

## Honolulu in 1847

Richard A. Greer

In the early morning of January 1, 1847, darkness gripped a slumbering Honolulu. Stormy trade winds hurled rain squalls down from the mountains and out to sea. Roofs trembled; the ocean foamed against the reef.<sup>1</sup> New Year's Eve had been a big night: stores generally closed, parties swinging, and plenty of supervised activity for the youngsters in the decent hours. French Consul Jules Dudoit hosted a gathering of some 60 youths, including the young chiefs. And about 500 Hawaiian children from several Protestant schools assembled under temperance banners; led by the Rev. Armstrong, they marched through the streets, pausing before their friends' houses.<sup>2</sup> A press reference to the "unusual spirit" of the Eve glossed over all other shenanigans, but it must be assumed that some were fated to awaken to penitential hangovers.

So the villagers sprawled and snored, unaware that they were even then being analyzed and dissected in a most thorough way. Intellectual curiosity, or perhaps a need for editorial fodder, had driven the *Polynesian* to comb the town. And on January 9 Honolulu's reading public got the results: a minute description of their mid-Pacific habitat in all its parts:

Total number of buildings		1,386
Residences		1,337
Grass	875 (\$5 to \$500)	
Adobe	345 (\$100 to \$3,000)	
Stone (coral)	49	(\$1,000
Wood	49	to
Stone or adobe below, wood above	29	\$12,000)
Stores and warehouses		40
Stone	15 (\$1,000	
Adobe	15 to	
Wood	10 \$8,000)	
Retail	32 (generally	
Wholesale	15 combined)	

## Public buildings

Churches	3 Protestant, 1 Roman Catholic	(about \$55,000)
Palace, house of queen, etc.		(about \$10,000)
Honolulu Hale, offices of ministers and customs house		(about \$10,000)
Hale Kauwila, offices of land commissioners and native judges		
Court house—Court of Oahu, for trials involving foreigners		
Forts—Papu o Honolulu, governor's residence, prison, powder magazine, 63 guns		
Papu o Puowaina, 11-gun battery on Punchbowl Hill		
Streets and lanes	18	

## Wharves

James Robinson & Co's., for repairing vessels; wharfage, \$3 to \$5 a day	
R. Charlton's	
Government wharf, not yet completed	
Stephen Reynolds'	
Grimes' and Ladd & Co's., for repairing vessels, wharfage, 16¢ per ton	
Ladd & Co's., wharfage, \$5 per day	

## Shipyards

James Robinson & Co.
Drew & Co.

## Burying grounds

Old cemetery near Kawaiahao Church
Cemetery near Kaumakapili Church
Roman Catholic cemetery at Kahua
Nuuanu Cemetery, owned by the N. C. Association

“Senex”, who had lived in Honolulu from the time it was a waste plain, noted in a letter to the *Sandwich Islands News* many flaws in the “crowded and busy town”. His critical eye was not unique. The *Polynesian*, restrained and polite, remarked that few buildings had “any pretensions to taste or elegance.”<sup>3</sup> No pretensions, growled the *News*: Honolulu showed “the world’s worst taste, or lack of it”; hardly a structure failed to look exactly like a barn with cattle sheds against its sides.<sup>4</sup> And the adobe walls that enclosed most houses drew curses on more than one count. Posters announcing the arrival of new goods plastered them—indeed, it was rumored that one bill-sticker had resigned, not being able to find a place to exercise his talents.<sup>5</sup> Their decay under wind and rain deposited grime ankle-deep in the streets. Strangers were often heard to say that these scabrous walls destroyed the seaport’s beauty. Not so, said others; they hid ugliness.<sup>6</sup> But they could not hide the army of mongrels that skulked along the roads and in and out of yards—a nuisance reviled as a thousand times worse than any of the plagues of Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

As pedestrians plodded about, they passed through streets not yet named officially, but nonetheless struggling upward from anonymity:

<i>Present Name</i>	1847 (approx.)
Queen	Water, Makai, Alii Wahine
Merchant	Kalepa, Hale Kuai, Merchant
Marin	Marini
King	Broadway, Chapel, Halepule, Church, Alii
Hotel	Hotel, Hotele, Hotela
Chaplain Lane	Bishop, Chapel, Chaplain
Beretania	Mauka, Beretane
Pauahi	Not in existence
Maunakea	Kahawai, Maunakea
Nuuanu	Nuuanu Road, Fid
Smith	Kinau, Kamika, Booble Alley, Smith
Bethel	Not in existence
Fort	Fort, Papu
Kaahumanu (closed, 1950)	Lalau, Kaahumanu
Bishop (destroyed Kihapai, Garden Lane)	Not in existence
Union (closed, 1963, 1968)	Ke'eke'e, Crooked, Maua, Huina, Branch
Alakea	Cross, Kea
Adams Lane	Adam, Adamu, Branch

There was much new to be seen; Honolulu was in the throes of a construction boom. Building of any kind was expensive, and the total value of new projects of one sort or another reached at least \$170,000 during 1846-1847.<sup>8</sup> Here is a list:

#### Government and public

Stone, two-story printing office, "substantial but of baffling architecture"<sup>9</sup>

Honolulu House, enlarged and repaired<sup>10</sup>

Stone, three-story customs house

Two stone-arched bridges over Nuuanu Stream, to replace wooden ones washed out by rains (cost: between \$2,000 and \$3,000)

Two stone-piered government wharves

An "aqueduct" (actually lead pipe), bringing soft water from Nuuanu Valley to a reservoir under the harbor master's office on the wharf—allowing ships to water directly from their boats

#### Stores and warehouses

Honorable Hudson's Bay Co.'s. extensive warehouses and enclosures

Messrs. E. & H. Grimes' two-story stone warehouse (sold to John Caranave during the year)

Punchard & Co's. one-story stone store

R. Vida's one-story adobe

H. Downton's adobe

Makee and Anthon's two-story stone warehouse

J. H. Wood's brick shoe store (the first all-brick building in Honolulu)

Most of these, as well as of the government efforts, had slate roofs and were intended to be fireproof.<sup>11</sup>

Residences (4 at nearly \$12,000 each, most from \$4,000 to \$8,000, none under \$2,500)

Of stone

Capt. John Dominis' mansion (now Washington Place)—"elegant and costly"

Theodore H. Shillaber's place—"in the East Indian manner"

Dr. R. W. Wood's

Mr. Wood's

Dr. G. P. Judd's

Mr. William Richards'

Queen's Lodge

Hoolilimanu's

Keliiahonui's

John Young's (Keoni Ana)

Abner Paki's

John Meek's

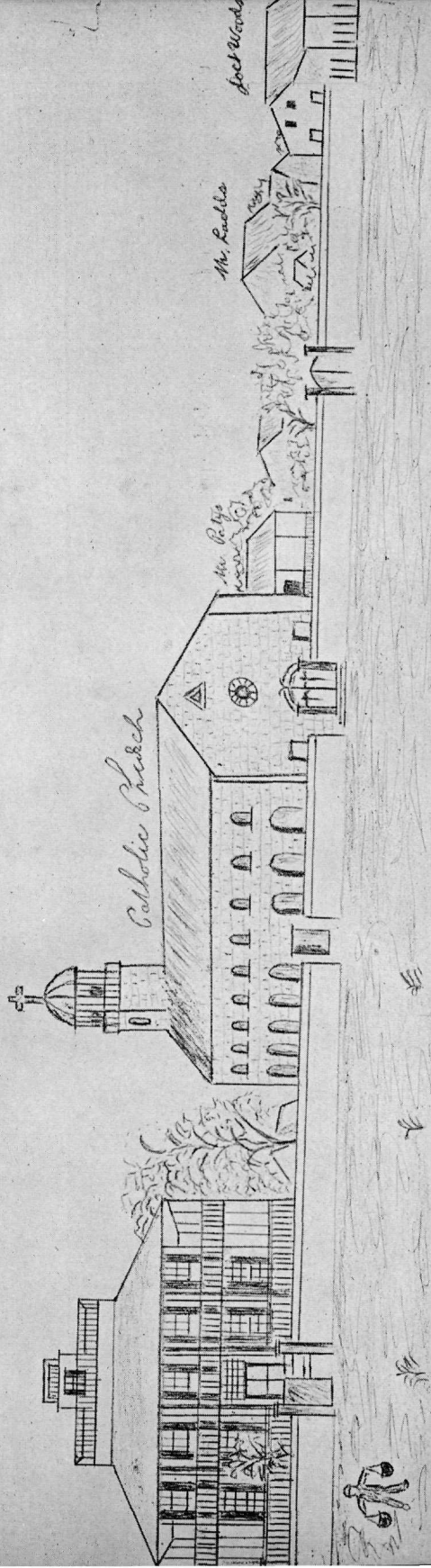
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*The inked pencil sketches reproduced here are the work of Mrs. Gorham (Lydia R.) Nye, wife of a sea captain long and well known in Honolulu. She arrived on September 21, 1842 to await her husband, and went at once to live as a guest in the home of Capt. and Mrs. Charles Brewer. Capt. Nye joined her on March 14, 1843; they sailed together for the Northwest Coast and California on April 19, returning to Honolulu on November 30. Once again they were guests of the Brewers, where they stayed until about March 1, 1844, when they moved into a home of their own. Apparently the sketches were made near or after the completion of Our Lady of Peace Cathedral, which was opened and blessed on August 15, 1843.*

*"View of Capt. Charles Brewer's house, Oahu" shows upper Fort Street, waikiki side. Off the picture to the left is the corner of Beretania and Fort. Mrs. Nye's caption: "looking at the house you will see the letter L—that is my chamber. That little carriage is Mrs. B's little boy—the native dragging [sic] him in the garden [all of this is cut off in our reproduction]. Just below you see a native with his caalashes (calabashes) on his shoulder that is the way they carry their burdens—bring all their vegetables to market that way."*

*The untitled sketch looks ewa across Fort Street at its intersection with Beretania. "Doct. Rook's"—later known as the Queen Emma premises—occupied a large parcel of land at the makai-waikiki corner of Nuuanu and Beretania Streets. "Mr. Skinner's house"—in after years called Eden Place—stood at the makai-waikiki corner of Nuuanu Street and Chaplain Lane. Across Beretania, near its junction with Nuuanu, we see the original Kaumakapili Church, Rev. Lowell Smith. Distances and perspective suffer, but the correct general impression is there.*





Catholic Church

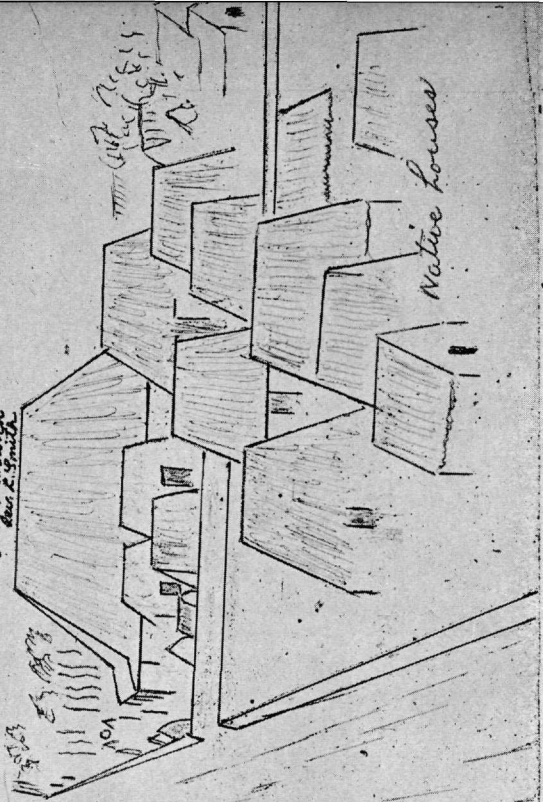
Mr. Pease

Mr. Laddis

Foot Woods

View of Capt. Charles Brewster's house, Cahoon.

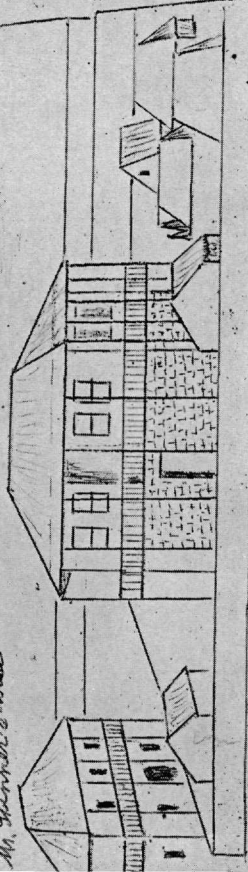
Native Church  
Nov. 2, 1901



Native Houses

Foot Rock's

Mr. Binner's house



Of wood or stucco

Mr. Paty's

D. P. Penhallow's

Mr. Marshall's

Mr. Nadal's "large wooden Yankee tavern-like house"

Dining hall in the Palace enclosure

And a number of others "more or less pretentious"<sup>12</sup>

#### Theater

The Thespian, replacing the old Arbitration

#### Hotels

Joe Booth's National House for seamen, which, with appendages, cost \$10,000. It was a two-story affair, stone below and wood above.

Henry Macfarlane's Commercial House, likewise of two stories, but all wood.

It was hard to keep account of the town's hotels; they sprang up in a night, and sometimes disappeared as quickly. Then, with roistering sailors filling the streets and lanes when the whaling fleet was in, Honolulu itself became one grand hotel.<sup>13</sup>

#### Hospital

Little Greenwich, for English seamen, also an enterprise of Joe Booth. (It is to be hoped that not too many inmates proceeded thence directly from the National House bar.)

Townsmen—transient or otherwise—who populated the semi-tropic village, swelled in volume like dough rising in a breadpan. Men of all tongues came and went, were seen and forgotten. "Fiddlers and fids, billiards and bowls, races and rides, frolic and fun, life above stairs, and life below, at all hours"—that was the ticket.<sup>14</sup> And it was a ticket that the Hawaiians bought eagerly. They swarmed in from their dull taro patches and away-to-hell-and-gone hamlets, bright-eyed and ready for action. Oahu's Governor Mataio Kekuanaoa applied "active measures" to "compel the surplus population of Honolulu to return to their own homes on other islands, where they [were] much needed in cultivating their lands." But his efforts were destined to remain in the "nice try" category.

The foreigners contributed their share to all this; indeed, they were much more conspicuous than their numbers justified. Excluding visiting sailors, they made up only some 6 per cent of Honolulu's approximately 10,000 residents:

*January 1, 1847*<sup>16</sup>

*June 1, 1847*<sup>17</sup>

Names registered	353
Ladies not registered	52
Children ditto	112
Floater	100
Total foreigners	617

Males	453
Females	60
Children	114
Total	627

A feature of the kingdom was the naturalization of foreigners, a process by which they became subjects of His Hawaiian Majesty in exchange for certain prerogatives. Throughout Hawaii, those who had undergone this transformation totaled:

<i>March 8, 1844—December 10, 1846</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>1847</i> <sup>19</sup>
472, including families	60, including families

In both population and naturalization the Americans were away out front, with the British running a distant second. In the "other" bin fell French, Germans, Belgians, Portuguese, Chinese, Tahitians, etc.

More than 150 of the foreigners were employed "mechanics", to use a term of the period. They contributed to the current occupational melange:

Auctioneers	2	Ship Carpenters	14	Public Officers	15
Blacksmiths	7	Consuls	5	Liquor retailers	6
Boatbuilders	1	Clerks	29	Stewards	13
Bookkeepers	4	Cooks	2	Storekeepers	16
Bookbinders	1	Farmers	6	Shoemakers	7
Barkeepers	3	Graziers	4	Sailmakers	3
Bakers	4	Hotelkeepers	3	Saddlers	2
Butchers	2	Laborers	2	Sextons	1
Barbers	2	Lawyers	5	Shipmasters	2
Brickmakers	1	Mariners	13	Surveyors	1
Caulkers	2	Merchants	20	Tinsmiths	4
Cabinetmakers	6	Masons	12	Tailors	8
Clergyman &		Physicians	5	Teamsters	3
Missionaries	7	Painters	5	Victuallers	9
Coopers	5	Printers	10	Warehousemen	6
House Carpenters	38	Pilots	2	Watchmakers	2

The Hawaiians trailed behind:<sup>20</sup>

Bookbinders	6	Engravers	1	Shoemakers	9
Carpenters	12	Masons	4	Tailors	19
		Printers	4		

There were others who had some knowledge of blacksmithing and the more common trades—perhaps a total of 60.

A "complete" register of foreigners in Honolulu that made up part of the newspaper's statistical effort drew many comments, both good and bad. Deeds and misdeeds were noted; one disgruntled reader used the opposition press (S.I.N.) to list the names of the 21 carpenters in town *he* thought were qualified.<sup>21</sup>

But whatever their origin or station, the foreigners were to be seen coursing through the streets in an ever-growing stream. And although the thorough-

fares were as yet free of the products of Detroit's embarrassing fertility, not all was joy. Press ire descended upon the unfortunate Hawaiians. Grumbled the *Polynesian's* editor: As Honolulu filled with foreign ladies and children, the sight of naked natives, or of those whose apology for clothes was worse than nakedness, became a nuisance. The "filthy limbs" of Hawaiian laborers or country people, covered as they were with cutaneous disease, should inspire a government order fining those who went about town without shirt or pantaloons. Public and promiscuous bathing had already become a fineable offense; unfortunately, there were few complaints. Why not give a part of the fine to plaintiffs? This would lead the Hawaiians to turn informer.<sup>22</sup>

Bathing and walking were free diversions; more elaborate ones required cash. The "country people" whose presence so trod upon editorial sensibilities were often in town to sell their produce. Along the street they hawked pigs and turkeys (50¢ to \$1 each), ducks (50¢), or chickens (25¢ to 37½¢). Five markets offered a more stable, if less inviting, commercial base. These, mere thatched sheds, were strung along the makai side of Broadway (King St.), bracketing the Seamen's Bethel by a poverty-stricken shambles noted for its fetid exhalations. Here were in abundance: Irish potatoes (\$2 to \$3 a barrel), sweet potatoes, taro, Indian corn, cabbage, melons of various sorts, pumpkins, onions, bananas, plantains, assorted beans, Chile peppers, tomatoes, oranges (25¢ a dozen), limes, grapes, citrons, figs, guavas, *ohia* apples, eggs (25¢ to 75¢ a dozen), and fresh and dried fish. Butter was in short supply. Most of it was made on Hawaii and Kauai; an 1846 production of some 10,000 lb. total sold at an average price of 30¢ a pound. Milk went for 12½¢ a quart. Beef (fresh, 6¢ a pound—salted, 6½¢ a pound), mutton (12½¢ a pound), and goat were common, wildfowl scarce.<sup>23</sup>

The butcheries that furnished this meat also turned out unpleasant smells as unwanted by-products. He who would taste the charms of Nuuanu Valley had first to forge past its guardian slaughterhouse—a labor performed daily by the king's ministers on their way to or from their summer residences.<sup>24</sup>

Those who sold themselves, honorably or otherwise, rather than their produce, had to pit their earnings against the cost of living. Foreign mechanics averaged about \$2.50 a day, Hawaiians about \$1.00.<sup>25</sup> The latter of course could expect at least some support from their friends and relatives, and law restrained them from the grogshops frequented by their haole counterparts. Still, there was this thing called money.

Respectable foreigners might find bed and board in a private home. The Rev. & Mrs. S. C. Damon accommodated Mrs. Gorham H. Nye and daughter for \$8 a week.<sup>26</sup> The four hotels on or mauka of Hotel St. charged from \$4 to \$7 a week for board. Sleeping apartments, not generally attached to the hotels (don't forget those uproarious bars), were extra. Room rent ran from \$4 to \$12 a month for ordinary quarters. A house "neither spacious nor well contrived" could command from \$300 to \$1,000 a year.<sup>27</sup>

The hotels—Joseph O. Carter's Mansion House, Hungwa's Canton Hotel, Pierre le Gueval's ambitiously-named Hotel d'Universe, and Henry Macfarlane's Commercial Hotel—were legally designated as houses of public



entertainment for the higher classes of society. But the exalted beings who patronized such establishments were not regarded as entirely above suspicion—hence a provision for occasional police inspection.<sup>28</sup>

The hosting of ordinary sailors was relegated to inferior enterprises called inns or victualling houses.<sup>29</sup> At 1847's start, 15 such places operated. The law put tight reins thereon: (1) spirituous liquors could not be sold without a license; (2) noise and disorder were taboo; (3) there should be no harboring of deserting sailors; (4) wholesome food would have to be served up whenever required; (5) closing hour was 10 p.m.; (6) police would have free access at any time.<sup>30</sup> Tavernkeepers hoped to forestall trouble in their advertisements. Joe Booth of The Blonde spelled it out: "Usual evening amusements will be continued as heretofore, and all are invited to participate in them. Gambling, quarreling and fighting are absolutely prohibited."<sup>31</sup> McDuff and Friel's Telegraph ad, touting the establishment's two "superior bowling alleys", warned: "No betting allowed, and good order will be enforced."<sup>32</sup>

A licensing system tried to control the liquor traffic. Wholesalers could sell not less than 5 gallons, and in packages as originally imported. Retailers were divided into two classes: those licensed to sell by the bottle, and those to sell by the glass. The government considered itself obliged by French and English treaties to sanction a retail spirits trade in at least one of the kingdom's town's—and Honolulu, the most populous, had been chosen. Retail licenses were sold at auction; in the middle of 1847, 13 such brought in a total of \$2,532. This, together with the heavy import duties levied, raised the price of brandy to at least \$7 a gallon, and of rum to \$6. The gratifying effect was to inhibit intake of these popular beverages as the poorer classes found themselves priced out of the market. But the gain was limited; during the whaling season drunken seamen with ready cash threw Honolulu into "commotion", as Minister of the Interior Keoni Ana expressed it.<sup>33</sup>

The system as applied meant that hotels and certain merchants got licenses to sell by the bottle: James F. Lewis, John Clapp, Henry Macfarlane, Isaac Montgomery, R. W. Holt, J. O. Carter, and P. LeGueval. Permits to sell by the glass went to the keepers of inns and grog shops (7 of the latter were licensed during the first half of 1847, and 6 during the last half): Joseph Booth, John McDuff, Henry Zupplien, James F. Lewis, Edward Dennis, and William Gill.

Common adjuncts to public houses were billiard tables and bowling alleys. In January, 1847, 3 of the former and 6 of the latter flourished. These ventures took some little capital, of course; at the end of 1846, C. Brewer & Co. was advertising two used tables which had cost, new, \$1,050.<sup>34</sup>

Sumptuary licensing law also regulated a more exotic custom—'awa-drinking. About the middle of 1846, missionaries Armstrong, Coan, and Thurston pointed out 'awa's "pernicious effects" to R. C. Wyllie, who promised to recommend the matter to the attention of both king and legislature, as he, Wyllie, "[detested] everything that produces intoxication."<sup>35</sup> (For the record, 'awa doesn't). In August, obliging lawmakers set up a system of appointing "'awa agents" to plant and sell the makings on the various islands. J. W. E.

Maikai was allowed to cultivate a total of 4 acres at Honolulu, Koolauloa, Ewa, and Waialua; William Harbottle was authorized 2 acres at Kaneohe.<sup>36</sup> The rationale: 'Awa, though morally hazardous, had medicinal value.

Despite the lift that a cup of cheer could give, Honolulu citizens often sank into a gray fog of monotony—a fact publicly admitted in the press.<sup>37</sup> One casualty was the habit of punctuality. Delay seemed a built-in feature: Businessmen dawdled, courts opened late, auctioneers procrastinated, and even those with IOU's falling due somehow deferred meeting their obligations.<sup>38</sup>

The business side of island life, thus introduced, may very well be approached via Honolulu harbor, whence came most of the town's wealth. The area had its problems, and a basic one involved the possible disappearance of the harbor itself. By 1847 it was apparent that mud carried down Nuuanu "River" was filling up the anchorage. A committee—W. L. Lee and Capts. Le Borgne and Thomas Baillie—studied the question. Their recommendation: Remove the wall of the fish pond at the stream's mouth, and build another wall on the opposite side to intercept deposits and change the current's direction.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the authorities had to combat man as well as nature: Ships had a disturbing tendency to heave ballast stones and rubbish overboard while at anchor; the law tried to remedy this by prescribing a \$100 fine for such misconduct.<sup>40</sup> Matters were not helped when in December the government's new wooden wharf, supported by stone pillars, suddenly gave way and launched onto and into the already-polluted waters a mixed offering of oil, bricks, wood, anchors, casks, etc.<sup>41</sup>

More personal in their import were the occasional drownings that resulted from attempts to run into the harbor through the surf at night in open boats. This "common but dangerous" practice the *Polynesian* deplored at the deaths of Ahmow and Asam, Chinese sugar planters and shopkeepers.<sup>42</sup>

Then, of course, there was the weather—specifically, those pesky Kona interludes. For three weeks, lasting to the middle of May, Honolulu suffered through heat, rain, squalls, fogs, thunder and lightning, and wind from the sea—while stagnant pools and rotting vegetation encumbered the streets. A freshet on April 10 had washed out Nuuanu bridges, and similar downpours characterized May 11 and 12; Nuuanu stream rose again, 10 ft. in 20 minutes, and at one time a temporary wooden span was seen proceeding out across the harbor at a speed of some 4 knots.<sup>43</sup> But Kona gales were more than a discomfort; in those days of sail, they practically sealed the harbor. In early November a fleet was waiting inside for the southerly winds to slack. H.B.M.S. *Juno* finally resorted to a towline.<sup>44</sup> Then the trades returned with a vengeance—and *they* made it as hard to get in as the Kona winds did to get out. During the week of November 13–20, Honolulu pilots Meek and Penhallow won special praise for skill and energy. On the 18th, half a dozen ships were brought in.<sup>45</sup> Soon, though, it was the Kona story again. On December 13, however, the trade winds came back, and some 6 ships were able to leave.<sup>46</sup> Too bad—the trades waxed so strong that shipmasters were afraid to set sail. Nevertheless, in a few days Kona weather reappeared, and for the last week of 1847 a

“wind factory” west of the islands blockaded the harbor while deluges reduced the town to a sodden mess.<sup>47</sup>

A big issue during the first half of the year was: Shall Honolulu become a free port for whalers? Minister of Finance G. P. Judd noted that tonnage dues and port charges had brought in \$2,438.34 from March 31, 1846 to March 31, 1847—a sum devoted to the support of the pilots at Honolulu and Hilo. Both had large families. If the revenues were to be cut, where would salaries come from?<sup>48</sup> The answer: from the Hawaiian government itself. This decided, whaleships were relieved of anchorage and harbor dues after June 19—if they did not land more than \$200 worth of merchandise or any intoxicating liquor. Otherwise, regular merchantman charges of \$1 a foot for pilotage, 20¢ a ton for tonnage, and \$2 for buoys would be levied.<sup>49</sup>

The *Sandwich Islands News* hailed the move as a big step toward prosperity, even though business license fees were raised to help make up the lost income. But the *Polynesian*, remembering turbulent 1846, roared its outrage: Here was a matter involving from 400 to 600 ships yearly, and from 12,000 to 20,000 lecherous sailors—“generally of the most dissolute class”—who supported the grog shops and ruined a large proportion of young females. Editor J. J. Jarves groaned:

The government by thus inviting this large fleet, and the merchants and retailers who supply them with ardent spirits, have a fearful responsibility upon themselves for the coming season. Life and property are at stake upon the issue. Plain justice requires that those who furnish the stimulants to riots and crime, should be responsible for the damages that result from its use. This is too sober a truth to be palatable [sic], but we appeal to all true men whether responsibility should not rest where the wrong emanates. We hope the government will have a sufficient military force to preserve the peace of the town. If last fall is a sample of what we may look forward to for the coming season, we must confess that the pleasure of an increased business will be alloyed by the increased uncertainty of life and property resulting from the baneful traffic in ardent spirits, which the government, powerless to prohibit [because of treaty provisions] is forced to control as best it can.<sup>50</sup>

By October’s end, though, the same editor was complaining of a dull season. with comparatively few whalers in, and their wants scanty. Large cargoes of goods had arrived from China, England, and the U.S.; most items were overstocked, while much specie lay idle in the hands of would-be investors.<sup>51</sup> But a month later Honolulu’s many lookouts were manned, streets were alive with sailors ashore on liberty, and close to 50 sail of ships—nearly all whalers—lay at anchor.<sup>52</sup> Those predicted riots never did materialize. To the gratified surprise of many, seamen night after night returned to their vessels “in most orderly manner”. Few drunks defaced the scene with their liquorous carcasses. Such marvels had never been witnessed before.<sup>53</sup>

The police of course deserved their share of the credit, while government saw that every issue of the *Polynesian* carried a digest of commercial regulations, covering everything from charges on whalers (clearance, \$1; permits [when required], \$1; buoys, \$2) to public office hours (9 to 4 every day except Sunday). Funloving sailors learned that fast riding in the streets would cost them \$5, that being ashore after the evening bell was worth \$2 to the government, and that the grogshops closed at 9 and were locked from Saturday even-



ing to Monday morning. Indeed, perhaps the cheeriest Sunday sight was right in the harbor itself, where ships were accustomed to make a Sabbath display of their various national flags.<sup>54</sup>

Among the records of arrivals and departures—best kept at the counting house of Messrs. Punchard & Co.—the Hawaiian-registered vessels cut a small figure.<sup>55</sup> Notable here was the king's yacht, appropriately named *Kamehameha III*, a fine, Baltimore-built schooner of 120 tons, bought and fitted up during the first half of 1847.<sup>56</sup> The island fleet was growing, however:

1843	10 vessels registered
1844	15 vessels
1846	29 vessels
1847 (September)	55 vessels
1848 (January 1)	67 vessels totaling some 2,160 tons and valued at about \$110,000. <sup>57</sup>

Of the 55 counted in September, 1847, 40 had been built in Hawaii, 23 were owned by Hawaiians, and 47 were engaged in coasting trade among the islands.

As usual, government was feeling the need for more room in which to carry on its ever-inflating chores; relevant to harbor affairs was the want of a customs house with storage space. With an eye to this, the area below high water mark in the harbor, seaward of Puhaholaho (the ground disputed between former British Consul Richard Charlton and the heirs of Kaahumanu), was being filled up in mid-1847. This reclamation project went forward, so that by the end of September a three-story coral building had been started.<sup>58</sup>

Land affairs generated keen interest during 1847. The Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, provided for in the act organizing the executive department, had been staffed and begun its labors. Hearings proceeded throughout the year on Honolulu plots.

Certainly one of the more unusual requests was that of Foreign Minister Wyllie. For over two years he had been living at Maunakilika, a government building near the fort—on sufferance, as he felt, not considering himself free to put up a cookhouse. “Latterly” Mr. Stupplebeen (a victualling-house keeper) had changed his cook, sending in Wyllie's meals so badly prepared that that functionary had often been sick. Indeed, Wyllie had “patiently suffered these discomforts, never before endured, ever since he had been a government officer.” Now (June 29) the foreign minister begged permission to buy Maunakilika so he could have his own cookhouse.<sup>59</sup> After considerable discussion in the privy council, the matter was dropped.

Beyond the problems of claims and awards, the *Polynesian* found a general flaw in Honolulu land deals: artificially high prices. These, it held, resulted from property's being “so locked up by the policy of the chiefs and the prejudices of its few owners.”<sup>60</sup> Eligible store and house lots, when available, commanded from \$1,000 to \$8,000. They seldom changed hands. The newspaper predicted plentiful land at fairer prices when the BCQLT finished its work. But it was no quick process. Late in September the editor was still

grousing about the exorbitant sums chiefs demanded—although apparently, when these alii were given their “fictitious value”, they were willing to sell or lease. Anybody wanting to inhabit the semi-desert between Honolulu and Waikiki could find space enough and to spare: Beginning in late 1846, the interior department advertised building lots there, for lease or sale.<sup>61</sup>

Land was only one of the problems that beset Honolulu’s business community. Just getting into commerce was far from being an automatic process. Government, for example, forbade any partnership among resident aliens until the members got certificates of Hawaiian nationality; such certificates were required also to obtain leaseholds.<sup>62</sup> Then there was a labor shortage, not eased by the *Polynesian’s* sarcasm: “This seems extraordinary, seeing the numbers of idlers about our streets.”<sup>63</sup> Well, the government could do something if it would to help the planters, anyhow: Encourage the introduction of Chinese coolies, who would make good subjects—“industrious, orderly and clever.”<sup>64</sup> Such a step held little immediate promise for employers needing skilled craftsmen. Week after week the press carried their appeals: Wanted, 6 journeymen carpenters, 4 journeymen tailors, 2 journeymen cabinet-makers, 2 journeymen boot and shoe makers, a temperate blacksmith, a sign painter.<sup>65</sup>

An accompanying dearth of specie, resulting from large exportations of it to China and California, plagued commerce early in 1847. But importations of coin partly solved the problem. The Hawaiian government ordered from the U.S. \$1,000 worth of copper pennies—and these were circulating as legal tender by the end of May. They were a flop, though; the Hawaiians didn’t like them.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, some of the stuff being passed around was no good. About the first of October counterfeiters launched a tide of bogus Bolivian dollars and half dollars onto a gullible Honolulu. The coins, dated 1830, found ready acceptance despite “a dull, pewter look.”<sup>67</sup>

Looming vaguely but menacingly over retail trade was the system of *manuahi*—a term immortalizing the custom’s founder. *Manuahi* had been at one time a clerk in the employ of E. and H. Grimes. He developed the habit of selling items at the usual price, and then making each purchaser a present—called, quite naturally, after his name. This understandably popular practice was still being carried on by some stores in 1847; when it came to the *Polynesian’s* attention, the newspaper blasted it as damaging to merchants who wouldn’t go along. Also, neighbor island residents squandered money coming to Honolulu, where they expected to get the present.<sup>68</sup>

Functioning on the periphery of the business world were Oahu’s 43 licensed hawkers and peddlers—plus, apparently, some who had not bothered to check in with the authorities. On the other hand, overzealous informers were reporting sellers legally exempt from the licensing requirement, namely, those dealing in Hawaiian produce and goods of local manufacture.<sup>69</sup>

The careers of such “mechanics” as saddlers, caulkers, shoemakers and blacksmiths remind us that those were the days of skilled handicrafts. But there, too, was the ominous “surgeon dentist” lurking in his den, prepared to “perform any operation on teeth required”—inserting molars, filling with gold or tin foil, cleaning, extracting, etc.<sup>70</sup>

Though many residents discussed with wagging heads the negative factors in the kingdom's commerce, there were signs that not all was death and decay. The 1847 building spurt brought unprecedented lumber imports: 965,222 ft., and 555,500 M of shingles between January 1 and September 7, with the sale of all expected. And at year's start the *Charles*, bound for New Bedford, carried off the most valuable cargo ever laden in Honolulu—\$350,000—\$400,000 worth of whalebone and hides.<sup>71</sup>

But business, no matter how profitable, can be a bore at times. It was with an eager eye that Honoluluans turned to every novelty or amusement that promised to release them from routine's clutch.

Certainly few could hope to outshine Señor LeBleu, who early in this year of 1847 introduced Hawaii to the daguerreotype camera. The señor's advent threw the village into a fever of excitement. Customers besieged his chambers, and "engagements"—stimulated perhaps by a canny rumor that the "artist" would run short of plates—piled up weeks in advance. The town happily succumbed to "daguerreotype mania" while the *Sandwich Islands News*, never missing a chance to harpoon government bigshots, printed sardonic directions for pictures of Foreign Minister Wyllie and Attorney General Ricord.<sup>72</sup>

A grizzly-bear feast, while of definitely inferior impact, was hardly to be ignored. A visiting ship had presented one of these animals to certain townsmen, who chained it beneath a building. But its welcome wore thin, and on Monday, January 25, it became the chief participant in a barbecue. The occasion prompted this barrage:

#### Too Boring to Bear

Surely it had been better for that bear that he had never been born, though having been born, he could not avoid being a bear, and unfortunately degenerating into a bore, his fate was not to be forborne.<sup>73</sup>

The poor grizzly gave his all in one dramatic appearance; not so Honolulu's equine population, which multiplied constantly—pestiferously, said some. To those not yet aware of the dangers implicit in the trend, J. S. Green carried his message: "Nothing renders the Hawaiians' future prospects as dark as their rage for Horses."<sup>74</sup> Haoles, presumably immune to such corrupting effects, made periodic journeys to the Waikiki racecourse with the twin objectives of having a little fun and improving the breed of Hawaiian horseflesh.<sup>75</sup>

Capt. Joseph O. Carter was a leader among the "Sporting Gentry of Honolulu," and his Mansion House a mecca. March 6 saw a big crowd on hand to witness the result of plans laid there. At Waikiki were the king, the premier, and several principal chiefs through a day unblemished by accidents or thievery. D. P. Penhallow, Capt. John Meek, and Messrs. Stupplebeen, von Pfister, Shillaber, Janion and Montgomery ran horses to such good effect that another race was announced for March 31.<sup>76</sup>

A new Jockery Club, with Meek and Carter as stewards, planned a May event.<sup>77</sup> But for some reason the "Hotspur Races", as they had become known,

languished. It was not until the end of November, apparently, that the "sporting public" was again called to the Mansion House to revive them, if possible, for the coming holidays. The meeting set up a program of 3 heats of 3½ miles each for December 30, with not more than 6 horses to start at a time.<sup>78</sup>

Occasional observances brought others together. On June 24, members of the Masonic Lodge, *Le Progres de l'Océanie*, met at their hall to celebrate the festival of St. John the Baptist, proceeding to the Bethel for a sermon under the leadership of Worshipful Master R. C. Janion.<sup>79</sup> Janion's tribe was not the only example of organized social life. Stephen Reynolds, Grand Master, headed the Lodge of Free Masons; the Pacific Lodge, IOOF, established on April 30, 1846, counted 35 members; R. W. Wood, M.D., presided over the Hawaiian Bible Society, and the Rev. S. C. Damon over the Hawaiian Tract Society. As specialized in their interests were the Nuuanu Cemetery Association (founded in 1844) under President J. F. B. Marshall, and the Oahu Temperance Society (1846), whose 41 members practiced moderation, if not abstinence, under the same leader.<sup>80</sup>

Late in October, John Barleycorn received another vote of no confidence at the formation of the Oahu Mechanics' and Workingmen's Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society—an occasion on which 28 took the pledge.<sup>81</sup> Some of these soon had a chance to show their heart; on a cold, rainy night early in November they discovered a drunk, all but drowned, reposing in one of the town's gutters. Having revived him with difficulty, they provided comfortable quarters and clean clothes, then sent him aboard his ship next morning.<sup>82</sup>

An ally of the temperance society was the "temperance house", designed to furnish board and lodging to sailors who found the boozy milieu of the common inns uncongenial. These enterprises, like the societies themselves, often had short lives. An example was the business of John Freeman, which passed to Chauncey S. Scudder and Jeremiah Wilbur on January 1, 1847. Its principal advantage, perhaps, was its location near the Seamen's Chapel.<sup>83</sup>

Less esoteric than the rites of Honolulu's fraternities was the celebration of July 4, which fell on a Sunday. Guns and firecrackers popped, flags flew, private parties revelled, and American Consul Turrill hosted a gathering of his countrymen's children. C. Brewer & Co's. counting room caught fire, but was saved. And several sots pursued their erratic ways through the streets.<sup>84</sup>

What a letter to the editor termed "Nationalized Festivals" commanded enthusiastic attention. Restoration Day commemorated Admiral Thomas' act of July 31, 1843, in ending British Commission rule. The details of this typical public display the *Polynesian* reported in exquisite minuteness, holding its editorial magnifying glass with unwavering hand over each succeeding event.<sup>85</sup> Independence Day, November 29, marked the anniversary of French and British acknowledgment of Hawaiian independence. It was observed on November 28, as the following day was Sunday. There were salutes by batteries and the government schooner, a review of troops on the plain east of town, dinners, feasts, games, a special repast for foreigners who had taken the oath of allegiance to Kamehameha III, an evening show of fireworks from the late

Kalanimoku's place on the waterside, etc. *And*, although a large number of sailors had been ashore, not a single case came up in police court next morning.<sup>86</sup>

The troops which were a prominent feature of official observances were not allowed to bask in the afterglow of their public appearances. The *Sandwich Islands News* lampooned them as the "Tongataboo Indescribables", while John R. Jasper and G. M. Robertson wrote of the "... ill organized military who are totally useless for any kind of active service."<sup>87</sup> The hapless warriors were doomed to notoriety by sheer weight of numbers; where in Honolulu could one hide the 286 mustered at the fort, the 363 King's Guards, and the 33 who served the Punchbowl hill battery?<sup>88</sup> They must have been a heavy cross for their commander-in-chief, Governor Kekuanaoa.

Jasper and Robertson volunteered their services to train an efficient body of 60 men, if the government would supply arms and clothing. They even drew up a total cost-estimate (\$570) for a blue uniform with scarlet facings, cap, and shoes. But the privy council postponed action, and the offer was withdrawn.<sup>89</sup>

And those salutes, the noisy evidence of international courtesy! Honolulu often shuddered under their reverberations. But Monday, June 28 must have been long remembered. First, the British ship in harbor exchanged salutes with the fort; it then fired a royal salute in honor of the anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation. Kekuanaoa responded with the same number of guns. He then fired 21 more in honor of the British flag. A visiting French vessel saluted its British counterpart with 21 guns, and later, when Judd boarded the Frenchman, he received 15 guns.<sup>90</sup>

Guns were no novelty, indeed, but gun cotton was. In October the *Minstrel* brought out a specimen to S. H. Williams & Co.; the *Polynesian* reported, after inspection: "It looks like any other cotton."<sup>91</sup> No less intriguing were the glimpses of Japanese craftsmanship afforded by the occasional rescue of helpless vessels from that strange land. An auction sale of goods brought in by the Bremen ship *Otaheite* witnessed spirited bidding. Excellent copper, iron and brass hoops, glue, white lead, ginger and cinnamon, plus other more exotic products, realized \$1,300.<sup>92</sup> Soon afterward came reports of another "junk" picked up after drifting for 7 months. Its crew consisted of 4 scarred and wounded men, all that remained of 17. The curiosities obtained were soon scattered about Honolulu.<sup>93</sup>

During the year "culture" limped forward along a ragged front. As always, the weariest foot soldiers in the army of uplift populated the ranks of the island's various educational institutions. At 1847's start these numbered 44:

20 district schools for Hawaiians—Protestant-church sponsored—average attendance, 700—5-day week—teacher pay, 12½ to 25¢ per day (Kawaihauo)  
1 select school

1 school for teachers, taught 2 days a week by a Lahainaluna graduate

6 district schools for Hawaiians—Protestant-church sponsored—average attendance, 600 (Kaumakapili)

9 Catholic-sponsored schools in Honolulu and vicinity—attendance, 350  
[all of the above supported by the Hawaiian government]

William Tenooe's English school—established about 1844 by a Hawaiian who had spent many years in the U.S., and who returned with the first company of missionaries—terms, 12½ to 25¢ per week per scholar—average attendance, over 50. Unfortunately, the schoolhouse was not finished, and parents often failed to pay tuition.

Oahu Charity School—average attendance, 50. This was, properly speaking, the only public school in Honolulu for instruction in the English language. Mixed-blood and Caucasian children were admitted, none being turned away for want of money. Mr. Enoch L. Hatch, the current teacher, got \$600 a year. This, plus outlay for books, repairs, etc., made the cost per pupil between \$15 and \$20 a year. Funds were low. Student ages ranged from 5 to 16.

Young Chiefs' Boarding School—16 pupils—Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke and Thomas Douglas, teachers—annual expense, over \$3,000 (about \$200 per pupil)—for years supported entirely by the Hawaiian government.

Punahou School—maintained by the ABCFM—for the education of missionaries' children—the Rev. Mr. Dole in charge of instruction—attendance, 25 to 40—tuition, \$10 per quarter.

Mrs. Gummer's school—for girls—founded, 1845—average attendance, 20.

Mr. Stidolph's school—recently established for mixed-blood children—terms: 50¢ per week.

James E. Wilcox's select school—opened November 19, 1846—Wilcox offered to teach for \$150 per quarter or \$600 per year, if room rent would be paid for by friends and patrons. School opened with 5 scholars, increased to 14 by January 1, 1847—tuition: higher branches, \$12 per quarter—primary, \$10—tuition objected to as being excessively high by some parents and by *The Friend*. Wilcox made adjustments; for his third 11-week quarter, starting May 24, charges were: higher branches, \$10; common branches, \$8; beginners, \$6; incidental expenses, 25¢; furnishing desks, 75¢.

Some tried to serve those with special interests. In May, Mr. M. Page, late master of the schooner *Mary Ann*, advertised his intention to open an evening school for trigonometry, geometry, navigation, astronomy, arithmetic, geography, etc. And during the same month, Messrs. Wirt (secretary to the French consul) and Callot (from the Central School, Paris), proposed instruction in French language and literature, at \$5 per month, private lessons to be paid for separately.<sup>94</sup>

It is to be assumed that Sunday found most, if not all, of the schools' clientele at church. To meet their spiritual needs, and those of the general population, there were:

Kawaiahao (Protestant)—the Rev. R. Armstrong—1,400 members

Kaumakapili (Protestant)—the Rev. L. Smith—1,188 members

Roman Catholic church—Bishop L. D. Maigret—2,000 members, approximately

Oahu Bethel—the Rev. S. C. Damon—26 members

Furnishing a grand total of 4,614 church members in Honolulu, in a population of about 10,000.

Such figures puncture a 20th-century stereotype which pictures the 19th as God-fearing and church-going. The preconception may have been more or less true of the Hawaiians, but a substantial proportion of others were church-fearing, if not God-damning. The *Polynesian* grumbled that "the attendance of foreign residents on divine worship is very limited", estimating the average as less than one-tenth of the total foreign population at Damon's Bethel.<sup>95</sup> Kawaiahao and Kaumakapili, classed as "native churches", held services at 9:30 and 2:30, the Seamen's Chapel (Bethel) at 11:00 and 7:30. Foreigners attending the first two were given the unusual privilege of occupying seats, but even so, they had an annoying tendency to leave early, probably because they couldn't understand the preacher's Hawaiian.<sup>96</sup>

Damon, one of the town's most constructive influences, tried to make his Bethel an uplifting force. Charity was not forgotten: for example, in September the church accommodated a benefit concert—tickets, \$2 each—staged to pay passage to the U.S. for Dr. Gilbert Watson and family. The doctor, impoverished by a long illness, was stranded in Honolulu.<sup>97</sup>

But the house of God did not escape the pettiness of this world. In the latter part of 1847 the Bethel's capacity was doubled by building galleries to contain 130 worshippers, and by turning the whole edifice into one hall. Nevertheless, some foreign residents who objected to sitting cheek by jowl with common sailors off the whaleships pressed for a restricted-seat policy. During the following debate it was pointed out that the chapel's original purpose was to serve seamen. Compromises were studied, but at the end of November a meeting of shipmasters voted a 100 per cent free-seat policy, and this was accepted. The sensitive found comfort in a promise to cushion the whole chapel as funds allowed.<sup>98</sup>

As the churches perched upon their moral buttes, they surveyed less elevated institutions with misgiving. One such was the theater, suspected by many of being a tool of the devil. Dramatic presentations were by no means unknown in Honolulu; indeed, there existed in the mid-forties a playhouse called the Arbitration. But the first attempt to establish a regular theater bore fruit on September 11, 1847, with the opening of the Thespian in Maunakea Street. A chief backer of this project was Charles Vincent, then the town's leading builder. Curtain time was 7:30 for those who had paid \$1 for one of the 75 boxes or 50¢ for one of the 200 seats in the pit. Theatergoers with extracurricular diversions in mind were warned that "Most strict attention will be paid to preserving order, and for this purpose a strong and efficient Police will be constantly in attendance."<sup>99</sup> No bar was permitted in the theater. And with proper deference to royalty, a curtained private box on the right, just over the stage, was reserved for the king.

Things got off to a fine start at the initial performance: Good order and excellent humor prevailed, the plays were over by 10 o'clock, and everybody retired quietly. Flaws soon surfaced, however. Within two weeks the *Polynesian* was protesting the "utter want of makeup some female characters are guilty of" an omission all the more glaring because men often played such roles. Too, the offerings were definitely sub-Shakespearean. A notable example was



"Tom Thumb"—an effort whose title aptly suggested the stature of Honolulu's esthetic achievements, if not of its aspirations. But even during this ordeal things went passably well until—horrors!—a man in the dress circle was seen to remove his coat. And Honolulu was back in the dark ages.<sup>100</sup>

Within two months of its opening, the Thespian was locked up for repairs and alterations. It was back in business on November 28 with "enlarged seats", new scenery and dresses.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile, though, plans for a greater house were astir. Near mid-October the privy council studied a foreign residents' petition on the subject. Characteristically, the king and Foreign Minister Wyllie favored it, while G. P. Judd withheld his vote.<sup>102</sup> The ayes won, and soon stockholders were chipping in \$25 a share for a proposed 500-seat building incorporating a pit and two tiers of boxes.<sup>103</sup>

Those inclined to reading were not without resources. Importation and exchange of books and papers thrived, while three presses at Honolulu spawned various publications. The government press—James J. Jarves, Director and Charles E. Hitchcock, Printer—had been established on May 1, 1844. Among other items (such as statutes and reports) it issued the *Polynesian* weekly. This English-language journal cost subscribers \$6 a year—providing income which, plus advertising revenues, job printing receipts, etc.—allowed the press to operate at an average loss of about \$100 a month. Jarves' own earnings from salary and commissions brought him something like \$1,800 a year, to which was added government-supplied housing.<sup>104</sup> The *Polynesian* got a new look on May 22, 1847. Its size nearly doubled, to 23" × 35"; the old type was sold to California buyers; a new press and type went to work.<sup>105</sup> And the government put up a new, two-story coral office at what is today the mauka-waikiki corner of Merchant and Bethel Streets.<sup>106</sup>

This press also printed S. C. Damon's semi-monthly, *The Friend* (devoted to temperance, seamen's moral edification, marine and general intelligence), which cost readers \$2.50 a year; and a monthly, *The Oahu Fountain* (a temperance journal edited by G. M. Robertson), which cost only the labor of reading it. Vol. I, No. 1 of the *Fountain* appeared opportunely on January 1, 1847, just in time to bolster New Year's resolutions. It was delivered with *The Friend*.<sup>107</sup>

The Sandwich Islands Mission ran its own press, the products of which furthered the missionary effort. Among these was a semi-monthly Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Elele* (The Messenger), disseminating general intelligence. Under the editorship of the Rev. Richard Armstrong, it sold for \$1 a year.<sup>108</sup>

Established in 1846 was the Sandwich Islands News Association press. It issued the *Sandwich Islands News*, devoted to horizontal and vertical criticism of the Hawaiian regime, and edited by A. G. Abell, R. C. Janion and J. B. de Fiennes—a trio united by incandescent hatred of His Hawaiian Majesty's government. The paper's columns spewed a saturating fire of vituperation across the field of public affairs, with special attention given to the persons and careers of ministers of state—moral cretins afflicted with



some kind of intellectual deficiency disease. Six dollars brought a year's supply of the *News* to one's doorstep.

In a world not yet blessed with comic books and girlie magazines, the writing and reading of letters had literary overtones. But the circulation of what had been composed presented frustrating difficulties. Specifically, Honolulu in 1847 had no postoffice. Inter-island mail was carried free of charge by shipmasters in a "system" the *Polynesian* considered adequate. The *Sandwich Islands News*, predictably contrary, called for post offices and post routes at and between Honolulu and Lahaina, ". . . if at no other part of the kingdom."<sup>109</sup> Everybody agreed that foreign mail was a problem. Ships of every description carried letters (and official dispatches), and in the absence of a postoffice, the practice was to leave them with various merchants around town, with the *Polynesian*, with the Rev. Damon, etc.—hence the sporadic appearance of lists naming those who had mail at such and such a location. The *Polynesian* volunteered the use of its office for a postal depot, suggesting how the thing could be managed, and noting that a "trifling charge" on each letter would pay expenses.<sup>110</sup>

People with a thirst for "news" from abroad that could not be slaked by the local press had other resources. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, a New York monthly, tried to avoid everything of "party, political, or sectional bias or bearing". It kept its focus on statistics, principles, and law in currency, agriculture and manufacturing—cost: \$3 a year, according to the *Polynesian* ad. Charles E. Hitchcock, plain and fancy book and job printer, also had a newspaper agency prepared to take subscriptions to any New York or Boston papers or periodicals.<sup>111</sup>

Children's and school books could be had too at Hitchcock's, while adult readers were offered—among other items—the Waverly Novels (27 vols.), an illustrated *Oliver Twist*, Longfellow's poems, a batch of Carlyle's efforts, and a scattering of works on history, botany, travels, biography, drama, and religion. Promising special insight was Mrs. Jameson's *Characteristics of Women*, presumably with a spiritual and intellectual orientation.

Piano music from London—songs, quadrilles, and so forth—included the compositions of artists whose very names exude romantic mediocrity: Henselt, Knight, Musard, Carnaud. But there too was the formidable Czerny, with whom even today's musical aspirant may be required to grapple.

To go with the London music there was a London piano—6¼ octaves, cottage shape, crimson silk, in a mahogany case. And, of course, those carved legs immortalized by the old newspaper howler ("For sale: a piano by a lady with. . .", etc.). The owner wanted \$350.<sup>112</sup>

Paper work of all sorts was on the wide-ranging mind of R. C. Wyllie. As the structure of government was being forced into shape, he became aware of an embarrassing lack of pointers to the past. Government documents were scattered hither and yon—piled up in mouldering heaps at the fort, on the shelves of private citizens, in the hands of chiefs, held by the heirs of deceased luminaries, and what not. It was Don Marin's journal that inspired action. After reading it, Wyllie asked Kekuanaoa to send him all the papers in the

governor's possession. Beginning on March 9, Wyllie, his clerk, and one or two Hawaiians were busy examining and sorting the "useful" papers from the rubbish. Many records were rotten or totally destroyed by damp. Wyllie begged for everything legible, promising to return all significant items after they had been properly arranged. On March 13 he asked the privy council for an order directing all chiefs to send their collections to Wyllie at the foreign office. This was done. Dr. Rooke got instructions to bring in his papers of Marin, of the late John Young, and any other records of past government transactions. The premier dispatched a similar message to Pilot Alexander Adams, to the family of the late William Sumner, and to others who might have official papers. Wyllie's remark: This should have been done long before.<sup>113</sup> So began the Archives of Hawaii. Today we owe much to Wyllie's industry and foresight; and as we scan the spotty documentary remains of the 1820s, 30s and early 40s, we must agree that the hour was indeed late.

Among the items which swelled the files being organized were records of marriage and divorce. When it was a question of Hawaiians only, there was no great problem. But the union of native and foreigner was another matter. A law of November, 1840, required a foreigner marrying a Hawaiian to swear allegiance to the king. This went into the statute laws of 1845-1846, which also stipulated a marriage license from the governor of the island where the woman lived, that no undivorced mate be living, and that the male should be at least 17 years old and the female 14.<sup>114</sup>

The whole affair was restudied for a report to the 1847 legislative council. Abner Pahi, Mataio Kekuanaoa, Keoni Ana and Ioane Ii, appointed to do the job, gave their thoughts: Unnaturalized foreigners should not be allowed to marry Hawaiians because: (1) after a year or so, the husband often returned to his own country, deserting his wife; (2) the women were left in destitution; (3) husbands could take all the children with them; (4) the abandoned wife could not remarry for 4 years, and then only if she had no issue by the departed mate; (5) some adulterous foreigners left within a month of their marriage; (6) if an unnaturalized foreigner died in Hawaii, his property belonged, not to his wife, but to his "friends" in a foreign land.<sup>115</sup>

Nonetheless foreigners, both visiting and resident, often exhaled outraged snorts at the naturalization requirement.<sup>116</sup> For this reason the law of 1847 set an alternative to the oath: a bond of not more than \$1,000 to the minister of the interior, pledging faithful performance of marital and parental duties, and promising no departure without adequate provisions for support.<sup>117</sup> To celebrate the new dispensation, Keoni Ana wrote to Kekuanaoa on November 17: "Herewith is a new book for performing marriages, it is very pretty. You give it to N. Hoolilimanu, your Deputy for that office. . . ." The book was, indeed, "very pretty"—so much so that Kekuanaoa demanded and got one like it for himself that same day.<sup>118</sup>

The other side of the coin is divorce; here, too, Kekuanaoa functioned to deliver on-the-spot judgments officially issued from his *Hale Oihana Kiaaina, Papu o Honolulu* (Governor's Office, Honolulu Fort).<sup>119</sup> Just as today, the

lists compiled as a result of his labors saw print in the newspapers of the time.<sup>120</sup>

In the public arena, government struggled with—among other dilemmas—internal improvements, heavy taxes, rambunctious consuls, and the question of what to do with chiefesses. The first three problems were more or less routine, but how to dispose of those portly ladies—or rather, how to work them into the evolving machinery of government without stripping the gears—demanded finesse.<sup>121</sup> Waiting in the wings were Keohokalole, Kalama, Keelikolani, Konia, Alapai and Kekauonohi. To each went a letter, saying in substance: You have been admitted to the Privy Council because of your rank. Your husband will tell you when meetings are held, but you are not required to be present if you don't wish to come.<sup>122</sup> Beautifully done.

The town's corps of prostitutes operated efficiently on a less exalted level without the attentions of the privy council. Whatever official recognition they enjoyed was most likely to come from the police, whom they outnumbered at least ten to one. Spotlights bracketed Honolulu's ladies of the evening when, early in 1847, a proposed severe law against *moe kolohe* (adultery) was being argued. The recommended punishment was: for the second offense, near drowning and banishment, and for the third, hanging. In discussing this, the *Sandwich Islands News* paid its customary respects to officialdom: The "great mass" of the population in remote districts had to send off most of the females to port towns in order to get money to pay taxes. Every facility was afforded by government vessels for conveying this "human merchandise" to market. Should the suggested law be passed, the result would be to send the whole native population, to say nothing of the privy council itself, to foreign parts within a month, and their return would be to a general gallows.<sup>123</sup>

This unflattering assessment of island morality received at least partial confirmation in the marshal's report appearing in the *Polynesian* some four months later. Here fornication got twin star billing with thievery in the crime picture.<sup>124</sup> Burglary and robbery received frequent press notices. Just at the end of 1846, there was a brazen attempt to enter the Protestant Mission depository; other cases had been heard of; petty stealing prevailed, and it was believed that "a gang of bold and skillful rogues" were at work.<sup>125</sup> In January, 1847, Judge Turrill, the American consul, lost \$50-\$100 to a robber alleged to be a former servant. And an unexpected development occurred at Señor LeBleu's studio when an anonymous malefactor, focusing on quick wealth from daguerreotypography, snapped up \$250.<sup>126</sup>

The greatest lawful punishment—banishment to another island—was meted out to burglars caught, but crime went on and on: Judge Lee lost money and clothing; Henry Downton's store was entered via a hole in the adobe wall and goods were taken; tailor Campbell's house was burgled of \$740.<sup>127</sup> This last heist took place less than three weeks after the *Polynesian* had boasted of the vacant courts, and of the "unwonted peace and absence of contention in society."<sup>128</sup> Campbell's despoilers were soon brought to book; they turned out to be a precious quartette—George Morgan, Duncan McClean, Joe Esqueth and Anthony Jenkins. The last-named turned king's evidence to

save his hide<sup>129</sup>—a gambit which failed signally when Jenkins got a sentence of five years on Kahoolawe.<sup>130</sup> The prize character was Morgan. By early November he had been convicted of burglary and larceny, and was in jail awaiting banishment. Within a few days he broke out with the aid of a chum. But within another few days he was back in confinement, dragging a 60-pound iron ball.<sup>131</sup>

Meanwhile, police wrapped up the January 30, 1846 burglary of British Consul General Miller's place—a case in which Miller gave the authorities a very bad time. The goods—several hundred dollars in gold, a gold watch, seals, coins, jewels, a chain, etc.—were traced to a house at Barber's Point. There in a chest was the loot. Now Morgan was in more trouble: The chest was his, and the house was his father-in-law's.<sup>132</sup>

Despite Morgan's efforts, 1847's winning nominee for the haul of fame was one James F. Lewis, a swarthy six-footer addicted to the wearing of small gold earrings—a habit so traditionally linked with piratical leanings that it should have been a tipoff. On Friday, December 17, Lewis—who kept the National Hotel for owner Joe Booth—departed with some \$8,000 in gold and silver, plus a bill of exchange for \$900. The absconder also left creditors mourning the loss of about \$1,000 in unpaid debts. Working with an accomplice, apparently Capt. Champlin of the *Henry Tuke*, Lewis escaped in that vessel and got clean away. Booth circulated a description of the thief, offering a \$500 reward, but the only result he got was a bill for using space in the *Polynesian*.<sup>133</sup> There were now available two licenses to retail spirituous liquors, and other licenses to keep a billiard table and a bowling alley. At Booth's request, William Wond was allowed to fill in for the absent Lewis, and business proceeded.<sup>134</sup>

Potentially more shocking than this affair was a plot revealed during the first half of the year. Mid-January found Capt. Joseph Maughan writing to Kekuanaoa from Port Russell, Bay of Islands, New Zealand: Maughan had heard men aboard his own ship boast that they would have seized the *Kamehameha III* in the fall of 1846 had not H.B.M.S. *Juno* been in Honolulu at the time. The captain, showing a partiality for capital letters typical of the period, advised placing a guard on the royal yacht "As long as your Excellency suffers so many Deserters to be at large and likewise Men to be discharged from Ships under protection of Consuls as they term it contrary to your Port regulations."<sup>135</sup>

Maughan named names, and the *Polynesian* reported that the same bunch threatened arson as soon as they returned to Hawaii. The paper urged careful control of seamen's discharges, referring to the 1846 difficulties with former U.S. Consul Alexander G. Abell, who had "greatly opposed the Hawaiian government" in its attempts to enforce discharge rules.<sup>136</sup>

On May 1 island authorities posted a \$500 reward for information leading to the detection and conviction of a "secret lodge or society of rogues" still existing in Honolulu, and banded together by an oath of fidelity under a desperate leader. Their object: to get hold of the *Kamehameha III* or other fast vessel and cruise about for purposes not yet disclosed, but believed to be

piratical. This gang was also believed to have a new figure-head and stern-board for the *Kamehameha III*, and sets of false papers (one Mexican). The supposed modus operandi: Take passage to Maui, produce concealed arms and overpower the crew, who would then be put ashore on Lanai.<sup>137</sup>

Providing an obligato to these virtuoso performances were the routine offenders who came before the police court to receive their deserts for drunkenness, fighting, petty theft, etc. Less ordinary were a couple of cases of smuggling, the finding of a dead, new-born infant in a well, the conviction of Leonard Mitchell and Samuel Vose for allowing gambling at their victualing house, and the case of Leleiohoku, Governor of Hawaii, who was charged by police with being drunk and belligerent on the night of November 25 (four witnesses). Kekuanaoa thought this merited dismissal from office, and the privy council scheduled a meeting to mull over the fracas.<sup>138</sup> Kekuanaoa could sometimes be a little quick on the trigger; in July Keoni Ana had ordered him to re-try a case in which the defense witnesses had not been allowed to testify, and gave general instructions not to render a decision without hearing the evidence on both sides.<sup>139</sup>

The police setup which had to cope with Honolulu's assorted bad eggs was not elaborate:

Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands	Henry Sea
Sheriff of Oahu and ex officio Prefect of Police for Honolulu	A. P. Brickwood
Deputy Sheriff of Oahu and ex officio Prefect of Police (appointed May 18)	A. Potter
Officers of the Honolulu Police	2
Honolulu Policemen <sup>140</sup>	34

As usual, the man in charge wanted more. Sea pleaded for a force of 50 and 4 officers. And pay was another problem. The marshal urged a basic \$6 a month, plus freedom from all taxes and labor days. As it was, the police were free of taxes, but had to depend for cash on a three-way split of fines among the government, the party injured, and the constables employed on the case.<sup>141</sup> This practice apparently held all along the line; in the Mitchell and Vose matter, for example, the Prefect of Police was entitled to half the \$500 fine, less 10 per cent.

John Ricord, attorney-general, headed the legal works. His assistant was John R. Jasper, district attorney for Oahu.<sup>142</sup>

Then there were the courts, which Ricord on one scandalous occasion had called "God Almighty". At the apex was W. L. Lee's superior court. The court of Oahu, Judges Lee and Lorrin Andrews, dealt with foreigners' cases. The same two men also served as judges of probate, another facet of their work involving foreign residents. The foreign cases were held at C. H. Nicholson's former residence, while Charles Gordon Hopkins, special police justice, deliberated in his own home, near the superior court.<sup>143</sup>

Even less fortunate, perhaps, than those enmeshed in the web of justice were the sick—especially when they were far from home and friends. Consider

the case of Thomas Bensen, a Danish sailor hurt in a whaling accident. He was put ashore at Honolulu with his accrued pay—\$11. Wyllie, acting Danish consul in the absence of the regular Suwerkrop, wrote to Harbor Master Penhallow that he would take guardianship of Bensen until the man could be reshipped. Wyllie then asked Dr. Wood of the American hospital to receive the injured sailor—and, remembering those \$11—to keep the charges as low as possible.<sup>144</sup> Royal Danish Consul Suwerkrop returned; he refused to let Wyllie pay Bensen's hospital bill. British Consul General Miller would do nothing because Bensen was a Dane, although serving on a British ship. All Wyllie could do was send Suwerkrop \$13 received from Capt. Coffin, Bensen's shipmaster.<sup>145</sup>

Scurvy has a sort of 18th-century sound, with vague overtones of lime juice, bleeding gums, and loose teeth. The disease, readily corrected by vitamin C, is always fatal if not treated. In 1847 doctors knew little about the causes of scurvy, but everybody in Honolulu knew about its effects. On 20 November, 37 whalers were in port or outside, with others arriving daily. Several vessels carried scurvy-stricken crews; the victims were lugged through the streets on their way to hospitals. And there were deaths. Greed was to blame; fishing had been so good in the Sea of Okhotsk that ships stayed overtime to exploit their luck.<sup>146</sup>

Whatever their ailments, sailors—depending on their nationality—found one of three institutions waiting: (1) the American hospital, under John Ladd, had cared for 156 seamen during 1846. *The Friend* praised it as airy, neat and clean “in every department”; (2) Joe Booth's British hospital, “Little Greenwich”, in Pauoa Valley, also drew favorable comment. Its 1846 record: 37 British inmates, and 26 of other origin; (3) the French hospital, by far the smallest, served only 9 in 1846.<sup>147</sup>

Added to the threat of disease were the dangers of whaling. *The Friend* ran obituary notices gleaned from visiting ships; the resulting desultory coverage extended from Chile and the Northwest Coast of North America to Kamchatka: Gorham Thing, 26, and Joseph Simmons died when whales stove in their boats; whales also killed Ledger Williams, 17, an unnamed man from the *Catherine*, and George Bailey, third mate of the *Cortes*. Drowned by boat upsets or otherwise were William Henry Hassell, and George Pierson of the *Columbia*. A Portuguese boatsteerer on the *Menkar* got entangled in his line, was taken down, and never seen again; a similar fate befell Anton Fortan, also Portuguese, and the third officer and two seamen of the *Otaheite*. John Wardworth fell from the *Cherokee's* foretopsail yard. Luckless Robert Dager, 21, Henry Rickscharetz, and Jose Sylva were lost overboard.<sup>148</sup>

Nor did death stay his hand in Honolulu. Well-known faces disappeared forever: William Sumner, Sr., 61, had lived in the islands for 41 years; John Kedzlie, a Scotsman, had spent half his 53 years in Hawaii; Hannah Holmes Jones, one-time wife of U.S. Consul John C. Jones, died at 46 after a long and distressing sickness; Dr. Richard Ford, 52-year-old Britisher, died on May 1; William Thompson, also from England, went on June 3; blacksmith Amos Ford of Boston had been a Hawaii resident since 1833; but Charles



Brewer's infant son, Isaac Curtis Brewer, was less than eight weeks old. The Rev. William Richards, government adviser and minister of public instruction, died on November 7 at 55. And near 1847's end, David Lyons, 60, died after a residence of more than 40 years.<sup>149</sup>

Despite a latter-day misconception, not all of these and other foreigners living in Hawaii were tycoons. John Glandthorp, a German blacksmith discharged from the *Bremen* in the fall of 1846, died intestate on April 7, 1847. Henry Sea, Public Administrator of the Hawaiian Islands, deposited the man's net estate in the Foreign Intestate Estate Account—\$92.82. The money was forwarded to Glandthorp's needy mother.<sup>150</sup>

Minister Richards left his wife with a family, an unfinished house on Beretania Street, and \$500 (after debts had been paid). Mrs. Richards could neither afford to finish the house, nor to pay someone to watch it and the lumber. After negotiations and a close look at the state of the treasury, the government decided to: (1) have the lady surrender the house, materials, and land for \$4,200; (2) have her deposit \$5,000 with the treasury, with 10% interest payable to her and her heirs; (3) grant her a suitable house site, if she should decide to build; (4) also grant her a lifetime annuity of \$800 and, after her death, \$400 to her children, as long as any of them remained unprovided for.<sup>151</sup>

A petty, and all too typical, squabble marked Richards' passing. Judd asked the Abbe Desvaut of the Catholic cathedral to ring his church bells for the funeral. Desvaut said he would do so only if it would be considered a purely civil, not a religious, act. Judd left it to Desvaut to decide. The bells rang, for Judd later instructed the Abbe to send the bellringer to him for pay. Desvaut's reply: The bellringer expected no pay other than what God would accord him.<sup>152</sup>

Some, of course, departed Honolulu without leaving the world as well. Prominent in this category were John Ricord and James Jackson Jarves. Jarves, a talented man who subsequently had a notable career, had been director of the government press since July 29, 1844. He asked to resign as of October 1, giving health as the reason. His actual sailing date: about February 1, 1848.<sup>153</sup> Jarves deserves remembrance here for able public service and for his history of Hawaii.<sup>154</sup> A grateful government tendered its thanks and entrusted him with various missions abroad.

Ricord, also an energetic and capable man, was more controversial, partly because of his job as attorney general, and partly because of his personality. He had held office since March 9, 1844. It was in May that he announced his intention to leave for California, but he did not take ship until the middle of August. Ricord's government inventory showed a library of 134 volumes, including a 13-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. His office furniture: 1 stand of drawers for blank forms, 1 pigeon-holed case, 2 book cases, 2 tables, 5 common cane-bottom chairs, 1 Chinese office chair, 1 writing desk, and 1 cushioned clerk's stool.<sup>155</sup>

It was easy to resign; it proved much harder to actually get out of town. Ricord had taken the oath of allegiance to Kamehameha. Now U.S. Com-

missioner Ten Eyck protested that the erstwhile attorney general could not undo his act just by taking the paper back and getting the king's release. Ten Eyck refused to extend American protection while Ricord stayed in Hawaii.<sup>156</sup>

More seriously, Ricord was in debt \$1,980.69—a fact which he communicated to the cabinet council “for information only”.<sup>157</sup> This put the government on the spot: The exchequer was low, and there was the matter of establishing a precedent. But the council finally granted him a loan of \$2,000, payable on demand with interest, combining this act of generosity with a resolution that henceforth it would never let any of the king's ministers secure relief under such circumstances.<sup>158</sup> Thus rescued, Ricord moved out of his free quarters at Kanaana late in June. Some two months later Ten Eyck informed Wyllie that the man had gone to San Francisco. The commissioner's reaction: good riddance.<sup>159</sup>

Ah, well! Though many had gone, a handful of old-timers still trundled along. There were, for example, James Robinson, in the islands since 1822; Alexander Adams, an inhabitant since 1810; Stephen Reynolds, who first visited in 1811 and came to stay in 1823; Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, a Honolulu since 1829; and old Capt. Eliab Grimes, living in Hawaii off and on since 1803.<sup>160</sup> They made it through 1847, and all except Grimes survived at least another decade.

By early December, Christmas gifts were featured in the newspaper ads; the great day itself saw the usual visiting, present-sending, and wishes for a Merry Christmas to all. Unusual was a missionary picnic at Punahou, where about 90 gathered in what seemed most like “a good, old-fashioned New England Thanksgiving”.<sup>161</sup> And Honolulu plunged into 1848.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> P, Jan. 2, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Nov. 4, 1847.

<sup>5</sup> P, Oct. 23, 1847.

<sup>6</sup> SIN, Nov. 4, 1847.

<sup>7</sup> SIN, Dec. 2, 1847.

<sup>8</sup> P, Jan. 9, Sept. 25, 1847.

<sup>9</sup> P, May 22, 1847.

<sup>10</sup> P, Sept. 25, 1847.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> P, May 22, Sept. 25, 1847.

<sup>13</sup> P, Sept. 4, 1847.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.



- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>18</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>19</sup> P, Jan. 1, 1848.
- <sup>20</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>21</sup> Jan. 20, 1847.
- <sup>22</sup> Sept. 25, 1847.
- <sup>23</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>24</sup> SIN, April 7, 1847.
- <sup>25</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>26</sup> Receipt, May 24, 1847, in File M115, AH.
- <sup>27</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>28</sup> Statute Laws, 1845-1846, I, 35.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.
- <sup>30</sup> Victualler's Bond to Antonio Manuel and William Gill, Aug. 2, 1847, IDM; P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>31</sup> P, May 22, 1847.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>33</sup> Statute Laws, 1845-1846, I, 34; P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>34</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>35</sup> FOLB, V, 193; FOLB, X, 107.
- <sup>36</sup> P, July 24, 1847.
- <sup>37</sup> SIN, Mar. 3, 1847.
- <sup>38</sup> P, Feb. 6, 1847.
- <sup>39</sup> FO & Ex, July 1, 1847.
- <sup>40</sup> P, Oct. 9, 1947.
- <sup>41</sup> P, Dec. 11, 1847.
- <sup>42</sup> Sept. 11, 1847.
- <sup>43</sup> P, April 17 and May 15, 1847.
- <sup>44</sup> P, Nov. 6, 1847.
- <sup>45</sup> P, Nov. 20, 1847.
- <sup>46</sup> F, Dec. 16, 1847, p. 190.
- <sup>47</sup> SIN, Jan. 6, 1848
- <sup>48</sup> P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>49</sup> SIN, June 23, 1847; P, June 26, 1847.
- <sup>50</sup> June 26, 1847.
- <sup>51</sup> Oct. 30, 1847.
- <sup>52</sup> SIN, Nov. 25, 1847.
- <sup>53</sup> F, Dec. 2, 1847, p. 181
- <sup>54</sup> SIN, July 14, 1847.
- <sup>55</sup> F, Jan. 1, 1848, p. 5.
- <sup>56</sup> P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>57</sup> P, May 29 and Sept. 25, 1847 and Jan. 1, 1848.

- <sup>58</sup> P, May 29 and Sept. 25, 1847.
- <sup>59</sup> PCR, IV, 25, 27.
- <sup>60</sup> Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>61</sup> P, Feb. 6, 1847.
- <sup>62</sup> P, June 19, 1847.
- <sup>63</sup> Sept. 4, 1847.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> P, Feb. 6, May 22 and 29, June 19, Aug. 21 and 28, Sept. 4, 1847.
- <sup>66</sup> P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>67</sup> P, Oct. 30, 1847.
- <sup>68</sup> Nov. 13, 1847.
- <sup>69</sup> P, May 29, 1847.
- <sup>70</sup> P, Dec. 11, 1847.
- <sup>71</sup> P, Sept. 11, 1847; Dec. 26, 1846.
- <sup>72</sup> Feb. 3, 1847.
- <sup>73</sup> P, Jan. 30, 1847.
- <sup>74</sup> SIN, April 28, 1847.
- <sup>75</sup> SIN, Mar. 3, 1847.
- <sup>76</sup> SIN, Mar. 10, 1847.
- <sup>77</sup> SIN, May 5, 1847.
- <sup>78</sup> SIN, Dec. 2, 1847.
- <sup>79</sup> P, June 19, 1847.
- <sup>80</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>81</sup> P, Oct. 30, 1847; SIN, Nov. 4, 1847.
- <sup>82</sup> P, Nov. 13, 1847.
- <sup>83</sup> F, Jan. 1, 1847, p. 7.
- <sup>84</sup> P, July 10, 1847.
- <sup>85</sup> Aug. 7, 1847.
- <sup>86</sup> SIN, Dec. 2, 1847; P, Dec. 4, 1847.
- <sup>87</sup> FO & Ex, Dec. 3, 1847.
- <sup>88</sup> P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>89</sup> FO & Ex, Oct. 9, 1847; PCR, IV, 73, 74.
- <sup>90</sup> P, July 3, 1847.
- <sup>91</sup> Oct. 30, 1847.
- <sup>92</sup> P, Nov. 27, 1847.
- <sup>93</sup> P, Dec. 11, 1847.
- <sup>94</sup> F, Dec. 15, 1846, pp. 188-189 and Jan. 1, 1847, p. 4; P, Jan. 9, May 15 and July 29, 1847; SIN, May 5, 1847.
- <sup>95</sup> Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>96</sup> F, Sept. 23, 1847, p. 139.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- <sup>98</sup> P, Oct. 30, 1847; F, Nov. 18, 1847, pp. 172-173 and Dec. 2, 1847, p. 181.
- <sup>99</sup> P, Sept. 11 and 18, 1847.

- 100 P, Sept. 25 and Nov. 20, 1847.
- 101 P, Nov. 13 and 20, 1847.
- 102 PCR, IV, 73.
- 103 P, Oct. 30, 1847.
- 104 P, Jan. 9, 1847; FO & Ex, July 27, 1847; IDM, April 1 and 30, 1847.
- 105 IDM, April 1, 1847; P, May 15, 1847.
- 106 P, May 22 and 29, 1847.
- 107 F, Jan. 1, 1847 and P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- 108 P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- 109 P, Dec. 11, 1847; SIN, Dec. 9, 1847.
- 110 Dec. 11, 1847; F, May 1, 1847, p. 71 and Nov. 4, 1847, p. 165.
- 111 P, May 22, 1847.
- 112 P, Mar. 27, 1847.
- 113 PCR, II, 319-323.
- 114 Statute Laws, 1845-1846, I, 57.
- 115 FO & Ex, April 27, 1847.
- 116 Example: W. E. Maikai to W. L. Lee, Aug. 17, 1847, enclosing Admiral Seymour's objections.
- 117 Statute Laws, 1847, II, 94-95.
- 118 IDLB, II, Part 1, 179, 180.
- 119 Example in FO & Ex, April 15, 1847.
- 120 FO & Ex, Jan. 15, 1847.
- 121 P, May 29, 1847.
- 122 IDLB, II, Part 1, 62.
- 123 Mar. 10, 1847.
- 124 July 3, 1847.
- 125 P, Jan. 2, 1847; SIN, Jan. 20, 1847.
- 126 P, Jan. 30, 1847.
- 127 P, July 24 and Sept. 25, 1847.
- 128 Sept. 4, 1847.
- 129 IDM, Sept. 29, 1847.
- 130 P, Jan. 8, 1848.
- 131 IDM, Nov. 10, 1847; P, Nov. 13 and 20, 1847.
- 132 P, Nov. 20, 1847.
- 133 P, Dec. 25, 1847.
- 134 IDM, Dec. 22, 1847.
- 135 FO & Ex, Jan. 17, 1847.
- 136 May 1, 1847.
- 137 *Ibid.*
- 138 FO & Ex, Dec. 2, 1847; FO & Ex, April 24 and 27, 1847; P, Sept. 25, 1847; IDM, Aug. 4, 1847.
- 139 IDLB, II, Part 1, 83.
- 140 P, Jan. 9, May 22 and 29, July 3, 1847.

- <sup>141</sup> P, May 29 and July 3, 1847.
- <sup>142</sup> P, May 8, 1847.
- <sup>143</sup> PCR, II, 104; P, Jan. 9 May 8 and 29, June 5, 1847; *Hawaiian Journal of History*, II (1968), 39-41.
- <sup>144</sup> FO & Ex, Mar. 23, 1847.
- <sup>145</sup> FO & Ex, July 14, 1847.
- <sup>146</sup> P, Nov. 20, 1847; SIN, Nov. 25, 1847.
- <sup>147</sup> F, May 15, 1847, p. 77; P, Jan. 9, 1847.
- <sup>148</sup> F, April 1, 1847, p. 54; May 15, p. 79; Sept. 9, p. 134; Oct. 21, p. 158; Dec. 2, p. 182; Dec. 26, p. 190.
- <sup>149</sup> F, Jan. 15, 1847, p. 15; Mar. 1, p. 39; May 1, p. 71; May 15, p. 79; June 15, p. 95; July 16, p. 102; Aug. 26, p. 127; P, Nov. 13, 1847; F, Feb. 1, 1848, p. 16.
- <sup>150</sup> F, April 15, 1847; FO & Ex, July 14 and 17, 1847.
- <sup>151</sup> FO & Ex, Dec. 1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 1847.
- <sup>152</sup> FO & Ex, Nov. 10, 1847; IDM, Nov. 11 and 16, 1847.
- <sup>153</sup> P, Feb. 5, 1848.
- <sup>154</sup> FO & Ex, Aug. 3, 1847; P, Nov. 13, 1847; FOLB, XIII, 198, 199, 202, 204-206.
- <sup>155</sup> P, May 8 and Aug. 21, 1847; FO & Ex, May 3, 1847 (enclosure).
- <sup>156</sup> FO & Ex, June 11, 1847.
- <sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>158</sup> FO & Ex, June 17, 1847.
- <sup>159</sup> FO & Ex, June 28 and Aug. 23, 1847.
- <sup>160</sup> SIN, Feb. 24, 1847; HG, Nov. 1, 1871.
- <sup>161</sup> F, Jan. 1, 1848, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>162</sup> F, Jan. 15, 1847, pp. 10-11.

## APPENDIX A

A century and a quarter seems to be a long look backward, and no doubt it is. But it is easy to underestimate the comforts available to our forebears—to be somewhat too impressed by the presumably rude conditions of their existence. The lists appended here contain gleanings from advertisements in the *Polynesian* for May 22, 1847 and *The Friend* for April 1 and September 9 of that year. Items appear in the same higgledy-piggledy fashion as in the originals; hopefully, enough has been included to show that those with the necessary cash or credit could be well fed, well clothed, and well housed in the Honolulu of 1847. We must remember of course that the groceries offered for sale could be supplemented always at the town's markets.

### GROCERIES AND WINES

beef pork biscuit molasses loaf-sugar coffee tea rice vinegar assorted pickles in bottles pepper preserved meats & fish olive oil jerked beef flour claret wine salt essence of coffee sherry wine carbonated soda cream of tartar starch cloves mace pimento ginger cayenne saleratus assorted sauces ox tongues corned beef mess beef Sicily wine Madeira wine Muscat wine champagne nutmegs assorted spices cold water, butter & sugar crackers codfish bread arrowroot beans soy curry powder tapioca tart fruits green peas assorted confectionery cheeses raisins sardines orgeat Bordeaux wine raspberry syrup

### DRYGOODS, CLOTHING

Manila hats slop clothing blue cloth caps felt hats crape shawls China satin aprons wick yarn cotton & silk umbrellas white & gray shirting cotton linen drilling printed cottons plain & twilled blue cotton bleached & gray duck sheeting dimity orange regatta estoppelles huckabuck ticking superfine & common white flannel blankets black & colored silk handkerchiefs white drill turkey red & common cotton handkerchiefs black silk crimson & white table covers Scotch cambric ladies' & gents' silk & cotton hose ladies' & gents' silk, kid & cotton gloves book & printed muslins black & drab hats men's & boys' plain & gold band foraging caps India rubber and cotton braces India rubber capes summer clothes for clerical wear assorted tapes straw-colored cassimere assorted thread superior cloth, frock & dress coats cambleteen & fancy checked coats duck, checked & striped trousers serge, plaid, tweed, gambroon & doeskin trousers blue cloth & fearnought jackets blue & red flannel shirts serge drawers navy blue & white cotton shirts Guernsey frocks sailors' duck frocks Whitechapel needles metal, Japan & bone buttons mother-of-pearl shirt buttons long cloth Balzorines American & English prints pantaloons & coat stuffs calf boots men's thick boots slippers children's shoes linen trousers Merrimac two-blue prints blue-black Merino cloth sewing silk suspenders Satin jeans Orleans fancies brown drill blue drill & denims colored & gaiter shoes Guayaquil hats palm leaf hats Indigo blue sheeting China slippers glazed caps Glengary caps flannel drawers woolen socks & stockings white & striped shirts

## PRINTING

pamphlets catalogs circulars handbills bill heads shop bills bills of exchange bills of lading consular blanks blank deeds visiting, business & address cards.

## BUILDING MATERIALS

California, Columbia River & American lumber ready-made doors, door frames, window frames, sash, blinds coral stones window glass sandpaper timbers, Astoria pine: 6×6, 4×9, 4×8, 3×9, 3×8 joist: 3×6, 3×5, 3×4, 3×3 plank, ¼" to 2" boards, pine, American, 1" koa lumber clapboards, pine, American shingles lath, American spikes & nails in kegs sash weights sash line window weights

## KITCHEN, HARDWARE, HOUSEWARE

sad irons bar lead flat, bolt & hoop iron rivets corkscrews brass & wood screws screw augurs hand, tennon, pit & cross-cut saws assorted socket gouges & files chisels carpenters' adzes brad awls sash & jack planes trying, smoothing, T-grooving and jointer planes planes with spare irons plated spurs percussion caps nests tin pails pint cups Hunt's axes iron & brass wire sieves hair sieves drawing knives spoke shaves mortise chisels screw & spring brads with bits hammers gimlets anvils vises Japan tea trays log glasses latches London pins bread trays empty casks padlock clasps hooks & staples butts & hinges American cut nails mortise & closet locks escutcheon, thumb & mortise latches round & square bolts sash pulleys, springs, & fastenings brass door finger plates hasps tacks counter & platform scales, 36 to 2,000 lbs. iron spoons gridirons deep & shallow blue-edged plates fancy & common mugs & bowls blue printed, deep round dishes assorted weights Simmons' patent axes Hunt's patent lathing shingling & claw hatchets long-handled frying pans nail gimlets mineral knobs tinned & brass skimmers tormentors ladles carpenters' rim locks ax pulleys picture hooks chalk lines firmer gouges & chisels chopping knives assorted cooks' knives assorted butts patent wicks Luther & Wilson's coffee mills tinned iron tea & table spoons water pitchers soup ladles crow bars brass table casters bright coffin furniture blind hangings & fastenings soup plates sheet iron 3" forcing pump, with pipe & hose, for a dwelling thermometers copper coolers tin and glass lamps filterers bake & milk pans tin & iron pots cups & saucers tinder boxes camphor trunks & chests mattresses wooden chairs China matting dressing cases writing desks camp ovens earthenware glassware files copper tacks cut & wrought nails knives & forks tumblers hoop iron teakettles saucepans dinner sets, complete coffee & tea sets tureens covered dishes egg cups sugar bowls blue & white earthenware plates milk & tea pots jugs baking dishes ewers & basins salt cellars plain & cut quart & pint decanters plain & cut champagne glasses wine glasses Japanned curet stands liquor stands coffee mills Britannia tea & coffee pots table & dessert knives & forks carvers pocket, clasp & pen knives wrought iron teakettles Dutch ovens sauce & frying pans iron pots shovels spades tin iron wire wire gauze for safes copper and brass wire brass-mounted iron sofas

cast iron truck wheels brass bedsteads brass bottling cocks garnet hinges tower bolts for doors & windows pad & door locks of all kinds

#### PAINTS, ETC.

linseed oil spirits of turpentine black, green, red paint verdigris bright copal varnish Stockholm tar pitch resin putty blacking coal tar Venetian red Prussian blue Tierra de Sienne chrome yellow whiting yellow ochre Spanish brown lamp black gold & silver leaf bronze paint, sash & tar brushes pumice stone

#### SHIP SUPPLIES

double & single blocks Russian & English canvas cordage log lines signal halyards lanterns binnacle lamps hemp & Manila rope cutting falls topline handspikes blubber hooks fin chains standing rigging anchors sails bolt & sheathing copper sheathing copper nails whale line patent chain cables bolt rope marlinspikes palms sail hooks & needles cabin & pitch mops mop yarn hogshhead & barrel canhooks fish grains boat, box & shark hooks trace & fluke chains deck lights copper hand pumps bunting caulking irons iron poles prickers ship scrapers horizons spyglasses iron pump tacks Handro, hand & deep-sea lead lines pump leather Holland twine spunyarn iron pumps hawse pipes nautical almanacs cooking stoves Arrowsmith's charts belaying pins steelyards whaling boats

#### MISCELLANEOUS

clay pipes tobacco segars epsom salts sperm candles white & brown soap sweet oil stationery whale oil Winchester's No. 1 soap California soap mat bags,  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel Jewsharps yellow curd & mottled soap saddles double & single rein bridles hunting & dog whips playing cards plain & ruled post & foolscap paper half-bound foolscap books gold & steel pens slate & black lead pencils India rubber desk knives slates wafers sealing wax green office tape broad & narrow red tape curled horse hair Seidlitz powders bath tubs snuff in bottles horse, shoe, scrub, deck, cloth, hair, house, shaving & other brushes hand brooms valises bridles rules razor strops family & Castile No. 1 soap glue Havana cigars long nine cigars Manila cigars Regalia cigars firewood razors

APPENDIX B

Register of Foreigners Residing in Honolulu, January, 1847

NAMES	BUSINESS		
		Bishop C R	Clerk
		Beardsley F A	"
	A	Bartow C S	"
		Bartlett	"
Ahlai,	Steward,	Black John [nat]	Farmer.
Abell A. G.,	Merchant,		
Allan G. T.,	"		
Ahsing, [nat]	Retail spirit dealer,		C
Austin James, [nat]	Storekeeper,	Crittenden John,	
Andrews Lorrin, "	Judge,	Cady J O	Carpenter,
Anderson James, "	Steward,	Chamberlain L	Secular Agent S I
Augustus P. S., "	Victualler,		Mission
Ahchow,	Storekeeper,	Clark Madison [nat]	Cooper
Ahlan,	"	Carter J O	Hotel-keeper
Ahee,	Steward,	Chung Chung	Baker
Adams Alexander,	Farmer,	Castle S N	Secular Agent S I
Auld Andrew,	Carpenter		Mission
Armstrong Rev R	Missionary	Clapp John [nat]	
Anthon Jules	Merchant	Conner Wm E	Carpenter
Augustine J	Ship carpenter	Clark William [nat]	Painter
Ahook [nat]		Clements	Shoemaker
Ahmow		Carey John [nat]	Mariner
Ahsam	Storekeeper	Crouch	Carpenter
Anderson Peter		Curtis David	Caulker
	B	Corney Peter	Storekeeper
		Christie H	Clerk
Ballou John,	Tailor,	Coffin Ephraim [nat]	Mason
Bastian James	Lawyer	Cook A S	Teacher Royal
Bent Zenas [nat]	Carpenter		School
Barker J "	Tinsmith,	Coleman George [nat]	Farmer
Baker Wm Jr	Book-keeper	Colson C J	Storekeeper
Baker James [nat]	Boat Builder	Campbell	Tailor
Boardman E H	Watchmaker	Caranave	Storekeeper
Beck Martin	Mariner	Cummins Thomas	"
Brown	Clerk	Collins Walter [nat]	Brickmaker.
Brinsmade P A			D
Booth Joseph	Retail spirit dealer		
Brash William	Shoemaker	Damon Rev S C	Seamens' Chaplain,
Brickwook A P [nat]	Sheriff of Oahu	Doiron Alfred	Watchmaker
Brewster G W "	Carpenter	Dudoit Jules	Consul of France
Blowhorn Benjamin	Ship carpenter	Dickson John	Storekeeper
Boyer	Cabinetmaker	Duke John	Mason
Brown Edward	Mariner.	Deal Joseph	Laborer
Barron Alexander	Carpenter	Dimock Asa [nat]	Carpenter
Bent Charles	"	Duncan Wm "	Blacksmith
Beatley John [nat]	Tinsmith	Darling Thomas	
Blume F. G. "	Storekeeper	[nat]	Painter
Binns E F "	Barber	De Fiennes J B	Lawyer
Brewer Chas Jr	Clerk	De Lerra Philip [nat]	Mariner
Bush G H	Grazier	Dimond Henry	Bookbinder
Boyd Robert [nat]	Retail spirit dealer	Dominis J.	Ship-master
Booth		Downton Henry	Clerk







Robson John	Merchant	Talman Alexander	Clerk
Robertson W J	Clerk	Taylor W H	Tailor
Rogers Martin	Storekeeper	Trasio Joseph	Victualler
Rogers E H [nat]	Printer	Thompson Samuel	Retail spirit dealer
Ruddach James	Ship carpenter	Thomas William [nat]	Victualler
		True Daniel P	Ship carpenter
		Tyhoun	Storekeeper
		Turrill Joel	U States Consul
	S		
Sampson Z	Blacksmith		
Silvia Antonio	Mason		
Skinner Henry	Merchant		V
Smith William	Book-keeper	Vowels James	Grazier
Smith Oliver [nat]	Steward	Von Pfister J R [nat]	Merchant
Smyth James	Clerk	Vincent C W	House carpenter
Singleton Arthur W	Clerk Foreign Office	Vose Samuel W	Cook
Smith Rev L	Missionary	Von Pfister Edward	Clerk
Stupplebeen Jacob	Tailor		
Sweetman John	Mason		W
Suwerkrop E A	Merchant—Danish Consul	Waters William [nat]	Steward
Shillaber T	Merchant	Watson G	Physician
Scudder C S	Victualler	Walker William	Victualler
Sturt Frederick	Cooper	Waddingham George	Sailmaker
Spaulding	Clerk	Wadwell George [nat]	Teamster
Sea Henry [nat]	Marshal Hawaiian Islands	Webster E C	Merchant
Sheldon Henry L	Printer	Wharton T H	Painter
Sinclair James	Tinsmith	Williams Stephen H	Merchant
Snell A W	Carpenter	Wood R W	Physician
Smith Alexander	Blacksmith	Wood James	Warehouseman
Smith John [nat]	Steward	Wood	Shoemaker
Smith J H	Clerk Land Commission	Wilson [nat]	Printer
Smith	Mariner	Wond William	Grazier
Smith Miss	Teacher	Westcott Stephen	Carpenter
Skinner William	Farmer	Wyllie R C [nat]	Minister of Foreign Relations
Smith John	Cook	Walker William	Carpenter
Stone J M [nat]	Carpenter	Waters H [nat]	Steward
Stevens T H	U States Naval Storekeeper	Wakeman R C [nat]	
St John Henry	Clerk	Wilbur J	Victualler
Stidolph W H	Teacher	Wilcox J E	Teacher
		Webster John	Victualler
		Whittit James	Tinsmith
		Wiley John	Carpenter
		Wood George	
	T	Wood R A S	Cabinet-maker
Taylor W H	Carpenter	Wing Charles [nat]	Caulker
Tripp		Woodward	Shoemaker
Thompson F W [nat]	Auctioneer	Wright I H [nat]	Painter
Thompson William	Warehouseman	Whiting Charles	Blacksmith
Turner Charles P [nat]	Carpenter		
Tufts Henry	Clerk		Z
Ten Eyck Anthony	U S Commissioner	Zuplien H	Retail spirit dealer

**N.B.** The foregoing list is imperfect, but embraces all the names and occupations we have been enabled to procure. It is computed there may be 100 more foreigners residing in Honolulu, constituting rather a floating than permanent population, 162.