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JUN 22 1964

VOL. I, NO. 8

JULY, 1964

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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 1805.⁶ Later writers, such as Adams, have had to resort to interpolation and non-statistical sources to reconstruct the demographic history of the period.⁷

Estimates by the American missionaries are available for 1823 and later dates.⁸ 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.⁹ Even so, it was possible for Adams to characterize their efforts as "...not very accurate, but nevertheless, valuable."¹⁰

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.¹¹

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 1836.¹² The missionaries admitted that "...There is some reason to believe that the population in 1832 was somewhat over-rated, and we think it may be a little under-rated by the present [1835-1836] enumeration."¹³ Users of the reports were sufficiently impressed, however, to urge that the count be repeated annually.¹⁴

Efforts to complete a general population census in 1840 were apparently successful only on Kauai.¹⁵

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 [sic] 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.¹⁶

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 ^[sic] and such other particulars as the privy council shall direct, including an annual bill of mortality, and of the natural increase.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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."¹⁹

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."²⁰

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.²¹ The 1849 count was initially hailed as "...probably the most accurate census which has ever been made."²² 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 propable ^[sic] that the ^[enumerators]...were unable, in many cases, to attend properly to their duty."²³ An eminent historian later wrote that "...the official census of 1849 must be disregarded as wholly unreliable."²⁴ Even so, it represented a great stride forward.²⁵

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 ^[sic] 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 dispersed 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:

Owhyhee,-----	150,000
Mowee,-----	65,400
Woahoo,-----	60,200
Atooi,-----	54,000
Morotoi,-----	36,000
Oneeheow,-----	10,000
Renai,-----	20,400
Oreehoua,-----	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 notes⁷¹ 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 1804.⁷² It is quite close to Adams's reconstructed figure of 266,000 for 1803.⁷³ The Youngson figures for individual islands are intermediate between King's⁷⁴ 1779 estimates and those computed by the missionaries in the 1820's,⁷⁴ 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 1798.⁷⁵ A newspaper editor, writing in 1862, suggested all-island totals of 350,000 in 1800 and 175,000 in 1804.⁷⁶ 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 1819.⁷⁷

The record is resumed in 1822. In a note dated August 10, 1822, Tyerman and Bennet asserted that the population was "above 200,000."⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹

The missionaries tried to estimate the population in 1823. Their "official" figure was 150,000.⁸⁰ Stewart reported the same total,⁸¹ but his estimates for individual islands added to little more than 141,000.⁸² Ellis gave the all-island total as "130,000 or 150,000;"⁸³ his data by island, differing from Stewart's in only a few minor details, summed to somewhat above 139,000.⁸⁴ The version usually quoted by later writers, with or without credit, was that derived by Jarves from Stewart's figures and labeled "a loose estimate for 1823." In this form, the island data added to 142,050.⁸⁵ Adams's revision put the total at 134,925.⁸⁶

The missionary census of 1831-1832, supplemented by estimates for the unsurveyed islands, showed a population usually reported as 130,313,⁸⁷ although one source gave the count as 129,814.⁸⁸ 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."⁸⁹ He

even uncovered some double-counting.⁹⁰ 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."⁹¹

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.⁹²

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 108,579,⁹³ although one source reported 108,393.⁹⁴ Adams revised this total downward to 107,954.⁹⁵

Several estimates are available for the early and middle 1840's. The abortive census of 1840 suggested a total in the neighborhood of 88,000.⁹⁶ Kuykendall later estimated the native population at 103,790 in 1840 and 99,626 in 1844.⁹⁷ Horatio Hale, philologist for the Wilkes Expedition, visited Hawaii in 1840-1841 and reported a figure of 100,000.⁹⁸ The 1845 total was later estimated at 90,000.⁹⁹

The official census taken in January, 1849 reported 80,641.¹⁰⁰ 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 87,063.¹⁰¹

The census of January, 1850 reported an Island population of 84,165.¹⁰²

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).¹⁰³ 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

DATE	Population		DATE	POPULATION
	Series A	Series B		
1778	300,000	300,000	1823	134,925
1796	280,000	270,000	1831-1832	124,449
1803	-----	266,000	1835-1836	107,954
1804	280,000	154,000	Jan. 1849	87,063
1805	152,000	-----	Jan. 1850	84,165
1819	145,000	144,000		

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.

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2. Captain James Cook, The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World, Vol. VI (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), p. 212.

3. Ibid., Vol. VII (by Captain James King), pp. 118-119.

4. Lt.-Commander Rupert T. Gould, "Bligh's Notes on Cook's Last Voyage," The Mariner's Mirror, Vol. XIV, No. 4, October, 1928, p. 385.

5. Captain George Dixon, A Voyage Round the World, 2nd Edition (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789), p. 267.

6. Louis de Freycinet, Voyage Autour du Monde, Tome Deuxieme, Deuxieme Partie (Paris: Chez Pillet Aine, 1839), p. 585.

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.

9. William Ellis, A Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii. Reprint of the London 1827 Edition (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1917), pp. 20-32 and 91; The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV, No. 7, July, 1829, pp. 211-212.

10. Adams, MS, pp. 105-106 (quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 221).

11. Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands' Mission, Held at Honolulu, June and July, 1835 (Oahu: Mission Press, 1835), p. 17.

12. 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.

13. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, July, 1837, p. 277.

14. The Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. I, No. 4 (October, 1838), pp. 426-427; The Sandwich Islands Gazette, October 6, 1838.

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.

16. "Laws of the Hawaiian Islands," The Polynesian, September 18, 1841.

17. Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III. An Act to Organize the Executive Departments of the Hawaiian Islands. Part IV, Department of Public Instruction. General Provisions. Section III, p. 222.

18. "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction," The Polynesian, May 22, 1847.

19. Report of the Minister of the Interior...April 30th, 1847, p. 9.

20. Report of the Minister of the Interior (Acting Provisionally as Minister of Public Instruction)...April 28th, 1848, p. 3.

21. "Census of the Hawaiian Islands--From Official Documents--Taken January, 1849," The Polynesian, November 10, 1849.

22. The Friend, November 15, 1849.

23. "Report of the Minister of Pub. Instruction...April 22, 1850," The Polynesian, May 4, 1850.

24. Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii, 1938), p. 336.

25. Robert C. Schmitt, "A Census Comparison of Hawaii's Citizens," Paradise of the Pacific, Vol. 65, No. 6 (June, 1953), pp. 28-29 (revised as Hawaii Department of Planning and Research, The Censuses of Hawaii, 1500-1960, Research Report 25, July 11, 1962).

26. "Report of the Minister of Pub. Instruction...April 22, 1850," op. cit.

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28. Kenneth P. Emory, Changing Hidden Worlds of Polynesia (a paper presented to the Social Science Association, December 3, 1962), p. 5; discussion with Mrs. Marion Kelly, Assistant in Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, March 15, 1963; discussion with Dr. Emory, February 7, 1964.

29. Adams, MS, p. 88.

30. Ibid., pp. 87-88 (quoted in Hormann, op. cit., p. 220); Kenneth P. Emory, The Island of Lanai. A Survey of Native Culture (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 12, 1924), p. 122; Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), p. 235.

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.

32. Andrew W. Lind, An Island Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 93.

33. Footnote by W. F. Wilson, editor, in Archibald Menzies, Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago (Honolulu: publisher not indicated, 1920), p. 136.

34. See footnote 3.

35. Hawaii Department of Planning and Research, Geographic Statistics of Hawaii (Research Report 15, January 15, 1962), p. 5.

36. Gould, loc. cit.

37. Dixon, loc. cit.

38. Capt. V. M. Golovnin, Tour Around the World (1822). MS translation, by Ella M. Embree, of chapters on Hawaii, in Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.

39. "An Inquiry into the Causes of Decrease in the Population of the Sandwich Islands," The Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1838), p. 53; also S. E. Bishop, Why Are the Hawaiians Dying Out? (a paper read to the Honolulu Social Science Association, November, 1888), p. 2.
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41. Op. cit.
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44. W. B. Elkin, "An Inquiry Into the Causes of the Decrease of the Hawaiian People," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (November, 1902), p. 399.
45. Loc. cit.
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47. Manley Hopkins, Hawaii: the Past, Present, and Future of Its Island Kingdom, 2nd Edition (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1869), p. 368.
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53. Jack A. Myerson, "Depopulation Among the Native Hawaiians," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, June, 1953, p. 39.
54. Dixon, loc. cit.
55. Menzies, op. cit., p. 42.
56. Log and MS journal, both cited in Kuykendall's notes in custody of Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.
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58. Menzies, op. cit., pp. 135-136.
59. Emory, The Island of Lanai, loc. cit.
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62. History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands (London: Edward Moxon, 1843), pp. 366-377.
63. Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 2; Adams, MS, p. 112.
64. Op. cit., p. 223.

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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..."

TERROR 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 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 (Wailoa 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 for keeps.

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".

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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. Jardin 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.

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