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DOWNTOWN PROFILE: HONOLULU A CENTURY AGO. Richard A. Greer. Kamehameha Schools Press, 1966. Description of the city in 1869. Detailed street map and directory of downtown area, 1869. Catalog of relevant photographs in Archives of Hawaii and Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Price: \$1.25, plus 25¢ mailing and handling charge, for a total of \$1.50. Order from Richard A. Greer, Kamehameha School for Boys, Kapalama Heights, Honolulu, Hawaii.

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## STATISTICS ON INCOME IN HAWAII, 1825-1966

by

Robert C. Schmitt\*

Statistics on income in Hawaii extend back more than 140 years. Wage records can be found for dates as early as 1825. Systematic series on family income go back to 1900. These statistics have become increasingly frequent and detailed in recent years. Unfortunately, changes in definitions and coverage, fluctuating price levels, and wide variations in perquisites and fringe benefits have created major obstacles in the interpretation of these data. Even so, some striking trends are evident: Since the second quarter of the 19th century, the average wage has risen from one or two cents an hour (plus provisions) to \$5,100 a year, and median family income has increased at least one-hundredfold.

WAGE AND SALARY EARNINGS. Statistics on wage and salary earnings were among the first to be developed in Hawaii. The earliest of these data referred only to workers on sugar plantations or in selected government jobs. After annexation, however, they were extended to many other occupations and industries.

Some of the earliest information on wage levels in Hawaii concerns sugar employees: "The first attempt to lay out a plantation of any size was made by John Wilkinson...Manoa Valley, near Honolulu, was chosen as a site, and work began in the fall of 1825...Much capital was consumed by the cost of labor, at twenty-five cents a day." This effort was abandoned about 1829.<sup>1</sup>

Pay was poor on pioneer plantations. In 1841, native workers on Koloa Plantation, Kauai, struck in protest against the 12.5 cent daily wage and asked for 25 cents. Their strike was unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> Three years later, Robert Wyllie wrote that "...the daily wages of the natives does [sic] not average more than 12 and a half cents per diem; and this wretched pittance is paid not in cash, but in goods, given to the natives at a profit to the employer of perhaps 100 percent."<sup>3</sup>

Despite frequent fluctuations, wage levels rose perceptibly during the next fifty years. According to Morgan,

Wages for unskilled labor varied [in 1844] from 12½ cents to 50 cents a day, or from \$2.00 to \$6.00 a month, being highest near the port towns. On Kauai, wages were commonly 12½ cents a day, plus provisions. They were paid in the form of goods. On Maui common wages were 12½ cents also; in Lahaina, the whaling port, they were 25 cents, and, if the laborer worked aboard ship, 50 cents....A dual standard of living is clearly present, one for the mass of natives, another for the foreigners and high chiefs....

In the late 1840's the average [on the plantations] was 15½ cents a day, plus grass houses, (often) taro patches, and an outlay of 6 to 10 cents per working day for food supplied by the employer. An extraordinary wage rise in 1850-51 during the California exodus to as high as 50 cents a day for native labor was short-lived. By 1853 or 1854 native labor could be hired 'without trouble' for 25 cents a day. Free coolies were less, about 18 cents, though the latter did 'the most work and (gave) the most satisfaction.'

Contract coolies, the first of whom had been imported, were paid at the

\*Fred Hung and William Summers Johnson read the first draft of this paper and made many helpful suggestions. RCS.

daily rate of 11 cents. In all cases board, quarters--and with the latter, import costs--had to be added.

By 1863, with the sugar boom, \$8 to \$10 a month plus food is given as a reasonable cost of labor. The stimulus of Reciprocity is reflected in the relatively high levels of 1888-1890: \$15.58 to \$19.53 a month for contract labor, and \$17.47 to \$22.25 for free labor.<sup>4</sup>

The same period witnessed a corresponding growth in the volume and quality of statistics on wage earners. Beginning in 1886, annual reports of the Bureau of Immigration carried detailed tabulations on wage scales, often classified by age, sex, nationality and occupational group.<sup>5</sup> Most of these surveys were limited to immigrant plantation laborers.

Wage levels remained relatively static during the first fifteen years of the 20th century. The average daily wage for field hands on sugar plantations, for example, was \$0.73½ in 1900-1901, \$0.64 in 1902, \$0.63 in 1905, \$0.70 in 1910, and \$0.74 in 1915. The corresponding averages for sugar mill laborers were, respectively, \$0.78½, \$0.81, \$0.77½, \$0.85, and \$0.96. Throughout this period, hours worked per week averaged 60 for field hands and 72 for mill laborers.<sup>6</sup>

Both World Wars appear to have triggered increases. In 1929, average full-time earnings per week on the sugar plantations averaged \$10.92<sup>7</sup> Ten years later, non-salaried male workers on the plantations were averaging \$48.88 monthly. As in the past, housing, medical care and recreational facilities were supplied without charge.<sup>8</sup> By 1947, with a 48-hour week in force and perquisites being phased out, the mean daily wage of hourly-rated sugar employees was \$7.63; in 1956, it was \$10.73.<sup>9</sup> Nine years later, in 1965, the daily average was \$18.40 in cash earnings and \$6.50 in fringe benefits.<sup>10</sup> The 40-hour week had meanwhile become standard.<sup>11</sup>

This long-term growth in wage rates has been paralleled by a corresponding increase in salary levels. An easily traced example is that for Honolulu police officers.

Police pay was initially quite low. An 1840 law specified that "police officers shall be paid for their services in the following manner: If a police officer seize a man for crime and he be tried and convicted, then one-fourth part of the fine shall go to the police officer."<sup>12</sup> At the insistence of the British Commission, this practice was discontinued in 1843, and policemen thereafter were given a straight salary of \$3.50 a month.<sup>13</sup> Four years later, an effort was initiated to raise the level to "six dollars each per month, free of all taxes and labor days..."<sup>14</sup>

Thereafter police salaries rose rapidly. In 1861 the basic pay for a Honolulu constable was \$20.00 monthly.<sup>15</sup> Rates for selected years through the succeeding century were as follows:<sup>16</sup>

1873-1877.....	\$20-\$22	1940.....	\$158-\$183
1888.....	\$30	1950.....	\$245-\$295
1903.....	\$60	1960.....	\$444-\$566
1904.....	\$75	1966.....	\$504-\$643
1932.....	\$135		

Not all jobs paid as poorly as sugar workers and policemen. Cabinet members, for example, received relatively high salaries. Best of all was that of the chief executive--the king, president, and governor.

The Hawaiian monarchy received ample compensation, particularly toward the end of the 19th century. In what may be the earliest appropriation act of the kingdom, that for the 12-month period ended April, 1844, Kamehameha III was allotted \$6,000 out of the total governmental budget of \$25,000.<sup>17</sup> The 1860 legislature voted the annual sum of \$16,000 "for His Majesty's Privy Purse, Royal State and pay of Physicians."<sup>18</sup> In 1872, the annual sum reached \$22,500.<sup>19</sup> Sixteen years later, Thrum wrote: "By report of the Crown Lands Commission to the Legislature of 1888, the

present annual revenue from rentals of the Crown lands is placed at \$37,588. Since the time of the 'Mahele' or division of lands by Kamehameha III in 1848, the income therefrom has been a personal revenue of the Crown, and with the present appropriation of \$20,000 per annum for His Majesty's privy purse, affords the King over \$57,000 a year.<sup>20</sup> Other members of the royal family also received annual stipends.

The President of the Republic of Hawaii, in contrast, received only \$12,000 annually.<sup>21</sup>

Executive compensation tumbled with annexation, then slowly rose again. The Organic Act, approved in 1900, made the Governor of Hawaii a federal employee and set his annual salary at \$5,000.<sup>22</sup> Amendments raised this amount to \$7,000 in 1910, \$10,000 in 1921, \$15,000 in 1949, and \$19,000 in 1956.<sup>23</sup> The salary of the Governor of the new State of Hawaii, initially set at \$25,000, was increased to \$27,500 in 1962 and \$33,500 in 1965.<sup>24</sup>

The foregoing wage chronologies illustrate the kind of trend data often available from scattered sources. Unfortunately, such a piecing-together is the only procedure possible in tracing trends before 1900.

Twentieth century sources on wage and salary earnings are far richer, often providing comprehensive, systematic series on a decennial or annual basis. Major series initiated since annexation include at least three by federal agencies, three by state offices, and one by a private organization.

The United States Department of Labor inaugurated a notable series of surveys on labor conditions in Hawaii shortly after the turn of the century. Reports were published for 1901, 1902, 1905, 1911, 1915, 1929-1930, 1939, 1947, and 1955.<sup>25</sup> The first seven presented detailed information, specially compiled, on average earnings and hours by industry, often cross-tabulated by race and sex, and all nine reported additional data obtained from existing sources.<sup>26</sup> More recently, the Department of Labor has published statistics on the salaries of white-collar workers in the Islands as of May, 1963.<sup>27</sup>

The United States Census of Manufactures, taken by the Bureau of the Census, has included data for Hawaii in seven of its periodic surveys, beginning in 1899.<sup>28</sup> Although none of these reports contains information on wage rates as such, some idea of average wage levels can be obtained by dividing total payroll by average employment or total wage payments by the average number of production workers. Such computations, given in detail in Table 1, indicate the following trend in average annual earnings per manufacturing employee in Hawaii:

1899.....	\$ 461
1909.....	369
1919.....	738
1939.....	785
1954.....	3,164
1958.....	3,424
1963.....	4,279

Beginning in 1939, the Territorial (later State) Department of Labor and Industrial Relations collected data on wage and salary payments to workers under the Hawaii Employment Security Law. Initially limited to private non-agricultural employment, the law was extended in 1961 to workers in agriculture. Similar information was compiled beginning in 1956 for federal employees under the Social Security Act. State and county workers were added in 1960. An annual statistical report, Employment and Payrolls in Hawaii, first issued for 1951, presents quarterly data by industry and island.<sup>29</sup> Between 1939 and 1964, the average annual wage or salary earnings of private non-agricultural workers covered by the act rose from \$970 to \$4,745. Yearly data for this period are shown in Table 2.

The decennial United States Census of Population first included questions on wage and salary income in 1940, and obtained substantially similar information in 1950 and 1960.<sup>30</sup> Among members of the experienced labor force receiving at least \$100 of such income, the median was \$611 in 1939 and \$2,356 in 1949. The mean (not median) for persons receiving any wage or salary income in 1959 was \$3,526. Greater detail appears in Table 3.

The Territorial Tax Commissioner compiled data on wage and salary levels between 1946 and 1955. These statistics were a by-product of the compensation tax enacted by the 1933 Legislature and repealed twenty-four years later.<sup>31</sup> They appeared in various sources.<sup>32</sup>

Surveys of pay rates have been published annually since 1947 by the Hawaii Employers' Council. At first limited to Honolulu office workers, these surveys were eventually broadened to encompass a wide variety of private and governmental occupations throughout the State.<sup>33</sup> Since 1955 they have been conducted jointly by the Employers' Council and the State and County personnel departments.<sup>34</sup>

The newest source on wage rates is a monthly survey by the State Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, first undertaken in January, 1961. This continuing study provides data on average weekly earnings, average weekly hours, and average hourly earnings for workers in contract construction, manufacturing, communication and utilities, wholesale and retail trade, finance, hotels, and laundries. Publication began in the January, 1962 issue of The Hawaii Labor Market (now Hawaii Labor Force Developments).<sup>35</sup> In May, 1966, average weekly earnings ranged from \$51.33 (for laundries) to \$165.59 (in contract construction), and average weekly hours ranged from 32.4 (in retail trade) to 42.5 (for food processing).<sup>36</sup>

**FAMILY INCOME.** This refers to total money income of all members of a family. As defined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, it includes

Total money income during the survey year of all family members from wages and salaries (including tips and bonuses) after deductions for such occupational expenses as tools, special required equipment, and union dues; net income from self-employment; and income other than earnings such as net rents, interests, dividends, Social Security benefits, pensions, disability insurance, trust funds, small gifts of cash, regular contributions for support, public assistance, or other governmental payments. The value of two nonmoney items--food and housing received as pay--were counted as money income [in the 1961 survey].<sup>37</sup>

"Family" is defined in different ways by different studies. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, State Department of Health, and other agencies compiling statistics on families usually define a family as two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and living together in the same household. Persons living alone or with other persons not related to them are classified as "unrelated individuals".<sup>38</sup> The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in contrast, states that

The family, or consumer unit, refers to (1) a group of people usually living together who pooled their income and drew from a common fund for their major items of expense, or (2) a person living alone or in a household with others but who was financially independent...<sup>39</sup>

Although statistics on family income for Hawaii did not appear until the early 1900's, rough estimates are possible for earlier years. If a Honolulu policeman's salary is assumed to have been pretty typical of wage and salary earnings during the 19th century, and income from such earnings is assumed to have accounted for about 85 percent of total family income (the ratio found in the 1901 BLS study<sup>40</sup>), median family income in Honolulu must have been around \$50 a year in the 1840's and \$250-\$300 in the 1870's.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted surveys of family income and expenditures on Oahu covering 1901, 1910, 1943, 1951 and 1961.<sup>41</sup> In all cases their samples were small, ranging from only 100 families in 1943 to 363 in 1910. Coverage varied. In 1901 it included only "representative families of different nationalities" in an unspecified geographic area, presumably Honolulu.<sup>42</sup> Data for 1910 referred to "families of wage earners in Honolulu"; for 1943, to "families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu"; and for 1951, to families of "persons employed at desk jobs in the clerical, administrative and professional occupations," living in Honolulu, and consisting of exactly two or four members.<sup>43</sup> Not until 1961 was the BLS sample extended to all occupational groups in the community, and to urban areas elsewhere on the Island.<sup>44</sup> The 1943 study differed from the others in being limited to income in a single month, June. It was also the first to distinguish between total and "take-home" pay.

Although direct comparability is obviously lacking in the five BLS surveys, they are sufficiently similar to give a rough idea of long-term trends. Mean family income after payroll deductions, as revealed by these studies, was approximately as follows (further detail appears in Table 4):<sup>45</sup>

1901.....	\$ 800
1910.....	800
1943.....	4,500
1951.....	6,400
1961.....	8,000

A survey of family incomes on the Islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai, comparable to the 1943 BLS Honolulu study, was made late in 1944 by the Territorial Department of Labor and Industrial Relations.<sup>46</sup> Sample size for this study was 69 families, 48 of whom received free housing or other perquisites from employers. Monthly net cash income during 1944 averaged \$185.04.

Decennial U.S. Census reports have included data on the income of families and unrelated individuals in Hawaii since 1950. Statistics have been published for the State as a whole, each county, each urban place, and the 113 census tracts on Oahu. For major areas, income statistics have been cross-tabulated by color, kind of family, age of head, family size, number of earners, and other social, demographic and economic characteristics.<sup>47</sup> Median 1949 income before taxes of families living in the Territory in April, 1950 was \$3,568. The Statewide median ten years later was \$6,366. Additional information is reported in Table 3.

Beginning in January, 1953, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin conducted an annual sample survey of consumer income and expenditure patterns in Honolulu, based on the response to a mail questionnaire. This survey was later extended to the entire Island. Reports were published initially by the Star-Bulletin and later by the Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., and the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency.<sup>48</sup> Discontinued after October, 1962, the survey was resumed in July, 1965 on a continuing, household interview basis.<sup>49</sup> In all cases, the unit of observation was the household (in U.S. Census terminology) or consumer unit rather than the U.S. Census "family". Median household income before taxes increased from \$4,535 in the 1954 survey to \$7,131 in 1962 (findings for 1953 and 1965-1966 seem to be somewhat distorted, in the first case too high and the last too low). Annual medians are given in Table 5.

Research Associates, a private survey firm, obtained demographic, economic and housing data for a sample of 1,809 dwelling units in Honolulu early in 1954.<sup>50</sup> Median household income, computed from distributions published in the report, was \$4,138.

The most recent statistics on family income on Oahu are those compiled by the State Department of Health as part of its Hawaii Health Surveillance Program survey.

Family and income definitions comparable to those used by the Bureau of the Census are used. Findings have been transmitted to the State Department of Planning and Economic Development for analysis and publication.<sup>51</sup> The first report, covering income during the preceding 12-month period of families interviewed between April 1, 1964 and September 30, 1965, indicated a median of \$7,434 for the entire Island and \$7,611 for Honolulu proper. A later tabulation, confined to families surveyed during the 12-month period ended November 30, 1965, resulted in a median of \$7,695. These figures, like those of the U.S. Census and Star-Bulletin series, refer to income before taxes.

OTHER INCOME DATA. Other sources of income data include series on income tax returns and personal income per capita.

Frequency distributions of individual U.S. income tax returns filed in Hawaii go back to 1916. Prior to 1944, the class intervals were "net income" classes; since then, classification has been in terms of "adjusted gross income" classes. Data for 1916-1943 are accordingly not comparable to data for later years. Comparability has been further reduced by changes in coverage--the lowest income groups need not report--and provisions for joint returns by married couples. Statistics for Hawaii can be found in the annual reports of the Internal Revenue Service.<sup>52</sup>

A Territorial (later State) income tax was first enacted in 1901, but frequency distributions on net taxable income were not published until 1927.<sup>53</sup> Data appeared annually until 1934, then again from 1937 to 1940.<sup>54</sup> Publication was not resumed until 1959, when the first of an annual series reporting adjusted gross income as well as net taxable income was issued.<sup>55</sup> Median adjusted gross income for all returns in the State increased from \$4,041 in 1959 to \$4,843 in 1963. Corresponding medians for Oahu were \$4,392 and \$5,048.

Estimates of personal income per capita have been prepared for Hawaii by the U.S. Office of Business Economics since 1939. Per capita figures have risen from \$525 in 1939 to \$2,879 in 1965. Annual data, taken from various OBE publications, are cited in Table 2.<sup>56</sup>

MAINLAND COMPARISONS. The foregoing income statistics can be more fully understood if compared with corresponding data for the rest of the United States. At least three such series can be compared: mean wage in manufacturing, median or mean family income, and per capita personal income.

Mean wage levels in manufacturing have historically been lower in Hawaii than elsewhere in the United States. Although the average has risen both in the Islands and on the Mainland, the rate of increase has been lower in Hawaii (ninefold since 1899) than for the nation as a whole (twelfefold). Consequently, Hawaii has dropped from 96 percent of the national average shortly after annexation to 71 percent in 1963. Reasons for these differences include the unique nature of manufacturing in Hawaii (chiefly food processing) and, at least before World War II, the failure to allow for numerous fringe benefits in the data for the Islands.

Family income levels, in contrast, have consistently been higher in Hawaii than elsewhere in the United States. The difference was particularly noticeable in 1943-1944, an exceptionally atypical period when the Islands were a center of war activity and virtually every adult resident was working, often at two or more jobs. Even in peacetime, however, the Island labor force has included an above-average proportion of working wives. Family income levels in Hawaii have consequently tended to surpass those found on the Mainland.

Per capita personal income in Hawaii was initially below the national average, but now stands several percentage points above the all-State figure. Increases since 1939 have been about 450 percent in the Islands and almost 400 percent for the United States as a whole. Detailed information appears in Table 6.

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION. Despite the apparent precision of the many income series available for Hawaii over a 140-year period, trends can be traced only with the utmost difficulty. Users of these data are compelled to proceed with considerable caution in interpreting the various surveys. At least four reasons are evident for this difficulty.

1. The surveys often differ in their definitions of "family" and "income" or in coverage of geographic areas or occupational groups. The 1944 BLS survey, for example, excluded unrelated individuals, while the 1961 BLS study included them. Families of professional, technical and managerial workers were excluded from the BLS samples until 1951, and the families of self-employed persons were omitted until 1961.

2. Except for the 1944 Neighbor Island survey, none of the series discussed in this paper takes account of perquisites and fringe benefits. Before World War II, plantations routinely provided their employees with housing, hospitalization and medical care, and sometimes with recreation, fuel and other items as well. The low level of cash earnings reported for sugar and pineapple workers during the 1930's and earlier is thus somewhat misleading. Many employees now enjoy generous sick leave and vacation allowances, group insurance benefits, pension plans, and other fringe benefits. As noted earlier, hourly-rated sugar workers averaged \$18.40 in daily cash earnings and \$6.50 in fringe benefits in 1965.

3. The number of hours worked has varied widely, from industry to industry and from year to year. Sixty and seventy-two hour working weeks were common in Hawaii in 1901. As late as 1929-1930, four of the twenty industries listed reported average full-time hours of 60 or more per week, and the lowest was 44.<sup>57</sup> By 1966, the range was from 32.4 to 42.5.

4. Living costs change from year to year and place to place; thus, a given income level may have far less purchasing power today than ten years ago, or may buy more in Hamakua than in Honolulu. Table 7 presents a proposed consumer price index--annual averages for all items combined--for Honolulu, from 1899 to 1966. This 68-year long series was computed by splicing together five different indexes and shifting them to a December 1963 base. Trends before 1940 are based on Mainland data, on the obviously shaky assumption that Honolulu prices tended to parallel those of Mainland cities in their annual fluctuations. Despite conceptual and methodological limitations, the index may provide a useful device for deflating some of the income series reported earlier. This has been done in Table 8. It is apparent from these computations that much of the dramatic increase in incomes during the past two-thirds of a century has been illusory, with increased living costs consuming much of the gain in earnings. Even so, income growth has generally outstripped increases in price levels, with the result that real incomes today are approximately double their pre-World War II levels and triple what they were around 1910.

#### NOTES

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- 4 Theodore Morgan, Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 107, 108, 193.



- 5 See, for example, Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886, pp. 250-251; Report of the President of the Board of Immigration to the Legislature of 1890, p. 27; Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislature of 1892, p. 25.
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- 9 James H. Shoemaker, The Economy of Hawaii in 1947 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 62-63; Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Ten Dynamic Years (December 2, 1957), p. 11. These data exclude the value of fringe benefits.
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- 11 Information supplied by Nelson Prather, HSPA Public Relations Department, August 25, 1966.
- 12 Laws of 1842, Chap. V (approved November 10, 1840), in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., The Fundamental Laws of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1904), p. 36. This law was amended by L. 1842, Chap. XLIII (approved May 31, 1841) in ibid., pp. 110-111.
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- 14 Report of the Attorney General...April 28th, 1847, p. 19.
- 15 Letter from Marshal Parke to Prince Lot Kamehameha, July 3, 1861, in Archives of Hawaii file, "Police Bureau. Interior Dept. Matters. 1861, July 3rd."
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- 31 Session Laws, 1933, Act 209; Session Laws, 1957 (Special), Act 1.
- 32 See, for example, the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, Hawaii Facts and Figures, 1948 (1949), p. 46, and the Tax Foundation of Hawaii, Government in Hawaii, Fifth Edition, 1957, p. 8. The latter source reports annual data, 1946 to 1955.
- 33 Data for 1947 and 1948 appeared in the Hawaii Employers' Council, Research Department, Compensation of Office-Workers in Hawaii, May and June, 1948 (August, 1948). The 1965 study appeared under the title, Pay Rates in Hawaii. Private Employment. Government Employment (Report No. 961, Special Publication No. 65, September, 1965).

- 34 Hawaii Employers Council, Pay Rates in Hawaii (Special Publication No. 30, February, 1956); Thomas K. Hitch and Richard Beaumont, "Community Pay-Rate Surveys," Labor Law Journal, June, 1957, pp. 395-406.
- 35 Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, The Hawaii Labor Market, Report No. 195, January, 1962. This issue reported data for January, 1961; December, 1961; and January, 1962.
- 36 Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, Employment Security Program, Hawaii Labor Force Developments, No. 243, May, 1966.
- 37 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Expenditures and Income. Honolulu, Hawaii, 1961, BLS Report No. 237-78, November, 1963 (Advance Report), p. 4.
- 38 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 13, Hawaii, p. xxviii; Hawaii State Health Department, Interviewer's Manual. Health Surveillance Program. 1964, pp. B-1 to B-3.
- 39 See reference 37.
- 40 Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1901 (1902), p. 107.
- 41 Ibid., pp. 99, 107, 109, 111, and 241-253; 1911 report cited in footnote 6, pp. 702, 705-710, and 769-792; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Wartime Earnings and Spending in Honolulu, 1943, by Lenore A. Epstein (Bulletin No. 788, 1944), esp. p. 6; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Income and Expenditures of Office Workers' Families. San Juan, Puerto Rico and Washington, D.C., 1950; Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, 1951 (October, 1953); report cited in footnote 37.
- 42 Report cited in footnote 40, p. 99.
- 43 May, 1911 report cited in footnote 6, p. 702; 1943 report cited in footnote 41, p. 1; 1951 report cited in footnote 41, p. 1.
- 44 Report cited in footnote 37, pp. 5-6 and 11.
- 45 Annual averages. The 1943 mean is based on the June, 1943 figure.
- 46 Family Income and Expenditures on the Islands of Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, 1944 (Bulletin 18, July 15, 1945).
- 47 U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 52, Hawaii, Tables 23 and 27, and Vol. III, Census Tract Statistics, Chap. 62, Table 1; U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 13, Hawaii, Tables 65, 66, 76, 81, 86, 88, 91, 93, 135, and 139-146; U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, Final Report PHC(1)-62, Tables P-1 and P-4.
- 48 See, for example, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1954 Consumer Analysis of the Honolulu, Hawaii, Market (1954), p. 17; Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., 1963 Consumer Analysis of Metropolitan Honolulu... (1963), p. 8; and the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, "Honolulu Household and Housing Survey, October, 1962," Redevelopment and Housing Research, No. 23, July, 1963, pp. 1-24, esp. pp. 11 and 16.
- 49 Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., Hawaii's Market. Product Audit Consumer Evaluation (1966), p. A-1.
- 50 Research Associates, Survey of Rental Units (Honolulu: Board of Supervisors, July, 1954), pp. 18, 20 and 22.
- 51 Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, Family Incomes on Oahu, 1964-1965 (Statistical Report 38, April 15, 1966) and Labor Force and Family Income on Oahu, 1965 (Statistical Report 40, July 29, 1966).
- 52 See, for example, the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Statistics of Income, 1963. Individual Income Tax Returns (1966), p. 103.
- 53 Session Laws, 1901, Act 20; Report of the Treasurer, Territory of Hawaii... for the Two Years Ended June 30, 1928, p. 10. A brief history of the Territorial income tax is in Report of the Tax Commissioner, Territory of Hawaii... 1940, p. 58.

- 54 See, for example, Report of the Treasurer...for the Two Years Ended June 30, 1934, p. 13, and Report of the Tax Commissioner...1940, p. 59.
- 55 Hawaii Department of Taxation, Hawaii Income Patterns-1959. Individuals. (February, 1961). The 1963 report appeared in March, 1966.
- 56 Personal Income by States Since 1929 (1956), pp. 140-143; Survey of Current Business, August, 1966, pp. 12 and 13. See also Income of Hawaii (1953), p. 18.
- 57 See footnote 7.

TABLE 1. AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGES PER WORKER, FOR MANUFACTURING IN HAWAII: 1899 TO 1963

YEAR	All Workers (\$) <sup>1</sup>			Production Workers (\$) <sup>2</sup>		
	The State	Island of Oahu	City of Honolulu	The State	Island of Oahu	City of Honolulu
1899 <sup>3</sup>	461	.....	.....	403	.....	674
1909	369	.....	.....	357	.....	444
1919	738	.....	.....	666	.....	720
1939	785	.....	.....	674	721	723
1954	3,164	3,387	3,414	2,602	2,585	2,562
1958	3,424	3,460	3,448	2,906	2,916	2,906
1963	4,279	4,390	.....	3,585	3,594	.....

1 Total payroll divided by total employment.

2 Total wage payments divided by average number of production workers.

3 Wages per wage-earner averaged \$411 for the State, \$526 for Oahu, and \$572 for Honolulu.

Source: Twelfth Census of the United States...1900, Vol. VIII, Manufactures, Part II, States and Territories, pp. 151 and 152; Thirteenth Census of the United States...1910, Abstract of the Census...with Supplement for Hawaii, p. 617; Fourteenth Census of the United States...1920, Vol. IX, Manufactures, 1919, p. 1677; Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Manufactures. 1939. Outlying Areas, pp. 11 and 16; U.S. Census of Manufactures: 1954, Bulletin MC-151, Hawaii, p. 151-19; U.S. Census of Manufactures: 1958, Hawaii. Area Report MC58(3)-51, pp. 51-4 and 51-10; 1963 Census of Manufactures, Area Series, Hawaii, MC63(P)-512, p. 5.

TABLE 2. PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA AND AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGE OR SALARY INCOME, FOR HAWAII: 1939 TO 1965

YEAR	Per Capita Personal Income	Ave. Wage or Salary: Private Non-Ag. <sup>1</sup>	YEAR	Per Capita Personal Income	Average Wage or Salary	
					All Covered Workers <sup>3</sup>	Private Non-Ag. <sup>1</sup>
1939	525	970	1953	1,796	2,985	2,985
1940	577	1,128	1954	1,802	3,046	3,046
1941	749	1,419	1955	1,837	3,118	3,118
1942	1,087	1,926	1956	1,900	3,458	3,196
1943	1,186	2,125	1957	1,944	3,577	3,398
1944	1,239	2,134	1958	1,987	3,816	3,601
1945	1,328	2,244	1959	2,112	4,035	3,819
1946	1,312	2,374	1960	2,369	4,315	4,057
1947	1,384	2,642	1961	2,485	4,478	4,194
1948	1,407	2,682	1962	2,538	4,692	4,348

1949	1,354	2,606	1963	2,647	4,873	4,493
1950	1,387	2,692	1964	2,775	5,108	4,745
1951	1,580	2,835	1965	2,879	.....	.....
1952	1,747	2,935				

1 Excludes agricultural and government workers.

2 In addition to private non-agricultural workers, includes Federal employees from 1956, agricultural workers from 1957, and State and County employees from 1960.

Source: U.S. Office of Business Economics, Personal Income by States Since 1929 (1956), pp. 140-143, and Survey of Current Business, August, 1966, pp. 12 and 13; Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, records.

TABLE 3. MEDIAN INCOME OF WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS, PERSONS WITH INCOME, AND FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS, FOR THE STATE OF HAWAII, CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU, AND CITY OF HONOLULU: 1940 TO 1960

Group and Census Year <sup>1</sup>	The State (\$)	City and County of Honolulu (\$)	City of Honolulu (\$)
Wage and Salary Workers:			
1940 <sup>2</sup>	611	.....	875
1950 <sup>2</sup>	2,356	2,464	.....
1960 <sup>3</sup>	3,526	.....	.....
Persons with Income:			
1950	2,089	2,183	2,291
1960	3,052	3,218	3,397
Families and Unrelated Individuals:			
1950	2,728	2,906	3,178
1960	4,710	4,946	5,680
Families:			
1950	3,568	3,788	3,877
1960	6,366	6,792	7,029
Unrelated Individuals:			
1950	1,499	.....	.....
1960	1,998	1,968	2,725

1 Refers to income received in calendar year preceding the census.

2 Median wages or salary received by members of the experienced labor force who received \$100 or more of wage or salary income.

3 Mean (not median) wage or salary income of all persons who received wage or salary income in 1959. The mean income from all sources of persons with wage or salary income in 1959 was \$3,499 for the State, \$3,636 for the City and County, and \$3,764 for the City of Honolulu.

Source: 16th Census of the U.S.: 1940, Population, Second Series, Characteristics of the Population, Hawaii, Table 16 (medians computed from published distributions); U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 52, Hawaii, Tables 23, 27, 63 and 69; U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 13, Hawaii, Tables 66, 67, 69, 76, 77, 132 and 133.

TABLE 4. MEDIAN AND MEAN FAMILY INCOME, BEFORE AND AFTER PAYROLL DEDUCTIONS, FOR HONOLULU: 1901 TO 1961

YEAR <sup>1</sup>	Families in Sample	Median Family Income		Mean Family Income	
		Before Deductions	After Deductions	Before Deductions	After Deductions
1901	225	684	.....	802	.....
1910	363	742	.....	808	.....
1943 <sup>2</sup>	100	4,408	.....	4,976	4,465
1951	187	.....	5,750	.....	6,392
1961	215	.....	7,016	9,217	7,950

1 Coverage varies. Data for 1901 refer to "representative families of different nationalities" in an unspecified geographic area, presumably Honolulu; 1910, to "families of wage earners in Honolulu"; 1943, to "families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu"; 1951, to families of "persons employed at desk jobs in the clerical, administrative and professional occupations," living in Honolulu, and consisting of just four members; and 1961, to "urban families and single consumers" on Oahu.

2 Based on data for June, 1943.

Source: Computed from Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1901 (1902), pp. 99 and 107, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 94, May, 1911, Fourth Report on Hawaii (1911), pp. 702 and 705, and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Wartime Earnings and Spending in Honolulu, 1943, Bulletin No. 788 (1944), pp. 1 and 6, Income and Expenditures of Office Workers' Families, San Juan, Puerto Rico and Washington, D.C., 1950; Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, 1951, pp. 1-6, and Consumer Expenditures and Income, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1961, BLS Report No. 237-78, November, 1963, pp. 2 and 8.

TABLE 5. MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME, FOR OAHU, 1958 TO 1962, AND HONOLULU, 1953 TO 1965-1966

SURVEY DATE	Oahu (\$)	Honolulu (\$)	SURVEY DATE	Oahu (\$)	Honolulu (\$)
1953: Jan.	.....	4,986	1958: Dec.	5,744	5,900
1954: Jan.	.....	4,535	1959: Dec.	6,055	6,172
1955: Jan.	.....	4,579	1961: Jan.	6,398	6,508
1956: Jan.	.....	4,624	Oct.	6,819	6,987
1957: Jan.	.....	5,216	1962: Oct.	6,883	7,131
1958: Jan.	5,373	5,412	1965-1966	6,993	.....

Source: Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, Redevelopment and Housing Research, No. 4, April, 1956, p. 54, and No. 23, July, 1963, p. 11; Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., records. Data refer to annual income before taxes.

TABLE 6. SELECTED INCOME SERIES, FOR HAWAII AND THE UNITED STATES: 1899 TO 1965

SERIES AND YEAR	Hawaii	United States	Hawaii as Percent of United States
Mean wage in manufacturing:			
1899	403	420	96
1909	357	512	70

1919	666	1,142	58
1939	674	1,152	59
1954	2,602	3,604	72
1958	2,906	4,250	68
1963	3,585	5,044	71
Median or mean family income:			
1901 <sup>1</sup>	802	651	123
1943-1944 <sup>2</sup>	4,465	3,411	131
1950 <sup>3</sup>	3,788	3,481	109
1960 <sup>3</sup>	6,792	6,163	110
1964-1965 <sup>4</sup>	7,695	7,060	109
Per capita personal income:			
1939	525	556	94
1947	1,384	1,316	105
1955	1,837	1,876	98
1960	2,369	2,215	107
1965	2,879	2,746	105

1 Mean income of "representative families" in Hawaii (presumably Honolulu) and "normal" families of city wage and clerical workers in the United States.

2 Mean income after taxes of families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu, 1943, and all urban families in the United States, 1944.

3 Median income before taxes of all families on Oahu and of urban families in the conterminous United States during the preceding year.

4 Median income before taxes of all families on Oahu, 1964-1965, and of nonfarm families in the United States, 1965.

Source: Hawaii data from present report, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8. United States data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (1960), Series G 305, G 375, P4 and P7, pp. 180, 182, and 409; Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1965 (1965), Table 1122, p. 773; U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, Final Report PC(1)-1C, Table 96, p. 1-227; "Median Family Income Up About 5 Percent in 1965," Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 49, August 10, 1966; and the U.S. Office of Business Economics, Personal Income by States Since 1929 (1956), pp. 142-143, and Survey of Current Business, August, 1966, p. 13.

TABLE 7. CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, FOR HONOLULU: 1899 TO 1966. (December, 1963: 100. Data are annual averages for all items combined. The values for years before 1940, obtained by splicing several mainland indexes, are based on the assumption that Honolulu trends before 1940 paralleled national trends).

YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX
1899	23.7	1916	33.9	1933	40.3	1950	71.3
1900	24.6	1917	39.9	1934	41.6	1951	75.6
1901	25.3	1918	46.8	1935	42.7	1952	77.8
1902	25.9	1919	53.9	1936	43.2	1953	78.6
1903	27.1	1920	62.4	1937	44.7	1954	79.3
1904	26.8	1921	55.6	1938	43.9	1955	80.4
1905	26.8	1922	52.1	1939	43.2	1956	81.5
1906	27.7	1923	53.1	1940	43.6	1957	84.1
1907	29.3	1924	53.2	1941	46.2	1958	88.0

1908	28.0	1925	54.6	1942	52.3	1959	89.7
1909	28.0	1926	55.0	1943	56.3	1960	91.8
1910	29.6	1927	54.0	1944	57.2	1961	94.1
1911	29.6	1928	53.4	1945	58.4	1962	96.7
1912	31.4	1929	53.4	1946	62.1	1963	99.8
1913	30.8	1930	52.0	1947	71.4	1964	100.3
1914	31.2	1931	47.3	1948	75.1	1965	102.1
1915	31.6	1932	42.5	1949	74.0	1966 <sup>1</sup>	104.6

<sup>1</sup> June rather than annual average.

Source: 1899-1913 from Federal Reserve Bank of New York index for U.S. mainland (cited in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, Series E-157, p. 127); 1913-1940 from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index for U.S. mainland (cited in *ibid.*, Series E-113, pp. 125-126); 1940-1942 from Honolulu index developed by Eugene Danaher (cited in the Hawaii Employers' Council, Cost of Living in Honolulu, 1940-1948, April, 1948); 1943-1963 from Honolulu index compiled by the Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations and issued in quarterly mimeographed releases; 1963-1966 from Honolulu index compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and issued in regular releases. Annual averages, 1940-1965, based on quarterly surveys and interpolated values for unsurveyed months. Series spliced in 1913, 1940, 1943, and 1963, and shifted to a December, 1963 base.

TABLE 8. SELECTED INCOME SERIES IN CURRENT AND CONSTANT (1963) DOLLARS, FOR HAWAII: 1899 TO 1965

SERIES AND YEAR	Current Dollars	December, 1963 Dollars
Median family income (Oahu): <sup>1</sup>		
1901	684	2,700
1910	742	2,500
1943	4,408	7,800
1949	3,788	5,100
1959	6,792	7,600
1964-1965	7,695	7,600
Mean Wage in Manufacturing:		
1899	461	1,900
1909	369	1,300
1919	738	1,400
1939	785	1,800
1954	3,164	4,000
1958	3,424	3,900
1963	4,279	4,300
Mean Wage or Salary (Non-agri., Non-Govt.):		
1939	970	2,200
1947	2,642	3,700
1955	3,118	3,900
1964	4,745	4,700

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1901-1943 limited to families of wage earners or clerical workers in Honolulu (see footnote 1, Table 4); data for 1949-1965 refer to all families on Oahu. Based on BLS surveys for 1901-1943, U.S. Census data for 1949 and 1959, and Hawaii Department of Health data for the 12-month period ended November, 1965.

Source: Present study, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7; Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, Labor Force and Family Income on Oahu, 1965 (Statistical Report 40, July 29, 1966), p. 6. The December, 1964 consumer price index (101.0) was used to deflate the 1964-1965 income.



## THAT WAS A DAY FOR YOU!!

Letter of Theodore Heuck

Translated by Mrs. Arthur Hormann\*

Honolulu. Febr. 12th 1874 in the evening

My beloved ones at home!

That was a day for you!--Election of a king!--fights, salutes, necessary interference of the foreign men of war, etc.

I want to jot down the daily events of the days ahead! At 12 o'clock the Legislature met in the hall of the Courthouse--ministers, nobles and representatives of the people. 45 in numbers were there, only one haole was elected as a representative on each of the islands. The house consisted of ten white men and 35 natives. Then they organized themselves. Gov. Nahaolelua of Maui presided, another native functioned as vice-president--Stanley secretary, etc. At the beginning the order of business was slow and uncertain. The hall was crowded with auditors of all colours and classes. Places were reserved as usual for the representatives and the officers of the ships: Portsmouth, Tuscarora and Tenedos. The corridors and other rooms of the building were also crowded with foreigners and natives who all eagerly awaited the result of the election. Outside in the square and in the neighboring streets thousands were closely amassed and those who were for Prince Kalakaua or those who favored Queen Emma refrained from expressing audibly evidence of their opposite sympathies. Orators addressed the masses from elevated platforms in the square in favor of one or the other candidate. They often exploded in roaring cheers! The police corps had been doubled--there were 80 men under Marshal Parke's leadership--but nowhere was real leadership, least of all in the legislative assembly itself. The ministry showed to be very weak and allowed the natives to go their own way. Many among them were new people with little knowledge of parliamentary procedure--also different from before when there was more effective and prompter guidance!--We waited. Something of which one was afraid seemed to hover in the air. The course of the proceedings you will see in the papers which I am sending you.

Some of the Emma faction attempted to confuse the House through complicated legal questions and they thus hoped to bring about a delay of the elections. This was opposed by the "Kalakaua" people with somewhat obvious eagerness.--Finally it was time for the voting. In the last days considerable efforts had been made by Emma's friends to have their party appear to be important. Some believed that Kalakaua would be elected with only a small majority.--I myself thought the result would be 30 against 15. The Queen had instigated a kind of popular voting in her house--almost 4,000 votes are supposed to have been cast in her favor in Honolulu (popul. circa 10,000) but--women and children had been admitted and they often threw a dozen ballots into the ballot box instead of one. The whole affair was rather absurd and misled others. Emma had poor advisors.--The poor woman, otherwise so good and beloved and esteemed by everyone had to be defeated ignominiously.

The result of the election was--39 for Kalakaua, only 6 for Emma!

One thundering cheer followed another for the elected one and far and wide in the city and in the country the cheers echoed. Intermingled with this noise was the bitter uproar of the defeated ones.--They appointed a committee--five members of the House, to bring to the King the written announcement of his election. Then the assembly adjourned till the following forenoon.

We left the hall and the Courthouse but aside from the committee and a few others most of the representatives remained in the building or returned to it

\* Letter in T.C. Heuck Collection, Archives of Hawaii.

immediately since outside at the moment of their appearance members of the assembly were bodily attacked by an enraged mob.

Curses, threats, noises and deeds of violence fanned the animosities from minute to minute--no order prevailed, there was no authority prevalent to suppress the revolt right from the beginning; they made weapons for themselves from the trellises, from tree branches, rocks, etc.--Parke, the Police chief was powerless for his men formed immediately two parties, tore off the insignia from their coats (badges and buttons) and mixed with the combatants. I witnessed how Major Moehonua (one of the representatives for Honolulu and chairman of the committee) was literally torn from the carriage and the latter demolished--bleeding, fighting and tattered he succeeded to escape through the Courthouse yard.--They kept on fighting more and more embittered. Those in the building entrenched themselves as well as possible.--how the "Emma" people stormed the house. The Honolulu people directed their animosity especially towards the representatives of Honolulu. Private hatreds became party hatreds. The firm intent of the evergrowing embittered crowd was to kill the representatives, to destroy the Courthouse. From the beginning I had refrained, out of principle, from taking part in anything or to side with any party. According to my view the election of a sovereign is the right of the people through their legitimate representatives in the legislature. Any agitation or meddling on the part of the haole population is unfitting and absolutely wrong if done by the representative of another state.

To be sure I deplored--as also during the revolt of September 1873 /the Iolani Barracks mutiny--ed./--the weakness and absolute helplessness of this government. Today's Courthouse rumpus was to be expected as a consequence of the Sept. revolt. However, I surely had expected that Queen Emma would do something to stop the continuance of this bloody nonsense.--but the storm raged on. Stones demolished the windows, axes were used to gain entrance through the doors. The raging mob entered! What distorted faces, eyes flashed sinisterly, revengefully. The defenseless representatives who had manufactured their defense weapons out of pieces of the tables were attacked. They were pushed back step by step from room to room.

The hand to hand fighting became more and more intense. The miracle that not more calamities occurred was due to the very density of the crowd though many were severely wounded but nobody was instantly killed. Along with this devastation and real destruction of the things in the House, all doors, furniture, bannisters, chandeliers, windows, the walls inside, everything was demolished, desks, benches, books and manuscripts from the various offices of the lawyers were thrown through the windows onto the street and everything covered with blood!

Now it was 4 o'clock. The crowd became more and more enraged; their actions wilder and more presumptuous and there was no power to tame them. I dreaded the evening and the night--if liquor were added to this confusion, and then fire broke out and--?!--

Still the Queen had done nothing to end all this terrifying business. I was firmly convinced that her presence and single word in the right place could bring an end to all this dreadful confusion. I went to the Courthouse square, again bleeding people were dragged along and from inside you could hear the din,--they even had attempted to ignite a fire in the inside of the building. There I met Bishop, Judd, Sterling and others, all helpless. There was Pierce who advised to have the troops landed. Then a printed request of the King appealing to the foreigners and the natives to restore peace and order was distributed.--Now I had a free hand to act!--To have the troops land--that would mean to give up the last and best of Hawaii; that would be an expressed admission of helplessness of the Government of a country which was so proud of its independence;--an admission never to be obliterated! It is possible that I and other foreigners are united in feeling more patriotic than the natives themselves. The Islands under foreign domination--what is left then?

Still one more attempt could be made; I asked to wait. I wanted to go to the Queen and fetch her!--Bishop agreed and I hurried away. Sterling accompanied me; we met Wodehouse near Emma's house; he came from her and reported that it was no use talking to her; she did not want to come! I hurried up to her. I was obsessed by the idea that I will, I would have to succeed! - I forced my way through the dense crowd assembled in the large garden and on the broad verandas. I entered her room--there she stood excited in the midst of her friends. I grasped her hands and addressed her quietly but severely and urgently. "Queen Emma, do you know what is going on down below?!"--She answered in the affirmative--"do you know that there are means to interfere with this murdering?" "What are they?" "That you immediately hurry down with me, your presence, one word from you will suffice to restore order." She hesitated, and told me that she just sent a proclamation, she seemed to waver and still was afraid!--"Emma," I asked her, "am I your friend or not?"--"Yes," she answered firmly and trustingly--"Then let me lead you" - I urged. "Believe me I would not advise you to go there if I would think that your person would be endangered. They are your friends who have caused the calamity - it is your duty to go - I and others will protect you;--consider what will happen when night comes; it is the last reprieve before the foreign troops will land - Think of our Hawaii! - Do you want to be the cause of more calamity?" - I saw I had won and I continued more urgently: "Queen Emma, what has happened is past but at this moment you can score a wonderful point for yourself; come and everything will be right, help to uphold the dear name of 'Queen Emma'." "Yes, I want to," she called out and ordered her carriage to be brought! - The laments arose, dissuasion all around. "Don't go, Emma, remain here; no, no, they will kill you!" Now I held her by the arm, "It is right, Queen," I encouraged her, "it is right and good, come!" Again loud lamenting and urging to stay arose all around. I held her eye firmly and questioningly. - "I want to go," she cried out vehemently and stamped her foot on the carpet. "Quick, bring my carriage!"

Nobody stirred, nobody seemed to obey. "But, I want to go," she called out once more and now violently furious. Then turning to me she added: "Let me drive with old Governor Nahaolelua; you hurry ahead and I will follow immediately." I felt I had her word. I must not impose myself upon her if she wanted to go with the High Chief. "Queen Emma," I called out to her earnestly and admonishingly. "Am I certain, can I trust you?" "Certainly and surely," she asserted and pressed my hand firmly!--I hurried ahead, outside, before the entrance gate of her garden (Rooke's house in town). I was overcome by worries and doubts. - "I wished we had her with us," I said to Sterling. "Heuck," he called out reproachfully, "You don't doubt the word of the Queen which she gave you so earnestly and solemnly?!" "No, but who knows--there are other influences which might be exerted the next moment - but - let's hurry down!"--

There--again a bleeding person--one had thrown the unfortunate out through the window from the upper hall down to the street! Minute by minute passed - it became later and later. These anxious moments of waiting for the arrival of the Queen. I was consumed with impatience. - Waiting, hoping, doubting and worrying!--There--Clash of arms, firm measured steps of soldiers, flashing sabers, bayonets in the rifles.--The flags of America and England on land. The King himself had instigated the landing of the troops--And the Queen?--She never came! -

Now hide your face, Goddess of Hawaii! Your children, the King of your beautiful islands is so weak--that foreign marines must give you police service!--

Two companies of the American ship "Tuscarora" and "Portsmouth" and one company of the English ship "Tenedos" marched up to the Courthouse. Under the guidance of local authorities a part of them entered immediately. They met the rebels in restrained but firm manner; they did not need to make use of their weapons--those who

did not succeed in escaping were arrested.—The crowd is dispersed. Peace and calm rule. — It is evening. Darkness prevails. The men of the "Portsmouth" hold the Courthouse, those of the "Tenedos" the barracks. The Palace with the body of the dead king within; the Armory and the Prison were held by the "Tuscarora" men. It was fortunate that all saloons in the city were tightly closed. Whisky would have turned these maniacs into beasts; without the warships in the harbor! What would have become of the city and of all of us?

I just came back from inspecting the Courthouse. What devastation! — A few hours ago our pride because everything was kept so well — now! — Thank heaven, the main part of the library is saved, also the most essential things in the archives, but what loss of documents, papers, books and briefs of the various offices; valuable papers and tattered books everywhere.

Before the main entrance a howitzer is placed; everywhere sentinels with loaded rifles, officers with sabers and revolvers. Inside soldiers and navymen with weapons; the semi darkness only illuminated by ships' lanterns. The wind howls through the smashed window frames with their tattered blinds; everywhere one has to step over splintered fragments of glass and debris—everything defiled. The mats on the floors splattered with ink, the carpets torn, all furniture destroyed, occasionally puddles of blood! To think that 6 resolute men with revolvers could have instantly suppressed everything — but — nobody used his head, no vigorous action was taken, not any kind of forethought!

There had not even been the least kind of organization among the disturbers of the peace — only a blind attack under the impulse of the moment. If we would encounter a new explosion then they will go to work systematically! If an angry party, a mob can intimidate the representatives of the people, indeed, everybody of the Government at any time as these maniacs have done now and as the soldiers in the barracks did on Sept. 24th, then King, Government and Legislature are deplorable absurdities. That is what we have come to in this formerly so beautiful dear place!

Now I ask myself: "Was I too much of a pessimist, were my predictions last September exaggerated?"

Some of the English women and children here had expressed their anxiety over possible acts of violence; the S.S. "Tenedos" was prepared to take them on board. Since Pierce, Wodehouse and the captains of the three warships are my friends it was possible for me to arrange quietly the same asylum for the German women and children in case of necessity. Signs and signals were prearranged. Nobody of our compatriots knows of this for such an affair must be handled cautiously in order not to conjure prematurely and unnecessarily a fright which could cause a panic — However, I had everything ready! Up to this evening about twenty of the worst among the Emma people were arrested — What will happen during the night?! — The government deserves complete disdain! —

February 13th, 1874 (in the evening)

Today: The meeting of the Legislature. What a sad picture in a still sadder frame in the devastated hall amidst debris and foreign soldiers. One even had not removed the puddles of blood! To be sure many a legislator was absent, confined at home on his bed of pain. Whoever was able to had come and there they sat with bandaged heads and broken arms in slings!

At noon: Administration of the oath by the King but not as before with pomp in the Kawaiahao Church, free, happy and publicly before thousands. There was no rejoicing, no exultation. It took place in Col. Prendergast's house besides the Palace, out of doors, on the housesteps; — only the legislators and adjuncts, ambassadors, consuls, officers and a few others were present; then the proclamation which acclaimed King Kalakaua as the new sovereign and which was accompanied by the thunder of cannons from the artillery and the ships. —

It is still fomenting, secretly and obstinately! During the last night there were attempts to demolish the houses of the representatives of Honolulu. In the darkness of the night stones were thrown at the sentinels at the Courthouse; there were shots at three times to which the guards responded with shots unsuccessfully - thank God, it was too dark!

About 30 of the insurgents have been identified and arrested.

February 14th 1874 (in the evening)

Today: Dissolving of the Parliament by the King in the somewhat cleaned hall of the Courthouse. - then the function of the Assembly: "The election of the King is finished." Ordinarily the expense of an extra session is \$15,000, now with calamities, devastation and foreign occupation the expense will be \$25,000 and more! (The papers bring details about today's events).

The King, as such, appeared today for the first time publicly; he made throughout a good impression. At his right stood his younger brother, a nice intelligent young man who immediately is to be made successor to the throne.

How ridiculous, lame and contemptible is the justification of the Government of its inactivity towards the revolt, - and the quick answer of a representative to it (see papers).

Now about 50 of the agitators have been arrested but it is still fomenting.

Sunday, Febr. 15th, 1874

Let bygones be bygones! The foreign occupation keeps peace and order. Whenever signs of disturbances appear patrols advance, - thus a sentinel had to be sent to Moehonua's house who himself was severely wounded for one was afraid of a new assault during the last night. - Queen Emma had me summoned and I was with her, together with Wodehouse. We advised her to issue a manifesto wherein she declares publicly to have submitted to the conditions and requests the people to keep the law and order, to keep calm! She had conceded to the King in writing. Why not proclaim it publicly for her own safety? We are afraid that some madcap, who while drunk wants to give vent to his own private hatred through murder and fire, will be looked upon as an Emma-man and will compromise her who is not guilty! - But - she was waiting for the visit of the King - and then ---indeed what then?---It is characteristic of these people - flaring up, then undecided and nothing happens.

Yesterday I as the senior of the Consulate Corps, along with Monsieur Ballieu, Pierce, Wodehouse, expressed a vote of thanks to the captains of the ships for their protection. (See newspapers).

Febr. 16th, 1874

Today, an official announcement and proclamation of the King's brother, Prince William Pitt Leleiohoku as successor to the throne! Good - that is one sensible act of the Government! Now the succession to the throne has been established immediately, that saves money and there won't be another election. Otherwise order is pretty well restored with the exception of a few riots in more distant districts, Koolau, etc.

Febr. 18th, 1874 (in the evening)

The new Government has been appointed! - W.L. Green: Foreign office - good, very good! H.A. Widemann: Domestic affairs - man is suited to the office, his personality?! Nahaolelua: Finances, a figurehead, an automaton, however as such harmless, a compromise with the native element! Judge Hartwell: Attorney General, very good!--Naturally many outsiders are disappointed and now our rotten Press will attack the men in the Government and debase them. Let's wait awhile! I am glad Green is among them! Yesterday, Heuck was still in Widemann's place, but--The question is "whether to grant complete amnesty!?" for those who made such murderous attacks upon the representatives would mean a very dangerous case of precedence. - Thus one wants to make believe that it would be politically prudent to win over the

Emma party. - I don't believe that this party is strong enough to deserve such consideration. We will see very soon.

Up to now over seventy disturbers of the peace have been arrested.

Febr. 20th, 1874 (in the evening)

The judicial investigation of the rebels of Febr. 12th has begun; more than half of the prisoners were released - one found no reason to keep on persecuting them! What a mess! Finally they all will be released!

The King visited Queen Emma! It would have been magnanimous and gentleman like - if it had not been dictated by fright and cowardice. But the poor man is afraid of assassination. For several nights he did not sleep; at midnight he sent for the English sailors to guard him. He does not look for protection in the heart of his people; he knows that he is not popular; he has not 100 people on whom he can depend; he is suspicious of everyone, ministers and everybody else! What a miserable existence and not enough courage to face the events firmly!

Today we formed a police corps. Some volunteers from the haole population with the addition of a few of the best and most responsible natives. One did it to avoid a difference between the races, to balance everything as much as possible. All this was done without ostentation, no show, no uniforms, everything simple. The purpose? We will assemble as soon as the Attorney General or the Marshal calls on us for help and do the necessary things. Our weapons? - The police club and revolvers. -

How sad that ascension to the throne of this king had to begin with fighting and blood. Ah, the Kamehamehas are gone! One word, one glance sufficed at their time to hold peace.

What will become of it? Hawaii under a foreign protection, whether American or English? That is the question.

Febr. 22nd, 1874 (in the evening)

Yesterday the troops of the warships returned to their ships. Let us hope that there will be no occasion to call them back to land. Then there is no hope for Hawaii's independence!

The mail is closing. Soon more.

Yours,

Theod. C. Heuck

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CONTRIBUTORS: Robert C. Schmitt is State Statistician with the Department of Planning and Economic Development. He has been a frequent and valued contributor.

Mrs. Arthur Hormann continues her significant and arduous task of translating the Heuck letters. The Review in a former number had the privilege of presenting her translation of the letter dealing with the Iolani Barracks mutiny.

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HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

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