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HONOLULU'S FIRST ELECTRIC RAILWAY

by

Manuel G. Jardin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The system is the forerunner of a network of electric railroad tracks which will soon traverse many of the most important streets of the city. There was no trouble in making the round trip, either with the cars themselves or in the application of the electric current.

A regular time schedule will be established shortly.

¹In a letter to the editor of the HHR dated March 29, 1965, Mr. Jardin says: "The Jardin family lived in lower Pauoa from 1896 to 1902, when we moved to Upper Nuuanu. The home was probably no more than 50 yards from the powerhouse, and I remember very clearly being aboard on the first passenger run in November, 1900."
And on November 21, 1900, the Advertiser carried a more detailed article on the subject. It began thus: "The Pacific Heights electric railway was running last night and quite a crowd enjoyed the novelty of a ride in the handsome cars...." Mr. Desky was reported as saying that the decision to build an electric railway was the result of economics and an expediency for the residents of the Heights.

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

Mr. Desky continued:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Desky left here about seven or eight years ago after a residence of more than a quarter of a century....

He purchased Pacific Heights from the late Charles W. Booth, laid it out into building lots and built an electric railway up the slopes to the site he proposed for a modern hotel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

A LEGEND OF KAIMILOA HAWAIIANS IN AMERICAN SAMOA

by

William Pila Kikuchi

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

The Legend

The story begins when the Hawaiian ship Kaimiloa, having finished her business at Upolu, Western Samoa, set sail for Tutuila. The vessel stopped at Leone in the western district of Tutuila, where the crew bartered some of her stores to set supplies for the return voyage to Hawaii. (There are still two or three old cannons on the village malae, or ceremonial meeting grounds; they were traditionally used to announce the arrival of church officials in the district) On August 19, 1887, the ship went to Pago Pago, where more trading was done. Then the Kaimiloa again set sail, but some unknown reason caused her to stop at Aunu'u. Two Hawaiians, Aniani and Mahelona, deserted the ship, but not before a supply of rifles and four cannons had been traded. A third Hawaiian, a storekeeper named Manoa, was a resident of Aunu'u. A search was made for the two Deserters, but was abandoned, and the Kaimiloa returned to Hawaii.

Meanwhile Tutuila, as well as Upolu and Savai'i, was undergoing a period of political unrest. Tutuila was divided into two factions corresponding to the two main districts: the western district, run by Tuitele; and the eastern district, under Le'iato. Le'iato's claim to control was hotly disputed by several of the eastern villages; the followers of Le'iato attacked Aoa village in a dawn raid. The attackers came from over the mountains and by sea and caught the Aoa people by surprise, managing to kill many before they were repulsed. The survivors fled. Joined by sympathizers from other villages, they went to Lepea village, where Chief Pakele accepted them. He had heard, however, that they might have been pursued, and fearing a raid on his own village, he asked the survivors to leave so that the lives of innocent people would be spared. The refugees then fled to Fagatogo (now often confused with Pago Pago village) and from there by canoe to Aunu'u, where they asked for and received asylum. The chiefs of Aunu'u realized that the pursuers would attack their own people as well as those in flight. They prepared for battle.

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

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

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

NOTES

During the smallpox epidemic medical problems were both plentiful and baffling. The terror-stricken Hawaiians were, according to one observer, "...just superstitious and ignorant enough to be unmanageable...", with the result that—it was claimed—hundreds died because they bathed in the sea or sat in the wind to cool fever. Dr. Lathrop reported deaths of convalescent patients who destroyed their lives by bathing, overeating, and drinking, and there are numerous assertions of a similar nature.

The practices of Hawaiian doctors, or kahuna, reaped censure. In August Mr. Bishop demanded that the R.C.P.H. prohibit all Hawaiian medical practice. This the commissioners refused to do, lest there be retaliation against foreign physicians on the ground of their losing so large a proportion of their patients. Bishop was authorized, however, to ask the judge to send out a crier to proclaim it tabu to bathe or apply cold water or any other medication except oil under penalty of $5.00, to be sued for in the name of the Royal Commissioners of Public Health.

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

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

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

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

As the dead were hurried to their makeshift graves, their mats, tapas, clothing and other possessions accumulated into a great mass of contaminated articles and filth, scattered about in all quarters of Honolulu. It became clear to some at least that the city could not stamp out the smallpox until this rubbish was destroyed. The approaching whaling season would bring a great flow of people from outer areas and islands; the newcomers would have to live in infected houses.
Accordingly, on August 22, the R.C.P.H. appealed to the district inspectors to help purify their districts. All clothing, mats, bedding, etc. used by the sick should be burned, and other articles purified by washing, fumigating, painting or whitewashing. Mats were to be sunk in the sea if necessary, old houses pulled down, and those infected and worthless burned. A large house "not much infected" might be rethatched. If people refused or neglected to cooperate, the marshal should be notified. This official or the prefect of police would furnish needed supplies.13

The work began at once; by the end of August there had been much demolition and "purification".14 But this brought problems. Relocation was one. A community of little thatched huts mushroomed just beyond Punahou School to help meet the need.15 There were other similar housing projects, no doubt. Of course, those whose houses were demolished had to be paid for their loss—a heavy drain on slim resources.16

The cleanup was begun none too soon. The first whaleship of the season, the Polar Star, anchored at Honolulu on August 24, a few days later than the average over the previous eight or nine years.17 B.F. Angel, the U.S. consul, at once busied himself with "sanitary measures" to protect the health of the whaling fleet.18 With the nod of the R.C.P.H., he issued a circular to masters of American vessels. Crew members who had not had smallpox or varioloid were to be vaccinated. Unprotected seamen were to be kept aboard their vessels for at least eight days after arrival. At the shipmaster's request, any physician desired would board ship and vaccinate for a fee of 50 cents a man, when the total number of patients amounted to ten or more. After the fifth day, the doctor would come again to revaccinate those whose pustules had not begun to form. And on the eighth day, or at the doctor's word, the men could go ashore.19

Late in October false rumors of smallpox in Honolulu were rife on the windward islands, but they apparently did not disturb commerce seriously.20 At the end of the month, 106 ships rode in Honolulu harbor—35 whalers, 13 merchant vessels, 6 coasters and 2 men-of-war.21 The year 1853 closed without a single case of smallpox among the sailors.22 Angel's regulations must have been relaxed; Parke later told of sending ships' crews to Dr. Hoffmann to be vaccinated.23

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

This was the genesis of the foreign residents' meetings of July 18 and 19. The second became overtly political when Dr. Lathrop, supported by several others, introduced resolutions calling for the dismissal of Judd and Armstrong. Although the meeting adjourned without acting, a sustained campaign launched by the two ministers' political foes bore fruit when the entire cabinet resigned on September 3; all were reappointed except Judd.24 An interesting sidelight was this: On the night of Thursday, September 8, a victory meeting of Judd's opponents convened at the courthouse. Prominent were Drs. Newcomb and Lathrop. The group voted to have a Saturday-night procession to the king's residence to show appreciation of the cabinet change. On the night set, a large torchlight parade, with band and banners, marched through Honolulu's main streets. The town was illuminated, guns fired, and speeches made.
The affair was reported to be the first of its kind in the city.25

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

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

A prompt and vigorous rebuttal met these allegations: (1) Quarantine precau-
tions had been adequate; the Charles Hallory was cleansed and fumigated before being
allowed in the harbor; the smallpox victim aboard her was in isolation for five
weeks, and spent only two days in Honolulu just before the vessel sailed; the small-

pox did not appear until six or seven weeks after the Charles Hallory left; no smallpox had appeared on the islet Kahakaaulana until about the middle of July; if
this ship was indeed responsible, neither Judd nor Armstrong could be held account-
able, since the foreign physicians had been consulted and measures taken in agree-
ment with their recommendations;35 (2) statistics proved that vaccination done by
physicians was neither more nor less effective than that performed by others, thus
clearing Armstrong of blame;36 (3) documents reproduced in the Polynesian proved
that Judd had indeed transmitted the physicians' advice to the privy council;37
(4) furthermore, the council had adopted the physicians' advice, and Governor Kekua-
anao carried it out;38 (5) no one really knew how the smallpox had entered, and it
could not be settled, but time and place were against transmission from the Charles
Hallory;39 (6) vaccination was generally considered a safeguard, though not effect-
ive in every case, and all physicians had found many in Hawaii not protected by it;
failure, however, was not chargeable to the vaccinator, as no great skill was needed;
medically, it was hard to explain the shortcomings of vaccination;40 (7) Armstrong's
agents and the physicians all used the same vaccine;41 (8) the epidemic was a
chastisement of God;42 (9) not only had Judd received no payment for his actions con-
cerning the Charles Hallory; he had reaped plentiful abuse from both foreigners and
Hawaiians for keeping the vessel out;43 (10) the petition requesting Judd's and
Armstrong's ouster, which purported to have an overwhelming number of signatures,
was actually a fraud. Ninety-five per cent of the Hawaiian "signatures" were false,
and less than twenty-five per cent of the foreign signers were Hawaiian citizens;44
(11) the charges were vague or beneath notice;45 (12) the leaders of the movement
against the ministers were two or three physicians and a few disappointed office-
seekers, plus their friends, who allied themselves with the anti-missionary and anti-temperance elements in Honolulu. But well before the hassle had ended, Judd cut his official connection with the campaign against the epidemic. On August 22 he resigned from the R.C.P.H.; Prince Alexander Liholiho succeeded him and also replaced Rooke as president. 

McCoughtry became secretary and treasurer in place of J. Hardy, resigned. On Saturday, July 23, the Rev. S.C. Damon was on the street. He passed a saloon. In front stood a red handcart loaded with two corpses; inside stood the operator with his cup of cheer.

Death was already commonplace, and so were the carts that clattered daily through streets with their grisly burdens. Burying was an arduous and disgusting but necessary chore. The whole police force was put under the control of the R.C.P.H. during the epidemic, and by the end of June was principally occupied in attending the sick and digging graves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the hospital on Queen Street doomed patients could view their last earthly home. The government smallpox cemetery filled the pesthouse enclosure, and as the weeks passed it became a stinking horror. By the middle of October, at least 1,000 cadavers jammed the yard. Bodies were packed close; in the later stages of the
epidemic graves were dug just wide enough to admit the corpse lying on its side. In many places the sandy earth had settled, with promise of even more sinking to come with the rainy season—and graves averaged only three feet deep. Often not more than six inches separated one grave from another; when a new pit was dug, a nauseating stench rose from it. The smell of decomposed animal matter was everywhere.

A doctor at the hospital predicted that the kona winds of winter would fan a "pestilential, putrid vapor" all over town. He asked the R.C.P.H. to bring in earth to provide cover. But the commissioners questioned the legality of such an expenditure.

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

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

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

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

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

Doubtless part of their good fortune came from the Waialuans' own pluck. On July 4, their district judge called the people together. At the meeting a set of rules was drawn up. They were to have the force of law during the emergency:
1. All outsiders were asked to stay away for two months;
2. No one with smallpox or exposed to it could enter. Anyone on the way would have to stop at designated spots. If he failed to do so, his horse, saddle and bridle would be sold at auction to build hospitals for the sick;
3. Houses would be built to "entertain" patients and those suspected of carrying disease. The latter would be quarantined fourteen days;
4. Anybody coming from a "sick house" or infected place would have to bring along a certificate from a doctor or from Marshal Parke showing he was clean. Otherwise, anybody feeding or lodging him in Waialua would be fined $20.00;
5. Chinese peddlers were to stay out for two months; anybody buying from or harboring them would get the same fine;
6. Houses would be built and a watch kept at the designated spots. Each man was to do his share—one day and night a week. If food was called for, each should give a half-dollar's worth a month;
7. It would be death for all wandering dogs "...and all dogs from Honolulu as they come down and all dogs that are accustomed to be seen in the arms of women or to sleep with human beings all such we will kill if seen out of the house of the owner. Watch dogs such as stay at home and sleep out of the door do not come under this law."
8. An executive committee was set up;
9. Any resident of Waialua refusing to do his part would be fined five-fold the original demand and in case of continued refusal fined $5.00;
10. The rules applied to vessels as well.76

This was indeed quarantine, but the commissioners of health refused to sanction the fining of travelers through Waialua.77 They must have been shocked to learn that some Waialuans had proposed stoning, whipping, or plundering.78 Emerson replied that "...when I communicate to them [the people of Waialua] your views as expressed by Mr. Hardy I presume they will be quiet, & take things as they come along."79 By this time three or four cases of smallpox had appeared in Waialua, each at least three miles from the other.80 Emerson called for vaccine on July 19, and three days later informed Rooke that the supply was gone, that sickness was growing, and that the last batch of vaccine had been "perfectly inert"; Emerson knew of only one good vaccination case in the preceding two months.81

Meanwhile the Waialua regulations had resulted in a court case. Mr. James Robinson, going through Waialua to his place at Halemanu, found himself at one end of a bridge and two determined Hawaiians--Ku'umanu and Kuoha--at the other. The Waialua justice had ordered the men to barricade the bridge. But in court it came out that the R.C.P.H. had forbidden such roadblocks. Kuoha, the assistant, was freed; Ku'umanu got a $2.00 fine.82

Waialua shared a common problem: a shortage of nurses. Emerson wrote that one little girl of ten or eleven stood by her mother, ready to do what she could for the sick. Nearly everybody else was afraid. Lack of care spelled doom for many. The people built a house 60 feet long for a hospital, but it was largely a wasted effort.83

Reports from other sections of Oahu are sketchy. Little can be said about the stretch from Diamond Head to Koko Head. One list, made in the middle of August, shows a total of 39 cases, with 15 deaths, 17 recoveries, and 7 still sick.84

Scattered returns for Ko'olaulapoko (reaching from Waimanalo to Kualoa, inclusive) suggest much suffering and death. S.S. Spencer, writing on July 11, reported smallpox and asked for medicines. He had called on the sick woman and found 30 Hawaiians visiting in the house.85 He prescribed extract of colocynth (a powerful cathartic) to open the patient's bowels, olive oil to anoint her pustules, and tea "...hearing that water was a bad thing." A Mr. Webster also had a case at Kaalaea...
and wanted medicines, too. Spencer desired a "few instructions" for giving the remedies to be sent with them.86

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Recovered</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kailua</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimanalo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneohe</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heeia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neawa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mupia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokapu</td>
<td></td>
<td>no smallpox yet95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

On August 6, Judd laid the note before the R.C.P.H. The Hon. Hudson's Bay Co. was to advance the money on September 5; however, it would charge interest at 12 per cent a year from that date.

The relief was temporary. On September 12 the R.C.P.H. presented a report to the public: They had first tried isolation, vaccination and the appointment of subcommissioners to prevent the spread of smallpox; finding it useless to try to protect Oahu, they had then concentrated on sparing the outer islands. Hospitals had been built on Oahu, however, and furnished with everything needed to receive all the sick who could be persuaded to enter them. All medical men, and other intelligent people willing to help had either volunteered or been hired. Whenever nurses could be got they had been employed. A band of prisoners had been devoted to burying the dead, and these men highly deserved the king's merciful consideration. Since the sick had been strictly forbidden to go to the kalo patches for food, tea, sugar, rice, arrowroot, etc. had been supplied; but some abuse had accompanied their distribution. A great item of expense had been the reimbursement of those whose infected houses had been destroyed, and still heavier calls for this purpose were expected. In order to purify the town for the approaching whaling fleet, considerable money would have to be spent, as even a few cases among the crews might start a panic and injure business. And since the sailors went everywhere, all possibly infected places would have to be destroyed. Also, the clothing of those discharged from hospitals had to be burned, and new garments supplied. In addition, 50 native and one foreign constables had died in line of duty, requiring burial at public expense. Thus far the commissioners had spent nearly $18,000. Their question: Did the king want to discontinue supplying food on Oahu, and furnish medicines only?

The privy council named E.H. Allen, Liholiho and Asher B. Bates to consider the report; after study, they saw no other way than to go on providing medical treatment, food and clothing. The R.C.P.H. and its agents would have to keep a keen watch for abuses. The committee also recommended: (1) destroying grass houses and clothing
as necessary, with compensation; (2) setting up a most thorough system of vaccination and inoculation; (3) raising of another $10,000 by private security of the king and privy council, again in the belief that the legislature would get them off the hook at its next session.\(^\text{105}\) The council agreed, and the minister of finance was authorized to negotiate a joint and several note, payable to bearer in one year with interest.\(^\text{106}\) Embarrassment followed: The note was promptly lost or mislaid; Wyllie advertised for it in the Polynesian, offering a "handsome" reward, and cautioning everybody against receiving it.\(^\text{107}\)

Strict economy was now the rule. The R.C.P.H. were concerned when, in the middle of September, Hillebrand gave notice that he expected pay if he continued to vaccinate, since he was neglecting his private practice.\(^\text{108}\) Medical service in Ko'olauapoko was cut. Subcommissioners got letters urging care; they were to prevent as far as possible the free supplying of food and clothing to those able to fend for themselves.\(^\text{109}\)

On September 17, Armstrong offered to the commissioners the $1,000 appropriated to him for free medicines to be given to sick Hawaiians, but when the secretary applied for it, Armstrong balked. His reason: The act creating the R.C.P.H. did not give them power to spend money for any medicines other than those used in treating smallpox, whereas the $1,000 was to be used against all kinds of diseases.\(^\text{110}\)

A week after Armstrong's offer, the cabinet decided that, after all, money in the treasury would have to go for smallpox. A check on September 24 showed $26,266.00 in the public till.\(^\text{111}\) To keep a tight rein on finances, a report system began. The R.C.P.H. chairman, now Liholiho, submitted a weekly letter to the king in council:

**Letter of October 3:**
- Cash on hand \$1,799.17
- Unpaid and unaudited bills on hand 3,339.89
- Estimated bills next fortnight 500.00
- Estimated amount needed next fortnight 2,040.72
- Smallpox reported spreading rapidly in remote Oahu and in Kona, Hawaii.\(^\text{112}\)

**Letter of October 10:**
- Cash on hand \$1,071.89
- Unpaid and unaudited bills on hand 3,081.57
- Estimated bills next fortnight 500.00
- Estimated amount needed next fortnight 2,569.78
- Parke was absent, so bills could not be audited.

**Letter of October 17:**
- Received October 14 from E.H. Allen \$3,500.00
- Cash on hand 2,313.40
- Unpaid bills on hand 824.48
- Estimated expenses next fortnight 1,300.00
- Attention called to Hildyard's report on the bad situation at the smallpox cemetery; legality of using money to cover graves with earth questionable.

**Letter of October 24:**
- Cash on hand \$2,153.40
- Unpaid bills on hand 984.98
- Estimated amount needed next fortnight (not including unpaid bills) not over 500.00
Letter of November 7:
Cash on hand $758.16
Unpaid bills on hand 1,007.73
Estimated amount needed next fortnight,
not over 1,000.00

Letter of November 14:
Cash on hand $1,400.51
Unpaid bills on hand 759.33
Estimated amount needed next fortnight,
not over 500.00

Letter of November 21:
Cash on hand $1,336.01
Unpaid bills on hand 761.83
Funds on hand expected to last next fortnight.

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

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

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

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

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

Letter of January 16, 1854:
Cash on hand $620.95
Unpaid bills on hand 381.92
Outstanding debts probably not in
excess of 600.00
Letter of January 30:
Cash on hand $478.28
Unpaid bills on hand 288.83

Letter of February 6:
Cash on hand $368.48
Unpaid bills on hand 241.53

Letter of February 13:
Cash on hand $261.49
Unpaid bills on hand 254.50

Estimated amount needed to close all outstanding accounts 500.00

The privy council's fund-raising met sharp criticism from Robert Crichton Wyllie. He wrote that he had always considered the smallpox a great national emergency which the government was bound to fight promptly and energetically. The original appropriation, the "...paltry sum of $10,000, I always thought that that was trifling with a great calamity..." and as for the business of the notes, it was "...a most unusual and objectionable way..." to get money which had had little effect in checking the smallpox. Wyllie, mourning the "...needless loss of...many thousands of native lives...", and the fruitless expenditure of $30,000, nevertheless believed that all had acted from good intentions.

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

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

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

That should have been that. But early in July, Dr. Pelham reported smallpox at Aleamai, Hawaii. The king then announced his refusal to accept the commissioners' resignation. Rooke at once voiced their chagrin at having duties imposed on them which they had no means of carrying out; he also informed the house of representatives that, if it wanted the commission to continue, it would have to vote
The smallpox changed Honolulu in many ways—some trivial, some tragic. Celebration of Restoration Day (when Admiral Thomas restored Hawaiian sovereignty after Paulet's seizure of the islands) was omitted; school enrollment dropped; the Weekly Argus suspended publication late in July when editor Abraham Fornander came down with smallpox (his father and mother-in-law had died of the disease); ownerless horses, mules and cattle roamed the city and its environs; there was a long-continuing need to care for destitute smallpox sufferers, some of them driven forth by their relatives (the privy council authorized Marshal Parke to care for them until a permanent board of health should be established); the awarding of allodial land titles was postponed because of the great number of deaths. The police suffered especially, of course, because of their close contact with the epidemic. The king himself was deeply affected; about the middle of October, 1853, Mrs. A.S. Cooke entered in her journal that he had been incessantly drunk for several weeks. His "paramour", she wrote, had died of smallpox, and he had hardly been sober since.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NEW CASES REPORTED</th>
<th>DEATHS REPORTED</th>
<th>TOTAL CASES</th>
<th>TOTAL DEATHS</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>July 9</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>455</td>
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<td>July 16</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>573</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 23</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>2,342</td>
<td>808</td>
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<td>July 30</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2,886</td>
<td>1,027</td>
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<td>August 6</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3,183</td>
<td>1,193</td>
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<td>August 20</td>
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<td>103</td>
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<td>September 3</td>
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<td>4,831</td>
<td>1,735</td>
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<td>September 9</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>68</td>
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(cases in Honolulu proper, August 12 - 103)
(cases in Honolulu proper, August 20 - 63)
(cases remaining in Honolulu, August 27 - 45)
(cases in Honolulu, September 9 - 13)
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<th>NEW CASES REPORTED</th>
<th>DEATHS REPORTED</th>
<th>TOTAL CASES</th>
<th>TOTAL DEATHS</th>
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<td>246</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5,303</td>
<td>1,874</td>
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<td>(cases in Honolulu, September 16 - 14, most in the outskirts of town and convalescent)</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 23</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>(cases in Honolulu, September 23 - 6)</td>
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<td>October 1</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>5,411</td>
<td>1,941</td>
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<td>(no new cases or deaths in Honolulu)</td>
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<td>October 8</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5,651</td>
<td>2,033</td>
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<td>October 15</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>5,686</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 22</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5,767</td>
<td>2,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with exception of 4 cases, all more than 5 miles from Honolulu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 29</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no cases in Honolulu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 5</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>6,015</td>
<td>2,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Honolulu and vicinity clear. All except a few Oahu cases were in Waianae and Ko'olaulapoko. Report embraced a period of a month in one district, not previously reported)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6,049</td>
<td>2,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6,083</td>
<td>2,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6,126</td>
<td>2,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6,162</td>
<td>2,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>2,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,249</td>
<td>2,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6,280</td>
<td>2,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 1854</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,285</td>
<td>2,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6,405</td>
<td>2,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28</td>
<td>No new cases or deaths reported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Joseph Ryder, a seaman, died on July 27; William Bragg, 24, a Pennsylvanian and a policeman, died August 2; Peter Brothers, 53, a Dane resident in Hawaii for 28 years, died August 22; Jose Sylvada of Fayal, a cooper, died August 26 at the smallpox hospital. There were probably others, but the evidence is clearly against any significant haole mortality. Early in October, Mrs. Cooke's journal noted that only three or four foreigners had died, "...and those among the low and vicious."

The Chinese apparently kept to themselves. The Rev. S.C. Damon observed two cases late in July among these people "...who, report says, take care of their cases without foreign medical aid."
Just how many died will never be known. One thing seems clear: The figures of the R.C.P.H. were too low. Marshal Parke listed 11,081 cases and 5,947 deaths on Oahu.\(^{148}\) Where the commissioners' reports indicated a mortality rate (overall) of nearly 36 percent, Parke's statistics for Oahu showed a rate of nearly 54 percent. But there were many other estimates. The September, 1853 issue of The Friend (the copy for which was made up before the epidemic ended) declared that the total number of deaths would "...certainly not fall short of 2,000 out of a population of not over 18 or 20,000 [on Oahu]."\(^{149}\) At the end of August, Consul Angel maintained that between 3,000 and 4,000 had died.\(^{150}\) And after it was all over, Mrs. Lowell Smith wrote that "Not less than 5,000 have died on this one island [Oahu] during the past summer."\(^{151}\)

At the height of the epidemic, the Polynesian printed census figures:\(^{152}\)

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

The newspaper predicted at least 5,000 smallpox deaths.

In January, 1854, the Honolulu press published vital statistics and census results. Statistics for 1853 for the First District indicated 3,759 deaths and 191 births. This district, about 14 miles long, extended from Maunalua on the east to Moanalua on the west, and supported--it was estimated--about 10,000 people. Of the deaths listed, some 2,800 were attributed to the smallpox.\(^{153}\) A census taken at the time set the population of Oahu's Kona district (Honolulu included) at 11,355--1,169 of them foreigners--at the end of 1853. The 1850 census, generally regarded as reliable, had shown a population of 14,484 in the same area. The three-year population loss was thus 3,129.\(^{154}\)

The minister of public instruction took this 1853 census, which gave a total population of 73,137, including 2,118 foreigners. His report to the 1854 legislature compared deaths (8,026) with births (1,513) and estimated the number of smallpox fatalities to have been between 5,000 and 6,000.\(^{155}\)

After the last rotting corpse had become clay in that putrid lot on Queen Street, the tiresome affair of claims dragged on. Despite the first opinion of the house of representatives' select committee that the claims were illegal, the delicate matter refused to die. The petitioners had waived all recourse at law, depending on the government's generosity. The house had investigated and debated at length time and again. Opinions clashed sharply. And the passage of time brought uncertainty into arguments.\(^{156}\)

The committee at last recommended, and the house passed, an award for Dr. Lathrop. Later, using the amount as a maximum, the legislature approved payments for: Hillebrand, $1,200; Hoffmann, $1,000; Ford, $900; Hardy, $875; Newcomb, $600; and Smythe, $300.\(^{157}\) This was in June. But the 1855 appropriation bill as approved in August by the king contained no such provisions--only the commissioners investigating the claims got $200.\(^{158}\)

The house of nobles in its 1855 session had appointed two commissioners "...to take evidence on all claims against the Government, on account of services rendered during the prevalence of the Small Pox, and to report to the Legislature of 1856."\(^{159}\) Messrs. J.F.B. Marshall and Clouston were named, but the latter declined; M.C. Monsarrat replaced him.\(^{160}\)

Then a joint resolution set up an overall commission on claims. Both the nobles and the representatives had taken evidence, but Lot Kamehameha instructed Marshall, the commission's chairman, to have his group hear all the evidence themselves, and to report the amount they believed each claimant should get. Marshall was to disregard all prior action of the legislature; his commission had a free hand.\(^{161}\)
The commission met on December 27, 1855. Its members were Marshall, Monserrat, Benjamin Pitman and J.W. Makalena. The first item of business was to receive claims filed in response to an advertisement in the Polynesian. These were:

Honolulu - Drs. Newcomb, Smythe, Lathrop, Hillebrand, Ford, Hoffmann, and Hardy; Messrs. W.C. Parke, G. Graham, W.H. Coles, W.F. Jorden [sic], Peter Jordan, Pa'alua and (later) H.S. Swinton

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

Maui - Drs. Hutchinson and Dow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So much for the labors of the commission on claims. It was wasted effort. The legislature of 1856 did not even consider the matter; the whole claims question was indefinitely postponed. Later correspondence indicates that it became a subject of diplomatic negotiation between the Hawaiian government and the United States. 174

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

NOTES


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

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


8. A. Bishop to W.C. Parke, August 11, 1853; S.S. Spencer to Cooke, July 11, 1853; J. Watts to Parke, July 28, 1853. BH August 9-24, July 1-11 and 26-31, 1853. Dr. H.L. Arnold, Jr., again comments: "... [it would pay] by implication an undeserved compliment to modern medicine and its practitioners [to] speak of the 'pitifully inadequate' remedies which they [physicians of 1853] had to be content with. Until 1863, we had no better ones, and even now, the one remedy which is effective against smallpox is not available in Hawaii and I doubt that one physician in a hundred here could give you its name. I couldn't."


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

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


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

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

16. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.

17. Polynesian, August 27, 1853.

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


20. Polynesian, October 29, 1853.

21. Ibid.

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

23. Minutes, January 12, 1856, p. 9.

28. "Listener" in Polynesian, August 20, 1853.
29. "Weekly Argus, September 7, 1853; "Anti-Cant". Also, Polynesian, August 27, 1853 and "Vor mund", William Miller, British consul general, September 7, 1853.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Polynesian, July 30 and August 27, 1853.
34. "Weekly Argus, September 7, 1853.
35. Polynesian, July 30, 1853.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. Also, August 13 and September 10.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.
42. Polynesian, July 20, 1853.
43. Ibid.
44. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.
45. Ibid.
46. Severance to Harcy, No. 88, August 15, 1853; Laura Fish Judd, op. cit., pp. 175-176.
48. Ibid.
49. S.C. Damon, letter, July 26, 1853. BH July 26-21, 1853.
50. Minutes, January 21, 1856, p. 15; Polynesian, July 2, 1853.
52. Minutes, January 21, 1856, p. 17.
53. Ibid., p. 15.
54. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
55. Polynesian, July 22, 1853.
56. Ibid.
58. Jotted note on a scrap of paper.
Ibid.
84. Dr. A.C. Bonstat to Cooke, August 15, 1853. BH August 9-24, 1853.
85. S.S. Spencer to Cooke, July 11, 1853. BH July 1-11, 1853.
86. Ibid.
87. Liholiho to Cooke. BH July 12-25, 1853.
88. Watts to Parke, July 28, 1853. BH July 26-31, 1853.
89. Polynesian, July 9, 1853.
90. LeTallier to Judd, July 20, 1853. BH July 12-25, 1853.
91. C.C. Harris to R.C.P.H., July 21, 1853. BH July 12-25, 1853.
92. Ibid.
93. Cooke to S. Spencer at Kahalu'u, August 6, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
94. Liholiho to Cooke, August 6, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
95. Ibid.
97. Interior Department, December 30, 1853. AH.
98. Extract, September 20, 1853.
99. P. Funk to T.C.B. Cooke, August 1, 1853. BH August 1-8, 1853.
100. R.C.P.H. to King in Privy Council, August 4, 1853. Folder 1.
101. PCP, August 4, 1853, p. 251.
102. Ibid.
103. Extract, August 6 and September 6, 1853.
104. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
105. Report filed in Folder 1: see also PCP, Vol. 7, September 12, 1853, p. 301.
106. Extract, September 15, 1853.
107. October 15, 1853.
108. Extract, September 15, 1853.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., October 1, 1853: Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1850-1854, September 17, 1853, p. 312, and October 8, 1853, p. 335. AH.
111. Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1850-1854, September 24, 1853, no. 323-324.
112. All letters filed in Folder 1. Authorized by privy council in PCP, Vol. 7, September 26, 1853, p. 311.

113. P.C. Wyllie to Dr. J. Pott-Smith, October 24, 1853. Folder 2.
114. Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III...Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1854 (Honolulu: 1854), p. 6.
115. G.A. Lethroo to the Committee of Representatives, May 1, 1854, and to the Nobles and Representatives, April 29 and August 4, 1854; H. Hillebrand to the Committee of Representatives, April 30, 1854; F. Newcomb to Committee of Representatives, April 29, 1854. BH January-September, 1854.

116. Letters filed as above.
117. "C. Parke, op. cit., p. 60.
118. Ibid.
119. T.C.B. Cooke to F.H. Allen, April 10, 1854. Finance Department, April-December, 1854. AH.
121. Folder 3; also, BH January-September, 1854.
122. Polynesian, March 25, 1854.
123. T.C.B. Cooke to John Gaskin and to Speaker of House of Representatives, July 3, 1854. Folder 3.
125. PCP, Vol. 9 (December 15, 1854-December 17, 1855), January 8, 1855, p. 47.
128. Polynesian, July 30, 1853.
129. Weekly Argus, September 7, 1853.
130. T.C.B. Cooke to Kuhina Nui, April 23, 1854. Folder 3; PCP, Vol. 8, April 24, 1854, p. 155.
134. Ibid., p. 341.
135. Ibid.
136. Mary Dillingham Frear, op. cit., pp. 208, 210, 213; Anrel to Harcy, No. 6, December 31, 1853.
137. Ibid.
138. Figures are official statistics of the P.C.P.H. as printed in the Polynesian. Dates are those of publication.
139. Severance to Harcy, No. 84, June 24, 1853.
140. Polynesian, July 16, 1853.
141. BH July 26-July 31, August 1-August 8, August 9-August 24, 1853.
142. The Friend, September, 1853, p. 65.
143. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
144. Polynesian, August 27, 1853.
145. Polynesian, September 3, 1853.
147. S.C. Damon to R.C.P.H., July 26, 1853. BH July 26-31, 1853.
149. p. 61.
150. Anrel to Harcy, No. 1, August 30, 1853.
151. Mary D. Frear, op. cit., p. 208.
152. July 16, 1853.
155. Polynesian, February 25 and April 15, 1854.
157. Ibid.; Legislative File, Session Bills, 1855, Appropriation Bill for 1855. AH.
158. Ibid.
159. Lot Kamehameha to J.C. Konsarrat, November 10, 1855. Interior Department Letter Book No. 6 (June 12, 1852-June 12, 1857), p. 339. AH.
160. Ibid.; Clouston to Lot Kamehameha, September 25, 1855.
161. Lot Kamehameha to J.F.B. Marshall, Chairman of the Commissioners, Small Box, February 21, 1856. Interior Department Letter Book No. 6, p. 365.
162. "Minutes, December 27, 1855, p. 1 and December 31, 1855, p. 2.
163. Ibid., p. 34, 35.
164. Ibid., p. 1, 2.
165. Ibid., p. 2.
166. Ibid., January 3, 1856, p. 3.
167. Ibid., January 28, 1856, pp. 33-34.
168. Ibid., January 3, 1856, p. 3.
169. Ibid., January 5, 1856, p. 3 and January 17, 1856, p. 4.
170. Ibid., January 21, 1856, p. 16; Peter Jordan to House of Nobles, August 5, 1854. Folder 3.
172. Ibid., p. 22-25.
173. Ibid., p. 25.
175. 1858-1859 Appropriation Bill. Legislative File, 1858-1859 Appropriation Bill and Amendments.

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Mr. Jardin is a historically-minded old-timer who makes a welcome repeat appearance with another interesting memoir.

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