Native Hawaiian Population Enumerations in Hawaiii



Upon anchoring in Kealakekua Bay in 1779, Captain Cook wrote in his log that many hundreds of Hawaiians swam around the ships "like shoals of fish" (Kirch, 2012).

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Introduction

What is the Native Hawaiian population in Hawaii? In particular, what was the Native Hawaiian population at the time of European (Cook) contact? How has the Native Hawaiian population changed over time?

When asked why it mattered now how many people were in Hawai'i 200 years ago, author David Stannard (1989b) answered,

It matters first of all to the affected people themselves. ... Because how many people inhabited an area tells you something about the entire social system of that area. The Hawaiians had to have had a sophisticated system of social organization and resource distribution to have taken care of that many people.

In a 1967 paper, statistician Robert Schmitt remarked.

Nobody knows exactly how many Hawaiians lived here in 1778. Nobody knows, with satisfactory accuracy, how many live here today.

These two commentaries characterize the nature of Native Hawaiian population enumerations in Hawai'i; its significance and its accuracy. Native Hawaiians and researchers have long expressed concerns over the rapid decline and well-being of the population since European (Cook) contact in 1778. Many statistical rates such as births and deaths, health, employment, income, housing, poverty, education, and crime are calculated using population estimates as denominators.

This report contains historical population enumerations of Native Hawaiians in Hawaii. The circumstances, assumptions, merits, and limitations of these enumerations have been source documented. Many of these details have been explored by the enumerators listed in the References. Statistics for the total population

are included for reference; but comprehensive demographic details by age, gender, occupation, birth rates, etc. are not included. Population estimates are presented for the timeperiod categories when enumerations were made:

- Early Contact Estimates: 100 A.D.–1778
- Western Contact (Cook) Estimates: 1778–1779
- Kingdom of Hawai'i Estimates: 1796–1819
- Missionary Estimates/Censuses: 1823–1836
- Hawaiian Government Estimates/ Censuses: 1847–1896
- U.S. Decennial Censuses: 1900–2010

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Native Hawaiian population data are available in references such as the Native Hawaiian Data Book 2015 for various time periods, geographies, and sources:

Hawaiian Islands: 1778–1896

 Territory of Hawai'i and State of Hawai'i: 1900–2010

 County, Island, Census Tract and Census Designated Places: 2010

Other 49 States: 1990, 2000, and 2010

This report supplements these tables by including Native Hawaiian population data for the following:

County: 1900–2010

 Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian by County: 1900–1950

Island: 1990, 2000, 2010

District: 1900

Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian: 1910–1930

Terminology

In this report the term "Native Hawaiian" is defined as "any individual who is a descendant of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawai'i" (U.S. Public Law 103-150, 1993).

The terms "estimates" and "censuses" are used for the population enumerations over time. In general, "censuses" refer to more official enumerations such as those conducted and reported by an organization such as the government. More casual observations by individuals or smaller entities are being labeled as "estimates". If references used "census" for the enumeration, the term is also used here. Note that in fact, every enumeration is an estimate despite the best efforts to "count everyone once, only once, and in the right place" (Census, 2016).

Many challenges are associated with these enumerations of Native Hawaiian populations. They include political agendas, assumptions, differing methodologies, changing definitions, geographic boundaries, variable coverage, internal and external migration, scattered and limited sources, barrenness of data, calculation errors, double counting, underestimation, overestimation, extrapolation, interpolation, differing formats, misprints, errata notices, and accuracy. Note that these challenges are not specific to Native Hawaiian enumerations, but enumerations in general. Also note that because of these challenges, comparisons of these enumerations over time may not be valid.

First Census

Perhaps the first census in Hawai'i occurred circa 1500 on the "Plain of Numbering", located in Kona with Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualālai mountains in the distance. It is the site of Ahua a 'Umi Heiau (temple). In one *mo'olelo* (historical legend), *ali'i* (chief) 'Umi-a-Līloa successfully battled *ali'i* Keli'iokāloa of Kailua, thus unifying the districts (*moku*) of Hawai'i Island. 'Umi had *ahua* (stone piles) built around the *heiau* to represent the conquered districts. In another *mo'olelo*, each person from the conquered districts deposited a stone (the size and weight determined by the person's carrying capacity) to form district *ahua* surrounding the *heiau* (Baker, 1916).

Narratives from the 1820–1840s give insights into the measurements and descriptions of Ahua a 'Umi. The Kona and Kohala *ahua* were the largest at one time; the Hāmākua *ahua* was largest at another time. The districts according to the Māhele (land division) of 1848 consisted of Ka'ū, Puna, Hilo, Hāmākua, Kohala, and Kona. Kona and Kohala were each split into North and South districts for taxation, educational, and judicial purposes according to the Civil Code of 1859, section 498. Hilo was divided in 1886 by the Laws of His Majesty Kalākaua I (King, 1935).



Figure 1 is a District Map of Hawai'i Island showing the location of Ahua a 'Umi Heiau. **Figure 2** presents two views (one dated 1928).

Figure 1. Ahua a 'Umi Heiau Map



Sources: Research Division; Land, Culture and History Section; GIS; OHA. USGS Geographic Names Information System (GNIS)

Figure 2. Ahua a 'Umi Heiau Riding party at ruins of Ahua a 'Umi heiau with Mauna Loa in the distance, Hawai'i Island. 1928.

Source: Hawai'i State Archives. Digital Photograph Collection. PP-30-4-002. http://gallery.hawaii.gov/gallery2/main.php?g2 item-Id=9644

Hale o 'Umi Heiau, Hawai'i Island. n.d.



Source: Hawai'i State Archives. Digital Photograph Collection. PP-35-7-014. http://gallery.hawaii.gov/gallery2/main.php?g2_item=60894&g2_imageViewsIndex=1

Early Contact Estimates: 100 A.D. — 1778

According to nineteenth-century scholar David Malo (1903), the genealogy chant *Kumulipo* names La'ila'i and husband Ke-ali'i-wahi-lani as the first inhabitants of Hawai'i, and the genealogy chant *Lolo* names Kahiko and his wife Kupulanakehau. Another nineteenth-century historian Samuel M. Kamakau (1991) names Hulihonua and his wife Keakahulilani.

The first Polynesians in Hawai'i may have arrived from the Marquesas Islands circa 400 A.D. (Kirch, 2012). Based on archaeological radiocarbon dating from Hālawa Valley, Moloka'i, the estimated contact period is 500–600 A.D. (Nordyke, 1989). Other scholars have since hypothesized the population growth of Hawai'i; a few models follow.

To estimate the population every 100 years between 500 A.D. to 1778, **Table 1** contains calculations assuming a crude birth rate of 45 births and a death rate of 38.7 per 1,000 people per year (0.63% growth rate per year). Starting with 100 persons with 25 immigrants annually for 1,000 years, the population doubles every 110 years. The estimated population in 1778 was 300,000 according to this model.

Archaeologist Tom Dye (1994) presented the following three-phase model for pre-1778-contact Hawaiian population growth based on the increase in the "abundance of wood charcoal recovered from archaeological contexts associated with the everyday domestic activities of cooking, lighting, and heating":

- Foundation Phase from 400 A.D.–1150 where population grew from a few hundred to 20,000
- 2. Growth Phase from 1150–1450 where population increased to 140,000–200,000
- 3. Equilibrium Phase from 1450–1778 with a population between 110,000 to 150,000.

Based on archaeological evidence and modeling incorporating agricultural intensification using irrigated and dry land systems in windward and leeward environments, as well as political changes from chiefdoms to kingdom, archaeologist Patrick Kirch (1990) proposed this model: 100 persons in 500 A.D.; 1,000 persons in 600; 20,000 persons in 1100; and 200,000 persons in 1600.

David Stannard (1989a) started his model with 100 persons (half male, half female) in 100 A.D. His assumptions included a 0.9% growth rate for the first 300 years, a 0.52% growth rate thereafter, a population density of 130–150 per square mile, and a fluctuation of resources. Using anthropological and ethnohistorical sources, he worked backward from census data (post collapse) and proposed a population range from 800 thousand to 1.5 million persons.

Table 1. Population Growth Model: 500 A.D.-1778

Year	Population
500	100
600	190
700	350
800	650
900	1,200
1000	2,300
1100	4,300
1200	8,000
1300	15,000
1400	28,000
1500	53,000
1600	98,000
1700	184,000
1778	300,000

Sources: In Nordyke (1989), Table 1-1. Original Sources: Kelly (1986), p. 17; Schmitt and Zane (1977), p. 4.



Sociology Professor David Swanson (2014) used "backcasting" to propose a 1778 population estimate of 683,000 Native Hawaiians. For five-year age groups, he tracked the survival rate from 1910 to 1920, and calculated the population for each previous decade until 1770. "By Swanson's estimates, 1-in-17 Native Hawaiians had died within two years of Cook's arrival. By 1800, the population had declined by 48% since Cook set foot on Hawai'i. By 1820, it had declined 71%; by 1840, it declined 84%" (Pew Research Center, 2015).

The estimates from the above models range from 150,000–1.5 million persons as the population of Hawai'i before Western contact.



Western Contact (Cook) Estimates: 1778 — 1779

On Captain James Cook's third voyage, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* sighted O'ahu on January 18, 1778; made landfall at Waimea Bay, Kaua'i on January 20 and at Ni'ihau on January 29; then sailed to the North Pacific in search of the Northwest Passage on February 2. Cook later returned in November near windward Maui and around Hawai'i Island. Two months later on January 17, 1779, he made landfall at Kealakekua Bay, Hawai'i. He was killed on February 14.

Figure 3 is a route map of Cook's two voyages in Hawai'i (Bonne, 1787) showing which parts of the islands could be viewed from the ships. Cook named these islands the Sandwich Islands for his patron John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. Cook estimated a population of 30,000 on Kaua'i and 500 on Ni'ihau. Members of his crew included an American Marine John Ledyard who estimated 100,000 for Hawai'i Island; an astronomer William Bayly who

estimated 500 on Ni'ihau based on a one-day, 6-mile hike and back; and armorer George Dixon who estimated the total population as 200,000 based on landfall at Waimea, Kaua'i.

Estimates of Hawai'i. O'ahu. Maui. Moloka'i. Lāna'i, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau islands were made by second lieutenant James King and surveyor and navigator William Bligh. King estimated 400,000 total persons assuming no inland settlements, 600 persons per mile multiplied by 725 miles of coastline with adjustment for some uninhabited coasts, and 370-1,300 houses each with 6-8 persons. William Bligh's estimate of 242,000 did not have a known methodology. Estimates of Ni'ihau by King and Bligh were guesses. Based on Waimea Bay, Kaua'i, George Dixon estimated 200,000. Table 2 depicts these estimates made by Cook and his officers as well as the estimates later made by others. They are ordered according to the date the estimate was prepared/published.

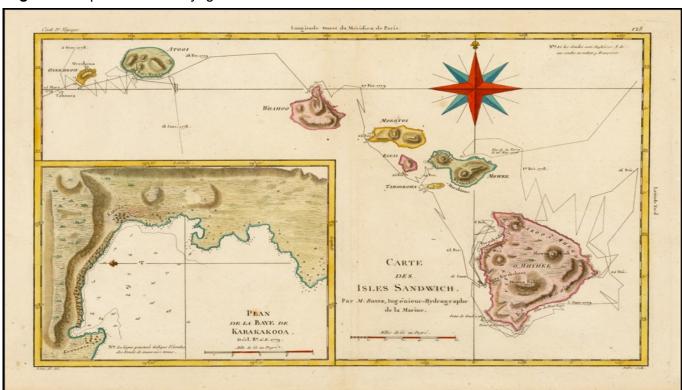


Figure 3. Captain Cook's voyages to Hawai'i: 1778-1779

Source: Bonne (1787). https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/41589/arte_Des_Isles_Sandwich/Bonne.html

Besides the island estimates by King and Bligh, researchers Kenneth Emory (1928), Robert Schmitt (1962), David Stannard (1989), and Eleanor Nordyke (1989) have also estimated the 1778–1779 population by island. Still others have made total population estimates that ranged from less than 100,000 to 1.5 million. Many scholars including Henry Cheever (1851), W.B. Elkin (1902), Kenneth Emory (1928), Romanzo Adams (1937), Bernhard Hormann (1949), Andrew Lind (1955), and Schmitt (1962) have used a consensus figure of 300,000 first introduced by James Jarves in 1843 as the population of Hawai'i in 1778–1779.



Table 2. Population Estimates: 1778-1779

	Source, Date	е				Island			
Total	Prepared/Publis	shed	Hawai'i	Oʻahu	Maui	Molokaʻi	Lāna'i	Kauaʻi	Niʻihau
	James Cook	1778						30,000	500
	John Ledyard	1778	100,000						
	William Bayly	1778							500
400,000	James King	1779	150,000	60,000	65,400	36,000	20,400	54,000	14,000
242,000	William Bligh	1779	100,000	40,000	40,000	20,000	1,000	40,000	1,200
200,000	George Dixon	1787							
200,000	Vasily Golovnin	1818							
400,000	Artemas Bishop	1838							
360,000	David Malo	1839							
300,000	James Jarves	1843							
200,000	George Simpson	1847							
300,000	Henry Cheever	1851							
200,000	Manley Hopkins	1869							
400,000	A. O. Forbes	1883							
150,000	Clarence Dutton	1884							
250,000	Sereno Bishop	1888							
300,000	W.B. Elkin	1902							
200,000	Joseph Goodrich	1914							
300,000	Kenneth Emory	1928	120,000	60,000	75,000	10,000	3,500	30,000	1,500
300,000	Romanzo Adams	1937							
300,000	Bernhard Hormann	1949							
100,000- 150,000	Peter Buck	1951							
150,000- 300,000	Jack Myerson	1953							
300,000	Andrew Lind	1955							
300,000	Robert Schmitt	1962							
250,000	Revised High	1971	100,000	50,000	60,000	10,000	4,000	30,000	1,000
200,000	Revised Low	1971	80,000	35,000	45,000	8,000	3,000	20,000	500
100,000	Norma McArthur	1968							
310,000	Eleanor Nordyke	1989	120,000	60,000	70,000	15,000	4,000	40,000	1,000
800,000- 1,500,000	David Stannard	1989							
967,556	(Unadjusted)		340,000	220,927	260,925	44,549	11,879	81,502	7,774
795,343	(Adjusted)		403,800	121,540	125,021	44,387	13,950	82,995	3,650
110,000- 150,000	Thomas Dye	1994							
250,000	Patrick Kirch	2007							
683,000	David Swanson	2014							

Sources: Schmitt (1962, 1964, 1968, 1971, 1977). Nordyke (1989). Stannard (1989). Dye (1994). Kirch (2007). Pew Research Center (2015). Notes: Island estimates do not necessarily sum to Total estimates. The original estimate by James King was 500,000. His Ni ihau estimate included 4,000 for Lehua. For Kaho olawe, Schmitt estimated 50–100 and Stannard estimated 594 (unadjusted) and 1,125 (adjusted).



Early Kingdom Estimates: 1796 — 1819

It is reported that a census of Wainiha Valley, Kaua'i occurred between 1790–1821 with a count of 2,000 including 65 *menehunes* who may have been descendants of the Marquesans (Schmitt, 2003). From 1796–1819, a few population estimates were reported as depicted in **Table 3**. Using 300,000 as the population in 1778, the population decreased a little more than 50% by 1820.

For historical context, during this time period there were governance, health, and economic changes that resulted from foreign contact that may have impacted population estimates. Kamehameha I ruled the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1810, when *ali'i* Kaumuali'i of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau peacefully negotiated to enable the

unification of all the islands, until his death in 1819. Ships on the Pacific Northwest/China trade route depleted the Kingdom's 'iliahi (sandalwood). In 1793, Kamehameha received the first gift of cattle from English Captain George Vancouver and ranching was to become a new industry. Though accounts vary, sometime between 1803–1805, an oku'u (pestilence) resulted in 5,000–175,000 deaths. It may have been the Asiatic cholera, bubonic plague, yellow fever, dysentery, or typhoid fever (Schmitt, 1970). The first two whaling ships arrived in 1819 and the whaling industry flourished for four decades until the discovery of petroleum.

Table 3. Population Estimates: 1796–1819

Year	Population Estimate
1796	270,000 (Schmitt); 280,000 (Adams)
1798	240,000 (Malo)
1800	165,000–195,000 (Schmitt); 350,000 (newspaper editorial)
1803	264,000 (Youngson); 266,000 (Schmitt)
1804	154,000 (Schmitt); 175,000 (Adams); 280,000 (editor)
1805	152,000 (Schmitt); 154,000 (Adams)
1819	144,000-145,000 (Schmitt, Adams)

Sources: Schmitt (1971,1977). Adams (n.d.). Malo (1903). Youngson (1805). Notes: Pacific Commercial Advertiser newspaper editor Henry Whitney (November 6, 1862). For 1803, English carpenter George Youngson made estimates by island: 100,000 Hawai'i; 40,000 O'ahu; 48,160 Maui; 25,000 Moloka'i; 7,000 Lāna'i; 40,000 Kaua'i; and 4,000 Ni'ihau.



Missionary Estimates/Censuses: 1823 — 1836

On March 30, 1820, 42 years after 1778, 14 American Protestant missionaries (seven couples), five children, and four Native Hawaiians arrived in Kailua, Hawaii Island from New England. Approximately two weeks later, the *Thaddeus* left Hawaii Island and landed in Honolulu, Oʻahu on April 18. The four Hawaiian youths from Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, CT included: Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, John Honolii, and George Kaumualii, son of the last alii of Kauai and Niihau (Gulick, 1918).

With support from Queen Regent Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha II (Liholiho), ruler of the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1819–1824, allowed the missionaries to stay for one year. The missionaries were sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM). Between 1820–1863, more than 150 missionaries were sent to Hawai'i. They established approximately 22 mission stations on Hawai'i, O'ahu, Maui, and Kaua'i islands.

Within three to five years after they arrived, two missionaries, Reverends William Ellis and Charles S. Stewart, enumerated the population at 139,000 and 141,000, respectively. Jarves (1843) revised Stewart's island data which he considered "loose estimates". Later, revisions for 1823 include 134,925 of which 134,750 were Native Hawaiians (Adams, 1937); 135,000–145,000 (Schmitt, 1971); and 150,000 (*Missionary Herald*, 1824 in Schmitt, 1968). The estimates by island are depicted in **Table 4**.

Concern regarding the decline of the Native Hawaiian population, fueled by the goal of publishing a Hawaiian geography textbook, *He Hoikehonua*, led to the census of 1831–1832. A second edition of the geography textbook led to the 1835–1836 census. The counts were made over a period of time, hence the use of 1831–1832 and 1835–1836, although some reports used individual years.

Missionaries and native school teachers made house-to-house counts of natives, foreigners, and nonresidents. With the advent of the whaling industry, there were several hundred whaling ships in Hawai'i yearly, each with 20–30 seamen; there was also an outmigration of natives on these ships. These seamen, as well as other foreigners and nonresidents, may or may not have been included in the counts.

Counts were reported for *kāne* (male), *wahine* (female), *keikikāne* (male child), and *kaikamahine* (female child), but age categories for children were interpreted as 12-, 14-, or 18-years and older and some did not separate genders, simply stating *kamali'i* (male and female children). Birth and death rates were sometimes included.

Table 4. Missionary Estimates: 1823-1824

Island	Ellis	Stewart
Hawaiʻi	85,000	85,000
Oʻahu	20,000	20,000
Maui	20,000	20,000
Lānaʻi	2,000	2,500
Molokaʻi	3,000	3,500
Kahoʻolawe	NA	50
Kauaʻi	10,000	10,000
Niʻihau	1,000	1,000
Total	141,000	142,050

Sources: Ellis (1827). Stewart (1828). Jarves (1843). Notes: Ellis and Stewart gave similar island estimates. Ellis gave a range of 18,000–20,000 for Maui. Stewart also gave ranges for Lāna'i 2,000–3,000 and Moloka'i 3,000–4,000.

NA - Not available



As for geographic coverage, the boundaries on Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, Kaua'i and Ni'ihau islands were listed by "name of the land" and ancient districts, which were then combined to more recent names. For example, the 21 or 22 ancient districts of Maui were reported separately, as well as combined into Hana, Makawao, Wailuku, and Lāhaina, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe counts were estimated and rounded. Some areas had detailed moku and ahupua'a land divisions. Kalaupapa was undercounted, while other areas were partially counted, over-counted, or double-counted. The population may have been over-counted in 1831-1832 and undercounted in 1835-1836 (Schmitt, 1973).

Regarding the accuracy of the counts and totals, adjustments were occasionally made. There were inconsistencies in the counts from different sources, as well as from the same source. There may have been reluctance and deceit for tax purposes.

Missionary narratives described the decline in the native population due to diseases, high infant mortality rates, infanticide, sterility, abortion, miscarriages, medical care, poverty, housing, landlessness, ignorance, poor diet, sanitation, alcohol and tobacco vices, war, and despotic government (Schmitt, 1973). Missionaries were sent to convert and civilize. They needed church members and attendance at schools, prayer meetings, and temperance

societies. The Missionary Censuses by island and county are depicted in **Table 5**.

Between 1837–1846 (post census), there were other enumerations by missionaries for smaller geographic areas. On November 9, 1840, Kamehameha III signed An Act to Regulate the Taxes. He appointed the first tax officers whose account books contained information on taxable or exempt males and females, occupation, births and deaths, parents with three or more children, the elderly, mental/physical handicaps, cats and dogs. Due to population decline, parents with three children were tax exempt, and parents with more than three children received land.

Records listing individual names exist for Waialua, O'ahu between 1840-1842 and O'ahu in 1843. Counts were made for Waimea, Kaua'i in 1840 and 1842. Kaua'i's population was estimated at 8,853; "half breeds" referred to children of mixed ethnicities; and foreigners were divided into Americans, English, and Other nations. Reverend D. Baldwin reported a population of 3,557 for Lahaina including details of schools, housing, and dogs. O'ahu reports included births, deaths, and male and female out-migrants for 'Ewa and Ko'olaupoko. Various population estimates ranged from 88,000-103.800 between 1840-1842, and from 84,500-99,700 between 1844-1847 (Schmitt, 1968, 1977; Jarves, 1843).

Table 5. Missionary Censuses by County and Island: 1831-1832, 1835-1836

County/Island	1831–1832	1835–1836
Hawai'i County/Island	45,792	39,364
Honolulu County	29,755	27,809
Maui County	42,742	31,479
Maui	35,062	24,199
Lānaʻi	1,600	1,200
Molokaʻi	6,000	6,000
Kaho'olawe	80	80
Kaua'i County	12,024	9,927
Kauaʻi	10,977	8,934
Niʻihau	1,047	993
Total	130,313	108,579

Source: Schmitt (1973).

Note: Adams (n.d.) estimated 124,449 for 1831–1832 and 107,954 for 1835–1836. Honolulu County refers to the City & County of Honolulu and consists of O'ahu Island.



Hawaiian Government Estimates/Censuses: 1847 — 1896

Kingdom to Republic

From 1810–1893, the Kingdom of Hawai'i was a Monarchy. It was an Absolute Monarchy from 1810 when Kamehameha I united the eight islands until 1840 when King Kamehameha III established a Constitutional Monarchy. Then in 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani was overthrown by an oligarchy that proclaimed a Provisional Government which later became the Republic of Hawai'i from 1894 to annexation in 1898 (Beamer, 2014).

On April 27, 1846, An Act to Organize the Executive Departments of the Hawaiian Islands created the Department of Public Instruction to conduct censuses. William Richards was appointed to be the Minister of Public Instruction until his death in 1847. Missionary Richard Armstrong took over the position until

1855 when he became President of the Board of Education. For three censuses (1849, 1850, and 1853), he supervised school inspectors, teachers, and missionaries collecting demographic statistics (not just for tax purposes) on gender, age, marital status, race, citizenship/nationality, occupation, ownership of livestock and real property, households, plantations, and schools.

On May 27, 1855, An Act in Regard to the Census previously passed in 1851 was repealed and a General Superintendent of the Census, Charles B. Bishop, was appointed. An Act was passed in May 1859 stating a \$5 penalty for refusing to answer census questions which applied to the six censuses from 1860–1890 (Schmitt, 1968; Kamake eaina, 2010).

12 Censuses

During the 49-year span from 1847–1896, the Hawaiian Government conducted 12 censuses:



The first eleven were Kingdom Censuses and the last was a Republic Census. The first four were conducted in January, the next seven in December, and the Republic Census in September. These censuses reported *de facto* populations or those present in an area regardless of place of residence.

Each census had challenges, and no one census is complete. Of the 12 censuses, the only remaining data records include partial census returns measured in sheets and microfilm in linear inches/feet from four censuses (1866, 1878, 1890, and 1896). Census tables and reports exist for most years except 1848 and 1896. Enumerator records exist for 1890 and 1896. Information was collected by island, district, and place names. Compromised in scope and accuracy, the first three censuses (1847, 1848, and 1849) were considered failures. The population in 1849 was

reported as 80,641 (Census) and 87,063 (Adams, 1933). The 1850 Census was successful in comparison. From 1860, a census was conducted every six years.

For the nine censuses conducted between 1850–1896, the total population is depicted by island and county in **Table 6**. Note that in 1872, O'ahu became more populous than Hawai'i Island. For these censuses, Table 7 depicts the Native Hawaiian population subdivided into Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian categories. In 1850. Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians constituted 98% of the population. The percentages continued to decline to 36% by 1896. The 1896 Census data for Native Hawaiians by the five largest districts is shown in **Table 8**. An interesting note is that of the 158 enumerators, seventy-three percent were Hawaiians: 73 Hawaiians and 43 Part Hawaiians.



Table 6. Hawaiian Government Censuses by Island and County: 1850–1896

County/ Island	1850	1853	1860	1866	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896
Hawaiʻi	25,864	24,450	21,481	19,808	16,001	17,034	24,991	26,754	33,285
Honolulu	25,440	19,126	21,275	19,799	20,671	20,236	28,068	31,194	40,205
Maui	25,191	21,781	19,910	16,728	15,031	14,904	18,584	20,183	20,138
Maui	21,047	17,574	16,400	14,035	12,334	12,109	15,970	17,357	17,726
Molokaʻi	3,540	3,607	2,864	2,299	2,349	2,581	2,614	2,652	2,307
Lānaʻi	604	600	646	394	348	214	*	174	105
Kauaʻi	7,670	7,781	7,134	6,624	5,194	5,811	8,935	11,859	15,392
Kauaʻi	6,956	6,991	6,487	6,299	4,961	5,634	8,935	11,643	15,228
Niʻihau	714	790	647	325	233	177	**	216	164
Total	84,165	73,138	69,800	62,959	56,897	57,985	80,578	89,990	109,020

Source: Schmitt (1977), Table 1.5.

Notes: * Included with Maui. ** Included with Kaua'i. In 1866, Kaho'olawe had a population of 18 (Schmitt, 1984). Hawai'i Island is Hawai'i County. Honolulu is the City & County of Honolulu and consists of O'ahu Island. Maui County data includes Maui Island, Moloka'i Island, Lāna'i Island, and Kalawao County. Kauai County includes Kaua'i Island and Ni'ihau Island.

Table 7. Hawaiian Government Censuses by Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian Categories: 1850-1896

-	1850	1853	1860	1866	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896
Population	84,165	73,138	69,800	62,959	56,897	57,985	80,578	89,990	109,020
Hawaiian	(X)	70,036	65,647	57,125	49,044	44,088	40,014	34,436	31,019
Part Hawaiian	(X)	983	1,337	1,640	2,487	3,420	4,218	6,186	8,485
NH Total	82,203	71,019	66,984	58,765	51,591	47,508	44,232	40,622	39,504
Percent	98%	97%	96%	93%	91%	82%	55%	45%	36%

Sources: Thrum (1875-1895). Jarves (1872). Schmitt (1967,1968). Lind (1980). Nordyke (1989).

Notes: NH - Native Hawaiian. NA - Not Available. Adams (1937), reported 82,035 Hawaiians and 558 Part Hawaiians totaling 82,593 for 1850.

Table 8. Hawaiian Government Censuses: 1896

District	Native Hawaiian
Honolulu, Oʻahu	11,386
Hilo, Hawai'i	2,348
Lahāina, Maui	1,374
Wailuku, Maui	2,786
Līhu'e, Kaua'i	896
Subtotal	18,790
Other districts	20,714
Total	39,504

Source: Report of the Governor, 1901.



U.S. Census Bureau Decennial Censuses: 1900 — 2010

Hawai'i became a Territory on April 30, 1900 with the passing of the Organic Act by the U.S. Congress. From 1900, Hawai'i was included in the U.S. decennial census. The 1900 Census was conducted by the temporary Census Office in the Department of the Interior. The Office became permanent in 1902 and was transferred to the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903. The Bureau of the Census then moved to the Department of Commerce when it split in 1913.

The first U.S. census was conducted in 1790. The 1900–1950 Censuses for the Territory of Hawai'i and the 1960–2010 Censuses for the State of Hawai'i were numbered and dated as shown in **Table 9**. For this period, with the exception of 1900–1920, the census was conducted on April 1 since 1930.

Table 9. U.S. Censuses: 1900-2010

Census Number	Year	Month/Day
12	1900	June 1
13	1910	April 15
14	1920	January 1
15	1930	April 1
16	1940	April 1
17	1950	April 1
18	1960	April 1
19	1970	April 1
20	1980	April 1
21	1990	April 1
22	2000	April 1
23	2010	April 1

Source: U.S. Census.

There have been many data challenges since the Territorial period, through statehood in 1959 to the present. One of the most significant issues concerning Native Hawaiian population statistics involved misclassification by race and ethnicity identity. In Hawaiii, historical references regarding the changing race categories included the following terminology: "native", "half-caste", "hapa-haole" (half

foreigner), "Hawaiian", "Full Hawaiian", "Part Hawaiian", "Caucasian Hawaiian or Hawaiian Caucasian", "Asiatic Hawaiian or Hawaiian Asian", "native Hawaiian", and "Native Hawaiian". Definitions of these terms were not always stated in the published tables.

Comparisons among these decennial censuses must take these challenges into account. Such caution extends to comparisons of the U.S. Census with the American Community Survey (ACS) and State surveys such as the Department of Health (DOH) Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program (HHSP) from 1964 later becoming the Hawai'i Health Survey (HHS) after 1996. Surveys like the ACS, HHSP, and HHS are based on random samples and subject to sampling variability. For Native Hawaiian race statistics, HHSP and HHS collected more detailed information on ancestry by requesting the race of each respondent's four grandparents. Hence the survey estimates were higher than the Census estimates.

Table 10 contains the Native Hawaiian population by county for the Territory (1900–1950) and for the State (1960–2010). **Figure 4** is a graph of the data in Table 10. The data points are not connected as a reminder that comparisons among decennial censuses need to be carefully documented. The small counts for Kalawao County range from 46–1,089 and do not show as decreasing in the figure.

Table 11 depicts the Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian population by county for the Territory (1900–1950). Figure 5 is a series of graphs of the data in Table 11. Each graph has a different y-axis to better depict the changes between the Hawaiian versus Part Hawaiian data; although this does not allow for comparisons among the geographies. By 1930, the number of Part Hawaiians exceeded the number of Hawaiians, except in Kalawao County where both populations decreased.

Following the tables and figures are brief narratives of the decennial censuses for these ranges: 1900, 1910–1930, 1940–1950, 1960–1980, and 1990–2010.



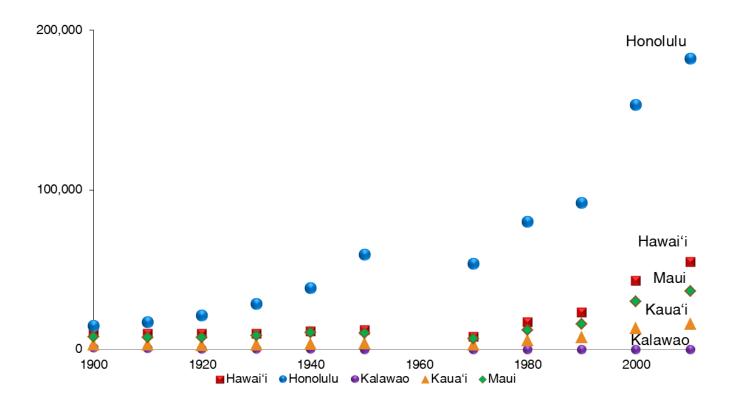
Table 10. Native Hawaiians by County: 1900–2010

Census by County	Hawai'i	Honolulu**	Kalawao	Kaua'i	Maui	Total
1900*	10,595	14,711	1,089	3,148	8,113	37,656
1910	9,924	17,283	624	3,006	7,710	38,547
1920	9,868	21,194	417	2,834	7,437	41,750
1930	9,935	28,462	400	3,121	8,942	50,860
1940	11,352	38,543	268	3,554	10,593	64,310
1950	12,355	59,265	163	3,900	10,408	86,091
1960***						102,403
1970	7,809	53,709	68	3,011	6,778	71,375
1980	17,274	80,172	59	5,704	12,291	115,500
1990	23,120	91,967	52	7,736	15,867	138,742
2000	43,010	153,117	65	13,511	29,952	239,655
2010	54,919	182,120	46	16,127	36,758	289,970

Sources: U.S. Census. Schmitt (1977).

Notes: In 1900, data was collected by island. Counties were established in 1905.

Figure 4. Native Hawaiian Population Estimates by County: 1900–2010



Honolulu refers to the City & County of Honolulu, renamed in 1907 (previously O'ahu County).

Kahoʻolawe was uninhabited since 1941 (Schmitt, 1984). Midway was included in Honolulu County from 1910-1940 with counts of 35, 33, 36, and 560, respectively. Palmyra Atoll (32) was included in Honolulu County in 1940. There were no published county breakdowns for the 102,403 Total in 1960.

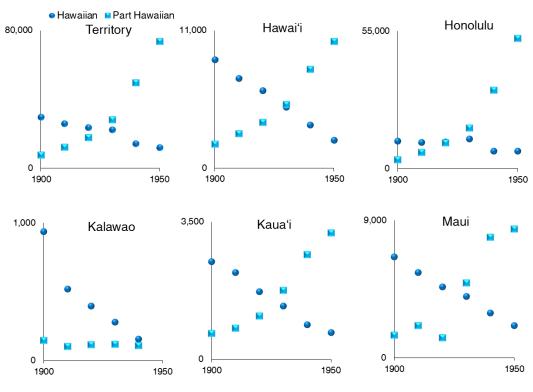
Table 11. Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian Population by County: 1900–1950

Census	Population	Territory		Honolulu		Kaua ʻ i	Maui
Ochodo	or opalation	Torritory	Hawaii	Honorara	Raidwao	Rada I	Maar
1900	Hawaiian	29,799	8,666	11,096	940	2,483	6,614
	Part Hawaiian	7,857	1,929	3,615	149	665	1,499
	Total	37,656	10,595	14,711	1,089	3,148	8,113
1910	Hawaiian	26,041	7,156	10,567	520	2,208	5,590
	Part Hawaiian	12,506	2,768	6,716	104	798	2,120
	Total	38,547	9,924	17,283	624	3,006	7,710
1920	Hawaiian	23,723	6,197	10,735	399	1,728	4,664
1020	Part Hawaiian	18,027	3,671		118	1,106	1,323
	Total		9,868			2,834	5,987
			·	-			
1930	Hawaiian	22,636	4,864	12,103	280	1,363	4,026
	Part Hawaiian	28,224	5,071	16,359	120	1,758	4,916
	Total	50,860	9,935	28,462	400	3,121	8,942
1940	Hawaiian	14,375	3,451	7,090	158	888	2,946
1570	Part Hawaiian	49,935	7,901		110	2,666	7,915
	Total	64,310	11,352		268	3,554	10,861
	I Otal	04,310	11,002	30,343	200	3,334	10,001
1950	Hawaiian	12,206	2,233	7,171	NA	685	2,117
	Part Hawaiian	73,885	10,122	52,094	NA	3,215	8,454
	Total	86,091	12,355	59,265	163	3,900	10,571

Source: U.S. Census.

Notes: Honolulu refers to the City & County of Honolulu. NA – Not Available.

Figure 5. Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian Population by County: 1900–1950



1900 Census

In Hawai'i, the 1900 Census enumeration included all islands by judicial districts (*moku*), except Kaho'olawe. Census Bureau methods were modified for the new Territory. Alatau T. Atkinson, who supervised the 1896 Hawaiian Republic Census also supervised the 1900 Census. The switch from the Hawai'i Board of Education to the U.S. Census Bureau resulted in the collection of less information on ethnicities, housing, and religion. Although understaffed and under-budgeted, tabulations for the Territory were completed within months.

From 1900–1903, the Presidentially appointed Governor of Hawai'i was Sanford B. Dole. According to the Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i to the Secretary of the Interior dated 1901, the Native Hawaiian population was broken down by the five largest districts shown in **Table 12**. The 37,669 total was subdivided as 29,834 Hawaiians and 7,835 Part Hawaiians. Race was determined by self response or enumerator impressions.

This total differs from the 37,656 stated in Table 11 (difference of 13). The 37,656 Census total was subdivided as 29,799 Hawaiians and 7,857 Part Hawaiians. Adams et al. (1925) revised the total to 39,635 with 29,787 Hawaiians and 7,848 Part Hawaiians. Part Hawaiians were further subdivided as 7,185 Caucasian Hawaiians and 2,672 Asiatic Hawaiians. Adams noted that 2,000 Part Hawaiians were included with the Portuguese and other Caucasians in

the Caucasian category (Thrum, 1904). Three estimates are summarized in **Table 13**.

In 1905, the Territorial Legislature passed the County Act that established the five counties of Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi, Maui, Kauaʻi, and Kalawao (Act 39, 1905). Two years later, the County of Oʻahu became the City and County of Honolulu (Act 118, 1907). The 1900 Census island data was regrouped by county as earlier shown in Table 10.

1910-1930 Censuses

The 1910, 1920, and 1930 Censuses enumerated all islands by judicial districts including Kahoʻolawe and Midway. Census literature was translated into languages other than English. Difficulties included finding competent enumerators for temporary employment; using adding machines (1903), rotary calculators (1912–1916), and punch cards (1930); and encountering violent opposition in 1910 (Schmitt, 1977). **Table 14** shows the population subdivided into Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian categories for 1910–1930. Part Hawaiians were further subdivided into Caucasian Hawaiians and Asiatic Hawaiians.

To reiterate, by 1930, the number of Part Hawaiians exceeded the number of Hawaiians. The 1930 census was the first to include geographies other than Hilo Town and Honolulu District. Since 1900, Hilo and Honolulu statistics were reported in addition to island data.

Table 12. Native Hawaiian Population: 1900

District	Native Hawaiian
Honolulu, Oʻahu	11,380
Hilo, Hawai'i	2,406
Lahāina, Maui	1,436
Wailuku, Maui	2,527
Līhu'e, Kaua'i	655
Subtotal	18,404
Other districts	19,265
Total	37,669

Source: Report of the Governor (1901).

Table 13. Population Estimates for Native Hawaiians: 1900

Source	Estimate	Hawaiian	Part Hawaiian
Governor Report	37,669	29,834	7,835
Schmitt (Census)	37,656	29,799	7,857
Adams, Thrum	39,656	29,799	9,857

Sources: Report of the Governor (1901). Schmitt (1977). Adams et al. (1925). Thrum (1904).



Table 14. Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians: 1910–1930

	1910	1920	1930
Total*	38,547	41,750	50,860
Hawaiian	26,041	23,723	22,636
Part Hawaiian	12,506	18,027	28,224
Caucasian Hawaiian	8,772	11,072	15,632
Asiatic Hawaiian	3,734	6,955	12,592

Source: U.S. Census.

Notes: Total* = Hawaiian + Part Hawaiian.

Part Hawaiian = Caucasian Hawaiian + Asiatic Hawaiian.

Adams (1937) revised the Hawaiian count to 12,856, and the Part Hawaiian count to 38,004.

1940-1950 Censuses

For the 1940 Census, publications were limited because of the World War II. Hawai'i results were in three brief bulletins: two on population and one on housing. Caucasian Hawaiians and Asiatic Hawaiians were no longer reported. Statistical sampling was introduced where 5% of the population was asked extra questions; the results were extrapolated to the entire country.

The 1950 Census used the UNIVAC 1 computer and expanded geographic coverage to include more detailed street maps, villages less than 100 people, and tract information. Census tracts replaced election precincts and judicial districts. Adjustments were made for problems with full counts versus sampled data and tabulation processing errors including machine failure, non-response, and lost punch cards. A sampling technique for 20% of the population (every fifth person) had questions about school enrollment, years of school completed, children ever born, residence five years earlier, parents' birthplace, work hours per week, and family income. A two-stage tabulation was used. Local industries were added, so data was collected for sugar, pineapple, and coffee farms, as well as, sugar processing and pineapple canning.

For the first and only time, another race mixture, "Caucasian and other races", was introduced. The sole previous race mixture was "Part Hawaiian".

1960-1980 Censuses

The 1960 Census was the first U.S. census after statehood. For the first time, questionnaires were mailed; enumerators retrieved them. For 25% of the population (every fourth house), more information was asked via hand-delivered questionnaires which could be mailed back. Previously used census tracts were revised and renumbered or abolished and replaced by census county divisions (CCDs).

Computers processed nearly all of the data from the 1960 census. Respondents marked questionnaires that had small corresponding circles on the page. For the first time, a film optical sensing device (FOSDIC) was used for magnetic tape computer input, eliminating the need for clerks entering data on punch cards.

In 1960, the previously used race categories changed to those used on the Continental U.S. Household members could self-identify their race. Race-ethnicity statistics were reported for "Whites" and "Nonwhites". "Nonwhites" was subdivided as "Negro" and "Other Races". "Other Races" included Aleuts, American Indians, Asian Indians, Chinese, Eskimos, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Japanese, Koreans, Malayans, etc. Note that "Hawaiian" and "Part Hawaiian" were included in the questionnaire for Hawaii only. "Hawaiian" meant full-blooded descendant.



The total population of 102,403 for 1960 in Table 10 is from the U.S. Census and did not include county breakdowns. There were 11,294 Hawaiians and 91,109 Part Hawaiians. Adams (1937) claimed that the 11,294 Hawaiians were really Part Hawaiians. **Table 15** reports Hawaiians by county from two sources. The first is from an unpublished U.S. Census tabulation. The second estimate is for "Other Races" which includes Hawaiians. Together they present a range of 7,683–114,405 as a count for Hawaiians. **Figure 6** shows an enumerator in the 1960 census in Hawaii.

Table 15. Two Census Estimates: 1960

County	1960*	1960**	
Hawaiʻi	1,634	12,936	
Honolulu	3,828	86,926	
Kalawao	46	147	
Kauaʻi	565	4,385	
Maui	1,610	10,011	
Total	7,683	114,405	

Sources: U.S. Census. Schmitt (1977). Notes: *Unpublished tabulation.

A different sampling method was used for the 1970 census. Everyone answered five questions: household head, sex, race, age, and marital status. Other questions were asked of a 15-percent sample; yet another set of questions was asked of a 5-percent sample. Questions common to both samples resulted in a 20-percent sample. Besides reducing the number of questions, this census attempted to count the undercounted segments of the population. Urban areas could mail the questionnaires back, but rural areas held them for the enumerators to collect. No housing units were reported for Kalawao as residents were classified as living in a medical facility.

In 1970, "Hawaiian" appeared as a race category in questionnaires for every state except Alaska. It was the only Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander group listed until 1980 when "Guamanian" and "Samoan" were added. "Hawaiian" no longer referred to full-

blooded descendants since the "Part Hawaiian" category was eliminated. Those of mixed descent were to self-report the race with which they identified themselves. When in doubt, the father's race was to be used. In 1980, the mother's race was to be used. With these definition changes, those of mixed descent may have identified with "Hawaiian", or another ethnicity if they interpreted "Hawaiian" as full-blooded descendants. With these changes in race categories, the 1970 Hawaiian population was reported as 71,375 — a "paper genocide" (Jaworowski, 1998).

Lind (1980) reported enumerations from the Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program (HHSP) that used more flexible local race definitions. For 1970, there were 7,697 Hawaiians and 125,224 Part Hawaiians. In 1977, there were 9,449 Hawaiians and 136,443 Part Hawaiians.

The 1980 Census reported three sets of Census statistics for Native Hawaiians:

- 1. full count (115,500)
- 2. 1 in 6 count (118,251)
- 3. 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) (122,660).

The Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program (HHSP) reported 176,453 comprised of 9,366 Hawaiians and 166,087 Part Hawaiians.

Figure 6. Taking the 1960 census in Hawai'i



Source: U.S. Census. https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/



^{**}Data for Other Races including Hawaiians. Honolulu refers to the City & County of Honolulu.

1990-2010 Censuses

The three most recent censuses used self-identification to determine race. They all included a check box for "Hawaiian" ("Native Hawaiian" in 2000 and 2010) and a write-in area. However, there were formatting, terminology, and methodology changes as briefly described below. **Figure 7** shows the race question from the 2010 Census and **Table 16** has Native Hawaiian population data by island.

Figure 7. 2010 Race Question

1	Black, African Am., or Negro American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal trib					
	Asian Indian Chinese Filipino Other Asian — example, Hmong, L Pakistani, Cambodi	aotian, Thai,	0000	Guama Samoa Other F	Pacific Isla example, F	ander —
-		e — Print race.				

Source: U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/population/race/data/ MREAD 1790 2010.html

Table 16. Native Hawaiian Population by Island: 1990, 2000, 2010

Island	1990	2000	2010
Oʻahu	91,967	153,117	182,120
Hawaiʻi	23,120	43,010	54,919
Maui	12,350	24,877	31,666
Lānaʻi	287	633	611
Kaho'olawe	NA	NA	NA
Molokaʻi	3,282	4,507	4,527
Kauaʻi	7,510	13,381	15,978
Niʻihau	226	130	149
Total	138,742	239,655	289,970

Sources: U.S. Census. Census 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Census 2000 Summary File 1. Census 2010 Summary File 2. Note: NA - Not Applicable

In 1990, "Hawaiian" was one of ten categories listed under Asian or Pacific Islander (API) that also included a write-in box. The other nine

were Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Asian Indian, Samoan, Guamanian, and Other API.

In 2000, the previous API category was split into "Asian American" and "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander" (NHOPI). "Asian American" included persons having origins in the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, namely, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Other Asian with a write-in box. "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander" included check-boxes for Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, and Other Pacific Islander with write-in capability for Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia such as Fijian, Tongan, or Marshallese. Individuals could identify themselves as more than one race. Hawai'i led the nation with the largest percentage of 21.4% reporting more than one race and 7% reporting three or more races.

Note that "Native" was added to "Hawaiian" in 2000. Data was tabulated as "Native Hawaiian alone" and "Native Hawaiian alone or in any combination". "Native Hawaiian alone" counted those who identified with one race. "Native Hawaiian alone or in any combination" counts allowed an individual to be counted more than once.

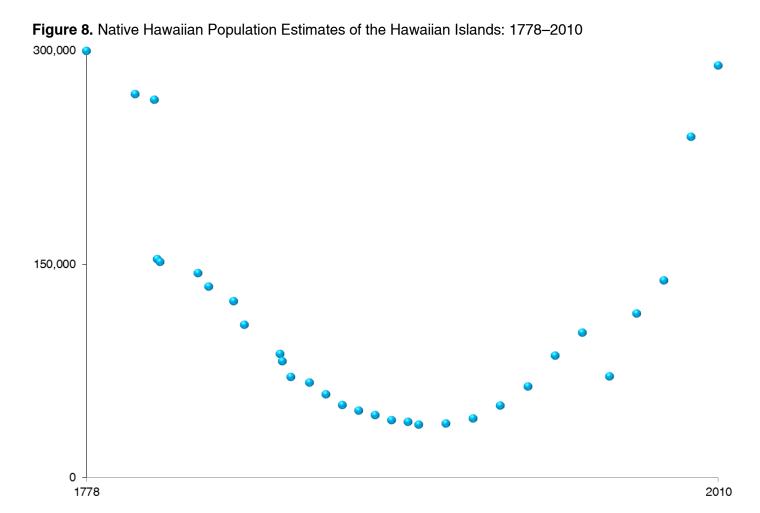
The 2010 questionnaire was similar to the 2000 version. Examples of write-in options were added for "Other Asian" (Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on) and "Other Pacific Islander" (Fijian, Tongan, and so on). Hawai'i led the nation with the largest percentage of 23.6% reporting more than one race and 8.4% reporting three or more races. Write-ins for "Pacific Islander" included Polynesians such as Tahitian, Tongan, Tokelauan; Micronesians such as Marshallese, Palauan, and Chuukese; and Melanesians such as Fijian, Guinean, and Solomon Islander.

The Office of Management and Budget within the Executive Office of the President of the U.S. is currently reviewing race and ethnicity question concerns in preparation for the 2020 Census.



Summary

There have been many Native Hawaiian population enumerations in Hawai'i ranging from guesswork to careful research to planned collection methodologies. Many of these enumerations were prompted by concerns over the rapid decline and well-being of the Native Hawaiian population. Each enumeration had varied challenges to secure accurate data. One of the most significant issues involved misclassification of race due to changing terminology and definitions, thus compromising trend comparisons. User references to these enumerations should include the sources, assumptions, methodologies, and limitations. **Figure 8** is a representative graph summarizing the Native Hawaiian population estimates from 1778–2010 discussed in this report. The estimate for 1778 is plotted as 300,000 although estimates range from 100,000 to 1.5 million. The data points are not connected due to the different sources.



Numerous demographic, social, and economic statistics are calculated using population enumerations that influence planning and policy decisions. According to the 2015 American Community Survey, there were 309,904 Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, 22% of the State's population.

Even though the "true" population enumerations are unknowable and accurate demographic rate calculations are impossible (Schmitt, 1996), they provide some additional data of the history of Native Hawaiians who experienced cultural challenges in the most isolated 'āina on Earth.

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Suggested Citation. Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Research Division, Demography. (2017). *Native Hawaiian Population Enumerations in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, HI.

