HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. I, NO. 1 OCTOBER, 1962

CONTENTS

Page

HALEKOÀ ............................. 1
Richard A. Greer

OLD POHEOHEO'S GHOST ............. 6
Jane Litten

THE SINCLAIR LIBRARY'S HAWAIIAN AND PACIFIC COLLECTION ............... 8
Janet E. Bell

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII THESIS OF INTEREST TO STUDENTS OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY, 1923-
JANUARY, 1962 .......................... 10
Richard A. Greer

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS .......................... 15

-0-
Shabby, decaying, and deserted, a toy castle on Hotel Street falters toward its hundredth year. This is Halekoa--"the barracks"--known variously as the Military Barracks, the Royal Barracks, and finally as Iolani Barracks, the name bestowed during Kalakaua's reign, and the name it bears today.

Halekoa was a part of the ambitious building program undertaken by the Hawaiian monarchy in the 1860's and '70's. The buildings which remain today, besides Halekoa, are Aliiolani Hale (the judiciary building), the Royal Mausoleum, the old post office at the corner of Merchant and Bethel Streets, and Iolani Palace. The site occupied by the barracks is doubly interesting, for it first accommodated the Chiefs' Children's School, which was begun in 1839 by Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, and which was moved in 1851 to the lower slopes of Punchbowl.

Those who cavil at the leisurely pace of modern capital improvements will not be surprised to learn that it took four years to get Halekoa off the drawing boards and onto the ground.

Theodore C. Heuck, a Honolulu merchant and gifted amateur architect from Germany, submitted his original plans on March 14, 1866, to John O. Dominis, then Governor of Oahu. The sketches provided for a structure with a frontage of 70 feet and a depth of 80 feet, built around a 30x40-foot open central court. Heuck estimated a cost of $10,000, specifying stone walls and a slate roof.

This was early in the reign of Kamehameha V. Years passed. Finally, early in 1870, the project began to move, although slowly. The post office was being built at the same time, and a shortage of proper workmen delayed both jobs.

Halekoa did not appear in the appropriations bills passed by the various legislatures. It was financed by the War Department as a part of military expenses, and cash as needed was deposited with the banking firm of Bishop and Company.

Foundations were being laid in May, 1870. The barracks account sheet, which ran from March 5, 1870 to October 9, 1871, showed a total outlay of $25,103.78. J. G. Osborne was the builder. Participating suppliers included, among others, such well-known Honolulu houses as E. O. Hall and Son, Dowsett and Co., A. S. Cleghorn, Lewers and Dickson (predecessors of Lewers and Cooke), the Honolulu Iron Works, J. T. Waterhouse, H. Hackfeld and Co. (now American Factors)--and Oahu Prison.

Halekoa was made of the ever-useful coral blocks hewn from the Honolulu reef. As often happened, many blocks were cannibalized from other structures, rather than chomped from the reef. Most of the second-hand building blocks came from the wall fronting the old post office, and from the old printing office. But the reef had to
yield up its treasures too, and Marshal W. C. Parke received credit for 204 man-days of prison labor, at fifty cents a day, for the hauling of blocks therefrom. 11

By mid-February, 1871, both the barracks and the post office were nearing completion. 12 Finishing touches on the former, however, required several more months. 13 An exotic example of this, among the accounts to be found today in the Archives of Hawaii, is a bill dated May 20, levying a charge of $12.50 for painting spittoons. 14

Even before it was completed, Halekoa was rushed into service. At the end of February a considerable number of soldiers were sick, and the new barracks was requisitioned as an infirmary. 15

Halekoa's cost was, of course, more than double Heuck's original estimate. This is accounted for by certain changes made in his plans. He had drawn but one main entrance facing Hotel Street, then called Palace Walk. However, the completed Halekoa had two identical entrances. Heuck's front approach was duplicated on the Beretania Street side, with an entranceway literally added to the plain back he had designed. Again, a wing was built on the ewa (west) side. 16 Originally it was some 48 feet long. The size of the inner court was increased to approximately 34 x 54 feet, also.

Jane Silverman of the Archives of Hawaii and this writer, provided with keys and a measuring tape, conducted an exploration of Halekoa in the summer of 1962. The gate and front rooms were found to be exactly as specified in Heuck's 1866 plan, and these rooms were reproduced in the added Beretania Street entrance. The court, however, as completed was larger than originally planned. The side galleries were built longer than Heuck at first specified, because of the lengthening of the court, and about two feet narrower, because of the widening of the court, making them 18 feet rather than 20 feet in width.

Halekoa today differs from the original plans in at least five particulars:

1. The central court has been roofed over, floored, and the veranda that once ran around it has been removed.
2. The ewa, or west, wing has been extended some 22 feet toward Beretania Street.
3. An even more recent addition, a wedge-shaped extension, has been run across the Beretania Street entrance. The angled side follows the fence line of adjoining property.
4. A lean-to shelter roof has been constructed on the waikiki (east) side.
5. The openings in various walls have been changed. On the waikiki side a number of doors have been cut through. The ewa wing, which originally contained three windows, has been cut up to provide additional doors and windows.

Iolani Barracks displays a service record almost as complicated as its building alterations. The barracks was made originally to house the regular standing army of the Kingdom of Hawaii, the small force known in the early 1870's and before as the Household Troops. Their function was to guard the palace, the prison, and the treasury, and to appear at various parades and ceremonies. 17
In September, 1873, the Household Troops mutinied. They barricaded themselves in Halekoa and from its roof harangued the sympathetic mob below. After the mutiny the troops were disbanded, then later reorganized, and under one title or another they continued to occupy Halekoa throughout the remaining period of the monarchy.

Liliuokalani's Household Guards, Captain Samuel Nowlein commanding, surrendered to the revolutionary Provisional Government about five o'clock on the afternoon of January 18, 1893. The Guards were paid off and disbanded; the Provisional Government took over munitions stored in the barracks and at once occupied the building with a strong force. This government and the succeeding Republic of Hawaii used Halekoa to house their military.

After Hawaii was annexed to the U.S., President McKinley issued an executive order (December 19, 1893) transferring the barracks and the barracks lot to the control of the U.S. War Department. Thereupon, Halekoa was occupied by the Quartermaster Corps of the U.S. Army and used for office and warehouse space. Quartermaster use continued until late in 1917, when the Corps moved out. At that time the War Department planned to preserve Halekoa as a historic structure. For the first time in its long and colorful history, the old barracks ceased to be a station for soldiers.

This dignified retirement was destined to be of short duration. In the summer of 1920 an elaborate remodeling job was in progress. Old partitions came down, the roof was called horizontally, glass doors replaced the thick wooden slabs, and a fine hardwood floor was laid. Halekoa was about to make its debut as a service club. A frame transient dormitory was erected on the waikiki side for visiting service personnel.

The service club phase lasted about a decade. During this time Halekoa was the scene of annual meetings of the Old Guard, composed of veterans of forces supporting the Republic of Hawaii. It was used, also, by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Spanish War Veterans, and for miscellaneous Army activities, including military funerals.

Early in 1928 the barracks was stripped of the thick covering of vines obscuring it, and the transient dormitory was abandoned. All structures, including a number of lean-tos, were removed from the yard, and at the beginning of 1929 Halekoa got a dazzling finish of white paint.

November, 1929, found Governor Lawrence Judd trying to get President Hoover to issue an executive order returning the barracks to the Territory. The Hawaii National Guard wanted Halekoa for its headquarters, in order to release the Armory to the 398th Infantry. Judd was successful, and the transfer took place officially on March 16, 1931, after an informal turnover of authority in January. But the Hawaii National Guard did not benefit from it. Instead, the barracks became the offices of the supervising school principals for Honolulu and Rural Oahu. Their occupancy ended—reluctantly—in March, 1934; at that time the Guard moved in with obvious pleasure.

Considerable excitement arose in June, 1937, when a dank, sealed
so-called dungeon, guarded by a rusty iron door, was discovered beneath the floor. The finding of this vault revived old rumors of the existence of a tunnel connecting Halekoa and Iolani Palace. A search took place, but it revealed nothing more than a system of crumbling ventilating pipes. Colonel Arthur Coyne, a member of the militia occupying the barracks at the time of the monarchy's overthrow in 1893, recalled that the "dungeon" had been built at that time to store munitions.

Another interior renovation of Halekoa occurred in the summer of 1939. World War II came, and the Guard continued to use the aging barracks. Midway in that war (October, 1943) an imaginative postwar plan for Halekoa was announced. It was to become a military museum. Interested civic groups and individuals pledged to participate in planning and financing the project.

But the plans never materialized. The pressure for office space doomed Halekoa to a series of repairs, renovations, and remodelings as various government agencies succeeded one another in their occupancy of the barracks. During the course of the most thorough refurbishing, in 1948, the old tunnel question was resurrected—and later reburied. About this time rumors made the rounds that Halekoa was to be torn down as part of a beautification program and reassembled elsewhere as a museum.

In November, 1960, Halekoa was embarrassed to find itself encumbering the site of a proposed multi-million-dollar state capitol. Although regarded in some quarters as an antiquarian nuisance, the barracks managed to cling to existence as officials delayed their decision regarding its disposition. On November 4 the late Commission on Historical Sites, in one of its last acts, placed a commemorative plaque on the grounds. The plaque reads:

IOLANI BARRACKS
BUILT IN 1870 DURING THE REIGN OF KING KAMEHAMEHA V. USED BY THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD GUARDS UNTIL THE OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY IN 1893, AND LATER BY THE CITIZENS GUARD AND NATIONAL GUARD. THE ARCHITECT WAS THEODORE HEUCK.

In July, 1961, the State Treasury Department was in command at Halekoa. On the 26th the State Administrative Director declared his intention to ask for its condemnation—but not its destruction. Following this, the State remodeled the former Schuman Carriage Co. premises on Beretania Street for the use of the Treasury Department and other agencies, and on March 15, 1962, Halekoa was abandoned. Today Honolulu's grizzled fortress is locked and forlorn, used only as a storage place for voting machines. Plans for the new capitol call for the barracks' removal to some unspecified site. But no one can say at this point where Halekoa will be in the decade ahead, or just what it will be. One thing is certain: It deserves a far better fate than to be just a memory at its centennial in 1970.
NOTES

1. Typewritten MS, R. S. Kuykendall, "Iolani Barracks, Site of the Chiefs' Children's School", p. 1. All sources cited in this article are to be found in the Archives of Hawaii.


3. Army and Navy File, Kingdom of Hawaii, 1856. Includes Heuck's letter to Dominis and accompanying plans. The letter and plans were filed here mistakenly because of a small mutilation, probably caused by an insect, which made 1866 appear to read 1856. A number of accounts have perpetuated the 1856 date, but there can be no doubt that they are in error. Heuck's scrapbook contains a set of drawings dated 1866. Furthermore, Dominis did not become Governor of Oahu until February 18, 1864. The letter and plans have been refiled.

4. Ibid.

5. Hawaiian Gazette, February 8, 1871.

6. Numerous account sheets testify to this. See Army and Navy File, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1870 and 1871.

7. See receipts given by J. G. Osborne to R. Stirling, Superintendent of Public Works; dated May 21 and May 28, 1870, in Army and Navy File, January-June, 1870. Apparently there are no existing documents testifying to the actual beginning date of construction.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid. See also letter, H. M. Whitney to J. O. Dominis, February 25, 1870, Interior Department Land File, Kingdom of Hawaii, February, 1870.

11. Account sheet, "New Barracks".

12. Hawaiian Gazette, February 8, 1871.

13. See numerous bills and receipts, Army and Navy File, 1871.


16. Commonly-used directions in Honolulu are: ewa (toward Ewa plain, or west), waikiki or diamond head (toward Waikiki, or east), mauka (inland, toward the mountains), and makai (toward the sea).

17. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 13, 1873.

18. Hawaiian Gazette, September 17, 1873.


20. Ibid.


22. Ibid. See also Honolulu Advertiser, November 6, 1929.


24. Pacific Commercial Advertiser; October 18, 1917.


27. Honolulu Advertiser; November 6, 1929.
29. Honolulu Advertiser, November 6, 1929.
30. R. S. Kuykendall, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Honolulu Advertiser, January 10, 18, and 20, 1931, and March 27, 1931.
32. Honolulu Advertiser, June 5, 6, and 8, 1937.
34. Honolulu Advertiser, October 8, 1943.
37. Ibid.

OLD POHEOEHO’S GHOST

by

Jane Litten

Mark Twain visited Maui in 1866. In Roughing It, he describes a man he calls Markiss; a French storekeeper of penetrating voice and inescapable effrontery, who haunted his stay in Lahaina.

Mark Twain liked to sit in Lahaina’s public room chatting over a sociable glass. Markiss would sit across the room watching and listening intently, suddenly booming into the conversation as though he had been a party to it all along. The stories Markiss told were taller, wider, and in all proportions more colossal than Twain’s. Finally, Twain said, he became so annoyed he stayed indoors for a couple of weeks just to avoid the man.

When Twain at last ventured out again, he was casually telling Captain Perkins about a merchant friend who was pretty tight about paying his workmen. This remark brought forth the voice of Markiss. He had had a friend who, when working for a mining company, had been blasted into the air by an explosion. When the man came down again his employer docked him sixteen minutes for the time he was gone. The exorbitance of that tale so upset Twain that he packed his bag and left Maui the next day, after delivering his opinion that “from the very beginning I regarded that man as a liar.”

Walter F. Frear in his Mark Twain and Hawaii identifies the
French storekeeper as Francis Oudinot, as does Mary Alexander in her Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina. Frear also adds another story to the Oudinot repertoire as remembered by Gorham D. Gilman, who had been a storekeeper in Lahaina in Oudinot's day. As for the public room in which they met, Frear describes it as "...a store with large timber doors on the waterfront street facing the sea at Lahaina."

Twain continued his account by saying that after a few years his opinion of Markiss' being a liar was confirmed by an impartial jury. The Frenchman was found hanging in his bedroom, all the doors and windows being locked from the inside; on his chest was a note saying not to suspect any innocent person, as he had hanged himself. The jury, after sitting on the case for a week, returned a verdict of death "by the hands of some person or persons unknown."

Twain's account of the jury's reasoning was this:

They explained that the perfectly un-deviating consistency of Markiss's character for thirty years towered aloft as colossal and indestructible testimony, that whatever statement he chose to make was entitled to instant and unquestioning acceptance as a lie and they furthermore stated their belief that he was not dead, and instanced the strong circumstantial evidence of his own word that he was dead.

So they delayed the burial for seven days; then even the jury gave up and, meeting again, came to a verdict of "suicide induced by mental aberration", explaining that "He said he was dead, and he was dead; and would he have told the truth if he had been in his right mind? No, sir."

This story, entitled "About a Remarkable Stranger", first appeared in Galaxy magazine in April, 1871. Francis Oudinot would have been justified in anticipating one of Twain's own memorable remarks had he said at the time, "The report of my death was an exaggeration," for he did not die until three months later—in July, 1871. The obituary column of The Friend lists his death thus: "At Lahaina, Maui, July 11th of heart disease, Francis A. Oudinot, aged about 50 years."

Although Mark Twain fabricated an elaborate and outré death scene for Markiss, there is evidence that his picture of Oudinot's overbearing personality was essentially accurate. A letter written from Lahaina on July 21, 1871, by Elizabeth Pratt to Dowager Queen Emma says:

I cannot enlighten you with any news or gossip reigning here for there are none to my knowledge worth speaking of excepting the anticipated return of Poheheo's (Oudinot) ghost today to give a last inspection to his once loved abode of which a great many look forward to with fear and trembling and also with anxiety for its coming - such a talk about it you cannot
imagine, you would be highly amused to hear them speaking of it. It takes Fanny to relate her singular ghost adventures, it quite upset me the first time she told me of it (confidentially) that I could not venture out of the house that night without feeling a sort of makau for old Pohehoeo - Old Uliuli insisted upon locking all the doors and windows which we had a great time debarring her from it, but of which she did at last after finding all the rest of us fast asleep.

The same feeling of inability to escape Oudinot's intrusiveness is in Twain's story and in Elizabeth Pratt's account of closing doors and windows against him even after death--an incredible thing to do in the heat of a Lahaina July.

Even Francis A. Oudinot's tombstone testifies to the terrible accuracy of Mark Twain's portrait. It displays no note of human affection. Standing in the Episcopal cemetery in Lahaina, it reads simply, "He was widely known among his contemporaries."

THE SINCLAIR LIBRARY'S HAWAIIAN AND PACIFIC COLLECTION

by

Janet E. Bell

The Hawaiian and Pacific Collection of the University of Hawaii's Sinclair Library is one of the finest collections in the United States. It is divided into two sections, each with a separate catalog and stack area. It uses the Dewey Decimal classification system, as does the general library, but with a more detailed breakdown of subject matter than usual. The Hawaiian portion, which deals exclusively with the Hawaiian Islands, is the largest in the world, containing almost everything available on Hawaii. The Pacific section covers the rest of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, and while less extensive than the Hawaiian section, is of excellent quality.

The University library operates on an open stack basis. In order to preserve for posterity duplicates of the circulating books in addition to rare and difficult-to-obtain material, the Hawaiian and Pacific material is divided into circulating and reference sections. The Pacific reference section involves fewer duplicates than the Hawaiian, but does have rare and highly valuable material. Access to the reference collection is restricted, but books may be used in the Hawaiian and Pacific reading room. Under special circumstances reference books may be borrowed at the discretion of the librarian in charge. Circulating books are charged out at the main circulation desk. Inter-library loan, also handled by the circulation desk, is
another service offered to those patrons, both local and off-island, who are not able to come to the collection.

A curator, two librarians, the equivalent of a full-time Hawaiian cataloger (the Pacific cataloging is done in the main catalog room), one library assistant, and numerous student helpers work in the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection. The staff provides reference service for students, faculty members, University research agencies, state government departments, the general public, and researchers from around the world. Service to the East-West Center's programs and scholars also forms an important part of the collection's many functions. The department publishes Current Hawaiiana, a quarterly bibliography of material published in and about Hawaii and distributes it free to libraries, societies, and interested individuals. The project is financed jointly by the University of Hawaii and the Hawaii Library Association. Recently, staff members joined with the State Archives, the Library of Hawaii, and the Legislative Reference Bureau in compiling from its many documents the Official Publications of the Territory of Hawaii, 1900-1959. This work was published in September, 1962, under the auspices of the Hawaii Library Association Hawaiian Section and the State Archives.

The University's Hawaiian collection began in 1908 when the library received a small gift of books about Hawaii. In 1927, 1,500 books and pamphlets were recataloged and housed in a separate Hawaiian Room. The two largest gifts to the collection, from William Drake Westervelt and James Tice Phillips, greatly increased holdings of early voyages and government documents. Today the collection contains over 20,000 cataloged books and pamphlets and 22,000 serial parts. The collection is strong in Hawaiian government documents, serials and periodicals of all kinds, University of Hawaii material, business and institutional reports, manuscripts, microfilms of material not otherwise available, and general 20th century Hawaiiana. Data concerning the most significant manuscript holdings were printed on Library of Congress cards in 1962. A union catalog of Hawaiian material, including the holdings of seven major Honolulu libraries, is housed in the Hawaiian reading room and maintained by the staff. The University of Hawaii's War Records Depository, a separate, state-supported collection of records relating to Hawaii's role in World War II, is also under the supervision of the staff.

Among its services the Hawaiian section maintains a pamphlet file of mounted clippings from Honolulu newspapers arranged by some 3,000 subjects, complete files of the major Honolulu newspapers available on microfilm, and current Hawaiian newspapers and periodicals on display. Back files of periodicals are housed in the Hawaiian reference section. Back files of newspapers remain in the serials department.

The 60,000-card Hawaiian catalog has author, title, and subject entries as well as analytics for the pamphlet file, periodicals, University of Hawaii publications and theses, and government documents. Since Hawaii's history involves five different forms of government, all catalog cards for Hawaiian government documents are filed according to the period covered; i.e., Kingdom, Provisional
Government, Republic, Territory, and State. After statehood was achieved in 1959, the constitution made it necessary in reorganizing government agencies to reduce almost 100 departments and bureaus to about 20. Many cross references are provided to make it easy to find one's way in the maze of government documents. G. K. Hall and Company; which issues card catalogs of special subject interest in book form, is to publish the Hawaiian catalog sometime in 1963.

Until 1961, books in the Pacific Collection were shelved with the library's general collection. Many are still in the process of being recataloged and reshelved in the Pacific section. There are now about 5,000 books and pamphlets in this collection, and its catalog contains about 19,000 cards. Quantities of microfilm from all over the world bring material together for the use of scholars working in this area. A pamphlet file is also being assembled.

The University's collecting in the Pacific area was given impetus several years ago when the library received a Rockefeller grant for purchase of materials on the Pacific islands. This fund was administered by a faculty-library group, the Pacific Islands Library Committee, ably directed by Dr. Carl Stroven, Sinclair Library's head librarian. The collection seemed so noteworthy that two library staff members, Floyd Camack and Shiro Saito, have recently completed a selected bibliography of Pacific holdings entitled Pacific Islands Bibliography. Publication is scheduled for November, 1962.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I THESES OF INTEREST TO STUDENTS OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY, 1923--JANUARY, 1962

by

Richard A. Greer

BIOGRAPHY

Forbes, Eureka B. "The Life and Work of Cochran Forbes, Missionary to the Hawaiian Islands from 1832 to 1847." MA38

Lins, Kathryn L. "...Genevieve Taggard." (poetess) MA56

McGaw, Sister Martha Mary. "Robert Louis Stevenson in Hawaii." MA50

Sousa, Esther L. "Walter Murray Gibson's Rise to Power in Hawaii." MA42

Watson, Lorinda E. "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Speaking of Walter Murray Gibson during the Period 1878-1885." MA58

DIPLOMACY

Davis, David R. "Hawaii's Experience with Unequal Treaties." MA36

Watanabe, Shinichi. "Diplomatic Relations between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Empire of Japan, 1860-1893." MA44
ECONOMICS

Bottenfield, Vernon C. "Changing Patterns of Land Utilization on Molokai." MA58
Doue, Stephen M. "The Postwar Pork Market in Hawaii." MA59
Emory, Byron E. "...Settlement and Land Utilization Since 1930 in Manoa Valley, Honolulu." MA56
Gilbert, Vivien K. "Cost Factors...in the Pineapple Industry in Hawaii." MA49
Gilmore, Howard W. "Financial Aspects of Trade between Hawaii and Japan." MBA57
Hansen, Hal J. "The First Five Years' Experience with the Cooperative Technique of Apartment Development in Hawaii, 1956-1960." MBA61
Iwai, Charles K. "The Rice Industry in Hawaii." MA33
Jackson, Frances O. "Koloa Plantation under Ladd and Company, 1835-1845." MA58
Kelly, Marion. "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1776-1850." MA56
McTierney, Robert C. "...The Role of Government Agencies and Professional Organizations in...the Honolulu Real Estate Business, 1850-1960." MBA62
Moore, Golda P. "Hawaii during the Whaling Era, 1820-1880." MA34
Parkhurst, Leland H. "Homesteading in Lualualei." MA40
Pierson, Kathleen W. "The Development of Trade in Hawaii..." MA48
Sakai, Hester H. "...Use of Federal Credit Unions in Hawaii." MBA54
Slaughter, John R. "Federal Expenditures in Hawaii." MBA59
Tan, Peter N. W. "A Historical Survey of the Sino-Hawaiian Trade." MA51
Vance, Thomas B. "Development of Industrial Hawaii." MA33

EDUCATION

Adams, Albert E. "A Survey of Religious Education Conducted by the Hawaiian Board of Missions and the Interchurch Federation in the Public Schools of Oahu." MEd38
Akau, Trude M. "A History of the Hawaii Congress of Parents and Teachers." MEd51
Blake, Raymond A. "An Analysis of Masters' Theses in Education Accepted by the University of Hawaii, 1935-1955." MEd60
Buzaid; Bertha R. "A History of the Punahou Parent-Teacher Association, 1915 to 1959." MEd60
Cathcart, Elton. "The Role of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the History and Development of Education in Hawaii." MEd51
Duggan, Margaret. "...Factors Affecting Educational Opportunities of Cerebral Palsied Children in the City and County of Honolulu Born between the Years 1929 and 1948." MEd50
Feiteira, Thomas H. "The Development of Agricultural Education in the Territory of Hawaii." MEd37
Fo, Hilda L. "A History of the Development of Public School Kindergartens in Hawaii." MEd59
Gay, Floyd T. "The Development of the Senior High Schools, Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii." MEd45
Harada, Koichi G. "A Survey of the Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii." MA34
Hudson, Loring G. "The History of the Kamehameha Schools..." MA35
Hurley, John A. "William Givens: A Study in Educational Leadership." MEd61
Johnson, Margaret. "History of Sultan School for Handicapped Children, 1948-1951." MS152
Kaulukukui, Thomas. "The Development of Competitive Athletics in the Schools of Hawaii." MEd41
Lecker, George T. "Lahainaluna, 1831-1877." MA38
Mizuha, Jack H. "A Study of the Private Commercial Schools of Honolulu." MEd36
Moe, Kilmer O., Jr. "The Influence of the Hilo Boarding School on Agricultural Education in the Pacific." MEd53
Noodie, Ruth A. "Reading Materials Used in the Public Schools of the Hawaiian Islands, 1820-1934." MA34
Morris, Mary E. "Development of Secondary Education in Hawaii." MA29
Odgers, George A. "Educational Legislation in Hawaii, 1845-1892." MA32
Schuman, Robert C. "The Educational Department of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1931-1957." MEd59
Simonson, Jacob A. "A Brief History of...Seventh-Day Adventist Schools in Hawaii." MEd40
Stroupe, Connor B. "Significant Factors in the Influx to Private Schools on Oahu since 1900." MA55
Willers, Ernest G. "A History of Iolani School." MEd40

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Andrade, Ernest, Jr. "The Hawaiian Revolution of 1887." MA54
Barrett, Gwynn W. "American Annexation Proposals and Acquisitions in Polynesia, 1842-1872." MA60
Hayes, Casey. "Food Administration in Hawaii during Wartime." MA42
Horn, Jason. "Primacy of the Pacific under the Hawaiian Kingdom." MA51
McNamara, Robert M. "Hawaii's Smith Act Case." MA60
Roesch, Richard L. "The Hawaiian Statehood Plebiscitce of 1940." MA52
Stepp, George A. "The Civil Service Commission of the Territory of Hawaii." MA50
Thompson, Gwendolyn J. "Public Speaking and the Hawaiian Statehood Plebiscite of 1940." MA50

HAWAIIAN ANTIQUITIES

Leib, Amos P. "Hawaiian Mythology in English Translation." MA47
Bowen, Robert M. "Hawaiian Disposal of the Dead." MA61

JOURNALS

(1791)

LABOR

Ahn, E. S. W. "Government Intervention in the Hawaiian Longshore Strike." MA50 (microfilm copy only)
Liebes, Richard A. "Labor Organization in Hawaii..." MA38
Matsumoto, Joyce A. "The 1947 Hawaiian Pineapple Strike." MBA58
Smith, Donald W. "...Grievances in the Hawaiian Pineapple Company." MBA57
Van Zwalenburg, Paul R. "Hawaiian Labor Unions under Military Government." MA61
Voell, Richard A. "Hawaiian Labor, Management, and Countervailing Power." MBA60
Walker, Joyce L. "...Speeches of Jack Hall, Regional Director of the ILWU for Hawaii." MA61

MILITARY

Adams, Frank S. "A History of the Hawaii National Guard...1934-1948." MA54
Warfield, Charles L. "A History of the Hawaii National Guard." MA35

RACIAL AND NATIONAL GROUPS

Cariaga, Roman R. "The Filipinos in Hawaii." MA36
Dorita, Sister Mary. "Filipino Immigration to Hawaii." MA54
Heen, Elizabeth L. "The Hawaiians of Papakolea." MA36
Hornbäck, Bernhard L. "The Germans in Hawaii." MA31
Kim, Bernice B. H. "The Koreans in Hawaii." MA37
Lam, Margaret M. "Six Generations of Race Mixture in Hawaii." MA32
McLaren, Nancy A. "Russian Immigration: Hawaii." MA51

RELIGION

Aiona, Darrow L. "The Hawaii Church of the Living God..." MA59
Bock, Comfort M. "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in
the Hawaiian Islands." MA41
Daws, Alan G. "Polynesian Religious Revivals." MA60
Johnson, Rita T. "A History of the Maryknoll Sisters in Hawaii." MA45
Tajima, Paul J. "Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii." MA35

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

Chun, Paul M. P. "Seventy Occupation in Waihee Valley, Oahu." MA54
Coller, Richard W. "Waikiki: A Study of Invasion and Succession." MA52
Finney, Ben R. "Hawaiian Surfing, A Study of Cultural Change." MA59
Humphries, Grace. "Hawaiian Homesteading..." MA37
Kimura, Yukiko. "...Social Readjustment of Alien Japanese in Hawaii
since the War." MA47
Lee, Robert M. W. "Vertical Nobility Among the Chinese in Hawaii." MA51
Morley, Marielouise A. "A Study of the 1924 Graduates of Punahou." MA36

SOCIAL WORK

Chung, Jane L. "A Study of the Development of the Bureau of Mental
Hygiene, 1939-1952." MSW55
Edgren, Sylvia L. and others. "A Study of the Present and Future
Role of the Moiliili Community Association." MSW59
Hughes, Shirley and others. "Developments in Social Welfare Programs
for Children in Hawaii, 1935-1959." MSW60
Ikenaga, Hazel M. "A Study of the Care of Children under the Juris-
diction of the Territorial Board of Hospitals and Settlement, 1933-
1949." MSW50
Kenison, June and others. "The Development of Public Care for Chil-
dren in Hawaii, 1778-1935." MSW58
Leong, Margaret K. H. "The Predecessor Organizations of the Child
and Family Service of Honolulu." MSW52
Nagata, Dick U. and Shimmomura, David S. "A Study of the Graduates
during the Years 1942-1952, the School of Social Work, University
of Hawaii." MSW54
Thompson, Myron B. "A Study of the Growth of the Boys' Training School in Hawaii, 1865 to 1939." MA53

THEATER AND ARTS

Breneman, Lucille N. "A History of the Theatre in Honolulu during the Second World War." MA49
Brown, Thelma C. "A History of the Theater in Honolulu during the Reign of Kamehameha V, 1863-1872." MA42
Costa, Mazeppa K. "Dance in the Society and Hawaiian Islands...1767-1842." MA51
Frowe, Margaret N. "The History of the Theatre during the Reign of King Kalakaua, 1874-1891." MA37
Martel, Dorothy T. "The Honolulu Academy of Arts." MA54
Roberts, Rosalie J. V. "A History of the Professional Legitimate Theatre and Opera in Honolulu, 1910-1920." MA56
Scott, Kathleen S. "The Professional Legitimate Theatre in Honolulu, 1900-1910." MA53
Topham, Helen A. "A History of the Theater in Honolulu, 1891-1900." MA50

OTHER

Bartow, Thomas P. "Early Transpacific Aviation, 1930-1941." MA58
Healy, John R. "The Mapping of the Hawaiian Islands from 1778 to 1848." MA59

Contributors: Janet Bell is librarian of the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection, Gregg M. Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii. Jane Litten is reference librarian at the main branch, Library of Hawaii, Honolulu. Richard A. Greer is an instructor at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Honolulu.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INTERESTED INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. I, NO. 2  JANUARY, 1963

CONTENTS

HAWAIIANS AND FUT TRADERS. . . . . . . . . . . . 16
   David Kittelson

MERCHAND STREET NOTES. . . . . . . . . . . . . . 20
   Richard A. Greer

THE ARCHIVES OF HAWAII—RECORDS PRIOR TO 1900. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 36
   Agnes Conrad

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS . . . . . . . 40
In 1787 the first two American ships entered the Northwest Coast fur trade. They were the Columbia and the Lady Washington. A decade earlier Captain James Cook suggested that furs from the coast could win profits in the lucrative China trade. The Columbia and the Lady Washington proved him right by quickly gathering good cargos of pelts.

These and other early fur-trading vessels did not find it necessary to stop at Hawaii. But as the supply of furs dwindled, ships had to range up and down the coast in order to fill their holds. At this point the Hawaiian Islands began to play an important role in the Americans' Pacific fur trade. Since it took more than one season to gather a cargo, the ships had to re-provision. In these early years there were no ports on the West Coast that could take care of ships cruising for as long as four years. Hawaii first came into general use as a wintering spot. By 1815, however, few ships were visiting Honolulu for this purpose alone. Hawaii had become a valued commercial outfitting station. Increasingly, business firms in Honolulu specialized in supplying fur-trading vessels. Hawaii also became a highly-regarded source of eager, trained, and cheap native seamen.

In their early years of contact with Hawaiians, Americans were quite cautious. The fate of Captain Cook and of other unfortunate visitors had been impressive. The first Hawaiians taken on trips by Americans generally went along as personal servants or as mere curiosities. After having been shipped to China, or even to New England, the islanders were displayed and then abandoned.

As early as 1788, though, sea captains were being advised to pick up a Hawaiian or two before leaving for the Northwest Coast. Word of their seamanship had already begun to spread.

Captains and crews of American ships were usually unfamiliar with the Northwest Coast. And gathering pelts was only part of the crews' duties. Since the coastal Indians were often hostile, the ships needed a full complement of men to deal with them and to protect the vessel. Maintaining a body of special workers and guards could be very expensive.

Fortunately, the Hawaiians provided a steady supply of cheap labor. They were able seamen, reliable workers, and courageous ship and post guards. With so many islanders going out on short trips to the coast and learning to handle British and American ships, a reserve of well-trained sailors and post laborers formed in Hawaii. By 1830 American fur trading ships on the Northwest Coast were manned largely by Hawaiians.

By the early nineteenth century the cruises of American fur traders on the Northwest Coast had become standardized. Manned by
skeleton crews, these vessels left New England ports bound for Hawaii. While the ship took on supplies at the islands, the captain rounded up Hawaiians to augment his crew for the voyage to the coast. After picking up a cargo of furs, the ship returned to the islands for provisioning. The Hawaiians were discharged, and the trader sailed for China and then home with its regular crew. Typical instructions were those given to the American Lascar in 1820. They read in part:  

You must ship good stout natives enough to make your complement twenty-two all told on board. We hope you will not bring home more than you carry out, provided you can discharge them with their consent, as the present crew is quite large enough to go to Canton with.

The practice of using Hawaiians to supplement ships' crews even received official American sanction. In 1813, an Act of Congress provided that "...Nothing...shall prohibit any commander or master, of a public or private vessel of the United States, whilst in a foreign country, from...supplying any deficiency of seamen on board such a vessel, by employing...subjects of such foreign country."  

Although Hawaiians were eager to travel and went aboard ships quite willingly, there were instances where ship captains resorted to kidnapping in order to replenish crews who had succumbed to the lure of the islands. At first Hawaiians were free to leave. Kamehameha I wanted his subjects to ship on sailing vessels and to work for American and European firms. These well-traveled Hawaiians acquired knowledge useful to Kamehameha in building his foreign trade and in strengthening his army and navy. However, as Hawaii's population began to drop at an alarming rate, the government forbade Hawaiians to go without the approval of their respective island governors. In line with this, ship captains were required to sign a $200.00 bond for the safe return of native seamen within three years. Fur traders also found it to their advantage to deal with local agents in procuring crews. The Hawaiians' appetite for travel did not diminish. As late as 1840, when Captain Charles Wilkes was looking for fifty Hawaiians to replace some of his crew, over 500 Oahuans turned out for consideration.

Hawaiians who went abroad as crewmen or as laborers in fur posts were highly regarded. There are few reports which do not call attention to their obedience, reliability, cheerfulness, honesty, and loyalty. On sea-going vessels loyalty was especially prized. It was common knowledge that Hawaiians would stick by the officers in case of mutiny or other disturbance on board. Ship captains stopping at Honolulu often preferred to take on Hawaiians rather than stranded sailors because the former were less likely to give trouble.

The Hawaiians, being an island people, had developed a feeling for the sea, and as far as shipboard duties were concerned, they were considered exceptionally skillful workers. A few weeks of training aboard ship rendered Hawaiians exceedingly able sailors. Experience in handling their own canoes made the Islanders particularly useful for manning boats.

Hawaiians were best known for their swimming ability, and many
writers bore witness to their skill. Alexander Ross, a fur trader at Astoria, said:

"The Owhyhees are such expert swimmers that little of our effects are lost beyond recovery which accident now and then consigns to the bottom of the water in our perilous navigations: and it is next to impossible for a person to get drowned if one or more of them are near at hand: in that element, they are as active and expert as the reverse on dry land.

When the Hawaiians were placed in trading posts on the cold, damp Northwest Coast, away from a warm climate and a seafaring life, they became awkward and lethargic. Isolated as they had been, the Hawaiians had developed no immunity to diseases found in other countries. Many Islanders engaged in the fur trade contracted tuberculosis and died. As early as 1806 Amasa Delano tried to protect his Hawaiian sailors from what was often a fatal disease by inoculating them with smallpox vaccine.

At the coastal trading posts, then, Hawaiians were considered dull and were assigned for the most part to jobs requiring little skill. George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's American territory, wrote:

"A few Sandwich Islanders mixed among the Canadians and Europeans can be usefully employed here as guards and for common drudgery about the establishments but they are not generally disposable men being unfit for the laborious duties of the voyage; they are however valuable in establishing new countries or they can be depended upon in cases of danger from the natives.

Although Americans also generally confined the Hawaiians to guard and kitchen duty, they were less rigid in this respect than the British. At this time there was a stratification of British society that existed even in isolated trading posts and trapping parties. It was the British who provided the leadership and kept the books. The French Canadians handled the boats and trapped. At the bottom of the scale were the Hawaiians and the trustworthy Indians. They did the menial tasks, although occasionally they were permitted to trap.

Hawaiians were prized as soldiers, since they seemed to have a natural antipathy toward the Indians:

"They are not wanting in courage; particularly against the Indians, for whom they entertain a very cordial contempt, and if they were let loose against them, they rush upon them like tigers. The principal purpose for which they were useful on the Columbia was as an array of numbers in view of natives especially in the frequent voyages up and down the communications."
At first Hawaiians were so eager to go abroad that they shipped on vessels and worked at trading posts for nothing but food and shelter. They also considered themselves fortunate if they ever happened to be returned to Hawaii.

With the increased use of Honolulu and other ports as stopping places, however, competition for the services of native seamen and laborers grew. Ship captains began to offer more than mere sustenance to those who would sign on. The Americans started paying the Hawaiians in trade, and the British going rate was a yard of coarse blue cloth per month. As the islands developed a money economy, the Hawaiians were paid more often in currency. The Hawaiian Kingdom's later policy of letting Hawaiians out to work on a contractual basis helped establish and raise these wages. Nonetheless, the pay was low in comparison to the services performed, and Hawaiian labor was considered an excellent bargain. The small cost of these workers was a factor in the Hudson Bay Company's hiring of its Hawaiians.

Islanders at British trading posts were notoriously ill-paid. In 1824 a minor Hudson's Bay official decided to establish a sort of minimum wage law and began paying the Hawaiians the rate of £17 a year. This was the same wage being paid Canadian and European workers, who protested violently. The company hastily lowered the Hawaiians' wages to £10 a year, and all parties were satisfied.

Twenty-four Hawaiians left Honolulu in 1811 on the Tongue for three years of work at the trading post at Astoria. In return they were to receive food, clothing, and £100.00 worth of merchandise at the end of their terms. A year later the twenty-six Hawaiians bound for Astoria on the Beaver were promised £10.00 a month and a suit of clothes. Leadership qualities in Hawaiians were also recognized. "Boatswain Tom", a well-traveled Islander who was put in charge of his countrymen on the Beaver, was paid £15.00 a month.

Yankee merchants were aware that Hawaiian crewmen were a bargain. Yet they did not intend to give the natives a free ride. One ship captain was told by his employers:

Agree to pay them regular wages. Charge them what clothes and what you furnish them and when you return to the Islands pay them the balance of their wages in such trade as you have left that they want.

Hawaiians who worked in the fur trade for several years could look forward to returning to the islands and living in wealth and respectability.

Although the fur trade had fallen off by the middle 1820's, there was still no reduction in the demand for skilled Hawaiian sailors. American whalers had been calling at Honolulu for several years already, and the stage was set for a dangerously large emigration of island sailors and laborers.

NOTES

1. Frederic Howay, The Journal of Captain James Colnett Aboard the Arondeut... (Toronto: 1940), p. 38.
Stand at the corner of Merchant and Fort Streets. Look down the block toward Bethel. Probably more Honolulans, living and dead, have shared this view than any other in the city. King Kamehameha would be entirely at home; a visitor returning for the first time in forty-five years would see almost no change whatever. For on this one block, this island of the past, there has been no significant construction since 1896, and no demolition since 1917. With one exception every facade has caught the gaze of ruling monarchs of Hawai'i.
Merchant Street itself is one of Honolulu's oldest. In 1810 a row of chiefs' houses stood on its makua side between the modern Fort and Bethel Streets; the future roadway was then just a ribbon of ground. A makua field, where the Hawaiians played their ancient version of bowling, bordered the makua side.1 Foreigners gathered in Honolulu; gradually the native village became a town. By the 1830's Merchant Street was a lane ten or fifteen feet wide, without sidewalks, but extending its present length.2 It had no name. In September, 1836, the Sandwich Islands Gazette deplored the anonymity of Honolulu's lanes; it proposed "Exchange Street" as the name of the one "...from Messrs. Hinckley & Smiths premises passing the Pagoda, and extending to King-street near the Charity school house."3 Nothing happened. Still nameless, the road appeared on a map published in 1845.4 The current designation - Merchant - was not forthcoming until August 30, 1850. On that day the Privy Council devoted a special meeting to naming the new capital's streets.5 Kaahumanu and Fort trace their beginning to an early date also, having been shown on the 1845 map, and named at the same time as Merchant. Bethel is the "new" street; chaplain S. C. Damon proposed it in December, 1853, and it was opened soon after.6 Damon's sketch projected a twenty-foot roadway between King and Merchant. Later an alley was cut through to Queen Street, and subsequently widened.7 By modern standards these early lanes were intolerably narrow. Fortunately, evidence of their original width still exists. The writer refers to the head of what was formerly Kaahumanu Street, now the Merchant Street entrance to a municipal parking lot.8 Sketch A below (not drawn to scale) shows the block in January, 1963. Sketch B reproduces a fire insurance map of 1879.9

**SKETCH A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site 1</th>
<th>Site 2</th>
<th>Site 3</th>
<th>Site 4</th>
<th>Site 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Post Office (1870)</td>
<td>Parking Lot</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hawaiian Gazette Building (1881)</td>
<td>McInerny Building (1888)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MERCHANT ST.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site 6</th>
<th>Site 7</th>
<th>Site 8</th>
<th>Site 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Estate Building (1853)</td>
<td>Campbell Building (1883)</td>
<td>Bishop Bank Building (1877)</td>
<td>Melchers Building (1896)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Former Kaahumanu St., now entrance to municipal parking lot
These sketches portray a sophisticated state of affairs. But it was not always thus. For a time, indeed, it seemed as though the streets might disappear. Honolulans pushed their mud walls ever farther into the roadways, making them blind, crooked alleys in some cases. Greasing, shortsighted residents schemed to add extra inches to their holdings; to thwart them, others demanded government action. The result was Honolulu's first street ordinance, published January 31, 1838. It set the present King Street's width at ten fathoms—sixty feet—the width of connecting streets at six fathoms, and the width of streets joining the latter at five fathoms. Merchant Street's legal width was thus set at thirty feet, apparently.
Merchant benefited from general changes and improvements as they took place—the first street markers (August, 1850); the first street lamps (February, 1869); gas illumination (summer of 1880); and electric lighting (March 23, 1888). 12

Street numbering varied in early years. In 1880, for example, F. A. Schaefer Co. occupied numbers 16 and 18, while S. B. Dole, at the other end of the block, had number 32. Bishop Bank was number 20 and Hyman Brothers number 29. 13 Permanent assignments came with the establishment of the House Numbering Bureau on September 1, 1901. This agency soon fixed the addresses now to be read over Merchant Street doors. 14

Behind those doors a great deal of Honolulu's early history was determined. Lawyers, newspapermen, merchants, and government officials gathered there to plan, to work, or to chaff over a friendly glass.

The scenes of their labors and their revels remain today. They are (from Sketch A):

SITE 1. In 1847 the government of Kamehameha III considered building a court house to serve Honolulu. Money was appropriated for the purpose, but the Board of Finance voted to use it for a printing office instead. 15 As built, this was a two-story coral structure, designed to house both the press and the post office. It stood on what was later the corner of Bethel and Merchant. The post office, under H. M. Whitney, occupied the front part of the first floor until March, 1854, when it moved next door to Honolulu Hale. 16 The rest of the building was given over to the printing establishment, which issued, among other items, the Polynesian, official government newspaper. For this reason Honolulans called the place the Polynesian Office. Cost of construction was $3,785.12, and among the furnishings was a hand press imported from Boston. 17 The Polynesian Office stood for twenty-two years. In 1869 it was torn down, and its site occupied by the new post office. 18

A post office building was proposed as early as January, 1854. 19 But H. M. Whitney asked to lease Honolulu Hale for the purpose, and his offer was accepted. 20 Sixteen years went by before the post office project materialized. The cornerstone of the building now standing on Site 1 was laid on March 2, 1870. 21 Under the base of the column at the west corner officials cemented a tin box. Its contents: a copy of the royal speech to the legislature of 1864 and the legislature's reply, a copy of the royal address at the opening of the 1868 legislature, a copy of the King's speech at the prorogation of the same legislature, an issue of the Hawaiian Gazette describing the great volcanic eruption of 1866, photographs of the King and his predecessors, of Queens Kalama and Emma, of the Prince of Hawaii, of Princess Victoria, of Nataio-Kekuanau; of Prince Lunalilo, of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Finance, of Mrs. C. P. Bishop, of Governor of Oahu and Mrs. John O. Dominis, of Kalakaua, and of W. P. Leleiohoku, a large number of Hawaiian scenic photographs, a bronze medal awarded the Hawaiian Government at the Paris Exposition, a sample of Hawaiian postage stamps, latest issues of the various newspapers and periodicals. Dr. Hillebrand's 1867 report on labor, school books in Hawaiian and English, the 1868 report of
the Board of Health, the 1870 Customs House statistics, a file of the "Convention" of 1864, census tables for 1866, the 1868-1869 appropriations bill, proceedings of the St. George's Benevolent Society, the name of the builder (J. S. Osborne), one Hawaiian copper coin, one U. S. nickel of 1807, assorted election tickets, several photographs of citizens, and the 1870 Hawaiian Directory and Calendar. As building progressed the plans grew more ambitious. Originally they specified two stories, but in April, 1870, a third story was projected. It was never built.

Construction time was almost a year. Slow headway resulted from a shortage of laborers. Also, the Superintendent of Public Works treated the novel material—concrete—carefully, wetting it down and letting it harden slowly. At the end of March, 1871, the post office was completed and partially occupied. The Advertiser lauded it as an ornament to the city, built to last indefinitely and proof against anything but earthquake. The post office proper took up only a quarter of the available space. The whole upper story and part of the first floor housed the printing establishment. The post office, said the Advertiser, was a convenient house on which to saddle the appropriation needed to carry out the unpopular printing house project, since the legislature of 1868 would never have granted money for it.

Official opening date for the $15,000 structure came on March 21, 1871. One innovation was the 200 lock boxes rented at fifty cents a month each—a charge attacked as exorbitant. But of greater interest was the concrete used. This had never before been employed in Honolulu, except in rare cases where it appeared in ornaments or corner blocks. The post office started a trend toward concrete buildings, several of which soon took shape.

The old Polynesian passed from government control in 1863, and died in February, 1864. A new government journal, the Hawaiian Gazette, began publication in January, 1865. This enterprise occupied offices and press rooms in the new post office. H. M. Whitney leased the Gazette and its quarters from the government on April 1, 1873, and conducted the publication as an independent paper until 1878. Early in 1880 the Hawaiian Gazette Company, headed by Robert Grieve, took over the post office press facilities, continuing there until it moved to the new Hawaiian Gazette Building in January, 1882. In August of that year the Pacific Commercial Advertiser moved into the post office's second-story printery; it remained until January 1, 1884, when the post office finally took possession of the whole building.

In 1898 the entire front was removed and 1,000 brass-faced lock boxes installed. By 1900 they were too few. At the end of this year a two-story, 413,500 brick addition went into service. The 56x35-foot building, still standing, adjoins the mule's wall of the original post office. When completed, it housed six big drop boxes, the superintendent's quarters, and bicycle and funnigating rooms.

On June 14, 1900, the post office became a unit of the U. S. postal system. Land and buildings were converted to federal use. Through an oversight, however, no formal transfer occurred. This
took place in May, 1903.39

The old post office ended its career as such on May 1, 1922. On that date service began at the new, and present, location at the corner of Richards and Merchant.40 The abandoned building and its site reverted to the Territory of Hawaii, which later gave temporary use to the City and County of Honolulu. Under this arrangement Honolulu district courts have occupied the premises for a number of years.41 There are now no definite plans for the site, and the building is in disrepair. The City Council, in its report for 1962, states that the building is to be demolished at the earliest possible time.42 A new post office, the City and County of Honolulu, district court building opened in 1963.

SITE 2. To most people living in Honolulu, the parking lot behind the old post office is just that. But it is a historic spot nonetheless. For its own portion was the first seat of organized government under the Hawaiian Kingdom—the site of the first executive building at the formation of a constitutional state.43 The structure that once stood there was known to generations of islanders as Honolulu Hale. The year 1835 has been cited as the date of its erection, and this may be; the writer's earliest reference is a contract of March 15, 139, in which Timothy Haalilo, Kamahameha III's business manager, agreed to rent to Henry Paty of Paty and Company the ground tier of rooms in the king's house called Honolulu,44 to be occupied as a store.45 This was the establishment G. D. Milam referred to as being on the mauka side of Merchant Street at the head of Kuhumuku in the early 1840's.46 By August, 1843, Honolulu Hale housed the government offices, and it was designated "Government House" on the Alexander Simpson map of that date.47

In 1847, Kamahameha III, in need of cash, wanted the government to buy Honolulu Hale from him.47 First, however, the royal title had to be confirmed by the Privy Council. This required lengthy consideration; during it the council stipulated that Kamahameha should not claim other real estate occupied by the government.48 Apparently the king's advisors foresaw a time when he might claim personal ownership of every public building in the city. But on November 18, 1850, the Council resolved that Honolulu Hale and the lot on which it stood (but excepting the Polynesian Office and its lot) were His Majesty's own. Retrospective to August 19 of that year, the King would receive annual rent of $1,000 as long as the building should be used for government offices.49

Kamahameha's personal finances remained shaky, so in September, 1851, he mortgaged Honolulu Hale to the government for $3,000 on an eight-month loan, with interest at one per cent a month.50 In January, 1852, the Privy Council authorized a loan of $9,000 for two years, at twelve per cent a year, taking security on Honolulu Hale. Included in this latter sum was the $3,000 already advanced, plus interest.51

This was a bad start, but the royal grip was not as weak as it seemed. Kamahameha III and his successors held Honolulu Hale for nearly thirty-five years. Kalakaua finally sold it to the government
for $27,600 in 1884.52

Even before Kamehameha III got clear title to Honolulu Hale—in September, 1850—a special committee of the Privy Council recommended a new site for the government offices.53 A year and a half later the Minister of the Interior reported Honolulu Hale far too small to contain the offices, and urged the legislature to buy a lot on which to put up a Government House in 1853.54 His views gained strength when, in 1853, a Mr. Foley built a theater windward of and adjoining Honolulu Hale, endangering the money in the King's treasury. Thereupon the Privy Council appointed a second committee to find a safe and suitable site.55

On January 3, 1854, H. M. Whitney offered to buy Honolulu Hale; the proposal was soon changed to an offer to lease, and it was accepted late in February.56 Whitney's action followed government advertisement of a five-year lease available March 1, at which time the government offices moved out.57 Whitney used the first floor east side for the post office, and the waikiki side for Honolulu's first news, stationery, and book business. He also set up the offices of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser there when he founded the newspaper in 1856.58

So began a period of some sixty-four years, during which various tenants occupied the building. These included W. R. Castle, Ashford and Ashford, J. A. Magoon, W. S. Luce, the Bell Telephone Company, and the postal savings bank; among others.59 On the completion of the new post office in 1871, the whole structure was turned into rental property.

By 1911 the old coral Hale, with its wooden verandas, was dilapidated and unsanitary, and Governor Frear was considering closing it. But it struggled on for another six years. The ignominious end came at the waning of summer in 1917. Some time earlier a Frank Godfrey bought the ramshackle heap for $10.00, with the understanding that he would tear it down.60 The purchaser was almost as interesting as his prize. He had come to Hawaii as a tourist nearly a half century before, and for many years held editorial posts on the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, the Honolulu Bulletin, and other papers.61 He was at one time King Kalakaua's personal secretary.62 At various periods Godfrey advertised himself as journalist, editor, writer, compiler, auditor, moneylender, collector, private attorney, and proofreader.63 During the unrest of 1895 a bunch full of masked men plucked him off the street and gave him a coat of tar and feathers.64 He promptly sued the government for $50,000.65

Godfrey found Honolulu Hale a white elephant. Local contractors were willing to give him $20.00 and to send the expense of carting it away.66 The new owner hemmed and hawed over actually beginning demolition; a sly report appeared that he probably would have done nothing if the building had not taken the initiative by starting to fall down.67

But by late September, 1917, the work was under way. A number of "inky inscriptions" marred Honolulu Hale's walls in these latter days. Among them were two questions: "What is the Hawaiian Historical Society? Is it alive?"68 And so passed the erstwhile customs house, treasury, education bureau, interior department, court house,
office building, sample room, election booth, rendezvous of gossips, coming house, and jail. Its site, now owned by the State of Hawaii, has been vacant ever since.

The waikiki side of the present parking lot was the first home of the venerable Pacific Commercial Advertiser. In 1856 H. M. Whitney built there a two-story wooden structure expressly for the printing venture; it stood directly across the street from the Bishop Bank (Site 6). Although Whitney sold the Advertiser in 1870 to the firm of Black and Auld, it continued to be published at the same address. A six-horsepower steam engine was installed in 1880 to run the seven presses—a matter of considerable pride to the owners. Webb and MacFarlane bought the building in October, 1883, but it did not survive long. It was torn down, probably in 1886. In later years a storage shed was put up on the site, and subsequently removed. The government has owned the land since the 1880's; it was probably included in the purchase of Honolulu Hale in 1884. The State of Hawaii now holds title.

SITE 3. This is the old passageway leading to E. S. Cunha's Union Saloon, which still stands behind the Hawaiian Gazette Building. The saloon is a relic of whaling days; it was already doing business in 1871, but the writer has not tried to establish the date of erection. Mr. H. P. Bonner, a historically-minded businessman with offices in the Hawaiian Gazette Building, pointed out to the writer the interesting paving blocks of the passage. The large square stones are, he said, Chinese granite brought to Hawaii as ballast in whaling ships. Site 3 is owned by the E. S. Cunha Estate.

SITE 4. H. M. Whitney, who had sold the Advertiser in 1870, re-entered the publishing field in February, 1873, when he leased the Hawaiian Gazette and its printory from the government. His first number of the independent Gazette appeared on April 2, and he conducted the paper until 1876, with offices in the now post office. In 1879 the government sold the Hawaiian Gazette at public auction. The new owner was Robert Grieve and Company, and it was this firm which built, in 1881, the structure now standing on Site 4. Offices and press were moved from the post office during the week of January 18–25, 1882. The newspaper and general printing business filled the upper floor; the downstairs was rented to storekeepers. Visual inspection indicates that the Hawaiian Gazette facade joins two buildings, the wider and deeper being on the west side. Today that facade looks much as it did in 1881; at the back, the doorway that once led to the Union Saloon is walled up. E. S. Cunha prospected at his offstreet location; eventually he bought the property on Merchant Street, and the Hawaiian Gazette Building is now part of his estate.

SITE 5. The writer's notes on this site, now occupied by M. McNerney's, go back to the early 1840's. At that time the space just waikiki of the Hawaiian Gazette Building accommodated a small one-story wooden structure. Similarly modest stores stood at the corner of Fort and Merchant, as shown on the Simpson map of 1843:
The properties belonged to Captain B. F. Snow. In 1844 he tore down Store A and put up a fine, two-story coral building with a slate roof. Mokee and Jones were the first tenants, it appears. They were succeeded by Mokee and Anthon.82 This firm built its own three-story brick building at the corner of Queen and Kaahumanu in 1854.83 Thereupon Snow set up his ship chandlery in the L-shaped coral structure. Hymon Brothers, clothiers and furnishings merchants, occupied the premises prior to 1870, and stayed until the building was demolished.84 In 1885 the upstairs tenant was the Hawaiian Printery.85 Snow's old building, still in excellent condition, was destroyed in 1887 to make room for the new McInerny Block.86

In 1857 Snow put up two stores fronting Fort Street, at the corner of Merchant.87 Ten years later—in May, 1867—H. McInerny, reported to have the largest and best stock of shoes in Honolulu, moved into the corner, taking with him his "popular and polite clerk, Joe."88 In 1883, apparently, McInerny journeyed to the United States. While there he bought the entire Snow property for $35,000, a good price. He was already planning to build a two-story structure similar to the new Campbell Block across Merchant Street.89 Bids were received in November, 1886, for a brick building; they ranged from $35,893.00 to $45,500.0090 McInerny moved into his new quarters in March, 1888, and the company has done business there continuously since that date.91

As constructed, the McInerny store incorporated a passageway opening off Merchant and running along the rear of the Fort Street building to a small open court. In 1899 Peacock and Company, liquor dealers, occupied the own structure, while McInerny was housed in the ground floor of the walliiki portion. A printing establishment took the upper story.92 In 1963 the block is owned by the H. McInerny Estate.

SITES 6-8. These sites are considered together at the start because in the early 1840's they were all part of one property—that of William French—that ran along the makai side of Merchant from Fort to Kaahumanu.93 At that time French was one of the oldest white residents in Hawaii, having been engaged in the sandalwood trade with Kamehameha I at the end of the latter's reign.94 A high picket fence surrounded French's property, and the store itself was large, with a lofty basement and big trading rooms.95 The Alexander Simpson map of August, 1843, shows French and Company located thus:
SITE 6. In 1840 French formed a silent partnership with F. J. Greenway, an English merchant who soon showed signs of insanity. His speculations caused the firm to go through a spectacular but unnecessary bankruptcy proceeding from 1842 to 1847. By the latter year, the case had caused heavy losses to French, and the corner of Fort and Merchant accommodated the U. S. Naval Store.96 The house of Webb and Spalding later did business at the location for a short period.97

In 1846 a Mr. J. H. Wood arrived in Honolulu. Soon afterward he erected at the corner of Fort and Merchant what is reported to have been the city's first brick building, and operated a shoe store there or some twenty years.98 Wood was succeeded by Ira Richardson, shoes and furnishings, by 1870, and by that date also Sanford B. Jole had opened a law office on the second floor.99 A. W. Richardson and company, as the business was known in the 1880's, occupied the building until it was demolished to make way for the Campbell Block.100

James Campbell, Honolulu businessman and capitalist, bought the property on Merchant Street from the corner of Fort to the (later) Bishop Estate Building from James N. Austin on February 28, 1882.101 He thereupon made plans for the present Campbell Block at Fort and Merchant, which he completed late in November, 1883.102 Over the years many leading Honolulu business and professional men have tenanted its rooms, and the Block still houses a variety of occupants. Though it is considered obsolete and in need of replacement, no definite plans have been made to demolish it.103

For many years a vacant lot separated Richardson's store from the building now of it; the lot was taken up only when Campbell erected his block in 1883. The building now of the vacant lot was a one-story wooden one, and its tenant from 1870 until 1883 was Thomas J. Thrum, the talented, self-educated author and publisher. In September, 1870, Thrum bought out the news, book and stationery business of Black and Auld and set up shop opposite the old Advertiser building.104 Thrum's store was torn down when the Campbell Block went up.

SITE 7. Next door to Thrum's stood a one-story, steep-gabled structure. Dr. Edward Hoffmann, a prominent Honolulu physician, moved into it when he sold his corner drug store at Kamehameha and Merchant to C. R. Bishop in 1876.105 The building remained until 1896; in that year it was replaced by the two-story Bishop Estate Building.106 The latter, standing on the site today, was designed to house offices of the B. P. Bishop Estate, the C. R. Bishop Trust, and the B. P. Bishop Museum.107 The facade is of dark gray stone from the Kamehameha quarries. At the time of its erection it was hailed
as ranking with any in the city in architectural beauty and office
conveniences. The estate offices have long since moved away; old
residents remember the building as the Bishop Bank savings department.
Now owned by the Bishop Museum, the structure is an office rental
property.

SITE 6. In 1845 or 1846 Dr. R. W. Wood put up a two-story coral
building at the corner of Kaahumanu and Merchant. Early tenants
were Drs. Edward Hoffmann and B. F. Hardy, who established a partner-
ship in 1851. It ended in 1852. The following year found J. C.
Spalding, ship chandler, sharing occupancy with Hoffmann. In 1854
Makoe and Anthon completed their new building and Hoffmann moved to
that location. Site 6 is also noted as the location of the E. Samuel
Ruggles drug store, which operated there during the years 1850-
1859.109

About 1865 Hoffmann moved back to his old corner address, and,
as the owner of the property, stayed until he sold out to Bishop. In
this later period Dr. J. M. Whitney, a well-known dentist, maintained
offices in the Hoffmann building.110

On September 30, 1876, the Advertiser reported that

We learn that 'The Corner', opposite this
office, so long and pleasantly known and to be
remembered as the center for daily greeting and
gossip, has changed hands, and that the old
stone building is to be used for the new office
of the Bank of Bishop & Co. Truly Merchant
Street, in the neighborhood of 'printing-house
square', is looking up.

And a year later—on September 29, 1877—the same paper noted the
start of demolition, with regrets for the Corner, "...about which
hover so many pleasant memories of by-gone gossip and Dr. Hoffmann's
sage utterances on past events."

After twenty years in the Makoe Block at Kaahumanu and Queen,
the Bishop Bank entered its new quarters in May, 1878.111 They
served for more than forty-seven years; on November 9, 1925, the bank
opened for business at its present location—the Demol Building at
the corner of Bishop and King Streets.112 The old bank took new occu-
piants—a Japanese steamship line, the Hawaii Meat Company, and
Brindard and Black, insurance brokers, at various times.113 Others
followed. Today the law firm of Bouslog and Symonds is tenant.
Bishop Museum now owns the site.

SITE 9. The building standing here is one of Honolulu's oldest,
Melchers and Company, headed by Gustave C. Melchers and Gustave
Reiners, raised it in 1853 during the height of the whaling era to
accommodate their business as importers, commission merchants, and
ship chandlers. The store opened to the public on February 20, 1854;
on that date the owners arranged a luncheon "...to which ample jus-
tice was done by a large number of the gentlemen of Honolulu."114 In
1857 a Mr. F. A. Schaefer, who had come from Bremen, Germany, in the
early 1850's as a Melchers clerk, bought the firm and set up F. A.
Schaefer and Company.115 This enterprise occupied the old store un-
til the present Castle and Cooke "Grecian temple" was completed in
1924; the Schaefer Company then moved there. The Melchers building was rented to other tenants, and later sold to the Hawaiian Dredging Company, which occupied it for many years. In March, 1950, Hawaiian Dredging announced plans for new quarters across from the park on Ala Moana Boulevard. Upon their completion the company moved, and on April 6, 1954, the City and County of Honolulu acquired the old Melchers property from Hawaiian Dredging. Divisions of the Police Department—most recently the detective division—took over. At the removal of police headquarters to their present locus near the corner of Beretania and Kalakaua, the Melchers building was vacated. Plans were to remodel it for offices of the Prosecuting Attorney and his staff, but the City Council denied requested funds at the start of September, 1962. As in the case of the old post office, action awaits the outcome of a study of the area.

These sketchy and uneven notes fall short of being a history. But the old-time charm of Merchant Street between Fort and Bethel is an everyday reminder of the lives and deeds of Honolulu's long gone. It is old Honolulu in our midst.

NOTES

2. S. E. Bishop, "Honolulu Sixty Years Ago", Pacific Commercial Advertiser, January 1, 1900, p. 5.
3. Sandwich Islands Gazette, September 3 and 17, 1836.
4. The Friend, October 1, 1845, p. 145.
7. The alley appears on Sheet 4, "Fire Insurance Maps, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands", Lion Insurance Company, London, 1879, Archives of Hawaii. This extension was widened to the full width of upper Bethel Street in 1931 (Honolulu Advertiser, January 16, 1931, p. 1 and March 31, 1931, p. 5).
8. This entrance is flanked by the old Melchers Building (1853) and the Bishop Bank (1877). The bank was put up in line with earlier structures—the one next adjoining on Kamehameha, for example, was the C. Rhodes store, erected in 1868 and still standing in the early 1950's, when it was razed to make room for the present parking lot.
9. Sheet 4, Lion fire insurance map.
Department Letter Book No. 17 (January 7, 1880-August 7, 1880), p. 276. Archives of Hawaii; Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 26, 1882. The first street corner posts were of "solid durable wood", with names printed in one-inch letters in both Hawaiian and English. The first electric lights, "a grand success", operated on two circuits, one fifteen and one six miles long. Lamps were 2,000 candle-power.

15. Report, Minister of Finance, 1847, p. 6, Archives of Hawaii.
20. Ibid., pp. 113, 115 (February 28, 1854).
22. Ibid.
24. Hawaiian Gazette, February 8, 1871.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, April 8, 1871; Table B, Report, Minister of Finance, 1870, and Table B, Report, Minister of Finance, 1872, Archives of Hawaii.
29. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, April 8, 1871.
33. Ibid.; Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 29, 1873.
35. Certificate of Rental, August 3, 1882, ULB No. 21, p. 85; Webb and McFarlane to T. T. Cullick, March 3, 1884, ID Land File, March 1884, Archives of Hawaii. J. L. Castle also had offices on the second floor; he moved to the new Campbell Block when it was completed.
36. Paradise of the Pacific, December, 1900, pp. 27-29.
37. Ibid.
In 1946 the City and County of Honolulu Board of Supervisors tried unsuccessfully to get permanent ownership of the old post office building and the adjacent parking lot (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, March 23, 1946, p. 2). The property was set aside for City use by Executive Order No. 1212 "...for courtroom and offices of the District Court of Hawaii under the control of the Board of Supervisors." (Letter, Brian L. Casey, Director, Information and Complaint Office, City and County of Honolulu, to R. A. Greer, September 5, 1962).

Casey to Greer, September 5, 1962.

Hawaiian Annual, 1848, p. 73.

Contract filed in Foreign Office and Executive, March 1, 15, 22 and 24, 1839, Archives of Hawaii. For Haalilio's status see The Friend, April, 1845, p. 53.


Ibid., p. 554 (January 5, 1852).


Report, Minister of the Interior, 1852, p. 8, Archives of Hawaii.

Ibid.; Vol. 8, p. 79 (January 16, 1854); pp. 113-115 (February 24, 1854).

Polynesian, December 24, 1853.

Honolulu Advertiser, October 18, 1921, special section, pp. 1-4. Reprint of an 1897 article by T. G. Thrum; R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1853 (Honolulu: R. J. Baker, 1950); pp. 19-20.

Certificate of Rental to W. R. Castle, February 20, 1885, IDLB No. 25, p. 619; Certificate of Rental to C. W. Ashford, April 30, 1885; IDLB No. 26, p. 127; Certificate of Rental to W. S. Luce, March 25, 1887, IDLB No. 29, p. 76; Fire Insurance Map of Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, Surveyed for the Board of Fire Underwriters of Honolulu by M. P. Monsarrat, Surveyor (San Francisco: Dakin Publishing Company, 1899); T. L. DeGew to J. H. McCombless, Superintendent of Public Works, February 13, 1901. Single office rentals were $35 or $40 in the late 1880's. In 1901, rents were about the same.
60. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 27, 1917, Section 2, p. 9.
62. Ibid.
63. Gleaned from various Honolulu directories, 1895-1917, Archives of Hawaii.
64. The Friend, October, 1895, p. 78.
65. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, December 5, 1895.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Lion fire insurance map, 1872.
73. Fire insurance map of Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, July, 1885 (San Francisco: Dakin Publishing Company) shows the building still in existence. The certificate of rental to W. S. Luce, cited in footnote 59 above refers to the vacant lot formerly occupied by the Advertiser buildings. Whitney in Hawaii Nei, p. 4, refers to the "now vacant" lot in 1899.
74. Certificate of Rental to W. S. Luce, March 25, 1887, IDLE No. 26, p. 127.
75. Supplement, Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 25, 1871.
82. R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1853, p. 52.
83. Ibid., p. 48.
85. Fire insurance map, July, 1885.
86. R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1853, p. 52.
87. Ibid.
89. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, January 19, 1884.
90. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 8, 1886.
91. Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 12, 1885.
92. Fire insurance map, 1899. This map clearly shows the pas- sageway, and the inner court.
94. W. D. Alexander, "Early Trading in Hawaii", Papers of the
95. G. J. Gilman, loc. cit.
98. Ibid., p. 48.
99. R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1870, p. 34.
100. R. J. Baker, Honolulu Then and Now, Plate 31, shows the store still standing about 1882; The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists' Guide, 1880-1881 (Honolulu and San Francisco: George Bousher and Company, 1880), entry for Richardson, A. W.
102. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 17, 1883.
103. O. K. Stender to R. A. Greer, September 5, 1962. Following Campbell's death in 1900, the Campbell Block's adjudicated value was set at $100,000 (Hawaiian Gazette, September 25, 1900).
104. R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1870, p. 50; R. J. Baker, Honolulu Then and Now, Plate 31; The Hawaiian Kingdom Commercial Directory and Tourists' Guide, 1880-1881, see Thurum, T. G. Thurum's first advertisement at his new location appeared in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, October 8, 1870.
105. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 30, 1876; R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1870, p. 44.
110. Warren Goodale and Thomas Thurum, op. cit., p. 92; R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1870, pp. 34, 44.
111. The Friend, June 1, 1876, p. 41.
112. Honolulu Star-Bulletin, November 9, 1925, p. 1. A history of the bank appeared on page 3 of a special section; it was compiled by Howard D. Case, a veteran still actively engaged in newspaper work with the Honolulu Advertiser.
114. Polynesian, February 25, 1854.
116. R. J. Baker, Honolulu in 1853, p. 52. Castle and Cooke had its formal opening at the new quarters on October 1, 1924 (Honolulu Advertiser, September 30, 1924).
119. Ibid.
120. The intimate connection of the block with journalistic history merits summarizing. The first English-language newspaper in the islands—the Sandwich Islands Gazette of S. D. Mackintosh—ran its three-year course (1835–1839) in the "Pagoda", a two-story building put up by William French or Eli Jones in the early 1830's. Having entrances on both Kahumanu and Merchant, it stood behind the present Bishop Estate Building (H. L. Sheldon, op. cit., p. 40; Warren Goodale and Thomas Thrum, op. cit., p. 97). The Polynesian, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, and the Hawaiian Gazette shared the same stretch of street with Thrum and his Hawaiian Annual, with the Hawaiian newspaper Kuokoa (printed by the Advertiser), the Hawaiian News Company, and several other printing enterprises. "Printing-house Square" was a title aptly given.

THE ARCHIVES OF HAWAII—RECORDS PRIOR TO 1900

by

Agnes Conrad, State Archivist

The Archives of Hawaii is the official depository for the records of the many governments of Hawaii, ranging from the days before Kamehameha I up to the last documents signed by Governor William F. Quinn before leaving office on December 3, 1962. Its records holdings of over 4,000 cubic feet are estimated to contain the equivalent of eight million pieces of paper. In addition, extensive holdings in published government documents, newspaper files, 30,000 photographs and negatives, a library of over a thousand volumes and hundreds of pamphlets pose difficulties for the person who wants to use the collection. It is essential to enlist the aid of a staff member to assure complete coverage of the subject being researched, but perhaps the following information about some of the collections and aids available will be helpful.

The records are, insofar as possible, retained in the order in which they are received. That is, the files of a governor or a legislative session are filed as they were when they were used in the office of origin. This order can be maintained for recent files, but unfortunately records for the period before 1900 were apparently in such disorder when received that the first archivist, R. O. Lydecker, and to create his own order. Four primary groups of records make up the bulk of these early files; several others supplement these.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND EXECUTIVE FILE (cited as F. O. & EX.) covers the period from 1790 to 1900 and is the most important series of records for the period of the Kingdom and the Republic. It includes all of the official correspondence (and some unofficial) of the monarchs, ministers of foreign affairs, and privy and cabinet
councils of the Kingdom, and the president, minister of foreign affaires, and executive advisory councils of the Provisional Government and the Republic. The entire series consists of letters and documents received, letter books with copies of outgoing letters, and minutes of the various council meetings. It also includes letter books and files of a few of the Hawaiian envoys and consuls abroad. While there are some records before 1840, the bulk are later. The files of incoming letters and documents, with some copies of outgoing correspondence, are filed by year. Those for the period from 1790 to 1849 are chronological under each year; from 1850 to 1865, they are in large categories under each year, such as Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Local Officials, Miscellaneous Foreign, Miscellaneous Local; from 1866 to 1900, each year is broken down by the official involved, such as Envoy to Washington, Consul at London, Attorney General. The exceptions to this are all files concerning treaties, which are arranged by country, and chronologically under this major grouping. All of these records are quite fully indexed by both name and subject. Since it is largely diplomatic correspondence, the bulk is in English, but translations are available for those in Hawaiian.

The INTERIOR DEPARTMENT FILE covers the period from 1828 to 1900 for incoming letters and 1845 to 1900 for outgoing. It includes the records concerning such matters as roads, agriculture, licenses, buildings, harbors, charters, patents and immigration. Letters prior to 1845 are primarily those of local residents and the island governors to the King, and correspondence between chiefs. With the passage of the act organizing the Interior Department in 1845, the files cover the duties assigned to this office and are of a less personal nature. The letters received are divided into four sections: by subject, undated but numbered documents, minor letters filed by date, and documents concerning licenses filed by type of license. This series is partially indexed. Since most of the letters deal with local matters, many of them are in Hawaiian, but translations have been made of most of them.

The LAND FILE contains all letters and documents dealing with land matters, regardless of the person to whom addressed. This means that all letters addressed to the monarch, to the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, the minister of the interior, and to the board of education are combined in this file. It covers the period from 1830 to 1900, is filed chronologically, and is the most completely indexed group of records in the archives. There are separate indexes by the name of the land, by the name of the persons involved, and by the grant or patent numbers. Again, many of these records are in Hawaiian and have been translated. The archives also has the original Mahele Book, but the minutes of the Board to Quiet Land Titles and the records of their awards are still in the office of the Department of Land and Natural Resources.

The records of the LEGISLATURE make up the fourth large group. While there are a few for 1840 and 1843, most of the records date from 1845. They consist of bills, resolutions, reports, petitions, minutes, journals, and account books. There is an index to the laws passed, but there is none for the bills and reports introduced but not enacted into law. The earlier records are arranged under each
session by type of record and date, and later ones by the number of
the bill report or petition. A search must be made through the docu-
ments to find material on a specific subject. While the very early
records are in Hawaiian and have not been translated, from about 1850
on most of the proceedings were recorded in both Hawaiian and English.
In addition to these groups, there are several smaller ones for
the period before 1900. The dates given indicate the beginning and
end of a file, but gaps in the holdings are not shown:
ATTORNEY GENERAL, 1844-1900 (not indexed), includes incoming and
outgoing letters, originals of opinions, and some case records.
CENSUS, 1843-1896 (not indexed), includes some lists of names,
but most of the records are statistical summaries. Records for 1890
and 1896 are most complete.
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1894 (not indexed), includes minutes,
reports, drafts, letters, and account books. Records of earlier con-
stitutional changes are in the legislative files.
COLLECTOR GENERAL OF CUSTOMS AND HARBOR MASTER, 1842-1900 (par-
tially indexed), includes letters, account books, records of ships
entering the harbor, and lists of native seamen shipped. The fore-
going are not indexed, but the Registry of Hawaiian Vessels (1850-
52, 1866-1900) has a typed index.
COMMISSIONS, 1852-1900 (indexed), includes royal commissions and
commissions issued by the Republic to office holders and consuls.
The card file of "Office Holders" is based on this series and serves
as an index.
FINANCE MINISTER, 1839-1900 (not indexed), includes incoming and
outgoing letters, miscellaneous documents, and some account books.
GOVERNORS OF ISLANDS, 1846-1897 (not indexed), includes letters
and letter books, some account books, and registers of brands. The
letters are mostly in Hawaiian, and only part have been indexed.
HEALTH DEPARTMENT, 1850-1900 (not indexed), includes both in-
coming and outgoing letters and the minutes of the board.
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION RECORDS, 1843-1900 (partially
indexed), an important group, include the passenger lists for both
incoming and outgoing ships from 1843 to 1900. For the Japanese,
Chinese and Portuguese contract labor groups, the indexing is com-
plete for manifests on file. For other passengers, it covers the
period 1843-1879 only. Naturalization (1844-1894) and denization
(1846-1898) records have been completely indexed and the indexes are
on file with the records.
MILITARY RECORDS, 1844-1900 (not indexed), are divided into the
Army-Navy File, including letters, rosters, and the log book and ac-
counts of the Kaimiloa; the Citizens' Guard records, with rosters,
company books, and correspondence; and the Military Commission re-
cords of the trial of Queen Liliuokalani and others in 1895.
PALACE RECORDS, 1840-1900 (not indexed), include account books
for both the monarchs' personal accounts and the chamberlains' ac-
counts, and guest books.
POSTMASTER GENERAL, 1856-1900 (not indexed), includes incoming
and outgoing records, and samples of forms used.
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, 1838-1900 (partially indexed), includes
minutes of the board of education and the commissioners of public
instruction, letters and reports. Many of the early letters are in Hawaiian and are now being translated. Indexes cover only a small part of the records.

ROYAL ORDERS (not indexed), includes minutes; rules, and membership lists for the Orders of Kamahana, Kaiekaau, Kapioihi, Star of Oceania, and Crown of Hawaii.

TAX RECORDS, 1855-1900 (not indexed), include property tax records for all islands. Files are not complete, but a list of holdings is available.

VITAL STATISTICS, 1826-1900 (not indexed), includes birth, marriage, and death records from all the islands. Files are not complete. The marriage record books of missionaries form the largest body of records here.

Archives indexes are of several kinds. The major card indexes are:

SUBJECT AND NAME INDEX, covering documents, newspapers, periodicals, and some books. For all types of materials it is selective, not comprehensive.

VITAL STATISTICS, divided into Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and covering newspapers only, not the original vital statistics records. This index is of greatest importance as an index to both English and Hawaiian newspapers up to 1897, though some have been indexed to 1950.

LAND INDEX, already mentioned, divided by names of land, names of persons concerned, and grant numbers.

IMMIGRATION INDEX, covering the contract labor groups to 1900, and others to 1879 only.

NEGATIVE INDEX, with a subject and name index covering more than 15,000 negatives. An equal number of photographs, only partially duplicating the negatives, are arranged by subject; an index is not required.

Several special indexes and lists exist in either card or typed form to aid in using the archives. These are:

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS CATALOG, arranged by names of persons most closely connected with the records, and giving both a short biographical sketch and a brief description of the contents of the file. There are also separate and quite complete indexes to documents in the Queen Liliuokalani, Kalanianaloa, and Sanford B. Dole collections.

CHIEFS' FILE, an alphabetical list of the high chiefs of Hawaii, with some biographical information and references to obituaries.

GOVERNMENT OFFICE HOLDERS AND NAMES OF OFFICE HOLDERS, an aid to locating the names of persons who held specific positions or the names of positions held by individuals.

MAP INDEX, arranged by island, area, and date, and the MUSEUM CATALOG, arranged by type of article (i.e., artifacts, china and glassware, flags, weapons), listing items available. COMMERCIAL ACCOUNTS AND SHIPS' LOGS have separate card listing.

In addition, a typed index is available to PASSPORTS issued by the Kingdom and the Republic.

Grounds, Honolulu 13 or Mies Janet Bell, Librarian, Hawaiian and
Pacific Collection, Gregg M. Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii, 
Honolulu. Bibliography compiled from documents in the State Archives, 
the Hawaiians collections of Sinclair Library, the Library of Hawaii, 
and the Legislative Reference Bureau. The 96 pages devoted to the of-
official publications of the University are the most complete listing 
ever prepared.

CONTRIBUTORS: Agnes Conrad is State Archivist, State of Hawaii, 
Hilo Campus. David Kittelson is Librarian, University of Hawaii, 
Richard A. Greer is the editor of the Hawaii Historical 
Review.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND IN-
DIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF 
ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW 
Richard A. Greer, Editor 
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School 
for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Months of issue are 
October, January, April, and July. Price of single copies, as avail-
able: 25 cents.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

For the Island of Kauai: Mrs. Thelma H. Hadley, President, Kauai 
Historical Society, Lihue, Kauai

For the Island of Maui: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui
CONTENTS

IOLANI PALACE: FROM KINGDOM TO STATEHOOD......41
Lloyd Stone

TROUBLE ON THE WATERFRONT.........................51
Richard A. Greer

THE DEADLY DON.........................................52
Richard A. Greer

THE FIRST HOLOKU......................................54
Barbara Lyons

THE HAWAII AND THE PACIFIC SECTION AT THE
LIBRARY OF HAWAII..................................57
Clare Murdoch

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS..................58

" =0 =
"
IOLANI PALACE: FROM KINGDOM TO STATEHOOD

by

Lloyd Stone

Iolani Palace is the only true royal palace under the American flag; a true palace in that, while other monar
cies ruled areas which later evolved into the present United States, only Hawai'i was a king-
dom, a nation in its own right until it, too, became a part of Amer-
ica.

A history of Iolani is a history of Hawai'i since the noble pile
of masonry was built. From within its walls a king, a queen, a revo-
lutionary hierarchy, a republic, a territory, and, finally, a state
of the U. S. have issued their commands.

At midnight on October 30, 1865, an event occurred which herald-
ed the beginning of today's Iolani. The old one-story palace, simi-
larly named, stood on the site of the present one, and in the deep of
night from a vault within the grounds the removal of eighteen royal
dead began. Then a procession of black-swathed drays, mourners, tow-
ering kahili, kukui-nut torches accompanied King Kamehameha V
and his father Kekuanaoa and scores of high chiefs, all bareheaded and afoot,
as they wound their grieving way to the new royal mausoleum in Nuuanu.

Five years later, on September 25, 1871, the same king directed
his minister of the interior to instruct the Hawaiian consul in
Sydney, Australia, that "...it is the intention of this govern-
ment to build a Royal Palace here...we have no architect...architects in
northern countries would not appreciate our climate...but in Sydney,
where the summer climate is very similar to ours, an architect might
more likely be found to design an appropriate building."1

The palace was built, but never used as such. It became known
as the "government building", and in succeeding years gained its pre-
sent name - the Judiciary building. The very different building that
Honolulans call Iolani Palace today is of later vintage. This paper
recalls many of the colorful events that make up its history.

June 3, 1874: Aboard the Mohango there arrived a fiercely-
whiskered little German bandmaster, Henri Berger, whom Kamehameha had
asked a brother ruler, the Emperor of Prussia, to forward him. The
little koppelmeister would direct the Royal Hawaiian Band for more
than four decades at palace functions.2

April 10, 1877: Princess Liliuokalani was proclaimed Heir Ap-
parent.

June 29, 1876: Architect T. J. Baker arrived from San Francisco.
Almost three years elapsed, during which he designed and supervised
the construction of other buildings, before his plans for the palace
received any attention.3

1878: On her way back from visiting friends at Maunawili, Prin-
cess Liliuokalani hummed into existence the most famous song of
The world has ever known, ALOHA OE.

March 2, 1879: Baker received a letter from Minister of the Interior Samuel G. Wilder saying: "His Majesty King Kalakaua commands me to ask you to lay before this department your plans for a new Palace. If you will be good enough to call tomorrow before 12 M I shall be pleased to see you."

August, 1879: Baker was appointed "architect and chief artificer" of the proposed palace, and work began on it.

November 14, 1879: Celso Moreno, Italian adventurer who within the next few months would exert tremendous influence over the king (especially in the matter of his coronation), arrived from Hong Kong.

November 19, 1879: Trouble broke out between Architect Baker and Minister Wilder, who wrote to the former: "I beg to call to your attention the fact that it is proper that you should file in this office duplicate or the original plans for the new palace...I need at once a list of flooring, lumber, etc..." Baker replied: "I did not understand that you were to take my place as architect." November 10, 1879: Palace contractor Thomas complained: "I have laid the foundation out according to two different foundation plans, both being furnished by Baker, and yet the basement is not in conformity with either of his plans..." To further requests of the minister, Baker insisted: "The Cabinet can not make me yield such plans of the building as I need retain." December 14, 1879: The minister wrote Baker: "You have insulted His Majesty and the Cabinet...Where are the plans?" December 16, 1879: Architect Baker replied: "My plans can be seen and examined at all times during business hours at my rooms." December 31, 1879: The forty-fifth birthday of King Kalakaua's Queen, Kapiolani, was the occasion for laying the palace cornerstone. This was done by the Masonic order, of which the king was a 33rd degree Mason in the Scottish Rite and a Knight Templar in the York. The principal address was by Minister of Foreign Affairs J. M. Kapena, whose wife was the daughter of historian David Malo, and who therefore felt the import of Hawaii's history. Kapena warned: "It will require all the skill, the watchful care, the patience, the caution, and the industry that can be bestowed in the future in order to secure the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the government."

January 17, 1880: Baker was dismissed as architect and given an additional $1,000 to conclude his services. The Superintendent of Public Works took over.

Spring, 1880: In its spring session the legislature, under the influence of Celso Moreno, passed two bills that would have great bearing on Iolani Palace history. One was a bill providing for the education of promising Hawaiian youths abroad; the other appropriated $10,000 for a proper coronation of the new Kalakaua dynasty. Liliuokalani, the king's sister, justified the bill thus: "The direct line of the Kamehamehas having become extinct, it has been succeeded by our Keawe-a-Heulu line....It is necessary to confirm the new family
by a celebration of unusual impressiveness. It is wise and patriotic

to spend money to awaken in the people a national pride."

August 14, 1880: King Kalakaua prorogued the legislature, dis-

missed his cabinet, and appointed Celso Caesar Moreno as premier.

August 20, 1880: The king was pressured by an increasingly in-

fluential business group into retracting Moreno's appointment.

August 30, 1880: Moreno prepared to leave for Italy, escorting

three Hawaiian youths who were to further their education abroad.

Among them was Robert Wilcox, a significant figure in later Hawaiian

palace history.

1880: Among the first Bell telephones installed in the Islands

was one connecting the palace with the king's boathouse.

January 20, 1881: To the boon of government cannon on Punchbowl,

the music of Berger's Royal Hawaiian Band playing "Home, Sweet Home",

and salutes of ships in Honolulu Harbor, Kalakaua departed for a tour

to the world, the first ruler in history to do so while on the throne.

He would return with assurances of: immigrant workers for sugar-

plantations, furnishings for his palace, cannon from Austria, and two

jeweled crowns from England for his coronation.

October 29, 1881: King Kalakaua returned to a magnificent re-

cption: triumphal arches, torches blazing at noonday (a symbol be-

longing solely to his family), and extravagant adulation of every de-

scription. He anxiously checked on the progress of his new palace.

January 27, 1882: A Masonic banquet celebrated completion of

the palace. Its architecture was described as "in the ornate style

known as 'American composite'...120 by 140 feet on the ground plan

towering 80 feet into the air." Everyone agreed that it was "the

finest and most imposing building in the Islands, an honor and an or-

nament to our capital city, and a fitting abode for royalty." It

cost $343,595.00, according to Sanford Dole.

November 4, 1882: The palace was equipped for lighting by gas.

February 12, 1883: The coronation of King Kalakaua and Queen

Kapiolani, nine years after their ascension to the throne, took place

in a pavilion built at the foot of the King Street stairs (today it

is a bandstand at the King and Richards Street corner of the palace

grounds). The King's two sisters, also two of the Queen's, marched

in the procession. The ritual was a combination of old and new,

there being five insignia of ancient supreme chieftancy and five sym-

bols of contemporary royalty. These latter included the crowns, car-

ried by Kapiolani's nephews, Princes David Kawananakoa and Jonah

Kuhio Kalanianaole, and eighteen orders conferred on Kalakaua by for-

eign powers over the years. As under the dome of Notre Dame Cathed-

ral Napoleon had taken the crown into his own hands and placed it

upon his head, so did Kalakaua in a Hawaiian pavilion crown himself

that day. There was no Hawaiian of higher blood rank present to do

it for him.

December 16, 1883: The king proudly inspected samples of the

newly minted coins, embossed with his own likeness, that were deliv-

ered to the palace for the first time.

April 18, 1886: The household guards and King Kalakaua himself

helped fight a great fire in Chinatown. Sixty acres of tenements and

stores were destroyed. Six to eight thousand were left homeless.
November 16, 1886: The jubilee anniversary of Kalakaua's birthday was celebrated. A reception began at six o'clock in the morning. All day long loyal subjects and loyal friends - as well as political favor-seekers - filed by Their Majesties in the throne room, each visitor depositing his hookupu - gift - at the king's feet.

February 2, 1887: Princess Likelike, sister of Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, lay in state in the throne room. Her death left motherless the little Princess Kaiulani.

April 12, 1887: Queen Kapiolani and Princess Liliuokalani departed for Queen Victoria's jubilee celebration, bearing Hawaii's gifts and aloha.

June 30, 1887: All shops closed on the occasion of a mass meeting called by foreign businessmen, self-styled "The Reformers", to protest the king's use of his veto powers to oppose interests they favored. Twenty of the party were bound by oath that any five should "execute him (Kalakaua) for the public good." One, in fact - Volney Ashford, head of the Reformers' armed trainees (the Hawaiian League) - cornered the king in Iolani Palace during the afternoon's meeting and at gun point extorted $5,000 from him. Kalakaua forestalled any further violence by sending a spokesman to the meeting to yield to whatever demands were made upon him. The surprised Reformers quickly drafted a new constitution - referred to as the Bayonet Constitution - which the king signed. Thereafter he was a mere figurehead.

November 3, 1887: At the opening of the legislature Kalakaua reported that the 1875 Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States had been extended for seven years; in addition, the U. S. secured the right to use Pearl River as a coaling and repair base for American warships. The U. S. never made use of this right until after Annexation.

December 28, 1888: A mule-drawn tramway began running on King Street in front of the palace.

January 24, 1889: Writer Robert Louis Stevenson, aboard his yacht Casco, arrived in Hawaii. Kalakaua and he became fast friends, spending much time together in the Bungalow, built on the palace grounds for the king to occupy while the palace itself was under construction. Here they pored over a collection of The Myths and Legends of Hawaii.

June 27, 1890: For millinery reasons ladies at the palace - or in all Honolulu for that matter - were intrigued by Dr. Trousseau's new ostrich farm, stocked by importing three birds from California.

November 25, 1890: King Kalakaua left his palace to board the USS Charleston; he was bound for San Francisco in search of health. But he died in that city on January 20, 1891.

January 29, 1891: Liliuokalani was proclaimed queen.

February 15, 1891: King Kalakaua lay in state in the throne room.

February 25, 1891: The cabinet resigned at the queen's request. From this time forward she had only trouble in trying to re-assume the royal powers her brother had yielded.

August 27, 1891: John Owen Dominis, the queen's consort, lay in state in the throne room. He had been ill for a long time.
January 14, 1893: Queen Liliuokalani attempted to abrogate the hated Bayonet Constitution of 1887 and proclaim a new one, but her cabinet would not sign the latter, although they had led her to believe they would. She appeared on the palace balcony and told the crowd of Hawaiians gathered because of the rumored change to go home quietly, and (later) that through methods provided in the existing constitution a new one would be promulgated. Meanwhile a Committee of Safety (Reformers of 1887) declared a state of emergency, claiming that "riot and bloodshed were imminent."

Within the next three days events moved quickly: the Committee declared a provisional government to uphold the constitution against which the queen had rebelled; by doing this, they argued, the monarchy had abrogated itself. The American minister recognized the new government promptly and, by request, landed 300 U. S. marines and bluejackets "to protect American property and lives." His action thwarted any armed protection of the monarchy. At sundown on January 17 the queen capitulated, protesting to the United States government "...that I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, John L. Stevens, has caused the United States Troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared he will support the Provisional Government."

February 1, 1893: Across the street from the palace the American flag was hoisted over the government building.

March 17, 1893: Several rare and valuable kahili - royal standards - were stolen from the throne room during the night.

April 1, 1893: Commissioner Blount, sent by President Cleveland to investigate the extent of American participation in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani, ordered the lowering of the American flag flying from the government building. He said it had been raised prematurely. Hawaiians on hand for the ceremony were asked by an Englishman why they did not cheer when the Stars and Stripes came down. Though overjoyed at the reinstatement of his own flag, one replied, "After all, it is their flag, and we do not want to make them feel bad."

April 2, 1893: Ryan, a derelict seaman temporarily conscripted into the citizens' guard of the provisional government, was on duty in the palace basement. From a locked container he stole what he later testified was a paste crown with artificial jewels. In reality it was Kalakaua's crown, from which Ryan tore the diamonds, rubies, and semi-precious stones. He then threw the golden taro leaves and their circlet onto the latrine roof, where they were later discovered. The jewels he gambled away or sold to a hack driver. With his two accomplices, Richard Stone and William Wagner, he was committed to Oahu Prison, where he had spent two months in 1887 for another offense. Ryan and Stone soon escaped and signed on ships leaving the islands. After exhaustive search, some of the smaller diamonds were recovered by a sheriff in remote Arkansas. The legislature ordered the royal crown restored in 1930.

June 2, 1893: The Executive and Advisory Councils passed the following resolution: "The offices of the Executive Council shall be in Iolani Palace, which shall hereafter be the seat of government and
shall be known as the Executive Building."

June 3, 1893: Troops moved into the basement of the executive building while the minister of the interior made himself at home in the dining room. Minister of Foreign Affairs and President Sanford Ballard Dole occupied the former king's bedchamber and library. The attorney-general's office was in the ex-queen's bedchamber. The former throne room was to be used for council meetings, public receptions, audiences, etc.

July 4, 1894: Since the United States rejected the possibility of annexation for the time being, formation of the new Republic of Hawaii was announced from the executive building balcony. Sanford B. Dole was president.

January 6, 1895: A group of citizen guards quartered in Kala-kaua's old bungalow on the executive building grounds rushed to Diamond Head to quell a rumored royalist uprising under the leadership of Robert Wilcox. One government man and two royalists were killed before the rebellion was squelched within a few days.15

January 16, 1895: Ex-Queen Liliuokalani was arrested for mis-prison of treason and imprisoned in the upstairs waikiki-makai corner room of the palace. She had one companion.

January 17-February 20, 1895: A military court of the Republic of Hawaii tried the ex-queen and 190 others accused of treason against the republic. It met in the former palace throne room. Liliuokalani was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of $5,000. Others were fined, imprisoned, or exiled, and three were sentenced to death. These latter sentences were never executed, however.

January 24, 1895: Liliuokalani signed a formal abdication and an oath of allegiance to the Republic of Hawaii.

September, 1895: The ex-queen was released from her palace prison, but was still held in protective custody at Washington Place. Her fine was never collected.

October 26, 1896: A council of state held in the throne room voted a full pardon for the ex-queen.

July 7, 1898: Because of desperate need for Pearl River as a coaling station to support the Philippine campaign of the Spanish-American War, President McKinley signed a Congressional joint resolution annexing Hawaii.

July 13, 1898: Since no cable yet connected Hawaii and the U. S., the islands had to wait until this date for the Pacific Mail SS Coptic to bring annexation news from San Francisco.

June, 1898: Even before news of annexation arrived, Honolulu had entertained the "boys in blue". At one time on the executive building grounds residents provided for the military and naval forces of two fleets by giving them a huge week-long picnic, seating from 1,000 to 1,500 guests a day. Honolulu families volunteered huge quantities of eatables, and a steam boiler erected on the grounds made coffee.

August 12, 1898: The annexation ceremony took place at Iolani Palace. Henri Berger led the band. At the day's end he wrote in his journal with characteristic brevity: "The day is done. Flag is raised. We are all Americans. Pau Hawaii."

October 7, 1899: Across the street from the palace, ice water
first became available - in the opera house.

October 9, 1899: The Honorable H. R. Baldwin tried out the islands first automobile, going down King Street past the palace at fourteen miles per hour.

June 14, 1900: Governor Sanford B. Dole was inaugurated on a specially-constructed platform on the Diamond Head side of the palace. The platform was used for dancing at the inaugural ball that night.

Fall election, 1902: Jonah Kuhi Kalanianaole who, as Queen Kapiolani's nephew, had carried one of the crowns at Kalakaua's coronation, and had also been convicted along with Liliuokalani for treason against the republic, was elected Hawaii's second delegate to Congress.

January 1, 1903: The Commercial Pacific Cable Company's connection was completed at Waikiki. That night from the palace Hawaii's Secretary Cooper talked to President Theodore Roosevelt and received the latter's congratulations.

November 23, 1903: Governor George R. Carter was inaugurated in the throne room.

May 12, 1907: A party of U. S, Congressmen, inspecting Hawaii's qualifications for statehood, toured the palace.

August 15, 1907: Governor Walter F. Frear was inaugurated in the throne room.

June 21, 1908: David Kawananakoa, the other princely bearer of Kalakaua's crowns, lay in state in the throne room.

June, 1911: John Philip Sousa's band, on world tour, stopped in Hawaii and gave a concert on the executive building grounds.

December 14, 1911: Governor Frear and other officials deserted executive building offices to attend opening ceremonies at Pearl Harbor.

December 31, 1913: Governor Lucius E. Pinkham arrived at the palace on the last night of the year after a parade from the ship that returned him to Hawaii from Washington, D. C., where he had taken his oath of office.

August 2, 1914: A ceremony honored Captain Henri Berger for his more than forty years' service as conductor of the Royal Hawaiian Band. His last official duty occurred in June, 1915, at the interment of Charles Reed Bishop's ashes in the Kamehameha tomb at the Royal Mausoleum.

August 7, 1914: On this day, three days after England declared war on Germany, the first of a dozen German ships sought refuge in Honolulu Harbor. Until America's entry into the war almost four years later, Governor Pinkham conducted from his executive building offices intermittent and sometimes frantic cable exchanges with Washington concerning the disposition of the vessels.

April 5, 1917: By this time all enemy ships in or leaving island harbors were either damaged or destroyed. From this date they were repaired and converted into American craft, if possible.

April 6, 1917: The throne room was turned over to the Red Cross for making clothing, bandages, etc. "The gilded throne, from which Kalakaua ruled in state, was moved out. The bright crimson carpets were taken up, so that the floor might be scrubbed daily. The pictures of the kings and queens of Hawaii were shrouded with white cheesecloth and even the glittering chandeliers were covered." Long
white tables were placed for maximum work efficiency in both the throne room and on the outside lanai - porches.

September 14, 1917: The Red Cross flag, a gift to the Honolulu chapter from Liliuokalani, was raised above the capitol (executive building) - the first time that such a flag had been displayed on any building in Hawaii, excepting the military hospital.

November 1, 1917: To select men for military service in World War I, Governor Pinkham drew the first draft numbers in the senate chamber of the capitol.

November 11, 1917: On this opening day of Hawaii's mobilization camp, named for the aged Liliuokalani, the former queen of the islands passed away. Not only did the recruits encamp to flags at half mast; the entire Territory was in mourning. Later Liliuokalani lay in state in her one-time throne room.

June 22, 1918: Governor Charles J. McCarthy was inaugurated in the throne room.

September, 1918-July, 1921: From Red Cross quarters in the throne room went people and supplies for the relief of diseased and starving thousands of Central Europeans, refugees huddled along Siberia's Pacific shores. Hawaii's contributions were outstanding because of its nearness and its aloha spirit.

April 13, 1920: The Prince of Wales arrived. He paid an official visit to Governor McCarthy at the capitol.

July, 1921: Governor Wallace Rider Farrington was inaugurated on the capitol steps.

January 14, 1922: Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, Hawaii's delegate to Congress for nearly two decades, and the last of Hawaiian royalty to bear a title sealed with the seal of the vanished kingdom, lay in state in the throne room.

June 11, 1926: Sanford Ballard Dole - son of missionary parents, lawyer, revolutionist, head of the provisional government, president of the Republic of Hawaii, first governor of the Territory of Hawaii, and presiding judge of the federal district court - lay in state in the throne room.

August 10, 1926: The crown prince and princess of Sweden arrived. They paid an official visit to Governor Farrington at the capitol.

1930: The sum of $150,000 was appropriated to renovate the capitol. Workers replacing timbers discovered a giant cache of bees and honey. Reconstruction was completed in December. Steel girders, rafters, and uprights replaced wooden ones. A brick wall was laid around the banyan tree in the palace yard. The site of Hawaii's first royal mausoleum, also located in the yard, was cleared and fenced.

July 5, 1929: Governor Lawrence M. Judd was inaugurated on a platform erected in front of the capitol steps.

July 24, 1934: President Franklin D. Roosevelt visited the former palace and gave a speech in which he echoed a desire voiced by Curtis P. T.aukea, once King Kalakaua's chamberlain, that the throne room be restored and opened to the public because of its great historic value.

March 1, 1934: Governor Joseph B. Poindexter was inaugurated in
the executive chambers (formerly Kalakaua's bedroom) with only a few intimate friends present.

March 21, 1935: The legislature passed a resolution rechristening the executive building Iolani Palace.

October, 1936-April, 1937: The islands' first large waterfront strike isolated Hawaii. The legislature, meeting in the palace, was powerless to interfere.

November 12, 1938: Restoration of the throne room was completed.

December 7, 1941: The first Japanese bombs fell in the attack on Pearl Harbor. The time: 7:45 a.m. At 9:30 a projectile landed near Governor Poindexter's driveway at Washington Place, and its fragments killed a passerby across the street. The governor hurried to his office in the palace; a second shell burst in the corner of the palace grounds. By 11:15 a.m. Poindexter was proclaiming a state of emergency over the radio. Before noon General Walter Short, commanding the Army's Hawaiian Department, discussed with the governor the advisability of martial law. A call was put through from Iolani Palace to the White House, and President Roosevelt agreed with Short on the need for martial law. At 4:25 p.m. Governor Poindexter proclaimed the suspension of civilian authority. The military was in command. During the day 57 persons were killed on Oahu, 50 hospitalized, 230 less seriously injured, and private property worth $500,000 was destroyed; these were civilian losses only, of course.

Office of Civil Defense headquarters were established in the Senate chamber of the palace (this room had once been the royal dining room). The throne room was filled with cots for nap-catching during the prevailing forty-eight-hour tours of duty. The palace basement became a Red Cross canteen. Hangings blacked out all windows. Barbed wire girdled the palace gates. Within a few months all rugs, paintings, chandeliers, etc., had been removed and stored for safekeeping.

March 28, 1942: Hawaii's quota of draftees was almost doubled as 2,645 men were inducted and given an aloha ceremony at Iolani Palace before one of the largest crowds assembled in Honolulu in years.

August 24, 1942: Governor Ingram M. Stainback was inaugurated at Washington Place, the palace being occupied by the military.

1943-1949: Housing was critically short in supply, and as many as eighteen people lived in a single room, using it in shifts. Even as late as 1948 an evicted family, unable to find quarters, camped on Iolani Palace grounds for several days among the temporary buildings squatting there.

March 10, 1943: "Restoration Day" ceremonies were held in the throne room to celebrate the return of civil law and authority - with minor exceptions.

July, 1944: Blackout curtains were removed from palace windows as blackout regulations were lifted.

August 12, 1945: A wild but premature celebration of VJ Day was set off by announcement from the mainland. Prohibited red firecrackers littered King Street in front of the palace. An official air raid siren blast triggered a repeat performance two days later.

September 3, 1945: Honolulu's VJ Day parade and ceremony took place at the palace.
August 9, 1946: A formal reception at the palace honored members of the 442nd and the 100th Battalions. These units, made up of Americans of Japanese ancestry, were the most decorated of World War II.

May 8, 1951: Governor Oren E. Long was inaugurated on a large platform erected at the foot of the palace steps.

February 28, 1953: Governor Samuel Wilder King, the first governor of Hawaiian blood, was inaugurated on a similar platform. It was the first such occasion since Kalakaua's coronation in 1883 on which heavy rain fell. The rain stopped, however, during the actual ceremony. Old Hawaiians nodded at the blessing thus accorded one of their race.

July 31, 1953: A new building for Hawaii's archives was completed on the palace grounds.

June 26, 1954: The state funeral of Joseph R. Farrington, the islands' delegate to Congress, was held in the throne room.

October 24, 1956: The first of several Aloha Week pageants depicting the history of Iolani Palace was produced against the King Street facade.

September 2, 1957: Governor William F. Quinn was inaugurated; he proved to be Hawaii's last appointed chief executive.

March 12, 1959: From Washington, D. C., Governor Quinn telephoned to Iolani Palace that the Hawaii statehood bill had passed Congress. At last Hawaii was a part of the U. S. in the fullest sense - an equal of her forty-nine sister states.

NOTES


2. Except as otherwise indicated, all information was obtained at the Archives of Hawaii by a column-by-column scanning of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser (later the Honolulu Advertiser), beginning in 1872. Items mentioned appeared in the newspaper on the first publication date following the occurrence of the events.

3. Letter, June 29, 1876, IDF.

4. Letter, March 2, 1879, IDF.

5. Letter, November 19, 1879, IDF.

6. Letter, IDF.

7. Letter, December 10, 1879, IDF.

8. Letter, IDF.

9. Letter, December 14, 1879, IDF.

10. Letter, December 16, 1879, IDF.

11. Letter, January 17, 1880, IDF.


15. B. L. Marx, Recollections of the Republic of Hawaii (Honolulu
TROUBLE ON THE WATERFRONT

by

Richard A. Greer

Shortly before nine o'clock on the morning of Thursday, November 10, 1853, knots of weatherbeaten men hurried along the streets and alleys of Honolulu's waterfront. They were masters of whalers and merchantmen riding out in the harbor. Their destination: the new court house on Queen Street. Their purpose: to set pay scales for sailors and dock workers.

Inside the court house Captain Israel West took the chair, and the discussion began. The skippers hammered out a resolution:

Whereas, in the opinion of the ship masters at this port a uniform price to be paid for wages of laborers by ship masters in this harbor, and of lays and wages from this port, would be of equal advantage to laborers, owners, and ship-masters...

Therefore, merchants and shipmasters should establish: (1) a standard wage of $1.50 found, and $2.25 for those keeping themselves, for a day's labor of ten hours; (2) a standard rate of $12.00 a month for sailors shipping for monthly wages, either on a short season's cruising or on a return home passage; (3) a limit of $25.00 for any and all advances to seamen, and; (4) a rule that shipmasters not pay crews for discharging vessels in Honolulu.

This was the captains' answer to seamen and Hawaiian laborers, who were pressing for more pay. On the night of Saturday the twelfth the seamen held their meeting. The result was that on Monday morning they were "...early in commotion about the wharves..." - striking.

The strikers boarded one or two vessels where men continued to work and drove them from their jobs. In the afternoon more than 1,000 sailors paraded the streets with fife and drum. Many native laborers joined them, but by Wednesday most of these had agreed to work for the $1.50 offered. Some of the seamen tried to stop them, but they could not get solid backing from their shipmates. This doomed the strike. Honolulu police were able to protect the workers.

Most of the strikers held out, and seemed likely to do so until they had spent all their money - a short process, in the U. S. Commissioner's view. He predicted that "...the grog shops and the
native women will soon empty their pockets." And such, apparently, proved to be the case.

But the strike may not have been fruitless. At the end of the month sailors' wages in merchant vessels were $25.00 monthly, and laborers' hire ran from $2.00 to $3.00 a day. Gains came hard in the Honolulu of 1853, however. The great smallpox epidemic stagnated retail business. Sailors were in plentiful supply. And organized labor was a thing of the future.

NOTES

1. Polynesian, November 12, 1853.
2. Ibid.
4. Several thousand sailors were in town at the time. The Polynesian of October 29 reported 106 ships in the harbor - 85 whalers, 13 merchantmen, 2 men-of-war, and 6 coasters.
5. Severance to Marcy, Number 97, November 17, 1853.
6. Ibid.
7. Polynesian, November 26, 1853.
8. Polynesian, July 9, 1853.
9. Polynesian, December 17, 1853.

THE DEADLY DON

by

Richard A. Greer

It is a long run - some 5,000 miles - from Valparaiso to Papeete. In the late spring of 1841 the American bark Don Quixote, 260 tons burthen, plowed its way along this path. Captain John Paty was bound for Honolulu via Tahiti, on the home passage of a round trip to Chile. A few days out of Valparaiso it came - the sudden high fever and nausea, the blinding headache and the back pains, the dreaded rash, and finally, on the ninth day, the pustules that can turn a man into a mass of putrefaction. Eight Hawaiians made up half of the Don's crew. Six of them caught the pestilence; before Tahiti was raised they were dead. Two lucky Hawaiians, already immunized, escaped the fatal virus.

On June 12 the Don Quixote made port. Paty warned off the pilot, who reported the sickness on board. Governor Paraita of Tahiti conferred with his advisers among the foreign residents. All agreed the vessel should stand off. What happened next is in dispute. Paty, reporting twelve years after the event, said that the Don Quixote lay under quarantine for fifteen days, that she stayed...
only three days after quarantine was lifted, that she employed a few Tahitians on board while in Papeete, and that about three days after she left, one of the employed men fell ill.6

Samuel R. Blackler was the U. S. consul at the Society Islands. At the time he was locked in bitter controversy with the Tahitian authorities.7 The Tahitians, trying to oust Blackler, told this story: When the sickness became known, Paraita urged that the Don Quixote stop at Matavai, a few miles east of Papeete. Within less than a week Blackler declared the bark safe and demanded she be brought to Papeete, to discharge and copper. Paraita refused, but the Don entered port. The consul then insisted that cargo be landed. Again Paraita refused. On June 17 Blackler handed the governor a paper threatening a penalty of $40,511. Paraita, though still withholding consent, relaxed vigilance. On June 19 those aboard the vessel came ashore near Blackler's house and discharged and sold goods. Soon after the bark sailed a white man died of the pestilence, and two Tahitians soon shared his fate. By August the disease was devouring the island. Blackler, knowing the horror carried in the Don Quixote, was a deliberate killer.8

Paraita's letter charged many other sins to Blackler's account. The consul attacked it as an "accumulation of falsehoods", without making direct reference to the epidemic.9

Just how long was the quarantine? The evidence is inconclusive. Blackler did issue the Don Quixote a bill of health, but as usual did not record the date of the fee.10 Was the consul guilty of mass murder? We known only that he survived the accusation.11 This fact, however, is certain: In June of 1841 Honolulu's deadly Don brought smallpox to Tahiti.

NOTES

1. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
4. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
5. Paraita to the President of America, August 18, 1841. Despatches, Vol. 2. Governor Paraita acted as regent during the absence of Queen Pomare IV, who was visiting the island of Eimeo.
6. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
7. Long-standing friction existed. In January, 1841, the Tahitians requested Blackler's recall, charging flagrant disregard of the laws of the land (Buareia to the President of America, January
Despatches, Vol. 1). Blackler countered with a long recital of outrages, enclosing numerous depositions (S. R. Blackler to French Forrest, Commanding the U. S. Corvette St. Louis, March 1, 1841. Despatches, Vol. 1). Then, on May 31, Tahitian soldiers attacked Blackler at his consulate as he tried to free two sailors from arrest and give them asylum (Blackler to U. S. Secretary of State, No. 32, June 5, 1841, and enclosed depositions. Despatches, Vol. 1). This question of the consul's right to remove Americans from Tahitian jurisdiction was a chronic hot issue.

8. This account is compiled from two letters: Paraita to the President of America, already cited, and Paraita to the Captain of the American Ship of War, undated (Despatches, Vol. 2). The captain addressed was J. H. Aulick, commanding the U. S. S. Yorktown. He was in Papeete during July and August, 1841.

9. Blackler to Daniel Webster, U. S. Secretary of State, No. 47, September 26, 1842 (Despatches, Vol. 2). Blackler said the letter to Aulick was the work of J. A. Moerenhout, former U. S. and current French consul at Tahiti, who prepared it for Paraita's signature. An affidavit supported this statement (Samuel Wilson, July 30, 1841. Despatches, Vol. 2).

10. S. R. Blackler, "Consular Statement of Fees Received at the Island of Tahiti from January 1 to June 30, 1841," enclosed in despatch of July 3, 1841. (Despatches, Vol. 2).

11. Blackler died at his post in September, 1844 (George R. Chapman, Acting U. S. Consul, to U. S. Secretary of State, September 15, 1844 (Despatches, Vol. 2). Paty, who was a business partner of his brother in Honolulu in the 1840's, became one of the islands' best-known foreign residents, and a highly-respected one. In his account of the smallpox he said that by the time the Don Quixote reached Honolulu it was clean, and that the ship never transmitted another case of the disease (Polynesian, August 6, 1853).

THE FIRST HOLOKU
by
Barbara Lyons

When the brig Thaddeus anchored in Kawaihae Bay with the pioneer company of missionaries to Hawaii, the premier, Kalanimoku, known also as Billy Pitt, was rowed out to greet the newcomers in his canoed double canoe. He represented the young king, Liholiho, who was at Kailua, thirty miles to the south.

Kalanimoku was accompanied by three chiefesses: his consort, Likelike, and two dowager queens, Kalakua and Namahana, both of whom were widows of Kamehameha I. With these ali'i came the many attendants who formed their suite. It was the last day of March, 1820.

Members of the missionary group were: the Reverends Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston and their wives; Daniel Chamberlain, a
farmer, his wife and five children; Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Holman; Elisha Loomis, printer, and Mrs. Loomis; Samuel Ruggles and Samuel Whitney, teachers, and their wives. On board also were three Hawaiian helpers from the Cornwall School in Connecticut: Thomas Hopu, William Kanud, and John Honolii; and George, the son of King Kaumuali of Kauai.

Thomas Hopu, who went ashore first to tell of the missionar's coming, had urged that the chiefs be fully dressed. For their visit to the ship, the chiefesses were attired in pa'u with underslips of cotton, and the dowagers each had also a sort of over-dress, Kalakua's of striped calico and Namahana's of black velvet. The usual pa'u was a four-yard length of tapa, three or four feet wide, which was wrapped several times around the waist. It was generally made of five thicknesses of tapa, but in the case of these chiefesses, it was ten. The premier himself wore a white dimity jacket over a black silk vest, yellow nankeen pantaloons, white cotton stockings, shoes, a plaid cravat, and a top hat.

An entry in Lucia Holman's diary reads: 1

Krimakoo was well dressed in the English style; his wife was dressed in Chinese silk and tapper, one of the Queens in striped calico, and the other in black velvet trimmed around the bottom with an elegant gilt ribbon, and each in elegant wreath of yellow feathers curiously wrought around their heads, and all barefoot. Their gowns were made in the old continental style, with a long tight waist.

It was warm, and the chiefesses soon took off their over-dresses. Namahana had one of her attendants unwrap her pa'u so that she could also remove her underslip. Lucy Thurston wrote afterward that, as the queen waited to have the tapa wound about her again, "...she looked as self-possessed and easy as though sitting in the shades of Eden." 2

Kalanimoku joined the mission group for the noon meal, but the chiefesses preferred the poi and raw fish brought to them by their attendants. What interested them in particular during this visit was the dress of the missionary women, and when it was over they returned thoughtfully to Kawaihae. "The instinct for new fashions seems to be implanted in the breast of womankind." 3

The following day was Easter Sunday, and the ship remained at anchor, but on the Monday was ready to sail down the coast of Hawaii for a meeting with the king. Although his premier had received the company with friendliness, permission for them to stay must, of course, be obtained from Liholiho. Kalanimoku had agreed to sail on the Thaddeus, to explain the new arrivals to the young monarch, and he and his retinue boarded the vessel in the morning. Kalakua had with her a bolt of white cambric.

When the mission ladies realized what this signified, they were given pause to consider the problem of dressing a Hawaiian queen. Their own styles with the short waists, belts, narrow skirts, and long, tight sleeves, would be neither becoming nor comfortable to
the Polynesian figure. The chiefesses sat or lay about the deck, sometimes trying a little patchwork, while the missionary women studied them, designed and sewed.

By the time the Thaddeus hove to off Kailua on April 4, a new fashion had been invented. A full, straight skirt had been attached to a yoke, with sleeves resembling the close ones of the day. But the new style, loose and flowing, was better suited to the Island climate than the dresses worn by the mission ladies.

Kalakua made a dramatic approach to Kailua, wearing the first holoku. With it she wore an embroidered lace cap and neckerchief from America.

Crowds had gathered to see the strange ship and to watch the canoes coming in toward shore. "Men, women and children, from the highest to the lowest rank, including the king and his mother, were amusing themselves...swimming, floating on surfboards, sailing in canoes, sitting, lounging...dancing." As Kalakua stepped ashore in her new dress, she was "...received by hundreds with a shout."4

During the days following, while missionaries negotiated with Liholiho and then with his regent, Kaahumanu, the deck of the Thaddeus might have been taken for a sewing school. Other chiefesses wanted dresses, too. The mission ladies were kept busy fitting and sewing, and teaching the Hawaiians the art of needle and thimble - a rewarding service to them, as they saw the women becoming clothed. A large quantity of material was available, for the chiefs had received chests of silks, brocades and chintzes from traders in payment for sandalwood.

Tapa is not a durable material and cannot be washed, and for this reason as well as for the novelty, the new garments were very welcome. The holoku became the accepted dress, and only the old-fashioned continued to wear the pa'iu.

There are two versions of how the holoku became named. One is that the Hawaiian women cried, "Holo!" and "Ku!", meaning, "We can run in it - we can stand!"5 The more likely explanation is that, in teaching them to sew, the missionary women said, "Holo," meaning "Go", and "Ku," meaning "Stop".6

NOTES

4. Loomis, op. cit., p. 31.
This section of the Library of Hawaii began as a Hawaiian study alcove in 1927, though special attention had been given to Hawaiian material long before that. In 1930, a room off the Reference Room was devoted to circulating and reference Hawaiiana. In October, 1941, the collection was moved to a room in the mauka-ewa corner of the main floor, and Pacific island material was added. As of July 1, 1962, the collection consisted of 4,965 reference books, 8,646 circulating books, 27,011 pamphlets and clippings, 253 maps, and about 70 current periodicals.

The section is a complete miniature library within a library. Unlike some regional, special collections which are mainly historical, we answer questions about and provide material on sociology, business and industry, laws, folklore, sports, languages, anthropology, natural history, agriculture, cookery, literature, history, and so on. The purposes of the Hawaiian part of the collection can be divided into three categories: First, to maintain as complete a collection as possible of everything written about Hawaii; second, to maintain a collection that will provide answers to any questions about Hawaii; third, to maintain a circulating collection which will meet the needs and desires of patrons. No attempt has been made to collect all the books about the Pacific, and that part of the collection is a general reading and reference collection. The area covered is Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia. We do not include Arctic or Antarctic, Malaya, Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, or small islands just off the Asian and American continents.

Several indexes are maintained by this section. One is a subject index to legends in books, particular attention being paid to place and personal names. An author-subject index to local magazines is maintained; it is similar to the Readers' Guide but is on cards. Twenty-two magazines are being or have been indexed, and several more will be added. We index magazines as they are issued and are working backwards on the old ones, such as Paradise of the Pacific and The Friend. Carbon copies of our work slips are made for the holdings of the county libraries and are mailed to them, and the original slip is sent to Sinclair Library at the University of Hawaii when we have finished typing from it. A third index is a subject index to the Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. This was started in June, 1950. A separate index covers the period 1929 through May, 1950, but this was made by various people without much supervision and is not very systematic. The reason that June, 1950, was selected as the beginning date for the new index is simple: That is when we got a new catalog case in which to house it. Our work slips, when we have finished with them, are sent to Hawaii.
County Library. If we could discover a cheap and simple means of reproducing them, we would send copies to the other county libraries. Another of our card files is a listing of officers of clubs and institutions. Most of these names we get from newspapers, and we either type or clip and paste them on cards.

Every week-day afternoon about three o'clock the section becomes a crowded school library. This use continues, with some slack periods, until closing time. There is no doubt that the collection takes a great deal of physical punishment, and it makes the librarian sick to find a page ripped out of a bound 1874 set of The Friend and realize it is probably missing because of a school assignment. It is hoped that a new state historical library with the Phillips Collection as a nucleus can be developed. This would assume the historical, preservative, and research functions of the section. The section could then develop its role of general reading and reference collection, with emphasis on current material. It could develop a program for aiding students in cooperation with school libraries, and it could expand its Pacific collection so as to aid such people as businessmen looking for opportunities in the South Pacific, the vacation visitor to Tahiti or New Zealand, and the prospective emigrant to Australia.

CONTRIBUTORS: Lloyd Stone is the author-illustrator of For You and Hawaiian War Chant, creator of Aloha Week pageants, and civic worker. Barbara (Mrs. Raymond R.) Lyons is Associate Editor, for the island of Maui, of this journal. Clare Murdoch is librarian of the Hawaii and Pacific Section of the Library of Hawaii, main branch. R. A. Greer is the editor of this journal.
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. I, NO. 4

JULY, 1963

CONTENTS

MIGRATION STATISTICS OF HAWAII, 1823-1962 . . 59
Robert C. Schmitt

WHALER VERSUS MISSIONARY AT LAHAINA . . . . . 68
Jane Litten

THE LAHAINA RESTORATION FOUNDATION . . . . . 74
J. R. McConkey

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS. . . . . . . 76

* +
 *=O=* +
MIGRATION STATISTICS OF HAWAII, 1823-1962

by

Robert C. Schmitt

Human migration has been an important force in Hawaiian history for many years. More than twenty-two centuries ago, Hawaii's earliest inhabitants migrated to these islands. During the year ending June 30, 1962, more than 16,000 civilians moved to Hawaii and almost 8,000 moved away. Between these widely separated dates, great numbers of persons have migrated to or from the Islands, and in so doing have altered the character of Hawaii as well as of their own lives.

The long-term magnitude of this two-way movement is difficult to establish. Much has been written about the arrivals but relatively little regarding departures. Statistics are often lacking; where available, they exist only in scattered, little known sources or in unpublished form.

The present study is the result of an effort to pull together some of these data. Emphasis has been placed on statistical totals on in-, out-, and net migration available on an annual or decennial basis over a period of years. Passenger movement as such, which includes business and vacation travel as well as changes in residence, has been disregarded. Internal migration (moving, say, from Maui to Oahu, or from Kakaako to Kapahulu) has likewise been disregarded.

Limitations of time and space have unfortunately precluded analysis of migrant characteristics--their origin or destination, age, sex, race, marital status, education, or occupation--despite the obvious importance of such data.

Migration statistics fall into four broad categories. One consists of census tabulations on place of birth by place of residence; this type of data is a measure of "life-time migration." A second category is made up of passenger statistics on arrivals, departures, and the difference between the two series. A third class of migration data, intermediate in many ways between the first two, consists of census totals on current place of residence by place of residence on a specified earlier date. A fourth group includes such miscellaneous sources as follow-up studies of high school graduates, address-change studies of Social Security beneficiaries, and analyses of non-resident job-seekers.

Estimates on place of birth are available back to 1823. Romanzo Adams published a series on the number of non-Hawaiians living in Hawaii, and developed (but left unpublished) a comparable series on Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians absent from the Islands. 2 Adams's estimates pertain to race rather than place of birth, but prior to 1878 (when 947 Hawaii-born persons of foreign parentage were enumerated in the Islands) the two concepts were virtually synonymous. These series are shown in Table 1.

Census counts on place of birth by place of residence date back
to 1849. In that year, official census statistics on the foreign-born (as well as native-born) population of Hawaii were first compiled. A year later, the decennial census of the United States first offered data on the number of Hawaii-born persons living on the mainland. These subjects have been included in every census since that time, whether conducted by the Hawaiian government or the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Unfortunately, the data on Hawaii-born persons living elsewhere are limited to the continental United States for most years of the census, and thus exclude Islanders at sea, in U. S. territories or possessions, or in foreign countries. Hawaiians serving abroad as traders or whalers (included, incidentally, in Adams's estimates) were a sizable group in the 1840's and 1850's. So were those who had moved abroad, to places other than the United States. Reports for recent censuses include data on the age, color and sex of migrants in addition to geographic totals. Summary statistics from 1850 to 1960 appear in Table 2.

Quarterly and annual series on net passenger movement were initiated in July, 1859. These data were published in The Polynesian through the third quarter of 1863, disappeared for twenty-seven months, then resumed issuance in broadside form. From 1872 to 1900 they were published in the annual reports of the Collector General of Customs. Data for the first ten years of the present century appeared in a publication of the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor. The annual reports of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior extended this series to 1934; similar information, somewhat broader in coverage, appeared in Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for most of these years. After mid-1928, records were kept by the Territorial (later State) Department of Health. Separate totals were published for arrivals and departures, and until 1934 both series were presented by nationality or point of origin, often with separate totals for "men", "women", and "children". Coverage was not complete, however. From 1900 to 1905, data were limited to Orientals; from 1911 to 1934, to steerage passengers; and after mid-1940, to civilian passengers. Although not so stated, figures prior to 1940 probably excluded movements aboard military transports. Data for most of these series were confined to arrivals and departures for the Port of Honolulu, a restriction that was unlikely to exclude many overseas passengers. Purely inter-island travel was omitted in any case.

Passenger statistics must be used with considerable caution. As noted earlier, they include tourists and businessmen as well as migrants. Even the net passenger total (the difference between arrivals and departures) provides only a rough measure of migration. Such data may reflect growth in the number of visitors present (or residents absent) rather than a true migration. The data may also reflect turnover in a large body of high-fertility military couples (29.5 percent of all live births in Hawaii in 1960 occurred in military families): The babies are born and promptly move on, thereby increasing both the birth and out-migration rates. Statistics on net passenger movement are summarized in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6.

An alternate approach to migration analysis involves comparison of census totals on net change with data on natural increase (or
decrease) based on birth and death statistics. Net migration is computed as a residual, the difference between overall increase (or decrease) and natural increase (or decrease). The U. S. Bureau of the Census recently published state and county migration estimates prepared by this technique for the intercensal decade from 1950 to 1960. Decennial rates were carried by the present author back to 1900, when incompleteness of birth and death registration precluded further analysis. These estimates are cited in Table 7.

Immigration statistics were initiated in 1852. High mortality and reduced fertility had cut the Hawaiian population to less than one-third of its pre-contact level by the middle of the nineteenth century. The resulting shortage of plantation workers brought about passage of a law providing for indenture in 1850. On January 3, 1852, the first shipload of indentured Chinese coolies arrived. Annual totals on immigrant arrivals were eventually compiled and published by the Bureau of Immigration. The series was continued in reports of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, the Commissioner of Labor, and the Governor of Hawaii. Arrivals (and departures as well) were tabulated by nationality, often separately for "men", "women", and "children". The value of these statistics declined in later years, as emigration began to overtake immigration, and increasing proportions of the totals represented persons making temporary visits to their homelands or returning on a second or third contract. Annual totals for the last half of the nineteenth century are recapitulated in Table 8.

A monthly series on "intended residents" was begun in October, 1950. Passengers arriving aboard westbound civilian ships and airplanes are asked to complete a baggage declaration form for the State Department of Agriculture (previously the Board of Agriculture and Forestry). Additional questions regarding visitor status and characteristics were added at the request of the Hawaii Visitors' Bureau, which publishes monthly, quarterly or annual tabulations in its research reports. Data on "intended residents", initially limited to monthly totals in the HVB reports, are now analyzed in considerable detail by the State Department of Planning and Research. Annual counts since 1951 appear in Table 9.

A variety of new migration statistics has appeared in recent years. The 1950 U. S. Census contained a question regarding place of residence on V-J Day (for Hawaii residents) or April 1, 1949 (for persons enumerated on the mainland); the 1960 Census asked about place of residence in April, 1955. A follow-up survey of 1952 high school graduates was made in 1955. The American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers tabulated Fall 1958 enrollment statistics by state of residence and state of attendance. Since 1957, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin "consumer analysis", an annual survey sampling Oahu households, has included a question on residence one year earlier. The State Department of Labor and Industrial Relations occasionally studies labor mobility between Hawaii and the mainland. Data on aged Social Security beneficiaries moving to or from Hawaii were first compiled in 1961-1962. Tauber recently published net migration rates classified by age, sex, race, and county for the 1950-1960 period.
Now information is available regarding the migrations of the pre-contact period. Emory and his associates "are now sure of at least two migrations from central East Polynesia (if you can use the term migration for a canoe-load of migrants)"; the initial settlement, probably from the Marquesas Islands in the third century B.C., and migration from the Society Islands in the twelfth century A.D. Adams has even guessed at the size of these waves: "Probably the immigrant ancestors of the Hawaiians numbered not more than a few hundred persons...The comparatively large population (in 1778) was the result of natural increase plus a few canoe loads of later immigrants." The sources cited in the foregoing paragraphs provide historians with an exceptional array of quantitative information on Hawaiian migration. Statistics date back to 1823, when foreigners were first beginning to arrive in quantity and the whalers were starting to recruit island seamen in appreciable numbers. Detailed statistics are available from 1850, two years before the first systematic importation of foreign labor. Recent history, marked by rapid turnover in a large population of military personnel and their dependents, large-scale incursions of malihinis from the mainland, and a growing body of Hawaiian-born persons in California and elsewhere, has been documented in considerable depth by a diversity of statistical studies.

NOTES

2. Untitled MS in custody of Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii, p. 112.
8. Custom House Statistics, Hawaiian Islands... for 1872, p. 9;
1873, p. 9; 1874, p. 8; 1875, p. 8; 1876, p. 8; 1877, p. 9; 1878, p. 9; 1879, p. 9; 1880, p. 10; 1881, p. 10; 1882, p. 10; 1883, p. 10; and 1884, p. 10. Annual Report of the Collector General of Customs... for 1885, p. 22; 1886, p. 22; 1887, pp. 3, 23; 1888, pp. 5, 19-20; 1889, pp. 15, 16; 1890, pp. 16-17; 1891, pp. 16-17; 1892, pp. 16-17; 1893, pp. 19-20; 1894, p. 18; 1895, p. 12; 1896, p. 13; 1897, p. 29; 1898, table following p. 8; 1899, table following p. 14; January to June 14, 1900, p. 4.


11. Issues from 1912 to 1927.


15. Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1856, p. 278.


17. See footnote 9.

18. See footnote 10.


21. Ibid., pp. 3, 8, 12.

22. Ibid., p. 5.

23. Ibid., pp. 2-3, 4, 7, 12, 17, 18.

24. Ibid., pp. 6-7.


28. MS, p. 88.
### TABLE 1
NON-HAWAINIANS PRESENT AND HAWAIINIANS AND PART-HAWAIINIANS ABSENT, FOR HAWAII: 1823 TO 1884

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NON-HAWAINIANS PRESENT IN HAWAII</th>
<th>HAWAIINIANS ABSENT FROM HAWAII</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NON-HAWAINIANS PRESENT IN HAWAII</th>
<th>HAWAIINIANS ABSENT FROM HAWAII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2,816</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>4,194</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>5,366</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>6,047</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1,572</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>10,477</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>2,119</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>36,346</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE 2
POPULATION BORN OR LIVING IN HAWAII, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE: 1850 TO 1960 (INCLUDES MILITARY PERSONNEL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>LIVING IN HAWAII</th>
<th>BORN IN HAWAII +</th>
<th>NET CUMULATIVE IN-MIGRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>BORN ELSEWHERE</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>84,165</td>
<td>1,591</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>69,800</td>
<td>2,716</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>58,917</td>
<td>4,409</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>65,516</td>
<td>17,789</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>89,990</td>
<td>41,873</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>154,001</td>
<td>95,070</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>191,909</td>
<td>105,426</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>255,912</td>
<td>119,563</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>358,336</td>
<td>153,819</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>423,330</td>
<td>144,824</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>499,794</td>
<td>144,220</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>632,772</td>
<td>211,604*</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes 8,750 not reporting state of birth
NA: Not available
+ Excludes Hawaii-born persons at sea or living in other U. S. territories and possessions or in foreign countries

TABLE 3
NET PASSENGER MOVEMENT TO (+) OR FROM (-) HONOLULU: 1860 TO 1900
(Plus sign indicates excess of arrivals over departures; minus sign, excess of departures over arrivals. Excludes inter-island passengers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>+401</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>+3,665</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>+3,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>+46</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>+873</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>+4,302</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>+4,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>+36</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>+43</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>+2,877</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>+1,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863*</td>
<td>-123</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>-42</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>+7,452</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>+1,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>-25</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>+2,809</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>+2,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>+196</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>+3,552</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>+3,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>+224</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>+2,054</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>+1,627</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>+7,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>+76</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>+1,218</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>+903</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>+4,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>+163</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>+3,212</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>+2,143</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>+9,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>+279</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>+6,245</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>+1,305</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>+23,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA: Not available  
Source: Custom House statistics  
* First nine months = January 1 to June 14

TABLE 4
NET PASSENGER MOVEMENT OF SPECIFIED IMMIGRANT GROUPS TO (+) OR FROM (-) HAWAII, 1900 TO 1905, AND HONOLULU, 1905 TO 1910, EXCLUDING INTER-ISLAND PASSENGERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP, AREA, AND PERIOD</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans (Hawaii):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 14, 1900 to June 30, 1902*</td>
<td>-1,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1902 to June 30, 1904</td>
<td>+4,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1904 to June 30, 1905</td>
<td>-4,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1 to December 31, 1905</td>
<td>-2,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All immigrant groups (calendar years, Honolulu only):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>-6,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>+1,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>+7,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>+55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>-1,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910, first six months</td>
<td>+1,055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes arrivals before July 1, 1900  
**TABLE 5**

**NET MOVEMENT OF STEERAGE PASSENGERS TO (+) OR FROM (-) HAWAII: 1910 TO 1934**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR ENDING JUNE 30</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>YEAR ENDING JUNE 30</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>+34</td>
<td>1927=</td>
<td>-1,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>+3,481</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>-582</td>
<td>1927&quot;</td>
<td>+3,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>+7,303</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>-3,742</td>
<td>1928&quot;</td>
<td>+3,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>+1,292</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>+5,302</td>
<td>1929&quot;</td>
<td>-555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>-937</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>+4,351</td>
<td>1930&quot;</td>
<td>+1,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>+1,230</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>+2,378</td>
<td>1932=</td>
<td>-2,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>+1,141</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>+5,546</td>
<td>1933=</td>
<td>-9,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>-1,564</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>-3,679</td>
<td>1934=</td>
<td>-6,094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Port of Honolulu only, 1930-1934. Excludes inter-island passengers.
= Year ending June 30.
" Calendar year.
Source: Annual reports of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior (see narrative for full citation).

**TABLE 6**

**NET PASSENGER MOVEMENT, 1928 TO 1940, AND NET CIVILIAN MOVEMENT (INCLUDING MILITARY INDUCTIONS AND SEPARATIONS), 1940 TO 1962, TO (+) OR FROM (-) HAWAII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR ENDING JUNE 30</th>
<th>NET MOVEMENT</th>
<th>YEAR ENDING JUNE 30</th>
<th>NET CIV. MOVEMENT</th>
<th>YEAR ENDING JUNE 30</th>
<th>NET CIV. MOVEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>+867</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>+4,699</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>-7,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>+1,080</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>+30,119</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>-6,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>+1,560</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>-2,913</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>+4,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>-1,133</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>+3,814</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>+6,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>-8,240</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>-15,923</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>+12,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>-6,578</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>+3,192</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>+8,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>-1,990</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>-4,947</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>+6,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>-176</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>+3,423</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>+821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>-1,336</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>-21,499</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>+3,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>+2,238</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>-23,765</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>+8,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>-1,421</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>-11,895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>-2,618</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>-21,495</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7

**NET MIGRATION TO (+) OR FROM (-) HAWAII: 1900 TO 1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECADE</th>
<th>NET MIGRATION</th>
<th>PERCENT OF POPULATION AT BEGINNING OF THE DECADE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-1910</td>
<td>+33,325</td>
<td>+21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1920</td>
<td>+29,346</td>
<td>+13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>+37,045</td>
<td>+14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>-5,924</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1950</td>
<td>-15,695</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1960</td>
<td>+2,765</td>
<td>+0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>-23,637</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed forces</td>
<td>+26,402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 8

**IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN HAWAII: 1852 TO 1899**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ARRIVALS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ARRIVALS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ARRIVALS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ARRIVALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1,283</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>4,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>2,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>2,858</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>4,549</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>6,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3,547</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>3,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>5,723</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>4,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>3,927</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>5,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>9,892</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>3,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>4,363</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>8,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>5,194</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>3,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,784</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>10,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,429</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>19,932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data for Europeans limited to those "who came here under the auspices of the Board, and as a part of some organized scheme of immigration."

### Table 9

**INTENDED RESIDENTS ARRIVING IN HAWAII BY WEST-BOUND CIVILIAN CARRIERS: 1951 TO 1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>INCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL</th>
<th>EXCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL</th>
<th>CALENDAR YEAR</th>
<th>INCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL</th>
<th>EXCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,860</td>
<td>5,789</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>16,544</td>
<td>14,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>6,685</td>
<td>6,640</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>16,472</td>
<td>13,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>6,472</td>
<td>6,452</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>18,374</td>
<td>15,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>5,788</td>
<td>5,808</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>15,030</td>
<td>12,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>8,332</td>
<td>7,704</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>16,720</td>
<td>13,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>11,268</td>
<td>9,428</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>21,070</td>
<td>18,125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Whaler Versus Missionary at Lahaina

**by Jane Litten**

The ship dropped anchor in Lahaina Roads near midnight after being stuck three days in the channel for want of wind. The Reverend Mr. Stewart decided to go on shore immediately, choosing to risk a canoe ride through the pounding night surf rather than be further delayed. Less than two years earlier, in May of 1823, he and his family had come with the Richards family to found the Lahaina mission station. Now he had come to say goodbye. His wife's precarious health necessitated their sailing to the United States as soon as possible.

Also lying in the Roads was the English whale ship Daniel IV of London. Her captain, William Buckle, had become odious to the mission. On his previous stay he had taken aboard one of their church students, the young girl Leoiki. Before sailing he sent Leoiki to her chiefess, Wahine Pio, with eight gold doubloons, asking that the girl accompany him on his cruise. At first Wahine Pio refused, thinking that the captain would leave Leoiki off in some foreign land and they would never see her again. But Captain Buckle dined and talked over the matter. He added two more doubloons to the price and promised he would bring the girl back. Wahine Pio's hand went out for the money, and Leoiki went aboard with Captain Buckle. She sent three messengers to Mr. Richards asking his influence to get the girl released; but
there were no laws against it and no chiefs of enough power present to cause the bargain to be broken.

As Charles Stewart groped his way up from the landing to the mission enclosure to say his goodbyes, he did not know he had arrived at a time when the opposing moral views of Captain Buckle and the mission were being tested by physical force. At the door of Mr. Richards' house a voice called out to ask who he was. When he answered, "Mr. Stewart," a window was opened slightly and a musket thrust out. He was commanded to step up to the window to be identified. As soon as he was seen, the door opened. He went into a mission house full of armed guards, to be embraced by his friend, Mr. Richards. At the guarded bedside of Mrs. Richards, he heard the story. The mission house was under attack from the crew of the Daniel.

Returning from an eight-months cruise, the whalers had come ashore looking for girls. They found that while they were gone a new law had been passed prohibiting women from going off to the ships. To right the injury done them, the sailors had been ashore harassing the mission. The conflict had started five days earlier.

Just after sunset on the afternoon of October 5, 1825, two whalers called at the grass house of the Reverend and Mrs. Richards and asked to speak to Mr. Richards alone. He followed them to the door, where they expressed their resentment at the new law. They said that Mr. Richards had caused it to be enacted and should have it repealed at once. Mr. Richards replied that it was not he, but the chiefs, who had enacted the law, and that his only part had been to preach and teach the Seventh Commandment. He could ask the law's repeal only by telling the chiefs that God would be angry with them if they kept the law in force. He put it to the men whether he would be telling the truth and behaving as a Christian missionary if he told the chiefs that. After a half hour's conversation the sailors left.

Mr. Richards was just sitting down at the dinner table when another group of men came. They bunched about in the yard uttering insults while one of the men called in the window and came into the house. He scattered threats to destroy the missionary's property and to kill him and his family. Mr. Richards answered that in the cause of the salvation of the heathen they were equally prepared for life or death and could not retrace a single step they had taken. Mrs. Richards spoke up, saying that she had no one to protect her but her husband and her God and added, "I might hope that, in my helpless situation, I should have the compassion of all who are from a Christian country. But if you are without compassion, or if it can be exerted only in the way you propose, then I wish you all to understand, that I am ready to share the fate of my husband." Abashed by her words, the sailor said that of course he would not take part in any abuse, but that they had better watch the others. He withdrew, and the men in the yard went with him. Several men were employed to stand guard in the yard, and though one more sailor came during the evening, he was not let into the house.

The following day Mr. Richards was talking with some officers of an American ship when two drunk sailors came to the gate and yelled insults. Mr. Richards told the officers about the threats that had
been made, but they seemed to feel that it was none of their business. Mr. Richards then wrote to Captain Buckle, telling him what had been happening, and asking him to call. The captain did not come, but instead sent this reply:

Dear Sir:

I have received your note. My men are all on shore having left the ship during the night with the determination not to return on board again unless they obtained women. I have no command over them on shore and shall recommend your giving your consent to let them come on board after which all will be peace and quietness.

Yours truly,

William Buckle

On Friday morning as Mr. Richards was taking an early stroll in his yard, sixteen men came up to the house. Instead of coming into the yard, they went by. The path was so narrow that they had to walk single file; as each passed he called out oaths and threats. Then they went back to their ship. About nine o'clock in the morning, the ship's boat full of men, and flying what the natives said was a black flag, approached the shore. The trees at the landing hid them from view of the mission house, but when they came into sight, there were fifteen or twenty of them coming up to the yard. They were armed with knives, and one or two had pistols. A guard closed the mission gate as they neared. The sailor in the lead told him to open it. The guard refused, so the sailor drew his knife and made a thrust. The guard jumped back, but as the sailor went to open the gate, the guard again closed it. This time the sailor lunged, and his knife went into the wood of the gate. The four or five guards, being unarmed, retreated.

Mr. Richards, who had been watching from the window, saw the guards leave and moved to the back of the house, feeling that it would be a better place of defense if the men actually broke in. One of the sailors came up to the window calling for the missionary. While he was shouting abuse, natives with clubs and stones were gathering from all sides. Thirty natives entered the house by the back door. The sailors then left without offering any fight against the crowd.

William Richards quickly wrote to Hiram Bingham at the mission station in Honolulu, "We are yet alive, although an hour ago I had little hope of anything but immediate death....The men about forty in number from the ship Daniel, appear bent on having our lives, or our consent to the females going on board their ship. I need not tell you which we choose." He went on to say that the chiefs refused to guard them with arms and that although there were about a hundred people crowded into the house and yard, he was afraid a few resolute foreigners with knives could drive them all away.

Princess Nahienaena asked the Richards to sail with her in a double canoe to safety on Molokai. When they answered that they would stay in Lahaina, she sent a man for their month-old baby, saying she would keep it in the Fort where it would be protected.
During the day and in the early evening, sailors continued to stalk about the yard. They would come to the door of the mission house, profess their friendship, and beg to be allowed to come in. There was a constant commotion. When the sailors left, the chiefs increased the guard around the house and gave them weapons, which they had refused to do earlier.

Saturday, rumors went around that on Sunday the whole crew would make a coordinated attack on the mission. Mrs. Richards had been unwell and unable to go out for several months. Her husband, not wishing to leave her alone while he went to conduct the Sabbath service, arranged to hold it in the mission yard under the kou tree. Mrs. Richards, however, insisted on getting up and going to the church. As they walked through the village, they saw sailors all along the way, but none made the slightest comment. The day passed quietly, and they retired to an early sleep, only to be awakened by the arrival of Mr. Stewart.

The crew of the Daniel stopped harassing the mission, but with Captain Buckle they continued pressing the chiefs to do away with the tabu. They left Lahaina without having accomplished it. But the episode was not yet finished. The story of the conduct of the Daniel's crew was included in Mr. Richards' journal report to the American Board in Boston and was published by them in the Missionary Herald. That printed account was received two years later in Honolulu while Captain Buckle was in port. At the same time news came of another riot in Lahaina. The two incidents together inflamed passions in the foreign community so strongly that some demanded that Mr. Richards be put to death.

The later riot took place on October 23, 1827. Hoapili, the Governor of Maui, heard talk around the town of Lahaina that several of the women, including Mikabako and Nakoko, had gone off to the English whaleship John Palmer. This being against the tabu, Hoapili asked the ship's captain, who happened to be an American, to see that the women were put ashore. Captain Clark did not take the request seriously. For three days Hoapili asked. Finally, the captain told him that it was not right to withhold the women who went in the bad way or a man-of-war would come and destroy everyone. Hoapili insisted that the captain should send for the women himself or let the governor's boat go and search the ship. The captain refused, so Hoapili ordered his men to seize the captain's boat. Captain Clark threatened that his ship would fire on the town. Hoapili answered that if the ship should fire, he would take the captain to a place of safety and the people of the island would remain quiet; but if the men of the ship came ashore to fight, Hoapili would send his people to fight them. He said, "If you do not give me back the women, you and I will remain on shore, and you shall not return to your vessel. I have but one desire, and that is, the return here of the women."

The captain, in a state of high excitement, rushed off to the mission house. The crowd, fearing that he meant harm, ran ahead and cried, "Fasten the gate and do not let him into the yard of the missionary." Mr. Richards heard the crowd, and seeing his friend, Captain Clark, went to the gate and escorted the captain and the two
gentlemen accompanying him, into the house. There Captain Clark expressed his indignation at being kept on shore, claiming that the governor's action was completely unjustifiable, and added, "I have no doubt that within an hour of the time the news reaches my ship, that the town will come down."

A messenger from the governor arrived and asked the captain to go to the former's home. In the meantime, a boat from the ship Hope took a message off to the John Palmer, reporting the captain held on shore. In response the John Palmer's second mate arrived to receive his captain's instructions. They were that the ship was to fire on the town if Clark was not released in an hour, but that the guns were to be elevated so that they would not injure the mission house. A foreigner went to Mr. Richards with the news. Mr. Richards ran to the beach, hoping to catch the second mate and ask for a little delay, but the mate's boat had already shoved off with the crew firing a couple of pistols to indicate that they meant business.

Mr. Richards then went to Hoapili's, where he found Captain Clark and most of the chiefs gathered. Hoapili, in the face of so many foreigners, could not directly solicit the missionary's advice, but in a roundabout way sought a solution to the impasse. Mr. Richards indicated to Hoapili that though it was his duty as a chief to enact good laws and try to have them observed, prudence and forbearance were required. Mr. Richards also pointed out that all the people were aware of Hoapili's attempt to get the women back, and since the captain had agreed to settle the business by nine o'clock the next morning, it would be best to let him go. After some half hour's discussion, Hoapili sent his men for the captain's boat.

The messenger came back announcing that the captain's boat was ready. Just then the John Palmer hoisted a light to the mizzen peak, and the firing began. When the first ball hit the shore, Mr. Richards was with the chiefs. He ran back towards his home and had almost reached there when he saw the flash of the second gun. The ball whizzed over the roof of the mission house. After the third shot sounded, Mr. Richards and Mr. Bingham took their families to the cellar of the house for protection from flying stone if a ball should hit the house. After two or three more shots, the firing stopped. Captain Clark had got close enough to his ship to hail it.

The John Palmer sailed for Honolulu the next day without landing the women. Mr. Richards was told that Dr. Robinson, the ship's physician, had been the one who directed the guns at the mission house. Mr. Richards wrote to Mr. Chamberlain, "I am the more ready to believe this true from my previous personal knowledge of his character and also from the rash expressions which I heard from his own lips after the affair took place."

On the same day that the John Palmer fired on Lahaina, the brig Becket arrived in Honolulu from the United States. Included in its bundle of newspapers was the February, 1827 issue of the Missionary Herald, carrying Mr. Richards' journal account of the 1825 riot of the Daniel IV at Lahaina. The news immediately spread among the foreign community that in the article Captain Buckle was named as having bought a slave at Lahaina for $160. Captain Buckle, who happened to
be in port when the account arrived, was furious. He went with Mr. Charlton, the British consul, to demand that the chiefs punish William Richards. The consul said that in accordance with British laws against slavery, Captain Buckle could be hanged because of Mr. Richards' report.

Into this frenzied atmosphere sailed the John Palmer on the twenty-fifth, bringing news of the captain's boat having been seized and the captain's detention on shore. The foreign community was in an uproar, rumors circulated throughout the Hawaiian community of the crime of Mr. Richards and his impending death, and letters arrived in Lahaina by canoe saying to watch out for the foreign ships, and that they were going to level the town. Boki, and with him the king, sent word to take Princess Nahienaena to a place of safety, and as Boki put it, let foreigner deal with foreigner. Mr. Chamberlain wrote from the mission in Honolulu that if Captain Buckle's ship was sighted off Lahaina, all the women should be moved to a place of safety; if all the houses must be destroyed, let them be destroyed. People coming from the hills above Lahaina reported several ships that never materialized. Three brigs arrived bringing a message from Ka'ahumanu and the other chiefs asking Mr. Richards and Mr. Bingham and their families to come down to Honolulu. The chiefs of Maui and of the other islands were also called to assemble in Honolulu.

On November 13, the Richards and the Binghams arrived aboard the Niu. They were warmly welcomed by Ka'ahumanu, who waited for them in the Fort, then led them through town to call upon the king. She conducted them to the mission house, where she left them, saying, "Now, I have seen you safe at your own house."

The formal meetings of the chiefs were held two weeks later. The British consul and Captain Buckle reported to the chiefs that Mr. Richards should be put to death for his writings about Buckle. The king and his sister Nahienaena sent an edict to the meeting saying that they intended to prevent any violence against Mr. Richards. If he was in the wrong, he would be sent to his own country; if not, he would be justified and approved. Mr. Richards told the chiefs that he had indeed written the journal saying that Captain Buckle had paid $160 for Leoliki, but they themselves knew that this was true, that he had not lied. They agreed that it was so and decided to close the subject. The meeting did, however, go on to pass and proclaim three general laws: those against murder, adultery, and theft.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The most important accounts of the riots are in Mr. Richards' reports to the American Board as they appear in the Missionary Herald, February, 1827, in Missionary Letters, vol. 3, letter 138, December 6, 1827 and letter 145, August 13, 1829, in the Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

Other sources include:
Levi Chamberlain ms. Journals, October 23, 1827-January 8, 1828,
THE LAHAINA RESTORATION FOUNDATION

by

J. R. McConkey

Lahaina, the town and district comprising the western side of the island of Maui, was once the capital of the Kingdom of Hawaii and is in many other ways an area rich in Hawaiian history. It is therefore most fitting that Lahaina is about to become the first historically restored area in the Fiftieth State.

For years a number of interested citizens of Maui have hoped that existing historic structures, some of which are rapidly crumbling, might be restored and preserved before they completely disintegrated. A few years ago a fire which partially destroyed the cell block in the old prison proved to be the catalyst to set things in motion. An appropriation by the territorial legislature was made to start its restoration. The Maui Historical Society secured donations of material from several of Maui's larger businesses. The territorial prison at Olinda furnished labor and a local contractor supervised the job. Now the building is good for many years.

Since that time there has been an ever-increasing desire to save other sites as well as to restore many that have disappeared. In 1960 the County of Maui had an extensive study made and a very comprehensive plan set up which will result in an over-all restoration along the lines of Williamsburg, Virginia; Columbia, California, and similar projects. Then in 1962 an historical district ordinance was enacted and a Maui (County) Historic Commission organized. This commission will control the development and presently, working with the State Parks Division, a portion of the old fort wall, around the present court house, is being restored. This will be financed by a portion of the initial state appropriation of $100,000 toward the estimated cost of some $9,250,000 for the completed restoration of the entire area.

Early in 1961 it was felt by a number of civic-minded persons on Maui, as well as elsewhere in the state, that there was need for a private eleemosynary organization to work toward the historic restoration of Lahaina. There was no thought that this group would supplant or in any way conflict with any other group, governmental or private, which might be working toward the same goal. Rather, it was thought that this group could supplement the work of others, including work toward restoration and preservation of historic sites outside the
designated restoration area.

An organizing committee, consisting of Harold Hall, Sr., Louis van der Linden, and Colin Cameron, all of Maui, together with Robert Midkiff of Oahu, was appointed. These men set out to draw up a charter and by-laws. In this they were assisted by attorneys J. Russell Cades and Milton Cades. After a number of meetings the final drafts were approved and on June 23, 1962, a charter was issued by the Treasurer of the State of Hawaii to the Lahaina Restoration Foundation. This charter states that "The purpose of the Foundation is to take all necessary steps to accomplish and encourage private and public donations for investment, either alone or in cooperation with local governmental authorities, planning commissions and other civic groups, to restore the town of Lahaina on Maui to a physical state suggestive of or related to that existing in Lahaina during the period of the Monarchy."

Directors of the new Foundation are:

Mr. Colin Cameron
Mr. Louis van der Linden
Mrs. Bea Savage
Mrs. Frances Tester
Mr. Robert Ohata
Mr. J. E. Ednie
Mr. John Gregg
Mr. G. M. Fisher
Mrs. Walter Dillingham

Mr. J. C. Earle
Mr. Robert van Dyke
Mr. Robert Midkiff
Mr. Russell Cades
Mr. Vern Spackman
Mr. Harold Kent
Mr. Harry Field
Mr. Asa Baldwin
Mr. Richard Smart

At the organizational meeting the following officers were elected:

Mrs. Frances Tester, President
Mr. Colin Cameron, First Vice President
Mr. Robert Midkiff, Second Vice President
Mrs. Bea Savage, Secretary
Hawaiian Trust Company, Treasurer

Already gifts of cash and property worth thousands of dollars have been made to the Foundation and deposited with the treasurer. It is interesting to note that a tourist at the Pioneer Inn was so impressed with the whole scheme that he left ten dollars with the hotel manager as an anonymous gift to help with the project.

Membership in the Foundation is limited to the officers and directors, for the terms of their offices. This group will accept large donations and will make all arrangements for expenditures. However, it was felt that there was need for an auxiliary group to which anyone could belong and with a regular schedule of dues, thus enabling those who were only able to contribute limited amounts, to have a share in the restoration. Accordingly, "The Friends of The Lahaina Restoration Foundation" was established. It provides for many classes of membership: Honorary, no dues; Student, $1 per year; Educational, $2; Annual, $5; Contributing, $10; Sustaining, $50. A lump sum of $500 makes the donor a Life Member; $1,000 a Benefactor; $5,000 to $10,000 a Patron; more than $10,000 a Fellow.
Suitable membership cards and certificates have been made up, and already a number of people have joined. Dues as well as contributions made directly to the Foundation are tax deductible. Many who read this article will undoubtedly want to join and are invited to send in whatever amount they may desire to the Treasurer, Mr. Robert Rietow, c/o Pioneer Mill Company, Ltd., Lahaina, Hawaii.

Officers of The Friends of The Lahaina Restoration are:

Mr. Harold Hall, Sr., Chairman
Mr. Humio Okimoto, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Kay Boyum, Secretary
Mr. Robert Rietow, Treasurer

Soon after the formation of the Foundation became known, letters started coming in with offers to help in various ways. Volunteers included: The Hawaii Chapter, American Institute of Architects; Sunset Magazine; Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources; Mystic (Connecticut) Marine Historical Association; Sports Illustrated; Old Sturbridge Village (Massachusetts) Museum; New Bedford Whaling Museum; Hawaii Governor's Cultural Commission, and many others.

Suggestions as well as assistance in planning and in financing are welcomed. Communications should be addressed to The Lahaina Restoration Foundation, P. O. Box 27, Lahaina, Hawaii. It is hoped that in a subsequent issue of this Review a progress report on the first projects will appear, and that in the not too distant future Lahaina will be internationally recognized as a masterfully-restored historical area.

CONTRIBUTORS: Robert C. Schmitt is statistician for the Department of Economic Development of the State of Hawaii, and a prolific writer with many published articles to his credit.

Jane Litten is a reference librarian at the Library of Hawaii, Main Branch.

J. R. McConkey is an officer of the Lahaina Light and Power Co., and writes a newspaper column as the "West Side Bird".

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.

Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814111. Months of issue are October, January, April, and July. Price of single copies, as available: 25 cents.
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. I, NO. 5 OCTOBER, 1963

CONTENTS

THE OLD COURT HOUSE ON QUEEN STREET . . . . 77
Richard A. Greer
Drawings by Christopher Shinall

HAE HAWAII . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 93
Colleen Hanai

ANNOUNCEMENTS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 103

* +
**=O=* + *
*
THE OLD COURT HOUSE ON QUEEN STREET

by

Richard A. Greer

Drawings by Christopher Shinall

Queen Street, between Fort and Bishop, is a busy auto lane by day, a stretch of road to hurry through on the way to or from somewhere else. It attracts relatively few pedestrians at any hour. But a century ago and more it was a nerve center of government and the scene of brilliant social life.

The magnet that drew the crowds was Honolulu's court house, built near the end of Kamehameha III's reign, and in those days a city landmark. It still stands, unmarked, little noticed, but sturdy and clean of line.

The first courts in the islands were held nearby at Governor Kekuanaoa's stone house within the old fort of Honolulu. "Here," wrote a journalist in 1857, "criminals and offenders of all sorts were summarily disposed of in the 'good old days' when we had little law and less equity." By the late 1840's, however, the judicial arena found quarters in other people's houses. At the end of 1846 the king's privy council resolved "To advance to C. H. Nicholson $1,000 and to take a mortgage on his house. It is to be turned into a court house for the foreign judges and Hopkins' house for a district court house, said houses however to be put in good condition."

An act to organize the judiciary department of the Hawaiian Islands was passed in September, 1847. It set up a superior court and otherwise assembled the machinery of law and order. The question then arose: Where to quarter the new superior court? Money to build a court house was appropriated, but in 1847 the kingdom's finance board shifted the funds to a printing office project; meanwhile, a government building was fitted up to serve the superior court. This building stood between Fort Street and Garden Lane, adjoining the premises of the Catholic church, on what was formerly Mr. Paty's lot; it was later occupied by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

But the court house question was not so easily settled. Early in 1848 the privy council was at it again. This time it authorized the premier to put up a structure suitable for all the judges of Honolulu, and also for the legislative chambers, on a lot near Mr. Marshall's place. The premier was to work up for the purpose the materials used in and collected for the completion of the late Mr. Richards' house.

This looked promising. More than two years passed, though, without action. In the spring of 1850 the Polynesian called attention to the urgent need for a court house and penitentiary. The court room then in use was intolerably stuffy; to serve on a superior court jury was a trying experience which only the "usual high respect for the authorities..." persuaded some to undertake. Records and documents demanded better protection than a frail wooden building gave. The newspaper proposed a new court house on the same convenient site.

But the matter proved to be a stubborn problem. On May 2, 1850,
the privy council appointed a committee to "...take into consideration the propriety of immediately constructing a substantial court house in Honolulu." On May 20 its report was referred to Chief Justice William L. Lee for his comments. The report favored building a court house and jail combined; if this was not practical, the jail should come first. A set of plans was attached.

Lee approved the idea of a court house with a jail beneath, and Lee, A. B. Bates, Young (Keoni Ana, premier and minister of the interior), and Governor Kekuanaoa were instructed to draft revised plans and get cost estimates.

Four months later, on September 25, this second committee submitted plans of Messrs. Brandon and Wood of Honolulu; these plans stipulated a two-story building, 85 by 65 feet, with a jail in the basement. The estimated cost of a coral building "...in the most substantial manner..." was $26,000.

On October 2 the minister of the interior was instructed to go ahead with these plans. The site chosen was mauka of Mauna Kilika, a government building situated as shown in the following sketch (not drawn to scale):

```
QUEEN STREET

OLD FORT OF HONOLULU

Mauna Kilika

WATERFR

But three weeks later Bates objected to this location, arguing that it would be impossible to get a good foundation there, since solid rock lay more than eight feet below the surface in some places. So the privy council appointed Bates, G. P. Judd, and John II to select another site and report it and its cost to the next council meeting. The Polynesian opposed this move, pointing to the "...extensive facilities, now entirely useless, occupied by the dilapidated fort and all along the water front on both sides to eastward and westward."

Nevertheless, Judd reported that the committee had found a good situation, held by a private owner, south of Mr. Shillaber's lot (this would be just mauka of the present Honolulu Post Office). The privy council approved buying a site running southerly of Shillaber's
house from King to Fort Street, provided it could be bought for a price not above the estimated value of the Mauna Kilika lot.20

This was on November 11, 1850. On March 8, 1851, the Polynesian complained of delay, noting that some months since the location had been fixed and the ground staked out. But after a few days' work the site had been abandoned because of the depth of water discovered on the foundation rock. The newspaper urged action, at a new place if necessary, on the grounds of comfort and the need for safekeeping of records. Its question—a familiar one—was, "Who is in charge of this matter?"

Affairs dragged on. Early in April the cabinet council agreed to try to get the property of a Mr. St. John for a court house and prison.21 In the middle of the month Justice Lee called for immediate progress. By this time he had changed his mind, and proposed that the court house and the prison be built separately but simultaneously.22 He suggested the old site (Paty's lot adjoining the Catholic church) for a court house. The cabinet council decided that a committee should bring forward a report on this, and that the same committee should try to find a place for a jail.23

On the same date Judd, Lee, and Ii reported to the privy council that they were unable to select and purchase a site for a combined jail and court house. They therefore recommended that the two projects be erected on separate lots, and that the minister of the interior go ahead with the court house on the lot then occupied for the purpose, namely, the Paty lot. They further recommended that a suitable person be employed as a superintendent of public works to oversee construction. This superintendent should have power, in conjunction with the minister of the interior, to alter the accepted plan as might seem proper.24

The privy council adopted this report, instructing the minister of the interior to proceed with the court house forthwith and to employ a competent clerk for the superintendence of public works, to supervise building.25 In the middle of May the minister of the interior told the legislature that he had appointed a skilled foreign superintendent, adding that the official's pay would have to be provided for by law.26

The Polynesian made an eleventh-hour attempt to push a prison project ahead of the court house. On June 7, 1851, it urged that the former take precedence, although a court house seemed to be first on the list of public buildings about to be erected by the government. The same newspaper article made oblique, but approving, reference to the fact that plans had been drawn with the object of providing a meeting place for the legislature as well as for the superior court.

When in April the privy council had approved separate jail facilities, it thereby scrapped the original plans of Brandon and Wood. The council subsequently agreed to other plans; however, it paid Brandon $362 for his pains.27 An accident of history has preserved the Brandon-Wood plans, while those actually used seem to have disappeared.

The exact date when construction began the writer cannot tell. June, 1851, seems the most likely month. In October sixty prisoners were employed on the reef, cutting coral blocks. On the night of the twenty-second, they were occupying some native houses near their work
place, in order to take advantage of a low tide very early in the morn-
ing. Forty men overpowered the guards and seized gun batteries over-
looking Honolulu. Loaded cannon were trained on prominent buildings. But the prisoners lacked fire to set off the pieces. Police scaled
the heights commanded by the rebels and subdued them, and the morning
of the twenty-third saw law and order ascendant.28 This incident led
to renewed demands for a prison, and the Polynesian declared that the
superintendent of public works would be justified in suspending work
on the court house until a jail could be built.29

By the first of February, 1852, stone work had been completed,
and carpenters were laboring on the roof. There was some prospect that
the court house would be ready for the meeting of the legislature in
April, but it was not.30

The "...large and elegant structure..." had been sadly delayed in
building. In his report to the legislature for the year ending March
31, 1852, the minister of the interior laid the blame on the "miserable
quality" of labor employed. Most of the workers were prisoners. They
toiled without pay, but the cost of their food and their "extreme in-
dolence" had caused great loss of time and money. The minister said:
"Each stone in the Court House according to accounts accurately kept
has cost $1.58 3/4, whereas the same stone could have been procured by
contract, for less than one dollar each...A further appropriation will
be needed for the completion of this building."31

Original estimates for the new court house as drawn up by the fi-
nance department in July, 1850, called for an expenditure of $20,000.32
The sum of $17,500 was appropriated for the fiscal year April 1, 1850-
March 31, 1851; of this, $171.13 had been expended by the latter
date.33 The appropriation for the period April 1, 1852-March 31, 1853
was $12,200, with $4,647.23 unexpended at the end of the fiscal year.34
Following further appropriations, the bureau of public improvements re-
ported as of December 31, 1852, a total appropriation of $16,847.23,
with an unexpended balance of $117.75.35 From all this it would ap-
pear that the court house cost $34,229.50, a very considerable sum for
that time, and one which apparently justified the minister of the in-
terior's strictures.

Finishing work was in progress at the court house early in April,
1852; when completed the building was the second largest in Honolulu,
and the most costly.36 The Emmert drawing of 1853 faithfully repro-
duced its appearance, as the writer will show at the conclusion of
this paper. A copy of the drawing is in R. J. Baker's Honolulu in
1853.

Despite the privy council's resolution of April, 1851, the site
finally chosen for the court house was the one selected in October,
1850--on Queen Street mauka of Mauna Kilika.37 At the time the court
house was built, and for several years thereafter, the surroundings
remained much as they had been in 1843. This is shown by W. Webgter's
working sheet for a government survey reported January 20, 1854;38
1--Queen Street  
2--Court House  
3--Fort of Honolulu  

And ten years after its erection, the court house remained a prominent landmark.\textsuperscript{39}

During the twenty-two years that the court house served as a public building several alterations took place. The superior court room provided by the plans was a floor-to-roof chamber some thirty feet high.\textsuperscript{40} It proved too wasteful of space. In 1853, $1,200 was appropriated to extend the second-story floor to cover the entire area of the building.\textsuperscript{41} The purpose was to provide accommodations needed to house the legislature.\textsuperscript{42} But the amount appropriated in 1853 was not
sufficient, as estimates for the work exceeded $2,000.43 The "fine
new room" thus provided for was occupied by the supreme court on April
5, 1854.44 In addition, partitions had been built on the lower floor,
making for the safekeeping of records under the care of the registrar
of conveyances.45 The total cost: $2,492.86.46

In 1857 the collector of customs asked for storage room in the
court house basement. This involved fitting seven iron gratings on
windows and removing stone partitions in the cellar, replacing them
with pillars. This work, certified safe by the superintendent of
public works, made available to the government 500 coral blocks worth
fifty cents each.47

Improvements to the court room were made in 1866. New matting
was laid down, and woodwork repainted and varnished. Over the en-
trance to the lobby was hung a lifesize portrait of Kamehameha V by
M. Dudoit, while a portrait of Kamehameha I by J. Sawkins decorated
the opposite wall.48 Behind the dais where the judges sat a drape of
green damask was placed, and above it hung the national arms and motto,
surmounted by two crossed spears and a crown. On the room's south
side was a "...new and very handsome clock...", and beneath it an in-
dicator of the days of the week and month.49

Four years later work began on the iron fence which was for many
years a feature of the court house grounds. Recently imported from
England, it was set in a stone base laid in cement. At the corner of
Queen and Fort Streets an elaborate iron drinking fountain was in-
stalled. Unlike the constantly-running fountain on the Bethel Street
corner, it was spring-operated—a novelty in the Honolulu of 1870.50

When the court house was built, the city gained a new and bigger
set of public rooms. The result was that the chambers dedicated to
the government's judicial and legislative processes were the scene of
a rich variety of private and community functions. Even before the
court house was ready, at least two religious groups asked to use it
for services.51

The first organization to use the court house was, apparently,
the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society. Its second annual meeting
took place there on June 1, 1852.52 On the sixteenth, Police Justice
C. C. Harris, and on the seventeenth, Chief Justice W. L. Lee and the
clerk of the superior court, moved into their offices.53 The superior
court room was not yet finished, but it was ready for the court's July
term, which Judge Lee opened on the fifth of that month.54

Late in June several prominent men wrote to the minister of the
interior, deposing that because the seamen's chapel was too small,
Honolulu's foreign residents had formed a church and separate con-
gregation. They lacked money to build at the time, so asked to hold
their meetings in the court room.55 The government gave permission,
and a month later (July 24) the congregation of the "second foreign
church of Honolulu" advertised Sunday worship led by the Rev. T. E.
Taylor at the new court house.56 At this time the only other foreign
public English services were at the seamen's chapel.57

A partial but representative listing of the many—and sometimes
singular—activities noted by the Honolulu press as having occurred
at the court house gives an excellent idea of the building's impor-
tance in early days:
November 3, 1852—a preliminary public meeting called to discuss ways of increasing exports by organizing a joint stock company to open new plantations, etc.58

December 18, 1852—removal of the office of the land commission (which awarded claims resulting from the great mahele) to the first floor.59

December 30, 1852 and January 3, 1853—nomination and election of the two legislative representatives and the road supervisor for Honolulu.60

February 22, 1853—a fair held by the Stranger's Friend Society for the benefit of destitute foreigners.61

June 7, 1853—the annual meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.62

July 18 and July 30, 1853—protest meetings of the public (foreigners) against the handling of the great smallpox epidemic. The second meeting was largely an anti-G. P. Judd gathering, a focus of the campaign that resulted in Judd's retirement from the Hawaiian government.63

September 7, 1853—a meeting to form a mechanics' association, a mutual relief and benevolent society for workingmen.64

November 10, 1853—a ship captains' meeting to set pay rates for sailors and dock workers.65

April 15, 1854—offices of the district attorney of Oahu and the registrar of conveyances moved to the first floor rooms, makai.66

April 29, 1854—election of the school commission.67

May 4, 1854—concert of Mrs. Fiddes, assisted by several members of the Amateur Society.68

May 6, 1854—a notice asks for the return of borrowed law books to the law library.69

June 3, 1854—a meeting of American residents in the legislative hall to adopt suitable measures for the celebration of the approaching Independence Day.70

June 13 and 14, 1854—annual meeting and fair of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.71

July 4, 1854—Independence Day ball and fireworks display.72

November 16, 1854—a fair given by the ladies of Honolulu for the benefit of Masons and Odd Fellows.73

June 5, 1856—a ball given by Prince Lot Kamehameha.74

July 4, 1856—Independence Day ball.75

November 13, 1856—a great ball given by the Chinese merchants of Honolulu and Lahaina in honor of the king and queen; the affair was reported to be the most elaborate of its kind ever held in Honolulu.76

March 10, 1857—Prince Lot read to the privy council a message of thanks from the Fort Street Church for the use of the court house as a place of worship.77

May 25, 1859—formation of the Queen's Hospital at a meeting of subscribers, who organized themselves, adopted the hospital's name, and selected trustees.78

November 28, 1860—a fancy ball given by Foreign Minister R. C. Wyllie, reported to be the first fancy ball worthy of the name given in Honolulu.79
June 20, 1861—a ball and banquet given in honor of Lady Jane Franklin by W. L. Green, R.B.M. acting commissioner and consul general.80

December 11, 1869—a ball given by officers of the king's staff in his honor.

January 8, 1873—election of King Lunalilo.

February 12, 1874—election of King Kalakaua and the court house riot.

February 14, 1874—special session of the legislature addressed and prorogued by Kalakaua. This was the last legislative session held at the court house.81

February 18, 1874—a convocation of the supreme court heard C. C. Harris speak at his commissioning as first associate justice.82 Harris had been a police justice during the building of the court house and was one of the first officials to occupy it when it was opened in 1852.

The election riot badly damaged the court house, but the government made repairs.83 Kalakaua's ambitious plans for his kingdom's capital city held no place for the mended landmark, however. Aliiolani Hale, begun at the close of Kamehameha V's reign, opened its doors the first of May, 1874, and with the removal of legislative and judicial quarters thereto, the court house lost much of its usefulness.

Late in April, 1874, rumors said that the building would be rented; in passing them on, the Advertiser remarked that "...it seems like profanation to pile up vulgar sugar and molasses in those classic shades." But the action proposed was even more drastic. On April 28 a meeting of the cabinet council unanimously agreed to offer the court house and lot at an upset price of $25,000.85 Four days later it lowered this to $20,000.86

Following this decision, on May 9, 1874, E. P. Adams, auctioneer, advertised the coming sale of "...all that certain valuable parcel of land in Honolulu, with the buildings thereon, known as the Court House Premises."87

The legislature, then in session, rose in wrath. On May 13 objects in the House of Representatives made a nearly successful attempt to rush through a bill whose object was to stop the sale.88 The bill proposed to amend the civil code, which allowed the minister of the interior with the approval of the king and privy council to dispose of public property. The amendment excepted "...all pieces of Government land in the district of Honolulu, which may only be disposed of with the consent of the Legislature."89

The Advertiser commented that while the policy of selling valuable government property at that time could be questioned, the legislature's attempt looked like a move to censure the ministry, and it was so interpreted. The proposed amendment failed to pass by five votes; it was consigned to a select committee chaired by a strong friend of the ministry.90

A result of the political upheaval was that the court house sale was postponed to July 11.91

On May 30, the Advertiser reported:
The radical measure of the session—a bill to tie up all government property in Honolulu beyond the power of the Cabinet to sell or lease—was frustrated, or perhaps we should say, compromised, on Tuesday (May 26). The bill had slumbered on the Secretary's table for a week, by which delay its friends lost ground; for without a doubt it would have been carried after its second reading if pushed.

C. R. Bishop had introduced the bill; it was he who offered the "compromise" amendment, which substituted the control of the privy council for that of the legislature. The Advertiser remarked that this was a putting forward of the "irresponsible body" of the privy council as the executive, in marked contrast to Kamehameha V's constitution of 1864, which gave that body almost no responsibility. The same newspaper later characterized the attempt to block the court house sale as "...an outburst of mistaken patriotism, (which) caused whole days to be wasted in debate."94

The amendment that passed and was approved by Kalakaua on July 13 restricted the minister of the interior in his negotiations by adding a provision that no sale of one land or lot exceeding $5,000 in value could be made without the consent of the king and a majority of the privy council.95

Following this requirement, the minister of the interior on August 14 asked for Kalakaua's views on the proposed sale.96 The matter then went to the privy council which, four days later, approved the transaction by a vote of 18-2 after a lengthy discussion.97 The upset price remained $20,000.

The auction, twice postponed, was finally announced for Saturday, September 19, at noon.98 The Advertiser predicted that the property would prove very valuable in the future.99 On the designated day the auction took place; the purchaser of what was reported to be "...the best business stand in Honolulu..." was H. Hackfeld and Company. The price paid: $20,000.100 The area bought was 48,016 square feet—243.2 feet on Queen Street, 160.7 on Fort Street, 274 thence to Wide-mann Lot, and 213.6 back to Queen Street.101

The court house's new owners at once set about altering their property to suit their needs. By the first of November, 1874, all partitions of stone, both upstairs and down, had been removed, new floors laid, and various other changes made. Iron doors and window shutters were installed, and the wooden cornice and water spouts replaced with concrete. The building was rendered fireproof, and later, on the makai side of the lot, a stone warehouse, about 100 by 50 feet, was erected.102 At a still later date the court house quartered offices of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

From 1874 to 1902, when the present main office building at the corner of Fort and Queen Streets was occupied, the court house sheltered head offices of Hackfeld and Company.103 Then for many years it served as a grocery and feed warehouse.104

In 1927 a committee of the Hawaiian Historical Society suggested
to American Factors, successors to H. Hackfeld and Company, the desirability of putting a commemorative plaque on the building. The firm's directors approved, and the tablet was erected in 1928. It read:

This building was formerly the Court House and Parliament House of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In this place Prince William C. Lunalilo was elected King of Hawaii, January 8, 1873, and Chief David Kalakaua was elected King, February 12, 1874. On the latter occasion occurred the famous riot between the adherents of Kalakaua and the followers of Queen Dowager Emma, which was suppressed by the aid of marines from the United States warships 'Tuscarora' and 'Portsmouth', and the British warship 'Tenedos'.

In June, 1963, the plaque was gone, and no marker remained to attest the court house's historic past.

At the end of 1944 American Factors completed a replastering of the building, as cracks and chinks had appeared on the outside walls. Mr. H. A. Walker, then president of the firm, remarked that although some day the court house might have to go, in the meantime American Factors would make every effort to preserve it.

About ten years ago the court house's interior was entirely remodeled to provide office space, and this use continues to the present time.

While examining various representations of the court house at the Archives of Hawaii, the writer was struck by a number of dissimilarities occurring among pictures made at different times. The sum of these changes, found by comparing the Emmert drawing of 1853 with the court house's present appearance, has materially altered the building's aspect and, the writer believes, its dimensions also. Two obvious courses of action presented themselves: first, a chronological arrangement of the available pictures, and second, a thorough examination of the court house itself.

The Emmert drawing can be accepted as showing the court house as it looked on completion. Fortunately, there is in the Archives an undated photograph which shows the building just as Emmert represented it. This photograph was made at some time during the period 1870-1874, apparently, since although the building is unchanged, the iron fence and drinking fountain erected in 1870 are in place. This would suggest that during its period of service under the government, no exterior alterations were made in the structure.

The second photograph in the series as arranged by the writer probably dates from 1881 or shortly thereafter. Shown in the distance is the Wilder Building, built in 1881 on the present C. Brewer and Company site. By this time the arrangement of the windows on the facade had been changed. Traces of masonry inserts are visible, proving that the outside windows on both floors had been blocked out. The gable and cornices had been redone, as noted above, and the shape of the ventilator in the gable altered to its present triangular form.
A third photograph comes from the year 1890, or thereabouts. Electric poles, though primitive, are in evidence; a sidewalk along Queen Street testifies to progress. The middle window of the back three on the Queen Street side of the court house has been blocked out, but the continued presence of the original one-story adjunct at the back—probably a toilet—argues against any extension of the building prior to this time.

Passing over two other photographs of the 1890 period which show the facade, the writer calls attention to two photographs of the same general vintage which give oblique views of the court house on the yard side. These show a concrete warehouse abutting the main building and running off to the right into the yard. The present metal tie-rods in the side walls just below the cornice are pictured. The upper back window has been fitted with metal doors (open), and an outside stairway leads to them.

A later photograph, almost certainly from the very late 1890's, shows a sidewalk on Fort Street and a flagpole in front of the court house. The present-day gabled window cornices on the facade have been installed. The portico before the door is still there; otherwise, the facade looks just as it does in 1963. The iron fence and drinking fountain are still in place.

The last photograph of the series, and a most revealing one, appears as Plate 85 in R. J. Baker's Honolulu Then and Now. It is dated 1941, or before the replastering mentioned above. There are six windows on the Queen Street side instead of the original five. Just behind the last tie-rod (toward Bishop Street) is a section containing two windows—a section which clearly appears in the photograph as of a slightly different shade. The writer used this photograph together with his measurements to form his hypothesis that an extension has been added at the Bishop Street end of the court house within the last sixty years or so.

Measurements were taken in June, 1963, by the writer, Jane Silverman of the Library of Hawaii, and Mr. Kazu Tsuchida of American Factors. Mr. H. C. Eichelberger, executive vice-president of that firm, authorized the undertaking, and assigned Mr. Gilbert Hee of the office services division to provide necessary help. The cheerful and valuable cooperation of all concerned is gratefully acknowledged.

Results of the measurement follow:
1. Overall exterior length: 108' 8"
2. Overall exterior width: 56'
3. Windows: 6 on Queen Street side (both floors), 5 on yard side (upper floor only; doors have been cut through on lower floor), none on back of building, 2 plus doorway on lower front, 3 on upper floor front.
4. Window alignment: back 4 windows are in line, side to side; front two windows on Queen Street side straddle window on yard side.
5. Width of windows: openings in masonry approximately 53"
6. Space between windows on Queen Street side: front of building to first window, 8' 5"; between first and second windows, 9' 2"; between second and third windows, 14' 10"; between third and fourth windows, 18' 4"; between fourth and fifth windows, 11' 5"; between fifth and sixth windows, 11' 3"; sixth window to back of building.
7. Thickness of side wall at ground level: 34"
8. Overall length of basement: 71'
9. Overall width of basement: 50'
10. Height of basement from floor to sidewalk level: 5'
11. Small basement room, mauka-ewa corner: 19' by 29' 3"
12. Dimensions of sample coral block: 21" by 21" by 9"
13. Front wall of front well (Queen Street side) to front wall of basement: 54'
14. Front wall of front well to front of building: 7' 6"
15. Back wall of rear well to back wall of basement: 16' 9"
16. Back wall of rear well to back of building: 51' 1"
17. Position of tie-rods: front rod located at front of building. Second rod is equidistant between first and third. Third (back) rod is 33' from back of building.
18. Supporting pillars in basement: brick
19. Basement walls, building walls, and walls of small basement room: coral blocks

An 1870 photograph showing an oblique view of the back of the court house is reproduced in R. J. Baker's Honolulu in 1870. The second floor back contains windows, and is surmounted by a corniced gable identical to that of the facade. At the present time the wall is blank, and without a cornice.

Inside the court house are remains of what appears to have been a thick partition. This juts out some three or four feet on both sides of both floors. The partition is between the second and third windows on the Queen Street side, and between the first and second windows on the yard side.

Originally there was a small one-story chamber running across the back of the building. Its Queen Street wall was flush with that of the rest of the court house. This chamber, which shows clearly in the Emmert drawing and the 1870 photographs, is now gone.

Inside both wells on both sides of the building are steps or remains of steps, originally coral. This suggests that there were four doorways into the court house basement. The entrances on the Queen Street side show clearly in the 1870 photograph cited above as the first of the series.

Evidence supporting the idea of an extension of the original building toward Bishop Street includes:
1. The placement of the tie-rods. They were manifestly installed to strengthen the old walls. Why, however, is there no rod at the Bishop Street end?
2. The discrepancy between the length of the building and the length of the basement. The basement runs nearly to the front of the court house, but ends almost 35 feet short of the back.
3. The addition of a window on the Queen Street side, but with two wide blank wall spaces instead of the one appearing in Emmert's drawing and the 1870 photograph.
4. The blank back end, which is without window or cornice.

Reviewing this evidence, the writer postulates an extension of about 30 feet, inside space, since 1900. Structural engineers could easily verify or disprove this hypothesis. If it is true, it leads to
Drawings by Christopher Shinall
Mr. Shinall's drawings provide visual evidence supporting the writer's hypothesis regarding the extension of the courthouse:

Drawing A:
Shows the discrepancy between the length of the courthouse and that of the basement. Note the fact that the basement ends just where the dotted line cuts the courthouse in Drawing D.

Drawings B and C:
Show the different types of lintels used on the Queen Street side of the courthouse. Type C is found on the first four windows (from the building's front); type B is found over the last two. This supports the postulate that the middle window of the last three as originally built has been blocked out, and that the existing last two windows belong to a later extension.

Drawing D:
1. Shows the position of the tie-rods;
2. Shows existing window arrangement, with two broad blank spaces;
3. Shows the vertical raised-stone edging at the front of the building. This edging originally existed at the back also, as an early photograph proves; the present structure, though, has no such vertical edging at the back corner.
4. Shows an interpolated dotted line which runs from the point at which the basement ends to a point just behind the last tie-rod. The windows behind the line have type B lintels; those in front of it have type C.
the further conclusion that the original inside dimensions of the
court house must have been identical with, or very close to, those
specified by the Brandon plans preserved in the Archives of Hawaii.
Such matters may concern only the antiquarian, but it is impor-
tant for all Honolulans to recognize that the old court house on
Queen Street is a significant legacy from the past. It deserves pre-
servation for the future, and it deserves proper marking now.

NOTES

Annual, 1899, p. 83.
2. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, October 1, 1857.
Archives of Hawaii.
4. Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III...Passed by the
Houses of Nobles and Representatives...1847, Vol. II (Honolulu:
5. Report of the Minister of Finance, 1847 (Honolulu: Charles
and Events in the Hawaiian Islands from 1846 to 1853," Vol. I, Nos.
1 to 34, inclusive, written in 1881. Typescript, p. 8. Archives of
Hawaii. The government owned the lot at this period. See letter,
W. Goodale to Henry Rhodes, July 24, 1851, Interior Department Letter
Book No. 3 (August, 1850-May, 1852). Archives of Hawaii.
8. Polynesian, April 6, 1850.
9. Ibid.
10. Committee members were Keoni Ana, Lorrin Andrews, and A. B.
11. Ibid., p. 651.
12. Reports to the Privy Council, F. O. and Ex., February-July,
14. Letter, Brandon and Woods to William Lee, September 23, 1850,
enclosing plans; report of committee to privy council. Reports to
the Privy Council, F. O. and Ex., August-November, 1850 (September 25,
1850). The plans as filed showed a jail yard covering the extent,
roughly, of the present-day American Factors complex.
16. Ibid.
17. From the Alexander Simpson map of August 25, 1843, as re-
produced in R. J. Baker, Sketches and Maps of Old Honolulu (Honolulu:
19. Polynesian, November 2, 1850.
1850). For the location of Shillaber's place see R. J. Baker,
22. Ibid., p. 297 (April 16, 1851).
23. Ibid.

The old Honolulu fort continued to house prisoners until August 22, 1857. At that time prisoners were transferred to the new Oahu Prison at Iwilei. The old fort was demolished in the fall and winter of 1857.

28. Polynesian, October 25, 1851.
29. Ibid.
30. Polynesian, February 7, 1852.
32. "Budget of the Deficiencies and Wants of the Royal Exchequer ... for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1851." File, Finance Department, April-December, 1850. Archives of Hawaii.
34. Polynesian, July 24, 1852.
37. The site had been recommended for a jail in March, 1850, by Theophilus Metcalf, then marshal of the kingdom (T. Metcalf, Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, Report Ending March, 1850. File, Interior Department Miscellaneous, March, 1850. Archives of Hawaii). Metcalf resigned the marshal's office on May 29, 1850 (letter, T. Metcalf to John Young, in Interior Department Miscellaneous, May, 1850). By the first of February, 1852, he was serving as superintendent of public works (letter, February 3, 1852, Castle and Cooke to John Young, Interior Department Miscellaneous, February, 1852). He therefore supervised much, and quite possibly all, of the court house's construction.
39. The Anthon Estate map of Early Honolulu, dated about 1862.
40. Polynesian, February 7, 1852.
42. Privy Council Records, Vol. VIII, pp. 93-95 (February 6, 1854).
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW - OCTOBER, 1963

43. Ibid., pp. 107-109 (February 20, 1854).
44. Polynesian, April 8, 1854. The supreme court was created by "An Act Relating to the Judiciary Department." It was established above the superior court, effective December 6, 1852 (Polynesian, December 11, 1852).
48. Hawaiian Gazette, April 6, 1866. The portrait of Kamehameha I was bought by the Hawaiian government late in 1850 for $100. At the time of purchase it was stipulated that Sawkins should make such alterations as Kamehameha III might order (Privy Council Records, Vol. VIA, pp. 180-181 (November 29, 1850). Today there are two portraits of Kamehameha I attributed to James Sawkins hanging in Iolani Palace.
49. Hawaiian Gazette, April 6, 1866.
50. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 5, 1870.
52. Polynesian, May 22 and June 5, 1852.
53. Ibid., June 19, 1852.
54. Ibid., July 10, 1852.
56. Polynesian, July 24, 1852.
57. Ibid.
58. Polynesian, November 6, 1852. A note on the population of Honolulu will put the matter of the court house's various uses in perspective. On October 30, 1852, the Polynesian reported the results of a recent census of foreign residents taken by Marshal W. C. Parke. The area covered was: Kalihi to Waikiki, and coast to Pali, or Honolulu and its suburbs. The tabulation:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- males over 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- males under 21</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- females over 21</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- females under 21</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Chinese</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in business</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- coolies, laborers, servants</td>
<td>34 863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somewhat lower than</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formerly because of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the drain to the California gold fields.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within the same area the estimated Hawaiian population was</td>
<td>8,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59. Polynesian, December 18, 1852.
60. Ibid., January 1, 1853.
61. Ibid., February 19, 1853.
62. Ibid., June 4, 1853.
63. Ibid., July 23 and July 30, 1853.
64. The Weekly Argus, September 15, 1853.
65. Polynesian, November 12, 1853.
66. Ibid., April 15, 1854.
67. Ibid., May 6, 1854.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., June 10, 1854.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., July 8, 1854.
73. Ibid., November 4, 1854.
74. Ibid., June 7, 1856.
75. Ibid., July 5, 1856.
76. Ibid., November 15, 1856.
78. Polynesian, May 28, 1859.
79. Ibid., December 1, 1860.
80. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, June 27, 1861.
81. Ibid., February 21, 1874.
82. Ibid.
84. April 25, 1874.
86. Ibid.
87. Pacific Commercial Advertiser.
88. Ibid., May 16, 1874.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., May 23, 1874.
92. Ibid., May 30, 1874.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., November 7, 1874.
95. Laws of His Majesty Kalakaua... Passed by the Legislative Assembly, at Its Session, 1874 (Honolulu: Black and Auld, 1874), p. 24.
98. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 22, 1874.
99. Ibid.
100. Hawaiian Gazette, September 23, 1874.
102. Ibid., November 7, 1874.
Hae Hawaii (the Hawaiian flag) has long flown high over these islands. But the colors of several other nations have been unfurled at one time or another both prior to and after the making of the original Hawaiian ensign.

The first flag the Hawaiian Islands ever saw was probably the British colors carried by Captain James Cook on his third voyage around the world—the voyage on which he discovered the Sandwich Islands in 1778. This first flag was most likely a red ensign with only the St. Andrew and St. George crosses; the present British union did not come into being until 1801. The British flag did not become significant, however, until 1794, when Captain George Vancouver, on a voyage around the world, gave the flag to Kamehameha I after he had persuaded him to cede the Hawaiian Islands to Great Britain—a cession which was not accepted by London. The flag was raised at Kealakekua Bay, where Captain Cook had been slain; the Hawaiians thought that this was their guarantee of protection by Great Britain from their enemies.

Archibald Campbell saw the British flag when he arrived in the islands in December, 1808, and in his Voyage Around the World, 1806-1812, he wrote: "The King's residence built close upon the shore, and surrounded by a palisade upon the land side, was distinguished by British colors." But Hae Hawaii replaced Britain's ensign at some time between 1806 and 1816.

The next foreign flag belonged to the Russians, who threatened to establish their Czar's banner on Kauai in 1817, following the building of a Russian fort there. Georg Scheffer, a German doctor, had arranged with Governor Kotzebue of Alaska to establish a Russian stronghold on the island, but when Kamehameha I learned of this effort, he at once ordered the king of Kauai to deport the foreigners.

The British flag reappeared in 1843 when Lord George Paulet, commander of H.M.S. frigate Carysfort, ordered the Union Jack raised and Hae Hawaii taken down and destroyed together with all other flags in the islands. He further ordered the cession of Hawaii to England and the fulfillment of six demands, but his actions were rescinded five months later by Admiral Thomas, commander-in-chief of the British naval forces in the Pacific, and the Hawaiian flag was restored.

On August 1, 1860, a new flag with a white field instead of the usual alternate stripes of red, white, and blue flew over the palace for the first time. It was generally believed that this was the consort's flag, because it was flown only during the temporary absence of the king.

Later a flag for Hawaiian royalty was originated by Robert Louis

Editor's Note: Miss Hanai's paper was produced for Dr. C. H. Hunter's class in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii during the spring of 1963. It is published as a part of this Review's effort to stimulate interest in and writing of local history.
Stevenson during his visit in the 1880's, when he persuaded Kalakaua that the latter should have a flag embracing native colors and symbols. Stevenson had his stepdaughter, Isobel Strong, design and make the flag, which had in the middle of broad bands of white and red a square white field, on which were placed the crown, shield, and arms of the king in red, blue, and yellow. Isobel also designed a coat of arms, a crest, and a royal order, the Star of Oceania. Stevenson's flag was never adopted officially.

The American flag, which had 45 stars at the time, entered the picture when on August 12, 1898, the islands became the Territory of Hawaii. Today Hae Hawaii is the official ensign of the Fiftieth State—an insignia secondary to the national flag, flown for the same reasons that Texas flies its Lone Star Flag.

In at least one respect Hae Hawaii and Old Glory are alike: the origin of both, and their designer or designers, are wrapped in mystery. Before the coming of Captain Cook the Hawaiians had no flags, but used royal standards with an emblem of authority in the center of the field. Marks of distinction used included the kahili (a cylinder of brilliant bird feathers on a staff), the puala (an insignia of triangular shape carried on canoes), and standards similar to the Roman eagles, carried by Hawaiians in their new year's festival. Ancient Hawaii needed no flag; nobles, however, would at times fly a pennant (hae or lipa—a torn piece of tapa) from red-painted canoes.

Just when the original Hawaiian flag first appeared is unknown, but in 1816 a Russian, Captain Kotzebue of the ship Rurik, referred to it. So it is held that the flag originated between 1806 and 1816, during which time Kamehameha I ruled the united Kingdom of Hawaii.

Not until 1862 did a description of the flag finally appear. By this time the origin of Hae Hawaii had either faded from knowledge or was rapidly doing so. The king summoned his advisers and told them of his predicament.

Another amusing version finds Kamehameha caught between the Americans and the British in 1812. Having no flag of his own, he often flew the American and British flags alternately, but as fate would have it, he was caught flying the Union Jack by a Yankee privateer, the captain of which demanded, "How is this? You pretend to be our friend, and I find you flying the flag of our enemy." The king thereupon hoisted Old Glory, but ill luck intervened again when a few days after the departure of the privateer a British man-of-war put into port. The captain caught Kamehameha flying the American flag and asked, "Why do you, professing to be our friend, fly the flag of our enemy?" After these two annoying incidents the king summoned his advisers and told them of his predicament.

A third version goes like this: Kamehameha wanted to establish trade with China, so he sent a vessel laden with sandalwood. But the
Kamehameha then suggested that Captain Alexander Adams sail to Canton with a second cargo of sandalwood, but Adams, an old man-of-war's man, told the king: "If I go, I want a flag and a regular commission." Adams then explained the need for a flag and ship's papers—if the ship would again be confiscated as a pirate vessel. Kamehameha and his council consented to Adams' demands.

Another version has it that Hawaii, being a small, struggling monarchy, was eyed by six European nations as a possible possession; this fact stimulated Kamehameha to institute a flag of his own.

Now comes the question: Who designed the original Hae Hawaii? The first claim was made by Captain Alexander Adams, the old Scots skipper who was at one time a Honolulu harbor pilot. Adams was one of the loyal haole who helped Kamehameha I and his queen Ka'ahumanu to suppress traitorous schemes among the people and to train them to be self-supporting and loyal subjects of their king. He also helped oust the Russians from Kauai without bloodshed. Adams lived at Kalihi most of his life—his place was called Adams Gardens—but he had also a house in town on Adams Lane. He later sold the Kalihi premises to be used as a dairy farm. Adams married a chiefess and was a great favorite of Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu because of his loyal devotion. Among the royal gifts he received was the whole land of Niu, Oahu, including the favorite royal resort called Kalauaihai, where Ka'ahumanu first renounced the ancient rites and customs.

According to Adams' descendants, the account of the designing of the flag is this:

There had been considerable discussion among the chiefs and advisers of the king concerning the head of the Flag, the body of it having been agreed upon, consisting of eight stripes in the following order—white on top, then red, blue, white, red, blue, white, and red, each stripe representing one of the inhabited islands of the group. Because of the inability of the designers of the flag to agree as to its completion, therefore, Kamehameha said to them: 'Call my haole, he can fix it; he knows how to make it.' When Captain Adams appeared before the king and his chiefs and learned their wish, he immediately complied by using the Union Jack of the English flag for the head of the new flag. That is how the Hawaiian flag was made and completed.

The Daughters of Hawaii Society also helped to back up the claim of Captain Adams as the designer of the flag. Then on January 1, 1862, the first account of the origin of Hae Hawaii was published in the Hawaiian newspaper, Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, which stated:

The Hawaiian flag was designed for King Kamehameha I in the year 1816. As the King desired to send a vessel to China, to sell a cargo of sandalwood, he in company with John Young, Isaac (akikake) Davis, and Captain Alexander Adams made this flag for the ship which was a war vessel.
called the Forrester carrying 16 guns and which was owned by Kamehameha I. This corroborated Adams' claim. It was the first made by Henry L. Sheldon, editor and publisher of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, as to the identity of the designer. Sheldon substantiated the claim by two quotes from Adams' log:

April 1816--I was accordly honored in taking care with the Flag of His Majesty and a salute of 11 guns.

March 12, 1817--Gave the King (Kaumualii) our ensign to hoist in lieu of the Russian, who said it was on account of his having no other.

Thomas Thrum did try to break down at the time what was the general belief among the old residents, that Adams made the Hawaiian flag. In his Hawaiian Annual for 1880 Thrum wrote:

We exceedingly regret to report an unsuccessful search for the history of the present Flag of these Islands, the time of its adoption and the parties interested in its formation...but after diligent inquiries and research during the past 3 years, we have to acknowledge the main facts lost in oblivion.

His search did refute Adams' claim to have been the originator of the flag, for the first quote by Sheldon of an entry in his journal shows that there was an earlier flag. Thrum, however, had passed over Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, the most logical source of information, and tried to prove to his own satisfaction that the originator was someone other than Adams.

That someone else was Captain George Beckley, whose family put forth his claim in 1830. Captain Beckley was an English sea captain who came to the islands in 1804 and made numerous voyages between Hawaii, Mexico, and China with the vessel he brought to the kingdom, the Humuhumunukunukuapua'a. He served Kamehameha I by commanding ships owned by the king and used for inter-island or China service. Kamehameha made Beckley a high chief in 1815, and in 1816 he became commander of the Honolulu fort. Then he was commissioned by the king to design the flag, according to the family account. In the ensign Beckley put together "...the British Union Jack bearing the Crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick with 8 red, white, and blue stripes from the American Flag to produce the Hawaiian flag."

This second claim remained insignificant, however, until 1898, when the historian, W. D. Alexander, disputed the Adams claim. At first Alexander doubted Beckley's claim because the family said that the flag was designed in 1806 or 1807, whereas Alexander believed the correct date to be six years later. He finally concluded, though, that Beckley was "...no doubt the maker, and in all probability the designer of the first Hawaiian flag"; but since Beckley's log book had been lost about 1887, there was no conclusive evidence.

In the early 1900's newspapers waged a battle over the true identity of Hae Hawaii's designer. Alexander's claim sparked the controversy. Then in the 1940's Victor S. K. Houston helped settle the matter when he concluded, after studying all accounts, that neither
Beckley nor Adams could claim to be the one and only designer.\textsuperscript{57} Houston decided that Beckley might have been present at the flag-designing meeting described in Ka Nupepa Kuleana, and this compromise has been accepted by the Bishop Museum.\textsuperscript{58} Nevertheless, it appears that mystery will continue to surround the designing of Hae Hawaii.

The flag itself has been said to be a combination of the British Union Jack and the French flag, or a combination of the British flag and Old Glory; it is certain that the British influence is marked.\textsuperscript{59} The flag is probably composed of elements taken from the ensigns of all three of the nations mentioned above.\textsuperscript{60} Hawaii probably adopted the British union as the union of its flag as a gesture recognizing British friendship, since Kamehameha I offered the islands to Captain Vancouver, while the adoption of the stripes acknowledged American friendship, and the inclusion of a blue stripe was a similar gesture to France.\textsuperscript{61}

The union of Hae Hawaii contains three crosses and they, too, tell a story. The St. George cross, the horizontal-vertical one, dates back to the time of the crusades when St. George became the patron saint of England.\textsuperscript{62} It appeared on the British ensign that Vancouver gave Kamehameha. The white diagonal cross of St. Andrew, commonly called the James union, became part of the British flag in 1706 after Scotland joined England.\textsuperscript{63} It had been adopted by Scotland when St. Andrew, condemned to death by crucifixion as the Lord had been, but feeling unworthy of the honor, was crucified on two diagonal beams instead and then cast upon the coast of Scotland.\textsuperscript{64} The red diagonal cross of St. Patrick was a heraldic device, centuries old, of a noble Welsh family living in Ireland; it became part of the British flag in 1801 when Ireland joined the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{65} Because the St. Patrick cross would dominate the St. Andrew cross if superimposed, the saltires were counterchanged, giving Scotland precedence because of its prior entrance into the commonwealth.\textsuperscript{66}

As for the stripes in the flag, they were adopted to designate the eight major islands in the chain—Kauai, Niihau, Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Lanai, Kahoolawe and Hawaii.\textsuperscript{67} The individual stripes, however, do not have the same relationship as the stars in Old Glory have to the individual states.\textsuperscript{68} It has been suggested and accepted as logical that north is at the top of the world, so the northernmost island would be represented by the top stripe on the flag, and the order of descent would be from a northerly latitude.\textsuperscript{69}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union</th>
<th>Kauai</th>
<th>Niihau</th>
<th>Oahu</th>
<th>Molokai</th>
<th>Maui</th>
<th>Lanai</th>
<th>Kahoolawe</th>
<th>Hawaii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each color symbolized something. White was symbolical of purity and sincerity; therefore, it was the uppermost stripe, since nothing is higher than the sun, whose rays emanate brilliant white light.\textsuperscript{70}
Red, very highly prized by the people, stood for blood, "which is the life", and was the second stripe from the top. Blue, supposedly the lowermost color, symbolized continuity, in the hope that the kingdom would endure for eternity.

The material used for the first flag is unknown, but it could have been silk from China, because Kamehameha loved foreign things; better yet, it could have been kapa cloth, a native material manufactured from the inner bark of the wauke tree and very durable.

But there is another possibility:

Then he (Adams) got his wife and servant to make a flag of tapa accordingly. He submitted the flag to Kamehameha. Finally, Mrs. Adams and her servant made the first official Hawaiian Flag out of bunting (thin woolen).

Since the appearance of the original Hae Hawaii there have been many conflicting descriptions of it:

On November 21, 1815, Captain Kotzebue of the Russian discovery vessel Hurik, put into Honolulu harbor for supplies. Two other ships were already at anchor. Kotzebue wrote: "...they displayed the English Union, with 7 alternated red, white and blue stripes, emblematic of the principal islands."

In August, 1819, Captain de Freycinet gave the following description:

The Sandwich Islands Flag, such as we saw floating at Kawaihae, and over the fort at Honolulu was composed of an English Union Jack upon a background striped horizontally with nine bands alternately white, red, and blue; the white being placed at the top and the Union Jack at the upper corner near the bolt rope.

The best early illustration of the flag was published in W. Ellis' A Tour around the Island of Owyhee (London: 1837). He wrote that Hae Hawaii displayed nine stripes, with white on top, the sequence being the same as at present, with the Union Jack in the upper corner and the Jack five stripes in depth at the hoist with its basic blue background resting on a blue stripe, so that the margin between was undefined. Apparently this description was accurate, because no criticism was made of it. It did agree with de Freycinet's account, but the ensign it described differed from the present-day flag in that the latter has only eight stripes, with the union four stripes in depth instead of five.

There is a Dutch description given by John Boelen, naval lieutenant first class. At some time between 1828 and 1829 he wrote:

...the Union flag of the islands...somewhat resembles the Dutch flag, and which is similarly arranged except for the English emblem in the upper corner and that it shows red, white and blue to the number of nine stripes or as many stripes as there were islands in the Sandwich group.

Other descriptions of Hae Hawaii follow.
V. M. Golovnin, October, 1818: "The flag is made up of 7 stripes, red, white, blue, red, white, blue, and red, signifying 7 islands, and in the corner an English Jack."

Maria Graham, May-July, 1825: "On all days of ceremony the Sandwich flag is hoisted on these forts—it has 7 white and red stripes with the Union Jack in the corner."

F. D. Bennet, April, 1834: "Each battery hoists the Hawaiian flag—horizontal stripes, blue, white, red with British Union in the upper corner, next to the staff."

Then on May 31, 1845, a description of the new national banner appeared in The Polynesian:

At the opening of the Legislative Council on the 20th instant, the new national banner was unfurled, differing little however from the former. It is octo, parted per fess, first, fourth and seventh argent; second, fifth, and eighth gules; third and sixth azure, for the eight Islands united under one sovereign, indicated by crosses saltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly; per saltire counter charged, argent and gules.

These different descriptions conflict as to the number of stripes (seven to nine) and the number of colors (red and white or red, white and blue). Perhaps people were careless in making the flags or were indifferent to accuracy, or were perhaps inaccurate in their descriptions. Furthermore, Lord Paulet's destruction of all the early flags certainly brought about changes in the design.

It has been suggested that a reversal of stripes might have occurred when Rear Admiral Thomas rescinded Lord Paulet's actions and restored Hawaiian sovereignty. John Ii told Mr. Gilman that it was decided to reverse the order of the stripes to signify the recent overturn of the government, for: "The time of Lord George has passed, the new times have come in, and therefore, we intend to reverse the flag of Hawaii. What was formerly the upper stripe will be placed at the bottom."

But this reversal was not so simple, because if there were eight stripes at the time, then the sequence would be the same, but with the white on the bottom and the blue at the top. However, this could have been possible with nine stripes, for if the ninth white stripe was brought to the top and the remaining ninth stripe omitted, the result would give the present sequence in order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before:</th>
<th>After:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The design of Ha'e Hawaii was described in the Hawaii Statutes of
1896 according to the design of 1843, when new flags had to be made:

The national ensign shall consist of 8 horizontal stripes, alternating white, red, blue, etc., beginning at the top, having a jack cantoned in the dexter chief angle next to the point of suspension. The Jack shall consist of a blue field charged with a compound saltire of alternate tinctures white and red, the white having precedence; a narrow edge of white borders each red side of the saltire. A red cross bordered with white is charged over all. The Jack is half the hoist and $\frac{7}{16}$ the fly in length. The arms of the red cross shall be equal in width to one of the horizontal stripes; the white border shall be one-third the width of the red cross.

There has been no change in the flag since 1896, except that it is now the official flag of the Fiftieth State.

Several times during its existence Hae Hawaii has been involved in international affairs. The first time the flag was flown it cost the government $3,000. This occurred when the Ka'ahumanu took the newly-made pennant to China to trade a cargo of sandalwood. Hae Hawaii was not acknowledged by port officials; furthermore, since the ship had no papers, heavy duties were levied against it. Kamehameha I did learn one thing of value from this experience, namely, that port duties are an excellent source of revenue.

The previously-mentioned Paulet imbroglio of 1843 resulted in the lowering and destruction of Hae Hawaii and a brief interlude of British control. Five months later, however, the Hawaiian ensign was restored, but with a somewhat changed design.

In 1849 Hae Hawaii was again threatened, this time by the French, when Admiral Tromelin sailed into Honolulu harbor and made demands supported by false accusations. His aim was to seize the kingdom. Tromelin landed armed forces and field pieces and captured the Honolulu fort with Hae Hawaii still flying. He didn't dare to lower it in the face of American and British protests, so contented himself with damaging the fort and then left. Thereafter, the French government made trouble for two years.

On August 12, 1898, a desecration of Hae Hawaii took place. This was Annexation Day, and some in the crowd surrounding Iolani Palace wanted souvenirs of the occasion. After the Hawaiian flag had been lowered, they cut it into three-inch strips—thirteen of them.

So it is that Hae Hawaii has survived many vicissitudes since that day when the unknown designer, his work done, saw Hawaii's flag first caught by an island breeze.

NOTES

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
27. V. S. K. Houston, "The History of the Hawaiian Flag."
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
38. J. Cook, loc. cit.
39. Ibid.
40. Mrs. C. Lucas, op. cit.
44. Ibid.
45. V. S. K. Houston, "The History of the Hawaiian Flag."
47. T. G. Thrum, "The Hawaiian Flag," Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1880, p. 25.
52. W. D. Alexander, loc. cit.
56. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
78. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
79. Ibid.
83. H. M. Ballou, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. V. S. K. Houston, "The Flag and Coat of Arms of Hawaii."
88. V. S. K. Houston, "The Flag and Coat of Arms of Hawaii."
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW. SOMEONE TO REVIEW CURRENT HAWAIIANA IS PARTICULARLY DESIRED.

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor

Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814111.

MONTHS OF ISSUE ARE OCTOBER, JANUARY, APRIL, AND JULY. BY SUBSCRIPTION ONLY. NO SINGLE COPIES FOR SALE.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
For the Island of Kauai: Mrs. Thelma H. Hadley, Lihue, Kauai.
For the Island of Maui: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui.
CONTENTS

"MY BARRACKS" BECOME HISTORIC SOIL.......104
Letter of Theodor C. Heuck
Translation by Mrs. Arthur Hormann
Notes by Jane Silverman

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN HAWAII,
1848-1962...............................110
Robert C. Schmitt

A NOTE--THE BISHOP MUSEUM LIBRARY AS A
HISTORY SOURCE......................124
Margaret Titcomb

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS..........125
Theodor C. Heuck, a young man of twenty, arrived in Honolulu from Hamburg in 1850. He was on his way to California, but the horrible memory of his long, hazardous sea voyage from Australia and the possibility, "...one can make money here, two to three dollars a day..." evidently convinced him that he should stay in Honolulu. Heuck started as a carpenter, then went into designing buildings. The Royal Mausoleum and Iolani Barracks are two of his government buildings which still stand. He founded a merchandising business, importing goods from Europe, and was immersed in the political and social life of the Hawaiian Kingdom. He served as consul for Hanover, Denmark, and the North German Republic, and was an elected member of the Hawaiian legislature. He enthusiastically participated in the first fancy dress ball in Honolulu for the young king, Alexander Liholiho, and as an amateur musician performed at the palace.

Theodor Heuck's gossipy letters, mainly to his sister Auguste in Germany, a scrapbook, a few drawings, and journal accounts in a fine German script constitute the Theodor C. Heuck Collection in the Public Archives. Many of these letters have been translated by Mrs. Arthur Hormann. This letter on the barracks mutiny and one on the Kalakaua election riots deal principally with public events. Other letters display a cosmopolitan view of the mercantile and social life of Honolulu from 1850 to 1874.

Honolulu Sept. 10, 1873

My beloved ones at home,

So—to top it all we have a revolution etc. This is something! Let us have a murder, some fire with accompanying devastations, an earthquake and the story will be at an end.

As ridiculous as the whole affair seems to be, a grave situation is behind it. Last Sunday, Sept. 7th the soldiers in the barracks revolted—some of them had been confined there for some light misdemeanor; they were furnished secretly with tools to break open the doors. Their military instructor, an Hungarian met them with a drawn sword—he was struck down, the higher commander arrived to reinstate order and he met with the same fate. The Adjutant General arrived and finally the Governor himself. They met the same fate and at the end these 'four high officials' were incarcerated and the insurgents made their preparations; they threw the poor chiefs out, the doors were barred and they entrenched themselves in the barracks.

Forty soldiers,—yes—only forty men revolted against the power of the whole kingdom! During the night they got hold of four cannons
from the Palace yard. They were provided with enough provisions and ammunition right within the barracks to hold out for some time. The seriousness of the situation is the fact that the sympathy of the people is with the revolters; they were massed around the barracks; they incited each other by exchanging words with those inside. Soldiers with weapons guarded the towers and battlement. Right within the entrance opposite the gate, the cannons were set up heavily loaded with ammunition up to the mouth and manned with soldiers ready to shoot.

The waterpipes which furnish the barracks with this most essential means of subsistence had been locked off but water in quantity, brandy and whisky, were furnished over the walls by friends—and in the darkness of night, a whole wagonload of provisions were given to them. You will ask where was the Government during all this time? Why were the people not forced to put down their weapons immediately by promising that justice would be granted them if there was just cause for complaint. First surrender the weapons, then confer.

The Government showed its boundless weakness in this case; one has seen that the present fraudulent setup is good for nothing. Too conservative, timid people are at the rudder. Nothing like this could have happened under the last king. Certainly in less than an hour's time everything would have been settled!

The present king had just recovered from a severe illness which had been caused by heavy drinking; the crown negotiated with the revolters! What is the outlook for our security, how much incentive for more calamities! One is afraid that the spilling of only one drop of blood would cause a bloody revolt by the natives against the whites and this fear is justified.

The soldiers are desperate on account of the severe treatment by their instructor and they are a slovenly gang, idlers. They are a bad lot who have nothing to lose, who are too childish to understand subordination correctly, who are only one step above a brutal animal or criminal. It seems the soldiers have been also mistreated by the present adjutant general, C. H. Judd, bad and scanty fare etc. etc. They insist that these two of their superiors are to be dismissed before they will lay down their weapons.

Sunday, Monday and Tuesday passed, hour by hour the affair became more serious and repugnant. The soldiers and their supporters became more and more defiant and the Government showed itself more and more helpless by the inactivity of its advisors! Two warships were in the harbor, an American and a Russian one; the foreigners became more and more impatient; now we see clearly that the crown stands for nothing. Forty men can defy the whole caboodle!

The question is, will the Government engage the help of the warships to restore peace to the country? But then everything is lost. A government that is helpless with such a bagatelle is not worth serving! Now, here is a 'kingdom' an independent government, a prince as good as anyone else, ministers who are reluctant to surrender their $5,000 positions.

So once again one takes counsel in the high—in the highest, the very highest circles. A king who is kept on his feet by sherry with
eggs. A minister, the advocate general of the State, judge of the highest court, the whole counselling body of the state, police chief, politicians of all sorts attend the assembly of the solons with the most serious faces. It is a matter of 'to be or not to be.' How to take this barracks, this fort, this world of forty men, to gain victory without danger to anyone. To be sure there are the Royal proclama-
tions. 12 Yes, one has imitated the French, the plebiscite is nothing new. They talk big and dress up the nothingness with beautiful phrases--'benevolent amnesty', 'we don't want sabotage'--that cer-
tainly will win them over!

And sure enough--sixteen 13 men take off. However, twenty-four frightful men say: 'Aole' (no) and so everyone suspects blood, corpses, slaughter and total destruction.

Twenty-four bloodthirsty enemies in the barracks and how many thousands (pardon--hundreds) sit outside smoking and chatting, men, women and children, old men with dogs and their fleas included. Now things become really serious!--

But halt! We do have a volunteer corps; 14 the battalions of the volunteers who are bound by the Charter to restore order at a time of dire need. Rifle corps, an artillery brigade and a cavalry corp and Zouaves! Well, fall in line! Unfortunately the good men are not at home. However, I did see yesterday the nucleus of these courageous men--pale faces, about fourteen riflemen with weapons up to their teeth and about ten patriotic horses which carried as many knights, only at the moment I could not figure out how they would storm the walls of the barracks on horses! But all my respect for the high strategy. I am not a soldier and don't know anything about it.--Now the fort is ours!--Fourteen riflemen have encircled it, i.e. at a con-
venient distance--the ten knights on their horses have been ordered to blockade the streets on four corners (without being a cavalryman or a horse I figure that is: $2\frac{1}{2}$ pairs for each corner) so that will re-
strict twenty-four red rebels to the unfortunate inner world of the barracks; now they will not be able to encircle us, the residence, the metropolis of the kingdom.

Grave earnestness and bright moonshine pervade the possible field of battle--and the rebels in the blood red trousers of their uniforms sit on the towers and the walls where they are on guard. Usually trim when on duty they have now, however, shed their coats, are barefooted and even sometimes barelegged for it is southwind and very hot. They smoke leisurely and so that they can claim to have given 'fire' they ask for 'fire' for their pipes from those outside; they also get other things the same way.

Midnight has passed. The ghost hour is of little importance with all the high-minded 'ghosts' who are on watch;----the twenty-four men and ten horses outside think of 'mother' or how much nicer it would be in bed instead of on watch. Among the 24 terrible ones inside in a more terrible nest circulates the whisky bottle--then--what a mis-
fortune, one of the heavily laden rifles goes off and----what agility is shown among the ones who just had thoughts of mother, off and gone over the fence, around the corner, over the field away, away and from a safe distance one can hear: 'You two dozen traitors why do you
And again, on the fourth day, the sun rose over this oppressed kingdom but the barracks had not been opened yet. Well, then one decided to have one more consultation and love for their fellowmen and peace touched the heart of the authorities! And then the King spoke thus: 'Let three of the worst in the barracks come to me so that we can find what is right.' The three came, looked into their king's face and were happy: 'Oh, King, remove the adjutant general (Judd) and the unpronounceable one (the Hungarian instructor) and we will forget everything.'

And thus it happened today at noon. The Zouaves were dismissed--four days and nights it took to fathom that out. The government yielded to the barracks and peace was restored--as long as it lasts.

Soon after I went to the barracks to look at things for myself. I might say 'my barracks' for they were built according to my plans as many of the public buildings here but at the time I did not dream that they were impregnable and would become a piece of historic soil.

I naturally expected to see mutineers under strict supervision and disarmed, the barracks manned by others well disciplined and the Hawaiian flag fluttering over it--but nothing of that.

Before the building as well as in the inner court, in all the rooms was a dense crowd of all kinds of folks, men and women and drunken soldiers. Everything helter-skelter laughing and noisy. The soldiers behaved boastfully and impudently; they still carried their weapons, often too, some discharged them here and there outside, right into the air; the ammunition had been removed from the cannons but they imitated the exercise of loading and firing of the cannons time after time, a foolish game accompanied by the roaring laughter and mockery of all. A scoundrel, a soldier with a ridiculously old three-cornered hat posed on the wall and sang an improvised song in the style of an old mele, using vulgar gestures. Nowhere order, wild and hateful speeches against the haole and many a poorly suppressed glance of hatred in the eyes. I know these people so well because I understand their language well and thus I notice things which escape others.

Yes, peace prevails now--as long as it lasts. These prejudices of the natives against the haole have existed for some time--it is not any more the way it used to be; I find great changes here and it won't improve under the present king and such a weak government. The ceding of the Pearl River Bay has embittered a great part of the population which is still more aggravated by the talk of a possible annexation by the United States. The people themselves are not capable of judging such questions. The demagogues and people who act out of egoistic purposes (such haole as J. O. Carter, Godfrey Rhodes and others) may mean well and are only mistaken; they play with fire by intriguing underhandedly and in the newspapers and in speeches in public gatherings against the government and its friends; the scorn against the haole becomes very bitter...

Behind all of this is a secret grim opponent who works in the dark! Kamehameha V had his Prince Lunalilo, King Lunalilo has his Prince D. Kalakaua!
Sept. 12, 1873

On Sept. 10th I reported that the request of the soldiers to have the two officers discharged was granted and peace and order in the barracks was restored at noon of that day. — But only too soon the old state of affairs was reestablished; the rebels continued to show mistrust and they asked for guarantees that their requests had been granted and they also wanted the security that they would not be persecuted in any way. They did not want to vacate the barracks, they would hold them to the last with weapons in their hands! Soon the same conditions as before prevailed; they showed defiance and disdain to all authority. They obtained powder from the palace yard from where they also had taken the cannons and during the night they manufactured about 2,000 cartridges, they used the lead of the water pipes in the barracks to manufacture cannon balls from it. Consider how all this could have been possible: — an open mutiny lasting five days — no power to suppress it immediately. The rebels advance from the barracks to the palace grounds — always keeping a distance of a few thousand paces — they procure cannons and powder for themselves and nobody prevents them. Nobody is there to guard these things and to take them into safety. The people cheer them and encourage the soldiers; there prevails complete anarchy! Fearing the worst the Government gave in all around but since they had no means of getting possession of the barracks and the weapons, the rebels and their followers were more and more demoralized!

I went to the barracks this morning to convince myself whether the above mentioned rumor and the article referring to it in the Nukou could be substantiated. At the entrance to the barracks I met Governor Dominis, the highest in command, showing a serious almost anxious face. I expressed the desire to inspect 'my' barracks. We entered, walked through all the rooms with the exception of that where the rebels had stored their ammunition. Under the pretext of wanting to show me the whole establishment the Governor asked to have this room opened also and this superior official received the bold answer: 'No, we won't surrender the key.' And that was that. The soldiers just had their breakfast, some cleaned their weapons, others cast cannon balls and made cartridges. The Major of the Guard on duty, Moehonua, who had been sent to the barracks by the Government to keep order sat in the guard-room at the table, alone, his head worriedly supported by his hands. One could have taken him as a prisoner. — Afternoon came and with it the proclamation of the King which dissolved the whole ridiculous and expensive soldier caboodle with the exception of the band — giving assurance to each who deserved it an honorable discharge (which will mean to all without exception) — Now the affair was finished; the King's person was used as a man of straw by the weaklings to get out of the dilemma. Common sense and strong nerves were non-existent. Generals, majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, the Adjutant General and soldiers, in short, big shots and not so big ones of our 'army' of circa 150 men evaporated and with them — which is the greatest advantage in this affair — an irresponsible wastefulness of $30 to $35,000 per year for this dangerous frivolity of a small poor wretched make believe kingdom!
On Sept. 10th I reported that the request of the soldiers to have the two officers discharged was granted and peace and order in the barracks was restored at noon of that day. But only too soon the old state of affairs was reestablished; the rebels continued to show mistrust and they asked for guarantees that their requests had been granted and they also wanted the security that they would not be persecuted in any way. They did not want to vacate the barracks, they would hold them to the last with weapons in their hands! Soon the same conditions as before prevailed; they showed defiance and disdain to all authority. They obtained powder from the palace yard from where they also had taken the cannons and during the night they manufactured about 2,000 cartridges, they used the lead of the water pipes in the barracks to manufacture cannon balls from it. Consider how all this could have been possible:—an open mutiny lasting five days—no power to suppress it immediately. The rebels advance from the barracks to the palace grounds—always keeping a distance of a few thousand paces—they procure cannons and powder for themselves and nobody prevents them. Nobody is there to guard these things and to take them into safety. The people cheer them and encourage the soldiers; there prevails complete anarchy! Fearing the worst the Government gave in all around but since they had no means of getting possession of the barracks and the weapons, the rebels and their followers were more and more demoralized!

I went to the barracks this morning to convince myself whether the above mentioned rumor and the article referring to it in the Nukou could be substantiated. At the entrance to the barracks I met Governor Dominis, the highest in command, showing a serious almost anxious face. I expressed the desire to inspect 'my' barracks. We entered, walked through all the rooms with the exception of that where the rebels had stored their ammunition. Under the pretext of wanting to show me the whole establishment the Governor asked to have this room opened also and this superior official received the bold answer: 'No, we won't surrender the key.' And that was that. The soldiers just had their breakfast, some cleaned their weapons, others cast cannon balls and made cartridges. The Major of the Guard on duty, Moehonua, who had been sent to the barracks by the Government to keep order sat in the guard-room at the table, alone, his head worriedly supported by his hands. One could have taken him as a prisoner.—

Afternoon came and with it the proclamation of the King which dissolved the whole ridiculous and expensive soldier caboodle with the exception of the band—giving assurance to each who deserved it an honorable discharge (which will mean to all without exception)—Now the affair was finished; the King's person was used as a man of straw by the weaklings to get out of the dilemma. Common sense and strong nerves were non-existent. Generals, majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, the Adjutant General and soldiers, in short, big shots and not so big ones of our 'army' of circa 150 men evaporated and with them—which is the greatest advantage in this affair—an irresponsible wastefulness of $30 to $35,000 per year for this dangerous frivolity of a small poor wretched make believe kingdom!
NOTES

1. His first letter home from Honolulu, February 17, 1850.
3. Captain Joseph Jajczay. The king had been looking for a military instructor in Europe, but no account of how Captain Jajczay was hired is at hand.
4. I am unable to identify this person.
5. Charles H. Judd had been appointed Adjutant General the previous February. Queen Emma says that the king had called in John O. Dominis, Adjutant General, on February 5 and asked him to resign, then immediately filled out a commission for Charles Judd and that the Minister of War, Charles Bishop, had refused to sign that commission for two weeks. See Queen Emma to Eugen Hasslocher, February 7 and 17, 1873, in the Hasslocher Collection, Hawaii State Archives.
7. Lot Kamehameha, who died December 11, 1872.
8. William C. Lunalilo, who was recuperating at Waikiki. He died just five months later, on February 3, 1874.
9. "Monday the men were quiet, relieving the guards at the Prison and at the Treasury," (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 13, 1874).
10. United States surveying ship Portsmouth.
11. Russian corvette Askold.
12. Tuesday a message from the king was read to the mutineers ordering them to return to duty or be dismissed from the service, give up their arms and leave the barracks (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 20, 1873).
13. "Thirteen marched out, surrendered to Gov. Dominis and were sent to the Armory," (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 13, 1873).
14. The Honolulu Rifles and the Hawaiian Cavalry, haole volunteer companies.
15. After Lunalilo told them to submit to law and trust to his clemency, the soldiers stacked arms and submitted to orders of Major Moehonua (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 13, 1873).
16. The Hawaiian government was negotiating the ceding of Pearl River Bay in a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Local opposition was so vocal that on November 14, 1873, King Lunalilo and the cabinet decided to withdraw the offer (Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953), p. 259).
17. An American and a brother of H. A. P. Carter, he spoke and wrote strongly against it (Kuykendall, op. cit., pp. 255-56).
18. An Englishman, opposed to American Influence in Hawaii, he spoke to a Hawaiian audience at Kaumakapili Church on June 30, saying the cession would be the beginning of the end of Hawaiian independence.
19. Queen Emma stated her belief that Col. David Kalakaua was actually directing the mutineers by hand signals, apparently at the time of an informal inquiry held on Tuesday (Kaleeleonani to Dearest Coz, September 10, 1873, Queen Emma Collection, Hawaii State Archives).
BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN HAWAII, 1848-1962

by

Robert C. Schmitt

Official birth and death statistics for Hawaii go back to the 1840's. These data are often inaccurate and incomplete. Many of the figures lie buried in long-forgotten reports, disregarded by historians and demographers. Nevertheless, these data mirror with surprising fidelity the changing fortunes of the Kingdom, Republic, Territory and State of Hawaii. Expressed as simple vital rates, they provide an exceptionally useful and objective measure of the social, demographic, economic, and medical development of the Islands.

The Compilation of Vital Statistics

Knowledge of vital trends in Hawaii before the 1830's is either scanty or non-existent. The record is particularly hazy for the pre-contact period, from the earliest habitation of Hawaii more than 2,000 years ago to the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778. Information for the years following Cook's visit is more plentiful. An unpublished manuscript by Romanzo Adams, in fact, has tried to reconstruct the statistical record back to 1778, although other authorities have expressed doubts.

The rapid depopulation that followed the first contact did much to stimulate interest in vital statistics. Perhaps 300,000 Hawaiians lived in the Islands at the time of Cook's visit. Forty-five years later they numbered fewer than 135,000. The first complete official census, taken in 1850, reported a population of only 84,165, including 1,572 non-Hawaiians. This decline became a cause of considerable concern.

The earliest contemporary figures on Island fertility and mortality are those compiled by missionaries. In 1835, they passed a resolution specifying "...that a register be kept at each station of all the births and deaths, as far as they come within our knowledge, to be embodied in the annual report of the stations." Although coverage remained incomplete, the Rev. W. P. Alexander, some time before 1838, "...with considerable pains ascertained the births and deaths of a large section /and estimated/ that there are annually 6,838 deaths and 3,335 births on the entire group..."

The official collection of vital statistics was first authorized a few years later. A law enacted on June 7, 1839 and approved on November 9, 1840 instructed the tax officers to "...take a yearly account of the deaths and births, by which it may be ascertained whether the people of the kingdom are really diminishing in numbers or not." After it became apparent that the tax officials were not heeding this mandate, responsibility was transferred to the newly created Department of Public Instruction. An act approved on April 27, 1846 charged the minister of public instruction "...with the stated enumeration of the inhabitants of this kingdom, of whom it shall be his duty
to make a complete census...including an annual bill of mortality, and of the natural increase." An amendment signed on August 7, 1850 provided for the appointment of local registrars "...from among the school teachers, or other suitable persons...." to be paid two cents for every event recorded "...if deemed correct." Legislation approved on May 17, 1859 required parents to notify the registrar of births within a period of three months, and the nearest relative to notify the registrar of deaths within a one-week period, under penalty of a $1.00 fine. An amendment dated January 10, 1865 assigned the functions of district registrar to school agents.

Responsibility for birth and death registration was transferred to health officials in 1895. "An Act for Keeping Records of Births, Deaths and Marriages," passed by the 1896 legislature, directed the Board of Health to appoint registrars for each district, listed items to be recorded, and set penalties for non-reporting. Legislation approved on April 19, 1913 created the position of Registrar-General. The Bureau of Vital Statistics, later named the Office of Health Statistics and now known as the Research, Planning and Statistics Office of the Department of Health, was established by the 1937 Territorial legislature. A model Public Health Statistics Act was approved on May 19, 1949.

Statistics compiled by these agencies have typically been published in annual or biennial reports. Birth and death totals for 1848, the first year with reasonably complete statistical coverage, appeared in conjunction with the 1849 census results. A similar tabulation was issued for 1849. From 1851 to 1863, annual totals appeared in reports of the Board of Education, often in considerable geographic detail. After a two-year hiatus, publication of annual data was assumed by the Board of Health, a practice it followed from 1866 to 1877. The Board of Education resumed publication of these data several years later, presenting biennial totals without any geographic breakdown for periods from 1868-1869 to 1888-1889. Then, in April 1876, the Board of Health initiated compilation of detailed statistics on deaths occurring in Honolulu, classified by age, sex, nationality, and cause of death. Birth data were added and the program was extended to the remainder of the Territory in January, 1900. Statistics for succeeding years have regularly appeared in the annual reports of the Board (later Department) of Health.

Findings

Trends revealed by these data are shown in the accompanying statistical tables. The first table presents a decennial summary of annual averages, from 1848 to 1962. Table 2 gives annual figures for this period. Statistics for Honolulu, from 1852 to 1910, appear in Table 3. In each instance, data are shown for the base population, births, deaths, and crude birth and death rates. These rates--expressed as the number of events annually per 1,000 mid-period civilian population--are being presented here for the first time in this form. Statistical reports prior to 1900 were usually limited to absolute totals. Although later tabulations included rates of one kind
or another, these rates were usually computed either from outdated census totals, postcensal population estimates of dubious accuracy, or population data distorted by the inclusion of large numbers of military personnel. The recent revision of semi-annual civilian population estimates back to 1848 has made the present study possible.

The birth rate has fluctuated widely during the 114-year period covered by this analysis. It averaged only 21.3 between 1848 and 1859, rose to 41.0 during the 1870's, then subsided. Another crest appeared during the 1920's, when the annual rate averaged 39.5 and reached a modern high of 43.3 in mid-decade. Rates dropped by a third during the following decade, with an average of 26.2 and a low mark (in both 1937 and 1939) of 23.1. Wartime and postwar increases in fertility carried the rate to a maximum of 34.7 in 1953. This peak was followed by a gradual decline, and by 1962 the rate had dropped to 28.5.

Even greater fluctuations occurred in mortality. The crude death rate was 88.0 in 1848, 35.3 in 1852, 105.1 in 1853, and below 25 from 1854 to 1856. The rate rose to 64.6 in 1870, and averaged 51.4 for the decade. By 1900, however, annual mortality had fallen to less than 20 per 1,000 civilian population, and by 1924 had dropped below 15. It continued irregularly downward thereafter, reaching 10 in the early 1930's and an all-time low of 5.3 in 1962. Minor upward surges occurred in 1920, 1929, 1946, and 1960.

Causes of the high level of mortality during the nineteenth century were many and complex. Nineteenth century writers frequently mentioned alcohol, tobacco, sexual promiscuity, idolatry, kahunas, and landlessness as important factors. Adams has referred to still others, such as limited knowledge of treatment for certain diseases, poor infant care, breakdown of the old moral order, and incapacitation of entire villages by disease, and the resulting disruption of important economic activities. Taueber, describing the pattern of depopulation as "...a normally high mortality and episodic decimation..." has summarized the major factors in these words:

The early diversions of activity from local to market production resulted in the main in a conspicuous consumption among the elite. Social disorganization and individual demoralization were cumulative under the impact of such diverse factors as alcoholism, permissive codes of sex behavior, the erosion and abolition of tabu, and the declining securities in feudal land and labor relations. Then, too, there are persuasive arguments about psychological lethargies and a will to death.

Whatever the associated factors and however complex the adequate explanation, one fact is apparent. The increased mortality associated with intruded diseases and disturbed subsistence production was a direct and major cause of decline. Syphilis was introduced early in the period of contact, and it is presumed to have spread rapidly. Mai okuu, whether cholera or bubonic plague, reputedly halved the population in 1804. Influenza, mumps, measles, whooping cough, and smallpox were brought to people who had no resistance to them.
Leprosy became endemic as 'the Chinese disease,' and tuberculosis was a scourge. Epidemics occurred at frequent intervals. Measles and whooping cough struck in 1848, influenza in 1849, smallpox in 1853, scarlet fever in 1870, typhoid fever in 1880, smallpox again in 1881, measles again in 1890, Asiatic cholera in 1895, bubonic plague in 1899-1900, yellow fever in 1911, influenza in 1918-1920 (a worldwide pandemic, reaching its peak in Hawaii early in 1920), epidemic meningitis in 1928, and measles again in 1936-1937. Major disasters affecting death rates have included the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941 and the tsunami of April 1, 1946 and May 23, 1960.

Reasons underlying changes in fertility are even more difficult to assign definitively. With respect to trends during the nineteenth century, Tauber has suggested the likelihood of "...a recurrent or localized low fertility associated with venereal disease, epidemics, or malnutrition...Physiological sterility need not imply altered reproductive mores." The role of syphilis has been mentioned frequently. In more recent times, birth rates in Hawaii have paralleled rates on the mainland, dropping during economic recessions and rising in response to economic recovery or the threat of war. Other factors include the changing proportions of women of child-bearing age, shifts in ethnic composition, increasing knowledge of birth control techniques, and a growing acceptance of American family-size ideals.

Accuracy of the Data

It should be emphasized that the foregoing discussion is based on data unadjusted for underregistration, and hence subject to considerable error for years marked by incomplete or inaccurate coverage. This possibility suggests the need for careful evaluation of the adequacy of the underlying data.

The population base used for computation of rates appears to be reasonably correct. Adams, who made a thorough study of the Hawaiian censuses, attested to their accuracy (at least as regards total numbers) for years from 1850 forward. The decennial enumerations conducted by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in Hawaii since 1900 likewise seem free of serious defects. The intercensal estimates used in this analysis are recent revisions based on the best available data, and, with the possible exception of 1901-1909, appear to be adequate for most analytic purposes.

The birth and death data, unfortunately, inspire much less confidence. Numerous deficiencies mar these series well into the twentieth century. It is significant that Hawaii was not accepted into the U. S. Death Registration Area until 1917, and was excluded from the Birth Registration Area until 1929.

Officials were aware of these shortcomings from the beginning, and seldom hesitated to express their reservations: The return of births and deaths for 1851, have been very imperfect, and from two districts on Hawaii, no returns at all have been received.35

...made by native agents, not all fully sensible to the
importance of correctness in the matter, and cannot be relied upon as entirely accurate.\textsuperscript{36}...unusually imperfect this year \textsuperscript{1855}...\textsuperscript{37} This situation, bad as it appeared, soon worsened. Adams wrote: "The records of births and deaths, 1848 to 1860, kept by school teachers under the supervision of competent Ministers of Education, are valuable though incomplete as to districts. After 1860 such reports became almost worthless...\textsuperscript{38} Data were left untabulated or unpublished for 1864, 1865, and (except for Honolulu proper) throughout the 1890's.\textsuperscript{39} Alternate sources sometimes showed variant values for certain years.\textsuperscript{40} Although the official figures indicate a crude birth rate under 25 and a death rate below 30 for most of the years between 1882 and 1900, other evidence suggests rates twice as high: "The age ratios and the age structures of the populations of 1890 and 1896 suggest birth rates of 50 or more per 1,000 total population. If birth rates were at this level and the Hawaiian population was declining, death rates must have been above 50."\textsuperscript{41} Official statistics on births, deaths and migration failed to account for 30,500 of the 36,500 increase in population between 1900 and 1910.\textsuperscript{42}

Registration was poor in Honolulu but poorer elsewhere. The Executive Officer of the Board of Health complained in 1897 that "not half of the births in the city are registered."\textsuperscript{43} Two years later he wrote that "The reports of births, marriages and deaths from most of the districts of the Islands outside of Honolulu are very unsatisfactory."\textsuperscript{44} Mortality returns for rural areas were termed "merely nominal"\textsuperscript{45} and "of very little value from a statistical point of view."\textsuperscript{46}

These considerations suggested the desirability of a separate tabulation of data limited to Honolulu proper. These statistics, shown in Table 3, cover the period from 1852, when Honolulu figures first became available, to 1910, when geographic differentials in completeness of registration began to lose their significance. It was hoped that computation of separate data for Honolulu would provide both a check on the admittedly defective all-island rates and a clue to mortality patterns for the period (1890-1899) when published tabulations omitted other areas. As it turned out, however, the Honolulu rates were sometimes lower than the all-island rates, particularly before 1864. During years when the Honolulu rates exceeded those for the entire Kingdom by a sizable margin (1867-1877), the former seemed so unreasonably high and the latter so close to expected values that one suspected that gross misallocation rather than differential completeness was at fault. As noted by the Board of Health:\textsuperscript{47}

The death-rate of Honolulu...is unfair; the number of non-residents dying in Honolulu is increasing continually... The Chinese laborers particularly, find their way to Honolulu when sick, and many die within a few hours after landing.

Non-resident deaths eventually dropped from 11 percent of the total in 1884-1885 to two percent in 1897.\textsuperscript{48}

Registration improved considerably after 1910. A test conducted
by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in 1918 indicated that 98 percent of all deaths occurring in Hawaii were reported.49 The same agency tested birth registration during the second half of 1919, and estimated it to have been 82 percent complete.50 Their 1930 check found 93 percent of all births registered.51 Reporting of births reached 97.7 percent completeness in 1940 and 99.9 percent in 1950, the last time a systematic test was conducted.52

The limitations of the nineteenth century data in the accompanying tables are thus evident. Underreporting and misallocation were frequent, and varied both from year to year and place to place. Statistics were particularly bad for rural areas during the last third of the century.

In spite of these shortcomings, the data offer much of value for social, demographic, and medical research. The crude birth and death rates traced in Tables 1, 2 and 3 provide at least a rough quantitative measure of public health progress in Hawaii over a 115-year period. Data covering the last 50 or 55 years of this span are quite adequate. These statistics suggest the possibility of computing age-sex-specific mortality rates, gross and net reproduction rates, life tables, and similar measures of vital trends, separately by ethnic group and perhaps extending back as far as the 1870's. Such refined analyses have heretofore been confined to years since 1910 or 1920.53 Much more can be done.

NOTES

* The author wishes to thank the many persons who helped assemble data for this paper, particularly Miss Janet E. Bell, Professor Bernhard L. Hormann, and the staffs of the State Archives, the State Department of Health, and the Hawaiian Historical Society. The first draft was reviewed by Charles G. Bennett, George Tokuyama, and Miss Lillian Louis of the Department of Health.


4. Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York: The


9. Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A. D. 1850; to which are appended the other acts passed...1850, pp. 200-201.

10. The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands...1859, Title 2, Art. XXIX, Sec. 752-765.

11. Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha V...1864-65, Sec. 44.


13. Laws of the Territory of Hawaii...1913, Act 86.


15. Laws of the Territory of Hawaii...Regular Session, 1949, Act 327.


17. The Polynesian, May 4, 1850.

18. Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for 1852 (p. 45), 1853 (table after p. 68), 1854 (table at end of report), and 1855 (p. 15 and table at end of report); Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1856 (pp. 11-12 and table after p. 14) and 1858 (p. 22 and tables at end of report); Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1860 (tables at end of report), 1862 (tables at end of report), and 1864 (tables at end of report). These reports present data for each year from 1851 to 1863. Data for 1850, 1864 and 1865 were apparently never published.

19. Report of the Board of Health for 1868 (p. 11), 1870 (p. 22), 1872 (p. 17), 1874 (p. 12), 1876 (p. 9), and 1878 (p. 9).

20. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1882 (p. 47), 1884 (p. 52), 1886 (p. 43), 1888 (p. 78), and 1890 (p. 150).

21. Biennial Report of the Board of Health...1878, pp. 7-8; Report of the President of the Board of Health for 1880 (pp. 54-57), 1884 (pp. cvi-cv), 1886 (pp. 6-9), 1888 (tables after p. 60 and p. 62), 1890 (tables after p. 68), 1892 (tables after p. 74), 1894 (tables after p. 62), 1895 (tables after p. 14), and 1899 (pp. 35 and 37); Board of Health Report...1882, pp. 90 and 92; Report of the Board of Health...1897, tables after p. 54.

22. Annual data for the period from 1900 to 1909 were recapitulated in Report of the President of the Board of Health...1909, pp. 33-46.

(pp. 33-46), 1910 (pp. 60-61), 1911 (pp. 106-107), 1912 (pp. 3-4), 1913 (pp. 4-5), 1914 (pp. 25-27), 1915 (pp. 9 and 11), 1916 (pp. 9-10), 1917 (pp. 8-9), 1918 (pp. 8-9), 1919 (pp. 6 and 9), 1920 (pp. 6 and 10), 1921 (pp. 9 and 12), 1922 (pp. 31 and 36), 1923 (pp. 28 and 35), 1924 (pp. 29 and 35), 1925 (pp. 23 and 29), 1926 (pp. 27 and 34), 1927 (pp. 28 and 32), 1928 (pp. 17 and 23), 1929 (p. 2), and 1930 (p. 2); Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for 1931 (pp. 89-90) and 1932 (pp. 103-104); Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii, Its Major Activities, 1933, pp. 3 and 5; Annual Report, Board of Health for 1934 (pp. 18 and 23), 1935 (pp. 25 and 46), 1936 (pp. 34 and 59), 1937 (pp. 40 and 73, 1938 (pp. 32 and 67), and 1939 (pp. 39 and 77); Board of Health, Territory of Hawaii, Report for Fiscal Year 1940, pp. 26 and 34. Because of changing coverage and reporting periods, 1941-1962 data used in the present study were obtained directly from the Department of Health. Calendar year data back to 1912 are recapitulated in Annual Report, Department of Health, State of Hawaii, Statistical Supplement, 1960, pp. 6-9. Data for 1961 appear in the 1961 Supplement.


27. Irene B. Taeuber, loc. cit.


31. See, for example, A. O. Forbes, op. cit., and Romanzo Adams, MS, p. 129.

32. Romanzo Adams, MS, p. 106 (quoted in Bernhard L. Horman, op. cit., p. 221).

33. Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, op. cit.

35. Report of the Minister of Public Instruction...1852, p. 45.

36. Report of the Minister of Public Instruction...1855, p. 15.

37. Report of the President of the Board of Education...1856, p. 11.

38. Romanzo Adams, MS, p. 107 (quoted in Bernhard L. Hormann, op. cit., p. 221.

39. See, however, Romanzo Adams, MS, p. 108: "From 1890 on, records of births and deaths were kept for all the Islands and, while there is considerable incompleteness, they may be used with some allowance." I have been unable to find these data.

40. See, for example, the different figures for 1867 in the Report of the Board of Health for 1868 (p. 11) and 1870 (p. 22), and the discrepancies between Board of Health and Board of Education totals for 1881 reported by Dr. Charles T. Rodgers in the unpublished minutes of the Social Science Association of Honolulu for December 4, 1882. Dr. Rodgers's paper is summarized in Stanley D. Porteus, A Century of Social Thinking in Hawaii (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1962, p. 32).

41. Irene B Taeuber, op. cit., p. 100.

42. Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, op. cit., pp. 2 and 6.

43. Report of the Board of Health...1897, pp. 55-56.

44. Report of the President of the Board of Health...1899, p. 22.


46. Report of the President of the Board of Health, November 10th, 1900 to February 1st, 1901, p. 7.

47. Report of the President of the Board of Health...1884, p. 11.

48. See the Board of Health reports for 1886 to 1897 cited in footnote 21.


50. Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health...1920, p. 10 and p. 99.

51. Letter from Lunde (footnote 49).


53. For exceptions, see Irene Taeuber's analysis of fertility and mortality levels implicit in 1890-1896 census data (op. cit., pp. 99-100) and the 1872-1960 estimates of children under five per 1,000 women 15 to 44 in the Hawaii Department of Planning and Research, Population Trends in Hawaii, 1778-1960 (Research Report 3, April 11, 1961), p. 10.
### TABLE 1. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HAWAII: ANNUAL AVERAGES FOR SELECTED PERIODS, 1848 TO 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>POPULATION&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>DEATHS&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>DEATH RATE&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848-1859</td>
<td>77,600</td>
<td>1,635</td>
<td>3,641</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1869</td>
<td>65,200</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>2,638</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1879</td>
<td>56,600</td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1889</td>
<td>77,900</td>
<td>1,799</td>
<td>1,923</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1899</td>
<td>105,300</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1909</td>
<td>165,100</td>
<td>2,796</td>
<td>2,763</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1919</td>
<td>216,100</td>
<td>6,872</td>
<td>3,530</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>249,600</td>
<td>11,590</td>
<td>4,181</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>370,600</td>
<td>9,680</td>
<td>3,548</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1949</td>
<td>450,500</td>
<td>12,042</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1959</td>
<td>500,200</td>
<td>15,883</td>
<td>3,043</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1962</td>
<td>609,300</td>
<td>17,526</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>Military personnel included to 1897 but excluded thereafter. Residence basis to 1950, de facto basis (including visitors present but excluding residents absent) thereafter.

<sup>2</sup>Place of occurrence basis. Not adjusted for underregistration. Data on deaths include military personnel to 1940 but exclude them thereafter. Birth and death rates are annual events per 1,000 population, computed as unweighted average of annual rates for period.

Source: Computed from present study, Table 2.
TABLE 2. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HAWAI'I: ANNUALLY, 1848 TO 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION1</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS2</th>
<th>DEATHS2</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE2</th>
<th>DEATH RATE2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>90,300</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>7,943</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>85,600</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>4,320</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>83,900</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>82,000</td>
<td>2,424</td>
<td>5,792</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>1,852</td>
<td>2,322</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>76,400</td>
<td>1,513</td>
<td>8,026</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>105.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>73,000</td>
<td>1,381</td>
<td>1,439</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>72,900</td>
<td>1,642</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>72,600</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>72,100</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>2,017</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>71,600</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>71,000</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>2,291</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>70,200</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>2,343</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>69,300</td>
<td>1,543</td>
<td>2,249</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>68,200</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>2,426</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>66,900</td>
<td>1,594</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>65,500</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>64,600</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>63,600</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>62,400</td>
<td>1,747</td>
<td>2,606</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>61,000</td>
<td>2,104</td>
<td>3,351</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>2,163</td>
<td>3,528</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>59,100</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>3,819</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>58,200</td>
<td>2,559</td>
<td>3,502</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>57,400</td>
<td>2,338</td>
<td>3,056</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>56,300</td>
<td>2,372</td>
<td>3,009</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>55,200</td>
<td>2,217</td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>54,200</td>
<td>2,558</td>
<td>2,988</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>54,500</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>2,426</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>55,500</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>1,869</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>4,753</td>
<td>5,782</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>66,100</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>5,101</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>71,800</td>
<td>3,188</td>
<td>3,648</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>80,600</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>84,500</td>
<td>3,087</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>86,500</td>
<td>3,832</td>
<td>3,761</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-99</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>153,900</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>2,376</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>155,200</td>
<td>2,058</td>
<td>3,029</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>157,100</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>2,578</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>162,300</td>
<td>2,526</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>167,600</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>166,400</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>2,686</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>166,400</td>
<td>2,830</td>
<td>2,854</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HAWAII: ANNUALLY, 1848 TO 1963--con.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION¹</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS²</th>
<th>DEATHS²</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE²</th>
<th>DEATH RATE²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>174,200</td>
<td>3,574</td>
<td>3,065</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>180,800</td>
<td>2,138</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>184,600</td>
<td>4,941</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>188,300</td>
<td>4,302</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>192,600</td>
<td>4,494</td>
<td>3,296</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>197,400</td>
<td>5,147</td>
<td>3,071</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>206,400</td>
<td>5,568</td>
<td>3,232</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>214,900</td>
<td>6,756</td>
<td>3,707</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>219,900</td>
<td>7,278</td>
<td>3,556</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>225,300</td>
<td>7,999</td>
<td>3,940</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>232,500</td>
<td>8,707</td>
<td>3,498</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>239,100</td>
<td>9,404</td>
<td>4,010</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>245,000</td>
<td>9,164</td>
<td>4,051</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>251,500</td>
<td>10,165</td>
<td>4,564</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>250,300</td>
<td>10,156</td>
<td>3,789</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>254,800</td>
<td>11,249</td>
<td>4,113</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>277,500</td>
<td>11,335</td>
<td>4,654</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>289,200</td>
<td>12,128</td>
<td>4,218</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>302,600</td>
<td>13,109</td>
<td>4,017</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>313,200</td>
<td>12,417</td>
<td>4,056</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>320,000</td>
<td>12,296</td>
<td>3,929</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>330,200</td>
<td>11,543</td>
<td>3,992</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>340,900</td>
<td>11,498</td>
<td>4,481</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>349,700</td>
<td>10,873</td>
<td>3,976</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>358,500</td>
<td>10,831</td>
<td>3,805</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>365,900</td>
<td>10,652</td>
<td>3,688</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>368,100</td>
<td>10,014</td>
<td>3,646</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>367,000</td>
<td>9,431</td>
<td>3,679</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>368,800</td>
<td>9,252</td>
<td>3,236</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>373,800</td>
<td>8,960</td>
<td>3,335</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>378,600</td>
<td>8,763</td>
<td>3,684</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>384,700</td>
<td>8,986</td>
<td>3,219</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>391,100</td>
<td>9,038</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>395,500</td>
<td>9,524</td>
<td>3,025</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>403,033</td>
<td>9,607</td>
<td>3,047</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>427,390</td>
<td>10,385</td>
<td>3,301</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>448,664</td>
<td>10,979</td>
<td>2,989</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>457,730</td>
<td>12,211</td>
<td>2,984</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>461,167</td>
<td>12,597</td>
<td>2,861</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>464,119</td>
<td>11,945</td>
<td>3,095</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>473,140</td>
<td>14,050</td>
<td>3,155</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>483,772</td>
<td>14,523</td>
<td>3,002</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>490,767</td>
<td>14,604</td>
<td>3,160</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>478,119</td>
<td>14,124</td>
<td>2,897</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HAWAII: ANNUALLY, 1848 TO 1963--con.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS</th>
<th>DEaths</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE</th>
<th>DEATH RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>474,624</td>
<td>13,845</td>
<td>2,909</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>468,957</td>
<td>15,024</td>
<td>2,947</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>464,966</td>
<td>16,150</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>473,743</td>
<td>15,928</td>
<td>2,964</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>483,720</td>
<td>16,146</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>506,760</td>
<td>17,112</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>527,109</td>
<td>16,852</td>
<td>3,228</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>555,222</td>
<td>16,944</td>
<td>3,295</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>568,661</td>
<td>16,701</td>
<td>3,134</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>590,650</td>
<td>17,236</td>
<td>3,519</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>605,336</td>
<td>17,338</td>
<td>3,368</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>631,927</td>
<td>18,005</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>649,590</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1As of July 1, 1848 to 1877; January 1, 1879 to 1889; July 1, 1900 to 1907; April 1, 1908; and January 1, 1909 to 1963. Military personnel included to 1889 but excluded thereafter. Place of residence basis to 1950, de facto basis (including visitors present but excluding residents absent) thereafter.

2Calendar years ending December 31, 1848 to 1877 and 1900 to 1907; 24-month periods ending December 31, 1879 to 1889; six-month period ending June 30, 1908; twelve-month periods ending June 30, 1909 to 1962. Mortality data for 1941 and 1944 on place of residence basis; mortality data for other years and all birth data on place of occurrence basis. Not adjusted for underregistration. Data on deaths include military personnel to 1940 but exclude them thereafter. Birth and death rates are annual events per 1,000 mid-period population.

### TABLE 3. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HONOLULU: ANNUALLY, 1852 TO 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION(^1)</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS(^2)</th>
<th>DEATHS(^2)</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE(^2)</th>
<th>DEATH RATE(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>12,300</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>11,900</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>3,759</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>315.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>12,200</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>13,400</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>14,300</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>13,600</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>13,600</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>1,052</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>113.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>14,100</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>109.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>14,300</td>
<td>1,372</td>
<td>1,913</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>133.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>107.7</td>
<td>137.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>1,878</td>
<td>100.6</td>
<td>126.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>14,600</td>
<td>1,353</td>
<td>1,639</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>112.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>121.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>1,553</td>
<td>1,703</td>
<td>112.5</td>
<td>123.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>1,015</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>71.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>13,900</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>15,900</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>17,700</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>18,900</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>20,100</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>21,400</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>21,500</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>21,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>22,100</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>22,600</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>23,700</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>24,800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>26,400</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>27,600</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3. POPULATION, LIVE BIRTHS, AND DEATHS, FOR HONOLULU: ANNUALLY, 1852 TO 1910--con.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>LIVE BIRTHS</th>
<th>DEATHS</th>
<th>BIRTH RATE</th>
<th>DEATH RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>29,300</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>30,600</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>35,700</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>39,300</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>39,900</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>40,600</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>42,300</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>43,900</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>43,900</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>44,200</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>46,500</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>17.2-</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>48,500</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>49,800</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>51,100</td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As of July 1, 1852 to 1907; April 1, 1908; and January 1, 1909 and 1910. Includes military personnel.
2 Calendar years ending December 31, 1852 to 1907; six-month period ending June 30, 1908; twelve-month periods ending June 30, 1909 and 1910. Place of occurrence basis. Not adjusted for underregistration. Rates are annual events per 1,000 mid-period population.


A NOTE--THE BISHOP MUSEUM LIBRARY AS A HISTORY SOURCE

by

Margaret Titcomb

In a library such as that of Bishop Museum, devoted to the "ethnology and natural history" of the Pacific, the history of events cannot be excluded, especially for Hawaii, our own area. And if the word history is taken in its broad meaning as a record of events, then we
have to decide what are events. If we mean the occurrences in the lives of us who live here, that will fill many books; if we include events and causes of them that have affected the lives of plants and animals, we have a very large amount of material to deal with; and if we are students, we earnestly pray that what we want to know has been the subject of inquiry and record.

If numbers of catalog cards have any effect on our decision as to how extensive a library is devoted to history, we can say that there are about 400 cards that bear the words HAWAII-HISTORY, and another 600 that come under description and travel. But the subject permeates a good many more books that those numbers do not include. The library has a collection of accounts of early voyages in the Pacific that is nearly complete. And works issued since those days are numerous. In spite of all this extent of historical coverage, Bishop Museum's library must be second, third, or fourth to others here. Governmental reports, missionary records, and commerce and economics in general are surely better covered elsewhere.

The library is of the reference type, entirely, which denies widespread use but guarantees—except for our own carelessness—that the material be here at all times. We are glad to have anyone use the library though, our staff being small, we cannot further campaigns for drawing in large numbers of users. It is, however, a pleasure to be of use and to find that our resources are of historical value.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.
CONTENTS

THE POINT OF LAHAINA.....................................126
Frances Jackson

COMMUNICATIONS........................................135

THE BEAVERS' PEDIGREE.................................136
Richard A. Greer

LA TETE FANTASTIQUE.................................141

BRICK FACTORY IN HONOLULU............................141
Manuel G. Jardin

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS....................142

*+
*0=*+
*
The town of Lahaina continues to attract visitors. This short paper will explore a portion of the town as seen by some earlier voyagers.

During the pre-European period, the Lahaina district was a favored area for the Maui chiefs. It was also the scene of some furious battles, notably one between Alapainui of Hawaii and Peleioholani of Oahu in 1783. Each was supporting a rival for the Maui domains, and the resulting struggle was notable for the great slaughter, piles of bones still are unearthed between Honokawai and Lahaina. Hawaiian chiefs espoused the scorched-earth policy so that, by the time Kamehameha I had finally quieted Maui, the land was in ruins. In 1793 Vancouver saw "Mowee, and its neighboring islands...reduced to great indigence by the wars, in which for many years they have been engaged." The fields were "...lying waste, their fences partly or entirely broken down, and their little canals utterly destroyed."

For his part, Kamehameha the Conqueror did not spend too much time at Lahaina. He came through in February of 1795 with a fleet of war canoes, plundered the town, and went on. According to Jarvis, writing in 1843, "The nominal submission of the king of Kauai [1796] contented his ambition;...He remained at Hawaii four years [until 1801] and afterward spent much time at Lahaina, occupied in arranging his plans on a permanent basis." "In 1801, he returned to Oahu, to prepare a great armament for the conquest of Kauai. This occupied him two years." "Kamehameha resided at Kailua seven years....On the 8th of May, 1819, at the age of sixty-six, this great and good savage died." Cleveland notes, under date of June 21, 1803, that Kamehameha was again at Mowee. Kamehameha visited frequently but rarely resided at Lahaina.

While Kamehameha was arranging for single administration of the several islands, the sailing captains were beginning to stop off at some of the ports, usually Kailua and Kawaihae on the island of Hawaii, or at Honolulu on Oahu. Lahaina was not much of a trade town yet, and it was not until the whalers came that it became popular.

### Lahaina Roads

The roadstead, of course, was the early claim to fame of this otherwise unremarkable village. Sea captains soon were writing enthusiastic reports of the protection from gales afforded by the nearby islands, the good bottom for holding, and the generally favorable anchorage. The major hazard was the channel in to shore, a narrow
break in the reef running from point to point of Lahaina "bay" which regularly dumped unskilled seamen into the surf. The natives just as regularly fished them out, rarely the worse for wear. The Hawaiians were considered wondrously skilled in the sea--few sailors could even swim--and it was a rare writer who could resist including the latest story of shark-hunting for fun, or a long passage on the sport of surf-riding.11

Lahaina Town

The town itself made a fairly consistent first impression on the visitors: It was a pretty little town, nestled between the lovely, wide beach and the mountains rising a half mile inland, with smallish straw houses along one main road. And it was a veritable Eden of breadfruit, banana, coconut, kou, and kukui trees rising above orderly gardens of taro, yams, sugar cane, and cloth plants.12 There were ponds of water both for taro plantings and for fish, contained within enclosures and watered by a regular system of ditches and canals leading from the streams. Naturally, a few writers found failures in this paradise, but most complaints were tempered with humor and a genuine delight in the place. This is typical:

Lahaina is one of those places which you like much better as you approach or recede from it, than when you are actually in it. A little way off it seems sweetly embosomed in breadfruit trees, and all fresh and lovely with sunshine and verdure, calmly enclosed seaward within a fence of foam, made by the sea breaking upon the coral reef. Ride over the rollers in a whale-boat or native canoe, get to the sun-burnt, dusty land, walk up a few rods, perhaps with white pantaloons, to the mission-houses, and make acquaintance on the way to your heart's content with Lahaina dust and caloric, and you will probably by that time be saying to yourself, 'Twas distance lent enchantment to the view'.

However, dirt, fleas, mosquitoes, and heat to the contrary notwithstanding, Lahaina has so salubrious and dry a climate, and advantages for healthful sunbathing all the year round, that one who is anything of an invalid like to be there....13

The Point

Lahaina had hosted vessels since the 1790's, but the earliest visitor to provide a map of the area was His French Majesty's Corvette L'Uranie, which arrived in 1819.14 The features shown in this map, when traced to more recent times, provide a capsule history of Lahaina life.

L'Uranie located the landing at the foot of what is now Dickenson Street where a stream emptied into the sea and had deposited a sandy beach. The main part of the village was to the north, toward Mala, but the taro patches, clearly shown, were on the Point itself, and just back of it, on property later given to the Mission for their houses and garden. The Point consisted of a promontory just south of
Plan
E LA RADE DE RAHEINA
Août 1819

a. Observatoire de l'Euleine
b. Grand magasin bati en briques
C. Moron
d. Maison de M. Bullier
e. Fosses remplies d'eau ou l'on cultive le Tara
f. Plantation de mûrier et papier
g. Plantation de cannes à sucre
the Dickenson stream, faced with stones, which Gilman, a longtime Lahaina resident, dated as of ancient construction, designed to keep the seawater out. Then it was filled with earth to make a broad plateau.15 At the north it jutted nearly 300 feet, but the southern end, 400 feet distant, was barely fifty feet wide. At this point the shore was again a wide, sandy beach, stretching for nearly two miles south to another rocky point, deposited by another stream. These two projections, or points, enclosed the "bay" of Lahaina. On the Point proper were three features of interest to the mapmakers of L'Uranie: the brick house, the heiau, and their own observation pier.

This Point was already the center of town. It was to become the market place—both western and native—the town hall for the promulgation of new laws, and the part-time royal residence. Next door along the beach was the Fort, whose walls also served to confine law-breakers, and to the rear was the Mission establishment and the governor's residence.

The Taro Patch

Oldest of the features shown on the Uranie map was the taro patch. The most easterly patch survived well into the twentieth century, at least legally. It was known variously as "Apukakiao", "Kapukaiao", the King's, or the Royal taro patch. Clearly in use in 1819, it figured in litigation between Pioneer Mill and the estate of Bernice P. Bishop as recently as 1911.16 A 1919 Fire Map of Lahaina17 shows the area bare of structures except for a garage in one corner, and pictures18 of the same period show the center sunken and devoid even of plants. The last known reference to its use as a taro patch was in 1892, when one Mahuka requested to be allowed to clear and plant it, "...as it is full of weeds,...and because I was sorry to see its condition."19 Late in 1896 Pioneer Mill was still aware of its use as a taro patch, offering $500 for the "...old taro patch in Lahaina called 'Apukaiao'" at public auction.20 The government refused to sell.

The taro patch was across the street from the Richards and Baldwin houses and thus directly in view from their porches when looking toward the anchorage. Happily, the missionaries drew maps and sketches to send to the folks at home, and these provide us with a clue to the development of the patch and of various structures on the Point. A particularly fine sketch, dated 1853, from the Bishop letter book21 details the patch down to the mud walls surrounding it, the banana tree on the near bank, and the taro leaves sticking up above the water where they have not yet been harvested. The whole bank was blanketed with large trees, identified as kukui in another Bishop sketch of the same area.22 This latter sketch also shows what appears to be a small island in the center, with a lone coconut tree growing out of it. There is no doubt as to the lushness of the greenery on the Point.

The patch was under lease at various times; at others it was probably worked as a part of the royal domain. Perhaps it figured in this vignette of Kamehameha III:

Standing on the veranda of Nahaolelua's house one day I heard some voices chanting a Hawaiian oli-oli, and perceived, as the party drew near, the king and queen, John Young and
his wife, and other couples of the Young family, linked arm in arm, marching up the street in a most jolly way, singing. The rain was warm, the air soft, and the company needed but the scantiest clothing no shoes or stockings, but with sweet smelling maile wreaths for dress suits they were enjoying the free life of Lahaina which 'state' denied them at the Court in Honolulu.

It should be stated that the party had been following a custom of the old conqueror, Kamehameha I, which was to encourage his people to work by working with them. The royal party were returning from opening a kalo patch, where a part of the preparation was treading the bottom as the water was let in. There was no necessity for royal apparel, or silk, or satin, but labor was dignified when the head of the nation participated in it with his people.23

The Brick House

The oldest non-Hawaiian structure on the Point, and probably the easiest to restore, was the Brick House, also known as the Kamehameha House, and, later, as the Storehouse. As shown on the 1819 map, it sat halfway down the seawall of the Point, directly seaward of the taro patch, and on the same longitude as the observatory pier. There are two sketches of the area, one by Bishop24 showing the entire area of the Mission houses and the Point, but with structures on the Point only vaguely outlined and identified; and one in the Archives roughly drawn to show the extent of a lease, showing all the structures on the sea side of the Point clearly, but unfortunately out of scale at one end.25 However, the precise location of this house would not be difficult to find today, using the map and a few hours of archaeological work.

Although Alexander uses a quote from the Rev. Richards describing the new Mission premises, "Directly in front of us are several taro gardens and fish ponds, surrounded with cocoanuts, hala and koa/kou? trees, in the midst of which stands the brick house erected by Tamehameha, and called by Vancouver 'the royal palace',"26 our search produced a far different dwelling for the king as reported by Vancouver in March of 1793.27 Perhaps during a later visit he saw and reported the newly constructed brick house. Just when it was built is not yet clear. It is reported unmistakably in 1809.28 Macrae, with Lord Byron in 1825, says it was "built sixteen years ago"—in 1809,29 but Thrum in the Annual for 1909 gives the date as 1816.30 While the date may vary, the brick house is consistently reported to have been built at the order of Kamehameha, probably by some foreigners, for his favorite wife Kaahumanu, but rarely used by her, she "...choosing rather to live after the native fashion, in a thatched hut close beside the other."31 Apparently none of the royal ladies chose to live in it,32 and by the time a mission station was established at Lahaina in 1823, it was frankly a storehouse. The Rev. Mr. Ellis gives the best report of it during his visit in 1823:

After breakfast on the 8th [of August, 1823], I visited a neat strong brick house, which stands on the beach, about
in the middle of the district. It was erected by Tamehameha; appears well built, is forty feet by twenty, has two stories, and is divided into four rooms by strong boarded partitions. It was the occasional residence of the late king, but by the present is used only as a warehouse.

Several persons who appeared to have the charge of it, were living in one of the apartments, and having looked over the house, and made some inquiries about the native timber employed for the floor, beams...33 Ellis sat down and lectured them on Christianity.

The brick house apparently continued to be used as a storehouse by various persons34 until the 'sixties. One of these was, for a short time, a carpenter who illegally buried in its floor some 22 ten- or eleven-gallon kegs of gin, brandy, etc. during the height of a temperance flurry.35 Thrum does not report it beyond the 'sixties,36 and the last reference in the Archives of Hawaii is dated November 23, 1866.37 The brick house does not appear on the S. E. Bishop map of the early 1880's.

There is one other mystery: of what was it constructed? Thrum,38 writing in 1910, notes the construction of a unique brick building in 1853, the first of its kind, designed in, and the materials prepared in and shipped from, Boston. The year before he had listed the earliest successful brickmaking project as not undertaken until 1866.39 Fired brick as a building material would not have received such public interest had it been popular before 1853. Nor does it seem likely that Kamehameha's workmen undertook to produce fired brick. Most writers clearly differentiated between brick and stone, thus eliminating the possibility of its being cut field stone, which certainly was used for building. The best guess would seem to indicate adobe as the building material. There are deposits of good adobe clay in the hills behind Lahaina town today; certainly it was used abundantly as fencing material if the photos, sketches and letters give any indication, and the Rev. Cheever, visiting in the 1850's, found adobe construction sufficiently common to give a recipe for its manufacture.40 He cautioned that the finished building should be whitewashed to prevent water damage; Macrae had remarked that the brick house was whitewashed outside.41 And finally, although the common adjective for the house is "brick", the one use of "adobe" is in a translation from the Hawaiian.42 Interior features, of course, must be guessed. There were two stories, divided into compartments, with native timber for the beams and floors. Brandy could be buried in the floor, however. The number of windows, doors, and the overall height are probably dependent on the adobe material itself and so could probably be worked out today to conform fairly accurately to the original. The roof was doubtless thatch, the outside whitewashed. And that was Kamehameha's brick house.

Observatory Pier and Heiau

The other items appear on the map of 1819, the pier and a heiau. The pier is no longer in evidence, but was shown on a preliminary map by S. E. Bishop dated 1883. Today, if still standing, it would be
beneath the Power and Light building, but since this structure was not built until well after the turn of the century, the pier probably has been destroyed. What is sometimes called the observatory pier is more likely the Lahaina light tower, built in 1884, which appears quite clearly in pictures taken in the early 1900’s.

The heiau is shown in the approximate location of the present Coast Guard tower and light. Although quite possibly one of the heiau consecrated by Kamehameha I and his heir, Liholiho, in 1802, it was completely destroyed by 1823, when the mission station was established. Fittingly enough, its stones were used to build a tomb for the queen mother, Keopuolani, the station’s first convert, who died at Lahaina September 16, 1823. This little hut held her body until it was transferred to the new cemetery at Wainee some time after 1828. It had also served as a kind of defensive position during the riots of 1827 and is sometimes confused with the Fort, built in the early 1830’s. After a while it was converted for use as a dwelling, part of Halekamani or Seaside Cottage, Gilman’s home on the beach, just below the present Kamehameha III School.

Landing, Store and Custom House

After L’Uranie left, other vessels came, mainly whaling ships. They required water, ships’ stores, and a general clearing house for parcels and payments of one kind or another. Thus developed three other features of the Point at Lahaina.

Lahaina was watered by a series of streams coming down out of the hills. One ran down Dickenson Street, and this had bridges over it at Front and Chapel Streets as late as 1884. There was also at this time a stream leading to a pond which at one time apparently emptied via the canal. How far back this waterway was brackish is not known. By 1884 it must have been unpleasant without any outlet to the sea for drainage. But the best water supply was a series of wells and pumps near the Richards’ house. The 1858 Bishop sketch shows the well in their yard, and an earlier sketch of the Baldwin premises shows both a well back of the house and a pump back of the kitchen. Another sketch indicates "water" at the top of Fort, now Hotel, Street. And, writing in 1935, Alexander says: "Next to the Richards’ house the ships had their watering place."

This water was somewhat brackish—the mission families dripped mountain stream water through stones, or stored up the infrequent rainwater for drinking purposes—but it was adequate for all other uses, and apparently seamen accepted it. A mission daughter wrote of the process: "From the landing straight up to and across the main street [now Front Street] was a hand pump, and during the season, sailors were rolling constantly huge casks for water, and steadily on for weeks that hand pump worked night and day, the sound reaching our house." In the course of an 1857 lease application for a corner of what is now the Court House Square, it was recommended that "...the north west front of the lot should be set back twelve or fifteen feet, so as to widen the passage to the landing. At present the passage, though an important thoroughfare, is narrow and dirty, & is often entirely obstructed by water casks, as it is in a direct line from the
watering place to the beach."

The landing had been completely moved from the base of the sometimes flooded Dickenson Street stream, to the protected sandy spit just south of the Point. Besides being in a direct line with the water supply, it was also right next door to the store and the Custom House.

**Gilman Store**

Gorham Gilman arrived in the islands in 1841, clerked for a while, and then left to make his fortune in the California gold fields. Returning in 1849, he again clerked, this time in Lahaina, but soon had his own place, taking over the landing location from Sherman Peck, his former employer. He finally left Lahaina in 1861, selling his store to B. F. Bolles. Back in Massachusetts, he set up a drugstore with his brothers, ran for the state senate during the 1880's and 1890's, and served as Hawaiian consul to Boston from 1893 to 1901. He died in 1909, having returned to Hawaii for a brief visit at the turn of the century. He wrote lovingly of Lahaina, for publication and to his lifelong friend Dwight Baldwin. With the mission families, he is the primary source of information on Lahaina between 1841 and 1861.

His store was on the Point, forty feet back of the landing, occupying the site now covered by the Grog Shop of Pioneer Inn. He had a lease on the land all the way back to Front Street, on which were erected various storehouses. His applications for additional bits of land on the kalo patch banks are a prime source of information concerning the location of structures in this area, as he usually included a sketch to show precisely what was desired. He apparently got on very well with his royal neighbors--his store was in Pa Pelekane, part of the royal land of Paunau, and his home was on the beach near those of the premier Auhea, Paki and Konia, and various members of the Young family--and so impressed at least that individual that the American consul appointed him Acting Consul during the former's absence in 1853.

Gilman's is too big a story to fit into this brief survey, but his store was a money-maker, one of two whaler-outfitters in Lahaina still shown on the 1884 map, and its location should be kept open for restoration eventually.

**Custom House**

Next door to Gilman's store was the Custom House. Just when this was erected is not clear; the earliest sketch showing it is dated 1852, and it is still shown on the 1884 map by S. E. Bishop. The operation of the Custom House needs clarification, but it is known to have served as the Post Office, where the recipient of mail usually had to pay the postage--as well as headquarters for all forms, taxes and the like required of ships' captains. The structure was about fifty feet long, with a verandah along the front, and barely fifteen feet from Gilman's, with the same setback from the sea. It shows quite clearly in the 1853 sketch with a door and two windows mauka, facing the taro patch. Also shown is what looks very much like a luna, and beyond is a grass house, probably belonging to the chiefs.
Market, Grass, Meeting, or Beretani House

The one cloudy feature on the Point is this set of grass houses. There are reports of the house Auhea lived in (instead of the brick house), the long meeting house used for the preparation of the blue book of laws in the 1840's, the houses of the chiefs noted in the 1858 Bishop sketch, and there is the market house mentioned in some reports. How many structures there were, when they were constructed and when destroyed, and for what they were used and when, is far from clear. How long, for that matter, did a chief's grass house last? Bishop in 1858 vaguely shows four structures, one of which is the brick house. The 1861 sketch shows only one large structure between the Custom House and the brick house, called Beretani House, building material not specified. Then in an 1846 sketch by Baldwin, the market is located 40 rods away from his house; equally distant in the same direction are the canal and fort.

Obviously there were some grass structures along the sea wall in front of the taro patch. How many, when they were there, and for what they were used are questions that require clarification before any restoration is contemplated.

NOTES

3. Ibid., pp. 332-33.
6. Ibid., p. 206.
7. Ibid.
9. This typically glowing report is given by G. W. Bates in his Sandwich Island Notes (New York: 1854), p. 297: "The anchorage is accessible at any hour of the day or night. The master of a vessel need not wait the mere pleasure of a pilot. The best holding ground is between the fort and the native church. During the winter season, the winds blow strong from the south. The northeast trades blow during nine tenths of the year. A vessel has never been lost here, and both access to this port and egress from it are easily affected by day or night, and at any season of the year."
10. Not to be confused with the canal, apparently built in the 1840's, along what is now Canal Street. The channel has long since been destroyed by various navigational facilities.
11. The various surf spots at Lahaina were named and some were quite famous, U-o among them. The precise location of these surf spots must
still be worked out. The surfs themselves may already be destroyed by man-made changes in the bottom offshore.

12. An accurate landscaping plan of Lahaina can be worked out from these early reports, even to actual placement of species in some of the yards. These reports can also be used to date the introduction of the non-indigenous species.

13. Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Life in the Sandwich Islands (New York: 1851), p. 72. Missionary Cheever visited the islands in the late 1840's, but read a report on the bug life as noted by fellow missionary Daniel Tyerman in his Journal (vol. 2, pp. 56-57), dated April 29, 1822: "There are no mosquitos here; neither are there any bugs. When the latter are brought on shore, in bedding or packages, from ship-board, they presently die."

14. Plan de la Rade de Raheina. Engraved on His Majesty's Corvette L'Uranie, August, 1819.


16. Archives of Hawaii. See various items under ahupuaa of Paunau, Lahaina. Also see Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 29, 1911, p. 11, c. 2.

17. Archives of Hawaii. Sanborn Fire Map of Lahaina, 1914, and also map corrected to 1919.


27. Vancouver, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 332: "The king conducted us through the crowd, who made way for us, and behaved in a very orderly manner. We soon arrived at his residence. This consisted of two small shabby huts, situated in a pleasant grove of spreading trees, where we were served with cocoa nuts...."


29. James Macrae, With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825 (Honolulu: 1922), p. 11.


31. J. Macrae, op. cit., p. 11.

32. HMCS. Chamberlain Journal II, May, 1838 and June, 1842.

33. Rev. William Ellis, A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii... (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1917), p. 64.

34. HMCS. Chamberlain Journal II, June, 1842.
From a subscriber:

Several writers since annexation have claimed that, in the designing of the Hawaiian flag, Kamehameha's advisors suggested that he combine the British and American flags by retaining the Union Jack of the British flag and adding the stripes of the American flag. Since the stripes in the American flag included no blue stripe as does the Hawaiian, it has been suggested by other writers that the blue stripe in the Hawaiian flag was introduced as a gesture of friendship to France.

No early writing (before 1898) that I have been able to find, makes any mention of the above assertions; in fact, no
early writing makes any mention whatsoever of what Kamehameha I was advised to do concerning the design of the flag.

The two sources from which we might have gained this knowledge were Captain George Beckley and Captain Alexander Adams. The logbook of Captain Beckley has been lost, and the journal of Captain Adams (now in the Archives) has been mutilated. Pages during the year 1816 have been torn out of the journal. We have only the accounts as told by their descendants, and these stories conflict.

The question I should like answered is: What are the sources, other than hearsay, from which certain writers claim exactly what Kamehameha was advised to include in the design of the Hawaiian flag?

From Charles E. Peterson, F.A.I.A., 332-34 Spruce St., Society Hill, Philadelphia 6, Pa.:

The Palace was the focus of public interest during the last years of the Monarchy and was well covered by the American press. Very little descriptive material, however, has so far come to my attention. The factionalism that rocked Honolulu probably left bitter memories, but it should have resulted in a wealth of eye witness accounts.

Just how the Palace and its dependencies operated as a royal residence is not clear in many details. The appearance and use of the King's boathouse on the Harbor and his beach house at Waikiki are likewise obscure. Who got the idea of building in the Palace Yard an East Indian bungalow with its iron roof? Was it related in some way to Theodore Shillaber's Bungalow of 1847? Was it connected with the Anglicans and Queen Emma? What, exactly, was the Kinau Hale?

What about the design of the Palace itself? Andrew Farrell thought it very similar to the house of Archaeologist Schliemann in Athens. Everyone will recognize that the inspiration came from Third Empire France, but it must have been transmitted by way of illustrated publications. What were they?

**THE BEAVERS' PEDIGREE**

by

Richard A. Greer

Today, perched above the rush of traffic at the corner of Queen and Fort Streets, a sturdy little immigrant keeps watch. More than eighty years have passed since his vigil began. Carriages and sailing ships, creaking wagons and galloping horsemen came and went under his calm gaze; gas buggies and coal-burning steamers followed them; now his
eye falls with the same benign detachment on the trucks, passenger
cars, freighters and liners that crowd Honolulu's waterfront.

He is a beaver, far from home, yet so long at his post that it
seems his native habitat. He is a weathervane.

It was the far-ranging Hudson's Bay Company that brought the bea-
ver to Hawaii. The Company opened its Honolulu agency in 1834; its
store sat back from the ewa side of Nuuanu Street, between King and
Merchant.¹

Twelve years later the HBC decided to move to the corner of Fort
and Queen. Charles Kanaina, father of the future King Lunalilo, owned
the site. The Company negotiated a 25-year lease at $500 a year, be-
ginning February 1, 1846.² After spending almost a year building new
quarters, it moved into them about January, 1847.³ This business house
was a two-story coral structure, roofed with slate. It was end-on to
Queen Street, but some little way off the road.⁴

Here the Company conducted its affairs for some thirteen years.
Then, late in 1859, it advertised the sale of its stock, interest in
the premises, and goodwill. After winding up the business, the Com-
pany agent left Honolulu in August, 1860. The reason given for this
liquidation was that the finding of gold along Canada's Fraser River
furnished work for the capital nearer home.⁵

Other businesses took over the former HBC premises.⁶ Twenty
years passed; during them Lunalilo ascended the throne and died a king
in February, 1874. His father, Charles Kanaina, followed him to the
gate in 1877. Lunalilo's holdings, organized into the Lunalilo
Estate, passed under the control of a board of trustees. Their inven-
tory listed under real estate:

- Land on the north angle of Fort and Queen Streets, Hon-
olulu, Oahu, known as the Hudson Bay premises: award 247 part
  2 to C. Kanaina for W. C. Lunalilo, 22 June 1854; Royal Pat-
  ent 5695, June 17, 1873, Area 619.9 square fathoms.
- Leased to Dowsett and Co. and Lewers and Dickson by
  Kanaina and Bishop as guardians, for 10 years from February 1,
  1871 by lease dated January 23, 1871 at a rent of $1,000 per
  year, payable semi-annually.⁷

Seven years after Lunalilo's death—on April 7, 1881—the trust-
ees sold the property at Queen and Fort to James Campbell, Honolulu
businessman and capitalist.⁸ Campbell then began a two-story brick
building on his new property, hiring G. Lucas as contractor.⁹ After
work started the government widened Queen Street; this necessitated
moving the foundation mauka.¹⁰ The building, occupied at the begin-
ing of 1882, was called the Beaver Block; it still bears the name.¹¹ And
the iron beaver weathervane of the Hudson's Bay Company took its
stand on the roof.¹²

By 1930 the vane was falling apart. Its "S" had vanished. But
the damage has been made good, and in 1964 the modest beaver appears
ready to serve for another century, if need be.

There is another of the breed nearby; a wooden brother hangs on
the back wall of the Beaver Grill, just under the electric clock, at
822 Fort Street. He too has a history.

In 1853 one Edward Burgess opened a coffee house on Nuuanu Street
in a small building next door to Rice and Company.¹³ Thrum, writing
in the late 1890s, reported that it was "...said to have been the pioneer refreshment saloon of its kind in Honolulu." A reading glass applied to Burgess' sign as reproduced by Emmert in 1853 reveals the following legend:

BURGESS' COFFEE ROOMS

and below, across the front of the house:

SODA WATER HOT COFFEE
SEGRAR STORE & REFRESHMENTS

Burgess soon sold out to Jack Fox, a baker, who hired Heinrich Julius Nolte as his assistant. On Fox's retirement Nolte and a G. Wilhelm bought the business; the restaurant moved to the corner of Queen and Nuuanu where, known as the "Old Corners", it became a favorite Honolulu rendezvous. Kruger died in 1869, leaving Nolte to carry on alone.

The new Beaver Block, in the heart of Honolulu's business district, attracted the enterprising restaurateur. He rented space at what was then No. 7 Fort Street, and opened his "Beaver Saloon" on April 5, 1882. The day featured a free lunch for all comers. These included the chief justice and cabinet ministers of the kingdom, as well as Hawaiian stevedores from the wharves. Robert von Oelhaffen, a prominent caterer, supervised preparation of the victuals; his salads drew special praise.

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser of April 8, 1882, carried one of Nolte's original advertisements. It read:

THE BEAVER SALOON
No. 7 Fort Street
(Opposite Wilder & Co's)
H. J. NOLTE, Propr.
Open from 3 a.m. till 10 p.m.
First-Class Lunches, Tea, Coffee,
Soda Water, Ginger Ale, &c.
Cigars and Tobaccos
of Best Brands.

Plain and Fancy PIPES Personally Selected from the Manufacturers, and a Large Variety of BEST QUALITY SMOKERS' ARTICLES

Lovers of BILLIARDS will find an Elegant
BRUNSWICK & CO., BILLIARD TABLE
On the Premises.

The proprietor would be pleased to receive a call from his FRIENDS and the Public Generally, who may desire

A LUNCH, a SMOKE, or a game of BILLIARDS.

Nolte gave the restaurant constant personal supervision. It became the "...most frequented noonday club in Honolulu...a favorite lunch resort for a large majority of the business element, the civil service, the factory and water front toilers, judges, lawyers, and doctors...a recognized exchange for public opinion and clearing house
for community gossip."23

In 1905 Nolte, then seventy-two years old, sold the Beaver to his son-in-law, James W. L. McGuire.24 McGuire presided over the business—advertised as the Beaver Lunch Room, a temperance coffee house25 for some eighteen years; he sold out on March 17, 1923, to a trio from Sparta—John Roumanis and Peter and Demetrios Anastasopoulos.26 These men operated the restaurant as the Merchants' Grill for a generation. Then on July 21, 1953, J. R. Bosuego, A. B. Bigornias, and H. G. Harrison announced their purchase of the business.27 Another transfer of ownership came in less than two years. On February 10, 1955, Mr. G. M. Chrones opened his air-conditioned and refurnished Beaver Grill in the quarters occupied by Nolte in 1882.28 He sold the grill to Messrs. George Kamiya and Roy Kiyabu, who took control on July 1, 1962.29

Through all these years and changes the wooden beaver has supervised the dining room. It was James McGuire who, a third of a century ago, told how the two beavers—the weathervane and the maitre d'hôtel—came to their post of honor. Both, he said, were discovered in the old HBC warehouse.30 Rescued from its dingy obscurity, they serve today as reminders of the Honolulu that was.

NOTES


5. T. G. Thrum, op. cit., p. 49; Pacific Commercial Advertiser, December 1, 1859.

6. The Anthon Estate map, dated about 1862, shows Walker and Allen along Queen Street, and W. Hoffschlaeger Co. along Fort (R. J. Baker, Sketches and Maps of Old Honolulu, Plate 13).

7. Inventory of Trustees, Document 7, Dole Collection. Archives of Hawaii. On February 19, 1858, Kanaina had petitioned the court to put Lunalilo under guardianship for all of his property. Lunalilo consenting, the guardianship decree was granted the next day. This arrangement lasted until December 31, 1872 (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 14, 1874).


4, 1882.

10. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 4, 1882. Lucas got $1,100 for this work, and Campbell $650 for land taken. He actually received only $10, however. At that time the government levied a charge for "betterment" against property owners whose holdings were improved by such projects. In 1882 this betterment value amounted to $4 per foot of frontage on Queen Street; under this formula, $640 of Campbell's compensation reverted to the government. The Fort and Queen property was inventoried at $70,000 in 1900 (Hawaiian Gazette, September 25, 1900, p. 7).


12. There is little doubt that this was done at the time of construction. A photograph from the R. J. Baker Collection in the Archives of Hawaii, dated about 1885, clearly shows the weathervane.


15. Ibid.


18. Ibid.


20. Ibid.; Friend, August, 1869, p. 72. Edward Burgess was born in London on April 22, 1820, and died in Honolulu on July 24, 1870. A member of the Stevenson Regiment, he stayed in California for a time, then came to Hawaii in 1847. He was among the four or five men who organized the first Honolulu fire company (Hawaiian Gazette, July 27, 1870, p. 3). Wilhelm moved to Hilo about 1870, and died there at the age of 59 in August, 1887 (Hawaiian Gazette, August 23, 1887, p. 8). Krug, a native of Hamburg, Germany, died in Honolulu on July 11, 1869, at the age of 36. He had lived in Honolulu for fifteen years (Friend, August, 1869, p. 72).


22. Ibid. In September, 1876, Nolte had opened a new cigar store on Fort Street. The notice of this referred to Nolte's "...world known establishment on the corner of Nuuanu and Queen Streets, established many years ago, and grown with the growth of the city, until it has become the largest and best conducted establishment of its kind..." (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 23, 1876).


24. Ibid. Nolte died in Honolulu in March, 1907. He was born in Hamburg, Germany, in September, 1833, came to Hawaii in the late 1840's, and settled in Honolulu in 1852. He married a Hawaiian lady; the couple had two children, a son and a daughter, Fredericka. The son was killed in an accident; Fredericka married McGuire.

25. Friend, March, 1907, p. 15.

of King Kalakaua, McGuire served as an attendant during a trip to
Queen Victoria's jubilee at the close of the nineteenth century
(Honolulu Advertiser, May 17, 1941, p. 3; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, May
15, 1941, p. 5).
29. Telephone interview, R. A. Greer with G. M. Chrones, January
15, 1964; personal interview, R. A. Greer with George Kamiya, January
16, 1964.

LA TETE FANTASTIQUE

This refers not to aberrant sanitary facilities, but to a
grotesque horned head that hangs on the back wall of the Beaver Bar,
adjointing the Grill. Report says that the ornament came from E. S.
Cunha's Union Saloon, itself an ornament of early Honolulu (Honolulu
Star-Bulletin, November 17, 1939, p. 10).

BRICK FACTORY IN HONOLULU
by
Manuel G. Jardin-----

Today few Honolulans remember a large-scale brick factory that
once operated in the city. The era was 1900-1905, the area was over
four acres, and the location was upper Nuuanu Valley, in a district
now known as Laimi.

Our family moved in 1902 to the newly-opened residential site,
then known as the J. F. Schnack Tract. For lack of a better name,
and because of the proximity of the already-operating brick factory,
the district was generally referred to as "Brick Yard".

Laimi, the present name, came into being when an improvement
club was organized some time in 1905. One of the club members, a
native Hawaiian, stated that in earlier times, and more particularly
at the battle of Nuuanu, when Kamehameha I and his invading army drove
the forces of Oahu over the Pali, the district was called Laimi. At
this revelation, the club adopted the name, Laimi Improvement Club.

The brick factory stood on the present site of St. Stephen's
Rectory at 2747 Pali Highway and Laimi Road. It was operated by a
coal-burning steam engine, and the bricks were molded automatically.
Delivery belts conveyed them to skips or pallets, which were then
carted to the huge drying shed alongside. After several days in the
drying shed, the bricks were hand-carted to the five kilns close by.
These were heated by coal, also. At this time a Mr. M. L. Smith
directed the entire operation. He lived with his family across the
street, which bordered the present Park Road.

Clay for the brick-making came from a pit behind the drying shed,
close to the Nuuanu Stream. The material came up from the pit on chain conveyors. Before long it was discovered that the pit contained only a small deposit of clay, and it soon gave out. This necessitated the bringing in of clay from Palolo Valley and from Puunui.

From the beginning of the operation the quality of the clay was unsuited for brick-making. The finished bricks would often crumble when exposed to heavy rain. They lacked "body".

Many attempts were made to introduce other materials to prevent the crumbling, but they all failed. This disappointment, added to the fact that Honolulu was not then erecting many permanent buildings, hastened the doom of the venture.

As time went on, the storage yard became filled with bricks that were not being sold, and the plant shut down. Eventually the entire factory was dismantled and moved away. This last operation took place about 1905 and closed the chapter on brick manufacture in Honolulu.

NOTE

A comprehensive article about the brick-making venture appeared in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of August 6, 1901. The business, called the Honolulu Clay Company, had been organized in 1900. Early output of the plant was 30,000 bricks a day; this could be increased to 40,000. F. L. Litherland, the first superintendent, was succeeded by M. L. Smith. F. J. Lowrey was the president; stockholders included Frank Hustace, C. H. Cooke, F. C. Atherton, F. B. Damon, and other prominent Honolulu businessmen.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814-111.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
For the Island of Maui: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui.
CONTENTS

POPULATION ESTIMATES AND CENSUSES OF HAWAII, 1778-1850..............................143
   Robert C. Schmitt

MUSEUM IN A PARK..............................155
   Manuel G. Jardin

TERROR IN THE NIGHT............................157
   Harvey Lee

NOTES...........................................160

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.............160

* +
**=* +
**
POPULATION ESTIMATES AND CENSUSES OF HAWAII, 1778-1850*

by

Robert C. Schmitt

The first fully successful census of Hawaii was conducted in January, 1850, seventy-two years after the earliest recorded demographic statistics of the island kingdom. The first population estimates for Hawaii, made by Captain Cook and his men in 1778-1779, were the roughest of approximations. American missionaries prepared estimates as early as 1823 and conducted censuses of the larger islands in 1831-1832 and 1835-1836. Government censuses were initiated in 1847. By 1850, officials could report a complete, comprehensive count of the population, tabulated by age, sex, race and geographic area and supplemented by data on births and deaths. This 72-year period, one of major demographic changes for Hawaii, thus embraced the first great phase in the evolution of demographic knowledge of the islands.

Sources

Many individuals and groups contributed statistics on the population of Hawaii before 1850. Their work, unfortunately, appeared piecemeal in widely scattered accounts, often missed by later historians. The following pages present an effort to bring together and summarize these little-known sources.

No statistical record of pre-contact population still exists, unless we include the legendary census of Umi:

Umi became king of Hawaii about the year 1500, and established his court in Kona. On one occasion he is said to have collected all the people of Hawaii at a small plain between the cones on the inner side of Hualalai, to number them, and this is called the Plain of Numbering to this day, by the older Hawaiians. Two small hills are said to have been the seats of the king and queen, with their retainers, while the census was being taken. Later all the people went down on the plain, where each deposited a stone, the strongest the largest, making huge stone-pile memorials around the heiau, one for each district and on the sides toward the districts. Thus the piles showed the relative size of the population of the districts.¹

The earliest surviving contemporary estimates are those devised by Captain Cook and his officers. Cook himself recorded an estimate for the Island of Kauai in January, 1778.² Captain James King, who completed Cook's account of his voyage after the latter's death, offered island-by-island estimates for the entire archipelago as of 1779.³ An alternative series was recorded by William Bligh, Cook's Master during the voyage.⁴ Captain George Dixon, who visited the islands in 1787, suggested still a different total for the date of contact.⁵
Contemporary estimates are almost completely lacking for the critical years between 1779 and 1822. The only exception is a series prepared by George Youngson, an English carpenter who lived in Hawaii around 1805. Later writers, such as Adams, have had to resort to interpolation and non-statistical sources to reconstruct the demographic history of the period.

Estimates by the American missionaries are available for 1823 and later dates. Unlike the rough approximations published by early navigators, these estimates were usually based on intimate knowledge of the area, house counts, and even partial enumerations. Even so, it was possible for Adams to characterize their efforts as "...not very accurate, but nevertheless, valuable." The missionaries conducted censuses of five of the larger islands in 1831-1832 and 1835-1836. Careful preparations were made to obtain vital data as well as population counts:

Considering the important bearing which the probable decrease of the population of these islands has upon our work,

Resolved 1. That a register be kept at each station of all the births and deaths, as far as they come within our knowledge, to be embodied in the annual report of the stations.

2. That we take the best means in our power for obtaining a correct census of the people throughout the whole group, including both natives and foreigners, in separate lists. And that each station obtain the cooperation of the chiefs, or teachers or other persons, who shall, as far as practicable, visit and number the people at their houses. And that some missionary, at each station, shall receive the returns, add them, and forward the account, with the names of the districts, to the Printing Committee as early as the first of November next.

Field work was undertaken in late 1831 and again in late 1835. The data were tabulated, estimates were added for the three missing islands (Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe), and the island totals published in 1836. The missionaries admitted that "...There is some reason to believe that the population in 1832 was somewhat overrated, and we think it may be a little under-rated by the present enumeration." Users of the reports were sufficiently impressed, however, to urge that the count be repeated annually.

Efforts to complete a general population census in 1840 were apparently successful only on Kauai.

The first census law of the Kingdom of Hawaii was enacted on June 7, 1839 and approved by the king on November 9, 1840:

Let the tax officers...enumerate the people, male and female, together with the children who pay the yearly tax; and make a separate enumeration of the old men and women and those children who do not pay taxes--let them take a yearly account of the deaths and births, by which it may be ascertained whether the people of the kingdom are really diminishing in numbers or not, and by that means the amount of taxes can be known.
After several years it became evident that the tax officers were not heeding this mandate, and the king accordingly transferred responsibility for census enumerations and the registration of vital events to the newly-created Department of Public Instruction. Approved by the king on April 27, 1846, this act specified both the content and format (but not the frequency) of the census reports:

The minister of public instruction shall be charged with the stated enumeration of the inhabitants of this kingdom, of whom it shall be his duty to make a complete census to be laid before His Majesty in privy council. The census to be taken shall comprise, in distinct columns, the inhabitants in each district, between such ages as the privy council shall direct, specifying also the proportional number of each sex, and shall, as far as practicable, indicate their avocations and such other particulars as the privy council shall direct, including an annual bill of mortality, and of the natural increase.

The first census taken under the new act was begun in January, 1847. Unfortunately, the Minister of Public Instruction was able to present complete data for only Kau District and the Islands of Lanai and Niihau. In a separate report, the Minister of the Interior complained: "The law requiring parents to make returns of all births is stringent, but the returns are not faithfully made...On account of this defect, I can not make full returns for the present year." The census of January, 1848, like its predecessor, proved a failure: "The efforts made by this department to secure a correct census...have not been successful...The reports of births and deaths are too imperfect to form the basis of any calculation as to the increase or decrease of the population." It was not until January, 1849 that the census enumerators managed to obtain a reasonably complete count of the population on all islands. The published results included population totals, annual births and annual deaths for each island, and, for all islands combined, data on age, sex, and race or nationality. The 1849 count was initially hailed as "...probably the most accurate census which has ever been made." Comparison with the 1850 census revealed many inaccuracies, however, and the Minister of Public Instruction had to admit that the 1849 count "...was taken at a time of general sickness. The measles and whooping cough prevailed throughout the islands, and it is probable that the enumerators...were unable, in many cases, to attend properly to their duty." An eminent historian later wrote that "...the official census of 1849 must be disregarded as wholly unreliable." Even so, it represented a great stride forward.

Finally, in 1850, the Kingdom of Hawaii secured its first fully acceptable population count. In scope, the 1850 census was identical to the one taken a year earlier. In completeness, however, it appears to have been far superior. Mr. Armstrong, in presenting the final tabulations, wrote: "This has been taken under my general superintendence, both in Jan. 1849 and 1850, and I give the result as I have received them from the School Superintendents of the several districts. They, together with the school teachers, assisted by the Am. Missionaries, were the immediate agents of the work." He added
that these enumerators obtained "...greater accuracy...this year than last."26 Later critics had little reason to doubt his modest evaluation. Adams, describing this census and its successors, observed that "...the data as to numbers, sex and geographical location are believed to be reasonably accurate..." although "...the age data are not to be relied upon."27

Publication of the 1850 census provided a major benchmark in the seventy-two-year evolution of Hawaii's demographic statistics. It had been a period of constantly increasing scope, refinement, and statistical sophistication in the compilation and analysis of population and vital data.

What did these statistics show?

**Total Population**

Population totals before 1778 are lacking. Radiocarbon dating, supported by linguistic analysis, indicates that the Hawaiian Islands may have been inhabited by 500 A.D., and perhaps even as early as the third century B.C.28 From a small initial population--"...presumably not more than a few hundred persons..." according to Adams29--the Hawaiians increased until "...population was pressing against the means of subsistence..." and even the more remote or marginal areas were occupied.30 A few writers have speculated that a peak was reached before 1778.31 Evidence, however, is lacking:

The exact degree of biological equilibrium achieved by the Hawaiians during the five centuries of their isolation will never be known. It seems difficult to justify the persistent claims that the native population of Hawaii, like that of neighboring archipelagos in Oceania, was in process of degeneration and decline previous to the advent of Europeans.32

Numerous estimates are available for 1778-1779, the years of first contact. Cook's officers were responsible for at least three, ranging from 242,200 to 500,000. Later students have usually expressed preferences for totals between 200,000 and 400,000, although one went as low as 100,000.

The highest estimate is one suggested by Captain James King, who completed Cook's narrative of the voyage following the latter's death at Kealakekua in 1779:

In his manuscript log (as yet unprinted), Lieut. King, after discussing the question at considerable length, says, "The above numbers collected together give half a million for the population of these islands. It is mere guesswork, founded principally upon the numbers given to Otaheiti, and the comparative size and cultivation of these (Sandwich) Islands with that."33

King's published estimate was twenty percent lower, amounting to 400,000 for the entire archipelago:

...the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other point is, that there are no towns of any considerable
size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dis-
persed in small villages, round all their coasts. It is on
this ground, that I shall venture at a rough calculation of
the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each; upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses; which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced, that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added, fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country, amongst their plantations; making in all two thousand four hundred.

If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:

- Owheyee, ------------------------------- 150,000
- Mowee, --------------------------------- 65,400
- Woahoo, --------------------------------- 60,200
- Atoo, ----------------------------------- 54,000
- Morotol, --------------------------------- 36,000
- Oneheow, --------------------------------- 10,000
- Renai, ----------------------------------- 20,400
- Ooehoua, --------------------------------- 4,000

Total of inhabitants, ---------------------- 400,000

I am pretty confident, that, in this calculation, we have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. 34

If King's estimate of 600 inhabitants per mile of coast is applied to a more accurate measurement of "general coastline" (725 miles, excluding the leeward islets35), an all-island population of 435,000 is obtained.

Bligh's estimate was 242,200. 36 His basis for this figure is unknown.

Captain George Dixon, a visitor in 1787, deemed King's estimate of 400,000 "greatly exaggerated" and suggested that a 1779 total of 200,000 would "be much nearer the truth." Dixon's all-island total was apparently based on his own observation of Kauai and the previous estimates for that island by Cook and King. 37 Captain V. M. Golovnin, who visited Hawaii in 1818, likewise preferred 200,000, citing the opinion of European residents as his authority. 38

Among later writers, many accepted King's figure. One was Artemas Bishop. 39 Another was the editor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. 40 A. O. Forbes published an exhaustive review of the evidence which in balance seemed to support an estimate of 400,000. 41 A number of travel and history books (frequently ascribing the estimate
to Cook) quoted it uncritically.

Other historians, however, preferred a lower estimate. David Malo, who lived from 1793 to 1853, is said to have guessed the 1778 total at 360,000,42 Cheever43 and Elkin44 inclined toward 300,000.

Writing in 1888, S. E. Bishop noted that "...later historians have leaned to the more moderate estimate of 250,000."45 Simpson,46 Hopkins,47 and Goodrich48 voted for 200,000. Dutton indicated a total "over 150,000."49 Evaluating King's estimate, Marques termed it "loose" and "...absolutely devoid of any scientific accuracy and value,"50 while Goodrich called it "...a ludicrous exaggeration."51

The lowest estimate of all was that proposed by Sir Peter Buck, who was quoted as saying, "I know of no accepted opinion as to what the Hawaiian population was at the time of Cook's visit. It was perhaps 100,000 or more, but not above 150,000."52 Myerson, after citing Buck's statement, commented: "Probably the true figure lies between 150,000 and 300,000."53

These lower figures are given partial support by contemporary evidence for individual islands. Both Dixon54 and Menzies55 visited Kauai during the eighteenth century, and found King's estimate (and perhaps Cook's) too high. William Bayly hiked over two-thirds of Niihau on January 29, 1778, and reported only one-twentieth the population later estimated by King.56 Vancouver57 and Menzies58 noted that Lehua, said by King to have 4,000 inhabitants, was unpopulated. Emory's archaeological survey of Lanai indicated a maximum pre-contact population of 3,150, in contrast to King's estimate of 20,400.59 The only suggestion that King may have been correct is the finding, by Tyerman and Bennet,60 that the population living on Kealakekua Bay when they visited it in 1822 averaged 685 per mile of shoreline, not much less than the 800 estimated by King forty-four years earlier.61

In view of the wide range of opinion cited in the foregoing paragraphs, most modern authorities have compromised on a 1778-1779 population total of 300,000. This figure was first seriously proposed by James Jackson Jarves.62 It has more recently been adopted by Adams,63 Hormann,64 Lind,65 and Emory.66 It was also the estimate accepted by the present author in compiling the first Statistical Abstract of Hawaii67 and its historical supplement.68

A forty-three-year statistical gap followed the departure of Cook's expedition. Although many navigators stopped in the Islands, and a growing number of white men settled there, contemporary population estimates for the important period between 1779 and 1822 are virtually non-existent.

The sole exception is an early nineteenth-century series attributed to one George Youngson. In his account of his trip around the world during the years 1817-1820, Louis de Freycinet referred to three separate sets of population data for the Sandwich Islands--King's (1779), Stewart's (1825), and Youngson's. Of the latter, he wrote:69

A note believed to date from 1805 indicates that the total population was about 264,160.

And in a footnote to this brief statement:70

This note was submitted by an English carpenter, George Youngson, who settled on Guam after having lived several years in the Sandwich Islands. Although he maintained that
he constructed the estimate with care, it hardly seems to be more than an arbitrary approximation.

Youngson's estimate deserves comment. It has been completely ignored in the published literature, and, except for Kuykendall (whose notes contain a reference to Freycinet's use of the data), no modern writer appears to be aware of the Youngson figure. Freycinet's footnote sounds skeptical; the methodology, if any, remains a question mark; Youngson's qualifications as a demographer—he is, after all, described as a carpenter—are open to question; and, in fact, no other historical record of Youngson's residence is available locally. Although such considerations would appear to throw some doubt on the validity of Youngson's estimate, the fact remains that it stands the test of reasonableness far better than many others published for the years before 1832. This is particularly true if it is assumed to pertain to 1803 rather than 1805, and thus to represent the population before rather than after the great plague of 1804. It is quite close to Adams's reconstructed figure of 266,000 for 1803. The Youngson figures for individual islands are intermediate between King's,79 estimates and those computed by the missionaries in the 1820's; except for Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau, in fact, they appear to be remarkably close to what we now judge to have been the correct totals.

Relatively few efforts have been made by later writers to fill the forty-three-year span following King's departure. David Malo was reported to have estimated a population of 240,000 for 1798. A newspaper editor, writing in 1862, suggested all-island totals of 350,000 in 1800 and 175,000 in 1804. Adams proposed estimates for four separate dates between 1778 and 1823: 270,000 to 280,000 in 1796; 266,000 to 280,000 in 1803-1804; 152,000 to 154,000 in 1804-1805; and 144,000 to 145,000 in 1819.

The record is resumed in 1822. In a note dated August 10, 1822, Tyerman and Bennet asserted that the population was "above 200,000." Mathison, who visited Oahu at the same time as Tyerman and Bennet, wrote that he would not put it "at more than 150,000" for the entire chain.

The missionaries tried to estimate the population in 1823. Their "official" figure was 150,000. Stewart reported the same total, but his estimates for individual islands added to little more than 141,000. Ellis gave the all-island total as "130,000 or 150,000;" his data by island, differing from Stewart's in only a few minor details, summed to somewhat above 139,000. The version usually quoted by later writers, with or without credit, was that derived by Jarvis from Stewart's figures and labeled "a loose estimate for 1823." In this form, the island data added to 142,050. Adams's revision put the total at 134,925.

The missionary census of 1831-1832, supplemented by estimates for the unsurveyed islands, showed a population usually reported as 130,313, although one source gave the count as 129,814. Findings of both this census and the count made four years later were eventually revised by Adams. "He did this by checking earlier figures against later ones, the figures with one island with those of another over a period of time...He came to the point where he was able to evaluate the relative reliability of individual enumerators."
even uncovered some double-counting. Adams concluded: "Accepting the data of the census, revising the estimates on the basis of later and more adequate information and adding, I find the population in 1832 to have been 124,449." The missionaries published estimates for both 1833-1834 and mid-1834, but neither amounted to more than a rounding or slight adjustment of the 1831-1832 census counts.

The missionary census of 1835-1836, like its predecessor limited to five islands and supplemented by estimates for the other three, indicated a population usually given as 108,579 although one source reported 108,393. Adams revised this total downward to 107,954.

Several estimates are available for the early and middle 1840's. The abortive census of 1840 suggested a total in the neighborhood of 88,000. Kuykendall later estimated the native population at 103,790 in 1840 and 99,626 in 1844. Horatio Hale, philologist for the Wilkes Expedition, visited Hawaii in 1840-1841 and reported a figure of 100,000. The 1845 total was later estimated at 99,000.

The official census taken in January, 1849 reported 80,641. As noted earlier, this census was marred by considerable underenumeration. The population, birth and death totals obtained twelve months later suggested a "true" 1849 population of 87,063.

The census of January, 1850 reported an Island population of 84,165.

The trend indicated by the foregoing data is summarized in Table 1. Adams's estimates and census adjustments have been accepted for the period from 1778 to 1836 (note, however, that Adams prepared alternative estimates for several years). The 1849 figure is that implied by the 1850 census rather than the actual 1849 count. The 1850 total is the official census count.

**TABLE 1. TOTAL POPULATION OF HAWAII: 1778 TO 1850**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Series A</td>
<td>Series B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>1823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>270,000</td>
<td>1831-1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td></td>
<td>266,000</td>
<td>1835-1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>154,000</td>
<td>Jan. 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>152,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan. 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>145,000</td>
<td>144,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These estimates indicate an average annual decline of 1.7 percent between 1778 and 1823, 1.0 percent between 1823 and 1831-1832, 3.5 percent between 1831-1832 and 1835-1836, and 1.8 percent between 1835-1836 and 1850.
NOTES

*This article is the first of two on demographic statistics of Hawaii from 1778 to 1850. It describes available sources and cites all-island population totals from each source. A second article, scheduled for later publication, will cover geographic distribution, composition of the population, fertility, mortality, and migration.


3. Ibid., Vol. VII (by Captain James King), pp. 118-119.


7. For the work of Romanzo Adams, see his two untitled, undated, and unpublished manuscripts in the custody of the Department of Sociology of the University of Hawaii. The first consists of four chapters from a work in progress, and runs from p. 86 to p. 151. The second, apparently prepared as a substitute for the first, consists of an appendix running from p. 439 to p. 463. Parts of both are quoted in Bernhard Lothar Hormann, Extinction and Survival; A Study of the Reaction of Aboriginal Populations to European Expansion (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, September, 1949).

8. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XX, No. 6, June, 1824, p. 185.


10. Adams, MS, pp. 105-106 (quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 221).


15. The Polynesian, August 15, 1840 and October 17, 1840; Sir George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842, Vol. II (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), p. 11.


20. Report of the Minister of the Interior (Acting Provisionally as Minister of Public Instruction)...April 28th, 1848, p. 3.


22. The Friend, November 15, 1849.


27. Adams, MS, p. 106 (quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 221).


31. See, for example, A. O. Forbes, "The Decrease of the Hawaiian People and the Causes Assigned for It," The Hawaiian Gazette, January 10, 1883.


34. See footnote 3.


40. Editorial in issue of November 6, 1862


42. A. Mouritz, Our Western Outpost Hawaii (Honolulu: Published by the author, 1935), p. 26. I have been unable to find Mouritz's source for Malo's estimates.


45. Loc. cit.


51. Loc. cit.


54. Dixon, loc. cit.


56. Log and MS Journal, both cited in Kuykendall's notes in custody of Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.


59. Emory, The Island of Lanai, loc. cit.


61. See footnote 3.


69. Loc. cit. Translation by Dr. Lewis Schipper.

70. Ibid.

71. In custody of the Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.

72. Adams, MS, p. 117.

73. Ibid., p. 457 (quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 233).

74. Freycinet, loc. cit.


76. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 6, 1862.*

77. MS, p. 112 and p. 457 (the latter quoted by Hormann, op. cit., p. 223).


82. Ibid., pp. 25-27.


84. Ibid., pp. 20-30.


86. *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, op. cit.,* p. 8.

87. See footnote 12.

88. W. C. Woodbridge, *He Hoikehonua* ("Geography") (Oahu: Mea Pai Palapala a Na Missionari, 1835), back cover.

89. Hormann, *op. cit.,* p. 222.

90. Andrew W. Lind, personal discussion.

91. *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, op. cit.,* p. 4, as corrected to include the non-Hawaiian population indicated on p. 8.

92. *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Read at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting...1835* (Boston: 1835), table 1, p. 78; *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission Held at Honolulu, June and July, 1834* (Oahu: Mission Press, 1834), p. 32.

93. See footnote 12.

94. Woodbridge, loc. cit.

95. *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, op. cit.,* p. 8.

96. Sir George Simpson, *op. cit.,* II, p. 11.

99. The Polynesian, August 2, 1862.
100. The Polynesian, November 10, 1849.
101. See Footnote 23.
102. Ibid.
103. Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, op. cit., p. 8; MS, p. 112 and p. 457 (the latter quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 223). The two series have been arbitrarily designated A and B by the present author.

MUSEUM IN A PARK

by

Manuel G. Jardin

The park and museum located at 2913 Pali Highway and Puiwa Road was once the summer home of Queen Emma. It was also referred to as the queen's mountain residence. Her town house, situated at the intersection of Nuuanu and Beretania Streets, was known as Rooke House.

Queen Emma was born in Honolulu on January 2, 1836, as Emma Kaleleokalani, the daughter of Fanny Young Kekelaokalani and George Naea. However, having been adopted by Thomas Rooke, M. D., she became known as Emma Kalanikaumaka Rooke.

On June 19, 1856, she was married in Kawaiahao Church to King Kamehameha IV, the 22-year-old grandson of Kamehameha the Great. Before his inauguration as king in 1855, he was called Prince Alexander Liholiho.

The marriage was not a long one, lasting a little over seven years. The young king passed away in his sleep on November 30, 1863, in Honolulu, at the early age of 29.

As Dowager Queen, Emma continued to devote herself to the service of her people for another 22 years, until death called her at the age of 49 years.

For the five or six years following the death of the queen on April 24, 1885, the summer home, affectionately called Hanaiakamalama, was neglected and allowed to run down.

In 1891 the minister of the interior issued a permit to James Gordon Spencer to occupy the land as tenant at will, with provision that Spencer expend not less than $300 in repairing buildings.

Hanaiakamalama was built in 1843 by John G. Lewis and later sold to John Young (Keoni Ana opio), uncle of Queen Emma, from whom she inherited the property.

Probably the first to suggest that the Queen Emma premises be set

* The English version of Hanaiakamalama appears to lose something in the translation, but Mrs. Dorothy Kahananui, Hawaiian language authority, gives it as "foster child of the moon".
aside as a park was the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of June 6, 1906. It urged public sentiment to save the property from covetous real estate operators.

Apparently there was no immediate response to the Advertiser article. The subject was brought up at one of the meetings of the Laimi Improvement Club but it, too, failed to act.

The matter dragged on for some years. Then, early in 1910, James T. Taylor, a professional engineer, resident, and owner of nearby property, approached Ernest F. Aguiar and Manuel G. Jardin on the subject of a petition to the legislature to have the Queen Emma home made a park.

Both Aguiar and Jardin were residents of upper Nuuanu and employees of the Mercantile Printing Co., owned by Ed Towse. The latter had been elected representative in the legislature from the fourth district; he encouraged his two employees to circulate the proposed petition.

With a properly-drawn petition in hand, Aguiar and his committee of Jardin, Joseph E. Medeiros, Kalani Scott, and William Kaahui started at the city's electric power station with the Frazees. They then contacted Charles Wight, James Taylor, Roxor Damon of Puiwa Road, and James Gordon Spencer (caretaker of the premises in question), going all the way down to George Rodiek, Alfred Castle, Richard Cooke, the Johnstones, the Schaefers, the Walkers, and the Robinsons, and ending with Clive Davies at Judd Street.

There was not a single refusal to sign. The petition was given to Representative Towse for presentation to the legislature. There were other interested people, especially the Daughters of Hawaii, in the move to make the home a park.

On April 1, 1911, Representative Ed Towse introduced Concurrent Resolution No. 17 into the legislature, requesting that the "Queen Emma Place" in Nuuanu Valley be set aside as a public park to be known as "Nuuanu Park".

The resolution was adopted in the House on the day of introduction, and on April 3 the Senate adopted it also. With the passage of the resolution, and with Executive Order No. 4 of Governor Walter F. Frear, issued April 6, 1911, the premises were designated as "Nuuanu Park". Its area was 9.824 acres.

Official designation of the mansion as a museum came four years later with the passage of Act 188, S. L. 1915, which directed the governor of Hawaii to provide for the setting aside of the "Queen Emma House Reservation" as a Hawaiian museum.

Executive Order No. 31 of Governor Lucius E. Pinkham, dated July 20, 1915, provided for the Hawaiian Museum and authorized the same to be under the direction of the Daughters of Hawaii. The executive order also provided that 22,750 square feet, more or less, of the park be reserved as the site of the museum.

Since that time much restoration has been done to make the former residence worthy of being called Hanaiakamalama. The late Mayor John H. Wilson, who was quite familiar with the premises, directed most of the work on the main building and also restored the lovely fern house.

Today the luscious, green "Nuuanu Valley Park", with an area of 8.65 acres, contains more than 20 varieties of trees. It is under the
jurisdiction of the city's Parks and Recreation Department. The dignified home, formally called the Queen Emma Museum, now closely resembles its appearance in the days when the dowager queen lived there. The beauty and charm of the museum have been well described by various writers. Probably none has given it a more detailed treatment than Kathleen D. Mellen in her latest book, Hawaiian Heritage. The museum is open to the public Monday through Friday from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., and on Saturday from 9:00 a.m. to noon. Guided tours are made from 10:30 to 11:30 a.m., and again from 2:00 to 3:00 p.m.

NOTE: Dates, figures, and other facts cited in this article were verified at the Hawaii State Archives; there the author also checked the petition signed by residents of upper Nuuanu fifty-three years ago. Mr. Jardin writes: "I have derived some pleasure in delving into the history of the 'Museum in a Park', as that was the scene of much of my boyhood..."

TESSER IN THE NIGHT

by

Harvey Lee

It all started on the afternoon of May 22, 1960. My aunt, who lives next door, told us that a tidal wave (or, more correctly, a tsunami) might come because of an earthquake somewhere in Chile, thousands of miles away.

With that knowledge, and from habit, we packed a few things just in case--clothing, mostly, and some important papers such as birth certificates.

We kept the radio on all the rest of the day to hear what was developing. The usual things were said--reports of wave activity from other areas to the line south of Hawaii. We didn't think much of the warning.

That night sirens howled and radio bulletins followed one another while local and state civil defense officials went into action. All I remember is that what we packed was in the parlor, and that I went to bed with the sirens still blaring.

Our house was situated so that if a wave did come, we could get hit both from the front and from the side; we lived two or three blocks in from the ocean and two blocks from the Wailoa River.

My next memory is of my mother yelling for us seven children to wake up. I could tell from her tone of voice that something was wrong. I sensed at once what was going on; the wave had hit. We ran to our car, forgetting about what we had packed. In the car we counted heads and found one missing. My brother, Richard, was still sleeping in the house; my mother, crying and almost hysterical, rushed in to get him. Then we took off.
Our house was on Ohia Lane, which connects with Piopio Street. Once out of the lane, I could hear people screaming and running along the streets to higher ground. Our neighbor, a mortician, was running too with his family. The funny thing was that he had three cars. My mother then began to pray aloud; my little brothers and sisters were screaming and crying. In the background I could hear buildings being smashed to bits. All the lights went out. As we left Piopio Street, we stopped at the corner service station so that my father could go back to see if my aunt, uncle, and grandmother had got out safely, too. But the noise of rushing water and of buildings being crushed into firewood made us head up Kilauea Street to another service station about 800 yards away. There my father left us. We waited in the car and prayed for dear life.

My father came back and reported: Aunt, uncle, and grandmother were all right; our house was still standing, but there was a swimming pool under it. We then went up to Villa Franca, where my uncle lived. There came my aunt, uncle, and grandmother. They told us that when they got into the lane the water had come and was surrounding the car. Debris blocked the way, so they had to get out and clear it. My grandmother, who had been sleeping, thought she heard a fire engine shooting water; that is how she awoke. My uncle, who lives next door to us, owns a service station on the bayfront area, so he, my father, and my other uncle went to see what had happened. We then settled ourselves, but couldn't sleep, so we talked of the night's events.

My father came back and reported: Aunt, uncle, and grandmother were all right; our house was still standing, but there was a swimming pool under it. We then went up to Villa Franca, where my uncle lived. There came my aunt, uncle, and grandmother. They told us that when they got into the lane the water had come and was surrounding the car. Debris blocked the way, so they had to get out and clear it. My grandmother, who had been sleeping, thought she heard a fire engine shooting water; that is how she awoke. My uncle, who lives next door to us, owns a service station on the bayfront area, so he, my father, and my other uncle went to see what had happened. We then settled ourselves, but couldn't sleep, so we talked of the night's events.

My mother, father, next door uncle, and aunt had gone to a canal about two blocks away to see the water rise and fall. My mother said that people were catching fish--mullet--because the canal overflowed. Then she heard this noise like the roar of a train and knew immediately what was happening. A big wave was on the way. She and all the rest of the people there rushed to their homes so that they could get out fast. My mother outran my father; this was when I heard her yelling to us. My cousin said that when the lights went out, blue flashes came from the utility poles--the generator site had been knocked out.

We couldn't go into the disaster area for about two days. Even then, passes from the civil defense were needed; they were given only to residents, businessmen, and others involved.

As I rode in the car down Piopio Street, I could see that half of it was in shambles, while the other half was undamaged. Just before we reached the turn into our lane, I saw a building right in the middle of the street.

There was this smell of rotten fish and other decaying things around the whole area. I found mullet in our yard and under our house. Sand from the ocean was everywhere. I found several orchid plants and other things. None of the three houses belonging to us, to my uncle, and to my grandmother was damaged, but the house next door to my grandmother's was lifted off its foundation and moved. The water had gone into the house, and sand was all over. From this house on, all the rest were damaged. One of our neighbors' homes was moved 500 feet. Another neighbor never did find his house. As I surveyed the area, I found everything one could name--canned goods, oil cans, liquor, plywood, tires (some brand new), recapping rubber (Waiola Tire Recaps was
at the waterfront), paints from the City Mill, bathtubs, also from City Mill, safes (I saw several) and many more odds and ends. All these things came from businesses near the waterfront--the firms already mentioned, plus Mitchell Laundry, Pick and Pay, Kitagawa's (a combination service station and car dealer), etc.

Near our house was this Japanese Buddhist church and right beside it two others. Cars, brand new and old, were everywhere. They were all smashed. In this area widespread disaster was evident. The night before it had been a bustling neighborhood, but that night it was a shambles. The canal where my mother and father had been was filled with debris. A house of friends sat right on top of the canal. Mud and sand were thick, and glass was strewn all over.

On the main street, Kamehameha Avenue, the sight was the same. Moving toward town, I could see a cow alive on the bay front; I wondered how she got there. Parking meters were bent to almost a ninety-degree angle. The Hilo Theater was a mess. Only the shell was standing; the interior was a complete loss. It had been Hilo's finest. The wave put two other theaters, Mamo and Waikea, out of commission.

Not far from where I was standing I could see my uncle's service station. Utility poles were lying near the station, and several boulders weighing over a ton rested where the night before gas had been pumped. Nothing was left; luckily, however, the gas supply tank wasn't damaged. My uncle's folks retrieved oil cans, and we washed them, stacking them in piles.

I could see the business district had suffered greatly, too. A lot of stores were either completely or partially wiped out.

The clean-up was community-wide. High school students pitched in. I was at my uncle's house in Villa Franca and went down to our house to clean up. We couldn't drink the water; it was polluted. There was no electricity. Water marks could be seen on those buildings left standing.

Had the wave been one foot higher, our house would have been moved off its foundation. Our neighbor across the street was sleeping when the wave hit (he lived in a ground-level house). He was in bed, and the water that surrounded him woke him up.

We couldn't move back for about two weeks. No one died in our neighborhood, but a sixteen-year-old boy I knew who lived on the Waikea Peninsula was killed when he went back to his house to turn off something he had forgotten. Sixty-one persons died, both young and old.

That is essentially what happened. Probably I have left out many details because I was in a state of shock, not believing that something such as this could be unleashed to destroy and kill as it did. Even though I had my camera with me, I did not take pictures, because I wasn't thinking. It never occurred to me to take what I saw. I regret this very much now that I think of it.

The question that ran through the city was: Why were so many caught unawares? We were. I can only say that in previous waves nothing as big as this had happened. Several false alarms from prior warnings caused this one to be taken lightly. Some said that the
signals were mixed. My opinion is that apathy among the people was the main fault.

MERCHANT STREET NOTES CONTINUED:
James Campbell paid $35,000 for the land he bought along Merchant Street from his Queen Street holdings to the Hoffman premises (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, February 18, 1882).

C. R. Bishop bought the Hoffman premises on Merchant Street at about the same time, "...doubtless for the expansion of the bank." Pacific Commercial Advertiser, February 4, 1882).

On March 3, 1846, the Cabinet Council resolved that Honolulu Hale be fitted up for three additional offices, to be available for government needs for the following two years or until new offices were built. Mr. Ricord and Mr. Wyllie were to be housed upstairs, and the premier, Mr. Judd, and Mr. Richards below (Cabinet Council Minute Book, No. 1, p. 1. Archives of Hawaii).

THE OLD CORNER:
H. J. Nolte's Old Corner restaurant opened in 1858 at the corner of Queen and Nuuanu Streets. It was advertised in the 1876 Hawaiian Almanac and Annual as a "Billiard, Coffee & Refreshment Saloon".

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED FROM ALL ISLANDS. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO SUBMIT PAPERS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, AND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES TO THE REVIEW.

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814-111. Months of issue are October, January, April, and July. By subscription only. No single copies for sale.

CONTRIBUTORS: Robert C. Schmitt, a statistician, makes his third appearance in the Review this month.
Manuel G. Jardine tells another story of earlier days in Nuuanu Valley, his boyhood home.
Harvey Lee is a June, 1964 graduate of the Kamehameha School for Boys. In his article he tells of his experiences in the Hilo tidal wave of 1960.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
For the Island of Maui: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui.
CONTENTS

OLD-TIME PARKER RANCH COWBOYS .......................... 161
Larry Kimura

MAUI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1951 TO 1964 ............... 168
Barbara Lyons

HAWAII AND THE PANAMA CANAL ............................ 173
Gary S. Victor

A NOTE ON TWO LOGBOOKS OF THE KAIMILOA ............. 177
Jacob Adler

RESEARCH ROUNGPU ........................................ 178

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS ........................ 179
OLD-TIME PARKER RANCH COYBOYS*

by

Larry Kimura

Through the years organized publicity, along with word-of-mouth reports, have painted the familiar picture of Hawaii as a wonderfully friendly paradise in the route of the trade winds. It is here: appealing bronze maidens in gently undulating skirts, lovely coral strands, fields of pineapples, barrier reefs with great tropical waves, wild orchids, haunting, unforgettable music, a beach called Waikiki, fern-bordered cataracts, and mist-filled grottos. But Hawaii is not all surf, palms, and hula.

On the island of Hawaii is a place nestled in the crisp air at the foot of the Kohala Mountains. It is often chilled by rain and wind, and it takes a while for the morning sunbeams to climb the slopes of the 14,000-foot Mauna Kea. Mauna Loa and Hualalai stand to the side, and Mauna Kea presents a grand view of this God's country, called Waimea.

"Pala kuka!" - good for nothing - was the reply of an old timer in Waimea when asked how she felt about the cowboys of today. "Today nothing, waste time the paniolo (cowboy)." Let's see how the first cowboys compare with those of today by going back to trace their evolution in Hawaii.

On the fourteenth of February, 1793, Captain George Vancouver made the second of three visits to the Sandwich Islands. He anchored off Kawaihae Bay, which is twelve miles southwest of Waimea, and landed a seasick bull and a cow. These were the first bovines in the Islands. Vancouver then sailed on to Kealakekua Bay, Kona, on February 19, and landed a bull and two cows. These animals were presented as gifts to Kamehameha I, who put a ten-year kapu on them (as advised by Vancouver) to let them increase. Vancouver was not the only person Kamehameha should have thanked. A man named Quanda who lived in California had given these black or red, long-horned cattle to Vancouver to establish on the Sandwich Islands. Both men were unaware of the exciting chapters of history to follow the landing of the animals.

By 1815 roaming herds became a nuisance, destroying taro patches, potato fields, and other crops and plants. The cattle scoured the plains between the Kohala Mountains, Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai. These living in the mountain forest areas were especially wild. More cattle lived in the higher areas where there were no men to drive them away, and where food was abundant.

The Hawaiian people built fences of stones, and where koa trees were abundant, their branches were woven and twisted to form enclosures around house sites and gardens. Both types of fences can be seen in the ruins in the Waimea area today.

We might say that John Palmer Parker came to the rescue in 1815 aboard a ship loaded with sandalwood from China. The ship anchored in Kawaihae Bay, and here Parker left it to live in Hawaii with Kamehameha's permission. He married a chiefess of Waimea called Kipikane, whose father was Kamehamea and mother, Kaneikopolei.

The Parkers settled at Manoiaole, meaning "no poi or food", east of Waimea on the slopes of Mauna Kea. Mana, as it is called today, was the headquarters for old-time cowboys, and it was known for its hospitality to malihini and kamaaina alike. Mana is a bit of New England, isolated and set against the rich foliage of wild...
ginger, creeper, and ohia, refreshed by the cold air and light sprays of mist. Today a dirt road leads to the two buildings that remain standing; they serve as a museum of the life of the Parkers.

In 1830, Adams Kuakini established residence in Waimea for the purpose of taking wild cattle. He was appointed by Kamehameha as governor of the island of Hawaii. A letter of 1833 between two businessmen stated that Spaniards were employed to obtain tallow and hides for the Lima market. It is safe to say that the Spaniards came no later than 1830. They came not only for the purpose of obtaining hides and tallow, but to teach the Hawaiians how to become cowboys. These Spanish cowboys were hired by John Palmer Parker to work on the already-established Parker Ranch. When Parker came to Hawaii in 1815, he and another man, Jack Purdy, began the first slaughtering of cattle. Purdy came aboard a whaling ship that landed in Kawaihae at about the same time as that of Parker. There Purdy left the ship and took refuge up in the Waimea area; he also changed his name to Jack Purdy so that no one could find out that he had jumped ship. We can say, then, that the Parker Ranch was first started by these two men slaughtering the wild cattle on Hawaii.

And Jack Purdy and John Parker can be considered the first cowboys in Hawaii, though their methods of capturing cattle were not those used today. It is said that because Purdy could get more hides than Parker, he received ten cents for every hide he got, while Parker received only five cents. Purdy trapped the cattle in pits left by lava flows, or in swamps where mud held the animals.

The Parker Ranch could belong to the Purdy family today; Purdy married a half-Hawaiian woman of royal blood who owned much land, and he was an adroit cattle hunter. But he eventually sold the land to Parker because he was too fond of his liquor; on one occasion he traded an acre of land for a gallon of wine. Despite his weakness for strong drink, he was a powerful man. He knew Mauna Kea like the palm of his hand, and he worked hard until his death. He was buried at his home, Po'o Kanaka - man's head. Po'o kanaka is also the name given to the pansy flower, because its blossom reminded Hawaiians of a person's head. Purdy was the first to plant the pansy in Hawaii, and from this his home obtained its name. Even today cowboys of the Parker Ranch wear pansy leis on their hats. This flower is found at few other places on Hawaii.

The hides and tallow obtained were exported to pay a debt of $3,500 owed by Kamehameha III to the American merchant, Polirce, and to increase the economy of Hawaii. In 1840, some 5,000 hides were taken. Between 1845 and 1884, an average of 2,000 were exported annually. Still the population of cattle kept increasing. There were an estimated 25,000 wild and 10,000 tame cattle on Hawaii in 1846. With all these cattle, Parker built a business which by this time had become the second largest of its kind in the world. Hawaiian cowboys were now just as good as any others--perhaps better. This can be credited to the Spanish cowboys, vaqueros, who came to Hawaii about 1832. But most of the credit should be given to the Hawaiian cowboy himself.

It is said that the Spanish cowboys first went to Hanaipoe to work--a place twelve miles east of Waimea, isolated on the slopes of Mauna Kea. Here they lived in the wild country. Most of them stayed for a time and then returned to Mexico. Some, however, married Hawaiian women and remained until death. This Spanish blood still runs in the veins of some Parker Ranch cowboys and their families.

Espanol was the word the Hawaiians heard when people referred to the Spaniards. Hearing this word constantly, they Hawaiianized it to paniolo or paniola. The word generally means cowboy, because the only cowboys which the Hawaiians knew were of Spanish origin.

The Spanish cowboys brought with them their own clothing, which constitutes
the cowboy's outfit today in Hawaii. A vaquero wore a bandana around his head or neck. He wore a wide-brimmed, low-crowned hat, and pants which were baggy to the knee and snug from the knee down to the ankle when buttoned on the side. He wore low-heeled, high leather shoes, carried a knife strapped to his right leg, and tied a shawl on the back of his saddle. Most typical of his outfit was his Spanish-style saddle with a big horn, and his lariat made of rawhide, or sometimes of horsehair.\footnote{today hemp and linen have taken the place of rawhide, but a few old-timers still make and use the rawhide rope, or kaula ili, as the Hawaiians call it. The Hawaiian saddle has the general features of a Spanish saddle, except that the horn or pomel of a Hawaiian saddle isn't as large. No other ranch has saddles like those of Parker Ranch. At the end of this paper are descriptions of the Hawaiian saddle and rawhide rope, and also brief instructions for making them. The Spanish not only influenced the Hawaiians with their customs, but they also taught the Hawaiians how to use the lariat and to train and ride horses.}

Today hemp and linen have taken the place of rawhide, but a few old-timers still make and use the rawhide rope, or kaula ili, as the Hawaiians call it. The Hawaiian saddle has the general features of a Spanish saddle, except that the horn or pomel of a Hawaiian saddle isn't as large. No other ranch has saddles like those of Parker Ranch. At the end of this paper are descriptions of the Hawaiian saddle and rawhide rope, and also brief instructions for making them. The Spanish not only influenced the Hawaiians with their customs, but they also taught the Hawaiians how to use the lariat and to train and ride horses.

The first horses, which were given to John Young, an advisor of Kamehameha I, came to Hawaii in 1803 with Richard Cleveland, another sea captain.\footnote{They were small in build and very powerful. Since most of them lived wild on the slopes of Mauna Kea, they were called Mauna Kea horses by people familiar with them. Hawaiian cowboys had to learn a lot from their own experience, because the vaqueros were not accustomed to the wild cattle on Hawaii. The cattle in Mexico were fairly domestic. There is no denying that the vaqueros were expert riders and ropers, for it showed in their Hawaiian students. Parker Ranch cowboys had to be excellent ropers and skilled in riding and handling their horses to catch those wild animals. For once an animal was roped, it charged both horse and rider; thus the handling of the catch was highly important. The old-timers say that this is one thing the vaqueros could not do. Putting it in the words of Kuakini Lindsey, "Aile hiki ke alakai"--"no can lead"--meaning that the vaqueros could not lead the wild cattle. Here are stories of a cowboy's life in the old days as told to me by Eliza Purdy Lindsey, granddaughter of the first Jack Purdy and widow of the famous foreman of the Parker Ranch cowboy gang awhile back, John "Poke" Kawananakoa Lindsey, or, as some people called him, "Keoni liili kaluna nui o ka maka ranch". Mrs. Eliza P. Lindsey's father, Jack Purdy, Jr., son of the first Jack Purdy, was also a very good cowboy. He worked on the formation of Hina's Ranch at Puuwaawaa. "Nobody can beat my papa. My tutu (grandfather), my kane (husband), no can beat my papa," were Mrs. Lindsey's words. I regret that I cannot write down the accounts and stories as they were told to me. I cannot bring out the life, emphasis, and true meaning as they were revealed by expressions and gestures. The life of a cowboy was hard; they labored for very little pay. Work started before the sun rose and lasted until sunset or even later. All day the cowboys worked on horseback. Today's cowboys, in contrast, are accustomed to the standard eight-hour day. In order to stand up to their jobs, the old-timers needed stamina and a strong back. Whatever time a paniola had after work he would spend caring for his saddle, forming a rawhide rope, chopping wood for the stove, gardening, doing yardwork, training a horse, or sometimes catching pigs for meat. Only a good roper can catch a running pig with his rope from a horse. One throw--komo kaula--and a good roper had his pig. Once roped a pig, especially a boar, is dangerous. If a male pig was skinny, it was castrated and its eartail cut off. Each cowboy had his way of marking a castrated pig, or laho ole. Roping and castrating pigs are still practiced, but the most popular after-work activity was and probably still is, drinking and reminiscing.}
The paniola preferred full-moon nights, for that was when the wild cattle—thepipi—came down in great numbers from the forest or higher grounds to drink at various ponds. In the Waimea area a pond called Makini is especially remembered as the favorite drinking-hole of the pipi and a favorite waiting-place of the paniola. Sometimes the latter had to track down his animal; if he had a good horse, that horse could smell and sense the pipi before his rider did. When this happened, the horse's ears and eyes were alert, pointing out the direction of the pipi.

As soon as the pipi were seen, the paniola jumped off his mount and tightened the saddle girth (kaula opu) as fast as he could. He then remounted and got his kaula (rope) ready. He moved as near as he possibly could until the pipi sensed him and were off. Then came the chase. A paniola usually chose a bull as his prey because a bull's hide was of finer quality and the animal was bigger. Also, it was a way to get rid of the sires of wild herds to make room for new breeds of cattle.

In the old days, there were many ohia, mamane, and koa trees growing in the areas where wild cattle lived, and the terrain was rough. But there were clearings, which the paniola called kipuka or pa hula'a. Every paniola knew the location and name of each kipuka; he chased his animal toward one in order to lasso it without having branches tangle his rope. It might be quite a while before the paniola got a chance to lasso his pipi. His horse had to be sure-footed, fast, and strong. Once the pipi was in a kipuka, the paniola made his throw. He didn't often miss, because if he did, he would be wasting his horse's steam and sweat. It took years of experience and practice before a paniola became a good roper.

As soon as the pipi was roped, the paniola very swiftly took a few turns on the saddle horn with his right hand, and with the remaining coil of rope and the rein, which he held in his left hand, he pulled his horse to a stop. It took a strong horse to stop and hold a 1,050-pound bull, and a tight and strong saddle girth was required; if it were not so, the bull would certainly pull the saddle and rider under the horse's belly. On the other hand, if the saddle girth broke, not only would both the saddle and rider be dragged off the horse, but the rider would be crushed by the mad bull.

Once the bull was roped and stopped, he fought wildly to break free—eli ka lepo, eli ka lepo—mad like hell—and Charred both horse and rider. "Only one damn fool no watch the bull when the bull is roped." "Any good horses have had their guts torn out. The paniola was alone, but he and his horse kept calm. During this time the paniola looked for a strong koa, ohia, or mamane tree. He then maneuvered his bull to that tree and pulled the bull tightly against the tree with the help of his horse. He tied his rope to the saddle horn and dismounted, leaving the horse holding and pulling the bull firmly against the tree. He went up to the mad bull with the head rope and tied the bull securely to the tree. He removed his lasso and returned to his horse. The paniola tied his catch to a tree only if it was too wild to be led to a nearby pen or if the pen was far away. The average catch of the paniola was between eight and ten head of wild cattle.

In most cases the paniola tied his catch to a tree and then continued to look for more wild pipi. Each paniola remembered where he had tied his animals. The following day he took a tame animal with him, tying the tame one to the wild one to simplify driving. Usually the tame bullock that was tied to a wild cow or bull was allowed to lead the wild bull or cow to the pen. Such a bullock was called a pini by the Hawaiians. Sometimes a paniola would discover his catch dead but still tied to the tree; such was the result of a broken neck caused by the constant effort of the wild animal to break free. At times a herd of tame pipi was taken to the uplands to mingle with a wild herd. Then the paniola would drive both tame and wild
pipi to a pen.

When talking about their hunting experiences, the paniola never forgot to give their horses credit. It is said that a good paniola can make an inexperienced horse work well with cattle. On Puuwaawaa Ranch mules were sometimes used instead of horses to rope wild pipi.

The old paniola were the best ropers, as proven by Ikua Purdy, for in 1908 in Cheyenne, Wyoming, three Hawaiians took top honors at the Frontier Day contest. Among them was Ikua Purdy, who won the world's steer-roping championship. Even today his record time in that contest stands unbeaten. Archie Kanua took third, and Jack Low took sixth. All three cowboys rode unfamiliar horses; their invitations read: "Bring your saddle and lariat; horses will be provided at the Rodeo." All many old Parker Ranch cowboys claim to have beaten Ikua Purdy's time in roping a steer, but this has never been recorded.

Each paniola broke and trained his own horse. This was done the hard way in open country. Just throw the saddle on a kaulio and ride. Cowboys cherished their horses but made them work hard, and the work those horses did was beyond compare. They ran over the a'a (a jagged type of lava), cutting their feet (manene). They swam in the ocean, pulling an unyielding bull or cow. They held a half-ton or even heavier bull. They ran for miles chasing wild cattle or wild horses without rest. They dragged logs like draft horses. They were blinded by the dust while herding cattle. They could do whatever their riders made them do.

At shipping time the cattle had to be roped and dragged by both horse and rider out into the sea in order to reach the steamer anchored offshore. Men in a dingy waited beside the steamer to keep the cow or bull from drowning by tying the animal's head to the side of the dingy. A strap was then slipped over its belly, and the animal was hoisted up to the steamer. This was the only way of shipping cattle because there were no man-made harbors. Often sharks would snap at the legs of swimming cattle and horses. Sometimes the ocean would be very rough; but shipping was not halted. The type of saddle used for shipping was made of very little leather because of the salt water. The water would rot even the strongest leather.

Shipping day was whenever the steamer appeared, and it was a holiday for the villagers.

In a little village named Kiholo off the Kona coast of Kawaihae, the people all knew Jack Nae'a Purdy, son of the first Jack Purdy, who hunted cattle with John Palmer Parker. Jack was as tough as his father, and he was also a superior cowboy. The people of Kiholo especially knew him for shipping cattle because he was one of the few who dared to swim out on his horse to the steamer. At Kiholo the water is rough, and the steamer had to anchor far out. Jack Purdy, Jr., had no fear of the water, nor was he afraid to swim out to the steamer. Once at Kawaihae a cow got away from the dingy and swam in panic far out to sea; no one dared try to catch it. Jack Purdy happened to be there; he got a canoe from one of the villagers, paddled out, roped the swimming cow, and brought her back to land.

Weather in the Wai'anae area was and is to an extent damp, cold, and misty in the early morning. The sun may be shining, but the air is cool, and the dew in shaded spots doesn't dry up. When it is windy, the surface of the ground dries fast, and dried horse and cattle droppings are mixed with dust to form matter that stings when it gets into eyes or nostrils. But cowboys can take the dust, and on present-day cattle drives you can hear them yelling to the cow, "Isaaa! Ai lepo, ai lepo!" They show their disgust toward the cattle for kicking up dust; "ai lepo" means literally, "eat dirt". In the late afternoon fog rolls in from all directions, and everything seems to be still, except for a light breeze that brushes
the face, or perhaps the distant bellowing of a bull. All one has to do in order to see the Waimea weather is to look at a Parker Ranch cowboy's face.

People often say that one can recognize a person directly from Waimea because of his rosy cheeks, a result of the cold climate. But as soon as the sun sets, the Waimea plains turn golden, contrasting with the orange, purple and blue of Nauna Kea. In a home a family gathers around the kitchen table after dinner to talk. Cowboys at the table are chatting over a bottle of whiskey. A paniola tells how hard the work is, but an old-timer says, "Kukae Nui o ukou, kukae ni' na paniola i keia!"—meaning, cowboys today are good for nothing. The other cowboys object strongly, but the old-timer interrupts loudly: "Hawai i hapai ka Paka Ranch?"—"Who built the Parker Ranch?"

There is no doubt in my mind, and I am sure that those who know the story of the Parker Ranch will agree with me, that the old-time cowboys of Parker Ranch are the best in the world. Although a cowboy's life was hard and the pay was very small, if you ask any old-timer what the happiest days of his life were, he will tell you that those he spent in the saddle were best.

"Aloha no ia maula," my heart aches whenever I think of those days of the wild cattle.

Aloha no i ka Paniola!

THE PARKER RANCH SADDLE - KA NOHO LIQ'

Around 822 B.C. people were telling a story about Queen Dido, who outfoxed the North African native chief Sarbos by cutting an ox hide in a thin spiral thong to enclose an entire hill, on which she built a fort. It seems that Sarbos told Queen Dido that she could have as much land as could be contained in the skin of an ox. Dido figured it out, and on her land rose the famed city of Carthage.

This Phoenician fable contains one of the earliest references to the rawhide, a commodity which the Parker Ranch cowboy considered priceless. Phoenicians imparted their knowledge of the spiral cut from a hide to the Arabs. The latter passed it on to the Moors, and the Moors took it with them when they conquered Spain. Eventually it reached the Mexican vaquero, who in turn brought it to Hawaii.

The Parker Ranch saddle horn or pommel is smaller than the horn of a Spanish saddle. The old Parker Ranch saddles have no nails or tacks in them. They were hand pegged, sewed, and the tree hand planed. In the old days all the saddle work was done at home. Each cowboy made his own. But today John Kianiani Kauwe, whose father taught him the art of saddle-making, makes all of the saddles for the Parker Ranch.

In Figure 1 we see the two underboards of neleau wood. The strong neleau wood is hand-planed and serves as the foundation for the saddle tree. These two underboards are covered very tightly with a piece of rawhide and hand sewed with goat hide onto the underboards.

In Figure 2 we see the okuma, or pommel, made of a solid piece of wood. The okuma is also covered tightly with rawhide, and later a tough piece of hide covers the okuma, because it is on this that the paniola wraps his rope to stop his catch. If there is not a strong covering, the rope would eat away at the okuma, burning the wood with its constant friction. The okuma is temporarily tacked to the underboards. Next, holes are drilled through the two jutting ends of the okuma and the two pieces of underboards, and pegged with neleau wood about half an inch thick and four inches long. These pegs are tapped securely into place with a mallet. The tacks can then be removed and the okuma pegged to the underboards, as in Figure 3.
In Figure 4 we see the back board, which is also hand-planed and covered tightly with a piece of rawhide hand-sewed with goat hide. The back board is temporarily tacked to the two underboards, and later holes are drilled and the pieces hand-pegged securely into place.

Figure 5 shows the completed Hawaiian tree. Next the leather parts are added—the underpiece of leather, then the back piece and stirrups and other necessary parts. See Figure 6 for the completed saddle.

Sometimes a large piece of leather, called the lala, is put over the saddle as a decorative item or to furnish a seat padding. The lala was brought by the vaquero. Figure 7 pictures a Parker Ranch saddle with a lala.

Each Parker Ranch cowboy puts his own leather markings on his saddle. Patterns are hand-stamped and jealously guarded. Thus cowhands have their own markings, just as Hawaiian families have their own tapa patterns.

THE RAWHIDE ROPE - KE KAULA ILL

The paniola first begins to make his kaula ili by selecting a good, strong hide. He then scrapes off all the hair—koe i ka hulu. The center of the hide he cuts in a spiral manner (from three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick) with a very sharp knife. It takes much skill to cut a strip of hide evenly. When he has finished cutting the hide, the paniola divides the long strip of hide into four even lengths. If he wants a fancy rope, he can braid eight strands. The paniola uses cattle fat to oil and soften his strips of hide by running the strips constantly through the cattle fat held in one hand. When he thinks that the strips are soft enough, he proceeds to braid his rope. Usually a paniola will do this during the evening, when the rawhide seems to be a little softer. During the day he hangs it where the dogs can't reach it, and continues to braid it tightly and with great care.

The loop is fashioned from a metal ring, and the opposite end of the kaula ili is usually made into a fancy knot. The length of the kaula ili depends on the wish of the paniola. Some may want it to be as long as 110 feet.

The kaula ili is strapped to the saddle horn, the okuma, with a piece of leather with a loop in it, and this leather piece is fastened to the saddle tree. The kaula ili is coiled so that it is ready for immediate use, and the piece of leather that holds the rope—the kaula hoopā—is slipped through the coil a couple of times and the loop placed over the saddle horn. Another way of carrying the kaula ili is by simply placing the coil over the saddle horn. This is usually done when a paniola knows he will need to use the rope at any second. A good kaula ili is like a cowboy's right arm; it is a very cherished possession.

NOTES

2. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Various persons in Waimea who wish to remain anonymous.
7. R. S. Kuykendall, loc cit.
Thirteen years ago, a group of thirteen met to discuss the feasibility of organizing a historical society on Maui. It was one hundred and ten years after the Royal Historical Society, the first association of its kind in Hawaii, had been formed in Lahaina with Kamehameha III as president, William Richards as vice president, Sheldon Dibble as secretary, and Samuel M. Kamakau as treasurer and historian. After three years of existence, the society dissolved upon Mr. Dibble's death and the king's removal to Honolulu.

Maui Historical Society has grown to a total of 312 individual and nineteen business memberships. It holds bi-monthly meetings with speakers from different parts of the state; supports a museum in Wailuku; restores historic sites and has assisted in the placing of many Hawaiian Warrior markers; exhibits in various places; has conducted numerous field trips to points that are of historical interest; and for the seventh time has sponsored an annual Holoku Garden Party this past summer.
That first meeting was held on November 16, 1951, in the Board of Supervisors' Room in the County Building of Wailuku, with Hollis Hardy acting as moderator and A. B. Brown as secretary. Hollis Hardy was elected president.

Beginning in January, 1952, meetings took place in the Bailey House, originally the home of the principal of the Wailuku Female Seminary. On May 24 of that year, Judge W. Frank Crockett and his committee presented by-laws, which were amended and adopted on that date.

During the Society's first year, the Maui Kiwanis Club sponsored a lecture by Dr. Kenneth P. Emory of the archaeological department of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, on the theme, "Getting to Know Hawaii". Dr. Edward H. Bryan, curator of the Bishop Museum, spoke that year as well.

Members of the Hawaiian Woman's Club, at the instigation of Mrs. Irvine Richards, loaned jewelry and ancient medicines for an exhibit at the Wailuku Library. A display at the Maui County Fair showed artifacts, and demonstrations of lauhala work and hat weaving, tapa beating, poi pounding, 'awa brewing, and quilt making.

After October 6, 1952, the Society did not meet for two years. In October, 1954, under the presidency of Mrs. Roy H. Savage, the historical department of the Maui Woman's Club was re-activated with the purpose of re-establishing the Maui Historical Society. Mrs. Thelma B. Watson was chairman of the department during the first year, with Mrs. Savage being both president and chairman the following year.

During this two-year period, many historical sites were visited, and, in cooperation with the Hawaii Visitors' Bureau, plans were made to erect Hawaiian Warrior markers at eighteen of the most important of these. The possibility of a museum was discussed, and plans were made for clearing and reconstructing the twin heiau of Halekii and Pihana Kalani. Tour drivers were given copies of information about historical sites in Lahaina.

On February 23, 1956, the Maui Historical Society was re-activated at a well-attended meeting in the Hawaiian Room of the Maui County Library in Wailuku. By-laws drawn up under the chairmanship of George R. Carter were presented and adopted, and a nominating committee was appointed which in turn was to nominate trustees. On March 22, the trustees were elected and they made their appointment of Mrs. Savage as president. Mrs. Savage held this office with distinction during all club years but one until 1962. In 1960-1961, Mrs. Sevath E. Boyum ably took over this responsibility. Mrs. Frank Alameda led the Society from 1963 until March of this year, when Colin Lennox was appointed.

The purpose of the Maui Historical Society is to collect, study and preserve material pertaining to Hawaiian history, in particular that of the three islands that form Maui County: Maui, Molokai and Lanai. This includes the listing of historic sites and the restoration of some of them.

The first important goal, and essential to the Society's aims, was a museum. This was achieved in 1957 with the opening of Hale Hoikeike, or House of Display. It is located on the site of the Wailuku Mission in the Bailey House and in what was the Female Seminary's dining room. The main building was so named for the missionary, Edward Bailey. It was built for him in 1841, when he succeeded Jonathan S. Green as principal.

The coral-stone and plaster walls are twenty inches thick and are reinforced by the long hair contributed by many Hawaiian women. Beams throughout the building are of hand-hewn sandalwood. The kitchen, with its earthen floor and crude fireplace, was originally separated from the rest of the house because it was considered a fire hazard.

Use of the buildings as a museum was made possible by the generosity of Mr.
and Mrs. John Cushnie and the Wailuku Sugar Company. Hale Hoikeike stands on the grounds of the manager's home, and is leased to Maui Historical Society at a dollar a year.

The formal opening of the museum was on July 6, 1957, which was the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the founding of Wailuku Female Seminary. It was celebrated with a luau, Hawaiian prayers, and a fashion show of the oldest and most beautiful holoku to be found on Maui.

In its first year, Hale Hoikeike had four thousand visitors, and attendance grew to a peak of seven thousand in 1962. The museum is maintained by a part of the Maui Historical Society dues, by donations, and by proceeds of the shop, the Ku'ai.

For the first three years, Hale Hoikeike was staffed entirely by volunteer service, with an average of a hundred and fifteen hostesses each month. Girl Scouts were of great help also. In May, 1960, Mrs. Hannah Lai became head hostess on a full-time basis, and she is assisted by volunteers.

Mrs. Richard Thomas was chairman of the Ku'ai for the first year, and since March 1, 1958, Mrs. Cable Wirtz has held this position and has been the competent business manager of the museum. The shop averages a profit of from six to seven hundred dollars a year. In it are to be found a selection of the best books on Hawaii; jewelry of native seeds, shells, kukui nuts, black coral and olivines; stationery of Hawaiian motif; figurines that depict Victorian Hawaii; cribbage boards with ivory pegs in designs of tiki, kahili and petroglyphs; and other items of interest as Hawaiiana.

Mrs. Sevath Boyum was accessions chairman from the time of the museum's opening until June of this year. She and her family have now moved to Oahu. She has weighed, measured, examined and marked thousands of valuable artifacts as they were received by Hale Hoikeike. Relieving her are co-chairmen Mrs. Robert H. Hughes, Jr. and Mrs. Philip Conrad.

The museum's exhibits are intended to depict the life of Maui from earliest days through the nineteenth century of the Hawaiian monarchy, the missionary era and pioneer industries, to our present mid-twentieth century—to show the way in which our life of today has developed.

Many ancient artifacts have been acquired as loans or gifts, and furnishings of the monarchy and missionary periods, both Hawaiian adaptations and belongings brought around Cape Horn by missionaries from New England and nearby states.

Several oil paintings by Edward Bailey hang on the walls, including one of the two buildings that house the museum and an adjoining school building of the girls' seminary, which is no longer standing. Other paintings have been loaned by descendants of the missionary for special exhibits, and it is hoped that eventually all that exist will find their way back to Bailey House as a permanent collection.

A file of newspaper clippings and periodicals is being added to constantly, with the intent that in time this will represent an authentic record on subjects of Hawaiian interest and will be useful in reference.

The old Seminary dining room, now called the Tapa Room, is given over largely to a display of tapa and the materials used in its making. In the main building, rooms are named for the Kawananakoa and the Kepoikai families; for Kahekili, last great king of Maui, who came close to uniting all of the islands under one rule before Kamehameha succeeded in doing this; for Kamehameha's most high-born wife, Keopuolani, the first Christian convert; for his favorite wife, Kaahumanu, who was influential in bringing Christianity to her people. The name "David" has been significant in Island history because of two great men who bore it: Kalakaua and David Halo, the historian. Present-day Maui has its share of Davids, and the Kawika Room is named for our three David K's: Kailiponi, Kahookele and Kahanamoku. The Keoni Room is in memory of John Valentine Mauel; and the basement workshop is
the Keoki Room in honor of the late George Weight.

Special exhibits at the museum have included pictures of ancient Hawaiian artifacts owned by the British Museum, photographs of old Hawaii, mostly Honolulu, loaned by Ray Jerome Baker; rare books; old newspapers; stamps; Bailey paintings from the Lyman Museum in Hilo, Hawaii; and a replica of an image found on Maui, which is now at the New York World's Fair.

An Open House is held annually at the museum, usually on the Sunday nearest the opening date of July sixth. For one of these events, a display was the gift of Beatrice Jackson Kettlewell of Piedmont, California, which included tapa beaters, a lei niho palaoa, koa seed ornaments of elaborate design, and a unique spear of polished hardwood. For another, John Dominis Holt, a great-grandson of Edward Bailey, related the history of Bailey House. Thirty-five of the missionary's descendants were honored guests on this occasion. During the Open House of 1963, Mrs. George E. Goss of Honolulu presented a charming Children's Story Hour; and this year, Mrs. Walter Soule gave a program of delightful children's stories and music.

There have been three major restorations to date, the first of which was the renovation of Bailey House itself. Two that were performed in conjunction with the territorial Commission for Historical Sites were of the heiau of Halekii and Pihana Kalani, and of Hale Paahao, the old prison. Dedication ceremonies were held for both of these sites on November 19, 1959. An appropriation of $18,000 by the 1957 legislature made possible these restorations.

Preliminary work on the reconstruction of the heiau was done by Dr. Emory, and this was continued by Dr. Chandler W. Rowe, anthropologist of Appleton, Wisconsin, with the assistance of ten men from the Olinda project.

Pihana Kalani is said to have been erected for Kahekili, who borrowed the high priest Kaleopuupuu from Oahu for the purpose of choosing the location, directing the building, and conducting ceremonies to dedicate it as a heiau. This was a luakini, or sacrificial temple, and thus very important because human sacrifice was offered only at temples of the highest class. Shortly after its completion, Kalaniopuu of Hawaii attacked Maui with his famed Alapa regiment, which was vanquished in the Sand Hills of Wailuku. Later, it is believed that Kamehameha I made sacrifices at this temple before defeating Maui in 1795.

Pihana Heiau is approximately three hundred by a hundred and twenty feet in size. Halekii is of equal length and two hundred feet wide, and had when it was in use four terraces at heights of from twelve to thirty feet. Large, water-worn boulders, topped by beach pebbles, were used in its construction. Halekii was adorned by rows of images. Its platforms and walls have been partially restored, and when the work is completed there will be replicas of images, an oracle tower, and houses for kahuna and mo'i.

Hale Paahao was built in 1852 by the Lahaina Mission to fulfill a need caused by the presence of whaling ships in large numbers offshore. Hawaii was the principal base in the Pacific for the whaling industry, as the harbors of Honolulu and Lahaina were the best within a radius of two thousand miles. Twice a year ships, as many as two or three hundred, converged here to refuel and to take on supplies, and thousands of seamen were in port. The prison was built to house disorderly men who did not return to their ships at sundown.

The restoring of the prison cells and the guardhouse was done in accurate detail, with care given to every phase of the original condition. The old prison is now a part of the Lahaina Restoration.

In 1960, Maui Historical Society received an award from the American Association for State and Local History, for outstanding contributions. The citation lauded the "active and effective campaign of restoring and marking historical sites,
relying solely on the help of volunteer workers and members."

September, 1961 saw the publication of the Lahaina Historical Guide, after three years of research by a committee of six whose chairman was Harold Hall. Three thousand copies were printed by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin Press at a cost of $1,950, and a second printing will be issued soon. This booklet is a most useful guide to the Lahaina area for both malihini and kamaaina. In the future, a similar publication is planned for East Maui.

Tape recordings have been sponsored on such subjects as the making of canoes, medicinal herbs, kahuna, and legends of Lahaina and of Kahului. Participating in these recordings have been Mrs. Irvine Richards, Mrs. Frank Alameda, David Kahookele, J. Pia Cockett, and Matthew Hano.

Field trips have been made to such areas as a three-mile stretch of the King's Highway, which crosses an ancient lava flow, from La Perouse Bay in the direction of Nuu. This road is said to have been begun by Pi'ilani in the early sixteenth century, "that his name might not roll out," and finished by his son, Kiha-Pi'ilani. Other trips have been made from Ulupalakua to Kaupo and Hana, to see a village site where three hundred once lived, the remains of shelters where armies camped, petroglyphs and petrographs, heiau, burial sites and canoe shelters; to Lahaina, first capital of Hawaii and site of the first mission on Maui; to Kalalaua Heiau; petroglyphs at Olowalu, Kohoma, Pukalani, Waikoa and Maalaea; to the Arboretum at Ulupalakua, where David Fleming planted many now-rare indigenous trees; to see the private collections of Miss Iza Lindsay, Mrs. Norman Ignacio and Mrs. Charles B. Cooper; to the Haiku Sugar Mill and the home of Mr. and Mrs. Dwight H. Baldwin, where Mr. Baldwin has added to the interesting assortment of trees planted by his father, Dr. William D. Baldwin.

Groups of Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, and school and summer camp groups have been escorted by members of the Historical Society to Halekii Heiau, Hale Hoikeike, the petroglyphs at Olowalu, and to some of the many historic points of Lahaina.

Explorer Scouts under the leadership of the late Stephen Okada made a start on finding the old pass between Iao Valley and Olowalu, used frequently by ancient Hawaiians and occasionally by missionaries. It is hoped that this project will be continued in the future. The Explorer Scouts have been very helpful also in the work done on Hale Hoikeike, in clearing the grounds of Hale Paahao and Halekii Heiau, and in parking cars at the annual Holoku Garden Party.

Exhibitions are held each year in the Hawaiian Building at the Maui County Fair, in conjunction with the fine display put on by Alfred Souza and the Olinda Project. The late Harry and Kapiolani Field were very generous in loaning heirlooms of the Kawananakoa family for these exhibitions, as well as to the museum. Other displays have featured Queen Liliuokalani's carriage, on loan from Bishop Museum; machinery used in the early days of the sugar industry; Hawaiian gems; and demonstrations of Hawaiian crafts.

Mrs. Charles Dubois is now exhibits chairman for Hale Hoikeike, and she has also been arranging interesting displays at the First National Bank in Kahului and at the Maui County Library in Wailuku. Among her exhibits have been: relics of the whaling era; personal belongings of Kalakaua; a display that featured Kamehameha I; hats of many materials and weaves; and Bailey paintings and family pictures.

Many sites have been recommended for preservation. Two of these that are now safeguarded are Wainapanapa and Loaloa Heiau. An inner cave of Wainapanapa, or Sparkling Waters, was the scene of a legendary royal tragedy, and this area has now become a State Park. Loaloa was a large and important heiau; it has recently been named a National Historic Site. It is situated on the Kaupo Ranch, and will be maintained by Dwight H. Baldwin and his heirs.
Talks on a wide range of subjects and by distinguished speakers have been presented on the programs of Maui Historical Society meetings. These have included Dr. Alexander Spoehr on "Recapturing Hawaiian History"; Dr. Kenneth Emory on Bishop Museum excavations at South Point, Hawaii, and on Tahiti; Katharine Luomala, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, on myths of the demigod Maui; Margaret Titcomb, librarian of the Bishop Museum, on "The Uses of 'Awa in Early Hawaii"; Mrs. Flora Hayes on "Hawaiian Language, Culture and Art"; Dr. Bryan on Hawaiian birds; Dr. Earle G. Linsley, astronomer of the Bishop Museum, on "Stars of Hawaii, Past and Present"; Dr. Agatin Abbott of the geology department of the University of Hawaii on Hawaiian gems; Mrs. Johanna Drew Cluney on Hawaiian featherwork; Ka'upena Wong on "A Historical Tour of Oahu"; Albertine Loomis on the longest legislature, that of 1892; Mr. Emerson C. Smith on the evolution of Hawaiian music; and Russell A. Apple of the National Park Service on the restoration of the City of Refuge and a mile of the Kona coastline. In May of this year, Dr. Emory presented recent findings in the fascinating study of man's first arrival and movement in Polynesia.

The Holoku Garden Party is held each year in the garden of one of the members, when possible in a place of historical interest. The proceeds from these events are marked for specific purposes, such as the printing of the Lahaina Historical Guide, and improvements at Hale Hoikeike.

Hawaiian programs are presented, usually in the form of ancient mele, chants and dances. Among principal performers have been Winona Love, Iolani Luahine, Nona Beamer, Ka'upena Wong, Maiki Aiu, Pele Pukui, and members of the Sally Wood studio.

The first garden party was held in the grounds of Mr. and Mrs. John Cushnie, adjacent to the museum. This was in 1958, and it featured a parade of old and modern holoku, worn by local Hawaiian models. Other gardens in which the event has taken place are at Keanuenue, home of Mr. and Mrs. J. Walter Cameron, in a sunken garden which was formerly a reservoir; at Mr. and Mrs. Keith B. Tester's at Lahaina; at Pa'okalei, then the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank C. Churchill, with the ruins of an old sugar mill in the background; at Ainamakua, home of Mr. and Mrs. Dwight Baldwin at Haiku, where a luau was given for Queen Liliuokalani; and again in the picturesque gardens of the John Cushnies. In August of this year the garden party was held at Kapalaea, home of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons.

Maui Historical Society, in its ninth year since re-activation, is a firmly-established organization which looks ahead confidently to its continuing place in Maui's cultural life, as guardian of the island's historic past.

HAWAII AND THE PANAMA CANAL

by

Gary S. Victor

William Russ in The Hawaiian Revolution remarked of the parallel between the revolution of 1893 in Hawaii and the Panamanian revolt of 1903. Russ commented on John Latane's writings about the Panamanian revolution in America as a World Power. An order issued by an American naval officer stated that he did not want any fighting between Colombian troops and Panamanian rebels. Latane said, "It can

*This paper was prepared for Dr. C. H. Hunter's course, History 577, at the University of Hawaii in the spring of 1964.
hardly be denied that this was creating a situation favorable to a revolution.\textsuperscript{11}

Russ remarked that Latane, forgetting the Hawaiian Revolution, averred that the "...hasty recognition of a new government [Panama] was...without precedent in the annals of American diplomacy."\textsuperscript{12}

Russ seemed to be chastising Latane for not drawing parallels between the Hawaiian and the Panamanian revolutions. The device of using American troops to keep order during an insurrection was effectively demonstrated in Hawaii before its Panamanian copy. American naval officers were used in Hawaii and Panama to prevent "public disorders".\textsuperscript{3} The American minister to Hawaii's immediate recognition of the new Hawaiian government was another parallel to the later Panamanian revolt.

In 1893, an editorial in the periodical, Review of Reviews, saw a relationship between the Hawaiian Islands (after annexation) and a future canal:

The mere fact of our firm possession of the Hawaiian group as an integral and inalienable part of our national territory, instead of making future international complications probable, is precisely what will tend to keep such complications at a minimum. We can protect our Pacific Ocean commerce, guard our western coast line, and maintain our control of the prospective canal....\textsuperscript{4}

In 1893, also, the Rev. Sereno Bishop of Hawaii spoke of the commercial relationship between Hawaii and the future isthmian canal: Honolulu is directly in the route of a future part of heavy traffic from the Atlantic to the Pacific which is waiting for the creation of a Nicaraguan canal. Trade to and from China and Japan will use the canal route. Impending commerce using the future canal will have serious importance to the political relations of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Honolulu will be a convenient port of call for China-bound California steamers. The opening of the canal will increase Hawaii's importance as a coaling and general calling station. Tremendous new cargoes of supplies that will cross the Pacific, because of the canal, will need shelter and protection at a common port of supply--Honolulu. "A government must exist there so strong as to ensure complete security from disturbers within or aggressors without."\textsuperscript{5}

On October 27, 1894, Theodore Roosevelt remarked in a letter to Henry Cabot Lodge how everyone, even Southerners who lived outside the United States, hated and were contemptuous of Cleveland's administration because it was betraying U. S. interests in foreign countries. Roosevelt wrote, "I do wish our Republicans would go in avowedly to annex Hawaii and build an oceanic canal with the money of Uncle Sam."\textsuperscript{6}

Alfred Thayer Mahan saw the proposed isthmian canal and the annexation of Hawaii as parts of the same problem: If the Hawaiian Islands were fortified, the most important outpost in the Pacific would be secure. A fortified Hawaii and canal zone would form protection for the Pacific Coast.\textsuperscript{7}

The recent Hawaiian Revolution had captured the interest of the United States. Mahan reasoned thus:

Whether the canal of the Central American isthmus be eventually at Panama or Nicaragua matters little to the question at hand....Whatever it be, the convergence there of so many ships from the Atlantic and Pacific will constitute a centre of commerce....one whose approaches will be watched jealously, and whose relations to the other centres of the Pacific by the lines joining it to them must be examined carefully. Such study of the commercial routes and of their relations to the Hawaiian islands, taken together with the other strategic considerations...,determine the value of the group for conferring either commercial or naval control.\textsuperscript{8}
Mahan had initiated a correspondence with Theodore Roosevelt and had urged the annexation of Hawaii. Roosevelt replied in a "confidential" letter that, "I suppose I need not tell you that as regards Hawaii, I take your views absolutely....If I had my way, we would annex those islands tomorrow....I believe we should build the Nicaraguan Canal at once."9

In 1900, Mahan believed that the American line of communications to the Orient was by way of Nicaragua and Panama, as that of Europe was by the Suez. The Mediterranean, Egypt, Asia Minor, Aden and the Red Sea designate the strategic points of the Suez route. The Caribbean, areas surrounding the future canal, Hawaii and the Philippines composed the strategic outposts for the future isthmian canal.10

On June 12, 1911, ex-president Theodore Roosevelt wrote to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge asking him not to sanction the arbitration treaty:

I am a perfectly practical man, and if there was a greater good to be obtained by keeping silent or even acquiescing in the matter, I should be willing to do it. For instance, if we could only secure the fortifications of Hawaii and Panama, and the upbuilding of the Navy, by agreeing to such an arbitration treaty, I should say that the good far outweighed the evil.11

Mahan remarked in the same year that if the local needs of the Hawaiian Islands, causing the great influx of Japanese immigration, had happened after the opening of the canal, the necessary labor could have been introduced from Southern Europe. "In such a case Hawaii as a naval base would have received a reinforcement of military strength, in a surrounding of European derivation and traditions."12 Hawaii was a very important outpost for the United States, especially maintaining the security of the Pacific Coast—but it was exposed. If Pearl Harbor, where Hawaii's defenses were located, fell to a temporarily superior enemy, that enemy would have possession of a base of operations very close to the Pacific coast of the U. S. If Pearl Harbor were able to withstand such an attack, a U. S. fleet arriving from the Atlantic would find a secure base of operations to overthrow such an attack. At the time of Mahan's writing it would have taken four months for a fleet to reach Pearl Harbor. After the completion of a canal, an allowance of four weeks would be ample.13

In 1912, it was averred in an article in Paradise of the Pacific that Hawaii was truly deserving of the name, "crossroads of the Pacific". Even though the route to the Orient was shorter via Panama than by way of Hawaii, the central location of the islands would increase their value as a coaling and replenishment station. These figures demonstrate the slight differences saved by using the Great Circle Route:

Panama to Yokohama via the Great Circle Route (miles):
- Panama to Honolulu--4,685; Honolulu to Yokohama--3,394. Total: 7,679
- Panama to San Francisco--3,246; San Francisco to Yokohama via Great Circle Route--4,536. Total: 8,079
- Panama to San Francisco--3,246; San Francisco to Honolulu--2,070; Honolulu to Yokohama--3,394. Total: 8,710

The northern route is one of cold and stormy seas, and in many cases the shorter voyage might take longer and cost more than the southern route. It was believed that if Honolulu could handle the business, it would be a natural stopping point. And Hawaii would benefit in another way: In 1912 the Islands exported $46,000,000 worth of products to the U. S., three-quarters of it going to the Eastern Seaboard. Most of the cargo was transshipped by rail across the isthmus where the canal was being dug. After the canal's completion, there would be considerable freight savings and benefit to the Islands' commerce. The Islands' value as a naval base would also be increased. Admiral Cowles, the commandant of the
naval station at Honolulu, said:

Its situation will then be not far from the line of communication between the canal and China and Japan. One of our fleets coming out from the Atlantic through the canal for operations in the Pacific would probably make its first stop for final preparations. It also offers great opportunities as a rendezvous for reinforcement to the personnel of a fleet engaged in Chinese waters.... In fact almost in proportion as the opening of the canal would increase the efficiency of the fleet it would increase the importance of Honolulu as a naval base.14

As the proportion of trans-Pacific business increased, the amount Hawaii would receive depended a great deal upon the harbor facilities and rates for passenger steamers. In 1913, Hawaii was one of the most expensive ports for calling steamers. The Panama Canal would benefit Hawaii only as it increased the amount of trans-Pacific trade that would use Honolulu as a calling-place.15

The annexation of the Republic of Hawaii eliminated the advantage of its geographical position. Hawaii's next step would be to make itself a treaty port in the Pacific. Fortified harbors should be opened on equal terms to ships and commerce of all nations that agreed, by treaty, to respect the neutralization of commerce and internationalization of the Islands as a safe distributing center for the Pacific. Following the above course after the opening of the canal would make Hawaii, in the words of William A. Bryan, "...a commercial, sociological, religious, and industrial clearing house as well as an international warehouse and distributing center."16

There had been optimistic and pessimistic opinions concerning the effects of the opening of the canal on Hawaii. A wise national policy would make Honolulu a free port for the transhipment of goods; otherwise, only transient ships would call for provisions. What inducements did Honolulu offer?

In 1915, it had the reputation of being the most expensive port in the world. This had to be counteracted in order to attract foreign vessels. Some of the charges could be modified: customs entries, fees, and duties called for the greatest reduction. Ships stopping merely for supplies or in distress had to enter at the custom house and go through costly procedures. Before modifying such charges and requirements, it was necessary to ask Congress to pass measures allowing foreign ships stopping for supplies to enter with greater ease.17

Newspaper owner Lorrin A. Thurston believed that the opening of the canal would affect Hawaii in two ways. Traffic to and from the Orient would use Hawaii as a way-station for supplies and instructions; Hawaii would also be a destination for freight, passengers, and tourists.18

Unfortunately, the point with which this paper began—the relationship, if any, between the Hawaiian and the Panamanian revolutions—has apparently received little study. Nearly all writings have been either commercially or strategically oriented.

NOTES

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
A NOTE ON TWO LOGBOOKS OF THE KAIMILOA

by

Jacob Adler

Many Hawaiian historical documents, to the extent they have not crumbled to dust or fallen to termites, probably lie hidden or forgotten in attics and closets. One such item could be a log of the Kaimiloa (Explorer), King Kalakaua's one-ship navy.

References to the Kaimiloa log are generally to the one in the Archives of Hawaii. This was kept by Lt. Samuel I. Maikai. It covers the voyage to Samoa and return (May 18 to September 23, 1887) in connection with the disastrous Kalakaua-Gibson policy of "Primacy of the Pacific". The log was presented to the Archives in June, 1925, by Prince Kuhio's widow, Elizabeth Kalanianaole Woods.

A more interesting and complete log is reproduced in full in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of November 2, 1913. This was kept by Lt. Frank J. Waiau in a book presented to him by King Kalakaua on April 14, 1887 (It is likely that the Maikai log in the Archives was also presented by King Kalakaua; the inside front cover shows the date, April 13, 1887). The Waiau log came into the possession of C. H. Brown of the Honolulu Scrap Iron Company when he bought the Kaimiloa in June, 1910. According to the Advertiser story, he still had the log in November, 1913.

For June 15, 1887, at Apia, Samoa, the Waiau log mentions the thwarted attempt of Gunner William J. Cox to capture the powder magazine and blow up the ship. The Maikai log does not mention this. For August 19, 1887, at Pago Pago, the Waiau log mentions the loss of 36 rifles and ammunition, a flag, etc.--probably traded to
Governor Mauga for food or liquor. The Maikai log does not mention this, either. Apart from these examples, it is quite clear otherwise that the Waiau log reproduced in the Advertiser is more complete than the Maikai log in the Archives.

Now, where is the original of the Waiau log? In the history of the Kaimiloa, that is surely one of the most important documents. Perhaps some descendant of C.H. Brown, or some other reader, can bring it to light.

RESEARCH ROUNDUP

In June, the editor asked selected researchers and writers to let him know what they are working on, what sorts of information they can share with others, and the sources with which they have enough familiarity to save others time and effort. Here are the replies, arranged alphabetically:

Jacob Adler, Professor of Accounting and Finance, University of Hawaii:
Book in press: Claus Spreckels, Sugar King of Hawaii.
Working on a biography of Walter Murray Gibson; hopes to publish bits and pieces of this from time to time.
Has some familiarity with the history of the sugar industry in Hawaii.
Generally interested in the period, 1874-1898.
Has a great deal of unpublished material on the Kalakaua coinage.

Gavan Daws, History Department, University of Hawaii:
Current research: for PhD dissertation: "Nineteenth Century Honolulu". Biographical work on nineteenth-century Hawaiians such as Ii, Hallo, etc.
General social history of the nineteenth century.
Has reasonable familiarity with the NS collections at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and Hawaiian Historical Society libraries, and with English-language periodicals and newspapers up to about 1876.
Has a fairly extensive collection of notes based on these sources, and would be more than happy to pool information with other interested people.
Would like to hear from others about:
Nineteenth-century maps of Honolulu
Nineteenth-century pictures and photos of Honolulu
Histories, published or unpublished, of groups and institutions--clubs, lodges, musical or theatrical societies, etc.
Can be reached by mail or phone c/o History Department, U. of H.

Albertine Loomis, 1090 Spencer Street, Honolulu:
Current research: A history of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (the Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ) from about 1860 to the present. The voluminous papers of the HEA and the Hawaiian Board, on file at the Mission Historical library, and such publications as HEA annual reports and The Friend are chief sources. Much of the HEA correspondence before 1900 is in Hawaiian, and only a part of it has been translated into English. Some of the documents are only now being filed so that they are accessible for research. Facets of the history are the Hawaii-based missionary work in Micronesia (beginning in 1852) and the Marquesas (beginning in 1853), the story of Christian work among the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants as they came to Hawaii, and the struggle of the small, outlying Hawaiian churches to remain alive in changing times.

Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui:
Nature of research: Mostly in legends of early voyages and of Maui, Molokai,
and Lanai. Have also done some work in traditions and customs, such as the different types of kahuna; canoe-making; fishing rites; home building; luakini temples, gods and worship of idols. Also, a certain amount on history of Maui, mostly in connection with legends or legendary history. Some on early sugar mills on Maui. Much early research is not documented, except for quotations in newspaper articles Mrs. Lyons has written.

Miriam Rogers, c/o Bishop Museum, Honolulu:
Current research: Battles, leaders, sites of battles; am trying to compile every known battle for each island, whether large or small. More information concerning sources will be sent to the Review later.

Robert C. Schmitt, statistician, Department of Planning and Economic Development, Hawaii State Government:
Area of interest and research; familiar with sources for: All phases of the demography of Hawaii—geographic distribution, composition, trends, components of change, etc., as based on censuses, estimates, official registration of vital events, and other sources.

Larry Windley, P. O. Box 255, Lahaina, Maui, Hawaii:
Projects: History of Lahaina for purpose of writing book on same.
Can share information on:
Location of historic sites and Hawaiian place names
People of Lahaina
Legends of Lahaina
Concentrated amount of information concerning the life of David Malo

Familiarity with sources:
Kahului and Lahaina libraries
Archives of Hawaii: (up to 1856) Department of Interior letters, Department of Interior files, Sheriff of Maui files, Department of Interior miscellaneous files, Department of Public Works, Maui Governor’s letters, Privy Council Records
State Survey Office: Maps and surveys pertaining to Lahaina

All other readers are cordially invited to submit similar information, or to direct questions to the Review—which will try, but can't guarantee satisfaction.

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS: Larry Kimura, Class of 1964 of the Kamehameha School for Boys, lives among the Hawaiian cowboys of whom he writes.
Barbara (Mrs. Raymond R.) Lyons, renders invaluable service to the Maui Historical Society, and is the Maui associate editor for this periodical.

Gary S. Victor generated his paper as a student in Dr. Hunter’s Hawaiian history class at the University of Hawaii.

Jacob Adler, an avid historian, is professor of accounting and finance at the University of Hawaii, and a productive scholar.
Wayne Gau, a high school student living at 1666 St. Louis Drive, Honolulu, asked the Review to note his new mimeographed publication, The Royalist, the initial number of which appeared in July. $1.50 per year.

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814-111. Months of issue are October, January, April, and July. By subscription only. Rate: $1.00 per year, postpaid.
HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
VOL. I, NO. 10 JANUARY, 1965

CONTENTS

THE GANNEN MONO: GREAT EXPECTATIONS OF THE EARLIEST JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS TO HAWAII......180 Roy M. Shinsato

JOHN COXE: HAWAII'S FIRST SOLDIER OF FORTUNE.................................194 David Kittelson

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS...............198 HAWAIIAN MEDICAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

* + *0=*
+ *

TO A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS 1965. MAY THE NEW YEAR BRING INCREASED APPRECIATION AND ENJOYMENT OF OUR HISTORICAL HERITAGE........
Hawaii's first interest in the Japanese began in March, 1860, when the Powhatan, an American frigate, met continued strong headwinds on its voyage from Yokohama to San Francisco and, because of a shortage of coal, was forced to set anchor in Honolulu. Aboard the vessel was the first official Japanese embassy to the United States.

In Honolulu, Robert C. Wyllie, Hawaii's minister of foreign affairs, although shaken by the suddenness of the Japanese emissaries' visit, was anxious to employ diplomatic courtesies in the hope of securing a treaty of commerce and friendship. As these were the first ambassadors to Hawaii, Wyllie went to extremes "...to make Hawaii and her King shine in this moment of diplomatic test." To impress upon the Japanese the sincerity of Hawaii's courtship, Wyllie gave to the king his home, in order to house the ambassadors in a manner fitting and proper. And following diplomatic etiquette to the point, the foreign minister arranged a royal reception with all the customary formalities, and even provided the Japanese ambassadors "honorary passports" to those Central American countries through which they would pass on their way to New York. The purpose was to help them through the language barrier.

Wyllie's attempts to use this chance opportunity to get a treaty of friendship and commerce failed when the Japanese declined the offer. The reason given was the uneconomic atmosphere that would result from an unbalanced trade situation. Whether Wyllie's efforts to win a treaty from the Japanese government prove foresight of the coming importance of Japan as a source of labor and population for Hawaii is debatable. The answer to this question may lie in what he knew and said. Wyllie had been aware of the acute labor problem since the 1850's, and had given warning of a potential tragedy. He encouraged "...the immigration of good and industrious families from wherever they may come..." and an increase of marriages, births, and health measures.

Hawaii has experimented with various industries and agricultural crops, ranging from sandalwood, whaling, cotton, tobacco, rice, silk, wheat, coffee, and potatoes to sugar and pineapple. Hawaii has also experimented with immigration to maintain her plantations and revive her "dying population". She has brought immigrants from the South Seas and from China, Portuguese from the Azores and Madeiras, British Indians, Norwegians, Germans, Spaniards, Malaysians, and Americans.

In 1852, Chinese laborers were imported, followed by the South Sea islanders seven years later. This experiment failed to produce satisfactory results. The Chinese were not considered "cornate people", and left the plantations after their contracts were up, to compete with the whites and natives in town. The South Sea islanders, although resembling the Hawaiians, left the plantations soon after their contracts were up and went home. Immigration authorities then looked for other sources of labor supply.

Hawaii's isolated geographical position in the Pacific has created immense labor problems; it has, at the same time, caused considerable experimentation with the various sources of labor surrounding the Pacific basin. Following the device used in peopling British colonial America, the Hawaiian legislature in 1850 legalized two forms of labor contract--apprenticeship and indentured service. A Planters' Society was organized in 1864 to help solve the labor problem of the
In the same year the legislature created a bureau of immigration "...for the purpose of superintending the importation of foreign laborers, and the introduction of immigrants."4

Another cause of concern to the Hawaiian kingdom was the steady decrease in native population. The first census, taken in 1832, showed the Hawaiian population to be 130,313. In 1850, it was found to have decreased to 84,165. Then, in 1860, an alarming decrease of 15,165 within ten years caused the authorities such anxiety that they proposed that Hawaii "...bring those that would readily assimilate with the natives and thereby strengthen and perpetuate the Hawaiian race." Hawaii's captains of industry and the immigration officials cooperated in the realization of their complementary objectives.

R.S. Kuykendall thought that the idea of introducing Japanese to Hawaii as agricultural laborers was the idea of Wyllie, who owned a plantation on Kauai. He also believed that this idea was closely related to Van Reed's first attempt to negotiate a treaty between Hawaii and Japan.

In March, 1865, Wyllie, speaking more as a planter than as a foreign minister, wrote to Eugene Van Reed, an American businessman living in Kanagawa, Japan, who had asked to be appointed consul general for Hawaii:

It is my purpose to appoint you for that office...the result I expect will be favorable....We are much in want of them (laborers). I myself could take 500 for my own Estates. Could any good agricultural laborers be obtained from Japan or its dependencies...? If so send me all the information you can....They will be treated well, enjoy all the rights of free-men, and in our fine [islands], under our beautiful and salubrious climate they would be better off, as permanent settlers than in their own country.5

Wyllie was thinking more in terms of labor shortage than of preserving the "dying race". But he, who supposedly originated the idea of introducing Japanese, died in 1865 without seeing his hopes materialize.

Charles de Varigny succeeded Wyllie as minister of foreign affairs and carried the idea of introducing more contract labor to completion. After communicating with Van Reed about the possibility of acquiring contract laborers, and receiving a favorable reply, he brought the matter to the attention of the board of immigration. Varigny on March 19, 1868, won over the board members in session by stating that in his opinion the

...Japanese were more like the natives of these islands, than any others we could get to immigrate here. The Japanese considered themselves of the same origin with these Natives and they certainly resembled our race very much, and there was not the slightest doubt that they would most readily amalgamate.6

Hence, a resolution that the balance of the board's unexpended appropriation of $1,925 be placed at Van Reed's disposal for the importation of "...Male and Female Immigrants, if such can be obtained, and the consent of the Japanese government secured."7

Together with this idea of procuring laborers and immigrants was that of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce. Van Reed interested de Varigny in this scheme. He hoped that with such a treaty the Hawaiian kingdom would enjoy the advantages and privileges held by the great maritime powers. However, while efforts to secure the treaty were being made, the shogun died (September, 1866), forestalling negotiations.

Van Reed, finding that he lacked the necessary powers to negotiate the treaty, requested them from the Hawaiian government, which granted them in April, 1867.
But the Japanese government, as a matter of policy, objected to persons engaged in trade acting in a diplomatic capacity. The Japanese authorities, though willing to conclude a treaty with Hawaii, desired that since treaties between nations are important, proper respect should be shown by the appointment of persons of high rank for their negotiation.

In accordance with these wishes, the Hawaiian government accredited General R.B. Van Valkenburgh, American minister to Japan, as Hawaiian envoy for the purpose of signing the treaty. Van Valkenburgh accepted the commission but did not sign the treaty. "It was partly personal, a growing dislike for Van Reed, and partly national, a feeling that such a treaty would be disadvantageous to the United States." The treaty was delayed until 1871.

Meanwhile, Van Reed had been active in getting permission from the Japanese government to send laborers to Hawaii. His original intention was to obtain a treaty of commerce and friendship, which he felt would open the door for labor emigration. This plan having made no progress, he resorted to the alternative strategy of getting laborers first and negotiating the treaty later.

Van Reed succeeded in recruiting 350 laborers for Hawaii after tedious transactions with the officials of the shogunate. The selection of the emigrants was handled by Hanbey, his chief assistant. Van Reed signed a contract with him and two others, Yonezo and Kumeashi. (See the appendix for the contract).

Van Reed got 350 passports from the shogun's government, but after receiving Varigny's letter, together with a draft for $1,925, he found that the British ship he had bargained for, the Scioto, was at $10,000 far beyond his means. He decided to look for a smaller vessel. As his choice, the barque Recife, could not carry more than 180 laborers, he returned 170 passports. Later, having reconsidered his decision, Van Reed resolved to send the full number originally planned for, and chartered the Scioto for $8,900. This was considerably more cash than he had.

The events which followed put Van Reed in a very embarrassing position. Before the Scioto could leave, political developments interfered. In 1868, after the resignation of the shogun, a civil war ensued between the adherents of the ex-shogun and the imperial forces. The latter won. On the day before the Scioto was to sail, the new regime took power. Van Reed, with only 180 passports, was desirous of getting back the 170 that he had returned. At the request of the recently-seated authorities, he surrendered the 180 passports in his possession, with the hope of securing 350 others. The mikado's government refused, however, as Japan had no treaty with Hawaii. It did offer to give Van Reed permission if he obtained from one of the other treaty powers a guarantee that the laborers would be returned to Japan at the end of their three-year contracts. Van Reed faced a dilemma. He could abandon the 180 laborers and lose the amount spent so far, or send them on to Hawaii. He chose the latter course. Van Reed gave the green light to the Scioto's captain only after Japanese government officials denied any compensation to him for any loss that he might have suffered. None of his other propositions was acceptable to the mikado's government, either. The Scioto left with the necessary clearance from the British customs house. Van Reed justified his course of action on the ground that the faithlessness and duplicity of the officials rendered all negotiation hopeless. He believed that the money spent would not be refunded if he relied on the integrity of the Japanese government. It is true that had the Japanese government wished to stop the Scioto there was ample time, as Van Reed had informed them of his alternative course of action.

Van Reed, writing to Varigny on July 16, 1868, said regarding the sailing of the Scioto:

the delay of the Captain [Reagan] in not being able to sail on the morning of the 10th May as agreed, enabled the new government under the Mikado to
interfere in granting the 170 passports, or even allowing any Japanese whatever to leave for Hawaii under releases granted by the Tycoon. Japanese spies having been ordered to remove the men in parties of one or two as invalids and thus by delay to allow the question to be settled by the vanishing of all on board....

Van Reed blamed the American minister, Van Valkenburgh, for issuing a notice threatening all who might be interested in the coolie trade and playing up Van Reed's role as a merchant. In the words of Van Reed, this appears the most preposterous and ridiculous from the fact that all Japanese in America are at school or traveling for experience in every case a consumer, instead of a producer.... By what right the American minister interferes to attract the extreme sensibilities of the Japanese government (proverbially suspicious and jealous in their dealings with Foreign Nations) to the question of labor for Hawaii is beyond forthcoming, and it is to be hoped that some National question may arise to make him regret his course in the above instance.

As to the number of laborers sent forward, Van Reed thought it "...impossible to ascertain as they were at liberty to leave under explicit orders from me to detain no Japanese on board as prisoners against their wish."

The Scioto left Yokohama on May 17, 1868, with 149 laborers who went without permission and against the desires of the government. She met storms and rough seas on the voyage that so threatened the lives of the adventurous group that they vowed in a covenant of brotherhood to cooperate in the land that they were approaching. All but two cut their top-knots as a token of appreciation at having survived the ordeal.

The laborers, one of whom died on the trip, had been recruited from the streets of Tokyo and were mostly vagabonds, coolies or palanquin bearers between the ages of thirteen and twenty-seven. They had engaged in fighting, gambling and highway robbery and had no idea where Hawaii was, but concluded it to be as far as Tenjiku or heaven--Tenjiku, indicating India, home of Buddha and destination of man, signified the farthest distance one could go. They all expected to become rich.

On June 19, after thirty-three days at sea, the Scioto, with Captain Reagan at the helm, docked at Honolulu. The physician aboard was Dr. D. J. Lee, travelling with the American merchant, Mr. A. D. Baum.

The laborers got a barrel of salted fish as a gift from the king. The board of immigration then took charge of them, and they signed contracts of the same nature as those signed with Hanbey and his associates in Japan. It was agreed that the laborers would be paid $4.00 a month for the duration of their three-year contracts; they would also get food, lodging and medicines. They agreed to receive $2.00 in cash at the end of each month and a note for the other $2.00. The balance due on these notes would be paid through the Hawaiian consul general after the men returned to Japan.

The board then assigned the contracts to employers wanting workers. The latter paid $70.00 a man plus the $10.00 advance allowed each (this had been paid to Hanbey in Tokyo to buy clothing and other necessities). The advance was to be deducted from monthly wages. The group chose an overall headman, Makino Tomisaburo, also called Saburo, Sablow and Sblou, who was to be the interpreter and was therefore paid $150.00 a year plus lodging.

The laborers received a two-week vacation to see the "castle town of Honolulu" and were provided with additional clothing, blankets and hats. They were disappointed in the small country town and disliked Western food with its milk products. But everywhere the friendly people gave them a warm welcome. Their first
day of work on the plantation, however, was to be a rude awakening that started a barrage of complaints to both the board of immigration and to Japan.

Dr. Lee had submitted his report on the state of health of the Japanese immigrants to the board on June 19. Lee mentioned that he had selected the group from more than 400 applicants. He said it was well known that two-thirds of the class represented were afflicted with diseases of the skin, of scrofulous and venereal type. He said, however, that most of the newcomers were free from disease of any kind. Several had been rejected as ill or too old, but some of these had been smuggled aboard. Lee reported that he was gratified that even the rejected ones improved during the voyage. One male died of an unknown cause; thus there were 141 males, six females, and one child on arrival. On the voyage they had ample and excellent food; water was abundant but not of the best quality.

The Hawaiian Gazette of June 24, 1868, described the immigrants as a "very good natured and lusty-looking set of fellows" who were favorably received by the local population. The Gazette said that "...these Japanese are to be looked on in the light of an experiment, and a few weeks or months at the most, will determine whether it will be advisable to seek for more of them."

The "master-servant" contracts—heavily in favor of the master—once signed, the immigrants were let out to various plantations. Fifty-one went to Maui, twenty-two to Kauai, and four to Walter Murray Gibson on Lanai. The six women went along with their husbands. There were twenty-three employers, but the Haiku Sugar Co. of Maui took fifty-one of the Japanese.

Apparently Dr. Lee's bill of health was an overstatement; soon complaints poured into the board of immigration from both laborers and employers.

Complaints first came from the latter. Theo. H. Davies, agent for Kaalaea Plantation on Oahu, reported some of his men's health affected adversely by the change in climate. They reported sick but, given medical attention and care, they speedily recovered with the exception of one man, who died. Through inquiry Davies found that the man had not worked more than a quarter of an hour, and that the others had spent time and attention on him. This meant a loss of man-hours on the plantation; under such circumstances, therefore, he asked the board for a full refund to relieve the plantation of expenses incurred from the original contract.

M. McInerny presented another interesting case to F. V. Hutchison, president of the board of immigration. McInerny wrote to inform the board of "...certain facts in relation to a Japanese named Nakaska whose services I engaged...." He complained that on arrival at his house and even before, Nakaska was bleeding at the nose profusely and spoke of severe pains in the back and shoulders. He was so sick that McInerny called upon Dr. J. Hillbrand, who advised him to send Nakaska to The Queen's Hospital for ten days. On his discharge Nakaska appeared no better and had been in bed, unable to work, feverish, and coughing continually. McInerny judged that the man had tuberculosis, and discovered that he had been sick during a large part of the passage. He also asked the board for reimbursement of the amount advanced ($70), plus the $7.50 paid to the hospital.

In December, 1869, the Hawaiian Gazette mentioned the immigrants' health: [it] appears to be good: one man died of consumption shortly after his arrival, two of other diseases brought with them[ probably the two cases mentioned above] and one, who the interpreter [Saburo] says was insane, committed suicide.

From these reports, one can only guess that grievances were also heard by the board from the immigrants. Employers took advantage of the laborers' ignorance, and Saburo's inadequate knowledge of English added to the trouble. The Japanese protested against the withholding of one-half of their wares, and the board recommended
full payment, as the cash paid was insufficient to meet the cost of clothing and tobacco. They also protested the transferring of contracts, argued over time lost on wet months, over holidays and deliberate absences from work, and over refusals to work and running away. All these differences, intensified by the language barrier, caused the board to send Tomisaburo to Punahou to better himself.

A letter from J. Norlon Wakee to the board on September 29, 1868, gives concrete evidence of the transferring of contracts: "Mr. Jones of Lahaina has transferred the contracts of two of his men to us. They do not think this right...."

The men were to work ten hours a day on the plantation and twelve hours in the mills, with half an hour for lunch. They commenced work at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 5:00 p.m. They were penalized for tardiness (1/4 day's wages for ten to fifteen minutes' lateness), fined for each stick of cane stolen, and for unexcused absences from work, were charged at the rate of two days for each day absent. Other strict rules were: no liquor or opium; lights out and no conversation after 9:00 p.m.; rooms inspected once a week for cleanliness; fines for tools carelessly broken, lost, or stolen. Under such strenuous and confining schedules, the former city men found farm work much to their disliking. They wrote home to their government about their hardships, and in 1869 three Japanese officials came to investigate conditions.

Let us for a moment turn back to Captain Reagan, noting his conduct in Japan and the matter of paying him.

James Wodehouse, in a note to Hutchison, president of the board of immigration, informed him of a meeting of the board and the decision unanimously agreed upon to pay the Scioto's master $5,900. Wodehouse conducted an investigation and concluded that

While altogether not approving of the conduct of the master of the Scioto, I yet do not find sufficient proof to convict him of a violation of his charter party and that he is therefore, in my opinion, entitled to the payment.

Reagan was accordingly paid off and free to go.

Back in Japan Van Reed had his hands full. He kept quiet when he felt he should, and at times tried to appease the Japanese government by saying that all the laborers sent to Hawaii were being far better treated and cared for than they would have been had they remained in Japan. He went so far as to suggest that the government send an embassy to investigate the situation of the Japanese laborers, and offered himself as hostage for the safe return of the laborers. After several rebuffs, he succeeded in having the government send Shiroyama Seichi and two attendants to Hawaii via San Francisco.

Van Reed emphasized to the Hawaiian authorities that the solution of the labor question in Hawaii depended much on the outcome of the Shiroyama mission. But Shiroyama, while en route, received in December, 1868, likewise from the Japanese consul at San Francisco and from other sources reports of the immigrants' being in a "state of rebellion". He therefore returned to Japan with the news, leaving his attendants to continue their trip to Hawaii. Van Reed's position became increasingly precarious. He felt the report unjustified, and asked for a more competent embassy or consul to be dispatched to the islands. After many requests and much perseverance on Van Reed's part, a special embassy was arranged.

Wooyneno Kantoc no kami (Ueno Kantoku no kami) and Miwa Hoichi were commissioned co-envoys extraordinary to investigate the rumors that the Japanese were starving and suffering ill-treatment in Hawaii. They were also to look into the rumor in San Francisco that Van Reed had made $70,000 by sending 150 laborers to Hawaii. Van Reed was fortunate in Miwa's selection, as the latter was an official of the old government and a sincere friend of the American merchant.
The difficulties that had attended the Scioto affair in Japan, the complaints of both laborers and employers venting their dissatisfaction, the want of proper interpreters—all led the Hawaiian foreign minister to address to Van Reed the view of the board of immigration that it was "...undesirable to receive any more Japanese laborers at the present time." He requested Van Reed to "...take no active steps in the matter, until he received further instructions." Van Reed in reply suggested that all Japanese under contract in Hawaii wishing to go home after serving one-half of their contracts be allowed to do so, and that all contracts be cancelled, thus freeing the Japanese laborers.

We now return to the scene in Honolulu at the arrival of Wooyeno and Miwa in late December, 1869. They were housed in the same building as the first Japanese ambassadors of 1860, the so-called Edinburgh House. They were cordially received by the king and by various foreign diplomatic representatives in Hawaii, and were shown the utmost respect and courtesy. Col. Isaac H. Hooper resigned from the American legation temporarily to act as secretary for Ueno Kantoku no kami.

In following days the Japanese presented to Minister of Foreign Affairs C. C. Harris two alternative proposals. The first read:

All Japanese subjects brought here on the Scioto who are now living shall be collected together in Honolulu...for the purpose of being returned to Yokohama, and at the expense of the Japanese Government for transportation from Honolulu.

The alternative stated:

The embassy shall receive now only a part of said subjects, and return them to Japan, the expense to be paid by the Embassy.

In the class as above named, the whole number may amount to forty persons, more or less, and consists namely of Mechanics, who may elect to return home. Men unadapted by education or habits for the services at which they are now employed. Also all the sick, deformed, and disabled.

Those Japanese subjects now embraced as above mentioned, shall remain at service until the expiration of their present contract of labor, at the end of which time or previous thereto, they shall be returned to Yokohama at the entire expense of the Hawaiian Government.

Should any of the above named class of persons be too ill, or from other unforeseen causes be unable to embark for Yokohama, they shall be properly cared for, and ultimately returned by the Hawaiian Government at its own expense, due notice to be given to the Japanese Government as to the cause or causes which may prevent such persons from being sent at the proper time with the others.

The Japanese ambassadors at the same time made the following statement:

It is the desire and purpose of the government of Japan to live in terms of friendship and good neighborhood with the Hawaiian nation, and to that end will be pleased to entertain treaty relations...but it is thought necessary...to first settle satisfactorily the matters of his primary mission.

The Hawaiian government after some deliberation chose the second alternative, but requested an additional clause. Thereupon Ueno signed the following:

It is perfectly understood that the promise on the part of the Hawaiian Government to return to Yokohama the Japanese laborers remaining in this country until the expiration of their time of service, is limited by the general law of all nations and of this country by the fact that should
any desire to remain the Hawaiian Government has no authority to compel them to go.28

Once the question of the laborers was disposed of, Ueno promised to take a draft treaty back to Japan and recommend it to the emperor.

Ueno and Miwa were taken on a four-day tour of Oahu and saw first-hand the working conditions on the plantations. Before leaving Hawaii, Ueno expressed his gratitude "...in the name of the Japanese Government and selves to the Hawaiian Government and people for their kindness and hospitality that have been so cordially and generously extended to us." He also thanked Harris for the visit to the various plantations of Oahu, adding, "We have everywhere found our countrymen well cared for, and kindly treated by their employers."29

Ueno was given lists of the occupations of the men living in the islands, of those desiring to go to the U.S.A., and of those desiring to return to Yokohama (see appendix). Ueno's trip did not end all complaints--many of them petty--of laborers and employers. Also, there was difficulty with planters over the return of the "forty". Apparently, C.C. Harris had assumed the planters would, out of patriotism, give up the required number of Japanese, but they did not respond to such persuasion. Instead, they asked that they be refunded part of the original contract payment of $70, and demanded reimbursement for amounts expended for prison bail, medical expenses, etc. Examples of complaints follow:

R.F. Bickerton, manager of Kaalaea Plantation, on June 30, 1870, mentions "Kuma", who was fined $1 for driving the cattle to a run. Also, "Dioske", who lost his leg and refuses to wear a leg made for him or to work or abide by his contract.30

A.S. Cleghorn mentions "Nitshi", who was taken from his employ on January 20, 1869. He had contracted venereal disease and was laid up at different times, resulting in heavy medical expense.31

Theo. H. Davies of Kaalaea Plantation writes to Hutchison that his average cost has been materially increased by the death of two of his men.

J.H. Wood in a letter to Hutchison writes concerning one Japanese "Torzo", alias "Toku", in protest against his leaving the kingdom or his employ until he fulfills the terms of his contract or has permission to do so. The crops cannot be harvested in time because of a shortage of hands on the plantation.

Others, while complaining of the expense incurred, said of the laborers:

"We...are sorry to lose the services of these men who have become acclimated and accustomed to the work required of them....32

This man was acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the native language to understand something of the commands given him, and would in the course of time, deserved an entry to his credit of the taxes and expenses paid on his behalf....33

Before sailing home, the ambassadors commissioned Col. I.H. Cooper to act as their agent in receiving and sending to Yokohama the forty Japanese laborers, and appointed Tomisaburo special agent to look after those Japanese remaining in the islands until the completion of their contracts. Ueno and Miwa sailed from Hawaii
on January 20, 1870, to San Francisco, and from there to Japan.

In accordance with the agreement, forty Japanese returned to Japan. Thirty-eight adults were sent on January 29 on the barque R. W. Wood. The remaining two were to be sent when selected by Saburo (the lists of returnees from the various plantations are found in the appendix).

The returnees, arriving in Japan a few days before the ambassadors, caused unpleasant news of their treatment in Hawaii to be sent to the press and to prefectural officials. They charged Hawaiian employers with cruelty and with not fulfilling their contracts. They complained of working without a day of rest, of lack of medical treatment, and of having their pay withheld for several months. They accused Van Reed of breach of promise, maintaining that they never received the $10 advances, as they had been given to Hanbey, and that they had been imprisoned several times.

Although they were a considerable source of embarrassment to the Japanese foreign office and to Ambassador Ueno, the testament that Ueno deposited with the Japanese government satisfied the latter. Moreover, the Japanese returnees were those who had been antagonistic, troublesome and unsatisfactory. One can only recall what Van Reed himself admitted later when he described his "picked men" as being "...mere Laborers who had been picked out of the streets of Yokohama, sick, exhausted, and filthy, without clothing to cover decency."

Later some of this group, having realized the poverty-stricken lives to which they had returned, begged Van Reed on their knees "...to have me send them back to Hawaii." And five of them did go back. Van Reed also said that "...were communications [to Hawaii] more frequent, quite a number would leave on their own responsibility."

As for the Japanese staying in Hawaii (and there is disagreement as to their number), when their contracts were up in 1871, only thirteen requested to be sent back to their native land. The remnants of the original Gannen Mono (about 90) applied for and got passports permitting them to remain in Hawaii. With the expiration of the contracts, Tomi Saburo left Hawaii for California, having decided to help his people there. And with these events an era of experimentation in Japanese labor closed for the time being.

In 1935, Y.B. Goto, county extension agent, interviewed Sentaro Ishii on Maui. Ishii was at 102 years of age the last of the original Gannen Mono. He was a samurai who left his lord to come to Hawaii when he heard of the search for laborers to work in the cane fields. Discarding his sword, the mark of his calling, he came. He had never farmed in his life, but by 1885 had worked his way up to luna; in that year the next group of Japanese immigrants arrived. Ishii learned the Hawaiian language quickly, married a Hawaiian woman, and became a Roman Catholic—an early case of assimilation into the new life.

According to Yukiko Himura, all the Gannen Mono eventually assimilated into the wider community and did not constitute a separate Japanese community, as did the following waves of immigrants. They were too few in number to establish such a community.

Between 1868 and 1885 there was no organized migration to Hawaii by the Japanese. Those who came had been working on American whaling ships and were stranded in the islands. They were more or less assimilated into the local life.

The type of Japanese immigrating largely determined their assimilation rate. The Gannen Mono were nearly all vagabonds from an urban community in Japan and were attracted to emigration as a form of adventure. They were already deviates from the conventions and mores of the old country. They were Buddhist in background, but religion had little to do with their lives. They were emotional deviates from the
familial and conventional ties of the homeland and found it easy to assimilate with the people of different cultures. The 90-odd who remained intermarried, and some became successful.

Circumstances in Hawaii were also favorable to assimilation. At the time of their arrival, other Japanese were few. Therefore, considered as an experiment by the natives and other races and by the government as well, they were shown more than ordinary kindness. Records indicate that even on the plantations they were treated better than other races.

The results of the so-called Great Expectations can hardly be called so. Since the number of immigrants who remained was not significant, the attempt to revive the dying population enjoyed little success. However, the 90 who did stay married and produced offspring. Nor did the Planters' Society succeed in its aim; there were too many exaggerated complaints to the board of immigration.

The treaty of amity and commerce that Van Reed and the minister of foreign affairs sought became a reality in the summer of 1871 because of the success of the Ueno mission. This result occurred only after many near successes and disappointments. Van Reed, writing to C. C. Harris about the Ueno mission, congratulated him "...on the favorable termination of the visit by the embassy." He seemed enthusiastic about the future, and inquired "...of the probability of establishing a Japanese colony here by a Japanese Prince through a land grant or by rent and in what location." Van Reed was reinstated as Consul General at Japan after approval by the Japanese Government and after the treaty had been signed. He had resigned in order that negotiations might have a better chance. Van Reed died in 1873, presumably happy in his accomplishments.

Those of the Gannen Mono who had come to Hawaii to get rich quick and to return to Japan as millionaires to impress relatives, friends, and sweethearts were greatly disappointed. The ones who went back to Japan reentered the same overcrowded, poverty-stricken life in the big city. The young, adventuresome men who came to Hawaii did not find the glory that sometimes accompanies such a venture, but they did find a new kind of life among people of different customs and culture. That was quite an experience in itself.

Since their friends expected them to return wealthy, or at least conspicuously successful, the Gannen Mono delayed their return from year to year. The hardships of plantation life trained them to yield to circumstances. They had a shikata-ganai attitude—a sort of it-can't-be-helped feeling—which led them to make the most of the situation. Then, too, language difficulties and strange customs reduced their original rebelliousness. Finally, age changed the youthful vagabonds to quiet settlers.

NOTES

2. Ibid., p. 4.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
16. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, June 20, 1868, p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 18.
22. Ibid., January 2, 1869.
31. Ibid., A.S. Cleghorn to Bureau of Immigration, March 23, 1870.
32. Ibid., Bishop and Co. to C. T. Gulick.
33. Ibid., Chas. Paty to Gulick.
38. Van Reed to C.C. Harris, March 22, 1870. Archives of Hawaii.

APPENDIX A

Japanese Embassy & Japanese Agent in Hawaii, 1870.
From: Wooyeno Kantoc-no-kami
To: C.C. Harris, Minister of Foreign Affairs

[He returns the "Agreement of Farmers and Laborers for Hawaiian Islands" drawn up in Japanese with translation annexed]

"Agreement of the Farmers and Laborers for Hawaiian Island"

Three hundred and fifty (350) men of farmers or laborers has contract for Hawaiian Islands in term for service three years (thirty-six months) by wagges of $4 per men.

The thirty-six month will be counted time they have arrived to Hawaiian.

After get permission form the Japanese government the laborers will be divid for 12 company (1 company 25 men) and two headmen will be for one company, each headmen of the company will receive $1 except his wagges.

One headmen or master for all laborers will settled and he will receive $150. for one year as wagges included his feeding.

The laborers want receive here (Yokohama) $10 for one men from his said wagges as advance.

The wagges will be deliver half of the sum of their wagges in every first day of the month in three years from the day left Yokohama and remainder half will be given by the note, Any laborers want to receive that remainder they explain to this master through headmen and remainder will be hand over in changing with said note.

The remainder of their wagges which they have labored will be deliver through the Hawaii Consul General in Yokohama after they have arrived to Yokohama and we shall receive them for send away to his home.

After they has finished their term of service the contracter will send back them to Yokohama from Hawaiian Islands with expense of the Contracter, but if there was any sick man they will remain with one helping men and after recovered will be send back as same way.

We warrant and send the laborers off from Yokohama agreement with under signed Hanbey, therefore if any trouble occur about them We shall engage for it and will not give any trouble to the contracter.

1st day 4th the month (Keio 4)

To Mr. Van Reed
Hawaiian Consul General in Japan

(signatures)

Van Reed

Yokohama Centensianai
Kameya Kumehachi

Yokohama Suyehilomachi No. 3
Kuwanaya Yonezo

Yokohama Suyehilomachi
Hanbey
Honolulu, May 21st 1871

To the Foreign Office in the Gov't., H. I.

The latter in these names of Japanese Laborers, thy are wished going Back to the Yokohama, Japan.

Yoshi
Jilow & Fuchiar
Yone His wife Nabu
Dai sukey hea Hach
Gihey King now
Takey shia bey
Te stu sturu
Hastu Gin jiloo

Shincke, He been sick now in Hospital
Shuwzoa, "" "" "" ""

one child Takey

These names of the Japanese Laborers. The since the expiration of their term of service, they wished to sojourn to this Richest and Beautiful Kingdom.

1. Ma Koojilow 18
2. Bun Chinw 19
3. Kame Han 20
4. Bunji Yone 21
5. Kinjilow Matai 22
6. Kintaro His wife Tomaz 23
7. Toyo shobay 24
8. Takez Kuni 25
9. Chosu Toyockch 26
10. Kuma stunesz 27
11. Hankich Kastu 28
12. shuu Hez suike 29
13. Masackeh chiow jiro 30
14. Tow Ichi 31
15. Wazow Madi goa 32
16. Tome Tola 33
17. Tastze Kuma 34
35. shin ckeh Juw rzva 36
37. Takejiro

The Sum 37 But we have no count children

These names of the Laborers of Japanese they will going to United States for to learning some arts but by Degrees.

No. 1 Kich
No. 2 Yow
From Archives of Hawaii, Department of Interior Miscellaneous, 1868-1885:

Memo. of Japanese for "Scioto"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oahu</th>
<th>Bishop and Co. (at Chamberlains)</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H.J. Nolte</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.H. Wood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.H. Paty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.H. Wodehouse</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sailors Home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H. Hillebrand</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Hillebrand (transfer to Kaneohe)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Molteno</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.H. Judd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.B. Atherton</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bolles and Co.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Richardson</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaalea Plantation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McInerny</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.S. Cleghorn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
March 23, 1868
Distribution of Japanese for "Scioto"

JOHN COXE: HAWAII'S FIRST SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

by

David Kittelson

Long before the first missionaries landed in Hawaii—in fact, even before most of those pious New Englanders were born—Hawaiians were hitching rides on sailing ships halfway around the world. John Coxe was one such inveterate Polynesian tourist. Not only did he sail the seven seas; he portaged across North America, visited England, and wound up as a Hudson's Bay Company swineherd. And if Coxe's own story can be believed, he saw Captain James Cook killed and accompanied Liholiho on the ill-fated trip to Britain.

Thousands of Hawaiians crowded about Captain Cook on a Sunday morning in February, 1779, as he was stabbed and beaten to death on the shores of Kealakekua Bay. In the mob was Naukane, the small son of Chief Kamanawa. At first glance, Coxe and Naukane appear to be two different people—Naukane an ali'i of high birth, Coxe a fur trapper who ended his days tending pigs. Nevertheless, Naukane and Coxe may well have been one and the same.

In 1782, when King Kalaniopuu of the island of Hawaii died, rivals scrambled for his kingdom. Kamanawa and three other chiefs from the sunny Kona district persuaded a young warrior named Kamehameha to lead their armies in a fight to win control of the island. He did his job well. By 1796 he had fought his way to virtual control of the entire Hawaiian chain. The Kona chiefs were rewarded for their support with extensive lands and got posts on Kamehameha's advisory council. Later, when Kamehameha moved his headquarters to Honolulu, his chiefs came with him. Naukane, then in his early twenties, accompanied his father and probably became involved in court life. Apparently tired of this, he was fascinated by tales of distant lands told by Hawaiians, who had been going abroad in British and American ships since 1787. Naukane was interested in the ships which were stopping at Honolulu for provisions.

Most of these vessels were American fur traders on their way to the Northwest Coast to gather pelts for the lucrative China trade. They usually left New England ports with skeleton crews and at Honolulu augmented these with Hawaiians for work on the coast.

In February, 1811, John Jacob Astor's Tonquin arrived in Honolulu, bound for
the Columbia River to establish the Pacific Fur Company's post. Captain Jonathan Thorne got approval from Kamehameha I to recruit islanders and signed on twenty-four Hawaiians, twelve for shipboard duty and twelve for work at Astor's fur posts. Their contracts called for three years of work in return for food, clothing, and a bonus of one hundred dollars' worth of merchandise.5

The ali'i, as eager as any commoner for travel and the haole's goods, decided to send along one of their own to look after the interests of the islanders. Naukane, a member of Prince Liholiho's retinue, was chosen to make the trip.6 On board he attracted attention because of his resemblance to a member of the Tonquin's crew, John Coxe. Thereafter Naukane was called by that name.7

The Tonquin reached the mouth of the Columbia on a windy March day and immediately lost eight men and two whaleboats in the rough water. One of the men killed was a Hawaiian. Gabriel Franchere, a clerk on the Tonquin, described the ceremony which the remaining Hawaiians performed over their comrade. One, not identified by name in the account, acted as a priest and led the others in burial rites.8 Coxe (Naukane) would have been the logical choice because of his high rank and because of the detailed religious training he had received as an ali'i.

After a few days, fur company officials found a site for the trading post and named it Astoria. This was the base of operations for Astor's northwest fur trade. Coxe was fortunate to have signed on for work at Astoria. Several months later the twelve Hawaiian crewmen of the Tonquin met death when Indians blew up the ship. By July, 1811, the post was well established and David Stuart, one of the leaders, took a small group up the Columbia to set up other fur posts.

Coxe's ability and industry set him apart from the other Hawaiians, and he was chosen to accompany Stuart. The expedition encountered a surveying team of the rival British Northwest Company. Its leader, David Thompson, took an immediate liking to Coxe and traded one of his own men for the Hawaiian. Coxe was released from his contract with Astor and became a Northwest Company employee. With his new friends, he canoed and portaged his way across the fur trappers' inland waterway system. In 1812, Thompson's party reached Fort William on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, the Northwest Company's great inland supply depot and a rendezvous for trappers and company officials.9

Since Britain was at war with the United States, the Northwest Company's officers decided to outfit a ship in England and send it to seize Astoria. They chose Donald 'McTavish, John 'McDonald, Coxe, and a dozen clerks and voyageurs to do the job.10 Coxe went along as pilot because he was familiar with the dangerous entrance to the Columbia River.11 The party left Fort William for Montreal—then on to Quebec, where the Isaac Todd took them to Portsmouth, England. There the vessel was outfitted as a supply ship.

Coxe and the Canadiens were kept busy working on the ship. A few days before it was scheduled to sail, the crew got shore liberty. Buoyed up by too much wine and women, the boisterous gang commandeered a small boat and began sailing about the harbor. A press detail boarded their craft and took the fur trappers and clerks to a Royal Navy recruiting ship. Coxe and the others protested that they were already assigned to a ship. One of the clerks was permitted to leave; he reported to McTavish, who pulled strings with the Port Admiral. The shaheiaed group was released the next day.12

On March 25, 1813, the Isaac Todd sailed for Rio de Janeiro in a convoy of forty ships, most of them bound for other destinations. Not a fast ship to begin with, she carried a staggering load of supplies. She also carried a letter of marque, which called for heavier armament. The Isaac Todd left Rio for the Northwest Coast in the company of H.M.S. Phoebe, Raccoon, and Cherub on July 9, 1813.
Company officials decided to send McDonald, Coxe, and four voyageurs ahead on the speedier Phoebe. When they reached the Columbia, they were to meet with other Northwest Company employees and arrange for a concerted assault on Astoria, backed by the Isaac Todd. The heavily-gunned Phoebe and Cherub were however soon called on for other naval action. Coxe and the others transferred, this time to the Racoon.

On October 20, 1813, while the Racoon's guns were being tested, powder caught fire and exploded. A sheet of flame swept the ship's deck, killing seven men and injuring twenty-six. Coxe, who was helping at one gun, fell to the deck before the blaze reached him. He was uninjured except for a severely-burned nose.\(^\text{13}\)

The Racoon got to the Columbia on November 30. There the travelers learned that a party sent overland by the Northwest Company had earlier persuaded the Astorians to sell out. The British took formal control on December 13, 1813, and renamed the post Fort George. Coxe continued to work there until August, 1814, when all of the Hawaiians at the fort were sent back to the islands on either the Isaac Todd or the Columbia.

After he returned to Honolulu in 1815, Coxe probably reverted to his native name, Naukane.\(^\text{14}\) Although this former fur trapper presumably stayed in Hawaii for the next eight years, there is no record of his activities under either his English or his Hawaiian name. Coxe was about forty at the time, and it is likely that he intended to return to a comfortable life as a lesser chief in Prince Liholiho's court. Although his wages as a Northwest Company employee had been meager, he could have saved enough money to let him live in relative wealth and respectability as the Americans did, especially with the benefits which accrued to him as an ali'i. He was well received by Kamehameha. Not only was Coxe the son of one of Kamehameha's closest advisors, and a member of Liholiho's retinue, but he had traveled widely. Kamehameha urged Hawaiians to sign on sailing ships and work for European and American firms.\(^\text{15}\) Like Peter the Great of Russia, Kamehameha was eager to westernize his kingdom; well-traveled subjects were good aides in building foreign trade and in strengthening the army and navy.

Kamehameha I died in 1819, and Coxe rose in stature when Liholiho ascended the throne. In 1823, Liholiho decided to sail to England and the United States to seek an alliance. A party of twelve left the islands on November 27, 1823, in the British whaleship, L'Aigle. The king, queen, several cabinet officials and chiefs made the trip, accompanied by three servants--Naukane, Kaaweawea, and Kaunuhaimalam. Although the latter were generally referred to as servants or bodyguards, they were ali'i. Liholiho's person carried so much mana that in order to keep himself from being defiled, even his lowest personal attendants had to be of chiefly rank.

Naukane or Coxe, now nearly fifty, was probably chosen not for his physical ability to defend the king but for his familiarity with western ways and his personal ties with Liholiho. Coxe's travels in America and England made him a valuable addition to the party.

Liholiho's group stopped at Rio de Janeiro, where Coxe had previously been on the Isaac Todd. L'Aigle reached England on May 17, 1824, and thereafter the royal party embarked on a round of parties, horse racing, and concerts. On June 10, one of the chiefs came down with measles, and within a week all of the Hawaiians had the disease. Apparently Naukane's travels had built up his immunity, for he was hardly bothered by measles. The king and queen died, however, and two others remained sick for some time.

King George IV held an audience for the remaining Hawaiians at Windsor Castle on September 11. Coxe was present at this event.\(^\text{16}\)
HMS Blonde was assigned to return the bodies of the king and queen to Hawaii. The ship arrived at Honolulu in the spring of 1825 with but seven of the twelve Hawaiians. Liholiho and Kamamalu were dead; John Rives, dismissed after the king's death, was in France; Kaumuhaimalama had died just before reaching England, and Kapihe, the Hawaiian admiral, had died on the return voyage.

The Hawaiian community was suspicious of the returning voyagers. They had failed to protect their monarchs from harm, and $15,000 of Liholiho's money was missing. In this situation, Naukane probably found it expedient to leave the islands.

The Hawaiian soldier of fortune returned to the Northwest Coast, working for the Hudson's Bay Company, which had absorbed the old Northwest Company. The firm's base of operations had been transferred from Fort George to a new site farther inland, Fort Vancouver. Coxe worked for a few more years; then the company retired him and gave him a plot of land two miles below the fort.

To make the fort self-sufficient, Dr. John McLoughlin, the factor at Vancouver, promoted livestock raising. Coxe came out of retirement to become the fort's swineherd. His pigs grazed on the plains between Fort Vancouver and the Columbia near the Hawaiian's cabin. As had so many other Hawaiians who had come to the damp Northwest Coast, Coxe contracted tuberculosis. He died between 1836 and 1838 after a long illness.

The fort's chaplain, Herbert Beaver, claimed that Coxe was an unbaptized heathen, and denied the Hawaiian a formal burial. McLoughlin respected his swineherd, and he was in the midst of a long-standing feud with Beaver. Despite the padre, McLoughlin read the services over Coxe and had him interred in the fort's burial ground.

The vast plain between Fort Vancouver and the Columbia became the Hawaiian's memorial. It was called Coxe's Plain for a number of years in honor of the now-forgotten ali'i who served both the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay companies so long and so well.

NOTES

2. There are not enough facts to identify Coxe positively as Naukane, although Coxe's fur-trapping activities and Naukane's trip to England are fairly well documented. If Coxe were in England as a royal attendant, he would have been either Naukane or Kaaweawea, two servants. Naukane's lineage accounts for Coxe's presence at Kealakekua and Honolulu a few years later. Coxe claimed to have presented arms before the King of England in 1825. Naukane, not Kaaweawea, is specifically mentioned as having met the king. The lives of Coxe and Naukane are complementary enough to make Coxe's adventure story plausible.
3. Kamanawa and his twin brother Kameeiamoku were also honored by being portrayed on the Hawaiian Kingdom's coat of arms. The twin chiefs stood on either side of a heraldic shield holding a spear and a kahili or feather standard. This remained the official coat of arms until 1896, when the Republic of Hawaii replaced these two figures with the Goddess of Liberty and Kamehameha I. The state of Hawaii seal and coat of arms are essentially similar to the later version.
5. Gabriel Franchere, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America (New York, 1854), p. 85.
7. Europeans and Americans found Hawaiian given names hard to pronounce and usually gave nicknames to Hawaiians; the latter generally took a fancy to white men's names, adopting them in lieu of their true given names.
9. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 45.
13. Ibid., p. 49.
15. Vasili Golovnin, Tour Around the World...in 1817-1819 (St. Petersburg, 1822). Typescript of chapters on Hawaii, translated by Ella Embree, p. 49.
17. Ibid., p. 8.
18. Beaver erred on this point. The entire party of Hawaiians who returned from England on the Blonde were baptized aboard ship on May 1, 1825. Coxe may have held to the tenets of his pagan religion, but he was baptized.

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS: Roy M. Shinsato produced his paper in Dr. Hunter's class in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii. David Kittelson, a former and valued contributor, is librarian at the University of Hawaii's Hilo Campus.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR THE ISLAND OF MAUI: Mrs. Raymond F. Lyons

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814-111. Months of issue are October, January, April and July. By subscription only. Rate: $1.00 per year, postpaid.

THE HAWAIIAN MEDICAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, RECENTLY REACTIVATED, IS NOT CONFINED TO MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION. THOSE INTERESTED IN MEMBERSHIP SHOULD CALL DR. CHARLES JUDD AT 52561. THE SOCIETY WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE SUITABLE MANUSCRIPTS; THESE MAY BE CONSIDERED FOR PRESENTATION AT SOCIETY MEETINGS.
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF HAWAII, 1778-1850 ........................................ 199
    Robert C. Schmitt

A VISIT TO A SUGAR PLANTATION--1898 .......... 211
    Letter of James A. Tuthill

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS ............... 220

HAWAIIAN ROYALIST SOCIETY
The seventy-two-year period from 1778 to 1850 was one of sweeping changes in the population of Hawaii. Catastrophic depopulation occurred on all major islands. Honolulu, Hilo and Lahaina became the first urban centers in the Kingdom. Declining birth rates and high infant mortality rates altered the age distribution of the people. Young men went to sea and never returned. Foreigners began to take up residence in the Islands, and at the end of this period Hawaii was on the threshold of its first influx of indentured laborers.

Geographic Distribution

Major population shifts occurred between 1778 and 1850. Although all islands suffered serious losses, rates of decline varied greatly by geographic area. Villages with particularly strategic locations slowly struggled toward urban status. By the end of the period, Oahu, once third most populous of the islands, was vying with Hawaii for first place, and Honolulu had become an undisputed city.

Early population statistics could be compiled for a variety of geographic areas. The eight major islands provided obvious natural units for such breakdowns (the entire archipelago contains 124 named islands, but most of them are tiny offshore specks close to the major islands. The leeward group, from Nihoa to Kure, was underpopulated during the first half of the nineteenth century). The major land divisions recognized by the ancient Hawaiians, the moku (today's judicial districts), likewise were used as statistical areas, first in the legendary census of Umi and later in the missionary enumerations. Each moku, in turn, consisted of one or more ahupuaa, which were sometimes used for small-area head counts. Still another statistical area was the village or town, often defined on an ahupuaa basis.

Estimates by island go back as far as 1778-1779. Both King and Bligh compiled systematic geographic series covering all of the major islands. Cook published an estimate (30,000 in January, 1778) for Kauai, Bayly recorded one (500, also in January, 1778) for Niihau, and Ledyard reported a figure ("almost or quite 100,000" in January, 1779) for the Island of Hawaii. Golovnin, who visited Hawaii in 1818, quoted older residents who thought King’s 1779 estimates were triple the actual total for Molokai and double the true number on the other islands. Both Malo and Emory subsequently revised King's estimates in the light of later knowledge.

Totals by island for post-contact dates are available for 1798, 1805, 1823, 1831-1832, 1835-1836, 1849, and 1850. The 1798 estimates were reportedly prepared by Malo; those for 1805, by Youngson; and for 1823, by Jarves from previously-published missionary estimates. Data for 1831-1832 and 1835-1836 consisted of census counts for five islands and estimates for the other three, all made by the American missionaries. Government censuses were conducted in 1849 and 1850. Estimates for individual islands have been issued from time to time; examples include a 1798 estimate for the Island of Hawaii by Townsend ("not...over a hundred thousand"), 1822 estimates for Oahu by Tyerman and Bennet (20,000) and Mathison (8,000), and a number of limited counts by the missionaries.
Table 1

POPULATION BY ISLAND: 1779 TO 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISLAND</th>
<th>King 1779</th>
<th>Emory 1805</th>
<th>Bligh 1805</th>
<th>Younson 1823</th>
<th>Jarvis 1823</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Islands</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>242,200</td>
<td>264,160</td>
<td>142,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>65,400</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahoolawe</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanai</td>
<td>20,400</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molokai</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oahu</td>
<td>60,200</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>54,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niihau</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehua</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Islands</td>
<td>130,313</td>
<td>100,579</td>
<td>80,641</td>
<td>84,165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>45,792</td>
<td>39,364</td>
<td>27,204</td>
<td>25,864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>35,062</td>
<td>24,199</td>
<td>18,671</td>
<td>21,047</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahoolawe</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanai</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>604</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molokai</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>3,429</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oahu</td>
<td>29,755</td>
<td>27,809</td>
<td>23,145</td>
<td>25,440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>10,977</td>
<td>8,934</td>
<td>6,941</td>
<td>6,956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niihau</td>
<td>1,047</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>714</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehua</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data were compiled by moku or ahupuaa in several of the missionary counts. This procedure was followed most consistently in the 1835-1836 census. In other missionary enumerations, however, small-area data were restricted to only part of the kingdom.

Population counts or estimates were frequently published for cities and towns, but the value of these figures is limited by uncertainty regarding the boundaries ascribed to each community. The name "Honolulu", for example, was sometimes applied to the urban nucleus immediately behind Honolulu Harbor, sometimes to the entire ahupuaa (which adjoined Kapalama on one side and Waikiki on the other), and sometimes to the entire moku (which extended from the Halawa-Koanalua boundary to Koko Head). Similar confusion is possible regarding the meaning of Hilo, Lahaina, or Hana.

Honolulu was apparently the largest urban concentration in the kingdom. On December 13, 1831, Bingham wrote:

> Phelps has been taking the census of the village of Honolulu. He makes 5,522 inhabitants, including 180 foreigners. The inhabitants living on the plantations of Honolulu are not included. These, when added, will probably make from 7,500 to 8,000.

Two years later, in an estimate of the population "within a few miles" of each missionary station in the Islands, a report to the ASCI showed 6,000 in Honolulu proper, 4,500 in Honolulu aina ("in the rear of Honolulu"), and 3,000 in Waikiki. The census of 1835-1836 reported 12,994 in the moku of "Honolulu a me Waikiki." Honolulu estimates for which the geographic boundaries were unspecified included
those of Tyerman and Bennet\textsuperscript{24} and Mathison\textsuperscript{25} (2,000-3,000 in 1822), Ellis (6,000-7,000 in 1823),\textsuperscript{26} Duhaut-Cilly (6,000 in 1829),\textsuperscript{27} Chapin (6,000-7,000 in the mid-1830's),\textsuperscript{28} Diell (6,400 in "Honolulu proper" and 9,000 in "the Ahupuaa, or whole district" in 1838),\textsuperscript{29} Hines (10,000 in 1840),\textsuperscript{30} Simpson (8,400 in "town and neighborhood" in the early 1840's),\textsuperscript{31} and The Friend (8,000-10,000 in 1845).\textsuperscript{32}

Other important towns included Hilo, Kailua, Lahaina, and Hana. Hilo had a population of "not less than 2,000" in 1823\textsuperscript{33} and 4,181 in 1833-1834.\textsuperscript{34} Kailua, Kona, numbered "two or three thousand" in 1820.\textsuperscript{34a} Lahaina, variously (and broadly) defined, was estimated at 4,000 in 1833-1834,\textsuperscript{35} 3,175 in 1835-1836,\textsuperscript{36} and 5,000 in 1841-1842.\textsuperscript{37} Hana had 2,858 inhabitants in 1835-1836.\textsuperscript{38}

Urban growth was limited to a relatively few places, and appeared to be far from uniform. Cook estimated Waimea (Kauai) to have a population of 500 in January, 1778;\textsuperscript{39} fourteen years later, Vancouver found only one-third of that number.\textsuperscript{40} Waikiki showed similar signs of decline when visited by Vancouver in 1792,\textsuperscript{41} but eventually it recovered, and by 1833-1834 had a population of 2,571.\textsuperscript{42}

Much geographical shifting about occurred between 1778 and 1850. Some of the decline in specific areas could be attributed to warfare\textsuperscript{43} and epidemics.\textsuperscript{44} Other areas lost through out-migration, as residents sought new jobs or experiences\textsuperscript{45} or followed their chiefs to new locations,\textsuperscript{46} Richards and Stewart, writing from Lahaina on March 6, 1824, observed that the population had increased from 2,500 to 4,000 since their arrival nine months earlier, largely because many chiefs had moved to this community. Consequently, the "number of common people has exceedingly increased." But such increases were seldom permanent:

In one month more, the inhabitants may be reduced to their former number and all the new houses may be demolished. Such are the changes which are constantly taking place at the Sandwich Islands. All that is necessary to produce such changes is merely a whim of some person of distinction, occasioned, perhaps, by the scream of a child, or the prediction of a maniac.\textsuperscript{47}

Composition of the Population

Relatively little is known regarding the composition of the population before 1850. Comprehensive statistics on age, sex and race were first compiled in the 1849 census. Data on marital status, household relationship, school enrollment, educational attainment, labor force status, occupation, industry, family income, and many other subjects included in modern censuses were not collected until long after the middle of the nineteenth century.

The 1850 census reported more males than females and a relatively low proportion of children. These data (which excluded the blind and deaf as well as foreigners and their dependents) indicated a median age of 32.2 years. Persons under 18 years of age accounted for less than three-tenths of the population. There were 110.1 males per 100 females. Detailed statistics appear in Table 2.\textsuperscript{48} A similar picture emerged from the incomplete 1849 count.\textsuperscript{49}

Both the high sex ratio and high median age appear to have been nineteenth-century developments. Turnbull, who visited Hawaii in 1802-1803, wrote:

The Sandwich Islands are extremely well peopled, all circumstances of their nature and fertility being considered: and the women, according to Mr. Young's account, are said to be more numerous than the men; whereas in Otaheite the women are not reckoned to amount to more than one tenth part of the population.\textsuperscript{50}

Later writers mentioned, with increasing frequency, the declining proportion of
children. By 1849, it was clear that depopulation had become most severe among young persons and females.

Table 2
POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX: JANUARY, 1850
(Excludes 754 blind or deaf persons and 2,872 foreigners or dependents of foreigners)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>All Ages</th>
<th>Under 18</th>
<th>18 to 30</th>
<th>31 to 52</th>
<th>53 and Over</th>
<th>Median (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>80,539</td>
<td>23,366</td>
<td>15,747</td>
<td>22,065</td>
<td>19,361</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>42,203</td>
<td>12,933</td>
<td>7,995</td>
<td>11,018</td>
<td>10,207</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>38,336</td>
<td>10,433</td>
<td>7,752</td>
<td>11,047</td>
<td>9,154</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ethnic composition of the kingdom was likewise undergoing change. In 1778, Cook found a homogeneous Polynesian population. By 1850, the number of full-blooded Hawaiians had dropped by more than two-thirds, to 82,035; part-Hawaiians totalled 558, not counting those who either did not know or failed to report an admixture of non-Hawaiian blood; and 1,572 Americans, Europeans, and other foreigners lived in the Islands. Trends in racial composition are traced in Table 3.

Table 3
POPULATION BY RACE: 1778 TO 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1778</th>
<th>1823</th>
<th>1832</th>
<th>1836</th>
<th>1850</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All races</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>134,925</td>
<td>124,449</td>
<td>107,954</td>
<td>84,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>134,750</td>
<td>124,049</td>
<td>107,954</td>
<td>82,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Hawaiian</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hawaiian</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average household size was probably about five persons. King wrote: "From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced, that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance." Cook, in his Kauai estimate, allowed five persons per house. So did Tyerman and Bennet, Ellis, and Emory. The average probably declined during the nineteenth century, as a result of the decreasing proportion of children.

Fertility and Mortality

Population growth or decline is the net result of four distinct forces: births, deaths, in-migration, and out-migration. Births and deaths, in combination, provide natural increase or decrease. The difference between in-migration and out-migration is referred to as net migration. Until 1852, when immigrant labor was first brought to Hawaii, natural decrease greatly outweighed migration in importance to demographic change in the islands.

The first statistical information ever assembled on fertility and mortality in Hawaii was that compiled by the missionaries. Even before passage of the 1835 General Meeting resolution "...that a register be kept at each station of all births
and deaths,"58 many missionaries were keeping records of the vital events occurring in their districts. Although uniform coverage of all islands was never attained, apparently, under missionary auspices, coverage was sufficient to provide a general idea of fertility and mortality levels. Records kept by the Rev. William P. Alexander for Halelea, Kauai, from September, 1834 to September, 1835, for example, revealed crude birth and death rates of 25.7 and 52.8 per 1,000 population in that district.59 Projected by Alexander to the entire kingdom, these rates suggested some 6,838 deaths but only 3,335 births annually.50

Birth and death statistics were next compiled as part of the official census enumerations undertaken during the late 1840's. As noted earlier, the 1847 and 1848 counts were unsuccessful. The 1849 census, while somewhat incomplete, presumably underenumerated vital events in the same degree as population, and consequently produced approximately correct rates for the preceding year: 18 for births and 98 for deaths.61 Corresponding rates for 1849, based on the 1850 census, were respectively 17 and 51.62 Additional information appears in Table 4.

Table 4
VITAL STATISTICS: 1834 TO 1849

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Natural Decrease</th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Natural Decrease</th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1834-35</td>
<td>129,540</td>
<td>3,503</td>
<td>3,335</td>
<td>6,838</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>80,641</td>
<td>6,465</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>7,943</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>84,165</td>
<td>2,898</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>4,320</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although neither vital events nor population totals of the 1850 census were reported in sufficient detail to permit computation of reliable life table values, broad inferences can be derived from later statistics. The situation in mid-century was certainly no better, and probably even worse, than that evident toward the end of the century. Concerning the latter period, Taeuber has written:

If the relevant proportions of the part-Hawaiians are combined with the Hawaiians and the analysis limited to women, there is an approximation to a closed population. The age ratios and the age structures of the populations of 1890 and 1896 suggest birth rates of 50 or more per 1,000 total population. If birth rates were at this level and population was declining, death rates must have been above 50. These rates suggest the combination of a gross reproduction rate above 3.0 with an expectation of life at birth of less than 20 years.

The age structures of 1890 and 1896 and the rates of decline in the late nineteenth century sustain the argument that fertility and mortality were high, and that depopulation resulted from a normally high mortality and episodic decimation. A recurrent or localized low fertility associated with venereal disease, epidemics, or malnutrition is not inconsistent with this interpretation. Physiological sterility need not imply altered reproductive mores. There is a further and more hypothetical extension of the argument. If the fertility of the pre-contact period was high, the precarious ecological balances can have been preserved only by a level of mortality that was also high.63
Precise measurement of fertility and mortality levels for earlier periods of island history is impossible. Noting "the abnormally high death rates and the correspondingly low birth rates which must have prevailed during the first half of the last century in Hawaii," Lind has written: "As a matter of fact, the data are not available with which to compute vital rates for this period..."\footnote{64}

Despite such difficulties, Adams has made a valiant effort to reconstruct the birth and death rates of the native (that is, Hawaiian and part Hawaiian) population as far back as 1778. His method was to estimate the native population, including those absent at sea, at significant points in the demographic history of Hawaii, and then to devise approximate birth and death approximations consistent with his population estimates. Adams divided the years from 1778 to 1850 into ten natural periods. He wrote: "The history of each period is examined for data relating to factors that might be supposed to influence birth rates and death rates." Such factors included epidemics, land tenure, employment, living conditions, the use of liquor, infanticide, abortion, "disorder and excesses which twice followed the death of a ruler," education, religion, and many others. Adams continued:

The early records for limited areas and periods kept by missionaries have been used in making some of the earlier estimates and the earliest are based on the general health history of the time so far as it is available... The population figures are wholly matters of estimate for 1825 and earlier dates. While they are based on a consideration of the accounts and estimates of early explorers and residents and also on information that became available at later dates, they cannot be regarded as more than approximations--closer approximations, probably, than were made, commonly, by the men of that time.\footnote{65}

Adams encountered particularly great difficulty with two points: the total population on contact, and the loss resulting from an epidemic a quarter of a century later. He noted: "While some students who are entitled to an opinion would modify the figures considerably for 1778 and in smaller measure for the other dates, such modifications would not affect the character of the population trend seriously."\footnote{66} Regarding the epidemic--later thought to have been cholera or bubonic plague--David Malo had written: "In the reign of Kamehameha, from the time I was born until I was nine years old, the pestilence (\textit{ma'ili ahulau}) visited the Hawaiian Islands, and the majority (\textit{ka pau nui ana}) of the people from Hawaii to Niihau, died."\footnote{67} Kuykendall, who dated this epidemic at 1804, contended that the statement that it "carried off more than half the population" was "...probably the result of legendary exaggeration."\footnote{68} Even so, Adams "...credited Malo's estimate as not far from correct, but...estimated the loss a little lower than he did."\footnote{69} Adams eventually prepared two different sets of estimates (arbitrarily labeled "A" and "B" by the present author), which differ chiefly in the date assigned to the plague described by Malo and the degree of depopulation estimated for the quarter of a century preceding it. Adams's estimates of birth and death rates are shown in Table 5.\footnote{70}

However speculative these estimates, it is evident that mortality was high throughout this period, and from time to time reached appalling levels. Venereal disease, introduced by Cook's crew in 1778, quickly spread through the population, and adversely affected fertility as well as mortality rates; Forbes, in fact, regarded syphilis as the greatest single cause of decline during the century following contact.\footnote{71} Warfare, often exceedingly bloody, continued until 1795.\footnote{72} The men who collected sandalwood for the China trade suffered physically and neglected cultivation and fishing.\footnote{73} The \textit{ma'ili oku'u}, described by Malo and others, struck sometime between 1802 and 1807, probably in 1804.\footnote{74} There was an influenza epidemic
in 1826.75 Four devastating epidemics occurred in rapid succession in 1848 and 1849: measles, whooping cough, diarrhea, and influenza. Together, these four diseases killed more than 10,000 persons, out of perhaps 87,000, in little more than a twelve-month period.76

Table 5
ESTIMATED BIRTH AND DEATH RATES OF HAWAIIANS AND PART HAWAIIANS (INCLUDING PERSONS ABSENT AT SEA): 1778 TO 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series and Period</th>
<th>Length of Period (years)</th>
<th>Decrease in Population</th>
<th>Annual Rates per 1,000</th>
<th>Natural Decrease</th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Series A:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778-1796</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796-1804</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1805</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>128,000</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805-1819</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819-1823</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>10,050</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series B:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778-1796</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796-1803</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803-1804</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112,000</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1819</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819-1823</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,050</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Series:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823-1825</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825-1832</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6,551</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832-1836</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16,495</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-1848</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12,498</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1850</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8,863</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The roles of abortion, infanticide and infant mortality are difficult to assess. Artemas Bishop, writing in 1838, noted that "...the great majority of children born in the islands die before they are two years old."77 Some students attributed the frequent barrenness, still births, and infant deaths to venereal disease.78 Abortion and infanticide, known to exist in pre-contact times, reached new highs in 1819-1825 and 1832-1836.79

Social and economic disorganization likewise contributed to population decline. Nineteenth-century writers frequently mentioned alcohol, tobacco, sexual promiscuity, idolatry, kahunas, and landlessness as important factors.80 Adams has referred to still others, such as limited knowledge of treatment for certain diseases, poor infant care, breakdown of the old moral order, incapacitation of entire villages by disease and the resulting disruption of important economic activities, and "disorder and excesses" following the death of a ruler.81 Taeuber added:

The early diversions of activity from local to market production resulted in the main in a conspicuous consumption among the elite. Social disorganization and individual demoralization were cumulative under the
impact of such diverse factors as alcoholism, permissive codes of sex behavior, the erosion and abolition of tabu, and the declining securities in feudal land and labor relations. Then, too, there are persuasive arguments about psychological lethargies and a will to death. 62

Migration

Migration, while not as significant as natural increase or decrease, nevertheless was an important force in both the growth and decline of Hawaii. Unfortunately, compilation of migration statistics did not begin until 1852, when the first organized importation of foreign labor was undertaken.

The first Hawaiian migration, of course, was that which initially peopled the Islands, perhaps as early as the third century B.C. 63 Emory wrote, in 1962: Now...it begins to look as if the first settlers came from the Marquesas, and long ago, and that about the 12th century, Tahitian influence overwhelmed the islands. In any case, we are now sure of at least two migrations from central East Polynesia (if you can use the term migration for a canoe-load of migrants): (1) the migration which resulted in first settling the islands, and (2) a much later one which resulted in bringing from the Society Islands changes that had taken place after the branching migration to New Zealand. 64

Adams had observed earlier: Probably the immigrant ancestors of the Hawaiians numbered not more than a few hundred persons... The comparatively large population at that time [1778] was the result of natural increase plus a few canoe loads of later immigrants. 65

Not long after foreign ships started to call at Island ports, Hawaiians began to enlist as seamen. At first they served in the fur trade: "As early as 1788, though, sea captains were being advised to pick up a Hawaiian or two before leaving for the Northwest Coast." 66 Many Islanders died abroad. 67 Kittelson adds: Although the fur trade had fallen off by the middle 1820's, there was no reduction in the demand for skilled Hawaiian sailors. American whalers had been calling at Honolulu for several years already, and the stage was set for a dangerously large emigration of island sailors and laborers. 68

The number of Hawaiians at sea and abroad continued to increase through the 1830's and 1840's. Not all returned: all 479 who left on Boki's expedition on December 2, 1829 perished. 69 Some found work and homes in foreign countries, where they formed small Hawaiian communities. 90 Concern mounted. 91 The number absent, as estimated by Adams, increased from 200 in 1823 to 300 in 1825, 400 in 1832, 600 in 1836, 3,500 in 1848, and 4,000 in 1850. 92 The latter figure amounts to almost five per cent of the total Hawaiian and part Hawaiian population at that time, and twelve per cent of all Hawaiian males 18 years of age or more. According to Kuykendall:
The nation undoubtedly suffered an appreciable loss [of population] through the enlistment of Hawaiian youths as sailors on whaling vessels, but it is impossible to get any conclusive statistical measure of the extent of the loss. During the three years 1845-1847, nearly two thousand Hawaiians enlisted as seamen on foreign ships, and during those years there was some discussion of the subject. It was pointed out that many of these native seamen never returned to live in Hawaii and the population was thereby reduced... 93
Many of the out-migrants moved to California. Even before "...the California excitement led to an emigration of young Hawaiians from the islands..."94 some were living on the Coast. An article on "Statistics of San Francisco," initially published in August, 1847, stated that the population of that city consisted of 375 whites, 34 Indians, 10 Negroes, and 40 Hawaiians. The latter group consisted of 39 males and one female, "...mostly employed as boatmen in navigating the Bay..."95 By 1850, some 588 Hawaii-born persons were living on the mainland, including 319 in California.96

This out-migration was offset to only a limited extent by in-migration. Over the years, the population had been augmented by sailors who had jumped ship, missionaries, foreign consuls, businessmen, professional men, and others. Some, particularly the missionaries, brought dependents. Numerically they remained few: in 1850, only 1.9 per cent of the population was foreign born.97

Hawaii, in 1850, had reached the end of an era. Statistically, future censuses and vital data tabulations would show increasing detail and sophistication. Demographically, the island nation was about to embark on a course of imported labor, declining mortality, ethnic change, and urbanization. Its seventy-two-year apprenticeship was completed.

NOTES

9This article is the second of two on demographic statistics of Hawaii between 1778 and 1850. The first article, "Population Estimates and Censuses of Hawaii, 1778-1850," Hawaii Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 8 (July, 1964), pp. 143-155, described the sources of data and reported population totals from these sources. The present article traces trends in geographic distribution, population composition, natality, mortality, and migration.


5. Capt. V.I. Golovnin, Tour Around the World (1822), pp. 74, 75, 80 and 81, in typescript translation from Russian by Ella M. Embree of chapters on Hawaii, in Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.

6. A. Mouriitz, Our Western Outpost Hawaii (Honolulu: the author, 1935), p. 26. I have been unable to find any other reference to these estimates.


8. A. Mouriitz, Booklet II. History of the Pacific Navigators and Explorers. Revised. (Honolulu: the author, 1942), p. 27. I have been unable to find any other reference to these estimates. No source is given.


11. Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Held at Honolulu, June and July, 1836 (Oahu: Mission Press, 1836), p. 18. Slightly different totals for 1835-1836 are shown in W.C. Woodbridge, He Hoikehonua ("Geography") (Oahu: Mea Tai Palapala o Na Hisionari, 1836), back cover. A third set of data, somewhat different from the other two, appears in Ke Kumu Hawaii for December 9, 1835, January 20, 1836, March 2, 1836, March 16, 1836, and April 13, 1836. Table 1 of the present report uses data from Extracts from the Minutes..., loc. cit.

12. The Polynesian, November 10, 1849.


18. Ibid.

22. Report to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions... 1835 (Boston: 1835), Table 2, pp. 78-79; Answers by the Sandwich Islands Missionaries to the Questions in the Circular of March 15, 1833..., typescript dated April 30, 1836 in Hawaiian Historical Society Library.
26. Ellis, op. cit., p. 27.
32. Issue of October 1, 1845, p. 145.
34. Answers by the Sandwich Islands Missionaries..., op. cit., p. 22.
35. Report to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions...1835, loc. cit.
36. W.C. Woodbridge, loc. cit.
38. W.C. Woodbridge, loc. cit.
41. Ibid., I, pp. 405-406.
42. Answers by the Sandwich Islands Missionaries..., op. cit., p. 38.
43. Vancouver, op. cit., I, pp. 405-406, and V, p. 120.
44. See, for example, the editorial in The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 6, 1862.
45. The Polynesian for January 10, 1846, January 24, 1846, and January 9, 1847.
47. H.L. III, 914, as cited in the notes of Ralph S. Kuykendall in the custody of the Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.
48. The Polynesian, May 4, 1850.
49. The Polynesian, November 10, 1849.
54. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 212.
60. Alonzo Chapin, M.D., op. cit., p. 265. See also Robert Crichton Wyllie, Esq., "Notes..." The Friend, July 1, 1844, p. 61. The all-island population base used by Alexander was evidently about 129,540, only slightly less than the 1831-1832 missionary count and well over the 1835-1836 total.
61. The Polynesian, November 10, 1849.


69. Romanzo Adams, HS, p. 117.

70. Series A from Romanzo Adams, HS, p. 113 (quoted in part by Hormann, op. cit., p. 228). Series B from Adams, HS, p. 458.

71. A.O. Forbes, "The Decrease of the Hawaiian People and the Causes Assigned for It," The Hawaiian Gazette, January 10, 1863. See also Romanzo Adams, HS, p. 129.


73. Romanzo Adams, HS, p. 117; Irene B. Taeuber, op. cit., p. 98.


75. Letter of J.C. Jones, etc. (May, 1826) in Marshall HSS, Chamberlain journal, cited in Kuykendall's notes in custody of Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii; Samuel H. Kamakau, op. cit., p. 236.


78. Romanzo Adams, HS, p. 129.


A VISIT TO A SUGAR PLANTATION--1898*

To those concerned:

This noon, Mr. Jim Taylor (who is a fine hydraulic engineer) and a brother of Ed's, my partner, came into 217 Merchant Street and asked Ed or me to accompany him on a trip to the island of Kauai. He wanted one of us to assist him in making surveys for a big addition to the Kekaha Plantation on Kauai. All sugar plantations have to be irrigated constantly by canals or water ditches, which are filled by diverted rivers from mountains or from driven wells. These ditches are like a big checkerboard or gridiron over the cane fields; from them water trickles constantly through every furrow [sic] and feeds every stalk of sugar cane. This is necessary where rains are few or probably never fall.

I was selected to be Mr. Jim's assistant. He offered to pay me $2.00 per day and all expenses—he gets $8.00 per day and expenses. He works for different plantations about Honolulu and keeps house there with his wife and child. I can do business for T. & T. while on Kauai and see the country at the same time, as we intended making a business trip there a little later.

Have closed and mailed letters to Npls. and Montclair this P.M. and am now on the steamer 'Makahalu' bound for Kauai. This is one of the twenty boats belonging

---The letter reproduced here was written by James A. Tuthill of Montclair, N.J., who came to Hawaii in November, 1898 on the barkentine Albert. His first business in Hawaii was in partnership with one Ed. Taylor; their office was at 217 Merchant St., and there they made street markers. Later James Tuthill was a member of the W.C. Crege Co. of Newburgh, N.Y., suppliers of narrow-gauge rail equipment for the plantations. After four years in Hawaii, he was sent to Cuba and Puerto Rico to continue work there for the Crege Co. [This note furnished by Mrs. Robert H. (Barbara Tuthill) Poindexter, James Tuthill's daughter]
to the Inter-Island Co.; they ply between the several islands carrying mail, freight, passengers and sugar.

I rushed home and packed a suitcase with old shirts, extra heavy underclothes, socks, shoes, sweater and one dress-up rig, and was at dock at 4:00 P.M. when boat left. Ed, Mrs. Jim and child saw us off—there was a dozen other white passengers and a hundred Japs. Latter have deck passage only. We sailed to south west side of Oahu and viewed its beautiful mountains as we passed. It rows dark at 6:00 this month, so we read after supper until 9:00. Were glad to lie down in our berths then as the heavy sea was making things lively. The steamer is about 500 tons, so rocked a great deal. The electric light in my berth allowed me to read until late.

Anne’s birthday—November 23, 1898:
We arrived at Kauai at 6:00 A.M. this morning. Was not seasick but near it. The distance from Honolulu is 115 miles. As there are no harbors on any islands but Hawaii and Oahu, we were landed in surf boats. These are beautifully handled by native-sailors who load and unload entire cargo by these boats, while steamer is anchored about 200 yards from beach. We landed at Waimea, a town of about 300 people—mostly plantation hands. It was still dark and quite weird to be rowed ashore in the great big surf boat with a dozen other passengers.

We telephoned to Mr. Glade’s house and he told us to come up on the train. Latter left in half-hour, after loading freight from steamer—also mail (three bars). The railroad is a cute affair, only 30 inch gauge—cars mostly flat for hauling cane and sugar in bags—a few are box cars made of corrugated sheet iron and no wood. All cars are no more than 4 feet wide. Engines come from Germany and are regular toys—they weigh about eight tons and have shortened drawing-rod’s like elevated railroad engines in N.Y. Their floors are only two feet from ground and can easily be boarded. The road and equipment is property of the Kekaha Sugar Plantation. Mr. Jim and I, with our luggage, engineering instruments, etc., bundled onto an open flat car and a hundred Japanese laborers, men and women, who came on steamer, were loaded into box and flat cars and we bowed over the four miles of toy railroad to the headquarters of the Plantation. Our little engine squealed instead of whistled. They have engineer only—no fireman—no brakemen. No brakes on cars. Roads are dead level. We passed cane fields and grazing pastures all in sight of ocean—as our course was parallel to beach and one mile from it. We arrived at office, near sugar mill, at 7:30 A.M. Mr. Glade, secretary, received us—sent our traps up to his house and gave us each a saddle horse (little native horses almost like Western mustangs) and we rode to his house for 8:00 o’clock breakfast. He lives two miles from mill in a beautiful home surrounded by tropical foliage, line trees loaded with limes, which ripen every day of the year; orange trees, etc. He lives in quite grand style, being very wealthy as all sugar growers are. His wife is a very stylish young woman and most cordial. Lots of Jap servants bring you anything you want. After our meal we rode to mill and saw whole process of sugar-making. Long trains of flat cars piled high with cane, arrive frequently from plantation fields—thirty to forty cars in a train—these run alongside a moving, continuous platform, like a big treadmilling machine, and the cane is dumped on latter which drags it up into mill and lets it fall into crusher, something like a gigantic stone crusher. This breaks cane into bits and other endless, moving platforms carry it on to rollers, which squeeze juice into troughs. Latter run it through sieves and to big cauldrons where it is boiled for several hours. This evaporates all water, makes it thick and brown and very sugary. When cooled it is fed into centrifugal separators which spin around like mad and throw all liquid molasses out and leave beautiful dry sugar, almost white. This is dropped directly into sacks of 100 lbs. each and loaded onto the flat cars and drawn to Waimea to be rowed out to steamer and sent to Honolulu—thence to Frisco and N.Y. for refining. Thus cane
goes into mill in morning, and is in sacks for shipment, in form of sugar, at evening. Hundreds of Jap and Chinese men and women work in these mills and thousands in cane fields, for $12.00 per month and no board.

They all go to work at 5:00 A.M. Stop from 7:30 to 8:00 for breakfast. From 11:30 to noon for dinner and at 4:00 P.M., all take a bath and are through work for the day. They are practically slaves. They wear little or no clothes--no shoes--men and women bathe together naked. They live so economically that they save much and send much gold home to the Orient. Many of them have fine-formed, muscular bodies, and are a fine, rich, copper-color. They are good workers and spend no time talking. Like the natives, they are good natured and peaceable.

We spent the morning riding our horses about the plantation. After a grand dinner we had an ocean bath and I spent the afternoon riding in the little locomotives. Went on one which tugged a string of thirty empty flat cars to furthest end of plantation. This was eleven miles from mill and opposite direction from Waimea. This makes whole plantation 15 miles long and about 2 miles wide, extending along beach the long way, and back to foot hills the narrow way. The railroad is single-track with long sidings frequently, and many branches running at right angles each way from main track, to beach and mountain. Field hands ride home on last load or train of cane that goes to mill. When harvesting cane, temporary track is laid into fields and mules pull cars over this to be loaded and back to main tracks where engine is coupled on. Mule teams have six animals in harness and all hitched to one big chain. Temporary track is bolted together with steel cross ties and moved from field to field in this shape, and in 20 foot lengths. Cane is ripening all the while. It is planted with this end in view. Young sprouts are set out and bear in 1 1/2 years--i.e., the stalk or cane is fit for sugar in 1 1/2 years. It is cut as corn is, in the East, but from the roots a second, third and fourth crop is harvested--sometimes as high as 5 crops from one set of roots. These crops follow each other from the same root in periods of a few months. When old roots are discarded, the field is ploughed and new cane set out.

Steam plows are used. They consist of two stationary traction engines placed at either side of a big field. A horizontal drum on engine winds up a 1/2 mile long wire cable and pulls plow across field--latter runs on wheels--. Engine at opposite side pulls plow back and so on. Plow has three shares--i.e., turns three great, deep furrows at once. There are really six shares--three work at a time, as one set of three is elevated and runs backward while others are working.

We spent a pleasant evening with young folks at Mr. Glade's. Had music, etc.--

Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1898:

We arose early--breakfasted at 6:00 and spent an hour getting our pack train ready for a trip to distant mountains, where Mr. Jim is going to make measurements, maps and observations to secure further water supply which will be run through tunnels, flumes and pipes for miles to the low lands where many additional thousand acres are to be irrigated and made from barren wastes into cane fields, and their owners into multi-millionaires. We got off at 8:00 A.M. I ride a white steed; Jim a brindle mule; Henry Glade, (Mr. Glade's nephew and a fine German lad of 25) is on a black pony. We all have big, heavy, Mexican saddles with saddle bags and each a rifle and rubber coat. We wear leggings and no coats as it is warm but not uncomfortable. Five others accompany us each leading a pack horse or mule and riding another. The pack animals carry pack-saddles strapped high with burlap bags filled with our clothes, instruments, and provisions for the party for ten days. We have a bountiful supply of canned meats of every sort, sardines, pickles, jam, jelly, cheese, crackers, bread, tea, coffee, sugar, salt, wine, lemons, limes, oranges, potatoes, rice, canned vegetables, towels, lanterns, tents, axes, ammunition [sic], etc.--

Our five men or servants are: a Japanese (man) cook; two native boys and two native
men. Four last are fine faithful fellows jolly and accommodating, as is usual with Kanakas or natives. I make great friends with them and entertain them as we ride along with descriptions of big game, such as they have never seen, lions, elephants, tigers, snakes, etc. They are good sportsmen and fine shots but only have wild turkeys, cattle, pigs and goats to hunt. (There are deer on Molokai). The three former are wild having taken to mountains after being brought here tame years ago by white men. Our native servants are named Ono, a bright, cute lad of 14; Hanukina, about 20; Ono (elder), a man of 40 and Makaawaawa, a big fat fellow only 26 but who looks at least 35.

We ride through cane for a few miles and see house rats, which infest cane-fields in thousands, chased by house cats, which are rather wild as they are raised and kept in fields by hundreds. Rough-on-rats is also used by the barrel. Soon we turn toward the hills and our trail takes us up and up over rocks, ridges, cliffs and crags. The path is narrow and so very rough with stones and boulders that one would hate to walk it. It is a wonder that a horse can be induced to travel such a road and a strange sight to me. In many places it is an angle of 45° or more and fully as rough and stony as the climb to 'Flatrock' in Montclair. You who live in Montclair may not believe this; neither would I had I not seen it done today. We look back at the ocean and the grand beach of miles, on which the surf breaks in a ribbon of white foam. A stretch of only 15 miles of water separates our island from Niihau (see map of group, which you have) and we see its complete outline easily.

We keep going up, up, up in a long single file. Wild horses and cattle, turned out to graze, dash about the hills as they small or spy us. We come to table-lands which we, who have no pack mules to lead, gallop across and race until we are stopped by another rise or abrupt declivity. Such gorgeous mountain scenery, I've never seen—we are up above many beautiful clouds which float between us and the yellow beach like big white sponges. Then again we look straight over our heads and see two stratas of clouds—one passing to left and one to right—a strange phenomena [sic]. Mr. Jim looks at his aneroid and announces that we are 2700 feet above sea-level. Have forgotten to say that we have six dogs along. They are of all or any sort of breed—principally mongrels as all Hawaiian dogs are—still ours are fine hunters. They scent a herd of wild goats and we start a chase over hills and dales, bushes and scrubs until a precipice is reached. The goats descend in safety but the dogs know better than try—not being built for the hazardous jumping from crag to crag, as goats do with perfect footing at all times. One old 'Billy' is not quick enough—the dogs head him off and chase him back into the grass and outnumbering him finally bring him down, one pulling, at each leg—one at tail and one at neck until natives arrive and put lariatt [sic] on his fine, big horns and tie him to tree, to call for him on return trip to plantation.

We go higher until 3800 feet above sea is reached; then we descend 200 feet and arrive at a big cabin at 2:00 P.M., where we turn horses loose and unpack for lunch and to stay over night. Distance travelled is only 15 miles from plantation, but this climbing is equal to 45 miles at least. Our horses are tired and lie down in their tracks. This cabin is by a spring and was built by plantation owners for a mountain retreat—they spend a week here sometimes rusticating.

It is a grand spot—near by are wild orange trees 30 feet high bearing fine fruit and gorgeous blossoms—also wild grapes, wild olives, water-lemons and------. The cabin contains one big living room, a kitchen and 3 bedrooms. These latter have racks instead of bed-steads covered with fern-stuffed mattressess [sic]. There are plenty of chairs, dishes, tables, a cookstove in kitchen and heating stove in living room. Plenty of flour, rice and seasoning are left from last party here. Near by is another cabin for our servants. We lunch on tea, bread, butter, canned oysters, clubhouse cheese, pickles, limes and claret. After our house is settled for
out of water which was a foot deep around the carcass. We were forced to move up-
stream a quarter mile. We found a place where water is six feet deep, 20 feet wide
and 100 feet long—a fine swimming hole. Below and above this hole stream can easily
be forded on the big rocks, which stick out of water.

Taylor, Glade and I build our own camp on one side of stream, and natives theirs
on opposite side a little below us. We cut down trees, smooth soil, and put up a
12 foot square frame, six feet over ground. Frame is covered with big tarpaulin
which also drops down and forms back of our camp-house, and then is turned forward
and spread on ground for our floor. Our Jap cuts ferns until we have them two feet
depth under tarpaulin which forms our floor. He also makes cooking fire-place near
by and at night we have a big camp fire between our tent and water. Our tent is open
in front which faces water and sides. We have pillows and many blankets. I sleep in
middle. Our natives make a \shape tent by stringing a rope between two trees and
throwing canvass[sic] over it, open at each end.

After lunch, which is a mighty 'strong!' one, we walk up opposite pali and dogs
soon catch a wild pig—natives cut two hams from it and are happy. It's a fierce
fight that occurs before these wild hogs die. Dogs bite at them from all sides—one
tugs at each ear and one at each leg until hog is nearly exhausted from loss of blood
and terrible squealing—then one dog will chew at its throat until all is over. The
hogs are larger than tame ones and bite dogs fearfully at times. A single dog would
not dare tackle a hog. The boars have fine Ivory tusks.

I write after all are asleep. It is chilly 59º above. I keep big fire going
and it with a kerosene lantern and full-moon make a good light. A big tree makes a
back for me. Ten P.M., and I must crawl in—pull up blankets, rubber-coat over feet
and good-night. Snores are each side of me—more on opposite side of stream and dogs
and horses add their share. Water ripples constantly as it falls over stones at each
end of our pool.

Saturday, November 26, 1898:
I wake first at 6:00 A.M. I make big noise—call Jap,—get fire going. It is
quite cold—a heavy shower had fallen. We have fine coffee, fried potatoes, stewed
tomatoes, boiled rice, canned plums, etc.—
This is an ideal camping country—no ants, flies, or crawling bugs at all. The
only thing we see is an occasional spider, way up in trees.

Our camp is permanent and Mr. Jim will work out from here each day, and return
at night. All but the Jap are on horses and off up mountain at 8:00 A.M. We carry
hard-tack and water-lemons for lunch. Each man carries an axe, brush-hook, hatchet
or cane knife as we have to cut our trail. It is very rough country we ride along
ridges where possible. We hack at trees and bark them as we ride along—this is for
futural guide. We are often called to dismount and cut brush, ferns or trees which
are in tangled masses and must be removed for a trail. Finally at noon, (we have
made about 5 miles), we cannot reach a canyon, which we see ahead, unless we leave
horses and walk, as we can crawl through smaller holes. We proceed afoot—dogs chase
and kill a hog which we hear squealing for a half hour way down in a big gulch—it's
an awful death. We don't stop but dogs overtake us in an hour, covered with blood
and bites. We arrive at top of canyon—such a grand sight; green hills tumble over
one another; cliffs are marked by water falls which drop to bottom over 1000 feet.
The canyon is as long as our sight. It is magnificent. Mr. Jim must find capacity
of river in bottom as he wants to tunnel and divert water and carry it with other
streams to distant plantations—it's a big project—first cost is estimated at
$250,000. Total benefits at many millions. We start down the almost straight precip-
ices, my shirt is torn almost off by crags and brush—but for latter we could never
descend. We slide on our seats often—we come to spots where we look straight down,
hundreds of feet and have to climb back on hands and knees and go around to a more
gradual slope. We get separated and call until all are together. Natives refuse to go further but agree to wait. We three whites go on and at 2:30 reach the roaring water—another grand sight which I can't begin to describe—it must be seen to be appreciated. I often think how lucky I was to be asked to join this party. We make soundings, take width and with watches and floating chips time the current. This gives volume of water per second. We do this many times in different places. Take temperature of water, samples of it in vials, etc.—

Climbing up is more tedious—my old gloves are now worn through from using hands on rocks. We reach natives after much halloowing and they think we are devils. In two hours we reach spot where horses are tied. We are awfully tired. I eat a whole can of boneless chicken which Makawaawa has brought in his saddle bag for me. The natives all call me Jim, as I have told them my name. We are very dry but no water can be had until we get back to camp. The return is comparatively easy as we follow trail we cut in morning. Another fine, big hog is caught and tortured by our (damn) dogs, who only kill and don't eat meat. The squealing is awful. Glade and I take an axe (rifles are on horses ahead) and tumble through brush, ferns and vines to a hole in valley a quarter mile below trail. We find hog covered with howling dogs. It is a great racket and echoes through forest. As they are bitten the dogs let go for a little—then jump into the fight again. Hogs will bite men so we are careful. The mass crawls along near a big log. We mount this and I club dogs while Glade chops at hog's neck. It's like sole leather and requires a deal of cutting before he is dead. Crazy dogs are then satisfied to leave.

We reach camp at 5:30 P.M. Have a cold swim and a good, big supper of canned soup, dutch bread, butter, canned roast mutton, tea, cheese, potatoes, rice and preserves.

We retire at 7:00 but I have neuralgia and have to get up at 8:30. I make up big fire, take quinine and walk along bank or sit by fire until 12:00 mid-night. The moon-light is grand. I crawl in again and with my bottle of "Instant Relief" I perfume the place with peppermint and finally get asleep.

Sunday, November 27, 1898:

We are up at 6:00 A.M. My head is sore. We eat canned pork and beans and are off to reconnoiter lower part of this stream by 8:00 o'clock. We find beautiful falls over 100 feet high not a mile from camp. They are very pretty. After lunch another stroll upstream, but it reveals no surprises. We loaf about camp during late afternoon and evening, reading Harpers and Colliers which I brought along.

Monday, November 28, 1898:

After early breakfast, 6:30, we proceed in same direction as on Saturday—cover same trail to its end then cut new trail through forest beyond for a mile where we try to descend in canyon again but find it impossible as we repeatedly come to precipices (or palms). We give it up at 3:00 P.M. and return to camp. It is necessary to wear our rubber coats as a drizzle sets in and bushes are dripping and soak us as we brush by. I ride in front of our long line of 7 horses and so get more wet than others. Much of trail is along summit of ridges from which we get a grand view of deep valleys, the green mountains making a background for them. In the East I never saw rainbows so near—they always appeared at horizon, miles away. Here we are within reaching distance of them—sometimes they end directly over head and cast colors on us.

An hour after leaving camp this A.M. our dogs gave warning and we hurried ahead on trail to find them holding a beautiful 2 year old wild calf at bay. It was on a high ridge and little chance for escape, so our good Ono easily lassoed her. Much struggling she was tied to a tree. We went on and a half mile further caught a smaller one about a year old. It was so frightened at dogs that it ran up to Saka-waawa'a's horse and sought protection—he easily reached down and put a rope around
its neck, but Mr. Jim made him release it later. A little further, more excite-
ment—this time a big, wild bull—dogs forced him in a ravine, where natives, after
a regular circus and several bad encounters with his big horns, lossoed and threw
him and cut his ear. (for brand). We watched the sport from a high fallen log and
it was fierce for awhile—quite like a Spanish bull fight. All the while our beasts-
of-dogs made a terrible rumble and persisted in biting bull's legs and tail—they
are very unruly dogs and poorly trained—they only mind when hit over the head. On
the homeward trip to camp we stopped where first young helfer was tied to tree and
proceeded to make beef of her. Henry (Glade) killed her instantly with a rifle
ball—natives all jumped in and dressed the carcass. One whole side we hung up in a
tree, and took with us one hind and one fore quarter—also liver. It was beautiful,
tender, fat meat.

Our Jag had a big fire when we reached camp and we dined on liver and sliced
(canned) bacon with fried onions.

Tuesday, November 29, 1898:
Up early and the finest breakfast you ever tasted—delicious porterhouse steaks
two inches thick from our young cow killed yesterday. Our tour is similar to yester-
days, though we reach water in a grand canyon at 11:00 A.M., lunch on the rocks and
walk or jump from one to another a mile down the river and back, taking measuremen
ts and altitudes at Taylor's direction. He makes drawings and maps as we proceed.
Climbing up and down the 2800 feet of canyon side we see gorgeous foliage, species
of palms, dogwood, lilies [sic], grasses and ferns, some of latter being 30 feet
long and like gigantic plumes—they are simply wonderful. I gather small plants of
three varieties, with roots, and carry them in my shirt-front (we wear no coats).
Hakawawaaua tied them in grass and big leaves for me and rolled them in my rubber
coat, when we reached horses, and I carried them tied to my saddle—will give them
to "Mrs. K. who is a lover of rare plants, etc.

We took along a pack horse this A.M., and on trip back to camp got other half of
beef.

Harvaret's Birthday—Wednesday, November 30, 1898:
We spend morning surveying a sight for a big reservoir near our camp. At noon
we eat a big, farewell dinner of pea soup (canned), roast beef, delicious coffee,
cheese, baked potatoes and brown bread. Our tents are soon hauled down and every-
thing packed in sacks and loaded on our pack horses. We take a final swim in our
cool pool and start for Homemala the cabin where we stopped first night out. We
have a fine ride of about fifteen miles over mountains and valleys and plains, ford
several streams and reach cabin at 5:30 P.M.

We find owner Mr. Kneutzen [sic] and his wife at the cabin with their three
servants, dogs, horses, etc. They welcome us and we give them some of our beef. We
all dine together and it seems strange for Taylor, Glade and me to sit down to a
table covered with a cloth, after eating on the ground for a week. There are rooms
for all of us to sleep alone and we get a fine rest. Moonlight is grand.

Thursday, December 1, 1898:
This morning we breakfast on pork chops from a wild hog which Mr. Kneutzen's
dogs caught this week. After our meal Taylor and I start for a big canyon to look
for the dead goat which he shot the first evening we stopped here on our outward
trip. We walk to top of canyon and I start down with a hatchet as he offers me the
goat's horns, if I can climb down to the place where the goat rolled when killed. I
spend an hour and climb down about 800 feet but come to a pali which cannot be de-
sceded without a rope, and return well winded with the exertion—it's a deadly
place for a human being to 'monkey' with and sure death if you make a mis-step or
loose [sic] your hold on the grass or weeds that occasionally present themselves for
a grip to help the upward climb.
We return to cabin and pack our outfit and at 10:00 A.M. start for Kekaha. We are all sorry to bid the grand mountains adieu, but all fun must end sometime. We stop and gather wild oranges and water-lemons which taste fine, as we are very thirsty and as we descend to the ocean the weather grows much warmer.

I am lucky to find two fine pairs of wild-goat horns. One pair I pull off of a dead carcass about a week 'gone' and in a bad state of perfume. The other is a fine, large pair fast to the skull and upper-jaw. It had been shot over three weeks and flesh and skin was so dry that I easily got all loose--it will make a fine hat-rack and a nice momento [sic] of trip. We see wild-boys chasing a herd of wild goats down in a deep and dangerous canyon but too far away for a rifle ball to hit them with accuracy. At 3:00 P.M. we reach the beach again and as we descend the view is beautiful--we lunch on remains of our stores and our party is soon dismembered. Some go to their homes, Taylor and Glade go to the Glade residence and I to my room down near the mill.

By previous appointment my good little friend Ono soon calls for me and we go for a sea bath. We stay in a half hour as it is so warm and comfortable--it is a high surf and much finer than the more quiet bathing at Waikiki in Honolulu where a coral-reef breaks the surf.

In the evening Ono takes me to a native house where a party of natives is gathered. One man plays a guitar and six ragged youngsters (boys) sing many choruses [sic] and it is really fine music. The little urchins are most picturesque in their bare feet and torn cans and ragged shirts and trousers (their entire costume), and love to sing. They do it all by ear and sing parts naturally and correctly. They have very white teeth and are always laughing.

I teach them a couple of our songs which they pick up in no time. Have neglected to say that everyone sits on the matting-covered floor of the insignificant one-room cabin. Two native girls sing and dance hulas and at 9:00 P.M. we all go home. The mosquitoes and heat at this locality are fierce and my net over bed is surrounded by a buzzing mass which sings me to sleep.

Friday, December 3, 1898: [sic]

I spend the morning cleaning my goat horns with a preparation of lye which the Chinese cook of the plantation boarding house (where I, and the single white workmen of the mill eat) makes for me. Little Ono, who is very faithful and attentive calls at two P.M. while I am writing this. He has been sent to school today by his mother and tells me he could not study as he thought of me all day. He brings five other boys of his age and we all go for an hour in the ocean. It's great sport to see these young fish-like lads in the water--they are grand swimmers and play all sorts of tricks. They ride the waves on boards, etc.

Mr. Glade sends a note to tell me to be ready at 5:00 P.M. to leave for Honolulu as a steamer is to leave at 6:00. I meet Taylor and we load our traps on a flat car and accompanied by Ono and his friends we are towed by the toy locomotive to the steamer landing. The boys return on the car and little Ono cries as he shakes my hand and says 'Good-bye, Jim, please don't forget me'.

We loaf around the landing until after dark when the loading of sugar is completed and we and twenty other passengers are tumbled in the lumbering life boats and paddled out to steamer. It is very rough and worth your life to grab the swinging rope ladder and get aboard. When we do we are soon sea-sick. I eat a light supper but soon am rid of it and on my back in upper-berth. I sleep very well however though the old bulk pounds, jerks and rolls awfully.

Saturday, December 3, 1898:

We reach Honolulu at 9:00 A.M. and read your letters which are answered later.
CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Mr. Robert Schmitt is a frequent and valued contributor to the Review; he continues his work as statistician with the Department of Planning and Economic Development.

Mrs. Poindexter retains the original of the letter reproduced in this issue. A typewritten copy was used by the editor.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR THE ISLAND OF MAUI: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Mrs. F. G. Greer, Apt. 32, Bishop Museum Grounds, Honolulu.

FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, HAWAIIAN ROYALIST SOCIETY:

Various members of the Hawaiian Royalist Society and other individuals have organized a committee to work for the reorganization of the "Honolulu Rifles". This rifle company will be dressed exactly like the "Rifles" of the 1880's, and will appear in parades, Hawaiian festivals, and other such occasions. Anyone who wishes to offer suggestions or information about the "Honolulu Rifles", or who is interested in joining the committee, should call or write to:

Wayne Gau
1666 St. Louis Drive
Honolulu, Hawaii

Telephone: 775554

HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW
Richard A. Greer, Editor
Published quarterly by Richard A. Greer at the Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii. Telephone: 814-111. Months of issue are October, January, April, and July. By subscription only. Rate: $1.00 per year, postpaid.
CONTENTS

OAHU'S ORDEAL: THE SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC OF
1853 - PART I. ............................. 221
   Richard A. Greer

ANNOUNCEMENTS. .......................... 242
   THE QUEEN'S HOSPITAL HISTORY ROOM

*  
+  
*  
+  
*
In 1965 Honolulu faces the possibility of a smallpox epidemic; fewer than half of the adult population are immunized. It sounds rather tame: "smallpox, infectious, contagious disease caused by a virus. Marked by red spots that form blisters and may leave scars (pocks). Attack usually gives permanent immunity." But through the summer and fall of 1853, through weeks and months of agony, those red spots were the mark of death in Hawaii.

Certainly the islands were vulnerable—just how vulnerable became terribly clear. Indeed, it is wondrous that they escaped so long. There had been alarms, of course. On April 15, 1837, newspaper readers got a fright:

There is a rumour that the Small Pox has made its appearance in Honolulu. We wish not to rouse up unnecessary fears, but if this disease manifests its existence in our community, extreme caution and watchfulness, will be the only safeguard against its destructiveness. Actually, there was no safeguard. The Hawaiians' vaccination rate: zero. But the rumor was just that.

Nonetheless, government was concerned. On May 29, 1839, the king signed a quarantine law, inspired by the knowledge that smallpox had struck ships then sailing the Pacific, and that it lurked in American ports visited by vessels bound for Hawaii.

All canoes and boats and all persons not authorized by the board of health were forbidden to visit any foreign ship until it had been examined by a health officer or one of the board of health and pronounced clean. The penalty for violation was a $40 fine, half to the government and half to the informer.

All vessels having or having had smallpox or any other contagious disease aboard within four months were denied anchorage at any port or roadstead until visited by a health officer or one of the board of health. A shipmaster allowing any contagious person or article to land could be fined as much as $1,000 or imprisoned for a year.

Vessels having had contagious disease aboard would be at the board of health's direction for not more than 42 days. In quarantine, the vessel should fly a yellow flag at the main top. Anyone going aboard would be fined $40 and be at the board of health's disposal for not more than 42 days.

It was made the duty of the several island governors to name a board of health for each and every harbor. These boards were authorized to make all necessary regulations. The governors were to appoint health officers to examine all suspected vessels. The vessels' masters would pay $5 to the health officers.

Hawaii had a narrow escape in the summer of 1841. Smallpox broke out on the Don Quixote, bound from Valparaiso to Honolulu, via Tahiti. The disease got ashore at Tahiti, with drastic results. But by the time the Don Quixote reached Honolulu, she was clean.

Early in October of the same year the U.S.S. Yorktown called at Honolulu. It was another near thing, apparently. The Yorktown's own doctor declared his ship
safe, in these terms:  
I wish to report that we have no such disease as smallpox on the 
war-ship Yorktown, now in this harbor, since the 28th day of August, 
1841.  

There were a few mild cases similar to small-pox that broke out 
since that date but we have no such cases now, and in my opinion and 
knowledge, you should have no fear if we go ashore.  

Meanwhile, special attention went to vessels from Tahiti as Hawaiian officials 
tried to prevent contamination.  
Among other things, it provided that anyone 
leaving a quarantined vessel could be 
fired upon, and that one who knowingly brought a contagious disease ashore would be 
hanged as a murderer.

How effective were such laws?  R.C. Wyllie, a physician who was from 1845 to 
1865 foreign minister of the kingdom, in 1844 called them "...nearly impracticable." 
His views were given in a collection of "'Notes on the Shipping, Trade, Agriculture, 
Climate, Diseases, Religious Institutions, Civil and Social Condition, Mercantile 
and Financial Policy of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands."  

Note 106 recalled that 
the minutes of the 1939 missionaries' meeting held eight worthy resolutions on the 
subject of smallpox; one of these was "...to forestall the ravages of the Small Fox, 
by encouraging vaccination throughout the Islands."  

Note 107 recommended im-
mediate government attention to vaccination; Wyllie urged that a vaccination office 
be opened without delay in all seaports and at all missionary stations, and 
that vaccination be required. He suggested a small fine against parents who could not 
show vaccination certificates for their children.

The government had nothing to gain by abandoning quarantine laws, of course. 
A new statute appeared in the 1845-1846 acts.  

But the need for vaccination remained. In September, 1852, the Polynesian 
stated its belief that there had been no vaccine matter in the kingdom for several 
years, and that all young people and many adults were unprotected.  
Smallpox existed in the Pacific and in ports such as Hong Kong; it could come in at any time, 
and would be deadly to the Hawaiians. The newspaper called for action. Was this 
not the government's duty?

A week later came the announcement that Drs. Hoffmann and Hardy had ordered 
vaccine from Boston, while Drs. Lathrop, Ford, Hillebrand and Newcomb had sent 
orders to the U.S. and to Manila.  

On Christmas Day the public learned that the 
clipper Eureka had landed fresh vaccine from Boston via Panama. The vaccine, "... 
known to be pure and healthy", was consigned to Hardy and Hoffmann; parents of un-
vaccinated children could now protect them.  

Wise indeed were those who acted then. On February 10, 1853, Luther Severance, 
U.S. Commissioner in Hawaii, wrote disturbing news to the Secretary of State. That 
very day an American ship, the Charles Hallacy, had arrived from California with a 
case of smallpox aboard.  

She came off port with a yellow flag flying from her 
foremast. The pilot, finding disease, left the ship outside and came back to report 
to the board of health. Dr. S.P. Ford then went out and saw the cook or steward 
down with a clear case. His report raised alarm in town "...because of the peculiar 
liability of Hawaiians to the disease."  

Some who had seen the terrible ravages of 
measles and whooping cough believed scarce a remnant would survive the deadlier 
smallpox.

A consultation of physicians decided that vaccinated passengers and the mail 
bags should land, after bags and baggage had been fumigated. The Charles Hallacy 
got orders to anchor off Waikiki; on February 11, all six passengers (all vacci-
nated) came ashore. They took salt-water baths, had an entire change of clothes, 
and went into quarantine for two weeks at today's Kapioiani Park. The mail,
The area was places and the old bag destroyed. The Polynesian attacked these measures as too lax; it insisted that both ship and passengers should have been quarantined until the smallpox disappeared.

Dr. Edward Hoffmann took charge of the group at the park. The sick man was brought to Honolulu, but there was no good place to keep him. He was lodged at last in a grass house on a reef island surrounded by water at high tide--quarters offered by Prince Lot Kamehameha. This was the islet called Kahakaulana; the name applied to a narrow place in the Kalihi harbor inlet where early-day travellers used to swim across to Kalaekau or Pualoa to avoid taking the long detour by way of Hoanalu. Here the smallpox victim lived for five weeks. At once the problem of a nurse arose; no one wanted such employment. The invalid spent most of the first five days alone. Then a member of the board of health went out every morning to prepare food for the day, until the sick man could care for himself.

The Charles Mallory was quarantined for 14 days, thoroughly fumigated, and brought into port. All clothing and bedding in the forecastle were burned. The ship then loaded with oil and took on the convalescent, whose grass house was also put to the torch. The government had no funds to pay quarantine expenses; C. Parke, marshal of the kingdom, advanced $1,500 of his own (he was later repaid). On March 31 the Charles Mallory cleared for New London, Connecticut.

Dr. Ford's report of smallpox on February 10 threw Honolulu into a furor. For three days doctors consulted: on the tenth Drs. T.C.B. Pooke, W. Neucomb, G.A. Lathrop, S.P. Ford, B.F. Hardy, and E. Hoffmann; on the eleventh Drs. C.P. Judd, F.W. Hood, Pooke, Hoffmann, Ford, Lathrop, W. Hillebrand, Hardy, and R.C. Willie; and on the twelfth Drs. Ford, Hillebrand, Hoffmann, Lathrop, Willie, and Judd, together with Dr. T.H. Allen, U.S. Consul.

On February 14 the privy council resolved that Judd should be appointed a committee of one to confer with Honolulu physicians and to report on: (1) the best way to keep smallpox out, and (2) the best way to fight it if it appeared.

The doctors made their recommendations--doubtless already worked out--and these went to the privy council the next day, February 15. The medics advised a strict quarantine of all ships and passengers arriving with smallpox, and urged that people be vaccinated as fast as possible. The council offered thanks, then pointed out that it could not guarantee to bear any great expense. It therefore invited the services of those willing to donate them--whether missionaries, physicians, or others--throughout the islands; they would work under the minister of public instruction. It also asked doctors to furnish "genuine vaccine virus" to that minister. The council picked Judd to report on the location of a pest house and a quarantine ground.

The Polynesian again called for stricter measures than those taken against the Charles Mallory and urged immediate vaccination. Smallpox would nearly depopulate the islands and would drive whale ships away, crippling the economy for years to come. The Weekly Argus maintained that it would be too expensive to send doctors into outlying districts, and advocated the government's sending vaccine to missionaries, together with a royal proclamation ordering immunization. In this emergency, said the paper, the missionaries should be held to their professions. Already vaccine was available in Honolulu, since there had been several successful vaccinations.

Concerning the pest house, Judd reported on February 19 that he had visited places within a five-mile radius of the royal palace. He favored a lot in Waikiki, about three miles away, known as the Bowling Alley Lot. This had been bought by the government in 1845 from Andrew Auld for $555, and later enclosed with a low fence; the area was eight or ten acres. The low fence was mostly gone, and the bowling alley house had fallen. But the site was dry and cool, served by a good road,
accessible from the sea, and had a nice grove of hau trees for shade, and a well. The bureau of internal improvements estimated that a stone house, 45x20 feet, with two partitions, allowing for three rooms, three doors, and three windows with blinds, would cost $1,000. A cook house would cost $100, and a board fence $22,250.27

The government owned another lot of about two acres, seaward of the Stone Church (Kawaiahao), already enclosed with a board fence. On this ground stood a wooden shed some 100x30 feet. An upper story without glass windows or an overhead ceiling ran the whole length; the shed had half doors and one partition. It could house 200 or more. The only objection to this site was its nearness to Honolulu. Quarantine could be enforced, though, by armed guards who could shoot anybody going in or out.28

Kahakaaulana was not considered a good choice. It was isolated, dry, and airy, but it was hard to reach and owned by Hawaiians, 36 of whom would be deprived of shelter and of a favorite fishing ground.29

Early in March Richard Armstrong, the minister of public instruction, announced that he had got vaccine matter and distributed it to a good extent; vaccination was going on among the islands.30 At about the same time the Polynesian remarked that both foreigners and Hawaiians were making much use of vaccine; it concluded: "With this and other precautions we trust we shall hear no more of a disease which justly excited considerable alarm when it was first announced among us."31

And Honolulu returned to its off-season calm. There was no stir when the American brig Zoe arrived on March 23 or when she left, two weeks later.32 By the end of April the harbor was emptier than it had been for eight months; only four whalers and two foreign brigs were in. Six months before, 200 sail of vessels had crowded the waterfront.33

But a nightmare shattered the springtime nap. On Friday, May 13, a man came to Marshal Parke's office; he told of two Hawaiians sick at Naunakea Street. Parke went—and found smallpox.34 The news was hurried to the board of health.35 Drs. Lathrop and Hoffmann examined the patients, a woman and a girl (both of whom recovered), and Lathrop took the case. Another girl had had the disease earlier, but was convalescent; it was from her that two got smallpox.36 About four weeks before the two Naunakea Street victims were discovered, a girl living in the same yard as Kinikake, Dr. Lathrop's clerk, had applied to him for medicine. She had a light eruption on her face and arms and complained of head and back pains and a dry throat. Kinikake, who had never seen smallpox, suspected only a skin condition. He gave the girl purgatives and an astringent gargle, and in ten days she was well.37

On Wednesday, May 11, Kinikake hired quarters in premises occupied by John Langherne Desha on Naunakea Street. He moved in on Thursday, and early Friday morning discovered what he thought to be smallpox. He reported it, and in less than two hours the yard was under tabu.38 The spot where the smallpox appeared was in the enclosure of one Kaaione.39 And so began ka wa henela—the smallpox time—as the ma'i pu'unu'uili'ilii struck.40

When the disease was identified, the street was fenced up—or roped off—and guarded, the infected were separated, and grass houses and clothing burned.41 One of the guards at Desha's place was Officer W.F. Jordan; he had watched the quarantined passengers in Waikiki during the Charles Mallory affair. Jordan himself came down with varioloid—a mild form of smallpox suffered by those who have been vaccinated or have had the disease before.42

At this time of crisis, the Polynesians advised people to avoid the stricken area, keep quiet, and not get into a panic.43 On Sunday, May 15, pastor Richard Armstrong told his Hawaiian congregation at Kawaiahao to report themselves as soon as they showed symptoms of the sickness. But his son Sam had doubts: "They are so slack," he wrote, "that they will probably not care much for advice."44
Where had the smallpox come from? It was a much-argued question.

1. Had it come from the Charles Mallory? Thrum, who was in Honolulu during the epidemic, wrote that general public opinion laid the blame here. But Parke said the vessel could not have been guilty, since "some months" had passed between the Charles Mallory's sailing and the outbreak of smallpox. The Polynesian at first accepted the possibility that the ship was responsible, but later adopted another explanation. "Several physicians" practicing in Honolulu at the time were reported as denying that the charge against the Charles Mallory could be true. Kuykendall likewise ruled out the ship (in April, apparently) afterward told him that her sister in Waikiki had had the same sickness, only much worse, being covered from head to foot. The sister had recovered before Kinikake's informant took sick. The sister made leis for sale in Honolulu, which while she was sick her father brought to town. One lei was always given to Kinikake's girl patient. The father confirmed this; he wanted to take the Maunakea Street victims to Waikiki, saying that he had cured his daughter and could cure them. Kinikake said that he could refer to several Hawaiians and foreigners who knew of these things. But a challenger wrote that from the beginning Waikikians had blamed the smallpox on Honolulu, and that the first case was seen in Waikiki early in June in a visitor from the town.

2. Had it come from the Zoe? The Polynesian finally decided that the smallpox entered in the 100 chests of old clothing brought down from San Francisco by the Zoe and sold at auction in Honolulu, or was carried in by someone from a passenger ship that touched on her way to Australia, where the disease was introduced from California. Dr. Judd's wife, conceding a mystery, wrote that the scourge was supposed to have come in the trunks of old clothes, and that the first sufferers were two women who had washed some of the garments. Severance reported in June that the first case was that of a washerwoman who had washed clothes brought from California. But Parke in his reminiscences denied the Zoe's responsibility, saying that the old clothing had come in "some months" before the first case of smallpox appeared.

3. Had it come from some other carrier? Again in his reminiscences, Parke told this story: The captain of a merchant ship from San Francisco gave his clothes to be washed by the two women discovered ill on May 13. Only a week before the captain left San Francisco, the occupant of the room next to his died of smallpox. The room partition was of brown cloth, and the captain's clothes had hung against it. During the epidemic, however, the marshal admitted that he did not know the means of infection; he did say he believed the culprit to be a sailor from California who had been living there with people who had smallpox. The sailor was known to have had coitus with a woman in Kaione's yard.

The real source will never be identified. But these facts are pertinent: (1) the visits of the Charles Mallory and the Zoe overlapped; the former was in Hawaii from February 10 to March 31, the latter from March 23 to April 7; (2) how effective quarantine and fumigation of the Charles Mallory were is open to question; (3) apparently there was a case in April on Maunakea Street, and quite possibly one in Waikiki even earlier; (4) the possibility of a personal carrier from the Charles Mallory, the Zoe, or another vessel cannot be dismissed. The smallpox victim aboard the Charles Mallory spent two days in Honolulu just before the ship sailed. The only conclusion offered here is that the Charles Mallory cannot be eliminated as a suspect.

Whatever the cause, Honolulu faced the menace of a deadly epidemic. On that black Friday night, R.C. Wylie drafted an emergency act for the public health at Rosebank, his Nuuanu home. On Saturday he introduced it into the house of nobles and sent a copy to the house of representatives. His explanation: Although he did
not want to supersede an act prepared by A.B. Bates for the representatives, he did want the best act, "...with whomsoever it may originate."60

On Monday, May 16, Kamehameha III approved "An Act Relating to the Public Health." It provided: (1) that the king with the consent of the privy council should appoint a commission of three people to act without pay; upon them should rest the duties intended and expressed in the act of May 8, 1851, setting up a board of health for the entire kingdom; (2) that the commissioners should have authority to supply medical attention, food, lodging and clothing at government expense to those sick with smallpox, and to make and publish such public health regulations as they deemed wise, and to enforce these by fines or otherwise through the courts; (3) that a majority of the commissioners could draw from the public treasury needed funds; the minister of finance was authorized to pay the commissioners' drafts from any money belonging to the government, if such drafts were accompanied by accounts showing objects; (4) that the captain of a ship should be responsible for paying for the care of sick people brought into the kingdom; such a vessel would not be cleared until payment had been made.61 The privy council met on the day the law was approved. Wyllie asked if something could not be done to prevent the spread of the smallpox, and offered suggestions. The council then recommended for the health commission G.P. Judd, T.C.B. Rooke and W.C. Parke. Judd accepted then and there, reserving the right to resign if he felt it his duty.62

Judd went to work the same afternoon. He drafted a note delivered to Honolulu doctors:

Dear Sir:

If the Bearer finds you disengaged please come direct to my Office for a few moments consultation, in relation to Small Pox etc. etc.

Yours truly

G.P. Judd

Honolulu Hale

3 o'clock 16 May

P.S. I will wait until 4--63

On May 21 the Polynesian was able to report considerable activity. The commissioners had met, choosing Rooke chairman and J. Hardy secretary. A hospital had been established and ordered fitted up at once. Notices had been issued and widely circulated. The minister of public instruction had been authorized to take every necessary step for general vaccination. Measures had been taken to prevent the spread of disease by ship, and directions given to all pilots and boarding officers. And sub-commissioners had been appointed throughout the islands. Meanwhile, no new cases had appeared in Honolulu, and those existing were coming along well. Guarded optimism was the note.

The sub-commissioners were:

Kauai - J.F.B. Marshall, E.P. Bond, and J.W. Smith, M.D.
Maui - P.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 - P. Cummins, J. Fuller, and the Rev. J.D. Paris
Waimea and Kawaihae - Dr. Nicholl, Mr. Humphries, and Mr. Nacey

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.
TO: Your obedient Servant

J. Hardy

Sec. to the R.C. of P.H.

Now the smallpox began to eat its way, slowly at first, through the city. Mrs. Armstrong was writing a long serial letter to her "very dear son"—one of those in which things are jotted down from day to day as time allows. May 28: There have been eight cases of smallpox...a man died two days since...the board of health is active and prompt...vaccination is going on...is the only one in our family vaccinated with effect, though all have had it done repeatedly...we employ Dr. Hardy...June 1: The smallpox is increasing...we fear death will make sad havoc..."You may hear that some of us, have been hurried into eternity. May no one be called unprepared."

By June 1, eight cases and two deaths had been reported—the deaths coming, according to the Weekly Argus, "...not as much from the virulence of the disease as...the carelessness of the sick previous to their admission to the hospital." Vaccination was popular; crowds besieged the drug stores daily for vaccine.

The commissioners' second weekly report, printed in the Polynesian on June 4, showed nine cases admitted to the hospital during the week and one death. Smallpox had broken out aboard the schooner Kino'ole during a passage to Lahaina; she returned to Honolulu at once. The commissioners resolved that no one not vaccinated could leave Oahu in coasting vessels. All reported cases had been traced to the spot where the disease first appeared. Fear of widespread pestilence grew; already the smallpox had erupted in a remote part of Ewa. The familiar voice of the kuahau—town crier—reached the orders of the R.C.P.H. Near Maunakea Street a little old man with big lungs trudged along. At corners and in the middle of blocks he shouted "E Ho'olole"—"O Listen"—and gave his messages.

On June 6, Judd told the privy council that the sickness was spreading fast. "The people would not be confined," he said, "and would not regard anything said to them." And two days later Carrie Beckwith wrote to her brother: "...measures have been taken to vaccinate them [the Hawaiian population] but it is almost useless they are so careless—and frightened....There is little fear for the white population as they have different habits of life—though we are all liable to it—all have availed themselves of the vaccination." Meanwhile a doleful clamor—a "piteous, dismal wail"—arose wherever the bereaved mourned their loss, and spread through the town as the smallpox clutched new victims.

At an emergency meeting of the privy council on June 9, Armstrong introduced a resolution advising the king to order June 14 a day of "...humiliation, fasting and prayer, that the Almighty may remove from among us the smallpox now spreading everywhere." He also proposed a proclamation, which was approved. The actual call, issued to all pastors of churches and Christian people on Oahu, set Wednesday, June 15, as the day; other islands were to observe the proclamation at their earliest convenience.

The Weekly Argus found all this unworthy: Preaching us national calamities as divine judgment to a people such as the Hawaiians was of doubtful morality, since it tended to confirm a fatalism to which the people were already too prone. Shortcomings should not be excused by assigning a natural result to a supernatural cause.

On June 11 the commissioners noted 45 new cases during the past week. By this time the smallpox was scattered over every quarter of Honolulu, 'Anoa, Palolo, Lei'ahi, Nu'uanu, Kaliua, Kaliihi, and Ewa. A week later the same source listed a total of 114 cases since the smallpox's first appearance, and 41 deaths. For the period June 11-18, 48 new cases and 24 deaths were reported.
By the middle of June, burials were becoming a problem. Dr. William Hillebrand called attention to the Hawaiians' habit of burying inside their houses or in the immediate vicinity; he wrote of a case in which the bodies of a man and a child were thrown together in a low pit under the very mats where a number of people slept. Hillebrand proposed that the commissioners should inter the poor; he urged them to inspect a place where twelve had died and nine were laid up, all in one yard. This spot the doctor pinpointed as the most likely fount of infection in Honolulu, and the site which most needed sanitation.75

As the smallpox leaped out of control, E. A. Clark of the American mission reported a fear that people would be swept away in terrible numbers. He estimated a mortality rate of two-thirds among the sick, predicting that such a toll would cut Hawaii's ability to support religious institutions.76

The Polynesian, however, maintained that the mortality rate was falling, although the smallpox was running fast through and around Honolulu. From June 18 to June 24, 298 new cases and 38 deaths were reported.77 While the smallpox plagued the Hawaiians, foreigners suffered a wave of "Hawai fever"—a modified type of "Panama fever", whatever that was. Newcomers were especially susceptible; the prognosis was distressing but seldom fatal.78

In these exhausting times tempers sometimes flared. Three doctors especially had clashes with the health commission or its members: Newcomb, Hillebrand, and Lathrop. And eventually all three signed a petition to fire G. P. Judd from his government post.

One June day Dr. Wesley Newcomb came into Judd's office and asked him why Judd had put Newcomb's son-in-law, Dr. Hillebrand, in the fort. Apparently some constables, not Judd, had arrested Hillebrand because he wanted to go where the smallpox was raging, in defiance of law. And apparently, too, Hillebrand had not really been thrown in jail. Judd told Newcomb to cool off, to which Newcomb replied that he would do as he liked. Then Judd ordered Newcomb out, demanding an apology. "Dr. said he would not give it," wrote young C. H. Judd in a letter, "and would kick his Ass for him the next time he met him."79 The letter continued:

If you were here, your heart would bleed. The smallpox is raging terribly among these poor people. Yesterday there were one hundred and eleven new cases—and the number keeps increasing daily.

The yellow flag [the sign of an infected house] attracts your notice on all sides, and where the natives seem to be the most wicked, in the lower parts of the town, there is the greatest ravage and death. It seems as if God is answering the prayers of his people to 'revive his world in this place', by sending his judgment [sic] on us.

Wm. French is not expected to live, and Mr. Simons—the cross-eyed man with yellow hair—and Mr. Turner have it.

Surely this nation in a few years will have passed away.

This will probably carry off one third of them.

What can we do to save this dying people? Is there nothing to save them? No! So be it.

A few days later Dr. Hardy brought charges against Newcomb. Six Hawaiians—three of them living in huts near the water and behind John II's—told Hardy that Newcomb had been their physician but had deserted them four days previously. Two of the sufferers were dying, and one was in bad condition. Hardy's question: "Is such desertion becoming a loud professor of Christianity?"80

Luther Severance, the U.S. Commissioner, had other troubles to report. On June 19 the U.S. sloop of war Portsmouth arrived in Honolulu. Her captain wanted to give the men a few days ashore, but finding the smallpox raging, he sailed the
next day for Lahaina, where the disease had not yet shown itself. Then on July 1
the U.S. frigate St. Lawrence came. Learning the bad news from the port pilot, she
too made sail for Lahaina without dropping anchor or communicating with either
Severance or U.S. Consul E.H. Allen. 81

The same afternoon three Latter Day Saints called on Severance for redress.
They represented themselves as American citizens doing all they could to relieve
suffering Hawaiians. But they had been kicked and cuffed by a white man acting, as
they believed, under the orders of Marshal Parke. The three had been anointing a
woman with oil and expelling disease by the laying on of hands; their ministrations
were interrupted by one Charley Turner, an Englishman, who laid both hands and feet
on the Saints. Severance referred them to the police court, and wrote that the
Mormons were charged with doing much mischief by persuading Hawaiians to avoid reg-
ular physicians on the ground that the doctors used poisonous drugs. Turner, in-
cidentally, was later fined $12.00. 82

Public subscription raised money to feed and nurse the sick, who were in de-
perate need of help. General opinion had it that the numbers of cases and deaths
far exceeded those reported weekly by the R.C.P.H. Many sick people hid in the
mountains to escape the police. Bodies were found unburied and partly eaten by dogs
and hogs. Other corpses went to the grave without coffins; they were so lightly
covered that animals rooted and scratched them up. Hogs, and especially dogs, roam-
ed in and out of Hawaiian grass houses and prowled everywhere. Many said they were
chief spreaders of the smallpox. Doctors reported incredible misery everywhere. 83
And as June waned so did any lingering hope that the epidemic would stay its course.

By early July the market was beginning to be deserted. Everyone was afraid to
come to Honolulu. Beef was disappearing, but very few would touch fresh pork.
Doctors advised against eating chicken bought from Hawaiians. Fresh fish and vege-
tables were both scarce and costly, and both were eaten in fear.84 Business was
dull; there were few or no vessels in port. Many of the Hawaiians on whom retail
trade depended were either sick or without money. The well fled stricken Honolulu;
nearly 1,000 people had sailed for various windward ports by July 2.85 Some went
farther; Severance, for example, sent his son and daughter to San Francisco.86

As the crisis deepened, the Weekly Argus spewed bitter comments: Wylie's
recommendations of 1844 had never been carried out, all being left to Providence or
accident. Marshal Parke, the sheriff, and the doctors gave service without ex-
ception, going anywhere they could day or night with advice, medicine, and cheering
words, but without pay or hope of any. The police cheerfully gave food and atten-
tion, and buried the dead. All these were better than the gentlemen who had passed
the resolutions of 1839 but failed to act. And what was the government doing? It
had not even acknowledged the services of those laboring to stem the epidemic.87

The government was having its troubles, too. A legislator had quit the city
in panic. His going destroyed a majority of one in the lower house on the property
tax question; the bill was not brought forward.88 Nor was Parke without his de-
tractors. Dr. Newcomb, reporting a death resulting, as he said, from a cold bath
taken in violation of orders, wrote that a Hawaiian boy had told him that the
marshal had used his influence to have patients discharge Newcomb and employ other
doctors. Newcomb's question: Had the R.C.P.H. recommended this action to Parke?89

But the Polynesian saw a silver lining: Smallpox mortality would be heavy, no
doubt, but at Tahiti the same disease had left survivors healthier than ever. Such
seemed likely to be the case in Hawaii, with a resulting future growth in popula-
tion.90

The week ending July 1 saw 338 new cases on Oahu, and 189 deaths.91 Many had
died of sheer neglect or total abandonment by friends and relatives, though there
were instances of families clinging to each other devotedly until the scourge had
Despite the frightful toll, physicians maintained that the smallpox assumed a mild form that could be controlled when patients followed directions. By the middle of July deaths in Honolulu proper were decreasing; the sickness, however, was extending into the surrounding countryside and up the valleys. Such cases, reported as occurring in Honolulu, did not reflect the decline of disease within the town. The Polynesian, spurred perhaps by the Weekly Argus, had given credit to those battling the epidemic, also urging those who had recovered to help the destitute victims scattered thickly all through the community. And it predicted that in a few weeks the disease would have run its course, when nearly all likely to catch smallpox would have done so.

This cheerful forecast came on July 2. The succeeding fortnight brought a stunning harvest of death and suffering. Honolulu's foreign residents, dismayed, called a public meeting at the court house on July 19. In the chair: Dr. Wesley Newcomb. The meeting set up a committee of three, which in turn selected a larger committee of twelve (plus all Honolulu physicians ex officio) to draw up a report of recommendations. Members of this larger committee were: W.C. Parke, W.L. Lee, S.N. Castle, R. Coady, C.R. Bishop, D.P. Penhallow, C.C. Harris, E.O. Hall, J.R. Mitchell, T. Spencer, F.W. Thompson, and A.B. Bates.

A second meeting on the nineteenth heard and adopted their report: (1) the R.C.P.H. should get a suitable number of houses in Waikiki and on the Ewa side of Honolulu (not less than two miles from the public market) for public hospitals; (2) they should set up a proper vaccine establishment in Honolulu to get and distribute good vaccine and to vaccinate free of charge all who presented themselves; the establishment should be under the care of a doctor, with the commissioners adopting measures to compel the attendance of every unvaccinated Hawaiian; (3) they should divide Honolulu and its environs into at least 20 districts, and call for volunteers to visit each district daily and report the number of sick; (4) they should get, if possible, suitable vehicles to carry the dead to the burying-ground and the sick to hospital, and an efficient corps to bury the dead; (5) they should get interpreters to accompany doctors; (6) they should destroy such grass houses in Honolulu and its vicinity as might be absolutely necessary, and as requested in writing by any three physicians; all houses and other property to be destroyed should be appraised and the owners paid a fair value; (7) they should continue their efforts to kill and bury the dogs of Honolulu and vicinity. All committee members signed the report; so did Drs. Hoffmann, Hillebrand, Newcomb, and Ford.

On July 20 the R.C.P.H. got the recommendations, and on the morning of July 21 considered them, with the purpose of carrying them out insofar as practicable. It was a significant date. The recommendations shaped the fight against smallpox after the third week of July.

The main line of battle was in the houses and huts of the stricken. Doctors available could not carry the load; many sufferers were never attended by any physician. Medical men said frankly that they could not increase their patients' number without neglecting cases already undertaken. Dr. G.A. Lathrop, for example, reported 568 under his care during July. It was not unusual to find whole families sick, or even to discover only dead bodies in a house. Drs. Rooke, Newcomb and Lathrop worked in western parts of Honolulu, while Drs. Ford, Hoffmann, and Hardy served other divisions. The latter three also headed special hospitals (usually called pest-houses) in or near the city.

Acting on the advice of the foreign residents, the R.C.P.H. at once divided Honolulu into 20 districts; on July 23 the Polynesian called for volunteers to take charge of visiting and inspecting them. And those with carriages or other vehicles for sale were to contact Marshal Parke. He needed wheels to cart the sick to hospital. Volunteers came forward, but not enough; the Polynesian on July 30 sounded
another call. Districts 16, 18, 19 and 20 were still without inspectors.

This was a job for strong men. Their signatures on their district reports identify them:103

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>R.W. Holt</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Geo. McLean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.R. Mitchell</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>W.L. Lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>O.H. Gulick</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>W.G. Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A.K. Clark</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>J. Bartlett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Geo. Williams</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>J. W. Marsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Thos. Spencer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>S.C. Damon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>C.R. Bishop</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>S.C. Damon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hard work and frustration were the order of the summer. District No. 9, along both sides of School Street, furnishes examples. W.L. Lee, chief justice of the kingdom, reporting:

July 30 - a grass house in the district should be destroyed, two persons having died in it. The house is filthy; perhaps it could be fumigated.104

July 31 - Lee sees no hope of getting rid of smallpox in his district for three months. Different members of the several households are taken down so gradually that disease must linger for a long time.105

August 1 - whole number of cases to date, 70; whole number of deaths, 20.106

August 2 - two more cases and another death.107

August 3 - nine new cases and another death. Lee has tried to persuade several of the new cases to go to the hospital, but they won't listen. Only one man, Kaili, will go; he should be removed today.108

J.W. Marsh took over the upper portion, mauka of School Street, on August 4. From then until September 30, inclusive, there were 46 cases, 20 deaths, 21 recoveries, and 5 cases moved away and unheard of.109

On August 9, Lee reported a total of 95 cases and 30 deaths for the makai part. Marsh's reports for this area south of School Street covered from August 12 to September 30. Here there were 55 cases, 30 deaths, and 25 recoveries.110 Total figures of Lee and Marsh list 277 cases and 102 deaths, or a mortality rate of nearly 37 per cent.

The mortality rate among Honolulu's dogs was perhaps even more drastic. At the same time it set up the district system, the R.C.P.H. authorized police to kill dogs in and about the town whenever the officers thought the wandering animals might be spreading smallpox.111

Many foreigners besides the doctors were constantly busy attending the sick and vaccinating, working without hope of pay.112 The Rev. Lovell Smith and his family lived near where the smallpox began. For three or four months they spent most of their time caring for the sick—preparing gallons of food daily, carrying or sending it to the sufferers, and sometimes putting it into their mouths. Others did the same; even so, there was much unrelieved misery. The Smiths early lost all dread of the disease, although some 375 members of their congregation died from it. Nine-year-old Emma Smith helped to keep the fire going and ladled soup through the window.113

Marshal Parke's men did valiant service, especially in those parts of town—such as the Black Sea and Cow Bay—where great numbers sickened. H.S. Swinton and George Graham delivered food and medicine, had the ill taken to hospitals, and supervised burials. They carried food and supplies around the city, starting about eight in the morning with a wheelbarrow or two loaded with provisions and medicines. At noon they quit for "dinner", then recommenced their rounds. Sometimes they went out again after "supper", on occasion staying at it until midnight or later. This job had to be done; strict orders forbade the sick to visit taro patches. Tea, sugar, rice, and arrow-root were staples. Some abuses cropped up; they could not be avoided entirely.114
During the epidemic Honolulu doctors got money for various reasons, as an account showed.115

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medicines</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Boat</th>
<th>Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hillebrand</td>
<td>$356.87</td>
<td>$1,223.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>527.25</td>
<td>673.00</td>
<td>$31.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffmann</td>
<td>1,590.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lathrop</td>
<td>1,037.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardy</td>
<td>982.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooke</td>
<td>417.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judd</td>
<td>113.00 (3 days)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clapp</td>
<td>895.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LeTellier</td>
<td>375.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novcomb</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medicines furnished by Hoffmann, Lathrop, and Hardy were not all used in their practice, but as they kept drug stores they furnished supplies to the R.C.P.H. for the use of others. Lathrop provided his medicines at cost.

As soon as the smallpox appeared in May, the government set up a hospital to care for the sick. It was the property seaward of Kawaiahao Church described by Judd in his February report: the lot, two and one-fourth acres in area, adjoined Queen Street on one side.116 Usually called the "government hospital", the institution sat on the land known as Honuakaha. Sometimes the name of the larger district, Kakako, was applied. Marshal Parke himself picked up the first two cases on Maunakea Street and drove the wagon to the hospital, as no one else would do it. Two more cases discovered the next day were also taken there.117

An account book in Hawaiian covers hospital operations from May 14 to June 30. It shows a total expense of $483.52 for such things as food, blankets, and mosquito nets. The hospital diet included beef, molasses, spices, poi, and rice. Apparently all clothing used was donated.118

Dr. Hoffmann's reports from the hospital show the size of its clientele. Paper still in the record is summarized here:

- June 1-July 1, 1853-47 cases admitted, 26 deaths, 9 recoveries, 12 under treatment.119
- July 8-14-15 new cases, 4 deaths, 3 discharged.120
- July 15-21-17 new cases, 7 deaths, none discharged. Forty patients in hospital.121
- July 22-29-20 new cases, 12 deaths, 5 discharged (Note: 8 cases came in dying and insane).122
- July 30-August 4-17 new cases, 10 deaths, 10 discharged. Forty-three patients in hospital.123
- August 5-12-10 new cases, 8 deaths, 8 discharged.124
- August 13-19-5 new cases, 8 deaths, 6 discharged. Thirty-one patients in hospital.125
- September 1-8-2 new cases, no deaths, 6 discharged. Twenty-four cases in hospital, of whom 20 convalescent.126
- September 9-15-9 new cases, 2 deaths, 3 discharged. Twenty-three cases in hospital, of whom 9 under treatment.127

Although the first cases were carted to the hospital, the Hawaiians soon developed a mortal dread of the place. When seized with smallpox, they were prone to hide the fact and to flee up into the mountains and valleys.128 The Rev. Artemas Bishop reported that because some patients died in hospital, and physicians had opened the throat of a corpse for study, it was bruited about that hospital cases were being killed and their bodies maltreated. In the general panic that followed,
many sought refuge with their friends as soon as symptoms came, thus spreading the epidemic. In some cases at least police took sufferers to the hospital. It must have been a dismal place indeed; Peter Jordan, one of the white prisoners used as a sort of nurse there, drew many complaints of ill-treatment from patients. He was finally transferred when he began to see ghosts. Parke sent a circular to Honolulu doctors asking them to persuade sick people to go to the hospital, and in case of refusal to inform the P.C.P.H.

Three other smallpox hospitals served Honolulu and its vicinity. One was at King and Alapai Streets, at the western edge of the district called Kulaokahua. Opened on June 26, it was under the charge of Dr. B.F. Hardy. From that date until noon of July 31, the Kulaokahua hospital received 117 patients with all grades of smallpox. Of those, 43 died, 39 were discharged, 23 were under treatment on July 31, and 12 were convalescent. Hardy reported that at least one-third of those who had died had been brought in during the last stages of their sickness, and some had lived but a few hours. Hardy's five weeks of hospital practice and his two months' observation in and out of the hospital had convinced him that if all patients in the first stages of the disease could be brought to hospital and suitably attended, mortality would not exceed 30 per cent, which would not be above the average for other countries. The mortality rate among patients tended at home was considerably higher than at the hospital—itself only a dwelling house surrounded by some dozen small huts in the yard.

On July 30, the Polynesian noted that the P.C.P.H., under the direction of the clerk of the bureau of public improvements, were building 40 houses at Waikiki and 30 on the Ewa side of Honolulu, more than two miles from the market. They were to be ready for patients on Monday, August 1.

Dr. S. Porter Ford supervised the Kalihi hospital. Only one of his reports—dated August 17—is in the record. It lists 10 cases in hospital, one new case, and 3 deaths.

It is hard to fix the Waikiki location. In 1852, W.H. Rice built a stone church in Kamooliiili ('Hoiiiliili); it was an ana (branch) of Kawaiahao. At the time many hundreds of Hawaiians populated the district. In a report on a hospital for Waikiki, Rice on July 23 wrote that he had tried to get the church for use, but the people objected, partly because of their aversion to having the sick congregated in their midst. Also, it was hard to dig graves in the area; probably none who had died there was buried more than two feet deep. "Intelligent natives" said it would take all day to dig to a depth of four or five feet. Rice recommended setting up temporary houses at Maunaohaku, as the plain in front was comparatively easy digging. Then on August 10, E.W. Clark, reporting on a hospital at Waikikiwaena, wrote that the people had agreed to give over their meeting house for a time, expecting compensation in repairs, such as replastering outside and in, according to the length of time occupied, and leaving the amount to be arranged by Judd, Armstrong and Rice. Mention of the replastering would suggest a stone building—and the district of Waikikiwaena spread around the end of Beretania Street, embracing Hoiiiliili, the site of Rice's church. But Mrs. Rice in her memoirs noted a large temporary hospital just east of Punahou. And the location of the hospital apparently changed during August. The name of the hospital as relocated was Maunaohaku--Rocky Hill—and there is a "Rocky Hill" just behind Punahou. But unfortunately knowledge of the area once called Maunaohaku seems to have vanished.

On August 1, 46 patients were in the hospital, 12 of them convalescent. From that date until August 31, 73 people were received whose names were recorded. Others were received but not recorded because of the sickness of the principal luna in charge; there were omissions also at the time of changing from the old hospital to the one occupied at the end of August. At this latter time Dr. B.F. Hardy, the
supervisor, listed: Whole number of deaths--35; whole number on hand--28; whole number removed--56.142 W.H. Rice reported subsequent deaths: 11 for the week ending September 8; 8 for the following week; and 5 for the week ending September 29.143 These figures would indicate that the Kamaanohaku operation was a rather modest one. The huts there were described as small.144

On August 12, the R.C.P.H. issued a public notice--No. 6. This said that the smallpox appeared to be subsiding in Honolulu, and that arrangements for taking care of the sick in hospitals beyond the city had been completed. People in and about Honolulu who wanted food, medicine and attendance at government expense were to notify Marshal Parke, who was ready to remove patients in suitable carriages to the hospitals. At the time all four government hospitals were open.145

Allowing for lost or unfilled reports, it still seems fair to say that the combined efforts of the hospitals benefited a pretty small minority of the sick. The others--or those of them fortunate enough to get help of some sort--depended on home care.

Two other institutions deserve notice. One was a separate U.S. smallpox set-up by Consul B.F. Angel "...to keep the disease out of the vessels."146 Since nary a case struck the whaling fleet in 1853-1854, Angel's hospital probably did no business. The other was a "vaccine establishment"--known around town as the vaccine hospital--opened on King Street on August 15 under the direction of Dr. William Hillebrand.147 On July 21, Hillebrand had notified the R.C.P.H. that if he should take charge of a vaccine hospital, he would need an office, a clerk, and two policemen. He would record the date, number of vaccine points introduced, and the names, ages, sex, residences and health (with special reference to syphilis) of subjects, together with the apparent results of any previous vaccination.148 After seven days the subjects should visit him again to have their arms examined. Hillebrand recommended a law with a light penalty to enforce this. Results of the examinations would be entered in full as to the number and character of pustules. Those with good pustules should be set apart to propagate vaccine, while the unsuccessful cases would be re-vaccinated.149

Hillebrand proposed to begin with the eastern part of Honolulu, where as yet few cases of smallpox prevailed. All could not be re-vaccinated; there was no need for it, and not enough vaccine. The doctor offered to serve without pay unless the legislature should see fit to remunerate him. But he would have to be excused from visiting the sick. Hillebrand believed that if there were enough vaccine, he could do the work in a week.150

There was not enough. The R.C.P.H. wrote to Dr. J.P. Dow on Maui for "...some pure vaccine lymph unvitiated by influence of the smallpox...", available only in districts not yet beset by the disease.151 And the Polynesian of July 23 asked people knowing of any cases whence good vaccine could be produced to report to Hillebrand.

On July 26 the doctor approved a public notice about the vaccine hospital, but asked that it not be published until a sufficient supply of vaccine was on hand; otherwise, disappointment might result. Meanwhile he continued to inoculate those willing to submit to it, having performed the operation on 24 subjects the day before.152

The vaccine hospital opened on August 15; four days later the R.C.P.H. ruled that all those affected by smallpox should report to the vaccine hospital within seven days after vaccination. People concealing and failing to report such illness were liable to a fine of $5.00.153 The regulation was posted in Hillebrand's office but not published for general distribution.154 During the first week Hillebrand vaccinated 90 people at the hospital, while continuing to perform the same service at his home every morning from seven to nine o'clock.155
From August 10 to September 15 the establishment vaccinated 920 people—720 up to September 8. Of these, 499 reappeared for examination. Vaccination had taken perfectly in 197, imperfectly in 41, and not at all in 261. The latter two classes were re-vaccinated. A total of 204 subjects did not come in for examination. By this time vaccine lymph had been sent to four places on Oahu, two on Maui, and three on Hawaii. Hillebrand had demonstrated one truth: Vaccine lymph, contrary to some opinion, did not deteriorate by passing through Hawaiian blood. By the middle of September it had gone through five generations without losing efficiency.

From September 22 to October 22, 1,097 were vaccinated, and from October 16 to November 30, the vaccine hospital serviced 1,547. Of the 1,547, a total of 1,475 had reappeared for examination, and the vaccination had taken in 975 cases. The whole number vaccinated from July 20 to November 30 was 4,493.

The vaccine establishment, recommended by the foreign residents, was a fairly late development. But as the epidemic raged through June and July, so did a running fight over the vaccination issue. The question had several facets: (1) How well protected were the Hawaiians when the smallpox entered, and who was to blame for shortcomings? (2) Was there bungling, or perhaps even culpable negligence during and after the Charles Mallory affair? (3) Just how effective was vaccination? Was inoculation better? (4) What should be done for the future?

In 1839 the American mission proposed vaccination. During the twenty-five years following, vaccine was brought in several times, and as many immunized as could be. Laura Fish Judd wrote of the "...great efforts made in former years" to vaccinate extensively; she blamed lack of protection on deterioration of the vaccine during the sea voyages to Hawaii, and in the "native system." The Rev. E.P. Bond examined the arms of several hundred Hawaiians from Kauai and elsewhere; he found at least three-fourths vaccinated, many as long ago as 1839 and 1840. Drs. Whitney and Rooke and members of the American mission had done the work. And Commissioner Severance noted that Dr. Judd had vaccinated a great many Hawaiians years before, while younger ones had been immunized several times in Honolulu, Lahaina and other ports. But critics blamed the missionaries for not having given their resolutions the force of law in those early years when they had preponderant influence over the government. Although detractors granted that some few missionaries had merit, they pointed to mortality lists as proof that little had been done. Again, they said, what good would it have done to vaccinate in 1839, but not to follow through?

Vaccination accelerated after the Charles Mallory scare; it went on "pretty generally" between then and the outbreak of smallpox. On February 15, the privy council appointed R. Armstrong to superintend vaccination throughout the kingdom. He reported progress on March 7; vaccine had been distributed and doctors, missionaries, and others were vaccinating. The vaccine came from Honolulu physicians. All who were asked furnished it, as they could get it free. The doctors also told Armstrong where to find likely donors among their patients, and helped him to select lymph from the arms of those presenting themselves in accordance with a public notice.

The first vaccine went to Drs. Baldwin of Maui, Smith of Kauai, and Wetmore of Hawaii; it was no good. A second batch was good, but progress was hard, Armstrong claimed, because of the "...ignorance and stupidity of the people, in interfering with the pustules before they had run their course...", the careless habits of the Hawaiians, and the presence of other diseases which vitiated the vaccine. Sometimes people living in remote areas took their own measures to get vaccine matter.

Vaccination was far from complete when the epidemic struck. The R.C.P.H. were appointed under the act of May 16, and at that time Armstrong considered his duties ended in all areas except the city of Honolulu. The commissioners asked him to stay
in charge of vaccination there.

The smallpox brought panic, and people readily accepted immunization. Dr. Lathrop, reportedly the most popular physician in town, vaccinated the king and queen and a number of chiefs and commoners at the palace. Armstrong set up vaccination stations; notices posted in churches told where to gather at a certain hour every day. A $5.00 fine faced anybody who could not prove he had been vaccinated. The places chosen were the Stone Church, the Catholic Church, and Mr. Smith's Church. An intelligent Hawaiian, supplied with vaccine and lancet, stood duty at each post. For the first few days great crowds thronged to the churches. Armstrong himself was so busy that he vaccinated few.

Mr. Rice supervised the eastern division; Armstrong and a doctor went to Kapalama, then northwest of town. On July 17, the R.C.P.H. decided to divide Honolulu into districts, and to assign a physician to each, to make a thorough vaccination at an appointed time. They asked the Governor of Oahu to tabu certain days to those districts, requiring all Hawaiians to stay home at such times to be vaccinated.

But the plan was not fully carried out. A short time later Armstrong arranged to have all congregations in and around Honolulu visited by doctors on Sunday after church services. In August Hillebrand opened his vaccine establishment, and Armstrong's duties ended. Eventually nearly everybody in or near Honolulu was vaccinated, most of them several times.

Medical opinion divided sharply over procedures. From the first, Wyllie favored inoculation as the only sure method; most doctors, however, thought it too dangerous and preferred vaccination. At the end of July a special meeting of physicians considered the question of inoculating Kamehameha III and submitted a recommendation to the privy council. Hillebrand inoculated many--partly at least because of a shortage of good vaccine. From the last week in July to the middle of August, he so treated over 300 people of all ages, being more interested, he said, in saving lives than in boosting inoculation's reputation. In 53 cases there were eruptions; 49 of these patients did well, with only 4 possible fatalities at reporting time (and all of the latter suffered unusual circumstances). Fifteen of the erupted cases were mild, showing from 6 to 10 scattered pustules that dried off in two or three days.

Hillebrand noted that the mortality among the non-inoculated ranged from 30 to 75 per cent in various places. He believed that inoculation could reduce this to a range of from 5 3/5 to 7 1/2 per cent; certainly a 10 per cent mortality rate would be cause for congratulation.

Although 8 of 11 old people inoculated seemed to be recovering, Hillebrand thought it might be better to vaccinate the old and infirm. But at the time good vaccine was out, and it appeared nearly impossible to get enough to make vaccination the general rule; Hillebrand predicted that a general campaign of inoculation would end the epidemic in three weeks.

Early in September the doctor reported again: The whole number of cases from inoculation was 183; of these, 19 ended in death. Not given was the number inoculated. Inoculation won intelligent support--one proposal was to vaccinate all and then, if a family or district had been exposed, to follow up with inoculation of the exposed people. Armstrong concluded that"...Time has given foundation to Wyllie's opinion..."; inoculation was best.

The merit of vaccination was disputed; so also was the question of how and by whom it should be done. Some doctors merely punctured the skin; others scratched it lightly with a lancet. Several "influential and intelligent" Hawaiians vaccinated on their own account; among them were two judges, both members of the house of representatives.

Overall results on Oahu fell short of anticipations, but Armstrong found little
if any difference in effectiveness between the vaccinating done by doctors and that performed by others. It was hard to determine. Although vaccinated Hawaiians were supposed to return for examination on the seventh day, many came too early, too late, or not at all. A report by Dr. Hardy covering 88 cases in Honolulu showed:

- 35 vaccinated by physicians
- 13 " " a physician's clerk
- 28 " " others, not doctors
- 5 " " unknown persons
- 3 " " both physicians and others
- 9 " " in 1839
- 4 " " not at all

On July 25, Parke reported 478 cases, 313 vaccinated by doctors, and 165 by others; he could see no difference.180

The R.C.P.H. generally followed the course recommended by the privy council and relied on non-physicians working without pay. The practice of vaccination by laymen was described as common in other countries, being accepted without complaint by physicians. Nevertheless, angry words flew over the government's responsibility in the matter; some claimed that in February the doctors advised dividing Oahu into districts and vaccinating everybody. Although the physicians gave their opinions in writing to the prime minister, Armstrong searched in vain for papers substantiating their alleged piece of advice--nor did he remember any such proposal.181 On this point Armstrong concluded that the privy council could be accused of nothing more than an error of judgment; results did not prove that, had the council accepted the alleged proposal, things would have been better. Armstrong's statistics convinced him that vaccination by physicians was not superior.182

Nothing seemed to work in some cases: A doctor vaccinated the son of Kekaulahao of Honolulu, and the scar was pronounced good. But the lad came down with varioloid. Later he was sent to Lahaina. There malignant smallpox seized him. Twenty-four hours after eruption, and while delirious, he bathed in the sea. The eruption receded; 36 hours later he was dead.183

Some charged that despite vaccination the smallpox spread indiscriminately.184 But vaccination had its defenders. Dr. B.F. Hardy wrote his belief that its value had been greatly underrated, and that it had saved hundreds, if not thousands.185 Dr. F.W. Hutchinson of Lahaina reported good results.186 As late as October 1, "Humanity" asserted that as yet there had been no honest and effectual attempt to vaccinate the whole population "thoroughly, speedily and systematically", and that the R.C.P.H. had not spent a dollar on either vaccination or inoculation.187 Hillebrand had shown that Hawaiians could be protected as effectively as other races; when he began vaccinating panic ruled. He vaccinated 1,300 people, his experiments showing that not more than 2/5 of the Hawaiians in and about Honolulu were protected--according to "Humanity".188 And Dwight Baldwin entered the discussion with a long letter on the effectiveness and best method of vaccinating.189

The R.C.P.H. were not indifferent to the worth of vaccination. Their support of Hillebrand's vaccine establishment and the attempt to get and distribute good vaccine prove that. In September the commissioners asked Consul Miller to order British vessels to hold their Hawaiian crewmen until the latter produced vaccination certificates; Miller agreed.190

He had already shown himself ready to help. On August 30, 1853, he requested the British government to send vaccine. It started for Hawaii in November in a zinc case and reached Miller on February 14, 1854--an opportune arrival, since the health commissioners planned to recommend a law requiring vaccination to the next legislature. And the proposed statute was to be modeled on the British act.191

Apparently Liholiho was delegated to draft the act, and requested Wyllie to
furnish a copy of the parliament's 1853 vaccination law. In consultation with Hillebrand, it was decided not to open the zinc case until after the Hawaiian legislature had acted. Meanwhile, however, the privy council passed a resolution of thanks for the vaccine.

On August 10, 1854, the king approved "An Act to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination Throughout the Hawaiian Islands." It provided that

Whereas, the late mortality caused by the Small Pox has shown the necessity of compelling a general and effective vaccination of the subjects of this Kingdom; Therefore, the minister of the interior would appoint four vaccinating officers, one each for (1) Hawaii, (2) Maui, Molokai, and Lanai, (3) Oahu, and (4) Kauai and Niihau. The officers were to select not less than three vaccinating stations in each school district. All children born after June 1, 1854 would be vaccinated within six months after birth, or as soon thereafter as possible. To accomplish this, the officers were to visit each station at least once every six months, vaccinate, and give certificates. The arms of those vaccinated would be examined eight days later to read the results. The fine for failure to have children vaccinated was $5.00, half to be paid to the informer.

The law had been passed; now the zinc box from England yielded its contents, and--they were worthless. Nevertheless, in the following months vaccination went on.

NOTES

3. Sandwich Islands Gazette.
5. Ibid.
6. R.A. Greer, "The Deadly Don," Hawaii Historical Review, I, No. 3 (April, 1963), pp. 52-54.
11. Ibid.
13. September 18, 1852.
15. Polynesian, December 25, 1852.
17. Polynesian, February 12, 1853. The running account of events is taken mostly from this source and from W.C. Parke, Personal Reminiscences of William Cooper Parke, Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, from 1830 to 1884 (Cambridge, U.S.A.: the University Press, 1891), pp. 49-50. Parke gives the ship's quar-antine as 21 days, but several others writing in 1853 named 14 days.

19. Polynesian, April 2, 1853.


22. Polynesian, February 19, 1853; Lorrin Andrews, Secretary of the Privy Council, to B.F. Hardy, M.D., chairman of the meeting of the medical gentlemen of Honolulu, February 15, 1853. F.O. and Ex. Smallpox Epidemic, 1853, Folder 1. Archives of Hawaii. Records from this source dated 1853, 1854, and 1855 are hereafter cited by folder number only.

23. Polynesian, February 19, 1853.


25. February 19, 1853.

26. February 16, 1853.

27. Judd to the King, February 19, 1853. Folder 1.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. PCR, Vol. 7, March 7, 1853, p. 117.

31. March 5, 1853.

32. Polynesian, March 26 and April 9, 1853.

33. Polynesian, April 30, 1853.

34. W.C. Parke, op. cit., p. 52.

35. Polynesian, May 14, 1853.


37. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.

38. Ibid.; Minutes, January 18, 1856, p. 4.

39. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.


41. Dispatch No. 84, Severance to Secretary of State Marcy, June 24, 1853; Thrum, on p. 86 of the work cited above, mentions the ropes, and also writes that he remembered no other such quarantined areas.

42. Minutes, January 28, 1856, p. 30.

43. May 14, 1853.


46. W.C. Parke, op. cit., p. 57.

47. May 14 and August 5, 1853.


50. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.

51. Polynesian, August 13, 1853.

52. Polynesian, May 14 and August 6, 1853.


54. Severance to Marcy, No. 84, June 24, 1853.


56. Ibid.

57. Polynesian, July 30 and August 20, 1853.

58. Polynesian, July 30, 1853.

59. Folder 1.

60. 'Ulie to G.W. Robertson, Speaker of the House of Representatives, May 14, 1853. Folder 1.

61. Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1853 (Honolulu: 1853), p. 77.


94. Polynesian, July 16, 1853.
95. Polynesian, July 2, 1853.
96. Polynesian, July 23, 1853.
97. Ibid.
98. J. Hardy to C.F. Hussey, secretary of the meeting, July 21, 1853. BH, July 12-25, 1853.
100. BH, August 1-8, 1853.
103. BH, July 26-31, 1853; August 1-8, 1853.
104. BH, July 26-31, 1853.
105. Ibid.
106. BH, August 1-8, 1853.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Report for District No. 9, September 30, 1853. BH, September-December, 1853.
110. BH, August 1-8 and September-December, 1853.
111. Polynesian, July 23, 1853.
112. Minutes, January 18, 1856, p. 11 and January 23, p. 20.
114. Minutes, January 21, 1856, pp. 15-16; Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
115. Money Received by the Physicians of Honolulu from the Health Commissioners as Shown by Their Printed Report. BH, January-September, 1854.
116. In January, 1862, J.O. Dominis and J.W. Makalena were appointed to inspect the site and consider a proper price for "these...premises where those who died of smallpox are buried." Makalena made the survey. At the time the lot was still surrounded by the wooden fence, "which is kind of falling to pieces..." and occupied by "...one broken frame house." The proper price for the land and everything on it was set at $500. (J.O. Dominis and J.W. Makalena to Lot Kamehameha,


119. BH, July 1-11, 1853.

120. BH, July 12-25, 1853.

121. Ibid.

122. BH, July 26-31, 1853.

123. BH, August 1-8, 1853.

124. BH, August 9-24, 1853.

125. Ibid.

126. BH, September-December, 1853.

127. Ibid.

128. Severance to Marcy, No. 84, June 24, 1853; "A Lover of Justice" in Polynesian, August 13, 1853.


130. W. Hillebrand Report, June 30, 1853. BH, January-June, 1853.

131. Minutes, January 21, 1856, p. 18.

132. Ibid.

133. Extract, Royal Commissioners of Public Health, September 22, 1853. Hereafter cited as Extract. BH, August 1-8, 1853.

134. B.F. Hardy to R.C.P.H., August 1, 1853. BH, August 1-8, 1853. A land office map of the Kulaokahuia Lots prepared in 1873 shows Alapai Street at the extreme western edge of the area; Minutes, January 19, 1856, p. 12.


136. Ethel M. Damon, Koamalu... (Hono-

137. W.H. Rice to C.P.H., July 23, 1853. BH, July 17-25, 1853.


139. Land court map of government school lot within the Ili of Hauluki-

140. E.M. Damon, op. cit., p. 146.


142. Ibid.

143. Reports of Deaths at Maunapohaku Hospital, W.H. Rice. BH, September-December, 1853.

144. Minutes, January 23, 1856, p. 19.

145. Polynesian, August 13, 1853.

146. Angel to Marcy, Dispatch No. 3, October 24, 1853. Angel arrived on the clipper ship Courser on August 12 to succeed E.H. Allen as consul.

147. Polynesian, August 13, 1853.

148. Memorandum, J. Hardy, July 21, 1853. BH, July 12-25, 1853.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. J. Hardy to Dow, July 22, 1853. BH, July 12-25, 1853.

152. Hillebrand to Dear Sir, July 26, 1853. BH, July 26-31, 1853.

153. Olelo Hoolaka, August 19, 1853. Translated by Mr. Jack Matthews.

154. Hardy to Hillebrand, August 19, 1853. BH, August 9-24, 1853.

155. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.

156. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.

157. Polynesian, October 22 and December 3, 1853.

158. Polynesian, December 3, 1853.

159. Polynesian, July 2, 1853.


162. Severance to Hon. Edward Everett, Dispatch No. 67, February 10, 1853.


166. Ibid.


169. Ibid.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid. Dr. H.L. Arnold, editor of the Hawaii Medical Journal, wrote to the author on November 23, 1964: "...though your use of the word inoculation in its original and literal sense is proper on etymologic and historical grounds, it is quite inadvisable from the standpoint of communication. It has been half a century or more since any physician used it to mean what you mean by it here. It now means immunization by introduction of a living vaccine, and is often misused to mean just immunization. I fear its usefulness for your purpose is totally destroyed and you will have to substitute 'introduction into the conjunctival sac...'"

172. PCR, Vol. 7, August 1, 1853, p. 245.

173. Polynesian, August 13, 1853.

174. Ibid.

175. Report, Hillebrand, September 8, 1853. BH, September-December, 1853.


178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.


184. Ibid.

185. B.F. Hardy to R.C.P.H., August 1, 1853. BH, August 1-8, 1853.

186. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.

187. Polynesian, October 1, 1853.

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid.


191. Wyllie to Liholiho, February 15, 1854; same, February 17, 1854; Liholiho to Wyllie, February 18, 1854; Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1850-1854, February 17, 1854, p. 353. Letters in Folder 2.

192. Liholiho (?) to Wyllie, February 27, 1854.

193. Polynesian, March 4, 1854. The issue contains a chronologically-arranged series of correspondence regarding the British vaccine.

194. Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III...Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1854 (Honolulu: 1854), pp. 28-29.

195. Ibid.

196. PCR, Vol. 9 (December 15, 1854-December 17, 1855), January 8, 1855, p. 47.

197. Ibid., February 26, 1855, p. 83.