felt himself to be vulnerable. The chiefs and high priests were especially threatened, because their mana was great, and a rival who could capture and command their power augmented not only his mana but also his reputation and, at times, his political status. Nor were sorcerers themselves immune from the attack of other sorcerers: a stronger one, by defeating the black magic of a weaker kahuna, not only saved the intended victim of the ana'ana but also caused the death of the vanquished sorcerer, usually in a spectacularly violent way.

The story of Lani-kaula, the prophet of Molokai, tells how even good men, even prophets such as he, who could foretell the death of other men, could not save themselves from the power of a kahuna ana'ana.
...It was said that Lani-kaula was a clever prophet in his day. He could foresee the death of any chief or commoner...but when his own death drew near, he did not know. This was the reason...that he did not know.

One morning, one of the overseers of Keahi-a-Kawelo [a sorcerer] of Lanai, passed by. He held a raw sweet potato in his hand, and inside of the sweet potato he had placed the excrement of Lani-kaula. He passed right in front of him, and Lani-kaula did not say, "That is my excrement you are carrying away." Not a word did he say.

The messenger got back to Keahi-a-Kawelo. It was perhaps the night of Kane when a fire was lighted by Keahi-a-Kawelo [on the island of Lanai], and then Lani-kaula knew that it was his excrement that was being burned. He knew that he was going to die. He asked the men of Molokai to make stone knives, and to bury him under those stone knives when he died. He was afraid to be buried with just plain earth, lest he be dug up and his bones be used for fishhooks.

He died and was buried at Pu' u-o-Hoku. The spot was named Lani-kaula for him...

Males among the commoners probably were endangered less often than were men of higher position. Females, unless they were of high rank, were not ordinarily the objects of sorcerers' more harmful attentions. Instead, the magic of a sorcerer would be employed by an eager lover, in order to gain the favors of a beloved. In such an event, the same kinds of bait that were used in drawing sickness and death upon a victim were needed by the kahuna in practicing the hana aloha, the love magic. But here the incantations were different, as well as the prayers uttered by the yearning one. With such entreaties, the mana of the beloved was made captive to the mana of the suitor—how could it resist?—and love, as ever, had its way. Usually a woman was the victim of this gentler form of witchcraft but, love being the double-pointed spear that it is, there were never times when men were exempt from the passions of ardent females and the intercessions of sorcerers.

Parents, or elder brothers and sisters, were responsible for safeguarding the mana of infants and small children until they were old enough to understand their danger and to take care of themselves. The children of chiefs were watched by trusted nurses, servants, or others in the retinue of the parents.

Adult ali'i of great chiefly families were too lordly to be bothered with such offensive details of life, however, and they were provided with facilities which were not available to the general populace, perhaps not even to lesser chiefs. Umeke, bowls fashioned from wood, or ipu, hollowed gourds, served as chamber-pots, spittoons, finger-bowls, receptacles for nail-parings, hair, sweat, and skin, and anything else that might issue from the sacrosanct bodies. It was the responsibility of the retainers who were entrusted with these utensils to proffer them when they were needed, to guard their contents and to dispose of them with the prescribed caution, and to clean the vessels for the time when they would be employed again. Some of the umeke used by the most arrogant chiefs were tastefully decorated with inlays of teeth or pieces of bones taken from slain enemies, whose mana, thus captured and thus degraded, was made to suffer insult even after death.

Women were subject to the same laws as men. But they were also burdened with the need to safeguard those other excreta peculiar to their sex and function: menstrual discharges, the fluids released at childbirth, the placenta, and, less out of concern for themselves than for the newborn offspring, the navel-cord that, being severed, released the child into the world of fear. The umbilicus of a chief's child was especially sacred, and usually it was buried in the earth or
hidden in the cracks of a cliff consecrated to the spirit-guardians of the family into which the child was born. Such a cliff is found at Mauna Kapu, near the falls of the Wa'ilua River, on the island of Kauai. Sometimes, however, the piko, that link with the ancestral mana, was not buried but was dried and carefully preserved among the child's insignia of rank and lineage.

Although, at this late date, we cannot be sure that hygienic codes and practices did not vary among different districts or among the several islands in the archipelago, it is likely that most of the aboriginal Hawaiians followed this general system of kapus for the secret disposal of their personal wastes.

Apparently there was nothing like a family privy or a community latrine in ancient Hawaii, as there was in New Zealand; at least there is no mention by archaeologists or philologists of such homely devices among the Hawaiians. According to Elsdon Best the mana of the community latrine, the paepae of a Maori village in New Zealand was so potent that it held "...the power of being able to prevent or avert the effect of the anger of the gods and the shafts of magic..." In the Ngau Paepae Rite, "an extraordinary custom" as Best called it, a sick person was taken to the latrine in order that he might bite /ngau/ the beam of the latrine. In this way, we must assume, he received into himself some of the community's commingled mana to replace the force which had been stolen from him.15

In Hawaii, nonetheless, there were certain periods, "the times of the long taboos", when either the power of the sorcerers was interdicted by higher authority or else the populace found its safety in sheer numbers. These periods of religious observances, when all of the usual activities of the people were halted, lasted from three to ten days. On such occasions, when chiefs and priests were busy with their ritual in the temples, commoners were confined to their households. Sometimes they were required to maintain an absolute silence, not only of themselves but also of their children and their animals. At these periods of great solemnity a whole village would be permitted to use certain prescribed sites as privies. Separate places were reserved for males, of course, and others were set apart for females and infant children. Place names on some of the islands probably commemorate such long kapus: Mana, "the place for urinating", is applied to a site in Waimanalo on Oahu; and K'ona wawana, "rough dung heap", is an ancient name for another area on Oahu.16 One of the long kapus was known as Ke Kapu o ka Mau'u mea, the "Taboo of the Wilted Grass", because during its observance "each man urinated in a particular spot only, where the grass wilted."17

Even when he was travelling, far from his home and village, a Hawaiian was required to keep the kapus against pollution. If the needs of nature came upon him while he was at sea, or while he was crossing the hallowed precincts of one of the great deities—as, for example, the terrifying realm of Pele, the goddess of fire, at the volcano of Kilauea—he uttered his prayer of apology and carefully disposed of the evidence of his passage.

The Fire Goddess, it was easy for him to see, kept a certain regard for the cleanliness of her abode. As any mortal nose could detect, Pele's privy was located in a distant corner of the great crater, in a place we call today, so prosaically, the sulfur banks. The kukae of Pele was the golden excrement of sulfur which, in her haughty self-assurance, she did not bother to hide from the sight of sorcerers.

But, auwe noho'ii e! What else can we expect of such an explosive, undisciplined, self-willed force as Pele? She is really a messy thing, to be candid about her: the long glassy filaments of hair combed from her smoky mane are scattered for miles around her dishevelled boudoir, even her tears lie glittering in its dust. One suspects that this rebellious female, enjoying her wildness in a masculine world, would have taken a scandalous pleasure in spilling her burning blood upon the very doorstep.
of a sorcerer, in hanging her pyrophanous palu from every rafter in his house.

Yet, disdainful as she was of men, she did not dirty her whole domain. Naturally, then, she is indignant at the nuisances committed, without apology or consideration, by the many foreigners who have invaded her palace, to gape at its stony magnificence. Offended by their litter, outraged by the cesspools and privies which the encroaching hotels and homes have dug into her estate, she has fled to other refuge, and rarely comes anymore to live in Kilauea.18

Bathing and Washing. In other respects, also, the primitive Hawaiians were a clean folk. Most of the earliest visitors remarked upon this fact. William Ellis, one of the ship's surgeons with Captain Cook, wrote in his Journal: "Both men and women are very cleanly in their persons; the latter wash their whole bodies in fresh water twice, and sometimes three times a-day..."19

Ebenezer Townsend, supercargo of the American sealing ship Neptune, recorded the same impression in 1798:

They certainly are the most cleanly people that I have seen. They bathe a number of times every day, they do nothing scarcely without bathing after it; they bathe immediately after every repast. As far as we can judge from appearances they are a very happy people...20

Most of the Hawaiians lived along the shores of their islands, near enough to the sea to be able to swim in it as often as they wished. They were almost as much at home in the sea as the fish were, and most of them must have learned to swim at the same time they learned to walk.

The few people who lived inland, too far away from the sea to enjoy its sports and its cleansing, bathed in streams or mountain pools, or in awai, irrigation ditches, which carried water to the taro patches. Every valley on the windward coasts of the islands had its stream and at least one clear pool, and residents of those valleys were rarely, if ever, without ample supplies of fresh water.

Those who bathed in the sea rinsed the sticky salt from their bodies with fresh water, when it was plentiful, or with brackish water from shore pools and springs. If these conveniences were not available, then they stayed sticky and itchy.

People who had the inclination to do so could anoint themselves with coconut oil, rubbing it into the skin and hair. Often the oil was scented with aromatic herbs or flowers. Such frequent bathing and anointing could not help but keep them clean of body. It did not rid them of their lice, however, as some romantists have claimed (if, indeed, they would admit that their idealized Hawaiians had lice): entomologists agree that the hardy louse is not so easily drowned, either in water or in coconut oil.* The realist Hawaiians were well acquainted with lice, which undoubtedly migrated with the pioneers from central Polynesia. This is one plague which cannot be blamed upon Captain Cook and his company. Mr. Bayley, the expedition's astronomer, noted that Hawaiians had lice "in great numbers" in their hair, as, indeed, so must have many of the British sailors, if not Mr. Bayley himself. Accepting these uku as one of the established phenomena of life, the Hawaiians used more direct means of removing them, as men and monkeys have always done. Fortunately, Hawaiians were not burdened with much in the way of clothing, and their problems of louse-control were kept to a minimum. As Mr. Bayley also observed, most of the natives wore their hair short, "in order to destroy the lice".21

*The legend has been a persistent one, ever since John Reinhold Forster, one of the naturalists with Captain Cook on his second voyage to the Pacific, first wrote of the cleanliness of the Tahitians and of their methods of louse control, in his Observations Made During A Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy, published in London in 1777.
When water was scarce, as in the leeward regions of the islands, people who insisted on living there either went dirty or else adopted a variety of substitutes for bathing. Mrs. Pukui tells of the ingenious method devised by members of her clan in arid Kalu.22 The family's jesting name for it is "half-a-bath." Dirt and sweat were scraped from the body with bruised leaves and young twigs of lilima plants (Sida spp.), which thrive in such hot dry places. This athletes' rubdown removed most of the evidence of a day's exertions, and the fresh subtle scent of the lilima helped to mask whatever could not be scraped away by the strigils.

Soap as such was not known to the Hawaiians, although they may have used some of the saponaceous native plants which their own observations or those of the herbalist kahunas discovered to them. One of these plants, Colubrina asiatica, called lanapanapa in Hawaii, is distributed throughout a range extending from Africa to eastern Polynesia. It should have been familiar to the Polynesians from the time before they began their voyages across the great ocean. The leaves of this plant, according to Neal, "form a lather in water and have long been used as soap on Pacific islands."23 Whether or not the Hawaiians used these soapy plants the cleansing of bowls, gourds, and other household utensils made of wood or stone was done primarily with sand, dirt, scouring stones, and lots of hard scrubbing. Their good sense in using leaves for plates and fingers for forks relieved them of a great deal of scullery work which more acquisitive cultures insist upon performing, even in this day of push-button kitchens.

Because fingers were their usual serving implements, the Hawaiians never ate without washing their hands before and after a meal. The Reverend Mr. John D. Paris, new to Hawaii in 1841, was not the first to praise this hygienic habit, but he described it more succinctly than most when he wrote in his Journal of the time he came as a guest to the eating-mat of Job Lilikalani, a chief of Kalu: "Then fingers were washed, for Hawaiians eat not except they first wash."24

All were provided with finger-bowls, but commoners were content to use the nearest available body of water, or fresh water poured upon their hands from a narrow-mouthed gourd.

Oral Hygiene. Although visitors have been exclaiming over the Hawaiians' beautiful teeth since the instant the English first saw them, even those handsome sets of teeth needed to be cared for. Most people did not bother to do so, judging from the incidence of dental caries, pyorrhea, and other pathological conditions detected in the skulls of aborigines who are presumed to have lived and died before the islands were discovered.25 But, for those who cared, there were the equivalents of toothpicks in splinters of bone, shell, or wood; of toothbrushes in stems of grasses and rushes and in the pith of sugar-cane; and mouth-washes in water scented with a variety of herbs or flowers. The very scrupulous are said to have used salt, charcoal, or fine pumice as dentifrices.26

Menstruation. During the time of menstruation a woman was ritually unclean to the other members of her family, both male and female: "woman was then defiled, for the gods despised all bloody things."27 To avoid giving affront to gods and to people, she was forced into seclusion in the hale pa'a (the menstrual house) for those periods "when Lehua shed her tears." She fashioned tampons from pieces of clean kapa, often using remnants of her own skirts. She was prohibited from using the cast-off pa'u of other women, even of her sisters; she was even forbidden to use portions of her own kiele, the cape-like garment which was worn over her shoulder. "What belongs above should stay above, and what belongs below should stay below," was the rule, not only for the making of menstrual pads but for all forms of dress.28

When pulu, the soft downy material which covers the fronds of the hapu'u tree
fern (Cibotium splendens), was available many women used it as an absorbent packing for the *kapa*-wrapped tampon. Because "blood is sacred, blood is life," the soiled pads could not be burned. At the end of her period of isolation a woman buried them in the earth around the hale pe'a. The precincts of the menstrual house were so charged with the uniquely feminine essence of defilement that men were forbidden to go near it. If a man entered the hale pe'a the price of his intrusion was death. Even women who were not menstruating dared not enter. When one of them brought food to a woman in seclusion she wore a **leī** fashioned from a leaf of the sacred *ki* plant (*Cordyline terminalis*) to protect her from defilement, and she left the food at the door of the house. When her period was ended a woman could not rejoin the household until she had taken a bath of purification:

...a woman bathed in her own pool that was set apart for the purpose of removing defilement. When that was finished she went to the house in front where her husband, the *kahuna*, the *kahikuhi muone* (orators and readers of omens) were. She was then cleansed by the *kahuna* and permitted to associate with her husband.  

If it should happen that her infirmity came upon a woman while she was traveling she turned again to the *ki* for help: with leaves plucked from a wayside plant she prepared **leis** for her wrists, ankles, and throat. With these, and a prayer of apology, she appeased the gods until she was able to reach the seclusion of a hale pe'a. Men who might be traveling with her also wore the protective amulets of *ti* leaves. When they wanted to be especially sure to gain the gods' forgiveness the men carried the entire leafy capital of a *ki* plant before the unfortunate woman.

**Subincision.** An operation which seems to have been practiced among many Polynesian tribes, and which early explorers usually mis-named a circumcision, was performed on a young male when he was about seven or eight years old. It was not so much a true circumcision as a slitting of the prepuce (*kahe ule*).

Only *kahuna* trained in the art performed the operation. The sharp knife used was made from bamboo. The *kahuna* slit the foreskin, letting it contract of its own accord or gently pulling it back. He then slipped a clean morning-glory blossom over the penis, which protected the wound and helped it to heal.

The occasion did not seem to have any ritual meaning for Hawaiians, not even as a rite of passage, and was performed primarily "to facilitate cohabitation and enhance the pleasure enjoyed." Obviusly it conferred certain hygienic benefits as well.

**COMMUNITY SANITATION.** Rubbish heaps, too, could be offensive to gods as well as to men. In Hawaii they were probably modest and harmless accumulations of plain dirt and of animal and vegetable debris which was inedible even to the scrabbling pigs, dogs, chickens, and rats roaming the villages. If ever, in those times of uncertain food supplies, there were crumbs and leftover morsels of food from the mats in the eating-houses, they were never thrown away: they were burned. Nor did the household middens receive any of the personal wastes of the family, not even their worn-out clothing: these, too, were burned or buried.

For those households established near the sea the ocean was never used as a means of disposing of sewage or of rubbish. Inedible portions of fish, like the viscera, scales, fins, and bones, were given back to the sea, as offerings to the gods and spirits who lived in its depths. They showed their appreciation for such courtesies by sending more fish to feed upon those offerings. A virtuous household was never hungry.

**Agricultural Interlude.** The benefits to agriculture which might have been gained from the use of these assorted materials as manure were lost, unfortunately,
Hawaiians do not seem to have used manure of any kind, not even that from domestic animals, in the cultivation of crops. Animal droppings were unclean, unpleasing, defiling. They were left where they fell, except in sacred places like the temples, where they were removed by servants or by slaves. The contributions of humans to the organic content of the soil were so scattered that most of them must have been wasted upon stones and tares.

The only fertilizer applied to their dry-land crops was the ash from brush and grass which was burned when a field was prepared for planting. A taro patch received a kind of green manure of dead leaves and other vegetable matter, like taro peels, carried to the paddy from the family midden. All of this was trampled into the mud of the lilo and allowed to decompose before the sacred taro shoots were planted.

Even long after the arrival of foreigners many Hawaiians could not be persuaded either by economical New Englanders or by frugal Chinese, to use animal manure or human excrement as fertilizer for their plants. The missionaries’ despair over the natives’ refusal to grow vegetables in a place where once, long before, a pig-pen or a chicken-house had stood, may amuse us now but it was irritating to the Calvinists, who saw in such unthrifty behavior one more proof of the natives’ fatal lack of a sense of husbandry.

Probably, by that time, the more civilized Hawaiians were expressing a purely aesthetic revulsion over the thought of growing foodstuff out of excrement. Certainly they were not any longer concerning themselves over the mana in the droppings of animals, or in those of humans, either. A coy footnote in Brigham's classic work on the ancient Hawaiian house shows how completely the overthrow of the gods and the abolition of the kapus in 1819 brought to an end the power of the kapus to keep the villages clean:

In the early sixties I heard in the Haili Church at Hilo a capital sermon in Hawaiian, the text being from Deut. 23, 13. It was brought home to the simple Hawaiians by the suggestion! Consider poor pussy!, and from my observations at that time I do not doubt the congregation needed the practical sermon of the excellent missionary.

**WATER.** Water was precious, a gift from the great gods Kane and Lono. Clouds from which fell the rain were some of the many forms of Lono; the sweet water of the land was Kane-wai-o-la, Kane the water of life.

Primitive Hawaiians made great effort to keep the sweet water of the land free from pollution: they obeyed the kapus not only for their sakes, who were the users of the water, but also out of respect for the great gods who brought it down to earth from the heavens, and out of consideration for the feelings of the mo’o, those spirit-beings who lived in water wherever it was found.

If their great gift was not properly appreciated the gods could take it away: Lono-of-the-heavy-cloud would not come to the mountain peaks, the coursing blood of Kane would dry up.

Hearken to the story of the water-hole at Kawaihol Point, near Koko Head on the island of Oahu. It was the only spring to be found for miles around, in that dry and desert region. As long as the water taken from it was used for drinking only, to sustain the lives of thirsting men, the water of Kane flowed freely. But when white men came to live nearby and, ignoring the warnings of the children of the land (as is the invariable practice of haoles everywhere) they used the water not only for drinking but also for bathing and for the washing of their dirty clothes—eha, then did

**"And thou shalt have a paddle upon thy weapon: and it shall be, when thou wilt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee."**
the spring cease to flow.
The sons of the land knew how to make their apologies to Kane.
They sought an hulupa'a maiden, a girl who had not yet menstruated, and
they sent her to the flowing water-hole of Kawaihoa with a sacrifice of
pig. Hearing her prayer, accepting their apology, Kane permitted the
water to issue forth once more from the rocky ground. But, as a sign of
his lingering displeasure with the wasters of his bounty, he did not let
it flow as freely as before.

Alas! The story does not have a happy ending. The unlearning haoles
again used the water for their laundering. This time Kane took away his
gift forever: no more did the water flow forth from the spring of Kawaihoa.*

In ancient times there was no municipal service to bring water to the kauhale,
the household. Each family obtained its own water from whatever source was available
to it. Members of the household fetched it from springs or streams or irrigation
ditches, transporting it in long gourds, ipu wai or hue wai, stoppered with
plugs of wood or of rolled leaves, or with slender tapering shells saved from the sea.36

Apparently there were no kapus which restricted the water-carriers' chores to
certain members of the household; everyone assisted in this service, except for
women who were confined in the menstrual house, and one of the first labors performed
by a child was the transporting of water in a gourd he could carry. "Ka nui ea pa'a a'i ka hue wai," said the people of Kau of a two-year-old child, "the size
that enables him to carry a water-gourd!"37

One of the great blessings of these islands, today as in the olden times, is
the abundance of their rainfall. There is no reason to believe that the bounty of Lono was less generous in those days than is the annual precipitation of the geo-
physical present. Dwellers on the windward coasts, where rainfall is heaviest,
probably never lacked water. The many streams issuing from the deep wet valleys lying beneath the cloud-catching peaks gave ample water for irrigation and for domestic use. In consequence those were the places where the greatest concentrations of people were found. And it was upon their villages that European sailors looked most eagerly, as they cruised past the foaming waterfalls, the green valleys, the bowered habitations, while they searched for a landing place.

Every voyager who has ever come to Hawaii by sea has been impressed with the
beauty of the islands. And almost every voyager, it seems, has written about them.
But the most lyrical description of the idyllic landfall which has been left to us
by any of the earliest visitors was written by the misfortuned de la Perouse in
1786, as his ships came sailing along the southeastern coast of Maui, at the end of a
long journey from Easter Island.38 Here, set down for the despair and the envy of all of the world's romantics, in every place and in every time, is the enchantment and the wonder of every weary sailor who, from the rail of his ship, has gazed longingly out upon a new Eden rising from the sea:

The aspect of the island of Mowee was delightful...We beheld water falling
in cascades from the mountains, and running in streams to the sea, after
having watered the habitations of the natives, which are so numerous that
a space of three or four leagues may be taken for a single village: but
all the huts are on the sea-coast, and the mountains are so near, that the habitable part of the island appeared to be less than half a league in depth...The trees which crowned the mountains, and the verdure of the banana plants that surrounded the habitations, produced inexpressible charms to our senses; but the sea beat upon the coast with the utmost violence, and kept us in the situation of Tantalus, to desire and devour with our eyes what it was impossible for us to attain...
To Europeans, yearning for an anchorage where they might refresh themselves after perilous months at sea, the prospects offered to them by such landfalls as this were delectable. For most of them who came to the obliging Polynesian Paradises—except for poor de la Perouse, who seems to have been the most consistently unfortunate commander of the most ill-fated expedition in all the history of the Pacific—the rewards in water, in fresh foods, in willing women, were so fabulous that the islands of the Pacific have not yet recovered from the legends and the lies which the wanderers, in their enchantment, took home with them.

But almost invariably the same moisture-laden winds that brought rain to the lofty mountains prevented those eager Europeans from landing where water and food were to be found most plentifully. Paradise was not easily gained. Usually the hapless mariners were forced to sail past the inviting valleys on the windward coasts and to double back along the dry leeward shores before they could find safe harbor; there winds were tamed by the bulwark mountains, and waves were smoothed away. But there, too, rain was almost entirely shut out, and water was as precious a commodity to natives as it was to needy visitors.

The ships of Captain Cook, for example, spent eight weeks off the windward coasts of Maui and Hawaii, looking for a bay protected enough to drop anchor in. But the winter winds were so boisterous and the seas were running so high that the Englishmen dared not send their small-boats to shore. Not until two months after they first saw the tantalizing land did the expedition find harborage in Kealakekua Bay, on the hot dry coast of Kona on Hawaii; and they put in at that unlikely place only because it offered the first adequate supply of fresh water they were able to reach—a brackish pond and a muddy well.

And poor de la Perouse! After the visions of Paradise he and his impressionable Frenchmen beheld on the Hana coast, where did their dismal luck give them a landing place? Ke-ono'i'o—La Perouse Bay, it is called today—is a tiny cove of deep blue sea, rimmed about by the black lava flows which formed it; a beautiful thing, in itself, to look at, perhaps, but then—as now—probably the most desolate inhospitable waterless spot on all that pitiless coast of Maui.

Yet people lived even on those sere and sun-burned shores. And they lived in the uplands, also, where water, when it did fall from Lono's clouds, was not content to stand, but must go rushing down to the sea or must sink deep into the porous thirsty lava. How did those dwellers in the dry lands supply their needs?

They caught the rain, of course, whenever it did fall, trapping it in wooden bowls or wide-mouthed gourds, in the hollowed trunks of trees, and in the hulls of upturned canoes so placed against the side of a grass house as to receive the water when it dropped from the thatch. Coastal swamps, surface puddles, boggy soils, any place where the water stood long enough to be scooped up and carried away, these were not scorned. Ground-water, percolating through the layers of lava, was collected in gourds and calabashes as it dripped from the roofs of caves and lava tubes. The morning dew and the evening mist were stripped from leaves of plants and grasses, even from sheets of oiled kapa or from finely woven mats set out of doors.

In short, the Hawaiians employed every method for acquiring water which their means and their ingenuity could devise. Needy as they were, they might also have used the rain water which was trapped in the cavities of hollow trees, but I think we can be permitted to doubt the veracity of the account of the cistern tree which Mark Twain wrote in 1866. In the typical jeering style he adopted whenever he wrote of the natives of Hawaii, the sassy correspondent, "that American Patron Saint of Mendacity", as Alexander Hume Ford called him, sent this silly tale back home to the mainland for the instruction of the readers of his Letters from the Sandwich Islands:
...a species of large-bodied tree grows along the road below Waiohinu (in Kā'au) whose crotch is said to contain tanks of fresh water at all times; the natives suck it out through a hollow weed which always grows near. As no other water exists in that wild neighborhood, within a space of some miles in circumference, it is considered to be a special invention of Providence for the behalf of the natives. I would rather accept the story than the deduction, because the latter is so manifestly but hastily conceived and erroneous. If the happiness of the natives had been the object, the tanks would have been filled with whiskey.  

The recollections of Sereno E. Bishop are more reliable. In his *Reminiscences of Life in Old Hawaii* he told of the method by which water was brought to the homes of missionaries at Kailua, Hawaii, in the 1830's:

The drinking water of the people was very brackish, from numerous caves which reached below the sea level. The white people, and some chiefs had their water from up the mountain where were numerous depressions in the lava, full of clear, sweet rain water. There were also many tunnel-caves, the channels of former lava-streams. Sometimes the fine rootlets of ohia-trees penetrating from above, festooned the ceilings of these dark lava-fronts as with immense spider webs. If in a dry season, water was lacking on the open ground, it could always be found higher up on the mountain in such caves. Twice a week one of our 'ohana or native dependents went up the mountain with two huewai, or calabash bottles, suspended by nets from the ends of his mamaki /sic/ or yoke, similar to those used by Chinese vegetable vendors. These he filled with sweet water and brought home, having first covered the bottles with fresh ferns, to attest his having been well inland. The contents of the two bottles filled a five-gallon demijohn twice a week.  

The authenticity of this description is beyond dispute: in dry Kailua there was no other way to obtain sweet water, whether for missionaries or for chiefs. The chiefs who chose to live there had been sending their retainers on such errands for generations, and they instructed the servants they assigned to the newcomers with the same devotion.

**Springs and Wells.** Springs were numerous, and every one of them that bubbled up along the whole coast of an island was known and named, even those that came up in the sea, beyond the edge of land. It was no great feat for an aquatic native to dive into the sea with an empty water-gourd and to come up with it filled with cold fresh water. The village of Punaluu, on the south shore of Hawaii, was famed for its submarine springs: its very name tells that it is a place where one dives to find the springs.

Shallow wells were dug or were built in a great number of places on the leeward coasts of all the islands. The remains of many are found today, in areas which have been almost abandoned by people, and a few of them are still yielding water.

The Geologic and Topographic Map of the Island of Maui, prepared by Stearns and Macdonald in 1942 and that of the Island of Hawaii, prepared by the same authors in 1946 show a number of "water holes or ancient Hawaiian wells" scattered along the leeward coastlines of the two islands. In their section on the geology and ground-water resources of the Island of Maui they state:

The sites for wells were presumably located by noting springs at low tides along the coast or by tasting water in cracks along the coast. Two types of wells were made. One type was made by blocking crevices in the lava with rocks, mud, and straw on the seaward side to prevent the inflow of water. Large rocks were placed in position for steps to make access easier. The other type was made by excavating loose clinker aila (rough lava) to the
basal water near the beach...Such wells were lined with big boulders if necessary to keep the clinker from caving. The water in many Hawaiian wells is too brackish to drink, if one is not accustomed to it, but the Hawaiians are noted for their ability to drink brackish water.43

One well of the second type, near Makena, on the southern coast of Maui, was still in use in 1942. A similar one, at La Perouse Bay a few miles away, was probably the one from which the French ships obtained a meager supply of drinking water during their brief stay in 1786.

On Oahu, according to Mc Allister, ...none of the wells are deep; they amount to shallow holes in the ground, with sides evenly faced with stones. Water is obtained through seepage, and the level of the well is consequently affected by the rapidity with which the water is removed.44

An idea of the quality of this water—and of the need which compelled both the Hawaiians and their European visitors to drink it—can be gained from the entry in Captain Clerkes log for February 22, 1779:

All the Water this place affords is brackish, here is a Pond & a Well, the Water of the Pond has so strong a twang of the Salt as to be very disagreeable to the Palate and I believe obnoxious to the Bowels—the Well is situated among some Rocks under a Hill on ye Eastern side of ye Bay but so near the Water side that when the Surf runs the least higher than usual it breaks into it so that it is only in a very fine Weather any Water can be got from thence and then its source is so small that it will not produce in the course of a day above 4 or 5 Ton [casks] at most and this not perfectly free from saline particles though I believe good & wholesome Water, at least we found no inconvenience from the use of it but as I am still deficient in this essential article I must repair to Atoward where we know the Water to be very excellent and complete stock...45

Although no evidence has been found that Hawaiians used filters or straining devices to remove visible dirt and debris from their drinking water, there is no reason to doubt that they were capable of making them. People who could show disgust at the sight of a fly imprisoned in a bowl of poi were not likely to overlook means to obtain clean water.

Even though drinking awa was the privilege of chiefs, the process of straining the freshly prepared potation, in order to remove the grosser particles of root (and the froth of saliva) was well known to all the people. Brigham knew of "three implements used as convenience served" in the straining of awa:

First, the funnel (made from a gourd with a narrow neck) could be partly filled with vegetable fibre and the liquor poured through this; second, a special strainer was made from a gourd bottle, the neck being loosely filled with fibre. The third was perhaps the most ancient form, and was a coconut cup with the 'eyes' enlarged slightly.46

Similar devices for cleaning dirty water, using pieces of kapa, or fibers of grasses or sedges, or layers of the fine matting which is formed at the base of a coconut frond, would have been obvious to people as observant as the Hawaiians were. Filters prepared with cinders, sand, or charcoal packed into lengths of bamboo were not beyond their means, but we do not know whether such devices were made.

Whatever its source, water was not easy to get, and obtaining it required constant attention and considerable work. We need not wonder that it was considered to be precious, a gift of the gods. When it was brought home it was not wasted.

Indeed, water was so hard to get that the inhabitants of one place, at least, became notorious among their hospitable countrymen for their unwillingness to share the valued fluid with strangers. According to Simeon Nawa'a, who told this story to
Mrs. Pukui in 1945, this is how Nanakuli, a little village on the western coast of Oahu, gained its name:

The people who lived in that district were ashamed to greet passing strangers, because of the great scarcity of water and vegetable food. When they could not hide, or were forced to meet strangers, they just looked (nana) at the newcomers with expressionless faces and acted as though they were stone deaf (kali), and did not hear the greetings. This was so that the strangers would not ask for water, which they did not have in that locality. There were a few brackish pools from which they obtained their drinking water, and it is only when they went to the upland of Waianae that they were able to get fresh water. They carried the water home in large calabashes hung on mamaka, or carrying sticks, and used their water very carefully after they got it home.47

Uses of Water. Almost all water brought to the household was used for drinking purposes or for washing the hands. Lesser amounts were needed in preparing poi, by mixing the water with the pounded cooked corms of the taro. Because all kitchen utensils were made of wood, stone, or shells—there was no metal and no pottery in ancient Hawaii—very little water was used in cooking.

To a lesser degree, it was employed in the preparation of 'awa by those few males who preferred to macerate the narcotizing root in water rather than have the family's females chew it for them and spit the mixture of saliva and pulp into the 'awa bowl. When medicines were compounded by herbalist-physicians, the kahuna lapa'ai, water was needed in some of the prescriptions and for some of the treatments. The occasional lustrations and ceremonies of purification for cleansing an individual of his religious pollution, if they did not prescribe complete baths, required relatively little water. This sanctified form was usually provided by the officiating priest. For such ritual occasions sea water was preferred. If it was not available, fresh water could be used alone or an artificial sort of sea water could be prepared by the addition of a pinch of salt and a dash of powdered turmeric root.48

Laundering was not an arduous task in the olden times, inasmuch as the papery kapa could not stand much of a wetting. It could be sponged off, in a superficial way, but it could not be soaked, beaten, and wrung out as cloth fabrics can be treated. Because of this fragility kapa garments were worn until they were so tattered and so dirty that they could be used no more. Then they were discarded—with the necessary precautions for protecting the mana of the wearer, of course—and a new garment was assumed.

In those places where water was plentiful and relatively easy to obtain, no doubt it was used more generously in the household for washing bodies and for cleaning personal possessions and kitchen utensils. Usually, however, it was easier and more enjoyable for the gregarious folk to take themselves and their things to the source of water.

At streams and rivers special places were reserved for filling the i pu wai with drinking water, while other places were set aside for bathing and washing and for laundering. The usual rule of all primitive folk was followed: drinking water was taken upstream from the sites allotted the other activities. At springs the punawai themselves were used for filling water-gourds, the run-off for bathing and washing.

The kapus were not relaxed at those public places, however, nor were the concerns of the people for safeguarding their mana. Even while they bathed or surfed, they or trusted friends or relatives had to keep watch over their clothes, their adornments, even their leis, to make sure that none of the tempting bait would be stolen away by a sorcerer.
CONCLUSIONS. By now it will be evident that no one dared or even wished to pollute a water supply with excrement or rubbish or other forms of defilement: such an affront to the gods and to the mo‘o would have been unforgivable, the insult to other people would have been enraged, and punishment from them, if not from the gods, would have been swift and hurtful.

As a result the valley streams, with their faery pools, must have been as idyllic as travel posters and technicolored movies of today would have us believe, and the whole Hawaiian countryside must have been as unpolluted and uncluttered as a sanitary’s heaven. There were no lumpy turds, no glairy contraceptives, no sneaky peers, in the streams and bathing beaches of those days. There were no equivalents of rusting beer cans and broken pop-bottles, or of waxy sandwich wrappers, shreds of paper napkins and sherds of paper plates, of windrows of aluminum foil and brittle cellophane and yellowing newspaper, adorning the landscape, making it to blossom like a universal midden. If only for this reason we can almost be sorry that gods and sorcerers have lost their hold upon the minds and manners of the unprincipled Yahoos who inhabit our islands today.

The cost in time and labor—and in anguish of spirit—enforced upon the primitive Hawaiians by the kapus of hygiene must have been immense. But the recompense was also great: the people were clean, and the land they lived in was clean. The absence of litter, and of those malodorous accumulations of filth which imparted the stink of civilization to the habitations of mankind throughout the rest of the world in those days, must have been gratifying even to the innocent eye and the untutored nose of the "savage Hawaiian".

But more valuable than these aesthetic rewards were the safeguards to personal and to public health which were the natural consequences of the strict compliance that the kapus demanded: the hazards of polluted foodstuffs, were very much reduced, if they were not actually removed; and the opportunities for the transmission of most forms of pathogenic microorganisms among the population were also diminished, if not eliminated.

Ulcers duodenal and gastric they might have known; some of them probably enjoyed, even as do we, the neuroses of anxiety, the subtle escapes of schizophrenia and the glowering violences of paranoia; they most certainly shared such an array of compulsions as would make an analist marvel. But they could never have been afflicted with epidemics of infectious diseases.

However much we today may deplore the psychological traumata which were the price the aboriginal population were required to pay for their protection from infectious diseases of the body, we must, nonetheless, concede at least a grudging tribute of recognition to the efficacy of the kapus of hygiene which gave the people this relief from the burden of microbial disease.

And, while we are rendering this duty, we ought to offer the tribute of awareness of their role in safeguarding the life of a race to those very ancient observers, the earliest of the priest-scientists of the Polynesian peoples, who, in their remote homeland, before the time of the great dispersion, first divined the laws of sanitation and first proclaimed them in the taboos which the descendant tribes carried with them in their migrations across the great sea. Regardless of their rationale, those taboos—ritual sanctions in every sense of the term—were remarkably effective devices for maintaining the disciplines of sanitation under circumstances where natural laziness, carelessness under hardship, even an understandable human despair in the face of peril, might so easily have permitted the wanderers of the sea to jeopardize their health, and their chances of survival, by abandoning their discipline over themselves.

In my opinion, these laws of hygiene—and, even more important, the degree to
which the entire population obeyed them—provide one set of evidence to support my thesis that the aboriginal Hawaiians were an extraordinarily healthy people, who were afflicted with no important infectious diseases in the centuries of isolation which intervened between the end of their intercourse with Tahiti and the time of their discovery by Captain Cook. There are other kinds of evidence to sustain this thesis, of course, and I hope to present them in their proper place.

NOTES

1 Walter Murray Gibson, Sanitary Instructions for Hawaiians (Honolulu: 1880).
5 S.M. Lambert, A Yankee Doctor in Paradise (Boston: 1941).
11 John Ledyard, A Journal of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and in Quest of a North-West Passage, Between Asia and America... (Hartford, Connecticut: 1783), pp. 128-219.
12 Handy, op. cit.
13 Anonymous, Answer to Lanikaula, in Ke Kuʻokoʻia, July 18, 1868. Trans. Mary Kawena Pukui.
21 William Bayley, Manuscript Journal of William Bayley, Astronomer with Captain Cook, kept on Board H.M. Sloop Discovery during the Years 1777 and 1778. Typescript in Archives of Hawaii, Cook Collection, copied from original in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.
22 Mary Kawena Pukui, personal communication, 1960.
26 Ibid., p. 27.
S.M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo O Hawaii", in Ke Au Koa, November 10, 1870.

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Late in the eighteen-thirties, after almost sixty years of contact with white men and two decades of education at the hands of Protestant missionaries who were also American republicans, the ruling chiefs of Hawaii began to consider in earnest a fundamental alteration in the government of the islands. From the beginning, the prerogatives of chiefs and the claims of foreigners had been chronically in conflict. By the late thirties, too, the commoners, though quite without means of translating discontent into political action, were not so complaisant under the rule of the ali'i as they once had been.

Opinion in favor of change was sufficiently strong to permit the framing of a Bill of Rights in 1839. This pioneering work was followed a year later by the writing of a constitution for the kingdom. Legislative authority was vested in a council of chiefs. There was in addition a small body of popular representatives, whose functions were little more than advisory. Ultimate judicial authority resided in a supreme court, of which the king and the kuhina-nui were members. Executive authority was with the appointees of the king and the kuhina-nui.¹

For Honolulu the most important official was the Governor of Oahu, who reported to the supreme executive. Generally speaking, he had charge of all governmental business within his jurisdiction not set aside by law to other officials. Thus his duties were manifold. He sat as judge in cases involving foreigners and natives; appointed inferior judges; supervised tax collection all over the island; controlled the town's fort, prison system, police force, markets, and public works; and allowed or disallowed marriages and divorces, paying close attention to those involving foreign men and native women.²

Most of these functions might be regarded simply as continuations or extensions of powers delegated to governors of islands by Kamehameha I. In fact, very few laws bearing directly upon local government were passed in the wake of the constitutional changes of the late thirties. The king and chiefs, meeting in council at Lahaina in mid-1840, prepared a brief list of duties for the "officers of the city of Honolulu", but the projected administration was never implemented. A few months later, in November, a law was enacted empowering any chief or governmental officer to call a meeting of "all the people" of a locality should the inhabitants request him to do so. Such meetings might frame local law concerning fences, roads, wandering animals, and the like. These laws might be enforced within a locality provided they did not conflict with the laws of the kingdom.³

Here, within the mixed governmental system of Hawaii, there was one of many echoes of New England political practice—the town meeting. Prior to 1840, local initiative had rested solely with resident chiefs, who might or might not act at the request of natives and foreigners. Now a possibility existed that local government might develop a real identity. It remained only that in Honolulu—a possibility. Occasionally during the next fifteen years one place on Oahu, the rural village of

* This paper reproduces part of Ch. V of Dr. Daws! Ph D dissertation presented to the graduate school of the University of Hawaii. Acknowledgment is hereby extended to the regents, the graduate school, and the university for permission to reproduce this excerpt.
Waialua on the northern coast, took on the semblance of a community in its use of the 1840 statute on local laws; but Honolulu never did. Much less did Honolulu proceed along New England lines and achieve self-government under a charter. Incorporation was suggested at various times in the forties, usually on the ground that local improvements ought to be the responsibility of some kind of local government. One of the white members of the cabinet, Minister of Foreign Relations Robert Crichton Wyllie, had a somewhat broader vision of the benefits of municipal government. He saw decentralization not only as a sensible way of doing official business at the local level, but also as a means of reviving a feeling of community among the natives. Their ties to the soil (and to family and kinship groups) had been cut by mobility and drift. Hawaiians seemed easily seduced by the attractiveness of the white man's world growing up at the port towns. Perhaps a strong "parish" organization would help to reverse this unhealthy trend, by restoring a sense of participation and purpose to the lives of all natives, whether they chose to dwell at Honolulu or remain in a rural district.

Wyllie's views never really took hold. When incorporation did come in 1850, it was of a merely formal sort. On August 29, 1850, Honolulu was elevated by decision of the king and council to the status of a city, and was named at the same time capital of the islands. Two weeks later, an act was written to render uniform the various districts of the islands for educational and taxation purposes. The districts thus created were to be subdivided into townships enjoying the right to make local regulations. For Honolulu, this was the effective limit of action. The kingdom's Cabinet Council proposed in December, 1850, the establishment of municipal government for Honolulu, and it was agreed that the Privy Council should be asked to direct Supreme Court Justice William Lee to prepare a charter. The Privy Council, however, concluded not to act, but rather to postpone discussion. In 1851 the government weekly, the Polynesian, reported "great diversity" of opinion among the residents of Honolulu on the question of a city charter. Certainly the national government would be relieved of the necessity to sustain Honolulu's administration. Authority would pass to local residents, and perhaps in this way public improvements might be made more quickly, helping to turn Honolulu into a real city. On the other hand, self-government might cost as much as $30-50,000 a year, about one-third of the total annual governmental budget. To pay for a mayor, councilmen, police, prisons, and so on would require a very high tax rate, especially as the city had no property from which revenue might be drawn, unless the kingdom should relinquish its markets and wharves.

Apparently the national government was unwilling to transfer responsibility to the city, and the city remained unwilling to assume it. A bill introduced in the 1852 legislature did not pass its third reading. A Privy Council resolution in mid-1853 produced nothing. Wyllie's persistent advocacy later in the fifties was fruitless, even in a period when the national government was extremely short of funds and might have been expected to welcome a chance to cut expenses. Thus Honolulu was without a charter. It continued so until the beginning of the twentieth century, by which time, of course, the kingdom itself was a thing of the past and the islands had become a territory of the United States.

Many functions normally carried out by local administrations were performed in Honolulu by the national government—for example, by the kingdom's Board of Health and its Public Works Bureau. In the discharge of municipal duties, the Governor of Oahu was closely supervised by cabinet ministers. For the rest, voluntary associations of one sort or another haltingly supplied the deficiencies of governmental institutions. Honolulu in the forties and fifties lacked, in fact, any strong sense of community—even the Chamber of Commerce formed in 1850 quickly became moribund.
Yet the city was the business center of the islands, the center of population, the focus of foreign contact; and Honolulu's people were witnesses, initiators, beneficiaries and sometimes victims of almost every major movement and contest in the islands.

One of the principal questions confronting the kingdom as the forties opened was that of land. This issue took its shape and reached a resolution almost solely on the basis of Honolulu's experience. The critical years were those of the later eighteen forties, but the history of the problem was as old as the kingdom itself.

Under Kamehameha I, sovereignty and land ownership were inextricably linked. Both were in the hands of the king. Chiefs, and through them commoners, held land at the royal pleasure. All paid heavily in taxes and services for the privilege. After the death of Kamehameha there occurred a devolution of power into the hands of the great ali'i, who quickly became the dominating political and economic force in the islands. By 1825 the chiefs had secured the right to pass on their lands by inheritance, which they had not been able to do under Kamehameha. Having thus consolidated their own position and ensured their affluence, they could be brought only with great reluctance to consider over the next two decades the possible rights of the disadvantaged groups who were their tenants—commoners and foreigners.

The commoners could do very little to initiate change, bound as they were by a tradition of subservience to the ali'i. The chiefs regarded them, even after the breaking of the kapu, as nothing but worms in the dust. Throughout the twenties and thirties, commoners continued to be liable for taxes on their persons and on their produce, taxes so heavy as to vitiate any attempt on their part to escape from mere subsistence. Production was their task; the inverted pyramid of consumption was also theirs to support.

As for the foreigners, their concept of property clashed with that of the ali'i almost from the beginning. Agitation for changes in the land system thus came almost exclusively from westerners, as did agitation for constitutional government. The two revolutions, each centering on Honolulu, were accomplished in the same decade.

In the early days it had been possible for a white man to attain a special position in relation to land, by attaching himself to Kamehameha and, through services or expertise, gaining the rank of ali'i with all its rewards. No matter how long his residence, however, the threat of dispossession remained, as Marin found in 1823 when he incurred the wrath of the Honolulu chiefs over his handling of their foreign trade goods. For short-term residents, tenure was even more precarious. In the twenties they might be sent out of the country at the chiefs' pleasure, whereupon any land they had occupied reverted to the chiefs, regardless of claims by the white men's women and children. Even for peaceful and sober foreigners there was no guarantee of uninterrupted occupancy. Chiefs permitted haoles to occupy more or less well defined lots in the village. Upon these lots buildings might be erected. There were, however, no formal leases. The ali'i often reminded their foreign tenants that permanent occupancy was not a right but a privilege, and hence most buildings were none too lavish. No idea existed in the chiefs' minds that a foreigner's "right" to a lot or even to his improvements might survive the tenant himself. Foreigners might buy and sell the "right" of occupancy, and improvements might be transferred, but such transactions required the approval of the chiefs.

The right of foreigners to hold land was closely connected, of course, with the question of their prior right to enter the country and do business there. No foreign government ever denied the ultimate discretion of the kingdom in this respect, though on occasion local representatives of the great powers called for very rigorous definition of the restrictions the Hawaiian monarchy sought to impose. Up to
about 1830, with nothing but the informal "treaty" drafted by Thomas ap Catesby Jones in 1826 to regulate their foreign dealings, the ali'i managed to have their way; and the first really sharp contest between foreigners and natives over property of any sort—the Charlton cow case of 1829—resulted in a victory for the monarchy. In the next decade, however, Honolulu's foreign community grew rapidly, changing in character to include substantial businessmen as well as the beached sailors of previous decades. Property and business interests of Americans in Honolulu in 1829 had been worth an estimated $80-100,000. By the mid-thirties, the figure was about $400,000 for all islands. At the opening of the forties, estimates were much higher—about $300,000 in real estate and $43,000 in shipping owned at Honolulu, largely devoted to servicing the whaling industry, which by then was bringing well over $1,000,000 worth of American shipping to the islands each year. There was a proportionate growth in business at the port. With about 600 Americans in the islands, most of them at Honolulu, the issue of property and commercial rights inevitably became more acute.8

In 1836-1837, naval representatives of three great powers—the United States, Great Britain and France—attempted to improve the position of foreigners in regard to residence and landholding. In October, 1836, Commodore Edward Kennedy of the USS Peacock conferred for four days with the king and the chiefs on matters of foreigners' land tenure, their right to transfer leased property, and their right (heretofore denied) to lease land for agriculture outside Honolulu itself. Kennedy was able to make very little impression on the fixed position of the government that royal sovereignty carried with it inalienable rights in the soil, and that all issues arising from the land question must remain at the discretion of the king.9

Just as Kennedy was about to leave Honolulu, the French warship Bonite (Captain A.N. Vaillant) and the British man-of-war Actaeon (Lord Edward Russell) arrived. Each commander in turn involved himself in the question of foreigners' rights (their immediate concern was to try to establish the tenure of Catholic missionaries in Honolulu). Lord Edward Russell, after scrutinizing a lengthy list of complaints brought to his attention by British Consul Charlton, proposed a treaty giving British subjects the right to bring vessels and property to the islands, to live there, build houses and stores, and dispose of their property with the knowledge and consent of the king. The most important phrase concerned the king's part in granting and manipulating these "rights". This was to be a fruitful source of trouble, especially in view of the fact that the king's signature on the treaty was obtained only after the "wholly dictatorial" Russell, supported by the blustering Charlton, made implied threats that if Kauikeaouli refused to co-operate, the Actaeon would fire on Honolulu.10 The right of Frenchmen to most-favored-nation status was reluctantly granted in the next year, 1837, when Captain Abel du Petit-Thouars, in Honolulu at the time of the Clementine episode, induced King Kauikeaouli to sign a convention guaranteeing parity of treatment. The French interest in property and commerce at Honolulu—and the British interest too, for that matter—were, of course, insignificant in comparison with American investments.11

The king and the chiefs were determined to retain total sovereignty over land, especially in Honolulu and Lahaina. Early in 1838, they drafted an "Ordinance for the Cities of the Islands," forbidding the sale of house lots without the consent of the king, as "entangling the rights" of the kingdom; the sale of house lots in secret; the giving up of lots for debt; and the sale at auction of house lots belonging to deceased persons. All these were stigmatized as "evil acts". At the same time, the ali'i disclaimed control over chattels.12

This was the situation when, in 1839, the Bill of Rights was drawn up. The Bill itself, and the 1840 constitution which followed, did little to assure tenants' rights. An effort was made to prevent abuses of the old sort by the chiefs. This,
naturally, was more to the advantage of commoners than of foreigners. Then, too, the 1840 constitution contained the first formal statement of the idea that commoners had rights of ownership in the lands of the kingdom. But for foreigners, the problem persisted: there was no concession of their right to hold actual title to land. In 1841 the Hawaiian legislature, meeting at Lahaina, empowered island governors to lease land to foreigners for as long as fifty years. This arrangement was no less unsatisfactory than the old indeterminate leases of earlier decades had been. Indeed, trouble followed. The legislature directed foreigners to register their leases in writing at the governors' offices, so that rent payments might be regularized. The business community of Honolulu regarded this edict as an imposition serious enough to justify consular intervention. Richard Charlton, Jules Dudoit and Peter Brinsmade all made protests to the king and to Kekuanaoa. The government attempted, inconclusively, to clarify its position in a way acceptable to the foreigners, but the issue remained open.

After this flurry, the land question, in terms of constitutional change, was held in abeyance during the first years of the forties, while the ultimate question of Hawaii's future was fought out on the diplomatic level. By 1844, royal sovereignty appeared at least temporarily secure, and the question of property rights for foreigners and commoners returned to pre-empt the attention of Hawaiian legislators and administrators.

Some quite strong reasons existed for major change. With the increase of Honolulu's foreign population, the question of foreign rights had grown more urgent.

Late in the thirties, too, a kingdom-wide interest in Hawaiian agriculture and manufactures developed. The first stirrings of an upheaval in land, population and politics on the west coast of America were discernible as the United States prepared to involve itself heavily in Oregon and later California, and the implications of all this for Honolulu's commerce and Hawaii's agriculture were beginning to be considered. Tightly bound up with these issues was the question of the Hawaiian commoner upon the land. Should he continue to be essentially a feudal retainer, or should he be permitted, now that his right to own land was recognized in the constitution, to become an independent yeoman?

By 1844 the government was ready to authorize a full-scale investigation of the entire land question, and in the next year, as part of organic legislation setting up executive departments, a Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles was created. So too was a land office, established within the new Department of the Interior. In general, Hawaiian subjects were to be allowed to purchase land in fee simple. Aliens and subjects alike might lease land for as long as fifty years. All claims dating from before the organic act, whether those of subjects or aliens, were to be reviewed by the Board of Commissioners, whose dispositions would give title in the form of a Land Commission Award. The successful claimant might pay a commutation fee, thus extinguishing the government's interest in his land. He would then possess a Royal Patent in fee simple.

Guided by these general rules, the Board of Commissioners met at Honolulu. Its first members were the ex-missionary William Richards, now a cabinet minister; John Ricord, the king's American-born Attorney-General, who played a great part in framing the organic acts; J. Y. Kanehoa, a descendant of John Young; and two educated Hawaiians, Z. Kaauwai and John Ii. From February to August, 1846, the Board worked to prepare a set of principles which would serve as permanent guidemarks. These were approved by the legislature. The major concern of the principles was the separation and definition of the property interests of government, landlord, and tenant. The great division of land which followed was based on their dicta.

Meanwhile, the Board of Commissioners began to hear claims pertaining to lands, mostly house lots, already occupied by natives and foreigners in the Honolulu area.
Day by day, month by month, the Board took testimony. Not until December, 1847, did attention pass to the kingdom at large; and even after that date, work continued sporadically on later Honolulu claims.

The Board held its first meetings in a building called Hale Kauwila, which, until then, had been used by the chiefs for councils and feasts. Every Wednesday after mid-February, 1846, it was crowded with claimants. Within the Honolulu area, those with foreign names hurried to register their claims. As events were to show, it would take time to convince even urban Hawaiians of the advantages of a secure title, whether at leasehold or in fee simple. No such education was necessary for foreign businessmen, of course; they moved quickly to regularize their leases, and later, when conditions were relaxed, to buy land in fee simple.16

Equally quickly, too, the beached foreigners of past decades appeared before the Board, claiming confirmation of rewards for services performed long ago. Alexander Adams, former pilot of Kamehameha I, more recently Honolulu's harbor pilot, and now the lusty old patriarch of a vastly-ramified family with widely-spread estates around Honolulu, claimed and was awarded several pieces of land: a town lot; about four acres of Waikiki land over which he had been konohiki (agent or steward for a chief) since the days of his royal benefactor; nearly 300 acres of kalo land and upland in Kalihi valley to the west of Honolulu proper; and an estate of almost 2,500 acres at Māu, a sunny valley a few miles east of Diamond Head.17

Adams was unusually long-lived. Most of his old cohorts were dead, especially those who, like Adams himself, had settled in the islands before the breaking of the kamehameha. Long ago they had submerged their nationality and their legal identity in the service of a primitive king. They had married native women, and had sired children of mixed blood. Now their heirs, many of whom bore Hawaiian first names and foreign last names, were able to trace the vicissitudes of their families through a quarter-century or more of caprice on the part of the ali'i, and finally to establish their property rights under a westernized jurisdiction.

George Beckley, pilot and former commandant at Honolulu for the first two Kamehamehas, had died in 1826, naming Alexander Adams as his executors and guardian of his heirs. Beckley was now judged entitled to have bequeathed to his part-Hawaiian descendants an acre of land in Honolulu, seventy acres at Kalihi, and thirty-six in Waiola.18 Other names from the past were heard—Blanchard, Davis, Ebbets, Harbottle, Holmes, Jones, Manini (once Marin), Rives, Sumner, Winship, Woodland—formerly western, now borne by part-Hawaiians married in most cases to other part-Hawaiians or full-blooded Hawaiians rather than to haole. Here were the beginnings of an urban Hawaiian landowning class, many of whose members were to prove unable, for various reasons, to hold their Honolulu property in the two generations ahead. From the beginning, they had relied on haole assistance to keep their lands and boundaries intact in the somewhat predatory world of Honolulu. Stephen Reynolds, for example, spent a great deal of time helping Hannah Holmes to administer her rental lots; and Gerrit Judd was useful in the same way to Robert G. Davis (Hannah's son by William Heath Davis).19 Once it became possible for part-Hawaiians (and full-blooded Hawaiians) to alienate their own lands, they tended to lease or sell cheaply and somewhat improvidently, with the result that land ownership in Honolulu became more an index of rising foreign commercial interest than an expression of native rights of ownership.

Foreigners who had played even more humble roles in the making of Honolulu were also recalled, either in person or through their heirs—Peter Anderson, Kamehameha's Negro armorer; Bob the Tailor Kilday, an Englishman who had stitched coats for Liho-liho in the era of the first great Hawaiian dandies and had been rewarded with the gift of a lot in Nuuanu, which he held stubbornly in the face of the chiefs' efforts to remove him; Louis Gravier, a French sailmaker who had outfitted the Becket, one of
the ships Boki took on his sandalwood expedition; the illiterate Englishman Tom Hunt, one of Kalanimoku's seacaptains, who had been given land by his patron and was then dispossessed for drunkenness; Dutch Harry Zupplien the tavern-keeper, who since 1810 had been burying his hard-earned money in his Honolulu backyard; Yankee Jim Vowles, the notorious bar-room brawler; Lewis Rees, the Welsh herdsman and servant of Manuia, who had sailed with Boki; Black George Hyatt, the Negro who played his clarinet for the kings of Hawaii and provided music for Honolulu's first concert; Long Tom Gandall, the chiefs' gunpowder expert, employed on Honolulu public works jobs; John Gowan, citizen of Boston, who had been Kaumualii's linguist on Kauai; Portuguese Joe; Charles the Lascar; and dozens of others about whom virtually nothing is known.20

Together with all these, the businessmen of the town and the representatives of the two missions, Protestant and Catholic, established their rights to land around Honolulu.21 Finally, as Honolulu's chiefs and commoners came before the Board of Commissioners, the outlines of a town committed to western property practices became visible. Over fishponds, kalo patches, heiau sites, loku or game-playing areas, and kapu places of bygone days, the surveyors and draftsmen laid their precise measurements. Valley boundaries which formerly had been defined by the direction in which a stone would roll were now fixed by triangulations. Traditional landmarks like streams, trees, prominent rocks and stone-heaps gave way to markings on maps. The old konohiki system, under which a chief appointed an agent or steward to manage his lands, was replaced by a system in which each owner determined for himself the best use to which his land might be put, being free to cultivate, lease or sell at will.22

In the course of testimony before the Board of Commissioners, Stephen Reynolds recalled how in 1823, when he had come to the islands to stay, not many house lots had been fenced and very few indeed enjoyed the privacy of adobe walls. There had been no streets, but only pathways leading to the main trails quartering Honolulu.23 The city began at the waterfront and straggled to an end less than a mile inland, considerably short of a stone wall, built about 1830 part way across the entrances to Manoa and Nuuanu valleys with the idea of restraining grazing cattle.24 Late in the eighteen-thirties, before the property issue in Honolulu was anywhere near resolution, the local chiefs were seized by a fit of energy for road and bridge-building around the town, and for a few weeks crowds of natives labored, straightening and widening streets, and often clipping slips of land from lots which had encroached upon thoroughfares.25

Now, by 1850, the bulk of the Board's work was done in Honolulu. Titles were clear and most boundaries were settled. There was a sense of definition about the town that had never existed before. Promiscuous huddles of Hawaiian thatched huts, though still numerous, were interrupted more and more by individual houses of western design in adobe, wood or stone on individual lots. The streets once again were cleared of obstructions. Finally the town was ready to be declared a city, the capital of the kingdom. Concurrently the streets were officially named—twenty-nine of them, from the big thoroughfares running up from the waterfront (Maunakea, Nuuanu and Fort) and the principal streets crossing them (Merchant, King, Hotel and Beretania) down to lesser lanes and places. The old sailors' names, such as Fid Street, formally gave way to the new, such as Nuuanu; though, interestingly enough, sailors' names for districts within Honolulu, such as "Egypt", "Cow Bay", and the "Black Sea" lingered on for another twenty years, as did the complementary Hawaiian district names. Most of the street names decided upon in 1850 were western, though signposts carried Hawaiian renderings as well.26 Like all major rearrangements, this re-orientation of streets and boundaries in Honolulu created considerable discontent. For years afterward there were private quarrels and lawsuits over rights-of-way, trespass, and disputed claims. The fact was, however, that a great change had been accomplished.
Honolulu's new outlines were those within which the land development of the succeeding quarter-century were carried out.27

By the time the Board of Commissioners had roughly completed its work in Honolulu, it had awarded title to 325 lots, most of them covering less than one acre, on the seventeen most important streets and lanes in the town (excluding insignificant pathways). Of this number, foreigners or half-castes with western names held 119. Overlying and surrounding this quite well-recognized town center was a more amorphous area, later described (but never defined) as "Honolulu City". It consisted of eighty-two or less distinct areas of varying size (from a few acres up to several score), all carrying Hawaiian names from the old days, some located in the interstices of the street blocks, others on the periphery of the commercial area stretching toward the valleys. In "Honolulu City," a total of just over 700 awards were made, some of them several acres in extent, most nothing more than house and garden lots. Of this total, thirty-eight were held by people with western names—haoles or identifiable half-castes. Farther away from the harbor and the business quarter were land divisions incorporating valleys and other traditional sites. In these areas, which stretched from Moanalua in the west to Wailupe in the east, haole names disappeared almost entirely from the register of landowners. The largest single estate in the Kona district was at Moanalua, where William Sumner owned 7,000 acres. Nearest Honolulu, Kalihi and Kapalama had seven and six haole proprietors respectively (including Alexander Adams). To the east of the town proper, a very few haole names appeared in Makiki, Manoa, Palolo, Wailae-iki, Wailae-nui and Wailupe. Pawai, between Honolulu and Waikiki, included six foreigners among its seventeen landowners. Waikiki itself had only two (including Adams) out of more than 250 listed.28

The king and the chiefs held choice lots scattered about the district, in town and out. The Catholics were given title to a cathedral site in town and other lots elsewhere. The Protestant mission lots, including a sizable estate at Punahou in Manoa, were held at first in common and then distributed to individuals, except for church and school lots. Also defined were government lands, and a special category unique to Honolulu (and Lahaina)—fort lands, some fifty patches in Honolulu, Kalihi and Waikiki, to be cultivated by soldiers and tenants of the Governor of Oahu. Later these and other government lands were used for school sites.29

NOTES

1 The general implications of constitutional government are well discussed in Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, I, 1:3-169; and Bradley, American Frontier, pp. 319-333. See also Kuykendall, "Constitutions of the Hawaiian Kingdom," Hawaiian Historical Society, Papers, 21 (Honolulu, 1940). The 1840 constitution was succeeded in 1852 by an extremely liberal constitution, American-influenced.

2 The workings of the governor's office may be followed in part in the Governor's Letter Books, MS, AH, which record day-by-day transactions of a minor sort without giving much insight into the relations of the office with the rest of the government.

3 A Notice Respecting The Officers of the City of Honolulu, Cahu, June 10, 1840, Ah, FO & Ex; Lorrin A. Thurston, Fundamental Law of Hawaii (Honolulu: 1904), pp. 34-35.

4 For Waialua as a community, see Polynesian, August 25, 1849. Chapter VI of the present study mentions a resurgence of community feeling there in 1853. Large- ly responsible was the Protestant missionary J.S. Emerson, an economic and political activist rather than a narrow evangelist.

5 Polynesian, January 10, 1846; April 29, May 20, 1848; Sandwich Island News, June 8, 1848. Wylie's preoccupation with community may be traced to his
family connections with minor Scottish lairds. Later, in the 1860s, when he became a plantation owner on Kauai, he attempted to set up a model community with himself as benevolent lord and master.

6 Wyllie to William Lee, May 28, 1850, AH, FO & Ex, Local Officials; AH, Privy Council Records, III, 805, 805, VIA, 182a, VII, 203; Polynesian, August 30, September 14, October 26, 1850; March 1, 8, 1851; July 7, 1855; AH, Cabinet Council Minutes, December 5, 1850; AH, Journal of House of Representatives, April 28, May 12, 19, 25, 1852; Chief Justice, Report, 1854, pp. 12-13; AH, FO & Ex, Constitutional Convention, January 1, 1855; Wyllie to Elisa Allen, November 7, 1856, AH, FO & Ex. In the Henry Whitney Papers, MSS in AH, there is an undated petition to the legislature to incorporate the city and confer on it a charter. The subject and the names of the signatories indicate that it must have been prepared in 1850, but I have been unable to find that it was ever submitted to government.

7 The best single published source on this and all other periods in Hawaiian land history is Jean Hobbs, Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil (Stanford: 1935). For innumerable case histories documenting the passage of land into white men's hands under the old dispensation, the various manuscript volumes compiled at the time of the great land divisions of the 1840s are invaluable. There are three general classifications: Registers, Testimony, and Awards, running in all to thousands of pages, often with survey maps. Each classification has two sub-categories, Native and Foreign. The great majority of foreigners holding land in the old days were around Honolulu and their experiences are recorded for the most part in the early MS volumes. Thus, Foreign Register, I-III, and Foreign Testimony, I-III, are especially rich in information. There is an enormous reference work which should be consulted first if a single individual or piece of property is of interest. Indices of Awards Made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands (Honolulu: 1929), compiled by the office of the Commissioner of Public Lands of the Territory of Hawaii, breaks down all land transactions of the mid-19th century into several cross-referenced categories which lead back to the MS material. It also has an excellent short introduction to the early land system. The MS volumes themselves have recently been placed in AH, where they have been microfilmed.

8 Ruschenberger, Voyage Around the World, p. 488; Polynesian, May 22, 1841.

9 Kennedy to Kamehameha III, October 7, 1836, AH, FO & Ex; Sandwich Island Gazette, October 15, 1836; Stephen Reynolds to James Hunnewell, November 14, 1836, January 1, 1837, Hunnewell MSS.

10 Kamehameha III to William IV, November 16, 1836, AH, FO & Ex; Benjamin Parker to David Greene, November 14, 1836, ABCFM Letters; Levi Chamberlain Journal, November 15, 1836; Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1, 148.

11 Du Petit-Thouars to Kamehameha III, July 15, 1837, AH, FO & Ex; Lorrin Andrews to Robert Crichton Wyllie, AH, FO & Ex (this contains a copy of the treaty); Bingham, Residence, p. 511; Bradley, American Frontier, p. 292.

12 H.A. Peirce to James Hunnewell, August 6, 1837, Hunnewell MSS; "Ordinance for the Cities of the Islands," January 8, 1838; AH, Laws.

13 Proclamation of May 31, 1841, AH, FO & Ex; Stephen Reynolds Journal, June 18, 20, 24, 25, July 12, 14, 1841; Dudoit to Governor of Oahu, June 25, 26, July 12, 1841, AH, FO & Ex; Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1, 276. For a typical case argued between U.S. Consul Brinsmade and the Hawaiian government in 1845, see several letters, copies in AH, FO Letter Book, VI, 1ff.

14 The most convenient way to comprehend the organization of the Board and the principles governing its activities is to consult the collected documents
ROBERT W. WILCOX, HAWAII'S FIRST DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

by

Roberta Nose

Hawaii as a territory of the United States had ten delegates to Congress, but perhaps no term was as colorful and in some respects as unfortunate as that of Robert W. Wilcox, the first delegate. Wilcox was born on February 15, 1855, at Kāhului, Honoula, Maui. His father was Captain William S. Wilcox, a native of Newport, Rhode Island; his mother was Kalua Makoleokalani, a direct descendant of Lomakahihioua, brother of King Kaulahea of Maui.

He first went to school at Wailuku at the age of eight. When he was ten years old, his mother died, and his father moved to a ranch at Makawao. There was no

This paper was written for Dr. C.H. Hunter's class in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii in the spring of 1966.
English school at Makawao until in 1869 the board of education established the Halaekala Boarding School under Robert W. Andrews and Mrs. S.A. Thurston, mother of Lorrin A. Thurston. Young Wilcox and his three brothers were among the first pupils of this school. He was graduated from it in 1875, under Professor F.L. Clarke.2

Wilcox spent the next five years as a school teacher at Ulupalakua, Honouliuli. In 1880 he was elected to the house of representatives from the district of Wailuku, Maui. In the same year King Kalakaua chose him to be one of three young Hawaiians sent to Italy to study in the military academies. Through Kalakaua’s influence with King Humbert, Wilcox was admitted to the Royal Military Academy at Turin in 1881. While there he studied under private teachers to prepare himself to enter the academy’s regular course. His professor of mathematics was Captain Luigi Giletta, a staff officer who later became a major general. In 1882 Wilcox passed the examination and entered the first regular course. In 1885 he graduated, being promoted from cadet to sub-lieutenant of artillery. In the same year he entered the Royal Application School for Engineer and Artillery Officers. While studying the last course there in 1887, he was recalled by the Hawaiian government, whose officials had decided that his education would be of no great value to the nation. He had just married a young lady of the noble house of Colonna do Stigliano. She was Signorina Gina Sobrero, daughter of the Baron Lorenzo Sobrero, colonel of artillery. Her mother was the Princess Vittoria Colonna di Stigliano of Naples.3

In September, 1887, Wilcox and his bride left Italy for Hawaii. They both stayed in Honolulu until 1888, when they moved to San Francisco. There Mrs. Wilcox bore a daughter named Vittoria Colonna Wilcox. While in San Francisco, Mr. Wilcox worked as a surveyor for the Spring Valley Water Works Company; Mrs. Wilcox gave French and Italian lessons to young ladies. Thus employed, the couple could live in better circumstances than they could in Wilcox’s native country.4

But Wilcox determined to return to Honolulu and overthrow what the people of Hawaii called “the bayonet constitution and the reform government” imposed on King Kalakaua. So in 1889 Mrs. Wilcox and her daughter returned to Italy, while Mr. Wilcox sailed for Honolulu as a revolutionist.5

Arrived, he immediately began plotting against the reform administration, and at dawn on the morning of July 30, with about 150 followers, Wilcox surrounded the palace and government buildings. The revolutionists took refuge in a large royal bungalow on the palace grounds, and were soon fired upon. After a day of sniping by both sides, Wilcox surrendered, and the uprising was over. When tried for treason, Wilcox claimed to have the king’s sanction for his deeds; a Hawaiian jury acquitted him under the ancient doctrine that “the king can do no wrong”.6

In 1890, Wilcox was elected to the legislature from the Palama district as leader of the National Reform Party. His party became the majority in the house, the Thurston cabinet was voted out, and Kalakaua thus had it in his power to appoint another cabinet of his own choosing. But his selection discontented the Hawaiians, and in 1892 Wilcox was reelected to the legislature, this time as head of the Liberal Party. Kalakaua had died in 1891, and Princess Lydia Kamakaeha had become Queen Liliuokalani.7

The legislature opposed any cabinet of the Queen’s, unless consulted in its selection. So in January, 1893, the queen dissolved the legislature and attempted to proclaim a new constitution. Her cabinet, however, betrayed her, and she was de-throned with the aid of marines dispatched from the USS Boston.8

Wilcox, an ardent royalist, led the counter-revolution of 1895 also; betrayed after two weeks, he was sentenced to death by a court-martial. The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives intervened, and President Dole of the Republic of Hawaii commuted the sentence to thirty-five years’ imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of $10,000. But in January, 1896, Wilcox received a full pardon, approved by the council of state.9
While Wilcox was in prison in 1895, Pope Leone XIII and the civil court of Italy granted his wife an annulment of her marriage. The Italian consul and the Catholic bishop at Honolulu confirmed the news, and in 1896 Wilcox married Princess Theresa O'ana Kachelelelei, a direct descendant of Keona, father of Kamehameha I. From this union resulted a son and a daughter.10

In 1900, Wilcox was a candidate for delegate to Congress from the Territory of Hawaii. The campaign began as a stormy one for him, for although he headed the Independent Party, many high-ranking Independents claimed that in all probability he would not be the party's nominee. Wilcox maintained that he had been nominated in the convention held in Honolulu at the drill shed in June, 1900; leading Independents, however, said that the matter was to have been decided in the last two weeks of October. Two Independent conventions met on the island of Hawaii; at neither of these, which included party members of that island, was Wilcox's name mentioned. As a result of all this, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser observed that "It is rumored that some of the leading men of the Independent Party are seriously thinking of setting aside R.W. Wilcox's candidacy to Congress and pledged themselves to support Prince David."

The Advertiser then recorded the prediction that "He (Wilcox) will not be the candidate on the Independent ticket. Prince David will be endorsed by the Independent convention, and Wilcox will be let out. But he (Wilcox) will be provided for. He has considerable strength among the natives, and we don't want to lose him."11 The true source of repeated statements that Wilcox would retire from candidacy and that Prince David would be endorsed by the Independents in convention came to light when the Democrats nominated the Prince as their candidate for delegate.

Franklin Austin was named as the assiduous disseminator of the reports and was shown to have been working hard to that end. It was discovered that Austin, although nominally a member of the Independents, was retained by David to help his cause among the adherents of Wilcox, and Austin frankly and openly opposed Wilcox and tried to hurt him in every way.12

Austin made an aggressive campaign, not hesitating to beard the lion in his den, and talking against the Garibaldian even at Independent headquarters. He mixed freely with the Independents and dinned Wilcox's faults to them unceasingly. Austin, jovial and generous, found many to listen to him.

Austin's strategy was to bring Wilcox to a sense of his unfitness for the office of delegate and to have him retire voluntarily from the field, perhaps accepting a senatorial nomination. Evidently Austin thought that he had arrived at the psychological moment when one morning he found Wilcox at Independent headquarters. He delivered his home shot.14 Concerning what then happened, current street rumor had it that Wilcox forcibly expelled Austin. But Wilcox said, "I did not touch him."15 Thus the deep plot of the Democrats failed, and there were left only the bills to pay.

In 1900 there were three candidates for the office of delegate: Samuel Parker ran on the Republican ticket, Prince David Kawananakoa represented the Democrats, and Robert W. Wilcox campaigned as an Independent. A speech Wilcox gave at his party's convention well showed his platform and the kind of campaign he carried on:

I have been traveling from Hawaii to Niihau for the sake of our country and our ticket, because I want you not to be enslaved with the Republicans and Democrats.

I tell you tonight, there is no Republican or Democratic party in Hawaii, although there are such parties in the United States.

I was once in the United States to see that equal rights be given to every Hawaiian here as every American in the United States was or has.

They sent Hartwell and Smith there to entangle your Hawaiian delegate,
myself. They were sent by the plantation missionaries, but they got 'scuped.'
I went with the nickels and the dimes of every Hawaiian and the Senators and
Representatives shook hands with me and recognized me, although I was not an
authorized delegate, as I shall be as Congressman.

The haoles in this country are nothing but cockroaches.
I tell you tonight I was not born out of wood!
I was born out of steel! You can agree until your mouth is raw but you
cannot knock Wilcox down, do what you may!
I agreed with the people here on June 7 to go to Washington as their
Delegate. I tell you tonight, I will not withdraw at all.

The time has come for Wilcox to take hold of these small, narrow-

minded haoles who have tried to knock me down.
I tell you if Parker and David and Myself all could go to Washington
together, I only would come back home with all the honors.

Let us not listen to these snakes of haoles, but let the watchword of
Kaulia prevail, 'Kill the snakes!'
I will not talk back to those who have spoken against me so grievously.
Jesus Christ did not return words for insults made against him. As he did
not, why should I?

A Republican victory seemed assured just the day before the election; it was at
this crucial moment that the merchants of Honolulu chose to appeal to the people of
the Hawaiian nation. The business houses of Honolulu had seldom if ever as a body
taken part in the elections of the country. They were sure, however, of the serious
and lasting injury to the good name of Hawaii and to her commercial interests and
prosperity which would result from Wilcox's election, and were impelled to protest.

They said, in effect, that they were informed that hundreds of laborers around
the docks and in the warehouses of the city, employed by them either permanently or
from time to time when they had work to give, were being led by Wilcox and his fol-

lowers to believe that they were under no obligation to safeguard and protect the
interests of those who furnished them employment, and that the employer and employee
had no interests in common. The merchants wished to call the attention of all such,
and of all others receiving employment from their houses, and all who received credit
from them, that their ability to furnish employment and to give credit rested solely
upon the preservation of prosperity in the country and the confidence of capital,
both in Hawaii and abroad, in the stability and integrity of the country. The mer-
chants said that if Wilcox secured control it would stop the influx of capital from
abroad and drive out an immense amount of capital employed in the country for the
furnishing of remunerative employment to thousands.

The businessmen also stated that any injury to the business interests of Hawaii
as a whole would inevitably reach and injure every man to whom they were able to give
employment. So to their Hawaiian employees and, in fact, to all Hawaiian citizens,
they said, "Pay no attention to the senseless accusations of Wilcox and his follow-
ing that we are enemies of the Hawaiian people." This was signed by H. Hackfeld and
Company; William G. Irwin and Company; Castle and Cooke, Limited; F.A. Schaefer and
Company; Theo. H. Davies and Company, Limited; Honolulu Iron Works, Limited; C.
Brewer and Company, Limited; M.S. Grinbaum and Company, Limited; Bank of Hawaii,
Limited; and Claus Spreckles and Company.17

Election day was November 6, 1900; next morning the Pacific Commercial Adverti-
sers's headlines read:

SAMUEL PARKER SWEEPS ISLAND OF OAHU
Bob Wilcox Beaten

The tally of Oahu votes showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>2,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcox</td>
<td>1,920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But on November 8, Wilcox, speaking through the same newspaper, said:

I think I will carry Kauai by a majority of at least 300 votes. As for Maui and Molokai, I expect to have a majority of 300 votes. This is the impression I have since my last campaign on those islands. If my calculation is correct, I think I will poll two-thirds of the votes at the leper settlement. As for Hawaii, I am in hopes, although it is Parker's birthplace, that I will poll a majority of 200 or 300 votes over him. Hilo, I believe, is divided between me and Prince David, but in the Kona districts and other places, I am very strong.

The prediction was to come true, for the November 10 Advertiser announced:

WILCOX IS IT

The official returns as compiled by Secretary Cooper were:

Fifty-Sixth Congress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kawananakoa</td>
<td>1,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>3,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcox</td>
<td>4,083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wilcox's Plurality: 227

Fifty-Seventh Congress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kawananakoa</td>
<td>1,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>3,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcox</td>
<td>4,108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wilcox's Plurality: 263

Wilcox received his certificate of election on November 30, and on December 1, 1901, he started for Washington, D.C. to serve in the unexpired term of the Fifty-Sixth Congress and the full term of the Fifty-Seventh Congress.

Congress awaited with curiosity the advent of Robert Wilcox. Its attitude was quite different from that of the people of Honolulu. Congressmen agreed to treat the new delegate with respect and to give him a full hearing as the representative of the Islands. Members of the House appeared to regard the whole affair as a good joke on Hawaii's white politicians. Most important, however, they agreed that Wilcox would have no real influence.

The first few months of Wilcox's term were unhappy, for efforts to unseat him abounded, and these brought to ear some disturbing echoes from the past. A letter to the Advertiser on February 12, 1901, read:

THE DIE IS CAST NOW

Yesterday the 24th of January, 1901, in the afternoon in a committee room at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., in the presence of a U.S. Senator, of Attorney Gear, of Hawaii, and of other three gentlemen, I handed over to a typewriter points, papers and facts, which will surely unseat the unworthy delegate from Hawaii, R.W. Wilcox, and I am determined not to recede. It is not generous but it is dutiful, just and patriotic on my part to do so.

You will soon hear of the effect of this my new departure against my protege for twenty-one years, the insincere and ungrateful R.W. Wilcox.

Respectfully,

CELSO CAESAR MORENO

Following this a petition containing serious charges against Wilcox was submitted to the House Committee on Elections. The charges were made in writing by George D. Gear of Hawaii, who transmitted letters which were supposedly copies of some written by Wilcox to Filipino officials. The letters were of a highly sensational character. One of them was given in duplicate and bore the alleged signature of Wilcox. It was dated Honolulu, January 31, 1899, and addressed to Dr. J. Joseph Losada, Captain Marti Burgos, and Senor J. Luna.
I have already made up my mind to join with you in your country against America in case they insist to ignore the right, the justice of your cause. I know well my profession as an artillery officer. I have no fear of the whole world when I fight for a legitimate cause like yours. Between General Aguinaldo's determination and myself there would be a very little chance left to the invading army of the United States to conquer your country. Tell General Aguinaldo I have already given my service for your country, and I am ready to obey orders to go to your country and fight for the independence of your people and country at any moment.  

The letter was signed, "Robert Wilcox".

Wilcox declined to make any extended answer to the charges filed by Gear. He said he had no fear of them and, while admitting that he wrote a letter to Dr. Losada, Captain Burgos, and Senor Luna, he said he was unable after a cursory examination to say whether the letters filed were exact copies of the ones he sent.

The petition concluded:

Wherefore, by reason of the foregoing facts, petitioner submits that said Wilcox is not entitled to a seat in the House of Representatives during the Fifty-sixth or Fifty-seventh Congresses, and that he should be ousted therefrom for the following reasons:

First—Because no legal election could be held until a mode of holding the same should be provided by the Legislature of Hawaii.

Second—If the said election was legal, Wilcox should be unseated and expelled because of not being a fit and proper man to represent the Territory of Hawaii, and because he is guilty of the crime of bigamy.

Third—That said Wilcox should be unseated and expelled because of having written and uttered treasonable language against the United States within the two years last past.

All the arguments in the case were in, but nothing could be done until the House had its attention officially called to the matter by a member's rising and calling the subject directly before that body by the presentation of a resolution which would declare the delegate's seat vacant. It was only by this method that the committee on elections could take cognizance of the matter. Unlike a contest against a member, such protest as was submitted could be handled only from the floor first. Therefore, there seemed more than a little doubt that the affair would reach a conclusion at that session. Such a short time remained in which action could occur that (perhaps for fear of raising a debate in which there would be brought to the front arguments against the general course of events in the Philippines) no initiative was taken.

Wilcox's career in Congress was not a brilliant one. Nevertheless, he did have the opportunity of proposing several bills, and although none of them passed, they were controversial enough to stir up some excitement in Hawaii.

The Land Law Bill. In January, 1901, Commissioner of Public Lands Binger Hermann laid the ground plan for a new system of land legislation for the Territory. This was done with the intent of aiding reconstruction at the request of Delegate Wilcox. The result of an informal conference between the two men indicated that they had the same fundamental plan in mind, and that it was the one advocated by the Advertiser. The principle which would underlie any bill was the encouragement of the small owner and the speedy settlement of the large tracts which were then held under leases. It was the aim of the delegate to have the lands of the Territory placed in the same general category as those of the public domain in the Continental U.S.
In November, 1901, Wilcox received from Hawaiian Land Commissioner E.S. Boyd an exhaustive report on the government lands on all the islands. This was the most complete list of public lands yet compiled in Hawaii. The report not only gave the number and area of each parcel of the public lands, its location and name, but also the name of the lessee, if leased, and the annual rent paid, together with the date when the lease expired. In addition was a brief description of the nature and possibilities of the various tracts of land, all of which enabled the Interior Department in Washington to obtain very comprehensive knowledge of land conditions in Hawaii.

In December, Wilcox had a bill drawn after the recommendations in the President's message, to provide special land laws for the Territory of Hawaii. It divided the public lands into four classes:

The first is made to embrace all city and town lots, streets, alleys, parks, wharves, landings, and suburban lands within a distance of two miles from the incorporated limits of any city or town of 500 inhabitants and upwards. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish such limits where they do not exist. Lands of the second class shall embrace all public lands at any elevation above sea level. Lands of the third class shall embrace all other public lands at any elevation above sea level, agricultural, pastoral, forest, and waste lands on all the principal islands which may be in any manner adapted to domestic use and habitation. Lands of the fourth class shall embrace all public lands on the small outlying islands, reefs and shoals which are not capable of domestic use.

Lands of the first class must be located, selected, described, listed and reported to the President under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, for further action of Congress.

Lands of the second class shall be surveyed according to the township system, but when this system is not practicable the lands shall be surveyed into lots containing as nearly as possible forty acres each. No person shall be given more than forty acres of land.

Lands of the third class shall be surveyed as rapidly as possible, whether under lease or otherwise, according to the township system, and sub-divided into forty acre lots. No man shall be allowed more than 160 acres.29

Much of the bill was occupied with provisions for organization. The entire charge was placed with the Secretary of the Interior, the executive duties being placed with the Commissioner of the General Land Office. A great deal was occupied in describing what was to be required in making homestead entries, the restrictions being the same as applied in the U.S. Additionally, the bill provided that all leasing of public lands would cease. All the existing leases in conformity with the law would not be impaired until the expiration of the terms of such leases, but no tenancy at will would exist. The Secretary of the Interior would direct the location of sites for storage reservoirs upon any public land, in contemplation of the future needs for irrigation or other public purposes.

When E.S. Boyd was asked his opinion on the bill, he said, "It's ridiculous".30 He was not opposed to turning over the lands to the General Land Office in Washington, but he felt that the enforcement of such a law should be left to an official of the Territory who would be acquainted with conditions as they existed. Boyd could not understand why Wilcox introduced such a bill after the conversation they had had just before Wilcox's departure, for this law was not only injurious to the country as a whole, but also to the native Hawaiians. It would simply open up the country to the land-grabbers—not to those who intended to make their homes on the land, but those who would sell out to the sugar plantations or hold them up for large amounts. Without water rights the greater portion of the public lands in the Territory would
be unavailable, and Boyd doubted if the American farmer would care to settle on such land, when he could get what he wanted in the United States.

Boyd also said that there were large tracts of land which could not be used as homesteads, and which would not be taken up except for speculative purposes. Large areas of sugar land would be of no benefit without water, and a small farmer could not utilize it unless he had means of securing a water supply. This would be impossible under the general U.S. system, and such tracts could only be used by men with capital enough to develop the water supply. The bill did not prevent those plantations from getting lands that they were willing to pay for, for under this act the land was given outright to the homesteader, and he could readily dispose of it to the company willing to pay his price. In many cases, Boyd said, speculators would get control of the land and hold up the plantations for what they could. The clause in the Organic Act limiting the holdings of one corporation to 1,000 acres could be evaded by enabling individual stockholders to put sections of plantations in their own names. In this way the very end which the law sought to accomplish would be defeated.

If it was the small farmer who would work in harmony with the planter already here, and whose coming would not be damaging to the chief industry of the islands, then the new land law would be satisfactory. But, said Boyd, past experience proved that it would not be the expert Yankee farmer of the East, who knew he could not market his crops here, who would come, but the class of men who expected to get rich in a hurry.

In closing, Boyd said:

Before any land legislation is adopted by Congress, a commission should be sent to Hawaii to investigate conditions here as they really exist, and see themselves how impossible it is to adopt the general land laws of the United States for this Territory. I am convinced that if a Congressional party visited Hawaii no such bill as that presented would pass, but unless some action is taken to Washington to prove its utter impracticability, the law is likely to be detrimental to the best interests of the Territory.

In January, 1902, an article appeared in the Hawaiian Gazette which said in effect that from all indications there was no occasion for alarm over the Wilcox land bill. If it developed that the sentiment of the islands was strongly against it, it seemed probable (from what little had been heard), that there would be ways of defeating the bill at the north end of the Capitol, where the Senate sat. But what was far more important to the people of the Territory was that the men to whose keeping the measure had been consigned were not likely to favor legislation of any character that was not supported by the substantial interests of the Territory.

The Leper Bill. Delegate Wilcox introduced this to provide a reservation for leprous persons. It proposed that the colony of Molokai be put under the immediate control of the U.S. government, and become the resort of all lepers, not only from Hawaii, but also from the entire United States. The bill said:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that that part of the Island of Molokai, Territory of Hawaii, known as Kalaupapa, and now used as a place of confinement for leprous persons, is hereby declared to be a government reservation, and all lepers there confined, or that may hereafter be confined, shall be under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Wilcox added his belief that the leper colony would be better managed by the federal government.

The proposition met an indignantly hostile reception in Hawaii. Objections ranged themselves mainly under the following heads:

1. That a strange and disorganizing element would be introduced from abroad among the then homogeneous and peaceable community of Hawaiian lepers. The newcomers, being of a different race and temperament, would not harmonize
with the old community, and severe friction would result. This would be ag-
gravated by the fact that the strangers, being exiled and cut off from home and friends, would be intensely dissatisfied.

2. That Hawaii would become marked off as the great leper reservation of the United States, and would become an object of contempt and loathing. Instead of being the Paradise of the Pacific, to be sought by tourists, we would get the evil repute of being a leprous colony, a place to be shunned.\(^3\)

The bill making Molokai a leper lazaretto was so disliked that sentiment was aroused at the settlement. A petition against the measure's passage, prepared at Kalaupapa and Kalawao, went to Congress. The petitioners gave their reasons for opposing the bill:

1. That they (the petitioners) never petitioned favoring the selection of the settlement as a place for the segregation of lepers from the mainland.
2. That they were satisfied to remain under the jurisdiction and control of the Territorial government of Hawaii, as they were under the monarchy.
3. That they strongly urged that the care and control of the settlement continue under the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii.\(^3\)

The petition was signed by 369 people, all residents of the two leper settlements.

In January, 1901, Wilcox became very ill; his doctor diagnosed the trouble as an inflamed ulcer of the stomach. This disease was a recurrent one with Wilcox, and as he had neglected himself, the malady eventually forced him into bed with severe hemorrhages.

The Kohala Water Bill. After recovering from his illness, Wilcox introduced his Kohala Water Bill. This was a measure granting the Kohala Ditch Company the right of way in public lands in the districts of North and South Kohala for the purpose of building and maintaining ditches or canals and the necessary reservoirs, dams, and the like, for irrigation and domestic uses in these districts.

Sec. 2. That the Kohala Ditch Company may institute in the United States District Court for the Territory of Hawaii proceedings for the condemnation of such private land as may be necessary to cross and use in construction and maintaining the ditches or canals and reservoirs therein described whenever said company and the owners of any such lands fail to come to an agreement in respect thereto.

Sec. 3. That the work of constructing said ditches or canals and reservoirs shall be commenced within two years and completed within six years from the date of the approval of this act; and in default of either of these conditions Congress may declare the rights herein granted null and void.\(^3\)

This bill was opposed by the people of Hawaii who claimed that they knew the need for utilizing this surplus water. They felt that a large amount of water was running to waste which, if diverted to the adjacent arid districts, would greatly increase the productivity of the soil and create wealth which at that time did not exist. The objectors said that on the above point there was no difference of opinion, but that there was radical complaint with the way in which the goal was to be achieved:

1. This was a purely local matter, and should therefore have been subject to local control.
2. The bill did not correctly state on its face what it meant. The inference to be drawn from the wording of the bill was that the corporation had water of its own, and simply sought a right of way across intervening government land. But as a matter of fact, practically all of the water to be obtained and transported through these rights of way was the property of the government.
3. The bill proposed to grant the rights of way and the water for nothing. Why should this public property be given away, when parties stood ready to pay handsomely for it?

4. The bill made a direct private grant of the property involved to a specific corporation, instead of putting it up for competition to the highest bidder.

5. The bill granted the power of eminent domain to the corporation, but provided none of the detailed safeguards usually accompanying such powers.

6. The bill contained an elaborate description of the boundaries within which the grant would be exercised, the territory described being a wild, inaccessible mountain region.

7. The franchise was granted in perpetuity. In other words, it was an absolute, perpetual free gift.37

Hawaii wanted its waste waters conserved, but not on the lines set forth by this bill.

The School Bill. Delegate Wilcox introduced in the House of Representatives a bill "to establish and maintain a system of free schools in the Territory of Hawaii."38 It was patterned after the statutes of one of the eastern states, and it provided for the conduct of schools in the cities and counties specified in Wilcox's municipal bill.

After this measure was introduced, the Hawaiian board of education took the initiative in the agitation against it. The board stated its objections as being of two kinds:

1. That no such legislation was needed, nor in fact any legislation concerning school matters, on the part of Congress.

2. That if any legislation were needed, the bill introduced by Delegate Wilcox would accomplish no good.39

Thus it can be seen that people in Hawaii protested every important measure that Wilcox proposed. The evidence indicates that many considered Wilcox a failure as delegate, watching in vain for the development of qualities they considered essential in a good legislator. His harsher critics charged Wilcox with incompetence and with selfish motivations. Whatever the merits of their case, the ranks marshaled against Wilcox prevailed; in 1902 Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole's victory at the polls ended the erstwhile delegate's short Congressional career.

NOTES

1. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, December 1, 1900, p. 1. Hereafter cited as PCA.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.


7. PCA, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. PCA, October 6, 1900, p. 1.

12. Ibid.

13. PCA, October 9, 1900, p. 1.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. PCA, October 12, 1900, p. 1.

17. PCA, November 5, 1900, p. 1.

18. PCA, November 7, 1900, p. 1.

19. PCA, November 8, 1900, p. 10.

20. PCA, November 10, 1900, p. 10.

21. PCA, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.


25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. HG, February 26, 1901, p. 9.
THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF LUNALILO

by

Richard A. Greer

On pages 429 and 430 of the Cabinet Council Minute Book (1866 to 1874) is a black-bordered announcement:

DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY LUNALILO

His Majesty Lunalilo died in His bedroom in his private residence at Kaimoeipo, Honolulu, on Tuesday the 3d day of February 1874, at 10 minutes before 9 o'clock p.m. The immediate cause of His Majesty's death was phthisis (consumption).

The Minister of Finance, the attending physicians Drs. Trousseau and Oliver, Queen Emma, HRH R. Keelikolani, H.R.H. C. Kanaina (the father of the deceased) the Hon. Mr. C.R. Bishop, Hon. Fanny Young Naea and others, were present at the decease of His Majesty.

A Cabinet Council was held in one of the rooms of Iolani Palace at 10 o'clock p.m. on the 3d instant, at which were present:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs
The Minister of the Interior
The Minister of Finance
The Attorney General of the Kingdom

The fact of His Majesty's death having been satisfactorily ascertained, was duly noted, and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Kingdom in such cases made and provided, it was

Ordered, That a meeting of the Legislative Assembly be holden at the Court House, in Honolulu, on Thursday, which will be the Twelfth day of February, A.D. 1874, at 12 o'clock, noon, and of this order all members of the Legislative Assembly will take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Iolani Palace
February 3d 1874.

Chas R. Bishop
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Edwin O. Hall
Minister of the Interior
Robert Stirling
Minister of Finance
A. Francis Judd
Attorney General of the Kingdom

Eight days later Dr. George Trousseau, Lunalilo's physician, submitted his report of the king's final illness. Trousseau, incidentally, had been consulting physician during the declining days of Kamehameha V. The letter follows:
Honolulu February 11th 1874

His Excellency A.F. Judd
Attorney General

Sir,

The country has just sustained an enormous loss—so have the friends of His Late Majesty. For one I have not recovered yet from the blow—it is only a faint consolation to know that all join in the deep regret felt by us.

On the 3d of the present month at 8:30 p.m., King Lunalilo died.

On the 18th of August he was taken ill in Waikiki, and ever since until the day of his death he steadily lost his appetite and strength.

He suffered from almost constant cough, and could not take any solid food. Early in September, Dr. McKibben first and afterward Dr. McGrew, were called in consultation.

Different modes of treatment were suggested, but though faithfully carried out they did not succeed.

In November a last consultation took place, on the 10th if I remember well, and the Doctors & myself came to the conclusion that the King was suffering from consumption.

A voyage to Kailua was suggested and we started on the 17th of November. For the first week or two, the King seemed to be benefitted by the splendid climate of Kona, but he soon lost what he had gained, anyhow my opinion is that had he remained all the winter in Honolulu, he would have died a month or two sooner.

On the 15th of December I returned to Honolulu, leaving His Majesty under the care of Dr. Oliver. The King got gradually weaker and was confined to his room. On the 14th of January he had for the first time spitting of blood and sent the Kilauea for me.

When I got to Kailua on the 16th January, I could see by the appearance of His Majesty that his days were counted, and decided on bringing him back to Honolulu for fear he should die in Kona.

We landed here on the 18th and we very nearly lost the King that very morning.

It is only with any amount of care, that we managed to get him to the Palace. He rallied some for a few days, until the 31st of January his birthday. From that day to the 3d when he died, he did not take any nourishment, and was even unable to swallow a few drops of water. On the 2nd of February he had a profuse spitting of blood and hardly spoke afterwards. On the 3d he died. All through the King had very little pain, was in good spirits and full of hopes.

He did not believe he was going to die until 15 minutes before, when he whispered "I am dying." These were his last words.

All through he was kind to all and to me in particular as well as to Dr. Oliver. As I stated before, we present at his deathbed, could hardly realize his loss and will feel it for many a day to come.

The King’s physician

G. Trouseau

1 Inserted loosely between pp. 430 and 431 of the Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1866-1874.
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
VOL. II NO. 7 APRIL, 1967

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STATISTICS ON INCOME IN HAWAII, 1825-1966
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Statistics on income in Hawaii extend back more than 140 years. Wage records can be found for dates as early as 1825. Systematic series on family income go back to 1900. These statistics have become increasingly frequent and detailed in recent years. Unfortunately, changes in definitions and coverage, fluctuating price levels, and wide variations in perquisites and fringe benefits have created major obstacles in the interpretation of these data. Even so, some striking trends are evident:

Since the second quarter of the 19th century, the average wage has risen from one or two cents an hour (plus provisions) to $5,100 a year, and median family income has increased at least one-hundredfold.

Wage and Salary Earnings. Statistics on wage and salary earnings were among the first to be developed in Hawaii. The earliest of these data referred only to workers on sugar plantations or in selected government jobs. After annexation, however, they were extended to many other occupations and industries.

Some of the earliest information on wage levels in Hawaii concerns sugar employees: "The first attempt to lay out a plantation of any size was made by John Wilkinson...Manoa Valley, near Honolulu, was chosen as a site, and work began in the fall of 1825...Much capital was consumed by the cost of labor, at twenty-five cents a day." This effort was abandoned about 1829.

Pay was poor on pioneer plantations. In 1841, native workers on Kokea Plantation, Kauai, struck in protest against the 12.5 cent daily wage and asked for 25 cents. Their strike was unsuccessful.

Three years later, Robert Wylie wrote that "...the daily wages of the natives does not average more than 12 and a half cents per diem; and this wretched pittance is paid not in cash, but in goods, given to the natives at a profit to the employer of perhaps 100 percent...."

Despite frequent fluctuations, wage levels rose perceptibly during the next fifty years. According to Morgan,

Wages for unskilled labor varied in 1847 from 12 1/2 cents to 50 cents a day, or from $2.00 to $6.00 a month, being highest near the port towns. On Kauai, wages were commonly 12 1/2 cents a day, plus provisions. They were paid in the form of goods. On Maui common wages were 12 1/2 cents also; in Lahaina, the whaling port, they were 25 cents, and, if the laborer worked aboard ship, 50 cents....A dual standard of living is clearly present, one for the mass of natives, another for the foreigners and high chiefs....

In the late 1840's the average on the plantations was 15 1/2 cents a day, plus grass houses, (often) taro patches, and an outlay of 6 to 10 cents per working day for food supplied by the employer. An extraordinary wage rise in 1850-51 during the California exodus to as high as 50 cents a day for native labor was short-lived. By 1853 or 1854 native labor could be hired "without trouble" for 25 cents a day. Free coolies were less, about 18 cents, though the latter did "the most work and (gave) the most satisfaction."

Contract coolies, the first of whom had been imported, were paid at the 

*Fred Hung and William Summers Johnson read the first draft of this paper and made many helpful suggestions. RCS.
daily rate of 11 cents. In all cases board, quarters—and with the latter, import costs—had to be added.

By 1863, with the sugar boom, $8 to $10 a month plus food is given as a reasonable cost of labor. The stimulus of Reciprocity is reflected in the relatively high levels of 1888-1890: $15.58 to $19.53 a month for contract labor, and $17.47 to $22.25 for free labor.4

The same period witnessed a corresponding growth in the volume and quality of statistics on wage earners. Beginning in 1886, annual reports of the Bureau of Immigration carried detailed tabulations on wage scales, often classified by age, sex, nationality and occupational group.5 Most of these surveys were limited to immigrant plantation laborers.

Wage levels remained relatively static during the first fifteen years of the 20th century. The average daily wage for field hands on sugar plantations, for example, was $0.73 in 1900-1901, $0.64 in 1902, $0.63 in 1905, $0.70 in 1910, and $0.74 in 1915. The corresponding averages for sugar mill laborers were, respectively, $0.78, $0.81, $0.77, $0.85, and $0.96. Throughout this period, hours worked per week averaged 60 for field hands and 72 for mill laborers.6

Both World Wars appear to have triggered increases. In 1929, average full-time earnings per week on the sugar plantations averaged $10.927 Ten years later, nonsalaried male workers on the plantations were averaging $48.88 monthly. As in the past, housing, medical care and recreational facilities were supplied without charge.8 By 1947, with a 48-hour week in force and perquisites being phased out, the mean daily wage of hourly-rated sugar employees was $7.63; in 1956, it was $10.73.9 Nine years later, in 1965, the daily average was $18.40 in cash earnings and $6.50 in fringe benefits.10 The 40-hour week had meanwhile become standard.11

This long-term increase in wage rates has been paralleled by a corresponding increase in salary levels. An easily traced example is that for Honolulu police officers.

Police pay was initially quite low. An 1840 law specified that "police officers shall be paid for their services in the following manner: If a police officer seize a man for crime and he be tried and convicted, then one-fourth part of the fine shall go to the police officer."12 At the insistence of the British Commission, this practice was discontinued in 1843, and policemen thereafter were given a straight salary of $3.50 a month.13 Four years later, an effort was initiated to raise the level to "six dollars each per month, free of all taxes and labor days...."14

Thereafter police salaries rose rapidly. In 1861 the basic pay for a Honolulu constable was $20.00 monthly.15 Rates for selected years through the succeeding century were as follows:16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-1877</td>
<td>$20-$22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>$30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>$60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>$75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>$135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all jobs paid as poorly as sugar workers and policemen. Cabinet members, for example, received relatively high salaries. Best of all was that of the chief executive—the king, president, and governor.

The Hawaiian monarchy received ample compensation, particularly toward the end of the 19th century. In what may be the earliest appropriation act of the kingdom, that for the 12-month period ended April, 1844, Kamehameha III was allotted $6,000 out of the total governmental budget of $25,000.17 The 1860 legislature voted the annual sum of $16,000 "for His Majesty's Privy Purse, Royal State and pay of Physicians."18 In 1872, the annual sum reached $22,500.19 Sixteen years later, Thrum wrote: "By report of the Crown Lands Commission to the Legislature of 1888, the
present annual revenue from rentals of the Crown lands is placed at $37,588. Since the time of the Mahele or division of lands by Kamehameha III in 1848, the income therefrom has been a personal revenue of the Crown, and with the present appropriation of $20,000 per annum for His Majesty's privy purse, affords the King over $57,000 a year. Other members of the royal family also received annual stipends. The President of the Republic of Hawaii, in contrast, received only $12,000 annually. Executive compensation tumbled with annexation, then slowly rose again. The Organic Act, approved in 1900, made the Governor of Hawaii a federal employee and set his annual salary at $5,000. Amendments raised this amount to $7,000 in 1910, $10,000 in 1921, $15,000 in 1949, and $19,000 in 1956. The salary of the Governor of the new State of Hawaii, initially set at $25,000, was increased to $27,500 in 1962 and $33,500 in 1965.

The foregoing wage chronologies illustrate the kind of trend data often available from scattered sources. Unfortunately, such a piecing-together is the only procedure possible in tracing trends before 1900.

Twentieth century sources on wage and salary earnings are far richer, often providing comprehensive, systematic series on a decennial or annual basis. Major series initiated since annexation include at least three by federal agencies, three by state offices, and one by a private organization.

The United States Department of Labor inaugurated a notable series of surveys on labor conditions in Hawaii shortly after the turn of the century. Reports were published for 1901, 1902, 1905, 1911, 1915, 1929-1930, 1939, 1947, and 1955. The first seven presented detailed information, specially compiled, on average earnings and hours by industry, often cross-tabulated by race and sex, and all nine reported additional data obtained from existing sources. More recently, the Department of Labor has published statistics on the salaries of white-collar workers in the Islands as of May, 1963.

The United States Census of Manufactures, taken by the Bureau of the Census, has included data for Hawaii in seven of its periodic surveys, beginning in 1899. Although none of these reports contains information on wage rates as such, some idea of average wage levels can be obtained by dividing total payroll by average employment or total wage payments by the average number of production workers. Such computations, given in detail in Table 1, indicate the following trend in average annual earnings per manufacturing employee in Hawaii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average Earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>$461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4,279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beginning in 1939, the Territorial (later State) Department of Labor and Industrial Relations collected data on wage and salary payments to workers under the Hawaii Employment Security Law. Initially limited to private non-agricultural employment, the law was extended in 1961 to workers in agriculture. Similar information was compiled beginning in 1956 for federal employees under the Social Security Act. State and county workers were added in 1960. An annual statistical report, Employment and Payrolls in Hawaii, first issued for 1951, presents quarterly data by industry and island. Between 1939 and 1964, the average annual wage or salary earnings of private non-agricultural workers covered by the act rose from $970 to $4,745. Yearly data for this period are shown in Table 2.
The decennial United States Census of Population first included questions on wage and salary income in 1940, and obtained substantially similar information in 1950 and 1960. Among members of the experienced labor force receiving at least $100 of such income, the median was $611 in 1939 and $2,356 in 1949. The mean (not median) for persons receiving any wage or salary income in 1959 was $3,526. Greater detail appears in Table 3.

The Territorial Tax Commissioner compiled data on wage and salary levels between 1946 and 1955. These statistics were a by-product of the compensation tax enacted by the 1933 Legislature and repealed twenty-four years later. They appeared in various sources.

Surveys of pay rates have been published annually since 1947 by the Hawaii Employers' Council. At first limited to Honolulu office workers, these surveys were eventually broadened to encompass a wide variety of private and governmental occupations throughout the State. Since 1955 they have been conducted jointly by the Employers' Council and the State and County personnel departments.

The newest source on wage rates is a monthly survey by the State Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, first undertaken in January, 1961. This continuing study provides data on average weekly earnings, average weekly hours, and average hourly earnings for workers in contract construction, manufacturing, communication and utilities, wholesale and retail trade, finance, hotels, and laundries. Publication began in the January, 1962 issue of The Hawaii Labor Market (now Hawaii Labor Force Developments). In May, 1966, average weekly earnings ranged from $51.33 (for laundries) to $165.59 (in contract construction), and average weekly hours ranged from 32.4 (in retail trade) to 42.5 (for food processing).

**FAMILY INCOME.** This refers to total money income of all members of a family. As defined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, it includes total money income during the survey year of all family members from wages and salaries (including tips and bonuses) after deductions for such occupational expenses as tools, special required equipment, and union dues; net income from self-employment; and income other than earnings such as net rents, interests, dividends, Social Security benefits, pensions, disability insurance, trust funds, small gifts of cash, regular contributions for support, public assistance, or other governmental payments. The value of two non-money items—food and housing received as pay—were counted as money income in the 1961 survey.

"Family" is defined in different ways by different studies. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, State Department of Health, and other agencies compiling statistics on families usually define a family as two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and living together in the same household. Persons living alone or with other persons not related to them are classified as "unrelated individuals." The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in contrast, states that the family, or consumer unit, refers to (1) a group of people usually living together who pooled their income and drew from a common fund for their major items of expense, or (2) a person living alone or in a household with others but who was financially independent.

Although statistics on family income for Hawaii did not appear until the early 1900's, rough estimates are possible for earlier years. If a Honolulu policeman's salary is assumed to have been pretty typical of wage and salary earnings during the 19th century, and income from such earnings is assumed to have accounted for about 85 percent of total family income (the ratio found in the 1901 BLS study), median family income in Honolulu must have been around $50 a year in the 1840's and $250-$300 in the 1870's.
The Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted surveys of family income and expenditures on Oahu covering 1901, 1910, 1943, 1951 and 1961.\(^{41} \) In all cases their samples were small, ranging from only 100 families in 1943 to 363 in 1910. Coverage varied. In 1901 it included only "representative families of different nationalities" in an unspecified geographic area, presumably Honolulu.\(^{42} \) Data for 1910 referred to "families of wage earners in Honolulu"; for 1943, to "families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu"; and for 1951, to families of "persons employed at desk jobs in the clerical, administrative and professional occupations," living in Honolulu, and consisting of exactly two or four members.\(^{43} \) Not until 1961 was the BLS sample extended to all occupational groups in the community, and to urban areas elsewhere on the Island.\(^{44} \) The 1943 study differed from the others in being limited to income in a single month, June. It was also the first to distinguish between total and "take-home" pay.

Although direct comparability is obviously lacking in the five BLS surveys, they are sufficiently similar to give a rough idea of long-term trends. Mean family income after payroll deductions, as revealed by these studies, was approximately as follows (further detail appears in Table 4):\(^{45} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>$800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>$800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>$6,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A survey of family income on the Islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai, comparable to the 1943 BLS Honolulu study, was made late in 1944 by the Territorial Department of Labor and Industrial Relations.\(^{46} \) Sample size for this study was 69 families, 48 of whom received free housing or other perquisites from employers. Monthly net cash income during 1944 averaged $185.04.

Decennial U.S. Census reports have included data on the income of families and unrelated individuals in Hawaii since 1950. Statistics have been published for the State as a whole, each county, each urban place, and the 113 census tracts on Oahu, for major areas. Income statistics have been cross-tabulated by color, kind of family, age of head, family size, number of earners, and other social, demographic, and economic characteristics.\(^{47} \) Median 1949 income before taxes of families living in the Territory in April, 1950 was $3,568. The Statewide median ten years later was $6,366. Additional information is reported in Table 3.

Beginning in January, 1953, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin conducted an annual sample survey of consumer income and expenditure patterns in Honolulu, based on the response to a mail questionnaire. This survey was later extended to the entire Island. Reports were published initially by the Star-Bulletin and later by the Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., and the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency.\(^{48} \) Discontinued after October, 1962, the survey was resumed in July, 1965 on a continuing, household interview basis.\(^{49} \) In all cases, the unit of observation was the household (in U.S. Census terminology) or consumer unit rather than the U.S. Census "family". Median household income before taxes increased from $4,535 in the 1954 survey to $7,131 in 1962 (findings for 1953 and 1965-1966 seem to be somewhat distorted, in the first case too high and the last too low). Annual medians are given in Table 5.

Research Associates, a private survey firm, obtained demographic, economic and housing data for a sample of 1,809 dwelling units in Honolulu early in 1954.\(^{50} \) Median household income, computed from distributions published in the report, was $4,138.

The most recent statistics on family income on Oahu are those compiled by the State Department of Health as part of its Hawaii Health Surveillance Program survey.
Family and income definitions comparable to those used by the Bureau of the Census are used. Findings have been transmitted to the State Department of Planning and Economic Development for analysis and publication. The first report, covering income during the preceding 12-month period of families interviewed between April 1, 1964 and September 30, 1965, indicated a median of $7,434 for the entire Island and $7,611 for Honolulu proper. A later tabulation, confined to families surveyed during the 12-month period ended November 30, 1965, resulted in a median of $7,695. These figures, like those of the U.S. Census and Stat-Bulletin series, refer to income before taxes.

Other Income Data. Other sources of income data include series on income tax returns and personal income per capita.

Frequency distributions of individual U.S. income tax returns filed in Hawaii go back to 1916. Prior to 1944, the class intervals were "net income" classes; since then, classification has been in terms of "adjusted gross income" classes. Data for 1916-1943 are accordingly not comparable to data for later years. Comparability has been further reduced by changes in coverage—the lowest income groups need not report—and provisions for joint returns by married couples. Statistics for Hawaii can be found in the annual reports of the Internal Revenue Service.

A Territorial (later State) income tax was first enacted in 1901, but frequency distributions on net taxable income were not published until 1927. Data appeared annually until 1934, then again from 1937 to 1940. Publication was not resumed until 1959, when the first of an annual series reporting adjusted gross income as well as net taxable income was issued. Median adjusted gross income for all returns in the State increased from $4,001 in 1959 to $4,843 in 1963. Corresponding medians for Oahu were $4,392 and $5,048.

Estimates of personal income per capita have been prepared for Hawaii by the U.S. Office of Business Economics since 1939. Per capita figures have risen from $525 in 1939 to $2,879 in 1965. Annual data, taken from various OBE publications, are cited in Table 2,56.

Mainland Comparisons. The foregoing income statistics can be more fully understood if compared with corresponding data for the rest of the United States. At least three such series can be compared: mean wage in manufacturing, median or mean family income, and per capita personal income.

Mean wage levels in manufacturing have historically been lower in Hawaii than elsewhere in the United States. Although the average has risen both in the Islands and on the Mainland, the rate of increase has been lower in Hawaii (ninefold since 1899) than for the nation as a whole (twelvefold). Consequently, Hawaii has dropped from 96 percent of the national average shortly after annexation to 71 percent in 1963. Reasons for these differences include the unique nature of manufacturing in Hawaii (chiefly food processing) and, at least before World War II, the failure to allow for numerous fringe benefits in the data for the Islands.

Family income levels, in contrast, have consistently been higher in Hawaii than elsewhere in the United States. The difference was particularly noticeable in 1943-1944, an exceptionally atypical period when the Islands were a center of war activity and virtually every adult resident was working, often at two or more jobs. Even in peacetime, however, the Island labor force has included an above-average proportion of working wives. Family income levels in Hawaii have consequently tended to surpass those found on the Mainland.

Per capita personal income in Hawaii was initially below the national average, but now stands several percentage points above the all-State figure. Increases since 1939 have been about 450 percent in the Islands and almost 400 percent for the United States as a whole. Detailed information appears in Table 6.
PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION. Despite the apparent precision of the many income series available for Hawaii over a 140-year period, trends can be traced only with the utmost difficulty. Users of these data are compelled to proceed with considerable caution in interpreting the various surveys. At least four reasons are evident for this difficulty.

1. The surveys often differ in their definitions of "family" and "income" or in coverage of geographic areas or occupational groups. The 1944 BLS survey, for example, excluded unrelated individuals, while the 1961 BLS study included them. Families of professional, technical and managerial workers were excluded from the BLS samples until 1951, and the families of self-employed persons were omitted until 1961.

2. Except for the 1944 Neighbor Island survey, none of the series discussed in this paper takes account of perquisites and fringe benefits. Before World War II, plantations routinely provided their employees with housing, hospitalization and medical care, and sometimes with recreation, fuel and other items as well. The low level of cash earnings reported for sugar and pineapple workers during the 1930's and earlier is thus somewhat misleading. Many employees now enjoy generous sick leave and vacation allowances, group insurance benefits, pension plans, and other fringe benefits. As noted earlier, hourly-rated sugar workers averaged $18.40 in daily cash earnings and $6.50 in fringe benefits in 1965.

3. The number of hours worked has varied widely, from industry to industry and from year to year. Sixty and seventy-two hour working weeks were common in Hawaii in 1901. As late as 1929-1930, four of the twenty industries listed reported average full-time hours of 60 or more per week, and the lowest was 44.5. By 1966, the range was from 32.4 to 42.5.

4. Living costs change from year to year and place to place; thus, a given income level may have far less purchasing power today than ten years ago, or may buy more in Hamakua than in Honolulu. Table 7 presents a proposed consumer price index—annual averages for all items combined—for Honolulu, from 1899 to 1966. This 68-year long series was computed by splicing together five different indexes and shifting them to a December 1963 base. Trends before 1940 are based on Mainland data, on the obviously shaky assumption that Honolulu prices tended to parallel those of Mainland cities in their annual fluctuations. Despite conceptual and methodological limitations, the index may provide a useful device for deflating some of the income series reported earlier. This has been done in Table 8. It is apparent from these computations that much of the dramatic increase in incomes during the past two-thirds of a century has been illusory, with increased living costs consuming much of the gain in earnings. Even so, income growth has generally outstripped increases in price levels, with the result that real incomes today are approximately double their pre-World War II levels and triple what they were around 1910.

NOTES

3 Robert Crichton Wyllie, "Notes..." The Friend, II, No. 7 (July 1, 1844), 63.
5 See, for example, Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886, pp. 250-251; Report of the President of the Board of Immigration to the Legislature of 1890, p. 27; Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislature of 1892, p. 25.


16 Ledger book listing police salaries from January, 1873 to March, 1877, filed in Archives of Hawaii file; Biennial Report of the Attorney General to the Legislative Assembly of 1888, p. 18 (referring to salary of "police"; for "patrolmen" in Honolulu the pay was $35); Report of the Attorney-General (January 1, 1903), p. 50 (June, 1903 pay scale for "officers" on the first three watches); Report of the Attorney-General...December 31, 1904, p. 55 (for "officers" on the first three watches); Annual Report, Police Department, City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, 1932 (typewritten copy in Municipal Reference Library, Honolulu Hale), Table III (for "patrolmen"); Annual Report, Police Department...1940, Table 2, p. 5 (for "footpatrolman" as of January 1, 1940); Annual Report, Police Department...1950, Table 2, p. 3 (for "foot patrolman" as of January 1, 1950); Session Laws, 1959 (regular session), Act 255, pp. 221-223, and Honolulu Police Department 1960 Statistical Report, p. 5 (for "policeman" as of July, 1960; during the first half of 1960 the range was $423-$566); Public Employees Compensation Appeal Board, "Compensation Plan," Honolulu Advertiser, February 25, 1966 (for "Policeman II"). Ranges shown for 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1966 indicate initial and final in-grade monthly pay, based on regular annual increments.

17 Appropriation act approved April 24, 1843, filed in Archives of Hawaii, F.O. & Ex. file for April 18, 20, 21 and 24, 1843.

19 Biennial Report of the Minister of Finance to the Legislative Assembly of 1874, Table B.


21 Session Laws, 1898, Act 60, p. 126.


26 See, for example, the 1901 report, Tables I and II, pp. 131-231; the 1902 report, Tables I and II, pp. 128-221; the 1905 report, Tables I and II, pp. 162-308; the 1911 report, Tables VI and VII, pp. 800-1117; the 1915 report, Tables A and B, pp. 78-153; the 1929-1930 report, Table 9, p. 11; and the 1939 report, p. 48.


28 Twelfth Census...1900, Census Reports, Volume VIII, Manufactures, Part II, States and Territories, pp. 149-153; Thirteenth Census...1910, Abstract of the Census...with Supplement for Hawaii, p. 617; Fourteenth Census...1920, Volume IX, Manufactures, 1919, pp. 1671 and 1677; Sixteenth Census...1940, Manufactures, 1939, Outstanding Areas, pp. 11 and 16; U.S. Census of Manufactures: 1954, Bulletin MC-151, Hawaii, p. 151-19; U.S. Census of Manufactures: 1958, Hawaii Area Report MC58 (3)-51, pp. 51-4 and 51-10; 1963 Census of Manufactures, Area Series, Hawaii, MC63(F)-SL2, p. 5.

29 Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, Bureau of Employment Security, Staff Services Division, Employment and Payrolls in Hawaii, 1951 (July, 1952), and succeeding issues. The 1964 edition was prepared by the Research and Statistics Office and was published in October, 1965.


31 Session Laws, 1933, Act 209; Session Laws, 1957 (Special), Act 1.


39 See reference 37.


44 Report cited in footnote 37, pp. 5-6 and 1.

45 Annual averages. The 1943 mean is based on the June, 1943 figure.


53 Session Laws, 1901, Act 20; Report of the Treasurer, Territory of Hawaii... for the Two Years Ended June 30, 1928, p. 10. A brief history of the Territorial income tax is in Report of the Tax Commissioner, Territory of Hawaii... 1940, p. 58.
TABLE 1. AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGES PER WORKER, FOR MANUFACTURING IN HAWAII: 1899 TO 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>All Workers ($1)</th>
<th>Production Workers ($2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Island of Oahu</td>
<td>City of Honolulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3,164</td>
<td>2,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3,424</td>
<td>2,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4,279</td>
<td>3,585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Total payroll divided by total employment.
2 Total wage payments divided by average number of production workers.
3 Wages per wage-earner averaged $411 for the State, $526 for Oahu, and $572 for Honolulu.


TABLE 2. PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA AND AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGE OR SALARY INCOME, FOR HAWAII: 1939 TO 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Per Capita Personal Income</th>
<th>Ave. Wage or Salary: Private Non-Agr.</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Per Capita Personal Income</th>
<th>Average Wage or Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>2,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>1,128</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>3,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>1,419</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>3,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>1,926</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>3,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>2,125</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>3,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>2,134</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,987</td>
<td>3,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1,328</td>
<td>2,244</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,112</td>
<td>3,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>2,374</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>3,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>2,642</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,485</td>
<td>4,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1,407</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2,538</td>
<td>4,194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW - APRIL, 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group and Census Year</th>
<th>The State ($)</th>
<th>City and County of Honolulu ($)</th>
<th>City of Honolulu ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage and Salary Workers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>2,183</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,356</td>
<td>3,218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,526</td>
<td>4,710</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons with Income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,089</td>
<td>2,183</td>
<td>2,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,052</td>
<td>3,218</td>
<td>3,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families and Unrelated Individuals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,728</td>
<td>2,906</td>
<td>3,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4,710</td>
<td>4,946</td>
<td>5,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3,568</td>
<td>3,788</td>
<td>3,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>6,366</td>
<td>6,792</td>
<td>7,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated Individuals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>1,968</td>
<td>2,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>1,968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Excludes agricultural and government workers.
2 In addition to private non-agricultural workers, includes Federal employees from 1956, agricultural workers from 1957, and State and County employees from 1960.


1 Refers to income received in calendar year preceding the census.
2 Median wages or salary received by members of the experienced labor force who received $100 or more of wage or salary income.
3 Mean (not median) wage or salary income of all persons who received wage or salary income in 1959. The mean income from all sources of persons with wage or salary income in 1959 was $3,499 for the State, $3,636 for the City and County, and $3,764 for the City of Honolulu.

### TABLE 4. MEDIAN AND MEAN FAMILY INCOME, BEFORE AND AFTER PAYROLL DEDUCTIONS, FOR HONOLULU: 1901 TO 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Families in Sample</th>
<th>Median Family Income Before Deductions</th>
<th>Mean Family Income Before Deductions</th>
<th>Median Family Income After Deductions</th>
<th>Mean Family Income After Deductions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4,408</td>
<td>4,976</td>
<td>4,465</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>6,392</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>6,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>7,016</td>
<td>7,950</td>
<td>7,016</td>
<td>7,950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Coverage varies. Data for 1901 refer to "representative families of different nationalities" in an unspecified geographic area, presumably Honolulu; 1910, to "families of wage earners in Honolulu"; 1943, to "families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu"; 1951, to families of "persons employed at desk jobs in the clerical, administrative and professional occupations," living in Honolulu, and consisting of just four members; and 1961, to "urban families and single consumers" on Oahu.

2 Based on data for June, 1943.


### TABLE 5. MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME, FOR OAHU, 1958 TO 1962, AND HONOLULU, 1953 TO 1965-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SURVEY DATE</th>
<th>Oahu ($)</th>
<th>Honolulu ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953: Jan.</td>
<td>4,986</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954: Jan.</td>
<td>4,535</td>
<td>6,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955: Jan.</td>
<td>4,579</td>
<td>6,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956: Jan.</td>
<td>4,624</td>
<td>6,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957: Jan.</td>
<td>5,216</td>
<td>7,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958: Jan.</td>
<td>5,373</td>
<td>6,993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE 6. SELECTED INCOME SERIES, FOR HAWAII AND THE UNITED STATES: 1899 TO 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERIES AND YEAR</th>
<th>Hawaii</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Hawaii as Percent of United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean wage in manufacturing:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Median or mean family income:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1943-1944</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1964-1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,602</td>
<td>3,054</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>2,906</td>
<td>4,250</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3,585</td>
<td>5,044</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Per capita personal income:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>1,316</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>1,876</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>2,215</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,479</td>
<td>2,746</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mean income of "representative families" in Hawaii (presumably Honolulu) and "normal" families of city wage and clerical workers in the United States.
2 Mean income after taxes of families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu, 1943, and all urban families in the United States, 1944.
3 Median income before taxes of all families on Oahu and of urban families in the conterminous United States during the preceding year.


**Table 7. Consumer Price Index, for Honolulu: 1899 to 1966.** (December, 1963: 100. Data are annual averages for all items combined. The values for years before 1940, obtained by splicing several mainland indexes, are based on the assumption that Honolulu trends before 1940 paralleled national trends.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 June rather than annual average.


Table 8. Selected Income Series in Current and Constant (1963) Dollars, for Hawaii: 1899 to 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current Dollars</th>
<th>December, 1963 Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Median family income (Oahu)
  1901  | 684             | 2,700                  |
  1910  | 712             | 2,500                  |
  1943  | 4,408           | 7,800                  |
  1949  | 3,788           | 5,100                  |
  1959  | 6,792           | 7,600                  |
  1964-1965 | 7,695       | 7,600                  |

Mean Wage in Manufacturing:
  1899  | 461             | 1,900                  |
  1909  | 369             | 1,300                  |
  1919  | 738             | 1,400                  |
  1939  | 785             | 1,800                  |
  1954  | 3,164           | 4,000                  |
  1958  | 3,424           | 3,900                  |
  1963  | 4,279           | 4,300                  |

Mean Wage or Salary (Non-agri., Non-Govt.):
  1939  | 970             | 2,200                  |
  1947  | 2,642           | 3,700                  |
  1955  | 3,118           | 3,900                  |
  1964  | 4,745           | 4,700                  |

1 Data for 1901-1943 limited to families of wage earners or clerical workers in Honolulu (see footnote 1, Table 4); data for 1949-1965 refer to all families on Oahu. Based on BLS surveys for 1901-1943, U.S. Census data for 1949 and 1959, and Hawaii Department of Health data for the 12-month period ended November, 1965.

Source: Present study, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7; Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, Labor Force and Family Income on Oahu, 1965 (Statistical Report 40, July 29, 1966), p. 6. The December, 1964 consumer price index (101.0) was used to deflate the 1964-1965 income.
My beloved ones at home!

That was a day for you!—Election of a king!—fights, salutes, necessary interference of the foreign men of war, etc.

I want to jot down the daily events of the days ahead! At 12 o’clock, the Legislature met in the hall of the Courthouse—ministers, nobles and representatives of the people. 45 in numbers were there, only one haole was elected as a representative on each of the islands. The house consisted of ten white men and 35 natives. Then they organized themselves. Gov. Nahoelelua of Maui presided, another native functioned as vice-president—Stanley secretary, etc. At the beginning the order of business was slow and uncertain. The hall was crowded with auditors of all colours and classes. Places were reserved as usual for the representatives and the officers of the ships: Portsmouth, Tuscarora and Tenedos. The corridors and other rooms of the building were also crowded with foreigners and natives who all eagerly awaited the result of the election. Outside in the square and in the neighboring streets thousands were closely amassed and those who were for Prince Kalakaua or those who favored Queen Emma refrained from expressing audibly evidence of their opposite sympathies. Orators addressed the masses from elevated platforms in the square in favor of one or the other candidate. They often exploded in roaring cheers! The police corps had been doubled—there were 80 men under Marshal Parkes’s leadership—but nowhere was real leadership, least of all in the legislative assembly itself. The ministry showed to be very weak and allowed the natives to go their own way. Many among them were new people with little knowledge of parliamentary procedure—also different from before when there was more effective and prompter guidance!—We waited. Something of which one was afraid seemed to hover in the air. The course of the proceedings you will see in the papers which I am sending you.

Some of the Emma faction attempted to confuse the House through complicated legal questions and they thus hoped to bring about a delay of the elections. This was opposed by the "Kalakaua" people with somewhat obvious eagerness.—Finally it was time for the voting. In the last days considerable efforts had been made by Emma’s friends to have their party appear to be important. Some believed that Kalakaua would be elected with only a small majority.—I myself thought the result would be 30 against 15. The Queen had instigated a kind of popular voting in her house—almost 4,000 votes are supposed to have been cast in her favor in Honolulu (popul. circa 10,000) but—women and children had been admitted and they often threw a dozen ballots into the ballot box instead of one. The whole affair was rather absurd and misled others. Emma had poor advisors.—The poor woman, otherwise so good and beloved and esteemed by everyone had to be defeated ignominiously.

The result of the election was—39 for Kalakaua, only 6 for Emma!—One thundering cheer followed another for the elected one and far and wide in the city and in the country the cheers echoed. Intermingled with this noise was the bitter uproar of the defeated ones.—They appointed a committee—five members of the House, to bring to the King the written announcement of his election. Then the assembly adjourned till the following forenoon.

We left the hall and the Courthouse but aside from the committee and a few others most of the representatives remained in the building or returned to it.

* Letter in T.C. Heuck Collection, Archives of Hawaii.
immediately since outside at the moment of their appearance members of the assembly were bodily attacked by an enraged mob.

Curses, threats, noises and deeds of violence fanned the animosities from minute to minute—no order prevailed, there was no authority prevalent to suppress the revolt right from the beginning; they made weapons for themselves from the trellises, from tree branches, rocks, etc.—Parke, the Police chief was powerless for his men formed immediately two parties, tore off the insignia from their coats (badges and buttons) and mixed with the combatants. I witnessed how Major Hoehoua (one of the representatives for Honolulu and chairman of the committee) was literally torn from the carriage and the latter demolished—bleeding, fighting and tattered he succeeded to escape through the Courthouse yard.——They kept on fighting more and more embittered. Those in the building entrenched themselves as well as possible.——how the "Emma" people stormed the house. The Honolulu people directed their animosity especially towards the representatives of Honolulu. Private hatreds became party hatreds. The firm intent of the evergrowing embittered crowd was to kill the representatives, to destroy the Courthouse. From the beginning I had refrained, cut of principle, from taking part in anything or to side with any party. According to my view the election of a sovereign is the right of the people through their legitimate representatives in the legislature. Any agitation or meddling on the part of the haole population is unfitting and absolutely wrong if done by the representative of another state.

To be sure I deplored—as also during the revolt of September 1873 [The Iolani Barracks mutiny—ed.]—the weakness and absolute helplessness of this government. Today's Courthouse rumpus was to be expected as a consequence of the Sept. revolt. However, I surely had expected that Queen Emma would do something to stop the continuance of this bloody nonsense.——but the storm raged on. Stones demolished the windows, axes were used to gain entrance through the doors. The raging mob entered what distorted faces, eyes flashed sinisterly, revengefully. The defenseless representatives who had manufactured their defense weapons out of pieces of the tables were attacked. They were pushed back step by step from room to room.

The hand to hand fighting became more and more intense. The miracle that not more calamities occurred was due to the very density of the crowd though many were severely wounded but nobody was instantly killed. Along with this devastation and real destruction of the things in the House, all doors, furniture, bannisters, chandeliers, windows, the walls inside, everything was demolished, desks, benches, books and manuscripts from the various offices of the lawyers were thrown through the windows onto the street and everything covered with blood!

Now it was 4 o'clock. The crowd became more and more enraged; their actions wilder and more presumptuous and there was no power to tame them. I dreaded the evening and the night—if liquor were added to this confusion, and then fire broke out and—?!——

Still the Queen had done nothing to end all this terrifying business. I was firmly convinced that her presence and single word in the right place could bring an end to all this dreadful confusion. I went to the Courthouse square, again bleeding people were dragged along and from inside you could hear the din,—they even had attempted to ignite a fire in the inside of the building. There I met Bishop, Judd, Sterling and others, all helpless. There was Pierce who advised to have the troops landed. Then a printed request of the King appealing to the foreigners and the natives to restore peace and order was distributed.—Now I had a free hand to act!—To have the troops land—that would mean to give up the last and best of Hawaii; that would be an expressed admission of helplessness of the Government of a country which was so proud of its independence;—an admission never to be obliterated! It is possible that I and other foreigners are united in feeling more patriotic than the natives themselves. The Islands under foreign domination—what is left then?
Still one more attempt could be made; I asked to wait. I wanted to go to the Queen and fetch her!—Bishop agreed and I hurried away. Sterling accompanied me; we met Wodehouse near Emma's house; he came from her and reported that it was no use talking to her; she did not want to come! I hurried up to her. I was obsessed by the idea that I will, I would have to succeed! — I forced my way through the dense crowd assembled in the large garden and on the broad verandas. I entered her room—there she stood excited in the midst of her friends. I grasped her hands and addressed her quietly but severely and urgently. "Queen Emma, do you know what is going on down below?!"—She answered in the affirmative—"do you know that there are means to interfere with this murdering?" "What are they?" "That you immediately hurry down with me, your presence, one word from you will suffice to restore order," She hesitated, and told me that she just sent a proclamation, she seemed to waver and still was afraid!—"Emma," I asked her, "am I your friend or not?"—"Yes," she answered firmly and trustingly—"Then let me lead you"—I urged. "Believe me I would not advise you to go there if I would think that your person would be endangered. They are your friends who have caused the calamity— it is your duty to go— I and others will protect you;—consider what will happen when night comes; it is the last reprieve before the foreign troops will land—Think of our Hawaii!—Do you want to be the cause of more calamity?"—I saw I had won and I continued more urgently: "Queen Emma, what has happened is past but at this moment you can score a wonderful point for yourself; come and everything will be right, help to uphold the dear name of 'Queen Emma!'" "Yes, I want to," she called out and ordered her carriage to be brought!—The laments arose, dissuasion all around. "Don't go, Emma, remain here; no, no, they will kill you!" Now I held her by the arm, "It is right, Queen," I encouraged her, "it is right and good, come!" Again loud lamenting and urging to stay arose all around. I held her eye firmly and questioningly. —"I want to go," she cried out vehemently and stamped her foot on the carpet. "Quick, bring my carriage!"

Nobody stirred, nobody seemed to obey. "But, I want to go," she called out once more and now violently furious. Then turning to me she added: "Let me drive with old Governor Nahaeolelua; you hurry ahead and I will follow immediately." I felt I had her word. I must not impose myself upon her if she wanted to go with the High Chief. "Queen Emma," I called out to her earnestly and admonishingly. "Am I certain, can I trust you?" "Certainly and surely," she asserted and pressed my hand firmly!—I hurried ahead, outside, before the entrance gate of her garden (Rooke's house in town). I was overcome by worries and doubts. —"I wished we had her with us," I said to Sterling. "Heuck," he called out reproachfully, "You don't doubt the word of the Queen which she gave you so earnestly and solemnly?" "No, but who knows—there are other influences which might be exerted the next moment— but—let's hurry down!—"

There—again a bleeding person—one had thrown the unfortunate out through the window from the upper hall down to the street! Minute by minute passed — it became later and later. These anxious moments of waiting for the arrival of the Queen. I was consumed with impatience. — Waiting, hoping, doubting and worrying!—There— Clash of arms, firm measured steps of soldiers, flashing sabers, bayonets in the rifles.—The flags of America and England on land. The King himself had instigated the landing of the troops—and the Queen?—She never came!—

Now hide your face, Goddess of Hawaii! Your children, the King of your beautiful islands is so weak—that foreign marines must give you police service!—

Two companies of the American ship "Tuscarora" and "Portsmouth" and one company of the English ship "Tenedos" marched up to the Courthouse. Under the guidance of local authorities a part of them entered immediately. They met the rebels in restrained but firm manner; they did not need to make use of their weapons—those who
did not succeed in escaping were arrested.—The crowd is dispersed. Peace and calm rule. — It is evening. Darkness prevails. The men of the "Portsmouth" hold the Courthouse, those of the "Tenedos" the barracks. The Palace with the body of the dead king within; the Armory and the Prison were held by the "Tuscarora" men. It was fortunate that all saloons in the city were tightly closed. Whisky would have turned these maniacs into beasts; without the warships in the harbor! What would have become of the city and of all of us?

I just came back from inspecting the Courthouse. What devastation! — A few hours ago our pride because everything was kept so well — now! — Thank heaven, the main part of the library is saved, also the most essential things in the archives, but what loss of documents, papers, books and briefs of the various offices; valuable papers and tattered books everywhere.

Before the main entrance a howitzer is placed; everywhere sentinels with loaded rifles, officers with sabers and revolvers. Inside soldiers and navymen with weapons; the semi darkness only illuminated by ships' lanterns. The wind howls through the smashed window frames with their tattered blinds; everywhere one has to step over splintered fragments of glass and debris—everything defiled. The mate on the floors splattered with ink, the carpets torn, all furniture destroyed, occasionally puddles of blood! To think that 6 resolute men with revolvers could have instantly suppressed everything — but — nobody used his head, no vigorous action was taken, not any kind of forethought!

There had not even been the least kind of organization among the disturbers of the peace — only a blind attack under the impulse of the moment. If we would encounter a new explosion then they will go to work systematically! If an angry party, a mob can intimidate the representatives of the people, indeed, everybody of the Government at any time as these maniacs have done now and as the soldiers in the barracks did on Sept. 24th, then King, Government and Legislature are deplorable absurdities. That is what we have come to in this formerly so beautiful dear place!

Now I ask myself: "Was I too much of a pessimist, were my predictions last September exaggerated?"

Some of the English women and children here had expressed their anxiety over possible acts of violence; the S.S. "Tenedos" was prepared to take them on board. Since Pierce, Wodehouse and the captains of the three warships are my friends it was possible for me to arrange quietly the same asylum for the German women and children in case of necessity. Signs and signals were prearranged. Nobody of our compatriots knows of this for such an affair must be handled cautiously in order not to conjure prematurely and unnecessarily a fright which could cause a panic — However, I had everything ready! Up to this evening about twenty of the worst among the Emma people were arrested — What will happen during the night? — The government deserves complete disdain! —

February 13th, 1874 (in the evening)

Today: The meeting of the Legislature. What a sad picture in a still sadder frame in the devastated hall amidst debris and foreign soldiers. One even had not removed the puddles of blood! To be sure many a legislator was absent, confined at home on his bed of pain. Whoever was able to had come and there they sat with bandaged heads and broken arms in slings!

At noon: Administration of the oath by the King but not as before with pomp in the Kawaiahao Church, free, happy and publicly before thousands. There was no rejoicing, no exultation. It took place in Col. Prendergast's house besides the Palace, out of doors, on the housesteps; — only the legislators and adjuncts, ambassadors, consuls, officers and a few others were present; then the proclamation which acclaimed King Kalakaua as the new sovereign and which was accompanied by the thunder of cannons from the artillery and the ships.
It is still fomenting, secretly and obstinately! During the last night there were attempts to demolish the houses of the representatives of Honolulu. In the darkness of the night stones were thrown at the sentinels at the Courthouse; there were shots at three times to which the guards responded with shots unsuccessfully—thank God, it was too dark!

About 30 of the insurgents have been identified and arrested.

February 14th, 1874 (in the evening)

Today: Dissolving of the Parliament by the King in the somewhat cleaned hall of the Courthouse. — then the function of the Assembly: "The election of the King is finished." Ordinarily the expense of an extra session is $15,000, now with calamities, devastation and foreign occupation the expense will be $25,000 and more!

The papers bring details about today's events.

The King, as such, appeared today for the first time publicly; he made throughout a good impression. At his right stood his younger brother, a nice intelligent young man who immediately is to be made successor to the throne.

How ridiculous, lame and contemptible is the justification of the Government of its inactivity towards the revolt, — and the quick answer of a representative to it (see papers).

Now about 50 of the agitators have been arrested but it is still fomenting.

Sunday, Feb. 15th, 1874

Let bygones be bygones! The foreign occupation keeps peace and order. Wherever signs of disturbances appear patrols advance, — thus a sentinel had to be sent to Moehonua's house who himself was severely wounded for one was afraid of a new assault during the last night. — Queen Emma had me summoned and I was with her, together with Wodehouse. We advised her to issue a manifesto wherein she declares publicly to have submitted to the conditions and requests the people to keep the law and order, to keep calm! She had conceded to the King in writing. Why not proclaim it publicly for her own safety? We are afraid that some madcap, who while drunk wants to give vent to his own private hatred through murder and fire, will be looked upon as an Emma-man and will compromise her who is not guilty! — But — she was waiting for the visit of the King — and then --indeed what then?—It is characteristic of these people — flaring up, then undecided and nothing happens.

Yesterday I as the senior of the Consulate Corps, along with Monsieur Gallieu, Pierce, Wodehouse, expressed a vote of thanks to the captains of the ships for their protection. (See newspapers).

Febr. 16th, 1874

Today, an official announcement and proclamation of the King's brother, Prince William Pitt Leleiohoku as successor to the throne! Good — that is one sensible act of the Government! Now the succession to the throne has been established immediately, that saves money and there won't be another election. Otherwise order is pretty well restored with the exception of a few riots in more distant districts, Koolau, etc.

Febr. 18th, 1874 (in the evening)

The new Government has been appointed: — W.L. Green: Foreign office — good, very good! H.A. Widemann: Domestic affairs — man is suited to the office, his personality? — Nahaolelua: Finances, a figurehead, an automaton, however as such harmless, a compromise with the native element! Judge Hartwell: Attorney General, very good!—Naturally many outsiders are disappointed and now our rotten Press will attack the men in the Government and debase them. Let's wait awhile! I am glad Green is among them! Yesterday, Heuck was still in Widemann's place, but — The question is "whether to grant complete amnesty!?" for those who made such murderous attacks upon the representatives would mean a very dangerous case of precedence. — Thus one wants to make believe that it would be politically prudent to win over the
Emma party. - I don't believe that this party is strong enough to deserve such consideration. We will see very soon.

Up to now over seventy disturbers of the peace have been arrested.

Feb. 20th, 1874 (in the evening)

The judicial investigation of the rebels of Feb. 12th has begun; more than half of the prisoners were released - one found no reason to keep on persecuting them! What a mess! Finally they all will be released!

The King visited Queen Emma! It would have been magnanimous and gentleman like - if it had not been dictated by fright and cowardice. But the poor man is afraid of assassination. For several nights he did not sleep; at midnight he sent for the English sailors to guard him. He does not look for protection in the heart of his people; he knows that he is not popular; he has not 100 people on whom he can depend; he is suspicious of everyone, ministers and everybody else! What a miserable existence and not enough courage to face the events firmly!

Today we formed a police corps. Some volunteers from the haole population with the addition of a few of the best and most responsible natives. One did it to avoid a difference between the races, to balance everything as much as possible. All this was done without ostentation, no show, no uniforms, everything simple. The purpose? We will assemble as soon as the Attorney General or the Marshal calls on us for help and do the necessary things. Our weapons? - The police club and revolvers. - How sad that ascension to the throne of this king had to begin with fighting and blood. Ah, the Kamehamehas are gone! One word, one glance sufficed at their time to hold peace.

What will become of it? Hawaii under a foreign protection, whether American or English? That is the question.

Feb. 22nd, 1874 (in the evening)

Yesterday the troops of the warships returned to their ships. Let us hope that there will be no occasion to call them back to land. Then there is no hope for Hawaii's independence!

The mail is closing. Soon more.

Yours,

Theod. C. Heuck

CONTRIBUTORS: Robert C. Schmitt is State Statistician with the Department of Planning and Economic Development. He has been a frequent and valued contributor.

Mrs. Arthur Hormann continues her significant and arduous task of translating the Heuck letters. The Review in a former number had the privilege of presenting her translation of the letter dealing with the Iolani Barracks mutiny.
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THE PLAGUE AND FIRE OF 1899-1900 IN HONOLULU*

by

Lana Iwamoto

The Black Death—that ancient scourge of mankind—seems only a faint echo from the past; a medieval horror, a banished specter that haunted an untaught and un-washed era. But not so: within the memory of living men, Honolulu, the official capital of Paradise, blanched before the threat of bubonic plague. It was on December 12, 1899, that the disease was announced after a special Board of Health meeting called to discuss the death of the first plague victim, You Chong, a Chinese bookkeeper employed by Wing Wo Tai on Nuuanu Avenue. At nine o'clock the night before, Dr. G.H. Herbert of the Board of Medical Examiners had examined him upon the request of the attending physician, Dr. Sun Chin. The patient, who had a high temperature and a suspicious swelling in the groin, had been ill for three days. He died at five the next morning. An autopsy was performed by Dr. W. Hoffman, a government physician, in the presence of Dr. Herbert; Dr. F.R. Day, the port physician; Dr. Carmichael, the representative of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service; and Dr. Sun Chin. The diagnosis: bubonic plague.

At the special meeting the Board of Health authorized its president, Attorney-General Henry E. Cooper, to build a crematory on Quarantine Island and to cremate the bodies of all plague victims. He was also directed to quarantine all people living in houses where the plague had occurred. Because the disease had broken out in the Asiatic quarter, the Board ruled that no Chinese or Japanese could leave Honolulu for other ports. Those of other races could not travel until they had had a medical examination and got passes from the Board of Health. Government schools were closed by order of the Minister of Public Instruction. Cleaning and the removal of garbage were also instituted, besides other work deemed necessary to stamp out the plague.

But the killer was already loose. On the same day two other cases, both in the same part of Chinatown, were reported. One victim was Makanaila, a South Sea islander, who died on Queen Street near Mililani. The Board of Health organized a house-to-house inspection on the afternoon of December 12, with volunteers in charge. The next day it laid a strict quarantine on the area bounded by Nuuanu Street, Kukui Street, Nuuanu Stream, and Queen Street—that portion of the city then as now called Chinatown. Military guard enforced isolation.

On December 13, also, the infected district was subdivided into 15 parts for inspection and sanitary work. On the 14th, sanitary headquarters were set up at Kaumakapili Church, inside the quarantined section. Cleansing and disinfecting of the entire district started; this included gathering and burning rubbish and garbage, digging new cesspools, and filling old ones. Dr. J.S.B. Pratt directed the inspectors.

Thus began an energetic and systematic effort to contain the plague in Chinatown and, more broadly, in Honolulu. To effect the latter, restrictions bound seagoing vessels and their passengers. Island steamers due from outer ports were considered clean ships if they anchored offshore and held no communication with land.

*This paper was produced for Dr. C.H. Hunter's class in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii in the spring of 1966.
Vessels already in port were sent out and required to undergo seven days' quarantine before being allowed to leave for other islands. These vessels were to load and discharge cargo by lighter.\(^5\) Foreign vessels were not allowed to touch the wharves, but were kept from six to ten feet away, with all cables guarded by rat-proof guards. No goods of Japanese or Chinese origin could leave port until they had been thoroughly fumigated. All shipping was done under Board of Health inspection.\(^6\)

Also under Board of Health supervision was the quarantine detaining several Chinese servants who had been visiting in the Chinatown district. They were to be released after seven days, but the period was shortened because on December 19, the general quarantine was raised. Interisland steamers were allowed to sail for other ports in the islands, taking aboard only approved freight and passengers.\(^7\)

But community relief was shortlived; a renewal of the outbreak came on December 24 and 25. Quarantine was reimposed on December 27 and regulations concerning it announced. These empowered the President of the Board of Health to

(1) establish and maintain quarantine over any dwelling, store . . . [etc.], for such period as he may deem necessary to insure public health and safety. All persons are forbidden to enter or leave a building without authority from the President of the Board of Health; (2) . . . establish and maintain the quarantine over any Judicial district of the Hawaiian Islands; and (3) . . . establish and maintain the quarantine over any port or harbor of the Hawaiian Islands. . . . All steamships, sailing vessels [etc.] are forbidden to enter or leave any port or harbor under quarantine without the authority of the President of the Board of Health.\(^8\)

These and other earlier and later regulations made the President of the Board of Health and the Board itself powerful in the domestic affairs of the Territory—possibly equal in importance to the chief executive.

During the same period, Board President Cooper was authorized to name a Commission of Three to investigate conditions in Chinatown and to recommend necessary steps for the reconstruction and sanitation of that district. On December 25, he reported that he had appointed George R. Carter, a businessman; C.B. Ripley, an architect, and Mr. Edwards, a sanitary engineer.\(^9\) They studied Chinatown, a practically rectangular area including part of the main business section of the city. This area, with an overwhelmingly Asiatic population of 7,000, was bounded by River, Queen, Nuuam and Kukui Streets. The most important difference distinguishing Chinatown from the business section east of Nuuanu was that the Asiatics lived as well as did business in their sector.

The Sanitary Commission made its report on December 29, saying that Chinatown was a "terribly congested district in a wretched sanitary condition. . . . Fresh meat is exposed for sale in shops within a few feet of which are cesspools reeking with filth and vermin, from which came clouds of flies." Restaurant kitchens were built directly over cesspools, with only the floor serving as a cover. Cockroaches and flies were everywhere. Poi was manufactured and sold in shops "sour with fermented slime." Dr. Wood, who became President of the Board on January 5, supported this report with his own description: "The entire interior of the blocks, of which the stores facing the streets upon four sides formed only outer shells, were filled up with extensions, leantos, shanties, privies, stables, and chicken coops closely crowded together." Even the narrow, crooked passages between them were, "in many cases, roofed over so that the ground saw no sun." The cesspools were under the structures. In most cases floors were directly on the ground so that there was no ventilation under the houses. "As many of the cesspools were overflowing, the sod and floors were sodden with filth. Many of them (cesspools) have never been emptied. Plague lives and breeds in filth and when it got into Chinatown, it found its natural habitat."\(^10\)
When the Sanitary Commission gave its report, there had already been nine plague cases since the outbreak on December 12. The situation was this: (1) bubonic plague had broken out in the center of town; (2) the majority of the cases were in a section densely populated and most unsanitary; (3) the Orientals living there were compelled through force and by the presence of military guards to remain in their quarantined district, where they would be in constant danger of plague; (4) it would be very hard to keep the disease within the confines of the quarantined area; thus, there was increasing danger of its escaping the boundaries; and (5) conditions in Chinatown made it impossible to disinfect and sanitize the area by ordinary means or by any means short of wholesale destruction. Therefore, on December 30, after careful deliberation, the Board of Health chose fire as the "surest, most thorough, and most expeditious" method. "Fire would destroy the plague germs, kill rats, cleanse the soil and open it up to the purifying influences of sun and air, and would prevent any occupancy of the premises until a safe period of time had elapsed."  

So the first of many sanitary fires was started the next day, December 31, by order of the Board of Health. With the fire department standing by, the torch was carefully applied to a row of wooden buildings on Nuuanu Avenue across from Block 10. The occupants of the buildings had been removed to a quarantine camp at Kakaako. Their belongings and the merchandise from the stores were taken by the Board to be disinfected and stored until the owners were out of quarantine. Evacuation, fire, the quarantine camp, and fumigation were to be the standard pattern for the sanitary fires from then on.

Rigid and vigorous sanitary measures—quarantine, disinfection, sanitary fires, twice-a-day inspection—were conscientiously carried out by the Board of Health and volunteers. It was on April 30, 1900—four and a half months after the plague made its appearance in Honolulu—that President Wood made the following announcement:

"In accordance with a resolution of the Board of Health, I hereby declare the port of Honolulu and all other places in the Hawaiian Islands free from infection by the bubonic plague. All quarantine regulations adopted by the Board of Health on account of bubonic plague in the Hawaiian Islands are hereby rescinded." Thus ended Honolulu's struggle with the black death.

The plague had claimed 61 lives. Altogether there had been 71 cases, 58 males and 13 females. Table 1 gives additional information:

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<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
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<td>Chinese</td>
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<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
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Below is a chronological record of the cases of plague between December 12, 1899 and March 31, 1900:
Of the 71 plague victims, 41 lived within the Kukui-River-Queen-Nuuanu rectangle, or immediately adjacent to it.\(^{14}\)

Preceding paragraphs gave a general background of the extent of the plague and the measures enacted by the Board of Health to cope with it and to prevent its spread. These restrictions, discussed here in greater detail, have been divided into three sections: the quarantine, building condemnations and sanitary fires, and "other restrictions".

With the plague's outbreak on December 12, a quarantine was placed on the district bounded by Nuuanu Avenue, Kukui Street, Nuuanu Stream, and Queen Street. Many Japanese and Chinese house servants who had visited Chinatown overnight found themselves confined within the quarantine area; their employers had to do their own chores. Restaurants were short-handed; service was both slow and poor. Often, some of the usual food was not available, either because there were no delivery boys, or because the producers were in quarantine. Said one restaurant manager:

The Chinamen who make it \[\text{bread}\] are all in quarantine; so are several of our waiters. I had a job getting meat today. The Metropolitan people said I might come up and cut it—they had nobody. I have been so short of help that I was obliged to go in the kitchen and wash knives and forks myself.\(^{15}\)

On December 15, a formal notice of the Board of Health set the quarantine boundaries. All persons were forbidden to enter or leave the area; beginning at
the point where the mauka line of Queen Street crossed Nuuanu Avenue, up Nuuanu to Kukui Street, including both sides of Nuuanu, then by the center line of Kukui to the Waikiki bank of Nuuanu Stream, then along that to the mauka line of the King Street bridge, then across to the Waikiki side of River Street along to the mauka line of Queen Street, and to the point of origin.\textsuperscript{16} This was Chinatown. But before a military guard could be put around the district, 15 sailors from the Mauna Loa came ashore and wandered into the quarantine area. When the guard was established, the sailors were confined there with no extra clothes. Only a few had money. However, they were treated hospitably by the resident Hawaiians. This was a single example of the mutual aid given during the epidemic.\textsuperscript{17}

This first quarantine brought other effects. Mail was collected throughout the district and taken to the fumigation station at Kaumakapili Church, where it was thoroughly treated under Dr. Pratt's supervision. From there it went to the post office to undergo a second fumigation.\textsuperscript{18} Milk for the quarantine district was distributed from the corner of Hotel and Nuuanu Streets, where the dairies' delivery wagons were ordered to wait. Tram cars had been forbidden to pass through the district, but on December 18 the King Street cars were allowed to go straight through because the danger of plague seemed lessened. However, the cars could not stop within the district, and each car carried an armed national guardsman, who permitted no one to get on or off.\textsuperscript{19}

On December 19 the quarantine was raised, and people were allowed to leave; the military guards were withdrawn and afterward dismissed from duty.\textsuperscript{20} However, one week later the quarantine and all its restrictions were re-enforced because of the plague cases of December 24 and 25. President Cooper ordered out the First Regiment to the quarantine district, which was surrounded by a bayonet guard more strict than the previous one.\textsuperscript{21} Another week went by, and on January 3, a special quarantine was laid on that section of Honolulu bounded by River, Queen, Nuuanu and Kukui, and completed by a lane connecting Queen and King Streets, situated about midway between Kekaulike and Maunakea Streets. This area was divided into blocks for patrol. A daily house-to-house investigation was ordered for the "out-of-Chinatown" districts. Besides the strong cordons of soldiers placed around the area (Col. Jones of the First Regiment had already offered the services of his men), were several citizens who volunteered to act as guards. People outside the district were forbidden to harbor any who escaped the quarantine area.\textsuperscript{22} No resident of the quarantine district was allowed to go into the "clean" localities without first getting a permit from the Board of Health.\textsuperscript{23} Because of all this, business in Chinatown came to a standstill; Chinese and Japanese merchants suffered severely. Moreover, great inconvenience was caused in San Francisco, where a quarantine was put on Island vessels and cargoes, although they had been loaded with great care in Honolulu.\textsuperscript{24}

However, beginning in March, 1900, there was an easing off of quarantine rigidity in Honolulu, which let local merchants enjoy better facilities for interisland trade.\textsuperscript{25} Despite this, men were still being adversely affected by the quarantine in April. The Orientals in quarantine had a difficult time finding jobs and homes, and even Caucasians (at this time the former inmates of Fowler's Yard) were deprived of their liberty and a good portion of their clothing, and sometimes even their jobs and homes. An example of the difficulties faced by many in quarantine was given in a letter accompanying a petition asking the Board of Health to let 60 homeless Japanese and Caucasian men to stay in the quarantine quarters until May 1, because of lack of housing and money:

\begin{quote}
I was employed on one of the plantations and came into town for a few days, being unfortunate enough to get caught in the quarantine. You don't know how hard it is to get work here now. Little by little our finances have
\end{quote}
been decreasing, and there seems no prospect at present to fill up our purses. I have had to borrow from my friends, small sums at a time, and these small borrowings amount to a tidy sum. Some have taken the prophylactic and expect very soon to get out to the plantations. But what we need is assurance that we can have a place to lay our head at night.26

This petition was written and submitted because at this time (April) the quarantine and detention camps were gradually being closed since (1) there were no new cases of the plague, (2) the people had undergone the necessary quarantine period and no longer occupied the camp to capacity, and (3) the cost of maintaining camps was prohibitive.

The danger of another outbreak of the plague seemed unlikely, and so the disinfecting corps was discontinued, while several of the detention camps were closed. The Honolulu Night School reopened on April 16, having been shut since December.27 Finally, at the Board of Health meeting on April 25, a resolution was adopted which provided that, if there were no fresh outbreak of plague in Honolulu before Monday, April 30, all quarantine restrictions at the port of Honolulu would be removed on that day. No cases did appear, and the quarantine was lifted accordingly.28

Hawaii greeted the news with joy, expressed in the headlines of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser and the Hawaiian Gazette:

"Plague Filikia Pau Loa; Drs. Will Rest While Other Businesses Boom"

"All Cahu Made Merry Yesterday Over Ending of Long Penitential Season; Business Boomed, Transportation Companies Had to Hustle, and New Regime of Commerce and Pleasure Began in Earnest"

"Today Honolulu Throws Off Shackles Which Have Bound Her For Four Months"

"The Gates Ajar and Ships Free; The Tabu Is Pau on the Wave and Waterfront and the Traffic Begins Again"

The quarantine had been especially detrimental to sailors, men working on the wharves, Chinese Japanese merchants, etc. Men could not come and go. Orders for merchandise piled up. Schools were closed for four months. Men, women and children suffered from lack of housing, belongings, and work after they had served their quarantine. But there were only two or three cases of plague among the inmates of the quarantine camps. Thus the safeguards enacted by the Board of Health did serve some purpose. Although the Board had raised the quarantine, it remained cautious. It was not until May 17 that businessmen were allowed to erect new buildings in the burnt areas of Chinatown. This permission was given only after soil specimens showed absolutely no bubonic plague bacilli.29 It was hoped that by the time the proposed new buildings were completed, the sewer system would be very nearly if not entirely finished, and that the new structures could then be connected to it.

A second kind of restriction placed on people in an attempt to curb the plague was the condemnation of buildings and the sanitary fires. On December 30, the Board of Health decided that all people who lived in infected houses should be removed to some other place and their premises condemned because these were believed a source of sickness. Thus buildings 325, 326 and 327 on Nuuanu Avenue were condemned, and their occupants quarantined in the barracks at the Kakaako Rifle Range. After the houses were vacated and the people's belongings taken to be fumigated, sentinels were put on watch, and the purification of Chinatown by fire began.30

At that time anything that came in contact with the plague was considered infected. On January 11, Dr. Wood defined unsanitary premises:

If a building is in such an unsanitary condition that it cannot be purified by any means other than fire, then it should be destroyed by fire. Secondly, if buildings are considered by the Board as not being unsanitary, but by reason of their adjoining infected premises and being in such a condition that rats can easily pass from one building to another, we pronounce them
to be infected with plague, even though a death did not occur in the premises and there by they are condemned to follow others in being destroyed by fire.31

Upon the condemnation of a building, and upon order of the Board of Health to destroy it by fire, the Fire Department proceeded to do so. A total of 41 fires were set between December 31, 1899 and August 13, 1900, when the pesthouse and morgue at Kakaako were burned. The concentration of fires came in the first three months—19 in January, 12 in February, and 7 in March. There was only one each in December, April and August.32 In every case the Fire Department stood by, and safety precautions were observed to the utmost. Thus all sanitary fires were controlled and destroyed only intended areas—except the great Chinatown fire of January 20, 1900.

The Board of Health had decided that the portion of Block 15 between Kaumakapili Church and Nuuanu Avenue and mauka of Beretania Street should be burned because the area had been the site of five deaths and one suspicious case within the past week. Because this was an especially large area, extra precautions were taken and plans made to preserve the church. Chief Hunt and the entire Fire Department personnel with four engines began the conflagration at 9:00 a.m. on Saturday, January 20. A fair northeast wind was blowing, so that Engine No. 1 was placed at the intersection of Maunakea and Beretania Streets as a precautionary measure should the wind rise. A two-story frame structure behind the church had been selected because it was intended that the fire should eat its way back toward Kukui Street.

Everything was fine for one hour.33 Then the wind began to rise and shift to the east, which caused blazing embers to be carried to the dry roofs of closely-packed buildings in the vicinity. In a short time many other buildings were aflame. Then embers lodged on the Waikiki tower of Kaumakapili Church and set it afire. The firemen struggled desperately, but they could not force water to such a height. The blaze leaped to the other tower. From the twin church towers, sparks and embers were flung by the strong wind to rooftops around.34

The spreading holocaust now became a raging, uncontrollable beast. Heat forced men beyond effective fighting range. Water pressure had gradually decreased; in a moment, the fire leaped out of control. The entire Beretania Street frontage was now a mass of flame. Sparks leaped across from Block 15 to Block 1, and the high wind fanned the flames so that they vaulted fifty and sixty feet to Block 2. Engine No. 1 on Maunakea Street was enveloped, and the Chemical Engine House in Block 2 burned. The Board of Health had earlier notified ships to leave the wharves for their own safety, and as the fire coursed through Block 2, vessels began moving out into the stream.

Now the conflagration jumped to Blocks 3 and 6. Citizens and guards rushed to warn any remaining residents, but they had already fled with whatever belongings they could snatch up and carry. Volunteers combined efforts to form bucket brigades to put out fires caused by flying embers. They failed to stay the blaze. But other volunteers helped by passing buckets to drench the firemen as they fought on.

Several dynamite charges were set off in the buildings along the corners of Kekaulike and King Streets. Useless: The strong winds carried the flames to the wharves. After 2:30 p.m., every block from Beretania to the harbor was ablaze. By 4:00 p.m., Blocks 3, 4, 5 and 6 were smouldering ruins. Fortunately, the U.S.S. Iroquois and the tug pours were near the wharves and directed streams of water toward the Honolulu Iron Works and structures in that vicinity. Two hundred employees of the iron works set up a bucket brigade from the wharves to the buildings. By these means the iron works and several warehouses along the waterfront were saved.

By 1:30 p.m. the fire began making its way from Beretania Street along Ahi Lane toward Kukui Street. People feared that the mauka section of the city would be

Chinatown refugees rushed back to save belongings, but were driven back
by fire and smoke; they formed a seething mob near the bridge and Kukui Street. Citizens and guards armed themselves with sticks, pick handles, bats, shovels, and similar weapons to beat back the desperate Chinatown residents. This counterforce centered at Kukui Street, but a long line of Honolulans stretched across King Street to prevent any refugees escaping the quarantine district. A strong military guard reinforced this cordon. Nearly every business house closed its doors, and the employees lent their aid. At Nuuanu and King Streets a Japanese committee calmed the mob, and wherever it set its standards (a white flag with the red cross on it, and the Japanese flag), the people rallied. The Chinese consul and vice consul also circulated among the people and tried to pacify them, since at this time the Chinese believed that the Board of Health had purposely burnt their homes.35

Thus, through the efforts of concerned citizens, guards, the fire department, and others, not a single life was lost in the Chinatown fire. However, 38 acres—almost all of Chinatown—was burned: Blocks 1-10 were completely destroyed; likewise, nearly the whole of the block lying between King and Merchant, Alakea and Richards Streets. Buildings on lower Nuuanu, above and below Main (King) Street, were burned, together with those on Kekaulike near the waterfront. A row of houses was burned on Kukui Lane, and some detached buildings on upper and lower Liliha Street perished.36

This disastrous sanitary fire practically ended the existence of Chinatown, and 4,000 people, most Oriental, were rendered homeless, without food and with little to begin life anew. Even those in the quarantine camps suffered, because when their homes had been sacrificed in earlier sanitary fires, their belongings had been collected, fumigated, and stored in the cellars of Kaumakapili Church, which was destroyed with everything in it.37 The fire killed Chinese trade and restricted local business in general to very narrow limits.38

The whole of the burnt Chinatown was enclosed with a high board fence in order to prevent plague germs from being carried by debris searchers and looters. Until May 17 no buildings could be erected on this land. It was tabooed ground, although King Street was opened through it after very thorough disinfecting.59

So it was that the sanitary fire of January 20, which had been lighted to purify the area, did an unexpectedly complete job, cremating as it did nearly every building, with its rats and fleas. After the Chinatown fire, the number of plague cases dropped, but it is interesting to note that 31 later fires were ordered by the Board of Health.

Besides quarantine, building condemnation and sanitary fires, the Board laid other restrictions to curb the plague. Two hundred and fifty inspectors and subinspectors were appointed or volunteered to conduct first daily, then twice-daily, house-to-house inspections. Honolulu was divided into many districts to facilitate the inspection, which was carried out by such men as J.O. Carter, Harold Mott-Smith, W.R. Castle, George Waterhouse, A.V. Gear, P. Lansdale, William King, Frank Waterhouse, A. Atkinson, W.C. Parke, O. Sorensen, S.F. Soper, P. Isenberg, P. Phillips, and C.H. Parker.40

After the discovery of a few sick who had been hidden by friends or relatives, both Japanese and Chinese officials appointed on December 28 a corps of inspectors from among the better classes of their countrymen. These were to aid Dr. Pratt in ferreting out cases of illness and in spotting pestholes.41 To help them in their work, a resolution of December 29 made it a misdemeanor to neglect to give information which would result in sickness being found. It also became a misdemeanor to obstruct a health officer or an agent in the performance of his duty.42 And in March, the Board of Health offered a reward of $100 to anyone not employed by the Board who would report a genuine plague case.

In addition to these inspectors and the Commission of Three (to investigate
In March these regulations were extended to an area five miles equidistant from the Executive Building. This extension was made because a great number of Chinese and others were hurriedly moving outside the former limits with permits to build and starting their structures without any attention to the sanitary regulations.48
Now, however, the Board of Health appointed a sanitary engineer to check each plan for compliance with the rules, if the building was intended for the regulated area. Even those structures still remaining in Chinatown after the fire had to meet strict standards in order to reopen. Several stores on Hotel and Nuuanu Streets had resumed business late in February, but they and their merchandise reeked of the sulphur used in fumigating. Store employees swept out dead flies and cockroaches. The seriousness with which fumigation was regarded was exemplified by a comment of Dr. Ingalls, superintendent of the disinfecting corps: "If we find a single live cockroach in the building after fumigation, we fumigate again." 49

Regulations restricted postal service, schools and churches. No aspect of Honolulu life escaped their influence. Immediately after the plague's outbreak was announced in December, government schools were closed. Among them were those in the quarantined district: Normal, Royal, Kaumakapili, Beretania Street, Kakaako, Kawaihao, etc. 50 Schools in the quarantined district remained closed until late February; the Citizens' Sanitary Commission said that the reopening of schools would affect the efficiency of their inspection. On February 22, the Board of Health voted that the sanitary situation justified the reopening of such government schools as the Department of Public Instruction might specify. Honolulu Normal School and the High School were the first designated. Schools outside the district had begun again on February 8. 51

Churches were also closed, but saloons were allowed to operate, a fact which inspired much bitter comment. Churches were permitted to resume public meetings in February. 52

The postal service and public conveyances came under regulation. All street cars, buses, and other common carriers had to be thoroughly washed and disinfected daily, and had to be swept out and dusted at the end of each trip. At one time the tram cars did not meet sanitary standards and were temporarily suspended, but in a few days they were allowed to make their regular runs again. 53 Post offices continued to function, but every piece of mail had to be fumigated at least twice. New hours were set: Postmaster General Oat announced that during the continuance of the epidemic train mails would close at 11 a.m. daily in order to take the 3:15 p.m. trains. Over-Pali mail would close at 4 p.m. in order to go out early next morning. 54

Mail to outer islands was fumigated, as were freight and baggage. And on December 14 it was decreed that no steamer would be allowed to leave Honolulu for any other Hawaiian port without first undergoing a seven-day quarantine. No Chinese or Japanese freight of any description could be shipped, nor were any Chinese or Japanese passengers permitted. Freight was to be loaded and discharged only by lighter. Two weeks later goods received from the Orient were subjected to sulphur smoke in a specially-constructed building erected by the dock. This had been built by a steamship company to facilitate fumigation of Oriental freight. 55 All such had to be properly fumigated before it could be moved from the wharf. As of January 2, under orders from the Board of Health, no steamer could land or discharge cargo alongside the wharf; everything had to be lightered to and from vessels. It is probable that some goods became slightly more expensive in Honolulu and elsewhere because of an added charge for lighterage. 56

On January 9 the Board of Health decided that certain articles should be considered clean freight when destined for Island ports, subject to previous orders. These included lumber and building materials, American tobacco, gas, and kerosene. A rule instituted on February 27 prohibited the importation of certain foodstuffs from Asiatic ports. Included were substances dried or salted in manufacture and thus not subjected to heat. The following were prohibited as being incapable of
disinfection: cuttlefish, other dried fish, lily flower, oranges, dates, lichees, nuts, fungus, pork, duck, dried meats and vegetables, cabbage, sausage, olives, birds' nests, eggs, miso, seaweed and mushrooms.57

Strict rules bound passengers and baggage. In December, travelers on the Australia left cheerless because no extra baggage was permitted. No leis, flower wreaths, or Island passengers were permitted aboard. Then in March, the Board of Health restricted passengers for inter-Island ports. By this ruling all the baggage of such passengers had to be left at the Board of Health office for disinfection 24 hours before the sailing. A fee of $1.00 was charged. Passengers had to undergo the treat of an antiseptic bath and to don fumigated clothing before boarding. This service cost 50 cents.58

Oriental laborers desiring to go to other islands for plantation work had to submit to even stricter measures. First they went into quarantine at the Kalihi detention camp. They then had to practice all the usual rituals concerning disinfection of clothing, etc., for 15 days. After the quarantine, they rode from the camp to waiting vessels in one car.59

Many of the restrictions, such as the ones just mentioned, were placed exclusively on Orientals or were framed with the Asiatic in mind. This resulted, generally, from associating the Chinese and Japanese with slums and squalor—as revealed in Chinatown—and from the belief that the filthy environment of the Oriental was a breeding ground for plague germs. Many cases of plague originated in Chinatown, and the restrictions thus gained a logical support. Whether necessary or not, the regulations certainly displayed the Board of Health's power during the epidemic. The President, acting with his Board, instituted such measures as were deemed necessary. President S.B. Dole of the Republic of Hawaii was often not consulted, since the power to deal with the plague had been put in Wood's hands. Although the restrictions were numerous and binding, they apparently served their purpose; the epidemic was abated in four and a half months, and many of the regulations instituted were carried over or discussed and at times applied to the reconstruction of Chinatown.

How did Hawaii's people respond to the presence of the plague and to the Board of Health's measures? Reactions were mixed: some were terrified, some were indifferent except as they were affected personally, and some showed social responsibility to the point of volunteering their services. Throughout the epidemic this latter group donated much time and effort to relief designed to supplement government activities.

As merchants suffered and shipping lay idle at the wharves, several businessmen closed their offices and took charge at the detention camps, where thousands of refugees were quarantined. The extensive nature of the camps showed the vigor with which the Caucasian community fought the pestilence. Several people worked day and night, looking after the health guard and bringing people from plague-ridden houses to camps. Concerned citizens who did not work directly for or under the Board of Health did what they could to help. For example, the business firms complied with the Board's request concerning opening and closing hours. After some time, about 40 business houses considered it well to revert to the regular 5 p.m. closing; however, as they wanted to aid the Sanitary Committee in its work, they agreed to let all employees who were acting or sub-inspectors end the day at 3 p.m.60

Indeed, offers of assistance poured into the Board of Health. The plague fight was a community action, and people were willing to sacrifice time, energy and wealth. A committee of Honolulu wholesale merchants offered to receive and fumigate at their own expense merchandise taken from the condemned blocks.61 When health officers were looking for a site for a fumigating station within the limits of the quarantine district in December, they were offered the Boys' Bugside Clubhouse
Many stalwart citizens pledged their services: Armstrong Smith volunteered to head the pest hospital; Dr. Hoffman, a bacteriologist for the Board of Health, was medical superintendent of the same institution; Judge A.W. Carter was in charge of placing guards about infected houses and removing the tenants to the quarantine camps; L.A. Thurston supervised the construction of several such camps.

Although many offered help, others held back, fearing that they would contract the plague. These people were ridiculed in print. An anecdote ran thus: "Martin's tailor shop was an accepted clearing house of town gossip, so that one of the men hired a native to enter the store, throw himself down on the floor and groan. The moment the thing happened, every man in the place grabbed his hat and coat and ran, spreading the rumor of another case of the black scourge." And Allen Dunn related the story of a man pushed out of the house because his wife feared that he would transmit germs to the baby. As a result of his wife's hyper-cleanliness and her decree that there be no cold meats, no uncooked food, and no fruit, he was so reduced and became so pale that he seemed a cadaver reeking of sulphur.

Just as there were people such as this, so there were tireless volunteers, camp administrators, doctors, and inspectors, all representative of the community's determination to rid itself of the plague. Thus citizens helped when the quarantine emergency camps were established for the 4,000 refugees from the Chinatown fire. The population eventually increased to 5,500 at one camp alone. Relief measures were instituted—delicacies were prepared for the sick, clothes and food were donated. These activities began the day the Chinatown refugees were ushered to their emergency quarters: Kawaiahao Church Camp, the Drill Shed Camp mauka of the Executive Building grounds, the Kalani Camp, and the Empress Dowager grounds. The Japanese, numbering 1,000, occupied the Drill Shed Camp, which in two days was expanded to comfortably accommodate all of them. There were 1,200 at the Kalihi Detention Camp, where there were two hospitals. Approximately 400 Hawaiians were brought to the Dowager Queen's premises. There the ladies of the Hawaiian Relief Society provided food (largely poi) for the refugees, and the Metropolitan Meat Market supplied the meat. Prince Cupid himself personally attended to the wants of 100 Hawaiians who were located on his property and ordered two barrels of poi and some blankets. Those at Kawaiahao were also well provided; every one of them had all that he could eat. There were actually too many donations of bread, because as soon as the community learned that there were thousands of homeless Chinese and Japanese at Kawaiahao Church, transfer trucks and carriages arrived in great numbers, bringing food, tents, utensils, blankets, and mattresses.

Citizens spontaneously offered supplies of all kinds; merchants liberally gave food, clothes, cash, and the use of vehicles to convey goods. On Sunday, the day after the fire, the women of Central Union Church organized relief work and committees and assisted the public authorities in the work of meeting the needs of destitute refugees and a number of Nuuanu Valley ladies started a sewing bee to make women's and children's clothing for the homeless. They eventually produced 350 articles.

These were not the only ones who gave aid to the unfortunate. The Japanese had three societies working in their behalf (a fourth appeared at the time of discussion of fire claims). The Japanese Benevolent Society of Hawaii had been organized in 1898 for the primary purpose of undertaking "...the relief of those Japanese who are overtaken by unforeseen mishaps or those who are not able to provide medical care for themselves at their own expense." After the fire, it helped Japanese in the camps at Kalihi and Kakaako with donations of enough rice to satisfy all. A second group was the Japanese Ladies' Relief Society, a temporary society organized when
the plague first broke out, following the decision of the authorities to burn infected districts in Chinatown and to send the refugees into quarantine. It was able to provide clothing and other necessary articles to hundreds of Japanese who lost everything in the fire. After those in the detention camps were released, the society was disbanded and the balance of its funds given to the Japanese Benevolent Society, which was doing general relief work. The Japanese Medical Society was the third organization. It provided the daily necessities and took care of the sick. The Society also cooperated with government in coping with the emergency.

Nor were the Chinese abandoned; there was the Chinese Society (or the Chinese Relief Society). A committee of ten was appointed to solicit money for the care of the poorer class of Chinese who had suffered in the fire and who were unable to get a new start because they lacked funds. This society also had some 1,000 wards—men, women and children who got supplies of rice twice a week. In addition, shelter was provided in the Kalihi Detention Camp for those without homes. The Society was able to raise approximately $8,000 in one week; this sum went into a special charity fund to provide food for victims of the fire who had been released from detention camps. This was to be provided until the recipients again became self-supporting.

Another group which provided important aid during the plague was the Hawaiian Relief Society, which ordinarily cared for indigent natives. However, from the early days of the epidemic, it looked after sufferers in quarantine. On the night of the Chinatown fire, it fed 50 people at Relief Camp 1 and furnished them clothing and blankets. This service continued until the following Thursday. After that, the Society had visiting committees constantly in the field and tried to help those poor and homeless who had come from quarantine. This organization also helped people within the quarantine district. Hawaiians thus cut off soon faced famine because they lived more or less hand to mouth and quickly exhausted their small food stores. Nor could they go fishing. When the HRS heard of their plight, it brought fish and poi. Altogether, the Society distributed 12,000 pounds of poi and several hundred pounds of salmon. Chinese and Japanese were also fed.

Japanese women also benefited from another assistance group. A committee representing a number of Honolulu women operated a rescue home for "fallen" Japanese females about to be released from quarantine and who expressed a desire to lead more conventional lives.

Anyone incarcerated in a detention camp had to come out when his quarantine period had ended. Camps were crowded to capacity; while there, refugees were well fed and provided for. Kalihi Camp, with 5,500 inmates, was an example. Each day the master of the household got a supply of food, including meat, vegetables, bread or crackers, tea, and sugar. The ration was ample, and there were no complaints. The Japanese and Chinese also received their national provender in addition to the regular supplies, while the Hawaiians got fish and poi. Little wonder, then, that the camps were popular. At the Drill Shed Camp for Japanese, the problem of overpopulation was handled by providing money to the Japanese who had been quarantined for a relatively long period. These refugees were given shelter by their friends. Those without funds were allowed to remain in camp until they found other accommodations. Often this was hard, and many released from camp had no housing, food or work. Moreover, although the Board of Health recognized its responsibility for looking after these people who had been made homeless by the Board's act, it did not feel obliged to support them for an indefinite period.

Therefore, in an attempt to supply the homeless with labor as soon as possible, a relief committee or labor bureau composed of J.R. Cooke and Theodore Richards was formed. As soon as a man without a home or visible means entered the camp, his
abilities were tabulated and possible jobs were discussed. The special work of the committee was "... to provide homes and food for homeless and penniless people discharged from detention camps until such time as employment could be secured for them, either on plantations or in the city or surrounding districts." In the beginning the committee was fairly successful, but in March and April they had trouble finding employment because many of the white community had the misconception that these people from the quarantine camps were still infected with germs. However, all told, the committee was fairly effective.

As evidenced by the relief societies, the volunteer workers, and the job committee, the attitude of the community was one of united support. At this time of many deaths, there was a greater degree of compassion for the common man; prominent citizens served with unknowns to rid Chinatown of the plague. It is possible that this was motivated by selfish interest, such as the state of business and trade. However, the will to survive brought together Orientals, Caucasians and Hawaiians in a common effort against the enemy.

As noted above, a chief effect of the black death was the uniting of individual concerns, if only for a short period. Other important consequences were: (1) realization of the need for a good sewer system. Therefore, $345,253.24 were appropriated for its construction and extension. With sewers installed, there were no privy-vaults or cesspools in downtown Honolulu; (2) desire for a better and more efficient water supply; it had given out during the Chinatown fire, and many did not trust the purity of the water. These demanded a filtering of the supply from Nuuanu Valley. This was done, and a new pump installed on Beretania Street; (3) appointment of a city sanitary engineer to inspect buildings in process of construction and to pass on applications for permits to build; (4) construction of a garbage crematory (money was appropriated in 1900 for this object); (5) adoption in Chinatown of the sanitary regulations passed by the Board of Health. Chinatown had been razed by the fire; in rebuilding it, the mistakes of the past could be avoided. New buildings had to comply with Board of Health rules; (6) improvement of the downtown area through destruction of unsightly and unsanitary old buildings; (7) spread of Chinese and Japanese settlement to the outskirts of Honolulu, such as near Moiliili and McCully, because no new houses could be built in Chinatown until May 17, when the soil was pronounced clear of plague bacilli. The Orientals needed housing, and they could not wait; (8) emphasis on the need for alleyways in Chinatown to cut the blocks and thus make throughways; (9) most important, general awareness of sanitary conditions in Honolulu, with resulting improvement in plumbing, water supply, sewers, regular garbage pickup on all parts of the island, and not only in the School-Liliha area.

During those bitter months of 1899-1900 Honolulu had suffered much. But it had also learned much, and these lessons were applied to create a new and better city.

NOTES

2 Minutes of the Board of Health, December 12, 1899, pp. 102-103. Archives of Hawaii. Cited hereafter as BH.
4 Ibid., p. 7.
5 BH, December 13, 1899, p. 106.
6 Wood, pp. 13-14.
7 Report, p. 7.
8 BH, December 25, 1899, pp. 116-117.
9 The Friend, January, 1900, p. 3.
11 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
12 Ibid., p. 16.
13 Hawaiian Gazette, May 1, 1900, p. 1. Cited hereafter as HG.
Old timers can play an active and important role in the recording of local history. Their reminiscences often provide valuable insights and interpretations bearing on past events, personalities, locations, etc. Do you know such an old timer? If so, can you persuade him to make his stock of information and experience available to succeeding generations? A tip: He doesn't necessarily have to spend laborious hours writing. A portable tape recorder permits him to spin his yarns in the relaxation of an armchair.
Phonographs and phonograph records came early to Hawaii. Islanders had their first opportunity to hear the phonograph less than two years after its invention.

The phonograph was developed in 1877. On April 18 of that year, Charles Cros wrote a paper describing the process of recording and reproducing sound. Edison invented and built the cylindrical tin-foil phonograph several months later—officially on August 12, but probably in November and December.1 This marvel was announced to Honolulu in an item in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser on February 1, 1879:

THE PHONOGRAPH. - Our community is promised a novel treat quite shortly. We learn that a gentleman recently arrived from San Francisco, en route for New Zealand, has in his possession one of the famed Edison Phonographs, or Talking Machines, besides the 'Singing Telephone,' with which a public exhibition will be given after due notice. Mr. Kohler, the gentleman in question, will, by Royal permission, first exhibit his novel apparatus before the Court at Iolani Palace.

Kohler's performances included a benefit at the Hawaiian Theatre, on February 22, when he was "assisted, as volunteers, by Messrs. H.H. Williams, A. Wilson Snow, Jas. Luprolil, the Hawaiian Minstrels, and Mr. Berger on the piano."2

The phonograph next became newsworthy early in 1891, when King Kalakaua spoke for ten minutes into an Edison phonograph placed next to his death bed in San Francisco.3 W.H. Aldrich brought the wax cylinder to Hawaii. Translated from the Hawaiian, His Majesty's words were:

We greet each other - We greet each other. I learn that you are to go with me to my country; to Honolulu. There you will tell my people that which I say to you here!4

This "little waxen scroll" still reposes in the Bishop Museum, but is no longer audible.5

Public exhibitions of the phonograph continued to be given. On February 20, 1891, Honolulu residents had "...the opportunity of listening to the registered vocalizations of the Phonograph at the Hotel, recently received per Gaelic from San Francisco, en route for Japan and China..."6 A year later a Mr. Stoeckle presented a phonograph concert of "...speeches, vocal and instrumental music, etc., etc..." in the YMCA Hall and on the Neighbor Islands. In 1893 he returned for a repeat exhibition.7 As late as 1903 news stories could report "a megaphone with Chinese records" as one of the features in a ten-cent "...aggregation of entertainment on King Street that exerts an exceedingly strong pull with the masses."8

Meanwhile, the phonograph was entering the home. The "first commercial gramophones and gramophone records" were manufactured in 1889 by a toy factory in Germany. Five years later the American Graphophone Co. introduced the "first spring-driven talking machines suitable for home entertainment." The Victor Talking Machine Co. was incorporated in 1901, and soon became the giant of the industry.9

The earliest advertisements for home phonographs appeared in Honolulu newspapers in December, 1898. Wall, Nichols Co. included both Graphophones and Gramophones in its list of "Holiday Gifts at Santa Claus Emporium."10 Competition was offered by the Hawaiian News Co., Ltd., which advertised the "Symphonion Music
Almost a decade passed before Hawaiian music began appearing on records in significant quantity. In 1911, Honolulu Music Co. could advertise "New Hawaiian songs on double disc records."15 Several years later a wide range of Island artists and songs were represented in the catalogues of major companies. Examples included Henry N. Clark's version of "Old Plantation" and the Kapiolani Club's "Pu'u O Hulu," both on Columbia Y37; Toots Pak's "Aloha Oe" on Columbia A166; "Nanina Malama-lama" with Pete Kalani and Kalei on Columbia A2457; the Johnny Noble-Sam Alama recording of "Ama Ama" and "I Went to Hilo" on Brunswick 55044; two numbers from Bird of Paradise: "Mauna Kea" (by S.N. Kajaw) and "Waialae" (by an unnamed quintet) on Victor 18574; and many, many others.16

More years were to pass before the advent of electrical recording (1925), the long-play microgroove record (1948), stereo discs (1958) and tape.17 Even so, the phonograph had already established itself as a major entertainment and musical resource in Hawaii.

NOTES

2 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, February 15, 1879, p. 3; February 22, 1879, p. 2. Cited hereafter as PCA.
3 PCA, February 6, 1891, p. 2.
4 PCA, February 20, 1891, p. 3.
5 E.H. Bryan, telephone call, March 14, 1897.
6 The Friend, March, 1891, p. 22.
7 PCA, February 18, 1893, p. 5.
8 Paradise of the Pacific, October, 1903, p. 20.
9 Gelatt, pp. 322-323.
10 PCA, December 12, 1898, p. 9.
11 PCA, December 16, 1898, p. 6.
12 PCA, December 6, 1899, p. 10.
13 Paradise of the Pacific, March, 1900, p. 15.
16 The records listed are all in the collection of Rose C. Stranbel.
17 Gelatt, op. cit., pp. 325-326.

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OUR NEW COVER: Some time ago Mr. John Youell of Portland, Oregon generously volunteered to have a cover designed and reproduced for the HHR. The gratifying result of his efforts appears for the first time on this issue. The clipper ship standing off Diamond Head is typical of many such vessels which visited Hawaii, especially in the 1850's and 1860's.
HAWAII'S FIRST MEDICAL SCHOOL*

by

O. A. Bushnell

The medical school recently established at the University of Hawaii is not the islands' first. It follows by almost a hundred years a medical school established in Honolulu by the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Although "in an early period of the Hawaiian Mission the subject of educating persons for physicians was agitated,"1 as members of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association recalled in 1871, the missionaries made no official statement upon the matter until 1867. In June of that year the brethren of the Association, meeting in Honolulu, adopted the report of its Committee on Medical Instruction. This committee, consisting of Rev. Luther H. Gulick, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, and Rev. C.B. Andrews, had considered a very important aspect of life in Hawaii, and its report2 is worth quoting extensively:

"...There is and has been a greater need of native doctors than of native lawyers. The Missionaries have educated the native pastors...The native lawyers have educated themselves...but the medical profession, has been like a sealed book....

There was a time when a large proportion of the population applied to the Missionaries for medical aid. The funds of the American Board were largely drawn upon for medicines, and the Missionaries devoted a great deal of time in attendance on the sick...Subsequently the Hawaiian Government undertook to furnish the Missionaries with medicines for the sick; of late years this source of relief has dried up, and even the voluntary practice of the Missionaries has been discredited. In places where there are no educated physicians, there has arisen a class of native doctors, who, with a license signed by 'Kapu',3 have undertaken to save the nation.

These persons are mostly old men and old women, who have very little education and no knowledge of medicine whatever. Ignorant of the plainest rules of diet and regimen, they are not even proper nurses of the sick; but depend upon luck and chance, large promises of cure, and their influence with the old heathen gods, whose worship they have in a certain degree...revived for the purpose of obtaining an influence over their victims.

These doctors and doctoresses finding their practice profitable are now everywhere found proclaiming their own skill, interfering with and opposing the practice of foreign physicians and disseminating false and idolatrous principles among the people. They kill numbers of the King's subjects. Some are killed by neglect. The disease is left to its course, while the doctor is trusting to luck and feasting on the hogs, the white cocks, the poi, the awa, which he requires as a condition of cure. Meanwhile, he is going on with his incantations. Some sick are killed by a more summary process, by the administration of remedies, such as croton oil and castor oil beans, a coarse kind of jalap, a species of colocynth, tartar emetic, calomel, gunpowder, &c. without any rules to guide the doctor, other than his own uneducated judgment.

It being admitted that there is a pressing necessity for educating a

*This is No. 2 in Dr. Bushnell's History of Science in Hawaii. No. 1, "Hygiene and Sanitation among the Ancient Hawaiians," appeared in Vol. II, No. 5 (October, 1966).
sufficient number of native pupils to meet the wants of the people and to
cHECK the serious and rapidly growing evil above stated, the question
arises how and by whom it is to be done. Your Committee are of the opin-
ion that the education required need not be of a very high order, but a
simple course should be gone through which would qualify the pupils to be
good nurses and tolerably safe practitioners. It should be conducted in
the Hawaiian language, by one or more medical men who understand the lan-
guage, and are acquainted with the prejudices and superstitions of the peo-
ple. Pupils when educated should be distributed all over the islands, at
least two in every election district, licensed to practice and authorized to
charge for their services according to a schedule to be provided for their
guidance. They should be under a constant supervision.

...The Queen's Hospital affords the greatest facilities for the kind of
instruction required, much of which would be in the form of clinical lec-
tures which the pupils should commit to writing. If the trustees of that
institution could be induced to undertake the work, there are medical men
who might afford valuable aid in preparing simple books and treatises in the
Hawaiian, which the Board of Education might be willing to have printed for
the use of the pupils.

Private persons—members of the medical profession—may, perhaps, be
found who would take one or two pupils, but the difficulties and expense
would be so great, and the probability of perseverance on the part of the
pupils themselves would be so small, that not much can be expected from this
source. It is desirable...that the system should be uniform and [continuous] for a term of years, by additions to the stock of Hawaiian medical
knowledge and literature, which would be required by the pupils after enter-
ing upon their practice.

There are some persons whose opinions are deserving of the highest con-
sideration, who would decidedly object to the licensing of medical pupils
who have not had the advantage of an education in the English language,
and a course or two of medical lectures in a foreign country, but [we] are
of the opinion that however well these may be educated, they would be in
the minds of the native population upon a par with foreign physicians, and
subject to the same prejudice and opposition from the present native doc-
tors as foreign physicians and the Queen's Hospital now are. The deep
rooted sentiment that foreign doctors can cure foreign diseases, but
native doctors only can cure native diseases, would be applicable to them.
They would also seek for a residence in the towns and populous places as
competitors to foreign physicians for the sake of a higher remuneration
which their expensive habits would require for their support. But we
think that the simple and not very expensive system which we herein re-
commend would in a reasonable time undermine the influence of native doc-
tors in every district, and counteract the growing tendency to revive
the worship of false gods and the belief in the old Hawaiian sorcery.

This report, naturally, presented the problem from the foreigners' point of
view. Native Hawaiians, too, had their opinions, and many expressed their thoughts
in letters published in Hawaiian-language newspapers of the day. One of the less
florid and more sensible of these correspondents was W.H. Uaua of Maui, who, earlier
in 1867, had written to the Chairman of the Medical Society at Wailuku:

In accordance with the resolution passed at the meeting of December
30 [1866] I was appointed to consider and present to this meeting my views
on the question laid before the assembly that day, which was as follows:
'Can the Hawaiian medical practice understand certain of the ailments of a person and know the proper medicines for this and that sickness?'

...I can state positively, there are among the Hawaiian relatives here, and there are perhaps living now, a body of skilled priests who by feeling or massaging can ascertain the ailment within a person, and they will foretell his sickness and the suitable medicines also. The majority of the real skilled ones are all taken by death, such was Kuauau, a famous priest who lived at Wailuku here; and I have heard that a copy exists of his medical book. O.A. Kaauwai was one of Wailuku also, and Napuupahoehoe. E. Kuakamauna of Lahaina was another, as also Kalimahuamo of Waialua, Oahu. All these and some other skilled ones are now dead.

But perhaps they are not all gone, maybe they have taught their relatives, and have written a book and left it with heirs or relatives, whereby we all receive it. I have been assured there are now living in Wailuku here, and in other places, persons who can feel or massage for and locate ailments, and have the proper medicines, and if sought and inquired for in accordance with the decree of this Assembly, they will be the means of great benefit to the populace.

This skilled practice was the medical treatment of Hawaii, not joining with sorcery and idolatry...

It is well to search at once for a surety, because by the feeling-massaging only are ascertained ailments within a person, some fatal of course, and by the feeling or massaging is known the proper medicine for these diseases: extreme costiveness (kapaku), consumption (waipua), a swelling or internal kind of disease (eho), a fatal disease for which waiiki was the medicine (haikala), neowaiku, niu, and pou, and other diseases. Therefore, by the method of Hawaiian medical practice, human ailments were understood and the proper remedies also for them...

The missionaries' report and the natives' letters touched upon many of the social and political issues which were troubling people in Hawaii during the reign of Kamehameha V. No great affection for foreigners, or for haole innovations, marked this autocratic king, who reigned from 1863 to 1872. More like his grandfather, the great Kamehameha I, than were the other rulers of his line, this last monarch of the dynasty had reasons aplenty to be as wary of haoles as was his watchful ancestor, and even more cause to be concerned for the welfare of his people. With them, he was alarmed at their dwindling number, reduced by 1866 to 58,765 people from about 300,000 in 1778, when foreigners, with their germs and their new ideas, first brought havoc into the islands.

To protect his royal prerogatives, and his subjects' few rights, Kamehameha V abrogated in 1864 the liberal constitution granted by Kamehameha III in 1852, and tried to surround himself with officials and advisers loyal to him and to the nation rather than to the interests of haole businessmen. "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" was his intention, if not his declaration.

Among the first evidences of this new attitude was a general relaxation of the missionaries' proscriptions against native practices and customs, inhibited by Christian censure if not by actual law for more than thirty years. The sounds of hula dancing were heard again, much to the scandal of Puritans of all races; and other games and pastimes, not all innocent, emerged from hiding. Least noticed by haoles, because they were the last people in the world to call for their services, were the several kinds of native kahunas who kept alive the old ways of casting spells for good or for evil, of uttering prophecies, and of treating sicknesses. These kahunas were by no means extinct (as, indeed, they may not be even today), having gone underground, so to speak, during the years of interdiction.
Foreign residents were shocked at the revival of these "heathen superstitions". They didn't quite know how to combat prophecies, dispensers of love potions, sorcerers and necromancers, or those retrograde ones who still worshipped the old gods. But—even though they would rather have died than call upon a native physician to treat their ailments—the foreigners did attempt to control native physicians, just as they tried to control to some extent the dispensers of commercial love (with An Act to Mitigate the Evils and Diseases arising from Prostitution, passed in 1860) and the horrifying numbers of lepers who were beginning to disfigure the landscape (with An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, passed in 1855): they persuaded the Legislature of 1864 to require the Board of Health to examine all physicians, whether native or foreign, and to license only those who met the standards that the Board and its haole physicians were pleased to establish.

Few Hawaiians were disgruntled by the laws controlling prostitutes and lepers, because curbs upon them were needed and were beneficial to all. But the constraints placed upon kahuna laalau, native physicians, being discriminatory, called forth protests from natives on all islands. Mr. Uana's letter is one of the most temperate of their expressions of dissent to find its way into print. For every letter-writer, dozens of voluble citizens must have button-holed their representatives to the legislature. That sensitive council acted as promptly as it could: despite protests from haoles and memorials from missionaries, and, as the Pacific Commercial Advertiser growled, "through the strenuous exertions of native members," (helped, no doubt, to see their duty by a word from the king), the session of 1868 brought forth An Act to Establish a Hawaiian Board of Health.

The preamble of the Act tried to placate its opponents:

Whereas, the outer districts of this Kingdom are greatly in want of physicians; and whereas, great evils arise to the Hawaiian nation from the present want of regulations for Hawaiian practitioners of medicine; and whereas, it is thought advisable to establish a system of licensing Hawaiian practitioners of medicine.  

But Section 1 of the Act clearly rescued native physicians from the critical regard of their haole colleagues:

His Majesty the King shall appoint a Board of Health of native-born Hawaiians, consisting of three persons, who shall serve during the King's pleasure, and whose duty it shall be to examine and enquire into the qualifications and good moral character of native Hawaiians who wish to practice medicine in this Kingdom.

Auwe for the plight of politicians! Caught in a cross-fire, haole legislators tried to appease their constituents by quietly accepting the sense of the report adopted by the Evangelical Association in 1867. They did not insist upon an official act, but simply tucked into the Appropriations Bill an allotment of $4,000 to the Bureau of Public Instruction, "for the Medical Education of Hawaiian Youth". Neither they nor the surprised Bureau of Public Instruction were quite sure what they intended to achieve with this allocation. No matter: there it was, indisputable proof that the country's lawmakers were bravely tackling the problem. Native leaders must have been equally bewildered (or encouraged), because neither the king nor his father, Mataio Kekuanaoa, who was president of the Board of Education at the time, opposed the haole stratagem.

The lack of an official statement defining the ways in which those $4,000 could be spent prevented their being used for medical education during the ensuing biennium. Even though the Evangelical Association's report of 1867 had declared that medical education for Hawaiians should be provided at home, other weighty citizens held different ideas. On July 13, 1869, W. Jas. Smith, secretary to the Board of
Education, in replying to an inquiry from Dr. C.H. Wetmore, of Hilo, stated that the board's intention was "to provide for such suitable instruction...abroad; and that the idea of providing...such instruction here, has not been the object of the Board, and is a subject on which a difference of opinion exists..."

This difference of opinion succeeded in delaying the program for two and a half years. W.P. Kamakau, who became president of the Board of Education upon Kekuanaoa's death in 1868, justified the delay in his Report for 1869-1870:

The late Legislative Assembly made an appropriation of $4,000 for the 'Medical Education of Hawaiian Youth,' which has not been used for the purpose intended, owing to the impossibility of finding young men with such a knowledge of the English and Latin languages as would have enabled them to take advantage of the lectures and teachings of any medical school either in the United States or Great Britain. Some young men have presented themselves as candidates, but on examination it was very apparent that they understood little or nothing of the meaning of English words outside those found in the ordinary school readers...This is much to be regretted, as the want of qualified medical practitioners is severely felt outside of Honolulu; it is hoped, however, that Hawaiian youths from some of the English boarding schools now in operation, will soon be able to take advantage of the liberality of the Legislature, if it should see fit to place the same sum on the next appropriation bill, which is cordially recommended by the Board. The appropriation for medical education granted by the Legislature of 1868, has been transferred to the support of Hawaiian and English schools, and is fully counted for under that head.

Meanwhile, the licensing of approved kahuna lapa'au by the native Board of Health, as it was called, went happily on. In his Report for 1869-1870, Dr. Ferdinand W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior and president of the haole Board of Health, reaffirmed the attitude of most foreign physicians toward kahuna lapa'au:

One of the principal causes of the excessive mortality among natives, is the practice of the native kahunas.—Under the Act of the last Session, 14 applicants for licenses have received them from the Minister of the Interior, on recommendation of the Board of Health. It is hoped that the experiment will have a good effect, more especially in the possibility of obtaining evidence in a Court of Justice, sufficient to convict offending parties, by whose practices and poisons given under the name of medicine, hundreds of their countrymen are annually hurried into eternity.

The legislators of 1870, whatever argument they favored, again appropriated $4,000 to the Bureau of Public Instruction "for the Medical Education of Hawaiian Youth". This time the money was "used for the purpose intended". Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association noted in 1871, "was appointed to take charge of the instruction of these young men. On the 9th November 1870, he opened a school with 10 pupils." The organization approved: "This, we think, is a move in the right direction, and by the blessing of God, may be made the means of counteracting some of the evils, which arise from the number of native doctors among the people, and of prolonging the existence of the nation."

At last the kingdom had gained the medical school it needed. Certainly in Dr. Judd it had acquired a physician of great ability, possibly the islands' most experienced physician, and a teacher dedicated to his missionary's goal of bringing both physical and spiritual succor to the Hawaiian people. The prime minister of the kingdom's government during his years of service to Kamehameha III, Dr. Judd had resumed the practice of medicine when political adversaries forced him out of the government during the smallpox epidemic of 1853. In 1870, at the age of 67, he was a wiser, mellowing man, who had lived among the Hawaiians for 42 years and who
understood them so well that he knew when to be a stern disciplinarian or an instructive teaser with chiefs and commoners alike. A Yankee's toughness he brought to every one of his tasks, and a Calvinist's honesty with the realities of life as he saw them, but he tempered these granitic virtues with a paternal affection for the people he strove to save on earth as for heaven.

How he came to undertake this last great crusade of his life is not clear. Perhaps someone from the legislature, or one of his native friends, talked to him, asking for his help. More than likely his own awareness of his qualifications for the position, fired by a bit of the aggressiveness for which he was famous—after all, he had been a member of the Evangelical Association's committee which first suggested the idea in 1867, and was almost certainly the man who had proposed the committee and written its report—led him to address a proposal to the Board of Education. Its succinctness, in our era of interminable "descriptions of proposed projects", should make us yearn for the good old days:

August 5, 1870.

To the Hon. Board of Education:

I perceive by the reports of the late Legislature, there has passed an appropriation for the Medical education of Hawaiian youth. This instruction I propose to give in somewhat the following manner:

1st. By calling for a number of well-advanced boys from some of the districts remote from foreign physicians.

2nd. Of these I propose to select as many as are found suitable, the number to be limited by the amount appropriated.

3rd. To enter into a contract with each pupil to furnish him with food, lodging, and instruction, and binding him to remain for two years, at my option.

4th. Pupils to provide their own clothing (as far as practicable).

5th. Instruction to be in the Hawaiian language, orally and by lectures.

6th. I wish it understood that I do not propose to teach beyond simple aphorisms in Medicine, Hygiene, General Anatomy, and Surgery, but will endeavor to instil into the minds of the pupils, safe and practical rules for the diagnosis and treatment of common and simpler forms of disease, with the use of some native as well as foreign remedies, and with full explanation of the evils of the present native practice.

7th. I should take my pupils to visit the sick on all suitable occasions, and especially, if permitted to visit the Queen's Hospital would be happy to avail myself of the knowledge and experience which are afforded by that institution.

8th. At the end of two years the pupils, if found sufficiently competent are to be returned home with permits or licenses to practice.

Further particulars or variations of the plans to be pursued must be left for future developments [sic].

I have the honor to be

Your Obdt Servant,

G.P. Judd

Evidently this forthright offer was something of a surprise to the Board, which, after discussing the proposal at its meeting on September 30, 1870, instructed one of its members, Dr. Hutchison, to confer with Dr. Judd. Dr. Hutchison, himself a prominent physician, and, as Kamehameha V's Minister of the Interior since 1865, both president of the ho`oele Board of Health and a member of the Board of Education ex officio, was sufficiently impressed by the conference to invite Dr. Judd to present his plan in person to the board at its meeting of November 9.
Assembled that day to hear him were C.C. Harris, vice president pro tem., Charles R. Bishop, J.M. Smith, Dr. Hutchison, and W. Jas. Smith, the board's secretary.

Dr. Judd...stated that he had addressed circulars—a copy of which he read to the Board—to several individuals, residents in different districts on the other Islands, relative to medical education for Hawaiian youth, and had received several replies to the same from respected men such as the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop, the Rev. Elias Bond, Mr. Valdemar Knudsen, and Mr. W. Goodale, the whole enumerating about 40 youths that might be considered available from which to make a selection of the number required by the Doctor....In reference to his own compensation...Dr. Judd stated that he had expected to set apart out of the sum appropriated...$100 per month for his services.

The Board was of the opinion that the pupils ought to be required to support themselves as far as practicable, and when able to do so, to pay their own passages, provide their own clothing, &c &c, and that all the details of arrangement and management should be left to the Doctor's judgment.—Concerning the age of the pupils to be selected, full discretion to be given the Doctor, but the Board recommended that as a rule none under 18 years of age should be admitted, and that the selections should, as far as practicable, be made from among those possessing comfortable means of subsistence. It should also be required that guarantees be given by each of the youths selected, to continue two years under the Doctor's instruction and control, and that their contracts—the form of which to be submitted to the Board for its approval—make it binding on them to return to their respective districts, to engage in administering medicine and attending the sick, for at least two years after being released and certificated by the Doctor.12

Recognizing in Dr. Judd's plan an offer which they could not expect anyone in Honolulu to improve upon, as well as one which required no effort or responsibility on their part, the members of the Board promptly proceeded to tie him to it with a carefully-worded resolution:

RESOLVED: That the offer personally made by Dr. Judd...to assume the responsibility and all the care and expense attending, the selecting, instructing, providing for, and controlling ten pupils...in the manner and for the object set forth in his communication to the Board of August 5 AD 1870...be accepted by the Board, and that the Doctor be authorized to proceed forthwith with the undertaking.

No one thought to record, for history's sake, the date when, having chosen and assembled his students, Dr. Judd actually began to teach them. Even with his formidable capacities, however, he could not possibly have started instruction on the same day he received the board's authorization.13 Probably, to judge by the payment he received from the board for November,14 he started the school early enough in the month to be able to justify that disbursement both to his Calvinist conscience and to the watchful board.

Nor did anyone record either the names of his ten carefully-selected students or the location of the medical school. More than likely, in the miniscule Honolulu of 1870, Dr. Judd taught those pupils in his private hospital and dispensary at 31 Punchbowl Street and during visits to The Queen's Hospital, about a block away. His hospital would have been large enough to accommodate both the medical students and those patients who sought his care, inasmuch as he had purchased in August, 1867 the former United States Marine Hospital. The "American Hospital", as most people in Honolulu called it, had been maintained by the U.S. government for the
treatment of sick or injured American citizens. It "occupied a large lot on the southeast side of Punchbowl Street, just below the corner of Beretania." In September, 1867 the gossipy Friend did not fail to observe that "it has been occupied by the Doctor for several months past, and few persons can have helped noticing the improved and tidy appearance which the hospital immediately assumed under his care." For his services as instructor and guardian of the ten students, and for the expenses of lodging those who lived under his care, Dr. Judd received $2,000 a year from the board of education. He was paid in assorted amounts at irregular intervals, apparently only after he had submitted statements reminding the board of the medical school's existence.

Conceived and organized in the manner of one-man medical schools of that time in America, with which he and many of his colleagues would have been familiar, Dr. Judd's school was probably just as good as many of them, and no worse than most.

The Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1871-1872, signed by W.P. Kamakau, gives us the sole official notice of the kingdom's new institution:

MEDICAL SCHOOL, HONOLULU

G.P. Judd, MD------------------------Instructor

The amount voted by the last Legislature for the medical instruction of Hawaii youth, has been expended for that object. The experiment has been fully inaugurated by the Board, and the carrying out of it confided to the care of Dr. G.P. Judd. Ten students, chiefly young men, have been selected with great care by the Doctor, and, for over a year past, have been in constant attendance upon a course of plain medical lectures. These lectures have been accompanied by the practical education of the dispensary which has formed an adjunct of the school. The students now under the Doctor's charge, have contracted to go to designated localities among the districts remotely removed from the reach of regular medical aid, at the expiration of a two-years' course of instruction.

It is to be hoped that the experiment thus inaugurated will prove successful, and assist in wean'ing the people from their ancient superstitious practice of the healing art.

Fortunately, we have one other source of information about the medical school: the remnants of a notebook kept during January and February, 1871, by one of Dr. Judd's students. From these notes, written in Hawaiian, we can learn a great deal about the manner in which Dr. Judd imparted his knowledge to those Hawaiian youths, the state of his medical art in 1871, and even something about the students themselves and the stubborn persistence in them of native concepts and terms relating to medicine.

The writer of these notes is not identified, but he did mention by name three of his companions in learning: Zerubabela, Kailima, and Kaonohi.

All entries in the notebook show how Kauka Judd used many devices for teaching his disciples, but the very first entry, of January 5, 1871, is the most extensive, perhaps because it is the first:

A woman came in and Kauka asked her some questions.

Q. What is your name? A. Luukia.
Q. Where do you belong? A. To Koolau, in Heeia.
Q. How long have you been sick? A. Five weeks.
Q. Where does it hurt you? A. On the thighs and back.
Q. Does the pain increase at night? A. Yes.
Q. Do you have an appetite? A. No.
Q. Do you perspire? A. No.
Q. Are you constipated? A. No.
Q. Let me see your tongue. (It was coated with white).
Q. Do you feel chilly? A. I do feel chilly.

The pulse was counted and registered 100 beats. Kauka asked us, 'What is this sickness called?' Zerubabel replied, 'The paaoao.' Kailima said that it was rheumatism. Kauka agreed that it was rheumatism. Three pills were given to the woman because it is well to give a physic at the beginning of this disease to remove the impurities. The disease can be identified by the coated tongue. Then give a blood purifier after the physic has worked.

A child belonging to Kalauali was brought. His body was feverish, he had a cough, a sneeze, and a little pain in the lungs. His teeth were growing. Kauka lanced the gums for the people of Hawaii have turned to worship the haole. Your parents all sinned with their idols. Another thing the kahuna did was to wait until the patient might recover of himself. The longer he waited the wealthier he got. Thus it was on all the benighted lands in the Pacific Ocean.

Q. What is this sickness called? A. The paaoao. B. The rheumatism. C. The fever.

Kauka told us that he perused this article and found not one word to recommend this kind of healing. 'It is like going back to olden times, an apostasizing from Jehovah, a defying of the spirits of the dead. The kahuna's desire was to have the patient's trust so that he could take his possessions. The offerings given to the gods were really the kahuna's. Another thing the kahuna did was to wait until the patient might recover of himself. The longer he waited the wealthier he got. Thus it was on all the benighted lands in the Pacific Ocean.

'Aumakua were false gods. Wrong also are the words kumupa and paaoao. Do not use these words. Your ancestors were worshippers of idols down to the reign of Kamehameha II. The images were set on fire then. Your parents saw the falseness of the idols and the spirits of deceased men. Your parents all sinned with their idols. The medical kahunas cannot say to the present generation that only some sinned for it was known that in the reign of Kamehameha II all repudiated their idols. From that time the people of Hawaii have turned to worship Jehovah. Where, then, is the wrath of the owls, lizards, and sharks? Do not submit to the wishes of the devil to turn back to former ways.'

Rarely did Kauka Judd deliver such a missionary's sermon upon the superiority of haole ways. Usually he managed the invidious comparison with tact, sometimes he resorted to derision, occasionally he permitted himself a pedantic sort of humor: 'Speaking of the man Luhikona, who was paralyzed in the legs', Kauka said: 'I have never known that paralysis was curable by rubbing water on it for five days [as one kahuna lana'au had prescribed]. Perhaps his skin was dirty. If so, it were better to have added soap. It might have been finished in one day."

But Judd was also an honest man, and his fairness would not let him condemn everything about the native materia medica. No doubt other haole physicians had
indulged a curiosity about kahunas' medications, might even have tested or used some of them, but Dr. Judd was the only haole physician of the 19th century who has left evidence that he knew from personal experience the properties of at least some of the native medicines. Always inquisitive, always sympathetic to the good things his adopted people could offer, and genuinely fond of them as individuals, Kauka investigated their pharmacopoeia very early in his career as a physician among them.

In his report for 1839 to the Sandwich Islands Mission, he stated his attitude very clearly:

It has been an object with me not to oppose the practice of the native physicians in mass, but to endeavor by the best means in my power to correct and modify their practice so that it shall save, not kill, the people. It is my intention, if possible, the coming year to make Hookano acquainted with the native practice as it now exists and make him the agent for collecting facts on the subject. It is out of the question for us to think of putting down the native practice unless we will attend all the sick ourselves, since it is not human nature to be sick and die without seeking some means of alleviation. The idea of improving the native doctors has therefore suggested itself to me as an exceedingly important one demanding immediate attention.

Toward the end of 1839, in another report to the Mission, he wrote:

I commenced the investigation of the native practice and by the aid of these two assistants obtained from several natives the various doctrines and practices of the art which have come down through the legalized channels.

The results of these investigations have been embodied in their proper order and committed to writing in a Book kept for the purpose.

These investigations occupied several weeks of the year and have been continued as opportunity afforded. We also instituted a series of experiments on native medicines which resulted pretty much as all experiments of the kind usually do. We found we could prepare from the native Gourd alone, or combined with Koali or Pipa an extract which could physic most delightfully and like Brandreth's Pills to any amount which might be desirable. But there being no regular source whence the materials can be derived and preparation of them being attended with some trouble, we have neglected to use them, it being easier to take from the shelves what was already at hand and good enough without seeking for anything better.

If, however, it is thought desirable to supply the stations with the article it can be done at a rate somewhat cheaper than similar foreign articles.

About 3 quarts of Pills have been made during the year, of which half proved to have been damaged in boiling the gourds. The rest have been disposed of to advantage.

I have been unable to prepare an account of the Native Practice in the English Language.

The most of the investigations were conducted during the visit of the Ships of War and while our house was thronged with company.

Thirty-two years later, in 1871, Kauka Judd still retained his interest in native therapeutics, and his knowledge of the effects of some of its medicines.

Thus, on February 9, while he and his students were discussing the treatments being used by a licensed kahuna lapa'au named Kahoukapu, they considered Kahoukapu's diagnosis and treatment of KamiKki, a woman from Waimanalo, suffering from a condition the kahuna called aa'a'alo:
Her sickness was eruptions all over the body. A ball of crushed tobacco leaves was used as a rub over the body. For internal use the moa weed pounded and boiled in a pot was used. This water was used to mix with cooked sweet potatoes. This was the food she ate until her bowels were purged.

Kauka said, 'I know what the moa weed is and I've boiled it in water and sweetened it with sugar and given it to people to drink. I have drunk it myself also. It does act on the bowels but not very well, and it gives such a griping stomach-ache!'

And, on February 10, Dr. Judd said, "Gargling with mountain-apple juice [a decoction of mountain-apple leaves and bark, pounded, and placed in water] is good for a sore mouth. It is like alum."

In general, however, after reading all the notes left to us by Kauka Judd's nameless student, as well as other descriptions of the medications prescribed by both native and haole physicians of the time, we are forced to conclude that the medical art of the haoles was not much better than that of the kahunas. Both were based upon guesswork and hope, both employed botanicals and chemicals of uncertain content and unpredictable effect, and both relied heavily upon purges for catharsis of the bowels and upon trust in the physician (or in his god) for easing of the spirit. Enlightened Dr. Judd was just as dogmatic as any "benighted" kahuna, and much more arrogant intellectually. And, of course, he was as blind to the deficiencies of haole medicines as he accused kahunas of being blind to the weaknesses of their remedies. The one great strength he had, in common with most haole physicians, was a broader experience with patients, diseases, and medicaments from countries beyond Hawaii. This experience, coupled with the accumulated knowledge of centuries that was the heritage of western medicine, enabled him to see that the symptoms of a disease were not the causes of a patient's sickness—a discovery which Hawaiian physicians, in their isolation, had not quite managed to attain.

This self assurance, always a strong feature of haoles and elevated in Dr. Judd almost to a God-given certitude about everything he did, whether in medicine or in statecraft, literally crushed the diffident kahunas under the weight of foreigners' scorn and ridicule. Moreover, haoles and all things haole enjoyed the insuperable advantage of being on the winning side; all about them, in every aspect of life, natives could see how they and their culture were doomed and dying, succumbing to the germs, the ideas, the artifacts of the superior foreigners. Presented with such overwhelming evidence of weakness, natives and their kahunas became increasingly defensive and embittered. And, although a few of their disciples, and even fewer of their regiments, are consulted to this day, the practice of medicine by kahuna lapa'alau really ended when the kahunas who were practicing in the time of Dr. Judd's medical school lived out their span of years and died.

Neither Dr. Judd nor his medical students were responsible for the demise of native medicine. That was caused in part by the inexorable dying of the Hawaiian race, in part by the steady improvement in the quality of haole medicine after the establishment of the germ theory of disease during the 1880's revolutionized both therapy and surgery. Even a country kuaaina could be impressed by the miracles of rescue achieved by the new kind of haole physician who came to live in the islands after 1890. Faced with such competition, lacking patients and students, kahuna lapa'alau were needed no more. When they died, their lore and their inadequacies perished with them.

They might have drawn a wry satisfaction from the death of Dr. Judd's medical school long before their own was extinguished. His school came to an end, sadly and unnecessarily, on October 2, 1872. It was proceeding according to his plan: the ten students were fulfilling their contracts with a faithfulness which proved
their contentment with the school and Dr. Judd's satisfaction with them; champions of haole medicine as well as proponents of medical education for Hawaiians could congratulate themselves upon having supported a good cause. And yet the school was permitted to die; not a voice was raised to save it.

The explanation is simple. Not all haoles were pleased. "His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior," as the minutes of the Board of Education invariably referred to Dr. Hutchison, "having interviewed the Medical Students under the instruction of Dr. G.P. Judd with a view to ascertaining the progress made by them in their study... gave it as his opinion that very little had been accomplished up to the present time, toward the desired end."27 The cruel judgment was not questioned by the other members of the board during their meeting on April 18, 1872. With the arrogance of men in power who never doubted the rightness of their actions, they instructed Secretary W. Jas. Smith "not to insert the item for Medical Education for Hawaiians in the estimated expenditures of the Board for the ensuing biennial term."

But this bland little job of knifing did not kill the medical school. The Legislature of 1872, having greater faith than did the Board of Education, ignored their uncordial silence and appropriated $3,000 to continue the institution during the next biennium. Whether or not he was aware of the board's attitude, Dr. Judd could well be encouraged by the legislators' vote of confidence in him and his students. Characteristically, the Olympian Board of Education did not reject the appropriation thrust into their keeping.

Kauka Judd had every expectation of continuing his medical school with a second group of students who would replace the first ten when their apprenticeship was ended. And then, on October 2, Mrs. Judd died. Grieving for his beloved helpmate, Dr. Judd felt that he could no longer be teacher and physician to the people to whom his wife and he had given 44 years of devoted service.

On the morning of October 9 the old man appeared for the last time before the Board of Education. Present to hear him were Dr. Hutchison, Mr. Harris, Mr. Bishop, and W. Jas. Smith, who recorded the scene:

Dr. G.P. Judd personally stated...that he wishes to be absent from town, and in order to enable him to do so, requested that the Board would consider his engagement for the Medical instruction of the ten Hawaiian pupils under his charge as terminated now instead of one month hence as required by his agreement. Dr. Judd also recommended that the ten pupils in question should be licensed to practice in the several districts to which they had agreed to go. All of which was approved by the Board.28

One last service Kauka Judd performed for his pupils before he went away. That same day on which the Board of Education approved the termination of his contract, he caused to be written down by some helpful amanuensis, perhaps in the Bureau of Public Instruction itself, his recommendation to the Board of Health that the ten young men be licensed to practice medicine.29 In fulfilling this obligation to them, he also rescued them from oblivion—for this scrap of paper, torn across the bottom, obviously a remnant saved by a frugal clerk, is the only document which has survived to tell us who those young men were, and where they were to begin their careers.

To His-Ex--the Minister-of-the-Interior [sic]
I Ka Papa Ola Hawaii
Sir:
I recommend to you for a license to practice medicine on the different islands
on Molokai
Jno. W. Kalua
do Waihee, Maui
Geo. W. Kalopapela
Hawonulu, October 9, 1872

Only the subscript and the signature are Kauka Judd's, written not in the familiar vigorous hand, but cramped and awkward now, the mark of an aged and weary man.

As the letter shows, he was aware that the person with the authority, the official who had to be persuaded, was His Excellency, his school's enemy, the Minister of the Interior. Was Kauka being cunning, then, when he crossed out the initial superscription and chose instead to send the recommendation to the Board of Health? Or was he, who was once a powerful minister of state, merely remembering in time the niceties of protocol? And to which Board of Health was he appealing, the haole one or the Hawaiian? To these questions, too, we can find no answers.

Whatever he intended, his message went very quickly to the Hawaiian Board of Health. Attached to his letter is one written in Hawaiian,30 signed by Jno. O. Dominis, Henry A. Kahunu, and W.P. Kamakau, the three members of the native board. Dated October 12, 1872, addressed to His Excellency, F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior, it formally requests that "the ten young pupils of G.P. Judd, known to us as upright and honest men, be granted now their licenses to serve as members of the Hawaiian medical profession." His Excellency did not object to such a dispensation. On October 14 the licenses were issued.31

We can be relieved that the Board of Education had approved the tired old man's request to go, without mumbling about unexpired contracts, and duty to one's students. Even they could feel compassion in the presence of grief. But, we ask, why was nothing said about a possible successor to replace him, either temporarily or permanently? Why was nothing said, if only among themselves after he went away, about finding another physician to continue the medical school during the next biennium? Many questions come to mind, but unfortunately the minutes of the board's meetings give no answers. Not even when, three weeks later, on November 2, Dr. Judd suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed for the remaining months of his life. Not even after he died, on July 13, 1873, and they needed no longer to be considerate of him and his great interest in the medical education of Hawaiian youths. Almost with icy resolve, it seems, the Board of Education simply dismissed the subject—and once again something of value to the people of Hawaii was withheld from them, for almost a hundred years.

NOTES

3. A pun, involving the many meanings of taboo (sacred, special privileges, etc.), the official pronouncements and decrees of the monarchy, and a scarcely veiled allusion to King Kamehameha V, one of whose personal names was Kapuaiwa.
10. Supplement to The Friend, July 1, 1871, p. 58.
11. Letters to Board of Education, from Island of Oahu, 1870. AH.
12. Board of Education, Minutes, Nov. 9, 1870. AH.
13. The date recorded in the HEA Annual Report for 1871 is an error, obviously based on the date of the Board of Education's meeting with Dr. Judd.
18. p. 7.
20. This sound's suspiciously like a kahuna lapa'au's standard treatment and almost ritual utterance. We can wonder whether the physicking was a standard part of Kauka's regimen, or was a concession to his students' beliefs.
21. Original MS in HMG Library; copy in AH.
22. A young man who had been at Lahainaluna Seminary for six years, whom Dr. Judd took as a medical assistant early in 1839.
23. Original MS in HMG Library; copy in AH.
24. Hookano and a youth named Kalili.
25. If this book still exists, and if it can be found, it would be an invaluable aid to understanding the native practice of medicine and the Hawaiians' materia medica. Most accounts which we do possess were prepared during later years, when native concepts and remedies were already seriously influenced by borrowings from foreign practice.
27. Board of Education, Minutes, April 18, 1872. AH.
28. Ibid., October 9, 1872.
29. Letters to Board of Health, 1872. AH.
31. Clerk!s notation on reverse of letter from the Hawaiian Board of Health to Minister of the Interior.

NOTES ON HAWAIIAN PHOTOGRAPHY BEFORE 1890

by

Robert C. Schmitt

The first Hawaiian photograph was taken in 1843, not in Honolulu but in Paris. Almost four more years passed before daguerreotypes were made on Hawaiian soil. Photography in the Islands evolved relatively slowly during the next four decades. Then, in the late 1880's, Hawaii residents witnessed a succession of historic Island "firsts": publication of photographs, retail stores specializing in photographic supplies, commercial processing, the roll-film Kodak, and a camera club for amateurs. By 1890 photography in Hawaii had come of age.
Louis J.M. Daguerre's photographic process was announced to the Academie des Sciences in Paris on January 7, 1839, and on August 19 his invention was published and given worldwide distribution. By the end of September this description had reached the United States, where successful daguerreotypes were soon being produced by D.W. Seager, Samuel F.B. Morse, and other experimenters. The new invention quickly spread from Paris to the European continent, the American frontier, and elsewhere throughout the world. Although Daguerre was not the first person to make a photograph—Niepce had succeeded as early as 1824, and Fox Talbot had produced a paper negative in 1835—he is generally credited with inventing the earliest practical photographic process.1

The first recorded photograph of a Hawaiian, made in Paris, has this history: On July 18, 1842, William Richards and Timoteo (or Timothy) Haalilio left Hawaii on a diplomatic mission to America and Europe "to secure the acknowledgment...of the independence of this nation." They arrived in Paris in March, 1843, visited several other European capitals, and left Paris for the last time early in 1844.2 While there, they posed for at least one photograph. A copy of a copy of this picture, inscribed "Haalilio and Rev. Wm. Richards. Paris, 1843," is filed in the Bishop Museum.3 Another picture, showing only Haalilio, is undated but was apparently made at the same time.4 Haalilio, described as "private secretary and business manager" for Kamehameha III and "a young native chief of much promise,"5 was thus seemingly the first Hawaiian to appear before a camera. In a sense these pictures qualify as the earliest Hawaiian photographs—a fact that until now appears to have escaped notice.

Even earlier daguerreotypes may exist of some of the Hawaii missionaries and businessmen, but if so they were made while their subjects were still mainland residents. The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, for example, has published daguerreotypes of Samuel Northrup Castle and Mary Castle reputedly taken around 1842.6 Other persons photographed before taking up residence in the Islands included Charles Reed Bishop (1846), Henry and Maria Kinney (1847), Samuel G. Dwight (1847), and Charles and Lucy Wetmore (1848).7 Published daguerreotypes of Mark Ives, Elias Bond, and Lorenzo and Lucia Lyons have been assigned even earlier dates, but were probably taken after 1850.8

The earliest known record of daguerreotypes actually taken in Hawaii dates from early 1847. The photographer was Senor F. LeBleu, who arrived in Honolulu aboard the Chilean brigantine Beatrice on December 22, 1846.9 The Beatrice sailed from Valparaiso via Talcuuhano, Callao, the Marquesas, and Maui, but where LeBleu boarded her is unknown. No mention of him appears in a "register of foreigners residing in Honolulu" published two weeks later.10 On January 30, 1847, the Polynesian reported: "Senor F. LeBleu, the daguerreotype artist, we hear was robbed on Wednesday night, between 9 and 10 o'clock, of $250."11

LeBleu soon achieved success. On February 3, 1847, the Sandwich Island News carried this item:

**DAGUERREOTYPE PORTRAITS.**—The arrival of Senor LeBleu and his camera seems to have created quite an excitement in our little town, and we congratulate him upon the avidity with which our fellow-residents, naturalized and 'unnaturalized', crowd to his rooms to exchange the current coin of the realm for his well executed little specimens of photographic immortality. We understand that he already has engagements for weeks in advance....

We understand that the Senor has been very successful in his likesnesses, producing pictures as accurate as possible and beautiful as may be; and it is certain that the Daguerreotype mania is at present the most prevalent among us. Instead of the ordinary greetings of the day, people enquire whether you have 'been taken yet?' or when you are going 'to be taken?!'12
Nothing else is known about Le Bleu—where he came from, where he had his studio, when he left the Islands, where he went, or what happened to the daguerrotypes he made of Robert C. Wyllie and other Hawaii residents.13

Hawaiian royalty was soon posing before the camera. On September 11, 1849, Dr. G.P. Judd and the two princes, Alexander Liholiho (then 15) and Lot Kamehameha (18), embarked on a year-long trip to America and Europe. They arrived in Paris early in 1850,14 and during their two and a half month stay in that city sat for a series of daguerrotypes. Copies are on file in the Bishop Museum.15 Upon their return to Honolulu, "Mr. Judd presented two Daguerreotypes to the King. Present from Alfred G. Benson of New York."16

The first reigning monarch to be photographed in the Islands was Kamehameha III, who occupied the throne from 1825 until his death on December 15, 1854. Copies of several undated daguerrotypes, presumably taken near the end of his life, are filed in the Hawaii State Archives.17 On November 20, 1854, Wyllie urged "the King, the Queen, the Princes and the Princesses, the Chiefs, and...the King's High Officers of State, to send their Daguerreotypes to the exhibition."18

The second photographer to practice in Hawaii was W.P. Scott. On April 1, 1850, an advertisement in The Friend reported that Scott would "execute DAGUERREOTYPE MINIATURES in every style with or without colors, at his Daguerrean Rooms, opposite Mr. French's."19 This notice, which appeared only once, was the first photographic advertisement published in Hawaii.

Scott was followed by Stangenwald and Goodfellow. On April 1, 1853, The Friend carried this one-column advertisement:

DAGUERREOTYPE
MINIATURES!

For a short time only!!!

Strangenwald & Goodfellow, late of California, on their way to Australia, beg leave to inform the citizens of Honolulu and vicinity, that they have established a DAGUERREAN GALLERY on Merchant Street, corner of Fort Street, in the house adjoining the Brick Shoe Store of J.L. Wood, where they will be happy to wait upon those who will please to favor them with a call. Having fitted up at considerable expense, a POWERFUL SKYLIGHT, combined with strong side Lights, and being possessed of all the latest improvements in the art, they feel confident of furnishing perfect and satisfactory pictures. Miniatures put up in every style, and TAKEN EQUALLY WELL IN ANY WEATHER clouds being sometimes preferable to a clear sky, except for children.

Paintings and Daguerreotypes copied, and correct views of gentlemen's residences, vessels, machinery, parts of the city, &c., &c. taken WITHOUT REVERSING. Charges moderate, and lower than ever attempted heretofore in Honolulu. Please call at the Daguerrean Gallery, where the public are also invited to examine a handsome collection of views taken on the western coast of America and the Sandwich Is.20

Dr. Hugo Stangenwald (the correct spelling) pursued a photographic and medical career in Honolulu for almost half a century. Born in Germany in 1829, he "... came to Hawaii in 1850 and opened a daguerreotype gallery from which he earned enough money to return to Vienna and complete his medical course. A few years later he came back to the Islands to stay." He died in 1899.21

Photographers came and went. An 1856 newspaper article referred to "Mr. Benson, Daguerrian Artist, over the Commercial printing rooms" as well as to "Mr. Stangenwald, Ambrotype and Daguerreotypist, King Street."22 A year later W.F. Howland announced that "he has taken the rooms formerly occupied by Mr. Benson... where he is now prepared to take PICTURES ON GLASS AND PAPER, known as the Patent Ambrotypes and Photographs."23 The first Honolulu city directory, published in
1869, listed only one photographer, H. Chase.\textsuperscript{24} The 1880-1881 directory listed five.\textsuperscript{25} The 1889 edition reported only one.\textsuperscript{26} Besides Stangenwald and Chase, a roll of Honolulu photographers active in these decades would include the names of Jos. W. King, A.A. Montano, M. Dickson, J.J. Williams, Joaquin A. Gonsalves, Frank Davey, and R.K. Bonine.

These pioneer photographers recorded the likenesses of countless government officials, missionaries, businessmen and artisans and their families. Many of their daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and ferrotypes have been published, including Robert C. Wylie (taken "probably 1847 or 1855"),\textsuperscript{27} G.P. and Laura Judd (possibly 1849),\textsuperscript{28} and Dwight and Charlotte Baldwin, Titus and Fidelia Coan, William and Mary Rice, Abigail and Emma Smith, and Persis Taylor (all about 1850).\textsuperscript{29} Many others, either originals or later copy negatives, lie in the files of the Hawaii State Archives, Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Hawaiian Historical Society, and private collections. Most of these early photographs are undated. Their photographic quality and physical condition range from poor to excellent.

The oldest surviving street scenes and landscapes likewise go back to the 1850's. Examples include an 1853 picture taken by Stangenwald from the Kawaiahao Church tower,\textsuperscript{30} an 1854 shot of the McIntyre Building on Fort Street,\textsuperscript{31} the view up Fort Street in 1856,\textsuperscript{32} and the Wailiki shoreline and Diamond Head in 1859.\textsuperscript{33} Many of these early pictures have been copied and published by Ray Jerome Baker, a veteran Honolulu photographer.\textsuperscript{34} One of Baker's collections contains both a graceful tribute to the pioneer picture-makers and some pointed comments regarding the detective work needed to establish the approximate date and location of an un-captioned print.\textsuperscript{35}

Honolulu bookstores soon began selling scenic photographs to tourists and residents. In 1875, for example, H.M. Whitney advertised

\begin{quote}
NEW PHOTOGRAPHS! A Few Photographic Views Taken by Mr. Moeller, Lately from Tahiti...Among them are these: View of the City and Harbor of Honolulu, taken from Punchbowl—unquestionably the finest picture of Honolulu extant. View of Port and Harbor of Papeete. View in Koolau, Oahu...McKeague's Sugar Plantation, Koolau...\textsuperscript{36} Many such advertisements appeared in the newspapers.
\end{quote}

Photography became commonplace in Hawaii during the 1860's and 1870's, gradually evolving into its modern form. Lenses, shutters and films became faster, exposures became shorter, and the daguerreotype and calotype were succeeded by the wet collodion process, the ambrotype, the ferrotype, and the dry plate.\textsuperscript{37} People and places were recorded in ever greater numbers, and more and more of these photographs survived in private albums, museum collections, and elsewhere.

Photo-engravings of Hawaiian pictures were first published around 1885. Although the publication of photographs in printing ink had been successfully accomplished in England as early as 1856, such printing remained difficult and infrequent until the introduction of Ives's half-tone process in 1881.\textsuperscript{38} In Hawaii as elsewhere, most published illustrations had previously been made from woodcuts drawn from photographs. The earliest use of half-tone engravings to reproduce Hawaiian photographs was apparently in \textit{The Honolulu Almanac and Directory, 1886}, which included a frontispiece showing King Kalakaua, a view of Iolani Palace, and other Island scenes.\textsuperscript{39} Although printed in Honolulu, the photo-engravings were manufactured in San Francisco. Half-tones of photographs were first used in a local guide book in 1890,\textsuperscript{40} in \textit{Thrum's Annual} in 1891,\textsuperscript{41} in \textit{Paradise of the Pacific} in 1892,\textsuperscript{42} and in Honolulu newspapers around 1900.\textsuperscript{43}

Retail stores specializing in cameras and photographic supplies began to advertise in Honolulu in the late 1880's. The earliest camera counters were apparently those at two drug stores, Hollister & Co. at 109 Fort Street and Benson,
Smith & Co. at 113 and 115 Fort Street. Hollister's first advertisement, published late in 1887 in the 1888 edition of Thrum's Annual, simply listed "photographic materials" among other items available. Several months later their newspaper advertising boasted "photographic materials a specialty." A Benson, Smith advertisement mentioning "photographic supplies" (their first) was carried in Vol. I, No. 1 of Paradise of the Pacific in January, 1888. The first mentions of specific products—Blair cameras and G. Cramer Dry Plates—appeared in Benson, Smith ads in mid-1888. Magic lanterns, the predecessors of today's slide projectors, were a popular item around this time accessible at Thrum's Up-Town Book and Stationery Store and elsewhere.

Two products which did much to popularize amateur photography, the Kodak camera and roll film, reached Hawaii near the end of the decade. The Kodak had been introduced on the mainland in the summer of 1888, and roll film, invented by Goodwin in 1887, was quickly adopted and exploited by Eastman. The earliest mention of the Kodak in Honolulu was in an advertisement by "Hollister & Co.,...Dealers in Photographic Goods of every description. Cameras, Card Mounts, Albumen Paper, etc., etc. Agents for E. & H.T. Anthony & Co's. Photographic Specialties, Eastman's Kodak Cameras, The Scoville & Adams Co. and the Celebrated Seed Dry Plates," first published on May 21, 1889. Kodak film presumably came to the Islands about the same time. One of the earliest users of the Kodak was Mrs. Alice G. Jordan.

Commercial photo-finishing was introduced to Hawaii about this time. Early photographers did their own developing and printing, either at home or in the field. In June, 1888, Benson, Smith & Co. advertised "Dark Room at disposal of Amateurs." Six months later an ad in The Daily Bulletin announced that "Theo. P. Severin, Photographer, has taken the Studio formerly occupied by A.A. Montano, corner of King and Fort Streets, and is prepared to take PICTURES IN ANY STYLES! Printing Done for Amateurs..." Severin was apparently Hawaii's first commercial photo-finisher.

Not surprisingly, these rapid advances in equipment and services soon led to the formation of the first camera club in the Islands. On January 11, 1889, a page 3 article in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported that a number of the amateur photographers of this city met Thursday evening at the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, and organized as the 'Hawaiian Camera Club', with the following officers:

President, C. Hedemann.
Vice-President, George W. Smith.
Secretary-Treasurer, A.W. Richardson.

A committee was appointed to draft by-laws and report at a meeting to be held four weeks hence. The objects of the organization are, generally, mutual improvement in the photographic art, the collection of views taken by amateurs, etc. Similar societies are in existence throughout the United States and in the Australian Colonies. Visitors from one to another are always made welcome, and the societies hold communication and exchanges with each other. There are about fifty amateurs in these Islands, which ought to be enough material to make the organization prosperous and useful. The public has an interest in it, as one function assumed by the Camera Club is the holding of exhibitions.

The first year of the Hawaiian Camera Club was an active one. At their monthly meeting in May, the members were photographed by magnesium flash, the negative when developed showing remarkably clear details. An exhibition of one or two hundred Hawaiian and European stereoscopic views was given, the instrument used...
being a beautiful, large, revolving one... presented by Emperor Napoleon III in person to the late Queen Emma on her visit to Paris." By this time the club had "over fifty active members" plus a number of "honorary members" who had paid "an admittance fee of $25." By November the club was able to give its first exhibition, consisting of "some eighty subjects" and including "everything from an ordinary silver print to a bromide enlargement." By 1890 Hawaiian photography had reached maturity. Cameras and films had increased greatly in speed, versatility, and ease of handling. Camera stores and commercial photofinishing were in existence. Over fifty amateurs belonged to a flourishing camera club. Photographs were being exhibited and published. Competent professionals were practicing in the Islands, and although none remotely approached the genius of a Matthew Brady or Timothy O'Sullivan, their work gave evidence of growing technical skills and artistic perception. Much had happened since the first Island resident had faced a camera, 47 years earlier.

NOTES


8. HMCS, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 112, 134. These daguerreotypes bear captions dating them in 1840 or earlier, but neither the state of the art nor the apparent age of the subjects warrants such early dates.


11. p. 147.

12. p. 2. Only part of the article is reproduced here; the full story is given in Baker, *op. cit.*.


19. p. 25.
20. p. 29.
24. Honolulu Directory, and Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands (Honolulu: C.C. Bennett, 1869), pp. vi, 79.
28. This daguerreotype is reproduced in Halford, op. cit., p. 103, dated 1849, but in HG, December 21, 1889, p. 6;see, for example, the September, 1892 issue, pp. 1, 2.
29. This daguerreotype may have been made in Hilo.
30. Archives of Hawaii (AH), Negative 17008.
31. AH, Negative 2030.
32. R.J. Baker, Honolulu Then and Now (Honolulu: the author, 1941), Plate 2. Also in Kuykendall,...Kingdom, 1854-1874, p. 8.
33. AH, Negative 2042.
35. Honolulu Then and Now, dedication and foreword.
36. Hawaiian Gazette (HG), January 6, 1875, p. 4.
42. See, for example, the September, 1892 issue, pp. 1, 2.
43. PCA, January 1, 1900, p. 2; January 8, 1900, p. 6; and January 24, 1900, p. 5.
44. HAA for 1888, unnumbered page in advertising section.
45. HG, April 3, 1889, p. 7.
46. p. 7.
48. PCA, December 21, 1889, p. 3.
51. Edna Williamson Stall, *Historic Homes of Hawaii* (Cleveland: privately printed, 1937), pp. 16-17. This volume includes many old photographs of Island residences.


56. *PCA*, November 23, 1889, p. 3.

57. See, for example, W.T. Brigham's comments in the *HG*, May 14, 1889, p. 3.

CONTRIBUTORS: Both O.A. BUSHNELL and ROBERT C. SCHMITT have previously contributed articles to this Review. The editor gratefully acknowledges their industry and loyalty, their devotion to scholarship, and their unflagging interest in Hawaiian history.

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HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

Richard A. Greer, Editor

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SINCE THE NEXT ISSUE WILL NOT APPEAR UNTIL JANUARY, 1968, LET THE HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW BE THE FIRST TO WISH YOU A HAPPY HOLIDAY SEASON AND A REWARDING NEW YEAR.
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When I came to live at Honolulu in the late nineteen-fifties I found the city an interesting and puzzling place. I wanted to know more about it, so I looked for the usual municipal history. Somewhat to my surprise I learned that none had been written. As I came to understand the islands a little better I discovered that the people of Hawaii were greatly concerned about their past, that they celebrated anniversaries of all sorts with conscientious enthusiasm, and that this part of the world had produced more than its share of historical writing. Even so, the centennial and the sesquicentennial anniversary of the discovery of Honolulu had gone by and still no single work existed to tell the story of the town that was, almost from the beginning of the modern era, the commercial and political capital of the islands. I was not sure why that should have been the case, but at least it gave me the chance to start work on a history of Honolulu in the nineteenth century.

By the time I was free to begin serious research I had become reasonably familiar with the outlines of Hawaiian history, and I knew something about the kinds of material available for study (though I had no idea at all about the amount or quality of material on any given subject). More reading led me to the conclusion that nineteenth-century Honoluluans themselves were interested less in municipal affairs than in wider issues. For most of its inhabitants, most of the time, Honolulu (like some other celebrated cities) was not so much a place as a state of mind. Honoluluans argued with each other a great deal; they were a heterogeneous collection of people, their interests were diverse, and their debates were so prolonged and violent that the growth of a sense of community was inhibited for decades on end.

The trouble lay in the fact that Honolulu, in size not much more than a village, was also the effective capital of the Hawaiian kingdom after about 1820. Whoever controlled Honolulu controlled the islands. No one ever thought otherwise. The town, moreover, was very vulnerable to influences from the outside world. When the great powers made waves in the Pacific, Honolulu was almost swamped. Only for short periods did the place have a chance to develop in peace. It was menaced successively by French, British, and American nationalists and imperialists, and for years at a time local history was swallowed up in national history.

Thus I found it difficult to write about Honolulu as other local historians wrote about their towns. In the early months of work, when I was looking for direction, I read recently-published local histories from the United States, England, and Australia, to learn how other authors conceived of their task; and I also read as widely as I could on the general nature of communities, beginning with textbooks and working my way through periodical literature to the classics. After about two years I stopped doing this. The deeper I went in the documentary sources on Honolulu, this strange town—a capital city without self-government, a western port in a native society, geographically isolated in mid-Pacific but tied inextricably to Europe and America—the more it seemed to me that the writings of Honoluluans themselves suggested the proper emphasis and tone for my work and at the same time offered me a kind of truth to which the making of comparisons and the application of general

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*Dr. Daws wrote his PhD dissertation on the history of Honolulu in the nineteenth century.*
theories added relatively little. So I concentrated almost exclusively on making clear what happened in one rather unusual town, not on relating any findings to the existing corpus of work on communities in general.

This approach is unfashionable, perhaps even delinquent, at a time when social scientists interested in urbanization are building ever more elaborate systems. So be it. I am not a system-builder. I have discovered, in fact, that I am afflicted with what has been diagnosed as the "Romantic Syndrome"—"a preference for the dynamic, the changing; for complexity, fluidity, and disorder over system, clarity and structure; for participation in the inner experience of the objects of...study over a relatively external relation to them; for soft focus over sharply defined focus; for other-worldly bias, a 'flight through time or a flight through space,' over a this-worldly bias..."1

I suppose no one who suffers from such an ailment ought to claim that his work is definitive. The disorder he senses in the lives of his subjects may be merely a projection of his own, and his poorly-focused vision may blur things that are perfectly clear to others. I would certainly not pretend that I have said the last word on any part of Honolulu's history. I hope, to be sure, that in treating of disorder I have not myself been too disorderly. Beyond that, I wonder if a last word can really be said. It seems to me that even the most systematic of scholars would encounter difficulties with some of the materials on Honolulu. For example, reliable statistics of any kind are virtually non-existent for the period before 1850, and estimates of quantities are therefore bound to be impressionistic. Again, sources on the life of the native community are all but intractable. The Hawaiians were not in the habit of explaining themselves or even exposing themselves in written form (despite widespread literacy and the existence of a native-language press). In general they did not initiate social action but were acted upon. I claim no special gift of empathy; wishing to understand the Hawaiians I found I could not, and I ended by merely trying to make sense out of what their white contemporaries said about them.

What is left, then, after all this? I hope my work will interest other people to the point where a few may be provoked to enter the field themselves. Nothing would please me more than to find new work being done which would render mine obsolete. As for myself, the words that strike closest to home at the moment are not those of a historian but of a novelist:

I had set out once to store, to codify, to annotate the past before it was utterly lost—that at least was a task I had set myself. I had failed in it (perhaps it was hopeless?)—for no sooner had I embalmed one aspect of it in words than the intrusion of new knowledge disrupted the frame of reference, everything flew asunder, only to reassamble again in unforeseen, unpredictable patterns...

'To rework reality! I had written somewhere; temeritous, presumptuous words indeed—for it is reality which works and reworks us on its slow wheel. Yet if I had been enriched by the experience of this island interlude, it was perhaps because of this total failure to record the inner truth of the city. I had now come face to face with the nature of time, that ailment of the human psyche. I had been forced to admit defeat on paper. Yet curiously enough the act of writing had in itself brought me another sort of increase; by the very failure of words, which sink one by one into the measureless caverns of the imagination and gutter out. An expensive way to begin living, yes; but then we...are driven towards personal lives nourished in these strange techniques of self-pursuit.2

NOTES

The word petroglyph comes from the Greek "petra" (rock) and "glyph" (carving). Petroglyphs are not a kind of writing, though often so called. They should not be compared with hieroglyphics, which really are a form of writing. The Hawaiians had no writing until the coming of the missionaries.

My interest in petroglyphs began about four years ago when taking a course in anthropology at the Hilo campus of the University of Hawaii. Weekends were spent in the fields of Kona and Kau, searching for and mapping petroglyph sites. Experiences were varied— including long hikes in the hot sun, slipping and falling into water, nearly getting lost in wide cow pasture in Naalehu, climbing down a rope into a Kona cave, and crawling through passages in which one could not even creep on all fours. Once upon a field of petroglyphs, however, these trials became unimportant, it was a great thrill to see history before me—to view heiaus and caves used to hide women and children in time of war—to walk through a cavern paved with thousands of small stones brought in from the outside. But so much for personal reactions.

Early Petroglyph Discoveries. Petroglyphs were reported as early as 1821 and 1822 by Gilbert F. Mathison and the Rev. William Ellis. Mathison found the rock on Oahu which the cannibal Aikanaka, chief man-eater, had used as a platter upon which to carve his human victims. He discovered on this rock rude representations of men and animals. Ellis, who came to visit the American missionaries in 1822 and remained to work with them, saw a number of figures of men and animals along the south-west coast of the island of Hawaii.

Petroglyph Sites. Petroglyphs are found on smooth lava flows, rocks, cave walls and cliffs on nearly all of the major islands. These carvings, while somewhat crude, are "...much better than most scratching of patterns and initials made in more recent days mainly by children."  

According to A.F. Judd, the differences in the carvings are due to the varying hardness of the rock and the freedom with which the carver could work—those in caves, for example, being less elaborate than those in the open. There may, however, be some exceptions to this.  

K.P. Emory distinguishes three methods of making petroglyphs:  

1. Brasing on soft surface by rubbing the surface and removing the outer crust, producing a change in color;  
2. Abrading by scraping the surface deeply with a hard stone, and  
3. Pecking, or hammering the pattern into the surface with a pointed stone or chip.

Judd, in the source previously cited, suggests that the carvings were not made by the Hawaiians, "...for the Hawaiians generally sharpened their stone implements on a flat surface, and bevel chisels were not commonly used." But he seems to be the only one of this opinion.

Age of the Petroglyphs. Kenneth P. Emory assumes that the idea of petroglyphs was brought to the islands from the Hawaiians' lost homes in Polynesia, because in Tahiti and the Marquesas similar carvings are found (compare Figures 1 and 2). Miss Matsukawa produced this paper in Dr. C.H. Hunter's Hawaiian history class at the University of Hawaii in the spring of 1967.
The dates of lava flows have been established through measures of radioactivity, and petroglyphs carved on them obviously succeeded the flows. However, it is difficult to determine the exact age of petroglyphs because the surfaces of the rocks and lava alows weather quickly in some areas and slowly in others. When petroglyphs overlap, the one on the bottom is, of course, older.

There are also differences in form and style. Dr. Emory maintains that the linear type came earlier (Figures 3 and 4). The triangular type with muscles on the arms and legs seems to be more recent. This type appears to be a uniquely Hawaiian creation; it is not found elsewhere (Figures 5 and 6).

E.H. Bryan points out that Hawaiian petroglyphs do not appear to be as old as those in other lands. Definitely, many were carved before Cook's arrival, but that some were made subsequently is evidenced by drawings of goats, deer, ships, rifles, and men on horseback (Figures 7 and 8).

Tradition has it that one figure near Kahaluu, Hawaii in Kona dates from about 1600 A.D. It is supposed to represent Kanalalawalu, the king of Kauai who invaded Hawaii and was killed in battle by Lono- i-ka-Makahiki. His body was brought to Kahaluu and sacrificed at the nearby heiau of Keeku. The petroglyphs are said to be records of that event.

Why Were Petroglyphs Made? There are many and varied explanations. Emory says "...they represent the nearest approach to writing left by the old Hawaiians. While they communicated in a limited manner, by this means they also might have been calling upon the gods for favorable auspices during their journey. Many of the carvings are made at natural resting places along the old trails." Bryan calls them ancient bulletin boards along the trails.

Does Ellis imply doubt that the Hawaiians made the carvings? "With this slight exception, if such it can be called, the natives of the Sandwich and other islands had no sign for sounds or ideas, nor any pictorial representation of facts. Theirs was an oral language and whatever view we take of it presents the most interesting phenomena connected with the inhabitants of the Pacific." There are no legends concerning the origin of the petroglyphs. One theory for this lack of explanation was offered by W.D. Westervelt: Perhaps the natives were wary of telling about a past which might reflect upon their ancestors as being cannibalistic or immoral. Westervelt rediscovered Aikanaka's gigantic cannibal platter. Ellis suggests that cowboys or school children made the petroglyphs, but Judd's observations led him to disbelieve this.

Edward Stasack of the University of Hawaii art department, who has done considerable work with petroglyphs, opines that the making of petroglyphs was either secret or banned by missionary teaching—else an explanation would have been handed down.

"Spaniards came to the islands before Cook, but why are not words or letters carved? Why did not the cross appear? If made by the Japanese or people of Asiatic origin, why no characters, and why were the drawings crude? If they were made by Hawaiians, why no influence of the tapa design?" Research has, however, pointed out that many of the designs found in petroglyphs are also found in Hawaiian tattoos; Emory notes this in his "The Island of Lanai.

The views of Ellis are not popular today among Hawaiians. On November 21, 1921, Lorrin A. Thurston asked a 76-year-old man born and reared on Lanai why the petroglyphs had been carved. His reply was, "Paani wale no"—only for play. The making of petroglyphs is sometimes equated with the "Kilroy was here" syndrome. Were the petroglyphs a form of self-expression?

A figure found at many sites features dots and concentric circles. Some of the latter may be incomplete. These have been interpreted by Hawaiians as a complete circuit of the island or a journey around just part of it. Sometimes there are lines
Puuloa Carvings

Umbilical cords

Child in mother's womb.
near the circle, which are said to represent the number of people in the party (Figures 9, 10, 11). "This harmonizes with certain sacred journeys or pilgrimages which the natives have been in the habit of making on the island of Hawaii from time immemorial."9

Because some of the figures of petroglyphs are similar to figures in tattooing designs and designs on gourds, it might be maintained that these were all means of artistic expression. Hawaiians born on Lanai in 1867 said that the petroglyphs there were made by students from Lahainaluna School about 1870 during a vacation. This may explain the presence of cats and horses in the carvings.

As mentioned earlier, the figure of Kamalalawalu at Kahaluu, Kona might have been a means of recording a historical event. Thus we have many possible explanations, but still no conclusive one. Perhaps petroglyphs were made for a number of different reasons.

Stasack, after viewing the petroglyphs at Puuloa in Puna, evolved certain theories. These carvings confirmed his belief that the images are a significant art expression containing a high degree of symbolism:

It is clearer than ever to me that these petroglyphs always focus on significant human things. There are no 'pop' artists or frivolous expressions among them... The idea held by some persons that petroglyphs were done in the idle moments by anyone so inclined just can't be true from the artistic evidence they present... If the latter were true, then petroglyphs would be found everywhere, many would be in a poor or unfinished state, and they would be found in far greater number than they are now.10

Puuloa means "hill of long life". This hill probably had great ritual significance at one time, since umbilical cords from new-born infants were likely placed in circular pukas found there. This area served as several village sites until 1924, and there are five or six heiaus in the immediate vicinity.

Stasack believes that sharp rocks were used to make the carvings, but none has been found near the sites. He believes that these images reveal the ancient Hawaiians' deep respect for man (Figures 12, 13).

Petroglyphs on the Island of Hawaii. By far the richest fields of petroglyphs are on the island of Hawaii. Near the heiau of Keeku at Kahaluu there lies embedded in stone a headless human figure said to be that of Kamalalawalu. The surrounding figures are reported to be those of his men. J.F. Stokes wrote that they were probably made by hammering or pecking, as with a beach pebble, because this is a simple yet effective method.

Westward from this spot are two unusual figures. The first is 10" long, with squared joints and a peculiar upward turn of the knee (Figure 14). The second is 13" long. The rock at the knees is unabraded and on the same level as the original surface. This could be a drawing of someone with broken legs. Another unusual aspect is the peculiar, two-pronged feet (Figure 15). A little toward the north is a spear thrower or an orator (Figure 16). Because of its superior natural advantage Kahaluu has been the abode of many chiefs and kings, as the number of heiaus seems to indicate.

Stokes informs that the heiau of Keeku was supposed to have been built by Kamehameha I about 200 years after the time of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki. This involves some contradiction as to where Kamalalawalu was sacrificed. Nevertheless, the story follows:

When Kamalalawalu, the king of Maui invaded Hawaii, Lono-ikamakahiki the king of Hawaii was in Kahaluu. On hearing of the landing near Kawaihae bay, Lono held a council of war at which two old priests presented the following plan: Lono was to disgrace them and drive them from the court; they were to seek refuge with the enemy and confidence being gained advice was to be given that a march be made inland toward Waimea where they were to claim
that Lono was in such a weak position that his defeat was certain. The plot succeeded, and while Kamalalawalu marched inland, Lono brought his forces along the coast from Kahaluu and cut off the retreat. Kamalalawalu was killed in the engagement that ensued. His body was brought to Kahaluu, a picture of it made on the rock, and the body sacrificed in the nearby heiau of Keauhoolii.11

There are several accounts of Kamalalawalu's death in which the location, etc., differ. This, however, seems to be the generally-accepted explanation for this group of petroglyphs.

Petroglyphs at Kahaluu face in all directions, but most face the mountains, perhaps because it was more comfortable for the worker to face the shore, or for some other reason.

Other petroglyph fields are in Kona. In the April 29, 1955 Honolulu Star-Bulletin, an article described a cave near the Keauhou-Kailua beach road as containing some 50 carvings which depicted humans, animals and events. Amateur anthropologist Rebecca Banks inferred that the entire layout tells a story because the figures are well grouped. She says they are typical of old Polynesian carvings and were made, probably, before Cook's arrival.

In another article, Banks discusses another petroglyph site, the Anaehoomalu field in Kailua, Kona.12 Parker Ranch requires written permission to visit the area.

In Kau, about two miles from the south of Naalehu, on the east wall of a lava tunnel, petroglyphs have been found, but they do not have the finish and symmetry of other petroglyphs because of the crumbly nature of the white deposit upon which the carving was done. The common single-lined forms as well as outlined and solid bodies can be seen. One unusual figure in this group has three toes (Figure 17).

Some two miles east of Punalu'u and one hundred yards from the sea are scattered groups of petroglyphs within a 50-foot radius and no more than 150 feet from the trail. These, too, are somewhat rough because of the brittle surface. Unusual forms are found here. Among them are a fish, figures with eyes but no head outline, and possible adult figures protecting children or other less capable adults (Figures 18, 19, 20, 21).

Kamooalii Heiau in Kau is small, about 20 feet square. The lower half is paved, just below the trail. Here the main group of petroglyphs covers some one-half acre. Caves are plentiful in this area. Line figures with three-fingered extremities are popular here. So are concentric circles and dots. One man has circles for legs, as does the figure at Kahaluu, Kona. Some petroglyphs resemble anchors and starfish; there are also many unrecognizable hieroglyphics, some of which suggest Oriental writing—the first suggestion of Oriental-styled petroglyphs discovered in this writer's research.

The field in Puuola, Puna has been discussed earlier in an attempt to explain the presence of petroglyphs in Hawaii. In March of 1962, workers from the Shipman Ranch in Puna came upon a cave while searching for a bull. Inside was a petroglyph of two warriors fighting with either canoe paddles or war clubs (Figure 22). Scientists believe that this cave was used as a supply center. Rings of stone, marking spots where calabashes were supported to catch drinking water, can be seen. Apparently it was customary to pick up a full gourd and leave an empty one for the next traveler. Torches, firesticks, and other petroglyph depictions are found in the cave, which is located about a mile on the Puna side of the Kau-Puna boundary of the Hawaiian National Park.

At Puuanahulu in Kohala are many acres of petroglyphs. A number of new forms here are mentioned by Stokes; these include the use of irregularly circular lines for the inclusion or separation of groups of petroglyphs, perhaps for the purpose of limiting or defining a particular record.13 Stokes mentions countless forms, neither
human nor animal, which from the grouping seem to tell a connected story. Stokes
was impressed with the idea that this was a decided advance toward a written lan-
guage.

The Island of Molokai. At Puu Hakina (southwestern corner of the island) is a
low, rocky hillock, about two miles northwest of Hale o Lono. On the top of this
rise are three stones standing in line, with shallow cut petroglyphs on the vertical
sides facing south. The most interesting figure is that of a male on the middle
stone; in addition to a wide, tapering trunk and twisted limbs, it has an oval loop
reaching from the neck high above the head. Below the stones, approximately 15
feet to the south, is a terrace artificially walled up.

Fornander, discussing these stones, mentions that one resembles a high-backed
chair, which may have served as a seat for the chief or his priest while looking out
over the ocean or viewing the stars at night. Fornander also believed that the
petroglyphs in some way were connected with the ancient religion of the Siwa among
the Hindus, whose emblem in Hindu mythology is the double trident. He thought, too,
that procreation could have been related to these petroglyphs; he compared them to
the upright sacred stones called Pohaku-a-kane which served as altars at places of
offering. Stones such as these are ... used in the Lingam or Phallic symbolism of
the Siwa cult in India and mark the Phallic idea the world over.14

Westervelt maintained that these petroglyphs were similar to the rude gods of
New Zealand who ruled over the principle of generation, and also that in some way
they were connected with the ancient religion of Hawaii.

Near Momomi, in air-formed sandstone, are numerous oblong depressions said to
represent human footprints. Legend tells us that Kalaina, a prophetess, one day went
to the trail and made two box-like hollows in its surface. The next day she called
the people and said, "See what I have done! By and by people will come from the sea
with feet like these." This has been interpreted as a prophecy of the coming of the
boot-wearing Caucasians. As the story goes, travelers have been accustomed to leave
their marks in similar form along the road.

The Island of Oahu. Perhaps the petroglyphs easiest of access on this island
are those located in Nuuanu Valley behind the Royal Mausoleum and Nuuanu Memorial
Park. Here, men and dogs are carved into outcropping rocks on the west bank of
Nuuanu Stream. There are about 16 dogs and a number of human figures; these are not
idle scratchings, for they are carefully made (Figure 23). A possible explanation
is found in a legendary tale of Kahilona, guardian of the supernatural dog Kaupe,
which lived at a famous old heiau called Kaheiki nearby. "Remarkable among the
figures is the attempt by an ancient artist to enlarge the head of a dog figure to
proportionately connect it with the body."16

Close by in Nuuanu Valley, a linear human figure two feet tall and 18 inches
wide, carved on a basalt boulder, was found and reported to the Honolulu Star-Bul-
létin on June 14, 1957. It is approximately 600 yards beyond the old Pali home of
Lester Marks.

At Koko Head, in a cave between the highway and shore, some distance beyond
Koko Head itself and Hanauma Bay, some 40 carvings can be found. A.F. Judd dis-
covered them in 1899. The number of carvings has diminished through the years,
but a few abstract marks and animal figures can still be distinguished. They range
from stick figures to triangular and square bodies with leg and arm muscles.

In 1964 petroglyphs were found on Waipahu cliffs by seventh-graders and their
teacher.17

A petroglyph find on a big stone in Noanalua Valley was reported in 1957. Tra-
dition says that it was once considered sacred—that an Akua which had power to take
two forms could either be the stone, Laupo, or the bird, Laea. The top surface is
8 1/2 by 11 feet, and carvings—a total of 22—are on three sides—the finest to be
seen on Oahu.
G.F. Mathison described a stone platter of Kalo Aikanaka at Halemanu, Waialua, sometime during 1821 or 1822. It was a flat stone somewhat like an English tombstone, about 5 feet wide by 6 or 7 feet long. The surface was smooth, with many crude representations of men and animals similar to those described among the American Indians. Many carvings were defaced; pieces had been broken off by neighboring inhabitants in order to convert them to domestic utensils before the introduction of iron by foreign traders. The rock is now lost, and legend has it that boys from The Kamehameha Schools destroyed it in order to rid the land of evidence of cannibalism.

The Bishop Museum now has a stone with two figures in a flexed position, back to back. The interesting thing about it is that it is carved in relief in profile, very unlike any other petroglyph. It was found on the Damon estate at Moanalua.

The Island of Kauai. In October, 1951, a carved stone plaque was found in a cane field 3 miles from the coast of Wailua. One side of the plaque has a carving of a figure in a crouched position in profile; this is in relief (Figure 24). Before this was discovered, the only known figure carved in profile was the one in Moanalua. The Kauai plaque is 5.2" high, 3.8" wide, and has a maximum thickness of 1.3". This was shaped by pecking. The plaque is knobbled, like others found on Kauai. It seems to be some sort of grinding or rubbing stone of archaic use. Perhaps it may be something made by a pre-Hawaiian people or by the early Hawaiians before modification by some later arrivals. However, if any non-Polynesian people visited Kauai, other traces should have been found by now.

In 1898, J.K. Farley counted 67 petroglyphs at the Black Lava Beach at Keonala, near Koloa, measuring from one to 6.5 feet. Later Judd found some measuring 7 feet. It is reported that there are still large fields of petroglyphs covered by the beach sand. Farley also tells of an account by an old Hawaiian woman of seeing figures of birds, fish, un-Hawaiian vessels and strange craft as long ago as 1847.

The Island of Maui. Here is found something unique in the way of petroglyphs; Maui is the only island on which are petroglyphs painted in red dye or painted directly onto stone cliffs. The forms, however, are the usual match-stick and triangular variety (Figure 25). Figures exist in the Iao Valley, the West Maui Mountains, along the lower trail of southeast Maui, and close to Hana. Four miles south of Hana, on the cliffs of Waichinu Stream, and about 200 yards inland from the bridge are figures painted in red.

The Olowalu area in the middle of Pioneer Mill Co. land, a mile through the cane and mauka of the highway to Lahaina, are petroglyphs scratched on the stones of the hill. There are several types, old and new, including letters. Most of the carvings are triangular. Some resemble American Indians with feathered headdresses, there are also figures of dogs, women and children.

The Island of Lanai. A new field of petroglyphs was discovered by Edward Stasack, J. Halley Cox and Birch Storm of the Honolulu Advertiser in August, 1963. The trio had been seeking already-known petroglyphs when they stumbled upon the field at Kukui Point. The styles are similar to those at Kaunolu, which will be discussed later. Figures include a couple of birdmen—one with large wings sprouting from his shoulders, and another wearing a headdress from which drooping wings extend (Figures 26-33).

According to the legend of Lanai, the island was inhabited by evil spirits until 1400. Then a young ali`i fought and defeated them. He and two brothers went to live on Lanai and ruled it. Two of the brothers possessed the ability to turn themselves into birds—a possible explanation for the carvings of the bird men.

The petroglyphs at Kaunolu are on smooth boulders. Others may be seen at Luahiwa, on 20 boulders scattered over an area of 3 acres at the base of the steep slopes leading into Palawai Basin. There is great variety, including bird men, dogs, roosters, etc. (Figure 34).
TYPES AND VARIATIONS OF HUMAN PETROGLYPHS ON LANAI - FROM EMORY, THE ISLAND OF LANAI

34

35

36

37
Emory says stone hammers, pointed stones, and irregular flakes of basalt were used in manufacturing the petroglyphs. These may be picked up at the petroglyph boulders.19

Most of the petroglyphs at Lanai are individually isolated and do not seem to tell stories as do the ones at Hawaii. Many of the figures are repeated over and over.

Hawaiian Petroglyphs Related to Indian Symbols? Earlier in this paper it was mentioned that Fornander considered the carvings in Hawaii similar to ancient Hindu symbols. In May, 1955, Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra of New Delhi noted the resemblance between Hawaiian petroglyphs and the letters of the Brahmi alphabet (an ancient Hindu script), and also religious symbols on Hindu coins more than 2,500 years old. This suggests a possible cultural tie. The Hawaiians apparently represented the following in their petroglyphs:

1. The five-spoked wheel—chariot used as a weapon by the god Vishnu (Figure 35);
2. The six-spoked wheel—symbol of the sun god. The spokes represent the six seasons (Figure 36);
3. The letter "V" in Brahmi, dating back to the third century before the Christian era (Figure 37).

In India some Hawaiian petroglyph symbols represent majesty, fertility, success and luck. From these symbols, the Hindu were able to evolve an alphabet before 300 B.C. The Emperor Asoka used this alphabet to publish edicts.

Dr. Chhabra, like Dr. Emory, says that the Hawaiian petroglyphs are not alphabetical. He has seen petroglyphs in Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and Java which are similar to those in Hawaii. Dr. Chhabra believes that the Polynesians may have come from India through the Malay Peninsula and out into the Pacific.20

As an aside, it might be noted that Thomas Thrum in 1915 mentioned similarities between petroglyphs in Hawaii and those in the Grand Canyon in Arizona, as illustrated in the August, 1914 issue of the National Geographic Magazine.21 Upon checking this, the present writer found that the most comparable carvings were those of several match-stick men. This could be evidence of some relationship between American Indians and Hawaiians; on the other hand, it could be a mere coincidence. Perhaps time and further study will tell.

Certainly Hawaii's petroglyph fields are important heritages from the past that may give tremendous help in tracing cultural and ethnic ties among various peoples of the world. And as new fields are discovered, new theories can be evolved concerning the original culture of the Hawaiians, and new insights into the lives of ancient Hawaiians gained. Thus, because of their significance in the task of deciphering Hawaii's past, it is vital that sight-seers not be permitted to deface or destroy these carvings and paintings.

NOTES

3 The Island of Lanai, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 12 (Honolulu: 1924), p. 94.
5 A.F. Judd, pp. 192, 193.
6 Ibid.
7 E.H. Bryan, pp. 8, 9.
8 Ibid.; K.P. Emory, p. 118.
10 "Starack Explains Petroglyph Symbolism Found on Puna Trip," Honolulu Advertiser, February 17, 1963, p. ? [Editor unable to find this article]
Considerable controversy exists regarding the early history of the automobile in Hawaii. At least five dates have been reported for the first motor car to reach the Islands. Information on automobile advertising and sales, highways, and legislation is scattered, incomplete or contradictory. Comprehensive, all-island statistics on vehicle registration were not officially compiled in a consistent manner until 1931. A brief review of available information for these years may consequently help clarify the record to some extent.

The earliest automobile in Hawaii apparently dates from the late 1890s. A headline in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser for October 9, 1899, noted: "THE AUTOMOBILE Makes Its Appearance in Honolulu/Seen on King Street Yesterday Afternoon for the First Time—Excites Much Comment." The story continued: "Hon. H.P. Baldwin's automobile, the first to be seen in the Hawaiian Islands, was given the first trial yesterday afternoon, and it was a very successful one. E.D. Tenney was in charge of the machine and handled it as though he was used to it." Tenney sped up Punahou St. at 14 mph, and although his vehicle failed to frighten any horses it greatly alarmed their drivers. George Mellen later described Baldwin's car as a Wood Electric.1

At least two other vehicles may have preceded that owned by Baldwin. On January 8, 1931, C.J. Hedemann presented a "horseless carriage made by the Wood Company of Chicago" to the Bishop Museum. In his letter of transmittal, Hedemann indicated that he had bought this car in New York around 1898 and shipped it to Honolulu soon thereafter. About the same time, he added, "Mr. Atherton brought a similar vehicle to the Islands. The Museum, unfortunately, disposed of Hedemann's gift in 1938."2

Other dates given for the first automobile in Hawaii are 1890, 1901, and 1904. The 1890 reference appeared in Thrum's Annual on two separate occasions.3 An article on the oldest automobile now owned by the Museum is a Model N Ford, bought in 1906 or 1907 by C.C. Kennedy of Hilo, and donated to the Museum by H. Tanaka in 1967 (information supplied by John Wright, January 11, 1968).
by Norwood quoted a 1901 date. Mellen referred to the "first gas-engined automobile complete with steering wheel and tonneau," acquired by C.W. Cooke on July 14, 1904; this date was used by the Honolulu Automobile Club for the "first real automobile" in the Islands.

The motor car soon multiplied. In September, 1900, Paradise of the Pacific noted that "four automobiles of various makes have been traversing Honolulu's streets during the past six months and attract the attention of all passersby." Four years later there were 18 motor vehicles in the Honolulu Thanksgiving parade. An article published in 1905 boasted that "twenty-five automobiles...are in daily use in Honolulu." A total of 80 was cited later that year, apparently in reference to the entire Territory. The Winter Floral Parade of 1906 featured 30 flower-bedecked automobiles, "about a third of the whole number in the city." The Auto Directories Company of New York reported 125 motor cars in the Islands soon thereafter. Most of these vehicles were relatively low in power and price.

Taxis, buses, and rental cars were early developments. In March, 1900, the Hawaiian Automobile Company announced plans to operate 25 battery-powered hacks, but the effort proved abortive. Similar taxi services were announced in March and November, 1901. By 1905 Club Stables, Ltd., was advertising: "TOURISTS. We will show all points of interest—in Autos, Coach and Tally-ho—at right figures." Automobile sales and service establishments arrived on the scene in 1903. Advertisements in the 1903-1904 city directory called attention to "Honolulu Automobile and Machine Shops...Automobiles Assembled and Repaired...1116-18 Union St., Honolulu" and "Pioneer Motor Car Co....Agents for Olds Motor Works, Winton Motor Carriage Co., Locomobile Co. of America, Cadillac Automobile Co....Cor. Merchant and Alakea Sts., Honolulu, T.H." (The only previous directory listing for motor cars, one in the 1900-1901 edition, was for the ill-fated Hawaiian Automobile Co.) Within a year, Pioneer relinquished its franchise to the von Hamm-Young Co. In July, 1904, VHX published Hawaii's first newspaper ad for cars, a three-column display showing a fashionably-dressed young lady next to a curved-dash Oldsmobile.

Territorial legislators were quick to recognize the motor car. Act 54 of the 1903 session imposed an annual tax of $5.00 on all vehicles "drawn by horses or mules, and automobiles used for the conveyance of persons." Act 27, passed in 1905, required "every automobile, bicycle, tricycle or vehicle" to keep lights burning "when in use during the hours of darkness." The same legislature set a 4 mph automobile speed limit over bridges and increased the annual tax to $20. In 1909, the tax was changed to one cent per pound, based on 110 percent of factory weight. Two years later the legislators provided for a "metallic tag" with year and registration number, to cost the owner an additional 25¢. On May 1, 1929, responsibility for registration was transferred to the County Treasurers.

Territorial laws were soon supplemented by county ordinances. Order [sic] No. 5, "an ordinance relating to the registration, use and operation of motor cars," was approved by the County of Oahu Board of Supervisors on May 8, 1906. Three years later, on August 27, 1909, the new City and County of Honolulu Board of Supervisors replaced Order No. 5 with Ordinance No. 11, "regulating moving travel and traffic upon the streets and other public places of the City and County of Honolulu, providing for the registration, identification, use and operation of motor cars, and providing penalties for any violation of the Ordinance." Similar ordinances were approved in Hawaii County on August 9, 1906, Maui County on November 1, 1906, and Kauai County on July 6, 1910. These laws provided for the registration of vehicles and testing of drivers, set fees, penalties and fines, and established speed limits and other traffic regulations.

The first automobile fatality occurred in Aiea on June 4, 1906, when Louis Marks backed over a 20-foot embankment and turned a complete somersault.
The Honolulu Sheriff's office bought its first automobile in 1910. A newspaper article commented, "Ever since Fire Chief Thurston accumulated a Cartercar... /Sheriff/ Jarrett has been swelling visibly with envy." Hack fares paid by the police in pursuit of their duties, moreover, were becoming a major budgetary item. The sheriff's new (used) car immediately became a source of great pride to his men.28

Roads varied greatly in quality. Six persons who circled the Big Island in 16 hours in a Model 60 Thomas Flyer, for example, described conditions ranging from "splendid" (Hilo to Waichinu) through "passable" (Waimea) to "abominable" (Papaikou to Hilo).29 Similar highways were found on the other islands,30 A 1912 writer ranked the roads on Kauai as best, followed by those on Maui, Oahu, and worst of all, those of the Big Island.31

Motorists banded together in self-defense. The Automobile Club of Hawaii was in operation by 1907.32 The Honolulu Automobile Club followed on February 5, 1915.33

Ownership continued to rise, although the available statistics are often contradictory. At $20 per vehicle, Territorial registration receipts indicate 56 automobiles on all islands as of June 30, 1906; 111 in mid-1907; 184 in 1908, and 532 in 1909. Oahu totals, based on this source, numbered 44 in 1906, 77 in 1907, 135 in 1908, and 157 in 1909.34 According to Paradise of the Pacific, however, the correct Oahu figures were 180 in 1907, 294 in 1908, and 329 in 1909.35 Blessing reported 278 registered motor cars in Honolulu (apparently referring to all Oahu) in the latter year.36 A list of registered autos on Oahu published during the same year totaled 447.37 The earliest official all-island figures, compiled as of June 30, 1910, showed 861 automobiles in the Territory, of which 555 were on Oahu.38

Statistical inconsistencies continued through the second and third decades of the century. Annual reports of the Governor carried fiscal year data by county for 1913, 1914, 1915, and every year beginning in 1924.39 Calendar year totals by county were compiled from the Honolulu County Treasurer and Honolulu Automobile Club by the Member of Commerce of Honolulu and published from 1922 on.40 Watts reported Oahu totals for 1912-1930 but failed to note whether they referred to fiscal or calendar years.41 Calendar year data for Kauai County, supplied by the County Treasurer, have been published for 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925 and 1930.42 Although some of these series differ because of different dates or perhaps different coverage, others are in conflict because of transposed figures or other errors.

An effort to assemble a relatively consistent and error-free annual series is shown in Table 1. This table carries the data to 1931, when an accurate and detailed set of official registration statistics became regularly available.43

The combined registration for all counties soared from 861 in 1910 to 45,116 in 1930. On Oahu, the number increased from 555 to 28,697 during this 20-year period.

Despite this dramatic growth, automobile ownership in Hawaii relative to population lagged far behind the Mainland. Population per motor vehicle revealed the following local and nationwide trends between 1910 and 1930:44

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1930</th>
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<td>United States</td>
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<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
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<td>Territory of Hawaii</td>
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<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu County</td>
<td>147.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<td>Hawaii County</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maui County</td>
<td>280.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai County</td>
<td>319.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Islanders' expenditures for new cars grew rapidly. The value of automobiles and parts imported from the Mainland rose from $73,000 in 1905 to $1,290,000 in 1913 and $5,619,000 in 1927, a total not surpassed until 1937. Annual values from 1905 to 1920 are quoted in Table 2.45
The early 1930s marked the beginning of the modern period of automobile ownership in Hawaii. Most Hawaii families by then had a motor car; after a 15-year depression and wartime lull, many would begin acquiring their second and third cars. Highways, for the most part, were paved and passable by 1930. Traffic and registration laws had reached their present form. Automobile statistics were vastly improved. Crowded highways, insufficient parking, and high accident rates were already serious problems. The pioneer period was past.

NOTES

1 "Gadding About the Archipelago," The Sales Builder, X, No. 5 (May, 1937), p. 5.
5 George Mellen, "Empty Horsecollars," The Sales Builder, XI, No. 4 (April, 1933), p. 2; Roberta Clarke, information supplied in 1963.
7 Paradise of the Pacific, December, 1904, p. 15.
11 Paradise of the Pacific, February, 1907, p. 9.
16 Husted's Directory... 1903-1904, p. 18 and insert opposite p. 321.
19 Sunday Advertiser, July 24, 1904, p. 5.
20 Session Laws of Hawaii, 1905, Acts 60 and 89. Cited hereafter as SLH.
22 SLH, 1911, Act 146, Sec. 5. Minor amendments were enacted in SLH, 1917, Act 135 and SLH, 1921, Act 198.
23 SLH, 1929, Act 197.
24 A copy of this ordinance was supplied by Walter G. Bento, Treasurer, Hawaii County, on August 14, 1967.
25 A copy of this ordinance was supplied by Shigeto Murayama, Maui County Treasurer, on September 6, 1967.
26 Letter from Anselm K. Liu, Kauai County Treasurer, August 14, 1967.
27 George Mellen, op. cit., p. 4.
28 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 10, 1910, p. 4.
30 See, for example, William Norwood, op. cit.; anon., "The Auto in the Islands," Paradise of the Pacific, October, 1916, pp. 18-19 (reprinted, slightly abridged, in the October, 1917 issue, pp. 11-12); Le Roy Blessing, "Hawaii's Highways and Her Traffic Problem," Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, 1925, pp. 81-84.
December, 1907, p. 3; November, 1908, p. 5; June, 1909, p. 5. These data referred to "licensed automobiles" in "the city", apparently meaning the entire City and County.

Blessing, op. cit., p. 82.


Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior...1910 (GPO, 1910), p. 28.

Report of the Governor for 1913, p. 43; 1914, p. 30; 1915, p. 32; 1924, p. 32; 1925, p. 35; 1926, p. 43; 1927, p. 56; 1928, p. 58; 1929, p. 53; 1930, p. 49.


Fay King Watts, comp., Twenty Years of Progress in Hawaii 1910-1930 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1931), p. 35. This series also appears in the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, Redevelopment and Housing Research, No. 22 (December, 1962), p. 40, where it is credited to the Honolulu Municipal Reference Library; library personnel apparently copied it from the Watts report, included in their collection.


These data, covering the years 1931-1960, have been recapitulated in the Hawaii Department of Transportation, Division of Highways, Annual Traffic Summary...Island of Oahu, 1960 (May, 1961), Table II. Figures for 1925 and 1930, included in earlier versions of the DOT table, combine calendar year Oahu data (identical to the Chamber of Commerce series) with fiscal year totals for other islands (identical to figures in the Governor's reports); see Territorial Highway Department, 1953 Traffic Census for each island (September, 1954), Table II.


Annual totals are based on U.S. Department of Commerce statistics reported in Paradise of the Pacific, September, 1906, p. 25, and Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, 1910-1932; see Table 2 for full citation. For later years see Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, 1933-1940, and the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1943-1949. The legal requirement for reporting import values was abolished in 1948.
TABLE 1 REGISTERED MOTOR VEHICLES IN HAWAII, BY COUNTY: 1900 TO 1930
(For alternate series, see narrative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>THE TERRITORY</th>
<th>CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU</th>
<th>COUNTY OF HAWAII</th>
<th>COUNTY OF MAUI</th>
<th>COUNTY OF KAUAI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>1916</td>
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<td>1917</td>
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<td>1918</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>1,972</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4,222</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<td>6,951</td>
<td>5,991</td>
<td>3,866</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1 June 30 for 1910, 1913, 1914 and 1915; calendar years for 1922-1930 (and Kauai, 1905 and 1920); date not specified for other years.
2 Apparently omits Lanai and Molokai for 1922-1925.

Source: Paradise of the Pacific for September, 1900; March, 1905; April, 1906; February, 1907; December, 1907; November, 1908; June, 1909; and December, 1911; Years of Progress in Hawaii (1931), p. 35; Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for 1910, p. 28; 1913, p. 43; 1914, p. 30; 1915, p. 32; Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, Business Statistics, 1922-1936; Kauai County Treasurer, records for 1905 and 1920.
TABLE 2

VALUE OF AUTOMOBILES AND AUTOMOTIVE PARTS IMPORTED FROM THE MAINLAND UNITED STATES: 1905 TO 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>VALUE ($)</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>VALUE ($)</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>841,458</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,164,154</td>
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<tr>
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<td>107,266</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,096,300</td>
<td>1924</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2,102,924</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>4,857,633</td>
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<td>........</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2,111,997</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>4,354,408</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>502,423</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,836,458</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>1,196,264</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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<td>3,018,708</td>
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<td>4,288,290</td>
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<td>1,289,606</td>
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<td>4,085,195</td>
</tr>
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Dr. Gavan Daws of the University of Hawaii history department is now on leave, doing research in Europe, having received a grant to carry on this work.

ANNOUNCEMENT: Mr. John Wright, membership chairman for the American Association for State and Local History, desires those interested in obtaining membership (at $5.00 a year) to contact him at the Bishop Museum. Members receive the monthly History News, an interesting publication of the AASLH.

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NOTE: Copies of early numbers of the HHR are desired. Anyone having issues of Vol. I and Vol. II, Nos. 1-5 and 7 for sale, please write the editor. Purchasers are waiting to hear from me.
SOUTH SEA MOVIES, 1913-1943

by

Robert C. Schmitt

Motion pictures with Hawaiian and South Sea themes can be traced back at least as far as 1913. Their heyday lasted approximately three decades, or well into World War II. More than 125 feature-length films about the Pacific Islands and their peoples were released in the United States during these years. Their portrayal of social, geographic and historical conditions was, with few exceptions, wildly distorted and misleading, and their artistic qualities were often nil. These movies were viewed by millions of Americans, whose knowledge of and attitudes toward Hawaii and the South Seas were indelibly marked by what they had seen. The South Sea cinema thus became a potent (albeit seldom recognized) factor in postwar tourism and migration patterns.

This paper briefly describes 132 motion pictures concerned with Hawaii and the South Seas released in the U.S. before July 1, 1943. Except for one serial and four short films of historical significance, all are feature-length pictures, typically running at least one hour. Geographic coverage has been arbitrarily limited to the islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, or to unnamed or mythical islands with similar characteristics. A few movies concerned only incidentally with the Pacific Islands have been included, but most give the region heavy emphasis.

The geographic limits set for this review admittedly excluded some choice examples, ranging from the documentary to the bizarre. Although these omitted films characteristically were concerned with Indonesia, Southeast Asia, and even Latin America and Africa, they had much in common with the standard "South Sea" production. The Beachcomber (1939), for example, was set in the Dutch East Indies, but in theme and treatment might just as well have been given a Samoan or Tuamotuan locale.¹

Typhoon (1940), likewise laid in the East Indies, managed to combine such South Sea staples as Dorothy Lamour in a sarong, a white derelict, a search for black pearls, a typhoon and a tsunami.² Other non-Pacific films with South Sea themes included Bali the Unknown, a pioneering semi-documentary in color (1922);³ the first Road to Singapore, set in Ceylon (1931);⁴ King Kong and its sequel, Son of Kong (both 1933), about a mythical island off the Malay Peninsula;⁵ Samarcand (1933);⁶ The Jungle Princess, with Miss Lamour in Malaya (1936);⁷ White Cargo (1930 and 1942), a story of the Congo;⁸ and a number of pictures based on the works of Joseph Conrad, including one (The Rescue, 1929), with Duko Kahanamoku.⁹ All of these movies were reluctantly excluded so as to keep the analysis within manageable bounds.

It was likewise necessary to omit all but the most important shorter films. One-and two-reel travelogues about the Pacific Islands are almost as old as the motion picture; some 1898 footage by Burton Holmes, in fact, is probably the first movie ever made in Polynesia.¹⁰ Holmes, Bonine and others continued to picture the Pacific at every opportunity, and their efforts became standard fare at theaters and lecture halls.¹¹ Two-reel comedies made in or about Hawaii were common, and few received any notice beyond a line or two at the bottom of display ads for the features they accompanied.

Inasmuch as about 21,000 feature films were released in the U.S. during the 30-year period under consideration, approximately one out of every 165 movies had a Hawaiian or South Seas locale.¹² While this ratio may not seem very impressive when
compared with the proportion of pictures laid in the American West, it far surpasses the percentage for such populous and important regions as New England, the Ukraine, or Central Africa. Honolulu alone appeared in more movies than the combined totals for Philadelphia, Atlanta, Milwaukee and Seattle—one of which far exceeded the Hawaiian capital in population, wealth, and political influence.

Annual releases ranged from one to nine. The lower limit was reached in 1918, 1919, and 1927; the higher figure, in 1920 and 1940. Incidentally, these years were ones in which escapism might be expected to soar—1930 was the first full year of the Great Depression, and 1940 the first full year of World War II—editor One out of every 58 feature films issued during 1940 was set in Hawaii or the South Seas. Production occurred in cycles, with peaks in 1921, 1928-1931, 1937 and 1940, and troughs in 1918-1919, 1924-1927, 1933-1935, and 1938. During the second half of this three-decade span, these fluctuations closely followed those in the business cycle.

Most South Sea movies released before 1933 had modern stories. Four were given definite historical settings: The Hidden Pearls (1918), laid in the 1890's; Hell Below (1923), about World War I; Mutiny on the Bounty (1935); and Mutiny on the Black-Hawk (1939), a fictitious tale set in 1840. Five others were vaguely 19th century in setting. Sixty took place in the present. The remaining 58 cannot be assigned dates on the basis of available information.

Among those with specific locales, Hawaii led by a wide margin. Forty of the 127 feature films took place in Hawaii, and four others were largely concerned with journeys to or from the Islands. The first of these pictures with a Hawaii setting was The Nation's Peril (1924), much of which was actually made in Honolulu. Even earlier efforts were Hawaiian Love and The Shark God, one-reel dramas shot on Oahu in February, 1913 and released a few months later.

Eleven full-length films were concerned with French Polynesia, focusing on the island of Tahiti in most cases. The earliest appear to have been The Woman God Changed (1921) and Lost and Found on a South Sea Island (1923), the second of which was actually shot on Tahiti. Historically these pictures were preceded by a two-reeler released in 1913, The Tale of Old Tahiti.

Other islands proved less popular. Five films had Samoan settings, three were Fijian, two took place in New Guinea, and one each in New Zealand and the Solomons. Fifty-two movies were set on mythical or unspecified "South Sea" islands. Thirty-seven of these islands were inhabited, five were uninhabited (at least until the hero was cast ashore), and demographic data are unavailable for the others.

Two pictures made in Hawaii were about areas outside the region, Hell Below (1933) and Four Frightened People (1934). The former, filmed at Pearl Harbor, was a story of World War I submarine warfare. Introductory credits to the latter picture noted that "all exterior scenes were filmed in the strange jungles of Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea in the South Pacific" and gave the story's locale as the Malay Peninsula.

The settings of seven features cannot be determined from available information (the pictures tallied above sum to more than 127, because several had more than one South Sea locale).

Most movies with Hawaiian or South Sea settings were actually filmed in Hollywood. The exceptions included 27 made in whole or in part in Hawaii (plus four with local background shots), five filmed on Tahiti, four in Samoa, and one each in New Zealand, New Guinea, and on Bora Bora. Areas doubling for South Sea locations included Florida, the Bahamas, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mazatlan, and San Diego. Catalina Island was a favorite. The majority, however, were made entirely within the Hollywood studios.

Wherever their setting, these pictures portrayed South Sea geography as a constant hazard to life, limb and property. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes,
hurricanes, typhoons, crocodiles, sharks and octopi appear with unnerving regularity in these films.

Volcanoes erupted in at least 12 pictures. Some merely gushed lava that enveloped nearby villages; others exploded and obliterated entire islands. A few movies featured multiple catastrophes; in The Island of Desire (1917), for example, the hero and heroine survive both a hurricane and an earthquake, then flee just in time to see the island vanish in a mighty volcanic explosion. A review in Time complained that Bird of Paradise (1932) featured "a volcano spouting lava like Wheatsena...when a volcano appears in the cinema it is usually safe to assume that there will be very little else in the way of a story." The Newsweek review of South of Pago Pago (1940) remarked that "the author deserves mention for restraint in not blowing up an available volcano for the customary holocaust", and the Star-Bulletin added that "the only unexpected development is the failure of the smoking volcano on Manoa to erupt."

At least ten pictures assaulted their casts with high winds and torrential rains, ranging from the steady downpour of Sadie Thompson (1928) and Rain (1932) to the tree-snapping fury of Hurricane (1937).

When not battling typhoons and lava flows, the islanders in these movies had to contend with all kinds of threatening land and sea life. Some of the more surprising fauna encountered in these pictures have included crocodiles, lions, an ostrich, monkeys, and a chimpanzee—this last in Waikiki Wedding (1937). Swimming or diving for pearls, island residents have been attacked by sharks, swordfish, giant rays, octopi, and clams, all of which attain prodigious sizes in South Sea movies.

Savage tribesmen sometimes outstrip the sharks in creating menace. Cannibals appear in seven of these movies. Six others have featured natives in other stages of warlike frenzy, typically in full pursuit of hero and heroine.

Filmmakers have treated the economic base of South Sea communities with equal realism. One of the most frequently pictured occupations has been pearl fishing, an activity central to at least a dozen of these movies. The plot often entails the attempted theft of the pearl fisher's hoard by scruffy white renegades. Plantation agriculture has received attention in ten Hollywood movies, all but a few laid in Hawaii. Most of these efforts have devoted far more footage to the plantation owner (invariably referred to as "the pineapple king") than to his field hands or cannery workers. Other industries shown in South Sea pictures have been the armed forces (six times), tourism, hotels and travel (seven), ranching (twice), and sponge diving and phosphate mining (once each). Six pictures have been about cafe singers or chorus girls. Island governors, police officials, physicians, teachers, missionaries, artists, sailors, aviators, bartenders and professional crooks, among others, have been portrayed in supporting roles. Detectives seem to be especially common in the South Seas, having appeared in fully 18 films about the region.

Charlie Chan, the Chinese detective from Honolulu, alone accounted for seven of this number (not to mention countless Chan movies concerned with other parts of the world). Copra and vanilla plantations, the cultivation of taro, breadfruit and bananas, and fishing—in short, the economic activities employing the greatest number of South Sea workers—have, in contrast, been curiously neglected by moviemakers.

Thematic material found in films of Hawaii and the South Pacific has usually hewed to a rigid, narrowly defined and classical pattern. Shipwrecks, desert islands, white derelicts, native chiefs, persons fleeing the law, and, above all, interracial romances, turn up with stupefying frequency in these movies. J.C. Furnas, writing in 1947, pointed to the emphasis on "the native or half-native heroine...at the expense of the native male," "the white interloper as lover of the beautiful native princess." He added: "The South Seas legend is most easily illustrated by movies. It consists of sex, bare skin, idyllic settings, shoals of
girls, few men except the male lead, and is strung on a plot as foolish as it is stereotyped. ... Casts and quality of photography change--Hollywood's South Seas do not.

The approach was by no means original with the movies; it dated back to a late-18th century ballet, Othello, and achieved its classical expression in a 1911 American play, A Bird of Paradise.

Interracial romance was important to the plots of at least 21 of the 127 feature films under consideration. Only two of the 21 took a firm stand against such unions: the silent and talking versions of Peter B. Kyne's Never the Twain Shall Meet (1925 and 1931). Three others--A Fallen Idol (1919), when the Pavement Ends (1923), and Aloha (1931) --were favorable, but stressed the strong prejudices found among relatives of the haole partner. This problem was happily avoided in the first Aloma of the South Seas (1926) when, in the words of Time, "a native girl in love with a visiting American...turns out, miraculously, to be really a white girl after all."

Most movies, however, treated their interracial affairs with considerable sympathy and warmth, often showing the Island girls as warm, devoted, talented, self-sacrificing, and beautiful.

Four of the 21 movies on interethnic romance reversed the usual roles, and presented haole girls involved with island men. All but one of the men were treated kindly by the moviemakers.

Interracial triangles were not uncommon. Three showed an island girl competing with a white girl for a white male. Two presented a white girl vying with a native girl for a native man. In one picture, a haole girl had to choose between a haole man and a half-caste. The version of Aloma mentioned earlier had to do not only with an American man and his "native" sweetheart but also with their earlier attachments, an American girl and an island man.

The escapism in South Seas movies has often been literal: flight from the law has been second only to interethnic sex as a favorite theme, occurring in no less than 15 films. In three of this group, a detective pursues a female lawbreaker to the South Seas, captures her, and then falls in love with her. Two show islands inhabited by escaped convicts. W. Somerset Maugham authored four of these stories (Sadie Thompson, 1928; Rain, 1932; The Narrow Corner, 1933; Isle of Fury, 1936), and Nordhoff and Hall wrote two (Mutiny on the Bounty, 1935; Hurricane, 1937). The escape in Mutiny is of course quite a different matter from, say, the flight of the ex-convict in The Love Flower (1920). The total of 15 given for this category does not include the breaks and chases that have brought so many cops-and-robbers pictures (including most of the Charlie Chan series) to a rousing conclusion.

Ranking third in popularity among South Sea themes is the decline, fall, and redemption of the white derelict. This topic has been given prominence in 13 movies. Most of these characters are portrayed as bums, boozers, and beachcombers of respectable origins. Examples include the plantation owner in South of Siva (1922), the physicians in White Shadows in the South Seas (1928) and Seven Sinners (1940), the English lord in Girl of the Orient (1930), and the remittance man in Ebb Tide (1937). A similar case is offered by the stockbroker turned painter in Maugham's The Moon and Sixpence (1942).

Eleven feature films showed shipwrecks and other marine disasters. The earliest was Island of Regeneration (1915), which was enlivened not only by a fire at sea but "the earthquake--the attempted rescue--the charming love scenes on the tropical island--the girl bathing in the sequestered pond--the arrival of the United States cruiser and the landing of her officers and men." Hell Below (1933) pictured the loss of a submarine. In Sinners in Heaven (1924) an airplane goes down off a South Sea island.

Seven movies described the plight of one or more persons cast ashore on an uninhabited island. Three had Robinson Crusoe themes. The other four put a boy and girl together on a desert atoll.
The ugly duckling theme, a common one in Hollywood productions, curiously turns up only once in the 127 South Sea pictures. In *Four Frightened People* (1934), Claudette Colbert played a "plain, unattractive Chicago school teacher" who, "scorned by the men in her party, loses her glasses and her clothes and emerges as a highly attractive and desirable young woman."


The Polynesian parts in these pictures were usually taken by Caucasians with little resemblance to South Sea Islanders. Dorothy Lamour, for example, was born Dorothy Kaumeyer in New Orleans, and Jon Hall (originally Charles Locher) was a California native who spent part of his youth in Papeete.18 Many Polynesian roles were played by Mexicans and Spaniards: Maria Alba (Barcelona), Dolores Del Rio (Durango), Mona Maris (Buenos Aires), Ramon Navarro (Durango), Conchita Montenegro (San Sebastian, Spain), Raquel Torres (Hermosillo, Mexico), Lupe Velez (San Luis Potosi, Mexico), and Maria Montez (Dominican Republic). Others playing island parts were Olympe Bradna, Virginia Brissac, Betty Compson, Doraldina, Skeets Gallagher, Dorothy Janis, Mitchell Lewis, Enid Markey, Evelyn Nesbit, Clarine Seymour, Anita Stewart, Elena Verdugo, and Fay Wray—haoles all—and Japan's Sesuke Hayakawa. The Tahitian lead in *Last of the Pagans*, actually filmed in Tahiti (in 1935) and acclaimed for its authenticity, was taken by Mala, an Alaskan whose previous starring roles had been in *Igloo* and *Eskimo*.19 These oddities of casting caused much merriment among Honolulu critics and audiences, who took great delight in singling out the more bizarre examples.

Only two Islanders of Polynesian blood ever succeeded in South Sea movies. One was Namo Clark, a part-Hawaiian from Honolulu who played supporting roles in *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *Hawaii Calls* (1938), *Mutiny on the Blackhawk* (1939), and other films. Duke Kahanamoku was active in Hollywood from 1922 to 1932 and appeared in *Adventure* (1925), *Hula* (1927), and *Isle of Escape* (in which he was heard singing "My Kalua Rose") (1930). In addition to these kanaka-type roles, Duke portrayed Indian chiefs, Hindus, and Tripolitans.20 Brief appearances in South Sea movies were sometimes made by such Hawaiian entertainers as Libby Keani, Winona Love, Kealoha Holt, Sol Hoopii, Clara Inter, and Odetta and Kahala Bray.

Non-Polynesian island residents were likewise played by Caucasians. Charlie Chan, a Honolulu detective of Chinese ancestry, was variously portrayed by Warner Oland (born in Sweden), Sidney Toler (of Missouri), E.L. Park (English), and two actors from Japan, George Kuwa and Kamiyama Sojin.21

Most movies on Hawaiian or South Sea themes released in the U.S. were made and distributed by the major Hollywood studios. Some 112 of the 127 features discussed here fell into that category. Six were distributed by small Hollywood organizations.
Seven others were produced by Hawaii-based moviemakers, five in English and two in Ilocano or Tagalog. One was made under Japanese auspices, and one by New Zealand.

Forty-nine of the 127 features were silent pictures, six were part-talking or "synchronized", and 72 were talkies. Except for two Hawaii-sponsored pictures of 1929 and 1930, all of the silent films were released in 1928 or earlier. His Captive Woman and The Pagan, both released in April, 1929, were the earliest South Sea movies to include music and synchronized sound effects. The all-talking pictures arrived with Delightful Rogue in September, 1929. Several of the early "synchronized" and talking films were also issued in silent versions.

Color was used sparingly, appearing in only seven of the features. Although the one-reeler shot on Oahu in 1913 were released as color prints, the tints were presumably applied by hand. Prizma Color, a pioneering natural color process, was used in a 1921 travel short, Oahu and Its Pineapple Fields. A feature-length story of a South Seas shipwreck, The Uninvited Guest (1924), was advertised as "the first motion picture to combine natural colors and underwater photography". Color did not become relatively common, however, until the making of Captain Calamity (1926) and Ebb Tide (1937).

Despite their popularity with audiences, few movies about Hawaii or the South Seas were critical successes. The chief exception was Robert Flaherty's 1926 Samoan documentary, Naona of the South Seas, now generally regarded as a masterpiece. A half-dozen others still command considerable respect: the silent version of Sadie Thompson, directed by Raoul Walsh in 1928; W.S. Van Dyke's White Shadows in the South Seas, also 1928; F.W. Murnau's Tabu (1931); Frank Lloyd's Mutiny on the Bounty (1935); Hurricane, directed by John Ford and Stuart Heisler (1937); and Albert Lewin's The Moon and Sixpence (1942). Not surprisingly, two of these seven were documentary or semi-documentary, and the others were the work of important writers: Maugham, O'Brien, and Nordhoff and Hall. Ten or 15 others were competently made, entertaining pictures that were reasonably well received in their time. The remainder—fully three-fourths of the total—now seem hopelessly dated and hackneyed, and in fact were viewed as potboilers when first released.

South Sea movies rarely won awards or citations. Only three made Film Daily's "Ten Best Pictures of the Year" lists between 1922 and 1939: Sadie Thompson, Mutiny on the Bounty, and Hurricane. The New York Film Critics' Circle Awards presented during the 1930s completely ignored pictures with South Sea themes. Only five Academy Awards (first made in 1927-1928) went to South Sea movies. Two were for cinematography, Clyde DeVinna's White Shadows and Floyd Crosby's Tabu; one was for "best production", Mutiny on the Bounty; one was for sound recording, to Thomas Noulton for Hurricane; and one was for musical composition, to Harry Owens for "Sweet Leilani" in Waikiki Wedding.

The following list of 132 motion pictures gives for each the title, distributor, national release date, Honolulu release date, director, stars, plot summary, and other information.

1913


THE TALE OF OLD TAHITI (also referred to as A TAHITIAN LOVE STORY). Rel. 1913; Hon., 12/6/13. A two-reel romance.

1914


MARTIN EDEN. Famous Players. Rel. 1914; Hon., 1/2/15. A semi-autobiographical story
by Jack London, describing the hero's days as a South Seas beachcomber, as a successful writer, and finally his suicide while returning to Hawaii.27

1915

ISLAND OF REGENERATION. Vitagraph. Rel. 1915; Hon., 5/17/16. With Edith Storey and Antonio Moreno. A youth is cast ashore on an uninhabited island, and grows to manhood with an undeveloped mind; a sophisticated woman comes to the island and tries to instruct him.28

ALOHA OE. Ince (Triangle-Key Bee). Rel. 11/5/15; Hon., 1/27/17. With Willard Mack and Enid Markey. An attorney is cast away on a South Sea island, where he gains the love of a native princess. The Advertiser reviewer wrote that "nobody ever saw anything like this one" and complained about the phony hulas and grass skirts, "paper leis strewn about abundantly; aboriginal natives, who had never seen white men, playing the ukulele by artificial moonlight," and an imitative volcano.29

1916

IT HAPPENED IN HONOLULU. Bluebird-Universal. Rel. 1916. "The picture was presumably made in southern California."30

KACLULOLANI. Aloha Film Co. Hon., 11/5/16. With Ned Steel and Helen Holmes. A locally produced feature film stressing Hawaii's scenic wonders.31

1917

THE ISLAND OF DESIRE. Fox. Rel. 1/4/17; Hon., 8/29/17. With George Walsh. A Chinese murderer, a gin-soaked adventurer, and a yachtman sail from Honolulu to the South Seas in search of a pearl-lined lagoon, and encounter fire, hurricane, earthquake, entombment in a cave, volcanic explosion, cannibals and assaults.32


1918

THE HIDDEN PEARLS. Paramount. Rel. 2/7/1918; Hon., 9/1/18. With Sessue Hayakawa. The young king of "Apu Island" returns to his people after many years in American high society. Filmed in part at Kalapana and Kilauea Crater.34

1919

A FAILED IDOL. Fox. Rel. 10/26/19; Hon., 1/5/21. With Evelyn Nesbit. Laone, a Hawaiian princess and composer, is taken into California society; wooed by the nephew of her patroness, she encounters racial prejudice.35

1920


TERROR ISLAND. Paramount. Rel. 5/2/20; Hon., 6/3/20. With Houdini. A girl's father is held captive by South Sea natives who want a sacred pearl in her possession. Locked into an iron safe and hurled from an island cliff into the sea, she is rescued by Houdini.37

SHIPWRECKED AMONG CANNIBALS. Universal. Rel. 7/4/20; Hon., 3/24/21. "It is called an authentic picture of the adventures of two daring American cameramen among man-eating savages of New Guinea. Edward Laemmle and William F. Alder went to New Guinea to get pictures of South Sea life...The ship on which the cameramen went to the island was shipwrecked, but they saved their cameras."38

THE LOVE FLOWER. United Artists. Rel. 8/29/20; Hon., 2/5/22. With Richard Barthelmes, Carole Dempster, and George MacQuarrie. An ex-convict and his daughter flee to the South Seas and meet a wealthy young plantation owner.39
1921

THE TORRENT. Universal. Rel. 1/21/21; Hon., 8/14/21. With Eva Novak and Jack Perrin. A young woman is cast away on a desert island in the Pacific with the man she had jilted a year earlier. 40

PASSION FRUIT. Metro. Rel. 1/30/21; Hon., 7/7/21. With Dr. Aldina, "an expert in the hula hula," as "Regina, Hawaiian beauty, whose father has been poisoned by his plantation overseer, Anders Rance. Rance hopes to win Regina and the plantation. A wreck of an American, Pierce Lamont, is regenerated through Regina, and wins her after being at death's door, with clamorous natives shrieking for his death." Filmed on Oahu. 41

THE BLACK LILY. Hawaiian Motion Picture Co. Hon., 3/10/21. Dir., William F. Aldrich. With Peggy Aldrich. A story, laid in Honolulu, about a search for counterfeiters, the unjust arrest of the hero, and his release by the Governor. Filmed entirely in Honolulu. 42

OHU AND ITS PINEAPPLE FIELDS. Prizma Color. Hon., 7/17/21. A short travelogue on the pineapple industry. Possibly the first natural color movie made in the Pacific and the first shown in Hawaii. 43

THE WOMAN GOD CHANGED. Paramount. Rel. 6/5/21; Hon., 10/20/21. With Seena Owen and E.K. Lincoln. A New York dancer kills her common-law husband, flees to Tahiti, where she is eventually recognized and captured by a pursuing detective. Returning to New York they are shipwrecked and spend three years together on a desert island. Upon their rescue he takes her to trial and she is convicted. 44


THE SHARK MASTER. Universal. Rel. 8/28/21; Hon., 3/10/22. With Frank Mayo. A young woman travels through the South Seas seeking her lover, finally finds him living with a native princess. Part of the setting is in Hawaii. 46

1922

SOUTH OF SUVA. Famous Players-Lasky. Rel. 6/25/22; Hon., 11/9/22. Dir., Frank Urson. With Mary Miles Minter and John Bowers. A young wife arrives at her husband's Fiji copra and sugar plantation, to find that he "has succumbed to the degenerating influences of the tropics." At the climax she is threatened by cannibalistic natives incited by her own husband. Filmed in Los Angeles. 47


1923

THE WHITE FLOWER. Famous Players-Lasky. Rel. 3/4/23; Hon., 5/6/23. Dir., Julia C. Ivers. With Betty Compson, Edmund Lowe, and Lilly Phillips. The first movie ever reviewed by Time, which commented: "Another of those Hawaiian pictures concerning a beautiful half-caste with too many beaux of different shades of pigment. Well-photographed and with interesting bits of local color." Filmed in Honolulu and at Kilauea Crater, this picture featured the "pineapple king of the islands," a kahuna, an interracial triangle, grass houses, a luau, hulas, surfriding, and an eruption. 50

WHERE THE PAVEMENT ENDS. Metro. Rel. 3/11/23; Hon., 8/29/23. Dir., Rex Ingram. With Alice Terry and Ramon Novarro. The clandestine affair of a missionary's daughter and a South Sea island chief, threatened by the father's racial prejudice. Filmed in Miami and Cuba. 51
LOST AND FOUND ON A SOUTH SEA ISLAND. Goldwyn. Rel. 3/25/23; Hon., 8/26/23. Dir., R.A. Walsh. With House Peters, Pauline Starke and Antonio Moreno. Captain Blackbird's wife deserts him for the Island governor, taking along their daughter. Includes "Tahitian maidens in native costume dancing the siva-siva," "thrilling battle scenes", a beachcomber, a "native medicine man" and "a Chinaman". Filmed on Tahiti.52

VENGEANCE OF THE DEEP. Selznick. Rel. 4/22/23; Hon., 12/23/23. Dir., A.B. Barringer. With Ralph Lewis and Virginia Brown Faire. "A melodramatic romance of pearl fisheries on a mythical South Sea island...the first drama actually filmed on the bed of the ocean." Whites steal pearls from native divers, who war on them. Includes undersea treasure, sharks, and a giant clam. Filmed in Honolulu, Haleiwa, Coral Gardens (Kaneohe?), and Kawaihae.53

SOUTH SEA LOVE. Fox. Rel. 11/25/23. Dir., David Solomon. With Shirley Mason. No information available on plot, but a film of the same name was released in 1928.54


SINNERS IN HEAVEN. Paramount. Rel. 9/14/24; Hon., 10/26/24. With Bebe Daniels and Richard Dix. A couple flying around the world crash off a South Sea island during a typhoon. The girl is rescued by a search party as cannibals shoot the man. Hidden and nursed by a native girl, he eventually returns to his flying partner. Shot in the Bahamas.56


ADVENTURE. Paramount. Rel. 4/26/25; Hon., 7/26/25. With Tom Moore, Pauline Stark, Wallace Beery and Duke Kahanamoku. From a Jack London story laid in the Solomon Islands. A girl saves the hero from black fever and his plantation from traders who hold the mortgage; he saves her from natives in revolt.58

NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET. Cosmopolitan. Rel. 8/25/25; Hon., 12/13/25. Dir., Maurice Tourneur. With Anita Stewart (as "Tamea, the half-caste Island princess") and Bert Lytell. A somewhat softened version of Peter B. Kyne's novel on the evil and tragic consequences of interracial marriage. Filmed on Tahiti and Moorea.59

A talking version was made in 1931.

A TRIP TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. Hon., 8/16/25. Produced locally by William Aldrich. Travelogue filmed entirely in Hawaii.60

1926

MAUNA OF THE SOUTH SEAS. Paramount. Rel. 2/21/26; Hon., 6/6/26. Robert Flaherty's famous documentary, filmed entirely in Western Samoa with a native cast. "Mauna...went beyond the surface appearance of the 'natives' and searched out the natural drama of their lives, the customs, values, and ideas of order from which this culture took its meaning." The story focused on the ceremonial tattooing of the Samoan. The first motion picture to use the new panchromatic film, it was widely acclaimed for its photography. Now regarded as a classic.61


BLACK PARADISE. Fox. Rel. 6/13/26; Hon., 7/11/26. With Madge Bellamy and Edmund Lowe. A couple fleeing the law reach a South Sea island populated by escaped convicts. The man succumbs to a half-caste girl, and a volcanic eruption destroys the village.63
HULA. Paramount. Rel. 9/4/27; Hon., 12/14/27. Dir., Victor Fleming. With Clara Bow, Clive Brook, and Duke Kahanamoku. From the novel by Armine Von Tempski. "A story of social life in Hawaii, of an American girl (sic) of island birth who remains herself amid an artificial atmosphere created by an irresponsible set of "fast livers"." Miss Bow plays Hula, the flapper who lives on a ranch, takes swims in the altogether, and in grass skirt does a hula that is "a combination of Charleston black bottom and Gilda Gray."66

1928


SOUTH SEA LOVE. Film Booking Offices. Rel. 2/12/28. Dir., Ralph Ince. A gold digger sends her suitor to the South Seas to find pearls for her. He is followed by his rival and then by the girl.68


WHITE SHADOWS IN THE SOUTH SEAS. MGM. Rel. 8/5/28; Hon., 3/3/29. Dir., W.S. Van Dyke. With Monte Blue and Raquel Torres. Based on the book by Frederick O'Brien. An alcoholic doctor is cast upon an island whose inhabitants have never before seen a white man. Reformed, he marries the chief's daughter. He becomes greedy for native pearls and lights a beacon to attract a passing ship to help him loot the village. The light brings an evil pearl trader and his crew who ravage the island and kill the now-repentant doctor. The picture was filmed on Tahiti.71

PAGASA. First Division. Rel. 1928; Hon., 12/22/29. A semi-documentary shot in the village of Fagasa, Tutuila, American Samoa.72

SOUTH SEA BUBBLE. Sonc Art-World Wide. Rel. 1928. No further information available.

TROPICAL NIGHTS. Tiffany. Rel. 1928; Hon., 3/23/30. With Patsy Ruth Miller. Suggested by a Jack London story. About "a show-girl stranded on a South Seas island...pearl divers and dive keepers, hula dancers and stranded chorus girls..." Includes "underwater scenes of a clam gripping the legs of a pearl diver...the attack of an octopus..."73

1929

HIS CAPTIVE WOMAN. First National. Rel. 4/7/29; Hon., 1/26/30. Dir., George Fitzmaurice. With Milton Sills and Dorothy Mackaill. A girl charged with murder flees to the South Seas. She is pursued and caught by an officer. Returning, the two are shipwrecked on a desert island, where "her soul undergoes a miraculous transformation". Filmed in part on the Island of Hawaii, apparently at Kalapana. Released in both silent and part talking versions.74
THE PAGAN. MGM. Rel. 4/27/29; Hon., 11/10/29. Dir., W.S. Van Dyck. With Ramon Novarro, Dorothy Janis, Renee Adoree and Donald Crisp. About a "half-caste youth whose life is spent in the sun, making love, swimming, and occasionally singing in an operatic manner a tune called 'The Pagan Love Song!' and his triumph over "an energetic moralist". Includes an inter racial triangle. Filmed in Papeete and released in both silent form and with music and sound effects.75

BLACK MAGIC. Fox. Rel. 6/2/29; Hon., 1/19/30. Dir., George B. Seitz. With Josephine Dunn, John Holland, Earl Foxe, Henry B. Walthall and Dorothy Jordan. "The action takes place at a native settlement off New Guinea, where three white derelicts are drinking away memories of the past..."76 Both silent and "synchronized" versions.


THE DELIGHTFUL ROGUE. RKO Radio. Rel. 9/22/29; Hon., 5/29/30. With Rod LaRocque, Rita LeRoy, and Bebe Daniels. A man's efforts to win the heart of a dancer in a South Seas cafe. Both silent and all-talking versions.78

THE DEVIL'S PIT. Universal. Rel. 10/20/29. Produced by Lew Collins. The son of one Maori chief kills his rival for the hand of another chief's daughter, leading to war. Filmed in New Zealand. Synchronized music and sound effects.79

SOUTH SEA ROSE. Fox. Rel. 12/8/29; Hon., 12/13/30. With Lenore Ulric and Charles Bickford. A French girl runs away from a South Sea island convent and boards a sailing vessel. The captain tricks her into marriage and takes her to New England, then goes for her legacy. Both silent and talking versions.80

1930

ISLE OF ESCAPE. Warner Brothers. Rel. 4/6/30; Hon., 12/24/30. With Monte Blue. A "stark drama of the South Seas" about a "human derelict".81

ALOHA HAWAII. Hon., 5/4/30. A locally produced picture with an all-local cast, including Lawrence Barber, Libby Keanini and Winona Love. Pele, through her ability to transform herself from a witch into a young woman, interferes in the romance of two lovers and causes the death of one. Surfriding, hulas, and the volcano. Apparently silent.82

SOUTH SEAS. Talking Picture Epics. Rel. 5/25/30. No further information available.

THE SEA BAT. MGM. Rel. 7/5/30; Hon., 12/24/30. With Charles Bickford, Raquel Torres, Nils Asther and John Miljan. Sponge divers, a fatal fight with a giant two-ton ray, an island hoyden, voodooism, and an escaped convict masquerading as a missionary. "Actually filmed in the South Seas" (Mazatlan, Mexico).83

GIRL OF THE PORT. RKO-Radio. Rel. 7/20/30; Hon., 10/22/30. With Sally O'Neil, Mitchell Lewis, and Duke Kahanamoku. Burlesque girls stranded in Suva, the regeneration of an English lord turned beachcomber, and an inter racial triangle.84

PARADISE ISLAND. Tiffany. Rel. 7/20/30; Hon., 5/6/31. A love triangle in the South Seas. With Kenneth Harlan and Marceline Day.85

LET'S GO NATIVE. Paramount. Rel. 8/16/30; Hon., 5/2/31. With Jack Oakie, Jeannette MacDonald and Skeets Gallagher. A musical comedy company is shipwrecked on an island inhabited largely by hula girls. They escape as the island vanishes in earthquake and volcanic explosions.86

THE SEA GOD. Paramount. Rel. 9/13/30; Hon., 5/14/31. With Richard Arlen and Fay Wray. A pearl seeker in a diving suit is mistaken for a god by cannibals when he washes ashore on a South Sea island.87

FIEST FIRST. Paramount. Rel. 11/8/30; Hon., 1/10/31. With Harold Lloyd. A Honolulu shoe clerk delivers shoes to a passenger aboard the Malolo at Pier 1, and fails to get ashore in time. A few scenes filmed in Honolulu.88

1931

ALOHA. Tiffany. Rel. 2/16/31; Hon., 8/19/31. With Ben Lyon, Raquel Torres, Al St.
John, Alan Hale, Thelma Todd. An American on a South Sea island remains faithful to his San Francisco sweetheart for a year but finally succumbs to Ilanu, a beautiful native girl. He marries her and takes her to California. His father, enraged, strikes him and disowns him, and his snobbish sister snubs the couple, but Ilanu is befriended by the jilted sweetheart.89


NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET. MGM. Rel. 5/16/31; Hon., 3/16/32. With Conchita Montenegro and Leslie Howard. Dir., W.S. Van Dyke. Peter B. Kyne's story of interracial love (between "Tames, South Sea siren", and a young American) and its sorry consequences. A silent version appeared in 1925.91


TABU. Paramount. Rel. 3/22/31; Hon., 1/30/32. Dir., F.V. Murman. With Reri and Matahi. The love story of an island boy and a girl consecrated to the gods and thus forbidden to marry. They escape to another island where he becomes a pearl diver. A pursuing holy man, Hitu, finds them and takes her away. The boy swims desperately after Hitu's schooner until he is exhausted and drowns. Filmed on Bora Bora as a silent and released with a synchronized musical score. Highly praised for its "visual magic—laughing girls sliding down a waterfall, majestic shots of trees, and seas and natives in all their innate dignity. But there are also cardboard moons and rubber sharks and a story as patently manufactured as the props."93

THE BLONDE CAPTIVE. Imperial Dist. Rel. 12/13/31; Hon., 6/2/33. The film record of an expedition led by Dr. Paul Withington from Honolulu to Pago Pago, Fiji, Bali and Australia. Narrated by Lowell Thomas.94

SAFE IN HELL. First National. Rel. 12/30/31; Hon., 1/1/33. With Dorothy Mackaill and Donald Cook. A girl charged with murder "flees to an island in the South Pacific...where she finds herself but one of a community of fugitives and renegades in a land of human derelicts..."95

1932

SOUTH SEA ADVENTURES. Principal Dist. Co. Rel. 3/31/32; Hon., 1/20/33. Zane Grey's motion picture record of his deep sea fishing expedition through the Pacific. The fishing sequences are interspersed with views of the island peoples he saw.96

BIRD OF PARADISE. RKO-Radio. Rel. 8/12/32; Hon., 5/17/33. With Joel McCrea and Dolores Del Rio. An American visiting Hawaii falls in love with Luana, a native princess ordained to be the bride of Polu, and takes her away to a secluded spot. When the volcano erupts the Hawaiians decide to throw Luana into it as a sacrifice. She is saved and sends the American away. Filmed on Oahu.97

MR. ROBINSON CRUSHOE. United Artists. Rel. 8/19/32; Hon., 9/28/33. With Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., and Maria Alba. Acting on a dare, a man emulates Robinson Crusoe on an uninhabited Polynesian island. A parody.98

RAIN. United Artists. Rel. 10/14/32; Hon., 11/21/33. Dir., Lewis Milestone. With Joan Crawford and Walter Huston. A tidied-up talking version of the Maugham story first filmed in 1928. Sadie Thompson is no longer a harlot. She is a dull girl with an unfortunate past." The locale is Pago Pago.99

ONE WAY PASSAGE. Warner-Vitaphone. Rel. 10/22/32. Dir., Tay Garnett. With Wm. Powell and Kay Francis. A man and woman meet in a Hong Kong bar, then take the same trans-Pacific steamer to San Francisco via Honolulu. She does not reveal that she has a fatal illness; he, that he is in the custody of a detective en route to San Quentin. Remade in 1940 as 'Til We Meet Again.100
1933

HELL BELOW. MGM. Rel. 4/15/33; Hon., 10/12/33. Dir., John Conway. With Robert Montgomery, Walter Huston, Madge Evans and Jimmy Durante. A story of submarine action in WWI, filmed in part at Pearl Harbor. "U1 THE NARROW CORNER. Warner Brothers-Vitaphone. Rel. 7/8/33. Dir., Alfred E. Green. With Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Ralph Bellamy and Patricia Ellis. From one of the lesser Maugham novels. About "two friends on an island in the South Seas. Entirely as a sporting proposition, one of the friends seduced the sensual, predatory fiancée of the other. The seducer went off somewhere after this; the other man killed himself." Remade in 1936 as Isle of Fury. 102

CHARLIE CHAN'S GREATEST CASE. Paramount. Rel. 9/15/33; Hon., 2/17/35. With Warner Oland and Heather Angel. A murder mystery laid in Waikiki, based on Earl Derr Biggers's House Without a Key (filmed as a serial in 1926). Obviously filmed on the mainland. 103

FOUR FRIGHTENED PEOPLE. Paramount. Rel. 1/26/23; Hon., 1/12/34 (world premiere). Dir., C.B. DeMille. With Claudette Colbert, William Gargan, Herbert Marshall and Mary Boland. A Chicago geography teacher escapes a plague-ridden steamer through a Malay jungle in the company of a reporter, a chemist, a woman birth-control advocate, and a "renegade who has 'gone native'." Filmed aboard the S.S. Hummula and on the island of Hawaii. 104


1934

MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY. MGM. Rel. 11/8/35; Hon., 12/1/35. Dir., Frank Lloyd. With Charles Laughton, Clark Gable, Franchot Tone, Nano Clark, Movita. Based on the famous trilogy (or at least the first two parts) by Nordhoff and Hall. The story, based on a historical event, concerns the 18th century voyage of the Bounty to Tahiti to collect breadfruit, the mutiny of the crew (led by MATE Fletcher Christian) against Capt. William Bligh, Bligh's open-boat voyage to Timor, and the later capture and prosecution of the mutineers. The movie has become a classic. 106

NAVY WIFE. 20th Century-Fox. Rel. 11/29/35; Hon., 4/4/36. With Claire Trevor, Ralph Bellamy, Ben Lyon. From Kathleen Norris's Beauty's Daughter. "Navy Wife is the woman's side of navy life, a fast-paced story of a navy nurse who marries one of the doctors at the navy hospital..." Many scenes filmed in Honolulu and at Pearl Harbor. 107

LAST OF THE PAGANS. MGM. Rel. 12/20/35; Hon., 1/31/36. With Mala and Lotus Long. "American traders smash an island romance by shanghaiing the new groom to work in the phosphate mines." Included an "island raid and bride hunt...underwater battle with giant swordfish...mine cave-in...fight for life with the wild boar...escape of the lovers through the hurricane...beneath the tropical moon where primitive passions hold sway!" Filmed on Tahiti. 108

1935


CHINA CLIPPER. First National. Rel. 8/22/36; Hon., 11/22/36. With Pat O'Brien, Ross Alexander, Humphrey Bogart. Fictionalized account of the early years of Pan American Airways, culminating in the trail-blazing flight from California to Manila via Honolulu, Midway, Wake and Guam. Views of the Clipper flying over Honolulu and landing at Pearl City. 110

ISLE OF FURY. Warner Brothers. Rel. 10/10/36; Hon., 2/24/37. With Humphrey Bogart, Margaret Lindsay, Donald Woods. From Maugham's The Narrow Corner, previously filmed
in 1933. A newly-married couple on a South Sea island save a detective from a sinking ship; later, on a pearl-fishing expedition, the detective saves the groom from an octopus. The groom is revealed as a fugitive, the detective as his pursuer. The detective leaves without his quarry.111

CAPTAIN CALAMITY. Grand National Films. Rel. 11/29/36; Hon., 12/2/37. With George Houston, Marian Nixon, Movita. A South Sea trading schooner is attacked by cannibals and white cutthroats. Color.112

1937

WAIKIKI WEDDING. Paramount. Rel. 3/26/37; Hon., 3/25/37 (world premiere). With Bing Crosby, Bob Burns, Shirley Ross, Martha Raye. The press agent of Imperial Pineapple stages a "Pineapple Girl" contest and woos the Iowa girl who wins, "crooning pseudo-Hawaiian ditties through a wreath to the accompaniment of innumerable hula-hulas." Filmed in Hollywood with a few background shots made on Oahu.113

WINGS OVER HONOLULU. Universal. Rel. 5/23/37; Hon., 6/2/37. With Wendy Barrie, Ray Milland, Kent Taylor. A Navy flight lieutenant stationed on Oahu is kept from his bride by frequent night duty. She spends an evening aboard an old flimsy yacht, causing her husband to pursue her in a plane with a near-empty gas tank. The picture was studded with local references and obviously faked settings.114

PARADISE ISLE. Monogram. Rel. 7/21/37; Hon., 9/26/37. With Movita, Warren Hull, George Fitz. A blind painter, on his way to an eye specialist, makes it to shore when his ship blows up. The island girl who finds him dives in shark-infested waters for pearls to pay for bringing the doctor to him. Her native sweetheart is jealous but helps. After a successful operation the painter stays on to marry the girl. Backgrounds were filmed on Tutuila, American Samoa.115

EBB TIDE. Paramount-Zukor. Rel. 11/26/37; Hon., 12/10/37. With Oscar Homolka, Barry Fitzgerald, Ray Milland, Frances Farmer, Lloyd Nolan. "Three adventurers—a discredited sea captain, a sniveling, cadging, little cockney, and an English remittance man whose remittances have stopped coming—commandeer a Sydney-bound schooner...Their fates and that of Frances Farmer (a studio addition to the passenger list) are determined by a stop-over at an uncharted South Pacific island ruled with a rifle by a religious madman." Includes a typhoon. Inaccurately billed as "the first South Seas adventure-romance ever filmed in color!" The silent version of this story by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne appeared in 1922.116


HURRICANE. Samuel Goldwyn. Rel. 12/24/37; Hon., 3/18/38. Dir., John Ford and Stuart Heisler. With Jon Hall, Dorothy Lamour, Raymond Massey, Mary Astor, C. Aubrey Smith. Turangi, first mate of a fishing schooner, is jelled for hitting a white bully. Eight years later, after repeated attempts, he escapes back to his bride 600 miles distant on his own island. A hurricane devastates the atoll and the couple paddle off to a new life. From the book by Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall. Filmed on Catalina Island.118

LOVERS IN HAWAII'S PARADISE. Rel. 1937(?); Hon., 1/1/38. With Hoshi Reiko, Sugi Kyoji, Shima Koji. Advertised as the "first Japanese talkie filmed in Hawaii."119

1938

HAWAIIAN BUCKaroo. 20th Century-Fox. Rel. 1/14/38; Hon., 4/10/38. With Smith Ballow and Evelyn Knapp. About "a pretty girl ranch owner facing the loss of her property through the connivance of unscrupulous persons." She is helped by a cowboy who, "when he is not fighting someone or romancing with the heroine...bursts into song." Backgrounds were filmed on the Parker Ranch, the story's locale.120

HAWAII CALLS. RKO-Radio. Rel. 2/25/38; Hon., 2/26/38 (world premiere). With Bobby Breen, Ned Sparks, Pua Lani, Namo Clark. Two young boys come to Honolulu as
stowaways on a Matson liner, are befriended by Island residents, and become involved in a hunt for a band of criminals. Numerous songs, including "Hawaii Calls" and "That's the Hawaiian in Me". Very loosely based on Don Blanding's Stowaways in Paradise. Filmed on Oahu and Maui.121

HER JUNGLE LOVE. Zukor-Paramount. Rel. 4/15/38; Hon., 7/16/38. With Dorothy Lamour and Ray Milland. "A romance between a handsome young aviator whose plane is wrecked on a lonely South Seas isle, and an untamed girl of mystery who rules the island as the white goddess of crocodile-worshipping natives." Also a typhoon. In color.122


CHARLIE CHAN IN HONOLULU. 20th Century-Fox. Rel. 1/13/39; Hon., 3/5/39. With Sidney Toler and Phyllis Brooks. Toler's first appearance as Chan, in a movie that is "a clever balance of nonsense and barking guns on a freighter that eventually docks in Honolulu."124

HONOLULU. MGM. Rel. 2/3/39; Hon. 2/2/39 (world premiere). With Eleanor Powell, Robert Young, Gracie Allen, George Burns, Kealoha Holt. A movie star and an Oahu pineapple grower who look alike meet and decide to swap places. The star visits Honolulu and falls in love, to the dismay of the girl engaged to his double. Much dancing. Except for a few background shots, filmed in Hollywood.125

MUTINY ON THE BLACKHAWK. Universal. Rel. 9/1/39; Hon., 11/1/39. With Richard Arlen, Andy Devine, Noah Beery, Mala, Mamie Clark. Blackbirders bribe a Hawaiian chief to permit them to enslave his subjects and take them to California. The Hawaiians mutiny, then join an undercover man from the U.S. Army and American settlers in California to fight the Mexican army. The time is 1840.126

HAWAIIAN NIGHTS. Universal. Rel. 9/8/39; Hon., 9/1/39 (world premiere). With Johnny Downs, Mary Carlisle, Constance Moore, Sol Hoopi. The owner of a Honolulu hotel sends his son to the Islands to work there. The son takes along his band, work for a rival's hotel, and woos the rival's daughter. Synthetic hulas and "the inevitable pineapple king". Made in Hollywood with some Waikiki backgrounds.127

SWISS FAMILY ROBINSON. RKO-Radio. Rel. 2/16/40. With Thomas Mitchell and Edna Best. Johann David Wyse's story of the family shipwrecked on a South Sea island.128

IT'S A DATE. Universal. Rel. 3/22/40; Hon., 4/5/40. Dir., William A. Seiter. With Deanna Durbin, Kay Francis, Walter Pidgeon, Eugene Palletto, Harry Owens. An actress and her daughter vacation in Honolulu, where the daughter feigns interest in a middle-aged plantation owner. Some Hawaiian background shots.129

KARATO. M.G. Gorespe. Hon., 3/29/40 (world premiere). Dir., C.R. Gorespe. With Katy Evangelio and Faustino Cambr. About a young man from the Philippines who finds work in Hawaii, goes to the U.S. mainland for his education, then returns home to take his place as a leader. The first talking picture in Ilocano. Filmed entirely on Oahu with a local cast.130

TIL WE MEET AGAIN. Warner. Rel. 4/20/40; Hon., 7/21/40. With George Brent, Merle Oberon, Pat O'Brien. A man in the custody of a detective and a woman with only a short time to live travels from Hong Kong to San Francisco via Honolulu in a luxury liner. Advertised as "Under Hawaiian skies! A romance of the South Seas!" A remake of One Way Passage (1932).131

CHARLIE CHAN'S MURDER CRUISE. 20th Century-Fox. Rel. 6/21/40; Hon., 7/20/40. With Sidney Toler. A friend of Chan, one of a world cruise party stopping in Honolulu, is murdered, and the detective sails with the party to solve the mystery and avenge his friend. From Earl Derr Biggers's Charlie Chan Carries On, previously
filmed in 1931.132

LINGLINGAY. Madolora and Cabalora. Hon., 7/10/40 (world premiere). With Max Velasco, Felisa Cabalora, Rose Labrador. About "three couples who attend the university together and find their careers bound together throughout their lives..." Produced locally, the "first island made Filipino musical with an all-local cast."133 ROAD TO SINGAPORE. Paramount. Rel. 3/22/40; Hon., 6/14/40. Dir., Victor Schertzinger. With Bing Crosby, Dorothy Lamour, Bob Hope. Two friends meet a dancing girl in a cafe on a remote South Sea island called Kaligoon.134

SOUTH OF PAGO PAGO. United Artists. Rel. 7/19/40; Hon., 10/9/40. Dir., Alfred Green. With Victor McLaglen, Jon Hall, Frances Farmer, Clymore Bradna. An unscrupulous adventurer and his crew, accompanied by a blonde and painted hostess from a Singapore dive, sail to the Island of Nanao to steal priceless pearls from innocent Polynesians. The chief's son temporarily forsakes his betrothed for the hale hussy. Background shots were made at Kalapana and the Kona Coast.135

SEVEN SINNERS. Universal. Rel. 10/25/40; Hon., 2/12/41. Dir., Tay Garnett. With Marlene Dietrich, John Wayne. An entertainer in a South Sea cafe, a naval officer, a beachcomber and an alcoholic surgeon.136

1941

ALOHA OF THE SOUTH SEAS. Paramount. Rel. 8/15/41; Hon., 4/18/42. With Dorothy Lamour, Jon Hall. After 15 years in the U.S., the ruler of a Polynesian island returns. Sarongs, wild gardenias, limpid pools, a jealous rival; and a volcanic eruption. Technicolor.137 An earlier version appeared in 1928.

SOUTH OF TAHITI. Universal. Rel. 10/17/41; Hon., 12/7/41 (scheduled opening probably postponed several days). With Brian Donlevy, Brod Crawford, Andy Devine, Maria Montez. A rough pearl fisherman and two pals try to steal a store of pearls on an uncharted South Sea island ruled by a beautiful princess. The cast included "50 sarong-clad goddesses of love!"138

MOONLIGHT IN HAWAII. United Artists. Rel. 11/21/41; Hon., 12/21/41. With June Frieze, Leon Errol, Mischa Auer, Johnny Downs, Maria Montez. A comedy romance with island music.139

HONOLULU LU. Columbia. Rel. 12/11/41. With Lupe Velez, Bruce Bennett. No further information available.


THE TURTLES OF TAHITI. RKO-Radio. Rel. 5/1/42; Hon., 7/2/42. With Jon Hall, Charles Laughton. An improvident hapa-haole family of Tahiti, needing gasoline for its fishing boat and truck, bets on a fighting cock and loses all, but recovers when the members salvage a cargo vessel abandoned in a hurricane. From No More Gas, by Nordhoff and Hall.141

BEYOND THE BLUE HORIZON. Paramount. Rel. 5/9/42; Hon., 7/5/44. With Dorothy Lamour and Richard Denning. "Pagan love beneath the tropic moon..." Color.142

SONG OF THE LAGOON. United Artists-Reach. Rel. 5/22/42. With Marjorie Woodward and George Givot. No further information available.


PAROON MY SARONG. Universal. Rel. 8/7/42; Hon., 4/15/43. With Bud Abbott, Lou Costello, Virginia Bruce. About such "Polynesian phenomena" as "the amorous Alomis, the tropic hazards, and the leaky volcano," with "a chorus of jungle junior misses."143

by Waugham about a Gauguin-like painter who abandons his family, moves to Tahiti, marries a young native, and paints countless masterpieces before dying of leprosy.144

**RHYTHM OF THE ISLANDS.** Universal. Rel. 4/16/43; Hon., 6/13/43. With Allan Jones, June Frazee, Andy Devine, Acquanetta. Musical romance.145

**AIR FORCE.** Warner. Rel. 3/20/43; Hon., 5/1/43. Dir.; Howard Hawks. With John Garfield, Harry Carey. A Flying Fortress leaves California on December 6, 1941 and reaches Hickam Field shortly after the Japanese attack, then continues on to Wake Island and (eventually) the Battle of the Coral Sea. The Hickam scene portrayed the defenders being harassed by "local Jap snipers". Filmed near Tampa.146

**TAHITI HONEY.** Republic. Rel. 4/6/43; Hon., 9/26/43. With Dennis O'Keefe, Simone Simon, Lionel Stander. Sailors, grass skirts, and ukuleles.147

**WHITE SAVAGE.** Universal. Rel. 4/23/43; Hon., 9/2/43. With Maria Montez, Jon Hall, Sabu, Technicolor. No further information.

**SACRIFICING GIRL.** Monogram. Rel. 5/28/43; Hon., 3/12/44. With Ann Corio. No further information.

**NOTES**

1. *Time*, Jan. 2, 1939, p. 17. National release dates taken from issues of *Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures* (formerly *Film Year Book*), 1922-1923 to 1940, and *International Motion Picture Almanac* (formerly *Motion Picture Almanac*), 1933 to 1945-1946. These often differ on dates, sometimes by several months; dates given here were chosen arbitrarily when disagreement occurred. Literary sources usually taken from R.B. Dimmitt, *A Title Guide to the Talkies* (2 vol., 1965).


3. *Film Year Book* 1922-1923, p. 56.

4. SB, June 4, 1932, s. 2, p. 8.


13. Ibid.

14. Pictures named in remainder of this discussion described more fully in annotated listing at end of narrative.


16. Ibid., caption for cuts between pp. 434 and 435.


22 Wald and Macaulay, pp. 493-509.

23 Source of national release dates is footnote 1; Honolulu release dates from advertisements in Honolulu newspapers. Director, stars, distributor are from these ads and reviews and descriptions cited in following footnotes. Omission of items indicates no information available.

24 SB, Sept. 13, 1913, p. 5; Sept. 15, p. 5; Sept. 18, p. 9; PCA, Sept. 15, p. 5, Sept. 19, p. 6.


26 SB, Sept. 18, 1914, p. 1; PCA, Sept. 19, p. 3, Sept. 21, p. 3.

27 SB, Jan. 2, 1915, p. 8, Jan. 4, p. 10; PCA, Jan. 4, p. 3. The 1942 version, called The Adventures of Martin Eden, apparently de-emphasized or omitted the South Sea references found in the 1914 picture (Newsweek, Mar. 9, 1942, p. 55).


30 PCA, Aug. 29, 1916, p. 2.

31 PCA, Nov. 6, 1916, p. 5; SB, Nov. 6, 1916, pp. 7, 12.


35 PCA, Jan. 5, 1921, p. 5; SB, Jan. 5, p. 4.


37 PCA, June 3, 1920, p. 5.

38 PCA, Mar. 24, 1921, p. 4.


40 SB, Aug. 13, 1921, p. 5.

41 HA, July 7, 1921, p. 4; SB, July 7, p. 7.

42 PCA, Mar. 9, 1921, p. 4, Mar. 11, p. 4.

43 HA, July 18, 1921, p. 4.

44 HA, Oct. 20, 1921, p. 3.

45 HA, Dec. 3, 1921, p. 5.


47 HA, Nov. 3, 1922, p. 3, Nov. 9, p. 5, Nov. 10, p. 5.


49 HA, Jan. 17, 1923, p. 5.


54 Film Year Book 1924, p. 53.


58 HA, July 27, 1925, p. 5.


60 HA, Aug. 17, 1925, p. 2.


63 SB, July 10, 1926, s. 2, p. 8, July 12, p. 4.

64 SB, Feb. 26, 1927, p. 9, Mar. 1, p. 10.

65 SB, Oct. 9, 1926, s. 2, p. 8.


67 HA, Dec. 31, 1928, p. 4. The 1934 version, titled Charlie Chan's Courage, apparently omitted the Honolulu scene (SB, April 15, 1935, p. 4.)

CONTRIBUTOR: Robert C. Schmitt, Hawaii state statistician, makes his final contribution to the HHR. His continual warm support of this journal is gratefully acknowledged here.

ANNOUNCEMENT: With the appearance of the July, 1968 issue, the HHR ends its six-year career. This final number will include a short obituary.

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128 Time, Feb. 19, 1940, p. 83; Wald and Macauley, p. 471.
129 Ibid., p. 425; Newsweek, April 1, 1940, pp. 43-44; SB, Dec. 7, 1939, p. 1, April 6, 1940, Soc., p. 7.
130 HA, Mar. 24, 1940, pp. 1, 10; SB, Mar. 30, 1940, p. 2.
131 HA, July 20, 1940, p. 11, July 22, p. 7.
132 HA, July 20, 1940, p. 11.
133 SB, July 9, 1940, p. 8.
137 Newsweek, Sept. 1, 1941, p. 49.
138 SB, Dec. 6, 1941, s. 2, p. 11.
139 SB, Dec. 23, 1941, p. 9.
140 SB, Feb. 17, 1942, p. 6, July 4, p. 14; Time, Mar. 9, 1942, p. 82.
141 Time, Mar. 30, 1942, p. 74; Newsweek, April 13, 1942, p. 66.
142 SB, July 4, 1942, p. 7.
143 Newsweek, Aug. 10, 1942, p. 54.
145 SB, June 12, 1943, p. 11.
146 Newsweek, Feb. 8, 1943, p. 84; Time, Feb. 8, 1943, p. 85.
147 HA, Sept. 26, 1943, s. 2, p. 17.
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EXTRAORDINARY EXPEDITION

by

Helen P. Hoyt

For many years Hawaiian newspapers have published stories of intrapid mariners and sea adventures. On Saturday, February 16, 1839, Hawaii’s first English secular newspaper, a four-page weekly, The Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce, featured the following story in its leading editorial. It is quoted below, verbatim.

ILLI NOELE ET ABS TRISTIUM
CIRCA FECTUS ERAT, QUI FRAGITEN
COMMISIT PERTAGO RATION.

Horace: Odes

Trans: Stout oak and triple brass encircled the heart of him who first ventured his frail bark on the merciless sea.

Amongst the departures from our port last week we have to notice one of the most extraordinary expeditions that ever has been our lot to witness, undertaken by three seamen and a boy that composed part of the late crew of the Schooner Unity from China.

The projector of this expedition having lived for some time on the Island of Ascension, one of the Caroline group, embarked on board the cutter Lambton when she last visited that place, and with him a native boy. After spending some time at the Marianas and Phillippine Islands, they proceeded to China where the Lambton was engaged in the opium trade; in consequence of which he wished to return with his boy to Ascension, engaged his services on board the Unity, bound to Cebu, it being the most likely place where he might obtain passage for himself and boy to that Island; on his arrival here it seems he was disappointed in his too sanguine expectations, there being no vessel destined for that place or any probability of one for some time. After consulting the most steady of his ci-devant shipmates and having selected two from those who volunteered, they came to the determination to proceed to Ascension, provided they could secure a suitable vessel, but in this also, they were foiled; and such was their infatuation, produced no doubt, by their golden chimeras in perspective, that at any risk they determined to persevere in their almost insane undertaking; accordingly they purchased a whale boat (lately belonging to the American ship Oscar in this port) about thirty feet long by six wide and having supplied her with all the requisites they intended to take with them, and after being furnished with a sea letter by R. Charlton Esq. British consul for these islands, describing their persons and vessel minutely. Provided they conformed to the laws of their country, and that to which they were destined, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits. They then commenced loading the Enterprise, the name of their frail bark.

Having stowed their water, about eighty gallons, one cask of provisions, bread and clothing, with a few articles suitable for trafficking with the Aborigines, they embarked at three pm in the presence of a number of natives, Foreign residents, crews and commanders of the different ships lying in the harbor, and having hoisted sail, and set their colours, (St. Georges Ensign) with buoyant spirits they gave three hearty farewell cheers, which were cordially returned by those on shore and by the different ships in succession, notwithstanding the well founded doubts that were entertained for their safety by every well-minded individual acquainted with this novel and enterprising undertaking.
The persons who composed this expedition were J.W. Williams, Sailing master of the vessel, James Sindery, the principal proprietor, Thomas Jackson, and Ichapuck, a native boy of the Island of Ascension. Sindery's motives for going to the Island were, his having lived there some time, being a favorite with the principal chiefs, possessing property to some extent there, and likewise the laudable desire of restoring the boy to his native country.

Since the above was in type, the attention was arrested, by the usual cry of Sail Ho! which proved to be the Enterprise whale boat returning to the harbour; curiosity in every direction was on the qui vive to ascertain the cause of their return, some prognosticated evil, others that their own good sense had admonished them of their total incapacity to accomplish a voyage of three thousand miles in an open whale boat! More again, discussion among themselves! We, however, to satisfy all enquiries, proceeded to the scene of disembarkation to learn all the particulars, which we subjoin; all logged fair and square, to use a sailor's term, from Williams communication; after getting clear of the harbor they had light airs until night, when it increased to a good topgallant breeze from the southwest, having steered towards morning they got to the westward about thirty miles from this island the day; all the next night they could merely by the uttermost labour and perseverance of their oars hold their way against a strong easterly current and headwind, in which she filled with water from the sprays that came over, and being too top heavy, when bailed out, they were compelled to start two thirds of their fresh water over-board and put back for this place, where they providentially arrived after being over three days at sea.

Although they failed in this attempt the least blame cannot be attached to their conduct, but the utmost praise is due them; in the first place for the enterprising nature of the undertaking, and in the second, when opposed by adversity, their prudence and precaution in returning to the port from whence they set out, desiring the thanks of the malicious and unreflecting, but anticipating the sympathies of the philanthropic and humane.

The first issue of the Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce had appeared on July 30, 1836. The owner, editor and publisher was Stephen Ellis Mackintosh, a Honolulu trader. By January, 1839, Mackintosh had failed in all his business ventures. Selling his Gazette to some Honolulu merchants and professional men, he left the islands for Boston. The new owners appointed four of their number to serve as editors. When none of them produced an editorial, Mr. Ryland J. Howard, the printer, pinch-hit for them.

From earlier, signed communications, the general style, the Latin quotation, and the sprinkling of French words, the Reverend R.A. Walsh, the British Catholic priest then in Honolulu, and an editor-owner, could have been the author of the whale boat story.

On July 27, 1839, the Gazette published its last number. On August 15, 1839, it was succeeded by the monthly Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Journal, owned and published by the same group with the same anti-missionary policy. In a year it, too, failed.

NOTES
1 The Island of Ascension is the old name for Ponape in the Carolines.
2 This cry was heard in the village of Honolulu whenever anyone sighted a sail on the horizon, or spied a vessel rounding Diamond Hill, the name for Diamond Head in the 1820s and 1830s.
American Samoans in Hawaii: A Short Summary of Migration and Settlement Patterns

by

Ted Gay Born

American (Eastern) Samoa and the island country of Western Samoa are the results of a political division that took place at the end of the nineteenth century. Culturally, the archipelago is homogeneous; physically, the two groups differ only in recency of volcanic activity, the corresponding degree of erosion, and the land area available to each. The nine important inhabited islands are all of volcanic origin, apparently formed in east-to-west progression, with the largest and newest, Savai'i, at the western end of the chain. Western Samoa is by far the larger of the two groups. American-controlled Eastern Samoa divides naturally into two areas: Tutuila, together with its tiny neighbor island Aunu'u, has an area of 33 square miles; Manu'a, with its three small islands and 22 square miles, completes the territory. Swain's Island, some 200 miles north of Tutuila, is administered under American authorities in Pago Pago, but geographically and culturally it is an extension of the Tokelau group and has a very small, ever-fluctuating population.

The Samoans have tended to live along the coasts in scattered villages where the soil and topography have been most suited for native agriculture. American Samoa has the same general topography as its western neighbor, but longer periods of erosion have created very precipitous mountain slopes in some areas. Tutuila consists of an east-west range, which limits settlement to the coast, and a broad plain in the southwestern corner, centering on the village of Leone. The deep-water bay of Pago Pago almost cuts the island in two, and here is the only concentration of population in Western Samoa. Both Samoas have relatively small areas of agricultural land to support their populations. It has been estimated that some one-eighth of Tutuila's area is usable for agriculture, industry, and public facilities—and of this, about 40,000 acres are fit for agriculture.

With all this in mind, let us now consider migration of both American and Western Samoans to places outside Samoa, but within the Pacific basin. It is hard to pin down this movement accurately. Some figures are available, but the total picture is sketchy. We do know that many Samoans are leaving their islands. Western Samoa's 1961 census reported a net loss of 2,157 through migration during 1951-1956. Between 1956 and 1961 this figure almost doubled, to 4,128. Between fiscal 1958 and 1962, governors of American Samoa issued 102 passports for travel to foreign areas, and 3,621 letters of identity allowing American citizens and nationals to enter the United States.

During World War II thousands of servicemen stationed in American Samoa, "Americanized" the Samoans considerably. When the economic troubles of the post-war years descended on the territory, many Samoans took advantage of their status as American nationals to fly north to Honolulu; some went beyond to San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. Naval service, schooling, and the prospect of well-paying jobs lured the islanders away in an exodus that topped 100 per month by 1960. This writer made no effort to locate data concerning American Samoans journeying to California. Their numbers are so small that in the nation's most populous state they form a hopelessly insignificant minority. Dr. Peter M.D. Pirie estimates their total to be about 7,000. In Hawaii, however, Samoans have had more impact, and a quantity of information is available.

This article is excerpted from a paper, "American and Western Samoa: A Comparative Study of Population Growth and Migration," written at the University of Hawaii in 1966.
William Peterson distinguishes between innovating and conservative migration; the pre-1930 Samoan movement to Hawaii is typical of the latter. This "old" migration began about 1920. Mormon missionaries had been active in Samoa for many years prior, and when the temple at Laie on Oahu was completed in 1919, Samoan Mormons began to move in. By 1925 there were six families, with 33 people, in Laie village. In 1929 the figure reached 125.9 And by 1930 the Samoan Civic Association in Honolulu claimed 50 members.10 In that same year Samoans made up ½ of Laie village.11 World War II cut off migration temporarily;12 it also led to induction into the armed forces of 30 draft-age Samoans living in Hawaii.13 But in January, 1946 the motorship Cat's Paw brought 31 from Pago Pago to Honolulu. Most were students planning to attend school in Hawaii. The few adults aboard returned to Samoa after making arrangements for the young people's education.14 By 1950, 663 natives of American Samoa lived in Hawaii.15

The depression of the 1920's and 1930's in Hawaii made it unlikely that many of the early migrants left Samoa for economic reasons. Most came for religious purposes.16 Samoans in Laie tended to follow traditional patterns of agriculture. They raised breadfruit, coconuts, bananas, and taro, and supplemented their diet with sea products. Typically, Samoans of the "old" migration worked for the Mormon church or on the church-owned laie plantation. When the plantation lands were leased to the Kuhuku Sugar Company in 1931, some Samoans continued to work as before; others went on relief. World War II's urgent demand for labor led some to take jobs at Pearl Harbor.17 For most Samoan families in Laie, this wage-earning was a supplement to a traditional subsistence based on their gardens of tropical foodstuffs. By 1956, the older Samoans in Laie considered Hawaii a permanent home. Some had gone to Utah or central California in years past, but had returned because of the severity of the winters. Three of the older Samoans were even apprehensive about returning to their homeland. They felt that the hotter, more humid climate would be fatal.18

The "new" migration from American Samoa began in 1951, with the transfer of administration of the territory from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior. In that year, 127 Samoan naval personnel were transferred to Pearl Harbor, and with them came 257 dependents.19 In July, 1952, the U.S.S. President Jackson was made available for transporting remaining dependents of Samoan naval personnel to Honolulu. Because the ship was capable of carrying nearly 1,000 passengers, and the dependents totaled only a few hundred, space was available for others. Those who desired to enlist in the armed forces or who had a sponsor in Hawaii got passage for $30. In all, the ship carried 95 Samoans to Honolulu.20 Dependents numbered 369; about 200 got passage to enlist; the rest, not connected with the military in any way, presumably had Samoan sponsors who had already migrated.21 Left behind were 1,074 who had also expressed a desire to emigrate. These latter were primarily non-Mormon. The need for a sponsor, together with the fact that most of the Samoans already in Hawaii were Mormons, meant that travel on the President Jackson involved a selective factor.22

The immigrants arriving in July, 1952 needed housing. The naval dependents were of course provided for. Some 300 of the 500 without quarters went at once to Laie. Of the 300, two-thirds were Mormons. Most of the newcomers moved into established households, and soon some of these were sheltering as many as 40 people. The situation eased as males entered the service and others decided to go on to the mainland. A year after the arrival of the President Jackson, 88 of her passengers were still in Laie.23 Thirty had returned to Samoa. 286 had joined the armed forces and left Hawaii, 119 had gone to the mainland, and 12 had moved to neighbor islands; 511 remained on Oahu. In addition to the 30 who had already returned, 50 more were to be sent back by December, 1953 because they could not maintain themselves.24

The Samoans staying on Oahu were concentrated in six areas: the rental and boarding house district of Honolulu, Damon Tract, Airport Housing, Naval Housing (Pearl
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Harbor and Barber's Point), Veterans' Housing at Pearl Harbor, and in Laie village.25 A population increase occurred in July, 1953, when a chartered DC-4 brought 40 wives and children of Samoans already living in Honolulu.

It is clear that the "new" migration has been motivated quite differently from the "old"; additional proof is that in 1955, only 58 President Jackson passengers were still in Laie, and 24 of these said they planned to go to the mainland soon. Obviously, Laie did not satisfy the needs of most of the "new" migrants.26 Eyde surveyed the Samoans from the President Jackson living on Oahu in 1953, and categorized their reasons for coming to Hawaii under seven headings:26 (1) transferred naval personnel--23%; (2) enlistment in one of the armed services--12 (most of those intending enlistment had already left Oahu); (3) economic betterment--57%; (4) assistance to relatives already in Hawaii--7; (5) church work--47; (6) education--37; (7) visiting or indefinite--31.

Pierce appends this listing in his later report, minimizing the factor of church work as an important motivation. Having the advantage of more hindsight than Eyde, he concluded that Laie and church work were attractive initially, because when Samoans migrate they tend to depend on other Samoans until they become adjusted. He attributes post-war migration (other than for military reasons) mainly to economic factors.29

Eyde's survey charted certain characteristics of the President Jackson migrants. Nearly half were nine years old or younger, and there was a substantial majority of females—not surprising since nearly one-third of the passengers were military dependents. Almost all of those Samoan men living in Honolulu or in military housing were skilled or semi-skilled workers. Of those residing in Laie, 53% fall into this category, approximating the 42% figure for the American Samoan population as a whole fairly closely. The others in Laie knew agricultural methods only. The median educational level in American Samoa in years of schooling was 6.2 for men and 4.1 for women. Among male migrants 25 years and older, Laie and naval personnel fell below this median, while Honolulu residents and veterans were two and four years above the median, respectively. Female migrants in all areas averaged at least one and one-half years more of schooling than their peers in the homeland. As a group, the migrants left the Pago Pago, Leone, and Mormon settlement areas; only 16% came from other districts. Since the three heavily-contributing districts accounted for only half the American Samoan population, selective factors were at work.30 Projecting these conclusions, we may say that coming from Leone, Pago Pago or the Mormon settlement, having an average or above-average education, and being skilled or semi-skilled makes migration to Hawaii all the more likely.

What has happened to the "old" Samoan settlement in Laie? In June, 1955, 307 Samoans were there; they made up about one-third of the village's population. "Old" and "new" migrants were nearly equal in number.31 Twenty-six and seven-tenths percent of the Samoan families were on relief, about the same percentage as for the town as a whole. Those who worked were employed primarily by the church and the U.S. Navy. The increased tourism in Hawaii has given women, older men, and recent arrivals a chance to make and sell Samoan handicrafts for income.32

A comic aspect characterized some of the recent Samoan migration to Honolulu. In the Hawaiian Islands are some 46,000 Filipinos, many hired since World War II to work in sugar cane fields. Very few could bring wives with them. Before the new immigration law of 1965, the Philippines' yearly quota was 105. Since Filipinos were (and still are) near the bottom of Hawaii's social scale, it was difficult for the men to find mates. In 1952, it was estimated that 60 Samoan girls had flown to Honolulu to become brides of Filipinos who could pay for their trip. One girl fled to the police after confronting her aged groom, but evidently most of the girls have gone through with the bargain. Officials say it is not illegal.33
How many Samoans are in Hawaii now? They are not identified as a separate group in census reports, so trying to establish a figure involves calculated guessing. Here are some examples of statistics available. In 1963 there were 289 Samoan births, and 27 deaths.34 In 1964, there were 254 births, and 26 deaths.35 Trying to project population from birth and death rates of migrants is a tricky business, because Samoan birth rates are higher than the Hawaiian average in the first place, and because the migrant group undoubtedly includes large proportions of children and adults in the reproductive ages, but small representation of the elderly. Robert Schmitt, Hawaii state statistician, estimated the Samoan population in Hawaii in 1964 at 5,620, and in 1965 at about 7,700.36

The picture in American Samoa is complicated. Gray, 1960, expressed fear that the territory's population would soon be limited to the very young and the aged. He recognized that the population was becoming stabilized, but nevertheless expected it to double in 20 years. At the time he wrote, prospects for opportunity within the territory looked grim. Indeed, some American Samoans talked of joining Western Samoa, then on the threshold of independence. This, however, would have closed the door to migration to the U.S., and probably have made the situation even worse.

Since 1961, American Samoa has experienced many changes. A revised educational system centered around television, better roads, improved public facilities, a new, modern hotel, and the prospect of increasing tourism have made it a more attractive place in which to live and work. And more economic opportunity will be made available to Samoans in the near future. Will migration cease to be a major element in population development? One writer evidently thinks so, since he predicts a population of 50,000 by the year 1990, with increases concentrated mainly in the Western District, first around Pago and later Leone.38 His report paints a rosy picture of the future if certain improvements are made. Reclamations in the bay area would provide land for development. There is need for better internal communication and improved passenger ship facilities. He sees an expansion of agriculture in the form of a lumber industry, and the use of sloping land for coconuts and cacao to furnish more cash income. The fishing industry certainly is a natural for expansion; so is local handicrafts production, as tourism grows.39

MacDonnell seems fully aware of the large numbers of emigrants, and that they are people in the productive working age group migrating to improve educational and occupational opportunities. At the same time the prospect of better free public education is drawing Western Samoans.40 Perhaps with a stronger economy holding more American Samoans at home, and with improved educational facilities bringing Western Samoans and other Pacific islanders into the territory, his population projection is justified. One thing to keep in mind, however, is that as more Samoans receive an increasingly better education, they will become more aware of the limitations of their own society. Television seems destined to play an important role in this. As long as the doors to the U.S. are open, many Samoans will not be content to remain at home.

*Editor's note: The slow start and the subsequent rapid rise of the "new" immigration can be explained in terms of transportation facilities available. The U.S. Navy did not encourage Samoan migration; therefore, its carriers were generally unavailable for this purpose. Then, when its control was superseded by that of the Interior Department, transportation of any sort virtually ceased for some few years. It was only in the later 1950s that adequate service by common air carriers was established. This allowed the backlog of prospective emigrants an outlet which was eagerly exploited, despite the cost. As Born reports, the young and productive (as well as reproductive) were the ones chiefly involved. The editor of this journal lived in American Samoa during the years 1949-1950, 1951-1954, and 1956-1959. During the last two he was principal of the high school and director of secondary education.
NOTES

7. Gray, p. xii.
11. Pierce, p. 22.
12. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
16. Pierce, pp. 31-32.
17. Ibid., pp. 32-39.
18. Ibid., pp. 13-16.
22. Pierce, p. 27.
23. Ibid., p. 21.
25. Eyde, pp. 4-5.
27. Pierce, pp. 71-72.
28. Eyde, pp. 5-6.
31. Pierce, p. 22.
32. Ibid., pp. 32-39.
38. MacConnel, p. 15.
39. Ibid., pp. 7-11.
40. Ibid., p. 17.
The Carthaginian

by

J.R. McConkey

For some 25 years, starting in the early 1840s, hundreds of whaling ships called Lahaina their second home. Leaving their New England base ports for voyages sometimes lasting up to four years, these whalers wintered in the waters between Maui and Lanai, resting, stocking up on provisions and making needed repairs.

Of this vast armada of ships, only one is still in existence—after a manner of speaking—its hull firmly set in sand. Thousands of visitors swarm aboard this 47-year-old vessel each year, learning about the hard work its humble ancestors did and marveling at how men could work, eat and live in such cramped and poorly outfitted quarters.

To properly show Lahaina's early history to today's residents and visitors, a whaling ship museum seemed necessary. The Lahaina Restoration Foundation as in the past continues to forward the restoration of historic sites on land. But since the whaling industry was so closely interwoven with the community it was felt that it, too, should be represented. This seemed an unattainable goal until a stroke of luck, and the farsightedness of the Foundation's directors, resulted in the acquisition of the Carthaginian.

This vessel was built in Denmark in 1921 as the three-masted schooner Wandia. Under its first owner, Captain Petersen, it hauled general cargo in the Baltic for some 30 years. It then had a few years' service as a commercial fishing boat in Iceland. Next, an Englishman bought the Wandia and took it to Central America to use as a general cargo ship. This operation was not successful, so when an American, Tucker Thompson, made an offer to buy it, a deal was completed and delivery effected in San Diego in 1964.

In 1965, the Mirisch Corporation decided to film Michener's book Hawaii, so they started to look for a whaling ship. It chanced that Capt. Thompson was in Southern California at the time with his schooner. Its size and hull were practically the same as those of many a whaling vessel, so an arrangement was consummated whereby the movie company would buy it, work it over completely into a whaler, and give the Captain first option to buy it back at the completion of the filming.

Under the guidance of Captain Alan Villiers, well-known author and sailor, who successfully sailed the replica of the Mayflower across the Atlantic; Karl Kortem, director of the San Francisco Maritime Museum's Balclutha; Bill Bartz, manager of that ship, and Ken Reynard, captain of the San Diego Museum ship, Star of India, the Wandia became the square-rigged whaling barque Carthaginian. Captain Thompson assisted, and with the advisors and a crew sailed the Carthaginian to Hawaii and handled it as well as the missionary brig Thetis during the filming of the movie.

In addition to changed rigging, the Carthaginian also had the special equipment necessary to a whaling career installed. Such things as the small boats used to harpoon whales, as well as lookout hoops for sighting their quarry, equipment for removing blubber, and many other items, were added. At the same time, the entire hull was completely checked and repairs or replacements effected.

At the completion of the movie, Captain Thompson exercised his option to repurchase. With his family, he sailed back to California, but soon started back to the South Pacific. This was a non-profit trip with a novice crew willing to share expenses for the privilege of learning to sail. Enroute they chanced to stop at Lahaina, and it was here that the Lahaina Restoration Foundation came into the scene.
Foundation officials persuaded the Captain that his ship belonged in Lahaina as a permanent fixture, so an option was signed, with delivery to be effected at the end of the voyage. And so the Carthaginian has become an integral part of the restoration of Lahaina. Temporarily anchored in the small boat harbor, it awaits a permanent berth to be prepared by the State of Hawaii. Carthaginian will remain completely mobile and Captain Thompson, who now works for the Lahaina Restoration Foundation as Captain and Curator, will take it out periodically to keep all of the gear in operating shape. It will also be drydocked once a year, requiring a trip to Honolulu. A volunteer crew will be maintained for these trips.

Arranged for display in the hold are many of the tools of the whaling trade, the skeleton of a whale, and pictures of whalers in action. A slide projector with taped commentary shows other views. On deck are many opportunities for visitors to photograph each other in an authentic whaling ship setting.

In this walk-on museum it will not only be possible for visitors to see all of these displays, but in addition to inspect the very cramped quarters in which old-time crews ate, slept, worked and amused themselves for months on end. Such a visit makes it easy to understand why these men literally went wild when they got leave in port towns like Lahaina—also to see why the Marine Hospital, built in Lahaina by the U.S. government, was well filled with sick seamen throughout the years when whaling was in its heyday.

Carthaginian is 130 ft. long overall, and 100 ft. on deck. Beam is 22½ ft. and draft 9 ft. It has 3 masts, the mainmast being 90 ft. above waterline, and carries 17 sails with a total area of 10,000 sq. ft. It has also a 185-hp Swedish diesel engine for entering and leaving port, as a square-rigged vessel is not as maneuverable as other types of sailing ships.

The heavy expense of acquiring the Carthaginian, as well as the large amount required for its upkeep, necessitates making a nominal admission charge for visiting. This cost, however, is more than offset by the chance to see the fascinating display aboard. Visitors to Lahaina are touring Carthaginian in ever-increasing numbers, proving that they appreciate this, the latest effort of the Lahaina Restoration Foundation to make Lahaina of the mid-1800's come alive once more.

**FOUNDING THE COLLEGE OF HAWAII**

by

David Kittelson

In 1967 the University of Hawaii observed its 60th anniversary. It is interesting to note that this institution, so long a fixture of Honolulu, was originally destined for the Big Island. In 1901 the first Territorial Legislature tried to put a college near Mountain View.

Until that time there had been no degree-granting institution of higher learning in Hawaii. Between 1856 and 1865, Punahou/Aahu College produced 14 sophomores who transferred to mainland colleges. The Islands generally had neither the students nor the funds to support a full-time college.

But during the late nineteenth century the sugar industry's expansion brought in waves of immigrants who began seeking more education for their children. And when Hawaii became a territory in 1900 it qualified for college subsidies provided by the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. The first of these awarded grants of land for establishing agricultural colleges. The second gave land-grant colleges $25,000 a year.
For the 1901 legislators, this federal money meant "bringing the needed institution home to our doors and within the reach of all citizens of this territory." Representative J.W. Kalikoa of Kona presented a petition to the Legislature from North Kona residents asking for a "Territorial University at North Kona." Senator Daniel Kuwahara of Oahu introduced Senate Bill No. 62, "An Act to create, establish and locate an Agricultural College and Model Farm, Providing for the management thereof, and appropriating money for its maintenance and development."

Some of the bill's provisions offer an interesting commentary on early concepts of land grant colleges:

Students paid no tuition, but they had to work at least three hours each day at manual labor on the college farm.

Courses ranged from "natural philosophy" to "vegetable anatomy".

The school year ended on the second Wednesday in November, and the new term started the next day.

The Board of Regents' annual meeting was held on the last day of school. At this time and during other visits, the Regents were entitled to free accommodation on campus.

Other residents who wanted to visit the campus would receive up to 10 days of free board and lodging.

Twenty thousand dollars were considered sufficient to construct, staff, and operate the college.

The bill went to the Senate Committee on Education, where the location of the college was discussed. The legislators wanted this plum for themselves instead of allowing the governor his choice as the bill specified. The neighbor islands held the balance of power in the legislature. It was therefore expedient to have the college in a rural area. Since Senate President Nicholas Russell of Mountain View was a booster of his home district, the committee gained Russell's support by putting the college in Mountain View.

The committee decided to locate the college on lots 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143 and 144 of the New Olaa Tract. Today this 500-acre site is marked by the grove of eucalyptus trees on either side of Mamalahoa Highway just above Mountain View.

This area had "gently undulating" land and good soil required for college experimentation and study. Mountain View was also characterized as being "abundantly supplied" with water "for ordinary use and for protection against fire." A wagon road and proposed Hilo Railroad extension would make the campus easily accessible.

The bill as amended passed its first reading. On the second reading Senator Henry P. Baldwin of Maui caught Russell by surprise and tacked on an amendment letting the governor choose the site. Russell, however, didn't want his constituents to lose the college. When the bill came up for final reading, he pushed through an amendment designating the Mountain View location.

The bill passed the Senate and went to the House on May 1, 1901. Unfortunately, that was the last day of the session, and the House never acted on the bill.

The 1903 legislature also tried to establish a territorial college. This time the process began in the House of Representatives. House Bill No. 11 was similar to the ill-fated 1901 measure, and Mountain View was again named as the college site.

But the Speaker of the House in 1903 was from Maui. Accordingly, the House Committee on Public Health and Education recommended Maui for the college. Instead of Mountain View, the bill specified the "property now occupied by the Lahainaluna Seminary." Although this bill passed the House, it died in the Senate Committee on Health and Education.

It was Wallace Rider Farrington, editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and later territorial governor, who finally got the college underway. He first asked the 1905 legislature to make a study of the advisability of a college.
As one of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Farrington was chosen to write this report. The argument that the college had to be in a rural area with abundant agricultural lands. Farrington explained that an agricultural college promoted intensive research rather than extensive farming. The college therefore did not require vast adjacent farm lands. On the other hand, he said that "an isolated position in the midst of cane fields" could not provide the cultural, social and educational influences of a city. Farrington felt that it was important for the college to have access to the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station and other scientific laboratories in Honolulu.

Farrington's study was so successful in paving the way for the 1907 college bill that there was no legislative opposition, and on March 25, 1907, Governor George Carter signed the bill establishing the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts of the Territory of Hawaii.

But the companion measure which appropriated $25,000 for the college's biennial expenses ran into trouble. Big Island Senators John T. Brown of Hilo, George C. Hewitt of Waichinu, and Palmer P. Woods of Kohala voted to deny the college funds. Nonetheless, the bill passed the senate by an 11 to 3 vote. After the house gave its unanimous approval, this bill was also signed into law.

The college's site was left to the board of regents. In May, 1907 they chose the Highland Park residential tract in Manoa Valley for the campus. However, the regents could not get immediate title to the land. Among other things, the territorial board of health had mistakenly set aside some land in the middle of the campus for use as a cemetery.

Since the regents wanted to start classes as soon as possible, they leased a temporary campus near Thomas Square. Thirteen faculty members began teaching 5 students on September 14, 1908, in an old frame building which had formerly housed the Chinese consulate. In 1912 the college moved to its permanent campus.

NOTES

1 Mary Alexander and Charlotte Dodge, Punahou, 1841-1941 (Berkeley, 1941), pp. 137, 401.
2 Hawaii Legislature, Senate Journal, 1901, p. 587. Hereafter SJ, with appropriate date.
3 Hawaii Legislature, House Journal, 1901, p. 165. Hereafter HJ, with appropriate date.
4 Senate, 1901, SB 62.
5 Senate, 1901, Senate Report 122.
6 SJ, 1901, p. 561.
7 Ibid., p. 587.
8 HJ, 1901, p. 501.
9 House, 1903, HB 11.
10 HJ, 1903, p. 187.
11 SJ, 1903, p. 707.
14 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
15 SJ, 1907, p. 694.
16 HJ, 1907, p. 1219.
17 Minutes of the Board of Regents of the College of Hawaii, June 19, 1907.
18 Ibid., Jan. 16, 1908.
THE END OF THE REVIEW AND THE START OF THE JOURNAL

by

Richard A. Greer

With this issue the Hawaii Historical Review becomes a part of the past it has tried to record. A short farewell is in order. It was in the summer of 1962 that Mr. Richard Dillon, librarian of the San Francisco Sutro Library (now part of the California State Library system) came to the University of Hawaii to teach a course in the writing of local history.

Some 5 or 6 of us worked under his tutelage, preparing papers on various topics of personal interest. Completed, they faced extinction. What was to become of them, or of any other products of historical import? At the time the only possible local outlet was the yearly effort of the Hawaiian Historical Society—and this printed only such papers as had been read at Society meetings.

A need—although an unmeasured one—seemed to exist. Thought generated action, and the result was Vol. I, No. 1 of the Hawaii Historical Review in October, 1962. The 23 issues that followed held to as high a standard as possible, under the limitations imposed by available manuscripts.

And then, of course, there were the mechanical factors, seemingly irrelevant but actually dictatorial: quality of reproduction governed by the whims of a cranky borrowed mimeograph; size of issues determined by the capacity of a stapler. This says nothing of the work involved: editing papers, cutting and running stencils, assembling issues, addressing and stuffing envelopes.

But it was never a big operation, really. Vol. I, No. 1 totaled (in 2 runs) about 100 copies; Vol. II, No. 12 about 140. The average probably fell in the area of 160-175. Certainly it is true that a complete set of the HHR is among the rarer bits of Hawaiiana produced in this century. Excluding the few sets possessed by libraries, the whole number of such sets in the hands of individuals can hardly exceed 25 or so (the exact number could be calculated by reference to subscribers' cards). The editor has 2. Incidentally, a question often asked is: At 25¢ a copy, did the Review make money? It did not; on the other hand, it met all expenses (excluding labor, of course)—stencils, paper, envelopes, postage.

As the recurrent chores connected with the HHR began to weigh more heavily on the aging, winded editor, he cast about for a convenient but graceful exit. The one promising prospect was the Hawaiian Historical Society, and on March 4, 1964 a letter to Edward Joesting, then president, suggested that the Society consider publishing a quarterly of its own.1

This matter the HHS trustees considered, without acting, in their April, 1964 meeting.2 A year later the same group offered the opinion that the Society should concentrate on diversifying its activities, and the desirability of issuing a quarterly publication "figured in these discussions."3 Then in January, 1966, the editor of the Hawaii Historical Review became a HHS trustee; the publication project, favored by his colleagues and by the Society's president, continued to receive attention.4
Thus the Editorial and Publications Committee on October 6, 1966 resolved unanimously that the HHS should issue yearly (and more often if justified), "a publication that will make original research material available to the membership and to the general public"; that a subcommittee be appointed to screen suitable manuscripts, and that an editor be appointed. In the event of the trustees' approval, it was suggested that Richard A. Greer be chosen assistant editor, it being presumed that material currently destined for his *Hawaii Historical Review* would be considered for inclusion in the papers of the Society.

A trustees' meeting on October 11 received the committee's recommendations: (1) HHS publications should be divided into 2 categories: (a) an inexpensive annual report, and (b) a series of papers to be published yearly—and to be "worthy, scholarly productions." Mr. Greer was to be given a chance to act as editor of the series, if he desired. The trustees approved, accepting in principle the proposed division. Further study was left to a subcommittee of the Publications Committee.

In February, 1967 the PC reported a firm decision to revise the annual report's format and to issue later a separate publication of papers, thus breaking away from the long-standing custom of publishing only papers presented at meetings. This would let the editor pick and choose. At the same time Greer's acceptance of the editorship was announced, and he presented a page of points for preliminary consideration.

Another trustees' meeting a month later approved a board of assistant editors to aid in screening manuscripts: Agnes Conrad, Society president and State Archivist; Robert Sparks, Director of the University of Hawaii Press; and A. Gavan Daws, assistant professor of history at that institution.

On June 20, 1967 the Publications Committee informed that the new journal's editors had drawn up a prospectus. Proposed names for this publication were to be submitted at the next trustees' meeting. Meanwhile, the possibility of having the Cathay Press in Hong Kong do the printing was being investigated.

So it was that on August 8 The Hawaiian Journal of History got its title, and the Cathay Press bid was accepted. Manuscripts for Vol. I went forward to Hong Kong on September 21; 1,000 copies of the Journal arrived just 5 months later. An unexpectedly large demand led to a 500-copy reprinting, received in June, 1968.

As this is written, copy for Vol. II is being assembled with a July 1 deadline in view. The goal: distribution of finished copies before the year's end.

And so, as the *Review* closes its tiny window on the past, the *Journal* opens to broader vistas—and, hopefully, to a longer life.

**NOTES**

2 Minutes of Meeting of Hawaiian Historical Society Trustees, April 16, 1964.
   Hereafter TM, with appropriate date. Filed at HHS.
3 TM, April 22, 1965.
5 Minutes of Meeting of Editorial and Publications Committee, Oct. 6, 1966. Filed at HHS.
9 TM, June 20, 1967.
10 TM, Aug. 8, 1967.
CONTRIBUTORS:

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