

Hawai'i's first medical school

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REPRINTED FROM: HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, OCTOBER 1967,
VOLUME 11, No. 9. REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION.

[Note: As a tribute to O.A. Bushnell and his research in the history of medical training in Hawai'i, we are honored to reprint Hawai'i's First Medical School from Hawaiian Historical Review. Bushnell offers a vivid portrait of how medical training established itself in Hawai'i, leading to the creation of our John A. Burns School of Medicine.]

University of Hawai'i is not the islands' first. It follows by almost a hundred years a medical school established in Honolulu by the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

Although "in an early period of the Hawaiian Mission the subject of educating persons for physicians was agitated," as members of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association recalled in 1871, the missionaries made no official statement upon the matter until 1867. In June of that year the brethren of the Association, meeting in Honolulu, adopted the report of its Committee on Medical Instruction. This committee, consisting of Rev. Luther H. Gulick, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, and Rev. C.B. Andrews, had considered a very important aspect of life in Hawaii, and its report worth quoting extensively:

"...There is and has been a greater need of native doctors than of native lawyers. The Missionaries have educated the native pastors...The native

lawyers have educated themselves...but the medical profession, has been like a sealed book...

There was a time when a large proportion of the population applied to the Missionaries for medical aid. The funds of the American Board were largely drawn upon for medicines, and the Missionaries devoted a great deal of time in attendance on the sick...Subsequently the Hawaiian Government undertook to furnish the Missionaries with medicines for the sick; of late years this source of relief has dried up, and even the voluntary practice of the Missionaries has been discountenanced. In places where there are no educated physicians, there has arisen a class of native doctors, who, with a license signed by 'Kapu', have undertaken to *save the nation*.

These persons are mostly old men and old women, who have very little education and no knowledge of medicine whatever. Ignorant of the plainest rules of diet and regimen, they are not even proper nurses of the sick; but depend upon luck and chance, large promises of cure, and their influence with the old heathen gods, whose worship they have in a certain degree... revived for the purpose of obtaining an influence over their victims.

These doctors and doctresses finding their practice profitable are now everywhere found proclaiming their own skill, interfering with and opposing the practice of foreign physicians and disseminating false and idolatrous principles among the people.

These doctors and doctresses finding their practice profitable are now everywhere found proclaiming their own skill, interfering with and opposing the practice of foreign physicians and disseminating false and idolatrous principles among the people. They kill numbers of the King's subjects. Some are killed by neglect. The disease is left to its course, while the doctor is trusting to luck and feasting on the hogs, the white cocks, the *poi*, the *'awa*, which he requires as a condition of cure. Meanwhile, he is going on with his incantations. Some sick are killed by a more summary process, by the administration of remedies, such as croton oil and castor oil beans, a coarse kink of jalap, a species of colocynth, tartar emetic, calomel, gun-

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powder, etc. without any rules to guide the doctor, other than his own uneducated judgment.

It being admitted that there is a pressing necessity for educating a sufficient number of native pupils to meet the wants of the people and to check the serious and rapidly growing evil above, stated, the question arises how and by whom it is to be done. Your Committee are of the opinion that the education required need not be of a very high order, but a simple course should be gone through which would qualify the pupils to be *good nurses* and tolerably *safe* practitioners. It should be conducted in the Hawaiian language, by one or more medical men who understand the language, and are acquainted with the prejudices and superstitions of the people. Pupils when educated should be distributed all over the islands, at least two in every election district, licensed to practice and authorized to charge for their services according to a schedule to be provided for their guidance. They should be under a constant supervision.

The Queen's Hospital affords the greatest facilities for the kind of instruction required, much of which would be in the form of clinical lectures which the pupils should commit to writing. If the trustees of that institution could be induced to undertake the work, there are medical men who might afford valuable aid in preparing simple books and treatises in the Hawaiian, which the Board of Education might be willing to have printed for the use of the pupils.

Private persons-members of the medical profession may, perhaps, be found who would take one or two pupils, but the difficulties and expense would be so great, and the probability of perseverance on the part of the pupils themselves would be so small, that not much can be expected from this source. It is desirable...that the system should be uniform and (continuous) for a term of years, by additions to the stock of Hawaiian medical knowledge and literature, which would be required by the pupils after entering upon their practice.

There are some persons whose opinions are deserving of the highest consideration, who would decidedly object to the licensing of medical pupils who have not had the advantage of an education in the English language, and a course or two of medical lectures in a foreign country, but [we] are

of the opinion that however well these may be educated, they would be in the minds of the native population upon a par with foreign physicians, and subject to the same prejudice and opposition from the present native doctors as foreign doctors can cure foreign diseases, but native doctors only can cure native diseases, would be applicable to them. They would also seek for a residence in the towns and populous places as competitors to foreign physicians for the sake of a higher remuneration which their expensive habits would require for their support. But we think that the simple and not very expensive system which we herein recommend would in a reasonable time undermine the influence of native doctors in every district, and counteract the growing tendency to revive the worship of false gods and the belief in the old Hawaiian sorcery."

This report, naturally, presented the problem from the foreigners' point of view. Native Hawaiians, too, had their opinions, and many expressed their thoughts in letters published in Hawaiian-language newspapers of the day. One of the less florid and more sensible of these correspondents was W.H. Uaua of Maui who, earlier in 1867, had written to the Chairman of the Medical Society at Wailuku:

"In accordance with the resolution passed at the meeting of December 30 [1866] I was appointed to consider and present to this meeting my views on the question laid before the assembly that day, which was as follows: 'Can the Hawaiian medical practice understand certain of the ailments of a person and know the proper medicines for this and that sickness?'

...I can state positively, there are among the Hawaiian relatives here, and there are perhaps living now, a body of skilled priests who by feeling or massaging can ascertain the ailment within a person, and they will foretell his sickness and the suitable medicines also. The majority of the real skilled ones are all taken by death, such was Kuauau, a famous priest who lived at Wailuku here; and I have heard that a copy exists of his medical book. O. A. Ka'auwai was one of Wailuku also, and Napu'upāhoehoe. E. Kuakamauna of Lahaina was another, as also Kalimahuamoā of Waiālua, O'ahu. All these and some other skilled ones are now dead.

It being admitted that there is a pressing necessity for educating a sufficient number of native pupils to meet the wants of the people and to check the serious and rapidly growing evil above, stated, the question arises how and by whom it is to be done.

But perhaps they are not all gone, maybe they have taught their relatives, and have written a book and left it with heirs or relatives, whereby we all receive it. I have been assured there are now living in Wailuku here, and in other places, persons who can feel or massage for and locate ailments, and have the proper medicines, and if sought and inquired for in accordance with the decree of this Assembly, they will be the means of great benefit to the populace.

This skilled practice was the medical treatment of Hawai'i, not joining with sorcery and idolatry...

It is well to search at once for a surety, because by the feeling-massaging only are ascertained ailments within a person, some fatal of course, and by the feeling or massaging is known the proper medicine for these diseases: extreme costiveness [*papakū*], consumption [*wai'ōpua*], a swelling or internal kind of disease [*'eho*], a fatal disease for which *wai'iki* was the medicine [*haikala*], *neowaikū*, *n'au*, and *pou*, and other diseases. Therefore, by the method of Hawaiian medical practice, human ailments were understood and the proper remedies also for them..."

The missionaries' report and the natives' letters touched upon many of the social and political issues which were troubling people in Hawaii during the reign of Kamehameha V. No great affection for foreigners, or for *haole* innovations, marked this autocratic king, who reigned from 1863 to 1872. More like his grandfather, the great Kamehameha I, than were the other rulers of his line, this last monarch of the dynasty had reasons aplenty to be as wary of *haole* as was his watchful ancestor, and even more cause to be concerned for the welfare of his people. With them, he was alarmed at their dwindling number, reduced by 1866 to 58,765 people from about 300,000 in 1778, when foreigners, with their germs and their new ideas, first brought havoc into the islands.

To protect his royal prerogatives and his subjects' few rights, Kamehameha V abrogated in 1864 the liberal constitution granted by Kamehameha III in 1852, and tried to surround himself with officials and advisers loyal to him and to the nation rather than to the interests of *haole* businessmen. "Hawai'i for the Hawaiians" was his intention, if not his declaration.

Among the first evidences of this new attitude was a general relaxation of the missionaries' proscriptions against

native practices and customs, inhibited by Christian censure if not by actual law for more than thirty years. The sounds of *hula* dancing were heard again, much to the scandal of Puritans of all races; and other games and pastimes, not all innocent, emerged from hiding. Least noticed by *haole*, because they were the last people in the world to call for their services, were the several kinds of native *kāhuna* who kept alive the old ways of casting spells for good or for evil, of uttering prophecies, and of treating sicknesses. These *kāhuna* were by no means extinct (as, indeed, they may not be even today), having gone underground, so to speak, during the years of interdiction.

Foreign residents were shocked at the revival of these "heathen superstitions." They didn't quite know how to combat prophets, dispensers of love potions, sorcerers and necromancers, or those retrograde ones who still worshipped the old gods. But—even though they would rather have died than call upon a native physician to treat their ailments—the foreigners did attempt to control native physicians, just as they tried to control to some extent the dispensers of commercial love (with *An Act to*

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Mitigate the Evils and Diseases arising from Prostitution, passed in 1860) and the horrifying numbers of lepers who were beginning to disfigure the landscape (with *An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy*, passed in 1865): they persuaded the Legislature of 1864 to require the Board of Health to examine all physi-

cians, whether native or foreign, and to license only those who met the standards that the Board and its *haole* physicians were pleased to establish.

Few Hawaiians were disgruntled by the laws controlling prostitutes and lepers, because curbs upon them were needed and were beneficial to all. But the constraints placed upon *kāhuna lapa'au*, native physicians, being discriminatory, called forth protests from natives on all islands. Mr. Uaua's letter is one of the most temperate of their expressions of dissent to find its way into print. For every letter-writer, dozens of voluble citizens must have button-holed their representatives to the legislature. That sensitive council acted as promptly as it could: despite protests from *haole* and memorials from missionaries, and, as the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* growled, "through the strenuous exertions of native members," (helped, no doubt, to see their duty by a word from the king), the session of 1868 brought forth *An Act to Establish a Hawaiian Board of Health*.

The preamble of the Act tried to placate its opponents:

"Whereas, the outer districts of this Kingdom are greatly in want of physicians; and whereas, great evils arise to the Hawaiian nation from the present want of regulations for Hawaiian practitioners of medicine; and whereas, it is thought advisable to establish a system of licensing Hawaiian practitioners of medicine..."

But Section I of the Act clearly rescued native physicians from the critical regard of their *haole* colleagues:

"His Majesty the King shall appoint a Board of Health of native-born Hawaiians, consisting of three persons, who shall serve during the King's pleasure, and whose duty it shall be to examine and inquire into the qualifications and good moral character of native Hawaiians who wish to practice medicine in this Kingdom."

Auwē for the plight of politicians! Caught in a cross-fire, *haole* legislators tried to appease their constituents by quietly accepting the sense of the report adopted by the Evangelical Association in 1867. They did not insist upon an official act, but simply tucked into the Appropriations Bill an allotment of \$4000 to the Bureau of Public Instruction, "for the Medical Education of Hawaiian Youth". Neither they nor the surprised Bureau of Public Instruction were quite sure what they intended to achieve with this allocation. No matter, there it was, indisputable proof that the country's lawmakers were bravely tackling the problem. Native leaders must have been equally bewildered (or encouraged), because neither the king nor his father, Mataio Kekūānao'a, who was president of the Board of Education at the time, opposed the *haole* stratagem.

The lack of an official statement defining the ways in which those \$4000 could be spent prevented their being used for medical education during the ensuing biennium. Even though the Evangelical Association's report of 1867 had declared that medical education for Hawaiians should be provided at home, other weighty citizens held different ideas. On July 13, 1869, W. Jas. Smith, secretary to the Board of Education, in replying to an inquiry from Dr. C. H. Wetmore, of Hilo, stated that the board's intention was to "provide for such suitable instruction...abroad; and that the idea of providing...such instruction here, has not been the object of the Board, and is a subject on which a difference of opinion exist..."

The late Legislative Assembly made an appropriation of \$4000 for the 'Medical Education of Hawaii Youth,' which has not been used for the purpose intended, owing to the impossibility of finding young men with such a knowledge of the English and Latin languages ...

This difference of opinion succeeded in delaying the program for two and a half years. W. P. Kamakau, who became president of the Board of Education upon Kekūānao'a's death in 1868, justified the delay in his Report for 1869-1870:

"The late Legislative Assembly made an appropriation of \$4000 for the 'Medical Education of Hawaii Youth,' which has not been used for the purpose intended, owing to the impossibility of finding young men with such a knowledge of the English and Latin languages as would have enabled them to take advantage of the lectures and teachings of any medical school either in the United States or Great Britain. Some young men have presented themselves as candidates, but on examination it was very apparent that they understood little or nothing of the meaning of English words outside those found in the ordinary school readers...This is much to be regretted, as the want of qualified medical practitioners is severely felt outside of Honolulu; it is hoped, however, that Hawaiian youths from some of the English boarding schools now in operation, will soon be able to take advantage of the liberality of the Legislature, if it should see fit to place the same sum on the next appropriation bill, which is cordially recommended by the Board. The appropriation for medical education granted by the Legislature of 1868, has been transferred to the support of Hawaiian and English schools, and is fully counted for under that head."

Meanwhile, the licensing of approved *kāhuna lapa'au* by the native Board of Health, as it was called, went happily on. In his Report for 1869-1870, Dr. Ferdinand W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior and president of the *haole* Board of Health, reaffirmed the attitude of most foreign physicians toward *kāhuna lapa'au*:

"One of the principal causes of the excessive mortality [among natives] is the practice of the native *kāhuna*. Under the Act of the last Session, 14 applicants for licenses have received them from the Minister of the Interior, on recommendation of the Board of Health. It is hoped that the experiment will have a good effect, more especially in the possibility of obtaining evidence in a Court of Justice, sufficient to convict offending parties, by whose practices and poisons given under the name of medicine, hundreds of their countrymen are annually hurried into eternity."

The legislators of 1870, whatever argument they favored, again appropriated \$4000 to the Bureau of Public Instruction "for the Medical Education of Hawaiian Youth." This time the money was "used for the purpose intended." Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association noted in 1871, "was appointed to take charge of the instruction of these young men. On the 9th November 1870, he opened a school with 10 pupils." The organization approved: "This, we think, is a move in the right direction, and by the blessing of God, may be made the means of counteracting some of the evils, which arise from the number of native doctors among the people, and of prolonging the existence of the nation."

At last the kingdom had gained the medical school it needed. Certainly in Dr. Judd it had acquired a physician of great ability, possibly the islands' most experienced physician, and a teacher dedicated to his missionary's goal of bringing both physical and spiritual succor to the Hawaiian people. The prime minister of the kingdom's government during his years of service to Kamehameha III, Dr. Judd had resumed the practice of medicine when political adversaries forced him out of the government during the smallpox epidemic of 1853. In 1870, at the age of 67, he was a wiser, mellowing man, who had lived among the Hawaiians for 42 years and who understood them so well that he knew when to be a stern disciplinarian or an instructive teaser with chiefs and commoners alike. A Yankee's toughness he brought to every one of his tasks, and a Calvinist's honesty with the realities of life as he saw them, but he tempered these granitic virtues with a paternal affection for the people he strove to save on earth as for heaven.

How he came to undertake this last great crusade of his life is not clear. Perhaps someone from the legislature, or one of his native friends, talked to him, asking him for his help. More than likely his own awareness of his qualifications for the position, fired by a bit of the aggressiveness for which he was famous—after all, he had been a member of the Evangelical Association's committee which first suggested the idea in 1867, and was almost certainly the man who had proposed the committee and written its report—led him to address a proposal to the Board of Education. Its succinctness, in our era of interminable "descriptions of proposed projects," should make us yearn for the good old days:

August 5, 1870

To the Hon. Board of Education:

I perceive by the reports of the late Legislature, there has passed an appropriation for the Medical education of Hawaiian youth. This instruction I propose to give in somewhat the following manner:

- 1st. By calling for a number of well-advanced boys from some of the districts remote from foreign physicians.
- 2nd. Of these I propose to select as many as are found suitable, the number to be limited by the amount appropriated.
- 3rd. To enter a contract with each pupil to furnish him with food, lodging, and instructions, and binding him to remain for two years, at my option.
- 4th. Pupils to provide their own clothing (as far as practicable).
- 5th. Instruction to be in the Hawaiian language, orally and by lectures.
- 6th. I wish it understood that I do not propose to teach beyond simple aphorisms in Medicine, Hygiene, General Anatomy, and Surgery, but will endeavor to instill into the minds of the pupils, safe and practical rules for the diagnosis and treatment of common and simpler forms of disease, with the use of some native as well as foreign remedies, and with full explanation of the evils of the present native practice.
- 7th. I should take my pupils to visit the sick on all suitable occasions, and especially, if permitted to visit the Queen's Hospital would be happy to avail myself of the knowledge and experience which are afforded by the institution.
- 8th. At the end of two years the pupils, if found sufficiently competent are to be returned home with permits or licenses to practice.

Further particulars or variations of the plans to be pursued must be left for future developments [sic].

I have the honor to be
Your Obedt Servant,
G. P. Judd

Evidently this forthright offer was something of a surprise to the Board, which, after discussing the proposal at its meeting on September 30, 1870, instructed one of its members, Dr. Hutchison, to confer with Dr. Judd. Dr. Hutchinson, himself a prominent physician, and, as Kamehameha V's Minister of the Interior since 1865, both president of the *haole* Board of Health and a member of the Board of Education *ex officio*, was sufficiently impressed by the conference to invite Dr. Judd to present his plan in person to the board at its meeting of November 9.

Assembled that day to hear him were C. C. Harris, vice president *pro tem*. Charles R. Bishop, J. M. Smith, Dr. Hutchinson, and W. Jas. Smith, the board's secretary.

"Dr. Judd... stated that he addressed circulars—a copy of which he read to the Board—to several individuals, residents in different districts on the other Islands, relative to [medical education for Hawaiian youth], and had received several replies to the same [from respected men such as the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop, the Rev. Elias Bond, Mr. Valdemar Knudsen, and Mr. W. Goodale], the whole enumerating about 40 youths that might be considered available from which to make a selection of the number required by the Doctor... In reference to his own compensation... Dr. Judd stated that he had expected to set apart out of the sum appropriated... \$100 per month for his services.

The Board was of the opinion that the pupils ought to be required to support themselves as far as practicable, and when able to do so, to pay their own passages, provide their own clothing, etc, etc, and that all details of arrangement and management should be left to the Doctor's judgement. Concerning the age of the pupils to be selected, full discretion to be given the Doctor, but the Board recommended that as a rule none under 18 years of age should be admitted, and that the selections should, as far as practicable, be made from among those possessing comfortable means of subsistence. It should also be required that guarantees be given by each of the youths selected, to continue two years under the Doctor's instruction and control, and that their contracts—the form of which [is] to be submitted to the Board for its approval—make it binding on them to return to their respective districts, to engage in administering medicine and attending the sick, for at least two years after being released and certificated by the Doctor."

Recognizing in Dr. Judd's plan an offer which they could not expect anyone in Honolulu to improve upon, as well as one which required no effort or responsibility on their part, the members of the Board promptly proceeded to tie him to it with a carefully-worded resolution:

"RESOLVED: That the offer personally made by Dr. Judd...to assume the responsibility and all the care and expense attending, the selecting, instruction, providing for, and controlling ten pupils...in the manner and for the object set forth in his communication to the Board of Aug. 5 A.D. 1870...to be accepted by the Board, and that the Doctor be authorized to proceed forthwith with the undertaking.

No one thought to record, for history's sake, the date when, having chosen and assembled his students, Dr. Judd

actually began to teach them. Even with his formidable capacities, however, he could not possibly have started instruction on the same day he received the board's authorization. Probably, to judge by the payment he received from the board for November, he started the school early enough in the month to be able to justify that disbursement both to his Calvinist conscience and to the watchful board.

Nor did anyone record either the names of his ten carefully-selected students or the location of the medical school. More than likely, in the miniscule Honolulu of 1870, Dr. Judd taught those pupils in his private hospital and dispensary at 31 Punchbowl Street and during visits to The Queen's Hospital, about a block away. His hospital would have been large enough to accommodate both the medical students and those patients who sought his care, inasmuch as he had purchased in August, 1867 the former United States Marine Hospital. The "American Hospital," as most people in Honolulu called it, had been maintained by the U.S. government for the treatment of sick or injured American citizens. It "occupied a large lot on the

southeast side of Punchbowl Street, just below the corner of Beretania." In September, 1867 the gossipy *Friend* did not fail to observe that "it has been occupied by the Doctor for several months past, and few persons can have helped noticing the improved and tidy appearance which the hospital immediately assumed under his care."

For his services as instructor and guardian of the ten students, and for the expenses of lodging those who lived under his care, Dr. Judd received \$2,000 a year from the board of education. He was paid in assorted amounts at irregular intervals, apparently only after he had submitted statements reminding the board of the medical schools' existence.

Conceived and organized in the manner of one-man medical schools of that time in America, with which he and many of his colleagues would have been familiar, Dr. Judd's school was probably just as good as many of them, and no worse than most.

The *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1871-1872*, signed by W. P. Kamakau, gives us the sole official notice of the kingdom's new institution:

MEDICAL SCHOOL, HONOLULU

G. P. Judd
Instructor

Number of Students, 10

Conceived and organized in the manner of one-man medical schools of that time in America, ... Dr. Judd's school was probably just as good as many of them, and no worse than most.

The amount voted by the last Legislature for the medical instruction of Hawai'i youth, has been expended for that object. The experiment has been fully inaugurated by the Board, and the carrying out of it confided to the care of Dr. G. P. Judd. Ten students, chiefly young men, have been selected with great care by the Doctor, and, for over a year past, have been in constant attendance upon a course of plain medical lectures. These lectures have been accompanied by the practical education of the dispensary which has formed an adjunct of the school. The students now under the Doctor's charge, have contracted to go to designated localities among the districts remotely removed from the reach of regular medical aid, at the expiration of a two-years' course of instruction.

It is to be noted that the experiment thus inaugurated will prove successful, and assist in weaning the people from their ancient superstitious practice of the healing art.

Fortunately, we have one other source of information about the medical school: the remnants of a notebook kept during January and February, 1871, by one of Dr. Judd's students. From these notes, written in Hawaiian, we can learn a great deal about the manner in which Dr. Judd imparted his knowledge to those Hawaiian youths, the state of his medical art in 1871, and even something about the students themselves and the stubborn persistence in them of native concepts and terms relating to medicine.

The writer of these notes is not identified, but he did mention by name three of his companions in learning: Zerubabela, Kailima, and Na'ōnohi.

All entries in the notebook show how Kauka Judd used many devices for teaching his disciples, but the very first entry, of January 5, 1871, is the most extensive, perhaps because it is the first:

A woman came in and Kauka asked her some questions.

Q. What is your name?

A. *Lu'ukia*

Q. Where do you belong?

A. *To Ko'olau, in He'eia.*

Q. How did you get here?

A. *On horseback.*

Q. How long have you been sick?

A. *Five weeks.*

Q. Where does it hurt you?

A. *On the thighs and back.*

Q. Does the pain increase at night?

A. *Yes.*

Q. Do you have an appetite?

A. *No.*

Q. Do you perspire?

A. *No.*

Q. Are you constipated?

A. *No.*

Q. Let me see your tongue.

(It was coated with white).

Q. Do you feel chilly?

A. *I do feel chilly.*

The pulse was counted and registered 100 beats. Kauka asked us, 'What is this sickness called?' Zerubabela replied, 'The *paaooa*.' Kailimi said that it was rheumatism. Kauka agreed that it was rheumatism. Three pills were given to the woman because it is well to give a physic at the beginning of this disease to remove the impurities. The disease can be identified by the coated tongue. Then give a blood purifier after the physic has worked.

A child belonging to Kalauli was brought. His

body was feverish, he had a cough, a sneeze, and a little pain in the lungs. His teeth were growing. Kauka lanced the gums for some teeth were about to appear. The boy was given some cough medicine combined with an emetic. He told them to give half a teaspoonful every two hours until he vomited or his bowels loosened. The doctor said, 'Bring him back tomorrow.'

Although, by our standards today, sustained by the immense advances in the sciences since 1871, we must admit that there really wasn't much difference between the art of medicine practiced by Dr. Judd and that of Hawaiian physicians, the Doctor himself never lost a chance to praise the *haole* system and to depredate the native. Thus, on January 11, after Kauka had asked the students to read some of S. M. Kamakau's articles on the treatment of the sick which had appeared recently in his newspaper column, *Mo'oleo o Hawai'i*, the keeper of the notebook wrote:

Kauka told us that he perused this article and found not one word to recommend this kind of healing. 'It is like going back to olden times, an apostatizing from Jehovah, a defying of the spirits of the dead. The *kahuna's* desire was to have the patient's trust so that he could take his possessions. The offer-

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ings given to the gods were really the kahuna's. Another thing the *kahuna* did was to wait until the patient might recover of himself. The longer he waited the wealthier he got...Thus it was on all benighted lands in the Pacific Ocean.

'... The *'Aumakua* were false gods. Wrong also are the words *kumupa'a* and *paaooa*. Do not use these words. Your ancestors were worshippers of idols down to the reign of Kamehameha II. The images were set on fire then. Your parents saw the falseness of the idols and the spirits of deceased men. Your parents all sinned with their idols. The medical *kahunas* cannot say to the present generation that only some sinned for it was known that in the reign of Kamehameha II all repudiated their idols. From that time the people of Hawai'i have turned to worship Jehovah. Where, then, is the wrath of the owls, lizards, and sharks? Do not submit to the wishes of the devil to turn back to former ways.'

Rarely did Kauka Judd deliver such a missionary's sermon upon the superiority of *haole* ways. Usually he managed the invidious comparison with tact, sometimes he resorted to derision, occasionally he permitted himself a pedantic sort of humor:

Speaking of the man Luhikona, who was 'paralyzed in the legs', Kauka said: 'I have never known that paralysis was curable by rubbing water on it for five days [as one *kahuna lapa'au* prescribed]. Perhaps his skin was dirty. If so, it were better to have added soap. It might have been finished one day...'

But Judd was also an honest man, and his fairness would not let him condemn everything about the native *materia medica*. No doubt other *haole* physicians had indulged a curiosity about *kāhuna* medications, might even have tested or used some of them, but Dr. Judd was the only *haole* physician of the 19th century who has left evidence that he knew from personal experience the properties of at least some of the native medicines. Always inquisitive, always sympathetic to the good things his adopted people could offer, and genuinely fond of them as individuals, Kauka investigated their pharmacopoeia very early in his career as a physician among them.

In his report for 1839 to the Sandwich Islands Mission, he stated his attitude very clearly:

It has been an object with me not to oppose the practice of the native physicians in mass, but to endeavor by the best means in my power to correct and modify their practice so that it shall save, not kill, the people. It is my intention, if possible, the coming year to make Ho'okano acquainted with the native practice as it now exists and make him the agent for collecting facts on the subject. It is out of the question for us to think of putting down the native practice unless we will attend all the sick ourselves, since it is not human nature to be sick and die without seeking some means of alleviation. The idea of improving the native doctors has therefore suggested itself to me as an exceedingly important one demanding immediate attention.

Toward the end of 1839, in another report to the Mission, he wrote:

I commenced the investigation of the native practice and by the aid of these two assistants obtained from several natives the various doctrines and practices of the art which have come down through the legalized channels *mai ka wā kahiko mai* [from the old times.]

The results of these investigations have been embodied in their proper order and committed to writing in a Book kept for the purpose.

These investigations occupied several weeks of the year and have been continued as opportunity afforded. We also instituted a series of experiments on native medicines which resulted pretty much as all experiments of the kind usually kind do. We found we could prepare from the native Gourd alone, or combined with *Koali* or *Pipa* an extract which could physic most delightfully and like Brandreth's Apills to any amount which might be desirable. But there being no regular source whence the materials can be derived and preparation of them being attended with some trouble, we have neglected to use them, it being easier to take from the shelves what was already at hand and good enough without seeking for anything better.

If, however, it is thought desirable to supply the stations with the article it can be done at a rate somewhat cheaper than similar foreign articles.

But Judd was also an honest man, and his fairness would not let him condemn everything about the native *materia medica*.

About 3 quarts of Pills have been made during the year, of which half proved to have been damaged in boiling the gourds. The rest have been disposed of to advantage.

I have been unable to prepare an account of the Native Practice in the English Language.

The most of the investigations were conducted during the visit of the Ships of War and while our house was thronged with company.

Thirty-two years later, in 1871, Kauka Judd still retained his interest in native therapeutics, and his knowledge of the effects of some of its medicines.

Thus, on February 9, while he and his students were discussing the treatments being used by a licensed *kahuna lapa'au* named Kahoukapu, they considered Kahoukapu's diagnosis and treatment of Kamiki, a woman from Waimānalo, suffering from a condition the *kahuna* called *aa'ao'o*:

Her sickness was eruptions all over the body. A ball of crushed tobacco leaves was used as a rub over the body. For internal use the moa weed pounded and boiled in a pot was used. This water was used to mix with cooked sweet potatoes. This was the food she ate until her bowels were purged.

Kauka said, 'I know what the moa weed is and I've boiled it in water and sweetened it with sugar and give it to people to drink. I have drunk it myself also. It does act on the bowels but not very well, and it gives such a griping stomach-ache.'

And, on February 10, Dr. Judd said, "Gargling with mountain-apple juice [a decoction of mountain-apple leaves and bark, pounded, and placed in water] is good for a sore mouth. It is like alum."

In general, however, after reading all the notes left to us by Kauka Judd's nameless student, as well as other descriptions of the medications prescribed by both native and *haole* physicians of the time, we are forced to conclude that the medical art of the *haole* was not much better than that of the *kāhuna*. Both were based upon guesswork and hope, both employed botanicals and chemicals of uncertain content and unpredictable effect, and both relied heavily upon purges for catharsis of the bowels and upon trust in the physician (or his god) for easing the spirit. Enlightened Dr. Judd was just as dogmatic as any "benighted" *kāhuna*, and much more arrogant intellectually. And, of course, he was as blind to

the deficiencies of *haole* medicines as he accused *kāhuna* of being blind to the weaknesses of their remedies. The one, great strength he had, in common with most *haole* physicians, was a broader experience with patients, diseases, and medicaments from countries beyond Hawai'i. This experience, coupled with the accumulated knowledge of centuries that was the heritage of western medicine, enabled him to see that the symptoms of a disease were not the causes of a patient's sickness - a discovery which Hawaiian physicians, in their isolation, had not quite managed to attain.

This self assurance, always a strong feature of *haole* and elevated in Dr. Judd almost to a God-given certitude about everything he did, whether in medicine or in statecraft, literally crushed the diffident *kāhuna* under the weight of foreigners' scorn and ridicule. Moreover, *haole* and all things *haole* enjoyed the insuperable advantage of

being on the winning side; all about them, in every aspect of life, natives could see how they and their culture were doomed and dying, succumbing to the germs, the ideas, the artifacts of the superior foreigners. Presented with

such overwhelming evidence of weakness, natives and their *kāhuna* became increasingly defensive and embittered. And, although a few of their disciples, and even fewer of their regimens, are consulted to this day, the practice of medicine by *kāhuna lapa'au* really ended when the *kāhuna* who were practicing in the time of Dr. Judd's medical school lived out their span of years and died.

Neither Dr. Judd nor his medical students were responsible for the demise of native medicine. That was caused in part by the inexorable dying of the Hawaiian race, in part by the steady improvement in the quality of *haole* medicine after the establishment of the germ theory of disease during the 1880's revolutionized both therapy and surgery. Even a country *kua'aina* could be impressed by the miracles of rescue achieved by the new kind of *haole* physician who came to live in the islands after 1890. Faced with such competition, lacking patients and students, *kāhuna lapa'au* were needed no more. When they died, their lore and their inadequacies perished with them.

They might have drawn a wry satisfaction from the death of Dr. Judd's medical school long before their own was extinguished. His school came to an end, sadly and unnecessarily, on October 2, 1872. It was proceeding according to his plan: the ten students were fulfilling their contracts with a faithfulness which proved their contentment with the school and Dr. Judd's satisfaction with them; champions of *haole* medicine as well as proponents of medical education for Hawaiians could congratulate

Neither Dr. Judd nor his medical students were responsible for the demise of native medicine. That was caused in part by the inexorable dying of the Hawaiian race ...

themselves upon having supported a good cause. And yet the school was permitted to die; not a voice was raised to save it.

The explanation is simple. Not all *haole* were pleased. "His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior," as the minutes of the Board of Education invariably referred to Dr. Hutchison, "having interviewed the medical students under the instruction of Dr. G. P. Judd with a view to ascertaining the progress made by them in their study...gave it as his opinion that very little had been accomplished up to the present time, toward the desired end." The cruel judgment was not questioned by the other members of the board during their meeting on April 18, 1872. With the arrogance of men in power who never doubted the rightness of their actions, they instructed Secretary W. Jas. Smith "not to insert the item for Medical Education for Hawaiians in the estimated expenditures of the Board for the ensuing biennial term."

But this bland little job of knifing did not kill the medical school. The Legislature of 1872, having greater faith than did the Board of Education, ignored their uncordial silence and appropriated \$3,000 to continue the institution during the next biennium. Whether or not he was aware of the board's attitude, Dr. Judd could well be encouraged by the legislators' vote of confidence in him and his students. Characteristically, the Olympian Board of Education did not reject the appropriation thrust into their keeping.

Kauka Judd had every expectation of continuing his medical school with a second group of students who would replace the first ten when their apprenticeship was ended. And then, on October 2, Mrs. Judd died. Grieving for his beloved helpmate, Dr. Judd felt that he could no longer be teacher and physician to the people to whom his wife and he had given 44 years of devoted service.

On the morning of October 9 the old man appeared for the last time before the Board of Education. Present to hear him were Dr. Hutchison, Mr. Harris, Mr. Bishop, and W. Jas. Smith, who recorded the scene:

Dr. G. P. Judd personally stated... that he wishes to be absent from town, and in order to enable him to do so, requested that the Board would consider his engagement for the Medical instruction of the ten Hawaiian pupils under his charge as terminated now instead of one month hence as required by his agreement. Dr. Judd also recommended that the ten pupils in question should be licensed to prac-

tice in the several districts to which they had agreed to go. All of which was approved by the Board.

One last service Kauka Judd performed for his pupils before he went away. That same day on which the Board of Education approved the termination of his contract, he caused to be written down by some helpful amanuensis, perhaps in the Bureau of Public Instruction itself, his recommendation to the Board of Health that the ten young men be licensed to practice medicine. In fulfilling this obligation to them, he also rescued them from oblivion—for this scrap of paper, torn across the bottom, obviously a remnant saved by a frugal clerk, is the only document which has survived to tell us who those young men were, and where they were to begin their careers.

[sic]

I Ka Papa Ola Hawai'i

Sir:

I recommend to you for a license to practice medicine on the different islands

on Moloka'i	Jno. W. Kalua
do Waihe'e, Maui	Geo. W. Kalopapela
do Makawao, do	Henry P. Ka'ili
do Kohala, Hawai'i	Jno. Kalama
do Kawaihae do	Henry Mana
do Kona do	S. Na'ōnohi
do Ka 'ū do	Daniel P. Aumai
do Puna do	Jno. Kelia
do Hanalei, Kaua'i	S. W. Kaneali'i, Jr.
do Waimea do	S. K. Kaua'i, Jr.

Respectfully yours,
G. P. Judd

Honolulu, October 9, 1872

With the arrogance of men in power who never doubted the rightness of their actions, they instructed Secretary W. Jas. Smith "not to insert the item for Medical Education for Hawaiians in the estimated expenditures of the Board for the ensuing biennial term."

Only the subscript and the signature are Kauka Judd's, written not in the familiar vigorous hand, but cramped and awkward now, the mark of an aged and weary man.

As the letter shows, he was aware that the person with the authority, the official who had to be persuaded, was His Excellency, his school's enemy, the Minister of the Interior. Was Kauka being cunning, then, when he crossed out the initial superscription and chose instead to send the recommendation to the Board of Health? Or was he, who was once a powerful minister of state, merely remembering in time the niceties of protocol? And to which Board of Health was he appealing, the *haole* one of the Hawaiian? To these questions, too, we can find no answers.

Whatever he intended, his message went very quickly to the Hawaiian Board of Health. Attached to his letter is one written Hawaiian, signed by Jno. O. Dominis, Henry A. Kahunu, and W. P. Kamakau, the three members of the native board. Dated October 12, 1872, addressed to His Excellency, F. W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior, it formally requests that "the ten young pupils of G. P. Judd, known to us as upright and honest men, be granted now their licenses to serve as members of the Hawaiian medical profession." His Excellency did not object to such a dispensation. On October 14 the licenses were issued.

We can be relieved that the Board of Education had approved the tired old man's request to go, without mumbling about unexpired contracts, and duty to one's students. Even they could feel compassion in the presence of grief. But, we ask, why was nothing said about a possible successor to replace him, either temporarily or permanently? Why was nothing said, if only among themselves after he went away, about finding another physician to continue the medical school during the next biennium? Many questions come to mind, but unfortunately the minutes of the board's meetings give no answers. Not even when, three weeks later, on November 2, Dr. Judd suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed for the remaining months of his life. Not even after he died, on July 13, 1873, and they needed no longer to be considerate of him and his great interest in the medical education of Hawaiian youths. Almost with icy resolve, it seems, the Board of Education simply dismissed the subject—and once again something of value to the people of Hawai'i was withheld from them, for almost a hundred years.

References

1. Hawaiian Evangelical Association, 8th Ann. Report, 1871; in Supplement to F, July 1, 1871, p. 58.
2. HEA, 4th Ann. Report, 1867; in Supplement to F, Aug. 1867, p. 79.
3. A pun, involving the many meanings of taboo (sacred, special privileges, etc.), the official pronouncements and decrees of the monarchy, and a scarcely veiled allusion to King Kamehameha V, one of whose personal name was Kapuāiwa.
4. *Kuokoa*, March 2, 1867; translation in Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Manuscript Coll.
5. PCA, July 4, 1868.
6. Session Laws of 1868.
7. Public Instruction Letters, p. 520. Archives of Hawaii (AH).
8. President, Board of Education, Biennial Report for 1869-1870, p. 14.
9. President, Board of Health, Biennial Report for 1869-1870, p. 15.
10. Supplement to F, July 1, 1871, p. 58.
11. Letter to Board of Education, from Island of Oahu, 1870. AH.
12. Board of Education; Minutes, Nov. 9, 1870. AH.
13. The date recorded in the HEA Annual Report for 1871 is an error, obviously based on the date of the Board of Education's meeting with Dr. Judd.
14. Board of Education, Journal, 1871-1878. AH. An entry for January 3, 1871 reads: "G. P. Judd, 2 mo., \$333.33. The Board's treasurer assigned account number 244 to 'Medical Education for Hawaiians'."
15. W. R. Castle, "Central Reminiscences," HHS Reports, 1920, p. 24
16. *Ibid.* p. 88.
17. Board of Education, Journal, 1871-1878. AH. Scattered entries.
18. *Ibid.* p. 7.
19. "From an old manuscript." MS and translation in Bishop Museum Hawaiian Manuscript Coll., Misc. No. 52.
20. This sound's suspiciously like a *kahuna lapa'au's* standard treatment and almost ritual utterance. We can wonder whether the physicking was a standard part of Kauka's regimen, or was a concession to his students' beliefs.
21. Original MS in HMCS Library; copy in AH.
22. A young man who had been at Lahainaluna Seminary for six years, whom Dr. Judd took as a medical assistant early in 1839.
23. Original MS in HMCS Library; copy in AH.
24. Ho'okano and a youth named Kalili.
25. If this book still exists, and if it can be found, it would be an invaluable aid to understanding the native practice of medicine and the Hawaiians' *materia medica*. Most accounts which we do possess were prepared during later years, when native concepts and remedies were already seriously influenced by borrowings from foreign practice.
26. U.S. Frigate *Columbia* and Sloop *John Adams*.
27. Board of Education, Minutes, April 18, 1872. AH.
28. *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1872.
29. Letters to Board of Health, 1872. AH.
30. Attached to G. P. Judd's letter, in Letters to Board of Health, 1872.
31. Clerk's notation on reverse of letter from the Hawaiian Board of Health to Minister of the Interior. ■