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## Blacks in Hawai'i: A Demographic and Historical Perspective

WHILE ALL RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAI'I in the late twentieth century are minorities, Blacks represent one of the smallest populations in the State. In 1980, Blacks in Hawai'i were counted by the United States census at 17,364 persons, or 1.8 percent of the total State population (Table 1).<sup>1</sup> This contrasts with a 1980 United States total of 26,495,025 Blacks, comprising 11.7 percent of the total population in the nation.<sup>2</sup> The Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program, using a sample survey in 1985, reported the presence of 24,215 Blacks in the Islands, of whom 86.4 percent were members of the armed forces or military dependents.<sup>3</sup>

After the arrival of Captain James Cook's exploratory expedition in 1778, the Hawaiian Islands were opened to foreign visitors and new inhabitants. Blacks first sailed to the Islands as crew members of merchant ships in the early 19th century, and a few left their vessels to become residents of the Islands. The Hawaiian term *haole 'ele'ele* (foreign black) was coined at that time to refer to these newcomers.<sup>4</sup>

One of the earliest businessmen in Hawai'i in 1810 was Anthony D. Allen, a man of Black heritage from German Flats, New York.<sup>5</sup>

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TABLE 1.  
THE BLACK POPULATION IN HAWAII, 1900-1986

Year	Number		Percentage		Average annual population growth rate <sup>b</sup>		
	Blacks	Total <sup>a</sup>	Blacks	Total	Blacks	Total	
1900: June 1	233	154,001	0.2	100.00	1900-10	10.9	2.2
1910: April 15	695	191,909	0.4	100.00	1910-20	7.1	3.0
1920: January 1	348	255,912	0.1	100.00	1920-30	4.7	3.6
1930: April 1	563	368,336	0.2	100.00	1930-40	-7.9	1.4
1940: April 1	255	423,330	0.1	100.00	1940-50	23.4	1.7
1950: April 1	2,651	499,769	0.5	100.00	1950-60	6.2	2.4
1960: April 1	4,943	632,772	0.8	100.00	1960-70	4.2	1.9
1970: April 1	7,517	768,559	1.0	100.00	1970-80	8.4	2.3
1980: April 1	17,364	964,691	1.8	100.00	1900-80	5.4	2.3
1970-86, using Hawai'i Department of Health definitions of ethnicity <sup>c</sup>							
1970	5,925	773,632	0.8	100.00			
1980	11,799	930,271	1.3	100.00	1970-80	11.5	1.8
1986	24,215	1,022,745	2.3	100.00	1980-86	11.1	1.6

Sources: Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933), table 1; Hawaii (State) Department of Planning and Economic Development, *Statistical Report 180*, table 2; *State of Hawai'i Data Book* 1972, 1981 and 1986; Nordyke, *Peopling of Hawaii* (1989) table 3-1; Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii* (1968) table 26.

- Total population refers to all the resident population, including the civilian population and members of the armed forces with their dependents, excluding visitors.
- Computed by the formula  $r = 100 \log_e (P_2/P_1)/t$ .
- U.S. census data on race are not comparable to Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program figures owing to different definitional and procedural counting methods.

He established a boarding house, a bowling alley, a "dram shop" (saloon), and an informal hospital in Pawa'a on the Waikiki plain about two miles east of the village of Honolulu.<sup>6</sup> He was a successful farmer, supplying fresh vegetables and livestock to residents and ship captains, and he and his Hawaiian wife and children were regarded with respect by Hawaiian royalty and American missionaries.<sup>7</sup>

Betsey Stockton (fig. 1) arrived in 1823 as a member of the second company of missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, accompanying Charles Stewart's family.<sup>8</sup> Although she had been born in slavery, she was freed prior to joining the Stewart family in New Jersey. In Hawai'i, the *Missionary Herald* of 1825 reported the presence on Maui of "a colored woman connected with Mr. Stewart's family, who makes herself highly useful to the mission."<sup>9</sup> In a discussion about critically ill infants brought to the Lāhainā mission, missionaries William Richards and C. S. Stewart wrote:

Within three days of this very time, two other infants have been brought to our yard, in most distressing situations,—one, with a shocking wound on its arm from a cut by a broken bottle, and the other almost expiring with the croup. Both are already in a state of safety; and probably have been rescued from death by the humane and prompt exertions of Betsey Stockton, who took them immediately under her care.<sup>10</sup>

Miss Stockton learned the Hawaiian language and taught English to Hawaiians on Maui.<sup>11</sup>

Crewmembers aboard whaling ships, arriving in the Islands between 1820 and 1880, included a small number of Portuguese of Black heritage from the Cape Verde Islands. Some of these sailors stayed in Hawai'i to become permanent residents, taking jobs as cooks, barbers, tailors, sailors on interisland vessels, and members of musical groups. Four Blacks formed a royal brass band for Kamehameha III in 1834, and another Black, George W. Hyatt, organized a larger band in 1845.<sup>12</sup> Marriages occurred with Hawaiians, and these people and their children became classified in censuses as Portuguese or Part-Hawaiian.<sup>13</sup>

Blacks were deliberately excluded from the proposed lists of immigrant groups sought in the 1850s by the Kingdom to provide contract labor to Hawai'i. Responding to Northern sentiment during the Civil War that equated work on sugar plantations with slavery on Southern United States cotton and tobacco farms, sugar planters rejected proposals to bring Negroes from the United States to work in the Kingdom of Hawai'i. There were objections by members of the Hawaiian government and by those mission-related people who were abolitionists to the principle underlying the contract labor system. The U.S. Civil War brought to focus a widespread disapproval of an 1850 "Act for the Government of Masters and Servants" that equated contract labor with slave labor.<sup>14</sup>

In 1881, United States Secretary of State James G. Blaine was concerned by the diminution of the native population of Hawai'i and its replacement by workers from Asia:

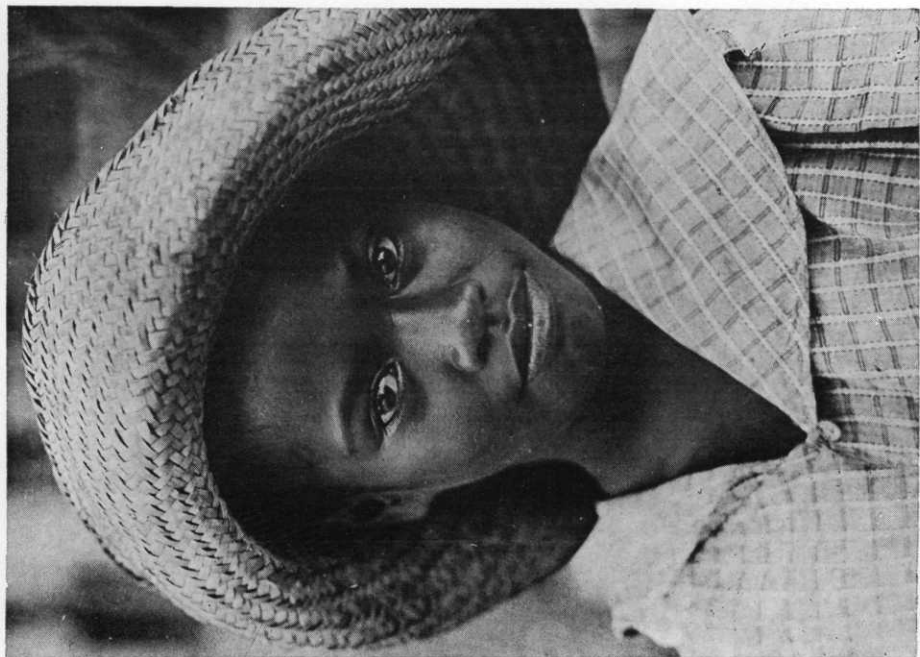
The Hawaiian Islands cannot be joined to the Asiatic system. If they drift from their independent station it must be toward an assimilation and identification with the American system, to which they belong by the operation of natural laws and must belong by the operation of political necessity.<sup>15</sup>

Reflecting a shift of opinion, Blaine urged the importation of Blacks instead of Orientals for the cultivation of rice and sugar in the Islands. Blaine said that the problem of replenishment of the vital forces of Hawai'i presented itself for intelligent solution in an American and "not an Asiatic or British sense."<sup>16</sup> However, John E. Bush, a Native Hawaiian and President of the Kingdom of Hawai'i's Board of Immigration, reported in 1882: "The Legislature was decidedly averse to Negro immigrants, even to opposing people from New Hebrides."<sup>17</sup>

No significant immigration of this group occurred in the Islands

FIG. 1. (Left) Betsey Stockton, teacher on Maui, c. 1863. (HMCS photo.)

FIG. 2. (Right) A Black Puerto Rican child at Lāhainā, Maui, 1915. (AH photo.)





until after Hawai'i became a Territory of the United States in 1900.<sup>18</sup> At that time, American Negroes were brought to the Islands as members of the Army or the Navy; in 1913 the 25th Infantry Regiment of all-Black males served in Hawai'i.

With the continuing need for labor, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) in 1907 recruited about 30 Black families to Maui from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama. Many of these people merged with the residents through intermarriage and association with local groups, but others returned to the Mainland. They did not establish a separate homogeneous community, and their identity as Blacks was diffused with that of other Island ethnic people.

Even prior to HSPA actions in 1907, Puerto Rican workers and their families, brought to the Hawaiian Islands in 1901 from Puerto Rico, were descendants of American Indians, Spaniards, and Black Africans (fig. 2). Although the United States census in the early 1900s usually classified persons of Black descent as "Negro," Puerto Rican Blacks were tabulated as Puerto Ricans and were later absorbed in the Caucasian, or White, totals. By 1930, the U.S. census identified only 322 males and 241 females of Black ancestry residing in Hawai'i. According to Romanzo Adams, pioneer sociologist in Hawai'i:

In 1940 another change in the classification of part Puerto Ricans reduced the Negro population from 563 to 255 at a time when the American Negro population was in all probability growing.<sup>19</sup>

Since 1950, however, the number of Blacks living in the Islands has almost doubled each decade. About 85 percent of these residents have been associated with the military population as members of the armed forces or their dependents in 1980.

The comparatively slow movement of Blacks to Hawai'i has been the subject of analysis by sociologists and researchers of ethnic studies. Sociologist Shirley Abe, in 1945, declared: "Underneath

FIG. 3. Four generations of a professional family of Black heritage, Honolulu, 1987. (Dr. and Mrs. John W. Edwards Jr. photo.)

the surface of racial harmony as seen in public life, there are prejudices in the private lives of the people, socially as well as economically." She explained:

If things had gone on naturally, without any introduction of the Mainland pattern of race relations, the Negroes would very likely have been gradually accepted and absorbed into the community, just as the Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos have become a part of the community, each one starting towards the bottom of the social scale and working its way up.<sup>20</sup>

Kathryn Takara, University of Hawai'i Instructor of Ethnic Studies, wrote in the mid-1980s:

Because of the stigmas and negative stereotypes associated with descendants of slaves, some Blacks in the past chose to be identified with another race that was more acceptable and familiar to the local Hawaiian community. Blacks who called themselves part-Negro in the 1910 census found it easier to become part-Hawaiian in 1920. Even today, a few fear the possible or imagined repercussions of being discovered to be of Negro origins.<sup>21</sup>

Another Black educator, Kay Brundage, explored "the myth of Black inferiority that has come here most often through the media."<sup>22</sup> A Black Cultural Center was organized in Hawai'i in the 1970s, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People helped Blacks with legal and educational concerns. A journal published in the 1980s, *The Afro-Hawaii News*, focused on their economic, political, and social events.

A review of the U. S. census of 1980, using the 100 percent count in Hawai'i, indicates that this group of 17,364 Blacks was comparatively young, with median age of 22.3 years in contrast to a State median age of 28.4 years. The Black population in the Islands showed an unbalanced age and sex composition influenced by the large number of persons associated with the military population (Table 2).

A 1980 U. S. census sample of social and economic characteristics in the Black population of Hawai'i reported 17,687 persons, of

whom 7,787 were in the armed forces, 4,737 persons were military dependents, and 5,163 were civilian residents.<sup>23</sup> However, these low figures overlooked the part-Black mixed population. This group may have been included with other racial groups such as the Chinese or the Hawaiians or may have been tabulated with "Others." According to Howard E. Johnson, Editor of *The Afro-Hawaii News*, the official number of Blacks in Hawaii was undercounted in the mid-1980's. Johnson has estimated a range of population from 17,500 to 37,000 persons.<sup>24</sup>

TABLE 2.

BLACK POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX, HAWAII 1900-1980

	Age and Sex									
Age	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	
Males										
0-4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	319	493	1,000	
5-9							222	436	640	
10-14							95	303	434	
15-19							410	540	1,241	
20-24							1,007	1,693	4,320	
25-29							507	495	1,822	
30-34							247	468	919	
35-39							202	203	505	
40-44							99	179	317	
45-49					a		57	117	194	
50-54							44	70	124	
55-59							31	47	123	
60-64							20	44	85	
65-69							4	7	37	
70-74							4	13	26	
75-79							4	0	9	
80-84							0	0	4	
85+							0	14	4	
Subtotal	158	415	218	322	172	2,033	3,272	5,122	11,804	

TABLE 2—*cont'd*

	Age and Sex								
Age	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Females									
0-4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	355	469	988
5-9							219	371	612
10-14							94	243	412
15-19							61	167	430
20-24							153	306	1,119
25-29							228	350	839
30-34							131	232	461
35-39							72	112	227
40-44							33	39	128
45-49				a			9	27	97
50-54							23	20	82
55-59							4	0	55
60-64							18	46	40
65-69							8	0	27
70-74							9	13	19
75-79							0	0	16
80-84							0	0	4
85+							5	0	4
Subtotal	75	280	130	241	83	618	1,422	2,395	5,560
Total	233	695	348	563	255	2,651	4,694	7,517	17,364

Sources: From the following U.S. Bureau of the Census: *Thirteenth Census of the United States*; 1910: *Abstract of the Census With Supplement for Hawaii* (1913), tables 8, 10, 25, and 27; *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Outlying Territories and Possessions* (1932) table 4; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population*, second series, *Characteristics of the Population, Hawaii* (1943) table 2. *Census of Population: 1950*, vol. 2, part 52, *Characteristics of the Population, Hawaii* (1953) tables 29, 30; *Census of Population, 1960: General Characteristics, Hawaii*, Final Report PC(1)-13B (1961) table 17; *Census of Population, 1960: Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii*, Final Report PC(1)-13D (1962) table 96; *Census of Population, 1960: Nonwhite Population by Race* Subject Reports (1963) table 61;

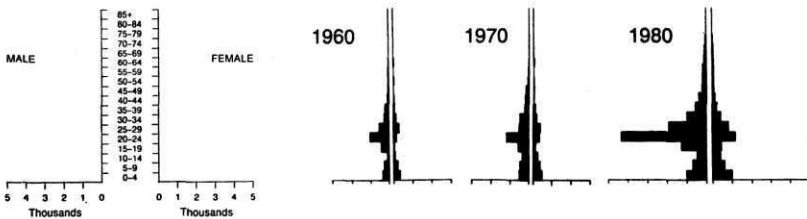
*Census of Population, 1970: General Population Characteristics, Hawaii*, Final Report PC(1)-B13 (1971) table 17; *Census of Population, 1970: Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii*, Final Report PC(1)-D13 (1972) table 96, 138 and 139; 1982 *Census of Population, 1980: General Population Characteristics, Hawaii* PC 80-1-B13 (1982) tables 19 and 22.

a. Between 1900 and 1950, Blacks were included in the category of "Others."

NA = Not available.

Note: Changes in U.S. census definition of race between 1960-1970 and again between 1970-1980 resulted in lack of comparability for ethnic data. U.S. census data on race are also not comparable to Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program (HHSP) data owing to different procedures.

The 1980 sex ratio of 212 males for every 100 females in this ethnic group was attributed to the presence of a large number of men of ages 18-29 employed in the armed forces. This disproportion is clearly observed in the population pyramids of Blacks (fig. 4).



Note: These population pyramids are based upon the U.S. census definition of race and are not comparable to Hawaii Health Surveillance Program tabulations of ethnic groups.

FIG. 4. Black population of Hawai'i by sex and age 1960-1980.  
(See Table 2.)

The unequal sex distribution of this racial group has resulted in distorted measurements of marriage and fertility. Black women showed the lowest rate of intermarriage in 1980, with only 19.3 percent selecting mates outside their race; in contrast, 51 percent of Black men chose brides of another ethnic background (Table 3).<sup>25</sup> Blacks had the youngest age at marriage in 1985, at a median 25.3

years for males and 21.2 years for females, whereas the State median age at marriage was 29.9 years for men and 27.8 years for women.<sup>26</sup>

The high level of fertility among Black women in Hawai'i is related to the presence of a large proportion of married military dependents of child-bearing age. In 1985, 4.9 percent of all births in Hawai'i occurred to Blacks, a disproportionate number in relation to the low percentage of Blacks in the total population, but many of these children were from military families that

TABLE 3.  
INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL MARRIAGES,  
BLACKS AND TOTAL POPULATION, HAWAII, 1960-1985

	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1985	<i>Resident population,<sup>a</sup> 1985</i>
<i>Blacks</i>				
Males	45.9	60.2	52.7	51.1
Females	13.2	16.1	17.2	19.3
<i>Total population</i>	36.0	38.4	35.5	45.0

Sources: Hawai'i (State) Department of Health, *Annual Report, Statistical Supplement, 1960-1985*; Nordyke, *Peopling of Hawaii* (1989) table 3-10.

- a. Includes the civilian population and members of the armed forces with their dependents, but excludes visitors.

migrated to the Mainland United States upon completion of their fathers' term of duty of two to four years in the armed forces in Hawai'i.

The ratio of children to women in 1980 was highest for Blacks, with 621 children per 1,000 Black women, compared with a State average of 339 children per 1,000 women (Table 4). The crude

TABLE 4.

FERTILITY AND MORTALITY OF THE BLACKS IN HAWAII, 1960-1980<sup>a</sup>

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Total population<sup>b</sup></i>
Crude birth rate <sup>c</sup>		
1960	41.8	26.8
1970	23.9	21.3
1980	23.4	18.8
General fertility rate <sup>d</sup>		
1960	289.1	128.0
1970	149.3	96.4
1980	126.7	78.8
Total fertility rate <sup>e</sup>		
1960	N.A.	3,886.5
1970	3,505.5	2,728.5
1980	2,620.5	2,091.5
Child-woman ratio <sup>f</sup>		
1960	994.1	602.8
1970	797.7	414.3
1980	620.5	338.6
1980 Age-specific fertility rates <sup>g</sup>		
Ages 15-19	104.7	51.2
20-24	196.6	125.6
25-29	120.4	122.3
30-34	71.6	83.0
35-39	30.8	30.4
40-44	0.0	5.5
45-49	0.0	0.3
Elective abortions per 100 births		
1975	48	29
1980	21	36
1985	18	31

TABLE 4—*cont'd*

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Total population<sup>b</sup></i>
Crude death rate <sup>h</sup>		
1970	2.4	5.1
1980	1.8	5.1

Sources: Hawai'i (State) Department of Health, *Annual Report, Statistical Supplement* 1960–1985; Gardner, Nordyke, et al, *Demographic Situation in Hawaii* tables 19 and 22; Nordyke, *Peopling of Hawaii* (1989) tables 3–5, 3–6, 3–7, 3–8, 3–9, and 4–6; from the following U.S. Bureau of the Census: *Census of Population, 1960: General Characteristics, Hawaii* PC (1)–13B (1961) tables 16 and 17; *Census of Population, 1960: Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii* PC (1)–13D (1962) tables 96 and 139; *Census of Population, 1960: Nonwhite Population by Race*, Subject Report (1963) table 61; *Census of Population, 1970: General Population Characteristics, Hawaii* PC (1)–B13 (1971a) tables 17, 20, and 28; *Census of Population, 1970: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii* PC (1)–C13 (1971b) tables 20 and 53; *Census of Population, 1970: Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii* PC (1)–D13 (1972) tables 96, 138 and 139; *Census of Population, 1980: General Population Characteristics, Hawaii* PC 80–1–B13 (1982) tables 19, 20, and 21.

N.A. Not available.

- a. Figures for 1970 and 1980 are not directly comparable with other years because of changed definitions of ethnic groups.
- b. Resident population, including members of armed forces and dependents and excluding visitors.
- c. The number of live births per year per 1,000 mid-period population.
- d. The number of live births per year per 1,000 females of ages 15–44.
- e. The number of children per 1,000 women who complete their child-bearing years and experience a given set of age-specific fertility rates.
- f. The number of children under age 5 per 1,000 women ages 15–44.
- g. The number of live births per year per 1,000 women of a specified age group.
- h. The number of deaths per 1,000 mid-period population, based upon a 3-year average.

birth rate of this group fell from 41.8 births per 1,000 population in 1960 to 23.4 births per 1,000 Blacks in 1980, reflecting state and national trends toward reduced fertility.

The total fertility rate, which measures the number of children the average woman bears in a lifetime, in 1980 was 2.6 children for Blacks, a figure significantly higher than the State total fertility rate of 1.8 children. Black women showed relatively high age-specific fertility rates for the age group 15-24, and they had one of the lowest levels of abortion among all ethnic groups, with a 1985 ratio of 18 abortions per 100 live births, compared with a State average ratio of 31 abortions per 100 live births (Table 4).

The death rate of Blacks in Hawai'i was very low at 1.8 per 1,000 population in 1980, reflecting the young age of this group. Life expectancy in Hawai'i for the total population was highest in the nation in 1980 at 74.1 years for males and 80.3 years for females.<sup>27</sup> However, life expectancy figures by racial group were not computed for Blacks in Hawai'i owing to the unreliability of information from the distorted age and sex composition of this small population.

About 97 percent of Hawai'i's Blacks lived in Honolulu County in 1980. Elderly persons age 65 and over represented only 0.9 percent of the Black racial group, compared to 7.9 percent for this senior age group among the total population in 1980. There was no tabulation for in- and out-migration of Blacks in the Islands; but, as indicated above, it is probable that this population, most of which is associated with short military assignments in Hawai'i, contributed to the high rate of interstate migration from and to the U.S. Mainland.

Although the Black civilian population in Hawai'i is small in number, it continues to make a significant contribution to the Island community. As attorneys, lawyers, and businessmen, Blacks have served as advisors to the Kingdom, Territory, and State of Hawai'i throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They have participated in the state and county legislatures; they have been active in the medical, educational, and engineering professions; and they are recognized for achievement in musical, athletic, and many other areas of community service.<sup>28</sup> It is

expected that Blacks will have an expanding impact on life in the Islands in the future as their numbers increase to represent a broader segment of Hawaii's resident population.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population: 1980, General Population Characteristics, Hawaii* PC 80-1-B13, tables 17, 18, 19, and 20, and *Census of the Population: 1980, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii* PC 80-1-C13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982) tables 58 and 59.
- <sup>2</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the population: 1980, Summary Characteristics of the Black Population for the States and Selected Counties and Places* PC 80-S1-21 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1987) table 1.
- <sup>3</sup> *The State of Hawaii Data Book* (Honolulu: Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1986) table 22. The Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program conducted by the Hawai'i State Health Department used a sample survey, applying definitions of race that differed from those tabulated in reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.
- <sup>4</sup> Randolph L. Chambliss, "The Blacks," *Social Process in Hawaii* 29 (1982): 113-15.
- <sup>5</sup> Miles M. Jackson, "Records Trace Hawaii's Blacks Back to 1810," *HSB* 19 Feb. 1985.
- <sup>6</sup> Richard A. Greer, "Blacks in Old Hawaii," *Honolulu*. Nov. 1986: 120-21.
- <sup>7</sup> Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961) 304.
- <sup>8</sup> C. S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands During the Years 1823, 1824, and 1825* (1830; Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P for Friends of the Library of Hawai'i, 1970) 37.
- <sup>9</sup> ABCFM, *MH* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, (1825) 71. Betsey Stockton's name is spelled "Betsey" in this reference, although C. S. Stewart lists her name as "Betsy" in his *Journal* 37.
- <sup>10</sup> Stewart, *Journal* 319.
- <sup>11</sup> HMCS, *Missionary Album* (1937; Honolulu: HMCS, 1969) 186-187; ABCFM, *Missionary Herald* 37.
- <sup>12</sup> Greer, *Honolulu* 180 and 183-84.
- <sup>13</sup> Bernard L. Hormann, "A Note on Hawaii's Minorities Within Minorities," *Social Process in Hawaii* 18 (1954): 47-56.
- <sup>14</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 2, 1854-1874 *Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1966) 185-86.
- <sup>15</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 1874-1893 *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1967) 141.

- <sup>16</sup> Merze Tate, "Decadence of the Hawaiian Nation and Proposals to Import a Negro Labor Force," *Journal of Negro History* 47.4 (Oct. 1962): 251-52.
- <sup>17</sup> Hawai'i (Kingdom) Bureau of Immigration, *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886* (Honolulu: DB, 1886) 143.
- <sup>18</sup> Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778-1965* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P 1968) table 26.
- <sup>19</sup> Romanzo C. Adams, "Census Notes on the Negroes in Hawaii Prior to the War," *Social Process in Hawaii* 9-10 (1945): 25-7.
- <sup>20</sup> Shirley Abe, "Violations of the Racial Code in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* 9-10 (1945): 33 and 36.
- <sup>21</sup> Kathryn Takara, "Blacks in Hawaii—Black Women: Achievement Against the Odds," ms. (1985).
- <sup>22</sup> Kay Brundage, "To Be Black in Paradise," *Honolulu* (July 1970): 48-9. See also Lloyd L. Lee, "A Brief Analysis of the Role and Status of the Negro in the Hawaiian Community," *American Sociological Review* 13.4 (Aug. 1948): 13.
- <sup>23</sup> Hawai'i (State), *Statistical Report 163* (Honolulu: Department of Planning and Economic Development) table 4.
- <sup>24</sup> Howard E. Johnson, interview Nov. 1987.
- <sup>25</sup> Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii* (1977; Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P. 1989) table 3.
- <sup>26</sup> Robert W. Gardner, Eleanor C. Nordyke, Michael J. Levin, and Robert C. Schmitt, *The Demographic Situation in Hawaii, Revised Edition* (1974; Honolulu: Population Institute, East-West Center, forthcoming) table 16.
- <sup>27</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, *U. S. Decennial Life Tables for 1979-81*, vol. 2, no. 12 *State Life Tables, Hawaii* (December, 1985).
- <sup>28</sup> Jackson, "Records Trace Hawaii's Blacks."