

The Intriguing Seamen's Hospital

Dorothy Pyle

The United States Marine Hospital in Lahaina opened in late summer, 1844. Much planning and discussion went into this unique establishment. In other ports around the world sick seamen were cared for in local hospitals or medical facilities, but Hawaii was different; there were no hospitals or medical facilities.

For a time, sick seamen were cared for by persons contracted for this job. The United States Government, through its local commercial agents and consular officers, paid for the board, room, clothing, and medical attention for men too sick and disabled to remain with their ships.¹ The center of this activity seems to have been Honolulu. The sick and disabled from Lahaina were regularly sent to Honolulu for care.² At times the American Missionaries also acted as agents in finding medical aid for seamen.³

As Hawaii became the center for the expanding whaling fleet in the Pacific, the demands for a hospital increased. During this period, the use of the term "hospital" is very misleading. The American Consular Agents frequently refer to the "hospitals" of Honolulu and Lahaina, but actually they are only referring to the system by which sick men were taken care of. Both Milo Calkin in Lahaina and William Hooper in Honolulu refer to the "hospital" in Lahaina as though a building actually existed when technically speaking this was not the case until 1844.⁴

The first mention of an actual hospital building in Lahaina is made by Milo Calkin in his letters to William Hooper. It would seem that the port of Lahaina had become so busy by 1844 that it was impossible for Calkin to continue sending sick persons to Honolulu for aid. He wrote to Hooper requesting permission to contract for a "hospital,"⁵ at the same time stressing that a specific building should be engaged for that purpose. On July 23, 1844, Calkin again wrote to Hooper concerning a hospital.⁶ This time he specifically states that "if some arrangement is not immediately made for a hospital, I

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Note: This research was originally done for the Lahaina Restoration Foundation and their permission to reprint it is appreciated.

must give the business into other hands." It appears that the meaning of "hospital" here is still the system and not a building.

But on August 3, 1844, Calkin writes again to Hooper, this time mentioning that the hospital has been opened.⁷

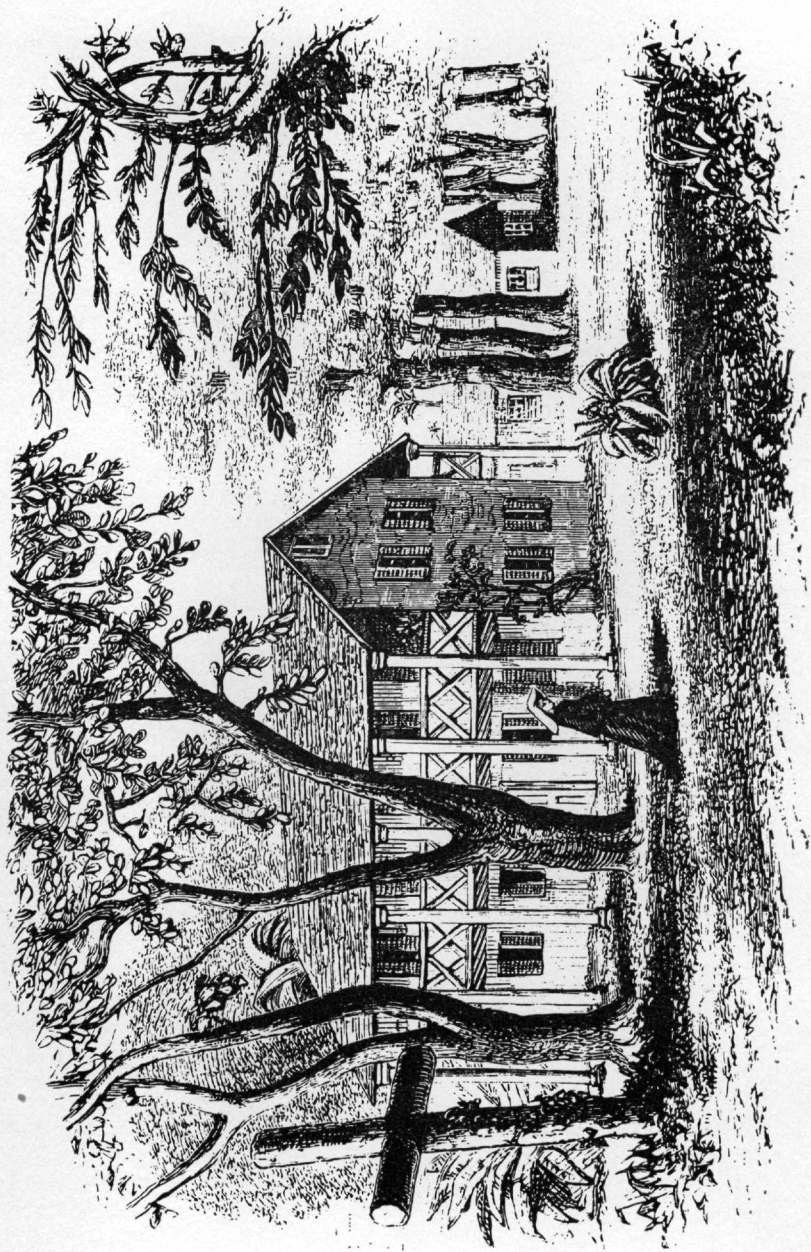
One of the most intriguing questions about the Marine Hospital is its beginning. Was the building now known as the Marine Hospital constructed for just that purpose, or was it converted into a hospital in August, 1844? If the latter, who built the building, why and when? A little light can be shed on this, but the mystery is by no means solved.

In 1831, a young man named Joaquin Armas landed on the Island of Hawaii and contracted with King Kamehameha III to run cattle for him.⁸ His reward for years of service to the King was several parcels of land in Lahaina.⁹ Armas involved himself in various types of work and nothing is recorded of him again until the late 1840s. But in 1844 his property became the United States Seamen's Hospital.¹⁰

How this actually came about is something of a mystery. It is known that Milo Calkin was looking for a place for a hospital as early as February, 1844.¹¹ He had been appointed United States Vice Commercial Agent for the port of Lahaina by William Hooper, acting United States Commercial Agent, on February 4, 1844.¹² He had been employed by Ladd and Company in Lahaina for a number of years and was, no doubt, aware of the plight of sick seamen. Calkin was concerned with the enlistment of a physician for the hospital as well as finding the necessary facilities. From time to time, physicians from ships in port were convinced to stay in Lahaina and were utilized by everyone in the area. As the idea of a "hospital" grew, Calkin began to think in terms of a contract for a physician with a guaranteed income.¹³ It seems that the physicians available were a temperamental group, and before Calkin finally got a contract with Doctor Charles F. Winslow, he was taken to court by Doctor Tryon for breach of contract.¹⁴ Tryon lost the case, but it appears that a great deal more than a contract was actually involved. Besides being the U. S. Commercial Agent for Lahaina, Calkin was in business as a shiphandler. He was in direct competition with several other businesses who resented his influential position as commercial agent. Dr. Tryon was close to one of Calkin's competitors, and, together they tried to undermine Calkin's position in the community and with the ship captains. Their efforts were a failure.

While Calkin was trying to get a contract for a physician for the hospital, he was also trying to find a place to put it and someone to be the general supplier of the goods and services necessary, called a purveyor.¹⁵ Shortly after his appointment as Vice Commercial Agent, Calkin began to write to Hooper about a hospital. He mentioned on February 22, 1844 that a "steady man has offered to put up a building and keep house for destitute seamen if he can rely on having a permanent thing. He could get it ready by July."¹⁶

Seamen's Hospital, Lahaina, as it appeared in 1867, when it was used as a part of St. Cross Industrial School for Girls. (From Five Years Church Work in Hawaii, by Thomas N. Staley.)



Again on February 28 he wrote to Hooper that "Mr. Halstead, who has applied for the Hospital man offers to build, and enclose the premises so that there shall be no egress or ingress without a permit from me."¹⁷ There is no record of Hooper's replies, but it seems that he did not share his subordinate's enthusiasm for building a hospital. Calkin wrote to him again on July 23, 1844 sounding a little agitated over the apparent lack of follow through about the hospital by persons in Honolulu. The letter states:

Will you please see Mr. Munn and say that if some arrangement is not immediately made for a hospital, I must give the business into other hands. Sick men are coming in and there are no accommodations for them. He had best not engage a house or agent, until he visits this place.

I have been told that he has engaged a house of Huakin, but it will not do—is over a mile distant and a bad road to carry sick men over.¹⁸

This letter from Calkin could possibly be the key to the mystery of when and by whom the hospital building was put up, *if* there was other information with it. It seems possible that "Huakin" is just a corruption of Joaquin, Armas' first name. The hospital building is about a mile and a half distant from what was then the center of Lahaina. But there is no way to really know if Armas is who Calkin is referring to. There are no corroborating letters from Munn or copies of lease agreements. If "Huakin" is Armas, then certainly the building was constructed before 1844, and probably after 1836, when Armas was given the land by Kamehameha III. Beyond this is only conjecture and guessing.

After its somewhat slow and confusing beginning, the Seamen's Hospital quickly filled the need in Lahaina. For a small building it was a busy place, having well over one hundred patients per year during the whaling boom.¹⁹ It seems that even after the Tryon affair there were difficulties with the physicians in Lahaina. Calkin had made an agreement with Doctor Charles F. Winslow from Nantucket to be the hospital physician and to care for all sick American seamen. Evidently other physicians in Lahaina paid no attention as Calkin complains of doctors going on board ships, unasked, and even of one doctor bringing men to the hospital for treatment and claiming to be the hospital physician.²⁰ Calkin put a stop to both these practices but this cannot have increased his popularity.

The hospital business itself was divided into three major sections. The United States Vice Commercial Agent (Calkin in the beginning) was responsible for recommending seamen to the hospital, keeping necessary papers and books, and handling the financial transactions with the United States Government. This was done by quarterly billing to the Department of State in Washington. The physician of the hospital had a contract with the United States Government which guaranteed him exclusive treatment of American seamen at the United States Government's expense. His medical expenses and fees were included in the Commercial Agent's quarterly billing. The third person involved in the hospital management was the purveyor, supplying food, clothing, shelter, maid service, laundry service and assorted other necessities. These services were also charged to the United States Government.

As has been mentioned, Dr. Charles Winslow was the first physician. John Munn, who resided in Honolulu and was purveyor of the hospital there, was the first purveyor in Lahaina. It is believed that he leased the property from Joaquin Armas for the hospital.²¹ How long this arrangement with Armas lasted is not known. The next information found, to date, is the lease for the hospital property from Armas to Doctor James Dow in 1850.²²

There is more information available about the hospital in its early years than later on. Perhaps this is partly due to the involvement of the missionaries in the beginning. Reverend Baldwin's letters often mention that he had been to the Seamen's Hospital and even more often mentions the funeral of a sailor who had died there.²³

Baldwin seems to have avoided direct conflict with the physician of the hospital, but not so the Reverend Cochran Forbes, who was the Seamen's Chaplain in Lahaina. Forbes and Doctor Winslow had a falling out over an insignificant matter, but it resulted in Forbes being forbidden to preach at the hospital.²⁴

The Seamen's Hospital continued to function in Lahaina until 1862. During this period there were many personnel changes in the hospital organization. New physicians came and went, the purveyor's job was often broken down into smaller contracts (for laundry, for food, etc.), the United States Consular Agent changed and Seamen's Chaplain also changed. Because of the many switches, the information about the hospital is fragmentary and difficult to fit together. The Reverend Sereno Bishop came to Lahaina as Seamen's Chaplain in 1853.²⁵ His letters over the following ten years give some insight into the hospital's position. He described how he held services in the hospital, and also gave details on the number of men in the hospital and the steady decline in whaling ships coming to Lahaina.²⁶ Reverend Bishop, by 1860, felt that there was hardly enough work for him in Lahaina, an indication, also, that the hospital was becoming unnecessary.²⁷

The hospital closed down in 1862, apparently due to the dwindling need. This looked good on the surface, but a more likely reason for the shut-down was the scandal that broke about the misuse of government funds. Right from the beginning there was a feeling in Lahaina that the interests of the United States Government were being abused by the hospital system. When Dr. Winslow left Lahaina for "retirement" on the mainland a whole series of letters, published in the *Sandwich Island News*, alluded to his corruptness in practice.²⁸ Checking through the Commercial Agent's correspondence concerning the medical bills for the hospital reveals that as early as September, 1844 there was some question about the exorbitant amounts charged by Doctor Winslow.²⁹ Calkin himself appeared to grow in mistrust of Winslow. On April 5, 1845, he wrote to Hooper that:

Dr. Winslow will perhaps endeavor to get some promise out of you for a definite agreement. I wish you to refer him to me or give him to understand that I can employ my own physician—that you have confidence in me, etc., etc. I have my reasons for not wishing Dr. Winslow to feel too independent of me which he will be prone to do, if he makes any definite agreement with you.—He is getting rather *tall* in his own opinion—and must not be allowed to govern the destiny of Lahaina.³⁰

Again on April 9, Calkin wrote to Hooper:

. . . We had well nigh a *physical* squall the other day, but all is settled amicably though I have lost some of my respect for . . . who is a little too greedy of gain and if the Consulate bills are too high from this office you must rap my *knuckles* and tell me not to expend over 50 cts pr day each man for medical attendance—or 75 cts pr day as may suit you best. I don't like to shovel dollars into another man's bag so much faster than I can shovel into my own—and then get few *thanks* for it and no pay for the use of my shovel!

Say nothing! . . . only don't commit yourself or me to Dr. W. It might be best to have a written understanding that if any Medical bill should be protested by the Department, the Hospital Surgeon should be the loser—not the Consul, or Com Agt.³¹

Winslow evidently made his fortune in Lahaina and left. On November 19, 1847, Reverend Baldwin wrote to E. B. Robinson that,

. . . tomorrow morning they [Winslow] embark on board the ship Atlantic of N. London, for the U. States. Dr. W. came out four years since from Nantucket—has had the Seamen's hospital here and other practices who have probably yielded him \$20,000 or more, and now feels rich enough to go home. . . .³²

It was after this departure that the letters appeared in the *Sandwich Island News*.

There may have been more known about Winslow's corruption than can be deduced from written records. Calkin, a very successful shipchandler as well as the Commercial Agent for Lahaina, abruptly dissolved his business in February, 1846 and departed from Hawaii in November of that same year.³³ Later, in a letter to Reverend Baldwin, written June 12, 1849 from San Francisco, he mentions meeting Winslow by accident. Calkin's letter read in part:

Winslow is on his way here. I met him in Panama and he asked me to take his hand. I put my hand behind me and told him I would not disgrace myself or insult my wife by taking the hand of the villain who had done all in his power to ruin us both.

This all passed in the presence of bystanders, and he apologized for having said many things that he was sorry for, but I refused to make friends with him. . . . Winslow is despised at home, his own brother in law would not put up at the same hotel with him in Panama. . . . You was [sic] a true friend to me when I stood in need of a friend.³⁴

It seems unlikely that Calkin was actually involved in the fraud, but he must have known about it.

Dr. Winslow appears to have started a systemized method of cheating the government. It took the cooperation of several men, but threats of exposure or loss of patronage were all that was necessary to guarantee compliance and silence. But by the early 1850s the United States Government became alarmed at the rapidly rising expenses in Lahaina. Some time after Calkin's departure, the United States established a Consular office in Lahaina so that direct communication began between the Secretary of State in Washington, D.C. and Lahaina.³⁵ Charles Bunker was the first appointed Consul for Lahaina, and he perpetuated the fraudulent dealings. But he must have gone much further than his predecessors as the discrepancies in costs were soon noted by the Treasury Department. A letter was sent, dated March 24, 1852, from the Treasury to the Department of State, detailing the problems.

The expenses on account of destitute American Seamen at Lahaina in one of the Sandwich Islands, have become so exorbitant since Mr. Bunker was appointed Consul at that place as to demand the serious consideration and action of the Department of State; the whole authority over the case being vested in it by the law of the 28 Feby 1803.

Previous to Mr. Bunker's appointment, the Consul at Honolulu had a deputy stationed there, by whom the disbursements for seamen were made. His expenses, tho' considerable, fall far short of those of Mr. Bunker, which have increased from upwards of 6,000 dollars to the enormous sum of more than 20,000 dollars a quarter, in clothing provisions and medicine for destitute seamen. His last quarter's account, rendered to this office, amounts to 20,566 dollars, for the maintenance, as he stated, of 186 seamen, part of whom were maintained for a portion of the quarter only.

On comparing his Account with that of Consul Allen, at Honolulu, for the Quarter, ending 31 Dec. 1851, the average expense for each seamen was as follows:

Expended by Mr. Allen, for each seaman, for subsistence, clothing and medical attendance	\$62.37
Expended by Mr. Bunker, for each seaman for the same objects	\$110.06

Showing a difference of about 90 percent in favor of Mr. Allen.

Before Mr. Bunker was appointed, the Agent of the Consul at Honolulu expended for seamen quarterly as follows:

Quarter ending 30 September 1849	\$2726.38
„ „ 31 Dec 1849	\$6613.92
„ „ 31 March 1850	\$4674.35
„ „ 30 June 1850	\$2825.10

Mr. Bunker's disbursements for the year preceding the 31 Dec. 1851 were as follows:

Quarter ending 31 March 1851	\$7320.07
„ „ 30 June 1851	\$6390.19
„ „ 30 Sept 1851	\$6142.99
„ „ 31 Dec 1851	\$20566.14

Whilst Mr. Bunker charges \$20,566.14/100 for maintaining 186 seamen during the quarter ending 31 Dec. 1851, Mr. Allen, the Consul at Honolulu charges 11,913.91/100 dollars for maintaining 191 seamen for that same quarter.

I would respectfully recommend that the Commissionery of the Sandwich Islands be directed to repair to Lahaina and ascertain the price of board, clothing and medical attendance for persons in the situation of seamen, in order that we may have some guide in the statement of the Consul's Accounts already presented, and to be presented hereafter; to charter a vessel to send seamen on hand, as well those at Lahaina as those at Honolulu, to California or Oregon. Each of these Consuls had sent off a number of Seamen during the above quarter; leaving on hand, at Honolulu 25 Seamen and at Lahaina 65 Seamen, altogether 90 Seamen—a sufficient number to render the charter of a vessel advisable. This course may be proper to observe, whenever the number of Seamen on hand may render it necessary.

These things being accomplished I would respectfully recommend that the Consulate at Lahaina be abolished and that it again be annexed to the Consulate at Honolulu, the Consul of which would have it in his power to control the acts of his deputy.

A remarkable fact in the Accounts of the Consul at Lahaina, is that he charges 50 cts a day for medical attendance, for each and all Seamen received by him from the time of their arrival until they were sent away, when it is hardly credible that the number of 123 Seamen, most of them received by him as *shipwrecked seamen*, should all require medical aid.³⁶

The disproportionate amount of money spent in Lahaina was no secret. An editorial in the *Friend* stated:

. . . it shows that at Lahaina, nearly twice the amount is annually expended for the benefit of American Seamen, over that of any other two consulates of the U. S. The Lahaina Consulate ranks highest upon the list. We have long been aware that the US hospital at Lahaina was crowded with sick and disabled seamen, discharged from whale ships, but we were not prepared to see that more was expended there than at Havana, London, Liverpool, Hong Kong, Canton, Havre, Nassau, Cape Town, Lima, Cork, Talcahuana, and Acapulco combined.³⁷

The situation continued for a few more years, but when the total amount spent for the hospitals in Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo reached more than \$150,000 per year, an investigation was demanded by the Treasury Department. The Secretary of State requested the Secretary of the Navy to instruct the commanding officer of a "vessel of war" to investigate.³⁸ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of June 21, 1860 notes the arrival of the United States Sloop-of-War *Levant*. Captain Hunt of the *Levant* had been appointed by the United States Government, along with the U. S. Commissioner in Hawaii, James W. Borden, to investigate the workings of the United States hospital and consular system in Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* also noted, on the same day, the departure of A. G. Chandler, United States Consul at Lahaina, on board the *Comet* for San Francisco.³⁹ The *Levant* left Honolulu for Lahaina on August 1, 1860, then sailed for Hilo on the 25th of August. On September 17, 1860 she sailed from Hilo for Panama, but was lost at sea. The loss was the second most catastrophic marine disaster in the history of Hawaii.⁴⁰

The loss of the *Levant* has added many complications to the documentation of the closing of the Lahaina Hospital. Not only were the persons involved lost, but also, it appears, any written records and reports of the findings.⁴¹ About six months after the departure of the *Levant*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* published a report on the investigation that had originally been published in the Boston *Bulletin*.⁴² (Text of this report is in Appendix I.) Even with the kind of information available in this report, the hospital remained open for over a year longer. A new Consul for Lahaina and a new physician for the hospital were appointed in May, 1861.⁴³ Notice of the closing of the hospital was in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 3, 1862. Official notice of the closing of the hospital was given by Thomas J. Dryer, United States Commissioner at Honolulu on September 10, 1862. It was published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* as follows:

Notice is hereby given to all persons whom it may concern, that the "Rendezvous" at Hilo and Lahaina as Depots for sick and destitute American seamen are closed, and that Honolulu is the only Rendezvous where "sick and destitute American seamen" will hereafter receive that attention and medical care which humanity prompts and the liberality of our Government has so long provided for.⁴⁴

It seems that the hospital closed just as Lahaina was slipping into a long sleazy era. Samuel Damon wrote in the *Sailor's Magazine* in 1862 that:

. . . for many years, upon an average, between one and two hundred whaleships have visited that port for supplies while last fall season the number was reduced to fifteen, and last spring to but three! The natural result has been that every ship-chandler has left, and the "land sharks" have departed. The US Hospital has been removed to

Honolulu and the Rev. Mr. Bishop, the Seamen's Chaplain, has removed to another field of ministerial labor.

. . . The Bethel at Lahaina has been closed, as there are only three or four foreign families there, and hereafter only occasionally will a foreign ship touch there.⁴⁵

The Seamen's Hospital has remained in this sleepy, slow atmosphere ever since its closing (in spite of the present boom in Lahaina). The building and surrounding property had been bought by Doctor James Dow in 1855 for \$1800 from the Estate of Joaquin Armas.⁴⁶ Doctor Dow had been the hospital physician for a number of years and retained ownership even after its closing. In February, 1864 he leased the property to Reverend George Mason for use as a boarding school.⁴⁷ The school idea was evidently a good one, and the Anglican Church gave it every possible support. In 1865 three Sisters of the Society of the Holy Trinity were assigned to Lahaina where they founded St. Cross Industrial School for Girls in what had been the hospital building.⁴⁸ The Mother Superior, Priscilla Sellon, leased the property from 1865 until she finally purchased it in March, 1872, from the estate of the late James Dow for \$1200.⁴⁹ The Sisters continued in their work until 1877 when they left Lahaina for Honolulu to help staff the growing St. Andrew's Priory. Reverend S. H. Davis was the minister at Lahaina at the time and continued the school with his wife's help.⁵⁰ But the school declined and was closed in 1884.⁵¹ After this, the property was used as a parsonage, but was found to be inadequate. The annual reports of the Bishop of the Missionary District of Honolulu indicate that the Seamen's Hospital building was already in poor condition in the early 1900s. Bishop Restarick mentions that "Dr. Wymouth's quarters (St. Cross House) were then in ruinous condition."⁵²

Through the influence of one of the Episcopal Church members, a property exchange was made with the Bishop Estate which allowed the church to acquire a new parsonage site. This was in 1909. The church gained property near the Holy Innocents' Church, where Chief Abner Paki had had his home.⁵³ From this time until the present, the Bishop Estate has had title to the land.

The value of the Seamen's Hospital has been noted in that it was declared part of the Lahaina National Historical Landmark by the National Park Service in 1962. It has also been the subject of an Historic American Buildings Survey in 1966, at which time measured drawings were completed for the National Park Service.

Appendix I

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, February 28, 1861

We would call attention to the letter on this subject US Hosp. on our last page, copied from a Boston paper. In the event of the loss of the *Levant*, which had the original report of the investigating Committee, the letter is the only authentic expose of the irregularities which were found to exist under former administrations, that has yet been made public.

. . . the following report forwarded by the *Bulletin's* correspondent at Honolulu, who was a member of the Board of Investigation into the United States Hospital system as practiced at the Sandwich Islands:

Honolulu, Oct. 26, 1860

The attention of this community was first called to certain frauds perpetrated upon the government by the consulates of Honolulu and Lahaina, by a correspondence that appeared in the *Alta California* of the 20th April last, wherein the correspondent of this issue alleged that an investigation into the affairs of the consulates and hospitals at these islands was being proceeded with by the Hon. James W. Borden, United States Commissioner at these Islands, pursuant to instructions from the State Department, arising from the fact that for a long period anterior thereto, complaint had been made against the system of the administration of the affairs of the U. S. Consulates and Hospitals at the Hawaiian Islands, and particularly in reference to the enormous expenditures of the fund appropriated by Congress for the relief of sick and disabled American seamen in foreign countries. It appears by the report of the Comptroller of the Treasury that the support of seamen at these consulates had cost the government for the past three years more than all of the other ports of the world.

Subsequently, instructions were sent by the Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, requesting the dispatch of a vessel of war to these Islands to further the examination so previously instituted as I have above noted. Pursuant to said request, the sloop-of-war *Levant*, under command of Captain William E. Hunt, U.S.N., was dispatched from Panama on the 1st day of May and arrived at this place on the 17th day of June last. On the 22d day of June, Commander Wm. E. Hunt, U.S.N., as *Special* Commissioner to investigate the affairs of the U. S. Consulates and Hospitals at Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo, and Hon. J. W. Borden, U. S. Commissioner, as Associate Commissioner, entered upon the duties assigned them. In these proceedings they were protracted in consequence of many hindrances thrown in their way in obtaining evidence and making the necessary examination. It is a notorious fact that although many of our citizens deprecated the system which has been so long pursued by the consuls in the expenditures of the fund so wisely appropriated by Congress for the relief of sick and disabled American seamen,

and the exaction of illegal fees and unjust charges from seamen, they nevertheless seemed determined and did in a measure thwart the commission in expediting the examination, and resort was finally had to the High Court of Chancery of the Kingdom for and the issue by it of a Letter Rogatory for the examination of witnesses.

On the first day of August the commission sailed for Lahaina, where the same difficulties, though in a greater degree, existed to a complete and efficient prosecution of the duties devolving upon it. The removal, at the request of the vice consul at that port, of a large number of the inmates of the hospital to distances far remote (in many instances over 50 miles there from) rendered it necessary for the commission to go to great trouble and expense in procuring their attendance before the board, which obstacle could have been easily prevented had the vice consul at Lahaina, or those connected with the consulate, aided the commission, as expressly requested by dispatches from the Department of State. The examination was concluded at Lahaina on the 25th of August, at which time the commission proceeded to Hilo, where the investigation was closed on the 17th ultimo, and immediately upon the adjournment of the board the *Levant* sailed for Panama.

....

The testimony disclosed the long mooted fact that the consulates of Honolulu and Lahaina have a large patronage, and that, therefore, the temptation to illegal practices is consequently very great; that the offices of physician and purveyor, highly lucrative positions, and the profits of each exceeding the salary of the consul many thousand dollars, were in the consul's gift; that they possessed the power to embarrass the operations of merchants and shipmasters doing business with them, and that, therefore, the corrupt and unwarrantable practices of the consuls had been heretofore winked at by them, they submitting to unjust and illegal exactions rather than incur their enmity.

In connection with the Hospital Department of these ports, it was apparent that well seamen had been admitted into the hospitals and made a charge against the government for medical attendance, and the practice at the same time the evidence was conclusive that but *one* of the wrecked seamen was either sick or disabled.

It was also established beyond a peradventure, that for seamen not inmates of either hospital at Honolulu or Lahaina, the government was charged for medical attendance as inmates of those hospitals, they at the same time being permitted verbally and also by written certificates of the physician and purveyor of the respective hospitals to and did, work out in town and country, and notwithstanding their being enabled to work out, were requested to and did return at the end of each quarter and sign blank bills for board and lodging, medical attendance and clothing, and that this fact was a matter of perfect notoriety, and well known to the consuls. That seamen have been retained in the hospitals long after they had recovered their health and *demand*ed their discharge. And such being the fact in many instances, the opinion (and a well founded one, too,) of every man in this community is that such course is pursued by the consuls for the purpose of profiting from the

charge against the government for board and lodging, medical attendance and clothing furnished such inmates, and it is self-evident that the consuls share in such profits so fraudulently and corruptly derived.

That in the matter of the distribution of the clothing to inmates of the hospital quarterly the most glaring frauds upon the government have been perpetrated by the respective consuls of Honolulu and Lahaina, for they are directly implicated in permitting and going so far as to even compel inmates of the hospital to sign blank vouchers, which subsequently were filled up with whatever quantity of clothing and price or prices the inordinate cupidity of the consuls or their employes [sic] might deem expedient, and the vice consul at Lahaina even admitted that the blank bills were sent to the hospital many days before the delivery of the clothing—were signed by the men and witnessed by the stewards of the hospital in blank—then returned to the consulate and subsequently filled up with *quantity and prices*.

The commission was undoubtedly surprised, and not without reason, to find that so many men in good health had resorted to the hospital, but it was not surprising when the cause was made manifest; it arises from that fact that every means is resorted to, to impoverish the sailor by stripping him of his just dues, and the exaction of illegal fees and commissions, and by masters of whalers falsely reporting the amount of their catch, or number of barrels of oil taken in a cruise, such report being the basis of settlement with seamen, it being shown that such false report of the fleet of whalers resorting to these islands, was on an average 100 to 150 barrels of the true catch. That upon making settlement of voyage with seamen when their share or lay has been questioned, seamen have been refused permission by the Consul to examine the shipping articles by which their rights could thereby be determined. Also the exaction from the sailor of \$1 for shipping, and \$1 for discharging, over and above the 50 cents paid by the ship; also the retention of \$1 from the two months extra wages due seamen on their shipping to go to the United States, and the unjust custom of compelling agents and shipmasters to pay off their men at the consulates, the consul of Honolulu being thereby enabled to deduct 2½ per cent and the Consul of Lahaina as high as 7 per cent commission from the balance of wages due the sailor. The amount thus illegally paid by the sailor at the consulate of Honolulu being not much less than \$5000 for commissions on wages, and the sum of \$1 for discharging and \$1 for shipping, and the retention of \$1 from the two months' extra wages, swells the illegal and unjust exactions of this consulate to the enormous sum of about \$9000 per annum.

It was conclusively shown that every means had been resorted to by these consuls to get men into the hospitals. I'll cite but one of the many instances that a naturalized citizen of the Kingdom stated upon his examination at Lahaina; that he was in destitute circumstances; applied to the consul for relief; relieved his then present wants and requested him to come to the consulate; went; informed the consul that he was a naturalized citizen of the kingdom, took the oath in 1846. Consul said he didn't wish to hear anything about that, but admitted him into the hospital, whereby he became a charge against the government for the snug little sum of \$1294.75. . . .

Inmates of the hospital were obliged, and some instances compelled to sign blank bills for clothing, no specification thereof, quality or price being noted; that they were signed at the hospital many days prior to the delivery of the clothing; that the clothes were sent from the Consulate in bundles to the steward of the hospital, and by him delivered to the inmates according to the address on each bundle; that blank bills, when signed and witnessed, were, at Lahaina, returned to the Consulate, at Honolulu, to the Purveyor; that those persons who *worked out*, and *received wages*, returned to the hospital at end of each quarter and signed blank bills for clothing; that the clothes served out were of very inferior quality, and were at Lahaina, in a majority of instances, sold each quarter by the inmates for as low as \$1.75, and not exceeding \$4.50 per bundle; that same quality and description of clothes were appraised by competent merchants and traders as not being worth more than six or eight dollars per bundle, nevertheless the United States Government had been charged each quarter not less than \$28, and even as high as \$54 per bundle; that the employes of the consuls of Honolulu and Lahaina, while receiving wages from their principals, had been in the habit of signing blank bills for board and lodging, medical attendance and clothing, and the consuls collecting such illegal charge from the government—that the consul at Lahaina, (for no other purpose that can be conceived other than to deceive the department as to the *real* purveyor of the clothing department of the consulate,) at the end of each quarter, upon making up the vouchers and accounts against the government for clothing distributed, procured the receipt of the stewards of the hospital, which purported that he received for the said quarters the sums of money expressed in the accounts; the one for quarter ending Dec. 31, 1859, being as follows: "Received from Anson G. Chandler, U. S. Consul, five thousand five hundred and sixteen dollars 46/100 in full of the above accounts. (Signed) I. T. Slover. Whereas, the fact was that he was not the purveyor—never received any money from the consul, and that his wages were paid by the physician of the hospital—but that the real purveyor was the *consul's clerk* and at the time of the investigation the then *acting vice consul*."

From all that could be gathered from the books at the consulates of Honolulu and Lahaina, there was no guide to ascertain whether seamen had been discharged at the consulate according to the law or not, the consul's certificate of discharge not stating the grounds of the discharge, or whether the three months' extra wages had been paid as required by law or not. At Lahaina 'twas even worse than at Honolulu, for at that consulate not even a list could be found of the seamen discharged who had paid the \$36 or to whom the \$24, or 2 months' extra were due; in fact no list that showed whether the discharges were legal or not.

It is well understood that the object of the payment of three months extra wages was the creation of a fund for the support of sick and disabled American seamen, and to send them to the United States. Notwithstanding all this, its intent has been sadly overlooked; and it is not and has not been used for the benevolent [sic] purpose for which Congress designed it, but has been (as the evidence established) most fraudulently misappropriated to the relief or

otherwise of paupers of foreign lands—the refuse of the Cape de Verde Islands being the longest occupants of the hospitals, and consequently the largest claimants upon this beneficent bounty. As an instance, at Lahaina, there were twenty-four inmates of the hospital, thirteen of whom were foreigners, without any naturalization papers or bearing protections of American seamen; several of them who had never been in the United States and many of them who communicated through an *interpreter*. Seven of the above named, principally Cape de Verde Islanders and Lascars, had cost the government the modest sum of \$6,436.

From the fact that so many foreigners were constant occupants of the hospitals, 'twas self-evident that the consuls had violated the laws of the United States in admitting seamen into the hospital—for the law is too well settled to admit of a false construction. . . .

NOTES

- ¹ SIG, December 29, 1838. The United States Consul in Honolulu is advertising for persons to lodge and nurse sick seamen during the year 1839.
- ² Milo Calkin, Lahaina, to William Hooper, Honolulu, February 28, 1844; February 29, 1844; March 27, 1844; June (?) 1844; Hooper Letters. Hawaiian Collection, University of Hawaii.
- ³ S. Andrews, Kealakekua, to D. Baldwin, Lahaina, March 24, 1844, Baldwin Letters. (HMCS); P. A. Brinsmade, U.S. Consul, Honolulu, to D. Baldwin, Lahaina, February 28, 1840, Baldwin Letters.
- ⁴ Calkin, Lahaina, to Governor Young, July 25, 1844, Hooper Letters. "There is now lying at my Hospital. . . ." This is the first mention of a hospital building.
- ⁵ Calkin to Hooper, February 22, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ⁶ Calkin to Hooper, July 23, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ⁷ Calkin to Hooper, August 31, 1844, Hooper Letters. "Since the hospital has been opened. . . ."
- ⁸ Joaquin Armas, Maui, to Alexander Simpson, British Acting Consul, February 13, 1843. (FO & Ex.) Armas is explaining that he came to the Sandwich Islands in May 1831, and that he left a British whale ship to work catching cattle on Hawaii for Kamehameha III.
- ⁹ Armas to British Commissioners, April 21, 1843, Register of Land Claims, No. 16. (FO & Ex.) "In conformity of the same, I, Joaquin Armas a native of California do hereby make known that I hold land in the district of Lahaina on the Island of Maui known by the name of Moanui the said land being given me by H. Majesty King Kamehameha III. I furthermore notify that the before mentioned land is divided in three lots. . . ."
- ¹⁰ "Notes of survey of three lands in Lahaina called Moanui 1st Hospital Place." R.P. 8204, LCA 962, (Royal Patent files, Dept. of Land and Natural Resources.)
- ¹¹ Calkin to Hooper, February 22, 1844, Hooper Letters. ". . . a steady man has offered to put up a building and keep a house for destitute seamen. . . ."
- ¹² FO & Ex, February 5, 1844.
- ¹³ Calkin to Hooper, February 24, 1844; July 25, 1844; August 16, 18, and 19, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ¹⁴ P, September 28, 1844, p. 78. "This was an action brought by the plaintiff, S. H. Tyron [sic] against M. Calkin, U.S. Vice Commercial Agent for the Port of Lahaina, for the alleged non-fulfillment of a contract. . . ." "We, the jury, are agreed that the complaint is not sustained and the damages shall fall upon the plaintiff."
- ¹⁵ Calkin to Hooper, July 23, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ¹⁶ Calkin to Hooper, February 22, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ¹⁷ Calkin to Hooper, February 28, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ¹⁸ Calkin to Hooper, July 23, 1844. Hooper Letters.
- ¹⁹ F, February 1, 1853, p. 12; Report of S. E. Bishop, Seamen's Chaplain, Lahaina, May, 1858, pp. 1-3. (HMCS); Letter of S. E. Bishop, December 25, 1860, F, April 1861, p. 313.
- ²⁰ Calkin to Governor Young, July 25, 1844. Hooper Letters. "There is now lying at my hospital a seaman thrown on to my hands for support, entirely by the mal practice of Dr. Hawkes, against whom I now protest, having any practice on board of American ships . . . I protest against any Quack or Physician, visiting American ships before they have reported themselves at the Custom House . . . I have a Physician in my employ . . . who is appointed to attend to all sick American Seamen." Calkin to Hooper, August 31, 1844. Hooper Letters. "(Dr.) Tennant has been in the habit of picking up patients and taking them to the Hospital to practice upon, passing himself off as Hospital Surgeon. . . ."

- ²¹ As previously discussed, if it is accepted that "Huakin" was, indeed, Joaquin Armas, then this logically follows. Calkin says that he had been told that Munn had "engaged" the house.
- ²² HBC, 4:315-316.
- ²³ Baldwin to Abbey, December 16, 1852 and January 31, 1852, A & B Collection; Baldwin to Castle, December 30, 1852, Castle Collection folder 823; Forbes to Baldwin, Honolulu, October 27, 1845? (date illegible), Baldwin Letters. (All at HMCS)
- ²⁴ Forbes Journal, pp. 216-224. (HMCS)
- ²⁵ F, February 1, 1853, p. 12.
- ²⁶ Letters of S. E. Bishop to: *Sailors Magazine and Naval Journal*, March 1855, p. 223; F, February, 1860, p. 307, April, 1861, p. 313, September, 1861, p. 321.
- ²⁷ Letter of S. E. Bishop, December 25, 1860, F, April, 1861, p. 313.
- ²⁸ Letters in SIN, November 18, 1847, November 25, 1847, December 2, 1847, (2 letters), April 13, 1848.
- ²⁹ Calkin to Hooper, September 26, 1844, Hooper Letters.
- ³⁰ Calkin to Hooper, April 5, 1845, Hooper Letters.
- ³¹ Calkin to Hooper, April 9, 1845, Hooper Letters.
- ³² Baldwin to E. B. Robinson, November 19, 1847. Baldwin Letters.
- ³³ Fayerweather, Waimea, to Punchard, Lahaina, February 27, 1846, IDM. "The news about Calkin & co is rather strange but we live in strange times." SIN, November 18, 1846.
- ³⁴ Calkin, San Francisco, to Baldwin, Lahaina, June 12, 1849. Baldwin Letters.
- ³⁵ W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1899), p. 350.
- ³⁶ S. Pleasonton, Treasury Department, Fifth Auditors Office, to Secretary of State, March 24, 1852, Consular Dispatches. (Microfilm, UH)
- ³⁷ F, September 15, 1852, p. 44.
- ³⁸ Lewis Cass, Department of State, to Isaac Toucy, Secretary of the Navy, May 10, 1859, and Lewis Cass to James W. Borden, U.S. Commissioner, Honolulu, May 19, 1859, P, April 6, 1861.
- ³⁹ PCA, June 21, 1860.
- ⁴⁰ Robert C. Schmitt, "Catastrophic Mortality in Hawaii," HJH, 3 (1971).
- ⁴¹ PCA, February 28, 1861.
- ⁴² PCA, February 28, 1861.
- ⁴³ PCA, May 30, 1861.
- ⁴⁴ PCA, September 10, 1862.
- ⁴⁵ *Sailors Magazine*, November, 1862, pp. 361-362.
- ⁴⁶ August 31, 1855, HBC, 6:747, 753, 754.
- ⁴⁷ PCA, February 4, 1864.
- ⁴⁸ Rt. Reverend Henry B. Restarick, *Hawaii, 1778-1920, from the Viewpoint of a Bishop* (Honolulu, 1924), p. 345.
- ⁴⁹ March 8, 1872, HBC, 35:83.
- ⁵⁰ Restarick, *Hawaii, 1778-1920*, pp. 346-347.
- ⁵¹ Occasional Paper and Annual Report of the Hawaii Mission, December 31, 1884, Protestant Episcopal Church Box. (HMCS)
- ⁵² Restarick, *Hawaii, 1778-1920*, p. 349.
- ⁵³ Typescript manuscript, St. Andrew's Church Archives.

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