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A short history of the labors and accomplishments of the Protestant missionaries in Hawaii

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A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
LABORS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS
OF THE
PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN HAWAII

By
Margaret Adsit
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A Thesis
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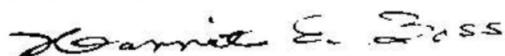
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CHAPTER I
CONTACTS WITH CIVILIZATION
BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

Discovery of the Islands

One of the first important efforts at foreign missionary work by American churches was the conversion of the Hawaiian Islands, or Sandwich Islands as they were commonly called in the early days of their discovery. The first missionaries to the islands had heard reports from traders and whalers and accounts from native youths as to conditions in the islands, and from these facts they had imagined what would await them upon their arrival. When they arrived at the islands, they found great changes had taken place, such great changes that to the missionaries they could only be explained as "miraculous" and the "work of God." These changes had been brought about almost entirely from contact with foreigners who had visited the islands since their discovery.

These islands, eight of which are inhabited, consist of the following in order of size: Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, Kiihau, and Kahoolawe. Two thousand miles from any other land, they yet lie in

an advantageous position between the continents of the east and west.

The first contact of the Hawaiians with peoples of another race is a matter of tradition. This tradition tells of the coming of a large vessel, of its being caught in the surf and broken to pieces. The only survivors were said to be a white skinned youth and his sister. They were found weeping on the beach either from grief at their comrades' fate, or joy at their own escape. However, the kindness of the natives, who thought perhaps from the color of their skin that they might be gods, finally led them to accept these islands as their home and to marry into the native race. There were in the islands when the missionaries arrived a group of natives with lighter skin and hair than the majority of the inhabitants who claimed they were descendants of these foreigners who by accident were brought to their shores.

James Jackson Jarves in his study of the customs of the islanders finds much of the skill displayed in

their martial manoeuvres, and the feather cloaks and helmets worn by the chiefs closely allied to those of the Spanish. Even some of the words in their language are somewhat analogous to the Spanish.¹

That the islands were discovered by others before 1778 is no longer doubted. When Admiral Anson captured one of the Spanish galleons he found a chart showing islands in the same latitude as these.² It may be that the Spanish galleons that plied the Pacific ocean from the years 1542 to 1734 knew of the location of these islands, but from a matter of policy concealed their location.

Be that as it may, the history of the contact of the natives with people from other lands rightly begins with their discovery in 1778 by Captain Cook. About this time mariners and merchants were interested in finding a Northwest passage which would greatly shorten the distance and facilitate trade between the rich oriental countries and Europe. In 1776 Captain Cook under the patronage of the Earl of Sandwich set

¹ James Jackson Jarves, A History of the Hawaiian Islands, 50

² Hawaiian Spectator, vol. II, no. 1, 1838, 61

sail from England with this goal in mind, and while sailing from Otahetie to the northwest coast of America sighted the islands of Kauai and Kiihau in January, 1778. It is a sad commentary on the white man's civilization that so often when civilization meets barbarity the white man has thought it necessary to shed native blood. The occasion in this case was the stealing of some of the ship's iron. The inhabitants of these islands had already acquired a knowledge of iron and had in their possession pieces of iron hoops. Seeing so much iron on the ship of the visitors, one by the name of Kapupuii attempted to purloin some of it, and as an object lesson was fired at and shot.

This, however, did not discourage trade between the natives and the newcomers, and soon canoes filled with provisions surrounded the ships. Due to the fact that the Hawaiians considered these strange visitors gods, they treated them with great deference. According to a Hawaiian tradition one of their gods had killed his Kwahine or consort. Feeling remorseful, he had frantically traveled from one island to another boxing with whomever he met until he finally left the islands in a foreign canoe. It was believed by the people that

at some distant day he would return, so when the strange ships arrived the people exclaimed, "It is Iono returned."¹ Captain Cook was, therefore, treated with all the adoration and homage due a god, was clothed in the feather cloak and helmet of the highest rank, was given gifts of great value among which were six feather mantles valued at a great price.

Captain Cook made two stops at the islands. On his second trip the crew were received hospitably, but were not treated with quite so much deference as before. The death of one of the crew made the Hawaiians doubt whether the strangers were gods, and the fact that the crew used the wood enclosing the heiaus (or native temples) for wooding their vessels caused resentment and hostility. No ill feeling was shown until a misunderstanding arose over the stealing of a boat by the natives. To regain possession of the boat Captain Cook was going to hold the king as hostage on board his ship. The chiefs refused to allow the king to go on board and in the resulting melée the ships fired upon a canoe

¹ Hiram Bingham, A Residence of 21 Years in the Sandwich Islands, 32

which they saw hastening to the shore, and killed a chief. The natives began firing stones, one chief grabbed Captain Cook and upon hearing his groan, exclaimed, "He is not a god" and immediately killed him.

From the report of this encounter with the natives it was assumed that the Hawaiians were a barbarous war-like tribe and few were the ships that anchored at these islands. However, trading vessels finally resumed intercourse with the islands and found there always a kindly, hospitable people.

Visit of Captain Metcalf

Of far reaching consequences to the Hawaiians was the visit of one of these trading vessels. In 1789 Captain Metcalf, an American trader touched at the islands in his ship the "Eleanor". While he was there a boat was stolen by the natives for iron. Metcalf demanded information concerning the whereabouts of the boat and the thieves, and offered a reward. The information was given, and the reward asked for. Metcalf promised they should have it. Supposing the affair ended, the natives swarmed out to the ship to trade,

and when the water was covered with canoes, Metcalf ordered the guns fired. Hundreds were killed. This called for revenge on the part of the natives, and the "Fair American" with Metcalf's son as Captain was attacked and all on board were killed except one Isaac Davis, an Englishman. John Young from the crew of the "Eleanor", who was on land at the time, was detained by the chiefs who did not want the fate of the "Fair American" made known to Metcalf.¹ These two men became advisers to the king Kamehameha I, and rendered him great aid in subjugating all the islands for the first time under the control of one chief. This king is often called "The Little Napoleon" of the Hawaiian Islands.

Nor was this the only important contact with foreigners before the arrival of the missionaries. In the history of Christian missions by Marshall², we find mention made of the visit of a priest in 1819. The abbé de Quélen, a cousin of the Archbishop of Paris, visited the Sandwich Islands on the occasion of the

¹ Hiram Bingham, A Residence of 21 Years in the Sandwich Islands, 39

² T. W. L. Marshall, Christian Missions, vol. I, 511

voyage of the French frigate Uranie of which he was the Chaplain. Among the visitors to the frigate was the chief minister of the king; and this man, after a conference with the abbé was converted and baptized.

The influence of another churchman was perhaps greater than that of the priest's whose sojourn was so brief, and that influence was exerted by John Howell. Vancouver found him living at Kawoloa when he arrived at Kealakekua Bay on January 12, 1794 and writes:

With Kavahilo also resided a person by the name of Howell who had come to Hawaii in the capacity of clerk on board the "Washington." He appeared to possess a good understanding with the advantage of a university education, and had once been a clergyman of the Church of England, but had now, secluded himself from European Society.¹

His presence in the islands could not but have had some beneficial influence, and since he was acquainted with the king and chiefs, it is probable that through him they received their first mistrust in the efficacy of their own religion, and once mistrust or suspicion is aroused, it is impossible ever to restore the old, unquestioning faith.

¹ Henry Bond Restarick, Hawaii 1778-1920, 26

Visit of Vancouver

Vancouver made the most lasting impression upon the natives, and his three visits to the islands in 1792-3-4 had a most beneficial effect. Kamehameha had not finished uniting all the islands and chiefs under his control, and on his several visits to the ships he tried to secure fire arms from Vancouver, but Vancouver refused to sell either firearms or rum, and did his best to prohibit the women of the islands from coming to the boats for immoral purposes.

Many of the animals and vegetation found on the islands were brought there by Vancouver. The only native animals were the hog, the dog, and a few species of birds. Mention was made of the Christian God, and Vancouver promised to send teachers to teach them the true religion. The king and chiefs also expressed a desire for a British protectorate. On his return to England, Vancouver did try to interest Mr. Pitt in a missionary program, but the minds of the Englishmen were too much taken up with the happenings on the continent.

Break up of the Tabu System

From these contacts the islands were rapidly losing their pagan character. Kamehameha first abolished human sacrifice which had been a usual part of the

Hawaiian religion, particularly upon the death of one of the noble family. In fact, the Hawaiian religion had not progressed beyond the primitive stage, and was characterized by human sacrifices, by insufferable tabus, and by innumerable dark superstitions and fears. Special tabus applied to the women. They were forbidden to eat with the men and certain foods were tabu such as pork, bananas, cocoanuts, turtles and certain varieties of fish.

One particularly pernicious belief was that the priests had the power to pray one to death. All an enemy had to do was to hire the services of one of these men. As soon as the word was spread that the priest had retreated to his sanctuary and was praying such a one to death, that person became stricken and through the result of fear alone soon died. The story is told that at one time John Young incurred the wrath of one of the chiefs who resorted to a priest to have him prayed to death, whereupon John Young retired to a hut near the priest and announced that he could do some praying on his own account. This frightened the priest so that he became very ill. Nor did John Young have any more trouble with enemies.

Because of the constant threat to one's life, because of tabus which might innocently be broken and because of the practice of human sacrifices, places of refuge were established to which one could flee. Once this place was reached, life was secure.

Infanticide was very common, and there was no established family life. The possible reason for this is given by William Fremont Blackman in the following:

Probably a hot climate and abundant sunshine tend also to beget a cheerful temper, influence health and sexual morality by making clothing superfluous, and affect home life by diminishing the relative importance of the domicile and enticing the people constantly out of doors.¹

Most of the early visitors to the islands did nothing to improve the condition of the native. They were mostly fur traders and adventurers, and it was a quip with them that they 'hung up their conscience at Cape Horn until their return'. Nevertheless, their scorn for the superstitions of the natives provided that opening wedge of questioning and doubt which finally led to complete disbelief. These visitors broke the most sacred tabus while the natives waited with bated

¹ William Fremont Blackman, The Making of Hawaii, 53

breath for the vengeance of the gods to descend upon the offenders, but nothing happened. Evidently their gods were not so easily offended as they had thought, and so gradually the system was weakened.

The female chiefs especially were opposed to the annoying tabus against their sex. The news from Tahiti that the gods had been dethroned there and the Christian religion accepted, proved another blow to their own system.

After the death of Kamehameha I the queen regent Kaahumanu decided to defy the old system and as a step in that direction broke the tabu against men and women eating together by having Keopuolani, the mother of the young king eat with her son. When this seemed to cause no displeasure on the part of the gods, Liholiho proclaimed a feast of the chiefs, and himself openly ate at the table for women and of tabu food, and when this also resulted in no manifestations of wrath, the whole tabu system collapsed by a kingly decree November 1, 1819, which declared that it was no longer necessary, nay even unlawful to observe the old tabus. Temples and idols were destroyed so effectually that Hawaiian idols are rare even in museums.

This destruction of the old religious system was

not seriously opposed even by the priestly order. In fact, Hewahewa, the high-priest, advised and encouraged the king to do away with the old religion. He seemed to have been a man of unusual spirituality, and while he was not enough of a prophet to bring a new message to his people, he had come to realize that their present religion was not satisfactory.

'I knew', he said, 'that the wooden images of our dieties, carved by our own hands, were incapable of supplying our wants; but I worshipped them, because it was the custom of our father. My thoughts have always been that there is one only great God, dwelling in the heavens.'¹

The gods could not go down without one protest from faithful and devoted followers. Kehuaokahani seems to have been the leader against these outrages to the gods. A cousin of the king, he had studied for the priesthood and was in line for the position of high-priest. He could not bear to see his religion thus destroyed, so gathering a following of others who shared his feelings, he attempted to rebuild the temples, erect the fallen idols, and "carry on". Finally the king led his troops against Kehuaokahani, and because

¹ Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 195

of their superior firearms and skill they completely routed the forces of the opposition on December 20, 1819.

Thus about the time the missionaries were setting forth for the Hawaiian Islands, one obstacle in the way of the establishment of a new religion had been destroyed.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

Influence of Obookiah

While these changes were taking place in Hawaii, an event took place in New Haven, Connecticut which turned the attention of the Congregational Church to the possibilities of missionary endeavor in Hawaii. As early as 1791 Captain Joseph Ingraham, the mate of the Columbia, a trading vessel in the Pacific, returning from a trip around the world brought with him a native Crown Prince Opye whose visit to New England was the beginning of American friendship with Hawaii.¹ In 1809 Captain Brintnall landed in New York with two native youths, Opukahaiia, later known as Obookiah, and Thomas Kōpu. The parents of Obookiah had been killed in a skirmish between the chiefs. Obookiah had attempted to flee with his little brother on his back, but while he was carrying him, an arrow pierced his brother's heart causing his death. Obookiah was taken prisoner by the man who had killed his father and mother, and lived with him until claimed by an uncle. He stayed with his uncle until he felt a restless desire.

¹ The Americana, vol. XIV, 3

to see the world, and after much difficulty attached himself to Captain Brintnall, an American trader. When Captain Brintnall arrived at New York, he took Obookiah and Hopu home with him to New Haven.

Soon after he came to New Haven, Obookiah went to live with the Reverend Edwin Dwight, a resident graduate at Yale. Here he first began his study of English, and proved a very apt pupil. He was very much interested in religion, and was desirous that his own people might have the benefits of it. It was through this earnest wish of his as expressed in his first public prayer

----Great God, have mercy on Thomas--
make him good--make Thomas and me go
back Hawaii--tell folks in Hawaii no
more pray to stone god--make some
good man go with me to Hawaii, tell
folks in Hawaii about heaven--about
hell--¹

that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions organized a school in 1816. The object of this school as given in its constitution was

the education, in our country, of heathen youths in such a manner as with subsequent professional instruction will qualify them to become useful missionaries, physicians, surgeons, school masters or interpreters, and to communicate to the heathen nations such knowledge in agriculture and the arts

¹ Edwin Welles Dwight, Memoir of Henry Obookiah, 35

as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization.¹

The Reverend Edwin Dwight, who had so kindly taken Obookiah as a pupil, was the first principal. Here Obookiah, Thomas Hopu, Tennoce, and two other Hawaiian youths were among the first enrolled. Also Samuel Ruggles and Elisha Loomis, who became members of the first missionary party to the islands, were students at the mission school.

While Obookiah thus gave the impetus to the establishment of the Hawaiian mission, he was not destined himself to labor among his countrymen due to his death from Typhus Fever in February, 1818.

Sailing of the Brig "Thaddeus"

On October 23rd, 1819, the brig "Thaddeus" set sail from Boston with the first band of missionaries bound for the Hawaiian Islands. This party included Hopu, Tennoce, John Honoree, (Hawaiians), Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, (ordained ministers), Dr. Holman, (physician), Daniel Chamberlain, (farmer), Samuel Whitney, Samuel Ruggles, (schoolmasters), and Elisha Loomis, (printer). All seven took their wives with them, and Mr. Chamberlain took his five children with him. Included in this

¹ Hiram Bingham, A Residence of 21 Years in the Sandwich Islands, 58

party was George Tamoree whose father, a chief of one of the islands, had sent him to America to be educated. The money for his education had been given into the keeping of the captain of the boat, but upon their arrival in America the money could not be located. Tamoree had, therefore, wandered around in America for fourteen years, was finally located as the son of a chief and educated at Yale. Now he was returning to his father.

William Fremont Blackman has the following interesting aside to make upon the number of clergymen in the group.

It is significant of the purpose with which they set out, and prophetic of the manifold influence which they were to exercise that there were only two clergymen among them.¹

On March 30th, 1820, the "Thaddeus" brought anchor at Kailua Bay where the king had his residence. Hopu and Honoree with an officer landed to see how things were. After waiting nearly three hours, they returned greatly excited, and with astonishment and thanksgiving those on board heard the joyful news.

¹ William Fremont Blackman, The Making of Hawaii, 76

Kamehameha is dead--His son Liholiho is king--the tabus are abolished--the images are destroyed--the heiaus of idolatrous worship are burned, and the party that attempted to restore them by force of arms has recently been vanquished.¹

The following day the missionaries were visited by the nobility in various and unique costumes, showing the influence of their European contact.

Kalanimoku was clad in a white dimity roundabout, a black silk vest, yellow nankeen pants, shoes, and white cotton hose, plaid cravat, and fur hat.²

The first opposition encountered, and this opposition continued throughout their lifetime, was from the foreigners at the islands. They attempted to poison the minds of the chiefs and king by telling them the missionaries were there to take their lands, and that they would institute new tabus and limit their liberty. The king had just done away with one religion and found it very convenient. He was not anxious to embrace another. However, after seventeen days conference the king and chiefs gave permission to the missionaries to land for a year's trial upon condition they did not

¹ Hiram Bingham, A Residence of 21 Years in the Sandwich Islands, 70

² ibid., 82

send for any more recruits before the expiration of that time. The king desired Dr. Holman, the physician, one preacher, and two of the native helpers to locate at Kailua. The others were to be stationed at Honolulu, Oahu. However, the father of George Tamoree, chief on the Island of Kauai, was very eager that some missionaries should accompany his son to his island, so on the 23rd of July Mr. Whitney and Mr. Ruggles with their wives took up their residence at Waimea, and father and son were reunited.

Difficulties

All were now ready to begin on their labors under great difficulties, for while the people had overthrown their tabus, they still maintained many of their heathen superstitions.

The greatest handicap the missionaries found at the beginning of their work was the lack of a written language. They were compelled, therefore, to spend a great deal of time studying the construction of the language and giving it a written form. In this they succeeded so well that it was a comparatively easy matter for the Hawaiians to learn to read and write their own language.

The Hawaiian alphabet consists of fourteen letters,

five vowels, a, e, i, o, u and nine consonants, b, d, h, k, l, m, n, p and w. That no letter should be silent and that every letter should have one un-deviating sound were made radical principles in the written language.¹ In the work of reducing the spoken language to writing they received much help from the Reverend Ellis, who with Messrs. Bennett and Tyreman arrived at the islands in 1821.

The last named were deputized agents of the London Missionary Society and were making a tour of all the missions. The Reverend Ellis had accompanied them from the Society Islands where he had been a missionary for a number of years. He had just completed the task of reducing their language to writing, and as the language of the Sandwich Islands and Society Islands was very similar, he gave many valuable suggestions and much aid to the missionaries. The party stayed four months, and the Reverend Ellis proved so useful that he was urged both by the missionaries and chiefs to return and take up his labors with them. This he promised to do.

The missionaries expected the native youths to be

¹ Charles Samuel Stewart, A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, 95

a great help as interpreters. In this they proved to be a disappointment. They had been away so long that the language was practically as new to them as to the missionaries. Moreover when they were surrounded by old friends, they found it difficult not to resume some of their old ways, and especially some of the old superstitions.

However, the labors of the missionaries were made much easier from the loyalty and hearty cooperation which they received from the chiefs. From the very first the chiefs had been their friends, eager to be taught and anxious to be helpful. In some cases the chiefs provided the missionaries with food, sent them help to build their houses, and furnished materials and men to erect a school or church. As soon as schools were started the chiefs insisted that they be taught first for they said,

"If the palapala--letters is good, we wish to possess it first ourselves; if it is bad, we do not intend our subjects to know the evil of it."¹

¹ Charles Samuel Stewart, A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, 137

Progress in Education and Morals

The missionaries arrived on the 30th of March and by July the King could read the New Testament intelligibly, and within six months several chiefs could both read and write.¹ In November the mission had four schools.²

The 19th of April, 1821 was the anniversary of the landing of the missionaries at Honolulu. The missionaries from all the missions with their families gathered at Honolulu for a general meeting. These meetings became a yearly event.

The king invited them to a public dinner, and the following paragraph from Hiram Bingham's history shows that he was satisfied with the labours of the missionaries during their first year's trial.

He confirmed the original permission granted us to remain and labour as missionaries; approved of our erecting a permanent house for our accommodation and requested us to aid him in building a palace three stories high, the upper story of which he said should be devoted to the worship of Jehovah. In token of his confi-

¹ Samuel Colcord Bartlett, Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian Mission, 8

² Joseph Tracy, History of the American Missions to the Heathen, 94

dence he gave us a hog and ninety pieces of bark cloth.¹

The first church to be dedicated was a frail, thatched house, fifty-four by twenty-one feet, at Honolulu, Oahu. In the meanwhile the language had been finished and the printing press set up.

On the 7th of January, 1822, a year and eight months from the time of our receiving the governmental permission to enter the field and teach the people, we commenced printing the language in order to give them letters, libraries, and the living oracles in their own tongue that the nation might read and understand the wonderful works of God.²

The introduction of printing in the language of the country not only awakened curiosity among the people, but gave a new and decided impulse to the schools and the cause of education. From sixty to seventy pupils, the number of learners jumped to not less than five hundred in a few months.³

Kaahumanu, favorite wife of Kamehameha I and premier under the reign of Liholiho, had remained aloof from all activities of the missionaries. When they passed she barely acknowledged their salutations, and

¹ Hiram Bingham, A Residence of 21 Years in the Sandwich Islands, 132

² Ibid., 156

³ Ibid., 160

was described as being haughty and cruel. After the spellings books were printed, the Reverend Bingham took one to the royal palace, where he found Kaahamanu engaged in her favorite pastime, playing cards. She took no notice of him until she had finished her game, and then he gave her a slate and showed her how to write. From then on she devoted herself to learning, and could soon read and write. Soon she was converted and proved one of the finest friends the missionaries had.

On August 11, 1822, the first Christian marriage was solemnized on the island when Thomas Hopu was married to one of the native girls who had received Christian instruction under one of the missionary wives.

In 1822 new recruits had started for the islands. These arrived in April, 1823 on the "Thames". The king would not charge Captain Clasby harbour fees. The following is his communication to Captain Clasby.

Love to you. This is my communication to you. You have done well in bringing thither the new teachers. You shall pay nothing on account of the harbour--no nothing at all. Grateful affection to you. Liholiho Iolani:¹

¹ Charles Samuel Stewart, A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, 87

He remitted the harbour fees in like manner on the arrival of Mr. Ellis from the Society Islands; making a sum of one hundred sixty dollars which in the course of three months the king generously relinquished from a regard to the mission.

The missionaries were busy opening new schools, rushing the printing of spelling books and grammars, teaching the chiefs to sew, and preaching the Gospel. They found two evils which they worked hard to uproot. These were drunkenness and licentiousness.

Both of these evils had been brought in by the white man, and were doing irreparable harm to the people. Venereal diseases had been disseminated throughout the land, and had already weakened the virility of the race, while strong drink was shortening the lives of the people to an astonishing degree.

In 1824 the chiefs had become sufficiently aware of the danger of these evils to pass laws against them. Females were forbidden to visit the ships without a permit. The chiefs realizing also the importance of education and religion decreed that schools should be established throughout the islands and that attendance should be compulsory. They also issued a proclamation that the Sabbath was a holy day, and a fine of one

dollar was to be imposed on any found working on that day.¹

The law in regard to education was limited by the lack of qualified teachers although before the expiration of the year two thousand had learned to read and fifty natives were qualified as elementary teachers.

The law prohibiting women to visit the ships led to the first actual threat against the lives of the missionaries. When the British whaleship, the "Daniel", arrived off the coast of Lahaina, the sailors were much surprised to find no women ready to meet the boats. Upon being informed of the new law, they went to the home of Mr. Richards, whom they considered the instigator of the law, and demanded its instant repeal. Mr. Richards declared the law originated with the chiefs, that he had nothing to do with it except as he taught the principles of the Bible. He sent a dispatch to the commander of the boat, but found that he was entirely in sympathy with his men, having in fact declared that he was coming on shore with an armed band and that they would not depart without women. Several different disturbances took place. During the night several shots

¹ James Jackson Jarves, History of the Hawaiian Islands, 121

were fired at Mr. Richards house, and the natives maintained a guard all night. The chief ordered the women to the hills, so when Captain Buckle came on shore, he could not make good his threat.

Mr. Bingham at Honolulu was also threatened by the crew of an American armed schooner, "The Dolphin", commanded by Lieutenant Percival. Still another attempt was made by the crew of the British whaleship, "John Palmer", to secure the repeal of the law, but the chiefs and missionaries firmly refused to do this. Much abuse was heaped upon the missionaries for their action.

This led to an investigation by Captain Thomas Catesby Jones, Commander of the American sloop-of-war, "Peacock", into the conduct of the missionaries. His report stated that

'not one jot or tittle--not one iota derogatory to their character as men, as ministers of the Gospel of the strictest order, or as missionaries, could be made to appear by the united efforts of all conspired against them.'¹

In 1829 the first law against drinking was promulgated prohibiting the sale or making of intoxicating drinks. On the 7th of October, 1829, the king issued a proclamation in his own name and that of Kaahumanu

¹ Thomas G. Thrum, The Centennial Book, 25

and ten other of the highest chiefs in which he declared that the laws of his country, particularly against murder, theft, licentiousness, retailing ardent spirits, Sabbath breaking and gambling were to be enforced against foreigners residing at the islands as well as against his own people.

The English consul, Charlton, made several threats because of these stringent laws, but new force was given to the king by the arrival of the American sloop-of-war, "Vincennes" on the 14th of October. Captain Finch, Commander, brought the following message from the President of the United States to the king of the Hawaiian Government.¹

The President also anxiously hopes that peace and kindness and justice will prevail between your people and those citizens of the United States who visit your islands, and that the regulations of your government will be such as to enforce them upon all. Our citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country and merit censure and punishment. We have heard with pain that this has sometimes been the case and we have sought to know and punish those who are guilty.

¹ Joseph Tracy, History of the American Missions to the Heathen, 195

In 1824 the King decided to visit England. He expressed a wish that the Reverend Ellis might accompany his party, but the Captain assured him he had no room for any extra passengers. For a time he debated whether he should take his own ship, but finally gave up the idea. The trip proved fatal to King Liholiho and his young wife for the change of climate, and the constant entertainment that was provided for them lowered their vitality to such an extent that they succumbed to an attack of measles while in London, even before they had been presented to the King. The English government very considerately sent the bodies to the Hawaiian Islands in the H.M.S. Blonde under the command of Lord Byron as special envoy. The visit of Lord Byron to the islands did much to further the cause of the missionaries because of his approbation of their work.

Eight years from the time the missionaries landed they had thirty-two workers in the field with four hundred forty native teachers and twenty-six thousand pupils in their schools.¹ About fifty natives including

¹ Samuel Colcord Bartlett, Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian Mission, and the Missions to Micronesia, and the Marquesas Islands, 10

Kaahumanu, the queen regent, and many of the principal chiefs were members of the church. About twelve hundred attended the Sabbath services.¹

Influence of the Chiefs

It may be well to pause here and explain why there was so sudden a change from the old ways to the new. The reason was not because of any great change in the common people. Many still clung to their old beliefs. The reason lay rather in the fact that the chiefs, so many of whom had unreservedly accepted Christianity, were looked upon as the source of all laws and were unquestioningly obeyed in whatever they commanded. It was perhaps a most fortunate thing for the missionaries that the chiefs were the first to accept their message as it made possible the use of the old machinery for effecting the new. This James Jarves points out in the following:

The machinery of the old system, which centered all power in the hands of the chiefs, in whom, it may be said with propriety the nation was individualized, was brought to aid the moral reform. The will of the rulers being the will of the populace, the revolution that followed was not surprising. As the

¹ Samuel Colcord Bartlett, Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian Missions, 10

weathercock is affected by the wind, so was public opinion at this era, by the example of the chiefs.¹

This also explained the outward conversion but inward miscomprehension of the Gospel by the natives. For the missionaries it was almost impossible to convey the meaning of Christianity to people who had no words or concepts to express such abstract words as faith, charity, brotherly love, resurrection, and others. Sheldon Dibble explains this difficulty in his History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands Mission.

In many instances they succeed in a measure by circumlocution; in others they use a sort of patchwork of native words. For instance manao means thought and io means true or real, so the combination manaio is used for faith.-----Again, ala means to rise, hou means again and ana is a participial termination, so we make alahou-ana to signify the rising again or the resurrection. We are obliged to manufacture many of the most important words expressive of religious subjects. It is perplexing to the ignorant people, but it is unavoidable. They have no notion of holiness. They have some idea of justice, but it is exceedingly inadequate. A merciful man to them is one who is good-natured.²

¹ James Jackson Jarves, History of the Hawaiian Islands, 117

² Sheldon Dibble, History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 137

In order to overcome this disadvantage care was taken in admitting members to the church. In Kailua it was a rule to admit none who had not been a candidate for at least two years.

The death of Naihe, one of the chiefs, at Kaawaloa on the 29th of December, 1831 was followed by some diminution of attendance on public worship at Kaawaloa, showing that much of the apparent religiousness of the people arose from the influence of the chiefs.

Controversy with Catholics

1827 marked the beginning of the long controversy with the Roman Catholics which finally involved France and caused the loss of Hawaiian independence for a short time. It seems that one John Rives accompanied the Royal party to England in 1824, but due to his low character was dismissed while they were in England. He then went to France and representing himself as a wealthy landowner advertised for artisans, laborers and priests to go to Hawaii to work on his land. He interested quite a number in the project and in July, 1826 the Reverend John Alexius Bachelot was appointed Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands by Pope Leo XII, who with two missionaries, Messrs. Armand and Short and

several artisans set sail with Captain Plassad with the understanding that John Rives would pay for their passage when they arrived at Honolulu. John Rives, himself, sailed on another vessel for South America and disappeared from the picture. When the vessel arrived at Honolulu, July 7, 1827, there was, of course, no passage money. Captain Plassad unable to collect for their passage, refused to take the priests further and arbitrarily landed his passengers without the necessary permission. According to the Catholic version, John Rives was requested by Governor Boki to send missionaries to the islands, but this is refuted by the fact that when they landed, Boki carried orders for their expulsion and explained to them why they were not welcome.

'In powerful and enlightened countries' said Boki, who was the interpreter of the minds of the rest of the chiefs, when discussing the propriety of permitting the priests to remain, 'numerous denominations may exist and live in harmony; but in this small society any difference in religious opinions among us would beget dangerous contention, that would check the progress of civilization, and perhaps altogether disorganize society'.¹

¹ S. S. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich Islands and Society Islands, 91

The Catholics were not objected to on the ground that they were Catholics for S. S. Hill writes that the "present King, then in his minority, has constantly declared that had the Protestant missionaries arrived in the islands after the Roman missionaries, their settlement would have been opposed."¹

Despite the law of the islands which required all people stopping at the islands to get permission from the government, the priests even after they had been at the islands several months, had made no attempt to comply with the law, and this was also given as a reason for denying them the privilege of staying on the islands. Many times they were asked to leave by the government, and this they would promise to do when the next vessel arrived that they could book passage on. However, when the vessel arrived they would first send word to the Captain asking him not to grant their request. Then they would make a great pretense of trying to get permission to sail, but the Captain refused them passage. Thus they stayed on from year to year.

On the 14th of July, 1827 they celebrated their first mass at the islands. A number of natives attended

¹ S. S. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich Islands and Society Islands, 91

out of curiosity. Much to the chiefs surprise and dismay they seemed to be worshipping idols. They, therefore, forbade their people to go to hear them because of the edict passed at the time of the overthrow of their old religion not to have idols or engage in superstitious practices.

Denial of permission to stay at the islands, and the edict forbidding the people to attend their worship were all ascribed to the advice and interference of the missionaries, and despite their continual denials of such influence, it is quite probable that the chiefs were largely influenced by the reactions of the missionaries to the newcomers. By their own admission, they did all they could to show by argument and reason why the Roman Catholic religion had failed, and why it would fail in Hawaii. However, the missionaries offered the priests the use of the books they had translated so that they might acquire a knowledge of the language, which would lead one to suppose that there was some spirit of toleration between the two groups.

When by 1831 the priests had still not departed, the government decided that they must be sent away if need be at government expense. Accordingly they fitted

up a native brig, the "Waverly" which took the priests to California where their services were needed and requested.

Four years later another priest, named Walsh attempted to settle at the islands, and in 1837 the missionaries from California surreptitiously returned. They were asked to leave a second time, but they employed the same tactics as before. Their native converts were quite cruelly treated. This treatment was attributed also to the direct influence of the missionaries. Because of these allegations, Mr. Brinsmade, American consul, wrote to the king "that it was reported that the missionaries exerted a controlling influence upon the framers of the laws of this country" and inquired of the king whether they "ever had any voice in the passage of laws affecting the interests of other foreigners, and particularly whether they ever had anything to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country", and whether "in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the

part of your own subjects, they have countenanced those attempts".¹

The King made a lengthy reply in which he stated that Mr. Bingham, Mr. Clark, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Richards and Dr. Judd, members of the mission, had pressed upon them that their treatment of the Catholics was not right. He admitted that the missionaries, and a number of ship captains as well, had urged prohibition of the sale of rum, but added, "but that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us or overrule our acts, we deny it, it is not so."²

No spirit of toleration existed toward the Catholic church until forced upon the people by certain definite and very humiliating demands. On June 10, 1839 a French frigate the "Artemise" with C. La Place as Captain arrived at Honolulu, and presented the following demands.

First, that the Roman Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands, and that members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the "privileges granted to Protestants."

¹ Alexander S. M. Robertson, The Centennial Book, 33

² Alexander S. M. Robertson, The Centennial Book, 33

Second, that a site for a Roman Catholic church be given by the government of Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that the church be ministered by priests of their nation.

Third, that all Roman Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries, be immediately set at liberty.

Fourth, that the King of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the Captain of the "Artemise" the sum of \$20,000 as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France, which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

Fifth, that the treaty signed by the King of the Sandwich Islands as well as the sum above mentioned be conveyed on board the frigate "Artemise" by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and, also, that the battery of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns which shall be returned by the frigate.¹

The Captain sent word to the British and American consuls that he was going to fire upon the town if his

¹ Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 251

demands were not complied with, and offered protection to citizens of their countries. The missionaries, however, were excluded from this protection. He writes.

I do not, however, include in this class the individuals who although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his councils, influence his conduct and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country.¹

The demands were granted, preposterous though they were, and eventually the \$20,000 was returned by France with the original seals unbroken, but this threat at Hawaiian sovereignty caused king and chiefs to consider the desirability of securing recognition from the leading nations.

Progress of the Schools

In 1830 at the general meeting on the 18th of January, it was recommended that at each station a class of the most promising students should receive special instruction to prepare them for teachers and ultimately for preachers of the Gospel. It was resolved, also, to commence a station on the high table land in the cooler

¹ The Hawaiian Spectator, vol. II, no. 1, 354

atmosphere of Waimea to which invalids might retire for the recovery of their health, and thus avoid the necessity of abandoning the mission to save their lives.

Kuakini, the governor, rendered prompt and efficient aid. In less than three months from the commencement of the station five good native houses were erected and a fence made around the whole. The buildings, provisions and other necessities furnished by him and the people in about four months were estimated at six hundred dollars.¹

At the general meeting in 1831, it was resolved to form a high school for training school teachers and other helpers in the mission work. The Hawaiian Spectator gives the purposes for which it was organized as follows:²

First, to aid the mission in accomplishing the great work for which they are sent hither; that is, to introduce and perpetuate the religion of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, with all its accompanying blessings, civil, literary, and religious.

¹ Joseph Tracy, History of American Missions to the Heathen, 208

² The Hawaiian Spectator, vol. I, no. 4, 340

Second, as a means of accomplishing this great end, it is the design of the high school to disseminate knowledge throughout the islands embracing general literature, sciences and whatever may tend to elevate the whole mass of the people from their present ignorance and degradation, and cause them to become a thinking, enlightened and virtuous people.

Third, a more definite object of the high school is to train up school teachers for their responsible duties, to teach them theoretically and practically the best method of communicating instructions to others, together with a knowledge of the arts, usages, and habits of civil life with all their train of social blessings.

Fourth, another object still more definite and of equal importance is to educate young men of piety and promising talents with a view of their becoming assistant teachers of religion or fellow laborers with us in disseminating the Gospel of Jesus Christ to their dying fellowmen.

The school opened in September, 1831 at Lahainaluna under the care of the Reverend Lorrin Andrews who was appointed principal of the institution. The only school house was a temporary shed constructed by the scholars of poles and grass. Later this was replaced by stone

and adobe buildings.

According to Cheevers, the internal conduct and discipline of the institution was patterned much after the form of colleges in America. He goes on to say.

The students studied at their rooms and recited by divisions. Afternoons from two to suppertime were devoted to cultivating food and other labor for which they were compensated in clothing at fixed rates. Meals were at a common table.

-----The teachers were faced with the necessity of preparing all their textbooks in the Hawaiian language, which was a task of no small magnitude. The subjects taught were Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, Mental and Moral Science, Theology and History, Languages, Geography, Composition, Oratory and Manual Labor.¹

Up to the year 1849 the seminary, with all its permanent dwelling houses and appurtenances, cost the American Board about 77,000 dollars. It was then given over to the Hawaiian Government, but it was to be sustained by Government funds alone and on essentially the same plan.

In 1842 of the one hundred fifty-eight persons then living who had been members of the seminary, thirty-five were officers of the Government, and one hundred

¹ Henry T. Cheevers, Life in the Sandwich Islands, 199

five were teachers in the public schools.¹

In 1832 the missionaries suffered a great loss in the death of Queen Kaahumanu. The change in her character had been so great since her conversion that the natives called her, "The New Kaahumanu". From an imperious, cruel, haughty, chief expecting and demanding instant obedience from her subjects, she became a warm-hearted, loving, lovable personage. She was always a staunch friend to the missionaries, and because of her high station, she had a great influence upon the common people. Her funeral was marked by great dignity and great mourning, but by none of the demonstrations of a heathen character. Kinau, the eldest daughter of Kamehameha I was recognized as heir and successor.

In this year there were nine hundred schools² in operation with as many native teachers, and fifty-two thousand pupils, the most of whom were adult. These native teachers were not especially trained, nor was their knowledge very extensive. In fact, it consisted merely in being able to read and write the few textbooks that had been printed, so as soon as their pupils

¹ Henry T. Cheevers, Life in the Sandwich Islands, 201
² Rufus Anderson, History of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 100

had mastered these, they knew as much as their teachers. It was this realization that had impelled the establishment of the high school.

1834 saw the publication of the first newspaper in the Hawaiian language.¹ It was called "Lama Hawaii" interpreted "Light of Hawaii", and was published at Lahainaluna, Maui, the 14th of February. The pupils of the seminary contributed a number of the articles and did the printing.

During these years interest in religion declined. With the death of many of the prominent chiefs, the compulsion to attend services was removed and attendance dropped. Many returned to their old superstitions and even to witch doctors.

This incident as related by Mr. Stewart indicates the nature of their superstition concerning being prayed to death. He was in the habit of going to a quiet retreat near his home where he could study undisturbed. He described the incident thus:

As I was walking backward and forwards there this afternoon with a paper in my hand, a small party of natives approached and charged me with being a wicked man for praying their chiefs

¹ William Fremont Blackman, The Making of Hawaii, 169

to death; that Kaunualii was dead by my prayers; that I was killing Kalaimoku, and soon there would not be a chief left on Oahu. I explained to them their mistake as to the object of my frequenting that spot, and the inability of anyone by prayer or incantation to take away the life of another. But they said my words were falsehood only; and an old woman hurried off to a quarry where a number of men were digging stone for a large house Kalaimoku is building and bade them go and kill me at once or Kalaimoku would be a dead man. They, of course, laughed at her, and Kalaimoku himself who was near on his way to see me joined heartily with them. It seems the place I had occupied was the site of an old idolatrous temple, and, therefore, intimately associated in the minds of the less enlightened of the people with the superstitions of the tabu system.¹

In 1837 nine teachers and their wives arrived from the United States to devote themselves exclusively to the business of teaching.

The Hawaiian Spectator gives at least fifteen thousand children as the number receiving instruction in the common schools in 1838. They were distributed as follows: on the island of Hawaii, 77,194; Maui, 2,743; Lania, 149; Molokai, 1,061; Oahu, 2,233; Kauai, 1,933--- The number of schools under the immediate instruction of the missionaries and teachers from America is somewhat over two thousand at sixteen stations-----In con-

¹ Charles Samuel Stewart, A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, 223

nection with this subject it may not be altogether foreign to remark that good substantial school houses of stone or dobies have been erected during the past year at very many of the villages of the natives. Some have been built by the chiefs, others by the volunteer contributions and labor of the people. Many are now being built, and the prospect is that a few years will see a sufficient number of good houses erected to accommodate all who are suitable subjects of school instruction. Many of the houses already in use are very large being from fifty to one hundred feet in length and thirty to forty wide.¹

The Great Revival

In 1838 there was a renewal in religious interest. Everywhere the missionaries were kept busy answering the inquiries of those who wanted to "find the way". In Hilo where Reverend Coan, who had arrived in 1834, was stationed, the people came by thousands. He describes the method they had to employ in seating all of the people. He said the people were divided, men on one side, women on the other. They all stood up in close rows until a signal was given when they would all sit down on the ground at once, leaving not a single space

¹ The Hawaiian Spectator, vol. I, no. 4, 358-359

between persons. Meetings were often held out of doors, and usually three services were held on Sundays.¹

The Reverend Coan was untiring in his efforts to bring the Gospel to the people, and traveled for miles, often in drenching showers, across dangerous streams and without lodging other than a mat for a bed and the stars for covering. He relates that often the people would come out from one village to meet him. He would hold a meeting with them, then when he went on to another village they would hasten along ahead of him and meet him at the next village, so that he had an accumulative audience.

Mr. Dibble explains the method that some of them used in preaching, especially where they held regular meetings. Because of the difficulty the people had in understanding a sermon, and because of their "almost entire destitution of the power of reflection",² it was necessary to teach rather than preach. He would try to explain his point by examples that they could understand, and would reiterate the same point in various

¹ Titus Coan, Life in Hawaii, 47

² Sheldon Dibble, History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 162

ways until he felt they had grasped his meaning. Then he would ask them questions. Often the answers would show a sad misunderstanding, and he would have to make his point all over again, but by questions and answers the missionaries were able to determine when they had succeeded in making their meaning clear. Others held the congregation responsible for the points of the sermon at the Wednesday night prayer meeting, so a few of the more ambitious ones brought their slates and took notes during the sermon.

Leavitt H. Hallock describes the interest of the natives in hearing the Gospel as follows:

The conch shell would call together from four thousand to six thousand hearers, and for two full hours these faithful men preached three times each day to vast and eager throngs.¹

Henry Bond Restarick writes that though conversions were few in the early years, they came like a torrent in the great revival in 1838-9 when ten thousand converts were admitted as members in one year.²

¹ Leavitt H. Hallock, The Hawaiian Islands Under King Kalakaua, 63

² Henry Bond Restarick, Hawaii 1778-1920 From the Viewpoint of a Bishop, 50

Political Changes

During these years the chiefs were becoming more and more aware that they were mere "babes" in the knowledge of political science and affairs of the government, especially when it came to dealing with foreign powers. They requested the missionaries to send to America for one who would become their political adviser. The Reverend Richards, therefore, sent a request several times to the American Board but this they chose to ignore, or could find no one who had gained an influential position and proven his ability who saw it as his duty to give up such a position for one at the low price the Hawaiian Government could pay. Therefore, in 1839 the Reverend Richards was prevailed upon to resign from his missionary duties and accept a post with the government as political adviser. This was against the instructions as given by the board which among other "do's and don'ts" has this very definite statement:

You are to abstain from all interference with the local and political views of the people.----Let it be apparent, also, that you have nothing to do with traffic or gain.¹

¹ Instructions to the Missionaries about to Embark for the Sandwich Islands delivered by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, 9

Therefore, before he could accept the position, he had to resign from the American Board.

He is described as a very kindly, well-meaning, pious, industrious person without any great intellectual powers, who during his twelve years residence in the islands as a religious teacher had acquired the native language very correctly, and was principally employed by the mission in translating. In 1838 he became the advisor to the sovereign; a sort of conscience to the king; residing with him, accompanying him wherever he went, and acting as his interpreter or rather as his spokesman.¹

After a series of political lectures delivered by Mr. Richards and the Reverend Bingham, the King on June 7, 1839, signed a "Declaration of Rights". This was followed on the 8th of October by a constitution which the king voluntarily conferred on the people. This constitution set up a limited monarchy, based somewhat upon the English form of government with the three divisions of government--king, legislative and judicial, and it defined in some respects the general duties of each. The legislative body was to consist of

¹ Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 248

a House of Nobles containing sixteen persons of whom five were to be females; and an adumbration of the responsible society were to be represented by seven individuals who were to be chosen and were to sit in council with the nobles. The manner of choosing these representatives was not very carefully defined.

Trial by jury in capital cases had been recommended by Lord Byron when he visited the islands in 1824, and it came gradually, and without statutory authorization into general use. A good deal of friction between foreigners and natives was occasioned by the foreigners wanting fellow-countrymen as jurors, and the feeling on the part of the natives that this was sometimes unjust.

An edict of toleration was passed on June 17 establishing religious liberty. This was issued largely on the advise of Mr. Richards and the Reverend Bingham, and largely as a matter of expediency since the French frigate, the "Artemise" had just arrived at Honolulu.

As a result of the French demands, and the desire of the King to receive foreign recognition, Mr. Richards, Sir George Simpson, governor in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and Timoteo Haalilio were appointed joint commissioners to proceed to the United States and

Europe to try to negotiate the recognition of Hawaii as an independent nation.

To take Mr. Richard's place, Dr. Judd received the following appointment.

Salutations to you G. P. Judd.

You have been appointed translator and recorder for the Government and for your support and that of your family we consent that you be paid out of the Government money \$760 per annum to commence from this day. Moreover, we instruct you to aid Governor Kekuanaoa in your official capacity which relates to all business of importance between foreigners.

Signed Kamehameha III
Kekauluohi¹

I quote this as showing the sum received from the government was not an inordinate amount. Those opposed to the missionaries were ever ready to find any fault they could with them, and, therefore, circulated reports that those entering government service did so because of the financial reward. Thus we find this statement by Manley Hopkins.²

Some of the missionaries passed into government employ; and not a few of the number showed considerable alacrity in the search of wealth seeking it diligently and investing it in very remunerative securities.

¹ Laura Judd, Honolulu, 109

² Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 249

It must be remembered that in order to enter government service, the missionaries had to resign from the American Board, and their support from that source terminated upon the withdrawal of their services.

Dr. Judd in a letter to the missionaries at the islands gives his reason for accepting the appointment.

-----Did I not believe that the interests of the mission and the permanency of Gospel institutions were intimately connected with the political prosperity of the nation, I should not enter the government service. I do not consider myself disloyal to you, though laboring in a different relation.¹

One of the important reforms he effected was establishing the finances of Hawaii on a stable basis, and collecting taxes in a business like, systematic way. Up to this time the kings and chiefs had received the taxes of the people in a feudal manner. No records were kept. Mrs. Judd explains the state of finances in the following:

-----The poll-tax was paid in kind at the commencement of the year. The people came in processions to the palace and handed it over in person. There were no appropriation bills, and where the money went to, concerned only the fortunate receivers.²

¹ Laura Judd, Honolulu, 110

² Ibid., 80

Dr. Judd opened a set of books in which to keep a financial record. In a few short years he paid the public debt. These measures probably led to the accusation by Mrs. Parker¹ that Dr. Judd had absolute control of the finances, and that even the King was limited to twelve thousand dollars a year. This was probably the only way to have anything in the national coffers as Kamehameha III was a profligate spender, and lavished presents upon his court favorites. The sudden check on expenditures was perhaps unfortunate for the favorites, but surely not for the country as a whole.

In 1843 occurred another incident in which the advisers of the King, the missionaries, were accused of being too dilatory or timid, but in which final events proved that their advice was the best that could be given under the circumstances.

Trouble had been brewing for several years between the English consul, Charlton, and the chiefs. Kamehameha III had requested the English government to recall the consul, but these requests were disregarded. Charlton made complaints to ship captains who visited the islands, and finally these complaints reached the

¹ E. M. Wills Parker, The Sandwich Islands as They Are, Not as They Should Be, 10

attention of Lord George Paulet, Commander of the English man-of-war, "Carysfort", who was cruising along the coast of California. With no instructions from his government he sailed for Honolulu and arrived February 1843, and demanded that the island lower the Hawaiian flag and raise the English, thus acknowledging itself a protectorate of England. The King was away on one of the other islands, and the chiefs and Dr. Judd requested that negotiations be delayed until the King's return. Paulet answered by refusing any longer time than sundown of the following day. The chiefs were greatly perplexed, but Dr. Judd advised them to concede to the outrageous demands, and then dispatch agents immediately to Great Britain to lay the facts before the King, relying upon the national honour of that nation to do the right thing. This the chiefs decided to do, and with great sadness the Hawaiian flag was hauled down. The English appropriated the public offices, and for a while pandemonium reigned. This state of affairs was finally brought to an end July 31 by the arrival of Admiral Thomas who censured Lord George Paulet for his action and restored the Hawaiian flag. This act was officially confirmed by the return of the delegates with the acknowledgement of the independence of the islands

by America, England and France, and with an order for the recall of Charlton. This recall was not necessary, however, as he had already set sail for England.

The Great Mahele

The year 1848 was the year of the great mahele, or division of the land. Up to 1848 the land tenure was comparable to the feudal system in Europe. The rulers owned all the land. They gave great holdings to their chiefs, who in turn leased lands to lesser chiefs. The land was worked by the peasants who had no title to the land, and upon whose death the land reverted back to the chief. The big difference between the European and Hawaiian system was that the peasants had the right to move from one place to another and from one chief to another, so that the system was not quite so burdensome. Nor were foreigners granted any privileges.

The King and chiefs were very tenacious of their right to the soil, and allowed foreigners to occupy it only upon the same feudal tenure as the natives. And this led to constant broils. The arrival of a ship-of-war was the occasion to search up old debts and make out new claims to land.¹

From 1848-1855 a division of all lands was made resulting in approximately the following allotments:

¹ Laura Judd, Honolulu, 79

To the crown (set apart for the king and his successors on the throne as their private property.)	Acres 1,100,000
To the Government	1,413,000
To the chiefs and people	1,647,000
Total	<u>4,160,000</u> ¹

This ownership applied mostly to Hawaiians as the laws until 1859 practically prohibited aliens from such land ownership. There were approximately eleven thousand native owners who received an average of from two to four acres apiece, these being the small kuleanas or taro patches.²

The Kuleanas was given to those tenants who had occupied and cultivated them since 1839, the date of the Bill of Rights.

This land bill has been lauded as a great concession on the part of the rulers and chiefs, but out of the 2,747,000 acres only 28,000 acres were given to the common people.

The government offered the government lands for sale at nominal prices. Titus Coan gives some of the prices charged for this land.

¹ F. H. Newell, Hawaii, Document no. 668, 12

² Ibid.

I have known thousands of acres sold for twenty-five cents; other thousands for twelve and a half cents, and still others for six and a fourth cents an acre. These lands were, of course, at considerable distance from towns and harbors. But even rich lands near Hilo and other ports sold at one, two or three dollars per acre.----Those who accepted or bought land, now find its value increased ten, and in some cases, a hundred fold.¹

The missionaries and others did all they could to persuade the common people to buy the land at such low prices, and to put in claims to the lands they had tilled, but according to Titus Coan it took quite a bit of persuasion because,

Many thought it to be a ruse to tempt them to build better houses, fence the lands, plant trees and make such improvements in cultivation as should enrich the chiefs who are the hereditary owners of the soil while to the old tenants no profit would accrue.²

It was one of the firm beliefs of the missionaries that the ownership of the land by the common people would greatly increase better moral habits and habits of industry. To the question as to the best way of developing habits of industry, temperance, etc. proposed by R. C. Wylie, they replied, "ownership of the

¹ Titus Coan, Life in Hawaii, 124

² Ibid.

land".¹

The native division of land was wedge shaped from the mountain top to the sea, so that each owner had a little strip of beach for fishing, the rich low land for raising taro and cocoanut, some land for dry land crops, that nearer the mountain top for grazing and finally near the top a little forest land. This was so universal that instead of using north, east, south, west, they used the words "mauka" meaning toward the mountain and "makai" toward the sea.²

Temperance

Once again the independence of Hawaii was threatened, and the missionaries suffered a defeat in their efforts to keep intoxicants out of the country. As stated before the first law against drinking originated in 1829. In 1835 the following law was promulgated by the chiefs and King:

We prohibit drunkenness. Whoever drinks spirituous liquors and becomes intoxicated, and goes through the streets riotously, abusing those who may fall in his way, he is guilty by this law. He shall pay six dollars in money, or in other property of the same value, and for want

¹ Answers to Questions Proposed by R. C. Wylie,
Minister of Foreign Relations

² F. H. Newell, Hawaii, Document no. 668, 10

thereof, he shall be whipped twenty-four lashes or be condemned to labor one month, or be imprisoned one month, at the expiration of which he shall be discharged.¹

In 1838 a law was enacted requiring anyone selling liquor to obtain a license, and prohibiting taverns to sell liquor on Sunday or after ten o'clock.

In 1838 a law was also passed prohibiting the importation of ardent spirits after January 1, 1839, and imposing a duty on wines of fifty cents per gallon, and in October 1840 another law was enacted absolutely prohibiting the manufacture, sale, giving away and use of intoxicants.

Interest in prohibition ran high. Temperance Societies were organized throughout the islands and membership was high. Several temperance papers were started and flourished for a time. Drinking was being stamped out until the French arrived in August 1849. Under pretext that the provisions of the French-Hawaiian treaty had been broken, they seized buildings, destroyed property, blockaded the harbor, and took the King's yacht. They demanded that the wines be allowed to enter the country, and that a duty of five per cent

¹ William Fremont Blackman, The Making of Hawaii, 100, 101

ad valorem only be levied against them.

Development of Hawaiian Evangelical Association

The work of Christianizing the natives had progressed so far that the missionaries felt that to strengthen their interest it was necessary that the natives become interested in missionary work.

This year, 1848, was signalized by the development of a practical conviction, that the islands could not rise to an independent existence as a Christian nation, without developing the spirit of foreign missions. Both the native churches and the missionaries, in the present advanced stage of the work needed that invigorating influence.¹

With this end in view a mission station was organized at the Marquesas and Micronesian Islands. Missionaries were sent out from both America and the islands. The churches of the islands contributed freely for this work. Even before the interest in missions, the collection of these churches at their monthly concerts of prayer amounted to fifteen hundred dollars a year.

The children of America and Hawaii contributed enough to purchase a beautiful packet called "The Morning Star" which carried supplies to the islands.

¹ Rufus Anderson, History of the Sandwich Islands, 247

Dr. Anderson reports that in 1849, James Kekela, a graduate of Lahainaluna, was ordained pastor of the church of Kahuka on December 21. This was the beginning of the native pastorate. The following year two more were ordained, one to take charge of the church at Waianae and the other at Kanapali.

Up to 1848 the American Board maintained a depository at Honolulu which was stocked with all the articles supposed to be needed by families; and these the families obtained at cost. The annual allowance by the Board for the missionaries was as follows:¹

For a missionary and his wife at Honolulu	\$500
For a missionary and his wife elsewhere	450
For a single woman	175
For a child under five years of age	20
For a child over five and under ten	40
For a child over fifteen years of age	80

When the families from the other islands gathered at Honolulu for the general meeting, supplies were apportioned among them. This, however, led to some dissatisfaction as some of the churches were aided by native contributions, and it was hard to determine the exigency of each case, so in 1848 the depository was discontinued and definite salaries paid the missionaries.

¹ George W. Stewart, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings Relating to the Hawaiian Islands, vol, II, 28

The Sandwich Island News got hold of the story that in 1847 the Secular Agent of the mission had loaned a merchant in Honolulu the sum of six thousand dollars belonging to the mission. From this bare fact, it made a rousing editorial arguing that the business of preaching the Gospel in the Sandwich Islands was a highly lucrative one, and that its clergy were absolutely rolling in wealth. A rival newspaper explained the incident as follows:¹

It was often the case when the annual supplies for the mission arrived that the secular agents, clear-seeing men, (Messrs. Levi Chamberlain, S. N. Castle, E. O. Hall and others) had a considerable amount in cash on hand which they could spare for six, eight or ten months, and it was their duty when they could do so with security to loan out the money at interest thus increasing the general missionary fund. This had been done in the instance referred to. Under the then existing circumstances of the islands those who loaned money at a fair rate of interest to those who needed it for legitimate business purposes were in fact public benefactors.

In 1847 the Hawaiian Evangelical Association had been organized to consist of the missionaries of the American Board residing on the Sandwich Islands together with other resident evangelical ministers of foreign birth who were in sympathy with them; but after

¹ George W. Stewart, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings Relating to the Hawaiian Islands, vol. II, 28

1863 it was to consist of all native and foreign Congregational and Presbyterian clergymen on the Sandwich, Micronesian and Marquesas Islands; of lay delegates appointed annually by the local ecclesiastical bodies; and of such laymen as should be elected from time to time by a two thirds vote. The Hawaiian language was to be used in place of the English in its meetings.

Withdrawal of American Board from Hawaii

In 1863 Dr. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the American Board, was sent out to the islands to investigate and report on the progress of the mission. He traveled from one mission to another, lived with the families of the missionaries and studied the situation critically. As a result of his investigations he advised the withdrawal of the American Board from the mission, and the placing of responsibility upon the native churches.

A board was formed called the "Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association" to consist of not less than eighteen members; one third of whom were to be natives; and the hope was entertained that the American Board would see fit to transfer to this board its responsibilities for directing the work at the Sandwich Islands and in Micronesia.¹ This board was to meet

¹ Rufus Anderson, History of the Sandwich Islands, 287

twice a month, and the Reverend Gulick was to have charge of the work.

The large churches were to be divided with convenient territorial limits; the missionaries retaining the pastoral care of the central churches where circumstances favored it, while native pastors were to be placed as fast as possible over the others. That there might be no unnecessary hindrances to the dividing of the great churches and to the multiplying of native pastors and obtaining their support from the native community, it was proposed that the American Board resume the support of the old missionaries as far as should be needful. It was expected that the native churches would assume the entire support of their native pastors and of their foreign missionaries. The children of missionaries educated at Oahu College were to give some attention to the mastering of the Hawaiian Language.

A theological class of native students was organized under Mr. Alexander at Wailuku and afterwards a second one was started at Hilo under Mr. Coan.

In 1864 the Reverend Gulick was able to report that

the association of the Island of Hawaii have arranged for twenty-four evangelical church organizations, nineteen of them to be under native ministers. Eight

of these nineteen are already organized with pastors, while four others are for the present year supplied with licensed pastors.¹

In 1869 the organized churches were fifty-six with thirty-six ordained Hawaiian pastors and eight licentiate. There were thirteen Hawaiian foreign missionaries; the church membership was twelve thousand four hundred and ninety-seven; benevolent contributions amounted to twenty-nine thousand three hundred and eighty-six dollars.²

June 15, 1870 the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the mission was commemorated, and the Board formally announced its complete withdrawal from the field.

Rufus Anderson gives the following resume of the work of the American Board.³

The number of ordained missionaries employed on the Sandwich Islands from the beginning is fifty-two; of lay teachers and helpers twenty-one; of female missionaries chiefly married eighty-three; making a total of one hundred fifty-six. Ten of the ordained missionaries died in the field, six of them past the age of fifty, the average duration of service performed by them being twenty-

¹ Frances Gulick Jewett, Luther Halsey Gulick, 215

² Ibid.

³ Rufus Anderson, History of the Sandwich Islands, 238, 239

seven years. The sixteen who are now living at the islands have been there from twenty-six to forty-seven years, and their average of service is thirty-seven years.

The cost of the Sandwich Islands mission up to the year 1869 was one million two hundred thousand dollars.

All lands which had been granted to the mission by the kings and chiefs in the early days, together with the substantial dwellings erected on them, were deeded to the forty missionary families scattered over the islands.¹

Other Missionary Activities

At just about the time the Congregational Church was planning to withdraw from the field the Episcopal Church was entering the field. On 1862 Bishop Staley with five helpers came to the islands, and were cordially welcomed by the King and Queen. The King and Queen while accepting Christianity had never wholeheartedly supported the Congregational Church, and had sent several requests to the Bishop of California asking that a branch of the Episcopal Church be established at the islands. The application to the English Bishop was made by the California Bishop, William Ingraham Kip.²

¹ Belle M. Brain, The Transformation of Hawaii, 182
² Thomas Nettleship Staley, Five Year's Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii, 113

Bishop Restarick has the following to say as to one of the reasons the King favored the Episcopal church other than the sentimental reason that Vancouver had promised Kamehameha I to send teachers.

There seems to be no doubt that the preservation of the monarchy had much to do with the attitude of the Kings and their Hawaiian and British advisers in favoring the coming of the English Church.¹

Friction developed almost immediately between the newcomers and the Congregational leaders. The difficulty seemed to be a conflict of personalities. Bishop Staley, according to Titus Coan, took no cognizance of the fact that others had been there before he arrived, and showed no spirit of cooperation. Bishop Staley for his part resented the fact that the Americans seemed to think he was an emissary of the London Foreign office and was sent out to secure the annexation of the islands to the British Empire.

Bishop Staley stayed five years in the island, at which time he was replaced by an American Bishop, Henry Bond Restarick and the two churches cooperated in a better spirit from then on.

One of the criticisms made by Bishop Staley of the missionaries was that they had neglected to teach the English language, especially to those who held

¹ Henry Bond Restarick, Hawaii, 1778-1920, 70

government positions, and so one of the important things he did was to organize family boarding schools and English day schools.

With the importation of Chinese and Filipino laborers to work in the sugar and rice plantations, the Methodist Church established missions for the races with whom they had already established contact, but the great work of Christianizing the islands belongs properly to the Congregational Church.

CHAPTER III
RESULTS OF THE LABORS OF THE
MISSIONARIES

Before attempting to evaluate the results of the labors of the one hundred fifty-six men and women who devoted their lives to the cause of the Gospel, it may be worth while to enumerate the phases of life they influenced. Their primary purpose was to Christianize the islands, and this through the medium of the Congregational Church. Thus, one would expect to find their greatest impress on the religious life of the people. To facilitate this primary purpose of theirs they found it necessary to reduce the language to writing. And with a national language they stimulated an interest in a national literature, thus encouraging the cultural life. Through their introduction of schools they changed the social life of the people, and because of the respect and trust the rulers had for them, they became the political advisers of the realm, and must, therefore, be considered responsible for the political changes that took place. Moreover, their own interest in the phenomena of the islands is reflected in their writing and reports on the eruptions of the

volcanoes, the tidal waves and other events which have proved a valuable contribution to science. Leisure being at a premium during the busy years of 1836 to 1842, it is all the more remarkable that they still found time to devote to these activities. Probably in no other country did missionaries have the influence religiously, culturally, socially, politically, and scientifically combined, as they did in the Hawaiian Islands.

Religiously they succeeded very well for a short time in exposing the people to the teachings of the church; as to their really affecting changes in the inner life of the mass of the people, their success is not so apparent. The names of Kaahumanu and Kapiolani are shining exceptions, but because religion is vitally a personal experience and growth, it is doubtful whether it can be successfully promulgated en masse and in so short a time.

Jackson Jarves has this to say of the theology taught which would show that after all it was not their preaching, but their lives that really influenced the people.

The theology taught, so he writes in his "Confessions" as given by Henry Bond Restarick, though based on fear, had been modified by love of the divine Being. To

hear them preach, you would suppose all mankind damnable scoundrels. To see them act, you felt sure that they did not at heart feel that the human race was so unmitigatedly bad after all.¹

After the withdrawal of the American Board and the placing of the responsibility on the native population many people thought that the time allowed for the experiment had been too short, and that much ground was lost by the move. Even Rufus Anderson admitted that their action had been too hasty, and that the Hawaiians were still too young in the faith to assume the entire responsibility.

The following is the view of S. S. Hill as to the success of any missionary enterprise.

I believe the missionaries failed as the missionary effort will always fail under like circumstances for the reason that they fail to recognize what I believe to be a fact that a form of government and a form of religion is a necessary adjunct to the social compact and that every race, be it civilized or barbarous, has the best form of religion, and the best form of government it is capable in the aggregate of maintaining; and if you undertake to give a religion, of a higher civilization to a barbarous race, you must accompany it with that civilization, and a full understanding of it, which is impossible. Therefore, while those people adopted outwardly the forms of our

¹ Henry Bond Restarick, Hawaii 1778-1920, 50

religion they were unable to comprehend its meaning or appreciate our civilization while they imbibed our vices and faded away.¹

Decadence of the Race

The swift extinction of the race caused great concern among the missionaries and those interested in the preservation of the pure Hawaiian race, for from the estimate of Captain Cook which placed the number at four hundred thousand the census showed the following rapid decline: 1823, 142,000; 1830, 130,000; 1866, 62,959; 1910, 26,041; 1910 part Hawaiian, 12,506.

Many causes are given for the decline in population, the most common being the vices brought in by the white man.

But while excessive use of intoxicants and venereal disease were responsible for much of the lowering of vitality of the race, some decadence must have been present in the race itself for Manley Hopkins tells us that in places where the white man did not frequent, the race also died out.

Many will attribute this decrease entirely to the intercourse with men from civilized lands, and that doubtless has had much effect in one respect--the introduction of disease, which, from the universal licentiousness of the people, has been widely disseminated----but in

¹ S. S. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands, 130

other respects the intercourse with foreigners has had no share in this depopulation; for in secluded districts and unfrequented islands where ardent spirits are quite unknown, and where no white men (save missionaries) reside, the decrease of the population is even more rapid than in the country surrounding places where white residences are concentrated and which shipping frequents.¹

He goes on to give other causes for the decline of the race.

The oppressive system of government, the discontinuance of ancient sports, and consequent change in the habits of the people, have been powerful agents in this work of depopulation; and the ill-judged enforcement of cruel punishments and heavy penalties for breaches of chastity have much aided it, by giving an additional stimulus to the practice--always too common among Polynesian females--of causing abortion of which practical sterility is the natural result.²

No one can estimate to what extent the sudden change from their primitive habits to a more civilized way of life could have had on the race. They were almost an amphibian race being at home as much in the water as on land. Even children two or three years old could swim like fish. Their sports were swimming and surf-riding. But the missionaries from the fact that men and women sported in the water often in a nude

¹ Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 375

² Ibid.

state did all they could to discontinue the practice, and for a time in sections where the missionaries were all-powerful even this most beloved sport practically disappeared. Native dances were objected to on the ground that they were often of an obscene character.

The missionaries made no attempt to adjust the teachings of Christ to meet the needs of the people, or to elevate the habits of the people by easy transitions, but their puritanical ideals and New England philosophy were transplanted in toto, and any native custom opposed to their ideas of right, they attempted to ruthlessly crush out.

The missionaries gave as one of the possible reasons for their susceptibility to disease the change in their living conditions.

Their method of living as to houses and clothing is, I think, more prejudicial to health now than it was formerly. For though the houses of the people are on the whole more valuable now than then, there being many stone and adobie ones, still as a general thing, houses are less warm than they used to be from the fact that grass for thatching once at their doors in great abundance has become exceedingly scarce in consequence of the increase of cattle, horses and goats. The change, too, from native to foreign material for clothing, though it is happy on the whole in aiding the cause of civilization is less favorable

to health than might be supposed.¹

William Fremont Blackman ascribes the abnormal mortality of infants and children to the absence of milk in the diet.

The Hawaiians, even as the Indians, succumbed to diseases common among white peoples. S. S. Hill at the time of his visit to the islands wrote:

At this particular time the natives were suffering from no less than three distinct diseases, all of European importation--the measles, the influenza, and dysentery; and they were dying in such numbers that, before I left the islands, upon a population of eighty thousand by the last census, the loss was estimated at ten thousand or one eighth of the whole population.²

The influenza appeared in the wet season about once in two years, and swept off many persons very suddenly.

Smallpox made severe ravages upon the native population in the great epidemic of 1853-1854. During this epidemic six thousand four hundred and five cases were reported and two thousand four hundred eighty-five deaths. Dr. Judd received a great deal of criticism and blame because his accusers felt he had not used

¹ S. S. Green, Answers to Question Proposed by R. C. Wylie, 48

² S. S. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands, 111

enough vigilance in guarding the harbour against disease laden boats. Although it was not known exactly how the epidemic started, it was thought that a steamer from San Francisco with smallpox on board was not strictly quarantined. Moreover, there seemed to be a great deal of objection to vaccination by the government physician and Dr. Judd.

Added to all these causes were the Hawaiians indisposition to take care of themselves, or to guard against infectious or contagious diseases. Comfort before sanity seemed to be the rule they followed, and often their treatment for a fever was to lie down in a cool mountain stream or take a dip in the ocean. One of the missionaries related that they advised a man who had a bad cold to put a mustard plaster on his chest. When they called a few hours later they found him sitting up with a huge mustard plaster over his chest, but with no other covering.

Their faith in their own doctors or the kahuna practice, which was still strongly entrenched even after the missionaries considered the islands converted, was also responsible for many deaths.

While the problem of the extinction of the race was never directly attacked by the missionaries, their

efforts to stamp out drinking and improve the morals could not but have had an arresting effect. That this could have been increased but for their unwillingness to compromise in any way with the evils they were trying to stamp out is cited by Henry Bond Restarick. If these evils could not be stamped out entirely, then they were not willing to acknowledge that something must be done for those who suffered from these evils. When the Evangelical Church was trying to raise money to maintain a syphillitic ward which would alleviate suffering and arrest the further spread of the disease, the missionaries were very hostile.

Results of Written Language

The reducing of the language to writing was of very great value, because being an easy language to learn, it was the means of making learning accessible to all. However, whether through a conscious effort to make themselves indispensable to the government, or a lack of foresight, the criticism of Bishop Staley in regard to their teaching almost entirely the Hawaiian language was justified. It would seem to have been a better policy for the government officials, at least, to have had a knowledge of the English language, so that the business of the government would not have had to be con-

ducted through the services of interpreters.

In a conversation of S. S. Hill with Governor Young, son of sailor Young, the Governor goes so far as to say,

Everything that concerned them, the native race, in spite of the benign endeavors of the missionaries, both physically as regarded health and capacity, and also morally, to be retrograde. He thought a capital error committed by the mission had been a chief cause of the unsatisfactory result. This was teaching the natives so long, almost exclusively, through their own language. It might have been better that their tongue had never been reduced to rules and writing for a very few books could ever be published in it.¹

Results of Political Powers

This political power was the cause of the chief hostility to the missionaries, but at no time was this power used to benefit themselves.

It is fair to say, is the verdict of William R. Castle in his "Hawaii, Past and Present," that if this function seemed an undue extension of their religious duties--and their severest critics never accuse them of anything else--they were the only foreigners in the islands who would advise the chiefs impartially and the only ones, moreover, who would have advised in such a fashion as to save the dwindling rem-

¹ S. S. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands, 142

nants of the Hawaiian race.¹

William Fremont Blackman after extensive study also feels that their interests were those of the Hawaiians, and that they served those interests well.

The future impartial historian of Hawaiian affairs, he writes, is likely to give, I think; this verdict concerning the conduct of the missionaries and their descendants, taking them together, that they were loyal to the monarchy and served it faithfully, with whatever mistakes of judgment; that they maintained it in power long after it would otherwise have fallen of its own weight and under foreign assault; that they consented to its overthrow only when no other reasonable course was open to them; and that from first to last they stood steadfastly between the natives and foreign aggression of divers sorts, their staunchest protector and wisest counsellor;---²

Cultural and Scientific Results.

While their national literature is not of any great extent, several Hawaiians were induced by the missionaries to leave to posterity a record of their traditions and early history before these should be forgotten. Such writings were a valuable contribution to the mythology of the world. Titus Coan and James Jackson Jarves contributed much had they never converted a soul, but Titus

¹ William R. Castle, Hawaii, Past and Present, 41

² William Fremont Blackman, The Making of Hawaii, 142

Coan was also one of the outstanding missionaries. He found time to observe and record the volcanic eruptions and phenomena. James Jackson Jarves is an outstanding historian of the islands and an authority on the early customs and traditions of the people.

Acquisition of Land

There seems, however, to be no answer against the charges that the descendants of the missionaries and missionaries themselves were not without a love of wealth. From all sides these accusations are voiced.

Leavitt H. Hallock in the description of his trip to Hawaii wrote.

Here we pass the Haiku plantation, owned by sons of the venerable missionary, Alexander. The father went to the ends of the earth to save souls; his sons, on the same soil, became worth a million.¹

R. F. Pettigrew in his speeches before Congress at the time of agitation for annexation pointed out.

The missionaries have not only looked out for the morals of the Hawaiians, but for their property.²

John Allardyce and Mrs. Parker, visitors to the islands, were agreed perfectly on the fact that the missionaries were masters of the land, political offices and business. Thus John Allardyce wrote.

¹ Leavitt H. Hallock, The Hawaiian Islands Under King Kelakau, 16

² R. F. Pettigrew, The Course of Empire, 3

----and when it is noted that the families of missionaries--and the retired as well as the active members of the class--are numbered by hundreds in Honolulu alone, have grasped all the leading offices of State, are principals in every leading business in the place, own all the fat lands and the choice sites in towns and suburbs, then the power and importance of the clique can be estimated.¹

Mrs. Parker wrote in much the same way.

There are four churches, and plenty of stores and hotels; but the most agreeable residences are in the valleys in the rear of the town, and the most luxurious of these belong to the missionaries. Would that some of the pious poor, who, in a far-off land, have joyously contributed their hard earned mite to the support of the "poor missionaries" could see their luxurious houses, filled with native slaves, for they are nothing more, and witness the idle luxury of their lives.²

T. Robinson Warren on his voyage, after speaking of the good the missionaries did, wrote further:

But we sicken when we think that the successors of those devoted men who so assiduously labored in reclaiming the savage from his degradation; taking advantage of the natural feeling of veneration which the blameless lives and self-sacrifice of their predecessors had given rise to in the minds of these simple islanders, have established an autocratic thralldom of which they themselves are the head,

¹ John C. Allardyce, Society, Politics and Religion in the Hawaiian Islands, 8

² E. M. Wills Parker, The Sandwich Islands as They Are, 14

as despotic as is the government of the Russians, highly satisfactory to their own pride and love of power, but of incalculable injury to the interests of the religion of which they are the high priests, and tending by its restrictions and shallow and transparent hypocrisy to undo inwardly, all that has been effected in the true conversion of the natives.¹

I do now know to what extent lands were owned by the missionaries. Some of their holdings were voluntary gifts from the chiefs. Mr. Bishop married a daughter of a chief who had extensive holdings. These lands probably made up a large bulk of the land so classified, but in after years this land was turned over to the government. Not until after the American Board withdrew were the missionaries allowed to acquire land, so while they may not have lived like ascetics, they did not live lives of ease either. And John Caton and Jackson Jarves both paid tribute to their hospitality. John Caton mentioned in his "Miscellanies" that there were no hotels in the islands except at Honolulu and few boarding houses.

Hence, from the beginning, and until lately, the missionaries have entertained all comers without compensation, which must have been a heavy burden with their very limited stipend.²

¹ T. Robinson Warren, Dust and Foam, 252

² John Dean Caton, Miscellanies, 204

And Jarves in his "Confessions" wrote,

After many experiences in mission households, it is but simple justice to say, that if the Christian public in America have liberally supplied them with comforts, they are ever ready to dispense hospitality to the full extent of their means.¹

Desire of Annexation

Another charge often brought against the missionaries was that they were anxious to bring the Hawaiian Islands under the control of the United States. Thus, we find in Frank Carpenter's book "Through the Philippines" this statement.

The story of how the American flag came to fly over the islands of Hawaii begins back in 1819 when seven missionaries and their wives sailed from New England to carry Christianity to the natives of the Sandwich Islands in whom they had become interested through the tales of American whalers.²

This is true in as far as they were the first to bring the new religion to the islands. The Hawaiians had a natural preference for the English because of their pleasant association with Vancouver, nor were they willing to accept the missionaries from America

¹ Henry Bond Restarick, Hawaii 1778-1920, 50
² Frank G. Carpenter, Through the Philippines and Hawaii, vol. I, 27

until they had assurance from Isaac Young that the God of the Americans was the same God as that of the English. Had England sent missionaries upon the advice of Vancouver, no other nation would have had a foothold, and the Hawaiian Islands would undoubtedly have become English territory very much earlier than they became United States territory.

If America feels any glory in the fact that the Hawaiian Islands are a part of the United States, it can thank the missionaries again for their priority in the field, for had the Roman Catholics arrived a few years earlier, probably the islands would have become French territory at the same time the Society Islands went under their control, for Governor Boki assured the first priests that had they been the first to arrive they would undoubtedly have been allowed to remain.

The missionaries did not actively favor annexation, as has been borne out in previous quotations, and were more interested in doing all they could to maintain an independent state, but in case of the failure of an independent state, they naturally would throw, and did throw their support toward American annexation rather than having some other nation take over the islands. The descendants of the missionaries, however, were more

active in their desire for annexation.

This quotation from Manley Hopkins' "Hawaii" is a summary of the achievements of the missionaries, as given by R. H. Dana, and is a tribute from one whose observations were impartial.

'It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and to write, to cipher and to sew. They have given them an alphabet, grammar and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion, science, and entertainment, etc. They have established schools, reared up native teachers and so prepared their work that now the percentage of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England. And, whereas, they found these islanders a nation of half naked savages living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannized over by feudal chiefs and abandoned to sensuality; they now see them decently clothed, recognizing the law of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people do at home, and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the Constitutional Monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers and filling posts in the local magistracies.¹

¹ Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, 200

When, therefore, the annexation of the islands to the United States was accomplished in 1898, they were islands already made American in ideals and thought and institutions by the labors of the missionaries.

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