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THE EDITOR DIRECTS YOUR ATTENTION TO A RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS PRESS:

RICHARD A. GREER, DOWNTOWN PROFILE: HONOLULU A CENTURY AGO. IT INCLUDES A MAP OF HONOLULU IN 1869, A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN AND ITS DOINGS THAT YEAR, A DIRECTORY OF THE DOWNTOWN AREA, AND AN INVENTORY OF RELEVANT PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE B.P. BISHOP MUSEUM AND THE ARCHIVES OF HAWAII. PRICE WHEN ORDERED DIRECTLY FROM THE KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS STORE, KAPALAMA HEIGHTS, HONOLULU, HAWAII: \$1.25 per. PLUS MAILING COST.

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IN THE SHADOW OF DEATH

by

Richard A. Greer

The summer and fall of 1853 will forever be counted as one of Oahu's most tragic periods. Thousands perished as their flesh, eaten with smallpox, turned into masses of stinking putrefaction. Panic ruled; desperate crowds piled onto little interisland coasters, fleeing stricken Honolulu. But death sailed with them.

How was it with the outer islands, thus exposed to the horrors of the pustulant plague? Niihau, with an 1850 population of 714, escaped entirely; so did Molokai, the mid-century home of 3,450 people, and Lanai, with its 600-odd residents.¹ Natural isolation, plus vaccine brought in from Kauai, saved Niihau; Molokai owed its salvation to a similar but lesser isolation, and to a toughly-enforced quarantine.² Dwight Baldwin went from Lahaina in July to vaccinate everybody on Lanai who needed it—and Lanai, too, was off the interisland mainstream.³

In Honolulu, the king appointed Royal Commissioners of Public Health at the outbreak of smallpox in May. At once they named sub-commissioners:

Kauai—J.F.B. Marshall, E.P. Bond, and J.W. Smith, M.D.

Maui—P.H. Treadway, J.R. Dow, M.D., and D. Baldwin, M.D.

Hawaii—

Hilo and Puna—B. Pitman, J.H. Coney, and C.H. Wetmore, M.D.

Kau—the Rev. H. Kinney

North and South Kona—P. Cummins, J. Fuller, and the Rev. J.D. Paris

Waimea and Kawaihae—Dr. Nicholl, Mr. Humphries, and Mr. Macey

Their commissions read thus:

Honolulu, May 20th, 1853

Sir:

You are appointed a commissioner to act with _____ and _____ for _____ under the Royal Commissioners of Public Health agreeably with an Act passed the Legislature 16th May instant.

Your obedient Servant

J. Hardy

Sec. to the R.C. of P.H.⁴

Nearly four months later—on September 12—the R.C.P.H. took a backward look: Finding it useless to try to protect Oahu, they had concerned themselves with sparing the outer islands, they reported.⁵ What does the record show?

Smallpox struck Koloa, Kauai, on June 5. The victim recovered, but by June 27 there had been 9 cases and 1 death at Hanalei, on the opposite side of the island.⁶ Meanwhile, nearly everybody on Kauai had been vaccinated as the fight began.

It was a pinchpenny battle. Early in July the R.C.P.H. at Honolulu were clamoring for an exact account of expenses. Chairman Marshall held them off: Expenses were still mounting; communication was slow; Hawaiians were not furnishing proper vouchers.⁷ And further instructions were needed. Were Marshall's crew to stop preventive measures, or continue them at their own expense? Should they act under the authority and orders of the R.C.P.H. as they had done? The answer was: Go ahead, but raise as much money locally as possible; the \$10,000 allotted to the R.C.P.H. could not meet needs. The Honolulu commissioners enclosed a petition to be referred to the people of Kauai. It proposed certain smallpox regulations; if these were

approved, Kauai would be expected to enforce them.⁸

Regulations were passed; Marshall asked the R.C.P.H., if it approved, to sign the notice and have 400 or 500 copies printed--mostly in Hawaiian--for circulation in Honolulu and on Kauai. He wrote that it would be "inexpedient" to prohibit vessels from coming to the island, but added that the going to and fro of Hawaiians was "...a great and unnecessary evil and risk." Expenses incurred to June 30 totaled \$35.00--conditionally--including purchases of houses to be paid for in case they were occupied by smallpox victims.⁹

Despite the new regulations, vessels continued to bring passengers bearing permits signed by S. Porter Ford, M.D. and his aide, Kahanaumaikai. In the middle of August two cases broke out in new and distant localities, the victims having landed from the Pau under permits from Dr. Ford. Up to this time the Kauai subcommissioners had been able to keep the smallpox within its original limits, even though 7 of the 8 deaths recorded had been of people who had brought the disease from Oahu. Marshall urged that the Kauai regulations be strictly enforced; Ford and Kahanaumaikai should stop giving permits.¹⁰

Meanwhile morbid and vital statistics had been accumulating, though slowly:

Report of July 13--Total number of cases on Kauai from the start: 16; total number of deaths: 5; no new cases reported in the past 8 days; cases at Hanamaulu, Waioli and Waimea.¹¹

Report of July 23--Total number of cases from the start: 19; total number of deaths: 6; the smallpox did not seem to spread; of 3 new cases, 2 were from Oahu; one had died--he bathed and died soon.¹²

Report of July 28--Total of cases to date: 23; total of deaths to date: 7.¹³

Report of August 16--Since report of August 1, there had been 2 new cases and 1 death, both at Ko'olau.¹⁴

Report of September 3--Since last report, 4 new cases and 2 deaths.¹⁵

The R.C.P.H. asked for final summaries from all islands in January, 1854. Marshall complied: There had been 29 cases and 10 deaths on Kauai. The smallpox had generally taken a mild form; most of the deaths were believed caused by the "...imprudence and mismanagement..." of the patients and their friends. Two died just after bathing, and a third after having himself rubbed all over with red peppers when the eruption appeared. Seven of the sick caught smallpox in Honolulu, but the disease spread in only two instances. One died at Waioli, and about a dozen cases resulted. The same happened at Ko'olau. Marshall listed the reasons for Kauai's good fortune: (1) About three-fourths of the adult population had been vaccinated several years before; (2) people exposed to smallpox did not contract it; (3) care had been taken to perpetuate good virus by vaccinating healthy children at the start; (4) Kauai's population was rather scattered, so police regulations could be carried out.¹⁶

Maui suffered more. But there was one bright spot: In 1842, Dwight Baldwin had spent 6 or 8 months vaccinating the people, immunizing some 2,000 of about 3,500 (presumably then living in and around Lahaina), and at different times in later years vaccination had been continued.¹⁷ Some reservoir of immunity apparently remained. Baldwin got first-hand experience at the epidemic's source: On June 6, 1853, he traveled to Honolulu and saw there the yellow flags--signs of infection--multiplying as the disease spread. Fortunately, he observed, its victims were "...almost entirely among the vile."¹⁸

Baldwin returned to his Lahaina home on June 11. Drs. Dow and F.W. Hutchison were already vaccinating. Baldwin helped; he also warned the people, riding from point to point and urging that no one be allowed to land from boats under any circumstances.¹⁹ There had already been some trouble. On June 8 Dow had written to

the R.C.P.H. to ask whether the charge for examining coasting vessels should be paid by the vessels or by the government. Thus far the former had paid, with resulting ill feeling, as some said no such fee was required at Honolulu.²⁰

Maui observed its day of fasting and prayer—proclaimed by the king—on June 15.²¹ And still the smallpox held off. On the twenty-first Baldwin went to Kipahulu; the next day Dow reported all clear as before.²² Then on Thursday (the twenty-third) Baldwin went to Kenui's section of Lahaina and examined arms. Of 400, he found 65 needing vaccination or revaccination. Just as he had nearly finished, a messenger reported a case of smallpox. Dow went, and found a woman—"a vile"—sick near the king's palace, and makai of Baldwin's meeting house. She had come from Oahu 12 days before. The yellow flag went up in Lahaina for the first time.²³

Fear and rage swept the town. There had been thus far 3 cases of smallpox in the harbor, and once a ship bearing the disease had turned back to Honolulu. Maui citizens blamed the R.C.P.H.—who, they said, had let vessel after vessel come to scatter people all over the island. Already, reports ran, 3 smallpox sufferers from Oahu had been landed at Kipahulu.²⁴

As soon as the sick woman was discovered, townsmen—both native and foreign—held a mass meeting. They resolved to ask the R.C.P.H. to forbid anybody to embark for Maui, and to stop landing of freight and passengers from Oahu.²⁵ While they met, J.S. Green was writing from Makawao; he reported no smallpox but a need for vaccine. A little had been sent from Lahaina four weeks before, and missionaries had been vaccinating.²⁶

Lahaina's problem got fresh emphasis that same Thursday night when a ship from Oahu brought another 12 passengers. Determined that they should not mix with Lahainans, Dow and Baldwin spent most of Friday morning looking for a quarantine house. Baldwin then wrote to Honolulu, begging a stop to the stream of travelers, and after that occupied 3 hours vaccinating at Timoteo's apana (district).²⁷

As early as June 8, Lahaina's residents had been collecting materials for a smallpox hospital.²⁸ The spot picked for it was the "north coconut grove" at Mala. A rowboat was used to transport patients from Lahaina.²⁹ The first case—the one found on June 23—made the trip on Saturday night, June 25. With her went 6 or 7 others living in the same house. The sick woman had varioloid only; she recovered without transmitting the disease to anybody else.³⁰

A "real" case of smallpox came to light on Sunday, June 26. It was a young woman from Oahu, living on a back street in a thick cluster of houses. Her illness had been concealed for several days. The problem: How to get her safely out of town. Dow got a boat, Baldwin emptied the narrow road, and the sufferer walked through back streets by the chapel and down to the skiff, which took her to Mala. The rest of that Sunday all 3 Lahaina doctors spent vaccinating.³¹ On the very day (Wednesday, June 29) that Dow reported these 2 cases—plus 7 others at Kipahulu—a ship from Oahu landed 80 people at Lahaina.³² And that night the young woman at Mala died.

Meanwhile, the R.C.P.H. had penned their reply to the Maui petition: There would be no embargo on passengers from Oahu; the commissioners felt that they had done all they could by appointing agents and instructing them to allow none to sail unless on urgent business and protected by vaccination. Also, there was a boarding physician at Lahaina who could refuse landing permission to any who appeared to have smallpox. The commissioners did agree to approve any quarantine rules that Maui might want.³³

Vaccination went on continuously. Baldwin, Dow and Hutchison worked through Lahaina, Olowalu and other areas; missionary Edward Bailey immunized Wailuku and Makawao.³⁴ And the smallpox confined itself to Lahaina and Kipahulu. All was quiet

during the first week of July. But from the seventh to the thirteenth, Dow noted 16 new cases, 1 in Lahaina and 15 in the neighborhood of Kipahulu and Hana. At Kipahulu, 6 had died.³⁵ The Lahaina case was a man from Oahu living in Kuakamauna's yard; he had varioloid only, and none took the disease from him.³⁶ Chairman Treadway of the Maui sub-commissioners now pronounced Lahaina healthy and free from smallpox—and so well vaccinated that he predicted there would not be enough cases to leave any infection behind. To this the editor of the Polynesian in beleaguered Honolulu rejoined that Lahaina might get its turn later.³⁷

But it never did, really. Various reports show developments to the latter part of August:

For the week ending July 20: 1 new case at Lahaina and 1 at Keahakuloa. No deaths.³⁸

For the week ending July 27: 3 new cases on Maui. Six deaths—1 at Lahaina, 5 at Kipahulu.³⁹

Summary (about August 1): 7 cases to date in Lahaina—3 smallpox (2 died and 1 recovered) and 4 varioloid. Two of the 7 were at Lahainaluna, and 6 were from Oahu. The seventh—and the first "home" case in Lahaina—was a little girl with light varioloid.⁴⁰ She lived a little way back from the seamen's hospital and had slept with a woman from Oahu. From the girl another took it and was concealed for a week in a house. When this latter case came to light, the house was burned, as had been proclaimed.⁴¹ All patients had been taken at once to the smallpox hospital in the coconut grove about 1½ miles north of the business part of Lahaina. And the town's entire population had been vaccinated several times. Drs. Dow and Hutchinson had done most of the work, sometimes meeting the people at their school houses. In the past Hawaiians had vaccinated, but the practice had been dropped. The status of Baldwin's field was: Molokai free of smallpox and all vaccinated; Wailuku, Waihee and Waiehu free and all vaccinated; Honolulu, Ku'a, Makawao and Hamakua free, with vaccination progressing. But smallpox was spreading at Kipahulu and Hana, and other districts in that part of the island were unprotected.⁴²

For week ending August 10: 8 new cases on Maui, no deaths.⁴³

Chief Justice W.L. Lee made a smallpox inspection tour in August. He reached Lahaina on the thirteenth, and reported the disease in complete control. Lee credited it to this: Whenever a case appeared, all people living in and around the yard were sent to the hospital and inoculated. Not one case had been lost through inoculation.⁴⁴

For the week ending August 24: 6 new cases, 3 deaths.⁴⁵

A hospital report, dated about August 15, and made by F.W. Hutchinson, the doctor in charge, showed: cases to hospital since June 25—19. Seventeen boys sent to Lahainaluna from Honolulu had been confined together since their arrival. Vaccination failures (when they occurred) were blamed on skin infections or rupture of vesicles from carelessness or scratching.⁴⁶ Hutchinson added that there should be a proper vaccination establishment, and—to support its work—a law compelling vaccination. He suggested that the government apply to the Royal Jennerian and London Vaccine Establishment for scabs (which he called the only method for transporting in warm climates). At this place the best quality scabs could always be got.⁴⁷

Baldwin's summary for Lahaina, dated August 25: Hundreds had landed every month from Oahu, yet only about 20 had developed smallpox. Five, all from Oahu, had died. Baldwin credited vaccination.⁴⁸ Later he wrote: Twenty-two times smallpox had been brought in from Oahu, yet only 6 or 7 (including a woman and a little girl from Lahaina) had died.⁴⁹

But there were complaints. S.M. Kamakau, the Hawaiian scholar and author, sent a letter to the R.C.P.H. accusing Maui officials of concentrating on Lahaina and

neglecting other parts of the island. The R.C.P.H. let Treadway and his colleagues know about this, "trusting" that the best provision would be made for those sick at Kipahulu and elsewhere.⁵⁰

The Maui sub-commissioners hired Dr. John Rae to vaccinate in the eastern districts. He traveled from Makawao through Kula to Honaula, then around the south to Hana and back north to Hamakua. Following his tour he burst into the columns of the Polynesian with a long and critical report of affairs on Maui.⁵¹ He had too little vaccine, and the commissioners could not supply it; of the four doctors on Maui, two were in Lahaina; medical men should be sent to other localities; though the sick were often abandoned through fear, many could be saved; the government was obligated to help the Hawaiians, who now depended on it for salvation.

Others challenged these Raeings: The Polynesian had always understood that the Maui sub-commissioners were energetic and vigilant; if Rae would show them their shortcomings, they would be remedied. After all, the ministers of government were not those empowered by law to look after details. And the R.C.P.H. had delegated all of its power to the sub-commissioners at the start.⁵²

At the end of September, Baldwin made his own tour through East Maui, retracing Rae's route. On his return he reported 63 dead at Hana, 27 at Kipahulu, 15 at Kaupo, 2 at Kahikinui, and 2 in the vicinity of Makawao.⁵³ Meanwhile—on September 19—he had reported on matters at Lahaina: Sixty-three people had been inoculated by Mr. Hutchinson; 31 had no after-effects, while 5 took light cases of smallpox; there had been a total of 25 cases (11 at Lahainaluna, all from Oahu; 6 at Lahaina, shortly after landing from Oahu; 1 case from Hawaii; 7 "home cases"; and 7 deaths (5 of people from Oahu and 2 of Lahaina residents). Eleven of the 25 cases had been severe.⁵⁴ At the time of reporting there were no cases, not even in the hospital. Nor had there been any new smallpox sufferers since August 27, when a fatal case developed.⁵⁵ For the past six or seven weeks Baldwin had been vaccinating from 1 to 6 newborn babes each week. All of the vaccinations had taken.⁵⁶

Alarms and reports continued. Dow had sent one man to the hospital with a "...big crop of mosquito bites."⁵⁷ "Unprincipled foreigners" passing through to Hawaii grumbled when Maui authorities tried to prevent their landing.⁵⁸ Vessels kept bringing visitors—and smallpox—from Oahu, and Mauians kept writing letters of protest.⁵⁹ Occasional cases appeared up to January, 1854, and vaccine proved unreliable at times.⁶⁰

Treadway made a final report on March 8, 1854. There had been 280 cases and 124 deaths on Maui. Hana had been hardest hit.⁶¹ But Lahaina had felt the protecting hand of Providence. Two years after the epidemic, the church there voted to tear down and rebuild Hale Halawai. The new structure commemorated Lahaina's escape; it was named Hale Aloha.⁶²

The overall picture on Hawaii is not as clear; the size of the island required several sets of sub-commissioners, and the quality of their reporting varied widely. But there was much suffering.

At Hilo and Puna, Wetmore, Pitman and Coney started to work as soon as they received their appointments. But it was too late. About ten days before the R.C.P.H. letter arrived, a schooner brought smallpox from Honolulu. A case turned up 8 or 10 miles from Hilo, and by June 13 another was rumored some 30 miles away, and 7 more about 15 or 20 miles distant.⁶³ Wetmore vaccinated 700 or 800 people, and hoped to serve a much larger number the following week. Meanwhile Hiloans were putting up a large pesthouse on a little uninhabited island in Hilo Bay. In town the yellow flag was flying.⁶⁴

By July 1, Honolulu rumors told of a terrible epidemic at Hilo, but a letter from there dated June 24 listed only 2 mild cases.⁶⁵ On June 27 the Hilo-Puna

sub-commissioners met. They resolved: (1) to hire two or more people to attend the hospital (George Coleman, a foreigner, was employed at \$2.00 a day); (2) to appoint a boarding officer who would also attend the sick in the hospital and do general duty (a Mr. Barnes was hired at \$2.00 a day); (3) to send agents through Hilo and Puna supplied with good vaccine and instruments for vaccinating (Burenapa did this for Hilo, and John Ho'oai for Puna); (4) to put up a house on Cocoanut Island for hospital attendants and as a depot for supplies (Mr. Coney superintended the building).⁶⁶

Four days later they decided to build a house at Puhonua to receive sick foreigners, and on July 3 they accepted Dr. John Pelham's plan to prevent the spread of smallpox. Mr. Louis Paris was appointed to take charge of the infected gulch of Kahalii; Pelham, after seeing his scheme fully established, would go on to Laupahoe-hoe and take control there. Dr. Patterson of Honolulu was to be hired as physician at Kahalii, with Paris helping him as interpreter.⁶⁷ On July 5, Mr. Mayor was engaged to carry out Pelham's plans at Puna, at a wage of \$1.00 a day and expenses.⁶⁸

This date—July 5—marked the first time the commissioners had met as a whole. Dr. Wetmore's home was the scene. The group resolved to: (1) buy a house already built at Puhonua, and (2) from that week (if there were no smallpox outbreak in Hilo) to put a 14-day quarantine on coasting vessels coming from a port where smallpox was known to exist.⁶⁹ The commissioners visited several houses at Puhonua, but the occupants would neither rent nor sell them; they then decided to build a hospital for foreigners "...on the third hill of (illegible)", for which purpose Mr. Reed was employed and started to work at once. This was on July 6.

Meanwhile the smallpox had been ravaging a 20-mile district between Laupahoe-hoe and Kahalii. By July 1 there had been 78 cases and 14 deaths. Pelham was the only doctor available; Charles Wetmore was down with varioloid, but had nearly recovered.⁷⁰ Wetmore was the one who had called the Hawaiians together to arrange for a hospital. Choosing one of their number as overseer, they had put up a house 58x15 feet between Saturday and Tuesday night. Ironically, Wetmore was the first to occupy it.⁷¹

The sub-commissioners met again at Wetmore's on July 9, when they considered the best means of carrying out the plans of Pelham and Burenapa. They adopted the latter's proposal for Kahalii and chose him to put it into effect. Patterson would be the physician and Paris the interpreter, as before agreed. Pitman they asked to be banker and treasurer for the sub-commission, furnishing money until some definite arrangements could be made. He was to discover whether Messrs. Lyman, Austin and others would be willing to advance funds.⁷²

On the eleventh a Hawaiian, Ioe, was hired at \$1.00 a day to help George Coleman at the Cocoanut Island hospital. If and when a case of malignant smallpox was isolated there, his pay would rise to \$1.50 a day.⁷³

Pitman now reported to the R.C.P.H. He wrote that the sub-commissioners could not meet the requirement of weekly reports; agents were not sending in communications, and the Hawaiians were so afraid of the epidemic that they sometimes refused to carry messages. He forwarded the resolution concerning quarantine of coasting vessels, with this note: On the evening of July 10, the schooner Kulimanu had arrived; no case of smallpox having yet appeared in Hilo, the ship was quarantined. Two visits before, this vessel had brought the first case of the sickness to Hawaii; therefore, "...her arrival has been regarded by the natives with feelings of no friendly character."⁷⁴ In all, 96 cases and 23 deaths were on record, and the smallpox was still confined to Laupahoe-hoe and Kahalii. But there had been no report since June 30. Agents of the sub-commission had been vaccinating rapidly in all sections.⁷⁵

Another meeting on July 14 heard that Lyman, Austin, Worth and Mills had refused to advance money, for one reason or another. Pitman agreed to put up cash,

providing he was repaid in current silver coin at a premium of 3 per cent. The conditions were accepted. Austin asked to serve as secretary, and the sub-commissioners then resolved to: (1) bring in 2 schoolboys and instruct them in treating smallpox; (2) pay Dr. Pelham, for his "arduous services", \$2.00 a day; (3) pay Dr. Patterson and Louis Paris \$1.50 a day each; (4) instruct Pitman to call in all bills and pay them with the approval of the commissioners.⁷⁶

By July 26, there had been 120 cases (12 of them varioloid) and 75 deaths. Hilo proper still had not experienced a single case, the epidemic yet being limited to its original locations. The smallpox had nearly run its course at Kahalii, where there had been no case since about July 16. Pelham came down with smallpox on July 17, and received the special thanks of the sub-commissioners for his labors.⁷⁷ Burenapa at Kahalii and Pelham at Laupahoehoe got orders to satisfy themselves of the eradication of the smallpox by death or recovery, then to destroy all infection by burning or fumigation and raise the strict quarantine.⁷⁸

From this point the record becomes even more sketchy. By August 22 there had been 3 deaths at the hospital, a mile from Hilo, where Wetmore stayed.⁷⁹ A few days later Wetmore was writing about paying assistants for the month of June 18-July 18. He suggested \$5.00 apiece; they wanted \$8.00 for their work of vaccinating, examining arms, etc.⁸⁰ The sub-commissioners asked permission to destroy pulu exposed to smallpox, but the R.C.P.H. turned them down to save money; sun and air would disinfect the stuff.⁸¹

By the middle of October there was no smallpox in Hilo or its vicinity. The port was declared safe for shipping; indeed, the first whaler of the season had arrived more than a month earlier, on September 5.⁸² Puna was clean by November 11, but at this time a convalescent case burdened Hilo, where disease had re-appeared, evidently.⁸³ It is clear, though, that the town suffered little; minutes of the missionaries' general meeting noted that "...probably no community of the same size on the Islands ...suffered less from the prevailing epidemic the last year."⁸⁴

Titus Coan made a final estimate of mortality. There had been, he wrote, some 150 deaths at two points in Hilo district and one in Puna. A day of fasting and prayer had ushered in the epidemic. A day of thanksgiving marked the end of the plague. Collections netted \$400.00.⁸⁵

Kau district was luckier--or more vigilant. The epidemic, though expected, did not appear. The Rev. H. Kinney, sub-commissioner, summarized affairs late in July: Having got no vaccine from Oahu, he sent to Dr. Wetmore at Hilo for some. It was none too soon. Refugees from disease-stricken sections rushed to Kau for safety. But maka'i (guards) posted at various spots turned away strangers and quarantined returning residents. On the whole they worked pretty faithfully, some standing duty for two weeks. If the guards were to be paid, Kinney recommended a wage of not more than 25 cents a day, perhaps less.⁸⁶

He did manage to get good virus after some time, taking it from young people the seventh and eighth days after vaccination. Most adults had been vaccinated a few years previously, and with almost no exception, the Kau people underwent immunization from 2 to 5 times. Kinney did most of the work himself, not having full confidence in Hawaiian assistants. Two boys had been handed over to the judge for refusing to give virus from their arms; they were fined \$2.00 each. Others fed through the judicial mill were people from Oahu who ran away from their assigned quarters.⁸⁷

With vaccination done, the maka'i were withdrawn; however, they and others were told to be watchful, and to report all strangers at once. As late as February 1, 1854, no case of smallpox had yet occurred. But VD was on the increase, especially among the young. Many were enfeebled for life, or hurried to the grave. Most women who went to Oahu came back diseased, according to Kinney.⁸⁸

Smallpox invaded Kona early in June in the person of a woman carried up from Honolulu by the Ha'alilio. It was the usual story: She settled in a cluster of houses, there was much visiting from near and far, and by the time the case was identified it was too late to check the disease's spread.⁸⁹ Sub-commissioner P. Cummings viewed the patient. What he saw convinced him that she did indeed have smallpox. And he was experienced; earlier, 22 cases had broken out aboard a ship he commanded.

A doctor came, but he just looked at the woman's face and left the house without making any examination. He did, however, confirm Cummings' diagnosis. A day-and-night watch was mounted over the five houses involved, and a man hired to provide them with food, water and wood. The victim was not very sick, having a good appetite and being able to leave her quarters to answer "calls of nature".⁹⁰

By June 20 there had been 11 cases, 5 of them fatal; 9 of the cases and 4 of the deaths had been in one family.⁹¹ A month later the Rev. J.D. Paris, reporting from South Kona, wrote of many deaths. In some instances, whole families had been cut off. The common schools were shut down, and Paris was busy vaccinating.⁹²

It was not until the second week in August that J. Fuller, at Kealahakua, received a note—dated June 20—making him a sub-commissioner. A few days later he got a second message; both he and Paris had been replaced for neglect of duty. The new officials were Captain Cummings and Governor Kapeau. Fuller returned his commission to Honolulu, remarking that he knew both the informer and his motives, but pledging to continue the fight against smallpox. The chief danger, wrote Fuller, was the arrival of ships from Honolulu.⁹³

Cummings was angry. Kapeau, he heard, had written to Honolulu, charging Cummings with negligence and Fuller and Paris with complete inactivity. If not satisfied, the R.C.P.H. could appoint somebody else. But if no one had done anything, how was it that the smallpox had not spread more?⁹⁴

This was in the middle of August. To date, Cummings knew of 112 cases and 69 deaths in his district. At the time there were only 2 new cases. He wrote: "... I think it could be stoped [sic] if we could prevent any more importations."⁹⁵ To the south there had been 73 cases and 41 deaths, but no new patients for more than a month, and no cases within 3 miles of the bay.

Cummings regretted the firing of Fuller and Paris, as he needed somebody to consult. And a wide area had to be covered: "Persons have been landed from the 'Ha'alilio' at 7 different villages who have died with the smallpox the distance between the two farthest [sic] villages is from 30 to 35 miles..." At the first 2 villages struck by smallpox there had been 84 cases and 45 deaths.⁹⁶

The R.C.P.H. had not acknowledged Cummings' reports, and for this reason he decided to quit writing them for a time. Anyhow, outside help had been worthless:

Sherman has not yet landed to have him landed here would cause a riot; I shall try to have him landed at Kailua with the Doctor. Hope the Dr. will meet expectations. I do not think he done the first thing for any person sick with the S.P. before he went to Honolulu....I cannot forget that Herrick an M.D. in practice should remain in the district some 2 months and never visit or prescribe for one person sick with the sm Pox during the whole time.⁹⁷

A reply from the R.C.P.H. tried to placate Cummings: Reports were not usually acknowledged except in a general way in the Polynesian; Cummings' agency had been very satisfactory; Gov. Kapeau had been appointed to act with Cummings because the two were in constant communication; when the doctor was employed, the R.C.P.H. had taken it for granted that he was competent and that his services were absolutely required, but Cummings and Kapeau could fire him. Herrick had taken tea, rice, sugar and bread sent up by Marshal W.C. Parke, and more would be furnished on order.⁹⁸

To the north, in Kohala, the Rev. E.H. Bond struggled with typical problems. At the start he faced trouble: He needed good vaccine matter. Several Hawaiians had returned from Honolulu, a large proportion "vaccinated" with spurious stuff. Also, Hawaiians from Honolulu were "immunizing" scores with matter from old ulcers or any suppurating wound, assuring people that it made no difference. This, wrote Bond, should be a penal offense.⁹⁹

Bond was glad that the R.C.P.H. had tabooed the departure of unvaccinated people from Oahu. But he was soon convinced that the enforcement lagged. Informers told him that returning Kohalans had "scarified their own arms with a needle" or something similar and had thus passed inspection. Bond warned: "Such expedients will...be resorted to if they can be."¹⁰⁰ Since June 10, 2 shiploads of passengers had come from Oahu--some from houses actually infected with smallpox. Not one person had had any official business. From 50 to 80 were landing every week or two. They scattered at once to escape notice, and could not be tracked down.¹⁰¹

So the smallpox came. On June 27, Bond reported 2 cases imported under sanction of Kanaumakai's [sic] signature, and "...another shipment of the disease doubtless in individuals with certificates from the native you have empowered to give them. For they have certificates, but no genuine vaccination!"¹⁰² Fresh infection came every few days, some of it from Kawaihae. Passengers from Honolulu landing there and finding the plague already raging, came up into the southern part of Bond's district.¹⁰³

On Friday, July 1, Captain Namaile of the Kalaikini, belonging to Ka'alumui of Ko'olau or Honolulu, Oahu, brought 3 passengers from Hana, Maui to Mahukona. The people had no permits. The sub-luna at Mahukona ordered them back to Hana in accordance with R.C.P.H. rules. But they insisted on landing, and while the sub-luna was on his way to report to Bond, the ship sailed, contrary to orders.¹⁰⁴ When the R.C.P.H. learned of this, they ordered Namaile to be prosecuted before Judge C.C. Harris.¹⁰⁵

The first case in Kohala had been brought in via Kawaihae by a girl from Honolulu. She came to be treated by a Hawaiian doctor who guaranteed a cure. Dr. James Wight took over the case at once; the house was declared ho'okapu and a guard of constables put on watch around the clock. At the time vaccination was just starting in Kohala. The other residents of the house were vaccinated and quarantined.¹⁰⁶

The girl died on July 4. Just before this, a man and his daughter came from Honolulu. They sickened in 8 or 10 days, and the man died on July 14. In the house where the first case lodged, 6 died and 3 recovered. Four other people, friends of the first patient, entered the house secretly, though warned. Three of them died.¹⁰⁷ Bond blamed 2 or 3 deaths on cold bathing recommended, against instructions, by Hawaiian doctors.

In the north sector, 12 died. Another 13 died in the extreme south, just bordering on Kawaihae. Dr. Wight made the 14-mile trip down there two or three times; capable Hawaiians did the rest. Bond credited a scarcity of water in the south with saving many lives.¹⁰⁸

The last fatality occurred on August 2, bringing the total to 25. There had been little public excitement, and no violence, though in the place adjoining Kawaihae there had been a tendency at first to what Bond called "fanatical movements" and a threatening attitude toward the guarding constables. After several Hawaiian doctors had died, the people were more willing to submit to the care of foreigners. During the epidemic, Bond and Wight were busy vaccinating; eventually they immunized a large part of the population 4 times. Expenses totaled \$14.00: \$5.00 for horse hire for Wight; \$2.50 for burying the dead; \$6.50 for activities during June.¹¹⁰

The sub-commissioner relayed these stories:

A Hawaiian doctor in the south found a puddle of dirty water; he then prescribed daily baths for his patients. After several days of this, a cow drank the water, took smallpox, and died. Not a single life was saved until the doctor himself expired.¹¹¹

A man, trying to go to his father, fled the smallpox hospital at night with his wife. She died in the woods about a mile away. He, "...a horrible mass of putrefaction...", struggled on another 4 or 5 miles to his father's house. But it was in vain. At the son's approach the family ran away. A guard watched the dying man until he breathed his last the next day.¹¹²

Although Bond had been writing since June 20, the R.C.P.H. got no word from him until August 3, when all his reports were delivered together. McCoughtry, then the secretary, replied the same day: Dr. Wight would be entitled to whatever pay Bond thought reasonable; the doctor should make up a list of needed medicines; meanwhile, Dr. Hoffmann of Honolulu would send remedies being used in that city, in value not to exceed \$25.00; the R.C.P.H. was sorry that Bond had found it so hard to enforce quarantine, but the same troubles had beset every place where there had been an attempt at enforcement.¹¹³

On August 24, Bond reported the smallpox definitely conquered "...by the blessing of God upon our efforts," and Dr. Wight opposed to receiving pay. The doctor was to visit Honolulu. Would the R.C.P.H. give him medicines? Hoffmann had sent nothing.¹¹⁴

Kawaihae and Waimea had their own sub-commissioners. Smallpox struck early--on June 3--with a case so malignant that the resulting corpse had to be buried in a coffin, rather than a mat.¹¹⁵ Dr. Nicholl was called away on June 6. And up to the time of Chairman Humphreys' first report (June 27) the district had been without vaccine, medicine or doctor. The sub-commissioners had furnished everything from their own pockets. Casualties to that date included 17 cases and 4 deaths, all at Kawaihae. Although there was no doctor nearer than Kohala or Hamakua, vaccination was going on freely, using lymph from arms, or, more generally, scabs. A grass house, a halau (canoe shed) and some matting had been burned, and additional expense incurred for digging graves. The question was, would the owners be compensated? The number of constables had been increased, and they would be required to dig graves in the future.¹¹⁶

But the constables deserted their posts and ran away. Humphreys replaced them with two convalescents, at the wage of \$5.00 a month each. These employees both nursed and buried. Humphreys himself took a boat to Puako to vaccinate there--another \$5.00 spent. But at Puako he met "...violent opposition and absolute refusal on the part of the natives...", and had to turn back after nearly an hour's fruitless parley.¹¹⁷

From the last week in June to July 23, 33 cases resulted in 19 deaths. Utter destitution faced the sick. So much clothing had been burned that scarcely any remained. Humphreys asked for calico, denim and new mats. His modus operandi was this: Two patients were lodged under one mat shed. Here they could help each other a bit. Then, when death emptied the shed, it was burned.¹¹⁸

Judge Lee, touring the islands, wrote on August 15: "This morning we landed at the Godforsaken port of Kawaihae." He added that his ship brought 2 cases of smallpox, which had broken out the day before, and that he expected more cases before reaching Hilo. Lee reported Humphreys doing good service at Kawaihae; disease had come to both Waimea and Hamakua. North Kohala was making a good fight, but the smallpox was slowly eating its way up from the shore. Lee continued: "All find fault with you R.C.P.H. for allowing vessels to leave Oahu and scatter death wherever they touch."¹¹⁹

As soon as he landed at Kawaihae, Lee got a note advising him not to go on, as he would be put in quarantine for 14 days. The judge felt such strict measures justified because, as he wrote, "Several villages have escaped the Small Pox on this Island, by stowing away every man who makes his appearance..."¹²⁰ Puako, three miles from Kawaihae, was one such place. Lee feared, however, that disease would steal in from Waimea.

To August 20, Humphreys noted at Kawaihae 39 cases and 24 deaths, with 3 currently ill and 12 recovered. The two most recent cases had been passengers landed from Lee's ship, the Kekauluohi. Humphreys renewed his plea for denim—4 pieces—and for some 50 to 100 mats at 25 cents each.¹²¹ There was still no doctor. Humphreys, who was collector for the port, and Judge Johnstone were caring for the stricken.¹²²

Kawaihae had suffered much indeed. Of the original population of 150, 40 or 42 fell ill, and 28 or 29 died.¹²³ In April, 1853, the church there had 100 communicants; after the epidemic there were only 24, and not a youth among them. The others were dead, sick, convalescent, or gone.¹²⁴ The timely arrival of rice and other supplies from Honolulu did relieve some misery.

Observers described the epidemic's impact: Panic ruled when the smallpox appeared. Many fled their homes and took to the woods. In all parishes crowds gathered for prayer and exhortation. School and work were abandoned; the people seemed obsessed with the idea that they must pray or die. They thought that hundreds were perishing in Honolulu because of their sinful ways.¹²⁵

Eventually smallpox came to 4 places in the district. Some tried to help the sick and dying, but most "...seemed divested of every particle of humanity." The nearest relatives were left to suffer, starve, die and rot unburied.¹²⁶ In Kawaihae, at the height of the sickness, the people sat in apathy. Part of their village had been burned; a yellow flag flew over nearly all the houses left standing.¹²⁷

Lorenzo Lyons, who vaccinated and helped in other ways, had these stories to tell:

A man thought he would show his bravery. A stranger had passed through, broken out with smallpox, and slept in a cave near the brave one's house. When the stranger left, the other entered the cave and rolled around in it. He took sick, died, and lay unburied for several days. His wife soon followed him in death.¹²⁸

A helpless, sick child and its pet pig were abandoned in a house. The child recovered from smallpox but starved to death, shunned and deserted by all. Neighbors then burned down the house over its pitiable tenants. Both Americans and Hawaiians stood by while this tragedy ran its course.¹²⁹

Statistics gleaned from reports vary in completeness and reliability. But those available indicate an overall mortality of about 51 per cent. Tabulated, they show:

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>CASES</u>	<u>DEATHS</u>
Kauai	29	10
Maui	280	124
Hilo and Puna	<u>300</u>	150 (about)
Kau	0	0
North Kona	112*	69*
South Kona	73*	41*
Kohala	<u>50</u>	25
Kawaihae and Waimea	<u>43</u>	<u>29</u>
TOTALS	887	448

*As interpreted from Cummings' report of August 17. Not included are the 84 cases and 45 deaths listed as occurring in the first 2 villages infected. It is

assumed that these figures are included in those given for North Kona.

Brackets indicate figures interpolated, assuming a mortality rate of 50 per cent. Districts reporting both cases and deaths noted 536 and 273, respectively, or a mortality rate of .5094

It appears, then, that the outer islands had in comparison to Oahu: (1) a much lower rate of infection, but (2) possibly a higher rate of mortality among the infected. Isolation, quarantine, and vaccination accounted for the first; a presumably inferior level of care could have been responsible for the second.

What of the Royal Commissioners of Public Health? Had they really spared Oahu's sister islands? The evidence indicates otherwise. A strict taboo on inter-island shipping, imposed on the day when smallpox was first discovered in Honolulu, could have been effective. But the policy of letting people--supposedly vaccinated--flee Honolulu at will had its inevitable consequence. Whatever immunity the outer islands enjoyed resulted, it seems, from their location and their own programs of vaccination and quarantine.

NOTES

1. R.C. Schmitt, "Population Characteristics of Hawaii, 1778-1850," Hawaii Historical Review, I, No. 11 (April, 1965), p. 200.
2. J.F.B. Marshall to Health Commissioners, Honolulu, July 8, 1853. Board of Health Records, July 1-11, 1853. Archives of Hawaii. Hereafter cited as BH, with appropriate date. Year will be 1853 unless otherwise noted; Marshall to Commissioners, February, 1854. F.O. and Ex., Smallpox Epidemic, 1853, Folder 2. Archives of Hawaii. Hereafter cited by folder number only; R. Armstrong's Report on Vaccination to the Privy Council, October 24, 1853, Folder 2.
3. Mary Charlotte Alexander, Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina (Berkeley, Calif.: Privately Printed, 1953), pp. 235-236.
4. Polynesian, May 21, 1853. Spelling of names is given as it appeared in the newspaper. Correct spellings are: Cummings, Humphreys, and (elsewhere) Hutchison.
5. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
6. J.W. Smith to J. Hardy, June 27. BH January-June.
7. Marshall to Health Commissioners, July 8. BH July 1-11.
8. J. Hardy to J.F.B. Marshall, July 13. BH July 12-25.
9. Marshall to R.C.P.H., July 19. BH July 12-25.
10. Marshall to Gent., August 25. BH August 25-31.
11. J.W. Smith to Hardy, July 13. BH July 12-25.
12. Smith to Hardy, July 23. BH July 12-25.
13. Smith to Hardy, July 28. BH July 26-31.
14. Smith to Hardy, August 16. BH August 9-24.
15. Smith to Hardy, September 3. BH September-December.
16. Marshall to Commissioners of Public Health, February, 1854. Folder 2.
17. Alexander, op. cit., p. 232; Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
18. Alexander, op. cit., p. 234.
19. Ibid., pp. 232-234.
20. J.R. Dow to J. Hardy, June 8. BH January-June.
21. Alexander, op. cit., p. 233.
22. Ibid., p. 233; J.R. Dow to R.C.P.H., June 22. BH January-June.
23. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 234, 236.
24. Ibid., pp. 233-234.
25. G.D. Gilman to R.C.P.H., June 24 (in Hawaiian). Folder 1.
26. Letter, June 23, in Polynesian, July 9, 1853.
27. Alexander, op. cit., p. 234.

28. Dow to Hardy, June 8.
29. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 233, 235.
30. Ibid., pp. 234, 236.
31. Ibid., pp. 234-237.
32. Dow to R.C.P.H., June 29. BH January-June; Alexander, op. cit., p. 235.
33. J. Hardy to Moku, June 27. BH January-June.
34. Alexander, op. cit., p. 235.
35. Dow to R.C.P.H., July 13. BH July 12-25.
36. Alexander, op. cit., p. 237; P.H. Treadway in Polynesian, July 16, 1853.
37. Ibid.
38. Dow to Gent., July 20. BH July 12-25.
39. Dow to Gent., July 27. BH July 26-31.
40. Baldwin in the Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
41. Alexander, op. cit., p. 237.
42. Baldwin in Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
43. Dow to Gent., August 10. BH August 9-24.
44. W.L. Lee to R.C.P.H., August 15. BH August 9-24.
45. Dow to Gent., August 24. BH August 9-24.
46. Polynesian, August 20, 1853.
47. Ibid.
48. D. Baldwin, August 25, 1853, in The Missionary Herald, XLIX, No. 12 (December, 1853), p. 379.
49. Alexander, op. cit., p. 239.
50. R.C.P.H. to Sub-Commissioners at Lahaina, August 6. Folder 1.
51. P.H. Treadway to R.C.P.H., March 8, 1854. Folder 3; Polynesian, September 24, 1853.
52. Ibid.
53. Alexander, op. cit., p. 238.
54. Polynesian, October 1, 1853.
55. J.R. Dow in Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
56. Polynesian, October 1, 1853.
57. Alexander, op. cit., p. 238.
58. Ibid.
59. Polynesian, November 19 and December 24, 1853.
60. F. Hutchison to T.C.B. Rooke, October 6, 1854; P.H. Treadway to R.C.P.H., March 8, 1854. Folder 3.
61. Folder 3.
62. Alexander, op. cit., p. 240.
63. C.H. Wetmore to J. Hardy, June 13. BH January-June.
64. Ibid.
65. Polynesian, July 2, 1853.
66. "Proceedings of the Subcommissioners of Public Health for the Districts of Hilo and Puna," July 26, 1853. BH July 26-31.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. B. Pitman to J. Hardy, July 1. BH July 1-11.
71. The Missionary Herald, XLIX, No. 12 (December, 1853), p. 377.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. B. Pitman to J. Hardy, July 11. BH July 1-11.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.

77. John Gaskin, secretary, to J. Hardy, July 26. BH July 26-31.
78. "Proceedings..."
79. The Missionary Herald, XLIX, No. 12 (December, 1853), p. 378.
80. Wetmore to Pitman, August 25. BH August 25-31.
81. J. Hardy to J. Gaskin, August 30. BH August 25-31.
82. Polynesian, October 15, 1853.
83. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 2 (February, 1854), p. 58.
84. Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Held at Honolulu, May and June, 1854 (Honolulu: American Mission Press, 1854), p. 5.
85. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 6 (June, 1854), p. 165.
86. H. Kinney to J. Hardy, July 28. BH July 26-31.
87. Ibid.
88. Kinney to Sec'y. of Royal Health Commission, February 1, 1854. Folder 2.
89. P. Cummings to J. Hardy, June 10. BH January-June.
90. Ibid.
91. P. Cummings to J. Hardy, June 20. BH January-June.
92. The Missionary Herald, XLIX, No. 12 (December, 1853), pp. 376-377.
93. J. Fuller to J. Hardy, August 16. BH August 9-24.
94. P. Cummings to W.C. Parke, August 17. BH August 9-24.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. J. Hardy to P. Cummings, August 24. BH August 9-24.
99. E. Bond to R.C.P.H., June 20. BH January-June.
100. E. Bond to Gentlemen, June 24. BH January-June. Letter received August 3.
101. Ibid.
102. E. Bond to Gentlemen, June 27. BH January-June. Letter received August 3.
103. Ibid.
104. E. Bond to R.C.P.H., July 4.
105. H.W. McCoughtry to H.S. Swinton, Prefect of Police, Honolulu, August 3. BH August 25-31.
106. E. Bond to R.C.P.H., February 13, 1854. Folder 2.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. E. Bond to Gentlemen, July 30. BH January-June. Misfiled?
111. Letter of February 13, 1854.
112. Ibid.
113. McCoughtry to Bond, August 3. BH August 25-31.
114. E. Bond to Gentlemen, August 24 and 25. BH August 9-24.
115. Wm. Humphreys et al to R.C.P.H., June 27. BH January-June.
116. Ibid.
117. Humphreys to J. Hardy, July 23. BH July 12-25.
118. Ibid.
119. W.L. Lee to R.C.P.H., August 15. BH August 9-24.
120. Ibid.
121. Humphreys to R.C.P.H., August 24. BH August 25-31.
122. Polynesian, August 6, 1853.
123. Polynesian, September 17, 1853.
124. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 6 (June, 1854), pp. 166-167.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.

127. A Haole [G.W. Bates], Sandwich Island Notes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1854), p. 391.
128. The Missionary Herald, L, No. 6 (June, 1854), pp. 166-167.
129. Ibid.

EARLY CRIME STATISTICS OF HAWAII

by

Robert C. Schmitt

Statistics on crime in Hawaii were first compiled in 1838, a decade after the initial appearance of a printed penal code and only four years after establishment of the earliest Island police force. Such statistics at first appeared only sporadically. By 1853, however, crime data were being collected, tabulated and published on a regular and more or less comparable basis. This fifteen-year period of statistical development is the subject of the present paper.

Criminal law, a police force, and modern courts were introduced in Hawaii during the 1820's and 1830's. Long before the first white contact in 1778, laws had been enacted by the Hawaiian kings and preserved by custom. Both civil and ecclesiastical courts existed during this period. It was not until December 8, 1827, however, that a written penal code was proclaimed. Trial by jury was introduced about the same time.¹ The first police force in the Kingdom was organized in Honolulu in 1834.²

Statistical records of crime--or at least of criminal convictions--first became available early in 1839. According to an article by P. Kanoa, published (in Hawaiian) in Ke Kumu Hawaii on January 16, 1839,

On the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1839, the magistrate made a computation of the number of those who had been sentenced according to law for their acts of disobedience.

Of the whole number of those sentenced, some were of Great Britain--some of whom were adulterers, some rioters, deserters, mutineers and thieves. Another part were Americans, whose doings were like the others; adultery, lewdness, theft, riot, desertion.³

Kanoa's tabulation showed a total of 522 convictions for the City of Honolulu during 1838. Data were given for nine kinds of offense. Adultery was the most common cause for conviction, accounting for almost half of the total offenses. Only four persons were convicted of manslaughter, most serious (by modern standards) of the nine offenses listed. These totals included both natives and foreigners; no effort was made to classify offenders by nationality, age, sex, or other characteristics. Detailed information appears in Table 1.

Similar statistics were compiled (but left unpublished) for 1839. A brief handwritten report, in Hawaiian, is preserved in the State Archives.⁴ This report includes a tabulation of the number of convictions, for each of seven offense categories, in Honolulu during 1839. Totals are shown separately by nationality of the offender. Of 866 convictions, 451 were for either adultery, prostitution, or pimping. Greater detail is given in Table 2.

Statistics are next available for 1845. Written in Hawaiian and apparently never published, this tabulation is filed in the State Archives.⁵ Coverage was extended for the first time to the entire island of Oahu. Separate data were reported for each of five judicial districts, and for foreigners separately from natives.

Twenty-five distinct offenses were listed, some of which (such as "killing swine", "fast riding", and "drinking sour potatoes") sound rather quaint to modern ears. Six, including the most frequent ("adultery and fornication", with 312 convictions), had to do with sexual and marital offenses. Murder and other major crimes were not listed. Total convictions for the year numbered 1,058. Table 3 presents additional information.

Statistics for 1846 were limited to "cases in the Police Court of Honolulu" for the last six months of the year and "offenses punished" in the Inferior Court during the first eleven months. Both series appeared in The Polynesian.⁶ The Police Court data listed fifteen separate offense categories; so did the Inferior Court, but not the same fifteen. The latter series presented statistics separately by sex. As in earlier tabulations, some of the crimes had a quaint sound: "reviling language", "working on the Sabbath Day", "heathenish practices", "driving cattle through the st. cont!ry to law", "furious riding in the streets of Honolulu", "refusing to do duty as servants", "secreting seamen", and "riding another's horse secretly", among others. Of 548 convictions, 300 were for sexual offenses, chiefly fornication. The report added:

Of the 121 cases reported for six months in the police court, at least 90 were participated in by natives, which would make an average of 607 cases above, among a native population of about 10,000, for 1846.

Setting aside the predominant vice of the natives, the table of morality is greatly in favor of the females....Great as has been the improvement in the social and political relations of the natives, their standard of morality is still exceeding low, though crimes are rare. A man and woman were hung in August for murder--the second case in Honolulu for six years. House breaking is not frequent.

Coverage was extended to the entire Kingdom in the report of the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, submitted by H. Sea to John Ricord (then Attorney General) on April 1, 1847. This report, written in English and now filed in the State Archives, contained a long narrative and seven statistical exhibits.⁷ The latter included tabulations for the twelve-month period ended April 1, 1847 on civil suits heard in the Superior Court, criminal cases tried in the Police Court and Inferior Court, persons committed or fined, and prison inmates. The narrative was later published in The Polynesian; excerpts from the exhibit tables, in Jarves's history.⁸ Major crimes remained rare; as noted by Jarves, "There have been but five executions for three murders for ten years."⁹ Adultery, fornication, and whoredom continued to account for most of the convictions, some 832 out of a total of 1,518. Other offenses, less common, included "attempting to pray to death", "pollution of a stream by human bones", "blasphemy", "driving cattle carelessly through the streets", "cutting off the tails of cows", "drinking awa", and "lying". In Honolulu, 829 persons were fined a total of \$9,501.73. Average fines ranged from \$0.12 (for "crowding in the streets") to \$500.00 (for "selling spirits to natives"). Detailed statistics are listed in Tables 4, 5 and 6.

Reporting of data on crime finally achieved stability with publication of the First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, submitted by William L. Lee to the 1853 Legislature. This report contained 1852 statistics on criminal convictions, by offense, for each island of the Kingdom. For two islands, Oahu and Hawaii, tabulations were published by judicial district. Both Maui and Kauai reported acquittals as well as convictions. Data were shown by sex for Kauai and nationality for Oahu. Convictions totalled 2,948, chiefly for drunkenness (1,114) and fornication or adultery (730). Other offenses included such items as "planting awa", "attempt to scuttle a ship", "profanity", "furious riding", and "demolishing house". Totals by offense are cited in Table 7.

Statistics on crime or criminal convictions thereafter appeared regularly in the reports of the Chief Justice. Terminology, format, and analytic detail were gradually improved. Minor moral infractions were reported less frequently, although colorful or exotic items continued to appear on occasion; examples from the 1850's and '60's included "Sunday quarrelling", "lewd conversation", "violating fish tabus", "dastardly conduct", "ki drinking", "giving birth to bastard children", "practicing hoomanamana", "hula without license", "anaana or sorcery", and "out after bell ringing", among others.¹⁰

Throughout this period, unfortunately, crime statistics were limited to court records of the number of convictions, and nothing was compiled or published on either the number of crimes known to the police or persons arrested but released without a trial. It is thus impossible to judge the true extent of crime in the Islands during the 19th century. A low total for any category of offense may indicate either that few such offenses were committed, the police were unable to apprehend the offenders, or that the prosecutor could not obtain a conviction.

Interpretation of these totals is further complicated by the lack of a suitable population base for the computation of meaningful rates. Many of the persons convicted in Honolulu courts were sailors, residents of rural Oahu, and others not included in the population of the city. The number of such non-residents in town at a given time fluctuated widely. Even if this difficulty could be resolved satisfactorily, it would still be necessary to improvise estimates for most of this period from inadequate census totals.

Notwithstanding these problems—serious as they appear to the sociologist and social statistician—the early statistics on crime in Hawaii offer much useful information. Their great potential value to historians and students of Hawaiian culture warrants much closer study than they have received in the past.

NOTES

1. For information on early Hawaiian laws and courts, see W.F. Frear, The Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary (Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 7, 1894) and "Hawaiian Statute Law," Thirteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1906), pp. 15-61; W.D. Westervelt, "Hawaiian Printed Laws Before the Constitution," Sixteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society and Papers for the Year Ending December 31st, 1908 (1909), pp. 39-51; and Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), pp. 126-132 and 241-245.
2. William A. Gabrielson, "Honolulu's Finest," Pan-Pacific, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January-March, 1940), pp. 57-59; Charles Duarte, Evolution of the Police System in Hawaii (Honolulu: Honolulu Police Department, 1954), p. 1.
3. As translated in The Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1839), p. 234.
4. Archives of Hawaii, Folder on "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1839-1842."
5. Archives of Hawaii, Folder on "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1845."
6. Issue of January 9, 1847, p. 138.
7. Archives of Hawaii, Folder on "Atty. Gen. - Miscellaneous Letters, 1845-1846-1847-1848-1849."
8. The Polynesian, July 3, 1847, pp. 25-26; James Jackson Jarves, History of the Hawaiian Islands, Third Edition (Honolulu: Charles Edwin Hitchcock, 1847), p. 239.
9. Ibid., p. 209.
10. Various annual reports of the Chief Justice, 1854 to 1868.

TABLE 1 CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: 1838

Kanawai (offense) ¹	Ka helu ana (Number)
Pepehikanaka (manslaughter).....	4
Moekolohe (adultery).....	246
Aihue (theft).....	48
Hookamakama (lewdness).....	81
Uhauha (riot).....	32
Hoopunipuni (false witness).....	48
Mahuka (desertion).....	30
Weawea (seduction).....	18
Olohani (mutiny).....	15
TOTAL	522

¹Translation from The Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1839), p. 234. Moekolohe has also been translated as "fornication"; aihue as "larceny"; hookamakama as "prostitution"; uhauha as "spendthrift"; hoopunipuni as "perjury"; and weawea as "pimping" (see Table 3). Source: Article by P. Kanoa in Ke Kumu Hawaii, January 16, 1839.

TABLE 2 CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: 1839

Offense ¹	Number
Moekolohe (adultery and fornication).....	271
Hookamakama (prostitution).....	158
Hoopunipuni (perjury).....	132
Uhauha (spendthrift).....	111
Aihue (larceny).....	63
Weawea (pimping).....	22
Paiaia (?).....	5
Huihui (total)	863

¹Translation by Archives of Hawaii (see Table 3). For alternate translation, see Table 1. Source: Manuscript translation in Folder, "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1839-1842" in Archives of Hawaii.

TABLE 3 CONVICTIONS, BY OFFENSE, FOR THE ISLAND OF OAHU: 1845

Offense	Number
Moekolohe (adultery and fornication).....	312
Uhauha (spendthrift).....	15
Pueliilii (rape).....	13
Aihue (larceny).....	117
Weawea (pimping).....	8
Poe hana Lapati (working on the Sabbath).....	67
Pepehi puaa (killing swine).....	3
Inu uwala (drinking sour potatoes).....	62
Hoopunipuni (perjury).....	15
Pili waiwai (gambling).....	31

Mea kokua i ka hewa (aiding to commit crime).....	8
Hookamakama (prostitution).....	100
Mea kuamuamu (profanity).....	18
Hele hokai i ka po (disturbing the quiet of the night).....	182
Haalele kane (deserting husband).....	4
Poe holo nui (fast riding).....	40
Poe hakaka (assault and battery).....	30
Poe epa (forgery).....	3
Poe hoopai pino (unjust punishment).....	3
Poe lulumi (crowding).....	6
Hoala olelo hilahila e hoomoekolohe eia (seduction).....	4
Limaikaika (assault).....	1
Ona rama (drunkenness).....	24
Haole hou pahi (stabbing with a knife).....	2
Huna haole mahuka (concealing deserters).....	3
Hui ana apau ka poe i pili i ke Kanawai	1,058

Source: Manuscript tabulation and typewritten translation in Folder, "Courts - Miscellaneous, 1845" in Archives of Hawaii.

TABLE 4 RETURN OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED BEFORE THE INFERIOR LOCAL JUDGES (NATIVE)
OF HONOLULU: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

Nature of Offence	Number of Persons Fined	Amount of Fines	Average Fine
Adultery & illicit intercourse (moe kolohe)	106	\$2112.00	\$19.92
Whoredom (hookamakama).....	180	1466.00	8.14
Night walking.....	11	11.00	1.00
Rape.....	2	50.00	25.00
Theft.....	47	651.00	13.85
Gambling.....	37	35.00	.95
Reviling & abuse.....	14	17.00	1.21
Noisy in the streets.....	1	7.00	7.00
Working & singing on the Sabbath.....	27	27.00	1.00
Fast riding in the streets.....	5	22.00	4.40
Fighting & brawling.....	10	52.00	5.20
Opposing constables in execution of duty..	2	10.00	5.00
Crowding in the streets.....	3	.37	.12
Passing false money.....	1	.50	.50
Cheating.....	3	74.00	24.67
Attempting to pray to death.....	4	20.00	5.00
Pollution of a stream by human bones.....	2	10.00	5.00
Disturbing the Sabbath.....	14	14.00	1.00
Keeping house of ill-fame.....	1	50.00	50.00
Blasphemy.....	1	1.00	1.00
	471	\$4629.87	\$ 9.83

Source follows Table 6.

TABLE 5 RETURN OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED AT THE POLICE COURT, AT THE TOWN OF HONOLULU: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

Nature of Offence	Number of Persons Fined	Amount of Fines	Average Fine
Fornication.....	113	\$ 756.00	\$ 6.69
Theft.....	77	1839.36	23.89
Drunkenness.....	43	256.00	5.95
Assault.....	9	195.00	21.67
Out after hours (sailors).....	55	110.00	2.00
Fast riding through the streets.....	13	56.00	4.31
Disturbing the public peace.....	7	44.00	6.29
Selling spirits to natives.....	2	1000.00	500.00
Adultery.....	2	60.00	30.00
Bribery.....	1	5.00	5.00
Non-fulfillment of contract.....	2	5.50	2.75
Non-attendance as jurymen.....	2	20.00	10.00
Contempt of court.....	1	10.00	10.00
Carrying instruments of death.....	3	26.00	8.67
Working on the Sabbath.....	1	2.00	2.00
Throwing missiles.....	3	14.00	4.67
Masters of ships taking away natives.....	1	100.00	100.00
Harbouring deserters.....	2	100.00	50.00
Driving cattle carelessly through the streets	2	10.00	5.00
Receiving bribes.....	2	12.00	6.00
Trespass.....	1	6.00	6.00
Soliciting to whoredom.....	3	50.00	16.67
Acting as pimp.....	2	100.00	50.00
Resisting constables in execution of duty	1	2.00	2.00
Husband ill-treating wife.....	2	8.00	4.00
Fighting.....	4	16.00	4.00
Disturbance of Sabbath.....	1	1.00	1.00
Cutting off tails of cattle.....	1	40.00	40.00
Rescuing prisoners, etc.....	1	10.00	10.00
Inciting mob to riot, etc.....	1	18.00	18.00
TOTALS	358	\$4871.86	\$ 13.61

Source follows Table 6

TABLE 6 A RETURN SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL CASES TRIED ON THE ISLANDS OF OAHU, MAUI, HAWAII, AND KAUAI: APRIL 1, 1846 TO MARCH 31, 1847

Offense	Number
Fornication.....	503
Adultery.....	307
Theft.....	211
Drunkenness.....	43
Assault.....	9
Out after hours (sailors).....	55
Fast riding through the streets.....	14
Disturbing the peace.....	8
Selling spirits to natives.....	2

Bribery.....	1
Non-fulfillment of contract.....	2
Contempt of court.....	1
Carrying instruments of death.....	3
Working on the Sabbath.....	49
Throwing missiles with intent to wound.....	3
Masters of ships taking away natives.....	1
Harbouring deserters.....	2
Driving cattle carelessly through the streets.....	2
Receiving bribes.....	2
Trespass.....	1
Soliciting to whoredom.....	6
Acting as pimps.....	2
Opposing constables in execution of duty.....	3
Husbands ill-treating wives.....	3
Fighting and brawling.....	48
Disturbing the Sabbath.....	39
Cutting off the tails of cows.....	1
Rescuing prisoners from constables.....	1
Inciting mob to riot.....	1
Night walking.....	11
Rape.....	2
Gambling.....	57
Reviling and abuse.....	21
Crowding in streets.....	3
Passing bad money.....	1
Cheating.....	3
Attempting to pray to death.....	4
Polluting stream with human bones.....	2
Keeping house of ill-fame.....	1
Blasphemy.....	3
Night rioting.....	15
Breaking prison.....	10
Accessories to crime.....	14
Drinking awa.....	7
Riding horses secretly.....	3
Constables for apprehending wrongfully.....	3
Slander and conspiracy.....	2
Wives deserting husbands.....	2
Prowling about at night.....	3
Husband deserting wife.....	1
Assisting prisoners to escape.....	1
Lying.....	5
TOTAL	1518

Source of Tables 4, 5 and 6: Report of the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, April 1, 1847, in Archives of Hawaii, File "Attorney General - Miscellaneous Letters - 1845-1846-1847-1848-1849".

TABLE 7 CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HAWAII: 1852

Offense	Number
Manslaughter.....	1
Drunkenness.....	1,114
Drinking awa.....	13
Fornication and adultery.....	730
Illicit cohabitation.....	12
Polygamy.....	7
Sodomy.....	19
Assault and battery.....	254
Riot.....	104
Larceny,,.....	213
Receiving stolen goods.....	5
Forgery.....	6
Perjury.....	5
Profanity.....	14
Violating the Sabbath.....	46
Idolatry.....	7
Gambling.....	12
Furious riding.....	298
Common nuisance.....	16
Smuggling.....	4
Selling spiritous liquors without license.....	20
Distilling spiritous liquors.....	3
Gross cheat.....	2
All other offences.....	43
TOTAL	2,948

Source: First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1853), p. 109.

A PROJECT TO MICROFILM HAWAIIAN NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED PRIMARILY BEFORE 1900

by

Janet E. Bell

Do most historians who have used and grudgingly appreciated complete files of newspapers or of any other serial materials on microfilm realize the extent of the preliminary work and the problems involved in the process? Our experiences here in Hawaii in trying to put newspapers on microfilm are not unique but are, perhaps, interesting. They date back to the period when, long before there was any thought of preserving newspapers by a mass copying process, people were making bibliographies of Hawaiian serials.

One early attempt at making such a listing was published in the July 5, 1906, issue of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. Later, in 1928, Shunzo Sakamaki's unpublished University of Hawaii Master of Arts thesis, "A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii", included the titles of all known Japanese newspapers and a brief history of each. Also in 1928, Riley Allen's "Hawaii's Pioneers in Journalism,"

which was published in the Hawaiian Historical Society's Annual Report, contained titles and brief histories of Hawaiian newspapers.

From time to time librarians made other lists of newspapers from their library holdings; e.g., Cynthia Geiser, University of Hawaii Library in the 1930's; Maude Jones, Public Archives, 1940; Margaret Titcomb, Bishop Museum Library, 1953; and Willowdean Handy, Hawaiian Historical Society Library, 1953. Mrs. Handy's compilation, "Newspapers Published in Hawaii, Survey of the Hawaiian Historical Society, Analysis of the Files in the Collection, Their Relation to Holdings of Other Honolulu Libraries and to the Total Production in Hawaii" was, at the time it was completed, the most comprehensive inventory available, with approximately 156 titles.

Dr. Charles Hunter of the University of Hawaii's History Department worked for years on a card file of all known Hawaiian newspaper titles, primarily before 1900. Dr. Hunter's file, with brief historical notes as well as dates, was compiled from many sources, including all of the above lists. He searched for the titles of lesser-known periodicals in Thrum's annuals, city directories, The Friend, etc. He also wrote to the Library of Congress, the American Antiquarian Society, the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, and the California State Library for data on their holdings. With approximately 200 entries, this card file is to date the most complete compilation of Hawaiian newspaper titles.

The main by-product of all the foregoing bibliographical work is the microfilming of the newspapers to preserve on film what is rapidly vanishing or deteriorating through use, theft, mutilation, climatic conditions, and bugs. So far the filming has been a fairly haphazard affair, beginning in the early 1950's, when the Honolulu Advertiser had its files copied by a professional microfilm photographer. The Advertiser, under its various titles, and The Polynesian, erroneously included as one of the Advertiser's predecessors, were done without collating; but as they represent the longest consecutively-published newspapers, they have proved very useful on microfilm, even with some issues missing (for information on locating missing issues of The Polynesian, see the appendix). Microfilming of The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, which was instituted shortly thereafter, does not include its predecessors, The Honolulu Star and The Evening Bulletin, since the copying went back only to July 1, 1912, when the two papers were combined.

In 1953, the next step in this business of microfilming newspapers was a joint project in collating by the University of Hawaii History Department, the Hawaiiana section of the Hawaii Library Association, the University of Hawaii Library, and other libraries with newspaper holdings. The Hawaiiana section members worked out a collating check sheet with columns for the information needed concerning dates, volumes, numbers, pages, size, frequency, condition, editors, publishers, and languages in which the newspapers were published. The collating and recording on the check sheets were done by anyone available and willing, from Dr. Hunter to student helpers from the University of Hawaii Library and the History Department.

Through the efforts of Dr. Carl Stroven, then the University of Hawaii Librarian, money for a limited amount of microfilming was obtained from the library's funds. This was augmented by funds from various other sources, which included several small foundations' grants made to the Hawaiian Historical Society.

The first project was to film the newspapers published in Portuguese, these being needed for reference by Mr. Leo Pap, a scholar who was doing a book on the Portuguese in the United States. Although the initial holdings were very incomplete, and advertising in local newspapers produced only a few more issues, the project was considered a fair beginning and very useful to Mr. Pap.

Next, as a preservative measure, newspapers in the worst condition were microfilmed. These were mostly in the Hawaiian Historical Society Library and had to be

transported to the University, where the camera was. Some of the papers were still rolled, just as they had been when thrown on lanais many years before. They were unrolled, unfolded, and filmed; and that was the end of them, as was expected. Other newspapers, bound too tightly to be photographed properly, had to be cut apart. In some cases the cooperating libraries whose bound volumes had been cut wanted the papers rebound. This all contributed to making the project expensive.

This period of microfilming did not succeed in completing more than approximately thirty newspaper titles because of moving the University of Hawaii Library to the new Sinclair Library building. At the Sinclair Library the microfilm camera was on the ground floor, while the microfilm librarian was on the third floor and unable to supervise anyone filming the newspapers. Only a few more newspapers have been reproduced since then, and those mostly through the services of the Public Archives.

In 1964, Mr. James Hunt, State Librarian, organized a committee to continue the work of microfilming the newspapers. This group consisted of representatives from the State Library, the University, and the Archives. Four copies of Dr. Hunter's card file were Xeroxed by Mr. Hunt's office and the Archives so that the State Librarian's office, the Archives, and the Hawaiian and Pacific Collections of the Library of Hawaii and the Sinclair Library at the University could use it and add to it.

The Hawaii Library Association's Hawaiiana section is now working to complete this card file for use in microfilming and perhaps in the eventual publication of a bibliography of Hawaii's newspaper titles. The project includes collating the newspapers still not finished and completing the microfilming of all local newspapers. Some day, perhaps, this will be accomplished, and historians needing to work with newspapers will find complete sets on microfilm available in one place and be happy, eyestrain notwithstanding.

Appendix

The completion of the filming of The Polynesian, except for one issue, is an interesting example of how much is involved in hunting for missing issues. Rumor had it that there had been a volume 20 but that all its issues had been "destroyed by the missionaries". In 1953 the University of Hawaii Library initiated a project to find these missing issues, first using local library lists. The Bishop Museum had nos. 1, 4, 9 and 18, and these were microfilmed. Additional numbers were found by using the 1961 edition of the Library of Congress Union List of Newspapers. The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, was able to supply nos. 2, 5-8, 10-17, 19-31, and 35-41, on microfilm. The Massachusetts Historical Society had only the December 5, 1863 issue, and this consisted of only one sheet. Because this contained news of Kamehameha IV's death, we wondered if it were an extra and therefore complete, but had no way of proving it. After much correspondence, and even searching in the Mitchell and Turnbull libraries in Australia and New Zealand, we finally gave up, with all but four issues accounted for, one of these being the incomplete one-sheet issue mentioned above. In 1965, the State Archivist, while looking for something in the Kamehameha IV Probate File, ran across some stray copies of The Polynesian. After checking her records, she found to her surprise and joy that these were copies of the missing nos. 32-34. The one which we had thought might be only a one-sheet extra actually had four pages. Copies of nos. 32-34 were also found in 1965 in a collection of Admiral Thomas' papers bought in Australia by the Hawaii State Library. So of the 41 issues of vol. 20, dating from May 2, 1863, to February 6, 1864, we have only no. 3 (May 16, 1863) left to find. Anyone knowing of a copy should contact either Miss Agnes Conrad (the State Archivist) or the writer of this paper.

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Richard A. Greer, Editor

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